Congressional Record

CONTAINING

THE PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES

OF THE

FIRST SESSION

OF THE

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

OF

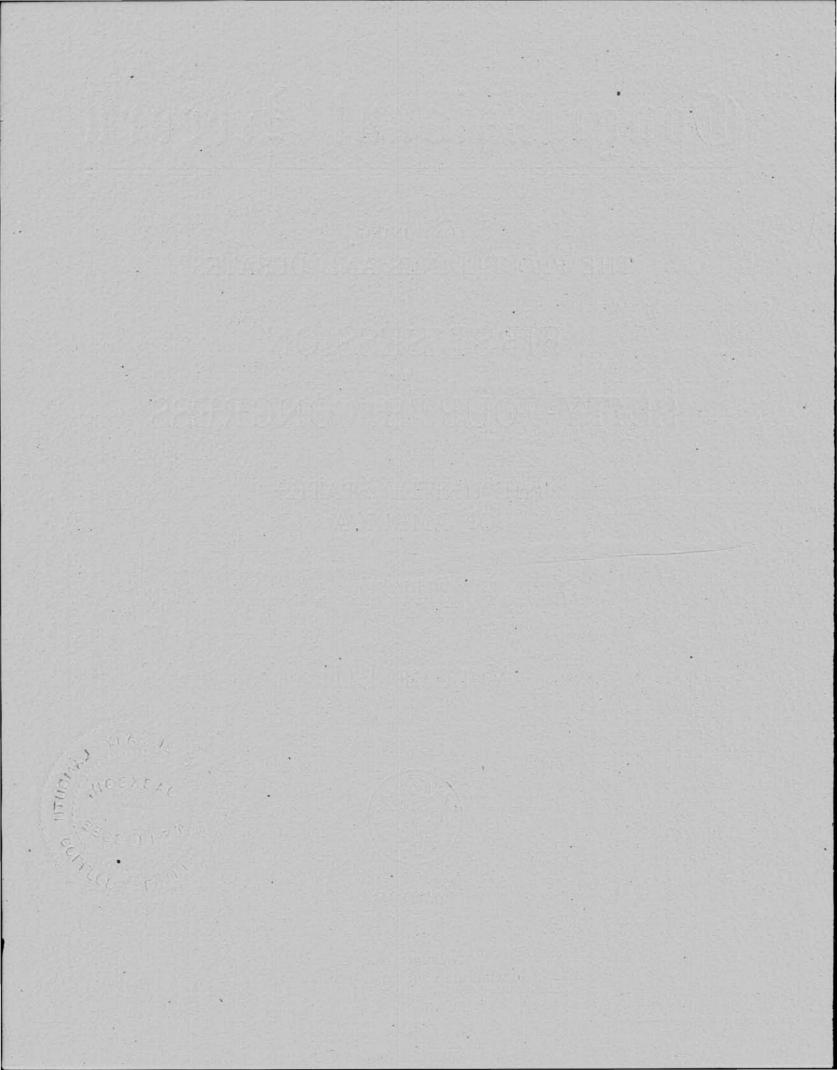
THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

VOLUME LIII



47998

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1916

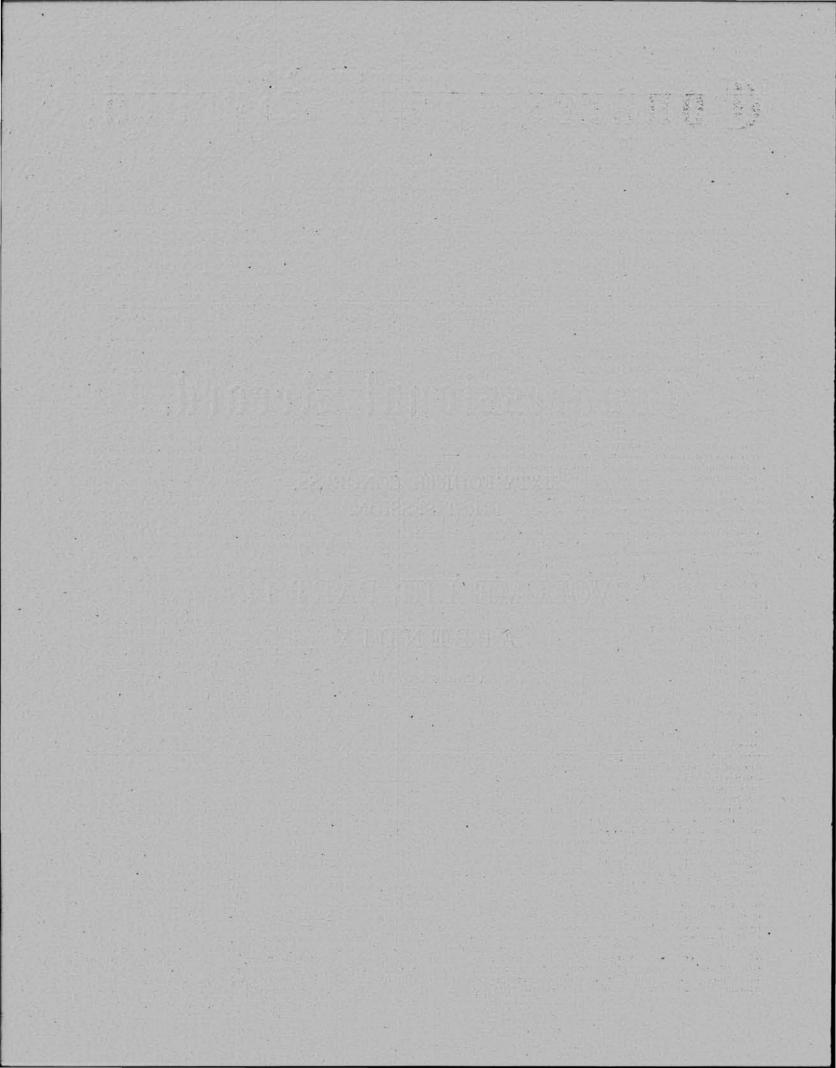


Congressional Record.

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

VOLUME LIII, PART 14. APPENDIX

(Parts 1 to 13).



Congressional Record.

APPENDIX.

First Inaugural Address of Thomas Jefferson.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM GORDON. OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, December 6, 1915.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the Record I include the first inaugural address of Thomas Jefferson, together with an editorial by the editor of "The World's Best Orations."

The first inaugural of Thomas Jefferson, together with the editorial, is as follows:

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

(1743-1826.)

In his first inaugural address, Thomas Jefferson made a deliberate and remarkably successful attempt to condense his theories of government into a few easily remembered sentences. The inaugural ranks with the Declaration of Independence as his greatest work. Whether it is considered as an oration or a State paper, it is equally remarkable, constituting, as it does, a class of its own, because of its comprehensive definitions of principles which, until he thus defined them, had been felt chiefly as impulses. Although Jefferson was not an orator, although public speaking was very distasteful to him, it may be said with truth that on succeeding John Adams in 1801, after the revolutionary defeat of the Federalists in 1800, he delivered an address of greater historical importance than that of Demosthenes on the Crown, or of Burke opening the bribery charges at the trial of Warren Hastings, though the one is celebrated as the greatest oration of ancient, and the other of modern times.

Wonderfully compact as the address is in its condensation of the details of "Jeffersonian Democracy," the whole of it is really an elaboration of the principle expressed in the single sentence: "Still one thing more, fellow citizens, a wise and frugal government which shall restrain men from injuring one another and leave them otherwise free.'

This is the sum of Jefferson's theory of government. He believed that in order to have the utmost possible progress through the increase of peace, order, and mutual helpfulness, it was only necessary to increase the liberty of every individual in society, trusting to the development of the good to overcome the evil. He believed in repression only when it is necessary to prevent oppression, and in force only when one man attempts by combining with others, or by his own superior craft or force, to deprive another of his equal right to exist, to do, and to grow. All this was a deduction from the principles of the common law as it had grown out of the race or clan customs of the Teutonic tribesincluding in that classification, of course, the Saxons, who over-ran England, and the Norsemen, whose literature in Iceland is a prophecy of the institutions which were inaugurated in America by the Declaration of Independence.

In Jefferson's own generation and since, Benjamin Franklin is the only American who can compare with him in greatness of At the present stage of development of the science of history, it is no more possible to understand how the eighteenth century should have produced two such men in America than it is to explain how the sixteenth produced Shakespeare and Bacon in England. Both Franklin and Jefferson, while they had the ideas of Anglo-Saxon development ingrained into them, were deeply influenced by the intellectual movement of France. Under it, Franklin became a great philosopher, using with equal effectiveness the methods of Bacon and of Aristotle. As a Baconian, Jefferson failed almost completely. His province was to deal with the minds of men rather than with the laws of nature. But it may be fairly said of him that in the mastery of political principle through logical analysis he surpassed Franklin as far as he was surpassed by Franklin in reaching truth through experiment and induction.

After being worsted in the formation of the body of the Federal Constitution, Jefferson's adherents rallied at once and, compelling the adoption of the first 10 amendments, so forced issues that when Jefferson was inaugurated in 1801, the country was ready for his action in reversing the theories which triumphed against him in the constitutional convention. Instead of "a strong central government," controlled by the people and ignoring the States as much as possible, he stood for "Jeffersonian an-archy"—the theory that "the government is best which governs least," and for the independent development of the States. united only for common defense. The most notable fact of his administration as President is that after inaugurating his political system successfully he defeated it by the Louisiana Purchase which forced issues over slavery.

W. V. B.

"JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY" DEFINED. (First inaugural address, delivered Mar. 4, 1801.)

Friends and fellow citizens, called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow citizens which is here assembled to express my grateful thanks for the favor with which they have been presented as the country. with which they have been pleased to look toward me, to de-clare a sincere consciousness that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments which the greatness of the charge and the weakness of my powers so justly inspire. A rising Nation spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye; when I contemplate these transcendent objects and see the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair, did not the presence of many whom I here see remind me that in the other high authorities provided by our Constitution I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked, amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

During the contest of opinion through which we have passed, the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the Nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression. Let us, then, fellow citizens, unite with one heart and one mind; let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things. And let us reflect, that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others; and should divide opinions as to measures of safety; but every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different

names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans—we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government can not be strong; that this Government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear that this Government, the world's best hope, may, by possibility, want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest Government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man can not be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question.

Let us, then, with courage and confidence, pursue our own federal and republican principles; our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the hundredth and thousandth generation; entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow citizens, resulting not from birth but from our actions and their sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practiced in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man, acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which, by all its dispensations, proves that it delights in the happiness of man here and his greater happiness hereafter; with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow citizens—a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government; and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities

About to enter, fellow citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our Government, and consequently those which ought to shape its I will compress them within the narrowest administration. compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling al-liances with none: the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against antirepublican tendencies; the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people; a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution, where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority—economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of person, under the protec-tion of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment; they should be the creed of our political faith; the text of civic instruction; the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

I repair, then, fellow citizens, to the post you have assigned With experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this, the greatest of all, I have learned to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from this station with the reputation and the favor which bring him into it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest Revolutionary character. whose preeminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love, and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment. When right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, which will never be intentional; and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not, if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage is a great consolation to me for the past; and my future solicitude will be to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom

Relying, then, on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choices it is in your power to make. And may that Infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favorable issue for your peace and prosperity.

Discrimination Against Jews at West Point.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER M. CHANDLER. OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, December 6, 1915.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to print remarks in the RECORD I include certain correspondence consisting of two letters between the War Department and myself relating to alleged discrimination against the Jews at West Point.

The correspondence is as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES, Washington, D. C., November 26, 1915.

Hon. Lindley M. Garrison, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir: At least 40 per cent of the people of my district are Jews. It is needless to say that they are entitled to the free exercise and full enjoyment of all their rights and privileges as American citizens, and that it is my duty as a Representative in Congress to use my influence at all times to see that these rights and privileges are not denied them.

During my term of office as Congressman I have held several preliminary competitive examinations, after due notice to all the people of my district, to fill vacancies at West Point and Annapolis. Very few Jews have taken part in these examinations. In this connection it has been repeatedly brought to my attention by correspondence and by personal interview that there is a belief prevalent among the people of this race that it is diffi-cult for a Jew to gain admission to West Point or Annapolis; that if he does succeed in entering he is met by race discrimination and social ostracism more or less severe, and that, furthermore, if he succeeds in graduating the same race discrimination and social ostracism follow him into active service.

I am writing to ask if there is any real foundation for this belief. Will you kindly inform me whether there are at present any Jewish cadets at West Point, and if so, how many? Will you also kindly let me know whether there have been any wellauthenticated cases of race discrimination against the Jews at West Point?

History records that in every age the Jews have furnished able officers and brave soldiers to all the armies of the world, and it is a matter of personal and official interest to me to learn whether our great and free Republic is being denied the benefit of their military services on account of a race discrimination that violates at once the letter of our laws and the spirit of our best and noblest traditions.

An early answer to this letter will greatly oblige

Yours faithfully,

WALTER M. CHANDLER.

WAR DEPARTMENT, Washington, December 3, 1915.

Hon. WALTER M. CHANDLER, House of Representatives.

MY DEAR SIR: The department is in receipt of your letter of the 26th ultimo, in which you state that there is a general belief prevalent among the people of the Jewish race in your district that it is a difficult matter for a Jew to gain admission to West Point or Annapolis; that if he does succeed in entering he is met by race discrimination and social ostracism; and that, furthermore, if he succeeds in graduating, the same race discrimination and social ostracism follow him into active service. With regard to the general subject, and in response to the particular inquiries you make as to whether there are at the present time any Jewish cadets at West Point, and whether there have been any well authenticated cases of race discrimination against the Jews at that place, I have the honor to advise you

The preliminary step taken by a person who desires to obtain admission to the United States Military Academy at West Point is to secure a nomination by a Representative in Congress as a candidate for a cadetship in that institution or to secure one of the few nominations of cadetships at large which are at the disposal of the President. With this preliminary selection of such candidates the military authorities have nothing whatever

to do.

The candidates so selected first come under the jurisdiction of the military authorities at the time of their admission to the academy, after having passed successfully the regular entrance examinations, and as the superintendent of that institution is cognizant of conditions there he was called upon to furnish a report with regard to the matter to which you refer. pliance he states, under date of the 1st instant, as follows:

No consideration of any kind is given at West Point regarding religious faith or belief of any candidate for the academy, nor is any such consideration given in acting on the case of any cadet at the academy. In my more than 10 years' personal connection with the academy I have never observed or heard of a case of social ostracism at West Point because a cadet was a Jew or of any other religious faith. No record of any kind is made at these headquarters as to the religious faith of any cadet, and I can not say whether or not there is one Jew or many Jews in the Corps of Cadets.

"In the social relation between cadets I do not believe that the question of religious faith ever enters in the slightest degree. It is purely a question of personal character and the elements of agreeable fellowship that social relations are inti-

mate, cordial, or unfriendly.

I am satisfied that the report of the superintendent quoted above may be accepted as representing fair!, the conditions as they now exist in the Military Academy at West Point. I am not advised concerning the conditions with respect to matters as they exist in the Naval Academy at Annapolis, which institution is under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Nav

In the summer of the year 1899 articles appeared in the public press alleging persecution, hazing, and ostracism of cadets of the Jewish faith at West Point. The matter was promptly brought to the attention of the acting superintendent of that institution, who reported, under date of August 15, 1899, as

"All statements which have appeared in the press alleging persecution, hazing, or ostracism of any cadet at the Military Academy on account of religious faith, whether Jew or Christian, are absolutely false, and have no foundation in fact. There are at present two cadets of the Jewish faith at the Military Academy, whose relations with their classmates and upper classmen are of a friendly character and absolutely uninfluenced by reason of their faith; and I have yet to learn of any prejudice against a cadet or officer in the Army on account of his being of the Jewish faith."

Accompanying the foregoing report was a statement by a cadet at the academy, of which the following is a pertinent extract:
"I am of the Jewish faith, and my relations with my class-

mates and the members of other classes indicate that this fact has nothing whatever to do with a cadet's standing in the eyes

In the year 1901 a select committee of the House of Representatives investigated the matter of hazing at the West Point

Military Academy. The report of the committee was published as House Report No. 2768, Fifty-sixth Congress, second session, and on pages 13 and 14 thereof the following appears:

"It has been charged that " " " was persec cause of his religion, and it was also charged by Mr. was persecuted bethat he was driven out of the academy because he was a Hebrew. Fully realizing that there should be no room in the academy for racial or religious ostracism your committee made some special inquiry on the subject, and finds that on the whole a man's religious opinions are highly respected there. committee feels convinced that Hebrews are usually treated with respect, and this conviction is strengthened from the fact that there are two Hebrews now at the academy, both of whom testify that they have never been subjected to any maltreatment whatever on account of their race or religion.

"Your committee is pleased to report that the cadets, as a class, have not been guilty of assailing men because of their

race or religion."

The Jewish race has undoubtedly furnished many able officers and many brave soldiers to all the armies of the world, and I am satisfied that many such are now in our Army. In justice to them and to the military service of our country generally it will be a matter of gratification to me if you will take some means to dispel and discourage the erroneous impression to which you refer, for I assure you that so far as I am aware no such discrimination or ostracism now exists in the Army and that while I am the Secretary of War no such discrimination or ostracism will be permitted.

Yours faithfully,

LINDLEY M. GARRISON, Secretary of War.

Uses and Benefits of Hydroelectricity on the Farm and on Education and Industry.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THETUS W. SIMS.

OF TENNESSEE.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 7, 1915.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address delivered by Hon. WILLIAM C. ADAMSON, of Georgia, at the Southern Conference for Education and Industry, held at Chattanooga, Tenn., on April 28, 1915, on the subject of the uses and benefits of hydroelectricity on the farm.

The address is as follows:

THE USES AND BENEFITS OF HYDROELECTRICITY ON THE FARM AND HOW TO SECURE THEM.

Agriculture is the mainstay of civilization, "For the farmer, he's the man that feeds them all, feeds them all." Commerce is the handmaiden of agriculture, distributing her products and bestowing in return reciprocal benefits, contributing to greater and better production. Education promotes both agriculture and commerce. When agriculture flourishes in fertile fields well tilled by toilers trained to produce economically and secure profitable return for their product, and when commerce hon-estly and fairly transacted is carried by all modes of transportation on land and wafted by every sail and steamer on the seas, when our workshops transform the products of the farm to be distributed by commerce for the use of those who have them not in exchange for those which we have not, then will the South not only realize the truth uttered by Lord Bacon that "Fertile fields, busy workshops, and easy means of transportation make a nation great," but the South will become the happiest and wisest people who have graced the earth, because under the ministrations of practical and applied education this garden spot of God's earthly footstool will have been utilized for the reduction and application of all the matchless and manifold resources of the soil, mine, sky, climate, and water to their highest uses for the highest development of man.

Primitive man lived by the chase and by depredations on his fellow man. As men grew gentler and wiser they began to till the earth. The two great poets who sang of the bounty with which nature rewards those who tickle the soil, themselves deriving their greatest pleasure and poetic inspiration from the farm where they could look up through nature to nature's God, contributed to the glorification of agriculture. The leading nations at that time regarded agriculture as offering the only field

for honorable labor, except arms. It derogated from the compliment to agriculture to associate with it arms as a companion piece, but while Virgil sang "arms and men" he gave as much attention to agriculture as he did to arms. Arms are honorable when used in defense of self, family, home, or country to repel invasion from abroad or dethrone usurpers and tyrants at home—

For if there be on this earthly sphere One boon or offering Heaven holds dear, "Tis the last libation liberty draws From the heart that bleeds and breaks in her cause.

But when arms are used not for protection, but for invasion, robbery, and enslavement of other people they become dishonorable and deserve the execration of men and angels.

Since all life and all business which make up the fabric of society and commerce depend upon agriculture, it behooves us all to encourage and promote the prosperity of the millions engaged therein. Therefore every device for saving unneceslabor, making more successful and profitable the labor which becomes necessary, every art which presents easier, more economical, and pleasanter methods for accomplishing farm work, everything which would lighten the labors, sweeten the lives, curtail the expense, and multiply the profits ought to be studied, cultivated, and applied. The larders and granaries of the world ought not to become exhausted nor so costly as to dwarf enterprise or starve and throttle business in all occupations. If we draw from the farm forever without restoring any of the elements of production, the soil would soon grow thin and fail and mankind would perish. The pipe clay, glades, chalk hills, and slopes of England, lying barren under a sky constantly beclouded by fog, were originally capable of little production. Eight centuries ago 6 bushels of wheat to the acre was the yield. By judicious stimulation of agriculture 40 bushels to the acre is now the average in England. Elaboration on that point is unnecessary.

Some time after Franklin had tamed the lightning and subjected it to the service of man, Lord Bulwer, with prophetic vision, foretold advancement of the future in the beautiful The Coming Race." He described an agency, which he called "vrill," adapted to all uses with instantaneous miraculous effect. It could perform every service, local or general; it could do all the work on the farm, operate every machine, and serve every useful purpose; the fields could be tilled, crops could be gathered, herds and flocks could be managed; the fleece, milk, and butter could be economically and rapidly handled-not only that, but every commercial purpose could also be promptly served, as well as all enemies destroyed by the proper use of the omnipotent element. Modern wizards, by the development of hydroelectricity, have practically demonstrated the verity of every suggestion in Bulwer's prophetic The cities are already using electricity to light houses and streets and propel trolley cars, as well as to operate mills, factories, and elevators in the skyscrapers and many other useful thing; but the simplest and most valuable application of hydroelectricity can be made for the farmer. It can meet every purpose in the execution of which either power, light, or heat may be needed anywhere in connection with operations on the farm or the transformation of its products into articles of commerce. Its value as a light is well established.

The forests and coal rapidly diminishing before the demands of civilization leave us with unlimited possibilities of hydro-electricity, which is the best, cleanest, and cheapest agency for cooking and for warming our houses. It is cheaper than using wood, if the wood were gratis and you were required to cut and handle it; it is cheaper than using coal, if you were given the coal and required to pay the freight and handle it. It is much more regular and reliable than either. The question arises, How can the farmers supply themselves with hydroelectricity and the necessary equipment? The answer is that any farmer who owns land on a small stream with a shoal or rapid can develop power sufficient for his purposes by raising an inexpensive dam. A few hundred dollars will supply the motor, wiring, and connections for his individual use. If the stream is capable c2 greater development than required by his single farm, it would require little more expense to develop its full capacity and share with his neighbor or neighbors who have no such site for a dam, thereby recouping to some extent his outlay, if not making a constant profit thereon. But some streams present no shoals or rapids. There are wide extensive stretches of country where there are no streams. Therefore if this simple method, though so valuable locally, were the only reliance the benefits could not become general. It is true, however, that man does not live to himself alone. Cooperation is one great mainspring of success in human life. Where there is a greater stream presenting favorable conditions for water power, cor-

porations or partnerships are formed and development is made for the use of entire communities, and lines of wire extend for many miles, and the current can be furnished at moderate prices to all who wish it for farming purposes or for any other purposes. That alone, however, could not supply all farmers nor meet all the necessities of society. There are larger considerations which concern the farmer which can not be secured by the development of power on anall streams either for individual or collective benefit.

It does not require very much hydroelectricity to meet every necessity on a farm, nor even to operate a cotton factory, nor to light a large city, nor to operate trolley trains; but there are many commodities, the purchase of which makes a tremendous drain on the annual profits of the farmer. We pay Chile \$22,000,000 a year for nitrate, a leading element in the fertilizons which most farmer. lizers, which most Southern States have to use. We pay many millions of dollars to Germany every year for potash which we are compelled to have for farming purposes. We secure phosphoric acid for agricultural purposes through the expensive method of reduction by sulphuric acid. One of the most popular and beneficial inventions or discoveries is the production of aluminum, which the farmers need. All this can be produced more cheaply by hydroelectricity than in any other way, and we have water powers enough in our own country to produce an abundance of all of them—not only supplying our farmers, thereby saving that outflow of millions of dollars a year, but also securing a supply for commercial and governmental poses. Hydroelectricity, through the Solvay process, decomposes common salt and secures a supply of all forms of soda and bleaching powders. Through the electric furnace we extract from the air nitrates and not only supply the farmer, but supply the Government with millions of dollars worth for making gunpowder and all sorts of explosives. It is very difficult at present for the Government to keep itself supplied. In the unfortunate event of war with any foreign country or an embargo on nitrate our Government might find itself seriously embarrassed and might suffer such disaster as would humiliate us for generations to come. The electric furnace makes steel better and at less cost than the old method could ever do, with the result that the old crucible method has been discarded and supplanted by the electric furnace. The electric furnace also produces from feldspar an adequate substitute for German potash. All these products—steel, lime, nitrate, phosphoric acid, and aluminum, as well as soda and bleaching powders—are indispensable and very expensive when imported. So it behooves us as farmers, and all of us having in hand and heart the destinies of this country, to take a broader view of the subject than considering only the benefits that will accrue from local and individual ac-There are two ways by which hydroelectricity may be sccured at home-in one way partially, in the other completely. The nonnavigable streams of the country afford water-power sites, many of which could be profitably utilized. The Little Tennessee and the Yadkin and others have been selected for the manufacture of aluminum. Operations there are more expensive, the water power insufficient, but the investors avoid the restriction and complication of Federal regulation and find it preferable to going abroad, the only alternative to locating at home, where they can find the material and save the freight on shipping their raw material abroad and shipping their finished product back to this country where it is to be used. Not only do the nonnavigable streams fail to offer sufficient water power to induce capital to attempt the manufacture of such commodities through the electric furnace, but when developed we could never expect from them anything but the privilege of buying the current for light and power or their output if they manufactured commodities.

There is a much wiser and better plan if we could agree upon it. The navigable rivers of the country, three-fourths of which are in the Southern States, afford the very best water-power sites and enough of them, sufficient in strength, to provide for all the factories which will be erected in the next thousand years in the Southern States, to manufacture such articles as are needed at home and supply such demands as might come from abroad. If, instead of making slow and dribbling development by means of the nonnavigable streams which will save nothing to the Government, we would encourage private capital and persuade the Government to permit private capital to improve the navigable streams, the Government could save the outlay carried in river and harbor bills. Private capital stands ready and willing to build and operate every lock and dam necessary to make navigable every considerable stream in this country. Private capital asks nothing but the consent of Congress and the guaranty of protection in the use of the surplus water in order to perfect without one cent of cost to the Government or people all the navigable streams in this country. There are

three rivers of vital interest to us, any one of which, by the promotion of its navigability to the neighborhood of its headvaters, would prove more valuable commercially to the United States than the Panama Canal will ever prove—the Chatta-hoochee, the Tennessee, and the Coosa present together about 2,000 miles of possible navigation through the best land in the world, inhabited by the best people the world ever saw, with mineral resources, agricultural products, timber, and coal, and everything that the genius of man can suggest or the fertility of the soil or the wealth of the mine produce. The navigability of all would have long ago been completed without a cent of cost to the Government but for unfortunate obstruction. It lies not in my mind or heart to fathom or criticize the motives of man-I speak only of results. Pitted against the interests of our people, the interests of the Public Treasury, the promotion of our transportation, which the railroads, no matter how liberal, are incapable of furnishing, so large is our traffic and so rapidly it grows, there comes up a sound of protest from somebody that if you let private capital build these dams the Government is throwing away something, and yet not one of them has been able to define intelligently what that indefinite awful something may be. If expending \$9,000,000 on a lock and dam, as done at Hales Bar, to promote the navigation of your river, which created a slack-water pond 25 miles long, without one cent of cost to the Government, is not giving the Government something for the consent to use or sell the hydroelectricity from the surplus water power, I do not understand what "quid pro quo" means. Of course, before the railroads showed their inability to handle the commerce, and before they drove the boats from most of the rivers by putting their own boats on to drive off competi-tion, sometimes the railroads inspired opposition to consenting to such development. But I do not believe they are doing it now. Of course, those who own the coal lands and forests may be interested in inspiring opposition to such cheap light and fuel as would compete with them, for it is certain that the generation of hydroelectricity does compete in transportation and in fuel for light and heating, and in the Mississippi Valley it is said that the Keokuk Dam has already brought coal down to a dollar a ton. At any rate, while it competes with coal, coal also has to compete with it, and the result is they both grow cheaper.

The idea which has largely prevented development has been

the contention of some people, no matter how inspired, that there ought to be a charge imposed by the Government for every consent of Congress for such development. Those people who support that contention refuse to acknowledge that requiring an investment of nine or ten millions of dollars for the public in the construction of a lock and dam constitutes any compensation. They refuse to see that a tax on one dam, not levied on all similar constructions, would be unconstitutional, for all excise taxes must be uniform, whether on old or new projects. They practically admit that by contending that as we have the power to consent or refuse, the Government can impose a tax as a condition of the consent. The Constitution is sacred and the Supreme Court hates subterfuge. Waiving the constitutional question, we should leave some sources of revenue to support the State governments. The obstructionists also pretend that it is necessary for them to suspend all development through fear that the rates and practices will unfairly oppress the people in distributing electric current. The fact is that the friends of development offer provisions for adequate protection and regulation for both interstate and intrastate operations. The objectors also apprehend disaster from "perpetual grants." There never has been nor ever will be an irrevocable grant of consent. If such were expressed, it would be void and the consent would still be subject to modification or repeal by Congress; but, of course, rights which may be duly ripened by compliance with contracts and stipulated requirements would necessarily be protected. No honest man would object to that. The trouble with the honest men among the obstructionists who object in good faith is that they do not understand and will not learn the conditions confronting us in the South. They have confused our efforts with the waters, forests, and mines on the public domain, and errone-ously imagine and insist, notwithstanding our disclaimer, that we are seeking to infringe on the interest of the Government. We have no such proposition; we seek to deal with private property by inducing private capital, without expense to the Treasury or the people, to promote the navigation of the rivers and at the same time fill up this country with factories and railroads, light and heat our houses, and supply power for every purpose, individual and general. As to the period through which the consent will run, we can only secure such agreements as the owners of the money will make. We have no power to compel them to do our bidding. We are willing to make the very best trades we can secure, and we ought to authorize the Secretary of War to do the same thing in leasing the surplus water at many of the

dams erected at Government expense. That would return to the Government some part of cost of construction and prove of incalculable benefit to the farmer and commerce in the neighborhood of those dams through the use of hydroelectricity generated from water now wasted. What we are seeking is a way to improve the rivers for the benefit of navigation and for the benefit of the farmers and not a pretext for obstruction.

If our friends, the opposition, would work as hard to find a way to make progress as they have been working to secure a pretext on which to defeat us, this country would blossom like a rose and flourish like a trust. Now, these constructions like the Hales Bar Dam and the dam at Lock No. 12 on the Coosa River could, in addition to other purposes, supply current to every farmer within a hundred miles who wanted to use it for domestic or farming purposes more cheaply than that farmer could construct a sufficient plant himself on his own premises. Even if this suggestion is not adopted, some of the farmers may secure and enjoy hydroelectricity at home through local and cooperative methods, but our navigable rivers would go unimproved, because it is becoming each year more difficult to secure river and harbor appropriations, and it would be so much better both for the Treasury and our people, as well as for the investors themseives, if the investors were encouraged to invest their money in the larger and more attractive possibilities on the navigable streams than to fritter away their capital on the small nonnavigable streams. The only alternative private capital has left is to go to other countries

Millions upon millions of dollars in the last few years, after having in vain knocked at our doors for encouragement to invest in our midst, have gone to Canada and Norway. Those countries encourage such development; they are anxious that their water powers should produce profit for themselves and increase their commerce with other countries.

Phosphoric rock is carried from Tennessee, Alabama, and Florida to Canada and Norway. Phosphoric acid is manufactured and sent back to us to use along the Chattahoochee, the Coosa, and Tennessee Rivers, the development of which we have so unwisely neglected, while they afford opportunities which would have saved the freight both ways, enabled owners of the rock quarries to realize much more for their material, enabled the users of phosphoric acid to secure it at a much lower price, supplied all local and general demands for hydroelectricity, and afforded uninterrupted navigation to transport products from the mountains to the sea on both rivers. Union Carbide Co. has just engaged 76,000 horsepower in Norway to manufacture articles for use in the United States to be made out of material from North Carolina and Georgia. foolish in our people to throttle our own development and exile capital which is anxious to promote our wealth and prosperity!

Two men, each with \$10,000,000 in his control, have talked to me for a year about locating manufacturing plants on southern rivers. In vain I tried to secure sites for them, but the obstruction of those who falsely cry monopoly at the wrong time has produced a most dangerous monopoly which amounts to an embargo on all progress and development. While they have prevented the consent of Congress from permitting these investments, men of limited means who owned those riparian lands on the navigable streams, finding themselves unable to hold unproductive property, have parted with it to those who were able and willing to buy, who knew the value of waterpower sites, either to develop when necessary or hold undeveloped to prevent competition with existing plants. They have rapidly bought them up until now it is almost impossible for an independent company which desires to develop power to purchase an undeveloped site. Those who have cried conservation and denounced monopoly have destroyed opportunities, retarded development, and built up the meanest monopoly the world ever saw, so that the task of our people will be doubled. In order to secure development, we must not only secure the consent of Congress that private capital may promote navigation in the streams in consideration of the use of the surplus water power, but we must also provide by State and Federal laws for the condemnation of undeveloped and unused waterpower sites in favor of any capitalist who produces evidence of ability and intention to proceed at once with the development. Of course, that would be resisted by those who would claim vested rights, but there are no vested rights in behalf of the greed against the development of the country and the promotion of general good, care being taken to see that private property is not taken without just compensation. From this hour the development of hydroelectricity may encounter opposition from existing power and light companies which seem determined to prevent competition or hold desirable sites at a high price.

There is a very common source of opposition which perhaps carries no malice with it, but it is urged by ambitious politicians and their friendly newspapers who are seeking some ground of objection to a sitting Member of Congress if that Member of Congress has been attempting to improve the waterways of the country either by private capital or public expense, and it is usually urged in communities remote from navigable rivers for the reason that the argument is supposed to have more effect in such communities, and people who wish to oppose sitting Members are not particular about what arguments or objections they seize upon so they are supposed to be effective. That objection is the one that the Government ought to spend the money and the Congressman ought to employ his efforts to build good roads instead of improving rivers. The fact is, this is an old hackneyed railroad argument, invented and promulgated by the railroads at the time when they feared the competition of water transportation, and it may be to some extent urged by them now. The truth is, there is no conflict between improving the rivers and improving the roads.

The best and most effective advocates of improving the rivers and generating hydroelectricity are the most enthusiastic goodroads men. While I have worked for 20 years to promote the prosperity of this country through the generation of hydroelectricity and the promotion of inland navigation, I have also worked hard and introduced many bills for good roads, and I know the same to be true of other advocates of this cause. The cause of good roads will never suffer from river improvement. There are legitimate ways in which the Federal Government could help good roads, and it ought to be done. Two bills for that purpose passed the House, but failed in the Senate. Good roads ought to run across the country, out from every railroad station, and run from the inland communities to every riverboat landing. The promotion of navigation and the generation of hydroelectricity will contribute to that desirable end rather

In conclusion, I call upon every friend and promoter of education to place this subject under the scrutiny of the severest investigation, have the fiercest light of truth to beat upon it, and from that investigation they will resolve to open up the storehouse of our wealth, develop the resources of our country, let the farmer thrive, let the people generally prosper physically and financially, while with minds constantly broadening and expanding and hearts overflowing with love for God, their country, and their fellow man, they will march upward and onward to a

more perfect day.

It is auspicious, yea, it is a benediction that this Southern Conference for Education and Industry should give its attention to these momentous interests inviting the South to utilize them to their fullest extent. Education can render its best and sublimest service by promoting agriculture, enlightening commerce, and teaching legislators and politicians on a great many subjects. It is wise to institute a propaganda of wisdom and honesty to counteract the heresies and dispel the ignorance of those who honestly do wrong, thinking that patriotically they are serving their country. We must puncture the fallacies and egotism of the demagogue, who generally underestimates the intelligence of the people he is trying to deceive. frustrate the machinations of private interests, which always clearly understand their own motives and purposes, though generally adopting an entirely different and misleading battle cry and gonfalon when they go forth to combat, and we must nullify and remove all other objections and obstructions which have prevented the development and utilization of our boundless resources, temptingly proffering us their rich treasures and en-treating us to use them in promoting our prosperity and happi-

On the Efficiency of the National Guard.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM J. BROWNING,

In the House of Representatives, Friday, December 10, 1915.

Mr. BROWNING. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record I include an address by Wilbur F. Sadler, jr., adjutant general of the State of New Jersey, on the efficiency of the National Guard.

The address is as follows:

EFFICIENCY IN THE NATIONAL GUARD.

IBy Adjt. Gen. Wilbur F. Sadler, jr., National Guard of New Jersey.]
The Organized Militia, commonly known as the National Guard, is now regarded as a part of the first line of defense of our country, and the problem of how to make it more efficient is

therefore of primary importance to those interested in adequate national defense. It especially concerns the adjutants general of the various States, who, in addition to being responsible for the administration, equipment, and efficiency of the militia, are the military advisers of the governors, and represent the States in their relations with the War Department.

In 1792, four years after the adoption of the Constitution, Congress passed the first militia law, which was entitled "An act to more effectually provide for the national defense by establishing a uniform militia throughout the United States." The requirements of this law included compulsory enlistment and performance of military duty on the part of every able-bodied male citizen between the ages of 18 and 45. It required that each person enrolled should, at his own expense, be constantly provided with arms, ammunition, uniform, and equipment, and that mounted officers and enlisted cavalrymen should furnish horses at least 14½ hands high. No uniformity as to bore of rifles, kind of equipment, color, or fashion of uniform was prescribed. Few armed themselves as was intended, and on training days, if the testimony of witnesses can be relied upon, more reported shouldering cornstalks than rifles, and such a ludicrous appearance was presented that the entire system soon became a farce. Because the law carried no appropriation for proper arms and equipment, the training days became more and more useless, and the various States, realizing the inadequacy of the militia thus organized, gradually assumed the power of legislating for it, finally dealing with it as a State force, which is really the organization it is considered to be to-day.

Commencing in 1808, and for more than a quarter of a century thereafter, \$200,000 was annually appropriated by Congress to be divided among the States for the purpose of procuring arms and equipments. Notwithstanding the inefficiency shown by the militia during the War of 1812–1815, Congress did not pass any further legislation until 1820, when a law was enacted providing "that the system of field exercises and discipline, which is, and shall be, ordered to be observed in the Regular Army of the United States, in the different corps of Infantry, Artillery, and riflemen, shall be observed in the militia, in the exercise and discipline of said corps, respectively, throughout the United States."

Despite the passage of this act, there was little or no supervision or direction by Federal authority, and it is not surprising that, because of the many disadvantages under which the militia operated, it was inefficient for over a century of its history and utterly failed when put to the test of actual service during the wars in which we were engaged from 1812 to 1898. In 1903, 111 years after the first militia law was enacted, Congress passed "an act to promote the efficiency of the militia, and for other purposes." This law is known as the "Dick Act," and under its provisions and later supplements a great change has taken place in the militia, increasing its efficiency more than in all of its previous history.

In a discussion of the ways and means for devising an effective reserve for the Regular Army, the public should bear in mind that the National Guard is no longer a social institution upon whose dandified uniforms, which were anything but practical, money was lavished, and which devoted its time to acquiring proficiency in fancy drills and evolutions that made a pretty display at times of public ceremony, but had little connection with the stern duties of a real soldier. At the present time proficiency in marksmanship is encouraged, practical lessons pertaining to the duties of the soldier in the field are taught at camps of instruction under the direct supervision of Army officers, as well as the thousand and one things that make military science a science indeed.

The War Department is now guiding the military policy, prescribing the organization, armament, equipment, discipline, and instruction of the militia, and has detailed instructors who are officers of the Army to assist and advise in regard to the military policy of each State, with the idea of having the militia work in harmony with the Regular Army and become an asset in carrying out plans for national defense,

The great change that has taken place in the militia during the last six years is strikingly illustrated by what has been accomplished in New Jersey during that period. Up to 1908 the activities of the National Guard were limited to close-order drills in armories during the drill season, rifle practice, and the encampment of each upit for one week during the summer. The armory work vesulted in little more than proficiency in such drills, and the most serious work attempted at the encampments was close and extended order drills, the evening parade, guard mount, and weekly reviews given to the governor. No maneuvers were attempted; rifle practice was undertaken without instruction in the theory of shooting or the nomenclature of the rifle; rations were prepared by civilian cooks hired by

the quartermaster general's department, the net result of which

was of little practical value.

In 1909 the character of the encampment was changed, and each organization attending was required to make use of enlisted men as cooks, draw their rations as they would in the field, and prepare and serve them as in active service. Practice marches were undertaken, men were instructed in making and breaking camp, and small maneuver problems were solved. All this produced good results in eliminating a great deal of the entertaining that had theretofore been a prominent feature of camp life, and displaced many useless ceremonies which had consumed

In the latter part of 1909 the War Department detailed noncommissioned officers to assist in drill and instruction, and in 1911 there was sent to New Jersey a commissioned officer as inspector-instructor. Almost immediately after his arrival a system of service schools, the first of its kind to be adopted by any State, was established for officers and noncommissioned officers of all arms of the service. The course of instruction prescribed covers a period of four years, is progressive in character, and requires that all commissioned officers shall attend the schools at stated periods and solve and submit problems prepared by the inspector-instructors. Any officer who fails to attend regularly or pass the prescribed examinations is ineligible for promotion, and those who fail are requested to make place for others who are more diligent and proficient.

After the service schools were inaugurated the National Guard was reorganized to conform to the Regular Army. This resulted in 39 officers of high rank being placed on the unassigned list, including a major general and his staff of colonels and majors, one brigadier general and his staff, certain officers of the adjutant general's department, the quartermaster general's department, the judge-advocate general's department, the inspector general's department, the ordnance department, the medical de-

partment, and the corps of engineers

A school of musketry was established in 1913, which has been conducted during the winter in the various armories of the State and in the summer on the rifle range. It has for its object practical and theoretical training in the knowledge and use of the rifle, its firing effect, and the principles of fire control and fire discipline. The interest created in this school (which was the first to be established in any State) has exceeded all expectations.

The indoor drill season begins on the 1st day of September and lasts until the 1st day of May. During that period the officers attend service schools, lectures, and drills, which require their presence in the armories on an average of three nights a week. and the enlisted men attend weekly drills and the school of musketry. At the close of the drill season this year a camp of instruction was held for officers of the infantry and quartermaster corps under the supervision of 10 Regular Army officers, at which camp practical work was accomplished and theoretical problems were solved. Succeeding this a school of musketry was held at the rifle range for a period of three days, attended by those who had, in the judgment of the officers in charge of the musketry schools, proven themselves proficient. As an incentive and reward for the work done, the State team for the national matches, which now must consist of an equal number of officers below the rank of major and enlisted men, is selected from the students who make the best record at the final tryout at the school of musketry.

Because sufficient funds were not provided the infantry organizations were unable to go into camp this year, but the noncommissioned officers of our five infantry regiments were encamped at Seagirt for a period of one week in order to attend a school of instruction. This encampment proved to be one of the most instructive ever held in our State. The work began at daylight and ended at dusk and was most practical in nature. Camp duties, including the preparation of rations, camp sanitation, digging of trenches, the control of fire, and all measures which during the winter had been systematically covered in theory, were demonstrated.

Field artillery officers went to Fort Sill, Okla., to attend the school of fire, and later with their noncommissioned officers to Tobyhanna, Pa., where the Government conducts one of its artillery camps. Subsequently the two batteries of field artillery were also sent to the latter place. Cavalry officers and noncommissioned officers were sent to Fort Myer, Va., and the squadron to Mount Gretna, Pa. Officers and noncommissioned officers of the signal corps company were sent to Fort Leavenworth, Kans., and upon their return their company participated in a week's practice march. The officers and noncommissioned officers of the medical corps were sent to Tobyhanna, and later the field hospital and ambulance company were there for 10 days. The practical phases of the subjects covered in the

armory schools during the winter were taken up at these camps and were worked out in the surrounding country under actual service conditions, under the guidance of Regular Army officers detailed for that purpose. This work was facilitated by the presence of Regulars, who were commended during the maneuvers by the militia officers.

What has been accomplished in New Jersey is more or less true of each State. It must not be forgotten that the Organized Militia is composed almost entirely of men engaged in professions, trades, and other lines of activity upon which they depend for a livelihood. Leading militia authorities are of the opinion that before it can progress beyond its present standard of efficiency it will be necessary for the Federal Government to increase its appropriation for maintenance and provide some measure of pay for the officers and enlisted men in recognition of the great amount of time devoted to the performance of the duties required by the War Department. Through its representatives the Organized Militia, after an effort of more than four years in conference with the Army officers designated by the War Department, have agreed upon the terms of a pay bill. This so-called pay bill was introduced by Senator Chamberlain during the recent session of Congress, and provides pay for offi-cers below the rank of lieutenant colonel and for the enlisted man in an amount equal to one-fourth of that paid to the same grade in the Army. The pay is contingent upon and proportionate to the amount of actual duty performed. The bill, if enacted into law, will give the militia, in addition to its State duties, the status of the Federal soldier, consolidate the 48 State units, with their varying interests, under a central authority, and will subject the National Guard to call by the President for duty within or without the borders of the country, which service can not be compelled under the existing law. It will give the officers enough to reimburse them for the outlays they must necessarily make and provide remuneration for the enlisted man for his service, be the means of maintaining discipline, increase efficiency, and give to the United States a body of citizen soldiery that can be depended upon at proportionately less cost than is now required to maintain officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army.

The greatest difficulty that the National Guard of the various States has to overcome is the matter of enlistments, and it is regretted that there are employers in every section of the United States who show active hostility to the militia by discouraging their employees from performing military duties, fearing they may, at inconvenient times, be called from their occupations. They do not seem to realize it is to their advantage to encourage the National Guard, to make sacrifices for it, and take more than perfunctory interest in their local military organization. A unit of the militia in any city or town is a protection against any catastrophe that may occur, and the discipline of the men and the training they receive, in attention to duty, promptness, carefulness, neatness, good health, and moral character, all tend to increase their efficiency. In the event of war the young militiaman goes to the front as the representative of the business men, and all employers who love their country should be willing to do their part in upholding the hands of those who may be called upon to defend them.

Another powerful but subtle influence that works against the upbuilding of the Organized Militia is found in the agitator class of organized labor. Their argument is that the militia is maintained for the purpose of breaking strikes, and the young men who can be so influenced are, as a rule, those best fitted for service in the militia. To lessen this influence the preparation and publication of articles in magazines which would give an intelligent description of what the militia is, the part it should take in national defense, and showing that unless we have a militia we must, of necessity, have a large

standing army would be of immense service.

The National Guard should only be used when absolutely necessary to protect life and property after all other means have failed, and labor leaders, having the best interest of their followers at heart, should be interested in doing everything practicable to break down the mistaken idea that the militin is a creature of the vicious employer. The very thought of is a creature of the vicious employer. strike duty repels young men who have direct union affiliations, and this feeling extends to those who dislike to enter an organization which may be employed against their fellow citizens in times of labor difficulties where order should be maintained by a State police force.

School children should be taught not only respect for the flag of their country but for the uniform, whose wearers exhibit in times of peace the highest degree of patriotism by voluntarily enlisting in the National Guard and showing a willingness to risk their lives, if need be, for the maintenance of national security and honor.

Camps of instruction for civilians are being held in various sections of the country at which business men are given a few weeks' training in the art of war, with little or no permanent result except to call attention to our state of unpreparedness. If the same zeal that has been evidenced in those camps were manifested in securing enlistments for the National Guard, if the youth of the land were taught respect for the uniform, if the security leagues and peace societies would devote their endeavors to the upbuilding of the Organized Militia, if employers and labor leaders would encourage militia service, and Congress pass the pay bill, we would soon have a body of 250,000 efficient men enlisted for a definite period for duty within or without the United States which could be quickly raised to war strength.

The War in Europe and Its "Lessons" for Us.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DAN V. STEPHENS.

OF NEBRASKA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 10, 1915.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an address by ex-Secretary of State Bryan.

The address is as follows:

THE WAR IN EUROPE AND ITS LESSONS FOR US.

Address delivered by William Jennings Bryan, at Johnstown, Pa., Nov. 1, 1915. This address presents the line of argument which he has during the past four months followed in urging peace and opposing preparedness.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity which this occasion affords to present to the people of Johnstown a subject which is in their minds and on my heart. I am grateful, too, for the gracious words which have been employed in presenting me to you. If you feel, as I do, that the chairman has been more than generous, please remember that one in public life must be overpraised by his friends in order to make up for the unjust criticism which he receives from his enemies.

While I have found receptive audiences all over the country, there is no community in which I would expect a more sympathetic hearing than in this, because the distinguished gentleman who represents you in Congress views the subject from the same standpoint that I do. Whenever a new question arises upon which the people have not expressed themselves, it is important that each individual should make known his views in order that public opinion may represent the voters generally and not a portion of the people only. The country would be fortunate if all of our public men were as candid and as courageous in taking a position as Congressman Bailey, who honors you as he is honored by you.

In order that you may follow me the more easily I shall outline in advance the address which I am to deliver to you. It naturally divides itself into three parts-first, the war as it is and its injury to neutrals; second, the false philosophy out of which the war has grown and the natural results of that false philosophy; and, third, the way out, or the road to permanent peace. The subject is presented with a view to emphasizing the lessons which this country can draw from the

conflict beyond the ocean.

No matter by what standard you measure this war, it is without precedent or parallel. I will not call it the greatest war in history, for the word "great" implies something more than bigness. When we speak of a great institution or a great movement, we have in mind something more than mere size. There have been, I think, greater wars than this, but none that approached it in bigness. It is the biggest war ever known, if we measure it by the population of the nations at war-never before have so many people lived in belligerent nations. It is also the biggest war of which history tells if we measure it by the number of enlisted men who face each other upon its many battle fields. The estimates run from twenty-one to thirty-one millions. Rather than risk exaggeration, let us take the lowest estimate; it is sufficient to make the war impressive. In fact, the number is so great that the mind can scarcely comprehend it. Let me translate it into everyday language by comparing it with our voting population. We have never cast as many as 21,000,000 votes at an election. That means that if all in every State who have on a single day exercised the right of suffrage could be gathered together in one

place, the concourse, vast as it would be, would fall several millions short of the number now actually engaged in fighting.

More than two million have been wounded thus far. part of the globe 100,000 persons were swept to death by pestilence, or flood, or famine, the world would stand appalled; and yet in a little more than a year more than twenty times 100,000 have been summoned to meet their God, and everyone owes his death to the deliberate intent and act of a fellow man. More than five million have been wounded-this will give you some idea of the awful toll that this awful war is exacting in life and suffering.

If we measure the war by the destructiveness of the implements employed, nothing so horrible has ever been known before. They used to be content to use the earth's surface for the maneuvers of war, but now they have taken possession of the air, and thunderbolts more deadly than the thunderbolts of Jove fall as if from the clouds on unsuspecting people. And they have taken possession of the ocean's depths as well, and death-dealing torpedoes rise from out the darkness to multiply the perils of the sea. They have substituted a long-range rifle for a short-range rifle, a big-mouthed gun for a little-mouthed gun, a dreadnaught for a battleship, and a superdreadnaught for a dreadnaught, to which they have added the submarine. And they now pour liquid fire on battle lines and suffocate soldiers in the trenches with poisonous gases. Inventive genius has been exhausted to find new ways by which man can kill his fellow man.

And the nations which are at war are not barbarous nationsthey are among the most civilized of the earth; neither are they heathen nations-they are among the Christian nations of the globe. They all worship the same God, and most of them approach that God through the same Mediator. They offer their supplications to a common Heavenly Father and then rise up to take each other's lives.

It would be bad enough if the penalties of this war fell only upon the guilty; but a vast majority of the men who die and of the women who weep have had neither part nor voice in determining whether there should be peace or war. It would be bad enough if the burdens of this war fell only upon the nations participating in it, but like a mighty flood this war has inundated the world, and neutral nations as well as bel-

ligerent nations are suffering.

The Latin-speaking Republics are kept busy night and day trying to preserve neutrality; they maintain an extensive patrol over the 3-mile strip along their coasts to keep big nations from violating their neutrality by fighting within their territorial limits; and all the neutral nations are bearing burdens of taxation which would not be necessary but for the war; they are compelled to resort to new and unusual methods for the collecting of revenue because the war has put their fiscal systems

The trade of the world is deranged and our Nation, the greatest of the neutral nations and the one with the largest foreign commerce, is suffering more than any of the others. the war began we were using the ships of other nations largely for the carrying of our merchandise, when, all at once, the very nations whose ships we employed became involved in war, and then one side drove the ships of the other side into our harbors and compelled them to intern there, and, according to international law, there these ships must remain during the war, idle and useless, while we suffer for lack of ships; and the nations that drove these merchantmen from the seas are not under any obligation, according to international law, to supply vessels to take the place of the ones of which they have deprived us. On the contrary, they are at liberty to withdraw their own vessels for use in the transport service, and to some extent they have done so, still further crippling the carrying trade of the ocean. Because of lack of ships and because of the increased risks of the sea, it has sometimes cost seven times as much to send a bale of cotton across the ocean as it cost in normal times. When on the Pacific Coast a few weeks ago I learned that it then cost nearly three times as much to transport a bushel of wheat to Europe as it cost in time of peace. These are some of the burdens which neutral nations are bearing; and, in addition to these, all of them are in danger of being drawn into this war, although none of them desire to take part in it.

When you understand international law as now interpreted and applied you will feel as I do, that international law seems to have been written for the benefit of nations at war rather than for the benefit of nations at peace. I am hoping that when this war is over we shall be able to secure such changes as may be necessary to write international law upon the theory that peace, and not war, is the normal relation between nations—amendments which will make the rule read, not as it seems to now, namely, that nations at peace may attend to their own business so long as they do not interfere with the fight, but will provide that nations that do fight must not disturb the peace, the commerce, or the prosperity of the nations that prefer to substitute reason for force in the settlement of their international differences.

I have called attention to the outstanding features of this war that you might comprehend its magnitude, and I have mentioned some of the injuries suffered by neutrals that you might understand how earnestly the neutral nations long for the return of peace, but I can not conclude this part of my address without impressing upon your minds two facts which it is necessary for us to keep in mind. If all the newspapers had obeyed the President and observed neutrality, his tasks would not have been so delicate and the people would have been better informed. But while most of the newspapers have tried to be neutral, we have had two unneutral groups-the pro-ally group and the pro-German group. The pro-ally group has emphasized our disputes with Germany, and the pro-German group has emphasized our disputes with Great Britain. We have had disputes with both; we have protested to Germany against the use she has made of submarines and to Great Britain against interference with our trade with neutrals. If you will read the notes which our Government has sent, you will find that our rights, as we understand those rights, have been violated, not by one side only, but by both sides, and that injuries have come to us from both sides.

This is the first fact which we must keep in mind, and the second is related to it, namely, that while both sides have injured us, neither side has desired to do so. The injuries which we have suffered have not been intended against us, but have been incidental to the injury which each has intended against the other. They are like two men shooting at each other in the street, who are too much interested in killing each other to pay any attention to the bystanders, who get the stray bullets from both sides. In order to deal patiently with the problems presented by this war it is necessary that we should understand both of these facts-I repeat the statement of themnamely, that both sides have injured us, but that neither side desired to do so. It would be unfortunate enough for us to go to war with a nation that hated us and wanted war with God forbid that we shall ever compel a nation to go to war with us if it is not an enemy and does not want war with the United States.

And now allow me to ask you to consider the false philosophy out of which this war has grown and the natural results of that false philosophy. Before speaking of the real cause, it is worth while to note that some of the causes which have produced war in the past are not responsible for this war. There have been race wars in history—wars that have been the outgrowth of race prejudices which have sometimes extended through centuries. But this is not a race war; the races are all mixed up in this war. Saxon and Slav are allies; Latin and Frank are allies; Teuton and Turk are allies; and now, since Bulgaria has entered the war, Slav is fighting Slav, and it is not yet known whether the Greek, if he enters the war, will side with Turk or Roman. The races are inexplicably mixed.

And it is not a religious war. There have been religious wars, although we can not understand how a war could arise over a religious difference. We have learned to believe that the right to worship God according to the dictates of one's conscience is an inalienable right, and it would never occur to us that a man would kill another in order to prove that his religion is better than the other man's religion. According to our theory, if a man desires to prove the superiority of his religion, he lives it, for we do not count a religion as worthy of the name if it does not manifest itself in the life. There have, however, been religious wars, but this is not one of them. On the Bosphorus the crescent and the cross float above the same legions; a Protestant Emperor of Germany is the ally of a Catholic Emperor of Austria; and you will find fighting in the same army corps representatives of three great branches of the Christian church, Catholics, members of the Church of England, and members of the Greek Church. The religions are as badly mixed in this war as the races.

And it is not a family war. There have been family wars—wars that have had their origin in family feuds or in family greed, but in this war the families are mixed. The Emperor of Germany, the King of England, and the Czar of Russia are cousins, members of one royal family, although you would never suspect from the way they treat each other that they are closely related by ties of blood.

And there was no cause of war apparent on the surface. Within a month of the beginning of the war the rulers who are now fighting each other were visiting each other; they

were being hospitably received and royally entertained. When one of them had a birthday, the others all joined in wishing him many happy returns of the day. It would be a libel upon the rulers now at war to say that they knew that a cause existed adequate to produce such a war. For had they known of the existence of such a cause, it would have been their duty to their subjects to lay aside social festivities and the exchange of compliments that they might join together and remove the cause of war. But without a race cause, a religious cause, a family cause, or any cause visible to the public, this war began, and such a war as history has never known! There must be a cause and it must be a human cause, for no one who loves God would ever blame Him for this inhuman war. It behooves us to find the cause, that, knowing the cause, we may, by avoiding it, avoid the consequences.

I have tried to find the cause of this war, and, if my analysis of the situation is correct, the cause is to be found in a false philosophy—in the doctrine that "might makes right." This doctrine was formerly proclaimed quite publicly; now it is no longer openly proclaimed, but it is sometimes practiced when the temptation is sufficient. Before you become excited, while you can yet reason, I appeal to you to set the seal of your condemnation against this brutal, barbarous doctrine that "might makes right." And that you may see more clearly the importance of reaching a conclusion and proclaiming it, I call your attention to the fact that there is but one code of morals known among men, and that is the code that regulates individual life. If this code of morals is not to be applied to nations, then there is no moral code which can be invoked for the

regulation of international affairs.

If I were an artist, I would carry with me a canvas and reproduce upon it one of McCutcheon's recent cartoons. He represents war and anarchy by two brutal looking human figures. Across the breast of war he has written "might is right," and across the breast of anarchy the words "dynamite is right." I challenge you to draw a line between the two doctrines. The nation that takes the position that it is at liberty to seize whatever it has the power to seize, and to hold whatever it has the strength to hold; the nation that plants itself upon the doctrine that might makes right, has no system of logic with which to address itself to citizen or subject who, as against his neighbor or as against his government, invokes the kindred doctrine that dynamite is right.

If you will take your Bibles and turn back to the story of Naboth's vineyard, you will find that Ahab violated three commandments in order to secure a little piece of land. The commandments read, "Thou shalt not covet"; "Thou shalt not steal"; and "Thou shalt not kill," and these commandments are not only without limitation, but they are not subject to limitation.

Take for instance the commandment against covetousness. After specifying certain things that must not be coveted, the commandment concludes with the clause "or anything that is thy neighbor's." If this has any meaning, it covers everything. There is no process of reasoning by which we can retain that commandment and make it binding upon the conscience of the individual if we hold sinless the nation that covets the territory of another nation. And yet the coveting of territory has been the fruitful cause of war.

And so with the commandment against stealing. It does not read "thou shalt not steal on a small scale"; it simply says "thou shalt not steal." And yet I am not telling you anything new when I tell you that as a rule—not always, but as a rule—it is safer even in this country for a man to steal a large sum than a small sum. If he steals a small sum he is just a common, vulgar thief and nobody has any respect for him; if he has any friends they are careful not to allow the fact to be known. If, however, he steals a large sum, he has two advantages over the petty thief. In the first place, if he steals enough, he can employ the ablest lawyers, and his lawyers can usually-not always, but usually-keep him out on bail until he dies a natural death while they discuss technicalities in all the courts of the land. And he has a second advantage; if he steals a large sum, he can always find enough people to furnish him social companionship who will be so amazed at his genius that they will never mention his rascality in his presence. If we find it so difficult to visit the same indignation upon grand larceny that we do upon petty larceny we must not be surprised if, when one nation steals a large amount from another nation, there are some who regard it as an act of patriotism.

And the commandment against killing does not read that you must not kill unless a large number join with you. On the contrary, the Bible plainly declares that "though hand join in hand, they shall not be unpunished." And it does not say that

if you do kill you should be gentle about it and use the most approved methods. On the contrary, there is no intimation anywhere that the moral character of the act can be changed by the method employed in putting an end to a human life. It is just a plain, blunt "thou shalt not kill," and yet as we read history we are compelled to admit that it has been easier for Governments to hang one man for killing one man than to punish killing by wholesale. And many poets have felt impelled to express themselves much in the language employed by the author of Gray's Elegy who speaks of those who "wade through slaughter to a throne and shut the gates of mercy on mankind."

I have called attention to these commandments for the purpose of emphasizing the fact that if we adopt the doctrine that might makes right" we must be prepared to repudiate all of the moral code upon which we rely for the protection of in-

dividual life and the guaranty of private property.

The nations that adopt the doctrine that "might makes right" are quite sure to act upon the maxim "like cures like," the foundation upon which the law of retaliation is built. The logic of the law of retaliation is like this: If your enemy is cruel, cure him of his cruelty by being more cruel than he; if your enemy is inhuman, instead of attempting to lift him out of his inhumanity by the power of a good example, be more inhuman than he. Nations that enter a war on the theory that "might makes right" are soon in a neck and neck race for the bottomless pit, each Nation justifying its own cruelty and in-humanity by the cruelty and inhumanity of its enemy.

I have purposely applied this false philosophy to those far

away before applying it at home, because I have learned by experience that it is easier to persuade people to indorse a proposition when applied to others than when applied to themselves. But if I may assume that you have followed me and that we are now in agreement, I am now prepared to apply this false philosophy to a matter with which we are compelled to deal whether we desire to do so or not. The issue is upon us

and can not be avoided.

There was a time when some believed that war was a moral tonic-when some actually thought that unless people were kept up to fighting pitch they would degenerate. That seems absurd to us, for we know that if war were necessary to man's moral development it would not be left to accident or chance. If war were a necessary thing we would plan for it as we plan for other things which we consider necessary. We know that food is necessary for the body and therefore we provide that the body shall receive food at stated intervals, the intervals being adjusted to the body's needs. And so, because we believe the mind in need of education we provide for terms of school. If we believed war to be necessary we would call in experts and ascertain just how long a man could go without killing some one and yet maintain a high standard of civilization, and then we would provide for wars at such regular intervals as, in our opinion, would insure man's progress, and the time between wars would then be like the time between school terms-a time when we could rest and relax and get ready for another This we would do if we regarded war as necessary. But, however war may have been considered by some in the past, the world now believes war to be not only unnecessary and undesirable but a calamity.

If there are any who doubt this I am prepared to furnish recently secured testimony. When this war began the President offered mediation and the rulers of the Nations then involved immediately answered, and their answers were so much alike that one answer might have served for all. What did they say? Each ruler said in substance: "I am not guilty; I did not desire this war; I am not to blame for this war; some one else began it." They all with one accord denied respon-The world is to be congratulated that we have reached a time when no ruler in a civilized land dares to admit that he caused this war or even desired it-this is a long step in It is not necessary, therefore, to waste any time in an effort to prove that war is a curse. That may now be taken for granted, and we are at liberty to devote all of our energies

to the prevention of war.

But just when it has become possible to unite in an effort to prevent war we find a radical difference of opinion as to how war can be prevented. A propaganda is being actively carried on which has for its object the establishment of the doctrine that the only way to preserve peace is to get ready for war. The exponents of this theory admit that war is a horrible thing and that it should be avoided, but they contend that the only way to prevent war is to organize, arm, and drill, and then stand, rifle in hand and finger on hair triggerand preserve the peace. I never expected to hear this theory advanced after the present war began. At each session of Congress during the past 15 or 20 years we have heard some ad-

vocating this doctrine and insisting on more battleships and a larger army, but their interest could generally be traced to their business connections-they were anxious to furnish the preparedness themselves and therefore advocates of the theory. But when this war broke out I thought that at least one good would come out of it, namely, that no one would hereafter stand before an intelligent audience and argue that preparedness would prevent war. If war could be prevented by pre-paredness, there would be no war in Europe to-day, for they have spent a generation getting ready for this war. They had the kindling all ready; all they needed was a match. When the war broke out those best prepared went in first and others followed as they could prepare, and I believe that if we had been as well prepared as some now ask us to be we would be in the war to-day shouting for blood as lustily as any of them.

This is so serious a matter and it is so vitally important that we should follow the course best calculated to prevent war that I beg you to listen while I present the reasons which lead me to believe that the preparedness which they now propose would not only not prevent war but would actually provoke war-that with the things that necessarily accompany it preparedness would inevitably lead us into the wars against which they ask us to prepare. In the first place, we can not have a period of preparedness without submitting ourselves to the leadership of those who believe in the doctrine that peace rests upon fear; that we can only preserve the peace by making people afraid of us. This is the folly of the ages-the very theory that has led Europe into this present conflict. And more, if we are to be driven to preparedness by the scares that are now being worked up, we must follow the leadership, not of those who advocate moderate preparedness, but of those who insist upon extreme preparedness. If we must prepare a little because we are told that one nation may attack us, we must prepare more if another group of iingoes warns us against an attack joined in by several nations, and we must go to the very limit if a third group pictures an attack in which the world will combine against us. There is no limit to the amount of preparation that we shall need if we are to provide against every imaginary danger and every possible

The real question which we have to decide is, What shall be our standard of honor? Shall it be the European stand--which is the duelist's standard-or shall it be a standard in keeping with our aspirations and achievements? advocates of extreme preparedness are attempting to fasten upon this country the duelist's standard of honor and we know what that standard is because we had it in this country a hundred years ago. When that standard was supported by public sentiment men were compelled to fight duels even when they did not believe in the practice; they were branded as cowards if they The case of Alexander Hamilton is an illustration in While I prefer the ideas of Jefferson to the ideas of Hamilton, I recognize, as all must, that Hamilton was one of the heroic figures of the Revolutionary days. He fought a duel and fell, and the last thing he did before he left home for the fatal field was to prepare a statement, which he left to posterity, saying that he did not believe in the practice, but that he felt it necessary to conform to the custom in order to be useful in crises which he thought he saw approaching. The duelist standard of honor was this: If a man had a wife and she needed him, he had no right to think of his wife; if he had children and they needed him, he had no right to think of his children; if his country needed him, he had no right to think of his country. The only thing he could think of was that he must kill somebody or be killed by somebody. According to the duelist's standard of honor it was more honorable for a man to throw his wife and children upon the care of a community than to allow what he called an insult to go unchallenged. It required moral courage on the part of many to effect the change which has been wrought on this subject, but the change has come and we not only have a law against dueling in every State in the Union, but we now call the man a coward who sends the challenge, not the man who declines it.

About 50 years ago a prominent statesman of Georgia received a challenge from another statesman of that State. Had the challenge been received a century ago instead of a half century the one who received it would hardly have dared to decline. But a change was taking place and the challenge was declined in an answer that has become a part of history. The challenged party said: "No. I have a family to take care of and a soul to save and as you have neither we would not fight on equal Therefore I will not fight." No nation is challenging us; no nation is trying to draw us into war with itself. But if in a moment of excitement one of the madmen of Europe were to challenge us I think we would be justified in answering in the spirit of the answer of that Georgia statesman: "No. We have

the welfare of a hundred millions of people to guard and priceless ideals to preserve, and we will not get down and wallow with you in the mire of human blood just to conform to a false standard of honor."

Do not allow yourselves to be deceived or misled as to the real issue. The question is not whether this Nation would defend itself if attacked. We have a potential power of defense such as no other nation has to-day—such as no other nation has ever had, and other nations know it. There is no danger that an attack would not be resisted, and we would not depend upon the jingoes. They would be too busy making Army contracts and loaning money at high rates of interest to reach the front. If we ever have a war, we will depend, as in the past, upon those who work when the country needs workers and fight only when the country needs fighters.

The question, I repeat, is not whether we would be willing or able to defend ourselves if attacked. The real question is whether we shall adopt the European standard of honor and build our hope of safety upon preparations which can not be made without substituting for the peaceful spirit of our people the spirit of the militarist and the swagger of the bully. The spirit that leads nations to put their faith in physical force is the spirit that leads people into war. It is the spirit that expresses itself in threats and revels in the ultimatum.

If you would know what the dangers of preparedness will be if preparedness becomes a national policy and is administered by those who are leading in this crusade, just imagine what the situation would be to-day, with so many opportunities to get into trouble, if we had in the White House a Jingo with the duelist's standard of honor and anxious for a fight. We have reason to be grateful that we have as President a man who loves peace and is trying to find a peaceful solution of all the problems that confront us.

I ask you next to remember that it is an expensive thing to prepare for wars that ought never to come. It cost us \$15,000,000 to build the last battleship launched, and that was only one-tenth of the amount spent on the Navy that year. You might think, from the manner in which the jingoes belittle our Army and Navy, that we are at present spending nothing on preparedness. But we are, as a matter of fact, spending now \$250,000,000 annually, getting ready for war. We are spending more than one hundred and forty-seven millions on the Navy and over one hundred millions on the Army; and how much are we spending on agriculture? The Department of Agriculture, which looks after the interests of the largest single group in this, the largest agricultural country in the world—the Department of Agriculture, which plants experimental stations throughout our land and sends representatives throughout the world to gather information for the farmer's benefit—this department receives an appropriation of twenty-three millions a year. We are, in other words, spending more than ten times as much getting ready for war as we are spending on the Department of Agriculture. And yet the jingoes are not satisfied. They say that we must now turn over a new leaf; that we must get ready in earnest.

we must get ready in earnest.

There are two organizations in this country which, together claiming a monopoly of the patriotism of the Nation, have taken upon themselves the task of getting the country ready for war. The Security League thinks that we should spend three hundred millions a year on the Navy and one hundred and fifty millions a year on the Army—two hundred millions more than we are now spending, or nearly double the present appropriations. The Navy League is older, had more ciphers at its disposal and had the advantage of making its bid after the other bid had been made. It insists that we ought to appropriate five hundred millions for the Navy and have an Army of a million men. Its program could not be carried out for seven hundred and fifty millions a year—three times the present appropriation, or an increase of five hundred millions a year.

To show you what a burden this would cast upon our tax-payers let us assume that the appropriations for the Army and Navy will be kept at what they are now—about two hundred and fifty millions a year—and inquire what we could do with this proposed increase of five hundred millions a year—five billions in 10 years—if we spent it for things beneficial. I was in California last summer and learned from a commissioner of highways of the work they are doing in the building of hard roads. They are spending \$18,000,000 and their plans contemplate two highways running from the Oregon line to the Mexican line—one down the Pacific coast and the other down the great central valleys of the State. These two highways are to be connected at the county seats; a splendid system. The commissioner told me that it had been found by experiment that a farmer can haul four times as much with the same team

on a hard road as he can haul on a dirt road, and he can haul it any day in the year and any hour in the day, and he does not have to consult the Weather Bureau when he hitches up his team. They are also building hard roads in Oregon. The road between Ashland and Medford has already reduced the cost of carrying freight between the two points 50 per cent. The railroads charge 16 cents per 100; the auto trucks haul for 8 cents and in addition have eliminated drayage charges at both ends of the line.

They are building hard roads in the State of Washington; the road between Seattle and Tacoma is near enough to completion to enable auto buses to compete successfully with the steam railways and the electric lines.

I have made a calculation to see how much hard road could be built for five billions-the five hundred million increase would aggregate that sum in 10 years. From information furnished by the Department of Agriculture I find that the average cost of a macadam road 16 feet wide and 6 inches thick is a little over \$6,000 a mile. That there may be no doubt about the estimate being sufficient let us arbitrarily raise it to \$8,333.33} per mile, which will enable us to make the computation in round numbers. If we count the distance from ocean to ocean at 3,000 miles and the distance from north to south at 1,200 miles, we can with \$5,000,000,000 build enough macadam road, 3 miles for \$25,000, to make 100 highways from the Atlantic to the Pacific, putting them 12 miles apart, and high-ways north and south 12 miles apart, so that when the five billions were spent the country would be gridironed with macadam roads 12 miles apart east and west, north and south, and no American citizen would then live more than 6 miles from a hard road that would take him anywhere in the United States.

If the jingoes insist that we are in danger of attack, let us propose that we get ready by building roads; it will greatly increase our defensive power if we are able to quickly mobilize our Army and rapidly transport it to the point threatened. And there is an advantage about this kind of preparedness; if, after we have prepared ourselves, the war does not come, we shall be able to make good use of the preparation in the work of production. If, however, we divert the money from useful channels and spend it all on battleships and arms and ammunition, we shall have wasted our money if the war does not come; and if it does come, the chances are that before it comes changes in methods of warfare will very much reduce the value of the preparation in which we have invested.

But as some may be more interested in having the volume of loanable money increased than in having good roads, I present another calculation. The total capital and surplus of all the banks of the United States—national, State, and private—aggregate a little less than \$4,000,000,000; with \$5,000,000,000 we could duplicate every bank, double the loanable bank capital and surplus of the Nation, and have a billion dollars left with which to celebrate prosperity.

The taxpayers of the country will not be willing to bear the burdens necessary for the proposed preparation, unless they are convinced that some nation is about to attack us. The jingoes understand this, and they are therefore bearing false witness against other nations. They tell us to beware of Japan on the west, and if that does not frighten us they pick out some nation in Europe and accuse it of having designs against us; and if that does not frighten us they say: "Beware of the fate of Belgium!" How any normal mind can think of Belgium and the United States at the same time passes understanding. Belgium has 7,500,000 of people, while we have 100,000.000. Would not an ordinary mind, working smoothly and without excitement, be able to see the difference between seven and a half and a hundred? And there is a still greater difference. Belgium is separated from the countries round about by an imaginary boundary line, while we have the Pacific Ocean on one side and the Atlantic Ocean on the other. If anyone is unable to see the difference between an imaginary line and an ocean, let him learn what difficulty the nations have had in moving armies across narrow channels, and then he will understand the protection of the Atlantic Ocean.

We can not single out a nation and begin to prepare against it without cultivating unfriendliness toward that nation, and we can not make hatred a national policy for a generation without having our people anxious to fight as soon as they are ready to fight. If the nations at war had spent in the cultivation of friendship but a small percentage of the amount they have spent in stirring up hatred, there would be no war in Europe to-day. We should not transplant upon American soil this tree of hatred unless we are prepared to eat of the fruits of the tree, for it has been bearing its bloody fruit throughout the years.

The third reason which I ask you to consider is this: The preparedness which we are now asked to make is against na-

tions which are not preparing to fight us. But suppose we get ready to fight them; will they not prepare against us? If they can scare us when they are not prepared, will we not scare them when we do prepare? And, then, will not their preparation compel us to prepare more, and will we not scare them again and they us again, and we them again, until bankruptcy overtakes us all? This is no new thing. The people who profit by furnishing preparedness have been playing the nations of Europe against each other for a generation. Every battleship that is built in one country is made the excuse for building more battleships in other countries. Let me illustrate the plan of the battleship builder: Suppose three farmers lived around a little lake and a battleship builder wanted to increase his business how would he go at it? He would go to the first farmer and You are helpless. If your two neighbors were to combine against you, they could overcome you; your lack of preparedness is an invitation to them. Let me build you a battleship and anchor it here by your land. Then they will see that you are prepared, and they will be afraid of you and peace will be He would then go to the second farmer and say: "Do you see that battleship over there? Do you know what that is for? That is for you. Are you willing to invite attack by being defenseless? Let me build you two battleships, and then he will see that you are prepared and will be afraid of you and peace will be preserved." He would then go to the third farmer and say: "Either one of your neighbors is more than a match for you alone; together they can annihilate you. Your only safety lies in the building of three battleships. Then when they see you are ready they will be afraid of you and the peace of the lake will be preserved." By this time he would be able to go back to the first man and say: "Your little battleship is out of date. It is a provocation instead of a protection. you are willing to build more ships you had better sink that one. It shows that you want to fight and everybody knows you can not fight. You must have four battleships of the latest pattern in order to prevent war by being prepared for it." And so on This is what they have been doing in Europe. Is it possible that they can entice us into this mad rivalry?

If we are urged to depart from the traditions of the past and to enter upon a new policy, there are two answers which can be made, either of them sufficient. First, if we ever intend to change our policy, the change must not be made while this war lasts. If we change now, it will be a confession that we have been wron; and that Europe has been right, and if we make this confession we shall not only be powerless to assist the belligerent countries by a good example, but we shall, by imitation, encourage them in the course which has drawn them into this unprecedented conflict. If we are ever to change our policy,

now of all times is not the time.

We must consider also our influence on Latin America. If we adopt this new policy and turn our energies from the arts of peace to preparation for war, will not our neighboring republics be urged to follow our example? Can we afford to take the responsibility of retarding their progress by encouraging them to divert their money from needed improvements to expenditures which are not only unnecessary, but a menace to the friendly relations which now exist between them? There is no excuse for the present outburst of war spirit—it is not only without excuse, but contains infinite possibilities for harm.

Second, there never has been a time in 50 years when we were in less danger than now. No nation has any thought of waging war against us and our preparedness is increasing relatively more rapidly than ever before. If the warring nations keep on killing each other as they are killing each other now, burning up property as they are burning it up now, and mortgaging the future as they are mortgaging it now, they will not have left enough able-bodied men, enough money, or enough credit to threaten a nation like this. No; there is no excuse for the attempt which is now being made to lash the country into a fright over possible wars. Let us do what we can to stop the war in Europe; humanity, as well as our own security, demands it. But if we can not stop the war there—if the dogs of war must fight—we should at least keep hydrophobia out of this country while the war lasts.

And now let us consider the way out or the road to permanent peace. And before taking up the real way out let us for a moment look at some of the ways that do not lead out. Some talk of annihilation and argue that the war must go on until one side completely effaces the other. Annihilation is a big word and the annihilation of a nation a very difficult task. Long before they are in sight of annihilation they will be so sick of bloodshed that they will stop. There are already signs of sickness now. They have been striking in the coal mines on one side and in the gun factories on the other. On one side they have been protesting against threatened conscription and on the other

against the doctrine of conquest. No; they will not carry the war to the point of annihilation, and if they did it would be a crime against civilization. If they do not know each other, we know them all, for their children have come among us and have helped to make this country what it is. We know that these belligerent nations have reached their present positions through struggles that have lasted for centuries and that each one has a priceless contribution to make to the future of the world. God might have made all the flowers of one color and with a single fragrance, but the world would not have been as attractive had He done so. And so God might have made all the nations with one history and a single language, but I believe that the world is better for their rivalries and their competitions; they together constitute one resplendent political bouquet.

Some think that if the war does not go on until annihilation takes place it must at least go on until one side is so completely triumphant that it can dictate the terms of peace, compel the acceptance of those terms, and thereafter maintain the peace of Europe by the sword. But when we consider the immense masses of men on either side this thought is almost as idle as the thought of annihilation, and it will not brighten the future if as result of this war one nation or group of nations emerges

from the conflict master on land or sea.

If there is one lesson which history teaches more clearly than any other it is that nations which aspire to mere physical supremacy have no hope of immortality; the fact that they put their faith in force is proof that they have in them the seeds of death. The pathway of human progress is lined with the wrecks of empires which, when at the zenith of their power, thought themselves invincible.

What the world needs is not a despot to fix the terms upon which the rest shall live; its great need is that these nations shall be brought together in a spirit of friendship and fellowship that they may cooperate in working out the destiny of Europe. If this Nation has any influence, that influence must be exerted to bring the warring nations together and not to encourage them in the false hope that a permanent peace can be built on

force or fear.

All of the rulers of the nations at war tell us that they did not want the war and did not cause it, but none of them tell us how it can be brought to an end. Have not these neutral nations, all of whom bear burdens though they are not to blame, a right to know what it is that, being done, peace may be restored? For what are the nations fighting—not in general terms but specifically? Is it territory that they want, then how much and where is it located? Is it blood that they demand, then how much more blood must be shed to avenge the blood already shed? If they will not answer the neutral nations, will they not make answer to their own people? The day will come when this accumulated sorrow will overflow, when this pent-up angnish will find a voice, and then, if not before, the rulers must answer that stern question which shakes thrones and fixes the farthermost limits of arbitrary power: "Why do we die?"

Europe has had machinery for war, but not for peace. The nations of Europe could go to war in a minute, but they were not sufficiently supplied with machinery for the adjustment of difficulties that defied diplomatic settlement. And we can not be harsh in our criticism because, until recently, this Nation was almost as poorly supplied as the European nations with the machinery for the preservation of peace. Until within three years our best treaties were those known as the "arbitration treaties," and they had two serious defects. First, they only ran five years and then died. And when one of these treaties died it had to be renewed by the same formalities required for its negotiation. It had to be ratified by two-thirds of the Senate, which meant that though the President might desire to continue it and though a majority of the Senate might desire to continue it, the extension of its life could be prevented if a minority of the Senate, more than one-third, objected. But a still more serious defect was found in the fact that these treaties did not cover all questions—they excepted questions of honor, questions of independence, vital interests, and interests of third parties, the very questions out of which wars are apt to grow. When a man is angry every question is a question of honor, every interest a vital interest. Man angry is a very different animal from man calm; when a man is angry, he swaggers about and talks about what he can do, and he generally overestimates it. When he is calm, he thinks about what he ought to do and listens to the voice of conscience.

We now have 30 treaties with nations representing threefourths of the world, and these treaties cure the defects of which I have spoken. In the first place, instead of dying at the end of five years they never die. They run on and on and on until 12 months after one side or the other has asked that they be discontinued. I believe that neither side will ever ask that these treaties be discontinued. I have such faith in these treaties that I believe that a thousand years from now the name of Woodrow Wilson and my name will be linked together in the capitals of the world and that these treaties will preserve the peace of our Nation by furnishing machinery by which peace can be preserved with honor.

But, what is more important than length of life, these treaties contain no exceptions; they cover all disputes of every kind and character. Each one of these 30 treaties provides that every dispute that defies diplomatic settlement, if not by some other treaty submitted for final settlement, must be submitted to an international commission for investigation and report. Each one of these 30 treaties also provides that the period of investigation may last a year, and each one of these treaties further provides that during the period of investigation neither side shall declare war or begin hostilities. Here are three provisions, new to treaty making, which reduce war between us and

the contracting parties to a remote possibility.

We do not contend that war is made impossible; I only wish it were possible to make war impossible. But in order to secure the investigation of all questions it was necessary to reserve to each nation the right of independent action at the conclusion of the investigation. If anyone believes that war may sometimes be necessary, let him find consolation in the fact that every one of these treaties specifically reserves the right of our Nation to go to war. If any desire war, all they have to do is to stir the people up to fever heat and keep them there for a year; then if no other way out is found the Nation is at liberty to fight its way out. And I so much believe in the right of the people to have what they want that I admit the right of people to go to war if they really want it; but I feel as a North Carolina Congressman expressed himself, that if we are to have war it would be better for the people to vote it upon themselves than to have others vote it on them. If there is any question upon which there should be a referendum vote, it is the question of peace or war, which may mean life or death to so many people; and if we have a referendum vote on war, it will only be fair that the women shall vote as well as the men, for women bear the larger portion of the burden in time of war. I believe that the women should vote on all questions; but if they vote on only one, it ought to be at an election which decides the issue between peace and war.

And I agree with the North Carolina Congressman in another matter. He suggests that it would insure deliberation on the part of the voters if the vote was taken with the understanding that those who voted for war would enlist first, and that those who voted against war would constitute a great reserve army, which would not be called into service until after all those who voted for war had had a chance to show what they could do. I like the idea, and I venture to add another suggestion. I am a journalist, among other things; whenever anyone asks me what I am, my answer is, a journalist. I am proud of the profession, though not of all the members of it. If we have war, I shall insist in the name of the journalists of the country that the first battle line shall be made up of jingo editors, that they may have the glory of dying before anyone else is hurt.

These 30 treaties will, in my judgment, go far toward preserving peace, and I believe that the principle ought to be applied to all nations. If the plan is good enough to offer to all nations—and the offer has never been withdrawn; if the plan is good enough to be entered into with nations representing 1,300,000,000 people; if the plan is good enough to be indorsed in principle by Germany, Austria, and Belgium—countries with which treaties of this kind have not yet been negotiated—it is good enough to be used with any country before we go to war

with that country.

But I will go a step further; even if we use the treaty plan, and it fails to secure a settlement, or if we fail to use it and reach a point where we must decide, either to go into this war or to postpone final settlement of the dispute until this war is over; if we must choose between these two alternatives, I believe it would be the part of wisdom to postpone final settlement until the war is over. First, because postponement would make war unnecessary, and that would be a sufficient reason for postponing it. We would have no difficulty in settling any dispute which we now have or which may arise during the war, but for the fear of the effect of the settlement upon the war itself.

But even if a postponement did not prevent war it would be better to have our war after this war is over than during this war, because it would then be our own war with the country with which we had our dispute, and we could not only go into the war at pleasure, but come out at will. But this war is not our war—it is everybody's war—and if we go into it, we can not come out without consulting others, and others would determine

also what we would fight for while we were in—and God forbid that we shall ever tie ourselves to the quarrels, rivalries, and ambitions of the nations of Europe.

And now bear with me for a moment while I present three reasons why it is imperatively necessary that we shall not enter this war. I shall not present these reasons in the order of their importance, rather in inverse order: First, no one can tell what it would cost us in dollars to enter this war. It is not like any other war, and therefore estimates based upon the past would be of little value. Let those who glibly talk of war give us a guess as to what it would cost to take part in this war, and then give a guaranty that their guess is high enough. Many predictions have been made in regard to this war, but so far none have been verified. Would it cost one billion? One of the jingo papers insisted a few weeks ago that Congress should be called together immediately to vote a credit of \$1,000,000,000 in anticipation of a possible war. It would be more likely to cost us five billions or ten, but even if it cost ten billions that would not be the greatest objection to war. There are two other objections that are more important.

The second objection is based upon the possible loss of life. How many men would it cost us to take part in this war? A hundred thousand? They have already killed over 2,000,000; 100,000 would hardly be enough for our quota in such a war. If we go into this war we can not go in in a stingy way or as a miserly nation. If it is manly to go in, it will be manly to play

a man's part and be prodigal in blood and money.

The danger of war with Germany now seems to be passed and the country is relieved to have the American position in the submarine controversy accepted. But while there was a possibility of war-while the question was acute-some of our American papers were insisting that we ought to go to war with Germany at any cost. I do not believe that our people would be willing to send 100,000 brave Americans to death because a little more than a hundred took ships that they ought not to have taken into danger zones about which they fully understood. It is not that our people did not have a right to take those ships. Under international law they did have a right to sail on those ships, but great international questions can not be settled on naked legal rights. There are duties as well as rights. Let me Illustrate. Every young man, when he becomes of age, has a legal right to leave his home and make a career for himself. He is not compelled to consider either the wishes or the needs of his parents. But, fortunately, most of our young men put their duty to their parents above their legal rights, and inquire about the welfare of the old folks before they leave home.

And so every American citizen has duties as well as rights. Do you say that it is the duty of this Government to take its Army and follow an American citizen around the world and protect his rights? That is only one side of the proposition. The obligations of citizenship are reciprocal. It is the duty of the citizen to consider his country's safety and the welfare of his fellow men. In time of war the Government can take the son from his widowed mother and compel him to give his life to help his country out of war. If, in time of war, the Government can compel its citizens to die in order to bring the war to an end, the Government can in time of peace say to its citizens that they shall not, by taking unnecessary risks, drag their country into war and compel this sacrifice of their countrymen.

In time of riot a mayor has authority to keep the people of his town off of the streets until order is restored. Has not the Government of a nation like ours as much authority as the mayor of a city? When the world is in riot our Government has, I believe, a right to say to its citizens: "You shall not embarrass the Government in dealing with this question. You shall not add to your Nation's perils. You must keep out of the danger zone until your Government restores order and compels respect for the rights of American citizens." But suppose it cost us not 100,000 men but a half million or a million. That is not the greatest objection to the war.

Great as is the first objection, based on the possible cost in money, and greater still as is the second objection, based upon the possible cost in blood, there is a still greater objection, viz, that we can not become a belligerent and at the same time

remain neutral

We stand at the head of the neutral nations; the world looks to us to act as mediator when the time for mediation comes. If, for any reason, no matter what that reason may be, we enter this war, we must step down from our high position and turn over to some other nation an opportunity such as never came to any nation before and may never come again.

Then, too, we are the next of kin to all the nations now at war; they are blood of our blood and bone of our bone. Not a soldier boy falls on any battle field over yonder but the wail of sorrow in his home finds an echo at some American fireside, and these nations have a right to expect that we will remain the friend of all, and be in position to play the part of a friend when a friend can aid.

Some nation must lift the world out of the black night of war into the light of that day when an enduring peace can be built on love and brotherhood, and I crave that honor for this Nation. More glorious than any page of history that has yet been written will be the page that records our claim to the promise made to

the peacemakers.

This is the day for which the ages have been waiting. For 1,900 years the gospel of the Prince of Peace has been making its majestic march around the world, and during these centres of the Source on the Mount has been making its majestic march around the World. turies the philosophy of the Sermon on the Mount has be-come more and more the rule of daily life. It only remains to lift that code of morals from the level of the individual and make it real in the law of nations, and ours is the Nation best prepared to set the example. We are less hampered by precedent than other nations, and therefore more free to act. I appreciate the value of precedent—what higher tribute can I pay it than to say that it is as universal as the law of gravitation and as necessary to stability? And yet the law of gravitation controls only inanimate nature—everything that lives is in constant combat with the law of gravitation. The tiniest insect that creeps upon the ground wins a victory over it every time it moves; even the slender blade of grass sings a song of triumph over this universal law as it lifts itself up toward the sun. So every step in human Precedent lives in the progress breaks the law of precedent. past—it relies on memory; because a thing never was, precedent declares that it can never be. Progress walks by faith and dares to try the things that ought to be.

This, too, is the leading Christian Nation. We give more money every year to carry the gospel to those who live under other flags than any other nation now living or that has lived. The two reasons combine to fix the eyes of the world upon us as the one Nation which is at liberty to lead the way from the blood-stained methods of the past out into the larger and better

We must not disappoint the hopes which our ideals and achievements have excited. If I know the heart of the American people, they are not willing that this supreme opportunity shall pass by unimproved. No; the metropolitan press is not the voice of the Nation; you can no more measure the sentiment of the peace-loving masses by the froth of the jingo press than you can measure the ocean's silent depths by the foam upon its

Waterways and Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE. OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 10, 1915.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, an unusually large number of delegates from the Atlantic coastal States attended a convention of the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association, at Savannah, Ga., November 9-12 last. were representative men and women, interested in the opening up of the intracoastal chain of waterways from New England to Florida, as recommended by the United States Army engineers and in part undertaken by Congress. The agitation of "preparedness" in the United States added to the interest of the convention, the primary object of which was to encourage and promote the extension and improvement of our inland waterways, in order that the Atlantic seaboard, with its vast industrial, commercial, and agricultural enterprises, might have the advantage of water transportation in conjunction with the limited railroad and coastwise steamship facilities now afforded.

The coastal States represent more than one-third the entire population of the country and more than one-half of the manufactured product of all the States. They do business on less than one-quarter of the railroad mileage of the country, in conjunction with such antiquated canals as have been permitted to exist, without substantial improvement, for more than threequarters of a century. The convention was addressed, amongst others, by the Hon. William C. Redfield, Secretary of the Department of Commerce, who heartily approved the work of the association and who emphasized the value of improved rivers

and harbors for commercial reasons. What the Secretary of Commerce had to say will be printed in the proceedings of the association, which in due course, I trust, will be carefully read and considered by Members of Congress. Suffice it at this time, however, to observe that what the War Department recom-Suffice it at this time, mended in the way of improvement along the intracoastal chain was indorsed by the Secretary of Commerce as of great importance to the business welfare of the Nation. He declared it to be directly in line with the great work intrusted to the department over which he presides.

NAVAL VALUE OF PROJECT.

Because of the peculiar significance of inland waterways to the problems of the Navy it had been expected that Secretary Daniels, of the Navy Department, would also address the con-A personal misfortune detained the Secretary, although he met many of the northern delegates and addressed them as they passed through his home town of Raleigh, N. C. The Secretary was impressed with the work of the association. and at a previous convention held along the upper Hudson, from New York City to Troy and Albany, in 1914, witnessed a practical demonstration of the inefficiency of some of our coastal waterways, when one of the smallest of our torpedo boats was unable, because of insufficient depth of channel, to reach the entrance to the New York State Barge Canal and the Great Lakes. In a letter to the Savannah convention, however, the Secretary of the Navy so clearly stated not only his own views, but those of the best known of our naval experts, as to the value of the inside passage connecting the rivers and lakes and sounds along the Atlantic coast, that it is deemed advisable to here present it to the attention of Members of Congress. It is doubtful whether the Atlantic coastal project uniting 1,800 miles of coast inland by the removal of only approximately 131 miles of shoals and barriers has been better or more succinctly stated by any of the original advocates of the enterprise.

What Secretary Daniels has said in his letter is respectfully commended to the Congress of the United States, and particularly to those Members who have not thus far understood the desirability of providing an inside passageway to save life and property now forced to round the shoals and capes in the open

SECRETARY DANIELS'S LETTER.

The letter of Secretary Daniels is as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, Washington, November 10, 1915.

MY DEAR MR. MOORE: It is a matter of profound regret that I am not able to give myself the pleasure which I had anticipated of being present with you on the occasion of the meeting of your association in Savannah, but the destruction by fire of the Raleigh News and Observer plant in Raleigh has compelled me, much against my desire, to alter my plans. I am glad, however, that I had the opportunity of meeting with the leaders of this great enterprise in Raleigh as they passed through on

their way to the convention. The Atlantic inland deeper waterway is to our country what the Panama Canal is to the world. We have put \$400,000,000 into that vast enterprise, which is the realization of an agelong dream. It was evidently in the mind of Columbus that nature must have supplied a water connection between oceans in the vicinity of the Panama Canal, for he cruised up and down the coast there looking for such an outlet from the Atlantic to the waters beyond. Pizarro, Cortez, and Balboa and the leaders of the Conquistadores foresaw that a canal must some day be built across the Isthmus. Sir William Patterson, the founder of the Bank of England, planted a colony there with the idea of eventually digging a canal; the great explorer Humboldt surveyed the route, and the great poet Goethe, with remarkable prescience, declared that destiny had it in store for the young Republic of the New World to build the canal; and De Lesseps, the engineering genius of France, failed not because he was not a great engineer, but because Gorgas had not then been born, who should eventually prepare the way by making it safe in the matter of health for Goethals to mobilize his army of workmen.

OUR POSSIBILITIES; GERMANY'S REALITIES.

We have been doing great things in America, and I am one of those who believe that our country is on so firm and sound a bottom that not even the disasters of war, which have temporarily deranged some of our affairs, can long delay our inevitable success. Now that the Pacific and the Atlantic have been happily married, our country is left free to turn its engineering genius and financial resources into other enterprises of like magnitude and like character. The vision of Moore and Small and the other men who have thrown their energy into

this great project is surely to have a large realization in the future, and I expect to live to see the day when ships loaded in Albany shall carry their freight through to Buffalo and over the Lakes and down the Mississippi and through the Panama Canal to San Francisco. Germany has one of the greatest canal systems in the world. Her rivers are navigable by nature for fully 6,000 miles; but they have been further canalized a distance of nearly 1,400 miles, and, in addition, their radius has been extended by a system of canals some 1,500 miles in all, which have joined the rivers into a continuous watercourse. For instance, the Ludwigs Canal in Bavaria unites the Danube with the Main and makes a continuous waterway from the Black Sea to the North Sea. The Bromberg Canal joins the Vistula to the Oder. A canal joins the Oder to the Elbe, and the Plauen Canal the Elbe to the Havel. The Eider Canal connects the Eider with the Kiel, and the Kiel, or Kaiser Wilhelm, Canal, with locks greater than those of the Panama Canal, joins the Baltic with the North Sea. In Alsace and Lorraine are the Rhine-Rhone and the Rhine-Marne Canals, which have proven of inestimable value to Germany in the transport of supplies. Berlin itself, by way of the Spree and its canals, is connected directly with Hamburg. In fact, these canals have great military as well as commercial value, and have played a great part in the war now going on in Europe.

When one looks at the coast line from Boston to New Orleans and notes this long inside-of-the-coast waterway, needing only to be properly dredged, widened, and connected up by proper canal links in the chain, it seems as if Providence had enriched us with a most remarkable natural defense, provided we make use of what nature has thus endowed us with. It seems as if Providence had lifted up a sand barrier between the hinterland and the sea and bade us go in and make it deep enough to carry our commercial and naval flotillas. Since it has been put within our reach, would it not be national suicide for us to fail to follow the lead?

"AN INCALCULABLE ASSET" TO THE NATION.

There are no ships in the Navy so delicate as our submarines and destroyers, and when we send them on long cruises it costs thousands of dollars to repair them after they have had to go on the high seas. If we had this canal these ships of light draft could go from one end of the Atlantic coast to the other, and the saving of the navy-yard cost to-day in repairs would pay the interest on the investment; and this in times of peace, when we have not many of these craft, when we have not so many as we must have if we learn the lesson of the last month in Europe. For years the discussion among experts in naval affairs has been over the question as to whether most of the money should go into dreadnaughts or into destroyers and submarines, and our country has put the money chiefly into dreadnaughts, believing that they make the best defense. We are learning from the war in Europe something about naval affairs. So far there has been little learned on land and there have been no great engagements on sea, but there have been some engagements which would seem to indicate that the submarine, though it has not superseded the dreadnaught in impartance, has proved to be a wonderful weapon of sea fighting, and in our five-year program this year we are recommending to Congress that it build 100 of them during the next five years—15 fleet submarines and 85 coast-defense submarines. These, with the 73 we have now, will give us 173 in 1922. Now, this intracoastal canal is of vital importance to our submarines, for, as I have said, they are as delicately built as a clock and stand in great need of repair after a long voyage, as a result of being rolled about in heavy seas. You will recall that during the early part of the war an English submarine was seen off the island of Helgoland. A German ship, seeing this ship in distress and another English ship apparently going to its aid, rushed out and followed, until other English ships came to destroy the German ship. Again we saw a German submarine destroy three large English cruisers without warning. Time and again the submarine has been effectively used, so that we are learning that it is to this small craft, that can deliver its blow unseen, that we must look for material aid in naval warfare. Now, if we should be engaged in war—which God forbid—if we should be engaged in war, what a blessing, what an incalculable asset, it would be for the Navy if we had this inland waterway. I need but illustrate what the Kiel Canal is worth to Germany for you to see the incalculable importance of this canal to the Navy. The English Navy is larger than the German Navy, and the German Navy there is protected by this Kiel Canal. Its officers, its men, quietly go about their daily duties on their ships, while on every English ship in the channel the officers and men must constantly be on the alert, hardly having time to sleep.

If we should be so unfortunate as to be attacked, it would be of vital importance to us to be able to send through every possible channel these death-dealing submarines into the ocean and prevent a foreign navy landing on our coast; so that when you are advocating this inland waterway, when you have the vision to see its importance to commerce—and I put that as the reason why the money should be forthcoming to construct this canal—still you see that in any emergency it would be vitally important to the national life that our ships, when the occasion called, should be in harbor, protected, ready when the occasion called to save our cities and our people.

VALUE OF WATERWAYS IN TIME OF PEACE.

Even in times of peace the canal is a very important factor to the Navy, and lends itself to preparation for national security. Large quantities of heavy materials are constantly required by the Government for its navy yards, such as guns, armor, fuel, ammunition, machinery, structural steel, cement, and the like, and on these the transportation charges by the waterway would be more than cut in half. This cheaper transportation would stimulate our commercial establishments to larger and keener competition in the supply of war materials. There would be a further value in that the waterways enable our smaller craft to escape the dangers of storms at sea by plying from one port to another.

Aside from the commercial value of cheap transportation and safety from storms and deep-sea navigation, there are the following military and naval advantages in case of war: It will enable us with a more limited number of mine-laying ships, mine sweepers, submarines, and the torpedo boats to transfer these mobile harbor and coast-defense weapons from one point to another on our coast, thus multiplying their efficiency, increasing the radius of action, and lessening the danger of their being intercepted by an enemy until an attack is launched. It would increase our coast defenses by transporting heavy mortars and traction engines on canal boats and barges to points up and down the coast when an enemy may attempt to make a landing or seize a base. The Germans use their canals and rivers to thus transport heavy artillery.

I wish to express my thanks to the gentlemen who have organized this association for the work they have done. No enterprise—particularly an enterprise that calls for the united action of the people—ever comes to realization until it has been dreamed about, talked about, and presented on its merits to legislatures and to the people year in and year out. "Line upon line, precept upon precept," and finally the public will get the full vision of the need and act. This plan means so much to all New England, to the East, to the Middle States, and to the South that I have no doubt that this work will go on until we convince all of Congress and the country of its importance.

With best wishes for a successful session, believe me,

Sincerely, yours,

JOSEPHUS DANIELS.

Hon. J. Hampton Moore,

President Atlantic Deeper

Waterways Association, Savannah, Ga. RESOLUTIONS OF THE SAVANNAH CONVENTION.

Mr. Speaker, under further leave to extend, as granted by the House, I submit herewith the resolutions adopted by the Savannah convention, which epitomize the beneficent and timely public work which is sponsored by the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION, HELD AT SAVANNAH, GA., NOVEMBER 9 TO 12, 1915.

We, the delegates and members of the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association, in eighth annual convention assembled in the city of Savannah, Ga., and representing every Atlantic seaboard State from Maine to Florida, hereby reaffirm our assertion of the great value and importance of a continuous inside water route along the Atlantic seaboard, which shall connect the existing bays and sounds and link together the ports and navigable rivers into one great transportation system. Our statement of the economic soundness of this project, formulated at the organizing conference in 1907 and again at each succeeding convention, has been abundantly justified and confirmed by the Engineer Corps of the United States Army, which has jurisdiction over such improvements. Such portions of the system as have been completed are producing a large and increasing traffic. The high strategic value of the intracoastal waterway to the national defense in the event of war, which has been clearly stated at the preceding conventions of this association, has now been recognized by both our Army and Navy, and must be generally admitted by the American people as the present unhappy

state of war abroad compels them to ponder more seriously their

own position in the world's affairs.

We therefore confidently reassert that the Atlantic intracoastal waterway system, as advocated by this association and recommended by the Army Engineers, is a project which is economically sound, commercially necessary, and strategically invaluable; and we earnestly urge upon the Congress of the United States at its next session the definite adoption of the project and the appropriation of sufficient funds to enable the engineers to proceed rapidly with the work of construction.

Resolved, That we request of Congress the immediate acquisition, by purchase or condemnation, of the existing Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, and the improvement thereof to a sea-level

waterway, as recommended by the Chief of Engineers.

Resolved, That we request of Congress the immediate adoption of the project for a modern waterway across the State of New Jersey, connecting the Delaware River with Raritan Bay, and the enactment of such provisions as will insure the early acquisition of the right of way from the State, as recommended by the Chief of Engineers and pledged by the State statute.

by the Chief of Engineers and pledged by the State statute.

Resolved, That we request of Congress the early completion of the waterway between Norfolk, Va., and Beaufort Inlet, N. C., as recommended by the Chief of Engineers and heretofore adopted by Congress and contemplated in the acquisition already made by Congress of the Chesapeake & Albemarle Canal.

Resolved, That we favor the adoption of the project for a waterway connecting Beaufort, N. C., with the Cape Fear River, N. C., as recommended by the Chief of Engineers. This constitutes the link immediately south of that between Norfolk, Va., and Beaufort, N. C., which has already been adopted by Congress, and there are strong reasons why the construction of this link should receive early and favorable consideration.

Resolved, That we also favor the adoption of a project for a waterway connecting the Cape Fear River, N. C., with Winyah

Bay, S. C., as recommended by the Chief of Engineers.

Resolved, That we request of Congress the early completion of the waterways between Winyah Bay, S. C., and the St. Johns River, Fla., as recommended by the Chief of Engineers

and already in part constructed.

Resolved, That the unusual commercial importance of the East River, the Harlem River, and the Harlem or Bronx Kills, and their continued improvement to meet the insistent demands of the commerce of the metropolis differentiate these in large degree from all other projects, and this association reaffirms its action at its last meeting and urges the further improvement of the regions traversed by the Old Cumberland Road was Bronx Kills, in accordance with the favorable report heretofore submitted by the Chief of Engineers.

Resolved, That we reaffirm our belief that the approaching completion of the New York Barge Canal will make of the upper Hudson a freight-transfer point of very great commercial importance, and that we, therefore, favor the fullest Federal improvement of the Hudson River as far as Troy Dam as may be required for the facilitation of the commerce by barge, coastwise, and ocean tonnage that will there be brought in

close connection.

Resolved, That we favor the early improvement of the narrows of Lake Champlain, as recommended by the Chief of Engineers, in order to provide adequate connection through the New York Barge Canal with Lake Champlain and Canada.

Resolved, That we favor the extension of the intraconstal waterway from St. Johns River, in the State of Florida, and express the hope that such extension along some approved route may receive the favorable consideration of the engineers.

Resolved, That we favor congressional enactment authorizing a further examination and survey for the extension of the intracoastal waterway in the New England States.

SAVANNAH RIVER.

This association has read with interest in the local press regarding the formation of an organization seeking the improvement of the Savannah River between the cities of Savannah and Angusto

Resolved, That we commend this action as an example to the citizens of other seaboard States, to the end that all our rivers may be adequately improved, that lines of barges and freight steamers be established thereon, and each river shall become a feeder to the trunk-line waterway, and thereby contribute to the freer distribution of our products and the common prosperity of the country.

ANNUAL RIVER AND HARBOR BILLS.

Resolved, That the growth of the commerce of the country and increasing necessity for additional facilities of transportation demand that Congress shall enact annual river and harbor appropriation bills providing adequate appropriations for the

completion and maintenance of projects already adopted and for such new projects as by their merit and importance demand favorable consideration and adoption. Therefore, Resolved, That in the opinion of this association Congress

Resolved, That in the opinion of this association Congress should resume the enactment of annual river and harbor appropriations carrying the necessary funds for existing projects and the adoption of such new projects from time to time as are required to facilitate the transportation and distribution of the products of the country.

STATISTICS OF WATER-BORNE COMMERCE.

Resolved, That in order to determine the relative importance of harbors and interior waterways and their interrelation with the waterway system of the country it is necessary that data be officially collected and published regarding our water-borne commerce, both coastwise and foreign. There is at present no satisfactory method for ascertaining this information; and, with the exception of a portion of our foreign commerce, all data regarding our water-borne commerce in the coastwise trade is secured only from voluntary sources and is incomplete and unreliable.

Resolved, That this association earnestly urge upon Congress the necessity for legislation providing for the official compilation of all of our water-borne commerce, properly divided as to classes and as to the harbors and interior waterways upon which the same may be carried.

PILOT CHARGES ON BARGES IN TOW.

This association is committed not only to the construction of the intracoastal waterway, but to the promotion of coastwise trade between different ports and rivers. It is conceded that much of this traffic will be carried in barges towed by tugs. Until every link of the proposed waterway shall be completed such fleets of barges under tow will use the inside route in part and the ocean in part, particularly between northern and southern ports. Under section 4444, Revised Statutes of the United States, such tugs or steam vessels having barges in tow are exempt from pilot charges imposed by any State in cases where the pilot of such steam vessel has a license under the laws of the United States. We favor the enactment by Congress of legislation exempting barges from all pilot charges imposed under the authority of any State.

The Utilization of Our Western Rivers for Navigation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BENJAMIN G. HUMPHREYS,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 10, 1915.

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record I include a very interesting address, which gives Col. Townsend's ideas as to why the commerce on the rivers has declined and what steps it would be advisable to take in order to encourage a revival of that commerce.

The address is as follows:

THE UTILIZATION OF OUR WESTERN RIVERS FOR NAVIGATION.

Mr. President and gentlemen, it was said of old, "Unto everyone that hath, shall be given and he shall have abundance, but from him that hath not shall be taken away, even that which he bath"

The opening of the Panama Canal brings home with startling directness to the people of the Mississippi Valley the parable of The Lord of the servants cometh and recometh with them: To the one whom he gave five talents-those who have developed their water-transportation facilities as in the vicinity of New York and on the Great Lakes-he says, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things." But unto him who was afraid, and hid his talent in the earth, "Take, therefore, the talent from him and give it he says. unto him which hath ten talents, and cast him into outer dark-Nor does it avail to bemoan because of insufficient appropriations, nor charge the railroads with reaping where they have not sown and gathering when they have not strewed. In the Mississippi Valley there is wailing and gnashing of teeth on account of opportunities neglected. The manufacturer of the Middle West can no longer compete with his eastern rival, not only in foreign trade but also that of the Pacific coast. But I have been invited to attend this meeting, not for lamentations but to suggest a cure for existing evils. The wise physician, however, before prescribing his remedies makes a careful diagnosis of the disease, and I therefore propose briefly to invite attention to the extent of the decline of commerce on our western rivers, and the causes thereof, before indicating the measures necessary to produce a revival.

St. Louis for the past 50 years has been the principal origin or terminus of the traffic on our western rivers, and its records summarize their tendencies. Its river commerce attained its maximum of 2,120,000 tons in 1880 and has since steadily declined to 153,000 tons in 1914. In contrast, it may be stated that the commerce at Sault Ste. Marie, the outlet to Lake Superior, in 1880 was 1,300,000 tons, and attained a maximum of 79,000,000 tons in 1913. The commerce of New York Harbor

exceeds 125,000,000 tons.

But not only has the amount of freight carried steadily diminished on the rivers, but the class of boat transporting it has radically changed. As an example, in 1900 the average-sized boat navigating the Arkansas River was one of 193 registered tons; in 1913 it was but 46 tons; and while formerly large amounts of through freight were transported by river, at the present time the boat is generally used to carry the products of a river farm to the nearest railway station for further transportation by rail, the principal exceptions being coal transported on the Ohio River and the limited amount of freight carried by the barge line between Kansas City and St. Louis. On the Great Lakes the railroads are collecting freight for railroads. Such traffic has no influence on through rail freight rates and can be economically conducted with motor boats and light-draft barges, which are rapidly driving the packet from the rivers when used for such purposes.

What are the causes which have led to such a pitiful showing on our western rivers while the rivers of Europe have exhibited a remarkable commercial development as well as the Great Lakes and our Atlantic coast line? The usual answer that it is due to railroads will but partially account for the decline. Railways parallel the rivers of Europe; they are more numerous and more efficient in the regions of the Great Lakes than

in our western territory, and every water terminal near New York has efficient rail connection with that city.

The railway per se does not afford as economical a method of moving freight as a waterway. The friction to be overcome in moving a mass on a track is greater than that through water, as shown by the weight a team of horses can haul in a car on a tramway and in a canal boat. Steam can be utilized more effectively in the compound condensing engine of the boat than in the simple engine of the locomotive. In fact, on the Great Lakes and the Atlantic seaboard freight is transported by water at rates with which it is impossible for the railroad to compete. The same is also true of the only through freight the Mississippi River has been able to retain; that is, coal transported from Pittsburgh to Mississippi River towns.

Nor is it an answer to the question to charge unfair competition by railroad magnates in granting rebates, carrying freight at less than cost price until the boat line has been bankrupted, making contracts at uniform rates to their patrons during the entire year, and charging excessive rates to those who utilize the boat during periods of navigation. Whatever may have occurred in early days, such methods have practically ceased since the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission; but the decline in river commerce has been more rapid, since the railroads have been compelled by law to give the shipper equal rates, than when there was no restraint on the practices of

which they are accused.

Nor can the decline of commerce be attributed solely to the shallowness of our rivers, nor the failure of Congress to make adequate appropriations for them. For the past 10 years there has been maintained in the Mississippi River at all stages a channel of 9 feet from Cairo to New Orleans, and one of 8 feet from Cairo to St. Louis—a channel which far exceeds in navigability that of the far-famed Rhine with its 50,000,000 tons of freight annually. Yet it has produced no visible effect on the decline of commerce.

From the mouth of the Missouri to St. Paul there has been practically maintained for a number of years a channel of 4½ feet. But if, in 1913, from the statistics of this section of the river as published are excluded such items as sand and gravel removed from the river, material employed in constructing revetments and works of contraction, and automobiles and horses and wagons ferried across the stream, which are not included in the statistics of the lower river, the upper Mississippi makes a poorer commercial showing than the section below St. Louis. Moreover, the depths maintained exceed those which

exist on the Elbe, Wesser, and Oder Rivers in Germany above tidal flow and nearly equal those on the Vistula and Memel. In 1905 the Elbe transported 3,750,000 tons of freight between Germany and Austria and 5,900,000 to and from Hamburg, and its commerce was rapidly increasing. In Germany, while the ton mileage on inland waterways is about one-third that by rail, at St. Louis in 1914 the receipts and shipments by rail

were 52,000,000 tons to 153,000 tons by water.

While rivers in their natural state are generally obstructed by sand bars, which interfere with navigation and require removal, the great depths which are necessary at the entrances to ocean harbors or on the Great Lakes are not a requisite for economical transportation by river. To give the necessary strength to resist wave action from storms on large water areas, there must be a certain relation of length, width, and depth to a vessel navigating them. On sheltered rivers the same carrying capacity can be obtained, provided a sufficient width is given the river channel, by increasing the width and diminishing the depth of the vessel or by assembling a number of shallow draft barges in a tow. Thus in a 4-foot channel logs and lumber have been towed on the upper Mississippi River at a cost of 0.6 mills per ton-mile, the material being collected in rafts 100 feet in width by 1 000 feet in length

in rafts 100 feet in width by 1,000 feet in length.

In the opinion of the writer the failure to utilize our rivers for transportation arises primarily from much more powerful causes than those above mentioned and which it will be far more difficult to correct. The United States differs from European countries, in that the latter were developed before the age of steam and were forced to rely on water transportation for the movement of freight. Their growth was, therefore, along their rivers, and factories, warehouses, and other terminal facilities were established to accommodate river navigation. The railroad was a later auxiliary method of moving commodities, and has not been permitted to interfere with the older established system. The manufacturer is located on the river bank, and can load as readily into a barge as into a car, and his freight is received at a warehouse, which has also similar rail and water facilities. He therefore saves when shipping by water not only the extra cost of rail friction over water friction, but the charges of belt-line railroads which connect his factory and warehouse to the rail terminals.

The United States, on the contrary, owes its development to railroads. Its growth has been from the East to the West, while its rivers generally flow in a southerly direction, so that its development, instead of being along the lines of its rivers, has been across them. Moreover, the eastern markets have heretofore been more profitable than the southern, and a shipper has preferred a line of transportation running east and west to one north and south. Such a line was afforded by railroads, so that the river, which was in early days the only outlet, was gradually ignored, and the factory and warehouse were naturally located on the outskirts of a town, where land was cheap, but also in close proximity to a railroad, with which connection could read-

ily be made by means of sidings.

With the neglect of the river by the shipper the value of property along the river front of most western towns has greatly depreciated, and the city father has added to the complexity of the problem by moving the railroad yards into this abandoned area, with the result that those sections of our towns which in German cities would be the centers of manufacturing establishments are now filled with empty freight cars, awaiting the convenience of a manufacturer who has built his factory several miles from water transportation. The existing location of factories and warehouses at long distances from the river bank is one of the most serious factors to be considered in discussing the revival of river commerce. The great advantage the railroad possesses is its terminal connections with them, an advantage that usually more than compensates for the cheaper cost of transportation by water after the material is delivered to the boat.

The railway siding brings the car into the manufacturer's yard. If he attempts to obtain coal by water transportation he has to load the coal from a boat into a wagon, haul the loaded wagon to his coal pile, and then unload it. When he is receiving coal by rail the car is run up an incline and the coal pile repleuished by merely opening the shutter in its side or bottom. If he ships freight he has also to employ as much labor to place it in a truck as in the car, and, in addition, animal traction to convey it to the river, and again manual labor to transfer it from truck to boat. Neither pork and potatoes nor oats are economical materials for generating heat, nor is the stomach and muscles of a man or horse as economical a machine for converting heat into power as the steam engine. It costs practically as much to move a ton of freight 60 feet in a wheelbarrow as it does a mile by horse and wagon, a hundred

miles by rail, or a thousand miles by water. On the Great Lakes there is a less charge for transporting a ton of coal from Cleveland to Duluth, leading and unloading it, than for hauling it a mile in the city of Cleveland from the coal yard to a consumer, and coal is moved from Pittsburgh to Memphis by river cheaper than it is transferred from a barge to a packet landing at the coal fleet.

In those portions of the United States where water transportation is successful it will be found that the terminal charges by water are less than by rail. The main business portion of New York City is on a narrow island whose area is nearer a water front than a railroad.

On the Great Lakes there is also the most intimate connection between the boat and shipper, and there has been evolved the most economical methods of handling freight between boat and wharf which exist in the world. The 79,000,000 tons of freight which passed through the Sault Ste. Marie Canal in 1913 would never have materialized if at both ends of the boat line it had been necessary to haul by wagon as is the case in our western cities.

Under the conditions existing on our western rivers the shipper clings to rail transportation. He has perfected his rail connections at considerable expense for labor-saving devices, and has made no arrangements for handling freight by water. He is anxious to have river navigation established, not with the intention of using it himself, but in the expectation that it will reduce his rail freight rates, and this fact creates a second obstacle to the revival of river commerce.

No matter what depths the General Government gives the channels, nor what facilities the municipality affords for loading, it is folly to expect the ordinary American to invest his money in stear boats with the certainty that when the shipper can make satisfactory arrangements with railroads, he loses his investment. Until there is eradicated from the public mind the idea that our rivers are merely to be used as clubs to reduce rail freight rates, there is little chance for the revival of commerce on our western rivers.

Its effect can also be traced in the type of boat that now plies the river. With capital hesitating to make investments in river craft, there has been no incentive to develop the type of vessel best adapted to modern river traffic. The river packet was a most excellent type of vessel for developing a wilderness. With its light draft and numerous deck hands it is well adapted to carry freight on our undeveloped rivers. But as a means of transporting freight cheaply between large centers of population it is a failure. For the amount of freight it carries it expends more fuel than the ordinary locomotive, and the labor cost per ton-mile of freight handled also exceeds that of the railroads

The ordinary packet expends from fifty to one hundred times as much fuel and labor in transporting a ton of freight 1 mile as the modern freighter of the Great Lakes or the Sprague on the lower Mississippi with its large coal fleets. Its insurance rates are almost prohibitive, and the time it wastes in port is a serious tax on commerce. The lake vessel will unload 10,000 tons while the river packet is handling 100. This suggests a reason why the river commerce of St. Louis has declined from 2,000,000 tons to 153,000, while that of the Sault Ste. Marie has increased from 1,300,000 tons to 79,000,000. The fuel bill and pay roll of the river boat must be reduced to insure a revival of commerce on our western rivers.

Another factor on our western rivers which merits consideration is what is termed "the density of traffic." Here again is applicable the principle "that unto everyone who hath shall be given." Where large quantities of freight are to be moved, it is possible to utilize appliances for economically handling it, while the overhead charges would be prohibitive where the quantities are small.

Thus on the main trunk lines of railroads grades have been reduced and curves eliminated, which enable a single engine with a small crew to handle a train carrying 3,000 tons of freight. On a branch line the same force would move less than 1,000 tons. The density of traffic on the main line justifies the expenditure necessary to produce such a result.

The immense traffic on the Great Lakes also justifies a large expenditure for unloading devices, with a resultant cheapening of the cost of unloading with which a small dealer can not compete. The river boat must also have a certain volume of traffic to be a commercial success; but unless the railroads collect traffic for the boat an agricultural country tributary to a river does not produce sufficient material requiring transportation to create a dense traffic. One boat running weekly can carry all the products of the farms adjacent to 100 miles of river and supply the farmer with all the necessities he can purchase in exchange for his products. At the various landings there is also

such a small volume of traffic that modern loading and unloading appliances are not justifiable.

This is characteristic of most of the tributaries of the Mississippi River. Great economies can not be produced in this class of traffic, and no great revival of commerce can occur on them from the efforts of those residing on their banks. They can merely act as feeders to the main stream, but will experience the same indirect benefits from a revival of river commerce on the Mississippi that the branch lines of a railroad do from the improvement of the trunk line.

Between large centers of population, where there are large amounts of manufactured products to be moved, or in a country where there are large mineral resources, such as coal or iron ore, and the material can be delivered in barge-load lots of from 500 to 1,000 tons each, by assembling the barges in fleets of 5 or 10, under the control of one towboat, it is possible to approximate in river navigation even with a moderate depth of channel, the economies obtained on the Great Lakes or Atlantic Ocean by the deep-draft freighter.

It is thus seen that a revival of commerce on our western rivers can only result from a revolution in our methods of doing business. A southern market must be substituted for the eastern, and this can only occur from a radical reduction of freight charges in a north and south direction. Such a reduction can be produced by water transportation, but to be a success requires cooperation by four agencies—first, the General Government, which must provide a proper depth of channel in the river bed; second, the municipality, which must create suitable terminal facilities, or at least prevent the obstruction of those which nature has provided; third, the boat owner, who must substitute for the obsolete packet at present in use, an economical freight carrier; and fourth, the most important member of the combination, the shipper, who must be in a position to utilize the opportunities the other agencies afford him.

In making appropriations for rivers and harbors, it should be borne in mind that it is just as difficult to-day to please everybody as when Æsop wrote his fables. A large amount of money has been expended in the Mississippi Valley, but it has been scattered over the main stream and 60 tributaries, with the result that but few improvements have been completed, and the few completed portions are disconnected.

A railway system which consisted of 69 disconnected sections, a few miles in length, scattered over 18 States, would not be a commercial success.

For this condition of affairs the American people are responsible rather than Congress. The average voter is provincial. A local improvement appeals to him more strongly than a welldigested plan which will be of benefit to the entire country. theoretically is a believer in a reform in the methods of making appropriations for rivers and harbors, but with the proviso that the particular stream in which he is interested be included in the general plan. He even talks glibly of the "pork barrel river and harbor steal without the remotest idea that his pet measure may be classed in such a category, and if a Congressman should support a bill which did not provide for such local interests he would run great danger of failure at the next election. In their efforts to relieve themselves from this tyranny of their constituents, Members of Congress have delegated to the Corps of Engineers a power to review all works of improvement before taking action thereon.

It is impossible with the present state of public opinion to ignore geographical subdivisions, but I believe an enlightened public opinion can be created which would enlarge the subdivisions. Instead of thinking by congressional districts or States the people could be readily taught to seek the welfare of groups of States. While Congress must recognize the East and West, the North and South, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi Valley, and make an equitable distribution of funds between those sections, the inherent patriotism of the people can be aroused so that the appropriations thus made can be expended in such a manner as to produce the greatest good. By considering the Mississippi Valley as a whole, and treating the problem of transportation by water just as a railroad handles transportation by land, i. e., first completing a trunk line connecting those localities where there is a large commerce awaiting transportation, and then successively completing the most important branches, much better results would be obtained.

Specifically the writer would not abandon any navigable stream in the Mississippi Valley that has been partially improved, but would leave 58 of them in their statu quo, confining operations to snagging and the maintenance of existing works, and would concentrate appropriations on opening up a channel of the capacity of that existing on the lower and middle Mississippi to Chicago and Pittsburgh. Chicago is accustomed to water transportation. The topography around Pittsburgh

has forced the shipper to build his factory on the river bank. These centers of trade, therefore, afford the best opportunity of determining whether the shipper wants river transportation. They, with New Orleans, are the keys to the problem. If the facilities thus afforded by the Government are utilized, the upper Mississippi and the Missouri Rivers should then receive attention. When they are facts accomplished, the other streams should be improved in the order of their importance. But it must frankly be admitted that such a program will be impossible of accomplishment without a change of sentiment in the average American voter. While it is impossible to indite a people, they can be educated.

The question of providing terminal facilities is at present being earnestly discussed in river towns, but, in the opinion of the writer, the city authorities are not working on proper lines. The first idea of the average official of the proper method to improve a city's water front is to convert it into a park; his second to construct a municipal railroad along the bank, from which one can load into a barge at any point. A park is a very attractive feature in any city, but it costs money to haul freight through parks, and they should not be located where they will interefere with commerce. A municipal railway is a step in the right direction. To the factory distant from the river bank, but connected to existing rail lines, it will reduce the cost of moving freight to and from the river, but for this purpose it is not necessary to occupy the entire water front with a rail-The river front of a few city blocks would be ample for the river commerce that would utilize such facilities in a city the size of St. Louis, and it is a question for serious consideration in many localities whether the auto truck may not afford to the general public a cheaper means of moving across town the heavy freight which seeks water transportation than the municipal railroad. It is certainly more expeditious,

In certain cities which are natural railway terminals provision should also be made for connection between the railway systems of the country and the steamboat for the benefit of interior towns and the farming element of the community, but such terminals also require comparatively little wharf space.

If a river commerce is ever to be developed which will justify the large expenditures it will be necessary for the Government to make to create proper river channels, the great desideratum at every river town is sufficient space along the river bank where factories and warehouses can be erected and to load directly into barges, and thus avoid all terminal charges. The municipal railway which is generally urged, occupying the entire river front of a city, precludes any such development and forces every shipper to load into a car as the cheapest method of getting his products to a boat.

By Federal law and city ordinance channels can be improved and terminal facilities created, but neither the boat owner nor shipper are amenable to law or ordinance, yet unless they utilize the opportunities afforded them the expenditures of the General Government and cities on river navigation are wasted.

It can be assumed that if there is a sufficient amount of freight seeking shipment by river American enterprise will create the proper boat, just as it has on the Great Lakes.

The serious factor in reviving the commerce of our western rivers is going to be to persuade the shipper that it is to his financial advantage to use them. The ordinary business man is conservative. He does not like to change his ways, particularly when that change necessitates a considerable financial outlay. The merchants of St. Louis afford an apt illustration of this conservatism. According to the oratory expended at river conventions, St. Louis has advantages for development possessed by no other city in the Middle West. It is better located than Chicago with reference to the coal deposits of Illinois and the grain fields of the West, and has a shorter and cheaper connection with New Orleans by the Mississippi River than Chicago has by the Great Lakes and Erie Canal with New York, when the necessity to break bulk and change from lake freighter to the canal boat or car at Buffalo is taken into consideration. Yet St. Louis takes no advantage of its opportunities by river, while Chicago and Calumet retain a lake commerce of over 13,000,000 tons.

How can this conservatism be overcome? In the opinion of the writer, only by a direct attack on the pocketbook of the St. Louis shipper. So long as the freight rate from other towns is not relatively changed he will continue to cling to his idol, rall freight rates; but if a waterway is extended past his door to Chicago, and the Chicago shipper, who is accustomed to water transportation, begins to obtain cheap water rates down the Missi sippi River, competition will cause an enormous amount of river traffic to originate at St. Louis.

Before abandoning river transportation because St. Louis fails to utilize the advantages afforded it, it is believed to be advisable to try the experiment of creating an adequate waterway to Chicago and Pittsburgh. There is a possibility that the St. Louis merchant is too conservative; that he is too strongly influenced by the Missouri shibboleth, "You must show me," and that if he is shown by the shippers of some other city the advantages of water transportation he, too, will utilize them.

With Chicago, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis making use of river navigation as a means of cheapening freight rates, no city in the Middle West can thrive unless it also utilizes water transporta-

tion.

In conclusion, the writer quotes from a report of a committee of the city of St. Louis, submitted in 1865, in reference to rail traffic and which he considers applicable to river commerce at the present time:

Other cities see its vast results and are active in the strife for its possession. Our past indifference, continued yet a little while longer, may give it to another, and then we may find, when it is too late, that our geographical position is not alone sufficient to give us control of the commerce and manufactures of the Mississippi Valley, but that art, stimulated by enlightened and liberal forethought, must ever be an indispensable auxiliary to bounteous nature.

Constructing and Maintaining Rural Post Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THETUS W. SIMS,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 14, 1915.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, one of the first evidences of a coming civilization was the public highway. Primitive peoples without civil government had no public or community owned roads. Public or government ownership of highways was one of the first and greatest blessings of civilization. Uncivilized men, like the wild beasts, roamed through pathless forests or wandered over trackless plains. As the centuries rolled by and men became more civilized, by common consent these paths or trails, leading from one habitation to another, or from one group of the huts of men to another group, came to be recognized as the property of all the people, and charged with a community or public interest, and in their use, as it were, they ceased to be the property of anybody in particular and became the property of everybody in general. These highways were free to all users, but in some instances a better highway from one place to another was needed than were these "kings' highways," and for this purpose the king or government granted a permit called a charter, either to an individual or corporation, authorizing the construction and maintenance of such a highway at his or its expense and was permitted to make a reasonable charge for the use of this privately owned highway. was the origin of the toll road. The toll road was not in all respects a public highway, as it was neither owned nor maintained by the government and no one had any right to use it without paying the prescribed toll.

These toll roads, while performing a public service by permission of the king or government, and as such were subject to government regulation, were, notwithstanding, private property, with many if not all the elements incident to private

It has been the experience of all past ages that no government duty or function can be as well or as efficiently performed by or through private ownership or agency as it can be done by the government itself. On account of the operation of this fundamental law, nearly if not all "toll roads" have been taken over by governments of one kind or another and converted into free public highways. No better or stronger proof of the failure of private ownership and operation of public utilities can be offered than the passing of these privately owned toll-charging turnpike roads formerly so common in many States of this Union.

When I use the words "government ownership" I mean to include National, State, county, and city governments and do not intend to refer alone to the Federal Government.

Public utilities must be supplied by governments and paid for and operated at public expense and must be free for the use of all the people. Nothing can ever be provided that will take the place of governments in the construction, operation, and maintenance of all the public highways needed by the people. Therefore, from sheer necessity, we must look to and rely on governments for this purpose. We have cities, towns, counties, and civil subdivisions of same, such as wards and districts. These are all forms of government with prescribed and limited powers, which are derived from their respective State governments, over which the several States are absolutely sovereign. Many State constitutions contain limitations on their respective legislatures regarding the creation and powers of these minor civil governments which results in a lack of authority in these minor civil governments to do many things in the interests of the public which might be best done by them if clothed with authority. In all such cases an amendment to the State constitution must be had or the beneficial and necessary functions of these minor governments can not be performed.

In some States the legislatures of same can not even so much as authorize a State bond issue for highway purposes by reason of constitutional limitations on the powers of their respective

legislatures.

The chief question that I desire to discuss before you to-day is, "Has the Congress of the United States the power under the Constitution to levy and collect taxes and to appropriate the money arising therefrom to the construction and maintenance of public highways leading from one State into another or lying wholly within a State, but which is or may be needed by the United States Government in the discharge of a Federal function authorized and directed in the Constitution to be per-

formed by the Government?"

No question is made as to the power and duty of the Federal Government to regulate commerce between the several States. The Federal Government is not limited in the use of means and methods deemed necessary by Congress in the exercise of this power. Should Congress deem it wise as a means for the regulation of commerce between the States, it has the power to authorize and direct the building of interstate highways, just as it has, both directly and indirectly, aided private corporations in the building of steam railroads in numerous instances.

The question of national or Federal aid in the improvement of our public roads is not new. As long ago as 1802 Congress, in the act providing for the admission of the State of Ohio, included the provision that 5 per cent of the net proceeds of the sale of public lands in the State should be applied to the laying out and construction of public roads connecting the Ohio River with navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic. The following year Congress further specified that three-fifths of this revenue should be expended on roads within the State and two-fifths on roads leading to the State.

This provision made so early by the National Government thus provided both for the construction of interstate and intrastate roads from Federal funds. Furthermore, this was not an isolated action, but was a definite and settled policy of Congress for a quarter of a century. Thus similar provisions were written in the acts admitting Indiana, April 19, 1816; Illinois, April 18, 1818; and Missonri, March 6, 1820. We find further that from 1806 to 1844 Congress made a total of 34 appropriations, aggregating \$6,824,919.33, for the Old Cumberland Road, which was in every sense an interstate national road.

But having thus embarked on what seemed a settled policy of Federal aid in road construction, why was it discontinued? Were the results disappointing? By no means. The development of the regions traversed by the Old Cumberland Road was almost phenomenal. From the standpoint of adding to the national prosperity and wealth no expenditure our Government has ever made, except those providing for the enlargement of our territory, has ever given an equal rate of dividends in

return.

The abandonment of Federal participation in road construction was for entirely different reasons. The invention of the steam locomotive fired the public imagination with the belief that the importance of the wagon road had passed; that this was henceforth to be the sole method of transportation. That this view was also shared by Congress can be seen from numerous acts. When the appropriation was made for the continuation of the work on the old Cumberland Road beyond Indianapolis, Congress specified that no part of the funds should be used for surfacing, but that the roadway should be so graded as to permit the placing of a railroad track on the embankment should it become desirable.

Public attention and interest centered on the railroad for a long period. Congress made repeated grants to further their construction, and the example was followed by the States, counties, towns, and other municipalities, who often vied with each other in their liberality. The public road, with the passing of the long-distance freight wagon and the stage coach, lost those picturesque attributes which appeal so strongly to

the popular imagination, and was at once relegated to the background as a purely local affair. To the popular mind the public road had lost all claims to national or even State consideration. And we may well ask, "Was not the evidence conclusive?" To those who had been accustomed to measuring the degree of importance of a road by the direct functions which it performed, certainly the rapid transfer of all long-distance freight and passenger traffic from the roads to the railroads was sufficient and conclusive evidence that all legitimate claims which the public road had had for national recognition had been usurped by the railroad.

For about 50 years this belief held almost undisputed sway. The opposition were but as a small voice crying in the wilder-There appears to have always been a few brave spirits who clung to the belief that the railroads did not destroy the wider importance of the public roads, but rather enhanced it; that the transportation system of the Nation logically comprised both the railroads and the public roads, and any plan which would favor the one at the expense of the other would be inefficient and vicious. But popular prejudice was so strong that it was not until about a quarter of a century ago that the friends of the public road became strong enough to secure State-wide recognition. In 1891 New Jersey went on record as the first convert to the principle that the importance of the public road is State wide and demands that the State bear its fair share of the burden. At the present time no less than 44 States have recognized this principle and made more or less sincere and comprehensive efforts to meet the obligation which it involves.

In recent years this movement has been greatly accelerated by new traffic developments. The automobile and motor truck have obliterated the imaginary boundaries of State, county, and township or district in regard to road matters. From the viewpoint of actual use, the public roads have again taken on the same interstate and national characteristics which they possessed prior to the coming of the railroads. Over 2,000,000 automobiles now daily pass over our roads and streets, and last year they paid a revenue in registrations alone of about \$12,000,000, which was largely devoted to road improvements and road maintenance. The automobile has annihilated distance wherever a good road exists just as truly as has the railroad.

From an economic standpoint, the problem of good roads is not surpassed in importance by any other subject now before the American people. Better, cheaper, and additional transportation facilities in the United States must benefit every inhabitant and result in more development and greater productiveness of our natural resources, meaning more and cheaper

food and more and cheaper necessities of life.

The suggestion as to the use of rural roads by commercial autotrucks and busses is not merely a product of imagination. In many places gasoline-propelled busses are now successfully operating regular routes, sometimes extending far into the country, and, where the haul is but a few miles, transportation of freight by autotruck is sometimes found cheaper and more satisfactory than transportation by rail. In the case of the short haul, the saving in handling and in time more than counterbalances the lower rail rate. Instead of loading the commodities on a truck, unloading at the local railway station, where they must be loaded upon the cars, hauled to the near-by city. and then unloaded and again loaded upon a truck and hauled to the consignee, the user of an autotruck, who has a hard surface road available, loads his products once, hauls to the door of the consignee and unloads, saving not only the handling, but the time, the inconvenience of issuance of waybills and receipts, and avoids damage to goods or deterioration while in transit. I believe that permanent highways will result in very considerable adoption of autotruck hauling in preference to rail transportation where the distance is within a half day's run.

There are about 2,275,000 miles of public roads in the United States. United States mails are regularly carried either by rural delivery or star routes over 1,200,000 miles of this distance. During 1914 there was expended on our public reads a total of \$250,000,000, of which \$50,188,643 was State funds and expended under the supervision of the various State highway departments. This gives us an idea of the magnitude of the road problem which is now before us. But the problem becomes even more formidable when we pause to consider the rate at which these expenditures are increasing. Ten years previous, or, in 1904, our total cash road and bridge expenditures were approximately \$60,000,000, to which should be added the value of the statute labor, which is estimated at slightly less than \$20,000,000. Our cash road and bridge expenditures have, therefore, increased over 300 per cent in 10 years. The States lave

assumed a part of this burden, but at a rate considerably below that at which the total is increasing. Thus in 1904 the States contributed toward road improvement and maintenance the sum of \$2,607,323, and in 1914 this had grown to \$50,188.643, or an increase of somewhat over 180 per cent, as against a total increase of over 300 per cent. And yet less than 11 per cent of the total road mileage of the United States is improved with any kind of surfacing. Does it not appear, Mr. Speaker, as though this were a good place for the strong arm of the Federal Government to step in and lift a little of the ever-increasing burden from the shoulders of the overburdened local taxpayers?

Statistics compiled by the Department of Agriculture show that transportation of freight over the wagon roads costs approximately 21 cents per ton-mile. Transportation of similar commodities over the railroads costs on an average about 0.75

cent per ton-mile.

It would appear that cost of railroad transportation has nearly reached its minimum and that the great problem in effecting economy of transportation of produce lies in reducing

the cost of transportation over the public roads.

Although some material economy in railroad management and operation may still be effected, the reduction will be but an inconsiderable percentage of the total cost of operation and would mean but little to the shipper of produce. The saving that can be made by the construction and maintenance of permanent roads is unquestionably great, for careful investigation has shown that whereas the average cost of transportation on the roads of the United States is approximately 21 cents per tonmile the cost of transportation on the hard-surface roads of France is seldom over 12 cents per ton-mile. This would indicate that hard-surface roads in the United States similar to those in France would effect a saving of 9 cents per ton-mile, or

nearly one-half of the present cost.

Travel over country roads is by no means composed chiefly of heavy hauling. While there is heavy freighting for a short period after harvest, the large majority of trips the farmer makes over the highways are with light load or no load at all. While the maintenance of rural delivery and the establishment of the parcel post have greatly diminished the number of trips the agricultural producer must make between his farm and market town, yet the greater portion of his travel is with a light load, when speed of travel is of chief consequence, in order that time may not be wasted. Those people of ancient times who expressed distance in units of a "day's journey" had a more accurate conception of the value of time than do those who have been accustomed to measure distance only in miles. the rural resident the distance from town or school or neighbors is no more important than the condition of the road and the time required in travel. Prospective buyers of farm property recognize this and willingly pay higher prices for land situated on improved roads. The improved highway, suitable for travel at all seasons of the year, is, therefore, very important to the farmer when used for light traffic as well as when used for transporting the heavier products.

But it is not from the business viewpoint alone that the good-roads problem should be considered. Though the attainment of good roads is desirable for the improvement of conditions for hauling freight, we believe far greater and ultimately much more important benefits will be realized in other respects.

Bad roads make rural life unpleasant, limit opportunities for social intercourse, and interfere with maintenance of good rural schools. The establishment of good roads will do more than any other one thing to aid the "back-to-the-farm" movement.

With city population increasing three times as fast as rural population, and production of foodstuffs not nearly keeping pace with increase in population, there is surely need to make farm life more pleasant and farm operation more profitable. The problem is one of national importance, for congestion of population in cities is a national evil. Upon country life we depend chiefly for the strength and vigor of body, mind, and moral character that make a nation great.

In the effort to halt the drift of men and women toward the city no public undertaking will aid more than improvement of highways, for good roads destroy the isolation of country life, improve market opportunities, and decrease the cost of hauling

farm products to town.

Systematic efforts and cooperation of Nation, States, and counties will make American highways the best in the world, bring remote agricultural lands within practicable hauling distance from railroads, materially raise the value of farm property, enhance the margin of profit on farm products, vastly increase the average daily attendance at rural schools, raise the standard of rural education, make the motor truck an economical vehicle for American farmers, lighten the labors of American

horses, save wear and tear on harness and wagons, and add to the comfort and happiness of all rural residents.

This is surely sufficient to demonstrate that our public roads are of Nation-wide importance. Why, then, should not the National Government assume its just share of the road burden the same as the States have recently assumed their share? Within the States county and district lines no longer mark the limits of the new traffic. Practically every State in the Union has officially recognized this fact and made provisions for assisting the local communities in bearing the burden which originates beyond their borders. But why stop at State lines? This traffic takes no more cognizance of State lines or boundaries than it does of county or other local limits. The automobiles from the State of New York, for example, help to wear out the roads of Tennessee and California. If the States have found it necessary and wise to equalize the burden thus thrown upon the local communities, would it be anything but fair for the Federal Government to assist in equalizing the burdens of the various States?

But how is this going to benefit the farmer? The farmer is naturally interested most directly in the local roads which lead from the farm to the nearest town. State aid is expended largely on main roads leading from county to county. If Federal aid is obtained, is it not reasonable to suppose that this will be devoted largely to main interstate roads? But as it is now the State and local communities are forced to bear the whole burden alone. With Federal aid, at least a portion of this burden would be borne by the National Government and the State and local communities would have just that much

more to apply to the other roads.

Extensive investigations have shown that in general onefourth of our roads carry at least three-fourths of the traffic. These are the roads which require the most expensive improvement and the heaviest outlay for maintenance. Until recently the entire cost of all roads has been on the local community, county, or district. Whatever portion of these heaviest-trafficked roads is taken over or aid given on, just that much more funds will be available for improving and maintaining the local roads. Thus the farmer will directly share in the benefits, no matter whether he lives on a main or local road.

In addition to the power of Congress over all interstate highways under the commerce clause of the Constitution, the Federal Government has constitutional power to establish post offices and post roads. There is no doubt that Congress has the power under the post-roads clause of the Constitution to build and maintain any and all such roads or highways as may, in the judgment of Congress, be necessary for the due and proper transportation of the United States mails and to do so without regard to State aid, fully as much so as it has the power to erect a building in a town or city in which a post office is to be

operated.

Under this clause of the Constitution I have never had any doubt as to the power of Congress to construct and maintain all roads over which rural carriers must perform their services in connection with the collection and delivery of the mails. Rural letter carriers are really and in fact postmasters, in so far as the patrons of their respective routes are concerned. They are traveling postmasters, and the Federal Government has full and complete power to provide all necessary traveling facilities for these traveling postmasters, fully as much so as it has to construct and own suitable buildings in which stationary postmasters perform their official duties. But while this is true as to the power of Congress under the Constitution, the improvement of such roads only as those over which rural carriers perform their official duties would not be of the highest economic value to the general public.

Rural mail routes are la! out with a view to the accommo-

Rural mail routes are la? out with a view to the accommodation of the greatest number of patrons, the object being to serve the greatest number of people rather than to establish routes where they can be best and most cheaply constructed and most economically maintained. As an engineering and economic proposition, rural mail routes do not present the most attractive scheme for national improvement and maintenance of public highways. On this account I think it wiser and better that the National Government be not limited in its provision for the improvement of public roads to those roads only over which the Rural Mail Service is now performed. Believing, as I do, that Congress has the power, under the commerce clause of the Constitution, to build and maintain any and all public roads used wholly or in part in the movement of interstate commerce, I see no reason why the National Government should be limited to the improvement and maintenance only of such roads or parts of roads as ar or may be used in performing the service of rural mail collection and delivery. In fact, the United States Government has now be-

come a public carrier in both intrastate and interstate commerce in the operation of the Parcel Post Service. The United States now carries merchandise in packages from any point in a State to any other point in the same State or from any point in a State to any other point in another State. In addition to carrying both intrastate and interstate commerce through the domestic Parcel Post Service, the Government does a foreign shipping business of goods, wares, and merchandise through the operation of the foreign Parcel Post Service. Therefore it must necessarily follow that whatever the Government has the right and power to do, in order to do it it has the right and power to own and operate at public expense any and all instrumentalities and facilities needed by the Government to enable it to perform such service.

So far as constitutional warrant and power is concerned, if the Government can carry 50 pounds of merchandise in one package, it can carry 100 pounds or a ton. At this time their is no limit to the number of tons of merchandise that may be carried in the Parcel Post Service in both intrastate, inter-state, and foreign commerce if shipped in packages conforming to the law and regulations applicable to such service.

In order to properly discharge the functions of the Postal Service, the Government may and does own public buildings, running in value into hundreds of millions of dollars. It may and does own millions of dollars' worth of mail pouches, mail cars, wagons, horses, automobiles, and other forms of equipment used in the necessary performance of the functions of government pertaining to the Postal Service. If the Government can own a wagon, or a horse, or a mail car, or automobile, paid for with public funds, in all reason can it not as well own the highway upon which and by which these facilities can and must be utilized? If the Government can own one mail car, it can own a thousand if needed. If it can own one car in a train of cars, it can own all the cars in a train if required for Government purposes. If it can own all the cars in a mail train, it can certainly own the engine by which the motive power is furnished to move such train. If it can own the cars in the train and the motive power, it can also own the railroad over which the train moves and all the terminal and other facilities used in the transportation of the mails, including the merchandise freight carried in such mail cars. If the Government, under the Constitution, has power to acquire and own all the railroads and equipment and terminals incident to the grant of power authorizing the establishment of post offices and post roads, it must conclusively follow that under the same power the Government can acquire and operate for the same purpose any and all highways used by it in the transportation of the mails regardless of whether the transportation is intrastate, interstate, or foreign in character. Congress under the same clause of the Constitution has full power to declare all highways over which the mails are or may be carried post roads, and have all such roads maintained at the expense of the Government, regardless of State and county cooperation or participation in such cost of construction and maintenance, just as it does now in constructing and maintaining a post-office building, a Federal court building, a river or harbor improvement, a fort or a battleship. in my judgment, there is no doubt of the power of the Federal Government to construct, maintain, own, and operate any and all public roads for postal or military purposes, without the cooperation and aid of the States, counties, cities, and other municipalities through which such roads are constructed; but, by and with the consent of Congress, States, counties, cities. and other municipalities may join the Federal Government in constructing and maintaining such roads for the benefit of all the people, and in this way reduce the burden of the Federal Government without in any degree impairing the Federal service to be performed by the use of such highways.

In this way the cost of construction and maintenance, being divided, makes it lighter on both governments and in no way impairs the usefulness of these highways for both Federal and

State purposes

While such cooperation and joint use is wise and desirable, I do not think that the Federal Government should make such aid and cooperation by the States and municipalities an absolute condition, upon the compliance with which the improve-ment of postal highways by it must depend. If such a condition attaches, improved Federal post roads will never be constructed in the poorer counties for the reason that such counties are not able to bear the burden of paying for one-half or any substantial part of the cost of such post-road improvements. Such a system will result in having the improvement of public roads used for postal purposes made only in the richer and more well-to-do counties, where good roads may be built and maintained without the aid of the Federal Government in any amount. In

other words, counties and communities able to do without Federal aid will get it and counties not able, within their own resources, to help build and maintain such roads will not get it, and all such counties, on account of their financial inability, will necessarily have to go without improved highways. Such a system would result in having improved highways only in spots and could never result in a uniform system of good roads throughout all the States unless the States shoulder the burden and provide the means of such aid and cooperation with the Federal Government, regardless of the ability of each county in the State to furnish its share of the money necessary to secure improved post roads within its boundaries.

The post-road mileage in poor counties is usually as great as in the richer counties and requires as great an outlay per mile of road for improvement as in the wealthier counties. If such poor counties have to raise by taxation a sum of money equal to that raised by the richer counties in order to secure Govern-ment aid in the construction and maintenance of post roads, they will simply have to go without Government aid, and, being unable to build good roads without such aid, none will be built. Such a system, so applied, will never result in having general good roads throughout an entire State, and to that extent will,

as a whole, prove to be a failure.

My own plan, or rather the plan which I think will be the most feasible, is that when and wherever practicable to do so the Federal Government shall on its own account and at its own expense build, own, maintain, and operate a system of post roads connecting each county seat with the county seat of each adjoining county, even when State lines are to be crossed in order to do so. That they should be good, substantial roads, with hard surface finish, and in all cases suitable for carrying the mails, regardless of the amount and weight of parcel-post packages, and suitable also for the movement of troops, munitions, and equipment for war, in case these roads should ever be needed for military purposes. But it should also be provided that all such roads may be increased in width and standard of quality over the standard width and quality provided for such post and military roads through any State, county, district, or municipality, upon the payment of such a sum as may be necessary to cover the additional expense due to such increase of width and standard, in such manner as may be authorized by act of Congress. By this plan good, substantial post roads can be constructed by the Federal Government between all the county seats in the United States where it is feasible and practicable to do so, and regardless of the financial ability of any State or county to pay any portion of the expense incurred in the construction and maintenance of such roads.

By this plan a system of good roads of aniform width and quality would be provided for every State in the Union. With such a system the burden upon the States, counties, and municipalities in building and maintaining all other needed roads will not be so great as to become prohibitive on any. These Government roads can be and ought to be surveyed by Government Army engineers who have no interest in any property that may be enhanced in value by having one of these roads so surveyed as to run by or through such property.

Army engineers can be used in making these surveys without additional cost to the Federal Government or to the States, and they are quite competent to do the work, and can and will make the surveys with regard only to permanency and economy of

construction.

The building of the Panama Canal, the greatest engineering accomplishment in the world's history, was done by Regular

It will require many years to build these roads and many millions of dollars, but as they are intended to remain for all future time, it is exceedingly important that the construction of them should be scientifically done, and that the maintenance of such a Federal system of highways, so important to the future improvement of the whole country, should not be made to depend upon the financial ability and willingness of States, counties, and municipalities to aid and cooperate in their construction and maintenance.

In this way only, and by this plan only, in my judgment, can certainty and uniformity of construction be secured and permanent maintenance guaranteed.

As these roads are as much or indeed more for the benefit of the generations to follow us than for ourselves, I think at least a part of the burden of their construction should be passed on to those who will use and enjoy them for hundreds of years after the people of this day and generation have passed away. Therefore, I think, we will be justified in issuing the bonds of the Government in sufficient volume to cover the total cost of construction of these post and military roads.

Mr. Speaker, as a first step in the direction of securing the construction of such a system of public highways as I have outlined, I have introduced the following bill:

A bill (H. R. 3600) to provide that the United States shall construct rural post roads between the county seats of the several States.

Be it enacted, etc., That in order to construct and maintain rural post roads the Postmaster General is authorized to designate all highways connecting county seats in each of the several States as rural

ways connecting county seats in each of the several States as rural post roads.

SEC. 2. That the Postmaster General, after making deductions hereinafter provided for, shall apportion the appropriations made under the provisions of this act for each fiscal year among the several States in the following manner:

One-third in the ratio which the area of each State bears to the total area of all the States; one-third in the ratio which the population of each State bears to the total population of all the States, as shown by the latest available Federal census; one-third in the ratio which the mileage of rural post roads of each State bears to the total mileage of rural post roads in all the States.

SEC. 3. That for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act there is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, the sum of \$25,000.000. So much of the appropriation apportioned to any State for any discal year as remains unexpended at the close thereof shall be available for expenditure until the close of the succeeding fiscal year.

State for any fiscal year as remains unexpended at the close thereof shall be available for expenditure until the close of the succeeding fiscal year.

SEC. 4. That so much of the appropriation made under the provisions of this act as the Postmaster General may estimate to be necessary, not to exceed 5 per cent, shall be deducted by him at the beginning of each fiscal year for administering the provisions of this act, and any portion of such amount unexpended at the close of any fiscal year shall be made a part of the appropriation for the succeeding fiscal year and reapportioned according to this act. Within 60 days after the final passage of this act, and thereafter on or before January 20 next preceding the commencement of the fiscal year, the Postmaster General shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury the amount which he has apportioned to each State for such fiscal year. All payments under this act shall be made by the Secretary of the Treasury on warrants drawn by the Postmaster General.

SEC. 5. The term "rural post road" as used in this act shall be deemed to include all public roads over which the United States mails are or may be transported that connect the county seats of contiguous or adjoining counties. The Postmaster General shall cause to be made such surveys, plans, specifications, and estimates as he may require, and shall advertise for bids for all of the work or do the work as may otherwise be provided for by the laws of the United States.

SEC. 6. All road work in the several States done under the provisions of this act shall be under the direct supervision of the Postmaster General. The final cost of the work shall include a reasonable expense for engineering, inspection, and unforeseen contingencies not to exceed 10 per cent of the total cost of the work.

SEC. 7. That out of the appropriation provided by this act the Postmaster General is authorized to employ such assistants, clerks, and other persons, in the city of Washington and elsewhere, to purchase such supplies, material, eq

The Obstacles to Waterway and Port Development and Their Vital Interest to American Manufacturers and Wage Earners and Our Need of an American Merchant Marine.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. GREENE.

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 14, 1915.

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address by Edward F. McSweeney, chairman directors of the port of Boston, before the Twelfth Annual Convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, December 8, 1915, Washington, D. C., on the obstacles to waterway and port development and their vital interest to American manufacturers and wage earners and our need of an American merchant marine.

The address is as follows:

THE OBSTACLES TO WATERWAY AND PORT DEVELOPMENT AND THEIR VITAL INTEREST TO AMERICAN MANUFACTURERS AND WAGE EARNERS AND OUR NEED OF AN "AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE."

[By Edward F. McSweeney, chairman directors of the port of Boston, before the Twelfth Annual Convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Dec. 8, 1915, Washington, D. C.]

This organization advocates policies, not projects, and I am grateful for the privilege of expressing a few thoughts connected

with the policy which comprehends the improvement of our rivers and harbors, the establishment of an American merchant marine, and freedom of the seas. Without minimizing the importance of other interests and issues now before the people, these, it is no exaggeration to say, are not dwarfed by comparison with any other subject now before the American people.

The history of the United States shows that when it waked up to the fact that its prosperity depended on a merchant

marine it secured one adequate for its purposes.

Between the close of the Revolution and the War of 1812 we developed an efficient merchant marine, having in 1810 substantially as many tons of shipping as we had when the present European war started in 1914. In the early forties, when the British Government began to pay subsidies to British ships, the answer of the United States was to give similar encouragement to American shipping. Under this impetus the tonnage of United States ships engaged in the foreign trade increased 300 per cent in a few years. In 1855 we had twice and a half as much tonnage in the foreign trade as we had July 1, 1914. In 1855 we carried 74 per cent of American exports in American bottoms; in 1914 we carried only 8 per cent.

In 1914 of the ship tonnage which left England for the United States 93 per cent fiew the English flag and 4 per cent flew the American flag. Of the ship tonnage leaving Germany for the United States 89 per cent flew the German flag and two-tenths of

1 per cent flew the American flag.

Of the ship tonnage leaving this country for Germany in 1914, 75 per cent flew the German flag, 22 per cent the English flag, and two-tenths of 1 per cent flew the American flag.

Of the ship tonnage leaving this country for England that year 93 per cent flew the English flag, 4 per cent the American

flag, and 1 per cent the German flag.

unopposed.

It is interesting, in view of the violent opposition to subsidies shown in recent partisan discussions in Congress on the question of reestablishing an American merchant marine, to realize that the policy of subsidies and mail subventions, which proved so successful in the forties, was originated by Democratic statesmen and was a distinctively Democratic doctrine. Constructive Democratic statesmanship before the Civil War gave us a subsidized, subvention-aided American merchant marine capable of coping with our competitors in all the markets of the world. which reduced the cost of ocean freights and prospered, as did the Nation. Sectional bitterness before the war wiped it out. Afterwards the bulk of our people, irrespective of political affiliations, unwisely thought we did not need a foreign trade to main-

Our United States coastwise, lake, and river shipping trade ever since the founding of the American Government has by law been reserved solely to American vessels. As a result, while our tonnage in the over-sea trade is substantially no larger than it was a hundred years ago, our coastwise tonnage in the past 130 years has multiplied a hundredfold and is to-day a highly developed and prosperous business, in which it is American competing against American, with an equal standing in wages and conditions. In our over-seas trade it is American against foreigner, with an overwhelming advantage of lower wages, living conditions, and certain very powerful forms of national assistance on the side of the alien, plus an alien ship trust beyond the reach of our laws. The evidence before the United States Senate committee during the last two years shows that every unfair measure to control the seas against American competition has been This Shipping Trust is powerful only because it is resorted to.

Twenty-five or more years ago Bismarck realized that unless he created a German merchant marine industrial and com-mercial Germany would be but a dream. With the resources of his Empire backing him, he declared and carried on such a commercial maritime war on the English system of rates and service that in order to avoid utter ruin Great Britain surrendered and allowed Germany to obtain its proportionate share of the earth's commerce. Until the present war broke out this Shipping Trust was a German and English confederation, each being resolved to keep this country in a position of commercial vassalage, and, although German shipping is to-day idle, we may be certain that when peace comes again a community of over-sea commercial interests will again bring together the German and English in the same trust in opposition to any attempt to create an American merchant marine. We do not desire England's downfall, and only ask the right freely to use the seas, which we are denied. What Bismarck did we can also do, and especially under the more favorable conditions due to the war.

The Shipping Trust has taken advantage of the control of water-front rights on the Atlantic coast by American railroads to extort free wharfage for their ships in operation in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and so forth, a practice which not only

adds needless burdens to the railroads, but discourages interest in port development and improvement. Only two or three ports in the United States are under absolute public control, half a dozen or so have partial public control, and over the remaining 40 or more ports the people have no control. The remedy is within the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which, by compelling the separation of ocean terminal accounting from railroad operation, would throw such a white light on the losses now being assessed on American railroads for the benefit of foreign shipowners, to be charged back on American shippers, that an immediate solution of this question would be forced. Imagine an American ship sailing into an English or German port and demanding free use of wharves and terminals on the threat that if Southampton or Hamburg did not grant this request Plymouth or Bremerhaven would. If any of these ports would be weak enough to consider it, the National Government would step in as a matter of national honor and selfinterest; yet this is exactly the way Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore are played against each other. In addition, our shipping laws, rate differentials, and other burdens, which are within our own power to remedy, are operating to make impossible the investment of private capital in over-sea marine property, thus leaving the control of the seas to our foreign rivals.

Situated as we are, between Europe and the Orient, and nextdoor neighbor to South America, this war, following the building of the Panama Canal and the passage of the Federal reserve act, gives the United States the opportunity to become the world's middleman. Supported by the National Government and all our ports utilized as assets of the Nation, we can build up in time a general over-seas trade which will, by providing a foreign market for our surplus products, expand our manufactures and our agricultural and mining enterprises. During the last 200 years England, and during the last generation Germany, through the trading system their export trade makes possible, have built up and given opportunity for cooperation to manufacturers and traders in both foreign buying and selling, resulting in economic production and distribution. Compared with London and Hamburg, New York is nothing but a harbor with huge facilities for sending out and receiving freight and passengers. It is not a trading port, and it never will be while

its business is carried in alien ships.

One example of the effect of the loss to the United States because we have no merchant marine is shown in the staple of cotton, of which we produce the bulk of all grown in the world. In 1912 England sold the United States \$25,000,000 worth of Egyptian cotton, and that same year sold to Continental European markets 325,000.000 pounds of cotton grown in this country, a large part of which, with an American merchant marine, should have been bought and sold directly by our American cotton growers. Further, a study of transportation and market costs shows that the British manufacturers of goods made from cotton grown in the United States ; re able to buy the cotton at a lower price than New England factories have to pay for it. We raise wool in this country, and since we built the Panama Canal the Australasian wool market is substantiall, as near to us as it is to England, yet because of our inability to ship our own goods we are obliged to allow London to dictate its price and exact a middleman's profit. We use in the United States more than two-thirds of the world's rubber crop, yet the price has been dictated by the London market, and the same is true in many of our own staples.

The belief that our foreign trade has improved since the war is unjustified. The great increase in the value of our exports is due wholly to the demand for supplies and materials used in warfare, and has upset the industrial balance of the United States. At the present time we are sending out of this country to the warring nations of Europe manitions and accessories of war at the rate of \$100,000,000 per month in excess of the normal export before the war. This means that we have about 800,000 wage earners employed for a full year, who at the close

of the war will be the innocent victims of the gigantic read-justment that must take place in industrial America.

Our prosperity to-day carries great dangers with it. There is no doubt that after the war there will be an extreme reaction. and the longer the war lasts the harsher and more severe this will be. The answer is to get our foreign business on a sub-stantial basis without delay. Whoever wins in the present war, there must be a world-wide industrial reorganization based on efficiency applied to industry and finance. The fact that in Great Britain and in France, as well as in Germany, practically the entire munition business and manufactures of many correlated industries have been socialized will bring about drastic changes after the war which will have a great effect upon democratic institutions everywhere.

Our trade balance for the year ending June 30, 1915, in normal legitimate merchandise was smaller than it has been since 1910, and almost \$200,000,000 less than that of the year before the war. For five years before the war our export trade in most articles was substantially at a standstill: in some cases actually going backward. The balance of trade against us with South America in the past 12 years has amounted to over \$1,000,000,000, which was spent in Europe for supplies, a large part of which this country should have furnished.

Whatever else may be muddled in Great Britain since the war began, she has never relaxed her care for the trade upon which her wealth and greatness rest. The bottling up of the German and Austrian merchant marine, the handicaps placed on neutral shipping, the seizure of our ships, the interruptions of, and inroads into, our trade by "Orders in Council," followed a well-defined plan and have been accompanied by a restoration of the British reexport and middleman business to substantially normal conditions. This has been supplemented by activities that point to a seizure, when the war ends, of the

world's markets on a larger scale than ever before,

A case in point is the manufacture of dyes, the control of which before the war was in Germany and which control England has been using every effort to secure. Our progress in dye manufacture since the war has been wonderful. Yesterday's papers report that the export of logwood from Jamaica to the United States has been prohibited by order of the British Government. Knowing that the purpose behind this act is to cripple our threatened primacy in this important industrial need, if we are content to cease to strive to be the leader by the only proper agency available to us—a merchant marine—we must not complain later, when the thousand and one industries that must use dyes must go abroad for them instead of buying them at home. While we are foolishly crippling our staple industries to gain the gambler's profits of war supplies, Great Britain is conserving her normal industries carefully and making the exigencies of the war a cloak to deprive neutral nations of their right to trade even with other neutral nations.

The point that can not be evaded is that whether we acquire an American merchant marine by the proposed ship-purchase bill, subsidies, preferential duties, discriminating tonnage dues, or by any other method, we must still work out in advance of any of these the settlement of such vexatious questions as the evils of free wharfage, railroad differentials, and the other handicaps of our own making, operating against the establishment and growth of an American overseas marine under pri-

vate ownership.

If, to-day, the ship-purchase bill were in operation, where would Government ships dock in New York? While New York docks are ostensibly under public control, the real value of that control has been dissipated by leases for a long series of years.

Where would the ship-purchase bill fleet dock in Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore? If they docked at the railroadowned waterfront, would the Government demand the free wharfage privileges now exacted by the International Shipping

Trust?

If the theory be sound that a merchant marine is as necessary and useful for the Middle West as it is for a seaport, and its economic benefits inure to the farmer, stockman, and miner of the trans-Mississippi region as equitably as they do to the manufacturer, merchant, and shipper of the coast Commonwealths, why should a rate differential, which makes it cheaper to export from Chicago by way of Philadelphia and Baltimore than by New York or Boston, be permitted to continue? Why should the Interstate Commerce Commission allow an equal rate to Gulf ports from the interior, while denying that right to the Atlantic ports?

Under a ship-purchase bill the Government could not permit such discriminations; it would not enter into secret compacts or make special contracts with railroads to divide the profits of such discriminatory policies. If, as is patent, such policies would not be permitted to continue under the operation of the ship-purchase bill, why are they permitted to exist to-day in the light of their palpable injustice to the ports and people of the Atlantic seaboard? The Government, through the Inter-state Commerce Commission, has it in its power to-day without additional law to clear away most of the handicaps which operate to benefit the foreign Shipping Trust and prohibit marine over-sea investment.

With the exception of Mexico, from the Arctic to the Antarctic, we are between ourselves a continent of peace, but while we expect to enjoy permanent peace, this does not carry with it any guarantee of freedom from competition in the effort to oust

us from our place in the markets of the world.

In the matter of encouragement of commerce we can take a good lesson from our northern neighbor, the Dominion of Canada, which, profiting perhaps by our mistakes, has placed this matter of governmental aid on the sound, economic basis

of national need and utility instead of sectionalism.

With an area one-fifth larger than ours, and a population one-twelfth as large, the Dominion Government has expended to date over a billion dollars in aiding Canadian projects of distinctly national character, including direct payment of \$240,000,000 to the Provinces to assist them in developing their resources; \$115,000,000 has been given for canals, which last year handled 27,500,000 tons of shipping and 37,000,000 tons of freight, a remarkable record, when we consider that these canals are feebound six months in the year. Seagoing vessels have already gone through the new Welland Canal (now building and expected to be finished in 1918) from the head of the Great Lakes to the Atlantic without breaking bulk, and then sailed for Europe. This means a revolution in export freight rates, ocean and rail, both American and Canadian, especially on grain and other bulk commodities, which will have its effect on our ports.

Government assistance to railways in Canada has always been of a distinctly national character, with the result that the Grand Trunk and the Canadian Northern, with the Canadian Pacific, give three Canadian transcontinental lines. This has so stimulated the growth of the Canadian steamship business that to-day it actually encircles the world with Canadian

services.

Steamship lines have not been neglected, the Dominion Government having expended in mail subsidies and steamship subventions more than \$33,000,000 for the purpose of maintaining over-sea and local services on the Atlantic and Pacific and on lakes and rivers.

As a result of this national assistance to national projects, based on national needs, manufacturing establishments in Canada have grown 30 per cent in 10 years, during which time capital invested in Canada shows a gain of 180 per cent, against a growth in the United States of 105 per cent; the value of raw material used in industry has increased 125 per cent, against 85 per cent for the United States. The value of the finished Canadian product is 142 per cent more than it was 10 years ago, as compared with our 80 per cent increase for the United States. Canadian field crops gained 200 per cent, against our 83 per cent, and foreign commerce 130 per cent, against our 75 per cent.

The progress of Canada and the manner in which she has taken hold on the basis of national efficiency, especially in the appropriations for transportation, whether canal, railway, river,

or harbor, is well worth our study and emulation.

To-day heroic efforts are being made by agents of foreign governments to route shipments of war materials and military supplies through ports that can handle promptly the business for Italy, Russia, and other European countries, and are meeting with failure. The refusal to expedite shipments which these nations are auxious to get, and the insistence on using congested ports, whose facilities are paralyzed, ought to be worth the attention of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Commercial fatuity of this sort is as strange as it is mysterious. I am informed that the American Woolen Co. has to-day 17,000 packages of its products waiting for shipment to Archangel, and while that port was yet ice free appealed to the Russian legation in Washington to permit shipments by way of Boston, but without success. Rails, engines, and other railroad material apparently greatly needed by Russia to make physical connection with its projected port west of Archangel and alleged to be free of ice all winter are delayed. Although railroads and manufacturers are anxious to ship from Boston goods from Lawrence, which is only 26 miles from Boston, these goods are held for ships which lie in New York unable, because of congestion, to get cargoes.

This bit of information, relating to a New England port, may be merely of local interest, yet it points to conditions that demand the attention of those who, loving their country, will never willingly consent to see it degenerate into a commercial province of Europe. If there exists in this country potent partners of the International Shipping Trust, with power to make and unnake ports, it is time the Nation knew it. It is not a simple thing to place the fate of any American community in the hands of some unfriendly power or organization.

A strong Federal shipping board to reach out from the land where the authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission stops, to take cognizance of commercial needs and, when necessary, of conspiracies and schemes against our commerce and penalize their activities, should be created. We can not spend moded for a vast minimum millions for rivers and harbors to make smooth the way for an improvements instead.

alien trust or domestic wreckers of commerce, and some such national agency to save us from both is urgently needed.

It is for us to decide whether the United States will be a power or a province, not free in theory and dependent in fact. The ship that comes to our port under an alien flag should take second place to the ship carrying our own flag. The few ships we have meet exactly this treatment in Europe and oriental harbors. They must pay harbor and wharfage dues. They get only that which they are obliged to receive. The American who secretly or openly seeks to make the interest and prosperity of America and American shipping or trade secondary to those of our rivals and competitors is and should be held to be a public enemy. That flabby doctrine which has led us to give the alien competitor the wheat and our American manufacturers and merchants the chaff spells commercial ruin. Give the world the best of hospitality under our roof, but not the title deeds of our home.

The United States has come to a parting of the ways. It is abhorrent but true that the modern world of competition, which by modern invention has narrowed oceans and destroyed distances, is, for all its fine phrases and speech of Christianity, brotherhood, humanity, justice, still a warring world. In the practical affairs of life and living, working and striving, we deal, however, with the world as it is and not the ideal world

we wish it were.

If we desire the United States to continue in progress and prosperity when we come to the doors that lead out into the world, we must present a united and solid front to all our competitors. We are producing in the United States to-day in all our departments of national industry much more than our home markets require. If we are to retain our prosperity, this surplus must be disposed of in foreign markets. To get the over-seas markets we need our own ships. To employ our own ships is to strengthen our country industrially, financially, and commercially, for while we employ allen carriers we are just so much poorer by the \$300,000,000 a year we pay in tolls under normal conditions and at their mercy in the days of stress, such as those through which we are now passing. If we discard the idea of foreign markets and keep our surplus products at home, we will soon learn that the price of the unmarketable, unsold product governs the price of the whole, and the result means idleness, distress, and hard times at home and national weakness and contempt abroad.

Let us differ as we will as to the ways and means in our domestic policies, but when we come to our waterways and harbors let us present a united front to an alien world. When questions of American honor, rights, and commerce are concerned we are all Americans, and Americans only. In all questions of policy and intercourse with other peoples partisan policies, misdirected friendship, misguided philanthropy, and other agencies of national weakness must be thrust sternly and remorselessly aside. We can perform no more patriotic service at this time than to provide ourselves with that adjunct of peace and of war-equally serviceable to both-an American merchant marine, the need of which should be a second religion with the American people. Unless the activities in securing for-eign markets by the South can enlist the cooperative sympathy of the North, the West, and the East, and vice versa; unless there is reciprocity of aim and effort for the common national good and a suppression of provincial jealousies and parochial distinctions which divide our people and sap our national strength we can not hope to succeed.

If with the war helping us we can not secure the freedom of the seas, as we did when it was attempted to be taken from us in the forties, and as Germany did after the Franco-Prussian War, we confess ourselves as a Nation inferior in courage and in patriotism to our forbears—a premise which, if placed properly before the American people, they will indignantly refuse

to accept.

National Defense.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES H. DAVIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 14, 1915.

Mr. DAVIS of Texas, Mr. Speaker, my system of preparedness is to spend most of the stupendous sum of money now demanded for a vast military and naval imperialism for internal improvements instead.

Less than a year ago we were signing peace treaties and programs with all the earth and justly boasting that we were taking the lead in a move for world peace. Aglow with a transcendent love of humanity, freedom, and justice inculcating the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, we stood for "peace on

earth and good will among men.'

Eut behold a mysterious change! A reversal and repudiation of that policy is now headlined in all our press, and they that stand for the glory of God and the grandeur of men and refuse to bow in humble submission before the minions and myrmidons of a war god are maligned, mocked, and traduced as mollycoddles filled with mental aberrations and visions, while the clamor for armies and armaments, big guns, big ships, and big navies goes on and would take millions of our most stalwart and able-bodied men from the peaceful walks of life and put them under charge of cocked hats, braided belts, shoulder straps, and bucklers, to march up and down the country chafing for a murderous war dance, like a "roaring lion seeking whom he may devour," piling all this avalanche of expense upon the weaklings, the old, the infirm, and the honest business man, all to prepare for a war that few, except the mercenary, want and none but the reckless military bravado ever expects to come.

As for myself, being a new Member, circumscribed and bound by rules of seniority and precedence, I can do but little more than enter a most solemn protest against such profligate waste and to say that nothing but an immediate and most imminent danger, incurable by any other means, could induce me to entail such a burden on our country and enthrone such a gigantic en-

gine of oppression.

Are we to make hypocrisy of our "red cross good Samaritan conduct" and instead of healing wounds and ministering to suffering humanity in war make Moloch our god and Mammon our Christ by challenging the world to combat and running riot

in blood, butchery, and carnage?

If I could vacate my conviction of duty for party preferment, would console myself, for it certainly seems to me that all the great interests who would make millions out of this program and who have brought on all this pandemonium for preparedness will line up for Mr. Wilson and see to it that he is elected for

four years more to carry out his five-year program.

When the President took this position he put the Republican Party into a bed of quicksand, to go deeper in mire the more they worked. They will therefore be forced to go to the country alone on that old, hoary, effete fraud called a protective tariff, which will fall on deaf ears when all the great factories are running on double-shift time to carry out this stupendous program of so-called preparedness.

But I had rather stand on a five-year program of internal improvements-dig out the Hudson River up to the New York Canal and on to the Great Lakes, connecting with Duluth, 2,000 miles away; then from the Lakes to the Mississippi, with an intercoastal canal system in the Southern States; build a thorough system of public roads and a great merchant marine, and

prepare for business instead of butchery.

I think President Wilson one of the grandest men that ever occupied the Presidency, and I thank God that in these days of cruel cataclysms in war he has been a man of peace. I think he is surrounded by a set of most praiseworthy and patriotic coun-

selors in the Democratic household.

But as a Congressman I am unwilling to commit myself to any very large extension of our Army or Navy. I would like to double or treble our Army and Navy schools, preparing an adequate number of young men for expert service in time of need; enlarge our Rock Island Arsenal; manufacture and keep on hand an ample supply of first-class guns, munitions, and like equipments; plant several aeronautic stations on our shores, with submarine and mine equipments. Thus prepared and relying on a citizen soldiery, if we give the citizen freedom and fairplay at home we will be impervious to all attacks.

I fear a very large part of this clamor for preparedness is inspired by the Money Trust, Steel Trust, Powder Trust, Shipbuilding Trust, and so forth, which are growing fabulously richer and more powerful over the war contracts from Europe and want to have this country in a frenzy over a big Army and Navy, so when their big contracts with the allies in Europe close they can feast a few years more on our own Federal Treasury in big, fat

contracts at home.

What countries do we expect to attack us? If our program is only defensive, I see no danger. The clashing Governments of Europe are now bankrupting their Governments and murdering their men by the million. Unless Morgan or some of our predatory rich furnish them money, it would be impossible for them to invade and maintain a war with our country. Stupid must be the man who thinks that Japan or China, even both,

could mobilize an army, wade the oceans 10,000 miles, and invade our country. Germany seems to be the specter of dread that the jingoes refer to. Germany will have enemies enough in Europe to keep her busy for a generation, even if she comes

out of this dreadful war alive.

Bryan, Wilson's great partner in this wonderful peace and prosperity we now have, made solemn treaties with most nations of the earth to refer all questions to The Hague one year before a declaration of war or an overt act of violence. Shall we tell the world that we have no confidence in its treaties? Is Christianity dead and honor extinct and the world a prize ring in which bruté force alone is master? Kings, emperors, aristocrats, and great, greedy corporations will keep the world in a maelstrom of misery and war if democracy, freedom, and justice are not allowed to assert themselves.

I would have the Government make its own Army supplies, munitions, guns, gunboats, and aeroplanes. One who feels a pang of sorrow over the present cruel war grows horrified and heartsick as he sees the great gun and powder factories of the earth in partnership supplying the guns and munitions that pre-pare both sides for the slaughter. The Krupps in Germany and the Armstrongs in England, leagued in corporate partnership, have furnished deadly machines of murder that thunder on both sides of every battle. If war is "hell," as Sherman said, then let us keep out of "hell" by preparing for a glorious civilization at home, enlarge our ports and merchant marine, curb the rapacity of the malevolent rich who concentrate our natural and productive resources into a few greedy hands.

"Establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity," not make all our farmers tenants and our laboring millions serfs to soulless corporations and our merchants peons to a few trusts in order that a few bankers like Morgan and Rockefeller may be masters of all our gigantic enterprises, thus promoting debt,

discord, riot, strikes, and misery among the masses.

"Provide for the common defense" by making our people free, prosperous, and happy, and then the combined world could not invade and conquer us. A contented citizen soldiery is invincible. "Promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty" to the masses and not to the big corporate classes.

The price of several warships would better be spent in impounding the vast snow melt along the base of the Rocky Mountains for irrigation over the fertile valleys below, which stand thirsting for that which, if interned, would bless millions of people and make their homes prosperous. The price of a few more warships and the price of a large standing army could well be spent in dredging and disinfecting sluggish and miasmatic swamps and streams, giving health and wealth to vast sections of country now infected with disease, stagnation, and death. The price of a few dreadnaughts would be far better spent in erect-

ing a system of continental military highways.

Some provision must be made in our defense program to prevent the great corporations from feasting on the ruin of our country in war, and money should be made to fight for its country the same as men. All goes down in war except gold, which stands triumphant over every battle field, cleans up the wreck, and makes millions out of its carnage. The more ferocious the war, the larger its margins. The moanings of millions of mangled soldiers and grief-stricken citizens, helpless in poverty by war, are songs of jubilation and joy to the world's gold syndicate, which stands in splendor over ruined and ravished humanity. The cadaverous faces of a million dead soldiers only emphasize the triumphant march of gold to more sumptuous splendor, when it can clip the coupons from Government bonds and command the tax collectors to pay tribute of millions of dollars taken from the honest enterprise and toll of the survivors of a cruel slaughter, which the lords of gold themselves, in league with great gun, powder, and munition factories, have often instigated.

Until these unscrupulous Molochs of misery and death can be muzzled and forbidden to feast in ghoulish glee on the dead and dying men in war, we may expect greed and gold to keep the

world in conflict.

The gold syndicate to-day holds the earth in the hollow of its At the close of the war it will be the royal receiver of the famished and bankrupt nations, with every customhouse its fiscal agent and every tax collector a subagent, in obedience to these masters of civilization, who from their castles and corridors will compel even emperors and kings to obey their orders,

Every page of history teaches us that national imperialism leads to military despotism. One of 'the last loving expressions of the father of Democracy—Jefferson—was to reaffirm his warning against a "standing army,"

After Napoleon had baptized a continent in blood and submerged it in sorrow and stood in melancholy solitude and retrospection on St. Helena, viewing the havoc and horrors wrought by his ruthless hand, he left to mankind the logic of this sentence:

The more I study the world, the more I am convinced of the inability of brute force to create anything durable.

The Duke of Wellington, who at Waterloo stopped the murderous stampede of Napoleon, said:

War is a most detestable thing. If you had seen but one day of it, you would pray God that you might never see another.

George Washington, first in the hearts of his countrymen, first in peace, and first in war, said:

My first wish is to see this plague of mankind banished from the earth.

Gen. Grant, the hero of Appomattox, by virtue of closing that cruel American fratricidal struggle of the sixties, said:

Though educated a soldier, and having passed through two wars, I have always been a man of peace, preferring to see questions of difference settled by arbitration. It has been my misfortune to have been engaged in more battles than any other American general, but there was never a time during my command when I would not have chosen some settlement by reason rather than by the sword.

Gen. Sherman, one of the leading war commanders of the sixties, nauseated with the blood of battle, said:

I confess without shame that I am tired and sick of war. Its glory is all moonshine. It is either those who have neither heard a shot nor the shricks and groans of the wounded who cry aloud for more blood, more vengeance, more desolation. War is hell!

Yet, here are we, a great missionary, Christian Nation, at peace with all the world, proposing to plunge our country in debt and excessive taxation to prepare for entrance into what Sherman says " is hell."

We may point with pride to the touring ramparts of a resounding army of drums, flying flags amid massive armament and mighty guns, as glorious emblems of our national strength; but in the citizen, standing at the threshold of a freeman's home, that sacred, sanctified spot on earth, hallowed in song and made free from the greedy hand of the usurer and exorbitant taxation is the surest foundation for our enduring greatness, and to such a citizen alone can we look when armies league in oppression and the drum tap becomes a terror or when barricades break forth in mutiny.

To him who defends such a home war has no terror and death no sting. With such citizenship we can live in peace and joy at home and stand triumphant against the world should it conspire to invade our country.

My approbation or objection to measures offered by the President amounts to but little, but in order that I may deal frankly with the people of Texas, my constituents, I suggest that, aside from his demand for an overwhelming Army and Navy, I think his message a grand document. Cherishing a high regard for our Chief Executive, I sorely regret the necessity I feel to thus differ with him, but the Constitution makes the lower House of Congress the sole taxing power of this Republic. The President has often said that this is not a partisan question; hence I most certainly give no cause for Democratic umbrage when, following the dictates of my conscience, I oppose the measure, especially since Mr. Taft, Mr. Cannon, and most all the leading Republicans are lined up for it.

Among the scores of letters and petitions I have received from Texas not one has solicited the indorsement of the propaganda, but, on the contrary, the following is a substantial evidence of sentiment in the homes of Texas:

HILLSBORO, TEX., November 27, 1915. Hon. J. H. Davis, M. C., Sulphur Springs, Tex.

Sulphur Springs, Tex.

Dear Sie: We, the undersigned petitioners of the rural communities of Hill County, Tex., do earnestly appeal to the President, the Senators, and Representatives in Congress to be moderate in taxing the people of the United States for preparedness for war.

We are willing to furnish our sons to defend our country and our daughters for nurses at any time when it is honorable and right to do so, but when it is wrong to create war, we would rather build ships like the Titanic, and placing all the jingoes in it sink them to the bottom of the Atlantic.

W. R. Kimmon, R. F. Clack, A. J. Harper, E. F. Hamilton, S. F. Hamilton, J. W. Eagleston, J. Z. Baird, J. H. Danell, C. J. Danell, J. K. Hair, Johnson Danell, J. T. Johnson, T. W. Southward, C. I. Rhea, W. F. Clack, W. B. Griffin, R. F. Wilsen, C. O. Pritchett, G. R. Priddy, J. J. Taylor, B. W. Harper, E. D. Smith, C. F. Blissit, J. D. Good, J. T. Hawbright, J. L. Hawbright, C. M. Wheeler, W. A. Landon, C. O. Southward, J. C. Lightsey, J. E. Wilson, W. H. Young, J. S. Terry, W. W. Vessels, H. W. Brooks, W. H. Morgan, B. S. Perry, T. C. Johnston, J. B. Walden, T. F. Johns, J. S. Morgan, J. H. Hester, Patrick Love, S. C. Lockett, J. A. Atkins, W. C. J. Light, N. E. Walden, W. H. Webo.

The Constitution gives Congress alone the power "to raise and support armies" and "to provide and maintain a navy." Standing within my constitutional rights, my appeal is in behalf of the common man who must bear the toil, endure the pain that such a proposed army and naval appropriation would entail.

We are already running behind in current expenses by the millions and every conceivable method of taxation is being resorted Shall Congress now strap an additional burden of a billion dollars on the people's back?

If we must have this imperial Army and Navy let us levy an inheritance tax on the swollen fortunes that have been piled up through special privilege and governmental favoritism; raise the graduated surtax on the overgrown incomes of the imperious rich, and make them who are now clamoring like military maniacs for these stupendous armaments bear the burden of its expense and maintenance.

Rural Motor Routes.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK PARK,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 14, 1915.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, notwithstanding the fact that the rural free-delivery carriers have for the past 14 years been in the civil service, the people generally are not informed accu-

rately of civil-service requirements and operations.

As a result of the order of the Postmaster General establishing motor vehicle rural free-delivery routes, the Civil Service Com-mission created a distinct class of rural free-delivery carriers, known as motor-route carriers, by which old carriers on horsedrawn vehicle routes have been summarily thrown out of employment after years of faithful service; a departmental injustice has been done which people can not harmonize with their sense of fair dealing.

The idea prevails that when one qualifies and receives appointment under the civil service he holds the position as long as he is faithful and efficient, and only his wrong conduct can displace him.

Men who entered the service when it was first established, with compensation that barely furnished support, have, by faithful effort, built up this service until it has become the pride of the Nation. These men, without fault or failure on their part, have been summarily dismissed from the service, having families on their hands, debts to pay, and no employment by which to earn a living.

No department of the Government can justify such conduct before the people.

Had these carriers been given 12 months' notice of the conditions which now confront them, they could have prepared to meet the conditions and the service could have been changed, where practicable, with little friction, and the old carriers could have qualified and performed the service on the motor-vehicle routes acceptably. In the event they could not prepare for qualification, they could at least have had an opportunity to seek other employment by which to earn a living.

Many patrons of the Rural Free Delivery Service are dis-satisfied with these changes. In many instances mail boxes have been moved from the front gate to a distance of one-fourth to a half mile away, and sometimes even farther. No longer can the small children of a family go for the mail; for no mother will trust her little children to go a quarter or half a mile through the woods to the mail box in a country where roving negroes do not respect infancy, childhood, or motherhood when they are caught alone and unprotected.

There will not be six motor-vehicle routes in the second district of Georgia, of the great number proposed, that can successfully carry the mails through the rainy season. The roads will not permit it. The county commissioners of roads and revenues know it, and are the best advised as to whether or not motor vehicles can travel to an advantage over the roads in a county.

Another defect in the proposed system that consolidates two horse-drawn-vehicle routes to be served by one carrier with a motor vehicle is that formerly the two-horse-route carriers left the post office simultaneously and made their rounds, distributing the mail at the same time, and by this method the farmer received his daily papers before the noon hour and had the noon hour in which to read them.

The motor-vehicle route serves one section in the morning and the other section in the afternoon and evening, and half of the people now get their daily papers in the afternoon, which makes it necessary for the farmer to do his reading at night

by kerosene lamp, thereby taking from his rest hours for that purpose.

There is great dissatisfaction because of this delayed delivery

of the mails.

Another cause of dissatisfaction among the people living on the rural routes results from inattention of the department to protests, petitions, and letters which they receive from all parts of the country. The department takes its agent and witnes -and gives his testimony more weight than it does the inspectorto that of all the people who live on the routes, including the county commissioners of a county.

The people pay for the service and feel that they should be heard and their petitions and protests considered before such

radical changes are instituted.

Of all the changes made under any administration in any department of the Government, this change in the rural-route service has created more discontent, dissatisfaction, and antagonism.

In the second district of Georgia the rural delivery service is unsatisfactory and the dissatisfaction is general. I know of no motor-vehicle route proposed in my district where the patrons

welcome the change and are not opposed to it.

I incorporate here a reply of the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General to a letter written him, in which I requested specific information relating to the establishment of motor-vehicle

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
FOURTH ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, December 9, 1915.

Hon. Frank Park, House of Representatives.

My Dear Congressman: I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2d instant, requesting specific information relative to the establishment of motor routes and the readjustment of the rural delivery postal service in general and of that in the district represented by you in particular; also in regard to the method pursued by the department in connection with the employment of carriers in the motor rural service.

by you in particular; also in regard to the method pursued by the department in connection with the employment of carriers in the motor rural service.

In reply I respectfully submit that a review of the system of collection and delivery of mail on rural routes disclosed numerous extravagant and wasteful methods. These had long been recognized but apparently failed of correction for one cause or another.

Further, post-office inspectors and representatives of the Post Office Department in many post offices had repeatedly reported the useless and unnecessary duplication of service and the retracing of travel for the accommodation of a very limited number of patrons, and in some instances apparently for the extension of the mileage traveled on account of the effect it would have upon the compensation of the carrier. In addition, many rural routes were established without regard to the postal necessity involved and simply because some patron circulated a petition and secured the requisite number of names, thereby increasing the importance of the particular office at which he may have resided and obtaining a position for himself or a relative or friend as carrier.

This service has now been in operation for a period of nearly 20 years and during all that time no general readjustment of the uneconomical methods has been attempted. Every effort in that direction has been met with the declaration that curtailment of the service was threatened or that the inconvenience of the patrons was the object, when in reality the true reason for the failure to correct the evils was the possible interference with the vested (?) right of some individual in a place or the possible reduction of the compensation of some individual paid on a commission basis as a fourth-class postmaster.

For a period of five years inspectors had repeatedly recommended the readjustment of the service in Graves County, Ky., where it was shown that the southern portion of the county received more than adequate service, whereas 1,500 persons in the northe

the tour of duty of employees in the southern portion to be called upon to deliver and collect mail to and from those in the northern portion, etc.

Again, inspectors frequently reported that there was unusual duplication of service in Gratiot County, Mich., to wit, that from two to five carriers were traveling over the same highways in the collection and delivery of mail to a limited number of patrons living in the vicinity of these highways. In fact, \$9,000 per annum was being paid for this useless duplication of service, and thus 9 °0 heads of families, or about 4,500 patrons, were denied mail facilities in other sections of the country simply because in this county people were provided with more than adequate service.

In Chester County, Pa., attention had been repeatedly invited to the fact that carriers were collecting and delivering mail twice a day to certain favored rural patrons. This condition existed in only a limited number of places elsewhere in the country, and therefore the patrons on these rural routes possessed special privileges not enjoyed by all of the rural patrons throughout the country. The cost of this twice-daily service amounted to about \$7,000 per annum, and 700 heads of families, or in the neighborhood of 3,500 additional patrons, were denied mail facilities to which they were entitled in order that this unusual service might be rendered to rural patrons in one section of the country.

A systematic readjustment of the prevailing rural service in Craw-

were denied mail facilities to which they were entitled in order that this unusual service might be rendered to rural patrons in one section of the country.

A systematic readjustment of the prevailing rural service in Crawford County, Pa., reduced the cost of operation \$24,200, required 40 families to move their boxes less than one-half mile, and provided additional service for nearly 20,000 new patrons in the county and elsewhere throughout the country.

In a similar manner a readjustment of the service in Ellis County, Tex., reduced the cost of operation \$16,368, required 55 families to move their mail receptacles less than one-half mile, and provided service to 535 patrons within the county who had formerly been denied service and to 15,500 patrons elsewhere. In this instance it was possible to utilize the motor-vehicle service to provide this extension of service and improve existing conditions, and I have at hand a statement from the mayor of the city of Waxahachie, the president of the

board of trade, and of the chamber of commerce requesting further extensions of this character of service.

The department is therefore convinced that, regardless of the failure of administrative officials to give consideration to the question of efficiency in the operation of this great service in times past to which it was entitled, it is our duty to do so now, and it is further convinced that when reasonable rural mail facilities shall have been extended to every possible rural patron to be found anywhere that the present method will meet with the approval and receive the hearty cooperation of every citizen and of the representative of the people. The readjustment of the service up to this time has extended mail facilities to nearly 1,000,000 additional patrons at a great reduction in the cost of operation.

In connection with the establishment of motor routes certain territory was presumed to have improved highway facilities, and after making inquiry of postmasters in the territory where it was assumed such conditions existed as to the character of the roads and of the service performed thereon, and after proper reference to the files of the department, which also include many items of information gathered from time to time during he past 15 years, particularly relating to the train schedules, the number of hours of service performed by the employees, and the number of pieces and weight of mail carried and the vehicles used on the highways, a motor route would be authorized for establishment, sometimes by a combination of two existing routes and a slight extension thereof, and at other times, as, for instance, at Jacksonville, Fla., where four horse-drawn routes have been withdrawn and three motor-vehicle routes authorized, and where 3.150 new patrons were added to the service and no patron inconvenienced.

Altogether the establishment of motor routes depended in the first instance upon information submitted by the postmaster or representative of the department and every effort to send a representative or i

the patron who is entitled to mail service a trial of the motor vehicle should be made.

It was also desired to have such motor routes start or emanate from the more important postal centers, for a twofold reason: In many cases, when a rural route starts from a small post office, for instance, a fourth-class office, supervision of the employees on the rural routes is limited; in fact, the carrier on the route receives a higher compensation than the postmaster, and therefore sometimes feels himself a more important postal employee. At offices of the presidential class no such opinion is possible, and the supervision is consequently more efficient.

In addition to this, at the smaller offices the postmaster is usually engaged in commercial enterprises, and he can not spare the time to supervise carefully the work of his subordinates. He does not have the time to travel over the routes and make personal investigation of the character of service rendered, whereas at a presidential office the postmaster is compensated for giving his entire time and attention to the duties of the office, and he is expected to give close supervision to the performance of service by all of the personnel subordinate to himself.

Furthermore, the extension of the delivery zone from the more important postal centers, preferably the county seat in each county, to the uttermost limits of the county reduces the postage rate on parcel-post matter; in fact, cuts it in two. Consequently a patron who desires to ship a 50-pound parcel over a motor route to the important postal center from which these motor routes usually emanate can do so at one-half the rate that is charged a patron whose route starts from a small postal center, and wherever possible the patron is provided with service from two offices.

from two offices.

These features naturally do not appeal to the patron in the beginning of this type of service, but it has been the experience of the department since the inauguration of the first motor route on July 1 that it is a very valuable feature of the collection and delivery of mail on rural routes, and that it is appreciated by the patron, who has the advantage of using either the small office where he lives or the large office where his market is located in the transportation of his mail matter and the products of the farm.

As to the appointment of the personnel:

When it was decided to act upon the specific provision of the Con-

When it was decided to act upon the specific provision of the Congress which provided—

"That in the discretion of the Postmaster General the pay of carriers who furnish and maintain their own motor vehicles and who serve routes not less than 50 miles in length may be fixed at not exceeding \$1,800 per annum"—

the Circli Service Commission held that a motor parts in

routes not less than 50 miles in length may be fixed at not exceeding \$1,800 per annum"—
the Civil Service Commission held that a motor route is a new ruraldelivery route, and whenever a new rural-delivery route is authorized or
established an examination is held to secure eligibles, regardless of
whether an existing eligible register is available or not. Therefore, an
examination of all applicants for the position of motor-route carrier
was decided upon by the commission.

The compensation of a rural-carrier route requiring delivery by
motor vehicle ranges from \$1,500 to \$1,800 a year. This compensation
being materially greater than that of a route permitting delivery otherwise than by motor vehicle; it was held that it was necessary to hold
a separate examination and maintain a separate register of eligibles for
vacancies on motor routes, it not being permissible under the competitive requirement of the law to make certification from a register to a
position with a materially higher compensation than that for which
such register was established.

The commission also determined that applicants who have served in

such register was established.

The commission also determined that applicants who have served in the position of regular rural carrier should be given additional credit in this examination as follows: There will be added to the general average attained in the examination a credit of one-half of 1 per cent for each year's experience acquired in the position of regular rural carrier not exceeding a total of six years of such experience, or a maximum of 3 per cent additional credit.

When the Civil Service Commission has established an eligible register, and certified to the department the name of the person standing highest on the register who has his actual domicile in the territory supplied by the post office at which the vacancy exists, together with the names of the two eligibles standing highest on the register from the entire county (which has been their custom ever since the present rules of the commission were adopted), this department makes inquiry of the postmaster, the Representative in Congress from the district, and of any other persons who may have information regarding the character and residence of the applicants.

The law specifically limits the inquiry of this department to the character and residence of the applicants, and we may not make inquiry, nor accept or receive any other data or information regarding an applicant, and in accordance with the law we must return any statements, recommendations, or assertions, except as above described, to those who make them and can give no weight to the same. This applies to every individual—Senator, Representative, or other official—and is literally adhered to in this bureau.

It may be stated that should the relative standing of applicants for employment in the Rural Delivery Service be the same, as ascertained through the examination by the Civil Service Commission, the department would, of course, give preference to that eligible whom the Representative from the district believed would make the most efficient postal employee, naturally feeling that the Representative, as a resident of the territory where the appointment is to be made, would have the most reliable information to be had in connection with such eligibles. This, of course, applies only to the three whose names may have been certified to the department. Under no circumstances can any person not certified for the vacancy be appointed thereto, unless it shall be shown that the character of one or more of the three who have been certified.

I sincerely trust that this

which event the person standing next inguest on the register would be certified.

I sincerely trust that this information will be a guide to your constituents and illustrate to them that only three of those who may take an examination can be certified for any existing vacancy, and that of the three thus certified at least one resident on the route to be served, and who is a patron of the office from which it emanates, must be certified, regardless of his standing in percentage.

There is no method by which a former carrier can be assigned to a motor route unless he has passed an examination and been certified for appointment by the Civil Service Commission, nor, to my certain knowledge, can any Senator. Representative, official, or other individual secure preference for any applicant in the ratings or bring about any change in his standing on the register of eligibles.

Believe me to be,
Yours, very truly,

Jas. I. Blakslef,
Fourth Assistant Postmaster General.

Jas. I. Blakslee, Fourth Assistant Postmaster General.

I wish to say, in conclusion, that Members of Congress have been surprised by this sudden and radical change in the Rural Free Delivery Service brought about by the Postmaster General, which they have been unable to alter or prevent by protest, appeal, and evidence. It seems that no relief can be had to the patrons of the routes or the carriers except by legislation, which I hope to see speedily enacted.

Military and Naval Expansion.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 10, 1915.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, in requesting the privilege of extending my remarks on the subject of military and naval expansion, the most important in the history of the Republic, I do so for the purpose of inviting especial attention to the statement recently issued by our gifted and courageous leader, the Hon, Claude Kitchin, of North Carolina, chairman of the great Ways and Means Committee of this House and one of the best informed men in the United States, or in the world, on naval affairs. I believe this statement, which shows what the preparedness program means, should have the widest possible circulation among the people who are asked to assume new burdens of taxation for the purpose of increasing the national defenses; and so I am asking the indulgence of the House for this purpose, feeling that all sides in this momentous issue of peace or war should be heard, and that the information embodied in the remarkable statement of the majority leader can not be too generally disseminated nor too carefully weighed by the American people to whom it was addressed through the press of his own State. It is also my desire, in the same connection and as shedding additional light on the propaganda of preparedness, to include in my remarks a letter written by the Hon, CLYDE H. TAVENNER, of Illinois, to Col. Robert M. Thompson, president of the Navy League of the United States, regarding the personnel of the officials of that patriotic organization and their relations with certain great industries and interests of the country.

CLAUDE KITCHIN'S STATEMENT ON THE NATION'S PREPAREDNESS-HE GIVES FAUTS.

Mr. EDITOR: The Seven Seas Magazine, the organ of the Navy League, the organization which has created by deception and

misrepresentation the apparently big sentiment for the militarism and navalism now proposed, and which seems to have stampeded many patriotic and usually level-headed people, declared in its October issue that I had the right "to vote for or against" the preparedness measure, but that I had "neither the right nor should be (I) be allowed even to discuss it in the House," etc. I trust, however, that the press of my State, though most of it differ widely with me, will not refuse the privilege which I ask, to express through it to the people some of the reasons for my position and give some of the facts with respect to the question which has been withheld from or certainly not given to the public. I ask this privilege, with confidence that it will be granted, especially in view of the fact that many of the State papers have severely criticized me, some going to the extent of bitterly denouncing me. I have no criticism to make of the press and the people in the State who differ with me. Having heard only one side, and owing to the tons of literature of deception and misrepresentation on the subject being poured out daily to the people by the metropolitan press and magazines—many, perhaps, innocently—and by the so-called "patriotic societies," of which the Navy League is the head, it is but natural that a large majority of the people should oppose my position. With your permission I shall now proceed to give some of the facts and reasons which impel me to oppose the big military and naval program which will be proposed to Congress.

(1) AS TO THE ACTUAL CONDITION OF OUR NAVY,

All the talk and writings by the press and the so-called "patriotic societies" about our "utter helplessness," our "dangerous unpreparedness," our "defenseless condition," our "growing weakness," our "having fallen to the third or fourth grade of inferiority in naval strength," etc., is pure tommyrot, based not on a single fact.

Let it be first understood that in the "preparedness" program the navy of Great Britain is eliminated. This was so testified by the Secretary of the Navy, Admiral Fletcher, and other naval experts, and even by Hobson, in the hearings before the Naval Committee at the last session of Congress, all declaring that we do not need or desire a navy as strong as hers. Notwithstanding the metropolitan press, magazine writers, and the "patriotic societies" and our Navy Yearbook—which was exposed in the last Congress and will be so exposed in the next, as unreliable and misleading-the fact is that we have, built and building, the strongest and most powerful navy in the world, except that of Great Britain, which is eliminated as above stated. Our Navy is stronger than that of Germany, far superior to that of France, more than twice as strong as that of Japan or of any of the other nations. Admiral Fletcher, the highest active officer in the Navy, commander of the Atlantic Fleet, the man who will have to do the fighting if any is to be done whose judgment on naval subjects the Secretary of the Navy, before the Naval Committee, declared he had sooner take than that of any man in the world—expressly declared at the naval hearings during the last session of Congress that we had a Navy "superior to that of Germany or any other na-tion except Great Britain." In answer to the question, "If in a war with Germany could our Navy successfully resist that of Germany?" he answered, "Yes." Capt Winterhalter, another naval expert, testified: "Judge Witherspoon has proved that our Navy is superior to that of Germany, and I agree with him." Admiral Badger, ex-commander of the Atlantic Fleet, a member of the General Board of the Navy, declared that no one had ever heard him say that "Germany had a superior Navy to ours."

The facts of record, the tests laid down by naval experts here and abroad, and the naval authorities of the world-all of which I have before me as I write-confirm the truth of this testimony.

The armored fleet of Germany, consisting of battleships, dreadnaughts and predreadnaughts, armored cruisers and battle cruisers (built and building), in number is 52 (to say nothing of the vessels lost since January 1, 1915). The fleet of the United States of the same vessels is in number 56, with over 40,000 more tonnage. (Number and tonnage, however, are not the criterion of superiority.) Of 20 of Germany's battleships listed by our Navy Yearbook, 16 are not able to go more than 1,000 miles from base to engage in naval warfare. Not one of the 16 carry coal or oil enough to go from Hamburg or Bremen to within 500 miles of New York and return (to say nothing about being employed in a naval engagement). some of our naval experts say is obsolete, and not listed by our Navy Yearbook (the Indiana and Massachusetts not listed also), in every characteristic of a fighting ship (bigger guns, heavier armor, stronger ship) is far superior to any one of the 20 German battleships listed by our yearbook. Four of the German ships listed by our yearbook as dreadnaughts are in reality

not dreadnaughts, and are shown by one of the highest naval authorities in the world (Jane's Fighting Ships) to be defective, unsuccessful ships, and so known to be by every student of naval affairs. The last five dreadnaughts authorized by Congress are superior to any six dreadnaughts Germany has, built or building. Our ships are better, larger, stronger, and more heavily armored. Our guns are larger, stronger, and more effective. Of the big guns of the ships, 12 inches and over, we effective. Of the big guns of the ships, 12 inches all have 284, while Germany has only 194 (built and building).

If the navy of Great Britain is to be eliminated in the paredness" program-which our naval experts say it should beand if we have a navy now superior to that of Germany or any other nation in the world, except Great Britain, for whom or against whom do we propose to prepare by the fabulous increase of our naval appropriations which the proposed program

We are prepared. Instead of "our Navy growing weaker," as the metropolitan press, the "patriotic societies," and the jingoes and war traffickers would have the people believe, it is growing bigger, stronger, more efficient, and better equipped every year. the two years of Wilson's administration the naval building program authorized is twice as large and costly as the last two years of Taft's administration, and larger and more costly by \$8,000,000 than the entire four years of Roosevelt's last term, and practically as large and costly as the entire four years of Taft's administration. There is to-day over 50 per cent more construction going on for our Navy than on the 4th day of March, 1913. We have nearly 100 per cent more torpedoes, mines, mine layers, powder, and other munitions than we had on the 4th day of March, 1913, and steadily increasing them. We have under Mr. Wilson's and Mr. Daniels's administration, for the first time in years, the full complement of enlisted men

authorized by law. We are preparing.

In view of the foregoing facts was not President Wilson right when he said in his message to Congress, December, 1914, in opposing the program of the Hobsons and Gardners: "Let there be no misconception. The country has been misinformed.

We have not been negligent of national defense.'

(2) AS TO THE ENORMITY OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAM-WHAT IT IS.

The heretofore large and growing expenditures for our Navy had aroused the people of the country into asking, "Where shall it end?" Secretary Daniels, in his report to the last session of Congress, December, 1914, said—and he was but substantially repeating what had been said in the British Parliament, the German Reichstag, the French Assembly, and by prominent statesmen the world over relative to the armament expenditures of their respective countries for the last several years—"The naval appropriations in our own country have doubled in a dozen years, and have gone up by leaps and bounds in other countries. If this mad rivalry in construction goes on, the burden will become too heavy for any nation to

In his report of December, 1913, he says:

"The growing cost of dreadnaughts, of powder, and of everything that makes an efficient Navy, gives reason to pause. The heavy expense commands national and international consideration. Ten years ago our largest battleships cost \$5,282,000. The next dreadnaught will cost \$14,044,000." (The dreadnaughts hereafter to be authorized will cost from \$18,000,000 to \$20,000,000 and in an interview, the Secretary says all ship. \$20,000,000, and in an interview the Secretary says all ship materials and munitions of war have gone up over 30 per cent.) He asks, "When is this accelerating expenditure to be reduced? * * If it is not hastened by appeals for the peaceful settlement of national differences, the day is not far distant when the growing burdens of taxation for excessive war and naval expenditures will call a halt.'

Now, in the face of the deplorable truth recited by the Secretary; in the face of the fact that we have a Navy superior to that of Germany or any other nation, except that of Great Britain; in the face of the fact that our Navy is growing larger, stronger, and better equipped than ever before; in face of the fact, as the President declared both in his message to Congress
December last and in his recent Manhattan Club speech, "We are
threatened from no quarter," the proposed "preparedness"
program at one bound—one year—increases our already immensely large naval appropriations more than our total increase for the last 14 years, more than the increase by Germany the whole 15 years preceding the European war, and more than the combined increase of all the nations in the world in any one year in their history (in times of peace).

The five-year program increases our naval appropriation over forty times more than the increase by Germany in 5 years preceding the European war, and \$200,000,000 more than the combined increase of all the nations in the world for the 5 years preceding the European war, and over \$50,000,000 more than the combined increase of all the nations in the world for the whole period of 10 years immediately preceding the European

Add to this the fact that prior to the beginning of the European war we were expending annually on our Navy from \$20,000,000 to \$30,000,000 more than Germany or any other nation (except Great Britain) was expending on its navy.

For the 10 years preceding the European war we had expended on our Navy over \$300,000,000 more than Germany or any other nation (except Great Britain) had expended on its navy. yet the metropolitan press, the magazine writers, the "patriotic societies," and the jingoes and war traffickers would frighten the country into the belief that we have a little, puny, eggshell of a Navy.

The five-year naval program calls for an increase of \$500,-000,000-\$100,000,000 increase a year-which, including the inevitable incidental expenses for expanding the whole naval establishment in order to accommodate the program, will reach \$600,000,000 or over by the time the five years expire. This is all extra, in addition to the large appropriations we have been annually making.

The Army four-year program demands \$450,000,000 increase, over \$100,000,000 a year extra, being an increase of more than 10 per cent over our annual Army appropriations. All extra appropriations, be it remembered. Extra taxes must be paid b, the people, be it remembered.

Before leaving the subject of the enormity of the proposed

program I desire to make a further observation.

At the expiration of the five-year period for the program this country will then be expending on its Navy and Army more than any nation in the world in times of peace ever expended on its army and navy; more than England, with her vast navalism; more than Russia or Germany, with their huge militarism. At the beginning of the European war Germany was expending for past wars and preparations for wars (on its army and navy) per cent of the total amount of revenues collected; Japan, 45 per cent; Great Britain, 37 per cent; France, 35 per cent; the United States, over 60 per cent. With the proposed military and naval program enacted into law the United States will be expending over 70 per cent of its total revenues; that is, out of every \$100 collected from the people over \$70 will go into militarism and navalism, including pensions, leaving less than \$30 for all other functions of our Government and for all other benefits of the people.

(3) AS TO THE CONDITION OF OUR TREASURY AND ITS REVENUES AND EXTRA TAXATION REQUIRED.

The condition of our Treasury and our revenue and the necessities of the Government are less able now to permit increased appropriations than ever before. The Treasury has felt most heavily the burden of the present war. Our general surplus fund of over \$150,000,000 is monthly disappearing; our deficits are annual and monthly; our revenues have diminished; we have strained the nerves of the Government to get sufficient revenue to meet its ordinary expenses; we have been forced to levy an emergency tax; our deficits still exist; our revenues still insufficient. After the expiration of the present emergency tax December 31, 1915, we will be faced with deficits for the next fiscal year of at least \$117,000,000. This is upon the assumption that not a dollar of increase appropriation will be made for any purpose over the last year's appropriation, yet I understand that there will be from \$30,000,000 to \$40,000,000 increase other than the Army and Navy increase. This \$117,000,000 deficit is upon the further assumption that Congress will repeal the sugar free list provision of the Underwood Act, which goes into effect May 1, 1916, which itself will impose \$100,000,000 burden upon the people. For this program of militarism and navalism—euphoniously called by its advocates "national defense" or "preparedness" program—\$200,000,000 annual increase of taxation is required. This, added to the deficit above mentioned, makes \$317,000,000 additional annual taxation, even with the free-sugar clause repealed, which must be raised, on the assumption, too, there will not be a dollar increase in any other appropriation over that of last year. This is three times larger annual increase than was ever required or raised—and practically all of it must be raised by direct or excise taxesthan at any time in the history of our Government, except during the Civil War. No man in the administration or in the Ways and Means Committee, although for months they have wearied their wits over it, has yet been able to solve even the beginning of the problem of raising this enormous increase of revenue. I have had hundreds of suggestions as to how to raise it. All the suggestions combined would not begin to raise the amount. Every suggestion has been, however, to raise the

tax on the other fellow and on the other fellow's business or product and not on his. When the Ways and Means Committee begins to attempt to frame measures for raising the revenue, and especially when the people begin to pay the taxes for this enormous increase, they will then, perhaps, realize what the program means. I have had experience enough with taxation to know that those who are howling most loudly now for the big Army and Navy program will protest and howl most wildly against any measure which may be attempted or proposed for increase of taxes.

(4) THE BIG, OVERREACHING OBJECTION TO THE PROGRAM.

The huge burden, heretofore unheard of or undreamed of, which this fabulous increase of appropriations for the Army and Navy will place upon the taxpayers can and will have to be borne in spite of their murmurs and protests which will surely come in the future. This of itself to me is a cruel wrong, especially under the conditions and situation of our country and

our Navy as I have above outlined.

But the big, overreaching objection to this stupendous program is that this sudden, radical, and revolutionary move for big war preparation on our part is going to shock the civilized world, and, whatever be the outcome of the present war, will alarm the world again into an armed camp. It will postpone for generations the day of universal peace for which all Christendom has been praying. It will deprive this Government, through its President, of the greatest opportunity to serve mankind that ever came to nation or to man, in the final negotiation of peace terms among the belligerents, to lay the basis

of perpetual international peace.

The militarists and war traffickers of every nation in the world will point to our conduct as an example and a cause why big war preparations and big armaments should be renewed on a larger scale than ever before, and its consummation will only be limited by the ability of the nations appealed to. If we take this step every nation will suspectin fact every nation will feel convinced, and no argument of our Government can dissipate such conviction—that our country in this tremendous step has other designs than mere self-defense. Every nation will absolutely know that no such step or measure is necessary. The world will be convinced, in spite of our protestations, that we are preparing, as the Seven Seas Magazine, the organ of the Navy League, advocated in its last issue, for wars of conquest. This organ of this so-called patriotic society in its same issue boldly broadcasts throughout our country the savage, barbarous sentiment which I quote: "There should be no doubt that even with all possible moral refinements it is the absolute right of a nation to live to its fullest intensity, to expand, to found colonies, to get richer and richer by any proper means, such as armed conquest. Such expansion as an aim is an inalienable right, and in the case of the United States it is a particular duty." This organ of the Navy League, the organization, as I said before, which has by organized effort created the sentiment of our people for a big militarism and navalism, is but giving the people of this country and of the world an earnest of what we are to expect when this program is enacted into law.

The world, even among the belligerents of the present war, is already looking with grave suspicion and alarm upon this colossal step. Since writing the above, in confirmation of it, the morning papers bring to us the speech of Lord Rosebery, made at the London University on the night of November the 16th, from which I quote: "I know nothing more disheartening than the announcement recently made that the United States—the one great country left in the world free from the hideous, bloody burden of war—is about to embark upon the building of a huge armada. It means that the burden will continue upon the other nations and be increased exactly in proportion to the fleet of the United States. I confess that it is a disheartening prospect that the United States, so remote from European conflict, should voluntarily in these days take up the burden which, after this war, will be found to have broken, or almost broken, our backs."

(5) AS TO THE FEARS OF OUR PEOPLE.

In the hope of allaying to some extent the alarmed state of mind and the fears of our people, provoked by the European war and aggravated and intensified by the organized efforts of the so-called "patriotic societies" and the war traffickers, I desire to make a few observations. With the experience of the present war, which we are daily observing, even if our fleet were not half as big as it is (and I have shown that it is superior to that of any other nation in the world except that of Great Britain), it would be impossible, notwithstanding the jingoes and the war traffickers and the press, for Germany or any other country to ever bombard or land a soldier on our coast, provided we were

equipped with mines and submarines. With these we are most rapidly equipping ourselves. England has a navy twice as strong as that of Germany. England and France have a fleet three times as strong as that of Germany. Take a map and you will see that the German seacoast on the North Sea is practically at the head of the English Channel, within less than 300 miles of London, and has several miles of seacoast along the Baltic. The bulk of the English and French fleet is now, and has been, within less than a day's run of the German coast. If England and France could bombard or land on the coast of Germany on the North Sea con the Baltic Sea the war would end in 60 days. Germany would have to withdraw from France to protect her own soil. Why does not the fleet of the allies, three times as strong, go in and destroy the fleet of Germany, bombard her seacoast at once, land an army, and so forth? Certainly not because of the German fleet already bottled up, one-third as large, but because of mines and submarines. Now, look at the map again and see how the Russian coast and the German coast compare and how they adjoin along the Baltic Sea. Germany has control of the Baltic even against the fleet of the allies. Germany has a fleet nearly four times as large as that of Russia. What keeps Germany away from the Russian coast? Why does not Germany, with a fleet four times as strong, destroy the Russian fleet, bombard her seaport towns, and land an army? If she could do this, the war would end in 60 days.

Russia would be forced to a separate peace in spite of her agreement with the allies. Certainly it is not the little onefourth size fleet she has, but because of mines and submarines. If Germany, with her fleet not one-third as strong as that of the allies, does not fear the bombardment of her coast or the landing of an army by the allies when within less than 200 miles, and if Russia, with her little fleet, one-fourth as large as that of Germany, is not afraid of Germany bombarding her coast and landing an army on her shores, why in the name of common sense should any man, woman, or child in the United States fear that Germany or any other nation can ever get within gun reach of our shores or land an army on our coast when they are over 3,000 miles away, provided we are equipped with mines and submarines? Add one thing further, that, in spite of the press, the "patriotic societies," and the jingoes and war traffickers, our coast defenses are superior to that of any nation in the world. President Taft, in his speech in Chicago, November 10, before the National Security League, said: "American coast defenses are as good as any in the world." At the hearings in the last session of Congress (this year) Gen. Erasmus M. Weaver, Chief of Coast Artillery, whose duty it is, he said, to "be advised as to the character and sufficiency of our seacoast armament," stated "My information is that our system of fortification is reasonably adequate for all defensive purposes which they are likely to be called upon to meet"; and further said "I have been a close student of the whole subject naturally for a number of years and I know of no fortifications in the world, as far as my reading, observation, and knowledge goes, that compare favorably in efficiency with ours." Gen. Crozier Chief of Ordnance, considered one of the greatest experts in the country on fortifications and guns, at the hearings, considering the alterations then asked for and now being made, said: "In my opinion these guns with the other advantages which our land-defense fortifications have will be adequate for maintaining a successful combat with vessels of war armed with any gun which is now under construction anywhere in the world to my knowledge."

(6) AS TO THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND MYSELF.

We thoroughly understand each other. I know that he is convinced deeply and sincerely that his program is right. knows that I am thoroughly convinced that it is wrong. knows, too, that my convictions on the subject are deep and sincere and that I have given the subject mature study and thought and have reasons for my position. I had a most cordial and pleasant interview with him for an hour and a half on On this question we simply agreed to disagree, both expressing regrets-and, I am sure, sincere regrets-that I could not support the program. My inability to agree with him and my opposition to his program do not interfere with the pleasant, cordial relations that exist between us. As he said in his Manhattan speech, and assured me as well as others. this question is not a party question but one for the thought and conviction of each individual. The President knows, too, that in all matters before my committee, and especially in raising sufficient revenue to finance all appropriations, and in every effort he shall make to redeem the pledges our party made to the people, he shall have my hearty and earnest cooperation.

I fear that neither the President nor the Secretary of the Navy, with their other manifold duties, have possibly had the time to give the detailed study and thought to the subject which many of us have. I recall that the President, in his letter of July 21 to the Secretary of the Navy—which, by the way, I had not seen until some time after my letter in September to the New York World—asked for advice of naval experts, saying:

I want their advice, a program by them formulated in the most defi-

nite terms.

I can not help believing that the military and naval experts have badly advised and misinformed both the President and the Secretary of the Navy. Naval officers or experts are not competent judges of the policy which this country should pursue. Their very training of thought and their ambition are to see only one function of the Government—that of the Navy. They know what will gratify their ambition. They know what they want. From the time a man enters Annapolis, as long as he lives his ambition is to command battleships, the magnificent floating sea palaces, and battleship fleets. This consumes his thought. It is natural, therefore, and inevitable that he should consider the needs of the country in accordance with his wants and ambition. The naval expert or officer knows how to build or superintend the building of ships and how to fight them when built. That is his thought, his profession, his ambition.

Since the General Navy Board was established in 1900 every President and every Secretary of the Navy, except one, has recognized these propensities and limitations of the naval officers or naval experts, and every President since 1903, since the Naval Board's first recommendations, and every Secretary, except one, until now, have rejected and declined to accept their recommendations, and no Congress has ever yet approved them. Mr. Roosevelt did not accept them. Only one of his Secretaries, Mr. Metcalf, did. Neither did Mr. Taft, nor his Secretary of the Navy, accept their recommendations at any time during his four years' term. Both Mr. Wilson and Mr. Secretary Daniels, in 1913, declined to accept their recom-They declined again to accept their expert opinmendations ions in 1914, five months after the European war had begun. They both opposed their recommendations and so did Admiral Fletcher, the highest active officer in the Navy, commander of the Atlantic Fleet. But now the papers denounce me as an "idlot," as a "traitor to my country, to my party, and to the administration" if I do not swallow at one gulp the recommendations of the naval experts, because the President and his Secretary of the Navy, for the first time, accept them.

(7) THE REGULAR, ORDERLY, NORMAL PROGRAM.

At the last session of Congress (this year) the President, the Secretary of the Navy, Admiral Fletcher, and other naval commanders, and the Democrats in Congress opposed the program of the Hobsons, Gardners, and other jingoes (much smaller than the present proposed program). The policy of the administration was summed up before the Naval Committee in the words of the Secretary of the Navy: "It would be most unwise for us to act to-day in any particular as we would not have acted if there was no war. My theory is that our country ought to be carrying on its regular, orderly, normal program as to the Navy. With our policies and our American ideas I think the policy recommended in my report and adopted by the last session of Congress (and recommended at this session) is the steady development that is needed. It meets the needs of the country." The Democrats supported that policy. It was enacted into law. This same policy, as I have heretofore shown, is making our Navy bigger, stronger, and more efficient than ever before—the strongest in the world, except that of Great Britain.

It is my undoubting conviction that it is most unwise and dangerous at this time, especially under the present circumstances, to abandon that policy and adopt the big, enormous, revolutionary program proposed.

(8) WHY MY OPPOSITION TO THE PROGRAM AS AN INDIVIDUAL AND NOT AS MAJCRITY LEADER.

It is not a party or partisan question. The President so declares. Everybody knows it is not. It is one for each individual Member to decide as to his vote for himself. The majority members of the Ways and Means Committee, in the first instance, make up the committee assignments of the House. I am chairman of the committee, which carries with it the position of majority leader. I shall not use such position in influencing in any way any Member on the question. Those who oppose my position and those who indorse it will be treated alike as to their assignments to committees and as to all other matters which I as such chairman and leader and the Members of the House, individually or collectively, are concerned.

(9) THE ATTACKS BY THE NEW YORK HERALD.

This paper, whose owner years ago, disdaining the fellowship of Americans, abandoned his native country to live anild the high life of Paris, and who by cable from Paris dictates its policy, has been fighting the Democratic Party nearly 20 years. This is the same paper which only a few months ago, to show its disgust of and contempt for President Wilson, while with consummate statesmanship he was steering the country safely through its greatest crisis, loudly exclaimed, "Oh, for a Roosevelt in the White House!"

The purported interview by its Washington correspondent with me, published in its issue of November 10, parts of which have been published in every issue since, is a pure fabrication, a deliberate falsehood, manufactured in the Herald's office in New York for the purpose of forming a basis for its succeeding attacks and sensational stories. No such interview ever occurred. I never saw or spoke to its correspondent before its publication. After reading it in the Herald I saw and asked its Washington correspondent if he sent such an interview to the Herald. He said he had not and knew nothing about it until he saw it published in the Herald. I never made a reference in the remotest way to anyone in Washington or elsewhere as to the "sentiment in my district" or as to "the folks back home." It knew, too, or could have known, as its Washington correspondent knew, that I did not "return to my district because of its exposures of the sentiment in my district." I returned the day I intended to return, when three days before I went to Washington.

In conclusion: To differ with the President, to differ with my friends, in and out of Congress, in the heat of the moment to be severely criticized, and sometimes denounced by them, gives me not only exceeding regret, but much pain and distress. However, after having given the subject much study and thought, being once on the Naval Affairs Committee, and interested for years in naval subjects, I can not support the program. In deciding on this course I knew full well that a part of the penalty which I would have to undergo would be the criticism, the ridicule, the denunciation, the misrepresentation, and the libeling of myself by the press from one end of the country to the other. Having the approval of my judgment and conscience, after mature study and thought, and impelled by a sense of duty, I take the step, mattering not the consequences, political or otherwise, to myself.

CLAUDE KITCHIN.

NOVEMBER 20, 1915.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, in this same connection I wish to add portions of a letter written by Majority Leader Kitchin to the New York World and printed in that paper September 12, 1915, as follows:

"But why should we be in such a hurry to make big appropriations for the Army and the Navy? Why should Congress make such a wild rush to tax the people more? Where is the necessity or the wisdom? If there ever was a time in the history of our Government when the administration, Congress, and the people could consider with deliberation and without excitement and without haste a military and naval construction policy, it is now. Just stop and give a moment's calm thought to the situation.

"First. Our Navy and Army is stronger, better equipped, with more ammunition, and in every respect more efficient to-day than ever before. We have now under construction and authorized for the Navy more vessels than ever before-50 per cent more in money and in numbers than ever before; more dreadnaughts under construction than ever before-nine in number. During the two years of the Wilson administration Congress authorized the building of dreadnaughts to cost over \$70,000,000; the last two years of Taft's administration dreadnaughts costing about \$26,000,000 were authorized. This ought to satisfy the dreadnaught jingo and trafficker, certainly until we construct other more useful and necessary craft. The dreadnaughts authorized in the last Congress will not be completed until three or four years, and the dreadnaughts, if authorized by the coming Congress, can not possibly be completed within four or five years and the war goblins could eat us up alive by that time. Relatively, considering the requirements and demands of the present war upon all other navies we have the strongest and most powerful Navy on earth—sufficient to defend our country and protect our rights on the seas or elsewhere against any nation or any possible combination of nations during the continuance of present European war. After the war terminates, what nation will have the design or the power to attack us?

"Second. We are in less danger from a foreign foe than ever before in the history of our country. Even if we were not, he has less power to harm or strike us than ever before. We are now absolutely in no danger of attack or invasion. In fact, the invasion by a foreign country from across the sea and the landing of an army upon the soil of another, equipped with mines and submarines, is a thing of the past and an impossibility, and no nation will ever attempt it. Every nation capable in the least of coping with us has its hands 'full to its elbows' of the European war. Even if any had designs upon us, or if we would declare war against any, not one could send a soldier or a ship against us. It could spare neither from the exactions of the present conflict. If, as so many of the jingoes and war traffickers demanded, we had unfortunately had an actual rupture with Germany, which most wisely and fortunately was avoided (thanks to the patient, resolute, level-headedness, and big comprehension of the President), she could have spared neither a soldier nor a ship to engage us. Great Britain or France, by declaring war against us, would whip herself and allies on land in less than six months without our arming a soldier or moving a vessel. Where is the danger now-where are the war goblins to catch our people to come from? Even the Japan goblin, specially fixed up for so many years by Hobson and the jingoes, at the time of each annual naval appropriation bill, is now being laughed at by the kindergarten children. Where is the danger in the future? After the conclusion of the present war every European nation will be so exhausted in men, money, credit, and material resources, and its people so burdened with billions of debt and taxation, and its land so filled with millions of maimed and crippled and many more millions of widows and orphans, that not one could even think or dream of war with the United States, the biggest, richest, strongest power on earth, with its 100,000,000 people and its billions of wealth and unlimited resources, fresh, untouched, unimpaired, unless our Government, yielding to the jingoes and war traffickers, would take it by the nape of the neck and pull it into a fight with us.

"Third. The condition of our Treasury and our revenues and the necessities of the Government are less able now to permit increased appropriations than ever before. The Treasury has felt most heavily the burdens of the present war. Our general surplus fund of over \$150,000,000 is approaching the vanishing point; our deficits are annual and monthly; our revenues have diminished; we have strained the nerves of the Government to get sufficient revenue to meet its ordinary expenses; we have been forced to levy an emergency tax, and still the surplus fund is diminishing; our deficits still exist; our revenues are still insufficient. I repeat, if there ever was a time in the history of our country when Congress and the people could look with complacency upon the safety of our situation and consider a military and naval construction policy with deliberation, without excitement and without haste, it is now. When I sit down, away from the noise and howlings of the jingoes and war traffickers and their yelping pack, and calmly contemplate our exact situation, a Navy and Army stronger, better equipped, more efficient than ever before, with more battleships, more dreadnaughts, more submarines, more destroyers, more auxiliaries being built than ever before, with less danger from a foreign foe, and, even if inclined, with less power to strike or harm us than ever before, in absolutely no danger from any, with decreasing revenues, vanishing surplus, growing deficits, an extra levy and then not enough money to meet the ordinary expenses of the Government, with those charged with the responsibility searching every avenue for a way to get sufficient revenue during the continuance of the present war to satisfy the absolute necessities of the Government, and then think of some of our usually level-headed, patriotic people catching the fright and fever which the jingoes and war traffickers have spread and chiming in with their senscless wailing over our "dangerous unpreparedness" and their yelp for a big Navy and a big Army, dreadnaughts, battleships, 500,000 Army, for millions and hundreds of millions of additional appropriations, for more burdens, more taxation, more deficits, and no surplus and no balances, I catch myself asking, What, in God's name, is the matter with our people? Have we lost our senses and gone mad? Will this naval and military malady spread to Congress and consume its reason and blind its eyes to our actual situation and our actual needs? I hope not. I fear so. If we must in the future enter a career of militarism and navalism, can't we wait a while? Will it not be wiser for us to await the termination of the present war? And then, having learned its full lesson, with calmness and comprehension take our proper bearings, determine the policy, and then proceed with the program? Is it not possible, as suggested by the Secretary of the Navy in his speech in New York in May last, that this war may revolutionize the naval

warfare for the future? Is it not possible that it will demonstrate, when ended and its full lesson has been learned, that dreadnaughts and battleships, costing each millions of dollars and requiring a thousand men and over to man, will be obsolete as a weapon of warfare? Is it not possible that the loss of life. the destruction of property, the untold billions of debt and taxation, the atrocities and cruelties of this war will be so frightful and appalling that, when ended, the humanity and wisdom of mankind-and none more willing and ready than the present belligerents-will find or make a way for a world-wide disarmament? Why put extra millions more in them now? It seems to me that all of us can afford to wait, except the jingoes and war traffickers, who must take advantage of the scare and excitement among our people provoked by the Europen war and aggravated and intensified by their organized efforts, to whoop it up for a big Army and a big Navy, for big contracts and big profits; otherwise their day and opportunity is lost. They must hurry, they must rush. Congress need not, and, I They must hurry, they must rush. trust, will not."

Mr. BAILEY. The letter of Mr. TAVENNER to Col. Thompson, of the Navy League of the United States is as follows:

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., December 2, 1915.

Col. Robert M. Thompson, President Navy League, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Colonel: I assume from your letter of the 20th ultimo, and from your various utterances as president of the Navy League, that the impression you desire to create in the minds of the American people is that none of the men who founded or who have been or are now directors of or contributors to the Navy League have ever been or are now in any manner interested in any concern which would profit financially from the \$500,000,000 bond issue for battleships, etc., which you are advocating.

are advocating.

I understand your position to be that none of the money which the Navy League has used to banquet Members of Congress and Secretaries of the Navy or to carry on the propaganda for the vastly increased naval appropriations which you advocate has come from any gentlemen who stand to profit therefrom. I contend that the opposite is true.

In your letter you request that I give you some specific in-

I call your attention to the fact that Elbert H. Gary, who is described in the Directory of Directors for 1914 as "chairman of the board of directors and chairman of the finance committee of the United States Steel Corporation," contributed \$1,000 on June 10, 1915, and that on the same date representatives of the J. P. Morgan estate subscribed \$2,000.

I call your attention to the fact that J. P. Morgan, who is a director of the United States Steel Corporation, was formerly treasurer of the Navy League and is now a director of and a contributor to the Navy League, and that J. P. Morgan's brother-in-law, Herbert L. Satterlee, was one of the incorporators of the league and is at the present time the general counsel of the league. I also note that Edward T. Stotesbury, a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. and a director of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, Cambria Steel Co., Phoenix Iron Co., Riverside Metal Co., Temple Iron Co., Wm. Cramp & Sons Ship & Engine Building Co., and 54 other corporations, banks, and trust companies, is one of the honorary vice presidents of the Navy League.

I also call your attention to the fact that George F. Baker, jr., No. 2 Wall Street, New York, son of a director of United States Steel, contributed \$1,000 to the Navy League June 10,

I call your attention to the fact that Robert Bacon, formerly a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., and now first director of United States Steel, is a director of the Navy League.

I call your attention to the fact that Henry C. Frick, a director of United States Steel and 10 other corporations, banks, and trust companies, is one of the vice presidents of the Navy League. United States Steel controls the Carnegie Steel Co., which

has drawn down from the Navy contracts aggregating \$32,954.377 for armor plate alone, and if the Navy League's \$500,000,000 bond issue goes through Congress this firm will profit still further.

I call your attention to the fact that Allan A. Ryan, a director of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, contributed \$100 to the Navy Lengue on June 10, 1915, and to the further fact that George R. Sheldon, a director of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and the American Locomotive Co., both of which concerns have profited hugely from European war orders, is one of the vice presidents of the Navy League. Mr. Sheldon is also a director of 24 other corporations.

The Bethlehem Steel Corporation has obtained from the Navy Department armor contracts amounting to \$42.321,237, and if the Navy League's program goes through Bethlehem stands to receive increased orders.

From the foregoing it would appear that two of the three concerns composing the armor ring in this country have representation either among the contributors to the Navy League or among the officers or directors of the Navy League.

The Government has purchased from these two concerns. Bethlehem and Carnegie, \$75.275.614 worth of armor plate, paying an average price of approximately \$440 a ton therefor.

If this armor plate had been manufactured in a Government armor-plate factory, which the Navy League has cold-shouldered, at least \$25,000,000 could have been saved to the American tax-payers. There have been 10 estimates by Government officials as to the cost of armor in a Government plant, and the average of these estimates is \$238 a ton. By contrasting \$440, the price we have paid the private manufacturers, with \$238, the cost at which we might have manufactured this armor in a Government plant, it is possible to obtain an inkling as to the reason we do not now have more preparedness to show for the colossal appropriations made for that purpose.

I note there are 31 directors of the Navy League. The personal fortunes of these 31 men, by the most conservative estimate, aggregate \$100,000,000, or \$3,000,000 to each director. I contend that any board of directors whose individual fortunes average \$3,000,000 can hardly be considered as representative of the views, feelings, and heartbeats of the great mass of the

American people.

On November 19 I publicly stated that inasmuch as the Navy League insisted that its management and backers are entirely free from any atmosphere of war-trafficking influences, I would, as soon as Congress convened, introduce a resolution providing for an investigation of the league, specifically requiring J. P. Morgan and other directors of the league, past and present, to take the responsibility of testifying, under oath, whether they are interested, or ever have been, in war-trafficking firms or concerns which stand to profit from the proposed \$500,000,000 bond issue.

On November 21 I received a letter from you threatening a suit. I consider your letter nothing more nor less than an attempt to intimidate me into abandoning my plans to seek a congressional investigation of your organization. When I am right

the Navy League can not intimidate me.

I now desire in all good faith to take the responsibility of making a suggestion to the Navy League. I suggest that you call a meeting of the board of directors and go on record in favor of the Government manufacture of battleships, submarines, armament, munitions, etc., in order that the people may obtain the preparedness which you are advocating at cost. I recommend that you either do this or fold your tent and quietly take your departure from the National Capital.

Very respectfully,

CLYDE H. TAVENNER.

Good Reads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES W. GOOD,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, December 15, 1915.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the Record I include a speech made by D. W. Norris at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in October, 1915.

The speech is as follows:

GOOD ROADS.

Financing a road, like building a house or buying a meal, should be the first step taken in any road project. My subject ought to have been the opening number on this program. You engineers would all be busy at something else, no matter how badly your people needed roads, if somebody had not financed your roads; and when you come to build your road you are governed more by the fellow who financed it than you are by the traffic conditions to be met. I want to thank your program committee for giving me the paramount issue in this convention.

I come from a State which has never financed a road as it ought to be financed; therefore our people in Iowa are paying out more tax money every year for their roads and bridges

than any other State in the Union, excepting only the two States of California and New York, and we have less to show for our money in miles of roads improved than 26 other States. Spending more per annum than either Ohio or Indiana we can show barely one-tenth as many miles of roads improved as can be shown in either State. If any of you road builders want to see what happens to a people's money when roads are not financed as all public improvements should be financed, just come to Iowa. We have more money per capita than the people of any other State save one. We spend more of it upon our roads and bridges than any other State save two. We have more banks and more newspapers than any State in the Union. This year we bought one-tenth of all the automobiles that were sold in the United States. Our rubber-tire tax is greater than our county-road tax, and yet 26 States in this Union have more miles of roads improved than we have in Iowa. You men have your problems of road finance in your own States, but out here we do not have any finance at all. We dig up more money than most any other State ever saw before, and we very promptly bury it in rich Iowa mud from whence it came. If anybody complains to the average Iowa farmer, he thanks God that he lives in the corn belt of Iowa and keep, on buying more automobiles and digging up his road money to the tune of twelve millions per annum.

Financing a road is a simple problem, gentlemen, if we will keep in mind that it is an investment which ought to be paid for by the people who receive its benefits and in accordance with the benefits which they receive from it. Somewhere in every State in the Union now, save in Iowa, and in 41 per cent of all the counties in the Union, but never in Iowa, roads are financed by bond issues, so as to distribute the first cost equitably over the successive generations of taxpayers who are going to use the road. If the road will last approximately 10 years, the bonds run for 10 years. More durable roads are bonded for 20, 30, and even 50 years, the averages being 30 for the best

type of roads.

EQUITY IN BONDS.

Out here in Iowa the man who began with nothing and now owns a \$30,000 farm believes in paying as he goes when building a road, but he will borrow money from an insurance company with which to buy more land, and he has not yet seen that when he builds a concrete bridge with one year's tax money he has made a Christmas present of that bridge to posterity for the next 100 years. He says that 30-year paved roads are impossible, because \$10,000 per mile is too much to pay out of one year's tax money, and it has not occurred to him that there will be taxpayers here when he is dead and gone who will be using that road and by rights should have to pay for some of it.

\$10,000 ROAD FEES.

Anticipating public revenues by means of bond issues is the only equitable method for prorating the cost of a long-lived improvement among the generations of taxpayers who are to enjoy its benefits, but it is also highly profitable to the individual taxpayer as well as equitable. Private money in Iowa is worth 6 per cent. It costs the average farmer 8 per cent at the bank, but it can be invested safely at 6 per cent. His county and school bonds have been selling for 41 per cent. When he borrows road money through his county at 4½ per cent so as to defer the cost of that road over a long period of years the individual is saved a profit of 1½ per cent for each year on all road money thus deferred besides easing his tax burden by passing some of the cost on to the taxpayers who are to follow in the future. This profit of 11 per cent compounded and invested by the individual at 6 per cent will pay off the debt in 28 years. Let us understand that clearly. The taxpayers who 28 years. Let us understand that clearly. The taxpayers who dig up cash this year for a \$10,000 road will have paid for the road and their \$10,000 will be gone forever. If they had kept their \$10,000 working at home upon their farms at 6 per cent and had borrowed the price of the road from some bondholder down East in the name of their county at 4½ per cent interest, the 6 per cent interest earned on the money kept at home in private investment would pay all of the bond interest and also the debt itself in full in 28 years and the taxpayer would have both his road and his original \$10,000 besides. Road bonds offer one of the very few opportunities in life to eat one's pie and keep it, too.

BOURNE'S FEDERAL-AID PLAN.

Senator Bourne once evolved a plan for selling United States road bonds at 3 per cent, loaning the money to the several States at 4 per cent, and compounding the profit of 1 per cent so as to pay off the debt in 47 years. I think that is the ideal form for Federal aid. The locality would get the road and never have anything but the interest and maintenance to pay. Our States which can sell their bonds for 4 per cent can well afford to loan

money to their own counties at 6 per cent, and their profit on the interest would pay for our roads in full long before they were worn out. All the taxpayers would ever have to pay for a \$10,000 road would be the interest and maintenance.

But how do we know that our road will outlive the debt? That is easy. We know that the bridges of stone built for the Appian Way 2,000 years ago are still doing business. We know that hills once cut to grade will stay cut forever. We know that the Cumberland Road in Maryland, built in President Jefferson's time at a cost of \$13,000 per mile, is now being restored for \$5,000 per mile after 100 years of neglect. To build macadam and fail to maintain is to pass a debt on to posterity while the improvement will have long since been dead, but to pave with brick and concrete and asphalt and to maintain will give us roads which will outlive any reasonable debt, since the grading and the foundations will last almost forever. On the other hand, to build for posterity out of this year's tax money will never bring us even the gratitude of the future generations as they pass by our graves. By paying on the installment plan instead of building on the installment plan we will get the roads sooner and enjoy them longer.

ASSESSING FOR SPECIAL BENEFITS.

So much for financing a road so as to tax the people evenly over the period of time in which it is to last. Now for a distribution of each year's tax equitably among the people near to the road and those farther away, according to the benefits they are to receive. This is the big problem in road finance, and I am not so presumptous as to attempt a perfect formula, but I do know that each man should pay for what he gets.

To begin with the man that lives on the road. He receives a special benefit and his land should pay a special tax for its special benefit. Minnesota and Ohio put it at one-fourth, Wisconsin a third. He ought to be satisfied with either, for it is his land which rises most in value and he obtains the most service from a pavement or graveled road from his courthouse to his front gate. Back of him the next neighbor stands next in benefit received, and so the variable of special benefit diminishes until it reaches a point midway between the main traveled road improved and the next main traveled road whereupon each resident then begins to receive his special benefit from the next main traveled road. That is the Utah system—to assess for special benefit all land which lies nearer to the main road improved than to any other main road, and I like it. This zone of special benefit is then graduated according to comparative proximity to the main road. In Indiana they go back I mile for special benefit. It is not so important how it is done as it is that it should be done in some way, for the many voters who live on neighborhood roads are not going to vote to build high-class roads past the few farms that lie on our main traveled roads if the tax burden is to fall on them with the same force that it falls upon the few who receive the larger benefits. Where bond issues are necessary, to equalize the cost as between the taxpayers of each succeeding year the special assessment is necessary to equalize as between the taxpayers of to-day who receive benefits more to one than to another. The special-assessment road-improvement district provides the plan for meeting this problem and should be adopted in every

COMMUNITY BENEFITS.

An improved road with a hard surface good for travel at all hours in all kinds of weather in this day of motor vehicles has become the interurban track of modern times. Our agricultural counties which have one automobile for every nine people today—the record for Buena Vista County—will have one for every family to-morrow. In a very few years there will be two on many a farm, so as to have one for the hired man.

Such a road, like an interurban, brings business to any market town. Cutting the costs of hauling has been estimated by the United States Bureau of Roads to be possible up to the full cost of the improvement on a long-time road. It costs more in Iowa to get to town with a wagonload of wheat on an average than to ship that wheat from New York to Liverpool. Reducing the cost of hauling and destroying the isolation of the farm, so that women will be content to stay on the farm, offers one of the most practicable possibilities for reducing the high cost of living in town. Hard roads benefit a town, therefore the town should help pay for roads which lead into it. Here, again, the special-assessment improvement district which will include a town enables us to tax those who get the benefit from road improvement

GENERAL PUBLIC BENEFITS.

The same automobile which has closed all the buggy factories in the land, changed livery stables into garages, slumped the price of steel rails, and made of driving horses an extinct

species, has made our people users of State-wide and Nation-wide roads. No longer are 5 miles the limit of a man's vision in this country. He travels across his own State in a day and negotiates the next State on the day following. High-class roads from henceforth are to benefit the people of all the State, regardless of the locality in which they are built, just as they benefit all the people of a county, though built in spots, and in financing our roads we should provide for the State at large to contribute and for the county at large to contribute. Aid from State funds in a dozen States has proved a powerful incentive to high-class construction. It is a wonderful promoter for better roads. It is sound and equitable in road finance.

And so is a vehicle tax, especially a motor-vehicle tax, for motor vehicles need hard roads more than any other vehicle on earth. We are killing many of our citizens every year in Iowa because the automobile on a wet clay hill becomes immediately an engine of destruction. Here in Iowa we pay more for our auto license than almost any other State, and yet the complaint of our auto owners is not that they pay too much, but that they get too little for what they pay. I can finance 50 miles of single-track paved road in every county in Iowa on the motor-vehicle tax of this State alone, and I am not sure but what I could obtain from the auto owners themselves a petition to double their license if I would only guarantee them 100 miles of paved roads in every county. It is equitable to tax the vehicle which needs a hard road most, and then the man who uses the road is paying for what he gets.

TAXATION NEED NOT BE BURDENSOME.

Financing a road then simplifies itself into a distribution of cost over the years during which the road is to serve and the subdivision of the annual fixed charge as between the public benefit to the State at large, the community benefit to town, county, or township unit, and the special benefit to the man who owns a farm near to the road as well as to the man who drives his auto upon the road. Financing which will cover these points will build hard roads of some kind in any man's State without burdensome taxation. In our own State it will do it without an increase in taxation. With 30-year county bonds in this State, I could replace every temporary bridge and culvert in the State during the next five years and pay off the debt with interest and maintenance without increasing the present county bridge levies. Population doubles every 30 years in the United States. Whether it doubles in Iowa or not it affects our land values, for we occupy the heart of the granary of the world. Our property subject to taxation has doubled in Iowa during the past 30 years, and it will double again during the next 30 years. New property, new values, and new people yet to come should help to pay for the roads which they will use. We bought and paid for in Iowa this year one-tenth of all the automobiles that were sold in the United States. Given a normal increase in property subject to taxation and an inevitable increase in automobiles licensed, we could pave one-third of our main traveled or county road system in Iowa and meet the fixed charge for bond retirement, interest, and maintenance out of our auto-license money. We could then gravel all the rest of our county-road system and meet its fixed charge out of our property tax without changing a single county-road levy. would be financing. Ohio and Indiana have each done twice as much as that in the number of miles surfaced, and the annual tax bill in neither State to-day is as large as it is in Iowa.

Gentlemen, do you get me? Financing a road means something more than taxing a people. It means science and sense in the distribution of the taxes that are already being levied.

Veterans of the Indian Wars.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD KEATING,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, December 15, 1915.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, I had the honor to present to the last Congress a bill pensioning the survivors of the Indian wars of the West. I use the word "honor" advisedly, sir, because as a westerner I am familiar with the heroic service rendered by the volunteer and regular soldiers who conquered the West for American civilization,

The Committee on Pensions of this House made a favorable report on my bill, but unfortunately its consideration by the

House was prevented by the congestion of legislation which marked the closing days of the last session.

I have reintroduced this bill and trust the Committee on Pensions will give the Members of this House an opportunity to discuss it and vote on it. I am sure that when the western Members of this House, without regard to political affiliations, are afforded an opportunity to tell their colleagues the story of the courage and the tenderness, the sufferings and the triumphs of the men who followed Sheridan and Miles and Custer and scores of other gallant officers across the plains and through the mountains of the West there will not be a vote cast in opposition to the passage of this measure.

To-day, Mr. Speaker, I am asking permission to submit to I have reintroduced this bill and trust the Committee on Pen-

To-day, Mr. Speaker, I am asking permission to submit to the Members of the House a copy of my bill and an argument in support of the measure prepared by P. Towne, secretary of St. Louis Camp, National Indian War Veterans. Mr. Towne, who is an old Indian fighter, speaks for his comrades who are scattered throughout the 48 States of the Union.

The following is a copy of my bill:

tered throughout the 48 States of the Union.

The following is a copy of my bill:

A bill to pension the survivors of certain Indian wars from 1865 to January, 1891, inclusive, and for other purposes.

Be it cnacted, etc., That the provisions, limitations, and benefits of an act entitled "An act granting pension to survivors of the Indian wars of 1832 to 1842, inclusive, known as the Black Hawk War, Creek War, Cherokee disturbances, and the Seminole War," approved July 27, 1892, as amended on February 19, 1913, be, and the same are hereby, extended from the date of the passage of this act to surviving officers and enlisted men, including militial and volunteers of the military service of the United States, who have reached the age of 62 years, and who served for 90 days in the campaign in southern Oregon and Idaho and northern parts of California and Nevada from 1865 to 1868, inclusive; the campaign against the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, and Comanches in Kansas, Colorado, and Indian Territory from 1867 to 1869, inclusive; the Modoc War of 1872 and 1873; the campaign against the Apaches of Arlzona in 1873; the campaign against the Kiowas, Comanches, and Cheyennes in Kansas, Colorado, Texas, Indian Territory, and New Mexico in 1874 and 1875; the campaign against the Northern Cheyennes and Sloux in 1876 and 1877; the Nez Perce War of 1877; the Bannock War of 1878; the campaign against the Northern Cheyennes and Sloux in 1876 and 1877; the Nez Perce War of 1877; the Bannock War of 1878; the campaign against the Ute Indians in Colorado and Utah from September, 1879, to November, 1880, inclusive; the campaign against the Shoux Indians in Arizona in 1885 and 1886; and the campaign against the Sloux Indians in South Dakota from November, 1890, to January, 1891, inclusive; and also to include the surviving widows of said officers and enlisted men: Provided, That such widows have not remartled: Provided further, That all contracts heretofore made between the beneficiarles under this act, the record of pay by the Unite

The following is the argument prepared by Mr. Towne in support of the foregoing bill:

NATIONAL INDIAN WAR VETERANS, St. Louis Camp.

To the honorable Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Honorable Gentlement: I have the honor to submit for your favorable consideration the following appeal of the veterans of Indian wars:

We, as veterans of Indian wars, are an organization of ex-United States soldiers who in the prime of life entered the service of our country and were sent to the western frontier, which was known then as the "Indian country," to give protection to the settler which crossing the Plains to establish homes in the almost unknown regions of the West. This protection in the Indian country was given the surveyor as well, who in those early days laid the lines of the great highways which are now traversed by the steam locomotive on its journey from coast to coast.

as well, who in those early days laid the lines of the great highways which are now traversed by the steam locomotive on its journey from roast to coast.

In the years which have followed the opening of Indian country to settlement civilization has followed the flag, and to-day villages stand where once could be seen the tepees of the Indian, while prosperity and industry welcome all.

In the discharge of their duty the veterans of the Indian wavs have suffered untold hardships and privations such as no other body of soldiers ever had to undergo. After being compelled to go on forced marches to the relief of a settler or an emigrant train threatened with annihilation by savage Indians, often being cut off from the base of their supplies, marching at times by night and again in the face of severe blizzards which swept across the plains, sleeping in the snow for lack of tents while the temperature was many degrees below zero, and this to intercept troublesome Indians who had left their reservation to go on the warpath. These are but a few of the hardships endured by the veterans of Indian wars, yet their duty had to be performed, and to-day these surviving veterans are appealing to our Government for a little aid in the nature of a pension, and may I ask, are we not worthy of it?

The men who composed Fetterman's command and suffered massacre by the Red Cloud Indians at Fort Phil Kearney and the men who followed Custer and met death at the Little Big Horn on that fatal June day would be veterans of Indian wars were they alive to-day, and we, the surviving veterans of Indian wars who have followed the guidon and protected the settler, are we not worthy of recognition from our Government?

The veterans of Indian wars are mostly old men; the hardship and privations endured by them in their years of Army life have left them

unfit for hard, laborious pursuits; in fact, many of them are living only by being cared for by charitable institutions, and when they pass away will be laid to rest in the potter's field, unless buried by their less unfortunate comrades of Indian war days.

This should not be so. The veterans of Indian wars have given the best years of their lives to the service of their country. Many of them to-day carry wounds received in Indian battles. Many have incurred disease from those years of Army service, and yet they are not looked upon as are the ex-soldiers of other wars. Our Government has bestowed pensions upon the veterans of the Civil War, which they have honorably carned, and upon veterans of other wars, but the veterans of the Indian wars have been forgotten after their years of faithful and honorable service. Are they not worthy of recognition?

Is our appeal to be placed on an equal sphgre with veterans of other wars as worthy or is it to be considered as unjust?

Hon. Edward Keating, Member of Congress from Colorado, has now before Congress a bill to pension the few remaining veterans of Indian wars, and we most respectfully appeal to you to assist Mr. Keating in pushing forward his bill that favorable action may be taken during the present session of Congress. Would most respectfully invite your attention to the inclosed copy of General Order, which was published by Brig. Gen. George A. Crook and issued to the troops of his command at the close of the Big Horn and Yellowstone expedition in the year 1876 and relative to the Sioux Indian War of that period. This order can also be found in the Army and Navy Journal of January 9, 1915; it is a duplicate of the original order.

Trusting that this will meet with your favorable consideration, I have the honor to remain,

Very respectfully, yours,

P. Towne,

P. Towne, Secretary, Second and Arsenal Streets.

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE PLATTE, IN THE FIELD, Camp Robinson, Nev., October 24, 1876.

Headquarters, Department of the Platte, in the Field, Camp Robinson, Nev., October 23, 1876.

General Order No. 8.—The time having arrived when the troops composing the Big Horn and Yellowstone expedition are about to separate, the brigadier general commanding addresses himself to the officers and men of the command, to say:

In the campaign now closed he has been obliged to call upon you for much hard service and many sacrifices of personal comfort. At times you have been out of reach of your base of supplies; in most inclement weather you have marched without food and slept without shelter. In your engagements you have evinced a high order of discipline and courage, in your marches wonderful power of endurance, and in your deprivations and hardships patience and fortitude.

Indian warfare is of all warfare the most trying, the most dangerous, and the most thankless; not recognized by the high authority of the United States Congress as war, it still possesses for you the disadvantages of civilized warfare, with all the horrible accompaniments that barbarians can invent and savages can execute. In it you are required to serve without the incentive to promotion or recognition; in truth, without favor or hope of reward.

The people of our sparsely settled frontier, in whose defense this war is waged, have but little influence with the powerful communities in the East; their representatives have little voice in our national councils, while your savage foes are not only the wards of the Nation, supported in iddeness, but objects of sympathy with a large number of people otherwise well informed and discerning. You may, therefore, congratulate yourselves that in the performance of your military duity you have been on the side of the weak against the strong, and that the few people there are on the frontier will remember your efforts with gratitude.

If in the future it should transpire that the avenues for recognition for distinguished services and gallant conduct are opened, those rendered in this campaign will be r

JOHN G. BOURKE, First Lieutenant, Third Cavalry, A. D. C., A. A. A. G.

War-Revenue Tax Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES J. BRITT.

OF NORTH CAROLINA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 16, 1915.

Mr. BRITT. Mr. Speaker, I oppose the adoption of the pending resolution. This so-called war-revenue tax act should not be continued. In fact, it ought never to have been passed. Equal revenue could have been raised in ways more convenient, more just, and more uniform. But I do not oppose it because I am unwilling to help raise revenue for the support of the Gov-

ernment. To help to provide sufficient revenue and to vote it in proper quotas for rightful purposes is as much the duty of the minority as of the majority. It is not the end, but the means that I oppose. Of all the modes of levying public taxes yet devised by statesmen and economists, that of payment by small adhesive tax stamps on goods and wares, checks and drafts, and instruments and documents is the most unjust, the most inequitable, and the most vexatious. Every dollar thus paid is, in the end, thrice paid. It is paid once in money, once in worry and loss of temper, and once in delay and confusion.

That the House may see the blighting effect of Schedule B of this act on a fine little industry in my district, I insert in the Record a copy of letter from Mr. P. E. Page, of Asheville, N. C., general manager of the Talcum Puff Co., and also a copy of an argument by Mr. Louis M. Bourne, of Asheville, attorney for the company, before the Treasury Department, as

ASHEVILLE, N. C., November 2, 1915.

Hon. J. J. BRITT, Asheville, N. C.

DEAR SIR: Referring to the interview we had this morning, at which Mr. L. M. Bourne was present, in regard to the effect of the waremergency act upon the business of the Talcum Puff Co., it gives me pleasure to submit for your consideration some facts bearing upon the situation as I view it from the standpoint of manager of the Talcum Puff Co.

We realize of course, that the Government in imposing taxation could not in every case consider the profits of every different manufacturer unless there were unusual circumstances surrounding the proposition which might make it, on the lace of it, an unjust burden, and that the tax might be so exorbitant as to practically drive the concern out of business.

Our fiscal year closes September 30, and in order that you may get clear idea of the effect of the war-revenue tax upon the business of a Talcum Puff Co. we will give the net earnings for the last four

For the year ending September 30, 1912_______For the year ending September 20, 1913_______For the year ending September 30, 1914_______For the year ending September 30, 1915______ \$12, 121, 70 18, 796, 29 16, 332, 57

For the year ending September 30, 1914 16, 332.57
For the year ending September 30, 1915 5, 6645.84

From the above you will note that the average net earnings for three years previous to the enactment of the law in question were \$15,750.19, and that there is a decrease in the net earnings for the year ending September 30, 1915, as compared with the previous year, of \$10,686.73. We beg to state that the amount spent for revenue stamps for the 10 months beginning December 1 and ending September 30 was \$10,090.01; labor and affixing stamps, \$966.11; total, \$11,056.12. You will note that the decrease in the net earnings for the year ending September 30, 1915, as compared with the previous year, amounted to \$10,686.73, which is just about represented by the amount of \$11,056.12 paid for the revenue stamps. You will note that the average amount of stamps used per month was \$1,009. It will also be noted that we paid out for revenue stamps and labor at the rate of \$1,105.61 per month, which would amount to \$13,267.22 annually.

It will be noted that the war-revenue act was even more disastrous than predicted in the correspondence we had with Senators Overmann and Simmons last December. It will be seen that we had a profitable business up to the enactment of this law, and that if some relief is not had it will eventually drive the company out of business altogether.

As stated in former correspondence, it has been impossible to pass this tax on either to the merchant or consumer, inasmuch as the law makes it a manufacturer's tax, and the stamps have to be applied by the manufacturer before the goods are shipped.

Furthermore, we have spent thousands of dollars in advertising the Air Float brand as a 10-cent proposition, and on 10-cent articles there is a limitation to the price the merchant and jobber pay; but the main point is that the Government has made it a manufacturer's tax, inasmuch as the denomination of the stamps is one-fourth cent, and there is no coin of such denomination, and it is an absolute impossibilit

ment of the tax to show conclusively that we had a profitable business up to that time, and that its ruin has been entirely due to this emergency measure.

Our profits were entirely satisfactory up to the time this law was passed. We think if you will refer to the emergency measure you will find that it is a verbatim copy of the Spanish War revenue measure, and for your information we beg to state that at that time, in 1898, taleum powder had not come into general use and was sold in very small quantities, retailing at 25 cents per can, and the Gerhard Mennen Co., of Newark, as we recall it, were the only ones in the business at that time, and we doubt if the consumption of tale in 1898 reached 1.000,000 packages annually. It was not an article of general use at that time, and the war measure of 1898 placed no particular burden upon any manufacturer. Since 1898 conditions have changed; talcum powder has ceased to be a luxury, and is used extensively by the poor as well as those better off in this world's goods. It is sanitary and hygienic, and its greatest use is in the nursery of infants.

The Talcum Puff Co. markets between 3.000,000 and 4.000,000 cans annually and occupies the third position in the market in number of packages sold, and the very fact that the net profit on our gross sales averages about 10 per cent is conclusive evidence of the fact that there are no exorbitant profits in the business and that it is not in any sense a luxury. Our average selling is \$7 per gross, and inasmuch as this tax is 36 cents per gross, at the rate of one-fourth cent on a 10-cent article, you will note it averages 5 per cent on the selling price. In other words, for every \$100,000 worth of business we do we have to pay the Government \$5,000, and it has figured out to be more than half of our net profits. There is not a business in existence on which the profits are not exorbitant that can stand any such tax as this, and we have shown by a sworn statement of out bookkeepers that our profits only average 10 per cent of t

In addition to this, this industry to-day is subject to the following Federal taxes:

1. A 700 per cent tax on alcohol.

2. A 30 per cent taxiff on our raw materials.

3. An income tax.

4. A corporation tax.

And in addition we now have this war tax, with the results outlined above. This tax was intended to be a tax on luxuries, and certainly talcum powder, with the hygienic uses to which it is put, should be eliminated from this class, and it certainly seems to us that even if it is classed as a luxury, it is unfair to single out this business arbitrarily instead of taxing all luxuries in order that the burdens of this tax might be evenly distributed.

Mr. Bourne has sent me a copy of his letter of September 29 to Senator Overranx and Senator Simmons, and it seems to me that his suggestion in the way of relief that all uncolored talcum powder be exempt from the tax imposed is a good one, or if that suggestion is not adopted, we certainly hope you will use your efforts to reduce the amount of this tax on 10-cent articles to at least one-quarter of what it is now, which would then mean that we would pay into the Government \$3,316.80 per year, and we think this should be an entirely reasonable tax for an industry of this kind.

The simplest way we should think would be to exempt uncolored talcum power lansmuch as talcum powder was not mentioned in the paper in losed the general head of cosmetics, as fully explained in Washington before the Intronal Revenue office in Washington. If uncolored perfumed talcum powder, also about 500,000 cans of face powder and other cosmetics, such as toley were forced the Talcum Puff Co. would still pay a very reasonable tax inasmuch as we sell about 400,000 cans of tinted talcum powder, also about 500,000 cans of face powder and other cosmetics, such as tolet water, cold cream, rouge, etc., which tax according to the present output of the Talcum Puff Co. would still pay a very reasonable tax inasmuch as we sell about 400,000 cans of tinted talcum powder, also about 500,000 cans of

General Manager, Talcum Puff Co.

ARGUMENT OF THE TALCUM PUFF CO., PRESENTED BY L. M. BOURNE, ATTORNEY, IN WASHINGTON, NOVEMBER 23, TO THE COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE, ALSO TO THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

It seems to have been the express intention of the framers of this bill to exempt taleum powder from the war tax. It is not named specifically or alluded to by inference in the bill, and it is certainly not to be inferred that an article so widely known and of such extensive use as talcum powder would have been included in generic terms.

Of all the articles specifically mentioned in the bill, such as extracts, tollet water, hair dressing, tooth wash, dentifrices, tooth paste, talcum powder is by far more extensively used and widely distributed. We should say that ten times as much talcum powder is consumed in the United States as tooth paste, and certainly if it was the intention of the framers of the bill to apply this war tax to talcum powder it would have been specifically enumerated, inasmuch as many other articles with a much more restricted use and distribution are specifically named in the bill.

have been specifically enumerated, inasmuch as many other articles with a much more restricted use and distribution are specifically named in the bill.

As stated, it seems to have been the clear purpose of the author of the bill to free talcum powder from this war tax.

If the tax is applied to taicum powder at all, it can only be done under the general head of "cosmetics," which is alluded to in the war tax.

Talcum powder is not a cosmetic in the ordinary meaning of the word, its predominant use being that of infant powder, bath powder, body powder, foot powder, and is largely used by men after shaving, and is also extensively used in hospitals and by the medical profession as a soothing, healing, and antiseptic dressing, and by the public in general for the purpose of relieving chafing, particularly among infants, and for other general medicinal purposes.

Talcum powder is composed of entirely different ingredients than face powder and is used for entirely different purposes. It is considered by the trade not as a cosmetic but as a medicinal tollet article, and is so known not only by the trade but by the public in general.

Tale, being an insoluble mineral in and of itself, has practically no effect upon the skin, and on this account some sort of an antiseptic is accordingly universally combined with tale, and boracic acid is the accepted ingredient. Now and then a manufacturer will add one or more other antiseptics to this powder, but this practice is rather exceptional. Simply as a means of catering to individual taste, talcum powder is commonly perfumed, and the perfume is also added for the purpose of increasing its antiseptic and deodorizing qualities. As tale is an insoluble mineral, it has no adhesive qualities, and this is the great difference between talcum powder and face powder.

The theatrical profession in their work use almost every kind of cosmetic known. The purpose, of course, is to either improve or change the aspect of the face. It is a well-known fact that no actor or actress

would ever think of using talcum powder in any form or for the purpose of "make-up."

would ever think of using talcum powder in any form or for the purpose of "make-up."

As tale is an inert material it can have no effect whatever upon the complexion, and is, therefore, not a cosmetic; and claims to the contrary is simply "trade talk." and the company does not and could not make any such claim on the labels of its packages; boric acid is added to tale to give it the medicinal and antiseptic properties.

Cosmetic defined (Century Dictionary): "Pertaining to beauty; beautifying; improving beauty, particularly the beauty of the complexion—any preparation that renders the skin soft, pure, and white or helps or professes to be able to beautify or improve the complexion.

"The art of annointing or decorating the human body, as with toilet preparations, etc."

When the proposed tax was first suggested at Washington we wrote Senator Simmons, Senator Overman, and Congressman Gudger that we were manufacturing moderate-priced toilet articles for the masses, and that the small profit would not stand the proposed tax. We had a reply from Senator Simmons stating our letter had been referred to the Senate Finance Committee, and we believe it was his express intention to exempt talcum powder as it is not enumerated in the bill, and we understand that he was the author of the law.

When we received a copy of the law and found that talc was not mentioned we assumed that the tax would not apply to talcum powder. From the attached statement of the operations of the Talcum Puff Co. it will be noted that the profits are a fraction under 10 per cent of the sales.

The number of packages sold, 3,404,304. Selling price per gross,

sales.

The number of packages sold, 3,404,304. Selling price per gross, \$6.91, a fraction less than 5 cents per package.

The net profit per gross, 68 cents. The proposed war tax is 36 cents per gross, which amounts to more than one-half of the net profits on

The net profit per gross, 68 cents. The proposed war tax is 36 cents per gross, which amounts to more than one-half of the net profits on each package.

The tax would amount annually to more than half of the net profits of the Talcum Puff Co. In other words, this tax would cost us, on the basis of last year's operations, \$8,600.76, based on the operation of last fiscal year, we estimate that there is in the hands of the jobbers and retailers throughout the country 10,000 gross of our brand of tale to which revenue stamps will have to be affised and which we will have to furnish retailers and jobbers and pay for same as this is a manufacturer's tax amounting to an additional \$3,600, which, added to \$8,600.76, makes \$12,200.76, which we will have to pay during the first year—which almost entirely eliminates our net profits, and we are basing our figures on the last fiscal year which closed September 30, 1914, and we are now facing disturbed and extraordinary conditions with depressed markets for the ensuing fiscal year.

Approximately 90 per cent of all talcum powder sold is sold to women. Of this amount 50 per cent is sold to women for use on children, and the fact that the amount of talcum powder sold through the three summer months probably equals about 50 per cent of the total yearly sales shows that it is neither used or considered a cosmetic by consumers. Women who buy talcum powder do not use it as a face powder. Talcum is distinctly a body powder, not a face powder. The chief reason for this, of course, is the fact that tale is of mineral rather than of vegetable composition.

The profits on the gross sales do not exceed 10 per cent, which is an extremely low figure for this class of business. 10 per cent being the usual profit in the most staple line. We can not raise the price, because this is a manufacturer's tax, and the stamps have to be applied by the manufacturer. Furthermore, the price of our brand to the trade has been established for years, and if the tax is levied we will have to stand it.

War-Revenue Tax Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN. OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 16, 1915.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, in answer to the statement of the leader of the majority in this House, Mr. KITCHIN, that the Underwood tariff law has been a success as a revenue producer, and in that respect an improvement upon the Payne-Aldrich tariff law, I submit the following statement issued by the Hon. Jonathan Bourne, jr., as president of the Republican Publicity Association, of this city. Mr. Bourne was one of the Republican leaders in the United States Senate for many years, where he established a reputation for industry and accuracy in the investigation and consideration of public questions.

His statement, headed "Democratic revenue law a failure,"

is as follows:

WASHINGTON, November 14.

Washington, November 14.

The Underwood tariff law has never been an adequate revenue producer, assertions of Democratic leaders and Democratic newspapers to the contrary notwithstanding. A study of the law from the revenue standpoint develops the following facts:

The Underwood law went into effect October 4, 1913, so that the period July 1 to October 3, fiscal year 1914, was under Republican law, during which time, despite unsettled business conditions incident to the pending free-trade measure, a revenue of \$88,617.096 was realized, which Secretary McAdoo boldly credited to the Underwood law. Had the latter measure been in effect during this period, with its low average duty rates, it would have yielded not more than \$57,000,000 of revenue, so it is entirely fair to say that the Democratic law was benefited by its predecessor in the sum of over \$31,500,000.

The income-tax feature of the Underwood law being an experiment, the Democrats retained the Republican rates on wool up to December 1, 1913, on woolen goods to January 1 and on sugar to March 1, 1914. These three products helped the Underwood law out in the sum of \$24,287,864, or a total benefit from the Republican law, in round num-

bers, of \$51,750,000. Republican efficiency in the Post Office Department gave us a surplus of \$3.800,000, the first time in the history of the department that a surplus has been recorded. The existence of this surplus was promptly denied by the incoming Postmaster General, Mr. Burleson, who, in 1914, smusgled it into the Treasury under miscellaneous receipts. (See daily Treasury statement, June 29, 1914.) Thus the total aid to the revenues from Republican rates and laws was \$55.550,000.

The total ordinary receipts for the fiscal year 1914 reported by Mr. McAdoo were \$734.343,700. Hobbling alone Democratic laws would have produced \$678,793,700. The total disbursements reported were \$735,495.316, Panama Canal disbursements of \$34,800,000 included. To this should be added the general deficiency bill, which was fillustered over until the 1st of July—\$5.900,000—making total disbursements for the fiscal year 1914 of \$741,395,316. It is quite clear, therefore, that the Underwood tariff rates in the first nine months of their operation would have caused a deficit in the Treasury of over \$62,600,000, overcluding Panama Canal disbursements, \$27.800,000, except that it was carried out on the crutches furnished by the law which it superseded.

Month by month it was becoming evident that a larger and larger percentage of goods was taking advantage of the free-trade conditions of the Underwood law. Immediately upon the declaration of war in Europe the Democratis 'introduced and enacted the war-revenue measure to hidde the deficiencies of their tariff bill, giving as an excuse that the war would cut off imports, hence customs revenues would decrease. For a short time imports did fall off a trifle, but the currents of trade quickly shifted and readjusted themselves. Now the monthly imports have reached truly Democratic proportions. From August, 1912, to September, 1913, 14 months under a Democratic tariff, but with the war having a protective effect, we imported goods to the value of \$2,112,000,000, on which a revenue of \$37

Preparedness-Its Cost-Who Will Pay the Bills and Who Will Get the Money.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,

OF WISCONSIN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 16, 1915.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, the Sixty-fourth Congress is going to be a memorable one in the future history of this country. Stupendous problems are to be solved and great questions settled between now and adjournment, and it is regrettable indeed that the first important act of this Congress should be the enactment of a continuation of the "war tax."

When the bill was jammed through the House last year I desired to offer an amendment, but was prevented from doing so by a Democratic caucus rule, placing a tax on Coca-Cola and similar products, and to ask that the burden of taxation has more controlled the latest that the burden of taxation be more equitably distributed, and that beer, instead of paying a tax of 50 cents more on the barrel, be taxed 25 cents and some of the taxation placed on whisky, which would certainly have been more just, especially when we consider that a barrel of whisky is worth as much as 45 barrels of beer and costs a great deal less, both for labor and material, to produce and market.

The entire law is so full of inconsistencies and is so manifestly unjust in many of its provisions that as a piece of legislative work it would be a historical joke if it were not

such an economic tragedy to so many people.

A poor little bowling alley and billiard room doing a few hundred dollars' worth of business is taxed more than a great

bank whose business runs into the millions.

It is now proposed to tax gasoline. I do not know why gasoline should be taxed this year more than last year unless it may be that the auto statistics of the past year show that while automobiles used to be a luxury for the rich, who usually escape most of the burdens of taxation, cheap and useful small machines are now owned by millions of small farmers, tradesmen, and people of moderate means, and this is the class that as a rule has to bear the heavy burdens of taxation.

A tax on gasoline would not be so obnexious if it were possible to fix the price of gasoline and have it inspected and graded by the Government, but everybody knows that the great corporation that controls the gasoline market would at once put the entire tax on the consumer and probably raise the price besides and very possibly deliver an inferior quality.

We should also remember that gasoline is the poor man's

cooking fuel.

In parenthesis I might say if it is necessary to tax intoxicants and explosives it might be good to place a high tax on the inflammatory newspapers and magazines whose main purpose seems to be to keep the public mind in a state somewhere between hysteria and delirium tremens.

But it is a hopeless task to expect the tax to be laid with any show of right of justice. It is with the deepest regret that I am obliged to call attention to the feature of the tax which proclaims its utter geographical injustice, but facts are facts, and it is a fact that every industry taxed heavily in this bill is an industry carried on principally in the northern part of the country, and

that is certainly neither fair nor just.

Let us take, for example, the enormous portion of the tax burden which the wine and beer industries are compelled to assume. The very first paragraph of the bill placed a tax on wine and beer, and that means that all of the so-called "dry States" have not had to pay on this product at all. Now, everybody who knows anything about a dry State knows that the only thing that is dried up is the State treasury and the department of the United States internal-revenue office collecting the tax in that State, so that the tax is always shirked by the bootlegger, the moonshiner, and the stealthy and hypocritical flask toter of the dry State who wants to rule the country, spend its money, direct its policies, and let some other section pay the bills.

In this oppressive tax measure they tax the small dealer and consumer and let the big trusts go scot free. It looks as if the American Tobacco Co., otherwise known as the Tobacco Trust, has its friends placed on the committees of the House and Senate, so that it is impossible to reach them for taxing purposes. The tobacco schedule was jammed through the House without discussion in just three minutes, in a shape which permits the trust to rob the consumer of one-quarter of the tobacco which he formerly got for his money by the simple expedient of reducing the size of the packages, which were formerly fixed by law in multiples of 2 ounces each. Now they can make any size package they please in multiples of one-half ounce each. Formerly the workingman got 2 ounces for his nickel; now he gets 11/2 ounces-robbed of one-quarter of his tobacco without his consent. This robbery enables the trust to pocket \$55,000,000 extra annually and escape without an extra cent of taxation. During the Cuban war an extra tax of 8 cents per pound was levied on tobacco. The trust, through their friends in Congress, promptly got permission to reduce the size of their packages, and when the tax was taken off after the war they failed to restore the size of the package. They then reduced the poor man's 2-ounce package to 13 ounces. The Underwood tariff man's 2-ounce package to 1% ounces. The Underwood tariff schedule permits them to still further reduce the quantity of the workingman's package to 12 ounces without the addition of one penny of extra taxation. They place the tax on the small dealer. All other countries tax their tobaccos and derive a proper revenue therefrom except the United States, where the tax is merely nominal, and the trust pockets all the money.

We lose on account of this laxity much more than the entire amount which is to be raised by this emergency tax, and nobody is the gainer except the big trusts. The discussion of this question by the Senate of the United States (Congressional Record May 14, 1909, and June 24, 1909, pages 2022 to 2028 and 3724) shows a tobacco-tax loss of \$184,000,000 per annum. Why is this trust practically immune from taxation? Ask the committeemen in charge. Ask Thomas Fortune Ryan. He knows. Examine the Senate's hearings on campaign contributions and

you may get a definite idea of the underlying cause.

As a matter of fact, there never should have been any reason for the placing of this tax at all, and there would not have been had the Democratic Party kept its promises to curtail the expenses of the Government and stop the wastage of treasure and resources, which constitute by far the causes of the depletion of the Treasury.

We are not called upon to place any armies in the field; there is no sign of the mobilization of such troops as we have; our Democratic friends are claiming that the country is in every way prosperous, and yet we are compelled to submit to the imposition of a war tax as high as the tax on the people during the recent War with Spain, against which so many Democratic Members

at that time made vociferous protests.

Oh, the financiering of our Democratic friends has been re-markable for its consistency! We spent days of wrangling to save the people a few paltry pennies in mileage; we saved a few paltry dollars by lopping off the usual annual mileage of a number of poorly paid employees in the Capitol and Office Building. They reduced the number of police and elevator men in

the Office Building so that useful doors have to be locked and expensive elevators can not run; and then they piled up appropriation after appropriation, creating clerkships for investigating committees, hiring counsel at exorbitant fees, printing tons of hearings that nobody would ever have the patience to read, and if they did would not be one whit the wiser; and now, after all of these sham protestations of economy, after campaigns of re-buke to Republican extravagance, they saddle this oppressive tax on the people of the country and add to the still burdensome grievance of the high cost of living an onerous and, I repeat, a

totally unnecessary tax.

And the very worst feature of the matter is that all over the country men are asking continuously and persistently "Where does the money go?" If it were spent with scientific exactness and the country received full value for the money turned in, there would probably be much less opposition to this or any other tax. But unfortunately the people absolutely distrust the methods in which Government money is spent, and there is far too much evidence that they are right in their distrust.

Let us take, for example, the next big appropriation that this Congress will have to consider—the Navy and Army appro-Millions have been appropriated in the past and many more millions will be asked for in the future. Has the money been spent in the past in a way that can give the American people any assurance that it will be wisely spent in the future?

Every patriotic American believes to a certain extent in "preparedness." The people will undoubtedly be willing to spend a great deal of money to provide adequate defense, but, Mr. Speaker, I feel that I am entirely safe in asserting that they will rise in righteous wrath if the hard-earned money of the toilers of this country which they will be asked to place at the disposal of the National Government shall continue to be used to fatten the swollen fortunes of the Steel Trust, the Armor-plate Trust, or the Powder Trust, while the Army and Navy are neglected, mismanaged, or, what is worse, still controlled and ruled by bureaucrats who are either hidebound to old and obsolete methods or wedded to a very suspicious alliance with the moneyed corporations that control the supplies which the defensive forces of the country most need.

That this is neither idle rumor nor sensational accusation has been abundantly proved by the actions of the departments of

our Government in charge of defense.

That inventors have been rebuffed, discouraged, and disheartened by the bureaucrats is so well known that it is almost unnecessary to mention the specific cases, and that some of the most obnoxious trusts in this country have profited hugely by the complaisance of naval and military boards is beyond question.

During the Sixty-third Congress I introduced a bill and two resolutions, which I will insert here, and I can assure you that if the witnesses who would have testified could have been properly protected and given some reward as an incentive to testify there would be enough cash on hand to-day in the Treasury to make the imposition of this tax entirely unnecessarv:

A bill (H. R. 7601) authorizing the Navy Department to offer and pay rewards for the detection of violations of the antitrust act of July 2, 1890.

2, 1890.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Navy of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to offer and pay rewards to the person or persons who shall first furnish to the Government of the United States information which shall lead to the detection of violations of the antitrust act of July 2, 1890, in cases where such violations shall injuriously affect the Navy Department or any business connected with the national defense, or in cases where the Government has been defrauded in the character, quality, or price of the material furnished, and where, as a result of information or evidence so furnished, the Government succeeds in recovering money or property as fines, forfeitures, or otherwise, the reward shall be 20 per cent of the amount so recovered.

House resolution 506.

Whereas certain chiefs of the Bureau of Ordnance have made misleading reports to their superiors and to Congress; and Whereas Chiefs of Ordnance have attempted to deceive Congress on the effect of high explosives; and Whereas our Navy and coast defenses are being constructed as recommended by officers who are disloyal to their official oath; and Whereas the Armor Trust is being favored by some misleading reports: Therefore be it

Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Speaker of the House of Representatives is hereby authorized and directed to appoint a committee of nine Members of the House, of which number five shall be of the majority and four of the minority. Said committee is hereby directed to make an investigation of the subject matter embraced, misleading Congress by false reports. Said committee is also directed to investigate if there has been a conspiracy between the United States officers and the armor manufacturers or other persons in defrauding the country or the Government.

manuacturers or other persons in derrauding the country of the Government.

Said committee is authorized to sit during sessions of Congress and recess of Congress, to compel the attendance of witnesses, to employ such clerical and other assistance as may be necessary, and to administer oaths to witnesses. The cost and expenses of said committee shall be paid from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives.

Said expenses shall be paid out on the audit and order of the chair-man or acting chairman of said committee.

House resolution 544.

Whereas the Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, has stated in testimony before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House and in an official letter to the Senate that there exists a combination and conspiracy of armor manufacturers who are "holding up" the Government of the United States and forcing the Navy Department, by a monopoly combination, to pay extortionate prices which amount to a robbery of the Government of several million dollars each year:

Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Navy is hereby requested to inform this House what steps, if any, he has taken to have his colleague, the Attorney General, take action for the prosecution of this monopoly combine of armor manufacturers; and Resolved jurther, That the Attorney General is hereby requested to inform this House what steps he has taken to prosecute civilly and criminally this Armor Trust above mentioned.

On the 5th of May, 1914, the distinguished Member from Kansas, Mr. Murdock, asked the following questions-and my recollection is very strong that his remarks were applauded by Members of this House of all parties. He said:

Now, here is a question that I would like to ask in all seriousness: The Secretary of the Navy sits at the same counsel table with the Attorney General of the United States. Here is a straight-out violation of the law; here is a combination in restraint of trade; here is a monopoly; here is a witness of high integrity, of entire credibility, who testified that this is a monopoly; here is a great Government which is the victim of that monopoly. What is the matter with the Attorney General of the United States? [Applause.] Why does he sit silent and permit this Government to suffer this wrong? Why does he not get busy? I ask the question in a humble spirit of inquiry. I will get no answer from any source. [Applause.]

Why does the Secretary of the Navy submit to having the United States Government held up and robbed of millions of dollars by the Armor Trust every-year when he has it in his power to take steps to put a stop to it at once? Everyone knows—and no one knows better than the Secretary of the Navy himself-that if he were to write one short letter to Congress asking for the passage of the bill to protect witnesses and pay rewards for convicting evidence of the frauds and robberies perpetrated on the Government by the Armor Trust which I introduced on August 22, 1913, Congress would pass the bill at once, and the evidence would be produced and the robbery of the Government by the Armor Trust would be stopped for all future time, and millions of dollars of the money already stolen would be recovered from Carnegie and his Armor Trust crew and put back into the Public Treasury.

Neither the Secretary of the Navy nor the Attorney General of the United States have vouchsafed a reply to my House resolution No. 544. Why not? I will be able to answer the question if they give me the power asked for in my other resolution, No. 506, and if they pass my House bill 7601-all of which I have herein quoted-I will show by sworn testimony that a bureaucratic oligarchy corruptly controls these matters, and that if the Government collected the fines, penalties, and forfeitures from the Armor Plate and other criminal trusts they would not face the necessity of this tax, but would have millions to spare after paying the expenses of the Government.

I think I would also be able to show why our Navy is not in harmony with modern science; why we have no large-caliber guns which can throw high-explosive shells, such as are now being used in the European war; why we have no armored automobiles with automatic machine guns; why our inventors have been turned down by our Navy Department when they offered their inventions exclusively to our Government; why American inventors are obliged to sell their inventions to foreign countries, where they are received with honor and profits. England knighted our American citizen, Hiram Maxim, and made him rich for his invention of the automatic machine gun, while he received only snubs and ridicule from our bureaucracy. Germany is relying on the "Gathmann system" of high explosives and large-caliber guns to conquer the whole of Europe. Yet this Chicago inventor, after offering his various inventions exclusively to the United States Government, was rebuffed and ignored by the "ring" which controls and was forced to lay his lifework before Germany and Japan, which have adopted them, and his only hope now is that they will never be used against the Government which spurned him.

I will give only a partial list of American inventors who were first in every line of modern improvements, none of which improvements were adopted by our hypnotized Government officials, because some of them are on the pay rolls of the trusts, whom they serve, but, of course, in the nature of things, could not be rewarded by a poor inventor:

D. W. Meacham, 908793, January 5, 1909; war car, filed May 11, 1908; class 89-40.

A. McF. McSweeney, 1002169, August 29, 1911; skirmish machine, filed July 8, 1910; class 89-40.

Bowman & Hughes, 662761, November 27, 1910; machine gun, filed April 5, 1900; class 89—40.

W. S. Isham, 622479, April 4, 1899; shell for high explosives, filed November 28, 1898; class 102—30.

H. P. Hurst, 582063, May 4, 1897; high-explosive shell and fuse, filed June 10, 1896; class 102—39.

H. P. Hurst, 668125, July 26, 1898; high-explosive shell and fuse, filed April 28, 1897; class 102—39.

L. Gathmann, 569192, October 13, 1896; high-explosive shell, filed April 16, 1896; class 102—30.

L. Gathmann, 639227, December 19, 1899; torpedo shell for high explosives, filed November 4, 1898; class 102—30.

L. Gathmann, 672827, April 23, 1901; shell for high explosives, filed November 25, 1898; class 102—30.

L. Gathmann, 569191, October 13, 1896; projectile and gun for throwing same, filed March 17, 1896; class 102—30.

J. W. Graydon, 399831, March 19, 1889; shell, filed November 8, 1888; class 102—30.

W. S. Isham, 801877, October 17, 1895; gun carriage, filed December 17, 1902; class 89—43.

S. N. McLean, 1005263, October 10, 1911; gas-operated machine gun, filed February 11, 1904; class 89—33.

J. W. Graydon, 382224, May 1, 1888; high-explosive shell, filed February 15, 1888; class 102—30.

J. W. Graydon, 382225, May 1, 1888; nigh-explosive shell, filed February 15, 1888; class 102—30.

J. W. Graydon, 382223, May 1, 1888; high-explosive shell, filed February 15, 1888; class 102—30.

J. W. Graydon, 382223, May 1, 1888; high-explosive shell, filed February 15, 1888; class 102—30.

J. W. Graydon, 382223, May 1, 1888; high-explosive shell, filed February 15, 1888; class 102—30.

J. W. Graydon, 382223, May 1, 1888; high-explosive shell, filed February 15, 1888; class 102—30.

J. W. Graydon, 382223, May 1, 1888; shell for explosives, filed June 25, 1887; class 102—30.

GUNS FOR HIGH EXPLOSIVES.

Gathmann, 678557, July 16, 1901; filed March 16, 1899, Gathmann, 569190, October 13, 1896; filed July 10, 1895 Gathmann, 424969, April 8, 1890; filed March 26, 1889.

AUTOMATIC GUNS.

Maxim, 321513, July 7, 1885; filed May 2, 1884.
Maxim, 459828, September 22, 1891; filed December 28, 1886.
Maxim, 577485, February 23, 1897; filed March 20, 1896.
Maxim, 439248, October 28, 1890; filed Mpril 4, 1890.
Maxim, 317161, May 5, 1885; filed May 27, 1884.
Maxim, 321513, July 7, 1885; filed May 2, 1884.
Lewis, 1004666. October 2, 1911; filed June 27, 1910.

The Armor Trust people know very well that the high explosives invented by Gathmann have proven over and over again that armor plate would be of no earthly use as a protection against an enemy using this explosive, and their agents have therefore done everything they could to belittle the experiments made with this explosive and have insisted on a projectile that would "pierca." Unfortunately for our self-complacent attitude in this as in other matters foreign Governments do not take the word of our so-called experts at face value, and they adopted the explosive system of Gathmann and used it very successfully during the present war; and if-which may God forbid-a foreign power should ever attack the United States, I think it would not occur to them to take either the word of the Armor Trust people or that of our bureaucratic "experts" as to the value of armor plate to protect or piercing projectile to pierce. but would use the explosive that is so effective now in Europe to batter the useless armor plate into scrap metal. As a matter of fact tissue paper would be as effective as armor plate as a protective agency against any of the high-explosive shells.

Why have we lagged behind in all modern developments of armament, ammunition, and everything that goes to make an efficient modern fighting force? We had the inventors; we had the money: we have the men.

The submarine was an American invention. While all of the nations of Europe have developed this form of fighting sea craft to a remarkable degree of efficiency we have neglected it outrageously.

The flying machine was an American invention, and what have we done with it? Our whole aviation system is an international joke. We have a ridiculously small number of machines, most of them obsolete; and worse yet, we have put officers in charge of aviation stations that know nothing of the science of aviation.

Last June I paid a visit to the aviation station at San Diego, and found about 10 or 12 machines, of which only 2 were workable, 1 aeroplane and 1 hydroplane. The rest were ready for the scrap heap, as no one would dare to go up in them.

For the two which were still usable there were no extra parts available in case of accident, and the men were even timid about going up in these two, not because the men were at all cowardly, but simply because the machines were defective and none of them at all alike.

Holland, the inventor of the submarine, died in poverty. Langley was laughed at for his experiments with the aeroplane, and his death was probably hastened by the ridicule that followed his brave efforts to make us understand that aerial flight was feasible.

Any inventor now is a joke with us. We look on him as a "bug," we mock his efforts and decry his dreams, and spend

our admiration on the millionaire who makes his money by the sweat of other men's brows, and read with avidity the fantastic rot in the papers about his wife's monkey dinners or his daughter's wedding to a dissolute foreign prince or duke.

When will we learn the lesson that Germany has learned so well and demonstrated so thoroughly that proper defense is a matter of brains and efficiency and not a matter of politics and "high finance"? It is saddening at times to hear the plans of the preparedness advocates when they advocate the expenditure of millions for ammunitions, for weapons, for supplies, for ships, for everything except brains and men. The big ammunition factories, the armor-plate and steel money kings are all in favor of preparedness. Why should they not be? It means increased dividends, it means more graft, more hoodwinking of the patient, tolerant mass of American people, and it does not mean that they will have to exert either ingenuity or ability to enrich themselves.

Does anyone for a moment believe that the plants which will benefit by big appropriations care a rap whether they turn out a good or a bad product? Whether they employ efficient and competent trained men or not? The headlines in all of the recent papers should be sufficient answer to this. Every day we hear of an explosion in some powder or ammunition plant, and that portion of the press which has never been neutral at once splutters about "foreign plotters," when every sane man knows that the explosions and disasters are the most natural sequence in the world to the hiring of incompetent labor and the placing of most delicate work in the hands of utterly unskilled and underpaid workmen.

Mr. Speaker, let us try to be a little reasonable. If this country ever goes to war again we will be confronted by an enemy or enemies who will have every resource that modern science can give them. They will have trained and efficient sailors and soldiers to handle the most modern weapons that human ingenuity can devise. We will have what? To start with, we will have the most magnificent soldiery in the world. An army of American volunteers will surpass in native, natural fighting disposi-tion and ability any army in the world. This is at once conceded and has been admitted by every military expert who ever came over here when we had a fighting job of any kind on. But will our brave boys have either training or experience, or will we have officers or trained men to lead and direct them? If our Army and Navy continue to be organized, officered, and controlled by the swivel-chair bureaucrats who now dominate them, I confess that to me the outlook is pessimistic. If our sordid and utterly selfish and unpatriotic corporate masters of all of the industries which will need trained men in a time of war continue to control these industries, we will have neither trained men nor patriotic Americans to man a warship, fight a battle, or even equip an Army and Navy. This may sound rather pessi-mistic, but just let us examine a little matter, just one matter that has direct bearing on this subject.

One of the most important features of the program of "preparedness," which is the cause of more perfervid oratory and big headlines than any other, is the need of a big navy. are going to be asked to vote for an appropriation that will provide for many ships. In addition to that we are going to be asked to help establish a big merchant marine. Where are we going to get the sailors to man these warships and merchant ships, which will, of course, be reckoned on to furnish competent sailors in time of war. The big steamship companies, along with the Powder Trust, the Steel Trust, the Armor Plate Trust, and so forth, are all in favor of "preparedness," and also all in favor of any old kind of a subsidy or merchant marine bill that will help them run steamship lines for patriotism—and profit.

Almost with tears in their eyes they deplore in the most eloquent terms the "passing of the American flag from the oceans of the world." They tell us we need a merchant marine of our own to protect American commerce and to furnish us with an auxiliary naval service of ships with trained sailors on them in case of war. In almost the same breath they protest against the seamen's bill, and if they possibly could would have its most important provisions repealed by this Congress. let us see why they object to this bill.

One of their chief wails has been the elimination of the American flag from the Pacific Ocean. The Pacific Mail, the Robert Dollar, and the Great Northern Steamship Companies all claim that the seamen's bill drove them from the Pacific Ocean steamship trade. This trade has passed into the control of Japan. They wished to keep it for what—to encourage American seamanship, to keep a race of trained American sailors in readiness for any emergency, or to develop a strictly American merchant marine?

The following excerpt and letter from a circular issued by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce is illuminating:

CHINESE VERSUS WHITE CREWS.

As to the efficiency of Chinese crews as compared with white crews the following letter from the marine superintendent, steamship department, of the Canadian Pacific Railway Co. at Vancouver, is self-explanatory:

EFFICIENCY OF CHINESE CREWS.

VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA, November 24, 1915.

SECRETARY FOREIGN TRADE DEPARTMENT.

San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.

Secretary Foreign Trade Department,

San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 9th instant re above addressed to the manager was referred to this office. In the temporary absence of Capt. Beetham, the writer asked Mr. James McGown, superintendent engineer of the company, for his opinion, to which I have received the following reply:

"Referring to your turndown on letter from the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce re the employment of white or oriental crews on the trans-Pacific steamers. After considerable experience with both classes of labor I am fully satisfied that oriental labor is far preferable to any white labor procurable here. The oriental crews are obedient and obliging and are always on board when required, they do not indulge in intoxicants and give very little trouble when properly handled, and when it comes to a question of our personal or floating property being in danger with men in charge who have the confidence of the oriental crew there is no one who will work better.

"I have had several cases of this sort under my personal attention and have had no trouble in handling the oriental crew when it would have been absolutely impossible to keep a white crew in the stokehold. I am strongly in favor of oriental crews for trans-Pacific steamers when compared with the class of white labor procurable on this coast."

Trusting the above will enable you to reply to the above-mentioned letter of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.

As all our ships are away now I can not ask the opinion of any of our commanders, but the writer, who has sailed with all of them, knows that the above letter from Mr. McGown expresses the general idea of all deck and engine-room officers, while as cabin stewards Chinese are excellent.

Yours, truly,

Marine Superintendent B.

New Leybmit Mr. Speaker that the characterists

C. Beetham, Marine Superintendent B.

Now I submit, Mr. Speaker, that the above fairly represents the attitude of the corporate money kings on the whole question. Their one idea in this whole question is based on a desire for dividends. They abuse white American sailors, call them drunkards and every other foul name they can. They do not want competent help; they want obedient and cheap help; and they are interested not one whit in American defense, in American preparedness, or American patriotism unless it carries with it goodly number of American dollars for their pockets.

Mr. Speaker, this is the beginning of a new Congress, a Congress that will be written of in the history that unborn generations will read. Let us resolve that this will be a Congress where the dollar mark will not be uppermost. Let patriotism take rank above plutocracy; let the dollar for once be subservient to a high ideal; and let us give the people of our country a proof by our actions here that we place the welfare, the happiness, the progress, and the prosperity of all of our citizens above everything else in the program that this Congress will endeavor to carry out.

We have a magnificent destiny still to fulfill. The Western Hemisphere is still at peace with the world, and we hope and trust that it will continue to set an example of peace to a warracked world, and on the actions of this present Congress the future development of America as well as the future peace of the world may depend. We have a splendid opportunity, but we have also a grave responsibility. May the Great Power who rules the destinies of men and nations guide us aright.

National Defense.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK L. GREENE.

OF VERMONT.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 17, 1915.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a speech delivered by Hon. L. C. DYER, a Member of this House, at the laying of the corner stone of the William McKinley Memorial at Niles, Ohio, on the 20th of last month. The speech is upon the subject of national defense,

The speech is as follows:

NATIONAL DEFENSE.

William McKinley was Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy during the War with Spain, the Philippine insurrection, and the troubles in China. From those of us who thus

saw service under our great and beloved Commander in Chief has grown the United Spanish War Veterans, which is in itself a most splendid and lasting monument to his memory. principles of our order-freedom, patriotism, and humanityare the same that persuaded McKinley to finally advise Congress to declare war upon the Kingdom of Spain. It has always been and it is our desire now to make of our beloved United Spanish War Veterans a worthy memorial to his great and good name, as well as to all of the splendid men who served our Nation in that war with Spain, the Philippines, and China. Not alone do we exist as an organization to honor the memory of our comrades, but we strive and endeavor to be a real live force in working for the glory and greatness of our country. We strive to teach patriotism, love of country, and to have the people mindful of their patriotic duties and obligations. Ever since the Spanish War those of us who served therein have been urging upon the people of America and the Government that no such conditions be allowed to exist again regarding our being so unprepared for war as it was then. It was from our Volunteers, hastily brought together, without training, that our greatest losses occurred. Those of our soldiers who died be-tween May 1, 1898, and June 30, 1899, were mostly Volunteers, and the deaths, it the main, were caused by disease.

The figures are:

	Officers.	Enlisted men.
Killed in action Died of wounds Died of disease. Died of other causes.	41 10 165 11	458 192 5,344 401
Total	227	6,395

Many thousands more have died since that time from disease contracted while serving in the United States, in Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, China, and camp. Most of the deaths would not have occurred had we had trained and properly equipped men for service. When war with Spain began— April 20, 1898—the Army of the United States consisted of 2.143 officers and 26,040 enlisted men. All of the others enlisted for service in the Army were Volunteers, the greater portion of whom had never had any military training whatever. also true of the Volunteer Navy, and the sad and expensive lesson we learned in the Spanish War was that we must be prepared at all times with a trained and equipped Army and Navy to protect and defend our people, our possessions, to maintain the Monroe doctrine, and to uphold the principles of freedom, patriotism, and humanity in the Western Hemisphere. If this Government had not been negligent of its duty there would have been at the beginning of the Spanish War a proper sized and equipped Regular Army, and this would have made unnecessary the organizing practically overnight of the Volunteer Army, with its great consequent loss of life and ruination of the health of many of its men living to-day. You will recall that there were many criticisms of President McKinley for not acting with more haste in asking Congress to sever friendly relations with Spain over the conditions in Cuba. We all remember the great sympathy exhibited by the whole of America for Cuba in those

The miserable condition and distress of the Cubans had in fact excited the sympathy of the whole world. It was the plain duty of the United States to intervene and protect the remaining inhabitants of Cuba, 40 per cent of whom had already perished through persecution and starvation; yet when you look at the records of the War Department and see what a small Army we had at that time I think President McKinley was justified in using every possible means at his command to prevent war. If we had had a trained Army of sufficient size, I believe President McKinley would have acted more quickly. Therefore to-day, from the life of McKinley, in whose memory we meet here, we can point to the unpreparedness of the country in 1898 as a very great argument in favor of preparedness for to-day. The United Spanish War Veterans, probably better than anyone else, know the importance of being prepared, and we shall do everything we can to secure the enactment into law during the coming session of Congress of measures that have for their object and purpose the greatly increasing of the Regular Army in number and equipment and that the United States Navy be enlarged, so that none shall surpass it. We are also in favor of military training in our schools and colleges and of a reserve army, with the United Spanish War Veterans as a nucleus for its organization. In the law providing for the increasing of the Army, and so forth, we

favor a provision that will better enable the enlisted men of the Regular Army to become officers and also a graded retirement law for the men, more equitable than now exists.

Proper regard and consideration for men who have served and will serve in the armies and the navies of this country should be exhibited at all times, and I think it is the duty of the Government to give preference to men who have honorably served their country in the Army and the Navy when it comes to employment in the civil service, and so forth. Let there be more respect by law, if need be, for the uniform of our soldiers and sailors, and let none of them be denied admission to places of amusement, and so forth, because of same, as has often been the case. Let the Government and the American people show more consideration for the men who have served this country in giving them employment in civil life, and not compel them, as has happened, to go to county and city poorhouses, and seek rations from free soup houses, as was the case last winter in many cities. I think an honorable discharge given to a soldier or sailor should be considered by the Government and the people as a badge of honor and a recommendation of the highest order. Yet this is not so to-day, and very few of those who have served their country faithfully and honestly have been shown any preference in these matters whatever. In fact, we have a splendid lesson in the Philippines. A great many of our best young men volunteered and went to those far-away islands for service in the United States Army and Navy. A number of them remained there after the war, and becoming acclimated and learning the customs and language of those people were given civil employment by the Government. Yet we find the new Governor General of the Philippine Islands discharging man; of these men who have been occupying responsible positions in that government and giving the places to men who either did not serve in the Army or Navy of the United States at all, or who, in many instances, fought us and assailed the flag. Such actions as these on the part of our Government do not encourage the best young men of America to enlist in the Army

The Government of the United States must adopt a different policy if it expects to have an efficient Army. The Government of the United States must also recognize that when its citizens join the Army or the Navy to go to war and lose their health and life there are dependents left behind-widows and orphans-and it is the bounden duty of the Government to help these dependents in pensions and otherwise if they expect a feeling of genuine patriotism and love of country to permeate its people and to cause splendid young men to enlist for service. Men will not enlist in sufficient numbers unless they are fairly treated while in the service and after their discharge. At the present time Congress has authorized the maintenance of an Army, and all of the necessary employees thereof, amounting to 5,023 officers and 102,985 enlisted men. Yet, according to the latest reports from the War Department, the actual strength of the United States Army, exclusive of the Philippine Scouts, is 4,572 officers and 88,444 men. Therefore there is a shortage right now; and how does the administration expect to increase the Army to its proposed plans of 141,843 officers and men unless in the act of Congress creating this increase they provide fairer treatment for the men who have served their country and those they expect to enlist to increase the strength of the Army? I trust no one will misinterpret my statement in regard to this matter, because I am most heartily in favor of increasing the Army and Navy. I am also heartily in favor of a reserve army, as well as the enactment of laws that will give to the men of the States more reason for becoming members of the National Guard thereof.

The National Guard pay bill ought to be enacted into law, and other things that will encourage and promote efficiency in the National Guard. We must all admit the the National Guard is to-day in an unsatisfactory condition. While the total enlistment is in the neighborhood of 120,000, not over one-half of that number have had any rifle practice and not over 35 per cent have ever qualified as second-class marksmen or better. The report of the War Department shows that 23,000 of these National Guardsmen even failed to present themselves for the annual inspection, 31,000 absented themselves from the annual encampment, and 44.000 never appeared on the rifle range. Therefore it is plainly evident to all that the Congress of the United States, in its plan of increasing the Army and Navy, must give serious and wise consideration to the needs of the National Guard and the Naval Reserves. What is true regarding the Army-its being unprepared for service by reason of their shortage in number and equipment-is also true with reference to the Navy. A great navy is the greatest asset that any nation can have. Our Navy to-day is not in first-class condition. We have only 33 battleships less than 20 years old, 11 of which belong to the second-class line; 4 are building and authorized, making a total of 37; we have only 68 destroyers; our enlisted naval personnel is only 52,300, a shortage of 18,000 men needed to man the fleet; we are also short 4,000 required for the fighting ships; we have a total of 7,700 men in our Naval Militia and no naval reserve. We should have at least 200 submarines, whereas we have only 58, including all authorized to be built, with some obsolete. We have one mine layer and need at least five more. We have 336 mines, while Germany had 20,000 when the war started. We need fuel ships; we need scout ships. We have 3, Germany 14, and Great Britain 31.

It is my earnest wish and prayer that the people of this country shall awaken to the responsibility and duty that confront them, and that the Congress of the United States representing the people will see their duty clearly in the premises by immediately enacting into law measures that will make of our country one that we can be proud of. Let our Army and our Navy be equal to the wealth and power of our country and to We have 21,000 miles of seacoast to defend; we have the Philippines; we have the Hawaiian Islands; we have the Panama Canal, and so forth, to protect. Let us have the guns, fortifications, and the trained officers and men that we need, whatever the expense may be. It will be cheap in the end, whatever the cost is, because if we come to war with a first-class power, such as we will some of these days, the amount of money it would cost us to organize volunteer armies and navies, get the equipment, guns, and so forth, would far exceed all that we would spend in the gradual increasing and making efficient a splendid Army and a splendid Navy. The United States has been most neglectful in this respect. It was so prior to the Spanish War, and is so to-day, and because of this neglect our country is most open to invasion. A first-class country can land thousands of men in the United States within a very short period of time under the present conditions and before we could concentrate an Army division to repel invasion. Imagine the great destruction of property and life that would entail from such an invasion and before we would be able to drive them from our shore. Why subject our country to this possible calamity when we have the men and the money and the patriotism to make of ourselves a nation able to defend ourselves and those for whom we are responsible?

I trust that the spirit of true Americanism will find a solid resting place in the hearts of our nearly 100,000,000 people and that they will respond to it by urging upon the Congress and the Government at Washington the duty of passing the necessary legislation to enable us as a Nation to hold our heads up and say to the world that while we are for peace and want to teach liberty to all the world, yet we will fight if need be to maintain that peace and that liberty which came to us from the valorous deeds of the heroes of the Revolution and other wars in which our great and splendid men have taken part. Let there spread throughout the land a fervent desire for every American boy to serve his country by becoming educated upon the military side as well as the civil side, to the end that he will do everything possible to make himself ready to render efficient service as a soldier in time of war. Let the State and the Nation give to the American boys every opportunity to receive a military education, so that in case of war and they are called upon to defend the colors they will have had a training to be of service to their country and to protect their health, so that when the war is over they will not come out diseased and unfit for further service to themselves and to their country. We do not want ever to see the effects again that came from the Spanish War in that respect. You have but to recall the military camps established during the Spanish War, the food furnished by the Government, the untrained officers and doctors. and so forth, to see how ill prepared we were for that war. If we had had to fight a first-class nation then, we would have lost thousands of men. Let us prevent that condition from existing again in this country. Military training of our American boys will make them more valuable as citizens, and they will more fully appreciate their obligations when they become men. If every Member of the United States Congress and the public officials of our Government had received a military training or had seen service in some war, they would be better prepared for their duties as legislators for the people in this respect. They would be more patriotic, too, and they would not hesitate to do their duty to the men who have served honorably for their country, nor to the widows and orphans of those who have died

Preparedness for the National Defense.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES J. BRITT,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 17, 1915.

Mr. BRITT. Mr. Speaker, I do not favor raising and equipping and maintaining a national standing Army of 1,000,000 men, or of 500,000 men, or even of 250,000 men.

I do not favor raising and equipping and maintaining even one soldier, whether regular or volunteer, to be used for the purpose of foreign aggression, or for meddling in the affairs of other nations, or for adventure, or for acquiring a single additional square mile of territory.

But I do most heartily favor raising our standing Army to a force of 150,000 men and providing it with the best possible equipment, and keeping it at the height of efficiency, to form the nucleus of our national land defenses; and that it shall, as far as possible, be used as a military training school, which, under the provisions of wise and proper laws, young men from our citizen body may enter for military instruction, and after a year's study, drill, and practice be permitted to return to their private pursuits, keeping up drill and practice, there to await the Nation's call to the colors, thus forming that most necessary and indispensable part of every well regulated and effective national force, a competent reserve; and I furthermore favor keeping this nucleus of our Army at all times supplied with a full number of able and highly trained officers from which instructors may be detailed to instruct such companies and recruits as may voluntarily form and enroll in our schools, colleges, universities, and other civil bodies, including the National Security League, and offer to drill, train, and fight for the defense of our

Now, if you will, for a moment, follow me carefully and open-mindedly, I think I shall be able to justify this modest proposal for our national defense by a few facts and circumstances which are very plain and simple, and yet so powerfully true, that I believe they will appeal not only to your sense of security, but to your patriotic impulses as well, and be assured in the beginning that I am not making, and shall not make, any attack upon the present administration, or upon any political party, the deplorable condition of our national defenses being due. in my opinion, not so much to unwise party policies or to lack of administration as to that false sense of security which the American people have always felt on account of our democratic form of government, our isolation from the Old World, and the phenomenal success which has always attended our arms when we have gone to war. Our national defense is not a party question, and no patriotic citizen will make it such. The man who would divert it to his or to his party's exploitation is an unsafe counselor, and could not be trusted in time of national peril. Our national defenses are for protection against foreign invasion, and the man who loves his country will let party strife cease with the shore of the sea.

In considering the size, type, and equipment of an army of defense, we must be governed by three considerations: First, what is to be protected and defended; second, the foreign policies necessary to its protection and defense; and, third, the strength of the probable attack.

First and foremost, we have the continental United States of America, with its 3,027,000 square miles of rich and smiling lands, teeming with the best that God has permitted the earth to produce, a glorious heritage from our fathers, and sealed with their blood on a thousand battle fields; with its 100,000.000 of people, with their lives and liberties in our keeping; with its happy memories and its glorious traditions, reaching far back beyond the American Revolution; with its vast heap of \$150,000,000,000 of resplendent wealth; with its monuments of beauty and its galleries of art; with its churches and its religious institutions; with its schools and its colleges; with all its marvelous scientific inventions that have given such swift wings to thought and such powerful arms to industry.

Far to the south of us, and under tropical suns, we have the

Far to the south of us, and under tropical suns, we have the Isthmian Canal, a mighty enterprise of \$400,000,000, the crowning workmanship of the world, by which we have wedded the two great oceans separated from the beginning of time, and cut the world's distances in twain, which we constructed for the

welfare of mankind and for the defense and neutrality of which we have given pledges to all the nations of the earth.

Away to the northwest we have Alaska, that boundless tract of 501,000 square miles of undeveloped treasure land, rich in gold and silver and fuel and forest, those prime necessaries of mankind which we shall so much need in after years when our home land shall have been cut over and burrowed into and wasted away by the scrambling masses of coming generations.

Out a step from the Pacific shores we have Hawaii, a group of over 6,000 square miles of fertile islands, with vast natural wealth, an invaluable naval base, and the world's finest way station on the ocean highway to the Far East.

In the Caribbean Sea, toward the land of the sunrise, lies Porto Rico, rich, prosperous, and smiling in tropical verdure, inhabited by a million and a quarter souls, mainly of an alien race, who became our wards by the fortunes of war and by no act of their own, and whose only safety is in the protection of the American flag.

On the other side of the earth, out in the distant ocean, but under the folds of our flag, lie the Philippine Islands, 128,000 miles in area, inhabited by 8,000,000 strange and simple souls, who are just learning from us the primary lessons of selfgovernment and looking to us to protect them from the greed

and plunder of their threatening foes.

In addition to these, we have our great historic foreign policies, namely, the Monroe doctrine, by which we have, for nearly a hundred years, guaranteed and kept alive republican govern-ment in the 20 Central and South American Republics on the western continent; the maintenance and defense of the Panama Canal, and the guaranty of its neutrality to all the nations of the earth; the exclusion of undesirable Asiatic citizens in order that the integrity of the Anglo-Saxon race may be preserved and that our free institutions be not undermined; and, lastly, the preservation of the open door of trade in the Orient, that our

commerce may float upon every sea and penetrate every land.

These are the people, the institutions, the traditions, the policies, and the possessions of which God has made us his chosen keepers, and who will say that it is not a trust worthy of the noblest and most heroic defense possible to a race of men who, though they love peace and seek righteousness, are yet men of blood and iron in the defense of home and liberty and native

Let us now, in a word, inquire whether we shall probably still have wars in the future, and, particularly, whether our own country is in danger of attack by any one or more of the powerful nations of the earth.

Yes; in spite of the coming of the Christ, and of all the myriad forces for good, man is still a fighting animal. Notwithstanding our advanced civilization, he yet kills and maims and robs and plunders. This has been his nature from the beginning, and this it is likely to be for long, long ages to come. In the primordial forests he wrestled with his savage brother, hand to hand, for self and family; a little later he gave heroic battle for his clan; and now he fights collectively for his nation. And the nation is only an elaboration of individuals. It has the same passions, noble and ignoble, as the individuals of which it is composed. In our efforts to determine what we need, we should accept the teachings of history as they are and not as we would have them. True, man's nature does change, and it changes for the better, but it is only by slow, painful, and imperceptible degrees, such as the Psalmist had in mind when he said, "A thousand years in the sight of the Lord are but as yesterday when it is past and as a watch in the night." We may get a faint, though imperfect, idea of how slow is man's change for the better if we will but reflect that our bodies are no larger, no taller, no more comely than they were when Phidias first chiseled the human form in stone 2,300 years ago; that, although we are more efficient and more variously cultivated, nevertheless the human mind is probably no keener, no more profound, than it was when Aristotle taught the Greeks 2,400 years ago; and even more, we can not tell how much better we are than were the men of Israel when David sang and Solomon wrote 3,000 years ago. This harking back to the misty past may be only speculative and useless, the conclusions unsound, but we do know that man still savagely imbrues his hands in human blood and wickedly slays his fellow man. Why he does it we do not know, but that he does it we do know. Then, since we know that man will war upon man, and nation prey upon nation, is it not the part of wise men to prepare for that which we know will be and not risk our all in idle hopes for that which we merely wish to be? If we will glance over the history of the last century and a quarter, we shall see that more men have been killed in battle than in all the period of recorded history before, and even now the all-Europe slaughter is so great that it has been recently suggested that the present conflict be called the war of wars,

I do not think our country will be drawn into the European conflict, and I pray God that it may not, but no one can tell. On August 1, 1914, Sir Edward Grey stated that the relations between Germany and Great Britain were better than they had been in 15 years, but just four days later these two powerful nations were in the death grapple of war. I do not believe that we are necessarily in any immediate danger of foreign attack. but that we shall be attacked within the next few years, I have not the least doubt. Mars is high on his throne, the leaven is at work, all the world is in ferment, and no man knows what a day may bring forth.

One hundred and thirty-six years ago Washington laid down the maxim that no nation can be trusted to be peaceable and friendly any further than it is bound by its own self-interests. and all history, before and after, confirms his truism. Treaties are but "pieces of paper," and ententes and understandings count for naught when they clash with the greed and ambition of nations. Thus do the instincts of primitive man abide with

s. This is not fancy, it is history. Our position in the world is all changed. We are no longer protected by a majestic isolation. Man's genius, through steam and electricity, has destroyed all isolation. The nations have moved up close together and live in speaking distance. The oceans now make war infinitely more easy instead of more difficult. A half million soldiers can be brought across the Atlantic in 10 days, and across the Pacific in 30 days. The diplomatic, commercial, and social relations of the nations are rapidly becoming more complex and the points of collision constantly increasing. We, as a nation, are in the whirl of this vortex, and from it we can not extricate ourselves. But we can prepare to play the part of noble men and of an exalted nation. now for a moment view our relations to some of our more powerful neighbors.

The German Empire, while professedly friendly, does not in fact like us at all, and for several reasons. In the first place, the German nation has attained a degree of culture and efficiency which it vainly thinks not only entitles it to the mastery of the world, but which would justify it in imposing that mastery upon any and all people whatsoever. Then she hates our Monroe doctrine because, as she says, it makes us virtual overlords over all Central and South America, one-half of the unexploited globe, while she is compelled to remain cooped up within her narrow territorial limits, without a field for the display of her genius, or an outlet for her surplus population. Nor does she like either our commercial rivalry or our unrestricted trade in the munitions of war, which she, because of her military misfortunes, can not share equally with her enemies. It is a fact that a few years ago a member of the German general staff outlined a plan of attack on the United States by which 240,000 German soldiers, under the protection of a powerful naval fleet. could be landed on our shores within a period of 10 days; the cause assigned for the proposed attack being our alleged infringement upon German commercial rights.

Japan, although we first introduced her to the family of nations, holds and cherishes two festering grievances against us, one of them being our taking of the Philippine Islands at her very gateway and clearly within her sphere of influence, and the other our refusal to admit Japanese immigrants to our shores on equal terms with immigrants from the most favored nations of the world, and it is now generally believed that in the year 1907 she fitted out an expedition against us, going so far as to load her troops upon her transports, and that she was dissuaded from making war upon us by the intervention of Eng-

land, her new ally in peace and war.

Not even with Great Britain have we an assurance of continuing peace. Though we are blood of their blood and have lived with them in peace for a hundred years, nevertheless the English, with all their admitted goodness, have never been able to rise above the baneful creed of Washington's maxim of the supremacy of self-interest, and they have not hesitated to make war upon us, or upon any other nation, when their interests or ambitions were at stake. Let us, with fairness to Great Britain but with fidelity to ourselves, turn over a page or two of his-She fought with us against France from 1754 to 1763. and we drove the French from the Western Continent; she fought against us and France from 1775 to 1781, and we drove her from the United States; she fought against us from 1812 to 1814, and we established our rights on the high seas; she fought with Germany and against France from 1792 to 1815; she fought with France and against Russia in 1854; in 1915 she fights against Germany and with France and Russia. all this I am laying no fault at her door, but merely following the course of history and calling attention to the verification of Washington's maxim. Great Britain is, and thinks she must be, the naval and commercial mistress of all the seas; and if, in

the pursuit of our ambition for national supremacy, we should ever cross her purposes on the seas, to say nothing of other grounds of possible difference, we shall see that blood is even thinner than water and that the law of self-interest still obtains even with one of the most exalted nations on earth.

Having now briefly summed up the things of value which we as a nation are obliged to protect, called attention to some possible dangers, and noted a few probable sources of attack, let us next see whether, in a military sense, we are adequately

prepared for the national defense.

According to the last annual report of the Secretary of War, we have a standing Army of 4,701 officers and 87.781 men, in-Of these, 758 cluding the Quartermaster and Hospital Corps. officers and 17,901 men belong to the Coast Artillery, and are, therefore, stationary and can be used only in our city and harbor defenses; 1.008 officers and 18.434 men belong to the technical and nonfighting branches of the Army, such as military instructors, recruits, and men engaged in recruiting, leaving a mobile army-that is, an army that can be moved from place to place at any time of call-of 2,935 officers and 51.446 Of this mobile army, 9.572 men are in the Philippines; 8,195 in Hawaii; 2,179 in the Canal Zone; 849 in China; 862 Alaska; 4.090, until recently, at Vera Cruz; and 707 in Porto Rico, and the Secretary states that when he makes a new and immediately necessary assignment of quotas to our various posts outside of continental United States we shall then have left, for the protection of 100,000,000 people, and over 3,000,000 square miles of territory, a mobile army of but 24,602 men, a force just a little more than twice the size of the police force of the city of New York.

This little mobile army of ours, less than 25,000 in number, together with the small garrisons of our coast fortifications, is to-day the Nation's only regular force for the protection of this vast country, this veritable treasure land, with all its multiform interests, a continent stretching 3.000 miles from ocean to ocean, with a Pacific coast of 1.200 miles, a Canadian border of 3,000 miles, an Atlantic and Gulf coast of over 6,000 miles, and a Mexican border of 1,500 miles. And even this little nucleus of an Army must of necessity be scattered all over the United States, most of it many days' travel from New York, Boston, San Francisco, or any other place of probable attack. Germany or England or any other first-class European power could quietly embark an army of 250,000 men, arrive in the waters of New York within a period of 10 days, flank the forts of that place, go up the coast and land from open sea, enter New York, destroy it. sack it. burn it. or hold it for a \$5,000,-000,000 ransom at will, and be comfortably settled before our little Army could reach the Hudson, and when it got there it would be about as potent for our defense as would be a company of half-armed, half-trained schoolboys against a regiment of well-armed and well-trained regulars.

But not only would the city of New York be at the mercy of the invading enemy, either for destruction or for the levying of tribute, but the conquerors would be in the very heart of our stored arms and ammunitions, in close proximity to all our manufactories of military supplies, and near by the shipyards where all our vessels of war are built, while just a little farther away are the coal and iron mines and oil wells from which all our military supplies are originally derived. Thus a single unchecked invasion at this vital spot of the Nation might leave us utterly prostrate and helpless and lead to our final destruc-

tion or subjugation.

But some one has said that we might, like Pompey of old, stamp our foot upon the ground and call forth a million soldiers between sunrise and sunset. This is a dream and a delusion, and I pray that you will not be put to sleep by it. No army of fighting volunteers can be raised in a day, and if it could it would be practically useless, for it would have neither arms nor ammunition, and would be utterly lacking in that training and discipline so indispensably necessary in troops who are to fight the trained soldiers of an invading enemy. Washington said: "The firmness requisite for the real business of fighting is only to be attained by a constant course of discipline and service.' would only keep in mind the fact, for indeed it is a fact, that in all our great wars our raw militia and untrained volunteers have broken and run away at the first sight of battle, we might then appreciate the necessity of training and discipline. Of course, we have not put this black page in our school histories for our boys and girls to read, but it is, nevertheless, an established truth in the annals of our military struggles.

The plan of preparedness for the national defense which I

have in mind contemplates providing, within a very few years, an available, trained force of not less than 1,000.000 men, only a small per cent of whom would be regularly withdrawn from private pursuits and kept at public expense, the great bulk of

them to remain at home as a trained citizen soldiery, and it would be composed of four distinct ranks, namely, first, a regular army of not less than 150,000 men; second, a national reserve, composed of recruits trained for a time in the Regular Army, returning to civil life, keeping up regular drill practice, and held subject to call; third, a civil reserve, composed of organized companies in schools, colleges, universities, and other civil bodies, duly recognized by the United States, and thoroughly instructed and drilled by its Army officers, enrolled under rules of law, and held subject to call; and, fourth, the National Guard, or Organized Militia, of the several States of the Union, to remain, at at present, subject to the Nation's call to repel invasion,

The nucleus of 150,000 Regulars should at all times be kept at the height of efficiency and in the pink of preparedness. Above all, they should be kept fully and completely officered. should exemplify the last word in drill, dress, training, marksmanship, seasoning, and sanitation. Not a poorly trained nor a deficiently equipped soldier should be permitted among them. They should in every way be models for the other classes of soldlers. As the Regulars are, the reserves are likely to be. The American people should be ashamed if they permit any social distinction that degrades our soldiers. Their uniforms should be badges of honor, not liveries of shame. Entrance to our Army should be hailed as a high privilege and not as the

sullen performance of an unwilling duty.

The specifications for our national reserves should demand young men of strong bodies, of common sense, and of at least a common-school education, as well as the possession of soldierly traits of character. Their training should be rigid, thorough, and complete, and their salaries and subsistence such as to invite the enlistment of the very best material. return to private life their drills, practice, sanitation, and marksmanship should be followed up with the very greatest care, and their training, instead of being allowed to decrease, should be constantly improved, and there should also be provided for them regularly such a course of intellectual study as is calculated to discipline and cultivate their minds in matters

of true military and patriotic concern.

Too great stress can not be laid upon the enrollment, training, and equipment for military service of the young men of our schools, colleges, universities, and other civil bodies. here we have not only the physical qualifications of the soldier but high-class mental training as well, and this is always coupled with true patriotism and high devotion to duty. believe this to be one of the most promising sources from which we may obtain good soldiers for the defense of our country in the future. In England to-day Oxford and Cambridge Universities are practically deserted, their students being on the Continent battling heroically for their country. N. C., at Bingham School, under that fine master, Col. Robert Bingham, and that keen Army instructor, Capt. O. F. Snyder, we have a striking illustration of what military training in our schools can do for young men. Here we have a fine body of young fellows, with erect form, sound bodies, martial bearing, and trained discipline, and every one of them who has entered the military service of his country has performed his duty with marked ability and honorable distinction. In addition to preparation for the defense of their country, such training of our young men is to them an invaluable physical and social asset. This is especially true in an age when we have certain tendencies to effeminacy and weakness, at a time when the average young man eats too much, wears too much, sees too much, and sleeps too little. There should be some provision, either by the Nation or by the State or by both, by which our high-school boys should have at least training in the rudiments of military tactics, as they do in Switzerland and Australia to-day, and no boy should be permitted to attain the age of 21 without owning and knowing how to shoot a good rifle, and in his education sound discipline, manly courage, strict punctuality, high devotion to duty, and patriotic love of country should be deeply

Our National Guard, or the Organized Militia of the several States, although it has never received from either the Nation or the States the support to which it is justly entitled, has, nevertheless, a splendid history, has often covered itself with glory, and is capable of vast and useful military service. Instead of consisting of only 127,410, including officers and men, as it does to-day, it should be raised to 300,000 men, its standards should be improved, its men should be better paid its training should be made more thorough, and its constitutional functions should be more clearly and definitely defined. Considering the small cost of its upkeep in connection with its splendid achievements, it is entitled to the very highest praise.

Although it is not my purpose to speak of our Navy at this time, I nevertheless take the liberty of observing that it should

be raised to a fighting force of at least 50 high-class battleships with all the necessary subordinate and auxiliary craft; that all of its parts and equipments should be thoroughly coordinated and brought up to date; that every ship should be fully officered and manned; and that it should, withal, be brought to a rank among the navies of the world second only to that of Great Britain. This, of course, can not be done at once, but it should be the

goal for which we strive.

But you say all this will cost something. Certainly it will. And it should. It will be worth something. But when we are about to spend money for necessary national defense we should no more stand back on expense than when we go to buy food and clothes for our children, or to employ a doctor to treat our family, or to procure any other actual necessary of life which we must have whether it comes high or comes low. It is a case where expense is not a consideration. Adequate preparation for defense would be cheap at any price. I have no love for the man who is unwilling to fight for his country or to contribute to its necessary defense, and I can scarcely trust myself to describe him. He neither loves his country nor possesses the finer traits of the soul. But, as a matter of fact, the cost of the additional defenses which I advocate would entail no very large expenditure. A very considerable part of the overhead expense of this increase is already met, since no additional physical or housing plants, or administrative forces, would be necessary, leaving only the items of food, clothing, and pay to be provided for. A large saving could be effected by cutting out a number of our needless Army posts, some of which owe their existence not to the demands of the service but to the pork-barrel proclivities of politicians more ambitious than patriotic.

And now, anticipating the cry of "militarism," let me say that the little nucleus of a standing army of 150,000 men, which I propose, is only one-sixth of the standing peace army of Germany, although she is only one-seventeenth of our size and has but three-fifths of our population; is only one-fifth of that of France, with only one-seventeenth of our size and but one-third of our population; is but one-fourth that of Austria-Hungary, with but one-fifteenth of our size and one-half of our population; is only one-tenth of that of Russia, with twice our area and one and a half times our population; is but one-half that of Great Britain (exclusive of her colonies), with but one thirty-fourth of our area and but one-half of our population. There can never be any "militarism" in this country. Whoever raises the cry either does not know what he says or does not care. In either case. he is to be pitied. Our military and our civil affairs are as completely separated as are our church and state. We are not in the least danger of military dominancy. Our only danger is that we shall never be able to arouse the necessary military

spirit to insure our safety and protection.

My earnest hope is that every American citizen, unbiased by party interest, and unswayed by personal prejudice, may become seriously interested in the preparation of his country for its honorable defense, lest these shores of ours be some day trodden by foreign foes, and this glorious heritage of ours become the possession of alien enemies. Let us not forget that a few months ago there was a nation called Luxemburg, but it was not prepared to defend itself, and it has now passed off the map of the world forever; that Belgium, noble little Belgium, though she is fighting for her life as men have scarcely fought since the world began, is not quite equal to her self-defense, and that she is now probably in the last throes of a slowly expiring nation; that China is, and has ever been, powerless to defend herself, and that, step by step, the armies of her enemies occupy her lands and move nearer toward her sacred cities. Surely we shall not permit it to be so where man has made his best and most intelligent attempt at self-government.

Oregon and California Land Grants.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIS C. HAWLEY.

OF OREGON.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Friday, December 17, 1915.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record I include a decision of Judge Wolverton, of the United States District Court of Oregon, in reference to the Oregon and California land grants.

The decision is as follows:

First. That the decree heretofore entered in said cause so far as it affects the defendants, Oregon & California Railroad Co.; Southern

Pacific Co.; Stephen T. Gage, individually and as trustee; Union Trust Co., individually and as trustee, hereinafter called "the defendants." be, and the same is hereby, set aside and held for naught, but is adhered to in all respects as to the defendants and cross-complainants, hereinafter called the "cross-complainants," and the interveners.

Second. That the defendants and their respective officers and agents be, and each is hereby, enjoined from selling the lands or any part thereof granted either by the act of Congress approved July 5, 1866, as amended by the act of Congress of April 10, 1869, or by the act of Conpress approved May 4, 1870, whether the said lands be situated within the place or indemnity limits of the grants thereby made, to any person not an actual settler on the land sold to him, or in quantities greater than one-quarter section to one purchaser, or for a price exceeding \$2.50 per acre, and from selling any of the timber on said lands, or any mineral or other deposits therein, except as a part of and in conjunction with the land on which the timber stands or in which the mineral or other deposits are found and from cutting or removing or authorizing the removal of mineral or other deposits therein, except in connection with the sale of the land bearing the timber or containing the mineral or other deposits.

Third. That the defendants and their respective officers and agents be, and each is hereby, enjoined from making or agreeing to make, either directly or indirectly, any disposition whatsoever of said lands or of any part thereof, or of the timber thereon or any part thereof, or farm removing or authorizing the cutting or removal of the timber thereon or any part thereof, from removing or authorizing the removal of the timber thereon or hap part thereof; from removing or authorizing the removal of mineral or other deposits therein; from cutting, removing, or authorizing the cutting or removing or authorizing the removal or mineral or other deposits therein; from cutting, removing, or

Seventh. That the complainant have and recover from the defendants, Oregon & California Railroad Co., Southern Pacific Co., Stephen T. Gage, Union Trust Co., and each, its lawful costs and disbursements herein, taxed at \$——, and that execution issue therefor.

War-Revenue Tax Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES R. MANN.

OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 16, 1915.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, because the Democratic majority in the House refused a reasonable time for discussion and refused any opportunity to permit changes in the emergency internal-revenue tax law, I shall insert sample letters out of a large number which I have received, protesting against various provisions in the present law, which is to be extended one year by the joint resolution.

The following are the sample letters:

CHICAGO, ILL., December 14, 1915.

Hon. James R. Mann, Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: As manufacturers of toilet requisites, we protest against practically a war tax on toilet preparations. It amounts to 5 per cent on the wholesale price and has to be borne by the manufacturers and retailers. It places no tax on the consumers, for the reason it would upset all retail values. We consider that this tax on our line is a species of discriminatory legislation, of indefensible robbery, masquerading as an intelligent taxation, and of wanton insult, for which there is no present excuse or palliation. When Congress gets ready to tax all other trades—dry goods, hardware, jewelry, and all the rest—druggists and the drug and allied manufacturers will assert no right to exemption; but until then we will be amply justified in regarding such taxation as palpable discrimination, as a crime against our rights, and as an abuse of governmental power, and as a stigma upon the intelligence and sense of justice of Congress.

Yours, very truly,

Comfort Manufacturing Co., F. K. Livon, Manager.

COMFORT MANUFACTURING CO., F. K. LYON, Manager,

CHICAGO, December 7, 1915.

Hon. James R. Mann.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: We, as commission merchants, are being imposed upon under the present war tax. You are aware of the fact that we pay a special tax of \$20, aside from the fact that we are obliged to pay a tax of 1 cent on every bill of lading and the same amount on telegraph messages and telephone calls.

We do not ask to be relieved of all this burden, as we expect to have to pay our just portion of taxes, but, inasmuch as we pay the special tax for commission merchants, we believe the stamp tax should be eliminated or collected from the transportation companies instead of ourselves, and the tax on telephone calls and telegraph messages should also be eliminated or collected from those deriving revenue from those lines.

also be eliminated of concerced the lines.

We feel fully justified in asking your support to relieve us, and trust you will consider the matter favorably.

Fox & Godding.

Hon. James R. Mann,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: The question of raising revenue for the needs of the Government will be among the most important to be considered by the Congress now convened.

We are emphatically opposed to the continuance of the present taxes as imposed upon telegraph and telephone messages, bills of lading, and express receipts. As at present applied, these measures are unjust to the commission merchant. He has a direct-license tax of \$20 per annum. His business is such that he is necessarily required to use the long-distance phone and the telegraph to a much greater extent than the ordinary lines of business. The same thing applies to the taxes he is compelled to pay on freight and express receipts, because on account of the perishable nature of his goods he has to make daily shipments to his customers, paying the tax on each shipment, whereas the manufacturer or the ordinary merchant can make one shipment of goods that will supply his customer for weeks or months.

We believe a careful consideration of these things will lead you to the conclusion that the railroad and express companies, telegraph and telephone companies, should be required to pay the taxes on receipts and messages.

The President in his address also suggests a stamp tax on checks. While we do not oppose this form of raising revenue, it should be borne in mind that the commission merchant is compelled to make account sales daily of his consignments, sending a check for each, and, taking the average commission merchant as an example, his stamp tax on checks alone will run from \$150 to \$500 per annum. Should this tax be imposed, which seems not improbable, the Congress will then have taxed this one class of business men to such an extent that many of them will be practically forced out of business.

We respectfully submit the injustice of placing upon one industry the unjust burden of annual license, tax on telegrams, tax on long-distance phone messages, tax on express shipments, tax on freight ship

CHICAGO, December 10, 1915.

Hon. James R. Mann, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Permit us to call your attention to the unjust taxes imposed by the Government on the commission business.

First, commission merchants are called upon to pay an annual special tax of \$20 for the privilege of conducting their business. Then on top of that another special tax of 1 cent on every long-distance telephone call; on every shipment we make, either by express or freight; also on every telegram. These 1-cent items impose a tax of anywhere from \$2 to \$5 per day, according to the volume of business done.

We believe that the telephone, telegraph, rallroad, and express companies should pay this tax, as they are the ones that receive the benefit of the business we give them.

The \$20 per year tax on the commission business should, in our opinion, fulfill our obligation to the Government, so far as special tax is concerned.

oncerned.

The proposed tax on checks would impose a hardship on commission merchants, for the reason that they issue all the way from 100 to 300 checks per day, 75 per cent of which are for amounts running from \$1 to \$10. Such a tax would impose a burden on widows, children, and people of small means who might be fortunate enough to have a bank account. Their checks would necessarily be very small, but the tax would be the same as on a check for thousands of dollars. If there was an exemption on all checks under \$50 or \$100, it would go a long way toward relieving the class of people that only draw checks for small amounts.

To offset the decrease in revenues derived from import taxes, we believe that those who are receiving enormous benefits from the sale of munitions, etc., to foreign countries should bear a generous share of the tax burden, through a tax on exports.

We earnestly request that you use your influence to correct this unjust burden.

Assuring you that we will appreciate your efforts to aid us, we are

Assuring you that we will appreciate your efforts to aid us, we are, Yours, very truly, C. F. LOVE & Co.

CHICAGO, December 3, 1915.

CHICAGO, December 3, 1915.

Hon. James R. Mann,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: We, as members of the Western Fruit Jobbers' Association of America, and other related organizations; also, we, as one of the many business concerns in any line of business throughout the country, write you, protesting against the injustice of the revenue law which makes us, and all businesses, pay a tax on all our telegrams, our railroad bills of lading, our express receipts, and our long-distance telephone messages.

Besides the above, we are paying a license (revenue) tax and an income tax.

come tax.

LIII-4

The railroads have increased their freight rates and are demanding more; they have increased their demurrage charges; and their freight service, especially in the West, is rotten.

The telegraph companies only a few years ago increased the rates on their messages—in some instances as high as 35 per cent.

The reduction in rates supposed to have been made by the express companies is a farce; to many points the rates are higher than before the alleged reduction.

To have these several corporations saddle onto the business interests of the country—the businesses from which they (the corporations) get their profits—the tax that they (the corporations) are intended to pay is an outrage. It is not just that business should bear this burden, intended for those corporations.

The business interests of the country will rise en masse and champlon those men who will bring about the passage of a revenue law that will place this tax upon these corporations in such a manner that they can not shift it to other businesses.

Yours, truly,

BUTLER, HOMAN & Co.

SIOUX CITY, IOWA, December 2, 1915.

Hon. James R. Mann.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We suppose there will be considerable discussion at the coming Congress in regard to war-tax measures and an effort made to increase the Government's revenues.

In this connection we wish to call your attention to the great injustice that is being done the fruit and produce trade in the country by reason of the stamp tax on shipments and telephone and telegraph

by reason of the stamp tax on shipments and telephone and telegraph messages.

The fruit and produce trade as conducted in this country now is distributed largely among small fruit and produce houses located at almost every crossroads in the country. Shipments of perishable fruits in carload lots consist of anywhere from 400 to 1,200 packages, and are distributed largely to country dealers in small lots of 1 or 2 packages at a time by express. For instance, a carload of strawberries or raspberries would require perhaps 350 to 400 single shipments, necessitating a stamp tax of \$3.50 to \$4 on such a car.

In this way express shipments are very numerous, and the tax becomes a burden, not only to the middleman but everyone connected with the handling of fruits.

Besides, the business is done largely by telegraph and telephone, which adds materially to the burden on the fruit distributer.

In our own case we estimate it costs us from \$1,500 to \$2,500 per year for this revenue, which is altogether too great a tax on the business in comparison with what other Industries pay, where shipments are much heavier and the volume of business much larger.

Please bear in mind that the commission merchant is also assessed a special tax as commission merchant, and also where he handles cigars he is charged a special tax for selling cigars, in addition to the stamp tax.

We hope you will leek into this cerefully, and when the committee

chars he is charged a special charged a special charged as stamp tax.

We hope you will look into this carefully, and when the committee representing the fruit trade presents the matter to you that you will give their arguments your most carnest consideration.

Yours, truly,

HALEY-NEELEY CO.

CHICAGO, December 6, 1915.

Hon. James R. Mann.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: In reference to the special tax levied on commission merchants of \$20 per year, also the stamp tax on bills of lading, shipping receipts, telegrams, and long-distance phone messages:

While people engaged in our line of business are very glad to defray our share of the necessary governmental expenses, however, considering the very small margin of profit we derive from our capital invested, we feel we have been called upon to stand a larger percentage of this tax than we should when a comparison of margin of profits of this line of business is made with profits arising from many other commercial enterprises; therefore we appeal to you to do what you can in behalf of those engaged in this line of business when this bill comes up for reenactment, looking for a more equitable distribution of this tax by and between all kinds of business enterprises.

Thanking you in advance for your due consideration of our grievance, and trusting you will lend your good assistance in the furtherance of our cause, thereby bringing about a repeal of this law or the elimination of as much of this burden as possible, we are,

Yours, truly,

Hall, Wedge & Carter.

HALL, WEDGE & CARTER.

AURORA, ILL., December 7, 1915.

James R. Mann, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

James R. Mann,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: In regard to the war tax of 1 cent on all telegrams, telephone calls, and freight and express shipments, I wish to call your attention to the fact that this causes a heavy burden on the fruit and produce dealers, and while I do not want to object to paying taxes, still it does seem that this is unfairly thrown upon the shipper, as none of these public-service corporations stand any of the tax whatever and force all their customers to pay it instead.

It would seem to me that this tax should be distributed so that part of it would be paid by the public-service corporations.

The fact that a tax is assessed upon each express and freight shipment, telegram, and telephone call does not give them the right to throw the burden on the business men and compel him to pay it all.

I hope you will give this matter consideration and use your influence in helping to bring relief to the fruit and produce dealers under the present burden.

On account of the perishable nature of the merchandise very little business is done by mail and correspondence, and orders are nearly all tolls and telegrams and a great number of large and small shipments, all requiring revenue, whereas the retail merchants have few of these expenses, as they order most of their goods through purchasing agents or by mail, as sales are mostly local, so that very little of the tax burden falls upon them.

I want to assure you that I would not object to the taxes being double for defensive preparations, deficiencies, etc., if properly distributed so that everybody pays their share, and hope you will give the matter your consideration.

W. B. Davis Co.

CHICAGO, December 8, 1915,

JAMES R. MANN.

James R. Mann.

Dear Sir: After being forced into involuntary bankruptcy two years ago, we were just getting on our feet a little by making and selling tollet preparations, then we are suddenly slammed with a war tax that makes us pay a cash-in-advance tax on all the business we do plus all the retailer's profits. Every Item which we sell for 25 cents we have to stamp for 50 cents, and so on. The tax is just 5 per cent of our gross business. It is robbery, unfair, and discriminatory. We already pay increased taxes on increased cost of our drugs and chemicals, 700 per cent on alcohol, 20 per cent on all raw materials; and we protest against this measure being extended.

What can you do to help us?

Herreat A. Harris.

Chicago, December 8, 1815.

HERBERT A. HARRIS. CHICAGO, December 8, 1915.

The Hon. James R. Mann, Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: The dye industry in the United States is suffering great hardship on account of the war. Many materials for the manufacture of colors can not be had at any price, while those left on the market are almost priceless. This is especially true of hair dyes, for the colors are imported from Europe in most cases. In other words, hairdye manufacturers are simply doing their best to drift through the period of the war on the little, high-priced stock now left in this country.

Is it fair to put a burdensome tax on an industry almost driven out of business as it is? Especially so when industries directly benefited by the war are not being taxed. Toilet articles have borne the special stamp tax for 13 months. They have done their share and the burden should now be shifted to those benefited by the war who are obviously better able to support it.

Your kind support of any measure to release us from this burden on hair dyes, if the "war tax" is to be extended, is respectfully and most earnestly solicited.

Respectfully, yours,

HERBERT A. HARRIS. Residence, 6636 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., December 4, 1915.

Hon. JAMES R. MANN, Washington, D. C.

Hon. James R. Mann,

Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir: Referring to the reenactment of the emergency revenue-stamp law, we beg to inclose herewith copy of a letter, which has been addressed to Hon. F. M. Simmons, also to Hon Claude Kitchin, which goes into this matter thoroughly from our viewpoint.

You will note that this law has caused us to pay into the Treasury of the United States Government taxes at the rate of \$1,105.61 per month, or \$13,267.32 annually.

You will also note that we give the net earnings of the company for three years previous to the enactment of this law, and they averaged \$15,750.19. In other words, we had a successful business until the Government levied a tax on the output of \$13,267.32 annually, on the basis of the present business.

You will perceive that it was impossible for us to pass this tax along to the consumer, which evidently was the intent of the lawmakers, for the reasons given in our letter.

We also inclose copy of the brief which was submitted to Hon. W. M. Osborn, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, orally by Mr. L. M. Bourne, attorney for the company, last December, and it will be seen that the effect of the tax upon this business was even more disastrous than was predicted in the argument.

The reason we send copy of brief is to respectfully call your attention to the fact that talcum powder was not specifically mentioned in the emergency act at all, but was included by the commissioner by construction of the law, inasmuch as the word "cosmetics" was mentioned in the act, and talcum powder was included under this heading.

We hope that you will read the letter addressed to Senator Simmons and Congressman Kitchin, in order that you may be familiar with the record, and the actual facts and figures given in this correspondence are in accordance with the books of the company, and are more eloquent and forcible in their criticism of this unjust law than anything which can be said by the writer.

We respectfully ask your sid in the way of relief of some kind. We are perfectly

By P. E. PAGE.

General Manager.

CHICAGO, December 8, 1915.

Hon. J. R. Mann, Member of Congress, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Sin: We notice from the newspapers that in the forthcoming session of Congress about to meet the emergency revenue act, or so-called wartax law, that expires by limitation on December 31 next is likely to

of Congress about to meet the emergency revenue act, or so-called wartax law, that expires by limitation on December 31 next is likely to be continued.

We are particularly interested in and oppressed by Schedule B of this law, and we sincerely hope that you will see your way clear to have that part of this law abrogated altogether or so amended, if it is continued, that the tax will be paid by the consumer at the time of the final purchase, so that it will not continue to act as an oppressive and discriminating tax upon a few, mostly small manufacturers, like ourselves, who can not well afford to bear such an additional burden, especially at the present time.

We do not wish to burden you with details or statistics unless you wish us to do so, as no doubt you are in a general way familiar with the subject, but we desire simply to call your attention to the fact that a great many of the materials entering into the manufacture of perfumes, tollet preparations, etc., have increased in price since the commencement of the European war, in some instances as much as three and four hundred per cent, while the general business conditions in this line during this period have not been at all prosperous from the standpoint of demand.

On top of this condition, which would have made it difficult for some amail manufacturers, like ourselves, to make any profit this year, along comes this war tax and adds 2½ per cent to the retail or selling price, or about 5 per cent to the wholesale price, an amount greater, we are

free to state, than our net profit amounts to. In our case at least, if this law that we believe is entirely unjust as well as unnnecessary is continued, it virtually means we are going to be legislated out of business.

if this law that we believe is entirely unjust as well as unnnecessary is continued, it virtually means we are going to be legislated out of business.

Does it not seem unjust, as well as absurd, that the Government should lay an oppressive tax on a small percentage of the business people of this country, a proportion of whom at least, who are in a similar line of business to ourselves, are already suffering from the unusual and disturbed conditions incident to the European war, while at the same time it is allowing the people and countries of Europe, who are responsible for this war, in so far as they are able to obtain them, to procure all the munitions of war and supplies of every kind that they can get or can pay for at a good stiff price, of course, without paying any extra or export tax to reimtures this Government for the disturbed conditions which it claims are the cause of its deficiency in revenue and for which conditions these countries and peoples are again entirely responsible.

Again, does it not seem to you absurd and unjust that small firms, like ourselves, that sometimes and it difficult to make ends meet and keep our heads above water in ordinary times, and much more so, as explained above, in these times should be so oppressively taxed as to be almost put out of business, when other large firms and millionaire corporations in certain favored lines that are making tremendous profits out of these unusual conditions are not paying a cent in taxes to make up this deficiency la revenue that the Government reports from these unusual conditions and which conditions these firms and corporations are profiting so enormously by?

In view of these facts that we have, for the sake of brevity, merely touched upon, we trust you will use your influence and record your vote against the continuation of this, in our opinion, absurd, unjust, unreasonable, and unnecessary law after its expiration on the 31st instant, as originally passed, or at least, if its continuation can not be successfully combated, that you

WARD & Co., P. TYRELL WARD, President.

CHICAGO, December 5, 1915.

CHICAGO, December 5, 1915.

JAMES R. MANN,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: We desire to call your attention to the unequal burden that the special tax of \$20 assessed on commission merchants brings upon us. We are obliged to pay this entire tax, when, as a matter of fact, our business has resolved itself into a basis wherein we have very little merchandise on a commission basis. It is practically all purchased. Why not prorate this tax so that it is shared all along the line, from the producer to the ultimate consumer.

This also applies on special stamp tax assessed on all bills of lading, telegrams, and long-distance phone calls. We are obliged to pay this tax for service performed by other people.

We trust that you will use your cooperation to relieve our share of the burden. We feel that we are being overtaxed.

Yours, very truly,

M. Lapidus Co. (Inc.),

M. LAPIDUS Co. (INC.), M. LAPIDUS.

CHICAGO, December 8, 1915.

CHICAGO, December 8, 1915.

Hon. James R. Mann,
Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

My Dean Mr. Mann: The grain trade has during the past year and since the internal-revenue act of last year went into effect been burdened with an undue proportion of taxes, enough, in fact, to restrict business considerably.

I hope you will make it a point to do all you can to get these taxes lowered to a more reasonable basis and more in line with taxation charged against other lines of business.

Trusting this will have your attention, I am, with best wishes, Sincerely, yours,

A. L. Somers,

A. L. Somers.

CHICAGO, December 10, 1915.

Hon. James R. Mann, Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: The internal-revenue act of Congress of last year by limitation expires with 1915. It is credibly reported that it will be reenacted by Congress during the present month. Its provisions relative to grain transactions are burdensome and discriminatory. Other important commodities escape taxation altogether. They should pay their fair share along with grain.

The farmer and grain dealer has most of this tax to pay, as it begins in the country and only ends when the grain reaches Chicago and is sold. The millers and hedgers are all affected by the tax, and as you have a large constituency on the Chicago Board of Trade, I sincerely hope that you can see your way clear to take up the fight and try to get this tax reduced.

Thanking you in advance for any trouble I may put you to, I remain, Very truly, yours,

J. A. Edwards.

J. A. EDWARDS.

CRICAGO, December 11, 1915,

Hon. James R. Mann,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Mann: I am instructed by the officers and directors of the Chicago Board of Trade to say that they earnestly hope that you will do everything possible to secure for us a measure of relief from the burdensome tax which has been assessed on sales of products ou commercial exchanges the past year. It is their opinion that the tax

as it exists at present is discriminatory and consequently unjust, and if it is possible it should be eliminated.

This section of the tax is found on page 17 of Public Document 217, which states that "upon each sale, agreement of sale, or agreement to sell any product or mechandise at any exchange or board of trade or other similar place, either for present or future delivery, for each \$100 in value of said sale, agreement of sale, or agreement to sell, 1 cent, and for each additional \$100, or fractional part thereof in excess of \$100, 1 cent."

In view of the large amount collected from this source during the past year, when many other lines of business have paid no tax whatever except the taxes which we also pay, it would seem that we have a just and proper reason to ask that this tax be changed so as to read, "I cent for each \$200," instead of I cent for each \$100, if the elimination of the tax is impossible.

When I tell you that there has been approximately 500,000,000 bushels of grain handled through the Chicago market from producer to consumer in the most efficient manner during the past year, and that in addition to that an amount probably equal in size was sold through the Chicago market and routed to consumers through other gateways, the great value to the public of this efficient system is apparent.

I have the honor to remain, very truly, yours,

C. H. Canbr, President,

CHICAGO, December 10, 1915.

Hon, James R. Mann,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: When the stamp-tax act was enacted last year it was the intention, we believe, that mutual insurance companies should be exempted in the law.

We understand that the section referring to mutual insurance companies was so ambiguously worded as to be subject to misconstruction, and that the Internal Revenue Department has attempted to collect a tax upon the mutual insurance companies which will amount to many thousands of dollars.

We presume that it is very probable that this bill will be reintroduced. If so, we believe that the section referring to insurance should be so worded that there would be no question but that the mutual insurance companies are exempt from the stamp tax.

We inclose herewith a proposed draft of the insurance section which we would recommend be followed in the new law.

Thanking you in advance for any assistance that you render, we remain.

Yours, truly,

W. C. Ritchie & Co., R. H. Ritchie,

W. C. RITCHIE & Co., R. H. RITCHIE, 5127 Kenwood Avenue.

CHICAGO, December 7, 1915.

Hon. James R. Mann, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: The following is copy of resolution adopted by the Illinois State Brewers' Association:

"Resolved by the Illinois State Brewers' Association in meeting assembled on the 29th day of November, A. D. 1915, That we earnestly protest against the continuance of the extra war tax of 50 cents per barrel on malt liquor beyond December 31, 1915, at which time said extra war tax will cease according to present law, and further, that we express to our Senators and Representatives in Congress this our protest against the continuance of the extra tax, and our hope that our Senators and Representatives will give this resolution their attention, approval, and favorable action."

It is earnestly hoped that you will use your best efforts to defeat the continuance of this onerous extra war tax.

Yours, truly,

Ernest Fecker, Jr., President.

ERNEST FECKER, Jr., President. WM. LEGNER, Secretary.

Los Angeles, Cal., December 8, 1915.

Hon. OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD, Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator: During the consideration of the emergency tax bill in Congress last year I wired you that the projected tax upon claret wine was excessive, a product that I sell at wholesale at 15 cents per gallon f. o. b. California, and that it looked like ruin to me.

Through this ill-advised measure my cellars are full of wine, and I have been compelled to borrow sufficient money from bank to meet my current expenses.

This measure also placed a fortifying tax of 55 cents a sufficient with the control of the control of

have been compelled to borrow sufficient money from bank to meet my current expenses.

This measure also placed a fortifying tax of 55 cents a gallon upon brandy which preserves the grape sugar in sweet wine, equivalent to 16 cents per gallon for the wine so fortified, and, with the additional stamp tax of 8 cents per gallon, amounts to a total tax of 24 cents per gallon. In other words, this so-called war tax amounts to more than 50 per cent upon dry and sweet wines, and no distinction is made in light table wines, which retail at only 30 cents per gallon, requiring a stamp of 8 cents.

What has been the result? The wives and families of 15,000 vineyardists in California are made to suffer, and hogs were turned into many vineyards last summer, and thousands of tons of grapes rotted on the vines. The production of sweet wine in California has dwindled from 3,500,000 gallons in 1913 to 1,250,000 gallons in 1915. See internal-revenue reports.

It is one thing to say to the consumer that he shall pay this excessive tax and quite another to compel him to do so. As an illustration, in the Latin quarter of Los Angeles and San Francisco nearly every foreigner who drinks light wine with his meals (where grapes were to be had for almost nothing) made in the back yards and cellars from 5 to 500 barrels of wine and surreptitiously sells it to his kind, for which the Government will never get one cent of tax, and my wine, which is subject to tax and collection, remains in the cellar.

May we not hope for some relief? Otherwise, it spells ruin to every vineyardist in California.

Yours, sincerely,

Chicago, December 2, 1915.

CHICAGO, December 2, 1915.

Hon. James R. Mann, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Relative to certain features of the Federal revenue law of 1914, which lapses by limitation the 31st instant, we wish to protest against the reenactment of the tenth item in section 3, that places a

specific tax of \$20 upon commission merchants, and also against that portion of the stamp tax which compels the sender or shipper to affix a 1-cent stamp on bills of lading, telegraph messages, and long-distance telephone calls.

Our business, while known as the commission business, is a legitimate merchandising business, and the singling of us out along with the pawnbroker, circus, and billiard hall is not just.

In the handling of vegetables the number of shipments made is disproportionately large as compared with almost any other line of business, and the invoices small. The very character of the business forces the use of the telegraph and telephone to a very large extent, with the result that, contrary, we think, to the intention of Congress, the burden of these taxes falls more heavily upon this line of business than upon any other, varying according to the general character of the business at from \$50 to \$1,000 per year.

We appreciate the need of revenue, but direct taxation that singles out either an individual or a line to bear an unjust portion of the burden is wrong, and it is our hope that you will give this matter your careful consideration and if investigation satisfies you of the correctness of our general statement that you will oppose a reenactment of these features.

We hope to at least have an opportunity to be heard upon these features.

Appreciating your consideration we are

Appreciating your consideration, we are, Yours, truly,

G. M. H. WAGNER & SONS.

CHICAGO, ILL., December 1, 1915.

Hon. James R. Mann, Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: As a partner in the above concern and a constituent from your congressional district, I wish to protest most energetically against a continuance of the present emergency tax law.

All liberal-minded people must admit that even under most economic conditions an enormous sum of money is needed to cover the running expenses of our Government, and I would feel unworthy of being a citizen of this country if I did not assist in the production of this much-needed revenue by paying a fair proportion of it; but the emergency tax law as it at present exists is hardly fair to our line of business, as we are obliged to pay a direct tax of \$20 per year, besides the stamp tax on telephone and telegraph messages and bills of lading, which in our case amount to a great deal more than the abovementioned direct tax.

I would therefore respectfully ask you to give this matter a few

I would therefore respectfully ask you to give this matter a few moments of your valuable time in order to convince yourself of the injustice of this tax toward us, and, if you find it so, lend us your assistance toward the defeat of this law if an attempt is made to reenact it either as a separate measure or as part of a new one.

Yours, sincerely.

NEW YORK, N. Y., November 20, 1915.

The Hon. JAMES R. MANN, Chicago, 111.

DEAR SIB: I beg to call your attention to the inclosed statement of conditions in our industry, the products of which, including tooth pastes, tooth and mouth washes, tollet soaps, perfumes, etc., are taxed under Schedule B of the emergency revenue act.

I sincerely hope you can see your way clear to vote to eliminate this most unjust provision, in the event that the emergency revenue act is extended.

most unjust processes and the extended.
Yours, very respectfully,
The Manufacturing Perfumers' Association,
A. M. Spiehler, President.

CHICAGO, November 22, 1915.

Hon. JAMES R. MANN. First National Bank Building, Chicago, Ill.

First National Bank Building, Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Mann: Permit me to call your attention to inclosed booklet.

I hope your time will permit of its perusal.

About one-quarter of a million voters materially affected by Schedule B of the so-called war tax solicit your aid in securing its elimination. The industries in which these voters are engaged are as follows: Retail druggists, manufacturers of proprietary medicines, manufacturers of pharmaceutical preparations, manufacturers of barbers' supplies, manufacturing perfumers, manufacturers of tollet requisites, etc., and the employees of all above-mentioned industries.

Elimination of Schedule B enables us to continue in business. Retention of Schedule B means rulnation.

I earnestly, in behalf of myself as well as all engaged in above-mentioned industries, request you to do your utmost to wipe out this "wrong"

wrong." Yours, very truly,

The Washington Post on the day following the passage of this joint resolution in the House, published an editorial which is worth reading, and as this extension of remarks under leave to print does not in fact go into the temporary Record for several days after the Post editorial was published, I insert it as a part of my extended remarks:

THE DEMOCRATIC WAR TAX ON THE PEOPLE.

It was a score day for the Republicans yesterday in the House of Representatives when the majority of the Democrats went on record for direct taxation of the people of the United States for another year and the Republican membership of that body went on record unanimously against it.

The votes of the Democrats for direct taxation will be exhibited in every district where there is a possible chance for the election of a Republican candidate for Congress, in every State where there is a chance for election of a Republican Senator; and while seats of Representatives from the far South and Senator; and while seats of Representatives from the far South and Senators from the far South will not be endangered by the record made yesterday, scores of seats of the Representatives from the so-called border States and from the North will be lost to the Democrats if this direct taxation is fastened on the people while there remain open so many other ways of obtaining the funds needed by the Government.

There will not be a penny collected under this direct taxation but from this time henceforth will be referred to by Republicans as the Democratic tax upon the people of the United States.

A party very vigorous with its political work is the Republican Party, and it has already started in its work of educating the people to believe that direct taxation is evidence of Democratic inability to successfully administer the Government, and the vote of yesterday will but serve to establish such view in the minds of the people.

Every war-tax stamp and every penny paid for a war-tax stamp by the people from this time forward will be a Republican argument against Democratic administration and the candidates of the Democratic Party.

The state of the second state of the

Every war-tax stamp and every penny pain for a war-tax stamp by the people from this time forward will be a Republican argument against Democratic administration and the candidates of the Democratic Party.

Democrats and Republicans in the rank and file of the people are a unit in opposition to the taxation, and while party pressure and administration influence may succeed in forcing enough Democratic Representatives and Senators to support it and carry it over another year. November, 1916, will bring party disaster in both branches of Congress and probably in the Nation through resentment of the people as against this form of taxation. If the Democratic congressional leaders had been wise, they would have accepted the amendment offered to continue but four months or that for six months and in the meantime acted upon revision of the revised tariff, the issue of bonds or the issue of Treasury notes bearing no interest.

The Democratic Party has pledged itself to a revenue tariff for 40 years, and the Democratic voters and a large number of Republican voters would join in approval of raising the needed revenue through the tariff.

For Democratic leaders to say that can not be done is to stamp the Democratic Party as proclaiming false doctrine in the past or to admit their own inefficiency and lack of ability to provide revenue in the good old Democratic way.

Democratic and Republican rank and file alike would prefer by far that revenues be raised by the tariff than by direct taxation.

Millions of Democrats and other millions of Republicans would prefer an issue of Treasury notes bearing no interest to direct taxation.

If the question were put to vote of the people of the United States to-day, not 1,000,000 out of the 16,000,000 of voters in the United States would vote for direct taxation.

And with knowledge of this strong popular antagonism to this war-tax system the majority of the Democratis in the House yesterday voted to tax the people in that obnoxious way.

War-Revenue Tax Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. COLEMAN,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, December 16, 1915.

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the extension of the provisions of the emergency-revenue act for the period of one year as provided for in this resolution. The Treasury deficit now existing is not so much due to the smallness of revenue as to the extravagant expenditures under this Democratic administration, which expenditures not only necessitate the extension of the provisions of the emergency-revenue act for at least a temporary period, but also necessitate the levying of additional taxation. And inasmuch as a new revenueproducing act must be passed by the present Congress increasing the amount of revenue to be collected from our people to a sum far in excess of that which will be provided by the extension of the provisions of the present act the extension should not continue for a longer period than required for the passage of a new revenue measure and certainly not beyond the end of the present session of Congress, by which time new legislation must necessarily be had touching the matter of internal taxation.

Personally I adhere to the Republican theory of raising the greater portion of our revenue from the producer of foreign-made goods sold in our markets by means of a tax collected at the custom house. This indirect method of taxation, as experience has abundantly demonstrated, whether drawn from the history of the Roman Republic or Empire or from our own representative Republic, is infinitely superior to the collection of taxes by direct means, to say nothing of the great advantage accruing to our manufacturers and workingmen as a result of this system

It is unfortunate that our Democratic friends, with the rich experience of the past to guide them, persist in relying mainly on direct in preference to indirect taxation, and that they so steadfastly refuse to aid home industries by restricting foreign competition, while at the same time making the foreign producer. rather than the American citizen pay the bulk of the expenses of running our Government; and it is even more unfortunate that they are unable to pass a revenue law that will produce sufficient funds with which to pay the expenses of the Government, which they seem unable to do largely because of the extravagant man-ner in which they administer the public funds placed in their custody.

PRESENT CONDITIONS NOT NEW.

For what is happening under this Administration is so similar to what occurred under Cleveland's second term, when the Democratic Party, as now, were in complete control of both the legislative and executive departments of the Government, that the similarity should be carefully noted and compared for the benefit and guidance of the present as well as future generations. Then, as now, expenditures exceeded the receipts; then, as now, the Treasury was in a chaotic condition. Then a resort was had to the sale of bonds to replenish the depleted Treasury, which bonds to the extent of more than two hundred and sixty-two millions of dollars were sold to tide the Nation over the insufficiency of revenue produced under the Wilson-Gorman tariff law. And to-day, with similar conditions prevailing as a result of the Underwood tariff law, with our country now, as then, at peace with all the world, to prevent another issue of bonds excessive direct taxes and emergency taxes have been and are yet to be levied in a vain effort to prevent a Treasury deficit.

Let me call your attention with some degree of particularity to the conditions that prevailed from 1893 to 1897 in so far as our finances were concerned. For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1894, expenditures of the Government exceeded the receipts by \$69,800,000, and this was the result of the first year of Democratic rule following nineteen consecutive years under Republican laws in which receipts had exceeded expenditures, and throughout the four years of Cleveland's administration the expenditures continued to exceed the revenues. To repair the inroads thus made on the Treasury, bonds on four different occasions were issued; fifty millions in January, 1894; another fifty millions in November, 1894; more than sixty-two millions in February, 1895; and still later another issue amounting to one hundred millions; and all of this happened at a time when our country was at peace with all the world.

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.

Under this administration we find history repeating itself and a deficit at the end of the fiscal year 1914, prevented only by a resort to most unusual methods of taxation, especially in the history of our own country, leaving us at the end of the year with revenues exceeding expenses to the extent of \$34,418,000 after having collected in addition to the customs duties and the ordinary internal taxes additional revenues as follows: Corporation income tax, \$32,456,000; corporation excise tax, \$10.671,000; and individual income tax, \$28,253,000. And for three months of this fiscal year the Payne law was in operation and the customs receipts on imports admitted during these three months over what would have been collected had the Underwood duties prevailed, amounted to approximately \$31,500,000, and in addition to this the rates of the Payne law on wool and sugar were continued for a longer period to December 1, 1913, on wool and to March 1, 1914, on sugar, yielding in revenue approximately \$20,287,000 more than the regular Underwood tariff rates would have yielded, amounting in all to \$51,787,000. without which, notwithstanding the unusually heavy tax burdens levied, a deficit would have resulted.

The total customs revenues for this fiscal year were \$292,-320,000, while the internal revenue amounted to the immense sum of \$380,410,000, a much larger amount than ever previously raised by internal taxation. And after having levied this burdensome tax on the people, this same administration was later forced to the passage of the emergency-revenue act, which was only to continue until December 31, 1915, but is now under consideration for extension another year, or until December 31, 1916.

But with all the strenuous efforts of the party in power to raise revenue by all manner of taxation, including the emergencyrevenue act, the end of the fiscal year 1915 found the receipts to be \$697,910,828, as against disbursements amounting to \$731,399,759, or a deficiency in revenue of \$33,488,931. In this year the customs receipts were less by \$82,534,000, than the year preceding, while the previous year's high-water mark of internal taxes was surpassed and a new mark registered of \$415,-669,000, or an increase of \$35,259,000.

And just here I want to call attention to the popular misapprehension that our imports, as a result of the European war, are inconsiderable This popular notion is far from the true condition, and the question that should concern us and cause us alarm, in view of the real facts as to the volume of our importations, is this: What would have happened had it not been for the protective influence of the war?

In the fiscal year 1914 our imports reached the record-breaking sum of \$1,893,925,000, larger by many millions than the importations of any previous year in our Nation's existence, and yet our customs duties were less by \$19,000,000, than in the year 1912, when our importations were smaller in volume by the immense sum of \$240,650,000, while in the year 1915, with the war in full operation, our imports amounted to \$1,674,220,000, or \$20,-955,000 more than in the year 1912, and yet our customs duties,

Same and the same of the same

notwithstanding these greater importations, were less by

\$101.535,000.

Comparing, then, the conditions that existed at the close of the fiscal year 1915 with the conditions that existed at the close of the year 1914 or the years immediately preceding thereto, we find what seems to be the inevitable result of Democratic rule, expenditures exceeding the revenues of the Government, and this in face of a resort to methods of taxation heretofore unknown. And matters are still growing worse, for up to December 15 of the present fiscal year the customs revenues were \$10,917,000 less than for the corresponding period of the fiscal year 1915, while the internal tax was \$24,217,000 more than the corresponding period of the previous year. Thus we see internal taxation mounting still higher while the customs receipts are steadily declining, which condition bids fair to continue until the people of this country, speaking their opinion at the polls in next year's election, will put an end to this false economic rule and restore to power a party in every way fit to manage the affairs of this great Nation. With such a record of disaster following the two efforts of the Democratic party since the Civil War to put a successful tariff law on the statute books, is it any wonder that the President of these United States and other leading Democrats should now be demanding that the tariff be taken out of politics?

And now let me direct your attention to the extravagance of the sixty-third Congress as compared with the expenditures of the sixty-first and sixty-second Congresses. The last or sixty-third Congress expended \$1,415,432,152 which was \$113,292,692 in excess of the expenditures of the sixty-second Congress which in turn exceeded the appropriations of the sixty-first Congress by \$3,864,098. Now with this thought firmly impressed on your minds I call your attention to a plank in the Baltimore platform that reads as follows: "We denounce the profligate waste of money wrung from the people by oppressed taxation through the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxation high and reduced the purchasing power of the people's toil. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a Democratic government and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people."

Is it not amusing in the light of the experience of the past two years to read this platform pledge and compare it with the performance of the party that made such an appeal to the people of this country. Surely we will all agree that our Democratic friends are good preachers of economy when out of office trying to get in power, but poor practicers thereof after assuming the

reins of office.

CAUSE OF DEFICIT.

The real cause of the Treasury deficit is the extravagance of an administration that came into power on a platform of rigid economy, but instead of relieving the people of the burdens of taxation which they pointed out as then existing, and returning to that simplicity and economy which befits a Democratic government, they have surpassed all previous records in extravagant expenditures and added tax burdens too heavy for our people to bear.

Even with ordinary and reasonable government expenditures and with no war to interfere in any degree with importations the Underwood law would have miserably failed as a sufficient revenue-producing act, but with the engrmous increase in appropriations of Government funds under Democratic rule its diminished revenues are grossly inadequate to the public needs. Had the Payne bill been kept on the statute books, as the figures previously cited abundantly prove, a sufficient amount of revenue would have been produced to pay the expenses of the Government wisely and judiciously administered and under the present deplorable extravagance would have made unnecessary the emergency-revenue act.

DEPRESSION AND FAILURE.

Not only has the Underwood law been a complete failure as a revenue-producing act, but what is also true is that from the time of its passage, in October, 1913, to the breaking out of the European war, in August, 1914, it caused general distress and was directly responsible for throwing out of employment millions of our people, repeating the disastrous experiences through which we passed from 1893 to 1897.

To illustrate these generally distressing conditions I need only call your attention to the record of 18,280 failures during the calendar year of 1914, the largest number of failures in any one year in all of our experience, with the record-breaking volume

of \$357,909,000 liabilities.

Under its provisions, as under the provisions of the Wilson-Gorman law, idle mills and short-time operation of mine and factory was the general rule, and conditions under the Underwood law would have continued to be equally deplorable with

those that pursued us through the years of 1893 to 1897 had it not been for the enormous, altogether unprecedented, demand for war materials that came from foreign powers, relieving the situation somewhat and permitting wheels to turn that otherwise would have remained idle and industry to quicken that was already stagnant under the unwise provisions of this law.

This act so blighting to the industries of this country was supported by Democrats because they were committed to the economic policy it embraced and to which they still adhere notwithstanding the educating experiences through which they have now twice passed and which should prompt them to change their ways. It was also supported by some of the more radical Progressives, who, fearing to stand on the trusty beaten paths of experience and longing for any kind of a change, without regard to where it might lead them, preferred to plunge into the unknown realms of experiment which not only lead to the Nation's industrial and commercial depression but also brought disaster to those wanderers from tried Republican principles who took the fatal plunge.

SCHEDULE B.

In opposing the extension of this measure for a longer period of time than the close of the present session of Congress I do it because in the framing of a new emergency-revenue law we can correct some of the more flagrant abuses of the present act and levy our internal taxes in a more equitable manner, even though they can not be lessened.

I especially direct your attention to the unusually oppressive and unjust provisions of Schedule B of the act, where on the sales of small-priced articles of 5 and 10 cents a tax of 2½ per cent is levied. It is impossible to pass this tax in any portion to the purchaser, and the whole burden must be carried by the manufacturer and the retail dealer, and being thus placed on a small number of people instead of generally and more widely

distributed it is inequitable and unjust.

Considering further the tax that these manufacturers and retail dealers pay under other provisions of this same act, this oppressive section might well be abolished, as under other sections they are called on to pay a fair share of tax as apportioned among business men generally, and should not be required to pay what is in its operation a special tax upon a class of dealers and is subject to the criticism of being class legislation.

I conclude my remarks my saying that the Democratic majority, notwithstanding the deplorable condition to which their tariff law, coupled with their extravagance, has brought the Treasury of the United States, should not continue this unjust measure with its many objectionable features beyond the time that new revenue legislation can be enacted by the present Congress and the heavy tax burden now imposed on our people be equalized, if not materially lessened, as it should be, by transferring it in part to the manufacturers of foreign Governments who sell their products in competition with our people. And certainly our friends on the other side should agree to the amendment providing that the extension be limited to the end of the present session, by which time new taxation laws will have been enacted.

Abolish the Fahrenheit Thermometer.

"The change will have to be made some time, for it is simply inconceivable that the trrational Fahrenheit scale will be forever tolerated by an educated people."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 14, 1915.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, on December 6 I introduced House bill 528, providing for the discontinuance of the Fahrenheit thermometer scale in Government publications. My sympathy with this movement is hereditary, and in introducing the bill I felt that I was performing an act of piety to the memory of my father. He was by compulsion of circumstances a lawyer, by natural gifts and tastes a chemist, physicist, and inventor. One of the things I remember most vividly is the impatience with which he often complained of the nuisance of having to handle two thermometric scales, one used by nearly all scientists throughout the world, the other in popular use in English-speaking countries, whereby he was perpetually com-

pelled to convert one into the other, with perpetual nerve irrita-tion and loss of precious time. President Van Hise, of the University of Wisconsin, writes me that, as a result of the adoption of the centigrade scale by the American Institute of Electrical Engineers "an untold amount of time and labor has beer saved." In reading that phrase I thought I could almost been saved." In reading that phrase I thought I could almost bear my father's voice. It is a profound satisfaction to me to know that if he were living now he would thank me for this bill.

The movement was started by an article by Dr. Robert Stein in the Washington Post. I may add that much of the work in connection with the bill has been done by Dr. Stein.

ABOLISH THE FAHRENHEIT THERMOMETER.

By Robert Stein.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 17, 1915.]

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 17, 1915.]

One glance suffices to show the simplicity of the centigrade, the complexity and clumsiness of the Fahrenheit thermometric scale.

Centigrade: Freezing point, 0°; boiling point, 100°.
Fahrenheit: Freezing point, 32°; boiling point, 212°.

The abolition of the Fahrenheit scale would be welcomed by scientists the world over. The centigrade scale is used in all countries except the United States and the British Empire. Even in these it is largely used by scientists, who are thus compelled to think in two scales, and to specify the scale by the letter C. or F. If you are told that the thermometer at some foreign locality registered 40°, without C. or F., you do not know whether the people wore Palm Beach suits or overcoats. Many a scientist ruefully remembers precious hours which he had to waste in trying to find out whether a given temperature was C. or F. If all temperatures were recorded in degrees C., the discomfort of doubt would not exist.

Freezing point, the zero of the centigrade scale, is the natural zero from which everybody consciously or unconsciously reckons. What is meant by 40° F. or 22° F. or -4° F.? You do not know until you find out how many degrees it is above or below freezing point. Thus—

40° F. means 8 degrees above freezing point (32 - 22).

-4° F. means 36 degrees below freezing point (32 - 22).

-4° F. means 36 degrees below freezing point (32 + 4).

Centigrade degrees require no calculation, because the figures themselves tell how many degrees they are above or below freezing point.

Thus—

22° C. means 22 degrees above freezing point.

22° F. means 30 degrees below freezing point (\$22 + 4).

Centigrade degrees require no calculation, because the figures themselves tell how many degrees they are above or below freezing point. Thus—

22° C. means 22 degrees above freezing point.

The Fahrenheit thermometer has remained in use simply because it is the oldest. It has a mere squatter's right. Constructed in 1720, and being the only accurate thermometer then in existence, it was adopted in England all the more readily because Gabriel Daniel Fahrenheit, a native of Danzig, in Germany, long resident in Holland and England, was a member of the Royal Society of London, in whose transactions some of his papers were published. He placed his zero at the lowest temperature known to him, to wit, 32° below freezing point.

The first thermometer with zero at freezing point was constructed in 1731 by René Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur, a mative of La Roehelle, in France, long resident in Paris. He called boiling point 80.

In 1742 the first centigrade thermometer was constructed by Anders Celaius, professor of astronomy at Upsala University, Sweden. In most Celaius, professor of astronomy at Upsala University, Sweden. In most The Réaumur was widely used till the French revolution, when, in the beneficent movement to decimalize all standards, the Celsius was adopted and officially called centigrade. The dominant influence of France at the beginning of the nineteenth century rendered to the world the great service of making the centigrade fashionable, with the result that the Réaumur has gradually gone out of use, to the great relief of all workers who have to compare the temperature records of different countries. The disappearance of the Fahrenheit would be a still greater relief.

Fahrenheit's mistake in placing the zero not at freezing point, but 32° below it, has been perpetuated for 195 years simply because no-body has taken the trouble to propose its discontinuance. It is a classic example of the incredible inertia of accomplished facts. Because a German i

Before introducing the bill I thought it best to submit it for criticism to some 200 scientists. Of the replies received to date 131 were favorable, 7 unfavorable. Extracts from the letters are appended. The necessity of concentration compels me, to my keen regret, to forego the pleasure of publishing these interesting letters in full, but I hope that an opportunity for so doing may present itself later on. The extracts contain the answers

to the objections that have been raised.

Many correspondents, as might be expected, take occasion to advocate the substitution of the metric system for our traditional weights and measures, while others deprecate any attempt to make the centigrade scale a yokefellow to the metric system. With the latter view I thoroughly agree. The metric system and the centigrade scale are two totally different subjects, and the attempt to yoke them together would merely create confusion. The essential advantage of the metric system lies in this, that it enables multiplication and division to be performed by the mere moving of the decimal point. This has nothing to do with the centigrade scale, because there is no occasion to multiply and very little occasion to divide degrees of temperature. Conversely, the essential advantage of the centigrade scale lies not in the division of the thermometric base into 100 degrees but in placing the zero at freezing point. This evidently has nothing to do with the metric system. Everybody will admit that the inconvenience attending the general introduction of the centigrade scale would be trifling compared with the inconvenience involved in the general introduction of the metric system. A mouse can enter where an elephant can not; but if the mouse is

tied to the elephant, you can easily see what will happen.

It has been suggested that four years is too short a time in which to make the change. If scientific men share this view, I shall, of course, be glad to accept an amendment lengthening the

period to 8 or even 10 years.

RESOLUTIONS.

BOTANICAL SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 2, 1915.

Whereas the Botanical Society of Washington recognizes the confusion, inconvenience, and loss of time and efficiency occasioned by the lack of uniformity in recording temperatures in this country; and Whereas the centigrade scale is much simpler and more convenient than the Fahrenheit scale and is the present standard in all other countries except Great Britain, and is also in general use among scientific men throughout the world: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this society expresses its hearty approval of the efforts being made to obtain legislation requiring the use of the centigrade scale in all future Government publications.

RESEARCH CLUB OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, NOVEMBER 17, 1915. I secured the adoption of a resolution favoring the bill by the Research Club of the University. (W. B. Pillsbury.)

POARD OF DIRECTORS AMERICAN CHEMICAL SOCIETY, DECEMBER 11, 1915.

Resolved, That the directors of the American Chemical Society are unanimously in favor of the bill presented by Hon. Albert Johnson for the adoption of the centigrade scale of temperature measurement in United States Government publications, with the understanding that for such time as may be deemed necessary the Fahrenheit scale may follow in parentheses where the various bureaus deem such inclusion wise.

AMERICAN ENTOMOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DECEMBER 13, 1915

At a meeting of the American Entomological Society, held December 13, 1915, H. R. 528, a bill to discontinue the use of the Fahrenheit thermometer scale in Government publications, was fully indorsed. (Henry Skinner, recording secretary.)

ROCHESTER ACADEMY OF SCIENCE, DECEMBER 13, 1915.

In the opinion of the Rochester Academy of Science, your bill permitting the use of the centigrade thermometer in the various departments of the United States Government is a desirable measure, and deserves our indorsement. The academy does not favor forcing it upon any department or bureau. (George II. Chadwick, secretary.)

EXTRACTS.

any department or bureau. (George II. Chadwick, secretary.)

EXTRACTS.

I wish to express my most hearty approval and to say that if this bill passes the result will be a decided increase in the efficiency of everyone who has to do with temperature measurements. It is hard to estimate the time which would be saved in the long rum by all users of the present double system, but it would certainly be very great. I wish to assure you of the most vigorous support of myself and of all my colleagues, as well as of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, which body has done its best to support the gospel of the decimal system. (Comfort A. Adams, professor of electrical engineering, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.)

I believe the change would be a good one. (Chester Allen, assistant and field organizer, extension division, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.)

I heartily favor the change from the Fahrenheit to the centigrade scale and am glad to indorse any measure to that end. I believe, however, that the change will naturally be a scmewhat gradual one, and that for the present it would be unwise to rely solely on the centigrade scale in certain classes of Government publications. Many of these publications are intended for popular consumption—for farmers and persons who are accustomed to thinking in terms of the Fahrenheit scale. Some of our practical directions to farmers include the tem of temperature. In that class of publications I think it would be preferable to state the temperature according to both scales. This would perhaps be allowable under the proposed legislation, the Fahrenheit denomination being given in parentheses after the centigrade. (E. W. Allen, Chief Office of Experiment Stations, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.)

The proposed change commends itself on the ground of economy and efficiency in all aspects of Government work that touch upon scientific or permanently valuable contributions. The change has to come, and the sooner the better for the credit of all concerned.

I am heartily in favor of this law. (Bion J. Arnold, electrical engineer, chief subway engineer, city of Chicago, 105 South La Salle Street, Chicago.)

I approve the proposed law, in case the change is desired at this time by the officers of the Weather Bureau. (8, I. Bailey, Phillips professor of astronomy, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

I think most emphatically that it is time the Government in its publications should rise to international scientific standards, and you will have the cordial support of the great body of scientific men. If our forefathers had not had some initiative we would still be using the clumsy English monetary system in place of our decimal system. It is a pity that they did not go farther while they were about it and change the system of weights and measures. Doubtless the only reason they did not do so was because, at that time, such problems were not regarded as within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. (Joseph Barrell, professor of structural geology, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.)

Barrell, professor of structural geology,
Conn.)

It does seem to me that it would be a step in advance in our scientific and commercial relations with Latin America if the United States could generally adopt the centigrade system. The only suggestion I can make is that of the parallel use of the Fahrenheit with the centigrade scale until the latter could be generally understood and approved.
(John Barrett, director general, Pan-American Union, Washington,

can make is that of the parallel use of the Fahrenheit with the centigrade scale until the latter could be generally understood and approved.

(John Barrett, director general, Pan-American Union, Washington,
D. C.)

It would seem desirable to make this change. (Albert L. Barrows,
professor of zoology, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.)

This is a step in the right direction, and we are strongly in favor
of it. In the steel business it is especially desirable to have but one
scale, as in recent years a large proportion of the steel plants have
had to go quite thoroughly into the question of heat treatment, and a
great deal of research work has been done in different countries, employing both the centigrade and Fahrenheit scales. This has not only
introduced confusion, but makes it often necessary to translate one into
the other. (G. Bartol, president, The Otis Steel Co., Cleveland, Ohio.)

The centigrade scale is now used in all specifications for electrical
apparatus and in most scientific publications. Its use in Government
publications will go far toward securing its general adoption, which
is so highly desirable. 'Philip P. Barton, vice president and general
manager Niagara Falls Power Co., Niagara Falls, N. Y.)

The project should not need much urging since it involves relatively little inconvenience and expense. That it would be of great
advantage to bring the temperature scale of the people into conformity with that used by practical scientists, without exception,
throughout the world seems to me obvious. (Carl Barus, professor of
physics, Brown University, Providence, R. I.)

I should heartily favor the abolition of the Fahrenheit thermometer.
Of course it is already abolished in all chemical and physical laboratories. (George F. Becker, Chief, Division of Physical and Chemical
Research, United States Geological Survey, Washington, D. C. First
approval received Oct. 20, 1915.)

I am heartily in sympathy with the bill. It may be of interest to
you to know that the following committees, of

New York.)

I am heartily in favor of the general use of the centigrade. Scientists the world over use the centigrade scale only, as it is much simpler and more rational than the Fahrenheit. (Marston T. Bogert, professor of organic chemistry, Columbia University, New York.)

The bill meets our approval. The Fahrenheit scale is an illogical one: there is no reason for using 32° as freezing point and 212° as boiling point. The centigrade is used exclusively by scientists, and is the one in commercial use in practically all civilized countries except the English-speaking ones. It might be necessary to make an exception of the publications of the Weather Bureau until people at large have been educated in the use of the centigrade scale along with the Fahrenheit. (James E. Boyd, professor of mechanics; W. H. Minor, assistant professor of wine engineering; D. J. Demonet, professor of metallurgy; E. E. Semermeier, professor of metallurgy; Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohlo.)

Columbus, Ohlo.)

Like 99 out of 100 scientific men, I am heartily in favor of a change from the Fahrenheit to the centigrade scale of temperature measurement. Such a change means not only a step toward uniformity in scientific measurements, but an actual saving of labor and confusion. Scientific measurements and physical values and constants are more than ever of world-wide interest and should be expressed in terms which are intelligible anywhere in the world. (A. C. Boylston, chemist, Mallinckrodt Chemical Works, St. Louis, Mo.)

I have long been in accord with the tendency to standardize not only thermometers but other instruments, indeed, everything that could be standardized, so as to eliminate the trouble in these modern times of having to translate one weight, measure, or colu into the various types that we have in this good country of ours.

Let me illustrate. When we receive an order from the splendid Bureau of Standards—to the director of which, and his assistants, all honor—it comes to us in the metric system; it is the same from the Coat and Geodetic Survey; the same from the Smithsonian Institution; and, if I remember rightly, the same from the Weather Bureau. When, however, these orders come to us from the various arsenals of the Army, West Point Military Academy, United States Navy or War Department, they come to us in English measures.

The writer appeared before the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures on February 6, 1902. The report of my examination, on page 84 of the records of that date, will give you my opinion of the centigrade system, for it is based on the proper kind of standard, viz, the

freezing and boiling points of water. Some systems, particularly the Fahrenheit, are about as sensible as the old colored man who said he had no business to buy a barometer, for did not the Lord give him the rheumatism to tell what kind of weather to predict? (John A. Brashear, chairman John A. Brashear Co. (Ltd.), astronomical and physical instruments, Pittsburgh, Pa.)

I wholly approve the substitution of the centigrade scale for the Fahrenheit. It is more logical to divide the scale into 100 degrees than into 180 plus 32 degrees, a very cumbersome method. (N. L. Britton, director New York Botanical Garden.)

To fix an early date for the use of the centigrade scale in Government publications may hasten the needed revision of textbooks in elementary, secondary, and higher education, and thereby lessen the confusion which is more or less inevitable in a change of habits. (Edward F. Buchner, professor of philosophy and education, Johns Hopkins University, Baitimore.)

I share with most scientific men a strong prejudice in favor of the centigrade. I am doubtful, however, whether it would be wise to exclude the Fahrenheit altogether, for example from the weather reports. I should think it might be better for some years to give the temperature in both scales as a transition measure to familiarize the people with the centigrade scale. (H. A. Bumstead, professor of physics, director Sloane Laboratory of Physics, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.)

The centigrade scale is now used in all scientific work and is in more general use throughout the world than the Fahrenheit scale. It seems an opportune moment to make the change, when we are trying to get into closer commercial touch with all the Latin-American countries. (Alfred E. Burton, dean Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.)

Every laboratory guide for students, every reference text, and practically every book dealing with any of the chemical, physical, or biological sciences must be cluttered up with tables for conversion from one thermometer scale

The centigrade is easier to learn, easier to use. If the school children were taught the centigrade scale they would find it easier than the Fahrenheit. (Otis W. Caldwell, professor of botany, University of Chicago.)

I am in favor of the centigrade scale chiefly because it is more extensively used and therefore more international and more convenient. (Philip P. Calvort, professor of zoology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.)

I am pleased to have an opportunity to advocate the use of the centigrade scale. The Fahrenheit scale is an unnatural one. It merely "happened" that Fahrenheit scale is an unnatural one. It merely "happened" that Fahrenheit called the bolling point 212°. He might just as well have called it 170° or 269°. He called "zero" the lowest temperature be could obtain from the mixture of lee and sait. This may mean something to the maker of ice cream, but the operation of mixing ice and sait means essentially nothing to anybody else in the present day. Having fixed his "boiling point at 212° and his ice-and-sait temperature at "zero," the freezing point fell at 32°. The freezing temperature is something which the people in general fully comprehend and men of science have to deal with very frequently in their laboratorles. It is a perfectly definite thing in all occupations and in all countries. It is a natural starting point and it ought to be called "zero," as it is in the centigrade scale.

The interval of 180° between freezing and boiling in the Fahrenheit scale makes the unit of 1° too small. The general public does not appreciate the difference between temperatures 56° and 54° nor between temperatures 47° and 45° nor between temperatures and the contribution of our country, and in the greater number and more populous of our colonies, the people have no conception of what the temperature stands for. If they are interested and able to translate it into words, they invariably compute how many degrees it is below freezing. If the centigrade scale were in use they would know immediate

Museum.)

In scientific work the centigrade scale is used almost exclusively, both in England and in this country. In chemistry and physics one rarely sees any other scale employed. It would undoubtedly be a very good thing if the centigrade could be substituted for the Fahrenhelt. (F. W. Clarke, chief chemist, U. S. Geological Survey, Washington, D. C.)

I am heartly in favor of the bill. (P. P. Claxton, commissioner of education, Washington, D. C.)

Such a bill would be not only wise but timely. All scientific men use only the centigrade scale in everything. I myself do not know the temperature powadays in Fahrenheit terms. The Fahrenheit scale has been abandoned by the entire world, practically, with the exception of the United States and England. It has no scientific merit whatever and would be cumbersome were it not that it is absolutely ignored in scientific work. (Charles E. Coates, dean, Audubon Sugar School, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.)

I should be very glad to see the centigrade used in all scientific publications, including those of the Government. (A. D. Cole, head, department of physics, State University, Columbus, Ohio.)

It is commendable that the Government is taking such a progressive step. (William Coleman, professor of physics, Howard University, Washington, D. C.)

I thoroughly approve the bill. Uniformity of practice and of standards are desirable from every point of view, and we should at the earliest possible moment bring our practice into conformity with that of the majority of civilized people. (George C. Comstock, director, Washburn Observatory, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.)

Probably no scientific man would hesitate to register his approval. Since all our scientific publications have made the change long ago, this action would simply make the Government scientific publications consistent with general scientific practice. (John M. Coulter, professor of botany, University of Chicago.)

I am heartly in favor of the bill. (S. A. Courtis, supervisor of educational research, Detroit public schools; consulting director, department of measurement, efficiency, and standardization, school of education, University of Oklahoma; secretary of section L (education), American Association for the Advancement of Science.)

I am in entire sympathy with your proposed legislation. (F. V. Coville, botanist in charge, Bureau of Plant Industry, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.)

In common with practically all scientific workers, I have long adopted and consistently used the centigrade scale. Its advantages are so obvious that they hardly need mentioning, but it may be worth while to emphasize specially the fact that the cardinal points of the scale, namely, zero and 100°, are far more convenient for use, as is its decimal arrangement, than is the Fahrenheit scale. The fact that the centigrade is used by scientists in all countries and has been adopted by almost all the leading Governments of the world is a tremendous argument in its favor. (Henry C. Cowles, associate professor of botany, University of Chicago.)

On general principles, or because I favor whatever makes for simplicity and uniformity and economy of time

On general principles, or because I favor whatever makes for simplicity and uniformity and economy of time and labor, I approve the proposed change. I recognize, however, the almost insuperable difficulties to be overcome. (W. O. Crosby, professor of geology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston.)

The centigrade system is more convenient and in every way better than the others. If people only knew the system, they would want it. A campaign of education is all that is needed to make the change. Any authoritative public use of the system will help to introduce it. (Ulric Dahlgren, professor of biology, Princeton University, New Jersey.)

The change will be most enthusiastically received by all of us who are concerned with scientific matters, since the centigrade scale is the only convenient and logical one. The public is to a considerable extent accustomed to it now, and would find no difficulty in its use by the Government. (Edward S. Dana, professor of physics, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.)

I am glad to give a statement of reasons for abolishing the Fahrenheit scale.

The principal reason is that the majority of the civilized nations of

The principal reason is that the majority of the civilized nations of the world have abandoned all scales for the centigrade, and it is very desirable that there shall be uniformity in this respect throughout the civilized world. The fact that so many nations have united on the centigrade scale is an a priori reason for thinking there must be some advantage for it over other scales.

centigrade scale is an a priori reason for thinking there must be some advantage for it over other scales.

The zero point of the centigrade scale is something important, namely, the freezing of water, which every farmer and householder recognizes as a very critical temperature, while 100° is the point of boiling of water, which for every housewife is a very critical temperature. By the Fahrenheit scale there are about a hundred degrees experienced in our latitude, whereas by the centigrade there are only some 55. Every unit of the centigrade scale, therefore, becomes important and easily remembered, while the units in the Fahrenheit scale are too numerous to hold readily in the mind. Thus by the centigrade 0° is freezing, 5° is cold, 10° is low temperature, 15° is high temperature, 20° is the normal temperature for rooms, at between 20° and 25° we begin to divest ourselves of the standard clothing, plece by plece, 30° is already very warm, 35° is hot, and 37° is the temperature of the blood, while 40° is rarely reached in this latitude and constitutes a point of great danger to life.

The objection is sometimes made that there are too many occasions to use minus temperatures with the centigrade scale; but in view of the fact that in parts of our country temperatures of -30° and -35° Fahrenheit are common, it is clear that the Fahrenheit scale does not relieve us of these minus signs. In the centigrade scale, however, minus means something definite, to wit, the degree of freezing that the water in the lakes and in the ground is undergoing. As in the degrees above zero, so in the minus degrees, one of the centigrade degrees indicates a readily appreciable grade of increasing danger of freezing and of discomfort.

If it be urged that the finer division of the Fahrenheit scale is necessary for some purposes these units are divided into tenths and hundredths and eyen thousandths for greater precision, and that in scientific work, where great precision is required, the Fahrenheit scale has gone out of use altogether

lapse of a few years no one for a moment would consider returning to the antiquated system.

Naturally the makers of Fahrenheit instruments do not wish to junk their old stock, but here again the inconvenience will be only temporary and more than overbalanced by the opportunity that thermometer makers will have to concentrate their attention on a single scale. (Charles B. Davenport, director, Station for Experimental Evolution, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington (Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, N. Y.).)

Scientists the world over, so far as I know, are using the centigrade thermometer. Before any change is made, the recommendation of the men in the scientific bureaus would be exceedingly valuable. (Eugene Davenport, dean and director, College of Agriculture and Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.)

The object of the bill has my unqualified approval and I am of opinion that the best interests of the Government and the people will be subserved by adopting the centigrade scale. (Arthur P. Davis, Director and Chief Engineer, U. S. Reclamation Service, Washington, D. C.)

There is everything to be said in favor of this change for its simplicity and common sense, and I can not conceive any serious difficulties in the way of its adoption. (Bradley M. Davis, professor of botany, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.)

I have not the slightest hesitation in intereding a project for the substitution of the centiferate thermometer wise in place of a place of the state scale. This has been regularly done in all the schedilic publications this laboratory since its foundation in 1904, and all our records are in oblysic of centiferate degrees. The literature of the subjects in good property of the subjects in good of the centiferate degrees. The literature of the subjects in good property of the subjects in good the subjects in good the subjects in the subject of the subject is not subject to the subject of the subject of the subject is not subject to the subject of the subject in the subject of the subject is not subject to the subject of the subject is not subject to the subject in the subject is not subject to the subject in the subject is not subject to the subject is not subject to the subject in the subject is not subject to the subject is not subject to the subject is not subject to the subject is subject is

Congress.

The cost to the Government would not be inconsiderable. Instruments and forms of the Weather Bureau would require change. The new notation for a time would have to be interpreted in terms of the old, and in other ways the popular texts would have to be expanded. There would be the same difficulty in combining old and new American temperature records that is now found in combining American records with

foreign; and some of our bureaus, the Weather Bureau especially, would be subjected to the censure or ridicule which conservatism is prone to bestow on rational reforms. The cost, however, would all be incurred in a few years, and, in my judgment, the effort and money would be well expended. (G. K. Gilbert, geologist, U. S. Geological Survey, Washington, D. C.)

Ingten, D. C.)

I have a copy of the revised draft of a bill to abolish the Fahrenhelt thermometer and will bring it to the attention of the American Society of Zoologists at its annual meeting in Columbus, December 28-31, and will recommend the adoption of a resolution favoring the enactment of the bill. (Caswell Grave, professor of zoology, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, secretary American Society of Zoologists.)

The plan has the peculiar merit that it is not of a nature to arouse any organized opposition; even those who are constitutionally opposed to innovation will not care enough about the movement to take active steps against it. (R. R. Gurley, M. D., 542 East Seventy-ninth Street, New York.)

I heartily approve of the proposition. (Thomas H. Haines, M. D.

any organized opposition; even those who are constitutionally opposed to innovation will not care enough about the movement to take active steps against it. (R. R. Gurley, M. D., 542 East Seventy-ninth Street, New York.)

I heartily approve of the proposition. (Thomas H. Haines, M. D., clinical director, Bureau of Juvenile Research, Columbus, Ohio.)

This bill has my hearty approval. (Percical Hall, president Columbia Institution for the Deaf Washington, 11 (Paul H. Hanus, professor of control of the Deaf Washington, 12 (Paul H. Hanus, professor of the Martington of the Columbia Institution for the Deaf Washington, 12 (Paul H. Hanus, professor of the Columbia Institution for the Deaf Washington, 12 (Paul H. Hanus, professor of the Columbia Institution for the Deaf Washington, 12 (Paul H. Hanus, professor of the Columbia Institution (Paul H. Hanus, professor of the Columbia Institution for the Columbia Institution (Paul H. Hanus, professor of Deaf Washington, 12 (Paul H. Hanus, Professor of Paul Hanus, Professor of Deaf Washington, 12 (Paul H. Hanus,

studying the papers published by the workers in other countries. (L. O. Howard, Chief, Bureau of Entomology, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.)

To illustrate the inconvenience of the simultaneous use of two thermometric scales, let me say that the matter is much the same as if we used two systems of coinage—pounds sterling, shillings, and pence, and dollars, dimes, and cents—in our mints and in our commercial transactions. Some prices would be in pounds sterling, others in dollars. The double system would be costly, confusing, and profit nothing. The two scales of temperature are equally confusing. (H. D. Hubbard, chief clerk, Bureau of Standards, Washington, D. C.)

The strongest argument for the centigrade scale is its simplicity, (George F. Kay, head of department of geology, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa director of Iowa Geological Survey.)

The Fahrenheit scale is unscientific to the verge of foolishness; it is clumsy and difficult to explain; it has practically been given up in scientific and in international work; it stands in the way of progress, civilization, and mutual international understanding. In electrical engineering the centigrade scale is the acknowledged standard, to which reference is made in contracts and specifications, as indicated by the standardization rules of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers. The selection of 212° for the boiling point of water is so inconsequential as to be quaintly amusing. Any bill which will help to relieve us of the humiliation of being the laughing-stock of Europe will be a boon to America. (A. E. Kennelly, professor of electrical engineering, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.)

You are right. The sooner we become interested in international measures, the better. (George F. Kunz, president New York Academy of Sciences, 401 Fifth Ave., New York).

The practical advantages of the centigrade scale over the Fahrenheit are so obvious to anyone who has had any experience in making, using, and comparing temperature measurements, and t

more convenient way of recording temperatures. (John Johnston, physicist, geophysical laboratory, Carnegic Institution of Washington.)

The Fabrenheit principle is absolutely unscientific and thoroughly antiquated. The passage of your bill would signal a great progress, scientific as well as economic, and would be the means of saving a great amount of time, energy, and expenditure. (Berthold Laufer, curator of anthropology, Fleid Museum of Natural History, Chicago.)

I take great pleasure in indorsing your bill most heartily. The chief object aimed at is to introduce simplicity in the place of the present complicated system. The desirability of the change is so evident that I can hardly see how the communication that you have sent me can be much enlarged upon. (A. O. Leuschner, dean of graduate school, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.)

I think that scientists will be unanimous—certainly the physicists will—in supporting your bill. It is an effort for us to think in terms of the Fahrenheit scale, and its use involves great loss of economy in time and effort. (B. P. Lewis, professor of physics, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.)

I am heartly in favor of the change. (Waldemar Lindgren, professor of economic geology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.)

I hope that the bill will be enacted. (George Grant MacCurdu, greater)

I am heartily in favor of the change. (Waldemar Lindgren, professor of economic geology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.)

I hope that the bill will be enacted. (George Grant MacCurdy, curator anthropological section, Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.)

I have the honor to transmit herewith the letters which have been received from the technical men of the Bureau of Mines regarding the proposed bill for the abolition of the Fahrenheit scale. You will note that it is practically the unanimous opinion that the centigrade scale should be used wherever possible, although under certain conditions it is felt by some that the Fahrenheit scale should follow in parentheses, at least until the public has become thoroughly familiar with the more modern scale of temperature. (Van H. Manning, Director Bureau of Mines, Washington, D. C.)

This whole question is one in which I am very much interested, but the change in scales has many far-reaching effects that are by no means appreciated by the majority of those whose approval is noted in the list you submit. It is obvious, however, that Dr. Stratton, of the Bureau of Standards, fully appreciates the complexities of the situation. I think existing legislation gives authority to introduce the centigrade scale, and additional legislation to that effect would seem to be unnecessary and have no more influence in abolishing the Fahrenheit scale than that already on the statute books. New legislation at this time should make the change more or less compulsory after a certain date, otherwise, I feel that it will serve no useful purpose. (C. F. Marvin, Chief of Weather Bureau, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.)

The centigrade scale is in such nearly universal use by scientific men and there is such a preponderating weight of reason to support this usage that hardly any man of science as such could object to your bill. It is indeed unfortunate that the irrational and clumsy English system of pounds, feet, and Fahrenhe

director psychological laboratory, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans.)

The bill has my cordial approval. (W. J. V. Osterhout, professor of botany, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.)

The double standard is very confusing, and as practically all scientific workers use only the centigrade the Fahrenheit is quite unnecessary. (Richard M. Pearce, in charge the John Herr Musser Department of Research Medicine, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.)

From a scientific standpoint, the change is undoubtedly desirable. (Edward O. Pickering, professor of astronomy and director of Harvard College Observatory, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.)

I am heartly in favor of the bill. In the mere matter of the description of the weather the scale is not of great importance, but in scientific calculations of thermodynamic quantities the centigrade degree has the advantage of being international in most branches of exact science. The only exception seems to be in steam engineering, where the Fahrenheit degree has vogue along with the centigrade in the United States and in Great Britain. Much real confusion and difficulty exists on that account. For example, in the case of a man trained as a chemist anywhere in the world, the centigrade degree has entered into all of his calculations of thermal quantities. When such a man enters a profession related to steam engineering and to some branches of chemical engineering operating in connection with heat engines in the United States, he has the greatest difficulty with the use of the Fahrenheit degree. These difficulties may be overcome by the use of numerous conversion factors, but such difficulties would be avoided once for all by the use of the centigrade scale, which would be distinctly encouraged by weather reports of the Government in centigrade degrees. (G. W. Pisrce, director, Cruft Laboratory, and assistant professor of physics, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.)

I most heartily approve of your bill. It will be an immense saving in time to all scientists an

every one.

I secured the adoption of a resolution favoring the bill by the Research Club of the university, a body of some 80 men who are selected for their interest and accomplishments in investigation of all kinds. (W. B. Pillsbury, professor of psychology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.)

Personally I favor the centigrade scale, but I think that certain bureaus of the Government, for example, the Weather Bureau, should be allowed, but not compelled, to use this system exclusively. (M. J. Rosenau, professor of preventive medicine and hygiene, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.)

I would express my unqualified approval. I have never met with the remotest shadow of an argument in support of the Fahrenheit scale. Everybody knows that the only reason for using this unsclentific and inconvenient scale is babit. It is high time to follow the example of other nations in adopting a scale which shall harmonize our temperature data with those of most of the world. (E. A. Ross, professor of political economy, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.)

I am heartly in favor of the proposed bill, and I believe this opinion will be shared by practically every man of science in this country. The centigrade scale is now used to the exclusion of others in all scientific publications except those of certain departments of our Government. The advantages of the change would apply to others than those engaged in science. American travelers are bewildered on being confronted with the centigrade scale abroad. The passage of this bill would eventually remove this embarrassment. (Frank Schlesinger, director, Allegheny Observatory, Allegheny, Pa.)

I can only indorse this proposal as being to my mind a very desirable change. The Fahrenheit scale is inconvenient and clumsy. (W. A. Sctchell, professor of botany, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.)

The present use of two methods of registering temperatures by the Government is absurd. The Department of Agriculture in all its scientific reports uses the centigrade. (S. P. Sharples, chemist, 26 Broad Street, Boston.)

I heartily approve of this measure and believe there would be no difficulty in obtaining the formal approval and indorsement of practically all the scientific men in this country.

I inclose herewith a copy of a resolution which was adopted at the last reg

Natural Sciences, Philadelphia.)

It is greatly to be hoped that the bill will become a law. (George Oils Smith, Director United States Geological Survey, Washington, Decidis Smith, Director United States Geological Survey, Washington, Directorable that the irrational Fahrenheit scale will be forever tolerated by an educated people. A famous proverb says, "Never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day." Suppose the change was post-poned till 1935; that would mean that the thousands of people who study temperatures recorded in different countries would be subjected for 20 years longer to the nuisance of having to think in two scales and having to convert one into the other. It would mean that thousands of new Fahrenheit thermometers would be made each year, to be discarded in 1935 and till then to afflict thousands of logical minds. It would mean that the intelligent and skilled workmen who make these thermometers would have to biush each time they etch the foolish scale on the wise instrument. It would also mean that the rising generation during the next 20 years must be taught an antiquated, irrational, difficult system and many thousands of students must be taught two systems, when by a little manly resolution we can relieve them of that burden and leave to them the positive enjoyment of learning the easy, up-to-date, logical centigrade scale. Finally, when the change does come, the inconsentation that the many many them to the rational scale.

Let us not shift our burden needlessly, singsisbly, cravenly onto the shoulders of our successors: they will have pienty of burdens of their own. Let us profit by the opportunity to earn high credit for energy and progressive spirit ourselves and to stimulate our successors by our example to earn similar credit in the many lines that will still be open to them. Of course, the born kickers, like the poor, are always with us, and they are doubtless getting ready now to say no: but when the change is made, as it is sure to be made, in the near future, they will cong

gain to the public will be educational. Of the 20,000,000 school children in this country few ever learn to understand what a degree of temperature means, because the Fahrenheit scale is too difficult to learn, too difficult to remember. Call freezing point zero and bolling point 100, and every child will at once understand it and remember it through life. (Middleton Smith, Bureau of Crop Estimates, Department of Agriculture. Washington, D. C.; member of the Point Barrow Arctic Expedition of 1881-1883.)

My first impulse is so strong in favor of the end you are endeavoring to accomplish, viz, to displace the Fahrenheit scale by the far more desirable centigrade scale, that I am almost led to favor any bill for that end. Yet upon careful reflection I feel that very careful consideration will have to be given to the form in which the bill is drawn in order that it may not cause serious trouble in the relation of the work of the Government to some industries that are intended to be assisted by that work.

Practically all scientific workers and a large percentage of engineers would welcome the general use of the centigrade scale. It is also probably true that no one factor would so materially contribute to the use of the centigrade scale as its adoption by the Government. The greatest factor in educating the public in the use of that scale would be the publication of weather reports by the United States Weather Bureau in terms of centigrade degrees. Indeed this question is so intimately related to the work of that bureau that I would suggest that any contemplated bill be submitted to the Weather Bureau for criticism and suggestions.

While it is true that a very large part of the engineering work of the Bureau of Standards is at present carried out on the centigrade scale, there are cases where, in view of the units of measurement employed in the industries, it is necessary for the bureau to publish its results based on the Fahrenheit scale, in order to make the work easily intelligible and really useful to those i

done so.

Again, take the question of clinical thermometers used by the physician. Hundreds of thousands of these are used by the physicians in this country, and many thousands are sent annually to the Bureau of Standards to be tested. If the results of our tests are to have any value, we must give the corrections in Fahrenheit degrees. Physicians will not at once abandon the Fahrenheit scale because the Government refuses to use it. Indeed, for some years the medical bureaus of the Government have been using clinical thermometers graduated on the centigrade scale.

will not at once abandon the Fahrenheit scale because the Government refuses to use it. Indeed, for some years the medical bureaus of the Government have been using clinical thermometers graduated on the centigrade scale.

I wish to make it clear that I do not regard the examples cited as in any sense insuperable obstacles to a bill that will accomplish what is desired. But such questions should be carefully considered in drawing up a bill, to prevent imposing a very serious handicap on the work of some of the Government bureaus.

Possibly some of the difficulties would be removed by stating that the centigrade scale shall be the standard scale after a certain date in all Government publications, but that the use of the two scales side by side, the Fahrenheit in a secondary or parenthetical sense, is permitted for a period of years, say five, before the latter is entirely outlawed. It would seem to me quite probable that such an arrangement would be most satisfactory to the Weather Bureau, as it would gradually accustom the public to the new scale. It is quite conceivable that great dissatisfaction would result if the weather reports were suddenly published in terms of the new scale.

There is one other feature that I should like to have understood, and that is just what constitutes publication. This bureau is called upon to test all kinds of instruments for the general public, including instruments for temperature measurement. A certificate of test is issued for such instruments. I would like to make the point that such a certificate of test does not constitute "publication" in the sense intended in this bill. Obviously, such an interpretation of the bill would seriously interfere with the functions of this bureau in its work of testing for the public I f the public continues to use Fahrenheit instruments for some time after the use of that scale has been abandoned by the Government, it is obvious that the bureau must report its tests in terms of the scale on which the instrument is constructed. For example, s

[Second letter.]

[Second letter.]

I am most heartily in sympathy with the effort to substitute the centigrade for the Fahrenheit scale. It is always difficult to make estimates of public opinion, but I feel fully convinced that scientific men are almost unanimously in favor of such a step, and a very large majority of our engineers would welcome the change, certainly the most progressive engineers would. We might as well admit that it would cause some inconvenience—"trouble," if you choose to call it such—but what important reform can be accomplished without inconvenience? I feel reasonably certain that a vast majority of our scientific and engineering public are of the opinion that the advantages resulting from the change would far outwelgh all the inconveniences that might result during the few years of transition from one scale to the other.

The strongest reason in favor of the substitution of the centigrade for the Fahrenheit scale is that it is a big step in the direction of a worldwide use of a single scale of temperature. It is probably safe to say that at least eight-tenths of the important scientific data in the world are published in the centigrade scale. Practically the only countries in which the Fahrenheit scale is used to any considerable extent are the United States and Great Britain, and in these countries the use of the

centigrade scale is constantly increasing. Thus in the regulations of the London gas referees the centigrade scale has been adopted for the testing of gas. The international weather map, published by our Weather Bureau, uses the centigrade scale, since the reports received from all other countries are transmitted in terms of that scale. Many of the committees of our technical and engineering societies, such as the American Society of Civil Engineers, the American Society for Testing Materials, the American Society for Municipal Improvements, the American Chemical Society, the American Electrochemical Society, the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, etc., have adopted the centigrade scale in the standard specifications and tests prepared for and adopted by these societies.

these societies.

In my opinion the strongest reason for the adoption of the centigrade scale is the one above given, viz. the international uniformity. Many other reasons, relatively less important, may be cited. The lower fixed point on the centigrade scale, the zero point, is a natural fixed point of great economic importance in the economy of nature. The freezing point of water, the large amounts of latent heat involved in the change of state of water to ice and vice versa, have an important bearing on climatic conditions, on the safety of crops, the preservation of foods, and every phase of our daily life. From every point of view, the centigrade scale, with freezing point of water 0° and the bolling point of water 100°, is a more rational scale than the Fahrenheit.

[Third letter.]

Our everyday affairs are closely related to the temperature at which water freezes. Its influence on climate, clothing, plant life, foods, transportation, and a hundred other phases of our daily life is so great that it is desirable that our temperatures be reckoned from that point. Thermometers are made and tested with reference to this natural fixed point. (Dr. S. W. Stration, Director Bureau of Standards, Washington, D. C.)

I thoroughly approve of your suggestion and should be glad to help in any way possible. (Carl C. Thomas, professor of mechanical engineering, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.)

You will have the support of the educated and scientific men of the country, and as soon as the oublic becomes accustomed to the change it will meet with popular approval. (J. B. T. Tupper, Chief of Law Division, Internal-Revenue Bureau, Treasury Department, Washington,

You will have the support of the educated and scientific men of the country, and as soon as the public becomes accustomed to the change it will meet with popular approval. (J. B. T. Tupper, Chief of Law Division, Internal-Revenue Bureau, Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.)

Of 11 members of our department of mathematics, practically all, Including myself, are of opinion that the change ought to be made. Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.)

Not only do I approve of the proposal, but I have submitted the matter to Mr. F. A. Kartak, in charge of the State standards here, and he states that "the adoption of the centigrade scale of temperature measurement would be of inestimable value to the engineer as well as to the scientist. The electrical-engineering profession has been fortunate in the adoption of this temperature scale by the national society in this are suit an untold amount of time and labor has been saved. In connection with electrical testing and standardizing work this temperature scale is used exclusively, not only in the standards laboratory of the University of Wisconsin, but in all similar laboratories throughout the country. There would seem to be no real obstacle in the way of the general adoption of this temperature scale, except perhaps the inertial of custon, which will undothedly prove to be a smaller obstacle than will be supplied to the supplied of the supp

While I am duly conscious of the criminal waste of time which has been imposed upon the people of this country by the Fahrenheit scale, still I am disposed to exercise clemency, and would suggest that the Fahrenheit thermometer be not abolished, but simply retired to the privacy of museums, there to remain as evidence of foolish and wasteful conservatism. (Robert H. Wolcott, head of department of zoology, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebr.)

I am strongly in favor of the use of the centigrade in all United States Government publications. Practically all other scientific publications have adopted this rule. (Charles Zeleny, professor of zoology, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.)

Protest on Proposed Methods of War Taxation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD OLNEY, 2D,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Friday, December 17, 1915.

Mr. OLNEY. Mr. Speaker, should the proposed suggestion of President Wilson in his message to Congress on December 7 become incorporated into a bill, I reserve the right to dissent from that portion of the bill which would favor a tax upon checks, gasoline, and horsepower of automobiles.

Emergency Taxes-A Condition, Not a Theory.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY. OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 17, 1915.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, in extending the emergencyrevenue measure for another year we are meeting a condition, not dealing with a theory. According to my lights, this measure offends against practically every canon of taxation. Yet it has one commanding merit, namely, the taxes in the main are so nearly direct in character that the people know when they are paying them. This is not true of the tariff taxes, which I regard as the worst of all, lending themselves most readily to abuses and encouraging in the largest degree governmental extrava-

However, there is one observation which I desire to make in connection with this emergency measure. It is this. There would have been no occasion for its original passage had the country cut its garment according to the cloth. When our revenues failed at the customhouses by reason of the cutting off of dutiable imports as a result of the war, it was the plain duty of the Government to reduce expenditures, especially where this was possible without injury to the public service. The obvious place for retrenchment was in the Army and Navy. There was no valid reason for the increased expenditures of the last year on our military and naval establishments. We were in danger from no quarter. This is not my word. It is the word of the President of the United States. A word more than once repeated. Yet we are spending more than \$250,000,000 this year for militaristic purposes. Had we reduced the expenditures on this account by half, which might have been done without injury to any interest of the country, this emergency-tax law would have been without any sort of warrant. We should have had no occasion to adopt it and to harrass the country with exactions which undoubtedly have aroused bitter resentments.

But there is ahead of us something much more serious than the reenactment of this emergency measure. We are face to face with the problem of meeting the cost of carrying out a program of military and naval expansion which would have seemed unthinkable a few years ago and which I now regard as utterly without warrant on any conceivable score. We are at peace with all the world. Neither our independence nor the integrity of our territory is threatened from any quarter. Our geographical location is wholly in our favor. Our relations with the family of nations in the main are friendly. There is not the slightest reason for suspecting any of them of ulterior designs upon us. Yet we are confronted by a demand that we shall enormously increase our defenses, that we shall plunge into a perfect orgy

of extravagance in naval expansion and Army aggrandizement. If the program which has been outlined shall be accepted by Congress, it will become necessary for us to increase the tax burdens on the people by two hundred millions a year for the next five or ten years. Will the people stand it? Can the Democratic party become responsible for laying these fresh

taxes and hope to retain power?

It should be borne in mind that this Congress has no mandate from the people on this subject. The issue of preparedness was not presented in the campaign of 1914. There has been no authoritative word from the country in favor of this staggering program. Its only support seems to have originated in certain remarkably active organizations with surprisingly intimate relations with the war traffickers and munitions makers of the country. As far as the great body of the people themselves are concerned I fail to find any evidence whatever that they are terrorized or that they are demanding of Congress what the metropolitan press is so vigorously and persistently urging.

As indicating in some measure the apparent temper of the people as a whole, I beg to call attention to certain resolutions and other formal statements and actions bearing on the subject, as set forth below. These could be almost indefinitely added to, but I am confining myself to expressions of a public nature made in my own State and my own district. I think that prac-tically every Member on this floor might supplement them with similar pronouncements from his own section and his own peo-

ple. The matter referred to follows

Extract from resolutions adopted by the Teachers' Institute of Somerset County, Pa., held November 25, 1915, at Somer-

Resolved, That the training of teachers should be such that they will be fitted to instill and develop the idea of the dignity of labor in the minds of the pupils, as well as the improvement of home life.

Resolved, That we are opposed to any movement that would encourage the establishment of military training as a part of the required course of study for our public schools.

Extract from resolutions adopted by the Teachers' Institute of Cambria County, Pa., held November 25, 1915, at Ebensburg. Pa. :

Resolved, That inasmuch as our public school instruction is based and founded directly on the thought of freedom, the Teachers' Institute puts the stamp of its disapproval on such movements as are of a war-like nature, such as the military drill and military instruction in the schools

The following resolution was adopted at a mass meeting of American citizens called for the purpose of forming a branch of the National Defense League at Johnstown, Pa., November 25, 1915:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that adequate National defense does not include an increase either in the Army or Navy at this time; and be it further

Resolved, That we commend Congressman Balley for his stand against such increase, with its accompanying increase in the tax burdens.

At a meeting of the legislative committee of the Pennsylvania State Grange, held at Harrisburg, Pa., October 20, 1915, the fol-lowing preamble and resolutions were adopted:

lowing preamble and resolutions were adopted:

Whereas the turbulent conditions in Europe has centered the attention of our people on the question of the National defenses, and Whereas we have been ably defended in the past without the extravagant tax burdens that accompany extensive naval and military equipments; we have depended upon the volunteer service of our people, and for a hundred years we have grown and prospered into a nation of industrial and commercial supremacy, and Whereas the war in Europe has demonstrated that preparedness does not prevent war, but that the excessive taxation due to preparedness has driven many good citizens to America to escape those burdens, and Whereas the Grange has stood for peace for many years and for the principle of arbitration, and Whereas we believe that many newspapers are not reflecting the sentiment of the people, but rather the self-interest desire of those who wish to profit by this war propagands; therefore, be it Resolved. That we are opposed to an increased standing Army or any material increase in the Navy.

Resolved, That we approve of the stand the President has taken to keep out of war, and

Resolved, That if a larger measure of military training is necessary, we recommend an educated citizen soldiery such as so ably defended this country before the establishment of the National Guard, as a trained volunteer Army has always been the surest defense of a country.

In this connection I beg to include extracts from the annual

In this connection I beg to include extracts from the annual report of Dr. N. C. Schaeffer, State superintendent of public instruction, to the governor of Pennsylvania, on the subject of militarism:

Whenever anything goes wrong in the state, the church, the home, or the community, people look to the school for a remedy. Although the National Government expends 67 per cent of its revenues upon the Army and the Navy, there is a growing feeling that all is not well with our means of national defense, and there are those who believe the defect should be remedied by the introduction of military drill into the public schools. Because life in the Army has so few attractions for the common soldier that the enlistments fall short of the full quota by many thousands, it is believed that the average pupil would acquire a taste for soldiering by the introduction of military instruction into our high schools and colleges. Because the girl in the modern home no

longer acquires the ability to make a good home, domestic science and the household arts must be taught in our public schools.

HIRING OF APPRENTICES

Because the hiring of apprentices has vanished from some trades and been limited to a selected few in others, the demand is made that the handicrafts shall be taught in highly-organized and well-equipped vocational schools. Because boys leave the farm in increasing numbers to seek their fortune in the city, agriculture must be taught to revive the interest in the farm and its operations. Whenever a new idea enters the skull of a reformer, the aid of the schools is straightway invoked, and the little woman is expected to accomplish reforms at which the editor and the philantropist have admitted fallure. In so far as the school ago is the proper period for teaching the trade or the vocation, it is justifiable to spend the taxpayers money for vocational education, but there are limitations in the age and sex of the pupils, in the amount which the taxpayer can furnish for such purposes, and in the demand which the public makes for preparation for the trades and vocations.

OBJECTION TO MILITARY DRILL.

Whether the occupation of the soldier should be made an integral part of vocational education is seriously questioned by experts in public education. Speaking of military drill as an exercise from a physiological point of view, Dr. Dudley A. Sargent, director of the Hemenway gymnasium of Harvard University, says: "My principal objection to military drill as a physical exercise is that it does not to any extent meet the physiological demands of the body." Hans Ballin, from whom this quotation is taken, goes on to say: "This judgment of the value of tactic exercises is not new by any means. The armies of Europe have long ago introduced gymnastics for the physical development of the young soldier. It was plainly demonstrated that military tactics did not straighten the young recruit or make him fit to endure the hardships of a soldier's life. Hence, officers were trained in the art of gymnastics, and the good results attained during the service were credited to the general work in gymnastics."

SWITZERLAND AS AN EXAMPLE.

SWITZERLAND AS AN EXAMPLE.

Switzerland's citizen soldiery is sometimes quoted as an example for us to imitate, but those who quote her example as an argument for military drill either forget or do not know that the Swiss youth begins drill with muskets only after he has reached the twentieth year, that is, at a time when the American youth has finished his high-school education. To introduce militarism into our public schools is a case of out-Heroding Herod by going beyond the practice of European countries.

War Revenue Tax Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. NELSON E. MATTHEWS. OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 17, 1915.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, Artemus Ward at one time described the mule as an "amoosin' cuss." When gentlemen upon the other side in this House undertake to show that the Sixty-third Congress expended less money than its predecessor, at the same time claiming that the present tariff law produces more revenue than did the Payne-Aldrich law during the same given time, one naturally thinks of Ward's description of the

If the claims made by our Democratic friends are true, why is it that week after week, month after month, since the present tariff law went into effect, the cash balance in the Treasury becomes less and less? On March 5, 1913, the Republicans turned over to the present administration a surplus of cash in the Treasury of \$82,219,619.97. To-day this surplus has vanished in spite of the fact that since then, under the so-called war-tax law, there has been collected and turned into the Treasury the sum of \$79,489,678.01 in cash up to November 1, 1915, as well as millions of dollars collected from the "income

When we know that imports during the past year have fallen off but very little, and that the average rate of duty collected on imports under the present tariff law is but 11.1 per cent, while under the Payne-Aldrich law the average rate of duty collected on imports was 18.4 per cent, we can readily understand why the Treasury is to-day practically bankrupt, there being a loss to the Treasury of more than \$100,000,000 of revenue from this source alone since the present tariff law went into effect.

Evidently the Underwood tariff law is an utter failure as a revenue producer for at least two reasons : First, the average rate of duty charged on imports is entirely too low, and the other is that at present over 70 per cent of all importations into this country come in free of duty. In fact, the Underwood tariff law has not fulfilled any of the claims made for it by its

sponsors, particularly so as to reducing the cost of living.

What the people of this country can not understand is why the present administration insists on raising the revenue reguired to carry on the Government from internal taxationwhich is in effect nothing more nor less than direct taxation-

rather than to raise revenue from a tariff on goods imported into the country, when it is a fact, disputed by none, that all the revenue necessary can be raised from this source, and all past experience proves that the country is never so prosperous as when such a protective tariff law is in force.

The query with the present administration seems to be, How can we raise money? The question as to reducing expenses and

saving money does not bother them.

The only conclusion that can be arrived at since reading the President's message and taking into account the action of the majority in the House in passing a resolution to extend the war tax for a year is that under no circumstances will they permit any revision of the present tariff laws in this Congress, except that they are forced to continue the tariff on sugar against their will and because their extravagance forces them

Surely the Republicans should be content to go before the country during the campaign of 1916 on that issue alone, if there were not any number of other issues, all of which can and

will be used with telling effect against the party in power.

The present condition of the Treasury makes this a most unfortunate time to propose a large increase in the Army and There are those who believe in preparedness in a sane, sensible way and who do not believe we should be carried off our feet by the conditions existing in the world to-day. A majority of our people believe that industrial preparedness is just as important as being prepared for war, and that it is un-wise and unpatriotic to build up one and tear down the other. And to many minds that is exactly what the President's plan will do. Industrial chaos is akin to war in its results.

Permit me to call attention to the beet-sugar industry of northwestern Ohio, which can not exist without protection. We have five beet-sugar plants built within recent dates, representing an investment of approximately \$5,000,000. During the season of 1914, two of these plants closed down on account of the tariff. By some means three continued operation, and the war in Europe came on in time to save them from destruction. In 14 counties, located in the northwest corner of the State, 2,712 farmers grew, harvested, and sold 219.205 tons of sugar beets to these three plants, for which they received the sum of \$1,084,915.60 in cash. During 1914, in addition, these three plants disbursed cash as follows:

Labor of all kinds	\$930, 481, 36
To railroads for hauling beets	102, 203, 43
For coal	62, 061, 80
For coke	6, 438, 00
For limestone	25, 925, 00
For miscellaneous supplies	119, 000.00

In addition to the above benefits to the farmers and community, experience shows that the farmers receive an additional benefit by an increased yield in other crops rotated with a beet crop, as follows:

and the second s	ent.
Wheat, increase in yieldBarley, increase in yield	49 52
Oats, increase in yield	48
Potatoes, increase in yield	46 25

Bankers, merchants, and, in fact, all classes of professional and business men are benefited more or less by the presence of these

great plants in their community.

They give employment to thousands of men, women, and children at wages from two to three times higher than wages paid for similar work in any of the beet-sugar countries of

Again, we must bear in mind that in this country the yield per ton per acre of sugar beets is, on the average, less than in either Germany or France, while the per cent of sugar extracted is greater there than here. For instance, take the year 1914; in the United States we produced 2,810 pounds of sugar per acre of beets, while in Germany they produced 4,559 pounds per acre and in France 3,223 pounds per acre.

The closing of these plants means a distinct loss to our com-munity, and our people one and all feel something should be done by Congress to prevent any such calamity, and they believe there is no better way than to place a tariff on sugar high

enough to be ample protection against all outsiders,

Ours is an agricultural district. Everything our farmers raise under the present tariff law is on the free list. What they use, such as grain sacks, has a duty placed upon it, while exactly the opposite of this prevails throughout the Southern

States. For instance, cotton ties come in free of duty.

During the past 50 years under a protective tariff we have built up in this country a home market for the products of our farms unequaled anywhere in the world. It is not good busi-

ness sense to now throw down the bars and invite the peoples of all nations to come and partake without price. They should pay some sort of premium for the privilege of doing business in our markets.

The agricultural interests in this country know there is no market like a market at their door and they do not propose to stand idly by and see it turned over to strangers, and unless something is done to relieve the present situation this administration will hear from the people at the next election in no uncer-

The present artificial stimulation given to many lines of business and the extraordinary demand for foodstuffs, both caused by the unparalleled war in Europe, can not continue after the war closes. Secretary Redfield recognizes the danger when he proposes what he calls an "antidumping law," which is impracticable and will not produce the results he claims for it, i. e., keep cheaply made foreign goods out of American markets, and will under no conceivable circumstances produce any revenue for the use of the Government. It will, however, be an additional burden of expense. It is only another way to try to avoid a revision of the Underwood tariff law, and, if possible, save us from the disastrous results of that law.

War-Revenue Tax Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES H. MAYS, OF UTAH,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 17, 1915.

Mr. MAYS. Mr. Speaker, while intending to vote for the joint resolution now before the House, I desire to say in explanation that the action will be taken, not because I favor the character of the legislation involved in the bill which the resolution undertakes to continue for one year but rather because the Treasury of our Government requires the funds to carry forward the tasks under way and to faithfully meet its obliga-tions. In this or any other similar emergency, regardless of party affiliations, I would place the interests of our country above all other considerations

The tax imposed by this bill is justly unpopular, not only because of the burden measured in dollars, but also because of the general impediments and annoyances to business.

Not since the Revolutionary days has a stamp tax met with any high degree of favor from the American people. Doubtless all arge portion of the citizens would prefer to pay a dollar tax on a suit of clothes without knowing it than to pay 10 cents upon a promissory note of \$500. This may be true even though the taxpayer is convinced that 80 per cent of what he pays never reaches the National Treasury, but, as stated by the gentleman from North Carolina, is employed to still further enrich certain favored enterprises.

I vote for this resolution, therefore, in the hope that very soon a comprehensive measure may be framed that will provide the revenues required by means less obnoxious to our people.

Though we have heard the emergency bill denounced as a "war tax in time of peace," as an "emergency tax when no emergency exists," still I believe that the evidence is convincing that a war does exist and has existed since August, 1914, and that such war has materially affected the imports into this country and the revenues derived from taxes thereon. posed from the beginning to this manner and form of taxation, I remember that just such a law was passed by a Republican Congress when the world trade was not nearly so much disturbed and when the war then existing could only by poetical license be called a war at all, especially in comparison with the general catastrophe which envelops the world and compels all neutral countries to take some similar action to that which this measure provides.

Several distinguished gentlemen tell us in this debate that this is an emergency tax when no emergency exists, and yet in the same breath say its passage is necessary to save the National Treasury from bankruptcy. I would call such an impending disaster an emergency. Though the gentlemen indulge in tactics unworthy of them in sounding exaggerated alarms, yet it appears the country will need the funds this bill provides. A study of the subject convinces me as a nonpartisan that the revenue bill which the present law superseded would have produced a somewhat similar deficit, if not a greater one, during a like period of time and under similar circumstances. It is evident to me that the present revenue system, including the income tax, has produced as much revenue as would have been produced by the Payne-Aldrich bill with its corporation tax during the same period beset by the same tragic circumstances.

Mr. Speaker, I believe in the income-tax feature of the present law because it places the burdens of Government upon the backs of those most able to bear them. It is better to tax the net income of those who live in luxury than to tax the empty home,

the food, or clothing of the poor.

would be prepared, therefore, to vote for such adjustment of the income tax or the inheritance tax of the general law as would ultimately provide the revenue produced by this bill which we are to-day extending, thus avoiding its long continu-In the meantime, however, no other source of relief for our National Treasury appears available; and pending the construction of an equitable and efficient measure by the Ways and Means Committee of the Congress, I would deem it my duty to vote for whatever relief may be necessary to preserve the integrity and credit of our Government.

War-Revenue Tax Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 17, 1915.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I favor and shall vote for the extension of the provisions of the emergency revenue act for the period of one year as the resolution now under con-

sideration provides.

The reasons for its speedy enactment are so obvious to every Member of this House not blinded by partisan prejudice that I will not discuss it further. It is opposed by the Republicans because it provides for the raising of revenue by direct taxation, and every dollar raised by it will go into the Treasury of the United States for the benefit of all the people. But if it is raised by a Republican protective tariff a bounty of four dollars out of every five collected is pocketed by the manufacturing interests of this country. The cohesive power of public plunder through a protective tariff is all that now holds the Republican Party together, and its injustice was the reason for its repudla-tion by the voters of this Nation. The Republican Party favors the manufacturers; the Democratic Party favors the consumers. The Republicans favor the classes; the Democrats favor the

The preparedness for war propaganda, like the tariff, is being urged for revenue only, and that revenue is to be pocketed by the propagandists, who in most instances are the manufacturers the propagandists, who in most instances are the manufacturers of war materials, and, in my judgment, for their own profit are now engaged in trying to manufacture in this country a strong sentiment in favor of the so-called preparedness for war. I am compelled by my oath of office to oppose this expensive, unnecessary, unjustifiable, and hysterical preparedness program. I regret that this Democratic administration is seemingly half converted to this pernicious folly.

I am proud, however, that our able Democratic House leader,

Mr. KITCHIN, Congressmen TAVENNER, MONDELL, and others have already made able and convincing speeches in this Congress against this preparedness policy. We now find Democratic and Republican Congressmen alike fighting side by side against this

dangerous propaganda.

By no means is the popular opinion in favor of the President's By no means is the popular opinion in favor of the President's administrative program as exploited by the newspapers. The farmers' organizations and many of the fraternal organizations have taken active stands against it, claiming that a large Army would place a burden upon the people that is entirely uncalled for; that after the present European holocaust is over these warring countries will be so poverty stricken that it will be many years before they will be able to finance any war of conquest against as wealthy a Nation as the United States will be. Of all the people interviewed by me not one cared to see a policy all the people interviewed by me not one cared to see a policy of militarism fastened upon this country.

This view is expressed in scores of private letters recently received by me. A few of these letters I will here insert in the

RECORD as examples of the feelings and desires of the great mass of our splendid citizenship on this preparedness question:

ELECTRA, TEX., November 27, 1915.

Mr. John H. Stephens, M. C.,

Vernon, Tex.

Dear Sir: We, the undersigned citizens, petition you and sincerely hope that you will use your influence to kill the proposed increase in the Army and Navy, which is backed by private interests.

Yours, very truly,

ELMER JACKSON (And many others).

EX-SENATOR BAILEY ON PREPAREDNESS.

EX-SENATOR BAILEY ON PREPAREDNESS.

In a recent letter to a friend, in reply to one asking his views on preparedness, former Senator Joseph W. Bailey wrote:

"I am utterly opposed to the so-called 'preparedness' which the President is now so carnestly advocating. If I thought that this country was in any immediate danger of coming to blows with any other country, I would insist upon making a suitable preparation for the conflict; but I am utterly unable to understand how any intelligent person can think that there is even a remote possibility of our country engaging in a war at this time, or for many years to come. The only nations in the world with which a war would be anything like a serious matter to us are now involved in a struggle among themselves, from which they will not recover in 50 years. With millions of their best men killed in battle, with other millions crippled, and other millions diseased as the result of exposure, and with national debts which will aggregate at least \$40,000.000.000, neither England or France, nor Germany, nor Russia, will be apt to give any country, and, least of all, our country, any just cause of quarrel during the present century. All of this persuades me that there was never an hour in our history when there was less need of military preparation than there is to-day; and if we spend an additional sum of \$200,000,000 a year on our Army and Navy—and before we have gone very far we will be spending much more than that—we will have spent \$10,000,000,000 in the next 50 years in the face of a practical certainty that we will have no war; and therefore that vast sum, provided by the capital and labor of this country, will have simply been wasted.

"I understand, of course, that there are men in this country who believe in a strong Government, and who think that a great Army and labor of this country, will have simply been wasted.

"I understand, of course, that there are men in this country who believe in a strong Government, and who think that a great havy will make our country

WESTMORELAND FARMS FRUIT GROWERS' ASSOCIATION, Bellaire, Tex., December 7, 1915.

Hon. J. H. STEPHENS, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a recent called meeting of this association of voters of Harris County I was instructed to advise you that after a long and full debate on the subject of preparedness it is our unanimous opinion that Congress is not warranted in making such enormous appropriations, which in reality will enrich a few special-privilege war jingoes and will further enlarge our taxes, which are now near the limit of

and will further enlarge our taxes, which are now near the limit of our endurance.

We further believe that such a program put through would only be an incentive to all Europe to combine against us.

We therefore request that you use your high office in our interests by working and voting against all propositions looking to a preparedness appropriation.

Yours, very truly,

W. J. Donaldson.

DALLAS SINGLE TAX LEAGUE, Dallas, Tex., November 28, 1915.

Hon. J. H. Stephens. M. C.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Are you for preparedness? Preparedness for whom? How do you propose to raise the additional revenue? Please advise.

Very sincerely,

G. B. FOSTER.

ELECTRA, TEX., November 27, 1915.

Mr. John H. Stephens, M. C.

Mr. John H. Stephens, M. C.

Dear Sir: As I think it is my duty to myself and country and humanity at large to do what I can to prevent war and help to bring about world peace, I ask you in the name of a single voter to oppose with all your power the proposed increase in the Army and Navy. And I sincerely believe, Mr. Stephens, that that is the sentiment of a great majority of the citizens of this land. This nation is safer from invasion now than in many years.

Sincerely trusting and hoping that you will do what you can to kill this measure, which is almost entirely supported by jingoes and private interests, I am,
Yours, most truly,

D. D. West.

GILES, TEX.

Hon, JOHN H. STEPHENS.

Dear Sir: Realizing that the preparedness bill is unnecessary and is a scheme by which the manufacturers of war supplies intend to make millions of dollars of profits and that it will cause us to be involved in a great war some time in the future, I write to you and plead with you in the name of humanity and peace to use your influence against said bill.

Yours, for peace and humanity,

T. E. Jourson.

T. E. JOHNSON.

WICHITA FALLS, TEX., November 25, 1915.

Hon. J. H. STEPHENS, Washington, D. C.

Hon. J. H. Stephens,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Congress is soon to meet, and you will be called upon to vote on one of the most vital questions that has ever come before that body, viz, the question of national defense. While I understand that you are already opposed to the measure, allow me also to voice my protest against further increasing the Army and Navy as is proposed by the administration. I do not believe this is a true means of defense. Great armies and navies did not keep Europe out of war nor lessen the carnage when war came, and how could the same means have a different effect here? Why should we fear European nations anyway? What sensible, able-bodied man would fear a cripple that is 3,000 miles away? By the time this war is over Europe will be little more than a cripple, burdened with debt, and will be unable to wage another aggressive war for a generation so why should we arm against her? We are a peaceful nation. Not 1 person in 10 is in favor of this movement for a greater national defense. The whole movement, it have destroyed their present markets, and, besides, they want a larger Navy to help force the collection of their war loans and to protect their commercial interests. The newspaper stories, to the effect that the people are in favor of the defense movement, are largely fakes put out by the same interests to mislead the public and enable them to accomplish their ends. If we must defend our coasts, let it be with mines and submarines, as Germany defends her coast. This would be a real defense and would not be so costly. We do not need a larger Army and Navy, and I trust that you will use your vote and influence to defeat the measure.

Respectfully, yours, the measure, Respectfully, yours,

JOHN H. STOKE.

PLAINVIEW, TEX., December 9, 1915.

Hon. John H. Stephens, Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir I am pleased to note that you are opposed to our Government entering into an expensive and needless armament program. It is neither necessary nor in good taste at such a time as this for our Government to show its teeth and snarl just because the dogs of Europe are in a free-for-all.

We can serve humanity better by the example of a great nation unarmed and praceably inclined. I have talked with many people and have yet to find a man who wants to drill and get ready for war when none is in sight. We are patriotic all right, in spite of the fact that our Navy is not well manned in times of peace and in spite of the fact that our Army is short of recruits. There must be an imminent reason if Americans will leave their homes and drill for battle.

You have noticed that Canadian troops proved the best troops in Europe within three months after they were enlisted. Americans can always best the trained soldiers of Europe on even terms. If Europe should come here to fight we could easily stop the invasion, as we would be here first. If we prepare for war there is danger of getting into it. If we do not prepare for war other nations will not have to prepare against us.

into it. If we do not prepare for war other nations will not have to prepare against us.

With all the vast resources in men and money and provisions no nation would dare attempt to interfere with us. Our position, so far from the enemy, also makes us well nigh impregnable.

I trust that the enemies of the l'resident's preparedness program will submit to no compromise. The elements that make for war are making their last stand in the American Congress. Show them no constructions.

quarter.

There is a strong possibility that the events of the present war will make our preparedness program look ridiculous in a few months' time.

Let's not try to out-German Germany.

Yours, truly,

E. VAN DEVENTER.

BUFFALO, N. Y., December 27, 1915.

Hon. John H. Stephens, Washington, D. C.

HONORED SIR: Because I and so many young people in this city feel strongly against increasing the armaments of this country, I want to express my strong appreciation of your intention to vote against the bill for greater armaments to be presented this Congress.

May your influence help defeat the bill.

Sincerely, yours,

FLORENCE LITTLEFIELD.

GAIL, TEX., December 3, 1915.

Hon. John H. Stephens, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have just read the Dallas News of yesterday and see your views in regard to this big Army and Navy bugaboo, and I want to assure you that you are certainly on the right side. I consider it the grandest fake that ever was pulled on the American public, and this whole country is of the same opinion, and I sincerely hope and trust that there will be enough of the level heads to keep clear of any such crazy laws as some are willing to put on a peaceable and civilized country.

such crazy laws as some are willing to put on a peaceable and civilized country.

Now, Mr. Stephens, please rest assured that the people of the country are with you and against any militarism to the extent that is being proposed.

Hoping that this will not be amiss and that it will be taken in the spirit intended.

If you wish to know more of me, ask my friend Mr. W. R. Smith, from my district, and also tell him to help you out on keeping this country from the worst plague of its entire existence.

With best wishes, and hoping that you may be successful in your fight.

D. DORWAR, Yours, sincerely,

Mr. Speaker, I desire here to insert in the Record several protests from farmers' unions and other organizations of citizens opposing this war-preparedness propaganda. One of these is from my home town (Vernon, Tex.). I personally know that the patriotism of these protestants is undoubted. Their reasoning is logical and convincing; their motives in making these protests are patriotic and not mercenary; and this can not be truthfully said of the Navy League and other organizations

who are promoting this preparedness scheme. This is clearly shown by the following letter, written by Congressman CLYDE H. TAVENNER to Robert M. Thompson, the president of that league.

The letter is as follows:

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., December 2, 1915.

Col. Robert M. Thompson, President Navy League, Washington, D. C.

My Dean Colonel: I assume from your letter of the 20th ultimo and from your various utterances as president of the Navy League that the impression you desire to create in the minds of the American people is that none of the men who founded or who have been or who are now directors of or contributors to the Navy League have ever been or are now in any manner interested in any concern which would profit financially from the \$500,000,000 bond issue for battleships, etc., which you are advecating. are advocating

are advocating.

I understand your position to be that none of the money which the Navy League has used to banquet Members of Congress and Secretaries of the Navy or to carry on the propaganda for the vastly increased naval appropriations which you advocate has come from any gentlemen who stand to profit therefrom. I contend that the opposite is true.

In your letter you request that I give you some specific information. I call your attention to the fact that Elbert H. Gary, who is described in the Directory of Directors for 1914 as "Chairman of the board of directors and chairman of the finance committee of the United States Steel Corporation," contributed \$1,000 on June 10, 1915, and that on the same date representatives of the J. P. Morgan estate subscribed \$2,000.

steel Corporation, "contributed \$1,000 on June 10, 1915, and that on the same date representatives of the J. P. Morgan, who is a director of the United States Steel Corporation, was formerly treasurer of the Navy League and is now a director of and a contributor to the Navy League, and that J. P. Morgan's brother-in-law, Herbert L. Satterlee, was one of the incorporators of the league and is at the present time the general counsel of the league. I also note that Edward T. Stotesbury, a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., and a director of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, Cambria Steel Co., Phoenix Iron Co., Riverside Metal Co., Temple Iron Co., Wm. Cramp & Sons Ship & Engine Building Co, and 54 other corporations, banks, and trust companies, is one of the honorary vice presidents of the Navy League.

I also call your attention to the fact that George F. Baker, fr., No. 2 Wall Street, New York, son of a director of United States Steel, contributed \$1.000 to the Navy League June 10, 1915.

I call your attention to the fact that Robert Bacon, formerly a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., and now first director of United States Steel, is a director of the Navy League.

I call your attention to the fact that Henry C. Frick, a director of United States Steel and 10 other corporations, banks, and trust companies, is one of the vice presidents of the Navy League.

United States Steel and 10 other corporations, banks, and trust companies, is one of the Navy contracts aggregating \$32,954,377 for armor plate alone, and if the Navy League's \$500,000,000 bond issue goes through Congress this firm will profit still further.

I call your attention to the fact that Allan A. Ryan, a director of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, contributed \$100 to the Navy League on June 10, 1915, and to the fact that Allan A. Ryan, a director of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and the American Locomotive Co., both of which concerns have profited hugely from European war orders, is one of the vice presidents of the Navy League. The Bet

partment armor contracts amounting to \$42,321,237, and if the Navy League's program goes through Bethlehem stands to receive increased orders.

From the foregoing it would appear that two of the three concerns composing the armor ring in this country have representation either among the contributors to the Navy League or among the officers or directors of the Navy League.

The Government has purchased from these two concerns, Bethlehem and Carnegie, \$75,275,614 worth of armor plate, paying an average price of approximately \$440 a ton therefor.

If this armor plate had been manufactured in a Government armorplate factory, which the Navy League has cold-shouldered, at least \$25,000,000 could have been saved to the American taxpayers. There have been 10 estimates by Government officials as to the cost of armor in a Government plant, and the average of these estimates is \$238 a ton. By contrasting \$440, the price we have paid the private manufacturers, with \$238, the cost at which we might have manufactured this armor in a Government plant, it is possible to obtain an inkling as to the reason we do not now have more preparedness to show for the colossal appropriations made for that purpose.

I note there are 31 directors of the Navy League. The personal fortunes of these 31 men, by the most conservative estimate, aggregate \$100,000,000, or \$3,000,000 to each director. I contend that any board of directors whose individual fortunes average \$3,000,000 can hardly be considered as representative of the views, feelings, and heartbeats of the great mass of the American people.

On November 19 I publicly stated that linasmuch as the Navy League insisted that its management and backers are entirely free from any atmosphere of war-trafficking influences, I would, as soon as Congress convened, introduce a resolution providing for an investigation of the league, psetifically requiring J. P. Morgan and other directors of the league, psetifically requiring J. P. Morgan and other directors of the league, psetifically requiring J

I now desire in all good faith to take the responsibility of making a suggestion to the Navy League. I suggest that you call a meeting of the board of directors and go on record in favor of the Government manufacture of battleships, submarines, armament; munitions, etc., in order that the people may obtain the preparedness which you are advocating at cost. I recommend that you either do this or fold your tent and quietly take your departure from the National Capital.

Very respectfully,

Clypf H. Tayenner CLYDE H. TAVENNER.

Mr. Speaker, I now present for printing in the Record a few more of the protests I have before mentioned. They are as follows, viz.:

Resolutions against war preparations.

[Adopted by Farmers' Union, Local No. 1331, of the Texas Division, at a meeting held on the 7th day of December, 1915.]

a meeting held on the 7th day of December, 1915.]

Whereas the President of the United States has announced that the coming session of Congress will be asked to make greatly increased appropriations for the Army, the Navy, and the National Guards, and for other purposes, included in a program to prepare this Republic for war; and

Whereas more than 60 per cent of all Federal revenues are now used for war expenses, a burden that is already too heavy to be borne by producers without protest; and

Whereas the National Farmers' Union in convention at Lincoln, Nebr., representing the organized farmers of 31 States, adopted the following resolutions:

lowing resolutions:

"Resolved, That we demand economy in all appropriations made by Congress and that we are especially opposed to any great increase in expenditures for the Army and Navy, but approve a reasonable outlay for coast defense by submarines or other weapons proved by recent experience to be effective for that purpose; and be it further

"Resolved, That we are unalterably opposed to a large standing Army and to any change in our military system tending to compulsory military service."

Therefore we, the members of Farmers' Union, Local No. 1331, of the Texas Division, located at Vernon, Tex., in regular meeting declare and order:

Therefore we, the members of Farmers Union, Local No. 1331, of the Texas Division, located at Vernon, Tex., in regular meeting declare and order:

First. That we are opposed to the proposed plan for making appropriations amounting within the next five years to more than \$2,000,000,000 for the Army and Navy and other war preparations.

Second. That we reaffirm and indorse the resolutions of National Farmers' Union against huge appropriations for war preparedness and particularly against a great standing army and a change in our military system that we believe, if adopted, would ultimately result in universal compulsory military service.

Third. We demand that our Senators and Congressmen vote against the proposed program for military preparedness and use all their influence to prevent any such measure from being enacted into law.

Fourth. We indorse the position of our official organ, the National Field, in opposing unnecessary appropriations for preparedness and Army and Navy increase.

Fifth. That copies of these resolutions bearing the signature of the president of this local and all other members present, and attested by the secretary, be sent to each of the Senators from Texas, to our Representative in Congress from the thirteenth district, the Hon. John H. Stephens, and to the local papers of this county for publication.

JOHN H. STEPHENS, and to the local papers of this county for publication.

Sixth. We demand that the Congress redeem all pledges made to the farmers and proceed at once to enact a rural-credits law, a law against gambling in produce options on boards of trade, a law providing for national standards for grain grading and inspection, and a law creating a national bureau of markets, all of which were indorsed by the National Convention of the Farmers' Union at Lincoln on September 8, 1915.

W. M. BOWMAN

W. M. BOWMAN.

President Farmers' Union, Local No. 1331.
M. D. OWENS, Sceretary.

To our Senators and Members of the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States:

Congress of the United States:

We, the membership of the various district unions of the Farmers' Education and Cooperative Union of Texas, in convention assembled at Marshail, Tex., this the 13th day of December, 1915, desire to petition you, our Representatives, to vote against and use, in the name of humanity, every honorable means at your disposal to defeat the so-called 'preparedness program" that has been submitted to the body of which you are Members.

The Farmers' Union is a nonpartisan organization, and is forbidden by its constitution from engaging in partisan polities, and this rule has been religiously adhered to by the organization since the date of its birth in 1902.

The Farmers' Union is a nonpartisan organization, and is forbidden by its constitution from engaging in partisan politics, and this rule has been religiously adhered to by the organization since the date of its birth in 1902.

In his message to Congress the President of the United States declared that the "preparedness program" is not a partisan issue, but one in which all parties should join, irrespective of party lines or party affiliations; therefore we petition you, not as Democrats or Republicans or members of any other political faith, but as citizens and taxpaying farmers of the United States.

We are against "preparedness" for the reason that it leads not to peace but to war. The pathway of "preparedness" is strewn with murder, arson, suicide, wrecked homes, and financial ruin, while the pathway of peace is strewn with love, benevolence, prosperity, and happy homes. This Nation can never hope to be as well prepared as the great world powers now engaged in the titantic struggle of all the ages, and yet their "preparedness" lead to war and not to peace, the stated object of their preparation.

We can not understand how sensible men can urge "preparedness" as a prevention of war, when all the facts of history contradict them. "Preparedness" means that we are prepared to fight, and when a man is prepared to fight he is not looking for peace, nelther is a nation.

We are opposed to the "preparedness program" for the reason that it means the further enrichment of the few at the expense of the many. The tax burdens must be increased on the farmers and other producers of wealth if the "preparedness program" goes through Congress, and this increased burden will not add one dollar of wealth of the money derived therefrom will be absorbed by the Shylocks, who have become bold and arrogant as a result of the never-ending streams of gold that is flowing into their coffers from unfortunate, prepared Europe. We believe that the propaganda for "preparedness" is being carried out and financed by those who will be the di

The above communication was indorsed by the various district unions of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of Texas, and the secretary was instructed to send a copy to the Senators and Representatives of Texas.

I. E. CULVER,
Vice President and Acting President
Northeast Texas District Farmers' Union.
LOUIS GARMS,
President Pecan Valley District
Farmers' Union, Bangs, Tex.
N. H. DORSEX,
President East Texas Central District Union.
J. C. CHAPMAN,
Secretary District Unions.

GILES, TEX., December 5, 1915.

Hon. John H. Stephens, Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: We, the undersigned citizens of the thirteenth congressional district of the State of Texas, realizing the bill known as the "preparedness bill," which will be introduced in Congress at its next session, is a scheme by which the manufacturers of war supplies and money lenders contemplate to make millions of dollars of profits; and, furthermore, realizing that it is useless and will sometime in the future engage us in a terrible war, not only ask of you, as citizens of the United States, but demand of you, in the name of humanity and mercy, that you use your influence and power against said bill.

Yours, for peace,

T. E. Jourson

T. E. Johnson (And many others).

BOWIE, TEX., December 1, 1915.

Hon. John H. Stephens, Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: In glancing over the Dallas News of November 30 I read and was favorably impressed with an "open letter" from the Presbyterian pastors of Dallas to our honored Chief Executive, Woodrow Wilson, on the subject of preparedness. I feel that you, as our past, present, and future Representative, would enjoy reading the letter, and, lest you may have overlooked it, am taking the liberty of inclosing the clipping for your perusal.

If I understand the feeling of the people of this section—and I feel that I do—I have no hesitancy in saying that the consensus of opinion here tracks closely the thought set forth by the Dallas pastors.

With sincere regards, I am,
Yours, very truly,
Pastors Address Open Letter to President—New Plan For Na-

PASTORS ADDRESS OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT—NEW PLAN FOR NATIONAL PREPAREDNESS FOR WAR IS SUBJECT—EPISTLE, IN RATHER IRONICAL TERMS, SUPPORTS ADMINISTRATION DOCTRINE FOR PRESERV-ING PEACE.

At the regular meeting of the Dallas Presbyterian Pastors' Association yesterday morning official action was taken favoring the new plan for national preparedness for war—if that plan is worked out along the lines suggested by the pastors—in an open letter addressed to President Woodrow Wilson. The method of preparing for war, particularly with reference to those who shall bear the brunt of the service and pay most toward the financial support of the new move, is the question of greatest importance, is the intination of the letter, which rather ironically supports the doctrine of preparedness.

The letter states that "the pastors of the Presbyterian churches of Dallas have loyally and affectionately followed your leadership during the years of your administration. The difficulties also which have gathered about you, and which have required almost superhuman wisdom, and which you have so wisely met, have linked us to you by the bonds of a still deeper sympathy."

It states that the ministers have watched with growing anxiety the rising tide of interest in preparation for war, and that they have felt alarmed at many of the proposals suggested for the consideration of the President and Congress, but that they feel themselves free to address the President on the subject of peace, still believing that he is the most valuable friend of peace among the rulers of the world.

APPEALS FOR STAND.

the most valuable friend of peace among the rulers of the world.

APPEALS FOR STAND.

The letter appeals to the President "that you stand like a rock against the clamorous demands of the militarists of the Nation and against entrance upon a career that will in any measure satisfy those who profit by the trade of war."

It suggests that the President suggest that the Government itself manufacture its own war munitions, thus testing the patriotism of those who have cried out for war, and that no private concern manufacturing war material hereafter shall be permitted to make more profits than the interest rate of a law-abiding national bank.

The letter suggests "that you insist that this Nation in the enlargement of Army and Navy shall stand for enforced military service. Volunteer service has falled to fill the ranks of our Army and Navy with the men provided for by previous legislation." In times of peace men have been too much attached to civil pursuits, it sets forth, to serve for the meager wages offered, and suggests that in the enforced service it be the policy of the Government to begin with those of the wealthier classes, since it is they who get more protection, and they should therefore give more protection. "The wealthier centers which are so imperiled to-day will be first struck at by our near-at-hand portentious enemy, and should pay the greatest price in treasure and time and blood for deliverance."

It is further suggested, because of the constant improvements in military equipment, necessitating frequent changes, that it be the policy of the Government to pay as it goes in building up a great Navy and providing equipment for a great Army, and that this payment be made largely by a tax on incomes, graduated according to the size of the income, and a tax on the luxuries of life. It sets forth that this is just, since it is the well-to-do class that will get more immunity from the enemy. It is contended that full payment should be made now, since "future generations should not be required to pay for

PURPOSE OF LETTER.

The purpose of the letter and the spirit it intends to convey appear in the concluding paragraph, which suggests:

"As everybody wants peace, even Europe, that you, as the head of the Nation, assure the nations of the world, which are slowly bleeding to death on the battle fields of Europe after all their years of preparation, that our little spurt at preparedness is only in the interest of peace; that we apologize to Christianity, which we have come to

doubt; to our brothers in all the nations, whom we have come to suspect and fear; and to God, whom we have taught our children for our national lifetime, by both our coins and our churches, to trust."

'The letter is signed by the Revs. J. Frank Smith, J. H. Burma, Whitiam Fred Galbraith, Glen L. Sneed, William M. Anderson, James L. Bowling, A. B. Carrero, George S. Fulcher, and Gary L. Smith.

The following recent editorials from some of the leading papers of Texas show clearly the trend of public opinion in that State. They are as follows:

[From the Dallas Democrat.]

When the present agitation for preparedness began, the preparationists disclaimed favoring militarism. "Adequate defense," they said, was
ail they wanted. To-day, the mask has been dropped. Universal compulsory military service is their demand. Nothing more extreme in
militarism is possible. The terms "preparationist" and "militarist"
have become synonymous. Both describe an advocate of practically
the same military system for United States as prevails in Germany,
France, Italy, or Russia.

[From the Longview Times-Clarion.]

With England spending a million dollars an hour for several years, and France, Germany, and Russia going into bankruptcy at even a more rapid gait, to say nothing of the millions of men being killed, it is downright foolish to think about any of those nations being dangerous enemies for the next 50 years at least.

[From the Albany News.]

Senator J. C. McNealus and other brave journalists are telling their readers that the big financiers and others who are so valiantly championing the cause of preparedness have a special reason. They are interested in factories that will profit by the large expenditures for war supplies. He is, no doubt, much in the right. There is much of selfishness as well as patriotism back of the movement for preparedness. We need some preparation for defense, but not the billions necessary to make us a nation prepared for conquest.

Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago I was interviewed in this city by a reporter of a local Texas paper on this preparedness ques tion. The following report was made by him to his paper:

OFFOSES DEFENSE MEASURE—CONGRESSMAN JOHN H. STEPHENS SAYS HE IS OPPOSED TO PRESIDENT'S PREPAREDNESS PROGRAM.

WASHINGTON, December 1.

Washington, December 1.

The plan of Representative C. H. Tavenner, of Illinois, for a comgressional investigation to ascertain the source of the sentiment for the preparedness program is warmly indorsed by Representative John H. Stephens, of the Texas delegation.

"I am willing to join Mr. Tavenner for the investigation," said Mr. Stephens. "It would be interesting to ascertain just how much of the inspiration has come from makers of war munitions and armor plate. Certainly, if my section of the country reflects true conditions, it does not come from the people."

Mr. Stephens is against any enlargement of the Army or Navy unless it be in the number of submarines, and then, he says, he would have to be shown they are necessary.

The Dallas News, one of our leading Texas papers in com-

The Dallas News, one of our leading Texas papers, in commenting on this interview, says:

If George Washington were alive to-day and still an advocate of preparedness, probably Congressman Stephens, of Texas, would demand to trace George's opinions to their "source."

Mr. Speaker, in reply to this statement I will say that George Washington in his last message to his countrymen advised them to beware of foreign alliances and entanglements.

The big stick-or the T. R. brand of preparedness for warpolicy of the present administration is directly opposed to President Washington's policy. If preparedness means anything it will eventually lead us into foreign complications and possibly war. And again, is not the News aware that this country during Washington's administration was a very weak country and had the British colonies of Canada on the north, the Spaniards on the south, the French on the west, and many hostile Indian nations to contend with? Did we not then need an Army and Navy vastly more than President Wilson does now? The danger to this country was then apparent and pressing, and it was, in fact, attacked soon after that—in 1812—by Great Britain, and France also was then threatening us with war. And about this time many Indian wars were waged against the inhabitants of our frontiers. As for myself, I have no trouble in seeing many reasons for Washington's use for an Army and Navy.

On the other hand, President Wilson, in his last message to Congress, says that we are now at peace with all the world; and, if so, why do we need a great Navy and Army? I believe that I have fully answered the demand of the News and given "George's" reasons for his preparedness program. Now, will the News as frankly give any safe or sane reason for its support of this hysterical preparedness propaganda at this time? How would the News raise the money to finance this great naval and military program? What nation is the News preparing to fight? What nation proposes to go to war with us? When will this mythical war begin? The German Kaiser is called the war lord of Europe; is any good and true American citizen willing for our country to follow in Germany's footsteps and create war lords? Mr. Ellis O. Jones, in his publication called Life, publishes a new psalm of war. In paraphrasing the Bible

psalm it truly depicts the horrors of war and war lords. is as follows:

PSALM OF WAR.

[Ellis O. Jónes, in Life.]

The war lord is my shepherd; I shall always be in want. He maketh me to lie down in mean trenches; he leadeth me into chill

He haraseth me to be down in mean treatnes; he leadeth me into chili waters.

He haraseth my soul; he leadeth me into hellish combat for his fame's sake.

Yea, though I come unscathed from the shadow of death, I shall be no better off, for thou art still with me; thy tyranny and thy taxes discomfort me.

Then are represent dengar for we in the presence of so called enomies:

discomfort me.

Thou preparest danger for me in the presence of so-called enemies; thou makest me useless toil; my cup runneth empty.

Surely evil and hatred will follow me all the days of my life and I shall dwell in the army of the war lord forever.

Mr. Speaker, if further answer to the News item is required, I will let Senator McNealus, a member of the Texas Legislature and the publisher of an excellent Democratic paper in Dallas, answer the News statement. The editorial is as follows:

[From the Dallas Democrat, Dec. -, 1915.]

answer the News statement. The editorial is as follows:

[From the Dallas Democrat, Dec. —, 1915.]

Gov. Ferguson is likely to regret these intemperate utterances against William J. Bryan before another twelvemonth of time shall pass. When the voters of Texas shall have fully and seriously considered this preparedness question, Gov. Ferguson will discover that William J. Bryan will not be standing alone in opposition to the unjustifiable Army and Navy increase policy of President Wilson.

Are such Texas Democrats as Congressman Hardy, Dr. S. P. Brooks, John M. Duncan, J. W. Bailey, and scores of others who could be named, who share the same views that Mr. Bryan does on this preparedness policy of the President, also guilty of treason?

It is almost laughable to see Gov. Ferguson praising his own brand of patriotism and statesmanship as superior to that of W. J. Bryan, There was once a toad who tried to swell himself into the size of an ox. And that toad's name was not William J. Bryan, either. Gov. Ferguson should beware the toad ego.

President Wilson, when nominated, posing as the opponent of purse-proud plutocracy and protective-tariff piracy, seems in less than three years of occupancy of the White House to have gone over, political bag and baggage, to the camp of the rapid-fire chiefs of big business and special interests. This European war has made that element in the United States daringly, defiantly, desperately dollar mad. This European war has been so amazingly profitable to them that they are money-crazed, with fear that when the war shall end their golden harvest will end with it, unless some new plan be provided to continue the war-time profits during a period of peace. This element constitutes the real fountain head of this preparedness policy. It has worked its propaganda adroitly masterful. It has used the alarm-clock publicity policy with exceeding skill. It has found an ally in the Army and Navy League. It saeks to turn the hayrake and the hoe into repeating rides and machine guns, the plow an

Mr. Speaker, about one year ago-December 8, 1914-Henry Watterson, in an editorial in his paper, the Courier-Journal, asks this question: "Shall our American Republic be Prussianized?" With this question as his text he treats this preparedness subject in his well-known logical and masterly manner. editorial is as follows:

[From the Courier-Journal, Louisville, Tuesday morning, Dec. 8, 1914.] SHALL OUR AMERICAN REPUBLIC BE PRUSSIANIZED?

Dear God and Father of us all,
Forgive our faith in cruel lies,
Forgive the blindness that denies!
Cast down our idols! Overturn
Our bloody altars! Make us see
Thyself in Thy humanity!"

—John Greenleaf Whittier.

"An inquiry into the state of the Nation's defenses," the high-sounding sobriquet of the movement started by the plate-armor combine to rob the people, and fathered by a Massachusetts Congressman, were more fitly and accurately entitled "A plan to put Woodrow Wilson in a hole," and for other purposes, the "other purposes" being a taking issue and campaign funds for the Republicans, along with galore of personal exploitation for the spread-eagle orator whose favorite stunt is "to wrap the flag around him, march down to the footlights, fire two hoss pistols, and die like a son of a gun!"

The scheme presents three distinct aspects for the consideration of reflecting men: First, its fraudulent, partisan character; second, its empty patriotic appeal; and, third, its untimely promulgation of a wicked principle.

"I am very much afraid," says Mr. Gardner, eager to get in his work and unable to restrain his partisan intention, "that the President means to lay the cold hand of death upon the whole movement."

But how could the President do that? The "movement" is for the Congress, not for the Executive. Even here, however, the Gardner prejudgment of the President is supplemented by the charge made in advance that the Rules Committee will not allow it. Thus, before the assembling of Congress, we had proof that the proposed "inquiry into the state of the Nation's defenses" was not an emanation of patriotic solicitude, but a play for party advantage.

Coincident appears a yet more sinister figure upon the scene. This is an association calling itself "The National Security League." Its

arrival would be suspiciously prompt even if we did not know that every job big enough to pay its way along the turnpikes and through the toligates of legislation always reinforces its invisible lobby with a harching club of noisy zealots—willing dupes of the drum and the fife—who dearly love to carry torchlights and are every ready to rally around bonfires and pie counters.

The Nation to all such is in perpetual peril. If it were not, what would become of the professional life-savers? Sixty years ago, according to the Know-Nothing rescript, the Pope was going some dark night to swim the Atlantic and, like a duck upon a June bug, swoop down upon the helpless Stars and Stripes. These 10 years since Japan liked Russia it has been the Mikado, who, like a submarine, was going to swim the Pacific and swoop down upon Chinatown. Statesmen with osculatory intellects and 22-inch collars, seeking to establish a system of paternalism, based upon woman suffrage and prohibition, have never wearled of depicting the terrors of invasion and rum. Year in and year out they have held up the Nation by the tail as a horrid example of unpreparedness and depravity. To whom the Courier-Journal has said, as it now says to Representative Gardness and the National Security League, adopting the words which Capt. Simon Suggs on a memorable occasion addressed to Parson Jediah Bullin, "Don't crowd the mourners nor rush the growler!"

memorable occasion addressed to Parson Jediah Bullin, "Don't crowd the mourners nor rush the growler!"

II.

Cold-storage statesmanship is the order of the day. Senator Henry Capor Lodge comes bravely to the support of his kinsman. When did this expert in the unfeeling arts of piousness, prejudice, and patriotism fail to note the nail on the barn door, seeing the door itself to at all? Premising that the Gardner resolution should be passed by both Houses, the Massachusetts Senator is reported in a recent interview as follows:

"We hear it said that from our Regular Army and militia combined we could not at this moment get together 120,000 men for our defense. If has been publicly stated that we have not sufficient ammunition even for such troops as we have; that our fortifications for our greate rites are very insufficient; that we have few if any guns of greater range than those on battleships; that such troops as we have, instead of being concentrated at the points where they are needed, are scattered through the country at different posts in positions where there is no need of troops. It is said that we have nothing resembling reserves, either of men or ammunition, and no sufficient arrangement made for providing mines to protect our harbors. It for one, would like to know, and I think the American people would like to know, whether or not there is truth in these statements."

This would seem to be an accusation of somebody. It reads very like an indictment. Yet, subjected to a little analysis, it misses the mark intended—that is, the present Democratic administration of the Government—because if there be anything wanting to our national defense it licth not with the Democrats but with the Republicans. For whatever is or is not they are solely responsible. From the 4th of March, 1891.—16 years—the Government was in the hands of the party of which Senator Lodge is a leader. Most, if not all, of the time he has been a member of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs. How comes it that, with vast moneys expended

where would senator Lodge have resident which send the troops even if they were in possession of adequate arms and sufficient ammunition?

But, horrible to relate, our cities are undefended; the fortifications are tumble-down and mounted with popguns. Again, who is to blame if not the Republicans, and what have they done with the vast sums of money they have pretended to be spending all these years?

Senator Lodge—we are quoting him as reported by the New York Sun, a friend and not an enemy of the proposed inquiry—multiplies the counts in his arraignment of his party. The Republicans have done even worse by the Navy than by the Army. Here, being of the Naval Affairs Committee, the Massachusetts statesman ought to be an authority. What could Mr. McKinley, Mr. Roosevelt, and Mr. Taft have been thinking of when they let things go to such rack and ruin? During the 10 years between 1903 and 1913—6 of them under Roosevelt and 4 of them under Taft—more than twelve hundred millions of dollars were spent on the Navy. Now, these Republican agitators tell us that we have little other than junk to show for it and charge it to the Democrats, whilst the plate-armor people stand around and say, "We don't need any foreign contracts. As soon as Congress meets we shall have plenty of American contracts. Mr. Longe will fix it in the Senate and Mr. Gardiner in the House." But let us resume our interesting citation by a Republican of his fellow Republicans. Senator Longe continues:

"If we turn to the Navy, we can read in the newspapers almost every day statements of a similar character. I know myself that we are short of scout cruisers, kaving only three. A proper number of fast scout cruisers is essential to the efficiency of the fleet.

"We are Insufficiently supplied with aeroplanes and hydroplanes, which are so essential to modern warfare.

"We have a large number of submarines—not enough in proportion to our fleet—but it is stated that many of those of early types are not at all up to recent standards and would be practically

done. It is not a party question in any sense, and the national defense ought never to be a party question."

No; it is not "a party question" if the Republicans are to be held responsible, but it is "a party question" where the Democrats may be held, for, as Senator Lodge concludes, "We are spending some \$250,000,-000 a year on our Army and Navy and we ought to know what we are getting for our money and whether for that money we are securing the highest possible efficiency," his preceding remarks tending, if not intended, to arraign the Wilson administration.

In the Senator's despite, and in defense of the administration, the Courier-Journal might with deference submit that Mr. Wilson may have his doubts about the expediency of spending great sums of money upon armament for which there will be no immediate use and which by the time it is called for may be obsolete and valueless.

Where is the urgency that excites Representative Gardner—the exigency that impels Senator Lodge—the danger that arouses the National Security League?

To meet the dilemmas suggested by these questions the organizers of the new war party cite the accomplished ex-Mayor George Brinton McClellan, of New York, now a professor at Princeton, who does not believe that the European war will bring about universal disarmament and peace. On the contrary, he thinks that when it is over it will be only a question of soon or late when we shall have to stand by our guns. They quote him as follows:

"No matter who wins it is almost certain that at some not far-distant time we shall be confronted with the alternative of either abandon.

and peace. On the contrary, he thinks that when it is over it will be only a question of soon or late when we shall have to stand by our guns. They quote him as follows:

"No matter who wins it is almost certain that at some not far-distant time we shall be confronted with the alternative of either abandoning the Monroe doctrine or fighting to maintain it. We have made of it a great national principle, a question of national honor, so that if we abandon it we must concede that we are not strong enough to maintain it; that we are only a second-class power, at the mercy of all the swaggering bullies of the earth. If we fight for it in our present unprepared condition, there can be but one outcome. A triumphant and victorious Germany would have little to fear from us, and while we might possibly in the end be able to check Japan by herself, we could scarcely hope to do so if she received help."

The Courier-Journal has said something like this. If the Kaiser could win, it would become a certainty. In that event Germany would rise on its hind legs to say "to hell with your Monroe doctrine." But the Kaiser can not win. When the allies have finished him they will be too much played out to think about any more fighting.

Naturally, England, being our next-door neighbor and foremost competitor for markets, would be likelest to tackle us. But the impediments are almost insuperable. Outside of trade neither wants what the other has. England was, and is, and will continue to be, in favor of disarmament. It was Germany that, requiring foreign exits and entrances, and resolved and prepared to fight her way out, forbade. With Germany prostrate and the others exhausted—the isolation of the United States still our best defensive—it will be our own fault if we have to go to war with any nation. Hence, Prof. McClellan's appeal that Americans "awake to their present condition of unpreparedness, and that immediate steps be taken to build up a national defense." coming from the son of a soldier, if not a soldier, loses much of its

III.

III.

Backed by a self-constituted and self-styled body of exclusive patriots—"The National Security League," obviously organized and financed by the plate-armor people—it is at once an effrontery and an affront, not to say a stupidity. In Representative Gardner to sneer at the President as "a hopeless pacifist," and to turn upon dear old Andrew Carnegie as the enemy of his country and his kind.

"In my opinion," says the Massachusetts warrior, "the effect of the vast sums of money spent by Mr. Carnegie in his peace propaganda has been to blind Americans to the fact that our national security from a military point of view is undermined," adding that "every Army and Navy officer to whom I have spoken tells me the same story of inadequate security," as if he could expect any other testimony from witnesses whose trade is war.

All this while Mr. Gardner tells us nothing we did not know before. His proposed "inquiry" could lead to nothing not already to the hand of every Member of Congress. As well arraign Jesus Christ for preaching peace on earth, good will toward men, as Andrew Carnegie for taking the word out of the mouth of the Saviour and contributing millions of money to spread its blessed portent throughout the world.

Before the war in Europe the cause of arbitration as an international agency was making progress. But the voluntary disarmament of the nations was obviously a long ways off. It seemed to most people an iridescent dream. With what is going forward it becomes at least a possibility.

There have been wars and wars. As far as history reaches backward, blood has been the single recourse of diseased ambition, the only balm for wounded pride. There have been wars and wars; dynastic wars; religious wars; territorial wars; but never a war like this; heroism driven from the earth, mercy vanished from the heavens; individuality lost in brutish multitudes and death-dealing machinery; pity fied, generosity dead, in place of glory, the gluttony of greed and hate, the agencies of blind, unsparing destruction

spirit upon the souls of men. Then, but not till then, our time will come.

What shall be our attitude? Shall we speak for civilization, shall it rise for the Christian religion which we profess, standing uncovered to the sun in robes of living light, or shall we appear, like Mars, capapie, in full armor, the old dread specter of fury and force? Shall we say to Europe, "Fight no more; henceforth the world shall be at peace and it shall be written over the portals of every people, 'They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more'"?

There is hope that something may come of it. Germany beaten—perhaps ground to the dust even as Belgium is—will be, must be, disarmed. Then, why not the rest? The debts will remain to be paid. The men will be needed in the fields. But if to get a party issue in America a group of baffled political leaders are permitted to Prussianize our Army system under the plea of national defense, laying the foundations for a militariat at Washington like that at Berlin in the interest of corrupting murder mills and ambitious soldiers, it will be but a question of time when what is happening there will happen here. In

short and in fine, a question the people should begin to consider is, Shall we fall in with Senator Lodge and Representative Gardner to worship at the shrine of Krupp, even to the footstool that holds the Kaiser's feet, or follow the genius of the American Republic up the steps of the throne of God?

Even the Prussian militariat, with the Kaiser at its head, must begin to see the futility of its pan-German scheme of world conquest. When all is lost they will fully realize it. Forty years the Germans have been taught by their philosophers to believe that war is the state of man. Forty years their professors and historians have told them it was the hope of Germany. During these years the armor makers and the saber rattlers—who derive a profit from war and for whose benefit myrlads of good men are fed to powder—were preparing for war.

It will not do for any German now to put up a poor mouth and to attempt denial of this. That there was provocation, especially in England and France, may be true enough. Germany had been commercially put in a pocket. There was sore need of colonial expansion. The mistake lay in the idea that war was a remedy, that it was inevitable, and that if it was bound to come Germany was best prepared for it, England supposed to have her hands tied in Ireland, and no one suspecting the Belgians of such power of resistance.

It was precisely the mistake that Napoleon made. Two years before his fall Napoleon could have secured world peace and the confirmation of his dynasty, with a larger France than he had found. He refused it and went to his finality. All his calculations falled him, as all the Kaiser's calculations have failed him. The very elements rose against him, as they have risen against the Kaiser. It seems a doom fixed upon God-defying ambition.

Let us agree that no such opportunity was offered the Kaiser as was offered Napoleon. Let us even allow that the Kaiser felt himself obliged to fight, and that the defeat of his wondrous preparedness is not a punishment but a destiny. All thi

were before?

This brings us face to face with what we have called our civilization, and that again brings us face to face with what we have called our religion.

and that again brings us face to face with what we have called our religion.

Is Christendom a Christian? Are we, the American people, a Christian people? If in the green leaf we are thus to rush to our guns with Senator Looge and Representative Gardner, what may we not have to do in the brown? Is the Republican Party to repeat in the United States under the guise of patriotism and the national defense the self-same error which lured Germany and the unknowing, unasked, unconsenting German people into their present awful plight?

Is the Republican Party, beaten on the old issues, to reconstruct and revitalize itself by a popular appeal having the alleged glory and prowess of the Nation for its text—war as its ultimatum—making a combine between the saber rattlers, the plate-armor makers, and the voters as the German militariat representing a feudal caste, the Kaiser at its head, made alliance with the German middle classes, embracing the money kings of Berlin and Hamburg and the infidel doctrinaires of Bonn and Heidelberg? In short, are we, the American people, to be led unconsciously into adopting the gospel of war and the setting up of an all-powerful military aristocracy, as the unhappy, the unfortunate Germans were?

Have we a Treitschke among us? Is his pseudonym Henry Cabot Gardner? Nietzsche is dead. But his spirit liveth and roameth abroad, at the moment taking a look-in upon Congress.

Emergency Revenue Legislation.

The House of Representatives, through its constitutional control of revenues, can keep the Government, in all its branches, close and responsive to the people.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BENJAMIN C. HILLIARD,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 16, 1915.

Mr. HILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, in the consideration of the pending resolution, which has to do wholly with the production of revenue, the attitude of the House of Representatives should be dignified and sobered above that which would attend the consideration of any other bill or measure, for the reason that this subject is the first essenial in the conduct of every society and every Government, and, under the Constitution, a power, a duty, and a responsibility lodged solely with this branch of Congress.

I shall vote against the resolution, though to do so it appears I must, for the moment, part company with the majority of my political brethren in the House.

I shall not speak at great length and, perhaps, considering my very recent advent here, should not speak at all. Still the Sixtyfourth Congress is a new Congress, and I am as old in the present Congress as any other Member. The Constitution provides for a new Congress every two years, and by that pro-vision it must have been in contemplation by the framers thereof that some, if not all, of the Members of the succeeding Con-gresses would be new. While it is conceivable that every Member of a Congress would have had no previous service here, it is not reasonable to suppose that because all were new there would be unanimous silence throughout the sessions

And speaking of new Congresses and new Members, I venture to hold the opinion that if this Congress were composed entirely of new Members the resolution now under consideration would not only have no chance of passage but would not have even been offered, for the law is universally denounced as unjust and discriminatory, and those here advocating the extension thereof for another year frankly say that it is most unpopular. Of good laws there is no such criticism; neither do those favoring a good law find it necessary to confess the unpopularity of the measure. The wonder is that a law not pleasing to anyone should have been originated in the House in the first instance; and, second, that a resolution to extend it should now be offered. The answer is that neither the law nor the resolution was conceived in the House of Representatives or in the mind of any Representative. This will be the subject of some further remarks before I close.

I take it that there is no occasion to denounce in its details a law that is without a sincere advocate. It is a safe prediction that if left to a vote of the people in not a single congressional district in the whole country would there be enough favorable ballots to make a count necessary for any purpose other than to show how ridiculously small was the number who wished to continue its operation. In my district the law is openly and repeatedly denounced, and no one favors it. Indeed, everybody was rejoicing that, as was provided in the bill, the 31st of this December would see the end of it. I would have been against the bill when originally offered. My constituents are against it now. I am against it. In my opinion, there was no emergency existing at the time that warranted the passage of this bill; but if then emergent, since March 4 last a new Congress, with a membership having intimate knowledge of the innermost feelings of the people, and in the enjoyment of a splendid salary from the people's Treasury, has been available for the consideration and enactment of a fair and equitable revenue law.

If the Constitution is not to be wholly disregarded, all bills for the production of revenue must originate in the House of Representatives; but it is a matter of current knowledge that the emergency revenue act, the one which the joint resolution now under consideration would extend another year, was in no sense its creation or desire, nor of any Member thereof; and the same agency that dictated the bill in the first instance, although eminently respectable, yet without constitutional authority or responsibility, is the moving spirit behind the resolution now pending. I am against the matter and the manner. I oppose it because it was not well conceived. I resent it because it was not legitimately conceived. Had its father remained in his own constitutional bed the child would not have raised its condemning voice in this House nor lived to witness the political death of well-meaning Democratic Representatives, many of whom, against their judgment, were induced to give it doubtful and unwilling recognition. And now, as the time approaches when by law this killer of Democratic Congressmen was to be executed, the same constitutionally irresponsible author is insisting that the execution be postponed for another dreary 12 months, and that not only the people, our constituents, shall provide for its care and keeping during that time, but that the Representatives shall be the victims of its death-dealing pro-

We can not escape the burden of this stamp tax as a House of Representatives nor as Members of the House unless as Members we individually vote against it, and this notwithstanding the fact that no Member of the House would of his own volition, as I am persuaded, have offered the resolution, and that the House, as such, acting freely, as is contemplated in the Constitution, would not pass the resolution. The Senate may vote to pass the resolution if the House does, but the responsibility over there is not the responsibility that exists here. When the storms gather and political annihilation is threatened, Senators may well point to the Constitution, and, drawing themselves up to the full stature of their irresponsibility, with more or less success parry the thrusts made at their vitals by shifting the responsibility to the House, where, as they would quite correctly say, bills for raising revenue must originate, and that the presumption always is that the Representatives are well advised, or at least that the Senators are justified in believing the House was cognizant of what it was doing and the significance thereof. Nor is this all, Mr. Speaker; the people presumably could pull their belts up one more hole and live through another year of this law, although many more pulls would not be required to exhaust the holes in that direction; but who is able to say that December 31, 1916, will witness the demise of this ill-gotten child? If its baneful life can be preserved for one year more, it will administer an "early frost" to enough Democratic Representatives to land it safely among the traditional friends of stamp taxes, where it would enjoy

every reasonable expectation of life eternal.

What of the emergency in the first instance? Because of the war abroad the expected tariff revenues fell off many millions, but by reason of the same catastrophe did not the individual incomes of the great masses of the people also suffer severe diminution, and in the aggregate much more than the loss in Government receipts? What do the people do when their incomes are suddenly and unexpectedly reduced? Do they go on expending as much as before or do they economize and adapt themselves to the new conditions? The answer is evident and one which no common man can fail to understand. should the Government, in like circumstances, have gone on spending money just as if there had not been a rift in its income? Where was the justice in visiting on the people this stamp-tax burden? And where is the equity in continuing it Why could not the Government have given an exhibition of that fortitude so eloquently, yea, and so frequently, pro-claimed as a wonderful virtue for the people, and practiced economy? As soon, however, as the calamity came—a disaster not due either to our people or to their Government, and which reduced the Government's income as well as the income of all but a few favored ones-the Government, denying itself nothing, at once proceeded to visit on the people an iniquitous stamp tax. I am not unmindful of what administrative appointees and governmental experts would be able to do with this simple statement, but I do know, as they do not know, what the people are thinking, and I know, too, as they do not seem to care to learn, what the people deserve at the hands of their Representatives.

The people of my district, Mr. Speaker, understand my language and the intonations of my voice, though both are strangely new in this historic presence. I am here by no other right or charter than that which they graciously granted. Nor is there involved herein, or at all, the question of whether I shall come again. The sole consideration between my constituents and me is as to my faithfulness now, and from day to day during the period of my present commission. They believe I have and hold the perfect vision of their day dreams and will not and could not fail them. So much do they believe this that while, with other Representatives, if proven derelict, they would simply be angry and make plans to retire them to private life, in my case they would be heartbroken. I know what to do in this instance, and with God's help, for which I pray, I shall discern their interests during my service here and cast my every vote as though all Denver were seated in the galleries. They know, if Washington does not know, that on all genuinely Democratic measures no caucus will be required to cause me to vote as they desire I They know, too, which is still more important, that on any question offered which I do not believe to be Democratic no caucus would influence me in the least, and that I would oppose it to the last, and alone, if I found myself so. They will believe without question, and there exists no power anywhere to dissuade them, that on the pending resolution I am simply more Democratic than the caucus.

Granting that at the time of the original enactment of the bill an emergency existed, in the same session of Congress that enacted this bill, the revenue provided therein, and more, could have been raised by adding the whole thereof to excessive and reasonably unrequired incomes and to inherited fortunes or estates. If there was not time then, there was another session of the same Congress which lasted from the first Monday in December, 1914, to March 4, 1915, and from that date to December 6, present, there was a new Congress on the pay roll of the Government, and a constitutional method is provided by which the Congress could have been put to work to solve the problem of revenue. Even now that this Congress is here, pursuant to the automatic action of the Constitution, it is purposed, not that a new and comprehensive revenue plan shall be developed, one inflicting no unusual and unfair burden upon the activities of the ordinary industries of the country and the heads of families enjoying only reasonable and living incomes, but to continue the present law, and to pass it through this House practically with-Why so hurry a revenue bill of the consequence of this? Why not devote the remainder of this week and all of next to its consideration? There would still be another week before the old law would expire. The men of the country, not without mental distress, denying to their families many of the usual remembrances of this glad season, accepting the inevitable fortunes of disjointed conditions in the world, will not enthuse unduly over the long holiday season the well-paid Representa-tives of the people are to take instead of working on a measure that would afford relief rather than continue burdens. Besides, an equitable bill could be passed as quickly and with more votes.

If an income-tax bill were introduced that operated only on incomes large, princely, and unneeded, properly graduated, and on inherited fortunes, likewise adjusted, and which would visit no burden while the owners lived, not only would every Democratic Representative in this House, as I believe, respond as one man for its adoption, but every Representative of any inde-pendent group here would as heartily join therein as the Democrats. More than that, whatever any Representative thought might be the objection of some of the fabulously wealthy of his constituents, not a Republican in this House would dare to incur the displeasure of the everyday working people of his district by voting against it. Indeed, I grant he likely would have no desire to oppose a measure so just that nothing approaching hardship or injustice would result, but would welcome such an opportunity properly to distribute the expenses of the Government; and upon the announcement of the vote, in-stead of the usual exultant shout on the one side and on the other a look of determination to prevail next time, all here would join in one unanimous and prolonged cheer and shout of victory. How much better that would be than to continue to visit on a protesting people this iniquitous stamp-tax law, which even its author only justified in the first instance as emergent.

It is urged as a matter of party expediency that the Democrats should keep the Treasury overflowing, in order that the Republicans may not claim it depleted because of the reduction in tariff duties; but the people can be trusted to understand the situation. It is as shortsighted on the part of the Republican Party to think that the people would care to return to robbertariff conditions as it is on our part to believe that a Treasury less full than in ordinary times would not be accepted with greater equanimity than vaults bursting with funds exacted from the people by means of stamp taxes. The Republican Party is preparing to assume that the people do not know enough to distinguish between conditions in normal times and European war-occasioned times, and to hug to its hungry political breast the delusion that the people will again embrace high tariff; at the same time the Democracy seems to labor under the delusion that the only way to answer or combat the false philosophy of the opposition is to hit the people in a sore spot, and by this emergent method take from them much that they have been able to save because of reduced tariff.

In Nicaragua the oxen used for hauling loads, instead of being yoked in the manner common in the United States, have the yoke attached to their horns; this makes the angle of contact such that as the brutes begin to feel the load, in order to prevent loss of physical equilibrium, they lower their heads, and, of course, the greater the burden the nearer the heads of these faithful brutes are forced to the ground; and it is said that no native, cruel though he may be, is so unmindful of his own safety as to make the load heavy enough to cause the noses of his "yoke" to touch the ground. The animals will submit to any burden up to that point, but if the unhappy driver does not desist ere the dust is touched there will be one less recruit for the next revolution. This bit of philosophy is submitted for the enlightenment of those gentlemen whose researches have been confined either to expurgated volumes of history or who dwell so apart from the weight of the load that they are wholly unimpressed with the disastrous results of

Representative government, both as to potentiality and stability, would not be the subject of speculation if Representatives only would represent. The Representatives in Congress alone possess the power, through constitutional control of the sources of the revenue, to keep the Government in all its branches close and responsive to the people.

The House of Representatives can on any day in this Congress, the next, or in any subsequent one, even as it could have done in any preceding Congress, take exclusive charge of the business committed to this branch of the Congress and determine in fact, as in theory is now done, both the sources and

the sum of all revenue.

If, through neglect or failure to take the initiative, the House continues to permit its most sacred function to be controlled or considerably influenced by that branch of the Government which should have to do only with the proper disbursement of collected revenues the time will surely come, it may be soon, when the mighty power of public opinion will find expression in some plain man of the people, who, sensing the genius of our form of government and the powers and limitations in and of the coordinate branches thereof as set forth in the Constitution, and appreciating clearly, as thoughtful men must now appreciate, that if there is to continue permanency of devotion on the part of the people taxation burdens must be lessened rather than increased, will be chosen President; and after he shall have taken the oath prescribed by the Constitution he will come into this Hall and, looking out as on a horizon extending to the boundaries of the country, will address the Representatives of the people somewhat after this manner:

You are assembled here as the chosen Representatives of the many constituencies which compose this Government. You are fully aware that all bills for raising revenue must originate in the House of Representatives; and there is another link in the chain of your responsibility, if I may be pardoned a reference to a matter evident enough to thoughtful students of governmental problems as well as to public officials who understand that the less exactions made of the people the better and more respected the Government will be, but which has been little emphasized by those who previously have advised you from time to time, and that is that it also is within the spirit of the Constitution that the chosen Representatives of the people shall determine the aggregate amount of the revenue to be taken from the people. I use the expression "taken from the people" with full understanding of its exact purport; for, let the sugar coating or disguise be as nearly perfect as men can make it, whether accomplished by direct or indirect means or measures, not a dollar is used by the Government that does not in some manner add its weight to the backs of the people.

This leads to another thought: You can not represent your people back home, either in fact or constitutionally, if you yield any part of your power to influences emanating from other departments of the Government. Congress has long since driven the lobbyists from its Halls, and in this effort it was well advised, at least by one, and perhaps others, of my distinguished predecessors; but I am not unmindful that lobbyists do not necessarily confine their efforts to Members of Congress, and you can not know that other public officials, however eminent and distinguished, who presume to advise you on matters constitutionally and exclusively within your jurisdiction, have not themselves, unwittingly or otherwise, been persuaded to the views they so plausibly present to you; and the more exalted the official the more reason there is to be chary of his counsel, for wholly apart from the fact that the Representatives should at all times insist upon their constitutional right to determine every phase of revenue problems within themselves alone, the greater the man and the higher his official position the less likelihood you have of successfully coping with him, and the more apt you are, under the spell of his words and importance, to forget the already existing burdens of your constituents, surrender your views and Avoid them; and more particularly do I warn you against attempts to influence you made by any member of my Cabinet. Cabinet ministers are allowed me in the discharge of my duties, not yours. They know nothing about your respective constituencies, neither in theory nor in fact; in the matter of imposing tax charges they are without responsibility, sworn or otherwise, to the people. You, and only you, have the consti-tutional power in the premises and you must, whether you will it or not, bear the responsibility of every burden visited upon the Let your eye be single as to the sum which the people should pay, not as to the amount which the appointive Government employees could expend. Governments are not different from families. Some years greater expenditures can be afforded There should be just and discerning discriminathan in others. tions made from year to year. And here again you should think, and think seriously, of the people back home. In Washington no thought is given the bearers of the burdens of taxation unless you give it. Others are not charged with the duty, and that would constitute their answer to the protests of an overburdened and dissenting people, while as to you there would be left only the right to read the name of your successor in the roll call of the next Congress, and the poor privilege of telling such of your constituents as would deign to stop and listen how you yielded on the point because some one not responsible to a constituency for the imposition of taxes said it was necessary.

You should not overlook the fact that no sum of consequence will be saved to the people unless you work the saving by leaving it with the people. Once the money is provided in the Treasury, it will be used. Few fathers with money in the bank can withstand the pleadings of the family for the present use thereof, even though the appearances indicate the urgent need therefor during the next year. No President has yet been able, once the money was available, to stand out against the special pleas of those interested in showing how it could be used, and not saved. I fear I could not, surrounded constantly not by those who bear the burdens but by the ones who live off the people, either by direct salaries, which is remarkably abused, or by special interests which profit fabulously by exploiting tariff legislation. You should not impose upon me the safeguarding of more money than you can conscientiously exact from the people. The Government enters many fields in which vast sums of money are used, much of which could be postponed to a more

favorable day and some dispensed with altogether, to no material disadvantage of the country and to the great relief of the people. If less money is provided, only the requisite things will be done. In other words, the Government will survive to the people and the generations with millions less of annual revenue than very many respectable experts would undertake to prove was quite impossible. Furnish just such sum of revenue, and no more, as you would exact from the people if you were to act in their very presence. That which would be wrong back home will not be right in Washington. Each of you must remember that while no constituency would expect its Representative to stand out unduly over trifles, still if you do not represent thoughtfully, guardedly, and faithfully the people of your district, they will not be represented at all, nor will they have a potent or any voice in the most vital branch of their Government.

In the improbable event that any Cabinet minister or other officer in the executive branch shall attempt to control or influence any act of the House of Representatives in relation to the raising of revenue, you are advised now that in so doing he will not be representing me; but should you become convinced, for even Presidents are only men, that notwithstanding my professions I had caused the attempt to be made, you will know, and the country should be advised, that I had fallen from my high estate, been unmindful of your exclusive prerogatives, and forgotten wholly the limitations with which the Constitution surrounds me.

I shall now withdraw and go to the place provided by law for my use. My first act will be to scourge from the departments and bureaus all manner of lobbyists, and likewise and simultaneously and forever, against the same influence, shut and seal the doors of the White House; and as I go I shall feel assured that all Members of the Congress will refrain from any effort to influence executive officers in the determination of questions peculiarly executive in character; for, as must be recognized, influence thus exerted would tend toward a demoralized service in the departments and invite, as sure as men are human, an exchange of compliments on the part of the Congress.

Let these two great branches be as independent one from the other as was the conception and matured plan of the founders of the Government, and there will be less of favoritism and more of justice; and it is justice in government that points to permanency and stability.

War-Revenue Tax Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOREN E. WHEELER,

OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 16, 1915.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to record my protest against the extension of the provisions of the emergency-revenue act for the period of one year as provided for in this resolution. It is of vital interest to the people of my district and shoulders upon them an unjust and obnoxious war tax for which they are bound, and justly so, to hold the errors of a Democratic Congress responsible.

The people of my district are equally as patriotic as those living anywhere in this country, and they are always willing, as has been so forcibly demonstrated in the past, to rush to the aid of the Government in time of need and distress, but I do not believe they will permit this or any other Congress to impose upon them such unjust, unnecessary taxation without voicing a protest.

To me the affliction which my Democratic friends are about to impose upon those least able to bear it is one of the results, not only of a Democratic tariff bill which has failed to meet Democratic demands for appropriations, but of the gross extravagance which has prevailed during a Democratic administration.

not saved. I fear I could not, surrounded constantly not by those who bear the burdens but by the ones who live off the people, either by direct salaries, which is remarkably abused, or by special interests which profit fabulously by exploiting tariff legislation. You should not impose upon me the safeguarding of more money than you can conscientiously exact from the people. The Government enters many fields in which vast sums of money are used, much of which could be postponed to a more

ness system and a depleted Treasury is a return to a Republican

I, for one, do not believe that the people upon whom you have imposed this iniquitous stamp tax will be deceived, but I do feel that when the time comes to record their protest they will show by their ballots that they have properly charged this outrageous burden to Democratic mismanagement.

It may be that you expect to fool the people by alleging that our diminished revenue customs, which you say makes necessary the infliction of this so-called "war tax," is entirely, or in large measure, due to obliterated imports. If you do, you yourselves are destined to be fooled, for the reports issued by your own Democratic administration show that our imports have done very well, despite the European war.

In recent months they have outdistanced the record established during the year 1914. Take, for example, October. During that month the imports amounted to \$149,172,729, which were some \$11,000,000 more than for the corresponding month last year and \$16,000,000 more than for the corresponding month in 1913. The full November reports have not yet been made public, but the weekly returns show them to be very large, and even December is promising to make an unusual record.

Compared with the 10 months of 1913, the imports for the corresponding period this year were short only \$9,000,000; but this difference has been almost, if not completely, wiped out by the greatly swelling imports of November and December.

Some idea of how really big our imports have been in the last year may be gathered from the fact that in the whole fiscal year of 1913—ending with June of that year—our imports were only \$1,813,008,234. If the 12 months of this calendar year do not equal the 12 months of that fiscal year, they will come so near it that the shortage will not be worth mentioning. It has been only in recent years that this country ever imported in 12 months as high a value of foreign products as we imported in only 10 months of the calendar year of 1915.

From the fiscal year of 1905 to 1909, inclusive, there was no year when the imports for 12 months were as big as they were in the 10 months of this year. In the whole of 1910 the imports were only \$1,557,819,988, in 1911, only \$1,527,226,105, and in 1912 only \$1,653,264,934.

Therefore the plea that the European war is responsible for this stamp tax; that the European war has completely obliterated our imports, thus depriving us of the revenue necessary to run our Government, must be abandoned by my Democratic friends. If they desire to be fair with their constituents, if they desire to show that they in no wise wish to deceive the public, they will go before the people and admit that this stamp tax provided in the war-revenue tax act is only the result of another Democratic blunder.

War-Revenue Tax Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CHARLES E. FULLER. OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 16, 1915.

Mr. FULLER. Mr. Speaker, because of the great haste with which this resolution was forced through the House, without time for thorough consideration or discussion, I desire, under the leave given to extend remarks, to express my entire disapproval of this method of legislating and of this kind of taxation. We ought to need no war tax in times of peace; and if we did, no more unjust, unequal, and oppressive system could be conceived. I am opposed to all systems of direct taxation by the Federal Government except in case of dire necessity, and then it should not and need not bear oppressively on the poorer class of people or those of only moderate means. These are taxed sufficiently by the States and the municipalities; they are required to, and do, pay taxes on all their tangible property, real and personal, according to its value, for all the expenses of the State and local governments, for schools, roads, bridges, and all other local improvements and benefits. Federal revenues, all experience has shown, can best be raised by an internal-revenue tax on liquors, tobacco, and so forth, and by a tariff on imports. Even the Democratic Party has always in its platforms advocated a tariff for revenue. Then why not have a tariff that will produce sufficient revenue? Why extend this burdensome tax on thrift and industry for a whole year while

Congress is here to legislate, presumably, in the interest of our own people? Let us have a tariff for revenue, at least, and one that will easily, on the vast amount of imported goods now coming from abroad, produce all the revenue needed for the economical administration of the Government and for reasonable and necessary preparedness, about which we hear so much.

I have been much surprised at one feature of this war taxnow extended for another year by this resolution, without any opportunity to amend or change any of its provisions-and that is the wonderful solicitude shown for railroad, steamboat, telegraph, express, telephone, and the like corporations. They are not required to pay anything, but they must collect from their patrons a tax of 1 cent on each receipt or bill of lading for each shipment or each message sent, so that the tax falls, not on the rich corporation but on the common people. Ingenuity in making the tax a direct one on the people could hardly go further. Real estate is not taxed if a man keeps it, but if he is compelled to sell he must pay a tax for that privilege by putting a stamp on his deed. A great merchant, with large capital, buying and selling on his own account, pays no tax on his business under this act, but a small commission merchant must pay a tax of \$20 a year; and he does not get off with this, either, for, dealing mostly in fruits, vegetables, and other goods of a perishable nature, much of his business must be done by the use of the telegraph and telephone, and every time he uses either of these he must pay a tax of 1 cent, which in the aggregate amounts to a considerable sum, and many small commission dealers have been driven out of business, for the benefit of whom? It seems to me that the Democratic idea is to tax the people rather than the corporations and our own people rather than the foreign manufacturer or importer. I append, as expressing my views, two editorials from a great independent newspaper, the Washington Post, as follows:

THE DEMOCRATIC WAR TAX ON THE PEOPLE.

It was a score day for the Republicans yesterday in the House of Representatives when the majority of the Democrats went on record for direct taxation of the people of the United States for another year and the Republican membership of that body went on record unanimously

Representatives when the majority of the Democrats went on record for direct taxation of the people of the United States for another year and the Republican membership of that body went on record unanimously against it.

The votes of the Democrats for direct taxation will be exhibited in every district where there is a possible chance for the election of a Republican candidate for Congress, in every State where there is a chance for election of a Republican Renator; and while seats of Representatives from the far South and Senators from the far South will not be endangered by the record made yesterday, scores of seats of the Representatives from the so-called border States and from the North will be lost to the Democrats if this direct faxation is fastened on the people while there remain open so many other ways of obtaining the funds needed by the Government.

There will not be a penny collected under this direct taxation but from this time henceforth will be referred to by Republicans as the Democratic tax upon the people of the United States.

A party very vigorous with its political work is the Republican Party, and it has already started in its work of educating the people to believe that direct taxation is ovidence of Democratic inability to successfully administer the Government, and the vote of yesterday will but serve to establish such view in the minds of the people. Every war-tax stamp and every penny paid for a war-tax stamp by the people from this time forward will be a Republican argument against Democratic administration and the candidates of the Democratic Party.

Democratic administration and the candidates of the Democratic Party.

Democratic administration and the candidates of the Democratic Representatives and Senators to support it and carry it over another year. November, 1916, will bring party disaster in both branches of Congress, and probably in the Nation, through resentment of the people as against this form of taxation. If the Democratic Party has piedged itself to a revenue tariff

PROPOSED TAX ON PROSPERITY.

Before Congress met, Mr. JOHN J. FITZGERALD, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, wrote as follows regarding the problem of Government revenues:

"The prosperity of the country, the development and extension of commerce in every form, the continued and remunerative employment

of labor, the happiness and contentment of the people are all dependent upon the fiscal legislation of the Sixty-fourth Congress."

There is one Democrat who sees what his party is up against. He discusses the situation very frankly, indeed, and does not conceal his anxiety over the perplexities that confront his party. He admits that "it is safer to continue a system to which the people are accustomed than to substitute novel and equally exasperating taxes." Therefore he expressed the belief that the war revenue tax would be reenacted. On the question of a bond issue Mr. Fitzagazal does not agree with some of his Democratic colleagues. He makes no effort to concal the fact that a huge sum has been taken from the current funds of the Treasury to pay for the Panama Canal:

"The sum of \$222,432,586.66, which should be available for the current needs of the Government, has been expended in the construction of the Panama Canal—a permanent work. Whether the time is propitious for an issue of 3 per cent bonds is a matter for thoughtful consideration; but even though those bonds be issued there will still be the necessity for legislation to increase, by a very extraordinary sum, the current revenues of the Government."

But why should Congress confine its attention to 3 per cent bonds aggregating only \$222,000,000? There is nothing to prevent Congress from authorizing the issuance of bonds in any amount at any rate of interest.

The Democratic Party has before it the choice of revising the idriff and thus raising revenue, of issuing bonds sufficient to return to the Treasury the cost of the Panama Canal and the cost of permanent national defenses, and of imposing new, exasperating, burdensome taxes upon thrift and industry.

The Democratic leaders have already shown that they do not have the moral courage to make a right-about-face on the tariff. They cling to the assertion that the present tariff is not a fallure as a revenue producer and is not injurious to American industry.

These leaders are equality lacking in c

Also the following letter, which is to the same effect as many others which I have received:

AURORA, ILL., December 7, 1915.

CHAS. E. FULLER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C. Chas. E. Fuller,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir. In regard to the war tax of 1 cent on all telegrams, telephone calls, and freight and express shipments I wish to call your attention to the fact that this causes a heavy, burden on the fruit and produce dealers, and while I do not want to object to paying taxes, still it does seem that this is unfairly thrown upon the shipper as none of these public-service corporations stand any of the tax whatever and force all their customers to pay it instead.

It would seem to me that this tax should be distributed so that part of it would be paid by the public-service corporations.

The fact that a tax is assessed upon each express and freight shipment, telegram, and telephone call does not give them the right to throw the burden on the business man and compel him to pay it all. I hope you will give this matter consideration and use your influence in helping to bring relief to the fruit and produce dealers under the present burden.

On account of the perishable nature of the merchandise very little business is done by mail and correspondence, and orders are nearly all tolls and telegrams and a great number of large and small shipments all requiring revenue, whereas the retail merchanits have few of these expenses as they order most of their goods through purchasing agents or by mail, as sales are mostly local, so that very little of the tax burden falls upon them.

I want to assure you that I would not object to the taxes being double for defensive preparations, deficiencies, etc., if properly distributed so that everybody pays their share, and hope you will give the matter your consideration.

Yours, truly,

W. B. Davis. Co.,

W. B. Davis.

W. B. DAVIS Co., W. B. DAVIS.

War-Revenue Tax Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL. OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Friday, December 17, 1915.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, we are at peace with the entire world. The resolution before us, however, has been commonly called a war-revenue bill, and we are asked to continue the imposition of a direct tax of over \$100,000,000 at a time when the Nation is following its normal paths. Nothing extraordi-nary has occurred in our midst requiring the saddling of this additional tax. Our people at all times desire to have the true facts told to them.

I have listened to all the remarks made by our friends on the other side of the House, but I have not heard one word from

them that the fact is that the present tariff bill is a failure as far as producing sufficient revenue to run the Government. We all know that we are confronted with a greater deficit this year than before and that the only way that direct taxes, such as are included in this resolution, can be avoided is by the enactment of a protective-tariff law.

At the same time we are told that the passage of this measure for an additional year is but the forerunner of a further series of direct taxes, which are to be levied upon gasoline, checks, automobiles, and other necessities in daily

That the present tariff bill is a failure has been emphasized by Mr. William Randolph Hearst, who in a signed editorial has said:

has said:

Why can not the Democratic Party frankly confess that its free-trade theories are a mistake, have always proved to be a mistake, and are now proving to be a mistake; * * * War or no war, the Democratic Party's tariff policies were proving failures. * * * Foreign goods were coming into our country, perhaps not in sufficient quantity to raise an adequate governmental revenue under the reduced rate of taxation, but certainly in sufficient quantities to deprive our American manufacturers of their home market and our American laborers of employment. American men out of employment are parading the streets. * * * American factories were closing and discharging their employees, and, instead of America shipping more goods abroad than before the reduction of the tariff, America was importing more and shipping less, with the balance of trade going more and more to our disadvantage. * * Another consequence of this European war is the opening of foreign markets to our products. We could have kept our home markets with legitimate protection. If home markets are desirable and advantageous, as they certainly are, let us retain them for our American producers by a tariff for protection. A tariff for revenue only has proven to be a tariff for insufficient revenue only.

Some people have been under the impression that the great

Some people have been under the impression that the great war in Europe has decreased our importations and that our deficit has been caused in that manner, but we know now that such is not the fact. There has been a net increase of importations for eight months from March 1 this year of at least \$55,000,000 compared with the same months of 1913. With a protective tariff law in force we would not be here to-day discussing the raising of revenue by direct taxation.

The gentlemen on the other side tell us that we have a wave of prosperity at the present time. I concede that we have a so-called wave of prosperity, which is bound to suddenly terminate the very minute we stop shipping abroad the vast quantities of war material that Europe is now purchasing and having manufactured here.

can readily perceive that when the great war shall have ended and peace shall reign once more in Europe the very nations now engaged in the terrible conflict will make more than herculean efforts to manufacture larger quantities of merchandise than they ever produced before. It will not surprise anyone who has given the matter any earnest or serious consideration that we shall see the spectacle of the very men now in arms being sent back to work under direct governmental supervision with the sole object in view of having Europe's mills and factories operated with the greatest efficiency.

We shall see the finished products shipped over here in tremendous volume, and with the present tariff duties in force our workingmen will soon discover, as they have in the past, their inability to compete with the cheaper labor of Europe, which will

be still cheaper after the war.

Experience has taught us that the inevitable consequences will follow. As soon as our manufacturers find that they can make more money by jobbing merchandise instead of manufacturing it they will buy abroad, bring it into this country, and simply close their factories, because in that way they will be enabled to obtain larger financial returns,

There will be numerous manufacturers and employers who will be the last ones to adopt the measures that I have referred to before, but if their competitors are to have such an open field, what can we expect them to do? I say that the remedy is obvious. This country has always had its most prosperous times under a protective tariff. At such times we have seen the fur-naces of the country in full blast, the mill running full time, and our factories without number being operated overtime. How can you forget the scenes that were enacted in the summer and fall of 1914 in New York City when thousands of unemployed were constantly marching the streets seeking work and begging for it and at the same time other thousands were being fed by charitable organizations? Surely, Mr. Speaker, the memories of our people are not so short that they have not retained a lasting impression of what we saw last winter in the large cities of our country.

Our friends on the other side in 1912 told us that if the Democratic Party came into power, under a tariff for revenue there would be a reduction in the cost of living and with it the Government would be run on a most economical basis.

Each year since 1896 on the 1st day of March Bradstreet's, which is a large commercial agency of high standing in this country, publishes a table which is part of its uniform publication, showing the comparative wholesale prices of commodities.

I have taken this table for the years 1913, 1914, and 1915. and it will readily be seen therefrom that there has not been any reduction in more than one-half of the commodities daily used by the average family, and that there has been no reduction in the total cost of living.

I read to you Bradstreets tables for the years 1913, 1914, and 1915, which are as follows:

	Mar. 1→		
Commodities.	1913	1914	1915
Hogs. prime, Chicago Beef, carcasses, per pound. Milk, New York, per quart. Eggs, fresh, New York, per loaf. Pork, mess, per barrel. Mutton, carcasses, Chicago Bacon, short ribs, smoked, Chicago, per pound. Hams, smoked, per pound. Lard, western steam, per pound. Butter, creamery, best, per pound. Cheess, choice, eastern factory, per pound. Mackerel, No. 1, Bays, Boston, per barrel. Sheep, prime, Chicago. Codifish, larga, dried. Sugar, granulated, per pound. Coffee. Tea, Formosa, Oolong, superior. Molasses, New Orleans, per gallon. Salt, fine domestic, per sack. Rice, domestic, per pound. Flour, straight winter, per barrel. Barley, No. 2, Milwaukee, per bushel. Corn, No. 2, mixed in elevator. Rye, western. Apples, per barrel. Gingham, Amoskeag, Boston, per yard¹. Standard sheeting, Southern, per yard¹. Cotton sheeting, Southern, per yard¹. Cotton, middling uplands, per yard¹. Petroleum, refined, per gallon! Quinine, domestic, in bulk, per ounce.	.11625 .04275 .25 .04275 .25 .100 .115 .115 .115 .100 .36 .175 .100 .043 .125 .108 .043 .108 .055 .108 .055 .108 .055 .108 .055 .068 .068 .068 .068 .068 .068 .068 .068	\$0. 1225 .12125 .04750 .31 .04 23.00 .25 .1525 .104 .315 .18 22.00 .6.25 .8.00 .04 .09125 .175 .35 .108 .06 .4.30 .705 .725 .4.00 .0625 .08 .095 .095 .095 .095 .095 .095 .095 .095	\$0.10 .1050 .05 .25 .05 .20.00 .133 .1087 .14 .0975 .31 .1675 .14.00 .0575 .0775 .0775 .0775 .0775 .140 .08125 .08125 .0825 .086 .085 .085 .085 .085 .085 .085 .085 .085

1 Raw and manufactured textiles which enter into clothing, beddings, etc.

I do not know a single man throughout the country who has bought a suit of clothes any cheaper during 1914 or 1915 than what he paid for a similar suit of clothes during 1912 or 1913; but I do know that the Treasury of the United States has not received the duties that the importers would have had to pay on the cloth were a protective tariff in force at the time instead of the present tariff.

The Democratic convention at Baltimore in 1912 adopted a platform which contained the following:

We denounce the profligate waste of money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation through the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses which have kept taxes high and reduced the purchasing power of the people's toil. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a Democratic government and a reduction in the number of useless officers, salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

The platform also contained "Our pledges are made to be kept when in office."

The Democratic Party has had control of the House of Representatives during the years 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, and 1915. Let us see what the appropriations made during the times re-ferred to were and are. They are as follows:

1911	\$978, 521, 087
1912	995, 799, 462
1913	988, 353, 340
1914	1, 057, 605, 694
1915	1, 089, 408, 777

Whatever I might say can not equal in words the strong and emphatic language used by the distinguished Representative from Brooklyn who is now presiding, who said:

From Brooklyn who is now presiding, who said:

We charge the Republicans for 12 years of my service in the House under Republican administration with being grossly extravagant and reckless in the expenditure of the public money. I believe that charge to be true. I believed that my party when placed in power would demonstrate that the charges we had made in good faith were true. We are entitled to the help and support of the Members of this side of the House in honest efforts to carry out the pledges of the Democratic Party and in our attempts to show that what we charged in order to get into power was true. We have not had that support. Our Democratic colleagues have not given that support to us thus far during this session of Congress. They have unnecessarily piled up the public expenditures until the Democratic Party is becoming the laughing stock of the country.

I believe that our friends on the other side have not been economical in the running of the Government; nor has the present tariff ever produced sufficient to run the Government; nor has there been any reduction in the cost of living, as was

promised by them during the campaign of 1912.

Mr. Speaker, I feel that this country does not want the resolu-

tion which is going to pass to-day because you have the numbers.

I have heard from the business men of my district, and they are opposed to it. I have heard from the small storekeepers and the workingmen of my district, and they request me to vote against it. I shall follow their requests, because I believe that they are right. I agree with them. I shall vote against the passage of this resolution levying direct taxes such as are contained in this resolution when a protective tariff law would render such a levy unnecessary.

Mr. Speaker, on such questions as national preparedness our citizens know that for our flag and country Republicans are ever ready to make every sacrifice, standing shoulder to shoulder with men of all parties in support of such a policy. tariff and kindred subjects, however, we have a right to speak plainly at all times, and particularly so when we conscientiously believe that a great injustice is about to be done by the passage of this resolution.

I am looking forward to 1917, when a protective tariff will be enacted, with the consequent return to that condition of prosperity and contentment not only for the manufacturer but also for the retailer and employee, with peace in our midst, with our flag respected, both at home and abroad, as in the days of our lamented McKinley, and with the sun shining on a land of equal opportunity for all, whether big or little, rich or poor, white or black.

War-Revenue Tax Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LUTHER W. MOTT.

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 17, 1915.

Mr. MOTT. Mr. Speaker, three years of Democratic rule in this country are drawing to a close, leaving in the wake of these wasted years, popular disaffection at a regime which has again proven the fallacy of low tariff and free trade, with no protection for American industry. The predictions of three years ago have been fulfilled in every particular in this respect, and the apprehensions of close students of economic and industrial conditions have been found to be verified as each day follows the other toward the close of one of the worst periods of industrial depression that this country has ever known for a similar short

This condition is not found alone in the centers of industrial endeavor; it has extended even to the sacred depths of the United States Treasury, in Washington, and no better proof of the condition of affairs is needed than the frantic efforts of my Democratic colleagues to jam through the extension of the warrevenue act as if this was a broad blanket to screen from prying

eyes the shortcomings of their party policies.

This, I take it, is not a proper occasion to discuss the failures of Democratic diplomacy abroad, but I know of no time more fitting to talk about that which we find at our very doors-conditions of which even the little children know. It is not out of place to talk hard times now; we have only to look back for the past two and one-half years, and that glance of retrospection will show just what Democratic policies mean to this country and its people.

Certain optimistic Democrats have donned their rose-tinted spectacles and have through this means and through their mouthpieces and their blased printed mediums, sent broadcast a message of prosperity based on figures. The old saying that figures do not lie, but that falsifiers may juggle figures, was never better applied than in this instance. You and I have often heard and perhaps have often used the expression, "The pulse of the people." It is evident that these false prophets

pulse of the people." It is evident that these false prophets have never placed their fingers on that pulse or felt its adverse throb within the period I refer to.

In this first instance, What is prosperity? You will find that it has no synonym in the English language which fully explains the meaning it conveys. It stands for peace; it stands for plenty; but, more than that, it stands for hard cash dollars and cents in hand. Not in vain promise, not in idle predictions, but in actualities; and it is with the latter that I choose to deal.

Democratic prosperity, of which now the first dull mutterings are heard, may be found in the first two years of this administration, in the closed factories, the bread lines, the soup houses, and the thousands of honest workmen applying for public charity, where charity had been scorned for a lifetime. This is the prosperity behind Democratic promises. This is the prosperity which has been the running mate of every Democrat who has adhered to his party beliefs in administering the policies on which his party principles are based; and this is the prosperity which every Democrat promises will come in the future if he is believed and his word and deed are accepted as The profit columns of the ledgers of American industries are the answer to the question, "What is prosperity? and more pertinent still, but never mentioned in these wouldbe prosperity sermons, the records of the proceedings of the United States courts in bankruptcy afford another convincing reply to the query and will show just how extensive this pros-

But to return to Democratic claims of this condition, their reasons for a change of mind, and reasons for the present unjust

taxation of our people.

In the first place, there is in Europe to-day a regrettable condition of affairs, where a dozen nations are at war. This war is in its second year, and had its inception just when this country's industrial affairs were at a low ebb. This war, awful though it might be, became at once the sole property of the Democratic Party, which took Mars to its shrunken bosom and embraced it like the lost one that had been found again. war still continues to be the property of the Democratic Party, and party leaders are as proud of it as if free silver had never been its pet adopted child and 16 to 1 its slogan. This adopted child is exhibited and flaunted like a battle banner to the bre It is the excuse and pretext for the war-revenue act, and the apparent reason for making the cost of living still more costly. The war in Europe has made in America, through its foster mother, the Democratic Party, a lamentable condition of affairs which approximates in the suffering inflicted nearly that in some of Europe's ravaged States

It is the reason for the necessity of taxes, which are in this particular instance wholly unnecessary, or I should say would be unnecessary, if the Democratic Party policy had been the success which has been claimed for it by its wholly misguided followers. The necessity in this instance seems to be to cover up these party shortcomings. There are but 100 cents in each dollar, but out of this dollar, your dollar and mine and everyone else's, the Democratic Party wants to take the toll for its This toll is being taken and will be taken more mistakes. heavily from the workingman. It is the great Christmas greeting of good will toward men which a benevolent party in power extends to a hundred millions of people, with a proviso from the head of that party, the President, heralded through the presidential message, for further additions to this tax which shall grind alike upon the farmer and the city man in a tax on

automobiles and checks drawn on banks.

It will soon cost money to have a bank account and cost a farmer in assessed tax for cutting his silage and pumping his water through the tax on gasoline. The latter product is the plaything of a combination and rises and lowers in cost, but the cheapest price is yet too high, and the Democratic Party aims to force the farmer back to hard work and hand labor. It aims thus to rob the poor man of his comforts and the moderately well-off man of his petty luxuries. The reason, of course, as anyone who believes what he hears from the lips of Democratic leaders will tell you, is the war in Europe, the Democratic Party's own private, solely owned, and wholly controlled little private war. America, where the nations at war feed and recruit their supplies for war, must pay the bill

through Democratic policy.

All of which brings us up to a period of a little over a year ago when Democratic prosperity first began to be apparent to Demo-That period in our commercial history saw the birth of a new industry, a new sort of business-the war order. This business in the grand total of many component parts comprises millions of dollars in value, with profits commensurate with the risk taken with the European world topsy-turvy in conflict and half a dozen other nations tottering on the ragged edge of near precipitation. With the coming of this new business, the war, which had caused so much industrial depression and suffering, became the fondest hope of Democracy, for every man whose buildings and machinery were adapted for munitions making, saw his chance to recoup his losses, and again the war was claimed by Democracy, this time for the good of the country.

But are war orders legitimate business? They come to us because our factories may deliver the goods which are, thank heaven, not needed at home, and because they offer the only

relief from conditions brought about by Democratic abuse of power and ignorant tampering and experimenting with the prosperity and happiness of the people of the greatest Nation on the globe. But it will not be long, as time is reckoned, before the Democratic war in Europe will take its former stand as the reason for coming hard times. No one wants to be a harbinger of hard times, close money, few jobs, and all the rest of the accompaniments of hard times, but the wise men are those who look well into the future and give some consideration to the present and past in making plans for that future.

The war in Europe can not last forever. It has developed now into an endurance contest, and when the first flutterings of the wings of the dove of peace are heard then will come the deluge. It shall be a deluge of regrets and broken promises for many, but more than that will be a deluge of foreign-made goods dumped into the American market to sell at what they may bring to help pay the taxes abroad which were levied to pay for American goods, which helped to make the war last Factories in Europe are not idle. The Governments abroad have found it necessary to operate them under Government control to provide labor for those not at the front, and the product of these factories, of this cheap labor, will find its way to these shores to compete with American products. Where will be the Democratic protection then? the American manufacturer dependent on the benevolence of Democratic principle be then? Just where he was when the Democratic Party first started to claim the war as the need It is now costing the American public more to finance the Democratic pet war, in which they are not inti-mately interested or concerned, than it did to finance the Spanish-American War, in which they were an active party. The computations of Democratic leaders must have gone wrong.

American manufacturers, business men, workmen, and farmers must prepare for that time. It is time now to take steps to prepare for conditions which will as surely follow the war in Europe as night follows day. It may be well, too, in passing, to review what has taken place in the past three years since a reduction of the tariff and the placing on the free list of many manufactured and agricultural products has made possible competition, which has proven and will be rulnous to the American producer, whether he be business man or farmer.

There should be nothing fair in this, but it is so in spite of news

from Wall Street of millions lost and fortunes won. But this

is all false prosperity, prosperity which has for its foundation

nothing as stable even as quicksand, and when the crash comes the "war bride" will be a widow and there will be many mourn-

ers at the funeral of the favorite, more recently adopted favor-

ite, child of the Democratic Party.

Democratic extravagance is the reply as to the why of extra taxes, and Democratic impotence and incompetence in vital matters of Government administration is the reply to present conditions necessitating a "war" tax. There is only one solution to the great national problem, that being the retirement of the party which has again proven its inability to properly handle the affairs of the greatest country in the world.

The President, the recognized leader of the Democratic Party,

is, as I have said, perfectly cognizant of the condition of the Treasury, due to the extravagance and ill-advised expenditures made during his administration, and in his own words, from his message delivered at the opening of this session of Congress, the following proves the point:

It is made my duty by law, whenever the estimates of expenditure exceed the estimates of revenue, to call the attention of the Congress to the fact and suggest any means of meeting the deficiency that it may be wise or possible for me to suggest. I am ready to believe that it would be my duty to do so in any case; and I feel particularly bound to speak of the matter when it appears that the deficiency will arise directly out of the adoption by the Congress of measures which I myself urge it to adopt. Allow me, therefore, to speak briefly of the present state of the Treasury and of the fiscal problems which the next year will probably disclose.

disclose.

On the 30th of June last there was an available balance in the general fund of the Treasury of \$104.170,105.78. The total estimated receipts for the year 1916, on the assumption that the emergency revenue measure passed by the last Congress will not be extended beyond its present limit, the 31st of December, 1915, and that the present duty of 1 cent per pound on sugar will be discontinued after the 1st of May, 1916, will be \$670,365,500. The balance of June last and these estimated revenues come, therefore, to a grand total of \$774,535,605.78. The total estimated disbursements for the present fiscal year, including twenty-five millions for the Panama Canal, twelve millions for probable deficiency appropriations, and \$50,000 for miscellaneous debt redemptions, will be \$753,891,000; and the balance in the general fund of the Treasury will be reduced to \$20,644,605.78. The emergency revenue act, if continued beyond its present time limitation, would produce, during the half year then remaining, about forty-one millions. The duty of 1 cent per pound on sugar, if continued, would produce during the two months of the fiscal year remaining after the 1st of May, about fifteen millions. These two sums, amounting together to fity-six millions, if added to the revenues of the second half of the fiscal year, would yield the Treasury at the end of the year an available balance of \$76,644,905.78.

The additional revenues required to carry out the program of military and naval preparation of which I have spoken, would, as at present estimated, be for the fiscal year 1917, \$93,800,000. Those figures, taken with the figures for the present fiscal year which I have already given, disclose our financial problem for the year 1917. Assuming that the taxes imposed by the emergency revenue act and the present duty on sugar are to be discontinued, and that the balance at the close of the present fiscal year will be only \$20,644,605.78, that the disbursements for the Panama Canal will again be about twenty-five millions, and that the additional expenditures for the Army and Navy are authorized by the Congress, the deficit in the general fund of the Treasury on the 30th of June, 1917, will be nearly two hundred and thirty-five millions. To this sum at least fifty millions should be added to represent a safe working balance for the Treasury, and twelve millions to include the usual deficiency estimates in 1917; and these additions would make a total deficiency estimates in 1917; and these additions would make a total deficiency of some two hundred and ninety-seven millions. If the present taxes should be continued throughout this year and the next, however, there would be a balance in the Treasury of some seventy-six and a half millions at the end of the present fiscal year, and a deficit at the end of the pear, a total deficit of some one hundred and twelve millions. There are many additional sources of revenue which can justly be resorted to without hampering the industries of the country or putting any too great charge upon individual expenditure. A 1 per cent tax per gallon on gasoline and naphtha would yield, at the present estimated production, \$10,000,000; a tax of 50 cents per horse-power on automobiles and internal explosion engines, \$15,000,000; a stamp tax on bank checks, probably \$18,000,000; a tax of 50 cents per horse-power on automobiles and internal explosion engines, \$15,000,000; a stamp tax on bank

The President, too, shows his ignorance of conditions which affect the ordinary citizen, and it is evident, too, that he does not see the White House mail. I have received within the past six months hundreds of letters from residents in my district, and many of them are from prominent Democrats-manufacturers and business men for the most part-who are disgusted with the administration and the commercial results it has brought about. War orders do not extend to all parts of the country. I wish, for the purpose of showing how strongly some of these men feel, I might read their letters, but I must resist the temptation, and It may be enough to say that the party which they have supported for years in its adverse days will not know their help again at a time when the party is supposed to be enjoying success. I protest on behalf of the people of my district against the extension of the war-revenue act, and against the enactment of any further legislation which will tend to have the effect of making a comparative few pay for the enjoyment of the millions.

The Emergency Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON.

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 16, 1915.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave granted by unanimous consent on December 16, 1915, I desire to present my views upon the extension of the emergency revenue act and to state why I will vote for such extension.

The matter under consideration is the extension until December 31, 1916, of the provisions of the act entitled "An act to increase the internal revenue, and for other purposes," approved October 22, 1914. This law, commonly known as the emergency revenue bill, was passed to produce revenues, a deficiency in which was occasioned by the falling off in importations from foreign countries and a decrease in internal revenues, all incident to the European war.

The emergency revenue law of 1914 was largely copied from and is similar to the Republican war-tax measure of 1898. The latter was passed because of the need for increased revenues occasioned by the War with Spain. The law of 1914 was passed because of a decrease in internal revenues from spirits and tobacco, and so forth, and in tariff receipts occasioned by the European war. The circumstances under which the two laws were passed were quite similar. The law of 1914 was an emergency act in the strict sense of the word.

It will not do to say that because this Nation was at peace no emergency existed, since emergencies may be as well created by wars between foreign nations as by a war in which the United States takes part. Indeed, it must be admitted that the disturbance in the fiscal affairs of the neutral nations of the world caused by the European war was much greater than the derangement in our income and expenses occasioned by the Spanish War of 1898.

The Democratic general revenue bill of 1913 was most success ful as a revenue producer. During the nine months prior to August 1, 1914, during which time the law was in untrammeled operation, greater revenues were produced than during any similar period under the Dingley tariff or the Payne-Aldrich law. On August 1, 1914, there was a surplus in our Treasury, a condition which had not existed on any August 1 during Taft's administration. The European war produced world-wide business depression. A panic of unprecedented proportions confronted the whole financial world. Trade was paralyzed, business confidence destroyed, and a period of depression ushered in. Our foreign trade, both of import and export, was suspended, and foreign credits reached a prohibitive premium. In a few months a foreign demand for our food products developed and a trade balance in our favor began to accumulate, which was soon large enough to place Europe in our debt, so that the price of foreign exchange soured to unprecedented prices. The effect of these sudden fluctuations, loss of credit, and interruption of the channels of trade, lack of shipping, and so forth, was necessarily disastrous to ordinary commerce. Our import trade is even now only partially recovering, and will not likely reach normal figures until some conclusive development in the course of the war.

In America, within a few weeks after the breaking out of the European war, profound business depression existed. The depression pervaded the entire country in its industrial and financial affairs. In my section of the country, the iron and steel district of the South, there were three overlapping depressionsthe financial and industrial depression, which existed elsewhere, and the cotton depression, which was peculiar to the South. Over the country generally business was suspended, work stopped, and thousands were thrown out of employment. The result was a long period of enforced economy. This first had effect, as was proper, upon luxuries; the use of spirits and tobacco greatly decreased, and there was little demand for luxuries imported from foreign countries on which it was our policy to levy tariffs. The decrease in public revenues was therefore instantly felt, and, in a measure, for the reasons stated, was out of all proportion to the injury which business had sustained, great as such injury was,

In this state of our fiscal affairs the emergency revenue law of 1914 was enacted. It was in every sense an emergency measure, and was intended to be only temporary. It was expected that the European war would soon end and that business would be resumed with the realization of normal revenues. The war has lasted much longer than was expected by anyone, especially by the nations which entered into it. We have not by any means yet recovered from its effects upon our revenues. It will be yet months before the American people fully recover from the business depression beginning in August, 1914, and until such recovery is fully made some temporary arrangement to cover the deficiency in revenues must be made. The emergency is as real now as it was in 1914 and must be met patriotically and real now as it was in 1914, and must be met patriotically and

not by seeking petty party advantage.

The question may be asked, Why when the deficiency in revenues was foreseen were our expenditures not cut correspondingly? Any answer made to this question must be unsatisfactory. Undoubtedly our Government spends too much money. There is undoubted waste and unquestionable extravagance, but where will you begin to cut expenses? It is too late to start a movement for economy after a temporary shortage in revenue The economies practiced must be systematic and real and should reach every item of unjust or unnecessary expendi-Everyone who has had to deal with public affairs realizes that it is much easier to increase revenue than to cut expenses. Practically every economy proposed involves a bitter and violent opposition. Many times such opposition comes from the people themselves, who are misled into thinking that everyone must get his share. Growing out of this feeling we have our "pork-bar-rel" legislation for public buildings and other works of public improvement. Constituents frequently demand of their Congressmen that they procure the expenditure of public money in their districts, and alas, too often, it appears that these expenditures are desired more for the purpose of a temporary benefit to local trade and industry than to a desire for a permanent public improvement of real and substantial value. we have organized governmental activities along certain lines, in appropriations for Army and Navy, for agriculture, and so forth, and unless a thorough overhauling of the system is to be made it is manifestly unfair that under the spur of temporary pressure we should knock off this or that appropriation and thereby disrupt a well-developed organization.

The emergency revenue law of 1914, by its terms, expires on December 31, 1915. Immediate action for its extension is there-

fore imperatively demanded. To carry out this law and to collect the revenues which accrue under it an organization has been perfected consisting of clerks and other officers. If the law is not reenacted before it expires this organization will be completely destroyed. The collectors will go out of office and the whole system be disrupted. A reorganization at some later date would cause a heavy expenditure of public money. fore, if we are to have the law reenacted, the act of extension should be immediately adopted. If the matter is left for action until a general-revenue bill can be considered, several months will be consumed with partisan haggling over its terms.

As a matter of principle, I oppose the provisions of the emergency revenue law which provide for stamp taxes. I regard this as a highly objectionable form of taxation. True, it has the merit of being direct in its operation. The people who pay the tax know that they are paying it. The money is not taken from them by stealth through forms of import duties so as to leave a basis for the fallacious contention that the for-

eigner pays the tax.

The principle of direct taxation must be approved, because the people who pay are thereby directly made aware of the extent to which they are being mulcted and may take action to relieve themselves of unjust burdens. A great objection to stamp taxes is that they lay a direct burden upon commerce; business is made to pay for its existence. The man of sloth pays nothing; the man of industry is made to suffer. tendency is to clog trade and to handicap commercial transac-I believe that no nation should rely for any substantial part of its revenue as a penalty for the activities of legitimate commerce and trade.

Another great objection to stamp taxes is the great inconvenience to which the people are put in their collection. The comparison made by the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. Mox-DELL] in his speech upon this subject is most apt. Our Government stands at telephone booths, telegraph stations, cashiers' windows, and in other most unwelcome places to exact its revenues penny by penny, a trifling sum at a time, from those who

have to pay. A man is frequently put to inconvenience and trouble in procuring stamps out of all proportion to the importance of the business transaction for which the stamps are

In rural districts and away from business centers generally the inconvenience of stamp taxes is frequently most exasperating. Even in commercial centers business men are subject to frequent irritation and annoyance. For illustration, a few weeks ago a man of my acquaintance desired to have a small business transaction. The amount of stamps required to make the transaction valid was only 17 cents. He first went for the stamps to a leading real estate office—the clerk who had charge of the stamps was at lunch. Thence he went to a bank-it was after banking hours and the stamps had been locked in the safe. Next he walked six squares to the revenue collector's office and over his counter bought the 17 cents in stamps, tendering the clerk a silver dollar in payment; but behold the clerk shook his head; he could not make change, so the man handed him back the stamps and put his dollar in his pocket and walked out, for that was the last straw, and in his exasperation abandoned his transaction.

The aggregate collections from stamp taxes on everyday business transactions must be small, and, no principle being involved, it would seem that the Government should give up a method of taxation so harassing to citizens. I do not think that I shall ever support another stamp-tax measure which involves in its operations so much inconvenience to the people.

It should not be believed that the emergency act of 1914,

which it is now proposed to extend, represents to any degree a Democratic principle. To the contrary, this law is a close copy of the Republican revenue measure of 1898, and credit should be

given to the Republican Party for its invention.

The Democratic general revenue law of 1913, sometimes called the Underwood bill, represents to a large degree the ideals of the Democratic Party upon the matter of a levy for national revenues. I quote from the tariff plank of the national Democratic platform adopted in Baltimore in 1912

We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic Party that the Federal Government under the Constitution has no right or power to impose or collect 'ariff duties except for the purpose of revenue, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of Government, honestly and economically administered.

As for myself, I stand squarely upon this plank. Though I represent the largest manufacturing district in the South I give my fullest and freest adherence to the principle of tariff for The declaration of the Baltimore platform it seems to me is fundamental in Democracy and any apology for it or evasion of any of its implications constitute a betrayal of |

the real principles of Democracy. It is difficult to square some of the provisions of the general tariff law of 1914 with this plank. A moderate tariff levied upon all imports of whatsoever kind, with increased rates upon luxuries and articles which are not necessaries of life, seems consistent with the Baltimore declaration. Another legitimate subject of revenue is domestic products, taxes upon which when levied at all should be upon articles which are not necessaries of life, such as spirits, beer, tobacco, and things which contribute chiefly to luxury or pleasure.

I stand upon the principle that a large part of our necessary revenues should be derived from taxes upon incomes. lieve that the Nation in future should come to rely more and more upon taxes upon inheritances and accumulated wealth. I believe that we should give fuller recognition of the doctrine that the burdens of taxation should so far as possible be lifted from the backs of the poor and that the wealth of the country should pay the greater part of the expenses of Government. The activities of Government consist in chief in the administration of justice, in the preservation of order and public defense, and the protection of property in general. It is only fair that the expense of protecting wealth should be paid by that which enjoys the protection.

Of all forms of taxation the most iniquitious is that which under the guise of raising revenue for the public welfare enables producers and manufacturers to lay an unjust charge and to exact an unjust price from American consumers. Especially is this so when the necessaries of life are involvedthe everyday needs of the everyday man. A tax such as thisand practically all protective tariffs come under the ban-is a perversion of American ideals and American institutions; it is

a fraud upon the American Constitution.

Emergency Revenue Tax Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN N. TILLMAN, OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 17, 1915.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. Speaker, no one can dispute the fact that at the time the Sixty-third Congress passed the act which the resolution under consideration seeks to continue, that an emergency existed justifying its passage, and no one can deny that an emergency exists now, justifying its extension. The President has recommended this legislation, it therefore becomes an administration measure; the Democratic caucus has indorsed it, making it a party measure; our party is charged with the responsibility of providing revenue for necessary expenditures, therefore no party man can well afford to vote against the pending resolution.

It has been stated on both sides of the chamber to-day that direct taxes are never popular. That is true and the Republican Party, with characteristic cunning, has taken advantage of this perfectly natural antipathy to fasten upon the country the unscientific and clumsy iniquity known to political economists as the protective tariff, which protects the few but fleeces the many. Our dislike of direct taxes will prompt us to protest the payment of a penny on a telegram, and yet not complain when compelled to pay a half dozen dollars in the way of bounty to a

protected clothing manufacturer.

On the minority side they say to-day, as they have been saying all these years, "Let the foreigner pay the tax." The President was accused of a lack of dignity when he said that the Republican Party had not acquired a new idea in 30 years. He stated the truth. The foreigner first pays the custom duties, but the consumer pays them finally, and for every dollar that goes into the Federal Treasury in the way of custom duties many times one dollar goes into the deep pockets of the protected manufacturer because of the unfair Republican system

of taxation.

Direct taxes are fair, they are democratic, they go directly into the Treasury, but people detest them because they are not used to them and feel them acutely because they know it when they pay them. It is something new; therefore not understood. The policy of paying more taxes, but paying them indirectly, has fastened itself upon the Nation, to the Nation's hurt.

For almost half a century the United States has collected practically all of its revenues from consumption taxes. During

these years \$20,000,000.000 came into the Federal Treasury through customs and taxes from internal revenues. These taxes were largely paid by people of modest means, and, worse than that, the people who pay these taxes are tricked into the belief that they are paying value for these goods, whereas in fact they are not only paying for the goods, but are paying an enormous head tax as well on every article purchased. We have been collecting less than 10 per cent of the public revenues from direct taxation. The other great nations collect perhaps 50 per cent of their revenue directly.

We collected in 1914 from custom taxes two hundred and ninety-two millions and three hundred and eighty million from internal revenues; in this last amount must be included taxes

from incomes.

Direct taxes are equitable and desirable in that they are collected from wealth, from inheritances, from property, from vast estates, rather than from the poor. The tax of over six hundred million from customs and from internal-revenue taxation is only a part of the burden of indirect taxation. The duties imposed on imports make these imported articles higher to the consumer, and also enhance the selling price of domestic goods in circles protected by tariff legislation.

Approximately \$2,000,000,000 annually must be paid by Amer-

ican consumers because of the tariff.

In comparison with foreign countries we pay extravagant per capita custom taxes. This country collects \$3.20 per capita custom taxes; Germany collects \$2.50; France, \$2.60; Italy, \$2; Japan, 40 cents. Our internal-revenue tax, largely paid by the poor, totals \$3.25 per capita, the per capita indirect tax totaling \$6.45.

We should raise more revenue directly—impose taxes on in-heritances and bequests. About \$3,000.000.000 change hands annually through death. We should increase the tax on incomes coming from investments, tax smaller incomes than are now being taxed, secure taxes directly from property, rather than continue the Republican policy of collecting by indirect methods enormous revenue from the people least able to pay it.

Emergency Revenue Tax Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BURNETT M. CHIPERFIELD.

OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, December 16, 1915.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, were the subject matter of the resolution under discussion of less importance to the people, and particularly those whom I represent, I would hesitate to burden this record with an extension of my remarks.

Upon the motion of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] the debate hereon has been limited to two and onehalf hours, and only one-half of this time is available for use by

this side of the House.

When one reflects that the matter covered by the resolution affects the entire population of the United States—although it must be admitted that some States, and particularly those of the majority of the Democratic side, are not so heavily touched by it—the attitude of the majority side is difficult to understand upon any other theory than that it is a studied and deliberate attempt upon their part to forbid full discussion of the resolution on the floor of the House and to prevent the open expression of the severe criticism that it merits.

It may be that the importance of the measure is not so great in the opinion of these gentlemen as to merit much discussion, but that opinion will not be shared or upheld by those who will finally pass judgment at the polls upon this measure.

The burden falls heavily upon the State which I have the honor to represent, and in this way and upon the behalf of my constituents I desire to leave upon the record my protest against the passage of the resolution that imposes it.

Of the entire internal revenue collected in the United States the State of Illinois pays more than one-eighth part, or for the fiscal year ending June 15, 1915, it paid the enormous sum of

\$56,242,546,12,

It was the second State in the Union in the list of internalrevenue contributors.

We are told by the majority that the measure is one of absolute necessity to save the Treasury from utter depletion.

It has been denominated by them as a " war tax.

Such juggling with words and terms is wholly puerile and will deceive no one.

The statement that it is a war tax may be a sop to ease the apprehensions of those who vote this tax upon the people, but no one else will be deluded by it.

The "wayfaring man, though a fool," will laugh at the clumsy attempt to misbrand this burden imposed by the Democratic Party at a time when profound peace prevails within the borders of this land.

If the measure is a necessity, as they claim, it is because of the fact that the Treasury of the United States is empty and bare, and stands so as a monument to the incompetency and financial mismanagement of the present administration.

When the Republican administration left office on the 4th day of March, 1913, the Treasury was in a most flourishing condition, notwithstanding the fact a very unusual expense had been incurred by the Government in the building of the Panama

There was then in the Treasury a balance of \$149.000,000.

There was then upon the statute books of the Nation a tariff law that was sufficient to provide from customs collected revenue enough to efficiently run the Government, pay all of its expenses, and to accumulate a handsome surplus.

This surplus was growing month by month, thus putting the financial standing of the United States upon a wholly sound and solid foundation and thereby aiding every legitimate business en-

terprise in the land.

The sum so collected came to the Trensury without visible

burden upon the people.

The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Kitchin], in quoting a statement which he claims was made by the late Senator Dolliver, justified in part the imposition of the stamp tax extended by the resolution, because he contends that Senator Dolliver said that for every dollar which goes to the United States Treasury from customs that \$5 goes into the pockets of those conducting the business enterprises of the Nation.

He very well could have gone yet further and said that if this statement attributed to Senator Dolliver is correctly quoted, then that for every \$5 which goes into the pockets of those conducting the business enterprises of the Government \$50 goes into the pockets of the labor of the United States employed in

such enterprises.

In order that it might be true to its oft discredited policy and traditions our opponents upon the other side of the House speedily repealed this revenue-producing, business-stimulating, labor-employing measure.

In so doing they struck a blow at the industry and labor of the country well understood by all, apparently, except those who

struck it.

In order that they might take \$5 from the pockets of those conducting the business enterprises of the country they would also strike down the \$50 which goes into the pocket of labor.

It would serve no useful purpose to recount the business and industrial loss and suffering that followed the repeal of the Republican tariff law.

The sears produced by such repeal are yet visible upon the body of labor and of productive industry.

It is true that the existence of such scars is denied by those who constitute the majority, but such denial is made to suit the purpose of the present hour.

Light is shed upon the business health of the country since such repeal by considering the number of failures that occurred in 1912 and in 1914.

In 1912 (under a Republican administration) the failures were 15,452 and the total liabilities were \$203,117,391.

In 1914 (under a Democratic administration) the failures were 18,280 and the total liabilities were \$357.908,859, or, as compared with 1912, an excess of business failures of nearly 3,000 with an excess of liabilities of \$154,000,000.

As bearing also upon the general prosperity of business, the corporation income tax is \$3,983,308.18 less for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, than it was for the fiscal year of 1914. Can this denote anything but an unprosperous year in the affairs of such concerns?

If the corporation income tax is nearly \$4,000,000 less for 1915, how much less must have been the actual incomes of such corporations?

For the fiscal year of 1914 the corporation income tax was \$43.127.739.89. For the fiscal year of 1915 it was \$39.144.531.71. The effect of this legislation will not be determined in this

House or here finally weighed.

It is the whole body of the people who will give the verdict after this Congress has adjourned.

True it is that while in session we are apt to magnify our importance, but at a future day we will be calmly and dispassionately judged by our masters, who will not be blinded by the glamor of "pomp and circumstance."

It is sufficient to say that the Democratic majority stand indicted by the people of the land, charged with having grievously injured both industry and labor. Judgment of condemnation and punishment will be pronounced at the polls in November next, and there the industrial evil here wrought will be corrected.

In the last presidential campaign the Republican administra-tion of affairs was denounced as recklessly wasteful and wick-edly extravagant and it was castigated and held up to scorn by

Democratic orators upon every stump.

The Democratic platform was vigorously outspoken with pro-fession of horror at Republican extravagance and profuse with promises of Democratic economy.

The result after the election was precisely what might have been expected and as always heretofore been realized whenever the Democratic Party has been intrusted with power.

Instead of economy upon the part of this administration there

has been a program of extravagant appropriation.

No one can be found who would be rash enough to contend that a more efficient administration of affairs has been produced under this administration.

No one can truthfully be heard to say that a better government was given, but, despite all promises and platforms, the Sixty-third Congress (Democratic) made appropriations of \$177. 000,000 more than did the preceding Congress, which was Republican.

It has invariably been so, that when power is intrusted to the Democratic Party that receipts have been diminished, and in place of a surplus there has been a deficit and instead of economy there has been reckless extravagance.

In this last instance the party ran true to form.

Following the repeal of the tariff law the Treasury balance

immediately commenced to diminish and disappear.

As stated before, on the day when President Wilson was inaugurated there was in the Treasury of the United States the sum of \$149,000,000.

September 30, 1915, the Treasury balance had been reduced to \$41,000 000.

On December 15, 1915, the Treasury balance is variously estimated to be from \$20,000,000 to \$1,000,000.

Somewhere between the two last-named sums is the real

It is apparent that the Treasury is bankrupt, and has been made so by the reversal of and departure from the policy of

the Republican Party.

The first 13 days in October, 1915, the Treasury balance dropped \$11,598,304, or more than \$800,000 per day.

September 27, 1913, under a Republican administration, the Treasury balance was \$127,091,178.

September 27, 1915, the Treasury balance was \$41,870,422.

In other words, in the two years under Democratic mismanagement the Treasury balance has been depleted \$85,220,756. leaving at this time a balance utterly insufficient for the needs of the country, and requiring to be replenished, as contended by the majority, by a continuation of the special tax sought by the resolution under consideration.

The original act which was entitled "An act to increase the internal revenues, and for other purposes," was introduced by the Democratic side and urged in the Sixty-third Congress with

an apology.

It was stated that it was only a temporary expedient, and by its terms its operation was limited to December 31, 1915.

Our opponents at all times have bitterly denounced a tax of this kind, that imposes a burden of such a nature on the people.

The Republican Party has never approved of such a policy. except in time of actual warfare or following actual warfare, for the purpose of paying war indebtedness.

The effort has not been made many times in the United States to raise revenue by such methods, but whenever it has been attempted it has been prompted by a necessity growing out of the need to raise money to pay for a war then in progress or to pay indebtedness incurred by a war.

It has never been thought to be warranted by the deficit occurring in time of profound peace and in the absence of physical

disaster.

As nearly as is possible I have collected a list of the laws whereby such taxes have been imposed.

Following the Revolutionary War, resort was had to this method of taxation, as follows:

Act of June 5, 1794. (1 Stat., 373.) Tax on carriages. Act of June 5, 1794. (1 Stat., 384.) Tax on snuff and re-

fined sugar.

Act of June 9, 1794. (1 Stat., 397.) Tax on property sold at anction.

Act of May 28, 1796. (1 Stat., 478.) Tax on carriages. Act of July 6, 1797. (1 Stat., 527.) Tax on vellum, p Tax on vellum, parchment, and paper, including paper used for certificates of naturalization, licenses of attorneys, letters patent, charter parties, bottomry and respondentia bonds, receipts for legacies, insurance policies, exemplifications, bonds, bill of exchange, promissory notes, protests, powers of attorney, drawback certificates and debentures, bills of lading, inventories, insurance and bank shares.

Act of February 28, 1799. (1 Stat., 622.) Amendment of act

of July 6, 1797.

After the War of 1812 a like resort was had to his method of taxation for the purpose of raising funds to pay the expenses of that war. Such enactments were as follows:

Act of July 24, 1813. (3 Stat., 35.) Act of July 24, 1813. (3 Stat., 40.) Tax on refined sugar. (3 Stat., 40.) Tax on carriages,

Act of July 24, 1813. (3 Stat., 44.) Tax on sales at auction. Act of August 2, 1813. (3 Stat., 72.) License tax on retailers of liquor and foreign merchandise.

Act of August 2, 1813. (3 Stat., 77.) Tax on bank notes,

bonds, and bills of exchange.

Act of December 15, 1814. (3 Stat., 148.) Tax on carriages. Act of December 23, 1814. (3 Stat., 159.) Tax on sales at auction, license tax on retailers of liquors, and foreign merchandise.

Act of January 18, 1815. (3 Stat., 180.) Tax on manufactured iron, candles, hats, umbrellas, paper, playing and visiting

cards, saddles and bridles, boots, leather.

Act of January 18, 1815. (3 Stat., 186.) Tax on household furniture and watches.

Act of February 27, 1815. (3 Stat., 217.) Tax on gold, silver, and jewelry.

Again was this true during the days of the Civil War and for several years following, where the following impositions were made.

Act of July 1, 1862. (12 Stat., 432.) Act of July 16, 1862. (12 Stat., 588.) Tax on sugar.

Act of March 3, 1863. (12 Stat., 713.) Amendment of act of July 1, 1862.

Act of June 30, 1864. (13 Stat., 223.) Act of March 3, 1865. (13 Stat., 469.) Amendment of act of June 30, 1864.

Act of July 13, 1868. (14 Stat., 98.) Amendment of act of June 30, 1864.

August 2, 1886 (24 Stat., 209), a tax was imposed on oleo-margarine for the protection of the butter and dairy indus-

October 1, 1890 (26 Stat., 567, 620), a tax was imposed on opium for restrictive and revenue purposes, upon the same theory that taxes are imposed upon the manufacture of liquors.

June 6, 1896 (29 Stat., 253), a tax was imposed upon filled cheese for the protection of the cheese and dairy industries.

Then came the War with Spain, and the following enactments were made for the purpose of providing revenue for the carrying on of that war:

Act of June 13, 1898. (30 Stat., 448.) War-revenue act. Act of March 2, 1901. (31 Stat., 938.) Amendment of war-

August 5, 1909 (36 Stat., 11, 112), a tax was imposed on corporations, upon the theory that they should contribute in a greater degree to the support of the Government.

April 9, 1912, a prohibitive tax was imposed on white phosphorus matches (37 Stat., 81) to prevent the occupational diseases thereby occasioned.

The present Democratic administration has, since it came to power, imposed taxes on opium, cotton exchanges, and the long list of articles above set forth by the original act of October 1914, which it is now proposed to extend by House joint resolution No. 59.

The Republican Party in its internal-revenue legislation in times of peace has only taxed those articles which by the common consent of the people should be taxed, such as the manufacture of liquors and tobaccos, opium, etc.

This act goes further than any act ever heretofore passed for any purpose, and, with much detail, brings the tax home to every person.

Every home and every person, no matter how humble, must pay its tribute because of the failure of the Democratic Party to provide sufficient revenue to run the Government.

Evidently it was the intention of the framers of the law to make it as burdensome and therefore as obnoxious and objectionable as possible.

In 1898, when the question of raising additional revenue for the expenses of the Spanish-American War was pending, Hon. OSCAR UNDERWOOD, later leader of the Democratic side of this House, in protesting against the passage of the act then proposed as a war measure, to impose a somewhat similar tax, spoke as follows:

House, in protesting against the passage of the act then proposed as a war measure, to impose a somewhat similar tax, spoke as follows:

Any man who buys an article on which tariff taxes are levied, such as shoes, hats, clothes, etc., or consumes an article on which an internal revenue tax is collected, such as beer, tobacco, medicines, etc., payshis tax into the Federal Treasury. If the necessities of a poor man's family require him to consume as much of the necessities or needs of life as his rich neighbor, then he must pay as much taxes, although he does not receive in any due proportion the same return from the Government by way of protection.

It is a well-known fact that one man in New York City owns over \$100,000,000 of improved real estate, and yet he lives in London; he does not buy his clothes, his liquors, tobacco, or other articles of necessity or luxury on which our Government collects taxes here; and, not withstanding the fact that he pays no taxes to our Government, we are to-day fortifying New York Harbor at great expense, raising and maintaining a vast Army and Navy—for what?

To prevent our Spanish foes from sending a fleet of war vessels up the Hudson River and destroying his property, whereas this man's tenants, who are sending their sons to the front to answer their country's call, who will be compelled to pay the war taxes levied under this bill, may have no property that needs protection; possibly they could put their all in a wagon and haul it into the country beyond the reach of the enemy's guns.

Of course the above is an extreme case, but it illustrates the proposition that taxes levied on consumption, such as tariff and internal-revenue taxes, do not justly or equitably distribute the burdens of government. The man who has wealth may pay more taxes than the man who has not, because he may wear a few more clothes or smoke better cigars, but in proportion to his wealth you can readily see he does not begin to pay his fair proportion of taxes.

Now, one of the great objections to the me

As we sit here, far removed from the people who must bear the burden, we may delude ourselves with the belief that they do not complain of this law; but if we do so delude ourselves, a rude awakening awaits us, for throughout the length and breadth of this land a cry of protest goes up from every class against the continuation of this irritating burden.

Let us see who are affected:

- 1. Bankers upon their capital stock.
- 2. Brokers.
- 3. Pawnbrokers.
- Commercial brokers.
- 5. Customhouse brokers.
- 6. Proprietors of theaters, museums, and concert halls.
- 7. Proprietors of circuses.
- 8. Proprietors or agents of all other public exhibitions or shows
 - 9. Proprietors of bowling alleys and billiard rooms.
 - 10. Commission merchants. 11. Dealers in leaf tobaccos.
 - Dealers in tobacco generally.
 - 13. Manufacturers of tobacco.
 - 14. Manufacturers of cigars.
 - 15. Manufacturers of cigarettes.
 - Bonds, debentures, or certificates of indebtedness.
- 17. Agreement of sale or to sell products or merchandise at any exchange or board of trade.
 18. Promissory notes.
- 19. Bills of lading or manifests for shipment by express and freight.
 - 20. Telegraph messages.
 - 21. Telephone messages.
 - 22 Indemnifying bonds. 23. Certificates of profit.
 - 24. Certificate of damage.
- 25. Certificates issued by any port warden or marine sur-
- veyor.

 26. Any certificate required by law.

 27. Contract, broker's note, or memorandum of sale.

28. Conveyances or deeds.

- 29. Entry of any goods, wares, or merchandise at any customhouse
 - 30. Entry for the withdrawal of goods.

31. Insurance policies.

- Indemnity insurance policies.
- Passage tickets to any foreign port.

Power of attorney.

- Power of attorney to sell or rent real estate, etc.
- Protest of commercial paper.
- Parlor-car seats.
- Sleeping-car berths.
- 39. Perfumery and cosmetics.

40. Chewing gum.

From these sources it is contended by the administration that a sum ranging from \$85,000,000 to \$100,000,000 is to be raised.

There is hardly a person in the country who is not called upon to pay a part of this tax to meet the deficit caused by the destruction of the revenues which formerly were raised under a protective tariff, framed in accordance with the policy of the Republican Party.

It is contended by those who support this resolution that the present administration of affairs has brought great prosperity to our people.

Let us see upon what they base such contention.

It is their claim that our industries within the last few months have not suffered from foreign competition, and that our export trade has been greatly augmented thereby, finding a better outlet for our productions and giving greater employment to our people.

With reference to the claim of exports, it may not be out of place to examine the facts.

I quote from a statement made by another:

I quote from a statement made by another:

From January to September, 1914, the Democratic tariff was in operation. During two months of this period—August and September—our export trade was greatly stimulated by the European war and the consequent demand for war munitions.

From January to September, 1913, the Republican tariff law was in operation. The world was at peace, but during the entire period the business of this country was a prey to the doubt and anxiety which invariably accompany tariff tinkering and the prospect of the adoption of a free-trade policy.

Nevertheless, our exports for the 1913 period amounted to \$1,733,-000,000, while for 1914 they amounted to \$1,467,000,000—a decrease of \$266,000,000 in nine months under the Democratic tariff law, or at the rate of nearly \$30,000,000 a month.

Contracts for war supplies were entered into with American manufacturers by the belligerents immediately upon the declaration of war, but not until January, 1915, did our export trade become a commercial torrent which reached its greatest volume in September, when over \$300,000,000 worth of American products were sold abroad.

With their usual assurance the Democratic Party deep not

With their usual assurance, the Democratic Party does not hesitate to claim the entire credit for the condition which has made increase exports possible.

They blindly close their eyes to the fact that until months after the commencement of the European war our industries were prostrated and our labor was idle.

Every child knows that the reason for the temporary revival of business has been the European war.

This war has brought about an increase of exports and a decrease of competitive imports.

So far as imports are concerned, the war has relieved temporarily the Democratic Party from the consquences of its tariff

The war and its effect upon importations have given the best possible illustration of the beneficial effect of the protective policy of the Republican Party.

In time of peace we discourage, by this policy, and to a large degree prevent, the importation of goods from abroad by the imposition of customs duties to such an extent as to prevent unfair competition with American labor and with the products of our fields, mills, and factories.

Our opponents sought to strike down this protection and to admit upon a competitive basis the products of other lands, evidently to "sharpen the wits" of our producers, as President

Wilson averred was necessary.

This tariff policy of the Democrats was largely nullified by the unexpected events abroad, which culminated in the great struggle now raging.

Men were called from the field and the factory to the battle

line and they ceased to produce industrially.

No longer were the goods and wares produced in foreign lands so largely sent abroad, because they were required where produced for home consumption.

Indeed, such warring nations could not supply the local demand for their own requirements, and the need of goods manufactured in this country soon became evident, and from such lands the call went out for our products.

The unusual and extraordinary requirements of such warring nations for munitions of war, guns, vessels, supplies, foodstuffs, and clothing soon commenced to draw upon the resources of the United States, and as a result of the demand from abroad came an opportunity for industrial activity which was seized upon by our factories and producers.

This meant the employment of a considerable part of our labor, and in such lines as the demand existed there was an

improvement in the industrial condition.

To allow credit to our opponents for this condition would be to extend it where it does not belong and give it where it is not merited.

-and we all hope it will be very soon-the strife Some daywill cease and men will be released from the demands of war.

Upon their return to the forge, the field, the mine, and the factory there will be substituted for the activities of war an industrial revival, and it will be followed by a commercial invasion such as this Nation has never known.

The energies of war will then be transformed into a determination to make a conquest of our markets and the markets

of the world.

Then our people will call again for the protection of the Republican Party to stand between them and the flood of foreign-made productions and commodities and our own industries, realizing that the policy of the Democratic Party contains

no remedy for the evil that will then menace and threaten.

The real balance in the Treasury of the United States is to-day a mystery. No man can tell just what sum is available for the payment of the expenses of the Government. By a system of accounting which no one not in the secret can understand the balance in the Treasury overnight was increased by the Secretary of the Treasury-but only on paper-\$88,000,000.

When, in good faith, a Member upon this side did inquire of the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] what amount was actually available in the Treasury for necessary public expenditures, the distinguished gentleman, with good-natured wit, responded that he would not make the disclosure, because if he did it would stimulate the rapacity of the Republican

Even he, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, re-

fused to reveal the secret.

He need not have entertained such fear.

After the destruction of the Treasury balance by the Democratic policy, and after the extravagant expenditures by the Democratic Congress in its last session, there would have been nothing left to invite an attack from any source.

Every great situation has a counterpart in the petty events of life, and here, again, in the Treasury shortage is repeated on a vaster scale that tragedy of nursery days where-

Old Mother Hubbard
Went to the cupboard
To get her poor dog a bone.
When she got there
The cupboard was bare,
And so the poor dog had none.

The field for rapacity or exploitation on the part of the Republicans would have been as inviting as a land visited, ravaged, and devastated by flood, famine, war, and pestilence.

Indeed, it is not within the imagination of man to conceive how, after, the despollation of the Treasury balance by the Democratic side, there would be anything of value remaining which had been overlooked for either Republican pillage or any public need.

In view of the many promises that all of the affairs of the Government should be conducted with "pitiless publicity" it not passing strange that even the real amount of available cash for public expenditures should be shrouded in darkness and maintained in mystery?

Some time has been devoted by my Republican colleagues in admonishing the other side upon the error of its ways.

Although new in the service upon this floor, it would seem to me most plainly to be an effort wholly wasted.

There have been a number of instances in the history of our Government when our opponents have been placed in power.

Without exception, such an administration has been attended by business and industrial disaster.

No wisdom has been obtained by this party as the result of such unfortunate experiences.

It has acquired no wisdom, and as often as the opportunity is presented its mistakes are repeated.

At the end of one of its administrations it is always found in the same pit.

Advice and admonition is but wasted.

Apparently "they see not."

In the words of old the situation can best be summed up: Ephraim is joined to idols. Let him alone.

War-Tax Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BEN JOHNSON, OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 16, 1915.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker: The republicans, when discussing what has come to be known as the War-Tax Act, generalize by saying that there are many, many instances of unjust tax levied by that Act, but not one of them yet has undertaken to indicate the particular items of tax which they assert are unjust and burdensome.

The people generally never have seen the Act, and all they know about it is that because of the European war a direct tax has been levied upon certain occupations and certain manufactured articles. The republicans are wise in generalizing and in not inviting particular attention to any one of the items

when they criticize the Act.

The first item of the Act increases the tax from \$1.00 to \$1.50 upon each barrel of beer. The general tax-payer will not com-plain at that item of taxation. The next item is a tax of two cents upon each quart of "still wine." The average tax-payer throughout the country will not complain of that tax. The next item of this much abused Act is a tax of twenty cents a quart on champagne. Nobody but the rich ever see champagne. It costs five dollars a bottle. Those who are rich enough to pay five dollars a quart for champagne certainly will not mind the twenty cents tax. I doubt if there are a dozen men in my entire congressional district who ever bought a bottle of champagne. Therefore, my constituents certainly are not among those who will complain of the tax upon champagne.

The next item of the Act imposes a tax of fifteen cents per quart upon "fortified wine". The average tax-payer throughout the country is not protesting against this tax. Certainly none of my constituents are. The next item imposes a tax of one dollar on each one thousand dollars of bank capital and surplus. The people generally do not have this tax to pay, as the banks themselves pay it. Recently I was all over my congressional district and visited every bank in the district. not one of them did I hear a complaint about this small tax upon the capital stock and surplus of banks. The next item of the Act imposes a tax of thirty dollars per year upon "stock and bond brokers". But few tax-payers throughout the Union pay this tax. I do not believe there is a man in my congressional district who has it to pay. The next item of the Act imposes an annual tax of fifty dollars on "pawnbrokers". There are pawnbrokers in all of the cities of the country, and everybody knows they live by extortioning from the poor and distressed. I for one am not in favor of relieving the pawnbrokers of this tax and imposing it upon the people generally throughout the land. The next item of the Act imposes an annual tax of twenty dollars on each "commercial broker". There is not a single "commercial broker" in my district, and my district is the usual rural one. Those who would repeal that tax upon the few commercial brokers in the cities would place it upon the backs of the men, women and children throughout the length and breadth of the country. The next item in the Act imposes an annual tax of ten dollars on each "custom house broker". Considering the magnitude of our country there are comparatively but few custom house brokers. Certainly none of the farming classes and but few of the inland classes have this tax to pay. The next item of the Act imposes an annual tax of from fifty to one hundred dollars, according to the seating capacity, upon "theaters". Therefore, the proprietors of the theaters pay this tax which the general mass of the people are excused from. The next item of the Act imposes an annual license of one hundred dollars upon "circuses". This is another instance of where those most able to bear the tax are made to pay it. The next item of the Act imposes an annual tax of ten dollars upon "other public exhibitions". bitions". The next item of the Act imposes an annual tax upon "billiard rooms". Those who are struggling for meat and bread and who should be excused from the payment of tax certainly are not taxed by this item. The next item imposes an annual tax of twenty dollars upon "commission merchants". The next item imposes an annual tax of from six dollars to twenty-four dollars upon "dealers" in leaf tobacco, according to the quantity handled. It will be noticed that this tax is upon "dealers" and not upon growers. The next item imposes

an annual tax of four dollars and eighty cents upon "tobacco whose sales do not exceed two hundred dollars per annum. The next item imposes a tax upon "manufacturers of tobacco and cigarettes", according to the amount of sales. The next item imposes a tax of five cents on each one hundred dollars of the "bonds and debentures of corporations". item imposes a tax of two cents on each one hundred dollars of sales of stock in "corporations". The next item imposes an sales of stock in "corporations". The next item imposes an additional tax of one cent on each hundred dollars of sales of merchandise, where such sales are made on "boards of trade". The next item taxes "promissory notes" to the extent of two cents on each hundred dollars. "Bills of lading" are taxed one cent each. Telephone and telegraph messages costing fifteen cents and more are taxed one cent each. The next item imposes a tax of fifty cents upon each "indemnifying bond". Then "corporation certificates" are taxed twenty five cents each; while "other certificates" are taxed ten cents each, "Brokers contracts" are taxed ten cents each, "Deeds of cone" are taxed fifty cents on each five hundred dollars of "Entry for withdrawal" of goods from "customs warevevance ' houses" are taxed fifty cents. "Original policies of insurance' are taxed one-half of one cent on each one dollar of insurance. Under that item purely cooperative or mutual fire insurance companies or associations carried on by the members thereof. solely for the protection of their property and not for profit, are exempted from the tax. So, also, are all policies of "re-Every policy of insurance or bond or obligation of the nature of indemnity for loss, together with policies of accident insurance, health insurance, and "workmen's compensation insurance" go untaxed. Tickets for passengers sold in the United States for passage by vessel to a foreign port, if costing not more than thirty dollars each shall bear a tax of one dollar. Those costing more than thirty dollars, but less than sixty dollars, are taxed three dollars each. Tickets costing more than sixty dollars are taxed five dollars each. Powers of attorney to vote in the election of officers of a "corporation" are taxed ten cents each. "Powers of attorney" to sell or lease real estate are taxed twenty five cents each. "Protests upon bills of exchange etc.", are taxed twenty five cents each. Seats in "palace are taxed one cent each. On each five cent bottle of "cosmetic" there is levied a tax of one-eighth of one cent. tax of four cents is levied on each one dollar's worth of "chewing gum "

The various items of the Act disclose the self-evident fact that no very poor man necessarily bears any part of the tax which is imposed by this much abused Act.

The gentleman from Illinois, (Mr. Mann,) the republican leader, has inserted in the Record twenty-six letters from persons who are protesting against the continuance of this tax.

The first one of these letters is from the Comfort Manufacturing Co., Chicago, Illinois, protesting against the payment of a tax of five per-cent on "toilet requisites", and also complaining because this tax is levied upon the "manufacturer", instead of upon the "consumer".

The next one of these communications is from Fox & Gedding, Chicago, Illinois, who are dissatisfied because they have to pay an annual tax of twenty dollars as "commission merchants". They complain of the additional tax of one cent on each "bill of lading".

The next letter filed by the gentleman from Illinois is from A. E. Barker & Company, Chicago, Illinois. This firm also complains because they have to pay a tax of twenty dollars as "commission merchants", and one cent upon each "bill of lading, express receipt etc.,".

The next letter filed by the gentleman from Illinois is from C. F. Love & Company, Chicago, Illinois, who also complain because they have to pay a tax of twenty dollars as "commission merchants", and a further tax of one cent upon "long distance telephone messages", as well as a tax upon "bills of lading".

The next one of the letters filed by him is from Butler, Homen & Co. Chicago, Illinois, protesting because they are necessarily as the second of the letters filed by him is from Butler, Homen & Co. Chicago, Illinois, protesting because they are necessarily as they are not as the second of the letters filed by him is from Butler, Homen & Co. Chicago, Illinois, protesting because they are necessarily as the second of the letters filed by him is from Butler, Homen & Co. Chicago, Illinois, protesting because they are necessarily as the second of the letters filed by him is from Butler, Homen & Co. Chicago, Illinois, protesting because they are not as the second of the letters filed by him is from Butler, Homen & Co. Chicago, Illinois, protesting because they are not as the second of the letters filed by him is from Butler, Homen & Co. Chicago, Illinois are not as the second of the letters filed by him is from Butler, Homen & Co. Chicago, Illinois are not as the second of the letters filed by him is from Butler, Homen & C. Chicago, Illinois are not as the second of the letters filed by him is from Butler, Homen & C. Chicago, Illinois are not as the second of the letters filed by him is from Butler, Homen & C. Chicago, Illinois are not as the second of the letters filed by him is from Butler, Homen & C. Chicago, Illinois are not as the second of the letters filed by him is from Butler, Homen & C. Chicago, Illinois are not as the second of the letters filed by him is from Butler, Homen & C. Chicago, Illinois are not as the second of the letters filed by him is from Butler, Homen & C. Chicago, Illinois are not as the second of the letters filed by him is from Butler, Homen & C. Chicago, Illinois are not as the secon

The next one of the letters filed by him is from Butler, Homan & Co., Chicago, Illinois, protesting because they, as members of the "Western Fruit Jobbers' Association of America", have to pay a tax of one cent upon each "bill of lading, express receipt etc.,".

The next of these letters is from Haley-Neeley Co., Sioux City, Iowa, making a general protest against the payment of one cent upon each "bill of lading", and upon each "long distance telephone or telegraph message", costing fifteen cents or more.

The next one of these communications alled by the gentleman from Illinois is from Hall, Wedge & Carter, Chicago, Illinois, protesting against the tax of twenty dollars a year levied upon "commission merchants".

The next is from W. 3. Davis Company, Aurora, Illinois, complaining particularly of the one cent tax upon "bills of lading, express receives etc".

The next letter is from Herbert A. Harris, Chicago, Illinois, complaining of the tax on "toilet preparations".

The next letter is also from Herbert A. Harris, sent out from his residence on Kimbark Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, complaining of the tax on "hair dyes".

The next letter is from the Talcum Puff Company, of Brooklyn, N. Y., complaining against the payment of a tax on "talcum powder".

The next letter is from Ward & Company, Chicago, Illinois, complaining because the tax levied upon "perfumery, hair dyes, tooth paste" and other articles set out in schedule B. is not paid by the people who use them, instead of by the manufacturer.

The next letter is from M. Lapidus Company (Inc.), Chicago, Illinois, This firm also protests against paying the tax as "commission merchants", and also insist upon prorating the tax between producer and ultimate consumer.

The next letter is from A. L. Somers, Chicago, Illinois, who says that the grain trade has suffered during the past year because of the War-Tax Act which went into effect last year. He wisely declines, however, to state in what respect the grain trade has suffered because of the War-Tax Act. It is more likely that grain trade in "Bucket-shops" has suffered.

The next one of these letters is from J. A. Edwards, Chicago, Illinois. The principal complaint of this gentleman is because the "hedgers" on the "Chicago Board of Trade" are displeased with the Act.

The next letter is from C. H. Canby, Chicago, Illinois, complaining because he disapproves that part of the Act which imposes a tax of one cent upon each one hundred dollar trade made in a bucketshop.

The next letter is from W. C. Ritchie & Co., Chicago, Illinois, who complain that the Commissioner of Internal Revenue has misconstrued the language of the Act relative to mutual insurance companies. There is sent with this letter a new "draft" of that section, written by this firm, which they would like to see engrafted upon the Act.

The next letter is from Ernest Fecker, Jr., President, Chicago, Illinois, transmitting a copy of a resolution adopted by the Illinois "State Brewers' Association," protesting against the increased tax of fifty cents per barrel on beer.

The next letter is from W. H. Crabtree, Los Angeles, California, protesting against the payment of a tax upon "claret wine and fortified liquors."

The next letter is from G. M. H. Wagner & Sons, Chicago, Illinois, protesting against the payment of twenty dollars upon "Commission merchants," and also protesting against the one cent tax on "bills of lading etc."

The next letter is from P. L. Zulfer, Chicago, Illinois, pro-

The next letter is from P. L. Zulfer, Chicago, Illinois, protesting against the twenty dollar tax on "commission merchants," and also protesting against the one cent tax just referred to.

The next letter is from The Manufacturing Perfumers' Association, New York, N. Y. They protest against the payment of a tax on "toilet articles."

The next letter is from John Blocki, Chicago, Illinois, who complains of the tax on "perfumes and toilet requisites."

It will be observed that nearly all of the letters referred to are written from Illinois, and that not one of them was written by a farmer or a laboring man.

The Gentleman from Illinois then inserts into the Record an editorial from the Washington Post, the leading republican paper of Washington City. The editorial is headlined:

"THE DEMOCRATIC WAR TAX ON THE PEOPLE."

The trend of the editorial is to criticize the levying of a "direct" tax by the democrats, instead of an "indirect" or "hidden" tax as the republicans are accustomed to impose. The editorial in the Post goes on to say that the votes of democrats in Congress for "direct" taxation will be exhibited in every district where there is a possible chance for the election of a republican candidate for Congress. Whether I should be the democratic nominee in my district or not I will welcome a joint discussion with the republican nominee for Congress, whoever he may be, upon the question as to whether or not this "direct" tax, placed upon the luxuries of life, is better or worse for the people than the republican, "indirect" tax levied upon the necessities of the people.

The editorial further says:-

"There will not be a penny collected under this 'direct' taxation but from this time henceforth will be referred to by republicans as the democratic tax upon the people of the United States."

If such is to be the issue no one will welcome it more than the democrats will. The democrats will be more than willing to contrast the "pennies" collected under this "direct" tax on beer, the "direct" tax on still wine, the "direct" tax on cham-

pagne, the "direct" tax on fortified wine, the "direct" tax on stock and bond brokers, the "direct" tax on pawnbrokers, the "direct" tax on commission brokers, the "direct" tax on customhouse brokers, the "direct" tax on theaters, the "direct" tax on circuses, the "direct" tax on theaters, the "direct" tax on stock in corporations, the "direct" tax on bucketshop transactions, etc., as against the dollars levied and collected by the republican, "indirect" method resorted to by them in taxing the hats, caps, clothing, boots, shoes, and practically all the other necessities of life.

The editorial placed in the RECORD by the gentleman further

says:—
"Democrat and republican rank and file alike would prefer by far that revenues be raised by the tariff than by direct taxation"

I assert in contradiction to this statement that the rank and "file" of the people would prefer to know how they are taxed, and upon what they are taxed, rather than to be taxed by the "indirect." hidden method practiced by the republicans. Under the system which the Post chooses to call the "democratic tax" the people know upon what articles the tax is levied, and they know the extent to which that tax is levied. But, under the "indirect" method employed by the republicans, not one man in a thousand knows how much tax is imposed upon his coat, how much tax is imposed upon his overalls, how much tax is imposed upon his underwear, or how much tax is imposed upon the other articles of necessity.

The republicans have boasted that they have been able to raise a billion dollars a year by taxing the people and at the same time conceal from the people the articles upon which that tax was imposed. I accept the challenge, and say that the democratic party is proud of the fact that it does business in the open; that it attempts to deceive nobody, even the most ignorant, and that the republican party has survived only because it has succeeded in levying an "indirect" tax upon those articles which all of the people use and must have. If the republican party had levied a "direct" tax half as great as the "indirect" tax which they have levied upon the people, then the people long ago would have risen in rebellion, and would have overthrown that party and its secret methods of taxation.

Again referring to the "direct" tax which the Democrats have imposed upon luxuries, and not upon articles of necessity, permit me to say that only very recently the "United States Public Health Service" found it necessary to issue a bulletin of warning to the American people concerning the "harmful effects" of the widely used cosmetics which are taxed in the War-Tax Act, about which the republicans complain so much, and which the republicans say they would repeal, notwithstanding that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Fordney], who is the ranking republican on the great committee on Ways and Means, has here said on the floor of the House, that the Treasury of the United States would go bankrupt unless the War-Tax Act were continued. According to that bulletin the "face lotion" and the other "cosmetic" manufacturing establishments in the United States had grown in number from sixty-seven in 1879 to four hundred and twenty-nine in 1909, and that list does not include "the many hundred laboratories in which these same preparations may be compounded as a side line.

The same bulletin says "a very conservative estimate of the cost of cosmetic preparations to the consumer would be in excess of \$50,000,000 annually".

Among the preparations usually classed as "cosmetics" for use on the head and face are: "hair washes, hair tonics, hair dyes, shampoo powders, complexion powders, toilet powders, freckle lotions, face enamels, toilet waters, face creams, and beauty washes".

The bulletin just referred to speaks of these things as "present day frauds". The same bulletin, in speaking of "beauty washes and face enamels", says that ordinary white lead is called, in these lotions, "beauty white, silver white, Dutch white. French white, London white, Roman white, China white", and that "lead poisoning" frequently results from their use. The bulletin asserts that an eminent scientist expresses the belief that many cases of general nervous trouble, some of insanity, and perhaps some of paralysis are caused by the use of cosmetics containing lead.

The same bulletin says, in substance, that Epsom salt, which can usually be purchased at five cents a pound, is a much used ingredient in popular "skin and wrinkle lotions," and when sold in those lotions sells at the rate of from two dollars to four

dollars per pound. And yet the republicans only a few days ago in this House voted solidly against continuing a tax of one-eighth of one cent on each five cent bottle of their goods.

The bulletin says that many of the so called "beauty lotions" and toilet powders are primarily fraudulent, and that the price at which they are retailed to the public is out of all proportion to the actual value of their components. I am informed that commercial Epsom salt, which is the principal ingredient for wrinkle-removing preparations, sells at wholesale at from two cents to three cents a pound, and that each pound will probably make five gallons of the wrinkle-removing preparation.

The much complained of Act which is under discussion places a tax of one-eighth of one cent upon each five cent bottle of this wrinkle-remover. Yet, only the other day the whole republican party in the House went on record as being opposed to having the compounder of these "wrinkle-removers" pay a tax of only one-eighth of one cent upon each five cent bottle, when the contents of the whole bottle does not cost the manufacturer as much as one-eighth of a cent. This is but one instance out of a large number where the republican party, in general terms, undertakes to criticize the democratic party because it has levied a "direct" tax not only upon articles of luxury but upon fraudulent articles.

In my opinion all that is necessary to have popular approval of the War-Tax Act is to have the people generally know what is in that Act; and, when the time arrives for discussion of public measures before the people, I shall select this Act and make it one of the principal topics of discussion when I re-appear before the people of my district.

War-Revenue Tax Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. CARTER,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 16, 1915.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, owing to the fact that the Democratic majority in the House refuses to make any changes in the emergency internal-revenue tax and even went so far as to refuse a reasonable time for discussion of this important bill. I desire to enter my protest against the continuance of this tax for another year and my reasons therefor.

I believe that this direct taxation is only the evidence of the Democratic inability to successfully administer the Government of this great country. The deficit in the Treasury to-day is not only due to the small amount of revenue derived from the Underwood tariff but from the extravagant and unwise expenditures that are being made by the administration to-day. I believe in the good old Republican theory of raising the greater portion of our revenue by a tariff on foreign-made goods.

This indirect tax has proven far better than a direct tax, to say nothing of the advantages and the protection which it affords our American workingman and the manufacturer as well. I am surprised that my learned Democratic friends would not listen to the proposition to agree to the amendment to continue this tax for a period of four or six months, at least, giving them in the meantime a chance to revise the present unfair tariff. I believe that the rank and file of this country, both Republicans and Democrats alike, would prefer that this revenue be raised by the tariff than by this direct taxation. I believe the rank and file of the country, both Republicans and Democrats alike, would prefer a bond issue or the issuing of Treasury notes, without interest, to direct taxation.

Despite the trade demoralization due to the European war imports for the nine months ended September. 1915, amounted to but \$25,000.000 less than for the corresponding period ended September, 1913, under a Republican protective tariff, while the duties collected for the 1915 period were over \$94,000,000 less than for the 1913 period. Imports for the 1915 period were \$108,000,000 less than for the 1914 period, but the duties fell off \$45,000,000. The following figures are taken from the official reports of the Department of Commerce:

1913, nine months, Republican law (peace period).

 Imports
 \$1,327,000,000

 Duties collected
 \$242,624,000

 Average duty rate
 per cent

 18.3

1914, nine months, Democratic law (two months war).

1915, nine months, Democratic law (protective war period).

Imports ________\$1, 302, 000, 000
Duties collected ________\$148, 225, 000
Average duty rate ______per cent _______\$11.3

Herein lies the fatal defect of the Underwood law as a revenue producer. It is not because the war has cut off imports to such an extent as to create a deficit. It is because such a large percentage of our imports are now coming in without paying a cent of revenue to the Government. It will be noted that the bulk of imports is nearly as great as it was under a Republican protective tariff. Had the Republican average rate of duty been collected on the 1915 imports, we would have realized the sum of \$238,266,000, or about \$90,000,000 more than was actually realized.

It has become not merely a probability but a certainty that cessation of war and the removal of the blockade will throw an immense quantity of foreign-made goods upon American markets. It is no less a certainty that every dollar's worth of foreign goods sold here will deprive the American workman of a dollar in wages and will also mean a dollar of good American money taken out of the country to aid in establishing industrial prosperity abroad. Under the Democratic tariff the promises that the cost of living would be lowered has not materialized.

In the exhilaration of partially restored prosperity in some localities in the United States some business men seemed temporarily to overlook the fundamental unsoundness of our economic position. In the pressing effort to recover the losses sustained during the few months that our markets were wide open to foreign producers business men seemed to forget that European war is only a temporary bar against importation of foreign products.

But as the time draws near when this war must close and remove every obstacle that protects the American producer the thoughtful citizen is beginning to view with dread the return of those depressed conditions which existed at the time the war broke out. Men who walked the floor at night in 1913–14 trying to devise ways to keep bankruptcy notices off their doors do not relish a return of those nerve-racking experiences. Their present desire is to make certain that no such deplorable conditions shall again exist.

In the study of ways and means they have no better way to judge of the future than by the past. They know that goods imported from abroad must supplant a corresponding quantity of goods produced in this country, if procurable here. They know that the only method of shutting out foreign products in normal times is by the imposition of an import tariff. They know that when the low-tariff or free-trade schedules were established in 1894 and again in 1913 importations increased and American producers were deprived of their home market to a corresponding degree. They know that such importations were checked in 1914 only by the European war, and that when the war ends the importations will begin again with a greater impetus than ever before, because the buying power of Europe has been nearly destroyed. They know that Germany, in particular, will be forced to dump her products here because prejudices arising from the war will preclude marketing of German products in England. France, Belgium, Russia, or Italy.

In the face of these facts the thoughtful and foresighted American can see nothing but a protective tariff to keep American enterprise active when the war shall have ceased.

There are several facts which no one disputes:

First. The call of millions of men in Europe from industrial activity to military operations decreased production on that continent.

Second. The war not only decreased production abroad but destroyed many products already manufactured and created new and enormous markets.

new and enormous markets.

Third. The only large producing nation ready to supply the commodities most in demand by reason of the war was the United States, hence this country received a greater part of the war orders.

Fourth. As soon as the armies of Europe are disbanded those millions of men will return to manufacturing and other productive enterprise.

Fifth. European nations will be impoverished, and the United States, as a result of its large favorable trade balance, will be the only country in a position to buy extensively

the only country in a position to buy extensively.

Sixth. As a consequence of high prices paid by buyers of war equipment wages in many American industries have been increased, and when European producers again begin activity the

American producer will be thrown into competition with factories paying the lowest scale of wages, while American mills pay the highest.

The foregoing facts present a situation which the business men of America must meet, and they are now giving it most careful thought. It is a situation which will confront not merely large manufacturers of the country but every farmer, merchant, mechanic, and laborer who depends for a livelihood upon the general prosperity of the Nation.

" A HALF-TOLD TALE."

Secretary McAdoo made a statement a few days ago in which he settled the present troubles of the Treasury Department with the statement that the United States would have a balance of \$76,000,000 on hand at the close of the present fiscal year if special taxes and the sugar tariff were reenacted.

He would have made a more important contribution to the symposium on "Whither are we drifting?" by comparing that prospective balance with what we have had in the past.

On June 30, 1914, the general-fund balance was \$162,000,000, By June 30, 1915, it had dropped to \$104,000,000. Now we have the encouraging statement from Mr. McAdoo that by next June the balance will be as high as \$71,000,000.

In other words, the administration has spent only \$86,000.000 more than the Government receipts of the past two years.

What would be the status of Mr. McAdoo if the United States were a private industrial corporation, and in answer to a question from the board of directors he defended the work of the manager on the ground that there was still a working balance half as large as that which was left in the Treasury when the former manager was discharged for extravagant methods?

What would be his answer when the directors asked him how large the balance would be after two more years of \$43,000,000 annual excess of expenditures over receipts?

Would not the directors begin to wonder whether that former

manager was such a poor business man after all?

Let me also call your attention to the extrav

Let me also call your attention to the extravagance of the Sixty-third Congress compared to the Sixty-second and the Sixty-first Congress. The last Congress spent \$1.415.432.152, which was \$113.292.692 in excess of the expenditures of the Sixty-second Congress. In view of the plank of the Democratic Party in Baltimore, denouncing the Republican Party for its appropriations, we ought to call on the Democratic Party to practice what they preach.

Take the Post Office Department, for example. That department comes into the district, which I represent, and abolishes two rural routes by consolidating them with those of adjoining towns. It also takes away from a rich agricultural district an afternoon mail service which was served to 400 people and which was used by those farmers to sell their merchandise through the aid of the parcel post. What is the result? The people of those towns are very seriously inconvenienced. Many of them receiving their mail from two to six hours late. Others have to walk one-half mile. Then, again, many others, including the town officials of Sherborn, Mass., are compelled to change the post-office address of the town in order to obtain their mail. Many people are compelled to go without service at all, while others have to hire messengers to go to the post office to receive their mail. Business houses and farmers alike are handicapped as the result of the recent orders of the Post Office Department.

The post-office officials tell us that the people are most fortunate to receive mail delivery at all and that many millions of people throughout the country are deprived of this privilege. The department admits that it does not make a field investigation of conditions and admit that they do not know of the local conditions under which the patrons have been receiving their mail, and yet they claim that this is an administration of business efficiency.

Were this a question of economy wholly, it would not be so bad; but when one learns that the Postmaster General has created 50 new rural routes in Arkansas, 50 in Missouri, 46 in Texas, and 33 in Oklahoma during the past year, and has then come into Massachusetts and has so disorganized the rural service that it looks as if the northern rural service has been butchered to make a southern postal holiday.

In spite of the disorganization of our rural routes in Massachusetts, causing untold discomfort to thousands of patrons, the department asks us to submit suggestions toward the establishing of additional rural-service routes in my district.

What I want and what I demand is that the Post Office Department stop demoralizing the rural service in my district, to restore to those towns their former rural routes, and to leave us alone.

I would like to have extended in my remarks at this time a portion of an editorial which appeared in the Boston Herald, December 29:

Of one thing Mr. Burleson, of Texas, the present Postmaster General, deserves preeminence. He is giving the Post Office Department the worst administration in its history. And he is trying to hide the evidence of his own folly by a ceaseless clamor to have Congress let him take over the telephone and telegraph. It would be a sad day for American business if all its agencies of communication were run on the same standard of inefficiency as Mr. Burleson now runs the post

I believe that if we had a high protection for the coal-tar industry that the manufacturers would not find themselves in the position which they are to-day, at the mercy of the British Government, who have been interfering with the oversea export trade of Germany, acting under the orders of its council of March 11, 1915.

If we had a high-protective tariff on dyestuffs, we could establish a coal-tar industry in this country and would not have to be dependent on other countries for this important product.

Look at what has happened as the result of the dyestuff situation in New England alone. A few days ago one of our prominent New England manufacturers paid \$5,000 for three barrels of alizarine red, which he formerly bought for \$140, and yet our Democratic friends are against high protection for our industries and prefer the direct-taxation plan to the indirect-taxation plan.

I would like to extend in my remarks a letter which I received to-day from a prominent manufacturer in my district:

I would like to extend in my remarks a letter which I received to-day from a prominent manufacturer in my district:

Franklin, Mass., December 27, 1915.

Hon. William H. Carter.

How so of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Your several favors or circular letters received, the last of which was in relation to the logwood question.

Kindly accept my appreciation and thanks for advising and confirming information I had received direct from the secretary of the American Association of Woolen and Worsted Manufacturers, who is in close touch with the British Embassy, and it was through our association of wool when the embargo was place tuplon it on account of certain firms selling the wool to Germany.

I have fust received this morning a letter which informs me that the steamer Lucy Neff, with 1,000 tons of Jamalca logwood, which is the best in the world, had sprung a leak in the storm and gone to the bottom off Cape lienry. I think there is only 55,000 tons of logwood grown in the control of the control

I will give you one instance which was presented to me by the vice president of one of the largest German importing houses only a few days ago. One manufacturer in New England was so much in need of an alizarine red that he bought through a broker as follows: Three barrels of 20 per cent alizarine V 3 W red paste. This was sold before the war at 13 cents per pound. The price this manufacturer paid was \$4.50 per pound. In other words, for 1,100 pounds—3 barrels—ne paid \$5,000, whereas before the war the whole shooting match would have been bought for \$140, or thereabouts.

Now, this is only an extreme case, but many have paid from 1,000 per cent to 2,000 per cent advance, so we had better pay a little more to establish the making of dye material in this country and not be dependent as we are to a consultation of the standard of the world to day to go around. The manufacturing concerns that made the world to day to go around. The manufacturing concerns that made the world to day to go around. The manufacturing concerns that made the world to day to go around. The manufacturing concerns that made the world to day to go around. The manufacturing concerns that made the world to day to go around. The manufacturing concerns that made the world to day to go around. The manufacturing concerns that made the world to day to go around. The manufacturing concerns that made the world to day to go around. The manufacturing concerns that made the world to day to go around. The manufacturing concerns that made the world to day to go around the standard to go around the standard to go around the world to day to go around the standard to go around the standar

Singleton Worsted Co., By Geo. F. S. Singleton, Treasurer.

War-Revenue Tax Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

FRANKLIN F. ELLSWORTH. HON. OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 17, 1915.

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to this resolution for the reenactment of the so-called war-revenue tax.

First, if it may be conceded that this is an emergency because of obtaining sufficient revenue with difficulty owing to the European war conditions, the question is whether or not it is such an emergency as ought to call for a measure as extraordinary as the one now in force. It seems to me that we ought to resort to a direct tax of this kind only in cases where the extremity of war involves our Nation directly, and that we ought first to exhaust every possible means through the readjustment of the tariff schedules before resorting to measures of this nature. If we do not do so, then it seems to me that we have not the taxing reserve power for occasions which are truly extraordinary where we are directly involved in a war with a foreign as nation.

It is not altogether a question of the amount of the tax in specific instances, but the time and trouble and incidental expense necessitated by business concerns and the inconveniences caused to the millions of people who are not adept in business transactions bring about a confusion and interference with business which it does not seem to me is at all justifiable regarding the comparative magnitude of the aggregate revenue received.

I will venture a statement that the collection of a million dollars by this method involves a waste of time and incidental expense of the persons complying with the requirements of the law equivalent in value to a half million dollars. It is a sum total made up of trivial and noncomputable sums, but it is certain that the incidental energy and expense involved do not make such a tax a practicable one when the emergency, if there is one, is caused by conditions which only affect us indirectly and incidentally.

I would favor, first, a proper revision of the tariff schedules based upon a reasonable protective basis, or, if our friends on the other side of the House insist upon a revenue basis, I would be willing to see this resolution passed and put into effect the provisions of the present law for a long enough period, say three or four or five months, to enable them to revise the tariff according to their own notions, placing a duty, for instance, on the products of the Tropics in which we do not compete, which, if they have not totally abandoned their theory of a tariff for revenue, ought surely to be taxed for revenue purposes before a direct tax is imposed upon the people, as provided in the measure which this resolution seeks to reenact.

Congress and Our Seaboard Harbors.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET. OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 4, 1916.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks I include the following paper:

CONGRESS AND OUR SEABOARD HARBORS.

[Address by the Hon. R. A. C. Smith, commissioner of docks of the city of New York, before the National Rivers and Harbors Congress Dec. 9, 1915.]

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, our seaboard ports are the hands of the Nation spread out to the world to receive its wealth and to offer in exchange the surplus resources of our wonderful country. To cripple our harbors is to cripple the Nation. Our harbors are national assets. The prosperity of the great ports means the prosperity of the country as a whole; their neglect and decay inevitably spell commercial disaster to all of the States.

It would seem the truth of this is so obvious and so impressed upon the Congress of the United States that it would only be necessary to demonstrate the urgent needs of our great ports to insure sympathetic attention and appropriations.

The fact is, however, that Congress has shown so frequently and with such uniformity that it is deaf to pleas on behalf of urgently needed improvements in the harbor of New York, that the city has come to feel that the National Legislature looks upon harbor improvements as matters of local rather than national importance.

I am not one of those who delight in quoting foreign examples for the discomfiture of my own country. In matters of port development, however, it is impossible not to contrast the broadminded national view of the problem taken by England, Germany, and France with the narrow provincial attitude of

The port of New York is not jealous of the other ports of the country. Its officials without exception realize that prosperity for any port is reflected in the general national prosperity, which is what we are all working to secure. The port of New York, therefore, has seen with deep regret that the Congress of the United States can remain blind to the very great injury to the entire country which its neglect of the Atlantic seaports causes. The city has listened to the annual debates upon river and harbor bills filled with destructive criticisms of projects similar to the immortal river in Florida, which, it is claimed, is dry so many months in the year that Congress was urged to insure it against fire. It has looked in vain, however, for proof that our national legislators appreciated the great constructive problems of national conservation of our great seaports.

It is without local jealousy, but in the broadest national spirit, that I remind you that although the port of New York handles approximately 50 per cent of the imports and exports of the entire country and has turned into the Treasury of the United States, through its customs, upwards of \$5,000,000,000 since 1880, it has received only a little less than \$20,000,000, slightly

over 21 per cent of the total appropriations made by the Federal Government for river and harbor purposes. This meager appropriation does not mean that there have not been great and urgent needs in the port of New York, which have been called to the attention of the Rivers and Harbors Committees of Congress repeatedly, both by the port officials and by the United States Army engineers directly in charge of the Government work.

The most pressing need of the port of New York at the present time is the adoption of a new project for the improvement of the so-called East River. I venture to bring this specifically to your attention because it is of far more than local importance, both when viewed from the standpoint of the commercial needs of the country and from the requirements of the national defense.

The East River is, as you all probably know, a tidal strait about 16 miles long and from 600 to 4,000 feet wide, connecting New York Harbor with Long Island Sound. The navigable channel has always been tortuous and dangerous owing to the presence of numerous shoals and reefs. In 1868 a project was adopted by Congress for the removal of a number of these obstructions to provide for a channel 26 feet in depth. Approximately 70 per cent of this project has been completed. long been apparent, however, that the project of 1868 was entirely inadequate for this important waterway. tion of the project completed by Col. William M. Black, Corps of Engineers, early in 1912 recommended the provision of a through channel 35 feet in depth. He proposed the adoption of a project calling for the expenditure of thirty-two and one-half million dollars, which was later modified to a project of \$13,398,000, which was considered immediately necessary. Despite the strong and repeated representations to Congress in favor of this project on behalf of the city of New York, it has not been adopted by Congress. What foreign power would neglect the connecting link between Long Island Sound, a great land-locked sen 120 miles long, and New York Bay, one of the most wonderful natural harbors in the world?

The city of New York itself has spent large sums to develop the port, not only for the commercial expansion of the harbor but to fit it as an efficient part of the national defense and as a secure haven in time of maritime disturbance. The State of New York has spent almost \$200,000,000 on a great inland waterway which adds materially to the prosperity of many States. The people of New York feel, therefore, that they can not justly be accused of selfishness in seeking to get from Congress the relatively small appropriation which is necessary to make the East River Channel available both for commerce and for ships of our Navy.

At a time when the whole country is aroused over questions of national defense it is not amiss to direct the attention of this Congress to the neglect of what in time of war might prove an invaluable waterway for the ingress and egress of a fleet engaged in the defense of the entire Atlantic coast.

I feel that I can not too strongly urge upon the National Rivers and Harbors Congress to consider these matters carefully and dispassionately. Your association represents interests throughout the entire United States. It is therefore free of the taint of selfish local sectionalism and peculiarly equipped to create a country-wide sentiment in favor of a national project of the first Your association represents interests throughimportance. I feel that if I have stimulated your interest sufficiently to persuade you to investigate the matter further your conversion to ardent advocates of the project is certain.

War-Revenue Tax Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY W. WATSON. OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 16, 1915.

Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I oppose the adoption of the pending resolution. The problem of taxation has always been a troublesome question for the Democratic Party to solve. They did not find the solution in the Underwood Tariff Act, when they endeavored to pay the expenses of the Government without increased taxation. Inquire of history and you will learn that all free-trade administrations have had the same record—a deficit in the Treasury. The resolution now before this House provides for the extension for one year

from the date of its expiration of the Democratic emergency war-revenue act of 1914. This act has been, and will continue to be, a burden on our people, as they realize that there is no emergency save that of nursing an old and decrepit policy of free trade. The Democratic Party claims that the great industries of our Nation have grown "too fat" under a protective tariff policy; seemingly they do not care how lean the workmen may become under free trade and their iniquitous internal We are informed that there will be presented to Congress another bill to further increase our taxes in order to meet the plans of the executive department; a tax on automobiles, a tax on manufactures, and a tax on gasoline as outlined by the President in his message to Congress, and probably these taxes will be enacted into law. Then the farmer will be reminded, at each turn of his gasoline engine, that he is paying a tax in order that cattle, swine, poultry, and eggs may be shipped into this country free of duty. Our bountiful country has nearly every climate from which to draw resources; millions of acres of mountains and hills for grazing purposes, vast acreage for growing grain, cotton, and nearly all the raw materials industries; unlimited wealth stored in the earth; oceans, inlets, bays, and rivers to supply the food of the waters; no large standing army to maintain; few civil pensions to pay; and no royalty to keep. Our taxes ought to be growing but to the contrary the Democratic Congress has increased our internal taxation in order that foreign countries, with their system of pauper wages, may send their wares to our shops, under low customs duties, to paralyze our market for home-made products. The war has greatly restricted immigration. Thousands of men have returned home to respond to the calls of their mother countries, therefore a dearth of labor, and wages have increased because of the great demand for men to make munitions of war. This the Democratic Party calls "prosperity and high wages," developed by the Underwood Tariff Act. Did this act reduce the cost of living as it was promised it would? Compare the present prices of the work-man's necessities with those prior to 1913, and we will find that they are all higher than they were then. This increase can not be attributed to the war, for all articles of food greatly rose in price during the spring and summer of 1914. When the war is ended and the smoke of battle has cleared away, when the soldiers return home and the wheels of foreign industries again move, when the commerce of the seas is once more opened, then will follow, if the present national policy continues, a period of depression, adversity, and anarchy that never has been equaled on American soil. If this country ever needed a protective tariff policy, she needs it now, in order to pay the deficit created by the Democratic Party, preserve our industries, protect the wages of our workmen, and reestablish our former prosperity. The great opportunities that are being offered our country should not be neglected and our position should be maintained, for we are destined to contribute to the world its financial and commercial policies.

War-Revenue Measure.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

DYKE, VAN HON. CARL C.

OF MINNESOTA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, December 16, 1915.

Mr. VAN DYKE. Mr. Speaker, the development which strikes me with great surprise in the debate upon revenue measures before this House is the fact that the minority sets up in the foremost niche of the Republican hall of fame the discarded Payne-Aldrich tariff law, which was the origin of their recent woes and the fruitful cause of their downfall from power in all branches of the Federal Government.

It was the Payne tariff which started the Republican insurrection, first on the floor of this House and then in every ballot booth in the United States; and now the minority proposes to exalt it with a crown of olives. The first response of the American people to the Payne tariff in the congressional election following its enactment, was to convert a House that was Republican by the strong margin of 219 to 172 into a Democratic House by the still heavier margin of 228 to 162. But that was only the beginning. The insurrection begun by the Payne tariff in 1909 and 1910 widened into the still more serious breach of 1912, when the Republican President, who in the second year of his term had begun his tour of the country for reelection with his famous Winona eulogy of the glories of Payne-Aldrich taxes, closed it at the polls in ignominy with the electoral vote of only two States in the Union. And yet on this floor to-day the Republican minority attempts to resurrect from the grave into which it was swept by the people the skeleton-I may say the skull and crossbones-of the Payne-Aldrich remains and, surrounding it with a halo of glory, presumes to foist it again upon the body politic as their ideal of the measure which we now should employ for raising Federal revenue.

Mr. Speaker, I fully realize that I would owe this House and

the American people an humble apology for recognizing as an issue a law which they by such an overwhelming verdict have consigned to oblivion were it not for this regrettable fact that the only answer of the minority opposition to the measures offered by the majority for meeting the requirements of the Government in this period of revenue emergency which the war has imposed upon every government upon earth, is the plaintive wail, "Please adopt the Payne-Aldrich tariff!"

Although every national legislative body now in session on God's footstool is doing just what we are doing-devising ways and means to effectively meet the revolutionary effects upon national revenue created by a war which is devastating half the world and has attacked the business and taxable values of all Christendom-the opposition to the well-considered policies laid before us for consideration has but one cry, and that is, "The source of all our woe is the repeal of the Payne-Aldrich tariff!"

Although the effect of the war in the other 10 Republics of the Pan American continent has been far more disastrous to national revenue than in the United States, and although the blow to their customs revenues has extended in many cases to all their sources of national income, creating widespread currency depreciation, forcing issues of national bonds, which this country has helped to finance, and producing bank failures and in some instances widespread commercial depression and panie, the ravens of discontent perched upon the remains of the Payne-Aldrich corpse on the opposition wing of this House repeat in chorus the croaking refrain, "It is all due to the Underwood law, which replaced our dear Payne-Aldrich tariff!"

Over on the other side of our northern international boundary line, where the population and the natural resources and development are pretty much the same as on our side of the line. and where tariff laws and national finances differ from ours only in slight degree, the reduction in customs revenue for the 12 months ending with August, 1915, as compared with 1913. was 33 per cent, and the resulting depression to business and to the national finances of the Canadian Dominion were so severe that American bankers and investors have gone to the rescue with purchases of scores of millions of Canada's public bonds and industrial securities; and yet the high-tariff minstrels who sing to us from the minority wing of this House continue to chant, "Nothing has happened to the world but the Underwood law, and there is no balm in Gilead but the Payne-Aldrich tariff!"

Over on the other side of the Pacific Ocean, where the live and aggressive little Empire of Japan holds dominion upon the sea and where the soil is fertile in the production of statesmen with designs for imperial advancement, the volume of revenue from import duties during the first 12 months following the war, compared with that for the calendar year 1913, shows a shrinkage of over 50 per cent, and yet the revenue opposition of this House persist in the declaration that the loss of our revenue is wholly due to the substitution of the Underwood law for the Payne-Aldrich tariff, and in offering their panacea for all the ills of war can find music in no national anthem except "My Payne law, 'tis of thee!

However, Mr. Speaker, there is one substantial consolation in this revenue cry of our unhappy friends of the high-tariff minority, and that is that the only safe way to advocate a tariff measure before the American people is to call it a "revenue measure." When, with the aid of the protected beneficiaries, they first conceived and made this wonderful Payne-Aldrich concoction, the idea of its being for the benefit of public revenue never occurred to them. At that time it was admittedly rather barren of revenue virtue, and so in order to make up for its revenue deficiencies they were compelled to attach a codicil in the shape of a corporation income tax. It was conceived in the brain of tariff-protected beneficiaries and enacted into law by their representatives as an act of, for, and by the industrial beneficiaries of the high-tariff system; and yet to-day this same measure is advocated by the same Payne-Aldrich school as the beau ideal of tariff for revenue only.

The champions of Payne-Aldrichism to-day have forgotten even to mention the fact that their chief interest was the pro-tection of "labor," which usually is made the goat of every subsidy demanded by tariff beneficiaries. They have forgotten even that their deep concern was the protection of "infant industry," which for a half century has been the guise of in-terests powerful enough to control tariff legislation. They have forgotten even their time-worn "home-market" cry to the effect that the proper function of a customs tariffs was to keep out the foreign goods which paid customs duties. No; the measure which six years ago was favored by every tariff-protected trust in America as the most effective tariff act yet devised for shutting out foreign goods and insuring industrial monopoly against competition is to-day presented by concerted action of the high-tariff minority in both Houses as the great and original model of tariff for revenue only.

The gospel preached by the sons of Democracy during the 40

years or more they wandered in the wilderness, Mr. Speaker, has not been in vain, and the principles inculcated by the people through the ballot in the past three congressional elections have not been in vain, when the representatives of the high-tariff propaganda advocate their panacea as the simon-pure, one-andonly revenue measure, the only customs revenue measure on the face of the globe during this period of the world's greatest war that will produce liberal revenue as abundantly as in time of peace. Not in vain, indeed, has been the Democratic gospel a century, that the Government could levy taxes only for public revenue, when even the interests behind monopoly's Payne-Aldrich tariff are compelled to represent themselves as the

missionaries of revenue reform in order to get a public hearing.

For now a half century our high-tariff friends have argued that the purpose of protection was to keep out the importations which are the source of customs revenue, but to-day, in the debate before this House, we learn that the true mission of Payne-Aldrichism is the production of revenue, which can only come through opening the gates to foreign dutiable goods. Only six years ago the high purpose of the Payne tariff was to secure the home market against foreign competition, to cut down the volume of imports upon which are levied the tariff duties; and now the mission of that same tariff, as alleged by our protectionist friends, is the production of abundant revenue, which can only come through abundant importations of foreign goods.

Like the rod of Moses which smote the rock of Horeb and caused abundant stream; to gush forth to water the people and the live stock of Israel, bringing forth cool and refreshing springs from rock cliffs in time of drought, the Payne-Aldrich tariff will generate out of the walls of protection, framed to bar out foreign goods, generous streams of customs revenue when importations cease in time of war. And like the quality of mercy and the rain from heaven, it will bless him that gives and him that takes.

As a revenue producer it has already been ably shown by the centleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN], chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, that the Underwood law is far superior to its predecessor, the Payne law. The Underwood law went into effect, in its general provisions, October 4, 1913, and from that day until the opening of the European war, July 31, 1914, proved its superiority over the Payne law not only in the justice of its taxation but in the volume of the revenue it rendered unto the Federal Treasury. On January 1, 1914, the last of the Payne schedules, the wool duties, expired. During the seven months of 1914 down to the day of war the Underwood law produced \$233.594,641 of Federal revenue, as compared with \$215,756.042 for the Payne law during the corresponding period the year before. The Underwood law excelled in revenue production by a margin of \$18,198,599 in the only period of its unhampered operation. It beat the Payne law by a margin of \$2,600,000 per month, or over \$30,000,000 per annum. Its revenue efficiency, even from the very starting post of its career, was greater than that of the law it displaced; and it is the history of every revenue law that it does not reach its normal rate of efficiency until after a year or two of operation have developed its administrative machinery and the currents of business have become adapted to its operation.

The majority in power, which is charged with responsibility for the national finances at the time of the passage of a revenue bill, is naturally compelled to take into consideration all the sources of Government receipts and not merely those flowing from the single given measure under fire, such as some particular tariff law. It is therefore worthy of note that the total ordinary receipts of the Federal Government for the fiscal year 1914, 30 days before the war, were \$734.673.000, against \$724,000,000 under the Payne law in 1913 and \$691,000,000 in 1912.

bursements was \$34,000,000 under the Underwood law, as compared with \$15,000,000 for the fiscal year 1910, after the first complete year of the Payne law, and a deficit of \$58,000,000 for 1909 under the protective Dingley schedules unaided by a corporation-income tax.

There was a heavier reduction in the volume of dutiable imports for the fiscal year 1915, as compared with 1914, than during the year of our Spanish War in 1898, and for 1899, at the close of that war, there was a substantial \$90,000,000 gain in dutiable imports; and yet we find that the deficit under the Underwood law for the fiscal year 1915, after a year of war which brought disaster to the revenues of practically all even of the neutral nations of the world, was only \$33,000,000, as against an \$89,000,000 deficit in 1899, a \$20,000,000 deficit in 1909, and a \$58,000,000 deficit in 1910, all under tariff schedules

approved and created by the party of our revenue critics.

Under the last year of the McKinley Act there was a deficit of \$69,000,000, and under the last year of the Dingley Act there was a deficit of \$58,000,000; while the Payne Act never compared in any year of its existence with the Underwood law as a producer of revenue; and yet our minority friends wish the country to believe that the type of revenue act which their philosophy evolves is a model for public revenue.

In spite of all the exigencies of a war which has revolutionized the finances and incomes of the nations of the world, the total ordinary receipts of our Government for the fiscal year 1915 are only 6 per cent less than for 1914, 4 per cent less than for 1913, and are higher than for 1912. For this we have to thank the fact that our Federal revenue no longer depends, in the main, upon customs taxes collected from articles of consumption, the volume of which fluctuates not only with every wave of war that disturbs the commerce of the globe, but fluctuates with every period of rain or drought or commercial depression or panic which affects the flow of international commerce.

The Underwood law has brought into our fiscal system the income tax, based upon the principle incorsed as scientific and just by all the leading taxation authorities of the world—the principle of taxable ability. It is not only the most just tax and the most dependable, but it is the rock of salvation in a time of war when customs taxes are will-o'-the-wisps, subject to the will of every foreign zephyr. What would be the predicament of the warring nations of Europe to-day were they dependent upon customs revenue for the support of government?

Take the case of Japan, located on the opposite side of the globe from the European war zone, and note how its revenue from import duties has been shot to pieces since August 1, 1914. In 1913 its collections of import duties were 73,580,000 yen, or an average of over 6,000,000 yen per month. During the 12 months following the opening of the war its total import duties were only 33,797,000 yea, or 2,800,000 yea per month. Here is a revenue shrinkage, caused by a war nearly 4,000 miles away from its boundary, amounting to 54 per cent. During nine months of this year, ending September, Japan's import duties are only 22,429,000 yen, as against 61,000,000 yen for the same months in 1913, a shriveling of customs revenue reaching the alarming proportions of 63 per cent. And yet our friends, the minority, want us to believe that we had only to go back to their tariff schedules to escape the ravages of war in our Federal revenue. They pretend that had we adhered to the protective-tariff plan, such as prevails in Japan, and had not brought into the Underwood law the new features of the income tax, with an extension of the corporation tax, and arranged the tariff schedules on a revenue basis, which constitute the three main features of the Underwood law, we would not have suffered revenue losses, although the entire revenue map of the world about us shows rents in tariff revenue beyond precedent in history.

The immediate effect upon the customs revenues of the 10 Republics of South America during the early months of the war was to cut their national incomes practically in half. Their national treasuries suffered so severely that a wave of currency depreciation and moratoriums to guard against bankruptcy swept over all South America. Banks suspended business and commerce was prostrate. The commercial relations and banking relations established between this country and our Pan American neighbors, coupled with substantial investments of American capital and the organization of branch banks under the operations of our Federal reserve act, are gradually restor-ing the South American Republics to a normal basis. One of the prime factors in this recuperation is the enormous volume of South American wool, hides, coffee, and other Latin American staples which our country is absorbing through its free list. At the end of the first fiscal year, June 30, 1914, after its going into operation, the surplus of ordinary receipts over dis-

Argentina, which perhaps has been the lightest sufferer of the larger South American Republics.

The customs duties of the Argentine Republic for the current year to October 1 are \$67,189,000, as against \$101,976,000 for the same period in 1914, including three war months, and \$144,695,000 for the same period in 1913 prior to the war. The customs revenue shrinkage, even as against last year, is 33 per cent, while against 1913 it is over 50 per cent.

South American countries have to resort even to direct taxes upon rural and city property in some cases to float their maturing obligations, while issues of bonds to meet current expenses are more or less the rule, this country being the principal market for these securities.

The Dominion of Canada during the 12 months ending with July this year-the first complete year of war and revenue disaster-collected \$78,784.427 of import duties, as against \$117,-566,866 for the same period in 1913. The shrinkage is 34 per cent. But in order to hold the revenue loss down even to this percentage the Dominion Government has made repeated tariff changes, all for the purpose of revenue. On August 21, 1914, three weeks after the war began, the Canadian Government put into effect a sweeping revenue tariff, with a substantial British preferential, increasing by 100 to 250 per cent the duties on leading revenue articles, such as sugar, coffee, liquors, and tobacco, with a substantial advance all along the line of revenue articles. In spite of these increased duties the loss of revenue by March 15 aggregated \$28,000,000, necessitating further experiments at rate increases. But even with these rate increases on articles selected purely as to their revenue-producing character Canada's revenue loss from import duties reaches during the first year of the war, as we have seen, 34 per cent as compared with the normal period of 1913.

The reports of our American consuls, as compiled by our Commerce Department, show experiments with tariff changes, with a view to repairing the ravages of war in a large share of the countries of the earth; but the war revenues resulting from these tariff changes indicate very indifferent success in mitigating the evils of tariff for national defense in time of war. The statistical comparisons above given for Japan, Canada, and Argentina are capable of duplication over a large section of the civilized globe. It shows the lack of dependability of a tariff system for national support in time of war; and some of the tariffs relied upon by other countries for their national revenue are nearly as bad as our late-lamented Payne-Aldrich creation, being more or less related thereto in purpose and origin.

INCOME TAX.

The lesson of this war in taxation is that the income taxthe new principle of taxation brought into our fiscal system by the Underwood tariff-is as preeminent in its dependability in time of war as it is just in its application and wise in its exemption from interference with commerce and industry. The income tax is to-day the revenue foundation of England, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, among the warring powers of Europe, and the first element in their program of national preparedness: Even their bond issues would be impossible were it not for the existence of a thoroughly reliable and long-tried income tax system of raising national revenue to take care of the bonds at maturity and the annual-interest payments. fundamental proposition examined by American bankers at the time of the recent \$500,000,000 loan, as shown by the financial circular issued by the banking syndicate, was the certainty of the British and French income tax systems to produce the revenue to redeem the bonds.

From the 12-page circular issued by the National City Bank of New York, I take the following statement, covering the 70year history of the British income tax:

In spite of the increase in expenditure in the last 15 years, the burden of the normal governmental expenditures is much less than it was in the days of Mr. Gladstone, having regard to the great expansion in the income and wealth of the nation. Relatively the burden on the wealthy has not increased, while the burden on the great mass of the people has been greatly reduced in proportion to their incomes. The following statement of incomes assessed to income tax since the income tax was introduced in 1843 furnishes a fairly good indication of the relative growth of the nation's income from decade to decade:

Incomes assessed to income tax

Annual control of the	
1843-44, exempt under £150	£243, 830, 000
1853-54, exempt under £100	286, 885, 000
1863-64, exempt under £100	371, 103, 000
1873-74, exempt under £100	543, 026, 000
1883-84, exempt under £150	628, 519, 000
1893-94, exempt under £150	673, 712, 000
1903-4, exempt under £160	902, 759, 000
1913-14, exempt under £160	1.186,000,000

It should be noted that the above statement of income does not include salaries and wages exempt from income tax. This additional income in 1913-14 amounted to about £1,400,000,000, whereas in 1843-44 it was only £235,000,000. The nation's total income in 1843-44 was

about £460,000,000, and in 1913-14 it was £2,400,000,000, a more than fivefold growth.

To show the lightness of the burden of taxation in Great Britain, in proportion to the income available, in 1913-14 in comparison with 1859-60, and with 1815-16, I present the following statement:

	Popula- tion,	National in- come per an- num.	Taxation per annum.	Annual ex- cess of in- come over taxation.
1815–16.	20,000,000	£300,000,000	£62,000,000	£238,000,000
1859–60.	29,000,000	700,000,000	66,000,000	634,000,000
1913–14.	47,000,000	2,400,000,000	164,000,000	2,236,000,000

The great increase in the margin of income in excess of taxation, both actually and in proportion to population, will be evident from the following statement:

	Income per head.	Taxation per head.	Income in excess of taxation per head of population.
1815-16.	£15	£3.1	£11.9
1859-60.	24.1	2.2	21.9
1913-14.	51.1	3.5	47.6

The burden of taxation in England has thus been growing smaller from decade to decade over the last century until it has become quite mismportant in comparison with the national income available for jaying it. A century ago the great mass of the British people were burdened with indirect taxation, while the burden of direct taxation falling on rich people was insignificant. Now, there is practically no burden of taxation on the great mass of the people and only a very moderate burden upon the rich. In no country in the world, with the exception of the United States, has the burden of taxation been as light as it has been in Great Britain in proportion to the national income. What other country can show absence of taxation upon practically all necessaries of life and upon most comforts and that it draws its revenue almost entirely from the taxation of luxuries?

A similar chapter in the successful operation of the income tax could be written for Germany, France, Austria, and Italy. So familiar are the American people to-day with the merits of the income tax-the principle of which over three-fourths of the States of the Union indorsed through the amendment of the Constitution as a foundation for the income-tax section of the Underwood law-that I desire herewith to call attention only to the following features of the analysis quoted from the above high banking authority:

First. That the effect of the income tax, contrary to the position of the Payne-Aldrich school, which opposes the income tax as a "penalty upon success," has had no such effect in Great Britain, where since 1860 the national income has increased at a rate more than double that of population. Although British revenue from the income tax has increased from about \$325,000,000 in 1860 to over \$800,000,000 in 1914, or something more than doubled, the annual excess of income over taxation In the same period has nearly quadrupled. This makes it very plain that the fear of "penalizing success," as expressed by our political opponents of the Underwood law and its income-tax provision, has no foundation in the above 75-year record of the United Kingdom.

Second. We have it from the authority of the National City Bank of New York, the greatest financial institution in the United States and the depository of the greatest corporate opponents of the income tax, that-

A century ago the great mass of the British people were burdened with indirect taxation, while the burden of direct taxation falling on rich people was insignificant. Now, there is practically no burden of taxation on the great mass of the people and only a very moderate burden upon the rich. In no country in the world, with the exception of the United States, has the burden of taxation been as light as it has been in Great Britain in proportion to the national income.

This tribute to the justice, the success, and the governmental efficiency of the income tax is not taken from the Democratic platforms of 1908 and 1912, or from the speeches of the Democratic Members of Congress elected to both Houses in 1914, or from literature of the great educational campaign which put the income-tax provision into the Constitution of the United States, or from the speeches of Democratic Representatives and Senators in this Capitol Building in the session of 1913, when the Democratic Party wrote the income tax into the Underwood revenue law of our country. To the contrary, the above tribute to the income tax is the official financial statement of the bank whose corporate depositors have been the most bitter enemies of the Underwood law, as they were the chief champions and beneficiaries of the notorious Payne-Aldrich tariff. Here is another evidence that the world does move, and that the eyes even of the great corporate blind—and they frequently on matters of public welfare are the most hopelessly blind of all-may

be opened to the gospel of good government and the principles

of just taxation.

What is the history of the advocates of the Payne-Aldrich tariff in regard to the just principle of the income tax? When the Supreme Court, in a divided opinion, and against what was deemed all precedent in the Supreme Court decisions of this country, declared unconstitutional the Democratic income tax of 1894, the Democratic Party continued its fight for this principle and made it a national issue in the campaign of 1908. In order to meet this issue Mr. Taft, in his acceptance speech as Republican presidential nominee in 1908, gave it as his personal opinion that the Democratic plank demanding the submission to the people of an income-tax amendment to the Constitutional was wholly unnecessary, and that he, as President, could draft an income-tax law that would be valid without constitutional amendment.

But when Mr. Taft, the candidate, became President Taft and sent his message to the extra session called to draft the Payne-Aldrich tariff, he completely forgot his income-tax pro-fession, and to meet the admitted revenue deficiencies of the tariff law his administration was pledged to enact advocated instead an inheritance tax. So overwhelming was the incometax sentiment of the country and so little was the interest in Mr. Taft's inheritance-tax substitute that the Senator from New York, Mr. Root, was compelled to admit (Cong. Rec. 44, 4002) that even in the Senate in 1909 an income-tax provision would have received "a majority of the votes of the Senate."

The Senator from Rhode Island, Mr. Aldrich, who was joint father of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act, declared (Cong. Rec. 44, 3929) that an income tax "is sure in the end to destroy the

protective system.'

So the inheritance-tax provision, in which no one took interest, was withdrawn; and, in order to compass the defeat of the threatened passage of one or the other of the income-tax bills proposed, "the corporation tax substitute," as it was called by Senators Aldrich and Root, was put into the Payne-Aldrich

The reason why the chief sponsors of the Payne-Aldrich bill-President Taft and Senators Root and Aldrich—inserted the light corporation tax in the measure was frankly stated by Senator Root (Congressional Record, vol. 44, p. 4002) in answer to the question why President Taft sent in the corporationtax amendment:

He did that, sir, of course, because in his judgment it was better for the country that the tax upon the business of corporations should be incorporated in our law than that the general income tax should be incorporated in our law.

In other words, the Payne-Aldrich tariff law was fathered and placed in our statutes by the leading representatives of the interests which sought to defeat the will of the people of the United States for a national income tax. No jugglery was left undone to accomplish the defeat of a general income tax. As stated by the committee of expert accountants to whom the "corporation tax substitute" was submitted, its exemptions of corporate earnings from taxation "violated all the principles of sound accounting." It gave the administration which passed of sound accounting." It gave the administration which passed the Payne-Aldrich tariff complete supervision over the corporations affected, to the exclusion of State interference, and protected them from publicity in their accounts, and it levied upon them the lightest possible corporation tax in payment for this protection.

Are the interests who advocate the Payne-Aldrich tariff today and seek the repeal of the Underwood law any more loyal to the income tax as demanded by the people and incorporated in the Underwood law than when they sought its defeat six

years ago?

Are the people of the United States any less opposed to the principles of the Payne-Aldrich tariff and any less loyal to the principles of the Underwood law and its income-tax provision

than they were in 1912 and 1914?

Certainly, Mr. Speaker, there is no evidence on either of these questions that would warrant any Member of this House pledged to the principles of just Federal taxation as embodied in the Underwood law to turn traitor to his convictions at this time and take a measure that the people have consigned to oblivion. It is the duty of this Congress, as I conceive it, to uphold the existing law and meet the exigencies forced upon our Government alike with all Governments in this time of world war, and to that end enact such additional measure as temporary emergency may require. Holding fast to those principles of just taxation which the American people have approved with their ballot, our duty is to uphold the Government with such added measures as the time and the emergency may demand of patriotic statesmanship.

War Taxes.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 16, 1915.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, there is under consideration to-day House joint resolution 59, a proposal to extend for one year the emergency war taxes which first went into effect on October 22, 1914, three months after the European war broke out.

This is an unpopular law, and the easiest thing for a lawmaker who wishes to avoid criticism at home to do is to vote against it. In fact, the rôle of popularity is easy if you wish to avoid all responsibility. I once knew a man, long a Member of Congress, who gave the secret of his success. He never voted for a tax bill or against an appropriation. He secured good appropriations for his district, but never bothered about raising the money to pay them.

Neither the Democratic Party or the Republican Party is responsible for the European war which wiped out our income at

the customhouse on August 1, 1914.

South American Government finances were prostrated by the same blow, and Canada suffered enormous revenue losses. there is neither an Underwood or a Payne-Aldrich tariff law in

any of those countries.

Therefore an unpredjudiced citizen must see the necessity of raising emergency revenues from other sources than tariff charges. This law which taxes notes, telephone and telegraph messages, and so forth, can not but be unpopular; in fact, it is pestiferous. But who will propose a popular taxing system? My friend from Wyoming (Mr. Mondell) derides the system because chewing gum and face powder are paying war tribute. It is true that many complaints have come from chewing gum and perfumery manufacturers and from hardly anyone else. My inter-pretation is that here are at least two instances where the war tax could not be passed on to the consumer, for chewing gum and perfumery are sold at the same old price.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Mann] proposes that this law shall only be extended to April 30, 1916, instead of December

aw snail only be extended to April 30, 1810, instead of 2 census.

31, 1916. He says this Congress can pass another extension later on if necessary.

Ah, yes; I see the specter of that new extension. That's where this \$500,000,000 military and naval expansion program will come in, if that loophole is left open.

There is where we will mortgage our children and our chil-

dren's children to the god of war.

There is where we will throw away America's opportunity to

write an end of the war horrors which curse the world.

How can we propose to Europe's prostrate war-crushed countries that all nations disarm if we are engaged in a frantic effort to outstrip the world in the manufacture of instruments of murder?

PANICKY PREPAREDNESS.

We are to be asked to find new and more pestiferous ways to tax the people, because an overwhelming panic has been spread over the land by the American jingoist-newspaper and states-

If we could find a way to fortify against the jingo juggernaut

nothing could make a lasting peace surer.

The hysteria caused by the black headlines in yellow newspapers cost this country great loss of life, untold millions of money, and misery which will never end. It gave us a problem in which there exists our only possible diplomatic tangle of a serious nature—the Philippines. And a certain chain of yellow newspapers actually boasted that it caused the war—the Spanish-American War!

Every intelligent student of American history now knows that Cuba would have been freed from Spain without any war or the shedding of one drop of blood. In the archives of the State Department there is correspondence which proves that Spain had agreed through Prime Minister Sagasta to withdraw the army of Spain from the Island of Cuba before Congress declared

war against Spain.

That piece of panickyism by the yellow press, the munitions manufacturers, and embalmers of beef for soldiers' rations cost us the lives of 16,000 young men—the flower of the land. The pension list already exceeds forty millions, and more than a billion dollars went out of the Treasury to get what—the Philippines, and we don't want them.

Of all times in history, now is the time to keep cool-and learn.

No nation will attack us—not just now. They are all busy.

The late John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy in Roosevelt's cabinet, said, in a letter to Secretary Daniels:

I think the American people should not get panic-stricken over the esent European condition, as if we were in danger of attack by the eat nations, which will come out of that conflict bankrupt and exusted and recognizing the vital need of a long peace for their re-

And former Secretary of the Navy Herbert, of Cleveland's

Now is precisely the time we should keep cool and study carefully the lessons being taught by the war in Europe. Twelve months hence we shall know better how much to expend for naval construction and what to spend it for.

WAR STOCKS MUST BE SUSTAINED.

But this sort of program does not suit the war trust, which has sent war stocks up more than \$1,000,000,000 in Wall Street. The market must be maintained or there will be great disaster in the stock market. The United States Government must give a vote of confidence at once and incidentally order \$500,000,000 in war armament.

The war trust is the wickedest trust in the world. It promotes

wholesale murder for the profits which it can secure.

I have one secretary, but need two. The extra man would be kept busy opening and examining the voluminous correspondence and elaborately illustrated booklets which I receive every day from the innumerable navy leagues and defense committees. I note the names of J. P. Morgan and Hudson Maxim as directors of some of them. Morgan's firm boasts that it has handled \$500,000,000 in munition contracts on European orders. And Maxim receives a royalty on every gun of his invention.

WHO WILL ATTACK US?

Will it be England? Her estimated wealth is eighty-two billions. She has spent forty billions already in this war. And she has 4,000 miles of unprotected territory along our northern

boundary. Not England.

Will it be Germany? If so, why? She has lost half of her export business which came to us. Will she want to recover that trade or continue to lose it, for what?

Will it be France? Same answer.

Will it be Italy? No.
Will it be Russia? How, and what for?
Will it be Japan? Ah, there's the rub. Japanese will overwhelm us some day. Thirty thousand of them are running around in the blackberry patches of California looking for an opportunity to massacre our whole population of 3,000,000 be-

fore breakfast, according to the senior Senator from my State.

At the beginning of the present war Japan had the highest per capita debt of any nation in the world, namely, \$300 for every man, woman, and child in the Flowery Kingdom. To-day Japan's debt is not reduced, but the European nations at war surpass her, for every man, woman, and babe in the warring countries is staggering under a debt of \$400. And the end is not yet. Keenest statesmen of broad vision are at the head of the Japanese Government, but the wicked jingoist troubles the Japanese public, just as he does here. We have not dealt with the Japanese question in a statesmanlike way in California. Our alien land law would have been all right if it had been enacted to apply alike to all nations.

Among the most fervent appeals for peace was an address delivered to the recent world's peace conference at the Panama-Pacific Exposition by Count Okuma, president of the Peace Society of Japan. The only belligerent note in his address was

So long as there exist nations or individuals who believe or exalt themselves as absolutely superior to others, so long will armaments and armed conflicts continue to mar the peace of the world.

Anson Phelps Stokes, of Yale University, says:

The Japanese Government, by undertaking to check all emigration of Japanese workingmen to this country, by its generous cooperation in the San Francisco Exposition, by its conspicuously friendly attitude toward the various American commissions visiting Japan, and in other ways, has shown its desire to improve relations with this country. We can dismiss all thought of an attack by Japan if we will treat the Japanese, who are a sensitive and proud people, courteously and fairly, adopting immigration and land-tenure laws that apply alike to all foreigners.

elgners.

Japan knows that her sphere of influence is Asiatic, not American,
She could not turn to any profitable account a square foot of our continental territory.

PEACE MAKES PEACE, WAR MAKES WAR.

Prof. Sumner, of Yale University, with his cold logic, sums up the whole business of preparing for war by trying to match the armaments of Europe. He says:

There is no state of readiness for war; the notion calls for neverending sacrifices. It is a fallacy. It is evident that to pursue such a
notion with any idea of realizing it would absorb all the resources and
activity of the State; this the great European States are now proving
by experiment. A wiser rule would be to make up your mind soberly
what you want, peace or war, and then to get ready for what you want,
for what we prepare for is what we shall get.

A DISHEARTENING PROSPECT.

I know nothing more disheartening than the announcement recently made that the United States—the one great country left in the world free from the hideous, bloody burdens of war—is about to embark upon the building of a huge armada, destined to be equal or second to our own—

Said Lord Rosebery, presiding at the Rhodes lecture in the University of London.

It means

He added-

that the burden will continue upon the other nations and be increased exactly in proportion to the fleet of the United States. I confess it is a disheartening prospect that the United States, so remote from the European conflict, should voluntarily in these days take up the burden which after the war will be found to have broken, or almost broken, our

POWERFUL INFLUENCES MAKE CONGRESS HELPLESS.

Benton, in his Thirty Years' View, writing in 1850 (v. 2, p. 577), summarizes the demand for more ships in his time as fol-

A powerful combined influence pushes forward an augmented navy without any object but their own interest—first, the politicians, who raise a clamor for war at the return of each presidential canvass and a cry for ships to carry it on; next, the naval officers, who are always in favor of more ships, to give more commands; and, thirdly, the contractors who are to build the ships and get rich upon their contracts. These three parties combine to build ships, and Congress becomes a helpless instrument in their hands.

MORE EFFICIENCY, NOT GREATER APPROPRIATIONS.

I shall vote for the extension of the war-tax measure before this House, because it is necessary to protect a Treasury depleted as a result of the European war; and I shall vote for its extension for one year in the hope that its enactment will operate to prevent the serious consideration by this Congress of another war-revenue measure destined to load upon our people the awful burdens which press upon the European nations. In times of peace we have been militaristic enough. for I shall append a table showing that we have spent more money upon our Army and Navy from 1901 to 1912 than did either Germany or France, and we equaled Great Britain upon a peace basis during the same years. If we have not secured as much "preparedness" for our money as they have, then it is not more money that we need, but more efficiency in its expenditure: Total Army expenditures, 1901-1912.

United States	
France	1, 774, 631, 558
Great Britain	2, 486, 126, 900
Total naval expenditures, 1901-1912.	
United States	
Germany	
Great Britain	
Grand total for Army and Navy, 1901-1.	912.
United States	
GermanyFrance	
Great Britain	

All of the above figures, except for Great Britain, are for "preparedness" expenditures in times of peace. During this period Great Britain made an estimated expenditure of one and one-half billions on account of the Boer War, thus reducing her grand total to about that of the United States.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LADISLAS LAZARO.

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday January 4, 1916.

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Speaker, it is time for us to pass a rural credit law, and I hope to see this Congress pass a comprehensive measure of this kind during the present session. In the last Congress we enacted into law a great and beneficial measure with reference to the banking and currency system of the United States—and, of course, I refer to the Federal reserve law. No one denies the great good that has resulted from this legislation; but we have not completed our task in this regard.

Let us look for a moment into the status of the question of agricultural finances. The subject of rural credits was mentioned in the platforms of all of the great political parties of 1912, and each pledged itself to action for the betterment of credit facilities on the farm. The Democratic platform declared as follows:

Clared as follows:

Of equal importance with the question of currency reform is the question of rural credits, or agricultural finances. Therefore we recommend that an investigation of the agricultural societies in foreign countries be made, so that it may be ascertained whether a system of rural credits may be derised suitable to conditions in the United States; and we also favor legislation permitting national banks to loan a reasonable proportion of their funds on real estate security.

The Republican platform contains substantially the same declaration, in the following words:

It is as important that financial machinery be provided to supply the needs of the farmer for credit as it is that the banking and currency system be reformed in the interest of general business.

The Progressive Party pledged itself to "foster the development of our agricultural credit."

President Wilson said:

Systems of rural credit have been studied and developed on the other side of the water, while we left our farmers to shift for themselves in the ordinary money market. You have but to look about you in any rural district to see the result, the handicap, and embarrassment which have been placed upon those who produce our food.

Pursuant to those views, in the spring of 1913 a commission of seven members, appointed by the President, traveled through Europe and cooperated with a commission made up of members appointed by governors of the several States to study the agricultural credit conditions in the Old World. At the same time the Department of Agriculture began an extensive and thorough study of the subject. In his annual message to us on the 2d of December, 1913, President Wilson again referred to rural credits in presenting to Congress "the urgent necessity that special provision be made for facilitating the credit needed by the farmers of the country." Even before the Federal reserve law was finally disposed of the Committee on Banking and Currency delegated a subcommittee to begin work on the question, and this subcommittee is prepared to submit a report to the whole committee.

So it seems to me, Mr. Speaker, and I believe it to be the opinion of those who have studied this question most carefully, that the House Committee on Banking and Currency has all of the information needed and is in a position to report a measure to this House which we can enact into law. While we have other great questions claiming our attention at this time, I confidently hope that this important subject will not be side-

tracked during this Congress.

We admit that the United States is an agricultural country, that agriculture is the foundation of our prosperity, and I can not think of any law that would do more to build up our agriculture than a good, sound rural-credit law. We know that the wonderful commercial expansion and industrial development of this country would have been impossible but for the credit facilities especially designed to meet the needs furnished for so many years through our national banking system and improved by the Federal reserve act. But this wonderful banking sys tem, as good as it is, provides no adequate facilities to meet the needs of our tremendous and growing agricultural interests. A rural-credit law that would relieve the average farmer from the burden which excessive rates of interest and short terms imply, enacted at this time, would round out the financial re-form begun in 1913. Without this separate financial system it is impossible for our banks to meet the situation, and wise and far-seeing bankers understand that the permanent prosperity of this country depends upon the promotion of our agriculture. Therefore, I say, we need a law under which each farmer can buy his own farm and pay for it with money borrowed at a cheap rate of interest and on long terms-a law that will permit the Government to lend its credit to make the liquefaction of this enormous security, which is absolutely sound and forever certain, on the best possible terms. The Government could not possibly ever lose one dollar by so doing.

One of the most serious problems we have to meet to-day is to stop the steady flow of population from the country to the already congested cities and towns. Another matter akin to that problem is the cost of living. It is not strange that the cost of living is becoming higher and higher every day when we study the distribution of our population. In the beginning of this country about 8 per cent of the people lived in the towns and cities, whereas to-day we find half of our population are in the congested centers, consuming instead of producing our food—

buyers instead of sellers. We want to encourage our boys and girls to remain on the farm, and how are we going to do it? The first step to be taken is to give every man, woman, and child who tills the soil a chance to own it. This is the foundation stone upon which alone can be builded a profitable and attractive country civilization. The small farm owned by the man who works it is the best plant bed on which to grow strong men. A landless population will always make a Mexico, but the strong citizen standing in the doorway of his own home is itself a builder and defender of the Commonwealth. Philosophy and oratory have tried to reverse the current of men and families leaving the farm and going to the cities, but the cry of "back to the farm" will continue to fall upon deaf ears unless something is done to make living in the country more attractive and profitable.

Long ago it became apparent to the wise statesmen and economists of the leading European countries that the worn-out soils, by centuries of use and abuse, needed reclamation and improvement in order to produce the very best results not only to make agriculture profitable to the individual farmer but especially to enable each rival country to produce the products of the soil as cheaply as possible in order to compete with other rivals in the markets of the world. This need led to the birth of the rural credit financial systems in Europe separate from the ordinary banking systems. We likewise need such a system from an economical standpoint, both nationally and locally. Not only must we be able to compete with the other nations of the world but it is necessary that the farmers of this country own their own farms in order to produce their products at a cost sufficiently low to enable them to derive enough profit from their lands to pay their taxes, build up their homes, improve their communities by establishing schools and churches, and build good roads. We must enact a rural credit law soon or we will continue to see this country of ours becoming a land of tenants and unable to promote its own civilization. Anyone who has kept up with the subject knows that there is a growing feeling of uneasiness over the growth of land tenancy, and fear has been expressed lest this country should become a country of tenant farmers and absent landowners after the fashion of Ireland. The man who deeply feels and understand this obligation, who most clearly sees this opportunity, and who is willing to lend his efforts in the enactment of this much-needed law will most surely serve his day and generation.

While our attention is taken up for the present with the question of national defenses and we are trying to agree on a measure of reasonable preparedness to protect the American people in case of emergency, which all practical men who understand human nature and are familiar with history admit is necessary, let us not forget that we also need industrial preparedness, and that this can not be brought about without making agriculture profitable. We are working hard to build up an American merchant marine, but we will have but little need for a merchant marine if we can not produce agricultural products at a cost to

compete successfully for the markets of the world.

In the face of the situation and with knowledge of the experience of the world before us, gathered at great cost and officially published for our information, we can delay no longer to apply the remedy. We agree on the principle, and we have given our experts opportunity to work out the details, and a measure should be brought in which we can enact into law before we adjourn.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES H. DILLON,

OF SOUTH DAKOTA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 4, 1916.

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me for extension of remarks on the subject of rural credits, I am presenting a speech delivered by Hon. H. L. Loucks, of Watertown, S. Dak., at Sioux Falls before a rural-credit gathering.

In 1886 Mr. Loucks was the president of the Dakota Farmers' Alliance and has made a lifelong study of farm economics. I am sure those making a study of this subject will be interested in Mr. Loucks's discussion of this important subject.

Credits is one of our great governmental activities and ought not to be monopolized by any class of people for selfish purposes.

The question naturally occurs, Why should not the Government regulate the interest rates on farm-mortgage loans and present a system that will eliminate all profits?
The speech is as follows:

RURAL CREDITS.

[Speech of H. L. Loucks, Watertown, S. Dak.]

Rural credits is now at the front as a national issue. In discussing it we should lay down certain fundamental principles toward which our efforts should be directed. If they are sound, by keeping them to the front we establish a safe base and can accept of any measure that leads in our direction.

Our medium of exchange, whether of metal or paper, is a public utility created and issued by our Federal Government for public use. No individual, combination of individuals, corporations, or State can legally make or issue money, and none should be permitted to monopolize it. It is by far the most important public utility of any civilized nation or people.

It should be administered in the interest of and be readily accepted by all of the citizens of the sovereign creating it and

be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private.

Like all public utilities-municipal, State, or national-it should be administered without special favor and without private profit as is our medium for the exchange of intelligence-the post-office system.

Money, like any other commodity, when uncontrolled is subject to the law of supply and demand. When controlled by private interests it becomes the greatest of all monopolies.

An essential function should be stability. It is impossible to have a stable currency based on any single commodity, and more especially a metal depending wholly upon the chance of discovery.

The present currency law in recognizing the fact that money

based on value is just as good as money stamped on value, and much more convenient, has taken a long step toward the scientific solution of the money problem.

The authors and advocates of the Aldrich currency bill and the present currency law succeeded in their educational campaign in proving that money is not necessary for the transaction of our business; that all we need is credit and a check book, which in the main is true.

For the exceptions Federal reserve bank notes and minor coins will do. The Aldrich currency bill provided for the gradual retirement of all of our present currency from general circulation. The same is practically true of the Owen-Glass law. Whatever power is lacking in the law itself has been conferred on the Federal Reserve Board, and retirement is rapidly progressing. Our medium will soon be Federal reserve bank notes.

In Europe and Australia agriculture is given special favors by the several Governments, and secures the use of money for less than does commerce and industry. Here we pay on an average two to two and a half times as much. We do not ask for any special favor for agriculture.

All we ask is to be placed on an equal footing with commerce

and industry and should not be satisfied with less

The amount to be provided should be governed wholly by the law of supply and demand for use, and should respond to that demand automatically. The per capita basis belongs to the past. We are no longer exchanging individuals, but labor and the products of labor.

The control of this public utility in the past by one class of nonproducers, whose sole aim was private profit, has resulted disastrously for both producer and consumer and in the un-paralleled concentration of wealth in the hands of a few.

Under our present system the currency will be issued by the Federal reserve banks and loaned on commercial paper. These, backed by the credit and taxing power of the Nation, will be the very best currency ever issued by any nation.

Why limit that loan and indersement to commercial paper?

Investment paper secured by farm land or stable farm products in store should be and is better security. Leading Chicago bankers say that they prefer to loan their money on wheat in store than on Government bonds. It is the best security known to investors.

The Federal reserve bank notes are now issued without interest to the reserve banks by the Federal Government, the only charge being the actual expense incurred (less than one-tenth of 1 per cent); in other words, at cost. (See sec. 18.) For a public utility that principle is sound, but indefensible when granted to a private business for profit as at present. medium of exchange should be issued at cost by the Federal unit to every industry on exactly the same terms as to security, expense, and interest.

The advocates of rural credit should take the broader view, accept the principles of the present law, and insist on its ex-

tension so as to provide for equal opportunity for all-the laborers, mechanics, professional and business men and women, as well as the farmers. Encourage every citizen to become a producer and home owner by giving him a chance.

A nation of prosperous home owners should be our goal.

All those who are directly or indirectly interested in agricultural development production, as well as those interested in the price of farm products and home ownership, should demand and insist on a separate investment system for longtime loans which could be administered at a mere fraction of the expense of the commercial system.

The two systems are not antagonistic or competitive and have developed side by side in Europe to their mutual advantage.

The solution for rural credits is the organization of a Federal investment bank to do for investments just what the Federal reserve bank is supposed to do for commerce. There need be no expensive commissions.

If we make use of our present units of government we can have the maximum of security at the minimum of expense.

First. A Federal investment bank authorized to issue Federal notes for purposes of production and development.

Use the several State governments as the second

Third. Organize a State development bank, or make use of some department already established, such as our South Dakota commissioner of school and public lands, which has successfully loaned our school-land funds on farm lands ever since statehood.

Fourth. The county commissioners, who now handle our school funds for the State department, or a similar county board for other States

Fifth. The individual applicant for a loan.

With each of these units except No. 4 the work will be largely clerical, and as the loans will be long-time loans, the clerical cost will be comparatively small; indeed, less than in any other country where the clerical work is not done voluntarily.

Now as to security, we will reverse:

First. The applicant. As the county would have to indorse the note, the applicant would have to satisfy the county authority as to his personal character and the so-called moral risk. The value of the property would usually be known to some member of the board; if not, the cost of investigation would be nominal.

Second. The county board. The clerical work could be done by one of the present county officials in the courthouse. The security being satisfactory, the county would indorse the note, thus making it as good as a county bond. For this the county should receive one-half of 1 per cent of the annual interest. All over the actual expense involved should be placed in a reserve fund to protect the county against any possible loss

Third. The county would then forward to the State investment bank or department whose duty it would be to pass upon the application, and if approved pass on to the State. they should also be allowed one-half of 1 per cent. All over the actual expense to also go into a reserve fund for protection.

Fourth. The State authority if satisfied would then indorse and send to the Federal investment bank as the asset on which to loan the bank notes. For this the State should also receive one-half of 1 per cent, and likewise place all over the expense incurred in a reserve fund for protection against any possible loss. The security then would be better than a State bond.

Fifth. The Federal investment bank should receive one-half of 1 per cent, and all over the expense be set apart as a reserve fund for protection. This would make a total interest of 2 per cent. A conservative estimate of the expense with the experience of Europe and Australia as a guide would be not more than 1 per cent. The reserve funds would not be private profit, but would belong to the public.

There is nothing new in this method as to Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4. They are now and have been for many years in successful operation in this and other countries. No. 5 is a duplicate of our Federal reserve bank law, which our financial experts claim to be the most perfect financial law ever enacted, with the exception that we provide for one-half of 1 per cent interest to the Federal Treasury as a protective reserve fund, and the Federal

reserve banks pay no interest,

Where would the Federal Government get the money? Just where they get the Federal reserve bank notes. I am not asking for money, just Federal investment bank notes, and I am in favor of eliminating any provision for gold redemption, but would make them a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, without any exception clause. They are not intended to be for use in and "good in Europe," but for home use.

A United States bank note, properly secured by the borrower, indorsed by the county, State, and Nation, with the taxing power of each back of it, should be good enough for any Ameri-

can citizen, and would be even better than the Federal reserve bank note.

To sum up:

First. It will eliminate private profit from any public utility in accord with the best modern economic thought.

Second. It will provide a medium of exchange with the maximum of security and at the minimum of expense.

Third. It will furnish the use of credit for development and production at a little lower rate of interest than any of our competitors have.

Fourth. It is no experiment. Every feature is in successful operation now somewhere.

Fifth. It is very simple, requiring very little new machinery.

Mr. Moore on "Common-Sense Preparedness."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 4, 1916.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a speech delivered by the Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE, a Member of the House, before the National Rivers and Harbors Congress in December last, on the subject of "Common-Sense Preparedness."

Mr. MOORE said:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, speaking of "preparedness," for that, in a way, is my theme, there was an old fellow down in the State of our distinguished friend the Senator from Louisiana, President Ransdell, who, having on one pleasant moonlight night dallied too long with John Barleycorn, wended his way homeward across a stubble field that was left by some prize-winning Louisiana corn boys until he struck a worm fence from the vicinity of which proceeded a commotion and a rattle, which to his trained mind indicated the proximity of a snake. The rattle in particular was ominously distinct, so he righted himself for a moment, did the old fellow, and then, striking an attitude of defiance, said, "Ready to strike, are ye? Well, gol darn ye, strike now, for you'll never find me better prepared!" [Laughter and applause.]

Now, that occurred in the days before they stopped using

whisky in Louisiana. [Laughter.] President RANSDELL. That has been a long time ago. [Re-

newed laughter.]

Mr. Moore. And I do not intend that you shall know what it was the Senator from Louisiana said to the Congressman from Pennsylvania "a long time" ago, either. Nor do I tell this story because I am at the tail end of the list of speakers this morning. I need it in a way to point a moral. I do not want to see drunken preparedness for war in the United States. [Applause.]

DO NOT WANT WAR.

I do not want war at all, new or ever; no man who has had experience in war, we are told, wants to see it again. I do not want to be led into war by any fool pacemaker or peacemaker, by any jingoist, nor by any ammunition maker. I want peace for my country's sake, for the sake of my wife, for the sake of my children, for my own sake, and for the sake of those who are to come. [Applause.]

I do not want to be misled or misdirected: I do not want to have burdens placed upon the backs of the people who do not deserve to have burdens placed there. I do not want to be thrown into any conflict, national or international, but if war is forced upon us I want to be duly and sensibly prepared for

war. [Applause.]

Appropriations are about to be asked for the purpose of increasing the Army and the Navy of the United States. listened to the President of the United States on Tuesday last as he told those of us who are Members of Congress what was expected of us in the matter of preparedness-not for war, I hope, but for that peace to which we all aspire. I listened to his suggestions as to how we were to pay for this preparedness, and I regret to say there was not one word as to that commercial and industrial activity of the country which must in the end pay for war or preparedness for war.

THE PROPLE MUST SUPPORT WAR.

If war should come, there must be something to support the soldier apart from the soldier's own service. The soldier does not create revenue. I said this to this convention last year. The of Congress of that day said, would never dare to tackle us

soldier must rely upon revenue that is created by somebody The naval man does not create revenue; the Navy must rely upon revenue that is created by some one else. Who is it and what is it that creates revenue not only to conduct the ordinary bureaus and departments of the Government, but to maintain the soldiery and the Navy of the United States? is the man of commerce, the man of industry, the man of agriculture—those who labor within the United States.

Our revenues come from the people, and all taxes levied for the purposes of war must come from the people. War is not only loss of life and of blood; it is a loss of the energy of the people. We undermine the entire social, industrial, and commercial fabric when we go to war, and it takes years to restore the conditions that are thus distorted and overridden.

PRACTICAL PREPAREDNESS LIMITED.

Now, I have some thoughts as to practical preparedness along the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts, but it is not my purpose to enlarge upon the details now. I am to talk upon a "commonsense preparedness," which contemplates a substantial basis for all our activities, whether in peace or war. I may pause, however, to wonder whether we would be duly prepared at this time to meet the situation that would immediately confront us along the Pacific coast if a blow should be struck at the Hawaiian Islands and our 9,000 men new stationed there should be overcome. It would not hurt us a bit if we were to have increased fortifications along the Pacific coast. To be sure, there is a fine harbor down yonder at San Diego, in southern California; there is a navy yard and naval station in the vicinity of San Francisco, and we have the Bremerton Navy Yard at Puget Sound; but there are many hundreds of miles of coast line between these points where a landing force of well-organized, experienced, and efficient soldiers or marines might land with the view of spreading themselves all over the western border.

DANGER WHERE THE WEALTH IS.

If that is true of the Pacific coast, what shall we say of the Atlantic seaboard, where the greatest wealth of the Nation is invested in industries and business enterprises and where in a small area we produce more than 50 per cent of the manufactures of the whole United States? We have some defenses there, but are they equipped to meet any well-organized force that might come over from Europe and suddenly attack them? there not numerous landing places round about New York and the other large Eastern cities from which the enemy might proceed to attack our poorly manned defenses?

Our splendid coast artillery is now largely occupied in our colonial possessions. We have a mere handful of men in the vicinity of New York, and it is not impossible that an enemy might come into Hampton Roads and proceed up the Chesapeake At the head of the Delaware Bay, approachto Baltimore. ing Philadelphia, we have three small forts, which at the present time are cared for by 200 men, who are not sufficient to keep the Government property in working order. Suppose an enemy should seize the city of Savannah, which is now looming up as one of the industrial cities of this country, or going up the St. Johns River make a landing and take Jacksonville, what would the people of the Nation say, when Congress might have given relief, if—bear in mind "if"—it had only opened up the canals and increased our coast defenses.

" IF " IS THE FATAL WORD.

If we could have gotten our ships through, some one will say, it might have been different. "If," indeed, is the fatal word, for the facts are that in event of attack neither our torpedo boats nor our submarines nor our smallest gunboats could get through the Atlantic intracoastal waterways even to aid our coastal fortifications.

The enemy might take all of our Government works and our arsenals, capture our great stores and our great bank buildings, so far as our inland waterways are concerned. We have not improved our opportunities, but have neglected the waterways upon which our little boats could deploy and through which they might go to the rescue of those who were attacked, or to drive

invaders back. [Applause.]

Ah, you say it is a far-fetched story, do you? You say it is an overdrawn picture, do you? Well, do you remember 1776, when the nations were not so well trained and organized, nor so efficient as they are in warfare to-day? Do you remember reading that the invader landed on our shores, and that it took us seven long years to drive him back? Do you remember that it had to be done by the boys who came from the farms, boys that had been dragged in from the woods and the fastnesses of the mountains? Well, turn to the pages of your histories if you do not remember.

THE ENEMY DID COME BACK.

Do you remember 1812? Well, the foreign foe, the Members

again. Speeches were made upon the floor of Congress in which the very idea was ridiculed as impossible. It was said we had driven the enemy out once and he would never come back, but he did come back. And we are irritating foreign nations to-day; we never did that before. Foreign nations are holding up our trade to-day. So they did then, and we resented it then. I will say nothing for the moment as to what we are doing now.

But people said then, as they are doing to-day, that there would be no war, that Great Britain had had enough; but Great Britain came over, and Great Britain renewed the war. Admirat Graddock came up the Potomac River and made a landing. The British forces took up their march upon the Capital, and our brave army, composed mostly of untrained militia, unprepared, of course, marched out to meet him at Bladensburg. I know about that, because my grandfather was one of them. They came back with their tails behind them. The enemy came up and took this beautiful city of yours—not so beautiful then as it is now—and he sacked the public buildings, took our records, burned the Capitol, and the President of the United States went over the river, so that he would not have to suffer the humiliation of capture. We had a great many people then who thought it would be impossible, but it was done; it was done by an organization that we were not able to cope with, unpalatable as it is to admit it.

THE PRESIDENT'S PREPAREDNESS PLANS.

I heard the President on Tuesday say what he thought was needed in the way of Army enlistments and increased forces on land. I also heard him say what was needed in the matter of our Naval Establishment. Let me read briefly what he said about the Navy:

The program to be laid before you, Members of Congress, contemplates the construction within five years of 10 battleships, 6 battle cruisers, 10 scout cruisers, 50 destroyers, 15 fleet submarines, 85 coast submarines—

And I emphasize that-

4 guaboats, 1 hospital ship, 2 ammunition ships, 2 fuel-oil ships, and 1 repair ship.

I will not read further in detail, but there is much more.

This program of Navy expansion is to extend over a period of five years, and we are now to raise the revenue to build these ships. Well, I would like to see them built because of the industries of this country, not for war but for the maintenance of [Applause.] But if we are to build them we must have the means with which to build. How are we to get the money? Before we dash into these vast expenditures and increase the tax burdens of the people, would it not be well to give the people a fair show to earn that with which to make the expenditures? Peace and the arts and handicrafts of peace support our warriors and our sailors; we are dependent upon our internal employments for revenue; and yet we propose now to increase our armament upon shore and upon sea without a word for internal development, except as it comes up grudgingly from members of the Rivers and Harbors Committee, who are only "hopeful" that some recognition may be obtained for those instrumentalities of nature, which, adequately improved, would enable us to proceed with the vast trade and commerce of the country.

RAILBOADS CONGESTED AND NO HELP.

Railroads are congested, cargoes of grain from the West are tied up miles from New York, great magnates of the iron horse are complaining and wondering what is to be done to relieve the congestion, but still there is to be no river and harbor bill this session of Congress if the "pork-barrel" economists can stop it.

Railroads competent to do the business! James J. Hill, who has not been with us often since, told us from this platform in 1907 that we were not then competent with our railroads to do the ordinary normal business of the United States, and there has been no marked expansion in railroad building since.

Now, when trade is looking up again, when the farmer is beginning to come into his own, when the great crop-producing States are seeking a market, the output of the munition makers enters the arema and the railroads are unable to carry our freight. The word has come down the line—we have heard it in the House; you, Mr. President, have heard it in the Senate—railroads issuing embargoes, but there is to be no rivers and harbors bill this year. We have got to put up with the railroad problem again. Yes; increase your Army and Navy, build; our battleships, overload your railroads, but let your rivers and harbors stand where they are; let them remain as they were in the days of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. They understood them better then than we do in this year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifteen, and they appreciated them more. [Applause.]

THE BUILDING WITHOUT AN ELEVATOR.

I am going to tell another story. I will take it away from the Senator from Louisiana and put it on some of our friends over yonder in the great metropolis, where the magazine writers in the lofty skyscrapers feel so absolutely sure they are beyond the range of 12-inch guns from the open sea. man there who had plenty of money. Some of the men who have made money are not always the most far-seeing either. because they engage in very wonderful undertakings, to stop wars on the other side of the water and things like that, when they might more sensibly use some of their millions here helping us at home. But this man built a 16-story building just because he had the money to do it; he got the best architects, established a foundation and superstructure of stone and steel. provided hardwood finish, tessellated floors, and the best equipment generally. After the building was finished he asked his friends to a great banquet on the roof. "A fine structure," he said. "Yes," said his guests, "but where is your elevator?"
"Well," he said, "I didn't think an elevator necessary; the staircase is safer."

We are in exactly that position with regard to preparedness in this country to-day, both as to commerce and war. We are going to spend a lot of money for naval equipment, put a lot of jackies on the high seas, and after we get them there it will be inconvenient to have them home again, because our coastal waterways are insufficient to accommodate them. Oh, yes; we have the port of New York; we can keep a few of them there. We have Narragansett Bay; we could keep some of them there. We have Narragansett Bay; we could keep some of them there. We have a splendid haven at Hampton Roads, but when we want any one of these ships to pass inside from one of these great ports to another they can not do it. We have only the old-fashioned staircase to go upon; we did not think it necessary to put in an elevator nor to open the channels.

THE AUTO WITHOUT THE GAS.

Now, you men from the interior who sometimes chide us from along the coast line because we talk preparedness, let me ask you what would you think of a man out in Missouri, where they "want to know," if after he had provided himself with a highif after he had provided himself with a highgrade wagon built of the finest hickory and adorned with a waterproof hood, all hitched up to the best team of full-blood Percherons you ever saw, he should put his family aboard and start out across the prairie without a feed box or a provision chest? That family would be in the same predicament that we are in along the coast line to-day. Or, let us say to those of you who come from country districts and have more automobiles than we have-and I am glad you have-suppose after you graduate from that machine that is made by the great peacemaker, who is going to bring the warring kings and kalsers of the world to-gether—suppose after you had dispensed with his well advertised product you got a limonsine for seven, and your wife liked it, and you posted all your friends that you had a splendid 60-horsepower engine on it, and invited some of them to join you, and then just as you had all gotten comfortably seated and you had given your chauffeur the word to go, he should say, "Boss, we have no gasoline

BLOCKED INLAND ALONG THE COAST.

Are we not in about that fix to-day? We are in that position along the New England seaboard and in the Middle States; you are along the Pacific coast; and we certainly are in that position down on the Gulf to-day, according to the gentleman from Texas, who spoke a little while ago.

There are 1,800 miles of coast line along the Atlantic and there is more of coast line over on the Pacific coast. There is an exposed coast along the Gulf. And the Great Lakes are not to be left out of consideration in war times, either.

As a matter of fact, we have got more exposed coast to protect than any other country in the world. Along the Atlantic seaboard we have more wealth to protect than we have anywhere else in the country. We have more people to look after. Yet a few years ago when we wrote to the Secretary of the Navy and asked him, in view of the fact that he was going to send four torpedo boats down from the Philadelphia Navy Yard to Charleston, to send them through inside waterways, he said, in effect, "We would be very glad to do it, but there is not sufficient depth of water to accommodate these small vessels, and they will have to be sent outside." And he did send them outside in time of peace, not of war; on down the Delaware out to sea and by Cape Hatteras, where they were struck by a storm and driven out of their course. Some of the men were injured. The vessels themselves were damaged, but were returned to Norfolk and repaired at a considerable cost to the Government. That was in time of peace. The tax-

payers of the country paid that bill, which might have been spared if the inside passage had been adequate.

MR. DANIELS SEES FOR HIMSELF.

And here is another. Last year we made a great convert to the waterways cause. In the expedition of the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association up the Hudson River we asked the Secretary of the Navy to go with us. We also asked Mr. Daniels to send some of his boats up the river, so that the people who sustain the Navy might have an object lesson with regard to the value of their property. He sent us the Dolphin, one of our smallest and swiftest dispatch boats; and the Dolphin stopped at Hudson, part way up the river, because, drawing 17 feet of water, she could not go any farther. We were bound for the important cities of Albany and Troy and the entrance to the New York State Barge Canal, that leads on to the Great Lakes. It is that canal that puts the Great Lakes into communication with the Atlantic and makes possible the cheap freight rates that the gentleman from Tennessee was telling you about a min-The Secretary of the Navy not only sent the Dolphin on that uncompleted expedition, but he sent a little torpedo boat. It got up to Albany, and there it stuck in the mud, and we had to wait for the tide to get it out; it could not reach the Erie Canal, and hence, if it had been necessary to come to the rescue of any of you gentlemen who live along the Lakes, our Navy could not have gotten to you; we were blocked.

And this is the great United States that is ready to spend a vast sum of money for armament and fortifications, and yet does not give a continental, apparently, about its waterways. When the Secretary of the Navy saw the plight of his own vessels he did not mince words about the value of inland waterways, and at the Savannah convention of our association last month one of the strongest and most forceful papers ever written on this subject was received from Mr. Daniels, to whom I wish all credit as a keen and appreciative observer to be given. [Applause.]

ANTIQUE CANALS INSUFFICIENT FOR ANTIQUE SHIPS.

When that great waterways convention of the Atlantic association was being arranged for at Norfolk in 1909 I asked the custodians of the replica of the Half Moon, the ancient craft in which Henry Hudson sailed across the seas and in which he discovered the Hudson River, to send her down after the Fulton-Hudson celebration through the inland canals from New York to Norfolk. So interesting a type of vessel would have been a great attraction in the southern city; but upon careful inquiry it was found that the model was a little too wide to pass through the locks of the Delaware & Raritan and Chesapeake & Delaware Canals and that her draft of water was a little too deep to be accommodated in those canals, the same, of course, that we now have along the Atlantic seaboard for the benefit of our Army and Navy as well as for commerce. That is to say this antique model, representing the ships in vogue 300 years ago, a model only, that had come over to this country not upon the water but on the bow of one of our modern ocean steamships, could not pass through our up-to-date canals. [Laughter.]

LOSS OF LIFE AND PROPERTY.

Some of our friends-I do not mean to point them out particularly, because we will thrash this out in Congress-sometimes say to us, when we agitate for the improvement of our streams in order that we may develop commerce and be ready for war if war should come, that we are so near the coast line that it is useless to spend money upon interior improvements. One of the greatest of the leaders from the interior upon my side of the House gave out some years ago the thought that it was unnecessary to open these canals, because we were within a biscuit throw of the ocean." It is not unreasonable that such comment should come from interior States, but it is not true and it is not fair, for every 10 years along the Altantic Ocean, by reason partly of the failure of Congress to perfect our canals and provide for our commerce, we lose-not we of the East alone for it is western property as well-not less than \$40,000,000, in addition to twenty-two hundred lives, which was the record from 1900 to 1910. Those lives, it seems to me, would be worth saving. Life is not worth much in war, to be sure, but the old story goes now as ever, that it is all right to send boys to war, or around Cape Hatteras, provided it is not your boy. Every one of these twenty-two hundred men had a father or a mother or a brother, and many of them were the protectors of homes, the care of which now devolves largely upon the community. We could save many of these lives, and we could get our commerce safely through protected waterways if Congress had not delayed their improvement.

SHIPS MUST HAVE SOME PLACE TO GO.

Many of the additional ships that the President recommends for the Navy I am prepared to support him in building, but where are these ships to go? They can not live always upon the sea; they should have fresh-water basins; they must be repaired once in a while, even if we never go to war with them. We can not keep them forever out on the open seas in the salt water. And where are we to keep these little coast submarines of which so many are recommended? Are we to keep them out in the open sea? Are they to stay out there in time of peace until the cooped-up crews are suffocated? Or if they are driven in-it does not sound well that American sailors should be driven; but suppose they are driven in by an enemy, and they come into the port of Hampton Roads and are chased up the Chesapeake Bay—could they get through to the navy yards at Philadelphia or New York? No; under present conditions they would be blocked at Chesapeake City and could not get through, There is not sufficient water in the canals to let them through. So it would seem the Government of the United States wants to build ships without first having the streams on which to float them. It is written somewhere in the Scriptures that "he who provideth not for his own house is worse than an infidel."

Why are we going into this thing, entering upon a controversy with the world; preparing, as it were, to challenge other nations, and yet neglecting back home to keep our house in order? The cobwebs are here, why not brush them off? The dirt has accumulated in the rivers and harbors, why not remove it? We should not be put in the position of going out "to mix it up" with our neighbors, and then, if they drive us back, have no place to go. That would be the plight of our small vessels of war to-day if they were driven in; and everybody, including the jingoists, knows that they can be driven in by superior numbers.

PREPARE OUR WATERWAYS NOW.

We have 50,000 miles of inland waterways in the United States, more than 25,000 miles of which are navigable and capable of operation. Every mile would be of service under certain circumstances. Are we to prepare them for war after war comes? Are we to wait, as we did when we declared war against Spain, to make our preparations? Or are we to do as is usually done by the jingoist and the money-maker in war times—start the thing going without a basic preparedness, and then spend, spend, spend, and waste, waste, waste, both life and treasure, patience and honor?

Down in the State of North Carolina alone—and it is one of the Atlantic coastal States—there are no less than 2,500 miles of navigable waterways. Surely they should be prepared for commerce. Commerce is the feeder of industry, and it is the basis of the revenues of the country. We must prepare ourselves for something else than war, even though we should not engage in war. We have longer to live at peace than war, and we should prepare to take care of ourselves in peace.

Down along the Atlantic coast, apart from the 300,000,000odd acres of land still to be given away to those who would till it in this country, only one-half of the farm land in the original thirteen States has been used to advantage for tillage purposes. We can accommodate millions of people who want to do business in agriculture.

East of the Appalachian Chain we can take care of industry, but we can not do it if everything must be transported along the line of one railroad, or if there is only one railroad to come and go on. We have 160,000,000 acres of arable, tillable, and well-irrigated land in the thirteen original States, only a little more than half of which is under cultivation. The people could use this land, here in the East, where the markets are good, if the waterways that God placed there at our disposal were properly improved for purposes of transportation.

A CONTRAST OF APPROPRIATIONS.

With all respect to our Army and to our Navy and all those branches of the Government service which do not create revenue, proud as we are of them, we find that in 40 years there has been appropriated for and expended upon the Army nearly \$2,000,000,000 and upon the Navy more than \$2,000,000,000; and upon pensions, which are the result of war, more than \$4,500,000,000, a total of upward of \$8,500,000,000, spent in 40 years for war, preparedness and the consequences of war; while for commerce and industry, which have supported these expenditures, or at least for rivers and harbors, which promote commerce, only \$680,000,000—not billions, remember—have been spent. Contrast that with the more than \$8,500,000,000 spent for war and you understand the situation.

Thus the plod horse of our entire commercial and industrial fabric, the burden bearer of our revenues, receives encourage-

ment at our Government's liberal hands to the extent of \$680,000,000, while war, Navy, and pensions, which depend upon commerce and industry and upon the rivers and harbors that carry that commerce, receive over \$8,500,000,000. [Applause.] It is worth pondering when you hear about the "pork barrel."

LESS FOR THE FOREIGNER-MORE FOR OURSELVES.

Much of the jingoism and false patriotism due to money making arises from the desire to obtain good prices for commodities sent abroad. In my judgment it would be better for us if we devoted a little more attention to the possibilities for giving our people lucrative employment in the United States. We still have plenty to do in the development of our own natural resources. Do not forget that the United States is the best market in the world.

Our foreign trade is not a picayune compared with our own consumption within the United States. Since I came upon this platform figures have been handed to me by those who are intensely interested in this subject, which, it seems to me, should be referred to briefly. There has been a wonderful exportation of grain from this country during the period of the war in Europe, and much ado has been made about our carrying capacity and our ability to meet these foreign conditions. have been worrying about the foreigners without noticing that the prices seem to be soaring here at home; and yet as we worry about this foreign trade the statistics handed to me a few moments ago show that from January 1 to December 7, 1915, the Atlantic seaboard grain terminals, all of them working 11 months, Canada included-all of them sending grain abroadhandled a volume of traffic which was not equal in weight to that which passed through the Soo Canal up yonder in Michigan in the single month of October. Talk about your foreign trade, why should you worry! In one month we passed more tonnage through the Soo Canal than we sent to Europe in 11 months, the war demand included. [Applause.]

NO MILITARY DESPOTISM WANTED.

Ladies and gentlemen, the present agitation for preparedness is all right in its way and Congress may be safely trusted to disassociate the good there is in it from that which is selfish and sordid. The agitation overshoots its mark, however, if it tends to create a spirit of militarism which fails to regard the civic and business welfare of the country. In other words, a military agitation that does not take into account our civil rights in the United States would be a failure. No such propaganda could permanently succeed that failed to recognize our right to foster and develop commerce and industry and to profit thereby. Our Army and Navy are composed of brave and serviceable men, who entertain no thought of a military despotism. They ought not to be educated by us or encouraged by agitators to hope for or to believe in one. It is fair that they should seek and deserve the sympathy and support of wealth-producing and the wage-earning public. It is true that neither the Army nor the Navy are as strong as some of us would like to have them in the event of war. and Navy combined at the present time is not numerically greater, approximately, than the actual number of men killed in some of the battles of the present European war, as, for instance, the battle of the Marne. If we are going to get into trouble with any European or Asiatic power-and I do not see why we should-we are certainly not prepared, numerically, in the matter of trained men nor in the matter of munitions to meet a well-equipped enemy.

COMMERCE MUST BE CONSIDERED.

We can not employ more men nor buy more munitions without money. The truth is that at the present time our financial house is not in order to provide any more men or any more munitions without imposing additional taxes on the people. If we agree that it is a good thing to employ more men in the Army and Navy and to provide more munitions, including coast defenses and the like, then we must be prepared to give the people an opportunity to earn more money to pay the bills. What the people now need, in view of their tremendous productive ability, is improved and increased transportation service in order to reach a profitable market. The railroads, which do the bulk of the common carrying, are admittedly incapable of doing it all; the natural carriers of the fruits of American toil, the waterways of the country, are not sufficiently developed to be of great service. The opportunity to improve these important auxiliaries to the commercial life of the Nation is now at hand and comes with greater plausibility at this particular time because of this very discussion of preparedness.

DIVERSIFY OUR EMPLOYMENTS.

We have been holding our increasing population in the already congested cities and we have been forcing them to live in the vicinity of the railroad lines, thus restricting their power of

production and specializing their lines of employment. The opening up of the inland waterways, especially along the Atlantic coast, where I am most familiar with them, would operate to the advantage of the entire country in diversifying our population and our employments and would contribute to the happiness and to the patriotism of the employed. With individual homes thus created, and with commerce and industry thus encouraged, there would be better reason for seeking revenues to sustain an increase in the Army and Navy. In addition, the civic spirit which arises in part from the acquisition of a home and from a proprietary interest in the soil would insure a firmer patriotism and a fighting spirit for defensive purposes at least that would bode no good to an invader. If we are to have again "the spirit of '76," of which we are historically so proud, we must be assured that the common welfare is not to be subordinated to any sinister or selfish influence. [Applause.]

GOVERNMENT'S GREAT INTERESTS INVOLVED.

The Chairman reminds me that I have reached and overstepped my time limit, and I know it; but there is another thought I wish to bring to your minds before closing. It has to do with the Government's own interests in our inland water-ways. The Department of Commerce, which was spoken for yesterday by Mr. Redfield, the Secretary, was created to foster, promote, and develop our trade at home and abroad; and I want to say as regards his waterways talk, even though I do not belong to the same party that he does, that the speech made here by him yesterday was unquestionably one of the best public utterances that have come from a Cabinet officer on this subject. Mr. Redfield fully comprehended the waterways situation in this country. [Applause.] And he has reason to, because as a matter of fact the Department of Commerce has a fleet, and it ought to have a fleet, because within the scope of the department are the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Bureau of Naviga-tion, the Lighthouse Service, the Steamboat-Inspection Service, and the Bureau of Fisheries, all having to do with our inside waterways. I do not see how the Government, through the Department of Commerce, can fail to be interested in this subject.

The Navy Department, of course, is one of the oldest and most important of our departments. It has many vessels of small draft that can and do use some of our waterways. It ought to be able to use many of them for big ships in times of peace and for strategy in times of war. The Secretary of the Navy has gone on record in this matter, as I have already indicated. It is not necessary now to go into details as to the number of naval vessels that do operate upon our rivers, but they all ought to be able to enter fresh-water basins along our coasts if only for repairs. And if we are to increase our torpedo and submarine service, we certainly should have the connecting waterways between the naval bases. In this respect the Government should keep its house in order for its own sake.

FLEET OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

But it is of the War Department that I wish to speak particularly. The people ought to know a little more about the War Department's interests in waterways. I do not believe that many of you ladies and gentlemen who try to keep posted on the general subject know as much as you ought to about this. Some one say's "What does a soldier know about water? He is not webfooted." Some one else asks, "What does Mr. Secretary Garrison know about It? His forces are land forces." Well, that is where they all make a mistake. The Army engineers are in direct charge of our rivers and harbors. They look after the development of our waterways for commerce, and they would be in charge of engineering projects in war time. No appropriation by Congress for waterway improvements is apt to be made without the approval of the United States Army engineers, backed up by the Secretary of War. The Secretary, in fact, is the commander of one of our largest fleets. Under his direction there are no less than 2,500 vessels of one type or another operating upon the high seas or on the inland waters. Most of them naturally are small boats plying the inland streams. With such an array of Government agencies in one department alone it is difficult to understand why the Government should get parsimonious about its waterway improvements. But what is more to the point, the work which the War Department does with its 2,500 boats is supposed to be done in the interests of commerce and industry, for the maintenance of navigation, which is the excuse for the War Department's control of our rivers. It can not be wholly regarded as a war measure, and it ought not to be, for we are more anxious to promote commerce than we are to promote war.

THE CIVIC AND COMMON-SENSE SPIRIT.

If, therefore, we are going to deal with this matter of preparedness on a common-sense basis and not in a spirit of hysteria, let us permit preparedness and the navigability of our streams to go hand in hand with commerce and industry. We need the latter to sustain the former. The Government itself acknowledges its responsibility to nature's common carriers by utilizing them for the purposes of all the departments of the Government and particularly those of War, the Navy, and Commerce. The Government has gone too far into the development of our inland waterways to withdraw its support from them. It can not do so without putting an embargo upon business that can not otherwise be served, nor without denying to labor and industry necessary and wise avenues of employment. It can not discourage the internal development of this country without reducing the civic pride. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Government will not stultify itself upon this great problem, but will deal with it in a liberal and common-sense spirit. [Applause.]

Dyestuffs Difficulty Acute, Textile Manufacturers Say.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EBENEZER J. HILL. OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 5, 1915.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article giving the actual conditions in regard to the acute situation of dyestuffs. The article is from the Annual Review of the Journal of Commerce, a purely business publication. It will only take a short space in the Record and Members will want to see it, as they may be called upon shortly to vote upon it.

The article is as follows:

[From the Journal of Commerce, Jan. 4, 1915.]

DYESTUPPS DIPPICULTY ACUTE, TEXTILE MANUFACTURERS SAY—IT IS THE ONE MENACING ELEMENT IN THE PROSPERITY OF THE INDUSTRY—EXORBITANT PRICES NOW PREVAILING FOR COLORS ARE FOR THE MOST LIMITED QUANTITIES—COLORS COST MORE IN GOODS THAN ALL OTHER MATERIALS AND LABOR COMBINED—TABLES SHOWING WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE THE WAR, IN ADVANCES FOR COLORS—CONSUMERS ARE TO BE MULCTED BECAUSE OF INFLUENCES OUTSIDE OF THE COUNTRY THROTTLING TEXTILE INDUSTRIES HERE—DEMANDING MORE DRASTIC ACTION BY THE GOVERNMENT.

The dyestuffs difficulty is the most menacing element in the textile outlook. Manufacturers who are dependent upon more liberal supplies of coal-tar products from Germany, or a con-tinuation of supplies of logwood and other products from countries that are British colonies, consider it very strange that more is not done by the Government to protect home interests that involve the employment of thousands in the silk, cotton, woolen, leather, and paper trades. The dyestuffs situation at this time is really acute.

At present prices the color in many staple lines of fabrics costs more than the total cost of other materials, labor, and general expense combined. The exorbitant prices now prevailing

for colors are only for the most limited quantities. Only very rarely can an original package of goods be obtained, and most lots offered for sale are from 10 to 300 pounds.

No shipments of any importance of the standard colors have been received from Germany, practically the only source of supply, since last March. The mills of necessity have gone on using up the stocks they had on hand. One concern may have had a larger supply than another and, by making exchanges and practicing most rigid economies, with the cooperation of the trade, have been able to keep operations close to normal lines. Even where this has been possible the costs have been most extraor-

To bring this matter to prominent attention in the buying end of the goods market, as well as with the hope that it will arouse a stronger sentiment for relief in governmental circles, some facts and figures concerning textile dye costs and conditions are herewith appended.

The advance in bleaching powder has been from 1½ cents a pound to 11 cents a pound, the former price being the one ruling before the war, the latter being the spot price guoted just before the holiday. Other heavy chemicals used in bleaching have been advanced in like manner, despite the fact that many of them are made in this country in quantities to supply all

needs.

The books and correspondence of a group of printers and from them finishers were gone over in the past two weeks, and from them

the following table was prepared, showing just what has happened in color and chemical costs since the war started:

1 11 Leaster Louis Maria	Before war	Spot.	Futures.
Acids:	Cents	Cents.	Cents.
Sulphurie	.90	CCMO.	3 to
Muriatie.	1.45	31	
Acetic, 28 degrees		09	36
Acetic, glacial	9		(1)
Nitrie	63	. 45	(,)
Oxalic	st	9	(1)
Otamia	24	52	
Stearic	81	14	MOS I
Acetate of soda	31	10	(1)
Alkali, 58 per cent	1 95	3	2
Alum	21 40	- 41	(1)
Antimony salts	13	35	(1)
Bleaching powder	-11	- 11	7
Bichromate soda	4.70	22	19
Bichromate potash	67	38	ATTICLE OF
Borax	41	6	
Bisulphite soda, dry	1.90	6	(1)
hlorate soda	74 1	48	(1)
hlorate potash	71	50	4
Carbonate of potash	His male 2	Flat.	Fla
'austic soda for 60 per cent	11		4 40
Castor oil.	71	51	715
hloride magnesium	il	43	53
Epsom salts	13		(3)
	18	Trove4	(,)
	20	. 56	(1)
Gum arable	8	19	(1)
Gum tragacanth	30	50	(1)
Hyposulphite soda	11	3	(1)
Vitrite soda	5	9	(1)
Permanganate of potash	9	11.55	(1)
Peroxide of sodium	25	11.25	(1)
sulphide of sodium.concentrated		41	(1)
al soda	75	90	(1)
ago flour	1.90	31	
ulphate of copper	4.60	10	(1)
line dust	6	35	
inc oxide	61	28	(1)
niline oil	10	:1.10	60 to 1
niline salts	83	11.00	
Beta naphthol	0	:2.00	1.
Para nitraniline	16	12.25	11.
Direct black		13.50	5.00
Developed black	20	45.00	715
ndigo synthetic, 20 per cent paste	18	11.35	213
at colors, average.	30		- 53
direct colors	30	26.00	(1)
Direct colors	(3)	1,000	
Alizarins	14	4.00	(.)
Pigment colors	(3)	4 50	
Extract logwood, 51°	5	:1.00	(1)
Extracts, fustic, hypernic, cutch	(3)	4500	

Not quoted.

2 Dollars.

3 Average advanca.

From another group of dye users handling woolen and cotton goods another table of costs was procured. The slight variations between the two are accounted for readily enough by the varying sorts used by the industries and are readily explained by men in and out of the chemical and dveing trades

	Before war.	Now.
Patent blue Direct yellows Rhodamine Malachite green Sulphur black Sulphur blue Synthetic indigo Scarlets Indanthrene Hydron blue Methyl blue Logwood chips Logwood extract Hematine Logwood solid Bleach Caustic potash	Per pound. \$0.55 .50 .40 .50 .15 .30 .15 .18 .30 .25 .40 .01 .03 .08 .08 .01 .04	Per pound. \$15.00 \$15.00 \$.00 \$.00 \$12.00 \$12.00 \$1.35 \$3.00 \$5.00 \$4.00 \$12.07 (!) (!) (!) (!) (!) (!) (!) (!) (!) (!)
Caustic soda.	.019	.051

I Not obtainable

Despite all that is sent out from Government sources for political purposes, despite all that is said concerning the probability of a dye industry being established in this country, and despite every consistance attributed to those who want to hamper mills for diplomatic or war purposes, the cold facts of the situation are that the time has come when every consumer in this country is about to be mulcted because of abnormal costs of textile production, having nothing to do with great profit to labor, increased dividends to manufacturing stockholders or any other normal form of influence benefiting the industry in particular spots or at large.

The efforts that have been made to use substitute dyes are far greater than the trade realizes, yet in this particular the condition has been reached where exorbitant values are nullifying those efforts. For example, note the advance in logwood extract from 5 cents to \$1, the advance of 500 per cent in fustic, hypernic, and cutch, the average advance of 50 per cent in simple pigment colors—not fast—all of these things being substitutes that came into large use after the war started.

Influences outside of this country, manufacturers say, are doing a great deal to bring about the conditions where costs of fabrics will be advanced beyond all reason, where many fabrics can not be made, and where substitute fabrics will command prices that have no relation to cost of production. The textile manufacturers of the country, apart from political affiliations, believe that intelligent action by the Government will help them, and part of that action involves getting dyes from Germany or making it plain to England that interference with American commerce in dyestuffs can not be tolerated.

The Life and Character of Mr. Justice Joseph Rucker Lamar, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

01

HON. CARL VINSON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 4, 1916.

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Speaker, my colleague [Mr. Tribble] has just announced to the House the death of Mr. Justice Joseph Rucker Lamar, an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, which occurred in this city on Sunday evening.

It seems to me eminently fitting that the House should pause in its work to note the passing of this eminent jurist, stainless patriot, and virile American. The country bows its head in sorrow over one of Georgia's gifted sons.

His loss will be greatly felt by his fellow members of the Supreme Court and those that have had dealings with that high tribunal, for they have long since learned of the great and tireless industry and painstaking care given to every question that came before him for settlement, and his profound and deep study and knowledge of the law has made a lasting impression on the bar of the country, for he mastered the science and applied it well.

Possessing a wonderful analytical mind, he devoted his time to study and reading in such well-chosen lines as to make his fund of general information almost boundless. Possessing these splendid qualities, he made a deep and lasting impression of the most pleasant character in Washington in both official and social circles. He will be missed in this city, in which he has in the last years of his life resided. But it is in Georgia, his native State, that he will be most mourned. In Georgia, where as a boy and man he has spent years; years when he made his winning fight that afterwards led to the high position that he was called upon to fill, and which he filled with credit to himself and to his Nation.

Mr. Justice Lamar came of a family which has been conspicuous in many lines of endeavor, and he has sustained the proudest traditions of that family and added great honor to its name.

He died in this city on January 2, 1916, five years almost to the day after his appointment to the Supreme Court of the United States.

He came of French Huguenot stock. Thomas Lamar, head of one branch of the American family, and his brother Peter came from the Province of Anjou in France and settled first in Virginia and then in the colony of Maryland. A certificate of nationality granted by Lord Baltimore in 1663 recited that they were "late of Virginia and subjects of the Crown of France." John Lamar, another brother, came over later. He was the forbear of L. Q. C. Lamar, a lawyer and judge of the superior court, and of the junior L. Q. C. Lamar, legislator, United States Senator, Cabinet member, and justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Mirabeau B. Lamar, another descendant, helped to achieve the independence of Texas and was the second President of the Republic.

Rarely in the history of this country has it occurred that two men of the same family have achieved the high distinction of serving on the Supreme Court. Associate Justice L. Q. C. Lamar served on the bench from 1888 to 1893 and Associate Justice Joseph R. Lamar from 1911 to 1916.

Other members of this distinguished family who have come into prominence were Gazaway B. Lamar and Henry G. Lamar, both of whom served in Congress; Albert R. Lamar, a briliant journalist and formerly editor of the Macon Telegraph; Lucius M. Lamar, speaker pro tempore of the Georgia house of representatives, member of the State senate, and later United States marshal of the southern district of Georgia; William Bailey Lamar, judge of the superior court and formerly a Member of Congress from Florida; Charles A. L. Lamar and Jefferson Lamar, colonels in the Confederate Army, both of whom were killed during the war, the former near Columbus and the latter at Crampton's Gap; Rev. Andrew J. Lamar, of Nashville; and Rev. James S. Lamar, of Augusta, pastor of the Church of the Disciples.

The last named married Mary Rucker, a daughter of Joseph Rucker, banker and planter of Elbert County, Ga., and to them was born Joseph Rucker Lamar. He saw the light on the plantation of his maternal grandmother at Ruckersville, Elbert County, on October 14, 1857. He spent his early life in Augusta, attended the Richmond Academy, later attending the University of Georgia and Bethany College in West Virginia, where he was graduated in 1877. He also graduated in law from Washington and Lee University and was admitted to the bar in Augusta in 1878. Except during two years of service on the supreme court of Georgia he lived in Augusta until his appointment by President Taft in December, 1910.

When we stop to think that from a hundred million people only nine men are chosen for a single body their greatness seems established. Still his selection was no surprise to his friends who knew him best, but apparently what they had always expected. His mental and moral qualities seemed to conspire to place him upon the bench. He had unusual intellect with the highest moral and religious tendencies.

Mr. Justice Lamar received the highest honor that can come to an American lawyer in being called to a court that exercises a most profound influence on the course of this great Republic, and at no period of its existence did questions greater in importance or more far reaching in their influence come before the court than the questions which were solved by that tribunal during his incumbency.

During his service as an Associate Justice he participated in the hearings of some of the most noted cases that have ever been argued before that court, and not even during the days when Marshall was molding the Constitution and adding undying fame to his name, were questions of more importance to the people and to generations yet to be born than those passed upon by the deceased justice.

From the first day of his appearance as a member of the Supreme Court, Judge Lamar was recognized as a forceful personality, a profound lawyer, a clear thinker, and a man of untiring industry. Some of his decisions were written a dozen or even 20 times, until he was perfectly satisfied with them. They were clear and fluent and fine specimens of judicial reasoning.

In their delivery Justice Lamar was easy to follow. His voice was clear and resonant, he sketched briefly the minor features of the case, and brought out the main points in decisions of the court or in his dissenting views with great clearness and convincing force.

Membership on the Supreme Court is an honor compared to which any other in the Government has little attraction. It was not always so regarded, for the first Chief Justice, John Jay, resigned to accept election as governor of New York, to which he had been chosen while absent from the country on a special mission to England, where he negotiated the "Jay treaty."

But from the accession of John Marshall to the chief justiceship of the United States, the court has steadily risen in dignity to the place intended by the Constitution for it to occupy. The unique position of the court is aptly summarized by Hannis Taylor, who says it is "an institution without a prototype in history."

It is the only court in the world which has the power to annul the legislation of its country. As the guardian and interpreter of the Constitution it has the power to review acts of Congress and to declare that such acts as in its judgment are not in harmony with that instrument have not the force of law and that Government officials seeking to carry out such legislative acts are proceeding illegally. From its decision there is no appeal save to revolution or to God.

Justice Lamar was one of the few men ever named to the court by a President of the opposite political faith. In no other selection that he made for high office did President Taft show better judgment. He picked the right man. He won the hearts

of all Georgians when he chose this distinguished son of the State to the high place for which his abilities so well fitted him.

President Wilson recognized the qualities of lawyer and diplomat in Justice Lamar by selecting him as the principal commissioner of the United States to confer with the so-called A. B. C. mediators of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile in an effort to reach a solution of the Mexican problem. In the work of the Ningara Falls conference in 1914 Judge Lamar bore himself with credit.

I wish to pause here for a moment to commend the farseeing statesmanship of President Wilson in bringing together these distinguished representatives of Latin America to confer with our own jurists as to the solution of the difficulty we were facing in turbulent Mexico. It helped to create a better feeling within all of the countries south of the Rio Grande. It showed the United States not as a big brother but as a sister Republic eager to advance the interests of all the Americas.

Mr. Justice Lamar had a part in this work the equal of that

of any of the diplomatists there gathered. His innate southern courtesy, his genuineness, and his industry made a deep im-

pression upon his associates.

Exhausted by his arduous labors and the great responsibility which rests upon members of the United States Supreme Court, he went to White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., last June to rest and recuperate. He seemed to improve, but in September a clot formed in an artery, resulting in partial paralysis and the temporary loss of his left arm and leg. With invincible fortitude he planned to return to work in October when the court resumed its sittings, but his condition forbade.

During the Christmas holidays he contracted a deep cold, which caused congestion of the lungs. His heart, already weakened by hard work and the overstrain of his illness, could not bear up under the added strain. Despite the best medical assistance, he succumbed to the pale messenger that never tires and never pities, the messenger that called Sappho away from her songs and Letitia Landon away from her grief, the messenger who piloted Poe "to the misty dim regions of Weir."

It can be truly said that he died in harness; a slave to duty. In his unremitting application to duty, he failed to heed the limitations of a failing physique which established barriers that could not be passed without loosening the silver cords and breaking the golden bowl of life. I fancy that he knew this, and in the silent watches of the night that he took counsel with his own spirit, and it was horne in upon him that in the dis-charge of his duties he was literally taking his life in his hand; was deliberately shortening a career that was rich in the promises of still greater honors and usefulness to his country.

His distinguished career is not alone the property of the people of Augusta, but Augusta can ever take just and growing pride in this her illustrious, and probably her most illustrious,

His body has been taken to Augusta, surrounded by every mark of respect due to his high office and every evidence of affectionate regard which loving friends could offer.

As was said of a great king of old we may say of him. "Having served his generation he fell asleep and was gathered to his fathers."

The National Defense.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOUETT SHOUSE,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 6, 1916.

Mr. SHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD upon the subject of the national defense. I desire to submit copy of a telegram received from Mrs. Lillian Mitchner, president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Kansas, and copy of my answer to

TOPEKA, KANS., December 30, 1915.

JOUETT SHOUSE, M. C., Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: In behalf of the 10,000 members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Umon I wish to urge you to vote against preparedness as it is now contemplated by the administration. The people of Kansas want peace.

President Kansas Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

House of Representatives of the United States, Washington, D. C., January 5, 1916.

Mrs. LILLIAN MITCHNER, President State W. C. T. U., Topeka, Kans.

My Dear Mas, Mitchner: Your night letter of December 30 reached me in due course and would have been answered more promptly save that I desired to wait until I might have time to enter fully into a discussion of the question of national defense that instigated your

message.

I think it is not necessary for me to say to you that any suggestion from the splendid organization over which you preside will always have the most earnest and the most careful attention at my hands. I endeavored to show by my course in the State senate, as I shall endeavor to show throughout my service in Congress, that I deeply sympathize with and am strongly committed to the great policies of national advancement for which you and the excellent women associated with you contend.

pathize with and am strongly committed to the great policies of national advancement for which you and the excellent women associated with you contend.

Let me add also, in response to your statement that "the people of Kansas want peace." that I fully agree with that estimate of the desires of our people, and with it I am in the fullest possible accord. There is no citizen of Kansas more anxious to see peace preserved, more anxious to see us kept out of the awful maelstrom of the European war than am I. Only if peace may not be kept with honor am I willing to see our country become a party to that war. And I carnestly pray that in the wisdom and under the guidance of Him whom we all worship it may still be permitted to us, as it has been permitted to us, to remain the one great nation of all the world at peace with all the world.

You say that on behalf of the 10,000 members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Kansas you wish to urge me to "vote against preparedness as it is now contemplated by the administration." Let us for just a moment review the program of preparedness as outlined by our President. I feel that such a review is wise and timely, because there have been grave and gross misrepresentations of what that program contemplates, of what it embodies, and of the alleged departure from the policy of our Government that will be brought about if it is carried through.

In the first place, our President does not urge a large standing Army, He urges merely the addition of a few thousand men to the present standing Army in order more properly to man our coast defenses. But for the nucleus of a real Army, if we are ever called upon to use one for the defense of our liberty and our property, he suggests the formation of what is popularly denominated a "continental army," to be recruited from the citizenship generally, with the idea of about two months service each year and subject to a call to the colors for three years.

An enlistment of 133,600 men a years throughout a period of three years,

months service each year and subject to a call to the colors for three years.

An enlistment of 133,600 men a years throughout a period of three years, with two months military training each of the years of service, according to the President's suggestion, would give us a basis of 400,000 disciplined citizeus trained to the use of arms around whom could be rallied a great volunteer army in case of war.

Personally I am not inclined to favor this proposition of a continental army. Already we have the basis for a first-class military force through our State militia. The difficulty is that the militia in a vast number of States is at the present time more or less of a farce, and different methods of discipline and of training must be introduced if it is going to be made the effective body that will be necessary if we are ever called upon to defend ourselves.

My view is that it will be better to supply those needed methods, the necessary training and all equipment that should be added, and to work through the present basis of the State militia, somewhat enlarged and very considerably improved, than to adopt the proposed plan of the continental army. Under no circumstances do I favor a large standing army, and I shall not vote for a large standing army under the conditions which now obtain in our country.

The claim is made by many that any expansion of our military system will create a spirit of militarism in this country. I have no fear of such result. Only a radical departure from our present system of government would make it possible. Democracy and militarism can not go hand in hand. The enlargement of our State militia or National Guard surely need not be viewed with apprehension. And working through the channels already established, with the addition of trained officers necessary to carry on the work, it seems to me that we can effect the basis for a most excellent army of defense should the need for it ever arise.

Now to take up the other feature of the proposed program. The President holds, as do all othe

be prepared to prevent the landing of a hostile force or invasion by a foreign foe.

The President does not contemplate any departure from the program of naval expansion entered upon years ago. All he asks and all he suggests is merely a hurrying up of the completion of that program with the view of giving us within 5 years instead of within 15 years, for instance, a Navy regarded by those who have given the closest study and the greatest thought to the subject as of a size necessary properly to defend ourselves

It is true that the hurrying up of this program and the construction of several hattleships in one year, where hitherto only one has been constructed, will cause very considerable immediate additional expense. It is true that the complement of submarines and of other accessories to make our Navy more effective in modern warfare will add further expense. But, all told, with the small additions to the armed forces of the country, with the large additions necessary to the equipment for armed forces, and with the additions to the Navy in all its branches which are suggested, the expenditure for Army and Navy will be increased for a period of five years from about \$250,000,000 per year, which we are now spending, to about \$350,000,000 a year, if the President's plan is followed and carried out in all details. And probably the suggested increase will be scaled by Congress.

This annual expenditure of \$250,000,000 has been going on for years. No hue and cry has been raised against it. It has not been considered militaristic or a species of graft, it has been looked upon properly as our national insurance against war. Do not present conditions, unprecedented and alarming as they are, justify a reasonable increase of that insurance?

I am sure you will agree, my dear Mrs. Mitchner, that if two years ago some man had taken the floor in our Halls of Congress or in any other public place and had predicted that at this time practically the whole of Europe would be at war, we should have regarded him as an alarmist,

devastating Europe for more than a year could ever be permitted in this age of what we are pleased to call enlightened civilization.

I know that it now seems to many thoughtful men impossible that our country can be invaded for a number of years to come because of the belief on their part that when the present war is over practically every nation of Europe will be so burdened with debt, so devastated of men, that another war to any of them must prove a matter of far distant, indeed. And yet if we view the future in the light of events that history has recorded we must look upon that future with grave concern to our Nation.

The teaching of history indicates that no war has ever merely dragged itself out, that a decisive victory by one side or the other has always been accomplished before a war has ended. And by that token one side or the other to the conflict raging in Europe must be convincingly victorious before this war will end. Suppose at the end of this war Europe should be ruled from one capital. Surely under such conditions no thinking man or woman could contend that this country is safe. At best we have only the ill will of all the belligerents. At worst we have the intense hatred of several of them and the desire by them to be revenged for real or fancied injuries suffered at our hands.

Furthermore, history teaches that war has a striking tendency to do away with all ideas of moral value and moral equation and moral consideration; that an officer or a common soldier, as the case may be, hardened to war, becomes frequently when the opportunity offers little better than a robber and a bandit, and that the leaders of nations long engaged in war look eagerly for any prize that seems rich enough to warrant them in going after it and so little protected as to make capture possible.

The two continents of this hemisphere offer to-day the richest prize

consideration; that an officer or a common solder, as the case may be, hardened to war, becomes frequently when the opportunity offers little better than a rober and a bandit, and that the leaders of national long owner and them in going after it and so little protected as to make capture possible.

The two continents of this hemisphere offer to-day the richest prize in the world. North America is more prosperous, more desirable, than it has ever been before. South America is scarcely second in potential wealth and in its attractiveness from a colonization standpoint. It may be, I think it is, altogether prosperous, more desirable, than it has ever been before. South America is scarcely second in potential wealth and in its attractiveness from a colonization standpoint. It may be, I think it is, altogether prosperous to the foreign and the standard ward to be a substantial of the protection of our sister republics of South America, is going to be called seriously into question and that it will be necessary for us either to defend or to renounce that doctrine.

It has been one of our national tenets for nearly a hundred years. It has been and is the expression of or the projuct to attain and to preserve the liberty that is our greatest blessing. To renounce it would mean absolute disregard of the principles which we have hitherto maintained, and if we are not going to renounce it we must be prepared to defend it against any possible aggression.

I said a while ago that I believe this continent is not in serious danger of attack from a European mation when the present war closes; but I do not feel the same degree of complexency with reference is being preparing herself carefully with the idea of ultimate world domination. She has grown rich during the European war, rich beyond her wildest dreams. She has supplied to the allies every article that she could manufacture, and nothing has been bought from us by them until Japan had been given the

President Wilson.

There are at this time a number of men announcing themselves as candidates for the Republican nomination for President. I have read with care and with interest the statements of principle which these men have given out in connection with their announcements, and I think I am not mistaken in saying that all who thus far have expressed themselves advocate a greater degree of preparedness than that contemplated in the President's message.

If I am not mistaken, you were associated with the Progressive Party in Kansas in the last campaign—a party which, whether one agrees with it or not, must be admitted to have embodied in its platform the finest and most comprehensive enunciation for the advancement of human rights and for the bringing about of modern reform along humanitarian lines that has ever been put forward by any political

party. The leaders of the Progressive Party in Kansas were Victor Murdock, its candidate for United States Senator; Henry Allen, its candidate for governor; and William Allen White, its national com-mitteeman. The strongest source of its support was the Kansas City

Murdock, its candidate for United States Senator; Henry Allen, its candidate for governor; and William Allen White, its national committeeman. The strongest source of its support was the Kansas Clry Star.

Let me direct your attention to the position taken by Murdock, Allen, and White and by the Kansas City Star upon the question of preparedness, and let me ask you if it isn't your candid judgment that their position, as well as that of the others above referred to, has been taken only after a most careful consideration of all that is involved, of what our country now has in the way of national defense and of what it needs to make that defense effective?

I am willing to admit that I may be mistaken. I pray that my fears may prove groundless. I trust that we may never have cause for further use of either Army or Navy. But if such should prove to be the case is it a serious matter that we take sensible steps toward preparation now when the future seems so uncertain? Will any damage accrue to us as a nation because of the expenditure of a few extra millions for a few years?

On the other hand, suppose that the policy of those against all preparedness should prevail; suppose that their predictions should proventistaken, and that we should become involved in war with a combination of powerful nations avaricious of our wealth and antagonistic to our institutions. Then the losses piled up in a year or a month or a single week might far exceed by multiplied billions all that is contemplated in expenditures for defense and make our policy of taking peacotor granted seem almost suicidal. Can we afford to take the risk?

The most pronounced opponents of the preparedness program say that if they are shown from what source our country is apt to be attacked they will flavor all that is now proposed and far more for the purposes of defense. Who among us is wise enough to foretal? But let us not overlook this fact: What seemed impossible has happened in Europe. Might not history repeat itself in reference to America?

Already

for the erection of its own munition factories, large enough and efficient enough to supply all munitions that may be required either now or hereafter.

There is no question that many of those who have manufactured armor plate and other accessories for both Navy and Army have made off the Government undue profits. The armor-plate exposure of several years ago was one of the really black spots in our history as a people. Let us get away from any possibility of graft, let us get away from any possibility of profit by private interests, and let us secure for the Government not only the best goods at the lowest price but also immunity from influences that might be exerted by private interests.

I have endeavored to review this whole proposition fully and frankly in answer to your message. I do not agree with many details of the President's program. I do not favor a continental army. I am opposed to any large standing army. I believe that our lati and Guard should be improved and enlarged. I believe that more officers should be educated and prepared to drill the National Guard. I believe that guns, equipment, and ammunition necessary to a large volunteer army should be provided and held in readiness for such need as may befall. I believe our Navy, already excellent, should be brought to a higher standard of efficiency, should be reasonably increased, should be supplemented with submarines, destroyers, scout cruisers, and other necessary accessories. I shall follow closely the hearings before the Committees on Naval and Military Affairs. In the light of the information there revealed I may change my mind. Otherwise I expect to vote as nearly as may be permitted in accordance with the above conclusions.

May I take advantage of this opportunity to assure you that I shall always welcome any suggestion which you may care to offer; that I shall always be glad to hear from you upon any natters of public interest; that I shall hope to prove of some real service in the great fight for national prohibition which is so near y

The appended letter may be of interest in this connection:

HEADQUARTERS B. F. LARNED POST, No. S, DEPARTMENT KANSAS, GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC, Larned, Kans., December 28, 1915.

Hon. Jouert Shouse,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: At a meeting of our post the question of preparedness came up and seven to two were in favor of it and against Gov. Capper's position.

When the Second Michigan Infantry left Detroit for Washington, first three-year men, we had only 200 guns. When we got to Harrisburg Gov. Curtin furnished the other eight companies with guns, and being the first regiment through Baltimore after the riot we needed them.

Now, the old soldiers know if we had been drilled and armed the war would not have lasted four years.

I would like to see the young men in training camps for three months the first year, two months the second year, and one the third year. We would have better citizens and plenty of soldiers to support the old flag.

Sincerely, yours,

S. S. DICKINSON, Adjutant.

I also append three editorial clippings from recent issues of the Kansas City Star which answer arguments frequently advanced against preparedness.

[From the Kansas City Star, Dec. 3, 1915.]

PREPARE OR REPAIR?

The pacifists like to assert (and anybody can believe them who chooses) that they would be willing for the Nation to arm for defense if they could be informed from what quarter we are to be attacked.

It would, of course, be a great advantage if this information could be furnished. Also it would be a gentlemanly thing if burglars would mail us a card a day or so in advance and let us know the hour when they intend to call for the spoons. But, unfortunately, war and burglary are not conducted under those rules. Late Interpretations of international law, indeed, hold that even a declaration need not necessarily precede hostilities. Under modern conditions when so much depends upon the suddenness and effectiveness of the first blow war always comes as a surprise. Such was the Russo-Japanese War, such was the war now devastating Europe. He would have been a wise statesman who could have said as late as the spring of 1914 that before autumn the cannon would be roaring on the frontiers. He would have been a wiser statesman who could have said what the cause of the catastrophe would be. A pistol shot in Serbia, and lo! a German army launched at Paris!

Preparedness for national defense here in the United States does not mean that there is immediate and specific danger of attack from any quarter. It means that the United States, reading the lessons of the sudden and unexpected war in Europe, is not going to wait until some obscure fuse is lighted somewhere that may lead to a similar result on this continent, but is going to be ready before the event happens. The event may never happen. All the better. But it is better to prepare beforehand than to repair afterwards.

[From the Kansas City Star, Jan. 1, 1916.]

[From the Kansas City Star, Jan. 1, 1916.]

IS HE JUST " KIDDING "?

A subscriber at Lane, Kans., writes the Star to inquire if this paper doubts the ability of the country to raise an army of 1,000,000 men "overnight" for the purpose of defending the country.

No doubt the Lane, Kans., man was very indignant when he wrote the inquiry. The idea that anyone should be suspicious of the patrictism of the United States!

Of course the United States could not raise an army of 1,000,000 men overnight. It could not get ready within several weeks to raise the army. It would have no idea what to do with such an army if it had one, being as unprepared to handle an army as it is to use an army.

if had one, being as unprepared or army.

The United States took several weeks to move an army of a few thousand men in the Spanish-American War, and the failure it made of the handling of the troops then created a national scandal. Among those who tried to make the most of the scandal, at the time, for political effect are many who are now trying to prevent preparedness for preventing another discrace of the same kind in case it became necessary to move the troops. But maybe, after all, the Lane man is only "kidto move the troops.

[From the Kansas City Star, Dec. 30, 1915.] " WHAT SHALL WE SAY?'

"WHAT SHALL WE SAY?"

In 1913, Dr. David Starr Jordan published "War and Waste," in which he said: "What shall we say of the great war of Europe, ever threatening, ever impending, and which never comes? We shall say that it will never come. Humanly speaking, it is impossible. * * The bankers will not find the money for such a fight, the industries of Europe will not maintain it, the statesmen can not."

What shall we say of such a prediction—ever repeated, ever insisted upon, and which wasn't true? Humanly speaking, it was as wicked as it was false, because it tended to mislead this unprepared Nation into a blind belief that the days of war were over and that it was unnecessary for a peaceful people to be armed against aggression.

Mr. Speakow, there is one of the shace of this shall the which the shall be such that the shall we have the shall be shall be

Mr. Speaker, there is one other phase of this subject to which I desire to allude briefly at this time. In his recent message to the Congress, the President called attention to the necessity to adopt measures to obtain additional revenue to meet governmental expenses. Just before the holiday recess, Congress removed the time limit from the present war-revenue measure so that the taxes laid under it might continue after January 1, 1916, on the same basis as before. Consideration of the extension of this measure afforded opportunity for general debate upon governmental revenues. The members of the minority took full advantage of the occasion to attack the Underwood tariff law, but every argument they advanced was refuted through the full presentation of facts by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Kitchin]. It was shown conclusively from the receipts of the Government that during the eight months of the operation of the Underwood law, from December 1, 1913, until August 1, 1914, the eight months immediately preceding the outbreak of the European war, more revenue was raised by the Underwood law with its income-tax provision than had been raised by the Payne-Aldrich tariff law during the corresponding period of the preceding fiscal year. The facts adduced by the gentleman from North Carolina were not and could not be refuted, although Republican speakers and Republican press continue and will continue to refer to the Underwood law as a failure despite the facts.

It was shown further in that debate that practically every neutral nation of the world, including Japan, had been forced, as a result of the European war, to adjust its revenues to conditions imposed by that war, although the gentlemen of the minority have contended that there is no necessity for a war tax in time of peace. The whole situation was summed up briefly, but forcefully by the gentleman from New York [Mr. London],

the only member of the Socialist Party on this floor, when he charged the Republican opposition with insincerity and stated his position in these words:

I intend to vote for the joint resolution. And I will do this notwith-standing that it contains a number of oppressive provisions which are burdensome to the people. This is an emergency act in the fullest sense of the word. We deal with an emergency which can not be con-trolled by the people of the United States. The peoples of Europe would-have been glad to change their sorrows and afflictions for the burdens imposed by the emergency act.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there will be the necessity for additional revenues to the Government as long as the European war lasts, regardless of the proposed program of national defense. proportion as that program is adopted the necessity for additional revenues will increase. I trust it may be possible for the present Congress to repeal within the next six months the warrevenue act now in force. And I believe that act can be repealed and that the amount necessary to provide a reasonable defense program can be raised without reverting to methods of taxation such as are involved in the present emergency act or such as were suggested by the President in his message to the Congress.

There is no form of taxation so troublesome, so annoying to the people, as a stamp tax. The present stamp tax affects only a limited portion of the people. But if a stamp tax were levied on checks, as was done at the instance of our Republican friends during the Spanish War, and as was suggested in the President's recent message, it would be a continual nuisance to the American people as long as it lasted. I am opposed also to the levying of a tax upon gasoline, because gasoline no longer is a luxury but has gotten to be a real necessity to a vast number of the farmers of the country.

Instead of such forms of taxation, which would raise at best but limited revenues, I hope to see this Government extend the provisions of the income tax so that the amount raised by that tax from the large incomes of the country may be greatly increased. I would not favor lowering the exemptions of the income tax so as to include within its scope those not now included, but I would increase very considerably the rate of taxation laid upon those whose incomes are large and who can best afford to bear it. A Government under the protection of which an income of one hundred thousand to a million dollars a year is made possible is entitled to most liberal and uncomplaining

support by the recipients of such incomes.

In addition to the suggested extensions of the income tax, I would lay a Federal inheritance tax. Such a tax is now in force in many States of the Union, but an additional tax for the benefit of the Federal Government, especially upon large legacies, could not properly be considered oppressive. Not only would a Federal inheritance tax provide the Government with a considerable sum, but it would prove the opening wedge to abating the menace of such gigantic fortunes as are now being handed down from one generation to another. When one contemplates a single fortune of a billion dollars, the income from which is estimated at fifty millions of dollars a year, while hundreds of thousands of worthy men throughout this country, try as they may, are not permitted to lay aside for their families as much as \$100 per year, it gives one pause, indeed, to reflect upon the growing danger to our future as a Nation that may

come from such vast accumulations of property.

The laying of taxes is unpopular. The paying of taxes is unpleasant. But all recognize that the Government must have revenue. Let us produce that revenue from sources best able to pay. Let us not do injustice to any citizen, but let us concern ourselves first for the great mass of the people whose resources are limited and whose burdens are heavy. Then shall we do

our duty as men and as legislators.

Clark's Tribute to California.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM KETTNER,

OF CALIFORNIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 6, 1916.

Mr. KETTNER. Mr. Speaker, I have recently had my attention called to so beautiful a tribute to my State, California, paid by our beloved Speaker, the Hon. Champ Clark, that I beg leave to have the same extended in the Congressional

My business partner and close friend at San Diego, Cal., Mr. Frank Salmons, was one of the delegates to the Democratic convention at Baltimore, and on his return home told me of the presentation of the California flag to the Speaker in his room at the Capitol after the convention was over. this token of our love and confidence in so fitting a manner, and spoke of the legacy which had been bequeathed him by the Golden State in so touching a way that there was not a dry

The people of my State love the Speaker and appreciate his friendship, and on their behalf I ask that the following tribute

to their land be placed in the RECORD.

CLARK'S TRIBUTE TO CALIFORNIA.

Speaker Champ Clark, in an address at Santa Rosa, Cal.,

paid the following tribute to that State:

"It is intensely pleasant for me to stand once more on the soil of California, for on a memorable occasion California was good to me-good as Kentucky where I was born, and as Missouri where I live, and which has heaped so many honors upon me. I know not how to put it stronger. I am profoundly grateful to the Californians for their friendship and their loyalty, freely bestowed, without money and without price. It never cost me as much as a one-dollar piece to sweep this magnificent Commonwealth from Oregon to Mexico and from Nevada to the sea. The consciousness of having such true and unselfish friends and of living in their hearts and memories is one of the sweetest and most precious things in life. If I ever forget them may my right hand forget her cunning and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.

One of my most valued possessions is the handsome banner carried by the Californians to Baltimore, presented to me as a token of their love and affection by the delegates with hearts of gold sent to that convention by the Golden State. I will treasure it so long as life lasts and bequeath it as a rich legacy to my children who were eyewitnesses of the unshaken courage and perfect fidelity of the California delegates. May God's choicest and richest blessings rest upon them and the people whom they represented and upon their children and their children's children to the remotest generation.

"Consequently I rejoice with exceeding great joy in the fact that of all the rare and radiant sisterhood of States, California will perhaps profit most of all by the building of the Panama Canal. Certainly she will be in the front rank of those that

prosper most.

Coming from 'Imperial Missouri,' I am proud of the fact that Missourians contributed so much in laying deep and broad the foundations of this mighty Commonwealth so lavishly dowered by Nature in her most prodigal of moods. Macaulay said that he purposed to write a history of England which in popular interest would rival the latest novel. Most assuredly the story of California measures up to that high standard. It grips one like a tale out of the Arabian Nights. To the splendor of her future nobody can do justice except the greatest of the major To California is peculiarly applicable Lord Byron's prophets. exquisite lines:

"'It is a goodly sight to see
What Heaven bath done for this delicious land!
What fruits of fragrance blush on every tree!
What goodly prospects o'er the hills expand!'

"My countrymen, it is good to be a Californian; it is good to be a Missourian; the greatest blessing is to be an American.'

War-Revenue Tax Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. C. WILLIAM BEALES.

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 16, 1915.

Mr. BEALES. Mr. Speaker, I, for one, am opposed to burdening our people with a direct tax which I believe to be unnecessary and unwise. The people of the United States should not be made to pay what in effect is a war tax in time of peace. Why should the taxpayers of the country be called upon to pay extra taxes which have to be imposed in order to make up the deficit caused by the extravagant expenditures and unwise legislation of the Democratic majority?

There seems to be no doubt that owing to this Democratic extravagance additional revenue must be raised, but I think there is a much better way than by imposing internal duties

upon the people. The Republican Party has always adhered to the idea-and it is a right one-that it is far better to raise the great proportion of our revenues from foreign-made goods by means of a customhouse tax. By doing so we aid home industries and restrict foreign competition. This is a great advantage to the manufacturers of this country and at the same time gives abundant employment to the workingman. The increase of a few tariff schedules would obtain the funds necessary to meet this deficit, as it is not due to a decrease in the imports, but to the reduction of the duty on the goods which are imported. The foreign importer is the one who should be taxed, but we should not put the heavy load of taxes upon our own labor.

There is another way this deficit could be met, and a way which seems to me to be both good business and common sense. Why does not the administration use the proceeds of the Panama bonds, which are now in the Treasury to the amount of over \$220,000,000? There is nothing to prevent these bonds being issued and the proceeds applied to governmental needs.

Looking at this tax from any standpoint whatever, it seems to me to be one that is obnoxious in its provisions and an attempt on the part of the Democratic majority to compel the citizens of this country to pay for the needless and reckless expenditures of the Democratic Party, for instead of pruning these expenditures our Democratic friends have expended the public money to such an extent that the last Congress spent over \$150,000,000 more than the greatest amount spent by any Republican Congress

In addition to the request by the President for the reenactment of the present so-called war tax he also asks, among other things, for a tax on automobiles, internal explosive engines, gasoline, and stamps on checks. To all these I register my protest, the same as I have done and will against any direct tax

upon our people.

Automobiles are no longer a luxury but a necessity, especially in the rural communities. In my district, as in most of the congressional districts of the country, there are many farmers who own automobiles, not especially for the pleasure which they derive from their use but as a means of transportation for their produce to markets and railways. The explosive engine comes under the same head of a necessity, especially to the farmer, and the proposed tax of 50 cents per horsepower is not only an imposition but a direct internal tax upon labor. As gasoline is absolutely necessary to both automobiles and explosive engines, to my way of thinking, it also should not be taxed. It also is a thing of necessity, and the owners of automobiles or explosive engines should not have the added burden of being required to pay this additional tax upon the power which drives the motors which are so essential in the everyday agricultural and business life. This tax on both engines and the fuel really means a double tax on practically all the modern labor-saving devices on the farm.

As to stamps on checks. Aside from the annoying and needless expense to the individual, it is the greatest step which can be taken by our Government to discourage the depositing of money in our national banks for the purpose of paying by check. The success and life of our national banks depends upon the deposits they are able to secure. With the stamp requirement on checks, many people will again hold their money and make payments of obligations in actual cash, thereby robbing our banks of vast sums of deposits, the necessary food for their existence. It is a peculiar anomaly, indeed, with one branch of the Government shouting loudly about the great work it is doing for the national banks and the head of the administration at the same time advising a system of stamp tax which would deprive our banks of nameless sums in deposits, thereby reducing their resources and lessening their earning power.

I further oppose this war tax for the reason that I represent a district which is one of the largest cigar manufacturing districts in the United States, and this act imposed such an additional heavy tax on the cigar-making business that the manufacturers of the low-priced cigars were practically out of business and the same tax on the better grade of cigars has made that part of the business so nearly unprofitable as to demoralize this great and previously profitable industry in my district.

This whole act, the war-tax act, and the recommendations of the administration for additional taxes on the people is a pernicious imposition of needless expense upon our citizens and our industries. From every part of it there reaches out a hand holding the grim tax club threatening discouragement and destruction at every indication of success in labor or in industry.

Our people never have stood for direct taxes in time of peace, and I predict that a just and proper resentment of this one will be shown in November, 1916, by the triumphant election of a Republican President and Congress, guaranteeing a return of healthy prosperity and taxes on the competing goods of foreign manufacturers paying the expenses of our Government.

In order to show one of the effects of Schedule B, as applied to the retail drug trade, I insert in the Record a letter received by me from Mr. J. Leyden White, in charge of the Washington Bureau of the National Association of Retail Druggists.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 29, 1915.

Hon. C. W. Beales. Washington.

Bureau of the National Association of Retail Druggists.

Hon. C. W. Beales,

Washington.

My Dear Congressman: While the unfairness of the stamp tax upon particular attention the fact, for it is a fact, that by such studying ton.

The various bills already introduced in the Sixty-fourth Congress to tax mail-order business; stop untruthful advertising; allow the making of contracts for the maintenance of resale prices; prevent frauduent use of the malis, and others, all of which seek to remedy the acknowledged ctil in unfair competition which is called "price cutting." The various bills already introduced in the Sixty-fourth Congress to tax mail-order business; stop untruthful advertising; allow the making of contracts for the maintenance of resale prices; prevent frauduent use of the malis, and others, all of which seek to remedy the acknowledged ctil in unfair competition which is called "price cutting." The Government standardizes, fixes a price for the purpose of collecting its own profits, revenue thereon, and at the same time refuses an equal right of price standardizes, fixes a price for the purpose of collecting its own profits, revenue thereon, and at the same time refuses an equal right of price standardizes of the fixes of

General Conditions Affecting Hawaii.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Thursday, January 6, 1916.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks on the general conditions affecting Hawaii I include a speech delivered by Judge Elbert H. Gary at a luncheon given in his honor by the Commercial Club and the Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu, Hawaii, July 26, 1915.

Judge Gary said:

"The Hawaiian Islands, with their equable climate, their topography of beautiful lines and shapes, a vegetation peculiar

to tropical conditions, seas and skies, combining the most brilliant colors, and, above everything else, an atmosphere of hospitality, abundant, charming, cordial, and natural, attract and fascinate the visitor beyond even the friendly descriptions which have been attempted by the most competent and eloquent writers. For rest and recreation and pleasure, on the land or the surrounding waters, every opportunity is offered; and for thrills and surprises, for the study of nature in its various forms and aspects, the student, curious and inquisitive or sincere in the effort to be of service to mankind, may here find permanent and satisfactory employment. An overruling Providence set the machinery of creation in motion for the purpose of establishing in the midst of the seas a foundation for the habitation of humankind, unique in many respects and susceptible of development and production far greater than the anticipation or the imagination of the most sanguine of the present generation.

"There are presented for consideration by the citizens of these

islands questions most important and difficult and of intense interest, moral, social, and political; and with the opportunity to secure individual advancement and success there is a corresponding responsibility that will weigh upon the minds of the most thoughtful and serious until the problems of life as they affect this favored and, by nature, isolated spot, are solved to the satisfaction of all concerned. One who comes here for the first time is soon impressed with the feeling that the most intelligent and reasonable consideration to the wants and necessities and obligations of all the inhabitants of the islands is being given by the citizens who are to be held responsible for their

future destiny.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES.

"Fundamental to the progress and prosperity of the residents of the islands are questions which are economic. The welfare of a people depends, first of all, upon opportunity to supply the actual necessities of life, although during recent years we have not infrequently been urged to believe that these were of secondariant times. ondary consideration.

'Those who are possessed of means to furnish for themselves food and raiment and shelter, whether they are private citizens or public officials in charge and control of legislation or administration, are sometimes quite indifferent to the distress and suf-

fering of others who are less fortunate.

With a persistent, intelligent, and determined effort to utilize all the advantages which nature has bestowed it seems apparent that the productive capacity of the islands can be greatly increased. With enlarged diversity of products and a wise conservation and use of resources, protection of that which is good and elimination of that which is bad, these lands, created from the bowels of the earth, by a guiding hand that controlled and directed the most destructive agencies of nature, will furnish increased and increasing quantities of the commodities which are essential to satisfy the necessities and tastes of multitudes who are able and anxious to buy. Soil which, by proper treatment, is cable of affording regularly a diversity of vegetation is necessary and useful, is a mine of continual and perpetual wealth that should insure uninterrupted prosperity. This character of soil you have and these results you are striving for.

CHANGE IN SENTIMENT TOWARD BUSINESS.

"Unfortunately there has been during the past few years in the controlling influences of the United States a spirit of indifference, if not antagonism, to the pecuniary interests of business activities. It is not necessary at this time to refer to facts which would tend to show that this attitude has been partly the fault of business men but still more the fault of others. It is sufficient now to say that there appears to be a perceptible change in sentiment throughout the country toward business, toward legitimate thrift and enterprise, a realization by the masses of the people, who control sooner or later the action and disposition of a nation, that in the main the people, as a whole, benefit or prosper; that to destroy or attack a single industry adversely affects other industries; that all enterprise and economic effort are in a sense connected; that unreasonable opposition to progress or effort to unreasonably progress are alike reprehensible.

"This changed and changing sentiment may not be as pro-nounced as some of us would like, but it seems to me noticeable and significant. There has been an improvement in private business methods by those in charge and also in treatment of business enterprise by governmental agencies. Neither will in-

tentionally disregard public sentiment.

GOVERNMENT SOMETIMES APATHETIC TOWARD ISLANDS.

"There has been a disposition of indifference manifested toward these islands by various branches of the United States Government. It is impossible to form a comprehensive and just conception of the requirements or claims of a people without opportunity of close contact, full information, and deep study; and the remoteness of the islands from the seat of National Government and the limited distribution of facts have made it impracticable in the past to fully realize what legislation or administration is necessary to adequately and properly protect the

interests of those who are directly connected.

But the representatives of the National Government and others are becoming acquainted with the facts; they realize that in many respects these islands are and will continue to be one of the most important of our possessions; and what sometimes seems difficult to comprehend, in the administration of public affairs, they realize that as the islands are protected and their prosperity increased to a corresponding degree the whole United States will be benefited.

"By the visits of congressional delegations and of numerous officials, of educational leaders, agricultural instructors, the maintenance of military headquarters and other governmental departments, there will hereafter be no lack of competent and fair-minded witnesses to testify to the value and the necessity of these islands as one of the Territories, and, in fact, let us

hope, one of the States of our Nation.

ADEQUATE ARMY AND NAVY NECESSARY.

"One of the subjects that commands the attention of the National Congress is the establishment and maintenance of an adequate military force. We have during the past few months been forced to a full realization of the necessity of being prepared to protect our country by force; that while we are, above everything else, in favor of peace and friendship and cordial, intimate relations with all other nations, we know these can not be maintained unless we are fully prepared to defend ourselves against unjust and unwarranted attack. With a high sense of justice and equity and moral obligation, with a disposition to accord to all others an equal opportunity with a disposition to accord to all others an equal opportunity with ourselves to reap the benefit of the world's advantages, we can not be certain in this age of human weakness, of selfishness, of greed and infirmities, of jealous suspicion, that we shall not be imposed upon and perhaps destroyed unless we are prepared with the argument of force in the last extremity. The Nation is aroused on this subject. Even the organizations for the promotion of peace, who have sometimes appeared to believe they held a monopoly of the principle, are now generally impressed with the notion that the United States should have a Navy, in size and equipment, as compared with other countries, in the same proportion that its wealth and resources bear to other nations, respectively. This means that we should establish and maintain the largest and best single Navy in the world. And it seems also to be the consensus of opinion that we should have an Army, if not continuously in the field and ready for war, yet easy of organization, complete preparation and mobilization, many times larger than our present Army.

"These will increase the amount of annual expenditures, but they are necessary and truly economical, for they compel

peace and they add to our material strength by the protection of our property and our commerce. Our public officials can and should save in many other directions sufficiently to more than equal the increased outlays for the Army and Navy.

"There is, perhaps, no other point where the maintenance of a strong and effective armed force is more necessary than the Hawaiian Islands. It must be strong enough to protect itself and the surrounding seas. It must act as a "buffer" for the whole western shores of the mainland of the United States. case of serious trouble with another nation, which God forbid. a sufficient army and navy located here would prove of incalculable value and benefit.

"The work that is being done here, the investigations that are being made, the declarations of those in authority all indicate that what has been said is in accord with the trend of events.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF ARBITRATION.

"My utterances on this occasion are not intended to be in opposition to what I have heretofore urged in favor of an international court of arbitration, composed of all the nations, for the consideration and determination of all international questions and the enforcement of its decrees by the nations not directly interested in the particular question at issue. If any nation or two nations are to have the dominant power to control the seas of the earth, there is no need for such to have a court of arbitration; but we can not consent to such a condition. The international equilibrium must be maintained, and so long as one nation is possessed of potential physical power there must be lodged in other nations sufficient power to neutralize and to afford proper protection to all the nations. the possibilities suggested or some of them seem Utopian or too far ahead of the time, it is sufficient to say that in any event we should and we must be prepared on all occasions and

in every emergency to stand for the rights and the principles of our country. We will good-naturedly but persistently strive to succeed in every worthy cause. Americans will be selfish in seeking to obtain what they are entitled to, but they will be reasonable and just and conscientious.

TARIFF LAWS-ECONOMIC NOT POLITICAL.

"Perhaps the most important question that occupies the minds of the people of the Hawaiian Islands relates to the national tariff laws; and it is not confined to this locality. It is delicate, if not difficult, for there are conflicting views, and, as some believe and advocate, conflicting interests. tion is economic and not political, though different political parties have sought to make it a leading part of their platforms. Outside of the effort to produce revenue, which is a feature involving too many points for consideration in a brief discussion, the thing sought to be discovered and utilized by the good citizen is how to provide the greatest good to the greatest number. In case of difference in argument, on one side is the viewpoint of the producer and on the other side of the consumer. The first includes the capitalist who risks his fortune and devotes his time and skill and energy to a given enterprise and the laborer who gives his strength, physical and mental. One is entitled to a fair return on his investment, taking into consideration the interest rates for money and the risk assumed by reason of the vicissitudes of business and weather conditions, the wear and tear of buildings and machinery, and the rapid, sudden, and material changes in methods and instruments; and the other is entitled to fair and reasonable wages and treatment considering all the conditions which apply. Neither can satisfactorily succeed unless the other receives fair and honest treatment. If either one is harsh and unreasonable in his treatment of the other both suffer, and vice versa. Each of these interests is entitled to fair, full, adequate protection from the United States Government, taking into account cost of production, quality, certainty or uncertainty of regularity, climate, diversity or lack of diversity, markets and market conditions, means or lack of means and cost of trans-portation, and every other element that bears upon the question of competition by one producing locality with every other lo-cality in the contest for a share of the trade throughout the world. A tariff law that fails to recognize these principles, that furnishes less than protection to reasonable returns for capital and labor, that leaves the producers of a single location at a disadvantage in normal times and under normal conditions, in its competition with other localities, is unwise, unfair, and un-American. It is believed a large majority of the citizens of this country are firmly convinced of the soundness of these claims as they have been stated.

"The other side is that of the consumer. When protection goes beyond necessity, when the amount of the tariff is more than sufficient to enable producers to receive just and adequate returns, taking into consideration all the facts that have a bearing, then opportunity is given to oppress the consumer, to demand more than reasonable returns; and in that case some. and perhaps many, are influenced by motives of selfishness and cupidity. Consequently a feeling of dissatisfaction and antagonism is created. This leads to agitation for legislation that goes too far and brings about a commercial contest that is destructive, and then a depression and panic; and both producer and

consumer and all others suffer.

"We have seen both extremes in legislation and following alternating conditions of prosperity and adversity depending largely upon this question of tariff. It is not necessary to be specific nor to refer to periods. Those who are listening are familiar with the facts, and particularly with the varying con-ditions. Indeed, there are just at this time published many opinions in regard to the American tariff laws which tend to clarify many features that have sometimes been made to appear obscure and difficult of comprehension.

"It would seem plain that in order to secure from Congress a patient and exhaustive study and just decision of all questions presented by those who need and seek protection for the commodities they produce, as against similar products brought in from foreign countries, the producers of this country should be honest in their representations and reasonable in their requests. It is to be regretted that this is not always the case, and as a result the tariff schedules as finally adopted are inadequate and unjust. I have frequently been summoned before congressional committees, including the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives and the Finance Committee of the Senate, and while in attendance have been surprised and chagrined to hear the testimony of witnesses who were so prejudiced by personal interests that they turned the investigation into a farce for the time being. It was apparent to everyone except the witness that the real interest of the

country, of all the people who might be affected by the decisions of the Congress, was entirely lost sight of by the witness; that what Hancock said, and was at the time sneered at for saying, when he characterized the tariff issue as purely local, was pertinent and justified. If the producers of Hawaii who need and seek a revision of the present tariff rates in order to have a fair and adequate protection as against foreign-produced commodities, so as to place this Territory on an even basis with all others, taking into account cost of production and delivery, will present their claims on the strict basis of fact and logic and will avoid unnecessary antagonism, treating the Members of Congress respectfully, it probably will be only a question of time when the necessary protection will be afforded, certainly under an administration and Congress that is wise and intends to represent the best interests of the whole country. Any other kind of administration should not and will not long continue

in power.
"As a member of a political party that believes in fair and adequate protection to American products and American labor, though not an active member, I urge upon all good citizens the propriety and the necessity of being reasonable in all the positions they may take concerning our business interests, expecting that in return we shall be accorded fair treatment by those who may have the power to pass upon our claims and who will be influenced by a general public sentiment that is generally right, when all the facts and circumstances are known and understood. The business interests I represent are the same as those many of you represent, so far as the question of tariff is concerned, and therefore I have deemed it appropriate to speak freely and frankly about this most important question of economics. The prosperity and progress of the United States, the richest of all countries, have, I believe, resulted largely from our policy of adequate protection. I also think that the policy would not have been materially changed—that is, modified below the point of adequate protection-except for the greedy dispositions of many who insisted upon rates much higher than neces-

sary.

"I hope to again visit this beautiful country and to again grasp the hands of a fair-minded and hospitable people, but whether this will be possible or not, I shall be interested in your country and the success of each of you and shall always entertain a grateful remembrance of this reception and of all your kindness."

War Claims.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THETUS W. SIMS,

OF TENNESSEE, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 6, 1916.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, when the omnibus war claims bill was considered by the Senate in the closing days of the Sixtythird Congress an amendment was adopted by the Senate which became section 5 of the bill, and commonly called the Crawford

amendment, because it was offered by Senator Crawford.
On the 4th day of January, 1916, I introduced a bill, No. 6907, to repeal said amendment. But prior to introducing the bill I wrote a letter to the honorable chief justice of the Court of Claims asking for certain information. I now read a copy of my letter to the chief justice and his reply to same, and I also read following the letter of the chief justice the said bill, H. R. No. 6907, and following the reading of the said bill I read a memorandum of my own, explaining the provisions of the bill.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 23, 1915.

Honorable CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES COURT OF CLAIMS, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Having in mind the advisability of some legislation oc-casioned by the Crawford amendment to the war claims act of March 4, 1915, I am desirous of securing some definite information relating to certain phases of the matter, and address this inquiry to you for the purpose of securing the same if reasonably possible for you to give it to me

the purpose of securing the same it reasonably possible for you to give it to me.

1. I have been credibly informed that, shortly before March 4, 1915, a very considerable number of claimants' motions for new trial or for amendment of the findings of fact in congressional cases were overruled by the court, but with the understanding that claimants might renew or have their motions reinstated and considered by the court within some reasonable time—my impression is that I was informed that claimants were given till May 1 last within which to take such action, but that the enactment of the war claims act, including the Crawford amendment, precluded claimants from availing themselves

of that privilege or right, and that, under existing conditions, adverse findings or action now stand against them.

Am I correctly advised as to this?

2. Is it easily possible for you to inform me as to the approximate number of congressionally referred cases which have been dismissed by your court under the Crawford amendment? Further, if the data is at hand and will not necessitate laborious tabulation, is the number of so-called war claims so dismissed known?

It is needless to say that I do not desire to burden the court or clerks with any great amount of labor in giving me the information, but if it can be given without too much trouble I should like to have it, and as soon as possible, as a guide to action to be prepared for before the reconvening of Congress on January 4, 1916.

Very respectfully,

T. W. Sims.

T. W. SIMS.

Very respectfully,

T. W. Sims.

UNITED STATES COURT OF CLAIMS,

Washington, D. C., December 28, 1915.

My Dear Mr. Sims: Since talking with you this morning, I can answer your recent letter more satisfactorily. I explained to you that the first question you asked involved some motions for new trial or amendment of facts in cases which had been passed upon by the court, and the motions had lain here, most of them, for over four years, without being called to the court's attention for action. When we finally acted upon them we stated that, on account principally of the illness of one of the attorneys, motions could be made to set aside the overruling of the motions if made by the 1st of June. It was supposed that by this method only those cases which were thought to be meritorious would be again called to the attention of the court. Thereafter, the Crawford amendment being passed, the court lost jurisdiction. The number of cases affected, however, by this order was about 35.

I am sending you under separate cover a copy of a motion to dismiss congressional cases under the Crawford amendment, which covers 2,254 principal numbers; but, as you will see by examining it, a number of cases have subnumbers. To illustrate: Calender No. 134, commencing on page 20, the docket number being 11889, refers to a number of claims by "drafted men of Kentucky." Under this one number, which goes to page 58, there are approximately 1,900 cases. Each of these subnumbers is a distinct case so far as the rights of a particular claimant are concerned, and, therefore, you will note that the list of cases covered by this motion covers approximately 9,000 cases. All of these were not dismissed.

A hurried count of the cases dismissed under the Crawford amendment shows something over 7,500. Of these, strictly Civil War claims, 1,904. Other cases dismissed involved eight-hour public-building cases and other cases of various kinds which had been referred.

All of the cases dismissed involved eight-hour navy-yard cases, page 236; minimum-pay

Hon. T. W. Sims, House of Representatives.

A bill to repeal section 5 of the act entitled "An act making appropriation for payment of certain claims in accordance with findings of the Court of Claims, reported under the provisions of the acts approved March 3, 1883, and March 3, 1887, and commonly known as the Bowman and the Tucker Acts, and under the provisions of section 151 of the act approved March 3, 1911, commonly known as the Judicial Code," and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That section 5 of the act entitled "An act making appropriation for payment of certain claims in accordance with findings of the Court of Claims, reported under the provisions of the acts approved March 3, 1883, and March 3, 1887, and commonly known as the Bowman and the Tucker Acts, and under the provisions of section 151 of the act approved March 3, 1911, commonly known as the Judicial Code," be, and the same is hereby repealed.

SEC. 2. That the Court of Claims shall have and take jurisdiction of all claims which were pending before it on March 4, 1915, and whereof it would have had and would have continued to have jurisdiction but for the provisions of said repealed section, and also of all cases or claims wherein motions for new trial or for amendments of findings of fact, made by claimants, had been overruled pro forma prior to March 4, 1915, but with leave or right to renew said motions; that as to such of said claims as may have been heretofore dismissed by said court for want of jurisdiction by reason of the terms of said repealed section, said court shall reinstate the same upon motion in that behalf made by the claimant at any time within two years after the date of this cnactment, Sec. 3. That all evidence or depositions heretofore taken or submitted in said cases or claims, even though taken after March 4, 1915, but prior to the dismissal of said cases or claims by said court, shall be considered as having been legally taken or submitted, notwithstanding the provisions of said repealed section; and, where in any case testimony shall have been taken or

matter.

SEC. 4. That the Court of Claims shall have the power to enter judgment upon its findings of fact in the following classes of claims heretofore referred to said court under the provisions of the acts approved March 3, 1883, and March 3, 1887, commonly known as the Bowman and the Tucker Acts, or under the provisions of section 151 of the Judicial Code, and in all such claims of the following classes as may be

presented to said court by direct petition within two years from date of this enactment, namely:

First. In claims of religious, eleemosynary, educational, or fraternal organizations, for use and occupation of or injury to or destruction of buildings of such organizations, with their contents, and, where not situated at seat of war as heretofore defined by said court, of municipal or county organizations, for such use and occupation or for injury to real estate by the forces of the United States during or after the close of the Cvil War; in all such claims the judgment, if for the claimant, shall be for the reasonable value of such use and occupation and for injury to such property by reason of such use and occupation in excess of ordinary wear and tear: Provided, however, That judgment shall not be entered for any claimant in such case for the value of any unildings or other property wantonly destroyed, or for property damaged or destroyed as an incident to actual hostilities.

Second In claims of individuals, associations, or corporations for stores or supplies furnished to or taken by the military or naval forces of the United States during said war or after the close thereof, including boats seized and used otherwise than by the naval forces during said war, and for use and occupation of real estate by said forces during said war, or continuing after the close of hostilities incident to said war, and not embraced within the general class of claims described in the preceding paragraph; in all such cases the judgment, if for the claimant, shall be for the reasonable value of the stores or supplies so furnished or taken, at current market prices then being paid by the United States, or for the reasonable value of the stores or supplies so furnished or taken, at current market prices then being paid by the United States, or for the reasonable rental value of such use and occupation, including damages incidental thereto in excess of ordinary wear and tear: Provided, however, That in claims arising prior to the 1

The provisions of the bill I have introduced explained briefly

are as follows:

Section 1 repeals section 5 of the act of March 4, 1915, and thereby leaves it possible for either House of Congress to refer to the Court of Claims bills providing for payment of claims, under section 151 of the Judicial Code, which was enacted as a substitute for the terms of section 14 of the former Tucker Act.

Section 2. It is a matter of common knowledge that there are many kinds and classes of claims which have been referred to the Court of Claims by Congress for determination of facts. If there were no claims save Civil War claims, then section 2 of this bill would be unnecessary, but it is designed to restore to the Court of Claims jurisdiction to hear and make findings of fact on many claims of different kinds, which were pending before the court on March 4, 1915, and which have since been dismissed for want of jurisdiction, owing to the provisions of section 5 of the war claims appropriation act.

It will be noted, however, that claimants interested in such claims must move with reasonable promptness as they are given only two years to move the reinstatement of their claims be-

Section 3. It is a fact that, at date of enactment of the war claims appropriation act of March 4, 1915, various attorneys representing the United States were in the field, acting with local counsel for claimants, taking depositions to be filed in the Court of Claims in matter of then pending claims. Depositions continued to be so taken for a considerable period, under rules of the court, before it was ascertained that there was at least a serious question as to the continuance of the court's jurisdiction to entertain the claims. Thereafter taking of depositions was discontinued. In the meantime many depositions have been taken and filed and unless some provisions such as is suggested is made those depositions can not be considered, because they were taken after Congress had removed the cases from the court's jurisdiction. In short, while the depositions were regularly taken, under cross-examination, they will not be available, and as many witnesses were very old when examined it would probably be an impossibility to again secure

Section 4. This section gives the Court of Claims power to enter absolute judgments in what are commonly termed Civil War claims, of the general kinds or classes which have been heretofore paid by various omnibus claims acts.

These claims are divided into two general classes, i. e.:
1. Claims of churches, lodges, schools, and so forth.
2. Claims of individuals, associations, or corporations.

It will be noted that power to hear and determine these claims is given not only as to claims previously referred to the Court of Claims under the Bowman and Tucker Acts, or section 151 of the Judicial Code, and to be reinstated on motion, but also as to other claims of the same general character, in which direct petition is filed in the Court of Claims within one year from the proposed enactment

Undoubtedly a time limit should be now fixed for presentation of Civil War claims, and it is here proposed to make it two years from date of the enactment.

However, a claimant should not be compelled to depend upon the uncertain action of securing within that short time a reference of his claim by a House of Congress. If his right to be heard is to be cut off within a short time, then he should be given the right to present his claim in a manner which will entitle him to be heard, and not by mere petition to Congress, which petition might or might not be acted upon within the time limited.

Examination of this bill will show that the Civil War claims wherein judgment may be entered for claimants are the same kinds of Civil War claims which have been paid by Congress

repeatedly.

As to church, school, and lodge claims, none wherein claim is made for wanton destruction or for destruction in battle, and so forth, fall within the favored classes in which judgment may be entered for claimant. It is true that some such claims have been paid by Congress, but no provision is here made for them.

As to claims of individuals, associations, etc., it is to be noted: 1. Judgment can be entered in favor of a citizen only on condition that he shall have been found to have given no voluntary aid or comfort to the Confederate Government by bearing arms, serving as an official thereof or of any branch thereof by voting for secession, or by purchasing the securities of said government and thereby aiding its credit; this to be made a

matter of preliminary inquiry.

The reason for thus defining acts which shall preclude entering of judgment would seem plain. Without such general definition, and with the idea of passing on what is often called the "loyalty" of claimants, the Court of Claims is compelled to deal with a problem in psychology rather than with facts. It is therefore impossible for any claimant to know what facts will preclude collection of his claim. With such general rules laid down as here proposed, however, the court will have something definite into which to inquire, and claimants will know just what facts will preclude favorable action.

If a person living in the South did none of the acts mentioned and described, then it would seem that he or his heirs should be paid for his private property taken for Government use; otherwise, however, he can not fairly claim such com-

pensation.

It has often happened that claims have been presented by persons who were minors during the war, and who had no responsibility for the Civil War and had absolutely nothing to do with it, especially in such cases as young girls of 17 or 18 at the close of the war; also of very aged persons who had nothing whatever to do with the war, and yet, in both classes of cases, who are unable to prove any facts of affirmative loyalty to either side.

Under previous practice, under the Tucker Act, the court has had some discretion in reporting facts to Congress, and in some instances has made qualified findings on this point in order that Congress might use its legislative discretion in passing finally on the claim, but if the court is now to be made the final arbiter

that will be impossible.

2. The requirement as to proof of conduct applies only in cases arising prior to May 1, 1865. This date is suggested as a proper and fair one, as Gen. Lee surrendered April 9, 1865, and May 1, 1865, meant the practical end of hostilities by forces of the Confederacy. It is true that the extreme western army of the Confederacy, under Gen. Richard Taylor, in Texas, did not surrender until a short time thereafter, but the war to all practical intents ended by May 1.

3. In cases of aliens it is provided that only neutrality shall be demanded, which is all that has ever been required of them.

4. Where property belonged to an undivided estate of a decedent it has been the uniform practice of the Court of Claims, under the Tucker Act, to pass on the conduct of the actual beneficiaries of the estate, rather than upon that of an administrator or executor who happened to hold the naked legal title in trust. The proviso making this a rule hereunder is obviously a fair one and is necessary, as otherwise the court would be compelled to consider the conduct of the administrator

or executor who held the naked legal title.

The same rule is laid down in regard to cases where title was vested in the guardian of a minor. Obviously the recovery by the former ward should not be made to depend on the personal conduct of the guardian, over which the ward could not sup-

posedly have exercised control.

This general subject mentioned is treated in the case of Newman, administrator, v. United States (21 Ct. Cls., 205). In that case it appeared that Mr. Green died in 1858, leaving a widow and three small children; that a posthumous child was later born, who could not have been more than about 3 years of age when the war began. Under the Bowman Act, however, the claim was dismissed because there was an administrator on the estate who had been disloyal, regardless of the fact that the widow and four little children were the owners of the actual beneficial interest in property taken for public use.

The dissenting opinion of Justice Nott in that case shows the injustice following the application of such a rule. That same claim was later referred to the Court of Claims under the

Tucker Act, was tried and collected.

5. Further referring to minors, it is provided in this bill that a minor not over the age of 17 years at date of Gen. Lee's sur-render shall be presumed to have given no aid or comfort, in

absence of proof of any acts to the contrary.

6. Section 184 of the Judicial Code was taken bodily from the old Bowman Act approved March 3, 1883, which act was repealed by enactment of that code, and this part of said act should be repealed with the rest of it. Section 161 of the Judicial Code is also to be repealed by this bill, so far as inconsistent with the terms of this bill, in that both said actions 184 and 184. the terms of this bill, in that both said sections 184 and 161 make it necessary to show affirmative loyalty to the Union, in establishing the fact that a person gave no aid or comfort to the Confederacy, thus, as above suggested, making the question one of a mental attitude as much as one depending on facts which can be actually proven one way or the other.

Statement by Dr. Dernberg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 6, 1916.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very remarkable statement by Dr. Dernberg, upholding the view of the United States on the question of the freedom of the same from submarine attack.

The statement is as follows:

DERNBURG UPHOLDS UNITED STATES VIEW OF RIGHTS AT SEA—ARTICLE
ADMITS NEED FOR DEALING WITH BERLIN FIRST—URGES GERMANY
TO AWAIT WITH CALMNESS WHILE PRESSURE IS BROUGHT TO MAKE
ENGLAND COME TO REASONABLE VIEW OF RIGHTS OF NEUTRALS—
REFERS TO NAVY PROGRAM AND SAYS IF AMERICAN SHIPPING IS
FORCED OFF THE SEAS UNITED STATES WILL NOT SUFFER IT WITHOUT

A STRUGGLE.

[NOTE.—On Nov. 13 the Journal published a synopsis that came to it by cable of an article in which Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, formerly Germany's minister of colonies, discussed in the Berliner Tageblatt the relations between Germany and the United States. In this cable message Dr. Dernburg, who spoke in Milwaukee less than a year ago, was quoted as using very friendly and sympathetic terms regarding America's diplomatic intercourse with Germany. He stated that the loss of American lives as a result of the operations of German submarines must be regarded by America as a more serious question than the seizure or confiscation by Great Britain of American merchandise at sea, and that naturally America's Government would defer settling the controversy with Great Britain until the more important issue with Germany was determined. Copies of this issue of the Berliner Tageblatt have just reached Milwaukee. Dr. Dernburg's article, which is entitled "The American note to England," has been translated by a member of the Journal's editorial staff and is herewith presented in full.]

(By Dr. Bernhard Dernburg.)

(By Dr. Bernhard Dernburg.)

The imperial chancellor in his last great speech has taken his stand for the "freedom of the seas." Sir Edward Grey has designated the deliberation of the matter as highly probable after the war. Both statesmen have more or less avoided any definite expression of theory. President Wilson has also proclaimed the freedom of the seas in his various recent notes and addresses and designated it as an inalienable right of the United States.

Quite clearly he has indicated what he wishes to be understood by the term—the maintenance, at least, of international sea law, as this is laid down in the Declaration of London. This declaration, to be sure, is not subscribed to by all the States taking part in the conference, but it has also not been opposed by them. Its purpose was, as its name indicates, to insure in declaratory form, with the cooperation of all nations, what shall in these days be the law of the seas. President Wilson declares that this codex is binding for the United States, and any change on the part of a belligerent—so far as it is not in agreement with the United States and the other neutrals—is not binding upon them.

With regard to the practice of these international sea laws, the United States has come into conflict with two belligerent nations, England and Germany. England has made all sorts of arbitrary changes by royal order, and has in other points been untroubled by the requirements of law on the high seas. Germany has been censured for the sinking of the Lusitania and for the conduct of her submarine war.

THE PRESIDENT DIFFERENTIATED.

The President declined a simultaneous treatment of the differences with England and with Germany, because he wished it clearly understood that the two cases dealt with separate varieties of American rights. The President did not admit that Germany could give up the submarine war if England kept within the laws of the seas and should be forced to do so by America.

The submarine war had first to be settled, because this act was not a question, as in Great Britain's commercial war with Germany, of replaceable wares or financial losses, but of the lives of American citizens. The difference with Great Britain, therefore, was postponed until a way had been cleared through Germany's wise giving in in the Arabic case.

HUMANITY MOVES GERMANY.

Apart from the fact that she shared America's considerations for humanity, Germany apparently gave in principally for the reason that a nation which wishes the freedom of the seas should not contribute to sharter the principles which hitherto had been maintained, even in an incomplete form, and that she had no right to expect the United States would hold Great Britain to an observance of maritime law without also following the same polley toward Germany.

A submarine campaign, defended on the ground of the modernity of the weapon, was, however, irreconcilable with the application of the London regulations.

After Germany bad yielded to the American standpoint the President finally sent a note to England and announced two more to come. It is not necessary here to go into the details of these notes. It is sufficient to recall that the United States declared a blockade of Germany and Austria as not legally allowable; that it declared unlawful the English practice of confiscating goods destined to neutral countries merely on suspicion that they might fall into the hands of the enemy; that it declared unjustifiable the demand that such goods be addressed not to order but to definite recipient—that is, to the overseas trust under English control; that it would not longer allow the removing of American or neutral ships to English harbors; and that it rejected the English prize courts because they were organized not according to general sea law but according to English orders in council.

MORE NOTES PROMISED.

MORE NOTES PROMISED.

These are the chief points. A note is promised which shall teject the latest English definition, according to which the status of a ship is determined by the nationality of the owner or an owner and not by its registry and flag; and, finally, perhaps the most important of all, another note in which the willful changes which England has made in the lists of absolute and conditional contraband shall be declared not binding for the United States.

Thus falls together the whole structure which England has so skillfully built up in 15 months, as much to starve Germany as to cut into America's trade.

The London declaration placed cotton under all circumstances on the free list. Grain and foodstuffs were contraband only so far as they were destined for the use of fighting troops or the provisioning of fortified harbors, and then only conditionally. The burden of proof the declaration places on the power that selzes these materials.

UNITED STATES FOR NEUTRAL RIGHTS.

UNITED STATES FOR NEUTRAL RIGHTS.

UNITED STATES FOR NEUTRAL RIGHTS.

The President says that he espouses the rights of all neutrals, and it can certainly be supposed that he does this only with an understanding with them. The German press has raised the question whether the United States would endeavor to force compliance with her demands. According to the diplomatic history of the United States—and the Lustiania case is a page in that history—there is every reason to believe this will be done at all costs.

It sometimes has taken rather long—the Alabama case took 15 years—but here interests are at stake which do not permit of delay; and, however unwilling the President is to make difficulties for Great Britain (or Germany either), he has, as has recently been said, a single-track mind in which there is neither turning out nor going back. That is all the more likely, as next year the presidential election will take place, and he will want to give to the Nation an account of the manner in which he has ordered its business, and on the 4th of December of this year Congress will again meet, thus giving a new emphasis to the demands of the President.

COULD FORCE ALLIES' HANDS.

COULD FORCE ALLIES' HANDS.

GOULD FORCE ALLIES' HANDS.

If the United States had little means of exerting pressure against Germany in the case of the submarine war because of complete severance of commercial relations, these means are very powerful in the case of the allies, especially England. Denial of credit, orders to national banks not to discount exchange for the allies, embargo on individual wares necessary to the allies, and, finally, prevention of the export of arms (which, indeed, Congress once ordered against Mexico in 1912).

It is true that pecuniary interests in the United States fill a greater part in the decisions of men than they usually do in other nations, and that through all these measures the pockets of Americans would be pinched; but one must not underestimate the self-consciousness and pride of the Nation as soon as it feels that its rights are being purposely and lightly trod upon.

ENGLAND FORESEES TROUBLE.

ENGLAND FORESRES TROUBLE.

England has a sort of premonition of this, and, because it knows it must give in, it seeks characteristically to cover itself in advance. Thus, the recent orders forbidding English ships from sailing to and between neutral harbors and the attempt to buy up neutral ships and to lay hold of American commerce.

But it can be taken for granted that this very attempt will make bad blood in the United States. Apart from its being a question of the limitation of American commerce and of an extraordinary increase in the cost of American merchandise (since the whole German merchant fleet, which has up to now cared for a large part of American commerce, has been interned) viewpoints here come into play which are particularly vital. The best war fleet is not in battle trim unless it is in possession of a great number of auxiliary vessels for the supply of coal and provisions and for the forwarding of troops; a great number

of patrol boats and cruisers for guarding the coast; and another great number of merchant vessels fitted out as auxiliary cruisers.

LOOKS FOR COUNTER MEASURES.

America is on the threshold of a naval program of great magnitude, a program that has the general support of the Nation. The European war has sharpened the responsibilities of the administration just as have the attacks of its opponents. If this attempt at depriving Americans of merchant vessels is continued it may be expected that Secretary of the Navy Daniels (who first emphasized the necessity of a merchant marine in time of war) will immediately seize upon counter measures. Last year, when the President wished to create a merchant marine with Government funds and proposed in addition the acquisition of neutral and interned ships Congress defeated the bill. At that time there was no talk of an enlarged fleet and of American defense. To-day the matter is entirely different, and it can easily happen that England by this move will bring about effects of which it has not the slightest suspicion. Thus the American note will lead to an era of discussion with England, paving the way at the same time to the fulfillment of the demand for the freedom of the seas—a discussion the outcome of which will beyond shadow of doubt be in favor of those who represent the right. We in Germany can aid in these discussions only by following them with calmness and dignity.

Rural-Credits Legislation.

When framing the Federal reserve act for the banking and commercial population, you bundled up the credit of the Government, neatly tied a blue ribbon around it, and placed it in pawn for the benefit of the bankers and commercialists. You sat them down at a feast of Federal reserve notes, prepared for them by the Government, in return for their assets and commercial paper. You gave them Government aid. Let us give the farmer the same aid. He is entitled to the same privilege at the Government Mint.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT L. HENRY.

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 6, 1916.

Mr. HENRY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit the following:

Monday, March 1, 1915.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union bad under consideration the bill (H. R. 20415) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30.

Mr. HENRY. Mr. Chairman, it is my purpose to detain the committee for only a short while. We now have an opportunity to add an amendment to the Agricultural appropriation bill which will bring substantial relief to the farmers in the way of rural-credits legislation.

Mr. Chairman, we have before us to-day three concrete propositions: First, the McCumber amendment, which has come from the Senate, providing for direct loans to the farmers. Second, the Hollis bill, which was reported to the Senate on last Saturday. In my judgment, this last bill is a makeshift, an empty thing, a vacuous and spineless piece of legislation, and will wilt and crumble like a frogstool if Government aid is not placed behind it. [Applause.] Second, this Hollis bill set up an alleged rural-credits system separate and apart from any source of governmental aid. Governmental aid is the one essential thing to make rural-credits legislation a success in this country,

as it has proved to be successful in every other civilized country of the world where the Government has fostered and aided the Third, the Bulkley bill is before us, and with section 30 providing for governmental aid, the system is destined to be a success and will carry genuine relief to the American farmers.

And at this point permit me to call your attention to several salient and strong provisions of the Bulkley bill, which we have rewritten, that make it incomparably better than the Hollis makeshift just reported to this House by the Committee on Agriculture. First, it provides for a Federal farm-loan board, divorcing the system entirely from the Federal reserve act. It sets up a separate and distinct rural-credits system not subordinate in any respect to the Glass-Owen currency law recently enacted. Second, in it we provide that the interest rate shall in no event exceed 6 per cent per annum wherever loans are made to the farmers. And, third, in section 30, we specifically commit the Government of the United States to the aid of this system and provide for expending not exceeding \$50,000,000 annually out of the Treasury of the United States to guarantee And in pursuance of this principle we the success of the plan. expressly write into this law as a new amendment provision for the sale of Panama Canal bonds, the proceeds of which are to

be devoted to setting up our rural-credits system. Hence, we make it certain that the strong arm of the Government shall be placed under and around the rural-credits system for the farmers, just as we have placed it under the Federal reserve act in behalf of the commercial and banking interests. plause.

Mr. Chairman, it would be fatal and criminal to tender the American farmers a plan that would not sustain itself and prove a success. With this opportunity here presented, let us not fail to put our great Government back of legislation which we are now writing in behalf of the entire agricultural population of

the United States. [Applause.]

The Federal reserve act was proposed, the credit of the United States was bundled up, a blue ribbon was neatly tied around it, and the resources of a hundred millions of people, in the form of their credit, was mortgaged to the bankers and commercialists. And I am not willing to tender the farmers of this country legislation of any less strength. In the Federal reserve act we placed the Government in partnership with the banks as to capital stock and profits, and I now assert that we should place it in partnership with the farmers in a new rural-credits system. The principle is identical. They are entitled to the same treatment in accordance with all logic and by the parity of all reasoning. The farmer is here to-day to demand that he enjoy the same privileges at the Government mint as the bankers who are feasting on Federal reserve notes issued by that mint and under this new partnership arrangement with the banks. Nothing can deter me from insisting that any rural-credits legislation that we pass shall also be backed and reenforced by the credit of the United States Government upon the same principle written in the Federal reserve act. It would be a mockery and sham and a glaring fraud to do less for the agriculturists! We have come to the point where our people in these modern generations must necessarily be divided into three classes, to wit, the commercial, the industrial, and the agricultural. Currency legislation suited to the needs of commercial interests will not be sufficient for the agricultural and industrial classes. We must have a plan that authorizes long-time loans for the farmer; the commercial banking system will not avail. And I here predict that with the Federal reserve act in effect the time is not far distant when we will open the mint of the United States to the American farmer, so that he may place his securities, mortgages, and liens as collateral with the Government and receive Government issues of money from the mint, just as the bankers do under the Federal reserve act. And States, counties, municipalities, and localities will sooner or later be enabled to take their bonds and securities, based upon the wealth, property, and resources of the people, to the Government mint and deposit them as security and receive United States money issued for them upon the identical principle by which the Secretary of the Treasury is now preparing to issue \$500,000,000 of Federal reserve notes, coined as the people's money, to the banks of this country in exchange for their assets and commercial paper wares sent up through the Federal reserve banks to the mint of the United States. There is not one particle of difference in principle in these arguments which we here advance.

The papers have just contained a statement that the Secretary of the Treasury is preparing an issue of \$500,000,000 of Federal reserve notes, to be exchanged for the assets, notes, and paper securities of the banks, which they are hypothecating with the Federal reserve banks. These notes are issued from the people's mint, and the banking and commercial interests have no God-given right to monopolize this money and the credit of the Government and exclude the farmer and wage earner from the same privileges at the people's Treasury. If the merchants' and bankers' paper are good security for these Government obligations, the farmer's mortgage, at a fair valuation, on his rich farm lands, is a better guaranty. And if the merchants' paper, merchandise, and notes and the bankers' bills, drafts, and notes are good security, State, county, and municipal bonds, based upon the taxable wealth and resources of 100,000,000 people, are still better, even if the time for their redemption is somewhat longer. Hence it is mandatory that we must forever divorce and separate our agricultural banking system from the

commercial banking plan.

In the course of the proceedings I shall undertake by my vote to perfect the Hollis bill and establish a plan worth something to the farmers. If we can not do that, then, when the final rote comes between the two amendments on the motion to recommit, I shall vote for the McCumber amendment without any change, in order that my name shall go down in the permanent Record as one who stood for legislation bringing real relief to the farmers.

Ah, but we hear it whispered in these Halls that the President will veto the McCumber amendment, that he will veto the Bulkley amendment with section 30 in it, providing for Government aid, and that he will not veto the Hollis bill. As far as I am concerned, my resolution is fixed to do my duty here for the farmers to-day, and support legislation that means something—let others pursue whatever course they may. It makes not the slightest difference with me. [Applause.] And yet I do not believe the President will veto a genuine rural-credits bill, when we attach it to this Agricultural appropriation bill.

Gentlemen object to adding such a bill to the Agricultural appropriation measure. They say that legislation by the insertion of a rider on appropriation bills is not good. Permit me to say that some of the greatest reforms in legislative bodies for the benefit of the people have been brought about by attaching them to appropriation bills. And it seems to me that the hand of Providence can almost be observed in this proceeding, because it has given us the only opportunity available for establishing a rural-credits system before this session of Congress

has ended. [Applause.]

The Bulkley bill has been considered for nine months by a sub-committee of the Banking and Currency Committee, Democrats and Republicans, in a nonpartisan way, and they have agreed to it. Members of that committee who speak to-day will tell you that they have given the Bulkley bill nine months of deliberate study and can see no further way of improving it if they should work upon it many months longer. They are prepared to report it to the House. They are ready for action, and these Democrats and Republicans have placed their seal of approval upon it. Hence, I say, let us support and adopt it, and present both the amended Bulkley bill and the McCumber amendment to the House of Representatives in order that Members may exercise their choice of action.

The great and overshadowing principle of Government aid is contained in the Bulkley bill, the one great thing around which my bill has been written. And so if these propositions set out in my measure can be inserted here in the McCumber amendment or the Bulkley bill, I shall gladly support them and

waive all pride of authorship.

Mr. Chairman, allow me to say, in conclusion, that my resolution is fixed, and that during the remainder of my congressional career I shall fight for a rural-credits law builded and founded upon plans entirely apart from the Federal reserve act or any commercial banking system. The farmer must have a system that will afford him long-time loans. The necessities of his vocation imperatively demand it, and I shall continue to struggle for writing the same principles in all rural-credits legislation for extending direct Government aid to the tillers of the soil just as we have placed it in the hands of the banker and commercialist. There is no invidious distinction or criticism intended by me in making these arguments. Long since I have concluded that the three classes of our people-the commercial, industrial, and agricultural-must have their needs supplied through distinct banking and financial systems. The issue is raised here to-day and will not down. The fight will go on. and my prediction is that before many years have gone by this long-deferred relief for the American farmer and the industrial class will be accorded to them as Congress promptly afforded facilities to the commercial class of our people. It is a lamentable fact that, in this House and elsewhere, whenever a legislator raises his voice in behalf of the farmer, the wage earner, and the worker, he is charged with being a demagogue. But a Representative is weak and cowardly who has not the heart and spirit and resolution in the face of these affronts to fight on in behalf of those who till the soil, earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, and make this Republic prosperous and great. [Applause.]

Wednesday, March 3, 1915.

Mr. HENRY. Mr. Speaker, it is not my purpose to be captious about this conference report, but before agreeing to it there are several propositions that should be discussed.

On the 1st day of March this House had it in its power to enact a general system of rural-credits legislation. The Agricultural bill came over from the Senate with an amendment attached as a rider providing for a rural-credits system with one amendment added by that body. The McCumber bill was sufficient to meet the needs of the American farmer.

The mistake the House of Representatives made, in my opin-

The mistake the House of Representatives made, in my opinion, was in not agreeing to the McCumber amendment, just as it had been written, so that there would be no differences between the Senate and the House, and thus no opportunity given

for the Senate to recede.

The distinguished and able gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Bulkley, who has studied this question as much as any man in Congress, was chairman of the subcommittee that prepared the measure, and worked nine months on it. And he said on the floor of the House that if you were to give him nine months longer he did not see how he could improve on it.

longer he did not see how he could improve on it.

Its principles are good. The subcommittees of the Senate and House agreed to it, and yet the committees failed to report it. Whenever rural-credits legislation is written it will be along the line of this measure, which contains Government aid, and will stand as a monument to the strong young man from Ohio

who goes out of this Congress. [Applause.]

On Monday we placed the Bulkley bill in this Agricultural bill, and the Committee on Agriculture comes back to us and reports a substitute for a mere commission, still postponing this question.

Ah, gentlemen, that was not the way to deal with it. The mistake we made was in not voting for the motion to recommit, thus sending the McCumber amendment to the conferees, where

it could not be evaded or destroyed.

Mr. Speaker, the time has come when the American Congress should cease trifling with the farming population. There are many men who are afraid to raise their voices in this House and the Senate in behalf of the farmers for fear they will be denounced as demagogues. I am one who says that the farmer has been trifled with about this question, and we ought not to undertake to trifle longer with it. We should face the issue

and settle it. Now is the accepted time. [Applause.]

It makes little difference to me when charges of demagoguery are whispered around the corridors of this House. When the banking and commercial people wanted a new banking system—the Federal reserve act—you bundled up the credit of the Government, neatly tied a blue ribbon around it, and placed it in pawn for the benefit of the bankers and commercialists. You sat them down at a feast of Federal reserve notes, prepared for them by the Government in return for their assets and commercial paper. You gave them Government aid. Let us give the farmer the same aid. At the risk of again being called a demagogue, I assert that he is the equal of the merchant, the banker, the professional man, or any other citizen. He is entitled to the same privileges at the Government Mint as they are, and the credit of this Government—his Government, too—should be placed behind his banking system upon the same principle by which you have mortgaged it to the banking fraternity in the commercial world.

I predict to-pight that the day will come when we will put the strong arm of this Government under and around and about a banking system for the benefit of the farmers, and treat them just as we have the bankers and the commercialists. [Ap-

plause.]

Mr. Speaker, this matter should not be postponed. Let those who have brought in the report take the responsibility. Go home to your constituents and satisfy them if you can. Continue in this course, smother legislation in conference, and see whether or not the Democratic Party can keep the confidence of the American people when you do these things. All three of the parties promised in their platforms rural-credits legislation, and all have failed to redeem that promise.

I intend to keep the faith of the Baltimore platform.

My contract with my constituency and the American people shall be redeemed here to-night by my vote. We can send this bill to conference again, instruct our conferees, and demand legislation before the gavel falls. It will not imperil this bill. There is yet abundant time for reconsideration and action before we begin our journey home to meet our constituencies and render our account of stewardship. Let us trifle no longer, but redeeem our solemn platform pledges.

Friday, October 16, 1914.

FOR THE RELIEF OF THE COTTON GROWERS.

Mr. HENRY. Mr. Speaker, I have risen for the purpose of discussing in the brief time allotted to me the distressing cotton situation in the Southern States, and trust that I shall utter no word here to-day that shall not be deliberate and in exact accord with the facts. It is no exaggeration to say that the condition in the Southern States is absolutely distressing. On account of the war in Europe the market for cotton has been paralyzed, and we now have no market. In a little while the purchasing power and the debt-paying power of the Southern States will be gone. Cotton is the great staple of the South. It is the great export that we send to foreign countries for the purpose of bringing gold back to our shores, and to-day distress is widespread everywhere in the cotton-growing States. In a

little while the tonnage on the railroads will be so reduced that they will be embarrassed. Whenever cotton is not shipped. then the railroads immediately feel the effect, because necessarily their tonnage is greatly reduced and there will be but little commerce going out of the Southern States or coming in. While you gentlemen from the Northern and Eastern States do not yet feel the blighting effects of this prostration of the cotton market, in a short while you will understand and appreciate our dire distress. You will not be able to sell your manufactured articles to our people, for when they can not sell at least a part of this cotton crop of 1914, which is worth \$1,000,-000,000, then the manufacturers of Massachusetts, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut and all of the other States of this Union will feel the result.

. Having said that much about the conditions, naturally the question arises, What is the remedy? Mr. Speaker, when I first realized the situation, I said that this great Government should come to the rescue of a third of the people of this Republic, of 30,000,000 citizens, who are a part of this Union, and lift them from this prostrate condition. The Secretary of the Treasury could have immediately deposited in the banks of the South the public moneys that were at his disposal or that could have been placed at his disposition by the passage of adequate legislation, and, Mr. Speaker, I shall not unjustly criticize the Secretary of the Treasury. I am making no war upon him, but in this crisis now upon our people I have a right to appeal to the cold facts of history and the truthfulness of the transac-

tions in the Treasury Department.

We asked the Secretary of the Treasury to deposit in the national banks, the fiscal agents of the Government, enough funds to be loaned to the producers of cotton to relieve them from their present embarrassment. We asked that those funds, the people's money, be put there upon terms and conditions that would make the money available to the men who produced the crops. Immediately the Secretary of the Treasury replied to me and said that he did not have the funds, that he did not have the power to deposit them there if he wished to do so. Let me do him exact justice. I appealed to him to deposit \$50,000,000 only in 15 Southern States. That would have been a great relief.

Mr. Speaker, I announce that if the Secretary had stood up boldly, courageously, and had said to the world, to the speculators, to the banks, and to the stock gamblers and those who despoil the producers, "You can not rob the southern producers of their cotton crop at 5 and 6 cents a pound, but this great Government will come to their rescue and save this crop already produced," the condition would be different. But he has not

I will state that I have gone to the Secretary of the Treasury, to the Federal Reserve Board, to the President, and laid those matters before them and appealed to them to save the South in its distress, and have also submitted these things in

Mr. Speaker, I am not making any criticism. I am simply discussing facts, and no living man can answer them. The President will do his duty as he sees it. But I am not through, Mr. Speaker. I want to say to the gentleman now what I intended to say a little later on, that this Congress ought not to adjourn until justice has been done to our people; and, as far as I am concerned, if I have the power to prevent it, we never shall adjourn until we have legislation on the cotton situation. [Applause.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, when the gentleman raises the issue that the Aldrich-Vreeland Act did the work, I wish to say it has proved to be a snare, a delusion and fraud upon the rights of the people. It is true that they did issue this Aldrich-Vreeland currency to banks, allowed them to secure it practically without limit, and it is true that a lot of that currency went in the Southern States; but instead of the banks using it to relieve the distress of the cotton producers they used it in their own business. They bundled it up and shipped it back to New York and to other money centers to pay their obligations. So I say that the Aldrich-Vreeland Act did not do the work. Furthermore, I say that if the Federal reserve act were in operation now-and I do not mean to criticize that act-we would have had the same result. These banks would hoard their funds; they would take the currency they are authorized to issue and would use it in their own business. They would ship it back to New York to pay their own obligations. You must find another way of getting these funds to the people. Mr. Speaker, here is

what ought to be done: The Secretary of the Treasury ought to put the public moneys at the disposal of the Southern States. He ought to establish every national bank a depositary, which he has authority to do under the law, and ought to put the public moneys there. He ought to forget the Aldrich-Vreeland Act. He ought to forget this Federal reserve act; and if he has not the public funds to relieve our distress should come to Congress and say, "Authorize me to issue United States notes as they did during the war, possessed of all the legal qualities with which those notes are now endowed, and let them go to the distressed people of the South." And if that authority is questionable, or if it is not sufficient, then let him sell the Panama Canal bonds and put the proceeds of those bonds in the banks of the South and relieve the situation.

tt. -

I say if the Secretary of the Treasury will come here and ask Congress to give him the public funds, we will pass a bill authorizing the issuance of \$250,000,000 of United States notes redeemable in gold, and we will put them in the banks of the South in less than one week, and, if that is not enough, we will authorize him to sell the Panama Canal bonds now in the Treasury, amounting to \$240,000,000, and will increase the interest from 2 and 3 per cent to 4 per cent, and then he can put the proceeds of the bonds in the banks.

Let me go back a little further and recount some more his-

tory. We had a little flurry that was a mere morning's breeze compared with the present awful condition in the South. I refer to the panic of 1907. You all remember it. pened? In that panic the banks of the South would not honor our checks when our money was on deposit in them. pened? Immediately the President of the United States instructed his Secretary of the Treasury to deposit in the banks public moneys to the extent of \$245,000,000, and by the 1st day of December, in 1907, we had in the States of this Union, and most of it in the agricultural States of the South and West, \$245,000,000 of money, public funds, taken out of the Treasury of the United States and put where it could relieve the embarrassment of the people.

But the President and the Secretary did not stop there. Let me read you from the Atlanta Constitution of November 18. 1907. The headlines are to this effect:

UNCLE SAM TO THE RESCUE-\$150,000,000-WITH HIS BONDS AND NOTES.

QUICK RELIEF WILL BE GIVEN BY GOVERNMENT.

Decision to End Money Pinch Follows Conference at White House. TO ISSUE CANAL BONDS AND TREASURY NOTES.

\$50,000,000 of Former and \$100,000,000 of Latter Necessary. The Government Will See that Money Gets to South and West, Where It Is Needed to Move Crops.

So, in addition to the \$245,000,000 that was taken from the Treasury and deposited in the banks, the Secretary of Treasury supplemented that with an order that \$150,000,000 more should go. And they issued circulars, one to sell the Panama Canal bonds, \$50,000,000, and another to sell \$100,-000,000 of certificates of indebtedness under the act of June 13, 1898. What happened? The minute the President and the Secretary said that these people must be relieved, it was not necessary to sell all the bonds and all the certificates of indebtedness bearing 3 per cent interest, but they only sold in the aggregate \$40,000,000. And the condition was relieved, and gentlemen in New York, who had manufactured and brought on this panic without any rhyme or reason, were thwarted in their will. And I say to-day, if there is a conspiracy to sacrifice this cotton and force it upon the market at to 6 cents a pound, at the price at which it is now selling in the South, this great Government should come to our rescue, as was done in 1907, and these funds should be put in the National and State banks, where the people who have produced the crop can secure them.

Ah, but some of our friends want to make this a banking proposition altogether. They say that you can not do business without the aid of the banks. I am willing to admit that banks are good institutions, that they are necessary to commerce, civilization, and business, and I undertake to say that if the Government can deposit its public funds in the vaults, to be loaned upon the terms and conditions which the banks may fix themselves, to relieve the stock market in New York, and to relieve similar conditions, this same Government has the power to pass this statute and to fix the terms and conditions upon which these fiscal agents shall advance this money to the distressed producers of the South.

Is there anything revolutionary in that? Mr. Speaker, I decline to arraign the patriotism of the banks as some gentlemen

do. I believe that those banks in the South that have already loaned their money as far as they could with safety, that have already advanced it on this crop, and for other purposes, to supply the needs of the people, would be glad to get the Government funds from Washington on any terms that the Government might fix in order that they could relieve the producers of cotton and tobacco, so that they might pay their debts and might pay the banks and the merchants, and those who had financed them in making this crop.

Now, that is the situation; and if the national banks were not willing to do it, the State banks would be glad to take this money and loan it on any terms. At first I suggested that if money and loan it on any terms. At first I suggested that if 10 cents a pound could be advanced, it would be all right, and we could get along. But they said, "You valorize the crop," and then I rewrote the bill, and said, "If you will advance the farmer \$30 a bale, 6 cents a pound, and give the Secretary of the Treasury plenary power to get these funds into the hands of the farmer, you can relieve the situation." But that has not

been done.

Now, what is confronting us in the South? October has come on. The crop has been produced. It has cost from 8 to 10 cents a pound to raise this crop. Our people are in awful distress. They owe these debts, incurred for making the crop. They must be met, but they can not sell their cotton for any price exceeding 6 cents a pound. And, gentlemen, it will go to 4 cents. It will go below that. It will go down and down to 4 cents. It will go below that. It will go down and down until there is absolutely no local market for it. It is a billion-dollar crop. Thirty millions of people are involved in this transaction, and yet there is no relief from this great Government. Must it be a banking transaction? They admit they have already issued over \$300,000,000 of emergency currency. It did not go where they wanted it to go. The Secretary of the Treasury boasts that under the Aldrich-Vreeland amendment a billion dollars of emergency currency could be issued. ment a billion dollars of emergency currency could be issued. But you can issue a billion or five billions of emergency currency and it would not reach the producers of cotton as the Secretary of the Treasury wants it to reach them, never under the present system.

So you must come quickly to our relief. Something must be done in the way of legislation. We must give the Secretary of the Treasury more power. We are suffering. Let me say to you gentlemen you all love the South. We are all citizens of this great Republic and love this Republic as much as you do. But let me tell you gentlemen on that side of the aisle that to-day tenants-and three-fourths of the crop in my State is raised by tenant farmers—those tenants have abandoned their own fields, have left their crops there, have left these great white fields of cotton unpicked because they could not sell it for anything. Their wives and children are in want for meat and bread. They have gone to the neighbors who had a little cash and received pay from them for picking cotton. As long as they had employment they have gotten from their neighbors meat and bread for their families. Gentlemen, help us, and let us not adjourn this Congress until we have relieved the South, as we would be ready to relieve any other State in this Union under other circumstances, [Applause on the Democratic

side.]

THE HENRY BILL.

THE HENRY BILL.

A bill (H. R. 19203) for the temporary relief of cotton and tobacco growers of the United States.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury shall deposit in national banking associations and State banks situated in States producing cotton or tobacco, or both, \$250,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary to carry out the purposes and under the terms and conditions of this act, to be advanced to the producers of cotton and tobacco, or owners of lands upon which the same was produced upon cotton or tobacco produced during 1914, at a rate of interest not exceeding 4 per cent per annum. The deposits herein authorized shall be advanced upon the terms prescribed in this act and under rules to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury. The deposits herein directed to be made shall be apportioned among the several States in accordance with the number of bales of cotton and pounds of tobacco produced therein during the year 1913, as ascertained by the Department of Agriculture.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall make and enforce rules and regulations not inconsistent herewith for carrying out the purposes of this act. Said Secretary of the Treasury may fix the compensation for the banks for their services in lending said sums of money.

Sec. 3. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall, in his discretion.

pensation for the banks for their services in lending said sains money.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall, in his discretion, either immediately cause to be prepared United States notes to the extent of \$250,000,000 to be used for the purpose of making the deposits in compliance with this act, which said notes shall have all the legal qualities of the United States notes now outstanding, and shall be of such denominations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe; or he may sell not exceeding \$240,000,000 of Panama Canal bonds, here-tofore authorized by law, at a rate of interest not exceeding \$3 per cent per annum, and the act or acts heretofore passed authorizing the disposition of said bonds are hereby amended so as fully to authorize the disposition and use of such bonds as is herein prescribed; or, in his discretion, the Secretary of the Treasury may use both the proceeds

of the bonds and the notes in order to carry out the purposes of this act, not to exceed in the aggregate \$250,000,000: Provided, That such United States notes, should the Secretary of the Treasury conclude to issue them, deposited under this act and not used as prescribed herein shall be returned to the Secretary of the Treasury and shall be destroyed.

SEC. 4. That this act shall take effect and be in force upon its

passage. SEC, 5. That this act shall expire by limitation on the 31st day of December, 1915.

Such are the exact terms of the bill introduced by me and

upon which we make the fight in the House.

We ask nothing unusual, and I will say that my bill follows the precedents and well-marked lines that have been made for more than a century, and we will put the people's money where the producer of cotton can secure it and require these fiscal agents to loan it to the producer of cotton or tobacco in those Southern States. Is there anything unusual about that? We provide that it shall not exceed 4 per cent interest. Is there anything wrong about that? We provide that those banks shall be fiscal agents of the Government, and is there anything wrong about that? We have done it more than a hundred times. And then, in section 2 of this last bill, we give the Secretary of the Treasury colossal power. [Applause.]

Tuesday, October 20, 1914.

Mr. HENRY. Mr. Speaker, we have been undertaking to shape legislation on this question for two long months. Day and night, in season and out of season, individually I have been endeavoring to meet with my colleagues on both sides and see if we could not get on common ground in order to meet the great

emergency that has arisen in the South.

The bill is the best proposition that the Committee on Rules could bring before you gentlemen for consideration. It does bring that important question before the membership of this House in order that it may be discussed and considered. We say to you and to our people that it is right that we should debate it and vote upon it, and we want to say to you on that side of the House that we are now confronted with the greatest problem that has come before our people since the close of the Civil War. Many of our people—farmers, bankers, merchants, and our railroads as well, besides other interests—are facing bankruptcy, and we think it is necessary for this great Government to come to the rescue of the South and aid us in this crisis. When you do it you preserve the business interests not only of the Southern States but of every State in this Union and contribute to the welfare of all of our people. I hope this special rule will be adopted. I trust that these matters can be debated thoroughly in this House, and that we can record our votes. We have been ready to aid the people in the other parts of this country when they were in distress and needed the assistance of the Federal Government. When great fire swept from the face of the earth the town of Salem, Mass., those of us from the South stood ready to respond and go to the aid of those people. When San Francisco was stricken with the great earthquake and fire all of the Representatives from the Southern States were ready to vote to send aid and succor to those distressed people. When the great flood swept along the Ohio Valley and brought ruin and destruction to the people there, our fellow citizens of the United States, we of the South were ready to go to the aid of those people. Aye, more than 10 years ago, when the far West was asking that the credit of this Government be extended to them in order that they might make their arid lands irrigable and establish homes for the people in all those great Western States, we went to their rescue and extended the credit of this great Government to the amount of more than \$82,000,000, in order that they might have homes and firesides for their families. And to-day with this great crisis upon us, brought about by reason of the terrible struggle going on across the Atlantic Ocean, we must have aid, and must have it speedily, or ruin is facing the southern people.

I do not doubt the patriotism of any man on the floor of this House, whether he be Democrat or Republican. all Americans and love that flag over the Speaker's head and will pay it the homage to which it is entitled from all American citizens. Gentlemen, this is not a partisan or political It is nonpartisan, and if there ever has been an question. occasion since the bloody conflict that occurred between our brothers of the North and the South when we should lay aside partisan and sectional feeling it is now, and I believe when you gentlemen understand this question as our southern people understand it you will come to our rescue as promptly and speedily as we have gone to others and as we will go to you in the years that are to come. [Applause.]

Wednesday, October 21, 1914.

Mr. HENRY. Mr. Speaker, I desire briefly to refer to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Hardwick]. That amendment is in strict accord with the Democratic traditions of more than 100 years. It provides for the issuance of United States notes. It provides for the issuance and sale of Panama Canal bonds. There have been two theories in this country about the issuance of currency-one that the banks should issue all the currency, and the other that the Government itself should issue it. When the Federal reserve act was passed we abandoned the theory that the banks should issue any of the currency, and that act, in section 16, provides that the United States notes hereafter to be issued shall be called "Federal reserve notes," and shall be the obligations of the Government of the United States, and shall be payable in gold. Therefore, Congress has said that hereafter all paper money shall be issued by the Government and not by corporations and banks, as heretofore.

What is the Democratic faith as expressed in their platforms on that question? Let me read this part of the platform of 1896, which was not only the fundamental faith of our party in that year, but has been the doctrine of the Democratic Party since the first platform on the subject was written in New

York in the early part of the century. It says:

Congress alone has the power to coin and issue money, and President Jackson declared that this power could not be delegated to corporations or individuals. We therefore denounce the issuance of notes intended to circulate as money by national banks as in derogation of the Constitution, and we demand that all paper which is made a legal tender for public and private debts, or which is exceivable for dues to the United States, shall be issued by the Government of the United States, and shall be redeemable in coin.

It is the sovereign function of this Government to coin gold aand silver and to Issue paper money redeemable in coin, or in

gold, if you please.

Therefore this bill proposed by the gentleman from Georgia is bottomed on that plank of the Democratic platform. It is founded on numerous platforms that our party has adopted. It proposes nothing new and untried, but travels the beaten paths a century old. Therefore we are within our rights when we call upon this Government to exercise its sovereign functions and issue \$250,000,000 of "United States notes with all the legal qualities of the United States notes now outstanding." and to deposit those notes-the currency of the people-in the National and State banks of States in order that they may be loaned to the distressed growers of cotton and tobacco on terms fixed by this Government.

Gentlemen, is there any objection to a proposition of that sort? It can be defended anywhere. If I had the time I could elaborate on those propositions, but it is not necessary. I say to this House that the Aldrich-Vreeland Act, having utterly failed to get the currency to the American people, and the Federal Reserve Board, which is being most tardily organized, having failed to respond to the needs of the people, it is the duty of the Representatives in Congress to supply an adequate amount of currency as provided in this bill. [Applause,]

River Improvement.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES G. EDWARDS. OF GEORGIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 7, 1916.

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include some resolutions adopted by our State legislature.

The resolutions are as follows:

A resolution.

A resolution.

Whereas we believe the people of the United States should never become a war-like people; yet John Hay was right when he said, "No chip on the shoulder, no swaggering before the world, but a firm stand, and deeds when deeds are necessary"; Whereas we feel a national pride in that wisdom and patriotism which have so marked President Woodrow Wilson as one of the greatest and safest statesmen in the history of our country; Whereas in the country's plans of preparedness for national defense as stated by President Wilson, "we can and should profit in all that we do by the experience and example that have been made obvious to us by the military and naval events of the actual present," especially in the country of Germany; and

Whereas Germany has so notably employed her natural resources for national defense, and especially in the example of her taking the nitrogen from the atmosphere, not only to manufacture her needed explosives, but also for the fertilization of her food crops, thus making her independent of her former supply of nitrates from Chile: Therefore by this joint resolution be it

making her independent of her former supply of nitrates from Chile: Therefore by this joint resolution be it

Resolved by the Legislature of the State of Georgia:

(1) That we strongly approve and piedge ourselves to support those ideals and principles for practical and adequate preparedness so patriotically and wisely enunciated by President Wilson in his late speech before the Manhetlan Club of New York City.

(2) That any plans of preparedness for national defense which Congress may consider and finally adopt should include, so far as possible, the economic development of those natural resources of our country which will not only contribute to national defense in times of war but to the Nation's prosperity and wealth in times of peace.

(3) Therefore we especially urge upon the Senators and Members of the Lower House of Congress from the State of Georgia that they press upon the attention of President Wilson and Secretaries of War and Agricultural committee of both Houses of Congress, the serious consideration of the great water powers in the Chattahoochee River, the Coosa River, the Savannab and Ocmulgee Rivers, the Tallapoosa River, and notably at Mussel Shoals in the Tennessee River, which can be developed by the building of locks and dams, and not only improve the navigation of these streams, so long neglected and greatly needed, but also with these cheap water powers provide the Nation with its needed nitrates for explosives in times of war and provide the farmers with their needed nitrogen for the fertilization of their crops in times of peace.

(4) The economic importance of considering the utilization of these

their needed nitrogen for the fertilization of their crops in times of peace.

(4) The economic importance of considering the utilization of these water powers in connection with the Nation's plans for national defense is measured by the important fact that this country has imported Chilean nitrates since the year 1867, to include 11 menths of the fiscal year 1915, amounting in value to \$261,990,054.86, and on these importations the manufacturing and farming interests of the United States, for the same period, paid an export duty to the country of Chile of approximately \$90,000,000.

(5) That our armor-making plants; that our shipbuilding concerns; that our gunmaking plants and our powder-making factories, especially the production of nitrogen for powder making, should not be all closely concentrated in a narrow strip of country from 200 to 300 miles in length and extending on an average less than 100 miles in the interior of the country from the coast, as is now the case, from Connecticut to Virginia, and the Legislature of the State of Georgia respectfully declares that it is the duty of Congress, in adopting any plan of preparedness for national defense, to consider the economic development in other sections of the country, and especially in the South, where, in her navigable streams, are to be found water powers of the magnitude and cheapness that when developed will permit the largest use and scientific application of electricity through the electric furance, which has contributed so wonderfully to Germany's national defense.

(6) That the governor of this State is hereby requested to select and name 15 representative citizens from the State of Georgia to visit Washington during the coming session of Congress and advocate the usefulness and efficiency of this State is hereby requested to select and name 15 representative citizens from the State of Georgia to visit Washington during the coming session of Congress and advocate the usefulness and efficiency of this joint resolution passed by the legislature o

THE CEORGIA COMMITTEE.

In accordance with the attached resolution, Gov. Harris has appointed the following committee to carry out the purposes thereof: Chas. S. Barrett, Union City, president National Farmers' Union, chairman; John D. Walker, Sparta, banker, State senator from the twentieth district; S. M. Jackson, Savannah, labor leader, representative from Chatham County; S. T. Blalock, Fayetteville, banker; J. J. Brown, Bowman, farmer, president Georgia Farmers' Union; John A. Brice, Atlanta, secretary and treasurer Atlanta Journal Publishing Co.; Hellins N. Randolph, Atlanta, attorney at law; J. N. King, Rome, president Coosa River Association; T. P. Johnson, Jefferson, farmer; J. D. Price, Farmington, farmer and commissioner of agriculture; F. S. Etheridge, Jackson, banker, president Georgia Bankers' Association; Rev. R. D. Gray, D. D. Li, D., Atlanta, corresponding secretary Baptist Home Mission Board; Mell R. Wilkinson, Atlanta, business man, retiring president Atlanta Chamber of Commerce; R. L. Carithers, Winder, banker; J. Rice Smith, Augusta, president Georgia Chemical Works.

Cotton.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAM RAYBURN. OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 6, 1916.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print, I present an article written by Mr. W. B. Yeary, of Farmersville, Tex., on the subject of "Cotton—the South's greatest asset." This is an article of much thought on the subject, and it is a question that is vital to our section of the Union, and calls for the best thought of our most eminent writers and statesmen. I do not agree in toto with everything said in this article, but, taken as

a whole, it is the most comprehensive presentation of the matter that I have seen. The article is as follows:

COTTON-THE SOUTH'S GREATEST ASSET. (By W. B. Yeary.) ITS TROUBLES AND THEIR REMEDIES. CHAPTER I.

CHAPTER I.

The United States is mainly an agricultural country, agriculture being its foundation. Like a building, if the foundation becomes weak or impaired the whole structure becomes endangered. A door may first refuse to swing clear, a window let in the wind and rain, causing the plaster to crack. They may be patched and repaired for a time, but it will continue to get worse until the foundation is made strong and secure. The United States has been having internal troubles of a serious nature for a quarter of a century or more. Labor has been arrayed against capital, employee against employer, and tenant against landlord. Strikes and dissensions are almost daily occurrences in all portions of the country.

The foundation of this great structure, agriculture, is weak; it is giving way to pressure it is supporting, which can be plainly shown. Labor is deserting the farm and is crowding out labor in the cities, causing an army of unemployed. People do not leave the farm because they dislike farm life—they like it—but because it is all work and no pay.

giving way to pressure it is supporting, which can be plainly shown. Labor is deserting the farm and is crowding out labor in the cities, causing an army of unemployed. People do not leave the farm because they dislike farm life—they like it—but because it is all work and no pay.

They do not leave the farm because there is no work to be done. There is work for all and more, too. There are ditching and terracing, building and repairing, and dozens of other things to be done, but the owner of the land is not getting enough returns from his land in rents or otherwise to live and have the work done.

When the land is made to pay what it should then the "back to the farm" movement will be a part of the late of the farm who were the late of the farm who were the control of the late of the farm who were the late of the farm who were the late of the control of the late of the control of the late of the control of the late of late of the late of the late of the late of late of the late of late of late of the late of late o

ment.

Scientific agriculture will never be applied so long as only a few can receive it and they retained in the school room. Educated farmers must find farming remunerative enough to cause them to remain on the farm and be prosperous enough to enable them to make experiments, add conveniences and necessities to the farm, breed and develop new and better varieties of plants and stock. But they are barred from an education simply to foster and protect an antiquated system of robbery, plunder, and gambling.

Think of the wonders worked out and developed by Burbank, the plant-life wizard. His work has been on the farm, not in the schoolroom. He has been able to maintain himself on the farm and be worth hundreds of millions to the world. There are thousands of Burbanks lying dormant on the farms awaiting an opportunity to be developed.

Our agricultural colleges ought to be quadrupled over and over again in number and their attendance multiplied a hundred times, which would be if our farmers could spare the services of their boys and the means with which to send them to school.

This defect in our economic system is causing the United States the heaviest waste of any other feature of her system. In the sale of cotton alone there is a loss of at least \$500,000,000 annually from a conservative standpoint. This is only a small portion of the loss as compared

with the washing and wear of the land which would be prevented by the tiller of the land if the loss in the sale of his cotton were prevented.

It would permit him to diversify his crops, ditch and drain his farm, and spend some money taking care of the farm, where, as it now is, he must use all he makes to exist. Thus this great national waste would be prevented and the foundation for permanent development and prosperity would be laid.

The cause for these troubles is plain, easily understood and remedied when once thought out. They are briefly as follows: The farm as a whole has furnished a great deal of hard work but very little pleasure and profit, two essentials to the civilized human being. Pleasures as meant here consist of comfortable homes well-equipped, good schools, churches, and roads, and leisure to enjoy them.

To acquire these there must be some profit in farming. This being deficient, the others are impossible. The reason there is no profit in farming is because there has been no system of sale of farm products at all resembling a commercial system. The next chapter will give some fundamental reasons why there has been no business system adopted for the sale of these great basic products and why it is now imperative that one should be instituted.

CHAPTER II.

CHAPTER II.

WHY FARM PRODUCTS ARE NOT MARKETED AS OTHER COMMERCIAL PROD-UCTS OR AS THOSE OF THE MINES AND FACTORIES.

UCTS OR AS THOSE OF THE MINES AND FACTORIES.

Because farm products have not been marketed like the products of the mines, factories, and other commercial products, many people have the impression they can not be or should not thus be sold.

The reason they have not been so marketed is because there was a time when they were not commercial products, were not even for sale. They were for home consumption, to supply home needs. There were other things that furnished the means with which to buy the things which could not be produced at home.

The changing of farm products from that of supplying the home to that of products of commerce has been so slow and gradual the people have not realized the change. This change has, however, taken place in every civilized agricultural country of the world. It does not mean that every one has taken the steps he ought to have taken in the sale of his products that he should have done. This we will leave for the present and deal with the conditions that exist and have existed in the United States.

In the settling of the United States the new inhabitants found a

of his products that he should have done. This we will leave for the present and deal with the conditions that exist and have existed in the United States.

In the settling of the United States the new inhabitants found a country abounding in natural wealth and resources. The soil was virgin and a fine meadow of hay and parture covered the entire surface. The streams were full of fish, while on their banks stood the finest building timber in the world. Covering these broad prairies and expanding forests were found an abundance of wild game, animals and fowls, that furnished the finest meat in the world, besides among them was an oversupply of fur animals. Men wore hunting clothes every day made from the skins of fur animals that would be a luxury to-day for the millionaire's wife or daughter. Venison, turkey, buffalo, and bear meat was an everyday ration. Wild honey furnished the sweetening. Wheat and corn were only needed for bread, they were not produced for sale.

Cotton was raised in small patches, the seed picked out by hand, carded, spun, and woven into cloth by hand to supply the clothes of the family. It too was for home consumption and not for sale. Gradually the natural products have been consumed, wasted, and frequently burned.

As the wild animals gave way, the grass was used for feeding and grazing farm animals and raising domestic animals. The timber has been used wastefully in building, selling at home, and exporting. Gradually the natural products passed away and then the once home supply products took their place as commercial products. First, in the East, where the natural products gave way first.

Gradually westward this condition spread, consuming the natural products like a wild prairie fire, in many instances, almost as wasteful. During all these years the sale of the farm products has been by a wasteful system of auction. No one knew the cost of production. There was no need to know, only to see the loss as there was no remedy in sight.

The farmers in the newly settled section had the na

economize and compete with them the best they could at the auction block.

About a quarter of a century ago, the remaining natural products of the United States began to melt away very rapidly under the tide of both foreign and domestic limilgration westward. Soon there were no more free natural products and our farm products were compelled to stand the strain that both they and the natural products had been caring for, which is more than they can stand and meet the demands of the present times, under this wasteful system of sale.

The first section of the United States that adopted a business or commercial system of marketing its farm products was the Pacific slope country. They produce perishable products, which are more difficult to properly market than nonperishable ones. They depended upon commission houses to handle their products and had become practically bankrupt. They got together and organized "The California Fruit Growers' Exchange," which is a producer's exchange. It simply acts as a selling agency for the producers, the thing the producers of cotton must do in some form.

The managers study the best way to pack and prepare their fruits for market that will best suit the trade. Their system has made them the most prosperous of any section of the United States. If this kind of a plan will succeed with perishable fruits which have competitors all over the world, what can be done with cotton, a nonperishable product and one that we can not or have not been able to produce a surplus of?

The methods used for the sale of the products of the mines and factories, and all commercial or business producers, is to store or warehouse their products, set a price on them and sell only what the consumers require at such price. If necessary they borrow money on them. As the people who produce farm products come to realize their products are commercial products, they discover they must adopt such a system of sale. Their only trouble is to study how to educate the people to the necessity of cooperating and how to ar

done with all nonperishable products. It must be done by cooperation; there is no question about it. The number of sellers must be reduced, and to one if possible. There have never been a mass of men who made a success, were prosperous, or fulfilled their aims except by cooperation. The nations of the world have their rules and laws to be governed by, which are only rules for enforced cooperation. The same may be said of our States, counties, cities, and towns. They all have their laws binding all to cooperate for their mutual good. The same is true of our churches, schools, armies, societies, and so on. The closer they cooperate the more complete their success.

Some hesitate at trying to get the farmers of any section to cooperate. They realize that those engaged in handling any of these products will try to prevent the people from organizing, knowing that organization is injurious to their business. Many of them doubt the ability of an association to withstand their attack unless the National or State Government will cooperate with the association, thinking the National and State officials are largely guided by the opposition.

This was the opinion of many in California with reference to the commission men of the whole United States, who were the beneficiaries and profit takers in marketing their fruits before their exchange was established, but their opposition was overcome and success followed. In the matter of cotton, several of the States are freely cooperating with the people in marketing; among them can be mentioned Texas, which has passed a warehouse and marketing law. It is not perfect, but shows the State realizes something should be done along this line.

While it is thought to be a big undertaking by many, it will be seen that it is not a big one, but a very important one, Cotton being nonperishable and so little surplus, makes it the easiest of any product. If it be necessary for the National or any State Government to assist the people in extricating themselves from the ravages of a plundering s

and must be met and treated as such in marketing as well as in producing.

No longer can we listen to how our neighbor, father, or grandfather made money and paid for a home in past years. Their opportunity is not the present man's opportunity; we should be thankful for all of the good things of the past, but they are gone, and the present must be met and dealth with as it is.

CHAPTER III.

GOOD FARMING ESSENTIAL, BUT NOT ALL.

Rural conditions grow worse in the South as the country becomes settled. This applies to any new section that must grow and sell cotton under past and present conditions. Better farming has been urged; economy has been talked and practiced by force of circumstances; diversification has been preached, work harder, and more of it advocated; better seed and implements given as the panacea. All have been tried out so far as practical. The actual farmer realizes many good suggestions are often given him by well-meaning men and would have been in practice long before these good-meaning men gave them, if it were possible. The farmer knows that these good suggestions cost money to put in practice, and he already has more debt than he can pay; he also knows many of the suggestions are not what they appear to be. That many of them are not dependable and that cotton is dependable, and his creditors also know it. Both know that until something more substantial in the way of prices for cotton is had that new things and methods can not be gone into too deeply. Every community has seen men adopt new ideas that ended in failures. All realize good farming is essential, but it is not all that is needed on the farm. It is just as important for a farmer to sell his products for a profit as it is anyone else. Not to do so is just as sure to lead him to bankruptey as the same practice would a manufacturer or merchant.

In another chapter will be seen the cost of cotton and that it has

on the farm. It is just as important for a farmer to sell his products for a profit as it is anyone clse. Not to do so is just as sure to lead him to bankruptcy as the same practice would a manufacturer or merchant.

In another chapter will be seen the cost of cotton and that it has been sold far below cost for many years, and the producer has existed only by the free labor of his children and women folks and practicing the most rigid economy in living and work.

Who has been benefited by the sacrifices made by the cotton producer forced on him by low prices? Certainly not the country merchant who sold him goods he could not pay for, nor the one who would not sell him fearing he would not make enough to pay for them, nor was it the wholesale house whom the retailer could not pay, or the one who kept his goods on his shelf when millions of consumers needed them. Neither was it the manufacturers in the far North and East who make everything the cotton producer requires, who has had to run on short time or close down for a time because the producer of cotton could not buy and pay for his products. Nor was it the laborers who worked in such factories who were thrown out of employment while the factories were closed. The business in the northern and eastern cities which depended upon these factory hands was not even benefited.

The railroads, whose palace cars have vacant seats, would like to be filled with the cotton producer and his family occasionally and which haul the freight he would like to buy, have lost the income of such travel and traffic, and have received in its stead abuses from the cotton producers, nourished by demagogic politicians for their votes. Being hard pressed and like a drowning man grabbing at a straw, they frequently follow a bad leader. It can not be said that the carpenter without work, while the farmer was living in a house that would not turn sunshine, winter's blasts, rain or snow, was the beneficiary, nor was it the lumber dealer, sawmill man, or the day laborer who was cutting the s

to have brought. The system is at fault and it is the business of the producers and their friends to make a change in their own interest.

The productive end of farming has received its share of attention until the business end has had some attention. Then better farming will make rapid strides, the land will be built up, homes improved, and general progress will be seen. Then business will be on a safe basis and will know what to depend upon. Business can not be any safer than its customers' business.

CHAPTER IV. DIVERSIFICATION.

CHAPTER IV.

DIVERSIFICATION.

Of all the means of relieving the cotton producer, there is possibly more talk about the necessity of diversification than anything else. That diversification is necessary to the upbuilding of the soil or keeping it from washing and becoming impoverished, all are aware. The soil must have rest, a change of crops, recreation. It should be treated as a horse or human. Hard work, no rest, and eating one diet all the time will exhaust either; they will become weak and unfit for service. How is a man, woman, or horse to get rest, recreation, and a change of diet, and, like a slave, be compelled to work every day and eat one diet? The large majority of the land is like a slave; it must do service every year, service that will remunerate the owner or tiller for his services of cultivation. When a man or woman goes to the seaside or mountains in the summer for a vacation, he must have some money to pay expenses, and his work must be carried on by some one else while he is away. Their pay must be enough to justify the expense and the employment of help while they are on their vacation. If a horse is given the run of a pasture during summer and allowed to rest, his work must show up pay enough that the owner can afford it. If the land is given a rest, we must remember it is very seldom it can be done without an expense to the owner or tiller, and not at a profit. Renovating crops are seldom paying crops, to the contrary they are an expense. Like the human or horse, it must pay enough while producing its best adapted paying crop to allow it to rest and spend some money on it. If it does not do this, then, like a slave, it must work without rest. The South must have enough out of its money crop, cotton, to allow at least one-fourth of the land to rest and be renovated each year or the business of the country, as well as the producers, will soon regret their lack of giving cotton their active at tention.

There is not a practical farmer in the South who will top verify this statement. There is

cotton, to allow at least one-courts of the country, as well as the producers, will soon regret their lack of giving cotton their active attention.

There is not a practical farmer in the South who will agt verify this statement. There is not one in a thousand who does not know he is doing his land an injustice by running it in cotton too much. Not his land alone, but future generations are being badly injured. It is his linability for not stopping it, and not his lack of better judgment.

Very frequently we hear men from universities and colleges, editors of papers, and Government officials, as well as many others who are oversupplied with free advice, advising the producers to do this, that, and the other thing to build up the land and increase its production and thus relieve his condition. They may mean well—some do—but there are grave doubts about others. Many times, most times, these men have the means at their command, more than likely taxed from the producers, to do anything they think best, and in giving the advice they seem to think the producer has plenty left. So they, not being acquainted with the producer's financial condition, think him dull and finorant because he does not fall over himself following their advice. If the producer should have the nerve to suggest to such men that his trouble was in not being able to sell his products for their value, that the system of selling cotton was not a decent makeshift for an uncivilized people, the chances are that this friend would paw the air and defend speculation equal to the speculator, although he could not give a single idea of the working of the system that is robbing the producer. He seems to have been trained to production, to study nothing but production, and to call on the legislature for money to continue the expense of talking production. The means having been appropriated and not earned, he has lost sight of the business end of farming and is frequently the productor, so have been trained to production, to study nothing but production, and

Farms are not all alike; some have abundance of water for stock raising; some can not have. Some have one kind of soil, some another. Some will produce one kind of diversified crop and some another. As stated, the ability to get away from the one crop is the main trouble. Price, a marketing system, will do it quicker than any or all others. Let us talk diversification, let us preach diversification, but let us talk and preach the stumblingblock out of the way of diversification

CHAPTER V.

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM T. F. GILLEY, CALDWELL, TEX., A LARGE COUNTRY MERCHANT OF LONG EXPERIENCE.

Dear Mr. Yeary: When fat cattle roamed a free range and browsed undisturbed on the luxuriant mesquite and other native grasses that covered a thousand hills; when native hogs grew to killing size on lands and in forests that knew no owner; when our many streams of sparkling water were alive with silver-side perch; when deer, the wild turkey, the prairie hen, and other game, both large and small, were found unsought and bagged with ease; when our lands were fresh and vigorous, with a yield of much more cotton and corn than it gives to-day,

in those days it was not so necessary to practice rigid economy and our business was done in a more or less haphazard sort of a way, and it was then that the present system was put in practice.

We then had those natural resources of the country that we could use without money and without price. If we did not get a fair price for our cotton, we could better afford to sell it for less. On account of our easy, careless life we drifted into an easy, careless method of selling.

Now it is very different: the dawn of another day is fully upon us.

of our easy, careless life we drifted into an easy, careless method of selling.

Now it is very different: the dawn of another day is fully upon us. We find that the system that was satisfactory yesterday is dragging us down to poverty to-day.

The natural resources of the country are entirely exhausted; we must depend wholly upon our cotton for support.

No more fat beeves that cost not one penny except the trouble of marking and branding to slay and eat. No more fat hogs to be slaughtered on the range, wherever found, with the spareribs, the hams, the jowis, the backbone, and all to be divided among the neighbors without thought, comment, or account. No more fleet-footed deer to race o'er hill and dale. No more fresh virgin soil to yield abundant crops without expensive and systematic cultivation.

To-day our crops are more expensive to raise and not so certain, because of the weakened condition of the land, which requires more skilled cultivation.

The time has come when much of our land should be invigorated—the soil renewed by turning under green crops, alternated with cotton, and otherwise restoring it to its original fertility as nearly as possible.

As the exhausted condition of the land causes each year a gradual decrease in yield, so in inverse proportion is the cost of production increased.

The changed conditions confronting us are forcing us to a more

and otherwise restoring it to its original fertility as nearly as possible. As the exhausted condition of the land causes each year a gradual decrease in yield, so in inverse proportion is the cost of production increased.

The changed conditions confronting us are forcing us to a more economical method of marketing, and unless we establish a system by which we can control the price of our cotton and maintain a price equal to or above the cost of production our financial condition will certainly become more alarming.

A system of selling cotton on the same basis as any other commercial commodity is sold—that is, to fix a price at the cost of production plus a reasonable margin of profit—can be established and maintained. The seller of cotton has the same right to price his goods as the seller of any other commodity has, and he can more easily do it, for the South owns absolutely all of the American cotton. He holds a monopoly in a world-wide necessity, and his opportunities for profit are beyond his wildest dreams.

But why should we write or talk more without definite action? Every substantial thinking man in the South knows what must be done to give justice to every line of business. Everyone knows that under the present system no business in the South can attain a satisfactory degree of permanent prosperity. Everyone knows we have a monopoly on cotton that should be used to give us a profit instead of being sold on an average at an actual loss. We all know that, while other parts of the world produce some cotton, the American cotton stands in a class to itself and none other is really a competitor. We now have the business integrity and efficiency, and public sentiment is fast crystallizing in favor of a more sensible system of selling. The one thing needful now is unified cooperate in this movement, and there by greatly increase the profits of each.

T. F. Gilley.

GILLEY'S GRAPPLINGS.

The profits of each.

GILLEY'S GRAPPLINGS.

I have many lines of goods for sale. When I decide to advance the price of any line, I do not ask the aid of the Government in doing it. I never stop and ask myself the question. Can it be done; can I get a higher price? I just simply place a higher price on the goods and inform the buyers that they can get the goods for no less. During 32 years of experience I do not think I have failed in a single instance of getting the advanced price, and after the first few days the buyers paid the higher price just as willingly as they had paid the lower price. I do not own all of the goods in my lines, but have many competitors who have goods similar to mine.

The southern cotton growers have a much better opportunity of advancing the price of their cotton, for they own absolutely the world's supply of American cotton, and there is no one on earth to cut the price and supply the buyers at a lower price. The American cotton grower has a world monopoly on his line of goods.

Objection has been raised to the cotton grower fixing the price on his cotton on the ground "that it would be marketing the cotton through unnatural channels," and the price of cotton "should seek its level like water running downhill." The owner fixing the price is not an unnatural method, for every commercial commodity except cotton is so sold. It is not forcing it through "unnatural channels" for the South to put it on the market as the market can absorb it; that is, as the world needs it for actual consumption. But it has heretofore been forced through unnatural channels by forcing a year's supply on the market in market here or four months. If the flour millers of this country were to grind the whole crop and force it on the market between September I and January I, regardless of the needs of the people and at any price the people would offer for it, do you think the millers would make much money? Do you think they would really much "dough" from the sale of their flour? If they should practice such metho

reaks out and every particle of damage that beaks is add to the burden of the grower and cuts a little out to the price the buyer devices to pay him, regardless of some individuals' statements to the contrary.

The ginners in this town (Caldwell, Tex.) have for many years past sampled the cotton, and the ginners in very many other towns do they out a word. Then why raise such "a bue and cry" about buying in the future from the ginners' simples?

Those who object to any and every improvement in our marketing simple of the cotton of the sampling as the great "burgaboo," but that is not read to the cotton of the read objection, for that law goes a lot further than that. That has goes on and proceeds to say that the warehousemen must do they could be contrary. The country of the read objection, for the buyer's hands: Why, that is called the country from him just one-half of his authority; heretofore he not only priced your cotton taken out of the buyer's hands: Why, that is called in the hands of the warehouseman, a dicinterested party, who is under privileged to class your cotton a whole grade below its real class and price it accordingly, but the seller will tell the buyer the class of his cotton, and the seller will know by his delity puper the price of that exists and the seller may know whether he is getting full value for his cotton, and the seller may know whether he is getting full value for his cotton, and the seller may know whether he is getting full value for his cotton or not. by the warehousemen, a disherenced, ended man, and the class in the price of the cotton will be controlled to the seller may know whether he is getting full value for his cotton or not. by the warehousene segging uncert. and then have your warehousemen class your cotton, and you will have taken a long step toward getting a better price for your cotton. Leading the beging uncert.

The classing by the warehousemen a displayed the proposed warehousemen class your cotton, and you will have taken a long step toward getting a better pr

CHAPTER VI.

RURAL CREDITS.

Rural credits is receiving its share of attention all over the Nation. Whether the movement took its start from sympathy for the rural districts, seeing they needed relief, or whether, as some think, that certain moneyed interests saw the rural needs and devised a plan of help for themselves, hoping to get it through by appealing to the sympathies of the people for the rural districts, does not change the conditions in the rural districts nor minimize the needs of the people.

The tendency seems to be to have a rural credits system based upon land or nothing but land as security for loans. A system of this kind would serve less than half of the people in the South, that half which has land or money enough to half pay for a home, the class which needs help least. The other half would not be benefited at all by such a system if it stopped there. The landless man would, more than likely, be in a worse fix. In Texas we recall several instances in which certain

interests have made repeated efforts to have the homestead law changed or practically set aside so the homestead could be mortgaged. Whether there is anything behind this movement of this kind or not might be conjecture, but it might be well to keep schemes of this kind in mind. The system of allowing farmers with small amounts of money to chip in and organize a bank to loan money to farmers to improve or buy homes at a very low rate of interest does not look practical or adapted to any section I have visited or any people I have been acquainted with. But if there was a law made laying aside our homestead law, I can see where others would make a rush to loan money on it. The farmers not being able to repay the loan would soon increase the number of landless men.

From my observations in the South the graph condite that the content of the second conditions and the second conditions and the second conditions are set of the second conditions and the second conditions are set of the second conditions and the second conditions are set of the second conditions are set of the second conditions and the second conditions are set of the second conditions as the second conditions are set of the second conditions are set of the second conditions and the second conditions are set of the second conditions are sea

not being able to repay the loan would soon increase the number of landless men.

From my observations in the South the rural credits that is most needed is a system based upon personal property to prevent such property from being forced upon the market and sacrificed. This would help not only the man who owned land or had money enough to pay half on a home but would help the man who had neither to get out of the landless man class. If such a system can be devised, and some of our Congressmen were working on that line, it would certainly be preferable to one based upon land alone.

If there be a need for a rural credits system in the United States, why not ask ourselves the question, What produced that necessity? If this question can be answered, then why not remove the cause and let the trouble correct itself like any other disease or trouble. If a doctor is called to see a patient, he diagnoses the case and goes to work to remove the cause; as soon as this is done the patient begins to improve and is soon well. Why are there so many homeless men in the United States and especially in the cotton States? Some doctors say they do not know how to farm. It has been tested, and when placed side by side with experts they come out ahead. The average farmer has as much good, hard horse sense as any class of people that can be found. Then this would not appear to be the correct diagnosis of the trouble. Some say they produce more than the world needs. If this be the correct diagnosis, then where is the surplus of the last 50 years? Some doctors insist that cotton has been sold for much less than it actually costs to produce it for the last 25 years. Many farmers and experts say and have proven this to be the case. Conditions all over the South prove this diagnosis to be correct. All economists, business men, wise men, and even fools will swear that if anyone continues to sell his merchandise, wares, labor, or fruits of his labor for less than they cost or less than it costs to produce them he will get in a bad fix, fai

Then why not remove the cause and let them get well? Let us see what kind of a rural credits bill the National Government could establish and remove this cause.

We know that if the people were organized and enabled to hold and warehouse their cotton cheaply and would set a price on it, sanctioned by the National Government, and the Government giving the organization its encouragement and assistance cotton would readily bring the price set. At least all that the world needed would bring the price. We have now the reserve banking system. It is run according to the law of the National Government. The law says the country banks and others that take stock in them. The reserve banks can only make loans to member banks, meaning the country banks and others that take stock in them. The reserve banks will accept the member bank's note, with the farmer's note or other notes attached to it as collateral, and loan the member bank money at a low rate of interest. If the member banks care to, they can accept the farmer's cotton warehouse ticket and loan him money, attaching the first to his note as collateral. The farmer paying the country bank making from 5 to 6 per cent in the transaction for guaranteeing to the reserve bank that the note will be paid. This may not be too much interest for the country bank to have for the trouble and risk of guaranteeing the payment of the note, but it is too much for the farmer to be forced to pay for the good of all. The farmer is furnishing the security. There is no better. The bank will only loan him three-fourths of the value of the cotton. To prove that it is first-class collateral the same no property or commercial rating. In many cases the bank would not lend the buyer \$25 on his personal note at all. This shows the value of the cotton as a collateral and that the farmer's cotton is what is securing the reserve bank and at three-fourths of the market value the reserve bank considers it first-class security. Now, why not have the Government the same as the banks and make the loan f

at present land mortgages are taken and money loaned on them for from 40 to 60 per cent of a conservative cash value of the land. The land in the cotton belt only pays, on an average, about 2½ per cent interest on the value of the land; then there is good reason why a loan of about 50 per cent is all that lenders are willing to make. If the land was paying a good dividend, sufficient to keep it up in good repair and the loan or mortgage was certain to be paid at maturity, the loaning value would be 80 or 90 per cent and tenants and the landless class could more easily acquire homes. The safer the collateral, the cheaper the rate of interest and a greater amount will be loaned on the collateral. Risks make high rates. Long time and low rates of interest do not do the man who is working at a wage scale that barely allows him to live any good. He can not take advantage of the opportunities offered him. The thing he needs is a raise in wages, which can only be done in the case of the cotton producer by increasing the price of cotton and stabilizing the price to supply and demand of actual cotton, and not to gambling contracts.

The object of the rural-credits advocates, or many of them, seems gambling contracts.

The object of the rural-credits advocates, or many of them, seems to be to furnish the rural settlers some way to borrow money. The

thing they mostly need is some arrangements whereby they will not need to borrow. Debt is what they want to get rid of, and not deeper in. If such an arrangement is made it will create enough local money, supplemented with easy money from other sources, to satisfy the borrowers and increasing the supply will reduce the rate of interest within the reach of all.

The writer has traveled pretty well over the South in recent years studying rural conditions, and the above ideas of rural relief will fill the needs of practically every inhabitant in the South, according to his understanding of the conditions of the people.

CHAPTER VII.

THE COST OF GROWING COTTON.

the needs of practically every inhabitant in the South, according to his understanding of the conditions of the people.

THE COST OF GROWING COTTON.

TOSSIGNY there is no product of the sell that is of as mich importance to commerce and the cost of production so little known as that of cotton. The entire business of the South depends upon it, and always will, and the manufacturing business of the North and East depend largaly upon the South. The world looks to it with intense interest. Then there is no reason why all soll to the control of the control of

of the soil and cultivates his crops sufficiently to produce a maximum yield.

"On four farms, varying from 1,000 to 1,800 acres, in the year 1912, the total expense of growing cotton per acre on each farm was \$22.19, \$21.48, and \$23, respectively. These charges included all of the charges of growing the crop, harvesting and hauling it to market, also interest on the stock and equipment, but does not include any interest charge on the investment and buildings or rent on the land.

"The first farm mentioned was a farm of 1,080 acres, operated by one boss, and employing Mexican labor at \$1 per day. The itemized expenses, including the picking, were:

The constitution of the contract of the contract of the ${f r}$	er acre.
Labor Feed for mules, in addition to that grown on farm Supplies and repairs Poison Fertilizer Depreciation on stock and equipment Overhead expenses, taxes, supervision, etc.	\$12. 87 4. 15 .68 .74 .15 1. 90 1. 50 .20
Total	22. 19

"If we add to this a rental charge of \$5 per acre, it would make an acre of cotton cost about \$27.19. This particular farm produced that year 650 bales on the 1,080 acres. Granting the cost per bale of picking and hauling to the gin average \$10, the total cost of picking and hauling would be \$6,500, or about \$6 per acre. Deducting this from the \$27.19 we find the actual cost of growing the cotton to be \$21.19. From these figures I submit the following estimate based upon varying yields:

	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.
Yield of seed cotton, per acre	300	600	900	1,200	1,500
Yield of lint cotton, per acre	100	200	300	400	500
Cost of growing cotton, per acre.	\$21.19	\$21.19	\$21.19	\$21.19	\$21.19
Cost of harvesting, per acre	2.00	4.00	6.00	8.00	10.00
Cost of ginning, per acre	.70	1.40	2.10	2.80	3.50
Total cost, per acre Value of seed, per acre Cost of lint, per acre Cost of lint, per pound	23.89	26.59	29. 29.	31, 99	34.69
	1.50	3.00	4. 50	6, 00	7.50
	21.39	23.59	24. 79	25, 99	27.19
	.213	.117	. 082	. 065	.054

"Average production in United States is less than 200 pounds of lint, "Average cost of lint, per pound, must be more than 11.7 cents, "Average cost of lint per pound where one-half bale is made, approximately 10 cents,
"Of course, it is true that it costs more to grow cotton in the bottoms than it does on the prairies or hill land, but the yield is usually more. Our land is a black prairie soil, perfectly level, and reasonably casy to work. more. Our leasy to work.

""Of course, it is true that it costs more to grow cotton in the bottoms than it does on the prairies or hill land, but the yield is usually more. Our land is a black prairie soil, perfectly level, and reasonably easy to work.

"C. H. ALVORD, "Suporthectedent of Farms."

No better authority can be found on farming or farm management than C. H. Alvord, and no better place in the South to demonstrate his ability. If it costs the Taft ranch, well equipped as it is, 113 cents per pound to produce 200 pounds of cotton, it would cost 124 cents to produce the average of the United States, 190 pounds. If it costs 113 cents, cultivating 50 cents to the hand, it would cost the farmer who could only cultivate 40 acres 15½ cents per pound and the one cultivating only 30 acres 20.7 cents. As the average production is about 190 pounds and the average number of acres that one hand can cultivate is about 35 acres, the average cost for the United States is about 172 cents per pound, not counting fertilizer, so largely used in the Eastern States.

There are a few points in Mr. Alvord's statement that should have some further thought. His picking costs him from 40 to 60 cents per hundred pounds of seed cotton—most other sections cost from 60 cents to \$1—making the picking costs him from 40 to 60 cents per hundred pounds of seed cotton—most other sections cost from 60 cents to \$1—making the picking on much the cost of feeding the mules was depends upon how much feed they raise on the farm. It will also be noticed that he does not make any charge for the teams or implements, but charges \$1.90 per acre instead for depreciation of teams and equipment. This is what has been found to be the true value of them. It might be suggested that if the producers of the South would practice better cultural methods they could produce more per acre, and thereby reduce the cost per pound. It is possible to increase the yield per acre, but not so much by better cultural methods as by planting a part of the land in renovating crops and building the s

can do a man's work, are receiving the same. If he sells at 9 cents, he is receiving 50 cents per day, and at 50 cents it is possible to exist and stay out of debt for a time. His wages are in proportion to the price of cotton. The financial condition of the cotton producers and those depending upon them for trade are pretty good evidence that the above figures are not far from correct. By examining the county records of the older cotton counties of Texas—and I suppose the same is true in other States—there will be found from 3 to 10 chattel mortgages to each voter in the county. These mortgages are given for past debts and for present supplies, and have been on the increase for the past 25 years. The conditions described in other articles give further proof that the cost or value of cotton is somewhere above past prices. I am sure the Taft ranch prices are the minimum' cost of producing cotton, and nothing lower than these prices with a fair profit will ever permit the South to become prosperous.

The following letter from T. F. Gilley, a large general merchant of Caldwell, Tex., and not written for publication, bears on this subject and is self-explanatory:

Caldwell, Tex., June 16, 1915.

CALDWELL, TEX., June 16, 1915.

Mr. NATHAN ADAMS. Cashier American Exchange National Bank, Dallas, Tex.

Mr. NATHAN ADAMS.

Cashier American Exchange National Bank, Dallas, Tex.

Dam Sir: News item in Fort Worth Record to-day quotes you as giving utterance to some very important facts at the bankers' consequence of that the manner of marketing cotton is by far the most important subject before the American people to-day. I find the fewest number have the slightest conception of the average cost of producing cotton. The price of cotton—that is, the price the grower receives—affects the prosperity or adversity of more people than any other commodity, barring none, not even wheat. The prosperity of the entire South and almost every individual in the North and East is affected, not so much by the yield per acre as by the price the grower receives—History shows that in every period of depressed price of cotton, although there might be a large crop, yet the entire South is reduced to an impoverished condition, and the same is felt, more or less, throughout the North and East.

You are quoted as saying: "When you get the full value out of cotton you will not see women going to the fields to pick cotton."

Neither will you see little children and grown-up boys and girls kept out of school and robbed of the education so necessary to their becoming useful and honorable citizens of this country, in order to make and gather a cotton crop. The antiquated, haphazard, slipshod system of marketing the cotton crop heretofore employed is the cause of more liftle racy in the South than all other causes combined. I have seen girls, young ladies, from 14 to 20 years old, soaking wet to their knees and their arms wet to their shoulders with the cold dew picking cotton. I have seen them bending over the cotton row drawing a Goin. They could not be spared from the cotton fields to attention. Many of them were never advanced higher than the third, fourth, or iffth grade of their common country school, yet many of these young ladies have just as a bright minds and just as capable of receiving a finished education and becoming polished and

HOW THE PRICE OF COTTON IS MADE.

CHAPTER VIII.

How the frice of cotton is made.

Comparatively few people understand how the price of cotton, the chief product of that portion of the United States known as the Southern States, is made. If it were generally known it is impossible to think that the system would be allowed to exist and control our welfare or rather bring us to ruin. The present system originated at a time when the South was destitute and without the means of securing credit except through raising cotton. The first crop made on credit was that of 1865; it was mortgaged before it was produced, to pay for its cost, and if anything was left it was to go on past-due debts. Cotton was then, and is now, the only hope of happiness and wealth for the South, and yet it is the curse of that section, because its people will not unite in forming a marketing system to conserve its wealth.

From 1865 to 1875 the production of cotton brought into existence a million or two bales more than the annual needs of the consumers. It was bought and taken charge of by the users and has since then been called a surplus, aithough had any one crop been a failure the supply would have been only enough for two months' use.

The credit system which has existed for 50 years and still exists, makes it necessary for the farmer to sell his cotton as fast as gathered, and the users having the surplus in their possession can and do not only stay out of the market in the fail months, except at lower prices, but actually assist in making lower prices by selling future contracts against cotton they own or control, and also contracts which they do not expect to deliver, but will repurchase when the price has been beaten down to a satisfactory basis to themselves. This can always be done, because the producers are not organized and the other side is organized.

Go back over the last 40 years and you will see there are two prices for cotton—the low one in the fall, or when the farmer has it in his

hands, and the other in the spring, when the user or speculator has it in his hands.

Exchanges were originally intended to be run honestly in the interest of the people who bought and who sold. Naturally when markets, on account of but few railroads, were separated by long distances from producers, the purchaser became the dominant or ruling power, and the rules and regulations began to favor the ruling power until the producers were lost sight of.

The Government has recently begun to take notice of the conditions, and laws may change them, but not unless the producers organize for their protection and use their power.

There are several exchanges which deal in cotton, both spot and future, but there are two which seem to control, New York and Liverpool. While these exchanges answer their purposes almost perfectly, it must be remembered that their purpose is not to serve the producers interest, who rarely, if ever, use them. The purpose of the exchange is twofold, one is to furnish the public a place and means for speculation in the future price of cotton. The results of such speculation determine the price of spot cotton. The next use for them is that if a dealer in spot cotton, a cotton buyer or consumer, buys actual cotton to-day, he can sell future contracts against it, and in this way protect himself against a possible loss by a decline in price, or if he should sell or agree to deliver a certain number of bales at some future date, he could buy future contracts are called hedging. Like all other future contracts.

against a possible loss by a decline in price, or if he should sell or agree to deliver a certain number of hales at some future date, he could buy future contracts and protect himself against loss in case of advance in price of the countracts are called hedging. Like all other future contracts, the countracts are called hedging. Like all other future contracts, these hedging contracts must pay a brokerage fee of \$20 for every 100-bale contract. The purchaser or seller of a contract must make a deposit to guarantee his good faith and to maintain this deposit at the same relative value as when the purchaser or sale was made.

These exchanges may be truitfully called purchasers occanages and the same relative value as when the purchaser or sale was made.

These exchanges may be truitfully called purchasers occanages of production; that is, if it should cost 12 cents per pound to produce oction, and the spinners were willing to pay 16 cents for it, if the producers were compelled to throw it on the market faster than the consumers could or would take it, speculation would be governed more by supply and demand of the actual cotton hereafter.

Nother the producer's interest, nor the value of cotton, based upon cost, is considered. It will be seen they are a makeshift for the producer's interest nor the value of cotton, based upon cost, is considered. It will be seen they are a makeshift for the producer's interest near the producer's exchange; when the absence of a better arrangement or a producer's exchange, in proportion to the amount of cotton placed with it for sale. This has been proven in the case of ban Suly in 1903; Haynes, Brown, Scales, in proportion to the amount of cotton placed with it for sale. This has been proven in the case of ban Suly in 1903; Haynes, Brown, Scales, in proportion to the amount of cotton placed with it for sale. This has been proven in the case of ban Suly in 1903; Haynes, Brown, Scales, in proportion to the amount of cotton placed with it for sale. This has been proven in the case

only recent occurrences is the reason they are given; similar ones are frequent. Many "lambs" were sheared of their last vestige of wool (money) in this manipulated decline, and some "bear" went home with a full belly. Such shameful transactions mean, for every \$5-decline, \$75,000,000 loss to an average cotton crop.

The cotton farmer and those dependent upon him are depending upon this kind of machinery for their support. Will they continue to depend upon it or will they act like business men and establish a producer's exchange and support and insure the success of their business? It may be argued that speculation is as liable to rush to the "buil" side and make abnormal high prices as it is to go to the "bear" side and make prices low. There is quite a difference; men who buy things for speculation feel much safer in buying them below their value than at or near their real value. Some 'buil' speculators may feel safe in risking some money on higher prices, but the higher the price goes, or the nearer the price gets to real values, the fewer there will be found who are willing to risk their money and keep on buying, unless they have support by the producer in holding his cotton off the market. If this is not done the "buil" speculator will unload and jump from under the market and let it decline, taking his profit when he sees danger. The cotton producer and his friends must do their duty and relieve themselves if they want relief.

Another aid the "bear" has over the "buil" is that each consumer or buyer is trying to buy as cheap as possible and doing all in his power to reduce prices, and the producer being in debt, not organized, is forced to place his cotton on the market faster than the consumer can take it and in his way depressing the price and aiding the "bear forced to place his cotton on the market faster than the consumer can take it and in his way depressing the price and aiding the "bear forced to place his cotton on the market faster than the consumer can take it and in his way depressing the pri

CHAPTER IX.

THE EFFECT OF ORGANIZATION ON THE PRICE OF COTTON.

The effect of organization, or systematic marketing on the price of cetton, will no doubt be very surprising to one who has not given it close study. This article will, no doubt, be next to alarming to the reader who has not been a student of these efforts and noticed the

cetton, will no doubt be very surprising to one who has not given it close study. This article will, no doubt, be next to alarming to the reader who has not been a student of these efforts and noticed the effect.

When one reads the chapter, "How the price of cotton is made," and realizes the effects on the market of trifling and insignificant reports and incidents, then he will not be so much surprised at the effects of such efforts. When he realizes that one big dealer can enter the market and attract the following of hundreds of small speculators to his side like flies to a carcass, then it is that he can see why they would naturally flock to the side of an organized effort of the producers and their friends to market the cotton in a business way, which would be a thousand times stronger than any individual speculator or a combination of them, for such an organization would not only be taking large quantities of real cotton, not contracts, off the market, but it would be causing others to hold their spot cotton off the market who could not be persuaded to cooperate with the organization. Naturally any speculator would be afraid of such an organization and would get on its side. The consuming world would not feel like staying out of the market, fearing they would have to pay higher prices, and would buy more freely and thus assist the organization along. The natural tendency is that when the producer starts to help himself in a business way all aid, except the real enemy, gets in the boat with him, and if he pushes his efforts as he should, the enemy will get out of the way of price making and enter the ring of mud slinging to discourage and frighten the producer. Speculation in cotton dwells in a glass house and can not stand the stones of a business system of marketing. One of the most important reasons why speculation is so easily frightened is because that, while cotton is good for 50 years if kept dry, the supply has not been more than the demand for half a century and nearly every year is short, and thi

year. The price the farmer received must have been from 1 to 2 cents per pound less than these prices, but they are the best guide available.

Year.	Acreage.	Yield.	Price.	Who made the price.
	MELES!	1000	Cents.	
1895	20, 184, 808	7, 161, 094	8.2	Speculation.
1896	23, 273, 209	8, 532, 705	7.3	Do.
1897	24, 319, 584	10, 897, 857	5.6	Do.
1898	24, 967, 295	11, 189, 205	4.9	Do.
1899	24, 275, 101	9,507,785	7.6	Do.
1900	25, 758, 139	10, 245, 602	9.3	Do.
1901	27, 220, 414	9,748,546	8.1	Do.
1902	27, 114, 103	10, 781, 473	8.2	Do.
1903	28, 016, 893	10,015,721	12.3	Dan Sully year.
1904	30, 053, 739	13,697,310	8.7	Speculation.
1905	26, 117, 153	10, 725, 602	10.9	Farmers Union and South- ern Cotton Association.
1903	31, 374, 000	13, 305, 265	10.0	Do.
1907	31, 311, 000	11, 325, 882	11.5	Do.
1908	32,444,000	13, 432, 131	9.2	Speculation.
1909	32,014,000	10, 386, 209	14.3	Haynes, Brown, Scales, and others.
1910	32,403,000	11,965,962	14.7	Do.
1911	36,045,000	16, 109, 349	9.7	Speculation.
1912	34, 283, 000	14,090,863	12.0	Southern States Cotton Cor- poration.
1913	37, 458, 000	14,614,000	13.1	Do.
1914	37, 506, 000	16,645,000	7.5	Speculation (estimated).

people have but little respect for the union and some of its leaders, its work during these three years was worth at least \$500,000,000 to the

people have but little respect for the union and some of its leaders, its work during these three years was worth at least \$500,000,000 to the South.

The price dropping so low in 1908 aroused the patriotism and sympathy for the South, coupled with an opportunity, possibly, to make some money, of Haynes, Brown, Scales, and others, who decided to get in control of the temporary surplus cotton (there being no surplus but temporary) and hold the price up to something near its real value. They began in 1909 and worked vigorously through that year and 1910. Their efforts were crowned with success, making the price for 1908 14.3 cents and 1910, 14.7 cents, an average for the two years of 14½ cents. Remember, the price for 1908 was 9.2 cents, and for 1911 was 9.7 cents, an average for the two years of less than 9½ cents, a difference of 5 cents per pound, or \$25 per bale. They were indicted in the winter of 1910 for violating the Sherman antitrust law, for advancing the price of cotton, which it was claimed restrained trade. In this case the Government, through its Federal court, admitted that they did put the price of cotton up and fined them for it and made them quit.

If they did not have an effect on the price, as will be argued by the enemies of the cotton producers, then the Government was mistaken or erred, and their money should be returned to them; but they put the price up; they did not deny it, nor did their accusers; but to the contrary they swore they put it up. This shows what a strong, compact organization will do for the price and can not be denied. The bear "speculators whom they were forcing to the wall, and no doubt who caused their indictment, believed it. There was no other cause under heaven for it to advance. Then let us see how much cotton they took off the market and the benefit they did the cotton farmer. The price the year before was 9.7 cents, an average of about 9½ cents for the two years. The average price at New Orleans for the two years for their populations what have a superserved the

He knew he could produce it much cheaper than the average cotton producer was an expert at production, and his relief had to come at the marketing end of his business.

So this man decided to do his duty toward relieving the distress, misery, and want in the South by organizing and putting in operation a producers' cotton exchange. An exchange or selling agency by and for the producers. He started the organization in September, 1911. He had seen the two crops of 1909 and 1910 bring the average producer from 9 to 15 cents, or an average of cost of production. It was announced that the crop of 1911 would be 16,000,000 bales, which would just about meet the needs of the world for clothing. Speculation promptly seized the opportunity which arose from there being no intelligent marketing system for cotton and immediately forced the price of cotton down to 7 and 8 cents and lower in the South, while the crop was in the hands of the producer. The growers having grown it under mortgage, were compelled to sacrifice their property. He, as a southern man, born and bred in the South, conceived it his duty to try and show the cotton growers of the South how they could save themselves. With an eye solely to help and no thought of profiting otherwise than as everyone would have, he devised a plan and called it the Southern States Cotton Corporation, which was simply to organize a corporation to take over the cotton raised, palying three-fourths of its market value in cash and the remainder of 15 cents plus the carrying charges from the time the cotton was bought until sold in the corporation's note. There were no reserve banks in the United States then, no place to borrow money on stored cotton. The three-fourths cash paid the farmer had to be borrowed on the cotton. It had to be shipped and warehoused in Europe, where preparations for so doing were already established. The movement began in Georgia under the guidance of Mr. Wadley. It rapidly spread to Texas and the other cotton States. The balance of 1911 and all of 1912 wa

that of 1911, since it was as high that year as the average in the past when there was no aid to the market and speculation had its way. The price was 9.7 cents, against an average of 12½ cents for 1912 and 1913, making an advance in price of about 3 cents, or, if the average of the past 20 years that speculation had its way, which is 7.8 cents, the advance would be nearly 5 cents, but we will calculate a little on the advance of 3 cents above 1911. There were made these two years 28,704,863 baies, at \$15 per bale would be \$430,572,945, which the Southern States Cotton Corporation made the producers of cotton, a pretty nice sum that should be placed to the credit of the corporation. It will be noticed that the corporation began in 1912, following the largest crop of history, that of 1911, and that both years it worked was the next largest. Under unmolested conditions the South may have reasonably expected 7-cent or 8-cent cotton during 1912 and 1913 under the weight of these enormous crops. The corporation only received 84,000 bales during the entire two years. Think of it, 84,000 bales at their price, 15 cents, would cost \$6,300,000, and that small amount of cooperation by a few people made the whole people \$430,572,945. The cotton producers could pay the expenses of such an organization every two years, buy \$4,000 bales and burn it up and have \$425,000,000 left as profit. A tax of 25 cents per bale on the two crops would buy the 84,000 bales, burn them up, and have a profit of \$14.75 for every 25 cents of taxes paid.

Many banks and business men of the South did not lend it their support, but more than 15,000 farmers did join in the struggle for relief, and had they remained steadfast the victory would have been theirs and cotton would have attained its value. The price rose from 9 cents to 14½ cents under this work and the goal of the Southern States Cotton Corporation seemed in sight when ridicule, compulsion, foolish and false statements by the enemies of the movement weaned the supporters of the work away

came.

Even with these conditions the case was not hopeless, and it remained for treachery and malice to cause the downfall of the work and the public condemnation of its leaders, not one of whom profited in any way by it, but one and all came out very much worse than when it began. It is not yet too late to organize for this work conforming to the law, if anyone knows what that is, and compel a fair price of cotton.

cotton.

Suppose the Southern States Cotton Corporation had been supported and in working order in 1914. Does anyone believe that cotton would have been given away or taken from the people of the South in the fall of that year? Are they never to learn a lesson? Shall the southern farmer forever be the slave of every one of those who choose to exploit him? The \$4,000 bales did not make the price, but the organization diverted speculation from the "bear" to the "bull" side, which did do it, the same as in the case of Sully in 1903, and Brown, Scales, and others in 1909 and 1910.

In this little book the writer has striven to make the way out of bondage so clear none may fail to see the route of his deliverance. The marketing of the cotton crop is a matter of educating the people to know their opportunity. It is hoped that this will not be an excuse in the future, and to bring this about as soon as possible it is hoped that each reader will see that as many others read it as possible and hasten the day of southern prosperity and Independence.

Chapter X.

CHAPTER X.

SURPLUS OR SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

SURPLUS OR SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

While the Government prepares a great deal of statistical information on production and consumption, supply and demand, and other information, but very little of it gets to the reading public or masses of the people. The surplus is talked about and described as a great mountain and a tremendous burden in the way of handling and controlling the crop, until it is dreaded and feared more than any enemy that could possibly confront the people.

For instance, if we learn that there are 2.000,000 bales in spinners' hands and other warehouses August 1 of any year, it is looked upon as a great deal of surplus cotton; but we should remember that the world produces about 24,000,000 bales a year, and the consumers consume the same amount; they consume all that is made. If there is a little left over one year, the crop is usually short the next and it is consumed. If the mills use 24,000,000 bales annually, it is equal to 2,000,000 bales per month; then 2,000,000 bales August 1 is no surplus, because we begin to pick in August, and it takes from 30 to 90 days to get cotton to the consumers. Then a 2,000,000 lot on hand August 1 would barely be stock for working purposes until the new crop could reach them, instead of being a surplus.

It will be interesting to give some Government figures on production, amount consumed at home in the United States, and the amount exported, and see what the amount is that is left over each year as a surplus for the past 15 years and the years that there was more consumed than was made.

Year.	Consumed in the United States.	Exported.	Total exported and con- sumed.	Total produced.
1914 1913 1912 1911 1910 1909 1908 1907 1907 1906 1905 1904 1903 1904 1903 1904 1909 1909 1909 1909 1909 1909	5, 630, 835 5, 181, 826 4, 516, 779 4, 559, 002 5, 198, 963 4, 496, 028 4, 974, 199 4, 877, 465 4, 523, 208 3, 980, 567 4, 187, 076	9, 256, 028 9, 199, 093 10, 681, 332 8, 225, 991 6, 491, 843 8, 889, 724 7, 779, 508 8, 825, 236 6, 975, 494 9, 057, 397 6, 233, 682 6, 870, 313 6, 806, 572 6, 167, 623	14, 958, 667 14, 829, 928 15, 963, 158 12, 542, 770 11, 050, 845 14, 088, 687 12, 275, 536 13, 799, 435 11, 872, 959 10, 214, 249 11, 100, 582 10, 950, 000 10, 410, 088 9, 854, 876	16, 645, 000 14, 614, 000 14, 313, 015 16, 250, 276 12, 005, 688 10, 315, 382 13, 587, 306 11, 375, 461 13, 595, 498 10, 894, 556 13, 679, 954 10, 945, 615 10, 927, 168 9, 673, 771 10, 266, 527 9, 499, 935

While all of each crop may not have been used during that particular year, the production has certainly not been more than consumption for any short period of years.

Just how much more raw cotton could or would have been consumed if it could have been produced is a question hard to answer, unless the production was large enough to begin to pile up a permanent surplus.

Surplus.

There are a great many idle spindles each year. We can hear of idle mills in the Far East that pay high prices for cotton and frequently can not get what they need.

The talk about overproduction may not seem so much of a bugaboo after reading these figures. And the dread of a surplus is like the fear of a ghost—and we ask to be shown.

You will notice that during the years reported in the figures above many times we had to import cotton to supply a deficiency caused by home demand.

Only there of the above were 1911, 1907, and 1999.

Only three of the above years—1911, 1907, and 1899—was there any surplus produced, and it very small.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REMEDY.

After reading the preceding chapters no doubt the reader will be able to see very clearly what must be done with cotton and how to do it. He will likely see that the size of the job is nothing in comparison with its importance. If those interested in the welfare of the South could only know their opportunity, conditions would change very rapidly; but because they have not known it is why past efforts have not been supported as they should have been and bad conditions relieved long ago.

The power of spot cotton, when concentrated into one hand, has been clearly shown; the lack of support has also clearly shown that the people do not realize its power.

The writer has not gone into the details of an organization which appeals to him as most practical because of the length of such details and explanations and for the further reason that much depends upon financial arrangements for financing to hold otton off the market. These latter conditions will change as the banking interests become informed as to the necessity of their assistance and become acquainted with what is practical with the farmer, country merchant, and country bank.

An organization should be formed, not of producers alone but of all

bank.

An organization should be formed, not of producers alone, but of all classes who are interested in fair prices for cotton and a stable market, founded upon strictly commercial lines. This would include the grower, country merchant, country bank, and wholesale merchant and manufacturer, both North and South. The grower can not be depended upon, because he is not a free man; the same may be said of the country merchant and country bank. They owe the wholesaler, manufacturer, and the city bank, whose cooperation and assistance are necessary to make the undertaking easy, but not necessarily imperative to have the help of all of them to make it possible or even certain. All of the producers can not be reached, neither will all of the others cooperate; many are financially interested in not seeing such conditions exist, while others will not.

If the retailers had the consent and advice of the wholesaler to huy

many are financially interested in not seeing such conditions exist, while others will not.

If the retailers had the consent and advice of the wholesaler to buy cotton from their customers and place it in storage and hold the receipt or turn it over to the wholesaler, or, in place of buying, if the producer was encouraged to place his cotton in warehouses and turn the certificates over to his merchant or bank as collateral and they to their creditors, it would serve the same purpose and the producer would get the advantage of the advance in price. Unless the retail merchant has the free consent or advice from the wholesaler to do this it will be impossible to get his cooperation, for the simple reason that the retailer knows he owes debts that are due, and he will not ask extensions; they should come to him voluntarily. When this is done the greatest power in the South will be at work.

There should be a committee of producers and their friends, selected to secure the cooperation of the producers in placing their cotton in its hands to price and sell, thus allowing the producers to price the crop. This committee should have full power to act as agent of the producers or owner of cotton placed in their hands for sale. The producers have as much right to price their products as the producers of any of the products of the mines or factories. As all others depend upon agriculture, it is the business duty of all to see that the producers of agricultural products are accorded this privilege.

For the producers of agricultural products to price their products they must act together. They must cooperate logether and have one selling head, to which all must look for prices, whether it be those cooperating or not.

Congress should permit, encourage, and assist in establishing such cooperation, which when established would be a producers' exchange. There would be no objections to Congress appointing a commission or giving the Agricultural Department the power to prevent such producers' exchange. There would be no objecti

With such work firmly established, speculation would be encouraged to the "bull" side and prices would be easily maintained. Speculation would soon begin to direct its attention to spot cotton in place of future

It must be remembered that there has not been a crop produced in 50 years that 10 per cent of the crop would not have completely controlled the price of the whole crop if handled as above outlined, and but few that would have required as much as 5 per cent.

Thus it will be seen that any considerable number of producers or of large merchants or manufacturers depending upon the producers can easily establish a producers' exchange and make the price of cotton a remunerative one.

easily establish a producers' exchange and make the price of cotton a remunerative one.

The price at present is made by speculation in future contracts, Supply and demand guides speculation to a great extent, as much as could be expected by the method used by the producers in feeding the demand; but speculation is guided more by the system of distribution than anything else, as is seen by past efforts of organization or controlling distribution. Properly distributing the crop is the keynote to pricing it by the producer.

A portion of the crop must be held off the market, and some means besides the banks should be devised to make loans on cotton for this purpose. All expenses, including warehouse charges, interest, and insurance should be reduced to the minimum.

If the warehouse is owned by a few, they expect a good dividend on the bank must not be expected to reduce their regular rate of interest, and will not do it.

The warehouseman, it seems to me, should be under such control that he could act as agent of the reserve banks and through the warehouse loans made on cotton. This class of loans should not be restricted to producers alone, but to any who would cooperate with the movement.

This would allow merchants, wholesale and retail, to assist in marketing the crop slowly.

Fundamentally speaking, supply and demand makes the price of everything; but the method of supplying the demand and the method of speculation, whether in the real article or in future contracts, must be considered. This can be easily explained by an illustration of a factory using the methods of the cotton producers.

Suppose one of our automobile factories had an annual sale of 12,000 cars, at \$1,000 each, pricing and selling under their regular commercial system, such as are adopted by all commercial articles, selling 1,000 per month.

system, such as are adopted by all commercial articles, selling 1,000 per month.

Under this system supply and demand fixes the price at \$1,000.

Now, suppose that factory should decide to make the 12,000 cars and send them to their distributing agents, all in three or four months, with instructions to sell them for all the consumer would give for them. Supply and demand would fix the price, but where would if fix it? Most likely it would hover around \$250 in place of \$1,000. Then again suppose that factory shipped 1,000 cars per month, the number it had been selling, but said to its agents, sell them for all the consumers would pay. Supply and demand would again fix the price. But where? Likely in this case it would be \$500 in place of \$1,000.

The former system is the one the cotton crop is marketed under—that which throws all of the crop on the market in three or four months. The next is the system urged by many, most of whom I find to be enemies to cotton. Where is the factory of any kind that would think for a moment of adopting the method of selling their products that is used by the producers of cotton? Not one in the world. Still those of the United States depend upon this method by their customers for their trade. The cotton producers must adopt the same business system of price making that the automobile factory now uses. The producers are too much in debt to do it alone; they must have help.

CHAPTER XII.

IF PAIR PRICES WERE PAID FOR COTTON.

The farmer would buy what he needs, which is 50 per cent more than does. Some one would have to manufacture it; some one would have he does. Some one would have to manufacture it; some one would have to sell it.

The farmer that can not raise fruits would buy them from some one

The section of the South which is adapted to raising fruits would raise them, because the sections that were not could buy them.

The sections that by special advantage can raise early vegetables would raise more of them, because the sections that can not could buy

the sections that by special auvantage tan large carry vegetables would raise more of them, because the sections that can not could buy them.

The labor organizations in the cities that are overcrowded by men from the farms would have plenty of room.

Boys and girls who are rushing to the cities for jobs, debauching themselves and others by force of circumstances, would stay at home on the farm, marry, and be happy.

Railroads that haul empty passenger and freight cars would have them full and there would be no need for the cry for higher rates.

The South would not be ridiculed for her shacks as farm homes, her dilapidated schoolhouses, and ramshackled fences.

Statistics would look quite different in a few years when looking at the percentages of illiteracy, tenantry, and bad roads.

Hunting for some new thing to tax to raise the needed revenue of the country would cease, because \$500,000,000 added to the wealth of the country annually would lodge and produce revenues.

The acreage of cotton would be materially decreased, because Bob and John, Sally and Mary of each family would be found in the schoolhouse eight months instead of four—the price would permit it.

One-fourth of the cotton acreage on most farms would go into diversified farming to build up the land, not for profit in the crop.

Business failures would only occur where carelessness or rascality was the cause.

Cotton bolls would be improved until they would be doubled in size,

the cause.

Cotton bolls would be improved until they would be doubled in size.

Noxious grasses, weeds, and deteriorating washes in the fields would

disappear. Sappear.

Demagogic laws would cease to be placed on our statute books,
Socialism would starve to death; poverty, its food, would be gone.

Let us have the change; "turn the South loose."

Prosperity begins and ends with agriculture.

The Treatment of Tuberculosis.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM KENT.

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 7, 1916.

Mr. KENT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record, I submit a letter concerning a bill which I introduced yesterday looking toward the standardization of the treatment of tuberculosis and toward the elimination of the great evil of the assisted migration of indigent tuberculous patients.

The letter is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 8, 1916.

To the medical profession of the United States:

Herewith I inclose a bill practically identical with that which Senator Norms, of Nebraska, introduced in the United States Senate on January 6, 1916, and which I introduced in the House of Representatives.

This bill is the result of careful study and consultation, not only with leading medical men, but also with the Secretary of the Treasury and the Surgeon General, Dr. Rupert Blue. The provisions are simple and obvious. One object of the bill is to standardize the treatment of tuberculosis by means of Federal assistance with the voluntary cooperation of the States. No one in the medical profession can doubt the wisdom of preventing the migration of indigent victims of tuberculosis, another object worthy of accomplishment. This migration is a hideous cruelty and is contrary to all recent developments of medical science

as applied to this disease. It is universally recognized that, granted good outdoor air, rest, suitable nourishment, and cheerful surroundings, there is little choice in the matter of climate.

The theory that climate, unaided by nutrition, rest, and calmness of spirit, will cure this disease causes a continuing migration of physical and financial wrecks to regions where they are friendless and without possibility of employment or support, so that they become stranded under conditions that must necessarily lead to neglect, depression, and resultant death. Moreover, these victims are frequently placed in public institutions which are unable to give proper treatment.

Wherever such neglected cases are found, there are present most dangerous sources of infection. We do not permit the transportation of victims of smallpox, except under most careful conditions, and yet we have been oblivious of our duty to prevent the dissemination of this commonest and most serious of all human maladies.

The Federal Government can well afford to make the small contribution suggested toward the relief of the great class of citizens who would be benefited by this bill, for it is now recognized that tuberculosis is peculiarly a disease of poverty and malnutrition, the control and cradication of which is in the province of the Federal Health Service. You will note that by the terms of the bill it is optional whether the States accept the law and cooperate with the Federal Government, which obviates any criticism based on supposed Federal interference with the functions or rights of the States. You will also note that the States may pay, or cause to be paid, an amount at least equal to that to be contributed by the Federal Government. This means that any State tendering its cooperation can pay its proportion either directly from the State treasury or from any other source that it may levy upon, and that the State shall be responsible for the payment of the fund to any agency which it may authorize, whether State, county, municipality,

in Congress, Yours, truly,

Yours, truly,

P. S.—Out of hundreds of letters indorsing the proposition I beg
to quote from a number of letters received by Dr. Philip King Brown,
of San Francisco, with whose cooperation the bill has been drawn, and
the clear indorsement of the able and forward-looking Secretary of the
Treasury. Among these letters you will note one from Mr. Lawrence
F. Flick, who is the adviser in such matters of Mr. Henry Phipps, the
great steel manufacturer. Mr. Phipps is spending millions in the battle
against tuberculosis, and his cooperation means a great deal for the
crusade that will be given the greatest possible impetus by the enactment of the legislation proposed and submitted to you.

A bill (H. R. 8027) to standardize the treatment of tuberculosis in the United States, to provide Federal aid in caring for indigent tuberculous persons, and for other purposes.

A bill (H. K. 8027) to standardize the freatment of tuberculosis in the United States, to provide Federal aid in caring for indigent tuberculous persons, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, ctc., That within the appropriations made from time to time for such purposes the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to ald State authorities in providing care and treatment for indigent tuberculous persons who are citizens of the United States but not legal residents of the States in which they are temporarily located, and for this purpose may designate such public or private hospitals and sanatoria as may be necessary. Prior to being designated to receive patients, and from time to time, said institutions shall be subject to inspection by officers of the Public Health Service, in order to determine the facilities and methods available and in use for care and treatment of patients, and the Secretary of the Treasury is further authorized to patients, and the Secretary of the Treasury is further authorized to obtain the benefits of this act.

SEC. 2. That hospitals and sanatoria designated in accordance with the provisions of this act shall be entitled to and may receive from the Federal Treasury a subvention fixed annually by the Secretary of the Treasury, but not exceeding 75 cents per diem for each indigent patient admitted with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury: Provided, That the State in which said indigent tuberculous patient is admitted to a hospital or sanatorium for treatment shall pay or cause to be paid a subvention not less than paid by the Federal Government toward the cost of caring for such patient in said hospital or sanatorium. Subventions under this law will be granted only in the case of indigent patients who have submitted satisfactory evidence that they were not assisted by any person or institution to leave their legal residence or did not themselves leave in order to receive benefits under this act.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to issue regulatio

Secretary of the Treasury, telegram, December 22, 1915:

Secretary of the Treasury, telegram, December 22, 1913:

"Hon. WILLIAM Kent, Kentfleld, Cal.:

"On broad humanitarian grounds and as a means of cooperating with State and local authorities in preventing the spread of tuberculosis, department is in sympathy with proposed measure to provide Federal assistance in caring for indigent tuberculous persons in interstate traffic. State should also share expense."

Mr. Lawrence F. Flick, Philadelphia, December 27, 1915:

"Dr. Philip King Brown:

"I am much obliged to you for sending me a copy of the proposed bill to be introduced into the United States Senate and House of Representatives for the treatment of tuberculous individuals who have strayed away from home and have become stranded. I note the amendment, which I think is worth while. I am cordially in favor of the enactment of this bill into law, and I shall be very glad to give whatever help I can at the proper time."

Dr. Alexander Lambert, New York, October 19, 1915:

"I am much interested in your letter of October 9 about the Federal law trying to make the United States pay for their wandering cases of taberculosis. I think New York should come in for a large hunk of taberculosis. I think New York should come in for a large hunk of that money, more than people give it credit for."

Dr. H. R. M. Landis, Philadelphia, October 19, 1915:

"I am heartily in favor of what you are trying to do and sincerely hope that you will be able to bring it to pass."

Dr. Henry B. Favill, Chicago, October 16, 1915:

"As to your tuberculosis bill, the more I see it the more merit I discover there is in it."

Dr. Frank Billings, Chicago, October 11, 1915:

"Your letter of September 30 came to-day. I have read your letter very carefully and appreciate all the good things you have in mind in the idea of securing a Federal subsidy for the care of tuberculous individuals who wander from State to State and who have no legal residence where they come under treatment."

Dr. Edwin A. Locke, Boston, Mass., October 20, 1915:

"I am in recelpt of your letter of October 9 regarding the introduction in Congress of a bill for a Federal subsidy, etc., and am very much interested in what you say regarding it. It seems to me at first thought a very desirable piece of legislation. As far as my knowledge goes, State subsidy has worked admirably; certainly such is the case here in Massachusetts."

Dr. George Dock, St. Louis, October 25, 1915:

"Yours of the 9th received. I am very much interested in the plan you propose because it seems to offer means of alding what is now a very unfortunate situation, and it also should be a factor in the education regarding tuberculosis."

Dr. Richard C. Cabot, Boston, Mass., October 26, 1915:

"I am very much interested in your letter about the Federal subsidy for hospitals receiving patients who have no State settlement. As far as I can see, you are entirely right."

Postal Savings Banks-Rural Credits-Prosperity for the Little Fellow.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM J. CARY. OF WISCONSIN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 6, 1916.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, it is with profound pleasure that I cast my vote for this measure authorizing the Postmaster General to accept deposits from a postal savings bank depositor until his balance amounts to \$1,000 exclusive of interest and also permits an additional deposit of \$1,000 which shall be nonin-This will doubtless encourage such depositors terest bearing. to invest in United States bonds when they have accumulated such a sum and I doubt whether any one thing would be better for the continued prosperity of this country than any measure which will be apt to place the Federal Government bonds in the hands of a large number of small investors.

I voted against the amendment to make the amount to be deposited unlimited, as, in my judgment, this might tend to disturb banking conditions in many sections of the country and possibly cause unwarranted runs on savings banks, and as the greater part of the money so far invested or deposited in the postal savings banks comes from the small depositor who has usually heretofore hoarded his money, I think the limitations which this bill places will work no hardship, as I doubt very much whether any of the small tradesmen, mechanics, and farmers who use the postal banks ever have more than \$2,000

hidden away anywhere.

The postal savings bank system has been from its very beginning one of the most perfect demonstrations of the present tendency to sane and practical humanitarian legislation. Even under the serious handicaps resulting from the limitations in the original law which have to-day been eliminated, it has had a most marvelous growth. When the law was first proposed many banks and also many citizens of the country were under an ap-prehension that the Government would interfere in the legitimate domain of private enterprise and that money which would ordinarily be placed in private banks would be diverted to the detriment of such banks and the impairment of the financial balance in the banking system of the country. The testimony of the Third Assistant Postmaster General, in a recent hearing on personal rural credits on this point, is illuminating. He states as follows:

They (the banks) have been undeceived and are friendly now, because it is obvious that by doing that the Postal Savings System has invaded the domain of hidden money—has brought money from stockings and tin cans and other hiding places, and through the medium of the banks, has restored it to the channels of active trade and commerce. That has been the effect of the operation of the system.

This is to my mind one of the most important phases of this legislation and has a bearing on many other proposed reforms in

opposition from high financial sources as this bill did at first from banking influences.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that this country is fully able to solve every difficult problem before us, if we will only escape from the hysteria that afflicts big capital whenever any new financial or

industrial proposition is suggested.

The question of rural credits is going to be one of the most important for this Congress to consider, and while I am by no means in favor of any hasty or ill-considered legislation on this or any other subject, I certainly hope and trust that before we adjourn we will have adopted some measure of relief for the thousands of farmers all over this country who need relief so badly.

I think it is a perfectly safe proposition to make when I state that the backbone of the country is the agricultural class. Certainly we could not exist for one month, nay not for a week or a day, if the men who produce the food we eat, the textiles wherewith we are clothed, were to quit work. They give us our daily bread, our very life in times of peace, they furnish us with brave sons in time of war, and neither this country nor any other can be permanently prosperous or successful unless its rural population is prosperous and contented. It has long been an established saying that the only contented and finally prosperous farmers are those who till the farms they own them-No system of tenant farming has ever been devised or ever will be devised in any country that will take the place of a farming population that is also a land-owning population, and this has been so well recognized abroad that the most progressive countries on the other side have made the most careful provision and given the most earnest attention to the financial needs of the tillers of the soil.

In Germany and Denmark, probably the most successful of the European agricultural countries, systems of rural credit have been so carefully worked out that sections of both countries where the land is practically barren, where nature has done but little to help man, are to-day fertile and productive areas, owned and cultivated by contented, prosperous, and successful farmers who in time of need are a very mainstay of

strength to their countries.

We have every advantage that nature can give us. Fertile soil, intelligent, thrifty, and virile communities, and resources of every kind that have hardly been touched as yet with the magic wand of modern American agricultural genius.

We certainly have the experience and the wisdom of the rest of the world to guide us, and surely we have that American spirit of initiative that will enable us to devise and perfect a system of rural credits to supplement our magnificently sucsystem of rural credits to supplement our magnificently suc-cessful Postal Savings System and broaden opportunity to the farmer and the worker, the small trader and manufacturer, and make our prosperity not a matter of Treasury balances, trust dividends, and millionaires' advertised extravagances, but a prosperity that means happy homes by the million, men and women and children that can say and feel and prove that this country is the best country in the world to live in, where opportunity will meet an honest desire halfway, where poverty will be unknown, caste feeling impossible, and brotherhood, equality, and liberty an absolute and established principle.

Old-Age Pensions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD, OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 10, 1916.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an editorial from the Toledo Times, entitled "A worthy bill," on the subject of old-age pensions.

The editorial is as follows:

A WORTHY BILL.

If Gen. Sherwood succeeds in securing the enactment of his old-age pension bill, it will be the crowning event of his career in the National Legislature. The measure is not an extreme one. Within its provisions are embraced only those who can show a record of 35 years' toil and have reached the age of 65. The amount to be paid is a modest one, but sufficient to prove a blessing on the aged dependents who have faithfully perthis country, which are also receiving the same unintelligent | formed their allotted tasks in the industrial life of the country.

The general is as enthusiastic over this as he was over his dollar-a-day pension bill. He has drafted the measure with care and is prepared to make a systematic fight. Unless the present session becomes too engrossed in matters growing out of the European war it will surprise no one if the measure becomes a law.

At this time, when all the world is taking stock of German efficiency, there is a disposition manifested to adopt many of the commendable features of the German system. Old-age pensions have been paid in Germany for several years and have proved their worth. They have done much to bring about a closer bond of sympathy between the German Government and the laboring classes, and it has been shown conclusively during the last few months that such a bond is invaluable to a country in time of stress.

Gen. Sherwood's bill may be opposed by many who do not believe in paternalism, but here is a paternalism that is justified, for all Christian governments recognize a certain obligation toward its infirm and helpless. Only in the world's blundering way this obligation in most cases has been made in the name of charity. It has remained for Germany to practice a loftier conception of it.

The Grain Gamblers and the Farmers.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES H. DILLON.

OF SOUTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 11, 1916.

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Speaker, I am presenting an article written by Hon. J. E. Kelley, of Pierre, S. Dak., entitled "The Grain Gamblers and the Farmers." Mr. Kelley was a Member of the Fifty-fifth Congress, and has given years of study to the effect of gambling in futures on the price of grain.

Mr. Speaker, on August 6, 1914, I analyzed the rules and regulations of the Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis and attempted to show that its activities were in violation of the antitrust laws. In 1912 the entire amount of wheat shipped into Chicago amounted to only 35,914,000 bushels, yet in a single day frequently more than 100,000,000 bushels of wheat are sold. It seems to me that every fair-minded man must admit that the sale of phantom grain on boards of trade is affecting the price of grain.

The article is as follows:

THE GRAIN GAMBLERS AND THE FARMERS. [By J. E. Kelley.]

In its issue of September 13 the following appeared in the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader:
"With 80,000,000 bushels of corn, 56,000,000 bushels of wheat, 60,000,000 bushels of oats, 23,000,000 bushels of barley, * * * South Dakota would appear this year to be in line for some pretty fat

South Dakota would appear this year to be in line for some pretty fat times."

Sure enough, this speaks volumes for the energy and industry of the farmers of South Dakota; also, for the fertility of her soil and the favor of her climate. But let us stop and consider for a few minutes as to who gets the fat produced by South Dakota's industry. With the European war on, without a rift in the dark clouds, without a dent in the Dardanelles that would indicate the coming of a bushel of grain from the Russian fields, with every condition existing that ever did exist, past or present, to hold prices up to a level that would give the farmers of this State a fair reward for their industry, prices of wheat, oats, and barley have sunk to a level that scarcely covers the cost of production; and the "fat time" that South Dakota has honestly and fairly won shall not be hers; but instead it will swell the proud purses of the Armours, the Pattons, the Ryans, the Leiters, the Van Deuzens, who, with their compatriots, constitute the mighty combine that controls the grain markets of the United States.

Ten million bushels of oats are being shipped each week from this country to Europe, mostly to Liverpool, and 8,000,000 bushels of wheat are being shipped abroad, mostly to Liverpool. The great speculators and market raiders, who make prices what they will, are buying oats from the farmers in this State at this time at about an average of 25 cents a bushel, hard wheat running, on an average over the State, from 76 cents to 80 cents a bushel, barely covering the cost of production where the yield is good when the high cost of living is considered in connection with the high price of labor. What is this grain worth in Liverpool, where most of it goes? Here are the figures; read them and study them. They will be a revelation to those who believed that South Dakota's farmers were revelling in the fat of the land when they raised big crops:

American wheat, No. 1 northern, Duluth, in Liverpool_

This reduced to our money means that 100 pounds is worth_____ No. 1 northern, Duluth, Sept. 10, same date, per hundred pounds_____ \$2, 70 1. 56

Spread between Duluth and Liverpool______Every known cost of handling, including 2 cents commission___

Clear gouge over all cost of handling and commission, per hundredweight, 62 cents, or 37 cents a bushel, or 46 per cent of the selling price the farmer gets. Oats, American, Liverpool, Sept. 10, 45 pounds

4s. 5d. Reduced to our money, this makes 75 cents per bushel of 32 pounds, or for 100 pounds, Liverpool.

Oats, Duluth, Sept. 10, 34 cents a bushel, or for 100 pounds... \$2.35

Spread between Duluth and Liverpool on oats______ Every legitimate cost of handling, with 2 cents commission____ Clear gouge over all costs and commission, per 100 pounds, 77

Thus, for each bushel of oats the South Dakota farmer gets 26 cents and the market raiders 24 cents, or 92 per cent of the price the farmer gets, over all costs and commissions.

Selling 40,000,000 bushels of wheat on this basis, the loss will be to the farmers of the State_____ \$14,400,000 13,000,000 5,750,000 On barley (the drop has been 25 cents)_____

Or a total of 32, 150, 000

Every dollar of this money should be of right in the pockets of the farmers of this State. It would enable them to pay their bills, build new homes, educate their children, buy more automobiles and planos, improve their farms with better buildings, and enable them to enjoy some of the luxuries of life of which they are now denied.

The remedy for this condition must bring about the erection of great terminal elevators, where part of the grain coming onto the market at this time may be stored and cash drawn against elevator receipts. This would prevent market flooding and bring about steady prices. It would likewise prevent the boosting of prices and cinching of consumers when the bulk of the grain gets in the hands of speculators.

of constant's what is the constant of the Canadian Government can build elevators for its farmers (though it has not gone far enough yet), surely this Government can. If this Government can build warehouses for the makers of whisky, it can do it for the grain raisers, and thereby help nearly all of the

it can do it for the grain raisers, and people.

Every market in the United States is in the grasp of those manipulators, whose organization is perfect, whose combine is complete in its monopoly. They control many of the great newspapers of the country, and their sway is absolute over all trade journals, whose part in the transaction usually is to get their cash from the market manipulators through advertising; get their readers among the farmers whom they strive to chloroform while the skinning process is going on.

"OATS TOO HIGH." "OATS TOO HIGH."

Note the reply of the American Cooperative Journal, in its issue of September, to Mr. Beckwith, the manager of a farmers' elevator at Gowrie, Iowa, who complains of 20 cents drop in oats just as the farmers began marketing. The journal tells the complaining manager that there is no combine, but that oats were too high, because shorts had to cover, and that a slump was inevitable.

The mighty combine is now more powerful, more absolute in its sway, more anmindful of the rights of both consumer and producer alike, than at any other time in the history of its record-making career. Only the record of the transactions of wheat and oats is given here, as barley prices are not quoted on foreign markets, but everybody knows that as the selling season approached the raiders knocked the price of barley 25 cents per bushel. As to corn prices, the far South will soon begin selling new corn. The high price a short time ago was above 80 cents per bushel in Chicago, but wait till the great Northwest begins marketing, and then compare the price with even the price that prevails now.

STORE WHISKY, WHY NOT WHEAT?

The United States Government for nearly half a century furnished warehouses to accommodate all of the whisky produced in the country. Why not furnish warehouses for a very small part of the grain produced? It is believed such would largely remedy the evils complained of. Dealing in phantom grain should also be prohibited by law. The practice is much more pernicious in its results than was the operation of the Louisiana lottery.

In closing, it may be said that the beating down of the markets when farmers are marketing heavily is not necessarily chargeable to the ordinary commission merchant, who simply handles consigned grain. Rather it is the great millionaire manipulators and speculators, who constitute the Elevator Trust and act in combination and coliusion. The octopus controls all boards of trade and chambers of commerce, however.

Resolutions Adopted by the Local Union of Mine Workers of America.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BEN JOHNSON, OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 10, 1916.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Recond I include a set of resolutions adopted by the local union of Mine Workers of America, together with the letter transmitting the same to me. The resolution and letter are as follows:

McHenny, Ky., January -, 1916.

Hon. BEN JOHNSON,

1.14

Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sin: The members of Local Union 809, United Mine Workers of America, do respectfully ask you to place the inclosed resolutions as best you can so as to reach as many Members of the Congress as possi-

ble. Judging from your past record, we feel assured that you will stand for the rights of all the people. So believing, we are sending the resolution through you to as many Members of Congress as can be reached. We also request that you have 235 copies mailed to our secretary. secretary. Respectfully,

L. S. BENNETT, President. M. J. Shropshire, Secretary, McHenry, Ky., January 8, 1916.

To the Members of the Sixty-fourth Congress of the United States, Washington, D. C.

Honorable Gentlemen: At a regular meeting of Local Union 809, United Mine Workers of America, the following preamble and resolutions were presented and unahlmously adopted:

"Whereas we are informed that an effort is to be made to induce Members of Congress to favor a suppression of the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations, which will be submitted to the Congress at the present session; and

"Whereas we are forced to the conclusion that a crisis is at hand in the long-continued disturbed conditions between the employers and employees in the industries of the country; and

"Whereas we believe that a large majority of the working people want peace, but will demand that any peace secured must be founded on justice to all the people and not by the subjugation of a part of the people: Therefore be it

"Resolved. That we will consider any Member of Congress who

people: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That we will consider any Member of Congress who
favors, by voice or vote, a suppression of any part of the report of the
Commission on Industrial Relations as not being friendly toward the
cause of the working people, and as not being actuated by a desire to
legislate in the interest of all the people; and be it further

"Resolved, That we insist that the Congress provide for the printing
of a sufficient number of copies of the report of the commission that all
persons desiring a copy may be supplied, and we will consider a failure
in this respect as a great wrong done the people of this country, except
the few whose interests cause them to oppose any efforts made to better
the condition of the working people."

Respectfully,

L. S. Bennett, President.

L. S. BENNETT, President. M. J. Shropshire, Secretary.

Mr. Lansing's Last Note to Great Britain on the Blockade.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. S. D. FESS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 12, 1916.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Mr. Lansing's last note to Great Britain on the blockade.

The note is as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR W. H. PAGE.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, October 21, 1915.

SIR: I desire that you present a note to Sir Edward Grey

in the sense of the following:

(1) The Government of the United States has given careful consideration to your excellency's notes of January 7, February 10, June 22, July 23, July 31 (2), August 13, and to a note verbale of the British Embassy of August 6, relating to restrictions upon American commerce by certain measures adopted by the British Government during the present war. This Government has delayed answering the earlier of these notes in the hope that the announced purpose of His Majesty's Government "to exercise their belligerent rights with every possible consideration for the interest of neutrals" and their intention of "removing all causes of avoidable delay in dealing with American cargoes" and of causing "the least possible amount of inconvenience to persons engaged in legitimate trade," as well as their "assurances to the United States Government that they would make it their first aim to minimize the inconveniences" resulting from the "measures taken by the allied Governments," would in practice not unjustifiably infringe upon the neutral rights of American citizens engaged in trade and commerce. It is therefore a matter of regret that this hope has not been realized but that, on the contrary, interferences with American ships and cargoes destined in good faith to neutral ports and lawfully entitled to proceed have become increasingly vexatious, causing American shipowners and American merchants to complain to this Government of the failure to take steps to prevent an exercise of belligerent power in contravention of their just rights. As the measures complained of proceed directly from orders issued by the British Government, are executed by British authorities, and arouse a reasonable apprehension that if not resisted they may be carried to an extent even more injurious to American interests, this Government directs the attention of His Majesty's Government to the following considerations:

(2) Without commenting upon the statistics presented by His Majesty's Government to show that the export trade of the United States has increased in volume since the war began further than to point out that the comparative values fail to take into account the increased price of commodities resulting from a state of war or to make any allowance for the diminution in the volume of trade which the neutral countries in Europe previously had with the nations at war, a diminution which compelled them to buy in other markets, I will pass directly to the matters which constitute the specific complaints of this Government.

(3) First. The detentions of American vessels and cargoes which have taken place since the opening of hostilities have, it is presumed, been pursuant to the enforcement of the orders in council, which were issued on August 20 and October 29, 1914, and March 11, 1915, and relate to contraband traffic and to the interception of trade to and from Germany and Austria-Hungary. In practice these detentions have not been uniformly based on proofs obtained at the time of seizure, but many vessels have been detained while search was made for evidence of the contraband character of cargoes or of an intention to evade the nonintercourse measures of Great Britain. The question, consequently, has been one of evidence to support a belief of-in many cases a bare suspicion of-enemy destination, or occasionally of enemy origin of the goods involved. Whether this evidence should be obtained by search at sea before the vessel or cargo is taken into port, and what the character of the evidence should be, which is necessary to justify the detention, are the points to which I direct your excellency's attention.

(4) In regard to search at sea an examination of the instructions issued to naval commanders of the United States, Great Britain, Russia, Japan, Spain, Germany, and France from 1888 to the beginning of the present war shows that search in port was not contemplated by the Government of any of these coun-On the contrary, the context of the respective instructions shows that search at sea was the procedure expected to be followed by the commanders. All of these instructions impress upon the naval officers the necessity of acting with the utmost moderation—and in some cases commanders are specifically instructed-in exercising the right of visit and search, to avoid undue deviation of the vessel from her course.

(5) An examination of the opinions of the most eminent text writers on the laws of nations shows that they give practically no consideration to the question of search in port, outside of examination in the course of regular prize court proceedings.

(6) The assertion by His Majesty's Government that the position of the United States in relation to search at sea is inconsistent with its practice during the American Civil War is based upon a misconception. Irregularities there may have been at the beginning of that war, but a careful search of the records of this Government as to the practice of its commanders shows conclusively that there were no instances when vessels were brought into port for search prior to instituting prize court proceedings, or that captures were made upon other grounds than in the words of the American note of November 7, 1914, "evidence found on the ship under investigation and not upon circumstances ascertained from external sources." A copy of the instruction issued to American naval officers on August 18, 1862, for their guidance during the Civil War, is appended.

(7) The British contention that "modern conditions" justify bringing vessels into port for search is based upon the size and seaworthiness of modern carriers of commerce and the difficulty of uncovering the real transaction in the intricate trade operations of the present day. It is believed that commercial transactions of the present time, hampered as they are by cen-sorship of telegraph and postal communication on the part of belligerents, are essentially no more complex and disguised than in the wars of recent years, during which the practice of obtaining evidence in port to determine whether a vessel should be held for prize proceedings was not adopted. The effect of the size and seaworthiness of merchant vessels upon their search at sea has been submitted to a board of naval experts, which reports that-

"At no period in history has it been considered necessary to remove every package of a ship's cargo to establish the character and nature of her trade or the service on which she is

bound, nor is such removal necessary. * * *
"The facilities for boarding and inspection of modern ships are in fact greater than in former times, and no difference, so far as the necessities of the case are concerned, can be seen between the search of a ship of 1,000 tons and one of 20,000 tons—except possibly a difference in time—for the purpose of establishing fully the character of her cargo and the rature of her service and destination. * * * This method would be a direct aid to the belligerents concerned in that it would release a belligerent vessel overhauling the neutral from its duty of search and set it free for further belligerent operations.

(8) Turning to the character and sufficiency of the evidence of the contraband nature of shipments to warrant the detention of a suspected vessel or cargo for prize proceedings, it will be recalled that when a vessel is brought in for adjudication courts of prize have heretofore been bound by well-established and long-settled practice to consider at the first hearing only the ship's papers and documents, and the goods found on board, together with the written replies of the officers and seamen to standing interrogatories taken under oath, alone and separately, as soon as possible and without communication with or instruction by counsel, in order to avoid possibility of cor-

ruption and fraud.

(9) Additional evidence was not allowed to be introduced except upon an order of the court for "further proof," and then only after the cause had been fully heard upon the facts already in evidence or when this evidence furnished a ground for prosecuting the injury further. This was the practice of the United States courts during the War of 1812, the American Civil War, and the Spanish-American War, as is evidenced by the reported decisions of those courts, and has been the practice of the British prize courts for over a century. This practice has been changed by the British prize court rules adopted for the present war by the order in council of August 5. Under these new rules there is no longer a "first hearing" on the evidence derived from the ship, and the prize court is no longer precluded from receiving extrinsic evidence for which a suggestion has not been laid in the preparatory evidence. The result is, as pointed out above, that innocent vessels or cargoes are now seized and detained on mere suspicion while efforts are made to obtain evidence from extraneous sources to justify the detention and the commencement of prize proceedings. The effect of this new procedure is to subject traders to risk of loss, delay, and expense so great and so burdensome as practically to destroy much of the export trade of the United States to neutral countries of Europe.

(10) In order to place the responsibility for the delays of vessels and cargoes upon American claimants, the order in council of October 29, 1914, as pointed out in the British note of February 10, seeks to place the burden of proof as to the noncontraband character of the goods upon the claimant in cases where the goods are consigned "to order" or the consignee is not named or the consignee is within enemy territory. Without admitting that the onus probandi can rightfully be made to rest upon the claimant in these cases, it is sufficient for the purposes of this note to point out that the three classes of cases indicated in the order in council of October 29 apply to only a few of the many seizures or detentions which have actually been

made by British authorities.

(11) The British contention that in the American Civil War the captor was allowed to establish enemy destination by "all the evidence at his disposal," citing the *Bermuda* case (3 Wall, 515), is not borne out by the facts of that case. The case of the *Bermuda* was one of "further proof," a proceeding not to determine whether the vessel should be detained and placed in a prize court, but whether the vessel, having been placed in prize court, should be restored or condemned. The same ruling was made in the case of the Sir William Peel (5 Wall., 517). These cases, therefore, can not be properly cited as supporting the course of a British captor in taking a vessel into port, there to obtain extrinsic evidence to justify him in detaining the vessel

for prize proceedings.

(12) The further contention that the greatly increased imports of neutral countries, adjoining Great Britain's enemies, raise a presumption that certain commodities, such as cotton, rubber, and others more or less useful for military purposes. though destined for those countries, are intended for reexportation to the belligerents who can not import them directly, and that this fact justifies the detention for the purpose of examination of all vessels bound for the ports of those neutral countries, notwithstanding the fact that most of the articles of trade have been placed on the embargo lists of those countries, can not be accepted as laying down a just or legal rule of evi-Such a presumption is too remote from the facts and offers too great opportunity for abuse by the belligerent, who could, if the rule were adopted, entirely ignore neutral rights on the high seas and prey with impunity upon neutral commerce. To such a rule of legal presumption this Government can not accede, as it is opposed to those fundamental principles of justice which are the foundation of the jurisprudence of the United States and Great Britain.

(13) Before passing from the discussion of this contention as

countries, this Government directs attention to the fact that His Majesty's Government admit that the British exports to those countries have also materially increased since the present war began. Thus Great Britain concededly shares in creating a condition which is relied upon as a sufficient ground to justify the interception of American goods destined to neutral European ports. If British exports to those ports should be still further increased, it is obvious that, under the rule of evidence contended for by the British Government, the presumption of enemy destination could be applied to a greater number of American cargoes, and American trade would suffer to the extent that British trade benefited by the increase. Great Britain can not expect the United States to submit to such manifest injustice or to permit the rights of its citizens to be so seriously impaired.

- (14) When goods are clearly intended to become incorporated in the mass of merchandise for sale in a neutral country, it is an unwarranted and inquisitorial proceeding to detain shipments for examination as to whether those goods are ultimately destined for the enemy's country or use. Whatever may be the conjectural conclusions to be drawn from trade statistics, which, when stated by value, are of uncertain evidence as to quantity, the United States maintains the right to sell goods into the general stock of a neutral country, and denounces as illegal and unjustifiable any attempt of a belligerent to interfere with that right on the ground that it suspects that the previous supply of such goods in the neutral country, which the imports renew or replace, has been sold to an enemy. That is a matter with which replace, has been sold to an enemy, the neutral vendor has no concern and which can in no way affect his rights of trade. Moreover, even if goods listed as conditional contraband are destined to an enemy country through a neutral country, that fact is not in itself sufficient to justify their seizure.
- (15) In view of these considerations, the United States, reiterating its position in this matter, has no other course but to contest seizures of vessels at sea upon conjectural suspicion and the practice of bringing them into port for the purpose, by search or otherwise, of obtaining evidence, for the purpose of justifying prize proceedings, of the carriage of contraband, or of breaches of the order in council of March 11. Relying upon the regard of the British Government for the principles of justice so frequently and uniformly manifested prior to the present war, this Government anticipates that the British Government will instruct their officers to refrain from these vexatious and illegal
- (16) Second. The Government of the United States further desires to direct particular attention to the so-called "blockade" measures imposed by the order in council of March 11. British note of July 23, 1915, appears to confirm the intention indicated in the note of March 15, 1915, to establish a blockade so extensive as to prohibit trade with Germany or Austria-Hungary, even through the ports of neutral countries adjacent to them. Great Britain, however, admits that it should not, and gives assurances that it will not, interfere with trade with the countries contiguous to the territories of the enemies of Great Britain. Nevertheless, after over six months' application of the blockade" order, the experience of American citizens has convinced the Government of the United States that Great Britain has been unsuccessful in her efforts to distinguish between enemy and neutral trade. Arrangements have been made to create in these neutral countries special consignees, or consignment corporations, with power to refuse shipments and to determine when the state of the country's resources requires the importation of new commodities. American commercial interests are hampered by the intricacies of these arrangements, and many American citizens justly complain that their bona fide trade with neutral countries is greatly reduced as a consequence, while others assert that their neutral trade, which amounted annually to a large sum, has been entirely interrupted.

(17) It makes this practice even more harassing to neutral traders that the British authorities require a consignor to prove that his shipments are not bound to an enemy of Great Britain, even when the articles are on the embargo list of the neutral country to which they are destined, and that notwithstanding the assertion in the last British note that interference with such trade by a belligerent can only take place "provided, of course, that he (the belligerent) can establish" that the commerce is with the enemy.

(18) While the United States Government was at first inclined to view with leniency the British measures which were termed in the correspondence but not in the order in council of March 11 a "blockade," because of the assurances of the British Government that inconvenience to neutral trade would be minito the presumption raised by increased importations to neutral | mized by the discretion left to the courts in the application of

the order in council and by the instructions which it was said would be issued to the administrative and other authorities having to do with the execution of the so-called "blockade" measures, this Government is now forced to the realization that its expectations, which were fully set forth in its note of March were based on a misconception of the intentions of the British Government. Desiring to avoid controversy and in the expectation that the administration of the order in council would conform to the established rules of international law, this Government has until now reserved the question of the actual validity of the order in council of March 11, in so far as it is considered by the Government of Great Britain to establish a blockade within the meaning of that term as understood in the law and the practice of nations; but in the circumstances now developed it feels that it can no longer permit the validity of the alleged blockade to remain unchallenged.

(19) The declaration of Paris in 1856, which has been universally recognized as correctly stating the rule of international law as to blockade, expressly declares that "blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the The effectiveness of a blockade is manifestly a question It is common knowledge that the German coasts are open to trade with the Scandinavian countries and that German naval vessels cruise both in the North Sea and the Baltic and seize and bring into German ports neutral vessels bound for Scandinavian and Danish ports. Furthermore, from the recent placing of cotton on the British list of contraband of war, it ap-pears that the British Government have themselves been forced to the conclusion that the blockade is ineffective to prevent shipments of cotton from reaching their enemies, or else that they are doubtful as to the legality of the form of blockade which they have sought to maintain.

(20) Moreover, it is an essential principle which has been universally accepted that a blockade must apply impartially to the ships of all nations. This was set forth in the declaration of London, is found in the prize rules of Germany, France, and Japan, and has long been admitted as a basic principle of the law of blockade. This principle, however, is not applied in the present British "blockade," for, as above indicated, German ports are notoriously open to traffic with the ports of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. So strictly has this principle been enforced in the past that in the Crimean War the judicial committee of the 1-rivy council on appeal laid down that if belligerents themselves trade with blockaded ports they can not be regarded as effectively blockaded. (The Franciska, Moore P. C., 56.) This decision has special significance at the present time, since it is a matter of common knowledge that Great Britain exports and reexports large quantities of merchandise to Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, whose ports, so far as American commerce is concerned, she regards as blockaded. In fact, the British note of August 13 itself indicates that the British exports of many articles, such as cotton, lubricating oil, tobacco, cocoa, coffee, rice, wheat flour, barley, spices, tea, copra, etc., to these countries have greatly exceeded the British exports of the same articles for the corresponding period The note also shows that there has been an important British trade with these countries in many other articles, such as machinery, beef, butter, cotton waste, etc.

(21) Finally, there is no better settled principle of the law of nations than that which forbids the blockade of neutral ports in time of war. The declaration of London, though not regarded as binding upon the signatories because not ratified by them, has been expressly adopted by the British Government without modification as to blockade in the British order in council of October 29, 1914. Article 18 of the declaration declares specifically that "the blockading forces must not bar access to neutral ports or coasts." This is, in the opinion of this Government, a correct statement of the universally accepted law as it exists to-day and as it existed prior to the declaration of London. The meaning of this statement is elucidated by Mr. Renault in the report of the drafting committee upon the convention, in which he states:

"This rule has been thought necessary the better to protect the commercial interests of neutral countries; it completes article 1, according to which a blockade must not extend beyond the ports and coasts of the enemy, which implies that as it is an operation of war it must not be directed against a neutral port, in spite of the importance to a belligerent of the part played by that port in supplying his adversary."

As the conference assembled at London upon the invitation of the British Government, it is important to recall the instruc-tion of Sir Edward Grey to the British delegates, "setting out the views of His Majesty's Government, founded on the decisions of the British courts," in which he says:

"A blockade must be confined to the ports and coast of the enemy, but it may be instituted of one port or of several ports or of the whole of the seaboard of the enemy. It may be instituted to prevent the ingress only or egress only, or both.'

He added:
"Where the ship does not intend to proceed to the blockaded port the fact that goods on board are to be sent on by sea or

by inland transport is no ground for condemnation.

In support of this announcement Sir Edward Grey referred to several decisions of British prize courts, among which an early one of 1801 held that goods shipped from London to Emden, thence inland or by canal to Amsterdam, then blockaded by sea, were not subject to condemnation for breach of blockade, (Jonge Pieter, 4 C. R., 79.) This has been the rule for a century, so that it is scarcely necessary to recall that the Matamoras cases, well known to the British Government, support the same rule, that neutral ports may not be blockaded, though "trade with unrestricted inland commerce between such a port and the enemy's territory impairs undoubtedly, and very seriously impairs, the value of a blockade of the enemy's coast.

(22) Without mentioning the other customary elements of a regularly imposed blockade, such as notification of the particular coast line invested, the imposition of the penalty of confiscation, etc., which are lacking in the present British "blockade" policy, it need only be pointed out that, measured by the three universally conceded tests above set forth, the present British measures can not be regarded as constituting a blockade in law,

in practice, or in effect.

(23) It is incumbent upon the United States Government, therefore, to give the British Government notice that the blockade, which they claim to have instituted under the order in council of March 11, can not be recognized as a legal blockade by the United States.

(24) Since the Government of Great Britain has laid much emphasis on the ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Springbok case, that goods of contraband character seized while going to the neutral port of Nassau, though actually bound for the blockaded ports of the South, were subject to condemnation, it is not inappropriate to direct attention to the British view of this case in England prior to the present war, as expressed by Sir Edward Grey in his instructions to the British delegates to the London Conference in 1908

"It is exceedingly doubtful whether the decision of the Supreme Court was in reality meant to cover a case of blockade running in which no question of contraband arose. Certainly if such was the intention the decision would pro tanto be in conflict with the practice of the British courts. His Majesty's Government sees no reason for departing from that practice, and you should endeaver to obtain general recognition of its

It may be pointed out also that the circumstances surrounding the Springbok case were essentially different from those of the present day to which the rule laid down in that case is sought to be applied. When the Springhok case arose the ports of the Confederate States were effectively blockaded by the naval forces of the United States, though no neutral ports were closed, and a continuous voyage through a neutral port required an all-sea voyage terminating in an attempt to pass the blockading squadron.

(25) Third. It appears to be the position of Great Britain that if, as the United States alleges, American citizens or American interests are directly and adversely affected by the British policies of contraband and nonintercourse, resulting in interference with ships and cargoes, they should seek redress in the prize courts which the British Government have established, and that, pending the exhaustion of such legal remedies with the result of a denial of justice, the British Government "can not continue to deal through the diplomatic channels with the individual cases."

(26) It is declared that this was the course followed by the United States during the American Civil War and the Spanish War, and that both countries have supported the practice by allowing their prize-court decisions, when shown to be unjust or inadequate, to be reviewed by an international tribunal, as was done under the treaties of 1794 and 1871. The ground upon which this contention is put forth, and the results which would follow, if the course of procedure suggested were accepted, give the impression that His Majesty's Government do not rely upon its soundness or strength. Nevertheless, since it has been advanced, I can not refrain from presenting certain considerations which will show that the proposed course embodies the form rather than the substance of redress. The cases which the British Government would have claimants present to their prize courts are essentially different from cases arising wholly within the jurisdiction of a foreign country.

They result from acts committed by the British naval authorities upon the high seas, where the jurisdiction over neutral vessels is acquired solely by international law. Vessels of foreign nationality, flying a neutral flag and finding their protection in the country of that flag, are seized without facts warranting a reasonable suspicion that they are destined to blockaded ports of the enemy or that their cargoes are contraband, although the possession of such facts is, by international law, essential to render a seizure legal. The officers appear to find their justification in the orders in council and regulations of the British Government, in spite of the fact that in many of the present cases the orders in council and the regulations for their enforcement are themselves complained of by claimants as contrary to international law. Yet the very courts which, it is said, are to dispense justice to dissatisfied claimants, are bound by the orders in council. This is unmistakably indicated to be the case in the British note of July 31, which states that

"British prize courts 'according to the ancient form of commission under which they sit are to determine cases according to the course of admiralty and the law of nations and the statutes, rules, and regulations for the time being in force in that behalf."

This principle, the note adds, has recently been announced and adhered to by the British prize court in the case of the Zamora. It is manifest, therefore, that if prize courts are bound by the laws and regulations under which seizures and detentions are made, and which claimants allege are in contravention of the law of nations, those courts are powerless to pass upon the real ground of complaint or to give redress to pass upon the real ground of complaint or to give redress for wrongs of this nature. Nevertheless, it is seriously suggested that claimants are free to request the prize court to rule upon a claim of conflict between an order in council and a rule of international law. How can a tribunal, fettered in its jurisdiction and procedure by municipal enactments, declare itself emancipated from their verticions and at liberty to apply the subsections and stillness are trivial to the subsections. restrictions and at liberty to apply the rules of international law with freedom? The very laws and regulations which bind the court are now matters of dispute between the Government of the United States and that of His Britannic Majesty. If Great Britain followed, as she declares that she did, the course of first referring claimants to local remedies in cases arising out of American wars, it is presumed that she did so because of her knowledge or understanding that the United States had not sought to limit the jurisdiction of its courts of prize by instructions and regulations violative of the law and practice of nations, or open to such objection.

(27) The British note of February 10 states that the British

Government during the American Civil War, "in spite of remonstrances from many quarters, placed full reliance on the American pulsa country to ican prize courts to grant redress to the parties interested in cases of alleged wrongful capture by American ships of war and put forward no claim until the opportunity for redress in those courts had been exhausted."

The Government of the United States recalls that during the progress of that war Great Britain, in several instances, demanded through diplomatic channels damages for seizures and detentions of British ships alleged to have been made without legal justification. Among these may be mentioned the cases of the *Magicienne*, the *Don Jose*, the *Labuan*, and the *Sazon*. Two of these cases were, at the time the demands were made, before American prize courts for adjudication. It is understood also that during the Boer War, when British authorities seized the German vessels, the Hertzog, The General, and The Bundesrath, and released them without prize proceedings, com-pensation for damages suffered was arranged through diplomatic channels.

(28) There is, furthermore, a real and far-reaching injury for which prize courts offer no means of reparation. It is the disastrous effect of the methods of the allied Governments upon the general right of the United States to enjoy its international trade free from unusual and arbitrary limitations imposed by belligerent nations. Unwarranted delay and expense in bringing vessels into port for search and investigation upon mere suspicion has a deterrent effect upon trade ventures, however lawful they may be, which can not be adequately measured in damages. The menace of interference with legal commerce causes vessels to be withdrawn from their usual trade routes and insurance on vessels and cargoes to be refused, while exporters for the same reason are unable or unwilling to send their goods to foreign markets, and importers dare not buy commodities abroad because of fear of their illegal seizure or because they are unable to procure transportation. For such injuries there can be no remedy through the medium of courts established to adjust claims for goods detained or condemned. For specific injuries suffered by private interests prize courts, if they are free to apply the law of nations, might mete out an adequate

indemnity, but for the injury to the trade of a nation by the menace of unwarranted interference with its lawful and established pursuit there can manifestly be found no remedy in the prize courts of Great Britain, to which United States citizens are referred for redress

(29) There is another ground why American citizens can not submit their wrongs arising out of undue detentions and seizures to British prize courts for reparation which I can not pass over unnoticed. It is the manner in which British courts obtain jurisdiction of such cases. The jurisdiction over merchant vessels on the high seas is that of the nation whose flag it rightfully files. This is a principle of the law and practice of nations fundamental to the freedom of the high sens. Municipal enactments of a belligerent power can not confer jurisdiction over or establish rules of evidence governing the legality of seizures of vessels of neutral nationality on the high seas. International law alone controls the exercise of the belligerent right to seize and detain such vessels. Municipal laws and regulations in violation of the international rights of another nation can not be extended to the vessels of the latter on the high seas so as to justify a belligerent nation bringing them into its ports, and, having illegally brought them within its territorial jurisdiction, compelling them to submit to the domestic laws and regulations of that nation. Jurisdiction obtained in such a manner is contrary to those principles of justice and equity which all nations should respect. Such practice should invalidate any disposition by a municipal court of property thus brought before it. The Government of the United States has, therefore, viewed with surprise and concern the attempt of His Majesty's Government to confer upon the British prize courts jurisdiction by this illegal exercise of force in order that these courts may apply to vessels and cargoes of neutral nationalties, seized on the high seas, municipal laws and orders which can only rightfully be enforceable within the territorial waters of Great Britain or against vessels of British nationality when on the high seas.

(30) In these circumstances the United States Government feels that it can not reasonably be expected to advise its citizens to seek redress before tribunals which are, in its opinion, unauthorized by the unrestricted application of international law to grant reparation, nor to refrain from presenting their claims directly to the British Government through diplomatic channels.

(31) This Government is advised that vessels and cargoes brought in for examination prior to prize proceedings are released only upon condition that costs and expenses incurred in the course of such unwarranted procedure, such as pilotage, wharfage, demurrage, harbor dues, warehousage, unlading costs, etc., be paid by the claimants or on condition that they sign a waiver of right to bring subsequent claims against the British Government for these exactions. This Government is loath to believe that such ungenerous treatment will continue to be accorded American citizens by the Government of His Britannic Majesty; but in order that the position of the United States Government may be clearly understood, I take this opportunity to inform your excellency that this Government denies that the charges incident to such detentions are rightfully imposed upon innocent trade or that any waiver of indemnity exacted from American citizens under such conditions of duress can preclude them from obtaining redress through diplomatic channels or by whatever other means may be open to them.

(32) Before closing this note, in which frequent reference is made to contraband traffic and contraband articles, it is necessary, in order to avoid possible misconstruction, that it should be clearly understood by His Majesty's Government that there is no intention in this discussion to commit the Government of the United States to a policy of waiving any objections which it may entertain as to the propriety and right of the British Government to include in their list of contraband of war certain articles which have been so included. The United States Government reserves the right to make this matter the subject of a communication to His Majesty's Government at a later day.

(33) I believe it has been conclusively shown that the methods sought to be employed by Great Britain to obtain and use evidence of enemy destination of cargoes bound for neutral ports and to impose a contraband character upon such cargoes are without justification; that the blockade, upon which such methods are partly founded, is ineffective, illegal, and indefensible; that the judicial procedure offered as a means of reparation for an international injury is inherently defective for the purpose; and that in many cases jurisdiction is asserted in violation of the law of nations. The United States, there-fore, can not submit to the curtailment of its neutral rights by these measures, which are admittedly retaliatory, and therefore illegal, in conception and in nature, and intended to punish the enemies of Great Britain for alleged illegalities on their

part. The United States might not be in a position to object to them if its interests and the interests of all neutrals were unaffected by them, but, being affected, it can not with complacence suffer further subordination of its rights and interests to the plea that the exceptional geographic position of the enemies of Great Britain require or justify oppressive and

illegal practices.

(34) The Government of the United States desires, therefore, to impress most earnestly upon His Majesty's Government that it must insist that the relations between it and His Majesty's Government be governed, not by a policy of expediency, but by those established rules of international conduct upon which Great Britain in the past has held the United States to account when the latter nation was a belligerent engaged in a struggle for national existence. It is of the highest importance to neutrals not only of the present day but of the future that the principles of international right be maintained unimpaired.

(35) This task of championing the integrity of neutral rights, which have received the sanction of the civilized world against the lawless conduct of belligerents arising out of the bitterness of the great conflict which is now wasting the countries of Europe, the United States unhesitatingly assumes, and to the accomplishment of that task it will devote its energies, exercising always that impartiality which from the outbreak of the war it has sought to exercise in its relations with the warring na-

tions.

I inclose as supplements to this instruction the United States Navy order of August 18, 1862, and a statement regarding vessels detained by British authorities. These two documents should be transmitted as inclosures in your note to Sir Edward Grey.

I am, etc., .

ROBERT LANSING.

Exposes Errors of Aliens, Pacifists, and Reosevelt's Fellowers Opposing Wilson.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MICHAEL E. BURKE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 14, 1916.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a speech delivered by Hon. James A. Reed, United States Senator from Missouri, at Milwankee recently upon the subject of violation of international law and American neutrality by the belligerent nations. The speech is as follows:

SENATOR REED UPHOLDS COURSE OF UNITED STATES IN WAR—EXPOSES ERRORS OF ALIENS, PACIFISTS, AND ROOSEVELT'S FOLLOWERS OPPOSING WILSON—FOREIGN RELATIONS GREAT QUESTION.

The great question now occupying public attention is our relation to other world powers. Intimately connected with the foregoing problem is that of military preparedness. A calm survey of the facts is essential to the solution of either difficulty.

For more than 100 years we have clung to the doctrine of a small Army and Navy. More recently we have been taught that the disputes of the future would be settled by peaceful arbitration. It was thought by many we were approaching disarmament. We are now confronted with a demand that all our policies and traditions shall be reversed or at least greatly modified.

It is the duty of the American people to look the situation squarely in the face. The facts can not be obliterated by denial. Wise men do not cling to a policy merely because it is old. A conclusion based upon a delusion is invariably false.

HAD BELIEVED IN PEACE.

For many years we have been led to believe that the gentle spirit of Christianity had softened the barbaric instincts of civilized men. We were taught that Europe would never again engage in a general war; that armaments were being created merely for the purpose of defense; that solemn treaties were guaranties of peace; that the capitalists of the world would prevent any great struggle; that trade relations were so intimate and the dissemination of literature, the intermingling of peoples by travel so general that the prejudices and hatreds of the past had been dissipated.

We were also led to believe that because of our remoteness from Europe, our policy of avoiding entangling alliances, our disposition to stay at home and attend to our own affairs, our refusal to make wars of conquest, we were but in slight danger of molestation.

We were furthermore told that even in the event European nations did go to war the conflict would be of but a few days' duration, and that our interests could not be seriously affected.

THE GENERAL CONFLAGRATION.

The cold facts now confronting us compel a readjustment of former opinions. The truth is that for years Europe has been upon the verge of a general conflagration. The killing of a single man was sufficient to start the fires which are raging in nearly all of Europe and in large portions of Asia. Treaties have been proved to be but scraps of paper. Ties of blood and religion are disregarded and the rights of nations trampled under foot. The war which it was predicted could last but a few days has gone on for nearly a year and a half.

Instead of a speedy conquest by one side or the other, the nations are practically deadlocked, and the conflict promises to be one of exhaustion. The barbarities and atrocities committed equal, and perhaps surpass, those of any modern war. They challenge comparison with the brutalities of the Goths and

Vandals

BATTLES OF MACHINERY.

We have learned that modern wars are not won merely by the courage or the intelligence of the combatants. The battle is one of machinery more than of men. The man with a machine gun is frequently equal to a company with rifles. Cannon which burl their missiles 20 miles and destroy all modern fortifications have been invented. Ships have become vast floating fortresses. The assassin of the seas—the submarine—capable of sailing 3.500 miles before returning to its base, has been created. Flying machines have annihilated distance, bombarded fortresses and cities from the air, and constituted the eyes and ears of mighty armies.

We have learned that more ammunition can be consumed by modern artillery in one day than by the Confederate and Federal armies during the entire four years of the Civil War.

Swift vessels cross the Atlantic in four and a half days' time. To that extent we know that our ocean barrier has been removed.

OUR CITIZENS SLAIM.

Instead of being able to stand aside uninjured and watch the conflict, we have beheld the ghastly spectacle of hundreds of our own citizens traveling strictly within their rights being sent to their deaths without warning and in defiance of international law and the sovereignty of this Republic; our ships seized in neutral waters, their cargoes confiscated or held for trial before prejudiced prize courts; our citizens have been captured upon the high seas in disregard of those rights for which we waged the War of 1812. These events challenge the thought of all patriotic Americans.

I believe we should approach their consideration calmly, dispassionately, deliberately. There is not the slightest occasion for national hysteria. There is no cause for that haste which is begotten of fear. Even if we were confronted by a great danger impending and about to fall, only cool and deliberate action could avert disaster. Whatever dangers may beset, only those who are controlled by imagination rather than judgment believe them to be immediate. I am opposed to stampedes,

either among cattle or men.

NO CAUSE FOR PANIC.

There is no occasion for panic. In the whole course of her history the United States has not been in as secure a position as she is at this present hour. I make the assertion boldly, because for the first time in the past century every power capable of seriously menacing the United States is engaged in a life-and-death struggle which demands the employment in its own defense of every dollar, man, gun, and ship it can command. Not one of these nations can attack us.

The central powers can not get to us because the allies have enneshed them in a net of steel. The allies dare not withdraw a single army corps lest the great Teutonic legions break their lines of defense. Neither can the allies withdraw their fleets, for in that event Germany's warships would swarm upon the ocean, destroy their commerce, ravish their coasts, burn their cities, sink their transports, and cut their lines of communication. The central powers would likewise inevitably join with our fleets in a war of extermination. The allies could not live for 90 days if the supply of American grains were cut off.

Japan could not land an army here. Her fleet is inferior to that of the United States. The task of protecting transports under such circumstances is impossible. Transports and war navy alike would find a grave in the Pacific.

NATION A MIGHTY WORLD FORCE.

Besides, all of these nations know that if the United States were to throw her wealth, population, and power into the present conflict it would settle the issue. These nations know, if some American citizens do not, that even though the United States were without a ship upon the ocean or a soldier upon the land she would yet be a mighty world force not to be disregarded. They know that if we are not ready we can get ready; that our incalculable wealth, our immeasurable resources, our vast factories would furnish equipment for armies in a miraculously short space of time; that this proud and puissant people would ultimately hurl back into the ocean all of the soldiers that all the transports of the seas could bear to our shores. They know that a day of fearful reckoning would inevitably

The European conflict will not cease until one side or the other has been crushed or until exhaustion ends the struggle in a draw. In either case all parties will be incapable of further immediate great exertion.

It may be safely assumed that the present European struggle will leave the nations involved prostrate, crippled, and bleeding

It follows that for the present and for some considerable period of the future it is impossible that the United States can be successfully invaded by any nation.

There is another consideration. Great wars are not entered upon for slight reasons. There is no sufficient reason conceivable for a European nation to suddenly attack the United States.

DARE NOT ATTACK US.

Furthermore, I think it safe to say none of them dare immediately after the close of the present war assail us. If Germany were to conquer the allies and then engage in war with the United States, her fleet would scarcely have started for our shores until she would be invaded by the countries she had overcome. On the other hand, if the allies were to conquer Germany and in turn attack us, their troops would no sooner have embarked than they would once more hear behind them the tramp of advancing German legions and the salvos of Krupp artillery. To assume anything else is to deny the history of Europe for 500 years, is to entertain the idea that human nature has changed and that great nations and proud peoples suffering the sting of defeat will not seize the first opportunity for vengeance.

But I desire to put the argument upon a higher basis. I do not believe that the people of Europe are barbarous, or even that the governing classes are highwaymen and pirates. therefore do not think they will without cause or excuse attack this country. There must be some great cause, and the cause is not now apparent.

PAPERS DECEIVE PEOPLE.

I make these observations because at least a portion of our press, manufacturers of war supplies, and magazine writers, including ambitious gentlemen hungry for political favor, have sought to excite the fears of our people, until to-day some nerv-ous individuals are in such a state of consternation that the backfire of a Ford automobile sounds to their oversensitive ears like the roar of German cannon.

Nearly all of these excited individuals assume that at least some great nation in Europe is inhabited by barbarous hordes bent upon plunder, rapine, and murder.

The performances of these propagandists are shameless, be-

cause the authors know better.

Recently I have read a widely circulated book by the editor of the Scientific American, entitled "America Fallen." author proceeds in this wise: He assumes that Germany is overcome by the allies and compelled to pay a war indemnity of \$20,000,000,000. That thereupon the Kaiser secretly rendezvouses transports and warships close to our coasts. He sends submarines into our harbors, sinks our ships, and lands an army without this country knowing it is to be attacked until it has already been substantially conquered. It is to be a sort of confidential war. The author proceeds upon the idea that the Germans are assassins; that our people are sound asleep; that the argus-eyed newspaper men of the world have suddenly become blind; that the telegraph, telephone, and cables are put out of business, so that no one knows we are to be attacked until in our dull ears comes the cry, "The Philistines are upon you!" The whole story is a sort of military pipe dream. Its improbabilities eclipse the imaginings of Jules Verne. Its monstrous disregard of facts would arouse the envy of our lamented friend, Baron von Munchausen.

But the greatest absurdity, the most grotesque conception, the most slanderous assumption of this gentleman who presumes

to lecture the American people and satirize Congress, is that the German Government and German people are organized banditti, unrestrained by conscience, unimpeded by honor, unsurpassed in atrocity, unimpeachable as villains, and that they are awaiting an opportunity to rob and murder us in our beds. If such a race of men existed on this earth, it would be our duty to join with civilized nations in its extermination, because the world would not be safe while it existed.

GEMANY HAS BEEN OUR FRIEND.

But what are the facts? We have always been at peace with Germany. We have seen it in the pride of its power, unembarrassed by any war, remain steadfastly our friend. It maintained that attitude even when our own land was engaged in an internecine struggle which for four years taxed every energy of the Federal Government. If there was in the heart of Germany a diabolical desire to destroy the American Government, if it was a nation of cutthroats, if its inhabitants were pirates upon the seas and robbers upon land, surely it would have pounced upon and devoured us when we were sorely stricken and wounded. It did nothing of the kind. man people have not changed for the worse since that time.

What are the facts regarding Germany? So much do her people love learning that in point of literacy they are far above even the native born of our population. In music her masters are our teachers. In painting her artists conduct the schools to which the genius of our land flocks for instruction. In sculpture her marbles and bronzes rival the best products of the age of Grecian glory and Roman culture. In science she leads the world. In philosophy her savants are the instructors of mankind. Her poets and dramatists have given to the German language a dignity and majesty that commands the attention of the world. Her people are lovers of law and order and peace. They do not fight from mere love of brawling. They do not they labor. They do not steal from others, they do not steal f and he would build a home, marry a wife, rear a family, and in the light and shadow of the fireplace will sing to them songs of patriotism and hymns of religion. He will tell them beautiful stories of patriots, martyrs, and saints. On the Sabbath Day you will find him leading his flock to church or cathedral, where with reverence as deep and devotion as exalted as ever thrilled the human heart he will bow before the same God you worship.

These people are not assassins, and no King, Kaiser, or power could ever force the German people into a mere marauding ex-

pedition having for its object national loot.
You may cry, "Belgium!" Was Belgium not invaded? answer, Yes; but Belgium was not invaded for robbery; she was overrun because she lay in the path Germany believed she must tread if she succeeded in the mighty contest she was waging with France.

NO EXCUSE FOR MALIGNING.

General assault upon a race or nation betokens prejudice rather than knowledge. I am justified in speaking as I have of the great Teutonic people by their representatives in this coun-try. We have an enormous German and Austrian population. There is scarcely a community in the land where some of these people do not reside. Are they not law-abiding, God-fearing, industrious, frugal, and patriotic? Wholesale aspersions upon them are without justification or excuse.

I frankly say there have been individuals who have given expression to sentiments non-American and unworthy. wise, we hear extreme and foolish statements occasionally from the lips of our native born. But I utterly repudiate the idea that the occasional utterance of an extremist should be taken as characteristic of the sentiments of the great mass. I affirm it to be true that our Teutonic population, whether of the first or second generation, are among the best of our citizenry.

Books of the character I have described, pamphlets, magazines, and newspapers seeking to inflame this American people with ideas so false, so dangerous, so infamous, are little less than criminal, and ought to meet with that public condemnation which is generally visited upon those who willfully seek to perpetrate a wrong against civilization.

HAVE PLENTY OF TIME.

This brings me to what I consider the proper point from which all our bearings should be taken. We here arrive at a conclusion of fact as reliable as anything human can be. That conclusion is that we have abundance of time in which to develop a plan under which this Government can achieve a position so powerful as to withstand all assaults.

It must be conceded that our national existence may sometime be menaced. It may, for argument's sake, be further assumed that the hour of danger will arrive as soon as European nations have recovered from the frightful ravages of the present war.

The chance that we will then have to go to war with any great European power is, in my opinion, as 1 to 10,000; but I freely concede, nay, I insist, that the one chance should not be taken.

The question, however, is, What sort of preparation should we make to meet the chance, however remote?

make to meet the chance, however remote?

CITIZENS MUST DEFEND LAND.

There are but two plans possible. The first is the creation of a great standing army and mighty navy. The second, the maintenance of a standing army only as a framework upon which to build the structure of a great citizen soldiery, together with a

sufficient navy to constitute a first line of defense.

So far as I am concerned, I am clearly of the opinion that

this country must depend upon the ability of its citizens to defend themselves, rather than upon a professional military class. In support of this conclusion I offer the following observations:

For a hundred years we have been free from attack by any first-class power. During that period we have made the most wonderful progress ever achieved by any race of men since first

the morning stars sang the chorus of creation.

In all our history our shores have been invaded but once, and our visitors did not then remain long, did not take much away, and did not profit by the venture. The last answer to that invasion was given when Jackson's frontiersmen back of the cotton-baled barricades shattered the veterans of Wellington's army.

CAPTURE OF WASHINGTON.

The circumstance of the capture of Washington in 1812 can not be justly used as evidence of the danger of repetition. We were yet scarcely welded together as a nation. We had neither railroads to transport our troops, money in our Treasury, nor telegraph and telephone to advise us of the approach of an enemy.

Notwithstanding the foregoing considerations, we must recognize the fact that the business of war has been revolutionized and that our people are, perhaps, not as well qualified to take the field as were the frontiersmen of 1776 and 1812. The training of the forest and field was then the equivalent of the discipline of the camp. The courage of the patriot defending his home rose superior to the dogged obedience of the professional fighter. It is a serious question whether our people still retain the same degree of native efficiency. We must remember, too, as I have already said, that the ocean has been narrowed by modern transportation; that human courage can not withstand the power of vast machinery; that we can not stop 16-inch shells with hot air.

We must not fail to remember that the contest is no longer between men, but machinery; that war to-day is not so much a test of valor as of organization; not so much a test of the power to mobilize men as to mobilize machinery, supplies, and instruments of destruction.

Against an army equipped with modern instrumentalities the valor of a man with a rifle is almost as ineffective as the courage of the red Indian armed with bow and arrow when confronted by soldiers equipped with firearms and batteries of cannon.

We have no right, therefore, to rely for our security upon our unarmed, unequipped, and untrained citizenry. Even if at the end of a great war we should, because of our resources, be assured of victory, nevertheless we have no right to send forth our sons to useless slaughter. We are not justified in filling American homes with the vacant chairs of those who were slaughtered because they were required to pit their unprotected bodies against a machinery of destruction so diabolical as to almost stagger one's confidence in the existence of a beneficent Deity.

The question, therefore, is, How can we place our citizenry in such condition that they can meet on fairly equal terms the pro-

fessional soldiers of Europe?

1. It must be agreed that there should be on hand a sufficient number of machine guns and enough field artillery to supply every immediate necessity of an army suddenly called into the field.

2. That our ports must be protected by cannon as powerful

as are possessed by any nation of the world.

3. That some means must be devised whereby great numbers of our citizens will be given a sufficient military training to measurably fit them for service upon short notice.

4. A sufficient number of men must be educated to properly officer an army when called into the field.

5. Factories and munition plants of our country must be located in the interior at points remote from possible attack.

6. A great plan for the mobilization of our industries and transportation facilities must be entered upon and finally brought

to such a state of perfection that troops may be rapidly moved from one portion of the country to the other, supplies procured, and all the vast equipment for an army sufficiently obtained.

7. The Navy must be great enough to constitute a first line of defense.

REQUIRES YEARS OF WORK.

The question is, How can a plan of this magnitude be carried out? Certainly it will require for its consummation years of work, patience, and toil. Just as certainly it should not be entered upon until the plan has been reasonably perfected, else we shall find ourselves building only that we may again tear down.

Perhaps the most difficult of all the tasks referred to is the one of creating a citizen soldiery properly officered. I maintain that such a plan can be evolved and carried to successful consummation. It is possible to have an armed democracy.

I further insist that a plan which will result in a large part of our people possessing sufficient military training to equip them to be speedily fitted for active service is one containing a thousand elements of national strength where the creation of a great professional soldiery presents one.

Indeed, all must admit that in a great war, in the last grip of the struggle, reliance must be put in the sturdy character of the men of the country. If we only train a professional army, we will train only a small part of our population. If we develop a proper plan for fitting our people generally for service, we will gain that strength and power which is essential in the throes of a great life-and-death struggle.

TRAINING THE CITIZENRY.

How shall we give to our people that military training essential? In my humble judgment much can be accomplished by properly sustaining the National Guard. We are told that the National Guard has never proven a success. I answer it has never been given the opportunity to make a success. Its members have received no stipend. Until recently they were armed only with rifles which had been for years discarded by every first-class nation. They were practically without ammunition. They were expected to furnish their own armories and to devote their time without compensation. To say that the organization has not been a great success under these difficulties is to argue nothing. Instead of spending vast sums upon a large standing army, let us furnish arms, equipment, and reasonable pay to the members of this great volunteer army.

If we do so, I predict that it will be but a short time until its membership will have increased to a point in numbers and efficiency so that we can rely upon it as a great power for defense.

I have but little confidence in any scheme that proposes to build up an army upon the theory of its membership quitting their work once in each year for a period of six or eight weeks. The practical application of such a plan will, in my judgment, prove its defects.

TEACHING IN SCHOOLS.

I believe also that a plan can be developed to encourage the public schools and nearly all of the universities and colleges of the land to teach military science as a part of the school curriculum. Thus we will reach nearly all of the youth of the land at a time when their habits of mind and thought are being formed; when they learn with alacrity; and when they have time to devote to military service. But the working out of such a plan will require time and study. I repeat, we ought to take the necessary time.

Upon one point nearly all the people are agreed, namely, that there should be an immediate increase in the strength of our Navy. But I do not believe we are prepared to undertake the erection of the greatest navy upon the seas. If we embark upon such a plan it will inevitably follow that Great Britain will enlarge her fleet and that we will be simply engaged in a race with that great power, the end of which no man can foresee.

NEED OF OFFICERS.

I believe we ought to enlarge our military schools at Annapolis and West Point, open them more generously for students, or that we should establish military and naval academies throughout the country at which every boy physically and mentally fit would receive a liberal education without cost. Such a plan would furnish us with an abundance of qualified officers.

But yet these plans should be carefully thought out. We

should not undertake their accomplishment in a day.

I am opposed to the establishment of a great standing army. General military training is not dangerous, because those who are thus trained are part of the general population of the land. They are engaged in civil employment. Their ambitions and hopes must be realized through success in civil life. They live with the people and are of the people.

DANGER OF A PROFESSIONAL ARMY.

On the contrary, the professional soldier is in a class by himself. His hopes and aspirations are to be realized by the advancement of that particular class. He makes the study of war his business

He is too likely to come to regard the country as existing for the military instead of the military existing for the country. The professional soldier creates no wealth-he is a consumer. His success depends upon the amount he can draw from the public and the advancement he may attain in rank. This Nation has not hitherto been militarized. It will not now be transformed into an armed camp.

OUR RIGHTS UPON THE SEA.

Candor compels me to admit that many times during the past 18 months I have fervently wished our Navy more power-Had such been the case I am confident our rights would have been better respected. Deny it as we may, nations, like men, hesitate to trample upon the rights of the powerful. So that it happens that aggravating conditions, which may even force a nation into war, may be the direct result of the nation's unfitness to defend its rights. The power to defend frequently makes defense unnecessary.

AMERICAN NEUTRALITY.

I insist that our Government has maintained a strict neutrality. I know there are those in this audience who entertain a contrary opinion. I shall, however, undertake to demonstrate that we have not only maintained strict neutrality but that we have, under trying and exasperating conditions, exercised a remarkable degree of patience. Indeed, a review of the infringements upon our rights by both sides of the European controversy is calculated to stir the blood of every American patriot. It is not too much to say that sufficient cause has been afforded by both sides of the European conflict to have justified a declaration of war. Those, therefore, who are inclined to criticize this Government for having been guilty of unneutral conduct would do well to examine the indisputable facts.

Our Government has, however, from the first maintained a consistent policy looking toward the maintenance of peace. It has been constrained to regard the manifold outrages perpetrated against our rights upon the high seas as having been occasioned by the stress of a great conflict rather than by a deliberate purpose on the part of European powers to injure this

Acts, therefore, which, if they stood out by themselves and were not ameliorated by the considerations referred to would have demanded not only the severance of diplomatic relations but a positive declaration of war, have been made the subject of negotiation.

RELATIONS WITH GERMANY.

There are those in this audience, I doubt not, who have been led to believe that the United States has taken advantage of the necessities of the Teutonic powers and pursued a policy against them harsh and unjustifiable. I shall, however, demonstrate to every candid man here that such an idea is based upon a misconception both of law and fact. I shall do this not by any argument of mine, but by the solemn admissions of the German and Austrian Governments. I shall be able to make the same demonstration against the entente allies. Let me lay down a few fundamental principles:

First. The right of our citizens and our commerce to pass unmolested over the high seas and to enter any port of the world is not only guaranteed by international law, but it is a very

essential attribute of sovereignty.

The sole qualifications of this right is that belligerent nations have the privilege of blockading the ports of their antagonists. The blockade, however, is confined to the ports and not to the high seas, and must be actually maintained. Belligerents also have the right in certain cases to take contraband of war.

For more than a year both parties to the European conflict have violated our rights as thus defined.

March 11, 1915, England set the example. On that date she issued an order in council that she would not thereafter permit commodities of any kind to reach or leave Germany. She undertook to close the entire Baltic and North Seas, an act unjustifiable by any principle of international law. February 4, 1915, Germany declared the waters around Great

Britain and Ireland, including the whole English Channel, a war zone from and after February 15. This act was in violation of

Under these two orders England and Germany set up the pretense of a right to seize vessels, destroy shipping, and Germany

has sent hundreds of people to their death.

Time forbids reading even a list of the vessels sunk or captured. Let it be noted, however, that there has been a radical difference between the acts of the allies and the central powers.

The allies have, in violation of international law, captured vessels and taken cargoes into port, but they have not destroyed a single human life. These vessels, when taken into port, have been made the subject of investigation by prize courts-judicial determination has been possible. I do not say this by way of excuse, but rather by way of distinction.

THE SUBMARINE CAMPAIGN.

On the other hand, Germany embarked upon a policy which violated every principle of international, every mandate of divine law. Instead of capturing vessels, she proceeded to send them to the bottom of the ocean. Her submarines laid in wait in many instances, and without even giving passengers a reasonable opportunity to take to their boats and trust themselves to the dangers of the deep, sent them to the bottom without reasonable warning and without the chance of escape.

March 27 she sank the steamer Falaba; 111 lives were lost, one an American.

February 27 the American vessel William P. Frye was sunk by the Prinz Eitel Friedrich.

April 23 she undertook to sink the American steamer Cushing. May 1 she sank the American steamer Gulflight.

May 7 she sent the Lusitania to the bottom; 1,200 lives were lost, over 100 American citizens perishing.

May 25 the American ship Nebraska was sunk by a subma-

May 27 she sank the Danish steamer Betty in the North Sea. May 25 she sank the Chilean steamer Maximiano, with a loss

On June 5 Germany admitted she was wrong in attacking the Cushing and Gulflight. By that admission she in principle conceded she was unjustified in sinking any of the vessels above named.

July 18 she undertook to sink the Cunard liner Orduna. She fired upon this passenger ship. The ship escaped.

July 25 the United States steamer Leclanaw was torpedoed off the coast of Scotland.

July 31 the British steamer Iberian was sunk by a submarine: 6 lives lost, one an American.

August 19 the Arabic was torpedoed; 20 lives lost, among them several Americans.

August 28 Ambassador von Bernstorff promised full satisfaction for the sinking of the Arabic.

This constituted an admission in principle that all of the boats named were wrongfully attacked, because there was more justification for sinking the Arabic, which was a British boat, than for sinking the other boats, particularly the American boats that I have referred to.

September 1, Ambussador von Bernstorff agreed that Germany must respect the lives of noncombatants, and promised that vessels would not be thereafter sunk without warning. Again this was an admission that Germany had been wrong in all of the cases referred to.

September 4, the Canadian steamer Hesperian was tor-pedoed; 26 killed, 2 being Americans.

September 23, Germany promised that she would not thereafter destroy American vessels carrying conditional contraband. Again this was an admission that she had been wrong in her course toward the United States.

October 5, Bernstorff, by letter, disavowed the act of the German submarine in sinking the Arabic, formally admitted that Germany was wrong, and expressed deep regret and promised to pay indemnity. He said:

"My Government is prepared to pay indemnity for the American lives which, to its deep regret, have been lost on the Arabic. I am authorized to negotiate with you about the amount of this indemnity."

Here was not only an admission of wrong but a promise to pay damages.

November 9, the Italian liner Ancona was sunk by an Aus-

trian submarine; 272 lives were lost, including 27 Americans.

December 30, Austria admitted the commander of the submarine was not justified in sinking the Ancona, and declared his act to be of so grave a nature that he had been severely

punished, and offered to pay indemnity.

Thus it may be said that in every case Germany stands before the world confessing her guilt, admitting the grave nature of her offense, and conceding that the United States has been right

in her every contention.

In view of this solemn admission by the German and Austrian Governments, what man is there in America who dare criticize our Government for having protested against Germany's conduct? What man is there dare protest against the American Government endeavoring to stop the wrongful slaughter of her citizens and the outrageous interference with her commerce?

I say without equivocation that the American, native or foreign-born, who now protests against this act of our Government is not a good citizen of the United States, and ought not be permitted to live under her flag.

THE ALLIES' OFFENSES.

The allies have also grossly offended, but they have not taken human life. Nevertheless, their conduct can not be passed over lightly, and is not being so treated. This Government has insisted England shall cease violating international law; that she shall respect the rights of our citizens upon the high seas. This insistence has been constant, forceful, positive, determined. It will so continue. You can trust Woodrow Wilson to continue powerfully, forcefully, and even threateningly to push these negotiations.

I shall be greatly surprised if within the next 30 days Great Britain does not admit the righteousness of our cause and make

proper reparation.

There are some in this country who have complained upon the ground that we have not been as insistent in our demands upon England as upon the central powers. Let me call your

attention to two or three considerations:

First, if two foreign powers have wronged us, if one of them has murdered our citizens upon the high seas, and another has taken our goods, why should any American citizen complain because we have pushed the death claim more vigorously than the

property claim?

A good citizen of a community where robbery and murder are both being committed may complain if both are not prosecuted, but he surely can not be heard to insist that the authorities have been unjust to the murderer because they did not first try and convict the robber.

The second observation I make is this: That England in seizing our ships took them into a court of law to try the question of her right to confiscate the property. There was, therefore, a remedy open. But when Germany and Austria sent our men, women, and children shricking to their watery graves, there was and is no possible remedy. Damages will not restore life. Money can not compensate for blood spilled.

HAVE STOOD FOR JUSTICE.

It, therefore, must appear to all fair-minded people that in our controversies with all of these powers we have stood at all times upon the rock of justice, and that we have manifested

a marked degree of forbearance.

Had our Government not been headed by a man devoted to the cause of peace, had some excitable or war-ambitious gentleman been the Chief Magistrate of this Nation, the flame of anger burning in the hearts of the American people over the murder of our citizens would probably have been long ago fanned into flame by the Government itself and war declared against Ger-

SHIPMENT OF ARMS AND SUPPLIES.

It is claimed, however, that we have been unneutral because we have permitted the shipment of arms to the allies, and on the part of some, because we have allowed the allies to purchase supplies here. The two complaints must be considered together because, as I shall show, they are of one cloth.

When the European war began we had for years been trading with every country in Europe, sending to them whatsoever they saw fit to buy, and buying from them that which we needed.

When war was declared it was our duty to remain neutral; that is, not to change our position with reference to any of these powers. That is neutrality. Nothing else is neutrality.

The United States Government has never altered its position in one particular. The sole change in the ability of the European nations to obtain supplies in this country grows out of the

The United States does not prevent Germany buying goods or munitions in this country. She is still free to buy, but England prevents her from taking them across the ocean.

If, therefore, we were to refuse to sell goods to England be-cause she will not permit Germany to ship goods across the seas, we would be actually taking sides with Germany against England, and punishing England because she was able to stop Germany from transporting goods. We would at once make ourselves the ally of Germany.

IF CASE WERE REVERSED.

Suppose, on the other hand, Germany were to submarine the entire English fleet so that she commanded the ocean and could capture all goods being sent to England, and we would thereupon refuse to sell any goods to Germany, would we not thereby be depriving Germany of nearly all the advantage she had gained by sinking the British fleet? Would we not be taking sides against the German people? The slightest reflection will con-

vince any candid mind of the correctness of the foregoing conclusion.

The truth is one of the first war loans made in this country was that of \$25,000,000 to Germany. She is still as free to borrow money in this country as she ever was. She is not doing so because England has blocked the highways of the seas, and she can not purchase supplies here, even if she could obtain money.

ALL EXPORTS STAND ALIKE

But it is argued that we at least should prevent the shipment of munitions. This is already answered by what I have said. An attempt, however, is made to differentiate between shipment of munitions and the shipment of other supplies. I deny that there is any real difference. Let us examine the question.

First, we have the undoubted right under international law to sell munitions to belligerent powers. Being therefore within our legal rights, the question remains, Is there any moral duty

resting upon us?

If such duty does exist, then plainly it must be bottomed upon the idea that by selling arms to a belligerent we enable it to kill the soldiers of its enemy. If that be the ground, let us see where it will lead us.

Manifestly if it is wrong to sell a saber to a cavalryman because it enables him to kill his enemy, it is wrong to sell him a

cavalry horse to bear him to the field of battle.

If it is wrong to sell a cannon it is wrong to sell Missouri mules to draw the cannon to the firing line. Likewise, it is wrong to sell automobiles, because they transport soldiers; harness, because it is employed on war horses; clothing, because it enables the army to keep the field; food, because without food and clothing no army can keep the field 24 hours.

Thus it follows that the doctrine which would prohibit us from the shipment of munitions keeps us from the shipment of

every conceivable kind of supplies.

Besides, no army can remain long in the field unless it is supported and sustained by a nation back of it, and the nation back of the army can not give support unless the nation be fed and clothed. Accordingly, the feeding of the nation-of the noncombatants at home-contributes to the maintenance of the army and the ability of the army to overcome its antagonist in

The logic of these gentlemen, carried to its natural conclusion, would prevent us from selling anything to the belligerent powers. It would practically wipe out our foreign commerce, If that were done, horses, mules, cattle, corn, hay—all farm products would go to less than 50 per cent of the value they would have commanded had war never been begun. Our great factories would be closed; our industrial and agricultural Want and misery would stalk through this classes beggared. land. We would be in the grip of a relentless panic.

We would suffer all of the evils incident to a great war save the loss of the lives of our citizens. Nor would we escape this entirely, because the gaunt figure of want would enter the homes of the humble and the poor and our people would walk

the streets in search of bread.

All this we would suffer because of a war which we prayed God might never occur and which we with equal fervency pray may soon end. Let it not be forgotten that our ordinary commerce was largely destroyed by the war, and if we were now to refuse to trade because of the war, national ruin would stare us in the face.

LOYALTY FIRST DUTY.

The first duty of the American citizen is loyalty to the American Government. There can be no such thing as a divided allegiance. It is impossible to "serve both God and Mammon." It is impossible to be a loyal citizen of the United States and at the same time subordinate its interests to those of Great Britain, of Germany, of France, or of Italy

Whenever a citizen of the Republic allows his interests in any foreign Government to control or materially affect his judgment or acts touching any matter in which the American Government or its people are concerned he ceases to be a loyal citi-

zen of the United States.

This is a lesson which ought to be impressed upon all of our people, whether native or foreign born. There can be no such thing as half loyalty, for half loyalty is whole treason.

The duty of every citizen of the Republic is to study all of the exed questions now confronting the world solely from the American standpoint. The only question to be asked and answered is, What action should be taken for the advancement of the Government and people of the United States?

MUST STAND UNITED.

It is intolerable that individuals enjoying protection of the American flag, the benefits of civil and religious liberty, and the opportunities afforded in this land of freedom should by word or act give aid or comfort to foreign nations with which we are involved in diplomatic or other controversies. At this troubled period of the world's history Americans should and must con-stitute an indissoluble unit. The spirit of the people will tolerate nothing less than an undivided allegiance and unquestioned

If we are to escape the manifold dangers which now surround us, if out of these controversies our Government shall emerge triumphant, if the best results are to be attained for the American people, then it is essential that the world should be given to know that back of the demands of the President there is massed 100,000,000 loyal people ready to sacrifice the last drop of blood and the last dollar of money to vindicate national rights and national honor.

Let the diplomats of the world but understand that the people of the United States are thus united and thus determined, and there is no power on earth will dare refuse our reasonable de-

NATION HAMPERED BY ALIENS.

In my judgment, our foreign diplomacy would have escaped many obstacles and long since have triumphed had it not been for the existence of three classes of people who from varying motives have so demeaned themselves as to create a widespread impression that Americans are divided in sentiment, and that the administration does not in truth speak for the entire people,

The first class consists of those foreign-born citizens who have become voluntary expatriates from their native lands, and who in order to secure the benefits of American citizenship have solemnly renounced allegiance to all foreign kings, potentates, and powers, who have thereupon been received into the body of our citizenship, granted the full privileges of the native-born, and who have by adoption inherited the priceless liberties which were purchased by the sacrifices of our fathers upon many a bloody field. Some of these people have given expression to views which have been formed entirely from the foreign standpoint. Instead of asking themselves the question, What is to the interest of the United States? they first determine what in their mind is to the interest of the foreign nation in which they happen to have been born. Let me say to this class of people that if they think more of the place of their birth than of the home of their adoption, if they are more enamored of monarchial than of democratic government, if their sympathies for a foreign power outrun their devotion to the United States, then their place is on the other side of the water, and the field of their activities the battle plains, where their brethren are fighting.

A HAVEN FOR FOREIGNERS.

I say this in all kindliness, but in all earnestness. I have all my life advocated the open door. I have insisted that the acci-dent of birth should not bind an individual to a particular spot of the earth, and that America's doors should swing inward and America's arms be extended in hospitality for the people of European countries who come here because of their devotion to the principles of our Government and who are at the same time capable of amalgamation into our citizenry.

I was one of the few Members of the Senate who made a

serious effort to sustain the President's veto of the restrictive immigration bill. I took that position because I believed then, as I believe now, that the great mass of foreigners who flock to our shores come here because they have felt the oppression of tyranny, learned to hate despots, and to correspondingly love the blessings of free government.

But I insist that when these foreigners enter our gates they shall cease to be French citizens, British subjects, Italian subjects, German subjects, or Belgian subjects. I insist that they shall be as devoted to our flag and to our institutions as is the man who can trace his ancestry back to some soldier who fought upon the fields of the Revolution.

Nothing less than this will satisfy the American people. Anything less than this is intolerable.

AS TO THE PACIFISTS.

The second class who have interfered and are yet interfering are those well-intentioned dreamers who declare for peace at any price. To them let me say a kindly word:

Peace at any price is the most revolting and impossible doctrine ever announced. Carried to its legitimate conclusion, it might mean the obliteration of all liberty and all civilization. Would these misled people be willing to see the Government of the United States supplanted by a foreign military autocracy? Would they consent to live under the flag of a conqueror? Are they willing that a barbarous nation invade and sack our cities, ravish our women, burn our libraries, and establish paganism upon the ruins of Christianity? If they are not willing to sub-mit to these frightful conditions, then they are not in favor of ling bondage.

peace at any price. The moment these gentlemen admit that under any circumstances force should be met with force, the doctrine of peace at any price ceases to be. The question then becomes "Under what conditions and upon what provocations shall we fight to maintain our liberties?" Once this ground is accepted, and it is the only one upon which an American citizen can stand, it must be apparent that the liberties of the people can only be maintained by a government which insists upon the protection of the rights of its citizens. Whenever a government fails to perform this office it sinks into disrespect, and the citizen loses that protection to which he is entitled and for which governments are created.

Accordingly, whenever the vital interests of a people are concerned, whenever our Government's standing in the great family of nations is imperiled, it becomes necessary to employ force. That is only another way of saying that every nation which expects to maintain itself and to preserve the liberties of its people must be prepared to defend its national honor and integrity, if need be, upon the field of battle.

It accordingly follows, if defense must be made, and if in the last analysis force must be employed, that any government is derelict in its duty toward the people which does not make reasonably adequate preparations to enable it to meet all dangers which may be reasonably anticipated.

INCREASE NATION'S DANGER.

But the peace-at-any-price advocates, by their preachments, tend to increase our international dangers. Let the greedy nations of the world once be given to understand that the American people will not fight, and it is as certain as can be anything lying in the future that wrongs and outrages will be so multiplied as to force us into a conflict.

I repeat, America is secure as long as other countries understand that we are a brave, peace-loving, and at the same time warlike people; that we are united; that we will not brook insults; that we will not yield to threats or run from danger. Otherwise, we are far from safe.

THE POLITICAL AGITATORS.

The third class who serve to increase the dangers of war are well typified by that class of individuals who seek to coin into political capital the spirit of resentment which the American naturally feels for the recent outrages perpetrated against our citizens and our commerce.

Happily for us, neither the purrings of the peace-at-any-price propagandists nor the loud-mouthed bayings of professional demagogues have swerved the great body of the people from an adherence to the line of conduct now being pursued by President Wilson. He has adopted neither of the extreme nor foolish views to which I have adverted. He has steadfastly adhered to the doctrine that America desires to promote the peace of the world; that she especially wants to maintain her own peace; and that she will make all reasonable sacrifices to attain these

But she will also steadfastly insist upon the maintenance of the national honor, upon the preservation of the rights of our citizens, upon the adherence by belligerents to the laws of civilized warfare, and that if driven to the extremity this country will enforce these doctrines regardless of cost.

Such is the American doctrine as it has been promulgated by a great American President. It finds a generous response in the

hearts of all American citizens worthy the name.

National Defense.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM SCHLEY HOWARD,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 18, 1916.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, the question of national defense seems to be paramount in the minds of the American people if the press reports are indicative of public sentiment.

It is to be regretted that our country seems to be dividing into two distinct factions, to wit, irrational and ruinous preparedness and no preparedness. Some of our citizens are worked up to the "cold-shivers" stage and believe that Japan or Germany, or even Villa, will come over under the cover of darkness and take our country from us and place us in everlastOthers can see only a "battle of roses" in the future. How sublime would such a future be! But the great nations of the earth locked in deadly combat are not fighting such a battle. The most scientific, the most destructive, engines of death and devastation are being used for the annihilation of the white race.

If I shall be permitted to do so, I would like to present to the country the real situation as to national defense as it exists; that is to say, our present state of preparedness, the cost of our military establishment, its efficiency and weakness, the wasteful and inefficient administration, where we have thus far been led, and where we must stop.

Let us for the moment eliminate the commercialism of war and the preparation for war. Let me speak to those of our citizens who go to the fields, the shops, the stores, and the mills humming the national anthem—

My country, 'tis of thee, Sweet land of liberty, Of thee I sing.

There should be a complete divorce from politics, so far as our national defense is concerned. Certainly this is one question we can debate and settle as a whole Nation, without prejudice or bias as to party affiliations, section, or class.

The present titanic European struggle has demonstrated beyond the cavil of doubt two things—that no amount of preparedness is any insurance against war; that no nation can conclude when it is adequately prepared, for it can have no assurance beforehand with what nation the breach may occur.

So we may as well concede that we can not purchase perpetual peace with munitions of war and battleships. So, also, unless we are endowed with supernatural foresight, we can not determine which nation will engage us in war.

Therefore, there are but two policies to pursue—prepare to such an extent that we expect to meet all of the great world powers at once, or prepare our Nation for war in such manner that we can arm, equip, and muster into service with reasonable rapidity a percentage of our citizens who have been trained in military tactics and strategy sufficient to repel an attack from a first-class world power.

Preparation for war is the most expensive of all governmental activities. This is true even when the most scrupulous economy is practiced. It seems almost impossible to eliminate the spirit of commercialism from dominating any propaganda for preparedness. In fastening its fangs into our program for preparedness it appeals to political ends to meet its demands, and when this condition exists we go headlong into foolish and wasteful extravagance, without any regard for efficiency and effectiveness.

Politics inch by inch crept into our pension system, until candidates for Congress in certain States of the Union make the amount that can be gotten from the Treasury for the old soldier the sole issue of the campaign. You can see to what extent we have been led in profligacy in granting pensions by the sum annually appropriated 51 years after the Civil War. This year we appropriated, in round figures, \$173,000,000. This one annual appropriation equaled the amount paid in five years by all the other nations of the earth up to the outbreak of the European war. In the War with Spain our enlisted strength amounted to 215,000 men. Our losses from killed and wounded did not exceed 200 men. Fifteen years after this war one out of every seven had successfully connected himself with Uncle Sam's pay roll for the balance of his natural life.

Actually we send over a million dollars abroad every year to pay foreigners pensions, natural citizens of other countries, who, no doubt received large bounties to enlist in the United States Army for service.

We have lost sight of the only legitimate reason for the payment of a pension to a citizen who fought for his country, to wit, indigency and wounds. Hundreds and hundreds of men of means, who have every comfort and luxury, who are free from wounds or disease, annually draw their pension from the Treasury.

Has not this system instilled in the hearts and minds of our citizenry a mercenary rather than a patriotic conception of an American soldier?

From all sides we hear the command: Increase our Navy; increase our standing Army. Very well. How many more super-dreadnaughts, dreadnaughts, battle cruisers, scout cruisers, torpedo boat destroyers, and submarines do we need? Who will assume this responsibility? None of our naval experts have laid the keel for such a program.

Seventy-one cents of every dollar we collected in revenue from all sources in 1914 went for Army, Navy, and pensions.

In 1913 our ordinary expenditures were \$682,000,000, of which \$160,000,000 were military, \$133,000,000 naval, \$175,000,000 military pensions, making a total of \$468,000,000.

The most unpopular act of the Democratic Party was the special war-tax act, made necessary by the decrease in customs duties on account of European conditions. The maximum this law sought to raise was \$100,000,000. Letters are pouring in to Congressmen and Senators asking that this law be not reenacted. What will the people say when they are asked to contribute four to five hundred millions for an indefinite period?

It takes a most blatant demagogue to preach a doctrine to the people that the Federal Government is a great, far-away-fromthe-folks, benevolent association. The truth is, the taxpayers pay for every benefit they derive from the National Government, and pay the "top of the market" every time. The farmer pays for his Rural Delivery Service; the merchant pays for his City Delivery Service; we pay for the boll-weevil experts, the cattle-tick "pickers," the farmers' bulletins, and so forth. They all cost money—lots of money—and the people foot the bills. As Gov. Ferguson, of Texas, wisely said to the general assembly of that State:

The public must sooner or later learn that the Government is not an apple tree whose fruit can be plucked at will and resupplied by nature. The Government is the people, and whatever burdens the Government must in the last analysis burden the people.

The very best thing for the people at this time is correct information in detail of what we have in stock in the way of an Army and Navy to show for the \$3,538.541,023.31 we have expended in 14 years. If we have an inferior Army and an inefficient Navy after the taxpayers have expended this stupendous sum, then somebody has been stealing our money or those who were in charge of these expenditures have been criminally wasteful and extravagant.

As a patriotic American I am unwilling for the people of this country, especially my own constituents, to be imbued with the idea that their money has been squandered and we have only a makeshift for a navy. The truth is that our Navy is so far superior to all the navies of the world, except those of England and Germany, that a comparison would be ridiculous.

Before the European war (and all of them have sustained losses) we had 10 more battleships than France, 20 more than Japan, 24 more than Russia, and 22 more than Italy.

They told us in 1914 that our Navy was inferior to Germany's. Let us compare and see if this is true. We have 39 battleships, 15 armored cruisers, 10 monitors, making 64 armored ships in all. Germany has 20 battleships, 13 dreadnaughts, 16 cruisers, making 55 armored ships. Figuratively speaking, our ships would make a line 16 miles long and Germany's would be 12 miles long.

This, in fact, proves but little as to the naval strength of either Germany or the United States. Gun force is what counts in naval engagements. The lamented Judge Witherspoon, of Mississippi, one of the most painstaking, thoroughly informed men who ever graced a seat in Congress, made a minute scientific comparison of the gun forces of our country and Germany. Here is what he said:

We have on our battleship fleet 492 guns, on our dreadnaught fleet 144 guns, on our armored cruisers 264 guns, and on our monitors 26, making a total of 926 guns on the armored vessels of our Navy. Germany has 380 guns on her battleship fleet, 202 on her dreadnaughts, 255 on her armored cruisers, making a total of 837, showing that we have in number of guns 89 more guns on our armored vessels than there are on the armored vessels of the German Navy.

To make a long story short, every armored vessel we have in our Navy is superior in gun force to every vessel in the German Navy, ship for ship. This statement was not true until the launching of the New York and Oklahoma, as the last two dreadnaughts of the German Navy carried sixteen 15-inch guns, which were larger than any guns we carried until the New York and Oklahoma were launched.

Of course, the American people have not been taken into the confidence of the Navy Department, and they have made no effort to correct the fugitive statements made by the magazines and through the press about the woeful condition of our Navy.

The following comparison of expenditures of the United States and Germany, taken from official documents, might be interesting to those who want to know facts:

From 1904 to 1912, inclusive, the United States expended on her naval establishment \$1,079.434,210.49. Germany during the same period expended \$668.316,799. It is true our naval officers are paid the best salaries in the world. So are our enlisted men, but one-fifth of all expenditures is said to be a correct basis to figure pay allowances for officers and men, so Germany paid as

much in proportion to her appropriations as we paid in the United States to our officers and men.

By a dollars and cents comparison we should have much more to show for our expenditures than we have, and it is only an evidence that an economic reorganization of our Navy is neces-

In the face of the actual facts as to our naval power, we have the losses being incurred each week by the other great naval powers of the earth. By the process of elimination we are gaining daily in naval strength. In addition to this, the appropriation of the last Congress was the largest in the history of the Navy

Eighteen months have elapsed since Europe fired her first gun. Not a single naval engagement of any note has taken place. The submarine has put the tremors in all the crews of the nations engaged. The mightiest and fleetest of battleships and cruisers have been their victims.

The great trouble with our Navy has been that it was "top-eavy." We as a Nation went wild in 1907 on the superdreadnaught type of vessel. Until one of our great naval experts, testifying before a committee of Congress, stated that if we were to become engaged in a naval battle with one of the great powers we would have to bring in nine of our most formidable battleships and protect them from destruction with our coast or harbor defenses. Why? Because our experts had failed to provide the necessary auxiliaries to accompany our dreadnaughts—destroyers, scout cruisers, cruisers, and submarines. The very large appropriation carried in the present bill for naval defense corrects and provides for the necessary auxiliary ships, making our first line effective and balanced.

Another strange condition that can only be explained by the naval officers themselves-but I have never seen any attempt at such explanation: On 21 battleships in our fleet we are considerably over 5,000 men short, although the pay of our enlisted men is as high as or higher than the pay of any other nation on earth, and their allowance much more liberal. There is a reason. Ask any old enlisted man. One reason why we can not enlist men in the American Navy easily except in times of panic is that more court-martials reach the Judge Advocate General's office for petty offenses than go to the same office from the largest navy on earth. Secretary Daniels has devoted much largest navy on earth. Secretary Daniels has devoted much time and study to the enlisted men and has done, and is doing, much to stimulate enlistment.

It might be interesting to know that this year a prominent ex-naval officer, a member of the Naval Committee of the House, seriously urged Congress to build as rapidly as Germany and Japan together, or construct six capital ships or superdreadnaughts a year. Yet, with our present program, with the most alluring posters and the most convincing recruiting officers, we can not persuade enough American boys to enlist in our Navy to man our ships. As it is now an Anglo-Saxon American would stand aghast if he could hear an assembly roll called on one of our ships. Really this would be most enlightening to our people.

The American boy revolts at being made a lackey boy for officers, to do menial service, when he sees plainly written in the Army-Navy regulations a prohibitive clause against it.

Attend a polo game, or any social function in Washington, and see with your own eyes the character of service an Amer-ican soldier is called upon to perform under the guise of "military" service; then you may understand why it is no easy matter to recruit sailors or soldiers.

Then, again, look over our retired list. See the enormous retired salaries being paid to men in the very prime of life, at the very height of their efficiency, sacrificed upon the altar of "promotion" for those below him in rank of less experience and efficiency.

I make bold the assertion, and will gladly give names to those who doubt this statement, that we have naval officers on the retired list to-day in the grade of rear admiral who never commanded a torpedo boat, much less a squadron or fleet, and would become violently seasick 5 miles from shore on account of the little sea service they saw while on the active list of There was a distinct set of officers in the Navy known as the swivel-chair admiralty who held high rank undeserved by merit and sea service. This class of officers are smarting under the orders of Secretary Daniels sending them to sea and exacting the duties of them they were educated to perform.

Gaze upon the magnificent equipages. Depot wagons, drawn by magnificent spans, conveying the wives of majors, colonels, and generals to the afternoon teas and swell receptions of the idle rich. Who foots these bills and pays the drivers and feed bills? The people. Look back over the debate in the Senate and read Senator Bacon's remarks on this practice, which he denounced as outrageous and indefensible,

Look at the political navy yards scattered up and down the Atlantic coast. Millions upon millions appropriated for them by the Government. Not a single Atlantic navy yard can drydock the superdreadnaught vessels of our Navy. Why were these projects undertaken? To gratify political combinations formed for the purpose of "bringing the bacon home."

My purpose in calling attention to these things, many others of which I have made no mention, is that the people should demand, and I feel sure will demand, immediate reform in these extravagances and shameless outrages that have been committed in the past and will continue to be perpetrated in the future unless the people speak to their servants in no uncertain terms.

It is with confidence that I make the assertion that if we stop up the enormous leaks in our appropriations for national defense an additional sum not in excess of \$30,000,000 annually will amply provide for a standing Army of 150,000 men, supplying a reserve army of 400,000 trained and equipped soldiers after the sixth year, and a Navy adequate to furnish complete assurance that our country's honor will be maintained and our homes and firesides secure.

We must have first and foremost an overhauling, as it were, of our naval and military economic policies. Let us have some fixed and definite plan.

First. How many navy yards do we actually need? Where are they to be located? What amount will it take to put them in the highest state of efficiency?

Second. What appropriations are necessary for immediate availability to make our present Navy efficient and evenly bal-

Third. To what extent shall we go in establishing and maintaining a Navy? Shall it be a defensive or offensive program?

Fourth. Have our naval experts learned any valuable lessons in the efficiency of fighting craft from the European nations at war? If so, what are they?

These are a few of the observations the lay citizens have made

and are making as to our naval program.

My judgment is that millions upon millions of dollars can be saved the people by the gathering of scientific information by our naval experts from the European war. Certainly we have already learned that the little submarine is to be dreaded most in the offensive of all crafts. Then why is it that the submarine will not in the future be the most effective defensive arm of the Navy? Then if it is to be, what can we save in the coast-defense program?

Attention is called to these questions solely that the taxpayers and patriotic citizens of the country may not make the mistake of demanding gigantic appropriations for national defeuse and then have their funds squandered carrying out an ill-considered and ineffectual program.

Let me call attention to this fact: Of all the periods in our history this is the time that we can afford to be calm and conservative about our future as to the policy we shall adopt and its extent. There is not a military expert in the world that can at this time draw a map of Europe as it will be after the war. No great diplomat will venture a guess. The result may change our policy materially. Then, again, there can be no reason on earth for us to become nervous and excited; that time has passed for us. The time for nervousness was before the European war, when the great nations were glaring jealously at our commercial activities. Every fellow in Europe now has all he can attend to. If he wants anything, it is a friend, not an additional foe. It will be 25 years after this struggle before the victors can raise their exhausted heads. So let us be calm let us be conservative-inaugurate and consummate a plan that will give us the most effectual security for the least burden.

Most that I have said has had to do with our Navy. No navy afloat is better and more formidable, ship for ship—with the possible exception of our submarines—than ours. But my most intimate acquaintance with our national defense is of the

Army rather than the Navy.

My experience on the Military Affairs Committee has convinced me that there are many abuses, uneconomic policies, and lack of cohesion in the administration of the affairs of the War Department. We get too little for the amount we expend, the per capita cost being in excess of \$1,000 per annum.

Then, again, our present system creates no nucleus for a re-serve army of trained men that may be mustered into the service upon short notice in formidable numbers for defensive

Further than this, we are using too many of our officers in purely clerical positions in the War Department. These officers are drawing large salaries; they attained their military training at a cost of \$16,000 each to the people; and in view of the continued shortage of Army officers they should be in the field

performing the duties they were educated to perform and leave such departmental service to civilian employees.

I have collaborated with one of the most brilliant young officers in the American Army on a practical plan for the future Army. I feel that I would be unfair to this splendid officer if I did not state that every professional detail of this plan should be accredited to him.

The cost of this plan, in my judgment, will not be over thirty millions additional a year. It gives adequate security to the Nation. It will stimulate interest in military affairs; and I confidently submit it to the people as sound from a military standpoint, from a patriotic standpoint, and most economical in every detail.

A great many measures upon military preparedness, pro and con, will be introduced in Congress, which will tend toward mental confusion; but if each thinking American will make himself conversant with the defects of our present military establishment and our military needs, in the light of the recent lessons given us by the present world war, public opinion will soon intelligently express the will of the thinking people, and certain general plans of action will be accepted, others rejected, all of which will tend to prevent the referred-to mental confusion in Congress.

I propose to first ask you to accept a universally acknowledged military principle, then I will discuss, first, the defects of our present military establishment; second, our military needs; third, the present proposed changes to meet these accepted needs; and I will conclude by outlining for your consideration my plan above referred to, and will discuss its merits from every angle.

Two weeks ago England announced that no troops who have not had at least one year of constant training would be sent to the front. In other words, war has become a science demanding, more so than heretofore, that even the private be scientifically educated and trained, which can not be accomplished in less than one year of continuous service with the colors. This is the acknowledged military principle I must ask you to accept. Since we have been in the past successful in all our wars without acknowledging this principle, a fallacy has grown up in this country that a brave man with a gun is a soldier. Any nation that sends its untrained sons in this day and time to the front to face a scientifically trained and educated army commits ignominious murder. Our military history also proves this principle, but our final successes have caused us not to notice or realize the great unnecessary cost in blood of all our wars. I ask you to accept with me this military principle, not only in order to prevent our sons from being sent untrained to war and ignominiously murdered, but also because the ultimate fate of this Nation might be endangered in any war if we should meet a scientifically trained and educated army with troops of less than one year's training.

I will now briefly discuss the most glaring defects of our present military establishment. A regiment of our Infantry—and Infantry is the backbone of the Army—on paper during peace times consists of 12 companies of 65 men each. A regiment is commanded by 50 officers. This number of officers would not be increased at the outbreak of war, but each company would be increased by 95 untrained men, making each company 150 men in number of each regiment 1,800 strong. Thus we see the peace efficiency of the Regular Army would be nullified at the very Thus we see the peace outbreak of war by being swamped with untrained men. Also if 50 officers are necessary to command 1.800 men during war. but only train a regiment of 780 men during peace times, we are not using our plant at its maximum efficiency or speed. During business depressions the recruiting officers have no trouble keeping each company at a strength of 65 men, but during prosperous times men will not enlist, and companies decrease in strength. often as low as 20 men per company, and are officered and trained by, theoretically, 50 officers. Therefore we see our system is extravagant, if we compare the amount of protection it affords us with the money we spend on it. It resembles a commercial plant running at less than two-fifths of its capacity. Such a condition of affairs proves, first, we are not now during peace reaching the proper voluntary enlisting spring of the Nation, and, second, our plant would only be running at two-fifths its capacity even should we be able to get 65 men for each of our companies.

The keeping up of our numerous small posts causes unnecessary expenditures from every point of view. Many of them are distant from our great strategical points, which in most cases are our largest recruiting centers, thus causing large transportation expenditures in sending the men to these numerous and distant small posts and at the end of three or four years returning them to the enlisting places. By saving this unnecessary transportation hundreds of thousands of dollars could be saved each year. The country is crowded with small posts, the upkeep of which

costs immense sums. By selling these small Army posts, with this money for larger commands a saving would accrue, because a brigade post could be maintained at a less cost than three regimental posts. Also it is cheaper to feed 1,800 men than it is to feed three groups of 600 men each.

When we consider the numerous enlistments during hard times and the few enlistments during prosperous times, we come to the conclusion that a great part of the Army is recruited from an undesirable element, which has a tendency to cause the profession to be looked down upon by the layman, whereas it should be looked up to. This undesirable element also contaminates a great many young men, especially those from the South and Middle West, who enlist to go abroad to see the country. This deleterious condition should be corrected at once.

Now we come to a more vital defect. It will be the future policy of this country to rely in time of great national danger upon the discharged soldiers, and during peace the Army should be a school turning out a certain number of trained soldiers each year; these men to constitute the great reserve army to which the country looks for protection when war is declared and not to the small standing army. Since our Army is turning out trained soldiers at the present time at less than two-fifths its capacity and about 30 per cent of the discharged soldiers reenlist, thus reducing the number available for the reserves, we see that the present system if continued will never supply us with a reserve army, and we will be forced to send our untrained sons forth to fight our battle and be defeated and murdered. When we take a pencil and paper and figure the number of trained men our military plant could, by running on a maximum number basis, transfer to the reserves each year we see that the Army is too small to serve this end, the end being to supply us with trained men for a reserve army of 300,000 men, which our military experts tell us is necessary to make this country secure from invasion. Also when we study the personnel of any regiment we find it composed of men from practically every State in the Union, and a practical mind will at once see the impossibility of keeping "tab" on these men when they are discharged and return to the four corners of our country. To keep a record of 300,000 discharged soldiers, assigned to and discharged from scattered regiments in the heterogeneous manner that is now in vogue would require an army of clerks,

Now let us discuss our military needs. Our War and Staff Colleges tell us convincingly that in case our fleet were destroyed or rendered useless, say, by being in the Pacific Ocean when it should be in the Atlantic, or vice versa, and the Panama Canal out of commission, certain strong military nations have, individually, sufficient merchant marine to land a complete army of 300,000 men, out of range of our coast defenses, capture them from the rear, and immediately, unopposed, capture the adjacent cities (New York not being excepted), and they notify us that our greatest possible military need is to be sufficiently strong in organized and trained men to render such an invasion from any nation impossible. Hence it is clearly the duty of Congress to provide this Nation with sufficient protection to make such an invasion impossible, and to do so in the most economical manner as regards money and men permanently withdrawn from civil These military experts convince us that to secure the desired amount of necessary protection our mobile army should be increased by 10 regiments of Infantry and 4 regiments of Field Artillery, the National Guard rendered more assistance and thus made more efficient, and that we should have an organized, officered, and trained reserve army of 400,000 soldiers. I think these demands are sufficiently modest, reasonable, and can be economically supplied.

Then, let us now take up and discuss the different proposed measures which would supply us with the desired Regular Army increase, an efficient National Guard, and a reserve army of 400,000 men. To date all proposed plans for increasing our Regular Army have passed over this vital issue by saying: "We will increase our Regular Army by 10 regiments of Infantry and 4 regiments of Field Artillery," but they do not tell us what spring of national impulse or sentiment to press during prosperous times to obtain these additional men or even the present authorized number of men. All of these proposed plans contemplate continuing to operate our expensive Army plant at two-fifths its capacity; they do not attempt to settle the question of selling or abandoning our undesirable posts and placing our small Army at strategical points; they do not correct our present extravagant transportation expenditures by working out a sane plan of assigning and discharging our soldiers, which would also keep them available for reserve use. No plan so far has figured out what economical changes can be effected in our Regular Army, and how this money saving can be used to partially offset the additional expense of increasing the

Army. Until these questions are considered and corrected, to

increase our regular mobile army would be unwise.

All appear agreed upon the plan of assisting and improving the National Guard by paying them when in camp from both the State and Federal Treasury, and it is certain that this would be of some assistance. However, I do not think such an expenditure a wise one until we correct certain defects in the National Guard system as it now exists. We should change the National Guard so as to make it dovetail into any radical change in our military policy. The spending of Federal money upon inefficient National Guard troops that can never become efficient should not be allowed, but the spending of the Federal money upon even inefficient National Guard organizations situated so that they can be made efficient should commence at once. By efficient National Guard I mean an efficiency possible of being attained at the end of two years' service, which would be equivalent to a degree of efficiency obtainable by one year of continuous service. You see, I adhere, and ask you to adhere, to our accepted principle that we can not use untrained troops in modern wars, and I will not willingly consent to Federal money being spent except in carrying out this principle. No plan of assisting our National Guard proposed to date that I know of takes cognizance of the fact that some National Guard organizations have attained an efficiency almost equal to our Regular Army, while other organizations have for years decreased in efficiency and have been juggled around to meet State and city politics.

Some cities, having an unusual boosting spirit, have increased their complement of National Guard organizations to such an extent that they have been unable to keep them efficient, because interest soon subsided. To spend Federal money on such organizations would not be to our interest; but to reduce, say, a lightly recruited and inefficient regiment to a battalion which could take care of all the men previously in the regiment and then spend the Federal money in making that battalion as efficient as our Regular Army is highly desirable. justice that such a step could cause would be in the letting out of the National Guard of a great many officers who have spent time and money in the same. However, these men should be taken care of in the reserve army. So instead of enlarging our National Guard and paying it out of our Federal Treasury I favor first putting it in some cases in such condition that it can become highly efficient and then rendering it Federal aid. I believe such a plan would serve best the interests of both the Federal and State Governments and meet with approval from all National Guard officers. This would not affect those splendid regiments of National Guard that have attained a high degree of efficiency but would assist them in the manner they

are now asking of Congress

Numerous schemes have been proposed for securing our re-serve army of 400,000 civilians and securing officers for the same. Most of these plans prove to be theoretical and not practical upon examination. They do not recognize the defects in our present recruiting system, nor do they take into consideration the abnormal amount of interest in this subject caused by the atmosphere being electrified by the present world war and appreciate that this interest will subside when the war I dismiss Gen. Wood's scheme of using our business men right here by asking if you believe that 10 years from now. when the world war is over and the atmosphere is not electrified with war, it will be possible to get the mayor of New York and 1,000 of the leading men of that city to go to Plattsburg and spend one month under canvas learning to become soldiers? Look back 10 years and see if such a camp was possible. also impossible because it violates our accepted military principle by attempting to make reserve officers out of these gentlemen by a month's training each year.

The scheme now being proposed by the Secretary of War for a reserve army of 400,000 civilians is as follows: Every year 133,000 civilians would be asked to enlist for three years with the colors and three years on furlough, but during the three years with the colors would be required to undergo an intensive service for a short period of one or two months, and the rest of the year they are civilians to all intents and purposes. plan I consider impractical, for the following reasons:

1. It does not contemplate using the men we discharge from our expensive Regular Army plant as reserves, nor does it contemplate changing our present Regular Army defect so as to make it possible to use these men or operate the plant at its maximum efficiency.

2. As soon as the present abnormal interest aroused military affairs subsides I do not believe we can enlist 133,000 men a year during prosperous times and ask them to give us one or two months of their time each year for three years this in addition to the enlistments necessary for our increased

Regular Army and our increased National Guard that the plan also contemplates.

3. The keeping tab on these 400,000 men would require an army of clerks, and to date no satisfactory scheme has been devised to accomplish it.

 It violates our accepted principle and means we would permit them to be murdered if they were ever called upon to face a trained army. Such a scheme has been successfully used in Switzerland, which is a small country, and the complement enlisting each year with the colors includes all the men of a certain age; but 133,000 men each year would not include one-fifth of our available men of any specified age, and this fact alone would defeat its successful application in this coun-We know too well how ultra polite each young man would be during prosperous times when the Government would ask for the 133,000 recruits. I fear there would be a great deal of nudging and bowing to the other fellow, with the remark, "After you, my dear Gaston." We must recognize the fact that a successful system of a small republic will not of necessity meet the different existing conditions found in a large republic without radical modifications.

Now, we come to the solution of the problem that I propose to submit to the American people for their consideration. I desire to say that I am in accord with the administration as regards the amount of increase necessary for the Regular Army. also the general idea of the administration as to extending to the National Guard a helping hand and as to the size and necessity of our reserve army. However, I differ with others in that I do not believe that a practical plan that will attain the desired end has as yet been submitted. I would not criticize other plans were I not able, in my opinion, to submit a better one, which is economical as regards money and men withdrawn from civil life, and which hurts no one, but benefits many not at present benefited.

Recognizing that our present voluntary system of enlistment is a failure during prosperous peace times, we ought to bring other forces to play on the recruiting element of the Nation when we consider increasing our Regular Army. Where can such a force possible of utilization be found? I believe it can be found during peace in State patriotism, loyalty, pride, or enthusiasm. I do not mean to say that we as a Nation have no Federal patriotism, loyalty, pride, or enthusiasm, but I do say that these elements lie dormant within us during peace only to burst forth with fury and make State patriotism sec-ondary when war is imminent. I believe this State spirit is the strongest potential force possible of utilization during peace, prosperous, and hard times that the Government has with which to solve Regular Army, National Guard, and reserve army problems. And I base my entire plan on the possibility of its successful utilization.

In utilizing this State spirit my plan calls for an Army post in each State, and the Regular Army organizations, after being increased as now contemplated, assigned permanently as Federal troops to the different States. This assignment to States would troops to the different States. This assignment to States would be on the general basis of the number of recruits now being obtained from the respective States. Understand that the State governments themselves would have nothing whatsoever to do with these organizations. These Regular Army organizations will be recruited to war strength, the men to serve two years with the colors and to be then placed in the State organized reserves for four years, during which time they would receive a small monthly allowance from the Federal Government and be required once each year to report for field training. These dis-

charged men would constitute my national reserve army.

I presume you are now asking, "But how do you propose to get the recruits for this army?" I will answer this question and probably others by illustrating the general application of the plan in the State of Georgia. From the recruiting data of the State of Georgia, based on both prosperous and hard times, we would at least have assigned to this State our permanent Coast Artillery garrisons and one regiment of Infantry, this regiment consisting of 1,800 men, divided into 12 companies of 150 men each. These men would enlist for six years, but only serve with the colors for two years and then four years in the Georgia reserves. This regiment would forever be called, say, the Twentieth Georgia Infantry. It would forever, when not on foreign service for two years or on the border, be stationed at Fort McPherson, Ga. Let it have a distinctive, natty, inexpensive, full-dress uniform. Let the officers understand that expensive, full-dress uniform. Let the officers understand that they are permanently assigned to this regiment. All the recruits would be Georgians, and all recruiting officers would be extra Infantry or Coast Artillery officers of the Twentieth Georgia Infantry and the Georgia Coast Artillery companies. Now, what would be the results? Soon all Georgia would take an interest in her regiment of Infantry and Coast Artillery companies and a competitive spirit would spring up between all the States. This would cause a Georgia esprit de corps in this Twentieth Georgia Infantry Regiment and this esprit would increase as the interest of the State of Georgia increased. The disadvantages of separation from loved ones and family that attend an enlistment in the present Regular Army would not exist, and a father would not object to his son enlisting and receiving the benefits of two years' military training when he knows his son would in all probability reside the two years in the State of Georgia at Fort McPherson and upon the termination of his service would return to him at once. These sons would be given a two weeks' or a month's furlough each year and could then visit their homes and assist with the crops, and so forth. The very presence of these men on furlough in their home towns, in their natty full-dress uniforms, sober, straight, and erect, would offer positive evidence of the benefits to be derived from military training; would stimulate enlisting, and would quicken the pride of all Georgians. And what is true in Georgia is true in all other States.

would add to the now known benefits derived from military training that of teaching each man a profession during his two years at Fort McPherson. I would conduct a school corresponding to any public school in the State; also a school for carpenters, bricklayers, mechanics, blacksmiths, surveyors, typewriting, and so forth. Every man would be required to attend one of these schools. The higher officers of the regiment and recruiting officers would be asked to cooperate with the chambers of commerce, and the spirit of Georgia would then pervade the entire regiment. I would send a crack company to all the large State affairs. I would, as far as practicable, even assign men from the same sections of Georgia to the same companies, so that a young man joining the regiment would be living in the same room and messing at the same table with his friends, and mothers would know their sons to be among friends of the family and cared for by them in case of sickness." If this system presses the desired enlisting spring of the Nation, Georgia would be able to supply, according to recent enlisting data, at least her Coast Artillery companies and two regiments of In-

fantry each 1,800 strong.

Of course, as you see, the plan first corrects the enlisting defects of our present Army, and you can not support it unless you believe it corrects this defect. Let us now discuss its application to the reserves. All men would, of course, enlist for six years, two with the colors and four in the reserves, which would cause approximately 900 men to go to the Georgia reserves each year and would give us about 3,600 men, or two reserve Georgia regiments. Most of these men would reside in Georgia, thus making it possible to keep in touch with them and mobilize them in a very short time (possibly not over three days), and certainly in a very economical manner. Their clothing (especertainly in a very economical manner. cially shoes), rifles, and other accouterments would be in perfect condition at Fort McPherson in lockers, and to put our reserves in uniform would be only a question of an hour after their arrival. Each reserve soldier would receive \$2 a month during the four years of his reserve service. This would insure and make possible the keeping track of the whereabouts of each man every month, and the pay of \$2 to every reserve man would drop into his lap out of a clear sky each month, thus keeping up his interest in his military career and stimulating enlisting in his community. We must not expect something which is efficient and worth having for nothing; if we want the service and protection of 300,000 trained reserve men we must be willing to make a reasonable payment for the same. few reserve men would, of course, move out of the State of Georgia; in these cases they would be transferred direct to the reserve of the State to which they moved by the commanding officer of the Georgia reserves. The commanding officer of the Georgia reserve regiments would be a high-ranking Regular Army officer, who should have an office force of not over two assistants, one from the Infantry and one from the Coast

To obtain the necessary number of trained officers to command the two regiments of reserve Infantry and the reserve companies of Coast Artillery of the State of Georgia, I would give preference to the officers of the National Guard of Georgia. When I reduced slightly the number of organizations of the National Guard, there would be an excess of National Guard officers, and to these men I would offer commissions in the reserve regiments and Coast Artillery companies, subject, of course, to mental and physical examination. These reserve officers would, of course, receive a small monthly salary. For the rest of the reserve officers I would take the honor graduates of the military schools of this State, pay them \$100 a month for a year, during which time they would serve as

additional lieutenants in the Twentieth Georgia Infantry and Georgia Coast Artillery companies. At the end of the year these officers would be transferred to the reserves and assigned to companies. Once this system is started, the number of men to be accepted as officers from the military institutions of the State would vary according to the vacancles. At the end of the first year of the system we would require sufficient officers to command 900 men, the second year 1,800 men, the third year 2,700 men, the fourth year 3,600 men. So by using one to five honor graduates of each military school each year and the National Guard officers we could have a corps of trained officers sufficient in size at the end of four years to officer the reserve organizations. These officers would know their men, and esprit de corps in each reserve regiment would soon be noticed An honor graduate assigned to Company A, Twentieth Georgia Infantry, as an additional second lieutenant, upon the completion of his year of training, should be assigned to Company Λ of one of the reserve regiments. Likewise all enlisted men of Company A, Twentieth Georgia Regulars, upon being transferred to the reserves, should be assigned to Company A of one of the reserve regiments. This system would soon create an esprit de corps in the companies of the reserve regiment. Officers and men would look forward to the yearly maneuvers as a reunion. They would then meet and rub elbows with the men with whom they served for two years; reserve officers would be commanding in many cases the men they commanded during their one year. The entire system would blend toward real efficiency

When the President desired to mobilize the Nation's military forces one telegram only to each State would be necessary. The reserves of each State could be mobilized, clothed, and armed certainly within a week, and the President could mobilize a trained and educated army of over 300,000 men at any strategical point on either coast within three weeks from the date of ordering the mobilization. This is brought about because the plan works automatically to this end when we study it. Take New York State, for instance: It is at present our greatest recruiting center; hence it would have the largest number of Regular Army and reserve organizations. The States adjacent to New York are naturally densely populated, and therefore would have a fairly large number of Regular Army and reserve organizations, all of which makes possible the concentration at New York of a large number of troops at a moment's notice and also at a very small cost. Also we find that the system eliminates the present deleterious condition of having the young boys from the farms in the South and West serving with and being influenced by some of the undesirable element enlisting in some of our large cities. It also works our small Army plant at its maximum capacity.

How would the system work when applied to our foreignservice conditions? Foreign service is very popular with our soldiers. As soon as it is definitely known that a certain regiment is scheduled for a tour abroad the regiment is at once filled with recruits. Hence when our First Georgia Regiment is scheduled for two years abroad, and at the end of which time is to be returned to us at Atlanta with our sons, we would be only too glad to permit our sons to take advantage of the splendid opportunity of seeing the world. Especially would this be so when we realized the regiment was to be officered by sober, honest, and efficient officers. The system eliminates two very grave existing conditions. It takes the question of where troops are to be stationed and the elimination of many of our undesirable posts out of politics. Each State would have only one post for its mobile army troops; and by mobile army troops I mean all troops except those in the Coast Artillery.

This system would greatly benefit the National Guard. The discharged reserves would be encouraged at all times in associating themselves with the National Guard. Soon the National Guard organizations would consist mostly of men who would have completed their six years' regular service. These men would join the National Guard in order to attend the encampments and see their friends again if for no other reason. Understand that I would at the commencing of this system only reduce the National Guard organization at places where it has been clearly demonstrated that the guard organizations are below the required strength per company or where they are very inefficient. In these cases I would simply request fewer organizations, say the transferring of all the men of a weak regiment into four strong companies or a battalion. However, I would take care of the officers eliminated as mentioned above.

From an economical standpoint the system is well within reason. The real economy can only be realized when you figure the additional security attained by having the Army plant running at full capacity, and a reserve army of 300,000 trained and officered soldiers (not civilians), and compare this class of security and what you pay for it with that attained by

having your plant running at two-fifths of its capacity, a reserve of 400,000 citizens, and what it costs you.

The visible economical features are listed below:

First. Men to-day are sent from the place of enlistment to different and very often distant regiments, and upon being discharged are returned to the place of enlistment, which averages one-half the distance across the continent. This item of expenditure which runs into hundreds of thousands of dollars each year would be eliminated.

Second. At present each soldier has the same money clothing allowance, because he is liable to be called upon to serve in any Under the proposed plan there would be no occasion for southern troops to have a money allowance for clothing as large as the New England troops. Likewise the money allowance for clothing of the New England troops could be reduced because they would not require certain articles of clothing necessary for southern wear. By carrying out this idea a large saving could be made.

Third. Officers would remain with the regiments and the present large officers' mileage expenditures could be practically eliminated.

corresponding saving on the freight bills for Fourth. A officers' household effects would be made as their mileage expenditures are reduced.

Fifth. It is cheaper to feed 1,800 men than it is to feed three separate groups of 600 men as we are doing now.

Sixth. The cost of keeping up a post for a large command is less per man than keeping up three posts for the same number of men.

Seventh. The cost of mobilizing troops for maneuvers would be less than it is now, because in practically every State by assembling Regulars, Reserves, and the National Guard a brigade maneuver could be held each year, and by combining the adjacent States a division or corps maneuver could be held every two years, and in each class of maneuvers the distance required to move the troops is less than at present. In other words, there would be a sufficient uniform distribution of our force over the country for this purpose,

Eighth, By selling the undesirable and useless Army posts, sufficient funds could be secured to enlarge the remaining ones and to build the new ones necessary and still have funds on hand. Fully two-thirds of the States have at least one post

possible of utilization if we adopt this plan.

If at any time the Government considered the Army plan turning out too many reserves, it would be reduced by only having 100 or 125 men in each company. Any reduction below 100 men to a company is believed unwise. On the other hand, if it is found that not enough men are supplied for the reserves a limited number could no doubt be attained by calling on civilians to enlist in the reserves, as the President now con-templates. However, if over 20 per cent of the reserves enter thus as untrained civilians, it would reduce the efficiency of the reserves to an undesirable point. Also a provision should be inserted permitting reserve men to reenlist in the reserve when the reserves are not at authorized strength.

Let us now figure how our plan would work out:

Forty regiments of Infantry, at 1.800 each Pifteen regiments of Cavalry, at 1,200 each	
Ten regiments of Field Artillery, at 1,000 each Two hundred and ten companies of Coast Artillery, at 100 each Three battalions Engineer troops, at 500 each Medical Department	72,000 15,000 10,000 21,000 1,500 500

Two times this number, or 240,000, will give us the strength of the reserve army. The 120,000 in the Regular Army does not include the native regiments in our insular possessions or the special troops, such as those in the Quartermaster, Ordnance,

_ 120, 000

and Signal Corps, and so forth.

Our National Guard, after being reduced, will amount to a trifle over 100,000. So our total available strength possible of mobilization would be 440,000 men, less those on foreign service. We could eventually increase our militia by 60,000 as the reserve soldiers terminated their six years' service, and then we would have our 500,000 trained and officered soldiers, which amount of preparedness should render us forever free from even the fear of an invader's heel. If we accept this plan we avoid the evils of a large standing army and at the same time make ourselves secure against attack, at only a small increase over our present military expenditures. We also improve morally, physically, and mentally a large percentage of our population, whose earning capacity will be sufficiently increased to warrant the expenditures.

Dyestuffs and High Explosives.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EBENEZER J. HILL. OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, January 17, 1916.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an extract from an address by Prof. Charles H. Herty, Chapel Hill, N. C., president of the American Chemical Society, delivered at the annual convention of the society at Seattle, September 3, 1915.

The extract is as follows:

In conclusion, let me discuss with you one other phase of cooperation, namely, that between the American people, through their Representatives in Congress, and our chemical industries. I have no leanings toward paternalism, and I believe in the doctrine that a good, stiff struggle for existence is conducive to longevity, but there are certain normal functions of our National Congress which make or mar industrial development, and there are certain undertakings in behalf of the Nation as a whole which individuals can not be asked nor expected to assume.

struggle for existence is conducive to longevity, but there are certain normal functions of our National Congress which make or mar intustrial development, and there are certain undertakings in behalf of the Nation as a whole which individuals can not be asked nor expected to assume.

Recent events compel the conviction that the assumption of our peaceful world relations, which formed the basis of my earlier piea, may be at any moment completely shattered. In such an event the responsibility of all chemists in this country will be added to by the impelling call of patriotism. That the contributions of our science are of the highest value in modern warfare is daily attested in the reportorial accounts of the new developments among the now contending nations. Who would dare say that the innovations of chemistry in the methods of warfare have reached a limit?

In view of this recognized fundamental importance would it not be well, in these days of talk of preparedness, to consider the question of chemical preparedness. Ships, guns, and shells are necessary; yes; but most largely as a means to an end, and that end the effecting of a violent chemical reaction at a point more or less distant. Naturally in advisable, be reparedness there are topics whose public discussion is in facts are all matters of published record, and that is the question of the visible supply of sedium intrate in this country.

In these days of rapidly shifting international relations the only sound and rational policy is national self-containedness. Blessed with a rich heritage of wonderful and varied natural resources and, in our isolation, confident of freedom from grave international complications, we have received potash supplies from Germany with but scant forethought, save in the National Bureau of Soils; and now to-day agriculture is seriously threatened. So, too, textile manufacturers, reaping a bountful harvest from the haboratories and dyestuff factories of termany, have given no helping hand to the struggling young home industry whi

Finally, in the light of the present situation, may we not hope for more generous cooperation between Congress and our chemical industries in solving those innate economic difficulties whose temporary correction can be provided for only through adequate tariff legislation? I realize fully that the trend of national opinion in recent years has been toward a lowering of tariffs in the conviction that industrial glants were parading in the guise of swaddling clothes, but the present unforesceable situation, resulting in the cessation of imports from the chemical industries of Germany, has shown to all several strikingly weak links in our industrial chain. We can not afford such. "National self-containedness" is a more fitting slogan for us now than "tariff for revenue only." If such links are to be strengthened, we must as a people meet the expense by giving for a reasonable time that measure of protection which will effect a union of capital and scientific skill under no undue stress of unfair foreign interference.

No other phase of our chemical industry illustrates so well the point in mind as the synthetic dyestuff industry about which so much dis-

cussion has turned during the past year and concerning which even more active discussion is defined to be furnished during the year just ahead of us. Although the clamor over the shortage of synthetic dyestuffs in the early period of the present war was shown by undeniable statistics to have had no basis in fact, nevertheless the present complete cessation of shipments from Germany and the constant inroads on the stocks in hand have now brought about a real and serious shortage.

consion has turned during the past year and concerning which even more active discussion is detined to be furnished during the year just ahead of us. Although the clamor over the shortage of synthetic dyestuffs in the early period of the present war was allowed your considerable process of the product of fifteen million dollars, including duties pald, is not large as compared with the volume of many other industries, yet the use of the product of fifteen million dollars, including duties pald, is not large as compared with the volume of many other industries, yet the use of the product of the produc

and not mencinal, should be taxed 15 per cent at valorem and 32 cents per pound specific."

Are the people of this country ready to cooperate with the chemists by authorizing the prompt enactment of such legislation? If so, there need be no fear that active capital will be longer withheld, and thus we can feel confident of a synthetic dyestuff industry commensurate with

our needs.

As I think of the possibility of such an industry, I recall the words of the Swiss professor, Guchm, who, in 1900, after one of his lectures

on coal-tar dyes, said to me: "The natural home of the dyestuff industry is in your country, and some day it will flourish there."

The creation of such a self-contained industry, however, has far deeper meaning for our national welfare than the supplying of needed dyestuffs, for such plants would constitute an easily convertible reserve for the manufacture of coal-tar explosives in times of war.

Through its stimulative effect on research, on technique and in supply of material the dyestuff industry has furthered the development of both the explosives and the medicinal industries. Its firm establishment here would foretell the complete development of each of this great trio of industries, which, as a whole, furnish the rational and economic utilization of that great mass of coal tar which now wastes itself in useless flames above the coke ovens throughout the land.

Cooperation—it is a good word, and carries with it a wonderful power of accomplishment!

The Adventure of Being an American Shipper.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. S. D. FESS. OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 18, 1916.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print, I submit a communication from Mr. William Bayard Hale on the adven-

ture of being an American shipper.

William Bayard Hale was the first of President Wilson's representatives in Mexico; in that capacity he is understood to have recommended a policy more vigorous than the administration was willing to adopt. Since the beginning of the war Mr. Hale has devoted his time to the study of international maritime law.

THE STORY OF THE "HOCKING," THE "GENESEE," AND THE "KANKA-KEE"—THE ACTUAL VALUE OF THE AMERICAN FLAG.

Up to the present moment of writing it is believed such American vessels as are navigating the Great Lakes, the Mississippi River, and the Hudson River are safe from capture or detention at the hands of British cruisers. The Long Island Sound lines also are running without interruption. Beyond this statement we have no certain assurance.

Between New York and Norfolk, Va., the voyage is dangerous. Within a few weeks at least two ships on the voyage have been chased by British men-of-war. The Vinland is not, indeed, an American ship, being of Danish registry. With a cargo out of New York November 11 for Norfolk she escaped by creeping. closely pursued, through the fog inside the 3-mile line down the Jersey coast.

The Hocking was not so fortunate. The Hocking is an American vessel, flying the American flag, owned by Americans, and was steaming between two American ports. She had, and could have had, no contraband on board, for nothing can be contraband

passing between two ports of a neutral country.

But, as a matter of fact, she was in ballast, without a pound of cargo in her. A British cruiser caught her on her way out of New York Harbor, boarded her within sight of the Jersey shore, put her in charge of an armed prize crew, hauling down the American flag and running up the British jack, and took her a prize into Halifax, where she was put in charge of the mar-shal of the prize court.

American ships voyaging to the Caribbean are likely (as was the Zealandia at Progreso on November 5) to be boarded by a British boarding crew within the shelter of a Mexican port. American ships bound for South America are likely to be captured, as was the *Genesce*, out of Norfolk October 14, carried, a prize, into a British West Indian port, St. Lucia.

The rights of American vessels or of American cargoes on vessels of other neutral nations on the other side of the Atlantic, being what they are, namely, nonexistent, abandoned (for not a ship crosses the Atlantic to and from our ports without license of the British Admiralty), it may perhaps be worth while to inquire whether we have any privileges left us along our own coasts.

The cases of the *Hocking*, the *Genesce*, and the *Kankakee* are dramatically illustrative of the attitude of the British Government toward our shipping.

ment toward our shipping.

Once the *Hocking* was a Dutch ship. Then her name was the *Amcland*. In course of time she passed under Danish registry and was known as the *Gronland*. On October 22, 1915, she became a registered American ship, having passed into the ownership of the American Transatlantic Steamship Co., incorporated under the laws of the State of Delaware, and with its chief office at No. 17 Battery Place, New York City.

There was some heart the *Hocking* part of the Washington authorities in according the *Hocking* registration as an American

authorities in according the Hocking registration as an Ameri-

can ship. In fact, protest against this action was made by representatives of the British Government, and three months were expended in an exhaustive investigation of the American Transatiantic Steamship Co., the character of its stockholders, the nationality of its officers, and the good faith of the transfer of the vessel. It is alleged to be the ambition of the present administration at Washington to build up an American merchant

The Hocking was not indeed a gigantic addition to our shipping list, but the good faith of her transfer was so apparent, the honorable commercial ambition which made her one of a growing fleet of American ships was so clear that, in spite of British opposition, she was, on the date above mentioned, impressed with the character of an American ship and given the right to fly the American flag and enjoy whatever protection that emblem affords.

What that protection amounted to was soon manifest. A week and a day after she had acquired American nationality the Hocking fell the prey of one of the British cruisers which blockade the entrance of New York Harbor, and was carried as a prize to Halifax.

There must, of course, have been, and there was, a ground upon which Great Britain interfered with this modest attempt of American enterprise to take care of its own shipping interests. It could not, of course, be alleged that the Hocking was an "enemy ship" transferred to American registry for the purpose of escaping the embarrassment of, say, German ownership.

Something over a year ago there was a good deal of talk about building up an American merchant marine. Under existing circumstances such a marine could be built up only by purchases of foreign ships and during a couple of months there were heard in the neighborhood of Washington many brave words about the right of a nation to provide for its necessities.

A ship-purchase bill was introduced into Congress calling for the organization of a steamship company, part of whose capital was to be contributed by the Government in order to secure available ships to carry our commerce. The declaration of London, the most authoritative statement of international maritime law, expressly provides for the "transfer of an enemy vessel to a neutral flag after the outbreak of hostilities.

International law fully acknowledges the validity of such transfer made in good faith. But there was no such question in the case of the transfer of the *Hocking*. The *Hocking* had never enemy" vessel. She was purchased by an American been an company from a Dane-purchased by one neutral from another

No belligerent has a right on any ground to object to the transfer to American registry of any neutral ship. It was, however, alleged the American Transatlantic Steamship Co. was backed by money furnished by gentlemen whose nationality is offensive to Britons.

Let it be noted that, even if this were the case, it would afford no ground whatsoever upon which the Hocking might be made a British captive. It is not a crime for Germans to invest their money in an American enterprise. There is no Federal statute, there is probably no enactment in any State in the Union, which forbids the investment of foreign capital of any national denomination in American enterprises.

There is no international law that forbids citizens of one nation from investing in business in another nation. There is nothing harmful to the interests of the United States in having foreign money invested here; the investment of foreign capital in our enterprises is, on the contrary, beneficial.

There is, of course, nothing in the law that prohibits foreign ownership of stock in corporations owning and operating vessels under the American flag. It would be a very poor law if there were. Tibet, Haiti, or Siam might deem it good policy to forbid the investment of foreign money in native enterprises; but enlightened policy invites foreign capital, assures it protection-and then fulfills the assurance.

The American Transatlantic Co. is an American corporation, the members of which declare there is no German capital invested in it. Even if there were, the fact would give Great Britain no right to touch the ship; it is to the advantage of the United States to have German capital as well as British, French, or any other kind of capital invested in American business

There would be as much justice in Germany confiscating the Pennsylvania Railroad because a large amount of capital invested in that carrying concern is English as there is in Great Britain's seizing the Hocking or the Genesee on the ground that German capital is invested in them.

It is a just complaint that the Mexican Government does not protect American capital invested in Mexico. Is the United States prepared to sink to the Mexican level by refusing to

protect foreign capital invested in legitimate business carried on under the American flag?

The registration statute under which the Hocking took its place as an American vessel was the act of August 18, 1914. Under this act the American Transatlantic Steamship Co. furnished the United States Government with a certificate of its organization, and the names of its president and managing directors, all of whom were citizens of the United States.

By the capture of the Hocking the British Government served notice upon the Government of the United States that upon its mere assumption, or its mere allegation, money belonging to persons of a nationality disagreeable to Englishmen was invested in a ship, that ship might be made a prize by a British cruiser wherever caught, haled into a British port, and thrown into a British prize court.

That was the situation up to a day or two ago. It was desperate enough, in all reason. But it has now become infinitely worse, for the Hocking, after having had nailed upon her mainmast in Halifax Harbor an Admiralty notice giving her eight days in which to show cause why she should not be condemned as a "good and lawful prize," has been denied even that mercy.

There is to be no prize court; there is to be no hearing; the Hocking is declared confiscated-presumably under His British Majesty's order in council of October 20, 1915.

What is that order in council of October 20? Article 57 of the declaration of London provided that the character of a vessel, namely, as to whether it is an enemy vessel or a neutral vessel, is determined by the flag which she is entitled to fly.

The declaration of London, drawn up under the inspiration of the British Government and signed by it February 26, 1909, was at the beginning of the present war, namely, by an order in council of August 20, 1914, readopted and put in force by His Majesty's Government. However, on October 20, 1915, at the Court of Buckingham Palace, present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council, it was declared that it was no longer expedient to abide by the said article 57.

That is to say, the British Government sets up a court of high seas which arrogates to itself the right to go behind the decisions and the determinations of a Government like that of the United States and to decide on its own account whether or not the acts of a branch of the United States Government, for instance, are legal or illegal.

Papers emanating from the Government of the United States in Washington have no force or effect with a captain of an English cruiser. The certificate of the department of the Government of the United States is of no consequence to him. "full faith and credit" between nations, upon which all international amity rests and all hope of civilization abides, does not exist to-day for any officer of the British Government.

The case is even worse. As it stands to-day the British Government not only disregards the certificate of registration by a Government like that of the United States to the extent of requiring its possessor to prove before a solely British tribunal his right to possess the certificate; but it goes further, it does not give the possessor of the certificate a chance to prove his right to possess it.

The British Government does not only require the owners of a ship like the Hocking to prove that they are entitled to carry the American flag which the American Government has given them, but refuses to award them an opportunity to prove that Without taking the trouble to go through the form of condemning the Hocking she was confiscated by the British authorities in Halifax.

The case of the Hocking has a clear parallel in that of the Genesee-another humble vessel lately added to our merchant marine. The Genesee is likewise the property of the American Transatlantic Steamship Co. Like the Hoc ing, she is a recent acquisition of the company. The Genesee was built in England and sailed as a British ship under the name of Avristam. Her British owners sold her to L. N. Cordylis, of Andros, Greece. As a Greek ship she was known as the Cordylis. She was then acquired by the Finland Steamship Co. of Copenhagen.

The American Transatlantic Steamship Co. bought her from the Danish owners June, 1915, and rechristened her the Genesee. Soon after her acquisition by the American company she was chartered to C. G. Blake & Co., of Cincinnati, and loaded with a cargo of 3,800 tons of coal for Montevideo. She cleared from Norfolk October 15.

An American ship, plying between two neutral ports, she was captured in the Caribbean Sea by a British cruiser and carried into the harbor of St. Lucia. There she likewise has been confiscated without prize court proceedings by the British Government.

To these two cases is to be added that of the Kankakee, concerning which few particulars have as yet reached the United States. She was a member of the fleet to which the Hocking and the Genesce belonged, and was on her way from a United States port to a South American port. When off the mouth of the River Plata she was, on October 31, captured by the British auxiliary cruiser Macedonia, carried as a prize into Port Stanley, Falkland Islands, where orders for her confiscation will prob-

There are seven other vessels in the American Transatlantic fleet which have been blacklisted by the British Admiralty, and which will be captured and confiscated as soon as British

cruisers are able to get hold of them.

Two of the blacklisted ships, the Manitowoc and the Muskegon, lie at Buenos Aires, afraid to leave port; another, the Allaguash, lies at Rio under like intimidation. The Winneconne is in New York Harbor awaiting a cargo which nobody dares put on board her. The Ausable is at Galveston in like case. The Maumee is hele up at Copenhagen. The Saginaw is in Marseille Harbor, seized by the French.

Meanwhile goods are accumulating at New York and other American ports to such an extent that railroads decline to carry

further consignments to the docks.

And this is the answer to the American note of October 21. It took the United States Government seven months to make up its mind to write that note; it has taken the British Government

one month to deliver its practical answer to it.

The Government of Great Britain has virtually set up in the midst of the busy seas an arbitrary court, claiming unheard-of powers, and exercising the most tyrannous police functions, seizing and hauling into the dock as suspects all travelers upon the ocean highways and visiting many of them with heavy penalties for unproven, and, indeed, unprovable, offenses

This lawless assizes of the seas, contemptuous alike of its own precedent and of the rights of others, scarcely stoops to the pretense of citing authority for its actions, which are determined solely by its brutal will, and enforced, though, indeed, largely through intimidation, by the gigantic power of its naval police.

The extent of the earth's surface over which this extraordinary

court is permitted to wield its self-arrogated jurisdiction, the magnitude of the interests which its actions vitally affect, and the supineness with which sovereign States submit to the erection upon the ruins of their self-respect and the debacle of their highest commercial and political interests of an island's municipal statutes into international formulas unite to render this

one of the spectacles of history.

A contemplation of that spectacle suggests the hour imposes upon the United States a duty of supreme historical importance.

Rural Post Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

WILLIAM E. COX. HON. OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 20, 1916.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, the greatest question before the American people to-day is the country-life question, and in importance to our Nation as a whole it far transcends all tariff,

trust, and financial questions combined.

The country people do not ask special favors at the hands of any legislative body; they ask only a square deal. This they are entitled to have. They are not seen lobbying around legislative bodies asking special favors, but are content with a fair share of degislation. The rural community of any nation furnishes its very backbone and sinew, its base for prosperity, vigor, and in fact its foundation for a strong life. The rural problem in this country consists in maintaining or our farms and in our village communities:. Christian cizilization with modern American ideals of happiness, progress, and efficiency. The census of 1910 arbitrarily took the figures of twenty-five hundred, and declared that all those who lived in towns and cities having a population of twenty-five hundred and more lived in cities, and those who lived in towns and villages with less than twenty-five hundred, including rural communities, lived in the country. For the past 20 years and more there has been a mighty life current going on, sweeping from the country to cities many of the brightest boys and most ambitious girls whom the country could ill afford to spare. Everywhere to-day the country is suffering from this Why do they go? It is necessary that a larger number of these boys and girls must be kept on the farm if the rural communities are to hold their own and a new rural civilization really have a chance to develop as it should.

The 1910 census showed, in spite of a steady gain in country districts in the United States, thousands of rural townships continued to lose in population. This shrinkage in population was found to be true everywhere, except in the newer agricul-The older the communities the earlier the ture districts. tendency to rural depletion became serious. The trouble began in New England. Now the rural problem is moving west, until the last census showed that New England was the one part of the country to show this loss as a whole. The last census figures showed a net rural loss for the first time in the States known as the East North Central States, which include the State of Indiana. From 1900 to 1910 cities grew in population three times faster than the country. While the country communities during this period of time increased in population 11.2 per cent, the cities and towns above 2,500 increased in population 34.8 per cent. During this period of time rural communities of Iowa lost 120,000; rural Indiana, 83,127; rural Missouri, 68,716, or 3.5 per cent. In the great rural State of Illinois, out of 1,592 rural townships 1,130 lost in rural population. The last census showed that 37 per cent of the farms in the United States were operated by tenants, and the tenant is cursing the soil. The country is the natural source of supply for any nation. No city has ever been self-sustaining, nor will it ever be. Cities have always drawn their raw material and population from the country, and always will. The country must continue to produce the food, the heartlest young men and women, and much of the idealism and leadership of the Nation. So long as there is a city civilization to be fed and clothed there must always be a rural community to feed and clothe the city. We can almost say the growth of the city made the country problem. It would be nearer the truth to say it has made the country problem serious. The problem of rural progress would still exist if there were no cities, but had the cities not been drafting their best blood from the country and villages for more than half a century we would probably not be anxious about the rural problem to-day, for it is the loss of country leadership that has made country progress both slow and difficult. The growth of cities is not merely an American feat; it is universal in all the civilized world. Wherever modern industrial systems hold sway cities have grown phenomenally large. City population is less in this country in proportion than it is in England, Scotland, Wales, Austria, or Germany, but these Governments nearly a century ago recognized that they had a country problem to deal with and began dealing with it by just, wise, and proper legislation.

They recognized that unless something were done for their rural communities the country would soon become depleted in population, cities would become congested and overcrowded; and their wise men began setting their heads toward the rising sun and to enact laws inuring to the benefit of rural people, particularly in making heavy appropriations for improving high-ways, enactment of laws creating farm rural credits, and so forth, whereby the farmer could get money at cheaper rates of interest and on longer terms of payment. By this means, to a large extent, they have overcome the rush from the country to the cities, and now the growth of rural population is practically holding its own with the growth of city population. Let the farmers cease their work and labor from March to October and Wall Street will grow up in grass, skyscrapers will be vacated for want of tenants, and that present world metropolis will live only in the memory of the past. Every one of our large, busy, and overcrowded cities await with hope and expectation the maturing and marketing of the farmers' crops. abundance is loaned upon their strength; contracts for work and labor, goods and materials, amounting to hundreds of millions, yes, billions of dollars, are all annually bottomed upon the prosperity and welfare of the farmer. If he fails, all fail with him. If he succeeds, all share in not only his prosperity but all pros-

perity growing out of his labor.

A saying written by an old Chinese philosopher is applicable to-day. Said this old sage:

The well-being of a people is like a tree. Agriculture is its root, manufacturing and commerce are its branches and its life. If the root be injured, the leaves fall, the branches break away, and the tree dies.

This saying is true and applies to conditions of affairs in our own Nation at this time. Agriculture is at the very base of our wealth, our happiness, our prosperity. The Secretary of Agriculture in his annual report this year estimates that the farmers' crops for the year 1915 were valued at \$10,000,000,000, a sum so large in amount as to both stagger and appall the human mind. This is nearly ten times as much as the total capitalization of all the 7,400 national banks in the United States. It is practically one-half the total value of the banking power of all the

banks and trust companies in the United States. It is nearly one-half the total value of 250,000 miles of steam railroad in our Nation. This amount of farmers' commodities expressed in tonnage was so large it completely overtaxed transportation, broke down railroad traffic, and almost brought freight transportation for weeks and months to a standstill. This vast amount of wealth annually added to our material resources represents an equally vast amount of labor to sow, reap, and harvest the same. And yet this tremendous amount of products was produced by only 35 per cent of the total population of our country, because the last census showed that out of every 100 persons in the United States only 35 of them were living in rural communities, the remaining 65 living in cities.

One of the first things which greets the traveler's eye on arriving at Union Station at Washington City, cut deep in marble, is the beautiful and sublime thought: "The farm; best home of the family; main source of national wealth; foundation of civilized society; the natural providence." No writer, no thinker, has ever expressed more thought in fewer words. None could. This thought represents human life from birth to death. farm; best home of the family; main source of national wealth; foundation of civilized society; the natural providence.' rural people can not live alone on beautiful thoughts and happy epigrams. They can not live and continue prosperous alone on promises. They must have realities furnished them. For years promises. they have battled and struggled along against adversity, never murmuring, ever overcoming all obstacles, until they have reached, not by means of favored legislation inuring to their interests, but in spite of lack of legislation for their immediate benefit, to their present commanding position, until to-day those living in our rural communities are recognized as a dominant and controlling power, financially, morally, and socially, throughout the land.

But, Mr. Speaker, what is the cause of the rapid depletion of rural districts and the abnormal growth of our cities? It may be due to many and diverse causes. Isolation has been the curse of rural communities exactly as congestion has been the curse of the cities. The American farmer is bold, daring, and independent, and desires to live alone upon his farm, instead of in villages and towns, as the farmer does in many, if not all, of the older European countries. The advent of farm machinery for the time being caused a tremendous exodus from the farm to the city, as shown by the Census Bureau. Laborsaving machinery is as much a feature of modern civilization in the country as it is in the city. Machinery, by developing the factory system, centralized industry and took from the farms many thousands to man the looms. But this is only one-half the Agricultural machinery made it possible for the farm work in the country to be done by fewer men. The farm population decreased from 47.6 per cent in 1870 to 35.7 per cent in 1900, representing a change from agriculture to other pursuits of three and one-half millions of people, but during this period of time the average farmer became 42 per cent wealthier than he was before. The coming of farm machinery threw a great many men out of employment. One man with a modern harvester to-day can do the work of eight men by the older meth-The modern thrashing machine has displaced from 15 to 20 men. In the production of the nine important agriculture crops the average increase of labor efficiency as a result of farm machinery in the past two generations has been 500 per cent, while that of barley has been 2,200 per cent and nearly the same for wheat. The plow, the greatest of all agricultural implements, has passed through constant changes from the former crude wooden moldboard of the earlier times to the giant steam gang plow of the present time. The first steel plow was made in 1837 from an old saw blade. The first mowing machine was perfected in 1831. Imperfect reapers apng machine was perfected in 1831. Imperfect reapers appeared two years later and were made practical by 1840, one of the triumphs of modern machinery. At the Paris Exposition in 1855 a hopeless contest was waged between six sturdy workmen with the old hand flail and thrashing machines from four different countries. In half a day the six men found themselves decidedly defeated and gave up the contest. As a result of labor-saving machinery the cost of producing a bushel of wheat has been reduced from 38 hours and 40 minutes labor in 1850 to 10 minutes labor in 1896. In 1860 it required 41 hours to produce a bushel of corn, while in 1894 this time was reduced to 41 minutes and in 1911 it was further reduced to 27 minutes.

Labor, as a result of machinery, has reduced the time to produce a ton of baled hay from 35½ hours in 1850 to 11½ hours Many things have come to make country life more pleasant and agreeable. Farm machinery is one of them; the telephone; modern automobiles; cooperative creameries;

will not stem the tide of country depletion in population. Other things must be done, because the country will hold its own in growth and in population as against the city when the country is made worth while to live in it. Then, and not until then, will the call of the city fall on deaf ears of the country boys and country girls, and, in my judgment, the essential thing that can be done to make country life worth while is for the Government of the United States to aid in the improvement of the highways of the Nation.

Ill fares the land, to hast'ning ills a prey, Where wealth accumulates, and men decay; Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade—A breath can make them, as a breath has made; But a bold peasantry, their country's pride. When once destroy'd can never be supplied.

It is an unfair proposition for Congress to annually appropriate \$50,000,000 for the rivers and harbors and not appropriate anything for the improvement of highways. The same warrant for improving highways by Congress is found in the Constitution of the United States, which grants to Congress power to improve rivers and harbors by making these large appropriations. The equity of the situation is and should be to treat all alike, not only to appropriate money to improve rivers and harbors, but to appropriate money to aid the States or subdivisions of States to improve their highways. All the people of the United States are taxed to improve rivers and harbors, and the people of the States do not ask that money enough be appropriated by Congress to build, improve, and maintain their highways. All they ask is for Congress to appropriate a part of the money to aid them in constructing and maintaining their highways. They are willing, and perfectly so, to bear a part of this burden, and to match the Government, dollar for dollar which the Government puts into this line of improve-ment. The only money which Congress annually appropriates to aid rural people is the appropriation made to sustain and support the Agricultural Department, which amounts approxi-mately each year to about \$25,000,000. This sum is only onehalf the amount which Congress annually makes for the improvement of rivers and harbors, and is one-fourth the amount which Congress annually makes for the support and mainte-nance of the Army, and one-sixth the amount which Congress annually makes for the support and maintenance of the Navy. And yet every enterprise of our Nation is based upon the wealth and prosperity of the people living in rural communities. With us there is no more "Going out West and entering cheap and productive lands for settlement." With us there are no more countries to conquer. Here we are staked between two seas. Here we must remain and work out our own destiny, and in my judgment it would be money not only wisely but beneficently expended if Congress would come to the rescue of the people living in the country, and aid and assist them in building and maintaining good roads. It would be bread seed cast upon the waters to be gathered many days hence. my judgment, would cause the bright boys and ambitious girls to remain and live in the country and not desert it and go to towns and cities.

In spite of the great handicap under which the American farmer is working to-day, he has reached, as above stated, his position of commanding importance. Every dollar's worth of the \$10,000,000,000 worth of farm commodities had to be hauled The department of good roads estimates that the average haul of farm commodities in this country from the farm to the market is 8 miles; that it costs the American farmer to transport a ton of his produce over the 8 miles of roads \$1.25. It costs the German farmer to haul a ton of his produce 8 miles but 23 cents, and it costs the French farmer to haul a ton of his produce 8 miles but 19 cents. These two latter Governments, many years ago, seeing the necessity of building up a strong, virile rural population, began and did aid the people by making liberal appropriations for the building of their roads. This question has been neglected, and neglected far too long for our own welfare in this country. The time has come for us to do something real and do it now; something vital, something of importance ought to be done for our rural people in the way of improving their roads.

In 1911 Congress made an appropriation of \$500,000 and turned it over to the Post Office Department to be apportioned by that department among the States with a view of seeing whether or not the Federal Government and the States, or subdivisions of the States, could work in harmony in the way of building roads. The States which accepted their part of this fund and the Government worked admirably together, and the plan was found to be satisfactory.

On the 10th day of February, 1914, the House of Representa-tives passed à good roads bill, not only making it a permanent cooperative buying and selling agencies; but these things alone law and pledging the Government to this policy for the future, but it carried an appropriation of \$25,000,000, under which the State of Indiana would have received approximately \$1,000,000 per year if the bill had become a law. The bill passed the House by 284 votes for it, 42 votes against it, 5 Members voted present, and 101 did not vote at all. The bill went to the Senate, where it had to go before it became a law, and there it was killed. There is pending now on the calendar a good roads bill similar to the same bill which passed the House two years ago, carrying an appropriation of \$25,000,000, and under it, if it becomes a

law, Indiana will receive approximately \$1,000,000. I sincerely hope that this bill will not only pass the House but that it will successfully pass the Senate, be approved by the President, and become a permanent law. But under this bill, as under the bill of two years ago, the States, or subdivisions of the States, will be required to put a like amount of money on top of the Government's appropriation. While this is not treating the rural people, in the way of appropriation to improve their highways, as fairly and as equitably as we treat the rivers and harbors, where Congress appropriates all the money, in my judgment, the rural people would, if they could get this much, be thoroughly satisfied. If they can get some help, they will willingly do their part, but by doing their part they will cast an onerous burden upon themselves in the way of taxes. Indiana has done more in the building of rock roads than any other State in the Union. There are to-day between \$65,000,000 and \$70,000,000 worth of rock-road bonds bearing 4 and 4½ per cent interest upon the rural taxpayers. This is a tremendous burden upon them. They have stood it without murmuring, longing and expecting that a belated Congress would come to their rescue and either help them build their roads or help maintain those that are already built. In my judgment, if this were done, you would soon see the country rehabilitated, revivified, happy, jubilant, and prosperous; but unless this is done the continued sweep from the country to the cities will go on until, in the course of another generation, our country will become depleted in population, farms will become abandoned, communities will lose in population, fields become unproductive, and the pinch of hunger will be felt then in the cities as never

At the present time there is considerable agitation going on in the country on the subject of preparedness. There are two organizations advocating this subject with all the energy they possess. They are known as the Army League and Navy League. If these leagues had their way about making appropriations for preparedness, they would appropriate not less than \$750,000,000 per year for the Army and Navy. This, however, is not the preparedness for which President Wilson stands. We are annually appropriating \$100,000,000 for the Army and \$150,000,000 for the Navy. If the Army and Navy Leagues had their way about it, they would appropriate in excess of this amount \$500,000,000 per year. This amount annually appropriated for 10 years would amount to \$5,000,000,000. From information furnished by the Department of Agriculture I find the average cost of a macadam road 16 feet wide and 6 inches thick is \$6,000 per mile.

If we count the distance from north to south 1,200 miles, and the distance from east to west 3,000 miles, we could with \$5,000,000,000 build enough macadam roads to make 100 highways from the Atlantic to the Pacific, putting them 12 miles apart; and we could make highways from north to south 12 miles apart; so, when the \$5,000,000.000 were expended, the country would be gridironed with macadam roads 12 miles east and west, north and south, and no American citizen would then live more than 6 miles from a hard road that would take him anywhere in the United States. Instead of making such vast and tremendous appropriations for the Army and Navy, would it not be better, safer, and saner to make liberal appropriations for the improvement of the highways of our Nation?

At the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, the Government collected in the way of taxes from all sources, exclusive of postal receipts, \$703,191,989.85. The Treasury says that 65 per cent of this vast sum of money—or \$457,114,724.60—now goes to pay for the preparation of war or the expenses of past wars, including pensions, maintenance of Pension Bureau, cost of administration, and so forth.

An appropriation for the improvement of highways, in my judgment, will bring about greater preparedness even for war than the enormous appropriations asked for by the Army and Navy Leagues for the purpose of buying powder, guns, ships, and other munitions of war—things to take human life.

Such highways when improved will be great thoroughfares

Such highways when improved will be great thoroughfares over which the people will travel in time of peace and prosperity and over which our Government can and would quickly transport armies in time of war. But, Mr. Chairman, of course, no one thinks for a moment of appropriating \$500,000,000 for the

improvement of highways per year. No one for a moment would stand for this tremendous sum of money. I merely use this as a basis to show what could be done in the way of improving highways if the suggestions of the Army and Navy Leagues were carried out. No one living in rural communities seeks or asks such appropriations for the purpose of aiding the States in improving their roads. All the States ask is a reasonable appropriation upon the part of the Government to aid them along this line, and they are willing to do the remainder themselves.

Our material wealth in the Nation to-day aggregates nearly \$200,000,000,000, more than the combined wealth of England and Germany before a single gun was fired in Europe and almost as much as these two countries with France thrown in to boot. With this immense amount of wealth, largely created by the farmer, surely they are entitled to recognition at the hands of Congress to enable them to do what ought to be done, to wit,

improve the highways of the country.

Mr. Speaker, the question of improving the highways is a far-reaching one. It has an economic side to it which no one should forget. Already the number of people living in the country is small as compared with the number living in cities, with the constant abnormal and rapid growth of the cities at the expense of the country; and if this condition continues, before we pass the next quarter-century mark we will find ourselves importing wheat for bread from South America and cattle for meat from South Africa, because the people refuse to live in the country surrounded by present conditions. We have millions of acres of land yet undeveloped, many millions more of swamp land only needing the hand of the American farmer to seize upon them and make them bloom and blossom like the rose, and to encourage the people not to leave the farm but to remain on it we ought to be wise enough to make a liberal appropriation for this purpose. My idea of improving the country highways is that we ought to improve the post roads over which the rural and star-route mails are carried. These roads begin at the centers of population, reach and ramify every rural community in every county of the United States, passing by the homes of farmers.

It is this class of highways that I am earnestly in favor of improving, or at least aiding in the improvement at the expense of the Government, leaving the residue of the expenses to be maintained by the people themselves. To do this means the building up of a new rural civilization to develop community life in rural districts, and upon the development of distinctly rural civilization rests ultimately our ability, by methods of farming requiring the highest intelligence, to continue to feed and clothe the hungry nations; to supply the metropolis with fresh blood, clean bodies, and clear brains; to endure the strain of modern and urban life and to preserve a race of men in the open country that in the future, as in the past, will be the stay and strength of the Nation in time of war and its guiding and controlling spirit in times of peace.

The Dyestuff Situation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD OLNEY, 2D, .

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 11, 1916.

Mr. OLNEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record, I submit an article printed in the Lewiston Journal, of issue September 15, 1915, relating to the dyestuff situation particularly as it affects the textile industry. It seems that seven years ago a group of textile manufacturers clamoring vigorously for protection on manufactured products protested against any advance in the rates of duty on coal-tar dyes or colors. Largely as a result of this protest no encouragement was afforded to prospective dye manufacturers to erect plants in this country. There is to-day an absolute, or nearly an absolute, embargo on dyes, and it is a fact that can not be disputed that manufacturers are paying ten times, and even forty times, for certain dyestuffs over normal prices. The war has clearly shown us how dependent we are upon Germany as color producers, and that a critical situation like to-day can be avoided by so protecting the manufacture of American dyes that the American manufacturer can be induced to build factories here for the production of dyestuffs. No attempt has

ever been made in this country to extensively manufacture dyestuffs, on account of the enormous capital needed to equip such plants with the expensive machinery needed and to be attached.

Following is the referred-to article from the Lewiston Journal: AMERICAN CONSUMERS' PROTEST AGAINST INCREASE OF DYES. WASHINGTON, D. C., December 20, 1908.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: Your memorialists, cotton manufacturers, consumers of coal-tar dyes for the coloring of various cotton fabrics (the largest consuming industry of coal-tar dyes in the country) respectfully

submit—
First. We desire to protest against any advance in the rates of duty on coal-tar dyes or colors under section 15 of the present tariff on the ground that such advance would—

(a) Increase the cost of manufacturing colored cotton goods in the United States.

ground that such advance would—

(a) Increase the cost of manufacturing colored cotton goods in the United States.

(b) Increase the price to the consumer in the United States.

(c) In the case of export trade an advance in the cost of any of our raw materials adds to our burden and minimizes our opportunity to compete with foreign cotton manufacturers in foreign markets.

Second. We further petition that, for the same reasons, alizarins and dyes derived from alizarin and anthracene, as well as indigo, be left upon the free list, and that no change be made in the following schedules now on the free list:

SEC. 468. Alizarin, natural or artificial, and dyes derived from alizarin or from anthracene.

SEC. 580. Indigo (meaning vegetable and synthetic).

Very respectfully,

Amoskeag Manufacturing Co., F. C. Dumaine, treasurer, Manchester, N. H.; Hamilton Manufacturing Co., Franklin D. Williams, assistant treasurer, Lowell, Mass.; Pacific Mills, Edwin F. Greene, treasurer, Lawrence, Mass.; Cocheco Manufacturing Co., H. De F. Lockwood, treasurer, Lowell, Mass.; Teasurer, Lowell, Mass.; Cocheco Manufacturing Co., H. De F. Lockwood, treasurer, Dover, N. H.; American Printing Co., B. H. Borden, treasurer, Fall River, Mass.; the United States Finishing Co., J. H. Wright, president, New York; the Apponaug Co. J. H. Wright, president, Apponaug, R. I.; Garner & Co., Oscar Hartley, vice president, Pleasant Valley, N. Y.; Passaic Print Works, Edward E. Poor, fr., Passaic, N. J.; Arnold Print Works, W. A. Gallup, treasurer, Passaic, N. J.; Arnold Print Works, W. A. Gallup, treasurer, North Adams, Mass.; Renfrew Manufacturing Co., Ira S. Ball, assistant treasurer, Adams, Mass.; Queen Dyeing Co., B. J. Horton, treasurer, Providence, R. I.; S. H. Greene & Sons Corporation, Francis W. Greene, treasurer, Riverpoint, R. I.; the Aspinook, L. Johnson, treasu

GERMAN PROTEST AGAINST INCREASED DUTIES ON DYES.

NEW YORK, November 20, 1908.

Lon. Sereno E. Payne,
Chairman Committee on Ways and Means,
House of Representatives:

At a meeting of the firms interested in and dealing in "coal-tar colors or dyes" and "coal-tar products not colors or dyes, not otherwise specially provided for," held here to-day, the following resolution was ananimously adopted:

"Resolved, That we, the undersigned, protest against any increase in the duties on coal-tar colors or dyes, by whatever name known, or coal-tar products not colors or dyes, not otherwise specially provided for, and request an opportunity to be heard individually at such time and place as is convenient to the committee of Congress."

H. A. Metz & Co., H. A. Metz, president; Cassella Color Co., G. W. J. Matheson; Badlsche Co., Adolf Kuttroff, president; Farbenfabriken of Elberfeld Co., Y. Rellmerling, president; A. Klipstein & Co., G. O. Klipstein, treasurer; Berlin Anlline Works, E. O. Patz, second vice president; Geigy Anlline & Extract Co., Alfred Kublein, vice president; Walter F. Sykes & Co., Jno. A. McGuire, attorney; Geisenheimer & Co.; C. Bischoff & Co.; Kalle & Co. (Inc.), Wm. Junker, secretary.

THE RESULT.

The following extract is from the Daily Trade Record, August 14, 1915:

Give the American dye industry the assurance of 10 years of State tariff and then they will be in a situation to go it alone. That and a law that whosoever patents an article in America must make it here and the trouble is over, and war in Europe would never again catch our American manufacturers and users of dyes in so embarrassed a position.

American Ideals.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM E. COX, OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 20, 1916.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, it is 140 years since the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. It is 117 years since America took her place among the nations of the earth. Prior to the happening of these events great struggles for human liberty had raged throughout the ages of the past, yet no concerted movement to the support of which the lives, honor, and fortunes of all the people were pledged was ever undertaken before the happening of these two great events. With us it was an experiment, pure and simple, and the future historian must write the chapter as to whether the form of government set forth in these immortal documents is an assured success.

Forty centuries to-day look down upon China. During this time the old Empire has rocked to and fro with varied fortune of success and failure, but between foes on the one hand and friends on the other she has managed to keep her place among

the nations of the earth.

Half this many centuries look down upon the Governments of Europe, and looking back over this long history of the past, and viewing these nations in the light of to-day's events, have they made much progress for the uplift of mankind?

The student who bottoms his faith in the defense of his country upon material force will answer, "Yes," while the student who bottoms his faith in the defense of his country upon principles of justice and right answers, "No."

Six thousand years of written and unwritten history lie behind the beginning of ours. During this making of the world's history the earth was literally strewn with every con-ceivable form of government from the family, groups of families, clans, and monarchies on down to the worst form of political and military despotism that ever disgraced universal history. But governments, like people who make and unmake are subject to the never-failing and unvarying law of evolution, and, true to this principle, governments have moved onward and upward, and every new government born during the centuries of the past has been better than the old. Each succeeding government has given man more political and religious freedom than the old. Little by little, step by step, man has fought his way up from a cave dweller to his present intellectual position, and in this upward struggle to better his condition socially, morally, and politically step by step he has gradually taken power which formerly belonged to kings and emperors and placed it upon his own shoulders, to be administered by himself in the making of governments and in the making and unmaking of laws to govern himself and pos-terity. And my fondest hope is that in the future, as in the past, men and governments designed to govern them will continue to grow, expand, and unfold until they reach a pure democracy.

All governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. What is our Government, and of what does it consist? Does it consist solely of our lawmaking, law-enforcing, and law-determining bodies, or does it consist of the laws these bodies make, enforce, and determine; or does it consist of flesh and bones, human souls and human spirits?

Our law making, enforcing, and determining bodies constitute but a small portion of our Government. These are the agents, the trappings, the framework of our Government, and the laws passed by these bodies are but rules and regulations intended to prescribe the conduct of man to man. Behind these agents and agencies stand the great moving masses of people. people constitute the Government; they constitute the great reservoir of power, and they alone can give or withhold power to or from their agents. They can intrust them with all power or refuse to give any power at all or give such power as they see fit.

If our Government is based on justice, it is because, running

back and through all the years of our past history our people

have been just, not only to themselves but to their fellow men, based upon the principle of equal and exact justice to all, it is because the people themselves have failed to exercise justice or because they have been deceived by those they have chosen to make laws for them.

Mr. Speaker, a study of government, therefore, is a study of the people who make and compose it. To have a government based upon the principle of equal and exact justice to all, it is essential that behind it we have a people whose ideals in life are based upon equal and exact justice. No stream can rise higher than its source; and as the people are the source of all power, no government can have any more justice nor can it administer more than the people have surrendered to the govern-

ment to be administered by it for them.

At the risk of their own lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors our forefathers declared "that all men are created equal," and "that all are entitled to equally enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and "that all just governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." On these two sacred principles our Government rests to-day. these two principles our fathers intended it should forever rest These principles, enacted into law and enforced by the people, will be the beginning of a true democracy. These principles represent the quest of the ideal on the part of a people to find justice, and while the people had searched for these ideals for thousands of years it remained for our forefathers to establish them as sacred principles on which a just republican form of government should rest.

For the first 50 years of our national existence these principles stood forth in the enactment of all legislation as apples of gold in pictures of silver, but for the past 50 years as a nation we have become engulfed in the awful maelstrom of commercialism, and I fear we have lost sight of the ancient landmarks of selfgovernment erected by our fathers and are embarking upon an unknown and untried sea, without chart or compass, acknowledging allegiance to no king, not even the King of Peace, except the ling of the almighty dollar; until man to-day quickly asks the ever-searching question, "What is there in it for me?" And yet if all the wealth of our continent, and it is great, were piled in one heap beside these shining principles of self-govern-

ment it would sink into insignificance.

These indestructible principles should never perish from the earth; on them rests a democracy governed by justice. These principles point the way to every man who has justice in his heart, teaching him how to render justice to his fellow man. Pity the hour and pity the day when we forget the teachings of

our fathers along these lines.

When the time comes, if it does, reason will lose her sway, justice will take its flight, and mercy will veil herself in tears. Some one has said, "Every war is but the birth pang of a new nation," and as these principles were born and established in war "Lord, God of Hosts, be with us yet, lest we forget" the birth pangs our Nation underwent to establish them as prin-

ciples of self-government. Mr. Speaker, that we are a great nation of people is conceded by all; great in wealth, great in knowledge and wisdom, great in social progress, great in all things that make a nation great. History has no record of anything approaching us. Some feebly point to Rome, Greece, Babylon, and Egypt of the past and seek to compare these nations with ours; but there is no comparison, no rule or measuring rod whereby we can compare our Government with any of the past or present. Unique and alone she stands in all the world, the wonder and the admiration of all throughout the history of the past, and I hope for all future time.

As a nation we have not only done more for our people than any other nation but our work is not confined to our own shores; our light has shone to the remotest ends of the earth. We lead all nations in establishing republican forms of government, rest-ing upon the shoulders of the consent of the governed. Our Government was far in advance of all others in first placing its trust in man, and to this day the trust has never been mis-

placed or the confidence misapplied.

Other governments, which until yesterday were political and military despotisms of the worst sort, catching the inspiration of ours, have learned to trust men, and on the ruins of many of these old empires new republics have arisen in their stead, creating new impulses in the hearts of men and opening up new visions before their eyes. Truly, we have made progress under our form of government.

It was but yesterday when we had no railroads, telegraphs, or telephones. It was but yesterday when the pioneer was

out with the flail or tramping the seeds out with horses and cattle and hauling it to market in old wooden oxcarts. It was but yesterday when the pioneer was walking or riding horseback, with his wife seated behind him, over roads marked through the forests by the blazing of trees. He now rides in palace passenger cars propelled by steam, or in rubber-tired buggies, automobiles, or flying machines. It was but yesterday when the homes were lighted with candles. They now are lighted with oil, acetylene, gas, or electricity. It was but yesterday when the bathtub, sewing machine, cream separator, and even the cookstove were wholly unknown in our homes. It was but yesterday when mother's old spinning wheel and loom held prominent places in every household. It was but yesterday when mother was married in the cheapest calico with her old sunbonnet to father dressed in jeans pants or buckskin breeches. was but yesterday when we had the old insanitary, dark, and dingy one-room schoolhouse.

The old things have passed away and new things have come, but the old teach us the struggle of the past; the present is but

the beginning of a new era.

Mr. Speaker, standing to-day and looking back over the 140 years of our existence with a clear vision, we behold with wonderment and awe the progress made by us during this short period of time. The old sickle and flail have given way to the modern harvester, cutting and thrashing hundreds of acres of grain per day. The old family ox and horse cart have given way to giant, monster engines, speeding along at the rate of 60 miles per hour, or the modern automobile, at the same rate, with flying machines yet in their infancy. Mother's old knitting needles have given way to the machine knitting a thousand dozen pairs of socks per day; mother's old spinning wheel and loom have been replaced by steam and electricity, turning out hundreds of suits of clothing per day.

I do not recall a single invention that has added to our wealth,

happiness, and prosperity but what either originated in the brain of an American citizen or was perfected by him. We have issued more patents in our short life than the combined Governments

of England, France, and Germany.

The genius of Americans operating in a free country, governed by the principles to which our fathers pledged their lives, fortunes, and sacred honors, unchained and unfettered by force or power, have harnessed the very air and compelled it to yield nitrogen, and soon they will lay hold upon the sun's rays and extract heat therefrom to take the place of fuel. through the genius of Americans we have added twenty-two hundred new plants as food products, adding annually to our wealth many hundreds of millions of dollars. Through the science of medicine and surgery we have invaded the very domain of death and reclaimed from him millions of victims every year by lengthening the span of human life 14 years to each individual, which means fourteen hundred million years of human life to America.

Truly this is God's country, situated here between the seas, ordained to work out the divine purpose of His creation. We have given the world great fundamental truths in self-government, many of which have been borrowed from us by other

nations many centuries older than ours.

A fair question: "What makes our Nation great, and what must we do in order to maintain its greatness in the future? Is it due to the fact that in one short century of time we have accumulated material wealth aggregating nearly two hundred billions of dollars? No; while this is a contributing factor to our greatness, it is far short of being the rule by which to measure our present greatness.

Is it due to the fact that we have one-half of the total mileage of the steam railroads of all the world; that we raise more wheat, corn, barley, oats, and live stock than any other nation; or that we build the highest buildings, the biggest battleships, the longest bridges, span the deepest rivers, tunnel more mountains, and build more miles of subrailway than any other nation? While these things are all evidences of greatness and great things done by a great people, they are far short of

the greatest things we have accomplished.

Mr. Speaker, if this were all to which we could point, we would be far from fulfilling our true destiny. Have not the greatest nations of the world, those which all men acknowledge greatest, possessed few or none of these things? Could not a nation to-day be great without any of these things? Is not our country great just to the degree that she possesses certain qualifications not mentioned by material things? Would she be a great nation if she had all these things and had no character, no fine idealisms, no sense of honor and justice within breaking his land with the old wooden moldboard plow, cutting her borders, no spirit of mission, no great men, no lofty deshis wheat with a sickle or scythe and cradle and thrashing it tiny in view? What are the things that will make all the world-

call her wonderful? Is it not soul as well as things that makes our Nation great? No one ever thinks of China as a great nation, although she has probably one-fourth of the total population of the earth. We may some day, for the large human mass is stirring, new impulses are at work in her breast, and new visions are dawning upon her eyes. But no teacher would point out China to his boys and say "Here is one of the leading pations of the earth, an ideal of progress, a great civiliza-China, too, has unending miles of fertile plains on which grow vast fields of rice; her material resources will be fabulous when our western industry opens the gates of her locked mines: railroads will run in every direction; and yet, even though her material prosperity should suddenly multiply to be commensurate with her vastness, she would not be a great She has never given the world great men or great The average man knows the name of only one great Chinaman-Confucius. Neither has she given the world a type of humanity so great that all nations will point to it and say, "This is humanity worth striving for."

On the other hand, there is a little nation in the heart of Europe which would be lost should it be put in the center of She has little wealth of coal and ore; she has no army to speak of and no navy; she has no great prairies of waving grain, although there are some fields of blue and golden flowers. Her chief possessions are rock and ice. Her only buildings are high, because they are built on tops of mountains. and yet everybody calls Switzerland a remarkable nation. Why? Because she does so much for her people. Every child is given as fine an education by the State as he wants, or at least needs. Children have rights assured them and are never dependent upon charity. The Government is continually devising new plans and methods of giving the child both a happy childhood and one which prepares him for manhood. hears little of child labor and sees no children begging. The marriage and divorce laws are framed with the happiness and welfare of the children in view. Taxation is assessed to take the burden off the man using his land productively and for the poor. Every poor mother is entitled to free care in the best maternity hospitals, and the hospital service is said to be Wood is free in many of the Cantons, and the Government does all it can for its people.

There is a little country in the North Sea which has no fabu-

lous wealth in mines or quarries; it is not big enough to have any long railroads. It grows more heather on its towering mountains than grain; it thinks more of its universities than it does of its insurance towers; and yet it is a country which is synonymous with greatness wherever its name is mentioned. Of course Scotland is the country to which I refer. And why is Scotland everywhere and always great? Because she has given the world great men; she has literally blessed the world with them; every generation she has produced several, and every spot on earth knows them. from dark Africa, whose portals were flung open by her noted son Livingstone, down to the present time. Her Wallaces, Bruces, Knoxes, and Mont-roses of early days on down to Burns, Scott, Carlyle, Livingstone, Chalmers, Blakesley, Balfour, Bryce, Guthrie, Hume, and a host of others; a procession of great men carrying the genius of Scotland into the life of every nation. But even more than this, Scotland has given to the world a great race of men; the Scotch manhood is recognized everywhere as a great type. is great because she has produced great manhood; and who worries much whether she has any Woolworth buildings or not? Again, there are two little countries not far from Turkey, so

Again, there are two little countries not far from Turkey, so small they are lost on any map of the world, but which are perhaps the greatest nations the world has ever known and have influenced the world more than all other nations combined. One of them consists mostly of sea-washed mountains and islands. She has no railroads, no bridges, hardly any material wealth, yet Greece stands forever wonderful, crowned with glory, for Greece gave the world one of these truths which underlie the whole fabric of civilization and has been inwrought into all the world's thinking, for Greece taught the world forever that the quest of the ideal is the one quest worthy of human beings; that the human soul is greater than the whole universe of dead matter; that those ideas which underlie all that is best and highest in our life and thinking are invaluable and universal and give light to all pure hearts; that beauty is truth and truth is always beautiful. This idealism that came to us from Greece lies underneath all lofty thinking, all great artistic achievements, and has infused itself into all civilization which loves the good, the true, and the beautiful more than things.

But there is another country whose glory outshines that of Greece. It has no railroads, no mines, no rich soil, no buildings, no wealth of any kind, not even art, yet every child who ever lived in Christendom could tell us all about it, and has probably

known its history better than that of his own land. What country with all the treasure in things that some have had, with all the greatness of armies and conquests in wars that some have achieved, has influenced the world or been called great in comparison with the little strip of barren soil we call Palestine? And why is Palestine so great? Simply because she gave, along with her great men and women, a great foundation truth on which Christian civilization has been reared. She taught the world that back of and running through all creation was the Eternal Goodness, and that His right name was Father; that men were the offspring of this Father, made in His image, therefore sons of God; that all mankind was comprehended in the infinite love and mercy of God; that the world was not at the mercy of fitful fates and blind matter, but that it moved onward and upward to some divine consummation under the impulse and guidance of the indwelling spirit; that all creation traveleth to bring forth perfect man and the final kingdom of service, peace, and good will among men; that the soul was the final wealth of great work; that all the resources of heaven and earth existed to free this soul and exalt it; that it is immortal.

This message has made the very mental and spiritual atmosphere in which we live. It has determined the lives of countless millions and shaped their whole conduct and outlook upon life. On it our institutions have been based. Out of it has sprung most of our literature. It has become a part of our language, and it is the one word which to-day will be spoken where any man is talking of the common life.

This is what it is to be a great nation; to give the world such truths as Greece and Palestine have given it. That nation is the greatest which gives the world a truth that makes its very structure new.

Mr. Speaker, the United States will be the greatest Nation in the world if it, like Greece and Palestine in ancient days, can in these modern days give the world another truth that shall be woven into the very warp and woof of its destiny. And I dare venture to believe that God has called our country to speak some such great word just as He called Greece and Palestine to teach the righteous, or Rome to teach an organization under law; and is not this great truth just the one for which all the world is even now asking, praying for, and seeking? The truth of the brotherhood of man—not the mere saying of it, not the truth as a beautiful, desirable, and distant operation, not as an unattainable ideal to be always approximated but as a possibility, a reality, an achievement, an object lesson to all other nations.

The very statement of the fact is God's voice calling America to its high destiny to-day. The nation with the greatest standing army, the most powerful navy, has never been the nation that has made the greatest impress upon the world's history. For nearly 20 years Napoleon held all Europe in the throes of deadly war. During this time he parceled out kings and kingdoms; he trafficked in kings and queens, and the price paid was human blood, the consideration being death, widows, and orphans, and when the final settlement was made with him it was found that he had not given to the world a single basic truth on which a higher civilization could rest, and for lack of this the memory of this bloody conqueror is fast disappearing from the lips of men.

A few years ago the question was put to the school children of Paris asking them to name the greatest Frenchman France had produced in a century, and 98 per cent of the children answered, "Dr. Robert Pasteur," the man who did not bring death, but who snatched life from it.

Mr. Speaker, people no longer conjure with the names of Napoleon, Cæsar, Charlemagne, Hannibal, and Alexander the Great. They no longer regard them as great men; they no longer look upon them as men who have moved the world onward and upward, but as time goes by the names of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Patrick Henry, Jackson, Webster, and Clay continue to press themselves upon the thoughts of the modern world. These were great men; men who stood for principle; who stood for the uplift of man; who stood for better government, better society, and a higher civilization. For 3,000 years now we have been basing our civilization on force, and it has failed. We have had wars and strifes unending, and if history has any one lesson it is that national security based on force alone is an eternal fallacy, and that the true greatness of a nation longer from its exercise of righteousness from within and without.

There can be no lasting kingdom built on force and power. These things are all temporal. It is the unseen things, good will and justice, which are eternal. Force and power can be overrome by force and power. Nations resting on swords will finally perish by the sword, but nothing in heaven or on earth can conquer justice and the spirit of good will. Let justice and good will between man and man be taught in our public

schools, proclaimed from the pulpit, declared by the forum, and thereby will grow up a nation of people not taught to hate their fellow man but to love, revere, and respect him.

If Europe had spent but one mill to the dollar in disseminating and teaching the doctrine of love, justice, and good will to all their people to every thousand dollars she has spent for armament and preparedness during the past 50 years, not a single gun would be heard firing now in that awful conflict raging there, where countless thousands of men, brothers in everything that makes life worth the living, not enemies, not even an estranged feeling between them, but having every interest in common with each other, are now compelled to shoot each other down as though they were enemies. Surely when this awful conflict has ceased the sons and daughters of husbands and fathers who were slain in battle or crippled and maimed for life will rise up as one voice and one people and demand that the people begin to arm themselves with the doctrine of justice and right, as taught by the lowly Nazarene, "Peace on earth, good will to men."

There are hermit souls that live withdrawn
In the place of their self-content;
There are souls like stars that dwell apart
In a fellowless firmament;
There are pioneer souls that blaze their paths,
Where highways never ran—
But let me live by the side of the road
And be a friend to man. And be a friend to man.

Let me live in a house by the side of the road,
Where the race of men go by—
The men who are good and the men who are bad;
As good and bad as I.

I would not sit in the scorner's seat
Or hurl the cynic's ban—
Let me live in a house by the side of the road
And be a friend to man. And be a friend to man.

I see from my house by the side of the road,
By the side of the highway of life,
The men who press with the ardor of hope,
The men who are faint with the strife.
But I turn not away from their smiles nor their tears,
Both are parts of an infinite plan—
Let me live in a house by the side of the road
And be a friend to man. And be a friend to man.

I know there are brook-gladdened meadows ahead,
And mountains of wearlsome height;
That road passes on through the long afternoon
And stretches away to the night,
And still I rejoice when the travelers rejoice
And weep with the strangers that moan,
Nor live in my house by the side of the road
Like a man who dwells alone. Let me live in my house by the side of the road,
It's here the race of men go by.—
They are good, they are bad, they are weak, they are strong,
Wise, foolish—so am I.
Then, why should I sit in the scorner's seat
Or hurl the cynic's ban?
Let me live in my house by the side of the road
And be a friend to man.

—S. W. Fe -S. W. Foss.

A New Year Greeting to the People of Mississippi.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD W. SAUNDERS.

OF VIRGINIA, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 21, 1916.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record I include an address by Senator Vardaman to the people of the State of Mississippi. The addresss is as follows:

A NEW YEAR GREETING TO THE PEOPLE OF MISSISSIPPI.

Christmas having passed—the celebration of the birth of One whose mission to earth was to bring peace to mankind and urge the nations of the earth to beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks; that nation should not lift up sword against nation, nor learn the lessons of war any more—I have thought that it would not be out of place for me to bring to you at the beginning of the new year the tribute of my love and to lay the garlands of my gratitude at your feet.

You have been good to me far beyond my deserts, and the most loyal heart would quail, overwhelmed with a sense of despair in any effort or hope to absolve the obligations which I cheerfully acknowledge to you for your unparalleled generosity to me. That you deserve more than I can give or any individual man could give is a matter of disquieting concern and vital moment to me. The extent of my ability to repay you is the consecration of all the strength of body, of mind, and soul

that I possess to your service. In all the annals of American history there was never so great a demand for strong and wise men to conduct the affairs of the Government and direct the current of public thought as now. Men with the wisdom to see, the knowledge to understand, and the unhesitating courage and patriotism to act, are needed. The present is pregnant with momentous problems, and the manner of dealing with them holds much of weal or woe for the future of the American Republic. In the coming years it is my deliberate judgment that the present will be looked upon as a turning point in the life of this Nation.

THE WORLD ATHIRST FOR WAR.

The world is afire with the passions of war; blood lust seems to have temporarily dethroned the reason of man; the conflagration is raging in Europe across the seas, and the sparks are falling even upon the roofs of our own houses. We see the danger; we behold the sorrow wrought by this spasm of world madness, the rivers of women's tears, the seas of human blood, the blighted lives, the frustrated ambitions, and all the horrors of war rise vividly before us, "like the troubled visions o'er the breast of dreaming sorrows." It is a time for contemplation, retrospection, and prayer. Out of the errors of the past let us hope we may find the truth that shall save us in the future.

Has gone, and with it, many a glorious throng Of happy dreams. Its mark is on each brow, Its shadows in each heart. In its swift course, It waved its scepter o'er the beautiful, And they are not. It laid its pallid hand Upon the strong man, and the haughty form Is fallen, and the flashing eye is dim. It trod the hall of revelry, where thronged The bright and joyous, and the tearful wail Of stricken ones is heard, where erst the song And reckless shout resounded. It passed o'er The battle plain, where sword and spear and shield Flashed in the light of midday—and the strength Of serried hosts is shivered, and the grass Green from the soil of carnage, waves above The crushed and mouldering skeleton. It came And faded like a wreath of mist at eve; Yet, ere it melted in the viewless air, It heralded its millions to their home In the dim land of dreams.

THE PAST OUR GUIDE.

The only light we have to guide us in the darkness of the future is that which shines out from the experiences of the past. Human nature is the same to-day that it was when the Pharaohs ruled in Egypt, or the Cæsars wielded the scepter of authority in ancient Rome, and the same influences that moved men to action in the remote past impel them on to-day. The strongest heart and most towering intellect are not wholly exempt from the insidious influences of environment. The mountain peaks upon whose summits the sun ever shines, undimmed by the passing clouds, are very few. The individual who can live in an atmosphere of perfect altruism is rarely met. Really, I know of but one instance in all the world's history, and He was crucified for the sins of a selfish world. And I am afraid He is being crucified anew to-day by His professed followers. "Preparedness," with all its train of inevitable evil, brands our cherished faith in the Prince of Peace as a bloody lie. The strength of this Nation is not in its material wealth, its virtue is not in the honesty of the leaders of public thought, the foundation upon which it rests is not the Constitution and laws, but rather the moral qualities and intellectual acquirements and patriotic purposes of its entire people.

Not in hewn stone, nor well-fashioned beams, Not in the noblest of the builder's dreams, But in the courageous men of purpose great— There is the fortress, there's the living state. THE PEOPLE THE COURT OF LAST RESORT.

If this Republic shall live, if it shall fulfill the beneficent hope and realize the dream of the great men and women who gave it being, it will be through the saving grace of the honesty and unselfish patriotism of the men and women who deposit the ballot. "The public is wiser than the wisest critic," says Bancroft. "In Athens the arts were carried to perfection when the 'fierce democracy' was in ascendancy. The temple of Minerva and the works of Phidias were planned and perfected to please the common people. When Greece yielded to tyrants her genius for excellence in art expired, or, rather, the purity of taste disappeared, because the artist then endeavored to gratify a patron and, therefore, humored his caprice, while before he had endeavored to delight the race." The virtue and strength of all good law consist in the fact that it is the unbiased, consentient judgment, the blending of the moral qualities and the intellectual acquirements of the governed. all, the court of last resort is the people. They are the Government. That is, they should be. The Government was established and should be maintained for them. They should write

the laws through the instrumentality of their agents—the Congress and the President. I would, therefore, call upon the people of America to consider well the issues with which they Do your own thinking, and when you are now confronted. think, think as sovereigns and not as subjects. You should lead in thought rather than follow the politician in public office. The man in public office is often unconsciously influenced in his judgment by his personal political interests. No man is wholly exempt from such an insidious influence. The appearance of things is often affected by the peculiar position from which they are viewed. There can be no selfish interest to becloud the vision or warp the judgment of the private citizen. If he is prudent and wise, his ballot will always register a patriotic freeman's will, and the will of the patriotic freeman in America should be the supreme law of the land.

THE QUESTION OF PREPAREDNESS.

I am especially desirous that the people of Mississippi think deeply on the question of "preparedness" for war. On the surface it may appear harmless, but to my mind it is fundamentally pernicious. I heard a distinguished officeholder say a few days ago that he was in "favor of preparing for war for the purpose of preserving peace." My countrymen, Germany was prepared for war at the beginning of the devastating struggle now going on in Europe. Did her preparation preserve peace? France was prepared for war; England had the greatest Navy the world has ever known at the beginning of this war. Russia with her compulsory military spirit rampant and paramount—did all these influences work for peace? Let the flowing blood, the groans of the wounded in the trenches, the heartaches of the mothers and wives and the cry of orphaned children of Europe answer that dread question. Governments are but the individuals in the aggregate. The same influences move masses of men to action that actuate the individual. Did you ever know a man who really wanted peace to ornament his person with a couple of pistols and a bowie knife, and other modern implements of hell, and go out into the street as an apostle of peace? Do you really think that character of man ever promoted peace in the community in which he lived? Of course you do not. But, on the contrary, he is a disturber of the peace and a fomenter of strife.

Nations, I repeat, are but the individuals in the aggregate. The same code of laws and morals should govern the nations in their dealing that individuals insist upon governing men in their intercourse with each other. Does anyone in Mississippi believe that doubling our Navy and quadrupling our Army, taxing to depauperization the laboring people of this country, is going to be productive of good to the people of the world? If we shall enlarge our Navy and increase our Army other nations will do likewise, and we shall be relatively weak or strong as we are It is a fatal mistake to assume that others will remain inactive in the matter of preparation while we are getting very busy. I can not think, my countrymen, that your judgment and consciences are so warped and distorted as to believe that. It is not necessary. We have the President of the United States as authority for the statement that "We are at peace with all the world—no one who speaks counsel based on fact or drawn from a just and candid interpretation of realities can say there is any reason to fear from any quarter that our independence or the integrity of our territory is threatened." Then why this change in policy, I might say polity, of our Government in order to gratify the greed and cupidity of a certain favored class to the eterrory detriment of the telling masses? eternal detriment of the toiling masses?

PREPAREDNESS MEANS WAR.

And war means sorrow, broken hearts, blighted lives, poverty, everything that is bad and un-Christlike. The manufacturers o" munitions of war, the builders of battleships, the members of the Army and Navy who live as aristrocratic parasites upon the products of the laborers' toil will be benefited by it. And they alone will be benefited. Millions of dollars have already been made in the United States by the manufacturers of munitions of war. Dollars have been coined by the plutocratic advocates of "preparedness" in this country out of the blood of the men in Europe who died that royal vanity and kingly egotism might be gratified. The tears that have been shed by broken-hearted women, the sighs of suffering mothers whose sons have been fed to the Moloch of war across the waters, have not disturbed in the least the conscience poise of the men on this side who have grown fabulously rich furnishing the instruments of death. Oh, the hell of it all! It is enough to break the heart of the Prince of Peace and bankrupt Infinite Mercy. Somebody at some time must pay the penalty for this monstrous crime against mankind. But in this day of practical politics, we are told by the dauntless fingo, that-

Men must learn now with pity to dispense, For policy sits above conscience.

I shall not follow their lead or do their bidding.

These are terrible times which call for serious thought. Altruism should drive from the heart the cloud of hate and consuming greed for gain should give place to a passion to serve the people. It should be the peculiar function of the Govern-ment of the United States at this critical period in the world's history to lead the nations, maddened with blood lust, back into the paths of peace. So "fair an occasion" seldom calls a nation to serve so well its day and generation. To push aside this supreme opportunity, I fear, will be a fatal mistake. Think on it, my friends, not as partisans, but as patriots. Permit not your vision to be clouded by personal or private interests. The things yo do to-day will either bless or ver you in the years to come-not alone you, but all posterity.

LET TOLERATION PREVAIL.

Let the utmost toleration characterize your profound consideration of this vital question. The whole responsibility in the end rests with you, because you are the source of all legitimate power in this Republic. The Ark of the Covenant of American institutions is in your keeping. I can not better close this new year greeting than by quoting from the great writer and commentator, Judge Story. I wish that his wise and patriotic words might be engraved upon the memory of every American:

"Let the American youth never forget that they possess a noble inheritance, bought by the toil and sufferings and blood of their ancestors; and capable, if wisely improved and faithfully guarded, of transmitting to their latest posterity all the substantial blessings of life, the peaceful enjoyment of liberty, property, religion, and independence. The structure has been erected by architects of consummate skill and fidelity; its foundations are solid; its compartments are beautiful, as well as useful; its arrangements are full of wisdom and order; and its defenses are impregnable from without. It has been reared for immortality, if the work of man may justly aspire to such a title. It may, nevertheless, perish in an hour, by the folly or corruption or negligence of its only keepers—the people. Republics are created by the virtue, public spirit, and intelligence of the citizens. They fall, when the wise are banished from the public councils, because they dare to be honest, and the profligate are rewarded, because they flatter the people in order to betray them.

May God give you prudence and wisdom to understand the duties devolving upon you in this great emergency, and may that prosperity and happiness throughout all the coming years which belong of right to the true, the patriotic, and the wise, Bless and crown your every endeavor. God bless you.

Cordially and sincerely,

JAS. K. VARDAMAN.

Parcel Post.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND. OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 21, 1916.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include articles on the subject of the parcel post:

[From the Kansas City Weekly Star, Jan. 19, 1916.]

BOOSTS THE PARCEL POST—UNCLE SAN COOPERATING WITH FARMERS TO FIND CUSTOMERS—KANSAS CITY POSTMASTER BEGINS CAMPAIGN TO LINK PRODUCER AND BUYER IN THE "FARM-TO-TABLE" MOVEMENT.

To Link Producer and Buyer in the "Farm-to-Table" Movement. There were 500 parcel-post turkeys eaten in Kansas City last Thanksgiving. W. N. Collins, the acting postmaster, got the figures while keeping close tab on the parcel-post business, trying to make it better. The turkey business clinched a conviction he had that there ought to be more parcel-post turkeys, butter, eggs, and other produce moving cityward from the country. He told the Post Office Department so, and asked permission to do a little pioneering. The other day Postmaster General Burleson wrote back and told him to wade right in and pioneer.

To be sure, Mr Burleson's language wasn't in just those words. He simply authorized Mr. Collins to be a mediary between the consumer and the producer, to help work out the department's "farm-to-table" movement, which already has been started in post offices in Washington, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and other cities.

INTERESTS COUNTRY POSTMASTERS.

Mr. Collins is now sending letters to between three and four thousand postmasters in fourth-class offices in the first and second parcelpost zones, asking them to cooperate in the "farm-to-table" movement, to give it publicity among the farmers of their communities, and to suggest that local merchants carry different types of parcel-post containers.

Any farmer who has butter, eggs, poultry, meat, vegetables, or other products to sell need but drop Mr. Collins a line saying what he has to sell and how much of it, and Mr. Collins will find the customers. Such letters should be addressed:

"Postmaster, Farm to Table, Kansas City, Mo."

In reply the postmaster will send the farmer a circular with full instructions as to parcel-post regulations and rates. The farmer's name and the products he has to sell will be put on a list, and these lists supplied to city consumers. A producer's name will be kept on a list only 30 days. By that time he will be supposed to have found customers. If he has not, his name can be kept on the lists by further requests.

"We're trying to get the consumer and the producer hooked up," said Mr. Collins, Monday. "That's the biggest problem in the parcel post. We can get at least five or six prospective customers for every farmer that writes in. Since we first announced this plan, a few days ago, many farmers and city people have sent in their names. The first lists will be prepared as soon as sufficient names have come in.

WITHIN 150 MILES OF MARKET.

"We're trying particularly to interest farmers in the first and second zones out of Kansas City—that is, within 150 miles of the city. The parcel-post rate in these zones is 1 cent a pound plus 4 cents. Thus, a 20-pound can of lard would cost 24 cents to ship by mail. Of course, a farmer outside of these zones is welcome to have his name and products listed, but we feel there's a better chance for those within these

"A city consumer may ask the post office for the general list of farmers on which all products are listed or for the list that includes only butter and eggs. He may then write to several farmers, getting their prices and ordering by cash, C. O. D., or credit, just as he and the farmer arrange. It will cost 10 cents extra to send a parcet C. O. D., and payment must be made for it to the carrier, including the money-order fee of 3 cents for a \$2.50 order, 5 cents for \$5, or 8 cents for \$10.

cents for \$10.

"But this C. O. D. and money-order expense should be eliminated after the first trial order. The success of the farmer lies in giving strictly first-class goods; that of the consumer is in paying promptly. Both must be fair and square. A farmer ought to be able to pick reliable consumers by the references they give, and thus establish a line of regular customers and the proper credits.

RIGHT TO THE CARRIER.

"I believe one development will be the turning of a lot of waste products to profit. The farm housewife isn't going to be so careful of saving winter eggs when there's a chance of having only a scant dozen to take to town to sell at wholesale. But if she knows she can put those eggs in a container and hand them to the rural carrier to deliver to a reliable carrier in town, she'll find means to save a few more eggs."

To a question Mr. Collins denied that parcel post had been slow in developing. It had increased about 25 per cent a year, he said. How much of this increase was city business sent to the country he could not say, but the country-to-city business was growing, he declared.

Most all country produce goes through three middlemen—the country buyer, the commission man, and the city grocer. Each must have a profit. If the farmer and the consumer can agree on a division of these three profits the parcel-post marketing system will be established on a lasting basis. But the producer has got to remember the city grocer isn't keen to lose any of his trade. Neither is the commission man or the usual country buyer.

[From the Kansas City Star, Jan. 19, 1916.]

[From the Kansas City Star, Jan. 19, 1916.]

WIDENS FARM-TO-TABLE PLAN—ACTING POSTMASTER SUGGESTS A WAY FOR
TRAVELING SALESMEN TO BELP.

A plan to make the thousands of commercial travelers who live in
Kansas City active boosters for the new parcel post farm-to-table service has been suggested to W. N. Collins, who proposes to take the matter
up with the secretaries of their organizations.

His proposal is that each traveling man shall demonstrate the value
of the service by keeping his family supplied with fresh food purchased
in the small towns and sent in by parcel post. This plan is now being
followed by men in the Rai-way Mail Service.

"No class is quicker to recognize a good thing than the commercial
travelers," he said, "and no class can be of more use in making the
service popular. Egg cartons may be purchased that the traveling man
carry flat in his case, or he can buy the containers at the stores in
many towns. I am requesting the postmasters in all towns within the
150-mile zone of Kansas City to see that their merchants put in a
line of carrying cases. Egg cases holding a dozen eggs may be purchased for as low as 3½ cents each, and they lie flat for carrying when
empty.

empty.

"I assume that the greatest bargains in produce should come from the man who has no handy market save the rural route, but the small town merchant can save the consumer considerable money by furnishing fresh produce. I remember buying fresh eggs in a small inland town near Kansas City for 16 cents a dozen when eggs retailed for 30 cents here."

Among the new products offered for the list Mr. Collins will probably issue next week are headcheese and cottage cheese.

A Carroll County man writes he will have 600 farm-cured, hickorysmoked hams to market within four weeks. These are the kind that make red gravy, he declares.

Statement from Mr. Jones in Regard to Sisal.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM L. IGOE. OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 21, 1916. Mr. Speaker, recently resolutions were introduced for an investigation of the company that is making loans on sisal. In a previous issue of the Congressional Record and in newspaper articles the names of the Mississippi Valley Trust Co., of St. Louis, and Mr. Breckinridge Jones, the president of that company, have been mentioned in connection with this investigation. I am in receipt of a statement from Mr. Jones, which I ask to have inserted in the RECORD.

The statement is as follows:

The statement is as follows:

The question having been raised in Washington, and from Washington through the public prints, in relation to contracts recently formed to make loans in this country on warehouse receipts for sisal, some facts about the matter may be of general interest.

Sisal, or Henequen grass, which is found in Mexico, is a fiber that is left after taking the pulpy substance from the leaf of the maguey, or, as it is sometimes called, the century plant. This fiber was used for rope making and the like by the natives in Mexico even before Cortez came over. There is imported into the United States annually about 800,010 bales of sisal, and this is used principally in the manufacture of binder twine, or twine used in binding up bundles of wheat, rye, oats, or other grain. The average weight of the bales is 375 pounds each.

My information is that in Mexico, and especially in Yucatan, from whence comes most of the sisal, there is a kind of cooperative selling agency, established by those who raise the sisal, assisted by the State government of Yucatan, very much the same as the fruit growers' association established by the fruit growers in California and at Hood River, Wash. This selling agency is not operated for independent profit, but makes advances against the product, markets the product, and whatever profit there is made over and above the expenses of the agency, is divided between the farmers, or those who have produced the sisal. This selling agency in Mexico has been called the Comision Reguladora del Mercado de Henequen. Since the revolution has been going on in Mexico transportation has been irregular and at times this agency would have on hand very large quantities of sisal, both in Yucatan and in the United States, and as it had no financial arrangements for borrowing money on these accumulated stocks it was at the mercy of the International Harvester Co. and its ally, the Plymonth Cordage Co., the chief purchasers of sisal in this country, as well as being placed in the position where o

time to time.

To remedy this trouble the Mexican selling agency conferred with Sol Wexler, president of the largest national bank in New Orleans (the Whitney-Central National Bank) and with Lynn H. Dinkins, president of a large trust company there (the Interstate Trust & Banking Co.), tooking to the establishment of financial connections that would enable the Comision Reguladora to borrow money on warehouse receipts on bales of sisal, duly insured and stored in public warehouses in the United States.

Sisal is just as staple as cotton, comes in bales somewhat smaller than a bale of cotton, has regular grades as to quality, is not subject to depreciation in storage, and is just as safe a basis for credit as cotton, grain, pig fron. or other staple articles. Sisal is exported from Mexico to the Argentine and also to Europe, as well as to the United States.

States.

Messrs. Wexler and Dinkins presented the matter to large banking institutions in St. Louis, Chicago, and New York, suggesting that this was an opportune time for the United States to permanently establish a reliable market for sisal in this country, as our farmers through the United States have a definite need for the articles manufactured from sisal. It is believed, also, that this move might tend to develop into other large importations from Mexico and other southern countries, with the resulting increase of trade relations with our southern neighbors.

child states have a definite need for the articles manufactured from sisal. It is believed, also, that this move might tend to develop into other large importations from Mexico and other southern countries, with the resulting increase of trade relations with our southern neighbors.

When the matter was presented to us here in St. Lonis, owing to the disturbed conditions in Mexico, we asked whether the matter would meet with the approval of our own Government. The parties in charge of the matter shortly thereafter presented the whole plan, so we were informed, to the State Department at Washington, to the Department of Justice, and to the Comptroller of the Currency, and no objection was raised by any of them.

The plan was to make loans on sisal owned by the Comision Reguladora from time to time in the next five years on the receipts of public warehouses for sisal, properly insured, loans not to be in excess of 60 per cent of the market value of sisal, and in no event beyond a given amount per pound, such amount representing only a reasonable and usual market price for sisal. To effect these loans and to have a responsible American company with which the banks in this country could deal, it was provided to be incorporated, under the laws of New York, a company with at least \$1,000.000 cash capital, this new company to have the contract from the Comision Reguladora for furnishing loans on sisal from time to time as needed, the banks agreeing to make loans to this American company on the warehouse receipts. The banks could carry on this regular business of lending money on staple products from time to time just as they are now doing on cotton, grain, pig iron, and other products With this credit assured, the selling agreety in Yucatan, namely, the Comision Regularoda del Mercado de Henequen, could import into the United States sisal from time to time, as transportation could be found, storing the sisal and then not be at the mercy of any one big companny or other buyer, and be in a position where it could have an

BRECKINGIDGE JONES.

St. Louis, Mo., January 17, 1916.

Discrimination at Annapolis.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL. OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 20, 1916.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following

JANUARY 12, 1916.

Hon. Josephus Daniels,

Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Secretary: Approximately one-quarter of the people of my district are residents who came from Italy or who are their descendants.

In New York City they have made steady progress in all the professions until to-day numbers of them are holding public office, both on the bench and in the Legislature of the State of New York.

We never hear in New York City of any discrimination of any kind or description, either in the administration of our civil or criminal law or in treatment accorded them in our schools, high schools, colleges, or universities.

or description, either in the administration of our civil or criminal law or in treatment accorded them in our schools, high schools, colleges, or universities.

The two midshipmen who heretofore represented the twentieth congressional district of New York at the United States Naval Academy, at Annapolis, have been from amongst them, and following my idea of the best manner of filling such vacancies, namely, by holding preliminary competitive examinations after due notice to all the residents of my district, I find a disinclination on their part to go to Annapolis, basing their refusal on the ground that those who have come from Italy or are their sons would never be permitted to graduate from Annapolis on account of social ostracism and unfair treatment.

To remove the 'mpression, I would like to obtain the information from you as to whether there is any basis for any such conception as to what actual conditions are at Annapolis, and as to whether there has ever been any graduate from Annapolis amongst those who came from Italy, or their sons, and as to whether there are any such midshipmen now at the academy.

It is needless for me to refer to the fact that Italians have fought most gallantly, both on land and sea, and that many Italian officers have won the world's recognition for heroism and undaunted courage in times of war, and I would indeed be most surprised to learn that there is any discrimination of any kind at the present time at the Naval Academy against Italians, as I personally know that you would not permit same.

As I have set the examination for the 25th of January, could I ask you for an early answer to this letter?

Sincerely, yours,

Navy Department,

NAVY DEPARTMENT, Washington, January 18, 1916.

Washington, January 18, 1916.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR Mr. Siegel: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of January 12, and hasten to assure you that there is no discrimination against midshipmen who are of Italian descent.

A glance at the names contained in the Navy Register will show that descendants of persons belonging to the principal nations of the world are officers of the United States Navy.

Sincerely, yours,

JOSEPHUS DANIELS.

Comments on the Mexican Situation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS, OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 22, 1916.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the El Paso Herald's Republican editor, Mr. H. D. Slater, a few days ago editorially condemned Senators Fall, Lodge, and others for their recent denunciations of President Wilson for recognizing the Carranza government in Mexico. Further on in this editorial this Republican editor, whose long residence in El Paso fully qualifies him to speak on Carranza's recognition, says:

It was the first step that seemed to have the support of reason, wisdom, or healthy American sentiment. This being so, it is to be regretted that the Republican Senators have chosen this particular net as the main point of attack.

The other commendable act of the administration was the appointing of a competent and experienced diplomat to be ambassador—a man chosen from the ranks of the Diplomatic Service and called to this exacting task in spite of his being a hold-over appointee of a Republican administration. How the Republican Senators hope to make this a party issue is beyond our powers of comprehension.

There seemed to be only one practical alternative to recognition of the Carranza government—that was armed intervention and long-term occupation of the country. That may come some day, but every possible resource in reason should be exhausted before armed intervention is seriously considered. The Herald believes that armed intervention is not necessary, has not been necessary, and will not become necessary,

if the relations with Mexico are handled with honesty, sincerity, tact, and ordinary wisdom.

But, on the other hand, it is idle for anyone, no matter how ardent a friend of the administration he may be, to attempt to minimize the terrible wrongs that have been committed in Mexico and along the border with the full knowledge and almost with the connivance of our Government. When the time comes to present proper claims in behalf of Americans and other foreigners, the negotiations should be carried on with the utmost firmness and persistence. Mexico must pay, and pay heavily, for the wrongs deliberately done in the course of her revolution. Payments of money will never remedy the wrongs or bring back the dead; but the long course of abuses has been to a very large degree the fault of our own Government, and this fact must be taken into consideration. It is along this line that Senators may justly, wisely, and patriotically assail the Washington administration.

Conditions in Mexico are bad, but they are not so bad as some of the more radical critics would make them appear. Generally speaking, there has been marked improvement since the recognition of the Carranza government. Many things do not go to the satisfaction of foreigners interested in the Republic, but, after all, the Mexicans will expect to administer their own country in their own way; and, subject to general and well-established law of international intercourse, foreigners will have to meet the situation now created. Many of the projects of the Carranza party are economically faulty and dangerous to the material welfare, the moral and social welfare, of the Republic. But Mexico will have to pass through the travail and will have to find out a lot of things for itself before it will believe and recant.

The Herald is totally out of sympathy with any general denunciation of Mexico and Mexicos on any campaign, in or out of Congress, to embarrass the de facto government at this time. The Herald because the facto government and dishonest for the Americans

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM SCHLEY HOWARD,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 24, 1916.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I submit a request for unanimous consent. I ask unanimous consent that I may extend my remarks in the Record by publishing a letter from Hon. Charles

remarks in the Record by publishing a letter from Hon. Charles Hall Davis, of Petersburg, Va., which is a criticism of House bill 6838, known as the Moss rural-credit bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the Record by printing a letter written by Charles Hall Davis, of Petersburg, Va., on the Moss rural-credit bill. Is there objection?

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to inquire of the gentleman from Georgia the length of the communication and what the nature of it is?

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, in reply to the gentleman from

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, in reply to the gentleman from Indiana I will state that Mr. Davis is considered, in my judgment and by all of the people who have devoted any study to the question of rural credits, to be one of the greatest experts on that subject in the United States. He was the secretary to a former joint committee of the House and Senate and practically drafted all of the organization features of every bill that is now before Congress for every one who introduced them. He knows more about the question and is more vitally interested in it from the standpoint of the farmers of the country than any man that I know of. This is a reply to a communication addressed to him by me, asking him to take the Moss bill and criticize it from the standpoint of an expert, and he has done so, and I will say to the gentleman that he has criticized it down to the bone.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection,

The communication is as follows:

PETERSBURG, VA., January 21, 1916.

Hon. WILLIAM SCHLEY HOWARD,

Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your favor of the 17th ultimo, asking for my comments and criticisms on the land-mortgage banking bill, recommended by the Joint Committee on Rural Credits and introduced in the House by Mr. Moss of Indiana, on January 4, 1916, as H. R. 6838, and comparing it particularly with the land-mortgage banking bill, which you have introduced as H. R. 4714, I beg to say:

First. The joint committee's bill (H. R. 6838) seems to me to be a great improvement over the Hollis-Bulkeley bill, and over the Hollis bill, introduced at the last session of Congress. It has evidently been most carefully and ingeniously drawn, and at first reading leaves a vivid impression of thoroughness and painstaking care in its preparation. Assuming the correctness of the theory on which it is drawn, there are very few criticisms that I would make of its details.

Second. But, in my judgment, the theory of the bill (H. R. 6838) is fundamentally wrong. Many of its underlying principles seem to me to be improper, and I do not believe that it will give to the farmers the retief desired or the facilities demanded to anything like the extent that would be afforded by the bill which you have offered, or by some bill which will adopt and adapt the underlying principles of your bill.

some bill which will adopt and adapt the underlying principles of your bill.

The joint committee's bill (H. R. 6838) is subject to the following criticisms as to its fundamental principles:

First. The joint committee's bill arbitrarily divides the country into 12 Federal land-bank districts, providing for the organization of a land bank in each of those districts. Bach of these district land banks is authorized to issue and sell Federal farm-loan bonds or dehentures secured by the deposit of first mortgages sent up to the district land bank by local farm-loan associations operating in territory designated by the Federal farm-loan board in Washington. All of the farm-loan bonds or dehentures issued by any district land bank are guaranteed by each of the other 11 district land banks.

The subdivision of the country into 12 districts is purely arbitrary, and there is no logical reason apparent for such an arrangement. Apparently, this subdivision into 12 districts is simply an adaptation of the subdivision into districts under the Federal reserve act. While there may have been sound economic reasons for the establishment of district Federal reserve banks in commercial banking, there exists no such, reason for the establishment of district land banks in rural banking.

there may have been sound economic reasons for the establishment of district federal reserve banks in commercial banking, there exists no such, reason for the establishment of district land banks in rural banking.

In order that this distinction may be clearly understood and appreciated, the difference between commercial banking and land-mortgage banking must be clearly understood. When clearly understood, it is evident that while there may be reasons against the establishment of a central band in commercial banking, these reasons do not exist in land-mortgage banks. The concentration of resources possible with a central bank—which might be a source of weakness in commercial banking—can not help but be a source of strength in land-mortgage banks, because the two systems of banking are entirely different and are practically in direct antithesis. A central bank may be a source of weakness in commercial banking. It can not help but be a source of strength in land-mortgage banking. A central bank may be a source of danger in commercial banking. It can not help but be a source of danger in commercial banking through its control of the cash resources of the country. A central bank can not help but be a source of safety in rural banking properly organized, because the dangers of improper control, as they exist in commercial banking, are impossible.

To appreciate this point, a thorough understanding must be had of what land-mortgage banking is. I can not more succinctly express the difference between the two systems than by quoting from a speech which you delivered in the House of Representatives on January 22, 1915, as follows:

"The commercial bank is the exact antithesis of the land-mortgage bank." The operation of the one is an exact reversal of the operation.

difference between the two systems than by quoting from a speech where you delivered in the House of Representatives on January 22, 1915, as follows:

"The commercial bank is the exact antithesis of the land-mortgage bank. The operation of the one is an exact reversal of the operation of the other. The commercial bank brings together the cash of the community and sells that cradit for community and sells that cradit for cash. The commercial bank pools the money of the community and sells it for interest-bearing notes or bonds. The land-mortgage bank pools the interest-bearing notes or bonds of the community and sells them for cash."

The theory of land-mortgage banking is to give to the smallest farmer the benefit of the collective credit of the farmers of the Nation. This can be done only through a system of guarantees of institutions practically presenting this collective credit. An independent land bank operating only in a given district, could give to the farmers of that district the benefit of nothing more than the collective credit of the whole country, would give greater benefit to the individual farmer. The farmer can never get the cheapest credit and can never berrow money on the best terms unless and until he can get this collective credit of the whole farming country, thereby giving to the bond which he offers for investment the very greatest security.

The joint committee's bill apparently recognizes this principle, because it requires each Federal land bank district to guarantee the farmloan bonds or debentures issued by each of the other 11 Federal banks. This being the case, it would seem that the wisdom of giving to each individual farmer the benefit of the collective reasons against a central bank in the case of the control banks is not true that the central bank is based on some other reason.

Let us examine into the various possible reasons against a central bank and in favor of 12 district banks and see if there is any valid objection to a central bank; if there is any valid reason for the e

posed 12 district owners as the farmer.

When the Federal reserve act was passed the principal arguments against the central bank and in favor of a number of district banks

When the Federal test of the against the central bank and in favor of a number of district banks were:

(a) A central bank would centralize all the cash resources of the country at one point. There was great danger of an improper use of these concentrated cash resources at the point of concentration. Under the national banking act, as it existed prior to the passage of the Federal reserve act, there had been a concentration of the cash resources of the country in New York and other large centers. These concentrated cash resources had to be utilized by the banks in some way. The most inviting field for such use became the lending of this money on short-time or call loans, for stock speculation, and other speculative purposes. As a result of the demand so created, additional inducements in the way of interest on deposits and facilities for collection were offered to the country banks. The result was that the country banks were tempted to send their available funds to these large centers, thereby increasing the concentration of cash resources at such points, and depriving their local customers of the use of the money when local business needs demanded such use.

But in land-mortgage banking there is no such danger. The word "tank" in the term "land-mortgage banking" is probably misleading, and the function of a land-mortgage bank is entirely different from, and almost an exact reversal of, the function of a commercial bank. To talk about the danger of concentration in land-mortgage banking is

absurd, because the whole theory of land-mortgage banking and the entire value of its operations is dependent on and conditioned upon a concentration of credit resources so as to give the individual farmer the benefit of the collective farming credit of the Nation. The theory of land-mortgage banking is to build up a collective credit for the usc of the Individual. The larger this collective credit is and the more concentrated it is made the greater will be the benefit to the individual borrower. The smaller the collective credit and the less concentrated it may be the smaller will be the benefit to the individual borrower, Land-mortgage banking is designed so as to secure a concentration and collection of credits. It is obvious, therefore, that there can be no objection to the centralizing of this credit, as that is the very object which is aimed at.

(b) Again, in commercial banking there is danger always that the

bory over. The minister the culecture credit and the less concentrated it Land-mortgage banking is designed so as to secure a concentration and collection of credits. It is obvious, therefore, that there can be no objection to the centralizing of this credit, as that is the very object which is aimed at.

Control of a central bank, dominating the eash resources of the country, might, through some means, pass into improper hands or be unfairly directed for the benefit of one section of the country and to the detrimination of the country of the country, might, through some means, pass into improper hands or be unfairly directed for the benefit of one section of the country and to the detrimination of the country of the

credit of the whole country.

It is also submitted that the natural subdivision of a land banking system is a division by States and counties and not a division into arbitrary districts embracing several States.

The reasons for a subdivision by States rather than by arbitrary districts are obvious. Land banking deals primarily with land. The laws relating to land and regulating conveyances, mortgaging, registration, foreclosure, etc., are State laws. These laws vary in different States, but are substantially the same for ah the land in a given State. Now, when the mortgages for a State are brought together to be used as a security for the issue of land-bank bonds, all of those mortgages are in substantially the same form, all are governed by the same

laws, and all can be easily and readily handled together. The requirements for conveyancing and registration and the power and method of foreclosure are exactly the same in each case. These mortgages, all coming from the same State, can readily and properly be taken together as the basis or security for an issue of land-bank bonds (designated as of a certain series).

But if the mortgages, securing a certain series of land-bank bonds, are selected from two or more States, then a part of the security for the land-bank bonds so issued will be governed by one set of laws regulating conveyancing, registration, mortgaging, foreclosure, etc., in one State, and another part of the security for the land-bank bonds so issued will be governed by an entirely different set of laws regulating conveyancing, registration, mortgaging, foreclosure, etc., in another State.

Any complication or variation in methods of order in another state.

Any complication or variation in methods of enforcing the security for these land-bank bonds must result in raising questions and comparisons that can only be to the disadvantage of the farmer borrower. The Howard bill recognizes that the State is the natural unit of subdivision in a system of land-mortgage banks. It provides for the lending of the money to the farmers by local institutions, limited in their operations to a single country. The local county bank then guarantees the mortgages so taken and sends them to the State bank. The State bank then guarantees the mortgages sent to the tocal banks in that State and sends these mortgages sent to the tocal banks in that State and sends these mortgages to the central bank. Each mortgage sent to the central bank is guaranteed by a local county bank and by the State bank of the State in which that county is located. Upon receiving these guaranteed mortgages, the central bank deposits them in trust as security for an issue of land-bank bonds of a given series. But all the mortgages securing a given series of land-bank bonds must come from the same State and must be governed by the same laws. same laws.

Under the Howard bill, the central bank alone can issue and sell land-bank bonds. All such bonds are the direct obligations of the central bank; all are secured by first mortgages at a given percentage of the value of farm lands; all such mortgages are guaranteed by a local and by a State bank, which can guarantee mortgages only to the amount of a fixed proportion to their capital stock. But the land-bank bonds issued by the central bank in a certain series are all secured by first mortgages that are homogeneous in character, that all come from the same State, and that are all governed by the same-laws.

Second. Under the joint committee's bill, provision is made for the establishment of 12 district land banks, each having a minimum capital of \$500,000. This capital is to be subscribed by the investing public, and if the investing public fails to subscribe it, then the National Government takes the unsubscribed stock and holds it until it is otherwise disposed of.

Naturally these 12 Federal land banks will be located at some center

ernment takes the unsubscribed stock and holds it until it is otherwise disposed of.

Naturally these 12 Federal land banks will be located at some center in the selected districts, which districts will probably be largely coterminous with the districts under the Federal Reserve System. The location of these district land banks will almost certainly be in some large city. The stock will doubtless be subscribed by men of large means, and it would appear probable that if 12 such district banks were established the existing land-mortgage companies would promptly subscribe to the entire six millions of capital stock of these banks, and thereby control the operations of the entire system would probably be at once taken over by the existing land-mortgage companies or by a very few individuals. And even if this were not done at once it is probable that in a short time these individuals, by the purchase of stock on the market, would control all of these district land banks, carrying with it the control of the entire land-mortgage banking system of the country.

Now, the writer has contended above that there is no particular danger to the individual farmer in the possible control of a central bank or banks by an Individual or individuals, provided the system were operated under proper restrictions. But, on the other hand, it is respectfully submitted that the system outlined by the joint committee does not contain some very essential restrictions, and that, in consequence, there might be a very decided disadvantage to the farming community should this control of the 12 district land banks pass into the hands of a few individuals.

The joint committee's bill provides that the only charges against the individual farmer shall be—

The joint committee's bill provides that the only charges against the individual farmer shall be—

(a) An amount sufficient to meet his semiannual interest payments, (The act limits the rate to the legal rate fixed by law for loans by national banks. This means a varying rate in the different States.)

(b) An amount sufficient to meet his semiannual amortization payments.

(b) An amount sufficient to meet his semiannual amortization payments.

(About this there can be no criticism.)

(c) An amount sufficient to pay the expense of operation and the profits of the system.

This is defined in the act as "the excess of interest payments on indorsed mortgages above the interest payments on farm-loan bonds for which said mortgages are held as collateral security, said excess of interest in no case to be more than 1 per cent of the amount of principal remaining unpaid on said mortgages.

Note.—This provides that the district land bank can receive for its expenses and profits an amount not exceeding 1 per cent on the unpaid principal due on mortgages. It is proper that the maximum to be charged should be limited, but this is not the only needed limitation. There should also be a limitation on the amount of dividends which the stockholders of the Federal land bank can receive. Otherwise the Federal land banks will undoubtedly always charge this full 1 per cent for expenses and profits, so as to secure large dividends for their stockholders, although a very much smaller amount than 1 per cent is sufficient in European countries to take care of this item of expense and profits. This point will be more fully dealt with hereafter under "fourth" below.

The Howard bill provides that the capital for the proposed system shall be obtained as follows:

The local people in the farming communities subscribe to the stock of the local county banks which are organized with small capital. Each of these banks devotes a part of its capital toward subscribing for stock in a State bank. Each State and local bank devotes a part of its capital toward subscribing for stock in a State bank. Each State and local bank devotes a part of its capital toward subscribing for stock in a State bank is owned by the local farmers of the State. The central bank is owned and controlled by the local farmers of the State. The central bank is owned and controlled by the local farmers of the State. The central bank is owned and

local bank only receives a fixed dividend of 6 per cent, and the surplus profits of the whole system are ultimately used to buy in and retire the stock, thereby mutualizing the organization, after which all dividends go back to the borrowers, and, in effect, reduce the interest rate paid by them. This point will be more fully elaborated under "fourth"

profits of the whole system are ultimately used to buy in and rethre the stock, thereby mutualizing the organization, after which all dividends so back to the borrowers, and, in effect, reduce the interest rate paid by them. This point will be more fully claborated under "fourth" below.

This point will be more fully claborated under "fourth" below.

The system is for the benefit of the cubir system, including local banks, State banks, and the central bank, is in the farmers of the country. The system is for the benefit of the farmers. The farmers must support it. It is proper that the control and ultimate ownership of the system should be in the farmers. The proposed system should start with the farmer and end with the farmer. It is impossible, under the property of the system should be in the farmers. The proposed system should start with the farmer and end with the farmer. It is impossible, under the property of the system should start with the farmer and end with the farmer. It is impossible, under the property of the system of the system for the property of the system of the system for their own benefit, who will operate it at a minimum expense, and who are willing to invest small amounts in the stock of local banks and to receive a reasonable return thereon so as to get the benefit of the system. Third. Under the joint committee's bill it is provided, as stated, that secribed for by the general public or must be taken temporally by the National Government. The objections to this method of placing the stock of the Federal land banks have just been outlined.

But, under the joint committee's bill it is also provided that each borrower from a local farm-loan association then devotes a farm-loan association. The local farm-loan association then devotes a farm-loan association to stock in the district Federal land bank.

Under the joint committee's bill the district land bank.

Under the joint committee's bill as a part of the proportion between the stock and the guaranteed farm-loan bonds or debentures to be

permission of the directors of the land bank, be paid off at par and retired."

But if not so retired, then it remains outstanding as a dividend burden on the system, as more fully stated under "Fourth" hereafter, and it also serves to reduce the proportion between the outstanding stock of the district land bank and the amount of farm-loan bonds or debentures which that land bank can issue, because every applicant for a new loan must subscribe to one-twentieth of his loan in new stock, and the already outstanding stock issued in connection with loans that have been paid will serve to reduce the proportion between the outstanding stock of the land bank and the amount of outstanding farm-loan bonds or debentures.

Fourth. The fourth fundamental objection to the joint committee's bill has been already touched on above. It consists in the fact that the system proposed by the joint committee provides for a constantly increasing outstanding stock of the district land banks; a constantly increasing dividend burden on the system; a constantly decreasing proportion between the outstanding stock of the district land banks; and the outstanding farm-loan bonds or debentures—that is, a constant decrease in the power of the district banks to issue farm-loan bonds or debentures to the extent of twenty times their capital; and a failure to provide for the retirement of the stockholders, although the amount which the banks may charge the borrower is limited; and a failure to provide for the retirement of the stock, the mutualization of the system, and the turning over of its earnings to the borrowers with a consequent ultimate material reduction in interest rates.

It has been already shown how the stock of the district land banks must be constantly increased, because each borrower must take one twentieth of his loan in new stock, because the stock originally subscribed by borrowers whose loans have been paid off may be still outstanding, and because the original \$500,000 of capital of the district

land bank will still be outstanding, except, perhaps, in so far as it is subscribed for by the National Government, that stock being retired when an equivalent amount of stock is taken by borrowers. This means, as stated, that the proportion between the capital of the district land bank and its outstanding farm-loan bonds or debentures will be constantly decreased. Although authorized so to do by the act, it can never have outstanding in farm-loan bonds or debentures an amount equal to twenty times its capital. If borrowers under this system who take out one-twentieth of their loans in stock should pay off their loans and still hold the stock, and if new borrowers are required each to take one-twentieth of their new loans in stock theat a position where its outstanding farm-loan bonds or debentures could not exceed double or treble the amount of its outstanding stock.

This would mean an enormous additional dividend burden on the district land bank, It would have to pay dividends on all of its outstanding stock. It could make no new loans unless it also issued new stock. In consequence the borrower, who is required to take one-twentieth of his loan in new stock, would be in the position of being forced to buy stock which the bank did not wish to issue, which could only earn small dividends (because of the large amount of stock outstanding), and which he did not want to own. Moreover, in order to pay for expenses and profits the full amount authorized by law, viz, 1 per cent upon balance due upon his loan. This would mean an increased burden on the borrower. It is evident, therefore, that the plan of requiring the borrower to take one-twentieth of his loan in stock is fundamentally wrong, so far as he is concerned and so far as it requires him to assume an unnecessary burden. It is inadvisable from the standpoint of the bank, in that it constantly reduces the bank's full increases the dividend-burden of his loan in stock is fundamentally wrong, so far as he is concerned and so far as it requires him to assume an

their borrowings, thereby reducing still further the interest charge to the farmer.

It is respectfully submitted that any system which is established should contemplate the ultimate mutualization of the system, so that the profits thereafter can go to the farmer borrowers. It should provide for a constantly decreasing amount of outstanding dividend-bearing stock, rather than for a constantly increasing amount of such stock. It should certainly insure that the power of the laind bank to issue farm-loan bonds or debentures in the proportion of twenty times its capital stock shall never be impaired or reduced, because such impairment or reduction must be an additional charge or burden against the borrowers, whose payments for expenses and profits must care for a constantly increasing dividend burden.

The foregoing will serve to show what appear to me to be the principal fundamental objections to the bill of the joint committee. I might, perhaps, raise other objections to some of its details, but this criticism is already too long.

On the other hand, I do not think that the Howard bill is yet letter perfect. It also is subject to criticism in detail, but is seems to me that the general theory of that bill is correct, and that it is fundamentally right; whereas the general theory of the joint committee's bill seems to me to be absed, and to show you the lines along which it seems to me that changes and corrections should be made in the joint committee's bill.

Very truly, yours,

Charles Hall Davis.

Pork.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK CLARK, OF FLORIDA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 24, 1916.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include articles from the Ocala Daily Banner, Saturday, January 22, 1916.

The articles are as follows:

PORK.

The New York Times is up on its hind legs and makes a most pitiful howl because the Congressman from this district, who happens to be chairman, of the House Public Buildings Committee, favors not expensive but fairly attractive Federal buildings for the smaller cities in the rural districts.

We are made to believe that it is an awful crime.

When an appropriation is not made for the metropolitan cities in the eyes of the metropolitan newspapers it is always "pork," an opprobrious epithet they have coined to bring the Congressmen into contempt; but when an appropriation, however large, is made for the hungry maw of the big cities it is patriotism, per se.

No amount of money wasted on Sandy Hook, Hell Gate, East River. Dovils Point, or the regions in and around Staten Island ever gets to be "pork," but the merest pittance to be applied in any congressional district in any of the remote sections of the country at once resolves itself into "pork" and is met with grave attempts at wit.

If the same money that is spent for the improvement of harbors and the crection of Federal buildings in our great cities were spent outside those cities for the improvement of rivers and harbors, the erection of Federal buildings, and the construction of good roads, the moneys would be more evenly distributed and the Nation would be immensely better off.

It would be in a better state of "preparedness" in case of war. The metropolitan newspapers exhibit a mean and contemptible spirit and show not only their want of patriotism, but their intense selfishness.

But despite the poor attempt at wit and ridicule Federal buildings.

But despite the poor attempt at wit and ridicule Federal buildings are going to be erected in the smaller cities in remote congressional districts, the rivers and harbors are to be improved, and the Nation is to wax in strength and greatness by lending Federal aid to these worthy

measures

Nothing would redound more to the Nation's greatness than to be cobwebbed from ocean to ocean, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf with good roads as a measure of peace, but in order to have it done it will have to be accomplished under the specious plea that it is a "military necessity" and can be constitutionally done under the clause relating to "military and post roads."

In the last analysis, let the Federal Treasury be denominated as mere "swill," other sections of this country do not want to see it all fed into one trough—the little pigs are just as deserving as the big hogs.

Parcel Post.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 24, 1916.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following articles:

[From the Kansas City Star, Jan. 20, 1916.]

THE COLLINS IDEA SPREADS—A HUNDRED LETTERS DAILY INQUIRE OF FARM-TO-TABLE PLAN—PRODUCERS AS WELL AS CONSUMERS ARE AWAKENING TO THE CHANCE OFFERED THROUGH PARCEL POST—RULES FOR SUNDAY TRADE.

The farm-to-table Parcel Post Service is catching its stride.

Six days ago W. N. Collins, acting postmaster, announced it. The letters of inquiry from consumers now average about 75 a day. The producers, who get the news slower, are sending in about a third as many letters, but the number is increasing daily.

"The invisible results will be even greater," Mr. Collins said to-day.
"I do not know how many people have told me that reading of the new bulletin service had reminded them to write to a relative or friend in the country and make arrangements for securing fresh produce at a cheaper price. The announcement they can get produce through the mail for a cent a pound plus 4 cents reminds them they are overlooking an opportunity.

DEAL WITH SOME ONE YOU KNOW.

DEAL WITH SOME ONE YOU KNOW.

"This kind of business will not show on our bulletin list of producers, but it will show in the receipts of the office, and I am glad to see it. Really the best way is to deal with some one you know, so the question of credit and quality of produce does not bother.

"There is hardly a family in the city that could not make some arrangements of this kind. If they do not know anyone in the country, they have a neighbor that does, or if this falls they can write to some acquaintance in the small town, who can make arrangements for them, thus confidence and responsibility is fixed in the transaction."

RULES FOR SUNDAY TRADE.

Mr. Collins calls attention to the Sunday dinner service which the parcel post offers. Perishable produce that arrives Saturday night or early Sunday morning will be delivered free Sunday morning in time for the Sunday dinner. Such packages should be marked "perishable," and, if there is danger of breakage, should also be marked "fragile."

A Lathrop (Mo.) woman offers to sell eggs in quantities and let the receiver sell to neighbors at a profit. Mr. Collins says this plan is being followed now. Two dozen eggs in a light container can be sent 150 miles for 9 cents. Ten dozen eggs would cost only 27 cents in a similar container, so there is a saving in the larger package.

The postmasters in the small town offices are taking up the service quickly. Many of them write and offer to find customers for farmers in their neighborhood.

[From the Kansas City Star, Jan. 1, 1916.]

" FARM-TO-TABLE " LE" ORDERS HEAVY—SOLDIERS AT FORT LEAVENWORTH BECOME INTERESTED IN PARCELS CAMPAIGN.

Many Kansas City consumers have written to friends and relatives in the country asking they be supplied with foodstuffs since the opening of the farm-to-table campaign at the local post office.

"The campaign seemed to put the idea into their heads," said W. N. Collins, acting postmaster, this morning. "At least a dozen persons have told me in the last few days they have written for country food. Anybody can write to friends in small towns who might act as gobetweens for them if they have no friends on farms. I am glad to see this being done."

The soldiers at Fort Leavenworth want to take part in the movement. The postmaster there has written Mr. Collins asking for particulars for the benefit of the troops.

One Kansas City consumer feels as follows about the movement:

"I was raised on a farm, so these city 'fresh' eggs that settle when 'you shake them, and the 'pure' butter that smells to high heaven in three days' time, and the little, measly apples at 60 cents a peck, all combine to inspire deep gratitude to the post office for coming to our relief."

Mr. Collins announced farm-to-table parcels arriving Saturday night would be delivered Sunday in time for dinner.

The Late Representative Joseph A. Goulden, of New York.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

HON. WILLIAM J. CARY, OF WISCONSIN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, January 23, 1916,

On House resolution (H. Res. 101) paying tribute to the memory of Hon. JOSEPH A. GOULDEN, late a Representative from the State of New York.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, in the few remarks I wish to address to the House in memory of our departed colleague, I must necessarily confine myself entirely to a short, but very pleasant,

friendship with Col. GOULDEN.

I never knew him until I met him in Congress here. He came from New York and I from Wisconsin. He was a Democrat and I a Republican, and we differed honestly and sincerely on many political questions, but I found from the very beginning of my acquaintance with him in every way a patriotic American citizen, a wise, sincere Member of Congress, faithful in the discharge of his duty to his constituency and to the country, and as a man one of the manliest and most lovable characters that I have met in the eight years that I have been a Member of this body. He was always willing to lend a helping hand to any good cause or to any deserving person, kindly to an extreme degree. He reflected in his everyday attitude toward his fellow man a warm and brotherly interest in humanity. I have heard numbers of the employees of this House, regardless of their political affiliations or the section from which they came, speak with deep feeling of his unfailing courtesy and affability, and I am sure that a man so much beloved among people whom he knew for so short a time here in Washington must be greatly missed and deeply mourned by the constituents, friends, and neighbors who honored him so often by their confidence and trust in him.

One of the most pleasant features of congressional life is the many warm friendships we form here, the contact we have with men from every section of this great country, and the lessons we learn from such contact with men whose ideas on many subjects are so different from our own, but whose ideals are almost invariably on the same high plane of Americanism which influences us all; but while these friendships and acquaintances form one of the most pleasant features, as I have said, of congressional life, the partings that so often take place here are a source frequently of the deepest grief and sorrow. Every two years men whom we learn to know and love leave this body through the varying exigencies of politics, and we see them but seldom in after life, and ever so often a dear brother passes over to the shadowy regions of the great beyond, and we know that here we will see him no more, we will never feel his warm and friendly handclasp, we will never be greeted by his cheerful words and pleasant smile, and were it not for the consolation we can find in a submission to the decrees of the Almighty, who doeth all things well, this interruption of friendships would make the whole world a mourning place and its people a congregation of sorrowing mourners.

But into these sad moments there steals the comforting hope of a hereafter; the faith that a well-spent life leads to a blessed rest, and I know of no one whom I have known in the half century I have spent on earth who was ever more deserving of rest and peace than Col. Joseph A. Goulden. His whole life was an inspiration to ingenuous youth, and he leaves a memory that will be a precious inheritance to those he leaves He was, as I knew him, a man who thoroughly enjoyed life, but also a man who was absolutely fearless of death. On more than one occasion in his political life he was forced to fight a strenuous and bitter political battle, but it never took from him his unfailing and human outlook on humanity, nor did I ever hear him in speaking of the political contests he had waged give vent to the slightest tinge of bitterness or ill feeiing toward his opponent. He had a high sense of duty, and

was a faithful and hard-working Member of this House, both on the floor and in committee, and I know that as long as a single Member of Congress who served with him lives some heart will beat a little quicker and a thought of tender memory will stir the breast of some man in every State.

Death will come to us all we know. To some it may come quickly, to some it may come after weeks and months of suffering, but if we recall the way men like Col. GOULDEN lived we will not be afraid to die as he died, for, in the words of a

recent poet-

If you are done to the death, what then?

If you battle the best you could:

If you played your part in the world of men,

The Great Critic will hold it good.

Death comes with a crawl or comes with a pounce,

Rut whether it's slow or spry.

It isn't the fact that you are dead that counts,

But only how did you die?

Joseph A. Goulden, Late a Representative from New York.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

HON. PETER J. DOOLING.

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, January 28, 1916,

On House resolution (H. Res. 101) paying tribute to the memory of Hon. JOSEPH A. GOULDEN, late a Representative from the State of New York.

Mr. DOOLING. Mr. Speaker, in the death of the Hon. JOSEPH A GOULDEN the House of Representatives lost a valuable Member, his party an able and resourceful campaigner, the city of New York an esteemed citizen, and we who knew him well a faithful, sincere friend.

His sudden and untimely death came as a shock to all who heard the news, and it came so unexpectedly that even now while we are paying the last tribute of affectionate regard to his memory it seems almost impossible that he should have left us forever, for our memory of him is that of a strong and vigorous man, whom we all expected to see live many more years of a healthy and useful life.

Col. GOULDEN was an exemplar of all of the traits that go to make up a modern, aggressive, energetic American man. He was a good business man, whose sound judgment was always a valuable asset to those with whom he worked in either business or politics. He was a fearless and able political leader, and he was always a sincere and honest official, who, while a strong partisan, was above all a true and patriotic American.

Added to these characteristics he had a most engaging personality, and to those who met him was one of the most cordially liked men in public life, both here and at his home. He easily attracted the friendship of all, and the numerous times he was honored by the suffrages of his neighbors is sufficient proof of the confidence he inspired.

In all of the relations of his life he was the same courteous. friendly, and straightforward man, and he was one who never

failed to help anyone who needed his assistance.

I knew Col. GOULDEN long and intimately, and the memory of his friendship will always be to me one of the most pleasant recollections of my public life.

He had very few, if any, personal enemies, and it speaks vol-umes for the character of the man that he could go through so many bitter political campaigns and still retain the respect and even the friendship of so many men who were politically opposed to him, but it is true of him that among his very best friends were many men who were always opposed to him in politics

He was a Member of Congress long before I entered this body, and I had been here but a very short time when I found that my colleague, friend, and fellow New Yorker was as popu-

lar here as he was in our home town.

It is therefore to a departed personal friend that I pay this last tribute of respect. He has left us, and his place will know him no more. We know, of course, that death must come to us all some day, but we rarely realize this until we meet, as we do to-day, to speak of one who has gone before on that mysterious road. It is indeed, then, a consolation that we can gather from the memory of a man like Col. Goulden that no matter how sudden death may come, if life is well and honestly spent, the remembrance of us will linger and the immortality that we are promised will have its reflection in the thoughts of us that still dwell in the hearts of those we left behind.

Justice and Equal Opportunity.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN M. MORIN,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 7, 1916.

Mr. MORIN. Mr. Speaker, the bill which I have introduced provides for the establishment of an American merchant marine and the placing again of our flag upon the high seas, with justice and equal opportunity to all Americans to ship the products of our great industrial country wherever needed. Included in this bill is a plan for the incorporation and regulation of a corporation for the purpose of promoting the commerce of the

United States, and so forth.

The corporation is to be known as the American Foreign Trade Co., with the Secretaries of the Navy, Army, and Treasury Departments as directors. Its object is to have the United States participate in the management and control of a corporation intended to establish an American merchant marine, which includes the building of ocean steamers and their necessary auxiliaries for carrying the commerce of the United States to foreign ports; authorized to build shipyards, railroads, and all necessary and incidental adjuncts to the establishing of an American merchant marine so that the United States shall be independent of foreign companies and countries in times of war and peace; that the \$100,000,000 paid annually for carrying American freight in foreign bottoms shall come to the stockholders of the said corporation living in the United States; that our people shall have the benefit and advantage not only of a profitable ocean carrying trade, but profit by having American citizens employed in shipyards and other industries providing and supplying the necessary material and artisans to carry on this business; and that it would fly our flag on every sea and in every port of the world.

It would carry our enterprising and stalwart Americanism to every clime and every place. It would transport our produce and materials wherever civilized man is in need of articles of

utility and necessity.

It would give our country prestige, influence, and power second to none on earth, and invoke the spirit of liberty, independence, and progress wherever man has a desire for justice

and equal opportunity.

This bill is not drawn with a view that this corporation shall be controlled or financed by the United States Government, but is to be influenced by our Government in its operations to the extent that the subscribers to the stock shall know that it is intended as a patriotic as well as a profitable plan to establish an American merchant marine.

It is intended to be a popular corporation, in which the par value of the stock shall not exceed \$100 per share, and appeal to patriotic citizens, whether in inland towns or seaports, to subscribe for the stock generally and popularly because of its high purpose to make the United States free and independent

at sea or on land.

The idea is that many men of reasonable and large means would and could readily subscribe for a share or more of this stock on account of its patriotic object who would not, perhaps, expect large dividends, if any, to be derived from the corpora-tion, but who would feel that they had performed a patriotic duty in contributing to the establishing of a merchant marine, independent of all foreign nations, to carry the commerce of the United States everywhere in the world. It would add materially to the business prosperity of our country and reflect credit upon us everywhere.

The connection of the United States Government with this corporation is intended to guarantee that its purpose can and will be carried out; that its management will be in the hands of lionest and patriotic men; that its receipts and expenditures will be supervised and directed in such way as to insure the honesty of the officers of the corporation and their capacity and

fidelity.

Properly organized, this corporation should be one of the most popular in the United States. Its stock should earn dividends. Its failure would add but little to the burdens of the people, as its stock would be widely circulated and in small amounts, and last but not least in importance, while establishing an American merchant marine, it meets the objection that the United States Government should not enter into competitive business with its citizens, either on land or sea, as

this corporation is a private corporation with supervisory control by officers of the United States to guarantee only that it will not be diverted from its purposes or be made use of to defraud its stockholders.

The Delaware River Up to Date.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE. OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 25, 1916.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, one of the important agencies creating revenue for the United States Government is the Delaware River. In normal times it is good annually for about \$20,000,000 collected at the port of Philadelphia, and that return is greater than the sum total spent upon the improvement of the river since the beginning of time. This is interesting in view of frequent assaults made upon river and harbor improvements, the continuance of which is seriously threatened now, when the country is most in need of the revenue produced by them.

While I shall not discuss the oft-recurring question whether a single stream like that of the Delaware is to be given credit for the big return it pays upon the Government's investment. it is fair to presume that the Federal Government would get more money out of the Delaware River if it would speed up its appropriations for the completion of the 35-foot channel from Philadelphia to the sea, as provided for in the act of June 25,

It is highly important also that the upper Delaware project leading into the city of Trenton be completed, so that a uniform depth of 12 feet may be maintained between Philadelphia and Trenton. An increased traffic is now awaiting that improvement.

The great project connecting the upper Delaware with the New York Harbor and New England on the north and with the Chesapeake Bay and other southern waters along the Atlantic seaboard should likewise be advanced at this session of Con-Commerce and preparedness both demand that this great work shall be started.

DELAWARE PORT STATISTICS.

When the engineer in charge last reported upon the 35-foot Delaware River project, it was about 33 per cent completed. The river at that time—June 30, 1915—had an assured depth of 30 feet from Philadelphia to the sea, with a rise of tide of 5.9 feet, which, of course, permits of an increase of shipping over that of former years. The port of Philadelphia, however, containing the great Philadelphia Navy Yard, with its fresh-water basin for the storage and repair of ships, and the Frankford Arsenal, where all of our small-arm Army and Navy ammunition is made, is not yet on a par with the channel depth assured to New York, Boston, and Baltimore; yet more shipbuilding is done upon the Delaware River than upon any other river of the United States; and the merchandise carried is more valuable and more varied. By reason of the great labor market and fuel supply in easy range, the Delaware has also become exceptionally attractive to manufacturing industries of one kind or another.

In this connection I wish to include the report of the statistician of the board of commissioners of navigation for the River Delaware and its navigable tributaries for the year 1915:

REPORT OF STATISTICIAN.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., January 4, 1916.

To the President and Members of the Board of Commissioners of Navigation for the River Delaware and Its Navigable Tributa-

Gentlemen: The year 1915 has gone down into history as a record breaker for the port of Ph'ladelphia, the value of her exports having reached the total of approximately \$135,000,000, exceeding by \$69,000,000 the figures reached in 1914 Only once before in the history of the port have our exports reached the hundred-million-dollar mark, that being in 1907, when they were \$106,570,527.

While tremendous gains in our exports have resulted from the European war, our imports show a falling off in value of approximately \$18,000,000, having totaled, with December estimated, but \$69,000,000, the lowest since 1908, when the value was \$57,407,923.

Grain shipments from here during the past year totaled 44,344,756 bushels, an increase of 21,313,550 bushels over what were exported during 1914. This record was exceeded only in 1900, when the shipments totaled 45,915,968 bushels. These shipments were divided as follows: Wheat, 30,707,772 bushels, compared with 19,106,292 bushels during

1914; oats, 9,959,618 bushels, compared with 2,437,436 bushels in 1914; corn showed a gain of 1,580,303 bushels over 1914 shipments; and rye exceeded by 1,817,024 bushels the shipments of 1914; and

1915 Coal. Tons Anthracite_____ Bituminous _____ 81, 477 1, 075, 535 1914 Anthracite_ Bituminous 56, 628 649, 201

A feature of the export trade was the large quantity of refined and granulated sugars shipped to France and England. These shipments totaled 677,960 bags of granulated and 12,491 barrels and 5,425 bags

totaled 677,960 bags of granulated and 12,491 barrels and 5,425 bags of refined.

Importations of crude oil from Mexico and nitrate of soda from Chile have increased. Crude-oil receipts for the year totaled 82,250,808 gallons, compared with 48,727,862 gallons during 1914. The receipts of nitrate of soda totaled 1,035,164 bags, compared with 600,190 for 1914. During 1915 sugar imports footed up to 1,789,664 bags and 724,272 mats, compared with 3,719,073 bags and 645,681 mats during 1914. In these figures are not included sugar from the Hawaiian Islands. Other imports showing gains were lath, licorice root, logwood, woolens, molasses, salt, and magnesite.

In the coastwise trade the greatest gains were shown in the receipts of lumber coal-tar products, crude oil, phosphate rock, stone, sulphur, and sugar from the Hawaiian Islands. The lumber receipts for 1915 were 227,335,520 feet, compared with 191,775,273 feet during 1914. Crude-oil receipts were 4,227,629 barrels, compared with 4,29,155 barrels for 1914. Hawaiian sugar shows an increase of 2,058,267 bags, the receipts for 1915 footing up to 4,086,988 bags, compared with 2,028,721 bags in 1914

The registered tonnage of foreign arrivals at the port of Philadelphia for the 12 months of 1915 shows a falling off, although a greater number of vessels entered and cleared than during the previous year. This is due to the fact that the larger and more up-to-date vessels formerly engaged in the Philadelphia trade have been commandeered by the various Governments as troop ships, colliers, etc.

In the foreign trade a total of 1,355 vessels, with a tonnage of 4,280,090, entered the port, and 1,353 vessels, with a tonnage of 4,590,781, arrivals, and 1,287 vessels, with a tonnage of 4,590,781, arrivals, and 1,287 vessels, with a tonnage of 4,590,781, arrivals, and 1,287 vessels, with a tonnage of 4,590,781, arrivals, and 1,287 vessels, with a tonnage of 4,590,781, arrivals, and 1,287 vessels, with a tonnage of 4,590,781, arrivals, and 1,287 vessels, with a tonnage of 4,590

In the coastwise trade during 1915 the vessels arriving numbered 4,319, with a tonnage of 5,085,067, while the sailings numbered 4,287 vessels, with a tonnage of 5,160,920. For the same time last year the arrivals from coastwise ports totaled 4,329 vessels, with a tonnage of 5,269,195, and the sailings 4,311 vessels, with a tonnage of 5,341,739. Respectfully submitted.

ARTHUR F. RENNER, Statistician.

COOPERATION BY THE MUNICIPALITIES.

In order to do so vast a business-and the total tonnage of the Delaware River reported by the Chief of Engineers, for 1914, was approximately 25,000,000 tons, of a value exceeding a billion dollars; not a very good year—there must be a great expenditure by local authorities along the line. The port itself must be made attractive, and this has been done at the city of Philadelphia by municipal dredging and by the construction of great municipal piers, inviting trade. It is now in contemplation, apart from vast expenditures already made, that the city of Philadelphia alone shall continue its harbor improvements at an expense to the people ranging from \$5,000,000 to \$7,000,000. Loans for this purpose have been approved, and while it may be said that the city will derive some benefit from this expenditure it is also fair to say that the Government will get a considerably increased revenue at the customhouse in consequence of this local enterprise.

Notable instances of the readiness of other municipalities along the Delaware to cooperate with the Government might be cited: Camden, N. J.; Wilmington, Del.; Chester, Pa.; and Trenton, N. J., are among these. At Trenton, 30 miles north of Philadelphia and 130 miles from the sea, the municipal development along the water front has been most creditable. a recent communication the mayor of Trenton, ambitious that the Government shall complete the work it has started, which is to make Trenton "a seaport," says:

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS. Trenton, N. J., January 13, 1916.

Department of Public Affairs,

Trenton, N. J., January 13, 1916.

Hon. J. Hampton Moore,

Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: The project for improvement of the Delaware River from Lalor Street, Trenton, N. J., to the Pennsylvania Raliroad Bridge provides for the dredging of a channel 200 feet in width and 12 feet deep at mean low water, with a turning basin at the upper end 300 feet wide and 400 feet long, with the same depth.

The engineer officer in charge of this district has stated in his report that, in addition to the sum available for this work, the further sum of \$40,887.50 is needed to complete the project; and I can not urge upon you too strongly the necessity for this sum being appropriated by this session of Congress.

The above project was adopted by the river and harbor act of July 25, 1912, and imposed the condition that the city of Trenton shall provide substantial terminal facilities commensurate with the probable needs of present and prospective commerce.

To meet this condition Trenton has acquired practically two-thirds of her water front, more, by far, than other cities; has constructed a timber wharf at the lower end of the city for low-grade freight; and has under way the construction of a modern terminal at the upper end of the channel above referred to.

This includes a dock 205 feet wide and 438 feet long, with a timber-concrete bulkhead around it; the wharf to have a modern freight and passenger shed, with recreation pler on the upper deck. The arrangement and devices called for will facilitate the rapid and economical handling of both freight and passengers. This work is well under

way, and its completion and use depend only on the completion of the channel. Indeed, the matter has gone so far that a new, up-to-date line has been established; boats have been purchased, and it is awaiting the day when it may commence operating from the new terminal, which would land freight and passengers close to the heart of the city. To relieve the situation, landings are now being made at the timber wharf at the lower end of the city, which was not constructed for this grade of business and forces upon them a great handicap.

To further show the need of the early completion of this channel, the American Bridge Co., whose plant is located near the upper end, has entered the field of steel-barge construction and, to meet its contract requirements, has been obliged to start building ways for their construction and iaunching near the lower end of the plant instead of the upper end, as contemplated, because of the noncompletion of the channel.

Trenton's plans for the improvement of its water front are comprehensive and embrace the ultimate utilization of the entire front, the different units to be constructed as rapidly as the increase of shipping necessitates and invoives the ultimate expediture of a large sum of money.

necessitates and invoives the ultimate expenditure of a large sum of money.

You will see from the above, I think, that Trenton is doing her part, and that there exists right now a great need for this channel. If the funds are made available, the project can easily be completed in 1916. If this is not done the present contract would lapse, and it is highly improbable that as low prices would again be obtained and an increase up to \$50,000 in ost might easily result.

Such delay would also greatly handicap Trenton in the improvement of her water front, as assurances have been given that 1916 will see the channel and terminal in use; and, as you may see from the above, not only the city but new shipping interests would be very seriously embarrassed by failure on the part of the Government to live up to this.

Very truly, yours,

FRED'R W. DONNELLY, Mayor.

In view of the activity about "the port of Trenton." 130 miles from the sea, but midway between the great cities of New York and Philadelphia, it would not seem unreasonable that the \$40,000 appropriation needed should be made to put the Government in the customs-revenue business at so promising an inland station.

NEW JERSEY'S STEP FORWARD.

Another step forward in this important business is revealed in the correspondence of the New Jersey Board of Commerce and Navigation, as it pertains to the State's participation in the proposed Federal ship canal across the State of New Jersey to connect up the Delaware River and streams south with New York Bay and New England. I shall not stop to dilate upon the strategic importance of this invaluable commercial watercourse. The Army and Navy know what such an avenue of communication inland would mean in the defense of the country. For commerce it would be a boon in transportation the extent of which is incalculable.

All I wish to say about it now is that New Jersey has offered to meet the Government squarely on this proposition. It will provide the right of way.

The correspondence shows in addition that although the Government may be slow in approaching the project, the State is "on the job," and ready to do its part.

The following letters to Secretary of War Garrison and to Gov. Fielder, of New Jersey, evince a commendable interest in the matter of State help:

STATE OF NEW JERSEY,
BOARD OF COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION,
Jersey City, N. J., January 6, 1916.

DEAR SIR: Inclosed are copies of two letters mailed this day by President Smith, of the State board of commerce and navigation, the one addressed to the Secretary of War and the other to the governor and Legislature of New Jersey, both concerning the New Jersey ship canal project.

Respectfully, yours,

B. F. Cresson, Jr.,

B. F. CRESSON, Jr., Chief Engineer.

(Inclesures.)

TRENTON, N. J., January 6, 1916.

(Inclesures.)

TRENTON, N. J., January 6, 1916.

Hon. Lindley M. Garrison,

Secretary of War of the United States, Washington, D. C.

Sir: The State of New Jersey, through the former New Jersey ship canal commission and the present board of commerce and navigation, has run out on the ground and monumented the center line of the proposed New Jersey ship canal, between Bordentown, on the Delaware River, and Morgan, on the Raritan Bay. The line monumented is that adopted by the special board of engineer officers and referred to in House of Representatives Document No. 391, Sixty-second Congress, second session.

The 1911 Legislature of the State of New Jersey adopted a resolution providing that "in order to bring about the construction of this canal and its completion within as short a time as possible" the State should acquire the right of way for the canal by purchase or condemnation, and should cede the same to the Federal Government for the uses of the Government in construction and maintenance of the canal, on condition that the canal, when completed, shall be free and open to the commerce of the world, without tolls or charges for the passage of vessels or freight thereon, provided that the right of way can be obtained for a sum not exceeding \$500,000, or such a sum as may be appropriated by the legislature for that purpose.

The board of commerce and navigation, which is now intrusted with the State's interests in this project, believes thoroughly in its national importance and wishes to advance it as rapidly as possible.

The board will recommend to the legislature that the State carry out its part in this work, which appears first to be the acquisition of the right of way. In order that this may be done it is necessary that the State shall know that the line as now monumented represents the line on which the Government will undertake construction.

The board therefore respectfully requests:
First. The acceptance by the Federal Government of the line as monumented; and
Second. The adoption of this project by the Government.
When these things are done the State may properly proceed to undertake its part in the project.
Respectfully, yours,
J. Spencer Smith, President.

TRENTON, N. J., January 6, 1916.

To Hon, James F. Fielder, Governor, And to the Senate and General Assembly of New Jersey, Trenton, N. J.

And to the Senate and General Assembly of New Jersey.

Sirs: The board of commerce and navigation has completed the survey and monumenting of the center line of the proposed New Jersey ship canal, this work having been started by the former New Jersey ship canal commission.

Being greatly impressed with the importance, both to the State and to the Nation, of this ship canal project, the board feels that it is its duty to advance it as rapidly as possible. With this in view the board has addressed a letter to the Secretary of War, copy of which is herewith inclosed, asking the Federal Government to accept the line as now monumented between Bordentown, on the Delaware River, and Morgan, on the Raritan Pay, as the center line on which the construction of this proposed ship canal will be made

The board has also asked of the Secretary of War the adoption of this project, but if feels that before an appropriation can be asked for from the Government for construction that the State should undertake its part of the work, which the 1911 legislature indicated by resolution would be the acquisition of the right of way.

The board therefore respectfully requests the consideration of the governor and Legislature of New Jersey in this matter, so that if it is deemed proper an appropriation may be made for the acquisition of the right of way, to become available when the Federal Government shall make appropriation for the construction of this canal; then the State can appeal to the Government to proceed with the actual construction work.

Respectfully, yours,

J. Spencer Smith, President.

Good Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CALEB POWERS.

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 22, 1916.

Mr. POWERS. Mr. Speaker, I am so intensely interested in the good roads propaganda, so vitally concerned in seeing a beneficent road system spread like a great web all over our country, reaching into the remotest nooks and corners of every part of our fair land, that I expect to give this bill my support, realizing at the time I do it that it has many defects and falls far short of what I would like to see incorporated in a bill of this character. And since those in charge of the bill have in-vited criticism of its provisions I shall venture to point out what I deem to be a few of its defects. Section 4 reads, in part, as follows:

All constructions and maintenance of roads under the provisions of this act shall be under the supervision and control of the State high-way departments of the several States.

In other words, the Federal Government is called upon to put its money into a project, and after it has done so it loses all jurisdiction and control over both the money and the project, although the rural routes into which it puts its money, and over which it is to have neither jurisdiction nor control, are still to be used by the Federal Government in transporting and carrying its mails. Under the provisions of this bill the Federal Government selects the State highway departments of the several States as its agents to receive its money, and after it is received by them the law of agency no longer exists, and it is in the power of the States to defeat entirely the objects of the Federal appropriation by discontinuing the use of the rural post roads as such into which the Federal money is put. I regard this as a most serious defect in the bill. And then again the Secretary of Agriculture, unless the provisions of this bill are stretched far beyond their apparent intent, will have no power to determine upon what roads the Federal moneys are to be expended, except from the data and information which may be furnished him by the several State highway departments. The Secretary of Agriculture ought to at least have the power of having his representatives and agents make a personal inspection of every road into which one copper of the Federal money is to go. But it has not been my intention to do more than to merely call attention to these things. The point I really want to discuss is this:

That this road bill, in at least so far as the State of Kentucky is concerned, is a misnomer. It provides in its title that the purpose of the bill is to "aid the States in the construction and maintenance of rural post roads." It will do nothing of the

sort in the State of Kentucky. I do not want anybody down in that State to be mistaken about it. Of course this bill will not become a law as long as the present occupant of the White House remains in power. I suppose nobody is deceived about that. But I want to show that if it should become a law practically none of Kentucky's part of the \$25,000,000 annually authorized by this bill will be expended on the rural post roads in the State of Kentucky. To do that, however, is supposedly the object of the bill. It so declares in its title, but the money will not be used for that purpose.

Section 3 of the bill declares, in substance, that the State highway department shall expend the money donated to it by the Federal Government in accordance with the laws of the State that receives it. That being true, before we can know how and where the money will be expended in each State, we must know the laws of the several States on the subject of road construction, maintenance, and improvement. I am more or less familiar with the Kentucky road law. One section in that law

There is hereby created a system of public State highways, which shall be composed and be all the roads to which State aid is furnished.

There is another provision in the Kentucky road law which defines what public State highways are. It reads, in part:

There is hereby created a system of public State highways, which shall consist of roads connecting the county seat of each county of the Commonwealth with the county seats of the adjoining counties by the most direct and practicable route. * * * These roads shall be the first to receive State aid; and after such roads are constructed in any county of the Commonwealth, then all other roads to which State aid is furnished thereafter may be deemed public State highways.

So it is plain to be seen that no county in the State is to receive any State aid, and therefore Federal aid, under the provisions of this bill for any of its public roads until State highways have been built connecting the county-seat towns of the county with the county seats of the adjoining counties of the State by the most direct and practicable route, as well as-quoting the Kentucky law

the county seats of the border counties of the Commonwealth with the State line on the most direct and practical route leading from said county seat to the county seats of the adjoining counties in the adjacent States.

And the Federal appropriation authorized by the bill we are now considering can not be expended even on these State highways unless they are to be used as post roads.

In other words, no public road, for example, in any county in the eleventh congressional district of Kentucky, can receive any State aid, and therefore Federal aid-because the Federal aid is to be applied in accordance with the law of the State-until all the county-seat towns of the adjoining counties have been connected with one another by State highways. For example, under the provisions of the bill we are now considering and under the laws of the State of Kentucky, not a copper of either Federal or State aid can go to the ordinary public dirt roads of the county of Knox until State highways have been completed from Barbourville to Williamsburg, and from Barbourville to London, and from Barbourville to Manchester, and from Barbourville to Pineville. Nor can any of the ordinary public dirt roads—those that need aid most—of the counties of Monroe, Cumberland, Clinton, Wayne, McCreary, Whitley, Bell, or Har-lan—all counties of the eleventh district and all bordering on an adjucent State-be constructed until public State highways have been constructed, not only connecting all the adjacent county-seat towns in Kentucky, but the adjacent county-seat towns in the States upon which these counties border, or at least to the State line in the direction of the county-seat towns in the counties of the bordering State; so it is not difficult to understand that none of the ordinary rural post roads in the eleventh congressional district, and in the State of Kentucky generally, can receive virtually any Federal or State aid. This is true notwithstanding the fact that the people will be taxed for the benefit of those sections of the State living along the lines of these highways connecting the county-seat towns where State aid har been or will be received.

The Kentucky law provides:

That there shall be levi-d and collected and paid into the treasury of the State * * * a special tax to be known as the State road tax * * * the State road taxes on all real personal, franchises, on all intangible property, not exempt from taxation shall be * * * 5 cents on every \$100 valuation thereot.

In other words, every person in the eleventh district and the State of Kentucky is taxed under the State road :w 5 cents on every \$100 worth of taxable property he owns for the purpose of constructing and maintaining, not all the public roads in the eleventh district and the State of Kentucky, but only those roads known as public State highways. The people are to be taxed, whether they receive any State aid or not, even for the roads connecting the county-seat towns; and in

order for any county in the State to receive State aid even for those roads it will have to be taxed a second time. In other words, before any county can get a dollar from the State it will have to match that dollar with one of its own. Failing in this, the county, under the Kentucky road law, can not secure State aid even for the roads connecting county-seat towns, and of course if they do not get State aid they can not get Federal aid under the provisions of the bill we are now considering, for the Federal money-under section 3 of this bill, as I have said—is to be applied in accordance with the law of the State. The query then naturally arises, Where will the State-road fund go which every taxpayer is taxed to create, and where will the Federal money go that will be allotted to the State of Kentucky under the provisions of the bill we are now considering? The Shackleford bill, the one now under consideration, authorizes an appropriation of \$25,000,000 annually to be expended on the rural post roads in the United States. Kentucky's share of this each year would be \$273,500. This sum would be received—should this bill become a law—by the State of Kentucky and would go into the road fund of that State. What would become of that money, and what will become of the \$25,000 road taxes that the people of the eleventh district have to pay each year? In the event any county in the eleventh district should fail to meet the requirements of the Kentucky road law what will become of its money and its share of the Federal money? The Kentucky road law itself answers that question. Section 6 of the Bosworth road bill, which became a law, reads as follows:

If any county shall not avail itself of the aid from the State apportionment under the provisions of this act, then and in that case the amount so apportioned shall remain in the treasury of the State to the credit of the State fund to be again apportioned among the counties at the next annual apportionment.

In other words, if any county in the State for any reason falls to meet the requirements of the Bosworth law in applying for State aid, or falls to apply at all, or falls to get the approval of the State road commissioner of any line of road it desires to build, then the State road tax, which it is each year bound to pay, does not remain in the State treasury to its credit to be called for and applied to any future road construction or improvement, but its tax goes back into the State road fund, and later goes to the counties in the State that do meet the conditions and requirements of the State road law, and only those counties that do this will get any part of the State road fund or any advantage from it; and since this Federal fund of nearly \$300,000 which would be placed to the credit of the State each year is to be distributed in accordance with the law of the State, it follows that no county in this State will get any part of it if it falls to meet the requirements of the State road law. In other words, both the State road fund and the Federal fund would be expended only in those counties meeting the requirements of the State law, and then only on the State highways connecting county-seat towns.

I represent a district that is more or less mountainous in its character, and while it is my duty to represent the entire country in so far as I can in any votes I may cast on the floor of this House, my first duty is to the constituents who sent me here. Let us see how this law would operate, for instance, in the splendid mountain counties of Clay, Leslie, and Harlan, all within the district I have the honor to represent, all rich in mineral resources, and all inhabited by a virile and stalwart citizenship, loyal and patriotic-and the same thing can be truthfully said of the citizenry in every county in the district. It would be next to impossible for these mountain counties to put up their share of the money in constructing State highways from their county-seat towns to the county-seat towns of all the adjoining counties. It would take barrels of money to construct these roads across the hills and streams and mountains connecting these various county-seat towns, even if their construction would be deemed advisable or would be approved by the State commissioner of public roads, which in all probability it would not be. These counties are now all being taxed to help put up this State road fund, but are getting no advantage from it. They are getting no advantage from the State road fund and will therefore get no advantage from the Federal road fund.

The counties of Wayne, McCreary, Clinton, Cumberland, and Russell are all being taxed under the State road law to help create the State road fund, and, if I am not mistaken, no one of them is now receiving, or will likely soon receive, a single cent of the State aid, and until they do meet the requirements of the State road law and thus receive State aid they could not receive Federal aid.

The following table shows the counties in the eleventh congressional district, together with the assessed value of the real,

personal, and railroad property in them for the year 1912, and what each county will have to pay each year as a State road tax:

Counties in eleventh congressional district,	Value of real property.	Value of personal property.	Value of railroad property.	Total.	Amount of yearly State road tax of 5 cents on each \$100 of taxable property.
Bell Clay Clinton Cumberland Harlan Knox Laurel Lestle McCreary 1 Monro Pulaski Rockeastle Russell Wayne Wayne Whitley	\$4, 301, 245 1, 796, 045 938, 633 1, 477, 241 3, 453, 709 2, 841, 862 2, 032, 405 1, 945, 308 1, 685, 890 4, 387, 980 1, 270, 166 1, 205, 929 2, 701, 261 3, 345, 936	\$1,807,836 616,416 361,801 438,610 543,035 957,686 817,988 278,104 735,179 1,616,081 492,889 586,756 1,424,902 2,131,798	\$534,210 217,280 353,865 584,880 674,475 1,086,505 696,340	\$6, 643, 291 2, 412, 461 1, 300, 434 1, 915, 851 4, 214, 024 4, 153, 413 3, 435, 273 2, 323, 412 674, 475 2, 421, 069 7, 490, 579 2, 49, 395 1, 792, 684 4, 126, 163 7, 348, 449	\$3, 321. 64 1, 206. 23 650. 21 957. 42 2, 107. 01 2, 076. 70 1, 718. 13 1, 161. 70 337. 23 1, 210. 53 3, 745. 28 1, 229. 70 896. 34 2, 033. 08 3, 674. 22
Total				52,710,973	26,345.42

¹ Its property, except railroads to value indicated, is credited to counties out of which it was created.

Both the State road law and the bill which we are now considering ought to be so amended as not only to make it possible that the people who are taxed to help create these road funds may chance to get the benefits of them, but that those who pay the taxes shall receive benefits from them. If the bill we are now considering is not amended the Federal money will go to the State as a whole, and the counties in the State desiring State and Federal aid will be compelled to put up just as much money after this bill becomes a law as they would if it were not on the statute books at all. This is not fair to the counties in the State of Kentucky desiring State and Federal aid. This bill ought to be so amended that each county in the State desiring State aid shall have its proportionate share of this Federal fund and have it counted to its credit in the money it is required to put up to get State aid. Anything short of this will work a grave injustice to the counties in the State of Kentucky seeking to improve their highways through the assistance of State and Federal aid.

As much as I believe in State and Federal aid, and as much as I want to help that cause along, I would be constrained to vote against this bill, but for the fact that the Republican Party is soon to come back in power in this Nation, and possibly at no distant day, in the State; and when power is once again given us, I have an abiding faith that these laws will be samended as to do justice to the taxpayer, not alone in the district I have the honor to represent, but to every taxpayer in the State of Kentucky and throughout the Union.

No citizens throughout the confines of this great country are more essential to the welfare of this great country in time of peace, and its salvation in time of war, than those living in the rural districts and those living by the sweat of their brow in other avocations of life. It is there that you find honesty, integrity, loyalty, and truth. In the breasts of those living close to the soil and close to nature are embedded all the Christian virtues. During all these years they have been taxed to help defray the expenses of this great Government in times of peace, and during the times of war they have been its bulwark and defense. A few little country post offices, in many places miles apart, and a few little rural routes, have been the only direct benefits they have received at the hands of the Government in the way of expenditure of the public moneys. Millions upon the top of millions of the public moneys have been spent on the great customhouses in the cities and the larger towns; millions on top of millions have been poured out upon the rivers and harbors of our country; millions upon millions have been spent upon the Army and Navy; but the farmer has had to wait. The coal miner has had to be content. It is high time that this Government protect its protectors and defend its defenders. I am going to vote for this bill with all of its defects; I am going to put myself down on the side of national aid for road construction and road improvement, although there are many things about this bill that are far from my liking. The idea of putting this money in the exclusive control of the various States and letting the Government have no sort of control over the money it appropriates after it puts it up, no sort of jurisdiction over the post roads into which it puts its money, is far from advisable. [Applause.]

The Stewart-Screven Monument.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM C. ADAMSON, OF GEORGIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 25, 1916.

Mr. ADAMSON, Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address delivered by Hon. CHARLES G. EDWARDS on April 26, 1915, at the dedication of a monument erected by an appropriation made by Congress under the auspices and direction of the Fine Arts Commission.

The address is as follows:

HON, CHARLES G. EDWARDS MAKES PRESENTATION FOR UNITED STATES
CONGRESS—HE HAS COOPERATED WITH THE COMMISSION MANY
YEARS—MIDWAY ONCE WAS SEAT OF LEARNING.

"Congressman Charles G. Edwards made a brilliant and eloquent address this afternoon at Midway in making the presentation of the Stewart-Screven Monument. He said:

"The task assigned me is an honor and a privilege which I appreciate, and for which I thank the Midway Society and the committee having these arrangements in charge. For a number of years I have been interested in Midway and its splendid his-For several years I have cooperated with the Midway Society in its efforts to secure a monument for two of Midway's distinguished dead, and our labors have not been in vain.

LOVED LIBERTY.

"Over a century and a half ago a little band of cultured and plous men with their families penetrated and settled a portion of this county, the name 'Liberty' having been bestowed on it by the legislature because of the liberty-loving spirit of her citizens. Piety and education characterized this people, and at once upon settling in this county they erected a house in which to worship God, having previously formed themselves into an organization called the Midway Society. The first building was destroyed by the English in 1788, but as soon as possible, in 1792, another building was erected on the same spot, which you see still standing.

"I am reminded, however, that it is not my lot here to recount the details of history concerning Midway or the patriotic deeds of her noble sons who rest in these sacred precincts. Those things will be dealt with by others who are better fitted and more intimately acquainted with them.

Duty to sacred memories, and to this hallowed spot, has turned our thoughts in this materialistic age from the absorbing present and future to the discharge of a lasting obligation we owe the past, its heroes, and their patriotic deeds, who contribute so largely to the realization of American independence.

A NOBLE HISTORY.

"This section for many years in the earlier history of our country was not only a seat of culture and learning but con-tributed generously of its men and means that a republic might be born and preserved, and that liberty might be our priceless heritage. Liberty County and her people have a noble history of which they can justly feel proud. Much of Georgia's history, and, indeed, much of our Nation's history, would be lack-ing but for the history of this section and of Liberty County. The fires of American liberty burned early and fervently upon the altars here that are sacred in our history and our memories.

"The South, more than any other section of this country, contributed to the nurture and development of our young Republic, and of this work Georgia's was a great part. Our forefathers builded earnestly and well. To-day, as beautiful flowers are reverently placed by loving hands upon the graves of our Confederate dead throughout the South, our thoughts go back to our forefathers' part in founding and building this Republic, and while we sorrow for a 'lost cause' yet every southern prayer, on this Memorial Day, is for a reunited country, a Republic of peace for all time.

HONORED SONS.

"Midway has furnished many able and distinguished sons, She has had three representatives in the White House. She can boast of governors, Senators, signers of the Declaration of Independence, Representatives in Congress, authors, lawyers, doctors, inventors, diplomats, scientists, statesmen, soldiers, historians, and educators. She has sent 83 ministers of the gospel of various denominations into the Master's vineyard, to spread the glad tidings of salvation to the world, a record probably unsurpassed by any Christian congregation.

"The members of the Midway Society were remarkable for uprightness, refinement, and education, hence it is no surprise that their descendants have filled and are occupying high and honorable positions in all parts of our country, who may trace their proud lineage to that little band of patriots that worshiped God in this church and laid their dead to rest in this hallowed cemetery. A Liberty County man, or any other Georgian, who is not proud of Midway's achievements is void of appreciation of worthy and patriotic deeds, and lives with a thankless soul in his bosom, and is out of tune with the great God who has guided our national destinies.

A REWARD.

Written histories and biographies perpetuate the memories of great men. The real affection and esteem of the people, however, are reflected in the marble shaft, granite, stone, or bronze tablet erected to mark some spot closely identified with their lives or to represent enduring deeds performed for the benefit of mankind. Such is the reward for appreciated and patriotic

services.
"It has been said 'a people without monuments is a people who have without civilization and without progress.' People who have commemorated in bronze and marble the worthy deeds and virtues of their heroes have mightily swayed the destinies of mankind, while on the other hand people who have failed to go so have left but little imprint on the history of the world.

DISTINGUISHED DEAD.

"Within the walls of this moss-draped cemetery, covering about 1 acre, beneath these majestic oaks that have stood guard faithfully here for generations, lie entombed the ashes of more distinguished dead and of those who have given their country more noted posterity than any other burial acre in the land. In its bosom repose the remains of one governor, Nathan Brownson; one commodore, John McIntosh; two Revolutionary generals, James Screven and Daniel Stewart; one United States Senator, John Elliott: 11 ministers of the gospel; besides scores of good men and women, many distinguished in the various professions and vocations of life.

"Gen. Screven and Gen. Stewart, heroes of the American Revolution, have long slept here without a grateful country's monument to proclaim their valiant deeds and their useful services. Gen. Screven lost his life not a great way from this spot during the Revolution in the cause of liberty, his manly form pierced by 11 bullets, baptizing and making sacred the soil of his county

and his State with his patriotic blood.

SERVED GALLANTLY.

"Gen. Stewart was a young man and a private in the ranks of Gen. Screven's brigade, but his services were conspicuous and valuable, and he later became a brigadier general. They were both statesmen, patriots, soldiers, heroes, and useful. Godfearing citizens, who sacrificed much for their country when it needed true men of their type. Our country has not been unmindful of these men who helped to give it liberty. Although somewhat tardy in properly recognizing the services of these heroes of seventy-six with a suitable memorial, it has finally done a splendid thing in this direction. For many years it has been admitted by all that a suitable memorial should be erected here by our Government to properly mark the resting place of these great Georgians. As early as 1801 the United States House of Representatives passed a bill appropriating \$500 with which to erect a monument to one of them, but the money was never used. Georgia perpetuated the names of each of these great men by naming two of her counties in honor of Stewart and Screven. The fact that the National Government had never erected a monument to the memory of these deserving patriots was a burning indictment against the gratitude and patriotism of our Nation, which Congress was glad to remedy, and which it did substantially remedy by the passage of House bill No. 7549, as follows:

"Be it enocted, etc., That a joint monument be erected in the old cemetery at Midway, Liberty County, Ga., in memory of the lives and public services of Gen. James Screven and Gen. Daniel Stewart.

"Sec. 2 That for the purpose of the construction, erection, and completion of said monument the sum of \$10,000, or so much there of as is necessary, is hereby authorized, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War: and the design may be made by the Midway Society, charged as it is with the preservation and care of the said cemetery: Provided, That said design shall be approved by the Secretary of War.

"Approved March 4, 1911."

THE PESIGNER.

"In obedience to this act of Congress, this beautiful memorial was designed by Mr. George Bunap, landscape architect for the Commission of Fine Arts of Washington, D. C. Under the supervision and with the approval of our efficient Army engineers, it has been erected by the McNeil Marble Co., Georgia contractors,

out of Georgia granite, upon Georgia soil, to perpetuate the memories of two of Georgia's greatest and most beloved sons. The architect, the engineers, the contractors, and the Midway Society have all done their work well, and are entitled to the thanks and plaudits of a grateful people.

FOR PATRIOTIC SERVICES.

"Here it is, Mr. Chairman and fellow countrymen, a stately and completed memorial, rearing its knightly head to the heavens, proclaiming to the world for all time a loyal Nation's gratitude and a devoted people's appreciation for the patriotic services and heroic deeds of Gens. Screven and Stewart

"As I had the honor to introduce in Congress the bill that authorized the erection of this shaft, I am delighted that I have been commissioned, as the representative of our Government, with the honor of presenting this magnificent granite memorial to the care and keeping of this honorable society. My friends, to you, in the name of our country, 1 present this precious charge, with full confidence that it goes to loving hearts and willing hands, to consecrated men and women who revere this spot almost as a shrine, many of whom are worthy descendants of these brave generals, to whose lives and public services this monument is erected, and to whose memories it is lovingly dedicated by the greatest Nation in the world. It has been authorized, designed, constructed, and presented during an era when our country is at peace with all the earth. Though erected to perpetuate the memories of two great soldiers, let us hope and let us pray that it will stand guard for all time not only as a vigilant sentinel over these illustrious dead but that while it stands our country will never again unfurl its battle flag. May the Stars and Stripes, the flag of liberty and human hope, the flag of our forefathers, and our flag, which so proudly flies above us to-day, endure not only as the flag of the greatest Nation known to man, but as the emblem and promise of eternal peace to all the world."

Rural Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK PARK. OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 25, 1916.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, the constitutional question as to whether the National Government can aid the States in the construction and maintenance of rural roads has been settled by the committee having in charge this bill as far as it can be settled without the opinion of the United States Supreme directly bearing thereon.

I am not clear as to how this bill, good in theory, may operate practically. It presents some good features, the best, in my opinion, being that part of section 5 to encourage and promote the improvement of a general system of roads leading from cities, towns, and railway stations into the adjacent farming communities.

I am on record where I live for good roads, and I am on record here for good roads, and I want to go on record now for better roads.

Most farms are more or less remote from railway depots and stations, and the worse the roads to be traveled the further in

point of time and convenience they are from markets.

The products of farms should be as easily accessible to the markets of towns and cities as our resources will permit.

Schools and churches in rural communities should be easily reached in all kinds of weather.

Good roads mean rapid material advancement to rural and urban communities; nothing will reduce high cost of living in cities more surely than a cheaper means of transportation of farm products to cities.

Nothing enhances the value of farm lands more greatly than good roads; thereby the applicant for benefits under the rural credit system, which we hope soon will be enacted into law, may receive a greater loan at a less rate of interest on his farm,

Good roads are the deeper arteries of trade, enriching the

lands, the intelligence, and the resources of communities.

A good, broad road built through a settlement that is cut off from the rest of a county by bad and impassable roads will be as beneficent in its results as the installation of an electric arc light in a densely populated and poorly lighted part of a city.

While this bill doubtless is defective, as time will prove, still it is a start in the right direction, and, if it shall become law, will stimulate States and counties to greater and more intelligent effort at good-road building.

I am in favor of any measure that we can pass which will fairly and rightfully help the people who have most of the burdens and who produce the food and raiment for the world.

National Guard.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. L. C. DYER,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 25, 1916.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the Record, I beg to call attention to some communications that I have received from officers and enlisted men of the National Guard of Missouri, praying for assistance from the Government in the way of legislation therein re-ferred to. I believe that the National Guard can be made most efficient and beneficial to the country in every respect if they receive deserved consideration from the Congress. 'The communications are, in part, as follows:

STATE OF MISSOURI,
THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
City of Jefferson, January 5, 1916.

Hon. Leonidas C. Dyer,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir: It is the unanimous opinion of the members of the National Guard of Missouri that the passage of Senate bill 1158, commonly called the pay bill, will increase the strength and efficiency of the National Guard to the full extent necessary to accomplish the purpose for which it is intended; i. e., to place at the disposal of the President and available for immediate service a force of citizen soldiery sufficient to meet the needs of the country for national defense purposes; and, further, it is their judgment that such legislation furnishes the only practicable and possible system for the organization and maintenance of a civilian force for the purpose mentioned, based upon voluntary service. They believe it is impossible to secure any civilian force in this State which contemplates a service of two months continuous intensive training; that is, which will require its membership to absent themselves from their usual avocations for a period of two months or for any period other than that required of the National Guard.

At a meeting of the commanding officers of the various units of

continuous intensive training; that is, which will require its membership to absent themselves from their usual avocations for a period of two months or for any period other than that required of the National Guard.

At a meeting of the commanding officers of the various units of the National Guard I was directed to express this view to you as representing the serious, deliberate, and carefully considered opinion of the officers and men of the National Guard of this State, based upon past experience and careful inquiry as to future probabilities. In order that you may know something of the experience these gentlemen have had, I am attaching hereto a brief statement of the service and military experience of the gentlemen who command the brigade, the several regiments, and the artillery battallon constituting the National Guard of Missouri. You will note that, without exception, they are experienced business men of high standing in their communities, and that all of them served as officers in the Spanish-American War, and that all of them have served continuously in the National Guard of Missouri for more than 20 years.

The first question which will instrually occur to you is as to whether or not the pay bill will secure the attendance at drills, etc., necessary to bring the guard up to the required standard of theoretical and practical instruction and efficiency. It is the unanimous opinion of both officers and enlisted men in this State that it will. While the pay of an enlisted man as proposed in this bill is small, the fact that almost without exception he earns small wages makes it certain that this pay will be a consideration to him sufficient to insure his attendance at the required number of drills. As a rule our company commanders are men of modest means, dependent upon small salaries for a livelihood. The amount paid a company commander for example, would be a substantial object to him, and if he is able to supplement the income which he receives from his civil employment with this allowance it will in

such officer can not be recognized or paid, and, of course, this would force his retirement from the service, so that the Secretary of War is vested with absolute authority to prescribe and insist upon the meeting of all requirements necessary to secure efficient officers. In this connection your attention is invited to the fact that the militia system of this country is identical with that of Switzerland, except that in the latter country service is compulsory, while here it is voluntary. The Swiss Army is admitted to be one of the most efficient in Europe, and its efficiency is cited as the reason that country has been able to maintain its neutrality. As you know, Switzerland is divided into Cantons, which are civil subdivisions corresponding to our States. Under the Swiss system each Canton raises and trains its own force and selects the officers therefor. The General Government under this bill prescribes the system of discipline and training and furnishes the arms and equipment. The several Cantons furnish the uniforms and incidental expense of maintenance and are reimbursed therefor by the General Government. The regular army of Switzerland consists of the commanding general and a general staff. The analogy between the Swiss system and that proposed under this bill is complete, except that in one country the service is compulsory, while in the other it is voluntary. This would seem to meet the objection so often urged as to the method of selecting officers. Furthermore, it will be remembered that the Volunteer Army raised by the United States in 1861 and 1898 was officered by the Swendiscered by the Sevence of the General Government, and this method has always been followed in this country, and without complaint as to the efficiency of the officers selected in this manner.

In conclusion, it is earnestly urged that for the reasons above set forth the pay bill is advocated by the officers of the National Guard of all of the States, and that no other system has been advocated by those who have had practical

JOHN B. O'MEARA, The Adjutant General,

Very truly, yours,

JOHN B. O'MEARA,

The Adjutant General.

Brig. Gen. Harvey C. Clark: Nevada. Lawyer. Commanding the National Guard of Missouri. Has served continuously in the National Guard of Missouri 27 years. Graduate Wentworth Military Academy and Scarrett Collegiate Institute. Lieut. Col. Sixth Missouri Volunteers, Spanish-American War. National Guard service as follows: Captain Company B, Second Infantry, October 8, 1888; major July 21, 1897; lieutenant colonel Sixth Infantry July 20, 1898; brigadier general February 2, 1899.

Col. Arthur B. Donnelly: St. Louis. President Donnelly Leather Co. Commanding First Infantry. Has served continuously in the National Guard of Missouri for 23 years. Served during the Spanish-American War as first lieutenant, First Missouri Volunteers, National Guard service as follows: Private Company F, First Infantry, December 7, 1892; corporal March 7, 1893; sergeant December 7, 1893; first sergeant December 7, 1893; first sergeant December 7, 1894; first lieutenant June 17, 1896; mustered out with Company F 1899; organized and enlisted with Company F, First Infantry, May 28, 1901; captain June 5, 1901; major June 3, 1909; lieutenant colonel April 17, 1912; colonel May 18, 1914.

Col. William A. Raupp: Pierce City. President Pierce Lime Co. Commanding Second Infantry. Has served continuously in the National Guard of Missouri for 27 years, Served during Spanish-American War as captain Company E, Second Missouri Volunteers, National Guard service as follows: Private Company E, Fifth Infantry, November, 1886; mustered out with regiment 1887; private Company E, Second Infantry, November, 1890; first sergeant August 10, 1891; first lieutenant June, 1892; captain May 4, 1899; lleutenant colonel June 10, 1900; colonel September 1, 1906.

Col. Fred A. Lamb: Kansas City. Merchant. Commanding Third Infantry, Has served continuously in the National Guard of Missouri Volunteers, National Guard for Missouri Volunteers, National Guard for Missouri Volunteers, National Guard for Missouri F

FIRST REGIMENT INFANTRY, NATIONAL GUARD MISSOURI, St. Louis, January 11, 1916.

Hon, L. C. Dyer.

Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: As the question of national defense claims at the present time the attention of every citizen who has the interest of this country at heart, and as it is or should be of vital importance to the representatives of the people, I think it not out of place to call your attention to certain facts which may better qualify you to act for the best interest of the country.

Your attention is called to the fact that my information is received at first hand—that is, as an officer of the National Guard; that my opinion is that of any private citizen with the same source of information; that I do not follow the military game as a profession; and that my motive is therefore entirely unselfish. Proof of the latter statement lies in the fact that I have served over five years in the National Guard without pay and at a personal loss of both time and money.

while no thinking man could, after very slight consideration, admit that the so-called continental army plan is the solution of our military problem, this plan becomes even more impracticable when the experience gained in the National Guard is applied to it.

The period of training contemplated under the new army plan is two nonths each year, covering a term of three years, followed by three

years' service in the reserve. Those supporting the plan hope—bear in mind that they only hope—that the business men of this country will allow their employees two months' leave of absence to attend the camps of instruction. Ask yourself this question: How many St. Louis firms do I know of which will give their employees two months' leave of absence even without pay? It is admitted by military men that an annual training period of less than two months is too brief to produce results. In other words, it means that our so-called continental army will necessarily be composed of schoolboys and hobos. These are not the men to be relied upon in an emergency.

I could call to your attention a dozen other reasons against the adoption of this plan, among them the problem of handling the men, the impossibility of officers knowing their men, the difficulty of choosing noncommissioned officers, etc. The difficulty of assembling such an organization in an emergency would lie in the fact that an officer would not see his men during 10 months of the year. A great many would not see his men during 10 months of the year. A great many would be findaters," their address might have changed, and so far as their company would be concerned those men would be dead.

The only practicable answer to this problem is in the National Guard. Here you have a body of men whose patriotism is above question; who, not only in the face of universal ridicule but even without sufficient financial support and without legislation behind them to enforce discipline, have not only held the National Guard Guard them to enforce discipline, have not only held the National Guard to the very might of the week.

With Federal pay the National Guard can be made fully as efficient as the Regular Army. We have the espirit de corps—the pride of our organization—without which a military organization is no better than a mob. Officers are in constant touch with their men; the armory is their clubroom. They go there not only on drill nights but many of them every night

GEO. A. BILSBARROW, First Lieutenant, First Infantry, National Guard of Missouri.

FIRST REGIMENT INFANTRY
NATIONAL GUARD MISSOURI,
St. Louis, January 10, 1916.

Hon. L. C. DYER, M. C., Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Knowing that great interest has been aroused in Congress and that a great many plans are being formulated for national preparedness, we the officers, noncommissioned officers, and enlisted men of Company D. First Infantry National Guard of Missouri, beg to bring to your attention the following facts relative to the National Guard or Organized Militia, so that you will lend every effort to pass the militia

to your attention the knowing lacts relative to the Mational Guard of Organized Militia, so that you will lend every effort to pass the militia pay bill:

That the Organized Militia is authorized by the Constitution of the United States and has existed since its adoption.

That the officers and enlisted men have served for periods as great as 30 years without remuneration, ready at any time to form the first line of defense of our country in case of need.

That during the War with Spain on the first call for volunteers the Organized Militia or National Guard volunteered to a man and served creditably in Caba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and in the United States.

That in order to have an efficient reserve force they must be in constant touch with each other, as they are in the National Guard, drilling one night each week with target practice and camp of instruction for from two to three weeks each year.

That the militia pay bill is the only salvation of the National Guard, as should the plans for the continental army be adopted it would mean the dissolution of the National Guard, as they then could not be held together without pay.

That under the militia pay bill an effective force could be had ready at all times to respond to any call at the minimum of expense.

Respectfully signed and submitted.

Capt. Gunther Maiser.

And 38 other members of Company D.

Capt. GUNTHER MEIER
(And 38 other members of Company D.
First Regiment National Guard Missouri of St. Louis, Mo.).

Hon. L. C. Dyer, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sin: We, the undersigned members of Company H, First Infantry, National Guard of Missouri, citizens of the State of Missouri and residing in the city of St. Louis, believe as follows:
That the National Guard is important and necessary in any plan looking to the defense of this country.
That the members of the National Guard are giving up their time to prepare themselves to aid in the defense of this country. They are assembling for drill and target practice at their own expense.
That it is unjust to force citizens to pay for the privilege of giving up their time and energies preparing themselves against their country's need.

That the members of the National Guard should be paid a small amount for each drill they attend.

Therefore, they request that the Senators and Congressmen from the State of Misscuri support a bill to be introduced in Congress, entitled "The Militia Pay Bill."

EDMUND J. McMahon.

EDMUND J. MCMAHON,
Captain First Regiment Infantry, N. G. Mo., Commanding Co. H.
JAMES J. MCMAHON,
First Lieutenant, Company H.
(And 42 other members of Co. H, 1st Regt. Inft., Mo. N. G.)

FIRST REGIMENT INFANTRY, NATIONAL GUARD MISSOURI, St. Louis, January 13, 1916.

Hon. L. C. Dyer, M. C., Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: In taking the liberty of addressing you at this time I feel justified as a patriotic American citizen to call your attention to the subject now before the present Congress, in which we of the National Guard are vitally interested—national preparedness.

The continental army bill, as presented by Secretary of War Garrison, in my estimation will not prove the necessity now before the American Government, as from my 16 years' experience as a national guardsmen I feet that the business men are loath to let their employees away for such a long term as three months a year, as provided in the continental army bill.

Under such support as the militia pay bill offers the different cities and towns will take a pride in building for the National Guard organizations such armories as will meet their requirements, and I feel assured that within a year's time the National Guard could present a fighting force of at least a million men, all of whom would be thoroughly trained and ready for service. Three years of such work as is given enlisted men fits them for a call into the service for years to come, and I feel assured that this is the solution to our national preparedness.

Humbly asking your able support in this measure, I am,
Yours, very truly,

W. K. Sauemeir,

Very truly,

W. K. SAUEMEIB,

Captain, First Infantry, National Guard Missouri,

Commanding Company O

(And 30 other members of said company).

P. S.—My communication to you has been read before my entire company at the Federal inspection held January 10, 1916, and has their moral support, as their signatures will indicate.

HEADQUARTERS NATIONAL GUARD MISSOURI, Nevada, January 15, 1916.

Hon. L. C. DYER, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Captain: I am greatly pleased to receive your favor of the 12th instant, and I assure you of my sincere appreciation of the sentiments therein expressed. Being yourself a military man and familiar with the needs of the country and the methods by which this can best be accomplished, your influence means a very great deal. I will take occasion to acquaint the officers of the guard with your position in the matter, and I know how very appreciative they will be.

In the same mail in which your letter came I am in receipt of your address delivered in Ohio last November, and which was printed in the Congressional Record. I am exceedingly glad that Members of Congress and the country have been given this opportunity to read what you so ably and so truthfully said on that occasion. It seems to me if our people could have the situation brought home to them by those who served so well during the Spanish-American War and who have opportunity to know what the National Guard can be made if it is adequately supported, there would be no difference of opinion as to the scope which the legislation proposed at this time ought to take.

Again expressing the great satisfaction it is to us to know of your interest in our cause, and with the assurance of my high regard and esteem

esteem Sincerely, yours,

St. Louis, Mo., January 19, 1916.

Hon. L. C. DYER, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At this time when the most important question of "national preparedness" is before Congress and subject to so much debate by the people throughout the country I think it is not only proper but really my duty to write to you giving my views and some facts on the

by the people throughout the country I think it is not only proper but really my duty to write to you giving my views and some facts on the subject.

I being an officer in the National Guard of Missouri, and this matter having been discussed several times at meetings of the company to which I am attached, you will understand that this is not only a personal letter but one that expresses the sentiments of 60 men.

As I understand, in the proposed continental army it is intended that 400.000 men are to go to a "camp of instruction" for three months each summer. What class of men can be spared from their business for that length of time during the busiest season of the year? And what business house will really stand behind an organization that takes from 1 to 20 of these employees when they are most needed?

Looking at it from that point of view, the continental army can be recruited from but two classes, viz. college boys and bums, and neither will enter with a true patriotic spirit; one goes in for excitement and the other to be fed.

Again, while the Organized Militia under existing laws can not be a big success, give the officers some real authority and the enlisted men an incentive for giving up two evenings a week and conditions are bound to change for the better.

The men in our regiment, some of whom have been with us for 30 years, all have the interest of the organization at heart, and would dislike to see any legislation that would disrupt the organization or make it such a joke that a man would be too proud to join.

Are we who have been the backbone of the Regular Army, the Continental Army, since the 13 culonies banded together, to be thrown with the discard for an untried experiment, one which can never be a success?

Please give this matter your careful thought and attention, and be assured that we are all behind you for the welfare of the Government.

Respectfully,

EDW. J. RUF, Lieutenant, First Regiment Injantry, National Guard of Missouri.

COMFORT LEATHER CO., OFFICE AND WAREHOUSE, St. Louis, January 21, 1916.

Hon. L. C. DYER, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: As a captain of the National Guard of Missouri, with seven years' service therein, I have some very firm convictions on the pending military legislation.

The continental Army, as proposed, is a dream that can never be realized. The officers or men can not be secured. Only three classes of people could join—millionaires, bums, or schoolboys. The first will

not join, the second are not worth having, and the parents of the third will not permit.

Under the present plan of the continental army, recruits are to serve actively two months yearly for three years, and be held on the reserve list for three more years.

No man engaged in business, whether his own master or employed by some one else can afford to sign such a contract. Parents of school-boys 18 years of age or over could not afford to permit their sons to enter unless they, the parents expected to support them until enlistment ceased.

Gen. Wood is right. Conscription universely to the disclosure

some one else can afford to sign such a contract. Parents of schoolboys 18 years of age or over could not afford to permit their sons to
enter unless they, the parents expected to support them until enlistment ceased.

Gen. Wood is right. Conscription universally is the ideal solution,
if it can be made a law. Falling in this, amend the Constitution, taking the National Guard over to exclusive Federal control. Pay the
guard. Not much, just enough to give a man at least what it costs
him now to belong, say, \$1 per week for privates, unless in the field,
then full Army pay, as they receive at present. Make enlistment contracts binding and enforce penalties for absences or other shortcomings.
This will change the guard from a "victous" organization to a real
force of soldiers.

The guard can be increased to any limit in numbers, will cost the
Government practically nothing except for equipment, will work no
hardship on any man drilling one or two nights per week; camp of instruction during summer for two weeks.

The reason the guard is weak and inefficient at present is due entirely to lack of hold on recruits after they enlist.

A man gets tired of coming to drill and quits. What can be done
to him? Nothing. Bind the men that enter and we will give you a
force worth while.

We of the guard don't care what you call us—guardsmen, reserves,
continentals, or whatnot. We are not serving through State patriotism but through national patriotism. We are not strike breakers or
any other kind of odious persons, as seems to be the general impression. We are in the guard because it is the only military organization
we can join and the same time live at home with our families.

Why abandon an organization that has since George Washington's
time served the best way they could under national handicaps? Suppiled the Army with most of its officers in past wars, been faithful
when called upon for duttes they have not voluntarily chosen. Studied,
spent of personal means, and given all asked—for what? Deriston.

If

Norman B. Comport, Captain First Infantry, National Guard of Missouri.

Good Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT L. HENRY. OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday. January 25, 1916.

Mr. HENRY. Mr. Speaker, this bill has my earnest support, and I shall cheerfully cast my vote to pass it. Several years ago it occurred to me that the subject of good roads was one of the very greatest importance and should be of paramount interest until action was taken by Congress looking in that di-rection for cooperating with the respective States in the con-struction of necessary highways for the benefit of the people carrying the burdens of taxation.

As chairman of the Committee on Rules, I had the honor of introducing and reporting the resolution establishing the great Committee on Roads, at whose head there now presides that distinguished and patriotic Representative from Missouri, the Hon. Dorsey W. Shackleford. The creation of this committee has paved the way for the passage of this good-roads bill.

It gives me pleasure to know that in an humble way I have contributed to the establishment of that committee and now may enjoy the privilege of voting to pass the admirable bill reported by them. Illustrating the importance of good roads, and connected intimately with the subject, allow me to set out some views recently promulgated in their report by F. C. Weinert and Peter Radford, warehouse commissioners for Texas. They clearly state the issue and show the transcendent importance of rural credits, cooperative marketing, warehouse facilities, and their relationship to good public highways, giving easy access to markets and the avenues of transportation.

Here they are:

NEW YEAR TOAST.

"Here's to the son of toll, who sacrifices his honest labor that an unappreciative world might exist; whose unselfish and hampered position in life is borne with fortitude which should bespeak for him benevolence rather than treachery in trading with

his fellow man; whose ideals are honesty and confidence and a fervent desire to provide the deserving comforts of life for those who are near and dear to him. To this unselfish soul we bow with esteem and drink to his health, happiness, and prosperity.
"Weinert and Radford."

THE ISSUE.

"An epoch in the history of agriculture was ushered in with the creation of this department. From that hour the future will date the mobilization of the producers to demand, to receive, and to enjoy what every human being everywhere is entitled toa square deal. Unnumbered cries from the millions who toil to produce have gone up through the centuries, and while one appeal was being born and another dying the world has worked on as heedless of the one as it has been careless of the other.

"As long as men only offered to compliment the farmer, as long as politicians only exchanged soft words for votes, and the custom continued of speaking kindly and doing nothing, the greased road to nowhere remained unobstructed and without opposition. But as those who profit by the injustice which has deprived the producers of their just reward find that in reality this department has been created to convert the past pretty phrases of politicians into real human deeds that shall bear real fruit that does not turn to ashes on the lips-it would only be the innocent and unsuspecting who would doubt that those who have manipulated the farmers' produce for private gain unjustly obtained would oppose and criticize and obstruct. Those who get easy money under long-established customs of injustice to the producer feel most keenly how sacred those customs are-to those profiting by them. And if there were no wailing and gnashing of teeth in the camps of the crooked and no crying and self-pity among those who have been innocently living off the wastes the producers have suffered, it would only prove that we have been mistaken in the belief that a real evil

"Therefore, if we approach the issue with calmness and clear vision we must first see in no sense of doubt, but with all certainty, that if already the producers are getting a square deal, and there are no customs or wastes that are depriving him of due reward for his labor, then this department has been created by mistake and should be abolished with utmost haste. But if an evil exists either in carelessness or crookedness, in waste or wrong, in ignorance or in thoughtlessness, and the remedies we are charged with carrying into effect will bring to the toilers who produce the reward justly theirs, no man should oppose this first act of the State to serve in a practical way those who make our prosperity and commerce possible.

Therefore let all those who claim the farmer deserves no better than he now has, and all those who claim that the tillers of the soil and the toilers who produce on the farm and orchard and ranch already receive their full share of the wealth they produce, line up and demand the repeal of this great marketing system committed to this department for development.

But if there be those who are unafraid to proclaim that the producer deserves a better reward at the hands of those who are fed and clothed by his labors, and if there be those who count the producers as the vast throng who steady and carry on their shoulders the destinies of our country, and are ready to cham-pion their rightful demands for a just share of the riches their labors produce, then let them line up on the other side and demand, so that their demands can not be denied, that at last justice shall be done by those who eat their bread by the sweat of their brows

Let there be no mistaking of our purpose. Let there be no errors as to the issues at stake. We do not disparage the magic of the world of commerce. But the products of the farm are part of that commerce—so great a part that without them there And cotton is part of that commerce, could be no commerce. and in our Southland cotton is a magic word. Its history one day will read like a romance of world forces, and in that history Texas will stand as the great champion that led the way to justice for the producers of cotton. But our question is greater than cotton, greater than commerce. It is greater than corn, the king of the world's crops. It is greater than wheat, the queen of grains. It is greater than the fleeces of the fields and flocks; it is greater than the foods of the grains and the ranches; it is greater than substances and things and dollars. It is as great as humanity is great, for the issue has come and come to stay in the question being anxiously asked from the backwoodsman's rude hut to the farm palace, and from the tenement den of want and filth to the castles of the captains of industry: 'Is the laborer worthy of his hire?

since first was heard the plea for justice to the producers, and yet that justice has not come. Many have grown desperate and cursed their fate, many have lost faith and quit, but once more we are reaching the high tide of hope. On every hand a feeling akin to pain in its clearness, a consciousness equal to certainty in its force, is telling all men everywhere that those who produce are not yet satisfied with their lot, and that the cry for relief must at last be answered-answered not in words and smiles, but with deeds and dollars.

"Platitudes have loaded literature and policy supplied politicians with the battle cry, 'Back to the land.' It is not only a battle cry, it is a song and text, a slogan and motto, a thesis and a certainty-yes; it is all of these, and more. We find in country places and hamlets, in towns and villages, in skyscrapers and dugouts, in factories and loafers' lodges, in churches and in jails, in the mountains and by the seaside, the

echo of the far refrain, 'Back to the land.'

"In the farmer's paper and in the city's yellow sheet, in the shoddy pamphlet and the glazed magazine, in the editor's sanctum and the teacher's schoolroom, in the lawyer's office and the commercial club, in the bankers' convention and the political powwow, in the poor laborer's scream for food and the rich man's search for variety in life, behind the plow and in the jitney bus, in the chophouse and in the cafe, with the pipe organ and the jew's-harp, from Sambo's banjo and the military band, out floats far and wide the grand old song, 'Back to the land.

"And the pencil pushers, the preachers, the doctors, the lawyers, the teachers, the brokers, the merchants, the bankers, the clerks, the shop girls, the toilers, the waiters, the stenographers, the editors, and all manner of beings who have forever turned their backs to the land, in season and out of season, Sundays and holidays and plain working-days, march out to the crowded city's edge by the roadside and sing 'Back to the land.'

"And the sons of toil come marching up from the farm to the city with a pace that is long and strong and a face that is set and grim, until some faint echo reaches him of the city dwellers singing 'Back to the land,' and the marchers from the farm to the city catch the tune but heed not the words, and the tune is lively and the grim face brightens, and the marchers quicken their pace with its gladness and glory while he flees from the farm to the city, and as each one borrows a pencil he joins inand the city dwellers and the country boys, flourishing their pencils and white hands, march into the crowded city as the sun goes down to the tune of the chorus, 'Back to the land.'

"All the land believes in the battle cry 'Back to the land." They are willing to teach it, to publish it, to preach it, to sing it, to proclaim it and shout it, and even to march by the tune of it, so the march does not in truth lead 'back to the land.' But it is not the words we utter but the deeds we do that make our lives. And it is not the advice we give nor the songs we sing but the deeds we do that lift the race to higher things; and so it is that to-day's chorus, 'Back to the land,' is music to charm the breasts of writers and politicians and editors and bankers and others who have forever turned their backs to the land; but the marching of the grim sons of toil from the farm to the city is the deed that we are doing, and that deed is a battle cry without words or music, which says: 'If you want the marchers to march back to the land, give the producers a square deal."

DOES THE PRODUCER GET A SQUARE DEAL?

"There are some people who are opposed to admitting that the motives of any of those who unjustly profit by the farmer's losses are by any possibility bad. But the motive is not important to the department. Whether the farmer's annual loss of 100,000 bales of cotton, in the form of a city crop pulled, picked, or stolen from the crop he raises, is due to human depravity or human ingenuity or to custom or accident, it costs the farmer the same number of dollars. Whether the market is manipulated to rob the farmer from the motives of greed and gain or as a pastime and vacation sport, it takes the same number of dollars from the farmer's pockets. Whether the large fortunes made at the producer's expense all over our country while the toilers remain poor are stolen, taken under ancient custom, or merely collected to keep the farmer from becoming rich and extravagant, does not change the fact that the farmer's pockets carry just so many dollars less money. If we can get for the producer the dollars his labors entitle him to, the motives we have to combat or overcome will take care of themselves; and, in discussing whether the farmer gets a square deal or a crooked deal or merely a misdeal, we desire to be always understood that we are dealing with facts, not motives; with conditions, not theories; and seek results, not argument.

"Centuries have come and gone, generations have been born and passed away, and nations have risen, flourished, and died shall know them,' and by this test we propose to submit to your

consideration the vital question whether the producers of to-

day and of the past have gotten a square deal.

There are some people who now and then ask why there should be such widespread agitation for better treatment of agri-One who has studied three tendencies in our country's history which affect not only the farmer, but our whole society, will cease to wonder that thoughtful people are turning more and more to answer the farmer's needs. Let us consider them in their order:

"First. The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few

Second. The drift of the people from the farms to the

"Third. The increase of the tenant class and homes under

liens and the lessening of the number of home owners.

"There is no informed man who will deny that these are the tendencies in America. And yet we stand ready to say that unless we can find a way to prevent centralizing our government at the expense of the people's power, secure a fairer distribution of wealth, and juster rewards for the toilers of our land, turn back the onward tide of population from the farm to the city, and make our people home owners instead of tenants and mortgagors of homes, the great experiment in free government in America will fail because we fall into the same errors that have destroyed free government wherever it has Before we go more particularly into these facts let us say that we have no fears of the final outcome. The very last hope of free government in the world depends on America, and our faith that the end will prove the wisdom of the fathers is unshaken.

"But let us turn to the facts as they are.

THE CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH.

"That there is an increasing number of poor and destitute people, and that private fortunes on the other extreme are growing larger and larger, are facts of universal observation. But there is an idea very broadly believed to the effect that.in older countries the concentration of wealth is greater than in America. We find on investigation, however, that over 30 years ago we had already outstripped every country in the world in the number and size of gigantic private fortunes. As early as 1800 it was estimated by reliable authorities that 1 per cent of the people owned over half of all the Nation's wealth, and that one-eighth of the people owned seven-eighths of the wealth of the country. In 1900 it was estimated that only 440 industrial, franchise, and miscellaneous trust combinations owned \$20,000,000,000 of the Nation's \$90,000,000,000 of wealth, or two-With the immense profit of recent years added, this total now would reach one-fourth of the Nation's wealth. In the early days of the Steel Trust it was estimated that the 24 men composing its board of directors directly or indirectly controlled one-twelfth of the total wealth of the country.

"In 1889 Thomas G. Shearmon, a brilliant corporation lawyer and political economist, declared that 'the United States of America is practically owned by less than 250,000 persons.' dicted that if the tendency of that day continued 'within 30 years the United States of America will be substantially owned by less than 50,000 persons.' Twenty-six of those years have passed, and the other day a Federal investigation in New York City brought out the fact that in the employment of labor in the United States that part of New York City on Manhattan Island, which includes Wall Street and the main business section, controlled half the employing power of the Nation. In other words, that persons on Manhattan Island had the power to hire or discharge one-half the laboring population of our country. If 30 years ago one-half of the people owned seven-eighths of the wealth, and to-day Manhattan Island controls one-half of the employing power of the Nation, who knows just how few people do own the country to-day? And if the board of directors of the Steel Trust in its early days controlled one-twelfth of the Nation's wealth, in these days, when it waxes fatter and fatter on the profits of supplying war materials, who can estimate their power? And yet there are people who would ask if we need turn our attention to making better the lot of those who till the soil of our land. Remarkable as it may seem, it has been but a dozen years since the star orators of the Republican Party openly boasted that their policies were to be credited with this the most gigantic crime of the ages. Chauncey Mitchell Depew, the favorite after-dinner advocate of the McKinley and Roosevelt régimes, in a biographical sketch of William McKinley, after his death, used these remarkable words:

"'He made possible the gigantic fortunes which have been amassed by master minds in the control, use, and distribution of iron, coal, oil, cotton, and wool, and their products. Though | What say you of this? But some say this does not affect never an organizer or beneficiary of combinations or trusts, yet | Texas. Let us see about Texas. In 1890 the city population

the constant aggregation of most industries in vast corporations of fabulous capital, while due to tendencies of the age and common to all countries, received tremendous acceleration from his

"Mark that wonderful utterance. In all literature there is not a truer or more fatal description of the facts. your memory the fact that cotton and wool have been the means of amassing gigantic fortunes in America. But cut deeper into your hearts the fact that no great fortunes have been amassed in the production of cotton or wool. No; they have been amassed, just as Chauncey Depew says, 'in the control, use, and distribution ' of the products of your hands and fields.

Yet when a courageous public man says that trusts manipulate for criminal gain the industry, the labor, and the produce of the people by bringing to bear the great power of their wealth, that man is denounced as an agitator and sometimes a socialist and often as an anarchist. But the wonderment of all is that in the face of this simple statement of truth anyone should ever ask why the people drift from the ranch and the farm, where the Nation's wealth is produced, to the cities, where gigantic fortunes are amassed in the 'control, use, and distribution' of the products of their toil. And we need look for no checking of the drift to the cities while the producers toll and remain poor and the trusts in the cities manipulate and grow richer and richer. Nature's laws did not decree that those who produce should do so in poverty and those who manipulate their products should amass gigantic fortunes. It is not nature's laws but man's greed that has decreed that the reward of toll is more work while remaining poor, and that the reward of controlling, using, and distributing is the amassing of gigantic fortunes. nature had so decreed there would be no remedy, but as man has made these conditions, it is the duty of the Government to find a way to get for the producer a reasonable compensation for his service to mankind.

CONCENTRATION OF PEOPLE IN CITIES.

"Farming is primarily the science of making both ends meet and having something over, and the something over determines

whether the man will stay on the farm.

"This brings us to the most remarkable proof of the injustice of the toiler's lot that can be found in any age, for our census enables us to put our finger on the fact, while in other times the world suffered without knowing just how or why. It is this drift from the ranch and farm to the cities. More than this drift from the ranch and farm to the cities. half a century ago warnings were uttered against this tendency. Daniel Webster said: 'When tillage begins, other arts follow The farmers, therefore, are the founders of human civilization. Therefore in a free government we should look for the en-couragement of agriculture, and if we do not find it, the handwriting is on the wall that freedom will depart from the land. It has been said that water flows downhill, but if you pump hard enough you can make it flow uphill. There has been a great deal of pumping in this country, but when water is free to flow where it will it flows downhill. And we are discussing this drift of the people to the cities, where all the people are free to go and come. If the ranch and farm had the conveniences, the attractions, and the pleasures the city affords, with equality of wealth and social enjoyment, this drift would cease overnight. And there is no remedy in any theory or any platitudes of political platforms. Nothing but the restoration of equal opportunity and equal rewards for the producer of wealth, along with those of the manipulator of those products, will ever have even a tendency to overcome the evil.

"In a great speech delivered by Henry Grady, perhaps the greatest winner of the hearts of men that the South has ever produced, away back in 1889, he reviewed these conditions and proclaimed his belief that unless this tendency were overcome it meant disaster for the Republic. Many times have we been warned since then, and at last we are waking up. But let us remind you that when Henry Grady delivered that speech only 30 people in a hundred lived in the cities, while to-day 50 out of every hundred live in the cities. He was alarmed then; we should be panic-stricken now. Listen to the figures: Grady's speech was based on the 1880 census, showing 29½ per cent of our people in the cities of over 2,500 population. In 1890 it rose to 36 per cent, in 1900 to 404 per cent, in 1910 to 464 per cent. So in three decades the drift is 16 people out of every hundred, and all this since the census figures Grady used. It averages over 5 per cent, or 1 person in every 20, leaving the farm for the city in every decade. Based on that rate of drift, we have already reached the point where the producers are only half the people and the city population the other half, when 40 years ago the producers outnumbered all others by 3 to 1.

was 15½ per cent, in 1900, 17 per cent, and in 1910 over 25 per cent; and if the ratio of the last decade has continued to now nearly 30 per cent of our people live in cities. In the United States the last decade showed the cities gained 70 per cent and the country 30 per cent, but in Texas the cities gained 80 per cent, while the country only gained 17 per cent. So we find that Texas, the great cotton State, is rushing headlong to the cities.

CONCENTRATION OF LAND OWNERSHIP.

"But what is to us a more distressing evidence of this inequality of reward is shown in the ownership of homes. In 1890 our farms were under liens for six and a half million dollars, but in 1910 they were under liens of over \$76,000,000. The numbut in 1910 they were under liens of over \$70,000,000. The number of farms under liens had been multiplied by 6 and the amount by 12, showing that the liens not only multiply in numbers but also in amount. The tenants in 1880 were 37 per cent of our farmers; in 1890, 42 per cent; in 1900, 49 per cent; and in 1910, 52½ per cent; and to-day, if the rate of increase has continued, 55 out of every 100 of our farmers are tenant formers. But these facts only 100 of our farmers are tenant. farmers. But these facts only partially disclose the real conditions, for a large number of those listed as owners of homes

owed on them.

"In 1890 only 5 per cent were under lien, but in 1900, 23 per cent had come under liens, and in 1910 one-third of supposed home owners had their homes under liens of some kind, and if the rate of increase has continued to-day the homes under liens will reach 40 per cent of all homes in Texas. But in the true light we find that those tilling the soil or occupying homes in our State, and either paying rent or interest on them, in 1890 were 41 per cent of the whole number, in 1900, 61½ per cent, and in 1910 nearly 69 per cent, and if the rate of increase has continued, to-day three-fourths of our people either pay rent for their homes or interest on them. And when we turn to the tax rolls of our State to find where Texas is helping the farm owner and the home owner, what do we find? In the seven years from 1907 to 1914 personal-property taxes have increased only 40 per cent, while land taxes have practically been doubled. But in another way, in 1907 real estate consisted of a little over one-half of our taxed values and in 1914 almost two-thirds of our taxed property. So we find the burden of the land by way of taxes in the greatest agricultural State in the world keeps pace with the other inequalities, driving wealth into the hands of the few, the people into the cities, and the homes under liens.

SOME ILLUSTRATIONS OF EFFECTS.

"At a recent national convention of labor unions held in California and presided over by President Gompers it was disclosed that the annual production of farm, orchard, and ranch products amounted to \$13,000,000,000, the producers receiving \$6,000,000,000 as their portion and the middlemen reaping \$7,000,000,000 for their undeserved share. Realizing that the membership of labor unions constitute the majority of consumers, a resolution was offered and passed that the union join hands with the producers to the end that some relief might be obtained that would forever relieve them of the parasite who grows rich upon the difference paid by the consumer and the price the producer receives.

'If we study these tendencies we need no concrete facts to tell

us the producers do not get a square deal.

Farmers would not rush to the cities if they were getting a square deal. Great fortunes would not be amassed in manipulating the soil's produce, while the producers remain poor, if the farmer were getting a square deal.

Liens on homes would not be piling up if the farmer were

getting a square deal.

'The producers would get more than \$6,000,000,000 out of a total annual production of \$13,000,000,000 if the farmer were

"To those who think, these facts are not speculative or doubtful. They are certainly beyond all dispute or question. We have given the facts in calmness and no conclusion can be reached by any fair mind except that the farmer is not getting a square deal.

SHALL WE DO NOTHING OR PEEK A REMEDY?

"Lord Macaulay once said that when a remedy fo an admitted evil was offered, and it was defeated by those who professed regret for the evil, but objected to the method of cure without offering a better remedy, it was safe to say that there was no real desire for any remedy at all.

'Since we face conditions as to which there is no dispute, since we know that the producers are suffering from age-old injustice in many forms, since we know he is getting nothing near his fair portion of the wealth he produces, we ask the producers of our State to scan carefully the objectors who object and object and object, but offer no remedy to allay the evils no

"What say you toilers who produce to those who would tell you that your lot is already as good as your desire?

When politicians come to you on a plea that the great marketing system we are working to complete is the wrong way to get justice for you, ask him if he has a better way. Ask him if he wants you to repeal the only remedy ever offered for the evils you suffer before he offers one to take its place.

PURPOSE AND BENEFITS OF WAREHOUSE AND MARKETING LAW

"The vast benefits which finally will result from the warehouse and marketing law are but dimly realized. We quote below the opinion of the Court of Criminal Appeals in the Dabney White case, an able statement of several features, and showing among other things that the law will save for the farmer at least \$5 on every bale of cotton. If it were admitted that this is all the possible saving, that alone would prove this law the greatest benefit to the farmers of Texas ever enacted by our legislators, for this saving of only \$5 per bale is \$20,000,000 annually to the people of Texas. But this saving is only the beginning and only scratches the surface of the real benefits to result. But let

the opinion of the court speak for itself:

"' Has experience demonstrated that there are evils connected with the preparation of cotton for market and the marketing of same which affect the State as a whole-the general public welfare? If so, then under the authorities quoted by relator, the State, in seeking under the police power to correct and remedy those evils, would not and can not be held to violate any provision of the Federal Constitution. Cotton is not only the chief product of this State but of the entire South, and not only "within the memory of man" but at the very time of the enactment of this law all the industries of this State and of the South were paralyzed by conditions affecting the cotton crop. The farmer, the merchant, the bank, the lawyer, the doctorin fact, the entire citizenship of this State-was brought almost to the door of the bankrupt court by conditions affecting the marketing of cotton, and the conditions were such they not only authorized but imperatively demanded that the legislature enact laws remedying or tending to remedy these conditions if within the power of legislation to do so. No one can gainsay that a condition existed in which the public welfare was vitally interested and the whole public affected, and relief from such conditions provided, if it was possible to do so. And the instance of the conditions of the year 1914, while impressing the necessity for legislation to avoid and prevent such conditions from again arising, is not the only instance in which the conditions affecting the cotton crop have about paralyzed the entire industries of the State and South. All of us can remember that but a few years ago cotton was selling at from 4 to 6 cents per pound (much less than the cost of production), and that many failures in business were occasioned thereby, and almost starvation brought to the doors of many. In fact every legitimate interest and business in our State was affected thereby. It has been demonstrated, and we think fully shown by the evidence in this case, that such conditions were not the result of the law of supply and demand, but were brought about by conditions which can, in a measure at least, be remedied by suitable legislation, and this is the object and purpose of the legislation involved in this case. But it may be contended that these conditions were conditions in no way brought about or contributed to by the ginners in ginning the cotton, yet, even if that were true, if it became imperatively necessary to regulate the ginning of the cotton, by suitable legislation, to remedy the evils which had brought about such conditions, this would authorize the legislature to regulate the ginning to accomplish the purpose sought, if it was necessary to do so.

The evidence adduced on this trial, we think, demonstrates there are evils connected with the ginning of cotton that im-peratively demanded regulation, else no legislation could be adopted which would enable the legislature to adopt a system which would relieve or tend to relieve those oft-recurring periods in which the welfare of the entire citizenship is seriously affected. It was shown by the evidence that it has grown to be the custom with virtually all ginners to "plate" each bale of cotton ginned with a portion of the cotton of the previous bale ginned. Col. Sheb Williams, in his testimony, aptly illustrates how this is done by the ginners in order that they may gin more cotton each day. There is what is termed a "roll" that must be filled before the gin can be run at its regular speed. He testified: "You must first fill your roll before you can properly gin cotton. If I should bring a bale of cotton to the gin and the roll was filled from that bale, a good bale, just when the box and feeders were clear, this would be shut off, and in order to keep the roll tight with the lint that may be taken from the seed, now the bale of cotton succeeding me of necessity would get the lint from the seed that this roll ginned,

and that would go into the succeeding bale. If the succeeding bale were a better one than this roll, that side of the cotton would, of course, be worse than the sample and better than the cotton actually was. In other words, it would be plated. is shown to be the general custom of the ginners of this State; and then by the testimony of D. C. Reed, a cotton buyer, called as a witness by relator, it is shown that the buyers, under conditions heretofore existing, took a sample from each side of the bale of cotton, and bought by the sample that graded the lowest. This is but human, and we censure no one for doing so. So, if the plate was of a superior grade, the farmer would not get the benefit by reason thereof, but if the plate was of an inferior grade, then the farmer sold his cotton by the inferior grade and consequently lost thereby. So it may be said, through no fault of the raiser of the produce, he sells at least a portion of his crop by the inferior sample, occasioned by the fact that the ginner does not clean his roll and put all of a man's own cotton in his bale-in lieu thereof placing a portion of the preceding man's cotton in each bale, and at the place where the sample is taken from the bale under former conditions. This should be remedied, and this the law seeks to do by prohibiting the "plating" of cotton and providing for the taking of samples as the bale is ginned.

"'Again, the evidence before us shows that there are at least a few ginners—they being the exception and not the rule, we will say in justice to the ginners—while ginning cotton to so arrange a steam cock or valve that steam would escape and spray the cotton while being ginned, thus adding to the weight. This was done to bring customers to their gin—giving an extra large "turnout." This was an evil that needed correcting, and this the law attempts to remedy. This and other matters incident to the way the cotton was ginned and baled had caused what is termed "overhead charge" to be made by the spinners against each bale of cotton, amounting to 30 pounds on each bale of cotton of 500 pounds. It is known, and the evidence before us shows, that the bagging and ties on each bale of cotton weigh from 12 to 22 pounds; that the average weight of bagging and ties would probably be from 18 to 20 pounds per bale, and yet the "tare" or "overhead charge" has been fixed at 30 pounds, thus penalizing every bale of cotton from 10 to 12 pounds, amounting, at the present price of cotton, at from \$1.10 to \$1.30 per bale, which the producer loses by reason of this "overhead" or "tare" charge. This was occasioned, in the main, by reason of loss from spraying the cotton, mixed-packed, sand-packed, and waterpacked cotton, all of which can, and, under the law, should be, and if properly enforced will be, prevented by the ginner in ginning the cotton. Under the system heretofore existing, as shown by the testimony of Mr. Reed, the buyers who ship the cotton to the spinners know there is an overcharge on every properly ginned bale of cotton of at least 10 to 12 pounds that should not be made, consequently when the buyer is having the cotton compressed for shipment he has what is termed "patches" put on the cotton, additional bagging, old sacks, or something of similar character, to the extent of 10 or 12 pounds, and then bills his cotton out as weighing this much in addition to the weight on which he purchased it. If he purchased a bale, by weight of 500 pounds, when he ships and the "patches" have been put on he bills it as weighing 510 or 512 pounds, and for this reason the "tare" or "overhead charge" will not be reduced by the spinners under former conditions. Mr. Reed frankly testified that he could buy cotton at 11 cents a pound and sell it to the spinner at the same price-11 cents a pound-and make from a dollar to a dollar and a quarter a bale, by reason of these "patches" being placed thereon, and by reason of the further fact that if the cotton as billed to the spinners comes to within 1 per cent of the billing, there is no reduction, thus giving another margin of 5 pounds that can be added to the weight in shipping over and above the weight as purchased. This makes it apparent that while a bale of cotton weighing 500 pounds is sold on the market here as weighing only 470 pounds; that is, the price is fixed so that is the number of pounds paid for, yet in selling the cotton to the spinner it is sold as weighing 485 pounds—half the tare, or 15 pounds, being taken advantage of by the purchaser who sells to the spinner.

"'We are censuring no one, but this evidences a condition that needs remedying, and this the legislature has sought to remedy by this bill. In addition to this, the evidence before us shows that by cutting the bales and taking out samples, by what is termed "picking the cotton" at the cotton yards and compresses, there is annually what is termed a "town or city crop" of 100,000 bales. And this is marketed and sold by men who did not raise a pound nor even a single lock of cotton. All this is taken into consideration in fixing the "tare" or "overhead" charge as against each bale of cotton. If a bale is completely covered by the bagging or wrapping placed on cotton and it is

not necessary to cut the bagging to obtain a sample, all this 100,000-bale town or city crop will disappear and the head " charge or " tare " can be reduced proportionately. one of the reasons shown why the "sample' " should be taken while the cotton is being ginned, instead of the bagging being cut on each side and samples taken after being baled. Again, it is shown by the evidence before us that the place where the bagging is cut and samples pulled out of each side will form a cup. so when it rains these cups will fill with water and form what is called by cotton men "a cancer," which continually eats its way into and in some instances entirely through the cotton, rendering a number of pounds of cotton valueless; and this is taken into consideration in fixing the "overhead charge"—all of which is a loss to the producer, for it is taken into consideration in

fixing the price.

"'But it was insisted on behalf of the relator that cotton, after being pressed, gives a better "sample" than when taken as the There is but one instance in the evidence becotton is ginned. fore us, and that shows the samples when taken as being ginned and one taken out of the same bale after being baled were exactly the same, there being no difference. But by some of the testimony it was shown that cotton after being baled took on what was termed a "bloom" that it did not have while being ginned. This adds nothing to the length or strength of the fiber nor to the cotton in any way, according to the testimony; but if it did cause the cotton sample to grade better, the testimony before us would show that when the sample is taken as ginned and placed in a sealed receptacle the same "bloom" comes upon the sample, and if it added anything to the grade of the cotton it would be upon both samples, when taken when being ginned or when taken after being baled. There was testimony that the buyer could not rely upon the sample taken as ginned and placed in a scaled receptacle, for it was said the first purchaser who bid on it when it was opened might get a correct view of the sample, yet in carrying it to different cotton buyers, and handled by them, the dirt and trash might be shaken out If so, the buyer would be at no greater disadvantage than formerly, for if the bagging were cut and a sample taken from the side, the first buyer who bid on it would see the sample just as taken from the bale; but when the producer carried the sample thus taken to the different buyers the dirt and trash would be shaken out in the one instance as well as in the other, and we all know it is not customary for each buyer who bids on cotton to take a sample out of the bale, for if they did the bale would soon become almost all "samples."

"'We have mentioned these matters to show why we think the evidence in this case demonstrates that the general public in this State is so affected by the heretofore existing system of the preparation of cotton for the market and the system of marketing the same as to authorize legislation under the police power of the State to correct the evils and to show that there were evils connected with the ginning of cotton which, under this power and authority, to authorize the legislature to enact a law to remedy the evils that have grown up and become a part of the system of ginning cotton heretofore carried on in this State. To our mind there is and can be no question that the public weifare demands the eradication of these evils, that legal fraud may be prevented, that unnecessary overhead charges may be eliminated. and the staple crop of the State, upon which the prosperity of each and every citizen of the State, in a measure, more or less

depends, may not be thus penalized and sacrificed by being forced on the market in a few months' time.

"'The expense necessary and incident to the ginner complying with this law was variously estimated by the witnesses at from 3 cents per bale to 25 cents per bale. It was shown of some 700 gins inspected by the inspectors provided for by the law, only about one-fourth of that number were making any extra charge in ginning cotton, and the one-fourth who did make an extra charge charged on an average about 25 cents per bale. The expense testified to by Mr. White was that in a gin ginning 30 or more bales of cotton per day the services of an additional man would be required. That three wrappers cost from one-half to 1 cent each and from 12 to 3 cents per bale. scales to weigh the samples would necessarily be required to be purchased, and the scales would cost about \$12. That scales weigh the cotton after it was baled would cost about \$40. This is all the additional expense testified to by any witness, and relator contends that this is a taking of his property without due process of law. If the evils growing out of and connected with ginning cotton have rendered it necessary to regulate the business, to eliminate the plating of cotton, to prevent the spraying of cotton, to prevent the sand packing of cotton, and the other evils testified to by witnesses, that the law necessarily fastens this extra charge on the business of ginning cotton, would not render the law obnoxious to the Federal or State Constitution. There is many a charge or license fixed that must be paid or endured necessarily for the public welfare under the laws of this State and of every State in this Union. But is such a charge necessarily fixed on the ginner? The testimony shows that many ginners do, and all could, make a charge to cover this extra expense. So the ginner is not necessarily deprived of any property by the law. If he does not gin for the public, and that is not his business, he has no such expense; however, we have no such gins in this State. If he does follow the business or occupation of ginning for others and suffers any loss, he voluntarily does so, for the law forces no expense without allowing him compensation, if he sees proper to charge it, for performing the duties required by the law. But take Mr. White's estimate of the expense, what does it amount to per bale?

"If one gins as much as 30 bales per day, he must employ an extra man at a cost of \$70 per month. Thirty bales per day. 26 working days aggregate 780 bales per month, or about 9 cents per bale; the best wrappers, the testimony shows, cost 11 cents per bale, and, adding both together, 101 cents per bale. All gins already had scales for weighing the bales after being ginned. and the scales for weighing the samples would last for years, and the cost per bale incident to the purchase of such scales would be infinitesimal, but say one-half cent per bale, and the cost, under the testimony, where the extra man is employed, would not exceed 11 cents per bale, and under all the testimony, both for the State and relator, it is shown that if the provisions of the law are complied with the price received for the bale of cotton would be enhanced not less than \$5 per bale, and the man who had the cotton ginned could well afford to pay the Il cents per bale out of the \$5 additional received-if the ginner saw proper to make the additional charge.

We doubt very seriously whether or not a ginner is in position to raise the question that the law would be invalid for the reason that it takes the property of the farmer, for if it did do so it would not be the taking of any property of the ginner. But we will not rest our decision upon that ground, and will consider it on the theory that the producer must bear or can be made to bear, under the law, the 11 cents per bale expense additional to the ginners by the provisions of the law, if it shall be so much, or whatever it may be, and in addition thereto he will be deprived of 5% ounces of his cotton, required by the law to be deposited with the ginner. At present prices this would figure about 4 cents, or a total of 15 cents per bale—that the producer under the provisions of the law would be finally deprived of by the act; yet under all the festimony, if the law is complied with and the system is carried out, he will receive in addition to the amount heretofore received \$5 per bale. There are but few, if any, men who would object to the regulation of the preparation of his product for the market, at so small an expense, if the price he received would be enhanced in so much greater sum that taken-he would deem it adequate compensation for the property taken."

HOW SHALL THE FARMER GET RESULTS?

"There yet remains the vital principle of our whole work—cooperation. If every farmer will learn that lesson, the road to prosperity is wide open to every deserving farmer. By it the evils of to-day's systems, both of commerce and law, can be overcome. If we were asked to state the truth most important to our farmers it would be this:

"Until the farmers of America learn to stand together and cooperate like all other callings they are doomed to hew the wood and carry the water and do the drudgery of the world in poverty for all time.

"This truth must first be brought home to the larger farmers, Those who feel their own independence and freedom from want and necessity must open the way or it will never be opened.

"Let those who are the stronger of our farmers study this law of nature: In all (times the burdens of the poor and weak must be carried by somebody, and as only the strong can carry the burden, that is where it always has fallen and always will fall. A thousand small farmers who are poor may produce no more cotton than a hundred larger and better fixed farmers, but when the poor farmer is forced to dump his cotton on the market he breaks the price, and the larger farmer has to suffer the loss in the price of his cotton along with this poor neighbor. The poorer farmers can not hold their cotton off the market unless the larger farmers help, and neither the larger farmer nor the smaller one will ever get a fair price until they stand together.

"In marketing cotton gradually the cost of holding must be reduced to a minimum. There are three elements of cost that must be dealt with:

"1. The cost of warehousing.

"2. The cost of insurance.

"3. The cost of interest.

"To reduce these expenses to the lowest possible point there must finally be a standard marketing system and practically the whole crop handled under one system. The present system of 'every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost' results in untold waste.

THE COST OF WAREHOUSING.

"When a small town has one or two open cotton yards, two or three parties engaged in handling cotton to and from yards. a warehouse only half patronized and a half dozen buyers, scattering cotton about town, it is needless to say they are wasting money. It is also needless to say the farmer is losing this waste. Warehousing will cost a very insignificant amount when the big farmer and the little farmer and all the farmers patronize the warehouse and save all these wastes. Only by acting together can such inexcusable wastes of money be prevented. All the cotton of a community can be warehoused and cared for at an expense very little more than the warehousing of onethird of it. So, if the other two-thirds came into the system, the cost per bale would be ultimately very much less than at present. The great waste now is in the scattered handling of cotton without system or method, and these expenses can be cut in half when once the farmers learn to act all together.

"Build a warehouse and then everybody patronize it so as to keep it up and reduce expenses should be the motto of every community.

THE COST OF INSURANCE.

"Already this department has secured a reduction of insurance on over 50 warehouses, and the total saving in insurance alone will amount to more than the expense of operating this entire department, yet only a beginning has been made. In South Carolina, under State supervision, a rural rate of \$1.58 per hundred is enjoyed, while in Texas the rural warehouses are being charged a rate of \$3 to \$3.50 per hundred in many cases.

"Yet we must fully realize that a radical change must come in the matters of cotton insurance. The present rates can not be permanently endured. The present practice of charging exorbitant rates in the rural communities and granting lower rates in the centers must be overcome.

".It would be well for insurance companies to consider the possibility of a mutual insurance of cotton in warehouses under State supervision.

"The guaranty of deposits under the bank guaranty fund system of this State furnishes a tempting model and proves the practicability of a mutual system of insuring the farmer's cotton at cost. Unless the insurance companies cooperate with the warehouses to reduce insurance costs the demand for such a system will make its adoption inevitable.

"It is well known that over 40 per cent of all insurance premiums is absorbed in agents' commissions and operating ex-These heavy commissions were established under the old system of the competitive selling of insurance demanding great activity of agents. To-day, under the bonded-warehouse system, the law of the State sells the insurance for the companies by compelling the warehousemen to take out insurance to cover the products stored with them. Insurance companies must reduce these overhead charges or a mutual system will be the only possible escape from conditions no free people should Since the State demands by law that cotton and other products stored shall be insured under the permanent warehouse system, that demand places the duty on the State to see that insurance is furnished at a reasonable rate, or to provide a mutual system which shall protect the farmers from charges established under the old system and which are unreasonable and exorbitant under the present system. Insurance companies in the past have justified these extremely high rates by explaining that cotton was insured in bulk, and that whenever it burned they were required to pay for the better grades of cotton. We can see that if a dishonest man had cotton insured in bulk he might be willing for it to be burned so that he could collect for better grades of cotton and make a profit, and we can also see that to some extent this condition in the past justified the rates then established. But under the system of sampling at the gin and the issuance of a negotiable receipt from the warehouse, showing weights and grades, the value at the time of the loss is established, rendering this kind of fraud impossible. We are assured by the highest insurance authorities that this system of gin sampling and warehousing justifies a material reduction in the rates of insurance, as it largely eliminates the moral risk. This feature alone more than justifies the taking of the sample at the gin, as no other system will accomplish such a saving.

THE COST OF INTEREST.

"Mr. Sol Wexler, president of the Whitney Central Bank, of New Orleans, delivered a very able address and discussed the financial phase of warehousing and warehouse receipts. He created much enthusiasm and declared that the high quality of such security is comparable with Government bonds, which secured a rate of interest from the bankers of approximately 3 per cent; that the bankers should consider making the lowest rate of interest possible to temperature of enable the producer to market slowly and gradually rather than to force him to sell on a congested market, and that establishing such a low rate of interest on such a high class of collateral would not in any way affect the interest of other loans, as the receipts issued by a bonded warehouse, properly safeguarded, is the last word in the highest form of banking security, and same is given preference by the Federal Reserve Board and reserve agents.

'We believe the bankers made a mistake against their own interests when they failed to utilize the funds provided by the Government through the national reserve banks and offered to the member bankers at a 3 per cent rate on condition it be loaned to farmers for not more than 6 per cent upon warehouse receipts as collateral. Many bankers who declined to avail themselves of this money borrowed money at 4 per cent and more so as to be free to charge such rate as their customers could be made to pay. We believe it would have been a wise policy to have shown a willingness to aid the farmer. The idea among bankers that loaning the farmers money at a low rate on such collateral as warehouse receipts for cotton would set a precedent to embarrass them in other loans is a mistake. The 6 per cent rate on those loans is asked on account of the fact that the security is of a character to justify the rate, and the money will be used generally at times when bankers have surplus funds.

"We are confident that the opening of another season will find the Federal reserve bank, the bankers of Texas, and the farmers of the State working in harmony to this common

purpose.

"Lending money to the producers at a favorable and low rate is the vital principle of the rural credit system, and the rural credit system is based on the true theory that helping the farmer helps the world.

CONCLUSION.

"No man need believe Texas will take a backward step in the work now begun. It takes no long argument to convince all people of all classes that the time has come when justice must be accorded the producers.

"Everyone can see that the continuance of the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few people, and the drifting of the population to the cities, and the increasing of the tenant class, accompanied by the diminishing numbers of home owners, must

in the end dethrone free government.

"The warehouse and marketing law is already accomplishing larger results than many of its friends predicted. We have saved enough money in the reduction of insurance rates that if this were the only result that saving would pay the expense of operating this entire department. The court of criminal appeals has reviewed the evidence in the Dabney White case and announced the conclusion that the undisputed evidence shows that the regulation of cotton ginning and the preparation of cotton for the market, unaccompanied by any other feature of the law, will result in a saving of \$5 on every bale of cotton for the farmers of this State. It is easy to calculate that this will average more than \$20,000,000 annually, which is a greater benefit to the people of Texas than any other piece of legislation ever passed for the benefit of the producer.

"Yet the greatest feature of the law is the marketing system, and when once in operation it is conservatively estimated that the savings to the producers of this State will be many times

greater than all other features of the law combined.

"In the provisions of this law there is the germ of the rural credit system. We wish to call the attention of all warehouses and of the people generally to the fact that the charter of every permanent warehouse makes of it not only a warehouse but also a cooperative marketing system and a rural credit association. Every such warehouse has full power to conduct a cooperative selling agency in marketing any and all products. It also has power, if its members so desire, to extend credit to the producers on such terms as it finds practicable. The charter provisions of every such warehouse are broad enough that, with an adequate capital, each warehouse company can operate its own selling agency and can finance all produce stored with it and make loans to its customers. And under the same charter developed in its broader usefulness each warehouse company may, and when provided with sufficient capital probably will eventually be, the connecting link between the farmer and the Federal reserve banks in financing the cotton crops. With experience the useful-

ness of the warehouse companies, not only for warehousing but also as marketing agencies and as genuine and practicable credit associations for aiding the producers, will be constantly widening. We do not yet realize the scope, the usefulness, and great-

ness of the warehouse and marketing law.

"The farmer asks nothing but a square deal, and he is willing to deal fairly with others, and the world is getting to understand that he is determined to offer only a standard product. To this end, and at his demand, we have already provided for an honest bale of cotton, which shall be what it appears to be and what the market takes it to be. From this will grow year by year through warehousing, marketing, and cooperative efforts, an ever-widening field of usefulness.

"F. C. WEINERT.

Mr. Speaker, these remarks would not be complete if I did not here reproduce a remarkable and wonderful pamphlet prepar d by Messrs. Peter Radford and W. D. Lewis, Loth of whom have been president of the Farmers' Urion of Texas, and Mr. Peter Radford serving as lecturer of the National Farmers' Union. It is convincing and thrilling and points to the necessity and way for bringing the tenants and homeless and landless to the proud proprietorship of the soil, and thus placing within their reach the more than 100,000,000 acres of tillable land in Texas, as yet untouched by the plow and the patriotic hand of the husbandman. The document ranks as a classic. Hear the plea:

" HOME SWEET HOME "-A PLEA FOR THE TENANT FARMERS OF TEXAS.

"The most important problem that confronts the Texas Legislature in its thirty-fourth session is relief for the tenant farmer. It was the paramount issue of the campaign and the platform demand of the Democratic Party. The Farmers' Union stands on its platform of principles adopted at the State convention of January 14-15, 1914, which, in discussing the tenant question, said in part: 'Our homes are the corner stone of government and legislation that contains building material should be provided for the tenant farmer.' We have nothing to deduct from that resolution. We believe that the final solution of the tenant problem is to make the tenant farmers home owners in fact as well as in name, and we feel the landowner will be more than willing to cooperate with the tenant farmer and the Government in bringing about this very desirable result.

"To deal intelligently with the subject a few fundamental

"To deal intelligently with the subject a few fundamental facts are essential. We have in this State, according to Federal Government reports, 219,575 tenant farmers who operate 12,756,000 acres of improved land and 198,195 home owners who operate 14,604,000 acres of improved land. During the past 10 years the land farmed by tenants increased 4,620,000 acres, and the land farmed by home owners increased 3,180,000 acres. The tenant farmer, however, operates over 25,000,000 acres of land, including the unimproved area; the acreage first shown is the area under cultivation. In Texas 53 per cent of the farms are operated by tenants and in the United States 37 per cent. The

tenant population in Texas is 1,500,000 people.

"The subject is a monumental one, for it involves an area equal in size to Pennsylvania, Indiana, or Maine, and a population equal to the total inhabitants of Arkansas, Louisiana, or Oklahoma.

SOUND LEGISLATION DEMANDED.

"There are certain inalienable conditions to agriculture. We have had landless men from the beginning of time, and we will have them to the end of eternity. So long as nature endows men with different degrees of intelligence we will have different classes and stations in life. It is said on divine authority that the poor we will have with us always; but considering all elements that enter into our civilization and comparing our people and our land with other States and countries, one can not escape the conclusion that farm tenancy in Texas is abnormal and should receive the attention of State government.

"We do not believe ability can be legislated into human minds or that the incompetent can be made capable by law, but opportunity for owning a home can be brought within the reach of the industrious and deserving tenant farmer through a system of rural credits adapted to Texas conditions, and we favor the

passage of such a law.

"There are many transactions between the tenant farmer and the landlord or his agents that are reprehensible, and in order to enable the legislature to properly deal with the subject we want to present a few facts for their consideration.

we want to present a few facts for their consideration.

"Out of the 219.575 tenant farmers, the Federal Census Bureau shows that 17,500, or less than 10 per cent, pay cash rent, and we estimate that 60 per cent rent on the basis of one-third grain and one-fourth cotton and 30 per cent pay more than a third and a fourth. There are, perhaps, 65,000 tenant farmers in this State, who, in some form or other, pay a rental of more

than a third and a fourth on land. To this number we may add the 17,500 cash tenants, for it is there the worst forms of rental extortion exist, although it might be difficult to prohibit, by law, a willing renter paying a willing landlord an agreed sum for use of property.

ARCSES OF TENANT SYSTEM.

"There are many abuses growing out of our tenant system which should be corrected and punished by law if they can not be corrected peaceably. We will mention a few of them. Out of the 65,000 tenant farmers who pay more than a third and a fourth land rental, we estimate that 40 per cent, or 26,000, pay direct to the landlord and the remaining 39,000 pay it to brokers and agents who rent lands on a basis of a third and a fourth and then subrent at a profit, charging a cash bonus for the farm or advancing the rents beyond the price they pay. Such practices should be broken up by law, for they constitute an illegitimate occupation. The owner of the property should look after his business personally or hire some one to do so, paying him a reasonable sum out of his own pocket, and not become a party to an injurious system of speculation. We leave the legislature to deal with the iniquities of the tenant system according to their

"We believe a rural-credit bill, properly drawn, permitting long-time loans at a low rate of interest will place a home within the reach of every tenant farmer and automatically eliminate many of the evils of farm tenancy as well as help the home owner. We believe that agriculture will receive more substantial benefit from increasing opportunity than in multiplying penalties. We think it a greater legislative achievement to expand the area of opportunity than to increase the zone of crime. It is an important function of government to keep open and enlarge the avenues of choice, but no effort should be made to restrain freedom of judgment and action.

"The farmers, like every other class of people, have the weak There are some tenant farmers who, if offered a home in the skies, would prefer to rent so they could move once a year, and no amount of constructive legislation will benefit We do not favor restrictive legislation that involves the entire structure of society in order to benefit the incompetent. Give the man who tries a chance and give it abundantly.

"We invite the Texas Bankers' Association to appoint a committee to assist in framing a bill that is sound commercially and one that will enable them to recommend the securities to their customers. We have too many 'stillborn' laws on the statute books now, and there is no use for the legislature to waste time creating securities which can not be financed.

"The Democratic Party, in demanding that the legislature define and punish land usury, has opened the door to the biggest room in the world, and while they are on the inside they should explore the domain of agriculture from cellar to garret. They will find the cupboard bare, the wardrobe depleted, and the bookcase empty, and no greater service can be rendered society than to fill them.

"We have previously pointed out the evils of exorbitant land rentals, but where the tenant farmers of this State pay \$1 in land usury they pay more than \$5 in money usury, and the latter has been a subject of legislation since the beginning of time, and even the laws of the Medes and Persians were unable to stop it.

Perhaps some results might be accomplished by further indicting money lenders for their failure to comply with the spirit of the law on interest rates, but we feel that in the creation of new and stable securities, reducing the risk of the lender and increasing the volume of money by encouraging foreign capital, we can more easily and effectually reduce the rate of interest, for the volume in circulation is an important factor in fixing the interest rate. We think the legislature should enter this field of activity vigorously, and they will not only benefit the tenant farmer but agriculture as a whole as well as commerce and industry.

WHAT THE CREDIT SYSTEM COSTS.

"The farm value of the crops produced by the Texas tenant farmers approximates \$100,000,000 per annum, and of this amount \$30,000,000 goes for payment of land rentals and \$20,000,000 for credit while making the crop. The latter amount is complete waste, as it represents the sum the farmer pays for credit over and above the legitimate interest or profit. It expresses in a lump sum the tax levied against the tenant farmer by our present credit system.

"The home owner also adds a few million dollars to this waste, for he, too, must pay a tribute to their obnoxious credit system by paying a price for his supplies that absorbs the bad debts on the merchants' books.

"Through our credit system the trustworthy farmer is compelled to become surety for the debts of his neighbor. The

right of contract—the most sacred privilege of an American citizen—is denied him, for when he patronizes a credit store, although he may pay cash, he is compelled, in effect, to sign a joint note with all customers guaranteeing the merchant a net profit on his goods.
"The tenant farmer in Texas who pays his debts contributes

\$90 per annum toward balancing the unpaid account of his

delinquent neighbor.

"The Farmers' Union favors a rural credit bill and bonded warehouses and such other facilities as will give the farmer stable credits and cheap money. The legislature, by passing suitable laws, can make possible a saving of \$90 per year to every farmer, and it will hurt no one. It is not a transfer of wealth from the merchant to the farmer, but an actual saving which will also benefit the merchant, for he is more often a victim than a beneficiary of the credit system.

"The \$20,000,000 bonus which the tenant farmer pays for credit, as well as the \$30,000,000 rental he pays for the use of

the farm, should be used in buying homes.

The solution of the tenant problem is home ownership.

HOME, SWEET HOME.

"Let the Legislature of Texas sing Home, Sweet Home to the tenant farmer. The home is God's greatest heritage to man; His most noble gift to woman, and the birthright of every child; in its cradle are rocked the destinies of the human race.

"Around the fireside love and friendship laugh and play and human happiness springs into being and shouts of joy echo through the corridors of life. Around its doorstep ambition builds cities, rules nations, and conquers commerce, and the desire to achieve first sways the mind and then hurls its challenge to the world. At the woodshed obedience and honesty are spanked into life and discipline is crowned ruler of human

"At the family altar angels whisper their message to mankind and soul material enters the world, illuminating the pathway of life. At the mother's knee justice is enthroned in human hearts, mercy is given her scepter, and truth is arrayed in all

her power and glory.

"In the family library the greatest miracles in the world are performed. It is there that the intellect bursts forth and life unfolds like a rose in all its beauty and glory. It is here that the hunger for knowledge and thirst for power-the greatest forces in life-take possession and man steps out into a big world. Is he not entitled to do so from an owned home?

"W. D. LEWIS, " President Farmers' Educational and "Cooperative Union of Texas. "Peter Radford,
"National Lecturer Farmers' Educational "and Cooperative Union of America."

FACTS ABOUT THE TEXAS TENANT FARMER.

UNITED STATES CENSUS FIGURES.

"Texas has more tenant farmers than any other State in the Union

"About 60 per cent of the tenant farmers of Texas move every

"Only 8,000 of the 220,000 tenant farmers in Texas have not moved during the past 10 years.

"The operation, ownership, tenure, etc., of the 417,770 farms

ı	or reads are as ronows.	
	Tenant farmers (landless)	219, 575
Į	Tenant farmers (owning part of land)	28, 348
	Mortgaged farms (operated by owner)	64,008
	Farms free of mortgaged encumbrance	99, 734
	Farms operated by managers	2, 332
	Tenure unknown	3, 773

"Only 99,734, or 24 per cent, of the farms of Texas are entirely owned by the farmers operating them.
"There are 314,263 homeless farmers in Texas and only 55,000

of them are negroes, leaving 259,000 white farmers that do not own the soil they till or the homes in which they live.

There are 219,575 tenant farmers in Texas, and in addition to this number 28,348 farm land owners rent additional land, making a total of 247,923 farm-land renters in this State.

"More than 202,000 Texas tenant farmers operate on a share basis, while only 17,549 pay cash rental.

Nearly 10 per cent of the tenant farmers in the United States live in Texas, while only 5 per cent of the Nation's farmhome owners reside in this State.

"In 1880 only 38 per cent of the Texas farmers were tenants, 42 per cent in 1890, 50 per cent in 1900, and 53 percent in 1910. "Less than 8 per cent of the Texas tenant farmers pay cash

rental.

"During the past 20 years the number of all farms in Texas has increased 83 per cent, while the farms operated by tenants show a gain of 130 per cent. Farm home owners have increased only 50 per cent during this time.

"Tenants constitute 53 per cent of the farm operators of

Texas and cultivate 47 per cent of our tillable land.

"The land and buildings on the tenant farms of Texas are worth only one-half as much as those on the farms operated by

"The land operated by Texas tenant farmers is equal in area

to the State of Pennsylvania, Indiana, or Maine.

"Farm tenancy in Texas directly affects 1,500,000 people, which is equal to the entire population of the State of Arkansas, Louisiana, or Oklahoma.

"The tenant farmers of Texas, if marching single file, would form a line from Temple to Galveston, and it would require 36

hours to pass a given point.

"During the past 10 years the land farmed by tenants has increased 4.620,000 acres and the land tilled by owners has increased 3,180,000 acres.

"The average size of a Texas farm (all kinds) is 269 acres. Those operated by owners contain an average of 353 acres,

by managers 7,700 acres, and by tenants 115 acres.

The average value per acre of all farm land in Texas is \$16.39. The land that is operated by its owners is worth \$14.94 and that by tenants \$25.84 per acre. This includes land and

"There are 24,000 farms in Texas that contain more than

500 acres each.

"Texas tenant farmers produce nearly one-fifth of the world's

"The annual cotton production of Texas is 10 bales per

"Texas tenant farmers produce a quarter of a million dollars" worth of cotton per day.

"One year's production of cotton by Texas tenant farmers will clothe 200,000,000 people.

"Fifteen per cent of the total land area of Texas is occupied

by tenant farmers.
"There are 15,000 silos in Texas, but few of them are located

on tenant farms.
"The total annual value of crops produced by Texas tenant farmers is greater than the value of those produced by renters in any other State in the Union.

"Practically the entire tenant farmer population of Texas is in the cotton belt, and in the leading cotton counties more than 65 per cent of the farmers are renters. The following table shows the leading cotton-producing counties of Texas, the total number of farms, number of tenant farms, and the percentage of tenants in each one:

County.		Tenant farms.	Tenants' per cent of total.	
Bell Collin Dallas Denton Ellis Fannin Grayson Hill Hunt Johnson Kanfman Lamar Limestone Milam Mayarro Travis Williamson Williamson Washington Collins Col	4, 915 -6, 507 5, 281 4, 303 5, 801 6, 433 5, 723 5, 589 5, 941 4, 115 6, 156 4, 987 5, 599 3, 568 4, 482	2,973 4,475 3,217 2,624 4,005 4,309 3,582 3,566 4,011 1,875 2,744 4,047 3,781 3,281 3,668 2,156 2,647	60.5 68.8 60.9 61.0 62.6 64.4 67.5 52.1 66.7 65.7 63.3 64.1 64.3 65.5 60.4	

"Cotton is the leading crop produced by Texas tenant farmers. "There are few tenant farmers in Texas that produce enough

meat for home consumption. "The Texas tenant farmers, in marketing their yearly crops, form a procession that will reach from the earth to the moon.

"Tenant farms are increasing at the rate of 4,500 per annum

"About 15 per cent of the wealth of Texas is invested in tenant farms

"The farm property occupied by tenant farmers in Texas increases \$50,000,000 in value per year.

ESTIMATES BY TEXAS FARMERS' UNION.

"The farmers of Texas borrow approximately \$80,000,000 per annum on chattel and other forms of credit, and the land mortgages total \$225,000,000.

"The farmers of Texas pay for the use of money approximately \$55,000,000 per annum.

"To reduce the rate of interest 1 per cent saves the Texas farmer \$5,000,000 per annum.

"One-third of the farm lands are mortgaged; one-half the

growing crops are encumbered.

"The tenant farmers of Texas pay \$90 each per annum for credit over the customary interest rate.

"There are 65,000 farmers in the State who pay more than a

third and a fourth rent.
"There are 39,000 farms in the State that are rented on the basis of a third and a fourth by speculators, and bonuses are charged the tenants.

"There are crops mortgaged four and five years in the future, "The farm value of the crops produced by the Texas tenant farmers approximates \$100,000,000 per annum.

"The tenant farmers pay a land rental of \$30,000,000 per annum.

"The tenant farmer pays \$20,000,000 per annum for credit while making the crop.

AGE OF TENANT FARMERS.

"One-half the tenant farmers of Texas are over 34 years old. "There are 55,000 tenant farmers in Texas that are 45 years of

"Texas has approximately 10,000 tenant farmers that are over

60 years old.
"Only 37,000 of the 220,000 tenant farmers of Texas are 25 years of age and under.

"The following table shows the tenant farmers of Texas by

age groups:	
25 years and under	37,000
25 to 34 years	75, 000
35 to 44 years	52,000
45 to 54 years	33, 000
55 to 64 years	16,000
65 years and over	6, 000

"One-third of the Texas farms are mortgaged. The encumbered debt is approximately \$225,000,000. This does not include crop mortgages.
"The average Texas farm is worth \$6,203 and is mortgaged for

\$1,584, the average equity being \$4,619.

"Texas mortgaged farm homes are increasing at the rate of 2,600 per annum.

"During the past 20 years the average mortgage debt of a Texas farm has increased from \$899 to \$1,584, a gain of 76 per

"The mortgaged farms of Texas are encumbered for onefourth their value.

The mortgage debt of Texas farms during the past 20 years has increased thirteen fold.

"There are seven times as many mortgaged farms in Texas to-day as there were 20 years ago.

"Every farm in Crane County is mortgaged.

FARM LABORERS.

"In addition to the tenant and mortgaged-farm operators there are nearly a half million farm laborers in Texas whose daily compensation ranges from 50 cents to \$1.50.

The farm laborers of Texas are divided 329,914 males and

165,103 females.

Texas has more farm laborers than any other State.

"The average monthly pay of the Texas farm laborer is \$19 with board and \$27 without board.

"There are 165,000 women that earn their living by doing manual labor on Texas farms. Of this number 137,400 cultivate the land upon which they live and 27,600 hire out.

"Texas has 11,000 women farm laborers that are over 45

years of age.
"The annual pay roll of the farm laborers of Texas is \$25,000,000.

THE NEGRO TENANT FARMER.

"Forty-nine per cent of the white farmers of Texas are ten-ants and 70 per cent of the negro farmers are renters.

"Of the 219,575 tenant farmers in Texas, 170,970 are white and 48,605 colored.

"The white tenant farmers cultivate 10.933,000 acres of Texas land and negro renters till 1.822.000 acres.

"The value of the land and buildings on the farms operated by white tenants is \$593.293.000 and that on the negro tenant farms is valued at \$59,809,000.

"White tenants farm 44 per cent of the land in Texas that is tilled by white farmers. Among the negro farmers 65 per cent of the land is cultivated by renters.

"The average size of a farm operated by a white Texas tenant farmer is 134 acres, of which 64 acres are in cultivation.

Number of farms free of mort-gage debt.

Number of tenant farms.

Number of mort-

"The average Texas negro tenant farm contains 48 acres, and 38 acres are under cultivation.

"Forty-eight per cent of the land in a white tenant farm is in cultivation, while 78 per cent of the negro tenant farm is

"The five States that lead in the number of white tenant farmers are as follows. They rank in the order listed:

Texas Illinois Oklahoma	170, 970 103, 761 94, 643 84, 242
Georgia	84, 242 73, 504

"The six States that have the greatest number of negro tenant farmers are as follows. They rank in the order mentioned:

Mississippi	139, 605
Georgia	106, 738
Alabama	93, 309
South Carolina	76, 295
Arkansas	48, 885
Texas	48, 000

"There are only two States in the Union in which the negro tenant farmers outnumber the white renters. They are South

Carolina and Mississippi.

"In Comanche County, one of the leading agricultural units of Texas, there is only one negro farmer. Ellis County, which produces more cotton than any other county in the world, has only 563 negro farmers, or 1 negro farmer to every 12 white plowmen. Collin County, which ranks third in cultivated area and has more farmers than any other Texas county, has 6,507 farms and only 135 of them are operated by negroes.

"In the 20 leading cotton counties (the combined production of which is more than 50 per cent of the Texas crop) less than 10 per cent of the tenant farmers are negroes, and only 15 per cent of the negro farm population of Texas live in these counties.

"Every county in Texas has white tenant farmers. Ninety-two Texas counties have no negro tenants, and 35 counties have

less than five negro renters.

"In only eight Texas counties do the negro renters outnumber

the white tenant farmers.

"Harrison County, on the Louisiana border, has more negro tenant farmers than any other Texas county.

"Thirty-three per cent of the white farm home owners of Texas have their property mortgaged, compared with a percentage of 23 among the colored farm home owners.

"Less than 8 per cent of the tenant farmers of Texas pay cash rental, while 11 per cent of the negro farm renters farm

"The following table shows, for every State in the Union, the number of tenant farms, number of mortgaged farms, and the number of farms free of mortgage. The per cent of the total farms in each State that are operated by tenants is also

State.	Number of tenants.	Number of farms mortgaged.	Number of farms free of mortgage.	Tenants' per cent of total.
The Nation	2,354,676	1,312,034	2, 588, 596	37.0
Alabama	158,326	27,457	74,504	60.2
Arizona	861	1.043	7,038	9.3
Arkansas	107, 266	22,374	82,321	50, 0
alifornia	18, 148	26,749	39,368	20.6
colorado	8,390	9,636	26, 822	18.2
onnecticut		9,958	13,080	9.8
Delaware		2,264	3,817	41.9
District of Columbia	84	21	93	38.7
Florida	13,342	5, 160	29,614	26.7
Peorgia	190,980	18, 257	78,004	65.6
daho	3,188	9,010	17,933	10.3
llinois	104,379	55, 792	86,713	41.4
ndiana	64,687	56,914	89,847	30.6
own	82, 115	68,045	63,234	37.5
Cansas	65, 398	49, 249	60,582	36.8
Kentucky	87,860	33,039	135, 505	33.9
ouisiana	66,607	9,834	42,011	55.2
Maine	2,563	14,948	41,309	4.3
faryland		12, 127	21,084	29.
fassachusetts	2,979	13,014	18,768	8.1
Imnesota	32,811	56, 145	65,038	21.0
dichigan	32,689	82,631	88,705	15.8
dississippi	181, 491	29,693	60,543	66.1
dissouri	82,958	88, 486	102,514	29.9
Montana	2,344	4,820	18,014	8.9
vebraska		30, 839	47,435	38.1
Nevada	333	361	1,805	12.4
New Hampshire		6,234	18, 119	6.9
New Jersey		11,793	11,983	24.8
New Mexico	1,957	1,775	31,382	5. 8
New York		72,311	93,118	20.8
North Carolina		26,642	117,028	42.1
North Dakota	10,664	31,727	30,651	14.3
Ohio	77, 188	54,997	135, 616	28.4
Oklahoma	104, 137	36,036	46,889	54.8

State.	Number of tenants.	farms	Number of farms free of mortgage.	per cent
Oregon	6,859	12,632	24,855	15. 1
Pennsylvania	51, 105	50,699	112, 156	23.3
Khode Island	954	1,180	2,811	18.0
South Carolina	111, 221	15,020	47, 535	63.0
South Dakota	19,231	21,691	35, 101	24.8
I entressee	101,061	24,006	118, 285	41.1
Texas	219,575	64,008	128,082	52.6
Ctan	1,720	4,492	15, 131	7.1
v ermont	4,008	13, 140	14,851	12.3
Virginia	48, 729	21, 182	111,474	26. (
Washington	. 7,726	16,026	30,979	13.7
West Virginia	19,835	9,525	66,093	20.7
Wiseonsin	24,654	77, 120	72,941	13.5
Wyoming	897	1,923	7,815	8.2

"The following table shows the distribution of the farms of Texas by counties. A classification by tenant and unencumbered and encumbered farms is also given. (The 2,332 farms operated by managers and 3,773 farms for which no mortgage reports are available are not included in this table):

Total number of

farms.

County.

The State	417,770	219,575	128,082	64,008
Anderson	3,773	1,908	1,443	362
Andrews	18	1,000	3	13
Angelina	1,569	462	972	131
Aransas	79 792	17 339	39 169	21
Archer	387	133	109	272 131
Atascosa	1,345 2,906	620	520	190
Austin	2,906	1,300	1,007	576
Bailey	71 774	17 195	22 317	26
BanderaBastrop	3,096	1,816	837	249 411
Baylor	1.040	616	154	257
Bee	1,209	691	337	147
Bell	4,915	2,973 1,268	1,050	842
Bexar	2,943 753	240	1,124 233	471 266
Borden	228	72	127	21
Bosque	2,598	1,294	685	591
Bowle	4,480	2,000	1,633	277
BrazoriaBrazos	1,685 2,627	631 1,575	735 810	284 216
Brewster	190	6	34	141
Briscoe	307	107	90	106
Brown	2,741	1,160	851	697
Burleson	2,765 1,582	1,681 716	709 563	330 273
Caldwell	2,929	1,938	550	425
Calhoun	293	104	127	60
allahan	1,837	798	474	549
Cameron	709 1,525	322 753	203 606	144
arson	284	139	43	147 97
ass	4,466	2,043	1,924	446
Castro	327	94	53	167
hambers	593 4, 217	164	1,737	55 389
childress	961	2,055 530	126	301
lay	2,308	1,129	615	529
Cochran	16	5		4
oke	969 2,938	460	215 539	271
oleman	6,507	1,553 4,475	1,348	814 615
collingsworth	806	340	233	224
Colorado	2,283	1,066	803	394
omal	899	295	366	226
Comanche	4,372	2,425 465	1,086	815 271
'ooke	3,438	1,755	918	740
Coryell	3,290 506	1,698 283	909	631
cottle		283	204	12 71
rane	71 79	10	61	4
crockett	242	68	66	102
Dallam	201	47	42	101
Dallas	5, 284 330	3,217	1,475	496 134
DawsonDe Witt	2,746	1,410	85 864	448
Deaf SmithDelta	361	127	86	125
Delta	2,202 4,303	1,467	494	219
DentonDickens	4,303	2,624 145	982 173	664
Dimmit	154	50	37	53
Donley	601	261	119	212
Duval	633	249	339	32
Castland	2,981	1,452	894	582
Edwards	84 455	11 109	72	57 246
El Paso	660	151	250	254
Ellis	5,801	4,005 2,057 3,057 4,309	1,032 1,145	720
Erath	5, 801 4, 225 4, 623	2,057	1,145	985
FallsFanninFayette	6,623	3,057	865 1,473	552 583
F MILLIUM	6,433 4,379	2,186	1,358	814

County.	Total number of farms.	Number of tenant farms.	Number of farms free of mort- gage debt.	Number of mort- gaged farms.
Fisher	1,839	1,032	315	47
Floyd	620 718	232 348	156 225	22 12
Fort Bend	2,541 1,788	1,549 937	659	28
Freestone	3, 158	1,752	1,005	38
Prio	918	507	184	114
laineslalveston	206 947	36 174	479	160
Jarza	81	17	43	1/
Hillespie	1,360 165	295 61	715 12	32
Joliad	1,146	607	407	11
Gray	4,048 433	2,445 128	1,095	240
Frayson	5,720	3,582	1,411	663
Fregg	1,683 3,176	1,945	664 886	12 30
luadalupe	3,171	1,628	947	55
Tale	731 1,028	233 685	282 121	200
Tamilton	2,237	1,029	552	63
IansfordIardeman	1,068	609	92 195	3 25
Iardin	350	83	257	
IarrisIarrison	2,543	654	1,451	35
Iartley	4,601 165	2,381 46	1,861	33 5
Iaskell	2,210 1,561	1,348	406	41
Iays	249	923 70	420 51	20 10
[enderson	3,580	1,682	1,284	46
tidalgo till	5,539	237 3,566	247 1,119	14 81
locklev	23	3		1
food	1,786 5,380	910 2,846	560 1,966	30 53
louston	4,446	2,291	1,705	40
loward	819 5,944	425 4,011	250 1,292	13
lutchison	150	22	92	58
ion	94	17	47	2
iekie ^k son	1,888	899 400	562 277	11
sper	864	194	619	4
eff Davis	91 586	2 253	33 235	5
olinson	3,601	1,875	995	69
ones	2,907	1,774	556 408	53 28
aufman	1,801 4,115	2,744	814	48
endall	617	125	299	18
lent	326 569	155 - 124	94 230	20
imble	415	92	123	19
Cing	107 150	63	24 65	1 4
CBOX	1,175	643	281	24
a Salleamar.	263 6,156	4,047	1,402	58
amb	92	15	7	6
ampasasavaca	1,219 3,734	520 1,777	1,091	22 83
ee	2,108	1,041	619	41
eon	2,863	1,499	1,012	32
imestone	1,000 4,967	3,146	1,130	65
inscomb	375	79	109	18
ive Oaklano	487 795	244 328	140 323	13
oving	79		11	6
ubboekvnn	201	63 54	82 66	6
eCulloch	1,545	827	311	38
eLennaneMullen	114	3,781	1, 296 54	73
actison	1,869	971	675	20
farionfartin	1,341 147	518 34	702 38	9 7
fason	856	341	335	16
fatagorda	1,116	612	278 21	19
faverickledina		642	514	15
fenard	331	128	66	12
lidland filam	178 5,055	3,251	1,226	52
fills	1,484	650	364	46
fitchellfontague	1,108 3,691	688 1,786	1.226	21 64
fontgomery	1,855	898	1, 226 799	13
pore	95	28	51	1
forrisfotley	373	892 184	508 59	18 12
lacogdoches	3,991	1,915	1,614	42
avarra	5.596	3,668	1,208	67
lewtonlolan	1,160	634	332	18
luecesbchiltree	945 264	334 92	339 63	25 10
Oldham	87	28	14	3
Prange	339 1,921	92 919	217 623	33
anola	3,398	1,624	1,388	37
Par' er	3,634 161	1,730	1,177	09
Permer	56	40 2	36	
Polk	1,764	705	929	10

County.	Total number of farms.	Number of tenant farms.	Number of farms free of mort- gage debt.	Number of mort- gaged farms.
Potter	162	44	60	4
Presidio	186	56	61	
Rains	1,272	685	491	
Randail	363 51	142	93	10
Red River	4,783	3,000	1,379	33
Reeves	225	3,000	129	
Refugio	236	99	74	
Roberts	93	28	25	3
Robertson	4,303	3,000	961	29
Rockwall	922	602	207	10
Rust	2,526 4,894	1,397 2,351	462 1,945	63 56
Sabine	1,047	402	576	6
San Augustine.	1,647	892	616	12
San Jacinto	1,479	687	715	
San Patricio	470	252	119	8
San Saba	1,530	681	457	38
Schleicher	208	709	91	3
SeurryShae belford	1,424 589	248	442 81	26 24
Shelby	3,503	1,361	1,763	3
Sherman	165	56	72	
Smith	5,924	3,196	1,795	70
Somervell	664	322	2/3	
StarrStephens	918	261	567	34
Sterling	1,375 135	506	471	99
Stonewall	834	418	212	19
Sutton	131	15	6	10
Swisher	510	184	145	17
Carrant	3,582	1,784	1,212	52
Paylor	2,404	1,351	616	41
Perry	235	14 53	44 30	1/
"hreekmorton	694	293	132	2
itus	2,722	1,554	951	20
Com Green	998	497	260	2
Travis	3,568	2, 156	939	4:
Prinity	1,406	570	675	14
Tyler. Jpshur	1,123 3,313	238 1,617	737 1,450	19
Toton.	105	3	1,400	9
Jvalde	706	223	319	14
val Verde	191	39	133	
/an Zandt	4,508	2,075	1,961	43
7ietoria Val er	1,519 2,161	1,232	508 738	11
Valler	2,061	1, 158	632	25
Vard	231	109	63	
Vashington	8,651	2,089	1,028	48
Vebb	337	32	252	2
Vharton	2,654	1,581	591	45 35
VheelerVichita	736 1,039	236 574	142	30
Wilbarger	1,435	878	214	30
Villiamson	4,482	2,647	1, 153	60
Vilson	2,130	1,043	776	25
Winkler	128	1	1	12
Vise	3,721	1,771	1,278	64
Vood	3,600	1,702	1,407	10
roung.	1,796	802	475	50
apata	297	30	263	
avalla.	150	36	90	

Mr. Speaker, the above facts and arguments show the overshadowing importance of good roads to agriculture and their relation to its real advancement. The subjects are closely interrelated and must be solved together. Too long have we neglected these things of prime necessity to the development of the entire country. Let us to-day by our action accord justice to the man who tills the soil and produces food and raiment for mankind throughout the world.

Good Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES V. McCLINTIC,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 25, 1916.

Mr. McCLINTIC, Mr. Chairman, on the first day Congress convened I introduced two bills—one seeking to create a rural farm-credits system, the other designed to provide national aid in cooperation with the various States for the construction of public highways. To my mind, such legislation as is involved in these measures is of extremely vital importance to the entire country. I know of no higher duty a Member of Congress can

perform for his people than to ardently, earnestly, and uncompromisingly support legislation of this character.

I have had the privilege of listening to those who have opposed this measure and could not help wondering what form of selfish interest prompted them to be antagonistic to legislation possessing such well-known and widely recognized merits. has occurred to me that they might be representing districts where farms and farmers are a minus quantity. Upon investigation I find that the majority of the gentlemen who have so vehemently voiced their sentiments against this bill are either from the large cities or from sections of the country that have been well taken care of in the past in the way of large appropriations for rivers and harbors, ornamental public buildings, and other Government institutions.

One gentleman has complained because the corporations of his State have to pay a corporation tax, and he raises a hue and cry protesting against the passage of any bill that will provide aid in the construction of roads. He makes the statement that his State has already provided for the construction of highways, and that he does not think it fair that his people should be called upon to contribute toward the construction and improvement of reads outside of his own State. The history of our Government bears evidence of the fact that we have been constructing public buildings and spending thousands of dollars in his State 50 years before my State, Oklahoma, was admitted to the Union. It also shows that the munition factories and steel industries of his section have been receiving large benefits; that many of his people are rated as multimillionaires. In fact, his position on this bill recalls to my mind the prayer offered up by the head of a certain household when he prayed, "O Lord, bless me and my wife, my son John, and his wife, us four and no more." I venture to predict that the attitude he has manifested in opposing this bill will receive about as much consideration from this House as the selfish prayer would receive from the Divine Ruler of the Universe

There are some who look upon an appropriation of \$25,000,000 for the construction of roads as setting a dangerous precedent, while they tell you of the depleted condition of the Treasury and, with a long face, inquire from where this money is going to come. They forget that they are willing to spend hundreds of millions of dollars for preparedness and for the creation of a larger Army. I was very much interested in a speech recently delivered on the floor of this House in which the statement was made by one who was opposed to this bill that we should create an Army numbering half a million soldiers, even if it took an expenditure of a billion dollars. This proves to me that those who are opposing this bill are not serious when they ask where

the money is coming from.

The progress of every nation goes hand in hand with the development of its roads. The people to be prosperous and happy must have the proper means of travel. I know of no better way to bring this about for all the people than for our Government to render aid to the various States in the construction and maintenance of good roads. The good-roads movement now sweeping over our land is not the result of the selfishness of automobile owners nor manufacturers. It emanates from the patriotism of our people and the deepest law of economics. The Government can not break into and enter the hearts and homes of men to control and improve them, but it can construct good roads and enact legislation which will improve the condition of men mentally, morally, and materially, thus exerting the greatest and most beneficent influence on earth over the minds, manners, and motives of men.

This bill is but the beginning of one of the most patriotic movements ever inaugurated by our Government. History tells us that the Roman Empire has been dead for centuries, yet its roads still girdle the empire and stretch their mighty arms roads still grune the empire and streeth their inginy arms throughout its length and breadth—uncrumbled, undecayed, undestroyed—in full beneficent efficiency, unchanged by time. This is another testimonial which demonstrates that we are not building for to-day or to-morrow, but for all times to come. While we may not from an individual standpoint live to see the day when the Republic will reap the greatest benefits from this legislation, we must remember that our work is in the interest of the Nation, present and future, and that the monuments erected to-day should be so constructed that they can withstand the time of centuries-even long after our own pioneer efforts are forgotten. In the West where I live, to use an oft-repeated phrase, necessity has been the mother of invention when it became necessary to construct roads. Community cooperation has in many counties temporarily solved this problem, and each year, on certain days set apart therefor, it is no unusual thing to find the patriotic people of every town in a county closing their business institutions to join the farmers in gratuitously contributing manual labor toward the construction of highways.

Even the governors of some of our Western States at times don overalls and with pick and shovel go to work on the roads. Such manifestations as these should not escape the notice of this House or fail to impress its membership with the burning necessity for Federal aid and cooperation in the construction and maintenance of roads. In some sandy sections the roads have been covered with clay; in other sections with straw, hay, and other material. All these things demonstrate that the people must have roads, and that they are willing to make sacrifices in many ways to help develop the country in which they live.

Let the Government assist in the building of roads. Let the

highways of progress be used in a manner that will make conditions in the future better. We will soon have additional millions of acres of public domain opened for homestead entry. We must have roads to successfully develop the West, so that we may bring the natural resources of the western country to the more thickly populated sections of our Nation, thereby rendering to our entire citizenship a great amount of good.

The road bill I have introduced is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 620) establishing post roads and making an appropriation for the construction and improvement thereof.

dering to our entire citizenship a great amount of good.

The road bill I have introduced is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 629) establishing post roads and making an appropriation for the construction and improvement thereof.

Bet it exacted, etc., For the purpose of increasing the service of the Post Office Department of the United States by the establishment and improvement of rural-delivery and star-route mail service, all roads or highways, including bridges and culverts forming a part thereof, now established, and as may hereafter be established, by and in each county or civil subdivision of the several States of the United States.

Sec 2. For the purpose of constructing or improving any post road established by this act on a permanent basis or foundation by ditching, draining, rocking, or macadamizing the same with rock, gravel, or some other solid or durable material, and the constructing of bridges there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$25,000,000 for the Secal year Leginning July 1, 1916, and all like sum for each discal year thereafter for nine years, to be paid by the Secretary of the Sac, 3. The money appropriated by this act shell be apportioned among and allotted to the several States of the United States in the proportion which the population of each State, exclusive of incorporated towns and cities therein, shall bear to the population of the United States in the proportion which the population of each State, exclusive of incorporated towns and cities therein, shall bear to the population of other States in the proportion which the population of such county or civil subdivision, such saving the appropriate of incorporated towns or civil subdivision shall, by bond issue, taxation, cash subscription, or otherwise, provide a sum equal to the amount available to such county or civil subdivision, as and specifications of such such county or civil subdivision shall be population in the manner provided by this act, for ap

of this act, at the end of each fiscal year in which such funds have been received, to make a detailed report of the expenditure of such funds, a copy of which report shall be filed with the Postmaster General and one with the Secretary of the Treasury. The Postmaster General shall make an annual report to Congress of the expenditures and results thereof made under the provisions of this act.

SEC. 8. All post roads heretofore established, and established by and under the provisions of this act, shall be maintained in the same manner as the original cost of such roads constructed under the provisions hereof.

as the original cost of such roads constructed under the problem hereof.

SEC. 9. The Postmaster General is hereby authorized and directed to prepare such rules, regulations, and requirements, not inconsistent with the provisions hereof, as in his discretion he may deem necessary for the full and complete execution of the purposes of this act.

In some ways it differs from the bill under consideration, as it seeks to carry relief to the people who actually reside in any subdivision of a State applying for the benefits accruing thereunder. It would also make every rural route and star route in the United States a post road, thereby placing these highways under the supervision of one of our great executive departments. Such a system would provide for a uniform plan of construction, and such rules and regulations could be promulgated as would be necessary to care for the maintenance and up-keep of these highways. Each year the people of the United States spend many millions of dollars for the construction of roads. records show that a large amount of this money is wasted, because we have no proper supervision, the roads, when completed, being neglected and permitted to deteriorate until they are in many instances impassable. Mr. Chairman, the Government in the past has enacted a law making an appropriation for the building of railroads in Alaska, so that the people of the United States might have a way to get into the interior of that country that the vast, natural resources of the Territory might be developed, incidentally affording many opportunities to the 100,000,000 people of the United States. The Government has purchased a line of ships which are now plying between Panama and New York City, an investment that has shown a profit from the beginning to the present time. The Government pays each year millions of dollars to the agricultural schools and colleges of the various States to assist in preparing the young man so that he may be in a better position to share the responsibilities of the future and at the same time render to his Nation a greater amount of good. The Government is furnishing millions of dollars to build irrigation plants in order that the arid and semiarid land of the West may be transformed from a barren desert into a productive garden. The Government has made enormous expenditures for rivers and harbors, erected thousands of public buildings for the cities, and for years has been aiding in the While development of this Nation in every conceivable way. there are those who are opposed to the Government lending aid to the rural districts by building roads, I am one who is firmly of the opinion that if there is any one class that is justly entitled to this kind of help it is those people who live in the rural districts, the tillers of the soil, the producers. It is this class that gives stability and strength to a nation; it is this very class—the producers and the toilers—that makes it possible even for the Nation to exist.

Child Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. L. C. DYER, OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 26, 1916.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following:

ST. Louis, January 11, 1916.

Hon. L. C. Dyer, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Dyer: I beg leave to call your attention to the Keating-Owen bill now pending in Congress and to say that your vote in favor of the bill becoming a law at the proper time will be appreciated, not only by myself but every one interested in such laws in this State.

The Missouri law at the present time forbids the employment of any child under 14 years of age at any occupation whatsoever. It also forbids the employment of any child under 16 years of age in any dangerous or injurious work. The proposed Federal act will in nowise impair the operation of the child-labor law in this State, but, on the other hand, will strengthen it considerably. In this State children under the age of 16 years are not permitted to be employed more than eight hours in any day or more than six days in any week, or before the hour of 7 a.m., or after the hour of 7 p. m. Thus you will see that the proposed Federal act is in entire conformity to the present conditions in this State, and would not in any way inflict any hardship whatsoever on employers in this State.

In fact, in my capacity as factory inspector, charged with the enforcement of the child-labor laws in Missouri, employers frequently have called my attention to the fact that the laws of other States and of the

Federal Government not being as strict as the law of Missouri in these matters was a great hardship on employers in this State. They repeatedly have said to me that if the laws of all the States, or particularly those bordering on Missouri, were uniform the present Missouri law would be no hardship. Whereas at the present time the Missouri law does seem to place employers in an unfair position from the standpoint of competition. In other words, employers naturally are unable to compete with an even chance with those of outside States where the employment of smaller children for longer hours and less wages is permitted.

Cases have been called to my attention where employers have located their establishments in other States than Missouri purely for the reason that in those States they could employ younger children and under conditions less exacting than those of Missouri. Temporarlly, therefore, Missouri and other States which have as good a child-labor law have suffered from the lack of such uniformity as the Keating-Owen bill proposes.

Regarding the justness of the provisions themselves I am sure there can be no question in your mind, public sentiment in Missouri on all of these questions having been very completely expressed through legislation. If you desire it, I shall be glad to send you a copy of the child-labor law which, however, you will find at page 132, Missouri Laws of 1911.

Very respectfully, yours,

A. S. JOHNSTON,

A. S. JOHNSTON, State Factory Inspector.

Missouri Laws, sections 1715 and 1716, referred to above, are

as follows:

Sec. 1715. Children under 14 not to be employed in certain occupations.—No child under the age of 14 years shall be employed, permitted, or suffered to work at any gainful occupation within this State, except at agricultural pursuits and in domestic service.

Sec. 1716. Children under 16 not to be employed in certain occupations—Notices to be posted.—No child under the age of 16 years shall be employed, permitted, or suffered to work at any gainful occupation in this State more than 48 hours in any one week, nor more than 8 hours per day, nor before the hour of 7 o'clock in the morning nor after the hour of 7 o'clock in the evening. Every employer shall post in a conspicuous place in every room or place where such minors are employed a printed notice stating the hours of service required of them each day of the week, the hours of commencing and stopping work, and the hour or hours when the time or times allowed for meals begin and end. The printed form of such notice shall be furnished by the State factory inspector.

The Late Representative Joseph A. Goulden, of New York.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Sunday, January 23, 1916.

On House resolution (H. Res. 101) paying tribute to the memory of Hon. JOSEPH A. GOULDEN, late a Representative from the State of New York.

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I desire to place one little chaplet on the bier of my good friend and comrade, Col.

Others who knew him better and were more fortunate in long association with him have spoken at length of his merits, his lovable character, his courage, his tenderness, his genial, generous, forgiving nature, his broad humanity and universal love for his fellow men, coupled with lofty patriotism and love of country, and each and every sentiment expressed has found

an echo in my own heart. He was to me a real friend. I met him soon after the organization of the Sixty-first Congress under peculiar circumstances. I was a new Member, one of the then dominant party, without acquaintance or experience in Washington; he, although on the other side, was just the kind of a mentor that I needed. Perhaps a feeling of Army comradeship drew us together and taught us both to look over the garden wall of politics, on which bloom the sweetest and most fragrant flowers of friendship. At any rate, fortunately or unfortunately for me, before the committees of the House were named, I found myself unable to agree with a few strong leaders of my own party and especially on the old rules of the House, the adoption of which became a matter of serious controversy. I was conscientious in my convictions, and in my simplicity thought this a sufficient warrant for controlling my own vote, but that did not seem to excuse me with party leaders in a contest where a single vote might be and was decisive of the result. I had promised my vote to no interest and voted as I thought right, resulting in the defeat of a resolution of my party friends. But a combination of selfish interests, a crossing, in fact, of party lines, quickly followed, by which the essential feature of the old rules, absolute control of the important committees, was preserved.

I met the usual results of an independent. Very little con-

genial work fell to my lot; opportunities did not come my way, but I never complained. A few, however, who knew that I had been attorney general of a great State and for years before chairman of the judiciary committee of its highest legislative

body, noticed, or thought they did, in me a shade of disappointment. Comrade Goulden was one of these. Crossing over the Hall one day and taking me by the hand, he said, in substance: "Comrade, that was a brave act of yours to vote against these old arbitrary rules of your party, but come back to the next Congress, which will be Democratic, and, instead of punishment for independent thought and action, we will make amends."

It was, of course, only an idle thought, but somehow it was comforting, and the cordiality and warmth of his handshake started a friendship which, though modest and undemonstrative,

continued throughout the Sixty-first Congress.

When the whirligig of Ohio politics changed conditions and I found myself coming back, I naturally scanned the lists of the Sixty-fourth Congress to see if I could find the name of Col. Goulden, and it was a real pleasure to learn that I was to meet him again in this House. But, alas for human expectations. The news of his sudden call by the Master, May 3 last, was a profound shock to me, and, of course, must have been a much greater one to his intimate associates.

He was a lovely character.

Personally, I feel like repeating the first verse of the beautiful poem found in his pocket after his death:

A little more tired at close of day,
A little less anxious to have our way,
A little less ready to scold and blame,
A little more care of a brother's name,
And so we are nearing the journey's end,
Where time and eternity meet and blend.

Democratic Legislation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. COX,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 26, 1916.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, the Democratic Party has been in control of the Government for nearly three years. It made many promises to the people, and these promises, as far as time would permit, have been faithfully and conscientiously redeemed.

It revised the tariff by a measure kn wn as the Underwood bill, and in its revision the party faithfully kept its promises and pledges and reduced the rate of duty from a prohibitory rate in many instances to strictly a revenue rate for the purpose

of raising revenue to support the Government.

It is recognized by all people that this is one of the ways of raising revenue, to impose a tax or duty upon good; imported from foreign countries to ours. This has been a favored method of raising revenue for 125 years, and until some other system more equitable and just than this is discovered to raise revenue this will continue to be one of the ways of raising money to support the Government.

The Democratic Party has always contended that luxuries should be taxed for this purpose and necessities of life, as far as possible, should be admitted free of duty. This principle was faithfully carried out by the party in its revision of the tariff, at the same time keeping in view the necessity of raising reve-

nue to support the Government.

No honest business was compelled to close its doors by reason

of the enactment of this law.

The Democratic Party has always contended that the Government has no constitutional or moral right to impose a tax upon all of its people for the purpose of hothonsing a few industries unable to stand on their own feet and meet fair and just competition. The Underwood bill still retains considerable protection, yet it absolutely restores the fair and economical rule of competition.

The Government has no right to impose a tax upon all the people for the purpose of enabling a few of them to float a losing enterprise, and where an enterprise can not stand without being protected the sooner it quits business the better it is for

all the people.

The first year the Underwood bill was in operation it raised revenue to the amount of \$275.000,000, and to this was added revenue from income taxes, corporation taxes, and all other taxes, until the close of the first fiscal year that this measure was in operation there was a clear surplus of \$31,000,000 in the United States Treasury.

Because of the European war and the shutting out of foreign imports it has not had a fair chance and a fair opportunity to demonstrate what it can do as a revenue producer.

The Secretary of the Treasury in his annual report to Congress says that as a result of the foreign war the Treasury lost \$112,000,000 the first year of the war. This report is based upon facts and figures. It is neither a conclusion nor a conjecture, but it is the truth.

It is a known and undisputed fact that for more than a quarter of a century vast individual and corporate wealth, reaching beyond the dreams of avarice, had escaped its share of just taxation. The Democratic Party for the same period of time had earnestly advocated the enactment of an income-tax law for the purpose of making the wealth of the country bear its just and proportionate share of the burdens of taxation. The Democratic Party succeeded in getting incorporated in the Wilson tariff of 1893 an income-tax law, but which was, unfortunately, held to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1895. Almost from the date of the decision of the court the Democratic Party pressed forward this legislation and never ceased to fight for it until it was actually enacted into law and made a part of the Underwood bill. Until this wise and humane measure was enacted into a law, the wealth of the Nation was escaping its just and proportionate part of taxation. Conceded by all, admitted by everyone, that an income tax is the fairest revenue measure that any government can have, it is the one tax that is not able to be shoved out upon the shoulders of another and the amount thereof paid by others. This tax is a graduated income tax, ranging from 1 per cent to 7 per cent in proportien to the income. It is young yet, has not been tried long in this country, and may require some amendments to perfect it, but in the event it needs it, there is no question but that Congress will give speedy attention to any amendment which may be necessary to perfect it.

At the time the Constitution of the United States was adopted our forefathers denied the people the right to elect Senators by popular vote and lodged this power of electing Senators in the various legislatures of the United States. No reason on earth could be assigned for this other than the fathers were afraid to trust the people with too much power. For the past 25 years it was a burning question with the people, to be given the right to elect Senators by popular vote. It remained for a Democratic Congress to finally pass an amendment to the Constitution enabling the people to elect Senators by popular vote, a thing which they should have had from the very inception of our Government, a thing they never should have been denied, a

thing to which they are clearly and justly entitled.

Perhaps the crowning act of the present administration is what is known as the Federal reserve act, the admitted greatest piece of constructive legislation enacted by Congress since the Civil War. We were the one great power that bottomed our currency upon our national indebtedness, Government bonds being the one medium on which currency could be issued. This destroyed the necessary element of elasticity in our currency. Under this system in times of stress there was an invariable contraction of currency and in times of prosperity an undue inflation, one equally as dangerous as the other.

By far the richest Nation on the earth, with inexhaustible resources, teeming with wealth on all sides, with prime commercial paper in all the banks, the moment Wall Street sent a flurry over the country every bank, operating under the law of self-defense, quickly ran to cover, calling in its loans, piling up its reserves to meet the stringency. There were no great reservoirs, with the power of the Government behind them, to which the banks could go with their prime paper, have the same discounted, take the currency back to their banks, and extend credit to their customers. For the lack of this many hundreds, yes, thousands, of good honest business men were annually compelled to go into bankruptcy.

Under the old system the 25,000 banks were each separate

Under the old system the 25,000 banks were each separate units each fighting for itself in time of distress. Under the new system all the banks of the Nation, especially all the national banks, are now coordinated into a single unit, making this unit the greatest financial fighting machine in the world.

The bank capital of our Nation is upward of \$20,000,000,000,000. Under the old system this strength was divided between the 25,000 banks in proportion to their capital and surplus. The new system takes the combined bank power of all the United States and puts it into one system, with the President of the United States practically its governor, because he has the appointing power of the members of the Federal Reserve Board.

This constructive piece of legislation was fought by special interests with a determination to defeat it if possible. One of the arguments used by special interests to accomplish its defeat was that it gave the President too much power in giving to him the right to appoint the members of the Federal Reserve Board.

If the time ever comes in this fair land of ours when we can not trust our President to appoint the members of this board, then let us say, "Abandon hope all ye who enter here."

Under the Constitution we have to trust him to name the members of the Supreme and inferior Federal Courts, and in looking over the long list of illustrious men who have adorned these courts from the day of the first appointment by President Washington down to the present hour, I am unable to see where many mistakes were made. We trust him to appoint the members of his own Cabinet and the Interstate Commerce Commission, as well as countless thousands of other appointments. We ought to be able to trust our President in a matter of appoint-

ing members of the Federal Reserve Board.

If this measure had been in force the blistering and blasting panics of 1893 and 1907 which swept over this country devastating fortunes and wrecking values would not have occurred. Such a condition, under the present Federal Reserve System, would be impossible. It completely divorces every legitimate interest of the Nation from Wall Street, which for 50 years by its wicked system of interlocking directorates, combination of interests, and cruel war of retaliation held the financial interests of all the people of the United States in the hollow of its hand. No political despot ever ruled his people with such an iron hand or firmer grip than Wall Street has ruled our people in the past. It played high politics as well as high finance, always ready with its cash box during each occurring campaign, always seeking special favors at the hands of those able to render them.

The present sound business in the United States, despite the catastrophe in Europe which has deranged the avenues of trade linking all the world together, is entirely due to the administration in bringing about the enactment of the currency law which gives the country a safe, sane, and up-to-date currency system. But for the presence of this law which provides the machinery for the mobilization of the credit of the entire Nation, the European crisis would undoubtedly have brought ruin and bankruptcy to our country. As a financial bulwark the value of its enactment can not be overestimated. Its passage, initiated by Democrats, is directly attributed to the strong stand taken by the President, who aroused the public to its support and overcame the opposition of the big moneyed interests and those who for years had contended for central banks under private control. At the time of its passage the measure was deemed so good, wise, and frugal that it received the patriotic support of Representatives and Senators of all parties. This great law makes it impossible for cabals of vast wealth to precipitate a panic any more in the United States. The law gives the right to establish branch banks anywhere in the world, and when this banking system is extended to other countries, particularly to South America, there is every reason to believe that in the not far distant future the United States will be in complete control of the trade of 75,000,000 people living south of us to-day.

Europe has mobilized her mad armies; death, destruction, devastation, and sorrow beggaring human description is following in their wake. Under the guiding genius of that master mind that walks the ways of peace, Woodro v Wilson, we have mobilized our credits and there follows in its ways happiness

and prosperity to all of our people.

When private interests get control of the finances of any nation, that moment private liberty and public rights are both subordinated to individual and personal interest to the injury of the masses. This measure sounded the death knell of the of the masses. This measure sounded the death knell of the Money Trust. It allows no more nation-wide financial panics. It stabilizes the commercial, financial, and industrial conditions of the whole United States. It makes it impossible for a few high financiers to concentrate the money of this country in Wall Street; it extends a strong, helping hand to the farmer, while protecting fully the interest of the business man, and the bank provides a plan for concentrating the resources of 25,000 banks into the most gigantic banking association of the world. It provides for the establishment of foreign branches of Federal reserve banks, which are to take care of our foreign commerce, and provides for the issuance of an elastic currency through reserve notes on the surety of commercial bills on a plan of shorttime maturity.

As a result of this wise legislation our country may travel through eras of depression and eras of low prices, but never again will we see a money panic in this country unless the wealth of the entire Nation suddenly fails-a thing impossible

For years both of the leading parties recognized the necessity of strengthening the Sherman Antitrust Act in certain particulars and making it plain in others. The present administra-tion has accomplished all of this, and it did not do it without first meeting and overcoming determined opposition by big business as well as by high finance, which, as usual, resorted to scarecrow methods, threats, and bulldozing in trying to prevent

the administration from enacting this legislation; but, refusing to do their bidding, Congress, under the direction of Wilson, went forward and fulfilled the platform promises in this regard.

This measure makes it plain that officers of corporations violating the trust law can be fined and imprisoned. Under it holding companies are prohibited where the effect is to lessen competition and create monopolies. Interlocking directorates in competing corporations, any one of which has a capital of more than \$1,000,000, were made illegal two years after the passage of the act. Interlocking of railroad directorates are forbidden with corporations dealing in securities, railroad supplies, or contracts in excess of \$50,000 per year, except where the transactions are shown to be by public competitive bid or with the consent of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Under the benign provisions of this law Federal judges are prohibited from issuing injunctions against persons on account of their ceasing to perform work or labor or from issuing injunctions to prevent laborers from recommending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful means to cease work, or from issuing injunctions enjoining laboring men to attend near a house or place where persons reside or work or carry on business or happen to be for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information or peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from work, or from issuing injunctions enjoining laboring men from ceasing to patronize any party to a labor dispute, or from issuing injunctions enjoining laboring men from advising, recommending, or persuading others by peaceful means so to do, or from issuing injunctions enjoining laboring men from peacefully assembling at any proper place or in any lawful manner and for lawful purposes.

The amendment to the Sherman antitrust law passed by the present administration further provides for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt. This constitutes a magna charta or bill of rights for the laboring men of our Nation, a principle fought for by them for the past 25 years. During this time laboring men petitioned Congress, they pleaded with Congress, they asked Congress for bread in the way of being given this legislation, but until the present administration they were given They asked for fish, but were given a serpent. They asked for an egg, but were given a scorpion.

In the land which stamped out slavery 50 years ago should the labor of human beings be considered as a commodity, as an article of commerce, as property? Labor is not a commodity and never should be treated as such; while the products produced by labor are a commodity, labor itself is composed of flesh and blood, possessed of a soul filled with wants and desires; it has intangible and inalienable rights, and among these it has the right to better its condition socially, morally, and financially by the use of all possible legal means and methods at its command to bring this result about.

These rights are fully recognized in the amendment to the Sherman antitrust law, approved by labor leaders and the best students of economy throughout the Nation. This amendment humanizes labor instead of commercializing it; it places it upon high and broad planes instead of debasing it; it makes a laborer worthy of his hire, instead of reducing him to servitude.

For a quarter of a century the toilers at the mills and factories, in their lodge rooms, in their labor meetings and congresses formulated petitions addressed to the Congress of the United States asking for redress along these lines, but these petitions and memorials went unheard and unheeded until the present administration assumed power and control over affairs at Washington.

But this is not all this administration has done for labor. national Department of Labor has been created with a seat in the President's Cabinet, where the wrongs of laborers in labor disputes can be adjudicated and in a measure tried and determined. This seat in the President's Cabinet had been fought for by the laboring men of the Nation for many years in the past, but it remained for the present administration to at least recognize the long-delayed rights and justness of the request of the laboring men of our country.

No country is more prosperous than are its farmers. When they are prosperous all are prosperous. Recognizing this rule the present administration passed a bill appropriating \$4.000,000 per year, which goes to the respective States for farm-demonstration work. Under this measure Indiana will this year receive \$30,000, with the sum of \$10,000 annually added thereafter until at the end of 10 years from the date of its passage Indiana will receive \$100,000. Not a dollar of this money can be spent in the erection of puildings, equipment, or laboratories. Every dollar of it must go for farm-demonstration work. will make every farm in Indiana at the end of the 10-year period practically a demonstration school, and no doubt will increase the yield of our farms at least 50 per cent and at the

same time teach the people how to conserve their own energy and

For more than 30 years the consumers of the Nation, through their various organizations, demanded of Congress the enactment of parcels-post legislation. It remained for a Democratic House to originate and pass this important measure, which has been and is being rapidly extended by the present administration. The net result of this legislation has been to vitally decrease express rates as well as postage rates on fourth-class matter; to bring the producer and consumer in closer touch, rendering home life in the country more pleasant; and enabling the country people to reduce expenses and practice economy.

the country people to reduce expenses and practice economy. It is a known economical fact that for 25 years and more the express companies were robbing the American people, charging enormous and exorbitant rates for fourth-class mail matter. As soon as the parcel-post law was enacted express rates began to tumble; people began to get relief; and I dare say had it not been for the enactment of this wise, just, and Lumane provision of the law people to-day would be overtaxed, overburdened, and overcharged with enormous express rates, as they were prior to the enactment of this legislation. Too much can not be done for the farmers. They are the backbone and sinew of the Nation. Let them cease their work and toil from March until October and Wall Street would grow up in grass, great transportation companies would cease to move, the wheels of industry lay idle, business would become paralyzed, and ruination and destruction would stare everyone in the face.

These progressive measures had been asked for by the people for many years, but special interests had been able to prevent

their passage.

The old soldiers were told that the Democratic Party was hostile to their interests, and that if the party was ever intrusted with power their pensions would stop. Instead of this proving true it remained for a Democrat, gallant old Gen. Sherwoon, who rose in the Army from the rank of private to that of brigadier general, to prepare and pass through the House a bill increasing the old soldiers' pension until the first year of its operation it added \$30,000,000 to the pension appropriation bill, and it would continue to add this much each year were it not for the fact that the old soldiers now are passing over at the rate of 40,000 per year.

The administration has humanized our Government by enacting more humane measures than any administration ever before placed upon the statute books. Not one of the many big constructive measures placed upon the statute books by the present administration will ever be repealed by the Republican Party

if put into power.

The stock argument of the Republican Party in the early days of the administration consisted of calamity howling—trying to convince the country that as a result of the measures and policies inaugurated by the present administration rulnation, devastation, destruction, and starvation were clearly staring everyone in the face; but we do not hear that argument any more; that has ceased. The calamity howlers are estopped from using that argument any more, either upon the floor of Congress or in the country. No longer do we see in the big dailies anything about distress, hardship, or men out of employment, but every daily paper has flying headlines telling about the prosperity of the country; all kinds of men wanted for all kinds of jobs; every industry in the United States to-day running at full tilt, with banks full to overflowing with money seeking investments, ready to loan to borrowers at the exceeding low rate of from 3½ to 4 per cent interest. With these undisputed conditions existing there is no room for calamity howlers to-day, but every reason and every argument says to every man, "Get busy, get into the race, or you will be left behind."

Good Roads a National Necessity—How to Raise the Money— Tax the Swellen Fortune—Give the Little Fellow a Chance.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Wednesday, January 26, 1916.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, the question of good roads is, to my mind, one of the most vital questions affecting the people of this country, and I am glad to have the opportunity of voting in favor of an appropriation for this purpose.

I have been in favor of a measure of this kind ever since I have been in Congress and attended, I think, the first good-roads convention held in this city.

I regret to note that the opposition to this measure comes from Members from large cities, who appear to think that a measure that will be of incalculable benefit to the farmers will

mean nothing to the cities.

There could not be a more fatal error than to imagine that the interests of the city and country are divergent. The cities could not live a single day without the country, and the country needs the city as a market for its produce. The country needs the city for its educational facilities and the city needs the country for the vigorous young manhood that comes from the farm to help in the strenuous work of building and maintaining a great city. They are interdependent on each other, and real progress and prosperity can only exist when they are united in their efforts for betterment.

Nothing that can be done will do more to connect city and country life than the establishment and maintenance of good highways, and I represent both of these classes. Good roads mean that a farmer can haul larger loads for less money and with less effort, and that will enable him to sell his produce for lower prices and be one method of reducing the cost of living. Good roads will unite farmers into closer personal contact with each other and will lessen the isolation that has been the worst feature of agricultural life in this country. Good roads will keep the farmer boy and girl on the farm and lessen the tendency to overcrowd the city. They will make the country, with its beauties of nature, more easily accessible to the city boy and girl and wean them from the intemperate and fast life of the modern city to the sane and temperate enjoyments of the country.

I know of no better way to spend Government money than this; and while the list of benefits to be derived is almost without limit, I can not see that there would be any detriment

to the interest of anyone in either city or country.

We are about to enter into a discussion of preparedness, and I think it is self-evident that good roads will be one of the most effective methods of keeping our country in a state of preparedness. The quick movement of troops will be facilitated and the transportation of supplies made easier by good roads, and that alone would be sufficient reason for the adoption of a policy of generosity in appropriating for them.

The operations of the parcel post would be immensely helped, and the city dweller would have better chances than ever to deal directly with the producer for his daily needs, while the shops of the city would be more accessible to the farmer.

As to the cost, in this case as in every other the funds are in sight all right, but we will persistently look in the wrong direction for them. Charity organizations, educational institutions, and all of the various projects that need money know where to look for it and get it in pretty big lumps very often. They go to the big millionaires, to the Morgans, the Carnegies, and the Rockefellers, and get large checks to educate a few people and build libraries and carry out their various schemes—some of them worthy enough, but not a single one a direct benefit to the whole people. But when we want to raise money who do we usually think of first when we start to impose a tax? Is it the millionaire, or the big trust, or any institution, or person who has the cash in any quantity? Well, not so you can notice it. All of the tax suggestions that come across the board here are aimed directly at the little fellow who has just about got enough to keep him going.

Take the proposition to tax gasoline, for instance. Who would bear the hardest burden of that? The small dealer who uses a small car to deliver his goods; the farmer who uses a traction machine to cultivate his land. If you wished to tax along these lines, a tax on the horsepower of automobiles would be far more just, for that would catch the wealthy joy rider with his big limousine, who, in the words of the Bible, "toils not, neither does he spin," unless he spins along some road and runs over a few poor men's children.

I have tried over and over again to show where to get money enough to pay for preparedness, do away with the deficit in the Treasury, and pay for good roads in the bargain, and do it honestly and righteously, without placing the burden on those

least able to afford it.

In the Sixty-third Congress I introduced a bill and two resolutions which, if they had been acted upon by the Government, would have brought enough money in the Treasury to pay all of the preparedness bills, good-roads appropriations, and left a comfortable balance in the Treasury besides.

Besides this there were dozens of other means of enriching the Treasury without mulcting the little fellow. The Tobacco Trust is pocketing \$55,000.000 annually by a change in the tobacco schedule in the tariff bill, which enables them to lop off a half ounce on every package of tobacco they sell, and they do

not have to pay any extra tax on this either.

Just now some people are shouting about the prosperity that we are beginning to feel. It has not struck any place where I have been, and from all that I can discover it is confined to a few sections on the coast, where the trade in implements of murder has helped to fill the already swollen pockets of a few millionaires. I propose that if there is any prosperity in this evil business it had better be distributed, and I have therefore introduced a bill imposing a tax of 20 per cent on all sales of ammunition. They can stand it easily enough. The powder company always charged a much higher price for its product than it was worth and has mulcted the Government out of millions that they might have saved by manufacturing powder in Government plants. The foreign contracts are made on a still higher price basis, and all of the munition makers are getting top-notch prices for their ungodly wares and are a fit and proper subject of the tax collector.

I do not believe the people of this country want the Government to be niggardly in its expenditures. I believe that Americans in general expect governmental projects to be carried on in a thrifty and businesslike manner, with due and proper checks on extravagance and the absolute elimination of that graft that is our greatest economic and political danger, but I am sure that the whole country will stand behind any administration that makes liberal appropriations for all matters which

are for the good of all.

But the great mass of people are getting very, very tired of paying all of the bills. They are demanding and will continue to demand that the bill of expense be properly apportioned and that the burden of taxation be lifted from the shoulders of the peor and placed in proper proportion on the shoulders of those who make their riches by the hard work of other people.

Rural Post Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THETUS W. SIMS,

OF TENNESSEE.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 25, 1916.

Mr. Speaker, my honorable and distinguished colleague [Mr. McKellar] offered as a substitute for this whole bill the bill passed by this House during the Sixty-third Congress, which was almost identical with the bill passed by this House in the Sixty-second Congress, and from his remarks in favor of his substitute the gentleman from Virginia, Judge SAUNDERS, one of the able members of the Roads Committee that reported this bill, seems to have conceived the idea that Tennessee had in some way indorsed or approved the bill which Mr. McKellar offered as a substitute for this bill. I must confess that I read nothing in the reports of the debates that took place in the senatorial primary contest tending to show that there was any kind of an issue between the distinguished competitors for the senatorial nomination as to any kind of a plan for Federal aid to State and county roads. All the contestants claimed to be in favor of Federal aid, and each of them may have indicated what, in his judgment, was a good plan, but there surely was not so sharp a difference in the various plans suggested as to constitute an issue,

I feel that I am warranted in saying that there was not as many as 1,000 votes cast for any one of the candidates due alone to the plan of Federal aid advocated by him. I do not think Judge Saunders fully understood the remarks of my colleague, Mr. McKellar, and I want to assure him and the chairman of the Roads Committee, Judge Shackleford, that I have not the slightest doubt that the people of my State will most heartily approve the plan of this bill when they fully understand it, and I think they will agree with me that the present bill as it has been amended at the suggestion of the Committee on Roads in this Committee of the Whole is the best bill that has been reported to the House or passed by it since I have had the honor to be a Member of it. Taking the view I do of the merits of this bill. I could not vote for the substitute offered by my esteemed colleague, and I was glad to hear him say in debating his substitute that if it was rejected by this Committee of the Whole he intended to vote for this bill. The people are more inter-

ested in getting some good bill enacted into law than they are as to any particular plan or the details of this or any other plan.

While I believe that it would have been wiser to authorize the United States Government, unaided or assisted by the States, counties, or municipalities, to build at its own expense a general system of well-constructed, hard-surfaced roads, connecting all the county seats in all the States of the Union, and let such a system of Government-owned roads, of uniform standard and quality, constitute the entire contribution of the United States to the highway systems of the whole country, constituting, as they would, a splendid network of trunk-line intercounty and interstate roads, and leave the construction and maintenance of all other roads that may be needed to the States, counties, and municipalities, with no sort of partnership between the Federal Government and the several States of the Union. But the committee in its wisdom has seen fit to report the bill we now have before us, and I am too anxious to secure good-roads legislation at the earliest possible date to oppose this bill simply because I think that the bill I have proposed is a better system to adopt than the one proposed in this bill.

I think I can assure my colleague that no highway commission in Tennessee will ever have the hardihood to map out and propose a system of roads chiefly beneficial to automobile owners, to the neglect of the roads used by the great mass of the people in hauling their produce to the market towns and shipping points. The governor appoints the highway commissioners, and he has to be elected every two years, and he certainly would not appoint a commission that would neglect the rural sections of our State in the distribution of either State or Federal aid to

good-road construction.

The plan I have suggested in my bill can easily be adopted by the highway commission of my State for the construction and maintenance of a system of State, interstate, and intercounty highways if in its wisdom it deems it the best system to apply to the State as a whole.

The Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Gen. Nathaniel Prentiss Banks.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. CARTER,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 27, 1916.

Mr. CARTER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I am prompted at this time to ask the indulgence of the House as I wish to speak briefly of Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Prentiss Banks, one of the most highly honored citizens from that historic State of Massachusetts, which does not permit the affection which she holds for her distinguished sons to go unnoticed.

One hundred years ago, on the 30th day of January, there was born in Waltham, Mass., a city which I now have the honor to represent, a boy who later served his country with distinction in the time of war and his State and Nation in positions of high trust in the time of peace. With only the advantages of a common-school education, he was compelled to go to work in a cotton mill in the city of Lowell, and because of his work there he was often referred to as the bobbin boy of Massachusetts,

The young lad was not satisfied to remain at work in the mills and studied diligently during his leisure hours. When only a very young lad he secured many engagements to speak before assemblies and meetings. He then became the editor of a local paper in Waltham, and later studied law and was admitted to the Massachusetts bar. In 1849 he was elected to represent Waltham in the Massachusetts Legislature.

It was at this time that the Free-Soil Party was becoming prominent in New England and the ancient power of the Whig Party was on the wane. Mr. Banks favored a coalition between the Democrats and the new party, and was elected speaker of the Massachusetts State Assembly in 1851. In 1852 he was reelected to this high office. The next year he was selected to be chairman of the Massachusetts constitutional convention, and later in the same year was elected to Congress as a coalition Democrat. During his term of service he withdrew as a member of the Democratic Party and identified himself with the "Know-Nothing" Party.

He defeated the Democratic and Whig candidates in his district by an overwhelming vote when he was reelected to Con-

gress. The following year he was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives in a contest which lasted over two months. It was not until the one hundred and thirty-third ballot was cast that the deadlock was broken. The Know-Nothing Party went out of existence and Mr. Banks was reelected to the Thirty-fifth Congress as a Republican, by a larger majority than before, and resigned December 4, 1857, when he was elected governor of Massachusetts.

He served in that office for three years, and in 1860 was made president of the Illinois Central Railroad, succeeding Gen. George B. McClellan. He gave up this office at the outbreak of the Civil War and received a commission from President Lincoln as major general of Volunteers, and was assigned to the Fifth Corps in the Army of the Potomac. His corps acquitted itself with much honor during its first active service in the Shenandoah Valley, on the upper Potomac, as well as at the Battle of Winchester, March 23, 1863.

During April and May of that year he was left to guard the

Shenandoah with two divisions. Gen. Banks was left with but 8,000 men, and it was upon this force that "Stonewall" Jackson made one of his sudden onslaughts, and the corps only escaped well-ordered marching and stubborn fighting. Through good generalship the bulk of his army crossed the Potomac at Front Royal on May 26 and the Confederate leader failed to realize his apparently reasonable expectation of capturing the entire force.

Gen. Pope was placed in command of the Army of Virginia, and June 27, 1862, he concentrated his forces in the neighborhood of Culpeper Court House early in August. Gen. Banks's corps was ordered to the front August 9 and took part late in the afternoon of that day in the Battle of Cedar Mountain. His corps held the position against a largely superior force, was strengthened during the night, and before the morning of August 11 the Confederates retreated to the Rapidan. After participating in Gen. Sigel's campaigns in September, Banks was placed in command of the defenses of Washington while preparations were secretly made to dispatch a strong expedition by sea to New Orleans.

He was assigned to the command of the expedition, which sailed from New York in November and December, and on reaching New Orleans he succeeded Gen. B. F. Butler in command of the department. Baton Rouge was occupied with a large force, and during the winter reconnoissances were made toward Port Hudson and other points in the vicinity. Early in April of 1863 he led the army up the Teche country, encountering no very formidable opposition, as far as the Red River. Thence he crossed the Mississippi and invested Port Hudson in connection with the fleet under Farragut. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to storm the works, involving heavy

losses to the assaulting columns,

In July the news of the surrender of Vicksburg was received. and on the 9th of that month the garrison of Port Hudson, 6,000 strong, capitulated, and the Mississippi River was once more open to the sea. No military movements of great importance were undertaken in the department until the succeeding spring, when Gen. Banks's army, supported by a powerful fleet, was sent up the Red River, with the intention of regaining control of western Louisiana. At the same time Gen. A. J. Smith, with 10,000 men, descended the Mississippi, reaching the rendezvous first, and was joined by Gen. Banks, who assumed command of the whole force at Alexandria.

The Army advanced along the south bank of Red River as far as Sabine Crossroads, when it suffered a defeat by the Confederates, under Gen. Richard Taylor, and was obliged to fall back to Pleasant Hill, having sustained heavy losses in men and material. Here on the following day the Confederates renewed the attack, but were repelled with great loss, and the National Army retreated without further serious molestation to Alexandria, where a new complication arose in consequence of the subsidence of the Red River after the spring freshets. The gunboats were unable to descend the river, owing to shoal water, and were only saved by the engineering skill of Lieut. Col. Joseph Bailey. The whole force then retreated to the Mis-

Gen. Banks has been censured for the failure of this expedition, but it was undertaken contrary to his advice and in spite of his protest. During his command of the Department of the Gulf he endeavored to reorganize the civil government of Louislana, but did not accomplish it in a manner satisfactory to the inhabitants. He was relieved of his command in May, 1864, resigned his commission, and returning to Massachusetts was elected to Congress from his old district. He was reelected to the successive Congresses until 1877, failing only in 1872, when he was active in behalf of Horace Greeley, the Liberal-Demo-

cratic candidate for President. He served for a long time as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. He was again elected to Congress in 1888, and in 1891 he received a pension.

He died at Waltham, September 1, 1894.

In the city of Waltham he is not forgotten. In 1900 the Massachusetts State Legislature provided an appropriation for the erection of a statue of the statesman and soldier, which was dedicated with fitting exercises on September 16, 1908. the unanimous consent of the House at this time to have inserted in the Congressional Record an extension of my remarks by the printing of the address which was delivered by the Hon. Herbert Parker, of Massachusetts, at the dedication exercises. This address was a fitting tribute to this great man.

ADDRESS BY HON, HERBERT PARKER.

"The grateful affection of Massachusetts does not suffer the memory of her distinguished sons or their high service in her name to fade and perish in her heart; nor will she permit the laurels she has proudly set upon their uplifted brows to wither

in the dust of forgetfulness.

"This stately memorial ceremony, this assembly of her people, declare that she holds in tenderest thought and remembrance an honored son whose achievements have become a part of her own enduring fame. No spoken word of eulogy is needed to breathe life into those deeds and that service, for they live and move and have their being in the peace, the power, and the glory of our Commonwealth and Nation. History shall have eternal care of the record of his works; her vigilance shall keep the letters she has berself inscribed bright as the stars which mark the pathways of the immortal; his name shall live upon the lips of all who shall love the Commonwealth and cherish and revere the lessons of her citizenship. Yet love ever seeks some visible remembrance of a presence that has faded from the sight. The poet is minister to the soul, but the divine genius of sculptor and painter can best give expression to the loving memories of the heart.

"And now, again, the figure of a statesman, tireless in his service to the State, rises before the sight of the generations yet unborn, who shall know the everlasting presence of a great past, made visible inspiration of their own days. To such high purpose the memorial bronze which with reverent hand we unveil

to-day shall speak to the coming ages.

"This hour, when our Nation is secure in impregnable power, serene in universal peace and honor, might lead us to question the recitals of the historian, to distrust the annals of those days of doubt and darkness through which our Nation came to its own redemption; for living lips no longer sustain the fierce debate, the threats of impending conflict, the outbursts of implacable controversy that stirred the thought and tried the souls of men when Nathaniel Prentiss Banks, son of the soil of Massachusetts, and, by virtue of her spirit, born leader of men, had commanding part in making our country what it isin its Constitution and in truth a Nation of free men.

"The impressive story of this life engages and holds our present thought, gives purpose to these ceremonies that shall far outrun the brief hour that they occupy. The life of Gen. Banks is the lesson of the splendid possibilities and perfect realization of American citizenship, for no fortuitous advantage of birth or opportunity raised him to an eminence to which any American may not aspire. Senator Hoar, wisest and kindliest philosopher of our time, has said he was 'an example of what a generous ambition can accomplish for the

humblest child of the Republic.'

"He was born in Waltham, in the county of Middlesex, on the 30th day of January, 1816, the eldest of seven children, his father a competent mechanic, but without means to provide educational advantages for his son other than those of the elementary schools, not then developed to the high standards of to-day. From his early boyhood the gaining of a livelihood was the first necessity of his thought, and this period of his life challenges our careful observation—a time of great influence, it is said, in the formation of character; but it were more in accord with the truth if we say that such circumstances do but reveal real qualities which can only be manifested by the trial of environment and the tests of self-reliance, in most cases postponed until years of maturity. Dominating the limitations of his youth, he gave assurance of that great future which he already grasped in making himself master of opportunities, which he made possible through constancy of purpose

and ceaseless and intelligent study and industry.

"With his parents he sought employment in the factories of Lowell, and his first labor gave him that sobriquet of affection which the people adopted, and, half in earnest and half in kindly jest, the name of the 'bobbin boy' followed him through

"His youthful tasks were long, spent in joint servitude with the mechanism of loom and spindle, but they constantly sang to his prophetic ear of the limitless possibilities of labor, of industry, of self-reliance, and of courage. Scant were his moments for the study of books after 12 hours of laborious service, but in all ages the fitful evening firelight and dim flame of the rush taper have made luminous the pages of learning and have cast their rays forward and far over the pathway that leads

upward to the heights of exalted fame.

With an earnestness that knew no fatigue in the quest, he sought the enlightenment of good books and spent such hours as he might call his own in the company of the great teachers The English classics were his delight, and he acquired such knowledge of Latin as to enable him to read with some facility the great authors of that tongue. He diligently studied Spanish, and with a curious prescience declared that the day would come when America must have intimate association with the people of that race. His early and constant study of the poets, of the historians, and philosophers doubtless gave him, by the aid of his retentive memory, that mental equipment, that fullness of knowledge, that admirable style which have given his State papers and his public addresses an assured place with the best that our English literature

"By the kindness of friends he had access to the stores of learning in the Boston Athenæum, and there his few holidays were passed in studious delight, and his long journeys homeward in the evening after days of such enlightenment were, in truth, in the company of the stars which shone above and

before him.
"The stern necessities of life kept his hands as closely occupied as his mind; apprenticed as a machinist, he became an

expert journeyman.

In 1839 he assumed the proprietorship of the Middlesex Reporter, and as editor prosecuted this first literary venture with success for three years. He read law, and was duly admitted to the bar, but never engaged in practice. Other occupations, more congenial to his taste and for which he was doubtless better fitted, fully engaged even his intense intellectual energies, The lecture platform gave him earliest opportunity to try his forensic powers, and it was manifest that limitations in education had been more than compensated by industry and mental attainment. His speech was graceful, natural, vigorous, and adorned by that versatility and accuracy of phrase that can be acquired only by wise and appreciative acquaintance with the best authors. It is related that after the delivery of a lecture at Salem a delighted auditor inquired from what university he had been graduated, to which, with apt humor, he replied,

From a college with a water wheel in the basement.'
"His genial, candid nature, the enthusiasm of his youth, his energy and evident talents, gained him the confidence and regard of men of influence, and among the most fortunate of these associations was the friendship of the Hon. Robert Rantoul, collector of the port of Boston, afterwards United States district attorney, and later Senator. This eminent scholar and lawyer offered the young student free access to his private and professional library, encouraged and aided him in his literary studies, and by example and conversation taught him much of that refinement of thought and diction which was afterwards the marvel of those admiring critics who knew the meagerness of the school education which he had enjoyed. His intensely virile voice was of extraordinary charm, of marvelous compass, sweeping an audience to exalted enthusiasm in a resistless torrent of stirring eloquence; again, captivating all opposition by the spell of persuasive argument or moving appeal that no auditor could resist; and this power survived all the infirmities of age. Even in the chill of decrepitude which enfeebled all his physical energies, when he rose before an audience the fire of youth rekindled, and-

"Pale flashes seemed to rise, As when the northern skies Gleam in December,

"Talents such as he possessed proved his aptitude and justified his ambition for public service, and now the field of the great achievements of his life awaited him, a field of future trial and conflict, where no man might dare to enter and hope to survive without the courage of conviction; nor could one expect to be sustained by party name or party prestige, for in the great moral issue then impending the bonds of political organization were to be dissolved and fused in the fires that consumed all but the elemental principle upon which the Nation was divided, however the fact might be concealed by specious assurance, conciliatory statute, or party platform.

"At the outset of his career he resolutely determined upon that line of conduct which he declared had controlled his every public act, when in answer to interrogatories put to him when candidate for Speaker of the National House, he said:

"In my brief period of public life, not altogether a quiet one, I have relied upon myself alone, and I have done that under all circumstances which my convictions taught me to be right.

"He first appeared as party advocate in support of the candidacy of Van Buren, thus allying himself with the Democracy, which in Massachusetts was tending toward a temporary affilia-tion with the Free Soil Party, which ultimately formed the coalition by which the old Whigs were driven from a power so long restraining, by its prestige and the mighty name of Webster, the irresistible sentiment of the people of Massachusetts against any extension of the curse of slavery to new States and Territories or any further recognition of an institution now become detestable and abhorred, especially through the enactment of the

fugitive-slave law.

In 1848, in his thirty-third year, after repeated campaigns, he was elected to the State legislature, and was returned almost without contest for three further terms. Through the coalition in 1851 Henry Wilson as a Free Soiler was chosen president of the senate, and Banks, as a Democrat, speaker of the house, and reelected in 1852. This coalition and transitory alliance of expediency, in large part consisting of men of little other prominence or station, incongruous in its past, and with no hope of the future, had rendered an important and essential service to the country in the election of Sumner to the Senate. It was looked upon, nevertheless, without confidence or respect by all who knew its true constituents. Banks himself, with shrewd humor, said to Gov. Boutwell:

"It is almighty queer that the people of this Commonwealth have put their government into the hands of men who have no last and usual place of abode.

"As speaker of the house he gained new prestige and respect; impartial, courteous, and firm, he displayed an exact and exhaustive knowledge of parliamentary law, and his administration was universally conceded to be that of an ideal presiding

"Another political organization gained quick and extraordinary ascendency in the State, adding further embarrassment to the disintegrating political parties of the times. So insidious was the power of this secret organization, known in name as the Know-Nothing Party, that the Free Sollers dared not openly oppose it; indeed, many, from motives of policy, surreptitiously, sometimes avowedly, joined its ranks. It can not be doubted that Banks and Henry Wilson, forced by the exigency of the times and in the hope of ultimately aiding the free-soil cause, became members of the organization or permitted themselves to be so considered. They certainly realized that an organization founded upon intolerant religious proscription was so false and hostile to the spirit of our American Government that it could not survive; its disintegration was inevitable, and after a brief supremacy it passed from all participation in the Government, and scarce an apologist for its existence can now be found. Gen. Banks himself, by his own leadership, finally redeemed the State from a reign of bigotry unworthy of our annals and now happily forgotten.

"His choice as president of the constitutional convention of 1853, when 37 years of age, he rightly esteemed to be the most gratifying incident of his life, replete as it was with evidences of public confidence rarely in a full lifetime accorded to any one man. Constitutional conventions of Massachusetts have always assembled her most learned and most eminent citizens; the cunning politician has found there no fruitful field for his small. ambition, no opportunity for those rewards which are the object of his self-seeking efforts; and so the determination, or modification in form or tenor, of the or anic law of the State has been left to those who have recognized the necessity of preserving its wise restraints, and have not suffered them to be relaxed because of ill-considered or injudicious popular desire.

"In this convention, which has been designated as the ablest body of men that ever met in Massachusetts, there sat, among the many of great learning and scholarship, Richard H. Dana, jr., George S. Hillard, Marcus Morton, father and son, Simon Greenleaf, Rufus Choate, Charles Sumner, Caleb Cushing, and the elder Robert Rantoul. To be given preferment over them, and by their choice, was a signal honor and a gracious recognition of character and ability peculiarly gratifying to this self-taught man, who, in spite of his success, felt the want of that general education which had been denied him. With perfect dignity, with a manner befitting the grave proceedings, he mar-shaled the brilliant and powerful arguments of the ablest and most learned lawyers and laymen of the State in such a manner that each had the fullest and fairest display and consideration, 'The college of the mill wheel' found her graduate sitting as equal among equals with the doctors of law and philosophy, who

wore the gowns of our most ancient university.

"The extension of slavery in the West, the arrogant demand of the slaveholder of the South, open threats of secession, fitful flashes of the fires of war, flamed across the dark clouds of sectional and party controversy, as long before the storm one may note its approach in the heavens. Webster, by force of his overwhelming exposition of constitutional rights and obligations, had reassured the South and restrained the North. Now, the Missouri compromise was repudiated; its provisions spurned and cast aside; the Supreme Court had held it to be a void compact by which neither party was bound. Massachusetts saw the wretched slave seek sanctuary under the shadow of Bunker Hill, only to be dragged from his refuge, and with fetters upon his limbs delivered over to his vengeful and merciless master to be returned to a hopeless captivity. The sentiment of Massa-chusetts could not longer be repressed. Whittier sang to her of the pathos and horror of slavery, and appealed to her mercy, her love of liberty, and her courage. Lowell, with exquisite irony, in prose and verse laid bare the fatal fallacy of the original constitutional evasion of the truth, and the later political subterfuges and compromises which perpetuated a crime which outraged the law of man and God.

"In her inmost heart Massachusetts knew that the Nation itself must perish if the infection which corrupted the very bonds of the Union was not utterly cast out by legislation or by war. Sumner, who had dared to utter the dread truth, was stricken down by the shameful blow of a coward, who had thought that the dawning of the day might be stayed if only

he might stifle the voice that proclaimed its coming.

"Bravely, with a purpose now irrevocable, but without its open avowal, Massachusetts looked forward, anxious, depressed, but without fear, to the inevitable conflict. Emerson had said: 'The fugitive-slave law did much to unglue the eyes of men, and now the Nebraska bill leaves us staring.' forethought she selected her champions, hoping against hope that her battles might be fought to victory in the peaceful halls of legislation, but determined that there or on bloody fields the battle must be fought.

"Champion such as she sought she found in her own son, Nathaniel P. Banks. True to every duty she had cast upon him, she called him to that of graver moment than he had yet ssayed; and, confident, she sent him her Representative to the Thirty-third Congress, there, in the words of one of his later utterances, to maintain that 'for a State inflexibly determined to submit to nothing wrong there is no safer rule of action than

to ask nothing that is not right.

"In such spirit he went forth from Massachusetts to gain that ascendency in the Federal councils that he had won among associates and rivals in his own State. Conflicting sentiments and opinions had wrought utter confusion in party polley; party names had lost influence, even significance; in such a chaos only individual conscience, courage, and capacity could survive. He was elected on a Know-Nothing ticket, but made no pretense of his own sympathy or affiliation with that party; on the contrary, in the campaign of 1855 he presided over the Massachusetts Republican convention.

"In the contest for Speaker in the Thirty-fourth Congress, Banks, of Massachusetts, tried and proved by his first termthe most notable incident of which was his opposition, though elected a Democrat, to the Kansas-Nebraska bill-was offered as a candidate, not by a party caucus, but because of recognized courage without arrogance, and a spirit that demanded and

conceded only what was right.

"Breathless interest attended the election; upon its declaration was to be determined whether antislavery sentiment was to find aggressive expression in Congress, or whether laws dictated by sectional policies were further to enslave the very conscience of the Nation. In the intensity of the excitement, prolonged through months of balloting, and requiring no less than 133 roll calls, Banks never for a moment lost his self-poise, courage, and candor. Frankly and fearlessly answering interrogatories as to his conduct if elected, he answered that no party dictation should control his action; that his duty as he saw it should be his only guide. Of Kansas and Nebraska he declared, with thrilling emphasis, that there must 'be made good to the people of the United States the prohibition for which the Southern States contracted and received a consideration. I am,' he said, for the substantial restoration of the prohibition as it has existed since 1820.'

"New adherents gathered to his support as other candidates failed and fell under the fierce struggle of faction, prejudice, passion, wrath, and fear. At the end the advocates of slavery and their associates, who hated the system but feared secession or war, had united upon Aiken, of South Carolina, known as

the greatest slaveholder of the South. Truly it was an impres sive spectacle. With bated breath the country looked upon this final conflict between Banks on the one side, who had dignified labor by the service of his own hand, had glorified it by the inspiration of intellect and eloquence, and on the other hand Aiken, born to a condition and sentiment that made the sweat and blood of human beings the capital and substance of his

personal and political fortune.

"North and South and West the tidings sped that this man of northern sentiment and of northern courage, the 'iron man of Massachusetts, had been chosen to direct the policies of the people's tribunal in the House of Congress, where the wildest outbursts of resistless enthusiasm were manifest in spite of bitter denunciation, sullen murmurs, even hisses of the mortified and defeated autocrats of the South. But let no American forget to hold in honor and respect the magnanimous conscience of Aiken himself. Victim of a curse to which he had been born, the soul of a patriot broke from the bondage which held him as he rose and stilled the shameful tumult about him by declaring that the will of the people's representatives was supreme, that the election commanded the obedience of all, and that he first demanded the honor and right to lead the chosen ruler of the House to the chair of his rightful authority.

"Under such auspices, under auguries of such reassuring promise—the first real victory of Republican antislavery sentiment-the new Speaker assumed the duties of an office in responsibility and power under our system of congressional government second only to those of the President himself.

"A great victory had been won, and the students of that stormy period of our history unite in the avowal that by no other hand could the standard of the great cause have been borne to its With just and equal recognition of leaders of each policy of public opinion he made appointments to his committee; with that tact which always characterized him he consulted Senator Benton, of Missouri, then in Washington, and advised him that he should appoint Gen. Quitman, of Mississippi, upon the Committee on Military Affairs; to which the rugged old politician, pleased by the confidence of this young man, said of Quitman:

"He is a fire eater; put him on, put him on; but see that he is mighty well guarded.

"The Speaker blandly replied that he had already taken that

necessary precaution.

"As Speaker he presided with such courtesy, dignity, incomparable knowledge of the laws of deliberative assemblies, with such inflexible courage and perfect fairness, that never was a ruling reversed by the House; he ruled not by any 'magic of the gavel,' but by virtue of force and fairness, which commanded respectful assent; and when he resigned his authority to the power that gave it, he departed from among his associates with their universal affection, admiration, and confidence.

"His administration marked the first incident of that momentous period described by Breckinridge of Kentucky, high-souled, generous patriot of the Southland, in his feeling eulogy of Gen.

Banks when in the Capitol at Washington, he said:

Banks when in the Capitol at Washington, he said:

"When Massachusetts stepped to the front, and, as the beginning of the leadership in the tremendous struggle, Nathaniel Prentiss Banks became Speaker of the House of Representatives—practically from 1855 to 1875—the House of Representatives—practically from 1855 to 1875, whether it was for weal or wee, whether it was for weal or wee, whether it was wisely or unwisely done—men differ and historians may dispute—but as a matter of fact Massachusetts led America, and led her with an audacity, an aggressiveness, with a skill and eloquence, with a power and force which have never been surpassed, in all the tide of time, in the leadership of a great people.

"In this supreme apostrophe there is nothing of the exaggeration of rhetoric; it is historically true that Banks, of Massachusetts, had stayed the tide, and that around him there crystallized positive hope of the triumph of the new party of freedom, whose elemental principle of faith was the repression of slavery, if not its extermination.

"The seceders from the convention that had nominated Fill-

"The seceders from the convention that had nominated Fillmore, calling themselves the North Americans, declared Banks their nominee for the Presidency. This he declined, and then they nominated Fremont. An acute and profoundly learned American historian has said:

"Never in our history, and probably never in the history of the world, has a more pure, a more disinterested, a more intelligent body of men banded together for a noble political object than these who now enrolled themselves under the Republican banner.

"From the cloisters of study and college, Felton and Silliman, Emerson, Longfellow, Bryant, Curtis, Irving, and Willis, upon platform and in the market place, exherted their fellow citizens to join the cause of Frémont and freedom. The religious press adjured the people to 'vote as you pray and pray as you vote' in a holy cause. In the fervor of such exalted enthusiasm the Republican Party entered upon its first national campaign. Banks, sagacious leader, perfectly in touch with the popular

sentiment, looking to the ultimate victory, which he knew must now be postponed, récalled from Congress, became a candidate for governor against the invincible Gardner in his last battle for his dead cause. Banks realized that nomination under the Republican name would arouse too many hostilities, excite too much apprehension, alienate too many associates to bring success. In purpose and in ardent faith an antislavery Republican, and fighting for their cause, his nomination carried only the prestige and power of his own popularity and his own national and State renown. His election silenced the last whisper of the Know-Nothing councils, and, in fact, established the Republican Party triumphantly in the State. Again him the hope of the people of the North found realization.

"And now the second epoch of his memorable public service began. Chief executive of the State which was preeminently the leader of the new cause, he had need to be wise in counsel, discreet in conduct, fearless in thought, inflexible of purpose, else the great destiny of the State might be subverted. administration in this troublous time was conducted with a calmness and stability of judgment that proved him a true statesman. He foresaw, and beyond all other men prepared for, that armed rebellion of desperate and wrathful Southern States which finally broke in all its awful terrors upon a nation for

the most part ill prepared to sustain its shock.

"His first inaugural address, in words of prophecy, courage,

and patriotism, declared that-

"The preservation of the Union is among the highest of political duties; the vitality of the Union is in the recognition of the rights of the States; the affirmation of their existence may become the surest means of perpetuating the Union itself. These are privileges that are worth a contest; such, at least, has been the immortal example of immortal men.

"His message announcing the removal of Judge Loring from his office as judge of probate, while it stated a sufficiently sound technical ground, was nevertheless due to popular condemnation of a positive official duty in his rendition, as a Federal magistrate, of the fugitive slave Burns. But Gov. Banks was far from being the mere creature of the popular will; he knew well how to lead it, but he did not fear to oppose it in the discharge of his public duty. In his message he forcibly reminded the legis-lature of the exclusive jurisdiction of the Federal law within its constitutional province, and pointed out the error and evil consequences of futile or unjust State legislation in conflict

with national authority.

"He urged, with unanswerable justice and logic, that the illconsidered proscription of the act of May, 1855, intended to prevent the execution of the fugitive-slave law, should be moditied so that they should recognize the Federal law and yield a necessary obedience to it. The Massachusetts statute providing that any person who shall 'act as counsel or attorney for any claimant of any alleged fugitive from service or labor shall be deemed to have resigned any commission from the Commonwealth that he may possess, and he shall thereafter be incapacitated from appearing as counsel or attorney in the courts of this Commonwealth'—this the governor declared to be 'inconsistent with the dignity, as it is with the professional traditions, of the State, with which, in this connection, the illustrious

names of Adams and Quincy are inseparably associated."
"The statute further provided that any member of the volunteer militia who should in any manner act or aid in the seizure, detention, or rendition of a person claimed as a fugitive from service or labor should be punished as a felon. The obvious conflict of duty thus confronting a Massachusetts soldier was pointed out in emphatic terms of condemnation, the governor declaring that every order issued from this department of the government to the military force of the State must be obeyed.' "He defined the dignity and character of judicial service in a

message rising in sentiment to the lofty judicial ideals of Choate, which had inspired the constitutional convention:

Choate, which had inspired the constitutional convention:

"Fixed compensation for public service is one of the important features which distinguish the republican from despotic forms of government; to no class of public service does it apply with so much force as to judicial officers; the just determination of judicial causes requires the union of rare ability and the highest integrity, great intellectual capacity, and extended and varied mental culture. They are invested with life tenures of office and are expected chiefly to abstain from active participation in business transactions. It is not possible nor expedient to pay the most competent men as much for such service as would be received by them in successful professional life, but they have a right to demand, accepting judicial positions, that such compensation shall be made for their services as will enable them to maintain, with economy, the dignity of their position and the honor of the State. I make this recommendation not so much for the judges as for the people, in order that they may select for their serviants the best men, whether with or without fortune, and who when thus selected and strengthened by experience and study for the discharge of their duties may be able, without injury to themselves, to continue in service and in the enjoyment of official honors with which they have been invested with their own consent and the choice of the people.

"Other subjects with which he dealt in inaugurals and messages were those of the constitutional restrictions upon executive pardon, presenting a commentary which displayed wide legal learning and a masterly discussion of the administration of the criminal law. He considered at great length the restoration of the Lyman Reformatory School and outlined and forecast all the humane and protective features of the probation laws now enacted and in operation with universal He was ardently interested in the advancement of the public schools and of the higher education and gave intimate and constant influence to every such cause, by force of his own enthusiasm procuring a just appropriation from the State that established the Agassiz Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard and the creation of a fund to aid the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He advocated the maintenance of a State training ship, saying, 'There is no surer avenue to individual and national prosperity than that which lies in the direction of an extension of commerce.

"The internal interests of the State were in his constant thought and care, and none escaped his consideration or suggestion, but his ears were not deaf to the angry murmurs, to the challenges that were cast back in anger. He knew too well the temper of the times and the effect almost certain to follow if a Republican President should be elected in succession to Buchanan. With prudence, but without exciting alarm or encouraging a spirit of war, he provided an equipment for the militia unapproached in perfection by that of any other loyal State. As commander in chief he reviewed the greatest muster of the troops of the State then held, near the field of the Concord fight, believing that unconsciously the citizen soldiers would there breathe a spirit of which the State might stand in need again. The first blood shed on that new 19th of April justified both his apprehension and his faith. Andrew, first to sustain the armed authority of the Government, with an energy and patriotism beyond the measure of our praise, sent from Massachusetts troop upon troop of our militia, equipped with every necessary weapon or munition of war; but for the wise forethought of Gov. Banks this efficient body of soldiers had not been the first to give assurance to President Lincoln of that loyalty which was to endure to the end.

"Retiring from the office of governor, he delivered a valedictory address of singular dignity, wisdom, and just comment on the trend of public affairs; something of melancholy apprehension tinged its phrase, but a confidence in his State and the preservation of the Union was manifest in its every sentence. He warned his fellow citizens of the dangers that threatened the Republic, but no fear was in his heart, full of love and veneration for the State he had served so faithfully

and so well. In tender farewell he said:

"To whatever part of the country I may go, I shall stand within the circle of her influence; the enduring monuments of her far-reaching sagacity, her enterprise, and capital will everywhere surround me, to remind me of my origin and her fame and power.

"Retiring from office he assumed important duties with the Illinois Central Railroad, whose franchise rights had been the subject of litigation in that State, where Abraham Lincoln had appeared as counsel for local interests and Robert Rantoul for the corporation, whose son relates that upon his first visit to the White House President Lincoln recalled, with respect and admiration, his first acquaintance with a Massachusetts lawyer.

"Last of all men would Gov. Banks have permitted private interest, or opportunity for pecuniary benefit now open to him, to withhold his offering a patriot's life to his country's cause. The flag of Sumter had been hauled down by its defenders with the ominous beat of war drums, that was never to cease until that flag rose again, triumphant emblem of a reunited Nation.

"Almost with the first call to arms there came from the hand of the President a commission as major general of Volunteers. It is certain that Gov. Banks, realizing his want of military training or experience would have declined the tendered honor, but the President insisted, for he well knew that no name in Massachusetts would rally so many of her citizens to her battle flags. Whatever were the misfortunes or successes that attended Gen. Banks, there was no hour so dark, no discouragement so overwhelming, that his stirring voice and unfaltering courage failed to arouse a new hope, or to restore shaken confidence. On battle field, as in forum, his inspiring voice reanimated the broken ranks, urged forward the charge, and none were laggards where he led.

"His first command was upon the upper Potomac and in the Shenandoah Valley, fated to be the debatable ground of the war, swept by the varying fortunes of battle, desolated by fire and sword.

"In 1862 he held command of the Fifth Corps of the Army of Virginia, where he met the swift and sudden attack of Jacksonmost resourceful, most audacious of captains-and here he sustained the shock of unequal battle at Cedar Mountain. Later he was assigned to the command of the Second Army Corps and in charge of the defenses of Washington, and in these anxious days the glamor of his name availed more to restore popular confidence in the North than parks of artillery or regiments The President himself, sorely tried by anxieties, the like of which no man ever bore, sought constant conference with this man of Massachusetts, and the midnight hours were witness of the trust and reliance of Lincoln, whose judgment of men never erred.

"He was sent with the expedition to New Orleans, relieving Gen. Butler. In April, 1863, his army invested Port Hudson, memorable scene of determined defense, its plains and heights hallowed by the blood of bravest men, made glorious by gallantry unsurpassed in the dread recitals of war. Vicksburg yfelded to inexorable and relentless siege and assault. The surrender of Port Hudson followed, and the soldiers of Gen. Banks, as victors, first saw the waves of the 'Father of Waters flow unvexed to the sea.' The President, in a personal letter,

"The final stroke in opening the Mississippi never should and never will be forgotten.

"The calamitous Red River expedition was undertaken without Gen. Banks's approval. As a soldier, unwavering, he obeyed the orders he received; without fear or hesitation, he marched to what he himself deemed inevitable defeat. Grant, in his final authoritative analysis of the war, has said:

"It is but just to Banks, however, to say that his expedition was ordered from Washington, and he was in no way responsible, except for the conduct of it. I make no criticism on this point. He opposed

"Upon his return from this ill-starred campaign he continued in command of the Department of the Guif. Armed rebellion in Louisiana had been overthrown; scarce a desultory shot of skulking guerrilla could be heard within its borders, but grave problems confronted him in the inextricable difficulties, almost impossibilities, of the restoration of a State government within the Union; a confusion of civil and military authority without parallel in history, conditions without precedent of constitutional guidance, were about him. No human sagacity could then have evolved a plan that would insure representation of true public sentiment, or could at that time have established and secured a just civil government. At last he sought release from duties that calmer judgment and time alone could discharge.

He returned to his own Commonwealth, which, in triumph and in misfortune, had followed and sustained him with a confidence and love that never abated. At times when his people were in doubt, verging upon despair, his return to Massachusetts had been welcomed by eager thousands of his fellow citizens. His voice lifted up the faint-hearted, the multitudes who assembled to hear of repulse sustained, of hope long deferred, went from his presence with tumultuous cheers, confident of ultimate victory, howsoever long it might be stayed

in its coming.

"Again at home, the repose of private life was not to be his. Doubtless he would not then have wished it. He was presented as candidate for Congress, and, without serious opposition, reelected until 1877, excepting the canvass of 1872, when even his loyal and admiring constituency faltered and would not follow in his support of Greeley's dangerous and mischievous opposition to Grant.

"Again, in 1888, he was elected against Col. Higginson, under conditions of very great and peculiar political interest. With

came to its close.
"During these later periods he was constantly recognized as one of the Members of greatest distinction. From the galleries his figure was among the first to be sought out; were he to speak, again the throngs that knew the spell of his eloquence crowded chamber and corridor and hung breathless upon his

words. In debate he yielded place to no man.

"He lived and acted in the mighty onrush of events that had threatened to sweep a nation to its destruction, but instead had borne it upward to an inviolable Union, an impregnable security and power; in the times when the bonds of common patriotism were reuniting, he strove earnestly with thought and effort to establish that perfect concord of heart, faith, and hope, closer than constitution or treaty can bind or compel, wrought out by an awful trial, that had taught once warring brothers that the conscience, virtue, and valor, that had animated them all were the very essence of their kinship.

"As chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs he advocated the extension of our territory into the icy waters of the Pacific, where the vast immeasurable resources of Alaska have become tributary to the wealth of our people. He reported from his committee that aggressively American bill which declared the right of every citizen to renounce all foreign allegiance, and, in case of its denial, authorized the President to suspend commercial relations with and to arrest and detain any citizen of such Government in reprisal.

"His energies, his talent, and his service had been given to his country; without fortune of his own he accepted, not without consideration of the livelihood it afforded, the honorable and responsible office of United States marshal, willingly and gratefully conferred upon him by Presidents Hayes and Arthur.

"He was elected to the Massachusetts Senate of 1874, and there ardently supported the repeal of the vote of censure upon Sumner for his just and magnanimous resolution that led to the restoration of the captured Confederate battle flags, which had declared that 'national unity and good will among fellow citizens can be assured only through oblivion of past differences'; and Massachusetts in contrition renounced an act as unjust to her illustrious son as it was unworthy of her better impulses and repugnant to her generous fame.

Thus the last sentiment of his public life was that of its beginning—the maintenance of a great Nation of freemen, bound together by a common love of country and justice, without taint of bitter memory, without thought of enmity or distrust.

"His advancing years were blessed by the universal affection and respect of his people; his loved presence was the pride and joy of his townsmen; their regard was reflected in reverent devotion of little children. His footsteps, when they grew enfeebled, were guided with tenderest attention to his home, which was in the hearts of the people of the place of his birth-the sanctuary of his perfect and constant happiness

"His power to sway the minds of men, to lead them wheresoever his voice might call, was almost without example in New England, and might have raised him to dizziest heights of personal ambition and aggrandizement; but he sought no renown, he craved no reward, save that which might be part of the fame and glory of his State and Nation, and there his memory is secure, immortal in the lofty ideals which Massachusetts has conceived, and to which her future days are committed.

"Lowell has told us that-

"The hero, the wise man, the artist, all build their own monuments, broad based as continents, lasting as love and reverence. Columbus has a hemisphere for commemoration. The obedient planets write forever in the sky the epitaphs of Copernicus and Newton.

"As our flag shall lift on the winds that proudly bear it, its stars shall flash from sea to sea through the still watches of the night, and each returning day shall forever renew the lustrous memory of its defenders."

Child Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. CARTER, OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Wednesday, January 26, 1916.

Mr. CARTER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I am heartily in favor of the Keating-Owen child-labor law. As a Representative from the State of Massachusetts it is very easy for me to understand this measure, as we have child-labor laws in Massachusetts prohibiting child labor in factories, and it is to our best interests to prohibit child labor in States which compete against us.

I think that this bill is for the best interests of this Nation. The question is whether we want to make a strong race of men and women in this country. We can not change nature. The place for the young child is in the school and after school it should be out doors, getting as much of God's pure air and sun-shine as possible. If we want to make this a race of strong men and women we must protect our children, and it is our duty here in Congress to protect them from those men whose only interest is to pile up dollars as the result of their work.

I shall never vote against the poor laboring people of this country. I believe that it is my duty as a Congressman to vote to give every boy and girl in this country a chance to make

I maintain that no young boy or girl should be allowed to work in the mines or factories of this country. The children can not protect themselves, and it is the duty of the lawmakers of this Government to make it impossible for the children to work in such places.

The very future of the Nation depends upon the children to-day. It depends upon the health and education of these

children.

What do statistics show regarding the health of these small children who are compelled to work in the mills? They show that, as the result of having to work long hours where the air is impure, their health becomes greatly impared, and thousands of them are subjected to that greatest disease in this country to-day, tuberculosis.

I believe that there are three great motives which inspire the abolition of child labor. They are, first, the economic; second, the educational; and third, the patriotic.

The economic result of the abolition of child labor will be the raising of the wages of the adult. It is the competition of the little child that drags down the wage standard of the adult. The abolition of child labor will mean the enhancement of the standard of living for the working classes, without in the least necessarily implying an increase in the cost of pro-

Secondly, there is the educational motive. With the abolition of child labor our schools will become what they are not yet, true instrumentalities of vocational training, with a view

to promoting genuine efficiency for the business of life.

Thirdly, the patriotic motive. The abolition of child labor will mean the building up of a citizenship more competent to deal with the great problems that still await the American people, and to solve them in the interest of a new and brighter

The percentage of illiteracy in States where child-labor laws are very lax is very much higher than in States where child-

labor laws are enforced.

In Massachusetts there is seven-tenths of 1 per cent of nativeborn white illiterate people. In North Carolina (native-born white) there is 12.3 per cent illiterate. In South Carolina (native-born white) there is 10.3 per cent illiterate.

The reason why so many of the Congressmen's constituents in

these States want child labor is because they have children working in the mill supporting them in idleness.

If those men could not have their children to work in the mill they themselves would be forced to work to maintain their families, and that is the reason why the gentlemen from those two States are so anxious that we should not pass laws governing the product of child labor.

The South does not gain anything for herself by requiring children to work in the mills. Had these Southern States made proper child-labor laws and lived up to them it would not have been necessary to have a national child-labor law. But so long as these States neglected to do their duty toward their children

it becomes necessary for this body to act.

It seems to me that the southern people have been trying to live on cheap labor ever since the existence of their States. Yet the conditions in the South are such that they need to spend far less money for necessaries of life than any other part of the United States, because of climatic conditions.

I believe that when this child-labor bill becomes a law the

South will grow much faster than she has in the past.

The gentleman from North Carolina explained very carefully what an easy time the children have working in the mills. want to say that he certainly does not know what he is talking about, for I, personally, have worked in the mills from a boy and know the hardships and what it means to those children to work in a mill, and I also know that the men in this Congress are not working one-tenth as hard as the children have to work for the small amount of pay which they receive.

Homesteading Public Lands.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. MURRAY. OF OKLAHOMA,

> IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Monday, January 17, 1916.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Speaker, an English statesman once said that the ultimate purpose of every law in the British realm had for its object getting 12 honest men in the jury box. In my

opinion the ultimate object of every law, both State and National, should be the building and the protection of American homes by the American citizen. I am, therefore, in favor of this bill, which has for its object the homesteading of all the remaining public domain of the United States in tracts of 640 acres each. True, most of this land is not first-class agricultural land, but 't is nearly all good grazing land, and in a section of nearly any of it a farmer can find a sufficient amount of tillable land out of which to make a farm, and using the remainder for stock will enable him to make a homestead, whereas he could not make a homestead out of 160 acres. There are in the United States an aggregate of 330,000,000 acres of public domain not yet homestead out. of public domain not yet homesteaded.

The States having a large amount are Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, Wyoming, and Oregon.

The States having a small amount are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Oklahoma.

Oklahoma has 42,177 acres.

This would make nearly 570,000 homesteads of 640 acres each,

while in Alaska there are 370,000,000 acres, which would make some 579,000 homesteads more. The latest census shows the total number of tenant farmers in the United States to be 2,354,676. Hence this breaking up of the big pastures and permitting them to be homesteaded in 640-acre blocks would provide homes for practically one-fourth of the tenants of the United states. Of this number of tenants there are a total of 104,137 in the State of Oklahoma, and an analysis of the fourth congressional district, which I have the honor to represent, shows a total of 18,227, by counties as follows: Coal, 922; Creek, 1,525; Hughes, 2,422; Johnston, 1,638; Lincoln, 2,642; Okfuskee, 2,071; Pontotoc, 2,137; Pottawatomie, 2,494; Seminole, 2,376.

I am therefore heartily in favor of breaking up these ranches and making it possible for as many men as so desire to go upon these public lands and make of them a home. No better piece of legislation could be enacted by this Congress than arranging for the remaining public domain to be homesteaded by the tenant farmers of the country. I shall therefore vote "aye" upon this bill, and then I shall hope that this Congress will provide for a system of rural credits whereby the remaining tenant farmers may be enabled to get cheap money on long-time loans

in order to buy homes

The home is the unit of the State. In all ages, in every government, whenever the citizen loses the family as the unit of State its civilization is over. The happiness of the citizen more often depends upon these things than upon the form of the government.

Child Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWIN D. RICKETTS, OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 27, 1916.

Mr. RICKETTS. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House,

am in favor of this bill.

The time has come in our civilization when the children of this Nation must be given the opportunity to take advantage of educational facilities. To permit great combinations of capital to utilize the services and labor of girls and boys under 14 and 16 years of age, respectively, without regard to their educa-tional rights, or without regard to the development of their mental faculties, is a gross injustice to the citizenship of our Nation.

Besides, child labor and pauper labor are practically put on a parity, and capital and combinations of capital are able to reap a great harvest of large profits from the slave toil of children. I am one American who is against slavery in any form; and, to me, child labor is, in the manner in which it is being used, in the different classes of the great manufacturing industries and establishments, a form of slavery. It is really worse than the slavery of the South, for so many years a national disgrace. In those days it was believed that capital should own labor, and the colored people of the South were driven about by force and required to perform such labor as their masters might require, without regard to price, physical and mental protection, or sanitary conditions; and, to my mind, Mr. Speaker, the present system of child labor in the South at the present time is nothing more nor less than a substitute for the original slav-

cry in that section of the country.

It is true that it is being maintained now under the guise of a contract, and under the further guise of just compensation, for the services rendered; but, in truth and in fact, the compensation is only nominal, and does not measure up to the value of the services rendered. Besides, the sanitary conditions of the various places in which the children are required to work are conducive to contagion, and have a tendency, in many instances, to blight the young lives of the children who are thus employed.

We are living in a progressive age, an age when educational facilities and advantages are everywhere prevalent, and it is the policy of the intelligent people of this Nation to educate the children and give them every opportunity to acquire knowledge.

In my State-Ohio-the boys and girls are required to attend school until they become 16 years of age; and the law prohibits or forbids any person, agent, corporation, or firm from employing children under this age, unless such child has a certificate of having taken all the branches up to and including a certain

For many years past, to my very deep regret, capital has em-ployed child labor in this Nation, and, in many instances, boys and girls have been abused. Their health has been ruined; their morals have been corrupted and their brains dwarfed; and this sort of treatment has gone on so long that child labor has become a national evil and a blot upon the fair name of our Republic. This evil should be stamped out by proper legislation. That is one reason why I am in favor of this legislation and shall vote for this bill.

Where the child is wronged, the Nation is wronged and the Nation's industries are tainted with the shocking and horrifying facts that cast a stigma on the fair name of this Nation, and, for the sake of a paltry gain to-day, the children are denied the right to-morrow to have their ranks filled by those who have been given a reasonable opportunity to fit themselves for the

bitter struggle of industrial life.

The true facts of the situation and the cruel inconsistencies with which as a Nation we are confronted can not be more intelligently summarized than in a sentence or two from a statement made by one of the most distinguished women of the country, a pioneer in the fight for the protection of children and the daughter of a Congressman from the State of Pennsylvania, whose services are still remembered. This statement was made by Mrs. Florence Kelly, and I quote her in part:

was made by Mrs. Florence Kelly, and I quote her in part:

It is over 30 years since I enlisted in the effort to get better legislation for the protection of the children. I believe there are more children under 16 years oll working to-day in dangerous occupations than there were when I began, because our manufacturing industries have increased stupendously and our State legislation has halted. There has been no unity in our progress. The 48 States suggest the legs of a centipede, some going forward and some paralyzed, the total progress lamentably slow. This Republic is one, and we can not go on forever with a favored class of children in the Northwestern States, where there is a requirement that the children shall not work until they are 15 years of age, and are kept in school throughout the eighth grade, while in some cotton-manufacturing States there is no compulsory education, and either entire lack of legislation by the State or a collection of nugatory laws. South Carolina at one time restricted the work of children to 10 hours a day, but afterwards decided that life was too casy for them and prolonged the hours to 66 hours a week and permitted 11 hours a day for young children.

It has been said on the floor of this House by a gentleman

It has been said on the floor of this House by a gentleman from Georgia, who has the honor of representing a district in his State, that children 11 years old, both white and black, are being worked 13 hours per day in the cotton and knitting factories of North Carolina; that in some instances white children going to work pass colored children going to school; that the conditions surrounding the children who are thus required to toil day after day are anything but favorable. And in this State of North Carolina there is no such a thing as factory

The question of whether or not the factory is sanitary, of whether or not the children have a decent place in which to work, or whether or not the work they are required to do is injurious to them in a physical or mental way, or whether or not it has a tendency to demoralize and degrade them is left to the conscience of the employer, who somehow seems to be cold and indifferent to the interest of the children, and gives his best intellect to the progress of his business and the profits to be obtained from the prosecution thereof.

This sort of thing has gone on until the whole Nation is aroused, and to-day this is no longer a State, but a national,

problem.

I am the friend of men, women, and children who are required to toil and whose rights, in many instances, are trampled upon by heartless capital. The greed of capital, in many instances, is so great as to foist upon labor almost unbearable oppression.

The Farmers' Educational Cooperative Union, representing all the States of the South, in national convention assembled, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

Whereas the National Farmers' Union believes in properly protecting the physical, mental, and moral welfare of the children, in order that their younger years may be devoted to the securing of that degree of education which belits American citizens and enables the child to be properly prepared for life and its duties:

Resolved, That we indorse this bill and demand its passage by the present Congress, and that copies of this resolution be sent to the Clerks of the House and Senate, the chairman of the Committee on abor, and to the President of the United States.

Unanimously adopted and recommended by the committee on resolutions and unanimously adopted by the Farmers' National Congress at Fort Worth Convention on September 2, 1914.

The American Federation of Labor is another organization which has indorsed this measure, and the organizations favor-ing it contain a great number of State child-labor committees, women's clubs, and humane organizations of all kinds.

Now, who are opposing this legislation on the floor of this House? It is the Representatives from North and South Carolina, from Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and some parts of Georgia. The people of these States somehow can not get away from the old theory of slavery, and the truth is that since slavery was stamped out by the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln and the adoption of subsequent amendments to the Constitution the people of the South, being inclined to follow out some sort of slavery, have drifted into the iniquitous habit of sapping the vitality from the lives of its boys and girls under 16 years of age by forcing them to work long and hard in their cotton and knitting factories in these States. They have lost sight of the fact that these same boys and girls are to be the citizens of the future of these States and that they will have to assume the duties and responsibilities resting and devolving upon them as citizens which, of necessity, means that the business interests will not be protected and the standard of citizenship will be lowered and educational advantages discouraged until, finally, by this sort of procedure they will have reinstated a form of slavery in the South, far more serious to the Nation as a whole than the old-time black slavery.

Why not protect these young boys and girls who have been and are to be the subjects of inhuman treatment? I feel that this House will pass this bill by a very large majority, and I reach that conclusion from the fact that all the northern Republicans and Democrats, with very few exceptions, as well as many of the splendid Democrats representing Southern States, have openly declared upon the floor of this House that they favor such a law as this and that they will vote for this bill, and I am glad to know that the American people have awakened to the fact that this national evil should be stamped out now and for all

time to come.

The European War and Industrial Democracy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. HOWARD,

OF GEORGIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 27, 1916.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a speech delivered by Hon. Joseph E. Davies, chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, before the American Manufacturers Export Association, in New York City, on the European war and industrial democracy.

The speech is as follows:

THE EUROPEAN WAR AND INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

[Address of Joseph E. Davies, chairman Federal Trade Commission, before the American Manufacturers Export Association, New York City, Dec. 21, 1915.]

Gentlemen, the economic map of the world is being remade. The nations are to-day studying it keenly. This is so, whether it be in Australia, South Africa, Central America, the Orient, or in the warring countries themselves. The best thought of or in the warring countries themselves. The best thought of the world is seeking to forecast conditions and to so readjust affairs as to procure the greatest possible national advantage in future development. The industrial, commercial, and finan-cial intercourse of the world is in the process of being recast. The next few years contain possibilities of as fur-reaching and enduring consequence to our industry, commerce, and finance as perhaps any years in the history of our country.

POSSIBILITIES OF INDUSTRIAL AMERICA.

What are we doing under these circumstances? To be sure, in the immediate shock of change our business community met conditions with splendid adaptability. Yankee ingenuity and American enterprise display its genius to no greater advantage than in remaking its industry to conform to the changing conditions of the last 14 months.

But that is not enough. How are we building? What are we going to do with this vast volume of gold coin, constituting ene-fourth of-the total of the world's supply, which is pouring into this country and bringing with it unprecedented expansion and prosperity? Shall it be dissipated by an era of wild speculation that will bring inevitable reaction, or shall it be utilized for the broad and extensive building of a firm structure which the constructive vision, sagacity, and daring of American industry can translate into enduring benefit for the American people?

What of foreign trade? Are we to be content with immediate and large profits? Or shall we recognize a great opportunity through which we may establish the character, quality, and value of American goods, and thereby establish a firm grip upon international markets, in anticipation of the keen competition that is to come, so that thereby a body of substantial foreign trade may be developed which shall serve as a backlog and as a stabilizer of American industrial conditions for the long and great future?

AMERICAN STATECRAFT REQUIRED.

The character of your membership, and the fact that there exist organizations of this kind; the extension of banking facilities in South America, with splendid vision, and without regard to immediate profit; the projection of an American investment corporation to engage in the financing of projects in neutral countries that have been crippled by war conditions; these and other facts which might be named are indications that in the present situation there is a commercial and financial statecraft in this country to-day that is the equal of our best traditions, and that gives promise of enduring advantage for our people.

THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS FUNCTIONS.

But men engaging in business enterprise may well reverse the shield, and ask, "What has government done, and what is it doing in this situation to perform its functions of serving the people of the United States?" The manner in which the forces of the Federal Government were marshaled to avert the economic and financial catastrophe in the first fateful weeks of the war is now history. The millions in gold from the Federal Treasury which came to the support of the tottering financial structure, not only of this Nation but of the world, were dispatched to the financial centers with a speed and a promptitude that was regarded as physically impossible. Executive order, legislative authorization, and Executive action were projected into the situation with promptness and wisdom that will stand out as worthy of the finest achievements of American capacity to meet emergency.

Since that time and through the long period of 14 months of

Since that time and through the long period of 14 months of delicate and hazardous international relations the big, substantial fact remains that this country has been kept out of war and has been held upon the paths of peace. That is the signal service that your President of the United States has rendered in this situation, not only to the Nation but also to humanity.

In lesser degree every agency of the Federal Government has been bending its efforts to the aiding and sustaining of American interests in this war crisis. Of these various activities I can not speak with definiteness, except as to those of the Federal Trade Commission affecting our foreign and our domestic industry under those conditions.

With foreign trade we have come into contact through the provisions of the organic act creating the commission.

Being charged by Congress with the obligation of ascertaining and reporting from time to time as to competitive conditions that exist in foreign countries of the world which affect adversely the interests of American industry, the Federal Trade Commission concluded that the present was a time than which there could be none more opportune or valuable for the exercise of that power. Information has been gathered from all published sources as to the existence of foreign combinations of an international character that existed prior to this war, and which were operating in the markets of the world; investigators have procured first-hand information as to conditions in foreign markets; hearings have been held in the principal centers of foreign trade in this country to obtain first-hand information from the business men engaged in foreign commercial enterprises; 30,000

letters have been sent out to business men containing searching questionaires upon the facts connected with foreign trade upon this subject. One of the most significant facts in this connection lies in this: That within the last six weeks we have received 20,000 replies out of those 30,000 requests to the business men of this country. From them we have received with promptness and generosity a vast volume of fact and detailed information, to be addressed to the solution of this problem of what steps, if any, are necessary that American manufacturers and merchants shall stand on an equality with their rivals in international competi-Time we have regarded as the essence in this situation. Within the next few weeks we hope to have assembled and digested a record of facts and opinions gathered from business sources, from publicists, from economists, and from first-hand knowledge of conditions in foreign countries, which will afford a substantial basis of accurate information for such legislative action as Congress may deem necessary and wise.

CUSTOMS REGULATIONS IN PAN AMERICA.

somewhat similar investigation arose out of conditions which exist as between the United States and Pan American countries, which operate to artificially and unreasonably restrict the commercial relations between the countries of this continent. It is generally known to those conversant with conditions that customs tariff regulations and tariffs of these countries operate as hardships upon America, where no reason obtains for their existence, as the conditions which they were designed to meet have long since passed away, and which, indeed, now serve to defeat the purposes for which they were imposed. Invoices and harbor regulations that are vexatious and useless and other conditions have been permitted to obtain largely through inertia. Only an intelligent appreciation of their significance is required to bring about advantageous change. time is peculiarly opportune for their consideration. The countries of South and Central America are studying conditions and are on the verge of simultaneously making changes in their legislation and their regulations, and not again in a decade will come so favorable an opportunity to bring about desired changes. Upon the request of the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury, the Federal Trade Commission is making an intensive, scientific study of these conditions. Investigators are now in South America gathering information of this kind, not only for the benefit of the United States but for the benefit and advantage of all the countries involved. A report upon these conditions we hope will be ready and available for the meeting of the International Joint High Commission which will be held in Buenos Aires in April next, and which will address itself to these matters. It is designed to be an impartial, reasonably complete, and accurate statement of conditions which ought to be changed and remedied for the mutual advantage of all the countries and peoples concerned.

DUMPING.

The possibilities of dumping by foreign manufacturers of their product subsequent to the war, to the detriment and disadvantage of American industry, has also been an object of investigation and study in conjunction with the Secretary of Commerce. The Federal Trade Commission, with the Secretary of Commerce, will be prepared to make recommendations to Congress as to the methods by which any such anticipated situation may be best prevented.

These, in a general way, are the functions which the Federal Trade Commission has been seeking to perform in the interest of American industries in the foreign field.

What have been the activities and the benefit of the commission as to domestic industry you may well inquire.

SURVEY OF INDUSTRIES.

The Federal Trade Commission has been in existence nine months. During that time the energies of the commission have been largely devoted to a survey of the industries of the country. The sound basis for action comes only from an accurate and thorough appreciation of conditions. The processes of industry, the constituent parts thereof, and the interrelations that exist between different kinds and classes of industrial activities are matters of intricate and extensive importance. Information of this kind had been compiled and is now available.

During that time the commission has come into personal contact with practically two-thirds of the industries of the country, measured in value of investment, not only to know the men engaged in the businesses, respectively, but to see first hand some of the problems that confront them. There is at hand, and will be immediately available for the commission on preparedness—which, it is reported, the President of the United States is considering the appointment of for the consideration of the mobilization of the industrial resources of this country—a record not only of the industries available, but their respective capacities,

actual and potential, the degree of their integration, physical and financial. This is the first survey of these factors assembled

through governmental agency.

The investigations of specific subjects, formerly conducted by the Bureau of Corporations, has been continued. Under the directorship of Vice Chairman Hurley the facilities of the accounting branch of the organization have been extended to such businesses as desire assistance in matters of cost accounting and efficiency methods in manufacture or commerce. This costaccounting service has not been imposed upon anyone, but exists for those who might wish to avail themselves of it. It has been met with great favor by all classes of business.

UNFAIR METHODS OF COMPETITION.

The principal function for which the Federal Trade Commission was created was undoubtedly to prevent practices of unfair competition in industry. The object was to destroy monopoly in the seed, and to protect the great majority of business units in industry, whose chief menace comes from practices of unfair competition which might be employed by not a more efficient but by a more powerful rival. Complaints covering many varieties of unfair methods have been filed with the commission, such as false advertising, bogus independents, price discrimination, bribery of employees, boycotts, misbranding of goods, rebates, and the like. These complaints have come from all classes of industry, covering the fields of mining, agri-culture, manufacture, and distribution. Of these complaints and their disposition the public has not heard much. This is so because of two conditions which the Federal Trade Commission has imposed upon its procedure for the public interest. No in-formation is given out or is obtainable upon any application for a complaint which is made to the Federal Trade Commission until the case has been investigated and until it has been determined that a formal complaint is to be served by the commission against the parties complained of. The reasons for this are, first, to protect those who in good faith make the complaint from reprisals by those against whom the charges are made; and, second, to protect legitimate business from the injury which the publication of malicious or improper applications or complaints might subject them to. The other policy which has been adopted is that of advising the party complained against of the nature and character of the charges made before formal complaint is made and filed by the commission, to the end that either the party complained of may establish the lack of public interest, or be given an opportunity, if the situation is clear, to agree that neither as to the complainant nor as to the general public will there be a continuance of such illegal practice. These policies tend to obscure the amount of work done by the commission so far as the publicity of its work is concerned; but it has been felt that a larger service was being performed by the proper protection of legitimate interests of business and by the speedy accomplishment of the relief to the general public and to the parties complained of.

The Federal Trade Commission was created out of a desire to bring into the relations between Government and business and society a constructive agency. It was designed by those who created it not as a punitive but as a corrective force. It was hoped that it would serve to bring about a more simple, direct, and informal agency for adjustment of matters than would be afforded through a strictly judicial or a strictly administrative agency. The fact that there may be comparatively few complaints brought by this body is therefore not an indication that relief is not being accorded; but may be in fact an indication that the effectiveness of this agency is being demonstrated along the lines contemplated by those who sought its enactment. A few illustrations of the manner in which this

operates will illustrate the situation.

A corporation engaged in the business of selling typewriters circulated among dealers in many cities a letter falsely stating that a competitor had moved its factory from Chicago, and that the customers of such factory would be compelled to make new arrangements for obtaining typewriters, which need the advertising corporation was prepared to fill. A letter directed to the corporation complained of resulted in a retraction, and in the circulation of such retraction extensively, and the applicant for a complaint thereupon requested the dismissal of the matter.

In still another case, a corporation engaged in the manufacture of an article published advertisements in which were statements disparaging the goods of a competitor in an im-The practice was called to the attention of the proper way. commission, with the result that it was immediately discon-

tinued.

Recently complaint was made by one of the large so-called independents against an alleged price-discrimination practice indulged in by a larger competitive rival. Upon complaint be-

ing made by the commission with the larger competitor, the assurance was voluntarily given that the practice would be discontinued not only as to the party complaining but also as a general practice, and as to all persons in the trade. Thus it happens that the relief which the commission could give, to wit, the procurement of the stopping of the practice, is secured with immediate relief to those injured, instead of going through a long process of litigation and procedure that might involve months or possibly years for its final determination.

It is contemplated that, by the publication of a ruling upon each case as it is disposed of, ultimately a body of cases will be built up which will operate as a code of what establishes fairness and unfairness in trade to the benefit of industry in this situation where formal complaints do not come to trial.

The powers of the Federal Trade Commission are limited by the law of its creation. They are not as extensive as many proponents might have desired; but its responsibilities are greater than its power. To the extent that in its power lay, it is bent and animated by a desire and purpose to aid in every possible manner that is consistent with democratic institutions, in the development of the power and greatness of this Nation as an industrial, commercial, and financial Nation in the world.

It is one of the agencies of government that must seek, in small part, to aid in the solution of the great problem of the future.

EFFICIENCY IN INDUSTRIAL COMPETITION.

While the significance of Germany's efficiency may perhaps have been exaggerated, nevertheless it is true that an industrial as well as a military organization has been quietly developed in Europe that has eclipsed anything of the kind that we have Economies have been induced in production; scientific methods effected in marketing and distribution; exploitation through combinations of an international character have been developed and are the complement of a military machine that has commanded the admiration of the world. Within the months last past these facts have not been apparent to us alone. England, France, and Italy have, under the pressure of overpowering necessity, endeavored to specialize industry for greater economy and effectiveness, and to a degree that it is difficult for us to understand. These influences will obtain after peace has come. To speculate as to the future conditions following the war is idle. But it is still greater folly to assume that in the long future these lessons derived from these conditions will not be translated with military effectiveness and discipline into efficiencies and economies of production and distribution, when the energies pent up in the struggle shall be released for industrial The reorganization of industry, when finally established in Europe, will in all probability be invested with a degree of efficiency that will command the respect of all rivals in international competition in the markets of the world. The stimulus of necessity will speed these processes with the resumption of peace, for international bills will have to be paid through reversing balances of trade, if that be possible, people will have to be employed, and every effort will be made by governments involved to sustain themselves from destruction.

When these conditions will obtain in international industry, it will require all of our vision and discipline, enterprise and conservatism, sagacity and daring, to meet them. It will require that our industries shall be integrated and stabilized so that not only will the economies of sustained production be available but it will require that the social well-being of the workers shall also be sustained upon a proper level to the same end. It will require a large-minded intelligence and vision in the division of the fruits of industry between capital and labor. Socialized autocracy did this before this epochal war in a manner that challenged the admiration of the world. It is our task to demonstrate that representative democracy can be equally efficient and serviceable. For a monarchy this task is relatively simple; the task for democracy is far more difficult, for in democracy we cleave to certain essential, fundamental principles as the covenant of our faith, whereas in autocracy there are no such principles that impede translation of theory into effect. We believe in democracy in America. We believe that it is our first mission in civilization to preserve and sustain it and demonstrate it as the enduring form of government for benefit of mankind. It is the very essence of our aspiration and the spirit of democracy that there shall be fair opportunity for all, not only in political rights but in the exercise of industrial and commercial vocations. Autocracy and monopoly are not abhorrent; they are the same thing—one in political life, the other in industry. Democracy and monopoly are incompatible, because monopoly consists of a denial of the principle of liberty in a sphere of action that touches most intimately and vitally the life of the people. But this does not mean that we should set our face against the advance of progress in in-

dustry. The economies of large-scale production to the extent that they exist, the advantages of integration of industry, the sustaining force of stabilization in industry, the prevention of feast and famine, the prevention of cutthroat competition, can all be encompassed in a democratic State without yielding to monopoly in principle or in effect. The problem of democracy is to conserve the efficiencies of industry to the highest degree that is compatible with the fundamental conception of liberty and freedom in industry. The problem of government is not only not to thwart efficiencies but to stimulate them, to aid them, to develop them to the highest degree that is compatible with the general welfare. That is the problem for democracy; that is the great challenge that comes in the history of civilization to this great Republic, with renewed insistence, out of this

It requires that we shall coordinate and marshal all of the best forces that are in our industrial, business, and political life for its solution. The critical function is easy; the con-

structive function is hard.

We seek to build up and not to destroy. We desire to aid

and not to harass.

To preserve for the benefit of posterity the real essence of liberty and freedom in opportunity, which America has always prided herself in, is the fundamental source of our effort in democracy.

Good Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWIN D. RICKETTS. OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 25, 1916.

Mr. RICKETTS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word. I have listened very attentively to the able arguments both for this bill and against it, and I am quite certain that but yery little could be added to what has already been so very well said. However, I am anxious to express my intention to support this bill. It is not as entirely satisfactory to me as it might be, but with the amendment offered yesterday by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Shackleford], and the adoption thereof, I am better satisfied with the bill.

The public highways of this Nation generally have been neglected for a great many years. This Government seemed to turn its attention directly to the construction of railroads and the enlargement of the railroad facilities and systems throughout the country, overlooking the very important fact that it was almost, if not quite, as essential to build, construct, and maintain its highways in a like manner throughout the country.

In my own State, Ohio, the people for the last few years have taken a great interest in the construction of roads. In the last year my State has appropriated \$1,550,000, approximately, for building roads and for repairing roads. Under our law the State and counties cooperate in the construction of county and intercounty roads. We have a highway commissioner, who superintends the construction of highways and public roads.

Now, a great many objections have been offered to this bill, but in the main I think the bill is all right. I am anxious that the Federal Government aid the States in building and constructing highways. It is true that the Representatives from the great cities of the country are not in favor of this bill. This fact is through a misapprehension or a misconception of the taxation question. They imagine that the wealth of the country is garnered in the cities and that the \$25,000,000 to be distributed through the different States in the Union will be collected largely from the wealth of the cities, and that the cities will not reap any benefit therefrom, because of the fact that they are incorporated and have the control over; and the duty of building and maintaining, their own streets and thoroughfares. It seems that they do not understand the mutual dependence of the city and the country upon each other. The city depends on the country for a great many products necessary to life and essential in a commercial way, and, on the

is printed in the city, carrying the advertising matter that is issued and published in the city and distributed among the country people, advertising the goods of the various merchants of the city, which is of vital interest and importance to the city people. On the other hand, the farmer reads the newspaper, acquaints himself with the markets, reads the advertisements of bargain sales, and decides upon the price of the articles that he has to sell and upon those which he desires to buy.

Now, were it not for the good road that leads from the city to the country, over which the rural mail is carried this great benefit, both to the city and to the country, could not be en-

joyed, and why not encourage this?

There are about 2,150,000 miles of road in the United States, as shown by the census taken by the Office of Public Roads. Of this number of miles of road, there are 190,000 improved, and during the year 1915 there was expended for the purpose of building and constructing and maintaining public roads and highways in the United States the sum of \$200,000,000.

I do not care to extend my remarks further, except to say that I am heartly in favor of this bill as a step toward better things in store for the country people and for the city people as

I may add that the people of the townships of the county pay taxes for local, county, and State purposes; the people of the county pay taxes for local and State purposes; and the people of the State pay taxes for township, county, State, and national purposes. And, under the present system of taxation, the people of the township, of the county, and of the State pay Federal taxes into the Treasury of the United States, and thereby increase its revenue. Why, then, is it not fair that the Federal Government should aid the State in constructing its roads through its counties and townships, and in this way encourage and increase the commercial relations and commercial facilities of the country? Yes, I am for Federal aid to the States for good-road purposes, and I shall vote for this bill.

Resolution Adopted by the Legislature of Florida June 1, 1915.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMMETT WILSON.

OF FLORIDA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 27, 1916.

Mr. WILSON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a resolution adopted by the Legislature of Florida June 1, 1915. The resolution is as follows:

Concurrent resolution relating to holding of an exposition in the city of Pensacola to celebrate the cession of Florida by Spain to the of Pensacola United States.

United States.

Whereas the territory comprising the State of Florida was purchased by the United States in the year 1819; and

Whereas said purchase was ratified in the year 1821; and

Whereas the blessings, prosperity, and happiness accruing to said

Territory, its inhabitants, their descendants, and to the many people now inhabiting the State of Florida, are cause for the most profound gratitude and thanksgiving; and

Whereas the immeasurable value, capitivating beauty, the extraordinary healthfulness, and the exquisite climate of Florida are unknown and unappreciated by the millions who have never enjoyed its hospitality;

nary heathrimmess, and the exquisite climate of Florida are unknown and unappreciated by the millions who have never enjoyed its hospitality;
Whereas the city of Pensacola and its vicinity was the scene of the greatest events which led to the cession of Florida by Spain to the United States;
Whereas the first American government in Florida was established at Pensacola by the heroism and partiotism of the great soldier and Democratic statesman, Andrew Jackson;
Whereas the first legislative council for the Territory of Florida was held at Pensacola and the first statutory laws of Florida were enacted at Pensacola in 1822;
Whereas the city of Pensacola affords the best and most interesting evidence of the historic past and of the superiority and beneficence of American Government in Florida, and whereas the people of Pensacola, and of west Florida, are desirous of holding an exposition at Pensacola for the purpose of celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the cession of Florida by Spain to the United States: Now, therefore be it

*Resolved by the Legislature of the State of Florida, That the gov-

sary to life and essential in a commercial way, and, on the other hand, the country people purchase a great many of their goods and necessities from the large department stores in the cities.

So the good roads leading from the large cities to the country districts are of mutual interest to the country people and the city people alike.

The great rural routes running out from the county seats and various inland towns to the country, carry the newspaper that

National Defense.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM J. SEARS, OF FLORIDA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 28, 1916.

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

Whereas Article IV. section 4, of the Federal Constitution, provides "that the United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government and shall protect each of them from three on "the order".

a republican form of government and shan protect tach invasion"; and Whereas statements in the annual reports of the Secretary of War, Secretary of the Navy, and in the reports of the military and naval heads of departments appended thereto prove that the defenses of this country are inadequate and would be ineffective in the event of foreign invasion; and Whereas an attack waged against any part of the United States would be felt with equal hardship by all citizens of the United States on account of the distributed holdings of securities, etc., and the need for requiring men for any army of defense from each State in the Union: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Jacksonville Branch of the National Security League

Resolved by the Jacksonville Branch of the National Security League in conference, as follows, to wit:

First. We favor such an increase in our Navy that it will be second to none in the world and one that will demand the respect of all nations for our commerce and trade on the high seas and efficient to maintain the first line of defense on both of the coasts of these United

maintain the first line of defense on both of the coasts of these United States.

Second. We favor a substantial increase of our Regular Army.

"Third. We favor sufficient appropriations to place our National Guard on a proportional pay basis and provide for ample instruction for these volunteer forces, as it is our belief that only through the National Guard is it possible to train a citzen army in times of peace.

"Fourth, We favor the organization of cadet companies, as contemplated in the War Department bill now under consideration, and a corps of citizen officers who can supply the needs of a volunteer army in time of need.

"Fifth. We also favor the holding of student camps as conducted by the War Department last year; and be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to each Senator and Representative in the Congress of the United States from Fiorida, and they respectively be requested by the chairman of this branch of the National Security League to favor and support the increased appropriations of Congress to establish an efficient Navy and Army and a National Guard and officer corps along the lines and views herein expressed."

I certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the original resolutions adopted December 20, 1916.

CROMWELL GIBBONS,

(Thairmen Jacksonwille (Elle)) Pressed.

CROMWELL GIBBONS, Chairman Jacksonville (Fla.) Branch National Security League.

Attest:

ERNEST METCALFE, Secretary.

Waterpower Development on Public Lands.

SPEECH

HON. GEORGE R. SMITH, OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 5, 1916.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 408) to provide for the development of water power and the use of public lands in relation thereto, and

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Mr. Chairman, before we can intelligently frame a law that will be suitable to effect a certain purpose we must have clearly in mind the object which we are trying to reach. While there is no law defining what should be contained in the title of a bill, custom and good practice require that it should cover the subject to be treated in such a way as to clearly express the purpose of the law; when it does not meet this requirement its tendency is to obscure rather than define the object of the legislation.

While the title of the pending measure, "A bill to provide for the development of water power and the use of public lands in relation thereto," is technically correct, it is misleading in that it attracts attention to the most insignificant part of the subject under consideration and leaves the impression that this part is all there is to the proposition. If the "development of water power and the use of public lands in relation thereto" were all there is to this question it would be a very simple matter to frame a measure that would adequately meet such pur-All that is necessary would be to redraft the existing law with one slight amendment.

It is apparent from the provisions of this bill and the title of the same that its authors have failed to recognize the fact that the principal feature of any scheme of legislation adequate to meet the necessities of water-power legislation should be the regulation and control of the agencies through which electric current is distributed to the users and not the "development of power and the use of public lands in relation thereto." These matters are amply provided for under the present laws.

If I am correct in my contention that the regulation of the agencies through which electric current is distributed is the proposition that demands our attention, then the title should read: "A bill to provide for the development and 'use' of power and 'electric current' generated by water power." By adopting such a title our attention at once is directed to the use" of electric current and not to the "erection" of dams and other developing agencies, as does the title to the pending measure.

Not only is the title misleading but the statements and arguments made in support of the bill are confusing and not relevant to the real issue involved. Their effect is to obscure and keep in the background the essential feature of this legislation. In the debate all sorts of questions have been discussed, each of which has tended to close our eyes to the real purpose of the measure; vagueness and confusion have been the result. Several gentlemen from the Western States have contended that their respective States should control the use of the energy developed at water-power sites on public lands; others have argued at length on the matter of rentals, declaring that such rentals should go to the States in which these power sites are situated.

Each and all of these gentlemen seem to have lost sight of the fact that unless these power sites are kept under effective control and regulation neither the States in which these water powers are situated nor the citizens thereof will derive the benefits accruing from such water power, but such benefits will inure to the advantage of the hydroelectric monopoly.

The extent to which this subject is misunderstood is fairly illustrated in a substitute bill offered by the distinguished gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. Mondell], section 5 of which puts in concrete form what he considers the essential features of water-power legislation, and is as follows:

That such right of way, occupation, and use as is in this act authorized is granted upon the condition that the grantee, its successors or assigns, shall pay to the United States Government * * * for all lands included within such areas, or rights of way, or reservoir sites, not less than \$1.25 per acre nor more than \$20 per acre, to be fixed by the Secretary of the Interior and padd at the time the map or maps provided in section 2 hereof are filed.

Under the scheme proposed by the gentleman from Wyoming the developer, who minety-nine times out of one hundred is the water-power trust, would secure from the Government at a nominal cost a valuable right; and, by capitalizing this right, a free gift from the Government, and using such capitalization in fixing rates, the entire benefits would redound solely to the hydroelectric combine.

The following concrete cases are instances of the policy pursued by the hydroelectric interests in reference to water-power sites obtained, free from restrictions, at a nominal cost, by this monopoly from the Government:

The California Public Utilities Commission, in an endeavor to regulate and fix reasonable rates, called on the Northern Power Co. of that State for a statement of its assets. The statement furnished by the company showed assets totaling \$20.000.000, which included an item of \$9.000,000, the value that the company had placed upon the water-power site, which had cost the com-pany practically nothing. The company sought to fix rates on

pany practically nothing. The company sought to fix rates of figures including this item of \$9,000,000.

And, again, the Portland Railway, Light & Power Co., of Portland, Oreg., in valuation proceedings before the Oregon Public Service Commission, in November, 1915, claimed that it should be allowed \$10,620,000 for its water powers and land over and above what these water powers and land cost it, and that in fixing rates this unearned increment should be included as an item in its total valuation.

It is clearly apparent that if the substitute offered by the gentleman from Wyoming were adopted the water-power monopoly would be able to pursue their policy of capitalizing for exorbitant amounts the land and water rights which they secure from the Government at a nominal consideration and to fix their rates and charges on this capitalization. How is the public to be benefited by the continuation of such a policy?

For many years the Government pursued the policy of making absolute grants of power sites to individuals, and under such a grant we must expect the grantee to do with his property as he sees fit. However, during the last 15 years we have witnessed a great development in the use of hydroelectric power

and also the opportunities attending this development to exact an unjust and unfair tribute from the public. With this knowledge at hand, is it the part of wisdom to place in the hands of the hydroelectric interests additional opportunities to oppress the public? If so, then we should enact a law similar to that proposed by the distinguished Member from Wyoming. His proposition and arguments; based on theories of State rights, show beyond a question of a doubt that these gentlemen have failed to grasp the true significance of the present water-power situation and its attendant problems; they have lost the correct perspective. Such propositions and such arguments in no way assist in the construction of a law that will meet the present and future needs and necessities.

ATTITUDE OF WATER-POWER INTERESTS.

The water-power interests, it will be noted, are remaining absolutely silent as to all features of water-power legislation except such as tend to remove the restrictions from the grant, well knowing from what has taken place in this discussion and from what has occurred in the last seven years, both in and out of Congress, that there has been so much said and so many conflicting theories have been advanced that the public is weighed down with a vast pile of immaterial and uninstructive matter. Naturally they have no desire to see the public emerge from under this mass until they have had sufficient time to secure what they want, namely, a complete monopoly of the water-power sites and the "markets" for electric energy. The longer the The longer the public and its servants remain in their present Rip Van Winkle trance, the better it pleases the water-power monopoly.

The owners of hydroelectric utilities are quite content with the monopoly they have created. It affords them ample protection against each other and secures harmonious control of the waterpower resources of the country. They profited by the experience of the men who developed our great competitive railway systems. Cutthroat competition between these systems had become so prevalent as to endanger their solvency. Self-preservation prompted the owners of these roads to turn the subject of regulation of rates and service over to the Federal Government. The Interstate Commerce Commission was created at the request of the railroads, and not in response to a public demand, which is contrary to the common understanding. The developers of hydro-electric power eliminated competition from the beginning, therefore no demand for Federal regulation of rates and service will come from them as in the case of the railroads.

EXISTING LAW DOES NOT RETARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF WATER POWER. There has been a persistent effort on the part of the waterpower interests and those who do not thoroughly understand the situation to create the impression that water-power development has been at a standstill on account of the inadequacy of existing law. The fact is that there is scarcely a market of any consequence in the Western States to-day that is not over-supplied with hydroelectric power. Private companies or indi-viduals have secured a total of 282 permits, involving approxi-mately 881,521 horsepower, since the act of 1901 became operative. In 1901 the total water power developed in the United States was less than 2,000,000 horsepower, and only about onestates was less than 2,000,000 horsepower, and only about one-tenth of that was developed in the Western or public-land States. To-day the Western States have over one-third of the total, which is in excess of 7,000,000 horsepower. In rapidity of development the Western States lead all other sections of the country; the amount of water-power development is four and one-half times as much per capita as in the remainder of the United States. In the light of these facts, what becomes of the contention of the water-power interests that power development is stagnant? Why, then, this persistent effort to create a false impression? It is the Federal Government that has been inactive in its failure to enact legislation that will prevent the water-power wealth of this country from falling into the hands of unregulated and uncontrolled monopoly.

A DISTINCTION SHOULD BE MADE BETWEEN THE PRIVILEGE TO DEVELOP HYDROELECTRIC POWER AND THE USE OF SUCH PRIVILEGE.

An adequate plan as to the "use" of electric current should be formulated and adopted before we liberalize our laws as to the development of hydroelectric power. Blinded by the word "development," the necessity for adopting an adequate plan as to the "use" of electric current has been practically ignored in the consideration of this subject by Congress. Even so eminent a Member as the distinguished gentleman from Illinois, the Hon. James R. Mann, in the discussion of this subject on January 5, made the following statement in reference to the pending bill:

Wherever the land can be used for the development of power, it is monopoly necessarily. Whoever has the use of it to that extent has monopoly. That is the very essence of the thing.

The question has arisen whether the Government should simply give away the use of the land, or whether, either by lease

or otherwise, it should in some way and to some extent control the use of this monopoly. The bill here draws this distinction. Instead of giving the land away, it proposes that the Federal Government shall lease the land under terms to be fixed by the Secretary of the Interior, in compliance with the law; but which at any time, as to future leases at least, could be changed by Congress. And these leases are to be for a period not to exceed 50 years. After all, while our friends from the West complain, this bill is in their interest, because out of this bill, when enacted into law, the people of those States will receive a portion of the benefits which the public gets, instead of some individual in those, or more likely, in Massachusetts, getting all of the benefits and the profits out of the use of this monopoly because it is a monopoly essentially.

The gentleman from Illinois, who grasps the true significance of legislation more readily than any other person I have ever known, in the foregoing statement has likewise not only failed to call attention to the primary features of necessary legislation on this subject, but has relegated the vital features of such a law to total obscurity by the use, in a very restricted sense, of words having in their ordinary meaning a broad application.

He said:

When land is used for the development of power it is a "monopoly" necessarily.

The same could be said of land used for agricultural purposes, The occupation of land to the exclusion of others constitutes a monopoly as to that particular piece of land. Monopoly as here applied is used in its most restricted sense and means only a monopoly of the land used for the development of power. Using the word "monopoly" in this limited sense as a premise. the speaker is enabled to arrive at a conclusion which is logical but a conclusion which is erroneous when the word is used in its ordinary sense.

The term "monopoly" whenever used by the gentleman from Illinois in this debate applies only to the exclusive use of a certain piece of land for the development of power and has merely a local significance. Though its use in this manner is correct, it is highly misleading and tends greatly to obscure and withdraw from consideration the fundamental principle that must be embodied in any scheme of legislation that will solve the hydroelectric problem. The present law guards against a monopoly of the land, for under it the Federal Government retains the ownership of the land and, as such owner, exercises a proprietary control over it.

If preventing a monopoly of the land is the principal feature of the pending bill, why not simply amend the existing law by striking out the words "at the discretion of the Secretary," so as to make the tenure certain, and let it go at that? To that there is no objection by anyone. It would be a much more direct and simple way of accomplishing practically all that is claimed for the pending measure by its friends, and would in no wise aid, as this bill does, as I will show you hereafter, in further extending over the water-power resources of this country the power and dominion of the great hydroelectric monopoly that exists in this country to-day uncontrolled and unregulated by any effective legislation.

The application of the words "monopoly" and "development" in the narrow and restricted sense in which they were used in this debate by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois and others tended to obscure the real problem which is the formulaothers tended to obscure the real problem which is the formula-tion of a plan as to the use of the privileges granted under the existing law and not the granting of more privileges. More-over, the use of the word "monopoly" in this restricted sense tends to withdraw from the consideration of Congress the necessity for enacting legislation that will effectively control the gigantic hydroelectric aggregation which has combined not only the electric plants of this country, both hydroelectric and steam, but which has actually secured control of the "market" for

electric current.

In 1901, when the present law was passed, most of the water power developed was used in manufacturing, only about one-fourth being used by public-service corporations. the conditions are reversed. There has been a growing and constant tendency toward concentration of power development. and that concentration has fallen almost entirely into the hands of public-service corporations that secured control not only of the water powers, but have also secured control of all sources of primary power, as well as the public utilities of the country using such power. At the present time the public-utilities corporations control 24 per cent of the primary power from all sources and for all uses, while in 1912 slightly over 50 per cent of the total primary power of the Western States alone was controlled by public-service corporations. That percentage has risen to 90 per cent within the last three years

Furthermore, the wording of the proposed bill and the re-stricted use of the word "monopoly" by its advocates has

given the impression that there is only a future possibility of monopoly and that this bill provides sufficient regulation to prevent not only any future monopoly of water-power sites but also "a monopoly of the future use" of electric energy. Legislation providing against future monopoly is necessary and What is far more imperative and urgent is commendable. legislation providing for the control of the existing monopoly, which is more complete and extensive in its operations than any future monopoly may ever become. The provision of the pending measure providing for the control of the use of electric current is so limited in its scope as to make it ineffectual for this purpose.

The attempted regulation is found in section 3, which is as

That in case of the development, transmission, generation, and use of power or energy under "such a lease" in a territory, or in two or more States, the regulation and control of services and charges to consumers and of the issuance of stocks and bonds by the lesses is bereby conferred upon the Secretary of the Interior or committed to such a body as may be provided by Federal statute: Provided, That the "physical combination of plants or lines" for the generation, distribution, and use of power or energy under this act or under leases given hereunder "may be permitted" in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior. Interior.

The only regulation or control that section 3 advocates is the control of power or electricity developed under such lease as may be granted under this particular act. Therefore it is evident that such public regulation must be very limited in its scope when it is remembered that a large portion of the water-power sites of the country are now in the hands of the Waterpower Trust. Furthermore, such regulation as is provided is nullified by the proviso which permits "the physical combination of plants or lines for the distribution, generation, and use of electric energy." As long as plants crected under this bill remain separate and distinct, the regulation herein provided may be adequate, but as soon as these plants tie in with any plant or system other than those erected under this measure they will become a part of the existing electrical monopoly, and regulation under this bill becomes ineffective because it is not designed-and can not be from the very nature of thingsto reach out and control the immense existing monopoly of which the grant under this act has become a part.

THE GROWTH OF THE HYDROELECTRIC INDUSTRY.

The tremendous physical combination of hydroelectric plants has grown up through the discovery of electrical transmission, which has permitted great economy of operation and has resulted in the development of extensive zones, having a radius of several hundred miles, for the generation and distribution of electric power, and has effectively eliminated competition within these zones. By this method of transmission the current from a number of plants-hydroelectric and steam-is conveyed through the combined system to the place where and at the time when it is needed most. The ease of such combination and its practicability are evidenced by the growth of extensive systems in various parts of the United States. The Pacific Electric Co., of California, now has 1,600 miles of overhead circuits supplied from different plants, all connected to form one immense high-tension system.

A similar situation exists in the South, where the Southern Power Co., with its 1,300 miles of high-tension transmission lines, forms a network extending over the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee, and when complete will reach from the Mississippi River to the Atlantic Ocean, Likewise, the States of Idaho, Washington, Montana, Utah, and Nevada are rapidly being tied together into one high-tension system, while similar systems, on a somewhat smaller scale, due, no doubt, to the intensity of manufacture within the zones, exist in the Central West and in the East,

in and about New York and Boston.

These conditions, brought about through the agency of physical combination of plants and lines, have made electric current interstate and have developed its interstate tendencies to such

an extent that it is practically beyond State control.

The company furnishing electric current to the city of Minneapolis, Minn.—the General Electric Co.—offers a fair example of the interstate activities of public-service corporations which, as heretofore mentioned, control a large share of all primary power from all sources, and also shows the varied activities of such corporations in securing control of public-service utilities, The Minneapolis General Electric Co. receives the bulk of its current from the St. Croix Falls-Wisconsin Improvement Co., which it owns. The Minneapolis General Electric Co. is in turn owned by the Consumers' Power Co., located at St. Paul. The Consumers' Power Co. owns and operates street railways, gas plants, steam plants, and hydroelectric plants in a number of the cities of Minnesota and also in parts of Wisconsin, North

Dakota, and Illinois. These companies, serving four States, are combined physically and corporately. There is no way of telling whether the power furnished in Minneapolis comes from St. Croix Falls or from Coon Creek, on the Mississippi, or whether the power furnished in Galena, Ill., which is served by this company, has been developed in Minnesota or Wisconsin.

The Consumers' Power Co. is controlled by the Northern States Power Co., a Delaware corporation, and, according to the prospectus issued for the sale of their stock, this company con-

trols property summarized as follows:

Hydroelectric plants, combined rating 48.025 horsepower	10
	13
Steam electric power houses, combined rating 47,990 horsepower_	
Miles of high-transmission lines	457
Miles electric distributing systems	1, 030
Steam heating plants in connection with steam electric plants	9
Miles steam heating mains	9
	. 5
Gas works, daliy capacity 1,200,000 cubic feet	
Miles gas mains	178
Street and interurban railway	1
Street and migraroan ranway	

The Northern States Power Co. is controlled in turn in part by the Standard Electric & Gas Co., of Delaware, and several of the directors of the company are also directors or closely associated with the General Electric interests and the Stone & Webster group.

These extensive operations by a single company—the case cited is only one group—emphasizes the need for Federal control. A State public utilities commission would be powerless to regulate the issuance of stocks and bonds and the fixing of rates and services under these circumstances unless supplemented by the Federal Government.

The result of the monopolistic tendency of electric power, aided by ingenious promoters, is the growth of these complicated and extensive combinations. Such combinations are the result of the processes of evolution, which it may not be wise to stop, and if adequate control of rates and service and the issuance of stocks and bonds are secured there is no need for any attempt

to stop them.

In Water Supply Paper 238, prepared under the direction of the Geological Survey, the Public Utility of Water Powers and their Government Regulation, Mr. M. O. Leighton forcibly explains the existing conditions and their causes. He said:

plains the existing conditions and their causes. He said:

Consolidation is inevitable. Water power is a natural monopoly by reason of natural laws of stream flow. Man can not change these laws, and his only course is wisely to adapt himself to them so that they may not operate to his disadvantage. The electrical transmission of power developed on water wheels has changed the entire industrial aspect of the matter. When a water power was used at the site and its industrial development was limited to its capacity there, no reason existed for consolidation; now the site of the water-power plant is not likely to be its field of operation; its power is distributed over a large area. In this large area there is a common demand for power and the market constitutes an administrative unit.

In the final analysis, therefore, all sources of power available for a particular field of demand "must be brought under a common administration," so that at any time the energy can be turned hither and yon to meet the requirements of each hour. It follows that regulation prohibiting power monopoly must not prevent power consolidation, lest it injuriously affect industrial development. There is no virtue in preventing consolidation if economies in maintenance and operation are thereby prevented. No one will deny that water-power consolidation secures distinct and unusual economies, and if the consumer receives the benefit therefrom he is better off under a consolidation. These are oft-stated truths, "therefore the proper solution of the problem must lie in the legislative regulation of water-power development and maintenance," to the end that the consumer shall pay a fair and reasonable prive for power consistent with the production of fair and reasonable earnings on the capital invested.

If the business of the development, transmission, distribution,

If the business of the development, transmission, distribution, and sale of electric power did not constitute a natural monopoly there might be little occasion for special legislation with respect to the business. However, the tremendous growth and centralization of control of the public-service corporations and the widening sphere of their activities, the elimination of competition, the frequent inflation of values and excessive capitalization-stock watering-and the continuing tendency to further centralization and control of this important industry has left no alternative to the Government but to adopt a thoroughgoing system of Federal regulation and control.

The ease with which electrical plants can be tied in into one system and the economy resulting from such combination by providing a large market with a consequent diversity in time and character of demand for the power furnished an incentive for the combination. The impelling motive, however, in the last few years has not been public service, but private profit. In the furtherance of this object the electrical interests have not relied wholly upon the "natural monopolistic tendencies of electricity," but have created various artificial combinations and-bond control.

The corporate control of nearly all of the commercial power in this country has been secured through an intricate system of stock control in "holding companies." A fair example of the methods adopted, which also shows the ramifications and inter-

state complications of the corporate control, is had in the Utah Securities Co., which controls the commercial power in the States or Idaho, Utah, and Colorado. It is purely a stock-holding company, devised solely for the purpose of securing the

control of the management of the operating and distributing companies. The following diagram gives the list of operating companies under its control and illustrates how the corporate control is exercised and centralized:

DURANGO POWER CO.

IAGHT &= THE STANDARD LIGHT,= THE DURANGO GAS &= POWER & WATER ELECTRIC CO. Co. Incorp. Colo. 1906, Taken over by Du-rango G. & E. Co. in 1909.

ANIMAS CANAL RES-ERVOIR WATER POWER & INVEST-MENT CO.

THE OURAY ELECTRIC—
POWER & LIGHT
Co.
Inc. in Colo. Began
operations in 1899.
Outstanding stock: Leased to THE TELLU-RIDE POWER CO. Installed about 650

\$200,000 S200,000.

Bonded debt: \$100,000 5s.
TELLURIDE POWER=

SAN MIGUEL CONSOLI-DATED GOLD MINING Co.
Sold to Telluride Transmission

Telluride Power-Transmission Co. Succeeded by the Telluride Power Co. Logan Power, Lighting & Heat-ing Co. Purchased Jan., 1904, by Telluride

1904, by Telluride Power Co. SALT LAKE CITY WA-TER & ELECTRIC Co. Purchased subse-quent to Jan., 1904, by Telluride Power Co.

THE TELLURIDE POWER-

ELECTRIC CO.
Incorp. in Colo. Operated as separate concern but owned by S. J. W. & P. Co. Has steam plant at Durango—S20 h. p.

THE ANIMAS POWER &=

WATER CO.

Co. Inc. Feb., 1900, Colo. Owns 6 plants in Utah and 3 in Colo., 5 in Utah operating; total installation, 43,000; 3 in Colo., total installation, 8,000

total installation, 8,000 h. ps.
Capital stock: Auth. and outstanding, \$10, 000,000. No dividends, earnings put into enlargements.
Bonds: \$2,500,000 first 6s; \$2,000,000 first and refunding gold 6s. In Sept., 1911, Judge Lewis issued temporary injunction restraining co. from making new bond issue.

issue.

MILL CREEK POWER—
CO.
2 plants—Hydro.
Total installed capacity 1,900 h. p.
UTAH COUNTY LIGHT
& POWER CO.
Incorp. Jan. 30, 1912,
Utah (?)
Absorbed by Utah Power
Light Co. in Sept. (?), 1912.
Total installed power,
17,300 h. p. Total installed capac-ity 1,900 h. p.
UTAH COUNTY LIGHT & POWER Co.

3 plants—Hydro.
Total installed, 1,600 h. p. Knight Power Co.

Hydro plants. Total installed, 10,800

THE TELLURIDE ELECTRIC-! LIGHT Co.
Absorbed by the West.
Colo. P. Co. in Sept. (?), 1912.

THE SAN JUAN WATER &=
POWER CO.
Inc. May 14, 1909, Colo.
Installed 6,000 h. p. water
power and 820 h. p. steam.
Amunal output 1911 9,000,000
kwh. Connected load 4,000

kw.
Capital stock: Auth. & out-standing, \$1,000,000; bonds, \$1,349,000 first gold 5s.
Absorbed by the Western C. P. C., Sept. (?), 1912.

THE TELLURIDE POWER CO. =

Plants in Colorado & lease
of the Ouray Electric Power
& Light Co.
Total installation—all hydro—3,650 h. p.
Absorbed by the W. C. P.
Co. Sept. (?), 1912.

THE TELLURIDE POWER=
Co.
Plants in Utah & Ida.
Total installations—all hydro—35,000 h. p.
Absorbed by the Utah
Power & Light Co. in Sept.
(?), 1912.

HYDRO-ELECTRIC PLANT OF
DAVIS AND WEBER COUNTIES CANAL CO.
Installed about 4,300 h.p.,
MERCHANYS' LIGHT & POWEE CO.
HYDRO-ELECTRIC PLANT OF
LIGHT AND ON COLUMN OF

Hydro-Electric Plant of
Utah-Idano Sugar Co.
Inc. July 19, 1907.
Owns 6 beet sugar factories, a hydro plant of 4,000
h. p. installed, 42½ miles of
transmission line, and an irrigation system. Hydro plant
sold to U. P. & L. Co. in 1912.
Idaho Power & Transfortation Co.
2 hydro plants in Ida.
Installed about 3,000 h. p.
Gem State Light & Power
Co.

Installed about 3,000 h. p. Gem State Light & Power Co.

Steam Flant of Saltlare & Ower Co.

Inc. Mar. 17, 1898, Ulah. Operated by electricity, 35 miles of railroad, from Saltlake City to Ogden. Steam plant sold to Utah Power & Light Co., 1912. Installed about 1,600 h. p. Eureka Electric Co. Solde to U. P. & L. Co., 1912. Camp Floyd Electric Co. Sold to U. P. & L. Co., 1912. Instrict Electric Co. Sold to U. P. & L. Co., 1912. Instrict Electric Co. Sold to U. P. & L. Co., 1912. Instrict Electric Co. Sold to U. P. & L. Co., 1912. Instrict Electric Co. Sold to U. P. & L. Co., 1912. Electric District Co. Sold to U. P. & L. Co., 1912. Electric District Co. Sold to U. P. & L. Co., 1912. Steam Plant of U. P. & L. Co., 1912. Steam Plant of U. P. & L. Co., 1912. Steam Plant of U. P. & L. Co., 1912. Steam Plant of U. P. & L. Co., 1912. Steam Plant of U. P. & L. Co., 1912. Steam plant leased to Utah P. & L. Co., 1912.

THE WESTERN COLORADO POWER CO.
with lease.
Plant of Ouray El.
Power & Light Co.
Inc. 1912.
Controlled by Utah
Securities Co. through
stock ownership.
Total installed power
about 15,500 h. p. of
which but about 800
h. p. is from water; 650
h. p. of the total is
leased.
Power supplied to
mining districts in San
Miguel & Ouray Counties, Colo.
Franchises of subsidiary companies have no

Franchises of subsidiary companies have no burdensome conditions and almost without exception extend for 40 years or longer.

UTAH POWER & LIGHT Co.

Inc. Sept. 6, 1912, Me. Operating Cox in Utah and Idaho for Utah Securities Corp. Controlled by stock ownership by Utah Securities Corp.

Capital stock: Authorized—\$30,000,000 common, \$5,000,000 7% cum. pfd., \$10,000,000 second cum. pfd. Outstanding—\$25,000,000 common, \$3,000,000 7% pfd., \$7,837,000 second cum. pfd., 7% pfd. stock cum. from Nov. 1, 1913, has preference for assets and is subject to call at 115 second fd. 6% cum. from Jan. 1, 1914, and is subject to call at par. Entire issues of stock owned by Utah S. Corp. and deposited under that Co. 's 10-year 6% notes. Proceeds from sale of stock to be used in retiring 10-year notes of the U. S. Corp. Bonds, none.

Total installed power, about 77,200 h. p., of which about 65,200 is owned and 12,000 h. p. is from water and 13,600 h. p. from steam.

UTAH SECURITIES COR-

PORATION.

Inc. Sept. 10, 1912, Va.
Controls by stock ownership all rights owned or controlled by Utah P. & L. Co. and West Colo.
Pwr. Co.
Installed power about 93,000 h. p. of which 79,400 is from water. Of this total of 93,000, 12,700 h. p. is leased (12,000 steam & 700 hydro.).

Transmission lines, 877 miles under construction 67,000 h. p. and 300 miles high-tension transmission lines.

67,000 h. p. and 300 miles high-tension transmission lines.

Serving 65 communities in Utah, Ida. & Colo. Sells now 8,000 h. p. to Utah Copper Co., this to be increased to 31,000 h. p. under 25-year contract. Also furnishes power to mining districts of Utah for R. R. Salt Lake to Ogden, and also for irrigation purposes. Through Western Colo. Pwr. Co. power supplied to mining districts in San Mignel & Ouray Counties, Colo. Co. owns all securities of U. P. & L. Co. These deposited under 10-year collateral trust notes securities of under 10-year collateral trust notes securities of subsidiary companies to be exchanged for bonds & stocks of Utah P. & L. Co., which will be the large operating co.

Capital stock: Auth. \$30,000,000. Auth. 10-year 6% gold notes, \$30,000,000. Auth. 10-year 6% gold notes, \$27,500,000. of which subscribed and \$15,154,701 outstanding. Subject to call at 101 and interest. Secured by deposit of issued securities of Utah P. & L. Co.

Bonds and pfd, stock of U. P. & L. Co. to be sold from time to time and proceeds used for retiring notes.

The Utah Securities Co. in turn is a subsidiary of the larger holding company, the General Electric, which, through stock and directorates, controls 60 per cent of the power developed in the Western States of Nevada, Arizona, Idaho, Montana, California, Washington, Oregon, Colorado, and Utah. Where this company does not have direct control there are strong traces of powerful General Electric influence, which is no doubt sufficient to ward off competition by dividing the field of operation and the market.

The scheme of corporate control has been so highly developed that control is acquired through only a small investment on the part of the promoters. The stocks held by the holding company are deposited with the banks as security for bond issues. The stocks so pledged are still within the control of the holding company to the extent that it may vote the stock and thus control the operating companies. By this method it is possible for the stockholders of the holding company to retain control of the subordinate companies with a relatively small-investment, perhaps not over 10 or 15 per cent of the capitalization of the operating companies. The common stock of the holding company usually represents little or no investment. The General Electric group controls not only the water-power but also the public-service companies, which are the largest users of power. It controls street railways in 16 cities, gas plants in 19 cities, electric companies in 78 cities. The officers and directors are likewise officers or directors of upward of 50 banks and trust companies, including 5 financial houses in Philadelphia, 6 in Boston, and 24 banks and trust companies in New York City, there being three General Electric directors in the house of J. P. Morgan & Co., the leading underwriting company in America.

THE VARIOUS COMBINATIONS THAT HAVE GROWN UP IN ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY ARE MORE OR LESS UNDER THE CONTROL OF A BODY COMPOSED OF A VERY FEW MEN.

A small unit of government, a municipality or State, can not deal with this highly organized national institution of combined hydroelectric utilities. In order to grapple with this immense combination there must be some agency created that has more power behind it than this private monopoly. The Federal Government is the only agency that can measure up to this requirement. It is none too large or too powerful to deal with an institution intrenched and fortified as this is; hence, the duty devolves upon Congress to provide suitable regulation and control for this subject. However, it is safe to predict that Congress will never perform this duty in a satisfactory way until it recognizes openly, frankly, and candidly the existence of this gigantic electric combination and power trust.

The vital defect of the proposed legislation is that it utterly fails to provide a sufficiently extensive plan to meet existing conditions. Regulative legislation that only partially regulates, as this measure, will operate only in the interests of further monopoly.

A constructive policy of regulation must take into consideration all phases of water-power development and the use of electrical energy in the light of known existing conditions focused through past experience. Under existing laws the matter of water-power development is placed under three separate departments of the Government, to wit: The Department of Agriculture, the Department of the Interior, and the Department of War; the first two deriving their authority and jurisdiction from the act of 1901, supplemented by the act of 1905; the War Department derives its jurisdiction from the general dam acts of 1906–1910. In the administration of these laws each department acts independently of the other.

WATER POWER OF PUBLIC DOMAIN.

Under the act of 1901 the Secretary of Agriculture controls water powers in the national forests. The law is general in its term and gives to the Secretary authority to issue revocable permits for the use and occupancy of lands for the building of dams, conduits, transmission lines, and other structures used in connection with the development of power, besides a wide discretion in formulating a policy of water-power development. It has been the aim of this department, working through its Bureau of Forestry, which has given extensive time and study to the proposition, to encourage the development of water-power resources on national forests to the fullest degree possible, under conditions that would properly protect the public's interest in so far as it is possible under existing laws.

. The subject of water-power development is intimately allied with the primary purpose of the department, namely, the conservation of the national forests and watersheds, the initial source of flowing water. No department has more complete knowledge or data on the subject or is better able to handle the question of water-power development than this department. Under the same act of 1901 the Secretary of the Interior has

jurisdiction over water powers on public lands, and is clothed with the same authority in dealing with these powers that the Secretary of Agriculture has in dealing with water powers in the national forests. In the Interior Department two separate bureaus—Public Lands and Reclamation—have charge of the administration of the department's policy in reference to water power.

The policy of water-power development is sure to be tinctured in its administration by the departmental viewpoint of the department having jurisdiction over it. While the policies of these two departments may be similar, their perspective is quite different; that of the Department of Agriculture is to conserve and perpetuate; its attitude, though progressive, is to provide for the future as well as the present; that of the Department of the Interior is to dispose of the public lands as quickly as there is a demand for them. No bureau of the Interior Department is giving its whole attention to water-power development. It is a mere side issue in the departmental work, yet it is proposed under the pending bill to place the entire subject of hydroelectric development and control on both forest reserves and public lands under the Secretary of the Interior. The committee having charge of this bill does not attempt to explain why the Secretary of Agriculture and his able corps of hydroelectric experts have been dropped and the whole subject of waterpower, in so far as it relates to national forests and public lands, turned over to the Interior Department, which from the very nature of its work, and therefore its natural point of view, has no great interest in water-power development. There is no apparent reason why such a change should be made. partment of Agriculture has been the most successful of all our departments in its administration of water-power development in the interest of the public, as well as for the protection of capital.

WATER POWER ON NAVIGABLE STREAMS.

Hydroelectric development on navigable streams, outside of the public domain, are controlled by the War Department under the acts of 1906-1910. However, a special act of Congress granting consent is necessary in each case before development of a particular project can be started. The terms of the acts of 1906-1910 become a part of the consent granted by Con-Under this act the term of the grant can not be for more than 50 years, and the War Department may impose conditions as part of the permit to be issued by it under previous consent granted by Congress. However, the department is not under this act authorized to control rates, services, and the issuance of stocks and bonds; the terms and conditions that the department may exact have to do solely with the term of the permit and certain requirements demanded of the grantee in the construction and use of the dam to be erected under the It is vociferously proclaimed by certain public officials and distinguished gentlemen representing the water-power monopoly that the act of 1906-1910 is "prohibitive of private investment" in water-power projects; "that investors have refused to apply and accept any permits under this law." Any-one who has given the subject the slightest consideration knows that such a claim has no foundation in fact and is advanced for the apparent purpose of obscuring the real issue and thus keeping out of water-power legislation provisions imperatively necessary for the protection of the public. Within a very short time after the enactment of this law more than four times as many applications for permits to erect hydroelectric dams were granted by special acts of Congress as in all the preceding 116 years of the existence of our Government.

It was not the lack of applications for permits on the part of hydroelectric interests that brought to a standstill the granting of these permits; but, on the contrary, it was the refusal of President Roosevelt as early as 1908 to approve any more special acts of Congress granting such consent until Congress passed a law providing for the regulation and control of hydroelectric utilities and the "use" of electric power. Mr. Roosevelt clearly foresaw the impending danger to the public welfare in giving to this "threatening natural monopoly" these valuable rights in perpetuity free from regulation and control, and he effectively stopped this wholesale grabbing of waterpower sites by vetoing, in 1908, the James River bill and specifically informing Congress that he would approve no more water-power grants until Congress had enacted a law that would preserve for the benefit of the public the vast waterpower wealth of the country. President Roosevelt's statement as to this point is so explicit that I quote an excerpt from his James River bill veto message:

A single generation will see the exhaustion of our natural resources of oil and gas and such a rise in the price of coal as will make the price of electrically transmitted water power a controlling factor in

the transportation, industrial, municipal, and domestic needs. We are now at the beginning of great development in water power. Its use through electrical transmission is entering more and more largely mto every element of daily life. Already the evils of monopoly are becoming manifest. Already the experience of the past shows the necessity of caution in making unrestricted grants of this power. The present policy pursued in making these grants is unwise in giving away the property in the flowing waters to individuals or organizations and granting in perpetuity these valuable privileges in advance of the formulation of a definite plan as to their use.

Likewise, President Taft declared that the Government should not give away any more unrestricted water-power grants and added:

I deem it highly important that the Nation should adopt a consistent and harmonious policy of treatment of these water-power projects which will preserve for this purpose their value to the Government whose right it is to grant the permit.

In the face of these facts, why do gentlemen who are in the public service as well as those who are in the service of the water-power monopoly, continually and repeatedly state that the lack of development under the existing law is due to the evils of the law? Such statements, coming from men who are presumed to know the facts relative to this subject, greatly tend to not only mislead Congress but the public as well, as to the kind of water-power legislation that is needed, and why it is needed.

POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The present policy of the Government, if you can call it a policy in dealing with the water-power situation, must be discarded if we expect to provide a system of regulation and control for the use of electrical power. Permits for the erection of dams on public lands and dams on navigable rivers may be properly treated under separate departments of the Government; however, the question of the control and regulation of the electric current generated at these dams, in its relation to the commerce, industry, and domestic affairs of the country, is indivisible and must be treated as a unit. The water-power interests have built up an electrical monopoly, with water power as a nucleus, by combining, through the use of electrical transmission, primary power from all sources whether developed on public lands, forest reserves, navigable rivers, or steam. This monopoly does not distinguish between the sources nor the methods of development.

For the purpose of eliminating competition and securing to itself the economic advantages to be derived from connecting separate plants into a single system it aims to concentrate electrical energy, however and wherever developed, in the hands of a central body. Its success in this direction has been marvelous. The Sherman antitrust law has been defied, ignored, and held in contempt. We should not marvel that this mammoth combination is not now asking Congress for legislation that will curtail its power; neither should we be surprised at the fact that it is using every concealed weapon known to its skilled diplomats now in Washington to annihilate any legislation that would in any way prevent it from acquiring the remaining unappropriated water powers free from legislative restrictions.

WATER-POWER COMMISSION.

No legislation now pending attempts to coordinate and unify the work of the departments. Neither has any legislation been proposed in the Sixty-fourth Congress that provides for a uniform system of regulation and control for the whole subject of hydroelectric development and "use" of electrical power. Such piecemeal attempts at regulation as have been offered are wholly ineffective.

The more legislation that we attempt along the lines that we are pursuing the more involved the proposition becomes and the more difficult it will be to secure effective legislation in the future. The present policy, like Topsy, "just grew," but in the light of past experience, and in view of our present knowledge, why continue this policy further when its apparent effect is to place still farther beyond the reach of the Government the control of this monopoly of all monopolies?

If we wish to perform a real service to the country, why not pass a law that will place the entire subject under the jurisdiction of a separate department or bureau of the Government? We have followed such a policy in dealing with our railroads, by placing them under the control of the Interstate Commerce Commission; with our banks, now centralized under the Federal Reserve Board; with our commercial industries, regulated by the Federal Trade Commission; and it is now proposed to place the whole subject of rural credits under a Federal farm loan board. A commission, composed of the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of War, with two non-Cabinet members, would make an ideal commission representing all phases of the subject. Such a commission could coordinate and unify the work of the departments and cut out duplication now necessarily existing, could control and regulate

interstate current, could cooperate with State public utilities commissions in regulating rates and service and the issuance of stocks and bonds, could prevent the capitalization of free water-power grants, and would assure an inexpensive, continuous, and uniform policy of administration both to investing capital and to the public, and could provide effective and adequate regulation and control of the whole subject of commercial electrical power. Since in order to fix an equitable rate you must first ascertain the value of the plant and the cost of operation as a whole, and since the only jurisdiction coextensive with a group of united or tied-in plants located in two or more States, is that of the Federal Government, therefore it is manifestly necessary that the Federal Government should exercise control over interstate current in some form or other.

The regulation provided for in the pending bill permits the physical combination of plants and lines, and as electric current can be produced more economically by the union of power plants, it is certain that plants will unite if permitted, hence by far the larger portion of power will be interstate, and unless some such plan as I have suggested is adopted State utilities commissions will have but little voice in the regulation of rates and service. The exigencies of the case make it impracticable for State commissions, unaided by the Federal Government, to fix rates and services and control the issuance of stocks and bonds, The Federal Government should assist the State commissions to fix such rates and service. Moreover, under a joint and interlocking system of regulation, such as I have suggested, there could be no "twilight zone" in which the hydroelectric monopolles could live in security, and play hide-and-seek with the Federal and State Governments. First its current would be interstate and then local, whichever best served the purpose of the trust. If, perchance, the bill under consideration becomes a law in its present form its mischievous and objectionable feature will be the opportunity it affords hydroelectric monopolies to escape effective regulation.

If the mysterious forces of electric energy are placed within the easy reach of all the people by the agency of the Government, their burdens will be immeasurably lightened and their comforts greatly increased. Moreover, if the Government fails and neglects to control this well-nigh "universal future source of industrial power," and permits it, unregulated and uncontrolled, to remain in selfish and unsympathetic private hands, it is certain to become the controlling force of the most despotic combination ever created to control the commercial, industrial, and domestic affairs of a people. Even the very Government itself, if not already under the influence of this combination, will sooner or later be corrupted by the evil influences bound to emanate from so vast an unrestrained twentieth century organization of natural and artificial forces,

Too long have these great resources of the people been left to the tag end of governmental departments. They are worthy of an administration of their own under the auspices of men especially trained in the development of commerce, industry, and navigation and the conservation of our public domain. Such an efficient and adequate administration Congress may develop under the commission that I suggest. Under this plan the Secretary of War and his able corps of engineers will be retained on all engineering phases of water-power development and navigation; likewise the services of the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior, and the various bureaus under their direction having to do with this subject, will be retained and coordinated into cooperative working forces for the development and perpetuation of a harmonious and efficient plan of regulation of this all-important problem.

To these three departments now associated with water-power control, under different acts of Congress, with more or less conflict of jurisdiction and duplication of work, I propose to add two non-Cabinet members, making a commission of five. is done mainly for two purposes. First, to give continuity to the commission, and second, to enable at least a part of the commission to give its entire attention to the work of the commission. The commission thus fortified by the detailed examination and judgment of trained experts in every branch of the duties to be performed, with a strong and thoroughgoing waterpower law, in which Congress sets forth their powers and duties, has the opportunity and equipment which this country heretofore has ever lacked to give the people an up-to-date progressive and efficient administration of water-power resources, establish industry where now there is wholesale waste, protect alike the consuming public and the legitimate producer of power, develop commerce and navigation, and conserve the great natural water resources of the United States, and that on a true and eminently practical basis of successful and sound business, founded on just rates and adequate service to the consuming public which requires light, heat, and power.

When Canada, Germany, France, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, Russian, Austria-Hungary, and even Africa and India are placing their water powers under the regulation of expert commissions versed in the development of industry and commerce, with special reference to hydroelectric operation and control, what a farce for the greatest industrial Nation on the earth to consider the proposition in National Congress assembled of placing its vast water-power resources under the disjointed administraton of 48 States and three distinct and separate departments of the Government.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Minnesota yield

to the gentleman from Wyoming?

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Yes; I yield.

Mr. MONDELL. Why could not the State utilities commission control? Could they not fix the rates? Could they not

provide practices?

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Of course, a State utilities commission could and should regulate every plant wholly located within a State, but the moment a plant in the State of Minnesota is tied up with a plant in the State of Wyoming the current from this combination becomes interstate; likewise, if a plant in the State of Minnesota furnishes current to the citizens of Wyoming it becomes interstate current as soon as it crosses the border of Minnesota.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. The State utilities commission would fix the rates, the company furnishing current at that rate or not doing business in the State; and if, in fixing the rate—I do not think it would be in a majority of cases—it should find it advisable to inquire as to the cost of the generation of that power in Minnesota, I think the State utilities commission could do it quite as well as the Secretary of the Interior or the Secretary of War. I think the State commission could make that inquiry

as well as the Secretary, if it were necessary.

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. I will say to my colleague that the best answer I can give to his proposition is this: Our Interstate Commerce Commission has broken down under the amount of work it has to do; it is unable to perform the duties and fulfill the purposes for which it was created, because the legislation under which it is operating is inefficient in that it fails to provide for cooperation between the work of the commission and that of the respective State commissions. A large share of railway rates are being regulated by State utilities commissions, and not by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Effort is being made to force competition by having several commissions engaged in regulation.

Mr. MONDELL. Now, will the gentleman yield?
The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Minnesota again yield to the gentleman from Wyoming?

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. I want to make this suggestion to the gentleman, that the Interstate Commerce Commission in the midst of all its labors did find time to raise all the rates in my part of the country, so that we are now paying more than we have paid before in 20 years. They have found time to do that. That is one of the benefits of Federal control.

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. While I exceedingly regret that the commission saw fit to increase the freight rates in the gentleman's section of the country, for at best freight rates are oppressive, I am in no position to pass judgment upon their act, because I am not familiar with the facts that were before the commission. The mere fact that the commission increased rates is no argument against the advisability of having an

Interstate Commerce Commission.

I believe that the imperative duty of a regulatory commission is to increase a rate whenever the facts of the case under consideration warrant it, as well as it is its duty to decrease the rate when it finds a rate excessive. If a Federal commission should become corrupt, a thing that might happen, and the forces and benefits of its efforts are lost so far as the public good is concerned, Congress can dispose of the matter in one of two ways, either by impeachment or a repeal of the act creating the commission.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?
Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Yes.
Mr. MADDEN. Does the gentleman argue in favor of the criticism made of this bill by the Secretary of War, or is he opposed to the attitude of the Secretary of War and in favor

of giving Congress jurisdiction over the question?

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Congress should always retain jurisdiction. It has jurisdiction by its power to repeal the act.

Mr. MADDEN. It has that anyway.

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Yes; but I say you should give these water-power resources of our country as much latitude and freedom as possible,

Mr. MADDEN. In what way?

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. In the way of inducing capital to invest in them; and if you can not do that, then let the Government take over the business of developing and distributing hydroelectrical current.

Mr. MADDEN. Does the gentleman assume that capital will

not invest under the present conditions?

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Capitalists will invest if we let them, but we are not going to let them until we enact a system of regulation that will control their activities.

Mr. MADDEN. Why not let them?

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Because if we let them have any more permits, we will be simply adding to a power which is dangerous-that they now have.

Mr. Paul Warburg, of the Federal Reserve Board, Defending Our Financial System.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. THOMAS HEFLIN. OF ALABAMA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 28, 1916.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a speech made by Mr. Paul Warburg, of the Federal Reserve Board, defending our financial system.

The speech is as follows:

REMARKS OF HON, PAUL M. WARBURG BEFORE NEW YORK CREDIT MEN'S ASSOCIATION, HOTEL ASTOR, JANUARY 25, 1916. SOME ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE DAY.

It is about a year and a half ago that the old "Bid" who cleaned my son's room at Harvard asked him whether it was his father whom the President had nominated for "that there new bank commission at Washington"-being the Federal Reserve Board. When my son acknowledged the fact, she exclaimed, "My, but you are lucky—such a big salary!" Well, gentlemen, I thought at that time that the salary was fair and adequate and that I was about to receive all that I was worth, but if I had known then that the price was to include speeches I think I would have insisted on a raise.

This is the first time since I have taken office that it has been possible for me to accept an invitation to address a public gathering in New York, and I assure you that it is a genuine pleasure for me to be back amongst my old friends and to enjoy their hospitality. I am very grateful to you for permitting me to speak to you to-night-not that I enjoy making speeches. deed, I dislike inflicting them upon you as much as I dislike inflicting them upon myself. But ever since I became interested in monetary reform it has been my good fortune to meet from time to time with officers and members of your association, and I welcome the privilege of being able to-night publicly to acknowledge the debt of gratitude that the country owes the Association of Credit Men for the intelligent interest shown in this great work of banking reform and for the valuable assistance rendered in paving the way for its accomplishment.

The Federal reserve act could never have been passed had not the entire country gradually been educated to it, and in this campaign of spreading sound thought the share of the work done by your association has been of inestimable value. But, gentlemen, I have come to-night "Not to praise you," like Mark Antony, nor indeed, "to bury Cæsar" under a mass of dry statistics, but to discuss with you our problems and the ways and means by which together we can best develop the

work so auspiciously begun.

Our country is passing at present through a period of economic development the scope and rapidity of which have never been paralleled. Originally opened and developed by foreign enterprise, and, until the fall of 1914, still dependent upon Europe for the financing of its foreign trade, its crops, and to a certain extent its industrial undertakings, this great continent in less than two years, has not only asserted its complete financial emancipation but has become, for the present at least, the world's banker.

Two factors have cooperated in bringing about this result: The European conflagration and the opening of the Federal

reserve banking system. It may, therefore, be interesting and timely to consider to-night some of the phases of the interplay of these two forces and the policy and methods best to be pursued in meeting and directing their influence at this momentous juncture, marking, as it does, the turning point in our economic history.

The far-reaching effects of the war, as they have worked in favor of the United States and to the disadvantage of Europe, are apparent to all. The effects of the opening of the Federal reserve banks are not quite as easily discernible to the casual

observer.

The Federal Reserve System has created a condition of health and strength which is accepted by many as a process of nature, without thinking of the men whose thought and energies brought into life, at almost a providential moment, this remarkable piece of banking machinery. It is true, none the less, that without the steadying influence of this system, without the new machinery that it provided for the financing of our foreign trade, we should have sunk lower and should not have risen so far and so fast. Had it not been for this feeling of safety this country would not and could not at one and the same time have absorbed its own securities and granted foreign loans estimated to aggregate together the staggering amount of one billion and a half to two billion dollars. And while these imposing transactions were being carried through, crops were moved at the lowest rates ever known. Without the usual seasonal fluctuations in interest rates and without a ripple of financial difficulty we passed through political situations which in years gone by might have caused violent financial disturbances. Panics which we have become accustomed to expect as a thing inevitable have become phenomena of the past. At the same time, some hundreds of millions of dollars were provided to pay off the long bills our bankers formerly drew on Europe for the moving of our imports and exports, and for other credit operations, while simultaneously our own American bankers' acceptances sprang into existence. They are being drawn to-day from South America, the Far East, and from Europe for the purpose of financing not only our own trade, but also that of foreign nations.

It has been suggested, however, that these results have been achieved as an indirect incident of the existence of, rather than as the direct effect of, the operations of the Federal Reserve System. We do not deny this fact, but we might well ask these critics whether they would measure the degree of efficiency of a municipal administration by the large number of murderers sent to the electric chair, or, rather, by the small number of

crimes committed?

After all, what is the real object of the Federal Reserve System? Stripping the problem of many important side issues, is it not, in substance, to increase the safety of our banking structure and to bring about stability and, as far as possible, equalization of interest rates in the various sections of the

country?

The service rendered by the Federal Reserve System must never be measured by the volume of its own business or by the amount of its earnings, but by the degree of success with which it obtains its aims. Can you see in your mind's eye the curve representing the fluctuations of our past interest rates? You will find it to be a wild, zigzag line rapidly moving up and down between more than 100 per cent and zero. Teach the country to watch that curve in the future; the straighter the line, the gentler its fluctuations, the greater will be the beneficent effect of our system.

There appears to be a great deal of confusion of thought about the proper functions of Federal reserve banks and the policy to be pursued by them in attaining the ends for which they have been organized, particularly about the question whether or not Federal reserve banks should or should not avoid competition with the National and State banks and trust

companies.

The policy of Federal reserve banks must be guided by one single consideration, which is the public interest. Federal reserve banks must neither fail to engage in transactions—which would redound to the benefit of the country—for the reason that these might entail expense or loss, nor must they, on the other hand, enter on transactions on account of the earnings to be derived, should those transactions or functions run counter to the public interest or should they lessen the ultimate ability of the Federal reserve banks to render the largest service for the general benefit of the country.

ice for the general benefit of the country.

In carrying out their policy they must neither compete for the sake of competition nor omit competing for the sake of avoiding competition. In performing functions with which they

are charged by the law they must compete or not compete as the public interest requires.

The present maximum lending power of the entire Federal Reserve System on a gold-reserve basis of 40 per cent is about \$600,000,000. The total loans and investments by national banks amount at present to about \$9,000,000,000; those of State banks and trust companies are estimated at about \$13,000,000,000. It is obvious that it can not possibly be the object of the Federal Reserve System, by competition, to substitute a lending and investing power of \$600,000,000 for that of all the banks of the country, amounting to about \$22,000,000,000. The aim of the system must rather be to keep this gigantic structure of loans and investments, which is largely carried by bank deposits, both from overcontracting and, as well, from overexpanding, so that, as the natural and inevitable result, it may not be forced to overcontract.

Effectively to deal with the fluctuations of so gigantic a total is a vast undertaking. If the task is to be accomplished successfully, it can not be by operatics which are continuous and of equal force at all times, but only by carrying out a very definite policy which will not only employ funds with vigor at certain times but, with equal determination, will refuse to employ funds at others. That during periods of actual employment the Federal reserve banks will make large earnings, and that during periods when a restriction in the activity of Federal reserve banks is indicated by general conditions their earnings will or should be smaller, are incidents which have no bearing upon the measure of their usefulness. Federal reserve banks, when accumulating and keeping idle their funds, are exercising as useful a function as when they are employing them.

If safety and the stabilization of rates form the soundest foundation for general prosperity, everything that the Federal reserve banks do in avoiding excessive rates-whether these be too high or too low-will result to the benefit of the Nation. If the potential or actual employment of \$600,000,000 can have this effect upon loans and investments of \$22,000,000,000 (of which \$16,000,000,000 are loans and discounts) the usefulness of the Federal Reserve System is proven. That does not mean that we shall ever have to contemplate conditions such that the entire funds of the Federal reserve banks will lie idle. A certain proportion will and must always remain in active service as a regulatory force. As their field of operations increases and as the circulation issued by the national banks is reduced, doubt about their ability to earn their running expenses will disappear. Ultimately, Federal reserve banks will have no difficulty in earning their dividends, too, when once they occupy their proper position and when they have had the opportunity of averaging their operations over a reasonable period. But a fair time must be given them for reaching this condition.

We must not forget that it took the European large central banks many years, often generations, to secure their to-day's dominating strategic position. And we must furthermore be mindful of the fact that the Federal Reserve System at present is operating in a period when the curve showing our interest rates must be considered as strongly subnormal, thus clearly indicating for Federal reserve banks a policy of conservatism.

The lending power of the Federal reserve banks, though very large, and though, in emergencies, it can be vastly increased by the board's power to reduce or suspend reserve requirements, is, after all, definitely limited. Moreover, constituting, as it does, the reserve power of the country, it can not be drawn upon

beyond a certain point without creating alarm.

The regulative influence of the increase or decrease in interest rates must, therefore, be applied from time to time, and the more readily bankers and business men cooperate in the policy thus indicated by the Federal reserve banks the smaller will be the variations to be expected, excepting, of course, periods of extraordinary disturbances at home or abroad, when more drastic measures may be needful.

Successfully to bring about the stability of interest rates two things are necessary: First, judicious withholding and, in turn, judicious employment by Federal reserve banks of their lending power; and, second, recognition by banker and business man that the measure of success to be achieved by the Federal Reserve System will, to a certain extent, depend upon the degree of their own cooperation with the policy of the Federal reserve banks

And this leads me to a phase of the problem concerning which I am particularly anxious to speak to you to-night; that is, the cooperation of the business community in bringing to the fullest fruition the service to be rendered by the Federal reserve banks.

Until now we have been laying the foundation and installing the machinery for future operations. I believe we have fairly finished this first part of our task, and further development will from now on depend to a large degree upon the banks and

In order to remain liquid and deserving of the unqualified confidence they require, reserve banks must employ their funds in investments of the most liquid character only. The larger the amount of such paper that is available the larger will be the field of operation open to these banks and the better can they perform the function of either employing their funds freely or, with equal freedom, collecting their maturing paper and keeping their funds idle when that course is indicated.

In order effectively to develop their operations Federal reserve banks can not depend upon the borrowing requirements of their member banks alone, since that, in many districts, would be a wholly inadequate field for their activities. The first year's experience has already shown that they must look largely to open-market operations, such as purchases of bankers' acceptances, bills of exchange, warrants, United States bonds, and so forth, in order to secure their share of business and influence.

Their most important field in this respect is the bankers' acceptance, the use of which, it is confidently hoped, will from now on steadily increase. Unfortunately, the development of this method of financing importations and exportations has thus far been comparatively slow. Either the merchant or the banks, or both, lack the full appreciation of their opportunities—we might say of their national duties—in this respect. While great headway has already been made, and while it is realized that real progress must be gradual, and that some of the foreign banks now occupying the field are blocking our way as far as they can, we ought, nevertheless, to be further advanced in this direction than we are to-day. With our acceptance discount rate at about 2 per cent, against the British discount rate of about 5 per cent; with our exchange for dollars high and secure, while European exchanges are low and unstable, we ought to-day to be doing a larger acceptance business. A few of our banks have been very energetic; others have been wholly inactive, partly because of ignorance of the methods to be employed, partly because of their inability or unwillingness to secure men who are expert in this business. Some banks, I suspect, prefer at this time to make cash advances rather than to grant acceptance credits, because they wish to employ their own funds. That, however, is shortsighted policy.

Every effort ought to be bent at this time, both at home and all over the world, to introduce the use of our bankers' accept-It is inevitable that at the end of this unfortunate war we shall be the one nation to which logically the world will look for credit facilities. To grant these acceptance credits will be one of the functions which, from now on, we shall be called upon to perform in a constantly growing measure. Not only is it wise for the accepting firms to take up with energy this branch of banking, but, for the future of the Federal Reserve System, it is of the utmost importance that our banks should hold as an asset hundreds of millions of this most liquid paper, which at any time they can dispose of to the Federal reserve banks. This will not only widen the field of operation open to our Federal reserve banks, but will prove a source of safety for us in our interna-tional financial relations. Incidentally I am looking forward to the time when even country banks will carry these bankers' acceptances as quick assets rather than demand balances with

other banks.

The Federal Reserve Board hopes that we may succeed in securing a broadening of the powers of national banks so as to permit them to accept, not only against transactions involving the importation or exportation of goods, but also against domestic transactions secured by the pledge of readily marketable staples, by goods actually sold or by shipping documents covering goods in course of transportation. It is easy to see the great influence that such an amendment to the present law would have in equalizing rates. If cotton, properly warehoused in Texas, can be pledged to an accepting bank in Texas, Chicago, or New York, the proceeds of the acceptance at the discount rate of, let us say, 2 per cent would flow from whatever would be the lowest discount market into Texas and relieve the banks in that district.

And here we touch upon a point that I would wish to impress upon your minds, namely, equalization of discount rates is dependent upon standardization of credit, and it can not be brought about by legislative enactment or Government ma-chinery, but only by the action of the banks and business men themselves. Farmer Jones may be able to secure money from his bahk on his own note only at 6, 7, or 8 per cent, but if he can store his grain or cotton with a properly organized ware-house and secure the acceptance of a good bank the bill will sell at the lowest rate, provided the accepting bank is sound.

It does not matter whether money at that time be higher at New Orleans or Minneapolis than at Chicago or New York; if the New Orleans or Minneapolis bank's acceptances are good, they will sell substantially at the same low rate as those of the banks in Chicago and New York. Raise the standard of banking and warehousing-use modern banking methods-and equalization of interest rates must follow automatically. law will ever remove the difference between good and bad. There are different grades in cotton and grains, and, similarly, there are different grades in credit. We can not equalize credits, but we can bring about equalization of interest rates

for similar grades of credit all over the country.

I have read with And now a word about trade acceptances. the keenest interest the very intelligent articles that you have published in the Bulletin of the National Association of Credit en and the speeches made by your officers concerning this topic, and I congratulate you upon the excellent work that you are doing in the matter. You have clearly jointed out that the trade acceptance offers the great advantage of converting a nonnegotiable book account into a live liquid asset, and you are doing a most valuable work of education when you teach the merchant or manufacturer that, under the present system, having sold his goods, he has to borrow on his own promissory note, using his own credit, while, if he adopted the system of trade acceptances, securing the obligation of the customer purchasing the goods, he would be selling an asset instead of incurring a debt. You have so forcibly pressed home all the arguments con-cerning this problem that I should not know how to add to them. I can only express my great satisfaction at finding myself in

such complete accord with you.

When it comes to the question of the eligibility of singlename paper for rediscount with Federal reserve banks I always have a kind of David Harum feeling-" Yes an' no; mebbe an' Because of this doubt, we have felt that we had mebbe not." to ask for evidence in order to be certain that a bill complied with the law as to the use of its proceeds. The trade acceptance, on the other hand-unless it be fraudulent paper-carries on its face the assurance of its legitimacy; it evidences a definite debt of the purchaser to the seller, to be liquidated on a The board has, therefore, encouraged reserve banks and their customers to offer for this kind of paper a rate of discount lower than that for single-name promissory notes. It is greatly to be hoped that its free use will grow. National banks may indorse these trade acceptances without limit, while the indorsement of single-name paper to banks or individuals other than Federal reserve banks would, under the nationalbank act, count as a liability which, as you know, is limited for national banks to 100 per cent of capital. As our system further develops good trade acceptances will, therefore, become an investment preferred by member banks and selling at a rate lower than enjoyed by single-name paper. The more good paper of this kind is developed the more will it be used by the banks as a secondary reserve and the more general will become the habit of rediscounting this paper-particularly for short maturities-with the Federal reserve banks.

It is the first duty of Federal reserve banks to be liquid. Therefore they must invest only in the better grades of paper offering through their acceptances or indorsements satisfactory guaranty as to prompt payment upon maturity. freely these trade acceptances are indorsed and standardized the wider, therefore, will become the field of operation of Federal reserve banks. Under the law Federal reserve banks are permitted to buy this double-name paper even without the indorsement of a member bank. Personally, I should not be surprised to see a gradual establishment of rates favoring trade acceptances as against promissory notes even to a further degree than in the past.

You may therefore feel certain that the work you are doing in encouraging the use of trade acceptances is of great value to the growth of the Federal Reserve System and of sound credit

and banking.

In actual operation the problem of the Federal Reserve System is, like your own, largely one of analysis. Success or failure in banking and business are largely dependent upon careful analysis both of the individual statement and the conditions of the entire Nation; indeed, of all the world.

The Federal Reserve System is a structure essentially based on gold and confidence—that is, credit—and, in order to be safe and sound, it must be possessed of an effective machinery for judging credits from the smallest to the largest units. can therefore readily see how important for us is the work of credit analysis done by the members of your association. Your efforts and those of our banks, in many respects, run in the

same direction. The Federal Reserve System, like you, believes in and insists upon frankness. Our member banks are required by law to make full statements. We think that an ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure. If our Federal reserve banks carefully study the statements made by their member banks, we shall, as we go forward, avoid serious trouble by detecting and correcting it in its early inception. This same principle we strive to have applied by our member banks in dealing with their own customers, and our insistence on their receiving statements will render it easier for them to overcome resistance in this respect on the part of their customers. is safety not only in numbers but also in frankness. On the whole, I suppose, it is your experience, as it has been mine, that if a man says that he is too proud to show his statement, the statement generally is not one to be proud of. Your call for frank and intelligent credit statements and your ability to dissect them and to draw proper conclusions therefrom will prove of the very greatest importance for the safety of our

banking system. When from the individual statement we turn our attention to the credit statement of our country and to that of the entire world, we must confess to great perplexity. It is the duty of every conscientious captain of banking or industry to look ahead and ascertain as nearly as possible the future course of the two great forces of demand and supply. But the standards of past experience can not be applied to the present unprecedented situation and our economic future will depend on many factors which we must still consider as hopelessly unknown. One of the most important items in the equation will be the degree in which the unfortunate nations now involved in a death struggle shall become exhausted; and this in turn will depend upon the time over which the contest shall be prolonged. We can, therefore, safely speak only of the broadest aspects of the subject. What we may say with confidence is that if our creditor position be not weakened, the end of the war, no matter when it may come, will find us so greatly strengthened as compared with the leading European powers, that we shall almost inevitably take our place as the world's banker. It will probably fall to us to finance these nations, at least to a certain extent, and for a time; on the other hand, there is the danger that this new business that has come to us owing to extraordinary conditions may mislead us into building an expanded credit structure upon an unstable foundation of shifting gold-some of which we may not be able to hold permanently-and a heavy industrial structure upon a basis of ephemeral demands. This danger is real, and so we find at present two schools of thought, one looking into the future with unbounded confidence and the other anticipating drastic reaction and collapse. But, if this danger exists, and no doubt it does, do we, like the old Greeks, believe in an inexorable fate, and must we bend our necks and patiently await the blow? Or is it not worth our while to deal with the problem of our economic future as science has dealt with the yellow fever and with cholera? In other words, can not we, by scientific analysis, recognize the elements of the problem and find the means of warding off the danger?

Turning first, then, to an analysis of our banking problem, we should bear in mind that added lending power, be it by decreased reserve requirements or by an influx of gold, does not automatically bring about the increased opportunity for making safe local loans. Only gradually and only as we shall recognize it for the support of our permanent and solid growth of business not the mushroom kind-shall we be able to use it. The danger of a rapidly and abnormally increased lending power is that it makes for plethora of money, for too easy rates, exasperating alike to the banker and the investor, and that consequently it brings forth the tendency of encouraging unhealthy expansion and of making poor investments at home and abroad. Such conditions have always been the breeders of economic disasters.

We must furthermore bear in mind the old rule that between

countries of fairly equal credits low interest rates will have the tendency of driving gold to that center where it can earn the higher interest return. While abnormal conditions have for the present destroyed the power of interest rates to direct the flow of gold, sooner or later normal laws of economics will again assert themselves, and we must then expect that, owing to the inflation of currency created in almost every country involved in the war, the demand for our gold will be very keen and determined. We may then have to part with very large sums of gold, but we must so direct our course as to be able to control this outflow and let it take place without creating disturbances in our own economic life.

In order to avoid unfortunate developments we must then first of all "keep our powder dry"; that is, hold in reserve the

essential strength of the Federal reserve banks, not only to be prepared for possible drain or emergency but also, so far as practicable, to offer a check to inflation.

Impatience by the public or by the Federal reserve banks themselves to quickly show results by large profits must not be permitted to lure us from a safe course. Strange as it may seem, the old words of Milton, when he said, "They also serve who only stand and wait," may be aptly applied to so modern an organization as the Federal Reserve System. To stand and wait is often the hardest of all duties, requiring more courage than to follow one's impulses in "letting go."

Second. We must greatly increase the degree of our control over our current gold supply by assembling, so far as practicable, the gold now wastefully carried in the pockets of the public, substituting for it our new elastic reserve notes.

Third. We must take the utmost care not to destroy at this time the basis of our future lending power. Whatever foreign loans we may make during the war ought to be of reasonably short maturity, so that we may keep control of our gold in case we should later wish to have it at our call. That will give us a strategic position at the end of the war so strong that we shall be able effectively to face the various duties that will confront us, not only toward our own country, but also toward the world at large.

Fourth. While short loans are advisable in dealing with foreign countries, this is the time for us to set our own house in order and arrange for the financing of our healthy home enterprises on a permanent basis.

Fifth. Our banks have so far acted wisely. They have not considered the reserve now prescribed by the Federal reserve act as the actual limit of their reserve condition. They have, generally speaking, held reserves in excess of that limit. It is, however, true that with some this is not due solely to prudence, but partly to the fact that the great ease of money made it practically impossible for them to invest a large percentage of their available means.

Increased activity might bring about a change in this respect. But I believe that it should be impressed upon all the banks that, rain or shine, they should, under present conditions, continue to keep their reserves far in excess of the present legal requirements and that they should not forget that, on balance, this year they will have to pay into the Federal Reserve System roughly \$110,000,000, and that, if the old standard of reserve requirements were in force to-day, the reserves now shown would be reduced by about \$500,000,000.

If a policy of general conservatism, such as I have outlined, can be systematically followed, thereby maintaining the strength of our banking position, we shall in due course reap our re-

I do not by any means intend to suggest undue restriction upon legitimate industries. I recommend, however, a careful discrimination between that portion of business and industry which is solid and permanent and that which is of a purely ephemeral or speculative character. The former should be advanced and fostered by every means in our power; and it is the duty of our bankers and of the Federal Reserve System to supply it with its due share of credit. There is no reason why the regular business of this country should view the future with alarm. While, as I have stated, it is to be expected that at the conclusion of the war Europe will make great efforts to reestablish her industries and to reopen her markets, it is equally true that Europe is short of raw materials, and that before the full force of her industries can be brought to bear upon our markets she must buy many of these raw products largely from Moreover, it will take time to reorganize her industries, which now to a large extent have been turned into factories producing those articles that are required by a nation at war. is therefore not to be feared that the reaction will come immediately upon the conclusion of peace; and therein lies a protection which is an important consideration to be borne in mind by our business mea when dealing with the problems of our home consumption.

American prosperity is of a self-igniting character—one branch of business reacts upon the other, and the increase in activity reacts again on the very forces that first acted as the moving influence. The present wave of prosperity in the United States appears too powerful to be easily rolled back or resisted, and there would seem to be no reason why business, so far as relates to our own normal demand and consumption, should not continue to be brisk. I believe that we may say with reasonable assurance to the business men and manufacturers dealing with our own local requirements, "Be not afraid, and go ahead."

The case is quite different with those industries that are tem-

porarily overstimulated by passing conditions and are using

their resources to extend their plants in order to cope with these extraordinary demands. Very possibly such plants in many instances are built from profits, and their owners may be well able to afford to "scrap" them upon the arrival of peace. They will not, however, adopt so heroic a course, and we must therefore recognize in these investments, containing, as they do, possibilities of overproduction, the seeds of grave danger. who are engaged in such industries the banking and business community might well utter a word of warning. Let them use their profits, not in expanding beyond the limits of prudence but rather in developing their existing facilities to the highest possible pitch of efficiency.

Has not last year's experience shown us the excellent results that concerted effort can produce in dealing with problems of this kind? The educational campaign for a diversification of the crops which resulted in a largely reduced output of cotton in the fall of 1915 brought prosperity to the South, while another large cotton crop on top of that of 1914 might have proved fatal. May we not hope that we may be able to deal scientifically with questions of manufacture as well as those of agriculture? The country will need its highest degree of efficiency most urgently when, after the war is over, we must meet the competition of European manufacturers forced by necessity to strain every nerve in producing at the lowest possible figure and under the heavy handicap of weakened exchange standards, strained or exhausted credits, and high taxes

If we are prudent and avoid both banking and industrial inflation, if we use this period of affluence and unexpected pro-tection to increase our efficiency and complete our organization, I do not see why we should not calmly trust our ability and in-telligence in meeting any emergency the future may have in store for us. It is with this point in view that I so strongly urge our bankers not to lose this opportunity of perfecting our banking machinery for the purpose of developing relations with for-eign countries. The only distinct effort in this direction has been made in New York, and, to a certain extent, in Boston and Philadelphia, for the rest of the country appears to be so busy making money that apparently it has not found the time to provide for the future.

Our opportunity for successful foreign trade has been vastly increased because foreign business is carried on largely with credit, and, in granting credit, the United States will, after this war, be stronger than any other country. There is a close interrelation between loans to foreign nations and business transactions in those foreign countries. It is true that foreign loans stimulate foreign trade, but it is equally true that it is impossible to place large loans unless there exists in the creditor country an intimate knowledge of the conditions of the debtor nation. thousands of our merchants know South America or the Far East, and spread their knowledge in our country, they will create that atmosphere of intimacy and confidence without which it is absolutely impossible to create an extensive investment market for foreign securities. In the past we have not conquered foreign markets to a greater extent largely because we have been too prosperous at home, and because we did not think it worth while to accommodate ourselves to foreign methods or to grant credits in far-away countries.

The enormous lending power that we shall enjoy will give us a tremendous advantage in the future. It will be for the American business man and investor to decide to what degree the United States shall become a nation of world bankers. great prosperity should not make us forget those opportunities, almost beyond measure, lying at our door, and which, on account of our present prosperity, we should not be guilty of neglecting.

I am very grateful to you, gentlemen, for having permitted me to discuss with you to-night some of the problems as they touch your own individual work, that of the Federal Reserve System, and the larger aspects of these questions as they affect the entire Nation.

The ultimate outcome of the most gigantic of all struggles ever fought is still shrouded in mystery. But out of the mist our future looms large, resplendent with opportunities yet burdened with serious obligations. Simply to wax prosperous through the misfortunes of others can not be the destiny of this great country. Some time and somehow the future must bring us an opportunity of giving back to the world in service what fate is now lavishly throwing into our laps. Whatever our tasks and duties then may be, I know that you, business men of the United States, will meet them in the same broad and helpful spirit that has guided you in the past in struggling with the problems of our country.

Joseph A. Goulden, Late a Representative from New York.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, January 23, 1916,

On House resolution (H. Res. 101) paying tribute to the memory of Hom. JOSEPH A. GOULDEN, late a Representative from the State of New York.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print, I insert the following biographical sketch of the life of the late Joseph A. GOULDEN, prepared by Michael J. Corcoran, his secretary continuously for 25 years:

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JOSEPH A. CONLDEN.

JOSEPH A. GOULDEN was descended from that famous and sturdy "Pennsylvania Dutch" stock, which has been the backbone of several American Commonwealths for over two centuries. He was of the sixth generation on his father's side, from Samuel Goulden or Gulden, who came from the German Palatinate prior to 1710 and settled in New Holland, Lancaster County, Pa. On his mother's side he was of the fifth generation from Valentine Wivell or Weybel, also from the Palatinate, who settled at Goshenhoppen, Berks County, Pa., about 1750. Some of Joseph A. Goulden's ancestors, and many of his relatives in the five and six generations before him, took part in the Revolutionary and other American wars; they were mainly farmers, owned and tilled their own lands, lived long, reared large families, walked in the fear of God and the love of their country, and proved themselves ideal citizens,

JOSEPH A. GOULDEN combined every splendid trait of his race and forefathers, and ably acquitted himself of his noble inheritance. He was born near Littlestown, Adams County, Pa., on August 1, 1844, the oldest of the four children of William Goulden and Mary Ann Wivell. His date of birth is in the baptismal record of St. Aloysius's Church, of Littlestown. In March, 1855, when in his eleventh year, he removed with his parents to the farm near Taneytown, Carroll County, Md., which

thereafter was the home town of the family.

He led the usual life of a farmer's son, and his early educa-tional opportunities were limited to the usual four months of district school in the winters, which he attended faithfully until he was 15 years old. In 1860 Prof. Andrew McKinney, a strong and sterling character, organized in Taneytown, Md., the select school known as Eagleton Institute; and in September, 1860, at the age of 16 Joseph A. Goulden entered this institute and remained until October, 1862, under the instruction of the efficient and zealous McKinney, who made such an impression on his student that for the rest of his life the latter always held his teacher in the highest esteem and most affectionate regard.

In October, 1862, at age 18, Joseph A. Goulden began teaching in Ashbrook Academy, Littlestown, Pa., where he taught for two winters, until the early part of May, 1864, taking some special instructions himself in the summer of 1863. In November of 1863 he heard President Lincoln deliver his famous address on the battle field of Gettysburg, standing within a few feet of the orator and always retaining a vivid recollection of the wonderful event. That speech so crystallized his thoughts about the war that his school-teaching lost most of its charm that winter, and in May of 1864 he went to Philadelphia and enlisted as a private in the United States Marine Corps

He served on various ships of the North Atlantic, Potomac River, and James River Squadrons, took part in the hot fight at Drewrys Bluff and in various engagements with the Confederate batteries on the southern shore of the Potomac and in various fights and skirmishes. He was made a noncommissioned officer, and when mustered out with an honorable discharge on March 1, 1866, in his twenty-second year, he declined

an appointment as a second lieutenant in the Regular Army.

He went home to Taneytown, and entered the school of his old and beloved teacher McKinney in order to pursue special studies in which he was deeply interested. In September of that year, 1866, he went to teach in Toms Creek Academy, near Emmitsburg, Pa.; a year later, in November, 1867, at the request of many of the prominent citizens and families of Emmitsburg, a town of 2,000 people, he opened a select school and continued it with marked success for two years.

In March, 1869, he went to Mill Creek (Bunker Hill), Berke-

ley County, W. Va., taking with him his young wife Isabelle

Allwein, distantly related to him through descent from old Pennsylvania families intermarried with the earlier generations of Gouldens and Wivells. He was married on December 26, 1866, in St. Mary's Church, Lebanon, Pa., by the Rev. J. H. Boetzkes

At Mill Creek he was again teaching, and reverting to his old love of farming during spare time. In November, 1870, he removed to Martinsburg, county seat of Berkeley County, W. Va., to become the principal of St. Joseph's Parochial School, under the rectorship of Rev. John J. Kain, afterwards bishop of Wheeling, W. Va., and archbishop of St. Louis, Mo. While in Martinsburg the spare time he formerly devoted to farming he now gave to real estate and insurance, trying his hand at these for the first time, and as evidence of his untiring energy and ambition he also studied law, working and studying day

As the insurance business seemed to furnish the best opportunities for his natural talents, he decided to devote himself to it exclusively, and removed to Lebanon, Pa., in May, 1872, where he spent three years actively engaged in his new business. In March, 1875, still engaged in the life insurance business, he moved to the seventeenth ward of Pittsburgh, Pa.; he was then in his thirty-first year, thoroughly equipped and experienced,

and a new and broader phase of his life began.

His ability as an insurance man was so marked that on November 1, 1879, he was appointed superintendent of eastern agencies for the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co., and for the remainder of his life, some 351 years, he remained in the service of that company as superintendent of agents, general agent and manager, and member of the board of trustees. In his new position he traveled extensively in the Eastern, Middle, and Southern Atlantic States, appointed agents, aided them to secure business, filled them with his own overpowering enthusiasm and energy, and left unforgettable impressions of his cheerful disposition and remarkable personality.

He became interested in the Emerald Beneficial Association, a fraternal, insurance, social, and beneficial organization then spreading rapidly in western Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, and New York; he soon became State president of it, national president; of its semimonthly publication, The Vindicator, he became editor and publisher. He traveled extensively cator, he became editor and publisher. He traveled extensively also in the interest of the "E. B. A.," organized branches, addressed meetings, and filled the whole organization with the fire

of his energy.

The politics of his time had also strong appeals for him, and he had acquired, in his first few years in Pittsburgh, the reputation of being a very effective public speaker, ready at a mo-ment's notice to discuss the issues of a campaign, with an unfailing flow of language, and in a happy and convincing way.

His various activities as a life insurance man, as head of a

widely known beneficial and fraternal society, as a newspaper editor, as a Democratic orator of undoubted ability; the constantly spreading circle of his friends made on extensive travels: his genius at organizing agency forces, branches of fraternal orders, and political mass meetings, soon brought him into great prominence as one of Pittsburgh's leading citizens.

In 1882 he was appointed one of the managers of the State Reform School at Morganza, Pa., by Robert E. Pattison, the Democratic governor of Pennsylvania. Gov. Pattison had received warm, active, and unselfish support in a number of stirring meetings organized and addressed by his Pittsburgh admirer; the two men, so like in their great popularity and in their devotion to public causes, were ever after warm personal friends. On this board of managers Joseph A. Goulden served

for four years.

In 1886 he was unanimously selected by the Democrats of Pittsburgh's seventeenth ward, and other parts of the forty-fourth Pennsylvania senatorial district, as candidate for State senator. The district was Republican by about 12,000, but he came so near to upsetting this margin by a remarkably active campaign, cutting the 12,000 down to 1,500, that he gave the successful Republican candidate, Ex-State Senator John C. Newmeyer, an old political "war horse," the scare of his politi-

But the call of a wider field was stirring him, and he was already pruning his wings for a larger flight. In 1888 he announced his intention of leaving Pittsburgh and going to New York, and he secured the appointment as general agent in that city for his company, the Penn Mutual Life. Pittsburgh considered his going as a public loss, and a public banquet was tendered to him at the old Seventh Avenue Hotel, attended by the mayor, postmaster, a host of city officials, and prominent The speeches voiced the regret of the citizens, yet wished their fellow townsman Godspeed. A suitably in-

scribed and gem-studded gold watch and chain were presented, now the heirlooms of one of his grandsons.

In October, 1889, when 45 years old, he came to New York and settled in the old Fordham section, the old college town of Poe fame, then a part of the annexed district of "North Side" of New York City. He lived in Fordham for the remainder of his life, over 25 years. As the general agent of the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co. he was successful from the start; but almost immediately his passion to be doing things for his neighbors and friends led him again into public prominence. He joined the Fordham Club and was selected chairman of its public improvement committee; he organized meetings to advocate needed improvements and inaugurated the plan of taking committees away down town to appear before the city officials and heads of departments to personally present the facts as to improvements, and to keep at it until the improvements were actually obtained.

He then started organizing taxpayers' associations in the other sections of the annexed district, arranging mass meetings for sorely needed civic improvements and taking committees on visits to the city officials to bring into actual being the needed improvements. In a few years he had organized these tax-payers' associations in nearly every section of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth wards, and the next forward step was the combination of all of these local associations into a general one, known as the Taxpayers' Alliance, of which he was the organizer and first president, presiding over it for four years. As it represented practically the entire north side and had behind it the approval of every inhabitant and the propaganda of a very large membership in the local societies, this alliance became a powerful factor in public improvements and the record of its achievements a remarkable one. There was not a single one of these in which he was not almost directly instrumental.

He also joined the Democratic club of his district and was promptly appointed chairman of the speakers' committee; in the course of a few campaigns it could be said that there was not a single Democratic political meeting in any part of the district that he did not address or preside over, and most of them he organized, gathering together the audiences and arrang-

ing for the speakers

Another consuming passion of his life found free play almost from the moment of his advent in Fordham; that was his interest in education and the schools. He visited the public school in Fordham, impelled by his old love of teaching, and delivered to the pupils one of those short and brilliant talks that made such indelible impressions on their minds. He visited other schools, and his visits at each became more frequent; it soon became his daily habit to visit some school at the assembly hour and to urge some civic virtue for the adoption of the pupils; he appeared in every graduation exercise that he could possibly arrange to attend, and the principals in time began to so arrange the hours and days for these exercises that he could take in every one of them in succession all over the two wards of the annexed district. He grew to know every teacher and school official, and almost every child in every school; in the course of years he followed their careers from class to class, from lower to higher grades, from grammar to high school and college. The pupils themselves, as well as the teachers, came to consider him almost a permanent part of the school system, always present to aid and encourage and enthuse them, to stir up pride in their studies and ambition to succeed in life.

He carried on all of these activities, and many others that came to his hand, simultaneously; his enormous activity and energy enabled him to crowd into each day the events which ordinarily would not fit into six days. And he did not neglect his insurance business nor his home garden at Fordham, which he planted and cultivated as though he had no other interest in life, and from which he produced a fine crop of vegetables and flowers each year, thus giving rein to another of his life's pas-

sions-farming.

He became so well known as a friend of the schools and as chief advocate of public improvements, and acquired such fame among city officials as the leader of incessant committees demanding and obtaining improvements, that he had only been in Fordham three years when Mayor Hugh J. Grant, in November, 1892, appointed him a school commissioner, or a member of the city's board of education. During his four years' service as commissioner he was a very active member of four subcommittees of the board, did an immense amount of school work, and made an incredibly large number of visits to schools all over the city, attending the morning assemblies, graduation exercises, and those arranged to celebrate the National and State holidays. He obtained the approval of the board for the first pension plan in favor of superannuated teachers; and started patriotic

instruction or military training in the schools.

With the aid of several of the more sympathetic principals he organized uniformed companies of boys, and had officers of the Army and National Guard instruct them in military tactics after school hours on certain days and on Saturdays; where this could not be done, he had color guards of boys organized to take charge of the school flag, to be displayed at morning assembly and solemnly saluted by the entire school, boys and girls. Meanwhile he had joined Winfield Scott Hancock Post of the Grand Army of the Republic; and he soon had the Grand Army of the Republic posts purchase and officially present to the school American flags. These presentation ceremonies, in which a squad of old veterans, in their Army uniforms, handed over to the proud color guard of the school the glorious emblem of patriotism and love of country, were solemn spectacles and object lessons that the pupils never forgot. Commissioner Goulden was always the motive power from beginning to end, and he never rested until practically every post had presented one or more flags, and until every school had such a flag, with its ceremony of presentation and acceptance, and the custom inaugurated of saluting it daily.

The idea of patriotic instruction and military training did not grow so rapidly, for want of instructors and press of other studies on the children's time, but he managed to have a number of schools organize and equip uniformed companies of boys, who took part in the parades on Memorial Day and on other occasions, especially when the Grand Army of the Republic would also parade. And to this day no public celebration or parade is complete in New York without its section of children.

His Grand Army of the Republic comrades soon elected him post commander, and in 1896, just as his term as school commissioner was expiring, he was elected chairman of the memorial committee, the central body, composed of all the Grand Army of the Republic posts of the whole city of New York. Finding that as chairman of the memorial committee he was also a member of the commission designated by law to erect a memorial monument to the city's toll of heroes in the Civil War, and as the commission, with an appropriation of \$300,000, had practically done nothing for want of the man with time to devote to it, he promptly assumed the task, had the commission organized, was elected its secretary, and never ceased in his efforts, practically alone and single handed, until the Soldiers Sailors' Monument on Riverside Drive was a beautiful reality. The monument was dedicated and formally presented to the city in 1902, and the ceremonies were almost a personal tribute to the secretary of the commission.

In 1897, when his increasing public duties made it appear that his life insurance business might suffer through lack of attention, he took into partnership his son, Maurice E. Goulden, already successful as manager of another company. His son from that time forward assumed most of the burdens and office duties of the business of J. A. Goulden & Son as general agents of the Penn Mutual Life, and this devotion and loyalty enabled the father to give an ever larger amount of time and attention

to civic and public matters.

These now included, among all the others previously referred to, his chairmanship of the local school board of the twenty-fifth city district, for almost two years; and his membership in the board of trustees of the New York State Soldiers and Sailors' Home, at Bath, N. Y. On the latter board he was appointed in 1902, and served continuously to his death, at which time he was the president of the board and its member oldest in service. He was vice president of the Penn Mutual Agency Association, composed of the managers and general agents of the company throughout the entire country; he presided at many of its meetings and at the meetings of its executive committee, and took an active part in all the projects for the good of the company and the business, and later became the president of the association. He was a vice president of the North Side Board of Trade, composed of the leading business men of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth wards. He was a trustee of the Church of Our Lady of Mercy, in Fordham, from 1893 until his death.

At the time he came to New York, and on various later occasions when suggestions were made as to possible political offices to which he might be called, he said to his son, and to others as the occasion served, that he had but one political ambition, and that was to serve the people as their Representative in Congress. He said that if the people would elect him a Member of Congress the dream of his life would be realized. He was so widely known in 1902, yet had so persistently refused to be considered for the usual political offices, that it was felt he had no ambition to be elected to public office; but always he had the ambition,

without a thought that it might ever be fulfilled, of serving the

people in Congress.

When, as a result of the census of 1900 and the subsequent reapportionment of the State, The Bronx became a congressional district by itself, instead of being torn between Westchester County and New York City, and the entire Democracy, as though one man, turned to him as the party candidate for Member of Congress from the new eighteenth district, suddenly the dreams of his whole life seemed to crystallize into reality. He went into the campaign with his heart on fire with enthusiasm, with all the exaltation of a prophet. Some of his armies of friends, chiefly Republicans, wavered for a moment, unable to grasp the idea that the unselfish friend of every public movement, their leader in every inch of the way to civic improvement in The Bronx regardless of parties or interests, could be just a Democrat; but the wavering was only for a moment, and he was elected by a handsome majority of votes in a district with a larger population than any other congressional district in the United States.

He was reelected in 1904, 1906, and 1908, always with handsome majorities. In 1910 he positively refused to be a candidate for reelection, stating in a public speech that it was time to give others a chance to serve the people in exalted places

But in 1912, after another reapportionment of the State based on the 1910 census, when The Bronx was to be the major portion of two congressional districts, the Democrats of the more northerly district, in which he lived, so prevailed upon him that he consented to be a candidate for Member of Congress in the new twenty-third district. His triumph in the primaries was only a prelude to a greater triumph in the election.

In 1913, when the growing size and importance of The Bronx compelled the parties to take account of Bronx men in the selection of the greater city's three chief officers—mayor, comptroller, and president of the board of aldermen—the Democrats had the distinction of being the first party to make the recognition. In spite of his most strenuous efforts to avoid it, he very reluctantly acceded to the practically unanimous demand of the party and of the people, and became the candidate for president of the board of aldermen; he made the campaign with all of his old-time energy and enthusiasm, but went down to defeat with his party, his personality having nothing whatever to do with the matter and being powerless to save the party.

But in 1914 he was again elected a Member of Congress for the sixth time; he had served two months of this sixth term when he died suddenly in Philadelphia on May 3, 1915.

Many new honors had come to him. He was elected a trustee of the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co., then an institution with assets of \$140,000,000 to be administered; he was a trustee of the New York Catholic Protectory, and took a deep interest in the education and industrial training of its army of boys and girls; he was vice president of the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association, and labored hard to complete The Bronx link of that commercial waterway which was to protect and develop American trade and commerce.

He was loaded with many honors, and yet with a multitude of cares for the people, when death visited him. He never flinched or failed toward the end, never faltered in the face of duty, could not be persuaded that age or other conditions could hamper his energy or lessen his activity; he died in the full tide of pulsing life, while living strenuously, while on his way blithely and joyfully to attend a meeting of the trustees of his beloved insurance company, after 35½ years of ministrations to

its widows and orphans.

He cared little for fame, as such, or for the opinion of pos-terity; but the wonderful outpouring of tributes occasioned by his death would have gladdened his heart could he have but known. Most touching of all were the processions of school children who could not understand that there was an end of the friend who seemed to be with them unceasingly; and of the old soldiers who seemed to feel that their last prop was gone; and of thousands of men and women who looked upon him as the solver of all their problems, the friend in all emergencies, the cheerful helper in every extremity. In his old home town— Taneytown, Md.—when his body was brought there with all the pomp and panoply of a congressional funeral service, where he knew personally every man, woman, and child, the mourning was profound and intense; all business was suspended for the whole day, and absolutely the whole town turned out to publicly mourn for their great dead. On May 6, 1915, he was buried in the family plot, among seven generations of his family, in soil seven times sacred to him.

The one great outstanding fact of his life, the great principle which underlay his every activity, the key to his achievements, was his unselfish devotion to other people and the people's interests. The life insurance business appealed keenly to him, because it meant protection to widows and orphans; it meant thrift and old-age funds for everyone; teaching meant the preparation of the rising generation for their part in life, for their carrying on of the duties of civilization; his war experience was prompted by a like impulse to be of service to others. He was always impelled unconsciously to be up and doing for others; and, while there were times when it seemed as though this would overwhelm him and his own beloved ones with disaster, his great faith in ultimate good overcame all perils and troubles, and the great tide of his life would again run on for the public good. He never had a selfish thought for himself nor for his own future; his heart beat itself out for others.

Naval Defense on the Pacific Coast.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM D. STEPHENS. OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 28, 1916.

Mr. STEPHENS of California. Mr. Speaker, in the hearings before the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives one year ago you will find my questions and the answers thereto by the Secretary of the Navy and others, all clearly and definitely demonstrating that the United States is practically without any naval defense on the Pacific coast, is only moderately fortified, and has comparatively few soldiers there to use

Mr. Speaker, ever since I came to Congress, and before, I have favored adequate national defense. Everywhere in the district which I represent I spoke during this last summer in favor of a larger defense-such a defense as may keep us out of war and will without question protect and preserve us if

Adequate and proper preparation for the defense of our beloved country will preserve the young men of this Nation to the Nation and to their mothers, wives, and children.

Mr. Speaker, we need an increased Army, more fortifications, and more air craft of every kind; and, perhaps more than anything else, we need a wonderfully increased Navy, for it will be the duty of the Navy not only to protect our harbors and our cities but to go far out from our shores to meet and vanquish the enemy fleets.

If we ought to have a larger Navy, we ought to have it now. We should authorize and commence construction of it now. I do not favor the expenditure of one penny for aggression, but I do favor the expenditure of \$500,000,000, and more if necessary, for a Navy complete in detail and large enough to protect us not only on the Atlantic coast but also along the Pacific coast.

Mr. Speaker, I have just received from the Chamber of Com-merce of Los Angeles, Cal., the following resolutions and memorial to Congress, urging national and Pacific coast defense:

Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Los Angeles, Cal.

RESOLUTION ERGING NATIONAL AND PACIFIC COAST DEFENSE.

Whereas the United States is at present practically unprepared to defend itself against an attack by foreign force; and Whereas the need for such defense may arise following the termination of the present hostilities now being waged among several of the great

nations; and
hereas the cost and consequences of an attack would be inconceivably greater than the cost of even the most elaborate preparedness for

defense; and
Whereas the United States Government now has in the organizations
known as the General Board of the Navy and the General Staff of the
Army, a highly trained and experienced body of military and naval
experts whose opinion on these matters should be the best obtainable;

experts whose opinion on these matters should be the best obtainable, and
Whereas it is our understanding that the plans and suggestions of these
boards concerning immediate preparation have not been adopted:
Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Board of Directors of the Los Angeles Chamber of
Commerce, first, that the United States Government take immediate
steps to insure the prompt and successful defense of all of its territory;
second, that the measures adopted to attain the above end should include
complete and specific plans providing adequately for the defense of the
Pacific coast, which should be formulated without delay by the General
Board of the Navy and the General Staff of the Army of the United
States, and which should give full consideration and weight to the facts
and recommendations embodied in the attached memorial to Congress
which sets forth the conditions on the Pacific coast from which arises
the urgent and imperative necessity for the establishment and permanent maintenance on that coast of a land force adequate for its defense;
third, that the principle of universal military service by the entire man-

hood of the country, which is a true democratic system, should be adopted as the foundation for our ultimate system of national defense. Such service should be with the colors on the part of those physically fit, as provided for in the Federal Constitution, or else by financial contributions from those unable to serve in person, to be applicable solely to the military and naval services of the country.

I hereby certify that the above is a true and correct copy of resolution passed by the board of directors of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce at the regular meeting held Wednesday, January 19, 1916.

ROBT. N. BULLA, President.

FRANK WIGGINS, Secretary.

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

The facts and recommendations hereinafter set forth are respectfully ibmitted for your consideration in behalf of the people of the Pacific

The facts and recommendations hereinafter set forth are respectfully submitted for your consideration in behalf of the people of the Pacific coast.

I must be conceded that no dependence can be placed on bringing naval reinforcements from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast in the event of war. The Panama canal is uncertain. It easily could be blocked or its locks were ward to the properties of the pacific coast and is uncertain. It easily could be blocked or its locks were ward to the pacific coast and is placed and the pacific coast and is planting power to the combined navies of Asia, it would fail as an adequate defense measure. It would fail as an adequate defense measure. It would face destruction unless it was provided with fortified naval bases or Germany in the present war.

2. However desirable it would be for the United States to have a fleet of superior fighting power on the Pacific Coean, its construction would require many years. By no possibility could an adequate Navy for the Pacific be built in time to meet immediate necessity for an impregnable defense. It appears obvious that the need for such defense will arrise, if ever, before the needed fieet could be constructed. For the Pacific coast should be not offensive but detensive in character, including naval bases, harbors of refuge, coaling stations with large reserve coal supplies, transports, swift cruisers, torpedo boats, submarines, torpedoes, mines, mine layers, and large fleets of aeroplanes, with ample ammunition and supplies at all bases.

3. Naval bases should be established immediately and strongly fortified at all vantage points on the Pacific coast in the United States and at Sitka, Cooks Inlet, Unalaska, Samoa, and Pearl Harbor. Unless both can, proceed simultaneously, the established in mediately and strongly fortified at all vantage points on the Pacific coast in the States and at Sitka, Cooks Inlet, Unalaska, Samoa, and Pearl Harbor. Unless both can, proceed of a land force in Alaska large enough to insure the safety of this Terr

reserve. A separate force should be enisted for colonial and isthmian service.

8. A national construction reserve should be established and permanently maintained to embrace all men employed in construction work by the National Government, including the building of highways and waterways. flood prevention and protection, river regulation, forestry and land reclamation. All such work should be done by a regularly enlisted and organized reserve, under civil control in time of peace, and instantly ready for military service in the event of war. The German forestry system might well be the model after which such a national construction reserve should be patterned.

9. A national rural reserve, with an eventual strength of 5,000,000 men, should be created and maintained at proper strategic points in the United States under a system embodying the features of the Australian and New Zealand land settlement systems. Each rural reservist should be settled upon a small tract of land, no larger than he can cutivate with his own labor with the help of his family. This entire rural reserve should be officered, trained, equipped, and organized so that in the event of war they would be as good soldiers as the reserves of Switzerland, who are at all times ready for instant military service.

the reserves of Switzerland, who are at all times ready for Instant military service.

10. All the national reserves of the United States should be continuously under the exclusive jurisdiction and control of the War Department in all matters relating to military training, equipment, organization, and service, and should always be prepared to join the colors without delay. That instant readiness of the national reserves for service in defense of the country would be our best safeguard against the breaking out of war. We might then rest assured that no nation ever would attack the United States or attempt to Invade or occupy any of its territory or possessions.

11. The most imperative need to insure the instant preparedness of the United States for national defense would be a full complement of officers for all the reserves, always in active command. All the national reserves should therefore be under command. All the national reserves should therefore be under command of officers promoted from the ranks or trained in military schools under the direction of the War Department. All such officers should be classed and

ranked the same as officers of the Regular Army. Military schools should be established and maintained in different parts of the United Wide all the officers necessary for the national reservers. Many of the military posts are improperly located for their present use and should not be required to the control of the cont

coast. A cavalry force adequate for all needs on the Pacific coast should be established on 10-acre farms in Nevada, under a plan modeled after the Swiss cavalry reserve system, on Government lands reclaimed and settled by the National Government, under a plan similar to the land reclamation and settlement system of Australia. Such a cavalry force could be made available not only for the defense of the Pacific littoral, but also, if needed at any time, for defense on either the northern or southern border of the United States, and should be large enough to fully meet those possible needs.

Respectfully submitted.

Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

LOS ANGELES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. ROBERT N. BULLA, President.

LOS ANGELES, CAL., January 19, 1916.

Rural Post Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN R. K. SCOTT,

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Tuesday, January 25, 1916.

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, in the report of the Committee on Roads, considering bill H. R. 7617, introduced by the gentleman from Missouri, the statement is made that "primarily roads are local concerns." I do not wish to dispute that statement, but I do want to say that if the roads of this country have in the past been considered of "local concern" only, then it were well that some steps be taken immediately to make the roads of our country of tional concern.'

Students of history, both of past history and present history, have agreed that the prosperity of a country can be safely gauged by the condition of its roads. I am no student of history, but my slight knowledge of that subject convinces me that this statement is correct. If we look back into the history of former world powers, or even if we glance over the map of Europe to-day, we find that wherever commercial supremacy on land existed or exists there the roads of that nation excel.

The widespread demand for national aid in road building and in the maintenance of our roads has become so insistent throughout the country that I do not believe that this Congress should. as a representative body, ignore the demands of the people,

whom we are placed here to represent.

A number of the Members of this House have opposed the passage of this bill on the ground that it favors the farm and rural communities at the expense of the cities. To my mind this is a very narrow-minded and shortsighted attitude. not believe that the development of any road can benefit the farmer at the expense of his city brother. That which benefits the farmer and permits him ready access to the city benefits the city in direct proportion to the benefits conferred upon the farmer. Our cities to-day, both small and large, are dependent upon the farm for the greatest necessaries of life. If it is expensive for the farmer to haul his produce to the city, who bears the burden? The extra cost is paid by the city man, not by the farmer. The margin of profit to the farmer will be regulated and maintained to the usual standard by competition and by the law of supply and demand. The farmer will take care that he receives his fair margin of profit on all of produce he sells. If it is expensive for him to haul his produce to a certain town, then the residents of that town will have to pay that expense if they wish to acquire the farmer's goods. If the farmer is able to haul his produce at a small cost, then competition will compel him to so regulate the selling price of his produce as to leave him a fair margin of profit only. Therefore I maintain that good roads do not benefit the farmer any more than they benefit the city. The benefit to one is in direct proportion to the benefit conferred upon the other.

In addition, I submit that it is only fair that the Federal Government should contribute to the maintenance of the roads over which it carries its mail. The Federal Government has all of its post offices and buildings exempt from taxation, and I feel that no reason exists why it should not contribute its support to the upkeep and maintenance of the roads, which it makes use of as part of the machinery of its postal work.

Our parcel post has a great future ahead of it, and in order to develop it to its greatest possible form of efficiency we need good roads. There can be no question or doubt but that in the very near future the Parcel Post Service will bring to this Government a tremendous revenue. Therefore as a business proposition, pure and simple, the hastening of this future of our Parcel Post Service by the development of proper roads can not be regarded other than as good business judgment.

It is true that \$25,000,000 will not accomplish very much in the way of aiding the development of the roads of this country, but it is a beginning, and in the end will undoubtedly encourage the promotion of good-road building throughout the United States.

I shall support this bill, and in doing so I feel that I am well representing the interests and welfare of each community in

the State which I have the honor to represent.

Child-Labor Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN G. COOPER, OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Friday, January 28, 1916.

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I shall support this measure because I am now and always have been opposed to child labor. This bill provides that when any State in the Union desires to permit innocent little children of tender age to work in the mines, quarries, canneries, mills, workshops, or factories of such State, then it shall be unlawful for employers of child labor in these States to ship products of such labor into another State. In other words, this bill prevents employers of child labor in 4 or 5 States in the South, where children are employed in the cotton mills, from disposing of their childmade products in 42 other States in the Union which have laws prohibiting child labor.

Mr. Speaker, for many years we have heard much in our legislative halls about conservation of our forests, water-power sites, our mineral resources, and public lands. Many good laws have been enacted to conserve our natural resources for the people. This has all been well and good, but I wish that we as a Nation would become a little more interested in the conservation of our

manhood and womanhood, our boys and girls.

After all, it is not our fine farms and beautiful homes, it is not our large cities with paved streets and avenues over which we drive high-powered automobiles, it is not our large manufacturing industries, it is not a large Army or a powerful Navy that makes a Nation great. Our Nation is measured by the standard of manhood and womanhood, by the character, education, and efficiency of the men and woman who are our citizens. No nation is great unless its citizenship attains the highest possible standard of religion, morality, and education.

This bill provides for the conservation of our boys and girls. It protects them from those who would commercialize their little bodies and take away from them that great inheritance of education which rightfully belongs to every American child. I say it is the duty of every State and every nation to enact legislation providing for the education of its people, for education is the firm foundation upon which every free government must

stand.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that whenever there is any legislation recommended on the floor of Congress that has for its ultimate purpose the uplifting of humanity along the moral or educational lines there are always those who oppose such proposals on the ground of personal liberty. State rights, or else they say such laws would be unconstitutional.

I am not a lawyer, therefore I am not qualified to pass on the constitutionality of this measure. But I do believe that Congress should have the power to pass laws which will protect the children of our country from any condition that may arise to retard their development-physically, mentally, or morally.

I do not believe there is a Member of this Congress that would permit his boy or girl to go to work between the tender ages of 10 and 14 years, yet we are told by people from the South, who represent the mill owners of the States in that part of the country, that there are hundreds of boys and girls of this age employed in their mills from 10 to 12 hours a day. Furthermore, the product of this child labor is now shipped into the Northern and Western States, which have laws to protect their children from the sweatshops and the factories.

Mr. Speaker, as I said in the beginning, I am opposed to child labor, and it seems to me that it would be commendable, indeed, for this Congress to pass this bill. By so doing we will protect the health and promote the education of those who are the real asset of our country. Let us build higher the standard of civilization and citizenship by conserving our boys and girls, who will some day take our places in the government of the greatest

and grandest Nation in the world.

"Why Does the Democratic Party Deserve the Continued Confidence of the Country?'

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLEMENT C. DICKINSON. OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 28, 1916.

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I include a memorandum by Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, answering the question "Why does the Democratic Party deserve the continued confidence of the country?" and showing that the Democratic Party has made good under the administration of President Wilson.

The memorandum is as follows:

MEMORANDUM.

You ask, Why does the Democratic Party deserve the continued confidence of the country? The answer is, Because it has made good; and I believe that there can be no fuller answer to your question.

No one could have foreseen three years ago that the life of this Nation would have been so intense as it has been during this administration, and few would have prophesied, I believe, that so much would have been accomplished so wisely and so many situations of an unprecedented character dealt with so

satisfactorily.

This country is growing more nonpartisan every day. It is asking for an efficient and an honest government, and is becoming more indifferent as to the labels which for purposes of coordinated action men bear. And somehow it matters very little what any of us may say regarding the merits or the demerits of a party, for minds are seldom brought to a conclusion by political speeches or political articles. The newspaper, which daily tells the story of what is done, gives to the citizen the basis for a judgment which he makes independent of partisan appeal.

In a word, I think it makes little difference what criticism is launched against the administration or what any of us may have to say in its praise. The American people have judged it already very decisively by the things which it has done; and one of the greatest things which it has done has been to seriously disappoint its lugubrious opponents. For, as I look back over the past three years, I recollect very distinctly the sad tones of those who prophesied calamity if such misfortune should happen to the country as to place the Democratic Party in possession of its governmental machinery, and one of the greatest of these calamities would be a financial derangement in which credits would be destroyed, our banking system imperiled,

and inflation follow demagogic legislation.

The answer of the Democratic Congress was the Federal reserve act, which sound men of finance and generous-minded opponents-have characterized as the greatest single constructive bit of legislation enacted by Congress in the past 50 years, and one which in its first year tided the country over the most threatening financial emergency in its history. Why was it necessary for the Democratic Party to do this great service to the commerce and the industries of the United States? The truth is that things can be done wisely and well only by those who are independent of political obligations; and in this, I think, lies the keynote of Democratic achievement. The party has had no other master than its own desire to serve well the country; it did not have to legislate for any interest; all of its avenues of approach were public and open; it could live its own life, and express the will of the people as it understood that will.

Think of this fact for one moment, and see if it has not some real significance: The present administration has dealt with the tariff question, the banking question, and the regulation of interstate trade—the three most delicate questions which con-cern business. The Democratic Party has been able to deal with these matters of the most profound national importance, because it could look at them boldly and model its policy not by what a group of men might wish but by what the country's needs were. I believe that the Democratic Party is preeminently entitled to a return to power, because it has had the character to be at once both independent and sagacious, a combination of qualities not too common; for independence too often means rashness, and sagacity too often means cowardice.

The Underwood-Simmons tariff bill had no adequate trial. It was in effect barely a year when the European war came on,

which shut off imports from nearly one-half of industrial Europe. Yet in that year of trial it produced as great revenue as was produced the first year either under the McKinley bill or the Payne-Aldrich bill. Its aim was to make imports pay revenue; not to use import duties to promote excessive profits for favored industries. It is a misfortune to our industries and commerce that the tariff has become the football of politics, and those who are wise wish a respite from agitation and legislation. Surely there can be no great demand for a new kind of tariff so long as labor conditions remain as they are now, with fewer men out of work in this country than there have ever been within a lifetime.

The history of a year has turned the mind of this Nation toward the necessity for a more adequate national police force. The demand that we shall not remain without adequate protection against foreign aggression has called for the extension of our Army and Navy. We have no enemies, but we have rights which we can not yield. The man who has anything which anyone else wants must protect himself or it will be taken from him. If this is not so the policeman and the courts are not needed. Even in a church pickpockets have been found. A good watchdog is not a bad institution on a country farm. This world is not good enough yet to abolish the use of the safe. But can we have a strong Army and the use of the safe. But can we have a strong Army and Navy without the menace of militarism—the upbuilding of the war spirit and the subordination of our social and industrial life to military and naval policies and authorities? Australia and Switzerland and Holland and the Argentine Re-public seem to have answered that question in the affirmative, and yet all have gone further in preparedness than it is proposed we shall go. To think constantly of war is to bring about war. But to think constantly of the value of peace will not insure peace when others are on the hunt, not unless the hunted is craven.

As to our foreign affairs it is not yet time to speak fully, for the history of a foreign policy can not be written until its results are revealed. Broadly the question has been pre-sented from the first day of the administration, Shall we go to war because foreign nations do things which are opposed to the pledges they have given to us and to the world?

We inherited a situation in Mexico that was horrible in its

facts and apparently impossible of peaceful solution. Madero, who seems to have been an unpractical idealist, had been murdered. Huerta, his commander in chief, had taken the ruler-ship and announced that the constitution and the courts were to be disregarded. The friends of Madero and of the constitution had risen in revolt and held most of the land along our border. Huerta had not been recognized by President Taft. Should we recognize him?

The moral sentiment of the country would not stand for it, though the cientificos in the United States as in Mexico pressed for such recognition. What, then, was to be done? Either restore order in Mexico by force or treat Mexico as a land in which two parties were at civil war. Force had its advocates and has still. Some see the possibility of adding a new strip to our southern border; some are always for the strong hand, because it gives the Army something to do; some believe in a policy of aggression as the only way to establish firmly our own position and insure against foreign injustice. It would have been easy to have called on the Army to go in and settle things, but when would we have come out? We went into Cuba and came out; but in Cuba we found a people fighting an unending rebellion against a foreign monarchy in whose harbor the Maine had been destroyed. We said that Huerta would not receive recognition, and his government came to an end. The revolutionists divided, and when things came to a pass where one element clearly had the ascendancy and conditions of poverty made necessary outside aid, we recognized Carranza, after he had pledged himself to his fellow Latin Americans and to us that religious and civil liberty would be reestablished and persons and property protected.

How many men do you think there are in the United States who believe that it is the holy duty of this country to rush into a neighboring country whenever an American citizen is killed within its borders by ruffians calling themselves an army? If there are many, they will yet have abundant opportunity, I regret to prophesy, to spread a sense of fear, for the time never was when some part of Mexico was not in a turmoil and Americans were safe. The American people who have the making of war would not have stood for war either to seat Huerta, which was our first alternative, or to take the country out of the hands of Carranza and Villa and clean up the Mexican house. And that decision became firmer as they saw what war meant in

that the Wilson administration followed a policy that has even now brought to us the good will of all our neighbors in the south as far as the cape.

The policy of this country as to the European nations at war is to abide by settled international law, and by persistent iteration and reiteration assert and maintain the rights of neutrals. There is no nation that is not at war which does not approve of this position. There is no nation that is in the war that approves this position. It is our purpose to preserve this country for the opportunity that it offers to prove the value of a democracy to the world. It is our purpose also to preserve this hemisphere against the aggression of foreign Governments. The long view is the one we must take, not the nearer view of

immediate impulse.

With less sanity we might have gone to war with Germany over the Lusitania, but when Germany at last declared her intention to wage war underseas in accordance with the rules that had governed as to naval warfare, that danger faded. And Chief Justice White said that in securing this declaration the United States had achieved the greatest diplomatic victory of the past generation. We have sought through diplomatic means to gain the recognition of those rights which we might have secured by war. This is the function of diplomacy; but, of course, it is not picturesque. It always requires time and and patience. You can not dramatize negotiations by letter. And, after all, we like the drama. We want scenery and a well-set stage. Personalities enchain our minds. We want to see "our man going up against their man." To ask for facts and endure the red tape of the mysterious foreign office is not half so appealing as to "call out the guard" and "go to it." That is to say, it is not half so appealing if you want the guard called out and if you are anxious to be one of the guard yourself and to pay the bill yourself in your own dollars and in your own blood.

The good lawyer settles his case out of court, if he can. And in dealing with foreign powers the President is the attorney for the people of the United States. He is not a patient man by nature. His own affairs he handles in a very direct and forthright manner. But in handling the affairs of his country the President dare not be rash or do the attractive, dramatic, impulsive thing when the burden of his act must fall on others. Washington was excoriated by his own friends for not casting his influence for France in her day of struggle. And Lincoln was as bitterly denounced for surrendering Mason and Slidell to England. The long view, however, has justified them both.

We can have war any day we wish it, with either Germany or England, or both. All that is needed is to magnify the significance of some breach of international law and refuse to regard the case made by the other side. The President, however,

will not let war come about that way.

This Nation is not willing to sacrifice self-respect rather than fight. But a courageous and virile people with such a war record as ours, and resources of men, money, and minerals such as we have, is not looking for a fight just to establish its position in the world, or out of an insane, egoistic notion that it is its duty to police a world that is the victim of national egoism.

We are enjoying peace and prosperity. We are to be pre-pared to protect ourselves as a people. These, then, are three words which will characterize the life of this administration peace, prosperity, preparedness. Peace with honor, prosperity without favoritism, preparedness without militarism.

FRANKLIN K. LANE.

JANUARY 1, 1916.

The Child-Labor Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND. OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 26, 1916.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, this is a bill to prohibit, as far as lies within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, the great and growing evil of child labor. It is drawn under the interstate-commerce clause of the Federal Constitution and forbids the shipment in interstate commerce of any commodity the product of mines, quarries, canneries, factories, or other industrial establishment which is made either in whole or in part If Carranza has the strength to maintain himself and Mexico by the labor of children under the prescribed ages, which are reestablishes itself, there is no American who will not rejoice 16 for mines and 14 for other establishments, or which is the product of the labor of children between those ages and 18 who are required to work after 7 o'clock in the evening or before 7 o'clock in the morning. It is further provided that proof of the employment of children within the prohibited age in such a factory or establishment within 60 days prior to the shipment of the goods shall be prima facie evidence of the violation of the law.

This bill is being bitterly contested by some of the industries affected. Being unable to resist successfully the aroused public sentiment in favor of child-labor legislation, these special interests who have been exploiting child labor are masking behind the jealous regard for the Federal Constitution. They claim that such legislation is wholly within the province of the States and not within the power of Congress, and that it would be a shocking violation of the Constitution to attempt to extend the Federal power to matters of purely police regulation within the States. This is not the first time that special interests have sought to use that great instrument for the protection of vested I notice that very little excitement is created by attempted violations of the Constitution unless some great evil affecting the freedom and safety of the people and resulting in sordid gain for the privileged few is sought to be remedied. Behind the mask of a zeal for the Constitution may be fre-

quently found the leering features of greed.

It is a sufficient answer to such contention in this case to say that the pending bill does not attempt to control any State in its power to permit the manufacture within its own limits of goods, whether made by child labor or by any other form of violation of human rights, provided the goods are used and consumed within the sovereign State which permits the abuse. The power of Congress under the Federal Constitution over the subject of interstate commerce is full and complete. It is as ample and unrestricted as the power of the State over commerce within its own limits. An argument that the States have power to prohibit child labor within their own borders is a direct confession that Congress has the same power where the commodities are destined for interstate commerce, for one power is as complete and unlimited as the other. It has been expressly held in the celebrated Lottery cases that Congress had the power to prohibit the shipment in interstate commerce of lottery tickets or contracts, although issued wholly within one State and destined to be paid and redeemed at the point of issue, and this on the ground that the demoralizing influence of lotteries escaped the borders of the State when the tickets were attempted to be transmitted through the channels of interstate commerce. The same principle applies to goods made by child labor. In fact, if we take the decision in the Lottery cases as rendered by that great jurist, Justice Harlan, and strike out the words "lottery and insert, wherever it occurred, in lieu thereof the words "goods produced by child labor," every point of the decision would apply.

No State can, under the terms of the Federal Constitution, prohibit the admission within its borders of goods carried in interstate commerce. That power is expressly taken away from the States and vested in Congress, hence no State can prohibit by its own action the admission of goods made by child labor. If some of the States of the Union in response to aroused and enlightened public opinion, have passed wholesome and effective child-labor laws to control the industries within their own borders, they must be made by virtue of such action the unwilling victims of unfair, unjust, and demoralizing competition from the same class of goods coming from other States. sentiment is outraged; their honest and law-abiding manufacturers are discriminated against and they in fact encourage, by providing a convenient market, a form of base and sordid exploitation of child labor in other States. For my own part I am so strongly opposed to the exploitation of children for the purposes of commercial greed that I am willing to see both the States and the Nation exercise the full measure of power and responsibility committed to each to restrain and prohibit the evil. An appeal to States rights under such circumstances is not an appeal for justice and equality among the States, but a demand that certain States may be permitted to violate with impunity the rights and sentiments of the people of other States. It would be much better and nobler for States rights to be occasionally appealed to as a power to suppress wrong than as a power to secure immunity and protection for the wrongdoer.

In the growing conception of the power of Congress over interstate commerce, which is in response to the intelligent demand of American public opinion, the chief merits are certainty and uniformity of operation. I am willing, nay anxious, to see the States exercise all of their power, and my whole political training makes me jealous of State rights. But State rights mean State duties. In this connection I am re-

minded of the story of the small boy who had bothered his mother with a multitude of questions. Finally he said that he wanted to ask just one more question. Thinking that the easiest way to get rid of him was to answer the question, she said, "What is it." He said, "I want to know whether my ears belong to my neck or to my face." "Well," she said, "I do not know, and it does not make any difference." "Yes," he insisted, "It does make a difference. Every time you tell nurse to wash my neck she washes my ears and every time you tell her to wash my face she washes my ears. I have a right to know whether my ears belong to my neck or to my

Child labor is wrong, unjust, and demoralizing from every andpoint. It tends to destroy the health and moral stamina standpoint. and to blight the opportunities of the rising generation of citi-It throws the child into environments which can not possibly be useful and which may lead to moral and physical There is no such thing as the sacred right of degeneracy. contract involving the labor of a child. The child is, in a broad sense, a ward of the State and the Nation, and neither the child nor the employer can have a property right in the labor of the child, hence no rights of property are affected by such legislation, either under the fifth or the fourteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution.

The child can not compel the observance of proper conditions of employment, and the law recognizes that it has not the discretion to know either this or the proper terms of compensation. In other words, the child is the most helpless of industrial workers. But the moral and economic wrong does not stop with A great injury is done to society and to the community in blighting the early opportunities for physical and intellectual development of the child. There is a gross wrong done also to adult industrial workers in subjecting them to competition disastrous and unfortunate in its nature. Child labor, especially in purely mechanical pursuits, cuts down the average scale of wages of adults. The adult worker is supposed in most cases out of his wages to support not only himself but to discharge the duties and responsibilities of family life and citizenship. He finds his wages reduced by the disastrous competition of the exploited class of child workers, and of course his chances for employment decrease. occurs within the State which permits the exploitation of child labor. If such goods are shipped beyond the borders of the State the same evil of unfortunate and demoralized competition affects the industrial workers throughout the Nation and operates unjustly toward honest and law-abiding employers who conform to the child-labor legislation of other States. relentless laws of competition in trade would soon reduce all manufacturers to the same mean and sordid standard or drive them out of business, and yet this is the condition in the United States to-day which it is sought to be shielded and defended under the sacred name of the Constitution, and of State rights.

Many of the States of the Union have passed wise, humane, and stringent laws on the subject of child labor which have effectually attacked that evil. There are, however, seven States of the Union which have more than 1,000 child workers between the ages of 10 and 13 years. These States are Alabama, 2,489; Georgia, 2,819; North Carolina, 6,359; Pennsylvania, 1,801; South Carolina, 4,154; Tennessee, 1,217; and Virginia,

1,489.

I am glad to say that Missouri has but 403. It is a matter of regret that most of these States are south of the Mason and Dixon line, where the recent growth of cotton mills and the textile industry is drawing the agricultural child into the fac-In fact, all, or nearly all, of the children employed in the southern cotton mills are white children of American lineage. It is frequently said that in the small industrial communities of the South the white child who works at night in the mills on his way home in the morning passes the negro child on his way to school. No sudden development of industrial enterprises, however new and encouraging it may be to the South, should be based upon any such shocking condition, and it is a matter of regret that this most truly American section of our people are in danger of the blight of this evil.

Let child labor be abolished in our country by giving to the Federal Government power to supplement the action of the individual States. There are enough adult workers who need employment to man all of our great industries and bring our Nation to the highest point of economical efficiency. The factory is not the place for the child. Five hours in the schoolhouse is better than 15 hours in the factory. The humane sentiments of the American people will not tolerate this evil, even if localized in a single State, for socially and nationally we are one people, one Nation, with a common destiny and a common national duty.

Good Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES H. MAYS. OF UTAH,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Tuesday, January 25, 1916.

Mr. MAYS. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Mann] is very sure that he votes against this bill, not because his district will receive no direct benefit from it and not because his district will pay, perhaps, a greater share of the revenue required for the construction of good roads than the country districts more directly benefited. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Gordon] is also very sure that he does not vote against the bill because his city of Cleveland will receive no direct benefit, in his opinion, from its operation.

The Ohio gentleman [Mr. Gordon] has been the most active opponent the bill has had on the floor of this House. It is to be noted that at the last session of Congress, when he had three rural counties in his district, he voted for the good-roads bill similar in terms to the one now under consideration,

As I gather from the remarks of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Mann], he takes the broad and statesmanlike view that the city will be benefited by this act as much as the country. He says the cities are prosperous when the farmers are prosperous. In this he takes the proper view, in my judgment, and I commend his argument to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Gordon] and the two gentlemen from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH and Mr. ROGERS].

The Illinois statesman, however, opposes the bill because he is not willing that the General Government should levy special taxes in order to provide roads for the people. I am not so sure that the building of good roads would be an improper purpose to which to apply special taxes. I would not say that a farmer who travels over a road built by special taxes is not fully compensated for the 10 cents he pays in special taxes upon his note of \$500. But, Mr. Chairman, it is not a proper argument to single out the road-making requirement of \$25,000,000 from the total appropriation of more than \$1.000,000,000 and say that the special taxes are levied for the sole purpose of building good roads. It would be as fair to say that any other requirement of similar amount among the hundreds of items making up the grand total appropriation was the direct and sole cause of the special-tax legislation.

It would be my opinion that the special stamp tax should be abolished at the earliest possible moment; that the revenues produced by such odious legislation should be provided through sources such as incomes and inheritances. But for the purpose of making a start toward the ultimate system of national roads over which it would be possible to transport the products of the farm at a cost similar to that which prevails in European countries, at a cost which permits the farmer to realize at least a small profit from his investment and his labors, the appropriation of the amount required by this bill might be justified even though it were necessary to resort to some special taxation temporarily

From statistics produced by various gentlemen in this discussion I am convinced that the construction and improvement of the roads of our country have been too long neglected; that the annual loss directly resulting from the existing condition of our highways amounts to many times the sum involved in this bill. These losses can not be escaped so long as present conditions continue. They must be borne by the citizens of the city as as the country as expressed in the additional cost of living.

The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Kincheloe] gave us some very instructive figures. Among other things, he stated that on 26,000 miles of navigable rivers the country-has expended \$475,000,000, and scarcely anything worthy of mention on more than two and one-quarter million miles of public road, over which the real substantial traffic of our country is moving.

The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR] the other day showed us the Government expenditures upon navigable rivers had amounted to the grand total of \$80 per ton for every ton of freight moved over these rivers. His argument was convincing to me' that we can well afford to more equitably divide the appropriations between the navigable rivers and the public highways of our country.

It has been shown by the examples of older civilizations than our own that a system of highways, well constructed and settled, they stand in dire need of roads as an inducement to faithfully maintained, not only redound to the glory of the people as homeseekers. These roads are no longer local or

nation, not only facilitate the movement of their defenses in time of war, not only serve as a convenience and a pleasure in time of peace, but in fact is the most profitable investment from a material standpoint that a nation's lawmakers in their wisdom can provide.

It costs 10 cents per ton per mile to move a ton of freight over the roads of France. It costs 23 cents per ton per mile to move a ton of freight over the roads of the United States. Think of its costing in excess of 100 per cent more to move a ton of freight in our country 1 mile than in other respectable European nations.

If this includes the boasted highways of Massachusetts, New York, and Indiana and other States whose Representatives so vigorously oppose this measure, what must be the per-ton cost of transporting products or mail over the roads of other portions of our country not so favored with population and wealth?

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Walsh] took a sur-prisingly narrow view of his duty toward public improvements. He questioned the interest of Massachusetts in the roads of the Dakotas. Mr. Speaker, just 86 years ago to-day there was oc-curring at the other end of this Capitol one of the decisive and far-reaching events of our national history. I refer to the epoch-making debate between another gentleman from Massachusetts and a Senator from South Carolina.

Hayne, in the course of that debate, had asked, "What interest has South Carolina in a road or canal in Ohio?" Webster's words in reply to that question are worthy of reproduction here and in the RECORD. He said:

and in the Record. He said:

Sir, we narrow-minded people of New England do not reason thus. Our notion of things is entirely different. We look upon the States not as separated, but as united. We love to dwell on that union and on the mutual happiness which it has so much promoted and the common renown which it has so greatly contributed to acquire. In our contemplation Carolina and Ohio are parts of the same country, States united under the same General Government, having interest, common, associated, intermingled. In whatever is within the proper sphere of the constitutional power of this Government we look upon the States as one. We do not impose geographical limits to our patriotic feeling or regard; we do not follow rivers and mountains and lines of latitude to find boundaries beyond which public improvements do not benefit us. We who come here as agents and representatives of these narrow-minded and selfish men of New England consider ourselves as bound to regard with an equal eye the good of the whole in whatever is within our powers of legislation. Sir, if a railroad or canal beginning in South Carolina and ending in South Carolina appeared to me to be of national importance and national magnitude, believing as I do that the power of government extends to the encouragement of works of that description, if I were to stand up here and ask, What interest has Massachusetts in a railroad in South Carolina? I should not be willing to face my constituents. These same narrow-minded men would tell me that they sent me here to act for the whole country, and that one who possessed too little comprehension, either of intellect or feeling, one who was not large enough, both in mind and in heart, to embrace the whole, was not fit to be intrusted with the interest of any part.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the national sweep of intellect, the

Mr. Speaker, I commend the national sweep of intellect, the broad-minded view of patriotic duty, exhibited by Massachubroad-minded view of parriotic dates, cannot be setts's foremost son and the Nation's profoundest orator, the Constitution's sublimest defender, to the gentleman from Mas-

sachusetts and to his colleague, Mr. Rocers.

Objections are made to this bill on constitutional grounds. Our fundamental law expressly grants authority "to establish post offices and post roads." To me that is sufficient. It is stated that the whole subject is new and without precedent. Nearly a century ago a bill was before Congress entitled "An act to procure the necessary surveys, plats, and estimates upon the subject of roads and canals." Webster in his debate referred to this act and stated that it authorized the President to cause surveys and estimates to be made of the routes of such roads and canals as he might deem of national importance from a commercial or military point of view and for the transportation of mail, and appropriated \$30,000 out of the Treasury to defray the expenses of the surveys. The proviso was defeated in the Senate, which sought to disaffirm the right to make roads or canals within a State. The bill passed both Houses and became a law; but, nevertheless, national attention to road making has been sally lacking. The proviso in the act seeking to apply the expenditures for roads within a State in proportion to the contribution of that State was also defeated.

In those days they had no rural mail delivery, and yet they took the broad, rational view that the Constitution was designed to permit the Nation to keep step with the other nations in the forward march toward civilization.

This bill imposes no hardships upon the centers of wealth. It is equitable and fair in its distribution. It first provides a fund of \$65,000, to be paid only after at least twice that amount of approved road making has been accomplished. This amount was arbitrarily fixed, as members of the committee explain, to insure a minimum fund worthy of consideration.

Some States are so sparsely populated that they would receive an insignificant sum on a basis of population. Though sparsely

even State institutions. They are interstate and national in their scope. Wayfarers from these same Eastern States whose Representatives take such narrow and selfish views in this debate are constantly traveling over these roads and pouring out imprecations upon the heads of settlers who are unable to provide better highways for the enjoyment of their wealthy countrymen, though taxing themselves to the limit of endurance for such purposes

Populous sections of the country receive a distribution of this fund based upon miles of public road, which will be much greater than in the Western States, and upon population, which

is still greater in comparison.

Mr. Speaker, these same statesmen from along our eastern coast who grow frantic in their objections to a portion of their taxes being devoted toward improvements beyond their borders urge with great persistency the appropriation from the National Treasury of hundreds of millions toward the protection of those same coast States. They then become national in the comprehensive scope of their statesmanship. They realize that the bulk of the millions for preparedness would serve to still further enrich their cities and the manufacturing inhabitants thereof, and the principal purpose of these fabulous expenditures would be to defend these same cities after they had become still richer after the appropriation of the country's money.

Mr. Speaker, I consider these great cities as a part of our common country. If they should be invaded, our country would be invaded. State lines would be eliminated and all the citizens would rush to their defense with their money and their The citizens of every State, east and west, north and south, would stand together as Americans and would refuse to calculate the cost or consider the proportionate contribution in money and the resulting benefits which they stood to ulti-

mately receive.

The Good-Roads Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MICHAEL K. REILLY,

OF WISCONSIN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 24, 1916.

Mr. REILLY. Mr. Speaker, I am a friend of the good-roads movement. I believe in good roads, not only from the standpoint of the farmer but also from the standpoint of those who have to live upon what the farmer produce

voted for the Shackleford good-roads bill in the first session of the Sixty-third Congress. That bill was similar in its provisions to the measure now under consideration. But conditions have changed since the Shackleford good-roads bill was passed by this House. A great war has broken out in Europe, the commerce of the world has been disarranged, and the United States Government has suffered a serious loss of revenue from customs duties and other sources as a result of that war.

This measure carries an appropriation of \$25,000,000, to be appropriated among the different States for the purpose of constructing roads. Each State, under the terms of this bill, will be required to appropriate a sum equal to the amount received from the Government in order to participate in the benefits of

This bill is in no way a partisan measure; it has advocates on both sides of this Chamber. In fact, the measure comes to the House with the almost unanimous indorsement of the Democratic and Republican members of the Committee on Good Roads—only one Republican member of that committee having

raised his voice in protest.

If there were plenty of funds in the United States Treasury nothing would please me better than to record my vote in favor

It is true there is in the Treasury to-day a balance of about \$40,000,000, and it is also true that there is in prospect the making of large appropriations by Congress for Army and Navy purposes that will require more funds than can be provided unless some special methods of taxation are resorted to.

It would be much easier for me to vote in favor of this bill than to vote against it, but I feel that we have reached the time when matters of this character should be treated from a practical standpoint.

I represent one of the best and most progressive farming communities in the whole country, an agricultural community

that appreciates the benefit of good roads, a community that has spent millions of dollars in making good roads, and I have no doubt but that my district would profit by this bill as much as the district of any other Representative in this body.

But this is not the time to allow such influences and con-

siderations to control in shaping legislation. It is not a question of what I should like to do in voting on this measure, but what I ought to do, considering the question from a practical

business standpoint.

It would seem that the time has come to call a halt in Government appropriations. Government appropriations have been mounting up and upward with leaps and bounds until the total sum appropriated by each Congress has gone beyond all limits. I, for one, believe that this Congress should limit its appropriations to the funds necessary to carry on existing governmental projects and to the defraying of the ordinary expenses of the Government.

Viewing the situation in this light, I can not see my way clear to vote for this bill.

I hope that the present Congress will so control its appropriations that it will be possible to raise all the revenue needed to take care of all the appropriations of this Congress without resorting to new special taxes or stamp taxes of any kind, and that this Congress will be able to repeal the emergency-revenue law recently continued for another year.

I believe the revenue necessary to provide for increased expenditures for Army and Navy should be raised by increasing the rate of tax on large incomes, by an inheritance tax, and by an excise tax on munitions of war. The war-munition industry is reaping abnormal profits, and it is no more than right that these individuals should pay something toward making up the loss in revenues that the Government has suffered as a result of the war.

The present condition of the United States Treasury is not due, as some of the gentlemen on the other side of this Chamber would have the country believe, to the enactment of the Under-700d tariff bill by the Democratic Party. The Underwood tariff bill and its accompanying income-tax feature produced \$10,000,-000 more revenue during the fiscal year of 1914, the fiscal year before the war, than the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill with its corporation-tax feature did during the fiscal year 1913. The fact of the matter is, had the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill remained on the statute books the revenue of the Government as a result of the war would have suffered a greater loss than they did under the Underwood tariff bill.

The income-tax feature of the Underwood tariff bill, which was not a part of the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill, made it possible for the Underwood tariff bill to produce more revenue during the war period than the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill would have produced

The United States Treasury has suffered as a result of the war through a loss in customs duties, through shrinkage in internal-revenue taxes, and through a loss in postal receipts to the

amount of about \$100,000,000 a year.

It is estimated that by July 1, 1916, the United States Government will have lost revenues as a result of the war to the amount of more than \$200,000,000; that is considering the revenues raised in the fiscal year 1914 as the basis of computation. There has been a shrinkage in customs duties and internalrevenue taxes and in postal receipts as a result of the war, although it is quite true that some of the shrinkage in the internal-revenue receipts can be attributed to the increase of dry territory

Not only has the Treasury suffered a shortage as a result of the war, but if the war had not occurred and conditions had remained normal there not only would have been no shrinkage in the customs duties, in the postal receipts, and so forth, but there would have been, on the contrary, a normal increase in revenue from these sources.

The receipts of the Post Office Department for several years prior to the outbreak of the war mounted upward at the rate of \$20,000,000 a year, and customs receipts also increased from year to year, so it is safe to say that by July 1, 1916, as a result of the war, the United States Treasury will have been deprived of approximately \$250,000,000 of revenue.

The emergency revenue taxes levied by the Sixty-third Congress to meet the exigencies growing out of the war will have yielded about \$135,000,000 by July 1, 1916. So it is manifest that if the war had not occurred, instead of having forty mil-lions surplus in the United States Treasury to-day there would be nearer \$150,000,000 there, if conditions had remained normal, and that surplus would have been accumulated without the assistance of an emergency revenue act.

An effort has been made in this debate to attribute the present condition of the Treasury to the extravagant appropriations made by the Democratic Congress.

We hear continually from the other side of the House the charge that the Democratic Party has been grossly extravagant in its administration of governmental affairs and that it has violated its pledge of economy made to the people.

While I do not claim that the Democratic Party has done all that can be done in the way of reducing and curtailing national expenditures, I do claim that the records show that the party has made substantial progress along the line of economy in governmental affairs.

It is true that the appropriations for the last Congress reached the highest mark ever reached by the appropriation of any Congress in the history of this Government, and it is not strange that the appropriations for each succeeding Congress should be higher than the ones preceding, for the country is growing and our Government is continuously taking on new projects and entering into new lines of work.

But let it be understood that each and every appropriation made by the Sixty-third Congress was supported almost unanimously by the gentlemen on the other side of the House. There were no dissenting reports from committees made and signed by the Republican minority members of those committees; and, in fact, whatever appropriations the Sixty-third Congress saw fit to make they were made practically with the unanimous vote of the Republican Members of this House.

The test as to whether or not the Democratic Party has been more extravagant than the Republican Party is not the size of the appropriations made by different Congresses, but in the relation that said appropriations bear to appropriations made by past Congresses.

The Democratic Party has been in complete control of this Government and responsible for the appropriations of practically but one Congress to date—the Sixty-third Congress—the present, Sixty-fourth Congress, having as yet made no appropriations.

The Sixty-second Congress was neither a Democratic Congress nor a Republican Congress—the Democrats had control of the House and the Republicans the Senate and the Presidency—and the most that can be said of it is that the Sixty-second Congress was two-thirds Republican and one-third Democratic. Consequently, in determining as to whether or not the Democratic Party has been more extravagant in its administration of the National Government than the Republican Party, it becomes necessary to eliminate from consideration entirely the Sixty-second Congress, which, as stated above, was neither Democratic nor Republican.

In making comparisons as to the appropriations of Republican and Democratic Congresses it will be convenient to compare the appropriations of Congress covering four-year periods.

The Sixty-third Congress (Democratic) increased the appropriation of the Government \$177,000,000 over the appropriations of the Sixty-first Congress (Republican).

of the Sixty-first Congress (Republican).

The Sixty-first Congress (Republican) appropriated \$265,000,000 more than the Fifty-ninth Congress (Republican); the
Sixtieth Congress (Republican) appropriated \$517,000,000 more

Sixtieth Congress (Republican) appropriated \$517,000,000 more than the Fifty-eighth Congress (Republican); the Fifty-ninth Congress (Republican) appropriated \$256,000,000 more than the Fifty-seventh Congress (Republican).

In other words, while the Democratic Party in the Sixty-third Congress was able to hold appropriations down so that the increase over the Sixty-first Congress was only \$177,000,000, the Republican Party during its complete control of the National Government was in the habit of increasing the appropriation every four years as high as \$517,000,000 for a period of four years. During the last three years of its complete control of the National Government the Republican Party increased the expenditures of the Government \$307,000,000, or more than \$100,000,000 a year, and during the last six years of its full control of the Government the Republican Party increased the expenditures of the Government on an average of \$210,000,000 a year.

The highest expenditures for a single year of the Sixty-third Congress was only \$18,000,000 over the amount expended in the last year of the Sixty-second Congress (Democratic and Republican body).

A large element in the increased appropriations of the Government is the appropriations necessary to carry on the Post Office Department.

The Sixty-third Congress (Democratic) found it necessary to appropriate \$125,000,000 more for the support of the Post Office Department than the Sixty-first Congress (Republican) appro-

priated. Thus it will be seen that a large part of the \$177,000,-000 increase in appropriations made by the Sixty-third Congress over the appropriations made by the Sixty-first Congress went to the support of the Post Office Department, and or reason for the increased expenditures of the Post Office Department has been the development of the parcel post; and, besides, the Post Office Department up to the time the war broke out, under Democratic rule, did not cost the people anything. In fact, it made a little for the people the first year under Democratic rule.

With such a record for increasing the appropriations of our Government as the Republican Party has, one would think that common modesty would prompt the gentlemen on the other side of this House to keep still and say nothing about Republican economy in the administration of National affairs; and well might the Progressive Republican gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Hulings, state, as he did in the last Congress:

It lies not in the mouth of the Republican Party to charge the Democratic Party with extravagance.

Good Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM R. SMITH,

OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 24, 1916.

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Democratic Party in national convention declared, "We favor national aid to State and local authorities in the construction and maintenance of post roads"; and that convention also declared in favor of "the extension of the rural delivery system as rapidly as practicable." These declarations of policy in effect should be regarded as imperative commands upon the Democrats in Congress, who constitute the majority and are responsible for what is or is not done here.

The bill before the House has been formulated and brought in here in obedience to these commands, and while its provisions are not in all respects as I would have had them had I been specially charged with the duty of formulating this legislation, the bill shall nevertheless have my cordial support. The ultimate aim is to bring the blessings of the Postal Service most speedily and punctually to every home, however humble, in this broad land of ours, and this measure is a decided step in that direction.

I am troubled with no question as to the constitutionality of this measure. I have really been surprised that any Member upon this floor could have reached the conclusion that Congress is without constitutional power to pass such a measure as this; but I note that those who have made such an objection to this bill have entirely overlooked the plain provision of the Constitution upon which it is based. I refer to the provision giving Congress power "to establish post offices and post roads." I do not see how language could be more clear and specific and at the same time more comprehensive. Under this authority Congress has adopted whatever means it has thought necessary to carry on the postal business. Houses have been rented and constructed; persons have been employed; the mails have been carried by various means, including railway trains, automobiles, horse-drawn vehicles, pneumatic tubes, and by other convey-ances, and I have no doubt other means will be added from time to time as the postal necessities increase and new inventions are discovered. For myself, I hope the day is not far distant when both the telephone and the telegraph will be added to our Postal System, in order that the conveniences and benefits to be derived from these means of carrying intelligence may be at the command of the public at greatly reduced cost.

The power to establish post roads certainly carries with it the power to assist in the improvement of such roads or to lay them out and to build them, if necessary.

Mr. Speaker, I think this bill wisely and logically contemplates cooperation between the Federal Government and the State and local authorities, for all post roads are used for local purposes as well as for the postal business. One is State and the other Federal, and both should contribute for the joint use.

I am for this bill not only because of the general benefit it will be to all classes throughout the country but because of its

special benefit to a long-neglected class of our people, the farmers. It has only been within recent years that the National Government has directed its attention to the extent it ought to, to the interest of this worthy class of our people; and even up to this time they have not received the full degree of care and attention that it seems to me it was the duty of the Government to bestow upon them. I am glad to say, however, that the tide is now at last turning in favor of the people who live upon the farm. Just a few years ago we gave them rural free delivery. Later we gave them the parcel post. Now we propose a plan for the improvement of the roads in order to give them more complete enjoyment of the Free Delivery and Parcel Post System, and facilitate and cheapen the transportation in which they must necessarily engage.

Good roads are worth many times what they cost. They bring producer and consumer closer together; they open new markets to both the merchant and the farmer; they economize transportation; they enlarge the farmer's opportunities; they cheapen the cost of the farmer's improvements, greatly enhance the value of his land, and add immensely to the pleasure and

comforts of farm life.

The more I study the question of good roads the more I am amazed that it has received so little attention. Bad roads have not only been the special blight of country life, but they have exacted a toll upon commerce that is incalculable. When we consider the fact that practically the entire food supply and the bulk of the raw materials of manufacture must be transported over bad country roads before they reach the consumer, we can form some idea of this enormous toll and of the individual

and national loss which it entails.

We all know that perhaps the greatest clog to the progress, development, and prosperity of this country has been the steady movement from the farms to the cities. Farm life, generally speaking, has been neither pleasant nor profitable, hence it has not been attractive. This should be changed, and it would be in large measure by the construction of good roads. financial system suitable to the peculiar needs of the farmer should be established, giving him money on long time at a low rate of interest, together with an adequate marketing system, as we hope will be done at an early date, farm life will in due time become what it ought to be, the most independent, the most wholesome, the most prosperous, and the happiest of all the avocations. Then will the movement back to the farm begin, and with agriculture prosperous and contented peace and plenty will reign throughout the land.

Memoranda of Secretary Lansing to Great Britain.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. S. D. FESS, OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 29, 1916.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print, I submit the memoranda of Secretary Lansing to Great Britain, under recent date, covering the seizure by Great Britain of United States mails and parcel post in transit.

TEXT OF AMERICAN NOTE.

Department advised that British customs authorities removed from Danish steamer Oscar II 734 bags parcel mail en route from United States to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; that British port authorities have removed from Swedish steamer Stockholm 58 bags parcel mail en route Gothenburg, Sweden, to New York; that 5,000 packages of merchandise, American property, have been seized by British authorities on the Danish steamer United States on her last trip to the United States; that customs authorities at Kirkwall, on December 18, seized 597 bags of parcel mail from steamer Prederich VIII, manifested for Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. Other similar cases might be mentioned, such as that of the steamer Heligolav.

Department inclined to regard parcel-post articles as subject to same treatment as articles sent as express or freight in respect to belligerent search, seizure, and condemnation. On the other hand, parcel-post articles are entitled to the usual exemptions of neutral trade, and the protests of the Government of the United States in regard to what constitutes the unlawful bringing in of ships for search in port, the illegality of so-called blockade by Great Britain, and the Improper assumption of jurisdiction of vessels and cargoes apply to commerce using Parcel Post Service for the transmission of commodities. Please bring this matter of parcel post formally to the attention of the British Government.

The department is further informed that December 23 the entire

this matter of parcel post formally to the attention of the british covernment.

The department is further informed that December 23 the entire mails, including scaled mails and presumably the American diplomatic and consular pouches, from the United States to the Netherlands were removed by British authorities from the Dutch steamer New Amsterdam; that December 20 the Dutch vessel Noorder Dyke was deprived at the Downs of American mail from the United States to Rotterdam, and that these mails are still held by British authorities. Other similar in-

stances could be mentioned, as the cases of the steamers Rotterdam and Noordam.

RIGHT OF SEIZURE DENIED.

The department can not admit the right of British authorities to seize neutral vessels plying directly between American and neutral European ports without touching at British ports, to bring them into port, and, while there, to remove or censor mails carried by them. Modern practice generally recognizes that mails are not to be censored, confiscated, or destroyed on high seas, even when carried by belligerent mail ships. To attain same end by bringing such mail ships within British jurisdiction for purposes of search and then subjecting them to local regulations allowing censorship of mails can not be justified on the ground of national jurisdiction. In cases where neutral mail ships merely touch at British ports, the department believes that British authorities have no international right to remove the sealed mails or to censor them on board ship. Mails on such ships never rightfully come into the custody of the British mail service, and that service is entirely without responsibility for their transit or safety.

As a result of British action strong feeling is being aroused in this country on account of the loss of valuable letters, money orders, and drafts, and foreign banks are refusing to cash American drafts, owing to the absence of any security that the drafts will travel safely in the mails. Moreover, the detention of diplomatic and consular mail is an aggravating circumstance in a practice which is generally regarded in this country as vexatiously inquisitorial and without compensating military advantage to Great Britain. Please lay this matter immediately before the British Government in a formal and vigorous protest, and press for a discontinuance of these unwarranted interferences with inviolable mails. Impress upon Sir Edward Grey the necessity for prompt action in this matter.

I also submit the reply of Great Britain, delivered to Ambas-

I also submit the reply of Great Britain, delivered to Ambassador Page January 25, and signed by Sir Edward Grey, the foreign minister, as follows:

The communication which your excellency was good enough to make on the 10th instant regarding the seizure of mails from neutral vessels raised important questions of principle in regard to matters which are determined by the policy jointly decided and acted upon by the allied Governments. His Majesty's Government are therefore compelled to communicate with their allies before they can send a reply to your memorandum. They are consulting with the French Government in the first instance, and I hope to be in a position before long to state the result of the consultation.

I herewith also submit an editorial from the London Evening Mail, giving British opinion of neutral rights:

SEA DOMINION.

Are we using our undoubted dominion of the sea to the utmost? We are not. Why? Because we have a lawyer Government which, apparently, does not know its own mind for five minutes together.

Ah, God, for a man with heart, head, hand, Like some of the simple great ones gone For ever and ever by,

One still strong man in a blatant land Whatever they call him, what care I, Aristocrat, democrat, autocrat—one Who can rule and dare not lie.

Whatever they call him, what care 1,
Aristocrat, democrat, autocrat—one
Who can rule and dare not lie.

We hope, we trust, that our military war minister is such a one.
But as the sea service (mercantile as well as naval) has ruled events
from the very beginning, how is it that we have no naval war minister?
How is it that this civilian Government of ours can not, apparently,
face the conditions under which this war must be conducted if we
would win? "American interests," forsooth! Why, if we rigidly enforced a blockade and agreed to pay for any loss in "interests,"
and could by this shorten the war by one single month, it would save
us money. We are told that we are spending £5,000,000 a day—that is,
2150,000,000 a month—would rot such a sum pay for every interest
that suffered by a rigid blockade? Of course it would, and there would
be a month's less loss of life. Yet this Government continues to write
letters to the American Government. Was it not an American who said,
"The pen is mightier than the sword"? No doubt, for the getting
of dollars; yet unless we are careful the "pen" may undo us. What
are marine laws to us? Why write a mass of verblage relating to
seizures of vessels and the material loss sustained? America is piling up
her heap of dollars, growing enormously rich upon this European war,
and a very large proportion of these American business men who are
crying out are Germans or of German parentage. President Wilson is
a mere weakling; had there been a man like Abraham Lincoln at the
head of that Nation we should have had America's help instead of her
hindrance long since.

American experts know perfectly well how things are. They
know that never has there been such a war as this. They know that
to lay down rules is merely to hamper us, and we sincerely trust
that in this life-and-death struggle our civil Government may even
yet be bold enough to take a strong line without hesitation and
small mindedness. Yet where is our naval war minister?

Let all neutrals be plainly told that we shall do an

from this let us enforce a stern blockade on every neutral, and listen to no protests.

We command the sea, and that command will in the end decide the issue whatever setbacks are before us; why then waste that power by trifling in the interests of neutral trade. With such a war as this neutrals can not reasonably expect to go about their business without interference, they may be thankful that they are spared the burden of war and that, in spite of interferences, they are heaping up riches.

Just now the two Central Empires are pressing on toward Constantinople. Suppose that Germany overruns Asia Minor, can she remain there? Not unless she can gain command of communication by sea, and this she can not do. Sea power then, British sea power, will, in the end, decide the war whatever happens on land. Where, then, is our naval war minister?

THE EDITOR.

Child Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. CHARLES,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 27, 1916.

Mr. CHARLES. Mr. Speaker, I will vote for the Keating child-labor bill. Congress has the power to regulate interstate commerce, and it can not use that power to better advantage than to protect the children of the Nation, who will be the citizens of the future. The children are the Nation's best assets.

We should conserve the health and mentality of our children by enacting laws along industrial and educational lines such as will be a benefit and equip them for the battles of life.

If the Keating child-labor bill should become a law, the responsibility will be laid at the doors of the shipper and producer, and not upon the common carrier. Three great departments of the Government—Labor, Commerce, and Justice—will formulate provisions for its enforcement, and the Secretary of Labor, acting in conjunction with local authorities, will enforce it in the Federal courts.

I am glad to be able to vote for a law which will bring other States in the Union under the same child-labor conditions that exist in the great State of New York. The exploitation of the labor of children of tender ages must stop.

The Roads Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS W. MILLER,

OF DELAWARE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 24, 1916.

Mr. MILLER of Delaware. Mr. Speaker, although it was my privilege to address the House earlier in the day for a few minutes during the debate upon this bill, I am going to take advantage of the unanimous-consent agreement which permits Members to extend their remarks in the Record upon the subject of the roads bill. I am impelled to do this because in the few minutes allotted me in the debate it was impossible for me to present all of my reasons for voting against this measure. It need hardly be said that I am an advocate of good roads, not only in my own State but throughout the country at large. my opinion, this is not the question at stake in this particular instance. If such were the case, I would unhesitatingly vote for the bill, because if there is a State in the Union that needs good roads it is in certain localities within my own State, especially in the two lower counties of Kent and Sussex. debates upon this bill within the past few days, to which I have given my earnest attention, it appears to me that there has been too much of the city versus country injected into the discussions. It has been intimated that Members whose constituencies lie within cities are opposed to the bill because, obviously, none of the money will be spent within the city, and the opponents of the bill have been hailed as inimical to the farmer and his interests. Representing the State of Delaware at large in this House, I think that I may speak impartially on this phase of the debate, because my State is practically agricultural in its entire landed area. In other words, my district contains as many farmers and farms as the average congressional district, and possibly more. It can not be said, therefore, that I have not the interest of the farmer at heart when I vote against this bill, as I intend to do. Politically, it would be a very easy matter for me to vote for this bill, both as a Republican Member of Congress and as an individual. In the former capacity, as a member of the minority, one would have to bear none of the responsibility of adding millions to the governmental expenditures while the Democratic deficit increases. In the latter capacity, as an individual Member, it would be far easier to vote for the bill than to vote against it, especially as it seems to be the sentiment of those favoring the bill that he who opposes it is inimical to the farmers.

Of course, if this bill should become a law Delaware would receive financial aid from the Government under the act to the

extent of \$103,290, or approximately twenty-six one-hundredths of 1 per cent of the total bill; but bear in mind the money will not be forthcoming unless the State supplies an equal amount. In Delaware road building and highways are not under a State highway department, but each county takes care of the work itself through their respective levy courts. The money for road building is raised by individual county bond issues, after the same has been authorized by the general assembly; therefore, in the event of the roads bill becoming a law, it would first be necessary to either call a special session of the general assembly to provide the required legislation or wait until the regular session of the general assembly in the year 1917. The question would then come up as to whether the sum represented by the Government aid would be divided up among the various counties or else go to one county alone. If it were divided among the three counties, it can readily be seen that the \$34,000 going to each, contingent upon their supplying a like amount, which would have to be raised by a bond issue, would be of no real use for constructive road building within the State of Delaware. The facts just given are not my reasons for opposing this bill, but have been cited in case there should be anyone within my State of the opinion that by voting against this bill I had really been against a measure which would have been of some material benefit to the State. If the matter is considered from that standpoint, the above statement of facts should disillusion anyone who held that opinion.

This bill, if enacted into law in its present form, would take from the Federal Treasury in each fiscal year a maximum amount of \$25,000,000. Does anyone think that the yearly expenditures for road building will be reduced by succeeding Congresses? On the other hand, it is far more likely to be increased from year to year, because if the Government is once committed to this form of governmental expenditure, the amount of money appropriated and the scope covered by the measure

will be increased from year to year.

I have examined with great care the report of the Committee on Roads upon this measure, and in my opinion it is eloquent in what it did not say in favor of this bill rather than what it did say. In one paragraph of the report we read the following language:

Roads are local concerns, and primarily it is the duty of the States to provide them for their people.

The very language of their report just quoted is one of the strongest arguments against this bill if Members will only look upon the question from such an angle as to be unbiased by the interest of their own particular district or State. What use can be made of \$25,000,000, or a number of times that amount, when it is scattered throughout the 48 States for road building? The surface of the country will hardly be scratched, or, as has been remarked, it would hardly be enough to scrape the mud off the surface of the road. If the Government goes into the road-building business, it will result in the most stupendous and colossal expenditure of money that has ever been witnessed, because if the plan is once adopted Congress will not have the courage to abandon it. I heard a Member remark in a debate on this bill that the Members of Congress were the "slaves of their constituents," but I do not think we should let such a thought govern our action on a matter of this importance if after conscientiously considering the matter we come to the conclusion that the bill is not, after all, the best thing for the country and therefore the people.

At the opening of the present session of Congress the President of the United States, in his message, made it plain that there were two very important subjects to be considered by the present Congress, namely, the question of national defense and the raising of revenues. The question of the raising of revenue has beset the Democratic Party ever since the enactment of the Underwood tariff bill in the fall of 1913. Although that bill was in operation for almost a year before the start of the European war it failed to produce the proper revenue to run the Government, and when the first full fiscal year under the Democratic administration closed on June 30, 1914—a month before the European war started—a deficit in the Treasury was a reality, and such a situation had become apparent months

before the European war started.

The Democratic Party was forced to place a stamp tax upon the people, which was dubbed a "war tax," although this country was not at war. The so-called "war tax." would have expired by limitation on December 31, 1915, but within the first few weeks of the present Congress they were forced to extend this stamp tax for another year. In addition to this, it has already been announced that they will amend the Underwood Tariff Act, which provides for free sugar, in order to raise additional revenue. In spite of the revenue situation which forced the President in his address to recommend a tax on

bank checks, gasoline, automobiles, and so forth, we see a bill like this rolled into the House for consideration. If there were two salient points in the President's message which should appeal to every Member of the House, irrespective of his politics and his feelings, they are the questions of the national defense and revenue. These two questions should be settled one way or the other before a bill which will appropriate additional millions is brought up in the House, must less passed by it.

Upon the floor of the House to-day I was assailed by the gentleman from Missouri, the author of this bill and the chairman of the committee reporting it, because I announced that one of my reasons for voting against the bill was due to the unsettled state of the two questions referred to in the President's address and to which I have just called attention. It was intimated by this gentleman that I had a sinister and ulterior motive in opposing this bill from the standpoint of a national-defense advocate. It was intimated that because a certain powder company had some plants and offices in my State that I was influenced in reaching my decision. I realize that in daring to go up against this bill I would probably lay myself open to unjust and unfair criticism as above mentioned. I dislike to inject this matter into my remarks on the bill, but should anyone who heard the remarks of the gentleman or who might read them be influenced in any degree. I unhesitatingly state that such an accusation or insinuation is without any foundation. I make this statement upon my integrity as a Member of this House, and am going into no further details because the mere character of the accusation requires nothing further, and I regret, Mr. Speaker, that such an occasion arose that would make it necessary for me to digress in order to refute such a statement made by one Member against another.

Child Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AMBROSE KENNEDY.

OF RHODE ISLAND.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 26, 1916.

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island. Mr. Speaker, the present session of Congress has elicited the opinions of many Members on both sides of the House on the question whether or not this country, in view of the recent developments and experiences in world affairs, should make adequate and immediate provisions for a full measure of military and naval preparedness for the

To-day there is pending in this House a measure, not military in character, but associated, on account of the principles it pronounces, with the question of national preparedness. child-labor bill called up by the Committee on Labor.

No one acquainted with the scope and purpose of this bill can hesitate to give it his warmest support. It brings the strong arm of the Federal Government to the assistance of the children of the country and forces universal respect for their rights, particularly in States in which laws for the protection of children in various employments are either insufficient or do not exist at all.

The future preparedness of the country must depend not only upon arms and armaments but also upon the training and education of the young men and women of the land. I am in favor of preparedness in every form in which it can and should be obtained; preparedness in a stronger Arm; preparedness in a stronger Navy; and preparedness in the health, training, and education of the children of this country. I can see in this child-labor bill one of the main elements of national strength in the safeguards it throws around the children of every State in the Union. No nation can hope to be or continue great which does not by proper legislation provide for the training of its youth, mental, physical, and moral. They are its strength and security and the main hope on which the future of the country must depend.

But notwithstanding the salutary character of this pro-posed legislation, it is confronted with much opposition from a section of the country in which adequate laws for the protection of children do not exist. Gentlemen who oppose it do not attack the moral principle upon which the act is based but rather the constitutionality of the measure. They argue, with some cogency of reasoning, that the commerce clause in the turers and mill owners, and others, are decreased because of the

Constitution does not justify the enactment of such legislation.

Whatever force this argument may appear to have, recent decisions of the Supreme Court have completely knocked the props from under it. I have read very carefully the arguments advanced before the Committee on Labor for and against the constitutionality of this legislation, as well as the recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, particularly in the lottery cases, relative to legislation of a kindred nature which already appears on the statute books. This measure is but another step in the pathway of remedial legislation, and I am satisfied that, in its presentation and final passage, Congress can not be charged with any usurpation of power. It comes squarely within the wide latitude of interpretation which the Supreme Court has already given to the commerce clause in the Constitution as applied to new conditions that directly affect the morals of the public.

In addition to the moral, this legislation has a material

side which must not be lightly regarded. It is a self-evident proposition that the enactment of adequate child-labor laws in some of the States of the Union establishes inequalities which operate to the advantage of manufacturing interests in other States which have not yet enacted within their borders legis-lation of this nature. This law will take away from emlation of this nature. This law will take away from employers in competing States the advantages they now enjoy over their competitors in States in which child labor has been properly regulated by statute. This unfair advantage has been a source of complaint, and the only complete and summary method of preventing it is by the passage of national legislation along the lines proposed in this bill by prohibiting the interstate shipment of the products of child labor.

I am strongly in favor of the bill and will gladly give it my support.

Child-Labor Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL C. VAN DYKE.

OF MINNESOTA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday January 29, 1916.

Mr. VAN DYKE. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Labor Committee, and finding myself absolutely in favor of the provisions of the so-called Keating-Owen child-labor bill, I desire to state that after having listened to the testimony presented to this committee by both sides, I am truly convinced that the measure should not only pass this House, but that no unnecessary delay should arise in the Senate to prohibit the passage of this most meritorious bill this session of Congress.

The hearings before the committee this year have developed this fact, that the child-labor evil is not nearly as great as it was five years ago. This, to my mind, is ample proof that the employment of child labor in mines, quarries, canneries, manufacturing plants and cotton mills should be restricted and is,

in no sense of the word, a necessary evil.

Because of the laws which have been inaugurated in over 40 of the States dealing with this condition, the sentiment of the people at large is clearly demonstrated. In 1910, according to the United States census, there were nearly 2,000,000 children under 16 years of age engaged in different industries—more than 5 per cent of all the workers in the United States. A little less than one-half of this number were children under 14 years less than one-half of this number were children under 14 years of age, many of them infants of 10 years. Six hundred and thirty-seven thousand were little girls. In cotton mills alone there were 41,076 children under the age of 16 employed, and 11,811 were tots of from 10 to 13 years of age, of whom 5,440 were girls.

These are the men and women of the future. Upon the health and intelligence of these boys and girls of to-day depends the future of our country; and I want to say here now that if the effort to voluntarily eradicate this evil has not been successful, then it is our duty as legislators to pass such laws as will protect the future of our country by seeing to it that the children of to-day are given a chance to develop, both physically and men-

It does not matter whether the restrictions in this bill are such as to demand an additional cost in the maintenance of these factories; neither does it matter if the incomes of the manufacprovisions of this bill, but it does matter as to the kind of the people who are going to live in and handle the affairs of this country in the future.

The opponents of this bill who appeared before the Labor Committee this year were representatives of the cotton mills of the South and the counsel for the National Manufacturers' Association; and I am pleased to note that not a single man who appeared before the committee stated that he believed in child labor, but that economic conditions were such that it was absolutely necessary to employ such labor.

This is the same argument that has always been employed and always will be in legislation of this kind. Time and again it has been proven that this argument does not hold; and if this bill becomes a law you will find that these cotton manufacturers will still continue to do business at the same old stand and the representatives of the National Manufacturers' Association will still continue to appear before committees of Congress arguing against legislation which is beneficial to the laboring class but appears to be undesirable legislation from their standpoint of view because of economic conditions.

Those who testified before the committee stated, in effect, that there were in the employ of the mills children between the ages of 12 and 16 years who were working 11 hours a day. While the provisions of the bill, which precludes the working of children under the age of 14 years, is practically indorsed by all, some of the mill owners and manufacturers included, that portion of the bill which calls for the working of children between the ages of 14 and 16 but eight hours a day, and that eight hours to be between 7 o'clock a. m. and 7 o'clock p. m., is really the section of the bill which is being fought so strenuously by the opponents of this bill. You will find, Mr. Speaker, that when the opponents of this bill see that their fight on this certain section is lost that they will then gracefully acquiesce and allow the bill to pass.

The witnesses before the committee maintained, upon my questioning them, that it was impossible to run their mills on an 8-hour basis, for either adults or children, and that in order to keep the mill running it was absolutely necessary to keep the children working 11 hours a day. Eleven hours a day. Think of it! Children, between the ages of 12 and 16, getting up before daybreak in the morning and starting to work in these mills, and laboring on until night has fallen, and to them custs its shadow of gloom over all.

They say they have provided night schools, Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, playgrounds, and other institutions, which would be very beneficial to these children, providing they had the time to partake of their benefits. But, pray tell me, how is a child, laboring from daylight to dark, going to have an opportunity to attend day school; and what condition will that child be in physically and mentally after having labored 11 long weary hours during the day? Will a child of that tender age be able to derive any benefits from a night school, even if it has sufficient strength left to drag itself wearily into that schoolroom?

All of these witnesses stated that they were in favor of doing everything in their power to promote the interest of these children, and still when I suggested to them, during the hearings on this bill, that the facilities provided for education did not amount to much unless the children were in the physical condition to make use of the opportunity, the answer was that this was all they could do.

I then suggested a way in which their mills could still run whereby they would be enable not only to work these children but also give them an opportunity to acquire an education; and that was by working the children in shifts of from five to six hours a day, so that the first shift could attend school in the afternoon, and the second shift in the morning. This would allow the mills to run as they are doing at the present time, and allow the children to earn a sufficient amount of money, which, when combined with the earnings of the rest of the family, would provide for them a living, and at the same time give them an opportunity to get at least a primary education. And I submit that, for a child of that tender age, five or six hours a day in a factory or mill is long enough. To my mind, if it is necessary to employ children, this plan certainly is possible.

The opponents of this bill are discussing its constitutionality, but it is only necessary to refer to one decision of the Supreme Court to cast any such contentions to one side; and that decision was in the lottery cases, which carried with it, first, that the right to regulate carried with it the right to prohibit. Then, having decided in favor of the right to prohibit, the court held that intrastate commerce, which the States plainly could prohibit as being against the morals of the people within that

State, could be prohibited by the National Government, so far as it related to interstate commerce.

It is true that the cotton cloth produced by child labor is not injurious in itself. Neither was the paper upon which the lottery tickets were printed. It was the danger of the lottery tickets, and the danger of that class of goods which is produced by child labor in this case, to the morals of the people in the State from which it is shipped and the danger of what might happen to the morals of the people of the State into which it is shipped.

In other words, the manufacture of any piece of goods by child labor does not only affect the community in which that piece of goods is manufactured, but it does affect the morals of the entire country to the extent that it affects the welfare of the future of this country, because those children who are today employed in those mills and factories are the very same people upon whose shoulders will fall the burden of caring for the destinies of this country in a decade or two.

Therefore I maintain that we not only have a right to legislate to prohibit child labor but that it is our bounden duty to legislate in that respect, and to do it at once.

Good Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL,

OF MINNESOTA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 24, 1916.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, the time has gone by when anyone questions whether good roads are a necessity. question of equitable division of the cost. We must have a uniform system of good roads everywhere. Not 14 miles of costly concrete in one county and quagmire in the next. All the people should help pay for all the roads. The relation of the farmer to the city man is so close, the prosperity of the rural community is so interwoven with that of the city that it is but just that the burden should be shared. The greater wealth, the greater number of people are in the cities. They have already been benefited by expenditure, and it is narrow and selfish to refuse to others the opportunity that helped place their community where it is, The stream of traffic goes from the town to the farm, as well as from the farm to the town. The produce of the city man, needed by the farmer, must travel the country roads. And moreover, whatever adds to the difficulty and cost of transporting the farmer's produce raises the cost of living in the cities. Good roads cut the cost of transportation in half. It has been estimated that the average saving in hauling over good roads is \$1.50 On that basis one can readily estimate the immense saving by multiplying this by the millions and millions of tons hauled over wagon roads in the United States. In New York State the taxation is so arranged that 90 per cent of the cost of road building is borne by the city, leaving 10 per cent to be borne by the farmer.

The point is raised by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Mann] that this legislation is to benefit the automobilist. Even so, how does that exclude the farmer from its benefits? A road that is good enough for the rural postman's automobile or motor cycle, aside from hastening the delivery of rural mail, will expedite the lumberman's trip to market.

Good roads enhance the value of the farms themselves. Land 5 miles from town is worth three times that 20 miles from town. Improve the road to the land 20 miles away and at once you enhance the value of the land. Bad roads waste time on the trip, and even force the farmer to use the good weather he needs to employ on the farm in taking his goods to market.

There seems to be a fear that the farmer will get some special legislation. No matter what the remedies proposed in his behalf, there are some to rise and cry out lest he be pauperized. No such outcry goes up when cities are munificently endowed with buildings or bridges are erected or harbors deepened or rivers improved; there is no thought of cavil at aid to military schools. It was long ago decided that rural aid was right and proper for internal improvement. Roads are national in their importance. Not alone will they benefit the farmer. They are interstate as well as intrastate. They affect every industry, and the trade and commerce of every section.

The farmers are not getting their share of the benefit from money expended. From 1896 to 1906, even though 60 per cent

of the exports were farm products, less than 1 per cent was spent for their direct benefit. Over \$180,000,000 was spent for rivers

and harbors and a mere pittance for highways.

The bill provides that each State shall receive a specific amount of \$65,000; on the basis of miles of post roads and on the basis of population, two other amounts. Minnesota, for example, with its population of 2,075,708, will receive on the basis of population \$248,338. With its 4,623 miles of post roads, it will receive on the basis of mileage \$420,096. This makes a total for Minnesota of \$733,434. For every dollar the United States puts in, the different States must put in a dollar.

For my part, I wish the bill carried with it a greater appro-

priation.

Good roads are the arteries of civilization. When the con-quering Roman was advancing from province to province, the first obstacle to his progress was the lack of highways. How well he succeeded in overcoming this lack is a proverb. The first feat of engineering of the efficient armies across the water is to provide for transporting troops and supplies. How important this feature is to the modern army is shown by the difficulty of advancing experienced by the Germany Army when they got into Russia and Poland, where the science of road

building is in its infancy.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Longworth] fears that this expenditure will be blocked on account of the necessity for preparedness legislation. I maintain that road building is the foundation and basis of preparedness. The whole story of the European war teaches us this, from the early days of that weird gray stream of soldiers, countless hordes, march, march, marching over perfect roads to the front, to the later days when the masses of troops were advanced by auto transport; when mountains of supplies were forwarded the same way. This is a preparedness that looks not alone to destruction but to construction as

well

Good roads bring people into closer contact, contribute to social possibilities, annihilate distance, and rob the farm of its loneliness. They make possible the consolidated school and render not impossible the day when the farmer shall transport his goods to market by nuto van. They help to equalize supply and demand, provide for quicker exchange of commodities, and hence lessen the cost to the ultimate consumer. Good roads and prosperity go hand in hand.

Rural Post Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN T. WATKINS. OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tucsday, January 25, 1916.

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. Speaker, this bill provides for the authorization of the expenditure of \$25,000,000 annually by the National Government to aid the States of this Union in the

construction of rural post roads.

My first effort upon becoming a Member of the House of Representatives was to procure an assignment on the Committee on Agriculture. My avowed purpose was to aid in the passage of legislation in the interest of the public roads of our country. This privilege was not granted me, but my ardor in behalf of the construction of good roads has never dampened. No substantial headway was ever made in procuring legislation in this direction on any of the bills which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture. About two years ago I united with a few other Members of the House of Representatives in forming a good-roads organization under the leadership of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Shackleford], who reported this bill, and to whom more than anyone else is due the credit of arousing an interest and procuring legislation in the House of Representatives in favor of good roads. As a result of this organization a Committee on Roads was created in the House of Representatives, with the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Shackle-ford] as chairman. From the inception of this committee's activities a new impetus was given to the good-roads movement, and to-day we find a practically unanimous sentiment in the House in favor of Government aid. Many do not agree to the provisions of this particular bill, but it is a question of form, not of substance.

The slogan of to-day is "Safety first." That is a synonym of preparedness" in the present-day parlance.

Some of the critics are disposed to deride this measure by

calling it "pork." If so, it is well worthy of the alliteration of "Peace, pork, and preparedness," for no bill has ever been presented to this House which was more conducive to the peace, prosperity, and happiness of the people of this country than this one. Nor can any better plan of preparedness be conceived than a perfect system of highways, enabling the rapid transportation of arms, munitions of war, men, animals, baggage, provisions for soldiers, and provender for stock.

Complaint is made that the provisions of this bill make a discrimination against the more populous sections of the country. particularly in the East, where there are many wealthy cities. It is superfluous to call attention to the fact that they have received many favors through the legislative channels of the Nation; but their Representatives here should consider that in case of the invasion of this country by a foreign foe these high-ways would afford a means of rapid transit for troops from the

interior of the country to come to their rescue.

If \$25,000,000 was carried in the public buildings bill to construct Government buildings in the cities of this country, no such cry of extravagance as we now hear would be heard from these gentlemen. Public buildings are worthy investments by the Government. So are good roads.

If the river and harbor bill should carry double the amount of this bill, there would not be a murmur from these gentlemen; still there is not a river or a harbor in the country which would be of any service whatever, if there were not highways lead-

ing to them.

One of the complaints heard in the discussion of this bill is that some of the States would not avail themselves of the fund, because they have already spent large sums for good roads under their own plans, and would not want to contribute their required amount under the provisions of this bill or be interfered with by the National Government. There is nothing compulsory about this measure. It is left entirely with each State to accept its part of the fund, by complying with the provisions of the act or to decline to do so, at pleasure.

A man who boarded at a house where the table fare was "the same yesterday, to-day, and forever" was coming to the house when the dinner bell began to ring. A dog lying on the porch raised on his haunches and commenced to howl. The boarder said: "What are you howling about? You don't have to eat it."
The question of the benefit of good roads has been gone over

so often that an elementary discussion of the subject would be entirely superfluous. But there is one phase of the proposition to which more than passing mention should be made. That is the high cost of living and the cost of high living.

Those in high life who speed over the country in automobiles will find that the cost of high living will be considerably reduced by the construction of good roads. And by cheapening the transportation of the products of the farm to the markets the high cost of living will be greatly lessened.

In his speech on this bill the gentleman from Louisiana, Judge

Wilson, Says:

We have 2,500,000 miles of public roads. Over these roads are carried annually 350,000,000 tons of freight, consisting of farm products, supplies, and other articles. The average haul per ton is 8 miles, Over the unimproved road the cost per ton-mile is 23 cents, or \$1.84 per ton for the average haul of 8 miles. Over the improved or surfaced road the cost per ton-mile is 13 cents, or \$1.04 per ton for the average haul of 8 miles. Over the improved or surfaced road the cost per ton-mile is 13 cents, or \$1.04 per ton for the average haul of 8 miles—a saving of 80 cents per ton. Hence on 350,000,000 tons, with universal good roads, the annual saving would be \$280,000,000.

It is claimed that about 40 per cent of the cost of every article to the consumer is the cost of transportation. We to-day can carry a ton of freight 1,000 miles for \$1.25 by water and we can carry a ton of freight in the United States over our railroads for something like 250 miles for \$1.25, but we can not carry a ton of freight over our wagon roads in the United States to exceed 5 miles for \$1.25.

The Secretary of Agriculture, in his annual report this year, estimates that the farmers' crops for the year 1915 were valued at \$10,000,000,000. Every dollar's worth of the farm com-

modities had to be hauled to market.

Under the proposed bill it is estimated that the State of Louisiana will receive \$345,064.

Agriculture is the substratum, the foundation, the support of all other industries. When the farmer prospers we all prosper. With parcel post, rural free-delivery routes, and good roads, the farmer can be made contented to live on the farm, devote bimself to the peaceful pursuit of furnishing the world with the products of his labor, and better his own condition as well as that of all mankind, building up a sturdy yeomanry and in-stilling in his posterity the love of home, his country, and his

	State hig	hway mi	leage, Jan	n. 1, 1915.	1	
State.	Total all surfaced roads in State (approxi- mate).	Total all public roads in State.	Percentage of surfaced roads in State.	State and State-aid roads built in 1914.		Roads, main- tained with State aid 1914.
Alabama Arizona Arizona Arizona Arizona Arizona Arizona California Colorado Connecticut Delaware Florida Georgia Idaho Illinois Indiana Liwa Kansas Kentucky Louisiana Maryland Maryland Maryland Massachusetts Michigan Miniesota Mississippi Missouri Montana Nebraska New Hampshire New Hersey New Mexico New York North Carolina North Dakota Ohio Oklahoma Oregon Pennsylvania Rhode Island Eouth Carolina Eouth Dakota Tennessee Texas Utah Vermont Virginia Weshington West Virginia Westonin Wyoming	Miles. 5, 491 1, 085 9, 888 8, 300 2411 2, 625 12, 500 610 10, 636 627 10, 636 637 10, 636 64 1, 800 250 1, 100 250 26, 100 27, 100 28, 312 29, 100 28, 312 29, 100 28, 312 29, 100 28, 312 29, 100 28, 312 29, 100 28, 312 29, 100 28, 312 29, 100 28, 312 29, 100 28, 312 29, 100 28, 312 29, 100 28, 312 29, 100 28, 312 29, 100 28, 312 29, 100 28, 312 29, 100 28, 312 29, 100 20, 310	##168. #9, 639 9 5, 987 36, 445 48, 099 30, 571 12, 582 3, 000 17, 954 83, 986 18, 406 94, 141 63, 370 104, 027 111, 536 58, 990 22, 5528 17, 025 17, 272 68, 996 225, 528 17, 272 68, 996 225, 528 17, 272 100, 000 23, 319 80, 338 12, 751 15, 116 14, 942 120, 000 80, 112 49, 802 61, 593 83, 681 87, 325 42, 930 87, 387 2, 121 49, 802 61, 593 87, 387 2, 121 7, 970 16, 082 43, 399 61, 090 10, 569	Per cent. 11.1 6.7 3.0 19.5 2.1 12.8 8.0 14.6 14.9 14.6 14.6 14.6 15.9 15.7 12.8 6.8 12.8 15.9 15.7 12.8 6.8 6.8 4.1 6.6 6.3 2.7 9.3 12.4 12.8 12.8 12.8 12.8 12.8 12.8 12.8 12.8	### ### ### ### ### ### ### ### ### ##	Miles. 399 247 1, 1655 4, 6655 1, 282 144 100 284 11, 123 2, 437 4, 242 (19) 1, 935 357 15, 167 569 309 1, 889 325 1, 072 1, 031 2, 631 2, 632	388 648 787 967 1, 754 8, 364 6, 250 340 340 4, 252 340
Total	247, 490	2, 273, 131	10.9	6,805	35, 477	39,988

Also 59 miles of road graded, but not surfaced.

Data approximate.

Also 77 miles of road graded, but not surfaced.

No money aid for construction.

In addition, 2,823 miles of earth road were graded.

Does not include 3,500 miles of grading.

Includes reconstruction, 33 miles. No State highway department in 1914. Convirt labor aid 10 counties. No State highway department.

11 Eupervisory. 12 Educational and advisory. 13 State aid begins 1915.

14 Includes 83 miles of small town con-

14 Includes 83 miles of small court of struction.
15 State roads only.
16 Also 3,700 miles of graded road.
17 Also 1,104 miles of grading and turn-

piking.

18 Mileage not reported.

19 State aid in bridge construction only.

20 Maintenance of State convict road.

camps.

n Also 198 miles of graded roads.

n ln addition, 844 miles of town and

county roads.

State and county highways only.

Also 314 miles of earth roads.

Also 602 miles of grading.

"The Establishment of Law and Order in Mexico Can Not Succeed on Our Moral Support Alone-Carranza Needs Money."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRED A. BRITTEN.

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Saturday, January 29, 1916.

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call to the attention of the House the introduction of a resolution which, if adopted and successfully concluded by the President of the United States, will place in the hands of the de facto government in Mexico millions of dollars in gold, which will enable Corranza to rebuild the national railways of his lawless country and to establish an effective military police force in every State or Province, and to bring about a condition of law and

order such as could not possibly be accomplished by the invasion of our troops, the loss of thousands of American lives. and the transformation of Mexico into a blood-stained battle field such as is now destroying the young manhood of Europe.

Mr. Speaker, the acquirement of Lower California would give us a strip of land extending 800 miles south of the State of California, in which is included the wonderful Magdalena Bay, for the establishment of a great naval base halfway between San Francisco Bay and the Panama Canal.

Whereas the President of the United States did, on November 11, 1913, issue to the President of Mexico an ultimatum demanding his immediate resignation as President of that Republic, and further demanded that he (President Huerta) be not a candidate to succeed himself in the subsequent popular elections by the people of Mexico;

mediate resignation as President of that Republic, and further unanded that he (President Huerta) be not a candidate to succeed himself in the subsequent popular elections by the people of Mexico; and Whereas the attitude of our Government has been largely responsible for two terrible years of murder, rapine, and destruction not only of American lives and property, but of those of foreign citizens who have been equally unguarded; and Whereas the President of the United States has recognized Carranza as President of the de facto government controlling Mexico, with the assurance that this recognition and moral support would speedly bring about a condition of peace and tranquillity in Mexico and the establishment of reasonable commercial relations; and Whereas our moral support of Carranza's government was not based on the assumption that he had already acquired sufficient power to establish a permanent government immediately, but on the assumption that he was in a position to do so within a reasonable length of time, and with the full knowledge that revolutions still existed and that Villa and Zapata were still political factors and that the lives and property of American citizens in and on the border of Mexico might still be sacrificed; and Whereas the President has let it be known that he is positively against intervention and has committed this country to an un-American policy of watchful waiting, compromising, and humiliation, through which must be sacrificed more American lives and property because of Carranza's sympathy with the lawless brigands of Mexico or his incapability, under the circumstances, of bringing about even a semblance of law and order; and Whereas it has this day become known in Washington that New York bankers will furnish no funds to Carranza's de facto government in Mexico with which he might reconstruct the national rallways and establish a large police constabulary which could stamp out crime and bring reasonable protection to the inhabitants of his heartbroken country; and

Resolved, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized to negotiate with the Carranza government of Mexico for the purchase of the territory in Mexico lying west of the Colorado River and of the Gulf of California, known as "Lower California."

Mr. Speaker, conditions at the present time in Mexico are worse than at any time in the last 100 years, according to all reports from that stricken country. The reign of terror which was inaugurated shortly after the downfall of Diaz and which has raged since the death of Madero has produced a situation with which the Mexicans themselves are utterly incapable of dealing.

Technically, the revolution is over. Carranza has been recognized and has announced his desire and intention to correct the evils that exist. Events, however, continue to prove that he is utterly unable to carry out his promises of reform. It is even difficult to believe that his promises are made in good faith when, with a death rate of 9,000 a month, he has demanded the withdrawal of the American Red Cross. He has issued a statement that business conditions are improving rapidly, although it is known that in Guadalajara manufacturing business has decreased 80 per cent, in El Oro 95 per cent, and that elsewhere in Carranza territory conditions are little better. He has ordered that looting be stopped and announced that it has ceased. Yet, according to residents of Mexico City, there has been more looting during the Carranza régime than in all previous administrations. Even if Carranza himself were willing or capable of effecting reform, his subordinates are not, and they are his own appointments.

With the best intentions in the world-

Writes Mark S. Watson, reporting Mexican conditions for the Chicago Tribune-

the Chicago Tribune—
Carranza can not control the swashbucklers who surround him. At least he does not. As to this there is no argument. The record that 713 private residences in Mexico City are occupied by officers and, in the main, were filled with their women up to the middle of November is some evidence of how much attention is being paid to the first chief's order that there be no confiscation.

The record of street robberles and the forced entry of houses by automobile loads of officers wearing Mexican uniforms is some evidence of the military discipline. The Government-controlled papers refer briefly to the robberles as committed by persons "disguised as Carranga officers." The disguise is so complete that the next day the same officers can be seen leading their commands.

The civil appointments of Gen. Carranza-

Also reported Mr. Watson in a recent dispatch to the

Also reported Mr. Watson in a recent dispatch to the Tribune—
hold out little assurance of improved conditions under their jurisdiction. "There are efficient men and there are honest men," Mr. Watson was told by despairing residents, "but the two are never found together in the advisers of the First Chief. If a man is honest, he is inefficient; if capable, he is crooked."

Antonio Manero, president of the banking commission, intrusted with financial affairs of the gravest importance, is an ex-convict, having been imprisoned for forgery on the bank in which he had been employed. Rafael Nieto, subsecretary of Hacienta, is a former garage owner in Saltillo, Carranza's old capital. Roque Estrada, minister of justice, was an assistant to a lawyer's clerk before the revolution, and has been awarded the highest position in the field of law.

"Of the five Judges now seated in Mexico City," Mr. Watson comments, "one has practiced law. He is the 'least bad' of the five. Daily they decline to let attorneys, indignant at their outrageous decisions, even file notice of appeal to a supreme court when that body shall have been organized.

"The instructions from Minister of Justice Estrada that the knowledge of law by the judiciary was a matter of no consequence as compared with their devotion to 'revolutionary ideals,' whatever, in addition to personal profit, those ideals may be, found its counterpart in Palovicini's instructions to his teachers that 'if was unnecessary for them to know their subjects as long as they were good revolutionists." "There has been starvation in Mexico, there is pestilence, and there will be famine if the corn crop fails or if the prices on the present short supply are kept up. Gen. Carranza has laid great stress on his control of the prices of foodstuffs, and in his own district of Coahulla prices are not exorbitant, but in the Federal District controlled by his immediate subordinates prices have been, and are, and will continue to be exorbitant." As Mr. Watson points on:

"It is to the advantage

Good Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

E. BROWNE. HON. EDWARD

OF WISCONSIN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 25, 1916.

Mr. BROWNE of Wisconsin, Mr. Speaker, I spoke at some length a few days ago on the Shackleford bill, addressing my-self to the merits of the bill, I now desire to address myself briefly to the importance of good roads and national aid for

I will preface what I am going to say by stating that the Sixty-third Congress, recognizing the demands for national aid for roads, created the first permanent Road Committee. This committee considered only one subject, national aid for roads. It has conferred with almost all the State highway departments in the United States, and had many representatives of State highway commissions and others interested in good roads be-

The bill presented has the indorsement of many State highway commissions, as the chairman; the gentleman from Missouri

[Mr. Shackleford], has indicated.

A national law must be adaptable. A Federal road law to pass Congress must be a law under which each of the 48 States can participate. There are 8 States that have no State highway commissions. Ten years ago a majority of the States did not have State highway commissions. The States having highway commissions and State aid have made more progress in road building in the last 10 years than they did in the previous 50 years.

It is obvious that no national aid law will ever pass Congress, and ought not to, that does not give to each State a chance to receive an equitable share of the money appropriated. OBSTACLES TO NATIONAL AID FOR ROADS.

The greatest obstacles in the way of national aid for roads are:

First. The well-meaning good-road enthusiast, who has never thought of the different and varied conditions to be met in drafting a national road law which will be workable in 48 different States, and whose knowledge on road legislation is limited to his general observation, "I want a good road so that I can go anywhere I desire to go, and I want it completed at Many of this type of road enthusiasts favor the ocean to ocean good-road movement, the old trail roads and other

transcontinental roads to be built wholly, or in the greater part, by the Government.

Second. Another class of road enthusiasts want the roads so local that they lead from every man's house to the nearest market place, and they desire the side roads of every community improved before the main roads, and each advocate wants the road to go by his house first.

We have over 2,000,000 miles of wagon roads in the United States. It is apparent that if we attempt to improve all the roads in the 48 States by Government aid at once it would bankrupt the country and would be out of the question.

Outside of the large cities most of the opposition comes from the States east of the Alleghany Mountains, who have a more perfect system of roads than any of the other States. representatives from these States argue that these States will pay more money out than they will receive under national aid, and that they can take care of their road matters, and that all the other States in the Union ought to take care of theirs.

This argument could be made by a majority of States against any internal improvement ever made by this Government.

ALL OF THE STATES HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO OTHER IMPROVEMENTS.

The whole United States has been contributing for years toward internal improvements, 90 per cent of the benefits of which have inured to the States that are now objecting to the first internal improvement that will directly benefit the inhabitants of the great agricultural States of the Union.

Over 50,000,000 people in the United States are living in the country, including villages and cities under 2,500 inhabitants.

FARMERS PAY LARGE TAX.

The farming population alone is paying taxes upon between forty and fifty billion dollars worth of property.

Each year the farming population is adding between five and ten billion dollars to the wealth of the Nation.

Upon the prosperity of the farmer and the rural communities

depends the prosperity of the whole United States

No class of people in the United States pay a higher tax for the amount of property they own than the farmer.

It therefore seems only fair and just that the whole United States should be in favor of a great internal improvement that will directly benefit one-half of the population and indirectly benefit the whole population of the United States

You would think, to hear the arguments of Representatives from some of the States that have great ports of entry, that every cent of money received at each port from the importation of goods to this country belonged to their States, and it was a gratuity, on their part, to allow the National Government to have this fund.

The money received by the National Government as duties from importation of goods to the United States belongs to the people of the interior as much as to the people who reside on the seacoasts where the great seaports chance to be located.

The Panama Canal has cost the Government \$400,000,000, The river and harbor appropriations of the Sixty-third Congress amount to over \$62,000,000. Thirty-five million dollars was appropriated by the Sixty-third Congress for a railroad in Alaska, a Territory containing less than 65,000 people.

Can the present Democratic administration afford to have the Sixty-fourth Congress adjourn without appropriating at least \$25,000,000 for its wagon roads that will accommodate directly 50,000,000 people and indirectly the entire population?

WILL THE GOVERNMENT'S FINANCES PERMIT?

Some Members say this legislation should be deferred until our national finances are in better condition. Twenty-five millions of dollars is not a great amount for this Government to raise. Add a trifle per cent more on the income tax and it would raise twice that amount. An income tax similar to the Wisconsin State income tax would raise several hundred millions of dollars. Only between two and three million dollars of the Alaskan railroad appropriation of \$35,000,000 has been used. Why not repeal this law and use this appropriation for good roads—a much more urgent need and one that will benefit a hundred millions of people, while the Alaskan Railroad appropriation only accommodates 65,000 people, the entire population of that Territory?

The \$60,000,000 appropriated for rivers and harbors by the Sixty-third Congress has not been expended. Why not repeal this law to the extent of \$25,000,000 and use it for wagon roads?

WHY SHOULD RIVERS HAVE PREFERENCE?

Why do our Congresses give the roads on our rivers preference over the roads on the land?

The improvement of our wagon roads, over which the whole food supply of the Nation is annually hauled, and over which men, women, and children are obliged to travel in all kinds of weather on foot, on horseback, and in wagons 365 days in the year, ought not to be compelled to side-step for every other internal improvement.

RAISE MONEY BY TAX ON MUNITIONS.

The \$25,000,000 asked for by this bill for wagon roads might be raised by imposing a tax on the exportation of munitions of war. Some of the great establishments are waxing fat from the sale of these death-dealing instruments of war. If this Government is going to allow corporations to capitalize the misfortunes of our brothers across the sea by profiting in gold at the rate, in some cases, of \$1,000,000 a day in net profits, I would be in favor of making them pay not only for this internal improvement but for anything that this Government thinks necessary for national defenses.

IMPROVEMENT OF GOOD ROADS.

In my opinion, the question of national aid for highways is the greatest question before Congress. On this great question we should waive technical differences.

Horace Greeley once said that "the way to resume specie payment was to resume."

The way to have national aid for roads is to pass the best road law Congress is capable of drafting, and after working under it, if it prove inadequate perfect it by amendment. We will never make any progress by attempting to defeat every measure that does not meet in every particular with our ideas.

GOOD ROADS LESSEN THE COST OF TRANSPORTATION.

It costs more, on an average, to haul a bushel of potatoes from the farm where they are produced to the nearest market place than it does to carry them from Dublin, Ireland, to New York City. If by good roads we can lessen the cost of transportation by wagon 50 or 75 per cent, it is going to ultimately reduce the high cost of living.

It has been said by a Secretary of Agriculture that it costs the farmers every year to move the great crops they raise something like \$1,600,000,000, and that from \$400,000,000 to \$500,000,000 of this amount could be saved by good roads.

The mud tax, or the bad-road tax, is the highest tax the Ameri-

can people are paying.

GOOD ROADS BENEFIT EVERYBODY.

Heretofore we have looked upon the wagon roads as something that concerned simply the farmer, the man who lived upon the road, and we have not considered that it was the problem of anybody else. We have thus shouldered the responsibility of road building and keeping in repair 2,000,000 miles of road upon the farmer alone.

At the end of every road is the farmer with his crops and all kinds of farm produce. At the other end of the road is the city with its people waiting to be fed, with its merchants waiting for trade, and with the railroads waiting for goods to transport. To whose advantage is it to have a road for the farmer to come to town? It is certainly to the advantage of the merchants and the city and the railroads as much as it is for the farmer.

The farms and the farmer are the great abiding support of the city.

GOVERNMENT AID WILL STIMULATE ROAD BUILDING.

If Congress passes this bill, it is going to stimulate road building throughout the United States. It is going to compel the States that have not State highway commissions to get them before the year 1920.

Good roads will make rural life more attractive. They will tend to check the drift of population from the farms to the cities. In the last 10 years—from 1900 to 1910—the urban population increased 50 per cent, while the rural population increased only 11.02 per cent, and in one or more of the great agricultural States the rural population decreased.

This is a situation and tendency which is viewed by many with alarm, and the National Government and many States are in various ways trying to turn back the tide toward the cities with the movement "back to the farm."

Good roads will tend to help this movement more than any-

thing this Government can do.

If this road bill becomes a law, it will help the farmer in moving his crops to market and will eventually make a system of roads connecting all parts of our country.

The Government, with its expert engineers, will undoubtedly

be able to reduce materially the cost of road building.

A Government engineer like Col. Goethals at the head of a great national road bureau would make more progress in the matter of the improvement of our roads than will be made in 50 years by our 48 States, with their thousands of smaller subdivisions, undertaking to work out the road problem by themselves

I believe that a system of roads such as Government aid will insure will improve the conditions of rural life and make it more

attractive, and have a direct bearing upon the social, intellectual, and economic welfare of the whole people; that it will be followed by a greater activity and cooperation on the part of the rural population of this country that will mean an era of the greatest prosperity this country has ever known.

Charles Sumner, more than 50 years ago, truly said that-The two greatest forces for the advancement of civilization are the schoolmaster and good roads.

Child Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. VARE, OF PENNSYLVANIA, .

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, .

Wednesday, January 26, 1916.

Mr. VARE. Mr. Speaker, the two amendments which I propose are designed to include in this Federal measure the humane and practicable principles embodied in the law which Gov. Brumbaugh, of Pennsylvania, caused to be written on the statuté books.

The amendments are as follows:

After the word "years," on line 1, page 2, insert "who work more than eight hours in any one day or more than six days in any one week, or after the hour of 7 o'clock postmeridian, or before the hour of 7 o'clock antemeridian; and each minor between the age of 14 and 16 years so employed shall, during the period of such employment, attend, for a period or periods equivalent to not less than six hours each week, a public school, during the usual public school term: Provided, That the school hours shall not be on Saturday, nor before 8 o'clock antemeridian nor after 5 o'clock postmeridian of any other day."

Add a section, to be numbered section 2, as follows:

SEC. 2. That no producer, manufacturer, or dealer shall ship or deliver for shipment in interstate commerce the product of any mine, quarry, mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment situated in the United States which has been produced, in whole or in part, by the labor of any minor under 18 years of age, unless he shall have obtained, without cost to said minor, a certificate of the physical fitness of said minor to perform the work assigned to him, said certificate to be signed by a reputable physician.

Renumber the sections of the bill.

It is little enough for the Government to require that all products entering into interstate commerce shall be made by adults, and if by children, then by children who shall be pro-tected in their right to an education.

Owing to the fact that the Keating bill restricts the hours of employment of children between the ages of 14 and 16 to eight hours a day, I have worded my amendment, providing for the educational feature, to require that at least six hours a week be

devoted to the education of these young employees.

The phrase "public school" is broad enough to authorize the employers to establish schools of their own, if that method should be deemed more practicable. The term, nevertheless, is designed to prevent any attempt to comply with the educational provision merely by the ruse of having a perfunctory classroom. By "public school" is meant one that shall be under the supervision of the regular school authorities.

The other amendment is designed to prevent the employment of sickly children. This prohibitory feature is one of the best of the new Pennsylvania system, and it is a necessary part of the humane program. Other regulations can be left to the discretion of the officials to whom power is delegated by the measure now before the House, but I think the bill must be regarded as incomplete without the educational and health features proposed by these two amendments.

There is need for vocational education throughout the country. Ninety per cent of the children in the country get no chance to go to the high schools and colleges. They should at least have the chance for a common-school education and for vocational education. If the objection is raised to the educational amendment on the ground that many of the States have no facilities for vocational education, I say that it is high time they had such facilities, and the employers of labor finding it necessary to provide educational facilities in their own factories, if not outside, will soon crystallize public sentiment in favor of greater educational facilities.

The amendment which I offer permits the employers to establish vocational schools of their own, if they so desire, so long as the course of instruction is under the supervision of the authorized educational authorities. It gives an incentive to vocational education which will be of benefit not merely to the child,

but to the employers as well.

The Commission on Industrial Education of the National Manufacturers' Association has given a complete indorsement to the Pennsylvania child-labor law, with its educational feature, in sharp contrast to the attitude of some of the influential politicians of Pennsylvania who opposed Gov. Brumbaugh's efforts in enacting this law,

It has been said that the continuation school, or vocational school, is a regular educational and life-saving device for those who work and those who employ. No child should have to work, Unfortunately some of them have to work. It is our duty, then, to see that even while working they are not denied educational

opportunities.

I believe that the Federal Government should give financial aid to vocational schools and enlist in the movement for the education of children who are employed. I believe that as much should be done for the Nation as a whole as has been done for Pennsylvania. We can not interfere with the matters which are regulated exclusively by the States, but we can bring about a great reform by placing these restrictions upon interstate commerce so that manufacturers and other business men will see to it that the children they employ have proper educational facilities. Unless this step forward is taken, it will mean that there will be a revulsion of feeling which will result in more stringent law preventing the employment of children altogether.

I wish to take the liberty of quoting from the report of the Committee on Industrial Education of the National Manufacturers' Association of New York, May 25, 1915, which places the stamp of approval on what Pennsylvania has done with regard

to the reform now before the House:

turers' Association of New York, May 25, 1915, which places the stamp of approval on what Pennsylvania has done with regard to the reform now before the House:

Pennsylvania has entered upon one of the greatest educational accomplishments of the generation. She has entrusted this accomplishment to experienced and able leaders with power, authority, and money. Hereafter every child in that State before leaving school for work must have the equivalent of the first six years of elementary schooling. If then he is 14 years of age and otherwise qualified, he may go to work under fair safeguards, but only upon the further provision that he is released from employment eight hours per week for instruction in his vocation and in citizenship in continuation schools that are now to be established. This is the first instance of compulsory school attendance until 16, excepting in Wisconsin and in the city of Boston. It is the best form of 16-year compulsion, because it correlates school with work and goes far toward making all later life happy and intelligently progressive in the occupations. After three years of most satisfactory experience Wisconsin has just raised the compulsory period to 17, as in northern Europe, and as Pennsylvania will raise it some day, following the happy experience of her Initial years.

The need of this schooling was agreed upon by employers, social workers, educators, labor leaders, and legislators. There were, however, some sharp differences of judgment as to the details of the law as enacted last May. These differences are fast disappearing, partly through better understanding of the situation and largely because it has become clear to all that the law must be interpreted and applied almost solely with a view to the accomplishment of its main spirit and purpose, to which, possibly, minor and contradictory interpretations might do harm.

For instance, the law is effective January 1, 1916. The provision that after that no employer may employ a child with less than a sixthgrade cducation seems at

and loss.

Interest in the passage of this law was heightened by the disclosure in the census of 1910 that there were then 456,925 foreign-born whites in Pennsylvania 10 years of age and older who were unable to speak English, being 33.6 per cent of all of the 1,390,564 foreign-born whites in the State. This was a great increase in foreign illiterates over 1900, when only 16.7 per cent were unable to speak English. The thorough Americanization of these people and their children is a pressing need. Heretofore many children under 16 worked 10 hours a day and 58 hours a week. Hereafter they can work only a total of 51 hours a week, including the 8 hours spent in school, and the maximum may not exceed 9 hours in any one day. This last requirement has caused rather bitter complaint in a few places where it has seemed necessary to work the children either 10 hours or not at all, on the ground that some processes now carried on by children require attention constantly so long as the mill runs.

It is unfortunate that a few employers, not knowing all the conditions, began to discharge children some time ago. Let us hope that with the present light no child will be discharged unnecessarily nor a single day before it need be, for such a discharge would needlessly hurt the child and hurt the cause.

The whole spirit and purpose of this law is that children shall be kept at work, not that they shall be discharged; that they shall learn in connection with their work, not that they shall be thrown into idleness or returned to a kind of school they are unfitted for. If any considerable number must be discharged, there should be a thorough organized effort to transfer them from one place to another without hurt or loss.

The law affects about 70,000 children and will elevate in years to come the citizenship, the social and economic efficiency of the whole State. By every presumption children will pay a full share of all costs and adjustments by loss of wages and otherwise. Let all grown-ups do their part as best they may.

It pays a State to invest in its people. Were the Pennsylvania law to be rewritten to-day, it would be written somewhat differently. It will be changed by various legislatures so long as Pennsylvania is a developing Commonwealth.

In its essential spirit and purpose and its assured accomplishment it is one of the greatest and best educational measures that have been enacted in this country. Never was better opportunity for the exercise of forbearance, cordiality, and large constructive intelligence. Never has Pennsylvania more pleasantly surprised the people of all the States by forward-looking legislation.

Federal Aid for Post Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE.

OF ALABAMA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 25, 1916.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, the pending bill, H. R. 7617, authorizes a future annual appropriation of not more than \$25,000,000 to be used by the Secretary of Agriculture in cooperating with State highway departments in the construction, improvement, and maintenance of rural post roads. The chief difference between it and the bill on the same subject introduced by myself lies in the fact that it authorizes at some future time a maximum appropriation of \$25,000,000 for the purposes mentioned, while the bill introduced by me makes available immediately for those purposes an annual appropriation of not less than that amount. The bill which I introduced was prepared by the National Association of State Highway Officials, and, excepting Pennsylvania, has been indorsed, I am reliably informed, by every State highway department in the Nation. I regret that, under the rules of the House, the bill introduced by me, especially that portion of it which makes the appropriation immediately available, can not at this time be substituted for the pending measure.

In deciding whether we should give our votes to the passage of this bill, three questions should be considered, namely:

1. Is the proposed enactment constitutional?

2. Is the object sought to be accomplished desirable?

3. Is the suggested plan workable?

THE QUESTION OF CONSTITUTIONALITY.

Since each Member of Congress is under a solemn oath to obey the Constitution of the United States, the question of the constitutionality of any legislation that may be proposed is a matter of fundamental importance. If that question is decided in the negative, all others are eliminated.

The Constitution is the charter of our liberties as a free and self-governing people. It is not, as I understand it, a dead mass of fixed dogmas, but is a vital body of living principles, and should be construed in the light of widening experience, of developing reason and conscience, and of advancing civilization.

As a matter of fact, the interpretation of written constitutions and the development of constitutional governments have been thus evolutionary. We of to-day, in the light of the experiences of the past, the beliefs of the present, and the hopes of the future, place constructions upon our Constitution which are very different from those entertained or anticipated by the founders of the Republic. For instance, there was a time when practically all internal improvements were regarded almost universally as State functions, whereas now the Federal Government is engaged, either independently or in cooperation with

the States, in almost every form of internal activity.

Appropriations from the Federal Treasury have been or are being made for the digging of canals, for the deepening of rivers and harbors, for the building of locks and dams, for the construction of railroads, for the support of the land-grant colleges,

for the construction of public buildings in towns and cities, for the conservation of the public health, for the promotion of scientific and practical agriculture (including the irrigation of arid lands, farm-demonstration work, and the eradication of boll weevil, cattle tick, and log cholera), and for other purposes.

The Federal Government has appropriated about \$800,000,000

for the improvement of rivers and harbors. The construction of the Panama Canal has cost approximately \$400,000,000. For the purpose of promoting railroad development throughout the country almost 200,000,000 acres of land have been donated. Irrigation projects have cost something like \$100,000,000. The sum of \$35,000,000 has been authorized for the construction of a railroad in Alaska. Billions of dollars have been expended for these and other internal improvements. Billions more will be

expended in the years to come.

If under the Constitution Congress has the authority to make appropriations for internal activities of the character mentioned, has it not by the same reasoning the power also to make the appropriation and perform the service suggested in the pending bill? Congress builds railroads. Can it not also build wagon roads? Congress digs canals and constructs locks and dams. Can it not also make excavations, fill ravines, and construct bridges? Congress cuts channels, deepens rivers and harbors, and maintains them. Can it not also construct, improve, and maintain public highways? Congress assists the farmer in raising his crops. Can it not also assist him in conveying those crops to the market?

But we do not have to reason by analogy in order to reach the conclusion that Congress has the power to enact the proposed law. The Constitution itself is explicit in regard to the power of Congress relative to such matters. Paragraphs 1, 3,

and 7 of section 8, Article I, read as follows:

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States and with the Indian tribes.

To establish post offices and post roads.

The "general-welfare" clause in paragraph 1, the "commerce" clause in paragraph 2, and the "post-roads" clause in paragraph 3, taken singly or collectively, seem to remove all doubt as to the constitutionality of the pending bill. If the power "to establish post offices" carries with it the authority to erect, improve, and maintain the buildings in which the offices are located, certainly the power "to establish post roads" carries with it the authority to construct, improve, and maintain

them as provided in the bill under consideration.

So far as Congress can do so, the question of the constitutionality of appropriations for road-building purposes was settled early in the history of the United States. During the first 30 or 40 years after the Government was organized something like \$14,000,000 was expended for such purposes, most of it upon the Cumberland Road. With the beginning of the era of railroad building through Federal land grants the construction of public highways at Federal expense was discontinued. Since that time the matter has been treated as a State or local

FEDERAL AID DESIRABLE.

If we are convinced of the constitutionality of the proposed enactment, and a majority of the Members of the House seem to be so convinced, let us consider briefly the next question, namely. Is the object sought to be accomplished desirable? In order to answer this question correctly it is necessary for us to understand what that object is. What is the object that the promoters of this legislation seek to accomplish? It is this: The securement of better rural post roads through the cooperation of the Nation and the States.

Since a majority of our public highways are now used as post roads, and since practically all of them will be so used in the future, the provisions of this bill, if enacted into law, would apply ultimately to public roads generally. Hence the object of this legislation is the improvement of public roads

everywhere.

Is there a general need of highway improvement and is there a general demand? It is estimated that there are in the United States 2.273,131 miles of public roads, of which 1.220,-579 miles are used for postal purposes. Of the total mileage, only 247,490 miles, or 10.9 per cent, are improved. The States spent in 1914 the sum of \$249,055,067 in making highway im-The States provements. That was a large sum of money, but nothing like an adequate amount. It is evident that if left to the States alone centuries will pass before good roads become the rule rather than the exception.

There are about 900,000,000 acres of farm land in this country, and the value of our farm products is estimated at \$10,000,000, 000 annually, a sum which staggers the imagination. Except those which are consumed by the farmers themselves, all of these products have to be transported to the markets over wagon roads, and the things for which they are exchanged have to be carried back to the farms over the same kind of highways. Thus many hundred millions of tons of commodities are transported to and fro each year. It is safe to estimate, therefore, that a billion dollars are expended annually for the rural transportation of farm products and the things for which they are exchanged.

Reliable statistics show that in the United States, where 90 per cent of the roads are unimproved, the average haul of farm products costs from two to ten times as much as similar hauls cost in those countries where the roads have been adequately improved. If these statistics be true, and we have no reason to doubt them, think of the tremendous saving that would accrue to those engaged in agricultural pursuits if all our roads were improved in the same way. Since the products of the farm are consumed by the people generally, it is impossible to estimate or to segregate the benefits which would accrue to every class of our citizens. Each citizen, whether he uses the roads for business or for pleasure, or not at all, is directly or indirectly interested in this matter of highway development, for the reason that the cost of every one of the necessaries of life is materially affected by the expense of transportation. Costly transporta-tion is one of the causes of the high cost of living.

Nobody denies that the improvement of our highways would promote agriculture. By the same reasoning we conclude that it would advance commerce, industry, education, and religior. Just as every phase of life has been promoted by the construction of railroads and the improvement of rivers and harbors, so would civilization be advanced by the improvement of our most commonly used means of transportation. As a matter of fact, our wagon roads are as vitally necessary to the development of our national life as are our railroads, rivers, lakes, and canals;

yet they have been the most neglected.

The transportation of farm and manufactured products begins at the point of production and ends at the point of consumption, and when one link in the chain of transportation is weak the entire chain is weak. Producer, transporter, trader, consumer. all are injured when transportation facilities are inadequate. With 90 per cent of our more than 2.000,000 miles of public roads almost wholly unimproved, our transportation facilities are most inadequate. From this great inadequacy the entire Nation suf-It should be apparent to all that the object sought to be accomplished by the advocates of the proposed legislation is desirable beyond measure.

A WORKABLE PLAN.

The plan outlined in the bill provides for the cooperation of the Federal Government with the various States in the matter of constructing, improving, and maintaining rural post roads. This plan is similar to that pursued in numerous other activities in which the Federal Government is engaged. Just as the States and their counties are cooperating in the construction of public highways, it is proposed that the Nation and the States shall cooperate for a similar purpose. There will be no encroachment upon the prerogatives of the States, and there will be no enlargement of the authority of the Federal Government.

Numerous Members of the House have told of the good results from such cooperation between States and counties, and I predict that a similar cooperation between the Federal Government and the States will produce even more satisfactory results. While I believe that the pending bill could be improved in some of its provisions, I realize that in matters of legislation all of us can not secure just what we desire. Practically all laws are the results of compromise. This is one of the matters in which if I can not get exactly what I desire I shall take that which is possible. Any defects that may develop under the operation of the act can be remedied by future Congresses.

There is a special reason why I should give my vote to the passage of this bill. The party with which I am affiliated has spoken in no uncertain terms relative to the subject of national aid for the construction and maintenance of certain kinds of public roads. The Democratic platform adopted at Baltimore

in 1912 contained this plank:

We favor national aid to State and local authorities in the construc-tion and maintenance of post roads.

I do not see how any Member on this side of the House can afford to oppose this measure. Cooperation is the watchword of the era in which we live. Let the Nation and the States cooperate in the manner suggested.

Child Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM E. COX. OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 26, 1916.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I give my earnest and hearty support to H. R. 8234, known as the childlabor bill. For many years this has been a burning and vital question with all good, forward-looking people: To do something for the children to aid them in growing strong, active, virile bodies and mind. Those in favor of this humane legislation have besought the legislatures of every State in the Union. with varying fortunes of failure and success, each State believing, and truly so, that it had a right to act upon legislation along these lines as it saw fit, with the result that to-day there is no uniformity of legislation at all. While a vast majority of the States of the Union fix the age when children can be employed in factories, quarries, mills, canneries, and so forth, but no uniformity of age, the only legislative body in the United States that has power to pass uniform legislation affecting child labor is the Congress of the United States.

At last the appeals of humanity have reached Congress and its best thought and views are embraced and embodied in the

pending legislation

This bill, if it becomes a law, and I sincerely trust it will, will be uniform all over the United States, because it places the burden and the responsibility upon the shipper of goods. He must know when he ships a consignment of goods that none of them were made or manufactured by children under the age set forth in the proposed bill.

The bill provides:

That no producer, manufacturer, or dealer shall ship, or deliver for shipment in interstate commerce, the product of any mine or quarry situated in the United States which has been produced in whole or in part by the labor of children under the age of 16 years; or the product of any mill, cannery, workship, factory, or manufacturing establishment situated in the United States which has been produced in whole or in part by the labor of children under the age of 14 years; or by the labor of children between the ages of 14 and 16 years who work more than eight hours in any one day or more than six days in any one week, or after the hour of 7 o'clock p. m., or before the hour of 7 o'clock a. m.

The provisions of the above-quoted section are plain and emphatic. No quibble; no misconstruction can possibly be placed

upon the section or any paragraph contained in it.

If anything is to be done to prevent children from engaging in dangerous and hazardous work under the age of 16, or under the age of 14 years, the responsibility must be placed somewhere, and the responsible person is the one who proposes to ship it through interstate commerce from one State to another State in the Union.

The bill does not affect, nor is it intended to affect goods manufactured, mined, or quarried to be used and consumed in a State. It is only where the product mined, manufactured, quarried, or canned is proposed to enter interstate commerce.

There is no question but what under the Constitution of the United States Congress has such power to enact this kind of The power of Congress to regulate commerce between the States is conclusive, as has been held by the United States Supreme Court in numbers of cases.

Likewise the measure will not impose any hardship upon those engaged in selling goods in interstate commerce. will be required to be on their guard, with a view of seeing whether or not any of the goods proposed to be shipped have been manufactured in violation of section 1 of this act.

For many years there has been an agitation going on in the country to conserve our natural resources. With loud voice this has been proclaimed on every stump and every platform in the United States. Our newspapers and magazines have teemed with articles calling the attention of the Nation to the fact that our natural resources-coal, iron, and minerals of all kindswere being wasted. Soon the storehouses of nature would become exhausted and posterity would be left in utter destitution and want, so far as these things were concerned. But few have turned their attention to the necessity of looking after our real resources—the children. These, and these alone, are not only our nature's resources, but God's resources. To-day there are upward of 20,000,000 of children in the United States of school age; many millions of them are not in school, but are employed in endeavoring to earn a living in the dangerous trades and occupations, in open competition with men and women of mature years and experience. Instead of dwarfing their bodies and stunting their intellects, these boys and girls ought to be in school until they at least complete the grades and, if possible, receive a thorough and complete high-school education, so that when they become mature men and women they will be able to meet the fierce competition that is now drawing round and about them from every quarter.

The time is here now, and as time goes on it will be more and more that the man or woman unequipped and unqualified from a mental viewpoint will be wholly unable to meet their

competitors in a fair field of competition.

Every child born in this fair country of ours is entitled to a fair chance, a fair deal in life; and if it is compelled to grow up in ignorance of the practical and, in some cases, the scientific things of life, by reason of poverty or otherwise, it has not had a fair chance and an equal opportunity.

No doubt this bill will take thousands of children from quar-

ries, mines, and factories. They ought to be out of there; they have no business there. They should be in the schoolroom equipping and qualifying themselves for future life, so they

could make men and women of themselves.

The agitation for this legislation has been going on for almost a quarter of a century by a few "Good Samaritans." They have spent their time, their money, and their energy in bringing about legislation of this kind solely for the purpose of bettering humanity. They have finally reached the court of last resort, and this court has heeded their cry, so far as the House is concerned, and passed this legislation. I trust that it, will not cease its travel until the Senate enacts it into law and it is approved by the President.

Child Labor in Mills, Factories, and Mines.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES A. GALLIVAN,

OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 26, 1916.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, it is hardly necessary for me to say that I am in favor of the passage of this bill and that I earnestly hope it will be speeded on its way to afford the pro-tection and blessings that it will bring to the pale-faced, ill-fed, uneducated, oppressed children of this country, who are unfortunately and unhappily living in certain States of the Union which have up till this hour refused to place upon their statute books the kind of legislation that is embodied in this bill. the last Congress I supported to the limit of my ability similar legislation. There is greater need than ever for such legislation in these days. Members of the Sixty-fourth Congress who come here for the first time are auxious to contribute their views to the general discussion. And so, Mr. Chairman, in order that they may have that opportunity, I have no desire to occupy the time of the House to the exclusion of our new colleagues.

I want the House, if it will, to listen to a most illuminating editorial on the subject of "Child labor" which appeared in the Boston Post of Sunday, January 23, 1916. This newspaper is the leading Democratic organ of New England, and its editor

writes as follows:

" CHILD-LABOR SUNDAY,"

To-day is "Child-labor Sunday." From many pulpits in the land there will be heard the sad stories of the slavery of too many of our little citizens in the mines and the mills of these supposedly civilized and merciful United States. Hundreds of thousands of men and women will be asked to do what they can to help the just and righteous cause of freeing these small wage earners from a bondage that stunts their bodies, dulls their minds, and reduces their capacity to be useful citizens. Let us trust that the day will be one of great accomplishment.

"Is there need of this crusade?" some one may ask. For answer come the stirring words of Henry M. Dyckman, of Westfield, a member of the national child-labor committee. "There are at present," he says, "approximately 2,000,000 children whose young lives are being burned up like fuel to run the engines in some score of industries in the United States. Many of these children are of a tender age, hardly more than babies. As an instance of this is the case of little Marietta, who was found during the investigation of industrial conditions in New York, This little child of 3 years of age was found in a tenement house making artificial flowers. She made forget-me-nots by gluing together petals, center, and stem, and by working from 8 until 8 could make 600 in a day.

"This seems almost incredible, but I possess a picture of the child at

center, and stem, and by working that day, day, "This seems almost incredible, but I possess a picture of the child at her work, taken by agents of the committee who saw her. She is but one of thousands of wretched babies who are being sacrificed to greed. In our factories there are 122,000 children of 10 years old and upward who are working 9, 10, and 11 hours a day in States where such long

hours are permitted. The different laws in the various States with regard to their employment make it hard for States which have humane laws to compete, with those without such laws; for instance, Alabama has nearly 94,000 children under 13 years of age at work; Georgia, 93,000; Mississippi, 83,000. Against this Massachusetts employs only 1,700 under this age. It will be seen at what a disadvantage we are in competing with such cheap labor."

Whence shall come the relief for these toilers who ought to be at school? State laws are good when States are enlightened enough to make them. But some of the Southern States will not pass any measures of reform. An ex-governor of North Carolina actually had the callousness to say to a congressional committee the other day that a bolt of cotton made by child labor was "just as wide, just as long, just as white, and just as good as if made by adults." The cotton was all that mattered, it seems; the growing boy or girl was of no importance. But there is help at hand. Uncle Samuel may take part in it. At any rate, the Keating-Owen bill has already been favorably reported to the House at Washington, and it is likely to pass. This bill forbids interstate commerce in goods in the production of which children under 14 have worked in mills, factories, canneries, or workshops; in which children between 14 and 16 have worked over eight hours a day or at night.

Let us fervently hope that greed will soon be commelled to yield to

Inight.

Let us ferventiv hope that greed will soon be compelled to yield to righteousness in this matter. If a State will not give its children a chance in the world, its manufacturers must be made to.

Mexican Situation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JEFF: MCLEMORE,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 31, 1916.

Mr. McLEMORE. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday of last week I introduced in this House a resolution, which reads as follows: Whereas the Mexicans continue to murder our soldiers who are sta-tioned along the border: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the Sixty-fourth Congress submit to the President a request that the remnant of our troops be withdrawn from the border and used as a nucleus around which to organize an Army.

Resolved further, That the House of Representatives of the Sixty-fourth Congress submit to the President the further request that the settlement of the Mexican question be left to those States of the Union that are contiguous to Mexico.

Mr. Speaker, I have no hope of seeing my resolution adopted, but I have introduced it in response to many requests that have been made and that the Congress may become better acquainted with a sentiment that is prevailing among the American people generally who reside along the Rio Grande in Texas, and, I might also add, those Americans who reside along the border in the States of New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

There is no probability, or even possibility, that the National Government will grant to the people of these border States the right to avenge the multiplied wrongs that have been in-flicted upon American citizens in Mexico and along the Mexican border, for that is a right which is claimed by the National Government, and the National Government is jealous of its rights, and will not relinquish any one of them for the glory or good of any mere State, even though such State is an integral portion of our great Union.

For some years the Mexican border has been patrolled by a portion of our small standing Army. I have the highest regard for our Army, what there is of it, but our soldier boys along the border have been held back by "orders from Washington," even though not a few of their comrades have fallen victims to Mexican bullets. They were ordered not to cross the border in pursuit of murderous marauding bands of Mexicans, for such a thing would have been "a violation of neutrality rights," and only the Mexicans, it seems, have the privilege of violating such rights.

A few days ago four American soldiers were bathing in the Rio Grande, which was their inherent right. Two of them were captured by armed Mexican soldiers, who appeared on the Mexican side of the river, while the other two Americans made their escape, and, although fired on by the Mexican soldiers. they swam to the American side in safety. Four comrades, who attempted to swim to the rescue of the captured soldiers, were drowned, according to the reports, although it is possible they were first shot by the Mexicans. Later, three lieutenants of the American Army led a detachment of 15 soldiers across the river in search of the 2 captured soldiers, but without success. On their return to the American side of the river the three lieutenants, charged with "invasion," were placed under arrest to await court-martial, notwithstanding the fact that the last American soldier captured near the same place was

taken across the river and beheaded and his head placed on a pike and paraded around to make a Mexican holiday.

The two captured Americans, so the press dispatches inform us, have since been returned to the American side of the river. But what right had armed Mexicans to capture them in the first place? They were without clothes, and most assuredly they carried no arms; and then, too, are we not at peace with Mexico? Has not Carranza been recognized by our Government, and did this not occur in territory controlled by Carranza—territory where Carranza soldiers have been in control for months?

The three American lieutenants who went to the rescue of their two captured companions will be court-martialed. The wrath of Carranza must be appeased and his de facto Government must be upheld at all hazard, for who can we deal with should Carranza's Government go to smash, in case we decide to purchase Lower California and a strip of Northern Mexico, as

is not altogether improbable?

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that Congress will petition the President to pardon these so-called violators of neutrality rights and that instead of a court-martial they be presented with a medal befitting those who risk their lives in defense of their country's honor.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I beg to call attention to a recent speech delivered by the President in New York. In that speech the President made the statement that he had obtained his information regarding Mexico "from liars." I wish to commend the President for his openness in thus taking the American people into his confidence. The President sent several personal representatives to Mexico, and when one of them, a Texan, returned and told him the truth that representative at once fell into disfavor with the administration, and his report was pigeonholed and has never been given to the public,

Constitutionality of the Keating-Owen Child-Labor Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD KEATING. OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 26, 1916.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave to print I desire to submit a brief in support of the constitutionality of the Keating-Owen child-labor bill.

This brief has been prepared by Prof. Thomas I. Parkinson, of Columbia University, New York City, and to my mind clearly sustains the constitutionality of the proposed legislation. Prof. Parkinson's brief is as follows:

INTRODUCTION.

The Palmer-Owen bill, prohibiting shipment in interstate commerce of the products of child labor, passed the House of Representatives in the last Congress, and a similar bill (now known as the Keating-Owen bill) has been reported favorably by the House Committee on Labor. This brief undertakes to consider the various aspects of the constitutional power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce for the accomplishment of the purposes of these bills.

The conclusions of the brief may be summarized as follows:

I. The power of Congress over interstate commerce is complete and exclusive.

exclusive.

II. The power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, as stated in the commerce clause of the Federal Constitution, includes power to prohibit absolutely the shipment or transportation in interstate commerce of specified persons or property.

III. The power of Congress over interstate commerce may be exercised in the interest of the public health, morals, safety, and welfare, as well as in the interest of that commerce and its instrumentallities.

IV. Whatever its incidental effects, a congressional regulation of interstate commerce is never a violation of the reserved rights of the States.

interstate commerce is never a violation of the States.

V. The power of Congress to prohibit shipment or transportation in interstate commerce is limited only by the requirement of the fifth amendment that such prohibition shall not constitute a deprivation of individual rights without due process of law, i. e., that such prohibition shall not be an arbitrary or unreasonable interference with the individual's rights of property or liberty of contract.

VI. The prohibition of shipment in interstate commerce of the products of child labor is a reasonable exercise of the congressional commerce power in the interest of the public welfare.

merce power in the interest of the public wellare,

L.—THE POWER OF CONGRESS OVER INTERSTATE COMMERCE IS COMPLETE
AND EXCLUSIVE.

Congress has supreme and plenary power over interstate commerce,
Article I, section 8, clause 3, of the Federal Constitution, provides:
"That Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign
nations, among the several States, and with the Indian tribes."
Under the Articles of Confederation each State had complete control
over its own commerce. The exercise of this control resulted in embarrassing and destructive consequences and led to an oppressed and

degraded state of commerce. Brown v. Maryland (12 Wheat., 419, 445; 1827). The prevailing motive for the adoption of the present Constitution was to "rescue it " " from the perpetual jarring and hostility of commercial regulation. " " The entire purpose for which the delegates assembled at Annapolis, was to devise means for the uniform regulation of trade. They found no means but in a General Government; and they recommended a convention to accomplish that purpose. " " We do not find, in the history of the formation and adoption of the Constitution, that any man speaks of a general concurrent power in the regulation of foreign and domestic trade as residing in the States. The very object intended, more than any other, was to take away such power. If it had not so provided, the Constitution would not have been worth accepting. Chief Justice Marshall in Gibbons v. Ogden (9 Wheat., 1, 11, 12; 1824).

It is no longer necessary to cite cases to support the declaration that the commerce clause has vested in Congress a broad, complete, and exclusive power over interstate and foreign commerce; but the following from one of Chief Justice Marshall's opinions is worth repeating here:

"It may be doubted whether any of the evils proceeding from the feebleness of the Federal Government contributed more to that great revolution which introduced the present system than the deep and general conviction that commerce ought to be regulated by Congress. It is not therefore a matter of surprise that the grant should be as extensive as the mischief, and should comprehend all foreign commerce and all commerce among the States. To construe the power so as to impair its efficacy would tend to defeat an object, in the attainment of which the American public took, and justly took, that strong interest which arose from a full conviction of its necessity." Brown v. Maryland (12 Wheat., 419, 445; 1827).

Whatever may have been the primary reason for the insertion of this clause in the Constitution it is now definitely settled that it has ve

state commerce.
In the early case of Gibbons v. Ogden (supra, 196), Chief Justice Marshall discusses the congressional power over interstate commerce

In the early case of Gibbons v. Ogden (supra, 196), Chief Justice Marshall discusses the congressional power over interstate commerce as follows:

"What is this power? It is the power to regulate; that is, to prescribe the rule by which commerce is to be governed. This power, like all others vested in Congress, is complete in itself, may be exercised to its utmost extent, and acknowledges no limitations other than are prescribed in the Constitution. * * * If, as has always been understood, the sovereignty of Congress, though limited to specific objects, is plenary as to these objects, the power over commerce with foreign nations and among the several States is vested in Congress as absolutely as it would be in a single government having in its constitution the same restrictions on the exercise of the power as are found in the Constitution of the United States. The wisdom and the discretion of Congress, their identity with the people and the influence which their constitutions possess at elections are in this as in many other instances, as that, for example, of declaring war, the sole restraints on which they have relied to secure them-from abuse." Quoted with approval in the Lottery case (188 U. S., 321, 353; 1902).

This view of the commerce power was affirmed by the Supreme Court in the late case of Hoke r. United States (227 U. S., 308, 320; 1913), where it is said: "The power is direct; there is no word of limitation in it, and its broad and universal scope has been so often declared as to make repetition unnecessary."

In the exercise of the power thus broadly granted and interpreted Congress has a wide discretion. A regulation of interstate commerce is not subject to attack in the courts on the ground that it is not the most advisable which Congress might have adopted under the circumstances. Thus in the Lottery case (188 U. S., 321, 353; 1903) the court said: "They (prior decisions) also show * o * that in determining the character of the regulations to be adopted Congress has a large discretion which is

within its appointed sphere." (Minn. Rate cases, 230 U. S., 352, 398; 1913.)

These cases establish in our constitutional law the principle that the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce is a broad and complete power acknowledging no limitations except those contained in the Federal Constitution. "This power," says Chief Justice Marshall, "is complete in itself, may be exercised to its utmost extent, and acknowledges no limitations other than are prescribed in the Constitution." In a very late case Mr. Justice McKenna said: "The power is direct; there is no word of limitations in it, and its broad and universal scope has been so often declared as to make repetition unnecessary." In a similar case Mr. Justice Harlan said that "in determining the character of the regulations to be adopted Congress has a large discretion which is not to be controlled by the courts"; and in a very recent case Mr. Justice Hughes said: "The full control by Congress of the subjects committed to its regulation is not to be denied or thwarted by the commitgling of interstate and intrastate operations." These declarations by the Supreme Court ought to be kept prominently in mind in approaching the consideration of the constitutionality of the proposed Federal child-labor legislation, and particularly they ought to be kept constantly before us when considering the validity of objections to its constitutionality based upon such general assertions as that the framers of the Constitution did not intend such extensive use of the Federal power; that there are other means by which the desired result can be more effectively or expeditiously accomplished; that the commingling of interstate and intrastate business makes such legislation, in effect, a

regulation of manufacture for the intrastate trade; that the proposed legislation would be an interference with the reserved powers of the States, and similar contentions.

THE POWER OF CONGRESS TO REGULATE INTERSTATE COMMERCE, AS STATED IN THE COMMERCE CLAUSE OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION, INCLUDES POWER TO PROHIBIT ABSOLUTELY THE SHIPMENT OR TRANSPORTATION IN INTERSTATE COMMERCE OF SPECIFIED PERSONS OR

INCLUDES POWER TO PROHIBIT ABSOLUTELY THE SHIPMENT OR TRANSPORTATION IN INTERSTATE COMMERCE OF SPECIFIED PERSONS OR PROPERTY.

The States, by adopting the Federal Constitution, delegated to Congress the power "to regulate commerce " among the several States," We are for the moment concerned only with the interpretation of the word "regulate" and the determination of the question whether it should be interpreted to include power to prohibit. The answer must be found in the provisions of the Constitution itself as interpreted by the practice of Congress and the decisions of the Supreme Court. That the power under the commerce clause to regulate includes the power to prohibit is shown both by the application of general principles of interpretation and by authoritative precedent.

(A) General principles of interpretation justify the conclusion that the power to regulate interstate commerce includes power to prohibit it. First. The power of Congress over interstate commerce is the same as that enjoyed by the individual States prior to the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

Under the Articles of Confederation each State had complete control over its commerce with the other States, and could prevent the importation of the products of another State. The exercise of the power to regulate commerce most familiar to the framers of the Federal Constitution was the total or partial prohibition of traffic in particular articles. Several of the States had adopted such prohibitions. The only clause in the Constitution which took from the individual States any of their power over commerce is that which placed the power to regulate interstate commerce in the Federal Congress. The Supreme Court has decided that the power of Congress under this clause is exclusive; no residuan of power over interstate commerce has been left to the States. If the individual States prior to the adoption of the Federal Constitution possessed power to prohibit imports from other States, and if the entire power over interstate commerce was transfere

selected as the word to transfer to Congress the full power previously possessed by independent States, and that, of course, included power to prohibit.

Second. That the power to regulate was intended to include the power to prohibit is indicated by other provisions of the Constitution.

Article I, section 9 of the Federal Constitution provides: "The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808." A prohibition by Congress of the migration or importation of such persons could be based only on the power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce, and if the framers did not intend the power to regulate to include the power to prohibit, this express restriction on the power to prohibit migration or importation of certain persons was entirely unnecessary and superfluous. It must be assumed that the framers of the Constitution believed that there was necessity for this provision, and that they so believed indicates that they intended that the power granted to Congress to regulate commerce in an earlier section of the Constitution should include the power to prohibit the migration or importation of these persons. This clause can not be waived aside as relating only to importation from foreign countries into this country. It is perfectly definite, and relates as well to "the migration * * to such persons as any of the States * * shall think proper to admit."

Referring to this section, Chief Justice Marshall, in Gibbons v. Ogden (9 Wheat., 1, 216; 1824), said:

"This section has always been considered as an exception from a power proves its existence, this section proves that the power to regulate commerce and * * so far as an exception from a power proves its existence, this section proves that the power to regulate commerce and the regulation of vessels employed in transporting men, who pass from place to place voluntarily, and to those who pass involuntarily."

Third. The power of Congress over

Congress over interstate commerce is as absolute as it is over foreign commerce."

Similar statements by the court to the effect that the power granted to Congress over interstate commerce is as extensive as the power over foreign commerce, may be found in Gibbons v. Ogden (9 Wheat, 1, 194, 228; 1824); License cases (5 How., 504, 578; 1847); Brown v. Houston (114 U. S., 622, 630; 1885); Pittsburgh & Southern Coal Co. v. Bates (156 U. S., 577, 587; 1895); Lottery cases (188 U. S., 321, 351; 1903).

The regulation of foreign commerce by Congress has frequently assumed the form of prohibition. The nonimportation and embargo acts, which were upheld by the Supreme Court, are striking illustrations of the exercise of this power. In the case of Gibbons v. Ogden (9 Wheat., 1, 216; 1824), Chief Justice Marshall, referring to the argument that embargoes are an instrument of war depending for their validity on the war-making power, said:

"They are sometimes resorted to without a view of war and with a single view to commerce. When Congress imposed that embargo which for a time engaged the attention of every man in the United States, the avowed object of the law was the protection of commerce and the avoiding of war."

Again, in United States v. Marigold (9 How., 560, 566; 1850), the court said:

a single view to commerce. When Congress imposed that amburgo which for a time engaged the attention of every man in the United States. to avowed object of the law was the protection of commerce and the avoiding of war.

States United States. v. Marigold (9 How., 560, 566; 1850), the court aid:

"Since the passage of the embargo and nonintercourse laws, and the repeated judicial sanctions those statutes have received, it can scarcely, at this day, be open to doubt, that every subject failing within the legitimate sphere of commerce regulation may be partially or wholly excluded, when either measure shall be demanded by the safety of by the important interests of the entire Nation."

In United States v. Williams (28 Fed., 614; 1808), the then recent embargo act was sustained as a valid regulation of foreign commerce. In the more recent case of Buttfield v. Stramsham (124 U. S., 470; 1904), an act of Congress prohibiting the importation of inferior grades of ten was held condour. Stramsham (214 U. S., 320; 1909), as act excluding allens was sustained, and in the Abby Dodge (223 U. S., 166; 1912) a conservation measure excluding deep-sea sponges taken by divers was upheld.

No more effective argument in favor of the power can be advanced than a statement of the frequent use of the power particularly in recent tariff acts. Among the recent prohibitions may be mentioned that against foreign convict-made articles; that against importation into the United States of fur-seaf skins taken in violation of law; and that against foreign convict-made articles; that against importation into the United States of fur-seaf skins taken in violation of law; and that against the importation of the eggs of game birds.

This power of Congress to prohibit importation as well established that the reference to the conference of the power. Thus, in Weber v. Prispose of the conference of the power of the conference of the power of the p

reserved-powers clause, the latter raises the issue octween the individual under the commerce clause and the fifth amendment.

(B) Precedent justifies the conclusion that the power to regulate includes the power to prohibit interstate commerce.

The foregoing theories of interpretation of the commerce clause and the precedents derived from its exercise over foreign commerce standing alone compel the conclusion that the power to regulate includes the power to prohibit in interstate as well as foreign commerce; but fortunately we have additional and more specific authority to the same effer the number of decisions of the Supreme Court in which prohibitions of transportation or shipment in interstate commerce of specified persons or things have been sustained. It is sufficient to list the prohibition of transportation of lottery tickets or advertising matter relating to lotteries.

(a) Prohibition of transportation of lottery tickets or advertising matter relating to lotteries.

The act of Congress of 1895 (28 Stat. L., 963, ch. 191), forbade, ander penalty of criminal punishment, the bringing into the United States for the purpose of disposing thereof, or the carrying from one State to another, of any lottery ticket or advertisement relating to 1 terles. The Supreme Court held that lottery tickets and advertising matter were subjects of commerce, that the regulation of their carriage from State to State was a regulation of interstate commerce, and that Congress had the power to prohibit their carriage in such commerce. (Lottery cases, 188 U. S., 321, 1903.)

(b) Obscene literature and articles designed for immoral and indecent use.

The acts of February 8, 1897 (29 Stat. L., 512, ch. 172), and March 4, 1909 (37 Stat. L., sec. 249), prohibiting the carrying of such litera-

cent use.

The acts of February 8, 1897 (29 Stat. L., 512, ch. 172), and March 4, 1909 (37 Stat. L., sec. 249), prohibiting the carrying of such literature and articles from one State to another, was held constitutional in U. S. v. Popper (98 Fed. Rep., 423, 1899). This act was cited with approval in Hoke v. U. S. (227 U. S. 308, 1913).

(c) Adulterated or misbranded food and drugs.

The act of June 36, 1906 (34 Stat. L., 768, ch. 3945), prohibits the shipment or delivery for shipment in interstate commerce of any adulterated or misbranded food or drug under penalty of criminal punishment. This act has been interpreted and its penalties enforced by the Supreme Court in the case of Hipolite Egg Co. v. United States (220 U. S., 45; 1911), and in United States v. Lexington Mill & Elevator Co. (232 U. S., 399; 1914). These cases are authority for the right

of Congress to condemn, when found in interstate commerce, the articles whose shipment is prohibited, and they are generally accepted as authority for the constitutionality of the prohibition. In Seven Cases v. United States, Nos. 59 and 51, January 10, 1916, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of an amendment to this act which provided that misbranding includes any statement regarding the curative or therapeutic value of the article or ingredients which is false and frandulent fraudulent

or therapeutic value of the article or ingredients which is faise and fraudulent

(d) Transportation of women from one State to another for immoral purposes.

of Congress of June 25, 1910 (36 Stat. L., 825, ch. 395), prohibited the transportation in interstate commerce, for immoral purposes, of women and prins. This act was held constitutional in Hoke r. United States (277 U. S., 308; 1913)

(e) Transportation in interstate commerce of a commedity in which the carrier thereof has a legal interest.

The act of Congress of June 29, 1906 (34 Stat. L., 584, ch. 3591), commonly known as the Hepburn Act, prohibited the carriage in interstate commerce of commerce of commodities in which, at the time of such transportation, the carrier had a legal interest, direct or indirect. This prohibition was held constitutional in United States r. Delaware & Hudson Railroad Co. (213 U. S., 366; 1909).

(f) Indirect prohibition of the transportation of intoxicating liquors in interstate commerce.

In 1890 Congress passed the Wilson Act (26 Stat. L., 313, ch. 728), which provided that upon arrival within a State intoxicating liquors should become subject to the police regulations of the State, and should accompt therefrom under the rules protecting original packages that, despite the exclusive power of Congress over such eriginal packages in their transit to their point of destination, they should become subject to the State police regulations as soon as they reached the consignee. In In re Rahrer (140 U. S., 545; 1891), this act was held constitutional and a State law prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquor in the original package was heid to apply to a sale in the original package of liquor brought from another State. The power of Congress thus to subject a legitimate article of commerce to laws which practically prohibited its transportation into a State implies a power on the part of Congress directly to prohibit such transportation. And Congress has prohibited by the Webb-Kenyon Act of 1913 (37 Stat. L., 699, ch. 99) the s

The nursery stock act of 1912 prohibiting such shipment or transportation imposes a penalty for violation which is enforced against the shipper even in the absence of knowledge on his part of his viola-

tion.

(j) Prohibition of the shipment or transportation of game in interstate commerce.

The "Lacey" Act (sec. 242 of the Criminal Code of the United States) prohibits the shipment or transportation in interstate commerce of (1) "foreign animals or birds, the importation of which is prohibited," and (2) "dead bodies or parts thereof" of "wild animals or birds." killed or shipped in violation of the laws of the State where killed or from which shipped. Violation is punished in the case of the shipper irrespective of his knowledge.

(k) Prohibition of the shipment or transportation in interstate commerce of renovated butter.

The act of 1902 prohibits shipment or transportation in interstate commerce of renovated butter unless marked in the way specified in the act. Violations are punished irrespective of knowledge.

(j) Prohibition of shipment in interstate commerce of specified virus, serum, etc.

(1) Prohibition of shipment in interstate commerce of specified virus, serum, etc.

The act of 1913 prohibits shipment of "worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful virus, serum, etc.," for domestic animals, or the shipping of any virus, serum, etc., unless prepared under regulations of the Secretary of Agriculture at an establishment holding a license from the Secretary of Agriculture.

(m) Prohibition of importation and interstate transportation of prize-fight picture films.

The act of July 31, 1912 (37 Stat. L., 240), makes it unlawful to bring into the United States or to ship or transport in interstate commerce picture films representing prize fights designed to be used or capable of use for public exhibition. This act was held constitutional in its application to importations in the case of Weber v. Freed, No. 644, October term, 1915; opinion, December 13, 1915.

In view of these decisions it is unquestionable that, so far as the comemner clause is concerned, a regulation of interstate commerce may take the form of an absolute prohibition of shipment or transportation in such commerce. As the Supreme Court has said:

"It can scarcely at this day be open to doubt that every subject falling within the legitimate sphere of commerce regulation may be partially or wholly excluded, when either measure shall be demanded

by the safety or by the important interests of the entire Nation." (U. S. v. Marigold, supra.)

III.—THE POWER OF CONGRESS OVER INTERSTATE COMMERCE MAY BE EXERCISED IN THE INTERST OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH, MORALS, SAFETY, AND WELFARE AS WELL AS IN THE INTEREST OF THAT COMMERCE AND ITS INSTRUMENTALITIES.

Its instrumentalities.

It is frequently stated in the opinions of the Supreme Court that Congress possesses a police power under the commerce clause. This means, in effect, that Congress may exercise its express powers—of which the commerce power is one—for the purpose of protecting and furthering the general welfare of the people. The use of its powers for such general purposes is analogous to the use by the States of their so-called police power. This power in the States is simply the inherent power of government to legislate for the common good, notwithstanding guaranties of individual rights and liberties contained in our constitutions. In the case of Congress which possesses no inherent power, but is limited to powers expressly granted by the Federal Constitution, this so-called police power is merely a right to make use of its express powers to provide for the public welfare. In both cases the purpose of exercising the power is the same, and it is therefore convenient, as it has become usual, to refer to the exercise of the commerce and other express powers in the interest of the general welfare as the police power of Congress. This phrase will not prove confusing if we remember that by it we mean simply that use of the commerce power which alms not at benefiting or advancing commerce itself or its instrumentalities, but at advancing the general welfare through regulation of commerce.

Thus it has been held that under the power to establish post offices

aims not at benefiting or advancing commerce itself or its instrumentalities, but at advancing the general welfare through regulation of commerce.

Thus it has been held that under the power to establish post offices and post roads Congress may prohibit the transportation through the mails of all letters or circulars concerning lotteries. (Ex parte Jackson, 1877. 96 U. S., 727; In re Rapier, 1892, 143 U. S., 110.)

Similarly the use of the mails may be denied to any person or company engaged in conducting any lottery or device for obtaining money or property by means of faise pretenses. (Public Clearing House v. Covne, 1904, 194 U. S., 497.)

From the earliest days of our Nation it has been regarded as within the power of Congress in regulating foreign commerce to enact laws, not for the exclusive benefit or advancement of that commerce, but for the protection of the interests of the country. The embargo and non-intercourse laws are examples of such legislation. Thus in United States v. Marigold, 1850 (9 Howard, 560), the court said:

"Since the passage of the embargo and nonintercourse laws, and the repeated Judicial sanctions those statutes have received, it can scarcely, at this day, be open to doubt that every subject falling within the legitimate sphere of commercial regulation may be partially or wholly excluded, when either measure shall be demanded by the safety or by the important interests of the Nation."

In United States v. Williams, 1808 (28 Fed. Cases, 614, 621), Judge Davis, in sustaining the constitutionality of the then recent embargo act, said directly:

"Further, the power to regulate commerce is not to be confined to the adoption of measures exclusively beneficial to commerce itself or tending to its advancement; but in our national system, as in all modern sovereignties, it is also to be considered as an instrument for other purposes of general policy and interest."

In an essay on the Commercial Power of Congress, Mr. David Walter Brown, of the New York bar, thus summarizes the early exerc

sovereignties, it is also to be considered as an instrument for other purposes of general policy and interest."

In an essay on the Commercial Power of Congress, Mr. David Walter Brown, of the New York bar, thus summarizes the early exercise of the Commerce power:

"The policy of restriction included measures of two kinds: (1) The prohibition of the importation of foreign commodities and of the entry of foreign vessels into our ports; and (2) embargoes upon commerce. They illustrate, upon a grand scale and in a drastic manner, the application of the commercial power of Congress to the attainment of great national ends through restrictions placed upon various branches of trade, and extending even to total prohibition; and in so far as the precedents furnished by them are authoritative they indicate the unsoundness of the view that the power of Congress to regulate commerce is restricted to the passing of measures to advance it, but stops short of the power to prohibit it."

That this conclusion is correct is shown by the following quotation from the case of Buttfield v. Stranshand (1994) (192 U. S., 470), where the Supreme Court, in holding constitutional an act of Congress which prohibited the importation of inferior teas, said (p. 492).

"Congress has also, in other than tariff legislation, exerted a police power over foreign commerce by provisions which in and of themselves amounted to the assertion of the right to exclude merchandise at discretion. This is illustrated by statutory provisions which have been in force for more than 50 years regulating the degree of strength of drugs, medicines, and chemicals entitled to admission into the United States and excluding such as did not equal the standards adopted."

If the power of Congress over foreign commerce may be used as "an instrument for purposes of general policy." and if the power over interstate commerce, it would be fair to conclude from these cases alone that the power over interstate commerce, the uniterstate commerce within the own limits, may prope

the suppression of lotteries, carried on through such commerce, is to make it a criminal offense to cause lottery tickets to be carried from one State to another, we know of no authority in the courts to hold that the means thus devised are not appropriate and necessary to protect the country at large against a species of interstate commerces in the centre people of the Nation (28).

This case definitely decides that Congress may exercise its power over interstate commerce for the protection of the morals and general welfare of the people. Lottery tickets as specific articles of commerce were harmless in themselves, and the legislation in question was its advancement. The purpose, as appears from the foregoing quotation, was the suppression of lotteries. Congress had no power to prohibit directly the raising of money by lotteries, but under the power to regulate commerce it could deny to such business the privilege of using the activation of interstate commerce and the prohibited the shipment of me 30, 1908, 34 Stat. L., 768). Congress prohibited the shipment of me 30, 1908, 34 Stat. L., 768). Congress prohibited the shipment of me 30, 1908, 34 Stat. L., 768). Congress prohibited the shipment in interstate commerce of adulterated or misbranded foods and drugs. The constitutionality of such legislation as a regulation of commerce has been affirmed expressly by the lower courts and implicitly by the Supreme Court.

States v. Johnson, 1911, 221 U. S., 488; United States v. Lexington Mill Co., 1914, 232 U. S., 399; Seven Cases v. United States, Nos. 50 and 51, Jan 10, 1916; United States v. Helnie Spec. Co., 1910, 175 Fed., 299; Shawnes Milling Co. v. Temple, 1910, 179 Fed., 517; United States v. Seventy and the state of the court in declaring a State statute to be in conflict with the Federal pure food and drugs act, said (p. 128);

That Congress has ample power by the conflict with the Federal pure food and drugs act, said (p. 128);

That Congress has ample power of the food of the states and with foreign and the

The cases cited, it is submitted, definitely and necessarily establish the principle that Congress can regulate interstate commerce in the interest of public health, safety, morals, or welfare; in other words, Congress may regulate interstate commerce in such manner as to prevent its being used to maintain or to further conditions which are detrimental to the general welfare of the community. Mr. Justice Hughes, in the recent case of Seven Cases v. United States (Nos. 50 and 51) October term, 1915, Opinion January 10, 1916, referring to the decision in the white slave case, said:

"The court concluded with the reassertion of the simple principle that Congress is not to be denied the exercise of its constitutional authority over interstate commerce and its power to adopt not only means necessary but convenient to its exercise, because these means may have the quality of police regulations."

.—WHATEVER ITS INCIDENTAL EFFECTS, A CONGRESSIONAL REGULATION OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE IS NEVER A VIOLATION OF THE RESERVED RIGHTS OF THE STATES.

We have seen that Congress under the commerce clause possesses a broad, complete, and exclusive power to regulate interstate commerce; that this power to regulate includes power to prohibit the shipment or transportation of specified persons or property; and that in the exercise of its power to regulate interstate commerce Congress is not confined to measures which have for their purpose the good of interstate commerce and its instrumentalities, but may, in addition to such measures, regulate such commerce in the interest of promoting the public health, safety, morals, and welfare. From these established principles it is apparent that Federal legislation prohibiting the shipment in interstate commerce of the products of child labor is within the jurisdiction over commerce transferred by the States to the Federal Government and

vested in Congress by the Federal Constitution. There can be no doubt that such legislation regulates interstate commerce within the interpretation which the Supreme Court has uniformly given to the commerce clause. As a regulation of interstate commerce, it is unquestionably within the jurisdiction of the Federal control over commerce.

It is idle to say that it interferes with the reserved powers of the States. It is true the Federal Constitution, in Article X of the amendments, provides that "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." This provision becomes important, however, only after it has been determined that the power to do that which is proposed has not been delegated to Congress. The very essence of the argument in favor of the constitutionality of Federal child-labor legislation is that it is included within the power of Congress to regulate commerce. If it is within the congressional power, which by the Constitution was felegated to the exclusive configated out reserved to the States. In the consideration of objections of this sort it must be remembered that Congress is not making the employment of children illegal, but is merely excluding from interstate commerce the products of child labor. The fact that the congressional regulation may prevent or restrict the employment of children in the manufacture of goods within the State does not affect the constitutionality of the congressional action. So long as it is a regulation of commerce and so long as it does not constitute a deprivation of property without due process the power of Congress is supreme. Prof. Goodnow, now president of Johns Hoppins University, in his "Social Reform and the Constitution," p. 91, says: "Men's minds are peculiarly twisted when they argue under a Constitution purporting to be a regularly twisted when they argue under a Constitution purporting to be a regularly revised when they argue under a Constitution, and

of the extent to which the congressional power over interstate commerce may be expanded into fields which the Federal Government has not here-tofore occupied.

That Congress may reach conditions of manufacture and other acts which take place prior to transportation in interstate commerce is illustrated by the meat-inspection act (34 Stat. L., 675, 1260) and section 9 of the pure food and drugs act. The meat-inspection act provides that no meat may be shipped in interstate commerce unless labeled in accordance with the provisions of the act, and that inspectors may enter the establishments for the purpose of such inspection. The constitutionality of this act has never been questioned. Section 9 of the pure food and drugs act provides that no dealer who ships in interstate commerce adulterated or misbranded articles shall be prosecuted if he can establish a guaranty from the manufacturer from whom he purchased the article that the same is not adulterated or misbranded, and that in such case the party making the guaranty shall be amenable to prosecution. In United States v. Heinle Specialty Co. (175 Fed., 299; 1910) a manufacturer was prosecuted for selling adulterated food with a guaranty to a dealer in the same State, the dealer having subsequently shipped the food in interstate commerce. It was contended on behalf of the manufacturer that his connection with the food—that is, its manufacture and sale—was entirely an intrastate matter, and that the nint section of the pure-food act was therefore unconstitutional, in that it attempted to penalize acts wholly intrastate. The court refused to accept this argument, and in holding the section constitutional said:

"There is nothing in the act to indicate that there is an effort on the part of Congress to regulate the manufacturing, selling, or delivering of any article of food within the States. The act is intended to prevent adulterated and misbranded foods from being sold in interstate sales, but simply attempts to prevent the products of child labor from being sol

gress was acting within its power, electually disposed of this contention;
"The power of Congress under the commerce clause of the Constitution is the ultimate determining question. If the statute be a valid

exercise of that power, how it may affect persons or States is not material to be considered. It is the supreme law of the land and persons and States are subject to it." (Hoke v. United States, 1913, 227 U. S.,

create of that power, now it may affect persons or States is not material to be considered. It is the supreme law of the land and persons and States are subject to it." (Hoke v. United States, 1913, 227 U. S., 308, 320.)

Mr. Justice Hughes in replying to this same contention, urged against the Sherley amendment to the pure food and drugs act (Seven Cases v. United States, Nos. 50 and 51, Jan. 10, 1916), said:

"So far as it is objected that this measure, though relating to articles transported in interstate commerce, is an encroachment upon the reserved powers of the States, the objection is not to be distinguished in substance from that which was overruled in sustaining the white-slave act. There, after stating that 'if the facility of interstate transportation' can be denied in the case of lotteries, obscene literature, diseased cattle and persons, and impure food and drugs, the like facility could be taken away from 'the systematic enticement of and the enslavement in prostitution and debauchery of women,' the court concluded with the reassertion of the simple principle that Congress is not to be denied the exercise of its constitutional authority-over interstate commerce, and its power to adopt not only means necessary but convenient to its exercise, because these means may have the quality of police regulations."

These cases establish the right of Congress to exercise a complete power in the regulation of interstate commerce limited only by the due-process clause. Argument to the effect that this power is also limited by an inherent right of the States, is academic and untenable because wholly contrary to the precedents. The power is granted to Congress in plain and unmistakable terms, without limitation, and with the express purpose of ameliorating unsatisfactory and injurious results occasioned by State control. In its exercise of this delegated power Congress is absolutely unrestrained notwithstanding any indirect economic effects that its regulation may have upon the States. As long as it is regulati

authorized to exercise unlimited power. In the words of Mr. Justice Hughes (address before the New York State Bar Association, Jan. 14, 1916):

"Thus it is recognized that within its sphere as defined by the Constitution, the Nation is supreme. The question is simply of the extent of the Federal power as granted; where there is authorized exercise of that power, there is no reserved power to nullify it—a principle obviously essential to the maintenance of national integrity, yet continually calling for new applications. Thus, regulations required in the exercise of the judgment committed to Congress for the protection of interstate commerce can not be made nugatory by the mere commingling of interstate and intrastate transactions. To illustrate, Congress has taken account of the practical exigencies of traffic, and of the interestate account of the practical exigencies of traffic, and of the interestate rain movements, and has insisted that cars moving on railroads that are highways of interstate commerce shall be suitably equipped to the end that interstate traffic shall not be exposed to unnecessary danger. Again, Congress has asserted its authority to compel interstate carriers to give to interstate traffic reasonable rates without unjust discrimination; and the question whether interstate trade was left to be destreyed by hostile discrimination under the authority of local governments was decisively answered when the Constitution superseded the Articles of Confederation."

So far as the respective jurisdictions of State and Nation over commerce are concerned, can there be any doubt under the congressional practice and the judicial decisions which have been discussed in the preceding sections of this brief that the proposed prohibition of shipments of products of child labor in interstate commerce is within the Federal jurisdiction? However much we may think that such power ought not to be within the Federal jurisdiction, whatever may be our individual opinions as to the desirable balance of powers between t

-THE POWER OF CONGRESS TO PROHIBIT SHIPMENT OR TRANSPORTA-THE POWER OF CONGRESS TO PROBLET SHIPMENT OR TRANSPORTA-TION IN INTERSTATE COMMERCE IS LIMITED ONLY BY THE REQUIREMENT OF THE FIFTH AMENDMENT THAT SUCH PROHIBITION SHALL NOT CON-STITUTE A DEPRIVATION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS WITHOUT DUE PROCESS OF LAW; I. E., THAT SUCH PROHIBITION SHALL NOT BE AN ARRITRARY OR UNREASONABLE INTERFERENCE WITH THE INDIVIDUAL'S RIGHTS OF PROPERTY OR LIBERTY OF CONTRACT.

OR UNREASONABLE INTERFERENCE WITH THE INDIVIDUAL'S RIGHTS OF PROPERTY OR LIBERTY OF CONTRACT.

The preceding sections of this brief point out that aside from the provision of Article I, section 9, respecting congressional prohibition of the migration of slaves and the commerce clause itself, there is nothing in the Federal Constitution which in any way limits or affects the congressional power over interstate commerce, except the fifth article of the amendments, which provides: "No person shall be 'deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.'" This amendment, it has also been pointed out, does not affect the issue which arises between the Nation and the State in regard to their respective jurisdictions over commerce, but is simply a guaranty to the individual of protection against the arbitrary action of the Federal Government. The fifth amendment protects the individual against Federal action depriving him of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. In neither limits the Federal power in the interest of State power nor gives to the State any right to object to the extent or the manner in which the Federal Government exercises its powers. This amendment limits the Federal Government in the exercise of its express powers in precisely the same way that the fourteenth amendment limits the State government in the exercise of these inherent powers which are ordinarily described by the courts as the State's police power.

In the Lottery Case (188 U. S., 321, 362; 1903) it was argued that the principle which would justify the exclusion of lottery tickets from interstate commerce would lead necessarily to the conclusion that any article of whatever kind or nature could be excluded by Congress, regardless of the motive or purpose of such exclusion. Replying to this contention, Mr. Justice Harlan sald:

"It will be time enough to consider the constitutionality of such legislation when we must do so. The present case does not require the court to declare the full extent of the power that Congress may exercise in the regulation of commerce among the States. We may, however, repeat, in this connection, what the court has heretofore said, that the power of Congress to regulate commerce among the States, although plenary, can not be deemed arbitrary, since it is subject to such limitations or restrictions as are prescribed by the Constitution. This power, therefore, may not be exercised so as to infringe rights secured or protected by that instrument."

Obviously, Mr. Justice Harlan's reference is to the fifth amendment, for that is the only other clause of the Constitution which limits the congressional commerce power.

Whether the fifth amendment limits the power of Congress to prohibit the transportation of particular property in interstate commerce depends on the question whether such prohibition amounts to a deprivation of property without due process. This brings up the questions: To what sphere has the individual a right to ship goods in interstate commerce, and what amounts to deprivation without due process?

The exact meaning of this "due-process" clause, like similar clauses

interstate commerce, and what amounts to depression in the constitutions, has never been definitely settled. Comparatively few cases have arisen which involve the meaning of this clause in the fifth amendment. Numerous cases, however, have been decided involving the effect of the similar due-process clause in the fourteenth amendment. These cases indicate that the due-process limitation is intended to protect the individual from an arbitrary exercise of the powers of government, from legislation which interferes with private rights or interests to an extent that shocks existing conceptions of what is fundamentally fair and just under the circumstances to which it applies.

The following definitions have been pronounced by the Supreme Court:

tion which interferes with private rights or interests to an extent that shocks existing conceptions of what is fundamentally fair and just under the circumstances to which it applies.

The following definitions have been pronounced by the Supreme Court:

"Due process of law within the meaning of the fourteenth amendment is secured if the laws operate on all alike and do not subject the individual to an arbitrary exercise of the powers of government." Glozza v. Tierman (148 U. S., 657, 662; 1893).

To the same effect see Yick Wo v. Hopkins (118 U. S., 356, 367; 1886); Leeper v. Texas (139 U. S., 462, 468; 1891); Yesler v. Commissioners (146 U. S., 646, 655; 1892); Duncan v. Missouri (152 U. S., 377, 382; 1894).

The words "due process of law" "were intended to secure the individual from the arbitrary exercise of the powers of government unrestrained by the established principles of private rights and distributive justice." Bank v. Okely (4 Wheat., 235, 244; 1819); Twining v. N. J. (211 U. S., 78, 101; 1968).

"The great purpose of the requirement is to exclude everything that is arbitrary and capricious in legislation affecting the rights of the citizen." Dent v. W. Va. (129 U. S., 114, 124; 1889).

The due-process clause in the fifth amendment is identical with that in the fourteenth amendment. This pledge of individual rights and liberties is in the Constitution in a twofold sense; in the fifth amendment it is a limitation upon the powers of the National Government; in the fourteenth amendment it is a limitation upon the powers of the National Government; in the fourteenth amendment it is a limitation upon the powers of the National Government; in the fourteenth amendment it is a limitation upon the powers of the National Government; in the fourteenth amendment it is a limitation upon the powers of the National Government; in the fourteenth amendment it is a limitation upon the process of law." Slanghter House Causes (15 Wall., 26, 80; 1812); Tonnawnda v. Lion (181 U. S., 389, 391; 1991); Twining v. N. J. (su

the due-process clause of the fourteenth amendment.

In Chicago Railroad Company v. McGuire (219 U. S., 549, 567; 1911), it is said:

"Liberty implies the absence of arbitrary restraint, not immunity from reasonable regulations and prohibitions imposed in the interests of the community."

The scope of this power to regulate in the interests of the public good, commonly called the police power, has never been definitely determined. For many years the decisions of the Supreme Court seemed to restrict it to laws passed for the protection of the health, morals, or safety of the public. But later decisions have given it a broader scope, and at the present time it may properly be said to include all matters which are immediately necessary or advantageous to the welfare of the community.

In the case of McLean v. Arkansas (211 U. S., 539; 1909) the court held constitutional a State statute requiring coal to be weighed before screening as a basis for determining miners' wages. In the opinion in this case the principles which underlie the validity of legislation passed presumably in the exercise of the police power were stated as follows (p. 547):

"It is then the established doctrine of this court that the liberty of contract is not universal and is subject to restrictions passed by the legislative branch of the Government in the exercise of its powers to protect the safety, health, and welfare of the people.

"It is also true that the police power of the State is not unlimited and is subject to judicial review, and, when exerted in an arbitrary or oppressive manner, such laws may be annulled as violative of rights

protected by the Constitution. While the courts can set aside legislative enactments upon this ground, the principles upon which and the constitution of the principles upon which as the constitution of the principles upon which as the constitution of the principles upon which as the constitution of the principles of

the Supreme Court has said with reference to the exercise of the State's police power:

"The mere fact that a court may differ from the legislature in its views of public policy or that judges may hold views inconsistent with the propriety of the legislation in question affords no ground for judicial interference, unless the act in question is unmistakably and palpably in excess of legislative power."

The effect, therefore, of the fifth amendment on the congressional commerce power is simply to authorize the individual to assert his constitutional guaranty of due process, to restrain the enforcement of regulations of interstate commerce which are wholly arbitrary and unreasonable. It does not affect the validity of reasonable regulations substantially related to the betterment of evil conditions existing in the Nation. It is impossible to lay down in advance any fixed rules which will enable us in all future cases to separate the reasonable from the unreasonable regulation. Every regulation must stand or fall on its relation to the common welfare under all the circumstances existing at the time of its enactment. To him who asks for the application of this general argument to suppositious cases, as for example whether Congress could prohibit the passage of sound wheat from Minnesota to Wisconsin, we can only reply in the words of Mr. Justice Harlan in the Lottery case:

"It will be time enough to consider the constitutionality of such legislation when we must do so."

Its constitutionality will depend upon its reasonableness and its reasonableness will depend on the existence or nonexistence of conditions which justify this interference by Congress with the individual's right to find for his product a market in interstate commerce.

It remains to apply this general principle to the proposed prohibition of interstate commerce in the products of child labor. Does such a prohibition bear such substantial relation to the public health, the public safety, the public morals, or the public welfare as to make it a reasonable regulation of interstate commerce in the interest of the common good, or is it an unreasonable, arbitrary interference with the right to find and use an interstate market, without that justification which

arises from existing evil conditions toward the betterment of which it may reasonably be expected to contribute?

Name of the product of the third products of the product of th

are reasonable regulations of rights of property and of liberty of contract.

A State in the exercise of its police power may prohibit the employment of child labor in the manufacture of goods within the State, but it has not the power to complete its policy by prohibiting the importation from other States of the products of child labor. It is well established that a State is powerless to exclude the introduction and sale within its borders, in original packages, of recognized articles of interstate commerce (Brown v. Maryland, 1827, 12 Wheat, 419; Leisy v. Hardin, 1890, 135 U. S., 100). Such a regulation interferes with interstate commerce and consequently is unconstitutional. It is true that in the exercise of the police power in protecting citizens against fraud, a State has been permitted to make certain regulations which place no burden upon commerce among the States (Plumley v. Massachusetts, 1894, 155 U. S., 461 (prohibition of the sale of oleomargarine which is in imitation of yellow butter); Crossman v. Furman, 1904, 192 U. S., 129 (artifically colored coffee beans); Campagnie Francaise v. Louisiana Board of Health, 1902, 186 U. S., 380 (persons coming from districts infected with contagious or infectious diseases); but as child-labor products are not inherently dangerous to the citizens of the State, a direct prohibition by a State of the right to sell them within its borders would be an interference with interstate commerce and consequently void (People v. Hawkins, 1898, 157 N. Y., 1; People v. Haynes, 1910, 198 N. Y., 622; Opinion of the Justices, 1912, 211 Mass., 605). In each one of the these cases the State statute provided that goods manufactured by convict labor should be stamped so as to indicate the same. These laws applied alike to goods manufactured within and without the State. The courts in each case held

the statute unconstitutional as an unlawful interference with interstate commerce. In People v. Hawkins the court said (p. 17):

"A citizen of this State who happens to buy goods made in a prison in Ohio has the right to put them on the market here on their own merits, and if this right is restricted by the penal law, while the same goods made in factories are untouched, such a law is a restriction upon the freedom of commerce, and the objection to it is not removed by the fact that it may have been enacted in the guise of a police regulation. The validity of such a law is to be tested by its purpose and practical operation without regard to the name or classification that may have been given to it."

In the opinion of the justices the court declares (p. 606):

"The present bill, in our opinion, goes beyond a lawful exercise of the police power in its direct effects upon interstate commerce. Protection of domestic laborers, manufacturers or merchants against the lawful competition from other States by means of discriminating regulations upon goods manufactured in other States is an immediate interference with interstate commerce. One who purchases prison-made goods in other States has a right as complete and extensive to sell them upon their own merits as he has to sell private-made goods of like nature."

The same objections would be successfully urged against a statute prohibiting the sale within the State of child-labor products imported from another State. The prohibition of the sale of such products of child labor would not further the interests of the citizens of the State except as regards competition, and such legislation has been held, in a long line of decisions, to amount to an unlawful interference with interstate commerce:

Welden v. Missouri (1875; 91 U. S., 275): Walling v. Michigan (1886; 116 U. S., 446); Minnesota v. Barber (1897; 171 U. S., 30); Dozler v. Alabama (1910; 218 U. S., 78); Voight v. Wright (1891; 141 U. S., 62); Collins v. New Hampshire (1897; 171 U. S., 30); Dozler v. Alabama (19

for its self-protection."

It may be contended that a State might prohibit the sale of all products of child labor by a lawful exercise of the taxing power. While it is true that the original-package rule does not apply where there is a general tax laid upon property which has reached its destination (Brown v. Houston, 1885, 114 U. S., 622), or a tax upon the sale of articles within the State which were not brought from a foreign country (Woodruff v. Parham, 1869, 8 Wall., 123), nevertheless such a tax must be for a public purpose (Loan Association v. Topeka, 1875, 20 Wall., 655; Lowell v. Boston, 1873, 111 Mass., 454). Thus in the exercise of its taxing power the State is limited by the due-process clause in so far as the tax must be for the benefit of the community. A prohibitory tax on the products of child labor would not be valid, therefore, unless a direct prohibition of the sale of such products could be sustained, and it has been shown that such a prohibition as applied to goods imported from other States would constitute an interference with interstate commerce, because not being for a public purpose it is not within the police powers of the State (People v. Hawkins and cases cited above).

Even though it be conceded that the State, by the exercise of its

to goods imported from other States would constitute an interference with interstate commerce, because not being for a public purpose it is not within the police powers of the State (People v. Hawkins and cases cited above).

Even though it be conceded that the State, by the exercise of its police power, could prohibit the sale of child-labor products after such products are no longer part of interstate commerce, or could, under the power to levy a general property tax, place a prohibitory tax upon them, such measures would be absolutely unenforceable. The State has no method of determining what imports from other States are manufactured by child labor, because the goods themselves show no traces or marks of it. In order to effectively enforce such a law, it would be necessary for each State to place an inspector in every mine, quarry, and manufacturing establishment in the United States. This method is both impracticable and illegal. No State could afford to employ the necessary number of inspectors, and, even if this were done, the act authorizing the inspection in other States would be of doubtful constitutionality, as it is settled that State laws have no extra territorial effect, each State being supreme within its sphere. (Bruckner v. Finey, 1829, 2 Pet., 586; Bank of Augusta v. Earle, 1839, 13 Pet., 519; O. & M. Ry. v. Wheeler, 1862, 1 Black, 286.) Therefore it is obviously impossible for one State to prohibit the importation from other States of the products of child labor. Every means of effectively stamping out this national evil has been taken from the States, and the only possible method of effecting the complete prohibition fochild labor is by national control. In prohibiting the interstate shipment of such products Congress is exercising its power over interstate commerce to advance the public welfare by supplementing and making effective the police legislation of the States.

As has been pointed out in an earlier part of this brief, the Constitutional toweriton took from the interded to lodge tha

Admitting the force of all these precedents for police regulations affecting interstate commerce, the opponents of the pending bill will seek to distinguish them by pointing out that in every previous instance the prohibition of transportation has had for its purpose the protection of the consumer, has aimed to prevent the carrying through interstate commerce of the objectionable person or thing to the place or the person where its harmful effects are to be accomplished. Whereas in the case of the pending legislation the prohibition is aimed not at the protection of the consumer but at the protection of the producer; not the community which uses the products of the labor of children, but the community in which such children reside.

The fact that much of our previous legislation under the commerce clause has been confined to protection of commerce for the consumer is merely accidental. Even the pending legislation may have the ultimate effect of protecting the consumer. The amount of benefit or protection to the consumer is sufficient. The prohibition of transportation in interstate commerce of the products of child labor may well be expected to improve the quality of the goods sold in interstate commerce. It is reasonable to presume—at least the courts can not override a determination by Congress that it is reasonable to presume—that goods manufactured by persons of more mature age will be of higher quality and more substantial value than if manufactured by children under 14. If Congress believes that the prohibition of transportation of the products of child labor will tend to improve the quality of articles sold in interstate commerce, as well as to protect the health, morals, and welfare of the public, surely this is not such a culpable abuse of the congressional discretion as to warrant the court's setting aside of the congressional discretion as to warrant the court's setting aside of the congressional decreases.

state commerce, as well as to protect the health, morals, and welfare of the public, surely this is not such a culpable abuse of the congressional discretion as to warrant the court's setting aside of the congressional action.

A bill introduced in the present Congress by Congressman Alexander.

A bill introduced in the present Congress by Congressman Alexander, chairman of the House Committee on Interstate Commerce, illustrates the relation of this kind of regulation of commerce to the protection of the consumer. Congressman Alexander's bill prohibits ship ment in interstate commerce for purposes of slaughter of bull calvet less than 2 years old or of heifers less than 7 years old. Obviously this is not a health measure. These ages have no relation to the value of the meat as food. The only relation of this legislation to the protection of the consumer is that it protects the ultimate supply. It protects the ultimate supply of men and women.

The distinction between protection to consumer and producer is founded upon the narrow view of the police power which would make it depend upon, not the benefit to the general public, but the benefit of individuals resulting from such legislation. This is an erroneous view of the power. Prohibition of transportation of lottery tickets was upheld by the Supreme Court, not on the ground of the benefit done to the individual who might be affected to his detriment by the purchase of lottery tickets, but on the ground that the public welfare is benefited to the extent that those individuals are protected against the temptation to lottery gambling. In the same manner legislation limiting hours of abor has been sustained under the police power, not because of the benefit derived by the general public from a decrease in the burdensome toil of a large body of its citizens. The important point is that no such legislation would be supported under the police power because a hundred or a hundred thousand individuals were to be protected from some harmful consequence if that harmful co

sigher ideals the realization of which is sought by the community in its law.

What essential difference is there between legislation protecting a few individuals from the harm which may follow their transportation from one State to another when that harm will be detrimental to the public morals and legislation which will prevent the employment of children of tender years when such employment will be detrimental to the public health and welfare? What is there in the fact that in one case the public welfare is affected by practices which follow transportation and in the other case is affected by conditions which precede transportation which would justify holding the one prohibition a reasonable exercise of the police power in the public interest and the other an arbitrary exercise of the commerce power?

The argument for the distinction between the consumer and the producer as a test of the constitutionality of congressional police legislation under the commerce clause is not founded on any decision or any language of the Supreme Court. Although the lottery, the pure food, and the white slave acts may, as a matter of fact, operate to prevent evil conditions after interstate transportation, the cases holding them constitutional were not decided on any principle or theory, either expressly or impliedly so limited. On the contrary, these cases estabilish a principle which is equally applicable to conditions arising before or after transportation, namely, that Congress for the purpose of protecting the public health, morals, and welfare, may regulate interstate commerce to the extent of prohibiting transportation of specified persons or things. In short, that regulations of interstate commerce as was said in Hoke v. United States (227 U. S., 308, 323), "may have the quality of police legislation." In that case it is also said: "It may be that Congress could not prohibit the manufacture of the article in a State, it may be that Congress could not prohibit the manufacture of the article in a State, it may be that Cong

Congress by prohibiting interstate transportation of the product of that labor. In other words, the use in manufacturing of methods which are injurious to the health, morals, and welfare of the people justifies Congress in prohibiting interstate transportation of the article manufactured in an effort to prevent such evil methods or conditions. It means that evil conditions will not be permitted to thrive by the unrestricted use of the channels of interstate commerce.

Congress, it must be remembered, has no direct regulative control over either the mode of consumption or method of production. The prohibition of transportation of lottery tickets, adulterated or misbranded food and drugs, and of women, was based not on a desire to protect or advance interstate commerce itself, nor was it intended to protect particular individuals from particular harm, but as expressly stated by the Supreme Court it was an exercise of the commerce power for the protection and advancement of the health, morals, and welfare of the country. If it be true, as declared in the Hoke case, that the power over commerce conferred on the Nation may be exercised "to promote the general welfare, material and moral," what possible justification can there be for placing the consumer in a peculiar class and granting him the privilege of police protection from the National Government, while denying that protection to the unfertunate producer? It is submitted that from the cases when the regulation of commerce is not for the protection or advancement of that commerce itself (as in the case of transportation of explosive or combustible materials) the only test of constitutionality of the prohibition is this; Is the regulation reasonably designed for the protection of the health, morals, safety, or general welfare of the protection of the health, morals, safety, or general welfare of the protection of the health, morals, safety, or general welfare of the protection of the health, morals, safety, or general welfare of the protection of the constitutio

University, one of the leading authorities on the constitutional law of this country, thus expresses his opinion of the soundness of the suggested distinction:

"This distinction between conditions of production and purposes or methods of use of commodities, though a real one, will probably not be held controlling. In melther case has Congress a direct regulative power—over neither the conditions of production nor the mode or use of consumption. If, therefore, in either case the prohibition can be construed to be, in fact, a regulation of interstate or of foreign commerce, neither the ultimate effect nor the legislative intent embodied in the law may be inquired into by the courts. In result, then, it is to be admitted that the lottery case is authority for the doctrine that interstate carriers may be prohibited from carrying, or shippers or manufacturers from sending, from State to State and to foreign countries commodities produced under conditions so objectionable as to be subject to control as to their manufacture by the States under an exercise of their police power or of a character designed or appropriate for use which might similarly be forbidden by law."

If Congress passes the Keating-Owen bill, its very enactment will constitute a congressional declaration that child labor is a national nuisance; that its evil effects on the public health and welfare can not be effectively prevented by individual State action so long as one State refuses to enact the necessary legislation; and that congressional regulation under the power to regulate interstate commerce is Memanded in the interest of the public morals, health, and welfure. What can the Supreme Court say to such a declaration? Would that court undertake to refute it? And without refutation would it not entirely justify a regulation of commerce to prevent the evils?

Summarizing the previous decisions Mr. Justice McKenna, in the Hoke case, said:

"Surely if the facility of interstate transportation can be taken away from the demoralization of lotteries

finerature, the contagion of diseased cartie of persons, the impurity of food or drugs, like facility can be taken away from the systematic enticement to and the enslaving in prostitution and debauchery of women."

And to this we may add that if for these purposes the facility of interstate commerce can be taken away, then it can likewise be taken away from the exploitation of children of tender years, to the detriment of our future citizenship.

It may be objected that the case of Adair v. United States (208 U. S., 161: 1907) is authority against the constitutionality of the proposed legislation. In the Adair case the Supreme Court held unconstitutional an act of Congress prohibiting certain corporations engaged in interstate commerce from discriminating against members of trade unions in the employment or discharge of men. The basis of this decision was that the act constituted a deprivation of the liberty of contract without due process of law. The court discussed in great detail the limitations upon congressional control over interstate commerce imposed by the fifth amendment, and concluded that the regulation in this act violated the due-process clause. That this conclusion is justified and proper is declared by the same court in Coppage v. Kansas (236 U. S., 1;1914), where a similar statute of the State of Kansas was held to be a deprivation of the liberty to contract without due process of law. In this case the court said (p. 21), "The decision in the Adair case is in accord with the almost unbroken current of authorities in the State courts. * * It is not too much to say that such laws have by common consent been treated as unconstitutional." For decisions of State courts holding similar statutes not within the scope of State police power see note, volume 52. Lawyers United States Supreme Court Report, page 436.

Mr. Justice Harlam, in the course of the opinion in the Adair case, said that such a regulation of interstate commerce, as there was no "possible legal or logical connection * * between an empl

1911); Goldfield Consolidated Mines Co. v. Goldfield M. U. No. 220 (159 Fed., 500; 1907); Hitchman Coal & Coke Co. v. Mitchel (172 Fed., 963; 1909); Zikos v. Ore Raliroad & Navigation Co. (179 Fed., 893; 1910); Irving v. Joint District Council U. B. of Carpenters (180 Fed., 896; 1910).

But even if this statement of Mr. Justice Harlan in the Adair case be given authoritative effect as a precedent, it must be remembered that in this portion of his opinion the learned judge was dealing not with the limiting effect of the fifth amendment on the power of the courts to interfere with personal or property rights, but with the question, What is interstate commerce? In other words, What are the limits of the Federal jurisdiction as distinguished from the State jurisdiction over commerce? That portion of the opinion in which the statement just quoted is contained, is introduced by the following language: "Let us inquire, What is commerce, the power to regulate which is given to Congress?" The general language made use of by the learned justice in answering this question is of importance if at all not in a case involving the restrictive effect on the exercise by Congress of a power over interstate commerce which is clearly within the Federal jurisdiction, but only in cases like the employer's liability case, where the question is, What is interstate commerce and where does the Federal jurisdiction over commerce end and the State jurisdiction begin? Mr. Justice Harlan's general statement is to the effect that the Federal jurisdiction does not run to the point of the making or the terminating of a contract of employment between an interstate carrier and its employees. Even on this point his statement must be regarded as having been qualified by the subsequent cases. But in any event, Mr. Justice Harlan's statement has relation, not to the effect of the due-process of its power over interstate commerce, but to the relationship between the powers of the Nation and the State under the Federal Constitution. This question has b

process clause in the fifth amendment on an undoubted exercise by Congress of its power over interstate commerce, but to the relationship between the powers of the Nation and the State under the Federal Constitution. This question has been thoroughly discussed under subdivision 4 of this brief.

It is important, how you to the that in the proposed child-labor leading the proposed legislation is created its jurisdiction by directly regulating to regulate contracts of employment by virtue of its control over the instrumentalities or agencies of interstate commerce. It does not seek to extend its jurisdiction by directly regulating contracts of employment as was done in the Adalrease. So far as the proposed legislation is concerned, the employer is free to conduct his business with or without child labor. All that Child is the chooses to employ children he shall not have the facilities of interstate commerce for the distribution and sale of his product. This is not a regulation of conditions of employment. It is a regulation of the subject matter of interstate commerce with an incidental effect on the conditions of employers! Inbility case that one who engages in interstate commerce thereby subjects all of his business concerns, including his intrastate business, to the regulating power of Congress. This argument was refuted by Mr. Justice White, now Chief Justice, in the sweeping and vigorous language which such a broad claim of congressional power might be expected to inspire. He says: me engages in interstate commerce he thereby endows Congress with power not delegated to it by the Constitution; in other words, with the right to legislate concerning matters of purely State concern. It rests upon the conception that the Constitution destroyed that freedom of commerce which it was its purpose to preserve, since it treats the right of except upon such conditions as Congress may prescribe, even though the condition would be otherwise beyond the power of Congress. It is apparent that if the contention were well foun

stitutional law. Who could have said prior to the lottery cases that the policy of the lottery legislation would be upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States? Who could have said prior to the Hoke case that the antiwhite-slave legislation would be held constitutional? Yet if these acts had not been passed merely because there was a possibility that the Supreme Court would declare them unconstitutional, individual States might still pass drastic laws and yet be helpless to prevent the flourishing of lotterless and the white-slave trade.

This brief began by asking the question, Can Congress use its power to regulate interstate commèrce to stamp out child labor in mines and factories? It concluded with the answer, first, Yes; in the same manner that Congress can use the same power to stamp out lotterles, in pure foods, prostitution, etc. And, second, Yes; to the extent that Congress can close the channels of interstate commerce to the products of child labor and thereby prevent the exploiters of child labor finding an interstate market for its products.

The argument in support of these conclusions can not be better summed up than by repeating the language of Mr. Justice Harlan in the lottery cases, changed only by substituting the italicized words for words referring to lotteries:

"If a State, when considering legislation for the suppression of child labor within its own limits, may properly take into view the evils that inhere in mining or manufacturing in that mode, why may not Congress, invested with the power to regulate commerce among the several States, provide that such commerce shall not be polluted by the earrying of the products of such labor from one State to another? (p. 356). * * As a State may, for the purpose of guarding the morals of its own people, forbid all child labor within its limits, so Congress, for the purpose of guarding the people of the United States against the 'widespread pestilence of child labor from one State to another? * We should hesitate long before adjudging that an

A McKinley Policy Demanded by the Country.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. COLEMAN, OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 1, 1916.

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address of Hon. S. D. Fess on the occasion of the annual banquet of the Republican Tariff Club of the city of Pittsburgh, January 27, 1916. The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. S. D. FESS ON THE OCCASION OF THE ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE REPUBLICAN TARIFF CLUB OF THE CITY OF PITTSBURGH, JANUARY 27, 1916.

Mr. Toastmaster and fellow Republicans: I am honored by your invitation to address you here to-night. Your meeting is primarily in honor of America's greatest protectionist, Ohio's beloved son, the country's martyred President, William Mc-Kinley. As an Ohio man, I am glad to be here for that reason. This club is the tariff club, a wonderfully suggestive title just now in these Democratic times of stamp duties and war taxes. To such a club at such a time I am honored to be invited to speak on a McKinley policy. Pennsylvania loved McKinley because he stood for an American policy. Your State rarely goes astray on such a policy. Only once, in 1912, did you falter. But you made haste to retrace your steps. Like Ohio, which had but 3 lone Republicans in the Sixty-third Congress, but which has to-day 13 out of the 22, and that under a Democratic gerrymander, Pennsylvania, badly crippled in 1912, came back last year with her usual full quota of Republican Congressmen, among whom your splendid chairman and former president, Mr. Coleman, is distinguished for his brilliant success.

In the 50 years since the close of the Civil War this country has been under the protective system the entire period save the three years, fatal years, 1894 to 1897, of the Wilson free-trade experiment and the two years and three months of the fatal Underwood bill, which the President in his last message to Congress asked to be suspended upon the item of sugar. Well do we remember how, after the defeat of the party of protection in 1892, when its best friends became panicky and counciled its abandonment, McKinley stood like an oak in the face of the mighty storm and warned the country against interpreting the defeat as a command to abandon the principle of protection to American labor and enterprise. I well remember his great speech following that defeat when in clarion tones he said:

Do not lose your anchorage. This country will not and can not prosper under any system that does not recognize the difference of conditions in Europe and America. Open competition between high-paid American labor and poorly paid European labor will either drive out of existence American industry or lower American wages, either of which is unwise.

The Democrats then, as now, used their power and the Wilson bill went upon the statute books. Dire prophecy was made by Republican leaders of what would follow. What were the results?

Capital timid and in hiding, labor on the streets, and the country flooded by European goods, our exports fell off, and the balance of trade was against us. Gold left the country, revenues fell off, a depleted Treasury, and an issue of bonds within a year. It was but natural that the country would not only return to the protective system, but that it would rally under the banner of its great advocate, Maj. McKinley. Free trade was so thoroughly outlawed that no one was so poor as to do it reverence. It was a lost issue, and the party under the recent and erstwhile Secretary of State, W. J. Bryan, seized upon the crown of thorns and cross of gold and committed Democracy to the 16-to-1 folly. This folly was twice consigned to the scrap heap, but its author still cavorts about, and like the days of 1896 will undoubtedly commit the party to another folly this year, 20 years after, and lead his party again to the scrap heap.

For 20 years under protection, led by McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, this country reached the acme of prosperity. In 1912 prosperity was at high tide. Business had never been better. Markets at home and abroad were at flood tide. Capital was readily invested. Money was easy. Labor was fully employed at the highest rate of wage. These conditions are directly traceable to protection. In this atmosphere of prosperity independence grows, which, in turn, results in restlessness. In 1912, due to an unfortunate division among the friends of protection, the enemy stepped in on a minority vote of 1,300,000. Republicans were deluded into the belief that they could elect two Republicans on the same day. The result was the loss of both Republicans and the election of a Democrat that neither wing wanted.

What has been the result? Precisely what was predicted. Within a year the protective system was superseded by another tariff-for-revenue-only system. It took effect two years and three months ago. When Wilson signed it he complimented the country upon having freed the business of the country. The first seven months of its existence gave a real meaning to the "freeing business of the country." To a group of business men from my State he declared the business situation was psychological. To the editors of his native State he promised business would revive. To another group he said it was looking up. We were all constrained to ask how else it could look when it was flat on its back.

The night the Underwood bill was signed its author felicitated the country that the legislation would, first, reduce the cost of living, second, increase the foreign trade, third, not disturb the domestic business, and, fourth, would raise revenue enough to run the Government. I here and now declare this law has been a failure in every single item enumerated in this promise. Imports began at once to increase, but exports decreased until the magnificent balance of trade that had reached the enormous sum of one-half billion was entirely wiped out by April, 1914, within five months of the law's operation. Prices to the consumer went up. European goods displaced American-made goods, and thereby American labor and capital. Revenue fell off at a frightful rate. Gold was leaving the country, the Treasury was embarrassed, precisely as was predicted and as was experienced 20 years ago.

As the party responsible then took up the money question as the cause of the disaster, so now the same party declares it is the war that is the cause of the country's financial situation. The one single item that has saved the country's labor from universal suffering, from enforced idleness, is the great war. This is not the result of legislation, but of unhappy Europe in bloody war. With the nations that comprehend three-fourths of the world's population in war, a demand has come to this country for the supply of certain goods the like of which was never thought of. Our exports for the year just closed reached the enormous sum of \$3,500,000,000. This is war-order prosperity, its beginning. Europe's bonded indebtedness This is war-order prosperity, anticipated at has already reached the enormous sum of \$28,000,000,000. Much of the consumption of one side we have supplied. War activity has entirely closed out the German products, but it has not substantially decreased our importations in bulk, as the Government reports show. Most of the channels of trade are open. Indeed,

10 months of 1915 show imports \$62,000,000 greater than a like period the last year of the Payne law. Had the Payne rate, which was protective, been in operation there would have been raised over \$90,000,000 more than we realized under the Underwood bill. The war has not depleted the Treasury, it is the free-trade legislation under which 70 per cent of the imports come in free of duty. The President admits the failure of the Underwood bill and asks its suspension upon sugar. We join him The President admits the failure of the in this request, and ask him to suspend it upon wool, upon agricultural products, and on manufactured articles to make up the difference in cost of labor between this country and the countries with which we are in competition. In a word, we ask him to revise the law and adopt a protective system that not only stimulates American enterprise but never fails to raise the revenue necessary to run the Government. If it is not done this year, Republicans will do it next year. Under the Payne bill the labor of the country was not only well employed and the capital readily invested at a reasonable profit, but we collected enough revenue not only to pay the running expenses of the Government but to pay the construction of the Panama Canal out of current revenue funds.

Out of the authorization of the issue of \$375,000,000 bonds for that purpose only \$134,681,930 were issued. The balance was cared for by the Payne revenue law. This Democratic administration stands to-day condemned for signal failure as it did 20 years ago. Its remedy then for a depleted Treasury was the issuance of bonds. To-day it is a direct stamp tax, a Democratic deficiency tax, miscalled war tax. Even that falls far short of the Treasury needs. It has been ordered for another year. But in spite of the war levy, the Treasury is now embarrassed with six months of the year yet to run. It is true that the daily Treasury sheet reports this morning \$110,000,000 of a balance. But it must be recalled that this balance is reached by the bookkeeping of Mr. McAdoo, by which he increases the balance \$80,000,000 overnight without adding a dollar to the Treasury. Fifty-seven million dollars of this is in the disbursing officer's hands, heretofore carried on the debit side, and \$32,000,000 in the national-bank redemption fund, which also has been carried on the debit side. If this sum of \$80,000,000 is deducted from \$110,000,000, we have a balance of \$21,000,000. If we deduct the \$21,050,000 of silver change in dimes, quarters, and half dollars reported this morning, the Treasury is bankrupt.

The Underwood bill was signed October 3, 1913, when the protection law ceased to exist. On October 3 the daily Treasury report showed a balance of \$123,425,000 over against the \$21,000,000 to-day. If we include the \$67,000,000 reported on that day in the hands of disbursing officers, and the \$20,000,000 in the national-bank redemption fund, as McAdoo did when he reformed the bookkeeping to wipe out a deficit, the balance October 3, 1913, would be the enormous sum of over \$211,000,000, or \$101,000,000 more that it is to-day. These figures will indicate where the trouble lies. This deficit, it must not be forgotten, is in spite of the operation of the so-called war tax, which has been in operation since it was first enacted over a year ago.

In the face of this condition of the Treasury, the direct result of bad legislation, the President comes and asks support of a program to tax the people anew by the further imposition of stamp tax upon checks, additional tax upon gasoline, automobile tax per horsepower, and production tax upon iron and steel. It is not enough for the Democratic administration to rob these items of all protection, but it is now proposed to penalize them for tax purposes.

While the Republicans will join the President in putting our Navy back to the rank it held when the Democrats took possession of the House in 1910, they will not submit to this odious tax proposition, so long as the Underwood bill stands upon the statute books. The country needs better military defense, we admit, but it also needs better industrial defense. This can not be secured with this country under a free-trade scheme of the type of the Underwood bill. This scheme must give way to American protection.

The President yesterday gave out his latest change of mind. The tariff commission idea is the subject of the about-face performance this time. But he assures the country it is not a conversion to the protection idea, for the commission, we are assured, is to be nonpartisan and is to prevent a revision of the Underwood law. President Wilson's nonpartisan views are interesting in the light of his Indianapolis speech of a year ago, when his extreme partisanship bristled in eyery word. Also in the light of his Federal Reserve Board, upon which not a single Republican is found; also in the light of his trade commission, whose Democracy may be read in the activity of its

members for Mr. Wilson, most of whom were known only for

their party service.

The tariff commission is and has been a Republican measure. It never has been a Democratic measure. It has had the opposi-tion of the Democratic leaders. The one created by a Republican Congress and Republican President was strangled to death by the Democrats when they took control. They starved it to death by refusing to make appropriation for its work. If Mr. Wilson can lead his party to adopt this Republican measure we shall not object. If he can likewise lead it to adopt the Republican view on national defense we shall not object. These frequent somersaults of the President are greatly enjoyed by Republican spectators, but rather hard on Democratic would-be leaders, who last year prepared to defend their President's position and now finding him headed in the opposite direction, as defined in his addresses before Congress. So long as the membership of the majority party can make the turn as easily as the President no collision is likely. But it is hard on the solidarity of a majority responsible for legislation for the

Fellow Republicans, what the country wants to-day is not this sort of performance. It wants a return of a constructive McKinley policy, not only on the tariff but upon all public questions. It is anxiously awaiting the hour for registering its decision. It will condemn in no uncertain tones the cowardly proposals to ignore a national duty it inherited under McKinley's leadership in the Philippines by turning these islands adrift as the prey not only of the strongest faction of the islands but in due time to the foreign country which seeks control of the richest treasure in the South Seas. The Mexicanizing of these islands is the prospect. It will speak in no less certain tones on the "watchful waiting" policy which landed our marines in Vera Cruz to compel a salute which was never made, but really to intimidate the head of a neighboring country, and after the death of a score of our soldiers withdraw our forces to recognize another head whose hands were crimson, The people will ask, Why drive out one head without standing ready to meet what results from such expulsion, especially when it means the lives of our own citizens? The country will demand the extent of this blood-letting. The surrender of our sovereignty in the canal, read in the light of what is now taking place upon the high seas, is being keenly scrutinized by the American electorate.

My fellow Republicans, the present disease, plainly stated, is too much theory and not enough practical sense. In a word, we have too much Democracy that spells free trade of the Underwood brand, the southern cotton brand. This theory was born in the cotton fields of the South, nurtured by the cotton grower, and finally matured by the cotton king, the exporter. The section which exports in the raw state three-fourths of its chief production naturally demands the right to import the necessary articles of consumption from the cheapest market. hence free trade. No one seriously faults this intention, but the fault lies with those who permit it. We frequently hear the expression, "The South in the saddle."

This statement, full of meaning prior to the Civil War, was never so true as to-day. For 60 years preceding 1860 the States known as the slave States had dominated legislation. The Civil War produced a revolution. It not only freed the black man but it emancipated the country from the domination of what then was called slavocracy—the States which held slaves. This situation continued until 1911, when the Democrats took control of the House, which they organized. On March 4, 1913, the Democratic Party took full possession-President, Senate, and House. The Sixty-third Congress, which began in 1913. saw the South again in the saddle in every department of the Government. The Sixty-fourth Congress is no less so.

South to-day is in full swing, as a brief observation will reveal.

The President and family—first and second wife—are southern. His Cabinet, likewise, has half of its members from the

former slave States

While every department of the Government shows this sectional control, including the Diplomatic as well as Administrative Service, the best illustration of the "South in the saddle" is the House of Representatives. The Speaker is from Missouri, the Clerk is from Kentucky, the Doorkeeper from Virginia, and the postmaster from Georgia. It is true that the Sergeant at Arms is from Ohio and the Chaplain is from Michigan.

Since most legislation is through committees, both in Senate and House, the committee organization is important.

There are 17 large committees in the House, upon each of

portant-and one of the most important in the House, because of its privileged rank—is the Rules Committee.

The big committees and their chairmen are as follows:

Ways and Means, Kitchin, North Carolina. Appropriations, FITZGERALD, New York. Banking and Currency, Glass, Virginia. Judiciary, WEBB, North Carolina. Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Adamson, Georgia. Rivers and Harbors, Sparkman, Florida. Merchant Marine, ALEXANDER, Missouri, Agriculture, Lever, South Carolina, Foreign Affairs, Flood, Virginia. Military Affairs, HAY, Virginia. Naval Affairs, Pangerr, Tennessee. Post Offices, Moon, Tennessee. Indians, Stephens, Texas. Insular Affairs, Jones, Virginia. Railways and Canals, Dies, Texas. Public Buildings, Clark, Florida.

Roads, SHACKLEFORD, Missouri. Rules, HENRY, Texas.

Here are 18 committees, whose heads represent 9 States—Northern and 8 Southern. Of these, the Ways and Means, Judiciary, Banking and Currency, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Foreign Affairs, Merchant Marine, Insular Affairs, and Rules all have to do with governmental attitude on questions of policy; in a word, their function is policy determining. heads of these come from Southern States-North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Missouri, and Texas. These States determine the Government's attitude in policy.

On the other hand, the Appropriations, Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, Post Office, Public Buildings, Agriculture, and Rivers and Harbors have to do with not only policy but appropriations of public money; very largely the latter function. All these except the first is controlled by the South. The other large com-

mittees are more generally administrative.

The significance of the control of these committees is apparent when our method of legislation is known. All questions of policy are first discussed in committee. This is not what the reader would expect; for the first step is to formulate the policy in a caucus of the majority members. Then it is taken in a per-functory way to the full committee. Then it is reported in the House caucus of the majority party—in this case the Demo-cratic—where the policy is determined. Then it comes to the full House, where the will of the majority of the caucus will be ratified by the force of the unit rule. When the matter reaches the floor for discussion the chairman of the committee has charge of it. He yields time for debate, directs discussion under the five-minute rule where amendment is allowed, and closes debate. In the committee he directs the hearings on the bill, in the caucus he represents the committee, and on the floor he controls the discussion. This makes the chairman of the committee an important figure in legislation. His importance is suggested to-day by the concern of the administration over the position of the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, Claude Kitchin, on the President's program Mr. KITCHIN as floor leader could make of preparedness. trouble, if he were inclined so to do, by virtue of his position, extended him by vote of the Democratic caucus. The suggestion that Hay, of Virginia, chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, be given charge of the program is due to his committee position. It might as well be given to PADGETT, of Tennessee, chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs.

It will thus be noted that what the country's policy will be, as outlined by the Sixty-fourth Congress, will depend upon the influence of the chairmen, not one single one of whom comes from a State north of the Ohio River line. The Committee on Appropriations is not a policy-determining committee. If it be our naval policy, the chairman is from Tennessee. If it be our military policy, our chairman is from Virginia. If it be our banking policy, our chairman is from Virginia. If it be our foreign policy, our chairman is from Virginia. If it be our insular policy touching the Philippines, our chairman is from Virginia. If it be our interstate or foreign commerce, he is from Georgia. If it be our immigration policy, he is from Alabama. If it be our merchant marine, he is from Missouri. If it be our roads, he is from Missouri. If it be on railways and canals, he

is from Texas.

Then, on the other hand, on the question of appropriations there is one committee out of the seven such committees that is headed by a man from other sections save the South-FITZGERALD, of New York. But if there is an appropriation which there are 21 members. These committees are the real legislative committees. There are 40 other committees, each ranging from 3 to 15 members. Of these latter, the most im-

\$46,000,000, it will be under Sparkman, of Florida. If there is an appropriation for public buildings, the pork barrel (?) committee, it will be under CLARK, of Florida. If the appropriation for the Army as recommended by the Secretary of War to the amount of \$182,000,000 this coming year be made, it will be under HAX, of Virginia. If those for the Navy as recommended by the Secretary of the Navy be made, to the amount of \$217,-000,000, the appropriations will be under the direction of PADGETT, of Tennessee. If those be made for the Post Office Department as recommended by the Postmaster General to the amount of nearly \$300,000,000, it will be directed on the floor by Moon, of Tennessee. In other words, the Secretary of the Treasury in making his estimates for expenditures for the year 1916-17 places the enormous sum of \$1,127,000,000 as the amount needed. The committee which must direct the method of securing this revenue is the Ways and Means, under the leadership of Claude Kitchin, of North Carolina. The only committee of the list that is not to-day directed by the South is the Appropriation Committee, which goes to New York. This is an administrative committee, which is told by the various departments what it must appropriate to continue adminis-

The political committee, which might be named the strategical organ of the House, because it determines what matter may or may not be considered in the House, is the Committee on Rules. This most important and powerful committee is headed by HENRY, of Texas. To it leaders of movements must go if they wish to have considered matters of importance.

An analysis of this situation of the "South in the saddle"

is interesting. The eight Southern States here enumerated which have charge of these important matters contain:

First, In population, both white and colored, less than 20,000,000, according to the census of 1910, which is about one-

fifth of the country's people.

Second. In wealth they have less than \$25,000,000,000, or about one-seventh of the country's wealth.

Third. In representation in the House 97 Members.

It will be noticed that the State of Virginia controls four committees of the most significant possibilities—Foreign Affairs, Military Affairs, Banking and Currency, and Insular Affairs. This State, with a population in 1910 of 2,062,000 and wealth in 1912 of \$2,890,000,000, with 10 Representatives upon the floor of the House, has four times the importance in this Congress, if chairmanships have any meaning, than all the New England States, the Middle Atlantic States, the East and West States, the North Central States, and the Mountain and Pacific States combined, with a population in 1910 of 60,000,000 and wealth in 1912 amounting to nearly \$148,000,000,000. This State, with 10 Representatives, by virtue of the organization of the Sixty-fourth Congress, exerts more influence—four times over, if chairmanships of committees have any significance than all of New England, with 32 Representatives; New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, with 90 Representatives; Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, with 86 Representatives; Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas, with 41 Representatives; and all the States west of the Rocky Mountains; making a total of 31 States with 282 Representatives.

These same States will cast in 1916 in the Electoral College 344 votes, or 75 more votes than are necessary to elect a President. It will be noted how these important committees are assigned: To Virginia, 4; to Texas, 3; to Tennessee, 3; North Carolina, 2; Missouri, 2; Florida, 2; Georgia, 1; South Carolina, 1. These 18 committees, including the Rules Committee, except 1, go to 8 Southern States. Of the remaining 39 less important committees, the chairmen of 23 go to Southern States. This leaves 16 committees, not including the Appropriations, for the rest of the country, as follows:

Name of committee.	Number of mem- bers.	Chairman from—
Elections No. 2 Mines and Mining Patents Invalid Pensions Pensions Alcoholic Liquor Traffic Expenditures in Treasury Department Expenditures in War Department Expenditures in Post Office Department Expenditures in Interior Department Expenditures in Department of Justice Expenditures in Department of Commerce Expenditures in Department of Commerce Expenditures in Department of Labor Public Buildings Printing	14 15 15 10 6 7 7 7 7	New Jersey, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Do, Illinois, Nebraska, Indiana, Illinois, Montana, Pennsylvania, New York, Do, Wisconsin, Indiana,

It will be readily noted that these committees have neither a policy-determining function, nor appropriations of money under their charge. They are simply perfunctory in administering the law falling under their province.

The revenues of the eight Southern States that control 17 committees amounted in the fiscal year of 1913, according to the Government reports, to \$53,000,000. That is a trifle over one-balf of the receipts in the single State of New York in the same year, that amount reaching \$101,000,000. The receipts of Virginia, which controls four of the greatest committees, are \$9,330,000, while States which show receipts to the amount of \$315,000,000, or thirty-five times as much, have control of no important committee. When the last Treasury report is examined with reference to the taxation for the support of the General Government, some striking facts are disclosed. The corporation and personal income taxes produced slightly over \$80,000,000 revenue. Of this amount, \$41,000,000 was personal income and \$39,000,000 from corporations. Of personal and corporation income the eight States last enumerated, controlling 18 committees, paid \$4,222,444, while New York alone paid \$27,638,743, or nearly seven times as much. The States of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, and Illinois paid \$23,585,447. The eight States that control these committees cast for President in 1912 1,855,169 votes, or 400,000 votes less than were cast in the two States of Ohio and Pennsylvania and only 270,000 more than were cast in the same year in the State of New York.

It is pertinent to ask an explanation of this rather anomalous condition. The South says what shall be done, and the other parts of the country do it. It declares for free trade, the best expression of which is the fatal Underwood bill. It courts the foreign market, because, as I said before, it sells threefourths of its chief product in it, and demands the right to buy in turn the cheap goods for consumption in the same market. Hence the Underwood bill. It is a fair sample of what the cotton States desire. It demands tax upon corporate industries, which falls least heavily upon it, for the simple reason that in-dustries are chiefly found outside of their States. They demand a personal income tax for a similar reason that protection of government is no less relished when the burdens of it fall upon others' shoulders. Now that their control of the days before the war has returned, the National Treasury shall be made to supply the various claims against the Government as well as the various wants of a section long kept away from the public crib. Thus the old doctrine of State's rights, so precious to the slaveholders prior to the war, has lost its meaning and the erstwhile dogmatism is now demanding Federal aid for every enterprise.

My fellow Republicans, if it be asked, Why all this? the answer lies in the caption, "The South is in the saddle" more truly than was ever the case prior to the sixties. This is not because of numbers, but simply because the Democratic Party, so far as control goes, is in the South. There are northern Democrats, it is true, but they follow the nod and beck of their southern leaders. As I once said, the southern leader takes snuff and the northern Member sneezes. In the light of the organization of the present administration in the House, Senate, and Executive. there should be small wonder over the character of legislation from which our country now suffers. This statement of fact is not an attack upon the South as a people. It is a compliment, rather, for the position of absolute control it has assumed. In other days my own State wielded a powerful influence in the Nation through its Shermans, its Garfields, and its McKinleys. Likewise New England, especially Maine and Massachusetts, exerted a powerful influence upon legislation. But it must be said this influence was national, never sectional. It disdained to ask a protection to the sugar growers of Louisiana and at the same time deny it to the wool growers of Ohio, or the wheat growers of the Northwest, or the lumbermen of the Rockies, or the fruit growers of the coast, or the manufacturer of New England. In a word, protection was demanded as a national policy, not a sectional advantage. Neither is it an indictment of the leaders of the South. They are, personally considered, as fine a lot of men as can be met anywhere. It is but a com-ment upon the complete control of the Nation's welfare by the free-trade section of the country and a suggestion of the impotence of the northern Democrat in the Nation's council and, as is always the case, the dominance of the South when we have a Democratic administration.

The Democratic Sixty-fourth Congress and its master, Woodrow Wilson, are headed to a fall, which will not be deferred beyond November, 1916, when the country will pronounce a verdict upon not only the southern free-trade propaganda, but it will pronounce judgment upon the northern Democrats as well who with abject servility follow this leadership in an un-Ameri-

can policy of the Underwood law.

Fellow Republicans, what the country demands to-day is a McKinley constructive policy and a leadership of the type of that of William McKinley. I have no doubt about the future, for, as in 1896, the country turned away from the vagaries of a Democratic administration, expelled from control the faddist carrying at the head of Democracy the banner of 16 to 1, and welcomed a Republican policy, led by a great American, so in 1916 the country, again suffering from a similar disorder and under similar leadership, will again turn away from a free-trade policy to welcome with open arms another McKinley protective policy under the leadership of another Republican who in the quiet between this and the next June days will be found, and who, I confidently believe, will lead the country to victory. In that great achievement no city will have a greater part than your wonderful industrial center in which the tariff club holds a conspicuous place. I thank you.

Child Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROSCOE C. McCULLOCH, OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 26, 1916.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, under general leave granted for extension of remarks in the Record on the bill known as the child-labor bill, being H. R. 8234, to prevent interstate commerce in the products of child labor, and for other purposes, I desire to say that I favor the reforms that this bill seeks to bring about and I shall support it.

I shall not encumber the Record with a review of my reasons for supporting this bill, but I am making this statement at this time for the reason that to-night it will be necessary for me to leave for my home at Canton, Ohio, to attend the memorial celebration in honor of the life and memory of William McKinley.

Should a vote be taken on the child-labor bill on next Wednesday, it is probable that I will be unable to be present. I have made a careful investigation which convinces me that this bill will be passed by a large majority in this House and that my vote will be unnecessary to insure its passage. If I felt that my vote were necessary to pass the bill, I should remain.

Child Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOUETT SHOUSE.

OF KANSAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 26, 1916.

Mr. SHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, I favor the pending bill. I favor all legislation in the interest of the weak, the oppressed, the undefended, the helpless. I have listened with amusement to some of the arguments brought forward by the opponents of this measure. Practically without exception they hide behind the old excuse of "constitutionality." According to them, it is unconstitutional for the Federal Government to legislate on behalf of the child working in the factory on the ground that such legislation belongs to the separate States; and yet they are, for the most part, the same gentlemen who on yesterday held that it is entirely within the province of the same Federal Government to appropriate money for the building of roads within the different States. I favor good roads, and so voted, but far more strongly do I favor healthy, strong, robust children and the right of each to an education which a perverted industrial condition would deny

It is my privilege, Mr. Speaker, to represent a constituency that does not need this legislation. Kansas protects its women and children. In this as in other progressive laws Kansas has been a leader. But I should do injustice to the spirit of Kansas did I not seek to extend her blessings to other States of this Union where they are not enjoyed. I have no disposition to

malign the motives of those opposed to this bill, but I repeat merely an accepted fact when I say that all welfare legislation, whether State or National, has been and always will be opposed by a combination of greed and ignorance with some well-meaning but mistaken men.

This bill will pass. The sentiment of the House, reflecting the sentiment of the country, clearly favors it. And I appeal to its opponents to cease their tactics of delay, which in the end will be overcome and which serve simply to impede the legislative

progress of this body.

Preparedness.

Patriotism alone should control in considering the question of pre-

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, WILLIAM E. HUMPHREY,

OF WASHINGTON.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tucsday, February 1, 1916.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I gave an interview to the newspapers, in which I said: PREPAREDNESS.

"The question of 'preparedness' rises above party, politics, and partisanship. Patriotism alone should control in its consideration. I believe that the sole reason that there is any difference of opinion upon this question in this country to-day is because there is a difference of opinion as to whether or not there is any danger of our country being invaded by a foreign foe. If the danger of invasion is admitted, then all real Americans are in favor of immediate adequate preparedness. the danger of invasion exists, can not be mathematically demonstrated any more than 15 can be so demonstrated that it does not exist. The probability of invasion can only be ascertained by weighing the judgment of the thinking minds of the world.

WHAT NATION WILL ATTACK US?

"Those to-day who ask the question, 'Who will invade us?' those who ask the question, 'What nation is going to attack us?' must, upon reflection, be confounded with the weakness and the unfairness of their own question.

Suppose that the President of the United States did believe. from secret information or for any other reason, that we were in danger of being attacked by a certain nation, would it be good policy to shout this belief from the housetops? Would such action tend to produce peace or prevent possible war? What would be thought of a city council that would call the chief of police before them and say to him: 'Who is going to commit murder? Name the thief that we need fear. Tell us the identity of the man that is going to set fire to our property, or we will refuse to make any further appropriation for police This would be no more absurd and far less dangerous to the public interest than to demand that public officials publicly declare what nation they believe is likely to attack us. EXHAUSTION OF WARRING NATIONS.

"Many declare, as if it were an admitted fact, that no nation now engaged in the war in Europe, after the present deplorable struggle ends, will be in a condition to wage war because of exhaustion. But history does not support this position. The history of our own Nation, as does the history of the world, contradicts this statement. Never was this country so prepared for war, so powerful as compared with the other countries of the world, or so ready to fight any other nation as we were when we emerged from the awful conflict of the Civil War. France recognized this fact and promptly withdrew from Mexico when warned by us to do so. England recognized this fact and demonstrated it most conclusively in her action in the payment of the indemnity we demanded. At the close of the Civil War for the first and only time in our history we were the most powerful military Nation of the world.

PROBABILITY OF WAR.

"No one can demonstrate that war will come, as none can demonstrate to the contrary. The actions of men are not controlled by certainties but by probabilities. If we waited for certainties, progress would end and civilization would die. Stop any man to-day and you can convince him by statistics that none will dispute that the chances are a thousand to one that his house will never be burned. But does the wise man, for that reason, refuse to take out insurance?

"The facts of history demonstrate that there is far more probability of this Nation being invaded by a foreign enemy than that the average man's house will be burned. The probability of war is ten times greater than the probability of fire. Then is it not wisdom to take out the only national insur-

ance we have, which is preparation for defense?

"Based upon human experience, based upon all the facts of the past, it is the judgment of the great majority of the people of this country that we are in danger of war. This is the universal opinion of those whose opportunities, education, and training best qualify them to judge. We pay for and follow the advice of the expert when we are sick. We pay for and follow the advice of the expert when we are in legal trouble. Why should we fail to give weight to the military expert in this most vital of all questions?

But suppose the judgment of the majority of the American people upon this question is wrong; suppose that the judgment of high officials and military experts is wrong, and we follow this judgment and prepare; what have we lost? A mere pittance, far less than we pay for fire insurance, far less than we pay for police protection. But suppose that the majority judgment should prove to be correct and we fail to follow it and the

day of war comes. Then we lose all.

I live on the Pacific coast, in the Pacific Northwest, the most vulnerable point of all our country for a foreign foe. Suppose that the fears of the President, and of the Secretary of and of the Navy, and our Army officers, and of the War College, and of the military experts should come true and our country should be invaded, our towns destroyed, and our country overrun, and our citizens placed under tribute? Upon that day, as I stood and looked upon the blackened and smoking ruins of magnificent cities, as I saw the homeless and helpless, starving and shivering women and children, and as I stood there beside the new-made graves that marked the last resting place of thousands of our brave soldiers, the very flower of American manhood, that, untrained and poorly equipped, had fought in defense of their country and were slaughtered, what would it profit the dead, what comfort would it be to the living, and of what avail would it be to the country for me in that time of desolation to cry out that I never believed that this evil hour would ever come, and for the sake of a few dollars I had refused to do anything to cause that preparation that might have prevented this indescribable calamity.

"Is it possible that any public man can believe that he has the right to thus speculate in the blood of his fellows?

PREPAREDNESS PROVOKES WAR?

"We are constantly told that preparedness for war leads a nation into war; that if we are prepared to fight that we are going out and find some one to fight; that we are going to attack some other nation, justly or unjustly. If this is true, I ask, Is it not true of the other nations of the world? Surely we can not be different in that respect. The other nations are armed, and, therefore, according to this argument, they are going to fight some other nation. Are not these armed nations, then, imbued with this military spirit, likely to attack us? Those who take this position in reality argue that we can not trust ourselves against the temptation to attack others, but that we can trust others not to be tempted to attack us.

"This is a new doctrine. We are to have more confidence in the justice and righteousness of other nations than we have in ourselves. Surely reflection will show even those who make this argument its transparent and dangerous folly. Human nature has not yet reached any such stage of righteousness

INSPIRATION FOR PREPAREDNESS.

"It is doubtless true that there are some in this land whose enthusiasm for preparedness is stimulated by a sordid desire for gain. Creatures of this kind, no doubt, still inhabit the earth. It may be worthy of notice, however, that those in public life who screech loudest this indictment against a majority of the American people are those who hope to have the Government establish ammunition factories in their particular localities. Those who make these statements directly impugn the patriotism and the integrity of Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, and William H. Taft and all those who agree with them upon this question of preparedness. Those self-appointed guardians of the Nation's honor who make these accusations can hardly expect the American people to believe that Wilson and Roose velt and Taft and men of that type, when the fate of a nation is being weighed in the balance, are controlled by mercenary motives and that the professional pacifist of the Bryan type is preaching peace from motives of pure and unadulterated patriotism.

THE NAVY.

"The American people want preparation only as an insurance of peace, as a defense, and not for aggression. First of all and above all, we want to prepare so that no soldier can be landed on American soil. For these reasons, above all things else, we should have a great Navy. If we have a great Navy our safety is insured and the probability of war reduced to a minimum. Owing to our location, no other nation would ever dare to come to our shores with an invading army as long as our Navy was

undestroyed.

"For an insurance of peace, however, we must have a navy on both oceans. The Panama Canal will not remove this necessity. It is almost the same distance to a mile from Panama to Seattle that it is from Seattle to Yokohama. Or, in other words, a fleet in Japan is 10 days nearer Puget Sound and from 6 to 7 days nearer San Francisco than one on the Atlantic coast of our own country, even if the canal be used. As an insurance of peace we should have permanently upon the Pacific a naval fleet equal to that kept by any other nation upon that ocean. I mean by this not only battleships, but submarines, torpedo boats, aero-planes, and all the other necessary auxiliaries. The people of the Pacific coast are entitled to this, and they will not be satisfied with anything less.

LOSS OF LIFE IN NAVAL BATTLES.

"England swept the invincible Armada from the seas, forever destroyed the maritime greatness of Spain, and saved the Empire in the naval battle where more men were engaged and more men killed than in any other sea fight since the dawn of modern civilization, and yet she lost only a few thousand men.

"The heroic Nelson destroyed forever Napoleon's dream of universal empire at Trafalgar in the greatest fight that ever occurred between sail ships, and once more made secure the safety of the British Empire. But in this contest, that meant so much to his country and to the world, he lost but 1,690 men.

"As the historic struggle began at Tsu-Shima, Admiral Togo sent this message to his eager fleet, 'The rise or fall of the empire depends upon to-day's battle.' And he was right. That day decided the mastery of the seas in the Far East, brought safety to Japan, and made that little island empire a world power, and it cost the lives of only 116 men.

"The fight between the Scrapis and the Bon Homme Richard, where John Paul Jones, when asked to surrender, declared that he had 'just begun to fight,' was one of the most bloody and desperate battles ever waged on the sea. It placed the name of the brilliant American admiral among the immortals; yet in

that wonderful victory he lost only 150 men.

"On Lake Eric Commodore Perry fought one of the fiercest of all naval battles and won a triumph that vitally affected the world's history. 'We have met the enemy and they are ours,' announced one of the most important victories in our Nation's life, and it cost us the lives of only 27 men.
"Admiral Farragut passed by New Orleans, won one of the

greatest of naval victories, and struck one of the most deadly

blows against the Confederacy, but lost only 37 men.

"One of the history-making fights of the world was fought at Hampton Roads between the Merrimac and the Monitor. This fight changed the naval warfare of the world. It sealed the doom of the Confederacy. It is believed by many to have saved the Union. It changed decidedly the attitude of European nations toward the United States. Yet in this, among the greatest of all naval battles, not a single life was lost, but its result was beyond measure and beyond calculation.

'Spain was hopelessly defeated in our war with her when the Battle of Santiago ended. Santiago was the most complete naval victory ever fought on the ocean, and yet the Americans

"The Battle of Manila Bay brought eternal glory to our country and changed the map of the world, and not a single American life was lost.

"You take all the important naval fights in our Nation's history that have had such a tremendous effect upon our destiny and upon the destiny of the world and upon civilization, and we have not lost in all of them combined as many men as we have frequently lost in a single skirmish on land. And herein is one mighty advantage of the Navy. We can protect our country without great loss of life. A naval battle is also fought with little loss of property. The loss in a naval battle is as nothing compared with the loss that would follow if we were to be invaded. More men have been killed in Europe in the present war in a single day than have been killed in all the principal naval battles of the world put together. And yet the battles that have been fought on the seas have been as decisive in

bringing victory and in insuring national integrity and in making history as those that have been fought upon the land.

"Upon the British Navy to-day, as has been the case many times in the past, rests the fate of the British Empire. But for their navy that mighty empire would to-day be crumbling, and yet this defense, vital to the nation's existence, is costing but little in loss of life. What patriot beneath the British flag regrets all the millions that have been spent for the navy? All that clamor about the burden of cost is stilled in this day of

"A navy is not only the best but the cheapest protection. And especially it costs but comparatively little in blood and life. If the people of the country did but fully realize the advantages of a great Navy, the protection and security it brings to the country, and especially if they realized what it means in the way of saving life as compared with war upon land, they would demand that we build without a moment's delay the greatest Navy of the seas, and that we forever hold that position until the day of universal disarmament.

THE ARMY.

"The question of an army is more difficult. We must be prepared to repel an invader, but at the same time we want no great standing Army. We want no military spirit in this country. This is contrary to the genius of our institutions. It will be a sad epoch in our Nation's history when we have a large number of trained men whose sole purpose in life is war. We want protection, but we must have it without militarism. A reasonable increase in our standing Army is desirable, for we have use for it as a national police force in time of peace as well as in time of war, and in time of war they form the vital nucleus for an army of defense.

"But this Regular Army is not the great force we must depend upon in time of national disaster. Neither is there a more dangerous and bloody folly than that we can depend upon an army that will rise up over night. Granted that the patriotism of the American people would give us a million volunteers overnight in time of need, they would have nothing to fight with, they would not know how to use weapons even if they had them, nor how to protect themselves from deadly disease upon the march and in camp. It would not be an army; it would be a mob. In a contest against trained men, the result would not

be a battle but a slaughter.

NATIONAL GUARD.

"The failure of the President to mention the National Guard in his message to Congress upon preparedness, it seems to me, is greatly to be regretted. This could not have been an over sight on the part of the President, for the report of the Secretary of War that he had before him when preparing his mes sage refer at length to the National Guard. I believe the National Guard, notwithstanding its constitutional limitations, is of the highest value to the Nation. The results in Europe show that the men who have had the experience and training corresponding to that of our National Guard can in a few become first-class soldiers. I want to see the National Guard built up, strengthened, and increased. I hope the Government will give it every reasonable assistance and encouragement, financially and otherwise.

But neither the Regular Army nor the continental army nor the National Guard, nor all combined, will solve the problem of national defense and bring the security and the guaranty of peace that we desire. I doubt if any plan based upon voluntary service or service for pay will ever be successful.

GENERAL COMPULSORY SERVICE.

"Napoleon said, 'Compulsory service is the fairest, the kind-est, and the most democratic means of raising men.' That is the judgment of one of the greatest of all human intellects upon the subject about which he was best qualified to speak. Since then the experience of the world has demonstrated most emphatically the wisdom of his opinion.

Not only is compulsory service the fairest, kindest, and most democratic, but it is the cheapest and, far more important, gives defense without militarism. Switzerland, Australia, and New Zealand demonstrate this to-day. It is true that none of these systems are entirely suited to our country, and it is true that none of them could be put immediately into force. But some method embracing the foundation principles of these systems should be adopted and worked out as soon as possible. believe that this is the desire of the American people, and that desire is continually growing stronger. Universal service, with no exemption except that based on physical unfitness, is the sure foundation upon which to build national defense without the danger of militarism and without tremendous financial burdens that a standing army certainly brings.

"Service to the country should not be placed upon the mercenary basis of hire. Military duty should be required as a duty that all young men owe to their country. The son of the rich man and the son of the poor man should be required to give the same service and should receive the same reward. There should be no option in patriotism in this country. There should be no option as to who should fight for the flag. is there any room in this country for that sentiment of national death that the brave, the courageous, and the patriotic should fight in order that the mollycoddle, the pusillanimous, and the unpatriotic should live in ease and security.

"Universal compulsory military service would destroy all cast and class and would prevent all feeling of class antagonism, always dangerous in civil life and even more dangerous be tween the civilian and the soldier. Under this method young men of all classes and of all conditions would touch elbows, have a common understanding and a common training, a common purpose, and a common interest in their country. ing could do as much to destroy all class distinction in all walks of life and develop a universal love of country as this method of universal training of the young men of our Nation. This would give us millions of men that, in time of their country's need, would rally to the flag ready and prepared to fight. At the same time these young men, while trained for war, would not be the professional soldiers; they would not feel that their purpose in life was to fight. They would have all the anxlety and the desire for peace as other civilians, and their interest would be as great as that of any other citizen in maintaining peace. They would feel that they should fight only in their country's defense. In other words, by this system we can have preparedness without militarism, and that is what the people of this country want. Such system and a great navy would reduce the danger of war as low as possible for human ingenuity to reduce it, and if, unfortunately, it did come, we would then be prepared to meet it and defend ourselves without the useless slaughter of thousands of our bravest and best young men because they were untrained and unequipped, a mistake that has so unhappily characterized all our wars in the past.

MILITARY TRAINING IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

"The system that seems to meet the most general approval of those who have given the question most intelligent study is that this training should be in our colleges and schools; that it should be based on physical fitness alone; that it should be required of every able-bodied citizen. They believe that the schoolboys of this country should receive the rudiments of military drill and military discipline; that they should know how to shoot; that they should at least know which end of the gun to put to their shoulder; that they should know how to march and how to make camp and how to care for themselves in camp. In all our wars the disease of the camp has been more deadly than the bullets of the enemy. Our soldiers did not know the art of living in the field. One of the foremost soldiers of the country recently stated that if we were to call together an untrained army that thousands of our best young men would needlessly die in camp before they could be taught how to care for themselves.

'If war never came, would it not be a good thing for all the strong and healthy young men in this country to have this discipline that comes from the rudiments of military training? Would it not be good for them physically and morally and help them to better perform the duties of civil life? Being trained civilians, not professional soldiers, their interest being in civil life and not in war, knowing that in time of war they must fight, they would not only be a protection in time of necessity but a great power for peace. They would be the last to want an

uniust war.

PREFERENCE FOR THE SOLDIER.

"I make this suggestion to the American people: Might it not be well to give the men who prepare to serve their country in the National Guard, the continental army, and in the schools or colleges preference in the service of their country in civil life? If these men prepare to serve the country in time of war, why should they not be given preference in time of peace? We give preference in the Government service to the old soldier, and wisely and justly so. Why not give it to those that prepare to defend the country? This would be but merited recognition. It would show their country's appreciation. It would be of advantage to them, and it would be an advantage to the Nation. It would cost the country nothing. Such preference would be of great value in promoting enthusiasm in the soldier and in removing the objection of many to entering the service.

BURDEN OF COST.

"We hear much protest to-day against the financial burden that preparedness will bring. I submit I have little patience with this mercenary plea. The burden of cost brought by our military institutions is greatly and grossly exaggerated. figures in the aggregate may look large, but they are, in fact, very small when compared with our national wealth. Who feels the financial burden in normal times of maintaining our Navy? It is true that we spend millions of dollars annually for this purpose, but our Navy is built at home; it is maintained at home; all of the millions given by the people to build the Navy are repaid to the people again in wages and for supplies

"The maintenance of a Navy, in dollars and cents, is the cheapest insurance that is carried-far cheaper than the individual insurance. You take the cost of our Navy for the last 110 years, and it has annually been only \$0.0012 for each dollar of the valuation of the wealth of the country. For the last decade prior to 1910 it was only \$0.00091 per annum for each dollar. For the last three years it has been very much less

than for the decade mentioned.

"The cost of our Army has been but little more. What candid American citizen can look upon these facts and complain of the

financial burden brought by our Army or our Navy?

"A single battle would cost us more than it would cost to construct a great Navy. A single year of war would cost more than a century of preparedness. A single great war would cost more than a thousand years of being ready for war. Who will stop to ask the cost of preparedness on the day of battle? Who will measure in money the value of the dead or the agony of the wounded and dying? Who will measure in money the suffering and the privations of the widow and orphan? What is human life and human blood and human suffering worth measuring in gold? The American people have little patience with this protest against the cost of preparedness. It is not a question of cost. It is solely a question, Will preparedness reduce the chances of war?'

Child Labor-Keating Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL.

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 26, 1916.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, being a firm believer in giving every child an equal opportunity to develop his strength not only mentally but physically as well, I shall vote in favor of the child-labor bill.

We can not sap the strength of the infant and simply count the profit in dollars and cents. We must broaden our horizon and see the consequence 20 to 30 years hence, when these children now in the factories and mills shall have grown up into either manhood or womanhood. Is there anyone here who can truly say that we shall not have sustained a great loss to the welfare of the country if these children shall not grow up with an optimistic view of things about them?

How can we anticipate the proper inculcation of love of our institutions and respect for our flag if our sole thought as to these children is, how much are they worth to the owner of a

factory or mill,

I had looked forward to the time when the owners of both factory and mill would step to the front and acknowledge that the time had come for the enactment of legislation embodied in the measure now before us.

We would have been glad to welcome this demonstration to the world that the American manufacturers and mill owners were more liberal in their treatment of their employees, but

apparently we are doomed to disappointment.

man, woman, or child. No opposition comes from the owners of mills or factories in such States.

In the States where immigrants are scarce there comes forth the most strenuous and greatest opposition to the enactment of laws that would reduce the hours of labor and give the child a chance to be in school instead of the mill; an opportunity to grow strong instead of losing his strength, and the ability to become a good law-abiding citizen, satisfied and contented with his surroundings, instead of a disgruntled, pessimistic, and dissatisfied individual.

Commissioner Royal Meeker, of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, has prepared for the World Almanac for 1916 the following summary of labor legislation revised to date, and, believing it to be invaluable, I herewith read it:

LAROR LEGISLATION.

BOYCOTTING, BLACKLISTING, AND INTIMIDATION LAWS.

The States having laws prohibiting boycotting in terms are Alabama, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, and Texas.

The States having laws prohibiting blacklisting in terms are Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Mississippi (applies to telegraph operators only), Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Boycotting and plaketing by pages of the control of the

North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas, Utan, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Boycotting and picketing by peaceful and lawful means are declared legal by a Federal statute.

A number of States have laws concerning intimidation, conspiracy against workingmen, and interference with employment, viz: Alabama, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho (applies to mine employees only), Illinois, Kanras, Kentucky, Louislana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesotta, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Porto Rico, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

In the following States it is unlawful for an employee not to join or become a member of a labor organization, as a condition of employment: California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Indiana, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi (applies to telegraph operators only), Nevada, New Jersey, Ohlo, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Porto Rico, South Carolina, Utah, and Wisconsin.

EIGHT-HOUR LAWS.

Alaska: Eight hours constitutes a day's labor on all public works and in all mines and workings, smelting and reduction works, and at coke

ovens.

Arizona: Eight hours constitute a day's labor on all public works and in all mines and workings, smelting and reduction works, blast furnaces, roiling mills, etc.

Arkansas: Eight hours constitute a day's work on public highways and bridges and for railway telegraph operators.

California: Unless otherwise expressly stipulated, eight hours constitute a day's work. The time of service of all laborers, workmen, and mechanics employed upon any public works of, or work done for, the State, or for any political suddivision thereof, whether the work is to be done by contract or otherwise, and of employees in mines and smelters is limited and restricted to eight hours in any one calendar day.

Colorado: A day's work for all workingmen employed by the State, or

colorado: A day's work for all workingmen employed by the State, or any county, township, school district, municipality, or incorporated town, and for all employees in underground or open-cut mines or workings, and in smelting and refining works is restricted to eight hours.

Connecticut: Eight hours of labor constitute a lawful day's work unless otherwise agreed. Railroad telegraph operators, controlling the movement of trains, may work but eight hours, except at stations kept open only in the daytime. Engineers, firemen, machinists, and other mechanics employed in State institutions may work but eight hours, except in case of emergency.

Delaware: Eight hours constitute a lawful day's work for all municipal employees of the city of Wilmington.

District of Columbia; A day's work for all laborers and mechanics employed by the District of Columbia, or by any contractor or subcontractor upon any public works of the District, is limited to eight hours. Hawaii: For all mechanics, clerks, laborers, and other employees on public works and in public offices eight hours of actual service constitute a day's work.

Idaho: Eight hours' actual work constitute a lawful day's labor for

a day's work.

Idaho: Eight hours' actual work constitute a lawful day's labor for manual laborers employed by the day on all State, county, and municipal works. Labor in mines and smelters is limited to eight hours per day. Illinois: Eight hours are a legal day's work in all mechanical employments, except on farms, and when otherwise agreed; the law does not apply to service by the year, month, or week. Eight hours constitute a day's labor on the public highways.

Indiana: Eight hours of labor constitute a legal day's work on the public roads, and for all classes of mechanics, workingmen, and laborers, excepting those engaged in agricultural and domestic labor. Overwork by agreement and for extra compensation is permitted.

Iowa: Eight hours constitute a day's labor on the public roads. Kansas: Eight hours are a day's work for all laborers, mechanics, or other persons employed by or on behalf of the State or any county, city, township, or other municipality.

Kentucky: Eight hours constitute a day's work on all public works.

Kentucky: Eight hours constitute a day's work on all public works

apparently we are doomed to disappointment.

Under those circumstances, and when men will not rise to the occasion, then we must meet the issue and make into law what should be the ordinary rule of conduct amongst employers of labor in the twentieth century.

I feel quite confident that in years hence these very mill and factory owners will wonder how it was that they did not have the foresight to favor instead of oppose the enactment of a measure of this kind.

It is remarkable perhaps, but worthy of note, that in the very States where the immigrant has settled in large numbers there we find legislation beneficial to the laborer, whether he be

does not apply to agricultural laborers. It is unlawful for employers to work their employees longer than eight hours per day in mines and smelters, or as train dispatchers, etc., on railroads, unless the office is open only during the daytime. Eight hours are a day's labor on highways, and on all public works in cities of the second class.

Montana: Eight hours constitute a legal day's work for persons engaged to operate or handle hoisting engines at mines. The law applies only to such plants as are in operation 16 or more hours per day, or at or in mines where the engine develops 15 or more hours per day, or at or in mines where the engine develops 15 or more hours per day, or at or in mines where the engine develops 15 or more hours per day, or at or in mines where the engine develops 15 or more hours per day, or at or in mines where the engine develops 15 or more hours per day, or at or in mines where the engine develops 15 or more hours per day, and in smelters, underground mines, and in railroad and other tunnels is limited to eight hours.

Nebraska: Eight hours constitute a day's work on public roads and on all public works in cities of the first class.

Nevada: For labor on public highways, in and about all mines, in smelters, plaster and cement mills, as train dispatchers, etc., on railroads, and on all works and undertakings carried on or aided by the State, county, or municipal governments the hours of labor are fixed at eight per day.

New Jersey: Eight hours is the limit of a day's work by any person employed by or on behalf of the State or any municipality thereof.

New Mexico: Eight hours constitute a day's labor in all employment by or on behalf of the State or municipality.

New York: Eight hours constitute a day's work on highways, and on work done by or for the State, or a municipal corporation, whether directly by contractors or subcontractors; also for all classes of employees, except in farm or domestic labor, though overwork for extra pay is permitted in private employments.

North Dakota

Eight hours constitute a day's labor for all mechanics, workmen, and laborers in the employ of the State, or of any municipal corporation therein, or otherwise engaged on public works. This act shall be deemed to apply to employees of contractors. Engineers holsting workmen at anthracite-coal mines may work but eight hours per day. Philippine Islands: Eight hours constitute a day's work on highways. Porto Rico: No laborer may be compelled to work more than eight hours per day on public works.

South Dakota: For labor on public highways a day's work is fixed at eight hours.

eight hours.

Tennessee: Eight hours shall be a day's work on the highways.

Texnessee: Eight hours constitute a day's work on the highways and by train dispatchers, etc., except at stations where but one operator is employed.

Utah: Eight hours constitute a day's labor on all works carried on or alded by the State, county, or municipal governments, and in all underground mines or workings, and in smelters and all other establishments for the reduction of ores.

Washington: Eight hours in any calendar day shall constitute a day's work on any work done for the State or for any county or municipality and in underground coal mines.

West Virginia: Eight hours shall constitute a day's work for all laborers, workmen, and mechanics who may be employed by or on behalf of the State, and for telegraph operators directing the movement of trains where 3 or more passenger or 10 or more freight trains pass in 24 hours.

Wisconsin: In all engagements to labor in any manufacturing or mechanical business, where there is no express contract to the contrary, a day's work shall consist of eight hours, but the law does not apply to contracts for labor by the week month, or year. Eight hours constitute a day's labor on the public highways. Employees on public works and train dispatchers may be employed but eight hours per day.

Wyoming: Eight hours' actual work constitute a legal day's labor in all underground mines, in smelters, and on all State and municipal works.

United States: A day's work for all laborers, workmen, and mechanics who may be employed by the United States, or by any contractor or subcontractor upon any of the public works of the United States, including dredging and rock excavation in river and harbor work, is limited to eight hours.

State labor bureaus in the United States.

Location.	Title.	Organ- ized.	Chief officer.	Address.
District of Columbia	United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.	1885	Royal Meeker	Washington.
Artansas	Bureau of Labor and Statistics	1913	J. C. Clary	Little Rock.
a i ornia	Bureau of Labor Statistics	1883	Jno. P. McLaughlin	San Trancisco.
olorado	do	1887	E. V. Brake	Denver.
onnecticut	Department of Labor and Factory Inspection	1893	Patrick H. Connolly	Bartford.
eorgia	Department of Commerce and Labor.	1911	H. M. Stanley	Atlanta.
awali	Department of Immigration, Labor and Statistics	1911	R. A. Kearns	Honolulu.
daho	Bureau of Immigration, Labor and Statistics.	1895	Samuel J. Rich	Boise.
llinois	Bureau of Labor Statistics	1879	L. D. McCoy	Springfield.
ndiana	Bureau of Statistics	1879	T. W. Brolley	Indianapolis,
owa	Bureau of Labor Statistics.	1884	A. L. Urick	Des Moines.
ansas	Department of Labor and Industry	1885	P. J. McBride	Topeka.
entucky	Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Statistics.	1876	J. W. Newman	Frankfort.
onisiana	Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics	1900	Wm. McGilvray	New Orleans.
faine	Department of Labor and Industry	1887	R. A. Eddy	Augusta.
farvland	Bureau of Statistics and Information	1884	Frank A. White	Baltimore.
lassachusetts	Board of Labor and Industries	1869	A. W. Donovan	Boston.
lichigan	Department of Labor	1883	J. V. Cunningham	Lansing.
finnesota	Department of Labor and Industries	1887	W. F. Houk	St. Paul.
lissouri	Bureau of Labor Statistics	1879	J. T. Fitzpatrick	Jefferson City.
fontana	Department of Labor and Industry	1893	W. J. Swindlehurst	Helena.
ebraska	Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics	1887	Chas. W. Pool	Lincoln.
evada	Bureau of Labor	1915	W. E. Wallace	Carson City.
ew Hampshire	do.	1893	J. S. B. Davie	Concord.
ew Jersey	Department of Labor	1878	Lewis T. Bryant	Trenton.
		1883	John Mitchell	Albany.
ew York	Industrial Commission. Department of Labor and Printing.	1887	M. L. Shipman	Raleigh.
orth Caronna	Department of Agriculture and Labor	1890	W. C. Gilbreath	
	Industrial Commission	1913	W. D. Yaple	Targo.
hio		1907		Columbus.
klahoma	Department of Labor	1907	Chas. L. Daugherty P. H. Hoff	Guthrie.
regon	Bureau of Labor Statistics and Inspection Factory Workshops	1913	J. P. Jackson	Salem.
ennsylvania	Department of Labor and Industries			Harrisburg.
orto Rico	Bureau of Labor	1912	J. Clark Bills	San Juan.
hode Island	Bureau of Industrial Statistics	1887	George H. Webb	Providence.
outh Carolina	Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry	1909	E. J. Watson	Columbia.
exas	Bureau of Labor Statistics	1909	C. W. Woodman	Austin.
tah	Bureau of Immigration, Labor and Statistics.	1911	H. T. Haines	Salt Lake City
irginia	Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics	1898	James B. Doherty	Richmond.
Vashington	Bureau of Labor	1897	E. W. Olson	Olympia.
Vest Virginia	do	1889	Jack H. Nightingale	Wheeling.
isconsin	Industrial Commission	1883	C. H. Crownhart	Madison.

is undepiable

I take the liberty of reading the following editorial from the Washington Post of February 2, 1916, which is as follows:

That the press of the country is in favor of this legislation is undeniable.

I take the liberty of reading the following editorial from the Vashington Post of February 2, 1916, which is as follows:

PROTECTING CHILDREN.

The Children's Bureau of the Federal Department of Labor recently ointed out that a decided tendency is to be noted in workmen's comensation legislation to penalize manufacturers who illegally employ oildren. The comment was made that an employer, whenever he emloys a child illegally, now runs a risk far greater than that of a fine other the child-labor law.

The document issued by the children's bureau contains a series of The Children's Bureau of the Federal Department of Labor recently pointed out that a decided tendency is to be noted in workmen's compensation legislation to penalize manufacturers who illegally employ children. The comment was made that an employer, whenever he employs a child illegally, now runs a risk far greater than that of a fine under the child-labor law.

The document issued by the children's bureau contains a series of analytical tables which show that there are only nine political divisions which have no provision of any kind for a 14-year or higher wages limit in factories, but that, on the other hand, there are at least 18 political divisions which allow the age limit to be lower legally in special cases or for special occupations. At this time, when Con-

I sincerely hope that this measure will receive the support, as I feel it deserves, of all who desire to see humanity bettered and the Nation gain in strength, morally, physically, and menChild Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD KEATING. OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 2, 1916.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, the pending legislation strikes at a great evil—the employment of children in the mines, quarries, mills, factories, canneries, and other manufacturing establishments of the United States. It seeks to bar the products of such child labor from the channels of interstate com-

In effect this makes the Federal Government say to the various States which compose the Union: "If you wish to tolerate this immoral, this pestilential thing—child labor—you may do so, but you shall not spread the contagion. [Applause.] You may weave the bodies and souls of your children into the warp and woof of your cloth, but can not exchange that tainted cloth for the gold of citizens living in other States more considerate of the interests of their little ones." [Applause.]

The proposed legislation is needed, the standards it estab-

lishes are reasonable and its provisions square with the Constitution of our country.

NEED OF THE LEGISLATION.

First, as to the need of the legislation. Perhaps the most convincing bit of evidence on that point would be the figures compiled by the United States Census Bureau showing the number of children employed in industries affected by the bill. Here are the figures, according to the census of 1910, disregarding the fact that some of the States have improved their legis-lation since 1910, notably Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Alabama, and Georgia:

Number of children employed in 1910 in industries affected by the bill:

136 --- 1 72-4

	Manufacturing and mechanical (specified occu- pations).		Extraction of minerals (speci- fied occupa- tions).	
	10-13 years.	14-15 years.	10-13 years.	14-15 years.
Total	27,005	178, 137	2,266	15, 401
Alabama	2,003	3, 141	486	933
Arizona	5	45	8	28
Arkansas	324	654	11	73
alifornia	81	1,581	4	43
olorado	29	380	33	178
onnecticut	43	4,246	*******	7
Delaware	34	373	*******	1
District of Columbia	668	102		
Torida		1,520	53	69
leorgiadaho	2,781	4,338	85	78
llinois	398	9,992	26	215
ndiana	289	4,743	28	557
owa	128	1, 473	29	311
Kansas	66	572	17	167
Kentucky	488	2,483	168	522
ouisiana	449	1,736	2	1
Maine	154	1,996	2	9
Maryland	849	4,028	45	242
Massachusetts	279	18, 275		25
Michigan	103	3,258		75
Minnesota	85	843	3	19
Mississippi	556	1,069	1441144	
Missouri	389	5, 255	14	219
Montana	8	78		
Nebraska	31	313	1	
Nevada		2	3	4
New Hampshire	63	2,067		5
New Jorsey	259	10,020	3	26
New Mexico	29	90	10	42
New York	518	18,502	3	47
North Carolina	6,344	8,475	15	27
North Dakota	11	53		
Ohio	370	8,763	47	793
Oklahoma	70	359 256	9	47
Oregon	29		529	7 00:
Pennsylvania	1,272	30,688	049	7,695
Rhode Island		4,712	*******	
South Dakota	4,154	5,506		6
Cennessee	1,029	2,289	188	663
l'exas	734	2,204	20	87
Utah		94	3	18
Vermont	18	259	2	36
Virginia	1,337	3,568	152	469
Washington	51	586	1	31
West Virginia	298	1,317	318	1,521
Wisconsin	81	3,670	2	16
Wyoming		17	1	39

The census of 1910 shows a distribution of the children of the several States among the industries that will be more or less affected by the operation of this bill if enacted into law, according to the following table:

	Children reported.		
Industry.		14 to 15.	Total.
Quarries Liquor and beverage industries. Chemical and allied industries. Paper and pulp industries Metal industries (except iron and steel). Clay, glass, and stone industries. Cigar and tobacco factories. Food and kindred industries Leather industries. Printing and book binding Mines Iron and steel industries Lumber and furniture industries Clothing industries. Clothing industries. Miscellaneous industries. Textile industries. Textile industries.	154 252 1,234 1,843 972 406 622 2,241 951 4,367	1,120 1,327 3,132 4,652 6,971 9,161 8,723 10,245 11,592 11,482 14,877 19,518 17,418 22,158 28,093 65,888	1, 344 1, 442 3, 316 4, 806 7, 223 10, 395 10, 566 11, 217 11, 988 12, 104 17, 118 20, 469 21, 786 23, 271 30, 155 80, 530

More than 200,000 children for whom this bill will be an industrial Magna Charta!

TESTIMONY OF SOCIAL WORKERS.

Then we have the testimony of the men and women who have devoted their lives to the consideration of the problems of child labor. They tell us that, when they appear before the legislatures of the various States and plead for legislation protecting the interests of the little ones, they are met with the argument that it is unfair to ask one State to establish standards higher than those maintained in the neighboring States. On that point let me read to you from the testimony of Mrs. Florence Kelley, general secretary of the National Consumers' League, given before a committee of this House. Mrs. Kelley is the daughter of a former Member of this House, one of the most distinguished sons of Pennsylvania. She is known from ocean as the capable and indefatigable champion of oppressed childhood and womanhood. This is what she says:

oppressed childhood and womanhood. This is what she says:

It is over 30 years since I enlisted in the effort to get better legislation for the protection of the children. I believe there are more children under 16 years old working to-day in dangerous occupations than there were when I began, because our manufacturing industries have increased stupendously and our State legislation has halted. There has been no unity in our progress. The 48 States suggest the legs of a centipede, some going forward and some paralyzed, the total progress lamentably slow. This Republic is one, and we can not go on forever with a favored class of children in the Northwestern States, where there is a requirement that the children shall not work until they are 15 years of age, and they are kept in school throughout the eighth grade, while in the southern cotton-manufacturing States there is no compulsory education, and either entire lack of legislation by the State or a collection of nugatory laws.

YIOLATIONS OF LAW NOT PUNISHED.

VIOLATIONS OF LAW NOT PUNISHED.

Then we have the testimony of Mr. W. H. Swift, who represents the National Child Labor Committee in North and South Carolina. Speaking of the need of Federal legislation, Mr. Swift testified before the Labor Committee of this House:

We have had this law protecting children up to 12 since 1905. I have seen many violations of it. So far as I now know, there has been in my State but one prosecution for the employment of a young child. The reason of it is because the manufacturers are influential.

The reason we do not do it is this: North Carolina and South Carolina are adjacent. If in North Carolina we undertook to change the age limit and the hours we are met with the proposition that South Carolina has not done it, and the people will move across the line, and then when we go to South Carolina and suggest that we change the age limit they say North Carolina will take all our wealth. I can not see any way by which it can be done successfully except by the Federal Government, and it will be done wisely in that way.

Mr. Specker, I might so on indefinitely quoting the utter-

Mr. Speaker, I might go on indefinitely quoting the utterances of the leaders of social welfare work on this subject. I will not do so because it is unnecessary. They are unanimous in declaring that if we are to have effective child-labor legislation in this country relief must come through the National Government

And I might say with perfect truth that that is the view entertained by the opponents of this bill. They are making a "last-ditch" stand against Federal legislation, because they know it will be effective legislation, that it will eradicate the

They have succeeded in evading and in a measure nullifying State legislation. They do not believe they would be so successful in an attempt to dodge national legislation,

WILLING TO BRIBE OFFICIALS.

On that point permit me to submit the very interesting testimony of one of the star witnesses placed on the stand by the opponents of this measure. I refer to Mr. David Clark, of Charlotte, N. C., editor of the Southern Textile Bulletin, the organ of the cotton mill interests of the South. While Mr. Clark was on the stand before the Labor Committee the following dialogue occurred:

ing dialogue occurred:

Mr. Krating. Do you think that when Gov. Kitchin, in his message of 1911, stated to the legislature. "I renew my recommendation of two years ago that factory inspection be provided to insure better enforcement of our law with respect to factory conditions and labor," that the recommendation was not justified and that the legislature was justified in refusing to act on it?

Mr. Clark. I have no doubt that Gov. Kitchin felt justified.

Mr. Krating. But you did not?

Mr. Clark. No, sir. The gentlemen here to-day do not favor it, at least. Some people favor Government inspection and some do not. Personally I do not, because it is largely a grafter proposition?

Mr. London. What do you mean by a grafting proposition?

Mr. Clark. I am not prepared to give you the facts, but my understanding is that if you pay you get a clean bill of health.

Mr. London. You believe that your mill owners would resort to corruption in order to escape a fair inspection?

Mr. Clark. Not more than any others; not more than was necessary.

Mr. London. You mean they would resort to corruption of a Government official?

Mr. Clark. Well, yes; if they were held up.

You will notice, gentlemen, that Mr. Clark, the spokesman

You will notice, gentlemen, that Mr. Clark, the spokesman for the cotton-mill interests, frankly declares that those interests are opposed to Government inspection and, therefore, to Government enforcement of child-labor legislation, and, if necessary to avoid such inspection and enforcement, they would bribe the sworn officers of the Government.

Under the circumstances is it any wonder that in the State of North Carolina practically no attempt is made to enforce the child-labor law? And is it any wonder that Mr. Swift, the secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, assures us that unless we secure Federal legislation we need not expect a change in conditions in North Carolina for many years to come?

STANDARDS OF THE BILL.

I have said that the standards established by this bill are reasonable. What are those standards. First, that children under 16 years shall not be employed in mines or quarries. Second, that children under 14 years shall not be employed in mills, factories, canneries, or other manufacturing establishments. Third, that children between 14 and 16 years shall not be employed in mills, factories, canneries, or other manufacturing establishments for more than 8 hours a day or 6 days in a week or at night.

Mr. Speaker, the majority of the American people, through their State legislatures, have placed the seal of their approval on those standards. Every provision of the pending legislation is now on the statute books of States containing more than 52

per cent of the total population of the Union.

For two successive Congresses your Committee on Labor has held public hearings on this measure. Notice of such hearings has been sent broadcast throughout the land, and yet the only manufacturers to appear before the committee in opposition to the bill have been the cotton-mill owners from a limited area in four or five Southern States.

So far as the evidence before this House is concerned, I am justified in declaring that 95 per cent of the business interests of this country recognize the standards set up in this bill as

humane and reasonable.

INDORSED BY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION.

The American Medical Association, at its annual meeting in Atlantic City in June, 1914—which meeting was attended by 6,000 of the most prominent physicians from every section of the United States-adopted the following resolution without a dissenting vote:

dissenting vote:

Whereas many thousands of children under 16 years of age are employed in the United States in gainful occupation, under improper conditions, resulting in the impairment of their health and future well-being; and
Whereas 19 States and the Congress of the United States, for the District of Columbia, have already enacted laws limiting the hours of labor for children under 16 to eight hours a day, and prohibiting such children from working at night or at dangerous occupations: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the American Medical Association, That we commend those States which have adopted legislation to protect children under 16 years of age from the disastrous consequences of unsuitable work and bad industrial conditions, and urge all other States to establish for the benefit of such children a work day not to exceed eight hours and the prohibition of labor at night or in any hazardous employments; and to this end we recommend that all State medical societies affiliated with this association, and the medical profession generally, advocate the passage of such laws by the legislatures of their respective States.

FARMERS AND UNIONS FOR IT.

PARMERS AND UNIONS FOR IT.

Every labor organization in the country has indorsed and is actively supporting this measure, and the Farmers' Union, the most extensive and powerful association of agriculturists in the South, at its annual convention in Fort Worth, Tex., on September 2, 1914, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

Whereas the National Farmers' Union believes in properly protecting the physical, mental, and moral welfare of the child in order that its younger years may be devoted to the securing of that degree of education which befits American citizens and enables the child to be properly prepared for the duties of life;

Whereas there is now pending in the National Congress H. R. 12292, known as the Palmer-Owen bill, which prohibits manufactured goods from being admitted to interstate commerce which have been made in factories which employ children under the age of 14 years, or which work children under the age of 16 years more than eight hours per day, or at night: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we indorse this bill and demand its passage by the present Congress, and that copies of this resolution be sent to the Clerks of the House and Senate, the chairman of the Committee on Labor, and the President of the United States.

" CHILD-LABOR SUNDAY."

Last Sunday 6,000 churches, from Maine to California, observed "Child-labor Sunday," and pastors and congregations pleaded for the enactment of this legislation.

The women's clubs of the country and other similar organizations have been earnestly championing this bill. They have fairly deluged Members with letters, telegrams, and petitions.

Mr. Speaker, the supporters of this bill have brought about what may be described as a political miracle—they have placed Theodore Roosevelt and William Jennings Bryan on one platform, because both of these distinguished gentlemen have earnestly indorsed the pending measure. Permit me to quote their expressions.

Theodore Roosevelt, ex-President of the United States:

I heartily favor the child-labor bill. I sincerely hope it will pass both ouses of Congress this year.

William Jennings Bryan:

I have for many years been an advocate of legislation protecting children from the evils of the child-labor system, and believe it is entirely proper to use the power of the Government over interstate commerce to aid in securing relief from the evils of the present system.

I wish to insert at this point indorsements of this bill received from men and women who are obviously the representatives of the best thought and endeavor in the country.

William Draper Lewis, dean University of Pennsylvania Law

The fact that all our great industrial States have at present on their statute books laws providing at least as great and in many cases much greater protection for children than that provided in the contemplated national bill is conclusive evidence that the power of the National Government is only asked to be used to prevent a few States, blinded to their own and the Nation's permanent interests, from obtaining a temporary unfair advantage. I have no doubt as to the constitutionality of the proposed act proposed act.

Judge Joseph McCullough, Greenville, S. C.:

I favor it not only because I believe that the mill is not the proper place for a child of tender years but in the interest of the mills themselves. I further believe that the best way to secure an effective child-labor law is for the Federal Government to legislate upon the subject, as it does upon other subjects affecting interstate community interests.

Nathan William MacChesney, president Illinois Bar Asso-

Child labor is a national menace that should be dealt with by a police regulation directed to the health, safety, and morals of the people whose labor is employed upon products of interstate commerce, and should be directed and controlled by the Federal Government.

Huston Quin, Louisville, Ky.:

I certainly trust it will pass both Houses.

Grafton D. Cushing, Boston, Mass.:

My legislative experience has shown me that a great advance could be made in conditions of employment if national laws could only supersede the various laws of the different States. I feel sure that the sentiment of this State is in favor of national child-labor legislation.

Thomas I. Parkinson, Columbia University Law School:

If this legislation is desirable, certainly it ought not to be held up by Congress merely because of the possibility of its being held unconstitutional. No one can say that it is unconstitutional. If the mere fear of its unconstitutionality were to prevent the passage of legislation by Congress there would be no development of our constitutional law.

MANUFACTURERS AND BUSINESS MEN.

Wallace B. Rogers, president Laurel Cotton Mills, Laurel,

I think the soundest solution of the child-labor problem is national compulsory education. Probably this is impossible now, so a fair and equitable child-labor law is to be the stepping-stone to compulsory education. As one interested in manufacturing. I favor such action. No particular hardship would accrue to any individual operator so long as all were laboring under the same condition. I have reached the conclusion that the time has come to believe that any industry which can not survive except by the employment of children under reasonable age should be abolished.

D. H. Wogner, Wanner, Camput Co., Paidgework, Conn.

D. H. Warner, Warner Corset Co., Bridgeport, Conn.:

My experience in handling labor has worked out a very definite conclusion as to the absolute detriment to the whole labor situation in the use of the labor of children, undeveloped mentally or physically, either from the employee's viewpoint or the employer's. It would be decidedly just to have the law controlling a national law, so that all interstate competition would be upon an equal footing. I sincerely hope this bill may become a law.

A. W. McAlister, Greensboro, N. C.:

It seems to me to be a wise measure and one that will ultimately commend itself to our lawmakers,

Adolph Lewisohn, New York City:

The protection and safeguarding of the children is of vital importance to the welfare of the entire community, and will have a farreaching effect upon future generations. I believe that to have it really become effective it should be taken up by the Federal Government.

Isaac N. Seligman, New York City:

I can conceive of nothing more important than the object of the Keating-Owen bill, and am firmly convinced that it should become one of the Federal laws. Its appearance on the statute book would, in my opinion, inaugurate a new era in the annals of the abolition of child labor in the United States.

POLITICAL LEADERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

A. Mitchell Palmer, Stroudsburg, Pa.:

I am satisfied that when this Federal child-labor law goes to the Supreme Court, as it must some day, because these exploiters of child labor will move heaven and earth to prevent such a law from being put into operation, the court will say that if the method of production be such as to create an atmosphere around the factory and mill which will stunt the growth of the little children employed, the prohibition of that article in interstate commerce is entirely within the rights and powers of the American Congress.

HENRY CABOT LODGE, United States Senator from Massachusetts:

I have always taken a deep interest in child-labor legislation, and I trust it may be possible to secure the passage of a suitable bill by the present Congress. It is needless to say that I shall do all in my power in that direction.

Julia C. Lathrop, Chief Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor:

The passage of such a measure as this would undoubtedly signalize a distinct and immediate advance in the provisions for the hygiene and education of children.

William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce:

I believe that in every practicable and legal way child labor should be forbidden under 14 years of age, or in certain more exhausting industries under 16 years of age, and that whenever it is permitted it should be carefully restricted as to length of daily labor and as to night work. I think that the public interest not only requires this but that in any broad viewpoint the welfare of industry requires it also.

ORGANIZED LABOR.

John P. Frey, International Molders' Journal, Cincinnati, Ohio:

The children are the Nation's greatest asset; they are the ones who in the next half generation will take our places. * * * The time has come to act not only in the children's interest but for the Nation's welfare and safety.

John Golden, United Textile Workers of America:

It is the earnest hope of the thousands of members connected with our organization that this bill will become a law this year. The only reason for the employment of child labor is that it is low-wage labor and unresisting. In regulating child labor by Federal regulation we place all the States on an equal footing, protecting children against exploitation, protecting the American workman against the competition of child labor, and protecting the American manufacturer who, on principle, does not believe in child labor, and does not wish to employ it.

Paul Scharrenburg, secretary California Federation of Labor:

In these days of "preparedness" it would seem that the Nation can ill afford to neglect the children. Child labor is the great blighting curse of our country. The Federal child-labor bill strikes at the very roots of the evil, and it is the duty of every true American to do everything within his power to have that measure enacted into law at this session of Congress.

DOCTORS.

Woods Hutchinson, president American Academy of Medicine: The nation that works its children has no right to call itself civilized, and is about as rapacious and intelligent as the farmer who grinds his

S. Adolphus Knopf, New York City:

It is my firm conviction that we will never solve the tuberculosis nor the alcohol nor the sexual-disease problems, which weigh so heavily on our people, unless we do away with that curse of our Nation—child labor. I can not too strongly recommend the passage of the Keating-Owen bill, and plead with every father and mother and lover of children to do their utmost to bring this about.

William C. Hanson, Massachusetts Board of Health, Cam-

The passage of this bill should be regarded as epoch-making legislation in the interest of preventive medicine, which has for its great object the removal and avoidance of causes of disease.

Harvey W. Wiley, Washington, D. C.:

I want to join the army of those who are working for the principle of the protection of the child. I do not believe that the future man or woman should be sacrificed by exploiting the earning powers of the child. It is on the same principle of economy as would sell all the calves for veal and at the same time expect to have a race of grown-up cattle for beef.

Felix Adler, Society for Ethical Culture, New York City:

What enlightened sentiment demands is not only that the chidren in our own communities shall not be exploited, but that we shall not be forced against our will and better judgment to encourage child labor by purchasing the products of such labor. We have not the power to protect ourselves against such complicity as States, because we have abandoned to the Nation the right to control interstate commerce. The Nation, therefore, should step in and exercise the power of which we have bereft ourselves.

Meyer Bloomfield, vocation bureau, Boston, Mass.:

The Federal bill is the first intelligent attempt in our country at the right sort of conscription—educational conscription—which looks forward to enlisting all future citizens in activities that make for health, intelligence, civic loyalty, and industrial efficiency.

Jesse B. Davis, president National Vocational Guidance Association:

I am vitally interested in the Federal child-labor bill now pending in Congress. Not only as an educator, but as one especially interested in vocational guidance have I constant evidence of the need for the passage of this bill.

John Dewey, department of philosophy, Columbia University, New York City:

I heartily favor the principle of Federal control of child labor, and also the particular measure for securing it now pending in Congress. Its passage is, I am sure, in the best interests of the country. Incidentally, I might say that proper care of the education and physical development is a phase of national preparedness second in importance

Franklin B. Dyer, superintendent of schools, Boston, Mass.:

It seems to me that legislation should become general in regard to conditions under which children may work. Those States that have established protective measures have demonstrated the effectiveness of such legislation, and through such a bill as is proposed a desirable uniformity of humane conditions for children would be rapidly developed.

John Finley, commissioner of education, New York State:

Some interstate standardization of child-labor laws seems necessary if we are to deal effectively with this vital need of conserving the educational interests of child life.

Robert F. Hoxie, department of political economy, University of Chicago:

What we all hope for, of course, in the end is child-labor legislation so closely bound up with an adequate system of industrial education, and so adequately administered that wise discrimination applied to the individual child can take the place of fixed age limits. This, however, seems to be far in the future. I believe that the Keating-Owen bill is a necessary step in the right direction.

Frank M. Leavitt, University of Chicago:

Of course, I am wholly in favor of the Keating-Owen bill and believe in the justice and wisdom of the measure. My experience with prevocational, continuation, and industrial schools convinces me that the best place for children under 16 years of age to work is in the schools

C. A. Prosser, National Association for the Promotion of Industrial Education:

The United States Government has a duty for its protection of preventing the circulation through interstate commerce of all goods made by a system of child labor which is sure to result in an illiterate and therefore an incompetent citizenship.

SOCIAL WORKERS.

Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.:

Because our social and industrial problems are interstate problems, it becomes increasingly obvious that they must be regulated through Federal legislation.

Edward T. Devine, director, New York School of Philanthrophy:

If there is any such thing in this country as a national sentiment, it should certainly be allowed to show itself effectively in the fundamental matter of child protection and in the encouragement which such a measure would give to universal compulsory education.

Alexander Johnson, field secretary National Committee on Provision for the Feeble-Minded:

The arguments as to its being constitutional have been very thoroughly thrashed out, and it is hard to see how anyone who is without financial interests to influence him can question the essential right-coursess of its purpose.

Florence Kelley, secretary National Consumers' League:

Our immediate need is the passage of the Federal child-labor law enable the Federal Government to enforce the law.

CLERGY.

S. Parkes Cadman, Central Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.:

It is in the highest degree a humanitarian measure, as well as one of economic and political wisdom. I sincerely hope it will become a law this year.

John Haynes Holmes, Church of the Messiah, New York City: I believe that its enactment would constitute the biggest forward step yet achieved in the history of child legislation in this country.

Edwin E. Hughes, Methodist Episcopal bishop, California:

This bill seems to me admirably adapted to accomplish by Federal was distinct curtailment in industrial child labor in our great country, sincerely hope it may become a law.

Charles E. Jefferson, Broadway Tabernacle, New York City: It seems to me that the Keating-Owen bill to regulate child labor is an excellent one, and I hope it will pass. The American people are getting their eyes open to the dimensions of the tragedy of child labor, and our legislators will, no doubt, be ready to put into legislation what our people demand.

Francis J. McConnell, Methodist Episcopal bishop, Colorado: I am heartily in favor of the passage of the Keating-Owen child-labor

Charles Stelzle, New York City:

The Keating-Owen bill should be adopted. The bill is reasonable as well as humane. Any industry which can not live without child labor has no right to live at all.

Stephen S. Wise, Free Synagogue, New York City:

The Keating-Owen bill should be enacted into law, the President and Congress owing its enactment to the children of the Nation as well as to the Nation. Child labor involves a nation-wide problem and it can be solved best and most equitably through such a measure as the Keating-Owen bill which sets up one standard for the whole country.

JOURNALISTS.

Mark Sullivan, editor Collier's Weekly:

I am unqualifiedly in favor of the principle and the method of approach to the child-labor problem which are embodied in the Keating-Owen bill. It is the only way to approach the child-labor problem with fairness to all employers. I earnestly hope the bill will be forced to an early debate and vote.

Charles Hanson Towne, editor McClure's Magazine:

I know of no bill more important to the welfare not only of this but of the coming generation than that for the prevention of interstate commerce in the products of child labor. The whole country should indorse it and urge its speedy passage.

Frank P. Walsh, editor Kansas City Post, Missouri:

I regard the passage by Congress of the child-labor bill as a matter of the most vital and urgent importance to this Nation.

Talcott Williams, school of journalism, Columbia University: I opposed Federal legislation on this subject for many years, because I believed it would never be efficient until the standard had been raised in enough States to furnish a supply of manufactured goods made under conditions just to the child, to the family, and to the community. I have for several years favored this legislation, because this time has

AUTHORS.

Booth Tarkington, Indianapolis, Ind.:

It is inconceivable that there should be opposition to the Federal child-labor bill. Two ways of looking at child labor are like two ways of looking at massacre.

James Oppenheim, New York City:

No one who cares for America can oppose this bill.

Inez Haynes Gillmore, San Francisco, Cal.:

Of all the great world problems, I believe the labor problem to be the most important. Of all aspects of the labor problem, I believe that child labor demands the most instant and complete alleviation. Of all forms of industrial slavery, child labor is the most abhorrent. I believe with every ounce of conviction there is in me in the work of the national child-labor committee. I heartily indorse the Federal child-labor bill.

Henry Sydnor Harrison, Charleston, W. Va.:

It is increasingly perceived that only by the action of the Federal power can industrial morals in America be effectively regulated and standardized. By all means the Keating-Owen bill should pass and pass quickly.

Sarah N. Cleghorn, Manchester, Vt.:

I wonder if there could be any surer way to incur that unenviable dictum, "It were better that a millstone were hanged about his neck," than to vote against the Keating-Owen bill.

WHAT THE PRESS SAYS.

Mr. Speaker, the following extracts from editorials which have recently appeared in the great daily newspapers of the country indicate how the press of the land stands on this ques-

[Chicago (III.) Tribune, Aug. 5, 1915.]

Chicago (III.) Tribune, Aug. 5, 1915.]

The demand for national action is apparent from the standpoint of accomplishing something within the next decade. Georgia has a decent standard for the protection of the child, but an inadequate appropriation for enforcement. Alabama has an efficient enforcement of a fair law, and an attack is now being made to abolish the office. Illinois defeated the legislation upon the plea that it is unfair, and New York has made a shameless record. National legislation will have the good effect of equalizing the conditions and insuring wide enforcement.

[Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial-Appeal, Jan. 4, 1916.]

But the right to grind the hone and health and joy out of little.

[Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial-Appeal, Jan. 4, 1916.]

But the right to grind the hope and health and joy out of little children by long hours of hard labor in close factories or dark mines belongs to no man and no corporation of men. And it is against the greed of these would-be grinders that the child-labor committee has formulated its bill. The members of this committee are not speaking from hearsay information. They have personally inspected the mills, the sweatshops, and the mines where the blood and hope of the undeveloped children have been coined into factory products. It is in behalf of these children that they are seeking to arouse public sentiment that Congress may be induced to pass a national law that will be effective and protective. be effective and protective.

be effective and protective.

[New York (N. Y.) Tribune, Jan. 19, 1916.]

Nobody now attempts to defend child labor as an abstract problem. Concrete attempts to retain it for what seem to be individual or locality benefit, therefore, stamp themselves as clear, unadulterated self-ishness. "Where the child is wronged, the Nation and its industry is wronged," as the House committee's report well says. It remains for Congress by passing this measure to see that neither individual children nor the Nation can be wronged in the future.

Children nor the Nation can be wronged in the future.

[Philadelphia (Pa.) Public Ledger, Nov. 16, 1915.]

As the bill goes no further than a prohibition of interstate commerce in the products of children under 14 employed in factories, limits the working hours of children under 16 to eight hours a day, and forbids the employment of children under 16 in mines and quarries, it can not be called either extreme or radical. Now that public attention is being again concentrated on the measure, the child-labor committee is hopeful

that the influences which prevented its enactment will be swept out of the way by the force of humane and progressive public opinion.

[Dallas (Tex.) News, Jan. 19, 1916.]

[Dallas (Tex.) News, Jan. 19, 1916.]

The consequences of child labor make too big a social price to pay for the rather meager material prosperity that cotton mills yield to a community. It was disclosed during the committee hearing on this bill that in North and South Carolina it is permissible to work 12-year-old children in cotton mills 11 hours a day. The physical, intellectual, social, and moral consequences of such unremitting labor in a cotton mill on children whose minds and bodies are yet plastic are obvious. Their earthly destiny is, in most instances, the poorhouses, the hospitals, the asylums, and the jails. The dividends their labor makes are in reality paid by the community that tolerates the evil cause in the form of taxes to support the large and ever-expanding institutions for which the demoralizing, dehumanizing, and decivilizing process makes need. The human product of cotton mills that work children in the way they are worked in the Carolinas makes their commercial product a loss to the community.

It is to be hoped that the bill which has been reported to the House will be enacted into law. If that should result in the removal of cotton mills from the South, the South can witness their departure without regret.

[Milwaukee (Wis.) Leader, Jan. 8, 1016.]

[Milwaukee (Wis.) Leader, Jan. 8, 1916.]

This is the bill for which every union in the United States stands. It is the bill that is supported by every professional philanthropist and by every person who has made any study of the effects of child labor. It is a bill against which there is but one single argument. That argument, however, is one which has prevailed against a multitude of desirable laws. The argument is the profit to be made from the labor of children. of children.

[Brooklyn (N. Y.) Eagle, Jan. 19, 1916.]

It is a condition and not a theory which confronts Congress, and the condition is fraught with so much danger to future generations that its correction is likely to override philosophic scruples about interference with the welfare of the States.

[Kansas City (Mo.) Post, Jan. 18, 1916.]

Passage of this law will throw a State's shame back on itself. * * *
If any State is willing to assume for itself this burden of illiteracy, of crime, of delinquency, of starved souls and bodies, let it. But the people of the whole United States should not be made a party to the gross injustice and its utter lack of consideration to every principle of right living

[Boston (Mass.) Morning Globe, Jan. 19, 1916.]

Fairness demands that some check be placed upon sections of the country which can use labor in ways impossible for us under the law. The only sure way in which this can be done is by an embargo upon the interstate shipment of such goods.

the interstate shipment of such goods,
[Minneapolis (Minn.) Tribune, Jan. 15, 1916.]

It is difficult to conceive of any friend of the child hesitating about the removal of the last stand of the exploiter of the labor of little children—the plea that they do it in other States, and competition, therefore, compels it. When the Federal Government regulates child labor the regulations will be alike in all parts of the country, and the failure of States to protect their childhood will be overruled by a higher power.

PLEA OF THE OPPOSITION.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that is a pretty convincing array of

testimony. What do our opponents offer in reply?

Dr. T. W. M. Long, of Roanoke Rapids, N. C., a mill doctor and physician, who testified that his job was at the mercy of the mill owners of Roanoke Rapids, gave it as his professional opinion that boys and girls 12 years old might be worked 12 hours a day in a cotton mill "without deleterious effect."

Mr. Douglass C. Ruffin, a cotton-mill owner, of Mayordin, , testified that in his judgment, after years of experience, a boy 10 years old might be worked 12 hours a day in a cotton mill without injurious effect.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I submit that men who give that kind of testimony may be living in the twentieth century, but they

are thinking in the eighteenth century.

Let it be recorded to the credit of the medical profession that Dr. Long was the only physician who could be induced to risk his professional reputation in support of the mill-owners' position. They did put another physician on the stand, Dr. McBrayer, but you will see from an examination of the hearings that this physician declared that he did not wish the committee to understand that anything he had said was intended as an argument against limiting the hours of labor of children in cotton mills. In order to make this point clear I will insert an extract from Dr. McBrayer's testimony:

Mr. Keating. Doctor, as a physician who has had a great deal of experience in the South, at what age do you believe that girls should be permitted to work in a cotton mill, or have you given any thought to that subject?

Dr. McBrayer I have not investigated that fully.

Mr. Keating. Weuld you consider that a girl might be admitted to work in a cotton mill at 12 years and work 11 hours a day with safety?

Dr. McBrayer. Well, I think it is pretty hard work for a grown man. If I had my way about it, we would not—

Mr. Keating. You do not wish the committee to understand that anything you have said here to-day is an argument against limiting the hours of labor of children in cotton mills?

Dr. McBrayer. Not at all.

EIGHT-HOUR DAY FOR CHILDREN.

It should be stated, too, in justice to some of the mill owners, that the majority did not support the extreme views presented by Mr. Ruffin. I think I am well within the facts when I say that a majority of the witnesses placed on the stand by the opponents of this measure admitted that all the provisions of the bill were reasonable, with the single exception of the provision forbidding the employment of children between 14 and 16 years for more than eight hours a day or six days a week.

Their objection to that provision was based on the fact that adults were compelled to work 11 hours a day in southern mills, and they argued that it was impossible for them to work a part of their employees 8 hours a day and another part 11

hours a day.

Fortunately we have the most convincing evidence that there is nothing in that contention. When the Massachusetts Legislature was considering child-labor legislation, the mill owners of that State set up exactly the plea that the mill owners of the South are now making to Congress. They said that if the legislature limited the hours of labor of children between 14 and 16 it would mean that the mills would have to dispense with the services of such children, and that they would be thrown out on the street and their families deprived of their assistance. But the Legislature of Malsachusetts ignored the plea of the mill owners and passed the law, and I hold in my hand a report showing that the fears of the Massachusetts mill owners have not been realized. Children between 14 and 16 years continue to work in the mills of Massachusetts, but they work eight hours a day six days a week, and they do not work at night.

Now, Mr. Speaker, what the Massachusetts mills have done the southern mills may do. So the opponents of this bill who based their opposition on the unreasonableness of the provisions of the measure are left without a leg to stand on.

QUESTION OF CONSTITUTIONALITY.

And now, Mr. Speaker, we have reached our opponents' last

line of trenches-the constitutionality of the bill,

We are told, Mr. Speaker, that his satanic majesty is a keen student of the Good Book, and that when occasion demands he can always find scriptural authority to support his schemes to demoralize mankind.

We know from our own experience that clever and not always scrupulous lawyers do not hesitate to transform the palladium of the people's liberties—the Constitution of the United States-into a bulwark for the protection of greed and

I do not intend to make an extended constitutional argument. I will leave that phase of the discussion to the distinguished

lawyers who will follow me in support of the bill.

may say in passing that the friends of this bill are not in the least apprehensive concerning what the Supreme Court will We hold do when this legislation comes before that tribunal. that when the original 13 States adopted the Constitution they granted Congress absolute power to regulate commerce between the States, with foreign nations, and the Indian tribes.

The only limitation on that power which you can find anywhere in the Constitution is to be found in the fifth amendment, which declares that citizens shall not be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. The Supreme Court has repeatedly construed the commerce clause of the Constitution and the limitations fixed by the fifth amendment. We contend that the court has uniformly held that Congress may regulate interstate commerce in the interests of the public health, the public safety, the public morals, and the public welfare, and that the only limitation recognized by the court was that the exercise of such power by Congress must be a reason-

THE BLOOD OF INNOCENTS.

There is our case in a nutshell. We hold that child labor is immoral; that a moral taint attaches to the products of child labor; and that Congress, in an effort to safeguard the public morals and the public welfare, may exclude this pestilential thing from the channels of interstate commerce.

Gov. Kitchin, of North Carolina, the attorney for the mill owners, in his remarks before the Committee on Labor of this House, made much of the fact that you might take two pieces of cloth produced in a southern mill, one made by adult labor and the other by child labor, and that you might submit those pieces of cloth to microscopic tests and that you could not tell one from the other. But, Mr. Speaker, whatever the microscope may show, the truth is that on one piece of cloth is the blood of little children, and I venture the assertion that the distinguished judges of the Supreme Court can not be blinded to that fact by the sophistries of attorneys who may raise the question of the constitutionality of this law.

NOT A PARTISAN MEASURE.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation is not partisan legislation, it is not sectional legislation, it is not class legislation. In the last Congress it was introduced by a Democrat, the distinguished

gentleman from Pennsylvania, Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer. favorably reported to this House by a committee, two-thirds of whose members were Democrats, and when it was passed by this House every Republican Member present, with one exception, voted for it. In the last national campaign the Progressive and Republican Parties specifically declared for national legislation in relation to child labor, and while the Democratic platform was silent on the subject, the activities of Democrats on the floor of this House have demonstrated that the party to which I have the honor to belong is not indifferent to the welfare of the children of the Nation.

This is not sectional legislation, although the opponents of the bill are earnestly endeavoring to make it appear that we are

striking at the South.

The small group of mill owners who are fighting this bill have no authority to speak for the people of the South. The people of the Southern States are no more in favor of permitting certain greedy interests to exploit their children than are the people of any other section of this Nation.

A few moments ago I read you the resolution adopted by the Farmers' Union of the South in national convention assembled. I believe that the farmers of the South are in closer touch with public opinion and express it more accurately than do the cottonmill owners of the South or their paid representatives.

When this bill was before the House during the last Congress the majority of the Congressmen from only five Southern States

voted in opposition.

A few years ago when the voters of Arkansas were given an opportunity to pass on a child-labor law they adopted a very good law by a vote of 3 to 1.

SAVE THE CHILDREN OF THE SOUTH.

Mr. Speaker, no section of this country is more vitally interested in the elimination of child labor than is the South.

Prior to 1865 the black children of the South were chattel slaves, and I want to call the attention of this House to the fact that to-day we are fighting to emancipate the white children of the South from industrial slavery. Testimony presented before your committee shows that negro children do not work in these southern cotton mills. One of the witnesses in opposition to the bill boasted that the little tots who labored 11 hours a day in his mill were Anglo-Saxons, and another witness testified that the spectacle was often presented in these inill towns of negro children on their way to school passing white children on their way to work in the mills.

I submit to Representatives of Southern States on this floor that as a matter of self-preservation they can not permit this condition to continue. I rejoice when I am told that the doors of southern schoolhouses have been thrown open to the black boy and black girl, but I demand that the same opportunity be extended to the white boy and white girl of the South.

A GREAT SOUTHERNER'S PLEA.

Mr. Spesker, a few days ago the Hon. Clarence Poe, editor of the Progressive Farmer, one of the great agricultural journals of the South, addressed the following letter to every Member of the North Carolina delegation of this House. I submit, sir, that this great journalist more accurately represents the sentiment of the people of the South than do the gentlemen who compose the lobby maintained by the cotton-mill interests. Poe's letter is as follows:

RALEIGH, N. C., January 22, 1916.

RALEIGH, N. C., January 22, 1916.

Dear Sir: I hope you can see your way clear to support the Keating child-labor bill. I should much rather have seen child labor regulated by State action, and as chairman of the North Carolina child-labor committee I strove for years to get reasonable regulation enacted in cooperation with public-spirited manufacturers, but every time I got a few public-spirited manufacturers in line a still larger number of other manufacturers would rise up and bring the power of wealth and influence to bear on the legislators and defeat this end. The same thing has happened time after time in other States.

Moreover, the manufacturer's cry here was, "Well, if North Carolina enacts stringent legislation we are put at a disadvantage as compared with South Carolina or Georgia or Alabama," etc. Nation-wide legislation is not open to this objection.

To protect child workers is a solemn duty we owe humanity; and to my regret the manufacturers have irretrievably transferred this duty from the States to Congress. I hope our North Carolina Congressmen will meet this duty in the spirit of service to humanity rather than obeisance to wealth.

With best wishes, I am, yours, sincerely,

CLARENCE POB,

President and Editor the Progressive Farmer.

President and Editor the Progressive Farmer.

And, Mr. Speaker, here is an editorial from the Hickory (N. C.) Daily Record, which should be read and pondered by every Member who believes that the people of the Southern States are opposed to proper child-labor legislation:

[Editorial from the Hickory (N. C.) Daily Record.]

INJURING THE STATE.

The Record has followed with a great deal of interest the newspaper accounts of the proceedings before the House Committee on Labor. The matter before that committee is a bill to prevent the shipment of

goods from one State to another where children under 14 years of age are engaged in their manufacture. Well, we are going to have a law as drastic as that one of these days, but that is something else.

Southern cotton manufacturers appeared before that committee and fought, with the aid of former Gov. Kitchin, Federal regulation of child labor. Mr. David Clark, a splendid young man of Charlotte, editing a textile paper, told the committee that southern cotton manufacturers would have to bribe Federal inspectors if the bill were passed. He preferred to allow the county superintendents of public instruction to enforce what child-labor laws the State might enact, realizing, of course, that county superintendents would be influenced by the pressure that could be brought to bear on them in their communities.

If the State of North Carolina had done its duty. Mr. Clark and Gov. Kitchin would not be making statements in Washington calculated to injure their cause. The Weaver bill was defeated in the State senate in 1915 by an overwhelming majority after a lobby of manufacturers and their agents descended on the capitol. The proceeding there was so bad as to cause one of the opponents of the measure to change his mind and to cause another member of the senate. Mr. Frank Nash, of Orange, to assert that he was amazed at the tactics pursued.

There are only a few defenders of those who would stand up for the system in North Carolina. A rich Commonwealth can not afford to be backward in the matter of child labor, and North Carolina manufacturers should let the world know that they are willing to go as far as any. State in practical welfare legislation.

Wholesome legislation is coming, and it would be much better for the South if the broad-minded men among the manufacturers would take it upon themselves to see that good laws are made and then obeyed.

A TEXAN'S POINT OF VIEW.

The following editorial from the Daily News, Galveston, Tex., presents the point of view of the big-hearted men and women of the Lone Star State:

the Lone Star State:

[Editorial from the Daily News, Galveston, Tex.]

A filibuster prevented consideration of the Keating child-labor bill in the House Wednesday. The filibuster was led, to quote the press dispatch, "by southern Congressmen." The one who forged to the forefront of the opposition was Representative Ragsdale. Representative Ragsdale halls from South Carolina. In South Carolina they are permitted to work 12-year-old children 11 hours a day in cotton mills. Maybe Representative Ragsdale thinks he is fighting for the sacred rights of these children to sell 11 hours of labor for 50 cents. Or he might say that he is fighting to protect the interest of southern cotton mills. If it is this idea which animates his efforts, be somewhat deludes himself. It is not quite accurate to speak of these institutions as southern cotton mills. They are literally that, of course, in the geographical sense. But in the sense of ownership they are very much less than that. There may be a few cotton mills in the South that are owned wholly by southern people. There may be more the controlling power of which is held by southern people. But the sum of these two classes is a minority of the whole. Most southern cotton mills are owned and controlled by people who do not live in the South. The stock of them is widely distributed, but in most instances the majority stock is held in New England. This fact does invalidate a good many of the arguments that are made by southern Congressmen.

OPINION IN GEORGIA.

Then, Mr. Speaker, I have the following from the Daily Ledger, of Columbus, Ga., and I submit that no northern or western editor could present the issue with greater force and clarity:

[Editorial from the Daily Ledger, Columbus, Ga.] "CHILD-LABOR DAY."

Next Sunday is to be observed all over the country as "child-labor by." Just what this day is and what it means is of especial interest

Next Sunday is to be observed all over the country as "child-labor day." Just what this day is and what it means is of especial interest at this time.

As we understand it, this is the day on which clergymen, educators, the public press, and other agencies make an effort to focus the public mind on the subject of the elimination of child labor from the country as far as possible. People in comfortable homes, whose own children are growing up normally, with no more acquaintance with "child labor" than an occasional bit of helping father or mother with dally chores are apt to forget that in the great industrial centers thousands of children are having their vital forces sapped, their minds and bodies stunted by long hours of work in mills, factories, and sweatshops. It is these children, grown to adult years but not to adult strength or mentality, who fill the jails and almshouses and who make the big drains on public and private charities. Eliminate child labor, see to it that every growing child has a fair amount of fresh air, good food, time and space to play, sensible and thorough education, and most of the social problems now vexing the Nation would disappear.

"Child-labor day" should be generally observed. Conservation of the littles ones is of the greatest importance. Let us all keep this fact in mind.

A protest from florida.

A PROTEST FROM FLORIDA.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, permit me to submit the following from the Daily Times of Tampa, Fla.:

[Editorial from the Daily Times, Tampa, Fla.]

[Editorial from the Daily Times, Tampa, Fla.]

Former Gov. Kitchin, of North Carolina, told a story to the Labor Committee of the House of Representatives at Washington the other day that should make the good people of North Carolina bow their heads with shame. It must be very humiliating to have one of the "biggest men" of a State go before a national body and say, as Mr. Kitchin said, that child labor is an economic necessity in his Commonwealth. Now, Mr. Kitchin did not use exactly those words, but that is what he meant when he defended the employment of children in the cotton mills of North Carolina. He was "ably" backed in his statements by David Clark, who edits a journal at Charlotte devoted to the textile industry. We take it that Mr. Clark is devoted to the business that brings him his bread. Not to be wondered at, of course, but it is not quite so comprehensible that a man would lend himself to the enslavement of helpless children in such a behalf.

Mr. Kitchin told the committee, which had under consideration the Kenting-Owen bill, designed to prevent interstate shipment of goods manufactured with the aid of child labor, that "We of the South oppose this measure, because we believe our people who have to work

should be permitted to do so. We have many of this class and the cotton mills afford them an opportunity to earn a good living. I think it cruel to drive a 15-year-old boy out of a mill if he has anyone to support."

In answer to the question whether mothers' pensions would not remove this alleged necessity, Mr. Kitchin made this remarkable statement: "Our State is unable to take care of its poor." He could more truthfully have said, "Such men as myself in our State do not care to assume the burden of alding the unfortunate." It would have been much closer to the actual truth.

But let go at that. The fact is it is the Kitchins of this world who are determined to reap profit from the twisted, stunted bodies, and undeveloped minds of the helpless young. They are willing to deprive the helpless, to the profit of their own pockets. A sin? Yes; and more. They need to be set aside, and if legislation, such as that contemplated in the Keating-Owen bill, be necessary to set them aside, the quicker it is passed the better.

Thank heaven, the Kitchins are not representative of the good people of the South. They are merely an undesirable class; the Scrooges, as it were, who have not yet awakened to the rights of the Tiny Tims of the land!

In view of these expressions from the great newspapers of

In view of these expressions from the great newspapers of the South, who will dare tell this House that the people of the Southern States are opposed to the pending legislation?

GENUINE " CONSERVATION."

Mr. Speaker, a few days ago this House approved what are popularly known as the "conservation bills." To-day we are asking you to consider another conservation bills." To-day we are
But the measure we are produced to bill.

But the measure we are urging on your attention now is of vastly more importance than the bills you passed with such unanimity the other day. They had to do with coal, oil, and phosphate lands and water-power sites—the tremendous natural resources of our western empire. This has to do with the conservation of the childhood of the Nation.

Nineteen hundred and fifteen years after the birth of Christ it is unnecessary in the American House of Representatives to argue the justice or wisdom of child-labor legislation. The social conscience of the Nation has long since passed judgment on that question. It only remains for the Representatives of the greatest democracy on earth to record that verdict on the statute books of our country.

te books of our country.

Do ye hear the children weeping, O my brothers,
Ere the sorrow comes with years?

They are leaning their young heads against their mothers,
And that can not stop their tears.

The young lambs are bleating in the meadows;
The young birds are chirping in the nest;
The young fawns are playing with the shadows;
The young flowers are blowing toward the west—
But the young, young children, O my brothers,
They are weeping bitterly!

They are weeping in the playtime of the others,
In the country of the free.

Child Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ADDISON T. SMITH.

OF IDAHO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 2, 1916.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the public conscience has been awakened during the last dozen years, and we have heard a great deal about the conservation of the natural resources of the country. Our great forests were being ruthlessly destroyed; the vast coal fields were being bought up by those who desired to exploit them in a way which would bring them the greatest immediate financial gain, without regard to utilizing the entire deposit; oil wells were allowed to burn, although it was known that the supply was not inexhaustible; the great power sites on our rivers were being gobbled up by men of wealth with a view of controlling the price of light and heat, regardless of the fact that all the people had an inherent right to enjoy these natural resources. Finally, public sentiment demanded that this great national waste should cease, and legislation was enacted by Congress calling a halt and providing restrictions, in order that these great natural resources might be conserved for the benefit of the present and future generations.

The value of these resources amount to billions of dollars, and yet they are not to be compared in importance to the potential value of another natural resource—the children of the country.

How jealously conscientious parents guard the life, health, education, and general welfare of their children. Every possible sacrifice is made to give them the creature comforts, to train them by example and precept for assuming the great responsibilities of life. Such children do not need the protection of the law; but there is another class, who, but for the enactment of laws to which I shall make reference, would because of the greed of industrialism, be ruined physically and morally and leave behind them other children stunted in growth, warped in intellect, and utterly unfitted for occupying any position other than that of abject slaves.

Because of the keen competition in many lines of manufacturing and business and the heartlessness of employers there has been gathered together in our industrial centers multitudes of eager young creatures from everywhere who are willing to work for meager wages and whose employers prosper on their labor. Little children entering their teens and young girls suddenly released from the protection of home are enticed to work in these death-breeding factories and workshops under the most unsanitary and laborious conditions.

The stipend which these children can earn has induced the parents to take them from school and allow them to grow up in ignorance instead of requiring them to avail themselves of the facilities for securing an education so generously afforded by our splendid public-school system.

There may be many instances where stern necessity forces children into the factories and mills. Through accident or ill health the father, the natural breadwinner, may be deprived of employment, or the grim reaper may have cut him down, leaving no support for the family. But in a great majority of the cases the children are compelled to work because of the improvidence of the parents or the intemperance of the father, making it impossible for him to secure regular employment.

It is difficult for those living in agricultural communities to realize that nearly 2,000,000 children, many of them as young as 10 years, work from 10 to 12 hours per day in the cotton mills, cigar, cigarette, tobacco, and snuff factories in the industrial cities in the country. Others are employed in coal mines and glass factories. Thousands are also engaged in factories making candy, jewelry, woolen and worsted goods, rubber and elastic goods, and numerous other articles.

A report of the bureau of labor in New York State shows that children as young as 4 and 5 years in large numbers are employed in home industries in New York City. Returns from authentic sources show that thousands of boys as young as 8 years are engaged in selling papers in the larger cities.

We can easily imagine how disastrous to the health of these child workers are the unsanitary conditions which surround them. Statistics show that the death rate among them is enormously high, and that only about one-half of the children born of those who have worked in these factories live beyond 2 years.

The unsanitary conditions which surround their homes are almost as conducive to ill health and an early death as are those in the factories. We all know that the best health conditions prevail where each family lives in its own home, on its own plot of ground; but in these great factory cities such a luxury is impossible in many instances, and the wage earners are compelled to live in tenement houses, often as many as 10 in one room. The problem of misery in an industrial city is one of long standing which is yet unsolved.

A country's greatest asset is its boys and girls; and when it became evident that hundreds of thousands of them were being ruined in health because of the diabolical system of exploiting child labor, which had fastened itself upon society, public sentiment cried out and demanded relief for these innocent children, burdened with responsibilities, for which their youth and innocence unfitted them.

A noted authority on child-labor problems, Mrs. Florence Kelly, who for over 30 years has been active in endeavoring to get better legislation for the protection of the children, made the following statement before the Committee on Labor in the House of Representatives last Congress, which illustrates the necessity of vigorous and early legislation:

of vigorous and early legislation:

I believe there are more children under 16 years old working to-day in dangerous occupations than there were when I began, because our manufacturing industries have increased stupendously and our State legislation has halted. There has been no unity in our progress. The 48 States suggest the legs of a centipede, some going forward and some paralyzed, the total progress lamentably slow. This Republic is one, and we can not go on forever with a favored class of children in the Northwestern States, where there is a requirement that the children shall not work until they are 15 years of age, and they are kept in school throughout the eighth grade, while in the southern cotton-manufacturing States there is no compulsory education, and either entire lack of legislation by the State or a collection of nugatory laws. South Carolina at one time restricted the work of children to 10 hours a day, but afterwards decided that life was too easy for them, and prolonged the hours to 66 hours a week and permitted 11 hours a day for young children. We can not, as one Nation, go on having favored children in the Northwest and oppressed, helot children in the Southeast. We can not go on having such a relation as that now in Pennsylvania, where children 14 years old may work all night in the glass works, and in West Virginia there is no enforcement whatever of the child-labor law. They work at any age.

I was at one time chief inspector of factories and workshops in the State of Illinois. I found great numbers of children working at night—working illegally. The superintendent of a glass-bottle company told me himself that this occurred once when he was rushed with work: A widow had come to him bringing two little boys, one still in kilts and one in knee breeches. She told him that their father had just been killed on the railroad and that they were penniless, and she wanted the older little boy to go to work in the glass works, where he would get 40 cents a day. The superintendent was pressed for boys, and said, "I won't take the bigger fellow alone, but if you will take the baby back home and put him into knee pants, and then bring them both back in trousers I will take them both." She did so, and those two little fellows, aged 7 and 9 years, began their work on the night shift. That was illegal. I prosecuted that concern for its illegal employment of children. I brought the officers before a local magistrate, and the case was thrown out. Our magistrates in New York City have done that same thing within a month. They have refused outright in the court of special sessions to consider a case they did not wish to hear. I then brought suits against the Illinois Glass Co. in four adjacent countles, and all the magistrates refused to entertain a case. It was not until after my term of office came to an end that my successor began bringing cases in the northernmost counties of Illinois. This glass company was down in Alton, in the south of the State, and it was not until my successor adopted the method of bringing the officers of that company and all his witnesses entirely across the State to the northern counties that he could get a hearing at all. I believe that in the linterest of the children one of the greatest benefits that would accrue from the passage of this bill would be the transfer of cases like that from local courts, terrorized by local large manufacturers, to Federal courts, where such terrorism does

One of the first organizations to endeavor to secure necessary legislation to prevent the employment of child labor was the National Child Labor Committee, which has been active for the past 10 years. The activities of this committee have been supplemented by the cooperation of women's clubs, ministers of the gospel, and the Christian people throughout the land in creating sentiment which has been sufficient to convince the State legislators of the importance of placing a check on the employment of child labor, and every State in the Union has now a law which prohibits or regulates the evil.

The employers of labor, some of whom were heartless in their

The employers of labor, some of whom were heartless in their demands on these children, are coming more and more to see, as St. Paul said so many years ago, that we are, in very truth, "members one of another."

The community, the State, the Nation, is indeed an organism for the welfare of which all must be sound and whole.

Public health is of the greatest importance to the entire Nation and is a matter of public concern. The miserable conditions under which some people are working and living result in the development and spread of disease germs, which are conveyed to others and warrant the enactment of the most stringent legislation for the protection of the health of the community.

It must not be understood that these laws regulating child labor in the various States were enacted without opposition or that they are as stringent as the friends of the children would have them. In some States they were tenaciously opposed by greedy employers. In Georgia, for instance, a State which has perhaps one of the most barbarous child-labor laws, the opponents of this class of legislation have prevented the enactment of the kind of a law recommended by the National Child Labor Committee. In July last the lower house of the Georgia Legislature passed a child-labor bill indorsed by the committee and approved by the people, but the factory owners of the State appeared to have sufficient influence with the members of the senset to prevent the measure becoming a law.

senate to prevent the measure becoming a law.

In 1906 public sentiment forced the enactment of a child-labor law in Georgia, but it was full of loopholes and was of little avail. While children under 12 years of age were prohibited from working, the law contained a provision that if a child had a widowed mother or a dependent father it might work 11 hours daily from the age of 10 years. As a result the lazy father who had children had them employed while he spent his time in loafing.

The Georgian, of Atlanta, which championed more stringent legislation, reports after a careful investigation that 44 per cent of the children in the mill districts are illiterate, while the negroes are becoming better educated. The white children would not work with them, and the negroes went to school while the whites worked.

Notwithstanding the fact that every State in the Union has some sort of a law on its statute books regulating child labor, much remains to be done before adequate preparation of the American child for citizenship is attained. Many of those affected employers, parents, and children resent the enactment of these laws, and connive together to prevent their enforcement, notwithstanding the fact that there are hundreds of inspectors charged with seeing that these laws are observed. Accompanying the enactment of these child-labor laws are positive laws for school attendance, passe, by all the States excepting Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas; and yet it is difficult to enforce these laws in some sections because of the opposition of parents to having their children in

school, preferring the small income they can bring to the family rather than that their children should have an education.

The difficulties encountered in the enforcement of State laws is indicated in a statement made to a congressional committee by Mr. A. J. McKelway, secretary of the national child-labor committee for the Southern States:

committee for the Southern States:

I suppose there has rarely been a case when an effective child-labor law has been presented to the legislature of a State in which the employers of child labor did not cite the laws of bordering States as the reason why a bill before their own legislature should not pass; and I think I am witrin bounds in stating that the whole general movement for the reform of child-labor conditions, to result in the abolition of child labor, as we hope, has been held back a score of years by this argument of the competition between States. And I think I may say that if anyone knows what he is talking about with regard to the difficulty of securing adequate protection for the children through State legislation I am the one who is competent to testify.

As to the effectiveness of a Federal law once it has been put upon the statute books and, perhaps, runs the gauntlet of the courts, of this I have no sort of doubt. Of all laws a child-labor law is one of the most difficult laws to enforce through the verdict of a jury of the vicinage. It would be difficult, for example, to get the jury in a cotton-mill county, upon which there would, in all probability, be some loahing father who wished to employ his own children, to convict either a parent or an employer of a violation of the child-labor law.

I can tell you of an interesting example of this down at Danville, Va. As I have said, they have a better law in Virginia than they have in North Carolina, and Virginia has a State factory inspector who has been very diligent in the performance of his duties. He found 85 violations of the child-labor law in the plants in Danville. He took a minister with him who had worked in some of the mills in North Carolina, and he found a great many who had gone over there to the Danville mills from North Carolina. He found evidence of the violation of the largest stockholder in the Danville Cotton Mills, the manager of the American Tobacco Co. and in cotton mills in Danville. He took a minister with him who had

The child-labor problem can never be properly solved until the States have uniform laws on the subject and the enactment of a statute by Congress governing the interstate shipment of the

products of child labor.

Under existing conditions an employer who observes the childlabor laws of his own State can not successfully compete with concerns in an adjoining State which has a less stringent law. Only by the adoption of uniform State laws can this difficulty be successfully removed. The national conference of commissioners of uniform State laws has recommended the enactment of a law containing the following provisions:

of a law containing the following provisions:

The labor of children under 14 years is prohibited in factories, mercantile establishments, and 23 other specified occupations. It is made unlawful to employ a child under 14 in any business or service whatever during school hours. The employment of children under 16 years of age in 7 specialized occupations, including the adjusting of belts to machinery, the oiling or cleaning of machinery, the operating or assisting in operating of certain specified machines, and all work upon railroads, steam or electric, and boats engaged in navigation or commerce. Children under 16 are forbidden to be employed in any capacity whatever in certain specially hazardous or dangerous occupations. Employment certificates and records of school attendance are required. Children must be able to pass the fifth-grade examinations. The employment of children under 18 years of age is forbidden in 15 specified occupations, and no person under 21 years of age shall be employed in connection with any saloon or barroom where intoxicating liquors are sold. The eight-hour day is prescribed for boys under 16 and girls under 18, and the hours of employment must be after 7 o'clock in the morning and before 6 in the evening. No boy under 12 and no girl under 16 shall in any city of the first or second class sell newspapers, magazines, or periodicals in any street or public place. Boys under 16 school attendance. Suitable penalties are prescribed for violations of these laws.

If the various State laws on child labor could be adjusted

If the various State laws on child labor could be adjusted along the lines proposed much of the objection to this class of legislation would be eliminated, as the employers of child labor would be placed on an equal footing and those of a particular State would be at no disadvantage in competing for busi-

In the enactment of the child-labor laws provision was made for exceptions in their enforcement, so that no great hardship would result in cases where necessity demanded that the children be allowed to work. For instance, in the District of Columbia the child-labor law provides:

That the judge of the juvenile court of said District may, upon the application of the parent, guardian, or next friend of said child, issue a permit for the employment of any child between the ages of 12 and 14 years at any occupation or employment not in his judgment dangerous

or injurious to the health or morals of such child, upon evidence satisfactory to him that the labor of such child is necessary for its support or for the assistance of a disabled, ill, or invalid father or mother or for the support in whole or in part of a younger brother or sister or a widowed mother. Such permits shall be issued for a definite time, but they shall be revocable at the discretion of the judge by whom they are issued or by his successor in office. Hearings for granting and revoking permits shall be held upon such notice and under such rules and regulations as the judge of said court shall prescribe.

The method of issuing certificates to work is as follows:

The method of issuing certificates to work is as follows:

The child who wishes a permit must first have a job. He procures an employment ticket on which his employer states the nature of the work at which he will be employed and in what industry, and signs the statement. The employment tickets are distributed widely, in settlements, schools, public places, and are at the bureau of statistics and information. The child then takes this ticket, duly filled, to his school principal, who gives him his school record. This states that the child has completed a course of study equivalent to the five grades in reading, spelling, writing, English language, and geography, and is familiar with fundamental operations of arithmetic covering fractions. The child also gets a christening certificate from his church or some other paper showing age. With these three papers—employment ticket, school record, and one showing proof of age—the child goes to the burean of statistics and information with one of his parents or guardian. The paper purporting to establish the age of child is examined and if satisfactory the child is tested as to reading and writing of simple sentences in English and required to solve problems in addition, multiplication, and division of fractions. The parent or guardian is sworn and is questioned as to age of child and as to his reasons for sending the child to work. The parent and child are required to write signatures on schedule of information. The child states also the wages expected and as much as possible regarding the nature of work to be performed. The interviewer approves the educational test, the proof of age, and in some cases the nature of the work before the child is examined by the physician. If the physical examination is passed satisfactorily the child is granted a permit to work in the establishment at the occupation for which he made application. This employment certificate states the name of child, of employer, occupation, and information. When the child has compiled with the provisions

Congress has not been inactive concerning the child-labor problem, but while the States have unquestionably made great advance in combating the evils of child labor, no general legislation has been enacted by the Federal Government controlling the interstate shipment of the products of child labor.

The agitation of the question resulted in the passage of an act of Congress approved by the President January 29, 1907, providing for an extended investigation on the industrial, social, moral, educational, and physical condition of child workers in the United States with special reference to their age, hours of labor, term of employment, health, illiteracy, sanitary and other conditions surrounding their occupation, and the means employed for the protection of their health, person, and morals.

An exhaustive report was made after a very minute study of the question by experts in the Department of Labor. Several child-labor bills have been introduced during the last six years based on the findings of this report, but the opposition to the proposed legislation has prevented action. The bill introduced in the Senate by Mr. Owen, of Oklahoma, and in the House by Mr. Palmer, of Pennsylvania, during the last Congress, embodies the provisions advocated by the child-labor committee. It simply makes it unlawful for any producer, manufacturer, or dealer to ship or deliver for shipment in interstate commerce the products of the labor of children under the age of 14. The opponents of this proposed legislation claim that it is unconstitutional; that it would not prevent children from being employed in the manufacture of goods to be sold within the State, and that the provision for preventing the sale of child-labor products outside the State could be easily evaded; that the products of child labor are not injurious to the people; and that the Federal Government therefore has no right to prevent their interstate shipment, and that is a matter for the States to deal with exclusively.

Regardless of the opposition, it is confidently believed that the present Congress will enact the pending legislation.

No conditions in industry should be allowed to continue if they threaten a workman's life, limb, or health. Safe conditions, reasonable hours, and fair wages are essentials in the industrial life of any community that aspires to the highest degree of efficiency, and to bring the greatest comfort and happiness to the people.

A humane and Christian spirit should prevail in the consideration of questions of labor, especially where children are concerned.

Good homes are the backbone of society, of morality, and of every constructive advance in social welfare. Good homes mean happiness, ability in people to carry their own burdens, and the rearing of children on a higher plane than their parents enjoyed.

The home, in conjunction with the Sunday school and church,

affords the best moral training.

We must so safeguard the rights of our children that their unfolding lives be not warped by cruel treatment or neglect. We must make the ideal of the home so strong, so compelling, and so attractive that to build it true, to defend it from contamination, and to make it efficient shall be our highest aim, and one more worthy of attainment than great riches or a life of ease.

Child Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. AYRES,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 2, 1916.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, we have listened to great speeches delivered at great length on the question of tariffs, the income and emergency tax, on prosperity and the lack of it, multitudinous discussions on the question of "preparedness," and the authors of these fine speeches and discussions have seemed anxious to let their constituency know early just where they stand on these great questions. To my mind the measure that is now being considered on the floor of this House is one of the most important, if not the most vital, questions that has been before Congress for many days. It is important and vital because it deals with the very life and blood of the Nation; that which is intended to protect not only the present generation but to build up great men and women and perpetuate them for all time.

Mr. Speaker, a nation to be great can not be peopled with weaklings, physically or mentally. There is only one way to prevent this condition, and that is to protect and educate the children of our Nation. We know that no child of tender years can work in a factory, a mill, or a workshop without injury to its health. This fact needs no scientific investigation to establish it as a truth. No argument is necessary to convince the ordinary mind that a boy, stunted and dwarfed physically in childhood and neglected in his mental development, can not be a stalwart defender of this Nation; no girl who has been deprived of the tender care due her at this critical time of life, when her environments and teachings should be the most wholesome, can develop into the charming graces and virtues of beautiful womanhood and useful motherhood. Deprive this Nation of these blessings, and you will deprive it of its very life and its very existence.

Investigations have shown that stringent laws should be passed to prevent child labor; these investigations have shown that children under the age of 16 years were usually unfit for the arduous tasks they were expected to perform. By reason of their tender years, by reason of the unsanitary condition of the workhouse and the unhealthy class of work required to be performed, they are more susceptible to sickness and disease. Without going into statistics, it is enough to say that the alarming increase of the victims of the dread white plague is appalling, all of which is appealing to us as Representatives to place the seal of disapproval on such vicious commercialism.

I am aware that there have been some able arguments made against the passage of this bill, because it is claimed that it is unconstitutional. I do not pretend to say whether it is constitutional or not; this will have to be decided by the tribunal created for that purpose. We can never know for a certainty that any law of this character is constitutional or not until this tribunal so declares. It is true that practically every State in the United States have seen fit to pass adequate laws for the conservation of the health and education of our children. The principal objection to this bill, therefore, is that each State should have the exclusive and sovereign right to enact such laws and enforce them as best suits its convenience and the desires of its people.

This question is not exclusively local in its scope. It deals with the question of health, the physical development, and the general welfare of the child of humanity, and for that matter the Nation itself. This bill only intends the prohibition of interstate products manufactured as a result of the labor of the child under 14 years of age, and in addition thereto limits the working hours of those 16 years of age to eight hours per day and also

prevents the employment of children under the age of 16 years in damp places, like mines and quarries.

Mr. Speaker, I can not conceive how any man can say that such a prohibition or regulation is unreasonable or unjust.

The main contention of the opposition to this bill is, first, that it is unconstitutional, and further, that it is a question that should be left to each State to regulate. I repeat, this is far more than a local matter. If left to State regulation there is nothing to prevent some States enacting laws making the prohibition or limitation much greater than provided by this bill, nor, on the other hand, is there anything to prevent a State from passing a law that gives no protection whatever to the children. The Nation as a whole is interested as much in the children of the far East, the extreme West, or the North, or the South as it is in the Central States. The Nation should be interested in all, regardless of where situated or domiciled.

In my own great State of Kansas we have been operating under this beneficial regulation for years, and no happier, more contented, and prosperous people live anywhere in the United States; our children, both the poor and well to do, are educated and have wonderful educational advantages. The facts show that we have taken advantage of these great opportunities, for we have less than 2 per cent illiteracy in Kansas and it is growing less as the years roll on. Nor is this all that we can boast. Kansas is known far and near for her salutary and invigorating sunshine. It is well known that the human organism can no more be developed in shadow than can any form of plant life, All things living must come to their highest state of development under the environments of pure air and wholesome sunlight. The healthful and sanitary condition of urban life in Kansas is not far behind that of our rural communities. The results of these elevating conditions are evident when we look upon our rising generation. With our 600,000 rosy-cheeked and stalwart boys and girls now in our schools, preparing and training their minds for the strenuous business of the future, we are fortifying them for life's duties with strong and vigorous bodies that they may be able to do their parts efficiently We know what it means to educate and protect them; we know what it is to live in a State that has on its statute books laws that will protect the young as well as the old; but, notwithstanding our good laws, we are not selfish; we do not want to retain for local use only these benign benevolences, but believe that these benefits should extend to all parts of this great Union, and this act will prove to be of vital interest to all the children throughout our land; also for the Nation's welfare, its honor, and its safety.

Child Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CYRUS CLINE,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 26, 1916.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, under the privilege extended to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD upon the subject of child labor, I desire to say since my service in Congress began I have improved every opportunity to vote for and advocate every measure intended to give the child recognition. From the establishment of a Children's Bureau to this act, where the Congress could express itself on the emancipation, morally or physically, from detrimental environments of the child, it has not hesitated to do so. I have no patience with any scheme that seeks in any way to make merchandise and profit out of the labor of the child. I was very early bent in this direction of reform because of my acquaintance and association with two English families, who very frequently detailed to me the conditions of the poor people in England who were employees in the great textile institutions of that country. The long hours, beginning very early and extending into the night, during which time children and grown people were compelled to labor for a mere existence, the scarcity of food, insanitary conditions, high death rate in consequence thereof, made such an impression upon me that I became so confirmed in my view on this subject that I want to invite every opportunity to lighten the burden, not only of the child but of the laborer as well. Some constitutional questions have been injected into the discussion of this bill. The question of unconstitutionality is always the last refuge of the man who is answered on every other proposition. From the time of the

decision of that great case Gibbons v. Ogden to the present time whenever the Federal Government attempts to legislate for the whole people, to do things for all the people that the in-dividual States can not or will not, then the ghost of State rights bobs up and screams about Federal interference with their reserve power. The question of the constitutionality of this bill does not haunt me. I propose to strike a blow for the emancipation of the girl or boy by my vote whenever I can do The deceptive and insincere argument that you can only develop a man of a boy by putting him on his own resources—by putting him at work—and developing him physically and mentally; and hence, as a necessary corollary thereof, you must have a sweatshop or an antiquated cotton mill or a Massachusetts woolen mill to give him the opportunity to develop, does not follow. There are many occupations that children can be employed in through which they may be taught the value of industry and economy—not hidden under a corporate seal. I am in no way opposed to corporations more than partnerships if they are properly equipped for employing labor. I believe in industry, in labor, and in economy, but not in the greed, the unsanitary toil, the exacting conditions of the workshop. I am not in favor of making childhood an asset for selfish, corporate dividends. want to see the girl and boy of proper age employed and taught the wholesome lesson of that rigid economy and industry that results in making splendid citizens. At the same time I want to see them reap the benefit of their labor. I do not want to see the fruits of grinding toil by undeveloped children made the subject of interstate commerce. I welcome this opportunity to vote for the bill and any other that will tend to elevate and liberate labor.

Flood Prevention Committee.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CYRUS CLINE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Thursday, February 3, 1916.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for this resolution to create a new Committee on Flood Prevention, because it marks a new era in the economics of this country. I shall vote for it, because I represent a district that is subject to the devastation of flood waters. The Maumee River has its rise in the heart of the city of Fort Wayne, Ind., by the junction of the St. Mary and the St. Joseph Rivers. Both these streams are interstate streams with a watershed of more than 2,000 square miles. The water from this great drainage surface is piled up in the city of Fort Wayne, a city of more than 80,000 people, at short intervals inundating large sections of the city and destroying vast amounts of property. In flood periods more than 35,000 cubic feet per second is emptied into the city of Fort Wayne by these two

rivers forming the Maumee.

In the year 1913 the property loss was estimated at more than \$1,000,000. At two periods since that time the lower sections of the city have been flooded and great damage done. All three of these streams-the Maumee, St. Joseph, and the St. Mary-are interstate streams. The Federal Government, through its Army engineers, has assumed jurisdiction over the Maumee. After the flood of 1913 Congress by resolution directed an investigation of the flooded district of the Maumee, the Wabash, and the Miami Rivers. The object of the investigation was undoubtedly to determine some method of preventing a recurrence of condi-tions which had so lately prevailed. When the Sixty-fourth Congress opened, I introduced a bill asking the Government to deepen, straighten, and widen a section of the Maumee so that the great reservoir of water piled up in the city at flooded periods could escape. The Committee on Rivers and Harbors, to which the bill was referred, answered that it could not be entertained unless navigation was directly concerned. That gave rise to a very important reason why a committee with competent jurisdiction should be created to consider propositions of that char-The Committee on Rivers and Harbors has so restricted and limited its jurisdiction that bills directly affecting the subject of flood prevention can not be reached. There is a field of work proposed by this resolution that is not within the jurisdiction of any great committee of the House. The recurrence of floods and the great damage they inflict is a matter of very serious importance. It is one of first merit in the internal development of the country. The time is here to find a means to deal with the subject. It would appear to be a very proper thing to do to relieve the work of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors by dividing their labors by the creation of a new committee. Many millions of dollars are annually swept away, and not infrequently many lives are lost that proper legislative action could prevent. Floods occur at seasons of the year when great distress follows as a result. The time is here now for the Congress to take action to protect the people against this increasing menace to their safety and to conserve their property rights.

Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. C. WILLIAM RAMSEYER,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 5, 1916.

Mr. RAMSEYER. Mr. Speaker, on last Saturday evening, January 29, 1916, in an address before the Iowa Society, of Washington, D. C., on the differences between the Middle West and the East since the outbreak of the European war, I spoke as follows:

"I have talked to you of some of the differences between the Middle West and the East, You may also be interested in knowing how the folks back home differ from the eastern people on some of the questions that have arisen since the outbreak of the conflict across the waters. In judging how the East feels and thinks on these questions I am dependent upon your eastern newspapers.

INTERNATIONAL LAW.

"On Monday following the sinking of the Lusitania I left for Cleveland, Ohio, as a delegate to attend the first session of the World Court Congress. On that day and on the day before I talked to between 20 and 30 citizens of my district, only one of whom was foreign born, about the great disaster, and, without expressing any opinion myself, each one of them, except one, expressed himself that those Americans who lost their lives had no business on that ship. That was at a time when the public mind was greatly excited and before the ex-

change of any diplomatic notes.

Now, we all know that, according to international law, we have a right to travel on belligerent ships. But we have a large number of people who thought at the time, and still think so, that it would have been better for this country, both for the present and the future, to have warned our citizens to stay off of belligerent ships the same as England did her citizens at the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War. The submarine is a new and unusual machine of ocean warfare and it has come to stay. We have them and are going to build more for de-fensive purposes. The rules we insist upon now we are expected to live up to if we should get into war. To illustrate: Suppose we should get into war with Japan, which God forbid, and suppose one of our submarines should sight a Japanese ship known to be laden with munitions which would kill, if landed, 10,000, 20,000, or 40,000 of our boys, should the captain of our submarine be required to take the risk of letting that ship escape for fear that there might be a Chinese, English, or German neutral on board, or should he plug that ship with a torpedo and sink the death-laden cargo, intended for our boys, to the bottom of the sea?

"Laws change with changing conditions. A few years ago the automobile was an outlaw on the public highway. To-day we have laws suited to that modern invention. International laws change also. We have nothing to lose in a law prohibiting neutrals traveling on belligerent ships carrying munitions of war, and such a law would inure greatly to our benefit if in the future we should become involved in war with any foreign power. No belligerent should have the right to insure the safety of its munitions cargo with neutral lives. [Applause.]

"There has been a great deal of discussion concerning an embargo on arms and ammunition. The East is opposed to an embargo, insisting upon their legal rights under international law to ship arms and ammunition to any belligerent who will buy. A large portion of the Middle West insists it is morally wrong and contrary to the precepts of Christianity to contribute anything to the prolongation of this bloody struggle, and further that furnishing arms and ammunition on so large a scale as we do to one side of the conflict makes us in fact an ally of the entente powers. Conceding the propositions that it is legal for the citizens of a neutral country to sell arms and am

munition to a belligerent country and that up to this time it would have been an unneutral act for Congress to have placed an embargo on arms and ammunition, there are now two grounds on which such an embargo could be legally sustained:

"First. An embargo could be placed on all or part of our exports to Great Britain in retaliation for her lawless interfer-

ence with our commerce and mail.

"Second. The President in his addresses is telling the people 'The world is on fire; sparks are likely to drop anywhere. I do not know what a single day may bring forth.' Last Tuesday, Mr. Mann, the leader of the minority in the House of Representatives, in an earnest appeal to the House on the subject of preparedness, said, 'I have much more fear, in the end, of a war with England than I have of a war with Germany.' Here we are warned by two great leaders that the danger is imminent by one, and that the danger is England by the other. Then why do or should we deplete our country of these supplies by shipping them to the country which is most likely to use them against us? If these gentlemen are to be taken at all seriously, then an embargo should be placed on war munitions at once—not to aid Germany or to cripple England, but to protect ourselves.

WHAT OF THE HYPHENATES?

"When I arrived here last fall I found your metropolitan papers filled daily with charges against a certain class of our American citizens; and our President, misguided by the evidence gathered from the headlines of the daily press, denounced the disloyalty of certain naturalized citizens. I did not then and do not now fear any peril from any class of native-born or naturalized citizens. President Wilson, in his autobiography in the Congressional Directory, states that his ancestry on both sides is Scotch-Irish and that his mother was a native of Scot-The truth is we are all emigrants or the descendants of emigrants from European countries, except the Indians and those of the African race. In this European conflict it is not strange that the sympathies of a citizen of British birth or ancestry should be for England or that the heart of a citizen of German birth or ancestry should throb for the fatherland. As true patriotic American citizens, however, neither has a right to extend aid to either belligerent. It is impossible to be neutral in thought, but we can and should be neutral in word and act.

"The 'hyphen' before the present war indicated nothing but the land of the citizen's birth or ancestry, joining Anglo, Irish, German, Russo, Scandinavian, and so forth, to America in one loyal, prosperous pro-American population. It will take more than the statements of eastern newspapers and speakers to convince me that it has now become the sign of disloyalty and of anarchy. It must be gratifying to every American, and especially the German-Americans, against whom the denunciations were chiefly directed, that the recent grand-jury investigations fail to sustain the newspaper charges of disloyalty. The last month your papers have had nothing or little to say about it. We have State and Federal laws against destructions of property and the violation of our neutrality. If citizens of foreigners have violated such laws they should be speedily pun-

ished. None should be spared the rod.

"Ex-President Roosevelt has contributed his share to fan the flames of race hatred. He always speaks forcefully, but often passionately and without weighing his statements. I want to analyze one of his statements which was roundly applauded by certain of the unthinking portion of our population in the East. He said: 'If you are going to be in America, speak American, be American, or get out of America, and this thing of Holland settlements, German settlements, or Bohemian settlements should not exist within the boundary of the United States.' What do you think of that coming from a man who at one time graced the Executive office of the Nation? We have all those settlements in Iowa and who has ever thought of breaking them up? We have a Holland settlement at Pella, of which you all know. Now, what is the matter with that settlement? If Holland should be in war with either England or Germany, the sympathles of those Holland-Americans would undoubtedly be with Holland. But in case Holland should invade American rights which would involve us in war with her, not a Holland-American there but would stand by America first and all the time, [Applause.] And what is true of our Holland settlements is equally true of our German and Bohemian settlements.

"A man can be a loyal American citizen and at the same time love the customs, songs, and the people of the land of his nativity or ancestry. The citizenship of this country is made up of emigrants from all the European countries and they represent various sects and religions. We should have a mutual regard, respect, and consideration for all the nationalities of our American population, as we do have and always have had toward all

our people who hold to different forms of worship.

"My parents came from Switzerland, my ancestors lived there, as do now all my relatives abroad. Although I have never seen Switzerland, I was nurtured on Swiss traditions and ideals, and my regard and love for that ancient Republic, the cradle of European liberty, is only surpassed by my regard and love for the United States, the land of my birth and my activities. [Applause.] May the God of our fathers save us from the unpatriotic distemper and acts of man or organization engaged in any propaganda to incite and create sectional, creed, class, or race hatred and prejudice. We are all Americans, and I know of none, either native or foreign born, who, in case of national need, would be unwilling to sacrifice his all of property and of blood upon the altar in defense of our glorious flag. [Applause.]

THE COMMON DEFENSE.

"There is much talk about our being unprepared. The first necessity to meet any emergency is, we must be a united people. No nationality of our complex American citizenship has ever failed us in case of national need, and never will. Although many of us retain a warmth of affection for the land of our birth or ancestry, we are for America first. Let that be settled for all time.

for all time.

"The Middle West is usually put down as against preparedness. That depends on what you mean by preparedness. The East has gone insane on munitions profits. They consider any legislation that would decrease the blood-money prosperity of the last eight months as unpatriotic. We have no munitions plants in Iowa, we do not look upon war as a legitimate means to enrich ourselves, and we have nothing to inspire us to a preparedness program so as to have a ready customer for our wares when the European markets will no longer buy at the close of

this war

"I do not impugn the motives of all men who are for a large Army and Navy. But when we hear so-called patriotic organiza-tions as the Security League and the Navy League accused on the floor of the House of Representatives of being financed by men interested in the manufacture of munitions, and that without denials from those organizations, it will tend to make a Congressman from the Middle West somewhat suspicious of the program offered and advocated by these organizations. May it not be logically inferred that the enthusiasm of these gentlemen for a large Army and Navy may, in a small degree at least, be inspired by the hopes of profits they will be able to reap from the sale of war supplies to the Government? Some of us western legislators have urged that war munitions should be manufactured by the Government. Here are two of the reasons for it: First, the Government can make them cheaper than it can buy them. Tremendous profits have been made off the Government by the sellers of war supplies. And second, we hold it is immoral for any person or concern to make profits out of such a horrible calamity as war by the sale of instruments of destruction and death. This has offered the gentlemen of these leagues a wonderful opportunity to demonstrate the unselfish patriotism of their propaganda, but up to date none, to my knowledge, has indicated a disposition to adopt any program that would in any way hurt or impair the business of the war traffickers.

"Are you surprised that—in view of the large profits made by these munitions men, both in their sales abroad and to this Government, and further in view of the charge that they are the chief contributors to the organizations which are so wildly agitating preparedness—the people of the Middle West are suspicious of their whole program? The Middle West is not opposed to a reasonable preparedness. We do not want to see this country undefended. We must be so well prepared that no foe can lay waste our coast cities. We need a strong Navy and adequate coast defenses. Congress is the jury that must determine what that reasonable and adequate preparedness is; and I, for one, at least, in determining that issue, am just as anxious to hear the sentiments and ideals of the people as the opinions of so-called war experts.

"The people will insist that their representatives see to it that for every dollar appropriated for preparedness the Government gets a return of 100 cents. Before the outbreak of the European war our annual appropriations for the Army and Navy exceeded those of either Germany or France for the same purpose. Why are we unprepared? I wait for an explanation from our war experts or some member of the Navy League!

CONFUSION OF THE ISSUE.

"The question of preparedness should be treated in a nonpartisan way. There is much confusion, both in speeches made in Congress and outside, on this question. For instance, today on the floor of the House there were two speeches made, one

by Mr. Henry, of Texas, and the other by Mr. Venable, of Mississippi. The first gentleman spoke against preparedness. He, in substance, advocated sufficient preparedness to protect the homes and firesides of the land, and he wanted the rich to bear the burden of such preparedness. The second speaker spoke for preparedness. He, in substance, advocated sufficient preparedness to protect the homes and firesides of the land, and he, too, wanted the rich to bear the burden of such preparedness. remarks of the first gentleman were applauded by those opposed to preparedness and the remarks of the second gentleman were applauded by those favorable to preparedness. And yet if the fundamental ideas of those two gentlemen could have been analyzed there might have been found little or no difference on this issue. Remember this, so far no reasonable person, either in or out of office, has advocated unpreparedness. The difference between those who are for or against preparedness is not whether we should or should not be prepared. The difference is in the measure or extent of the preparedness to be adopted. Thus far no specific program has been offered in either the Senate or the House of Representatives.

"The sentiments I have given you, I believe, in part at least, reflect those of the folks back home in Iowa. As to the specific program to be adopted, I am frank to confess that I have as yet not sufficient information to express myself. I shall await the reports of the various committees intrusted with that duty. I believe we can and shall be able to determine upon such a rational program of preparedness that will at the same time preserve the traditions and ideals of the people and secure the safety of our beloved country for all time. [Applause.]

Child Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL. OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 2, 1916.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, Congress has the right to regulate child labor engaged in the manufacture of articles that are sold to consumers outside their State. It is not unfair to the employers of child labor to compel them not to work the child between 14 and 16 more than eight hours a day and six days in the week. I am for this bill in seven different languages. shame is that Congress should be required to step in and do the thing that some of the States have criminally neglected to do. I am proud that the Minnesota Legislature has removed us from this class.

All work is noble and holy. "Blessed is he who has found his work." But the child must have time to develop his body and lay the foundation for understanding. For ignorance is slavery; intelligence, freedom.

I am in sympathy with the child. The experience of my child-hood is fresh in my memory. I have worked on the street, in the shop, in hot, in cold, in wet. I know what it is to push up a plank a wheelbarrow of brick—a man's work—at 14. I have worked on the farm. I have stumbled out of bed at dawn to the "Hi, there, get up there," of the meadow lark, through a weary round of milking, wood chopping, plowing, till I dropped into bed at night so tired I couldn't—

Lay flat enough, Jest dripped like 'lasses off the bed.

And I would no more than get to sleep than the meadow lark would pipe me up again. I know the longing of the child—to rest just a little, to mingle in play with other children for a while, to have time to dream a moment of coming manhood and what your life's work is to be. My childhood held no play. hands were shaped to the shovel and the plow handle before they had lost the dimples of childhood.

Skilled labor finds 10 hours a day too long. Surely, then, it is too long for the child. It is our shame that we are more awake to the breeding of our horses and cattle than our citizens. Who would think of working a colt or a calf? Then why lay a man's burden upon a child? To raise the point of constitutionality when childhood, precious beyond all valuing, is at stake is to put the letter of the law ahead of the spirit. The welfare of humanity supersedes technicality. Mankind is more than "money-kind." Child's rights are more than the dollar's rights. Light labor, they say. What of the "summer at the seashore" passed by the child of the oyster and shrimp canneries? Up at 3 in the morning-here they come: Tots of 4 to 7 years, unwashed, unkempt, rubbing their heavy eyes with the tiny hand that holds their breakfast—a crust of bread. From daybreak till dark for six long months they toil, picking with sore, bruised, lacerated, and bleeding fingers oysters from the dirty broken shells, which, strewn upon the ground in damp profusion, cut their bare feet. They handle ice-cold shrimps, and the corroding substance eats their fingers. If a 7-year-old works hard, he can make 25 cents a day; at 14 he can make 50 cents a day; and at 16, perhaps, \$1. That is the limit. A

full-grown man can make no more.

What of the weazened lad who "has not grown since he was 6"? What of the 10-year-old, lying groaning upon the porch, waiting for the "company doctor," ruptured by lifting too heavy a load of sheet tin? What of the girl of 14, who at the end of a year in the cotton mill is broken in temper and nerves and frequently deafened? What kind of heritage will these stunted, warped bodies, deadened minds, and barren spirits pass on?

warped bodies, deadened minds, and barren spirits pass on? Can society afford to pay for what industry saves in broken homes, wrecked lives, and ruined citizens?

Some companies, with sanctimonious air and unctuous rubbing of the hands, aver, "We educate our children"; and when asked how they do it, with benevolent face they beamingly explain, "The children work four hours, go to school four hours, and back to work again four hours." Is it any wonder that the teachers report small progress?

teachers report small progress?

Even the obviously inadequate census report of 1910 shows the appalling number of little tots at work. Because the census was taken in April children employed as berry pickers, cotton pickers, and in canneries were not counted. Many inaccuracies appear. To cite just one, no bootblacks at all are found in seven large cities. But even with all its omissions the tabula-tion shows that of children between the ages of 10 and 15 one out of six are at work. Two million children working! As late as 1913, in Georgia, 10-year-olds were privileged to work 11 hours a day. In Pennsylvania and West Virginia 14-year-old boys worked all night in the glass factories, and children of 10 put in a 10-hour day in the cotton mills of Tennessee.

Note the parallel between illiteracy and child labor in figures

picked at random.

State.	Per cent of chil- dren at work.	Per cent of population over 10 who are illiterates.	
Georgia.	36.9	20. 7	
South Carolina.	45.1	25. 7	
Maine	1.8	3. 3	

This same report shows that 895,976 between the ages of 10 and 13 were found at work and 1,094,249 between the ages of 14 and 15.

Industry, whose voice is loudest in protest, must learn that cheap labor is in the end the most expensive. Each child at work displaces an adult and cuts the adult wage. But the quality of the child's work is poor; he is wasteful, and requires more supervision; and supervision is expensive. He is , is more often hurt himself, and breaks machinery. To it does not cost much to replace the "broken child," careless, is more often hurt himself, and breaks machinery. be sure. but broken machinery costs money. Worse than all, more farreaching in its evil effect, as industry must find to its cost in the future, the overworked child makes an inefficient, workhating adult, and will breed that kind of men whose shrunken mental faculties can only voice their protest against society through the bomb.

Preparedness? Here is the place to begin preparedness. Here in its youth is the heart of the nation.

Is it nothing that American children shall have no home life. shall be bred up illiterate, shut out from school, with no outlook but a life of slavery, poverty, and—what wonder—crime? The majority of boys in the reform schools come from workers on the street.

This present age is preaching the gospel of play for the child. Imagine that child who, looking up dull-eyed from his work, a faint surprise stirred in him at so foolish a question, answered, "No: I have never played." "Children ought to work," says the gentleman from Florida, Mr. Clark. "I have no patience with this sentimentalism. Work never hurt anybody." My heart swells within me as I vision the army of little children from the canneries of Maine to the fields of Texas, with their dry lips, dull-red eyes, and pallid cheeks; their languid limbs dragging along their shrunken bodies, denied the wholesome development of play; with fingers, hands, and even legs and arms nipped off by the merciless machinery; I hear the cough

of the tenements; I see them "junked at 16"; and I say to you, Mr. CLARK, This is not work, but slavery. Childhood is consumed. We are murdering the children. Moloch was more merciful, for he did his work quickly.

Let us remember that it was the Master himself who made the first great plea for "these little ones." "He who helps a

child helps humanity."

They look up with their pale and sunken faces,
And their look is dread to see.

For they remind you of the angels in high places,
With eyes turned on Delty.

"How long," they say, "How long, O cruel Nation,
Will you stand, to move the world, on a child's heart—
Stifle down with a mailed heel its palpitation,
And tread onward to your throne amid the mart?
Our blood splashes upward, O gold heaper,
And your purple shows your path!
But the child's sob in the silence curses deeper
Than the strong man in his wrath."

Amending House Rule.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES A. FREAR.

OF WISCONSIN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, February 3, 1916.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, in the presence of any great calamity the Government has been prompt to give relief, and it is one of the evidences of close brotherhood of men that at such times no technical rules of legal or legislative conduct are allowed to intervene. No member will oppose the passage of a resolution designed to afford relief to flood sufferers, but the work of any committee charged with extending such relief will be watched with interest in order to determine at what point flood relief ends.

It is probable that the best means of handling the flood problem is to place it in the hands of a separate committee which may be held responsible for its recommendations. Heretofore the River and Harbor Committee has appropriated large amounts for the Mississippi River, and no better statement of the uses to which moneys have been put can be found than in the frank words of the able gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Small], who has said in this debate:

Every intelligent Member of this House has voted for millions of dollars for the Mississippi River, knowing what he was doing, knowing that a large part of that money was for the protection of those fertile lands along that great river against floods; and yet because we realized that the problem was so stupendous that it was against the financial capacity of any State to protect its lands against that river, we have shut our eyes and have voted these millions of appropriations and have done it gladly, under the guise of improving the navigability of the Mississippi. That is the truth, and every Member knows it is the truth.

This statement from one of the oldest Members of the House indicates that in the future appropriations for reclaiming land will not be presented by the Rivers and Harbors Committee, which has jurisdiction alone of navigation, but hereafter will go to the Flood Committee. If any question existed as to this new committee, the chairman of the Committee on Rules [Mr. GARRETT] fully expressed the understanding of the Flood Committee's jurisdiction. When asked by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Borland] "whether flood control may not necessarily include a very important element, and that is the drainage of overflowed land," the gentleman from Tennessee responded "that would be broadening the idea which the Committee on Rules had in mind when it reported the resolution. As a matter of fact, I should assume that bills touching that question would be referred to this committee whether it is provided in the rule or not.

Whatever may have been the purpose of the resolution, this statement, made on the floor at the time of its passage, would undoubtedly determine jurisdiction, so that instead of appropriating millions of dollars annually for Mississippi River levees under a fictitious need for navigation, hereafter the matter will properly come before the Flood Committee, which committee will make its recommendations to the Appropriations Committee.

Again, it would appear that this disposition of land-reclamation projects along the river is proper and will place the matter where it belongs, for the Mississippi River Commission, displanting attempted improvement of payingtion has said in its

claiming attempted improvement of navigation, has said in its

While the levees have a certain degree of utility in the improvement of the channel, and are necessary to "promote the interests of com-

merce" by providing landing places for the interchange of traffic in times of flood and protecting the lines of railway behind them, their immediate and main value is the protection of the alluvial lands for the benefit of their owners.

This same state of facts presumably applies to land-reclamation proposals from Rock Island to Cape Girardeau, estimated to cover or uncover 780,000 acres of land, and also all reclamation projects farther down the Mississippi River, estimated to reclaim anywhere from 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 acres. In like manner this Flood Committee's jurisdiction will extend to the land reclamation along the Missouri River, estimated, according to official reports, at 500,000 acres, and also to the 1,000,000acre reclamation project along the upper Sacramento, known as the Feathers River project. Many other projects from Indiana to Arkansas have been suggested during this debate, so that the new committee, under the interpretation of Chairman Garrett, will have other great and important matters to handle whether floods are present or prospective.

It would possibly have been better to have placed the whole problem of flood relief and land reclamation in the hands of some other body that could make extended investigation and give permanent relief. We might also adopt some more equitable system in order that Congress would not use public funds without limita-tion for what the Mississippi River Commission describes to be the "protection of alluvial lands for the benefit of their owners." The whole proposal invites the strictest scrutiny, because it does not appear to be just and proper to use such funds, contributed by the residents of Minnesota, Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, or any other State, for the wholesale reclamation of private lands lying

along the great rivers of the country.

Many of the States have drainage laws whereby lands reclaimed from swamps or overflow have benefits charged against the owners, so that the different parcels of land carry the charge for reclamation. It would appear to be unjust and inequitable to give land-reclamation appropriations without restrictions or contributions to be furnished by those who demand relief.

Possibly no more unbusinesslike handling of the problem will occur in the future than in the past, but the new committee has within its hands the determination of certain principles of Federal aid that ought to be extended to all communities alike. Such is not the case to-day. This resolution has been prepared and acted upon with brief consideration, introduced, heard in committee, and presented on the floor within a period of two or three

days, according to statements made here in debate.

The courtesy which every Member of the House is glad to extend to the distinguished gentleman who introduced the resolution would prevent question as to its future usefulness or of its imperative need at this time, nor will any Member be found to withhold relief for genuine flood sufferers or for any other stricken people wherever located. Such aid is ordinarily extended without quibble or question; but problems are sure to come before the Flood Committee that will require wisdom and caution to determine, in order that the private interests of owners of alluvial lands shall not be cared for in such manner as to work injustice to the great mass of the people who contribute the funds used for reclamation purposes.

Mexican Situation and National Defense.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES H. DAVIS,

OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 5, 1916.

Mr. DAVIS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday I asked consent to be heard this afternoon on the Mexican war problem and national defense for 20 minutes. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Mann] objected. I then prepared these remarks, in order that I might go to the country with the truth as I see it.

The world has "warphobia," and military mania is raging everywhere. "Like begets like" is a fixed law of the universe, and warlike nations always find war. Germany's warlike attitude for 20 years has resulted in a world's cataclysm of cruel war. Her perpetual preparedness made her a military maniac, as it will any country where the war spirit dominates.

The mad-brained enthusiasts for war in this country want us to follow Germany's example. God says, "A soft answer turneth away wrath." The war traffickers say, "A big stick turneth away wrath."

Subject to all the bias that may sway the average Democrat, I want to say that I have heard many fine and patriotic speeches on the Republican side of this House; yet I have been forced to sit day after day and listen to other Republicans whose chief attraction seemed to be a chronic effusion of vocal tirade against Woodrow Wilson and Secretary McAdoo with acrimonious venom; then clamor for a great Army and Navy and to reinstate the old chestnut—fraudulent protective tariff—to pay the cost

They call us who stand for Americanism against imperialism and conscription, mollycoddling, flabby-sided pacifists.

Those are pet names, and I return the compliment by stating that if we are mollycoddling, flabby-sided pacifists now, the President, Secretary Garrison, Admiral Fletcher, and the noted gentleman from Illinois, Mr. James R. Mann, were all mollycoddling, flabby-sided pacifists last year, for the record shows they stood then just where Gen. Miles, Mr. Kitchin, and most leading Democrats stand now as regards the size of our Army and Navy. I want it understood that as long as I have sense enough to obstruct the proceedings I will fight every method of conscription unless we can conscript money the same as men. I would consider it a piece of crowning villainy to support a law to go among the soot and cinders and sweatsoaked tenement renters and common walks of life and drag out the poor homeless workers of our country with handcuffs and make them stand up and be fed to cannons to save the millions and mansions of the Carnegies, Astors, Rockefellers, and a few thousand trust masters and tariff barons who have been allowed, through special privilege and protection, to rake in the labor of millions of people and call it theirs, who disdain America, and are now building castles among England's

If we can pass an army classification act and make wealth bear its part of Army, Navy, and war expenses, then I would like to see the regular soldier dignified, paid \$40 to \$60 a month, and put the standing Army to building military roads at least three weeks out of each month. In this way we could soon crisscross the country with fine roads, useful in peace as well as in war.

The clamor for military conscription made with such vehemence by a lot of eastern papers and urged by many leading supporters of the imperialistic program is forbidden by the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, which says that—

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, * * * shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Conscription for Army service is involuntary servitude and not as a punishment for crime. This amendment was made to protect a poor and helpless race—the southern negro—from laws that might be made by a haughty superior race who had been his masters. I now thank God that I can interpose it to shield not only the black man, but millions of poor and helpless whites who are under the domination and control of a lot of trust masters more haughty, austere, and cruel than ever the sloveholder was

I fear our Democratic President when he turns down the council of that noble band of patriotic Democrats headed by Bryan, out in the ranks, and Claude Kitchin, our splendid leader in Congress, and leans up in the arms and listens to the siren songs of well-known reactionary Republican leaders to carry out this stupendous military program, is not only resting on a broken reed, but he is being kissed by a Judas who seeks to betray him, hugged, caressed, and courted by a Delilah, a Philistine liaison, who seeks to have our Samson's head shorn and his Democratic eyes punched out.

Not long since my honorable colleague, Mr. Henry, while making a speech, in which he laid bare many hideous deformities of the \$2,000,000,000 war-crowd plan and demanded repeal of the "odious stamp tax" brought forth a chorus of applause from the Republican side.

The stamp tax is odious and offensive. It is the spawn of rank Republicanism, begotten of Mark-Hanna, whose policy was to tax the masses and feast the classes. It came through the womb of the Republican Party and was adopted during the War with Spain, when the Republican Party was either too cowardly or too craven to enact an income tax upon the millionaire it had created.

Let the Democratic Party purge itself of this Republicanism by putting a tax on large incomes, inheritances, and millionaire war traffickers, thus speaking into life and law sound traditions and principles of Democracy.

I am not a hyphenated American. I had seven granduncles in the Revolution of 1776. At Brandywine and Yorktown my ancestors stood for the Republic. Welch, Scotch, and Irish make up my pedigree of over 200 years in America. Yet I say in all

candor that the old Tory stock of English snobocracy that gathered around Alexander Hamilton in the beginning are to-day the greatest impending danger to our Republic. Their immense wealth gives them great prestige and influence, making their treachery all the more dangerous and damnable. For 40 years they have been drawing the forms of English government over they have been drawing the forms of English government over us and intermarrying and paying millions for royal titles, and even so conservative a man as Mr. Taft tells us they have "gathered their wealth by all forms of iniquity." Roosevelt says they are the "criminal rich." Bryan calls them the "predatory classes." Tom Lawson calls them the "frenzied financiers." La Follette calls them the "wealthy malefactors" and "malevolent rich." Hearst calls them the "American plunderbund." Tom Watson calls them "purse-proud plutocrats." In all these terms I concur and go further and say that they are always terms I concur and go further and say that they are always venal vampires sucking the lifeblood of liberty and coining the misery and misfortune of the plundered masses into wealth through the great corporations they control. It was the leading envoys of this class that met at the Gary dinner a few weeks ago. Touching knees under a table in a gorgeous feast representing untold millions of loot legally extorted from a helpless people, they met to devise ways to put Woodrow Wilson in ignominious defeat by the corrupting and debauching influence of their ill-gotten millions and to destroy Democracy and put Roosevelt at the head of "their" Government with an imperial army and navy to do "their" bidding. What Brutus was to Cæsar, what Judas was to Jesus, they are to this Republic. When W. L. Yancey, Robert Toombs, Jeff Davis, and others met to extend slavery by the annexation of Mexico and Cuba as slave country south of Mason and Dixon's line and later to secede from the Union to save their special privilege to appropriate the labor of slaves as legal, they never had a more damnable design on American liberty than that bunch which met at that millionaire carouse of the war traffickers and trust masters which made up that Belshazzar feast. And the slave traffic with all its infamy never represented more than one-tenth the wealth said to have been represented in that gold-bound, diamond-tipped cabal of conspirators. When the slave masters met they, with complacent aristocratic minds, covered their sordid, knavish designs under the sweet and sacred terms of State rights. When these trust masters met they covered their knavish depravity under the euphonious term of "protection" to American labor. These sweet-scented millionaire plutocrats represent the same kind of protection to American labor that the Pharaohs did to the children of Israel and the Roman masters had for the poor, helpless plebeian. Risk them to save this Republic? You had as well risk the devil to preach the gospel.

When the moon shall cease to shine at night,
And the stars shall fade away.
And the sun refuses to give light,
And there is no coming day,
When water falls to flow down hill,
And you find the ocean dry,
When the earth is gone and there is no God
Beyond the vast blue sky,
When Judas becomes a patron saint,
And Christ a base betrayer,
When Cain becomes an innocent man,
And Abel becomes his slayer,
When hell becomes a health resort,
And heaven a haunt of sin,
When God vacates His heavenly home,
And the devil enters in,
Then that crowd all saints may be
And help to set this country free.

The Hon. James R. Mann, in that recent able and impassioned speech, adroitly breathing warphobia at every period, its music all set to an imperial Army and Navy, with all its conscription and accursed methods, in rounding out one of his intense vocal outcroppings, called for an army of 300,000 men; then, to prey upon the fears of the country with gorgons and hobgoblins, he made his voice quiver as he said, "I have much more fear of war with England than with Germany."

Do these people afflicted with warphobia think the American people are fools enough to take such Republican rot as patriotism? The Steel Trust, the Money Trust, the Powder Trust, and allied pals in plunder having, with millions of profit, armed, equipped, and supplied England, the greatest war power on earth, now bring the champions of a protective tariff forth to make the imperative demand that this Democratic administration must load labor with staggering taxation, famish the farmer, and stagnate the common channels of business with untold millions in taxes to drag 300,000 of our best, able-bodied young men from their homes, in the peaceful walks of life, in handcuffs, under conscript laws, to pile a few more billions into the rapacious maw of these trusts by contracts with them for preparation to fight England, whom they have already prepared to fight us.

Such brazen effrontery, such craven conduct, such selfish and unscrupulous greed as these war traffickers and knavish lords of the Navy League bring forth ought to put a blush of shame

upon the cheek of even the most sordid Republican.

If I felt as the distinguished gentleman from Illinois feels and saw the frightful prospective horrors of a war with England, I would ask some of my Democratic friends, in a spirit of nonpartisanship, to please introduce a resolution to place an immediate embargo on arms, and insist upon every Republican vote being cast to enact the bill.

I fear another mistake the President made was when he went to speak at the Waldorf-Astoria to get Democratic inspira-

tion on the question of our national defense.

The real Democrats of this country rarely ever live higher up than \$2-a-day hotels. They write to me by the thousands that they oppose the whole military program as a plan of plutocracy to rob us of our liberties.

The Railway Business Men's Association has never been known as a Democratic crowd at the Waldorf Astoria, and of

course, is always for the military program.

These railway magnates are the most lordly luxuriant looters this country ever had. They have plastered our country three-ply deep with forged, fictitious, fraudulent, watered railroad stocks and bonds, in many cases issued to themselves thereby forcing the toil, energy, and honest business of the country to pay interest thereon. They have robbed the roads they claim to own, like robbing bee gums; then put these roads in bankrupt courts, and go to the country and depict the "depleted condition of their treasury," asking a raise in rates to fill up, while many good men went into Mexico and perhaps lost their all and deserve profound sympathy.

The situation has recently been expressed in such truth by Senator LA FOLLETTE that I want to do myself the honor of quoting that patriotic Republican which fortifies our President with a wall of adamant against the vicious attacks of Republican floor leaders who brand the Wilson administration as cowardly and exasperating because the President has not made war on

Mexico:

The interests are very powerful. They can always command the backing of a large section of the press. They would force the Wilson administration into war with Mexico.

The Government of Mexico under Diaz was a military despotism. It plundered the Mexican people and traded their birthright to the masters of American fluories.

plundered the Mexican people and traded their birthright to the masters of American finance.

The special interests which are exploiting the American people through a control of our timber, coal, oil lands, and water powers coveted the mineral wealth of Mexico.

When the Mexican people revolted under the patriotic Madero the special interests, through their press in this country, clamored for intervention. How nearly they succeeded under the Taft administration the public will never know. A large army was rushed to the Mexican border. Madero established an orderly government for that unhappy country. He was opposed at every step by our special interests. Revolts were encouraged—financed it was alleged by American money.

Madero was betrayed and murdered. Huerta set himself up as ruler. It was another military despotism. Our special interests were for the lluerta government.

uerta government.

The Mexican people again revolted. Carranza led the revolution. He is established a de facto government now in control of most of the

country. The same American special interests understand full well that Carranza's high aim is to establish a government for the Mexican people. Doubtless Carranza could win their favor and cooperation if he would adopt the Diaz policy and rob his country of its natural resources for the benefit of the special interests which so largely own and control the natural resources of the United States.

Our special interests and their press sought to force this Government to intervene to maintain the Diaz government. They used all their power to maintain the Huerta government.

And now that a government has been established in Mexico which is manifestly making the interests of the Mexican people its paramount object, they are raising another hue and cry throughout the country for intervention.

But most of the Republican leaders in discussing the Mexican situation slander Wilson with the most vindictive bitterness. traduce the career of Bryan in terms of unrelenting venom and sarcasm, assail Carranza with acrimonious derision, and usually close their remarks in lauding and extolling that old midnight assassin and venomous tyrant, Victoriano Huerta.

The Mexican situation is horrible and has been from the beginning, but with all my heart I thank God that President Wilson has handled all its serious and complex conditions in a manner to preserve honorable peace and forestall a bloody plunge into the wretchedness of that country. It would take us but a short while to whip Mexico, and if Wilson were not the patriot that he is and had been as crafty and self-serving as these Republican leaders say he is he would make those bloody butchers and bandits a basis for the indictment of the whole Mexican Republic, and issue a soul-stirring appeal to the people in a declaration of war, invade Mexico to avenge the unlawful, outrageous slaughter of American lives and thereby insure his reelection. I beg these flamboyant political parti-

sans, filled with malice and bias against all real Democrats, not to carry their aggravating, tormenting tirades much further, for they may provoke such a situation that the President, in order to preserve his own honor and the honor of the great office he holds, the great Republic he serves, and the party that elected him, may be forced to yield to a clamor for an unholy

Huerta was not only a greedy plutocrat, but a murderous, marauding tool of plutocracy and autocracy, which great accomplishments seem to have made him commendable in the estimation of many leading Republicans, who for years have manifested a thrill of joy when a group of helpless workingmen were shot down, their tenements bombarded and burned, and helpless women and children torn from the dead embrace of

husbands and fathers.

I am often asked by Republicans, who, in their partizanship, want to impugn the motives and condemn the conduct of a Democratic President for not intervening in Mexico, if I am not shocked and chagrined at the slaughter of a dozen of our citizens on Mexican soil? I answer yes; shocked, angered, and made mournfully sad; but these men knew they were going into a foreign country infested with danger against which the President had warned them prior to their embarkment in that savage and bloodthirsty land. But I have seen slaughters in our own land that gave me far more concern. More than 20 years ago, at Homestead, Pa., where the foundations of Car-negie's castles were laid in the blood of three times the number of men just massacred in Mexico; in Colorado two years ago we reached the climax of internal slaughter, when helpless labor lay languishing by the score in the red blood that drenched the earth and the widows' wail of slaughtered husbands and the screaming cries of children, made orphans by that slaughter, rent the air with agony, while the masters of these helpless wage slaves sat on the sofas in their palaces in New York surrounded by gorgeous and imposing splendor, con-templating, with an insolent indifference, this reign of terror born of inordinate greed, and sent the President of this great Republic word that there was nothing in Colorado to arbitrate.

For 20 years I have been beseeching, in the name of outraged, wretched, and impoverished labor, that this Republic "intervene" to stop these corporation cannibals, these Pancho Villa commercial bandits from wholesale slaughters and murderous

labor

But Republicans who have nightmares and rage with scorn at President Wilson's patient plan of watchful waiting in Mexico have been carrying on a plan of watchful waiting in these home massacres for 20 years. They have watched labor go down in despair, made homeless in a land where God's storehouse is teeming with natural wealth. They have been watchful and waiting until the corporation, by its venal and greedy manager, has appropriated the earth-that God gave to manand the fullness thereof.

They now not only refuse to intervene and "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity," but they turn with impudent accusation and rail at him who dares defend helpless humanity.

These gold-trimmed, diamond-bedecked masters of our country are more dangerous to the liberties of our people than a hundred dens of red-shirted, flannel-mouthed anarchists; for the anarchist is opposed to all government and all law, while these soft-pedaled, pussy-footed pirates in politics and marauders in business, without one restraining sentiment for the love of God or the respect of human rights, would make government a mighty machine to rob, plunder, and pillage a helpless people

under pretext of law.

To perpetuate their sway they overawe the weak, shackle the strong, corrupt the venal, suppress the truth, and elevate falsehood in a thousand ways in the conflict between capital and

God bless Gen. Miles, that righteous old veteran, whose recent utterances before the Committee on Military Affairs have the ring of true patriotism, not the metallic ring of war traffickers, counting dollars by the million while they arm England and ask a Republican leader to tell us we must chink metal in a billion-dollar pile for them to prepare us to fight England.

Listen to the logical and patriotic language of the general, when he says:

There is nothing to indicate that a larger military force will be required in the near future, if ever. I am not alarmed by the reported ability of any strong European belligerent to land a force of 300,000 men and sweep our coast line. If such a feat were possible, and this army of invasion could not be destroyed by the uprising patrictism of the American people while the ships that brought it were going back for another load, I would prefer to live in some other country.

The following letter; written by Maj. R. W. Hurdle, a Virginia veteran of Stonewall Jackson's army, signed by a hundred men in the town of my boyhood, inspires me beyond measure, and shows how the heart throbs of the masses beat in Texas:

WINNSBORO, TEX., January 27, 1916.

Winnspord, Tex., January 27, 1916.

Hon. J. H. Davis,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Jim: I wish to compliment you on the high position of statesmanship you have taken on the so-called military preparedness measure, in which 100 of your neighbors here where you were raised most heartly join me.

We believe that America is for Americans; that no foreigner should be allowed to hold land property in the United States until he shall have taken an oath of allegiance to this Government disavowing allegiance to any other Government.

We are unalterably opposed to a large standing Army. The present plan is a serious departure from a government of democracy to a government of militarism. The Government should manufacture its own implements of war, of the most approved and improved variety, sufficient to meet our ordinary needs for common defense, Our present Navy will be adequate after the completion of present contracts.

This war demonstrates that great navies neither win battics nor crush enemies.

We believe in a State militia with national aid, and in national aid to the military departments of State schools.

The great danger to our country consists in the pillage of the masses by the great corporate classes within our own borders and on the continents of Europe, who will honeycomb our society with an immigration breeding anarchy, Ignorance, and vice at the close of the present war.

R. W. Hurdle, A. A. Angle, H. C. Mitchell, Jack Gilbert,

reeding anarchy, ignorance, and vice at the close of the ar.

R. W. Hurdle, A. A. Angle, H. C. Mitchell, Jack Gilbert, E. E. Lunsford, F. M. Henessoner, A. J. Laird, M. A. Picre, J. I. Browning, G. E. Russell, R. H. Patrick, Thos. L. Sheeton, S. J. Gilbreath, B. B. White, C. A. Allen, J. P. Farar, B. Gorman, E. E. Johnson, J. M. Paschol, B. D. McAlister, S. M. Brown, J. T. Hall, E. R. Williams, A. A. Snow, B. H. Gray, D. A. Mays, A. C. Acker, E. C. Mitchell, J. H. Lunsford, J. L. Langham, R. H. Baber, H. C. Marshall, T. F. Landers, W. E. Teal, W. M. Carnes, W. T. Pollard, R. R. Alvis, G. D. Hurdle, J. H. Gossett, J. W. Allen, J. E. Wingard, Jack Gist, L. K. Thompson, W. V. Gist, W. J. Perritt, O. F. Denney, Lem Willard, Arlon Wylle, G. M. Sellers, R. T. Mattox, Claude Smith, Alton Gheil, Henry Phillips, W. C. Chadwick, W. J. Westbrook, R. E. Stacey, John Turner, E. H. James, R. L. Smith, J. E. McBride, H. M. Williams, T. U. Boseman, A. H. Culpepper, J. E. Nichols, E. A. Asbill, N. E. Seay, John Crampton, G. C. Milkulc, E. R. Brown, R. W. Dykes, Sam Martin, W. B. Brown, Joe Turner, Dolph Davis, G. W. Patrick, I. B. Gibson, James O. Hill, jr., A. L. Campbell, T. B. Darby, C. G. Pierce, Will C. Anderson, W. M. Wheeler, H. W. Nite, C. R. Redding, L. J. Hallman, H. L. Crosby, A. L. Wiefong, J. O. Hitt, R. M. Comer, W. A. Nichols, Fred Gish, D. T. McWharter, Homer R. Weir, N. E. Kestler, R. E. Skeen, Jas, Pierce, J. C. Hogue, H. Murray, R. L. White, and M. L. Gilbreath.

Here is a voice from down in the ranks, patriots from the plowhandle. This letter is replete with righteous truth:

SCLPHUR SPRINGS, TEX., January 8, 1916.

Hon. J. H. (CYCLONE) DAVIS, Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Cyclore: Your friends here generally are delighted over the position you have taken against this mania for more military power. Far more armies have been used to destroy liberty than to protect it.

Our President has truthfully stated: "This Army is to protect the wealth of the country." He speaks of the patriotism of the employers in allowing their employees to join the Army, stating that it is for the protection of the employers that the Army is needed. The same old story. Men must march forth to meet death and slaughter to protect money. We would ask our President who the employers of this country are? Are they not the gigantic corporations, trusts, against which every patriot for 30 years, including Wilson himself, has so seriously warned us?

Mr. Teft's suit against the Steel Trust above the serious over the position of the suit against the Steel Trust above the serious over the position of the same of the same

are? Are they not the gigantic corporations, trusts, against which every patriot for 30 years, including Wilson himself, has so seriously warned us?

Mr. Taft's suit against the Steel Trust showed its grip on almost overy important business in the land and its fangs in the very heart of greed concern to have the very commercial life of our country in its clutches. The Oil Trust is known to be one of the most corrupting and dominating forces, striking at the very foundation of our Republic. The Transportation Trust spans the continent in its cruel combine and largely forbids the use of rivers, iscke, or oceans as competitors. These divides the result of the control of the strength of the prime causes for all the tears of be readed whole and the control of the strength of the prime causes for all this for profit.

Mr. Taft's suit against the Steel Trust showed its grip on almost overy important business in the land and its fangs in the very benefit of the proper trusts of the proper trusts of the proper count, but it is clutches. The Oil Trust is known to be one of the most corrupting and dominating forces, striking at the very boundation of our Republic. The Transportation Trust spans the continent in its cruel combine and largely forbids the use of rivers, with their allied and interlocked partners in plunder, employ and dominating forces, striking at the very benefit of trusts, with their allied and interlocked partners in plunder, employ and the stream of the stream of trusts, with their allied and interlocked partners in plunder, employ and the stream of the stream of trusts, with their allied and interlocked partners in plunder, employ and the stream of trusts, with their allied and interlocked partners in plunder, employ and the stream of the stream of trusts, with their allied and interlocked partners in plunder, employ and the stream of the stream of the stream of the stream of the constitution of the constitution of the constitution of the constitution with would open mit completely and with the constit

to detract attention from the sacred promise made by Democracy last year to give the farmers an honest system of rural credits, equal in benefit to that already given to the banking and commercial world.

The glorous fight, led by Bob Henry in the House and Hoke Smith in the Senate, last year is still fresh in the farmers' heart, and we feel that our own Cyclone Davis will be a stalwart recruit to the patriotic forces that we hope and pray to God will give us victory.

F. W. Betts,

President Hopkins County Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union.

C. H. HOLLEY, Secretary.

J. T. Srale, Ex-President.

B. F. Sheppards, Ex-President.

N. M. Mathews, Ex-Secretary.

A. P. Landers, Ex-Secretary.

A. P. Landers, Ex-Secretary.

These men represent the yeomanry of one of our best east Texas communities. I have received more than 2,000 letters of the same sentiment:

GLADEWATER, TEX., January 29, 1916.

Hon. J. H. Davis, Washington, D. C.

Hon. J. H. Davis, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir: We the undersigned citizens of Upshur County, Tex., are opposed to the President's plan of preparedness. We believe that the munition manufacturers are at the bottom of all this preparedness agitation for profits. We see no reason for a larger Navy or larger Army. Therefore we ask you to oppose with all your power any effort to increase the Army or Navy, for our taxes are very burdensome already, and we see no cause for alarm. Therefore we ask you to oppose any preparedness legislation, and oblige the undersigned voters.

R. M. Perdue, Gladewater; J. W. Vaughan, Gladewater; D. M. Elder, Gladewater; J. L. Branch, Big Sandy; F. M. Winkler, Big Sandy; H. W. Weathers, Big Sandy; J. S. English, Gladewater; J. L. Dunagan, Big Sandy; M. L. May, Gladewater; J. T. Greer, Big Sandy; S. H. Seabolt, Big Sandy; B. F. Sasser, Gladewater; H. P. Mitchell, Pritchet; William Mitchell, Pritchet; A. M. Marsh, Big Sandy; Claude Ray, Big Sandy; Clyde Ray, Big Sandy; A. G. Cox, Big Sandy, Tex.

This letter is from one of the leading minds and grand men

This letter is from one of the leading minds and grand men of Texas-a tribune of the people, prominent in State affairs for 40 years:

SAN ANTONIO, TEX., January 31, 1916.

Hon. James H. Davis, Washington, D. C.

Hon. James H. Davis, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Am very glad to see that yourself, Representatives Callaway, and Dies are vigorously opposing the preparedness program. The country will bless and honor you for this course when it returns to sanity. The movement had its genesis with the eastern "melon cutters" who have so enjoyed the julcy slices from the foreign field that they now wish to provide a new patch at home for their uses as soon as the foreign supply falls. They have deceived the President and run him "hog wild" on the subject. He is now leading the Democratic Party straight to destruction and the country straight into the hands of the eastern money power, whence we thought we had redeemed it by his election. He has changed his mind on the subject of preparedness, on the subject of a tariff commission, and God knows how many other subjects. Judging from the sham antitrust law passed at the last session, he has changed his mind on that.

I think that the next Democratic platform should contain a plank prohibiting a President from changing his views on vital questions after election, at least prohibiting him from trying to enforce such changed views.

In my opinion the one way by which Members of Congress may kill this whole preparedness propaganda is to apparently fall in with it to a limited extent, but strenuously insist that the cost shall be pald by a tax on large incomes, and that the Government alone shall manufacture everything necessary to carry the program into effect. If there appears the least danger of such provisions being adopted by Congress, you will find the National Security League, the Navy League, and other manufacturers of artificial public sentiment for preparedness will dissolve. Whenever the great corporations and their rulers find that they are going to be taxed to pay the cost they will kill the movement.

Permit me to suggest a constitutional question upon the point of compulsory military service. The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides tha

Sec. 2. That all personal incomes, family incomes, or joint incomes of husband and wife in excess of \$75,000 per annum shall be assessed, and the owner or owners thereof shall pay into the Treasury each year in time of peace a sum equal to the average annual cost of one soldier or sailor for each \$25,000 of said income in excess of \$75,000 per annum, and in time of war for each \$12,000 of said incomes in excess of \$12,000. That in assessing the values provided in this section the values set by State courts shall be accepted.

Sec. 3. That any dowry, inheritance, bequest, legacy, income, or other sum of money arising or accruing from property or investments in the United States to a foreign potentate, principality, corporation, firm, or individual, other than for charitable, educational, or benevolent purposes, shall be assessed, and the owner thereof shall pay into the Treasury in time of peace a sum equal to the average annual cost of a soldier or sailor for each \$25,000 of said funds received in excess of \$50,000 per annum, and in time of war for each \$12,000 of said funds received in excess of \$10,000 per annum.

Sec. 4. That in order to ascertain the average annual cost of one soldier the total number of soldiers and sailors, active and retired officers in the Army and Navy, shall be divided into the total annual cost of said soldiers, sailors, active and retired officers, and the result shall represent the annual average cost of one soldier as contemplated by this bill.

Sec. 5. That the Secretary of War and the Commissioner of Cor-

of said soldiers, sailors, active and retired officers, and the result shair represent the annual average cost of one soldier as contemplated by this bill.

Sec. 5. That the Secretary of War and the Commissioner of Corporations shall have power to prescribe rules and regulations governing the execution of this act, and shall provide for collection through the Treasury Department.

Sec. 6. That all members or officers of corporations, all citizens or residents of the United States subject to impressment or assessment under the provisions of this act, who refuse or fall to comply with such provisions shall be deemed guilty of desertion, and upon conviction shall be punished as provided by law in case of desertion. That the incomes, dowries, inheritances, or legacles, etc., accruing to foreigners, described in section 3, shall escheat to the United States upon the decree of any court of competent jurisdiction if said foreigners fail to comply with the provisions of this act.

Sec. 7. That corporations, associations, or individuals engaged solely in religious, benevolent, charitable, or education work shall not be subject to the provisions of this act, whether such corporations, associations, or individuals are domiciled within the jurisdiction of the United States or abroad.

If we must fight England, then every call for extensive arma-

If we must fight England, then every call for extensive arma-

ment is a call for an embargo as a measure of defense.

On January 31, 1916, I submitted the following resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and ordered to be printed:

Resolution.

Resolution.

Whereas the gentleman from Illinois [Hon. James R. Mann], chosen leader for the Republican Party on the floor of this House, in an impassioned and intense speech advocating a huge Army and Navy, urging that we tax our people billions of dollars to organize and maintain an Army of 300,000 men and a Navy "equal to the best in the world," told us in serious accent and quavering octaves that England was the country that we would have to fight, saying "we must prepare, and prepare now"; and
Whereas the great daily papers have, with remarkable unanimity, regardless of former political alignments, extolled that speech as wise, statesmanlike, and patriotic, and pronounced the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Mann] a great leader; and Whereas England is the only nation that eyer did make war on us and invade our country; and
Whereas we believe she is the only power that could make war on us with any hope of success, having Canada on the north, furnishing an excellent base of supplies and a strong arm of support, and having Japan, her yellow ally, who could attack us on the Pacific coast, and having Pierpont Morgan, one of our American Tories, now serving in every aspect as resident envoy and minister plenipotentiary with the officers of the Steel Trust and Powder Trust as minister of munitions; and

officers of the Steel Trust and Powder Trust as minister of munitions; and
Whereas the same crowd of leading Republicans and leading papers
and the special interests and war traffickers that are urging this
massive military program are, many of them, maligning, castigating,
and traducing our President because he does not invade Mexico, so
England could have that country-as an ally to engage us on the
south while she stormed us on the Atlantic, Japan on the Pacific, and
Canada on the north; and
Whereas it is criminal negligence, extreme folly, and wantonly wicked
on our part to allow these Anglo-Americans, these mercenary tories,
these war traffickers to make billions of money in preparing England
to fight us and then demand that we pile a billion dollars into their
tills to prepare us to fight England: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we authorize the Speaker of this House to appoint a
committee of five, three of whom shall be the chairmen of the Ways and
Means Committee, the Committee on Military Affairs, and the Committee
on Naval Affairs, to confer with the President and his Cabinet to consider, in the face of these possibilities and serious conditions, the question of laying an immediate embargo on the exportation of arms and
munitions as the first step in preparedness and national defense.

Coinage of a McKinley Souvenir Gold Dollar.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN, OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 7, 1916.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the privilege to extend my remarks on the pending bill "For the coinage of a McKinley souvenir gold dollar in commemoration of the erection of a memorial to William McKinley, late President of the United States," I offer the able oration of Hon. Joseph G. Butler, jr.,

of Youngstown, a leading citizen of Ohio and the founder of the McKinley Memorial at Niles, Ohio, delivered on November 20, 1915, at the laying of the corner stone of the memorial.

The oration is as follows:

ORATION OF HON, JOSEPH G. BUTLER, JR.

Fellow citizens, patriotism, protection, and prosperity were the combined watchwords and slogan of William McKinley. He was a patriot from boyhood up and a protectionist from principle and conviction, and a harbinger of prosperity until the end.

William McKinley was born almost on the exact spot of this memorial building January 29, 1843. The little old white schoolhouse which he attended was a part of the location of the memo-

rial building.

Pride of ancestry had no place in the make-up of President MiKinley, nor had it in the mind of his honored father, William McKinley, sr. The McKinleys are of Scotch-Irish descent, and McKinley, sr. The McKinleys are of Scotch-trish descent, and no doubt could trace their origin back to a remote period should anyone take the trouble. It is known that the family in America came from the Donegal Valley, a good old Irish name. This valley is in Lancaster County, Pa. There the old Donegal Presbyterian Church, built early in the eighteenth century, stands. The history of this church is somewhat scant, but a tablet of markle attached to the wall talks that the church was founded. marble attached to the wall tells that the church was founded by Arthur Patterson in the year 1722, and that in 1740 the church received a patent from John Thomas and Richard Penn. During the Revolution the pastor of the little church was a follower of the King, but one day after service his congregation took him out and made him swear allegiance to the colonies under a white oak tree in front of the church. The tree still stands in solemn majesty and is known as the witness tree on account of the church. In this historic church, visited as a shrine by the admirers of the late President McKinley, worshiped his great-great-great grandmother, Sarah Gray, who was married to David McKinley on December 10, 1780.

great-great grandmother, Sarah Gray, who was married to David McKinley on December 10, 1780.

David McKinley was a soldier in the Revolutionary War and achieved an honorable record. The second son of David McKinley and Sarah Gray McKinley was James Stevenson McKinley, born September 19, 1783. He removed to Mercer County, Pa., where he married Maria Rose, who was born in Mercer County, Pa., November 15, 1788, and died at Niles, Ohio, August 20, 1847. Their son, William McKinley, was born in Mercer County November 15, 1807, and was married to Nancy Allison on January 6, 1829. Nancy Allison was born at New Lisbon, Columbiana ary 6, 1829. Nancy Allison was born at New Lisbon, Columbiana County, Ohio, April 22, 1809. The third son of William McKinley and Nancy Allison McKinley was born at Niles, Trumbuli County, Ohio, January 29, 1843. He was elected twenty-fifth President of the United States of America on November 3, 1896,

and reelected November, 1900.

William McKinley, sr., was one of an old-time sized family— 14 children in all. They were Elizabeth, William, David, Andrew, Celia, James, Mary, Sarah, John, Ephraim, Hannah,

Martha, Helen, and Benjamin.

William McKinley, sr., the father of the President, was a founder or manager of blast furnaces by trade or profession. He had charge of various charcoal furnaces in different localities. The duties of a charcoal-furnace manager in the pioneer days were severe and varied, requiring much skill and knowledge as well as hard work and a strong physique. He was obliged to superintend the making of charcoal used for fuel, which was then done in open mounds and widely scattered about, the chopping of wood, the mining of the ore, managing the furnace, and, in fact, had full charge of all the details of manufacture until the resultant product, charcoal pig iron, was ready for the market, where his duties ended.

William McKinley, sr.'s educational advantages were confined entirely to such facilities as were afforded by the common-school system, and which, in those early days, were meager enough, but he was naturally bright and absorbed all there was to be had. He commenced earning his own living at the early age of 16. He was baptized in the Presbyterian falth, but with his family affiliated with the Methodist church. He died a peaceful death at Canton, Ohio, November 24, 1892, at the ripe age of 85

On account of the enforced absence from home of her husband, the education of the family devolved almost wholly on Mother McKinley as she is now familiarly known. She was a woman of McKinley as she is now familiarly known. She was a woman of strong, rugged, positive character. Her old neighbors at Niles say of her that she was known as a peacemaker, always doing some good, kind act, ministering to the sick, helping the poor and needy, and doing other Christian work. It was the custom in the early days for the schoolmasters to board around, each family that was able boarding the teacher a week or more. teachers were always glad to find shelter in the McKinley home.

McKinley's first teacher was named Alva Sanford and was locally known as "Santa Anna." He came to Niles soon after the Mexican War and had charge of the Little White Schoolhouse for a number of years. He was called Santa Anna from some supposed slight resemblance to the great Mexican general, but it was possibly because of his peaceful nature. He was a character and his methods of discipline and punishment were unique, running largely to ridicule. The boys and girls were on opposite sides of the schoolhouse, and one mode of punishment was to send a boy to the girls' side of the house and place him between two girls. This once happened to young McKinley, and the relator says he seemed to enjoy it.

His next teacher was William V. Morrison, who afterwards became a clergyman, having a charge at Providence, R. I.

Mr. Morrison wrote of President McKinley:

He was a genial, clean, bright boy and a general favorite. As a student his recitations were well prepared, but it seemed difficult to determine that he had spent any time over them. On account of his leisure time I frequently invited him to a seat near me in order to give other students a chance to plod through what he seemed to learn at a glance.

The martial spirit which prevailed for many years at Niles after the close of the Mexican War caused the male students to form training bands of young soldiers. The youths wore paper caps and wooden swords, and the regular Saturday half holiday was spent in marching and maneuvering. McKinley was a private in one of these juvenile companies and often referred to it in conversation. The early school days at Niles ran through a period of free trade. It is certain that Mc-Kinley's protection and sound money views were rooted and grounded by his youthful observations. The Wards had an ironrolling mill at Niles, which pulled along and gave employment to a great many men and fed a great many mouths, but it had a constant struggle for existence. Money was scarcely known. The men were paid a dollar or two on Christmas and Fourth of July in State bank bills. The men took good care to spend the money before a counterfeit detector could be consulted to see if the bills were of a broken bank. All of the balance of the wages earned were traded out at the company's store. Supplies were had by trading nails and bar iron, which were teamed in some instances over 30 miles.

The McKinley family removed to Poland in 1854 on account of the better educational facilities afforded by that place. . Mc-Kinley's school days at Poland and his subsequent transfer to the college at Meadville and the finishing of his education at the Albany Law School are well-known historical facts.

On October 31, 1896, just prior to the presidential election, a delegation of more than 12,000 from Mahoning Valley paid a visit to William McKinley at his Canton home. After passing in review, President McKinley spoke as follows:

in review, President McKinley spoke as follows:

My fellow citizens and friends of the Mahoning Valley, I am grateful and appreciative of this splendid demonstration from my old friends and constituents. This audience is remarkable not only for its numbers but in the character of those who are here assembled. It is not only an audience representing my old constituents but it is an audience representing the home of my birth and early manhood and it is also made up of representative citizens of the home of my later years.

And here to greet you as friends of my boyhood and manhood are representative people of the city of Canton. Their voices are mingling with yours in a chorus of patriotism that stirs my heart and gloriously sustains the great cause in which we are engaged. It is like a reunion of old friends. It is a reunion of old friends, and revives a multitude of sweet and tender memories, for you come from my birthplace, the home of my boyhood and early manhood, and the dear old town where I as a boy enlisted in the service of the country. This presence recalls precious memories of the past. It is as welcome as a benediction from those whom we love. Looking into the faces of this great audience I see some of my schoolmates, some who afterwards taught in the district schools, and some who enlisted, with or without the consent of anxious parents, in the Union Army at the breaking out of the Civil War; but how much larger the number of those whom we all recall that have answered the roll call on the other shore. Peace to their ashes.

The National McKinley Birthplace Memorial Association was born at Niles, Ohio, February 4, 1910. I was invited to attend a banquet and meeting of the board of trade held on that date, my subject being "The Town Beautiful." During my brief talk it came to me, as an inspiration, that something should be done in a substantial way to honor the memory of this great man at his birthplace. I thought that something more should be here other than a tablet certifying to the exact spot on which he was born. My idea was to build something of an educational nature, and I made the suggestion at this banquet that I would undertake to raise a fund for the purpose indicated. Upon bringing the project to the attention of my friends, more particularly in the iron and steel trade, I was gratified by the cordial reception with which the idea was received. Encouragement came from all points. The project was indorsed by William H. Taft, who was at that time in the presidential chair; by Hon. Whitelaw Reid, then ambassador to the Court of St. James; Judge Gary, president of the United States Steel Cor-

poration; his Eminence Cardinal Gibbons; President Roosevelt; and my good friend, ex-Ambassador Herrick, who is with us to-day; and business friends too numerous to mention. The enterprise "grew from what it fed upon," and from a proposition involving the expenditure of fifty to one hundred thousand dollars it grew and expanded. In a brief conversation with Mr. H. C. Frick, whom I had known from his early manhood. I explained what I had in mind, and he promptly subscribed \$50,000. Other friends subscribed substantial amounts, and our subscriptions to date are about equal to the contract for the building; but we need funds to complete the library and the auditorium room, and we also intend to raise a substantial endowment fund, so that that building and property will be taken care of for all time to come. The citizens of Niles have been most generous and have arranged to purchase practically the entire square, which, when the building is completed, or possibly before, will have been transferred into a beautiful

The National McKinley Birthplace Memorial Association was chartered by Congress and the bill signed by President Taft March 4, 1911. The bill was passed unanimously in both Houses. A statement was made by the committee reporting the bill that the United States Government would never be asked

for any aid, and this has been strictly adhered to

The trustees of the association are John G. Milburn, an eminent lawyer, residing in New York, and at whose house President McKinley died September 14, 1901; J. G. Schmidlapp, a well-known philanthropist of Cincinnati and a dear personal friend of President McKinley; Myron T. Herrick, former governor of Ohio, and who rendered inestimable service as ambassador to France; the other two trustees, W. A. Thomas, a resident of the city of Niles, and the remaining trustee, a childhood friend and intimately associated with the late President from his birth until the end.

The architects of the building are the well-known firm of Mc-Kim, Mead & White, who secured the contract by what is known as invisible competition; in other words, plans were submitted by six noted architectural firms, and it was not known until after the plans were selected who the author was. The building will be of Georgia marble, 283 feet in length, 136 feet in width, and 38 feet in height. The court of honor in the center of the building will be supported by 28 monolithic columns. The building will contain a library, an auditorium, a relic room, and other useful adjuncts. Among other features in the building will be a memorial room dedicated to the order the Grand Army of the Republic and the United Spanish War Veterans.

In the court of honor we contemplate having busts and tablets erected to the memory of men who were closely associated with President McKinley. We have already arranged for a bust of President Taft; Senator Marcus A. Hanna; James Ward, a pioneer in the rolling-mill business at Niles; B. F. Jones; Henry W. Oliver; and A. M. Byers, of Pittsburgh. Negotiations are also under way for statues and busts of Gov. Tod, Senator John Hay, ex-President Roosevelt, and others.

In front of the building will be a statue in marble of President McKinley 12 feet in height. This statue is now being sculptured by the well-known sculptor, J. Massey Rhind, New

The contract for the building was let to the John H. Parker Co. and calls for its completion by September 1, 1916.

The proposition is educational in every respect. It will be a permanent memorial.

It is the aim of the trustees to have a large number of people interested in this memorial building, and to further that end we have arranged to issue handsomely engraved life-membership certificates, at a cost of \$1 for each certificate.

10,000 of these certificates have been disposed of with but little effort.

I want to call your attention to the cosmopolitan character of the subscribers and the indorsements, Catholics, Protestants, and societies of all kinds show the universal love and esteem in which the late President McKinley was held by his country-

This memorial will be a permanent memorial of American patriotism and progress, dating from the titanic struggle which resulted in the preservation of the Union down to the recent war with Spain, from which America emerged as a world power. The central figure in this shrine will be William McKinley; around him will be clustered tributes of his fame as a soldier and statesmen, representations of the marvelous industrial developments of the times to which his economic policies so markedly contributed, and statues and portraits of prominent men identified with his career. It will not simply be a monument; it will not be merely a memorial building; it will be both-and more. All classes and conditions of contemporane ous American citizenship and of American endeavor will find in this undertaking an opportunity to pay respect and reverence to the most beloved character in our national history next only to the immortal and incomparable Lincoln himself; and, in passing, it is to be noted that in pureness and loftiness of patriotism, in gentleness, in patience, in serenity of disposition, in undemagogic democracy, in absence of malice, and in broad sympathy with human kind, there are no two characters in American history more akin than Abraham Lincoln and William McKinley

But all-inclusive as the birthplace-memorial idea is in its appeal to every phase and class of our nationality, it is especially dear to the old soldiers. McKinley was the last member of that unconquerable grand Army to reach the very pinnacle of fame which this earth can give to man—the Presidency of the United States of America. He entered that Army a boy, as a United States of America. He entered that Army a boy, as a private. He marched and bivouacked and fought and suffered for over four years under the flag, and he came forth from the war a major in rank and a man in stature and in set principles and established character. Fate took him along the perilous path of active politics, but he walked down its course unscathed and clear of mire. The deep and complicated problems of economics and statecraft were his daily vocation, and when stricken by the dastard's hand he was full of the responsibilities of his great office. Through all these years of study, of struggle, of turmoil, and of political triumphs there was one thing dearer and closer to him than all else, next to kith and kin, and that was the associations connected with the Civil War, and to him every companion in arms was indeed a comrade through life. So the old soldiers, officers and men, on their part think of McKinley; to his memory go out their tenderest and most affectionate reverence.

It is early yet to estimate the value of William McKinley's life and its effect upon American history. Even now great statesmen and world historians have agreed that the McKinley administration marked a most important epoch in American statesmanship in its far-reaching influence upon the future of all nations. It was William McKinley who, though himself from the North, yet won the love of the South and knit the Nation closer together. His administration brought prosperity. factory chimneys aglow all over the country are in themselves inanimate monuments to the memory of McKinley.

THE BILL.

Copy of the bill as it passed the House of Representatives on February 7, 1916.

A bill for the coinage of a McKinley souvenir gold dollar, in commenoration of the erection of a memorial to William McKinley, late President of the United States.

President of the United States.

Be it enacted, etc., That for the purpose of aiding in defraying the cost of completing in a suitable manner the work of erecting a memorial in the city of Niles, Ohio, to William McKinley, late President of the United States of America, the Secretary of the Treasury shall be, and is hereby, authorized to purchase in the market so much gold bullion as may be necessary for the purpose herein provided for, from which there shall be coined at the United States Mint, Philadelphia, standard gold dollars of the legal weight and fineness, to the number of not exceeding 100,000 pieces, to be known as the McKinley souvenir dollar, struck in commemoration of the erection of a memorial to William McKinley, late President of the United States of America, in the city of Niles, Ohio, his birthplace, the devices and designs upon which coins shall be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury; and all provisions of law relative to the coinage and legal-tender quality of the standard gold dollar shall be applicable to the coins issued under this act, and when so coined said souvenir dollar shall be delivered, in suitable parcels, at par, and without cost to the United States, to the National McKinley Birthplace Memorial Association and the dies shall be destroyed.

Child Labor and Humanitarian Laws.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL, OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 2, 1916.

Mr. RANDALL, Mr. Speaker, there is under consideration to-day H. R. 8234, a bill to prevent interstate commerce in the products of child labor. The power of the Federal Government does not extend to the prohibition of child labor in the various States, that power being conferred upon the States by the Federal Constitution. But having reserved to itself the power to regulate interstate commerce, the Federal Government can reach some evils which, for reasons not creditable to certain States, have not been corrected by those States.

For example, some years ago Congress enacted the pure-food act, which most persons feel is a prohibitory law against adulteration of foods. It is simply an act prohibiting interstate commerce in adulterated food, and even with such a limited power of regulation has become very effective.

There is under consideration by this Congress a bill introduced by me which would eliminate alcoholic liquors from privileges of interstate commerce, and its enactment would as effectively destroy the commercial profit of the liquor traffic as a similar law has destroyed the traffic in adulterated foodstuffs and as the bill now under consideration will eliminate child labor from every mill, mine, and factory in the United States.

Child labor is a blot upon the name of this Republic. It is a disgrace to civilization. It is high time that a little more humanity be written into our laws and a little less dollar coaxing.

Flood Committee.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD.

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, February 2, 1916.

Mr. OLDFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I want to state in the outset that I am heartily in favor of this resolution. I think the rule ought to be adopted which will create a committee of this House on flood control. The question of flood control and drainage, to which committee drainage bills will be referred, are two of the

most important questions confronting the people of the South.

Last August we had an unprecedented flood in Arkansas. In 1914 the people of my part of Arkansas were afflicted with one of the most severe droughts in the history of that part of the country. In 1915 we had the finest prospects for crops we have ever had, but in August, as the crops were beginning to mature, the great flood came and destroyed absolutely all crops on the rivers of my district, and I think it was general over the State of Arkansas. As soon as the water got off the land and the land dried out the people plowed up their corn and their cotton and sowed a great deal of wheat and oats. It became necessary to do this because this would furnish pasture for the winter. But now, at this time, there is even a greater flood in my district than the flood last August. Some of the people are in destitute circumstances, and I sincerely hope that this House will pass a bill which I have introduced to appropriate \$250,000 to help the destitute persons in Arkansas. I received a telegram on last Monday, the 31st, telling me that conditions were more serious than last August, and asked me to have the Government send a Government boat to certain points on upper White River and prevent the loss of human life. I did this, and I understand that no lives have been lost on the White River. I had a telegram from the governor of the State telling me that the Federal Government aid was necessary in various communities of Arkansas, and the Arkansas delegation are united on the proposition that the Federal Government ought to act. The Government has acted in similar cases, and I believe the Government ought to act in this particular case, and I believe the Government will act.

This committee which we are about to create on flood control will be one of the most important committees in this House, especially to the Southern States. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I hope and trust that the rule will be adopted and the committee created. There are millions of acres of as fine land as there is on this earth in Arkansas and other Southern States that is almost valueless because water remains on it for a large portion of the year. I think, Mr. Speaker, it is just as important to take the water off of the wet lands of our country as it is to put water on the dry and arid lands of our country. I give this resolution my hearty support. [Applause.]

We have just passed in the House a bill appropriating \$25,000-000 for the purpose of helping the various States of the Union build good roads for the people, and we all hope this bill will pass the Senate at this session of Congress and become a law. And, Mr. Speaker, we are going to pass at this session of Congress a rural-credits bill which will enable the farmers of our country to borrow money on long time at low rates of interest. These are important measures to Arkansas and to the South generally, and I believe when this legislation is placed upon the statute books our country will prosper as never before. [Applause.

Child Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FINLY H. GRAY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 2, 1916.

Mr. GRAY of Indiana, Mr. Speaker, if there is a question as to the constitutionality of the pending child-labor bill, I am going to resolve all doubts in favor of the children, in favor of their education, in favor of their physical and mental development, their well-being, and their opportunity to become strong and qualified men and women. But no provision of the Federal Constitution is plainer and more unequivocal than the power granted to Congress to regulate commerce between the several States. This provision has been before the Supreme Court time and again, and this right of Federal control has been conclusively sustained and is no longer a question in dispute.

While it is true that each State has power to pass a child-

While it is true that each State has power to pass a childlabor law, yet it is clear that no effective legislation for the
protection of children can ever be secured in this way. No
State will pass a law restricting employers of that State in the
right to employ children while such employers must sell their
goods in competition with manufacturers of other States who
are not so prohibited. It may be the earnest desire of a State
legislature, in response to the public opinion of that State, to
afford this protection to children, yet while the manufacturers
of another State are allowed to employ children without restriction such State legislature would hesitate to so restrict
their own manufacturers and thereby place them at a disadvantage to compete in the markets of the country. It would
be putting its own citizens at a disadvantage in trade with the
citizens of other States. But national legislation obviates this
objection and places the employers of all States on an equality,
leaving the way clear to provide full and ample protection to
children without favor or discrimination against the citizens of
any State.

We have heard much about the conservation of our resources in coal, iron, minerals, and timber and much legislation has been enacted to effect such conservation. But the greatest of all resources, the children of the country, has been overlooked and neglected. There are now more than 20,000,000 children of school age. A large number of these are not in school to prepare themselves for future manhood and womanhood, but are dwarfing their bodies and minds by overwork and close confinement and will be left handicapped and at a great disadvantage through their entire life. It is not only due to them for their individual welfare, but is due to the country for the general welfare that these children should be in school at least until they complete the common branches of study, if not the high-school grades, in order to be prepared for the problems and undertakings of life and to meet competition from the educated and trained.

While this bill, if enacted into law, will take thousands of children from our factories and workshops and mines, this loss in production will be trivial to the loss the country is now suffering in allowing children to be neglected and to grow to manhood and womanhood dwarfed in body and mind and left unprepared and disqualified for future life. This loss in production will be paid a thousand times in the betterment of the future manhood and womanhood of the country, in the improved conditions of life thereby resulting, and the higher standard of citizenship to be gained.

It is true that many of these children are now working to supply themselves with the necessaries of life, but if the public welfare requires that State and Nation should provide for the education of the children of the country, it is equally imperative that State and Nation should likewise contribute support to children where they are without means for their maintenance while being educated.

But there is a double crime in child labor, a crime against the child itself and a crime against the workingman who with a family of children to support and maintain in school must work in competition with overworked and underpaid child labor. There are enough men to perform the labor of the country while

the children are being educated.

The true facts of the situation and the cruel inconsistencies with which as a Nation we are confronted can not be more in-

telligently summarized than in a sentence or two from a statement made by one of the most distinguished women of the country, a pioneer in the fight for the protection of children, Mrs. Florence Kelly, and I quote her in part:

Mrs. Florence Kelly, and I quote her in part:

It is over 30 years since I enlisted in the effort to get better legislation for the protection of the children. I believe there are more children under 16 years old working to-day in dangerous occupations than there were when I began, because our manufacturing industries have increased stupendously and our State legislation has halted. There has been no unity in our progress. The 48 States suggest the legs of a centipede, some going forward and some paralyzed, the total progress lamentably slow. This Republic is one, and we can not go on forever with a favored class of children in the Northwestern States, where there is a requirement that the children shall not work until they are 15 years of age, and are kept in school throughout the eighth grade, while in some cotton-manufacturing States there is no compulsory education, and either entire lack of legislation by the State or a collection of nugatory laws. South Carolina at one time restricted the work of children to 10 hours a day, but afterwards decided that life was too easy for them and prolonged the hours to 66 hours a week and permitted 11 hours a day for young children.

Child Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN I. NOLAN,

OF CALIFORNIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 2, 1916.

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of the passage of the bill now before the House (H. R. 8234) to prevent interstate commerce in the products of child labor, and for other purposes. I had the opportunity as a member of the Committee on Labor, both in the Sixty-third and in the Sixty-fourth Congresses, to listen to the proponents of this bill, as well as to many others in opposition to the measure, and it has given me an opportunity to inquire into the needs of legislation of this kind. And I want to say, in passing, that I consider this bill one of the greatest pieces of constructive legislation in a humane way that the Congress of the United States has ever been called upon to deal with.

The question of the constitutionality of the legislation has been raised, both in committee and on the floor of the House. Court decisions and authorities on international law have been quoted on both sides of this question with equal force, And while I realize it is the duty of every Member of the House of Representatives to give due consideration to the constitutionality of every measure that comes before the House, in line with his oath of office, I have no conscientious scruples in voting in favor of the passage of this measure, as I believe, with the conflict of opinion from many high authorities, there is only one way in which it can be definitely settled as to the right of Congress to enact such legislation at this time, and that is to pass it up to the court of last resort—the Supreme Court of the United States—so that we may be guided in the future in our action on similar measures, and to know to what extent Congress is restricted in regulating commerce of a questionable character.

Passing on to the moral principle involved in this bill: Over 40 States in our Union have enacted legislation limiting the hours and prescribing the age and the conditions under which children may work, so that now the principle has been laid down generally throughout our country that it is the duty of the State to throw its protecting arm over the boy and the girl of to-day who will be the citizens of to-morrow.

Along with child-labor legislation has gone compulsory education laws, and the two go hand in hand. And when this measure passes and becomes a law every State in the Union will be glad to observe this law and to see to it that the children of their respective States are given an ample opportunity in the way of increased school facilities, as well as to see that they will attend school and receive proper educational training.

The main opposition to this bill, both in committee and on the floor of this House, comes from several of our Southern States, particularly those where the cotton-mill industry is flourishing. The hearings before the Committee on Labor show that most of the men who testified on behalf of the cotton-mill owners of the South stated that, so far as their particular establishments were concerned, the number of children employed beyond the ages prescribed in this bill were few indeed; but they were

fearful, even with the few that might be affected, that it might not be the child affected by the passage of this bill that would disturb the condition in their cotton mill, but openly stated that if these children were removed from the mills the families of the children would take themselves to other communities, and that would be a serious handicap to the operation of their particular mill.

I call your attention to this particular phase, because the witnesses testified that it was necessary to have the child employed in the cotton mill, as it took the aggregate earnings of the adults and the children to properly support the family. Notwithstanding the fact that they also testified that house rent. fuel, and other necessities were low in comparison to other localities-the houses and fuel being furnished by the mill at a very low cost. This being the case the natural supposition would be that it would be very easy for the family to exist in a would be that it would be very easy for the family to exist in a cotton-mill town. The very opposite is the case, however, because the earnings of all the family, including the children, are necessary, according to the testimony of the mill owners, to keep the families in the vicinity of the cotton mills. The real reason, to my notion, is that if the child is taken out of the cotton-mill industry in the South the family, not having enough income to instifut it in the course in the south the family. income to justify it in staying in the community, will move away. Either that, or the real reason for the opposition of the cotton-mill owner is apparent—that he must raise the wages of the adults and older children of the family. That is something the cotton-mill owners do not want to do. It is not so much the labor of the child they desire as it is the labor of the child they desire as it is the labor of the child they labor of the child they desire as it is the labor of the child in conjunction with the rest of the family, as in this way they only earn enough to provide a living income so that they may maintain their family in a proper manner.

I call your attention to one circumstance in connection with the appeal of the southern cotton-mill owners and the Representatives on the floor of this House from the several States affected. Not in one instance did they bring a woman to testify on their side or to protest against the enactment of this legislation. It is true that Mr. Clarke, the editor of the Southern Textile Magazine, representing the cotton-mill owners, testified that some of the mill operatives sent petitions opposing this measure; but it is also true that Mr. Clarke testified that, in the main, these petitions were gotten up and circulated by the cottonmill owners, and each and every operative was supposed to sign his or her name either in favor or against this measure so that his or her position might become known. In no other way did they show a desire upon the part of the women of the South to maintain a condition that meant the exploitation of the children of the Southern States.

This measure will pass and become a law, and the cotton-mill owners of the South, as well as the manufacturers in all sections of the country, will continue to remain in business, and as time goes on will consider it one of the greatest blessings in the way of legislation ever enacted by the Congress of the United States.

I wish to incorporate in my remarks a pamphlet issued by the National Child Labor Committee entitled "What the Newspapers Are Saying about the Keating-Owen Bill," which will give you some idea as to how the leading newspapers of the country feel upon this very important and humanitarian measure, and showing the sentiment not alone in the North but even in the South in favor of this bill:

NATIONAL CHILD-LABOR COMMITTEE, New York City, January, 1916.

WHAT THE NEWSPAPERS SAY ABOUT THE KEATING-OWEN BILL. [From the Chicago (Ili.) Tribune, Aug. 5, 1915.]

The demand for national action is apparent from the standpoint of accomplishing something within the next decade. Georgia has a decent standard for the protection of the child, but an inadequate appropriation for enforcement. Alabama has an efficient enforcement of a fair law, and an attack is now being made to abolish the office. Illinois defeated the legislation upon the plea that it is unfair, and New York has made a shameless record. National legislation will have the good effect of equalizing the conditions and insuring wide enforcement.

[From the Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial-Appeal, Jan. 4, 1916.]

But the right to grind the hope and health and joy out of little children by long hours of hard labor in close factories or dark mines belongs to no man and no corporation of men. And it is against the greed of these would-he grinders that the child-labor committee has formulated its bill. The members of this committee are not speaking from hearsay information. They have personally inspected the mills, the sweatshops, and the mines where the blood and hope of the undeveloped children have been coined into factory products. It is in behalf of these children that they are seeking to arouse public sentiment, that Congress may be induced to pass a national law that will be effective and protective.

(From the New York (N. Y.) Tribune, Jan. 19, 1916.1

Nobody now attempts to defend child labor as an abstract problem, Concrete attempts to retain it for what seem to be individual or locality

benefit, therefore, stamp themselves as clear, unadulterated selfishness, "Where the child is wronged, the Nation and its industry is wronged," as the House committee's report well says. It remains for Congress, by passing this measure, to see that neither individual children nor the Nation can be wronged in the future.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Transcript, Jan. 22, 1916.]

Honest workmen, fathers of families, do not want to compete with little children, and certainly not with their own children. There could be little local opposition to adequate legislation, if that legislation were national. There is but one answer to the demand, and that is the passage of the Keating-Owen antichild-labor bill.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Public Ledger, Nov. 16, 1915.]

As the bill goes no further than a prohibition of interstate commerce in the products of children under 14 employed in factories, limits the working hours of children under 16 to eight hours a day, and forbids the employment of children under 16 in mines and quarries, it can not be called either extreme or radical. Now that public attention is being again concentrated on the measure, the child-labor committee is hopeful that the influences which prevented its enactment will be swept out of the way by the force of humane and progressive public opinion.

[From the Dallas (Tex.) News, Jan. 19, 1916.]

[From the Dallas (Tex.) News, Jan. 19, 1916.]

The consequences of child labor make too big a social price to pay for the rather meager material prosperity that cotton mills yield to a community. It was disclosed during the committee hearing on this bill that in North and South Carolina it is permissible to work 12-year-old children in cotton mills 11 hours a day. The physical, intellectual, social, and moral consequences of such unremitting labor in a cotton mill on children whose minds and bodies are yet plastic are obvious. Their earthly destiny is, in most instances, the poorhouses, the hospitals, the asylums, and the jails. The dividends their labor makes are in reality paid by the community that tolerates the evil cause in the form of taxes to support the large and ever-expanding institutions for which the demoralizing, dehumanizing, and decivilizing process makes need. The human product of cotton mills that work children in the way they are worked in the Carolinas makes their commercial product a loss to the community.

It is to be hoped that the bill which has been reported to the House will be enacted into law. If that should result in the removal of cotton mills from the South, the South can witness their departure without regret.

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Leader, Jan. 8, 1916.]

This is the bill for which every union in the United States stands. It is the bill that is supported by every professional philanthropist and by every person who has made any study of the effects of child labor. It is a bill against which there is but one single argument. That argument, however, is one which has prevailed against a multitude of desirable laws. The argument is the profit to be made from the labor of children.

[From the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Eagle, Jan. 19, 1916.]

It is a condition and not a theory which confronts Congress, and the condition is fraught with so much danger to future generations that its correction is likely to override philosophic scruples about interference with the welfare of the States.

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Post, Jan. 18, 1916.]

Passage of this law will throw a State's shame back on itself. * * 6
If any State is willing to assume for itself this burden of illiteracy, of crime, of delinquency, of starved souls and bodies, let it. But the people of the whole United States should not be made a party to the gross injustice and its utter lack of consideration to every principle of right

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Tribune, Jan. 15, 1916.]

It is difficult to conceive of any friend of the child hesitating about the removal of the last stand of the exploiter of the labor of little children—the plea that they do it in other States, and competition, therefore, compels it. When the Federal Government regulates child labor the regulations will be alike in all parts of the country and the fallure of States to protect their childhood will be overruled by a higher power.

[From the Hickory (N. C.) Daily Record, Jan. 15, 1916.]

There are only a few defenders of those who would stand for the system in North Carolina. A rich Commonwealth can not afford to be backward in the matter of child labor, and North Carolina manufacturers should let the world know that they are willing to go as far as any State in practical welfare legislation. Wholesale legislation is coming, and it would be much better if the broad-minded men among the manufacturers would take it upon themselves to see that good laws are made and then obeyed.

Among other newspapers that have published editorials favoring the bill are:

are made and then obeyed.

Among other newspapers that have published editorials favoring the bill are:

Arlzona: Tucson Star.
California: San Francisco Bulletin.
Colorado: Denver News.
Connecticut: Bridgeport Telegram and New Haven Register.
Florida: Tampa Times.
Illinois: Chicago Herald.
Indiana: Indianapolis Times.
Iowa: Keokuk Constitution-Democrat.
Louisiana: New Orleans Times-Picayune,
Maine: Augusta Journal.
Maryland: Baltimore American.
Massachusetts: Boston Globe, Boston Post, and Fall River Herald.
New Hampshire: Manchester Union.
New Jersey: Newark News.
New York: New York Call, New York Evening Sun. New York Globe,
New York Herald, and Roch-ster Democrat and C.ronicle.
North Carolina: Greenville Reflector.
Ohio: Cleveland Press.
Oklahoma: Tulsa Democrat.
Pennsylvania: York Gazette.
Rhode Island: Providence News-Democrat.
Texas: Houston Post.

The Child-Labor Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM J. CARY, OF WISCONSIN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 26, 1916.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, this bill is one that should have been on the statute books of our country years ago. The senti-ment of the people has been on the side of such legislation for many years, and the condition which it proposes to rectify has been the object of attention on the part of all sociological students for a long time.

The evil of child labor is a modern problem. It has only been a problem of much importance during the last half century, for while children have been subjected to abuse all over the world for centuries, such abuse has been more or less confined to individual cases or at least to small sections of the world and country until the recent development of machine industrialism.

Machine industrialism has undoubtedly brought many beneficent results to humanity and I would not for a moment minimize them; but it has also brought a long train of abuses, and to my mind the worst abuse of all has been in the employment of very young children in the most unhealthful kind of work.

Statistics can not show, and will never be able to describe, the unlimited amount of evil that has been wrought on the past generation and on generations yet unborn by the employ-ment of children in factories, shops, and mines; but no thought-ful student of humanity can fail to notice the effects if he has any acquaintance with such labor and its inevitable result.

We are talking much of preparedness in these days and have much to say of battleships, armament, and armies, but supposing we have all of these, supposing we have the ships and the arms and the munitions, who will man the ships and who will fill the ranks of the armies? The sons of the tolling masses have always done it before and they will be called upon to do it again.

But do you suppose, can you imagine, that the boy whose youth was stunted, whose physique was dwarfed, whose spirit was crushed by hard years of arduous work in early youth in a dismal and unhealthy factory will be fit or able to fight a battle or stand the rigors of a campaign? Do you suppose that the girl whose vitality was sapped by premature toil will be fit to bear and rear a strong and virile fighting race of men?

This is only one of the many serious aspects of this matter, but it is an important one. The future armies and navies of America are being defeated in every shop and factory in the land where children are employed, and we would be recreant to our plain duty if we did not do something to check the evil before it grows too grave.

We have heard much in the last few years of conservation of our resources. I agree in every way that we should conserve our resources and prepare for the day after to-morrow, but to me a child is far more important than a tree or a plant, and I think for one that to conserve our future manhood and womanhood is a task not only nobler but far more practical and utilitarian.

I have listened with interest to the remarks of the gifted gentlemen from Maryland and Colorado [Mr. Lewis and Mr. Keating], who speak of this evil from first-hand experience, and I can add my testimony to theirs. I was obliged to work from the age of 9 and at 11 had the support of younger brothers and sisters to look out for. I weathered those days of laborious childhood and have perhaps been moderately successions of a distillation without schooling or ful, but the bitterness of a childhood without schooling or recreation, the rightful heritage of every child, is with me still. Men say that a child in such a position learns much that he could not learn otherwise. I know that I learned much of the seamy and evil side of life when I was a telegraph boy that I often wished I had never learned, and am only thankful that the earlier childhood lessons of a pious and devoted mother helped me breast the pitfalls that child work beset me with.

There is no necessity—absolutely none whatever—for the employment of young children in a factory of any kind, and no excuse for it either. The only reason why it is done is to swell the pockets of an already too wealthy manufacturer who pays starvation wages, and not content with earning enormous dividends at the expense of adult manhood, lowering the standard of his workman's living, that he may feast more luxuriously, a scholar, a genius, and a gifted poet. He has cont but must drag childhood into this devil's maelstrom and grind rare verses to the poetic literature of our country.

youth and all that it means into a pulp of wrecked humanity to satisfy his extravagancies and satisfy his lust for wealth

Let us not have it upon our conscience that we helped to place this awful burden upon childhood. Remember the words of our Lord, "Snffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven." there any man who does not love the prattle of artless childhood, who does not enjoy their innocent frolic, their spontaneous affection, their wise, though childish, faith in life and love? When he looks into the smiling faces of his own children let him reflect would he wish his own child tied to the grindstone of daily toil? God forbid that a child of mine should suffer the wrongs of child labor, and God forbid that any other man's child should suffer what I wish to keep from my own. Remember, the child of the poorest workingman is as dear to him as the child of your own affection. Every blessing of youthful happiness is the right of that child as much as it is the right of your child, and let us pass this bill and make the hearts of mothers rejoice in every part of the country at the glad news that their children and children's children shall not bear the bitter burden of premature toil.

The Poem "Growing Old."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES H. DILLON,

OF SOUTH DAKOTA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 7, 1916.

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Speaker, I am presenting an editorial by C. M. Day, of the Argus-Leader, Sioux Falls, S. Dak., as follows: R. J. WELLS HONORED.

R. J. WELLS HONORED.

According to the Congressional Record of January 23, R. J. Wells. now, as for many years past, an honored citizen of Sioux Falls, was highly honored by having bis Nation-known poem, entitled "Growing Oid," quoted in full by Congressman Hulbert and printed in the Record of that date.

The occasion was a memorial address by Congressman Hulbert in appreciation of the life of the late Joseph A. Goulden, Member of Congress from New York, who died suddenly of apoplexy in the Pennsylvania Railroad Station at Washington last May. In his pocket was found a copy of Mr. Wells's poem, which he had intended to use the next Saturday at a dinner of his Grand Army comrades.

Congressman Hulbert did not give credit to Mr. Wells for the poem, and his name appears to have become detached from his classic in its wanderings over the country. It was first printed in the Argus-Leader a number of years ago, and has since been republished in many portions of the country. It has been credited to a number of others and has also frequently been printed with the credit "author unknown." The poem is published in a book of poems printed by Mr. Wells, and perhaps after a while the author of it will secure the proper credit. Meanwhile the copy of the Congressional Record of January 23 is a very interesting publication to Sloux Falls people.

The poem referred to follows:

The poem referred to follows:

GROWING OLD.

A little more tired at close of day,
A little less anxious to have our way;
A little less ready to scold and blame,
A little more care of a brother's name;
And so we are nearing the journey's end,
Where time and eternity meet and blend.

A little more love for the friends of youth, A little less zeal for established truth; A little more charity in our views, A little less thirst for the daily news; And so we are folding our tents away, And passing in silence at close of day.

And passing in silence at close of day.

A little less care for bonds and gold,
A little more zest in the days of old;
A broader view and a saner mind.
A little more love for all mankind;
And so we are faring adown the way
That leads to the gates of a better day.
A little more leisure to sit and dream,
A little more real the things unseen;
A little nearer to those ahead,
With visions of those long loved and dead;
And so we are going, where all must go.
To the place the living may never know.
A little more laughter, a few more tears. A little more laughter, a few more tears,
And we shall have told our increasing years;
The book is closed and the prayers are said
And we are part of the countless dead.
Thrice happy if then, some soul can say,
"I live because the Grand Army passed my way,"

Mr. Speaker, R. J. Wells, the author of these beautiful lines, has lived many, many years in my congressional district. He is a scholar, a genius, and a gifted poet. He has contributed many Child-Labor Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN R. K. SCOTT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 2, 1916.

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, from the discussion on the floor of the House during the consideration of H. R. 8234, known as the Keating-Owen child-labor bill, it appears that there are a number of Members in this House who, while admitting the meritorious features of this bill and the great good to be derived from its enactment as a law, yet hesitate to cast their vote in favor of it because of its questioned constitutionality. If the desirability of this proposed legislation is conceded, then in view of the preponderance of opinion in favor of its constitutionality among so many authorities on constitutional law I take it that it is proper for these Members to vote in favor of this measure, even though they as individuals are of opinion that the bill conflicts with the constitutional limitations placed upon the powers of Congress.

On a great many questions of law we find a division of legal opinion, even in the courts, as is evidenced by the dissenting opinions filed in many cases. It is not strange, therefore, that in this particular instance men well versed in the subject do not agree. However, in view of the conflict of opinion of those best able to judge of the validity of this proposed bill, I submit that it is not right or proper for us, as a law-making body, to usurp the functions of the judicial branch of this Government and pass judgment upon a question over which there is such a conflict of legal opinion.

Of course if there is no question of doubt in our minds but that the courts of this country will consider this bill unconstitutional, then it is clear our duty is to vote against it. If, however, we believe that the ultimate decision of our courts upon this question is in doubt, and in view of the mass of legal opinion contained in the report of the committee, we must in fairness admit that the question of the constitutionality of this bill can at the most be considered to be only in doubt, then it is our duty to consider the merits of the bill only.

In other words, it is proper for a Member of this House to reason thus: "While I personally think the act is unconstitutional, nevertheless being convinced of the great benefits to be derived by its enactment, and admitting that the question of its constitutionality is on open question, since great legal minds are divided upon it, I will concede that possibly my own personal opinion may be wrong, and will therefore vote in favor of the bill, leaving to the judicial branch of this Government the final determination of its constitutionality."

Personally I do not consider the question of the constitutionality of this child-labor bill to be in doubt. The splendid and comprehensive discussion of judicial decisions on the powers of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, so intelligently reviewed by Prof. Thomas I. Parkinson, as appears in the Congressional Record of January 31, should convince the most skeptical Member of this House that the scope of this act is within the constitutional powers of Congress.

There appeared before the Committee on Labor in opposition to the approval of this bill a number of gentlemen representing certain industrial interests in the South. The opposition of these gentlemen was based upon the argument that the measure was an encroachment by Congress upon the powers vested exclusively in the State authorities, and that the bill, if approved, would ultimately be declared unconstitutional.

Mr. Speaker, when some of the large industrial organizations of this country become so primed with devotion to the law and infected with such a zealous regard for the preservation and integrity of our United States Constitution as to send their advocates before our congressional committees to aid us in avoiding violence to our constitutional prerogatives, it behooves us to carefully seek out and consider the real motives and purposes of these self-appointed "defenders of our liberties." The history of our country does not disclose any evidence that these large industrial interests have in the past been overzealous in the careful and obedient observance of our laws. On the contrary, we will probably all agree that in the past they have been the first to seek the loopholes in our legislative acts. We therefore may properly ask ourselves why it is that these certain interests are now so fearful lest Congress usurp the rights and

powers of the States. The answer to these questions appears to be clear and convincing.

The opponents of this bill lack the courage to come out and squarely attack the measure upon its merits. Instead they are attempting to becloud and confuse the real issue and conceal their real objections by bringing forward a feigned and fictitious reason to sustain their opposition. They will not and dare not attack this bill upon its merits. They lack the audacity to come forward and argue in favor of the exploitation of the children by the merciless, avaricious industrial interests of the South, and so they proceed to contemptuously attack the provisions of this most meritorious piece of legislation by raising the hue and cry of constitutional infringements. I will not dwell any further upon this phase of the question. The methods pursued by the opponents of this bill appearing before our committee are to my mind conclusive as to its real merit and worth. Noted legal students of constitutional law have given us their opinion that Congress, under its authority to regulate interstate commerce, has the power to prohibit the transportation from State to State of the iniquitous products of child labor. The advantages of the measure, the immeasurable amount of good that is to be derived from its enactment, is sufficient justification for Congress, in view of the overwhelming preponderance of opinion in favor of its constitutionality, to deem this bill constitutional for legislative purposes and pass it without further discussion as to its legal aspects.

This country has for a long time devoted much time and thought and has expended large sums of money for the conservation and preservation of its natural resources, for its rivers and harbors, for its forests, and its animal life, and it is now time that we boldly and unhesitatingly take definite steps for the conservation and preservation of that which is infinitely more precious than all of our natural resources—our little ones, the children of to-day, who to-morrow will form our American manhood and womanhood.

The system of child labor as practiced in some of the cities and manufacturing centers of this country is surely a most disgraceful blot on the escutcheon of American freemen, and one which, if not checked, will entail ignorance, misery, and degradation on our children to the end of time. It is a national disgrace that we in this enlightened age permit our little ones to become the abused hirelings of ruthless exploiters of labor. My own native State as early as 1848 saw the pernicious results of unrestricted child labor, and in that year passed its first child-labor law, prohibiting the employment of children under 12 years of age in cotton, woolen, and silk factories and mills. That year saw the start in the development of our child-labor legislation, and in the past year our legislature, under the able and inspiring guidance of our governor, Martin G. Brumbaugh, placed upon the statute books of this Commonwealth the most advanced law regulating the employment of children that exists in any State of this Union.

It is recognized throughout the country that to-day Pennsylvania has the best, the most modern, and model legislation regulating this most important branch of labor law; and I take great pleasure in acknowledging the debt of Pennsylvania to our wise and sagacious governor, Martin G. Brumbaugh, the man to whom more than any other Pennsylvania owes most of her progressive humane legislation. Not only does our law prohibit the employment of children in the State under a certain age, but it also prohibits the employment of any minor in certain occupations which are in themselves unfitted and unsuited to the labor of children. It further makes provision for the education of children even after they have reached the age permitting them to be employed, and fixes a minimum number of hours per for their education even while they are actuall; employed. This education consists of attendance for a period or periods, equivalent to not less than eight hours each week, at a school approved by the State superintendent of public instruction.

The school may be conducted in the establishment where the minor is employed, or in a public-school building, but at all events must be approved by the department of public instruction. The school hours may not be on Saturday, nor before 8 o'clock in the morning nor after 5 o'clock in the afternoon of any other day. No minor under 16 years of age is permitted to work for more than 51 hours in any one week, or more than 9 hours in any one day, or before 6 o'clock in the morning or after 8 o'clock in the evening. The industrial board of the department of labor of the State has authority to prohibit the employment of any minor under 18 years of age in any occupation which the board shall, from time to time, after public hearing thereon, deem dangerous to the life or limb or injurious to the health or morals of such minors. Proper provision is made for the effective enforcement of all these regulations.

It will thus be seen that, judging by the standards set by the laws of the State of Pennsylvania, the provisions of the childlabor bill before the House can not be considered oppressive or

Notwithstanding the undoubted meritorious provisions of this proposed act, I feel that the measure deserves the unqualified support of every Republican Member in the House, because the fundamental principle of Republicanism-namely, protectionis embodied in the features of the bill. It applies as between States the same principle of protection which the Republican Party would wisely apply to the country at large. Nearly all of the States of the Union have drastic legislation and laws prohibiting and regulating the employment of child labor in their factories, mills, and industrial plants. A few of our States permit the merciless exploitation of children, and it is not fair or just to the industries in the more advanced communities of the country that they should be compelled to compete with those industries in other sections of the country which are enabled to produce their goods at less cost by the use of ill-paid, helpless, child labor.

This proposed act, if enacted into law, will mark a step forward in the industrial development of this country, and the benefits which will be derived from it will more than compensate us for the temporary loss sustained from the rearrangement of business conditions necessitated in some of our States.

Right of Congress to Regulate the Shipment of the Products of Child Labor as a Part of Interstate Commerce.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 2, 1916.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, I know of no better subject on which to make my entrance into the deliberations of this House than to raise my voice in behalf of the children of the Nation.

I believe the question of child labor is one of the most vital questions before the people to-day, for on the education, development, and virility of future generations depends the perpetuation and the advancement of our American institutions, I intend, Mr. Speaker, to support the bill now under consideration, prohibiting the entry into interstate commerce of articles produced by child labor. I do so in the belief that such a course will meet with the approval of the constituents I have the honor to represent, and with the conviction also that this measure will promote the welfare of society. My own conscience as well prompts me to vote in favor of its passage.

The district whose commission I hold knows nothing of child labor by actual experience. It is free from this evil. The Long Island district is unique in its composition. Part of it lies in the great city of New York; a portion of it is suburban; much of it is devoted to agriculture and the industries pertaining to the sea. From our ports in times past ships built in our yards carried the American flag into distant oceans. Many manufacturing enterprises add their industry to our ever-increasing prosperity. Thriving towns and fertile farms attest the energy and thrift of our people. By day and by night, under the starlit heavens or under the scudding clouds of a tempest, our seagirt shores are patrolled by the Coast Guard, sturdy Americans, listening for the call for help which may come from the deep as some storm-tossed ship pounds on the bar. Our coasts are the last the ocean traveler sees, the first to welcome him home to his native land. Along our southern shore stretches a series of bays and channels which some day when the Nation awakens to its real needs will become a great artery for com-merce and a means of transit for submarines in time of war.

We have expended millions in the construction of our roads and the improvement of our highways, while upon every hand rise magnificent school buildings, the most conspicuous as well as the noblest tribute of our patriotic citizens to the advancement of the Republic. We realize the importance of education; we appreciate the value of inculcating in the hearts and minds of our children love of country, devotion to the flag, and those high principles of religious thought, pure morals and lofty ideals, which will enable them to carry forward and onward the ever-advancing civilization of our Nation. For what we are doing we seek no glory; we desire no stilted praise. We wish

only that other districts and other States might emulate our deeds.

On the floor of this House we have heard much of conservation, of development of our resources, and of preparedness. take no exception to those meritorious measures; but, Mr. Speaker, in my opinion, above the construction of highways, above the development of our waterways, above the opening of new lands in the West, above the necessity for an increase in our armaments rises supreme and mandatory our obligation to protect the health and lives of our children and improve the environment in which they dwell. Conservation can reach no higher plane than in the conservation of human life. ness can have no nobler purpose or grander reward than in the preparation of our future citizens for the duties which will devolve upon them in developing and perpetuating our triumphant democracy.

The question of constitutionality has been raised in opposition to this bill. The distinguished gentlemen who oppose it on that ground are actuated, I doubt not, by a high sense of They are eminent lawyers, versed in their profession. Gentlemen equally able and as conscientious in the discharge of their duties maintain that this bill, should it become a law, will

be constitutional.

Believing the Constitution to be a live, virile instrument of government, intended to augment, not retard, our development; to advance, not hinder, our civilization, I am content to abide by and accept as conclusive the broad interpretation of that document rendered by Chief Justice Marshall when he said, in discussing the power of Congress over interstate commerce:

What is the power? It is the power to regulate; that is, to prescribe the rule by which commerce is to be governed. To construe the power so as to impair its efficacy would tend to defeat an object in the attainment of which the American public took, and justly took, that strong interest which arose from a full conviction of its necessity.

We who were born and reared on a farm know that in the raising of horses it would be injurious and would impair their future usefulness to put colts into harness before they had reached a certain age. The same is true of boys and girls in their physical growth and many more times true in their mental development. Children are of our own flesh and blood; they are the guardians of the race, the trustees of the future, and it behooves us to pause and consider well ere we legislate against them or fail to enact legislation in their favor. We owe a duty to the children and the children have rights which we are bound to respect, rights we should safeguard as lawmakers, rights we should heed as fathers, rights we should recognize in the presence of Him who created the children of the world.

As Emerson has said:

The truest test of civilization is not the census, nor the size of cities, nor the crops; no, but the kind of men the country turns out.

Child Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DENVER S. CHURCH, OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 2, 1916.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, it is with the utmost earnestness that I give my whole-hearted support to H. R. 8234, known as the child-labor bill.

There is great room for question and argument in regard to many of the measures we have under consideration in this House, but when it comes to this humanitarian bill, I see no

room for a difference of opinion. [Applause.]

According to the United States census report, there were in 1910 nearly 2,000,000 children under 16 years of age engaged in different industrial occupations, about 5 per cent of all the laborers in the United States. Nearly 50 per cent of this vast army of little workers were under the age of 14 years and many little workers were times the age of 14 years and many little fellows of only 10. Six hundred and thirty-seven thousand were little girls; 41,076, under the age of 16, were employed in the cotton mills; 11,811 were mere babies, between the ages of 10 and 13 years, 5,500 of whom were little girls.

Mr. Speaker, when I read these figures it made me sad and sick at heart, and I said to myself, "In this, my country, is it possible this is true?" and as I reflected on the situation I seemed to have a vision of the whole wretched scene. It is a cold and cheerless winter morn; the great town clock is strik-

ing the hour of 5; the eastern horizon is yet shrouded by the darkness of night; 5,500 little girls between the ages of 10 and 13 years are dreaming in their beds, dreaming of toys and dolls and other childish things. The alarm clock sounds and the great factory whistles blow and 10,000 tiny feet strike upon the cold and carpetless floor. A few minutes later, pale and sad of face, half clad and fed. I see the throng of little workers marching to the mills. They pass a thousand homes of other children still dreaming their childish dreams, in slumber sweet. The hair of some is tied, while that of others falls loosely on little shoulders that show the signs of toil. Some wear little aprons, others have faded sweaters on. Some are bare of foot, some have shoes too large and others shoes too small. Some seem happy and some are crying as they trudge along, but all seem worn and pale. I look again, 5,500 little girls with bowed shoulders working in the mills. It is now half past 8, and hundreds of other children with well-filled dinner pails pass along the road to school. Again; it is evening time, and the little ones worn with their ceaseless daily toil trudge slowly to their homes, and there, too tired almost to eat, many fall asleep and are carried to their little beds.

Mr. Speaker, when I saw that picture it seemed to me I discerned among those infant toilers my own sweet child of 12. It seemed that her cheeks had become pinched and pale, that her shoulders were stooped and round, that her eyes were dull, her step was slow, her voice was sad, and her cheeks showed

signs of tears.

I have said enough. I can not imagine a man who is the father of a tender little child who could be opposed to this bill. I can not imagine a man who ever had a little brother or sister who would or could oppose it. I can not imagine a man whose memory bears him back to his own springtime of life who would not favor this bill. Suppose the morning of your life had been robbed of its sunshine, of its dewdrops, of its buttercups, and bird's song; suppose your childhood dreams had been changed into nightmares caused by the whistle of the mills and the sound of the great clock at the unearthly morning hour of 5.

We hear a great deal in these times about conservation. We appropriate vast sums to conserve the forests; vast sums to conserve the oil and other industries. We make great appropria-tions in the interest of agriculture, in the interest of animal industry and plant industry. We spend large sums of money to conserve the fish and game of this country, but what about the

fatherless, motherless, and friendless children?

Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of this bill because it conserves the childhood of our country. It conserves their strength and gives them time to grow. It conserves their intellect and gives them time to go to school. It conserves their health by removing them from poisonous gases and filthy air. It conserves their lives by taking them away from vicious wheels and belts and revolving drums, and it conserves their childhood days by permitting them to have time to sleep and play, wander and wonder, grow big of soul and sweet and kind of heart.

I do not like a robber and I despise with all my heart a person who forces away the property of his fellow man. He is a heartless robber indeed who steals the charm of childhood lives, that takes the sparkle from childhood's eye and the color from childhood's cheek, and causes the hearthstone and the threshold to

become only places of refuge for tired feet.

Mr. Speaker, with all my heart I support this bill. [Applause.1

Colombian Treaty Politics.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE, OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 8, 1916.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the Colombian treaty is again up for public discussion. It now involves the question whether the United States shall pay \$15,000,000 or 25,000,000 for Colombia's interest in the Panama Canal. Mr. Bryan, when Secretary of State, saw it, our financial liability to "salve" the wounded feelings of Colombia was fixed at the higher amount, and it was to be accompanied by an apology approaching the abject.

As I pointed out in July, 1914, and again in December of the same year, there seemed to be no good reason for the apology, even if there was reason for paying Colombia any large sum in

cash. In the two speeches referred to I quoted extensively translations by Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, secretary of the Commercial Museum of Philadelphia, of documents found in the Colombian records. These translations indicated that the politicians of Colombia were not wholly oblivious of their possible "strangle hold" upon the Treasury of the United States, seeing that this country had entered upon the Panama Canal enterprise and might be willing to bid a little higher than the terms agreed

In my remarks of December 18, 1914, I introduced certain translations of official papers with this statement:

translations of official papers with this statement:

Usually there are two sides to every question, but in this instance, from the viewpoint of the Secretary of State, there was nothing for the United States to do but to pay what Colombia demanded. Since then, however, additional information has been brought to the United States which indicates that there was some bartering over and above the mere matter of \$25,000,000. It now appears from official data translated and forwarded to me by Mr. Schoff that the Colombian Government asked for \$30,000,000 plus \$250,000 per annum for 100 years; that this was countered by an offer of \$20,000,000 from the United States; and that finally, in order to "blot" the estrangement entirely from memory the compromise figure of \$25,000,000 was substantially agreed to.

The construction of the Panama Canal has already proven a heavy drain upon the resources of the United States, and its maintenance, especially in the event of war, will continue to draw heavily upon the people of this country. It is interesting, therefore, to contemplate the early probability of another outlay of \$25,000,000 to "salve" the wounded feelings of Colombia.

COLOMBIAN MINISTER'S STATEMENT.

COLOMBIAN MINISTER'S STATEMENT.

That there are still two sides to the question appears from the more recent discussion of the proposition to reduce the in-demnity the United States shall pay Colombia from \$25,000,000 to \$15,000,000. The Colombian minister, Julio Betancourt, as quoted in the Washington Post February 4 last, takes the one side in a statement expressive of disappointment that the side in a statement expressive of disappointment that the indemnity is to be reduced. Since I intend to extend my remarks by referring again to "the other side" of the question, it is fair that the statement attributed to Minister Betancourt should be printed in full. So far as the Washington Post prints the minister's statement, it is as follows:

I can not conceive the reason why it is sought to make the expression of regret mutual. It is as though a weak man who has been hit over the head with a big stick by a strong man should be asked at the time of reconciliation to applogize for having been assaulted. It is quite natural that Colombia profoundly regrets the loss of the Isthmus of Panama. An expression of regret by her in the treaty of April 6, 1914, would have been an irony without precedent in the annals of diplomacy.

NOT TENTH PART OF DAMAGE.

As far as the indemnity is concerned, the \$25,000,000 offered in the treaty does not cover even the tenth part of the damages done to Colombia, taking into account only the actual value of the isthmus, the value of the Panama Railroad, which belongs to Colombia, the annuity from the canal, etc.

Neither does the \$25,000,000 begin to cover half of the dues from which the United States was exempted during many years by the freedom of transit across the Isthmus, which freedom of transit was conceded by Colombia to the United States as payment for the guarante of her rights of sovereignty and property over the Isthmus of Panama.

This is clearly set forth in article 35 of the treaty of 1848. Everybody knows how the United States fulfilled its guarantes.

DENIES "GRAFT" CONTEMPLATED. Confident that the Senate of the United States would approve the treaty signed in Bogota on April 6, 1914, at the instance of the American Government, my Government had decided to apply the entire amount of the Indemnity to the sanitation of the-ports of Buena Ventura and Cartagena, to the construction of various railroads and other public works, from all of which American Industry and commerce would have profited.

It is absolutely false that any part of the \$25,000,000 would have gone to pay lawyers or commissions of any kind whatsoever. This is but one of the many calumnies spread abroad to prevent the accomplishment of an act of justice worthy of the country of George Washington.

WORK FOR FRIENDSHIP VAIN.

At this moment—and this is my personal impression—I feel that all the efforts, all the sacrifices made during the past 13 years to reestablish a legal status, to bring back confidence, and to renew the bonds of friendship between my country and this great Nation have

bonds of friendship between my country and this global been in vain.

To repair injustice and restore the ancient friendship that existed for more than a century between our two countries has been my constant aim, and to that end I have devoted more than three years of patient diplomatic labor. I can only trust that in this unhappy moment I may be spared the repetition of injurious slanders against my country, for even among the pagans of antiquity the victims selected for sacrifice were crowned with flowers. They were not insulted.

What the Colombian minister has said is entitled to fair consideration, but as there has been a disposition since Secretary Bryan's suggestion of an "abject" apology with a financial olive branch to find fault with the United States for its apparent harshness to a less powerful country, we may be pardoned for again invoking Colombian testimony upon so serious a matter. In thus presenting "the other side" I shall introduce the testimony of the administration of Gen. Rafael Reyes, Second Vice President of Colombia at the time the Hay-Herran treaty was being made the football of Colombian statesmen and who immediately thereafter became President of the Republic. According to Mr. Schoff, who has been a careful student of the Colombian situation, an official book entitled "Por Honor de Colombia" affords interesting reading for those who would unwittingly place the honor and integrity of Colombia above that of the United States of America.

During the administration of Gen. Rafael Reyes as President of Colombia-

Says Mr. Schoff-

Says Mr. Schoff—
he was bitterly attacked by the same political groups which brought about the defeat of the Hay-Herran treaty, and the charge was openly made that he had conspired with Mr. Beaupré, United States minister at Bogota, and Señor Obaldia. Colombian governor of Panama, to bring about the revolt of the Isthmus. In refutation of these charges, his administration issued at Hogota, from the national printing office, a book entitled "Por Honor de Colombia." which gives intimate details of the political conditions in Bogota during the canal negotiations and of the hopeless incompetence and corruption of the Government. From this book, issued as an official document, and in effect as the party plea of the Reyes administration, the following passages are translated. They afford no basis for the proposition that an apology is now due from the United States to Colombia.

NO CONSTITUTIONAL INFRINGEMENT,

No CONSTITUTIONAL INFRINGEMENT.

Over the tremendous problem of the Hay-Herran treaty the weightest brains of the two disputing countries have been consulted; all have viewed it from many sides; all have expressed many doubts; all have brought forward chreumstances in favor and against its propriety; all proposed changes according to their judgment, but no one of them has been able to say with certainty that it was absolutely good or absolutely bad. Only Senor Perez y Soto has, and has had no doubt on this particular. Since before the closing of negotiations he had deciared everything connected with it to be a crime. The treaty was a crime and would always be a crime in his infallible judgment; and the proof that his opinion about the treaty is bilind, born of passion and not of deep study, is that he has never told us on what he founds it, nor why this treaty violated our sovereignty, nor what article of the constitution it infringed—nothing, in short, to reveal his erudition in the matter. Nevertheless, once the Hay-Herran treaty was defined by his ex cathedra as a crime and ignominy, he must proceed logically to condemn to eternal fames with tranquil conscience all those who in any manner intervened in negotiating it—that is to say, in the commission of the crime—but through an aberration from his dogmatic judgment he brings this charge against Reyes. Why? Because Reyes did not participate in the crime? No; rather, because he did not prevent it.

Setting aside Señors Martinez Silva, Concha, Herran, and all the others who took part in the negotiations with the American Government, all who approved them, all who applauded them, he violently attacks Reyes because he could have impeded and did not impede the signature of the treaty; but Reyes could not intervene in the negotiation even if he had tried.

COLOMBIAN LEGATION SHOULD HAVE BEEN SUPPORTED.

Since the negotiations for the construction of the canal were begun with the American Government, our chancellery intrusted them and all their ramifications, such as canceling of contracts, transfer of shares, etc., solely and exclusively to the representative of Colombia in Washington. Exclusively, we say, and this was a most important circumstance in which our Government took careful interest for an infinity of reasons—unity of action, indispensable in so vast and delicate a matter; harmony and coordination, which should exist between the diverse details in order that all should run jointly and opportunely to the final conclusion of the matter; reserve, impossible to secure when many persons are holders of the same secret; and, finally, elementary precaution to prevent discordant or meddlesome intervention in every case disagreeable and hurtful. * * In truth, to this fact any person might testify who had followed the negotiation in its details, but we refer particularly to Messrs. Concha, Paul, and Uribe and to the records of the ministry of foreign relations. * * *

COLOMBIA'S FATE SEALED BY HER REJECTION OF HER OWN TREATY. When the Cabinet at Washington received the baleful and unbelievable

When the Cabinet at Washington received the baleful and unbelievable news that the Senate of Colombia had rejected the treaty, without entering into further discussion, our fate as regarded Panama was settled. It was settled in advance, as we may see when we study the record, because of the fact that it would be impossible further to deal with the Government of Colombia. This was clearly expressed by the Department of State; this was shown by Beaupre and printed in the official and private press of both nations. Only the Senate of Colombia and certain "partiots" did not comprehend this, and were still confident—we know not whether by our right or by our strength—that the United States would submit to all our demands. Such confidence could have been held only by those who based their right on guns and warships, because the exterminating angel, the ally of the weak, has not chosen since the time of Sennacherib to destroy the conquerors.

Three months after that precipitate rejection of the treaty Panama ceased to be ours.

OPPOSITION OF COLOMBIAN SENATE DUE TO SPITE AND NOT TO STATESMANSHIP.

MANSHIP.

We already understand the resentment of Perez y Soto against Reyes. We have the key to his anger against the general. He gives it to us when he complains that Reyes counseled the governor of Panama to nominate Dr. Pablo Arosemena senator. Perez y Soto was the candidate of Gov. Mutis Duran, his intimate friend, and he has not forgiven Reyes for endeavoring to deprive him of the honor of representing his home land in the senate. But how much the Colombian Senate would have gained in receiving Dr. Arosemena from Panama instead of Juan Perez y Soto; how much light would have been brought into the canal debates. The Liberal Party would have been brought to listen in the senate to the voice of one of its old fighters, and the treaty, the rejection of which has brought us so much harm, would have met a different fate. The politics of anger is ridiculous and dangerous for weak peoples.

The coming of Dr. Arosemena would have been a truly helpful event. The eminent orator would have shown that body and the public the facts about the canal. If there was anything luminous and partfolic brought about by the debate on the treaty, it was the opinion put forth by Dr. Arosemena when it was requested of him by the Government. He was not a partisan of the treaty, but still less did he consider it a diabolical creation. He was not a separatist, and entered into that movement only when borne away by the avalanche. He lamented the disnemberment of his country and cursed those who, blinded by anger, did not foresee and prevent that sad result.

If Reyes had really feared to make himself unpopular, there would have been no easier remedy for him than to follow the current which then attracted the people and to declare himself opposed to the treaty, as the candidate Velez did. To defend the treaty showed energy and honorable conviction. "To override the law" is a phrase which only an ignorant person can use with reference to Reyes. No one in this country has been more respectful than he toward the law nor has more scrupulously upheld it. From 1885 until to-day there have been many times when Reyes might have imposed his will upon Colombia with benefit to all, and that he has not done so is the occasion of Juan Perez y Soto charging him with "betraying his happy star"; but how much would even Perez y Soto have given during the last congress if Gen. Reyes had lent himself, in his capacity as designate, to taking the place of Vice President Marroquin?

How much we would give to-day if the Government, instead of showing itself so respectful of the passions of the senate, had orced the ratification of the Hay-Herran treaty. Everyone sees this to-day. It might have sacrificed its prestige, might even have laid down its life, but the country would not now be overwhelmed in sorrow and shame. COLOMBIAN SENATORS INEXCUSABLE.

Never was a graver fault than that committed by the Senate of

Never was a graver fault than that committed by the Senate of Colombia in confounding politics with the most important national problem ever known. Never was a more gross and inexcusable error than for it to make fun of the warnings of Roosevelt and to underrate the American power. Never was there a greater infamy than to provoke the ruin of the country in order to humiliate the Marroquin administration by inflicting upon it an adverse vote in the senate. Colombia can have no curses sufficient for those senators who placed hatred of a ruler above love of their country.

THE PLEA OF NATIONAL DIGNITY FALSE AND FARCICAL.

hatred of a ruler above love of their country.

THE PLEA OF NATIONAL DIGNITY FALSE AND FARCICAL.

But we heard Perez y Soto saying to his foolish followers that the senate so acted because in the treaty our honor was asked of us in exchange for \$10,000,000. He lied. That is the excuse of those who are ashamed of having sacrificed their country to a factious passion, now to pretend that they rejected the treaty to save their dignity, but that is a farce. In the treaty we were asked for a zone of land a few miles broad in exchange for the canal, \$10,000,000, and an annual allowance. That seems honorable enough. The Hay-Herran treaty was simply a matter of business. If perchance it was not overgood for us, it was at least acceptable in that it conserved to us what we have lost. In almost all international questions there is involved some point of honor for the nations interested, but in the Hay-Herran treaty this point of honor was remote, and if not acceptable at least susceptible of decorous arrangement. It was a business question and only political passion could exaggerate that side of it to the extreme of its rejection on the ground of dignity, and Reyes stood forth as a decided advocate of its ratification. "I think he did the best that he could, but it was too late," reported Beaupre. That is true. He did what he could to obtain ratification of the treaty. That is to say, he took the only means remaining to avoid the loss of Panama. "But it was too late." Yes; it was too late, to the disgrace of the country—no one heard, no one saw; the senate was blind and deaf, preoccupied in the humiliation of the Government. Would that there had been time; would that theyes had been able to convince the minds and appease the anger; would that the senate could have held its personal hatred in hand and have stayed the pending mistake! Minister Beaupre thus reported: "The dominant note of the debate was a spirit of hostility against the Government. With the exception of one senator, there was no speaker who did not bitterly

NARROW CONCEPTS OF PATRIOTISM.

Federalist ideas, which we imbibed in infancy, and have never wholly given up, make us look with misgiving and even with aversion upon everything that has been done against the integrity and power of our second fatherlands, which for many are the first and only; that is to say, the Departments, formerly sovereign States; but when we overcame the first impulse of love of neighborhood, we rose to higher considerations and widened the horizon of our thoughts, and immediately understood the advantage and even urgency of doing away forever in spirit and in truth with these dangerous boundaries in the midst of what should be one fatherland—single, great, irrevocable. Our sparse population, scattered over an immense territory, divided by nature into totally different regions, lacking absolutely means of communication which facilitates contact and commingling, thus creating common interests and developing bonds of union between various districts, and this being aggravated with the local recognition of isolation, and with the inveterate custom of antagonism, it is miraculous that there should have been preserved, after so many years of mutual indifference, strong bonds out of which the evil could be remedied.

COLOMBIAN DISSOLUTIONS.

COLOMBIAN DISSOLUTIONS.

Material interests are the only ones that can create enduring ties. Progress and civilization consolidate nations and strengthen the union between the various elements in them more than time and glory. Peoples are living organisms in whatever concerns their instinct of self-preservation. Entities only prefer to cultivate platonic loves. Without going far in search of arguments in support of these ideas, let us remember our own history, and let us prove that the immediate effect of decadence is dissolution. First, Great Colombia was broken up, then Panama separated when it thought that it would prosper better alone, and let us remember how strongly and spontaneously the separatist idea was held in all parts of the country until we came to the way of misfortune and of incurable anarchy.

But with strong national government, progressive and honorable, with subsidiary governments concerned solely with the moral and material progress of their respective districts, we shall see this country rapidly transformed. deserving of good fortune, although we have despaired of its salvation.

* Political parties do not petrify in these centuries of busy movement, and if Liberalism is the party of progress it must mold itself to the progress of the times. The tendency in the whole world is taking powerful form toward an ordered, serious, and strong republic of the North American type, in which liberty and the laws are not struck down by the majesty of power. Let the imbeciles still hark back to the constitution of Rio Negro [1863, in which sovereign rights, including secession and nullification were reserved to the constituent States] and the license of other years, but let it not be

demanded to-day of sensible people. Some day we must see the last of extravagances and Utopias in all parties. That day will come when all shall sign the constitution and accept as a bond of union and as the immovable foundation of our nationality this principle which belongs to no party, but is an axiom: Only a strong government can guarantee order, and order is the guaranty of law and of liberty.

CONTEMPT FOR AUTHORITY:

When Gen. Reyes took the reins of government, the most serious of the country's diseases, the source of all those from which it suffered, was the absolute disregard of the principle of authority. This is notorious. It was in the conscience of the country, and from it arose the evils that had acquired such alarming characteristics that it was thought impossible to combat them with success and that they seemed inseparable from the national organism. All rulers, all parties in Colombia contributed to that fatal result. The Liberals, with the acquisition of liberties beyond the intelligence of the country, spread abroad the opinion that respect for rulers and enforcement of authority were incompatible with the full enjoyment of citizenship. Conservative government with their leniency and tolerance practically confirmed this same belief, of which theoretically they were the firm opponents. Their responsibility is much greater, because in permitting disorder, rebellion, and profanation they worked against their own conscience so far that liberal governments were almost on even terms with them. Every day the belief grew stronger that public happiness lay in the discrediting of the Government, in the denial of its authority, in the sapping of its strength, in the violent treatment of its agents, in the denial of any check or restraint on passions, and in the full use, without obstacle, of every means, even that of fratricide or war, for combatting authority. The press was then converted into the character of intransigence, defamation, and calumny. The pen could not be used unless dipped in the blood of those who exercised power and of their defenders. Public offices were sought for the same end, instead of their defenders. Public offices were sought for the same end, instead of their defenders. Public offices were sought for the same end, instead of their defenders.

CONTINUOUS CIVIL WARS.

collaborator into a formidable adversary of the Government.

CONTINUOUS CIVIL WARS.

Our civil wars had no other origin. The 3d of November, 1898, that shameful page in Colombian history, came from no other source. The 31st of July, 1900 [deposition and seizure of President Sanclemente on an unsubstantiated charge of insanity, and unconstitutional elevation of Vice President Marroquin to executive power], was the logical consequence of a series of acts, the gravity of which can not be denied, and hardly was the three years' war, the legitimate daughter of the Congress of 1898 and of the license of a long time, ended than we came back to the same path with criminal perseverance; and so precipitately did we race therein that when Gen. Reyes was declared President it seemed impossible that he should take his office in peace. It seemed hopeless to prevent the dissolution of the country, and a proceeding like that of July 31 seemed imminent. Fortunately the 7th of August arrived without disorder, owing to many circumstances which overthrew the plotters, and especially owing to the exhaustion of the country; but that did not prevent Congress of 1904 from being an aggravated edition of that of 1898, and as such it declared itself an implacable enemy of a ruler who had not yet begun to rule. [Yet Marroquin presumed to promise to the State Department favorable action on the Hay-Herran treaty by this same Congress.] It is useless to recall again the impossible situation in which Congress placed the President. It is useless to repeat that it undertook to destroy every hope of the country and of a chief magistrate who took up his powers full of good will and who was himself condemned to hopeless impotence and absolute barrenness; but this had been the fate of his predecessors in the Government—without power to do anything for the enforcement of the law, without ability to break with routine, every day more scorned and vilified, and every day seeing the country more the victim of discord and anarchy.

COMIC PRESIDENCIES.

S

Should President Reyes have resigned himself to fulfill the rôle assigned to him in the comedy? This was what the insensate majority desired, but it was to demand too much. The President was not disposed to leave his name and his country buried in order to truckle

disposed to leave his name and his country buried in order to Congress.

The separation of Panama was an act that the powers of Colombia could not prevent. Those principally responsible for what occurred were not obaldia nor Marroquin. They were the Colombian Senators who, in order to embarrass the Government, without discussion refused their support to the treaty signed in Washington, and demanded the gallows for the Colombian representative who signed that international document; and the separation of Panama was sanctioned by the recognition of all the powers of the earth. The pity of it came from the overweening pride of certain men whose black coats and white collars had not smoothed down the roughness of their necks.

LAW AND ORDER SHOULD BE PLACED ABOVE PRIVATE STRIFE.

LAW AND ORDER SHOULD BE PLACED ABOVE PRIVATE STRIFE.

If the parties represented in the legislative assembly could learn to sacrifice their extravagances on the altars of their country and to support with absolute good faith the Constitution and laws of the country we could be assured forever of public peace. The alternations of parties in power would not then imply demolition; would not invoive danger for anyone. They would not be able in future, in order to raise up the people to war, to exploit religious faith or love of liberty if the one and the other were guaranteed against the fury of the implous and the abuse of force. Let us once obtain stability and equilibrium and our future will be a surprise for the world. Foreign capital will not find a more propitious soil. The roads which to-day are a disgrace to us, will grow like a network of arteries in the land. The progressive and sure increase of public wealth will give immediate solution to our economic problems. The depreciated paper money, a reflection of national wretchedness, will soon recover its credit, and our life, which we lead to-day amid privations and wretchedness, will become easy, prosperous, and contented, and labor, now almost without return to the poor man, will be a source of private welfare and of social security.

PERPETUAL DISCORD AND DISUNION.

PERPETUAL DISCORD AND DISUNION.

PERPETUAL DISCORD AND DISUNION.

In the first page of one of his precious books Gaston Boissier recalls that never in the course of the ages has there been a government without opposition, and he advises that it be joined to the car of national politics as England does, rather than that the nation should range itself against the opposition. Honorable opposition is really inevitable because it is born of nature. There are no two minds in existence that will appreciate an act or an idea in the same way, any more than we can find two leaves alike in all the forests of earth. If in a current question of administration or politics it is impossible to find perfect accord in the opinions of men, how could there be unanimous agreement in any intelligent country in the infinity of matters

which come before the governing machinery of the State? This perplexity, this universal disagreement, the heritage of man, can, in certain peoples, acquire proportions entirely unknown in others. Colombia, for instance, is the home of party intransigence, of systematic opposition, and of perpetual discord, and why, we do not know. The only sure thing is that ideas considered in the races of the world as removed from discussion, among us are the object of most solemn controversy. The most antiquated theories have here their faithful; the most extravagant Utopias here find their proselytes, and one can hardly cite an instance in which any of them has triumphed with reason. From discussion light is not brought forth in Colombia. What comes forth with marvelous facility is the confusion of argument. In such subjects we profess the most out-of-the-way principles; the word "character" with us is the synonym of blind obstinacy. A man may not, without incurring infamy, change his opinions or ideas in any case or for any reason. When he has taken one step on a given road he must follow it to the point of falling in an abyss if necessary, because doubt is not permitted to him, and vacillation is an abominable fault.

A GOVERNMENT OF DOCTRINAIRES.

A GOVERNMENT OF DOCTRINAIRES.

Let it be understood that with such ideas all innovation in theory or in practice is impossible and that we are all brought up to the severest routine; that we mature with capital defects and that progress is thus removed from our grasp. Let it be understood also that opposition to the Government, elsewhere rational and orderly, with us takes the form of semibarbaric ferocity. This opposition is directed not only toward the acts or tendencies of the Government but also toward the person who governs or toward his personal ideas. Thus we see every day how censure is passed without analysis or applianse rendered without judgment and how plans or projects, essentially good, become the causes of bloody war.

A NATION ALWAYS AGAINST ITS GOVERNMENT.

The ruler who takes up the reigns of state thus begins as the victim

A NATION ALWAYS AGAINST ITS GOVERNMENT.

The ruler who takes up the reins of state thus begins as the victim of this fatal custom. Bollvar had hardly crossed the threshold when the nation was already divided into two perfectly separate bands—irlends and enemies—unconditional partisans and irreconcilable adversaries. His persen, well known and most worthy, called by popular vote to be chief of the Republic, was the target during the electoral debate of the most airocious calumnies and the most improbable charges. Everyone who did not support all his acts thought it his duty to curse him as an imbecile, and satisfied his conscience by acting as the bitterest enemy of a government hardly yet instituted. This, although ridiculous, would not be so scandalous if we had not also seen how [in 1903] the majority in Congress, which is or ought to be, more serious than the multitude, let itself be borne along by the current and finally decided to kill the Government in a corner, even though they knew that they were thus killing the Nation. Then we could understand how the disastrous consequences came out of these blind and insensate passions, because they left nothing undone to cause the total and irreparable ruin of the country. If they did not bring it about beyond repair, it was due to the energy and ability of the Government. But when we seek the final lesson in what is possible in Colombia from party hatred, how the spirit of passion debases the most exalted sentiments, how the passions pervert the conscience and destroy the judgment, it is sufficient to review calmly the history of the Colombian Scnate of 1903 in its debates on the Hay-Herran treaty. JUSTICE TO THE UNITED STATES

From the viewpoint of the Colombian minister it may seem that the United States, in taking over the Panama Canal, has disappointed Colombia, but there is surely room enough to justify the United States standing firm with a country so shaken by adverse winds of public opinion as Colombia was when it rejected the Hay-Herran treaty. Colombia's questionable reign over the less powerful Panama was certainly not less harsh than any treatment which the United States may have exercised with respect to Colombia. When Panama was liberated by a revolution of its own making, Colombia suffered the loss of one of its most profitable assets, but the whole world profited by the action of the United States in dealing with the Republic of Panama after Colombia, even for a price, refused to cooperate in the movement of uniting the two oceans. The people of the United States have borne the expense of this great work, and they are likely to assume greater burdens, that the world may profit thereby.

When Colombia sets forth her grievances in terms that reflect upon the honor and integrity of the United States, therefore it is not unreasonable that she should be reminded of her own moral weaknesses and imperfections, which, after all, were the real cause of her differences with the United States.

The Child-Labor Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDMUND PLATT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Wednesday, February 2, 1916.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Speaker, I intend to vote for this bill to prevent interstate commerce in the products of child labor, because I think it is in the main a good bill, and because I think it is time the few remaining States, nearly all in the South, that allow children under 14 to work in factories should be compelled to come into line with the rest of the Union. North and South Carolina, New Mexico, and Wyoming are the only remaining States that have no 14-year limit for children working in factories. More States have no 16-year limit for night work, and still more have no 8-hour requirements for children under 16 in factories and no 16-year limit for the employment of children in mines and quarries; but the only opposition to this bill from manufacturers personally appearing against it, according to the report of the committee, has come from the cotton-manufacturing sections of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Alabama, and it is evident that the vast majority of States are either already in line with its main provisions or willing to conform to them.

I do not, however, look upon this bill as a sectional measure, as an effort to stop unfair competition in a few Southern States. It is a measure which in the long run will benefit the States which have been backward in enacting child-labor legislationbenefit not only the children, who will be given more of schooling and more wholesome out-of-door recreation, but the manufacturers themselves. According to the best authorities in economics, the movement against employing young children in factories in New England, New York, and other Northern States did not begin as a humanitarian movement, but rather as a movement for greater efficiency in manufacturing. It was found that the young children who could be employed to advantage under the old systems of somewhat haphazard factory management, with old-time machinery, could not be profitably employed in the constitution of the constitut employed in the operation of the more rapidly moving modern machinery. They were already pretty generally eliminated in the best factories from actual work involving constant machine operation before the laws were made to prevent their employment. The laws followed, in the main, the economic conditions created by the invention of new machinery and the effort to procure greater efficiency in shop management. It may be that conditions are somewhat different in the South, with its warmer climate, but child labor is everywhere relatively inefficient, and its continued employment in the South implies some lack of up-to-date machinery and management. The enactment of this bill will compel the modernizing of the plants that can be run with such labor, and in the long run will put them on a more favorable competitive basis than their present position.

Mr. Speaker, I am willing to admit that factory owners are generally not inhuman, that they do not desire for the sake of saving a few dollars to harm the young people they employ. I think it is doubtless true, as has been said, that some of the sentimentalists who have been drawn into this movement are people who never did a day's work in their lives and naturally consider all work a hardship. They have doubtless exaggerated conditions in factories that still employ children. Probably many children are not physically harmed by factory work, or at least children were not generally physically harmed by work under the old-time less exacting conditions. I have heard one of my colleagues from my own State say that he went to work in a factory at the age of 9 and kept steadily at work for many years. It did not kill him. Here he is in Congress, hale and hearty and prosperous, and scarcely looking his years; but 1 notice that he is for the bill; that he is willing to consider himself an exception.

If all boys were as strong as he must have been and had as good parentage and as good bringing up as he evidently had. I ould be of the opinion that these matters should be left to the discretion of parents and the good sense of each community, without either State or National laws of regulation, but we know that this is not the case. We know that the average child of to-day of 9 to 16 years of age can only obtain such education and such development as may fit him for the more exacting duties of modern life by remaining in school during those years and spending his out-of-school hours either in wholesome play or in some out-of-door occupation that is not too exacting.

There may be some question of the constitutionality of this bill. It does raise a few new points for the courts to wrestle with. As ex-Gov. Kitchin, of North Carolina, has said, never in the height of the antislavery agitation before the war was it supposed that the products of slave labor could be excluded from interstate commerce. The products themselves are harmless, unlike the impure food and drugs that the Pure Food and Drugs Act excludes from interstate commerce. Can the United States. under guise of regulating interstate commerce, go back of the goods produced and inquire into the conditions of their production? Is not that something that must be left to the States? I am sure I do not know, but the decisions in the Lottery Ticket case and in the pure food cases are sufficiently similar to make it seem probable that this measure, if it becomes a law, will be sustained, and its purposes are so meritorious that I do not see how anybody can vote against it solely on account of possible unconstitutionality. Being heartly in favor of the purposes of the bill I shall vote for it, and I expect to see it pass this House by an overwhelming majority.

Letter From the Secretary of the Navy in Regard to Battleships "43" and "44."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEMUEL P. PADGETT,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 9, 1916.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a letter from the Secretary of the Navy giving information relative to the bids on the battleships 43 and 44, in pursuance of a statement I made the other day in response to an inquiry whether I would furnish them. them.

The letter is as follows:

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, February 8, 1916.

DEAR MR. PADGETT: Complying with your verbal request for information concerning the bids, etc., for battleships 43 and 44, the bids from the private contractors were as follows:

One vessel in accordance with the department's design, subject to certain exceptions enumerated hereinafter_____ NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING & DRY DOCK CO.

One vessel in accordance with the department's design, subject to certain exceptions enumerated hereinafter_____ 7, 775, 000 FORE RIVER SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION.

Bid 1. One vessel in accordance with the department's design.

Bid 2. One vessel in accordance with the department's design. 7, 638, 000

7, 684, 000 Bid 3. One vessel in accordance with the department's design

Bid 4. One vessel in accordance with the department's design

7, 229, 500

These prices are subject to certain exceptions differing in each case as described below.

The following table gives the items which the respective bidders propose to omit from the contract plans and specifications as originally contemplated by the department, and opposite each item is given an estimate of the cost of including that item. In some cases these figures have been stated in the bids, but in some instances have been estimated by the bureaus: the bureaus:

Estimated value of omissions.

Items.	New York Ship- building Co.	Newport News Ship- building & Dry- dock Co.	Fore River Shipbuilding Corporation.			
			Bid 1.	Bid 2.	Bid 3.	Bid 4.
1. Insurance 2. Bond	\$70,000 10,000	\$70,000		\$66,500 10,000		
f. Trial trip 4. Docking and	75,000	75,000		75,000		
painting 5. Oregon pine for	12,500	12,500	•••••	12,500		2 50
c. Metal furniture	40,000	40,000		40,000		
and lockers	(8,000	€8,000		68,000	(1)	(3)
system 8. Spare shaft	25,000 7,600			25,000 7,600		
9. Propellers	6,900			13,800		THE RESERVE
10. Shop tools	17,000			17,000		13.15/15
11. Pneumercators	11,600					
12. Laundry and sterilizer	8,000		Southern	8,000		
13. Hose	3,000			3,000		********
14. Finished plans	13,500			15,000		
15. Nickel steel for		TWILE S		10,000		
structure		200,000				
13. Forgings (hull), on 1910 speci-				101 4		
fications						
17. Cork instead of noninflam- mable insula-						
tion						5
18. All steel turret						
structure			\$521,000			\$521,000
19. Inclining experi- ment				1,000	2010 [18	
20. Electric winches and capstan				20,000		
21. Printing office and carpenter						
shop		*********		3,500		
boat cranes				8,000		
on Nevada			l	15,000	l	
Same as bid	2, except	insurance i	is included.			
- Same as bid	3, except	Governmen	nt to suppl	y steel tur	ret structu	re.

Estimated value of omissions-Continued.

Items.	New York Ship- building Co.	Newport News Ship- building & Dry- dock Co.	Fore River Shipbuilding Corporation.			
			Bid 1.	Bid 2.	Bid 3.	Bid 4.
24. Fireroom hoist 25. Torsion meters				\$1,500 3,500		
Total	\$368,100 7,700,000	\$465,500 7,775,000	\$521,000 7,638,000	407,000 7,684,000	\$340,500 7,750,500	\$861,500 7,229,500
Total for ship in accordance with depart ment's plans and specifications	8,068,100	8, 240, 500	8, 159, 000	8,091,000	8,091,000	8,091,000

Time of construction: The department's circular to prospective bidders on these vessels stated that no bids would be considered which proposed a period for construction in excess of 34 months. Prior to the opening, several of the prospective bidders protested against this provision, stating that under the prevailing conditions of the labor and material markets it would be impracticable to guarantee completion in that period. The contractors were then informed that a bid containing a time guaranty in excess of 34 months would not be thrown out on that account, but preference in consideration would be given to bids proposing the shortest time for construction.

The Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co. in their proposal offered a constructional period of 40 months. The Fore River Shipbuilding Corporation proposed 34 months, but in a letter forming a part

The Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co, in their proposal offered a constructional period of 40 months. The Fore River Shipbuilding a constructional period of 40 months. The Fore River Shipbuilding a construction of one of battleships Nos. 43 and 44, and to paragraph 12 of the confidential circular of requirements for bidders, which states that the maximum time allowed for completion of these vessels will be ended to consider the construction of the confidency of the con

guaranties of prompt delivery, and directions have been given to make like contracts for all material needed, so there will be no unnecessary delays. The machinery is now under advertisement. The price quoted for the steel needed in construction was slightly lower than the estimate previously made by the two yards awarded the contract.

The prompt action by the House of Representatives in authorizing the expenditure of \$600,000 of the \$1,920,769 between the lowest bids of the private shipbuilders and the navy-yard estimates will enable the Navy Department to lose no time in making every preparation so that the work can be pushed to the utmost as soon as the ways are clear.

Sincerely, yours,

JOSEPHUS DANIELS.

Hon. LEMUEL P. PADGETT, M. C., Chairman Committee on Naval Affairs, House of Representatives.

Embarge on War Munitions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWIN D. RICKETTS, OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 9, 1916.

Mr. RICKETTS. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, since this session convened I have listened attentively to the many able orations that have been delivered upon the floor of this House, almost daily, touching the material questions which

this Congress is called upon to determine.

In all the addresses that have been made not a single word has been said by any Member of this House with reference to laying an embargo upon the shipment of war munitions and war equipment, which have been shipped, and are still being shipped, to the belligerent countries across the sea now engaged in war. To my mind, this question is the most vital of any that concerns this Nation and its future welfare at this session of Congress.

It has been the policy of this administration to remain neutral during the great bloody war that is being waged in the old country. I am heartily in accord and in sympathy with this policy, but to allow the exportation of war munitions and deathdealing war material by the great syndicates, monopolies, money changers, war trusts, and gigantic corporations in this country to the belligerent nations now at war in the Old World, is inconsistent with our pretended neutral policy. To allow this nefarious and iniquitous commercial traffic to continue, without limitation or qualification, is wrong, both morally and legally, and in my judgment is a willful violation of the law controlling the conduct and actions of neutral nations.

Mr. Speaker, the great war trusts, syndicates, and monopolies are reaping enormous profits, profits of practically more than \$3,000,000 per day, and millionaires are being made daily by the score. And these profits are being gauged and measured by the carnage and slaughter of humanity in the war zone. And yet it is claimed that we are a neutral Nation. It is unneutral as well as unfair where one belligerent receives arms to the exclusion of another.

This is made plain by President Wilson in his neutrality proclamation issued on August 18, 1914, wherein, among other things, he said:

The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action and must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to another We should not extend or withhold aid to or from either if actual circumstances were such that both parties were not equally befriended.

An embargo on the shipment of munitions and arms is legally right; it is morally right. Under the circumstances it is necessary for us to be neutral. It is the only peaceful weapon we can use to enforce our rights as a neutral Nation and stop the outrages that are being committed and the tremendous and unnecessary slaughter of humanity.

President Taft, in 1912, issued a proclamation forbidding the exportation of arms and munitions to Mexico. In 1913, President Wilson, continuing the policy of President Taft, said that "an embargo on arms follows the best practice in the matter of neutrality.'

Woolsey, on International Law, says:

If the neutral should send powder or balls, cannon or rifles, to a warring nation, this would be a direct encouragement of the war, and so a departure from the neutral position.

Germany did not permit her citizens to sell arms and munitions to Spain during our war with that nation in the year 1898.

On April 23, 1898, after the Spanish-American War had begun, the British Government placed an embargo on munitions

In my judgment we can not be neutral and permit this outrageous trade under international law, but we can be neutral

and prohibit it.

Shall this country be converted into a great arsenal, the business of which shall be to assist those now engaged in war, that millionaires may be made in this country; that munition stocks may de doubled, trebled, and quadrupled in value? This Nation, in its greatness, should have set the example of refusing to participate, either directly or indirectly, for commercial purposes or for any reason, in the slaughter of human beings that is now going on in the old country.

Our shot and shell are, in many instances, killing the citizens of a friendly nation, and there is no way by which we can justify ourselves by citing the laws of neutrality. looked upon by some of the nations now engaged in war as an ally. We send arms to belligerents that they may more effectively destroy human beings to be buried in the trenches.

Mr. Speaker, the Red Cross Society of America is most amiably ministering to the wants of the wounded, sick, and dying of those who have fallen in that most merciless struggle. Members of this great organization are soothing the misery and pain of these poor unfortunates and ministering every relief within their ability. Widows and orphans are homeless and penniless. No language can describe the misery, the pain, and the anguish which prevail in the great war zone. The United States, through this society and the generosity of our people. load one vessel with a cargo of clothing, foodstuffs, and the necessary material with which to bind up the wounds and soothe the pain and relieve the misery of those partially crushed by war's vengeance and to relieve the distress and the deplorable conditions of the widows and orphans who are suffering untold agony because of this most destructive of all wars. In another vessel we are loading a cargo of guns, cannons, and munitions and arms of all kinds with which the allies may be able to make more widows, more orphans, and add to the intensity of this bitter struggle.

This is wholly inconsistent upon our part. It is unneutral, and should not be tolerated by this Nation for a single minute. If there is one thing more than another that will eventually drag the people of this country into war or cause an invasion or an attempted invasion of the American soil by a foreign foe it is this cruel and blood-cursed traffic on the part of the rich

corporations and war trusts of this Nation.

There is no such thing as neutral ground between right and wrong, and I have been unable by any fair process of reasoning to harmonize our neutral policy with our damnable commercial policy, with reference to the shipment of munitions. The one or the other is wrong. Both can not be right. One is inconsistent with and repugnant to the other. We can not be neutral and participate. The people of this Nation do not want war. I do not want war. I am for peace. Yes; peace—everlasting peace. Not peace, however, at any price; but peace so long as the honor of this Nation may be maintained and upheld.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I said to you on this floor on the 29th of January, 1916, that "In my humble judgment, our position is not that of a neutral Nation. It is inconsistent with neutrality. We are participating in that great war. We are assisting to make it one of the most destructive wars in the world's history, and we are being paid billions and billions of dollars for our participation and assistance therein, and we call this 'prosperity in America.' If any true, loyal American citizen can get comfort out of this blood-soaked and tear-stained prosperity, he is welcome to it. But, as for myself, I announce here and now that I am once and forever opposed to this iniquitous policy.

In my judgment, there should be an embargo placed upon the shipment of war munitions and arms of all kinds by this Nation. No excuse that we may give can justify our position, and if we continue, I am quite clear in my own mind that we may very well anticipate an attempted invasion of this country

in the future, for we are not without blame.

"The action of this Government in permitting the manufacture and sale of war munitions to belligerent nations across the sea is sure, finally, to bring the curse of war upon our

I know that some men undertake to justify our position, as a Nation, on the theory that if we do not supply the belligerents with munitions of war and arms that by our refusal to do so we would give one belligerent nation an advantage over another. And that very claim on the part of any man is an admission that this Nation is directly interested in that great and indescribable conflict.

We should not deceive ourselves, or draw to our bosoms any delusion as to the prosperity coming to us from profits arising from helping to slaughter men, and to make widows and orphan

The rattle of the bloody coin coming into this country can not drown the sound of the groans and cries of the misery arising from the battlefields of Europe.

International law may permit it, but moral law and all humanitarian laws refute and condemn it. Instead of this Nation being an arsenal from which the belligerent nations across the sea may withdraw their war munitions and arms, it should be the peaceful abode of a neutral and impartial citizenship.

The United States demanded in all earnestness during the Civil War that England refrain from purchasing "insurgent cotton," because the Confederates obtained through this commerce new money and new war supplies. This request on the part of the United States is conclusive evidence of the fact that it was the candid opinion of this Nation at that time that neutral nations should not assist belligerent nations, or those nations involved in war.

If it was right then that neutrals should not supply warring nations with munitions of war and war materials, why is it nations with indultions of war and war indectals, only not right now? The position of the United States then was directly the opposite of its position now. In short, the United States understood clearly then that every trade of neutrals with a belligerent country serves to strengthen its means for the continuation of war.

Peace is the normal state, war is the exception; peace is an enduring status, war is a passing state. Only the direct belligerents have an interest in war, the civilized humanity have not. It is not proper that the economic life of all should

be interfered with by war between nations,

It has always been held as a violation of international law for a belligerent to obtain its supply of arms exclusively from one neutral nation. I am aware that some very able citizens in this country undertake to justify the exportation of munitions of war and arms on the ground of precedent under international law. An examination of these precedents and the literary authorities on the subject will disclose that they are entirely unsatisfactory, some holding against the shipment of munitions and war materials, and others holding in favor of it, and I further understand that such justification is placed upon the theory by some that the shipper takes the risk, and that his cargo is contraband of war. Let these theories be as they may, they are not in line with reason and justice and equity between the people of a neutral nation and the people of a belligerent nation or nations.

Some insist that to lay an embargo upon arms and war munitions now would be a breach of neutrality. They say that foreign nations have built their foreign policies and other relations to us upon the theory of our passed practice, and that to now undertake to stop it as a mere commercial question at home would not meet the question in its ultimate boundaries. But they overlook the fact that the most recent action of this Government has been to lay an embargo upon arms and muni-tions of war with reference to other nations involved in war.

If I may express an opinion, our attitude in neutrality is a travesty on the term when we look at it from a moral and ethical viewpoint. We are not only inflicting pain but killing our professed friends and making widows of their wives and orphans of their children, when, on the other hand, we could shorten the war and hasten peace as we did by placing an embargo on arms and munitions to Mexico. There arises in the minds of real neutrals the suspicion that the administration is not neutral toward all belligerents, since England has virtually dictated to the United States for over a year an arbitrary policy regarding our foreign trade, and with impunity hauled pilfered our mails and prevented their delivery. The people feel convinced that if their products of the factory and field had some privileges of a free sea, as in times past and as real neutrals we should have, the United States would be enjoying a prosperity for the laboring and middle classes instead of a death-dealing rich man's prosperity, which is calamitous in both

I believe that had it not been for the fact that we were dealing in this most unrighteous and unscrupulous trade the Americans on the Lusitania would not have lost their lives. We have, in fact, made our country a party to the war across the ocean.

We can not justify that tragical calamity that cost so many

American citizens their lives by citing the laws of neutrality. The law of neutrality does not warrant it and strict neutrality condemns it.

The great tendency of the American people is to worship the dollar—the mighty dollar—instead of the God of the uni-

Too many Americans place the value of the dollar above the value of human beings or human souls. I can not, in good conscience, subscribe to this practice. I feel it my duty to condemn it, and I do so unhesitatingly and fearlessly.

I do not want to be understood in this address, however, as expressing my views on the question of preparedness. I shall give that question my most serious and careful attention later

on and during this session of Congress

War is to be deplored and abhorred, and we should not condone and encourage it. Let us wash our hands, then, of the stain of war, and forever hereafter maintain clean hands, and remain neutral in truth and in fact.

Analysis of "Evidence" Presented by Robert E. Peary to Committee on Naval Affairs, 1910-11.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY T. HELGESEN,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Tuesday, January 25, 1916.

Mr. HELGESEN. Mr. Speaker, since my speech of January 13 was delivered I have had many inquiries as to where the printed testimony given at the Peary hearing before the Committee on Naval Affairs can be obtained. As this hearing was never distributed, but, on the contrary, was carefully guarded from general distribution, I have decided to make public a critical analysis of the evidence offered, which embraces every statement made at this hearing pertinent to Mr. Peary's claim for recognition as "discoverer of the North Pole."

I am also adding the original Peary hearing before the Committee on Naval Affairs in full, in order that there may be no question as to whether my analysis covers every material point. A careful study of that evidence and of my analysis of the same presented herewith will convince any unbiased, fair-minded person that Robert E. Peary neither discovered nor reached the

North Pole.

This statement is based, not on hearsay evidence or newspaper reports, or the claims of any rival or rivals of Mr. Peary. The official statements of Mr. Peary, made in his testimony before the congressional Committee on Naval Affairs, prove that his claim to the discovery or attainment of the North Pole is wholly unwarranted and without foundation.

The testimony of officials, experts, and Mr. Peary, given at Government hearings before the Committee on Naval Affairs, in 1910 and 1911, was the evidence on which Peary was retired from the Navy with the rank of rear admiral and the highest retired pay of that grade, namely, \$6,000 per year, which amount is annually paid to Mr. Peary, involuntarily, by the taxpayers of

the United States.

The Government officials who testified were O. H. Tittmann, then Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey; and Mr. Henry Gannett, of the Geological Survey. Hugh C. Mitchell, who also testified for Mr. Peary, is an expert computer who was employed by Peary to examine his data; and Peary took the

stand in his own behalf.
The first of the "Peary hearings" was held Friday, March 4. 1910, when the committee was called to order at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Thomas S. Butler (chairman) presiding. The following-named Congressmen were present: Messrs.
Roberts, Bates, Dawson, Englebright Greeg, and Macon. BUTLER.

All quotations from the testimony are made verbatim from the printed hearings, published by the Government in pamphlet form. The first hearing is dated March 4, 1910.

Mr. Tittmann was the first witness called, and testified in part

as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us, so we may have it in the record, your em-

ployment.

Mr. TITTMANN. I am Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

The CHAIRMAN. In the service of the Government?

Mr. TITTMANN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been at the head of this depart-

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been at the head of this department?

Mr. TITTMANN. About 10 years.

The CHAIRMAN What relation, if any, did you have to the report that Peary may have made as to his having reached the North Pole?

Mr. TITTMANN. You mean the official relation?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir; any official relation?

Mr. TITTMANN. Mr. Peary was ordered to report to me, as Superintendent of the Coast Survey, for the purpose of making tidal observations, under instructions from the President; I have his letter here and will read it to you if you care to have it.

Mr. GREGG. A copy of his instructions?

Mr. TITTMANN. No; not a copy of the instructions to Peary, but a copy of the letter of the President to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, directing that I give him instructions. This is a photographic copy which I brought over:

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON.

Oyster Bay, N. Y., July 3, 1908.

SIR: Civil Engineer R. E. Peary, United States Navy, has been directed by the Navy Department to report by letter to the Superintendent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, and you are requested to direct this official to order him to make tidal observations along the Grant Land and Greenland shore of the Polar Sea during his projected cruise in the Rooscvelt. It is believed that such observations will throw light upon the Coast Survey theory of the existence of a considerable land mass in the unknown area of the Arctic Ocean.

Respectfully.

Respectfully

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. OSCAR S. STRAUS, Secretary of Commerce and Labor,

Hon. Oscar S. Straus.

Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

The Chairman. The purpose of sending for you, as you will appreciate, is to learn what method you employed—

Mr. Roberts. We want to have a complete chain of the official records of the transaction.

Mr. Tittmann. I then gave him instructions to make the observations in a particular way.

(These instructions are given on page 54 of the printed hearings, and pertain only to tidal observations, making no reference whatever to the North Pole.)

The Chairman. Are you satisfied Peary reached the North Pole?

Mr. Tittmann. Surely.

The Chairman. Give us your reasons for it; take as long as you please and do it in any way you please.

Mr. Tittmann. Perhaps you will first allow me, then, to speak of the official records that I have in regard to the matter. When Mr. Peary returned from the Arctic he sent us the volumes of the tidal observations that he had made, and that was complying with his orders and instructions; but as the principal interest in the tidal observations was largely the knowledge of the hydrography of the Arctic, Mr. Peary also forwarded to us a line of soundings, which he had made, extending from Cape Columbia, where tidal observations were made, to within about 5 miles of the pole. So he forwarded those to me officially, and that is the official record we have of his having been at the North Pole.

Thus the "official record" of Peary's discovery of the North Pole consists, according to the statement of the Superintendent

of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, of the following:

Mr. Peary fastened a piece of iron-prepared weight, ax head, sledge shoe, or whatever—to a length of "specially prepared wire"; when he came to a convenient hole in the ice he dropped the chunk of iron in the water and noted the length of wire that ran out before the iron touched bottom (when it did touch bottom) or the amount of wire he happened to have attached to the weight when, as often occurred, he failed to reach bottom. In Mr. Peary's incomplete sounding which he claimed to have made at the pole "the wire broke." The samples of the soundings taken by Marvin were, unfortunately, lost with Marvin. Therefore Mr. Peary presented to the Coast and Geodetic Survey as "proof" that he had been at the pole a set of figures showing two claimed soundings by Eartlett, one by Peary himself, one by Macmillan, and five by Marvin, the samples of which were lost with Martin, as I later prove. As Mr. Peary also stated in his testimony that "some of the wire was lost by Mar-vin when reeling it in," it would seem that the samples on that occasion must also have been lost with the wire; however, a small inconsistency of this nature would trouble neither Mr. Peary nor Mr. Tittmann. The only samples of soundings furnished by Mr. Peary were taken a short distance from shore, in localities where soundings had already been made by other ex-plorers. (See Arctic Tides, 1911, by Rollin A. Harris, of the Coast and Geodetic Survey.) The only proof (?) of other soundings alleged to have been taken by the Peary expedition is a row of figures which could as easily have been made at Eagle Island, Me., as at Cape Columbia or the North Pole.

Mr. Tittmann also stated that, in addition to the record of soundings, Mr. Peary furnished as proof that he had been to the North Pole a set of tidal observations, taken mostly by Borno, Macmillan, and Marvin-before the expedition left Cape Sheridan.

Granted that these tidal observations were as accurate as the most delicate instruments and human exactness can make them, how is it possible for them to prove or disprove Mr. Peary's discovery of the North Pole? As none of the tidal observations were taken away from land, they prove nothing except that some members of the Peary party read their tide gauges at stated periods; but they have no connection whatever with the reaching of the pole.

However, Mr. Tittmann, superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, had more to say, i. e., he talked more.

The hearing continued:

Mr. Dawson. What official evidence is there of the fact you have just stated—that this party, consisting of Peary, Bartlett, and the others, reached that point—that is, within striking distance of the pole? Is there any official record?

Mr. Tittmann. I have no official evidence of that except, as I said, the line of soundings under Peary's signature, his official report that he made; that is strictly official.

Mr. Greego. Did you see the book of original entry in which he made the record of these soundings?

Mr. Tittmann. No; I did not.

Mr. Gregg. You know what I mean, I suppose; the book in which they were entered from time to time as he moved along—a sort of daybook?

Mr. Tittmann. I didn't see that.

Mr. Gregg. Mr. Tittmann, you saw something which he finished and sent in to your office?

Mr. Tittmann. Yes, sir; sent in to our office under his signature.

Mr. Gregg. Have you ever, in any capacity, seen the books of original entries that I have described?

Mr. Tittmann. No, sir; I have not.

In this connection I shall quote a letter written by Mr. Peary to the Coast and Geodetic Survey, which is of special interest. The photostat copy of this letter is in my possession:

EAGLE ISLAND, SOUTH HARPSWELL, ME., October 28, 1909.

Mr. F. W. PERKINS, Washington, D. C.

Mr. F. W. Perkins, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Replying to your favor of October 21, I desire to express my sincere appreciation of your kind offer to furnish me the results of the discussion of the expedition's tidal records.

I shall be very glad to receive the same when ready.

In regard to the profile of soundings delivered to you by Mr. Nichols, and which you inform me the Hydrographic Office of the Navy Department desires, will say that these soundings were made on the meridian of Cape Columbia, and plotting on that meridian at the latitudes which I think are noted in the table on the profile sheet will give their position.

position.

There are quite a number of other soundings made on this expedition and the previous one along the north coast of Grant Land as far west as the eighty-second meridian (Cape Fanshawe Martin); also in Kennedy & Robeson Channels and Kane Basin; also off Cape Alexander and from Cape Morris Jesup, the northern extremity of Greenland, to

and from Cape Morris Jesup, the northern extremity of Greenland, to 84.15.

If the Hydrographic Office contemplates adding these soundings to chart No 2142, or thinks of issuing a new edition of that chart, it would seem desirable to have all of these soundings, as well as the work of the previous expedition, defining the shore line from Aldrich's farthest to Cape Thomas Hubbard, and the reconnaissance of the present expedition of Clements Markham Inlet, just west of Cape Hecla, added to the chart.

May I respectfully request that you take this matter up with the Hydrographic Office and, if the work indicated above seems desirable, see if some arrangement can be made for the compensation and expenses of Prof. Donald B. Macmillan, who is familiar with much of this work, so that he may come to Washington with the notes of the soundings and assist in plotting the work?

Prof. Macmillan is now engaged in getting the sounding samples in shape to send a set to your office for such examination as you may desire.

desire.

Unfortunately, the samples of soundings on the northern journey beyond the sounding of 110 fathoms were lost with Prof. Marvin. The others may yield interesting results under the microscope.

Very sincerely,

R. E. Peary, U. S. N.

A few points in this letter should be carefully noted before considering the "report of soundings and tidal observations" to which Mr. Peary refers, always remembering that this "report" is the only official proof ever furnished the Coast and Geodetic Survey by Mr. Peary that he had been to the North

Peary states that these soundings "were made on the meridian of Cape Columbia." This is wholly supposition, as Peary had no means of knowing on what meridian he traveled after he left Cape Columbia. He stated to the investigating committee that he traveled by dead reckoning and by compass; yet he took no observations for longitude nor for compass variations; neither did he have with him a chart showing the magnetic variations. Therefore, although he carried a compass, he did not know in what direction the needle of that compass pointed; hence, he could not know whether his route lay along the Columbia meridian or varied from it many miles. Therefore Peary's instructions to the Coast and Geodetic Survey to plot his soundings on the Columbia meridian at the latitudes given were valueless, and the position of the various soundings could not be obtained by such plotting and would furnish no evidence of his having traveled from Cape Columbia toward the pole.

Peary also states:

Unfortunately, the samples of soundings on the northern journey beyond the sounding of 110 fathoms were lost with Prof. Marvin. The others may yield interesting results under the microscope.

The sounding of 110 fathoms was taken at the edge of the continental shelf, 367 miles from the pole. Therefore, the only samples of deep-sea soundings obtained by the expedition were lost with Marvin. Hence, Mr. Peary brought back no evidence whatever, other than his unsupported word, that soundings were taken at any point nearer the pole than 367 miles.

As stated above, Mr. Tittmann testified to the congressional

committee that:

I have no official evidence except, as I said, the line of soundings under Peary's signature; his official report that he made; that is strictly official.

On June 12, 1915, Dr. E. Lester Jones, Mr. Tittmann's successor as Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, wrote me a letter, which I quote: JUNE 12, 1915.

Hon. H. T. Helgesen, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Peary to this bureau on his return from the north in 1909, and * * * that a photostat copy be made of Admiral Peary's only official report to us, I have complied with your request and am sending it herewith.

Respectfully, yours,

In this letter Superintendent Jones corroborates Mr. Tittmann's statement, made five years previously, that Peary's only official report to the Coast and Geodetic Survey, consists of his letter transmitting a "profile," or set of soundings, purporting to have been made at various points between Cape Columbia and the North Pole, but of which no evidence exists other than Peary's word and Peary's "notes" on those soundings, telling how they were made, and so forth.

Wonderful proof this; convincing beyond the shadow of a doubt. All Peary found necessary in order to prove that he had been to the North Pole was a copy of a few measurements of wire. The original entries of these measurements were never shown to anyone. Samples of the complete soundings were easily explained away; they were "lost with Marvin." Copies of his wire measurements were quite sufficient to satisfy the

demands of the investigating committee.

Neither did Peary have any evidence or proof to submit to the Navy Department, as witness a letter written by Secretary of the Navy Daniels to the Hon. LEMUEL PADGETT, chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, under date of July 30,

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: In reference to your letter of recent date inclosing a copy of H. J. Res. 282, "Providing for action by Congress to determine the priority of discovery of the North Pole."

This department has never conducted any investigation or made any findings in regard to the discovery of the North Pole, and is therefore, should the joint resolution 282 be approved by the Congress, unable to submit a report of finding in reference to the matter under consideration.

Faithfully yours

Faithfully, yours,

JOSEPHUS DANIELS, Secretary of the Navy.

The only report furnished to the Navy Department is embodied in a letter written to Representative Ernest W. Roberts by G. v. L. Meyer, then Secretary of the Navy, under date of

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,
Washington, February 21, 1910.

My Dear Congressman: In response to your request of February
23 for copies of any and all reports made by Civil Engineer Robert E.
Peary, United States Navy, I have the honor to inform you that the
only report in our files of this nature from Mr. Peary is the following
telegram from Battle Harbor, received September 11, 1909:

"Respectfully report my return. Hoisted Navy ensign on North
Pole April 6."

Faithfully, yours,
Peary had no proof

Peary had no proof or evidence of his claimed achievement to submit to the Coast and Geodetic Survey, under whose instructions he acted on his last Arctic expedition; he had no proof or evidence to submit to the Navy Department to which he was attached and which had granted him another of a long series of "leaves of absence with full pay"; what, then, did he have?

Let us return to the congressional hearing and Mr. Tittmann.

Referring to Mr. Tittmann's statement that-

When Mr. Peary returned from the Arctic he sent us the volumes of the tidal observations that he had made, and that was complying with his orders and instructions.

Mr. Roberts asked:

Mr. ROBERTS. Where are those tidal observation?
Mr. TITTMANN. They are in our office; there are 21 volumes of them.
Mr. ROBERTS. In what form are they?
Mr. TITTMANN. It is an octave volume.
Mr. ROBERTS Who did that actual work?
Mr. TITTMANN. It was done by Marvin and Macmillan, I think.

As Mr. Tittmann was a member of the subcommittee of the National Geographic Society which "examined" Mr. Peary's data and "reports," it is strange as well as significant that he did not "know" instead of "think" that these tidal observations were taken, without exception, by men who never claimed to have been within hundreds of miles of the pole, and therefore had nothing whatever to do with Peary's attainment of the pole or its nonattainment. In fact, Macmillan's letter, accompanying his report of the tidal observations, is dated. January 9, 1909, almost two months before Peary left the ship for the pole. A photostat copy of Macmillan's letter and of the covers to the 21 "volumes" of tidal observations are now in my possession.

Mr. Gregg. Who forwarded them (the tidal observations) to you, Peary or Macmillan?

Mr. Tittmann. Peary; we communicated with Peary, I think.

Mr. Tittmann's ideas, as an expert witness, were decidedly hazy; he did not know who actually made the report which, as he claimed, proved Peary's discovery of the pole, but "thought"

that they communicated with Peary. Mr. ROBERTS. These are the only soundings that you have been advised of?
Mr. TITTMANN, Yes; they are the only ones that he took.

These soundings—with the exception of one that Peary claimed to have made—were all taken by Marvin, Macmillan, My Dear Mr. Congressman: Further referring to your letter of June | claimed to have made—were all taken by Marvin, Macmillan, 11, in which you requested the original official report made by Robert E. and Bartlett, not one of whom was nearer. or claimed to have been nearer, the pole than 133 miles. The samples of the deep-sea soundings were all "lost" with Marvin; and yet these soundings "prove" that Peary reached the pole.

At this stage of the hearing, as has been shown, Tittmann plainly stated that Peary had submitted only tidal observations and soundings; later, however, Tittmann attempted to show that nautical observations were officially examined.

The CHAIRMAN. Professor [Tittmann], for myself I could not comprehend how anybody would be so untruthful as to say that he reached the North Pole if he did not, but at the same time I wish you would state in some way the observations that were made by Peary. You see I do not know how they were made; I know nothing at all of astronomy, but I would like it to appear in the record the sort of observation he made, the instruments with which he made it, and what it showed, so that any scientific man may know by looking at that observation how you reached your conclusion and how it enabled you to reach your conclusion.

When Mr. Tittmann was asked to make a definite statement, one which would be satisfactory to a really scientific man, he was immediately seized with a spasm of mad haste to get away and leave the responsibility of proving Mr. Peary's case in other

hands. Note his reply to the above question:

Mr. TITTMANN. I think Mr. Gannett could give you all of that, as you have him here. I am really due before the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. Gannett was the next one of Mr. Peary's friends to be interrogated. Let us analyze his statements:

STATEMENT OF MR. HENRY GANNETT.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you in the service of the Government? Mr. GANNETT. I am connected with the Geological Survey. The CHAIRMAN. Give us your official position. Mr. GANNETT. Well, I am called geographer.

The testimony of Mr. Gannett on that point is worthy of note. Fortunately, in the interests of veracity, he stated that he was "called" geographer. The following extract from a letter dated June 20, 1914, written by Director Smith, of the Geological Survey, to Congressman Lafferty, shows more definitely than Mr. Gannett's own statement his true official connection with the Government:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, Washington, June 20, 1914.

Hon. A. W. LAFFERTY, House of Representatives.

My Dear Mr. Laffery: I hasten to reply to your letter of June 19.
Although one of the older members of the survey, Mr. Gannett is not chief geographer, nor does he hold any administrative position in the survey. He was chief topographer between July 1, 1889, and July 1, 1896. Since that time his title, while employed in this office, has been geographer, but such employment has not been continuous.

Yours, very truly,

GEO. O. SMITH.

The above letter, taken in conjunction with Mr. Gannett's testimony, shows to what lengths of deception Peary's friends were willing to go in order to convince the investigating committee that the examination of Mr. Peary's records was made officially. As a matter of fact, not one of the men who at that time "examined" (?) Peary's data did so in his official position.

officially. As a matter of fact, not one of the men who at that time "examined" (?) Peary's data did so in his official position. The Chairman. Were you a member of the committee [of the National Geographic Society] that was selected to make an examination of the report of Commander Peary?

Mr. Gannett. I was chairman of that committee.
The Chairman. May I ask you who selected this committee?
Mr. Gannett. The board of management of the society called on—
The Chairman. Of what society?
Mr. Gannett. The National Geographic Society.
The Chairman. Are you a member of that society?
Mr. Gannett. Yes, sir; I am president of it now. The board of management practically made the selection of this committee.
The Chairman. Will you be kind enough to detail to us the methods which were employed by this committee in making an examination of the reports of Commander Peary of his expedition?
Mr. Gannett. You mean what actually took place at the actual meetings with him?
Mr. Roberts. Yes.
The Chairman. Tell us in the plainest language what you saw and learned of the discovery, the reports you saw, the conclusions you reached, and the reasons for your conclusions.
Mr. Gannett. Mr. Peary came from his home near Portland, Me., and brought his records in a gripsack and his instruments in a trunk. First he met the committee at the office of the Geographic Society, and we appointed a meeting at the house of Admiral Chester, who was a member of this committee. We simply sat down with him and read his journal from his original records; he had an original record made in a little book, a notebook, you know, at that time, and it had all the earmarks of being the original. He read the journal over two or three days before Bartlett left him; we all read it together; we included in the reading two or three days which Bartlett was with him, and from that time on to the pole and all of the way back to Cape Columbia. We also had his astronomical observations, and Admiral Chester recomputed them; I do not know whether Mr. Tittmann did or not, I

On page 5 of the hearing Mr. Tittmann says Peary's records which he had seen were "on loose slips of paper." exact words are:

He showed me the actual papers on which he did this-

They were on loose slips of paper.

At the same hearing, on the same day, Mr. Gannett said:

We simply sat down with him and read his journal from his original cords. He had an original record made in a little book, a notebook, records. I

So Mr. Tittmann, then Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and Henry Gannett, then president of the National Geographic Society, told different stories of the same occurrence at the same hearing on the same day to the same committee, one saying that Mr. Peary's records were on loose sheets, the other that these same records were in a book, and repeated his statement, saying, "a notebook, you know."

These are the same records which a little later Mr. Peary re-

fused to show to the congressional committee, waiting almost a year before he finally consented to allow the committee to see them, and when shown, these "original records" were on different paper than either Mr. Tittmann or Mr. Gannett had stated.

Mr. Englebright. You call attention to his latitude observations, but you do not mention how he kept his longitude.

Mr. Gannett. I saw no longitude observations, and my understanding is that he didn't make any. I do not see why he should. He kept his directions by the compass and the direction of the sun at noontime, and his purpose was to go north.

This is one of the most ridiculous statements ever made by a professed "scientist," and proves Mr. Gannett absolutely incompetent to discuss or examine nautical observations, with a view to verifying an explorer's route in the Arctic or over any "virgin" section of the earth's surface, for an Arctic traveler can not know the direction in which he is traveling unless he knows the direction in which his compass needle points, and to know this he must take repeated observations for compass variation. It is impossible, when the sun is above the horizon throughout the 24 hours, for him to know the correct time, no matter how many absolutely accurate chronometers he carries, unless he knows on which longitudinal meridian he travels, and this he can not know without frequent observations for longitude and for compass variation. Therefore if he does not know when it is noon he can not tell with any degree of correctness the direction in which his shadow falls at noon. Mr. Gannett himself said that-

A slight error in the time determination makes a large error in the longitude

Conversely, if traveling by compass only, a slight error in (estimated) longitude would make a large error in time, and the traveler's calculations would be absolutely unreliable.

Also Mr. Peary told the committee and stated in his book that he traveled on the Columbia meridian and carried Columbia (seventieth) meridian time, but, in "verifying" the observations made by Marvin and Bartlett, Peary's "expert computers" state that they "assumed" that Marvin and Bartlett carried correct sixticth meridian time. They also "assumed" that Peary's observations at his polar camp were made on sixtieth meridian time, and from these observations they calculated that Peary's polar camp was at longitude 137° west!

Therefore, according to the testimony of Mr. Peary and his expert computers, Peary traveled on the seventieth (Columbia) meridian and carried seventieth meridian time (see pp. 21-25 of the hearing), although Marvin and Bartlett, who traveled with him, carried sixtieth meridian time, and made their observations on that basis (see p. 136 of hearing); and while reary claimed to have traveled on the seventieth meridian and carried seventieth meridian time, his "expert computers" found that his polar camp, "Camp Jesup," was at longitude 137° west. We need no "experts" to prove that "there is something rotten in Denmark"—and in Mr. Peary's story. And yet Mr. Gannett did "not see why Peary needed to make any longitude observations,"

Discussing Peary's instruments, the committee continued:

Mr. Roberts. How were they (the observations) taken?
Mr. Gannett. Taken with a sextant and an artificial horizon.
Mr. Roberts. The instrument was a sextant similar to that used on shipboard?

Mr. GANNETT. Yes, sir; precisely.

PEARY RECORDS REFUSED.

Mr. Butler. The committee asked Prof. Gannett to state the results of his examination of the records made by Peary and to give his reasons for his belief in the accuracy of the reports made by Commander Peary.

Mr. Gannett. Well, as I understand the question, you wish to have the journal and the observations made by Mr. Peary brought forth in this committee?

The Chairman. No.

Mr. Macon. I want that brought in. This Congress belongs to the country, and whatever we do as its representatives ought to be done in the open and not in secret. If we are doing anything to be kept dark, I propose to make it public myself. So far as I am concerned, we are not going to deal with secrets in anything. We are charged here as representatives of the people.

Mr. Bates. Do you care to state why that record should be kept from the public?

Mr. Gannett. I do not know that I should like to. I would rather Peary would state his reasons himself.

Mr. Roberts. Now, let me ask a question. Do I understand the papers or records in issue now are copies of Mr. Peary's original journal?

Mr. Gannett. Yes, sir.

Mr. Roberts. Do I understand that Mr. Peary objects to his observations as to latitude and the position of the sun, objects to that being made public, or is it simply the journal of his trip that he objects to, or both?

Mr. Gannett. Both.

Mr. Roberts. Did Peary have his artificial horizon when he exhibited it to your committee?

Mr. Roberts. Did Peary have his artificial horizon when he exhibited to your committee?
Mr. Gannett. Yes, sir.
Mr. Roberts. And it seemed to be a proper one?
Mr. Gannett. Oh, yes,
Mr. Roberts. And adequate for the purpose?
Mr. Roberts. And adequate for the purpose?
Mr. Gannett. There was a slight modification made in it.
(But Mr. Gannett did not state what that "slight modification"

Was.)
Mr. Roberts, Was anyone other than Mr. Nichols and Mr. Peary before your committee giving information on this?
Mr. Gannett. No.
Mr. Roberts. In other words, your committee did not call any of the other members of the party to verify any of the statements made by

Peary? Mr. GANNETT. No.

Thus Mr. Gannett showed that the "proof" all rested on Peary's unsupported word.

To further show the farcical nature of the National Geographic Society's "investigations," see page 17 of the hearing:

graphic Society's "investigations," see page 17 of the hearing:

Mr. Roberts. Have you any familiarity with soundings and the
methods used in making soundings?

Mr. Gannett. Well, not particularly with deep-sea soundings. Peary
described his method of making soundings on this journey.

Mr. Roberts. That is what I wanted to ask you about. He says
when the sounding at 85° 33' was made, 700 fathoms only were left
of the sounding wire of the main party. In hauling up the wire from
this sounding it parted again, and some 200 fathoms, together with
two pickax heads and a steel sledge shoe, which had been used to
carry it down, were lost. What I am getting at is this: If it took
two pickax heads and a steel sledge shoe to get down 700 fathoms,
how much weight did it take to get down 1.500 fathoms, and where
did he get that extra weight to carry it down 1.500 fathoms, when he
made the sounding himself within 5 miles of the pole?

Mr. Gannett. No effort was made by your committee to interrogate
Henson to verify in any way any of the statements made by Peary?

Mr. Gannett. No.

Mr. Roberts. Or the time it took him to make his different journeys,
the number of miles per day?

Mr. Gannett. No.

The foregoing is a plain, straightforward admission that the

The foregoing is a plain, straightforward admission that the "investigating committee" of the National Geographic Society made not the slightest attempt to verify Peary's story in any manner, but accepted whatever he told them as "evidence."

Mr. ROBERTS. Did he tell your committee what his equipment was

Mr. Roberts. Did he tell your committee what his equipment was on that dash?

Mr. Gannett. Well, he had two sledges. (On page 82 of the hearings Peary said he had five sledges.)

Mr. Roberts. How many dogs?

Mr. Gannett. I think 36 dogs; it seems to me 36 or 32. (On page 48 of the hearings Peary said 38 dogs.)

Mr. Roberts. How many Esquimaux?

Mr. Gannett. Two Esquimaux. (On page 24 of the hearings Peary said four Esquimaux.)

The Chairman. The verdict of this committee, of which you were a member, has been accepted by the scientific societies in many different places in the world?

Mr. Gannett. Yes, sir

The Chairman. The records of Peary were not submitted to any of these societies? They simply accepted the judgment of the National Geographic Society?

Mr. Gannett. That is the case.

Mr. Roberts. I want to put into the record a communication I have received from the Secretary of Commerce and Labor in answer to a request for copies of Mr. Peary's reports to the Coast and Geodetic Survey. They relate to the soundings.

Department of Commerce and Labor,

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, March 1, 1910.

Hon. ERNEST W. ROBERTS, M. C., House of Representatives.

Sir: In reply to your letter of February 25, requesting the report by Civil Engineer R. E. Peary, United States Navy, I beg leave to transmit herewith copies of, first, a letter transmitting tidal records; second, a letter transmitting the profile of soundings, referred to in the letter transmitting the tidal records, the explanatory statement transmitted with the soundings, and a photographic copy of the profile and of the table of geographic positions, all of which are duly attested.

Respectfully,

Charles Nagel, Secretary.

EAGLE ISLAND, SOUTH HARPSWELL, ME., October 18, 1909.

Acting Superintendent F. W. PERKINS, United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington, D. C.

United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington, D. C.

Sin: Referring to my telegram, I am sending you by express the tidal records of the Peary Arctic Club's recent north polar expedition. Owing to the unfortunate death of Prof. Ross G. Marvin, some of the chronometer comparisons, particularly of the Cape Bryant observations, are missing.

These comparisons are undoubtedly among Prof. Marvin's private papers; and if so, will be obtained from his relatives later.

Prof. Donald B. Macmillan took many of the observations and is familiar with them all, and can come to Washington to see you any time you may consider it advisable.

I am writing him now to communicate with you at once and to keep you posted as to his address.

I am also sending you profile of soundings from Cape Columbia to within 5 miles of the pole.

If such request is permissible, I will respectfully request that this profile and complete set of soundings be not published at present.

With best regards, I am, very respectfully.

R. E. Pearr, U. S. N.

The above letter is an exact copy of a photostat reproduction furnished me by the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

In this letter-second paragraph-Peary states that-

Owing to the unfortunate death of Prof. Ross G. Marvin, some of the chronometer comparisons are missing,

But he fails to state here that not only the chronometer comparisons but the chronometers themselves were lost with Marvin. For this we have Peary's own word, embodied in a letter written to the Waltham Watch Co., under date of November 20, 1909, and published in Hampton's Magazine for January, 1910:

NEW YORK, November 20, 1909.

WALTHAM WATCH Co.,

Waltham, Mass.

GENTLEMEN: Waltham watches were used during my expedition in connection with the simultaneous tide observations at Cape Sheridan, Cape Columbia, and Cape Bryant, where accurate time was the essential feature. They were also taken on sledge expeditions north over the

thal feature. They were also taken of the constraint of the comparisons by the parties up to the point where Marvin returned in command of the third supporting party.

As further tide observations were contemplated between Cape Sherdan and Cape Morris Jesup, Marvin took with him the five Waltham watches (chronometers) in the party for this purpose, the object being that comparison of the five different watches (chronometers) might give us absolute certainty of correctness of our time.

Very truly, yours,

R. E. Pearx.

Peary states, on page 321 of his book, The North Pole, that everything Marvin had with him on his return trip except "a few of his notes" was lost with him. Therefore it necessarily follows that these chronometers were also lost. What did Peary use for the purpose of time comparisons after Marvin left him?

Furthermore, as a matter of "proof" that Peary reached the pole neither Marvin's nor Bartlett's nor McMillan's records have any bearing whatever, as all of these men turnel back long before the pole was in sight; even Bartlett, who was sup-posed to attain the highest northing of any of the supporting parties, only claimed to reach 87° 47′. Therefore none of them could have any personal knowledge of Peary's movements after they left him.

At this point in the proceedings the hearing adjourned until Monday, March 7, 1910, when, owing to Peary's request that his data be not made public, no further hearings were held until 10 months later. The proceedings of Monday, March 7, 1910, were as follows:

were as follows:

The subcommittee was called to order at 4 p. m., Hon. Thomas S. Butler (chairman) presiding.

The members present were: Messis. Butler, Roberts, Bates, Dawson, Englebright, Macon.

Congressman De Alva Alexander, of New York, presented the following statement to the committee:

"Commander Peary and his friends say that contracts signed months ago with his publishers render it impossible to make his records and scientific data public now. It would not only subject Peary to heavy damages—a loss which he can not meet, having just extricated himself from debt incurred in connection with his various expeditions—but it would be breaking faith with his publishers, which he is unwilling to do under any circumstances."

Noturelly from Mr. Peary's point of view his contract with

Naturally, from Mr. Peary's point of view, his contract with his publishers, and his private pocketbook, were of far greater importance than the United States Government, whose servant he was; therefore the business of the Government could await his pleasure and that of his publishers. In the meantime there was a gambling chance that the first excitement of the affair would die out and the "investigation" become even more desultory and perfunctory than if it was allowed to continue at this

Also, Peary had already drawn \$50,000 from the Government; his regular salary was continuing without intermission; if he was granted "retired pay" that retired pay would begin from the time he claimed to have reached the pole; therefore all the regular salary he could manage to draw before his retired pay was granted was in the nature of a bonus. After a year's postponement of the case it would be easier to persuade Congress to allow it to slip through and would also give Peary a year in which to prepare some "original" records. Otherwise why were only copies of "original records" offered in the first

PEARY'S OWN TESTIMONY.

On Saturday, January 7, 1911, almost a year after the discontinuance of the hearings because of Penry's reluctance to make his records public, Subcommittee No. 8 of the House Committee on Naval Affairs met to continue the hearings and listen to Peary's own testimony.

Hon. THOMAS S. BUTLER (chairman) presided at the hearing.

Mr. Butler. Capt. Peary, there are two or three bills awaiting the action of the committee on which congressional action is necessary. You know what the bills are. Yesterday the subcommittee suggested that you should be invited to come here at 10 o'clock this morning and tell us anything you see fit bearing upon your trip to the North Pole. If agreeable to you, begin your narrative where Bartlett left you, and tell us what you can which will help us to understand that you actually did reach the pole.

Capt. Peary. I can say in a general way, Mr. Chairman, that at the point where Bartlett left us his observation indicated it was 87° 47′ north latitude.

Capt. Peart. I can say in a general way, art. chairman, that are point where Bartlett left us his observation indicated it was 87° 47′ north latitude.

Mr. Butler. Who made the observation at that point, Bartlett? Capt. Peart. Yes, sir.

Mr. Butler. And Bartlett made the report?

Capt. Peart. He made the observation at that point. Bartlett started back immediately after noon of the 1st of April, after taking his observation and giving me a copy and retaining a copy.

I started at 4 or 5 o'clock the next morning. I made five marches, the estimated distance of the first one being 25 miles, of the second one 20 miles, of the next two 25 miles each, and of the last 30 miles.

In Peart's book. "The North Pole," he says he started "a

In Peary's book, "The North Pole," he says he started "a little after midnight on the morning of April 2," after Bartlett left him; but he told the committee "about 4 or 5 o'clock."

Also, Peary's original report, as published in the New York Times, gave his distances for the five marches as: First, 25 miles; second, 20 miles; third, 20 miles; fourth, 25 miles; fifth, 40 miles.

Mr. Roberts. You are speaking of geographical miles?
Capt. Peary. I am speaking of geographical miles. All miles that I speak of now will be geographical.
Mr. Butler. The last march reached what point?
Capt. Peary. My estimate put me within 3 or 4 miles of the pole. I reached there, as I had hoped to do, before noon of a given day, so that I could take a preliminary observation immediately after my arrival that would indicate my position near enough so that I could decide what to do the next day, whether I would go on with my party or whether I would take a light sledge and one or two men and make a spurt for it, as Shackleton did, and as is customary in such work.
The observation which I made at that time (noon of April 6) was not an entirely satisfactory one, as clouds were drifting over the sky; but it indicated our position as 89° 57', which is about 3 miles from the pole.

Marvelous accuracy! Peary took no observations of any kind—except what he calls a "latitude sight"—from the time Bartlett is supposed to have left him, 133 miles from the pole, until he reached his "polar camp," at which point he says:
"My estimate put me within 3 or 4 miles of the pole," and his

observation taken at that point showed him to be at 89° 57', which is about 3 miles from the pole! Can you beat it?

which is about 3 miles from the pole! Can you beat it?

Capt. Peary. My intention was, when I had reached the point that I indged to be at or near the pole, to take observations at six-hour intervals. I had intended to take an observation at my Columbia 6 p. m. time, approximately, but it was cloudy at that time. I was unable to take any observation within six hours from my previous observation. Starting with two of my Eskimos and the light sledge and my instrument I went what I judged to be 10 miles farther on in the same direction, and took another series of observations at midnight of the time I was carrying, which I call Columbia meridian time. Those observations indicated that I was on the other side of the pole.

Mr. Enclerright. Please indicate the point on the map where the magnetic North Pole is.

Capt. Peary. Way down here [indicating on map] in King William.

Mr. Buyler. The needle tends to point toward the magnetic pole?

Capt. Peary. It does point near it.

Mr. Buyler. Was there anything in the action of your needle that would assist in determining whether or not you had been to the pole?

Capt. Peary. It does point near it.

Mr. Buyler. Was there anything in the action of the needle?

Capt. Peary. It does for as you used a compass.

Mr. Buyler. I understand; but in the pointing of the needle?

Capt. Peary. It would assist you with the magnetic pole. That is the distinction. One is a geographical pole, a mathematical point, and the other is a magnetic pole, which is the point where the magnetic attraction is.

Peary's testimony at this point was damaging to his case.

Peary's testimony at this point was damaging to his case, for he claimed that the compass needle tends to point toward the magnetic pole instead of toward the North Pole. As a mat-

ter of fact, it does not point directly toward either one; yet Mr. Peary traveled by compass and "estimate" only.

But what follows is more damaging still:

But what follows is more damaging still:

Mr. Englebright, In using a compass in the northern regions you use it with a calculated variation?

Capt. Peary. You use it, checking it by observations wherever you can. To give you an idea of what the variations are, here at Roosevelt indicating) the variation is approximately 95° west. In other words, the north end of the needle points a little south of true west, and as you go west that increases.

Mr. Englebright is not that all charted by the Coast Survey and by the maritime nations of the world?

Capt. Peary. They have the lines of certain variations, but, of course, the greater the number of observations, the more accurate the data.

Mr. Englebright Did you have such a chart with you?

Capt. Peary. No, sir; I did not have such a chart.

Mr. Dawson. Did you make any observations which would tend to throw any additional light on the variation of the needle?

Capt. Peary. I did not on this last expedition. I should say that on this trip that I had what I called a double team of dogs, 12, and a light sledge.

Observe that Peary stated that the compass is used "check-

Observe that Peary stated that the compass is used "checking it by observations wherever possible"—but he took no observations for compass variation; that, although the charts of the various nations show the lines of certain variations, "the greater the number of observations, the more accurate the

data"-yet he neither made those observations which would increase the accuracy of his data, nor did he have such a chart with him. It may also be noted that Peary suddenly found it very convenient to change the subject abruptly from compass variations to the number of dogs in his team.

The instructions to navigators, published by the United States Navy Department, by direction of the Secretary of the Navy

(see Bowditch's Practical Navigator, p. 36), read:

The variation (of the compass) not only changes as one travels from place to place on the earth, being different in different localities, but in every locality besides the minor periodic movements of the needle known as the diurnal, monthly, and annual variations, there is a progressive change which amounts to large alterations in the pointing of the compass. In taking account of the effect produced by the variation of the compass, the navigator must therefore be sure that the variation used is correct not only for the place but also for the time under consideration.

Sir Douglas Mawson, who recently conducted one of the most remarkable Antarctic expeditions ever made, says in writing of his experiences:

Proximity to the magnetic pole made the compass useless.

I am in receipt of a letter from a member of the Point Barrow international polar expedition, dated January 27, 1916, from which I shall quote:

which I shall quote:

During my two years in the Arctic regions, at Point Barrow and vicinity, I met and conversed with many Arctic whaling captains, all of whom said that in navigating the Arctic seas the compass can not be relied upon, unless checked daily for variations. At Point Barrow the magnetic needle points about 23° east of the geographic North Pole, or true north, which, however, varies hour by hour and day by day. The variations at times were very considerable. One day in particular the needle swung from 23° east of true north to 23° west of true north, a variation in 24 hours of 46°. No Arctic whaling captain, if he wished to reach a point due north 400 miles distant from land, would be so foolish as to steam by compass only, unless he knew the daily variation of his compass; for if he ever would reach the desired goal, he would zigzag so much that the distance his log would record would be perhaps two or three times 400 miles. He surely would be wise enough to take frequent observations for latitude, longitude, and compass variations.

Middleton Smith,

Member of the Point Barrow International Polar Expedition.

In addition to statements from other practical men to the same effect as the one I have just quoted, I am also in receipt of a letter from the Superintendent of the United States Naval Observatory, which I shall read:

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 19, 1916.

Hon, H. T. HELGESEN.

Hon. H. T. Helgesen.

Dear Sir: Replying to your letter of the 14th instant, inquiring about magnetic variations, variation changes with change of position of the observer in either latitude or longitude.

Neither the north nor the south magnetic poles are coincident with the geometric poles of the earth. (There are presumably two magnetic South Poles.)

Observations in numerous parts of the world have established the values of the variation, and these have been plotted in curves. They appear, with other data, on the Pilot Chart issued by the Hydrographic Office, Navy Department, which office has been requested to mail you a copy, and two old ones are inclosed herewith.

The curves of variation on the Pilot Chart are not extended into extreme polar regions, for the reason that there have been no observations sufficient to permit a definite charting of the lines.

In the specific case mentioned by you, sailing north from Cape Columbia, Grant Land, it is not possible to give the figures, there being no data available. Your question can be answered only by the general statement that the traveler from Cape Columbia to the North Pole might expect to find large changes in variation.

Very respectfully,

J. S. Hoogewarf,

Very respectfully,

J. S. Hoogewerf, Captain, United States Navy, Superintendent.

Competent mariners, explorers, and scientists agree that in traveling over an unknown region, with no visible landmarks, it is a physical impossibility to travel over 400 miles, as Mr. Peary claims to have done, from the last point of land to the North Pole by compass without, as he stated to the committee, taking any observations whatever for compass variation.

This statement of Peary's alone proves indisputably that he never reached the North Pole.

Peary continued (p. 26 of hearing):

Returning then to my camp I made an observation at 6 o'clock the next morning, which would of necessity be at right angles to the observation I had made at midnight, and that indicated that the pole was between me and the sun. I then took another team of 12 dogs and went in that direction an estimated distance of about 8 miles. I then returned to my same camp and at noon of the 7th took a series of observations, taking them for the Columbia meridian.

It would be interesting if Mr. Peary had told the committee how he knew which was the Columbia meridian, as he took no observations for compass variation, traveled by compass only for "estimated" distances, and—after Marvin's return—had no way even to check his chronometer.

Capt. Pears. At about 4 o'clock of that afternoon I decided to start back. On the way back we stopped about 5 miles south of the pole, to make a sounding at a place where there had been a movement of the heavy ice and where the new ice which had frozen over was thin enough. We reached our last upward igloo and slept there.

Mr. Dawson. You could follow the line coming back?

Capt. Peary. We had a trail and the igloos to occupy when we got to camp at night.

Mr. Butler. What surprised me was this, that there were not frequent snows that would cover the trail.

Capt. Peary. There was very little snow on this trip.

Mr. Butler. You could not have found the igloos if it had not been for the trail on the return?

Capt. Peary. No.

Mr. Butler. You came back on the same trail?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir; practically all the way, within 45 miles of Cape Columbia, and then I had Bartlett's trail.

Mr. Roberts. Before you leave this matter of the trail, how could you distinguish it coming back?

Capt. Peary. By the passage of the sledges and the dogs over it.

Mr. Roberts. The tootprints of the dogs are left on the packed ice?

Capt. Peary. The footprints will show on the snow, and the cutting of the steel sledge shoes will show in the snow. We also made a point, both on my previous expedition and this last one, of taking the pemmican cans which had been emptied along on a sledge and dropping the cans at certain intervals on the trail. For this purpose those for the dogs were painted red and those for the men blue. The marks of the sledge shoes, the marks of the dogs' feet, in places the discoloration of the ice and snow, the droppings of the dogs, and our pemmican tins made a trail that could be followed.

Mr. Butler. Did not the cans blow?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir; some of them.

Mr. Butler. From Columbia to the North Pole you traveled 413 miles?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Bates. The other returning parties found no trouble in coming

miles?

Capt. Pearr. Yes, sir.

Mr. Bates. The other returning parties found no trouble in coming back by this trail?

Capt. Pearr. It took them some time in one or two places, where there had been movements of the ice, to pick up the trail on the other side. Battlett, when he got back within 45 miles of land, lost the main trail and went into the land on his own hook, and I followed his trail when I came back.

Mr. Bates. Within 45 miles of land?

Capt. Pearr. Yes, sir.

Whis statement of Poenwis is one to consider genefully. He

This statement of Peary's is one to consider carefully. He says that they traveled back to land from the pole over the trail made on their upward march, which trail was kept open by the returning supporting parties. But Mr. Peary forgets to mention a fact which has been authoritatively established, that is, that a constant, albeit slow, drift is continually moving the ice pack which forms the surface of the polar sea. The general "set" of the waters through the Arctic Archipelago has been determined to be easterly. Peary himself claims to have noted the easterly drift north of Grant Land and Greenland. This drift takes place irrespective of the direction of the wind, though it has been found that the direction toward which the wind blows is often—not always—in general accord with that taken by the drifting ice. Taking into account heavy winds, which may temporarily affect the easterly drift, this movement of the ice in the polar regions north of Grant Land and Greenland is conservatively estimated at from 3 to 4 miles per day. Peary's expedition left land on March 1. He states in his book that the first supporting party reached the ship March 21. As the ship was about five easy marches distant from Cape Columbia (their first point of land), 16 days is a fair estimate to allow for the absence of this first supporting party from land. In that time their trail made on the upward journey would have "faulted" to the east about 50 miles.

Bartlett reached Cape Columbia on April 18, 49 days from the time he left land. In that time his original trail would have "faulted" 147 miles at the starting point. It is not to be won-dered that Capt. Bartlett "went into land on his own hook"! A period of 9 days elapsed from the time Bartlett turned back until Peary reached "Camp Bartlett" on his return trip. In that time the igloo at "Camp Bartlett" would have been anywhere from 27 to 36 miles east of the geographical position it occupied when first built. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that it was possible for the whole body of ice to have drifted at exactly the same rate, so that the upward trail remained unbroken, and that Peary followed this unbroken trail on his return journey, he would have then found himself at least 160 miles to the east of Cape Columbia. But, we may argue, the land masses along the coast would prevent the ice from drifting at this rate. Very well, consider only, then, the period from the time Peary left the "Big Lead," 45 miles north of Cape Columbia. Peary left this point on the upward journey March 11 and reached it on the return trip April 20, a period of 40 days. In that time, at the lowest estimate, the drift would have amounted to 120 miles, and Peary would therefore have found himself 120 miles to the east of the point where his crossing was made and at least 165 miles (instead of 45 miles) from Cape Columbia.

This is another reason why I know Peary did not go to the North Pole.

An effort was made by the committee to ascertain if any members of the party other than Peary kept a record of the

Mr. Dawson. Have you brought with you your original notes which you took during your movements in proximity to the pole?

Capt. Pearx. I have them; yes, sir.

Mr. Dawson. Have you any chart that you made at that time showing these movements about the point where the pole is supposed to be? Capt. Peary. I made no chart; no, sir.

Mr. Robers. I would like to ask if the supporting parties kept records of their return trips?

Capt. Peary. They kept records; yes, sir.

Mr. Robers. And turned them over to you?

Capt. Peary. I have Bartlett's report. I think I have Macmillan's and Borup's reports, but I will not be sure. I can give you the time of each supporting party, if you care for it, on the return without going into details.

Mr. Robers. How did you get that information?

Capt. Peary. After my return I had Bartlett make me a report of his own trip, and I recall that I have a brief report from Borup and one from Macmillan.

Mr. Robers. What I was inquiring about particularly was whether each supporting party had kept a diary or record or journal?

Capt. Peary. I have a report from Bartlett, and I think I have Macmillan's report.

When first asked about the reports Peary stated that he had

When first asked about the reports Peary stated that he had Bartlett's report, but was "not sure" about Borup's and Macmillan's. The next moment he "recalled" that he had a brief report from both Borup and Macmillan, and immediately afterwards only "thought" that he had Macmillan's. On this as on other subjects, Peary's ideas were decidedly hazy.

Mr. Roberts. But those reports were made up after they returned to the ship?

Capt. Peary. They were given to me then. They probably had rough notes.

Mr. Roberts. Do you know whether or not they were made from day to day as they moved along the backward journey?

Capt. Peary. I assume that they made entries in the journal and that they gave me a transcript of their journal or report. I feel quite sure they did that.

Mr. Englebright. Have you the report here from Mr. Bartlett?

Capt. Peary. I have not the report. I have Bartlett's memorandum given to me.

Mr. Roberts. Is this the original?

Capt. Peary. Here [exhibiting] is a certificate given me by Bartlett at that time:

Arctic Ocean, April 1, 1909.

ARCTIC OCEAN, April 1, 1909.

Have to-day personally determined our latitude to be by sextant observation 87° 46' 49" north. I return from here in command of the fourth supporting party. I leave Commander Peary with 5 men, 5 sledges, with full loads, and 40 picked dogs. Men and dogs are in good condition. The going fair. The weather good. At the same average as our last eight marches, Commander Peary should reach the pole in eight days.

ROBERT A. BARTLETT, Master Steamer "Roosevelt."

Capt. "Bob" Bartlett is an able seaman, a descendant of a long line of "they who go down to the sea in ships," courageous, strong, and faithful; but these fine qualities do not necessarily presuppose that he is a so-called "navigator." Harper's Magazine for October, 1915, contains the first installment of Donald B. Macmillan's own story, "In Search of a New Land" (Crocker Land), in which Prof. Macmillan says:

The captain of our vessel absolutely refused to enter ice that Bob Bartlett would have thoroughly enjoyed bucking. It is a strange anomaly that insurance companies will refuse to accept a man trained in arctic work and experienced in ice navigation on the ground that he has no "ticket," but will accept a warm-water man who happens to know something about practical astronomy.

This statement of Prof. Macmillan accounts for the fact that Bartlett's determination of the latitude was "by sextant ob-servation" only, with no supplementary observations for longitude and for compass variation. Peary had been north so many times in a period covering twenty-odd years that the route from New York to Lincoln Bay was as familiar to him as the street from the new Union Station to the Army and Navy Club in Washington. Capt. Bartlett was mate of Peary's ship, the Windward, in 1898-99, and took the Roosevelt north in 1905-6 and again in 1908-9 on this last expedition of Peary's. Familiar with Arctic waters, he could successfully negotiate the ship through the ice-but-in a matter of observations to determine a correct position on the wastes of the polar sea some-thing more than "able seamanship" is required. As well might a chauffeur, perfectly competent to run a high-powered automobile through the streets of New York at the hour of busiest traffic, assert that he could locate his position to a certainty If placed amid the shifting sands of the Mojave Desert. Bartlett's "determination" of latitude was valueless to show the actual position of the party.

But his "certificate" is open to criticism on other phases:

Mr. Roberts (after examining paper). Are these figures in your handwriting?
Capt. PEARY. In Bartlett's handwriting.
Mr. Butler. This was written away up at the point where Bartlett

left you?

Note Peary's evasive reply:

Capt. Pearr. That is just as he wrote it in one of his notelooks, and he tore it out and gave it to me. He kept a copy.

Mr. BUTLER. He gave it to you at that time?

Capt. Pearr. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUTLER. He left you within 133 miles of the pole?

Capt. Pearr. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACON. If he had reached 87° 47'?

Capt. Peary. These are the figures just as Bartlett put them down on a page of the notebook.

Mr. Roberts. When were those figures [indicating] inserted?
Capt. Peary. Immediately after the observation.

Mr. Roberts. Why did he (Bartlett) use two pencils on that record?
Capt. Peary. That I can not say.

Mr. Roberts. I should judge that evidently that was a different pencil [indicating]; that looks like an indelible pencil, and this looks lindicating] like an ordinary lead pencil. Do you know whether or not Bartlett signed that [indicating] after making his observation, after putting down the figures?
Capt. Peary. Yes, sir; 1 think he did.

Mr. Roberts. It looks like a different pencil entirely.
Capt. Peary. Yes, sir; 1 that was signed at the time, and, of course, it was done after the observation was made.

Mr. Roberts. It seems rather strange that he had such an assortment of pencils there—three pencils. Those entries were all contemporaneous—made the same day?
Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

A few interesting questions which the committee might have asked Peary in regard to Bartlett's certificate, and which up to the present time have never been satisfactorily answered, are the following:

First. If Bartlett's certificate was all written at the same time, why did he leave such a wide space between the fourth and sixth lines, much wider than between any other two lines of the

Second. Why is the fifth line-written in this wide space on a slant altogether different from the rest of the certificate?

Third. Why does the word "eight" on the first line of the second page of the certificate (see The North Pole, pp. 360-361) appear to have been written after the balance of the certificate, the space occupied by it being unnecessarily wide and the word on a different slant from the other words on that

Fourth. Why does this word appear to be in a different hand-writing from the balance of the certificate? The word "eight" in the fourth line of this page is written in a different style than the word "eight" in the first line. Why?

Fifth. The foregoing remarks refer only to the "certificate" which Bartlett is supposed to have given Peary when he turned south from his "farthest north." A more serious feature of Bartlett's observation is found on page 359 of Peary's book The North Pole, where a photographic reproduction of Bartlett's figures is given. It is necessary to refer to these figures to appreciate the force of the following criticism:

Count down the page to the ninth row of figures. Note that the divisor 2 is used to divide the numerals 13, 24, 34. This division of this row of figures by 2 is proof positive that no able navigator, no master mariner, no person competent to work out nautical observations ever computed the "observation" on page 359. The divisor 2 should have been used to divide the third row of figures from the top of the page; that is, 13, 13, 00. How does either Peary or Bartlett explain this error?

Apparently the insurance companies know a master mariner when they see one. Or did Capt. Bartlett sign a paper prepared for him by another person? For surely the signature on page 359 was not written at the same time that the balance of the writing on this page was done. This is shown by the fact that it did not develop the same "color" in the photographic repro-

Thus Peary's only "scientific" corroborative evidence that he reached 87° 46' 49" north latitude, such evidence furnished by the only white member of his party who accompanied him beyond 86° 38' north latitude, is absolutely valueless, because it is positively in error.

Peary's own observations were also the subject of interest and

inquiry:

Mr. Dawson. Have you any objection to allowing the committee to see the original notes you made during this last journey and during the observations in the immediate vicinity of the pole?

Capt. Peary. I have not.

Mr. Gregg. Did you keep them in a book or on slips of paper?

Capt. Peary. In a book.

It will be remembered that almost a year prior to this time Mr. Tittmann told the committee that-

Capt. Peary showed me the actual observations—the astronomical observations that he made when he was at the pole. He showed me the actual papers on which he did this; made at the time, on losse slips of

A few hours after Mr. Tittmann made the above statement, Mr. Gannett told the committee:

We simply sat down with him (Peary) and read his journal from his original records: he had an original record made in a little book, a matebook, you know, at that time, and it had all the earmarks of being the original.

Now, comes Peary with the story that he kept his records in a book, but that-

My own observations, made in separate books, were taken out on my return to the ship, and I did them up in a little waterproof package.

WHAT DID PEARY SHOW TO TITTMANN AND GANNETT? Mr. Tittmann saw "original" loose sheets of paper; Mr. Gannett read an "original" notebook; Peary says he made the entries in a notebook, and took them out on his return to the ship—which might account for Tittmann's "original loose slips"—but how about Gannett's "original notebook"? The Peary witnesses should have compared notes with Peary and with each other before they attempted to testify.

with each other before they attempted to testify.

Capt. Pranx. My own observations, made in separate books, were taken out when I compacted all of my papers on my return to the ship, and I did them up in a little waterproof package which I had sewed to my undershirt.

Mr. BUTLER. I will ask you this question: Was it absolutely necessary for you to have been at the North Pole in order to make these observations?

Capt. Prank. That is a question on which there has been some discussion. I can answer it by saying that observations have never been made yet that were not made at the place.

Mr. BUTLER. You must have been at the place to have made certain observations, and if you were there, you were there, but could you have made the figures without having been at the pole, and if you had made the figures without having been there, is there anyway to detect your effort?

the figures without having been there, is there anyway to detect your effort?

Capt. Peary. There is a difference of opinion in regard to that. You will find that some experts will say that observations can be arranged, and others will say that they can not.

Mr. Roberts. Mr. Gannett and Mr. Tittmann told us that it is possible for a person who has sufficient knowledge to sit down in a department here in Washington and make figures and claim to have been at a point where the so-called observation was made. In other words, that the figures themselves would not carry any proof on their face.

Capt. Peary. That is the opinion of an expert.

Mr. Dawson. I have a curiosity to see the journal that you kept from day to day during your presence in the vicinity of the pole. Did you make entries in this journal every day?

Capt. Peary. Not every day. Sometimes we were so busy that I did not make entries. I did not make an entry on the day that Bartlett was adrift on the ice floe on the outward journey.

Mr. Roberts. When did you begin the journal of your last trip?

Capt. Peary. That book was started on the 22d of February.

Mr. Roberts. Did you keep any personal journal up to that point?

Capt. Peary. I kept a personal journal in a book like that [indicating], and I think members of the party did.

Mr. Roberts. And that particular book commeuced when?

Capt. Peary. The day we left the Roosevelt, and I have some similar books both before and after that.

Mr. Roberts. That contains all the entries made on your way to the pole and back?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROBERTS. That contains at the pole and back?

Capt. PEARY. Yes, str.

Mr. ROBERTS. Does that contain a daily record of the movements of the different parties and of the equipment which you had on each day?

Capt. PEARY. It contains a record of the supporting parties as they left. It does not contain a daily record of the equipment that I had on each day.

Mr. ROBERTS. How dld you get at the equipment, then, as stated in

the book?

Capt. Pearry. Each time a supporting party left me I noted who went back or what the returning party was and what it had left me with. That is noted there. I say it is; I assume it is.

Peary was never sure of anything, even of his own data, that he was supposed to have written himself.

Mr. Roberts. There are no memoranda in your book on the 1st day of April as to the outfit you had to go forward. You did not put down memoranda of the number of men and sledges you had. My recollection is you told what Bartlett went back with.

Capt. Peary. That is not down in my notes, but I had eight dogs to

a sledge.

Mr. ROBERTS. Right on that point let me ask: If I understand, this identical memorandum book was submitted to the committee of the National Geographic Society, was it not?

Capt. PRANK. It was.

Mr. ROBERTS. And the members of that committee read all of it

Capt Pears. It was.

Mr. Roberts. And the members of that committee read all of it carefully?

Capt. Pears. No; I will not say they read all of it carefully. It was passed around. I can not say how much they read.

Mr. Roberts. It was stated in their report that they went over it very carefully.

Capt. Pears. I would not be at all surprised if that book was pretty well read through by the different members of the committee. I do not know whether any one man read right straight through or not.

Mr. Roberts. What I was leading up to by these questions was to ascertain if you can account for the discrepancy in statements made by Mr. Gannett, one of that committee, and the statements that appear in your dairy or in your book with regard to the outfit you had on the final dash. You know what Mr. Gannett's statement was?

Capt. Pears. No.

Mr. Roberts. No.

Mr. Roberts. He stated to the committee that you had 4 men, 2 sledges, and, I think, 32 or 33 dogs, which was a different party entirely, as you will realize, from 6 men, 5 sledges, and 40 dogs. If he, as a committee who looked these matters over, stating that he had examined the data very carefully, gives us that outfit for the final dash, how do you account for the discrepancy?

Capt. Pears. I should say he simply did not recall the figures.

Mr. Roberts. I wondered why there was so much of a discrepancy.

Capt. Pears. I do not see what Mr. Gannett said has to do with this.

Mr. Roberts. It goes very vitally to the foundation of it.

Mr. Roberts. It goes very vitally to the foundation of it.

Mr. Roberts. It goes very vitally to the foundation of it.

Mr. Roberts. It goes very vitally to the foundation of it.

Mr. Roberts. It goes very vitally to the foundation of it.

Mr. Roberts. It goes very vitally to the foundation of it.

Mr. Roberts. It goes very vitally to the foundation of it.

Mr. Roberts. It goes very vitally to the foundation of it.

Mr. Roberts. It goes very vitally to the foundation of it.

Mr. Roberts. It goes very vitally to the foundation of it.

The question naturally arises, in view of Mr. Gannett's statement that the committee of the National Geographic Society examined Peary's data "very carefully" and found such widely dissimilar conditions as those found by the congressional sub-

committee, whether the book which Gannett saw and the book shown to the congressional committee was really one and the same, or whether Peary unwittingly submitted another of his various "books" to the congressional subcommittee? Of course, the two books should agree, but-

Mr. Roberts. Capt. Peary, will you kindly read us your memoranda there of the evening of March 19?

Capt. Peary (reading): Brilliant, clear day of yellow sunlight. Temperature in the -50's, as shown by frozen brandy and nearly invisible dogs. Bubble in all three thermometers and unable to register. Bartlett's estimate of our position here is 85.30; mine, 85.20.

Mr. Roberts. How did you get the temperature of that day; where did you find that?

Capt. Peary. It was an estimate. As I state here, the bubbles were in the thermometers and they were unable to register precisely, and I know that brandy up there will freeze somewhere in the -50's, probably at about -55.

"Estimating" was Peary's favorite habit. He "estimated" his distances, "estimated" his temperatures, "estimated" the longitude, and finally "estimated" the location of the North

Peary then read extensive quotations from his diary, which he stated to the committee was written while on his actual trip and while "at the pole." These extracts covered the entire time from the day Bartlett left him until he started on his return journey. But Peary seems badly mixed in his dates as to the time he reached the pole and his movements while there. Not only that, but his dates (days of the month) do not correspond with his days of the week, and the number of days away from the ship (which he claimed to have entered in his diary daily) do not correspond with the days of the month. These statements are not based on newspaper reports, but on Peary's own story and on what he claimed was his "original diary," written on the trip, and "very carefully examined" by the committee of the National Geographic Society, and which Mr. Peary later submitted to the congressional subcommittee.

Note a few of the discrepancies:

Peary states that this diary was commenced on Monday, February 22, 1909, the day he left the Roosevelt. He reads an entry, which begins, "Sunday, March 14 (twenty-first day)." A little later he reads another entry, which he begins, "Tuesday, April 1." One need only refer to a calendar for 1909 to see

day, April 1." One need only refer to a calendar for 1909 to see that April 1, 1909, fell on Thursday, and not on Tuesday.

Later on Peary evidently discovered that something did not match up correctly, for he jumps from "Tuesday, April 1." to "Friday, April 2." But in the meantime he gets his number of days on the trip mixed. He is correct with all of his figures on "Sunday, March 14 (twenty-first day)," but on April 2 he has in his diary: "23d March. 39 days. Friday, April 2d."

Since March 14 was Peary's "twenty-first day" away from the ship (as he correctly states), then April 2 must have been

the ship (as he correctly states), then April 2 must have been his fortieth day, instead of his thirty-ninth.

At the hearing on January 11 Peary was asked by Congressman Roberts:

Capt. Peary. No objection, except that I would like to call your attention to the personal notes.

Mr. ROBERTS. I notice a heading here. What does that mean [indicating]?

Capt. Peary. That means the ninth march and the twenty-third day. That is the ninth march from Columbia and the twenty-third day from the ship.

Congressman Roberts then read several extracts from the diary until he came to the following:

Thursday, March 25, thirty-first day out, seventeenth march.

In this entry Peary has the day of the week and the number of his marches noted correctly, but he is wrong on the number of days away from the ship. March 25 was his thirty-second day away from the ship instead of the thirty-first. The items read by Congressman Roberts showed that this same error continued until the following:

Forty-eighth day, April 11, fifth return march.

The above shows a continuance of the error, but note the following item:

Sixth return march, fiftieth day, Tuesday, April 12.

Peary jumps from "April 11, the forty-eighth day," to "April 12, the fiftieth day." But in doing this he forgot to calculate for the day of the week, and that is again wrong, April 12, 1909, falling on Monday instead of Tuesday.

Mr. ROBERTS. Apparently the last entry made is: "Tuesday and Wednesday, April 21 and 22, sixtieth day."

In the above item Peary has the number of days away from the ship correctly entered, April 22 being his sixtieth day; but again he is mixed on the days of the week, April 21 and 22, 1909, falling on Wednesday and Thursday, instead of on Tuesday and Wednesday.

Mr. Roberts. I notice on "Thursday, April 1, thirty-eighth day," there is no mention at the top of the number of the march. The record for that day covers three pages. The last page is continued in the margin. I would like the records to show that there is a margin of one-half an inch or more on the left-hand side of each page. The entry runs through the margin of all three pages and across the top of that day's record.

Congressman Roberts continued reading, to show that the pages for other dates in the diary were not written over into the margins. A good point, as on April 1, the day when the margins were so written over, was the day Bartlett left him; and he had to economize on pages, since a large amount of writing must be done if the diary was to show a North Pole trip:

Mr. Roberts. The entry for April 8 was all written that day, or, at least, the whole entry of that day was written at one time?

Capt. Peary. Probably. I might perhaps have filled in something in connection with it at the next camp, but within those limits; yes.

Mr. Roberts. You never filled in anything later than the next camp? Capt. Peary. No, sir; I do not think so.

Mr. Roberts. Are you certain?

Capt. Peary. I feel quite surc.

Mr. Roberts. Everything written was written the day it purports to have been written here or the following day?

Capt. Peary. Very soon after. As I say, I left some days open to fill in if I had the time afterwards.

Congressman Roberts apparently endeavored to emphasize the fact that the "diary" had the appearance of having been written somewhere other than where it purported to have been written, or, at the best, to have been liberally "doctored"; otherwise Peary would have been able to give strong, definite answers to the above questions.

Mr. RORERTS. Would you leave this book to be examined by the com-

mittee?

Capt. Peary. I do not care to leave it with the committee or anyone. I do not care to let it out of my possession; it never has been.

Mr. Roberts. If the members of the committee care to, I would like to have the book examined, particularly with reference to its condition and state. It shows no finger marks or rough usage; a very cleanly kept book.

Doubtless Peary is careful of his books; refined people usually are; but it is a well-known fact that, on a long Arctic journey, ablutions, even of the face and hands, are too luxurious for the travelers. Pemmican is the staple article of food. Its great value lies in its greasy qualities. One's hands necessarily come in contact with this greasy food frequently. How was it possible for Peary to handle this greasy food, and, without washing his hands, write in his diary daily; and at the end of two months have that same diary show "no finger marks or rough usage; a very cleanly kept book"? Small wonder that Peary did not "care to leave it with the committee or anyone"!

Another notable discrepancy is seen in Peary's entries for April 6 and 7. In his testimony he read a long entry beginning, "Tuesday, April 6," and then stated verbally to the committee:

On the next day, the 6th, I have this entry, after we had built our igloos and entered them:
"The pole at last! The prize of 3 centuries; my dream and ambition for 23 years."

Therefore Peary made a long entry in his diary on "April 6," and then (as he says) on the "next day," which he also calls "April 6," he made another long entry. But this is not all, for immediately following the entry for his second "April 6," has in his diary this record:

April 7. Spend day with light sledge, double team, going east and west. Noon observation and looking for a crack where a sounding would be possible. Leave 4 p. m., 30 hours. Minimum temperature, -32°; maximum, -11°; at starting -25°. Impossible to find place to sound; 5 miles south from camp 1,500 fathoms, no bottom, lose lead and wire.

The above is a detailed statement of Peary's movements on his last day at the alleged pole, and he has dated it in his diary "April 7," which corresponds with the story he told most frequently relative to the time spent in that locality. But, three days after he read the above quotation from his diary to the congressional subcommittee he told that same subcommittee:

I made no entry in my diary for two days, for the 7th and 8th of

The above is found on page 43 of the hearing, and the quotation from his diary dated *April* 7 is on page 40 of the same hearing. It may be pertinent to inquire: On what date did Peary reach the place he called the North Pole? If on the 6th of April, as he says he did, then his "next day" must have been April 7. If, on the other hand, his "next day" was really the 6th it follows that he must have reached the allowed roles. the 6th, it follows that he must have reached the alleged pole on April 5,

How long did he remain there?

If, as Peary stated to the committee, he made no entry in his diary on April 7 and 8, where was he when he wrote the above quotation, dated April 7? Was it written at Eagle Island or New York or Washington?

WHY DID NEITHER THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY NOR THE CONCRESSIONAL SUBCOMMITTEE NOTICE THESE GRAVE AND STARTLING DISCREPANCIES IN PEARY'S STORY?

Peary continued his testimony, saying:

My next entry (in the diary) is Priday, April 9. I started back on the afternoon of the 7th. For the 8th I made no entry at all. Here is an entry made at the end of the march of the 9th, at the close of my second return march.

But Peary says he started back on the 7th, making one single march on the 7th; he made another (double) march totaling 50 miles on the 8th, and another (double) march totaling 45 miles on April 9; therefore his entry made, as he said, at "the end of the march of the 9th, at the close of my second return march," was really made (if the balance, or any, of Peary's story can be believed) at the end of his third return march instead of the second.

Peary also made an interesting statement in his entry of "April 9," to which reference will be made later. He said:

April 9, to which reference will be made later. He said:

"Ice going south with us. There has been no lateral movement yet."
Mr. Roberts. I want to ask the captain: Have you ever seen that [handing pamphlet entitled "How Peary Reached the North Pole"]?
Capt. Peary. I have.
Mr. Roberts. Did you authorize its publication or its being printed?
Capt. Peary. I did have it printed.

Mr. Roberts. Can you fix the date when you did?
Capt. Peary. No, I can not.
Mr. Roberts. It was prior to last March, was it not?
Capt. Peary. That I could not say without looking the matter up.

The subsequently appears there adjourned until Thesday January.

The subcommittee then adjourned until Tuesday, January 10, 1911.

On Tuesday, January 10, 1911, the subcommittee of the House Committee on Naval Affairs met to continue the Peary hearing, Hon. THOMAS S. BUTLER (chairman) presiding:

Hon. Thomas S. Butler (chairman) presiding:

Mr. Bates. In the last few weeks, Capt. Peary, you have undergone some physical tests of riding and walking?

Capt. Peary. I made tests in compliance with the orders of the Navy Department.

Mr. Bates. What did you do?

Capt. Peary. Perhaps I can cover that whole ground fully in just two or three words. I received orders from the Navy Department in November, stating that the records of the department did not show that I had taken any physical test for 1909, and directing that I take one physical test which would be credited to me for the year 1909, and that I should take another for the year ending 1910, which would be credited to me for that year. I took those two tests during the month of December. For the year 1909 I selected the walking test.

Mr. Macon. I would like to have the gentleman tell exactly what was done, the dates and hours engaged in each test, the circumstances and conditions under which made, and the kind of road that he traveled over when he was making the tests.

Capt. Peary. This is a copy of my report to the Navy Department:

"I selected for the year ending December 31, 1909, the walking test of the department's general order No. 50, dated December 21, 1909.

rest of the department's general order No. 50, dated December 21, 1909.

"On the 18th of December I walked 25 miles in 6 hours and 45 minutes; on the 19th of December, 25 miles in 7 hours and 26 minutes; and on the 20th of December, 5 miles in 1 hour and 28 minutes; a total of 55 miles in 15 hours and 39 minutes. This is submitted as my physical test for the year 1909.

"For the year ending December 31, 1910, I selected the riding test of the department's general order No. 50

"On the 28th of December 1 rode 50 miles in 4 hours and 58 minutes; on the 29th of December, 50 miles in 4 hours and 45 minutes; and on the 30th of December, 10 miles in 38 minutes, a total of 110 miles in 10 hours and 16 minutes. This is submitted as my physical test for the year 1910."

In regard to the places where the tests were taken, my walking test was in the road to Chevy Chase, Chevy Chase Lake, and beyond; and the riding test was taken on what is called the speedway, down in Potomac Park.

Mr. ENGLERIGHT. What was your best day's travel in your Arctic trip, either going or coming?

Capt. Pearx. The best day's travel was on the second march on the return from the pole.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. How far did you go?

Capt. Pearx. The best day's travel was on the conditions of the ice and weather and the conditions that day—the conditions of the ice and weather and the conditions of the men and dogs?

Capt. Pearx. The weether was not bad. It was clear weather, good traveling weather. The character of the ice was as we had experienced it going up. We had our trail to follow. The men were in good condition. They had had double rations at the pole twice. We had dightened our load in every possible way. It was not great. We had the trail to follow and the igloos.

Mr. Buyller, How many hours were required to cover that march of

igloss.

Mr. Butler. How many hours were required to cover that march of 50 miles?

Capt. Pears. I can not tell you. I made no entry in my diary for two days, for the 7th and 8th of April, and I do not know what the times were.

Arctic furs, with a rest of only a few minutes between each 25 miles, and some of the time helping to push a loaded sledge over the ice hummocks and pressure ridges which exist everywhere on the Polar ice, though, as Peary says: "We encountered no difficult pressurage in our later marches to the Pole that I recall now."

Is it consistent or reasonable to believe that Peary made as good time under these conditions as over Washington's smooth, level roads, with a night's rest between each 25 miles?

good time under these conditions as over Washington's smooth, level roads, with a night's rest between each 25 miles?

Mr. Butler. What was the condition of the ice as to smoothness?

Capt. Pearn. The character of the going there (on the march of 50 miles) was in the shape of large floes, as we call them, of the ice of the previous year or years, and against the edges there is this pressurage [indicating]. They come together during the movement of the ice in the previous summer or summers, when the ice up there breaks into great fields, and will move, perhaps, a field in compact, at times coming together, and the edges will crush and fill up, and the older the ridges are the more rounded they become by the snow drifting into them and filling in the space between the ice floes, so that in time a pressurage is formed this way [indicating] by the crumbling up of the edges. Assuming that this ice field remains cemented together in the course of some years (I do not know how many) by the drifting of the snow into the spaces between the ice and by the melting of summer trickling down into them and freezing again, that ridge will take the form of a rounded line of hummocks.

Mr. Butler. And usually how high did you encounter them?

Cept. Pearx. The height varied, maybe, from a few feet up to, I would say, 25 feet, which is perhaps a common elevation. The pinnacle of some of the ridges would be higher than that.

Mr. Butler. In your advance to the Pole, had you cleared your way through the ridges?

Capt. Pearx. We had no difficulty in following the trail back.

Mr. Butler. In your advance to the Pole, had you cleared your way through the ridges?

Capt. Pearx. We did not have to do any pronounced clearing. We selected a course, for instance, in crossing a field like that [indicating] with a pressurage at this edge of it [indicating]. Of course across that field it would be one of these pressurages. Now, in approaching that pressurage [indicating] you could see whether a short distance here or there, there was a chance t

Mr. Butler. Have you anything to submit to the committee?
Capt. Phart. I have one or two points in connection with the last meeting which I was not able to answer fully. I have here [exhibiting] Bartlett's report on his return trip. It is apparently simply a transcript of Bartlett's log.

The "log" mentioned consists of a more or less intermittent account of Bartlett's return from the point where he left Peary until he reached the Roosevelt at Cape Sheridan. It contains nothing of special interest, being more or less a statement of: "Leaving igloo; reached next igloo." The first item is as fol-

April 1, 1909, 3 p. m.: Left commander with 19 dogs, 1 sledge, 2 huskies, and just enough for 40 days. Midnight: Reached the 21st igloo, where we slept. Fine and clear, fresh north-northwest wind. One of our dogs clipped its harness, going back to commander's party.

The "log" shows entries for April 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20; skipping April 7, 9, 12, 14, 21, 22, 23, and 24. The last entry reads:

April 20: Left Columbia, reaching the ship on the 24th.

And is signed, "R. A. Bartlett."

And is signed, "R. A. Bartiett."

Mr. Roberts, Did you find that report awalting you when you got back to the ship?
Capt. Peary. It was not. It was written during May by Bartlett, at my request. We got back the latter part of April, and Bartlett was on board the ship. Borup and Macmillan wrote me similar reports of their return, probably in June, because they were away when I came back. Mr. Grego. You said that Bartlett wrote it; did he write it in his log book, or is this a transcript?
Capt. Peary. I do not know. I would say from the appearance of this that it is a copy from Bartlett's log book, as written during the journey.

ourney.

Mr. Grego. You do not know whether he made the log-book entries daily?

Capt. Peary. I would say that he made the entries exactly as they are here.

Mr. ROBERTS. Do you know if Bartlett kept a diary or daily memorandum while going north and returning?

Capt. Peary. I have no doubt he did. I can not swear to it.

Thus Bartlett's report of his return trip, which was presented to the committee as corroborative evidence of Peary's claims, On Peary's official "physical test" he covered 50 miles (Dec. 18 and 19, 1910) in 14 hours and 11 minutes, with a night's rest between each 25 miles. This test was made over the proverbially good roads of Washington, D. C., with no load. On his return from the alleged Pole, he made 50 miles in a "day's march" (number of hours not given) bundled in his was written, as Peary states, at Peary's request, a month after the trip was made. Peary's replies to questions relative to Bartlett's report were so vague and contradictory as to arouse a suspicion that the report was dictated to fit Peary's own story.

Peary first said: "It was written during May, by Bartlett,

lett's log book, or was merely a "transcript," he did not know, but "would say" that it was a copy from Bartlett's log book. It is remarkable that if the report was "written during May at Peary's request," he should not be able to state definitely whether Bartlett wrote it in his log book or merely wrote it on a slip of paper and gave it to him (Peary). Neither did Peary know whether or not Bartlett kept a daily memorandum on his trip north and return, but "had no doubt he did." His ideas about the log of the Roosevelt were also vague and indefinite.

Mr. Roberts. Do you know where the log of the Roosevelt is?

Capt. Pearr. I can not say offhand; perhaps I have it and perhaps

Bartlett has it.

Mr. Roberts. Who kept it?

Capt. Pearr. The first mate, as is usual on these trips.

Mr. Roberts. I gathered from what you said that that might be a copy of the log of the Roosevelt.

Capt. Pearr. No; it could not be a copy of the log of the Roosevelt.

This is a copy of Bartlett's notebook that he had on the journey.

Peary at last made up his mind just what Bartlett gave him. It required much time and study, but he finally decided, as shown above, that "it was a copy of Bartlett's notebook"!

shown above, that "it was a copy of Bartlett's notebook "!

Mr. Roberts. What he calls his log?

Capt. Peary. His personal log. The log of the Roosevelt, as far as I know, never left the ship. It was a book of that size [Indicating]. I think it was the ordinary printed form for ships and was kept on board the Roosevelt, and was kept, I should say, entirely by Mr. Gushue, the first officer.

Mr. Roberts. That related wholly to the navigation of the ship and what transpired on the ship?

Capt. Peary. When we were navigating there was not so much that transpired. If the officer kept the log with sufficient care, the log will show when the various parties left the Roosevelt, when they returned, and what the occurrences were on board the Roosevelt.

Mr. Roberts. You did not take the log with you when you left the ship?

Capt. Peary. No, sir.

Mr. Roberts. It is not in your possession now?

Capt. Peary. I can not say; it may be. If the committee wants it, I will look it up. I have a number of miscellaneous papers, some on Eagle Island and some here, and I do not now recall whether it has been turned over to me, or whether it is in Bartlett's possession.

Mr. Roberts. The ship has been disposed of. That would not go with the ship?

Capt. Peary. No, sir.

We are told that nothing is impossible. Therefore, it may be

We are told that nothing is impossible. Therefore, it may be possible that Peary was sincere when he "could not say" in whose possession the log of the Roosevelt was at the time of whose possession the log of the Roosevell was at the time of the hearing. It may be true that he did not know where this book, so closely connected with what he claimed as the culminating achievement of his life, was located a year later; but it is natural to assume that he did know where the book was, and preferred that no one else should see it. If honestly kept, that "log" would doubtless tell a different tale of the movements of the members of the expedition than was revealed by Peary's own story. Hence his vague and noncommittal replies as to its whereabouts.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. I have here copies of letters to and from the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and I will ask to have them inserted in the record.

The letters referred to by Congressman Englebright were relative to Peary's instructions on his last northern trip. A telegram from Peary to the Coast and Geodetic Survey, dated July 3, 1908, is as follows:

NEW YORK, July 3, 1968.

To Assistant Superintendent Perkins,

United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington, D. C.:

I have information that you may be authorized to give the instruction concerning tidal observations north coast Grant Land and Greenland. Will two or three days' personal instructions at your office be desirable for my assistants? Kindly wire. R. E. PEARY.

A letter from the Department of Commerce and Labor to the President, dated July 7, 1908, reads as follows:

A letter from the Department.

President, dated July 7, 1908, reads as follows:

Department of Commerce and Labor,
Office of the Secretary,
Washington, July 7, 1908.

Sin: I have the honor to state that in response to the directions issued to the Navy Department, Civil Engineer R. E. Peary, United States Navy, called in person at the office of the Coast and Geodetic Survey and informed himself fully of the views and requirements of that office in regard to tidal observations along the Grant Land and Greenland shore of the Polar Sea and expressed his intention to make every effort to collect the desired information.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,
(Signed) Oscar S. Straus,
Secretary.

The PRESIDENT, Oyster Bay, N. Y.

Note.—Commander Pearry called at the Coast Survey Office on June 18 and on July 8. Mr. Macmillan reported and spent that day and the morning of July 9 under the instruction of Dr. Harris.

Since Peary did not receive orders to report to the Coast and Geodetic Survey for instructions until July 2, 1908, his "call" at that office on June 18 seems to have been in the nature of a "preliminary reconnoissance," to suggest a plan by which he could nominally work under the instructions of the Coast and

Geodetic Survey, but in reality materialize his own plans for another Arctic vacation.

A number of letters were presented and printed in the hearing relative to Peary's instructions. Finally, one was produced by Congressman Bates, signed by Charles H. Darling, Acting Secretary, which contained these words:

The attainment of the pole should be your main object. Nothing short will suffice.

Mr. Bates. Is this a copy of a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy when you were granted a leave of absence?

Capt. Peart (after examining letter). That is a copy of a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, Judge Darling, to me, granting me a leave of absence.

Mr. Bates. In which he states, "The attainment of the pole should be your main object. Nothing short will suffice."

This letter, signed by Judge Darling, Acting Secretary of the Navy, was produced by Peary's friends on the committee to show that he was acting under instructions from the Navy Department when he instituted his final search for the pole. But neither Congressman Bates nor Mr. Peary nor any of the members of the committee mentioned the fact that this letter was dated September 5, 1903, and referred only to Peary's trip of 1905-6 and not at all to what he claims as his "successful" trip of 1908-9. Therefore, the letter was irrelevant and had nothing to do with Peary's instructions from the Navy Department or the Coast and Geodetic Survey for his 1908-9 expedition. Congressman Roberts attempted to emphasize this fact, although he did not specifically refer to the letter in question:

he did not specifically refer to the letter in question:

Mr. Roberts. I would like to ask you in regard to your detail from the Navy Department when you went on this last trip. As I understand, and as I think is mentioned in the papers submitted by Mr. Englebright, the detail was simply to the Department of Commerce and Labor, and the Coast and Geodetic Survey gave you instructions to make certain tidal observations?

Capt. Peary. "For the purpose of making tidal observations." I think that was the wording.

Mr. Roberts. You were not detailed for the purpose of making any effort to reach the North Pole?

Capt. Peary. I think I can say positively that that was not included in the precept of the order.

Mr. Dawson. Was there anything in the nature of your detail from the Navy Department which would make it proper or necessary for you to file with the Navy Department any report upon your return?

Capt. Peary. There was nothing in my orders calling for a report, I feel quite sure. I feel quite sure there was nothing of the kind. I did report my return to this country by wire to the Navy Department, and I reported specifically by wire to the Coast Survey. That report contained the condensed results of my work, and later I sent them the original observations. I did not send them any detailed report in regard to the tidal meteorological and other observations because they have experts in their own department who could report on the original information.

Apparently Peary did not carefully study his instructions

Apparently Peary did not carefully study his instructions from either the Navy Department or the Coast and Geodetic Survey since he was unable to state postitively their contents. He could only say that "he felt quite sure," and then repeat, "I feel quite sure." Yet he poses as a naval officer!

"I feel quite sure." Yet he poses as a naval officer!

Capt. Peary. Here is a pamphlet in regard to which I was asked questions at the last hearing. Here are the actual facts. According to Judd & Detweller, the printers, they received the order on the IIth day of March, 1910, and the pamphlet was sent out about 10 days later—that is, sent to me—and I presume it reached Members of Congress about 10 days after that.

This pamphlet was the result of a suggestion to me that some of the salient points in connection with the matter which was under discussion be made known to Members of Congress. The title of the pamphlet is: "How Peary reached the North Pole. An Expedition Over the Ice That Went to Its Mark With the Precision of a Military Campaign and Reached the Goal Sought for Centuries." This pamphlet consists of a reprint of my original cablegram to the New York Times, which appeared in the Times somewhere about the middle of September; I do not remember the exact date.

It also contained "What Peary has discovered—The Polar problems of vast import solved by his story—His perfect exploration machine," by Cyrus C. Adams. That is also a reprint from a letter or communication to the New York Times about that time; I should say September, 1909.

It contains other miscellaneous matter. Those two things, the first and second articles, are reprints and are doubtless full of typographical errors. The second I know is heavened. Headed.

It contains other miscellaneous matter. Those two things, the first and second articles, are reprints and are doubtless full of typographical errors. The second I know is, because I looked at it recently with the idea that it contained some of the salient points for the information of this committee, and I found it full of typographical errors, being simply newspapers reports with typographical errors and errors of transmission.

Peary says that he "looked at this pamphlet recently with the idea that it contained some salient points for the information of the committee"; he also knew that it was "full of typographical errors"; yet three days previous to this time (see p. 41). of the hearing) Peary did not know when he had the pamphlet printed; could not even approximate to the month of its publication. He must, indeed, have looked at it very "recently," with the "idea" above mentioned.

Mr. Gregg. Have you given the Government or the public any way by which your trail can be retraced and somebody else could find the pole along the line you pursued?

Capt. Pears. Of course there is no trace to follow.

Mr. Gregg. I mean have you any data by which some one else could go to the Pole along that route?

Capt. Pears. Nothing that would help them.

Mr. Gregg. Then the North Pole is just as much lost as ever?

Capt. PEARY. Yes, sir. Of course the term "discovery" of the North Pole is a misnomer. It should be the "attainment" of the pole.
Mr. Macon, It is a fiction.
Mr. Bates. You have a record of the latitude and longitude of the

Mr. Bates. You have a record of the latitude and longitude of the course you took?

Capt. Prart. There is nothing more than what appears in these observations—the latitude at different points. Our longitude was not far removed from the meridian of Columbia.

This statement is assumption on Peary's part, for he repeatedly states that no longitudinal observations were taken.

Mr. Roberts. What official report, Mr. Peary, did you make under the instructions which were given you by the Navy Department and by the Department of Commerce and Labor on your return? Under the detail from the Navy Department, I presume the instructions were from the Coast Survey?

Coast Survey?

Capt. Peart. After my return I sent my telegram from the Labrador coast to the Navy Department reporting my return to the country. That telegram is, of course, on file. I then sent a telegram to the Coast and Geodetic Survey, stating so many days' tidal observations at such a place and at such a place and at such a place—the line of soundings and something of that kind, a telegraphic summary of the work. I believe that telegram was never received by the Coast and Geodetic Survey, but it was filed at Battle Harbor. I will not be absolutely sure whether the telegram was sent from Battle Harbor or Indian Harbor. Then I sent the original observations to the Coast and Geodetic Survey with a letter of transmittal. I do not remember what was said in the letter of transmittal, but that can be obtained. I made no report as to what were the results from the tidal observations.

Mr. Roberts. Those were all the reports you made?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

On the above, as on other points, Peary's memory was poor. He could not recall from what point his telegraphic summary of his polar trip was sent, whether from Battle Harbor or Indian Harbor. He could not recall what was said in his letter of transmittal. On many other points which the average person would consider of great personal interest-to Peary-his memory was equally defective.

Peary's statement, however, agrees with Mr. Tittmann's;

that is, that his only proof was his tidal observations.

Congressman Macon, who was in deadly earnest in the investigation of Peary's claimed discovery, was continually blocked in his line of questioning. For instance:

Mr. Macon. In respect to what Mr. ALEXANDER has said about latitude and longitude observations, I will say that the distinguished members of the committee that passed upon the case of Capt. Peary told this committee that the records showed that Capt. Peary had not taken a single longitude observation on his trip out.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Butler] quickly and kindly came to Peary's assistance and relief with the suggestion:

kindly came to Peary's assistance and relief with the suggestion:

Mr. Butler. Let us go on now and permit Mr. Roberts to finish his examination.

Mr. Englebright. Is there any difficulty when you arrive at the North Pole about taking proper astronomical observation that will satisfy you that you are at the North Pole?

Capt. Peary. I do not know why the North Pole can not be determined approximately the same as the position of the Equator or any point of latitude or longitude on the face of the earth; but there is one pronounced fact that makes some difference in northern work, and that is the matter of the comparatively low altitude of the sun. In summer work the sun is the only thing you can use, because there are no stars. Here is a point that you gentlemen all know—but, perhaps, it should be brought right home to you here—and that is that from the 26th of March, from that time up to the pole, back to Columbia, back to the Roosevelt, after we started on the Roosevelt, and for some nights down the Kennedy-Robeson Channel there was never a time when you could see a star, not only constant daylight, but fine, clear weather.

But in Peary's book. The North Pole, which the committee

But in Peary's book, The North Pole, which the committee had at the hearing and to which they frequently referred, Peary says in his chronicle of March 31, pages 265-266:

The going was fairly good, but the weather was thick. Had it been clear we should undoubtedly have covered 25 miles in this march; but it is difficult to break a trail in thick weather as rapidly as in clear, and this day netted us only 25 miles.

Again, on page 284, April 6, the day of his claimed arrival at the pole:

The weather was overcast. The sky was a colorless pall, deepening to almost black at the horizon, and the ice was a ghastly and chalky white. How different it seemed from the glittering fields, canopled with blue and lit by the sun and full moon, over which we had been traveling for the last four days.

And on pages 288-289:

Everything was in readiness for an observation at 6 p. m., Columbia meridian time, in case the sky should be clear; but at that hour it was, unfortunately, still overcast.

Of his return trip, on page 306 (Apr. 10), he says:

During the night the gale moderated and gradually died away, leaving the air very thick. It was almost impossible for us to see the trail.

Again, on page 308:

The day (Apr. 13) was a bitterly disagreeable one. On this march e had in our faces a fresh southwest wind that ever and again spat now that stung like needles and searched every opening in our

After the return to the ship, on page 328, he again says:

On Sunday, May 16, the sun was hot, but the next day we had a lift southwest gale, with considerable wet snow.

On page 330 he says:

On the summer solstice, June 22, midnoon of the Arctic summer and the longest day of the year, it snowed all night.

Evidently Peary was suffering from one of his temporary aberrations of memory when he wrote his book or when he stated to the committee that:

* * from the 26th of March up to the pole, back to Columbia, back to the Rooscvelt, after we started on the Rooscvelt, and for some nights down the Kennedy-Robeson Channel, there was not only constant daylight but fine, clear weather.

Which statement was correct?

Mr. ROBERTS. Is the information contained in your telegram all the information you ever gave to the Navy Department of your trip to the

pole?
Capt. Peary. To the Navy Department direct. I was on duty, but I was not on duty under the Navy Department.
Mr. Roberts. And later you transmitted to the Coast and Geodetic Survey the results of the tidal observations?
Capt. Peary. Tidal and meteorological observations and the sound-

Capt. Peary. Tidal and meteorological observations and ings.

Mr. Roberts. What report did you make to the Navy Department when you were finally relieved from duty with the Coast and Geodetic Survey?

Capt. Peary. I do not recall that I made any report. I was placed on waiting orders.

Mr. Roberts. Is it not customary for naval officers to make some report to the department when discharged from a duty?

Capt. Peary. I am not aware that such is the case. I was placed on waiting orders, and soon after—only two or three days, I think—I was granted leave. My impression is that the report was made to the Navy Department by the Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Navy Department by the Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Mr. Roberts. In the documents transmitted to the Coast and Geodetic Survey containing the results of the soundings and the tidal observations was there any injunction of secrecy on the part of the bureau or the department?

Capt. Peary. No; not in my telegraphic report.

Mr. Roberts. I am speaking of the regular report.

Capt. Peary. On page 20 of Mr. Moore's speech you will find my letter to the Acting Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and, after inclosing the profile of soundings, this paragraph occurs:

"If such request is permissible, I will respectfully request that this profile and complete set of soundings be not published at present."

The speech of Congressman J. Hampton Moore to which

The speech of Congressman J. Hampton Moore to which Peary referred was printed in the Congressional Record, and afterwards reprinted in pamphlet form, as is customary when a wider circulation is desired for any particular speech than is feasible through the pages of the Congressional Record alone. This speech of Congressman Moore, however, was later shown to be Peary's main source of information as to what he did on his last polar expedition. Unless he first referred to the speech, he was unable to answer the most simple questions relative to his movements.

relative to his movements.

Mr. Roberts. About the soundings, Mr. Peary, as I understood you the other day, you personally made one sounding?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Roberts. And only one?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Roberts. Did you observe the other soundings made? Were you right there and could you see all the conditions?

Capt. Peary. Some of them I did; not all of them.

Mr. Roberts. You did not note the first four soundings made, and you can not tell what the tidal conditions were, but you did make the last sounding within a few miles of the pole. As your wire ran out, did you note whether it was a tidal current that carried it away?

Capt. Peary. There was no strong tidal current, as indicated by the wire, to sweep it one way or the other.

Mr. Roberts. It was not trailed off on the ice by a strong current?

Capt. Peary. I did not observe it.

Mr. Roberts. You do not know whether that was the condition at the other soundings?

Capt. Peary. I doubt if there is any strong current in the main Arctic Ocean, because the tidal movement at Columbia is very slight.

It would be interesting to know the method of reasoning by

It would be interesting to know the method of reasoning by which Peary reached this conclusion, as the next day (see p. 92 of the hearing) Congressman Macon also questioned him rela-

tive to Arctic currents, and elicited the following replies: Mr. Macon. I believe you stated that there was no current? Capt. Pearv. I noticed no indications of current. I had no current meter with me.

Where, then, is the value of his observations of the Arctic currents? One must remember that the President of the United States personally ordered Peary to be attached to the Coast and Geodetic Survey for this expedition, and the superintendent of that department tells the committee that Peary had received proper instructions, yet he had no current meter with him. As Peary's tidal and sounding reports were the only "official" re-Peary's tidal and sounding reports were the only "official" reports given the Government, for what services rendered do the taxpayers of the United States pay Mr. Peary \$6,000 annually? Mr. Macon. Can you explain about the facts set out in your book which indicate that there was a great crushing of ice coming together and sweeping along? The ice itself would not move without something under it?

Capt. Peary. In the Arctic Ocean the movement of the ice is more dependent on the wind than it is on the current.

Mr. Macon. How thick is the ice?

Capt. Peary. Anywhere from a few inches—newly-formed ice—to 20 or 25 feet thick.

Mr. Macon. You do not mean to tell the committee that the wind could move that ice?

Capt. PEARY. The pressure of the wind would move that ice if there was any space for it to move in.

Note that the wind was sufficiently strong to move a sea-level body of ice from 20 to 25 feet thick but was not strong enough to move an empty tin can away from its position on a hummock of ice where it had been placed to "mark" the trail. How thoroughly inconsistent and Pearyesque!

thoroughly inconsistent and Pearyesque!

Mr. Macon. This ice being 25 feet thick when it would pack, what would cause it to produce the leads you speak of so often in your book?

Capt. Peart. The wind would be a most important factor in producing pronounced and rapid changes in the ice. Also, what has been determined by my last two expeditions, and which, as far as I know, was not recognized before, is the fact—I say it is a fact; it is my pronounced impression, susceptible, perhaps, of modification by the work of the experts—that the strong tides of every month, the tidal waves crossing the Polar basin, result in a movement of that ice and will form leads, and the tidal wave passing under the ice will buckle the ice and cause the lead to form, and then, with the ebb tide, that lead will slowly open without any pronounced, and, perhaps, any perceptible current of the water.

Mr. Macon. The great force you speak of would not disturb the waters under the ice to the extent that it would create any current?

Capt. Pearx. Not to a considerable amount.

Mr. Macon. Did you ever make investigations to the extent that you knew that there was not a current sweeping forward all the time down in the ocean?

in the ocean?
Capt. Pearv. No; I had no current meter with which to do so.

Peary had no current meter, therefore he did not know whether or not there was a current sweeping down all the time in the ocean. Apparently he was unfamiliar with the drift of wreckage from De Long's ship, the Jeannette, from the New Siberian Islands to the southeast coast of Greenland, or possibly he thought the wind blew that wreckage there, although it left his empty tin cans undisturbed as guideposts! Also, it was inexpedient for Peary to admit the existence of a current, because doubtless Congressman Macon would have made it difficult for him to explain how his almost invisible wire and 14-pound sounding lead dropped down like a plummet instead of being deflected by the current and carried out under the ice. As will be shown later, Congressman Macon argued this point somewhat at length.

Mr. Roberts. There is another question that I would like to ask. It was mentioned here a short time ago: What could have been done by you to remove any doubt that might exist in any person's mind as to attaining the pole, and whether anything more could have been done than what you did? I have heard this question asked a good many times by people, and I am going to take the liberty of asking you why, when you went to the pole on your final dash, you did not take with you some of the members of your party in order that there might be credible corroborative evidence if the question was ever raised as to attaining the pole? I do not know whether you care to answer that question.

Capt. Pears. I have not the slightest objection to answering that question, Mr. Roberts. The reason for that has been stated in the book, that the man I took with me was more effective for the combined demands of extended work than any white man I have ever had with me, but, perhaps, what you want in a way is this:

The pole was something to which I had devoted my life; it was a thing on which I had concentrated everything, on which I had expended some of myself, for which I had gone through such hell and suffering as I hope no man in this room may ever experience, and in which I had put money, time, and everything else, and I did not feel that under those circumstances I was called upon to divide with a man who, no matter how able and deserving he might be, was a young man and had only put a few years in that kind of work, and who had, frankly, as I believed, not the right that I had to it. I think that conveys my idea.

As noted above, Peary stated to the committee that the man

As noted above, Peary stated to the committee that the man he took with him to the pole (Henson) was "more effective for the combined demands of extended work than any white man he had ever with him." In Penry's book, to which he refers, he explains his reasons more at length, on pages 272-273:

At this time it may be appropriate to say a word regarding my reasons for selecting Henson as my fellow traveler to the pole itself. He has always been with me at my point farthest north. Henson was the best man I had with me for this kind of work, with the exception of the Eskimos. Had I taken another member of the expedition also, he would have been a passenger. It would have amounted to an additional load on the sledges, while the taking of Henson was in the interest of economy of weight.

tional load on the sledges, while the taking of Henson was in the interest of economy of weight.

The second reason was that while Henson was more useful to me than any other member of my expedition when it came to traveling with my last party over the polar ice, he would not have been so competent as the white members of the expedition in getting himself and his party back to land. If Henson had been sent back with one of the supporting parties from a distance far out on the ice, and if he had encountered conditions similar to those which we had to face on the return journey in 1906, he and his party would never have reached the land. I owed it to him not to subject him to dangers and responsibilities which he was temperamentally unfit to face.

Peary seemed to hold the inconsistent idea that Henson, although unfit to travel back over the trail (which Peary claims all of his supporting parties did), he was perfectly capable to go forward and "pioneer" a trail for the rest of the expedition. He could not follow an open trail back to land, but he could break a new trail over the bewildering, trackless waste of the Polar Sea (supposedly), holding to the direction of true north with the certain and unerring instinct of a homing pigeon! See pages 234-235 of "The North Pole":

Henson at once received instructions to get away early the next morning with his division of Eskimos and sledges to pioneer the road for the next five marches. The doctor was informed definitely that he

was to return to land the next morning with two men. The rest of the party would remain here until Marvin and Borup came in.

Was Peary correct in his statement that "Henson would not have been so competent as the white members of the expedition in getting himself and his party back to land." or was he acting in good faith when he sent Henson ahead to pioneer the trail for the expedition?

Mr. Roberts. In selecting the men to go with you on this expedition, was there any injunction of silence placed on them as to what they might observe or see on the trip, or were they free to come back to civilization and tell anything or write or lecture—do anything they pleased—with regard to their experiences on the trip?

Capt. Prant. The members of the party were not free to write or lecture after the return without permission.

Mr. Butler. They were paid for their services?

Capt. Prant. Yes, sir.

Mr. Butler. Were you paid for your services?

Capt. Prant. I was not.

Mr. Macon. Was not the Government paying Capt. Peary's salary?

Mr. Butler. Yes, sir; of course.

Peary was on duty under instructions from the Coast and Geodetic Survey, drawing his regular salary; yet in reply to the question, "Were you paid for your services?" he had the superb "nerve" to reply, "I was not." (See p. 75 of hearing.)

Mr. Roberts. There was a suggestion made that it would be very much to the enlightenment of the committee if you could come before it (in 1910), and some person, I am not just certain who, purporting to represent you, said that you felt that you could not come then because you were under contracts to publishers or under contracts that forbade your disclosing any of the results of your recent trip. I want to ask if you authorized anybody to make such a representation to us?

Note Peary's evasive reply:

Note Peary's evasive reply:

Capt. Peary. My position at the time was that I was willing to come before the committee and show all my papers and my journal and answer all questions, but I was not ready to have the results of my work published. That, I think, states the position absolutely.

Mr. Roberts. The reason you did not wish them published was because you were under certain contracts?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Roberts. Those contracts have now expired?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Roberts. When did they expire?

Capt. Peary. I presume with the publication of the narrative.

Mr. Roberts. Which narrative do you speak of—the book or the magazine?

Capt. Peary. The book was published last, and I should say it was upon the publication of the book.

Mr. Roberts. When was that published?

Capt. Peary. In September. I think, or October.

Mr. Roberts. You were bound by the contract with your publishers not to make known or disclose without their permission any of the results of your trip?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir; in a general way, I should say so.

The contract with his publishers was Peary's own, entered

The contract with his publishers was Peary's own, enteredinto by him; yet he knew absolutely nothing about it; he was able only to "presume" or "think" or, at the most, "should say so." No mention was made at this time, however, of Peary's contract with the New York Times, entered into before he left on his polar expedition. This contract was published in full in the New York Times of September 11, 1909, and read as follows: JULY 6, 1908.

New York Times, New York City.

New York Times,

New York City.

Gentlemen: I herewith acknowledge the receipt of the sum of \$4,000 from the New York Times on behalf of itself and associates. It is understood that in making this advance the Times does not assume any responsibility for or any connection with the expedition on which I am about to embark and which has for its purpose the finding of the North Pole. The money is advanced to me as a loan, to be repaid to the New York Times and its associates out of the proceeds of the news and literary rights resulting from this expedition, it being understood that if for any reason the expedition is abandoned before the fall of 1908 the money will be refunded to the Times. If the expedition is successful and the pole is discovered. I promise to use every means in my power to reach civilization and wire to the Times the full story of the discovery over my own signature. The Times is to have the sole rights to the news of the discovery and is to have the exclusive right of its publication in all parts of the world. My understanding is that the Times on its part, agrees to syndicate the news, both in Europe and America, and to give me the entire amount it receives, after deducting costs of cables, tolis, etc. The Times and its associates will pay me what they consider a reasonable amount for the use of the material in their own publications. From the sum thus raised the \$4,000 is to be repaid, and I am free to sell the magazine and book rights to my best advantage.

It is understood, however, that should the news reports by any possibility not realize the sum of \$4,000 any deficit will be reimbursed to the Times from the magazine and book rights.

Should the expedition not be successful in finding the pole, but should simply result in explorations in the Far North, the Times is to be repaid \$4,000 out of the news, magazine, and book rights of the expedition, so far as they may go toward the liquidation of that claim.

Yours, very truly,

R. E. Pearx.

The above contract shows that Peary was interested to the amount of \$4,000 in finding the North Pole. Failure to discover the pole entailed a personal loss of \$4,000. Therefore his at-

tainment of the pole—on paper—was inevitable.

The committee then adjourned until Wednesday, January 11, 1911, when they met, with Hon. THOMAS S. BUTLER, chairman,

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Roberts] continued his examination of Peary:

Mr. Roberts. Capt. Peary, when you returned from your dash, the first people you saw were those of the ship?
Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.
Mr. Roberts. You, of course, told them of the trip?
Capt. Peary. No; I did not. I did not go into any details in regard to the trip.
Mr. Roberts. Did you tell them you had reached the pole?
Capt. Peary. I told Bartlett; no one clsc.

If we can believe Peary's book, his statement that he told no one of his party except Bartlett that he had been to the pole must be taken cum grano salis, for on pages 325-326 of The North Pole he says:

Borup, with the aid of the Eskimos, built at Cape Columbia a permanent monument, consisting of a pile of stones, formed around the base of a guide post made of sledge planks, with four arms, pointing true north, south, east, and west. On each arm is a copper plate with an inscription punched in it. On the northern arm, "North Pole, April 6, 1909."

Therefore Borup must have known of Peary's claimed attainment of the pole. And if Borup, why not the other members of the party? This query, of course, is made on the supposition that a monument with such inscription was really erected.

Mr. Roberts. I recall reading in the papers that on the way from where the ship wintered, somewhere on the return journey, you met some sportsman. Was it Whitney?

Capt. Pears. I met Whitney at Etah, down in the Whale Sound region.

Mr. Roberts. Did you say anything to him—did you have any talk with him about your trip?

Capt. Pears. No, sir.

Mr. Roberts. You did not say anything to him about reaching the pole?

Capt. Pears. No. sir.

Capt. Peary. No, sir.
Mr. Roberts. Did he make any inquiry of you?
Capt. Peary. I do not think he did; I do not recall.

Again Peary's memory proved weak; he could not "recall" whether or not the first civilized man, aside from his own party, whom he had met for over a year asked him anything about his trin.

Mr. Roberts. You were telling us the average equipment you carried on your sledges. Just what did you carry to make up the load?

Capt. Pearr. There would be on each sledge a pair of snowshoes, a very light pickax, and some of the spare clothing, not much. I do not think of anything else now, though doubtless some minor items were in each division of four sledges. That would be in addition to the camp cooker.

each division of four sledges. That would be in addition to the camp cooker.

Mr. Roberts. What is the weight of the sledge itself?
Capt. Peart. Of my last sledges, my impression is that it was eighty-odd pounds. Each sledge would vary some.

Mr. Roberts. Your special sledge?
Capt. Peart. My standard sledges.
Mr. Roberts. How did they compare in weight with the Eskimo sledges?
Capt. Peart. My sledges were about the same, I should say. The reason why I can not tell you the weight of the sledges that you referred to is that I have had so many different kinds of sledges, so many different lengths, etc., both of the Eskimo type and this type, on different expeditions, that I have not the figures clear, but I will say that my sledges on my various expeditions have weighed from the lowest—I think, 65 pounds—up to 95 pounds. On the inland-ice work one sledge weighed 12½ pounds and carried 400 pounds.

This sledge which weighed only 12½ pounds mentioned by

This sledge, which weighed only 121 pounds, mentioned by Peary, was personally constructed by Eivind Astrup, the young Norwegian, who accompanied Peary on his first trip across the inland ice of Greenland. It was the only sledge out of the four which started that made the entire round trip from MacCormick Bay over the inland ice to Academy Bay and return.

Mr. Roberts. What weight did you carry on these sledges on this

Mr. Roberts. What weight did you carry on these sledges on this trip?

Capt. Pearx. Of course, none were weighed—we had no facilities—but from Cape Columbia in no instance did the weight on a single sledge exceed about 500 pounds. The standard load, I mean the load one would try to hew to as much as possible as the unit for heavy work of a man and a team of eight dogs, would be a sledge weighing less than 100 pounds and a total gross load on the sledge not to exceed 500 pounds at the start.

Mr. Roberts. Five hundred and eighty pounds in weight, all told?

Capt. Pearx. Yes, sir; at the start.

Mr. Roberts. When you started in the final dash after leaving Bartlett, you had five sledges. Were they loaded to capacity?

Capt. Fearx. Practically; nearly so. They were not loaded over capacity; a little under, if anything.

After a little further inquiry by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Roberts], Congressman Macon commenced his investigation and examination of Peary.

PEARY'S MEMORY.

Mr. Macon. Mr. Chairman, the committee having under consideration a bill for the purpose of promoting Capt. Peary to rear admirat for the discovery of the North Pole, which, in a sense, would be to place in his hands on the part of the American people a passport into every phase of human society as an American hero, and remembering that this country and every other country has been infested with bogus heroes as well as real ones, I consider that we ought to go into this matter upon the merits of the case.

Capt. Peary, this being the consideration of a bill to confer high honors upon you, I want to find out whether or not you are entitled to them, whether your services to the Government have been of such moment as to make you worthy of them. If they have been, I want to have you have it. Therefore I will ask you, to start with, how long

have you been in the service of the Government in connection with your duties as a naval officer?

Capt. Pearx. The 26th of October, 1881, I think, was the date.

Mr. Macon. How much of that time have you devoted to real service in the Navy Department?

Capt. Pearx. That I can not answer offhand. I think this is stated in a letter from the Secretary of the Navy to this committee; it was written last winter.

Mr. Macon. You can approximate it in years; we do not ask for months or days.

months or days.

Capt. Peary That information, I think, will be found in detail on page 23 of Mr. Moore's speech.

Peary could remember the number of the page of Congressman Moore's speech on which that information was given, but could not remember the information itself, although it concerned him personally and was a matter of personal history.

Mr. Macon. Mr. Moore's speech? You can not approximate it, then? Capt. Peary. Not unless it is given there.

It appears that Congressman J. Hampton Moore must have been the author of Peary's North Pole story, otherwise Peary would not have been afraid to reply to questions before he had looked up the version of the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. Macon. Then I will ask you if you can approximate how many years you have devoted to polar or Arctic explorations? I will not say polar explorations, because I do not believe you have been in search of the pole all the time you have been out.

Capt. PEARY. My first expedition was in 1886. The answer to that question is also given in detail on page 6 of Mr. Moore's speech.

Peary could tell offhand on just what page to find the answer to any given question, but he could not or did not dare give the answer without first reading to make sure that it was indeed in accord with what he might say if he spoke from his actual knowledge and experience.

Mr. Dawson. I suggest that both statements go into the record.
Mr. Macon. I am trying to find out from him. He is supposed to
know as much about it as Mr. Moore. I am after the facts. I am
not after second-handed facts. I want them first-handed.
Capt. Peary. These are official documents.
Mr. Macon. He is supposed to know about the official records. I
know as much about the time I have given to my duties as Congressman since I have been a Member of Congress as my official record could
disclose

man since I have been a Member of Congress as my official record could disclose.

Mr. BUTLER. I suggest that we put the official letter from the department, which Mr. ROBERTS has, in the record.

Mr. Macon. I am asking him of his own knowledge. Can you tell us how many years you have been making your northern or Arctic explorations, of your own knowledge?

Capt. Pears. I can not answer offnand, because I have not the dates here. I would have to look them up. I should probably get the same information as is presented in this official communication from the department. department.

Peary evidently wished to avoid stating the exact amount of time he had spent in the Arctic. It is unbelievable that he really did not know.

really did not know.

Mr. Macon. I have seen it stated that you have spent a great deal of your time for 23 years in making explorations in the north.

Capt. Pearx. My first expedition—on page 6 of Mr. Moore's speech my first expedition is described.

Mr. Macon. It is a matter of so little interest that you can not remember when you did go?

Capt. Pearx. I went north the first time in 1886 for about six months.

Mr. Macon. Has most of your time since then been given to Arctic explorations or to service in the Navy Department?

Capt. Pearx. It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that that question is answered here. I can not answer that question without looking up the statistics. statistics.

The answer to that question was also given in Congressman MOORE's speech, but it was a matter Mr. Peary did not wish to bring to the attention of the committee; therefore he tried to persuade the chairman to overlook the question.

Mr. Macon. If you can not answer the question, I do not want an

Mr. Macon. If you can not answer the question.

Mr. Dawson. These facts are matters of record in the Navy, and the Secretary of the Navy has submitted them to this committee.

Mr. Macon. If the gentleman will excuse me, yesterday the captain stated to the committee that this matter had been his life work; that his soul practically was wrapped in it to the extent that he was not willing to share any part of the glory of it with anybody on the face of the earth. Now, if he has made a life work of it, if he has been so wrapped in what he was doing, then he ought to have felt enough interest to be able to give us the information of his own knowledge.

Capt. Peary. I am unable to answer that question in detail without information or the written record.

Mr. Roberts. There [handing paper to Capt. Peary] is the whole record from the Navy Department, if you care to look it over in order to answer the question.

Capt. Peary (after examining letter). I will say that the letter here states that I performed active duty for 12 years and 9 days. That would be up to the date of this letter, February 11, 1910. I have been unemployed for 16 years 1 month and 16 days. Of this unemployed duty approximately 13 years and 5 months have been spent on leave while unattached, and the balance on waiting orders or leave on duty.

Mr. Macon. Were you receiving your salary all the time?

Capt. Peary. Not all the time; no sir. It is stated here: "For the ix months from May 5, 1896, to November 4, 1896 (with the exception of two days of duty, October 25 and October 26)," according to this report, I was on "leave without pay."

Mr. Macon. For six months during 16 years you did not receive pay?

Capt. Peary. That is the statement. That would be essentially in

pay?
Capt. PEARY. That is the statement. That would be essentially in accordance with my recollection.

Mr. Macon. Can you state how much you received at the hands of the Government in compensation for your services?

Capt. Pearr, I can not offhand. I do not know that I could state it myself, anyway.

Why, then, did he not again refer to Congressman Moore's speech? The information may be found on page 23 of that speech, but apparently Peary did not wish to state to the committee that he had been paid \$38,148.36 by the Government while on leave of absence.

while on leave of absence.

Mr. Macon. Tell us what a sounding is?
Capt. Pearx. A sounding is a measurement of the depth of water, I would say. I would give that as my definition.
Mr. Macon. I will ask you, then, to tell us how many and the character of the soundings that were made on your trip?
Capt. Peary. The soundings as made on the trip were one of 98 fathoms at the edge of the glacial fringe north of Cape Columbia; one of 96 fathoms, made by D. B. McMillan at 83° 25′; one of 110 fathoms, made by Bartlett at 83° 53′, the camp where we were held up by the lead; one of 825 fathoms, made by Marvin at 84° 39′; one of 380 fathoms, made by Marvin at 84° 39′; one of 580 fathoms, made by Marvin at 85° 23′. All of those soundings reached bottom. One of 700 fathoms, made by Marvin at 85° 33′, no bottom; one of 1,260 fathoms, made by Bartlett at 87° 15′, no bottom; and one of 1,500 fathoms, 89° 55′, made by myself, no bottom.

If it is permissible, this (referring to a profile of soundings) can be entered on the record in connection with my statement.

Mr. Butler. Yes, sir.

. The profile of soundings is printed on page 89 of the hearing; also on page 338 of Peary's book, "The North Pole."

Also on page 338 of Peary's book, "The North Pole."

Mr. Macon. Tell us how much wire you started with?
Capt. Peary. I had two reels of wire of 1,000 fathoms each.
Mr. Macon. What was the size of the wire?
Capt. Peary. I can not answer precisely. I can obtain the information absolutely. My impression is that the diameter was .028 inch.
Mr. Macon. Twenty-eight one-thousandths of an inch?
Capt. Peary. That is my impression.
Mr. Macon. That would be pretty diminutive.
Capt. Peary. It is not large wire. I can submit a sample of the wire to the committee if it is desired. I find that my first answer, .028 inch, was correct.
Mr. Macon. Is it possible that a wire hardly visible to the human eye across a 10-foot space could stand going down in the water 9,000 feet where it had to come in contact with ice and currents?
Capt. Peary. The wire did not necessarily come in contact with ice, and there is no certainty that there is any pronounced current there, I will state the fact that the strength of the wire is and was sufficient to take the lead down, or, rather, to hold the lead to the bottom, and that the strength of the wire was no kink in it, to bring the lead in.
Mr Macon. Is there any floating ice in the Arctic Ocean?
Capt. Peary. There is not apt to be very much floating ice at the time we were there.
Mr. Macon. Do you know whether there was any at the time you were there?
Capt. Peary. There was no ice floating against the sounding wire,
Mr. Macon. What was the weight at the end of the wire—how heavy was it?
Capt. Peary. The sounding lead made for the expedition, on a sug-

Mr. Macon. What was the weight at the end of the wire—how heavy was it?

Capt. Peary. The sounding lead made for the expedition, on a suggestion to me by Sir John Murray, was, I think, 20 pounds. That I can ascertain absolutely from Barilett. I feel quite sure those are the figures. Those leads, in the interests of lightness on the journey, were cut down by chiseling off the metal on each side to 14 pounds, according to Bartlett's statement. I did not weigh them.

Mr. Macon. What was the weight of the wire per 1,000 feet?

Capt. Peary. Twelve pounds.

Mr. Macon. The weight of the lead was about 14 pounds?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Macon. That was the weight that you had at the end of the wire when you were within 5 miles of the Pole?

Capt. Peary. Yes, ir, that is right.

Mr. Macon. I believe you stated that there was no current?

Capt. Peary. I noticed no indications of current, I had no current meter with me.

Mr. Macon. Can you explain about the facts set out in your book which indicate that there was a great crushing of ice coming together and sweeping along? The ice itself would not move without something under it.

Capt. Peary. In the Arctic Ocean the movement of the ice is more dependent on the wind than it is on the current.

nader it.

Capt. Pears. In the Arctic Ocean the movement of the ice is more dependent on the wind than it is on the current.

Mr. Macon. Is it not natural for a layman to conclude, in the absence of your having made the investigation, or anyone else I have ever heard of, that when this ice 25 feet thick was broken that it must have had something underneath it to press it up or push it in some way? That would be just as logical a conclusion, if not more so, than yours of the wind.

Capt. Pears. I can say that every man could of course have his own

Capt. PEARY. I can say that every man could, of course, have his own opinion. In regard to the facts of the case, my personal impression, as the result of my work north, is that the wind is a very powerful factor in the movement of the ice.

As stated in The North Pole, George Borup was in charge of one of Penry's supporting parties. Leaving Cape Columbia on February 28, he accompanied Bartlett for three marches, camping about 25 miles from land. There he left his loads, and, following Peary's orders, returned to Cape Columbia for further supplies, with which he was to make forced marches to overtake the main division. He reached Cape Columbia late on March 3, and the next day was joined by Marvin, whom Peary had sent back for fresh supplies of oil and alcohol. On pages

had sent back for fresh supplies of oil and alcohol. On pages 160-161 of A Tenderfoot with Peary, Borup says:

March 5 we set out. The sea ice had begun drifting east, Marvin landing on the glacial fringe 4 or 5 miles east of where I had, so we followed his trail to the end of the land ice. There stretched a lead, 400 yards wide, in either direction, as far as the eye could see. The ice on the far side of the lead was drifting steadily eastward, although there was no wind.

Compare the statements of the two men:

In the Arctic Ocean the movement of the ice is more dependent lead was drifting steadily east-on the wind than it is on the ward, although there was no wind.

Comment is unnecessary.

Mr. Macon. If there was current underneath, could it be possible that a small wire such as you indicate, with only about 14 pounds of weight at the end of it, would go down in a perpendicular manner 1,500 fatherms. Mr. Macon. If there was current underneath, could it be possible that a small wire such as you indicate, with only about 14 pounds of weight at the end of it, would go down in a perpendicular manner 1,500 fathoms?

Capt. Pearx. My impression would be that a wire of that dimension would be deflected but slightly by any moderate current.

Mr. Macon. You do not know that it would be almost as horizontal as it would be perpendicular?

Capt. Pearx. I should be pretty sure that under those conditions the wire would not be anywhere horizontal, nowhere near 45 degrees.

Mr. Macon. You said something about the loss of part of your wire in a sounding you made 5 miles from the pole. Did you lose all of it? Capt. Pearx. Practically all of it.

Mr. Macon. Where did it break off?
Capt. Pearx. Not far from the reel.

Mr. Macon. What depth?
Capt. Pearx. I can not say precisely; perhaps 100 or 150 feet. I do not recall, except I remember my men running out a short distance on the ice.

Mr. Macon. Might it not have been 25 or 30 feet long?
Capt. Pearx. I should say it was more than 25 feet. My impression is that the piece of wire was 100 or 150 feet in length.

Mr. Macon. Is it not possible that your wire had been carried underneath this ice 25 or 30 feet, so when you began to reel it up the edge of the ice had something to do with the breaking of the wire? That the sweeping by a current might have broken it?

Capt. Pearx. I do not think so. I doubt it. I noticed nothing of the kind.

Mr. Macon. Did you notice anything to the contrary?

Capt. Pearx. No, sir. If there had been any pronounced deflection of the wire the man taking the sounding would undoubtedly have noticed it.

Mr. Macon. You said that Mr. Marvin lost all his records of soundings and observations? They were all lost with the poor man?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Solar Observations.

Mr. Macon. How many observations.

SOLAR OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. Macon. How many observations were taken upon your journey, and what was the character of them?

Capt. Pearr. The observations taken were those by Marvin on the 22d of March, by Marvin on the 25th of March, by Bartlett on the 1st of April, and by myself on the 6th and 7th of April. The observations were solar observations. They were taken with a sextant and an artificial mercurial horizon

Mr. Macon. All latitude and no longitude observations?

Capt. Pearr. No longitude observations were attempted.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Roberts] then requested to have placed in the record a number of letters, among them one from the Secretary of the Navy, giving the only report ever made to the Navy Department by Peary in relation to his north polar trip:

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,

Washington, February 21, 1910.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: In response to your request of February 23 for copies of any and all reports made by Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, I have the honor to inform you that the only report in our files of this nature from Mr. Peary is the following telegram, from Battle Harbor, received September 11, 1909:

"Respectfully report my return; hoisted Navy ensign on North Pole April 6."

A report made Appret 11, 1909.

April 6."

A report made August 11, 1908, and received October 8, 1908, of Mr.
Peary's voyage from Sydney to Etah, from July 17 to August 7, 1908,
was sent to the White House from the Navy Department shortly after
it was received here.
Faithfully, yours,

G. v. L. MEYER.

To Hon. ERNEST W. ROBERTS, House of Representatives.

The following letter is of interest as showing Peary's gratitude and liberality toward the Government which had paid

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C., February 25, 1910.

Dear Sir: Replying to your inquiries of February 23, addressed to the Smithsonian Institution and the National Museum, I beg to inclose a list of specimens presented to the Museum by Commander R. E. Peary in 1887, the only ones which have been received from him. I also inclose a pamphlet account of North Polar Exploration, by Commander Peary, which was published in the Smithsonian report for 1903. Commander Peary has made no direct communication to the institution regarding his Arctic explorations.

With reference to your telephone inquiry, I am informed that the Cape York meteorites brought down by Commander Peary have been purchased by a private individual and presented to the American Museum of Natural History, in New York, where they have been on exhibition for some years.

Very respectfully, yours,
(Signed)

Charles D. Walcorr Samulater House, United States Hours.

Hon. Ernest W. Roberts, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C. LIST OF SPECIMENS RECEIVED AS A "GIFT" FROM LIEUT. ROBERT E. PEARY, UNITED STATES NAVY, IN 1887.

One small kyak.

One small kyak.

Alcoholic specimens of shells and fishes from Greenland.

Specimens of steatite, volcanic rock, mineral dust, etc.; 2 specimens of graphite and 2 specimens of lignite from Greenland.

One specimen of rose quartz, 1 specimen of pyrite, 2 specimens of terrestrial native iron, 1 specimen of muscovite, and 1 specimen of tourmaline in quartz.

The above list, with a set of soundings and tidal observations, in all but one instance made by some one other than Peary, is the sum total which a grateful Government has to show for Peary's many years in the Arctic regions on leave of absence at full pay.

The investigation continued:

Mr. Macon. You said, I believe, that you took no longitude observa-tions at all?

Capt. Pearr. I took no observations for longitude at any time on the

Mr. Macon. Then, you do not hold to the teachings of other scientists, which is to the effect that unless you take the longitude observations you can not know exactly the direction in which you are travely

ong?

Capt. Pearx. I do not think I care to go into a discussion of general principles. I will state the facts, and also my determination of those facts, to the committee or to any experts.

When Peary was cornered, or at a loss for a reply, he invariably adopted the very "dignified" stand that he did not wish to discuss the matter.

Mr. Macon. You are an explorer, so reputed, and we want to find out whether or not you knew what you were doing. When you send a man out into the field to plow he must know something about the work or he will not do much intelligent work.

Capt. Pearx. I do not care to go into a discussion of general principles. I am willing to give the facts in regard to the work.

Naturally, he did not wish to "discuss" general principles. when practically every course followed by him on his northern trip was contrary to both "general" and "practical" princi-ples. The real "facts in regard to the work" are that Peary started out over the polar ice, traveled a certain number of days, regardless of where he was going, and then turned back, not knowing whether he had been traveling toward the North Pole or in a circle. This is doubtless one of the reasons why every member of his various expeditions was invariably sworn to secrecy about all matters connected with the expedition before Peary would allow them to start with him.

Mr. Macon. How many observations were taken by you after you left Mr. Bartlett at 87° 47′, between that and the North Pole, a distance of 123 miles—observations of any kind?

Capt. Phart. I would like to say that I took in all 13 single or 6½ double observations of the sun at two different stations, in three different directions, at four different times.

Mr. Macon. Where were they taken?

Capt. Phart. Three sets of those observations were taken at Camp Jesup, and one set was taken at a point an estimated distance of 10 miles beyond that camp.

Mr. Macon. Camp Jesup was right at the pole?

Capt. Phart. It was the pole camp.

We are still in doubt as to the exact location of this "pole camp," or "Camp Jesup." At one time Peary says, "It was about 5 miles from the pole"; at another time, "about 3 miles

from the pole"; and here he says, "It was the pole camp."

Mr. Macon. Then you took no observations, longitude or otherwise, for a distance of 133 miles after you left Bartlett at 87° 47'?

Capt. Peary. No., sir.

Notwithstanding Peary's point-blank statement that he took no observations of any kind—see page 100 of hearings—from the time Bartlett left him until he reached his polar camp, Peary's diary, on page 40 of the hearing, records:

Took a latitude sight 89° 25'.

And on page 284 of The North Pole Peary says:

I took a latitude sight, and this indicated our position to be 89° 25', or 35 miles from the pole.

Peary does not explain his definition of a "latitude sight"; apparently he considers it not at all in the nature of an observation, for he repeatedly states that he made no "observations" between 87° 47' and his polar camp.

Mr. Macon. And you managed to make a straight course to the pole without anything except conjecture or estimate to guide you? Is that it?

Capt. Peary. I leave the observations to answer that question. I am satisfied that I made that distance, was in fairly close limits, as I have done on other journeys on previous expeditions.

By Peary's permission, his negro servant, Matthew Henson, published a book entitled "A Negro Explorer at the North Pole, with Foreword Written by Robert E. Peary." Thus Peary vouched for the authenticity of the book. On pages 127-129 of this book Henson says:

The captain (Bartlett) had gone; Commander Peary and I were alone (save for the four Esquimos), the same as we had been so often in the past years. We made excellent distance without any trouble. With my proven ability in gauging distances, Commander Peary was ready to take the reckoning as I made it, and he did not resort to solar observations until we were within a hand's grasp of the pole.

Thus, at a point which Peary claims was about 133 miles distant from the pole, he sent back Capt. Bartlett, his only remaining white companion, and took with him for the remainder of the journey his colored servant, Henson, who as Peary states in his book, see page 273 of "The North Pole," was not sufficiently competent to be trusted alone on the ice, but whose imaginary "reckoning" Peary complacently accepted in lieu of

solar observations for a distance of 133 miles, when a problem of such world-wide importance and magnitude as the attainment of the North Pole was at stake. As well might the United States Weather Bureau forego all scientific observations and use only the predictions of a "goosebone prophet."

Mr. Macon. How did you come to the conclusion that you were 4 or 5 miles from the pole toward Behring Sea when you had not taken any longitude observations?

Capt. Pears. I did not know that until I had taken my observations, Mr. Macon. But you took no longitude observations?

Capt. Pears. I took no observations for longitude.

Mr. Macon. What character of observations led you to conclude you were west of the pole 4 or 5 miles?

Capt. Pears. The observations taken by me at those two places of which I speak. After I had taken the series of observations which I had noted, I felt I knew approximately my position, as indicated in the book.

had noted, I felt I knew approximately my position, as indicated in the book.

Mr. Macon. Explorers and a certain class of scientists tell us that conditions are such in the Arctic Zone that an object will have a very much larger appearance to the naked eye than here. In that latitude, I have been told, an ordinary hare would be the size of a good-sized animal and that an object that might appear small here would be about the size of a mountain, and though a great distance off, would appear close to you. What do you know about that?

Capt. Pearx. I have read such accounts. As to the so-called small animals being taken for large animals, I think I have read similar accounts, but I have had no personal experience. As regards the land-scape, as a rule, a man will underestimate elevations of the land. The other objects which you have mentioned, animals and the like. I personally have not had that experience. I do not recall any member of my party having had that experience. I do not recall any member of my party having had that experience.

Mr. Macon. A member of your party a few years ago told me personally that he observed the very condition that I have stated in the latitude in which you were traveling before you went as far up as you did.

Mr. Englebrioht. Was that Mr. Baldwin?

Mr. Macon. Yes, sir.

George Borup was the youngest member of Pearv's last ex-

George Borup was the youngest member of Peary's last expedition, an enthusiastic sportsman, and the leader of one of the "pioneer parties," turning back at 85° 23', according to Peary. After his return to civilization, with Peary's permission, he wrote a book entitled "A Tenderfoot with Peary." page 74 of this book Mr. Borup says:

The next day Marvin had a laughable experience which showed how stiff a job it was to estimate distances or the size of objects up there at that season. He and his huskies sighted what they thought was a deer half way up the mountain. He took his rifle and started after the animal, but when he got about halfway the "deer" flew away. It was a ptarmigan.

As an Arctic ptarmigan is a small bird, weighing about 1 pound, on account of its white winter plumage sometimes called the "white partridge of the Arctic," one can readily understand that the atmosphere of the Polar regions possesses great magnifying powers, notwithstanding the fact that Peary said he " had no personal experience."

Borup's narrative continues:

Three years before, Marvin said, while hunting during one of the winter moons, they came on what they thought was a herd of musk oxen. After quite a chase, they tumbled to the fact that their oxen

Borup also says—page 122—that an Arctic hare weighs 10 pounds. Mr. Peary, in Northward Over the Great Ice, tells us of shooting a musk ox which weighed 1,200 pounds. The difference between an animal weighing 10 pounds and one weighing 1,200 pounds is surely great enough to be noticeable under ordinary atmospheric conditions.

Again, on page 37, in a description of Arctic duck hunting. Borup says:

At first none of us could hit the ducks at all. They'd look to be within 30 yards, and we'd let drive and never disturb a feather, After having burnt up a whole lot of ammunition, we finally realized that while thinking the ducks were maybe 40 yards off, as a matter of fact they were twice as far away; so that at last we waited and wouldn't shoot until the ducks seemed to be almost sitting on the ends of our guns, then let her rip, and there'd be a dead one about 40 yards off.

Therefore, although Peary told the committee that he "had personally not had that experience" and did not recall any member of his party having had that experience, three members of his expeditions—Baldwin, Marvin, and Borup—had found conditions as Congressman Macon described them at the hearing.

Peary's lack of memory was again in evidence when he stated to the committee that he "personally had not had that experi-ence," for in Volume I of Northward Over the Great Ice, page 201, he says:

The light about us was of such a character that it was impossible to form any judgment of the size or distance of objects. A single snow block could be taken for a snow house, and our igloo itself at a little distance loomed up like an iceberg.

Congressman Macon continued:

Mr. Macon. Did you submit any observations of temperature for air, ater, barometer readings, wind velocity, and the direction of the

Capt. Pearly. Meteorological reports were submitted to the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. I took no water temperatures on the sledge journey. I think some were taken on the upward voyage and the return voyage.

Peary was "commander" of the expedition, yet he was only able to "think" as to the character of the observations that were made on the upward and return voyages. He was able to state positively, however, that he took no water temperatures on the sledge journey.

I have now in my possession photographic copies of the "reports" that were submitted to the Coast and Geodetic Survey by Peary. These "reports" comprise 21 "volumes" of tidal observations which were taken at the times and places which I shall name:

Volume, Place.		Time.	Observer.	
ıI	Fort Conger Cape Columbia	June 10-June 25, 1909 Dec. 9-Dec. 14, 1908	Not given. Mac millan and	
III IV	Cape Sheridandodo	Dec. 16, 1908–Jan. 2, 1909 Jan. 3–Jan. 19, 1909	Barnes. Not given. Macmillan and Barnes.	
VI VII	dodo	Jan. 20-Feb. 5, 1909 Feb. 6-Feb. 22, 1909 Feb. 23-Mar. 11, 1909	Do. Do. Barnes and Weis-	
VIII IX X XI	do	Mar. 12-Mar. 28, 1909 Mar. 29-Apr. 14, 1909 Apr. 15-*, 1909	man. Do. Do. Do.	
XII	do	May 2-May 18, 1909 May 19-June 4, 1909 June 5-June 20, 1909	Do Do. Do.	
Not given.	Cape M. Jesup Point Aldrich Cape Columbia	June 21-June 30, 1909 May 13-May 23, 1909 Nov. 16-Dec. 8, 1908 Nov. 16-Dec. 14, 1908	Do. Not given. Do. Mac millan and	
Duplicate I	Cape Sheridan Cape M. Jesup	Nov. 12-Nov. 28, 1908 May 13-May 23, 1909	Barnes. Not given. Borup and Mac-	
1	Cape Bryant	Jan. 16-Jan. 29, 1909 Jan. 30-Feb. 13, 1909	millan. Not given. Do.	

It will be noted that all of the above observations were taken either before Peary left the ship on his polar trip, or after the men who made the observations had returned to the ship, with the exception of those taken by Barnes and Weisman, who made no observations away from the ship (except two by Barnes in company with Macmillan at Cape Columbia). Neither Barnes nor Weisman accompanied Peary or any of the supporting parties on the polar trip. It may also be noted from the places of observation that all of the observations were made on land, none being taken away from the coast. Therefore it is plain that these tidal observations prove nothing relative to Peary's attainment of the North Pole.

It is worthy of special note that of these tidal observations (on which Peary lays great stress as forming one of the important "scientific results" of his expedition), those taken at Cape Morris Jesup covered a period of 10 days and those taken at Fort Conger covered a period of 15 days only. In order to be of scientific value tidal observations should cover at least one lunar month. In a book called "Arctic Tides," written by Dr. Rollin A. Harris and published by the Coast and Geodetic Suryey, page 9, Dr. Harris says:

Observations at Cape Morris Jesup were commenced on May 13 and continued to May 23, 1909. The record consisted of hourly staff readings, generally supplemented by more frequent readings. The total loss of hourly readings amounts to five hours.

Out of these observations, therefore, which covered only onethird of the period necessary for a satisfactory scientific record, we must deduct another period of five hours for hourly readings skipped by the observers. As Borup says on page 242 of his

I had managed to oversleep a couple in the middle of things.

The observations at Fort Conger covered only one-half the period necessary for a scientific record.

Relative to the observation of water temperatures, Peary

I think some were taken on the upward voyage (from New York to Cape Sheridan) and the return voyage—

but if he "thought" correctly—which is doubtful—the results of these observations of water temperatures were not submitted to the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Mr. Macon. What distance is the magnetic pole estimated to be from the real pole?

Capt. Prank. That I can not say offhand, but I will say approximately 1,500 or 1,600 miles.

Mr. Dawson. It is just 20° on that map [indicating].

Capt. Prank. Specifically or precisely the magnetic pole is located somewhere here [indicating on map], near king Williams Land, just a little north of the mainland of the American Continent. There is a gentleman here who can probably give you the precise point.

Mr. Macon. We are examining you here now and not examining the other gentleman.

Strange that an Arctic explorer who said he had been to the North Pole could not tell how many miles distant the magnetic pole is from the geographic North Pole!

Capt. Pearx. I was simply referring to a gentleman whose memory might be better than mine; 20°, that would be 1,200 geographical miles or 1,400 statute miles, approximately, as taken from that map.

Mr. Macon. At an angle of about how many degrees would that be from the North Pole? Say from a given point, like you had up there at Bartlett's camp.

Capt. Pearx. I do not know that I understand the question.

Mr. Macon. At what angle, how many degrees—we speak of a thing being at an angle of about 45°, such as a leaning tree, or something of that kind leaning at an angle of about 45°. Now, what angle would the magnetic pole be from the North Pole from the point that Bartlett turned back?

Capt. Pearx. That I could not say without measuring it from the map.

Here another interruption occurred, and much time was consumed in an endeavor to distract Congressman Macon from the point he desired to make—that is, that after Bartlett left him Peary traveled more in the direction of the magnetic pole than in the direction of the North Pole.

Mr. Englebright. The map speaks for itself. I submit there is a map that shows the magnetic pole and shows the course Capt. Peary took.

Mr. Macon. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that I am examining Capt.

took.

Mr. Macon. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that I am examining Capt.
Peary.

Mr. Englebright. Then examine him on the map.

Mr. Macon. He is at liberty to use any map that he sees fit, but when he is using the gentleman from California he is not using a map.

Mr. Bates. I do not know that any one gentleman has a day to examine him. I do not know that any one gentleman of the committee has a mortgage on a whole day of this committee's time to examine this gentleman.

Mr. Macon. Let us have an understanding. I want the gentleman from Pennsylvania to understand that he can not influence me.

Mr. Bates. The gentleman does not try to influence the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. Macon. I want to say right here, Mr. Chairman, that we had it distinctly understood when this proceeding opened that each member of the committee should have an opportunity of making such examination of Capt. Peary as he saw fit.

Mr. Bates. But not the exclusive right.

Mr. Macon. I have waited until the last and allowed every other member of this committee to examine before me.

Mr. Bates. Oh, no; there are several other questions to be asked.

Mr. Macon. I say I have waited until every other member of the committee has examined him; my name was last on the subcommittee, and I waited until the last before proceeding with my examination.

Mr. Bates. We may not be through when the gentleman from Arkansas is through.

Mr. Macon, Then you have the right to take up the examination and go on.

Mr. Bates. I am very glad you accord me that right.

go on.

Mr. Bates. I am very glad you accord me that right,
Mr. Macon. I will not question it.

The above is a sample of the manner in which one of the members of the subcommittee, who really endeavored to conduct an honest investigation of Peary's claims, was blocked in his efforts, not once but many times.

his efforts, not once but many times.

Mr. Macon. When Messrs. Gannett and Tittmann were before that committee last spring they stated that they could not have relied upon the report of the observations taken by you for ascertaining where you were or about discovering the pole. Do you know whether or not their calculations about that are correct?

Capt. Pears. I know nothing about it. I do not know what their statement was—what they may have said.

Mr. Macon. They stated they examined your instruments at the station; presumably the station here in Washington. A cursory examination of your instruments here would not be evidence of their being used at all, would it?

Capt. Pears. That I could not say, sir.

Mr. Macon. Would recomputing the records of your observations be satisfactory evidence of where you were when they were taken—recomputed here in Washington?

Capt. Pears (sparring for time). I do not know that I understand that question.

Capt. Prant (sparring for time). I do not know that a understand that question.

Mr. Macon. I ask you if a recomputing of your records—the records of your observations—would be a satisfactory evidence?

Capt. Prant. I should say that it would be generally so considered. Mr. Macon. Then, when they could not rely upon them, you appear to differ from them—Messrs. Gannett and Tittmann—who passed upon your record. Your narrative could have been written here in Washington or at Bartlett's camp. That could not be considered competent or satisfactory evidence by geographers or scientists, could it?

Here the investigation was again interrupted, as always

Here the investigation was again interrupted, as always when a critical point for Mr. Peary was reached.

when a critical point for Mr. Peary was reached.

Mr. Bates. This witness is not here to be lectured,
Mr. Macon. I am not lecturing him.
Mr. Bates. You were giving an opinion.
Mr. Macon. If I am offensive to the gentleman from Pennsylvania—
Mr. Bates. No; you are not; but you are taking up valuable time.
Mr. Macon. My time is as valuable to me as it is to you, and I insist I am taking up time trying to ascertain the truth, not what penmican is made of. You did not complain when they were asking about immaterial things this morning.

Mr. Bates. I objected because the gentleman's remarks were, in a sense, a severe stricture on the witness, who came before us at our request.

request.

Mr. Macon. I am asking him questions. He can decline to answer any one of them if he wants to.

Mr. Butler. Ask a question, Mr. Macon. We invited Capt. Peary to come, and I am sure he will answer anything he feels he can answer.

answer.

Mr. Macon. Mr. Roberts asked you something yesterday about a pamphlet you had published which is sort of a cursory history of your

route. Did that contain the report that you filed with all the facts contained in the report that you filed with the Geodetic or Geographic Society when you came back?

Capt. PEARY. It did not contain the tidal or meteorological observations or all of the soundings.

Mr. MACON. Does not your book contain all of those?

Capt. PEARY. It does not. It contains simply a summary of them.

Mr. MacON. I believe Mr. Roerers asked you if, in submitting report to the Government, you made the request that, if it was permissible, that they would not make public your profile and set of soundings? soundings

Capt. PEARY. That is covered, I think, in the hearings of yesterday formally and completely.

Mr. Macon. You said, I believe, that you would file with the committee your reasons for asking secrecy on that occasion. Have you done so? done so?
Capt. PEARY. I have that part of the report yet to insert.

Then, why did he say that "that is covered in the hearings of yesterday, formally and completely "?

Mr. Macox. The reasons given the committee by the gentleman who appeared before it in explanation of your refusal to submit your proofs a year ago were that you were under contract with some magazines, and that it would interfere with the financial end of your discovery if you were to disclose your findings of facts to the committee. Did you afterwards have to change that contract with the magazines; the monetary part of it?

Another interruption occurred:

Mr. Bates, I object to that question. I think the committee will

Mr. Macon. The gentleman can refuse to answer if he wants to.

Mr. Macon. The gentleman can refuse to answer if he wants to.

Mr. Bates. The personal and financial arrangements of Capt. Peary have nothing to do with finding the pole.

Mr. Macon. The gentleman can refuse to answer if he wants to. I am not going to fall out with him for refusing to answer any question.

Congressman Macon was apparently trying to emphasize the fact that Peary had asked the Government to keep secret a re-port made by him of "work" done while he was absent from duty on Government pay. At the time this request for secrecy was made, Peary and his friends were endeavoring to persuade the Government to grant him retirement with retired pay of \$6,000 per year, several years before such retirement—according to age limit—was due. Was Peary afraid that if his "report" was made public before this retirement was granted, the people of the United States would rebel at a request to pay this amount annually for such meager results as were shown in that report? But, as usual, Congressman Macon was interrupted:

Mr. Macon, Did you find any decided atmospheric changes (at the pole)?

Capt. Pearr, I did not.

Mr. Macon. Did the needle answer to the primary or the secondary magnetic pole?

Capt. Pearr. The direction of the compass was fairly constant there.

This evasive reply shows Peary's ignorance of conditions at the pole. First, it was not an answer to Congressman Macon's question-merely an evasion. Second, Peary could not know whether or not the direction of his needle was "fairly constant," because he states repeatedly that he took no observations for longitude or for compass variation; therefore he could not know how much or in what directions his needle varied from true north. Third, he had already stated that the needle points near the magnetic pole, when in reality, in some places, it points at right angles to the magnetic pole, and varies to practically all points of the compass.

Again the investigation was interrupted:

Mr. Butler. Will you tell me, please, what that means? Mr. Macon. I asked him whether the needle answered to the primary

Mr. Macon. I asked him whether the needle answered to the primary or secondary magnetic pole.

Mr. Butler. What are they?

Mr. Macon. Oh, they are known in science.

Mr. Bayes. Where did you find that question?

Mr. Macon. They are known in science.

Mr. Bayes. But I am not a science.

Mr. Dawson. I would be glad if the gentleman from Arkansas would explain.

Mr. Dawson. I would be glad if the gentleman from Arkansas would explain.

Mr. Macon. The gentleman from Arkansas is going to ask questions. and he is not going to ask any foolish ones, either.

Mr. Englebright. Is he trying to test the captain's knowledge on science by asking such questions—ridiculous questions?

Mr. Macon. I have asked no ridiculous questions.

Mr. Englebright. Did you ever hear of a primary or secondary magnetic pole?

Mr. Macon. Yes; I have.

Mr. Englebright. Where—in Arkansas?

Mr. Macon. Where I have heard of everything eise? No; in Washington. And I want to say to the gentleman from California, if he intends it as a slur in regard to Arkansas, that it is unworthy of him.

Mr. Englebright. I withdraw the remark.

Mr. Macon. I want it understood that Arkansas is the equal of California in everything in the world, except a little gold in the earth and a few hungry fellows for an exposition.

Mr. Butler. I will ask the members of the subcommittee not to further interrupt you.

ther interrupt you.

Again and again, as in the instance above cited, when Peary was asked a question to which he could not or did not wish to reply, interruptions were made, and Peary was able to avoid an answer. Congressman Macon asked no questions that were not pertinent to the subject under discussion.

Mr. Macon. Each day's travel was estimated, not measured?

Mr. Macon. Each day's travel was estimated, not measured?
Capt. Pearr. It was.
Mr. Macon. So you would just figure the matter out along the line
of your judgment. Now, you made the 133 miles in five marches?
Capt. Pearr. We made the distance from the camp where Bartlett
left me to Camp Jesup in five marches.
Mr. Macon. That was 133 miles; it would be 26% miles per day.
Can you call to mind the travels of any explorer that discloses such a
record as that—five days' marching with an average of 26% miles, over
an unknown sea of ice?
Capt. Pearr. I can not give the figures right here. If it is material
in that connection, it can be inserted in the record of the committee,
if it desires it. Beginning on page 29 and ending on page 30 of
Mr. Moore's speech of last winter, comparative distances are to be
found which I think have not as yet gone into the record.

Dearre continually refers to Congressman Moore's speech, but

Peary continually refers to Congressman Moore's speech, but he is afraid to quote from that speech, lest he contradict something he himself had said.

Mr. Bates. What date was that speech, so it can be identified as being part of the Congressional Record?
Capt. Peart. March 22, 1910.
Mr. Bates. Who furnished him with the data, do you know?
Capt. Peart. It is stated that Mr. Gilbert H. Grosvenor, director and editor of the National Geographical Society, furnished it.

Remarkable, indeed, that the editor of the National Geographic Society, and a Member of Congress, should know more about a trip that Peary made than Peary himself knew, and were able to produce data which Peary himself could not furnish. Is not this fact conclusive proof that Peary's story was a manufactured fiction and not a bona fide record of actual events?

Mr. BUTLER. What is the average dog travel? Does Mr. MOORE say

Congressman Moore was never north of the Arctic Circle, yet he is regarded as an authority on the speed of Eskimo dogs.

Capt. Peary. There was no average given.

Here followed two pages of interruptions and discussions as to the speed of dogs in Alaska and farther north, and Peary was again saved from the necessity of a direct answer.

Mr. Macon. I would like to have that in the record, Capt. Peary, so as to make the record complete—what your average travel was while you had your supporting parties with you, while your dogs were fresher than they were when you left Bartlett, 87° 40'.

Capt. Peary. I think that question was answered, what the average speed was per march. The stenographer, I think, figured that out.

Evidently Peary disliked to state that his speed was much greater after his supporting parties left him, even though he had his own trail to "pioneer," than the speed made while he had the various supporting parties to break the trail with fresher

Mr. Macon. How long was it after Capt. Bartlett reached his camp the return trip that you arrived there? Capt. Pragr. I found him on the ship. Mr. Macon. How long had he arrived there before you did?

Capt. PEARY. Four days.

When Peary returned to the ship Macmillan and Borup were at Cape Morris K. Jesup, on the north Greenland coast, where they made tidal observations. Peary immediately sent an Eskimo to Cape Jesup with a note of instructions for Macmillan and Borup. In "A Tenderfoot with Peary," pages 231-232, Borup gives a copy of this note, signed by Peary, which begins:

STEAMSHIP " ROOSEVELT, April 28, 1909.

MY DEAR MACMILLAN: Arrived on board yesterday. Northern trip entirely satisfactory.

The letter was a long one, but the above quotation shows the date of Peary's arrival at the ship to have been on April 27. Page 51 of the hearing shows extract from Bartlett's diary, as follows:

April 20: Left Columbia, reaching the ship on the 24th.

Therefore, instead of arriving at the ship four days ahead of Peary, Capt. Bartlett was only three days ahead of him, Peary also omitted to mention that, as he himself arrived at Cape Columbia on April 23 and Bartlett did not reach the ship until April 24, if Peary had not spent 30 hours at the place he called the pole and two days at Cape Columbia, he would actually have reached the ship before Bartlett arrived there.

have reached the ship before Bartlett arrived there.

Mr. Macon. On the 7th of April, while you were making this trip, you made a sounding of 1,500 fathoms?

Capt. Peary. Yes.

Mr. Macon. About how long did it take you to make that sounding? Capt. Peary. It did not take us very long. In making a sounding the wire runs out very rapidly.

Mr. Macon. You did not estimate the time?

Capt. Peary. I did not estimate the time?

Mr. Macon. How long before that had the wire been used in making the soundings—the last sounding preceding that—how long a time had intervened.

Capt. Peary. Bartlett made a sounding on the 25th or 26th of March; or possibly the 27th; somewhere along there.

As a matter of fact, according to Peary's book, the last previous sounding was made by Bartlett on March 29. Another instance of Peary's poor memory.

Mr Macon. What was the condition of the weather while you were at the pole?
Capt. Psany. As stated in my book.
Mr. Macon. I believe you stated in the book that during the 30 hours you stayed at the pole it was clear and calm, cloudless and flawless. Let me have that book, please.

Here ensued more interruptions; but in this instance the gentleman from Arkansas, Mr. Macon, refused to be sidetracked.

gentleman from Arkansas, Mr. Macon, refused to be sidetracked.

Mr. Macon, In response to that—"clear and calm, cloudless and
flawless"—I desire to submit a few pictures here in your book, Captain. The flags taken up there, to be found on pages 284 and 290,
appear to be waving in a gale. These two appear to be waving in a
gale, blowing like that [indicating]. You would not call that breezeless,
would you?

Capt. Prark, Does it not state that there was sufficient breeze from
the west, or from the left, at times to straighten out the flag?

Mr. Macon. These two appear to be in a gale. The wind is so strong
that it stretches them right out. That would not be in an ordinary
breeze, and I was simply submitting these photographs in connection
with your statement in the book about its being clear and calm that day.
Now, Captain, at the risk of incurring the displeasure of some of the
members of the committee, I want to ask you again why it was that
when you concluded to find the pole that you rid yourself of every white
man who had any knowledge, any astronomical knowledge and experience in the northern regions, and sent them back and took only one
negro and four Eskimos with you to testify to your work. I think you
answered that yesterday.

Capt. Prary. I think I answered that.

Mr. Butlem. Do you wish to answer that further?
Capt. Prary. No, sir; the answer is as I have given it—that it would
have been inevitable under the circumstances.

Mr. Excleration. I submit that is a question for the public to pass
upon.

upon.

The public never saw this published hearing. It was practically suppressed. The Senate library has not a copy of it; the members of the congressional committee have none; Senators and Congressmen have tried in vain to procure copies. was this hearing suppressed?

Mr. Macon (p. 120 of hearing). Now, the gentlemen who were before us last spring said that they were of a subcommittee that examined your proofs, and they admitted that they had made up their minds about your having discovered the pole before they saw any of them at all. Therefore, they could not have been an impartial jury to sit upon your case. Captain, have your proofs been submitted to any geographical or scientific society to be passed upon except this National Geographic Society?

graphical or scientific society to be passed upon except this National Geographic Society?

Capt. PBARY. Yes.

Mr. Macon. What society? Have you any evidence of what society has passed upon them?

Capt. PEARY. This is a copy of the letter received by me from Maj. Leonard Darwin, president of the Royal Geographical Society of London findicating]. This is a copy of a letter received by me from Mr. Douglas W. Freshfield, member of the council of the Royal Geographical Society.

Mr. Macon. Did this geographical society have a full copy of the records that you have furnished to this committee?

Capt. PEARY. They did not have all the material that is here to-day.

Mr. Macon. What did they have?

Capt. PEARY. They had copies of all of my observations, and they had copies of a considerable portion of my journal.

Peary himself states that only copies were submitted to the

Peary himself states that only copies were submitted to the Royal Geographical Society. Furthermore, the society as a society never declared that Peary discovered the pole; it was only the presentation speaker who took it upon himself to make that assertion. The medal presented to Peary by the Royal Geographical Society bears the inscription: "For Arctic Exploration, 1886-1909," and says never a word about the North Pole or its discovery. The medal was given as a "sop to Cerberus," because Peary agreed to withdraw from the South Polar race and leave the field clear to Capt. Scott, so far as American competition was concerned. The meeting at which the medal of the Royal Geographical Society was voted to Peary was a secret meeting, and the printed matter on the subject is not for general distribution. Note the following letter signed by Sir Martin Conway, an explorer of note, who was knighted in recognition of his geographic feats:

ALLINGTON CASTLE,

Maidstone, February 25, 1914.

DEAR SIR: I wish I could send you anything you need, but the report you ask for (report of action of Royal Geographical Society on Peary's claims) is confidential, and I have not even seen it. I was off the council (of the Royal Geographical Society) when the matter arose and shall not be on again till next year at earliest. I am writing to the secretary to send you the presentation speech.

Yours, very truly,

Mr. Macon, But a scientification.

MRTIN CONWAY.

Mr. Macon. But a scientific society right here, of which you are a member, I understand, said that your observations were not any good without your narrative?

Mr. Bates. I object to that.

Nevertheless the statement remained in print. It may be relevant to state that on page 121 of the hearing is a copy of the letter referred to by Peary, written by Douglas W. Freshfield, member of the Royal Geographical Society's council, in which he says that the scientific instructor of the society (whose verdict was not accepted by the majority) says also that he "took the same view as that taken by the committee of the United States Geographic Society," This letter shows, by the use of the words

"United States Geographical Society," that the National Geographic Society is looked upon in England as really "national." This erroneous idea is shared by many persons in this country. In this connection the following letter from our Department of State is of interest:

Department of State,
Washington, December 5, 1913.

Sir: In response to your letter of December 2 I am directed by the Secretary of State to advise you that the National Geographic Society of this city is not a bureau of this Government.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
J. A. Tonner, Chief of Bureau.

The above letter should prove to the most enthusiastic member—that is, subscriber to the National Geographic Magazine-that this society is "national" in name only.

In this connection I will also quote from a resolution (H. Res. 709) introduced in the House of Representatives on January 21,

1915, by Hon. F. O. Smith of Maryland:

Whereas the National Geographic Society is not national (in the sense that it is not a bureau of nor connected with the National Government in any capacity whatsoever), is not geographic, is not scientific, and is not a society, but is simply and solely a private publishing house, no special privileges should be granted to it.

Yet this is the "society" that posed before the world as a geographic, scientific, national arbiter of Peary's claim to the discovery of the North Pole!

Mr. Macon (page 122). I believe you said, Captain, that the Eskimos that you selected to go with you to the pole would walk through hell with you if you said so. (Page 44 of "The North Pole"). I believe that language is in your book, and that they and Henson, the colored man you took with you for witnesses, were as pliant to your will as the fingers of your right hand. (Pages 270-271 of "The North Pole"). You made that statement, did you not?

Capt. Pearx. If that is in my book I will stand by it.

Peary was really doubtful as to whether or not he had actually made those statements in his book.

Mr. Macox. Do you really think those men would walk through hell for you, or was that just a figure of speech?

Mr. Bates. What has that to do with whether Peary reached the

Mr. Bates. What has that to do with it when you take into account all of the circumstances in connection with this question.

Capt. Peary. I think those men would go with me out on the ice just as far as I went, even if they felt pretty well satisfied in their own minds that their ever coming back to land was a doubtful question. That is my opinion.

Mr. Butler. Of course, the statement presupposes that there is a hell.

Mr. Butlen. Of course, and hell.

Mr. Macon. And it presupposes that they would say whatever the captain told them to say and abide by it.

Mr. Bates. I think that last remark better be struck out.

Mr. Macon. I do not think the committee has anything to do with it.

Mr. Bates. He interjected a remark.

Upon direction of the chairman the stenographer read as fol-

Mr. Macon. And it presupposes that they would say whatever the captain told them to say and abide by it.

Capt. Phart. I will ask, Mr. Chairman, that that be struck out of the record, if permissible.

Mr. Macon. No; I do not want to withdraw it.

Mr. Englebright (p. 125). You stated you made no observations for longitude?

Capt. Phart. I did not make any observation for longitude.

Mr. Englebright. When you left New York you had your chromometers compared?

Capt. Phart. They were compared, yes; the ship's chromometers.

Mr. Englebright. They were not compared again until after your return?

Capt. Phart. No; not so far as I know.

return?
Capt. Pearx. No; not so far as I know.
Mr. Englebright. Did you have a record of those comparisons of chronometers after you came back?
Capt. Pearx. I did not.
Mr. Englebright. As to any astronomical observations made up north, to be complete the chronometer comparisons would be a part of the essential thing in making careful calculations?
Capt. Pearx. They would be a part of the final discussion and reduction of those observations.
Mr. Englebright. Have you got the chronometer comparisons new?
Capt. Pearx. I have not.
Mr. Englebright. Will state that they are in the record of the coast-survey memorandum.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Roberts] then instithe gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Roberts] then mistruted a comparison between Peary's book, The North Pole—which Peary had placed in evidence—and the "pamphlet" entitled, "How Peary Reached the North Pole," by Peary, showing that various discrepancies occurred:

ing that various discrepancies occurred:

Mr. Roberts (p. 127). There is just one other point that has come up that I would like to ask you a question or so about. In reading your book giving details of the trip from Camp Bartlett, which, as I understand, is the place where Bartlett left and you started north, you mentioned in the book the distances traveled. I find the first distance mentioned is 30 or 25 miles, and a statement that the Eskimos estimated that you had traveled 35 miles that first march.

Capt. Pearr. They thought the march was equivalent to a distance near the ship, which was in reality about 35 miles. I do not mean to say that the Eskimos said to me: "We think we have traveled 35 miles," but they said: "We think our march to-day has been equivalent to the march from the Roosevelt to Porter Bay."

Mr. Roberts. But you said that you think that you traveled 30 miles; but in order to be conservative, you call it 25 miles. I am not giving the exact language of the book, but that was the summary. The next mention in the narrative of the distance traveled is 20 miles. Then,

the next, as I find, is a distance of 25 miles from the pole. You stopped at some camp 35 miles from the pole. Then the final distance mentioned is 30 miles. So in the narrative you give the distances traveled on three marches, and two marches you do not give any distance. Capt. Peart. It is not stated there?

Mr. Roberts. No.
Capt. Peart. I do not recall.
Mr. Roberts. Now, in this pamphlet. I find that on pages 18 and 19 that you estimate your first march 10 hours, 25 miles; the second, 20 miles in 10 hours, 25 miles in 10 hours, 25 miles; the fourth, without mentioning the hours, 25 miles or more; and the last 12 hours that you made 30 miles. I understood you also to say that Camp Bartlett was a distance of 133 geographic miles from the pole.
Capt. Peart. From the pole; yes.
Mr. Roberts. Now, let me ask you, how could you give the distances traveled for each of those five days in this pamphlet and in the book published later you did not give it?
Capt. Peart. I should say it was simply a matter of inadvertent omission. I think the figures appear in my journal.
Mr. Roberts. Then, in adding up the distances traveled as mentioned in the pamphlet, as distinguished from the book, I find that these five marches—two of them 20 miles each, two 25 miles, and one 30—total 120 miles.
Capt. Peart. One of those 20 miles is a typographical error in that

120 miles.

Capt. Pearly. One of those 20 miles is a typographical error in that pamphlet. The third is given 20 in the pamphlet, and that is a typographical error or an error of transmission.

Mr. ROBERTS. And that should be what?
Capt. Pearly. Twenty-five miles.

Mr. ROBERTS. Then, calling that 25 miles, that puts 125 miles from Camp Bartlett, or 8 miles south of the pole, if I may use that term, "south," 8 miles away from the pole.

Capt. Pearly. Yes.

Mr. ROBERTS. And yet Camp Jesup, where you stopped at the end of those marches, places you within about 3½ miles of the pole. So there was an error somewhere of 5 miles or more.

To this statement Peary made no reply whatever.

PEARY'S LACK OF MEMORY REGARDING HIS PHOTOGRAPHS AT THE POLE.

PEARY'S LACK OF MEMORY REGARDING HIS PHOTOGRAPHS AT THE POLE.

Mr. ROBERTS (p. 126). Captain, can you tell us about what time the photographs were made at or in the vicinity of the pole with relation to your arrival there?

Capt. Peary. Not precisely, no; the photographs were made at different times as I had opportunity.

Mr. ROBERTS, You arrived about noontime on the 6th of April?

Capt. Peary. About 10 o'clock.

Mr. ROBERTS. Were any of them made that day?

Capt. Peary. I should say that they were.

Mr. ROBERTS. You recall now that I am speaking of the four that were pointed out in the book; those are the particular ones I am talking about. I wanted to identify those particular ones. Can you give us any idea whether they were made before you had made your astronomical observations or afterwards?

Capt. Peary. I should say that some of those photographs were made in the evening. I can not say exactly when they were taken, but they were taken after 8 o'clock of the 6th; I can say that. I do not know that I can recall the precise time other than to say that they were taken after 8 o'clock, because they were taken in sunlight.

Mr. ROBERTS. They were taken after 8 o'clock of the 6th?

Capt. Peary. They were taken after 8 o'clock of the 6th?

Capt. Peary. They were taken some time between 8 p. m. of the 6th and 4 p. m. of the 7th.

Peary's lack of memory as to his movements at the alleged

Peary's lack of memory as to his movements at the alleged pole is remarkable. The nearest he could approach to an estimate of the time of taking the photographs to which Congressman Roberts referred was that "they were taken some time between 8 p. m. of the 6th and 4 p. m. of the 7th." But in his book he says (p. 289) that he was on his way to a point 10 miles beyond the pole when the sky cleared. Therefore, these four photographs purporting to have been taken at the pole (or at Camp Jesup) could not have been taken until his return to Camp Jesup at 6 a. m. of April 7. Mr. Peary distinctly says that he took all of these photographs himself; therefore Henson could not have taken them in Peary's absence. This would place the time at which they were taken between 6 a. m. and 4 p. m. of April 7

But after taking his observations at 6 a. m. on April 7, Peary says on page 290 of "The North Pole":

With a double team of dogs and a light sledge I traveled directly toward the sun, an estimated distance of 8 miles. Again I returned to the camp in time for a final and completely satisfactory series of observations on April 7 at noon.

It would therefore appear that Peary did not have any time to take photographs on the forenoon of April 7, especially as he says in his diary (p. 40 of the hearings) :

Spent day with light sledge, double team, going east and west.

Again, on page 300 of "The North Pole," he says:

In the afternoon of the 7th, after flying our flags and taking our photographs, etc.

Also, in Hampton's Magazine for August, 1910, page 177, he says (in writing of April 7):

During those last few hours I busied myself with taking photographs the locality, of the flags on their hummock of ice, and of my five companions.

The above is the only place in the Hampton story where Peary mentions taking photographs at the pole.

And still, after proving conclusively that all of his photographs in the neighborhood of the alleged pole were taken on

April 7, on page 2 of Hampton's Magazine for January, 1910, is a full-page photograph, entitled:

"First photograph at the North Pole. Stars and Stripes at the earth's apex. Photograph taken by Peary on the day of discovery, April 6, 1909."

Also, opposite page 291 of "The North Pole," is another, entitled:

"Peary's igloo at Camp Morris K. Jesup, April 6, 1909."

Any attempt to make Peary's statements of dates and occurrences coincide is certain to result in inextricable confusion. Small wonder that Peary did not trust himself to "remember" any of these occurrences at the hearing, when his statements were used as "evidence" of his attainment of the North Pole!

PEARY'S MEMORY OF THE INVESTIGATION OF THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY.

Mr. Roberts (p. 128). I would like to go into the examination of your records made by the Geographic Society committee, if you have no objection. I would like to have from you just what was said and done,

* * You were invited by the Geographic Society to present your

records?
Capt. Pearx. I was.
Mr. Roberts. I understand you first sent them through a Mr. Nichols, a statement of some sort, sent it from Portland, or somewhere in Maine. Is that the fact?
Capt. Pearx. I sent them papers; yes.
Mr. Roberts. Do you object to telling us what those papers were?
Capt. Pearx. Well, I will suggest as to that that the members of that subcommittee who had those papers—and it is probably on the records—could give that information with absolute accuracy. I don't know that I have a memorandum of what those papers were.

As previously shown, Peary could remember just what copies of material were sent to the Royal Geographical Society of London, but in the case of the material sent to the National Geographic Society, a committee of which was to pass upon his claim, he "did not know that he had a memorandum of what those papers were."

Mr. Roberts. I would say in reply to that, that we sought those papers from that committee last spring, and they declined to give them to us on the ground that they were under a certain injunction as to secrecy and could not give them out. That is why I asked you about them.

about them.

Capt. Peary. I would prefer that that question would be taken up with the subcommittee

Mr. Roberts. I am not asking you as to the subcommittee, but whether you sent them.

Capt. Peary (continuing). As to their record, the record of what was sent to them, and what their examination was.

Mr. Roberts. Have you any record of what you sent by Mr. Nichols? Capt. PEARY. I can not say whether I have or not; I will look

Capt. Frank: I can also and see.

Mr. ROBERTS. In reply to that request of the Geographic Society, you sent them something by Mr. Nichols?

Capt. PEARY. Yes.

Mr. ROBERTS. And you do not wish to tell us now, what it was?

Capt. PEARY. I could not tell you, that I know of, now.

Mr. ROBERTS. And you did not keep any copy of it?

December 1 could not keep any copy of it?

Congressman Roberts's last question was not answered. Note how Peary evaded a reply:

Capt. Pearr. And I would prefer, as I said, that the question as to what was said to the committee and what action they took, would be put to the committee.

Mr. ROBERTS. As long as you have not copies of it, and, as I understand it, you do not want to trust your memory to tell us just what you sent, we will go on a step. Did the Geographic Society's committee act upon that information you sent by Mr. Nichols at that time?

Capt. Peary. How far they acted I can not tell you offhand.
Mr. Roberts. What did you next hear from that committee, after sending them those documents, or that information, or whatever it was that you did send?
Capt. Peary. I can not say that I heard from the committee, except a request to come on to that committee.
Mr. Roberts. How did you get that request?
Capt. Peary. I can hardly say whether by wire or letter, and I do not recall from whom the request came.

Apparently Peary feared Congressman Roberts would ask him which member of the society sent him the request to

appear.

Mr. Roberts. In response to that, you came down?

Capt. Pearr. I did.

Mr. Roberts. And what did you bring with you?

Capt. Pearr. I brought with me my instruments and the material that I have here to-day.

Mr. Roberts. Did you bring any more than you have shown the committee thus far?

Capt. Pearr. I brought all of my photographs or nearly all of them, and, I think, my negatives. I am not sure of that.

Mr. Roberts. What time did you reach the city, Mr. Peary?

Capt. Pearr. I could not say.

Mr. Roberts. What did you do when you arrived in the city? Where did you go?

Mr. Roberts. What the year and the year and the year and the year.

Capt. Peary. I do not recall what my movements were.

Mr. Roberts. Perhaps I will ask some leading questions, as the lawyers say, and suggest in my question the answer. You went to the Geographical Society's rooms some time in the forenoon?

Capt. Peary. I do not remember when I went there. The members of the board can tell.

By what deduction did Peary reason that the members of the board or committee would have a clearer recollection of the time

that Peary met them than he himself had, when the meeting was of much greater importance to him than it could possibly have been to any of the committee?

Mr. Roberts. It was that same day you got in?

Mr. Roberts. It was that same day you got in:
Capt. Pearx. Yes.
Mr. Roberts. You went to the Geographical Society's rooms?
Capt. Pearx. No; I think not. The Geographic Society's rooms?
Mr. Roberts. Yes; on Sixteenth Street.
Capt. Pearx. That I can not say.
Mr. Roberts. Well, let me ask this question: Where did you meet
the committee that had been appointed to investigate?
Capt. Pearx. The meeting of the committee was at Admiral Chester's

Capt. Pears. The meeting of the committee was at Admiral Caester's house,
Mr. Roberts. No. Where did you meet them? I am not asking the place of the meeting of the committee, but where did you meet the committee or any of its members.
Capt. Pears. There, as I recall it. The members of the committee can tell you.

Again, why should the members of the committee remember the place of meeting better than Peary? Washington is a familiar city to him, so that he had not the excuse of unknown streets and buildings.

Mr Roberts. I would like to have the best recollection you have about when you first saw any of the members of the committee, and here? Capt. Prany. I do not recall about that—about my meeting any mem-

Capt. Pearry. I do not recall about that—about my meeting any members of the committee.

Mr. Roberts. You would not want to say that you did not meet two of the members of the committee at the room of the Geographical Society, would you?

Capt. Pearr. I would not want to say I did or did not.

Mr. Roberts. Well, we will go a step farther. You did finally go to the house of Admiral Chester?

Capt. Pearr. I went to the house of Admiral Chester.

Mr. Roberts. And three members of that subcommittee were there with you?

Capt. Pearry They were: yes.

Mr. Roberts. And three members of that subcommittee were there with you?

Capt. Peary: They were; yes.
Mr. Roberts. You are not certain just how you all got there?

Capt. Peary. No.
Mr. Roberts. Can you give us anything definite as to the time of day you got there?

Capt. Peary. No; I could not.
Mr. Roberts. Before lunch or after?

Capt. Peary. No.
Mr. Roberts. Can you recall how long you were there?

Capt. Peary. Until some time in the evening.
Mr. Roberts. What did you do while there with the committee? I want to find out how this examination of the proofs was made. That is what I am trying to get at, Mr. Peary.

Capt. Peary. There, again, as the members of the committee are accessible, I would prefer to have them take that up.
Mr. Roberts. No; I want to have your recollection, if you can give it.

Capt. Peary. I recall that I was there at Admiral Chester's house

Mr. ROBERTS. No., I shall be seen at Admiral Chester's house with the members of the committee, and some others, I think, came in in addition to the members of the subcommittee; and I remember, too, that I was there until some time in the evening; I could not say how

that I was there during the late.

Mr. Roberts. Have you exhibited to the subcommittee that original memoranda that you have shown us? Did they read it?

Capt. Pears. How much the different members of the committee read.

Capt. Pears. How much the different members of the committee read I can not say.

Mr. Roberts. And you submitted the data of your astronomical observations?

Capt. Pears. That is my impression. I had it there with me, and I presume they saw portions of it, perhaps all of it.

Mr. Roberts. Did they verify any of the computations in your presence; that is, figure over again the necessary computations?

Capt. Pears. The only thing I can say is that I think Prof. Gannett was making some figures. Whether he carried out the full computation or not I can not say.

Mr. Roberts. Do you recall Admiral Chester going over the astronomical computations?

Capt. Pears. I remember, Admiral Chester having a chart showing the projection of the sun.

Mr. Roberts. How many hours would you say, as the best estimate you can give, you were there with the committee?

Capt. Pears. Well, I should say that I was there the greater portion of the day.

A brief time before this Peary could not remember whether

A brief time before this Peary could not remember whether he met the committee in the morning before lunch or in the afternoon, or approximate the time of day in any manner; now he "should say" he was with them the greater portion of the day!

Mr. Roberts. Do you recall when it was that you were there? Do you recall the month or the day?
Capt. Pears. It was some time in October, I should say.
Mr. Roberts. Did you bring with you to Admiral Chester's house your instruments?

your instruments?
Capt. Peart. No.
Mr. Roberts. Where were they?
Capt. Peart. They were at the station.
Mr. Roberts. Did the committee see those instruments?
Capt. Peart. They did.
Mr. Roberts. Where did they see them?
Capt. Peart. At the station.
Mr. Roberts. Did you go with them?
Capt. Peart. Did.
Mr. Roberts. Do you recall what time you got to the station?
Capt. Peart. I did.
Mr. Roberts. Do you recall what time you got to the station?
Capt. Peart. No. sir; I do not, except it was pretty well along in the evening.
Mr. Roberts. It was after dark?
Capt. Peart. It was after dark?
Capt. Peart. When you got to the station what did you or the committee do with regard to the instruments? How did the instruments come down?
Capt. Peart. They came in a trunk.
Mr. Roberts. After you reached the station and found the trunk.
Mr. Roberts. After you reached the station and found the trunk.

Capt. Pearly. They came in a trunk.
Mr. Roberts. After you reached the station and found the trunk,
what did you and the committee do with regard to the instruments?

Capt. Peary. I should say that we opened the trunk there in the station.

Mr. Roberts. That is, in the baggage room of the station?

Capt. Peary. Yes,

Mr. Roberts. Were the instruments all taken out?

Capt. Peary. That I could not say. Members of the committee will probably remember that better than I.

Mr. Roberts. Well, you do not have any recollection of whether they took them out and examined them?

Capt. Peary. Some were taken out, I should say; whether all were taken out I could not say.

Mr. Roberts. Was any test of those instruments made by any member of the committee to ascertain whether or not the instruments were accurate? accurate?

capt. Pearl. That I could not say. I should imagine that it would not be possible to make tests there.

Mr. Roberts. Were those instruments ever in the possession of the committee other than the inspection at the station?

Capt. Pearl. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. Roberts. Has this original memorandum you read from ever been left in the hands of the committee?

Capt. Pearl. No.

Mr. Roberts. Have they ever had copies of it?

Capt. Pearl. No.;

Mr. Roberts. When did they get copies?

Capt. Pearl. That I can not say.

Mr. Roberts. Before or after they had made a report to the society?

Capt. Pearl. That I can not say.

Mr. Roberts. Before or after they had made a report to the society?

Capt. Pearl. That I can not say.

Mr. Dawson (p. 134). In the course of your trip, when you were in this condition of perpetual day, for how many periods of 24 hours—that is, how many calendar days—were you in this perpetual daylight?

Was it all the way from Camp Columbia up and back?

Capt. Pearl. Not from Camp Columbia up and back?

Capt. Pearl. Not from Camp Columbia in no. From about the 28th of March where we were there was constant daylight from there to the pole and back.

In "The North Pole" page 245. Pearly says, on March 20:

In "The North Pole," page 245, Peary says, on March 20: "The now continuous daylight," and so forth.

On page 258 he says, on March 27:

We were now across the eighty-seventh parallel and into the region of perpetual daylight, as the sun had not set during our last march.

Thus he has two different dates, a week apart, for the season of perpetual daylight.

Mr. Roberts. Just one question or two I forgot. You spoke of submitting copies to the Royal Geographic Society of London. Did they request you to do so?

Capt. Pears. I was asked if I would bring my records with me. Mr. Roberts. On what occasion?

Capt. Pears. When I went over there; I stated that I would bring them and submit them to the society.

Mr. Roberts. Did you take the originals?

Capt. Pears. I did.

Mr. Roberts. But you submitted copies?

Capt. Pears. I submitted copies.

Mr. Roberts. That was after the award of the medal?

Capt. Pears. That was after the award of the medal?

Thus Peary states that the medal presented to him by the Royal Geographical Society, which he claims was a recognition of his discovery of the North Pole, was presented before the Royal Geographical Society had examined any of his data; that when he did allow that society to inspect any of his data he did not give them original papers, but merely copies of such of his records as he saw fit to submit to them; and the action of the Royal Geographical Society was therefore not based on the merit of Peary's records-which the society had not seenbut merely on the previous action of the National Geographic Society, which, as was plainly brought out and emphasized at the hearing, had made only the most cursory and inefficient examination of Peary's records and proofs.

Mr. Roberts: Has any other geographic or scientific body requested you to submit proofs?

Capt. Pearv. No; not that I recall.

Mr. Roberts. Have you volunteered to submit them to any other body?

Capt. Pearv. I do not recall that I have.

This ended the formal examination of Peary by the subcommittee of the Naval Committee of Congress.

Mr. Hugh C. Mitchell was called as an "expert" witness to testify in regard to Peary's astronomical observations.

TESTIMONY OF MR. HUGH C. MITCHELL.

Mr. Englebright. Have you had the data of Mr. Peary's observations near the pole?

Mr. Mitchell. Yes, sir.

Mr. Englebright. L. it an essential proposition to have the rating of the chronometers used in connection with any astronomical observations to determine position on the earth?

Mr. Mitchell. Yes.

Mr. Englebright. Then, to have made final calculations on the position attained by Mr. Peary you finally got all the necessary data?

Mr. MITCHELL I believe I had all the necessary data.

Mr. Englebright. I have a document here in writing, some remarks made by you, giving the calculations and figures, with your name and report. Did you make that [indicating]?

Mr. MITCHELL Yes.

Mr. Englebright. I offer this as part of the record.

I now quote a few extracts from Mr. Mitchell's report:

I now quote a few extracts from Mr. Mitchell's report:

I. Marvin's observations of March 22 give a latitude of 85° 48' 57" ader the assumption that his watch carried correct sixtleth meridian

Why did Mr. Mitchell "assume" that Marvin carried correct sixtieth meridian time, when Peary claims to have traveled on the meridian of Cape Columbia—the seventieth meridian—and

Marvin traveled with Peary? In Peary's letter of October 28, 1909, to the Coast and Geodetic Survey, he says:

In regard to the profile of soundings, will say that these soundings were made on the meridian of Cape Columbia.

Why, then, assume that Marvin had sixtieth meridian time instead of seventieth meridian, especially as Peary says of his own observation alleged to have been made at the pole?

Everything was in readiness for an observation at 6 p. m., Columbia meridian time. (See "The North Pole," pp. 288-289.)

Mr. Mitchell also stated in reply to a question asked by Congressman Englebright that: "It is an essential proposition to have the rating of the chronometers used in connection with any astronomical observations to determine position on the earth."

In Peary's letter to the Waltham Watch Co., dated November 20, 1909, he said:

Watches were distributed to different supporting parties, and were used for time comparisons by the parties up to the point where Marvin returned.

As further simultaneous tide observations were contemplated, Marvin took with him the five Waltham watches in the party for this purpose. (Hampton's Magazine for January, 1910.)

On pages 319 to 321 of "The North Pole," Peary says that Marvin's Eskimos "threw from the sledge everything they could find belonging to Marvin," overlooking only "a little canvas packet containing a few of his notes."

Therefore, since all of Marvin's instruments (including the five watches) and observations were lost with him, how did Mr. Mitchell obtain the chronometer rating which Marvin used in connection with his observations of March 22 and March 25, and which Mr. Mitchell stated was essential to have?

The first line of Mr. Mitchell's report says:

Marvin's observations of March 22 give a latitude of 85° 48' 57".

But on page 352 of "The North Pole" Peary gives what purports to be a facsimile reproduction of Marvin's observation of March 22, which reads:

Lat. at noon, March 22, 85-48-03.

Where, then, did Mr. Mitchell obtain what he calls "Marvin's observations of March 22 of 85° 48′ 57"?

Again, Mr. Mitchell's report reads:

II. Marvin's observations of March 25 give a latitude of 86° 37' 45", subject to the same assumption mentioned for 1.

But on page 355 of "The North Pole" is a facsimile of Marvin's observation of March 25, which shows the following figures:

86° 37' 49" (86° 38') lat. at noon, March 25, 1909.

Where did Mr. Mitchell obtain what he calls "Marvin's observations of March 25 of 86° 37′ 45′′ "?

One may say that the difference between Marvin's observa-tions as quoted by Mr. Mitchell and those shown in Peary's facsimile reproductions, is too slight to make any appreciable difference in the computations—but even so, why any differerence? What reasonable explanation can be given why the two should not be the same if they were taken from the same data? Did Mr. Peary make his facsimile reproductions from one set of papers and give Mr. Mitchell another set of "Marvin's observations" from which to make his computations? Since, as Mr. Peary stated to the committee, "all of Marvin's observations and records were lost with him"; how did Peary obtain possession of any of them?

Again, Mr. Mitchell's report continues:

III. Bartlett's observations of April 1 give a latitude of 87° 44' 49", subject to the same assumption mentioned in 1.

But on page 359 of "The North Pole" Peary gives a facsimile of Bartlett's observation of April 1, which shows the following: Lat. at noon, April 1/09, 87° 46' 49".

Why should not Bartlett's observation, as shown in facsimile by Peary and as quoted by Mr. Mitchell, agree, if taken from the same papers?

The gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Roberts, made a brave attempt to obtain from Mr. Mitchell a lucid explanation as to how the "estimated error" of Peary's chronometer was obtained by the computers, but was obliged to abandon the effort, which he did with the question?

Mr. Roberts. When you come right down to it, that "average rate" was a matter of guesswork, was it not?
Mr. Mitchell. Guesswork within limits.
Mr. Roberts. Well, we all guess within limits, do we not?

Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, from which

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
UNITED STATES COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY,
Washington, March 4, 1914.
Sir: The computations of Peary's work were made by Messrs. Hugh
C. Mitchell and Charles R. Duvall, who were employed for the purpose
by Mr. Peary. These computations were, therefore, not made officially
by the Coast and Geodetic Survey.
Respectfully,

O. H. TITTMANN, Superintendent.

Mr. Englebright. Mr. Peary filed a lot of tidal records, and so on, with the Coast Survey. The Coast Survey got the rating of those chronometers for the purpose of using them in working up those detail

But contrary to Congressman Englebright's implied opinion, Peary never submitted his nautical or astronomical observations—if he made any—to the Coast and Geodetic Survey. This is proved by a letter dated June 12, 1915, from Superintendent Jones, of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, addressed to me:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
UNITED STATES COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY,
Washington, June 12, 1915.

Hon. H. T. HELGESEN.

My Dear Mr. Congressman: Further referring to your letter of June 11, in which you requested the original official report made by Robert E. Peary to this bureau on his return from the north in 1909, and a photostat copy of Admiral Peary's only official report to us, I have complied with your request and am sending it (Notes on Soundings and Profile of Soundings from Cape Columbia to the Pole) herewith.

Respectfully, yours,

E. Lester Jones.

E. LESTER JONES, Superintendent.

This letter from Superintendent Jones, of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the photostat copy referred to, which accompanied the letter, confirms the statement made by former Superintendent Tittmann to the congressional committee that Peary's only official record consisted of a line of soundings and did not refer to astronomical observations of any kind.

The hearings closed with Mr. Mitchell's testimony. There remained, then, the "report" of the committee, or, in common

parlance, the "verdict of the jury."

When Peary's case was first brought before Congress a number of bills looking to a "reward" for his Arctic achievements were introduced in the Senate and the House, among which were the following:

House bill 19971, introduced in the House by Congressman ALLEN read:

A bill providing for the appointment of Commander Robert E. Peary a rear admiral in the Navy, as an additional number in grade, and placing him upon the retired list.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized to appoint Commander Robert E. Peary, of the United States Navy, a rear admiral in the Navy, to be carried as an additional number in said grade, and to place him upon the retired list of the Navy.

House bill 20984 introduced in the House by Congressman Butler, chairman of the Naval Committee, read as follows:

Butler, chairman of the Naval Committee, read as follows:

A bill providing for the vote of thanks to be presented to Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, and the men who accompanied him on his expedition whereby he discovered the North Pole, and providing for a suitable gold medal to be presented to him.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the thanks of Congress be, and the same are hereby, presented to Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, and through him to the men who accompanied him on his last expedition in the Arctic regions, for the discovery of the North Pole and placing thereat the flag of the United States of America.

SEC. 2. That the President of the United States be requested to cause a gold medal to be struck emblematical of this distinguished and memorable service and be presented to Civil Enginer Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, in such manner as may be most honorable to him. SEC. 3. That any moncy in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated is hereby appropriated to carry out the provisions of this act and shall be immediately available.

House bill 21431, introduced in the House by Congressment.

House bill 21431, introduced in the House by Congressman Loup, was identical with House bill 20984, except that it introduced a clause reading:

That Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary shall be eligible to retirement from active duty in the United States Navy immediately upon the passage of this act, and in lieu of the retired pay of his grade he shall receive an annuity of \$5,000, payable out of the appropriation, "Pay of the Navy."

Senate bill 6104, introduced in the Senate by Senator Hale, on February 3, 1910, read:

A bill providing for the appointment of Commander Robert E. Peary a rear admiral in the Navy, as an additional number in grade, and placing him upon the retired list.

No reply was vouchsafed to this query.

The erroneous supposition prevails that the computations of Peary's data by Messrs. Mitchell and Duvall were made officially by the Coast and Geodetic Survey. The fallacy of this supposition is proved by a letter signed by O. H. Tittmann, then

Bills H. R. 21495, introduced in the House by Congressman Bates; H. R. 29511, introduced by Congressman Alexander; and House joint resolution 144, introduced by Congressman J. HAMPTON MOORE, were of the same purport as the bills above

The amended bill, which finally passed both houses of Con-

gress, read as follows:

An act (S. 6104) providing for the promotion of Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, and tendering to him the thanks of Congress.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized to place Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, on the retired list of the Corps of Civil Engineers with the rank of rear admiral, to date from April 6, 1909, with the highest retired pay of that grade under existing law.

law.

That the thanks of Congress be, and the same are hereby, tendered to Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, for his Arctic explorations, resulting in reaching the North Pole.

Note the vital differences in the bills as they were introduced in the Senate and the House of Representatives, and the amended bill, which finally passed both houses and was signed

by President Taft on March 4, 1911.

The various bills, as introduced, called for the "promotion" of "Commander" Robert E. Peary to the rank of rear admiral. The bill which finally passed provides that "Civil Engineer" not "Commander"—Peary be placed on the retired list of the Corps of Civil Engineers with the rank of rear admiral. This change in the bill as introduced and as finally passed was largely due to a letter written by (then) Secretary of the Navy von L. Meyer to the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, in which he said:

NAVY DEPARTMENT, Washington, February 10, 1910.

My Dear Congressman: The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of the 5th instant, inclosing a bill (H. R. 19971).

It would appear that the bill in question is framed for the purpose of rewarding Civil Engineer Peary for having reached the North Pole, and while having successfully accomplished this self-imposed task is most commendable and reflects great credit not only upon him but also upon the entire Nation, his various exploring expeditions can not be regarded as having been conducted for a strictly military or naval purpose, and for this reason it seems inappropriate to confer upon him a title for which his previous education, training, and service have not fitted him.

It is therefore recommended that in the title of the bill and in the

It is therefore recommended that in the title of the bill and in the fourth line thereof the word "Commander" be changed to "Civil Engineer," the latter being Mr. Peary's correct official designation, and, further, that instead of appointing him a rear admiral and placing him upon the retired list as such, that he be retired as a civil engineer with the rank of rear admiral, and with the highest retired pay of that grade under existing law.

Faithfully, yours,

G. VON L. MEYER.

To the CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS, House of Representatives.

In accordance with the letter just quoted the bill that passed Congress and was signed by the President, placed Peary on the retired list of the Corps of Civil Engineers, with the rank of rear admiral. Thus Peary was not promoted or made a rear admiral. In truth, he never was an officer of the line in the Navy, as is shown by Secretary Meyer's letter.

At this time (1916) the Official United States Register rends:

"Peary, R. E., civil engineer."

The section in some of the bills introduced providing for the presentation of a gold medal to Peary by Congress was not included in the bill as finally passed and signed. No medal was ever given to Peary by act of Congress.

Note also that the words "discovery" and "discovered" were stricken from the amended bill, and that section of the

bill was made to read:

That the thanks of Congress be, and the same are hereby, tendered to Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, for his Arctic explorations resulting in reaching the North Pole.

Thus Robert E. Peary was never officially recognized by Congress as the "discoverer" of the North Pole.

Congressman Bates, from the Committee on Naval Affairs. submitted the following report to accompany amended Senate

After reading the bill as just quoted, Congressman Bates

Robert E. Peary reached the North Pole on April 6, 1909. From a camp which he established at a point estimated by observation at 89° 56' north latitude on said date, slightly 4 miles from the exact pole, he made two excursions on that and the following day, which carried him close to and beyond the pole.

Peary's "polar camp" has moved again! In the hearing it was "estimated" at different times to be 3, 5 and 8 miles, respectively, from the role. (See p. 40 of hearing questions)

respectively, from the pole. (See p. 40 of hearing, quotation from diary, 89° 57', or 3 miles; p. 128 of hearing, 8 miles; p. 31 of hearing, "3 or 5 miles" from the pole.) And now Congress-

man Bates places the camp at a point which he says was "estimated by observation at $89\,^\circ$ 56', slightly over 4 miles from the exact pole."

Congressman Bates's report continues:

Your committee have come to the above conclusion after a careful examination and hearing by the subcommittee extending over several days, at which Capt. Peary appeared in person and gave important testimony, submitting all his papers, original data, daily journal kept by him during the journey, and notes of astronomical observations and soundings etc. soundings, etc.

On page 84 of the hearing, Peary refused to leave his original memorandum book, or "journal," with the committee, saying it never had been out of his possession. The only examination the committee was able to give it, therefore, was a most cursory one, as it was passed around from hand to hand.

One, as it was passed around from hand to hand.

Your committee also heard the report of the National Geographic Society of Washington, the report from the president and one of the board of governors of the Royal Geographical Society of London, which society, through its official computer, had made an independent examination of the data and proofs; and also a report from Hugh C. Mitchell and C. R. Duvall, expert computers of astronomical observations from the Coast and Geodetic Survey of the United States. These men independently of any other person, working on the original data of the observations taken by Peary, stated before your committee that on the abovenamed dates Peary passed within a little over a mile of the exact pole, and stated, in conclusion, that the march of April 7, 1909, may have carried Peary even within a stone's throw of that point.

As is shown in the analysis of the hooring the festimony of

As is shown in the analysis of the hearing, the testimony of the two representatives of the National Geographic Society, Messrs. Gannett and Tittmann, was most unconvincing and unsatisfactory. Tittman, on page 2 of the hearing, said:

When Mr. Peary returned from the Arctic he forwarded to us a line of soundings from Cape Columbia to within about 5 miles from the Pole, and that is the official record we have of his having been at the North Pole. North Pole.

And again, on page 3 of the hearing, Tittmann said:

I have no official evidence (that Peary reached the pole) except, as I said, the line of soundings under Peary's signature.

When Congressman Butler, chairman of the committee (p. 6 of the hearing), said to Mr. Tittmann:

I would like it to appear in the record the sort of an observation he (Peary) made, the instruments with which he made it, how he made it, and what it showed, so that any scientific man may know, by looking at that observation, how you reached your conclusion and how it enabled you to reach your conclusion.

Mr. Tittmann suddenly remembered that he was due at a meeting of the Appropriations Committee, and remarking that Mr. Gannett could give the Naval Committee "all of that," hurriedly left the committee room.

Mr. Gannett in his testimony gave the report of the subcommittee of the National Geographic Society, which stated that:

Commander Peary has submitted to this subcommittee his original journal and records of observations, together with all his instruments and apparatus and certain of the most important of the scientific results of his expedition. These have been carefully examined by your

It must be remembered, however, that this "careful examination" of Peary's instruments and apparatus was made at the railroad station, in the baggage room, after dark; that the instruments were in a trunk, and Peary himself, although he "exhibited" the instruments to the committee, was unable to say whether or not they were all taken from the trunk. The "scientific results" mentioned by Mr. Gannett were the soundings which Mr. Tittmann stated comprised the only official evidence that they had of Peary's having been to the pole.

Mr. Gannett also made many statements in his testimony inconsistent with a "careful examination of Peary's records." stated that Peary took with him to the pole 2 sledges, 32 or 36 dogs, 2 Eskimos, and Henson, while Peary says he had 5 sledges, 40 dogs, 4 Eskimos, and Henson. Other statements made by Mr. Gannett prove conclusively that his "examination" of Peary's records was anything but "careful."

So far as the Royal Geographical Society is concerned, Mr. Peary admitted, on page 121 of the hearing, under examination by Congressman Macon, that the Royal Geographical Society "did not have all the material that is here to-day." Congressman Macon asked: "What did they have?" and Peary replied:

They had copies of all of my observations, and they had copies of a considerable portion of my journal.

It is also a notable fact, easily proven by the medals on exhibition in the National Museum at Washington, that the Royal Geographical Society, as a whole, never recognized Peary as the discoverer of the North Pole. The medal presented to Peary by that society plainly reads: "For Arctic Explorations," and says never a word about "discovery" or "North Pole."

Congressman Bates in his report also conveys the idea that Hugh C. Mitchell and C. R. Duvall were acting for the Coast and Geodetic Survey in making their recomputations of Peary's observations. That such was not the case is shown by Mr.

Tittmann's letter of March 4, 1914, already quoted, in which Mr. Tittmann says:

The computations of Peary's work were made by Messrs. Hugh C. Mitchell and Charles R. Duvall, who were employed for the purpose by Mr. Peary. These computations were, therefore, not made officially by the Ooast and Geodetic Survey.

The report continues:

Peary was an officer of the United States Navy and charged with the specific duty in which he was engaged. President Roosevelt, July 3, 1908, detailed Peary to report to the Superintendent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, and instructed that Peary be ordered to make tidal observations along the Grant Land and Greenland shore of the Polar Sea.

These instructions were given, but Peary was not instructed to search for the North Pole. It was known that he was to do so, however, and his instructions to make tidal observations were given merely to silence the many adverse criticisms made relative to Peary's many and prolonged absences from his legitimate duties connected with the Navy Department, while he was drawing full pay for services not rendered. These instructions to make tidal observations furnished a plausible and official excuse for another "Polar expedition."

Congressman Bates next makes the misleading statement and quotation:

Mr. Peary entered the Navy in 1881 and has served almost thirty years. When leaving for his Polar trip the Acting Secretary of the Navy wrote him that he was granted this leave of absence for Arctic explorations because he is believed to be better equipped than any other person to undertake such work. "You have," said the letter from the Navy Department, "the requisite courage, fortitude, and physique. The attainment of the Pole should be your main object. Nothing short will suffice."

Congressman Bates, however, neglects to state to which Polar trip the Acting Secretary of the Navy referred when he wrote the above words to Peary. As a matter of fact, the letter is dated September 5, 1903, almost five years prior to the Polar trip under discussion.

Referring to Peary's observations, Congressman Bates says:

Mitchell states that from his professional experience it would have been impossible for the data of these observations to have been ob-tained other than under the circumstances claimed.

In refutation of this statement is the testimony before the Committee on Naval Affairs, of Mr. Gannett, then the president of the National Geographic Society, a (theoretical) geographer, and the author of "Manual Topographic Surveying," "Dictionary of Altitudes," "Magnetic Declination in the United States," "Stanford's Compendium of Geography," and other technical works. I repeat the questions asked Mr. Gannett at the hearing on this subject, and his answers:

Mr. Roberts. Could he (Peary) have gone out of sight behind an iceberg or promontory and faked this thing?

Mr. Gannett, I do not know whether Peary knows enough about astronomy to do it or not.

Mr. Garnett, I think I could.

The Cannett, I think I could.

The Chairman (Mr. Butler). Could you lely upon his report of the observations taken without any other fact and not knowing the man?

Mr. Gannett, No.; I don't think I could.

Although Mr. Gannett did his best to bolster up Peary's reports, he was forced to admit that he himself could have worked backward from a theoretical point and produced so-called "observations" which could be as readily computed as were Peary's. To a thoughtful person this statement of Mr. Gannett was sufficient to nullify all of his friendly but blundering efforts to help Peary "prove" his claimed achievement.

Congressman Bates closes his report with this eloquent paragraph:

Your committee believe that in view of his long distinguished service in the arctic regions in ascertaining the northern boundaries of Greenland, his soundings and tidal observations, his ascertainment of facts concerning the northern Arctic Ocean, the general information he had obtained by living over 12 years within the Arctic Curcle, and, finally, having successfully followed a carefully laid plan resulting in his reaching on April 6, 1909, and bringing back to civilization the conditions existing at the North Pole, that Robert Edwin Peary has performed a most remarkable and wonderful service; that he has attracted the favorable attention of the civilized world; and that, therefore, the American people, through its Congress, shall render him thanks and bestow upon him the highest rank of the service which he adorns.

In this peroration Congressman Bates labored under a misapprehension of facts, for in all of the achievements named by Congressman Bates, Peary had one or more predecessors and merely followed in the footsteps and confirmed the reports of those men who went before him. For example, a detailed delineation of the northern coast of Greenland is given in Maj. Gen. A. W. Greely's report, "Three Years of Arctic Service" also the official report of Greely's expedition issued by the Government under the title "International Polar Expedition, Report on the Proceedings of the United States Expedition to Lady Franklin Bay, Grinnell Land. Greely. Volumes I and II." Peary's claim to the first delineation of the North Greenland coast and the establishment of the insularity of Greenland was

based on the fictitious Peary Channel, which is now proven to exist only in Peary's fertile imagination.

An accurate and complete set of tidal observations and soundings was faithfully made by the Greely expedition, and later published by the Government, these observations extending over a period of three years.

Many other explorers have spent long years in the arctic regions and have given to the world the results of their zoological, meteorological, topographical, and ethnological studies Among these are Capt. Charles F. Hall, of and observations. the Polaris expedition, Dr. Hayes, Dr. Kane, Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, Capt. Otto Sverdrup, and others, who were the pathfinders for Peary and later explorers.

Finally, Peary has utterly failed to prove that he reached the North Pole on April 6, 1909; therefore no reliance can be placed on his reports of the conditions existing at the pole.

Congressman Bates's report embodied the opinion of a majority of the subcommittee, but printed as a part of the same pamphlet are the "Views of the Minority," as expressed by the gentleman from Massachusetts, Hon. Ernest W. Roberts, a part of which I

In view of the criticism upon Congress because of its so-called tardiness in taking some action looking toward a reward for Capt. Peary for his attempt for the North Pole, it seems proper that a statement of the circumstances leading up to the final action of the Naval Committee should be incorporated into the majority report of that committee accompanying the bili reported by it conferring certain honors upon Capt. Peary.

The National Geographic Society of Washington constituted itself a tribunal and invited Capt. Peary to lay before it proofs of the truth of his claims.

Capt. Peary.

The National Geographic Society of Washington constituted itself a tribunal and invited Capt. Peary to lay before it proofs of the truth of his claims.

Capt. Peary, upon this request, did submit through a Mr. Nichols to the Geographic Society certain papers or documents.

At this time it was of the utmost importance to the world, to the Geographic Society, and to Capt. Peary that the most thorough and exhaustive examination be made of all proofs then or thereafter to be submitted to the Geographic Society. A great responsibility was undertaken by the Geographic Society and its committee of examination, and the people of this country had a right to believe the investigation into Capt. Peary's proofs would be conducted in a manner commensurate with the importance of the subject.

The Geographic Society, through a committee of three, made some examination of the proofs submitted by Capt. Peary and reported its conclusions were that Capt. Peary reached the North Pole on April 6, 1909.

No statements as to the contents of Capt. Peary's journal and the nature of his observations nor of the kind or character of his instruments or apparatus or any of the scientific results of his expedition were given to the public; and it was said that the subcommittee of the Geographic Society was made up of friends and partisans of Capt. Peary, and that his case had been heard "in the house of his friends," with the result that the report of the committee in no way tended to satisfy the popular mind.

With matters in this shape, a bill was introduced into both branches of Congress proposing to reward Capt. Peary for his having reached the pole by placing him on the retired list of the Navy with the rank of a rear admiral of the line. One of these bills was referred to the House Committee on Naval Affairs.

For the reason that favorable action by the Naval Committee, if approved by the House, and its recommendation enacted into law conferring such signal honor upon Capt. Peary would be taken in this country as an offic

proofs, stated:

"These have been carefully examined by your subcommittee."

The following quotations from the testimony of Mr. Tittmann show with what care, or rather lack of care, this committee examined Capt.

"The CHAIRMAN. Are you satisfied Peary reached the North Pole?
"Mr. T:TTMANN. Surely.
"Mr. Dawson. What official evidence is there of the fact that Peary reached within striking distance of the pole? Is there any official

reached within striking distance of the pole? Is there any official record?

Mr. Tittmann. I have no official evidence of that except the line of soundings under Peary's signature.

"Mr. Grego. Did you see the book of original entry in which he made the record of these soundings?

"Mr. Tittmann. No: I did not.

"Mr. Grego. You know what I mean, I suppose, the book in which they were entered from time to time as he moved along; a sort of day-book?

they were entered from time to time as ne more book?

"Mr. TITTMANN. I didn't see that.

"Mr. Grego. Have you ever, in any capacity, seen the books of original entries I have described?

"Mr. TITTMANN. No, sir; I have not.

"Mr. Grego. Those (observations) that he showed you, then, were they the original entries made at the time?

"Mr. TITMANN. Yes; made at the time on loose slips of paper.

"Mr. Grego. Did you examine the paper to see whether it was new paper or old paper? Did it show evidence of having been used, or was it likely made up on a piece of new, fresh paper?

"Mr. TITTMANN. Why, I did not go into that; I could not go into that."

"because he was very much occupied with other matters." When asked for certain information by the chairman, Mr. Tittmann refers him to Mr. Gannett, the next member of the committee examined, told the members of the Naval Committee, in the following language, what examination was made of Capt. Peary's records and instruments:

"Mr. Gannett Mr. Peary came from his home near Portland, Me., and brought his records in a gripsack and his instruments in a trunk. First he met the committee at the office of the Geographic Society, and we appointed a meeting at the house of Admiral Chester, who was a member of this committee. We simply sat down with him and read his journal from the original records; he had an original record made in a little book, a notebook, you know, at that time, and it had all the carmarks of being the original. He read the journal over two or three days before Bartlett left him. We all read it together. We included in the reading two or three days which Bartlett was with him, and from that time on to the pole and all of the way back to Cape Columbia. We also had his astronomical observations recomputed, examined them, not recomputed, for he had already computed them on these sheets. We had one sheet for a set of observations, and Admiral Chester recomputed them. I do not know whether Mr. Tittmann did or not. I do not remember. We had his line of soundings. The tidal observations I never saw.

"As to the matter of the instruments, they started with Peary in a trunk, which was checked, but they did not come here as fast as Peary did. He got here in the morning and his trunk did not get here until evening. And we examined the contents of it, examined the instruments down at the station that evening without moving the trunk.

"Mr. Roberts. How many days from the time he (Peary) left Bartlett and went to the pole before he rejoined the party at the base of supplies?

"Mr. Gannett. I do not recall it now; I have figured on that a good deal; I do not remember how many days from the time he (Peary) left Ba

deal; I do not remember how many days.

"Mr. ROBERTS. How many days going to the pole.

"Mr. ROBERTS. How many days going to the pole.

"Mr. GROSENSOR. I think 16 days. He was 52 going and 16 days going back."

Note.—It is difficult to understand just what Mr. Grosvenor had in mind when he said Peary was "52 days going and 16 days coming back."

He did not refer to Peary's absence from the ship, because Peary was away from the ship 64 days. He seems to have attempted to convey the information that Peary's upward trip (either from the ship or from Cape Columbia) occupied 52 days, which is wrong in either instance.

"Mr. ROBERTS. Did he tell your committee what his equipment was on "Mr. ROBERTS. How many dogs?"

"Mr. GANNETT. Well, he had two sledges.

"Mr. ROBERTS. How many dogs?

"Mr. GANNETT. I think 36 dogs; it seems to me 36 or 32.

"Mr. ROBERTS. And Henson?

"Mr. GANNETT. And Henson."

"Mr. GANNETT. And Henson."

"Mr. ROBERTS. And himself?

"Mr. GANNETT. Yes, sir."

From these extracts from the testimony it will be seen that Mr. Gannett, after his "careful" examination of Capt. Peary's proofs and records, did not know how many days it took Capt. Bartlett from the time he left Bartlett to reach the pole and return to the Roosecelf, that information being supplied by a Mr. Grosvenor. It will be observed that Mr. Gannett, as a result of his "careful" steady of Capt. Peary's proofs and records, gives capedges, 36 or 32 dogs, 2 Eskimos, and Henson. It will be seen later, from Capt. Peary's testimony, that he had on that final dash 40 dogs, 5 sledges, and a total of 6 men in his party. This discrepancy on so vital a point must seem quite conclusive that the examination of the Geographic Society's committee was anything but careful.

At a certain stage of the examination it appeared that Mr. Gannett had with him the copies of the records and observations of Capt. Peary but deciled to submit them to the committee on a end.

Hearings were then suspended, while an effort was made to procure the presence of Capt. Pear

This pamphlet is entitled "Private Calendar No. 733, Sixtyfirst Congress, third session, House of Representatives, Report No. 1961, and comprises 23 pages, of which the report of Congressman Bates occupies 6 pages, and the minority report, signed by Congressman Ernest W. Roberts, fills 17 pages.

What, then, did Peary present to Congress as his "proofs" that he had reached the pole, and what has he given to the world as scientific results sufficient to justify the American people in paying him \$6,000 per year as a retired salary?

Peary presented to the congressional committee a chart compiled from recomputed observations, which observations one of his "expert witnesses" said could have been made away from the pole or at any point other than where they were pur-ported to have been made. These observations were recomputed by two men employed by Peary for that purpose. As previously noted, Congressman Roberts truly said of these re-computations, "They were a matter of guesswork."

In addition to these observations, which prove absolutely nothing, Peary presented various sets of tidal observations, none of which were made either at or en route to the pole.

But the data on which Peary himself laid the greatest stress, and which he guarded so jealously that when he presented them to the Coast and Geodetic Survey he made the request that they should not be made public, were a set of soundings which he claimed extended from Cape Columbia to the pole. This line of soundings comprised nine attempted soundings, only six of which were made beyond the edge of the continental shelf, and of these six three were incomplete or failed to touch bottom. Only one of the entire line was made by Peary himself, and this is the one which is of the greatest interest, as Peary claims to have made it at 89° 55′ north latitude, or 5 miles distant from the pole. (See profile of soundings on page 338 of The North Pole; page 89 of the hearing; and line of soundings shown on Hydrographic Office Chart No. 2560.)

Again, in so important a matter as this "polar sounding" we see evidence of Peary's inaccuracy and unreliability. He claims that his observations located his polar camp (Camp Jesup) at 89° 57', or 3 miles from the pole. Here the igloos were built, the flags were raised, and photographs taken. On page 300 of The North Pole, Peary says:

In the afternoon of the 7th, after flying our flags and taking our photographs, we went into our igloos and tried to sleep a little before starting south again.

This places Peary at his Camp Jesup at 89° 57', 3 miles south of the pole, immediately before he started on his return journey. On page 304 of The North Pole he says:

We crowded on all speed for the first 5 miles of our return journey. Then we came to a narrow crack, which furnished a chance to try for a sounding. Our sounding apparatus gave us 1,500 fathoms of water, with no bottom.

Also, in Peary's diary (see p. 40 of the hearings) we find, under his date of April 7, the following:

Five miles south from camp, 1,500 fathoms; no bottom.

Peary makes it plain, therefore, that his "polar sounding" was made 5 miles south of his polar camp, which, as stated above, was alleged to be at 89° 57′. Five miles south of this point would give a latitude of 89° 52′, or 8 miles from the pole. But in Peary's "Profile of soundings," which is considered by him his most important scientific result of the expedition, he shows this sounding at 89° 55′ instead of 89° 52′, where, in order to make his story consistent it must have been taken make his story consistent, it must have been taken.

The above statement is based on the alleged result of Mr. Peary's observation, which, he says, placed his polar camp at 89° 57′. But at various times Peary places his polar camp at 5 miles, 4 miles, and 8 miles, respectively, from the pole. pp. 31, 40, and 128 of hearing and p. 1 of Rept. No. 1961.) cepting any one of these positions as the correct one gives us the location of his "polar sounding" at either 89° 50′, 89° 51′, or 89° 47', according to the camp location selected as the correct one; but in no instance can we locate the sounding where Peary places it at \$9° 55'. In other words, Peary's sounding (according to his various statements) was made at a possible \$, 9, 10, or 13 miles from the pole instead of 5 miles from the pole, as shown on his "Profile of soundings" and as stated in his

"Notes on soundings." (See pp. 21–22 of hearing.)
Representative Hughes, of New Jersey, introduced a resolution (H. Res. 495) to have Peary's "official" report of tidal observations and investigations printed, with illustrations. This resolution was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and in discussing it Congressman J. Hamp-TON MOORE said :

I wish to say that the records of Mr. Peary were submitted by him to three expert scientists of this country, officers of the Government, sworn to perform their duties. (See p. 3565 of Congressional Record, vol. 45, pt. 4, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)

Congressman Moore of Pennsylvania also said, in the speech to which Peary so often referred:

Mr. Peary transmitted to the superintendent of the Coast Survey 21 volumes of tidal observations and also a profile of soundings from Cape Columbia to within 5 miles of the pole.

Have we the time or the disposition to examine this portion of Mr. Peary's work, these 21 volumes of tidal observations? Pray, Mr. Speaker, who in this House feels that his judgment in matters of this kind would be superior to that of these three men—Gannett, Tittmann, and Chester—accredited officers of this Government, who have already reported thoroughly upon this question? Why not, Mr. Speaker, pro-

ceed to the Hydrographic Office and take note of the progress there made by the Navy Department in building new maps of the world, which thanks to the explorations of Peary, enable us to carry American soundings to the pole?

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Moore] failed to state that these "three officers of the Government, sworn to perform their duties," were not acting in their official capacity as officers of the Government when they made their farcical examination of Peary's data, but were serving as private citizens and friends of Peary on the committee of a private publishing con-cern known as the National Geographic Society, and their report, so far from being thorough, showed a deplorable and disconcerting lack of thoroughness.

It is quite possible, too, that when Congressman Moore made the speech from which I have quoted he had never seen Peary's tidal observations. If the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] had seen them, he would have known that not one of the tidal observations in those 21 volumes which he mentioned was made on Peary's alleged trip from Cape Columbia to the pole, nor on his return journey to Cape Columbia, nor at the

place Peary called the North Pole.

The gentleman from Illinois, Hon. James R. Mann, a member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, submitted an adverse report on the resolution to print Peary's tidal observations. In this adverse report Congressman MANN said:

It is believed by your committee unnecessary to require the original 21 volumes, and sheets accompanying them, or complete copies of the same to be at this time transmitted to the House.

Needless to say, when Congressman Mann made this report he did so because he had been misinformed and did not know that the observations contained in the 21 volumes, and the sheets accompanying them, were all made at coastwise points, and had

no bearing whatever on Peary's claimed polar discovery.

However, this adverse report of the gentleman from Illinois was accepted. Therefore up to the present time this material

of Peary's has never been given to the public.

This analysis would be incomplete without a reference to Peary's day-by-day marches. Much has been said and written by various authorities relative to Peary's speed on his alleged Polar journey. It inturally requires a certain amount of credulity to believe that he could make a far greater degree of speed after all of his supporting parties returned, and he had his own trail to pioneer, than he was able to make while fol-lowing an already broken trail; but that is not the point to which I now direct attention.

Cape Columbia is rightly stated by Peary to be distant from the North Pole 413 miles in an air line. As Camp Jesup was supposedly 3 miles south of the pole, the distance from Cape

Columbia to Camp Jesup is 410 miles.

Peary's book, The North Pole, does not give the mileage traveled for every day of his journey, neither does his diary, portions of which were inspected by the congressional committee; but a combination of the book and the diary gives us the daily mileage for Peary's entire journey from Cape Columbia to the point he named "Camp Jesup," or his polar camp. This mileage as shown by Peary in his book and in his diary shows the total distance traveled by him from Cape Columbia to Camp Jesup to be 414 miles.

We are therefore asked to believe the preposterous and wholly unbelievable statement that Peary made a journey between two points distant from each other 410 miles in an air line, and in that journey of 410 miles as the crow flies his entire allowance for detours, rough going, and so forth, amounted to

only 4 miles!

On page 194 of The North Pole Peary says:

There is no land between Cape Columbia and the North Pole, and no smooth and very little level toc.

On page 170 of Hampton's Magazine for August, 1910, is a photograph entitled:

Only stretch of level going on northward march; A lake of young ice north of 87°, 6 miles wide.

On pages 241 to 243, 247, 250, 256, 257, 276, 279, 284, and others of The North Pole, Peary mentions exceptionally rough ice over which they had to find their way. Also on page 275 he says:

The pressure ridges were stupendous, some of them 50 feet high.

On pages 223, 234, 238, 240, 256, 261, 277, and others, Peary mentions detours necessary to avoid open water and rough going. On page 268 Peary says:

We had traveled fully 12 miles more than his (Bartlett's) observation showed in the last five marches, but had lost them by the crushing up of the young ice in our rear and the closing of the leads.

But Peary's total allowance of extra mileage for the entire distance from Cape Columbia to Camp Jesup (27 "marches")

is only 4 miles. Yet he states that they lost 12 miles in five marches. When did they make up the missing 8 miles, to say nothing of the other distances that must have been lost by detours and rough ice fields?

Again, Peary's mileage was all "estimated." For a distance of 410 miles he "estimated" the daily mileage, and (according to his statement) made a total error of only 4 miles. But note

carefully the following.

On pages 287 to 289 of The North Pole Peary says:

I made the first observation at our polar camp (on Apr. 6). It indicated our position at 89° 57′. ° ° Two of the Eskimos and myself made ready a light sledge, and, drawn by a double team of dogs, we pushed on an estimated distance of 10 miles. Observations indicated that our position was then beyond the pole.

In Peary's diary (p. 40 of hearing) he says:

(Apr. 6): Caught sun through clouds at 12.45, 89° 57'. Drov 10 miles with empty sledge and double team dogs, two Eskimos. servation at 1 a. m., 89° 50', on other side.

Page 137 of the hearing states:

After taking the observations at noon of the 6th at Camp Jesup the expedition marched straight ahead 10 geographic miles and took a set of observations of the sun.

Although, as stated elsewhere, the location of "Camp Jesup" was given at several different places, for the sake of argument I shall use only the location given by Peary on page 287 of his book, The North Pole-89° 57'.

Therefore, we have these figures: Camp Jesup, at an alleged 89° 57′ north latitude; a position "straight ahead 10 geographic miles," "89° 50′ on other side."

But if his polar camp was at 89° 57′ (3 miles south of the pole) and he traveled "straight ahead 10 geographic miles" due north (see p. 289 of The North Pole), his observations at the end of that "estimated" 10 miles should have placed him at 89° 53′, instead of 89° 50′ "on other side."

On page 284 of his book, The North Pole, in describing the

condition of the ice in the region of the place he called the pole,

Peary says:

The going was even better than before. There was hardly any snow on the hard granular surface of the old floes and the sapphire blue lakes (of level ice) were larger than ever.

Peary's error of 3 miles in an estimated 10-mile sledge journey was therefore made in a region where the traveling was exceptionally good. Yet we are asked to believe that in his journey of an alleged journey of 410 miles, abounding in "stupendous" pressure ridges, open leads, and other obstacles, Peary's "estimate" of the distance varied only 4 miles from the actual air-line distance from Cape Columbia to the North Pole.

Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Peary claims to have traveled 27 days by compass alone, without making any observations whatever for compass varia-tion. The Superintendent of the United States Naval Observatory (than whom there is surely no higher official authority in this country) states that no data is available to show the variation of the compass from Cape Columbia to the North Pole. Superintendent Hoogewerff adds:

The traveler from Cape Columbia to the North Pole might expect to find large changes in variation.

Peary made no observations for longitude throughout his trip, although he claims to have traveled on the seventieth meridian from Cape Columbia to the North Pole,

Peary made all of his latitude observations at a time when the sun was at an altitude of less than 7°, while the American Practical Navigator, issued by the Navy Department, states that observations when the sun is at an altitude of less than 10° should be avoided as unreliable.

Peary's latitude observations at the point he called the North Pole are astronomically and mathematically incorrect; therefore

must be rejected.

Peary's only alleged proof or result of his claimed polar trip, which he has officially presented, is a profile of soundings, which soundings, as I explained in detail in my speech of January 13, 1916, were not made (if made at all) at the points where Peary claimed to have made them.

Peary was the only member of the expedition who testified at the congressional hearing; none of the men who accompanied him on his sledge expedition was called to testify either for or against him; but in view of the facts which I have presented and after careful and judicious consideration of the testimony given by Peary and his friends before the congressional subcommittee, I again make the unqualified statement that Robert E. Peary never reached, discovered, nor was approximately near to that mathematical point of the earth's surface known as the North Pole.

THE FOLLOWING APPENDED MATERIAL IS A VERBATIM COPY OF THE ENTIRE PEARY HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFATRS

> COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS, SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVATE BILLS, Friday, March 4, 1910.

The committee was called to order at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Thomas S. Butler (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Butler, Roberts, Bates, Dawson, Englebright, Gregg, and Macon.

STATEMENT OF MR. O. H. TITTMANN, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us, so we may have it in the record, your em-

ployment.

Mr. TITTMANN. I am Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Sur-

Vey.

The CHAIRMAN. In the service of the Government?

Mr. TITTMANN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been at the head of this depart-

Mr. Tittmann. Yes, sir.
The Chairman. How long have you been at the head of this department?
Mr. Tittmann. About 10 years.
The Chairman. And prior to that time—
Mr. Tittmann. I was appointed to the survey in 1867.
The Chairman. So you have been connected with the survey—
Mr. Tittmann. Since 1867.
The Chairman. What relation, if any, did you have to the report that Peary may have made as to his having reached the North Pole?
Mr. Tittmann. You mean the official relation?
The Chairman. Yes, sir; any official relation?
Mr. Tittmann. Mr. Peary was ordered to report to me, as Superintendent of the Coast Survey, for the purpose of making tidal observations, under instructions from the President; I have his letter here and will read it to you if you care to have it.
Mr. Gregg, A copy of his instructions?
Mr. Tittmann. No; not a copy of the instructions to Peary, but a copy of the letter of the President to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor directing that I give him instructions.
The Chairman. What is the date of the letter?
Mr. Tittmann. July 3, 1908.
The Chairman. Then read it, please.
Mr. Tittmann. This is a photographic copy which I brought over:
The White House, Washington.

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON.

OYSTER BAY, N. Y., July 3, 1908.

OYSTER BAY, N. Y., July 3, 1908.

Sir: Civil Engineer R. E. Peary, United States Navy, has been directed by the Navy Department to report by letter to the Superintendent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, and you are requested to direct this official to order him to make tidal observations along the Grant Land and Greenland shore of the Polar Sea during his projected cruise in the Roosevelt. It is believed that such observations will throw light upon the coast-survey theory of the existence of a considerable land mass in the unknown area of the Arctic Ocean, Respectfully,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. Oscar S. Straus,

Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

The Chairman. The purpose of sending for you, as you will appreciate, is to learn what method you employed.

Mr. Roberts, May I interrupt right there? Did you give instructions to Mr. Peary in writing or verbally?

Mr. Tittmann. Well, Mr. Peary came to the office in order to consult our tidal expert as to certain details, and those were really incorporated in a letter of instructions which I haven't with me.

Mr. Roberts, Furnish us with a copy of that and put it in the hearings.

sult our tidal expert as to certain details, and those were really incorporated in a letter of instructions which I haven't with me.

Mr. Roberts, Furnish us with a copy of that and put it in the hearings.

Mr. Tittmann, Yes, sir; I will do that.

Mr. Roberts, We want to have a complete chain of the official records of the transaction.

Mr. Tittmann, I then gave him instructions to make the observations in a particular way.

The Chairman, Are you satisfied Peary reached the North Pole?

Mr. Tittmann, Give us your reasons for it; take as long as you please and do it in any way you please.

Mr. Tittmann, Perhaps you will first allow me, then, to speak of the official records that I have in regard to the matter. When Mr. Peary returned from the Arctic he sent us the volumes of the tidal observations that he had made, and that was complying with his orders and instructions; but as the principal interest in the tidal observations was largely the knowledge of the hydrography of the Arctic, Mr. Peary also forwarded to us a line of soundings which he had made extending from Cape Columbia, where tidal observations were made, to within about 5 miles of the pose. So he forwarded those to me officially and that is the official record we have of his having been at the North Pole. Now, I understand, Mr. Chairman, that you want me to speak of my views, my personal views?

The Chairman, I think I have already stated that the line of soundings which Mr. Peary furnished us showed us that he had been within 5 miles of the pole; but besides that, I, of course, had knowledge, which was afterwards verified, that Mr. Peary's expedition differed from all previous expeditions in this, that when he got within striking distance of the pole—that is, within about 140 miles of the pole—the had with him a large party of men and Capt. Bartlett; that up to that time he had kept himself in absolute reserve, allowing the hard work—the pioneer work—to be done by a younger man and a stronger man, and when he reached, as I say, a point which I cons

Mr. Dawson. What official evidence is there of the fact you have just stated—that this party, consisting of Peary, Bartlett, and the others, reached that point—that is, within striking distance of the pole? Is there any official record?

Mr. TITMANN. I have no official evidence of that except, as I said, the line of soundings under Peary's signature, his official report that he made; that is strictly official.

Mr. Englemeight. This expedition had the sanction of the Government, and that Mr. Peary was to make certain reports. Now, in any ordinary report of that nature that is made to the Government or that is made to your office, for instance, all that you get, as a rule, is the finished report under the signature of the party making it?

Mr. Tittmann. Yes, sir.

Mr. Englebeight. It is not customary for him to file with his report the notes made unless it is regular detailed work of your department, where the notes and finished work come in together, but you act on the finished report?

Mr. Tittmann. Well, not always; but in this case it was one in which he supplied us with all the detailed notes, all those things with which we had specially charged him.

Mr. Gregg. You know what I mean, I suppose—the book in which they were entered from time to time as he moved along, a sort of daybook?

Mr. Tittmann. I didn't see that.

Mr. Gregg. Mr. Tittmann. you saw something which he finished and

they were entered from time to time as he moved along, a sort of daybook?

Mr. Tittmann. I didn't see that.

Mr. Greeg. Mr. Tittmann, you saw something which he finished and sent in to your office?

Mr. Tittmann. Yes, sir; sent in to our office under his signature.

Mr. Greeg. Have you ever, in any capacity, seen the books of original entries that I have described?

Mr. Tittmann. No. sir; I have not.

The Chairman. But you accepted the report, as you usually do, after such soundings or such professional work has been done?

Mr. Tittmann. We accepted such reports, of course.

Mr. Roberts. Under date of October 18, 1909, Mr. Peary evidently sent a letter to the acting superintendent, F. W. Perkins, United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington, D. C., a copy of which communication I have, and I will read the first sentence for the purpose of my query. It is dated at South Harpswell, Me.:

"Referring to my telegram, I am sending you by express the tidal records of the Peary Arctic Club's recent North Polar expedition."

He refers there to a telegram. Was that telegram the first official notice the Coast and Geodetic Survey had of Mr. Peary's expedition on his return?

Mr. Tittmann. I am unable to answer that, because I haven't those papers with me. If you will allow me, I will answer that in the record, because I can answer it.

Mr. Roberts. I want to get a complete chain of his reports, everything that he sent to the Coast and Geodetic Survey or to the Department of Commerce and Labor to be transmitted to your department on his return. I want to get from the very first down to the last any official documents, letters, telegrams, or however he might have sent the information.

Mr. Tittmann. I can make a brief of all the telegrams.

Mr. Roberts. Yes; just put them in.

information.

Mr. Tittmann. I can make a brief of all the telegrams.

Mr. Roberts. Yes; just put them in.

Mr. Tittmann. I will do that.

Mr. Greeg. Have you the date at which he filed this report with you?

Mr. Tittmann. Oh, yes; it is right here; I think I sent a copy with that [indicating papers in Mr. Roberts's hands].

Mr. Roberts. You spoke a moment ago of the report that he made on tidal observations. That was, I take it, distinct from these [indicating papers]?

Mr. Tittmann. That was distinct from those.

Mr. Roberts. Because there is nothing in these papers referring to tidal observations. These relate to the soundings.

Mr. Tittmann. No; I think you will find it there—if you will allow me, I will look them over.

Mr. Roberts. My recollection is that they all relate to the soundings. I was after the complete scientific report given by Mr. Peary.

Mr. Tittmann. Here is a letter in regard to that, dated—

"Eagle Island, South Harpswell, Me.,"

"Eagle Island, South Harpswell, Me., "October 18, 1999.

"Referring to my telegram, I am sending you by express the tidal records of the Peary Arctic Club's recent North Polar expedition. Owing to the unfortunate death of Prof. Ross G. Marvin, some of the chronometer comparisons, particularly of the Cape Bryant observations, are missing—

You may recall that Mr. Marvin was drowned-

"These comparisons are undoubtedly among Prof. Marvin's private papers, and if so will be obtained from his relatives later. Prof. Donald B. Macmillan took many of the observations and is familiar with them all, and can come to Washington to see you any time you consider it advisable."

Mr. Roberts. Where are those tidal observations?
Mr. Tittmann. They are in our office; there are 21 volumes of them.
Mr. Roberts. In what form are they?
Mr. Tittmann. It is an octave volume.
Mr. Roberts. In print, you mean?
Mr. Tittmann. No; just the actual observations made at the time.
Mr. Englebright. On Government blanks?
Mr. Tittmann. Yes; I think they are; we furnished the records, I tean the blank books for that purpose.
Mr. Roberts. Who did that actual work?
Mr. Tittmann. It was done by Marvin and Macmillan, I think.
Mr. Greeg. Who forwarded them to you, Peary or Macmillan?
Mr. Tittmann. Peary; we communicated with Peary, I think.
Mr. Roberts. These are the only soundings that you have been adised of?

Mr. Roberts. These are the only soundings that you have been auvised of?

Mr. Tittmann. Yes; they are the only ones that he took.

Mr. Roberts. Nine in number?

Mr. Tittmann. Yes.

Mr. Roberts. If you are through with your statement, I want to ask you some questions.

Mr. Tittmann. I thought that was all I need say. It seemed to me conclusive.

The Chairman. The Professor has stated that he concludes that from the report he made.

Mr. Tittmann. I have something to add.

Mr. Roberts. You say he reached a certain point before he separated himself from his crew. Now, I intended to ask you to take up the narrative from that point.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us all of the facts which, in your judgment, warranted the committee that examined him in reaching the conclusion it did reach.

Mr. TITTMANN. Well, now, as to the committee—when all this happened I was in Europe; when I came back I found I had been appointed an election of the committee that all this happened I was in Europe; when I came back I found I had been appointed an election of the committee, and at that meeting Capt. Yeary showed me the actual observations—the astronomical observations of the sun was made within about 3 miles of the pole. He then continued in the same direction—my figures now are not very well—reary showed me the actual observations—the astronomical observations of the sun was made within about 3 miles of the pole. He then continued in the same direction—my figures now are not very well—reary showed in the same direction—my figures now are not very well—reary showed in the same direction—my figures now are not very well—reary and the pole, and he was getting to the eastward—if you had a map before you you would see what I mean—he went to the eastward and there made some more astronomical observations. He showed me the actual papers on which he astronomical observations, saw the faction of the sun interest who had an opportunity to go over the details that I did not have, because I was very much occupied with other matters.

Mr. Grand Tables and a poportunity to go over the details that I did not have, because I was very much occupied with other matters.

Mr. Grand Tables and the state of the sun.

Mr. Grand Tables and the state of the sun.

Mr. Grand Tables and the state of the sun.

Mr. Grand Tables and the state of the sun.

Mr. Grand Tables and the state of the sun and the state of

right here in Washington and make up observations of latitude and longitude for that immediate vicinity that could not possibly be disproved.

Mr. Tittmann. That might be so in so short a journey; that is a matter of opinion.

The Chairman. Professor, for myself I could not comprehend how anybody would be so untruthful as to say that he reached the North Pole if he did not; but at the same time I wish you would state in some way the observations that were made by Peary. You see, I do not know how they were made; I know nothing at all of astronomy; but I would like it to appear in the record the sort of an observation he made, the instruments with which he made it, how he made it, and what it showed, so that any scientific man may know, by looking at that observation, how you reached your conclusion and how it enabled you to reach your conclusion.

Mr. Tittmann. I think Mr. Gannett could give you all of that, as you have him here. I am really due before the Appropriations Committee.

STATEMENT OF MR. HENRY GANNETT.

The Chairman. Are you in the service of the Government?

Mr. Gannett. I am connected with the Geological Survey.

The Chairman. Give us your official position.

Mr. Gannett. Well, I am called geographer.

The Chairman. How long have you been connected with the Geological Survey?

Mr. Gannett. I joined the Geological Survey in 1882 and have been with it, with the exception of two leaves of absence of approximately a year each, continuously.

The Chairman. Are you an engineer?

Mr. Gannett. I was educated as an engineer at Harvard.

The Chairman. This was before 1882?

Mr. Gannett. When I graduated from the scientific school at Harvard I was in the observatory a couple of years, the Harvard observatory; then I joined the Hayden Survey, as it was called, exploring the different Territories; I was with that organization until it closed out in 1878; then I went into the Tenth Census and was the geographer of that, and I have assisted subsequent censuses since that time.

The Chairman. Were you a member of the committee that was selected to make an examination of the report of Commander Peary?

Mr. Gannett. I was chairman of that committee.

The Chairman. May I ask you who selected this committee?

Mr. Gannett. The board of management of the society called on—
The Chairman. Of what society?
Mr. Gannett. The National Geographic Society.
The Chairman. Are you a member of that society?
Mr. Gannett. Yes, sir; I am president of it now. The board of management practically made the selection of this committee. There is within the society what is called a research committee, which is made up of men representing different branches of geography, men that are well up in the several branches, and the selection of that committee was made from this research committee.

The Chairman. Will you be kind enough to detail to us the methods which were employed by this committee in making an examination of the reports of Commander Peary of his expedition?

Mr. Gannett. You mean what actually took place at the actual meetings with him?

Mr. Roberts. Yes.
The Chairman. Tell us, in the plainest language, what you saw and learned of the discovery, the reports you saw, the conclusions you reached, and the reasons for your conclusions.

Mr. Gannett, Mr. Peary came from his home near Portland, Me., and brought his records in a grilpsack and his instruments in a trunk. First he met the committee at the office of the Geographic Society and we appointed a meeting at the house of Admiral Chester, who was a member of this committee, We simply sat down with him and read his journal from his original records; he had an original record made in a little book, a notebook, you know, at that time, and it had all the earmarks of being the original. He read the journal over two or three days before Bartlett left him, we all read it together; we included in the reading two or three days which Bartlett was with him, and from that time on to the pole and all of the way back to Cape Columbia. We also had his astronomical observations, and Admiral Chester recomputed them; I do not know whether Mr. Tittmann did or not, I do not remember; we had his like of soundings; the tidal observations I never saw.

the had one sheet for a set of observations, and Admiral Chester recomputed them; I do not know whether Mr. Tittmann did or not, I do not remember; we had his line of soundings; the tidal observations, I never saw.

Mr. ROBERTS. They were not concerned with the pole discovery; they were taken down on the coast.

Mr. GANNETT. They were not concerned with the pole discovery; they were taken down on the coast.

Mr. GANNETT, I saw no longitude observations, and my understanding is he didn't make any; I do not see why he should. He kept his direction by the compass and the direction of the sun at noontime, and his purpose was to go north.

Mr. FNGLERIGHT. Will had pongitude observations in the far North?

Mr. FNGLERIGHT. Will had pongitude observations in the far North?

Mr. GANNETT. Why, the difficulty arises simply out of the fact that the meridians are very short there, so that a slight error in the time determination makes a large error in the longitude. I do not know whether I could go into the details of the thing. Of course, the best time for taking observations, that is for longitude, is when the sun is the far the meridians are very short there, so that a slight error in the tongent of the sun is the far that the meridians are very short there, so that a slight error in the tongent of the more sun is the far that the meridians are very short there, so that a slight error in the tongent of the more sun is the fact that it is for longitude, is when the sun is the fact that it is for longitude, is when the sun is the fact that is for longitude, is when the sun is the fact that is for longitude, is when the sun is the fact that is for longitude, is when the sun is the fact that is for longitude, is when the sun is the fact that the sun is so near the pole, the rate of rising is very, very slow, and any slight error in measuring that altitude is increased many times over as compared with a smaller error in latitude. I do not know whether I have made myself at all clear about it.

Mr. Gannett, South and the far t

would not be able to appoint said commission unless authorized by his council, which meets late in November, and unless also requested to do so by both Commander Peary and Dr. Cook.

"Commander Peary was willing to able by such a commission, but Dr. Cook stated that his observations would go first to the University of Copenhagen. In view of the fact that Commander Peary had been sulting since his return, in September, to submit his records and the sulting since his return, in September, to submit his records and the sulting since his return, in September, to submit his records and the sulting since his return, in September, to submit his records and the sulting since his return, in September, to submit his records and been sulting since his return, in September, to submit his records and been sulting since his return, in September, to submit his records and been sulting super submit for the University of Copenhagen and the society would not have an opportunity of seeing them for probably some months, if did not seen his to defer action on Commander Peary's observations until Dr. Cooks gapers were relected on managers of the National Geographic Society, Wednesday morning, October 20, the records and observations and proof of Commander Robert E. Peary that he reached the pole April 6, 1909, were submitted to the society.

"The records and observations were immediately referred to the committee on research, with the direction that the chairman appoint a subcommittee of experts, of which he shall be a member, to examine said records and report on them to the board. Mr. Henry Gannett, chairman of the committee on research, with the direction that the chairman appoint a subcommittee of experts, of which he shall be a member, to examine said records and report on them to the board. Mr. Henry Gannett, chairman of the committee on research, with the direction that the chairman appoint a subcommittee on research, with the direction that the chairman of the committee on the board. Mr. Henry Gannett, Chairman of the commit

"The foregoing report was unanimously approved by members present, who were as follows: Dr. Willis L. Moore, Dr. Alexander Graham Bell, Mr. Charles J. Bell, Col. Henry F. Blount, Admiral Cotby M. Chester, Mr. F. V. Coville, Mr. John Joy Edson, Mr. David Fairchild, Mr. Henry Gannett, Mr. Gilbert H. Grosvenor, Prof. J. Howard Gore, Mr. Rudolph Kauffmann, Dr. T. L. Macdonald, Gen. John M. Wilson, and Mr. O. P. Austin.

"Immediately after this action the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

mously adopted:

"'Whereas Commander Robert E. Peary has reached the North Pole, the goal sought for centuries;

"'Whereas this is the greatest geographical achievement that this society can have opportunity to honor: Therefore

"'Resolved, That a special medal be awarded to Commander Peary.

"Resolved, That the question of whether or not anyone reached the North Pole prior to 1909 be referred to the committee on research, with instructions to recommend to the board of managers a subcommittee of experts, who shall have authority to send for papers or make such journeys as may be necessary to inspect original records, and that this action of the society be communicated at once to those who may have evidence of importance."

"At a meeting of the board of managers, November 8, the committee on research of the society recommended that the personnel of the committee to consider whether the pole was discovered before 1909 should be entirely different from that of the committee which passed on the Peary records. Upon their recommendation the board appointed the following committee:

"J. Howard Gore, formerly professor of mathematics, George Washington University, and author of several works on surveying and geodesy.

"Rear Admiral John E. Pillsbury, United States Navy, who was for

ington University, and author of several works on surveying and geodesy.

"Rear Admiral John E. Pillsbury, United States Navy, who was for 10 years in charge of the hydrographic office of the United States Navy, did important work investigating the gulf stream currents, was for several years assistant chief of the Bureau of Navigation of the Navy Department, and later Chief of Staff of the North Atlantic Squadron.

"Dr. C. Willard Hayes, chief geologist of the United States Geological Survey, one of the pioneer explorers of Alaska and of many sections of the Rocky Mountains.

"At the meeting of the board of managers February 1, Prof. Gore, chairman of the above committee, read the following report, which was unaulmously adopted by the members present.

"Present: President Gannett, Vice President Tittmann, Dr. Alexander Graham Bell, Mr. Charles Bell, Mr. Blount, Mr. Coville, Mr. Edson,

Prof. Gere, Mr. Grosvenor, Mr. Kauffmann, Prof. Merriam, Prof. Moore, Admiral Pillsbury, Mr. Smith, Gen. Wilson, and Mr. Austin, secretary.

" BOARD OF MANAGERS NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY:

"'Board of Managers National Geographic Society:

"'The committee appointed November 3, 1909, to consider the question whether or not anyone reached the North Pole prior to 1909, begs leave to submit the following report:

"The only probable claimant to the distinction of an earlier attainment of the North Pole was Dr. Frederick A. Cook. Immediately after his arrival in Copenhagen in September last, he declared that proof of his claim would be submitted to the University of Copenhagen. Later when asked by the board of managers of the National Geographic Society to submit his data to a board of experts in this country, he reiterated his earlier promise made in Copenhagen. This committee was therefore unable to obtain access to any of Dr. Cook's records and had at its disposal only the published narratives which, although copyrighted by the publisher, were unsigned and hence inadmissible as evidence.

"The committee has collected a large mass of correlative information in regard to Dr. Cook's expeditions and has made an exhaustive study of the narratives referred to above, but not having had an opportunity to study authenticated documents or data, we do not feel justified at this time in making public the opinion derived therefrom.

"The University of Copenhagen most courteously kept your committee informed of its operations and promptly favored us with a copy of its report upon their investigations. As this was the tribunal selected by Dr. Cook, and as he presumably placed at its disposal all of the data he possessed, we deem it wise to indorse the opinions expressed by the University of Copenhagen to the effect that there is no evidence to show that Dr. Frederick A. Cook reached the North Pole.

"The committee furthermore invites the attention of the board of managers of the National Geographic Society to the conscientious and fearless position taken by the University of Copenhagen in giving wide publicity to a decision which, in the minds of so many, seem Incompatible with its earlier attitude. By this act the

"'JAMES H. GORE.

"JAMES H. Gore.
"'J. E. PILLSBURY.'

"The report was accepted and the committee discharged from further consideration of the subject.
"It was moved that the inscription to be placed upon the special medal recently awarded to Commander Peary shall indicate that it is awarded to him as the discoverer of the North Pole. This motion was unanimously agreed to."

Mr. Butler. The committee asked Prof. Gannet to state to the committee the results of his examination of the records made by Peary, and at the same time to give his reasons for his belief in the accuracy of the reports made by Commander Peary.

Mr. Gannett. Well, as I understood the question, you wish to have the journal and the observations made by Mr. Peary brought forth in this committee?

The Chairman, No.

Mr. Macon. I want that brought in; this Congress belongs to the country, and whatever we do as its Representatives ought to be done in the open and not in secret. If we are doing anything to be kept back, I propose to make it public myself. So far as I am concerned, we are not going to deal with secrets in anything. We are charged here as the Representatives of the people.

Mr. Bates. I understand there is a very good reason for that. Do you care to state why that record should be kept from the public?

The Chairman, Do you care to state what the reason is?

Mr. Gannett. I do not know that I should like to. I would rather Peary would state his reasons himself.

Mr. Roberts. Now, let me ask a question: Do I understand the papers or records in issue now are copies of Mr. Peary's original journal?

Mr. Roberts. And what other.

Mr. Roberts. And what other.

Journal?

Mr. GANNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROBERTS. And what other—
Mr. GANNETT. Copies of his observations.

Mr. ROBERTS. Just what is included in the term "observations," in a general way?

Mr. GANNETT. The altitude of the sun and latitude.

Mr. ROBERTS. Do I understand that Mr. Peary objects to his observations as to latitude, and the position of the sun—objects to that being made public, or is it simply the journal of his trip that he objects to, or both?

Mr. GANNETT. Both.

Mr. ROBERTS. In view of the statement we have just listened to, I would like to ask Prof. Gannett when Mr. Peary placed the injunction of secrecy on those papers?

Mr. GANNETT. When he gave them to me two or three days ago.

The CHAIRMAN. On what papers did he place the injunction of secrecy?

Mr. Gannett. When he gave them to me two or three days ago. The Chairman. On what papers did he place the injunction of secrecy?

Mr. Roberts. His journal and astronomical observations. If I may, I would like to ask Prof. Gannett a question or two. Is the committee to understand that the interview had between the geographic committee and Mr. Peary at Admiral Chester's house was the first opportunity and the first information that your committee acquired in their examination of the Peary records?

Mr. Gannett. No; the story is very nearly as it has already been stated by Mr. Alexander. Peary originally sent down a Mr. Nichols with certain papers which brought the record up to the time that Bartlett left him; further, he had a statement in the handwriting of the various men—McMillan, Marvin, and Bartlett—giving the results of their latitude observations, and carried it up, and also his soundings.

Mr. Roberts. How did Mr. Nichols happen to come before your committee? Had you asked Mr. Peary to submit his data and proofs?

Mr. Gannett. Yes.

Mr. Roberts. You had formally done that as a committee?

Mr. Gannett, Yes; it was done by the society, not our committee; it was a formal invitation to submit his proofs; in reply he sent Mr. Nichols with the papers.

Mr. Roberts. And the information you sought?

Mr. Roberts. And the information you sought?

Mr. Gannett, Yes; it was intimated to him we would require further information. He, indeed, expected to furnish it, but he was not able to leave his home at that time in order to attend the committee.

Mr. Roberts. Did the committee do anything at all on the information they had, or did they hold the matter in abeyance?

Mr. Gannett. They looked over the matter and sent it back.
The Chairman. What additional information did you ask for?
Mr. Gannett. Asked for just what we got; we wanted his own journal and his own observations.
Mr. Gregg. The journal and observations he made after he had left

Mr. Greege. The journal and observations he made after he had letter the party?

Mr. Greege. The journal and observations he made after he had letter the party?

Mr. Greege. The journal and observations he made after he had letter the party?

Mr. Greege. The journal and left him; that was particularly what we wanted; but we had the whole thing. As to the matter of the instruments, they started with Peary in a trunk, which was checked, but they did not come here as fast as Peary did; he got here in the morning and his trunk did not get here until evening, and we examined the contents of it, examined the instruments down at the station that evening without moving the trunk.

Mr. Dawson. At what point did Commander Peary leave the balance of his party?

Mr. Gannett, At a point a little short of 88° latitude.

Mr. Dawson. How far was that from the pole in miles?

Mr. Gannett. One hundred and thirty-three miles, I think, sir.

Mr. Dawson. How long was he absent from the party until he rejoined it?

Mr. Gannett. After Bartlett left there was no rejoining; Mr. Bartlett went back to Cape Columbia; they separated on the 1st of April, I think it was, and on the 6th he arrived at the pole; that would be six days.

Mr. Dawson. You said there was submitted to your committee ob-

think it was, and on the out he arrived to the days.

Mr. Dawson. You said there was submitted to your committee observations taken up to the point when Bartlett turned back. How many days did the observations cover while Peary was alone, beyond that point?

Mr. Gannett. How many days?

Mr. Dawson. Yes, sir; how many days' observations were there, do you recall?

Mr. Gannett. How many days:

Mr. Dawson. Yes, sir; how many days' observations were there, do you recall?

Mr. Gannett. No. Peary took only one set of observations after Bartlett left him until he reached the pole, then at the pole he took a number of sets.

Mr. Dawson. What I want to get at is how many days after he left Bartlett before he returned to his party, from the point where he covered the observations himself?

The Chairman. Where he met other people?

Mr. Roberts. Where he met his party again?

Mr. Roberts. He went back to the base of supplies by himself?

Mr. Gannett. He did not meet his party at all; one after another turned back to Cape Columbia.

Mr. Roberts. He went back to the base of supplies by himself?

Mr. Gannett. Yes.

Mr. Roberts. Now, how many days from the time he left Bartlett and went to the pole before he rejoined the party at the base of suplies? That is what we are getting at.

Mr. Gannett. I do not recall it now; I have figured on that a good deal; I do not remember how many days.

Mr. Grosvenor. He was six days going to the pole.

Mr. Roberts. How many days going back from the pole to Cape Columbia?

Mr. Roberts. How many days going to the pole.

Mr. Roberts. How many days going back from the pole to Cape Columbia?

Mr. Grosvenor. I think 16 days; he was 52 going and 16 days going back.

The Chairman. What distance did he cover in that time?

Mr. Grosvenor. About 400 miles.

Mr. Roberts. In the 16 days?

Mr. Grosvenor. I think so. I could give it to you; I have that information in my office; if you want it I can send it to you; I think 16; I worked it out.

Mr. Roberts. I should judge, from what you say, that Mr. Peary left Bartlett, left his party, at just about the point where the last sounding was made by Bartlett, 87-15. According to the report, Bartlett made his last sounding at 87-15, and got 1,260 fathoms of water.

Mr. Gannett. Bartlett continued a little beyond that point, but no other sounding was made.

Mr. Roberts. There was one other sounding; Peary made a sounding right close to the pole, 89-55. Now, did Peary have his artificial horizon when he exhibited it to your committee?

Mr. Ronerts. And it seemed to be a proper one?

Mr. Roberts. And adequate for the purpose?

Mr. Roberts. And adequate for the purpose?

Mr. Roberts. There was a slight modification made in it; it was not possible to get the sun at very low angles.

Mr. Roberts. There was no question in your mind as to its being a proper artificial horizon for use in the Arctic regions and giving the best of results?

Mr. Roberts. Was anyone, other than Mr. Nichols and Mr. Peary, before your committee giving information on this?

Mr. Roberts. No.

Mr. Roberts. When your report was submitted to the Geographic Society in what way was it presented; to whom in the society?

Mr. Gannett. No.

Mr. Roberts. When your report was submitted to the Geographic Society in what way was it presented; to whom in the society?

Mr. Gannett. They accepted it.

Mr. Roberts. When your seport was submitted to the Geographic Society in what way was it presented; to whom in the society?

Mr. Gannett. When, took some action on it?

Mr. Roberts. They then, took s

opinion.

Mr. Roberts. The reason I asked the question is that you know, of course, that there is an impression over the country that Mr. Peary appeared in the house of his friends, so to speak; that the committee appointed to examine this data were prejudiced in his favor, and the statement has been made to our committee that certain members of that committee were—well, I won't say hostile to Mr. Peary, but rather skeptical, and were convinced by his statements against their state of unbelief, and that is the reason I asked you the question, whether you had expressed an opinion.

Mr. Gannett. The purpose of that committee as regards Commander Peary was, according to my understanding, like this: I think it is fair to say that I was a friend of his, but I do not think I had met him a dozen times in my life; I knew him, had an acquaintance-ship with him, and that was all; I think that was the case with Tittmann.

Mr. Roberts. That does not just meet the point. You know it is a matter of common knowledge that people take sides one way or another. What I wanted to get at, if you care to express it, was your own state of mind. Did you believe before you saw that proof that Peary reached the pole or was your mind completely blank on it?

Mr. Gannett, Every one who knows Peary by reputation knows he would not lie; I know him by reputation.

Mr. Roberts. A fair inference would be that you believed his statement when it first appeared in the press and before you saw the proofs?

Mr. Roberts. Now, in view of what you say about the possibility of faking observations in the vicinity of the pole which could not be disproved, upon which any man could have claimed to have been at that spot, did not the personal equation enter very largely into the findings of your committee of the Geographic Society; that is, your belief in the personal honesty of Mr. Peary?

Mr. Gannett. I do not think that if Peary's evidence were found to be insufficient or faulty the committee would have had the slightest hesitation in turning him down.

Mr. Roberts That is very true, but that is hardly an answer to my question. I assume that the observations which he presented, the astronomical observations, were mathematically correct, and then it all depends upon whether he ever took those observations at the spot he says he took them, doesn't it, because he might sit down in Washington and make those observations and claim to have made them at the pole or in the vicinity of the pole; so it is the personal equation after all? In other words, the believing of what Mr. Peary related after he left Bartlett until the time he returned to Cape Columbia depended entirely upon the personal equation, so far as your committee was concerned?

Mr. Gannett. As Mr. Tittmann has so admirably set forth, it is hardly believable that a man would sit down within 130 miles of the North Pole and do that after he had undertaken the uncertainties, the dangers, and the risks to life

Mr. Grego. Could he have done it at 130 miles from the pole—made entries and observations?

Mr. Roberts. In other words, could he have gone out of sight behind an iceberg or promontory and faked this thing?

Mr. Gannett. I do not know whether Peary knows enough about astronomy to do it or not.

Mr. Butler. If he had information enough about astronomy could he have done it?

Mr. Grego. Could you have made one, Professor?

Mr. Gannett. I think I could.

The Chairman. Could it have been detected by a scientific man like yourself?

Mr. Gannett. Well. It would do not not be a scientific man like yourself?

Mr. Gannett. I think I could.

The CHairman. Could it have been detected by a scientific man like yoursel?

Mr. Gannett. Well, it would depend entirely upon a whole lot of things. Now, any scientific man reading Cook's narrative sets him down as a faker, because his narrative don't tie together; he gets the indinght sun rising on the wrong day; his notes about it show he is traveling south instead of north; and he gets the longitudes to the minute when he couldn't get them within 10°, and all that sort of thing, you know. Now, whether, of course, a man who knew more, if he attempted to fake, could avoid some of those things; but could he avoid them all?

The Chairman. Could you rely upon his report of the observations taken without any other fact and not knowing the man?

Mr. Gannett. Just simply the observations, without any knowledge of the man and without any narrative?

The Chairman. Yes.

Mr. Gannett. No; I don't think I could.

Mr. Gregg. The personal equation and confidence in the man would cut a considerable figure in siding you to come to a conclusion?

Mr. Gannett. Yes; and the other attendant circumstances, as Mr. Tittmann set them out so well when he said he had everything to carry him forward, and the idea of a man attempting to fake when within 130 miles of the pole. In the dealings of this committee of the Geographic Society with Mr. Peary, Mr. Peary made the condition that none of his records should get into print, and it is for the very obvious reason that Cook was at that time supposed to be fixing up his records to submit to Copenhagen, and if Peary submitted these observations he would use them.

The Chairman. Well. the reason why the records should not be made public may now have disappeared.

Mr. Bates. Are there any evidence before your committee as to whether he did or did not mention to any of his party, after he rejoined them, that he had found the pole?

Mr. Gannett. I do not remember any direct evidence.

Mr. Gregg. Did he claim he told Bartlett when he rejoined the party?

Mr. Gregg

Mr. Gerog. Did he claim he told Bartlett when he rejoined the party?

Mr. Gannett. I do not remember whether that question was ever asked or answered.

Mr. Gerog. I have heard it contended that he did not tell anybody until it was claimed Cook had gotten there.

Mr. Roberts. Have you any familiarity with soundings and the methods used in taking soundings?

Mr. Gannett. Well, not particularly with deep-sea soundings. Peary described his method of making soundings on this journey.

Mr. Roberts. That is what I wanted to ask you about. He says he started on that expedition with two reels of specially made piano wire of 1,000 fathoms each, and three approximately 20-pound leads, with clamshell devices for grasping samples of the bottom. These reels were arranged to be fitted quickly to the upstanders of a sled when making a sounding, and had handles for reeling in the wire and lead. One of these reels and leads were carried by Bartlett with his advance party, and the other reel and two leads by the main party. Portions of the wire and the two leads were lost at various times in hauling up, owing probably to kinks in the wire. When the sounding at \$5° 33' was made, 700 fathoms only were left of the sounding wire of the main party, and Bartlett, with the other thousand fathoms, was in advance and inaccessible. In hauling up the wire from this sounding it parted again, and some 200 fathoms, together with two pickax heads and a steel sledge shoe, which had been used to carry it down, were lost.

When Marvin turned back, the captain's 1,000 fathoms and the remaining 500 fathoms of the other reel were combined. When Bartlett made the sounding at 85° 15′, I gave him explicit instructions to use the utmost caution in regard to the wire, in order not to lose any more of it, as I wanted it all for a sounding at the pole should I succeed in getting there. Acting upon these instructions, Bartlett ran out 1,260 fathoms and then stopped on account of a small kink in the wire, which he feared would part when the wire was hauled up. When I made my sounding about 5 miles from the pole, the wire parted, as had been feared, and the last lead and nearly all of the wire was lost. What I am getting at is this: If it took two pickax heads and a steel sledge shoe to get down 700 fathoms, how much weight did it take to get down 1,500 fathoms, and where did he get that extra weight to carry it down 1,500 fathoms when he made the sounding himself within 5 miles of the pole?

Mr. GANNETT. That I can not answer.

Mr. ROBERTS. No effort was made by your committee to interrogate Henson to verify in any way any of the statements made by Peary?

Mr. GANNETT. No.

Mr. ROBERTS. Or the time it took him to make his different journeys, the number of miles per day?

Mr. GANNETT. No.

Mr. ROBERTS. Did Mr. Peary before your committee, give you any

the number of miles per day?

Mr. GANNETT. No.

Mr. ROBERTS. Did Mr. Peary, before your committee, give you any account of the conditions of ice or open water that he found on that dash from the main party to the pole?

Mr. GANNETT. Yes; that he found some thin ice; I do not remember that he found any open leads in that six days' travel.

Mr. ROBERTS. Well, how did he explain to you that with that ice and no open water he got through the ice to make his soundings?

Mr. GANNETT. He found some thin places.

Mr. ROBERTS. He found some thin ice and chopped through? Did he make that sounding going up or returning?

Mr. GANNETT. Returning.

Mr. ROBERTS. Did he tell your committee what his equipment was on that dash?

Mr. Gannett. Returning.
Mr. Roberts. Did he tell your committee what his equipment was on that dash?
Mr. Gannett. Well, he had two sledges.
Mr. Roberts. How many dogs?
Mr. Gannett. I think 36 dogs; it seems to me 36 or 32.
Mr. Roberts. How many Esquimaux?
Mr. Roberts. How many Esquimaux?
Mr. Roberts. And Henson?
Mr. Roberts. And Henson.
Mr. Roberts. And himself?
Mr. Gannett. Yes, sir.
Mr. Roberts. And on his two sleds he carried all his apparatus, food for 4 people and 32 or 36 dogs, for 22 days?
Mr. Gannett. I do not remember how many days; it must have been more than that, because they did not expect to get back so soon.
Mr. Roberts. What weight will a big sled like that transport—what is the average load?
Mr. Gannett. The average load, including the sled, is about 500 pounds.
Mr. Roberts. Do you know what his instruments weighed?

Mr. Gannett. The average load, including the sled, is about 500 pounds.

Mr. Roberts. Do you know what his instruments weighed?

Mr. Gannett. They were very light; the sextant was the heaviest instrument that he had; he had besides that a lot of light mountain transits, which he did not use.

Mr. Roberts. He must have had 40 to 50 pounds in his sounding apparatus.

Mr. Gannett. Yes.

Mr. Roberts. Because the wire itself weighed something over 20 pounds, the lead 20, and the reel that carried the wire must have made the weight something like 40 or 50 pounds. He carried a camera also, didn't he?

Mr. Gannett. I think he must have; yes.

Mr. Roberts. Did he show you the picture that Hampton is giving away of the Navy ensign holsted on the North Pole, projecting so distinctly?

Mr. Gannett. No.

Mr. Roberts. Do you know anything about that photograph?

Mr. Gannett. No; I do not.

Mr. Roberts. Let me ask just this question: What were the conditions as to sunlight at the time he is said to have been at the pole? Was it the period when the sun is highest or what they call the midninght sun?

Mr. Gannett. No; it was just after the spring equinox; that comes—

Mr. Gannett. No; it was just after the spring equinox; that comes—
the sun gets up as far as the Equator on the 21st of March; now, he was
at the North Pole some 15 or 16 days later.

Mr. ROBERTS. Then he was there at the time of the year when the
sun is ordinarily the highest at the pole?

Mr. Gannett. No; the sun would be the highest at the pole the 21st
of June

Mr. Gannett. No; the sun would be the highest at the pole the 21st of June.

The Chairman. On November 4, 1909, the subcommittee, of which you were a member, made its report to the National Geographic Society?

Mr. Gannett. Yes.

The Chairman. In that report you said that Commander Peary had submitted to the subcommittee his original journals and records of observations.

Mr. Gannett. Yes.

The Chairman. Have you copies of the records and observations with you?

Mr. Gannett. Yes.

The Chairman. Have you copies of the records and observations with you?

Mr. Gannett. Yes.

The Chairman. In view of the statement made by Representative Alexander, of New York, to this subcommittee this morning, having before it the bill to promote and retire Commander Peary as a rear admiral, that Commander Peary was ready and entirely willing to submit to the committee all of his original notes, observations, instruments, and journals, and other data furnished to the committee of the National Geographic Society, on which it made its report, have you any objection now to submitting these copies to the committee?

Mr. Gannett. No; in view of Mr. Alexander's statement I have not. Mr. Alexander. I do not take the responsibility of saying that what is shown to this committee shall be published to the world; whether he would be willing to have it published to the world or not I do not know. My simple suggestion was that he was perfectly willing to submit to the gentlemen of this committee any and all data, original and otherwise, which he may have, that they might say "We have seen the original data which was submitted to the National Geographic Society," and upon it this committee could make their findings. But whether he would want them, even at this time, published to the world that is a question I did not speak to him about, nor was there any suggestion in our conversation upon which I could base an opinion as to his willingness.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not see how it can be kept from the public if it goes down here. That you will appreciate.

Mr. Alexander. Then I wouldn't want anything submitted here upon my statement this morning. There is time enough; Mr. Peary can make his own statement upon that.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it would be well enough for us to suspend the examination at this point until we can meet again in two or three days, and will ask Prof. Gannett to come back before us again.

Mr. Alexander. My statement was simply to show to the committete his willingness to show to the committee everything that he had. Now, I would suggest that inasmuch as he is entirely willing to come here himself that it might not be a bad plan to have him accompany Prof. Gannett, and then you can ask him all and every question; how many days he was going up after he left Bartlett, how many days he was coming back, anything and everything that this committee wants to ask I assure you it will get a full and frank answer.

Mr. Dawson. He ought to understand that what is taken here will be a matter for public record.

Mr. Englebright. I make the motion that we invite Mr. Peary to be present, with Mr. Gannett and Mr. Tittmann.

(This motion was seconded by Mr. Gregg, and after some discussion Mr. Gregg withdrew his second, and Mr. Englebright withdrew his motion.)

(This motion was seconded by Mr. Gregg, and after some discussion Mr. Gregg withdrew his second, and Mr. Englebright withdrew his motion.)

The Chairman. The verdict of the National Geographic Society affirming Commander Peary's records and data relative to his attaining the North Pole has been accepted by the geographical societies of London. Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Brussels, Antwerp, Geneva, Dresden, and St. Petersburg, has it not?

Mr. Gannett. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. The verdict of this committee, of which you were a member, has been accepted by the scientific societies in many different places in the world?

Mr. Gannett. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. The records of Peary were not submitted to any of these societies? They simply accepted the judgment of the National Geographic Society?

Mr. Gannett. That is the case.

Mr. Roberts. Do you know of any instance where a national geographic society has made a finding of any scientific fact and that finding has not been accepted by others? In other words, it is a professional courtesy among geographic societies to accept the results of each other's work without question?

Mr. Gannett. We had a case only two or three months ago where Cook was accepted by the University of Copenhagen, but nearly all the geographical societies refused to accept it.

Mr. Roberts. That was not a geographical society.

Mr. Roberts. That was not a geographical society.

Mr. Roberts. Do you know where the finding of any society has been repudiated by another except in the Cook instance?

Mr. Roberts. I do not recall any except in the Cook instance.

Mr. Roberts. I do not recall any except in the Cook instance.

Mr. Roberts. I do not recall any except in the Cook instance.

Mr. Roberts. I do not recall any except in the Cook instance.

Mr. Roberts. I do not recall any except in the Cook instance.

Mr. Roberts. I do not recall any except in the Cook instance.

Mr. Roberts. I do not recall any except in the Cook instance.

Mr. Roberts. I do not recall any except in the Cook instance.

Mr.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY, Washington, March 1, 1910.

Hon. ERNEST W. ROBERTS, M. C., House of Representatives.

Sin: In reply to your letter of February 25, requesting the report by Civil Engineer R. E. Peary, United States Navy, I beg leave to transmit herewith copies of, first, a letter transmitting tidal records; second, a letter transmitting the profile of soundings referred to in the letter transmitting the tidal records, the explanatory statement transmitted with the soundings, and a photographic copy of the profile and of the table of geographic positions, all of which are duly attested.

Respectfully,

CHARLES NAGEL, Secretary.

MARCH 3, 1910.

I certify that this is a true copy of the original. [SEAL.] Andrew Braid,
Assistant in Charge of Office, Coast and Geodetic Survey.

EAGLE ISLAND, SOUTH HARPSWELL, ME., October 18, 1909.

Sin: Referring to my telegram, I am sending you by express the tidal records of the Peary Arctic Club's recent north polar expedition. Owing to the unfortunate death of Prof. Ross G. Marvin, some of the chronometer comparisons, particularly of the Cape Bryant observations, are missing.

These comparisons are undoubtedly among Prof. Marvin's private papers; and if so, will be obtained from his relatives later.

Prof. Donald B. Macmillan took many of the observations a.) I is familiar with them all, and can come to Washington to see you any time you may consider it advisable.

I am writing him now to communicate with you at once, and to keep you posted as to his address.

I am also sending you profile of soundings from Cape Columbia to within 5 miles of the pole.

If such request is permissible, I will respectfully request that this profile and complete set of soundings be not published at present.

With best regards, I am,

Very respectfully,

R. E. Peary, U. S. N.

Acting Superintendent F. W. Perkins,

United States Coast and Geodetic Survey,

Washington, D. C.

March 3, 1910.

MARCH 3, 1910. I certify that this is a true copy of the original.

[SEAL.]

Andrew Braid,

Assistant in Charge of Office, Coast and Geodetic Survey.

EAGLE ISLAND, SOUTH HARPSWELL, ME., October 28, 1909.

Mr. F. W. PERKINS, Washington, D. C. DEAR SIR: Replying to your favor of October 21, I desire to express my sincere appreciation of your kind offer to furnish me the results of the discussion of the expedition's tidal records.

I shall be very glad to receive the same when ready.

In regard to the profile of soundings delivered to you by Mr. Nichols and which you inform me the Hydrographic Office of the Navy Department desires, will say that these soundings were made on the meridian of Cape Columbia, and plotting on that meridian at the latitudes, which I think are noted in the table on the profile sheet, will give their position.

There are quite a number of other soundings made on this expedition and the previous one along the north coast of Grant Land as far west as the eighty-second meridian (Cape Fanshawe Martin); also in Kennedy and Robeson Channels and Kane Basin; also off Cape Alexander, and from Cape Morris Jesup, the northern extremity of Greenland, to 84° 15′.

and from tage morris sessy, the normen extensity of Green and From 184° 15'.

If the Hydrographic Office contemplates adding these soundings to Chart No. 2142. or thinks of issuing a new edition of that chart, it would seem desirable to have all of these soundings, as well as the work of the previous expedition, defining the shore line from Aldrich's farthest to Cape Thomas Hubbard, and the reconnaissance of the present expedition of Clements Markham Inlet just west of Cape Hecla added to the chart.

May I respectfully suggest that you take this matter up with the Hydrographic Office and, if the work indicated above seems desirable, see if some arrangement can be made for the compensation and expenses of Prof. Donald B. Macmillan, who is familiar with much of this work, so that he may come to Washington with the notes of the soundings and assist in plotting the work.

Prof. Macmillan is now engaged in getting the sounding samples in shape to send a set to your office for such examination as you may desire.

shape to send a set to your office for such desire.

Unfortunately, the samples of soundings on the northern journey beyond the sounding of 110 fathoms were lost with Prof. Marvin. The others may yield interesting results under the microscope.

Very sincerely,

R. E. Peary, U. S. N. March 3, 1910.

I certify that this is a true copy of the original. ANDREW BRAID,
Assistant in Charge of Office, Coast and Geodetic Survey.

NOTES OF SOUNDINGS.

NOTES OF SOUNDINGS.

The sounding equipment of the expedition consisted of two reels of specially made piano wire of 1,000 fathoms each and three approximately 20-pound leads, with clamshell device for grasping samples of the bottom. These reets were arranged to be fitted quickly to the upstanders of a sledge when making a sounding and had handles for reeling in the wire and lead.

One of these reels and leads was carried by Bartlett with his advance party and the other reel and two leads by the main party.

Portions of the wire and the two leads were lost at various times in hauling up, owing, probably, to kinks in the wire.

When the sounding of 85° 33' was made, 700 fathoms only were left of the sounding wire of the main party, and Bartlett, with the other 1,000 fathoms, was in advance and inaccessible.

In hauling up the wire from this sounding it parted again, and some 200 fathoms, together with two pickax heads and a steel sledge shoe, which had been used to carry it down, were lost.

When Marvin turned back, the captain's 1,000 fathoms and the remaining 500 fathoms of the other reel were combined.

When Bartlett made the sounding at 85° 15′, I gave him explicit instructions to use 'the utmost caution in regard to the wire, in order not to lose any more of it, as I wanted it all for a sounding at the pole, should I succeed in getting there.

Acting upon these instructions, Bartlett ran out 1,260 fathoms and then stopped on account of a small kink in the wire, which he feared would part when the wire was hauled up.

When I made my sounding about 5 miles from the pole, the wire parted, as had been feared, and the last lead and nearly all of the wire were lost.

The above facts are noted to explain the irregularity of these soundings, which did not get bottom.

The sounding of 310 fathoms at 85° 23′ naturally impressed me at

The above facts are noted to explain the irregularity of these soundings, which did not get bottom.

The sounding of 310 fathoms at 85° 23' naturally impressed me at once as surprising, and when Marvin reported the result to me, immediately after taking the sounding, I at once asked him if he was sure that he had the bottom, and he replied that he was, as the fact of this pronounced shoaling from 825 fathoms at 310 impressed him at once, and he made sure that his depth was correct.

Again, when the sounding of 700 fathoms and no bottom was made about 10 miles farther north, we both spoke of the peculiar fact of this outlying ridge with deeper channel intervening between it and the continental shelf, and Marvin again said that he was sure of his 310 fathoms reading.

tinental shelf, and Marvin again said that the fathoms reading.

Had it not been for the loss of the last lead and practically all of the wire, while making the sounding at the pole, I should, on the return, have interpolated other soundings.

The profile indicates that a line of 5-mile interval soundings from Cape Columbia to the eighty-sixth parallel might develop a particularly interesting profile of the bottom of the Arctic Ocean.

R. E. Pearr,

United States Navy.

OCTOBER 18, 1909.

MARCH 3, 1910.

I certify that this is a true copy of the original.

hat this is a true copy of the original.

Andrew Braid.

Assistant in Charge of Office, Coast and Geodetic Survey.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, Washington, March 7, 1910.

My Dear Congressman: Referring to your call at the Hydrographic Office of this department on the 3d instant, when you requested to be furnished with a chart showing the explorations of Civil Engineer R. E. Peary, United States Navy, and the soundings taken by him, I beg to hand you herewith a black print of the base of the North Polar Chart in course of construction at the time of your visit at the Hydrographic Office. The soundings shown on this chart as having been taken by Civil Engineer Peary on his last voyage of exploration to the Arctic were received from the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Faithfully, yours,

BEEKMAN WINTHROP, Acting Secretary of the Navy.

Hon. WILLIAM F. ENGLEBRIGHT, M. C., House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS, SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVATE BILLS, Monday, March 7, 1919.

The subcommittee was called to order at 4 p. m., Hon. THOMAS S. BUTLER (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Butler, Roberts, Bates, Dawson, Englebright,

Macon.

Representative De Alva Alexander presented the following statement to the subcommittee:

"Commander Peary and his friends say that contracts signed months ago with his publishers render it impossible to make his records and scientific data public now. It would not only subject Peary to heavy damages—a loss which he can not meet, having just extricated himself from debt incurred in connection with his various expeditions—but it would be breaking faith with his publishers, which he is unwilling to do under any circumstances."

Representatives R. P. Hobson and W. Hampton Moore addressed the committee in executive session.

(Adjourned to meet at 11 o'clock Wednesday morning, March 9, 1910.)

SUBCOMMITTEE No. 8 OF THE COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS, Saturday, January 7, 1911.

The subcommittee this day met, Hon. Thomas S. Butler (chairman)

presiding.

STATEMENT OF CAPT. ROBERT E. PEARY, UNITED STATES NAVY.

STATEMENT OF CAPT. ROBERT E. PEARY, UNITED STATES NAVY.

Mr. Butler. Capt. Peary, there are two or three bills awaiting the action of the committee, on which congressional action is necessary. You know what the bills are. Yesterday the subcommittee suggested that you should be invited to come here at 10 o'clock this morning and fell us anything you may see fit bearing upon your trip to the North Pole.

Capt. Peary. The subject, if gone into in detail, is rather an extensive one, and I should hardly know where to commence to make a connected and formal statement in regard to the matter. I had not thought of anything of that kind, but if you or any member of the committee wishes to ask questions in regard to points that seem to be the more prominent ones, I shall be very glad to answer them to the best of my ability, if that has your approval.

Mr. Butler When we adjourned last spring some members of the committee desired you to submit some proofs that you had been to the North Pole, had succeeded, before congressional action should be taken on any of the bills, and while I have no disposition whatever to examine you or to cross-examine you, if you have any data or any material to submit to us, which will enable us in our own way to establish the fact, we would be glad to have it.

Mr. Englerricht. For the purpose of the record, I would suggest that Capt. Peary give us his present connection with the Navy Department.

Mr. Englerrichte.

partment.

Mr. Butler. Perhaps I should have asked the captain to give us his connection with the Navy, although I had assumed that we all knew it, because it is a matter of record.

When did you enter the Navy?
Capt. Pbart. I entered the Navy on the 26th of October, I think it was, 1881, 29 years ago
Mr. Butler. As a civil engineer?
Capt. Peart Yes, sir. As the result of a competitive examination which lasted two weeks at the Washington Navy Yard.
Mr. Butler. And since that time you have been a member of the department?
Capt. Peart. I have been in the Civil Engineer Corps of the service since that time.
Mr. Englebright. What is your present rank?
Capt. Peart. My present rank is that of captain, since the 20th of October.

of October.

of October.

Mr. BUTLER. That is the highest grade you can reach in your corps?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir; except by being made chief of bureau.

Mr. BUTLER. I understand that by reason of the recent act of Congress your rank will continue after you retire from the bureau?

Capt. Peary. I think that is the law, that a chief of bureau continues

his rank.

Mr. Bates. It is true that Mr. Bartlett was within 130 miles of the pole?

pole?
Capt. Peary, One hundred and thirty-three miles.
Mr. Butler. If agreeable to you, begin your narrative where Bartlett left you, and tell us what you can which will help us to understand that you actually did reach the pole.
Capt. Peary. How fully do you wish me to go into that?
Mr. Butler. Take your own way and drift along, and, for one member of the committee, I shall be greatly pleased to sit here and

member of the committee, I shall be greatly pleased to sit here and listen.

Capt. Peary. I can say, in a general way, Mr. Chairman, that at the point where Bartlett left us his observation indicated it was \$7'\$
47' north latitude. At that point I overhauled my sledges completely. At that time I had seven sledges. I intended to go on from there with a party of six men.

Mr. Butler. Who made the observation at that point—Bartlett?

Mr. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Butler. And Bartlett made the report?

Capt. Peary. He made the observation at that point. At that point I had 7 sledges and, I think, 60 dogs. I do not remember the number precisely. I proposed to go on from there with 5 men besides myself and with 5 sledges, leaving 3 men to return. One of the sledges was completely broken up to furnish material for repairing others. We broke a great many sledges. One was assigned to Bartlett and the poorest dogs were selected to go, back with Bartlett. That left me with Henson and 4 Eskimos, Oo-tah, E-ging-wah, See-gloo, and Oo-que-ah, and 40 dogs, which were the pick of my original pack of 133 with which we left Camp Columbia, the selections having been made at every point where a supporting party turned back. We had a rest of at least 24 hours at this point, reached by Bartlett. That rest was intentional for the purpose of double rationing the dogs, selecting the poor ones, repairing the sledges, and starting Eartlett back. Bartlett started back immediately after noon of the 1st of April, after taking his observation, and giving me a copy and retaining a copy.

Mr. Butler. How soon did you start after that?

Capt. Peary. I went on with the work of repairing the sledges and reloading them, and started 'at 4 or 5 o'clock the next morning, after having a good sleep. In those next four days and part of the fifth day we made five marches. You will understand that in the time of continuous daylight a march is not synonymous with a day here. We made three marches in four days. You can sleep when you please and

travel when you please, except for the weather; night or day does not affect that. I made five marches, the estimated distance of the first one being 25 miles, of the second one 20 miles, of the next two, 25 miles each, and of the last, 30 miles.

Mr. ROBERTS. You are speaking of geographical miles?
Capt. PEARY. I am speaking of geographical miles. All miles that I speak of now will be geographical.

Mr. BUTLER. The last march reached what point?
Capt. PEARY. The last point, I judged, brought me near enough of the pole so I could reach it from that point.

Mr. BUTLER. Estimated at how many miles? I remember from your book very distinctly that it was about 5 miles.
Capt. PEARY. My estimate put me within 3 or 4 miles of the pole. I reached there, as I had hoped to do, before noon of a given day, so that I could take a preliminary observation immediately after my arrival that would indicate my position near enough so that I could ecide what to do the next day, whether I would go on with my party or whether I would take a light sledge and one or two men and make a spurt for it as Shackleton did, and as is customary in such work.

The observation which I made at that time was not an entirely sat-

party or whether I would take a light sledge and one or two men and make a spurt for it as Shackleton did, and as is customary in such work.

The observation which I made at that time was not an entirely satisfactory one, as clouds were drifting over the sky, but it indicated our position, as figured in the field at that time, as 89° 57°, which is about 3 miles from the pole. After making our camp there, we turned in for a few hours of sleep. My intention was, when I had reached the point that I judged to be at or near the pole, to take observations at six-hour intervals. I had intended to take an observation at my Columbia 6 p. m. time, approximately, but it was cloudy at that time and looked as if it might clear away. I was unable to take any observation within six hours from my previous observation.

Starting with two of my Eskimos and the light sledge—because when you start off on the ice you never know what may happen—and my instrument, I went what I judged to be 10 miles farther on in the same direction and took another series of observations at midnight of the time I was carrying, which I call Columbia meridian time. Those observations indicated that I was on the other side of the pole.

Mr. Dawson. Were the conditions fairly favorable for the observations which you made beyond the pole?

Capt. Peary. The conditions after 8 o'clock in the evening were entirely satisfactory—they cleared away about 8 o'clock. The sky was entirely clear for the rest of the time that we were in the neighborhood of the pole.

Mr. Englebright. And practically wherever you are on the earth the needle is pointing toward the magnetic pole?

Capt. Peary. It tends to do so.

Mr. Butler. The North Pole is not north?

Capt. Peary. The North Pole is not north?

Mr. Butler. The needle tends to point toward the magnetic pole?

Capt. Peary. It does point near it, until

Capt. Peary. It does point near it, until you get so near to it that the—

Mr. Butler. Was there anything in the action of your needle that would assist in determining whether or not you had been to the pole? Capt. Peary. No, sir; except so far as you used a compass.

Mr. Butler. I understand; but in the pointing of the needle? Capt. Peary. It would assist you with the magnetic pole. That is the distinction. One is a geographical pole, a mathematical point, and the other is a magnetic pole, which is the point where the magnetic attraction is.

Mr. Excleright. In using a compass in the northern regions you use it with a calculated variation?

Capt. Peary. You use it, checking it by observations wherever you can. Along this coast [indicating on map] there are observations made by the British expedition, from this point [indicating] out to about here [indicating]. There are other observations made by me out to here lindicating] in the summer of 1900. To give you an idea of what those variations are, here at Roosevelt [indicating] the variation is approximately 95° west. In other words, the north end of the needle points a little south of true west, and as you go west that increases.

Mr. Engleright. Is not that all charted by the Coast Survey and by the marltime nations of the world?

Capt. Peary. They have the lines of certain variations, but of course the greater the number of observations the more accurate the data.

Mr. Engleright. Did you have such a chart with you?

data.

Mr. Engleright. Did you have such a chart with you?

Capt. Peary. No, sir; I did not have such a chart.

Mr. Dawson. Did you make any observations in the locality which would tend to throw any additional light on the variation of the needle?

Capt. Peary. I did not on this last expedition; I did on the previous ones; when I went along this coast [indicating]. I should say that on this trip that I had what I called a double team of dogs—12—and a light sledge. The usual team was 8 dogs, although we started from Columbia with 7.

Returning then to my camp, I made an observation at 6 o'clock the

and a light sledge. The usual team was 8 dogs, although we started from Columbia with 7.

Returning then to my camp, I made an observation at 6 o'clock the next morning, which would of necessity be at right angles to the observation I had made at midnight, and that indicated that the pole was between me and the sun. You can not say east or west, or anything else; everything is south. I then took another team of 12 dogs, fresh ones, and went in that direction an estimated distance of about 8 miles; I then returned to my same camp and, at noom of the 7th, took a series of observations, the conditions then being satisfactory for such observations, taking them from the Columbia meridian. Then we started in to have some sleep before returning, but after having been in camp a little while, everyone seemed to be more desirous of starting back and taking advantage of the fine weather. They were comfortable, but all more or less keyed up, and at about 4 o'clock of that afternoon I decided to start back. My men were all agreeable, and we did start back at 4 or 4.30, something like that, in the afternoon of the 7th, with the idea of sleeping at the last igloo in the upward journey.

On the way back we stopped about 5 miles south of the pole to make a sounding at a place where there had been a movement of the heavy ice and where the new ice which had frozen over was thin enough. That is shown in an illustration in the book. We reached our last upward igloo and slept there.

Mr. Butler. You did not make the sounding because your line parted?

Capt. Pearx. I did make the sounding, but did not recover the apparatus. I ran out my lead and all the wire without touching

bottom.

Mr. Englebricht. How deep?

Capt. Pears. Fifteen hundred fathoms—9,000 feet. When I started to reel the lead in the wire parted and I lost the apparatus. Otherwise I should have made soundings on the return like on the outward

wise I should have made soundings on the return like on the outward journey.

After sleeping at this igloo, we started back, and we covered our two outward marches in one. We should not have done that but for the fact that we knew that we did not have to build an igloo, and when we got there we could go in at once, and stopping there and putting in the time building an igloo would have taken about the same time. On the second march we did the same thing. We covered the two outward marches, but we could not have done a thing if we had been going the other way. During this march we had a northerly gale at our backs and in the latter part of it we had the ice raftering under us in places, but the wind rather helped us, and we did make our igloo at the end of that march. There, with the continuance of the storm, we got a fairly decent sleep and started on from there back. On the next march we did not cover two. I found I had come pretty near using up my dogs in the three marches, and I found that I had to look out for them if I was going to carry them back to land. From Bartlett's camp back to Cape Columbia we averaged five outward marches in three return marches.

Mr. Dawson. You could follow the line coming back?

Capt. Peary. We had a trail and the igloos to occupy when we got to camp at night.

Mr. Bates. That saved time?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir; and it was a matter of moral encouragement to the men.

Mr. Butter, I am familiar with the details given in the book, as I

Mr. Barss. That said and the was a matter of moral encouragement to the men.

Mr. Butler. I am familiar with the details given in the book, as I read it with very great care, but what surprised me was this, that there were not frequent snows that would cover the trail. The illustrations, however, show how perfectly they had been retained.

Capt. Peary. There was very little snow on this trip. Three years ago we had a blizzard at 84° or 85° that continued for six days and quite a bit of snow fell, but the snowfalls in the Arctic regions are not excessive. They can not be. There is very little water exposed for a very short time to furnish evaporation into the air to later come down in snow. If you get snow it is usually accompanied with wind. That means that you have not only the falling snow, but any loose snow that may be picked up is carried on. It is nothing but a quiet downfall of snow that can obliterate a trail. If there is any wind, you will find places entirely covered with hard snow, and perhaps 100 feet or 100 yards beyond that you will see the trail just as distinct as ever.

feet or 100 yards beyond that you will see the trail just as distinct as ever.

Mr. Butler. You could not have found the igloos if it had not been for the trail on the return?

Capt. Pearx. No.

Mr. Butler. You came back on the same trail?

Capt. Pearx. Yes, sir; practically all the way, within 45 miles of Cape Columbia, and then I had Bartlett's trail.

Mr. Roberts. Before you leave this matter of the trail—you speak of the trail over the ice—how could you distinguish it coming back?

Capt. Pearx. By the passage of the sledges and the dogs over it.

Mr. Roberts. Did the dogs' feet leave any tracks on the ice?

Capt. Pearx. Not on the ice. Perhaps that might be a popular misconception. There is practically no ice, as such, on such a journey as this, except the new-frozen ice, ice covered with frozen crystals. Farther north, as I note in my book, on the surface of the great floes, in their depressions, there was crystalline ice where the pools of fresh water of the previous summer had frozen; but in general the ice of the Arctic regions is snow. It is hard, granular snow, or in places soft snow.

fresh water of the previous summer had frozen; but in general the ice of the Arctic regions is snow. It is hard, granular snow, or in places soft snow.

Mr. Roberts. Packed?

Capt. Peary. As a rule. If there has been any wind to speak of during the previous few weeks or months, it will be packed hard.

Mr. Roberts. The footprints of the dogs are left on the packed ice that you speak of?

Capt. Peary. The footprints will show on the snow, and the cutting of the steel sledge shoes will show in the snow. There is another thing—sometimes it is a nuisance, but on a trip like this it is a God's blessing: An Eskimo dog never passes a little hump of ice but what he puts his mark on it, and you can see the discoloration sometimes 300 or 400 yards, when you can not see the trail right at your feet. We also made a point, both on my previous expedition and this last one, of taking the pemmican cans which had been emptied along on a sledge and dropping the cans at certain intervals on the trail, sometimes on a pinnacle of ice. For this purpose those for the dogs were painted red and those for the men blue. The marks of the sledge shoes, the marks of the dogs feet, in places the discoloration of the ice and snow, the droppings of the dogs, and our pemmican tins made a trail that could be followed.

Mr. BUTLEE. Did not the cans blow?
Capt. Peary. Yes, sir; some of them.

Mr. BUTLEE. Did not the cans blow?
Capt. Peary. Yes, sir; some of them.

Mr. BUTLEE. On page 208 of your book I find the illustration "Looking back." You will remember that picture?
Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUTLEE. On page 208 of your book I find the illustration made.

Mr. BUTLEE. On page 208 of your book I find the illustration had.

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUTLEE. On page 208 of your book I find the illustration been made.

Mr. BUTLEE. On page 208 of your book I find the illustration been made.

Mr. BUTLEE. On page 208 of your book I find the illustration been made.

Mr. BUTLEE. On page 208 of your book I find the illustration been made.

Mr. BUTLEE

Mr. Butler. On your return how did the trait appear, how much obliterated?

Capt. Peary. On a trail like that, in places there would be drifts across it that would absolutely obliterate it for a short distance. In other places you would find that these furrows had filled in with snow that had drifted across. On a trail like that a soft snowfall would have to be—I can not say precisely—several inches thick not to show some of the more pronounced furrows.

Mr. Butler. From Columbia to the North Pole you traveled 413 miles?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Butler. Of that distance, 413 miles, what sort of a trail did you have, as compared with this shown in the picture; largely similar?

Capt. Peary. We never had as distinct a trail as that, because that picture was taken from a trail that had just been made by a passage.

Mr. Bates. The other returning parties found the trail, and that helped to keep the trail open?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir; that was one of the most important duties of each supporting party—to connect all possible breaks in the out-

ward trail due to any movement of the ice that would give the main party a continuous trail.

Mr. Dawson. I suppose your compass was of some assistance in following the trail?

Capt. Pears. Most assuredly.

Mr. Bates. The other returning parties found no trouble in coming back by this trail?

Capt. Pears. It took them some time in one or two places where there had been movements of the ice to pick up the trail on the other side, but their doing that saved me that time and trouble. Battlett, when he got back within 45 miles of land, lost the main trail and went into the land on his own hook; he could see it, of course, then, and I followed his trail when I came back.

Mr. Bates. Within 45 miles of land?

Capt. Pears. Yes, sir.

Mr. Dawson. Have you brought with you your original notes which you took during your movements in proximity to the pole?

Capt. Pears, I have them; yes, sir.

Mr. Dawson. Have you any chart that you made at that time showing these movements about the point where the pole is supposed to be?

Capt. Pears. I made no chart; no, sir.

Mr. Rousers. I mould like to ask if the supporting parties kept

Capt. Pears. I made no chart; no, sir.

Mr. Roberts. I would like to ask if the supporting parties kept
records of their return trips?
Capt. Pears. They kept records; yes, sir.

Mr. Roberts. And turned them over to you?
Capt. Pears. I have Bartlett's report. I think I have Macmillan's
and Borup's reports, but I will not be sure. I can give you the time of
each supporting party, if you care for it, on the return, without going
into details.

Mr. Roberts. How did you get that information?
Capt. Pears. What information?
Mr. Roberts. As to their time and so on and the incidents of their
return.

return.

Capt. Pharx. After my return I had Bartlett make me a report of his own trip, and I recall that I have a brief report from Borup and one from Macmillan. Borup, on his return to Columbia, had instructions to go west along this const [indicating on map] just in the same way that Marvin, when he came back, was to come up this coast [indicating on map], so that I should be protected along the entire extent of the north coast in event of meeting conditions such as I met in the previous expedition when I was driven off here [indicating on map]. return

on map).

Mr. Roberts. What I was inquiring about particularly was whether each supporting party had kept a diary or record or journal.

Capt. Peary. I have a report from Bartlett, and I think I have

Capt. Prary. I have a report from Dates.

Macmillan's report.

Mr. Roberts. But those reports were made up after they returned to the ship?

Capt. Prary. They were given to me then. They probably had

Capt. Pears. They were given to me then. They probably had rough notes.

Mr. Roberts. Do you know whether or not they were made from day to day as they moved along the backward journey?

Capt. Pears. I assume that they made entries in the journal, and then they gave me a transcript of their journal or report. I feel quite sure they did that.

Mr. Roberts. Have you any objection to allowing us to look at them?

them?
Capt. Peary. Not the slightest.
Mr. Engleright. Have you the report here from Mr. Bartlett?
Capt. Peary. I have not the report. I have Bartlett's memorandum given to me.
Mr. Barts. Have you his memorandum?
Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.
Mr. Roberts. Is this the original?
Capt. Peary. Here [exhibiting] is a certificate given me by Bartlett at that time:

ARCTIC OCEAN, April 1, 1909.

Have to-day personally determined our latitude to be by sextant observation 87° 46′ 49″ north. I return from here in command of the fourth supporting party. I leave Commander Peary with 5 men, 5 sledges, with full loads, and 40 picked dogs. Men and dogs are in good condition. The going fair. The weather good. At the same average as our last eight marches Commander Peary should reach the pole in eight days.

ROBERT A. BARTLETT, Master Steamer "Roosevelt."

Mr. Roberts (after examining paper). Are these figures in your handwriting?

Capt. Peary. In Bartlett's handwriting.

Mr. Butler. This was written away up at the point where Bartlett left you.

Mr. BUTLER. This was written away up at the point where Bartlett left you?

Capt. Peary. That is just as he wrote it in one of his notebooks, and he tore it out and gave it to me. He kept a copy.

Mr. BUTLER. He gave it to you at that time?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUTLER. He left you within 133 miles of the pole?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Macon. If he had reached 87° 47'?

Mr. BUTLER. Yes, sir.

Capt. Peary. These are the figures just as Bartlett put them down on a page of the notebook.

Mr. BUTLER. Four observations, all of them, are printed in this book which you have published?

Capt. Peary. Not all of them.

Mr. BUTLER. I remember the facsimiles of the observations, and I assumed that they were all of the observations.

Capt. Peary. They are not facsimiles of all.

Mr. BUTLER. Have you a facsimile of the observations you made at the pole?

Mr. Butler. Have you a facsimile of the pole?

Capt. Peary. Two of them.

Mr. Butler. Not here?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Butler. I find a facsimile of an observation made on April 6, 1909, and then April 1, 1909. That was an observation made by Bartlett?

Capt. Peary. I have just shown you that.

Mr. Butler. The observation made on April 6 is the only one in here made while at the North Pole. I find in the same book, on page 292, three observations made at Camp Morris Jesup April 7, 1909. That was the camp that you made just before you made your final drive for the pole?

the pole?
Capt. Pear, That was practically my North Pole camp.

Mr. Butler. Within 3 or 5 miles of the geographical pole?
Capt. Peart. Yes, sir.
That indicates [indicating] Camp Morris Jesup. The first observation was taken here [indicating] on the 6th of April. The next one was taken here [indicating] in this direction. The next one was taken here [indicating] in this direction, after which I traveled an estimated distance of 8 miles this way, and the last observation was taken from this camp [indicating] in this direction.

Mr. Dawson. And that [indicating] is the pole?
Capt. Peart. The results of these observations seemed to indicate that the pole was approximately in that direction [indicating] from my camp.

Capt. Peary. The results of these observations seemed to indicate that the pole was approximately in that direction [indicating] from my camp.

Mr. Dawson. Have you any objection to allowing the committee to see the original notes you made during this last journey and during the observations in the immediate vicinity of the pole?

Capt. Peary. I have not.

Mr. Greeg. Did you keep them in a book or on slips of paper?

Capt. Peary. In a book.

Mr. Dawson. And since then you have taken them out of the book?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr Greeg. Are these the original entries or transcripts?

Capt. Peary. The originals.

Mr. Enolement. Were they taken out of the book to be photographed and used for illustration purposes?

Capt. Peary. These made by Marvin and Bartlett were taken out of their notebooks and given to me. My own observations, made in separate books, were taken out when I compacted all of my papers on which I had sewed on to my undershirt. My photographs I had done up in hermetically sealed tins.

Mr. Robents. When were those figures [indicating] inserted?

Capt. Peary. Immediately after the observation. The only thing that held Bartlett from starting on his return was the making of the observation, and the moment he had taken the observation and made the record he started back.

Mr. Robents. Why did he use two pencils on that record?

Capt. Peary. That I can not say.

Mr. Robents. I should judge that evidently that was a different pencil [indicating]; that looks like an indelible pencil.

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Borgars. And this looks [indicating] like an ordinary lead pencil.

Capt. Peary. Have you also the journal or log of your party?

Capt. Peary. Bartlett can answer that question better than I can.
Mr. Dawson. Have you also the journal or log of your party?
Capt. Peary. I have.
Mr. Roberts. Do you know whether or not Bartlett signed that [indicating] after making his observation, after putting down the

Indicating after making his observation, after putting down the figures?

Capt. Peart. Yes, sir; I think he did.

Mr. Roberts. It looks like a different pencil entirely.

Capt. Peart. Yes, sir. That was signed at the time, and of course it was done after the observation was made.

Mr. Roberts. It seems rather strange that he had such an assortment of pencils there—three pencils. Those entries were all contemporaneous; made the same day?

Capt. Peart. Yes, sir.

Mr. Butler. We have your word for it, and we have these observations to show that you were at the North Pole. That is the plain way of putting it—your word and your preofs. To me, as a member of this committee, I accept your word; but your proofs, I know nothing at all about.

Mr. Butler. And you have Bartlett's statement as far as he went?

Mr. Butler. Yes, sir. As to the observations made, I am not a mathematician and therefore would not understand whether or not they were correct.

were correct.

mathematician and therefore would not understand whether or not they were correct.

I will ask you this question: Was it absolutely necessary for you to have been at the North Pole in order to make these observations? Maybe I should not, but I do. I am perfectly satisfied with your statement, but was it necessary to have been absolutely at the pole in order to have made the observations which you did make?

Capt. Pearx. That is a question on which there has been some discussion. I can answer it by saying that observations have never been made yet that were not made at the place.

Mr. Butler. You must have been at the place to have made certain observations, and if you were there you were there, but could you have made the figures without having been at the pole, and if you have made the figures without having been there, is there any way to detect your effort?

Capt. Pearx. That is a thing I can only answer in this way. There is a difference of opinion in regard to that. You will find that some experts will say that observations can be arranged and others will say that they can not.

Mr. Butler. Observations, in other words, can be written down as having been made by a person who reports to have been at a certain place?

Capt. Peary. That has been stated.

Mr. Robers, Mr. Gannett and Mr. Tittmann told us that it is possible for a person who has sufficient knowledge to sit down in a department here in Washington and make figures and claim to have been at a point where the so-called observation was made. In other words, that the figures themselves would not carry any proof on their face.

Capt. Peary. That is the opinion of an expert.

words, that the algures themselves would not carry any proof on their face.

Capt. Peary. That is the opinion of an expert.

Mr. Roberts. I have had navigators tell me the same thing, that if a man knows nothing about navigation that it is a possible thing to do.

Mr. Dawson. I have a curiosity to see the journal that you kept from day to day during your presence in the vicinity of the pole. Did you make entries in this journal every day?

Capt. Peary. Not every day. Sometimes we were so busy that I did not make entries. I did not make an entry on the day that Bartlett was adrift on the ice floe on the outward journey.

Mr. Butler. There was no time to write that day?

Capt. Peary. I only made memorandum entries on the sixth and seventh. On the seventh, and on the first return march I made an entry and, I think, on one or two other occasions. I left them for later, but I did not get around to it.

Mr. Dawson. Were you writing under considerable difficulties up there?

Capt. Peary. In what way?

Mr. Dawson. The proposed difficulties.

lere?
Capt. Peary. In what way?
Mr. Dawson. Physical difficulties.
Mr. Buyler. You did not carry a writing desk with you or a typeriting machine?

Capt. Peary. No. sir; a pencil and notebook. Mr. Dawson. Was it warm enough to handle a pencil or light enough see?

Capt. Peary. No, sir; a pencil and notebook.

Mr. Dawson. Was it warm enough to handle a pencil or light enough to see?

Capt. Peary. There was plenty of light.

Mr. Dawson You made the entries in the igloos?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Dawson. It was too cold to do so outside?

Capt. Peary. The journals are generally written up in the igloo after the tea is made and before turning in.

Mr. Dawson. The construction of the igloo is such that there is plenty of light?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Butler. And the lamps burn all the time?

Capt. Peary. No, sir. After the sun gets above the horizon continuously there is no trouble, and we have not any special arrangement for the light, but before the sun gets above the horizon continuously we often took a piece of ice, perhaps the size of that book [indicating], and chipped it to about the thickness of that book [indicating] and set that in the wall of the igloo, over the entrance, and that gives sufficient light.

Mr. Dawson. I want to get some idea as to the temperature in the igloo; how cold was it inside of this habitation?

Capt. Peary. The temperature in the igloos where our heads were at the time we were making our tea in the evening and for a few minutes after would be above the melting point, particularly over the alcohol heater, and if the bed platforms were anywhere near zero or above, we would be comfortable. Down in the standing room, where our feet were, the temperature was practically the same as outside.

Mr. Dawson. Did you make the entries in this diary when the temperature was approximating zero or less?

Capt. Peary. I doubt if our hands were much below zere when any of the entries were made.

Mr. Englebricht. And you did not make any more entries than were absolutely necessary?

Capt. Peary. Not as a rule. Sometimes after having my tea and pemmican I would write a page or two in my book.

Mr. Roberts. When did you begin the journal of your last trip?

Capt. Peary. That book was started on the ship on the 22d of February.

Mr. Roberts. When you

Mr. Roberts. When did you begin the journal of your last.

Capt. Peary. That book was started on the ship on the 22d of February.

Mr. Roberts. When you left the ship?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Roberts. Did you keep any personal journal up to that point?

Capt. Peary I kept a personal journal in a book like that [indicating], and I think members of the party did.

Mr. Roberts. And that particular book commenced when?

Capt. Peary. The day we left the Roosevelt, and I have some similar books, both before and after that.

Mr. Roberts. That contains all the entries made on your way to the pole and back?

Capt. Peary. Yes. sir. If you wish any specific information about the Eartlett certificate, his address is the City Club, Boston, in case you should care to write him. The notes on the upper page [indicating] are entirely personal.

Mr. Butler, I understand that [indicating] is your diary and you wrote in there some personal entries?

Capt. Peary. Half personal and half the record of the ship.

Mr. Roberts, Does that contain a daily record of the movements of the different parties and of the equipment which you had on each day?

Capt. Peary. It contains a record of the supporting parties as they left. It does not contain a daily record of the equipment that I had on each day.

Mr. Roberts, How did you get at the equipment, then, as stated in the book?

Capt. Peary. At what point?

Mr. Roberts, My recollection is that half a dozen times you give the

the book?
Capt. Peary. At what point?
Mr. Roberts. My recollection is that half a dozen times you give the equipment when you started out
Capt. Peary. Each time a supporting party left me I noted who went back or what the returning party was, and what it left me with. That is noted there. I say it is; I assume it is.
Mr. Englebright. Have you a memorandum there of when Bartlett left you?

left you? Capt. PRARY. Here is the entry of Sunday, March 14, at the seventh

camp:

"SUNDAY, MARCH 14-(Twenty-first day).

"A fine day but bitter cold (in the —50's), and impossible see the land, owing to mist from the leads behind us.

"Hensen and his division, Ootah, Ahwatingwah, Koolootunah, 3 sledges, got away early to the north.

"Later the doctor started on his return, with Weshakupsi, Arco, 1 sledge, and 12 dogs.

"I take Inughite into my igloo in place of Arco. Everyone overhauling sledges.

"I take Inughite into my igiod in place of Arco. Everyone overnauling sledges.

"Late in afternoon Marvin comes swinging in, smoking like a battle-ship squadron, followed by Borup, Kyntah, Kudloektoe, Keshungwah, and Karko, 5 sledges in all. The general estimate of our position here is 84.30."

Mr. Robents. That was March 14?

Capt. Prany. Yes, sir. Here is the entry of the next day—Monday, March 15:

"Marvin brought ample supply alcohol and oil, some pemmican, biscuit, and milk, enabling me to leave this camp with 12 fully londed sledges.

cuit, and milk, enabling me to leave this camp with 12 fully loaded sledges.

"Macmillan shows me his frosted heel and I send him back at once, with Kyntah, Tauchingwah, 2 sledges, and 14 dogs. Two sledges left here; 2 or 3 broken up to repair others.

"Cold march with light but bitter easterly air. Heavy ice, fair going. Late in day movement of ice very perceptible. An active lead compels detour to west, and an hour or two later a just-formed one halts us and compels us build igloos, though I know Hensen's igloo must be close by. "Temperature as we camp. —50°."

I see that I do not note in the memorandum at least just what my party was on leaving that camp.

Mr. Rossers. On that day, March 14, your equipment comprised 16 men and 160 dogs. That is the statement in the book?

Capt. Praarx. I know what Eskimos and what men I had with me, and I can give you the figures.

Mr. Rossers. And then it is stated that your main party had seven new sledges and five old sledges. I want to find out how you secured those details?

Capt. Peary. Those particular things that you note there are not here in my journal. I did not put down everything.

Mr. Butler. Those are from your memory?

Mr. Roberts. Again, Capt. Peary, will you kindly read us your memoranda there of the evening of March 19?

Capt Peary (reading):

"Brilliant, clear day of yellow sunlight. Temperature in the —50's, as shown by frozen brandy and nearly invisible dogs. Bubble in all three thermometers and unable to register. Left supplies and equipment of Borup's party in camp, thus lightening sledge loads over 200 pounds."

Borup was to turn back at the end of the next march, and the things he was to take back with him were left there so that there would not be that unnecessary transportation of one march and another march back.

Mr. Dawson. Were those bubbles in the thermometer caused by the

that unnecessary transportation of one march and another march back.

Mr. Dawson. Were those bubbles in the thermometer caused by the cold?

Capt. Peary. By jarrings, mostly. I carried them on my sledges and on my person, and stumbling and the movement of the sledges caused them [reading]:

"A fair march (12 miles), Marvin in the lead. This march puts us between 85.7 and 85.30, or about the latitute of Storm Camp of last trip. Bartlett's estimate of our position here is \$5.30; mine, 85.20."

Mr. Roberts. That is all?

Capt. Peary. That is all of this entry.

Mr. Roberts. How did you get the temperature of that day; where did you find that?

Capt. Peary. It was an estimate. As I state here, the bubbles were in the thermometers, and they were unable to register precisely; and know that brandy up there will freeze somewhere in the fifties, probably at about 55.

Mr. Dawson. Below zero?

Capt. Peary. Below zero?

Capt. Peary. Below zero.

Mr. Roberts. Then you have not any memoranda in your diary as to what your main party consisted of?

Capt. Peary. No.

Mr. Roberts. But you do give in your book the composition of your main party that day?

Capt. Peary. Yes.

Mr. Engleberght. When you say "bubble in the thermometer," that is misleading, is it not? It is merely the separation of the contents of the tube?

Capt. Peary. Peersely. It looks like a bubble.

Capt. PEARY. Precisely. It looks like a bubble.

Mr. BUTLER. Captain, will you not read us the memoranda in your book made the day Bartlett left you?

Capt. PEARY (reading):

"TUESDAY, APRIL 1.

"Tuesday, April 1.

"After about four hours' sleep turned everyone out at 5 a. m., announced which two Eskimos (Kushungwah and Karko) are to go back from here with the captain, culled the best dogs from their teams to replace poorer ones in the other teams, repaired sledges thoroughly with the material from one broken up, and rearranged loads, compacting everything. Captain went north some 5 miles in forencon, returning took latitude observation (87 46 49). (This latitude is the direct result of the north wind of the last two days. We have traveled a good 12 miles more than this in the last five marches, but have lost them by the crushing up of young ice in our rear.) Then left with his 2 men, 1 sledge, and 18 dogs.

"We are ready now for the final lap of the journey, sledges thoroughly overhauled and strengthened, dogs the pick of 133, and dogs and men in training. It is the time for which I have reserved all my energies, and I feel to-night as if I was in trim and equal to the demands upon me of the next few days.

"Assuming the captain's figures to be correct, we are 133 miles from the pole.

"Eight marches same average as our last 8, or 8 equal to the 3 from 85 48, or 6 like yesterday's will do the trick.

"Weather clear, north wind continuous, temperature in —30's.

"Eskimos cating dog all day as they worked on their sledges. I hope this will be our last delay or lay-over day until we are back here.

"To-day the sky, the light drifting snow, the bazy horizon, the biting character of the wind at not excessive low temperatures, everything except the surface of the lee, are the replica of ice-cap weather.

"I do not regret the wind, though it has stolen some of our miles, for it will close up everything behind us for the captain and any others still out on the ice.

"Three years ago to-day we crossed the 'Big Lead.'"

"Up to now I have intentionally kept in the extreme rear to

out on the Ice.

"Three years ago to-day we crossed the 'Big Lead.'"

"Up to now I have intentionally kept in the extreme rear to straighten out any little hitch or encourage a man with a broken sledge and see that everything is drawing. From here on I shall take my proper place in the lead.

"Bartlett has done good work and been a great help to me. I have given him this post of honor because he was fit for it, because of his handling of the Rossevelt, because of his saving me hundreds of petty annoyances, and because I felt it appropriate, in view of England's magnificent Arctic work covering —— years, that it should be a British subject who could boast that next to an American he had been nearest to the pole."

Mr. BUTLER. Those memoranda were made that day?

Capt. Prark. The 1st of April.

Mr. BUTLER. Have you any memoranda made on the 2d that you can read us?

Mr. ROSERTS. I would like to ask a question or two as he goes along.

can read us?

Mr. Roberts. I would like to ask a question or two as he goes along. As I recall the reading of that, you spoke of the number of dogs you had in the beginning. That is minuted in that memorandum, is it?

Capt. Prart. I left Columbia with 133. I left the point, seventh march here, with 100, or maybe 99, and after that my sledges had almost uniformly 8 dogs to a sledge. In one or two cases, I think, when Marvin turned back, I had 2 sledges with 9 dogs for a short time. But from the end of the seventh march out our standard team was 8 dogs; starting from Columbia it was 7.

Mr. Roberts. There are no memoranda in your book on the 1st day of April as to the outfit you had to go forward. You did not put down memoranda of the number of men and sledges you had? My recollection is, you told what Bartlett went back with.

Mr. Dawson, With an Eskimo eating a dog every few minutes I should think it would be difficult to keep track of the exact number of them.

Mr. Roberts. Track was kept, and I am curious to know just how it was done.
Capt. Peary. That is not down here in my notes, but I had eight dogs Mr. ROBERTS. Right on that point, let me ask: If I understand, this identical memorandum book was submitted to the committee of the

identical memorandum book was submitted to the committee of the Geographic Society, was it not?
Capt. Pears. It was.
Mr. Roberts. About when?
Capt. Pears. October, 1909.
Mr. Roberts. Over a year ago?
Capt. Pears. Yes.
Mr. Roberts. And the members of that committee read all of it carefully?
Capt. Pears. No: I will not say they read all of it carefully. It was passed around. I can not say how much they read.
Mr. Roberts. It was stated in their report that they went over it very carefully.

Mr. Roberts. He was stated in their report that they went over it very carefully.

Capt. Peart. I would not be at all surprised if that book was pretty well read through by the different members of the committee. I do not know whether any one man read right straight through or not.

Mr. Roberts. What I was leading up to by these questions was to ascertain if you can account for the discrepancy in statements made by Mr. Gannett, one of that committee, and the statements that appear in your diary, or in your book, with regard to the outfit you had on the final dash. You know what Mr. Gannett's statement was?

Capt. Peart. No.

Mr. Roberts. He stated to the committee that you had 4 men, 2 sledges, and, I think, 32 or 33 dogs, which was a different party entirely, as you will realize, from 6 men, 5 sledges, and 40 dogs. If he as a committee, who looked these matters over, stating that he had examined the data very carefully, gives us that outfit for the final dash, how do you account for the discrepancy?

Capt. Peart. I should say he simply did not recall the figures.

Mr. Butler. He did not have any memoranda at all. I think he just answered offhand.

Mr. Roberts. I wondered why there was so much of a discrepancy. Capt. Peart. I do not account for his not remembering. I have never seen a report of the testimony of the members of the Geographic Society.

Mr. Bates. I do not see what Mr. Gannett said has to do with this.

never seen a report of the testimony of the members of the Geographic Society.

Mr. Bates. I do not see what Mr. Gannett said has to do with this. Mr. Roberts. It goes very vitally to the foundation of it. Mr. Butler. I recollect the gentleman's statement. I have no recollection that he had any memoranda. He was just asked the question. Mr. Macon. We are supposed to be investigating this matter from the ground up, and here we have a finding made by an independent scientific geographic society, who say they examined the reports made by Capt. Pearly carefully, and that they found certain things therefrom. Are their statements worth nothing? If co, I would like for the committee to know.

Mr. Butler. That will be for the committee to determine. He could not arswer that. May we go ahead, or shall we question the captain here?

Mr. Butler. That will be for the committee to determine. He could not arswer that. May we go ahead, or shall we question the captain here?

Mr. Gregg. Let him read it right through.
Mr. Butler. All right, then; just go ahead, Captain.
Capr. Prary (reading):

"23d March. 39 days. Friday, April 2nd. Eight hours' sound, warm, refreshing sleep. Left camp 5 a. m., leaving others to break camp and follow. A fine morning; clear; temperature —25. Wind of last day subsided. Going the best and most equable of any day yet."
Mr. Gregg. Is this the day succeeding that you read a while ago?
Capt. Prary. Yes. [Continuing reading:]

"Large old floes, hard & level, with patches of sapphire blue ice (the pools of last summer), & surrounded by pressure ridges, some of which almost stupendous, yet casily negotiable either through some convenient gap or up the slope of some huge drift.

"Came on at a good clip for about 4 hours, when the sledges overtook me. After that obliged to sit on sledges most of the time or else run to keep up. Kept the pace for 10 hours. Have no doubt we covered 30 miles, but will be conservative and call it 25. My Eskimos say we have come as far from the Roosevelt to Porter Bay. This, by our winter route, scales 35 miles on the chart.

"Whatever the distance is, we are likely, now that the wind has ceased, to retain what we have made. It is possible that with release from wind pressure the ice may rebound some and return us some of the hard-carned miles it stole from us yesterday and day before. In any event, we are now beyond the S8th parallel, and I am a tired and satisfied man.

"A brilliant day & as we camp late in afternoon near a huge pressure ridge, the sun almost seems to have some warmth.

"Got in above my knees twice to-day in marrow cracks.

"While building igloos a long lead forms east & southeast of us some miles distant as shown by the water clouds. Dogs show effects of yesterday's rest.

"24 march. Sat. Apr. 3.

"Got on the trail 3 hours earlier this morning after a small sleep. Am going to

"Sledge ran over side of my right foot to-day as result of my stumbling while running, but think it will give me no trouble.

"Am tired, but satisfied with our progress. We are in sight of 89. Give me three days more of this weather.

"Temperature at beginning of march —40; put all poorest dogs in one team to-night and began expending them.

"26 march. Monday. Apr. 5.

"Over the 89th!! Started early last evening. The march a dupil-cate of previous one as to weather & going. Temperature at starting —88. Sledges appeared to haul a little easier, dogs on trot much of the time. Last two hours, on young ice of a north-and-south lead, they were often galloping. 10 hours, 25 miles or more. Great.

"A 50-yd. lead open when I reached it, moved enough by time sledges came up to let us cross. Still this biting cold, the face burning for hours (like the inland ice).

"The natives complain of it & at every camp are fixing their clothes about the face, waist, knees, & wrists. They complain of their noses, which I never knew them to do before. It is keen & bitter as frozen steel.

steel.
"Light air from S. during first of march, veering to E. & freshening

"Light air from S. during first of march, veering to E. & freshening as we camp.

"Another dog expended here.

"To-morrow, if ice & weather permit, I shall make a long march, 'boil the kettle' midway, & try to make up the 5 miles lost on the 3rd.

"We have been very fortunate with the leads so far, but I am in constant & increasing dread of encountering an uncrossable one.

"Six weeks to-day since I left the Roosevelt.

"27 march. Tuesday, Apr. 6th.

"On the trail again before midnight, though I gave the party more sleep at this camp than at the previous ones, as we were all needing it; but I wanted to make the next camp in time for a noon sight if the sun was visible.

"Weather thick, like the march after Marvin turned back. A dense, lifeless pall of grey overhead, almost black at the horizon, & the ice ghastly chalky white with no relief.

"Like the ice cap, & just the thing an artist would paint for a polar ice-scape.

"Like the ice cap, & Just the thing an artistic lessape.

"Striking contrast to the glittering sunlit fields over which we have been traveling for 4 days, canopied with blue & lit by the sun & full moon. The going better than ever, hardly any snow on the hard, granular, last summer's surface of the old floes, the blue lakes larger.

"The rise in the temperature to —15 has reduced friction of the sledges 25%, & gives the dogs appearance of having caught the spirits of the party. The more sprightly ones, as they trot along with tightly curved tails, repeatedly toss their heads with short barks & yelps. 12 hours on a direct course. (30 miles.)

"Can I wait to cover those other 5? Not a sign of a lead in this march.

"The thick weather gives me less concern than it might had I not been forehanded yesterday, & fearing a cloud bank in the south took a latitude sight (89 25). This is 2 miles ahead of my dead reckoning & indicates that I have been conservative in my estimates as I intended, or that the ice has slackened back, or both. The wind, which was from the east when we started, gradually veered to the south & died away.

poen forenanded yesterday, & fearing a cloud bank in the south took a latitude sight (89 25). This is 2 miles ahead of my dead reckoning & indicates that I have been conservative in my estimates as I intended, or that the ice has stackened back, or both. The wind, which was from the east when we started, gradually veered to the south & died away.

"Whill we were in camp it blew fresh from the east for some hours."

"Whill we were in camp it blew fresh from the east for some hours."

"On the next day, the 6th, I have this entry, after we had built our igloos and entered them:

"The pole at last!! The prize of 2 centuries, my dream and ambition for 23 years.

I do not care to read this.

Mr. Horson. We understand just exactly how you feel.

Mr. Grago. Let him read it. It is the most natural thing in the world.

Capt. Perry. The only thing about it is it sounds a little bit foolish to be reading it oneself.

Mr. ROBERTS. I think that ought to go in, because, as I understand, you put it in the book. So there is no objection to putting it in to make a continuous narrative.

Capt. Perry Terry Terry of the storm began at Storm Camp. Seven years ago to-day the storm began at Storm Camp. Seven years ago to-day it started north from C. Hecla.

Therefore, You did not record what you did during the 30 hours you were at the pole?

Capt. Perry. I have here memoranda (reading):

"Light breeze from the west after our arrival. Just caught sun through clouds at 12.45 (80° 57'); again ahead of reckoning. Sun disappeared again till about 8 p. m., then cleared away brilliantly, the west wind still continuing. Eskimos rebuilding sledges. Drove on 10 miles with empty sledge and double team dogs, two Eskimos sold to the other the sun now warm ahead of us. Took some photos and then back to camp.

"April 7. Spent day with light sledge, double team, going east and west. Noon observation and looking for a crack where a sounding would be possible. Leave 4 p. m., 30 hours. Minimum temperature, —32°; maximum, —11°; at starting, —25°. Impossi

"All upward leads greatly widened and new ones forward, one north of 88th at least a mile wide.

"All covered with practicable young ice.
"Last half of march ice raftering under and all about us under pressure of the gale. Dogs scudding before it, most of the time on the college.

"Last hair of march ice rattering that an an an arrow pressure of the gale. Dogs scudding before it, most of the time on the gallop.

"Would ha e been impossible to travel except before the gale and following a trail.

"Ice going south with us. There has been no lateral movement yet.

"From here to the pole and back has been one glorious sprint, with a savage finish.

"Its results due to hard work, little sleep, much experience, first-class equipment, and good fortune as regards weather and open water."

Mr. Robers. I want to ask the captain: Have you ever seen that [handing pamphlet entitled "How Peary Reached the North Pole"]?

Capt. Peary. I have.

Mr. Robers. Did you authorize its publication, or its being printed?

Capt. Peary. I did have it printed.

Mr. Robers. Can you fix the date when you did?

Capt. Peary. No; I can not.

Mr. Robers. It was prior to last March, though, was it not?

Capt. Peary. That I could not say without looking the matter up.

(Thereupon, at 12.15 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee adjourned until Tuesday, January 10, 1911, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

SUBCOMMITTEE No. 8 of the Committee on Naval Affairs, Tuesday, January 10, 1911.

The subcommittee this day met, Hon. THOMAS S. BUTLER (chairman) presiding.

STATEMENT OF CAPT. ROBERT E. PEARY, U. S. NAVY-continued.

Mr. Bates. In the last few weeks, Capt. Peary, you have undergone some physical tests of riding and walking?

Capt. Peary. I made tests in compilance with the orders of the Navy

Capt. Peary. I made tests in compliance with the orders of the Navy Department.

Mr. Bates. What did you do?
Capt. Peary. I walked and rode.
Mr. Bates. With what result?
Capt. Peary. I walked and rode.
Mr. Bates. With what result?
Capt. Peary. Perhaps I can cover that whole ground fully in just two or three words. I received orders from the Navy Department in November, stating that the records of the department did not show that I had taken any physical test for 1909 and directing that I take one physical test, which would be credited to me for the year 1909, and that I should take another for the year ending 1910, which would be credited to me for that year. I took those two tests during the month of December. For the year 1909 I selected the walking test. Should I go into such details as the requirements, Mr. Chairman.
Mr. Butler. What is this to prove: that you can walk?
Capt. Peary. It is a formality of the Navy Department.
Mr. Butler. Have you completed the tests?
Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.
Mr. Bates. The ceason for this is that an intimation was made, I will not say any charge was made, in the hearing last spring, that Capt. Peary was an old man, had been crippled, and had no power of locomotion.
How many miles did you walk?
Mr. Mateey Levold the to have the centleman tell exactly what

motion.

How many miles did you walk?

Mr. Macox. I would like to have the gentleman tell exactly what was done, the dates and hours engaged in each test, the circumstances and conditions under which made, and the kind of road that he traveled over when he was making the tests.

Capt. Pearr. The requirements of the official test, Mr. Chairman, which I selected for the year 1909 were that an officer should walk 50 miles in 20 hours, in three consecutive days. I selected that test for the year 1909 and here [exhibiting] is my report to the Navy Department.

for the year 1909 and here the forthey for the year 1909 and here the test?

Department.

Mr. Bates. When did you undergo the test?
Cept. Pearv. On the 18th. 19th. and 20th of December. That was Sunday, and Monday, when it commenced snowing, and Tuesday, when it was still snowing, last month. This is a copy of my report to the Navy Department:

Department of Justice,
Washington, January 2, 1911.

From R. E. Peary. To Bureau of Navigation. Subject: Physical tests.

To furent of Navigation.
Subject: Physical tests.

Referring to the department's letter No. 1438-44 of October 17, 1910, directing me to take a physical test for the year 1909, and a second test for the year 1910. I selected for the year ending December 31, 1909, the walking test of the department's general order No. 50, dated December 21, 1909.

On the 18th of December, I walked 25 miles in 6 hours and 45 minutes; on the 19th of December, 5 miles in 7 hours and 28 minutes; and on the 20th of December, 5 miles in 1 hour and 28 minutes; a total of 55 miles in 15 hours and 39 minutes.

This is submitted as my physical test for the year 1909.

For the year ending December 31, 1910, I selected the riding test of the department's general order No. 50.

On the 28th of December, 50 miles in 4 hours and 53 minutes; on the 29th of December, 50 miles in 4 hours and 45 minutes; and on the 30th of December, 10 miles in 38 minutes; a total of 110 miles in 10 hours and 16 minutes.

This is submitted as my physical test for the year 1910.

The riding test would have lumediately followed the walking test but for the snowfall on the 19th and 20th of December, which made riding in this vicinity impracticable.

R. E. Pearx.

R. E. Peary.

In regard to the places where the tests were taken, my walking test was on the road to Chevy Chase. Chevy Chase Lake, and beyond, and the riding test was taken on what is called the Speedway, down in Potomac Park, which I was told was accepted as official for the walking and riding tests for the Army and Navy.

Mr. Englerright. What was your best day's travel in your Arctic trip either going or coming?

Capt. Peary. The best day's travel was on the second march on the return from the pole.

Mr. Englerright. How far did you go?

Capt. Peary. Fifty geographical miles, estimated.

Mr. Englerright. That was in one march?

Capt. Peary. In one march. The second best marches were the one after that and the two last marches from Cape Columbia to the ship.

Mr. Butler. Now, the conditions were described in your book, but it will be a pleasure to hear them again. On the second march, if I remember, you stated in your book that you did succeed in making about 50 miles, estimated?

Capt. Pearv. I made two camps.

Mr. Butler. What were the conditions that day—the conditions of the ice and weather and the conditions of the men and dogs?

Capt. Pearv. I made two camps.

Mr. Butler. What were the conditions of the men and dogs?

Capt. Pearv. The weather was not bad. It was clear weather, good traveling weather, with indications of a coming storm, which we got the next day—the third march. The character of the lee was as we had experienced it going up. We had our trail to follow. The men were in good condition. They had had double rations at the pole twice. We had lightened our load in every possible way. It was not great. We threw away some items of clothing and had gotten rid of the sounding apparatus. We had the trail to follow and the igloos.

Mr. Butler. How many hours were required to cover that march of 50 miles?

Capt. Pearv. I can not tell you. I made no entry in my diary for two days, for the 7th and 8th of April, and I do not know what the times were.

Mr. Butler. You passed one igloo?

Capt. Pearv. Yes, sir; stopped there for a short time and had tea and lunch.

Mr. Butler. What was the condition of the ice as to smoothness?

Capt. Pearv. As fo smoothness?

Mr. Butler. Yes, sir; on that long march of 50 miles.

Capt. Pearv. The character of the going there was in the shape of large floes, as we call them, of the ice of the previous year or years, and against the edges there is this pressurage Indicating!.

Mr. Butler. The ice squeezes up?

Capt. Pearv. They come together during the movement of the ice in the previous summer or summers, when the ice up there breaks into great fields and will move, perhaps, a field in compact, at times coming together, and the edges will crush and fill up, and the older the ridges are the more rounded line of hummocks.

Mr. Butl

Mr. Butler. On the day you took the long march, did you encounter those?

Capt. Pearf. We encountered no difficult pressurage in our later marches to the pole that I recall now.

Mr. Butler. You had no difficulty in retracing your steps?

Capt. Pearf. We had no difficulty in following the trail back.

Mr. Butler. In your advance to the pole had you cleared your way through the ridges?

Capt. Pearf. We did not have to do any pronounced clearing. We selected a course, for instance, in crossing a field like that Indicating] with a pressurage at this edge of it [indicating]. Of course, across that field it would be comparatively smooth and comparatively regular. At the edge of it would be one of these pressurages. Now, in approaching that pressurage [indicating] you could see whether a short distance here or there there was a chance to negotiate it; I mean to get over it. Those ridges, most of them, were comparatively old and, the snow drifting against them, if we assume this the line of the ridge [indicating], the snow drifting against them would pack and drift on each side, and in approaching one of these pressurages that would be one way of negotiating it, and here [indicating] a little to the right or left is a sloping drift which we could go up or go through a notch in the ridge, or we might go around that particular side of the ridge, one side or the other.

Mr. Butler. Is the snow hard enough there to make the approach? Capt. Peark. As a rule, the snow packed by the wind is comparatively hard.

Mr. Butler. According to some of the illustrations in your book, these ridges seem almost inaccessible, almost insurmountable?

Capt. Peark. In some places they are.

Mr. Butler. During that day you did not encounter any such conditions?

Capt. Peark. No, sir.

Capt. Pearly. In some places they are.

Mr. Butler. During that day you did not encounter any such conditions?

Capt. Pearly. No, sir.

Mr. Bayes. In your journeys you and your men rode on the sledges?

Capt. Pearly. At times.

Mr. Bayes. How much of the time?

Capt. Pearly. That I can not say.

Mr. Bayes. Under what conditions would the men ride?

Capt. Pearly. Take the usual method of travel of the party with myself, which would be this: In the morning, just as soon as our breakfast was completed, I would leave camp and push on ahead, either going or coming—coming particularly—that was our method. The man in charge of the party would leave the camp in morning and push on as rapidly as he could

The Eskimos would put the last few things from the camp on the sledges and harness the dogs and follow and they would overtake that man. What I did on the return was, after walking along like this, the first sledge that came up to me I would drop onto it for a few moments, remaining never over five minutes at a time, the man driving the sledge at that time being here at the upstander [indicating] of the sledge at that time being here at the upstander [indicating] of the sledge, some of the time I being here [indicating] and I would be here [indicating]. or he would be here [indicating] and I would be here [indicating]. After doing that for awhile—I speak of these various methods of traveling—I might then let that sledge go along and walk along until the next sledge overtook me, and I would do the same with that; or I might keep along with the first sledge. By the time I had gotten to the rear sledge, if I did go back as far as the rear sledge, we would likely be at the next igloo for lunch or for the night.

Mr. Englebright. In connection with this matter of travel, I have a few records that I would like to put into the record. I will not go

into the details. I have here a communication dated March 15, 1910, from the Second Assistant Postmaster General, which is as follows:

POST OFFICE DEPRATMENT,

SECOND ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,

Washington, March 15, 1910.

Sir: In reply to your letter of the 12th instant, in which you ask for information relative to the time consumed and the distance traveled in the performance of service by dog teams on routes in Alaska, I have the honor to inclose herewith a statement giving such information as is shown by the records of this office.

Very respectfully,

JOSEPH STEWART, Second Assistant Postmaster General.

Second Assistant Postmaster General.

Hon. W. F. Englebright,

House of Representatives.

I will state that Capt. Peary knows about this matter; it is something that I hunted up a year ago, when we had this subject under consideration.

I have here a statement relative to the performance of service on routes in Alaska upon which dog teams are used, ranging from 75 to 560 miles in distance, giving the time actually used.

Mr. Butler, Take the 560-mile trip; how long did it take the dogs to cover that?

Mr. Englebright. For instance, from Eagle to Tanana, 560 miles each way, running time 26 days each way.

Mr. Butler, And covering how many miles?

Mr. Englebright. Five hundred and sixty miles.

Mr. Macon. Over a regular course?

Mr. Englebright. Yes, sir. Nome to Unalakleet, 235 miles each way; running time 8 days; time actually used from 6 to 8 days. Nearly 40 miles a day.

Mr. Macon. Does it say anything about the dogs being changed at any time, like the horses that pulled the old stage coaches?

Mr. Englebright. I am simply putting this in the record for what it is worth.

(The statement referred to by Mr. Englebright follows:)

STATEMENT RELATIVE TO THE PERFORMANCE OF SERVICE ON ROUTES IN ALASKA UPON WHICH DOG TEAMS ARE USED.

"No. 78105. Kenai to Homer, 75 miles each way. Running time, not to exceed 7 days each way. Time actually used, from 4 to 6 days each

way. "No. 78106. Hope to Seward, 102 miles each way. Running time, 6 days each way. Time actually used, from 2 to 4 days each way.

"No. 78107. Nushagak to Celd Bay (no office), 375 miles each way.
Running time, 14 days each way. Time actually used, from 6 to 12 days

Running time, 14 days each way. Time actuary used, from 5 to 22 days each way.

"No. 78111. Eagle to Tanana, 560 miles each way. Running time, 26 days each way. Time actually used, from 23 to 25 days each way.

"No. 78119. St. Michael to Tanana, 427 miles each way. Running time, 18 days each way. Time actually used, from 17 to 18 days. (Through service; heavy mails.)

"No. 78120. Koserefsky to Kaltag, 200 miles. Running time, not to exceed 10 days each way. Time actually used, from 5 to 8 days each way.

way.
"No. 78122. Nome to Unalakleet, 235 miles each way. Running time, 8 days. Time actually used, from 6 to 8 days. (Through service; heavy mails.)"

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Here is another thing:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
SECOND ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, March 12, 1910.

Sin: In response to your verbal request of to-day for information relative to the service performed in Alaska by Mr. A. D. Nash during the years 1902 and 1903, I have the honor to inform you that Mr. Nash performed service from Nome, by Solomon, Council, Candle, Keewalik, and Deering, to Kotzebue (Cape Blossom), Alaska, 300 miles each way over the route, from December 1, 1902, to April 30, 1903, and made 10 round trips during that period. It is understood that the service was performed by means of dog teams. There is inclosed herewith a statement showing the time required to make each trip. The route was known as No. 78130, Nome to Kotzebue.

Very respectfully,

Sceond Assistant Postmaster George.

JOSEPH STEWART, Second Assistant Postmaster General.

Hon. WILLIAM F. ENGLEBRIGHT,
House of Representatives.

Here is a record of time made over the 300 miles, varying from 31 days to 9 days, all the way from 10 miles a day to 33 miles a day.

Mr. Butler. What kind of dogs?
Mr. Englebright. The regular Alaskan dogs.
Mr. Butler. Eskimo dogs?
Mr. Englebright. Yes, sir; Eskimo dogs.
Mr. Dawson. Did men accompany those dogs?
Mr. Englebright. Yes, sir.
Mr. Macon. There is nothing to show how many hours were included in any one day?
Mr. Englebright. Mr. Nash was here last year and the statement of the statem

Mr. Englepright. Mr. Nash was here last year, and if we had followed up the matter he would have appeared before the committee.

Mr. Macon. We tried to follow it up, but we were refused.

(The statement referred to by Mr. Englebright follows:)

Statement of service on route No. 78130, Nome to Kotzebue, Alaska, during the years 1902 and 1903.

Left Nome.	Arrived at Kotzebue.
Dec. 1, 1902	Dec, 23, 1902
Dec. 14, 1902	Jan. 7, 1903
Jan. 1, 1903	Jan. 17, 1903
	Feb. 15, 1903
Feb. 3, 1903	Feb. 22, 1903
Feb. 15, 1903	Mar. 18, 1903
Mar. 1, 1903	Mar. 18, 1903
Mar. 15, 1903	Apr. 7, 1903
	Apr. 17, 1903
Apr. 14, 1903	Apr. 27, 1903

Left Kotzebue.	Arrived at Nome
Dec. 24, 1902	Jan. 9, 190
Jan. 9, 1903	
Jan. 19, 1903	Feb. 2, 190
Feb. 14, 1903	Mar. 6, 190
	May 7, 190
	Apr. 9, 190
Apr. 8, 1903	Apr. 22, 190
Apr. 19, 1903	
Apr. 29, 1903	May 8, 190

Apr. 8, 1903
Apr. 19, 1903
Apr. 29, 1903
Apr. 20, 1903
Apr

DEAR SIR: I received your telegram yesterday, and, in regard to snowshoeing. I suppose you want to know how far a man ought to travel in a day on Norwegian snowshoes; that is the kind we use. Well, that depends a great deal on the condition of the snow and the country you have to travel over. But if the snow is solid a man ought to travel on an average 30 miles a day without any trouble.

I have often made 35 miles a day, and I have known men that made 40 miles a day, and I think 30 miles a day would be pretty fair traveling.

ng. And with kind regards, I remain, yours, as ever, B. MURPHY. traveling

Hon. W. F. ENGLEBRIGHT, Washington, D. C.

Hon. W. F. Englebright, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Roberts. In the sweepstakes race in Alaska mentioned in this paper, do the sledges carry the food for the dogs and men or do they have stations?

Mr. Englebright. They get their food on the road.

Mr. Roberts. Do you know the weight of the sledges that the dogs carry? They are entirely different from those used in the Arctic regions.

Mr. Englebright. The men are part of the time on the sledges and part of the time pushing and running.

Mr. Roberts. In this race which you have mentioned they have picked dogs and light sledges?

Mr. Englebright. Some of the dogs on the mail routes carry heavy mail.

Mr. Roberts. How heavy?

Mr. Englebright. Some of the dogs on the mail routes carry heavy mail.

Mr. Roberts. How heavy?

Mr. Englebright. A good many pounds.

Mr. Butler. In this instance you knew that you were on the road home and the Eskimos knew that they were on the road home. Did the dogs know that they were on the road home?

Capt. Peary. I think every dog did. An Eskimo dog certainly knows when he is following a trail. We have an idea that an Eskimo dog knows when he is pointed home. He knows enough to know when he is pointed back the way he has come. Whether he could say that he was really bound for home I do not know, but he knows that he is going back over a trail that he has once been over.

Mr. Bates, How many dogs did you start out with, Captain?

Capt. Peary. These figures may not be correct, but they will be within one or two. We left the ship with 140 dogs absolutely. We left Cape Columbia with 133 dogs absolutely. We left the seventh camp with about 100 dogs. There may have been 96 or 100, I can not say. We left the twelfth camp, where Borup turned back, with approximately 80 dogs. It may have been one or two either way. We left the twenty-second camp, where Marvin turned back, with 60 dogs, more or less. We left the twenty-seventh camp, where Bartlett turned back, with 40 dogs absolutely.

Mr. Bates. How many dogs did you have when you left the pole to come back?

Capt. Peary. I think we had 38 dogs.

Mr. Bates. What was the condition of those dogs, with relation to the rest?

Capt. Peary. Every time a supporting party turned back they went back with the poorest dogs.

Mr. Bates. Then you came back with the picked dogs of the whole flock?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir. My method at each point where a supporting party was to turn back was to say to my best men to pick out the dogs.

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir. My method at each point where a supporting party was to turn back was to say to my best men to pick out the dogs of the teams who were going to turn back from that particular point—to separate them from the other teams. That is clear to you?

Mr. Bayes, Yes, sir.
Capt. Peary. And I would say to my best men who were going on with me: "Throw out the poorest dog of your team and take the best

dog of the other teams," two or three or four, whatever it might be, and I would then say to the next man the same thing. My order was usually Henson, Ootah, and Egingwah. I felt that if those men lived they would go the full distance. I would say to Henson to take out the poorest dog of his team and to pick out whatever dog he might want from the other teams, and the same to Ootah, to throw out the poorest dog and to take the best dog from the other teams. Then I would go around again, coming back after those men had selected the dogs, and if there were dogs enough I would tell them to pick out the second poorest dogs and to pick out any other dog that they thought might be better than a dog in their team.

That process was carried on when any supporting party went back in the effort to get into the teams going ahead the best dogs of the whole lot. The quality and character of the dogs were determined by the drivers of the different teams working with them in their own team or alongside of them in some other team, and the drivers knew that at the next point where a supporting party turned back they would have a chance to pick another dog to take the place of an imperfect dog that might get into the team. I could not follow the same plan absolutely with my men, because there was the likelihood of an accident or mishap to the men.

Mr. ROBERTS. Where did you get the dogs?

Capt Peary, Right there in the Whale Sound region from the Eskimos themselves.

Mr. ROBERTS. Were they all trained dogs, trained to Sledge work?

Capt. Peary, Yes, sir; every one. The dog is the Eskimos only domestic animal, except those that he carries in considerable number about his person, and it is an animal that is vital to his existence. In other words, the dog is vital to the Eskimo in rounding up a bear. Two good dogs will hold any bear in the Arctic regions until he can come up and harpoon or shoot it. They are very valuable in detecting by scent the presence of a seal hole. The seals have little holes in the ice.

Mr. ROBERTS. What

Mr. Roberts. What I was getting at was how they were used to carry

loads.

Capt. Pearx. They move the Eskimos from point to point. The Eskimos take them on their deer hunts up Kane Basin and in Melville Bay. Those dogs travel miles and miles on practically nothing to eat. They go several days. They are essential to the life of the Eskimo, and every dog is trained.

Mr. Buttler. But on your journey you loaded them more heavily than the Eskimos generally do?

Capt. Pearx. More heavily than if they were going on a bear hunt, but probably not as heavily than if they were moving an Eskimo family from one point to another, or bringing the walrus meat to the shore.

Mr. Roberts. Those trips would be made slowly. They would not expect great speed?

Mr. Roberts. Those trips would be made slowly. They would not expect great speed?

Capt. Peary. Not great speed. They would make in moving an Eskimo family from 15 to 20, 30, or 35 miles a day, and maybe a little more. From Cape York to North Star Bay they would probably make two marches from there to North Star Bay.

Mr. Roberts. What distance?

Capt. Peary. I can not say offhand.

Mr. Roberts. I have read of the dog teams in Alaska that they usually have difficulty for a little while when they put a new dog into a team and that the team does not work harmonlously. Did you find any such trouble with your dogs?

Capt. Peary. There is a tendency of that kind. For instance, in making up the teams in the fall, after I have purchased my dogs, 200 or 250, from the various settlements, they are lumped together and turned loose on the ship. When we go to winter quarters, then they are selected out and each man takes a certain number of dogs. Perhaps a man may have had a full team of his own and he looks after them. Another man may not have any team. He picks out a certain number of dogs. There is some difficulty for a white man than for an Eskimo, because there is certain to be more or less fighting among the new team.

Mr. Roperes. When you took the dogs from the ship and changed.

Eskimo, because there is certain to be more or less fighting among the new team.

Mr. Roberts. When you took the dogs from the ship and changed them from one team to another did you get as good results?

Capt. Peark. I do not remember any fights.

Mr. Roberts. Did they work together just as well?

Capt. Peark. Yes, sir; absolutely. In being fastened together at night and working along the trail there may have been an occasional scrap, but practically nothing. That matter of fighting is a very different matter for an Eskimo driver than for a white driver.

Mr. Butler. Have you anything to submit to the committee?

Capt. Peark. I have one or two points in connection with the last meeting which I was not able to answer fully. I have here [exhibiting] Bartlett's report on his return trip. It is apparently simply a transcript of Bartlett's log.

LOG FROM CAMP (22) TO THE "ROOSEVELT."

April 1, 1909: 3 p. m. left commander with 19 dogs, 1 sledge, 2 huskies, and just enough for 40 days. Midnight reached the twenty-first igloo, where we slept. Fine and clear, fresh NNW. wind. One of our dogs clipped its harness, going back to commander's party.

April 2: 2 p. m. broke camp, reaching the next igloo; boiled the kettle, then started on again. Quite a few changes in trail.

April 3: 10 a. m. reached nineteenth igloo, slept here, killed three dogs. Picked up a tin of blue pemmican. Fresh north wind, fine and clear. Lots of strips of young ice and changes in trail.

April 4: 4 a. m. reached eighteenth igloo. Held up by water. Had a sleep. Noon walked to lead, found it had broadened. Saw a seal. Went back to igloo, had another sleep. Hazy, blowing fresh north, with drift.

Went back to igloo, had another sleep. Hazy, blowing fresh north, with drift.

April 5: 2 p. m. wind dropped. Walked to lead, it had barely caught over. Indications of rafting. Had tea, and by the time we were ready, owing to the rafting, we could cross over. Wind light SW. hazy.

April 6: 10 a. m. reached seventeenth igloo. Repaired our sledge. Had tea. Light SW. wind, fine and clear. About midnight reached the sixteenth igloo, where we slept.

April 8: Reached the fourteenth igloo. Lots of strips of young ice, also leads of water, but by making detours east and west successfully negotiated them, also picking up main trail.

April 10: Reached the twelfth igloo. Simply a repetition of the other two. Marches fine, and clear, moderate E. wind.

April 11: Reached the tenth igloo, dead tired. Strips of young ice and leads of water. Sky overcast. Wind west.

April 13: Shortly after leaving igloo lost main trail, followed Marvin's, losing it on a long, wide strip of young ice. Wind west, strongs, fine, and clear. Built igloo, first since leaving commander. Had a sleep and started on again. Shortly after leaving picked up main trail,

reaching the seventh igloo; built a sledge; also had a sleep. Fine, clear, and calm. From here we could see the land.

April 15: Reached the fifth igloo. Sky overcast, light E. wind. Shortly after leaving lost trail on young ice, where we met a lead of open water. After awhile the lead rafted so that we could cross.

April 16: Bad going at times during this march. Built igloo. Had a sleep. Weather clearing. Land obscured.

April 17: Fairly good going to-day. Fine and clear, hazy at times toward land. Built igloo, where we slept.

April 18: Reached ice foot a few miles west of Cape Nares. Fine and clear. Built igloo; had a short sleep. Started on again, reaching Cape Columbia late in the day.

April 20: Lett Columbia, reaching the ship on the 24th.

R. A. BARTLETT.

Cape Columbia late in the day.

April 20: Left Columbia, reaching the ship on the 24th.

As a matter of fact that dog did retrace the trail.

Mr. BUTLER. You remember that dog joining you?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir. That makes 41 in all that we had at one time or another.

Mr. Roberts. I infer from what you have just read that Bartlett lost the trail?

Capt. Peary. The last 45 miles he came on his own trail. Part of the time he had Marvin's trail.

Mr. Roberts. He speaks of building an igloo, and he must have lost the trail or that would not have been necessary?

Capt. Peary. No, sir.

Mr. BUTLER. Do you suppose that any of the igloos are remaining?

Capt. Peary. No, sir.

Mr. BUTLER. How long are they likely to stand?

Capt. Peary. Probably not stand through July. It would depend on the season. Some seasons they would stand through June, and you could see the trace of an igloo or could pick up the trace of an igloo, but the igloo as regards its standing would not be there by the end of June. The warmth of the sun in the summer time would be warm enough to cause it to cave in, or if that did not occur, a continuous heavy wind from a certain direction for 12 or 15 hours with a great deal of pressure against the top of the igloo would gradually break it in so that it would be concave on one side.

Mr. Roberts. Did you find that report awaiting you when you got back to the ship?

Capt. Peary. It was not. It was written during May by Bartlett, at my request. We got back the latter part of April and Bartlett was on board the ship. Borup and McMillan wrote me similar reports of their return, including their trips to the west to establish depots, probably in June, because they were away when I came back. They did not get back to the ship until early in June. I have similar reports from them, and if I have leisure I want to compare those reports to ascertain the conditions on those days when my parties were concentrated at various places along the line.

Mr. Gregg. You do not know Bartlett wrote it; did he write it in his

woods as, written during the journey.

Mr. Greeg. You do not know whether he made the log book entries daily?

Capt. Pearx. I would say that he made the entries exactly as they are here.

Mr. Roberts. Do you know if Bartlett kept a diary or daily memorandum while going north and returning?

Capt. Pearx. I have no doubt he did. I can not swear to it, but I know that every member of the party had notebooks furnished for that purpose, and I am sure every member of the party made more or less entries in their books; how continuous I can not say, because I do not now recall having seen the entries after I returned to the ship.

Mr. Roberts. Do you know where the log of the Roosevelt is?

Capt. Pearx. I can not say offhand; perhaps I have it and perhaps Bartlett has it.

Mr. Roberts. Who kept it?

Capt. Pearx. The first mate, as is usual on these trips.

Mr. Roberts. I gathered from what you said that that might be a copy of the log of the Roosevelt.

This is a copy of Bartlett's notebook that he had on the journey.

Mr. Roberts. What he calls his log?

Capt. Pearx. His personal log. The log of the Roosevelt, as far as I know, never left the ship. It was a book of that size [indicating]. I think it was the ordinary printed form for ships and was kept on board the Roosevelt, and was kept, I should say, entirely by Mr. Gushue, the first officer.

Mr. Roberts. That related wholly to the navigation of the ship and what transpired on the ship?

Capt. Pearx. No, sir.

Mr. Roberts. You did not take that log with you when you left the ship?

Capt. Pearx. No, sir.

Mr. Roberts. It is not in your possession now?

Capt. Pearx. No, sir.

Mr. Roberts. It an not say; it may be. If the committee wants it, I will look it up. I have a number of miscellaneous papers, some on Eagle Island and some here, and I do not now recall whether it has been turned over to me, or whether it is in Bartlett's possession of Mr. Gushue's possession.

Mr. Roberts. The ship has been disposed of. That would not go with the ship?

Capt. Pearx. No, sir.

M

(The letters referred to by Mr. Englebright follow:)

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, January 7, 1911.

Hon. WILLIAM F. ENGLEBRIGHT,
House of Representatives.

Dear Sir: In compliance with your verbal request made to the Acting Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, I have the honor to transmit herewith, for the use of the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives, copies of correspondence relating to the assignment and duties of Civil Engineer R. E. Peary, U. S. Navy, while on duty with the Coast and Geodetic Survey in 1908-9-10.

The original field notes of the tidal work executed by Civil Engineer Peary will be submitted by the Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey for the inspection of the committee at such time as they may be required. The results of this work are now in the hands of the printer for issue as a publication of the bureau.

Very truly, yours.

BEN. S. CABLE, Acting Secretary.

[Original in file in C. & G. Survey.] THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON.

OYSTER BAY, N. Y., July 3, 1908.

ONSTER BAY, N. Y., July 3, 1908.

Sir: Civil Engineer R. E. Peary, United States Navy, has been directed by the Navy Department to report by letter to the Superintendent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, and you are requested to direct this official to order him to make tidal observations along the Grant Land and Greenland shore of the Polar Sea during his projected cruise in the Roosevelt.

It is believed that such observations will throw light upon the Coast Survey theory of the existence of a considerable land mass in the unknown area of the Arctic Ocean.

Respectfully.

Respectfully,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon, Oscar S. Straus,
Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

[Original telegram in C. and G. Survey.]

NEW YORK, July 3, 1908.

To Assistant Superintendent Perkins, U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington, D. C.:

I have information that you may be authorized to give the instruction concerning tidal observations north coast Grant Land and Greenland will two or three days personal instructions at your office be desirable for my assistants kindly wire. R. E. PEARY.

> [Letter in file of C. and G. Survey.] DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY, Washington, July 7, 1998.

SIR: I have the honor to state that in response to the directions issued to the Navy Department Civil Engineer R. E. Peary, U. S. Navy, called in person at the office of the Coast and Geodetic Survey and informed himself fully of the views and requirements of that office in regard to tidal observations along the Grant Land and Greenland shore of the Polar Sea and expressed his intention to make every effort to collect the desired information.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

OSCAR S. STRAUS, Secretary.

The PRESIDENT, Oyster Bay N. Y.

Note.—Commander Peary called at the Coast Survey Office on June 18 and on July 8. Mr. Macmillan reported and spent that day and the morning of July 9 under the instruction of Dr. Harris.

[From press copy in C. & G. Survey.] DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,
COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY,
Washington, July 9, 1998.

Coast and Geodetic Strayer,

Washington, July 9, 1908.

Sia: In pursuance of the orders of the President, transmitted through the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, you will please have tidal observations made along the Grant Land and Greenland shore of the Polar Sea during your projected cruise in the Roosevelt.

The following directions for observing tides in Arctic regions will be followed as far as possible by the observer:

Make hourly (or half hourly) readings of the height of the water's surface above a fixed datum by means of a fixed staff or other form of gauge for periods varying from one day to one or more months at a station, according to circumstances.

Refer all observations extending over more than a few days to one or more permanent bench marks upon the shore.

The kind of time should be distinctly specified. Wherever practicable the observations should extend through all 24 hours of the day.

If the observations continue only a day or two they will be of greater value if made near the time of greatest northern or southern declination of the moon.

At or near the following places observations are especially wanted: Points as far northward as possible.

Cape Columbia.

Cape Sheridan.

Cape Bryant.

Cape Bryant.

Cape Bryant.

Cape Bryant.

Cape Bryant.

Some point on northern coast of Hazen Land.

Some point as far eastward as possible.

Some point near the head of Greely Fiord.

Sketches of specimen gauges for Arctic work and suggestions are given in accompanying memoranda. The sketches are taken from the Arctic work of Hall, Greely, and Ziegler expeditions.

Further directions for observing tides are given in the blank books for tidal records, and in accompanying memoranda; the latter are practically included in the introduction to the Coast Survey Tide Tables and in Chapter I, Appendix No. 9, 1897.

Respectfully,

O. H. Tittmann,

Superintendent.

O. H. TITTMANN, Superintendent.

ROBERT E. PEARY, Commander, United States Navy, Commanding Steamer Roosevelt, Sydney, Nova Scotia.

[Original letter in C. & G. Survey.]

EAGLE ISLAND,

South Harpswell, Me., July 12, 1968.

My Dean Mr. Tittmann: The orders, copy of which I inclose, were received by me only last evening, having been sent from Washington to South Harpswell, then to New York, then back here in pursuit of me.

Otherwise I should have reported to you sooner.

I am leaving here to-morrow morning, the 13th, for Sydney, and am due there Tuesday evening, the 14th.

If the Roosevelt makes good time going east she will probably reach Sydney Tuesday and depart Wednesday.

This would make mail communication from you impracticable, and I beg to suggest that you wire me instructions and follow these with written instructions, which, in the event that I am delayed in leaving Sydney, may reach me or, otherwise, will be received and held by Mrs, Peary.

ary.

With best regards to Mr. Perkins, Dr. Harris, and yourself, I am
Yours, sincerely,

R. E. PEAR

R. E. PEARY.

[Original letter in C. & G. Survey.]

South Harpswell, Me., July 12, 1908.

Sm: In compliance with orders of the Navy Department, copy of which I inclose, I beg herewith to report to you for instructions in making tidal observations along Grant Land, and Greenland shores of the Polar Seas.

CHIEF OF THE COAST AND GEODECTIC SURVEY,
Washington, D. C.

[Inclosed in letter dated July 12, 1908, from R. E. Peary.]

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, July 2, 1908.

Sir: The unexpired portion of the leave of absence for a period of three years granted you in the department's letter of April 9, 1907, is hereby revoked.

Report by letter to the Chief of the Coast and Geodetic Survey for instruction in making tidal observations along Grant Land and Greenland shores of the Polar Seas.

Respectfully,

TRUMAN H. NEWBERRY,

Respectfully, TRUMAN H. NEWBERRY,
Acting Secretary.

Civil Engineer ROBERT E. PEARY, United States Navy,
South Harpswell, Me.

THE WHITE House, July 6, 1908.

Approved.

T. ROOSEVELT, President.

Memorandum: Received July 11, 1908, 5 p. m. R. E. P.

[From press copy in C. & G. Survey.]

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,
COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY,
Washington, July 14, 1908.

SIR: Your letter of July 12, reporting for instructions in making tidal observations along the Grant Land and Greenland shore of the Polar Sea, has been this day duly received.
Detailed instructions were sent to you by Mr. McMillin on July 9, 1908.

1908.

O. H. TITTMANN, Superintendent. Respectfully,

ROBERT E. PEARY, Commander, United States Navy.

Commanding Steamer Roosevelt, Sydney, Nova Scotia.

[Letter in files C. & G. Survey.]

[Letter in files C. & G. Survey.]

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, July 14, 1908.

Sir: I have the honor to state that, since my letter of July 7, in regard to tidal work under Commander R. E. Peary, United States Navy, I have been informed by the superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey that, anticipating Commander Peary's formal compliance with the instructions of the Navy Department, he issued detailed instructions for the guidance of Commander Peary and forwarded them by his assistant, Mr. McMillin, and that he is to-day in receipt of a letter from Commander Peary formally reporting for instructions.

I have the honor to be sir, your obedient servant,
OSCAR S. STRAUS, Secretary.

The PRESIDENT, Oyster Bay, N. Y.

[Letter in files of C. & G. Survey.] [Peary Arctic Club, North Polar Expedition, 1908.]

STEAMSHIP "ROOSEVELT," Sydney, Nova Scotia, July 17, 1908.

Sign: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 14.

I beg to acknowledge also receipt of your instructions and those of the Secretary of the Bureau of Commerce and Labor.

Very respectfully,

R. E. PEARY, Civil Engineer, United States Navy.

Supt. O. H. TITTMANN, United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington, D. C.

[From original letter in C. & G. Survey. Mailed St. Johns, Newfoundland, Sept. 30. Received Washington 6 p. m., Oct. 6.] [Peary Arctic Club, North Polar Expedition, 1908.] S. S. "ROOSEVELT," August 17, 1908. (Etah, North Greenland, latitude 78° 18' N.)

(Etah, North Greenland, latitude 78° 18' N.)

Sir: I beg to report my arrival here August 11.

Leaving Sydney July 17, Cape York Bay was reached near midnight of July 31.

The voyage north across the Gulf of St. Lawrence was favorable, the Straits of Belle Isle were free of log, rendering the passage easy, and favoring weather was experienced along the Labrador coast, which was followed as far as Tuinavik Island, latitude 55° 18' N., with two intermediate stops of whale meat.

From Tuinavik a course was set for Greenland coast and about 12 hours of heavy weather ensued. After that the weather was moderate

again until midnight of Saturday the 25th. Following this were three days of strong northerly wind and sea accompanied by rain and fog which rendered the negotiation of Dayis Strait somewhat disagreeable and arduous, From Holsteinberg the weather was favorable again, an energetic southerly wind of some hours' duration off Tuinavik materially assisting us on our way.

Duck Islands were passed just before midnight of July 30 and Melville Bay entered in brilliant sun-lit weather with light air from the porth.

This weather held to the cast side of Cape York Bay, which was reached 11.30 p. m. July 31, no ice having been seen on the passage across the bay. In fact, no ice has been seen in the entire voyage except a narrow string of light scattered ice off the Labrador coast the evening of the 23d.

Heavy weather and an unusual swell held us here till early Sunday morning, when the ship crossed to Cape York, latitude 75° 55′ N. Here I learned that the Erik had passed the day before, but was unable to get into the settlement. Eskimos and dogs were taken on here and the ship's tanks filled with water from the glacler. We then steamed north to North Star Bay, where I found the Erik.

Taking on more Eskimos and dogs here, the ships steamed in company to the northwest end of Northumberland Island, where I boarded the Erik to visit the settlements at the head of Inglefield Gulf, while the Rooscecit proceeded direct to Etah to overhaul and trim ship for the ice.

the Roosevelt proceeded direct to Etah to overnam and the same the ice.

I rejoined the Roosevelt with the Erik late August 11, with additional Eskimos and dogs and some 35 walrus. All dogs were landed on an island in Etah Flord, the Roosevelt was coaled from the Erik, coal landed for the return trip, and two men landed with supplies for the relief of Dr. Cook.

The season has been unusually cold and stormy one, with almost continuous wind and frequent snow.

I have on board a good supply of Eskimos, dogs, and walrus meat, All on board are well. I expect to steam north some time to-night.

Very respectfully,

R. E. Peary,

R. E. PEARY, United States Navy.

SUPERINTENDENT U. S. COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY, Washington, D. C. (Similar report sent to honorable Secretary United States Navy.)

[From press copy in C. & G. Survey.]

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR, COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY, Washington, September 39, 1909.

Commander R. E. Peary, United States Navy, Care Peary Arctic Club, New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir: Numerous statements having appeared in the press referring to a report from you to this bureau, some of which have been attributed to you personally, suggest the possibility that a preliminary report may have been sent which has failed to reach this office. Will you please inform me of the facts in the case?

Congratulating you most heartily upon your splendid accomplishment,

Very respectfully,

F. W. PERKINS, Acting Superintendent.

[Copied from original on file in C. & G. Survey.]

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, October 5, 1999.

Sin: The Government has for many years issued through the Hydrographic Office under this department a chart of the Arctic Ocean showing the tracks of search parties and the progress of discovery.

2. The results of former expeditions toward the North Pole have been committed to the Hydrographic Office and incorporated into the official chart. It is therefore requested that the Coast and Geodetic Survey furnish for this purpose the results of the late expeditions carried on by Civil Engineer R. E. Peary, United States Navy, under the auspices of the Peary Arctic Club.

Very respectfully,

The SECRETARY OF COMMMERCE AND LABOR.

[From press copy in C. & G. Survey.]

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR, COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY, Washington, October 7, 1969.

Commander R. E. Pearx, United States Navy,

South Harpswell, Me.

Dear Sir: I beg to thank you for your telegram of this date. Both your determinations of tides and depths will be of greatest use in the discussion of the currents in that region, and will be highly prized.

Very truly, yours,

F. W. PERKINS, Acting Superintendent.

Department of Commerce and Labor,
Office of the Secretary,
Washington, October 8, 1969.

Sin: In reply to your letter of October 5, 1909, I have the honor to state that the Coast and Geodetic Survey will furnish for the use of the Navy Department at the earliest practicable date such portions of the results of the late expedition carried on by Civil Engineer R. E. Peary, United States Navy, as he may furnish that bureau. No results have as yet been received.

Respectfully,

Ormsey McU.

ORMSBY McHARG, Acting Secretary.

The SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

[Copied from telegram on file in C. & G. Survey.] SOUTH HARPSWELL, ME., October 7.

Penkins,
Acting Chief United States Coast and Geodetic Survey,
Washington, D. C.:
Washington, D. C.:

No report as yet except preliminary telegraphic one. Shall forward original tidal records and profile of soundings, Columbia to pole, shortly.

[Copied from telegram on file in C. & G. Survey.]

PORTLAND, ME., October 18, 1909.

Supt. F. W. Perkins, United States Coast and Geodelic Survey, Washington, D. C.:

Tidal and meteorological records and profile of soundings leaving Portland to-day by express.

[Copied from original on file in C. & G. Survey.]

[Copied from original on file in C. & G. Survey.]

EAGLE ISLAND, SOUTH HARPSWELL, ME., October 18, 1909.

Sir: Referring to my telegram, I am sending you by express the tidal records of the Peary Arctic Club's recent North Polar expedition.

Owing to the unfortunate death of Prof. Ross G. Marvin, some of the chronometer comparisons, particularly of the Cape Bryant observations, are missing.

These comparisons are undoubtedly among Prof. Marvin's private papers; and if so, will be obtained from his relatives later.

Prof. Donald B. Macmillan took many of the observations and is familiar with them all, and can come to Washington to see you any time you may consider it advisable.

I am writing him now to communicate with you at once and to keep you posted as to his address.

I am also sending you profile of soundings from Cape Columbia to within 5 miles of the pole.

If such request is permissible, I will respectfully request that this profile and complete set of soundings be not published at present.

With best regards, I am, very respectfully.

Rober Peark, United States Navy.

Acting Supt. F. W. Perkins.

Acting Supt. F. W. Perkins.

United States Coast and Geodetic Survey,

Washington, D. C.

(Records received by express from Commander R. E. Peary Oct. 20, 1909; 21 vols. tides; 2 reports of D. B. Macmillan, dated Jan. 4 and Jan 9, 1909; 6 photofilms; 5 photoprints; 65 sheets thermograms.)

[From press copy in C. & G. Survey.] DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR.

COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY,

Washington, October 21, 1999.

Commander R. E. Pearr, United States Navy,

Eagle Island, South Harpswell, Mc.

Sir: Your telegram and letter of the 18th in regard to the tidal records were duly received; and yesterday the tidal records, thermograms, photographs, and photo films, and the two reports of January 4 and 9 by Mr. Macmilian were received by express. Later Mr. Nichols called and handed me the tracing of the profile of the soundings from Cape Columbia to the pole, for all of which I beg to thank you.

The tidal records will be turned over to the tidal division at once for discussion, and I shall be happy to furnish you with the results in such form as you may desire for publication with the account of your expedition, which I presume you will publish later.

The Hydrographic Office of the Navy Department has asked for your soundings, which I shall send them as soon as I shall have received the data for determining their positions.

I note what you say about giving publicity to the profile and complete set of soundings, and beg to assure you that they will not be made public at present.

Very respectfully, yours,

F. W. Perkins,

Acting Superintendent.

F. W. PERKINS, Acting Superintendent.

[Letter in files of C. & G. Survey.]

South Harpswell, Me., October 28, 1909.

Mr. F. W. PERKINS, Washington, D. C.

Mr. F. W. Perkuns, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sur: Replying to your favor of October 21, I desire to express my sincere appreciation of your kind offer to furnish me the results of the discussion of the expedition's tidal records.

I shall be very glad to receive the same when ready.

In regard to the profile of soundings delivered to you by Mr. Nichols and which you inform me the Hydrographic Office of the Navy Department desires, will say that these soundings were made on the meridian of Cape Columbia, and plotting on that meridian at the latitudes which I think are noted in the table on the profile sheet will give their position.

There are quite a number of other soundings mads on this seep dition and the previous one along the north coast of Grant Land as far west as the eighty-second meridian (Cape Fanshawe Martin); also in Kennedy and Robeson Channels and Kane Basin; also off Cape Alexander and from Cape Morris Jesup, the northern extremity of Greenland, to 84° 15′.

and from the allowing acts of the northern extremity of Greenland, to \$4^{\circ}\$ 15'. If the Hydrographic Office contemplates adding these soundings to Chart No. 2142 or thinks of issuing a new edition of that chart, it would seem desirable to have all of these soundings as well as the work of the previous expedition, defining the shore line from Aldrich's farthest to Cape Thomas Hubbard, and the reconnaissance of the present expedition of Clements Markham Inlet just west of Cape Hecla added to the chart.

May I respectfully suggest that you take this matter up with the Hydrographic Office and, if the work indicated above seems desirable, see if some arrangement can be made for the compensation and expenses of Prof. Donald B. Macmillan, who is familiar with much of this work, so that he may come to Washington with the notes of the soundings and assist in plotting the work?

Prof. Macmillan is now engaged in getting the sounding samples in appe to send a set to your office for such examination as you may

shape to send a set to your office for such desire.

Unfortunately, the samples of soundings on the northern jot beyond the sounding of 110 fathoms were lost with Prof. Marvin. others may yield interesting results under the microscope.

Very sincerely,

R. E. PEARY.

United States Na

R. E. PEARY. United States Navy.

[From press copy in C. & G. Survey.]

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,

COAST AND GEODETIC NURVEY,

Washington, October \$0, 1969.

SIB: I inclose a photograph of the profile soundings taken by the

Peary expedition upon the recent dash to the pole, together with a
copy of a letter just received from Commander Peary in regard to other
soundings, which will be of value to you in the preparation of the
chart of the polar region, to which you referred by phone some days
since.

chart of the polar region, to which you referred by passive.

The suggestion that Prof. Macmillan be called to Washington to assist in working up the notes is a good one, but there is no appropriation available in the Coast Survey which could be applied to this purpose. Yours possibly has greater fexibility.

When the profile of soundings, which is inclosed, was sent to me it was with the understanding that it was to be kept strictly private for the present, but from Commander Peary's letter of the 28th I gather that he has no objection to their being sent to you, but I presume with the understanding that they are not to be given to the press.

Very respectfully,

F. W. Perkins.

The CHIEF OF THE HYDROGRAPHIC OFFICE, Navy Department, Washington.

[Copied from original in C. & G. Survey.] JOHN BLISS & CO.,
MARINE CHRONOMETERS,
128 FRONT STREET,
New York, November 1, 1909.

Mr. R. A. HARRIS, Care of U. S. Coast and Geodetic Office, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: By request of Mr. D. B. Macmillan, we give you herewith the Greenwich time and rates of two chonometers furnished by us to the S. S. Roosevelt:

Chronometer, Blies No. 2998. July 3, 1908. Fast, G. M. T., 0 min. 25.8 sec.
Predicted daily rate, losing 0 min. 0.2 sec.
October 7, 1909. Fast, G. M. T., 17 min. 12.9 sec.
Average daily rate, 461 days, gaining 2.2 sec. Chronometer, Bliss No. 3013.

July 3, 1908. Slow, G. T. M., 0 min. 01.6 sec.
Predicted daily rate, gaining 0.4 sec.
October 7, 1909. Slow, 5 min. 58.1 sec.
Average daily rate, 461 days, losing 0.8 sec.
Yeurs, respectfully,

JOHN BLISS & Co.

[Letter in files of C. & G. Survey.]

Washington, D. C., January 14, 1910.

Dear Sir: In looking over some of my papers, I have come upon two books of additional meteorological observations and chronometer comparisons, made by Prof. Marvin.

I have asked Miss Wetzel, my secretary, to deliver these to you.

Very respectfully,

R. E. PEARY.

Supt. O. H. TITTMANN, U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington, D. C.

[Copied from copy on file in C. & G. Survey.] DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, January 15, 1910.

Washington, January 15, 1910.

Sir: The Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey advises me that Commander R. E. Peary, United States Navy, has submitted to that bureau the records of the tidal observations made by him in the Arctic by order of President Roosevelt. These observations are reported to have been thoroughly made and are satisfactory and of great value. They are now being reduced and discussed by the tidal expert of the Coast Survey.

In view of the fact that Commander Peary has performed the special duty for which he was attached to this department, I have the honor to suggest that he can be detached without detriment to the survey.

Respectfuly,

Benj. S. Carle

BENJ. S. CABLE, Acting Secretary.

The honorable the SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

[From files of C. & G. Survey.]

JANUARY 18, 1910

Commander R. E. Peary, United States Navy,

The Oakland, Washington, D. C.:

January 14, 1910, two volumes of additional meteorological observations and chronometer comparisons made by Prof. Marvin.

[Copy of original in C. & G. Survey.] DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,
COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY,
Washington, March 16, 1910.

Mr. O. H. TITTMANN, Superintendent Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Sir: I have the bonor to report that the tidal records obtained by Commander R. E. Peary during his latest Arctic expedition consist of practically unbroken series of hourly readings of the height of the

tide taken day and night at the following places and between the dates specified:

Station.	Period of observation.	Length of record.
Cape Sheridan Cape Columbia Cape Bryant Fort Conger	Nov. 12, 1908, to June 30, 1909 (total loss of record, 31 hours). Nov. 16, 1908, to Dec. 14, 1908. Jan. 16, 1909, to Feb. 13, 1909. June 10, 1909, to June 25, 1909 (total loss of record, 5 hours).	Days. 231 29 28 10

The observations were taken day and night, and besides the regular hourly readings numerous additional readings were generally taken near the times of the high and the low waters.

From the records themselves and from plottings constructed from them it appears that the observations were taken with great care and thoroughness.

The principal results from these records have been already obtained and are on file in this office.

In order to show the full geographical value of the results, it will be necessary to consider them in connection with all other tidal results relating to the Arctic Ocean. This work is now under way.

Commander Peary's observations leave little to be desired in regard to tidal observations between Cape Morris Jesup and Cape Columbia; but there are long stretches of the Arctic coast where nothing is available. This is especially true of the Russian coast and the western and corthern portions of the Arctic Archipelago. However, we have recently received some tidal information from the Russian hydrographic office, with the promise of more which will pertain to regions where no knowledge of the tides has heretofore been available.

The results obtained from Commander Peary's records show that the tides along the northern coasts of Grant Land and Greenland are quite different in many respects from what had been heretofore supposed.

For example, his records prove that the tide occurs three hours earlier at Cape Columbia than at Cape Sheridan, and not later as had been generally assumed.

As already intimated, the full significance of these observations in respect to Arctic geography can not be seen at this time.

The meteorological records submitted to this office consist of thermograms covering about 180 days and barograms covering about 260 days.

Respectfully, yours,

R. A. HARRIS.

[Copied from copy in C. & G. Survey.] DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY, Washington, April 23, 1910.

Sin: You are hereby detached from duty under the Coast and Geodetic Survey making tidal observations along Grant Land and Greenland shores of the polar seas, and from such other duty as may have been assigned you, and will await orders.

Keep the department advised of your address while waiting orders.

Respectfully,

G. VON L. MEYER, Secretary of the Navy.

Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary, U. S. Navy.

Department of Commerce and Labor.

[Copied from original in C. & G. Survey.] DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR, OFFICE OF THE CHIEF CLERK, Washington, April 26, 1910.

Sin: Inclosed herewith is order of April 23, 1910, signed by the Secretary of the Navy, detaching Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary. United States Navy, from duty under the survey making tidal observations along Grant Land and Greenland shores of the polar seas, and from such other duties as may have been assigned to him, and directing him to await orders and keep the Navy Department advised of his

By direction of the Secretary. Respectfully,

A. H. BALDWIN, Chief Clerk.

The SUPERINTENDENT COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY.

[Copy from original in C. & G. Survey.]

SOUTH HARPSWELL, ME., July 27, 1910.

SOUTH HARPSWELL, ME., July 27, 1910.

My Dear Prof. Tittmann: Only now am I able to take up my correspondence, and I hasten to express to you my sincere appreciation of your interest and courtesy, particularly in regard to material for an appendix for the narrative of my recent expedition to be published by F. C. Stokes & Co.

I note what you say in your last letter that you can furnish manuscript for such appendix by the 15th of August.

Mr. Stokes has decided upon and already advertised the date of publication of the book for the 15th of September.

To do this every day counts, and to save time I will ask that when the manuscript is ready you kindly have it sent direct to Mr. Stokes rather than to me.

Should it be found practicable to anticipate even by a couple of days the date which you specify (Aug. 15) and have the manuscript in Mr. Stokes's hands the 12th or the 13th, it will be greatly appreciated by both Mr. Stokes and myself.

Kindly remember me to my friends in the Coast Survey, and believe me, always.

Party Supt. O. H. Tittmann,

Supt. O. H. TITTMANN, United States Coast Survey, Washington, D. C.

NOTES ON SOUNDINGS.

The sounding equipment of the expedition consisted of two reels of specially made plano wire of 1,000 fathoms each, and three approximately 20-pound leads, with clamshell device for grasping samples of the bottom. These reels were arranged to be fitted quickly to the upstanders of a ledge when making a sounding, and had handles for reeling in the wire and lead.

One of these reels and leads were carried by Bartlett with his advance party, and the other reel and two leads by the main party.

Portions of the wire and the two leads were lost at various times in hauling up, owing probably to kinks in the wire.

When the sounding at 85° 33' was made, 700 fathems only were left of the sounding wire of the main party, and Bartlett, with the other thousand fathoms, was in advance and inaccessible.

In hauling up the wire from this sounding it parted again, and some 200 fathoms, together with two pickax heads and a steel sledge shoe, which had been used to carry it down, were lost.

When Marvin turned back, the captain's 1.000 fathoms and the remaining 500 fathoms of the other reel were combined.

When Bartlett made the sounding at 87° 15°, I gave him explicit instructions to use the utmost caution in regard to the wire, in order not to lose any more of it, as I wanted it all for a sounding at the pole, should I succeed in getting there.

Acting upon these instructions, Bartlett ran out 1,260 fathoms and then stopped on account of a small kink in the wire, which he feared would part when the wire was hauled up.

When I made my sounding about 5 miles from the pole, the wire parted, as had been feared, and the last lead and nearly all of the wire was lost.

The above feets are noted to explain the irregularity of those sounds.

was lost.

The above facts are noted to explain the irregularity of those soundings which did not get bottom.

The sounding of 310 fathoms at 85° 23' naturally impressed me at ance as surprising, and when Marvin reported the result to me, immediately after taking the sounding. I at once asked him if he was sure that he had the bottom, and he replied that he was, as the fact of this pronounced shoaling from 825 fathoms to 310 impressed him at once, and he made sure that his depth was correct.

Again when the sounding of 700 fathoms and no bottom was made about 10 miles farther north, we both spoke of the peculiar fact of this outlying ridge with deeper channel intervening between it and the continental shelf, and Marvin again said that he was sure of his 310 fathoms reading.

Had it not been for the loss of the last lead and practically all of the wire, while making the sounding at the pole I should, on the return, have interpolated other soundings.

The profile indicates that a line of 5-mile interval soundings from Cape Columbia to the eighty-sixth parallel might develop a particularly interesting profile of the bottom of the Arctic Ocean.

R. E. Peany, United States Navy.

October 18, 1909.

The profile indicates that a line of 3-mile interval soundings from Cape Columbia to the eighty-sixth parallel might develop a particularly interesting profile of the bottom of the Arctic Ocean.

Cortours 18, 1909.

Capt. Prank, There is a matter that I would like to bring to the attention of the committee which may be interesting to some of these gentlemen here as a record of the return speed over the outward trail of the different supporting parties, which, if the committee deems it desirable, can be verified by these gentlemen. I am talking now about the trail from Cape Columbia to the pole.

Mr. Burlem. The lee trail?

Capt. Prank. The lee trail?

Capt. Prank. The lee trail?

Capt. Prank. The trail over the ice of the Arctic regions. Borup returned in 17 marches over 12 outward marches. Bartlett returned in 13 marches over 22 outward marches. Penry returned in 16 marches over 27 outward marches. Penry returned in 16 marches over 27 outward marches. Penry returned in 16 marches over 27 outward marches. Penry returned in 16 marches over 27 outward marches. Those are the times and experiences of the various supporting parties over the same trail.

Mr. Eurammont. In connection with these records of the Coast Survey, mention has been made of a lot of tidal records which are in a number of volumes. I am advised by the Superintendent of the Cond a man over here with them.

Mr. Burlem. There is still one point, Mr. Chairman, if I may. At the last meeting the matter of equipment came up and that has been covered again somewhat this morning. The matter of personnel and equipment at various dates as stated in my narrative were brought up, and I would like to say that the statement as to equipment and precord in the main party at various times.

Mr. Burlem. Those men live far away from her?

Capt. Paany. Borup is either in New York or New Haven at the present time; Bartlett is probably in Boston; and Macmillan is probably in Cambridge. Their addresses can be given to you.

One other point: Mr. Roberts, lave you the pam

concentrated effort in that direction. The result of this last expedition can be attributed. I think, to organization, to previous experience, and to the fact that I was personally on the job every minute.

Mr. Butler. This was your ninth trip?
Capt. Prank. The eighth or ninth voyage north.

Mr. Roberts. I would like to ask you in regard to your detail from the Navy Department, when you went on this last trip? As I understand, and as I think is mentioned in the papers submitted by Mr. Englebright, the detail was simply to the Department of Commerce and Labor, and the Coast and Geodetic Survey gave you instructions to make certain tidal observations?

Capt. Prank. "For the purpose of making tidal observations." I think that was the wording.

Mr. Roberts. You were not detailed for the purpose of making any effort to reach the North Pole?

Capt. Prank. I think I can say positively that that was not included in the precept of the order.

Mr. Dawson. Was there anything in the nature of your detail from the Navy Department which would make it proper or necessary for you to file with the Navy Department any report upon your return?

Capt. Prank. There was nothing in my orders calling for a report, I feel quite sure. I feel quite sure there was nothing of the kind. I did report my return to this country by whe to the Navy Department and I reported specifically by wire to the Coast Survey. That report contained the condensed results of my work, and later I sent them the original observations. I did not send them any detailed report in regard to the tidal, meteorological, and other observations, because they have experts in thele own department who could report on the original Information.

Mr. Dawson. You have made no report to the Navy Department since your return—that its, no extended report of any kind?

Capt. Prank. That is my understanding.

Mr. Englerent. The Navy Department, understanding that you had made soundings on your trip to the North Pole, applied to the Coast and Geodetic Survey for copies of those recor

on which hose soundings are published by the Hydrographic Office of the Navy Department. Those [indicating] are your soundings on the map?

Capt. Pearx (after examining map). Yes, sir.

Mr. Englebrioht. I will file the map with the committee:

In making a trip to the North Pole or South Pole, being a region of ice—according to Shackelton's report of his trip to the South Pole and the finding of land there would be no trouble to leave marks of his expedition, but on a trip to the North Pole, finding nothing but floating ice, the only possible identification that could be made would be a result of soundings, would it not, that any future explorer could identify the position? In other words, if another explorer should go to the North Pole and within 5 miles of the pole should drop a lead down and strike bottom in 100 fathoms of water that would show a defect in your report. The fact is there is nothing else a man could do except to take soundings to identify his position or leave a record?

Capt. Pharr. If a line of soundings were carried to the pole and every one touched bottom that would be an absolute identification and verification right straight through. If a line of soundings were taken and they reported 1.500 feet bottom and somebody else should go there and get only 100 fathoms, that would not look well, but if some one else should go there and should get 2,000 fathoms or 2,500 fathoms, I would say that it would not show anything.

Mr. Englebright. Is there anything you could have done on that trip to have left a mark or made a record?

Capt. Pharr. I was sorry I did not have wire enough with me to go to the bottom.

Mr. Bates. Is this a copy of a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy when you were granted a leave of absence [handing Capt. Peary a letter]?

Capt. Pharr (after examining letter). That is a copy of a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, Judge Darling, to me; granting me a leave of absence:

Mr. Bates. In which he states:

"The attainment of the pole should be your main object.

The letter referred to by Mr. Bates follows:

Navy Drartment, September 5, 1903.

Dear Sir: In granting you leave of absence for the purpose of prosecuting your Arctic work, I am moved to remark that I believe you are better equipped than any other person in the country to undertake this work. You have the requisite courage, fortitude, and physique. You have had a longer term of service within the Arctic Circle than any other explorer. You have had large experience in sledge journeying, both upon the land and upon the polar pack. You are familiar with ice conditions through the Smith Sound route and north of Grant Land and the continent. You have demonstrated your ability to maintain yourself in that latitude for a longer period in health and safety than any other explorer. You have reduced the inconveniences and hardships of the Arctic service to the minimum.

You are conversant with the language and customs of the Whale Sound Eskimos and are personally acquainted with every individual in the tribe. They have become accustomed to your leadership, and if you succeed in transporting the selected hunters and the best families to the north shore of Grant Land, as you propose, you will thereby establish a base which will enable you to live in safety and comparative comfort for an indefinite period.

Grant Land as such base has great advantages over Spitzbergen, Franz Josef Land, or any other known point, in that it has an extensive shore line, which a party retreating from the pole can not fall to find, whafever may be the extent of the polar drift.

In establishing a colony of Eskimos at this point you thereby establish a self-sustaining base has not heretofore been established in any such high altitude. Your ability to force your ships to a high northing with this Eskimo colony is all important to your success. Such northing has been made by the Polaris, the Alert, the Discovery, and the Proteus. There would seem to be no reason why you can not do the same. Knowledge of fee conditions that has been gained since t

is fraught with danger and privation, the answer is that geographical discovery in all ages has been purchased at the price of heroic courage and noble sacrifice. Our national pride is involved in the undertaking, and this department expects that you will accomplish your purpose and bring further distinction to a service of illustrious traditions.

In conclusion, I am pleased to inform you that the President of the United States sympathizes with your cause and approves the enterprise. With best wishes for your health and confidence in your success, I am, respectfully.

Chas H Danlys Acting Secretary.

CHAS. H. DARLING, Acting Secretary.

I am, respectfully.

CHAS, H. DARLING, Acting Secretary.

Mr. BUTLER. Captain, is there anything further that you could have done to have marked the place you reached, the most northern point; anything you could have done that would have enabled another explorer to have verified your statement and to make the records any more complete?

Capt. Pears. I do not know of anything, Mr. Chairman, and in that connection I would like to say in regard to the matter of records—I do not know whether you care to have it in your minutes or not—that in 1900 I made a trip with three men, a colored man and two Eskimos, myself, Henson, and two Eskimos. I made a trip over here [indicating] around the northern end of Greenland and up here along the northern portion, and down here along this coast [indicating] we built a pile of rock and put in it a record stating the date and the circumstances of my being there. That was down here [indicating].

Mr. Butler. On land?

Capt. Pears, Yes, sir; on the east coast of Greenland, a little south of the extreme northern point. That was in May, 1900. Seven or eight years later the so-called Danish expedition going north along the east coast of Greenland reached that camp of mine, found those records, and brought them back, together with the receptacle that inclosed them. Those two things, the record and the receptacle that inclosed it, are probably the only things that ever circumnavigated Greenland. I do not know whether that is germane to the subject before this committee at all, but I will put in your notes for entry on the record on, as you think best, the correspondence in regard to that. That record and the package were returned to me through the Danish minister here in Washington. There [exhibiting] is the correspondence.

Mr. Butler. It may be inserted in the record.

Mr. BUTLER. It may be inserted in the record.

(The correspondence referred to by Capt. Peary follows:)

(The correspondence referred to by Capt. Peary follows:)

THE DANISH LEGATION,
Washington, D. C., January 17, 1910.

My Dear Sir: By directions of His Danish Majesty's Government I have forwarded to the Peary Arctic Club, Standard Union Building, Brooklyn, N. Y., the record which you deposited at the terminus of your sledge trip in May, 1900, in the north of Greenland, and which was found on May 12, 1907, and brought home by members of the so-called "Denmark Expedition" headed by the unfortunate Mylius Erichsen, who perished on the same.

As perhaps the circumstances of the finding of your said record might interest you, I beg leave to inclose a translation of the report, which was addressed on this event to the committee of the Denmark Expedidition by one of its members, Capt. J. P. Koch.

I am, sir, with high regard, yours, very truly,

Danish Minister to the United States.

Commander R. E. Peary, The Oakland Apartments, Washington, D. C.

[Translation.]

COPENHAGEN, December 6, 1909.

To the COMMITTEE OF THE DENMARK EXPEDITION:

To the Committee of the Denmark Expedition:

As the committee will be aware, it was for some time intended that I personally, while traveling in America, should deliver to the Peary Arctic Club the report deposited by Commander R. E. Peary at the terminus of his sledge trip in May, 1900, and brought home by the painter Bertelsen and myself.

However, circumstances have caused me to give up the idea of going to America for the present. I therefore take the liberty to request of the committee that they cause Commander Peary's report, together with the wrapping appertaining thereto, to be sent to the Peary Arctic Club, Standard Union Building, Brooklyn, N. Y., which club, according to Mr. Bertelsen, as well as my best judgment, and pursuant to the wording of the report itself, must be considered the legitimate owner of the document.

The particulars incident to the finding of Commander Peary's report are as follows:

On May 12, 1907, in the evening, we came driving from the south along the east coast of Peary Land. Shortly after having passed Cape Clarence Wyckoff we discovered a dark cairn of about 1½ meters in height, which stood out prominently against the low, snow-clad shore. A number of empty cans, having contained preserved food, which were scattered about, removed all doubt. We were standing before Commander Peary's cairn. Inside the cairn was found a report, wrapped in canvas and inclosed in a tin box. We removed the report, in place of which we deposited the following statement:

"A sledge party of the Mylius Erichsen Denmark expedition—Lieut, Koch, Artist Bertelsen, and the Eskimo Tobias Gabrielsen—arrived here May 12, 1907, 10 p. m., on journey northward. I have taken R. E. Peary's record, which was deposited in this cairn.

"J. P. Koch."

" J. Р. Косн."

We had not expected to find the cairn so easily. The surprise, the consciousness of having attained the object planned for, the solemn feeling of having come across the trail of the famous American explorer and to actually hold his autograph in our hands—all this contributed to our enthusiasm. Our little silk flag was taken out and holsted on the American cairn as an expression of our exaltation.

On May 13 we continued our journey northward to complete the American measurements between Grant B. Schley Fjord and Cape Bridgman.

American measurements between Bridgman.

Bridgman.

When on our homeward journey we again passed Commander Peary's cairn we added to our previous statement the following lines:

"May 21, 1907, 7 a. m. Reached Cape Bridgman; stayed 3 days in the Hyde Fjord; lost here 3 dogs, going down over a precipice in pursuit of a musk ox. We are now going southward toward Academy Land, 3 men, 3 sledges, and 20 dogs. Bertelsen and I suffer from not

being able to digest the musk-ox meat; for several days we have had almost no other food. I think we shall be all right again when we shall reach our depot at 82° 30'.

On this occasion we took with us, at the suggestion of Mr. Bertelsen, the tin box and other wrappings which had protected Commander Peary's record, and which we originally had used for our report. On May 27, quite unexpectedly, we came across the sledge party of Mylius Erichsen at Cape Rigsdagen. Mylius Erichsen asked me on this occasion what we were going to do with Commander Peary's record, and when I answered him that it was our intention to send it to the Peary Arctic Club he signified his entire approval of the idea. As is well known, we saw Mylius Erichsen here for the last time, and therefore had no occasion to consult him later on the subject.

With high regard, very respectfully,

J. P. KOCH.

With high regard, very respectfully,

Mr. Greeg. Have you given the Government or the public any way by which your trail can be retraced and somebody else could find the pole along the line you pursued?

Capt. Peary. Of course, there is no trace to follow.

Mr. Greeg. Have you given any data by observations or by parallels of latitude or longitude, or have you any data by which the pole could be found again?

Capt. Peary. It could be reached by anyone, if his equipment permitted, from any point.

Mr. Greeg. I mean, have you any data by which some one else could go to the pole along that route?

Capt. Peary. Nothing that would help them.

Mr. Greeg. I mean, have you any data by which some one else could go to the pole along that route?

Capt. Peary. Nothing that would help them.

Mr. Greeg. Then the North Pole is just as much lost as ever?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir. Of course, the term "discovery" of the North Pole is a misnomer. It should be the "attainment" of the pole.

Mr. Macon. It is a fiction.

Mr. Bates. You have a record of the latitude and longitude of the course you took?

Capt. Peary. There is nothing more than what appears in these observations—the latitude at different points. Our longitude was not far removed from the meridian of Columbia.

Mr. Englebricht. You started at Cape Columbia?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Englebricht. There is a mountain there, and anybody can find the mountain?

Capt. Peary. That coast is well known from the work of the British

Mr. Englebright. There is a mountain there, and anybody can find the mountain?

Capt. Peary. That coast is well known from the work of the British expedition.

Mr. Greeg. Mr. Englebright insists that you did not understand me. Have you any map or chart or anything that some one could take and follow your tracks?

Capt. Peary. To get to Cape Columbia?

Mr. Greeg. Between there and the pole?

Capt. Peary. With Cape Columbia as a starting point and with their instruments and their time and their compass they could follow my course.

Mr. GREGG. You have left the data, then, by which they could use those instruments?

Capt. Peary. They would not need any data I have.

Mr. GREGG. It would have to be an independent undertaking on their part?

Capt. Peary. They would not need any data I have.

Mr. Gregg. It would have to be an independent undertaking on their part?

Capt. Peary. It would have to be an independent undertaking, and after getting to Cape Columbia they could determine what direction they wanted to follow.

Mr. Gregg. And unaided by anything you have?

Capt. Peary. Except my experience; that would be my impression.

Mr. Roberts. What official report, Mr. Peary, did you make under the instructions which were given you by the Navy Department and by the Department of Commerce and Labor on your return? Under the detail from the Navy Department, I presume the instructions were from the Coast Survey?

Capt. Peary. Without referring precisely to the papers, I think the sequence was this, that I was ordered to special duty with the Coast Survey by the Navy Department, and I think the order was countersigned by the President. Those orders can be produced and put in the record, if it is desired. Then I received certain instructions from the Coast and Geodetic Survey in regard to tidal work. Whatever they were, they are a part of the record.

Mr. Roberts. What reports did you make under these instructions of detail from the Navy Department to the Coast and Geodetic Survey; to whom did you make those reports?

Capt. Peary. I made no report at that time to the Navy Department, except that I acknowledged the receipt of the orders and later reported by wire or letter to the Navy Department, reporting my return to the Coast Survey. Then, after my return I sent my telegram from the Labrador coast to the Navy Department, reporting my return to the Coast and Geodetic Survey, stating so many days' tidal observations at such a place, and at such a place, and at such a place, the line of soundings, and something of that kind, a telegram was sent from Battle Harbor or Indian Harbor. Then I sent the original observations to the Coast and Geodetic Survey, but it was filed at Battle Harbor. Doubtless, if that is a point, it can be determined from the record. I say

I do not remember what was said in the letter of transmittal, but that can be obtained. I made no report as to what were the results from the tidal observations. That has been attended to by the experts

from the tidal observations. That has been attended to by the experts of the survey.

Mr. Roberts. Those were all the reports that you made?
Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Representative Alexander of New York. I simply wanted to suggest that there is a little bit of misapprehension, over at this end of the table at least, in regard to the answers made to the questions regarding what Capt. Peary has left of record to guide some future traveler to the North Pole. I have read his book within the last three or four days and he there gives the latitude and longitude. He left Cape Columbia and whenever he could make an observation he has made it and made it of record. It seems to some of us here, and I make the suggestion to you, to have it clear on the record if you think it is not so.

Mr. Butler. I had that in mind. There is this one reason why I did not ask any question following Mr. Gregg: Some of the experts

we had last winter said it would have been possible to have made the observations at points in this country.

Mr. Horson. May I suggest that the course pursued or navigated by Capt. Peary can be definitely plotted on a chart, and that having proved practicable once it would be a guide for any party who tried to pass over the same course.

Representative Alexander of New York. The point is simply this: A captain sails from New York to the Madeira Islands. It is all water. He can not leave any lighthouses or any buoys that remain stationary, but he takes his latitude and longitude and he sails to the Madeira Islands on a certain course by which anybody else can go to the Madeira Islands. It seems to a few of us here that that matter has not gone into the record exactly as Capt. Peary and his friends would like to have it.

Mr. Macon. In respect to what Mr. Alexander has said about latitude and longitude observations, I will say that the distinguished members of the committee that passed upon the case of Capt. Peary told this committee that the records showed that Capt. Peary had not taken a single longitude observation on his trip out, and yet the gentleman from New York says that he read in the book that he made the observations.

Mr. BUTLER, Let us go on now and permit Mr. Reberts to finish his examination.

his examination.

Mr. Greeg, The point I was making is this: For instance, when Columbus discovered America it is true, as Mr. Alexander has said, that he sailed through water exclusively, and he could not leave any mark, but he took back a chart by which anybody else could follow his tra.; just as if he had marked it on the water. Have you any chart of that character, any data that will enable anyone else to pursue your track?

mark, but he took back a chart by which anybody else could follow his tral.; 'ust as if he had marked it on the water. Have yon any chart of that character, any data that will enable anyone else to pursue your track?

Capt. Pearx: I have not prepared such a chart as yet.

Mr. Gregg. Have you the data by which you can prepare it?

Capt. Pearx: I imagine that I have the data with which it could be prepared. Here is a chart right behind me [indicating] that gives all that information.

Mr. Butler. Suppose you should make a map and somebody sailed over what there is on the map, could he see whether you went over it?

Capt. Pearx. Nothing can be found after six months on the trail from Columbia to the pole.

Mr. Engleright Is there any difficulty when you arrive at the North Pole about taking proper astronomical observation that will satisfy you that you are at the North Pole?

Capt. Pearx. I do not know of any reason why the North Pole can not be determined approximately the same as the position of the Equator or any point of latitude or longitude on the face of the earth, but there is one pronounced fact that makes some difference in northern work, and that is the matter of the comparatively low altitude of the sun

The sun at the North Pole only gets 22½° above the horizon, and the nearer the sun is to the horizon the more uncertain is the refraction; so that an ordinary observation can not be relied upon with the same accuracy. But if there were land at the North Pole, if an observatories and could have the time at their disposal and could observe stars which are high enough to be free of the errors of refraction, etc., the position of the pole (I will not say the position of the pole, but their position relative to the pole), could be determined with just as much accuracy as the position of Washington. But in summer work the sun is the only thing you can use, because there are no stars. Here is a point that you gentlemen all know, but perhaps it should be brought right home to you here, and that is the role of

Mr. Horson. Less than that.
Capt. Pearx. My opinion would be that a man could so approximately identify his position.
Mr. Englebright, Without any instruments?
Capt. Pearx. He could certainly determine the fact of whether the lower limb of the sun circling around the horizon was touching the horizon here [indicating] and was touching the horizon here [indicating] also. Now, that would show that within certain limits he must be near the pole. What those limits were would depend on the amount of refraction at that time and various other causes.
Mr. Roberts. Is the information contained in your telegram all the information you ever gave to the Navy Department of your trip to the pole?
Capt. Pearx. To the Navy Department direct. I was on duty, but I was not on duty under the Navy Department.
Mr. Roberts And later you transmitted to the Coast and Geodetic Survey the results of the tidal observations?
Capt. Pearx. Tidal and meteorological observations and the soundings.

ings.

Mr. Roberts. What report did you make to the Navy Department when you were finally relieved from duty with the Coast and Geodetic Survey?

Capt. Pearx. I do not recall that I made any report. I was placed

Survey?

Capt. Peary. I do not recall that I made any report. I was placed on waiting orders

Mr. Roberts. Is it not customary for naval officers to make some report to the department when discharged from a duty?

Capt. Peary. I am not aware that that is the case. I was placed on waiting orders, and soon after—only two or three days, I think—I was granted leave. My impression is that the report was made to the Navy Department by the Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Survey.

Mr. Roberts. In the documents transmitted to the Coast and Geodetic Survey, containing the results of the soundings and the tidal observations, was there any injunction of secrecy on the part of the bureau or department?

Capt. Peart. No; not in my telegraphic report.

Mr. Roberts. I am speaking of the regular report.

Capt. Peart. On page 20 of Mr. Moore's speech you will find my letter to the Acting Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and after inclosing the profile of soundings this paragraph occurs:

"If such request is permissible, I will respectfully request that this profile and complete set of soundings be not published at present."

Mr. Roberts. That was the official report that you made?
Capt. Prart. That was my letter.
Mr. Roberts. Will you tell us why you, being detailed to get certain information for the Government, should request the Government not to publish it or make any use of it until later?
Capt. Prart. I have no objection to giving the absolute reason, but I would prefer to state it simply for the committee. If you will refer to my letter of October 18, 1900, to the Acting Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, which contains my only request in this regard, you will see that my words were—
"If such request is permissible, I will respectfully request that this profile and complete set of soundings be not published at present."
You will note that I did not ask the Government to refrain from making use of this data, but only to withhold it from the public "at present," and then only in case such request was permissible.
You will see, further, that this request did not refer to all the data which was furnished the Coast and Geodetic Survey, but only to the soundings and profile, and not to the tidal and meteorological records.
My object in making this request was to prevent any possible improper use of this data at that time by persons not connected with the United States Government.

Mr. Roberts. Something was said about the stars not being visible when you were at the pole and for several days before that. Were there stars visible at any time after you left Cape Columbia?
Capt. Pearr. Probably during the early marches; yes.
Mr. Roberts. Were any observations made with a view to ascertaining your exact position, using the stars instead of the sun?
Capt. Pearr. No.
Mr. Roberts. Could not you correct or verify your solar observations by the stars at the pole?
Capt. Pearr. No, sir.
Mr. Roberts About the soundings, Mr. Peary, as I understood you the other day, you personally made one sounding?
Capt. Pearr. No, sir.
Mr. Roberts About the soundings, Mr. Peary, as I understood you the other day, you personally made one sounding

rent.

Mr. ROBERTS. You did not note the first four soundings made and you can not tell what the tidal conditions were, but you did make the last sounding within a few miles of the pole. As your wire ran out, did you note whether it was a tidal current that carried it away?

Capt. Pearx. There was no strong tidal current as indicated by the wire to sweep it one way or the other.

Mr. ROBERTS. It was not trailed off on the ice by a strong current?

Capt. Pearx. I did not observe it.

Mr. ROBERTS. You do not know whether that was the condition at the other soundings?

Capt. Pearx. I doubt if there is any strong current in the main Arctic Ocean, because the tidal movement at Columbia is very slight.

Mr. ROBERTS. You spoke of some record that circumnavigated Greenland?

Capt. Pearx. Yes, sir.

Capt. Pearx. Yes, sir.
Mr. Roberts. Which was returned to you by the Danish Government?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Roberts. Which was returned to you by the Danish Government?

Capt. Peary. Xes, sir.

Mr. Roberts. If that went around the northern part of Greenland there must have been a tidal current?

Capt. Peary. No, sir; you misunderstood the matter entirely. The record that I spoke of was one that I left about here [indicating] in a pile of stones, and some seven or eight years later a Danish expedition passing up from the east coast, also by sledge along the coast, found my pile of stones and brought the record back. If I said "cr-cumavigated," that is, perhaps, a figure of speech. What I should have said was that that record having started from New York, from where the paper it was on was carried by me, to that point, and that it was brought by the Danish expedition back to Copenhagen and thence to me at New York.

Mr. Roberts. There is another question that I would like to ask. It was mentioned here a short time ago what could have been done by you, but as I understood the purport of the question, and if I am wrong I hope I will be corrected, to remove any doubt that might exist in any person's mind as to attaining the pole, and whether anything more could have been done than what you did. I have heard this question asked a good many times by people, and I am going to take the liberty of asking you why, when you went to the pole on your party in order that there might be credible, corroborative evidence if the question was ever raised as to attaining the pole? I do not know whether you care to answer that question.

Capt. Peary. I have not the slightest objection to answering that question, Mr. Roberts. This is accessory to it. I have always made my final spart work up there, with the one exception when Lee was with me, across the Greenland ice cap with one man and the Eskimos. The reason for that has been stated in the book, that the man I took with me was more effective for the combined demands of extended work than any white man I have ever had with me, but, perhaps, what you want in a

Mr. Roberts. Bartlett wanted to go and was very anxious to go?
Capt. Pears. Yes and no. You can, of course, get Capt. Bartlett's
statement in regard to it, but I will give you this information in connection with that subject. No man who became a member of my last
expedition at any time had any reason to expect that he would go to
the pole with me.

They were distinctly told in joining the expedition that they were not to count on that as a part of the expedition; that circumstances might arise which would make it necessary. Bartlett never had any idea that he was going to the pole with me, so far as I knew. He never had any reason for any such idea. At Columbia I told Bartlett that, God willing, I hoped he would assist me in getting to the pole beyond the farthest of Abruzzi, and Bartlett knew I meant it. It was on what he counted. On the last march Bartlett, as he and I were walking along to make the last part of that march, said: "Commander, I would like to go all the way with you, if it can be so arranged." It struck me as a most natural thing for him to have said. I said: "Bartlett, there is no man in the world I would like to have with me more than you, but we have to carry out the program. I would rather you would turn back from the next camp, as proposed," or words to that effect. If you doubt the exact words, Bartlett can probably repeat them to you.

Mr. Roberts, When you left Cape Columbia did each head of a supporting party know how many marches he was going to make to get back?

get back?
Capt. Pearr. No. sir. I told Bartlett just as I have told you. The others, I said nothing to them.
Mr. Roberts, They did not know in which order they would be sent back?

Mr. Roberts. They did not know in which order they would be sent back?

Capt. Peary. No, sir.

Mr. Roberts. There is one other question I want to ask along that line. In selecting these men to go with you on this expedition was there any injunction of silence placed on them as to what they might observe or see on the trip, or were they free to come back to civilization and tell anything or write or lecture—do anything they pleased—with regard to their experiences on the trip?

Capt. Peary. The members of the party were not free to write or lecture after the return without permission.

Mr. Roberts. None of them?

Capt. Peary. No, sir.

Mr. Butler. They were paid for their services?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Butler. Were you paid for your services?

Capt. Peary. I was not.

Mr. Butler. All the rest were paid?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Macon. Was not the Government paying Capt. Peary's salary?

Mr. Butler. Yes, sir; of course. Did you draw anything except your salary from the Government?

Mr. Roberts. I can not tell just when, but within the last year Henson has been lecturing on his experiences. I do not know that this is material for the record, but it is a matter of curiosity. Was he?

Capt. Peary. It was by permission?

Capt. Peary. It was by permission given, how recently?

Capt. Peary. It was by permission given, how recently?

Capt. Peary. I can not say. I should not say it was very recently, but I can not say when permission was given.

Mr. Talbott, Could you go back to the pole practically over the same route?

Capt. Peary. I could go practically over the same route; yes, sir.

Mr. Talbott. Could you go back to the pole practically over the same route?

Capt. Pearly. I could go practically over the same route; yes, sir.

Mr. Roberts. There was a suggestion made that it would be very much to the enlightenment of the committee if you would come before it, and some person, I am not just certain who, purporting to represent you, said that you felt that you could not come then because you were under contracts to publishers or under contracts that forbade your disciosing any of the results of your recent trip. I want to ask you if you authorized anybody to make such a representation to us?

Capt. Pearly. My position at the time was that I was willing to come before the committee and show all my papers and my journal and answer all questions, but I was not ready to have the results of my work published. That, I think, states the position absolutely. I was ready and willing to come before the committee at any time last year.

Mr. Roberts. The reason you did not wish them published was because you were under certain contracts?

Capt. Pearly. Yes, sir.

Mr. Roberts. Those contracts have now expired?

Capt. Pearly. I presume with the publication of the narrative.

Mr. Roberts. When did they expire?

Capt. Pearly. The book was published last, and I should say it was upon the publication of the book.

Mr. Roberts. When was that published?

Capt. Pearly. In September, I think, or October.

Mr. Roberts. You were bound by the contract with your publishers not to make known or disclose, without their permission, any of the results of your trip?

Capt. Pearly. Yes, sir; in a general way, I should say so.

(Thereupon the committee adjourned to meet to-morrow, Wednesday, January 11, 1911, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

Subcommittee No. 8 of the Committee on Naval Affairs, Wednesday, January 11, 1911.
The subcommittee this day met, Hod. Thomas S. Butler (chairman)

STATEMENT OF CAPT. ROBERT E. PEARY, U. S. NAVY-continued.

Mr. Butler. You may proceed, Mr. Roberts.
Mr. Roberts. Capt. Peary, when you returned from your dash the first people you saw were those at the ship?
Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.
Mr. Roberts. You, of course, told them of the trip?
Capt. Peary. No; I did not. I did not go into any details in regard to the trip.
Mr. Roberts. Did you tell them you had reached the pole?
Capt. Peary. I told Bartlett; no one else.
Mr. Roberts. I recall reading in the papers that on the way from the place where the ship wintered, somewhere on the return journey you met some sportsman. Was if whitney?
Capt. Peary. I met Whitney at Etah, down in the Whale Sound region.
Mr. Roberts. Did you say anything to him. did you have been seen that you have the some sportsman.

Mr. Roberts. Did you say anything to him; did you have any talk with him about your trip?
Capt. Peary. No, sir.

Mr. Roberts. You did not say anything to him about reaching the pole?

Capt. Peary. No, sir.

Mr. Roberts. Did he make any inquiry of you?

Capt. Peary. I do not think he did; I do not recall.

Mr. Roberts. There is another question that has been in my mind and in the minds of many other people, why you did not say something to him, acquaint him with the result of your trip. Do you mind telling us your reasons?

Capt. Peary. It was expected that Mr. Whitney would have a ship come up there for him. As is known by the records I was under honorable obligations to furnish the account of my expedition on my return, and I felt that I should protect the account of the journey by reserving it rather than giving it to anyone else previous to reaching home.

Capt. Passay. It was expected that Mr. Whitney would have a ship come up there for him. As is known by the records I was under honorable obligations to furnish the account of my expedition on my return, and I felt that I should protect the account of the journey by reserving it rather than giving it to anyone else previous to reaching the protect of the control of

Mr. Roberts. Mr. Butler has suggested a question. Was to pemmican something you bought in the open market, or was

Mr. Roberts. A. Butter has sagested a question. Was first specially prepared?

Capt. Peary. It was prepared on order. It is not a thing, as far as I know, that can be obtained in this country. Things called permican can be obtained in the large outfitting establishments in London. I doubt if permican I would care for could be obtained over there, because I had some permican once from there and the basis seemed to be pea flour—more like concentrated pea soup and less meat. The meat is for sustenance and the fat is for the heat giving. Nansen had some permican prepared for him on one of his expeditions and they extracted the fat from the meat. That is, as I recall his narrative.

Mr. Roberts. Is it at all greasy?

Capt. Peary. It is distinctly so. About one-third, approximately, of the permican is nothing but beef suct or tallow.

Mr. Roberts. Now, something was said the other day about the temperature in the igloos.

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Romeirs. Of course you do the eating in the igloos?

I would car my permitten in the intervals of building the igloo, so when we got in the igloo I was ready to drink the ten and eat the blechts and turn in could not get the tea until you got in the igloo I was ready to drink the ten and eat the blechts and turn in could not get the tea until you got in the igloo I and it was a could not get the tea until you got in the igloo I and it was a could not get the tea until you got in the igloo I and it was a could not get the tea until you got in the igloo I and it was a could not get the tea until you got in the igloo I and it was a could not get the tea until you got in the igloo I and it was a could not get the tea of the purpose of chepping the permitten of whicking up the ice or cutting a piece of snow, and they used the tablespoon for striring the condensed milk in the ca. Of course sixed into the tea in the boller, where the tea for the whole four men as made, so that every man got absolutely the same proportion of whicking up the interval of the purpose of the pu

quite a number of them and reduced the slenderness of the point a little, so that a lance could be used to chip the ice by a man who knows how quite effectively. There was also a light spade for each division of four men. On the upstander of each sledge was a little hatchet for chopping the pemmican about so long [indicating], a saw knife and blade about that long [indicating]. They were attached to the upstander of each sledge.

Mr. Roberts. These tools you speak of were used in making the igloos?

igloss?

Capt: Peary. The saw knife and blade. The saw knife was absolutely essential. The spade is of value sometimes, but is not absolutely essential. The saw knife was absolutely essential. The saw knife was absolutely essential. I mean the instrument with a blade about that long [indicating], a knife on one side and saw teeth on the back. That was used for cutting the blocks of snow for the igloss. If the snow was very hard and there was difficulty in getting it out with the knife edge we would turn it over and saw the blocks. Those were absolutely indispensable. Every man in the party had one and there were one or two spare ones. It was the blade with which the snow blocks could be cut.

Mr. Roberts. What is the weight of the sledge itself?

Capt. Peary. Of my last sledges I can not give you the figures, but my impression is that it was eighty-odd pounds. Each sledge would vary some.

yary some.

Mr. ROBERTS. Your special sledge?

Capt. PEARY. My standard sledges.

Mr. ROBERTS. How did they compare in weight with the Eskimo sledges?

sledges?

Capt. Peary. My sledges were about the same, I should say. The reason why I can not tell you the weight of the sledges that you referred to is that I have had so many different kinds of sledges, so many different lengths, etc., both of the Eskimo type and this type on different expeditions, that I have not the figures clear, but I will say that my sledges on my various expeditions have weighed from the lowest—I think 65 pounds—up to 95 pounds. On the inland ice work one sledge weighed 12½ pounds and carried 400 pounds.

Mr. Roberts. What weight did you carry on these sledges on this trip?

Capt. Peary. Of course none were weighed—we had no facilities—

Capt. Peary. Of course none were weighed—we had no facilities—but from Cape Columbia in no instance did the weight on a single sledge exceed about 500 pounds. The standard load—I mean the load one would try to hew to as much as possible, as the unit for heavy work of a man and a team of eight dogs—would be a sledge weighing less than 100 pounds, and a total gross load on the sledge not to exceed 500 pounds at the start.

Mr. Roberts. Five hundred and eighty pounds in weight, all told? Capt. Peary. Yes. sir; at the start.

Mr. Roberts. That was lightened all the time?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir. On the early journeys I have started with heavier loads, but it does not pay, because you can cover more distance with a limited load. It is better in every way; the dogs and men feel better.

heavier loads, but it does not pay, because you can cover more distance with a limited load. It is better in every way; the dogs and men feel better.

Mr. Roberts. When you started in the final dash after leaving Bartlett you had five sledges. Were they loaded to capacity?

Capt. Peary. Practically; nearly so. They were not loaded over capacity; a little under it anything.

Mr. Englebright. What was the weight of the load of Bartlett's sledges going back?

Capt. Peary. That I could not say. Bartlett had three men to feed. Mr. Roberts. And the dogs?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir. He started with the poorest dogs, and he expected to use some of the dogs as dog food on the return. That was part of the proposition.

Mr. Roberts. Not for himself?

Capt. Peary. We hoped it would not get to that point, although I can tell you there is nothing the matter with the hind leg of an Eskimo dog if there is meat enough on it, and the Eskimos at times would prefer it to the pemmican. They were after me at times, at various camps, to let them have a dog, which I did at times.

Mr. Roberts. Have you your memorandum book with you?

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.

Mr. Roberts. Have you any objection to my reading what is on the outside of it, simply to identify it?

Capt. Peary. No, sir.

Mr. Roberts (reading):

"No. 1. Roberts (reading):

"No. 1. Roberts (reading):

"No. 1. Roberts (reading):

"No. 1. Roberts. These papers [indicating] are separate?

Capt. Peary. There is no objection to that.

Mr. Roberts. These papers [indicating] are separate?

Capt. Peary. There is no objection to that.

Mr. Roberts. I take it that the leaves are in order?

Capt. Peary. There is no objection to be servations.

Mr. Roberts. I take it that the leaves are in order?

Capt. Peary. I can not say; they should be. I was assisting the stenographer last night in completing the record of yesterday.

Mr. Roberts. It was your custom, evidently, to begin a fresh page for each day?

Capt. Peary. That is what I tried to do.

Mr. Roberts. It runs along here a good many days

Mr. Roberts. It was your custom, evidently, to begin a fresh page for each day?

Capt. Peary. That is what I tried to do.

Mr. Roberts. It runs along here a good many days, and each day's entry begins on a new page. I notice that no entries were made on March 16 and 17?

Capt. Peary. No, sir.

Mr. Roberts. Let me ask you. I notice a heading here. What does that mean [indicating]?

Capt. Peary. That means the ninth march and the twenty-third day. Let me make this explanation, please. That is the ninth march from Columbia and the twenty-third day from the ship.

Mr. Roberts. These headings lead me to ask if they were prepared for each page before you left?

Capt. Peary. No, sir. That was done by making an entry like that and then not making an entry for perhaps two or three days later, and I headed an intervening page for each day and started the next entry at the top of the page, thinking that I might get time in the following march to fill in the incidents of those days, but I think in every instance I did not. I did not.

Mr. Butler. I think Mr. Roberts asked you the other day if the entries were not made while you were in the igloos.

Capt. Pears. Perhaps, entirely in the igloos.

Mr. Butler. Of course, that book was written with your bare hand?

Capt. Prany. With the bare hand usually. There may have been times when it was done with the blanket mitten on.

Mr. Roberts. I notice here an entry, "Thursday, March 25, thirty-first day out, seventeenth march." The record of that day runs over to the next page, nearly half of the page.

I find the record of "March 26, thirty-second day out, eighteenth march." That runs over to the second page and fills the second page.

"Saturday, March 27, thirty-third day out, nineteenth march." The record fills that page and runs over to the next page, about two-thirds of the next page,

"Saturday, March 27, thirty-third day out, nineteenth march." The record fills that page and runs over to the next page, about two-thirds of the next page.

I find "Monday, March 29, thirty-fifth day out." There is no record of the number of the march. You expected to put that in? Capt. Prary. There was no march that day; we were hung up there. That is the place where Bartlett got affoat.

Mr. Butler. There was not any march that day?
Capt. Prary. No, sir.

Mr. Roders. I notice on "Thursday, April 1, thirty-eighth day," there is no mention at the top of the number of the march. The record for that day covers three pages. The last page is continued in the margin. I would like the records to show that there is a margin of one-half an inch or more on the left-hand side of each page. The entry runs through the margin of all three pages and across the top of that day's record.

"Friday, April 2, twenty-third march, thirty-ninth day." The record covers a page and one-half and some marginal writing on the first page, interlineations.

"April 3, twenty-third march, fortieth day," the record covers a page and about a half.

"April 4, twenty-fifth march, forty-first day," the record covers two pages and has marginal writing on the left-hand margin of both pages. April 5, that is the forty-second day, two pages and about a third, no marginal notes.

"April 6, forty-third day, twenty-seventh march," the record covers

April 5, that is the forty-second day, two pages and about a third, no marginal notes.

"April 6, forty-third day, twenty-seventh march," the record covers two pages, and has a marginal entry and additional writing.

Then follows two loose leaves. Without careful reading I can not say whether or not they are part of that day's record.

Then follows two blank pages.

"Wednesday, April 7, forty-fourth day, first return march," No record on that day. None on the next page. None on the next page.

Then comes "April 8, forty-fifth day, second return march." No record.

Then comes 'April o, the transfer of the record of that day covers a page and a half. No marginal writing.

"April 10, forty-seventh day, fourth return march." The record of that day covers a page, with marginal writing.

"Forty-eighth day, April 11, fifth return march." The record covers a page with no marginal writing.

"Sixth return march, fiftieth day, Tuesday, April 12," five lines of

"Sixth return march, fiftieth day, Tuesday, April 12," five lines of record.

You have told us, I think, the conditions under which the record was kept. The entry for that day was all written that day, or at least the whole entry of that day was written at one time?

Capt. Peary. Probably. I might, perhaps, have filled in something in connection with it at the next camp, but within those limits, yes.

Mr. Roberts. You never filled anything in later than the next camp? Capt. Peary. No, sir; I do not think so.

Mr. Roberts. Are you certain?

Capt. Peary. I feel quite sure.

Mr. Roberts. Everything written was written the day it purports to have been written here or the following day?

Capt. Peary. Very soon after. As I say, I left some days open to fill in fi I had the time afterwards.

Mr. Roberts. Apparently the last entry made is "Tuesday and Wednesday, April 21 and 22, sixtleth day." I can not just make this out. Here is a memorandum "See near beginning of book for continuation."

Would you leave this book to be examined by the committee?

Would you leave this book to be examined by the committee?

Capt. Pearv. I do not care to leave it with the committee or anyone.

I do not care to let it out of my possession; it never has been.

Mr. ROBERTS. If the members of the committee care to, I would like to have the book examined, particularly with reference to its condition and state. It shows no finger marks or rough usage; a very cleanly

to have the book examined, particularly with reference to its condition and state. It shows no finger marks or rough usage; a very cleanly kept book.

Mr. Macon. Mr. Chairman, the committee having under consideration a bill for the purpose of promoting Capt. Peary to rear admiral for the discovery of the North Pole, which, in a sense, would be to place in his hands on the part of the American people a passport into every phase of human society as an American hero, and remembering that this country and every other country has been infested with bogus heroes as well as real ones, I consider that we ought to go into this matter upon the merits of the case and not becloud it by comparing his marches in a polar region with a dog race in Alaska.

Mr. Butler. Can not that be determined when we meet in executive session?

Mr. Butler. Can not that be determined when we meet in executive session?

Mr. Macon. I am proceeding now. And becloud or confuse it with a description of the character of food that he ate while he was on the trip, but that we ought to consider the facts connected with this case and not treat it as a joke. It is too serious a matter, and hence in my examination of the gentleman I propose to deal with the meritorious facts in connection with his case as I see them.

Capt. Peary, this being, as I said a little while ago, the consideration of a hill to confer high honors upon you. I want to find out whether or not you are entitled to them, whether your services to the Government have been of such moment as to make you worthy of them. If they have been, I want you to have it. Therefore I will ask you, to start with, how long have you been in the service of the Government in connection with your dutles as a naval officer?

Capt. Peary. I entered the service on the 26th of October, 1881, I think.

Mr. Macon. A little over 29 years?

Capt. Peary. The 26th of October, 1881, I think, was the date.

Mr. Macon. How much of that time have you devoted to real service in the Navy Department?

Capt. Peary. That I can not answer offhand. I think this is stated in a letter from the Secretary of the Navy to this committee; it was written last winter.

Mr. Macon. You can approximate it in years; we do not ask for months or days.

Capt. Peary. That information, I think, will be found in detail on page 23 of Mr. Moone's speech? You can not approximate it, then? Capt. Peary. Not unless it is given there.

Mr. Macon. Then I will ask you if you can approximate how many years you have devoted to polar or arctic explorations? I will not say polar explorations, because I do not believe you have been in search of the pole all the time you have been out.

Capt. Peary. My first expedition was in 1886. The answer to that question is also given in detail on page 6 of Mr. Moore's speech.

Mr. Dawson. I suggest that both statements go into the record.

Mr. Macon. I am trying to find out from him. He is supposed to know as much about it as Mr. Moore.

Capt. Peary. These are official documents.

Mr. Macon. He is supposed to know about the official records. I know as much about the ime I have given to my duties as Congressman since I have been a Member of Congress as my official record could disclose.

Mr. Dawson. Of course, if the gentleman from Arkansas does not

since I have been a Member of Congress as my official record could disclose.

Mr. Dawson. Of course, if the gentleman from Arkansas does not want the facts to go into the record—

Mr. Macon. That is what I am after, the facts. That is exactly what I am after. I am not after second-handed facts; I want them first handed.

Mr. Butler. I suggest that we put the official letter from the department which Mr. Roberts has in the record.

Mr. Macon. I am asking him of his own knowledge. Can you tell us how many years you have been making your northern or arctic explorations of your own knowledge?

Capt. Pearr. I can not answer offhand because I have not the dates here. I would have to look them up and, if I looked them up, I should probably get the same information as is presented in this official communication from the department.

Mr. Macon. I have seen it stated that you have spent a great deal of your time for 23 years in making explorations in the North.

Capt. Pearr. My first expedition—on page 6 of Mr. Moone's speech my first expedition is described.

Mr. Macon. Do you not remember when it was?

Capt. Pearr. Eighteen hundred and eighty-six.

Mr. Macon. It is a matter of so little interest that you can not remember when you did go?

Capt. Pearr. I went North the first time in 1886 for about six months.

Mr. Macon. Has most of your time since then been given to arctic explorations or to service in the Navy Department?

Capt. Pearr. It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that that question is answered here. I can not answer that question, I do not want an

statistics.

Mr. Macon. If you can not answer the question, I do not want an

Capt. Peant. It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that that question is statistics.

Mr. Macox. If you can not answer the question, I do not want an answer.

Mr. Macox. If you can not answer the question, I do not want an answer.

Mr. Dawson. Those facts are matters of record in the Navy, and the Secretary of the Navy has submitted them to this committee.

Mr. Macox. If the gentlemen will excuse me, yesterday the captain stated to the committee that this matter had been his lifework; that his soul, practically, was wrapped in it to the extent that he was not a state of the growth of the growth anybody on the face wrapped on what he was doing, then he ought to have felt enough interest to be able to give us the information of his own knowledge.

Capt. Peant, I am unable to answer that question in detail without information or the written record.

Mr. Macox. Will you put it in the record?

Capt. Peant, I will ask the committee to accept the statement of the Navy Department for the time I was on leave, and that the time I was no clove, ISSG, will give you the amount of time I have been on duty.

Mr. Roberts, There (handing paper to Capt. Peary) is the whole record from the Navy Department if you care to look it over in order to answer the question.

Capt. Peary (after examining letter). I will say that the letter here states that I performed active duty for 12 years and 9 days. That would be up to the date of this letter, February II, 1910. I have been unemproved the property of the state of the letter, for the property of the state of the letter, for the property of the state of the paper of the state of the paper of the state of the paper of the date of the facter, february II, 1910. I have been unemproved the paper of the date of this letter, for the paper of the date of the paper of the date of the paper of the paper of the paper of the date of the paper of the pa

of 580 fathoms, made by Marvin at 84° 39'; one of 310 fathoms, made by Marvin at 85° 23'. All of those soundings reached bottom. One of 700 fathoms, made by Marvin at 85° 33', no bottom; one of 1,260 fathoms, made by Bartlett at 87° 15', no bottom; and one of 1,500 fathoms, 89° 55', made by myself, no bottom.

If it is permissible, this [referring to a profile of soundings] can be entered on the record in connection with my statement. [Omitted in RECORD.]

Mr. BUTLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. Macon. In making these more shallow soundings they reached bottom?

Mr. Botter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Macox. In making these more shallow soundings they reached bottom?

Capt. Pear. The first six soundings reached bottom; the others did not.

Mr. Macox. I understand that Mr. Marvin is no longer with us—he is a superior of the state of the sounding of the soundings? Were you with him when he made them?

Capt. Pears. When he made the sounding of 310 fathoms; I was with him also when he made the sounding of 700 fathoms; I was with him also when he made the sounding of 700 fathoms.

Mr. Macox. They made a record of it so you could make your record from theirs?

Capt. Pears. They did.

Mr. Macox. What was the result of the soundings made by them—that is, was any wire or anything of the kind lost, any part of the wire?

Capt. Pears. See, sit.

Capt. Pears. Yes, sit.

Mr. Macox. At the second sounding?

Capt. Pears. Yes us how much?

Capt. Pears. Yes us how much?

Capt. Pears. Yes us how much?

Capt. Pears. The wire had been marked on board the Roosevelt by Bartlett before starting on the expedition.

Mr. Macox. How were the measurements of this wire made, as recled off into the water?

Capt. Pears. The wire had been marked on board the Roosevelt by Bartlett before starting on the expedition.

Mr. Macox. And they kept an account of it as they recled it off into the water?

Capt. Pears. The wire had been marked on board the Roosevelt by Bartlett before starting on the expedition.

Mr. Macox. And they kept an account of it as they recled it off into the water?

Capt. Pears. The wire had been marked on board the wire.

Mr. Macox. They were the measurements of this wire made, as recled off into the water?

Capt. Pears. The wire all ran out.

Mr. Macox. It is not hav

AMERICAN STEEL & WIRE Co., New York, March 9, 1910.

Hon. W. F. Englebright,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Replying to your question regarding the weight of music steel wire sent to Commander Peary June 29, 1908, beg to advise that it was 0.028 inch in diameter and weighed 0.00207 pound per foot, resulting in a weight of 12.42 pounds per 1,000 fathoms.

We forwarded to Commander Peary one reel of 12,000 feet and two recis of 6,000 feet each.

If there is any further information we can give you, we shall be very glad to respond.

Yours, very truly,

American Steel & Wire Co.

AMERICAN STEEL & WIRE Co., F. A. KEYES, Sales Agent.

Mr. Bates submitted the following letter:

Mr. Bates submitted the following letter:

The Dresden, 2226 Connecticut Avenue NW.,

Washington, D. C., January 5, 1911.

My Dear Sir: I inclose herewith photograph of a sounding lead, the same as the ones used by me on my sledge journey to the pole, together with a sample of my sounding wire.

The lead shown in this photograph is in the possession of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, which has all my Arctic scientific material and trophies.

The photograph shows the lead as used from the Roosevelt, with a piece of rope spliced into the eye at the top of the lead.

On the sledge journey the sounding wire was rove directly through the eye of the lead.

When the lead reached the bottom the points of the small clam shells entered the mud or gravel at the bottom and tripped the hinge spreader (as shown in the photograph) and the spiral spring closed the clam shells upon the material at the bottom, thus securing and retaining the material for future microscopic or other examination.

The lead is one of several made expressly for the expedition by John Bliss & Co., of New York City, in accordance with a pattern sent me by Sir John Murray.

Very sincerely,

Peary.

Congressman ARTHUR L. BATES.
The Cochran, City.

The Cochran, City.

(Note.—Photograph and sample of wire filed with committee.)

Mr. Macon. Manufacturers can be mistaken about some things. You know they have not been up there and they do not know whether a wire of the dimensions mentioned in the letter will stand making a sounding in the Arctic Ocean.

You said something about there being no ice for the wire to have to contend with. Is there any floating ice in the Arctic Ocean?

Capt. Peary. There is not apt to be very much floating ice at the time we were there.

Mr. Macon. Do you know whether there was any at the time you were there?

contend with. Is there any floating ice in the Arctic Ocean?
Capt. Peary. There is not apt to be very much floating ice at the time we were there.

Mr. MACON. Do you know whether there was any at the time you were there?
Capt. Peary. There was no ice floating against the sounding wire. The sounding made by McMillan, the 96-fathom sounding, and I think the sounding made by McMillan, the 96-fathom sounding, and I think the sounding made by McMillan, the 96-fathom sounding, and I think the sounding made by Maryin previous to that, but I will not be positive, were made in this way: The movement of the ice had cracked the heavy floes of packed ice, leaving open water, which, if the ice remained still, would, of course, have quickly frozen over, but if the big sheets of ice continued to separate there would be water there. In making a sounding like that the reel of wire was attached to the upstander of the sledge. We will say this [indicating] is a crack in the ice, to put it that way, and the sledge is pushed up like this [indicating], with the reel on the upstander until the sledge overhangs the water clear of the ice, and at the end of this reel [indicating] there were wooden cranks for bringing the wire in, and the wire and lead is then allowed to go into the water.

Mr. Bayes. It is clear of the ice?
Capt. Pearx. Yes, sir; the sounding at 700 fathoms; that was a lead which had been opened, as I remember, 6 or 8 feet and then frozen over, and the ice was perhaps a foot or maybe 2 feet thick. We broke a hole with the pickax to let the lead and wire go down. That, of course, let the wire go down through a fixed hole in the ice.

Mr. Butler. And the water below was clear?
Capt. Pearx. Yes, sir; there was no floating ice under the surface.
Mr. Macon. What was the weight at the end of the wire—how heavy was it?
Capt. Pearx. The sounding lead made for the expedition, on a suggestion to me by Sir John Murray, was, I think, 20 pounds. That I can ascertain absolutely from Bartlett. I feel quite sure those are the figures.

Capt. Peary. Yes, sir.
Mr. Macox. When you were within 5 miles of the pole?
Capt. Peary. Yes, sir; that is right.
Mr. Macox. I believe you stated that there was no current?
Capt. Peary. I noticed no indications of current. I had no current meter with me.
Mr. Macox. Can you explain about the facts set out in your book, which indicate that there was a great crushing of ice coming together and sweeping along? The ice itself would not move without something under it.

which indicate that there was a great crushing of ice coming together and sweeping along? The ice itself would not move without something under it.

Capt. Pearx. In the Arctic Ocean the movement of the ice is more dependent on the wind than it is on the current.

Mr. Macon. How thick is the ice?

Capt. Pearx. Anywhere from a few inches—newly formed ice—to 20 or 25 feet thick.

Mr. Macon. You do not mean to tell the committee that the wind could move that ice?

Capt. Pearx. The pressure of the wind would move that ice if there was any space for it to move in. I can explain that. If we have a big field of ice like that [indicating] and another one like that [indicating] and another here [indicating] and another here [indicating] and another here [indicating], if it is continued for any length of time, will tend to move those fields of ice lind in moving they will have a levering or twisting motion like that [indicating]. If the ice is up against the land, it can not move; but if it is ice between the sea and the land—some hundreds of miles at these various places—with comparatively thin ice interspersed between it, that ice will twist and endeavor to slide, and the result will be that in some places the young ice will crush up and might open a little like that [indicating].

Mr. Macon. This ice being 25 feet thick when it would pack, what would cause it to produce the leads you speak of so often in your book?

Capt. Pearx. The wind would be a most important factor in producing pronounced and rapid changes in the ice. Wind at some distant place in the polar basin, by this pressure which I have just spoken of, might cause the fields of ice miles distant to change their position and to crush up at one end and to open up at another. Also, what has been determined by my last two expeditions and which, as far as I know, was not recognized before, is the fact (I say it is a fact; it is my pronounced impression, susceptible, perhaps, of modification by the work of the experts) that the strong tides of every month, the ti

Capt. PEARY. No; I had no current meter with which to do so.

Mr. MACON. Is it not natural for a layman to conclude, in the absence
of your having made the investigation, or anyone else I have ever heard
of, that when this ice 25 feet thick was broken that it must have had
something underneath it to press it up or push it in some way? That
would be just as logical a conclusion, if not more so, than yours of the
wind?
Cant. Prace. In the conclusion of the conclusion of the conclusion.

wind?
Capt. PEARY. Is that a question?
Mr. Macon. Yes, sir.
Capt. PEARY. I can say that every man could, of course, have his own opinion. In regard to the facts of the case, my personal impression, as the result of my work north, is that the wind is a very powerful factor in the movement of the ice.
Mr. Macon. I' there was a current underneath, could it be possible that a small wire such as you indicate, with only about 14 pounds of weight at the end of it, would go down in a perpendicular manner 1,500 fathoms?

weight at the end of it, would go down in a perpendicular mainter 1,500 fathoms?

Capt. Pharx. My impression would be that a wire of that diameter would be deflected but slightly by any moderate current.

Mr. Macon. You do not know that it would be almost as horizontal as it would be perpendicular?

Capt. Phart. I should be pretty sure that under those conditions the wire would not be anywhere near horizontal—nowhere near 45 degrees.

Mr. Macon. You said something about the loss of part of your wire in a scunding you made 5 miles from the pole?

Capt. Phart. Yes, sir.

Mr. Macon. Did ou lose all of it?

Capt. Phart. Yes, did it break off?

Capt. Phart. Not far from the reel.

Mr. Macon. What depth?

Capt. Phart. I can not say precisely; perhaps 100 or 150 feet. I do not recall, except I remember my men running out a short distance on the ice.

Mr. Macon. You do not know how far?

on the ice.

Mr. Macon. You do not know how far?

Capt. Pearr. No, sir.

Mr. Macon. Might it not have been 25 or 30 feet long?

Capt. Pearr. I should say it was more than 25 feet. My impression is that the piece of wire was 100 or 150 feet in length.

Mr. Macon. Is it not possible that your wire had been carried underneath this ice 25 or 30 feet, so when you began to reel it up the edge of the ice had something to do with the breaking of the wire—that the sweeping by a current might have broken it?

Capt. Pearr. I do not think so. I doubt it. I noticed nothing of the kind.

Capt. PEARY. I do not think so. I doubt it. I noticed nothing of the kind.

Mr. Macon. Did you notice anything to the contrary?

Capt. PEARY. No., sir.. If there had been any pronounced deflection of the wire, the man taking the sounding would undoubtedly have noticed it.

of the wire, the man thaing the soluting would indoubtenly have moticed it.

Mr. Macon. You said that Mr. Marvin lost all his records of soundings and observations; they were all lost with the poor man?

Capt. Phary. Ics. sir. I think I have a sample from one of the soundings, or Bartlett has it, one of the series of the first six soundings, or Bartlett has it, one of the series of the first six soundings, or Bartlett has it, one of the series of the first six soundings, or Bartlett has it, one of the series of the first six soundings, or Bartlett has it, one of the series of the first six soundings, or Bartlett was one of your party make a single complete sounding north of 40 miles out?

Capt. Phary. The last complete sounding was at 85° 23'.

Mr. Macon. How far was that out from Bartlett's camp?

Capt. Phary. That sounding would be 2° 16', approximately, north of Columbia.

Mr. Macon. You did not make a sounding as high up as where Bartlett urned back?

Capt. Phary. Bartlett made one at 87° 15'.

Mr. Macon. How many observations were taken upon your journey and what was the character of them?

Capt. Phary. The observations taken were those by Marvin on the 22d of March, by Marvin on the 25th of March, by Bartlett on the 1st of April, by myself on the 6th and 7th of April. The observations were solar observations. They were taken with a sextant and an artificial mercurial horizon.

solar observations. They were taken with a sextant and an artificial mercurial horizon.

Mr. Macon. All latitude and no longitude observations?
Capt. Pearr. No longitude observations were attempted.

Mr. Roberts. I would like to place in the record a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, dated February 17, 1910; another letter from the Secretary of the Navy, dated February 24, 1910; a letter from the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, dated February 25, 1910; and a letter from the Acting Secretary of Commerce and Labor, dated February, 24, 1910.

(The letters referred to by Mr. Roberts follow:)

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, Washington, February 11, 1910.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I take pleasure in sending you herewith the information regarding Civil Engineer Peary, United States Navy, which you requested February 10.

Believe me, faithfully yours,

G. v. L. MEYER.

Hon. ERNEST W. ROBERTS,
House of Representatives.

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY, BUREAU OF NAVIGATION, Washington, D. C., February 10, 1910.

[Memorandum for the Secretary of the Navy.]

[Memorandum for the Secretary of the Navy,]

In compliance with the request contained in the memorandum from the private secretary to the Secretary of the Navy, dated this date, the bureau transmits herewith a brief record of the service of Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, since the date of his entry into the naval service, which shows the amount of leave of absence granted to that officer and the time such leave was granted; the amount of active service performed by him, with dates of the orders assigning to and detaching from such duty; and the amount of unemployed service, including leave of absence and waiting orders.

Relative to the amount of pay drawn by Civil Engineer Peary while employed on active duty and while on leave of absence, the Paymaster General has been furnished with a copy of the record of service of Civil Engineer Peary and has advised the bureau that information regarding said pay will be furnished by the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts as soon as possible.

Regarding Civil Engineer Feary's education, the bureau has to state that its records do not afford any information bearing thereon, nor does its records show the occupation in which said officer may have been engaged prior to his entry into the naval service in 1881. The bureau understands unofficially, however, that said officer was educated in engineering at Bowdoin College, in Maine, and later served in the Coast and Geodetic Survey, service for a period.

It is assumed that this information is desired for use in connection with a bill which has been introduced in Congress in behalf of Civil Engineer Peary for the purpose of rewarding him for his having reached the North Pole, and while his having successfully accomplished this, self-imposed task is most commendable and reflects great credit both upon himself and the entire Nation, his various exploring expeditions can not be regarded as having been strictly conducted for military or naval purposes, and for this reason it seems inappropriate to confer upon him a title (rear admiral in proposed bill) for which his previous education, training, and service have not fitted him. The bureau believes that Civil Engineer Peary should be advanced in rank, but in his own corps, and has made recommendation to the department on the legislation proposed in his behalf accordingly.

The bureau has just learned that Civil Engineer Peary, prior to entry into the naval service in 1881, entered the service of the Coast and Geodetic Survey on cartographic work on July 10, 1879, at \$40 per month; was regularly employed in that service on February 1, 1880, at \$75 per month; compensation was increased to \$90 per month on February 2, 1881; and resigned in the latter part of October, 1881, to enter the naval service as a civil engineer.

In this connection the bureau has to state that so far as it knows only two-officers of the Navy have in the past been given the full pay of a rear admiral on the retired list by virtue of congressional action—Rear Admiral John L. Worden, in recogn

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY,
BUREAU OF NAVIGATION,
Washington, D. C., February 10, 1910.

RECORD OF SERVICE OF CIVIL ENGINEER ROBERT E. PEARY, UNITED STATES

6. Born in Pennsylvania.
26. Appointed a civil engineer. (Appointed from Maine., 29. Commissioned.
37. To the navy yard, Washington, D. C.
30. Detached october I and wait orders.
4 To the navy yard, Washington, 2d instant.
24. Duty until November 15; then wait orders.
24. Special duty Key West.
26. Detached and wait orders.
16. To Coaster's Harbor Island.
29. Detached and to duty, Washington, D. C.
6. Detached and leave 8 months abroad.
8 To the Bureau of Yards and Docks.
31. Detached and leave 6 months abroad.
18. Leave extended 6 months abroad.
19. To the navy yard, New York, N. Y.
31. Detached and to the navy yard, League Island.
21. Duty to continue.
24. Detached and leave 18 months from May I, abroad.
24. To the mayy yard, Norfolk, December 1.
25. To the navy yard, New York, (Renorted Nov. 21).
26. To the navy yard, New York, (Renorted Nov. 21). 1856, May 6.
1881, Oct. 26.
1881, Dec. 8.
1881, Dec. 8.
1882, Sept. 30.
1882, Oct. 4.
1882, Oct. 24.
1882, Nov. 24.
1883, Aug. 16.
1885, Aug. 29.
1886, Apr. 6.
1887, Jan. 8.
1887, Oct. 31.
1888, Oct. 10.
1889, Jan. 31.
1899, Jun. 21.
1891, Feb. 24.
1892, Oct. 24.

1895, Oct. 26. To the may yard, New York. (Reported Nov. 21.)
1896, Apr. 15. Detached and walt orders. (Detached Apr. 16.)
1896, May 2. Leave, 6 months abroad, without pay.
1896, Oct. 30. To the navy yard, New York, N. Y., November 9.
1897, Jan. 11. Leave seven days.
1897, May 25. Detached and leave, five years abroad. (Detached May 26.)
1901, Jan. 10. Attained rank of lieutenant commander from January 5. 1901.
1901, Nov. 26. Leave extended until July 1, 1902.
1901, Dec. 7. Letter November 26 modified; leave 6 months instead of to July 1, 1902.
1902, Apr. 6. Attained rank of commander from this date.
1902, Sept. 27. Commissioned from April 6, 1902.
1903, Sept. 9. Detached upon completion of board duty and three

1902, Nov. 26. Temporary duty Bureau of Taras and Docks, November 277

1903, Sept. 9. Detached upon completion of board duty and three years, leave abroad. (Completed Apr. 11, 1904.)

1907, Apr. 9. Leave, three years, to undertake expedition to North Pole, etc.

1908, July 2. Unexpired leave of April 9, 1907, revoked. To duty under. Coast and Geodetic Survey in making tidal observations in Grant Land and Greenland.

1909, Sept. 10. Reports return and holsting of Navy ensign on North Pole April 6, 1909.

During his service in the Navy Civil Engineer Peary has performed active duty for 12 years and 9 days.

He has been unemployed for 16 years, 1 month, and 16 days. Of this unemployed duty approximately 13 years and 5 months have been spent on leave while unattached and the balance on waiting orders or leave

on leave which do not be not considered any record in the department of Civil Engineer Peary's place of education or occupation prior to entry into the Navy, but is unofficially informed that he was educated in engineering at Bowdoin College and later served in the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Statement of pay received by Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, from the date of his entry into the service (October 26, 1881) to December 31, 1999.

WHILE ON DUTY.

From-	To-	Pay.
Dec. 10, 1881 Oct. 5, 1882 Dec. 7, 1882 Aug. 28, 1883 Jan. 12, 1887 Oct. 12, 1888 Feb. 8, 1889 Nov. 21, 1895 Oct. 25, 1896 Nov. 8, 1896 Nov. 27, 1902 July 14, 1908	Oct. 1, 1882. Nov. 15, 1882. July 11, 1883. Apr. 15, 1886. Oct. 31, 1887. Peb. 5, 1889. May 1, 1891. Apr. 16, 1896. Oct. 26, 1896. May 26, 1897. Apr. 26, 1994. Dec. 31, 1999.	1, 426, 85 6, 318, 90 2, 167, 40 865, 48 6, 013, 99 1, 208, 22 16, 44
WHILE O	N LEAVE OR WAITING ORDERS.	
Nov. 1, 1881	Dec. 9, 1881 (waiting orders)	\$160.27

Nov. 1, 1881 Oct. 2, 1882 Nov. 16, 1882 July 12, 1883 Apr. 16, 1886 Oct. 26, 1886 Nov. 1, 1887 July 1, 1887 July 1, 1888 Feb. 6, 1889 May 2, 1891 Oct. 1, 1895 Apr. 17, 1896 Nov. 5, 1896 May 27, 1897 Nov. 5, 1896 Nov. 5, 1896 Nov. 5, 1896 Nov. 1, 1902 Apr. 27, 1904	Oct. 25, 1886 (leave). Jan. 11, 1887 (waiting orders). June 36, 1888 (leave). Oct. 11, 1888 (waiting orders). Feb. 7, 1889 (waiting orders or leave). Sept. 30, 1895 (leave). Nov. 20, 1895 (waiting orders). May 4, 1896 (waiting orders).	86.30 193.15 793.15 384.66 1,193.42 507.95 9.86 9,129.11 293.42 103.56 21.37 14,115.91
		38, 148. 36

For the six months from May 5, 1896, to November 4, 1896 (with the exception of two days of duty. October 25 and October 26). Civil Engineer Peary was on leave without pay.

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,
Washington, February 24, 1910.

My Dear Congressman: In response to your request of February
23d for copies of any and all reports made by Civil Engineer Robert E.
Peary, United States Navy, I have the honor to inform you that the only
report in our files of this nature from Mr. Peary is the following telegram from Battle Harbor, received September 11, 1909:

"Respectfully report my return; hoisted Navy ensign on North Pole
April 6."

A report made Appart 11, 1909

April 6."

A report made August 11, 1908, and received October 8, 1908, of Mr.
Peary's voyage from Sydney to Etah, from July 17 to August 7, 1908,
was sent to the White House, from the Navy Department, shortly after
it was received here.
Faithfully, yours,

G. v. L. MEYER.

Hon. Ernest W. Roberts, House of Representatives.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C., February 25, 1910.

Dear Sir: Replying to your inquiries of February 23 addressed to the Smithsonian Institution and the National Museum, I beg to inclose a list of specimens presented to the Museum by Commander R. E. Peary in 1887, the only ones which have been received from him. I also inclose a pamphlet account of "North Polar Exploration," by Commander Peary, which was published in the Smithsonian Report for 1903. Commander Peary has made no direct communication to the institution regarding his Arctic explorations.

With reference to your telephone inquiry, I am informed that the Cape York meteorites brought down by Commander Peary have been purchased by a private individual and presented to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, where they had been on exhibition for some years.

Very respectfully, yours,

Charles D. W.

Hon. Ernest W. Roberts, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

List of specimens received as a gift from Lieut. Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, in 1887.

One small kyak.

Alcoholic specimens of shells and fishes from Greenland.

Specimens of steatite, volcanic rock, mineral dust, etc.; 2 specimens of graphite, and 2 specimens of lignite from Greenland.

One specimen of rose quartz, 1 specimen of pyrite, 2 specimens of terrestrial native iron, 1 specimen of muscovite, and 1 specimen of tour-

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, February 24, 1910.

Hon. Ernest W. Roberts, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 23d instant requesting copies of reports made by Commander Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, relative to his Arctic explorations has been referred to the Navy Department for attention. Very truly, yours,

BENJ. S. CABLE, Acting Secretary.

(Thereupon at 12 m. the committee took a recess until 2 o'clock p. m.) AFTER RECESS.

The subcommittee reassembled at 2 o'clock p. m., pursuant to adjournment

STATEMENT OF CAPT. ROBERT E. PEARY, U. S. NAVY-continued.

STATEMENT OF CAPT. ROBERT E. PEARY, U. S. NAVY—continued.

Capt. Peary. Before we commence this afternoon, may I show something here and make a few remarks?

Mr. BUTLER. I have not the siightest objection.

Mr. BATES. Certainly.

Capt. Peary. Here is something I would like to show in connection with looking at my notebook to-day. I would like to say a few words as to how my notebook was carried. As a result of my experience in previous expeditions in the case of notebooks, this bag [indicating] was made of surgeon's waterproofing, with waterproofing inside, and my notebook was carried in it. Here [indicating] is a draw string and my notebook was carried in here [indicating]. This [indicating] during the day was carried also in a canvass pocket on my siedge. If I can make it clear, on the upstander of the sledge, like this [indicating], there is a piece of canvas here [indicating], and on that piece of canvas was sewed a pocket for a thermometer here [indicating], a pocket for my notebook [indicating], and here [indicating] a pocket for the binoculars, and at the bottom [indicating] a pocket for my camera. During the day the notebook was inclosed in this bag and the mouth drawn up. When I went in the igloo at night this [indicating] was taken out in this way [indicating], carried into the igloo, and laid down beside me. The notebook was taken out to make the notes and was immediately returned to it, and tied up again to protect the notebook from the moisture in the igloo, the dropping of snow which was the condensation from our breaths.

Mr. Macon. I believe we left off with the observations. We had just taken up the subject of observations. I believe I asked you to tell the committee what observations were taken on this trip, the number and character of them, and you explained certain ones. You said, I believe, I had you took no longitude observations at all?

Capt. Pearly. I took no observations for longitude at any time on the trip.

Capt. Pears. I took no observations and geographers and explorers and scientists that it is impossible for any one in a broad field, as you were going over on your explorations of the North Pole, to tell exactly the direction they were traveling unless they took longitude observations. What do you say about that?

Capt. Pears. I should say that would be an opinion to be left to constant.

plorers and scientists that it is impossible for any one in a broad field, as you were going over on your explorations of the North Pole, to tell exactly the direction they were traveling unless they took longitude observations. What do you say about that?

Capt. Prant. I should say that would be an opinion to be left to Mr. Maoox. Then, it the experts differed about the matter, there would be some confusion?

Capt. Prant. Ay opinion is that at the were able to keep our course, My opinion also is that at the time of the year, and under the conditions existing there, any attempt at taking longitude observations would time.

Mr. Macon. Why so?

Capt. Prant. In be middle part of the journey the altitude of the sun was so low that presumably any longitude observations would have been unnecessary, and in the neighborhood of the pole it is generally recognized that longitude observations are not practicable with any degree of accuracy.

Mr. Macon. Then, you do thold to the teachings of other sciential and the second control of the sun was so low that presumably any longitude observations you can not know exactly the direction in which you are traveling?

Capt. Prant. I do not think that I care to go into a discussion of general principles. I will state the facts, and also my determination of those facts, to the committee or to any experts.

Mr. Macon. You are an explorer, so reputed, and we want to find out whether or not you knew what you were doing. When you send a rewill not do much intelligent work.

Capt. Prant. No more than was contained in my earlier replies—that I thought any attempt to take longitude observations would have been a waste of time.

Mr. Macon. You have no scientific opinion to offer?

Capt. Prant. No more than was contained in my earlier replies—that I thought any attempt to take longitude observations in three different directions at four different state on by you after you have worked the control of the sun at two different stations in three different directions at four different stations in

there had been a bamboo pole put in the boxes and at the top a little piece of red bunting. I expected that the cache and the bamboo pole would be buried in the snow. I sent those men, or was going to start them to see if there was any indication for us to dig for, when one of the Eskimos called my attention to the fact that one of the dogs had either slipped his harness, or perhaps had not been harnessed, and that this dog was digging in the snow, and the Eskimo intimated that porthaps the cache was there.

I ran out with the Eskimo and found a little ripple there in the snow. On the windward nothing could be seen, but here on the leeward side, was a little part of the top of the pole that the dog had of the scen or smelled and gone to, and that pole and gone of the pole down and that I would do that every time, but it shows that I was fortunate that time. The fourney 1 speak of across the cap was approximately 500 miles cach way, and I made the land both going and coming on that journey.

Mr. Macos, It being settled astronomically and scientifically, so to speak, that the latitudes run north and south and the longitude seast and west, how could you ascertain that you were 4 or 5 miles from the pole toward Bering Sea on the 7th, having taken no longitude observation? You had never taken longitude observations which run north and south?

Capt. PEARY, What is the question?

Mr. Macos. How did you come to the conclusion that you were 4 or any longitude observation? What have the series of observations?

Capt. PEARY, I dok no observations for longitude.

Mr. Macos. But you took no longitude observations which I had noted, I felt I knew approximately my position, as indicated in the book.

Mr. Macos. Explorers and a certain class of scientists tell us that conditions are such in the Arctic Zone that no bleet will have a very much larger appearance to the naked cyt of the service of would appear close to you. What do you know about that?

Capt. PEARY, I have had no object that might appear small here would be about

captain.
Mr. Englebright. Was that Mr. Baldwin?
Mr. MACON. Yes, sir. Can you say he is not a credible witness?
Mr. Englebright. I do not know whether he is or not. He was Mr. MACON. Yes, sir. Can you say he is not a credible witness?
Mr. Englemeight. I do not know whether he is or not. He was here this morning.
Mr. Macon. Have you submitted all of your observations with the computations to the department?
Capt. PEARY. I have not.
Mr. Macon. Did you submit any observation of temperature for air, water, barometer readings, wind velocity, and the direction of the water?
Capt. PEARY. Meteorological reports were submitted to the United

Capt. Prant. Meteorological reports were submitted to the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. I took no water temperatures on the sledge journey. I think some were taken on the upward voyage and the return voyage. The direction of the wind has not, as far as I know, been compiled separately from the notes of the party. That is a matter I touched on yesterday. I had it in mind later on to make a compilation of the weather and temperature conditions, a series by various parties simultaneously, those parties being scattered over a considerable area of territory, some parties being at Camp Jessup, some at Fort Conger, and others at the ship. The data as to the direction of the wind and general water conditions at different points on the same day has not been compiled and worked up, but that could be done.

on the same day has not been compiled and worked up, but that could be done.

Mr. Macon. Can you prepare a map showing the exact location, giving the hours at each point, on April 6, 10 a. m.; April 6, noon; April 6, midnight; April 7, 6 a. m.; April 7, noon, April 7, 4 p. m.? Capt. Prant. Such a map can be prepared.

Mr. Macon. It was not prepared?

Capt. Prant. I have not personally prepared it.

Mr. Macon. Could you prepare it here just as well as you could up there?

Capt. Prant. I would say that here would be the only place that it could be prepared, after a careful reduction and discussion of the observations. It could be prepared approximately up there.

Mr. Butler. Have you sufficient observations—excuse me, Mr. Macon, will you ask Capt. Peary where he has sufficient observations from which such a map could be made?

Mr. Macon. Have you a record of such observations that were made at the time from which you could prepare such a map?

Capt. Prant. Yes.

Mr. Macon. Have you submitted that to the committee?

Capt. Prant. Have I submited what?

Mr. Macon. Have you submitted it to this committee, or did you submit it to the committee that passed upon your report—the Geographic Society?

Mr. Engleright. It might save some time to state that we have gentlemen present who prepared such a map from the observations that Capt. Peary made at the North Pole, independent of Capt. Peary's calculations, and using data that was not available to Capt. Peary at all in the way of chronometer observations. The chronometer observations are before this committee.

Mr. BUTLER. If the committee want the map, they can have it. I do not want to see it: I would not understand it if I saw it.

Mr. McON. Mr. Chairman, we are making a record here—
Mr. HUTLER. That is all right, if the gentleman wants the map—Mr. Macon. (continuing). And we want to have Capt. Peary's knowledge—
Mr. BUTLER. It is your privilege to question him, Mr. Macon.

Mr. MACON (continuing). About these matters.

Mr. BUTLER. Yes; that is right.

Mr. MACON. That is right.

Mr. MACON. That is right.

Mr. MACON. To which does the compass point?

Capt. Peary. The compass tends to point—that is, the north end of the needle in the northern hemisphere tends to point toward the north magnetic pole. If you get near enough to the magnetic pole, where the strength of attraction is sufficient, it will point to it.

Mr. MACON. To which does the compass point?

Capt. Peary. It does not point toward the real pole? Capt. Peary. It does not point toward the real pole except in certain positions on the globe.

Mr. MACON. Then if you took no observations would your compass lead you directly, over a broken course of 133 miles, to the North Pole when it tended to point toward the magnetic pole?

Capt. Peary. That I can not say offuand, but I will say approximately 1,600 or 1,600 miles.

Mr. DAMSON. It is just 20 degrees on that map [indicating].

Capt. Peary. That I can not say offuand, but I will say approximately 1,600 or 1,600 miles.

Mr. DAMSON. It is just 20 degrees on that map findicating l.

Capt. Peary. That I can not say offuand, but I will say approximately 1,600 or 1,600 miles.

Mr. DAMSON. It is just 20 degrees on that map findicating!

Capt. Peary. That I c

Capt. Feart. Flat I comman.

Mr. Macon. It would be a considerable angle, would it not?

Capt. Peart. As I have said, I could not tell without measuring it from the map.

Mr. Engleright. The map speaks for itself. I submit there is a map that shows the magnetic pole and shows the course Capt. Peary took.

Mr. Macon, I submit, Mr. Chairman, that I am examining Capt. Peary.

took.

Mr. Macon, I submit, Mr. Chairman, that I am examining Capt. Peary.

Mr. Engleright. Then examine him on the map.

Mr. Macon. He is at liberty to use any map that he sees fit, but when he is using the gentleman from California he is not using a map.

Mr. Bates. I do not know that any one gentleman has a day to examine him. I don't know that any one gentleman of the committee has a mortgage on a whole day of this committee's time to examine this gentleman.

Mr. Macon. Let us have an understanding. I want the gentleman from Pennsylvania to understand that he can not influence me.

Mr. Rates. The gentleman does not try to influence the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. Macon, I want to say right here, Mr. Chairman, that we had it distinctly understood when this proceeding opened that each member of the committee should have an opportunity of making such examination of Capt. Peary as he saw fit.

Mr. Bates. But not the exclusive right.

Mr. Bates. But not the exclusive right.

Mr. Bates. Oh, no; there are several other questions to be asked.

Mr. Macon. I say I have waited until every other member of the committee has examined him; my name was last on the subcommittee and I waited until the last before proceeding with my examination.

Mr. Bates. We may not be through when the gentleman from Arkansas is through.

Mr. Macon. Then you have the right to take up the examination and go on.

Mr. Bates. I am very glad you accord me that right.

kansas is through.

Mr. Macon. Then you have the right to take up the examination and go on.

Mr. Bates, I am very glad you accord me that right.

Mr. Macon. I will not question it.

Mr. Bettler. Will you answer the gentleman's question?

Mr. Macon. I don't care if you ask a question, but I do not want a member of the committee to make suggestions to the captain about this, that, or the other; I am asking him the questions.

Mr. Butler. While Mr. Macon is examining his memoranda here, if you will permit me, I will ask a question. You and Capt. Bartlett agree that at a certain latitude, according to Capt. Bartlett's own measurements, you separated?

Capt. Peary. Yes.

Mr. Butler. That was on the 1st day of April, 1909?

Capt. Peary. Yes.

Mr. Butler. Bartlett returned south over the trail and you went directly north?

Capt. Peary. I did.

Mr. Butler. And you marched six days or nights together? You made six marches?

Capt. Peary. We made five marches from early in the morning of the 2d until a little before noon of the 6th. If I may make one point. Mr. Chairman, I would say that march and day are not synonymous in this work.

Mr. Butler. Well, this, in part, takes you over what you have already stated. I would like to have it in my mind again. Your aver-

age march with Bartlett up to a certain point amounted to how many miles a day?

Capt. Prary. I would have to calculate. That would be from 83° and 7' north to 87° and 47', which would be 4° and 40'. So we would divide 280 miles by 22.

Mr. Butler. I understand that you called out the very best dogs won had?

and 7 north to 87 and 47, which would be 4 and 40. So we would divide 280 miles by 22.

Mr. Butler. I understand that you called out the very best dogs you had?

Capt. Peary. An actual selection.

Mr. Butler. You took a rest of about three hours—

Capt. Peary. We took a rest there. We got in some time on the last day of March and rested through the 1st of April—24 to 30 hours.

Mr. Butler. And then you took these five successive marches directly north from that point?

Capt. Peary. I did. I would like to make one point of explanation in that connection: That on the upward journey my dogs had a chance to rest and be double rationed every five marches. On the fourth march from the land we waited six days, resting the dogs and feeding them. We were compelled to wait there on account of an open lead. At the end of the seventh march all the dogs had a full day's rest. At the end of the twelfth march all the dogs had a full day's rest. At the end of the seventeenth march, when Marvin turned back, they had a day's rest on double rations, so that at intervals of five marches on the upward trip the dogs had a full day's rest. They did not get any rest on the return march.

Mr. Macon. When Messrs. Gannett and Tittmann were before the committee last spring they stated that they could not have relied upon the report of the observations taken by you for ascertaining where you were or about discovering the pole. Do you know whether or not their calculations about that are correct?

Capt. Peart. I know nothing about it. I do not know what their testimony was; I do not know what their statement was, what they may have said.

Mr. Macon. They stated they examined your instruments at the station—presumably the station here in Washington. A cursory examination of your instruments here would not be evidence of their being used at all, would it?

Capt. Peart. That I could not say, sir,

instruments here would not be evidence of their being used at all, would it?

Capt. Pears. That I could not say, sir.

Mr. Macon. Would recomputing the records of your observations be satisfactory evidence of where you were when they were taken—recomputed here in Washington?

Capt. Pears. I do not know that I understand that question.

Mr. Macon. I ask you if a recomputing of your records—the records of your observations—would be a satisfactory evidence?

Capt. Pears. I should say that it would be generally so considered.

Mr. Macon. It would be generally so considered?

Capt. Pears. That would be my opinion.

Mr. Macon. Then, when they could not rely upon them, you appear to differ from them—Messrs. Gannett and Tittmann—who passed upon your record. Your narrative could have been written here in Washington or at Bartletts camp. That could not be considered competent or satisfactory evidence by geographers or scientists, could it?

Mr. Bates. This witness is not here to be lectured.

Mr. Macon. I am asking questions.

Mr. Bates. This witness is not here to be lectured.

Mr. Macon. I am not lecturing him.

Mr. Bates. You were giving an opinion of Mr. Macon.

Mr. Macon. If am offensive to the gentleman from Pennsylvania—Mr. Bates. No; you are not; but you are taking up valuable time.

Mr. Macon. My time is as valuable to me as it is to you, and I insist I am taking up time trying to ascertain the truth—not what pemmican is made of. You did not complain when they were asking about immaterial things this morning.

Mr. Bates. I objected because the gentleman's remarks were, in a sense, a severe stricture on the witness, who came before us at our request.

Mr. Macon. I am asking him questions. He can decline to answer

Mr. Macon. I am asking him questions. He can decline to answer any one of them if he wants to.
Mr. Butler. Ask a question, Mr. Macon. We invited Capt, Peary to come, and I am sure he will answer anything he feels he can

to come, and I am sure he will answer anything he recent answer.

Mr. Macon. Mr. Roberts asked you something yesterday about a pamphlet you had published, which is sort of a cursory history of your route. Did that contain the report that you filed, with all the facts contained in the report that you filed with the Geodetic or Geographic Society when you came back?

Capt. Pears, It did not contain the tidal or meteorological observations or all of the soundings.

Mr. Macon. Does not your book contain all of those?

Capt. Pears, It does not. It contains simply a summary of them.

Mr. Macon I believe Mr. Roberts asked you if, in submitting your report to the Government, you made the request that if it was permissible that they would not make public your profile and set of soundings.

Soundings.

Capt. Peary. That is covered, I think, in the hearings of yesterday formally and completely.

Mr. Macon. You said, I believe, that you would file with the committee your reasons for asking secrecy on that occasion.

Capt. Peary. I did.

Mr. Macon. Have you done so?

Capt. Peary. I have that part of the report yet to insert; that answer is in my possession now. I was furnishing material for completing the hearings previous to that, nearly all last night, and did not have time to complete it; but it will be in the committee's hands in a very short time. I would like to make this statement in connection with that point: It was simply a request on my part that it be done, if permissible; it was not an insistence or anything of the kind; it was simply a request that if it were permissible it might be delayed for the present the present

for the present

Mr. Macon. The reasons given the committee by the gentleman who appeared before it in explanation of your refusal to submit your proofs a year ago—or last spring, practically a year ago—were that you were under contract with some magazines, and that it would interfere with the financial end of your discovery if you were to disclose your findings of facts to the committee. Did you afterwards have to change that contract with the magazines—the monetary part of it?

Capt. Prany. What was that last part, please?

Mr. Macon. You were under contract to some magazines—

Mr. Bates. I object to that question. I think the committee will sustain my objection.

Mr. Macon. The gentleman can refuse to answer if he wants to.
Mr. Bates. The personal and financial arrangement of Capt. Peary
have nothing to do with finding the pole.
Mr. Macon. The gentleman can refuse to answer if he wants to. I
am not going to fall out with him for refusing to answer any question.
Mr. Bates. I respectfully say this. Mr. Chairman: That it does not
seem to me that that is a proper line of inquiry before this subcommittee
to ask the captain to answer the question.
Capt. Pears. It seems to me it was covered yesterday.
Mr. Robers. We have not any right to compel Capt. Peary to
answer any questions.

Says any questions.

Capt. Praky, Was not the identical question asked by you yesterday?

Mr. Roberts. If you will pardon me, I was not paying attention

to that question Mr. BUTLER. I said he had a perfect right to refuse to answer any-

Mr. Roberts. If you will pardon me, I was not paying attention to that question
Mr. Butler. I said he had a perfect right to refuse to answer anything.
Mr. Roberts. As far as I am concerned. I want Capt. Peary to understand that my idea of the hearings is that it is purely voluntary on his part, and that he will not be compelled to answer any question that he does not want to answer.
Capt. Peary. I think that identical point, or an essentially similar point, was covered by a question of Mr. Roberts yesterday or the day before.
The question was repeated upon request, as follows: "You were under contract," I said, "with some magazines?"
Mr. Roberts. You covered that yesterday, I think.
Capt. Peary. I did answer it; yes.
Mr. Macon. Captain, did you find any evidence of increase or diminution of weight at the pole?
Capt. Peary. I did not, except the weight of the members of the party and the dogs.
Mr. Macon. I mean change in weight except for lack of foodstuff?
Capt. Peary. Not that I noticed; no.
Mr. Macon. Did you find any decided atmospheric changes?
Capt. Peary. I did not.
Mr. Macon. Did they change except perhaps for lack of foodstuff?
Capt. Peary. Not that I noticed; no.
Mr. Macon. Did you find any decided atmospheric changes?
Capt. Peary. The direction of the compass was fairly constant there.
Mr. Macon. Did the needle answer to the primary or the secondary magnetic pole?
Capt. Peary. The direction of the compass was fairly constant there.
Mr. Butler. Will you tell me, please, what that means?
Mr. Macon. I asked him whether the needle answered to the primary or secondary magnetic pole.
Mr. Bates. What are they?
Mr. Macon. They are known in science.
Mr. Bates. But I am not a scientific person.
Mr. Dawson, I would be glad if the gentleman from Arkansas would explain.
Mr. Macon. The gentleman from Arkansas is going to ask questions, and he not a going to ask any foolish ones, either.

Mr. Dawson. I would be glad if the gentleman from Arkansas would explain.

Mr. Macon. The gentleman from Arkansas is going to ask questions, and he is not going to ask any foolish ones, either.

Mr. Evalenciotr. Is he trying to test the captain's knowledge on science by asking such questions—ridiculous questions?

Mr. Macon. I have asked no ridiculous questions.

Mr. Evalenciotr. Did you ever hear of a primary or secondary magnetic pole?

magnetic pole?

Mr. Macon, Yes; I have.

Mr. Englebright. Where—in Arkansas?

Mr. Macon, Where I have heard of everything else—no; in Washington. And I want to say to the gentleman from California If he intends it as a slur in regard to Arkansas, that it is unworthy of him.

Mr. Englebrightt. I withdraw the remark.

Mr. Macon. I want it understood that Arkansas is the equal of California in everything in the world except a little gold in the earth and a few hungry fellows for an exposition.

Mr. Butler. I will ask the members of the subcommittee not to further interrupt you.

Mr. Butler. I will ask the members of the subcommittee not to further interrupt you.

Mr. Macon. I am advised by a school of scientists that it is a physical impossibility for man or beast to reach the North Pole, for the reason that the diminishing centrifugal action—did you ever hear of that?

Mr. Butler. I never did. I have heard of dogs and sledges, though.

Mr. Macon. For the reason that the diminishing centrifugal action and, in proportion, the increasing center of gravity near the pole causes a complete failure of man and animal energy that produces a kind of paralysis of the senses and of motion, a paralysis of sensation in any part of the body, including the exercise of the faculty of the mind. Do you know anything about that contention on the part of scientists?

Mr. Butler. That is an indication of lunacy, is it not, or feeble

Mr. Butler. That is an indication of lunacy, is it not, or feeble mind—a sort of combination of the solids and fluids?

Mr. Macon (continuing). So that it would be almost impossible for them to exercise their independent functions so that anybody could ascertain a real fact—intelligently ascertain a fact.

Mr. Butler. What was your observation?

Capt. Peary. I have never heard of the matter,

Mr. Butler. You never did?

Capt. Peary. I never heard of the subject matter of the question.

Mr. Macon. You never heard of that before?

Capt. Peary. Never heard of the theory.

Mr. Butler. Never heard of the theory.

Capt. Peary. And I have not noticed any such condition or effect or circumstance.

cricumstance.

Mr. Butler. On either man or dog?
Capt. Peart. On any member of my party or dogs.

Mr. Macon. You remember. I reckon. to have read when you were a school child about the inhuman drubbings that had to be given to Arctic travelers to keep them from falling down asleep, have you not. when their energies would be so dissipated that they could not everylise them?

not. When their energies would be so dissipated that they could not exercise them?

Capt. Peart. I have read of that kind of treatment being given to men who were on the point of succumbing to the effect of cold, in order to keep them moving, but I never saw the thing; never had the experience on any of my own expeditions.

Mr. Macon. Then It did not affect your party that way? You were in as cold a latitude as other explorers?

Capt. Peart. I have seen the thermometer 73% below zero.

Mr. Macon. And it did not have that effect on you or anybody with

you?
Capt. Peary. It did not.
Mr. Macon. It left your faculties and energies just as bright and as forceful as if you had been in a more favorable climate?
Capt. Peary. So far as I know.

Mr. Macon. It is always insisted that in climates of that character it is almost impossible for a man to stand erect. You never had any experience of that kind?

Capt. Pearny. I did not.

Mr. Macon. You were able to stand as erect and move as freely as you did down here when you were marching over the smooth paved road from here out by Chevy Chase?

Capt. Pearny. Yes.

Mr. Macon. And just there you will pardon me for calling attention to one observation that I noticed in your book. Just before you got to the pole you state that the dogs even caught the spirit of the occasion, or of the party, and tossed their heads in the air and curled their tails and emitted yelps, and so on. What in the world could have brought about such a feeling as that upon the dogs?

Mr. Butler. They were going toward the pole.

Mr. Macon. No; they were going toward the pole.

Mr. Mucon. No; they were going toward the pole.

Mr. Mucon. No; they were going toward the pole.

Mr. Butler. I tasked him about the return—the joy of the dogs. That I could appreciate, when the dogs' heads were turned toward home.

Capt. Pearn. I don't locate the point in my book, but my impression is that I stated that the dogs appeared to have caught the spirit of the party, and I think, aithough I do not see it here, that I stated that that might be due perhaps to the reduced friction of the sledges; in other words, the reduced force necessary to drag them resulting from the rise in temperature. If that answer will be accepted I will make it as such, although the precise language can be found in the book.

Mr. Macon. Now, Captain, you said it was 133 miles from where Capt. Bartlett left you to the North Pole, and before starting you were walking to and fro and made up your mind that you were going to reach the pole in 5 marches, and you proceeded along the lines mapped out, and did make it in 5 marches, getting to the pole just about the time you said you were going to get there, about 10 o'clock in the morning, in time to take an observation. How far did you

its side, and make a pretty close guess at the number of knots the snip was making. But I will let the first part of my answer stand as my answer.

Mr. Macon. I was going to ask you a question in response to the latter part of your answer. I was going to ask if it was not easier for a navigator to estimate the speed of a vessel on a smooth surface of water than it would be for an explorer to estimate the travel he was making over such ridges as you were talking about, up and down, stopping to cross the leads and sometimes taking longer to cross one lead than another? That occurs, does it not?

Capt. Peart. It is a matter of judgment in both cases, I would say. Mr. Macon. So you would just figure the matter out along the line of your judgment. Now, you made the 133 miles in 5 marches?

Capt. Peart. One hundred and thirty miles.

Mr. Macon. Your book said 133 miles, I think.

Capt. Peart. We made the distance from the camp where Bartlett left me to Camp Jesup in 5 marches.

Mr. Macon. That was 133 miles; it would be 26g miles per day. Can you call to mind the travels of any explorer that discloses such a record as that—5 days marching with an average of 20g miles, over an unknown sea of ice?

Capt. Peart. I can not give the figures right here. If it is material in that connection, that can be inserted in the record of the committee, if it desires it. Beginning on page 29 and ending on page 30 of Mr. Moore's speech of last winter, comparative distances are to be found, which I think have not as yet gone into the record.

Mr. Bates. What date was that speech, so it can be identified as being part of the Congressional Record?

Capt. Peart. March 22, 1910.

Mr. Bates. Who furnished him with the data, do you know?

Capt. Peart. It is stated that Mr. Gilbert H. Grosvenor, director and editor of the National Geographic Society, furnished it. It is as follows:

"Referring to the time occupied by Pearty in his last dash to the pole, Mr. Gilbert H. Grosvenor, director and editor of the National Geographic Society, says:

"

"Referring to the time occupied by Peary in his last dash to the pole, Mr. Gilbert H. Grosvenor, director and editor of the National Geographic Society, says:

"In view of the recent published statement by a Member of Congress doubting the distances traveled by Peary on his last northern sledge journey, I have gone to some trouble to obtain correct figures from the narrative of Peary's last and previous expeditions,

"Anyone who cares to take the time and trouble can verify these figures and will find the following results:

"Peary's average distance per march from Cape Columbia to where Bartlett turned back was 12.8 miles. Had it not been for the north wind two days, setting them back, this average would have been 133 miles. Between two observations taken by Marvin the average of three marches was 163 miles. Several of the marches were 20 miles.

"His average, from the time Bartlett left him, to the pole was 26 miles. His average on his return was 25.6 miles.

"For comparison with the above figures, as showing that these averages are not at all excessive, the following facts can be taken from the narrative of the last expedition and previous ones:

"Peary's last two marches on the return from Cape Columbia to the Roosevelt, were 45 miles each. On this and previous expeditions the journey from Cape Hecla to the Roosevelt, a distance of 45 to 50 miles, was made in one march. The distance from Cape Columbia to Hecla was also made on other occasions in one march. The march from the Roosevelt to Porter Bay, a distance of 35 miles, was repeatedly made in 8, 10, and 12 hours. Macmillan and Borup returning from Cape Morris Jesup to the Roosevelt, made the distance from Cape Wilkes to Cape D'Urville, a distance of 65 to 70 miles, in one march. Peary, in one of his carlier expeditions, made the distance from Cape Wilkes to Cape D'Urville, a distance of 65 to 70 miles, in one march. He repeatedly made the march from Cape D'Urville to Cape Fraser, a distance of 40

miles, in one march, and in the winter of 1899-1900 traveled from Etah to a point in Robertson Bay, 60 miles distant, in less than 12 hours.

"On his return from Independence Bay to Bowdoin Bay, Peary averaged 20 miles a day for 25 successive marches, 210 miles in 7 successive marches (an average of 30 miles aday), making the last march of 40 miles, all these with dogs not driven by Eskimo drivers.

"On more than one occasion in the fall of 1900 Peary's parties went from Lake Hazen to Fort Conger, both by the Bellows route and by the Black Vale route, distances either way of 50 miles overland, in one march. This after the sun had set for the winter.

"In February, 1899, before the sun returned, Peary (with both feet frozen six weeks before), sledged from Conger to Cape D'Urville, a distance of over 200 miles, in 11 marches, in an average temperature of 53½° below zero, an average of about 20 miles. In March of 1902 he went from Cape Sabine to Fort Conger, a distance of 250 to 300 miles as traveled, in 12 marches, an average of 21 to 25 miles, and later covered the same distance again in 11 marches, an average of 22 to 27 miles.

miles.

"In the history of polar explorations no one has had so much and such long-continued training in ice work as Peary; his speed is the result of long years of practice, resulting in great physical endurance and skill in the use of the sledge."

Mr. Macon, Mr. Grosvenor is a member of the National Geographical Society, is he not?

Capt. Pearr. It states here he is director and editor.

Mr. Macon. There was nothing in what he said that attempts to compare conditions—

Mr. Butler, What is the average dog travel? Does Mr. Moore say there?

there?
Capt. Peary. There was no average given.
Mr. Macon. Under similar conditions as these I am talking about. I am not talking about dog races up in Alaska.
Mr. Butler. If we only had somebody else that had been up there with the dogs; but he is the only man that has been up there.
Mr. Mutler. If mean under like conditions with these many dogs.
Mr. Mutler. I mean under like conditions with these many dogs.
Mr. Macon. That is what I am trying to get at. Under like conditions and circumstances. Can he show where any other explorer ever made such a record as he has made?
Capt. Peary. There is one point, Mr. Chairman, that I would like to note, and that is, as far as I know, no other expeditions than my own have ever utilized Eskimo drivers and the full-blooded Eskimo dogs in their entirety and perfection. I may be wrong in that statement; there may be one or two exceptions to that statement, but that is my impression.
Mr. Macon. A good deal has been said here about your having the

have ever utilized Eskimo drivers and the full-blooded Eskimo dogs in their entirety and perfection. I may be wrong in that statement; there may be one or two exceptions to that statement, but that is my impression.

Mr. Macon. A good deal has been said here about your having the best dogs all the time, keeping the best dogs. The best dogs could not travel any faster than the poorest dogs, could they, when they were yoked together?

Mr. Butler. They were all the best dogs.

Mr. Macon. If they were yoked together, the good and the bad, the good ones could not travel any faster than the worst ones.

Capt. Pearx. No sledges can travel any farther than the combined tractive force of the team. Some dogs would pull better than others.

Mr. Butler. Just as a chain is no stronger than its weakest link.

Mr. Macon. Therefore when you have the best dogs taken out of a team and put together, and the weak dogs in another, that would be no advantage from the fact that they had to go along together.

Mr. Dawson. Except that they sent the weak dogs going forward all the time and some of them even killed as they were no account. I am trying to find out about these things.

Mr. Engleright. I would like to insert there in the record that the Coast and Geodetic Survey report of 1901, in describing the experiences of Mr. Turner, reports that he left Rampart, on the Porcupine River, and back, a round trip of 400 miles, crossing a mountain range from 5,000 to 7,000 feet high in 18 days. The homeward trip was made in 6 days, or an average of 33 miles a day.

Mr. Macon. Were the conditions the same as these?

Mr. Engleright. It was arctic travel.

Mr. Macon. The same territory? The dogs had not traveled for a great many days before they started on this mad rush for the pole, either. These dogs of Capt. Peary, as I understand it, had been traveling for quite a number of days before they got to where he made the final dash for the pole—all of them, and therefore they could not have been in the same fine condition that they were when he

had better climate, better conditions, better materials to work with and on?

Capt. Peary. I don't know that the sledges could be made better up there than they were when they started, but where a sledge was broken repairs would consist of lashing up a crack or injury to the sledge, and in some cases, at the long stops, breaking up a poor sledge and utilizing the material to replace parts of broken sledges, broken crossbars, and the like.

Mr. Macon. But you will not contend that those sledges were better than when they started with Capt. Bartlett for Columbia and therefore you would travel faster with them than while he was with you breaking the ice for you? If you do not care to answer that I would ask you how it was that you could travel so much faster with nobody to break the ice, nobody to construct your igloos except yourself than you could when you had supporting parties, that I understand were with you for the sole and express purpose of helping you to break the way so you could preserve your strength to make this final dash; how could you travel so much faster than you could with the assistance you had before Capt. Bartlett turned back?

Capt. Peary. I would like to refer to the narrative in regard to that and say that it was a question of a spurt and dash with every man.

Mr. Butler. Is it all written in the book—the reason for that.

Mr. Butler. Would you be willing to let us put that book in evidence?

Mr. Macon. You can put the whole book in evidence.

ence?
Mr. MACON. You can put the whole book in evidence.
Mr. BUTLER. All right, rather than to have to read it over now.
Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. I would suggest that you offer the book in evidence.
Mr. Macox, I offer the book in evidence.

Mr. Butler, It will cost something to publish that book. I intended to ask to have read just that part of his statement here.

Mr. Macon. This record is going to be independent of the book, and I want it in the record.

Mr. Englebright. You can offer, Mr. Macon, the parts of the book to which reference has been made.

Mr. Macon. I will let the captain do the offering. I am asking the questions, and he can answer them in his own way.

Capt. Pears. I think I answered that.

Mr. Macon. You answered by saying you referred to the book. I want this record complete. If you are going to designate the parts of the book that you want to go in, I want to follow that up.

Mr. Bates. He explained that in his oral testimony yesterday.

Mr. Macon. Did you ever hear of the other side asking a question over when it was not satisfied with the answer given?

Mr. Bates. This is not a court of law, with technical cross-examination laws.

Mr. Macon. Did you ever hear of the other side asking a question over when it was not satisfied with the answer given?

Mr. Bates. This is not a court of law, with technical cross-examination laws.

Mr. Macon. But there are two sides to this, as in every other question, as I understand it.

Mr. Dawson. I can see no reason for repeating all the testimony.

Mr. Macon. I do not remember to have asked a single question that Mr. Englebright or Mr. Bates has asked or that you have asked.

Mr. Dawson. I have not asked any.

Mr. Macon. I would like to have that in the record, Capt. Peary, so as to make the record here complete—what your average travel was while you had your supporting parties with you, while your dogs were fresher than they were when you left Bartlett, 87° 40°.

Capt. Pearv. I think that question was answered, what the average speed was per march. The stenographer, I think, figured that out.

Mr. Macon. With Capt. Bartlett. We figured out what yours was after you left.

Capt. Pearv. I think he has the figures here from Columbia to Capt. Bartlett's camp.

Mr. Macon. To 87° 47°; I would like to have that in the record to show just what your average travel was. The dogs were fresher then than they were afterwards.

Mr. Roberts. If you want to refer to it, I have it right here.

Capt. Pearv. Well, I will refer to that page in the book.

Mr. Roberts. It is at page 286.

Capt. Pearv. The last two paragraphs of page 286 in my book:

"So that with my party reduced to five or six men, every man, dog, and sledge under my individual eye, myself in the lead, and all recognizing that the moment had now come to let ourselves out for all there was in us, we naturally bettered our previous speed.

"When Bartlett left us the sledges had been practically rebuilt, all the best dogs were in our pack, and we all understood that we must attain our object and get back as quickly as we possibly could. The weather was in our favor. The average march for the whole journey from the land to the pole was over 15 miles. We had repe

cring trips around?

Capt. Pearx. An estimated distance of about 50 miles. A greater protion of that—or half of it—with light sledge and double team of dogs.

Capt. Pear. An estimated distance of about 50 miles. A greater portion of that—or half of it—with light sledge and double team of dogs.

Mr. Macon. You say you traveled an estimated distance of 10 miles out in one direction?

Capt. Pearl. That was not on the 7th.

Mr. Macon. That was not on the 7th.

Mr. Macon. I know, at 4 o'clock, but this is before 4 o'clock. It is some little time on the 7th before 4 o'clock. I understand he traveled 10 miles out and 10 miles back on the 7th.

Capt. Pearl. No.

Mr. Bares. His return trip was on the 7th.

Capt. Pearl. No.

Mr. Macon. I know, at 4 o'clock, but this is before 4 o'clock. It is some little time on the 7th before 4 o'clock. I understand he traveled 10 miles out and 10 miles back on the 7th.

Capt. Pearl. No.

Mr. Macon. And 8 miles out in another direction and 8 miles back, and then left and made a sounding on the way to—what camp was it you stopped at the night of the 7th?

Capt. Pearl. The night of the 7th, our last upward camp.

Mr. Macon. How far was that from the pole?

Capt. Pearl. An estimated distance of 30 miles from Camp Jesup. We slept at that camp.

Mr. Macon. Thirty and 20 would be 50 and 16 would be 66?

Capt. Pearl. Excuse me.—

Mr. Macon. They are all estimated?

Capt. Pearl. Excuse me. The travel on the 7th was 10 miles return from the farthest point (estimated); an estimated 8 miles to the right and back; and then the distance to our last forward camp. Whether that last march was all on the 7th or not I can not say; it may have been after midnight when we reached our igloo. The first 10 miles that you have there are not in the count.

Mr. Macon. Those were nautical miles, were they not?

Capt. Pearl. They are estimated nautical miles; yes.

Mr. Macon. What is the difference between a nautical and a statute mile; how many statute miles would that be?

Capt. Pearl. They are estimated nautical miles; yes.

Mr. Macon. What is the difference between a nautical and a statute mile; how many statute miles would that be?

Capt. Pearl. Macon. How you have

Capt. Peary. I found him at the Roosevelt at Cape Sheridan.
Mr. Macon. How long had he arrived there before you did?
Capt. Peary. Four days.
Mr. Macon. He was there four days before you arrived?
Capt. Peary. Four days.
Mr. Macon. He had to travel back over a road the marks on which were much fresher than when you got to them, were they not.
Capt. Peary. Under the conditions of existing weather, I should say that there would be little or no difference in the character of the trail at the time that Bartlett passed over it and its character when I passed over it, with this difference, that the trail would have the additional marks or additional travel of Bartlett's sledge.
Mr. Butler, Did Bartlett strike a lead?
Capt. Peary. That is covered in his journal. There is this point, also brought out in his journal, that the last 45 miles before reaching the land Bartlett had to break, or did break, a new trail. He perhaps could have found the trail from that lead in, but he could see the land, and he preferred to go straight in for the land rather than waste time hunting for the trail, and did so. I had his trail to follow when I came along there.
Mr. Macon. On the 7th of April, while you were making this trip.

for the trail, and did so. I had his trail to follow when I came along there.

Mr. Macon. On the 7th of April, while you were making this trip, you made a sounding of 1,500 fathoms?

Capt. Pearv. Yes.

Mr. Macon. About how long did it take you to make that sounding? Capt. Pearv. It did not take us very long. In making a sounding the wire runs out very rapidly.

Mr. Macon. You did not estimate the time?

Capt. Pearv. I did not estimate the time. If we had been able to reel in that wire and lead, it would have delayed us a good deal, but the running out of the wire and lead is not a long operation. The reel will go out rapidly.

Mr. Macon. How long before that had the wire been used in making the soundings—the last sounding preceding that—how long a time had intervened?

intervened?

the soundings—the last sounding preceding that—how long a time had intervened?

Capt. Pear. Bartlett made a sounding on the 25th or 26th of March; or possibly the 27th, somewhere along there.

Mr. Macon. What was the temperature then?

Capt. Pear. I could not say offhand. It may be noted in the book.

Mr. Macon. Was it cold enough for the water to have frozen to the wire as you reeled it in, so as to have made it stick and make it hard to unreel when you attempted to make another sounding?

Capt. Pear. It did not make it hard to unreel, and on no occasion was there any sluggishness of the reel in running out the wire and the lead. At times, and perhaps I might say on every occasion, the wire, as it came in, before it came to the reel, passed through a fur-mitten, or blanket mitten, or a piece of fur, or something, as it was reeled up in such a way [illustrating] as to take nearly or quite all the water off the wire before it went on to the reel. But independent of that, there was not any sluggishness or retardation of the action of the reel in running out as the result of the different strands of wire freezing together.

Mr. Macon. What was the condition of the weather while you were at the pole?

wire before it went on to the reel. But independent of that, there was not any sluggishness or retardation of the action of the reel in running out as the result of the different strands of wire freezing together.

Mr. Macon. What was the condition of the weather while you were at the pole?

Capt. Pearn. As stated in my book.

Mr. Macon. I believe you stated in the book that during the 30 hours you stayed at the pole it was clear and calm, cloudless and flawless. Let me have that book, please.

Mr. Butler. How late are we going to stay here?

Mr. Bates. I have another question or two I would like to ask.

Mr. Macon. I am not through yet.

Mr. Bates. Well, how long are we going to continue this examination?

Mr. Bates. Well, how long are we going to continue this examination?

Mr. Bates. Well, how long are we going to continue this examination?

Mr. Bates. Well, how long are we going to continue this examination?

Mr. Bates. Well, how long are we going to continue this examination?

Mr. Bates. Well, how long are we going to continue this examination?

Mr. Macon. I don't know.

Mr. Macon. If the gentleman says I have not been interrupted I don't understand the definition of interruption. Perhaps he has a different definition of the word.

Mr. Macon. In gentleman from Arkansas has, or even one-fifth of it.

Mr. Macon. No gentleman has consumed the time to-day—that is all of to-day. I did not start until Mr. Roberts finished. The gentleman can have the rest of the time as soon as I get through. I will say that to show my fairness in the matter.

Mr. Butler. I have some regard for the exigencies of the occasion, and I do not propose to take up more than five minutes of time.

Mr. Macon. In response to that—"clear and calm, cloudless and fawless"—I desire to submit a few pictures here in your book, Captain. The flags taken up there, to be found on pages 284 and 290, appear to be waving in a gale. These two appear to be waving in a gale, blowing like that [indicating]. You would not call that breeze-less, would you?

Capt. Pearly, I think some many pictures.

Mr. Macon. But this is all shadow [indicating].
Capt. Pearly. That, I think, would be a question for a photographer to answer. The reproduction can not be quite as sharp and clear as the original photographic print or negative.

Mr. Englemeneut. The question of exposure makes quite a difference in the showing of the picture as to light or darkness, does it not?

Capt. Pearly. Yes.

Mr. Butler. Did you take those pictures?

Capt. Peary. I took those pictures myself.

Mr. Macon. Getting back to the distance, I would ask if you joined with your friends in protesting against the report made by Cook of naving traveled a little over 24 miles a day with light sleds and a small party up in the Arctic belt, and some of them went as far as to say it was impossible to make 24 miles a day up there?

Capt. Peary. I do not recall stating that it was impracticable to make 24 miles a day up there.

Mr. Macon. I am informed that Admiral Melville said it was an absolute impossibility to do it, and that when you came back and made your report of 26 miles and over a day he congratulated you upon it and did not have the kindliness of feeling to apologize to Cook for having doubted his veracity when he said he had traveled 24 miles a day.

made your report of 26 miles and over a day he congratulated you upon it and did not have the kindilness of feeling to apologize to Cook for having doubted his veracity when he said he had traveled 24 miles a day.

Capt. Pear That is a matter of which I have no knowledge. Mr. Macon. You do not know anything about that?

Capt. Pear I have no personal knowledge of that.

Mr. Macon. Now, Captain, at the risk of incurring the displeasure of some of the members of the committee, I want to ask you again why it was that when you concluded to find the pole that you rid yourself of every white man who had any knowledge, any astronomical knowledge and experience in the northern regions, and sent them back and only tock one Negro and four Eskimos with you to testify to your work? I think you answered that yesterday.

Capt. Pear. I think I answered that.

Mr. Butler. Mr. Roberts asked him about that, and it appears in print this morning.

Mr. Macon. So I will ask you this question: You knew that Commbus had discovered the West India Islands and that he had quite a party that accompanied him, and that none of them shared the glory of the discovery of the Islands with him; that Americus Vespucius had discovered this continent, and that it was named for him, and that he had quite a party with him, and that none of them shared the glory of the discovery with him; that Magellan discovered the glory of that discovery with him, it hat Magellan discovered the glory of that discovery with him, that De Soto discovered the glory of that discovery with him, that De Soto discovered the glory of that discovery with him, that De Soto discovered the Mississippi River with quite a party, and that nobody shares the glory of that discovery with him. Then, according to your answer yesterday, I want to ask you why it was that you feared that Tapt. Bartlett would share the glory of the discovery of the pole with you when you were the leader of the Peary Arctic exploration?

Capt. Pear, I do not recall that I considered while north or thought of

Mr. Engleright. I submit that is a question for the public to pass upon.

Mr. Macon. He has a right to answer it if he wants to.

Mr. Engleright. He need not answer it if he does not want to.

Mr. Macon. He need not answer any question if he does not want to.

Mr. Butler. Every one of us here is independent of the other, but I understand this inquiry to be whether or not Capt. Peary had reached the North Pole, and what his motive may have been in dismissing these men I do not think is pertinent.

Mr. Macon. Have you read what Mr. Wellman said as to what the best evidence of the discovery of the nole would be?

Mr. Butler. We are considering the question and not Mr. Wellman.

Mr. Macon. Captain, Mr. Roberts asked you something about the material you took with you on this trip to the North Pole; that is, the things that you took on your sleds to make up the weight of them. You did not enumerate any nails or hatchets or things of that kind to mend the sleds with.

Capt. Peary. I think I enumerated a hatchet.

Mr. Macon. A small meat hatchet.

Mr. Macon. Sui you did not have anything to repair the sleds with?

Capt. Peary. I had no nails, but I had a few screws and a screw driver. A nail is the last thing in the world to put into a sledge for Aretic work.

Mr. Macon. You used screws?

Coat. Peary. Screwer for remaining the sledges. I will make that

driver. A nail is the last thing in the world to put into a sledge for Arctic work.

Mr. Macon. You used screws?

Capt. Pearx. Screws for repairing the sledges. I will make that addition, that we had a few screws and a screw driver for replacing the screws in the steel shoes of the sledges, which might come out or be broken off.

Mr. Macon. You have stated how you were clothed, but about what did your clothes weigh? How much were you carrying while you were making the distance that you say you made up there?

Capt. Pearx. My first suit for Arctic work, an Eskimo fur suit—I did not weigh it on the last expedition, but the weight would be comparatively the same as such a suit used on previous expeditions—is essentially the same as the weight of my ordinary winter business suit in New York or Washington, not including the overcoat. About 123 pounds, I should say, or possibly 13 pounds.

Mr. Macon. Did you have snowshoes?

Capt. Pearx. We had a pair of snowshoes.

Mr. Macon. What do they ordinarily weigh, such as you use up there? Capt. Pearx. Possibly 8 pounds; possibly 7 pounds. That weight can be determined from the makers.

Mr. Macon. What was the weight you carried on each foot in making that trip?

Capt. Pearx. That I could hardly tell. In regard to the snowshoes, I would say that we did not wear the snowshoes constantly; in fact; the snowshoes were used comparatively little on this first expedition, probably not one-tenth of the time.

Mr. Engleright. You do not lift the shoes, do you; that is, you shuffle along in the shoes?

Capt. Peary. Ordinarily a snowshoe is not lifted fully.

Mr. Macon. In shuffling along, would not that make it harder to travel than if you had your foot above any obstruction so you would not have to shuffle it through it—like snow or mud that would have to be shuffled through? It looks to me like that would be quite burdensome before you had traveled a great distance, to shuffle shoes through snow. Capt. Pears. The question of the use of snowshoes is, of course, determined by the conditions of the snow. A man very quickly finds whether he can travel easier with or without snowshoes. They were not used very largely in this last expedition.

Mr. Macon. There having been quite a rivalry between your friends and the friends of Dr. Cook over the discovery of the pole and his having submitted his proofs, as they are called, to the Copenhagen University. I want to ask you if you would be willing on account of that rivalry to have your proofs submitted to the same tribunal, to be passed upon by it?

Capt. Pears. I should prefer not to go into that question at all. I think the question is one that could be answered for himself by any and every member of the committee.

Mr. Macon. Now, the geutlemen who were before us last spring sald that they were of a subcommittee that examined your proofs, and they admitted that they had made up their minds about your having discovered the pole before they saw any of them at all. Therefore they could not have been an impartial jury to sit upon your case. That is the reason why I ask whether or not you would be willing to allow your proofs now to be submitted to the same impartial tribunals that passed upon the credibility of Dr. Cook's proofs. If you are not willing to submit proofs to them, all you have to do is to say so; nobody has any power to make you do so.

Mr. Butler, My recollection is that the Danes concluded that Cook reached the North Pole—

Mr. Macon. No; that was all done before they examined the proofs—

Mr. Butler. That they did that before they examined the proofs

proofs—
Mr. Butlen. That they did that before they examined the proofs?
Mr. Butlen. That they did that before they examined the proofs?
Mr. Macon. Yes.
Mr. Dawson. Cook exploded in the meantime, did he not?
Mr. Macon. No; he did not explode at all.
Mr. Butlen. What is the question?
Capt. Pearr. I think I answered the last question.
Mr. Macon. The question I asked was whether he would be willing to submit his proofs, that he said he did not want to go into that subject. In other words, he declines to say whether he will or will not. Of course that will carry the idea that he refuses to do so.
Mr. Bates. Nothing of the sort.
Mr. Macon. It does.
Captain, have your proofs been submitted to any geographical or scientific society to be passed upon except this National Geographic Society?
Capt. Pearr. Yes.

Capt. PEARY. Yes. Mr. Macon. What society? Have you any evidence of what society has passed upon them?

Mr. Bates. Is that a letter from the Royal Geographical Society of

Mr. Bates. Is that a letter from the Royal Geographical Society of London?

Mr. Macon. We have that in the record.

Mr. Bates. No; I read it. I asked if those are the copies of letters you have received, and if so, whom from, and I would like to have them in the record? They were not put in the record.

Capt. Peary. This is a copy of the letter received by me from Maj. Leonard Darwin, president of the Royal Geographical Society, of London [indicating]. This is a copy of a letter received by me from Mr Douglas W. Freshfield, member of the council of the Royal Geographical Society.

Mr. Macon. Will you read that letter? It will explain the answer to my question.

(Capt. Peary read the two letters referred to, as follows:)

ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, 1 SAVILLE ROW, BURLINGTON GARDENS, London, W., December 5, 1910.

Commander R. E. Pearr, Eagle Island, South Harpswell, Me., United States.

Eagle Island, South Harpswell, Me., United States.

Dear Commander Pears: Please accept our sincere thanks for the documents you have sent us, including copies of the observations taken by you at the pole. They have been thoroughly examined by us. In the opinion of my council there is nothing in this or any other new matter which has come to their notice that in any way affects the position indicated by me which I, on behalf of the society, presented you with a special gold medal at the Albert Hall for your explorations, during which you were the first to reach a pole of the earth.

With best wishes, believe me,
Yours, sincerely,

LEONARD DARWIN, President R. G. S.

Pall Mall, S. W., December 7, 1910.

Dear Commander Peary: You will receive an official letter from Maj. Darwin thanking you for communicating copies of your polar records to the R. G. S. and stating that they have been most thoroughly and critically examined by our scientific instructor, who takes the same view of them as that taken by the committee of the United States Geographic Society, on whose report the council of the R. G. S. acted. Having accepted this report as final, our council felt a certain difficulty in saying anything further.

But some of us held that a bare acknowledgment of your courtesy in communicating your records might be open to misinterpretation, and that it was due to you to prevent this risk by stating explicitly the result of the independent examination made in our office.

I trust that the course followed may be satisfactory to you.

With kind regards and all good wishes for the New Year, believe me, Yours, very truly,

DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD, Member of the R. G. S. Council.

Mr. Macon. Does that show that the Geographical Society made the examination?

Mr. Bayes. Certainly. Their expert made it; the president of the society certifies to it.

Mr. Macon. Did they say that the society examined the records?

Mr. Bayes. Certainly. The society can not examine the record. They have an expert.

Mr. Macon. They do not have a committee to pass upon it like this one, but just have an expert pass upon it. Did this Geographical

Society have a full copy of the records that you have furnished to this committee?

committee?
Capt. Peary. They did not have all the material that is here to-day. Mr. Macon. What did they have?
Capt. Peary. They had copies of all of my observations, and they had copies of a considerable portion of my journal.
Mr. Macon. But a scientific society right here, of which you are a member, I understand, said that your observations were not any good without your narrative?
Mr. Bates. I object to that.
Mr. Butler, Is that a question?
Mr. Macon. Yes.
The question was repeated as above recorded.
Capt. Peary. That is a matter of which I have no personal knowledge.

edge.
Mr. Macon. Captain, did you read the report that Dr. Cook made of his discovery of the pole before you denounced him as a faker and his report as a gold brick?

Capt. PEARY. That is answered on the face of the circumstances,

his report as a gold brick?
Capt. Peary. That is answered on the face of the circumstances, by a comparison of dates.

Mr. Macon. Did you not corroborate him in many things about the route, the travel to the pole, even to the descriptions surrounding the pole, the description of conditions surrounding the pole?

Mr. Englebright. I would like to supplement that by adding this to it: When Dr. Cook published his story did he not have the newspaper accounts of yours first?

Mr. Dawson. I would like to inquire whether the committee is going into the Cook question at all?

Mr. Butler. I do not know about the committee. I know I am not going into it. I am only a member of the committee.

Mr. Macon. We are trying to ascertain whether or not—

Mr. Dawson, Material questions I have no objection to.

Mr. Englebright. Those records have all been published and speak for themselves.

Mr. Dawson. There is no use in leading us on in the wilderness of the Cook business.

Mr. Macon. I am not going into the wilderness of the Cook business.

Mr. Macon. I don't know. I am asking Capt. Peary.

Mr. Englebright. Did not Cook take Peary's story first and then use it to make up his own?

Mr. Rollebright. Well, I am asking Capt. Peary.

Mr. Rollebright. Well, I am asking you.

Mr. Bayes. Now, Mr. Chairman, men who are scientists and explorers do not, I am sure, desire to make criticisms in public hearings, and it is not pertinent to this inquiry in any manner or shape whatever.

Mr. Macon. I believe you said, Captain, that the Eskimos that you

and it is not pertinent to this inquiry in any manner or shape whatever.

Mr. Macon. I believe you said, Captain, that the Eskimos that you selected to go with you to the pole would walk through hell with you if you said so. I believe that language is in your book, and that they, and Henson, the colored man you took with you for witnesses, were as pliant to your will as the fingers of your right hand. You made that statement, did you not?

Capt. Peary. If that is in my book, I will stand by it.

Mr. Macon. Do you really think those men would walk through hell for you, or was that just a figure of speech?

Mr. Bates. What do you think about it, Brother Macon?

Mr. Macon. I don't know; I am trying to find out.

Mr. Bates. What has that to do with whether Peary reached the pole?

Mr. Macon. It has something to do with it when you take into

Mr. Macon. I don't know; I am trying to find out.

Mr. Bates. What has that to do with whether Peary reached the pole?

Mr. Macon. It has something to do with it when you take into account all of the circumstances in connection with this question.

(The question was repeated as above recorded.)

Capt. Peary. I think those men would go with me out on the ice just as far as I went, even if they felt pretty well satisfied in their own minds that their ever coming back to land was a doubtful question. That is my opinion.

Mr. Butler. Of course the statement presupposes that there is a hell. Mr. Macon. And it presupposes that they would say whatever the captain told them to say and abide by it.

Mr. Butler. Are you through?

Mr. Macon. I am.

Mr. Butler. Mr. Englebright?

Mr. Bates. I think that last remark better be struck out.

Mr. Macon. I do not think the committee has anything to do with it.

Mr. Bates. He interjected a remark.

(Upon direction of the chairman the stenographer read as follows:)

"Mr. Macon. And it presupposes that they would say whatever the captain told them to say and abide by it."

Mr. Butler. We will settle that in executive session.

Mr. Macon. Yes; we will settle all that later.

Capt. Peary. I will ask, Mr. Chairman, that that be struck out of the record, if permissible.

Mr. Butler. We will take that up in executive session.

Mr. Hobson. As an outside member of the committee, I want to ask if those other humble members of the expedition had a hearing? I move it be stricken out.

Mr. Butler. What do you say?

Mr. Hobson. I ask that he withdraw it.

Mr. Mccon. No; I do not want to withdraw it. I want to ask another question. I suppose you have seen press reports that Mene Wallace, who went up north with you 14 years ago, says that the Eskimos say that you did not go to the pole? Do you know anything about that?

Capt. Peary. I have seen such an alleged report.

Mr. Macon. I notice did not go to the pole; do you know anything about that?

Capt. Peary. I have not seen such an alleged report

that?

Capt. Pearr. I have not seen such an alleged report.

Mr. Macon. I notice where the Norwegian, Knud Rasmussen, says that some missionaries saw Henson, and that you told them that you had not been to the pole. Do you know anything about that?

Capt. Pearr, I have seen some such alleged report.

Mr. Macon. I notice that Prof. Gallet, who was reported to have been a very distinguished scientist, an astronomer, and so on, gives out that he has examined your narrative of the trip to the pole, and he finds that it is not sufficient to sustain a verdict in its favor. Do you know anything about that scientist?

Capt. Pearr. I have seen such an alleged report. If Mr. Macon has this full newspaper report, or a newspaper report in regard to Mene Wallace, if he has the full original statement as it appeared in the papers, I will ask that it be entered on the records.

Mr. Macon. Here it is.

Mr. Butler. Look at that and see whether or not that is the statement.

Capt. Peary (after examination). That is not the complete statement, Mr. Chairman; that is only part of the original.

Mr. Butler. Have you the complete statement?

Capt. Peary. I have not, but I can find it probably. As far as I know, the original statement appeared in the New York World of a certain date not long ago, and I would like to have the first full alleged statement of Wallace entered upon the record, and if that is found and entered, I will also ask permission to enter this [referring to some papers which the witness produced] on the record immediately following such alleged statement.

The papers referred to are as follows:

MENE, ESKIMO BOY SENT NORTH, WRITES OF STRUGGLE TO GET HOME. SAYS HE WAS PUT OFF SHIP IN STRANGE PART OF GREENLAND, WITHOUT

SAYS HE WAS PUT OFF SHIP IN STRANGE FART OF GREENLAND, WITHOUT GUN OR FURS.

"Mene Wallace, the Eskimo boy who as an infant was brought to this country by Peary 14 years ago and was taken back in July, 1909, on the ship that went to the relief of Peary on his memorable trip north when he discovered the pole, has at last been heard from.

"R. Chester Beecroft, of No. 1402 Broadway, who was the boy's friend in this country, has received a letter from Mene, in which the Eskimo boy relates that he was put ashore, with no provisions, no furs, no sleds, and no dogs, in a strange part of Greenland, far from Etah, where Peary had agreed that he should land.

"The boy, with his father, who was chief of the tribe, and two others were brought to this country and used for various scientific experiments by the American Museum of Natural History. All the others died here.

"Here Mene attended the public schools and Manhattan College, and was fairly intelligent for a youth from the frozen North. But he wanted to go back to the land of his fathers. There was no way for him to go except on some polar expedition.

"Finally he was allowed to go back with the Peary relief expedition on the promise that he would stay in the North, as he had been in several escapades here and showed a strong liking for the white lights of Broadway. The promise that he would stay in Eskimo land was extracted because it was feared he would want to return to New York after he had been home a while.

"Here is his letter to Mr. Beecroft:

"KJOBENHAVN, Sept. 2, 1910.

"'KJOBENHAVN, Sept. 2, 1910.

"Here is his letter to Mr. Beecroft:

"'Bear Dob: I am still alive, how or why I can't tell you. First, let me explain that you would have heard from me long ago only I couldn't get them to take a letter to you. Peary had them land me at North Star Bay a long way south of my home. We had to sign their agreement, you remember, that I would land when Peary said, but they promised in return for the black-hand papers they made you sign to take me back to Etah.

"But as they had broke faith and human rule with we when I was there (?) stolen gest I was not surprised when they dump me off, by Peary's orders, in a strange part of Greenland, with no furs, gun, sleg dogs, or equipment to battle for life in the desolit ice.

"They refused to carry my letters back to you, though they took my card to Mrs. Cook. Well, I can't tell you here all the fighting and suffering and trouble I went throu to get back to Etah, for the Eskimos were as strange to me at North Star Bay as whites would be to you landing at California. At last I reached home, and in a letter I will tell you a wonderful interesting story of my meeting with the people of my father whome the Americans murdered in the name of science (?), how they live, how I efected them, how the new-old life efected me, what chanhes I made in them and them in me; later, beause the ship is waiting.

"'Whitney also refused to take a letter home to you, and mails seems to follow me even beyond the North Wind. So to get a letter to you at last I had to make a trip to Cape York, and I neednt tell you the danger and hard ship of that. I wanted to prove how I love the only tile that binds me to the land of warmer climate and colder hearts. (My hand is getting awful tired.)

"I know you will expect something about Cook. Well, Dob, I have gone to the bottom of the matter. No one up here believes that Peary got much farther than when he left his party. His name up here is hated for his cruelty Cook made a great trip North. He has nothing in the way of proofs here that I can find. I belie

"'From ice. I expect a white Xmas, Dob.—Squab.
"'I can't spell—maybe next time I cant write.
"'P. S. Dob, would there be some way to send me a gun?—Squab.'"
(Signed receipt of Mene Wallace, for guns, supplies, and equipment given him by Commander Peary at North Star Bay, Aug. 23, 1909:)

"S. S. Roosevelt, August 23, 1909.

"I hereby acknowledge the receipt from Commander Peary of the following items of supplies and equipment, the same being all that I have asked for and all that are needed to make me entirely comfortable: Four cases biscuit; 1 case tea; 1 case coffee; 1 case sugar; 1 case beans; 1 case oil; salt and pepper; 1 double barrel 10-gauge shotgun; 100 loaded shells; 1 40-82 Winchester repeating rifle; 200 rounds ammunition; 11 pieces lumber for sledge, kayak, and paddle; 1 pair steel sledge shoes, 6 dozen screws for same; 2 pieces lumber for harpoon and lance shafts; 250 primers; 1 hatchet; 1 saw knife; 2 knives; 2 pair scissors; 2 flies; 2 fox traps; 4 papers needles; 12 spools thread; 14 thimbles; 2 pair smoked-glass goggles; 1 cooking pot; 1 cup; 1 plate; 1 bowl;

1 knife and fork; 3 pipes; 3 or 4 pounds tobacco; 2 dozen boxes matches; 1 sweater.

"MENE P. WALLACE."

"MENE P. WALLACE."

In this connection I wish to say that the entire Mene letter is no more reliable than the part to which this signed receipt is a conclusive refutation.

Mr. Butler. Send both to us, then.

Mr. Butler. Send both to us, then.

Mr. Butler. You handed me, the other day, a sample of the wire you used for making the soundings, with a photograph of the sounding lead, did you not?

Capt. Peary. I did, Mr. Bates, I have those at my hotel, and ask leave to make them a part of the record.

Mr. Butler. Very well.

Mr. Englebright. You stated you made no observations for longitude?

Capt. Peary. I did not make any observation for longitude.

tude?

Capt. Peary. I did not make any observation for longitude,
Mr. Englebright. You made three observations at camp Jesup and
one other observation near the North Pole?

Capt. Peary. Three sets of observations.

Mr. Englebright, When you left New York you had your chronometers conversed?

nometers compared?
Capt. Pearr. They were compared, yes; the ship's chronometers.
Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. They were not compared again until after your return?

nometers compared?
Capt. Peart. They were compared, yes; the ship's chronometers. Apt. Peart. They were not compared again until after your return. Molleburght. Did you have a record of those comparisons of chronometers after you came back?
Capt. Peart. No; not so far as I know.
Mr. Engleburght. Did you have a record of those comparisons of chronometers after you came back?
Capt. Peart. I did not.
Mr. Engleburght. As to any astronomical observations made up north, to be complete the chronometer comparisons would be a part of the essential thing in making careful calculations?
Capt. Peart. They would be a part of the final discussion and reduction of those observations.
Mr. Engleburght. Have you got the chronometer comparisons now? Capt. Peart. I have not.
Mr. Engleburght. I will state that they are in the record of the Coast Survey memorandum.
Mr. Rogleburght. I will state that they are in the record of the Coast Survey memorandum.
Mr. Rogleburght. I will state that they are in the record of the Coast Survey memorandum.
Mr. Rogleburght. I will state that they are in the record of the Coast Survey memorandum.
Mr. Rogleburght. I will state that they are in the record of the Capt. Peart. Not precisely, no; the photographs were made at different times; as I had opportunity.
Mr. ROBERTS. Vou arrived about noon time on the 6th of April?
Capt. Peart. I should say that they were.
Mr. ROBERTS. Were any of them made that day?
Capt. Peart. I should say that they were.
Mr. ROBERTS. Were any of them made that day?
Capt. Peart. I should say that some of those photographs were made effore you had made your astronomical observations or afterwards?
Capt. Peart. I should say that some of those photographs were made. In the flour that were pointed out in the book; those are the particular ones I am talking about. I wanted to identify those particular ones. Capt. Peart. They were taken after 8 o'clock of the 6th; I can say that. I do not know that I can recall the precise time, other than to say that they were taken after 8 o'cloc

find the first distance mentioned is 30 or 25 miles, and a statement that the Eskimos estimated that you had traveled 35 miles that first march.

Capt. Peary. They thought the march was equivalent to a distance near the ship, which was in reality about 35 miles. I do not mean to say that the Eskimos said to me: "We think we have traveled 35 miles"; but they said, "We think our march to-day has been equivalent to the march from the Rosecelt to Porter Bay."

Mr. Roberts But you said that you think you traveled 30 miles, but in order to be conservative you call it 25 miles. I am not giving the exact language of the book, but that was the summary.

Capt. Peary. Yes.

Mr. Roberts. The next mention in the narrative of the distance traveled is 20 miles. Then the next as I find is a distance of 25 miles from the pole. You stopped at some camp 35 miles from the pole?

Capt. Peary. Yes.

Mr. Roberts. Then the final distance mentioned is 30 miles. So in the narrative you give the distances traveled on three marches, and two marches you do not give any distance.

Capt. Peary. It is not stated there?

Mr. Roberts. No.

Capt. Peary. I do not recall.

Mr. Roberts. No.

Capt. Peary. I do not recall.

Mr. Roberts. No.

in this pamphlet I find that on pages 18 and 19 that you estimate your first march 10 hours, 25 miles; the second, 20 miles in 10 hours; the third. 10 hours, 20 miles; the fourth, without mentioning the hours, 25 miles or more; and the last 12 hours that you made 30 miles. I understood you also to say that Camp Bartlett was a distance of 133 geographic miles from the pole?

Capt. Peary. From the pole; yes.

Mr. Roberts. Now, let me ask you, how could you give the distances traveled for each of those five days in this pamphlet and in the book published later you did not give it?

Capt. Peary. I should say it was simply a matter of inadvertent omission. I think the figures appear in my journal.

Mr. Roberts. Then, in adding up the distances traveled as mentioned in the pamphlet, as distinguished from the book, I find that these five marches, two of them 20 miles each, two 25 miles, and one 30, total 120 miles.

Capt. Peary. One of those 20 miles is a typographical error in that pamphlet.

Mr. Roberts. In here?

Capt. Peary. One of those 20 miles is a typographical error in that pamphlet.

Mr. Roberts. In here?
Capt. Peary. Yes.
Mr. Roberts. Does it state that the first is 20 miles?
Capt. Peary. The first was 25.
Mr. Roberts. The second 20?
Capt. Peary. Twenty. And the third is 20.
Mr. Roberts. The third is 20.
Capt. Peary. The third is 20.
Capt. Peary. The third is 20.
Capt. Peary. The third is given 20 in the pamphlet, and that is a typographical error or an error of transmission.
Mr. Roberts. And that should be what?
Capt. Peary. Twenty-five miles.
Mr. Roberts. Then, calling that 25 miles, that puts you 125 miles from Camp Bartlett, or 8 miles south of the pole, if I may use that term, south—8 miles away from the pole?
Capt. Peary. Yes.
Mr. Roberts. And yet Camp Jesup, where you stopped at the end of those marches, places you within about 3½ miles of the pole. So there was an error somewhere of 5 miles or more.
Mr. Hobson. The last was by observation.
Mr. Butler. Can you find out how many hours they actually traveled after they left Bartlett camp until the end of the fifth day?
Mr. Roberts. I think with one exception, this does give the number of hours of travel, but on that fourth march I did not find any mention of the number of hours of travel; but I do find the statement 25 miles or more was made. If it is material, the speed averaged from 2 miles to 2½ per hour.
Mr. Butler. After they left Bartlett until the end of the second day?
Mr. Roberts. Taking four of the marches, it averaged 2½ miles of

from 2 miles to 2½ per hour.

Mr. Butler. After they left Bartlett until the end of the second day?

Mr. Roberts. Taking four of the marches, it averaged 2½ miles of actual traveling. Now, there is one point I forgot when I was asking some questions before: I would like to go into the examination of your records made by the Geographic Society committee, if you have no objection. I would like to have from you just what was said and done. Let me premise that by asking you this question: Did you ask, directly or indirectly, the Geographic Society to pass upon your record; in other words, was the initiative taken by you to get some reports on the records of your trip?

Capt. Pearx. No.

Mr. Roberts. It came from other parties; you were invited by the Geographic Society to present your records?

Capt. Pearx. I was.

Mr. Roberts. I understand you first sent them through a Mr. Nichols, a statement of some sort, sent it from Portland or somewhere in Maine. Is that the fact?

Capt. Pearx. I sent them papers; yes.

Mr. Roberts. Do you object to telling us what those papers were?

Capt. Pearx Well, I will suggest as to that that the members of that subcommittee who had those papers—and it is probably on their records—could give that information with absolute accuracy. I don't know that I have a memorandum of what those papers were.

Mr. Roberts. I would say in reply to that that we sought those papers from that committee last spring, and they declined to give them to us on the ground that they were under a certain injunction as to secrecy and could not give them out. That is why I asked you about them.

Capt. Pearx. I would prefer that that question would be taken up with the subcommittee—

them.

Capt. Peary. I would prefer that that question would be taken up with the subcommittee—

Mr. Robers. I am not asking you as to the subcommittee, but whether you sent them.

Capt. Peary (continuing). As to their records, the record of what was sent to them, and what their examination was.

Mr. Robers. Have you any record of what you sent by Mr. Nichols?

Capt. Peary. I can not say whether I have or not; I will look and see.

Capt. Peary. I can not say whether I have or not; I will look and see.

Mr. Roberts. You knew at that time, of course, that there was a question looming up in the public mind as to the truth of the claims made by Dr. Cook, and also that there was some question in the public mind as to whether you had obtained the pole.

Capt. Peary. The controversy was on.

Mr. Roberts. You knew a controversy was on at the time you were asked to submit your proofs to the Geographic Society?

Capt. Peary. Yes.

Mr. Roberts. In reply to that request of the Geographic Society you sent them something by Mr. Nichols?

Capt. Peary. Yes.

Mr. Roberts. And you do not wish to tell us now what it was?

Capt. Peary. I could not tell you, that I know of, now.

Mr. Roberts. And you did not keep any copy of it?

Capt. Peary. And I would prefer, as I said, that the question as to what was said to the committee and what action they took would be put to the committee.

Mr. Roberts. As long as you have not copies of it and, as I understand it, you do not want to trust your memory to tell us just what you sent, we will go on a step. Did the Geographic Society's committee act upon that information you sent by Mr. Nichols at that time?

Capt. Peary. How far they acted I can not tell you of-hand.

Mr. Roberts. What did you next hear from that committee, after sending them those documents or that information or whatever it was that you did send?

Capt. Peary. I can not say that I heard from the committee, after sending them those documents or that information or whatever it was that you did send?

Capt. Peary. That I come on and meet the committee.

Mr. Roberts. How did you get that request?

Capt. Peary. That I can hardly say whether by wire or letter, and I do not recall from whom the request came.

Mr. Roberts. How did you get that request?

Capt. Peary. Not that I recall; no.

Mr. Roberts. How did you get that request?

Capt. Peary. Not that I recall; no.

Mr. Roberts. How did you get that request?

Capt. Peary. Not that I recall; no.

Mr. Robert

the committee, when they requested you to come and bring your originals?

Capt. Pearr. I thought when I sent my material to the committee that I would come before the committee later with my instruments

and my notebooks.

Mr. Roberts. That is, then, you did not expect that the data that you sent by Mr. Nichols would be sufficient—

Capt. Peary. Because it was not all of my records.

Mr. Roberts. Did it purport to be a part of the record?

Capt. Peary. Yes.

Mr. Roberts. It purported to be only a part, and put them on notice—

Capt. Peary. That I was ready to appear personally before them. Mr. Roberts. There was a statement of that sort contained in it,

Capt. Peary. That I was ready to appear personally before them.
Mr. Roberts. There was a statement of that sort contained in it,
was there?
Capt. Peary. That would be my recollection. I know the idea was
that I was ready to appear before them.
Mr. Roberts. You got a request or an invitation to come down. Do
you recollect how that was worded; what they wanted you to
Capt. Peary. I do not, but probably I have the communication,
whether a telegram or a letter.
Mr. Roberts. In response to that you came down?
Capt. Peary. I did.
Mr. Roberts. In response to that you came down?
Capt. Peary. I brought with me my instruments and the material
that I have here to-day.
Mr. Roberts. Did you bring any more than you have shown the committee thus far?
Capt. Peary. I brought all of my photographs, or nearly all of them,
and, I think, my negatives. I am not sure of that.
Mr. Roberts. What time did you reach the city, Mr. Peary?
Capt. Peary. I could not say.
Mr. Roberts. Did you get here in the morning?
Capt. Peary. I came from Boston, I should say, on the Congressional
Limited, but what time I got in I could not say.
Mr. Roberts. If you had luck, and did not get hung up on the river,
you would get here the next morning?
Capt. Peary. Yes; I got here sometime the next day.
Mr. Roberts. What did you do when you arrived in the city; where
did you go?
Capt. Peary. I do not recall what my movements were.
Mr. Roberts. Perhaps I will ask some leading questions, as the
lawyers say, and suggest in my question the answer. You went to the
Geographical Society's rooms sometime in the forenoon?
Capt. Peary. I do not remember when I went there. The members
of the board can tell.
Mr. Roberts. You went to the Geographical Society's rooms?
Capt. Peary. That I can not say.
Mr. Roberts. You went to the Geographical Society's rooms?
Capt. Peary. That I can not say.
Mr. Roberts. Well, let me ask this question: Where did you meet
the committee that had been appointed to investigate?
Capt. Peary. The meeting of the committee, but where did you meet t

Mr. Roberts. No; where did you meet them? I am not asking the place of the meeting of the committee, but where did you meet the committee or any of its members?

Capt. Pears. There, as I recall it. The members of that committee

Capt. Pearr. There, as I recall it. The members of that committee can tell you.

Mr. Roberts. I would like to have the best recollection you have about when you first saw any of the members of the committee, and

Capt. Peary. That can be put down. I will endeavor to answer

Capt. Peary. That can be put down. I will endeavor to answer that—
Mr. Roberts. No; I want to get your recollection now.
Capt. Peary. I do not recall about that, about my meeting any members of the committee.
Mr. Roberts. You would not want to say that you did not meet two of the members of the committee at the room of the Geographical Society, would you?
Capt. Peary. I would not want to say I did or did not.
Mr. Roberts. Well, we will go a step further. You did finally go to the house of Admiral Chester?
Capt. Peary. I want to the house of Admiral Chester.
Mr. Roberts. And three members of that subcommittee were there with you?

Mr. Roberts. And three members of that subcommittee were there with you?

Capt. Peary. They were; yes.
Mr. Roberts. Or arrived soon after you arrived?

Capt. Peary. Yes.
Mr. Roberts. You are not certain just how you all got there?

Capt. Peary. No.
Mr. Roberts. Can you give us anything definite as to the time of day you got there?

Capt. Peary. No; I could not.
Mr. Roberts. Before lunch or after?

Capt. Peary. No.
Mr. Roberts. You could not tell that?

Capt. Peary. No.
Mr. Roberts. Can you recall how long you were there?

Capt. Peary. Until sometime in the evening.
Mr. Roberts. What did you do while there with the committee?
I want to find out how this examination of the proofs was made. That is what I am trying to get at, Mr. Peary.

Capt. Peary. There again, as the members of the committee are accessible, I would prefer to have them take that up.
Mr. Roberts. No; I want to have your recollection, if you can give it.

Capt. Peary. I recall that I was there at Admiral Chester's house

Mr. Roberts. No; I want to have your recollection, if you can give it.

Capt. Peary. I recall that I was there at Admiral Chester's house with the members of the committee, and some others. I think, came in in addition to the members of the subcommittee, and I remember, too, that I was there until sometime in the evening; I could not say how late.

Mr. Roberts. Have you exhibited to the subcommittee that original memoranda that you have shown us? Did they read it?

Capt. Peary. This book?

Mr. Roberts. Yes: that you have shown us.

Capt. Peary. I think that is covered in the hearing of yesterday or the day before.

Capt. PEARY. I think that is covered in the hearing of yesterday of the day before.

Mr. Roberts. That you exhibited it to that committee?
Capt. PEARY. That I exhibited it to the committee.

Mr. Roberts. And they read it?
Capt. PEARY. How much the different members of the committee read I can not say

Mr. Roberts. And you submitted the data of your astronomical observations?

Capt. Prary. That I had there.
Mr. Roberts. You did submit at that time?
Capt. Prary. That is my impression. I had it there with me, and I presume they saw portions of it, perhaps all of it.
Mr. Roberts. Did they verify any of the computations in your presence; that is figure over again the necessary computations?
Capt. Prary. The only thing that I can say is that I think Prof. Gannett was making some figures. Whether he carried out the full computations or not, I can not say.
Mr. Roberts. Do you recall Admiral Chester going over the astronomical computations?
Capt. Prary. I remember Admiral Chester having a chart showing the projection of the sun.
Mr. Roberts. How many hours would you say. as the best estimate you can give, you were there with that committee?
Capt. Prary. Well, I should say that I was there the greater portion of the day.
Mr. Roberts. I don't know that we have it here. Do you recall when it was that you were there? Do you recall the month or the day?
Capt. Prary. It was sometime in October, I should say.

Capt. Peary. It was sometime in October, I should say.

Mr. Roberts. Did you bring with you to Admiral Chester's house your instruments?

Mr. Roberts. Did you bring with you to Admiral Chester's house your instruments?

Capt. Peary. No.
Mr. Roberts. Where were they?
Capt. Peary. They were at the station.
Mr. Roberts. Did the committee see those instruments?
Capt. Peary. They did.
Mr. Roberts. Did they see them? Where did they see them?
Capt. Peary. At the station.
Mr. Roberts. Did you go with them?
Capt. Peary. I did.
Mr. Roberts. Do you recall what time you got to the station?
Capt. Peary. No, sir, I do not, except it was pretty well along in the evening.
Mr. Roberts. It was after dark?
Capt. Peary. It was after dark.
Mr. Roberts. When you got to the station what did you or the committee do with regard to the instruments?
Capt. Peary. I beg your pardon, what was that?
Mr. Roberts. First, bow did the instruments come down?
Capt. Peary. They came in a trunk.
Mr. Roberts. Your trunk?
Capt. Peary. Yes.
Mr. Roberts. After you reached the station and found the trunk what did you and the committee do with regard to the instruments?
Capt. Peary. I should say that we opened the trunk there in the station.
Mr. Roberts. That is, in the baggage room of the station? station

Mr. ROBERTS. That is, in the baggage room of the station?

Mr. Roberts. That is, in the baggage room of the station?
Capt. Peart. Yes.
Mr. Roberts. Were the instruments all taken out?
Capt. Peart. That I could not say. Members of the committee will probably remember that better than I.
Mr. Roberts. Well, you do not have any recollection of whether they took them out and examined them?
Capt. Peart. Some were taken out, I should say; whether all were taken out I could not say.
Mr. Roberts. Was any test of those instruments made by any member of the committee to ascertain whether or not the instruments were accurate?
Capt. Peart. That I could not say.

Capt. Pears. That I could not say.
I should imagine that it would not be possible to make tests there.
Mr. Roberts. Were those instruments ever in the possession of the committee other than the inspection at the station?
Capt. Pears. Not to my knowledge.
Mr. Roberts. Has this original memorandum you read from ever been left in the hands of the committee?
Capt. Pears. No.
Mr. Roberts. Have they ever had copies of it?
Capt. Pears. When did they get copies?
Capt. Pears. That I can not say.
Mr. Roberts. Before or after they had made a report to the society?
Capt. Pears. That I could not say.

clety?

Capt. Pearr. That I could not say.

Mr. BUTLER. The end of your fifth day, after you left what we have termed here Camp Bartlett, what was the condition of the atmosphere; how far do you suppose you could see, what distance?

Capt. Pearr. At Camp Bartlett?

Mr. BUTLER. At the end of your fifth day, when you were near the pole at Camp Jesup, we will call it, what distance do you suppose you could see with the naked eye?

Capt. Pearr. We could see on the ice as far as the visual horizon would permit.

Mr. BUTLER. What distance was that, in miles?

Capt. Pearr. If we were 20 feet above the sea level it would be probably 9 miles.

Mr. BUTLER. You could see 9 miles?

probably 9 miles.

Mr. BUTLER. You could see 9 miles?
Capt PEARY. That is an estimate.
Mr. DAWSON. Could you tell me, for my information, about what latitude north at the time you were up there at that period of the year the condition of all daylight prevailed?
Capt. PEARY. I beg your pardon. Mr. Dawson.
Mr. DAWSON. About what latitude does this condition of no night

Mr. Dawson. About what latitude does this condition of no night appear?

Capt. Peary. Anywhere within the Arctic Circle there is a greater or less period of constant daylight.

Mr. Dawson is the condition of daylight practically the same, other conditions being the same, throughout the 24 hours?

Capt. Peary. If the sun is continuously above the horizon; yes, Of course, there is a period when the sun is below the horizon; that is, the transition from the winter night to the summer day is through a time when there is alternating night and day. The sun will be below the horizon part of the time, but after the sun gets above the horizon continuously then the light is essentially the same throughout the 24 hours.

Mr. Dawson. In the course of your trip, when you were in this condition of perpetual day, for how many periods of 24 hours; that is, how many calendar days were you in this perpetual daylight; was it all the way from Camp Columbia, up and back?

Capt. Peary. Not from Camp Columbia; no. From about the 26th of March, where we were, there was constant daylight from there to the pole and back.

Mr. Bayes. Did you select this time of year with reference to its being most advantageous?
Capt. Peary. No: I started on my sledge trip at the earliest possible moment we could travel, with the first returning light, leaving the ship the 15th of February.

Mr. Buyler. Leaving the Roosevelt on the 15th of February?
Capt. Peary. Yes.

Mr. Roberts. Just one question or two I forgot. You spoke of submitting copies of your records to the Royal Geographic Society of London. Did they request you to do so?
Capt. Peary. I was asked if I would bring my records with me.

Mr. Roberts. On what occasion?
Capt. Peary. When I went over there; I stated that I would bring them and submit them to the society.

Mr. Roberts. Did you take the originals?
Capt. Peary. I did.

Mr. Roberts. But you submitted copies?
Capt. Peary. I submitted copies.

Mr. Roberts. That was after the award of the medal?
Capt. Peary. Has any other geographic or scientific body requested you to submit proofs?
Capt. Peary. No; not that I recall.

Mr. Roberts. Has any other geographic or scientific body requested you to submit proofs?
Capt. Peary. I do not recall that I have.

TESTIMONY OF MR. O. H. TITTMANN.

Mr. Bayes. Are you the Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic

TESTIMONY OF MR. O. H. TITTMANN.

Mr. BATES. Are you the Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic

Mr. Bates. Are you the september of your bureau Messrs. Hugh Mr. Tittmann. I am.
Mr. Bates. Have you in the employ of your bureau Messrs. Hugh Mitchell and C. R. Duval.
Mr. Tittmann. Yes, sir.
Mr. Bates. What are they, what is their business?
Mr. Tittmann. They are professional computers.
Mr. Bates. As the head of that bureau, what would you say as to their efficiency in that line of work?
Mr. Tittmann. I think they are unsurpassed anywhere in ability or experience.

the clock error and of the observer's being off the meridian as much as 5 miles would decrease this latitude by about 28".

"IV. Observations by Peary at Camp Jesup. A snapshot of the sun, a single altitude of one limb, was obtained on April 6, when the sun was on meridian 67½" west. The principal value of this observation is to check the observations of the next day, April 7, when the sun was on meridian 67½" west. The principal value of this observation is to check the observations of the next day, April 7, when the sun was on determination of the geographic position of Camp Jesup, as follows:

"Latitude 89° 55' 23".

"Longitude 137° 00' west.

"This places Camp Jesup 4.6 geographic miles from the North Pole.

"This latitude is not sensitive to errors of the clock, the clock correction of 10 minutes changing the latitude by only 5" or 6". Errors of observation in measuring altitude, while entering more strongly into the result, are apt to work against one another and minimize their combined effect. It is probable that this position is not in error by more than 2 geographic miles.

"After taking the observations at noon of the 6th at Camp Jesup, the expedition marched straight ahead 10 geographic miles and took a set of observations on the sun, the time being midnight, sixtieth meridian (west) time. This line of travel has been plotted, assuming that its direction is directly opposite to the direction of the sun when the noonsight of April 6 was obtained. Assuming a longitude from the plotting made, and computing the latitude from the observations, we get the latitude of point of observations of April 6 midnight equal to 89° 49°, which may be in doubt by as much as 3 miles. This agrees satisfactorily with 89° 504' which was scaled off the map.

"On the morning of the 7th, when observations showed that Camp Jesup was probably in the direction of Bering Sea from the pole, a march of 8 miles was made in the direction of the sun, under the belief it was being viewed directly over the pole. Computations of the azim

two, assuming that Camp Jesup was about in the longitude that these others gave, it determined a latitude within 2 or 3 miles of what the other two gave—

Mr. ROBERTS. You say a single observation on a celestial body does not give you a position?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes.

Mr. ROBERTS. And yet you take two and it gives you a position?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes; but it was not comparable with the others for accuracy. And here was a third one, was it not?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes; but it was not comparable with the others for accuracy. And yet it agreed with them within the limit of what you might call the accuracy of the observation.

Mr. ROBERTS. It was inaccurate, that first one?

Mr. MITCHELL. It was more inaccurate than the other.

Mr. HOBERTS. Were they inaccurate?

Mr. MITCHELL. It was more inaccurate than the other.

Mr. HOBERTS. How do you know how inaccurate they were?

Mr. MITCHELL. It will be sun in the same independent poservations on the 6th and 7th, with the sun in the same independent within 2 or 3 miles. That would be an index that they were pretty nearly right.

Mr. ROBERTS. You had three there.

Mr. MITCHELL. If you have enough you can; if you have only two, you can not.

Mr. ROBERTS. You had three there.

Mr. MITCHELL. If you have enough you can; if you have only two, you can not.

Mr. ROBERTS. You had three there.

Mr. MITCHELL. Well, it is hard to say—

Mr. DAWSON. Did you say the first one was taken under unfavorable conditions?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes; and it was incomplete. It is not competent to determine the possible error of the complete observations.

Mr. ROBERTS. Thow do you know the conditions were unfavorable on that first observation?

Mr. MITCHELL. Before leaving New York the chronometer was placed, as I understand it from this letter, part of the record, in the hands of Bilss & Co. to have its daily rate determined. That means for them to determine whether it rom this letter, part of the record, in the hands of Bilss & Co. to have its daily rate determined. That means for them to determine whether it w

certain amount and that the average care.

Mr. Roberts. What rate did you use in making your corrections?

Mr. MITCHELL I used the true average rate for that period—

Mr. Roberts. That is the difference between the number of seconds it was slow on the start and the number of minutes it was fast when it got back.

Mr. MITCHELL. I have forgotten whether it was slow or fast on the start.

Mr. MITCHELL. I have forgotten whether it was slow or fast on the start.

Mr. ROBERTS. Can you tell why that clock changed its habits of life so suddenly and remarkably?

Mr. MITCHELL. Well, there is nothing remarkable about it. There has never been a chronometer that did not have a rate: even in the most precise work we do it is necessary to deduce a rate, and of course, the question of when that changes its rate is a matter of assumption. But clocks are subject to temperature and handling, and the best we can do in a case like that, when we have only two comparisons, is to assume that the rate between those two comparisons is constant.

Mr. ROBERTS. Is it not usual for a watch or chronometer or clock that is losing to continue to lose?

Mr. MITCHELL. No.

Mr. ROBERTS. It will of its own accord turn around and begin to gain, will it?

Mr. MITCHELL. In our most precise longitude work the same chronometer will have a plus rate one night and a minus rate the next night.

nometer will have a plus rate one night and a minus rate the next night.

Mr. Roberts. What was the difference between the extreme and the average rate that you used? You used the average. What is the difference between that and the extreme?

Mr. MITCHELL. I do not catch the question.

Mr. Roberts. For instance, as I understand it, when the chromometer came back it was, we will assume, five minutes fast.

Mr. MITCHELL. The correction we used at the time of computation.

Mr. Horson. You are talking about the error and he is talking about the rate.

Mr. Mitchell (continuing). Was a correction of 10 minutes.

Mr. Roberts. I am trying to get the thing clear for myself and for the record. As I understand, when the chronometer was rated it was

Mr. Roberts. I am trying to get the thing clear for myself and for the record. As I understand, when the chronometer was rated it was losing.

Mr. Mitchell. Yes.

Mr. Roberts. And it was predicted that it would lose so many seconds per day?

Mr. Mitchell. Yes.

Mr. Roberts. Then at some period it turned around and began to gain, so that when the chronometer came back to Bliss & Co. it was found to be—can you tell us how many minutes fast?

Mr. Mitchell. No; I can not. It is a matter of record in that letter, I believe.

Mr. Roberts. How much faster was it when the clock came back?

Mr. Mitchell. That is in the Bliss & Co. letter; it is in the record that the Coast Survey sent over.

Mr. ROBERTS. You do not recall, then, how much that chronometer was fast?

Mr. MITCHELL. Not at the first comparison. I remember what we determined to be the first correction to the chronometer at the time of the observations. That is contained in that paper in front of you.

Mr. ROBERTS. You had to have a starting point to base that on?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes.

Mr. ROBERTS. And that must have been the extreme variations of that chronometer?

Mr. ROBBITS. And that must have been the extreme variations of that chronometer?

Mr. Mitchell. If that letter can be found I think your question will be answered there in several lines.

Mr. ROBBITS. Well, we can not find the letter, and I would like to have you answer it, if you will.

Mr. Mitchell. I can not remember that; I can not answer that.

Mr. Hobson. It is clear that he used the average rate up to that time.

Mr. MITCHELL. I can not remember that; I can not answer that.

Mr. Horson. It is clear that he used the average rate up to that time.

Mr. Roberts. That is what I am getting at; but I want to know how much it varied from the actual time of the chronometer. That is what I am after.

Mr. Hobson. He has to take the time of the chronometer—

Mr. Hobson. What difference would it make in an observation, taken at the greatest variation of that chronometer from true time, when you applied what you called an average rate to it? That is, what difference would it make in locating a spot on the surface of the earth?

Mr. MITCHELL. I made the computation first without applying that chronometer correction. I did not have it at first. Later I applied that chronometer correction of minus 10 minutes, and the latitude was changed by the introduction of that chronometer correction of 10 minutes—the change was in the neighborhood of 5 seconds.

Mr. Roberts. What does that mean in geographic miles?

Mr. Roberts. And that was the result of the assumed average rate, as you term it, that you applied? When you come right down to it, that average rate was a matter of guesswork, was it not?

Mr. ROBERTS. Well, we all guess within limits, do we not?

Mr. ROBERTS. Well, we all guess within limits, do we not?

Mr. ROBERTS. Well, we all guess within limits, do the rating of those chronometers for the purpose of using them in working up those detail records?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes,

chronometers for the purpose of using them in working up those detail records?

Mr. Mitchell. Yes.

Mr. Englebright. It was not for the purpose of the subject we have under consideration, but for another purpose?

Mr. Mitchell. Yes; it was for another purpose.

Mr. Butler. Mr. Mitchell has been vouched for and that satisfied

Mr. Butler. Mr. Mitchell has been vouched for and that satisfied me—
Mr. Mitchell, I do not know whether I can live up to Dr. Tittmann's recommendation—
Mr. Butler. But I will ask you how long you have been making such computations?
Mr. Mitchell. I have been a computer in the Coast and Geodetic Survey for seven years, and as such have handled a large number of the miscellaneous computations as well as the routine computations. They have involved a great many computations of different classes.
Mr. Butler. Suppose these figures submitted to you by Capt. Peary had been made here in Washington or in New York or Boston, how could you have made the detection?
Mr. Mitchell. Well, that is rather a difficult question to answer. I believe it is altogether a matter of experience that any dishonesty in observations or computations will show up in the reduction of those observations or computations. I can not say that at a particular point a certain figure would show that something was wrong; I can not say that. It is purely a matter of experience in the past.
Mr. Dawsov. But at the same time it will show?
Mr. Butler. At some point of the work it will come out; yes. That is a belief. That is not a mathematical demonstration.
Mr. Butler. How about this map?
Mr. Hobson, I request that this be maintained for use in the committee and on the floor of the House, or even a larger copy made of it for that purpose, if there is no objection of Mr. Tittmann.
Mr. Speaker, the foregoing is all the so-called evidence or

Mr. Speaker, the foregoing is all the so-called evidence or proof presented by Robert E. Peary or any member of his expedition or any of his friends in support of his claim to the discovery of the North Pole. The flimsy meretricious nature of this so-called evidence is so plainly apparent that, instead of proving Peary's claim, it shows finally and conclusively that Robert E. Peary did not discover, attain, or reach the North

Abraham Lincoln.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH TAGGART. OF KANSAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 12, 1916.

Mr. TAGGART. Mr. Speaker, on this birthday of Abraham Lincoln it gives me pleasure to put into the Record a memorial of some of the men who served in the mighty Army that he commanded. We have read and we have heard harsh words applied to men who were born in a different land. We have heard them spoken of on the floor of this House as if they were the enemies of the United States and were so excited about the Europea war that they forgot their loyalty to their adopted country. They have been called "hyphenated Americans." A former President of the United States claims the distinction of being the first to use this epithet.

This is a day in which we should reflect and look back into the history of our country. This country is the Old World transplanted in the new. Men came to America to make it a home for themselves and their children for all time to come. This is particularly true of the Germans. One of the secrets of their great success is that they not only came to stay, but when once settled they stayed in one place. They are a permanent people.

In 1861 the preservation of this Government depended on the men who went to the front at the call of Abraham Lincoln.

We needed soldiers then, and that great military people, whose achievements have filled the world with wonder, responded with unfailing loyalty to the call for volunteers. There were less than 8,000 Germans in Kansas in 1860, including men, women, and children. The record shows that no other class of men enlisted more promptly than they. The First Kansas Volunteer Infantry was mustered into the service of the United States within six weeks after the first call. In two weeks more the men of the First were marching toward the front, and on August 10, 1861, when they were less than four months in the service, they took a glorious part in the first great battle of the Civil War in the West, at Wilsons Creek, near Springfield, Mo. For five hours the First and Second Kansas Infantry sustained a terrible fire in open ground from both infantry and artillery. Out of less than 800 men engaged the First lost 77 killed and 204 wounded. It was in the midst of this regiment that Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, who commanded the Union forces, fell gallantly in defense of his country. He was descended from the Puritan fathers and belonged to one of the families that first settled Connecticut. In that forgetfulness that is our besetting sin we have failed to mark the spot where this hero and nearly a thousand of the men who were with him gave their lives under

The Regular Army officers who were present were lavish in the compliments that they bestowed on the new regiment. They

said that the men of Kansas fought like veterans.

The First Kansas Infantry was typical of many of the regiments that were raised in the West. They were like the West of that day:

For here the exile met from every clime, And spoke in friendship every distant tongue; Men from the blood of warring Europe sprung Were here divided by the running brook.

It gives me pleasure to insert in the Record the names of 141 officers and enlisted men of the First Kansas Infantry who answered the first call for volunteers in 1861 and were present at the first great battle for the Union west of the Mississippi River, at Wilsons Creek, near Springfield, Mo., August 10, 1861.

The records of these men, as shown by the report of the adjutant general of Kansas, 1864, were honest and faithful. Their nativity is carefully indicated in the same report. The names are not all spelled correctly in the Adjutant General's report. Those names were not as familiar then as they are now:

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, FIRST KANSAS INFANTRY, WHO WERE NATIVES OF GERMANY.

Capt. Gustavus Zesch, Lieut. Francis Becker, Lieut. Charles Dressel, Lieut. Frederick W. Patz, Lieut. Henry Sarstedt, Lieut. Emil Umfried.

Charles Anacker, Louis Asher, Adolph Baun, Frederick Becker, Thomas Behne, Peter Bender, Ernest Benedict, Henry Berger, C. Berntzen, George Bissman, Charles F. Boehme, Frederick Boehme, Henry Boehme, Caesar Boehme, Reinhold Brandt, Fred Breet, Christian Brunke, Gustavus Conrade, Frederick Daub, Charles D. Dauphin, John Draher, Antoine Dresback, Ferdinand Duerr, Ferdinand Dupskie, Otto Eckert, Otto Fabricus (Company F), Otto Fabricus (Company F), Charles Fillweber, Alex. Foerstner, Albert Formowski, Charles Franke, Henry Franke, Fred Friedriskie, Charles F. Fritton, Joseph Gornett, Ferdinand Gottlieb, Edward Gottzhow, Francis J. Grimm, Martin Grubber, Christian Grund, Frank Gunther, Francis Hackel, Peter J. Hager, Jacob Haiter, Rudolph Hanni, Andrew Hannibal, Gottlieb Hamrith, F. Heshenbeiner, Henry Hiller, Henry Hinck, Leopold Hipp, John Hitzman, Gotthardt Hoel, Frederick Hoffman, H. Hoffsommer, Frederick Kaler, A. Kaller, John Krestel, H. Kettlegerdes, Peter Killian, Chris. Kintzle, George Kintzel, Christian Klein, Adam Knauber, George Kneupfer, Philip Knoblock, Bartholomy Koch, John Kotz, Frederick Kousserow, John Krengel, Theodore Kroll, Andrew Kruth, John Kruth, C. Landenberger, Henry Kempke, Richard D. Lender, George Linderman, Charles Linder, Henry Lorenzen, Frederick Luetgens, Frederick Mahn, William Mamby (Mambe), Mathias Marshall, George Mattern, Peter May, Christian Meyer,

Laurenz Miller, Frank Moritz, A. E. Moritz, John Mueller, Joseph Munzenmayer, Benedist Neuner, Charles Otto, Albert Permosky, Claus Peters, August Rathman, Charles Rauchfoss, John Reheis, Julius Relhan, Joseph Repp, Adam Reinhol, Charles Rinecke, William Rinehart, Herman Sabban, Mathais Saile, Frederick Shay (Schee), Andrew Scheid, Peter Schenaw, Peter Schinte, Andrew Schmidt, F. W. Schmidt, George Schmidt, Charles Schneider, Charles Schubye, Conrad Schuechlor, Conrad Schueler, Fred Schultheiss, A. Schumann, Gustav Sels, Louis W. Sherman, Ellas Simon, F. Specolman, George Speiser, Gustavus Straibich, Valentine Subacher, John Treu, Theodore Voeth, Otto Volk, Gottfreid Vollfried, B. Waggoner, Theodore Wagner, Louis Walb, Charles Walter, Henry Warner, Emanuel Weigert, Edward Weigert, Charles Weisenborn, John Woerts, Augustus Wolf, Peter Young.

Fifteen of these brave men proved their devotion to the cause of the Union with their lives in their first battle. They gave us all they had—their brave young lives; and here 1 reverently

record the names of those citizen soldiers.

GERMANS OF THE FIRST KANSAS INFANTRY KILLED IN THE BATTLE OF WILSONS CREEK, MO., AUGUST 10, 1861.

Thomas Behne, Ernest Benedict, Caesar Brandt, Fredetick Daub, George N. Devein, Charles Fillweber, Alex. Forstner, Frank Gunther, Peter Killian, Adam Reinhol, Herman Sabbam, Conrad Schuechlor, Louis G. Sherman (Schurman), Charles Walter, and Edward Weigert.

"Stern history shall not forget the man who flings away his life for truth."

The Eighth Kansas Infantry was enrolled in the autumn of 1861 for three years. The men who enlisted then knew that they were enlisting for a real war. This regiment, like the First, had many different elements in it. It ranks high among the organizations that have served the United States. The Eighth took an active part in every great battle in the West, and if a medal was struck for the survivors it would be proper, if there was room, to place the following names on it:

Perryville, Chickamauga, Orchard Knob, Mission Ridge, Kenesaw Mountain, Peach Tree Creek, Atlanta, Nashville, and a half dozen other engagements—every one of greater consequence

than San Juan Hill.

It is my pleasure also to insert in the Record the names of 134 officers and men who rendered faithful service in the Eighth Kansas Infantry, and all of whom, as shown by the record, were natives of Germany:

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, EIGHTH KANSAS INFANTRY.

Lieut, Col. Edward F. Schneider, Capt. Ferdinand A. Berger, Capt. Claudius Kiefer, Lieut, William Becker, and Lieut, Zach, Burchardt,

ENLISTED MEN EIGHTH KANSAS INFANTRY.

COMPANY A.

Fred M. Berger, Charles Engleman, Christian Harrold, Augustus Miller, Theodore Otter, Jacob Rider.

COMPANY B.

Burnhardt Aring, John Binger (color bearer, succeeding Charles Rovohl), John P. Buckler, George Boss, Charles Brenter, Henry Dahms, Gustavus Deacon, John Dick, Henry Derris, Frederick Frank, John Glaser, John Ganski, Joseph Gans, Casper Geyer, Peter Ginther, August Golsch, John Griesel, William Haack, Henry Hegner, Henry Hagen, Jacob Hartman, Frederick Hegele, Louis Hepp, Georges Hess, Frank Heyer, Albert Hinzpeter, Peter Hoffman, Christian Kaelber, John Keck, Fred Kempter, Jacob Kenck, Adam Klein, Aubert Kneip, Dionis Kneip, Frederick Kraut, Adolph Kruger, Benedict Kulmus, John Ladenzor, William Melchert, Jacob Mauger, Christian Marx, John Maurer, Emil Peters, Theodore Reck, Charles Ruek, Edward Ruppert, Wendel Ruther, Charles Schmetz, D. Schmitt, Charles Subold, Christian Staudan, Andrew Stalger, Henry Stroth, F. Struckmann, Frederick Sulzer, Augustus Schultz, Phillip Trump, John Ulrick, John H. Ulrick, Franz B. Vogel, Charles Weyel, Charles Waiter, Eugene Wettke, Peter Wettstein, Anton Wideman, Edward Zapp.

COMPANY C.

Barney Blenker, Leonard Boor, G. Brandner, William Becker, John H. Creamer, Henry Gilbert, Edward Hamil, Adam Keutzler, F. Kleeschult, Henry Lushe, Francis Shelling, Augustus Urban, Christian Vogler, Jacob Widmire, Louis Weise.

COMPANY D.

C. M. G. Dusenchor.

COMPANY E.

William Boerst, Frawry Blaise, Henry Bockell, Henry Grümur, Charles Kenntner, Henry Lutby, Henry Naegle, J. H. Peppmire.

COMPANY F.

George Adam Deitz, Andrew Deatrich, Jacob Miller, Charles Nobiles, Jacob Nohles, Peter Walters, Christian Wagner, John

Herman Christell, Christian Herman, Jacob Maitinger, Christian Schwope, Gotlieb Schope, Frederick Weis, John G. Weis, Felix Wentzell.

COMPANY H.

William Helving, Henry Niemeier, Henry Pelstein, Lewis Schmidt.

COMPANY I.

Francis Lisko, Charles Rovohl (color bearer, killed in action at Chickamauga), Martin Snider, Henry Seers, Gottfried Watts. COMPANY K.

Ernest F. Grosche, H. Heiderbreder, August Kosemann, Henry Kerissen, Jacob Kyle, Michael Malter, F. Niederbroker, Henry Ortcutter.

I can not forbear to insert here an account of two color bearers of the Eighth Kansas Infantry as given by their gallant colonel, John A. Martin, who was twice elected governor of The names of these two heroes, Charles O. Rovohl and John Binger, are found in the list that I have inserted.

Kansas. The names of these two heroes, Charles O. Rovohl and John Binger, are found in the list that I have inserted.

A man who might have stood for the original of the principal figure of Rogers's "Last Shot" was Charles O. Rovohl. Tall, erect, compactly built, masterful in strength, with a fine head set on a finely proportioned body, his appearance would have attracted attention in any crowd of men. His soldierly qualities were no less conspicuous, and he was soon chosen for that post of honor and of danger, the regimental color bearer. He had enlisted in Company I, Eighth Kansas, at White Cloud, April 3, 1862; on the 1st of January, 1863, he was promoted to be a corporal; and in August, 1863, he was appointed color bearer of the regiment.

Around him at Chickamauga was a remarkable group of boyish-looking soldiers, the eight corporals constituting the color guard: William E. Wendell, Company E; Thomas Adamson, Company D; John Binger, Company B; George Mathews, Company F; Charles Morgan, Company H; Benjamin Sprouse, Company G; Hugh Turner, Company K; and Allen B. Bozarth, Company H. Rovohl was about 26 years of age; most of his comrades were under 21. Selected, as the color guard always is, from different companies, and with a carefulness inspired by regimental pride, the color bearer and his guard of honor formed a striking group—he tall, powerful, manly, grave, and silent; they boyish, beardless, laughing, chattering, careless, but one and all of them daring and gallant beyond what was common even in those heroic years.

Within an hour after the battle began, Rovohl, the color bearer, was mortally wounded. When he fell his comrades indulged in a fierce dispute as to which of them was entitled to carry the flag. Several claimed it, but Wendell, affirming his scalority of rank as a corporal, secured it. Two of them proposed to carry Rovohl to the surgeons in the rear, but he refused all help, saying: "My life is nothing; keep the flag to the front." Corp. Wendell was soon mortally wounded, and Adamson then t

The grandsons of the survivors of these men of the First and Eighth Kansas Infantry are among us in Kansas. They could fill two regiments. They have the same undaunted fortitude and steadiness that their grandfathers had. We could depend upon them in any emergency. They would never let the flag touch the ground.

Productive Capacity of the United States in Dyestuffs.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EBENEZER J. HILL.

OF CONNECTICUT.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 12, 1916.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter on the productive capacity of the United States in dyestuffs.

The letter is as follows:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CLOTHIERS, 13 Astor Place, New York, February 4, 1916.

To the Hon. WILLIAM G. REDFIELD,

Secretary of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am addressing you this letter on behalf of the representatives of the various leading organizations, composed of individuals, firms, and corporations, directly interested in and seriously affected by the shortage in this country of the supply of dyes made from coal-tar products. These representatives of organizations formed themselves into a joint conference committee.

I trust you will accept this communication in the spirit in which it is written. The members in all the organizations referred to are inspired by the same desire which I believe inspires you—to help the country out of the dilemma in which it finds itself through a cause not of its own making and to provide for such protection as may be necessary for the establishment of an American coal-tar dye product industry and for the permanent upbuilding thereof.

In the line of this work the facts have been presented to the officers of the State Department and its foreign trade advisers, as well as to the great department of which you are the honored head. In addition conferences have been held with the official representatives of the British and German Governments, respectively.

These steps were taken in the hope that some arrangement might be made by which there could come to this country a sufficient supply of German dyes to tide over the present crisis, which threatens to become even more serious than it is now.

The joint conference committee also actively supported the bill in the House of Representatives introduced therein by Congressman E. J. Hill, of Connecticut, and known by his name, which is now before the Ways and Means Committee, providing for a tariff which shall suitably protect the American industry.

Frequent conferences have been held with and much valuable data obtained from the officials of your department, and thanks are due for the hearty cooperation which has always been shown not only by yourself, but by Dr. E. E. Pratt, Chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce; his assistant, Mr. E. A. Brandt; and Dr. Thomas H. Norton, the dyestuff specialist of that bureau.

Those forming the joint conference committee were greatly surprised at reading in the public prints, just after the last visit of the committee to Washington, extracts from a monograph prepared by Dr. Norton in November, 1915, from which it would appear to the average layman that this country was then making practically one-hal

near cells are obtained from Germany in the near future there was no real cells of a light, or not until after such period as the industry should have become perfected in this country, which would not be for a long time.

The statements presented to the Ways and Means Committee and to Government officials were made by practical manufacturers in the industries affected by the existing conditions, such, for instance, as those engaged in the manufacture of domestic dyes, the converters, the manufacturers of cloth and cotton goods of all kinds, of hosiery and underwear, of upholistery, of carpets, of worsted cloths, of clothing, of paper and pulp, of lithographs, of carpets, of chemicals, of paints, olls, and material is a basic factor. These the manufacture of which coloring exactly the conditions affecting their respective industries. They also have first-hand knowledge of the effect of the shortage of dyes, as well as the effect on their respective lines of manufacture of the unsatisfactory substitute dyes to which many of them have been obliged to resort. The situation had, as you know become further complicated by the action of Great Britain in placing an embargo on logwood chips and extract from Janaica and British Honduras. Conditions have been action of Great Britain in placing an embargo on logwood chips and extract from Janaica and British Honduras. Conditions have been. Dr. Norton's paper we summon of that embargo.

Dr. Norton's paper we summon of the embargo on logwood chips and extract from Janaica and British Honduras. Conditions have been any other man in the United States the actual facts in the domestic dyestiff situation. He was also be

"To this end I would ask you to kindly furnish me with a list of the dyestuffs you are at present manufacturing together with quan-titles of the same. In case you consider it inexpedient to furnish me with this detailed information, I would appreciate it even if you would

furnish me with the different classes of dyes you are actually manufacturing together with aggregate amounts of the same. Any information in this line which you will furnish will be held absolutely confidential, as in my report only the total quantities of different classes of dyestuffs will be presented.

"Trusting that you will recognize it to be to your best interests to cooperate with me in this matter and awaiting your prompt reply, 1 am."

Quite a number of these firms have written me in reply and have given me some very satisfactory information. The comments that I have to make on these various companies from their replies or otherwise are as follows:

"The Barrett Mfg. Co.: Make only coal-tar crudes.

"Bayway Chemical Co.: No reply—can obtain no information.

"Baind & McGuire: No reply—can obtain no information.

"Samuel Cabot: Make only crossote preservatives and protective paints—no dyestuff products.

"Isaac Winkler & Co.: Naval stores—no dye products.

"Thomas A. Edison: No dyestuffs—only aniline oil and parapheny-lendiamine—carbolic acid he uses himself for making his phonograph records.

cords.

"Benzol Products Co.: Nitrobenzol and aniline oil—no dyestuffs.

"Midvale Chemical Co.: No reply—can obtain no information.

"American Synthetic Color Co.: Make no products applicable to the xitle industry.

"Blackstone Chemical Works: No reply—can obtain no informa-

tion.

"Paul Weiller (Weiller Mfg. Co.): Small amount of aniline oil.

"Mildlesex Aniline Co.: No reply—can obtain no information; understand they are attempting to make aniline.

"May Chemical Co.: No reply—can obtain no information; understand they are planning to make aniline oil.

"Upton Bros.: No reply—can obtain no information.

"United States Coal Tar Products Co.: Planning to make sulphur black

black.
"Seydel Manufacturing Co.: Making a small amount of aniline oil.
"Chemical Co. of America: No reply—are making a small amount of

aniline oil.

"Butterworth Judson Co.: They have a small aniline plant known as Newark Aniline Co. make phenol; no dyes.

"American Synthetic Dyes: No reply—understand they are at present making only picric acid—are erecting plant for aniline.

"Standard Aniline Products Co.: Make beta naphthol, some paranitraniline and paraphenylenediamine.

"Monsante Chemical Works. No reply—can obtain no information—understand they are making some dinitrochlorbenzol used in manufacture of sulphur black.

"Middlesex Chemical Co.: Have been making some synthetic phenol; not used for dyes; at present in hands of receiver.

"Heller & Merz: No reply; understand they are making small amounts of nigrosine and magenta and soluble blue for paper trade only.

amounts of nigrosine and magenta and only.

"Central Dyestuff Co.: No reply: no information obtainable as to dyes made: understand they are trying to make betanaphthol.

"Consolidated Color & Chemical Co.: No reply; can obtain no information; understand they are planning to make betanaphthol.

"The Pearsite Co.: No reply; can obtain no information; understand this company is not in operation.

"The Federal Dyestuff & Chemical Co.: No reply; understand they are experimenting in manufacture of picric acid and sulphur black; no product as yet.

"The Federal Dyestuff & Chemical Co.: No reply; understand they are experimenting in manufacture of picric acid and sulphur black; no product as yet.

"A Klipstein & Co.: No statement of dye manufacture in this country. "The Dow Chemical Co.: Are expecting to turn out some indigo in July; make no dye products as yet.

"American Cooperative Dyes & Chemical Co. (now the Stanley Anliine Chemical Works): Are making nothing at present. Expect to produce some direct cotton dyes in near future.

"United Securities Dye & Chemical Co.: No reply; can obtain no information.

"W. Beckers Aniline & Chemical Works: Makes about 2,000 tons per year. Chrome mordant colors for wool, acid blues, methyl violet, basic navy blue, and basic black.

"Schoellkopf Aniline & Chemical Works: Makes about 3,500 tons per year. Sixty-five per cent of this consists of cotton blacks and sulphur black, cotton red. cotton blue, cotton green, cotton yellow, and cotton orange. Some wool colors in small amount.

"The Bayer Co.: Makes about 900 tons per year of coal-tar dyes, including soluble blue, Bismarck brown, chrysoldine, and nigrosine.

"The consensus of opinion, both as obtained from buyers of dyestuffs and from the presumed manufacturers, is that there are only three companies in the United States at the present time that are actually producing finished dvestuffs in any quantity worth consideration in a commercial way and for use in the textile industries. These companies are the Schoelikopf Aniline & Chemical Works, at Buffalo, who are now producing at the rate of approximately 3,500 tons of dyestuffs per year, of which 65 per cent consists of blacks, presumably direct cotton black and sulphur black, and the rest is made up of a few other direct cotton dyestuffs and some wool colors. The W. Beckers Aniline & Chemical Works, of Brooklyn, appear to be producing 2,000 tons of dyes per year, principality of chrome mordant colors for wool dyeing based on logwood and gallocyanine and a couple of acid blues and a few basic colors, such as methyl v

Bayer Co., of Rensselaer, are producing about 900 tons of basic dyes chiefly.

"Most of the manufacturers mentioned in Dr. Norton's article, in so far as their producing any materials which may be classed as dyestuff productions, are making only comparatively small quantities of anilline. The Standard Anilline Co., at Wappingers Falls, N. Y., is producing betanapthol and paranitraniline. A number of the companies listed in Dr. Norton's article do not seem to have produced any commercial dyestuffs, such as the Pearsite Co., the Federal Dyestuff & Chemical Co., A. Kilpstein & Co., of West Charleston, the American Cooperative Dyes & Chemical Co., and the United Securities Dye & Chemical Co. In fact, it has been impossible to obtain any information as to the operations of most of these corporations, the general impression being that they are merely paper concerns with an indefinite future, "Heller & Merz, of Newark, N. J., are manufacturing some dyestuffs such as migrosine and some magenta products, but these colors appear to be used exclusively in the paper trade and form a very small amount of the actual demand even in this amount of work. The chief color produced by this firm is ultramarine blue, which is a mineral pigment and is not used in textile dyeing. I am appending herewith the replies I have received from the various concerns, and I am forced to the opin-

does that the only real producers yet in America as finishers of coal tar dyestuffs are the three firms already mentioned, the Schoellkopf Aniline & Chemical Works, of Buffalo; the W. Beckers Aniline & Chemical Works, of Brooklyn; and the Bayer Co., at Rensselaer.

"You will notice that nearly all these manufacturers of coal-tar products agree with us that Dr. Norton's statements are very much exaggerated, and they all claim that it will be necessary for the Government to give some proper protection to the industry in order to allow it to become firmly established.

"In conclusion I would like to say that as a result of my various communications with these manufacturers and from my conversations with several of them and many other people interested in both the consumption and manufacture of dyestuffs, my opinion is that there are at the present time about 0,500 tons of dyestuffs being made in the United States, but this tonnage is confined very largely to a very few colors and includes mostly black dyes. A small quantity of what are known as colors, such as reds, greens, blues, yellows, etc., only are produced, and of the great majority of colors used in wool, silk, and cotton dyeing there are absolutely none as yet made in this country.

"L. M. Matthews."

"J. M. MATTHEWS."

Undoubtedly a great deal of confusion has been created in the public mind by some of the published statements, as taken from the pamphlet prepared by Dr. Norton, well intentioned though they be. The committee believes that you are as much interested as it is in clarifying the atmosphere which has been thus created, and therefore takes great pleasure in submitting to you the report of Dr. Matthews.

With kind regards and expression of high esteem, I beg to remain, Respectfully, yours,

(Signed) DAVID KIRSCHBAUM.

(Chairman of the joint conference committee representing the following industries: Textile Alliance (Inc.); American Association of Woolen & Worsted Manufacturers; National Association of Wool Manufacturers; Silk Association of America; National Association of Clothiers; National Association of Hostery and Underwer; United Upholstery Manufacturers' Association; National Association of Cotton Dyers and Printers; Eastern Millinery Association; Worsted Spinners' Association; National Association of Finishers of Cotton Fabrics; Cloth Manufacturers' Association of Philadelphia; Fur Dressers and Fur Dyers' Association; Fur-Feit Hat Manufacturers; Converters' Association: Paint, Oil, and Varnish Manufacturers' Association; American Paper & Pulp Association: National Association of Lithographers: Master Dyers' Association; Carpet Manufacturers; Importers of Dyestuffs; Domestic Manufacturers of Dyestuffs; Logwood Chip & Extract Importers; Wall Paper Manufacturers; Converters for Silk Manufacturers; National Shoe Retailers' Association (Inc.) of the United States of America; Straw Braid & Body Hat Manufacturers.) (Signed) DAVID KIRSCHBAUM.

Child Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT M. McCRACKEN,

OF IDAHO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 2, 1916.

Mr. McCRACKEN. Mr. Speaker, it seems strange, indeed, that it should be necessary in this twentieth century to legislate upon the subject of protection to little children. Man of Galilee said: "Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven. It seems impossible to believe that there is any man on earth who would dare affront the very footstool of God by compelling little children to give of their health and happiness, yea, their very souls, in order that he might thereby obtain gain. And yet we know we have just such men in parts of the United States or we would not be here to-day trying to shield the children of the Nation from those who would profit by their labor.

Did it ever occur to you how much of the business of this country is done upon the patronage of children. There is the man who sells candy and confectioneries; his business could not exist in a community where there are no children. Then there is the book and stationery man; the larger part of his business comes from children from the grades up to and through the high school. Then there is the picture-show man: how long would his business last in a community where there are no children? What do we see when we go to the county fair and to the circus? Invariably we meet the man who is selling balloons and pink lemonade and a nundred and one other things of no value in themselves, but which attract the eye of the child and induce either him or his parents to separate from a certain amount of coin. I know whereof I speak, for I have four children, ranging from 11 to 16 years, who keep me fully advised of everything that is of interest to them.

John Ruskin said:

There is no wealth but life.

How true it is. The better our children are physically, the better they will be mentally and morally. The world will get the best that there is in the healthy man and woman, and therefore the world is the better for their having lived.

The bill before the House seeks to prohibit interstate commerce in certain of the more flagrant and vicious forms of child It has been shown to us that the laws of the States of North Carolina and South Carolina permit the employement of children 12 years of age to labor in factories as much as 11 hours per day, and that there is no factory inspection whatever in the State of North Carolina. Any father and mother knows that the children of the age of 12 years need proper sleep and that their bodies should have plenty of plain nourishing food. child is so fortunate that he can find employment in the open field, then he might stand as much as 11 hours of not incessant labor without injury to him; but to think of placing a 12-year-old boy or girl in a factory or cotton mill and requiring him to apply his immature body and mind throughout a 10-hour day to a single, monotonous task, often amid noise and vibration, is placing a burden upon him which no State or Government should permit, and if permitted, as we are informed it is, by some States, then it is time for the Federal Government to lay a heavy hand upon the product of any mill or factory which may have such a ruthless disregard for child life.

The dangers to children who are permitted to labor long hours under the conditions described are best stated in a few words

of three noted physicians, whom I quote, as follows:

of three noted physicians, whom I quote, as follows:

Alfred Stengel, M. D.: I am very glad to state for any use my opinion may be in the matter of childhood legislation that I would consider a 10-hour day almost certain to be injurious to the health of an average factory child between 14 and 16 years of age.

J. William White, M. D.: I am unqualifiedly of the opinion that a 10-hour day of indoor work of any description whatever by children between 14 and 16 years of age, is sure to be harmful and to interfere with proper growth and development, both physical and mental. It is equally sure to render them more susceptible to disease, whether acquired de novo or resulting from inherited tendencies.

Charles H. Frazier, M. D.: There can be no doubt in the minds of those who have had anything to do with the physical and mental care of children that to work 10 hours a day in a factory would be injurious to their health, and particularly at a most important time of their lives. If the time allowed by law could be reduced to S hours a day, I am sure we would be accomplishing a great deal for the health of future generations.

There has been much cultiview.

There has been much criticism of the national child-labor committee in this country, but the day has come when the Nation is ready to pay its homage to those noble men and women who early saw the evils of child labor and started out to combat it. Much criticism has come to it, because it has cited a few individual cases. It is the evil which one sees in the individual case that moves individuals and nations to action. It was the single case which inspired Harriet Beecher Stowe to write her famous Uncle Tom's Cabin, yet this one picture, painted in words by a sweet-spirited woman whose heart was bleeding because of the anguish that she felt when she wrote it, moved a Nation to settle once and for all the question of the abolition of human

Dr. Felix Adler, one of the pioneers in the movement for the prohibition of child labor, said at the Child Labor Conference last August in San Francisco that his sense of duty was awakened by a single circumstance that came under his observation. He said it was a case of a man waking up a little boy of 8 years at 4 o'clock in the morning to take him to his work. The season was winter, it snowed hard outside, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that the father succeeded in rousing the little fellow. The child was so drowsy that he almost fell asleep as they were walking. Finally the father took him on his back and carried him to the brickyard where he was to stay at work all day long. "This picture," said the doctor, "of a father carrying the drowsy boy on his shoulder in the cold winter morning and then leaving him in a brickyard to work all day has remained with me as an inoffaceable, and blot on the all day has remained with me as an ineffaceable, ugly blot on the memory.

I have been an advocate of this kind of legislation for the last 10 years, and my interest in it was aroused one day when a case was presented to me while serving in the office of district attorney. In one of the towns of my county I was told that a family had recently moved there from the State of Tennessee. In this family of six people all were adults except one girl about 13, who, the father represented, had been adopted in another State. Some neighbors observed that during the cold weather, when the thermometer registered below zero, the adopted child was required to go down to the creek near the house, cut a hole in the ice, and carry back the water necessary for the family washing; then she and no else washed all day long on an open porch. Naturally, after this had happened two or three times the neighboring women became aroused and demanded, as they had a right to do, that something be done, and they came to me to ascertain if there was not some way that the case might be reached. To my amazement, I found no law upon the statute books which would meet the situation. That one case fixed my determination to bring about the enactment of a child-labor law in Idaho at the next session of the legislature. I

was elected to the Idaho Legislature in 1906, and when I arrived in the capital city I found that Mrs. Bertha Stul' Green, of Mountainhome, who is an able attorney at law, had been authorized by the Federation of Women's Clubs in my State to draft a bill which would prohibit child labor under certain

As soon as the bill was prepared I introduced it, and very soon it was before the house of representatives for debate. Strange as it may seem, there was in the far-off State of Idaho strenuous opposition to it, and in order to save the bill I was obliged to secure its recommital to the judiciary committee, where it was revised to meet the objections which had been urged against it, and finally passed both houses and was signed by the governor. It took work and vigilance on the part of all who were interested in its passage to force its final consideration; and right here I desire to mention the names of two women, Mrs. Eva Hunt Dockery and Mrs. Fred Pittenger, of Bolse, who were members of the degislative committee of the federation, and who worked faithfully and skillfully to bring about its enactment.

As you are aware, the women in my State are permitted to vote for candidates for every office from coroner to President of the United States. They not only vote, but they insist that certain laws be enacted, and I do not know of any legislation ever proposed by them that was not good and which did not receive consideration by the legislature.

The law fixing the age of consent at 18 years was promoted by the late Rebecca Mitchell, of Idaho Falls, who was one of the most skillful women I have ever known in advancing legislation

looking to the moral uplift of the State.

While the Idaho child-labor law is not all that it should be. you can depend upon it that whenever the need arises for its amendment that the women of the State will be the first to demand that the present law be changed as required to meet new conditions

I am strongly in favor of the passage of the bill now under consideration before this House, designed to prohibit child

labor in the United States.

The Dyestuffs Situation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE, OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 12, 1916.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the demand for dyestuffs in industries of the United States is becoming more and more acute. The Ways and Means Committee hearings on bill H. R. 702, proposing an increase in the rates of duty on dyestuffs, developed the fact that the ramifications of the dyestuffs influence extend throughout the industries and on to the farm. The people demand colored wearing apparel, whether it be hosiery or hats. They do not want and will not buy white goods exclusively. Hence, if the manufacturer can not obtain dyestuffs, he has less demand for raw wool and raw cotton from which textiles are made.

Germany has been the great center of the dyestuffs indus-The British embargo upon German-made products has kept them out of the American market. Great Britain, which was likewise dependent upon Germany for dyestuffs, has been compelled to subsidize dyestuffs manufacturers in England in order to keep the textile industries alive. The United States, hitherto dependent upon Germany, can not obtain relief from Great Britain, which now needs all home-made dyestuffs for her own mills, The only remedy which the United States seems to have in this crisis is to enact a tariff law which will give sufficient protection to American manufacturers to induce them to engage in the dyestuffs business. Such manufactories as we now have are not sufficient to meet the demand for dyestuffs, nor will they expand until some assurance is given that they will be protected against foreign dumping at the close of the European war.

A BUSINESS ARRANGEMENT HARD TO BEAT.

To show how Germany was able to control the dyestuffs industry prior to the war without permitting the German manufacturers to be outdone by their competitors in the United States or Great Britain, I submit a somewhat remarkable circular which has come to me with the names of the parties

It evidences a business "efficiency" which, if indulged in in the United States, would doubtless run up against the Sherman antitrust law:

JANUARY 81, 1911.

To all salesmen:

This circular on Interessen Gemeinschaft issued to Messrs. -

You must not try to get business which now belongs to either one of the two other Interessen Gemeinschaft firms, namely, the Berlin Aniline Works and the Badische Co.

If you are asked for quotations for any product which will compete against a product sold by one of the two other convention firms, you must quote so that it will cost the party 10 per cent more to dye with ours than with the product of the other Interessen Gemeinschaft firms. This applies to verbal requests for quotations or written requests as well.

You will please immediately report any infringement of this rule by either one of the two other Interessen Gemeinschaft firms.

Please return signed.

For Mr.

ENGLAND RESORTS TO SUBSIDY.

At the same time it is not to be supposed that Great Britain, which was not enamoured of the "made in Germany" idea, would permit herself to be outdone in the industries by Germany without resorting to some form of retaliation. Nor was it to be expected that Great Britain would adopt this course for the benefit of the United States. What Great Britain did, and did very promptly after the dye shortage set in, was to reverse her free-trade notions and resort to subsidy to encourage the manufacture of dyestuffs in England. I append an article from the London Daily Mail of January 22, 1916, showing what progress has been made by Great Britain in her own behalf.

BRITISH DYES-PROGRESS OF STEPS TO CAPTURE GERMAN TRADE.

At the annual meeting of the Huddersfield Chamber of Commerce yesterday the Mayor of Huddersfield (Alderman J. Blamires) referred to the progress of British Dyes (Ltd.). He said the output of dyestuffs had been doubled since British Dyes took over the concern of Messrs, Read, Holliday & Sons, half a million sterling had been spent on new plant which had been fixed, and a quarter of a million capital had been expended on plant which is to be used in making something never before made in this country. It was something this country could not do without, and in making it they would be competing with Germany.

Another chemical firm in Huddersfield had installed a large plant for the manufacture of other essential materials, which also had not been made in this country before. He urged manufacturers and dye users to subscribe to the capital of British Dyes because the firm was bringing new and essential industries to the country.

Sir Algernon Firth said he believed British Dyes (Ltd.) was going to be a great success. America, Canada, and Australia were already asking for its productions, but they had been told that they would get dyes in due time as the Government's requirements would first have to be met.

The advisory committee formed to consider what was necessary to continue the enterprise against German competition had made its report, and this would shortly be published. The committee had represented to the Government that immediate steps should be taken to subsidize or to guarantee the protection of these now enterprises.

AMERICA THE DYESTUFFS ORPHAN.

Meanwhile, Mr. Speaker, the American textile world is clamoring for dyestuffs; Germany has all she wants for her own mills, which are running; and Great Britain is taking care of herself by subsidizing the dyestuffs makers, thus establishing independence from German dyestuffs control. The United States, which ought now to have the markets of the world, is undergoing a dyestuffs famine, which threatens higher prices to the consumer of textiles and a decrease of production of cotton and wool; and all this for the want of a protective-tariff law which will give capital some assurance that it will not be confiscated within a few months after it engages in a purely American dyestuffs business. If Germany can take care of herself and Great Britain can take care of herself, surely the United States ought to be placed in a position to keep in the running.

WIDESPREAD BUSINESS THREATENED.

As showing the extent of possible damage to American industries, should the dyestuffs situation not obtain relief, I submit the following letter from Mr. Frederick E. Kip, a leading textile manufacturer. Mr. Kip's statement is in line with many others from a variety of interests more or less dependent upon the use of dyestuffs:

SALT'S TEXTILE Co., INC., February 8, 1916.

Hon. J. Hampton Moore.

Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Moore. In the statement filed by the writer before the Ways and Means Committee there was a clerical error made, viz, it states that bill H. R. 702 would make an increase of duties amounting to \$5.280,000. This should have been an increase of duties amounting only to \$1.584,000, and this would not be one-thirtieth of 1 cent per yard on the total production in the textile industry, to say nothing of the printing and other industries using dyes, and if passed it would be impossible that such an insignificant advance could ever reach the consuming public. suming public.

On the other hand, when you consider that capital has stated in positive terms that they would invest a number of millions of dollars in the

manufacture of dyes in America if bill H. R. 702 were passed, and that such investment on their part would for all time prevent the paralyzation of industries in the textile line, alone producing annually \$1,554,180,000 worth of dyed fabrics, it would seem almost positive that the statesmen of Congress must give relief by the passage of this bill. No statesman could, it would seem, refuse the addition of \$1,554,000 duties to permanently establish an aniline dye industry here and prevent for all time the paralyzation of a yearly production of dyed fabrics to the extent of \$1,554,180,000, and, in addition to this, prevent any paralyzation of the printing and other industries using said dyes.

The industries of the United States therefore look forward with confidence that this bill will be passed and become the law of the land.

Very sincerely, yours,

(Enclosure, one statement.)

FREDERICK E. KIP.

STATEMENT FILED BY FREDERICK E. KIP, PRESIDENT OF THE SALT'S TEXTILE MANUFACTURING CO.. REPRESENTING THE PILE FABRIC MANUFACTURERS OF AMERICA.

The present Underwood tariff rate on aniline colors or dyes is 30 per cent ad valorem. Bill H. R. 702 adds thereto a specific rate of 7½ cents per pound.

If passed, the new rates (bill H. R. 702) would make an ad valorem equivalent on the cheapest dyes of 65 per cent. an ad valorem equivalent on the medium-priced dyes of 45 per cent, and an ad valorem equivalent on the more expensive dyes of 35 per cent.

The average ad valorem equivalent thereunder would probably be 42 per cent, or an increase over the present duty of 12 per cent ad valorem. The imports for 1913 of aniline dyes were 44,000,000 pounds (value about \$13.200.000); duty paid about \$3.960,000.

These new rates being a 12 per cent ad valorem increase over present existing rates would make an added duty of only \$1.584,000 if all were imported or if the United States manufacturers got the full benefit (which is not usually the case) of the added duty called for in bill H. R. 702.

Industry.	Total yearly value.	Estimated per cent and amount dyed.			
Woolen. Silk Cotton. Leather (tanned or dyed only). Hosiery	\$507,000,000 197,000,000 628,000,000 328,000,000 200,000,000	90% \$456,300,000 96% 189,120,000 67% 429,760,000 100% 328,000,000 80% 160,000,000			
Total	1,860,000,000	85%=1,554,180,000			

The \$1.584,000 added by bill H. R. 702 would not make more than one-thirtieth of 1 per cent per yard on all the yards manufactured in these great industries, with a combined yearly value of \$1.860,000,000. Even if we should figure same as one-half of 1 cent per yard, such insignificant increase per yard would never reach the consuming public, much less be felt by them. Yet the lack of this \$1.584,000 increase of duties will prevent the proper establishment of the aniline-dye industry in the United States, the lack of which may paralyze the industries for producing \$1.554,180,000 dyed fabrics per year and throw out of employment, directly and indirectly, millions of workers, with most disastrous industrial and political results.

Why, the loss of wages alone (by shutdowns due to lack of these dyes) in anyone of our large textile cities would amount to far more than \$1.584,000.

All our citizens and businesses take out insurance. When the risk is fully considered, what better insurance can the consuming public and the industries of the United States take out than \$1.584,000 per annum to avoid and make impossible such a widespread catastrophe as the paralyzation of industries producing annually \$1.554,180,000 and throw out of employment millions of the workers now engaged therein?

At least three things can happen in the future to paralyze our vast United States textile and leather industries. Viz:

First, Germany may be at war with Great Britain, as is now the case. Suppose that in 1916 or 1917 the allies should reach the Rhine and destroy all the great dyestuff plants in this district (all German plants are situated there)? With no United States dyestuff industry to supply us, what would happen to our vast textile and leather industries and the millions of workers employed therein? The passage of bill H. R. 702 will establish such United States aniline industry.

Second. The United States might be at war with Germany or Germany might embargo all dyestuffs.

Third, Great Britain might be at war with either German

done in 1915) all aniline dyestuffs from being shipped into the United States.

Is it right to take such terrible chances fraught with such terrible consequences, both industrially and politically, for the sake of a pairry \$1.584,000 per annum, particularly when practically every industry consuming these aniline dyes and paying the bills is imploring Congress to raise the duties to those provided by bill H. R. 702, when capital, on the passage of such a bill, will invest millions of dollars and thereby prevent all chance in the future of paralyzing (from want of dyes) those vast industries?

The establishment of an industry in time of peace means protection in case of war. It is conceded by all that the United States has at the present time all of the raw materials within its borders to manufacture therefrom all of the aniline dyes consumed in the United States.

The following additional reasons for the establishment of this industry should weigh heavily with Congress, viz:

That the capital is ready (on the passage of bill H. R. 702) to immediately start building large works to establish an industry in the United States sufficient to supply our wants in aniline dyes. Such an industry can be used in time of war to manufacture within its plants materials for high explosives, which will then be so imperatively needed in large quantities for the national defense and honor.

The present war has placed this matter beyond a political question. It is a matter of statesmanship, independent of party principles, and we feel sure that the members of the Ways and Means Committee will so view same and vote to report this bill favorably, to the end that this industry may be established in the United States and avoid for all times the possibility (of the lack of a few million dollars worth of dyes) to paralyze those wast industries and the labor employed therein.

Address of Hon. B. B. Cahoon, Sr., on Abraham Lincoln.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER L. HENSLEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 12, 1916.

Mr. HENSLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an address delivered at Farmington, Mo., by Hon. B. B. Cahoon, sr., of Fredericktown, Mo., under the auspices and on the invitation of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The life story of Abraham Lincoln should be diligently studied by every youth of the land. To study it means that the youth will, so far as he is capable, emulate his many virtues. The story of his many struggles and the ultimate triumph fighting for principles and the union of his country is an inspiration to any person. This address brings out in a very impressive way perhaps some of the phases of the life and history of President Lincoln which have not heretofore been treated. Mr. Cahoon was a colonel in the Union Army and knew President Lincoln and many of the great generals of that day personally. He is a resident of my district, and I proudly claim him as my personal friend.

The address follows:

"Mrs. President, it is an honor to respond to your invitation to lecture on Abraham Lincoln, following the lecture you have caused heretofore to be delivered on Gen. Robert E. Lee, who, considering the men and means at his command, was the ablest general the Civil War produced—a good man, a great hero, who ably, humanely, and conscientiously did his duty as he saw it. In that respect Lincoln and Lee, though on different sides in the Civil War, did the same. Time, which allays asperities, softens memories, and makes all things even, is with us to take a broad, charitable view of the causes and times in which they well played their part. As the women of the South, by their impartially strewing with flowers adjacent graves, early in the Civil War, of the heroic dead Confederate and Union soldiers gave occasion for its great poem, "The Blue and the Gray," so it is fitting that the United Daughters of the Confederacy inaugurate, as your Farmington Chapter, seeking to enlighten present youth, has done, this series of lectures on the greatest men prominent in the war on both sides.

"Lincoln's ancestry was English Quaker. He was of the true strain, only he had combativeness. He was not an accident.

"His Kentucky father, Thomas, was obscure. His mother, Nancy Hanks, was a gentlewoman, though poor. Thomas was a shiftless carpenter. He could read and write a little; had good judgment; was a justice of the peace. His wife was better educated. She taught her children, Abraham and Sarah, to read and to write. Her earnest, sweet, gentle, refined nature so impressed Lincoln that he said all he was he owed to his angel mother, who died when he was 10. The lonely boy rode many miles to have an itinerant clergyman preach her funeral sermon.

"The father discouraged the boy to get an education. He said "learning spoiled a good hand." Lincoln contributed all his

father's life to his support.

"Emigrating from their native Kentucky, where they were born and raised, the Virginian-born grandfather having been killed by the Indians when Thomas was 12, to malarial Indiana when Abraham was 7, the first two winters in a lean-to dirt cabin, open on the south were trying. Abundant game provided meat, and there was corn bread. Things improved when Thomas married the Kentucky widow, Sarah Johnston. An ideal, encouraging stepmother, Lincoln dearly loved her. With his first good law fee he settled on her 160 acres of best Illinois prairie land. Though she had a son, she said Abe was the best boy she ever knew. Sympathize as we do with Lincoln's early hard life and poverty, yet they were his best inheritance—constant spurs to improve his condition, without which we possibly would not know Lincoln ever lived. He spent one year in school. Genius, he needed no more to rise. His intense hunger for light and knowledge is shown by his reading every book he could borrow. Ciphering, before the chimney's fire, on the wooden shovel, leading in spelling bees, reciting all sermons and speeches he heard from his good memory and making original speeches on all occasions. Walking 16 miles to hear lawyers plead in a murder case, he resolved at 16 to be a lawyer.

murder case, he resolved at 16 to be a lawyer.

"He was 18 when he made his first dollar ferrying travelers across a river. He said it opened visions that he could earn

money and get ahead in life. So passed his boyhood and youth in toil and study, but as a kind leader of boys. Borrowing and getting wet Weems's Life of Washington, he gathered corn

three days to pay for it.

"At 21 fairly well read, driving three yoke of young oxen, the family moved to Illinois. Crossing a thin-ice covered shallow river, breaking the ice to do it, the squirrel dog, forgotten, could not make it, but was piteously whining. Lincoln waded back and brought it over. That kindness to beasts proclaimed his universal kindness. When a lawyer, traveling the circuit, seeing a squealing pig fastened under a fence, he released it. 'Lincoln,' said Judge David Davis, his companion, 'you say all man's acts are prompted by motives; what was yours in releasing that pig?' 'I could not sleep to-night for hearing the distressed pig,' said Lincoln. Helping build a cabin for his father and stepmother, his sister, Sarah, having died in Indiana, Lincoln shifted for himself, working on farms and as a rail splitter. He was 6 feet 4 inches, slim, but so muscular he could hold an ax straight out by the helve. His skill as a rail splitter gave him employment; his kindness and willingness to help everybody he met, which trait always brought him friends, made him welcome in all homes, which his wit and story telling enlivened. To initiate him the Clary Grove boys pitted Jack Armstrong, their brawny leader, to down Lincoln in a wrestle, betting on the result. Armstrong failed, became Lincoln's friend, and took him often to his home. His wife, Hanna, had fixed his trousers and Abe nursed baby William, whom Lincoln, when in 1858 the leading lawyer and statesman of Illinois, cleared of mur-As President, at his mother's request, he discharged William as a soldier in the Union Army. All his life Lincoln had deep interest in everything concerning his friends. That was his never-falling characteristic. Two trading flatboat trips to New Orleans showed Lincoln, with female slaves sold at auction, the worst side of slavery and fixed his dislike of it. That he had a good, kind, domestic, parental side, we know. Clerking in a country store, then postmaster, so widened his acquaintance and popularity that at 23 he was elected captain and led his company in the Black Hawk Indian War. Next he became a small country merchant, to fail, \$1,200 in debt, which, at 12 per cent compound interest, it took him 18 years to pay. But he paid it all. To do it he could not invest in best Illinois lands under the graduation act at a 'bit' an acre, which made others rich.

"At 24, after six weeks study, he was deputy county surveyor. His horse, bridle and saddle, were sold to pay part of his store debts. A friend, James Short, came out of the darkness, bought and turned them over to Lincoln. He became insolvent and moved to California. As President, Lincoln provided for Short's old age, by appointing him Indian agent. The Short and Armstrong stories prove Lincoln's gratitude, without which

no man is noble.

"At 25 Lincoln was first elected to the Legislature of Illinois, in which he served three two-year terms in succession, and made his mark. At 26 he loved and lost, by her untimely death, Ann Rutledge, then 22, his first and only sweetheart. That event clouded his after life with melancholy. While President he said to an old friend, 'I loved her; I love her yet; I love the name of Rutledge.' Goethe says, 'the good woman's soul ever leadeth us upward and onward to God.' Lincoln's grief put him on the borderland of insanity; his friends watched him for days and nights. Beautiful, tender, refined, intelligent, Ann Rutledge's association with Lincoln drew out his latent refinement; it emphasized his habitual kindness. Had she lived, so happy would they have both been, that possibly Lincoln, profoundly ambitious as he was, always seeking distinction, might have been content with a quiet life with her. At 33 he married the brilliant but high-tempered Kentucky Mary Todd, who was the victim of a bad temper she could not control. As she died in-sane we should be charitable to her. Douglas sought her—she preferred Lincoln, predicting he would be President. Lincoln broke the engagement; again he was well-nigh insane. was renewed. Lincoln could not love her as he did Ann Rut-ledge. Mrs. Lincoln's temper, kind and loyal husband and fond and affectionate father as he was, often drove Lincoln from home. Yet she told Herndon, Lincoln's law partner and biographer, after his death, that Lincoln, though mild, was terribly firm, when he put his foot down, and no one could rule him when he once fully made up his mind. When on the circuit other lawyers went home Saturday-Lincoln remained until court opened Monday in the next county seat.

"Lincoln sought surcease of sorrow not in drink or cards, as many other men in like circumstances have done, but in politics, the law, and in fraternizing with and enjoying the association of all sorts and conditions of men, becoming a great mixer with and beloved by and in turn loving them. He owed that

to Mary Todd. Out of it he reached eminence. His was a hard road, for the sensitive man he was, to climb upward. From his twenty-seventh to his fifty-second year, Lincoln was a lawyer. At 25 he got in a barrel of rubbish he bought Blackstone's Commentaries, which he devoured. Going 20 miles from New Salem to Springfield he borrowed other law books, studied hard, mastering Euclid later on to help him, he said, 'demonstrate.' His intellect was mathematical, clear, logical, imaginative, indulging in story telling to enforce points. No man of his time surpassed Lincoln in concise, convincing argument. Too poor to buy furniture for one room, his Kentucky friend, Speed, shared with Lincoln his bed over his Springfield store. Dropping therein his saddle bags, all he owned, Lincoln said, 'Well,

Speed, I'm moved.'

"Stuart took him into partnership. At first his income was so scant that for years his friend, William Butler, boarded and clothed him. As a lawyer Lincoln was a mental concentrator, singling out the strong point of the case and winning on it. He did not show his hand to associates in cases. He paddled his own canoe. He was a poor lawyer in a bad case; a great one in a good case. He compromised doubtful cases. He was secretive. Secretive are usually selfish men. Lincoln was generous to a fault. He stuck to and steadily advanced in politics. Defeated the first time, he announced for the next legislature, to which he was elected, saying, 'I go for all who bear the burdens of government, sharing in all rights, by no means excluding women.' That made Lincoln—Jefferson preceding him in also favoring it-one of the first in the country to favor female suffrage, as he favored temperance, both then unpopular, from which he never receded. When elected President, Herndon says Lincoln told him that, in time, the justice and wisdom of the country would extirpate the sale of liquor as a beverage and give votes to women. Lincoln's political creed beyond those two questions, until he became President, embraced internal improvements and protective tariff.

"'If we buy,' he said, 'a thing made in this country, we have it and the money to develop our country; if we buy it from abroad, we have the thing and the foreigner has our money to strengthen his country.' That is the essence of protection to this hour. Lincoln's great rise in politics, though he was a presidential elector and a Henry Clay Whig Congressman from 1846 to 1848 and opposed the Mexican War, as it meant, as he said, to extend slavery, dated from 1856, when, breaking loose from the Whig which in 1854 had come within three votes of electing Lincoln to the Senate of the United States-in the Bloomington convention, he made, in joining the Republican Party, the most inspired impromptu speech of his life in opposition to the extension of slavery in the new Territories, brought about under the lead of Douglas by the repeal, in 1854, by his Kansas and Nebraska bill, of the Missouri compromise of 1820. That repeal gave Lincoln what he had never before had, a moral issue, in opposing the extension of slavery in the new Territories

"On the new issue followed Lincoln's debate with Douglas in 1858, the most brilliant Democrat of his day, who said he did not care whether slavery was voted up or down in the new States when formed, but that slave owners, under the Dred Scott decision of 1857 by the Supreme Court of the United States, had the right, their slaves being property, to take them into the Territories. If slavery was a vested right, Lincoln held, it in the end would go into the old States if not curtailed. Lincoln got the best of Douglas. The Republicans carried Illinois, though under a favorable legislative districting system, Douglas was returned to the Senate, beating Lincoln, whom the

Republicans had nominated.

"Those remarkable debates which proved he was a great man and Lincoln's wonderful Cooper Institute speech in New York in 1859, in which he proved a majority of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and the makers of the Constitution of 1787 opposed slavery and hoped for its early extinction, made Lincoln the Republican nominee for President. Lincoln, the poverty-stricken youth without schools, self-made, unpretending, at 52 leader of the bar in Illinois, leader of the Whig, and then the Republican Party there and in the Nation, and elected in November, 1860, President. He was out of debt, worth not over \$6,000. His previous experience had prepared him for the Presidency. He was kind, patient, knew and loved men. He had vast reserve power of mind and heart, which fitted him for the great work ahead of him.

"Inaugurated March 4, 1861, the country was in utter crisis. Responsibility, unlike that of any other President and greater than Washington's, met Lincoln. No man loved peace more and wanted war less than Lincoln. He said so repeatedly. Southern States were seceding; war was impending; it soon began. Agitating politicians brought it on; the plain people wanted peace. love each other, as every other member of his Cabinet, save, per-The South said the election of Lincoln meant destruction of haps, Chase, loved and leaned on Lincoln. As Lincoln died,

slavery in the slave States. The war so resulted. Lincoln always said he did not mean to touch slavery in the slave States. A higher power led him to depart from that. He was driven to destroy slavery. Lincoln felt that it was necessary to save the Union, slavery being the South's main support in the war. The war was inevitable. The social and business system of the South rested on slavery. It is academic to discuss now the justifica-tion or lack of it for the war. We know that to-day the brain and heart of the South acquiesce in the result and rejoice that the Union was saved and slavery destroyed. Brave men only can reserve their error and resume their judgment. How Lincoln acted and what he did in that crisis is his chief biography. We

need to tell it to disclose our hero.

"In his February, 1861, speeches, journeying to be inaugurated at Washington, Lincoln was conciliatory, saying there was no need of war, would be none if the people but remained calm; that the Government would not be the aggressor. His conciliation but exasperated the South, led it to quick and further aggression. By his course Lincoln, when Fort Sumter was fired upon, April 12, 1861, gained the support of the border States. They refused to secede, though they had slaves. More, he rallied to the country's support outside of the South fully three and a half out of five men. The South was solid, the North divided. The war lasted four years. The North, not counting 600,000 reenlistments, enrolled 2,000,000 soldiers; the South, Six hundred battles and skirmishes were fought. cost, including emancipated slaves, \$8,000,000,000-two-thirds of the then taxable wealth of the country-1,000,000 men were killed or died from disease. Through it all Lincoln was the Nation's leader.

"Naturally tender hearted, he became, next to Grant, our greatest fighter and military leader. His letters to his generals in the field proved that. He knew that only by subduing the South could the Union be saved, and that meant the conquest of the best soldiers led by the best generals of all history. North was not trained to arms, horseback riding, or rifle shooting, as was the South; lacked its military instinct and training.

It took long to cultivate both.

"Gen. Sherman told me on Christmas, 1890, that if the South had fought solely on the defensive, had had our supplies, ammunition, and arms the war would have been longer and the result in greater doubt. God meant it to end in a reunited Nation, as we never before were. In that respect it has no To save the Union-with or without parallel in history. slavery, with a part free and a part slave or all free or all -so the Union was saved was Lincoln's shibboleth in his letter to Greeley. Lincoln did save the Union, not alone, but he was the indispensable leader—through his forbearance, his pertinacity, his harmonizing all selfish men, and using them and many cross currents to that great end. Even the emancipation proclamation was, as Lincoln said, more a matter of military necessity than of humanity. Lincoln knew that with the Union saved, in time, under the logic of the Declaration of Independence, which was his political Bible, all enslaved men everywhere would be freed.

"Calm, cool, sensible, humane, sensitive, thirsting for appro-bation, merciful, sparing deserters' lives, Lincoln was the leader,

and all others in the end discovered he alone led.

"Seward, Secretary of State, early proposed he would dictate the policy of the administration and be responsible. Lincoln told Seward that he was doing and meant to do both. Seward wanted war declared against England and France, 'One war at a time is enough,' said Lincoln, as he toned down Seward's belligerent notes to both countries.

"Stanton, Secretary of War, self-willed and violent, who had in the McCormick Patent case before the war, insulted Lincoln, misled by the humble, ungainly appearance, by refusing to argue on the same side, but who, in spite of it, was put in the Cabinet by Lincoln, who ever refused to live on his hates and prejudices, as the fittest man for his place, soon learned his mas-

ter and obeyed him, not always complacently.

"Lincoln sent to Stanton a young man to be commissioned lieutenant. He was unfit, but Lincoln wanted to do him a kindness. In a jiffy he was back, saying Stanton refused to issue the commission, adding, he says 'You are a fool for ordering it.' 'If Stanton says that, it must be true; he knows me well; he means no fool President should undertake to make a lieutenant out of a fool, and that ends the matter.'

"Another time the matter involved principle. He directed Stanton to issue the order. He refused, saying it ought not to be made; that he would not sign it. 'Yes, you will; Mr. Secretary,' said Lincoln looking him in the eye. Stanton signed the order, trusting Lincoln's better judgment. Both men grew to

with tears streaming down his face, Stanton said, "He belongs to the immortals,

"At the outset every member of the Cabinet believed he was Lincoln's superior. In time they changed; all admitted his intellectual and moral superiority; all declared he was the kindest and best man they ever knew-all but Chase, who hoped to succeed Lincoln in 1864, which Ohio's Legislature dispelled-Chase hailing from the State-by early indorsing Lincoln's renomination. In spite of that, Lincoln appointed Chase Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, because he said his services to the country demanded that reward. Charles Sumner, the most scholarly of all Senators of that day, was one of the first to recognize Lincoln's greatness and goodness. He always supported him.

The war was not fought wholly outside the Constitution. Vested with supreme power, with each stretch of it, Lincoln became more merciful. If wrong was done him and forgiveness asked, he said, 'my statute of limitations is short; if you are sincerely sorry, I forgive you and forget the incident

"'Suppress all copperhead papers' was the frequent demand on him, especially when they abused him the fiercest. said Lincoln, 'liberty demands a free press; criticism helps me more than flattery; by it I see and avoid mistakes. Let abuse of me be unrestricted; if we fail, angels will not be able to justify us; if we succeed, that and time will answer every calumny and right all wrongs.' Lincoln early learned never to forget the hardships and needs of poor, plain people; never forgot that he had sprung from them; always kept close to them in feeling; always trusted them as he was trusted. He was our first real Commoner President. He held that labor created capital and is entitled to the first consideration. Lincoln was, as we said, extremely tall and strong; thin of breast; rawboned; weight, 180; stooping; face in repose, kind but dull; homely; melancholy, with gray, sad, hollow-ringed eyes; nose large; long, blunt chin; coarse, black hair; long legs and arms; high cheek bones, dark sallow complexion, indicating poor digestion, and protruding underlip; orator's big mouth; large ears, indicating great generosity; big Adam's apple; mole on one cheek; overhanging eyebrows; tall but not wide head; broad sloping forehead; awkward, ungainly, shambling walk, but every step was firm and flat-footed. In this he was like Patrick Henry. Aroused by speech, he was transfigured, made bold and graceful, with face animated and eyes sparkling. His smile was angelic. With applause, especially from ladies, I have seen him blush like a schoolgirl, so great was his love for approbation.

'As he told stories in private—he rarely used them in publicface, eyes, hands, head emphasized them to their culmination when his laughter was as uproariously hilarious as that of his listeners. His story-telling was the foil of his habitual melan-choly. 'I would die,' he said, 'if I did not thus relieve my melancholy.' When alone he was given to monologues, which he broke off on the approach of others. More than once, attending meetings, forgetting he was not alone, with his mind on some amusing subject, he would break out into a sudden, high guffaw, to his embarrassment and the disturbance of the audi-

"Lincoln's good heart was a marvel. Never was he cruel; he was ever kind. Visiting a Union hospital he saw a mortally wounded Union soldier; asked him what he could do for him. 'Write to my mother; tell her I love, but may never see her again.' Lincoln sat by his side; calling for pen and paper he wrote the letter. 'Is there anything else I can do for you,' asked the President. 'Sit with me and hold my hand,' said the dying boy. He did so until the end came, when bursting into tears he rushed from the building, to add a tender postscript to the letter to console the bereaved mother on the death of her son.
"His letter to Mrs. Bixby, whose five sons were slain in battle,

is a classic in condolatory expression.

"The week before his death he visited at City Point, Va., a hospital; first, where Union soldiers lay, shaking every hand. 'That is all of them,' said the escorting young surgeon; 'the others are rebel soldiers; you do not care to see them.' federate soldiers, you mean,' said the President. 'Yes, I do,' said Lincoln. 'I mean to see them, too.' He shook hands and said cheering words to each wounded Confederate soldier, consolingly saying, 'This sad war will soon be over; you must all get well; soon you will go home and we will all live in peace.' Grant was then surrounding Lee, who surrendered in three days, April 9, 1865. When the news of Lincoln's assassination, on April 14, reached those wounded Confederate soldiers, their grief for and denunciation of his taking-off, says that surgeon, Dr. Jerome Walker, now an old man, living in Brooklyn, N. Y., was as intense as it was sincere.

"In bidding the surgeon good-by the President said: 'Pay the same attention and give the same care to those Confederate wounded as you do to our own. They are our brethren-our countrymen; we must love them as we love ourselves, because I am sure we will all be at home together in our Father's house.'

"Yet the man was abused and derided as man never before was. 'Idiot,' 'ape,' 'butcher,' 'brute,' 'mountebank,' 'tyrant' were epithets hurled at him, especially by northern copperheads, to which, still refusing to live on his hates and prejudices, he made no reply. What other man in history, save Christ, so treated his calumniators. Grant and Sherman in their memoirs say Lincoln directed that in the soon-expected surrender of the Confederate Armies most liberal terms should be granted. us quickly restore the Union,' he said. Secretary Wells tells us that Lincoln, always superstitious, said great news was coming, because he last night dreamed of seeing the sailing ship which he dreamed of prior to most of the great events of the war. In his diary he further says the last days of Lincoln's life were the happiest; that wrinkles left his care-worn face.

"With his Cabinet in session for the last time the President, realizing that with Lee's surrender and the fall of Richmond the war was ended, in a solemn, tender mood said: 'The war is over; no more blood, no more proscription; soon, please God, peace and a restored Union.' Lincoln's assassination is inexplicable. The Nation needed him to quickly bind up its wounds. It is the irony of fate that Lincoln's death gave power to the radicals who hated him; enabled them to mislead the country; helped them put back a fully restored, homogeneous Union 40 years. All his cherished purposes were long delayed, nay, frustrated-the immediate restoration of the seceded States to their proper places as of old, minus slavery, and such of the negroes only who were intelligent enough to justify it and those of them who had borne arms in support of the Government to vote.

That is as far as he favored suffrage.

"At the hour of his assassination Lincoln was the one man in the country, Grant being next, who more than all others took in North and South clearer than any other man. He saw the needs of the South, and summoned from his warm heart and great brain more of excuse and forgiveness for her than any other man. Had he lived there would have been no proscription for any southerner; no brutal Ku-Klux outrages on negroes; no dismal failure-for such it was-of the harsh reconstruction; no rascally carpetbag southern State governments to prey on the impoverished South, as they criminally did; and no wholesale enfranchisement of the negro race, most of whom at the time were unfitted to wisely vote. More, we believe the slaves of the South would have been paid for had Lincoln lived. say so because

"First, Stephens, in his 'War Between the States,' says, in effect (vol. 2, p. 617), that at the Hampton Roads conference, February 3, 1865, just two months and six days before Lee's surrender, between Lincoln and Seward and the Confederate commissioners, with Vice President Stephens at their head, to see on what terms peace might be restored, that Lincoln, in effect, declared, in spite of the action and instructions from President Davis that no terms but the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States could be enter ained, 'Let me write "Union restored, slavery abolished," and you can write all other terms of peace." Stephens declares that Lincoln said that on those terms the enforcement of all confiscation and other penal acts being left, as they were, to him, he would not enforce them; that he was willing to be taxed to remunerate the South that the North was as much responsible for slavery as the South; that if the war should then cease with the voluntary abolition of slavery by the Southern States he favored the Government paying, as he had urged it repeatedly for the border States slaves, only to be turned down by their leaders, a fair indemnity for the loss of the slaves; that Congress had paid \$1,000,000 for the slaves emancipated in the District of Columbia; that the feeling had an extensive existence North, as high as paying the South \$400,000,000; and that the Confederates would be astonished to learn the great names of northern statesmen who favored such payment, if the war should then cease without further expense and with the abolition of slavery. Stephens's reply was the matter could not, under President Davis's instructions, be considered; only the recognition of the independence of the South. Grant says Lincoln told him all the above things, and that he (Grant). too, approved them. He shows how generous Lincoln was and how eager he was to end the war. (Personal Memoirs, vol. 2, pp. 591, 640-644.)

"Second. Our next proof of Lincoln's willingness to pay for the slaves on the above terms are these facts, printed at page 1, volume 11, of Lincoln's Complete Works, by Nicolay and Hay, his private secretaries: Notwithstanding the rebuff at Hampton Roads, Lincoln, at the first meeting of his Cabinet, two days afterwards, to wit, February 5, 1865, submitted to it the draft in his handwriting of his proposed message to Congress, containing a joint resolution to be passed by it, paying, in the 6 per cent bonds of the United States, \$400,000,000 for the slaves in the border and seceded States, based on the census of 1860, on the conditions that slavery was abolished and that the war ceased by April 1, 1865, one half to be then paid the owners of such slaves and the other half on July 1, 1865. The Cabinet unanimously disapproved Lincoln's proposition, because the offer, in the face of the South's Hampton Roads slap at peace with the Union without slavery belittled and would humiliate the country, and would be looked upon as whining for peace, but to be insulted by the South's standing out for the unconditional recognition of its independence. Sadly he said, 'You are all against me.' The authors say the project was nearest his heart; he meant to present it to the Cabinet at a later day, hoping for its more favorable consideration. Lincoln's heart was set on that compensation. He had never failed when he undertook a great task. Our belief is that with the war over, if Lincoln had lived, the gratitude of the Nation that peace and union had been restored would have been so great that with Lincoln, then intensely popular, to guide it, as he would have done, and all the South and fully half the North favoring, the proposition would have, in gushing generosity, carried and the slaves been paid for at least to the extent of \$400,000,000. Lincoln's influence would have been so great as to bear down opposition to that and the policy he favored. Considering everything, what just heart or fair mind revolts at the thought of paying for the slaves, the existence of whom had been the Nation's, not alone the South's sin, just as the war, because of prior agitations and recriminations on both sides, was the Nation's fault?

"We submit we have made good our statement that when he was assassinated, Lincoln was the best friend the South had;

yea, he was the country's best friend.
"The intelligent South recognizes that is true. by Henry Watterson, whose inspired lecture on Lincoln is the best ever delivered, Lincoln's name and memory are as precious with the best part of the South as in the North. Time but increases the South's love and admiration for the great humanitarian soul of Lincoln. Missouri people should especially love Lincoln because of this fact not generally known: Lincoln's letter of February 20, 1865, but 50 days before Lee's surrender, to the governor of Missouri reflects his noble humanity. Written when he could see the end of the war with victory for the country, it typifies Lincoln as much as any document he ever wrote, Because of its terseness, logic, and good English, it is impossible to condense without marring it. We give it entire from volume 11, pages 36-39, of said Complete Works:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, "February 29, 1865.

"Gov. Fletcher: It seems that there is now no organized military force of the enemy in Missouri, and yet that destruction of property and life is rampant everywhere. Is not the cure for this within easy reach of the people themselves? It can not but be that every man not naturally a robber or cutthroat would gladly put an end to this state of things. A large majority in every locality must feel alike upon this subject, and if so, they only need to reach an understanding one with another. Each leaving all others alone solves the problem, and surely each would do this but for his apprehension that others will not leave him alone. Can not this mischievous distrust be removed? Let neighborhood meetings be everywhere called and held of all entertaining a sincere purpose for mutual security in the future, whatever they may heretofore have thought, said, or done about the war or anything else. Let all such meet and waiving all else, pledge each to cease harassing others, and to make common cause against whoever persists in making, aiding, or encouraging further disturbance. The practical means they will best know how to adopt and apply. At such meetings old friendships will cross the memory, and honor and Christian charity will come in to help.

"Please consider whether it may not be well to suggest this to the now afflicted people of Missouri.
"Yours, truly,

A. Lincoln.

"Lincoln could not have given that advice had he not been other than the best of humanitarians. Not immediately getting a reply he, a week later, February 27, 1865, telegraphed Gov. Fletcher thus:

"Have you received my letter of the 20th? I think some such thing as therein suggested is needed. If you put it before the people, I will direct the military to cooperate. Please answer.

"A. LINCOLN.

"Gov. Fletcher met the demand; did all he could to carry out Lincoln's humane policy. Lincoln, March 19, 1865, telegraphed Gen. Pope, commanding in the Missouri, he would be sustained in proceeding on the policy. The good original understanding in this State, in spite of the adoption of the Drake 1865 proscriptive and disfranchising constitution, soon followed. Lincoln was Missouri's first conciliator.

"The religion of Lincoln was this development: Up to Ann Rutledge's love for him-a doubter, if not an infidel. He wrote a paper deriding the Bible and denying the miracles of Christ; just as Jefferson wrote his testament omitting them. His friend, Sam Hill, threw the paper into the fire. Advancing, Lincoln, when elected President, believed in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man and in the immortality of the soul, as is shown by a prior letter to his dying father, telling him of the meeting beyond the grave he would have with his loved ones gone before. In parting in February, 1861, with his Springfield neighbors, he invoked prayers from all people for himself and our

"When a delegation of negroes presented him with a Bible, he said, 'It is the best of all books; without it we would know nothing of our precious Savior; would not know how to live or how to die.' That spoke the full-orbed Christian. Lincoln was the reverse of a hypocrite. Had he not so believed he would not have so spoken. The death of his son, Willie, deepened his religious convictions and made him feel how dependent he was on God. He who so feels is a Christian, though he may not be a member of any church. Lincoln, in Spring-field and in Washington, usually attended the Presbyterian Church. Just before he died he declared his purpose to become a church member. He said he wanted to find and to join the church founded on 'I believe in God with all my mind, all my heart and my soul, and I love my neighbor as myself."

"Lincoln wrote a few poems. My Childhood's Home, written when he was 40, is beautiful. His favorite was Knox's melancholy poem, Oh, Why Should the Spirit of Mortal be Proud? If oratory is to persuade and convince doubters, then Lincoln was a great orator; witness the revolutionary effect in Illinois of his convincing debates with Douglas. In them, as in all of his State papers, his clearness, logic, and convincing argumentation have never been surpassed. As a writer the world recognizes that Lincoln's first and second inaugural addresses and his Gettysburg oration are classics. That oration and St. Paul's discourse on charity (I Corinthians, 13) each contain 270 words. Read both as samples of sublime oratory. In volume 12 of the complete works are 61 pages, 'Anthology of sayings of Lincoln,' as wise as Lord Bacon and

Dr. Franklin ever uttered.
"Where did Lincoln get his expression? Where did Burns and Shakespeare and Milton get theirs? From the inspiration of all genius—God. Lincoln read but few and never owned many books. Herndon says-it is an exaggeration-that Lincoln never read a book through in his life. His absorbing mind could by reading a sentence here and there see all the writer was driving at and enlarge on it. Lincoln's style was gracious, heroic, appealing, and humorous; not startling, but melting the heart. It was best when his whole heart was enlisted; always full of engaging frankness and intellectual honesty. While he saw and felt his side of an argument, he honesty. While he saw and felt his side of an argument, he clearly saw and sympathized with the side of his opponent. That is proof of the inherent honesty of the man. The chief characteristics of his expression are its morality, insight, and its prophecy. No one can know Lincoln fully by any or all of the 1,000 copyrighted biographies and monographs written of him and listed in Lincoln's Bibliography, volume 11, said works, 243 to 376. To know him best is to read all his letters, speeches, messages, and his anecdotes.

"Lincoln was the soul composite of all good men and women. His combination was as versatile as it was unique; genius, common sense, analytical thought; speech same, but only once dazzling; thorough knowledge of himself; a patient listener, but so strongly self-reliant as rarely to seek advice except to confirm his views; a profound knowledge of men and of the motives controlling them; great capacity to use them wisely and skillfully for good ends; deliberate to act; rarely made a mitches inflevible honesty; loying and following truth at mistake; inflexible honesty; loving and following truth at whatever cost; cautious, but not timid; a born leader of men, directing them diplomatically; always seeking office; ambitious to succeed, but never putting a thorn in any man's flesh; never thrusting a rival out of his way; competing openly with them all, as he placed in his Cabinet every Republican rival for the presidential nomination at Chicago in 1860; never scheming nor manipulating for place; gaining solely on his merits; yielding in nonessentials, but firm as a rock in clinging to principle; ng in honessentials, but him as a rock in chighing to principle; peaceful, yet for duty's sake a great fighter; simple and direct in character; modest and humble, yet ever working for distinction; intensely human; merciful; tender; charitable; patient; possessing great moral courage; had the physical courage of a lion; no vices; did not drink, chew, smoke, or gamble; no scandal in his life; no graft; melancholy and hilarious; greatest of all story-tellers; had complete equipoise of head, heart, and morals; his judgment was unerring. Lincoln read less and

thought more and deeper than any other able man of his era. Compare now Jared Sparks's estimate of Washington, and we see how many characteristics the two men had in common. But Lincoln was a greater man, warmer hearted, and more human than Washington, and will be equally revered. His influence will never cease to encourage poor, struggling boys and to make men better and liberty securer. Blessed is the country having Washington and Lincoln our ideals to elevate our individual and

"Lincoln was economical and thrifty: Witness his selling—all his little cash investments at a profit—pins, needles, thread, and so forth, on the family move from Indiana to Illinois. His great secretiveness, making him 'as wise as a serpent, as gentle as a dove,' related only to his personal life and ambition. In his public views he was the soul of candor and of outspoken frankness. Lincoln's gift of humor was providential for the part he played in the Civil War in that it took all sanguinary thoughts away and enabled him to be merciful to others—helped him to see and to sympathize with the other side and the other man's views—something ordinary politicians never can do. Men of a genuine sense of humor are never tyrants. It inculcates toleration and enables its professors to quickly forgive and to forget wrongs—the very qualities needed in leaders in civil wars. Lincoln's view of the relation of capital and labor—mutually dependent on each other, hence should through cooperation always be partners; laborers should always aim to become capitalists, be they large or small—is and always will be the only true solution for capitalistic and labor differences. His labor and capital views are so fair and just as to be worthy of constant repetition and publication. As Lincoln always and most logically contended, secession, or breaking the Government, short of the action of a majority of the States, met deliberately and so deciding to sever it, was null and void. He never considered the South was the contended to the South sever it. sidered the South out, but still in the Union, only unlawfully ceasing to work in cooperation with the General Government, to do which, as it revolted by war, he by force would make them return to their places precisely like a lot of strayed horses from

"When they so returned forcibly or peacefully Lincoln insisted they resume their State governments under their old State constitutions and laws, minus slavery which they, he insisted, should recognize as destroyed by the war and the thirteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution which they must approve with no demand on the seceded States for test oaths or negro suffrage qualifications, suffrage being still as he recognized as now being within the rights of the States, subject only to change by Federal constitutional amendments. The congressional plan of reconstruction finally adopted was the reverse of Lincoln's plan; was based on the admission that States were by secession taken outside the Union, and should only one by one be admitted as they adopted the conditions imposed by Congress and the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, chief of which was unqualified and unlimited negro suffrage for all adult negro males over 21 years of age, which Lincoln, while favoring it for intelligent and Union soldier negroes, never approved; to enforce congressional reconstruction which kept the country in turmoil for 40 years, only to see it as now practically is overthrown in the South as it will be until the negro race there so improves in intelligence and property ownership that its general voting will be welcomed there in the lapse of time, the negroes as a class growing to merit suffrage and to wisely exercise it. All those things Lincoln foresaw, as he saw anarchy in government, where it was chiefly built on the ignorance and poverty of man, black or white, and not on his intelligence and property ownership.

"Who dares now to say the Union savior and the great emancipator was wrong as the conciliator of the differences between his distracted countrymen; that his policy was not only the best, but as Grant, the magnanimous warrior who in all things approved Lincoln, declares (2d Memoirs, p. 591, 641-644) was the only one to quickly restore harmony to our dis-turbed country. The thunders of Sinai do but terrify, but the sweet calm voice of Calvary softens, subdues and brings us to God. Wars hypnotize ordinary rulers and men; in them they lose balance, yield to passion and prejudice, say and do cruel and inhuman things which make and mar historic wrongs, to remedy which require toil and time. Because he was what he was and did what he did, seizing our imagination, Lincoln has become a world hero, because he did not lose his balance, his justice, judgment, humanity, and mercy in war's turbulent excitement, but held fast to and exercised them, while lesser men on both sides of our great tragedy, acting in disregard of them, did unjustifiable things.

"Those qualities, with Lincoln's great ability, his wisdom, his unusual methods, his quaint saying and original doings, his refusal to be misled by provincialism, and his taking in so wide a view of his environments as to at once sagaciously see the present and the future bearing of all passing events are the foundations of Lincoln's immortal world-wide fame-a fame to which every thing contributes, because the Lincoln spirit is and will always be necessary to advance civilization and humanity.

"Let no one charge I am throwing around Lincoln a false liberality or borrowed halo. I have truly described him as he was. Read all his letters, messages, and speeches and you will have Lincoln's greatness sink into, soften, and broaden your soul, and enlarge your patriotism. If though a mortal, you wish to assimilate Christ's spirit, make Lincoln your study.

"He believed in, practiced, and all his life fived the maxim that love is stronger than hate."

The War and America.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM KENT,

OF CALIFORNIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 12, 1916.

Mr. KENT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article which I wrote on the peace situation.

The article is as follows:

[From Harper's Weekly for May 22, 1915.]

THE WAR AND AMERICA-IV. EUROPE AND AMERICAN DEFENSE. (By WILLIAM KENT, Congressman from California.)

Although out of hearing of the guns, out of sight of the cripples, the starving, the widows, the fatherless, we Americans are suffering and shall suffer in mind, soul, and estate from the

Down through the ages comes the rumble of the grim tramp of armies bent on destruction and waste and the crime of collective murder, and likewise through the ages have been heard the voices of great teachers who told of better things, and then the tale of the song of the angels at Bethlehem broke in upon the roar of the rhythmic tread of warriors.

A saner view of the problems of sustenance and welfare, of cooperation and of social relations, has been growing and there has been evolving a scheme of democracy. The sad world began to believe that war was retreating back into the forgotten hinter-land of Odin and Mars, and that men hereafter might live and let live.

But suddenly the rumble and roar has started anew, and manmade misery is augmented without bounds or limit.

There are groans of men; there are tears of women and wails of children and present suffering that will be projected far down into future generations. The sins of the fathers of our day will

be visited on those to follow, and forever.

The greatest of dirges, the Funeral March of Chopin, begins with solemn, measured tread; it is lightened by a glad song of life and hope and ends in the sorrowful beat of footsteps turned toward the grave. Is this the way of the world, or will there succeed another song of cheerfulness and life? The angels will not write this song; will the nations of men set about the task?

Inter arma silent leges—the path we have trodden under orderly development—under the scheme of democracy has been leading us to a belief in the essential relationship of all men to each other. Our trade was becoming cosmopolitan and was leading to mutual interdependence that meant peace with profit as well as with honor. Working on the hypothesis of peace, natural disasters brought quick assistance from the ends of the earth, national boundary lines were fading, jointly we have been fighting pestilence and famine. But now we rub our eyes and wonder whether we were not absurd Utopians to have dreamed that the world has become different and better.

We can not understand this war; it is too big and we are too near. It is as though a small boy tries to appreciate a circus poster at close range and during the process of its consecutive pasting on an adjacent wall.

We know war is bad, that this greatest of wars is bad—wholly bad—a great red smudge. We know it is a smear of

crime and of waste and of folly unutterable. We know that blasphemous prayers to God neither diminish its wickedness nor shift responsibility from "the frivolous race of men filled with dark ignorance and hurrying unsure thought."

Each of the nations engaged in rapine and slaughter claims to be fighting for its national existence, while as an aggregate, the nations involved are fighting for the destruction of this generation, and the ill faring of the future. Is an artificial system of nationalism worth the price? Are splashes of color on the map of Europe a substitute for the beatitudes and the commandments?

How pleasant would be the world to those of good impulse if it were possible to be logical instead of being forced to work out the solution of social problems by a series of approxima-

The warring world has driven us back on ourselves. We as Americans, must protect our peaceful nationality even if we must fight to protect it; otherwise we shall become a part of the vast turmoil, of the gigantic ignorance.

We, Americans, are neither cowards nor mollycoddles, nor is there any danger of our becoming such. The war has proven that the fighting instinct is universal, and that no men are cowards. We are not rabid, we have no impulse to bite our neighbors, nor is there probability of our being attacked.

It may be that we shall invoke in vain that fiction known as international law, which has all the stability of a motion picture. Possibly our rights (so called by us, but denied by others) to circulate freely in a maelstrom of mines, submarines, and battleships may be denied. Nations that are fighting for their existence—for a place in the sun, or in the moon, or in any other of the leading seaports, or for "kultur"—fighting as all these nations are, in serious devotion to ideals, are under such a condition of nervous strain as to be apt to be rude to innocent bystanders. Our prayer should be that we may be slow to anger and very patient in such time of stress.

same flesh and blood, no better and no uniterest in from those who have died and those who are killing. We are from those who have died and those who are killing. We are same flesh and blood, no better and no different in character more fortunate and should hold to our good fortune. that the warring nations hate us. Envy in times of bitterness is easily transmuted into hatred, but a dislike born of envy and not of wrong is easily cured.

Commercial rights! It is far better for us to abandon our trading in disputed territory and disputed goods than to take part in the debacle. If belligerents fail to deal fairly with us as a nation, we can refuse as a nation to deal with them at all. If this is not a better choice of evils than blustering and bullying with warships, then the civilization that has done away with private personal assaults growing out of differences of opinion between individuals is a mollycoddle institution that should be abolished.

Let us not only use our heads, but search our hearts that we may know our duty in these times of hesitation. Day by day new problems are before the Nation that must be met by those who have the stern, hard responsibility upon them. Peace is a state of mind, as well as a physical condition. Peace is not with us if we are boastful or smug or unsympathetic or quick to anger. Peace means patience and self-control and the exercise of reason, especially amongst the unreasonable. It does not mean nonresistence to oppression, to conquest, or loss of essential

It is a sad thought that in the world to-day there exists a need for defense against aggression. This carries with it a necessity for military strength, which we lack. By getting rid of the Philippines we can circumscribe vastly the limits to be defended, and by abandoning the mouth-filling boast of being a "world power" we can curtail the causes of friction. We shall be a greater nation and a better example of self-contained self-respect if we forget the "world power" language.

Our Navy should be strengthened until such time as the world shows a revival of sanity that will lead to disarmament. And without doubt or question there should be a training of citizen soldiery under a system like that of the Swiss-a system educational and promoting physical training, permeated by the sole motive of defense—and a large plan looking toward the education of officers; there should be adequate reserves of rifles and munitions if ever they are needed.

No citizen soldier should ever be compelled to wage war on foreign soil, and no tropical islands or other foreign disorders should be annexed by our naval or Regular Army forces, except after as cumbersome procedure as is needed to amend the Constitution. All munitions of war should be under Government monopoly, to the end that profit may not be coined out of murder and misery

In spite of all individual disagreements, in spite of all the clash of partisan jealousy, our people must recognize the cool, calm leadership of the President, who, as patriot, American, and Christian, is opposed to war. When the light of peace dawns over stricken Europe it is to

be hoped that our record may be such that we may act as friends of all the combatants, and that our people will respond as they have already responded, and ever will respond, to the appeal of the greatest President to "bind up the nations' wounds." Then, if the angels refuse to repeat their song, may the men and women of the world sing it for them.

Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER,

OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 18, 1916.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the following:

NEW PREPAREDNESS MANUAL FOR DEBATERS AND OTHERS.

Facts shown by extracts from the official documents. challenge contradiction of these facts.

Part I. The facts. Part II. The arguments.

Part III. Where our money goes.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

[Speech to both Houses of Congress, Jan. 8, 1790.] To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserv-

EZEKIEL.

Then whosoever heareth the sound of the trumpet and taketh not warning, if the sword come and take him away, his blood shall be upon his own head.

But if the watchman see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned, if the sword come and take any person from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand.

PART I .- THE FACTS.

THE NAVY.

The following tables are taken from a document entitled "Information Concerning Some of the Principal Navies of the World," an official publication of the Office of Naval Intelligence, United States Navy Department. (N. B.-Ask your Congressman or Senator to get you a copy.)

RELATIVE STANDING AT OUTBREAK OF EUROPEAN WAR.

[Extract from Table I.1 Relative order of warship tonnage.

[July 1, 1914.]

Present order (tonnage com	ipleted).	As would be the case if vessels now building were completed.			
Nation.	Tonnage.	Nation.	Tonnage.		
Great Britain Germany United States France Japan	2, 158, 250 951, 713 765, 133 665, 748 519, 640	Great Britain Germany France United States Japan	2, 713, 756 1, 304, 640 899, 915 894, 889 699, 916		

[Extract from Tables IV and V.] DREADNAUGHTS AND BATTLE CRUISERS.

Nation.	Built.	Building or authorized.	Total.
England	29 17 8 3	17 11 7 9 6	46 28 15 12 8

All countries now at war have greatly increased their building

programs, so above notes do not hold good after July, 1914.

The following vessels are not included in the above tables: Ships over 20 years old from date of launch, unless they have been reconstructed and rearmed within 5 years.

[Extract from Table II.] THE UNITED STATES NAVY ON JULY 1, 1915.

	Bu	illt,	Building.		
Type of vessel.	Number.	Tons.	Number.	Tons(esti- mated).	
Battleships (dreadnaught type). Battleships (predreadnaught). Coast-defense vessels Battle cruisers Armored cruisers Cruisers Cruisers Torpedo-boat destroyers Torpedo boats Submarines	8 22 4 0 10 15 57 6 36	189,650 309,282 12,900 140,040 75,625 41,417 1,082	7 0 11	213, 800	
Total tons		770,036		225, 992	
Total tons built and building		996	,028		

[Table No. XIII.] Total naval expenditures by principal naval powers.

Fiscal year.	Great Britain, Apr. 1- Mar. 31	United States, July 1- June 30.	Germany, April to March.	France, January to December.
1900-1901 1901-2 1902-3 1903-4 1904-5 1906-6 1906-7 1907-8 1908-9 1909-10 1910-11 1911-12 1911-12 1912-13 1913-14 1914-15	\$145, 792, 850 150, 569, 190 150, 679, 328 173, 548, 058 179, 138, 049 161, 117, 947 152, 954, 342 151, 880, 617 156, 401, 161 181, 936, 341 202, 056, 258 224, 443, 296 237, 530, 459 260, 714, 275	\$61,721,695 68,438,301 82,977,641 104,126,192 116,655,826 109,725,059 98,392,144 117,333,474 120,421,579 122,247,365 111,791,980 133,559,071 129,787,233 136,888,301 141,872,786	\$37, 173, 074 46, 315, 800 48, 818, 700 50, 544, 000 50, 544, 000 54, 918, 000 69, 133, 500 80, 737, 626 95, 047, 820 103, 302, 773 107, 178, 480 109, 989, 996 112, 091, 125	\$72,683,180 67,079,011 59,217,588 59,740,222 60,178,623 61,565,779 59,514,296 60,685,813 62,194,916 64,899,489 74,102,439 80,371,109 81,692,832 90,164,625 123,838,872

The following table is taken from the United States Navy Yearbook, 1915 (p. 534). (S. Doc. No. 3, 64th Cong., 1st sess.)

Large guns (11 to 15 inch).

[auty 1, 10.	Grand tot	al.
Great Britain	5 	64 320 224 204
Japan		64

RELATIVE STANDING OF OUR NAVY TO-DAY.

[Extracts from speeches of President Wilson as reported in the press.] [Cleveland, Ohio, Jan. 29, 1916.]

And the Navy of the United States. You have been told that it is the second in strength in the world. I am sorry to say that experts do not agree with those who tell you that. Reckoning by its actual strength, I believe it to be one of the most efficient navies in the world, but its strength ranks fourth, not second. And you must reckon with the fact that it is necessary that that should be our first arm of defense, and you ought to insist that everything should be done that it is possible for us to do to bring the Navy up to an adequate standard of strength and efficiency.

[Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 2, 1916.]

Do you know the sweep of the coast from the canal to Alaska? It is nearly one-fourth the circumference of the earth. And the coast from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf? Do you think a Navy that ranks fourth is sufficient?

[Letter from Acting Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt, Apr. 20, 1915.]

Navy Department, Washington, April 20, 1915.]

Navy Department, Washington, April 20, 1915.

My Dear Mr. Gardner: In reply to your letter of the 17th instant, you will find inclosed a table giving the number and total tonnage of each type of the vessels lost by the German and English in the present war. This information is based upon reports published in the daily press which the department has been able to verify more or less satisfactorily, and is probably not far from the actual truth. The beligerents do not always acknowledge officially the loss they have sustained. This table does not include the loss of the Audactous, a British battleship of 24,000 tons. The American papers have stated that this vessel was lost off the northern coast of Ireland. No such statement has appeared in British papers.

As all of the belligerent nations are rushing naval construction with the greatest possible vigor, and as they have all taken possession of vessels building in home shipyards for foreign Governments, the actual present strength of their navies is greatly in excess of what it was at the outbreak of the war. It has been estimated by some writers that the English will have in commission before the end of this year 16 new

dreadnaughts of the latest type. I am therefore forced to the conclusion that our Navy probably stands fourth on the list at the present time.

I would thank you very much not to mention in your address that any of this information has been officially received by the Navy Department. As I stated before, it is all based upon reports published in the daily press and verified by the department as far as is practicable.

Sincerely,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
Acting Secretary of the Navy.

THE ATLANTIC SUBMARINE FLOTILLA.

[Extracts from the evidence of Commander Yates Stirling, jr., commanding the Atlantic submarine flotilla of 17 vessels, before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives, December 15, 1914 (Hearings, p. 866):]

Representative ROBERTS, I am asking you that question because ome newspapers state that there is only 1 submarine out of the 17 that

Representative Roberts. 1 am assing you that the some newspapers state that there is only I submarine out of the 17 that will dive.

Commander Stirling. I think I can explain where they got that impression. The commander in chief ordered a mobilization of the Atlantic submarine flotilia at Hampton Roads on the 1st of November of all available vessels. He left it to me to say what vessels I would bring down there. He did not consider the 5 at Colon. That reduced the submarine flotilia to 12. * * * * So when we got down there the admiral wanted to know what we could do. I told him we had then only I submarine that I thought could efficiently take part in the maneuvers at sea off the coast.

[Extract from the report of Admiral F. F. Fletcher, commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet, Aug. 15, 1916. S. Doc. 251, 64th Cong., 1st sess., p. 13.]

SUBMARINE FLOTILLA.

The condition of the submarine flotilla has been very unsatisfactory, particularly the condition of the machinery of these vessels. So much time has been required to keep the machinery in condition that little time has been available for training officers and crews to operate their ships. The submarine flotilla, even more than the other types of vessels in the fleet, has been hampered by lack of officers of experience. While there are 12 submarines in full commission assigned to operate with the fleet, only 6 of these vessels were in condition to proceed to Pensacola for the winter's work. All 12 were assembled in May in New York, but only 10 were available for the war problem May 18-25. Of these 10 a number were soon incapacitated by machinery troubles, and at times not more than 5 submarines were ready for duty. Due to untrained crews, some of the 5 were not ready to undertake submerged work.

[Extracts from the report of the General Board of the Navy, November 17, 1914.]

The General Board in its indorsement No. 449 of August 30, 1913, and accompanying memorandum brought to the attention of the department the dangerous situation of the country in the lack of air craft and airmen in both the naval and military services.

At the present time, more than a year later, the total number of air craft of any kind owned by the Navy consists of 12 aeroplanes, not more than two of which are of the same type, and all reported to have too little speed and carrying capacity for service work.

In view of the advance that has been made in aeronautics during the past year and the demonstration now being made of the vital importance of a proper service to both land and sea warfare, our present situation can be described as nothing less than deplorable. As now developed air craft are the eyes of both armles and navies, and it is difficult to place any limit to their offensive possibilities.

In our present condition of unpreparedness, in contact with any foe possessing a proper air service, our scouting would be blind.

[Extract from the testimony of Capt. Mark Bristol, United States Navy, commanding the Aviation Service of the United States Navy, before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives, Dec. 3, 1914 (Hearings, p. 299).]

Representative Browning. Captain, I wish you would tell us how the aircraft equipment of the various nations compare.

Capt. Bristol. At the beginning of this war our best information gave, approximately, France, 22 dirigibles and 1,400 aeroplanes; Russia, 18 dirigibles and 800 aeroplanes; Great Britain, 9 dirigibles and 400 aeroplanes; Belgium, 2 dirigibles and 100 aeroplanes; Servia, 60 aeroplanes; Germany, 40 dirigibles and 1,000 aeroplanes; Servia, 60 aeroplanes; Germany, 40 dirigibles and 1,000 aeroplanes; Austria, 8 dirigibles and 400 aeroplanes; and the United States, 23 aeroplanes. [Extract from the report of the Secretary of the Navy, Dec. 1, 1915.]

There are now in the service 15 aeroplanes and 15 aeronautic motors.

There are now in the service 15 aeroplanes and 15 aeronautic motors. By the first of the next year at least 15 new aeroplanes and a number of new motors will be delivered, etc.

Extract from the testimony of Lieut. Col. Samuel Reber, United States Army, before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives, Jan. 18, 1916 (Hearings, p. 13).]

Col. Reber (speaking of aeroplanes under Army control). We have actually in our possession 19 that the Government owns to-day. We have 6 under orders, etc.

ADMIRAL FISKE'S VIEWS.

[Extracts from the testimony of Rear Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, United States Navy, senior naval adviser to the Secretary of the Navy, before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives, Dec. 17, 1914 (Hearings, pp. 1023, 1024).]

I would say it would take about five years to get ready with our Navy to fight successfully and effectively against an effective navy (p. 1023). I am not thinking so much of the material of the ships as of the operations. What I have in mind all the time is what I would do if we were to have war to-morrow or next month. When I think of the number of things that we would have to do in order to get the Navy into

really effective shape—by which I mean having plans, plans of preparation and plans of conduct of the war, and properly drilled mine layers and mine sweepers and the aeronautical branch—when I think of all that has to be done in preparing general plans and detail plans of war, in getting the personnel enlisted and trained, ready to fight our battleships that are now in reserve and in ordinary, and figure it all out, I conclude that it will take at least five years (p. 1024).

THE GENERAL BOARD'S VIEWS.

[Extract from the Report of the General Board of the Navy, 1913.] The absence of any definite naval policy on our part, except in the General Board, and the failure of the people, the Congress, and the executive government to recognize the necessity for such a policy has already placed us in a position of inferiority which may lead to war; and this inferiority is progressive and will continue to increase until the necessity for a definite policy is recognized and that policy put into

FIFTEEN TROUBLES OF THE ATLANTIC FLEET.

[Extract from the report of Admiral F. F. Fletcher, commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet, Aug. 15, 1916. S. Doc. 251, 64th Cong., 1st sess., p. 19.] RÉSUMÉ.

In brief, the principal weaknesses and requirements of the fleet are as follows:

llows:

(a) Shortage of officers.
(b) Shortage of men.
(c) Lack of fast armored ships and fast light cruisers.
(d) Limitations of mobility and seagoing qualities of submarines.
(e) Lack of aircraft.
(f) Lack of radio direction finder.
(g) Too frequent overhaul of battleships.
(h) Necessity of maintaining full complements in active ships of the

feet.

(i) Need of additional mining and sweeping vessels.

(j) Desirability of mobilizing ships in reserve annually with the

(j) Desirability of mobilizing ships in reserve annually with the active fleet.
(k) Need of battle target practice at long ranges.
(l) Necessity for increased facilities at fleet rendezvous.
(m) Provision for division commanders for mining division and auxiliary division.
(n) Provision for more speed in design of fighting craft intended to operate with the fleet.
(o) Need of antiaircraft guns.

Building program for Navy recommended for fiscal year ending June 30, 1917.

	Secretary	General Board of	General Board of
	Daniels's plan.	Navy's first plan.	Navy's second plan.
Dreadnaughts	2 2 30 15 7	4 4 37 28 24	4 3 22 10 10

Appropriation necessary for coming year to carry out above plans:

Secretary Daniels's plan General Board's plan No. 1 General Board's plan No. 2 \$57, 003, 000 113, 020, 587 82, 792, 500

The figures for Secretary Daniels's plan and for General Board's plan No. 2 were taken from the Report of the Secretary of the Navy, December 1, 1915, page 7 and page 85. The figures for General Board's plan No. 1 were taken from a letter dated January 22, 1916, from Secretary Daniels to Hon. E. W. Roberts, of the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives.

In addition to the foregoing building program, Secretary Daniels recommended for the ensuing year an appropriation of \$2,000,000 for aviation and \$8,000,000 for naval ammunition. The General Board plan No. 2 recommended \$3,000,000 for aviation and \$3,000,000 for aviation and \$4,000,000 for aviation and \$4,000 ation and \$11,000,000 for ammunition. The General Board plan No. 1 recommended \$5,000,000 for aviation, but made no mention of ammunition.

Note.—The General Board plan No. 1 was submitted July 30, 1915, "in compliance with the oral order of the Secretary of the Navy to express its opinion at the earliest practicable date as to a policy which should govern the development of the Navy and a building program." (See Report of the Secretary of the Navy, Dec. 1, 1915, p. 75.)

Notwithstanding this report the Secretary on October 7, 1915, (See Report of the Secretary of the

called on the General Board to present a program which would

involve only about \$100,000,000 per year.

In compliance with this letter, General Board plan No. 2 was presented, the General Board interpreting the \$100,000,000 limit

presented, the General Board Interpreting the \$100,000,000 limit as covering air craft and ammunition. (See Report of the Secretary of the Navy, Dec. 1, 1915, pp. 75, 85.)

General Board plan No. 2 is included in the Secretary of the Navy's report. General Board plan No. 1 was given to the public December 24, 1915, and can be found in the daily newspapers of December 25, 1915.

THE ARMY.

[Extract from the Report of the Secretary of War, Nov. 15, 1914.] For the purpose of information the following table is presented, showing the area, population, and military resources on a peace and war footing of other nations in comparison with ours:

	LAND FORCES OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES.							
	Area (square miles).	Popula- tion.	Peace strength.	Total trained war strength.				
Germany. France. Russia. Great Britain and colonies. Italy. Austria-Hungary. Japan. Turkey. Spain. Switzerland. Sweden. Belgium.	208, 830 207, 054 8, 647, 657 11, 467, 294 110, 550 261, 035 147, 655 1, 186, 874 194, 783 15, 976 172, 876 11, 373	64, 903, 423 38, 961, 945 160, 095, 200 396, 294, 752 32, 475, 253 49, 418, 596 53, 875, 390 35, 764, 876 19, 503, 008 3, 741, 971 5, 476, 441 7, 074, 910	620,000 580,000 1,200,000 254,500 275,000 360,000 230,000 420,000 115,000 140,000 75,000 42,000	4,000,033 3,000,000 4,500,000 1,200,000 2,000,000 1,200,000 1,200,000 1,200,000 2,75,000 400,003 180,003				
United States (including Philippine Scouts)	3, 026, 789	98, 781, 324	97,760	² 225, 170				

¹ Excluding native army, 160,000. ¹Including Organized Militia and Philippine Scouts.

Strength of United States Army June 30, 1915.

[Pages 6, 16, 32, Report of Chief of Staff, United States Army.]

	Officers.	Enlisted men.	Total,
Regular Army Philippine Scouts Reserve Army	4,616 182	1 95, 765 5, 430 17	100,381 5,612
Organized Militia (National Guard)	8,705	120, 693	129,398
Grand total	13,503	221,965	235, 408

¹Including 8,381 enlisted men of the Hospital and Quartermaster's Corps.

THE ORGANIZED MILITIA OR NATIONAL GUARD.

[Extracts from the Report of the Chief of Staff, United States Army, Oct. 15, 1915, pp. 31, 32.]

Strength and organization: According to the latest returns the total reported strength of the Organized Militia is 8,705 commissioned officers and 120,693 enlisted men, a decrease over last year of 87 officers and an increase of 1,442 enlisted men.

Attendance at inspection and drills: Reports show that 83 per cent of the numerical strength of the Organized Militia were present at the annual inspection and that 79,621 enlisted men, or about 63 per cent of the reported strength, have attended at least 24 drills of one hour a day during the year.

Field or camp service for instruction: During the season just closing there were 41 special camps of instruction for officers and noncommissioned officers, at which there were present 2,395 commissioned officers and 1,415 noncommissioned officers. There were 162 camps of instruction attended by organized units, at which there were present 5,328 officers and 77,558 enlisted men.

Small-arms target practice: Information concerning small-arms target practice for the calendar year 1914 is incomplete. Two States have reported that no practice was held, two States have submitted reports that are unintelligible, and four States have submitted no reports. In the remaining States, of a strength of 91,570 men armed with the rife, only 49,652, or 54 per cent, attended target practice during the year. As judged by reports received, instruction in small-arms target firing is in a fairly satisfactory condition in eight of the States and is unsatisfactory in all the others, with varying degrees of deficiency.

AMMUNITION SHORTAGE.

[Extract from the testimony of Brig. Gen. William Crozier before Committee on Military Affairs of House of Representatives, Jan. 25, 1916. Hearings p. 76.]

"The total number of rounds of such [field artillery] ammunition on hand and under manufacture is 967,500, of which 481,000 have been completed."

NOTE.—European reports have mentioned that as many as 1,000 rounds of field-artillery ammunition are sometimes fired in a single day by a single gun. The Chief of Staff, United States Army, in his annual report, November 15, 1914, stated that as an accumulation in anticipation of war we need 11,790,850 rounds of field-artillery ammunition.

SHORTAGE OF FIELD ARTILLERY.

[Extract from table presented by Brig. Gen. William Crozler, Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, before Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives, Jan. 25, 1916. Hearings, p. 76.]

"Total batteries field artillery completed, 176."

Nore.—As each battery consists of 4 guns, this means that we have only 704 field guns completed. The Chief of Staff, United States Army, in his annual report, November 15, 1914, stated that as an accumulation in anticipation of war we need 2,834 field guns (exclusive of giant

[From above hearings, p. 4.]

Gen. CROZIER. The heaviest piece of field artillery which is now in our service is the 6-inch howitzer. We have been trying for several years to experiment with two calibers of fieldpiece heavier than the 6-inch howitzer, of which I think I have spoken to this committee before. We have been trying to get out a design for a howitzer of about 7.6-inch caliber, and we have also been trying to get out a design for a howitzer of about 9.5-inch caliber.

PROPOSED ARMY INCREASES.

At the beginning of the present fiscal year we had a Regular Army of 105,993 officers and men. Secretary Garrison now proposes to provide a Regular Army of 141,843 officers and men. The War College Division of the General Staff of the United States Army proposes to provide a Regular Army of 281,000 officers and men.

The above figures embrace the Philippine Scouts and the men of the Hospital and Quartermaster Corps. At present alto-

gether they amount to some 14,000 men.

(See Chief of Staff's Report, Oct. 15, 1915, p. 6; Secretary of War's Report, Nov. 15, 1915, p. 25; and War College Statement, Sept. 11, 1915, p. 21.)

COAST FORTIFICATIONS. AMMUNITION SHORTAGE.

[Extract from the report of the Chief of Staff, United States Army, 1914.]

There is a serious deficiency, however, in ammunition for these coast defenses, the supply which the department has been attempting to maintain being on the basis of approximately an hour's full and active operation of the guns in the United States proper and a two hours' full and active operation of the guns in over-sea fortifications. According to the report of the Chief of Coast Artillery, the amount of ammunition now available and provided for by appropriations is equal to about 73 per cent of this requirement for the guns and 50 per cent for the

mortars.

[Extract from the report of the Chief of Staff, United States Army, Oct. 15, 1915, p. 23.]

The full effectiveness of the existing seacoast armament can not be attained under present conditions because of the shortages in the supply of the essential accessories, such as ammunition, searchlights, and fire control. Of the latter deficiencies, that of ammunition is the most serious, as the total supply on hand is only about three-fourths of the so-called one hour's allowance. That allowance is deemed wholly inadequate, and no material measure of relief will be afforded unless future appropriations for ammunition are greatly in excess of the annual appropriations for that purpose that have been made heretofore

The completion of the submarine mine matériel required for the mine defenses is another urgent need. This matériel should be maintained at all times in a state of preparedness for immediate service, as naval attacks upon our seacoast cities may occur coincidently with, or even may precede, a formal declaration of war.

EXPOSURE OF OUR SEACOAST CITIES.

EXPOSURE OF OUR SEACOAST CITIES.

[Extracts from the testimony of Brig. Gen. E. M. Weaver, United States
Army, Chief of Coast Artillery, before the Committee on Military
Affairs of the House of Representatives, Jan. 19, 1916 (Hearings,
pp. 42 and 68).]

Gen. Weaver. I am going this afternoon before the Fortifications Committee to urge additional fortifications, the necessity of which has been brought about by the evolution of naval attack. These new forti-

fications include those at Cape Henry, Rockaway Beach, San Francisco, and one or two other places.

Gen. Weaver. When we mounted guns at Fort Hamilton and Fort Wadsworth and at Sandy Hook it was not thought that ships could stand outside of Rockaway Beach and fire over the whole width of Long Island and Brooklyn and reach New York City. There were no guns mounted that could do that at that time. Now there are. A ship could do that and be beyond the range of any gun we have mounted.

Could do that and be beyond the range of any gun we have mounted.

[Extract from the testimony of Lieut. Col. William G. Haan, Coast Artillery, United States Army, before Senate Committee on Military Affairs, Jan. 28, 1916.]

Lieut. Col. Haan. I reported officially that there are points in Boston Harbor where an enemy's ship can lie now and destroy the Boston Navy Yard, the statehouse, the Fore River Shipyards, and the business part of Boston without our being able to reach him with our short-range runs.

CHESAPEAKE BAY UNFORTIFIED.

[Extract from the report of the National Coast Defense Board, Feb. 1, 1906.]

Commercially and strategically Chesapeake Bay is to-day, as it always has been, of the very first importance. With the entrance, as it is now, unfortified, a hostile fleet, should it gain control of the sea, can establish, without coming under the fire of a single gun, a base on its shores, pass in and out at pleasure, have access to large quantities of valuable supplies of all kinds, and paralyze the great trunk railway lines crossing the head of the bay. (The above was written 11 years ago. The entrance to Chesapeake Bay is still unfortified. A. P. G.)

SHORTAGE OF MEN FOR SEACOAST GUNS.

The entrance to Chesapeake Bay is still unfortified. A. P. G.)

SHORTAGE OF MEN FOR SEACOAST GUNS.

[Extracts from the report of the Chief of Coast Artillery, United States Army, Oct. 2, 1915, p. 4.]

As the defenses outside of continental United States have been completed and made ready for their garrisons, it has been necessary to transfer to these a considerable number of Coast Artillery troops from the home fortifications to provide the requisite manning bodies. When the over-sea fortifications are complete, 291 officers and 6.800 men will be required for duty outside of the United States. This will leave in the United States only 410 officers and 12.219 men, which is approximately 44 per cent of the officers and 53 per cent of the enlisted men necessary for providing a minimum manning body for all mines and for that one-half of the guns and mortars which it is contemplated shall be manned by Regular troops.

Apart from this, the action of the coast States has been most discouraging in their failure to provide Coast Artillery personnel from the State forces for the manning body of the other half of the gun and mortar batteries in the United States. Of the 711 officers and 17,329 enlisted men, which it was hoped and expected the States would furnish for this purpose, there were, at the 1915 annual inspection, only 440 officers and 7,438 enlisted men organized and available (p. 4).

At the present time many of the coast fortifications have been so stripped of the personnel that they have been placed in the hands of caretakers, who can only keep the matériel in serviceable condition. The garrisons for the coast defenses of Portsmouth, the Delaware, the Potomac, the Cape Fear, Charleston, Key West, Tampa, Mobile, Galveston, and the Columbia are greatly below what they should be under the policy which contemplates that one-half of the guns and mortars be manned by Regular troops.

Guns now mounted or being mounted, after eliminating batteries declared obsolete by the War Department Board of Review (p. 5).

	16-inch.	14-inch.	12-inch.	10-inch.	8-inch.	6-inch.	5-inch.	4.7-inch.	4-inch.	3-inch.	Mortars.
Number for which manning bodies are now provided Number for which manning bodies are not provided	i	7 17	75 36	67 64	20 29	104 102	11 41	5 26	2 2	64 212	280 128
Total	1	24	111	131	49	206	52	31	4	276	408

THE ENEMY COULD LAND.

A LETTER FROM ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY, UNITED STATES NAVY. OFFICE OF THE ADMIRAL OF THE NAVY, Washington, December 10, 1915.

Hon. A. P. Gardner, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Hon. A. P. Gardner,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gardner: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of December 9 asking me to write you setting forth my views on the question of the possibility of large hostile forces landing on our coast, and inviting my attention to an article by Eric Fisher Wood, which appeared in the Century last month.

The part of the Atlantic coast mentioned in Mr. Wood's article extends from Eastport, Me., to Cape Henry, Va., and in this area we have permanent defenses on the Penobscot and Kennebec Rivers, at Portland, Portsmouth, Boston, and New Bedford Harbors; at Narragansett Bay; at the eastern entrance to Long Island Sound; at the entrance to New York Harbor; on the Delaware River; at Baltimore; on the upper Potomac River, and at Hampton Roads. Of these defenses only those at Portland. Narragansett Bay, entrance to Long Island Sound, and the entrance to New York protect the coast, the others are solely harbor defenses.

It is true that a large hostile force can land on the open coast wherever the transports can get within reasonable distance of the shore, and especially so where their landing is covered by the gunfire of the naval escort, even though the landing be opposed by troops: the most recent example of this is the landing of the alled troops on the Gallipoli Peninsula. We have similar examples in our own Instory, as the landing of Scott's army near Vera Cruz, the landings near Fort Fisher, and the landing of Shafter's army on the south coast of Cuba.

From Eastport, Me., to Cape Henry, Va., there are but very few places where large ships can not approach with safety to within 2 miles of

Cuba.

From Eastport, Me., to Cape Henry, Va., there are but very few places where large ships can not approach with safety to within 2 miles of the coast, and the extent of this shore line that is too precipitous or too ragged to make a landing impracticable is small. The only force that can prevent such a landing is a Navy of our own strong enough to prevent such an expedition from reaching our coast.

In saying that a hostile expedition can land upon our coast at will, outside the range of our coast-defense guns, I mean that it is physically possible, and with no very great difficulty. I do not mean that such a force could accomplish its object by landing anywhere on our coast. No commander would desire to have his force isolated on the peninsulars of Maine nor on the sand dunes of New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, or Virginia, with inland waters between them and the mainland.

They will prefer to land where there are railroads and good roads leading to their objective, which would probably be one of our large cities. Such places are numerous along the coast of Massachusetts, both shores of Massachusetts Bay, the eastern end and south shore of Long Island, and in the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays.

A landing place sheltered from the force of the sea would greatly facilitate the disembarkation of a hostile force, but is not a vital necessity; such sheltered places are too numerous to name, but among them are Frenchmans Bay, Penobscot Bay, Bue Hill Bay, Sheepscott River, Casco Bay, in Maine; Rockport, Gloucester, Salem, Plymouth, Provinceton, Vineyard Sound, and Buzzards Bay, in Massachusetts; Fort Pond Bay, and then to the southward Delaware and Chesapeake Bays. Only the Navy can prevent landings at those places, and that Navy must be strong enough to defeat the enemy; and should we have such a Navy the enemy would not attempt an invasion as long as it remained in existence.

Our main defense and protection from invasion must therefore always rest with the Navy, which must ever remain our first and best line of defense. This defense, unless adequate, is impotent; and, as before stated, adequacy is not reached until the Navy is strong enough to meet on equal terms the navy of the strongest probable adversary.

Sincerely, yours,

GEORGE DEWEY.

LAND ALMOST ANY PLACE.

[Extract from the testimony of Rear Admiral Frank F. Fletcher, United States Navy, commanding Atlantic Fleet, before the Commit-tee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives, Dec. 9, 1914, (Hearings, p. 536.)]

Representative Witherspoon. How many unbarbored places are there on the coast where they (the enemy) could land?

Admiral Fletcher. In smooth water and fine weather, they could land almost any place, as we did from the open sea at Santiago.

COULD BE DONE RIGHT NOW

COULD BE DONE RIGHT NOW.

[Extract from the testimony of Brig. Gen. William Crozier, Chlef of Ordoance, United States Army, before the Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives, Jan. 25, 1916. Hearings, p. 73.]

Representative McKenzie. Do you think any power on earth can land 600,000 or 700,000 men on our shores in less than eight or nine months?

Gen. Crozier. I think if there were a power which had no entanglements near home, and which was free to do it, it could be done right now, as far as anything we could do to prevent it was concerned, within the time you mentioned.

Preparedness of the great powers for over-sea expeditions.
[Extract from statement of War College Division, General Staff Corps, United States Army, Sept. 11, 1915.]

		Tonnage available of ships with capacity over—			First expedition using 50 per cent of tonnage given.		using 75 per cent		Time needed to-	
Nation.	Strength of army.	3,000 tons.	2,000 tons.	1,000 tons.	Men.	Animals.	Men.	Animals.	Load and cross ocean with first expe- dition.	Return, load, and recross with second expe- dition.
Austria-Hungary France. Germany. Great Britain. Haly Japan. Russia.	4, 320, 000 5, 000, 000 5, 000, 000 1, 695, 000 2, 600, 000 2, 212, 000 5, 000, 000	3,569,962 13,000,000	762,756 1,705,931 4,018,185 1,065,321 428,019	* 1,013,985	72,000 160,931 387,000 170,000 91,000 95,745 37,630	14,000 32,186 81,270 90,000 13,650 24,416 7,940	108,000 243,295 440,000 136,000 142,622 66,444	21, 600 48, 279 94, 600 20, 475 36, 628 11, 918	Days. 20.7 15.8 15.8 14.0 18.3 22.5 20.5	Days. 40.4 30.0 30.8 27.6 35.6 41.6 40.6

1 240,500 territorials
2 Japanese field regulations indicate the intention to use steamers of 1,000 tons; for this reason and because of the large amount of steamers between 10 and 12 knots speed, all Japanese steamers over 10 knots speed and 1,000 tons gross have been considered.

Fifty per cent has been assumed as the figure representing the amount of shipping in or within call of home ports at outbreak of war. The foregoing figures refer to the status of the various nations before the European war.—A. P. G.

PART II.-THE ARGUMENTS.

[Extracts from sundry addresses of Hon. Augustus P. Gardner, of Massachusetts.]

. Baltimore, Md., April 9, 1915. PREPARE AGAINST WAR.

"All Europe is reeling drunk with slaughter. When mankind is maddened with drink, is that a proper time to lay in a fresh supply of liquor?" cries the pacificist. Perhaps not; but it is a mighty good time to secure some additional policemen and see that they are supplied with good stout night sticks. What has been troubling the allies has not been too much drink, but too much peace dope. When you see your neighbors staggering under the blows which they received before they could shake off the effects of their pipe dreams, is that a proper time to lay in

a fresh supply of the same sort of dope that drugged them?

I am here to advocate the preparation of the United States against war. There is all the difference in the world between being prepared for war and being prepared against war. It is true that if a nation has deliberately prepared for war it is mighty likely to find war. Germany was prepared for war and she made war. Switzerland was prepared against war and so far she has escaped war. Belgium was prepared neither for war nor against war, so war overwhelmed her.

It may be true that the man who arms himself with a revolver and goes looking for trouble is the man who finds trouble. But it is not because he carries the revolver that he finds trouble, it is because he is a trouble maker and is looking for trouble.

We arm our police with revolvers, and we teach them to use them in the hour of need. We send our police abroad where trouble is brewing; but who is there that believes that police-

men stir up riot because they are armed with revolvers?

Does a city invite a conflagration by equipping itself with machines and firemen to fight against fire? Just as much as a nation invites war by equipping itself with machines and men to fight against aggression.

ARBITRATION TREATIES.

Nowadays we are told that if the United States will only go ahead and mind its own business then we shall not get into any If the United States in the year of grace 1915 suddenly begins to mind its own business, it will be doing what it has never done before in the whole course of our history. Take up to-morrow morning's newspaper, and I venture to say that you will find on the front page more than one instance where the business of the United States is so entwined with the business of other nations that you can not tell where one leaves off and the other begins. Do you suppose that the world thought we were minding our own business away back in 1823, when the Monroe doctrine put a spoke in Spain's wheel to prevent her getting back her South American possessions? Do you suppose Great Britain thought we were minding our own business when we insisted on her arbitrating the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela? Do you suppose that Spain thought we were minding our own business when we told her what she ought to do with her colonists down in Cuba? And yet we are told that we are to mind our own business and enter

into treaties to cover a few other odds and ends by arbitration. I am sorry to say that I have not as much faith in the efficacy of treaties as I used to have. Even the United States did not toe the mark when it came to carrying out our treaties with

the Indians or even with China. If Belgium had put less faith in a particular treaty now known as "the scrap of paper," and put more faith in being prepared against war, the invasion of France would probably have taken place to the southward and Belgium would have been spared as Switzerland and Holland have been spared.

MUST WE ARBITRATE THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND ASIATIC EXCLUSION?

Now, the Monroe doctrine stands like a flaming sword notifying Europe that she will not be permitted to colonize South America or Mexico. Do you suppose that that flaming sword is going to be effective against impoverished nations teeming with population unless we have something substantial in the way of military power with which to back it up? You might just as well expect a hungry hyena to respect the defenselessness of an unprotected bone. Moreover, we have looked the proudest nation of Asia square in the eyes and we have said to those fighting Japaneses. "We will have said to those fighting Japanese, "We will have none of you here. We don't want you within our borders." The Japanese Government professes friendship for America, you say. True enough; but suppose that some fine day the people of Japan should wake up and say to their Government, "We demand from the people of the United States the same treatment which they give other nations." The Japanese will never be so unreasonable, you think. Won't they? How do you know? In these days the wisest man can not look very far into the millstone of the future. After all, is it so very unreasonable from the Japanese point of view, I wonder?

We do not know whether or not the Japanese are going to demand the same treatment as other nations for their people who desire to come to this country. But suppose they do make the demand. What is our answer going to be? Shall we let them in as if they were Europeans? Shall we grant them naturalization? Never by my vote, I hope, nor will I arbitrate that question either; nor will the American people arbitrate that ques-

tion any more than they will arbitrate the Monroe doctrine.

Ask any man from the Pacific coast whether he will vote to arbitrate the question of Mongolian exclusion, and risk a decree of an international court admitting into this country hordes of Chinese and Japanese. Just ask him, and see what he says. As to the philosophy of an international government based on the brotherhood of man, that may come in the sweet bye and bye when Californians have learned to intermarry with Chinese and Mississippians have begun to select negresses for their brides. DISARMAMENT.

After this war is over, assuming that the allies are successful, many people think that there will be a general disarmament, and that Great Britain will consent to forego her navy. Let us not forget that Great Britain is the only populous country which can not come anywhere near feeding itself. Therefore it is essential to Great Britain's security that she take no risk of being shut off from her ocean trade. Will she be willing to trust the safety of her ocean trade to the good will of other

Such a notion seems to me to be fantastic, yet, of course, it is conceivable that Great Britain might consent to forego her navy if other nations did the same. That would be no true disarmament, however, for in case of war her ocean-going merchant marine is so enormous and so much more powerful than that of other nations that she could easily convert a part of her fleet into warships and still have plenty left for commerce.

Great Britain undertakes to have as big a navy as any two European nations put together. Are we forever to ignore what that means? Recently I received a petition asking me to vote for a reduction in the estimates for our Navy, Why? Because, as my petitioner declared, everybody will be exhausted and unable to fight after this European war is over, except perhaps Great Britain, and she, we are told, is friendly. is friendly to-day, but in international affairs it is just as it is in politics. Your friend of to-day is the man you may be fighting to-morrow. If we are going into a match against Great Britain in the business of whittling down navies, I should like to start on a good deal longer stick than we have at present. I do not relish whittling off a short stick while we let Great Britain whittle off her long stick. One decided advantage in naval disarmament would be that it would spike the tongues of the noisome slanderers who declare that the crusaders for this Nation's security are inspired by the makers of armor plate and the builders of ships.

EXHAUSTED NATIONS?

As to successful nations being so exhausted after this war that they can not fight, the notion is fanciful. We were never stronger in a military sense than we were in 1865 after four exhausting years of war. Moreover, the victor nations in this European war will, if they think best, provide themselves with funds by the exaction of war indemnities from the vanquished.

During our Civil War Europe argued that the North and

South would exhaust each other and have no strength left for the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine. What happened? France sent an army into Mexico and placed an Emperor on the throne and laughed in our faces. Just as soon as the North could spare the troops, along toward the end of the Civil War, we sent Gen. Phil Sheridan with an army. He lined his men up on the Rio Grande. Out went the French army and down went the Emperor, without a single shot being fired except the shots which the executioners fired when they stood the poor Emperor up against the wall. That ended the theory of exhausted nations being unable to fight until Austria forgot the lesson last July. The wiseacres in Vienna nodded their heads sagely as our wiseacres do to-day. They whispered to each other, "Servia has been exhausted by a double war; Belgrade is at our mercy, and within a few weeks we shall have another Balkan fief under our dominion." But it did not work out that way. Little Servia seemed stronger than ever. Weeks and months elapsed before the Austrian army got into Belgrade, and it was fired out again in pretty short order.

SHATTERED DREAMS.

I can tell you what the trouble with the situation is. It is not the Navy League and the like which are improperly influencing the public opinion. It is the millions of a certain vain and. I hope, remorseful Crosus, named Andrew Carnegie. Annually he devotes the income of \$10,000,000 to pay for the spilling of printer's ink galore and the hiring of smooth tongues to secure the distortion of public opinion. Many a seductive pipe dream can be inspired by a half a million dollars a year; but the two grandest dreams of all were rudely shattered at the end of last July. Oh, how the air has resounded for the last few years with the shout that the bankers of the world would never permit another war. Oh, what myriad of chautauqua platforms have rattled with the prancing of the Carnegie orators as they inspired their hearers with the belief that the workingmen of Europe would refuse to fight each other. What, oh, what has happened? Evolution sternly shook the dreamers. What did happened? Evolution sternly shook the dreamers. the bankers of Europe do when it came to the pinch? David Starr Jordan says that the bankers of Europe would have stopped the war if they had been given time enough. Perhaps they would have stopped the war; but the fact is that the bankers' advice and consent was not asked for. The only question which the bankers were asked to answer was just how quickly would they supply a billion or two of dollars, and accompanied with the question was an intimation that they had better step lively or some one would know the reason why. So far as the workingmen of Europe were concerned, they flew at each other with surprising willingness. Every capital of Europe was thronged with gleeful citizens shouting the national anthem, and peace advocates, instead of being greeted with cheers, were greeted with jeers.

INTERNATIONAL COURTS AND INTERNATIONAL ARMIES.

But a new manifestation has materialized in the seances conducted by the Carnegists. In the future, we are to have an international court with an international army and an interna-

men of other nationalities to be admitted into this countrywhich, by the way, is by no means an unlikely decision for an international court to render-do you think that our workingmen would allow us to lie down and permit it? Supposing the international army and the international navy were obliged to attack us in order to force the admission of those Chinese and Japanese, would the American division of the international army fight with the rest of the international army or against it? And if it mutinied, what would be the future of that international force?

Supposing the international court decided that if we would not secure debts owed to foreign countries by Mexico and would not protect foreign investments or persons in Mexico the international army would have the right to do it in our stead-and that is also a very possible verdict—what would happen then? Should we stand by and see that international army invade Mexico? And if the international court decrees an invasion, shall we have no need for an Army and Navy to resist the inter-

national army and the international navy?

My friends, the theory is growing up in the world that the various peoples of the world have an inherent right to migrate to the United States or elsewhere if they so desire. You meet that theory in every sort of foreign publication. Our right to exclude immigration seeking to come to these shores has been challenged more than once. Do you suppose our people would bow to an international decision which denied our right to control immigration? How should we have fared throughout this Nation's history if instead of fighting our battles we had been asked to depend upon decrees of international courts? Would the revolutionists of 1775 have left it to any international court to decide whether or not New England ought to be taxed? Yet such was one of the main issues which brought on the Revolution, unless we are to believe that the insolence of the British authorities in Boston was the main cause, which, after all, may perhaps have been the case. How should we have fared if we had submitted to arbitration the dispute which caused the Mexican War? We assisted Texas to get away from Mexico and then we proceeded to annex Texas. Plainly and bluntly stated, our purpose was to get some territory for American de-How do you think we should have come out before velopment. an international court in these days?

Would the North have consented to arbitrate the question of slavery? Would the Nation have permitted an international tribunal to decide whether or not the battleship Maine was blown up from the inside or from the outside, or whether Spain should be forced to evacuate Cuba? If this question had been submitted to the international court, how would the international court have decided, and would we have submitted to its decision? Would other nations' representatives in that international court have unanimously consented to our coercion? Obviously not. As a matter of fact, a sort of international court actually convened itself to sit on the very question of our dispute with Spain. You may have forgotten about that court. It was known to the world as the concert of European powers, and a grand old harmonious concert it was when Great Britain broke in with a false note. The rest of the orchestra had attuned their fiddles to the popular air of "Down with your Just at that moment Great Britain started to Uncle Samuel." blow an entirely different note, and to this day I, for one, have not forgotten it. Anyway, Great Britain broke up that concert of European powers, and I reckon that was about as near an international court as we shall get within the next 50 years.

So much for the last dream of the peace preachers. I could dream as fast and as often as any Carnegist that ever advocated a sane and safe Fourth of July if you would only give me the income on \$10,000,000. Even without the payment of a single cent I could dream of the day when there will be no burglars. Meanwhile, inasmuch as I live half a mile from the nearest neighbor, I shall not at present get rid of my watchdog.

ARE WE GOING TO WAR?

Now, do I expect war? Of course, I do not expect war. No sensible man ever expects war, but sometimes war comes. If I go into a neighborhood where there is smallpox, I do not expect to catch smallpox, but I get vaccinated just the same. I hope I shall not run into anybody with my automobile this year, and I do not expect to do so, but I propose to carry some automobile insurance.

Wars come nowadays without much warning. The last and greatest war of all came like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky to the British Nation. Here is an extract from a speech made in November by David Lloyd George, chancellor of the exchequer of Great Britain.

When this war broke out we were on better terms with Germany than the thing had been for 15 years. There was not a man in the cabinet who the Chinese and the Japanese ought to have equal rights with

Fortunately for Mr. David Lloyd George and for his country, Great Britain has kept her navy in the acme of condition for pretty nearly a hundred years. No matter what Great Britain has of late years neglected, she has kept the blade of her navy bright and clean. I wish that we could say the same. I wish that I could disbelieve the testimony of Admiral Fiske, and Admiral Kalght, of Capt. Bristol, and Capt. Sterling, of Assistant Secretary Roosevelt, and the hundreds of officers and enlisted men who corroborate in private what a few of their superior officers have the courage to say in public.

House of Representatives, October 16, 1914.

All the Carnegie millions in the world will not silence those of us who believe that bullets can not be stopped with bombast nor powder vanquished by platitudes.

House of Representatives, January 21, 1915.
HISTORY REPRATS ITSELF.

Three years ago this Committee on Military Affairs carried through the House of Representatives a bill reducing the Army of the United States; and there stands the gentleman who did it—the chairman of this committee, the gentleman from Virginia. Fortunately the Senate did not pass that bill. I have not forgotten the gentleman's words; neither have I forgotten the words of a certain other gentleman from Virginia, who once upon a time spoke to another resolution of the same sort. Here is that other resolution:

Resolved, That the Military and Naval Establishments ought to be reduced.

Listen to what that other gentleman from Virginia said:

With respect to war, we have, thank God, in the Atlantic a fosse wide and deep enough to keep off any immediate danger to our territory. The belligerents know as well as we feel that war is out of the question.

A good many of you have been saying exactly that same thing which that other gentleman from Virginia said. Do you know who he was? He was John Randolph, and what I have just read you came from his utterances in this House on March 22, 1810.

Yet two years afterwards the War of 1812 broke out, the impassable fosse was crossed by a hostile army, and before the war was over the British soldiers had applied the torch to the very Chamber where Randolph made his mad appeal to the mad vanity of his countrymen. "We can lick all creation," "Everything ready for the drop of the hat," "Trained citizenry leaping to arms"—all the well-known jargon appears in the annals, including the familiar argument that foreign nations would wear each other out and would have no strength left to challenge us.

Great Britain-

Says the Revolutionary veteran, Potter, in opposing the militia bill on March 20, 1810—

Great Britain has no men to spare to send here to invade our territory; and if she had, she would know better than to do it. And if France was ever so much disposed to send an army into this country, it would be in vain. She could not send them.

ABSOLUTELY UNPREPARED, AS USUAL.

Dawson, of Virginia, on December 13, 1811, arose in his place in this House and solemnly uttered this ghastly folly:

I feel myself authorized to state that we have all the necessaries, all the implements, all the munitions necessary for a three years' close war against any force which any power can send to this continent.

Contrast that with Dolly Madison's account of a little later of our rout at Bladenshurg and the burning of the White House by Ross, the British general.

Alas-

She wrote-

I can descry only groups of military wandering in all directions, as if there was a lack of arms or of spirit to fight for their own fireside.

Make no mistake, there was nothing the matter with those Pennsylvania and Virginia and Maryland militiamen whom Mistress Dolly saw, except that they had not been trained for

Six weeks before war was declared John C. Calhoun on May 6, 1812, told Congress:

So far from being unprepared, sir, I believe that in four weeks from the time that a declaration of war is heard on our frontiers the whole of upper and a part of lower Canada will be in our possession.

History does not record that conquest of Canada; but it records the fact that 100 days after Calhoun spoke Detroit was in the hands of the British, mostly because less than 1,000 of the trained citizenry of Ohio and Michigan sprang to the standard of Gen. Hull. Thomas Jefferson, who had written to Duane that—

The acquisition of Canada so far as Quebec will be a mere matter of marching—

conveniently called this disaster "the detestable treason of Hull."

ARE WE BETTER PREPARED THAN EVER BEFORE?

Some of the gentlemen who oppose any expenditure of money on preparations for our national defense console themselves by the comforting thought that we are better prepared than ever before in our history, Better armed? Perhaps, More secure? Certainly not.

It may be true—in fact, it is true—that we have more reserve artillery, more reserve rifles, and more reserve ammunition than formerly; but how does that fact alone dispose of the

question of our security?

Our reserves in material of war may be quite sufficient if we never pick a quarrel with any enemy more dangerous than Huerta and if we never fight a battle more bloody than the battle of Vera Cruz in the second Mexican war. But suppose we should meet a real enemy. The other great nations have been striding forward by furlongs, while we have been crawling along by inches, so far as military progress is concerned. Do you think that the modest increase in our reserve war material justifies the assertion that we are better prepared than ever before?

Boston, Mass., May 6, 1915.
DOES PREPAREDNESS PREVENT WAR?

The fact is that preparation is not a "safeguard" against war, if the word "safeguard" is to be held to mean the same as "preventive." Preparation against war assists us in avoiding war, and, likewise, puts us in a much more advantageous position should war break out. In fact, I believe that the want of adequate preparation in China to-day will result in the subjection of that gigantic Empire to Japan for a century to come.

Of course it is true that being unprepared for war very often keeps a nation out of war, just as timidity keeps many a boy from standing up for his rights. Meanwhile he sees some bully

insult his sister in the street.

As to preparation for war making a nation quarrelsome, I think that our history shows that we have been pretty quarrelsome, even when unprepared for war. I do not think that policemen are a quarrelsome class or that firemen tend to become incendiaries, yet we arm our policemen and train them to use revolvers, and we maintain a fire department in order to fight fire.

To say that Germany's participation in this war is owing to her preparedness, to my mind, shows loose thinking and an inadequate study of the great movements of the war. Germany's preparedness is the result of certain causes, and Germany's entrance into this war is a result of precisely the same causes, to wit, Germany's philosophy, Germany's prolific population, and Germany's ambition. Bismarck's scheme for the "unification of Germany" was deliberately undertaken with the purpose of making Germany a great nation with Prussia at the head. The price which the German States paid was three wars in eight years, terminating in the establishment of the German Empire in 1871. From that time on it has been perfectly evident that the German nation meant, by hook or by crook, to get "its place in the sun," which means that nothing except force will prevent the German people from overrunning their present boundaries and taking their Government with them.

I by no means lay it down as a certainty that Switzerland's and Holland's preparation against war is the sole force which has kept those countries at peace since August, 1914. Nevertheless such is my belief. Even if the neutrality of both countries should be violated later on, no one could deny that at least they are to be congratulated on escaping the fate of Belgium.

Some one of you has suggested the possibility of a sort of competition in preparation between three countries which you call A, B, and C. You say A prepares for war; then B and C provide a similar or superior armament. What has been the gain for A? Obviously nothing. But that is not what happens in this world. Suppose we put it this way: A and B and C are three rival nations. A and B prepare for war and C lags behind. What becomes of C if it comes to a fight? The fact is that the United States is the only Nation upon earth which can afford to go into this competition without the people feeling it.

One of the gentlemen here suggested that there was no use in building warships unless we built enough to make us safe under any and all circumstances. I understood him to picture a possible alliance against us of Great Britain, Germany, and France. Then he triumphantly asked whether I proposed that we should build a navy as great as that of Great Britain, Germany, and France combined. This is my answer: If we Congressmen are to sit with folded hands while we contemplate what might happen if we should try to prepare against an attack by the whole world, we descrive to be locked up in an asylum. You send us to Washington to legislate against probabilities and reasonable possibilities, not against nightmares and imaginabilities.

Now, ask yourself this question: Supposing that Great Britain adheres to her doctrine that her navy must be greater than that of any other two nations combined? Suppose we continue in the future, as we have in the past, to submit to that doctrine, where is the inducement to Great Britain to change it? On the other hand, let us suppose that instead of submitting to the doctrine we start in shipbuilding on a big scale. Two can play that game, you say. Possibly so, although that has not been true in history. Two can not play at that game very long, however, without one side or the other giving in or asking for a limitation of armaments.

Concord, N. H., November 11, 1915.
A CHANGE OF POLICY.

Mr. Bryan exclaims that it will mark a change in this Nation's policy if we arm ourselves to defend our rights. Just so it will be a change, precisely as it was a change in our policy when we purchased a third part of this great country from Napoleon and precisely as it was a change in our policy when we destroyed slavery by force of arms. Are we to understand that this Nation must never change its policies? Does Mr. Bryan deny the countless waste of lives and treasure which in our previous wars has resulted from our defenselessness, and does he shrink from a new policy which would prevent that waste?

Because the thought of war is indigestible for the pacificist, is that a good reason for flying in the face of history and human nature? Undefended America is, indeed, a dainty morsel; but where does history or fable tell us of a hungry wolf respecting

the defenselessness of an unprotected fold?

ARMENIA OR IRELAND-WHICH IS HAPPIEST?

"But," says Mr. Bryan, "if you arm for defense, you will pick a quarrel with your neighbor. Arm a man with a revolver and he will long to shoot someone." Well, Mr. Bryan himself was armed with a revolver in the Spanish War. Did he long for a human mark on which to display his prowess? . Did his forefinger itch to pull the trigger and send some other mother's darling boy to an untimely grave? We arm our police force with revolvers. Does that circumstance tend to encourage homicidal mania among patrolmen? Oh, this degeneration of idealism, this persistent refusal to face the facts of existence, this flapdoodle fancy that soft answers will placate savages and that vacuities will satisfy vampires! If Carnegie and Ford were right in their fantasies, Armenia to-day would be a land flowing with milk and honey. The policy of the Armenian has been the policy of Mr. Bryan-the policy of peaceful persuasiveness. policy of the Irishman has been exactly the opposite. He has been far outnumbered by the English, but he has not taken much stock in pudgy pacificist platitudes, and he has not always been conciliatory. On the contrary, for a thousand years or so he has followed a fairly consistent plan of raising particular Gehenna when he did not fancy the way things were going. result is that no one that I know of displays any especial alacrity to tread on the tail of the Hibernian coat.

PART III.—WHERE THE MONEY GOES.
[From the New York Times, Dec. 12, 1915.]
WHERE THE MONEY GOES.

WHY THE AMERICAN ARMY COSTS SO MUCH—GEN. SCOTT, CHIEF OF STAFF, SAYS THAT UNDER OUR SYSTEM THE AMOUNT WILL CONTINUE TO BE EXCESSIVE.

WAR DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF CHIEF OF STAFF, Washington, December 7, 1915.

Mr. Joseph L. Delafield,

35 Nassau Street, New York City.

Sm: Replying to your letter dated November 20, 1915, wherein you requested to be furnished whatever printed matter there may be showing how the present appropriations for national defense have been applied, and why it is that other nations have been able to do so much more on smaller appropriations, I am directed by the Secretary of War to inform you that there is no printed matter of an official character which discusses our appropriation from the point of view you mention.

From time to time statements have appeared in current publications showing the large appropriation necessary for the support of the Military Establishment of the United States and the relatively small cost of the German Army. By dividing each of these amounts by the total strength of each Military Establishment an effort is made to compare the high cost of one of our soldiers with the cost of a German soldier, which is very much lower than ours. No intelligent comparison can be

made between the cost of the German and American Military Establishments without having first a clear understanding of the differences in the military systems of these two countries.

The German pays his military obligations to the State in personal service, while we go into the labor market, where we are forced to compete with other employers of labor in order to secure our soldiers. In addition, there is a small class of volunteers in the German Army who, in exchange for certain privileges as to service, maintain themselves and supply their own uniform and equipment. Again, the normal wages in our labor market, where we obtain our recruits, are much higher than in Germany. The comparative cost of these two soldiers in dollars and cents, therefore, means little except to emphasize the cost to our Government, and indirectly to the citizen, of maintaining a Military Establishment on the voluntary principle. If we wish, then, to compare the cost of our Army with the cost of those of other nations, we must limit our comparison to those nations which employ the same general system as ourselves. We will find that only one other nation in the world does so—Great Britain.

In 16 trades and callings, data for which were obtainable in both the United States and Great Britain for 1912, we find that the average wage was 159 per cent higher in this country than in Great Britain. But the difficulty does not end here, for the price we pay to induce our soldiers to enlist and to maintain them thereafter is affected by the standard of luxury and the cost of living in the two countries under consideration. Again, taking British figures (which are well known to be higher than the German), we find that the cost of the food consumed by the average workingman in this country was 66 per cent higher than in Great Britain, the cost of fuel 21 per cent higher, and the cost of rent 91 per cent higher.

In addition, there are many other factors which enter into the necessarily high cost of our Army under present conditions, only a limited number of which can be mentioned here. One of the many items of expense in this country is that of transportation, both of men and supplies. In this country the Government must pay in cash at the commercial rate for all transportation, while in Germany the railways are State owned. Everything which we buy in this country for the maintenance of the Army is higher than corresponding articles in Germany, and after purchase must be transported over vastly greater distances.

The above are only a few of the items which make our Army more costly than that of Germany. All of them are due to the system we employ to maintain our military forces. There are, of course, a number of items which render the cost of the Army unduly high which are really imposed on the country as a result of political considerations. One of these is the maintenance of the large number of park-like Army posts scattered all over our vast country. Another is the proviso of law which compels us to shift the individuals of our oversea garrisons once in two years. Another is the detached-service law, which makes it necessary to shift officers all over the country at frequent intervals.

Conditions of this nature are susceptible of correction by legislation, and really affect only a fraction of the increased cost of our Army. The great cost of our Army is due to the system we employ, and just so long as we continue to rely on a voluntary military system we will have to continue to pay an excessive amount for national preparedness. Taking into consideration the handicaps under which the Government has to work in maintaining our Army under the present system, it will be found that it is administered as economically as that of Germany or any other country.

I hope the above may, in part at least, answer your questions. There is really nothing in print on this subject which is at all authentic. As stated above, a number of comparisons of the cost of our Army and foreign armies have been made at different times, but the bases of comparison were even more faulty than the data used, and sound conclusions can not be drawn from any such discussions.

Very respectfully,

H. L. Scott, Major General, Chief of Staff.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 16, 1915.]
CONGRESSMAN GARDNER ON DEFENSE COSTS—WHERE THE DETAILED EXPENSES OF THE ARMY AND NAVY FOR RECENT YEARS ARE SET FORTH.

Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., December 13, 1915.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

I noticed in a recent issue of the Times a letter from Joseph L. Delafield, inquiring into the reasons why we spend so much money for our Military Establishment and get so little in return.

Mr. Delafield speaks of our annual military expenditure as amounting to \$490,000,000. Probably he has accepted the figures of the pacifists who include our pension roll as a military expense, regardless of the fact that this roll is the obvious result of our policy of unpreparedness before the Civil War. a matter of fact, the correct total of our military appropriation last year, including the Army, the Navy, the coast defenses, the Military and Naval Academies, and the pension roll, was \$422,-880,895.65. Of this amount, the appropriation for pensions was \$164,100,000, leaving the net total for our actual Military and Naval Establishments \$258,780,895.65. (See statement of the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives in the Congressional Record of March 15,

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, in the Economic World of September 4, 1915, published a very complete and painstaking analysis of our naval expenses as compared with those of Germany and Great Britain. Roughly speaking, the expenses of Great Britain the year before last speaking, the expenses of Great Britain the year before last were \$260,000,000, as against \$147,000,000 for the United States and \$112,000,000 for Germany. This analysis shows that our Navy pay account amounted to \$41,000,000, while the German Navy pay account amounted to only \$13,000,000. Outside the matter of pay for the personnel of the fleet, if Mr. Delafield will consult Mr. Roosevelt's tables he will readily see that for the most part the greater expenses of our Navy are the result of the fact that wages are so much higher in the United States than they are in Germany than they are in Germany.

I think that it is probably true that we have some superfluous

navy yards. Even so, any extra expense arising from that cause is a mere drop in the bucket. I know of no graft in the Navy Department, and what is more, I do not believe that there is any graft, either there or in the War Department, or, for that

matter, in any other department here in Washington.

As to the detailed expenses of our Army Establishment, they are completely set forth in Secretary Garrison's recent report. Our Army Establishment cost us \$111,000,000 last year. Of this Our Army Establishment cost us \$111,000,000 last year. Of this amount the principal items were as follows: Pay, \$48,000,000; subsistence, \$10,000,000; transportation, \$14,000,000; clothing and equipage, \$6,000,000; regular supplies, \$8,000,000; ordnance, \$3,000,000; militia, \$5,000,000; fortifications, \$6,000,000, leaving a balance of \$11,000,000 to be accounted for by the Medical Department, the Military Academy, the Signal Corps, the Army process, and bearracks, and sundries. I do not doubt that some of posts and barracks, and sundries. I do not doubt that some of the Army posts are superfluous and an unnecessary expense. Abolish them by all means, but let us not fool ourselves into thinking that we shall make a great saving.

A P. GARDNER.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 20, 1916.]

COST OF A NAVY HERE AND IN GERMANY—SECRETARY DANIELS SHOWS THAT OURS IS THE CHEAPER NATIONAL INSURANCE, ALTHOUGH THE EXPENSE MUST BE GREATER.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, Washington, December 29, 1915.

My DEAR SIE: In reply to your letter of December 13, in which you express a desire for information concerning the relative results produced by the funds appropriated for the German Navy and those appropriated for the United States Navy, the measuring of results is a difficult matter, since it appears to be a fact that a part of the money devoted by the German Empire to naval purposes does not appear in their naval acts. I speak, of course, of the period prior to the outbreak of the European war. Information concerning European expenditures, ship construction, etc., since July 1, 1914, is not available.

The differences in the systems of naval appropriations are another element which adds to the difficulty of comparisons, but from such statistics as can be made roughly comparable the fact stands out that, while approximately 28 per cent of the United States naval appropriation is for pay and allowances of officers and men, the German appropriations for these purposes are but 12 per cent of the whole, an estimated difference in 1915 of some

\$28,000,000.

This fact is largely due to the higher general scale of salaries and wages in this country, and to the fact that under a system of voluntary enlistment, such as we, of course, have, the Navy must offer financial inducements somewhere near equal to those obtaining in civil life.

The higher general scale of wages in this country is also reflected in the labor element in our expenditures for construction and repair of vessels and in purchase and manufacture of supplies. The labor cost at our industrial navy yards in the fiscal year 1915 was some \$20,000,000, and the labor element in the ship construction performed by private contractors was in

the neighborhood of \$9,000,000. Furthermore, in our expenditures of about \$17,000,000 for material used in work at industrial navy yards, in the material charge of about \$9,000,000 for new construction work done under contract, and in the cost of about \$8,000,000 worth of armor, the labor element in the material itself as manufactured products is similarly high.

There is appended a statement which may be of interest to you, showing how the published expenditures of foreign powers prior to the European war compare with those of the United States on a basis of the ratio which they bear to the estimated wealth of the various countries and on a per capita basis. The angle from which the subject is approached is, of course, that of national insurance, and the figures show that the premium paid by the United States is 0.00071, or \$1.42 per capita, and in the case of Germany 0.00088, or \$1.59 per capita. It should be noted that the comparisons could not be made for precisely identical periods of time. * *

I will be very glad to furnish you with any further informa-

tion within my power.

As your letter concerns also the appropriations and expenditures of the War Department, it has been forwarded to the Secretary of War.

Sincerely, yours,

JOSEPHUS DANIELS, Secretary of the Navy.

Mr. Joseph L. Delafield, 35 Nassau Street, New York City.

Statement on naval expenditures, prepared by the Navy Department. RATIO OF NAVAL EXPENDITURES TO WEALTH.

	Wealth. Year.		Naval ex- penditures.	Fiscal year.	Per- centage.
Continental United States. Do	\$107,104,192,410	1904	\$116,655,823,1	2 1905	0.001089
	\$187,739,071,090	1912	133,559,071	1912	.000711
	\$72,997,500,000	1903	173,548,058	1903	.00238
British Empire	2 108, 279, 623, 900	1903	173, 548, 058	1903	.001602
France	2 46, 798, 500, 900	1910	74, 102, 439	1910	.00158
Germany	2 77, 864, 900, 900	1908	69, 133, 500	1908	.00088

	Population.	Year.	Naval ex- penditures.		Per cap- ita cost.	
Continental United States. Continental United States. Alaska, and outlying	100, 399, 318	1915	\$142,959,092	1915	\$1, 423	
territory United Kingdom British Empire France Germany	1110,745,334 445,370,530 417,268,000 439,601,509 64,925,993	1915 1911 1911 1911 1910	142,959,092 211,596,296 211,596,296 80,371,109 103,302,773	1915 1911 1911 1911 1910	1. 2) 4. 653 . 59700 2. 023 1. 591	

Data obtained from 1 nited States Bureau of the Census bulletin, entitled "Estimated Valuations of National Wealth, 1850-1912," published Mar. 10, 1915, p. 15.

Data obtained from above-mentioned Census bulletin, heing summary of information concerning wealth of principal nations, assembled by Augustus D. Webb, fellow of the Royal Statistical Society, published in "The New Dictionary of Statistics." Authorities quoted: For United Kingdom and British Empire, Sir Robert Giffen; for Germany, Steinman-Bucher: for France no authority is stated.

Data obtained from the United States Bureau of the Census, Bulletin No. 122, entitled "Estimates of Population, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914," published Mar. 31, 1914, p. 6.

Data obtained from the Statesman's Year Book for 1915, edited by J. Scott Keltie, LL. D.

HOW MUCH OF OUR INCOME?

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C., February 8, 1916

My Dear Sir: Some time ago I received from you a letter in which you told me of a certain minister in Rochester, N. Y., who states that "at the beginning of the European war Germany was spending for past wars and preparations for wars (on its army and navy) 55 per cent of the total amount of revenue collected; Japan, 45 per cent; Great Britain, 37 per cent; the United States, over 60 per cent."

Our total Federal revenues for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, were \$778,000.000. Uur expenses for the Army and Navy were \$258,000.000, and for pensions were \$164,000,000. To this ought to be added War and Navy Department office and rental expenses, estimated at perhaps \$4.000,000. In other words, including pensions our Federal military expenses for the last fiscal year were approximately \$426,000,000, or a little less than 55 per cent of our Federal income.

But is that a fair statement of the case if a comparison is to be made with the expenditures of foreign nations?

The misleading nature of the pacifist's argument as to expenses is, of course, apparent.

The misleading nature of the pacifist's argument as to expenses is, of course, apparent.

First. The pacifists include as military expenditure the amount we pay for pensions. If we had been prepared, we should have had mighty short wars and very few pensions. No other nation has such a pension system as ours.

Second. The pacifists speak only of the revenues of the United States Federal Government and give no heed to the revenues of the various States of this Union. The great bulk of the expenditures which with us fall on the several States are borne by the central government in foreign countries. To make a comparison fair we ought to calculate the gross revenue of the United States plus that of the various States. Then we ought to take the sum which the Federal Government spends annually for the Army and Navy and to it we ought to add the amount expended by the various States of the Union for National Guard or militia purposes. This latter sum amounted last year to \$8,463,000

according to the Chief of the Division of Militia Affairs, United States Army. Of course a good deal of this militia expense is properly chargeable to police; but let us reckon it all as a military charge and see what the figures show.

According to the most recent tables of the Department of Commerce, the revenues of the various States of this Union amounted in the year 1913 to \$367,000,000. Add that amount to the Federal revenue and we find a grand total of \$1,145,000,000 as the revenues of the Nation. Of this sum we spent \$142,000,000 for the Navy, \$115,000,000 for the Army, \$4,000,000 for the War and Navy Departments, while the various States of the Union spent \$8,500,000 for National Guard or militia purposes. Our total mintary expense was therefore \$270,500,000, or less than 24 per cent of our national revenue.

My figures as to our revenue and expenditure are from the "Summary of receipts and disbursements in 1915," prepared by the United States Department of Commerce. It is fair to say that I was obliged to estimate the departmental office and rental expenses of the Navy Department, as I can not find them in detail. I estimated them at \$2,000,000, as the report of the Secretary of War shows that the departmental office and rental expenses of the War Department were a little less than that sum.

Very truly, yours,

A. P. Gardner,

THOMAS FARRAR, Esq., 10 Elmhurst Street, Rochester, N. Y.

Beef Trust Investigation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND, OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 14, 1916.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a resolu-tion to require the Federal Trade Commission to investigate certain packers, under the express authority of the Federal trade act, and submit herewith the following statement:

Whereas the Cattle, Swine and Sheep Feeders' Association of Missouri, at its annual meeting at Columbia, Mo., in January, 1916, adopted resolutions urging an investigation of the Beef Trust by the Federal authorities, which said resolutions were immediately forwarded to the Congressmen and Senators from Missouri at Washington City: There-

resolutions urging an investigation of the Beef Trust by the Federal authorities, which said resolutions were immediately forwarded to the Congressmen and Senators from Missouri at Washington City: Therefore.

1. Resolved, That we extend our sincere thanks to Hon. William P. Bolland, Congressman from the fifth district of Missouri, for at once the senatory of the presentative of the request at loss essolutions; and that he has now pending before the Judiciary those isolutions; and that he has now pending before the Judiciary the senatory of the House of Representatives a resolution providing for an investigation of said Beef Trust at Kansas City, but throughout the Union. And we congratulate Hon. William P. Bolland that, heeding the resolutions of our organization above mentioned, he has become the ploneer in Congress of this great and much-needed movement.

2. Resolved, That we desire to express to Congress and to the Judiciary Committee of the House our deep conviction of the overwhelming necessity of this investigation. During the past year or 18 months the Beef Trust has ignored the honest laws of supply and demand as it has never done before. By an illegal conspiracy it has controlling now, the price of fat cattle at all of our great markets. It pays just what it pleases. Honest farmers buy feeders in our markets, take them to their pens, feed them the corn they have raised, and then bring them back and are compelled to sell them to these packers at ruinous price of the great agricultural and cattle-feeding districts of currections in the great agricultural and cattle-feeding districts of currections in the great agricultural and cattle-feeding districts of currections in the great packing houses, they have so arranged it that the cattle feeder who ships to a given market such as a sea to the great packing houses, they have so arranged it that the cattle feeder who ships to a given market such as a destroyed competition between the great packing houses, they have so arranged it that the cattle feeder on th

The Papago Reservation-Fraudulent Claims to Indian Lands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL HAYDEN,

OF ARIZONA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Tuesday, February 8, 1916.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, a reservation has been recently set apart for the Papago Indians in southern Arizona, and I ask leave to extend my remarks in the Record by printing the following letter, which I addressed to the Secretary of the Interior on this subject-

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 31, 1915.

The honorable the Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

The honorable the Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir: If it can be arranged so that mining development will not be hindered or prevented, I can see no reason why an Executive order reservation should not be established for the benefit of the Papago Indians in southern Arizona. I understand that the State land commission of Arizona has decided not to make selections in the Papago country, so that objection from this source is withdrawn.

While the area to be reserved must necessarily be large in order to support the Indians who now reside in this most arid portion of my State, yet they have used these lands for many years and are, therefore, entitled to continue their occupancy thereof. I take it, of course, that the rights of the white men, who now live within or graze live stock in the area to be reserved, will not be disturbed.

The Indians of Arizona do not engage in mining, and the mineral resources of the various reservations, which include about one-fourth of the area of the State, have not been developed. The people of Arizona complain greatly about this state of affairs, for it is known that many of the reservations are rich in minerals. If Arizona is to prosper, all of her mineral wealth should be made available for use. I must, therefore, object to the creation of any more Indian reservations in Arizona if the old policy respecting mineral lands is to be followed.

It has been argued that the President is without authority to include mineral lands within Executive order Indian reservations, but that such lands can only be reserved for agricultural and grazing purposes. Whether or not, as a matter of law, this doctrine is sound, yet I am convinced that it is the proper policy. The United States now issues patents to its citizens for the surface of mineral lands, reserving the minerals for disposition under the mining laws. This same method should be followed in establishing a reservation for the Papagos. The Indians should have the same right to locate mining claims as any white

I am informed by the Indian Office that the new Papago reservation contains about 2,700,000 acres of land, of which about 650,000 acres are mountainous. It lies chiefly in Pima County, objective are mountainous. It lies chiefly in Pima County, and may be described roughly as the country between the Baboquivari Mountains on the east and a line drawn north and south a few miles east of Ajo, and from the Mexican boundary on the south to a line just south of the old Vekol Mine in Pinal

The Executive order establishing this reservation contains a description of the lands withdrawn and is as follows:

EXECUTIVE ORDER.

Exclusive of a tribal right to the minerals contained therein, all surveyed lands and all unsurveyed lands which when surveyed will fall within the townships and ranges hereinafter described be, and the same hereby are, withdrawn and set apart as a reservation for the Papago Indians in Arizona:

ereby are, withdrawn and set apart as a reservation for the Papago ndians in Arizona;

All of township 8 S., range 1 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 8 S., range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.

The W. ½ township 8 S., range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.

Secs. 13-36, inc., township 8 S., range 5 E., G. & S. R. M.

Secs. 19. 20, 29, 30, 31, and 32, township 8 S., range 6 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 9 S., range 1 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 9 S., range 1 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 9 S., range 3 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 9 S., range 3 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 9 S., range 1 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 10 S., range 1 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 10 S., range 5 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 10 S., range 5 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 10 S., range 3 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 10 S., range 3 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 10 S., range 5 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 10 S., range 3 W., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 10 S., range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 11 S., range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 11 S., range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 11 S., range 3 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 11 S., range 5 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 11 S., range 5 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 11 S., range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 11 S., range 3 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 11 S., range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 11 S., range 3 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 11 S., range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 11 S., range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 11 S., range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 11 S., range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 12 S., range 1 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 12 S., range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 12 S., range 3 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 12 S., range 3 E., G. & S. R. M.

All of township 12 S., range 3 E., G. & S. R. M.

```
All of township 12 S., range 4 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 12 S., range 5 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 12 S., range 6 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 12 S., range 6 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 12 S., range 7 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 12 S., range 8 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 12 S., range 1 W., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 12 S., range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 13 S., range 1 W., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 13 S., range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 13 S., range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 13 S., range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 13 S., range 5 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 13 S., range 5 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 13 S., range 6 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 13 S., range 6 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 13 S., range 6 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 13 S., range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 13 S., range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 13 S., range 7 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 13 S., range 1 W., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 13 S., range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 13 S., range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 13 S., range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 13 S., range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 14 S., range 3 W., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 14 S., range 3 W., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 14 S., range 3 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 14 S., range 1 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 14 S., range 1 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 14 S., range 1 E., G. & S. R. M.
Secs. 1-32; inc., township 14 S., range 8 E., G. & S. R. M.
Secs. 1-32; inc., township 14 S., range 9 E., G. & S. R. M.
Secs. 1-3-2; inc., township 14 S., range 9 E., G. & S. R. M.
Secs. 13-22; inc., township 14 S., range 10 E., G. & S. R. M.
Secs. 16-21; inc., township 14 S., range 10 E., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 14 S., range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.
All of township 14 S., range 3 W., G. & S. R. M.
All ands in township 15 S. of range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.
All lands in township 15 S. of range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.
All lands i
                          G. & S. R. M.

All lands in township 15 S. of range 1 W., G. & S. R. M.

All lands in township 15 S. of range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All lands in township 15 S. of range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All lands in township 15 S. of range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All lands in township 16 S. of range 1 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 16 S. of range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 16 S. of range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 16 S. of range 3 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 16 S. of range 5 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 16 S. of range 5 E., G. & S. R. M.

Secs. 5-S., inc., and secs. 17-36, inc., in township 16 S. of range 6 E.,

G. & S. R. M.

Secs. 1 2 3 10 11 12 13 14 15 22 22 23 24 25 20 20 21 22 22
                          G. & S. R. M.

Secs 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 22, 23, 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, the S. ½ sec. 35, NE. ½ sec. 35, W. ½ sec. 35, the SE. ½ NW. ½ sec. 35, and sec. 36, township 16 S., range 7 E., G. & S. R. M.

Secs. 1-9 inc., N. ½ sec. 10, SE. ½ sec. 10, S. ½ SW. ½ sec. 10, secs. 11-24, inc., and secs. 29-32, inc., of township 16 S., range 8 E., G. & S. R. M.
Secs. 1-9 inc., N. à sec. 10, SE, è sec. 10, S. è SN. è sec. 10, Sec. 11-24, inc., and secs. 29-32, inc., of township 16 S., range S E., G. & S. R. M.

Secs. 7-11, inc., and secs. 16, 17, and 18, in township 16 S., range 9 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 16 S. of range 1 W., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 16 S. of range 2 W. G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 17 S. of range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 17 S. of range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 17 S. of range 3 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 17 S. of range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 17 S. of range 3 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 17 S. of range 3 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 17 S. of range 5 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 17 S. of range 5 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 17 S. of range 5 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 17 S. of range 5 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 17 S. of range 5 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 17 S. of range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 17 S. of range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 17 S. of range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 17 S. of range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 17 S. of range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 18 S. of range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 18 S. of range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 18 S. of range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 18 S. of range 1 W., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 18 S. of range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 18 S. of range 2 W., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 18 S. of range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 18 S. of range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 18 S. of range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 18 S. of range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 19 S. of range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 19 S. of range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 19 S. of range 2 E., G. & S. R. M.

All land in township 19 S. of range 2
```

All land in township 20 S., range 1 W., G. & S. R. M.
All land in township 21 S., range 3 E., G. & S. R. M.
All land in township 21 S. range 4 E., G. & S. R. M.
All land in township 21 S., range 4 E., G. & S. R. M.
All land in township 21 S., range 6 E., G. & S. R. M.
All land in township 21 S., range 6 E., G. & S. R. M.
The W. ½ of township 21 S., range 7 E., G. & S. R. M.
All land in township 22 S., range 6 E., G. & S. R. M.
The W. ½ of township 22 S., range 7 E., G. & S. R. M.
The foregoing reservation is hereby created with the understanding that it shail not interfere with prospecting for minerals, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe, or the filing of entries in accordance with the mineral land laws of the United States: And further, That nothing contained herein shall affect any existing legal right of any person to any of the lands herein described.

WOODROW WILSON.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 14, 1916.

I also desire to print a statement by Mr. F. A. Thackery, superintendent of the Gila River Indian Reservation, which recently appeared in the Arizona Gazette:

recently appeared in the Arizona Gazette:

I suppose there is no section of the entire continental area of the United States about which so little is known as the new reservation.

From the Baboquivari Mountains in the east and the Mexican boundary in the south there is a stretch of arid country that has been occupied for at least 300 years by Indians, who have managed to make a living, and not a bad one, from what seems an utterly hopeless land.

Our recently completed census shows that there are 6,500 Indians living in 42 villages, and they have attained a considerable skill in their agriculture. Their irrigation system is a fine example of the ability of savages to accommodate themselves to conditions.

To the west of the mountains there is, naturally, a large run-off from the seasonal rains, but for 100 miles there is no running stream. The waters simply disappear into the desert, and few of the washes extend more than a few miles from the foothills.

The Indians have fenced their communat fields at about the point where the flood waters disappear, and these fields are from 60 to 320 acres in size, each of them supporting a village. They are fenced with posts and interlaced branches of mesquite, and in the inclosures the agriculture is carried on and the stock herded.

To increase the irrigable area they have built dikes reaching in funnel shape back to the mountains, so as to divert as much of the flood waters as possible. Some of these dikes are 6 miles or more in length. Near the village and to one side of the dike system they built a large pond, which is used to store drinking water.

On the personal application of Congressman HAYDEN and Senator ASHURST all existing rights are preserved to such settlers as are in the territory covered by the order, and no interference with the rights of prospectors or miners will be made. This is the great feature of the department order and one for which all interested in mining have reason to be grateful to our representatives.

The following article, which appeared i

The following article, which appeared in the Casa Grande Bulletin, gives the history of the establishment of this res-

MINERAL RIGHTS IN THE NEW PAPAGO RESERVATION.

With reference to the Executive order made on January 14, 1916, by President Wilson establishing a reservation for the Papago Indians of southern Arizona, we learn in a recent conversation with Superintendent Frank A. Thackery, of the Pima Indian Reservation, that the articles published in the Phoenix papers recently are somewhat misleading, in that this reservation was not established at the Instance or upon the recommendation of Representative Hayden and Senators Ashurst and Smith.

During the visit of Hon. Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in this section of the country last August, he appointed a committee of eight to report on the Papago matter. This committee was composed of Superintendent Frank A. Thackery; Superintendent Henry J. McQuigg, of Tucson; Superintendent of Irrigation Charles R. Olberg, of Los Angeles; John R. T. Reeves, of the Indian Office; Father Bonbentura Oblassar; Rev. F. S. Herndon; Jose Xavier Pablo; and Hugh Nortis.

Norris.

This committee recommended the establishment of an Executive-order reservation. When Representative Hayden and Senators Ashurst and Smith learned that a reservation was about to be made they especially urged that in the establishment of this reservation no claim should be made to the mineral land for the Indians, and that the rights of any citizen living within the boundaries of the reservation should be respected. The representation of Representative Hayden and Senators Ashurst and Smith were respected in these matters.

The creation of this reservation ought to put an end to the efforts of a set of swindlers who have been operating out of Los Angeles, Cal., who claim an undivided half interest in the Papago lands, under an alleged agreement which Col. Robert M. Hunter, deceased, is supposed to have made with the Indians some years ago. I understand that R. M. Martin, an attorney in Los Angeles, who says t'at he represents the Hunter heirs, has succeeded in selling several tracts of Papago land containing 2,000 acres each, at \$1,000 for each tract. I know that during the past year he has visited the Papago country accompanied by prospective purchasers. Martin has been very careful, however, not to use the United States mails in carrying on this fraud, so that he has not, as yet, been prosecuted by the postal authorities.

Some time ago I wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, asking for information relative to the Hunter claim to the Papago lands, and received the following reply:

SEPTEMBER 6, 1913.

MY DEAR MR. HAYDEN: I am in receipt of your letter of August 26, 1913, inclosing a clipping from the Arizona Sentinel, under date of August 21, 1913, relating to lands of the Papago Indians in Arizona, wherein it is said that a concern in Los Angeles is offering for sale one-half of the land belonging to these Indians.

For your information it may be said that as early as 1903 Col. Robert F. Hunter, in the capacity of "relator" in behalf of the Papago

Indians, claimed that their title to large tracts of land was identical with that acquired by the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico, and that the Government had no authority or right to make other disposition of any of these lands. Col. Hunter also requested that all prior entries, patents, easements, etc., affecting these lands be canceled.

The matter was carefully considered at that time by the Indian Office, the General Land Office, and the department. Under date of June 16, 1903, with reference to these lands and to the claim submitted by the said Robert F. Hunter, the department advised the Commissioner of the General Land Office, in part, as follows:

"If the tenure of the alleged holding of the Indians is not by grant emanating from the Government of Spain or Mexico, it is not such a property right as was provided for and protected by the treaty. The mere possession of the land as Indian country, with the right of use, did not prevent it from passing under the dominion of the United States as public lands, whatever the obligation of the United States to the Indians might be.

"All the territory above described has been treated as public land, except such portions as are in private claims, including the villages and lands held by Pueblo Indians by grants under the laws of Spain and Mexico, and many of such claims have been confirmed under the laws made and provided. Out of the public lands remaining specific reservations have been created, which are deemed ample for the needs of the Indians.

"There is nothing in the papers submitted to show in whose interest or by what authority the relator appears; but, independently of this, no reason is shown why the department should take cognizance of the matters alleged in said communication. Where lands have been disposed of as public lands, private rights have been acquired, and the executive department is not sufficiently impressed with the contention of Mr. Hunter to withhold any of the remaining lands from disposal as

"The department is not sufficiently impressed with the contention of Mr. Hunter to withhold any of the remaining lands from disposal as public lands or to make any recommendation to the Department of Justice in relation to those that have been disposed of. You will so advise him."

Advise him."

A number of inquiries have been received from time to time regarding the status of these lands, and invariably this office has advised the writers that the Papago Indians, as a tribe, or the various bands or villages thereot had no title to the lands occupied by them which they could disposed of to others.

Cordially, yours

CATO SELLS, Commissioner.

Hon. CARL HAYDEN,
House of Representatives.

The Hunter Leirs are not the only claimants to Indian lands in Arizona. One Robert Connelly, also of Los Angeles, claims 100,000 acres in the Colorado River Indian Reservation, based upon what is known as the "Moses Abromet grant." Connelly has an alleged abstract of title, prepared by John W. Lawson, an attorney at Parker, Ariz., which sets forth that

Moses Abromet, sr., came to America from France, and formerly lived in Louisiana. After the death of his wife he came to Arizona and was made chief of the tribe. The present Moses Abromet is the only son and heir of Moses Abromet, sr. Moses Abromet, sr., died in the year 1902, and his monument on the Colorado River marks the corner of the 200,000 acres mentioned in this abstract, which was conveyed to his son in 1888.

The deed to Abromet is supposed to have been signed by

Chief Langdow and also the following chiefs and squaws:
Chiefs: Rodney Overton (son of Chief Langdow), Three
Feathers, and Chief Moses Abromet, sr.

Squaws: Wauseka Leuta, Bright River, and Mountain Top.
Moses Abromet, jr., of Helena, Mont., is supposed to have
transferred this land to William Graves, of Vincennes, Ind., who sold the south half of the grant, containing 100,000 acres, to Connelly.

I have had considerable correspondence with the Indian Office relative to this matter, which I shall print in the RECORD:

FEBRUARY 3, 1914.

Hon. CARL HAYDEN,
House of Representatives.

House of Representatives.

My Dear Mr. Hayden: Referring to your letter of January 31, 1914, transmitting a letter addressed to you by Mr. J. S. Griffin, of Phoenix, Ariz., you are respectfully advised that, as near as it is possible to determine from the sketch submitted with Mr. Griffin's communication, the land claimed is included within the boundaries of the Colorado River Reservation as enlarged by the Executive order of May 15, 1876. It is believed that the claimant in this case bases such claim on the so-called 'Moses Abromet grant,' which has been referred to in office letter to you of April 8, 1913, relative to a similar claim by Mr. Robert Connelly. It is possible that these two claimants are one and the same person.

onneily. It is possible the person is utterly impossible of substantiation, there even being such a claim is utterly impossible of substantiation, there even being ome doubt as to whether such a person as Moses Abromet ever actually some doubt us --existed. Very truly, yours,

C. F. HAUKE, Second Assistant Commissioner.

Hon. Carl Hayden,

House of Representatives.

My Dear Mr. Hayden: Complying with your telephonic request of Saturday, I am sending herewith photographic copies of certain letters and other papers, including a map, relating to the so-called Moses Abromet grant.

I think you will find ample justification in the attached papers for the statement that the claim or grant can not be substantiated. In this connection your particular attention is invited to the fact that the last Mexican grant was made prior to 1853 and the Colorado River reservation referred to in the alleged deed to Robert Connely was not established until 1865.

The records of the General Land Office fail to show a grant of this character within the confines of the Colorado River reservation, and

so far as this office is informed no such person as Moses Abromet over existed.

Very truly, yours,

C. F. HAUKE, Chief Clerk.

COLORADO RIVER AGENCY, Parker, Ariz., April 21, 1911.

Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C.

Sin: Office letter, under date of March 16, regarding a grant of 100,000 acres of land, known as the Moses Abromet tract and grant, has been received.

I have made inquiry among the people of this vicinity, both white and Indian, and have been unable to find anyone who has ever heard of this grant or tract. The oldest prospector in the mountains was inquired of concerning it, and he said that he had been in here for more than a generation, but had never heard of the grant or of that name.

I think there must be a mistake as to the location of the grant, if such grant exists.

Very respectfully,

P. T. LONERGAN, Superintendent.

COLORADO RIVER AGENCY.
Parker, Ariz., February 19, 1912.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Washington, D. C.

Sir: In reply to your letter of the 13th instaint, noted above, I will say that this matter has been brought to my attention before.

The claim was based upon the Mexican grant which purported and was supposed to be described by metes and bounds, mentioning as part of its boundary the Colorado River Reservation. On the face of it it appears so absurd that I gave it no attention, Inasmuch as the last Mexican grant would be prior to 1853 and the Colorado River Indian Reservation was established about 1865, making it impossible tor the Mexican grant to legally mention the reservation as partly part of the grant.

Mexican grant to legally mention the very grant.

I am in this mail asking the superintendent of the Yuma Reservation to examine record book No. 23 to see if any such transfer is recorded therein. Concerning record book No. 2 at Parker I would respectfully state that no such record book exists.

I am of the opinion, supported by all facts which I can find, that this is in a nature of a swindle, and the burden of proof would rest upon its perpetrator. It will be my pleasure to notify your office of any further information concerning this matter which may come to my knowledge.

Very respectfully,

OMAR L. BABCOCK, Superintendent.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HAYDEN.

"The Moses Abromet Grant," so-called, involves approximately 100,000 acres in the Colorado River Reservation, and the claim of one Robert Connely regarding this tract has been under investigation by the Post Office Department and by the Department of Justice for several years. The last action of record is described in a letter from the assistant United States attorney at Los Angeles, Cal., a copy of which was submitted to this department in 1914 by the Hon. Attorney General. For convenience a part of said letter is here given:

"Will say that the writer to-day, in company with Post Office Inspector C. E. Webster and Ralph Dominguez, a notary public, called upon Mr. Connely for the purpose of requesting himself and wife to execute a quit-claim deed to the Government for his claimed interest in such reservation. The writer asked Mr. Connely if he had thoroughly investigated the condition of the title there and the circumstances surrounding it, to which he replied that he had and was satisfied with it; that he had had the best lawyers in Arizona and Washington examine into it. The writer informed him that there was absolutely no basis for his claim and demanded the execution of his deed, which was refused. We also informed him that there was no such attorney in Parker, Ariz., as Lawson, who purported to prepare the abstract and examine the title nor any such family or chefs as the Abromets nor any such record or deed at Parker as the abstract claimed."

The lands embraced in the alleged grant are included within the boundaries of the Colorado River Indian Reservation as established by Executive order of May 15, 1876, and the office has invariably advised all inquirers that such a claim as that made by the alleged transferee of Moses Abromet is impossible of substantiation.

The Late Representative Joseph A. Goulden, of New York.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

HON. DANIEL J. RIORDAN,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, January 23, 1916,

On House resolution (H. Res. 101) paying tribute to the memory of Hon. Joseph A. Goulden, late a Representative from the State of New York.

Mr. RIORDAN. Mr. Speaker, by the death of Joseph A. Goulden, not only we from New York but many from other States, has lost a stanch and sincere friend. The House lost one of its most useful Members; the United States a loyal and intelligent defender; the State of New York a notable citizen; and the city of New York a Representative ever true to her

interests and zealous in her support.

Congressman Goulden to the last excelled in vigor, energy, and initiative. He never became interested in a cause that he

did not become useful and devoted to it.

When a very young man he lived near the battlefield of Gettysburg, and though he saw all the horrors of that awful field the sight did not deter him from enlisting in the Navy soon after. His service was faithful, and during all the years that followed a veteran of the wars or a sailor or soldier of the Regular Establishment had a friend in Congressman GOULDEN.

He served on innumerable Memorial Day committees; was secretary of the committee which built the soldiers and sailors' monument on Riverside Drive, New York City; a trustee of the Soldiers Home at Bath, N. Y.; organizer of associate posts of the Grand Army of the Republic and active wherever he could do a real service to an old soldier, to his widow, or to his children. Hundreds of families to-day owe their humble comfort to pensions received through Col. Goulden's knowledge, sympathy, and untiring industry.

During the Spanish-American War Col. GOULDEN, without reward, recruited volunteers for the Army, and ever afterwards deemed it an honor that he had been permitted this

He was loyal to the flag he had served. He secured the passage of a law in the State of New York prohibiting the printing of advertising matter on the flag, and when the first offender proved to be one of his warmest supporters he insisted, nevertheless, on the strict enforcement of the law. He worked for 10 years, though unsuccessfully, to secure the enactment of a similar Federal statute.

He introduced the first bill to raise the Maine in Habana

Harbor and worked for it until it became a law.

The Bronx, which he represented for so many years, had with its rapid growth and its miles of penetration by arms of the sea many and important problems of trade, transportation, and navigation. Col. Goulden made himself proficient in them all. This interest led him into the Rivers and Harbors Congress and the Atlantic Deep Waterways Association. He became an officer in both, and he rarely missed a meeting or a session of either from Maine to Florida. On these subjects he was one of the best-informed men in the House.

Though in no sense a bigot, he was ardently devoted to his Naturally he became a prominent member of the Knights of Columbus, and the beautiful statue of Columbus in front of the Union Station in Washington is the result of a

bill which he introduced and pressed to passage.

He was a loyal Democrat, believing in the principles of the party and supporting its policies and candidates. In 1913, at the age of 68, he ran for an office which he did not want, and suffered anticipated defeat, solely because the party leaders made the request and desired the strength of his unquestioned

personal popularity in a more than doubtful year.

Col. GOULDEN was a school commissioner, and although his term expired 20 years ago, his interest in the schools remained unabated. He was the friend of the children and of the postal employees, of the police, and of the firemen. He was diligent and successful in business. All of these qualities and his long residence in The Bronx made him an appreciated neighbor and gained him hosts of true friends. His personal following of every race, color, and creed was large.

A good and loyal man, a most respected citizen, true alike to home, to family, friends, and to country, he lived an unselfish, useful life, serving the city, State, and Nation, making felicitous the lives of others. The sum of his achievements was large,

and the good he did for others was great.

When life was the happiest, still full of the vigor of well-spent years, occupied to the last moment, his career of honor and of worth ended with no lingering, wasting illness dimming the memory of former usefulness, but with the instant passing from the life here to the life beyond, preparation for which was never absent for a day from either his thought or his actions.

The American Farmer.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN A. M. ADAIR, OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 14, 1916.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, for 10 years I have stood upon this floor advocating and voting for all legislation helpful to the American farmer. I was born and reared on the farm and have been more or less interested in farming all my life.

have always believed, and believe now, that the welfare of the country depends entirely upon the success of the farmer. When he succeeds the merchant, the business man, the manufacturer, the mechanic, and the professional man succeeds; but when the farmer fails, all lines of business are paralyzed.
You may burn down our splendid towns and cities, and the

wealth of the farm will rebuild them more beautiful than before; but destroy our farms, and our cities will decay and our people will starve. This being true, I have tried in every conceivable way during the past 10 years I have been a Member of Congress to secure for the benefit of the American farmer such legislation as would make his business more profitable and

life on the farm more pleasant.

When I first came to Congress the Government was only appropriating about \$10,000,000 annually for the use of the Agricultural Department. I immediately begun a fight for more liberal appropriations for this purpose and kept it up, session after session, until last year we appropriated over \$20,000,000 for the use of this department of Government. It will also be remembered that I made one of the first speeches on the floor of the House in favor of the Lever agricultural bill, which became a law and is now working untold benefit to agriculture.

In fact, Mr. Speaker, I feel that but few men, if any, either in my State or elsewhere, have done more for the agriculturists of the country than I have. Now, in a short time, we will be called upon to consider the Agricultural appropriation bill making appropriations for the use of the Agricultural Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917. In all probability this will be the last Agricultural appropriation bill I will have the pleasure of voting for, as I am giving up my seat in Congress at the end of this term in order that I might become a candidate for governor of Indiana. It was with a great deal of reluctance that I decided to do this, as I have been treated with such uniform courtesy by all Members of this body that I regret to leave it, but I feel that as governor of my State I can be of even more valuable service to the farmers of Indiana and to the people generally than I can be here. Let me assure you, however, that whether here or elsewhere I shall always keep in mind the interest of the agriculturist and do what I can, and all I can, to further his interests and help his business. Let me remind you also that our farmers are not only intelligent, progressive, and successful, but they are keeping a close watch on the acts of Congress and will expect from us justice in the fullest degree. I would further remind you that they are not only watchful, but they are also appreciative. This is being demonstrated out in Indiana at the present time by the farmers of my State, who are organizing and getting together to push my candidacy for governor, in order that they may show their appreciation of the service I have rendered in their behalf. Their appreciation is further shown through a letter I received almost a year ago from Mr. J. H. Patten, first assistant secretary of the Farmers' National Congress, and for four years general counsel of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, which letter is as follows:

FARMERS' NATIONAL CONGRESS. Washington, D. C., March 11, 1915.

Hon. John A. M. Adair, M. C., Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Adair: On behalf of the members of the Farmers' National Congress and also the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, whom I represented for four years as their general counsel in legislative matters, as well as on behalf of myself, I want to thank you for the loyal and enthusiastic support you have given to all legislation helpful to the American farmer. Your fight to increase appropriations for the use of the Agricultural Department, your earnest support of the Lever agricultural bill, and all other legislation helpful to agriculture, has attracted the attention of the agriculturists in all parts of the country and has won for you their everlasting gratitude.

By reason of your service as a Member of Congress you are entitled to the support of every farmer in your district and State. Let me assure you that the agriculturists of the whole country appreciate the service you have rendered in their behalf.

Sincerely, yours,

J. H. Patten,

J. H. PATTEN,
First Assistant Secretary Farmers' National Congress,
and for four years General Counsel for the Farmers'
Educational and Cooperative Union of America.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to urge and insist upon liberal appropriations at this session of Congress for the use of the Agricultural Department. I know there is a tendency to reduce appropriations all along the line because of the proposed increase in appropriations for the Army and Navy, but let us economize somewhere else and not reduce in the slightest degree the appropriations for the use of agriculture. There are many other ways we can reduce appropriations without touching this department. Heretofore the amount carried in the bill for the printing of farmers' bulletins has not been sufficient. The demand for these bulletins is increasing all the time. They are of inestimable value, and should be supplied freely to every I farmer who wants them. Many of these bulletins are used in

the public schools, teaching agriculture to our boys and girls, and no teacher or pupil should be denied this valuable information. I believe the appropriation for the printing of these bulletins should be doubled. Then let us be liberal, too, in our appropriation for the extermination of hog cholera and all other disenses so annoying and so disastrous to the welfare of the farmer. In other words, let us remember that all prosperity starts from the farm and that when we legislate for the farmer we are legislating for all the people.

Honor to Whom Honor Is Due.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,

OF WISCONSIN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 9, 1916.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for this bill, because I believe it to be a just one. The subject-Medals of honor-is closely connected with the history of the world from the beginning of the Chinese dynasty. There is much history of thrilling interest connected with it, as set forth in many volumes. Omitting further reference to what has been considered as very interesting and important in military, literary, and historical importance, we find that the first of modern military decorations of honor was the badge of honor instituted by Gen. George Washington in the Revolutionary War, in which he ordered that any soldier who might perform an act of valor should be allowed to wear a piece of purple silk, in the shape of a heart, to be worn upon his coat over his own heart.

Gen. Washington ordered that every soldier thus decorated should be allowed special privileges and honors, among which was the right to pass and repass at will, without challenge or

countersign, all guards and pickets during the war.

On account of the exhausted financial condition of the country and the depreciation of the continental currency, Gen. Washington provided no special pension with this military decoration. But that this idea was in his mind appears from the following, which he wrote to the governors of the several States from his headquarters at Newburgh, N. Y., June 18, 1783:

States from his headquarters at Newburgh, N. Y., June 18, 1783:

In this state of absolute freedom and perfect security who will grudge to yield a very little of his property to support the common interests of society and insure the protection of government? Who does not remember the frequent declarations at the commencement of the war, that we should be completely satisfied if at the expense of one half we could defend the remainder of our possessions? Where is the man to be found who wishes to remain indebted for the defense of his own person and property to the exertions, the bravery, and the blood of others without making one generous effort to repay the debt of honor and of gratitude? In what part of the continent shall we find any man or body of men who would not blush to stand up and propose measures purposely calculated to rob the soldier of his stipend and the public creditor of his due? And were it possible that such a flagrant instance of injustice would ever happen, would it not excite the general indignation and tend to bring down upon the authors of such measures the aggravated vengeance of heaven?

In 1802 Napoleon Bonaparte followed the example of Wash-

In 1802 Napoleon Bonaparte followed the example of Washington and very much enlarged upon his ideas. He instituted the order of the Legion of Honor, and provided that there should be various grades and officers of the order. He provided that national lands producing large incomes should be appropriated for each cohort of the legion. Later the lands and property of King Louis Philippe were set apart as an endowment for the order, and it was further provided-

that there shall be appropriated for each grand officer 5,000 francs, for each commandant 2,000 francs, for each officer 1,000 francs, and for each legionaire 250 francs.

Hospitals and dwellings were established in each cohort. Schools and colleges were provided for their children, and it was further provided that no ignoble punishment should be inflicted upon a member of the order. On November 30, 1845, the pensions then paid were 5,975,000 francs. And the members and the pensions have been increasing ever since. In 1813 Germany, then in far more dire straits than now, instituted the Order of the Iron Cross. That nation was then so poor that it could not furnish any metal other than iron from which to make that great military decoration. It was then called "the iron times of Prussia." The recipients of the "Militaer-Ehrenzeichen" and the "Verdienst-Kreuz" receive under dif-ferent conditions (values in United States money) 71 cents, \$1.43, and \$2.14 monthly, in addition to other pensions." ter from the consul general, December 16, 1893.)

In Germany the iron cross is not continued from one war to another unless revived by order of the Emperor. It was revived during the Franco-Prussian War, which lasted only seven months, and in one year alone 40,000 soldiers were decorated with the iron cross and more later on. Then the order was revived again at the beginning of the present war, and by this time half a million of those decorations of honor have been granted and more are being granted almost every day.

It is no violation of neutrality to say that the iron cross has won for Germany innumerable acts of valor, sublime as any in the world's history, because the similar military decorations of the other warring nations have also won for them like innumerable acts of valor. History has proven, and is proving and will prove, the wonderful incentive which these decorations give toward the very greatest and most valuable service for the nation that gives them at the times when the nations need them the most.

At the conclusion of the Crimean war, Queen Victoria, by her royal warrant, instituted the Order of the Victoria Cross as a reward for gallant service for the British nation. By the fifteenth section of that royal warrant special pensions are pro-

vided for the heroes who gain that decoration.

Without going into further details, it may be sufficient to say that all other great nations with their similar military decorations give special pensions for the special acts of valor which Most of those nations date the special pensions gains them. back to the date of the special act of valor which gained these special decorations. The United States, by her Congress, instituted the Congressional Medal of Honor during the Civil War by an act which is still in force. If the awards of these medals of honor had always proceeded in conformity with that act and with uniformity there would be no necessity for the present Unfortunately the act of Congress which instituted the medal of honor failed to provide special pensions. Because there was no cost connected with the decoration, the administration of the law grew lax, and medals of honor, which were intended to be the very highest military decorations of the worldintended only to be given for having performed an act in actual conflict with an enemy, some act of gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of life above and beyond the call of duty-were given to men for services, however meritorious they may have been, which were not in all cases acts af gallantry or intrepidity, or which were not in action or in conflict with an enemy, or which, perhaps, did not distinguish the soldier conspicuously, or which, it may be, were not done at the risk of life, or which may not have been done above and beyond the call of duty.

Hundreds of these medals were given for standing guard where not a bullet was fired. Others of these medals were given by the score to soldiers for escorting the remains of President Lincoln from this city to Springfield, Ill., and still others of these medals were given to civilians who were not in the military service of the Nation. So that in a large degree the significance of this medal, which ought to be the proudest in

the world, has been lost in oblivion.

These facts make it necessary that the Government should protect its highest decoration by distinctly separatin; her illustrious soldiers, who have won this medal in strict compliance with the rigid requirements of the letter and the spirit of the law, from those to whom it has been given as a matter of compliment or for meritorious services, however great, which failed

to come within the purview of the law.

This bill, if enacted, will correct the errors of the past. The intention of the law in this country and in all other countries is to exalt into a class by themselves such soldiers as have been officially recognized as having performed valorous deeds above and beyond the call of duty in action in actual conflict with the enemy, who have distinguished themselves conspicuously by gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of life above and beyond the call of duty to such a degree that, if the commanding general had commanded these soldiers to perform the action, the soldier in the heat of battle and all its exigencies might have refused to obey without subjecting himself thereby to censure.

Men who have performed deeds of such sublimity, whether in the Civil War, the Indian wars, the Spanish War, the disturbances in Cuba, in the Philippines, in Korea, in the Boxer uprising or at Vera Cruz, or in any other war ought not to be deprived of such distinction, gratitude, and recompense as all other nations give to such men.

To do them justice will in no way detract from the luster of the medals of the men who have received their decorations for services which failed to come within the definition of the law. They will hold their medals just as they have them now, and they will not expect recognition outside of their own class.

Other speakers have shown the wonderfully comparative small number of the United States congressional medals of honor which have been issued and the small number still extant, and they have shown that the cost of this measure will be infinitesimal. So I will not go into those details further than to say that the population of the United States is estimated by the Census Bureau at about 101 millions and the increase of population per day at over 4,000. It is altogether probable that in the first year of the administration of this bill the costs would not exceed \$10,000, which would be less than one ten-thousandth part of 1 cent per capita, and this microscopical cost will diminish according to the inevitable rule of the death rate, and soon cease altogether.

The cost is not worth thinking of. We will do ourselves and this great Nation honor, great honor, by the prompt pas-sage of this bill and by giving our illustrious heroes of all our wars from all sections of the country the distinction, the gratitude, the justice they have so long deserved. We will hurt nobody on the face of the earth. We will show the soldiers of future wars, if such should unfortunately come, that the people of this country have hearts full of appreciation, gratitude, and justice for men who in the service of the Nation will voluntarily take their lives in their hands and offer them

as sacrifices for the welfare of all the people.

Ellen M. Stone Ransom Fund.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES R. CRISP, OF GEORGIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 14. 1916.

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Chairman, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a communication from the State Department relative to the bill to reimburse parties who contributed money to pay the ransom of Miss Ellen M. Stone, the American missionary.

The communication is as follows:

The communication is as follows:

LETTERS FROM PRESIDENTS AND SECRETARIES OF STATE RELATIVE TO THE ELLEN M STONE RANSOM FUND.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith for the consideration of the Congress a letter from the Secretary of State on the subject of the repayment to the contributors of the money raised to pay the ransom for the release of Miss Ellen M. Stone, an American missionary to Turkey, who was abducted by brigands on September 3, 1901, while traveling on the highway from Raslog to Djumabala in the Turkish Empire.

Theodore Roosevelt.

THE WHITE House, March 26, 1908.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, March 24, 1908

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The PRESIDENT:

As will be remembered Miss Ellen M. Stone, an American missionary to Turkey, was abducted by brigands on September 3, 1901, while traveling on the highway from Raslog to Djumabala in the Turkish Empire. Our diplomatic and consular tepresentatives in Turkey, in correspondence with the Department of State, shortly after the capture, indicated their belief that the motive therefor was to obtain a ransom and stated that they had requested the Turkish officials to abstain from too close pursuit of the brigands, lest the death of the captured might result

too close pursuit of the brigands, lest the death of the captured might result.

From later correspondence with our representatives it appeared that the brigands had retired to the mountains with the captive, probably over the border into Bulgaria. The exact location of the party during the captivity, however, is not established by any evidence in the possession of the Department of State, nor does it appear clearly of what Government the bandits were subjects.

About October 1, 1901, the bandits opened negotiations for a ransom, demanding £25,000 and transmitting a letter from Miss Stone asking that the sum demanded be paid and that pursuit of the brigands by the Turkish troops be stopped.

Our diplomatic representatives were of the opininon that Miss Stone's release could only be obtained by the payment of the ransom, and the State Department shared this view. Miss Stone's friends, of course, entered into correspondence with the department regarding the payment of the ransom and were told that it must be raised by private means.

means.

On October 3, 1901, the State Department telegraphed to the Rev. Judson Smith, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (this dispatch was forwarded subsequently by Dr. Smith to Mr. Charles A. Stone as "the proper custodian of this"), Boston, Mass., as follows:

"It seems imperative that the amount (of the ransom) should be raised or pledged so as to be available by your treasurer at Constantinople in season to save Miss Stone. Statutory prohibitions make it impossible for this Government to advance the money or guarantee its payment. If paid by Miss Stone's friends, every effort will be made to obtain reimbursement from whichever Government may be found responsible under international law and precedent. In the event of its

proving impossible to hold any foreign Government responsible for the capture and to secure the repayment of the money, this Government is willing! in the last resort to urge upon Congress as strongly as possible to appropriate money to repay the contributors."

It is claimed that this assurance given by the department in its letter to Mr. Smith, to the effect that, as a last resort a recommendation would be made to Congress looking toward the appropriation of a sum sufficient to pay the donors was largely instrumental in enabling Miss Stone's friends to secure the sum of \$66,000, which was raised through public subscription in this country by October 23, 1901, for the purpose of effecting Miss Stone's release.

After negotiations of considerable length, the brigands finally consented to accept the amount raised, and arrangements were made by United States Minister Leishman for the payment of the money at a point near Bansko, Macedonia, the Turkish authorities consenting to withhold their troops from the vicinity of the place in order that the negotiations might have a successful issue.

The release of the captive was not obtained so soon as expected, but was finally reported by Minister Leishman on February 23, 1902.

After careful consideration of all the facts my predecessor, Mr. Hay, decided, on January 19, 1905, that it was not advisable to attempt to hold the Turkish Government responsible for the capture and to secure the repayment of the money. Upon the subsequent application for reconsideration of this decision Mr. Hay again, on April 11, 1905, reaffirmed the Judgment which he had originally expressed. Upon a further review of the same subject I have come to the conclusion that it is not advisable to reverse or change the conclusion which Mr. Hay reached.

It would seem, therefore, that the executive department is bound to make good its promise to recommend to Congress that money be appropriated to repay the ransom money, a promise which was probably relied upon by many of those who contributed of thei

Accordingly I have the honor to advise that Congress be recom-mended to appropriate an amount sufficient to repay the contributors. Respectfully submitted.

As a result of this renewed agitation, a bill providing an appropriation sufficient to reimburse all the contributors to Miss Stone's ransom fund, was passed by the Senate in the Sixtieth, Sixty-first, Sixty-second, and Sixty-third Congresses. More than this, a similar bill was favorably reported out by the House Committee on Claims by Chairman Prince, which set forth at some length the reasons that justified that committee in making the committee of the committe in making a favorable report. It reads, in part, as follows:

The committee has carefully gone over this case, and 'ind that Ellen M. Stone, an American missionary to Turkey, was abducted by brigands September 3, 1901, while traveling on the highway from Reazlog to Jumaya Bala. in the Turkish Empire. Friends contributed for her ransom and were led to believe by correspondence with the State Department that the ransom money so contributed would be returned, either by obtaining it from Turkey or from the Treasury of the United States.

Messrs, Kidder, Peabody & Co., bankers, Boston, Mass., became the custodians of this fund, and furnished to the committee a list of the names and addresses of the original givers or their accredited representatives. The committee finds that there were 2,264 givers to this fund.

Hereto attached and made a part of this report is a message from former President Roosevelt and former Secretary of State Elihu Root, and the list of contributors.

The committee insists that the amount favored by them—\$66,000—shall be in full of all claims of every kind and character, and so accepted by the contributors, who receive this money from the Secretary of the Treasury, under the provisions of this bill. The committee designs this appropriation of \$66,000 to make an end to all legislation desired by the contributors to the Ellen M. Stone ransom fund.

The White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE, Washington, October 7, 1914.

My Dear Mr. Pou: I am quite sure that it is not necessary to remind you of the bill before the Committee on Claims with regard to reimbursing those who contributed to the fund for the ransom of Miss Ellen M. Stone from the Turks, for I know that your committee has again and again approved the bill. I take the liberty, however, of sending you Miss Stone's letter to me. It gives me the opportunity to say how sincerely I hope that at the next session of Congress this bill may be passed.

Cordially and sincerely, yours,

Wooddow Wilson.

WOODROW WILSON.

Hon. Edward W. Pou,

House of Representatives.

Department of State, Washington, July 15, 1914.

Sir: At the request of Miss Ellen M. Stone, the American missionary who was abducted by Turkish brigands in 1901, the department desires to call attention to the message of President Roosevelt to the Congress March 26, 1908, transmitting the letter of Secretary Root on the subject of repayment by the Government to the contributors of the money raised to pay the ransom for the release of Miss Stone, amounting to \$66,000. It appears that the Department of State announced in 1901, while Miss Stone was in the hands of the brigands, that if the ransom was raised and paid by private persons every effort would be made to obtain reimbursement from the Government which might be found responsible under international law, and in the event of it proving impossible to hold any foreign Government responsible the department was willing to urge that Congress appropriate money to repay the contributors. Subsequent investigation appeared to show the irresponsibility of any foreign Government, and therefore the department takes this occasion again to recommend that Congress make such appropriation. I have the honor to be, sir.

Hon. Edward W. Pou,

EDWARD W. Pou, Chairman Committee on Claims, House of Representatives.

To this last letter Representative Pou sent the following

JULY 18, 1914.

The honorable the Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Sin: Acknowledging the receipt of yours of the 15th instant, I beg to say that S. 1864, for the relief of the contributors to the Ellen M. Stone ransom fund, is now before this committee for consideration. Personally I have always favored the return of this money, and this committee made a favorable report on the bill for the refunding of this money during the Sixty-second Congress.

Faithfully, yours,

Chairman.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, January 29, 1916.

Hon. EDWARD W. Pou, Chairman Committee of Claims, House of Representatives.

Sin: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22d instant, requesting my opinion as to the merits of the bill (H. R. 2238) to provide for the repayment of the ransom of Miss Ellen M. Stone, and to refer you in reply to the letter addressed to you by the department on July 15, 1914, as follows:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
"Washington, July 15, 1914.

"Sir: At the request of Miss Ellen M. Stone, the American missionary who was abducted by Turkish brigands in 1901, the department desires to call attention to the message of President Roosevelt to the Congress March 26, 1908, transmitting the letter of Secretary Root on the subject of repayment by the Government to the constributors of the money raised to pay the ransom for the release of Miss Stone, amounting to \$66,000. It appears that the Department of State announced in 1901, while Miss Stone was in the hands of the brigands, that if the ransom were raised and paid by private persons every effort would be made to obtain reimbursement from the Government which might be found responsible under international law, and, in the event of it proving impossible to hold any foreign Government responsible, the department was willing to urge that Congress appropriate money to repay the contributors. Subsequent investigation appeared to show the irresponsibility of any foreign Government, and therefore the department takes this occasion again to recommend that Congress make such appropriation."

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

ROBERT LANSING.

Restriction of Power of Congress to Declare War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DENVER S. CHURCH.

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 15, 1916.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, on January 31 of this year I introduced H. J. Res. 128, which provides for a change of Article I, section 8, division 11, of the Constitution of the United States, which section defines the powers of Congress to declare war. Congress has the power under this division and section of the Constitution to declare war whenever it sees fit. by this resolution to restrict this power and have provided in the proposed amendment that Congress shall have the power to declare war in cases of invasion or threatened invasion of the United States, or any of its insular possessions, by a foreign power; or in cases of insurrection or revolution within the United States, or any of its insular possessions; or in other cases where the matter of declaring war has been submitted to the people, and a majority of those voting have declared themselves in favor of the proposed war. In other words, Congress shall have the right to declare war only in cases of emergency. In all other cases it shall be left to the people.

Mr. Speaker, I consider this scheme the solution of the whole war proposition. The people of one nation seldom, if ever, want to fight the people of another nation. It is the rulers of nations that bring on war. President Wilson, in his Chicago speech the

other day, said:

Rulers, not public opinion, brought on the present war in Europe.

In my judgment nine-tenths of all the wars that have come in the past to blight and curse the earth have been brought on by the rulers instead of by the public sentiment of the people. The rulers of our country here in Washington, changing as they frequently do every two, four, and six years, are just as apt to mistake newspaper agitation for public sentiment and bring on war as are the rulers of other lands. Remove the power of the President and Congress to bring on war except in cases of invasion, threatened invasion, revolution, or threatened revolution. and nine-tenths of the danger of war at any time is past. Adopt this plan and practically all who are objecting to preparedness will at once be satisfied. Most of our people believe in such a degree of preparedness as will enable us to drive away any foe or combination of foes that may infringe upon our rights; but all wise people fear that to establish a great fighting force and make it possible for it to be set in action at the will of the President or the Members of Congress is simply inviting trouble of the most serious and far-reaching nature. I am in favor of preparedness, but I would like to see all the money that is to be used in carrying out the plan of additional preparedness raised from those who are selling munitions of war to the belligerents and by an additional income tax. The present scheme of pre-paredness is based upon the necessity of greater protection, and I would like to see those who have the most to be protected supply most of the necessary revenue.

We are the richest and most powerful Nation on earth; why not be prepared for emergencies that may arise? But by all means, in this Government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," let the people decide when it is time to exercise

our great strength.

Under the present plan the President, through his diplomatic communications and other constitutional powers, can bring on a war almost at will that the people will have to If the President happens to be a wise man and a man of peace, there is not so much danger; but if he is an impulsive man and a man of war, which is frequently the case, the country is in peril.

Congress, that now has the constitutional power to declare war, is composed of Senators and Representatives who are exempt from war. If they were not, they are generally too old and fat and well fed to fight. Most of them would be a hindrance on a battle field. In case of a charge they would hardly escape being run over by the Red Cross, the newspaper boys, and the Commissary Department; and yet on the most trivial provocation we find a large minority of them anxious to bring on a war that other men must fight.

Our present plan is neither safe nor fair. I hear much about the honor of our country, and I believe the honor of this country should be maintained; but I want to see the term "honor" defined by the men who have to maintain it.

I would not like to have some fat fellow define my honor, tell me when it had been assailed, and then force me into a fight.

No man should have to be a factor in his country's defense in time of war who was not a factor on election day in determining whether there should be war.

War so vitally affects every citizen that I think every citizen should have a right to express his views as to whether there should be war.

War is the most important of all subjects. Why should not the people decide it?

Why should not the interested parties decide the most inter-

esting, to them, of all subjects?

If we enlarge our Navy so it is fully adequate for our defense, and then let the people decide when it shall be placed in action, we will have national honor and national peace for at least a hundred years.

Why should we not let the people decide when they shall go to war? Do we not believe that the people should rule? Do we mean this is a Government wherein the people shall decide matters of minor importance, but when it comes to deciding whether we shall have war, the largest and most important of all questions, that the people are not qualified to decide? As human blood and human life are of more importance than all other considerations of humanity, so the question of war is of more importance than all other subjects.

Do not tell me the people now, through their representatives, decide the proposition and that they are the real ones who declare war. Such is not the case. War generally comes on declare war. Such is not the case. War generally comes on suddenly, in the midst of an administration, and the people never have an opportunity to indicate their will, much less to

All the wars in which this country has engaged were declared so long after the general election that it would be absurd to think the question of declaring war, or the views of the candidates for office in regard to it, could have had any effect whatever upon their election. The War of 1812 was declared on June 12, about 20 months after the general election; the War with Mexico was declared May 13, 1846, about 19 months after the general election; the Spanish-American War was declared by Congress April 25, 1898, about 18 months after the general election of 1896. Our other two wars, the Revolution and the Rebellion, would, of course, have fallen under the exceptions, as set forth in my amendment.

Leaving as partially considered the proposition that it is the business of the people who are subject to military duties to de-

clare war, let us consider some of the other reasons why the

plan that I have outlined is good.

First, it will give time to reflect, to reconsider, and to cool off, as it were. My father taught me when I was a child to out a hundred after I became angry before I acted or spoke. The idea was that if I counted a hundred first I would act and speak more wisely. The proposed plan gives us time, as a Nation, in which to reconsider and determine whether we want to fight or not.

John Sherman, Secretary of State, during the Spanish-American War, said, in a public address at his home in Mansfield, Ohio, at a reception given in his honor just before he retired as

Secretary of State:

Had not the war with Spain been declared when it was we could have secured by treaty with Spain all that we demanded.

What a shame to the American people that a war was unnecessarily declared which resulted in the death of 6,395 officers and enlisted men, and wherein hundreds of millions of dollars of property were lost, when the matter could have been settled by ink and pen on a scrap of paper.

Suppose this war had been declared with equal haste against one of the great powers of Europe and instead of the few thousand lives being lost it had resulted in the loss of several million. Let me tell you, men of the House, the only guarantee we have against the unnecessary horror of war is to place the power of declaring war in the hands of the people.

Tell me, if you can, why the people who are taxed to maintain a war should not have the full say in declaring war? Do you still subscribe to the old doctrine of "taxation without representation"? That theory was exploded more than a hundred years ago. That doctrine was fought, routed, and put to death

at Lexington, Yorktown, and Bunker Hill.

Mr. Speaker, for centuries men have dreamed of universal peace, of a time when swords and spears should be no more, and to that end noble men have dedicated their lives. But their efforts have been in vain, and now the saddest war that ever cursed the world is on, and war flames rise and tidal waves of misery and human woe sweep rural lands and cities fair that before were filled with sweet content.

All schemes adopted in the past to prevent war have failed, so we must adopt some other plan. I trust you will not shake your heads and say there is no hope. We have tried to stop it by treaties of peace, dealing only with ambitious men who profit by war. Let us treat with kings and rulers no more, for during the history of the world they have been declaring wars for the common people to fight.

The present war in Europe is an example of this vicious Scarcely any of the men now in the trenches know the causes which brought about the war. They know they are fighting for their king, their emperor, their czar.

far as their knowledge goes. Two million men have been killed in Europe in the last year and a half for a cause unknown. If the bodies of all these men were placed end to end 6 feet in length they would reach 2.272 miles, about the distance in a straight line from New York to San Francisco. Seven million men, the physical pride of Europe, have been killed and wounded in this war. It is estimated they have shed 233,000 barrels of human blood—blood spilled in vain—for a cause unknown. Had the good cause which I am advocating to-day been in operation in Europe, these lives would have been spared, these wounded would be whole, and this blood would not have been shed, for the people over there are no more in favor of war than are the people here.

Our country is the light of the world, and if we place in the hands of our people the right of declaring war other nations will in time follow our example, and then will dawn the age

of universal peace.

Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of preparedness for the very reason that I favor peace. I do not trust the rulers of the Old To them might is right. They would pounce down upon us if they could, and while the present system is in vogue I want us to have a great Navy. A Navy that will take ambition from the hearts of these war-like men across the sea. I want our shores protected against any probable attack. I want to know our submarines are able to explore the sea, and that our air crafts can sail high among the clouds. I want to see our seashores bristling with defense-girt roundabout as with bands of steel. I want to know that great guns, the most powerful in the world, are crouched like lions in concrete caves, guarding the inlets of the sea. I want our Government arsenals to be located far inland, to the north and west, with equipments modern and complete, where all powder, guns, and munitions of war are made by Government hands. I want it to be impossible for private interests to profit in the event of war. I want our ships to be made by the Government, and of l

the latest type. I want to see our fortifications strong and complete. I want to see our soldiers well equipped, but in numbers not too strong. I hope the day will soon come when all this great machinery of defense will be in the people's hands. When that day shall come war talk will cease and war clouds will pass away, and ships of commerce will spread their sails and bear our products to all foreign ports. I do not want to see these preparations for the purpose of waging war, but for the purpose of insuring peace.

want to know the ship of state is safe, protected from hostile storms. I want to see it keep its course and sail on,

humanity's great ship of peace.

Pensions to Widows and Minor Children of Officers and Enlisted Men Who Served During the War With Spain, Philippine Insurrection, or in China.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. W. FRANK JAMES. OF MICHIGAN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 16, 1916.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] the other day made some remarks that would have been better received in London than here. He aroused the ire of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Stafford], who replied in words that would have received far more applause in Berlin, or Milwaukee, than they did here.

The gentleman from Wisconsin made some harsh remarks about the Spanish-American War. As he said it was a "miserable little war," but the men who enlisted to fight in that war who were willing to be killed, if need be-were as much entitled

to credit as those who fought in greater wars.

When the War with Spain broke out one of the first regiments ordered to camp was the regiment to which I had the honor to belong, the Thirty-fourth Michigan, a majority of whose members were from the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. In company with the Thirty-third Michigan, we were brigaded with the Ninth Massachusetts, and I want to state, regardless of what the gentleman from Milwaukee and others have stated about the "effete East," that we from the West found the boys from the East real men, and we are proud to have been in the same brigade with them.

At Camp Alger we camped near some of the southern regiments, and we found that they, regardless of any sympathies they had in the past, were as loyal Americans as those from the effete East or the wild West.

In company with many of my regiment, I enlisted on a Saturday night and left on the following Monday for camp to train for whatever might happen. We were, to our great delight, one of the first regiments ordered to Cuba. My comrades, the same as myself, knew what it was to suffer day by day because your Uncle Samuel was not prepared to fight even the despised Spaniards. The same as many of the other boys, I know what it is to weigh 150 pounds one cay and 60 days later to weigh 90 pounds with my clothes on. We know what it is to suffer with malaria for 16 years or more afterwards. But we are entitled to no credit for any of this, and ask none. We did not enlist for the \$15.60 per month that we got; we did not enlist for the pension that we might get; we enlisted because we were red-blooded Americans, and if the time comes when we are needed again I believe that I speak for every one of them when I state we will all be there when it is necessary to fight for national defense.

In common with many of my comrades, I am a member of the Society of Santiago, and also a member of the Spanish War Veterans. Had the honor of being the first adjutant and a charter member of our post. We did not join the Spanish War Veterans to get political jobs, to obtain pensions, or to threaten with political death anyone who did not see fit to vote whatever way we desired. I am afraid, Mr. Speaker, that some of our present Spanish War leaders are more anxious to form a political machine than they are to maintain a society for the purpose of social intercourse.

I believe that I am no less patriotic than some of the distin-

guished gentlemen who talked for this bill the other day-even if I do say I am not going to vote for this bill unless very mate-

rial changes are made in it.

One of the members of my regiment was here the other day. After hearing of these patriotic speeches, and judging that, with the exception of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Mann], these gentlemen were all old enough or young enough to have been our comrades, we regretted the fact that their patriotism in ninety-eight was not as great as their zeal now to grant pensions. If it had been, we might have called them "comrades." The greatest sinners some time contribute far more liberally to the churches, they tell me, than the regular members, evidently having the theory that charity covers a multitude of sins. If voting pensions is a sign of patriotism, we will have ample opportunity to be patriotic (?) at the present session of Congress, judging from the several kinds of pension bills introduced.

In describing the slacker several years ago that distinguished American, Oliver Wendell Holmes, well said:

Now, then, three cheers for the stay-at-home ranger, Blow the great fish horn and beat the big pan, First in the field that is farthest from danger, Take your white-feather plume, sweet little man.

When I first heard of the Key bill, or as it was then known, the Crago bill, I presumed it was intended to pension the wives and children of those who either lost their lives in the Spanish-American War or died from wounds or disease contracted in the Army. There could be no possible objection to such a bill. But, Mr. Speaker, this is not the intent of the bill; the advocates of this bill claim that a bill of that kind is not good because wives and children of soldiers dying, as I have stated above, are already taken care of.

The bill would not be quite so objectionable if it covered the widows and children of those who "volunteered" to go to the front when the War with Spain broke out. But this bill, gen-

tlemen goes many miles farther than that.

The man who joined the Regular Army in 1894, when there was no war nor rumors of war, certainly did not enlist because of patriotic motives, and therefore should not be taken care of on the ground of "patriotism." He put in his 90 days' actual service in 1898 because his term of enlistment had not expired. But, according to the terms of this bill, his widow and his children go on the pay roll, whether or not he suffered injury or suffered by disease.

or suffered by disease.

The Civil War veteran who saw 89 days' service can not draw a pension. The Regular, under this bill, must have seen 90 days' actual service before his widow and children can draw pensions. In the case of the Volunteer, however, he needed to have seen not a day's actual service. In the case of the Volunteer his 90 days reads as follows: "Service to be computed

from date of enlistment to date of discharge."

In other words, he could have enlisted one day, been granted a furlough of 85 days the next day, and then spent 4 days at some inland camp, thus completing his 90 days. This is absolutely unfair to the veteran of the Civil War and to the Regular of the late war.

A year ago, when this same bill was up, the distinguished Member from Ohio said as follows:

We have before us now in the Committee on Invalid Pensions a large number of applications for private pensions of soldiers who served 89 days, 85 days. 87 days I have a soldier from my own district who went home before he had served 90 days, and he can not get a pension on that account. Now, if we give the soldiers of the Spanish War an advantage over the soldiers of the Civil War it is going to create great dissatisfaction among the veterans of the Civil War. Now, this bill, it occurs to me, although I intend to support it, should have those two provisions amended so as to place the soldiers of the Spanish War on an equality, but give them no advantage over the soldiers of the Civil War.

There was no such amendment, however, made then and has not been made in the present Key bill.

There were in 1914, according to the gentleman from Ohio, Gen. Sherwood, 307,842 widows—Civil War widows—drawing pensions.

In 1914 the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, Gen. Sherwood, also stated as follows:

Now, take this provision in this bill. I will read from the bill now before the House: "That said widow shall have married said officer or enlisted man previous to the passage of this act." It does not require even that he should be a soldier who served at the front during the war or that he was disabled, but it states "that said widow shall have married said officer or enlisted man previous to the passage of this act." I suggested last week that this provision ought to be amended to conform to the general law and to the practice of this Government, so far as I know, since its foundation, and certainly for over half a century.

A little further along he says:

I commanded a regiment of veterans for three years. We served at the front during that entire service. We were 122 days under fire. We were in 40 battles of the war. * * Now you are proposing in this bill to pension the widow of the soldier who served only 90 days when, it has already been stated, he might have been on furlough for nearly the whole time.

Also he states:

Now, the widow of every soldier who served 90 days, no matter where she may be located, if she marries before the passage of this act and the soldier dies, she would be put on the pension roll for life.

I have a letter from the Philippine Islands. Many of the soldiers who went over there first married Filipino girls, some of them doubtless on the European plan. But if any of these soldiers should die to-morrow the young Filipino girls who married them would be put upon the pension roll for life under the provisions of this bill should it be enacted into law. I think a provision should be put in the bill to correspond with the legislation for the widows of the Civil War.

But no provision was made to take care of the matters suggested by the gentleman from Ohio then, and none is made in the present bill.

No one can claim it is fair to refuse to pension the povertystricken widow of the Civil War veteran who saw 89 days' fighting and then pass legislation placing upon the pension roll widows of Spanish War soldiers who saw not a single day's actual service.

In a short time we will be called upon to vote on the Keating bill to pension veterans of our Indian wars. If you examine line 1, page 2, of that bill, you will note that the language is as follows—" and who served for 90 days in the campaign."

Widows of Civil War veterans are not entitled to pensions, I understand, unless they married those veterans previous to 1891. It takes care of Spanish War veterans who marry any

time previous to the passage of this act.

Take the case of a veteran who had seen actual fighting from the disaster at Bull Run to the surrender at Appomatox, who had been wounded on several occasions, and in addition had suffered for years with disease contracted in the Army, getting married in 1891. His wife, although she may have been nurse as well as wife, for 24 years, would not be eligible to a pension if her husband died to-day.

On the other hand, if to-day her younger sister married a Spanish War soldier who spent 75 days on a furlough and 15 days in camp, who never smelled powder, and he was to die,

she would be entitled to a pension immediately.

There were approximately 434,000 men engaged in the wars mentioned in the Key bill. It has been stated that it was estimated that approximately 10,000 widows—in addition to children—would be affected and that the cost would not be more than \$1.500,000 the first year.

Mr. Speaker, in my particular company about 75 men have married out of 93, or over 75 per cent. I presume that this average is about the same as that of any other company. If so, then there would be over 300,000 soldiers whose widows would be eligible to come under this act, in addition to thousands upon thousands of children. In a few years the cost is very apt to be over \$50,000,000 per year instead of the \$1,500,000 predicted by some members of the Pension Committee.

I believe in paying pensions to those who are deserving and who really need the pensions, but I would like to see legislation passed to take every undeserving and wealthy pensioner off of the roll. If we do not want to save this money, pay it to the needy and deserving.

As a member of the Pensions Committee I have voted for every pension that I thought was deserving, whether it affected the soldier or his widow, and expect to do so, but will not vote to give pensions to the wealthy and the undeserving.

It is not necessary to pass this bill in order to take care of the needy and deserving widows and children. If they can not get a pension from the Bureau of Pensions, it is not hard for them—if their case has any merit whatever—to get a pension

from the Pensions Committee.

I am not afraid that the deserving will not be looked after; that is one thing that Congressmen are for. If these widows do not know enough about pensions to apply for one, they need have no fear that their Congressman will not look after them, especially if they or their relatives have any political pull. The chances are that some of these widows—against their will—will have pensions forced upon them by a grateful and farseeing Congressman.

It has been said that the Spanish War veterans ask nothing

It has been said that the Spanish War veterans ask nothing for themselves. Pass this law and see. You will find if you pass this law that at the next session of Congress you will be called upon to pay a pension to every Spanish War veteran—rich and poor, regular and volunteer—these who saw service and those who did not, those who suffered from wounds and disease and those who did not, those who saw years of service, and those who saw 15 days of kitchen detail at some island

camp.

I realize it is hard to vote against some of the politicians among the Spanish War veterans. They do not deny that they have a political pull—they not only admit it, they boast of it. I read an article some time ago where some of these politicians took credit for defeating for the supreme bench of the State of New York one of the most respected Members of this House, Mr. Fitzgerald, because he had dared to vote against the Key bill. They did it all with their little hatchet. If any man

here is going to vote for this bill contrary to his own better judgment, I want to say to him that I believe the Spanish War veterans are the same in his district as they are in mine, they are not in politics-as Spanish War veterans.

This is quite a session for pensions, and the session is young

We have a bill to pension veterans of the Confederate Army

and their widows, and to pay a bonus as well.

We have another bill to pay the Treasury guards. These distingushed fighters, however, on account of their extreme bravery do not have to serve 90 days, as do the veterans of the Civil War-they only have to be on the pay roll of Uncle Sam, or some State or some Territory, 30 days in order to get on the pay roll. This bill also takes care of their widows, regardless of how much real estate and personal property they may own.

I have not been able as yet to get a copy of the bill to pension the survivors of the home guards-those worthy heroes who volunteered to stay at home and protect the home fireside, and so forth-but presume it is being drawn up. Neither have I seen as yet the bill to protect the peace-at-any-price men, or the survivors of the Knights of the Golden Circle, but presume these

bills will appear in the near future.

The House passed a bill the other day to pay an extra pension of \$10 per month to those who could by affidavit or otherwise get their names on a so-called roll of honor. As these men had already received medals for their bravery, what more honor did they want? But why ask; it was not the roll of honor, but the \$10 per month extra that they wanted.

I am not opposed to compensation for mothers and dependent children. I had the honor of introducing and helping to pass the Michigan mothers compensation act. If the fathers of this bill will "cut out the bunk" as the expression goes, that the bill should be passed on account of patriotism—when in many cases there was no patriotism, as the soldier had to serve out his time—and make it a bill to compensate all dependent widows and children who can prove to the judge of probate-as per our Michigan law-that they need help, I will vote for it.

Of course, I know that the bill reads that it only applies to widows whose incomes do not exceed \$250 per annum, but it will not be hard to get around a little thing like that, and the result will be in a few years, either by legislation or otherwise, that every widow will be under the act.

I base my belief in this assertion from the fact that I understand a soldier must be disabled in order to draw a pension, and that affidavits must be made to this effect. A man to be a Member of this House or of the Senate ought not to be a man who is disabled, and yet I am informed that pensions are paid to some of these statesmen. If it is "easy" to get around the "disabled" feature, it will also be easy to get around the \$250 provision.

As I have said, it is easy to get pensions from the committee, and always will be. The present Pensions Committee, on account of its former experience, I presume, has seen fit to adopt

this amendment:

In no case will a bill be considered by this committee in connection with which the records of the War or Navy Departments show medical treatment for syphilis or other venereal disease of an aggravated character, unless the Bureau of Pensions has specifically waived the same as a factor in present disabilities or cause of death.

I would not say that pensions have ever been granted for disability occasioned by venereal diseases, but it does mean that the committee believes they ought to be on the safe side.

Over a year ago I told the Spanish War veterans and other citizens of the twelfth district of Michigan exactly where I stood on the matter of pensions. Every Spanish War veteran with whon. I talked stated that I was right.

When the Key bill was introduced I sent copies of this bill to Michigan. Some of the papers printed the bill in full, with the statement that I would vote against it and why. I have not had a single resolution, telegram, or letter from any Spanish War veteran protesting against my attitude, neither have I had a single telegram, resolution, or letter from a single Spanish War veteran asking me to vote for the bill.

They evidently believe the same as I do-that if I die my widow and children will be taken care of by this Government if

they need it.

I believe, gentlemen, that the sentiment in my district is not

any different than it is in your districts.

We are not of the opinion that in order to get volunteers for the next war you have to spend millions of dollars each year for

We are more concerned that this country shall pay some attention to preparing for war so that the volunteers of the next war will have a better chance for their lives from disease than we are in pensions.

We are more concerned that the honor of this country shall be upheld, even at the price of war, than we are in pensions.

The other day the first man to answer the call of the martyred President Lincoln for 75,000 volunteers in 1861 was buried. delivering the funeral oration one of his best friends said, in part, as follows:

We hear much of peace-at-any-price sacrifice. Peace with honor, yes. Peace to the honor of our country, yes. But if it means that we are to be the prey of international ambition, if it means that we are to do the bidding of every nation on earth, and that our, flag must dip in disgrace, then we must not have peace. No nation can be weak to-day in preparedness and strong to-morrow in efficiency.

If sharing these sentiments gives a man the right to call himself a patriotic American citizen, then the Spanish War veterans in my district and myself are patriotic Americans. But if believing that patriotism consists in no personal sacrifice yourself, if it means that voting money for pensions to the worthy and unworthy alike, the rich and poor alike, and that this counts for more than answering your country's call, then we are not patriotic American citizens.

"A Comprehensive Immigration Policy and Program."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN A. ELSTON, OF CALIFORNIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, February 16, 1916.

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave heretofore granted me to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an granted me to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an article entitled "A comprehensive immigration policy and program," by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, of New York City. Dr. Gulick has resided in Japan for nearly 30 years, and is a member of the commission on relations with Japan, appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The purpose of this commission is to promote better relations between America and Japan. Other members of this commission are: Dr. John R. Mott, of international fame, who was recently offered the ambassadorship to China by President Wilson; Dr. Robert E. Speer, secretary of Presbyterian Foreign Board of Missions; Mr. Hamilton Holt, editor of the New York Independent; President Vincent, of the University of Minnesota; Bishop Frances J. Mc-Connell, bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and others. A year ago Dr. Gulick, together with Dr. Shaller Mathews, president of the federal council, were sent to Japan as a Christian embassy. Representing, as they did, more than 17,000,000 members of Protestant churches connected with the federal council, they received not only marked attention from the Government but also from the educational, business, and newspaper world.

The purpose of the following article by Dr. Guiick is to set

forth a comprehensive plan for dealing with the entire immigration problem in such a way as to meet the just demands of Pacific coast States to be freed from all danger of large Asiatic immigration, and yet to accomplish this aid in such a way as to avoid race discrimination. The article is as follows:

OUTLINES OF A COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION POLICY AND PROGRAM. IMMIGRATION-PAST AND PROSPECTIVE.

Immigration the past decade has been enormous (10,122,862 for the 10 years ending 1914) and will in all probability become so again after the war closes. For the poverty of Europe and the frightful taxes that will be inevitable, together with the horror of militarism which has deluged the nations with blood, sown the felds with human bones, and overwhelmed all working classes, will cause millions to fee to a land free from militarism and relatively prosperous.

INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

Although America has vast resources, two-thirds of our toilers are in serious poverty, receiving less than \$15 per week when they work. Even at that rate, however, they are not sure of steady employment. The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations has disclosed how serious are the problems of unemployment and industrial unrest. Is there no casual relation between these problems and our recent vast immigration?

IMMIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP.

America's political institutions and social organizations are based on democracy. There is developing among us, however, a large adult mile alien population still owing allegiance to other Governments. The last census (1910) shows that out of 5,942,000 foreign-born males in America 21 years of age and over, 3,221,000 were still aliens. While 770,000 born in Great Britain had become citizens of the United States, 449,000 were still British; in the case of Germany 889,000 had become naturalized, while 389,000 were still Germans. Those, however, who come from south Europe seem less ready to become Americans. Austria, for instance, gave us 149,000 naturalized citizens to 460,000 aliens; Hungary, 36,000 citizens to 219,000 allens; and Russic, 192,000 citizens to 545,000 aliens; while Italy gave us only 126,000 citizens to 586,000 aliens.

How many of these aliens had been here less than five years and therefore were still ineligible for citizenship the table did not show. But, however that may be, it seems wholly undesirable that the proportion of aliens to naturalized citizens from any particular land should be so large as these figures show. Should not the rate of permissible immigration be such as to keep the naturalized citizens from any land always in a substantial majority?

These facts and considerations suggest the importance, on the one hand, of checking this inflow of vast numbers who maintain allegiance to foreign Governments and also, on the other hand, of promoting such education of aliens permanently residing in America as shall help them rapidly to acquire our ideas and ideals, and transform them speedily into true American citizens.

There is, however, another important set of factors bearing upon America's immigration problems, namely:

THE NEW ORIENT.

New Japan has already acquired the mechanical instruments, the political, economic, and industrial methods, and the science, education, ideas, and ideals of occidental civilization. New China is rapidly following in the footsteps of Japan. Both are increasingly self-conscious and insistent on courteous treatment and observance of treaties. They are asking, with growing earnestness, for recognition on a basis of equality with nations of the West.

The great world problem of the twentieth century is undoubtedly the problem of the contact of the East and the West. Whether it shall bring us weal or woe depends largely on the United States, Shall our oriental policy be based on race pride, disdain, and selfishness? Shall it be entirely devoid of sympathy? And shall we rely on brute force for carrying it through? Or shall we give justice, courtesy, and a square deal, refusing to be stamped by ignorance, ill-founded suspicion, and falsehood? Shall we "prepare" to maintain by our military might a policy of arrogant disregard of their needs and feelings, or shall we remove dangers of conflict by a policy of friendly consideration and genuine helpfulness?

THE NEW ORIENTAL POLICY.

THE NEW ORIENTAL POLICY.

The new Orient renders obsolete and dangerous our nineteenth century Asiatic policy. Let us now promptly adopt a new policy—one that will provide, on the one hand, for the just demands of the Pacific Coast States to be protected from a swamping Asiatic immigration; and yet that also provides, on the other hand, for full courtesy of treatment and for complete freedom from race discrimination, which is inevitably regarded as humiliating. The new policy should provide for observance of the spirit no less than of the wording of our treaties, and be thus in harmony with the principles of good neighborliness.

THE NEW IMMIGRATION POLICY.

All this means that we need comprehensive immigration legislation dealing with the entire question in such a way as to conserve American institutions, protect American labor from dangerous economic competition and promote intelligent and enduring friendliness between America and all the nations, East and West.

THE LITERACY TEST.

Restriction of immigration has been widely demanded in recent years. Three times Congress has passed a literacy-test immigration bill. Three times has it been vetoed. But even if it became law, would it suitably and adequately regulate immigration? Would it avail in maintaining a wholesome proportion between the allens and the naturalized? Moreover, a literacy-test law could not wisely be applied to Asiatics, for it would admit millions.

NUMERICAL LIMITATION.

Do we not now need legislation limiting immigration on a numerical basis? Should not the annual immigration be adapted to our economic conditions? And should not that limitation deal equally with all races? Should it not also provide for their rapid education and Americaniza-

IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION AND "PREPAREDNESS."

Such a policy and program constitutes one of the pressing needs of the times. Quite as important as military "preparedness" to resist attack is diplomatic and legislative "preparedness" to reduce tension and promote international friendship.

The following paragraphs present in barest outlines:

A CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM FOR COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION LEGIS-LATION.

1. THE CONTROL OF IMMIGRATION.

Immigration from every land should be controlled, and, if excessive, it would be restricted. The principle of restriction should be applied equally to every land, and thus avoid differential race treatment.

2. AMERICANIZATION THE PRINCIPLE OF CONTROL.

2. AMERICANIZATION THE PRINCIPLE OF CONTROL.

The proven capacity for genuine Americanization on the part of those already here from any land should be the measure for the further immigration of that people. Newcomers make their first contact with America through those who speak their own language. The Americanization, therefore, of newcomers from any land depends largely on the influence of those already here from that land. The number of newcomers annually admissible from any land therefore should be closely dependent on the number of those from that land who, having been here five years or more, have actually become American citizens. These know the language, customs, and ideals of both peoples, ours and theirs.

America should admit as immigrants only so many aliens from any land as she can Americanize.

3. THE PROPOSED RESTRICTION LAW.

Let therefore an immigration law be passed which provides that the maximum permissible annual immigration from any land shall be a definite per cent (say 5) of those from that land who have already become naturalized citizens, together with their American-born children. The grandchildren as a rule do not know their ancestral language, and therefore do not aid particularly in the Americanization of new-

and therefore do not not not particularly accomers.

The permissible annual immigration from the respective countries, as calculated from the census of 1910, shows that in general there would be no restriction on immigration from North Europe. The reverse, however, would be the case for the countries of South Europe. The permissible immigration from China and Japan would be less than that which has been coming in recent years.

Provision should be also made for the protection of all newcomers from ruthless exploitation and for their distribution, employment, and rapid Americanization. To aid in the accomplishment of these ends the Federal Government should establish—

4. A BUREAU OF REGISTRATION.

All aliens should register annually until they become American citizens and should pay an annual registration fee of, say, \$10. We need to know who the aliens are and where they live, and they need to know that we know these facts about them. A system of registration could be worked out in connection with a national employment bureau, as suggested by the late Prof. Henderson, that would not involve police surveillance. This bureau should be regarded as a method for friendly aid, not of hostile and suspicious control. Also—

5. A BUREAU FOR THE EDUCATION OF ALIENS.

5. A BUREAU FOR THE EDUCATION OF ALIENS.

This burden should set standards, prepare textbooks, promote the establishment of night schools by States, cities, and towns—which might receive Federal subsidies—and hold examinations. The education and the examinations should be free. Provision should be made for the reduction of the registration fee by, say, \$1 for every examination passed. The education should be simple and practical, avoiding merely academic proficiency. Let there be six examinations, three in English and one each in the history of the American people, in the methods of our Government—local, State, and Federal—and in the ideals of democracy. When all the examinations have been passed there would still remain the annual registration fee of \$4 so long as the individual chooses to remain an alien. There should also be—

6. NEW REGULATIONS FOR THE BUREAU OF NATURALIZATION.

6. NEW REGULATIONS FOR THE BUREAU OF NATURALIZATION.

Citizenship should be granted only to those who have passed the required examinations provided by the bureau of alien education and have maintained good behavior during the five years of probationary residence. The naturalization ceremony might well take the form of a dignified welcome service—say on a single day in the year, the Fourth of July, with appropriate welcome orations, banners, badges, and banquets.

7. CITIZENSHIP FOR ALL WHO QUALIFY, REGARDLESS OF RACE.

Eligibility to naturalization should be based upon personal qualifications of intelligence, knowledge, and character. The mere fact of race should be neither a qualification nor a disqualification.

Such are the main outlines of the proposed comprehensive and constructive program here offered for the solution of the entire immigration problem. Asiatic as well as European. For a more adequate understanding, however, of this general proposal we should consider—

8. A FEW ADDITIONAL DETAILS.

structive program here offered for the solution of the entire immigration problem. Ashafte as well as European. For a more adequate understanding, however, of this general proposal we should consider—

(a) No change should be made in the schedule for maximum immigration between the census periods. With each new census a new schedule should be prepared, but it should not go into operation automatically. Congress should reconsider the whole matter once in 10 years upon receiving the figures based upon the new census and decide either to adopt the new schedule or some new percentage rate or possibly to continue the same schedule for some new percentage rate or possibly to continue the same schedule for another decade.

(b) Provision should be made for certain excepted classes. Government officials, travelers, and students would, of course, be admitted outside of the fixed schedule figures. Allens who have arready resided in America and taken out their first papers or who have passed all the less of the fixed schedule figures. Allens who have arready resided in America and taken out their first papers or who have passed all the less of the schedule. Wives coming to join their husbands and children 15 years of age or under coming to join their husbands and children 15 years of age or under coming to join a parent might also be included among the excepted classes. By providing for such exceptions the drastic feature of the proposed plan would be largely, perhaps wholly, relieved.

(c) Should the restriction required by the 5 per cent plan be regarded as excessively severe, either the per cent rate could be advanced or, what might perhaps be preferable, the 5 per cent restriction might be made that all allen women should have been advanced or, what might perhaps be preferable, the 5 per cent restriction might be for countries from which few have become American citizens, a minimum permissible annual immigration of, say, 500 or 1,000, might be analysed to the fee, might well be required only of male allens 21 years of

secure passage in the order of their purchase of tickets—first come first served.

(k) In order to alleviate hardship as far as possible, might not immigration-inspection offices be established in the principal cities of departure and provision be made that all immigration from specified regions should receive inspection at those offices alone, such inspection to be final?

tion to be final?

An exact and full statement of the numerical results of the application of these restrictive principles to each people would require comprehensive statistical tables. It may be enough to give merely a few illustrative figures. The permissible maximum annual immigration for the current decade (males 14 years of age and over) would be for Japan 1,220, for China 1,107, and for Italy 44,091. The following table shows what the actual immigration was of such males and what the result of the proposed restriction would have been:

Year.	Actual immigration of males 14 years of age and over.			Excess beyond the permissible annual maximum.		
	Japan.	China.	Italy.	Japan.	China.	Italy.
1911 1912 1913 1914 1914	1,264 1,721 2,877 3,001 3,429	1,030 1,200 1,530 1,934 2,084	126, 118 100, 867 192, 334 198, 008 24, 358	44 501 1,657 1,781 2,209	93 423 827 977	82,027 56,776 148,243 153,917

Would not the above proposals for a comprehensive and constructive immigration policy coordinate, systematize, and rationalize our entire procedure in dealing with immigration and solve in a fundamental way its most perplexing difficulties? Such a policy would protect American labor from danger of sudden and excessive immigration from any land. It would promote the wholesome and rapid assimilation of all newcomers; it would regulate the rate of the coming of immigrants from any land by the proven capacity of fitness of those from that land already here; it would keep the newcomers always in the minority; it would be free from every trace of differential race treatment. Our relations with Japan and China would thus be right. Such a policy, therefore, giving to every people the "most-favored-nation treatment." would maintain and deepen our international friendship on every side.

Criticism of this plan is invited. If the reader finds himself in harmony with this proposal, a letter of indorsement would be appreciated.

Pensions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL. OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 10, 1916,

On the bill to pension widows and minor children of officers and enlisted men who served in the War with Spain, Philippine insurrection, or in China.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for this bill to pension the widows and orphans of soldiers who served in the War with Spain, the Philippine Insurrection, or in China. It is not just that the United Spanish War Veterans should carry this additional burden. Those opposed to this bill, in war, would be the very ones who are always found where the bullets are thickest—back under the ammunition wagon—or serving their country by staying at home selling their goods at wartime prices. They should be the last to object to sharing the burden of those who went to the front.

Economy should not be practiced at the expense of our volunteer soldiery. They did not haggle. They offered themselves freely, more men coming forward than the Nation could use. Asking no questions, dying without a whimper, they in-curred the danger willingly and without question. In the pride and strength of their young manhood they went out, many of them broken by the strain to which the tropical climate subjected them. It would be putting small encouragement upon patriotic duty if a man were to know that, after he had sacrificed his health, his strength, and life for his country, the claim of his widow and orphans would be regarded with cold disfavor—a graft. It has always been our pride and boast that we rely for our safety upon our volunteer soldiery; that here conscription is unnecessary; that patriotism is all the incentive our enlistment needs. If we begin to peep and botanize upon the claim of the widow and the orphan of these soldiers, it is a sad comment upon American gratitude.

In the fifteen years since the war these brave fellows have not asked any legislation for themselves. The bill before us is framed, at their unselfish request, only for the needy widows and orphans. Statistics available show that there is a real need. At a time when mutterings of discontent are in the air, when no one knows what a day may bring forth, when wars and rumors of war shock the mind and strain the nerve, when the friendly nation of to-day becomes the bitter enemy of to-mor-row, shall we call noisy attention to the fact that the volunteer soldier has no place in the heart of the Nation; that his death for his country is a slight incident, to be brushed aside as of no moment, and for his widow and his orphan there is no claim upon the gratitude of the country he served?

Pensions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM A. AYRES, OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 16, 1916.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I do not want this occasion to pass without saying a few words in favor of this bill, which provides pensions for the widows of our soldier boys who suffered, endured, and fought in the War with Spain and helped to maintain the honor of the Stars and Stripes when that glorious

emblem was insulted and in peril.

I am not ashamed of the record my own State of Kansas made in that conflict. Kansas, before the call was cold upon our President's lips, furnished three of the best volunteer regiments that ever was recruited. Kansas was the first State to complete her muster and tender her quota of volunteers for service to our President, ready and anxious to go where duty called. Part of our volunteers were hurried across the sea and did loyal and effective service in the Philippines. Others waited patiently for the welcome call from Chickamauga and the Army posts in Virginia, which circumstances did not permit to come. Still others, a fourth regiment, was trained and equipped, awaiting orders from the War Department, ready to answer its country's call. Our men were efficient and brave, and there was developed in that short period of service military talent and skill that has found just recognition to promotion to the Regular Army. Men were developed in that conflict from the ranks of the Kansas volunteers who now have been promoted to high military positions, and who have but recently been recognized for their genius in handling the difficult and trying situation on our southern borders.

All patriotic citizens are willing to give their assent to the proposition that our Government provide adequate and liberal pensions to its defenders. We have come to the point where we recognize that we owe a debt of incalculable gratitude to the soldiers who offered their services and lives to the Nation in its needs, and also that we owe this same gratitude to the noble and self-sacrificing women because of the patriotism that bade their young husbands go to the front and battle for our Nation's honor and rights. Thoughts of privation and hardships during their husbands' absence were dismissed from their minds. A their husbands absence were dishinssed from their littles. A great many of these soldiers, being young and just starting in life, with but little of this world's goods, left their families almost without any resources. They did not volunteer for the little salary attached to their enlistment. There were but few of them but who were receiving more wages in their daily walk of life than they could hope to get for their service. It was not for this small allowance that they answered their country's call. They were patriots themselves, but they were no more patriotic than the wife who bade them go.

Can a nation ever hope to compensate these brave women for this self-sacrifice? Can a nation's gratitude be measured by the few dollars that it will cost our Government to provide relief for them now? We are just coming into the proper appre-ciation of the important part these good women had in bringing triumph to our cause.

The burden of our Nation's obligation to these widows, in a great many instances, has fallen upon our municipalities and private charitable institutions. They have been more sympathetic and liberal to this class of women and their orphan children than has our Nation. These local sources of charity have not reached all the deserving cases, and we all know of sad instances that are meritorious and deserving.

This Nation should come to believe that it owes much to these women for their patient self-sacrifice. We have allowed these widows and orphans to be accounted and looked upon as objects of charity. What a low estimate to place upon our obligation. They are not objects of charity, because we owe them a gratitude for which we have never paid them: When we give them that which we owe we will be but doing our full duty,

and should ask no commendation.

When this relief is given regularly in the way of a pension we will have a national conscience a little more void of offense, and the problem of our obligation will at least be partly solved. Appreciation will not be lacking on their part when we accomplish this. Why permit them to remain in necessitous circumstances, when this trifling relief, given regularly, will enable these widows to maintain their home and family? We are bound in the interest of good citizenship to give her this

I have always been in favor of liberal pensions to the widows of all soldiers who have had service in any of our country's wars, and I believe that this law will be a step in the right direction and will lead to the fulfillment of our kindred obligation to the widows of soldiers who fought in our various We have moved far enough along from the limi-Indian wars. tation placed upon the law relating to the marriage and granting of pensions to the widows of the veterans of our Civil War to adjust that limitation also, and I would like to give my support to an amendment to the present law raising the limit of marriage with these veterans to a date nearer our own time. It seems to me that it would be the proper thing for a grateful nation to give the same relief to the women who have married

soldiers of our Civil War since 1890. This bill provides for pensions to widows of soldiers of the Spanish War on the soldiers' death without asking any questions as to whether the cause of his death was due to injuries received by him in line of duty. While it is true that we did not come to the appreciation of our obligation to the widows of veterans of the Civil War in this particular until the year 1890, yet we corrected that error at that time, and thus seeing our neglect regarding them we should see that this same error does not fall upon the widows of soldiers who fought in our more not fall upon the widows of soldiers who fought in our more recent wars. I heartily approve of the provision in this bill, which does not carry with it the technical necessity for the widow to prove that her husband's death was due to injury received in line of duty. It seems to me that is a just and equitable provision. If she is a widow and is in need, her wants are just as pressing and our obligations are just as strong as if her husband had been taken while he was in the service.

Many instances of the wants and needs of widows of soldiers of this class have come to me from my own district. I know of the circumstances and conditions surrounding many of these cases, and a great many of them, and I might say practically all

of them, possess the greatest merit.

Our pension laws generally are hedged about by entirely too many technicalities. A great many of them who came from the Army with health broken have answered the last roll call. Many have lost their limbs, many have lost their health from hardships and exposure, incurred disease from insanitary camps, and these ailments will stick to them through life and grow worse as the years pass by. The wife who saw him march away and the zirl who married him on his return has just begun her burden of care. Heretofore the limited rule of our matter. her burden of care. Heretofore the limited rule of our grati-tude was so guarded that many deserving ones have been getting no pensions.

These widows and the widows of all soldiers can not be too promptly and generously accorded their dues out of our Nation's Treasury. Our Nation is abundantly able, and I believe that we are all willing to bestow upon them sufficient pensions to give them this much-needed relief.

I sincerely hope that this measure will become a law.

Pensions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWIN D. RICKETTS. OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 16, 1916.

Mr. RICKETTS. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I am heartily in favor of this bill to pension widows and minor children of officers and enlisted men who served in the War with Spain, the Philippine insurrection, and in China. I have read the bill over, word by word and line by line, and have studied it thoroughly, and have reached the conclusion that it is a just and proper bill and should be passed by this House.

During these warfares 434,000 young men and citizens of the United States served their country in a most telling and emphatic way. This number is about 18 per cent of the number who served in the war between the States. It is proposed, by this bill, in its amended form, to grant the sum of \$12 per month to the widow of an honorably discharged soldier or sailor who served during the War with Spain or the Philippine insurrection during her widowhood and \$2 monthly for each child under 16 years of age. The pension is to be limited only to the widow who is without means of support other than her daily labor, and an actual net income not exceeding \$250 per year.

Under existing law this allowance to widows and orphans of men who served in other wars has been provided, whether the beneficiary be rich or poor. Under the report of the committee the number of widows and orphans to be benefited by the proposed measure can not be definitely ascertained. Inquiry among the camps of the United Spanish War Veterans indicates that there are about 4,000 widows of men who served during the Spanish War and the Philippine insurrection. No one can state definitely just what percentage of these widows come within the purview of the bill—that is, that have no means of support other than their daily labor, and so forth—and to so estimate it would only be a conjecture. According to the report of the committee, the destitute widows and their dependents are cared for in the main by the United Spanish War Veterans. It is inequitable to ask the men who offered their lives to their country in war service to make this additional financial sacrifice. when the burden should be carried by the mass of our population which did not serve with the colors. If you will but stop and think, it has been 15 years since the Spanish War broke out, and this is the first request for legislation ever made by the organization of United Spanish War Veterans. They certainly have been very unselfish, and their late request commends them for they are asking nothing for the production. mends them to us, for they are asking nothing for themselves absolutely nothing-but only a provision for the helpless widow and orphan.

Under the present pension laws the widow, or quite a majority of them, have a pensionable status if they can show that their husbands' death was directly due to disability incurred in the service. This always seemed to me to be unjust, and I most sincerely hope that this feature of the present law may by this Congress be eliminated, for the Government certainly has sufficient knowledge of the soldier's service to know whether or not he entered upon that service as a man in a healthy condition; and if he has been pensioned since his service, this Government knows that he incurred his disability while serving his Why, then, should his poor widow be required to furnish testimony that he died from the disease which he incurred

The presumption would be that he died because of that disease, or as a result of same. No person can testify truthfully that a soldier died as a result of a disease incurred in the service of his country, except an expert physician; and he, of necessity, would have been required to be with the soldier all during his service in order to give any accurate or correct testi-mony in relation thereto. This bill eliminates this feature of the law, and I most heartily concur in this elimination.

Now, the Spanish-American soldiers and the Philippine soldiers rendered invaluable service to this country. This was the first time in the history of our country that the American soldier and sallor served in the Tropics and the Orient, under climatic and hygienic conditions unusual to him. They were subjected to the climatic diseases prevalent in these territories or countries, which were numerous, and which struck down to death many of our American boys. They received no bounty or substitute money, and were not drafted for service. I am proud to say that they volunteered their service because of the patriotic spirit that dwelt in their hearts. They were loyal, true American citizens, who were willing to give up their lives in order to preserve the honor of their country and to uphold its institutions and preserve its rights. The mere nominal compensation that they received is nothing when compared with the most excellent service which they rendered.

The committee, in its report, says that of the 434,000 who served in these warfares, about one-fourth were in Regular service, and from 75,000 to 100.000 were assigned to duty in the Philippine Islands. In these warfares there were 826 battles and skirmishes, in 515 of which men were killed or wounded. The whole mortality of the campaigns was 12,000. Many of them left widows and families of children.

Now, if we were not to provide for these dependents of this latest type of our patriotic citizenship, while lavishly making provision for the widows and dependents of those who served in all the other wars of the Republic, this would mean to indict this Government on a charge of unjust discrimination.

In my judgment, if we expect to increase our Army and Navy we must show to the citizenship of this Nation in a clear and unambiguous manner that it is the policy and intention of this Government to take care of the widows and orphans of the volunteer soldiery who sacrifice their lives upon the field of battle in defense of the country which they love. The young men of this Nation to-day are far more intelligent than they ever were in the history of our people, and there is nothing that would make the young man lose his patriotism more quickly than to know that the Government under which he lives places a very low estimate upon the sacrifices that young men must, of neces-

sity, make when they enlist in either the Army or Navy.

Mr. Speaker, I most sincerely hope that this House may pass this bill, and that at the very earliest possible date the Committee on Pensions may order out the bill to remove from the present law the time limit to widows who have married veterans of the Civil War. Under the law as it now stands no widow can obtain a pension who may have married a soldier since June 27, 1890. This law, in my judgment, is grossly unfair. It is the duty of this Government to take care of its soldiers and their widows and orphans, and a great many of the widows to-day have married the old soldier and made him a good wife and cared for him and looked after his interests for a number of years or until the time of his death. She gave him the very best care of which she was capable, and now the Government, notwithstanding the fact that she has rendered this most splendid service to the man who served this Nation, says that she can not have a pension because she did not marry prior to June

In my judgment this is wrong, unfair, and unjust, and this feature of that law should be repealed, and repealed at once.

Post Office Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM A. AYRES,

OF KANSAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 17, 1916.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, a new Member of this body no doubt gets an erroneous impression of Congress the first few days, or I might say weeks, when his attention is devoted principally to listening to those who seem to have a grievance or a grouch, or, putting it in a milder form, to criticizing everything that has been done and is going to be done, especially by this administration. This spirit, as well as the exercise of it, was not confined to the minority either, for it seemed to be quite general on the part of some in both parties. This, of course, makes for the time being a rather peculiar impression on a novice; however, I am glad to say that my association with men upon this great committee of the Post Office and Post Roads has clearly demonstrated to me that it is much easier to criticize than it is to construct; it takes but little thought to prepare a stinging criticism of something or some act of another, but it takes a great deal of thought, plenty of hard work, to construct legislation for a great department like the Post Office Department; hence I can readily see why some prefer to devote themselves to criticism rather than to give their help to construct.

As a new Member of Congress, I consider it very fortunate that I should be placed on this very important committee, composed of men who are liberal and broad minded; men whose whole aim and effort is to legislate for the best interest of the

department and for the people as a whole.

In all the hearings before this committee, men from all parts of the country appeared before us and gave their ideas and best thoughts in presenting their claims; and during our deliberations as a committee I was most profoundly impressed with the fact that partisan politics was entirely lost sight of, and the bickerings indulged in on this floor by so many did not appear in this committee. It is true that some of us felt that other legislation should have been placed as riders upon this bill; as for one I felt that as a part of this bill we should have included a provision for the retirement of the superannuated employees of this department. This question has been before the executive department as well as before the Congress for many years. It seems to me that the present law is harsh and inhuman, as it prohibits the maintenance of a civil-service pension list, and makes it the imperative duty of the executive

office to drop from the service all employees who are permanently incapacitated from performing further service. This is true notwithstanding the fact that this unfortunate condition may have been brought about by the constant grind at his post of duty.

I remember very distinctly of a particular case in my own city, where a faithful old letter carrier had borne his pack day after day, through sunshine and storm, from September 1, 1886, until some time in May, 1909. Completely worn out Carey Davis staggered and fell under his load, and within 60 days thereafter his resignation was called for by the department; and ever since that date he has been, and is now, a complete physical wreck, with no income to sustain him, and must rely upon the help of others, not receiving the same degree of consideration as the faithful old horse, which, no longer fit for duty, in most instances is cared for and protected because of faithful services rendered. Hundreds of such cases, no doubt, can be cited similar to the one I have mentioned.

Mr. Speaker, I might add further that I understand now that there is a standing order to the effect that any letter carrier absenting himself from duty for a period of 150 days during any one year, because of sickness or otherwise, will be dismissed from the service, no matter how long he may have served.

When a man becomes a pack horse, such as these men are for a period of 25 or 30 years, through all kinds of weather, it would be strange, indeed, if they would not be more susceptible to accident and sickness than men more favorably situated. So I repeat it is a harsh and inhuman rule that now has been governing this department. It is not only inhuman but it is expensive to the department.

There are now many employees in the Postal Service who should be retired on account of their age and physical infirmities. Many of these men have spent their lives in the service. On account of the long hours and the exacting nature of their employment, they have not been able to engage in any other line of business nor to lay aside a competence for old age. In other words, to use the too often used common expression, "He has outlived his usefulness," Good administration and humanity alike demand that some provision be made to care for these veterans of a most valuable service rendered the people and the Government.

The First Assistant Postmaster General, in his report for 1910,

Nearly every country of importance makes some provision for pensioning its employees when they are overtaken by old age, and many of the large corporations of this country have advised a similar plan for the retirement of their aged employees. From the standpoint of economy alone it would seem that this Government should do likewise. In the Postal Service, on account of the long hours, the small salaries, the exacting nature of the duties performed, the employees are rarely able to lay up a competence for old age. It is hoped, therefore, that Congress will take action looking to the retirement in some suitable manner of its superannuated employees.

The Postmaster General, in his report for 1911, says:

Almost without exception foreign nations provide for the pensioning of civil-service employees when they become superannuated. Large corporations in this country are rapidly adopting the same principle in the retirement of their aged employees. On business grounds, if for no other reason, the Government should do likewise. While the compensation of postal employees has been considerably increased during the last few years, it is hardly more than is sufficient to meet necessary living expenses, and, consequently, does not permit the putting aside of any considerable savings against old age. It is believed that a civil pension based on length of employment should be granted by the Government. Benefits to the service far outwelghing the expense of such pensions would undoubtedly result.

The First Assistant Postmaster General, in his report for the same year, says:

same year, says:

Nearly every country of importance makes some provision for pensioning its civil employees when they are overtaken by old age, and many of the corporations of this country have devised a similar plan for the retirement of their aged employees. From the standpoint of economy alone it would seem that this Government should do likewise. In the Postal Service, on account of the long hours, the small salaries, and the exacting nature of the duties performed, the employees are rarely able to lay up a competence for old age.

At post offices of the first class the employees number about 50,000, and less than 1,200 of this number have reached the age of 65, many of whom are in nowise superannuated. It is believed, therefore, that less than 2 per cent of the employees of classified post offices would be retired under a pension system.

In the Post Office Service a large sum of money accrues annually from the lapsed salaries of employees absent without pay, where no substitute is employed or where the substitute receives less than the salary of the absent clerk or carrier, and also on account of failure to fill vacancies immediately, or where the force is reduced temporarily during the dull season when vacancies occur. The employees themselves, in a measure, contribute to this fund, since the absence of regular employees throws additional burdens on those remaining on duty. This fund is more than sufficient to cover the cost of pensions for the superannuated employees amongst the 60,000 clerks and carriers at first and second class post offices. There is another source of revenue that might be properly used to constitute a pension fund, and that is the money turned into the Treasury each year from money orders issued and never presented for payment. presented for payment.

The Postmaster General, in his report for 1912, says:

Civil pensions based on length of service should be granted to postal employees when they become superannuated. It is likely that the expense of such a system would be more than offset by gains in efficiency. Although the compensation of postal employees has been considerably increased during the past few years, it is still insufficient to permit adequate savings against old age. Foreign nations pension their aged employees, as do also many corporations; and on business grounds, if for no other reason, the Government should do likewise.

The First Assistant Postmaster General, in his report for 1912,

In the Postal Service the employees rarely are able to accumulate savings, and the injury of an employee in the line of duty, necessitating his absence without pay or resulting in death, is a serious hardship to his family. The Government should take the lead in dealing fairly with employees who are injured while in the performance of duty and those who, when burdened with years and worn out with faithful service, are forced to relinquish their positions because no longer able to work.

The First Assistant Postmaster General, in his report for 1914,

It is said that the loss sustained by the Government on account of superannuation aggregates many millions annually. A careful canvas of first and second class post offices seems to indicate that these losses are probably less proportionately in the Postal Service than elsewhere. Alertness, dexterity, quickness of hand and eye, and other qualities of youth are peculiarly required for the performance of post-office work, and tend of themselves to assist in reducing superannuation in the service. However, superannuation is an important problem in properly reorganizing the Post Office Service, and the increasing volume of parcel-post traffic accentuates the need for an early and definite solution.

Some postmasters refrain, for humanitarian reasons, from recommending demotions and removals in accordance with the declining efficiency of employees. The result to some extent is that tenure of office in the Government service does not now depend on the law nor on the uniform needs of the service, but upon the varying temperaments of the postmasters and their varying conception of their public duty. This condition is wrong, and works injustice to the employees and loss to the Government.

The First Assistant Postmaster General, on March 1, 1915, in

The First Assistant Postmaster General, on March 1, 1915, in a communication to Senator BANKHEAD, which was printed in the Congressional Record of March 4, said:

Superannuation, however; remains a pressing and urgent problem, as a practical plan for dealing with it effectually should be accepted and advocated.

Mr. Speaker, it can readily be seen that administration officers hesitate to recommend a dismissal or even a reduction in salary of superannuated employees. They have spent their lives in the service of the Government, and it is hard to say, "You have given us the best of your life; you are no longer capable of doing your duties that are incumbent upon you." Yet the drain upon the department by their retention at full pay is unquestionably for greater than would be the cost of a presentable retinance. far greater than would be the cost of a reasonable retirement pension.

This principle has been recognized by our municipalities; practically every large city in the United States has some form of pensioning their superannuated and disabled employees.

The only argument that can be made against this system is the question of expense. The claim has been made by some that the amount to be appropriated for the initial costs and future maintenance of such a system would be so large as to become a burden. To this I can not agree. Even should the Government be at an actual loss in dollars and cents for the time being, the amount of good that must find its source and origin in such legislation, both to the service and for the faithful employees of the service, will be far greater than all the cost.

In legislating for the country's welfare we can not take a too

narrow view of all these problems. We should not try to limit or measure the benefit solely by what appears to be the cost; all good legislation for the benefit of the laboring man has had to meet these objections of cost or expense. I can not conceive of meet these objections of cost or expense. I can not conceive of any beneficial legislation but what would at least involve some apparent outlay of money, especially if it is really intended to lighten the burden of the toiler, but without doubt will in the end prove to be economical. Therefore we must look beyond the mere question of expense in the first instance; we must consider along with the question of expense the good of the service, the good of the country, and the good of humanity.

The same arguments were made against the eight-hour law,

also against the child-labor law, and all laws for the protection of life and limb. There is no economy in having the old and superannuated endeavoring to work when suitable provision could be made for their retirement, besides the salutary effect it

would have on society generally.

While it was deemed best and wise by those older on the committee not to place this proposed legislation on this bill as a rider, I am confident that within a short time there will be presented to this body a bill the provisions of which will provide for these deserving men. I have no hesitancy in saying that such a measure will meet with the approval of a majority, and to us will be given the honor and credit of doing what should have been done long ago.

Traveling on Armed Merchant Vessels.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JEFF: MCLEMORE.

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 18, 1916.

Mr. McLEMORE. Mr. Speaker, the resolution which I have offered for the consideration of this House was conceived in an earnest desire to contribute toward the clearing of the dark atmosphere which overhangs the foreign relations of this Nation, and was framed with painstaking consideration of the many features of the problem and the many points of view from which that problem can be considered.

This House pursues from day to day the healthy, normal course of attending to the proper and pressing business of this Nation, which, in the happy nature of events, is now at peace; and yet, from time to time, insistent echoes of the terrible tragedy being enacted by most of the other great nations of the world have intruded into this Chamber, and the most optimistic of us must feel a dread certainty that some day we may be called on to make a decision on some points that can not be

When the Lusitania, the pride of Britain's innumerable merchant marine, was destroyed by the torpedo fired by a German submarine Americans reacted in two distinct ways. Some held that the German act which had caused the loss, not only of the great ship and her cargo of war munitions but also of more than a thousand human lives, including more than a hundred Americans, was a crime and an outrage. Others felt at once that those who had lost their lives were themselves primarily to blame for having traveled on a ship which they knew to be in danger; and many felt, furthermore, that a nation struggling for its life against a ring of enemies could not in justice to its own soldiers and to the women and children whom those soldiers were protecting refrain from sinking any and every possible enemy ship which carried in its hold the weapons of This opinion was voiced by some of America's leading men and held by more of the plain, straight-thinking people than the newspapers will admit. However, the President and other executive officials of the Nation took the former view, and as the result of long and careful negotiations the German Government, obviously at the sacrifice of advantages very precious to a nation at war and as an evidence of most welcome friendship for this Republic, has agreed to accept the American view as to the impropriety of such use of the submarine. Long since Germany promised to modify her submarine warfare in accordance with the views set forth by this Government, and how well she has kept that promise may be appreciated if one reflects on the perfect ease with which she accomplished the destruction of the Lusitania and reflects that she could unquestionably have sunk many another liner in similar facile fashion had she not refrained solely out of respect to our ideas. Austria-Hungary, too, has accepted our rules at a sacrifice of some of her belligerent interests.

One of the German pleas in justification of the sinking of the Lusitania was that that vessel was armed. It was cited that in 1913 she had been reported, in the New York Tribune, as armed; it was proved that she was built largely with Eng-lish Government funds under a contract which specifically provided for her armament. Nevertheless the contention of the American Government that the Lusitania was not armed on her last trip seemed to be sustained, and upon this point the American Government insisted most strongly of all, in bringing the German Government to acknowledge that the fatal attack was not justified. In all the exchanges between the two Governments, it has been understood that the American Government stood for the immunity of unarmed ships from unwarned attacks, and the immunity of such ships, carrying non-belligerent passengers and crews, from attack where it would be impossible for the passengers and crews to reach safety.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that the German race is

Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that the German race is a bloodthirsty and cruel race. To believe that I should have to hold too low an opinion of American people. There are more than 8,000,000 American citizens of German birth or parentage; there are more than 20,000,000 Americans of predominant German stock. An average-sized number of the Congressional Record could easily be filled with the story of their contribution to the growth of America in prosperity and culture; but that story, from the days when the German farmers made a garden of Pennsylvania; from the days when

Herkimer held back the English and their savage Indian allies at Oriskany; from the days when Muchlenberg presided over the first assembly of this House, to the present day, when Germans are preeminent in every art and science and business that goes to make our American civilization—that story is well known. I could not be proud, as I am proud, of the great and splendid State of Texas, if I believed that the German race is cruel and treacherous, for the German brand of hyphenated American swarms in Texas, and the land which they compel to yield fruit and grain, and the cities they have builded, give praise to the Creator for them.

And I am convinced that the German people in Germany are mighty like the German-Americans whom we all know and honor. And so I see no deep and treacherous plot against innocent lives when the German Government solemnly states to the American Government that they have accumulated proof, through many months of warfare, that the English Government has played false in arming its merchant marine with guns under the name of "defensive armament," at the same time giving secret instructions that those presumably peaceful ships, with their "defensive armament," should take the offensive against German submarines. I do not condemn the English Government unheard; but I am anxious to examine that proof, and meanwhile I am anxious to judge the situation which has arisen in the light of American common sense, American fairness, and American neutrality.

The German Government has submitted to the American Government a memorandum, which has not yet been officially given out by the State Department, but which is reported by the newspapers as cabled through London, to be as follows, quoting from The Washington Evening Star of February 11:

TEXT OF THE GERMAN NOTE IN REGARD TO TREATMENT OF ARMED MERCHANTMEN.

BERLIN, February 11.

The text of the German memorandum is as follows: "Memorandum of the Imperial German Government regarding treat-ment of armed merchantmen.

ment of armed merchantmen.

"Section I. Already, before the outbreak of the present war, the British Government had given British shipping companies an opportunity to arm merchantmen with guns. Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, on March 26, 1913, gave in the British Parliament a declaration (text in appendix) that the Admiralty required shipping companies to arm a number of first-class passenger ships and liners for protection against dangers threatening under certain circumstances from swift auxiliary cruisers of other powers. These liners, however, were not to assume thereby the character of auxiliary cruisers.

"The Government was willing to place at the disposal of the companies owning these ships necessary guns, adequate munitions and personnel suitable for training gun erews.

BASED ON ADMIRALTY STATEMENT.

"The English companies already acted on the requests of the Admiralty: The president of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Co., Sir Owen Philipps, could inform the stockholders of his company in May, 1913, that the company's larger steamers had been equipped with guns.

"The British Admiralty further published in January, 1914, a list showing that 29 steamers of various English lines carried stern guns.

"In fact, Germany established soon after the outbreak of the war that English liners were armed. For example, the steamer La Correntina, of the Houlder Line, of Liverpool, which was captured by the German auxiliary cruiser Kroaprinz Friedrich Wilhelm, carried two 4-pound, 7-inch stern guns. A German submarine also was fired upon in the Channel by an English yacht

THEIR LEGAL STATUS.

"H. Regarding the character of armed merchantmen, according to international law: The British Government for its own merchantmen has taken the standpoint that such ships maintain the character of peaceful mercantile vessels so long as they carry armament only for defensive purposes. The British ambassador at Washington, accordingly gave the American Government, in a communication dated August 25, 1914 (Exhibit 2), most sweeping assurances that British merchantmen were never armed for purposes of offense, only defense, and that they therefore would never fire unless fired upon first.

"The British Government, on the other hand, had in the case of armed ships under other flags adopted the principle that they were to be treated as warships and expressly ordered in the prize-court rules published in an order in council, August 5, 1914, under No. 1, Order 1, that 'a ship of war shall include an armed ship."

"The German Government has no doubt that merchantmen acquire a belilgerent character through arming with cannon, no matter whether the guns shall serve only for defense or for attack. It considers every warlike activity of enemy merchantmen as contrary to international law, although it also takes into consideration the opposing view through the fact that it treats the crews of such ships not as pirates, but as belligerents.

"Its standpoint is specified in detail in a memorandum communication."

the fact that it treats the crews of such ships not as pirates, but as belligerents.

"Its standpoint is specified in detail in a memorandum communicated October, 1914, to the American Government, and in content to other neutral powers, regarding the treatment of armed merchantmen in neutral harbors (Appendix 3).

"The neutral powers in part have adopted the British view, and, accordingly, have allowed armed merchantmen of belligerent powers to remain in their borders and roadsteads, not restricted to the limits which they have imposed on warships by their neutrality declaration. Some, however, have adopted the opposite standpoint, and subjected merchantmen of belligerents to the neutrality rules effective in the case of warships.

of warships.

"III. In the course of the war the arming of British merchantmen was carried out more and more generally. Numerous cases came to light from the reports of the German naval forces in which British merchantmen not only offered armed resistance to German warships,

but, on their own part, proceeded without further ado to attack them, in which attacks they frequently made use of false colors.

IMITATED BY ENGLISHMEN.

"A compendium of such cases is given in Appendix 4, which, from the nature of the case, can comprise only a part of the attacks actually made. The compendium also shows that the described procedure was not limited to English merchantmen, but was imitated by merchantmen of England's allies.

"The explanation of the described procedure of armed English merchantmen is contained in confidential instructions of the British Admiralty, which are photographically reproduced in Appendices 5 to 12, found by German naval forces upon a captured ship. These instructions regulate in detail artillery attacks of English merchantmen upon German submarines. They contain precise regulations concerning the reception, treatment, activity, and control of British gun crews taken over from merchant ships, who, for example, must not wear uniforms in neutral harbors, and hence obviously belong to the British war marine.

"Above ali, however, it is made manifest therefrom that armed ships do not wait for any action of German submarines under the laws of the sea, but are to attack them without further ado.

RULES FOR ARMED SHIPS.

RULES FOR ARMED SHIPS.

"In this regard the following regulations are especially instructive:

"(a) The 'rules for use of merchant ships which are armed for defense purposes' (Appendices 5 and 6) declare in article (battle) under section 4 that 'it is not advisable to open fire at a greater distance than 800 yards, unless the enemy has already opened fire.

"According to this, a merchant ship is in principle obligated to open fire without regard to the conduct of the submarine.

"(b) The 'advices concerning submarines, issued for ships that are armed for defense purposes' (Appendices 9 and 10) prescribe under section 3: 'If a submarine is obviously pursuing a ship by day, and it is evident to the ship's master that she has hostile intentions, the ship pursued shall open fire in self-defense, notwithstanding that she (submarine) may not have committed any definite hostile act, such as firing a gun or torpedo.'

"To this also the simple appearance of a submarine in the wake of a merchantman suffices as the occasion for an armed attack.

APPLICATION IS UNLIMITED.

APPLICATION IS UNLIMITED.

APPLICATION IS UNLIMITED.

"In all these orders, which do not simply confine themselves to the naval-warfare zone around England, but are unlimited in their sphere of application (compare for Mediterranean Appendix 12), the greatest emphasis is laid on keeping them secret, and obviously with the purpose of keeping hidden from the enemy as well as neutral the conduct of merchant ships, which is opposed to international law and the British assurances (Appendix 2).

"By this it is rendered clear that armed English merchant ships have official commission treacherously to attack German submarines everywhere when they come near them—that is, to wage war against them unscrupulously. Inasmuch as England's rules for naval warfare are taken over by her alies as a matter of course, it must be considered that proof has also been adduced with respect to armed merchant ships of the other enemy States.

"IV (1). Under the circumstances adduced above enemy merchant ships which are armed with guns have no right longer to be considered as peaceful merchant ships. The German sea forces will therefore, after a short period designed to protect the rights of neutrals, receive an order to treat such ship as warships.

"(2). The German Government informs the neutral powers of this state of affairs in order that they can warn their subjects from further intrusting their persons or property to armed merchant ships of the powers at war with the German Empire."

APPENDICES TO GERMAN NOTE INCLUDE THE ALLEGED SECRET ORDERS OF BRITISH ADMIRALTY.

BERLIN, February 10.

The appendices attached to the German memorandum notifying neutral nations that armed merchantmen belonging to countries at war with Germany will be considered warships include alleged secret instructions by the British Admiralty found on the British steamer Woodfield. The Woodfield was sunk November 3 last. A list of the crew abroad showed a gun captain and gun crew from the navy on board the vessel. The instructions opened by declaring:

"The ratings embarked as a gun crew will sign the ship's articles at the rate of pay communicated. * * Ratings are not required for duties not connected with armament except in case of emergency.

* * They are to keep watch at sea and also when the ship is anchored at any place where it is liable to attack by a submarine. They will not mess with the crew, but in one of the officers' messes. Uniforms will not be worn in neutral ports."

The next section, under the fitle, "Drill and maintenance of guns," gives instructions for supplementing the gun crew from the regular members of the crew, for the supply of ammunition, gun practice, and so forth.

The third section, which is headed "Action," opens as follows:

"The master is responsible for the handling of the ship and the opening and ceasing fire."

It then prescribes regulations for fighting submarines, among them being the following: "It is to be remembered that "over" shots are useless. A short shot, by causing a splash, confuses the enemy and may ricochet into the enemy. If the shell bursts on striking the water, as it usually does, some fragments are likely to hit the enemy. To get the best results at least half the shots should fall short. * * It is inadvisable to open fire at a range farther than 800 yards."

The final section of the instructions for firing practice prescribes that practice shall take place out of sight of land and of other ships.

Appendix No. 6 is a duplicate copy of the preceding, except that the provision regarding the gun crews messing with the officers is blocked out.

DRILL BOOKS ISSUED.

Appendix No. 7 contains an addenda to the preceding instructions.
Appendix No. 8 contains on its title page the following:
"Drill book for 12-pounder quick-firing guns. Issued to defensively armed merchant ships. Admiralty gunnery branch, May, 1915."
The contents of this book are only of military interest.
Appendix No. 9 is headed: "Confidential: In no circumstances is this paper to be allowed to fall into the hands of the enemy." It gives instructions regarding submarines, and is applicable to vessels carrying armament specified in the article of February 25, 1915. It was evi-

dently superseded by instructions similarly headed and issued in April, 1915, which are photographically reproduced in appendix 10, as fol-

1919, which are photographically reproduced in appendix 10, as follows:

"1. Defensively armed vessels should follow generally the instructions of ordinary merchant ships.

"2. In submarine waters guns should be kept in readiness for instant use.

SHIP SHOULD OPEN FIRE.

"3. If a submarine is obviously pursuing a ship by day and it is evident to the master that she has hostile intentions the ship pursued should open fire in self-defense, notwithstanding the submarine may not have committed a definite hostile act, such as firing a gun or

may not have committed a definite hostile act, such as firing a gun or a torpedo.

"4. In view of the great difficulty in distinguishing friend or enemy at night, fire should not be opened after dark unless it is absolutely certain that the vessel fired at is hostile.

"5. Before opening fire, hoist British colors under neutral colors.

"6. If a defensively armed vessel is pursued by a submarine, the master has two alternatives: (a) To open fire at long range immediately it becomes certain that the submarine really is in pursuit, or (b) to restrain fire until submarine has come into range, say, 800 yards, at which the fire is likely to be effective. In view of the great difficulty of distinguishing between a friendly submarine at long range (one British submarine already has been fired at by a merchant vessel which erroneously supposed herself pursued by a submarine) it is strongly recommended that course (b) should be adopted by all defensively armed ships.

U-BOAT'S FLAG NO GUIDE.

U-BOAT'S FLAG NO GUIDE.

"7. A submarine's flag is no guide to her nationality, as German submarines frequently fly the British colors.

"8. Vessels carrying defensive armament and proceeding to neutral ports must not be painted with neutral colors or fly a neutral flag.

"9. It is recommended that in neutral ports, particularly those of Spain, armaments should be concealed, as far as possible. A canvas cover is recommended for this purpose,"

Masters are instructed to keep the above paper where it can be destroyed at a moment's notice.

The eleventh appendix gives a memorandum for masters of transports carrying troops on the use of rifle and machine-gun fire against enemy submarines or torpedo craft. The final appendix reproduces type-written instructions to British merchantmen in the Mediterranean. It was issued at Malta in June, 1915, and orders the merchantmen, among other things, "to carry out the procedure recommended by the Admiralty in the printed instructions if a hostile submarine is sighted."

On the basis of the allegations set forth in that memorandum as to the conduct recommended to English so-called nonbelligerent vessels by the English Admiralty, and followed by those English vessels, the German Government announces that after February 29 German submarines will sink on sight any enemy ship which displays guns. Now, let us see if this be a simple

matter or a complex one.

To me it seems a very simple matter. If such things as private feuds existed under the same ultimate sanctions as make war a last resort of nations, and if I were a party to such a feud, and if I met a member of the other faction, and he had feud, and if I met a member of the other faction, and he had a perfectly capable automatic gun in his hand, cocked and pointed at me, I would not place much faith in his assurance that he was armed "for defense only." Rather, I would reach for my own gun and endeavor to get the first shot. If I met a member of the other faction unarmed, and he said, "I am not one of the belligerent members of my clan, but only a fetcher and carrier of their food and raiment," I would spare that man; but if he said those words to me and at the same time unfor I would know very well that a shot from his "defensive gun" would kill me just as quick as a shot from an "offensive gun," and that I should be just as dead in the one case as in the other.

And I think that a shot from a "defensive gun" on the deck of an English, French, or Italian vessel will sink a German submarine and send its crew on their awful last journey as

quickly as a shot from an "offensive gun."

It seems to me that it is not the concern of the American Government or the American people whether an English mer-chant vessel, armed with a "defensive gun," manages to sink a German submarine or not. It seems to me equally none of our business whether or not a German submarine manages to sink the English vessel so armed. I would greatly admire the pluck of the English people in their insistence on fighting the submarine peril at every turn, by every means, if they would frankly avow that purpose as one of their ways of conducting this war and would frankly consider an encounter between a German submarine and an armed English vessel as a naval combat, with victory belonging to the bravest or the most skillful or the favorite of the awful and inscrutable god of battle. But the present English plea that an English ship is to be allowed to tote a gun and yet not be considered a fighting ship, is to be allowed all the advantages of armament but be exempt from all the penalties, does not impress my American mind. And if I suspect that England seeks to hide behind the coat tails of Uncle Sam, seeks to lure Americans on her armed ships as they sail out, hoping and praying that they may "pot" a submarine, and then expects America to step in and do her fighting for her if an American citizen loses his life, then I am quick to resent that conduct, and to resent it to the best of my ability.

The law of maritime warfare as it affects the rights of unarmed merchant ships is now undisputed by any nation. Such ships may not be sunk offhand nor without provision for their passengers and crews. But such ships must not refuse to halt if hailed by an enemy warship, and must not resist the exercise of the right of visit and search. Every nation is agreed perfectly that if a merchant ship so flees or so resists it may be sunk without pity. And now, Mr. Speaker, we come to a simple question, which, it seems to me, the English casalists are trying mightily to obscure. If England agrees to that law, as she does, and if England maintains that in arming her merchant ships she does not intend them to violate that law, and she does so maintain, then can any man tell me why England insists on arming such ships? Could Sir Edward Grey, with all his subtlety of mind and tongue, come upon this floor and convince anyone here that the safe, sane, plain procedure would not be to send such ships forth, like the merchant ships of any other nation, unarmed? If the object is to prevent the sinking of such ships as are not forfeit by reason of carrying contraband, if the object is to prevent the sinking of such ships without warning, then why not send them out unarmed and instructed to obey the rules of the sea and play the game fairly? The only answer the English seem to give, when cornered with this question, is that Germany can not be trusted to play fairly. Mr. Speaker, that sounds to me very much like an unmanly whine. I feel very fully convinced that the world is quite tired of the English device of blackguarding her enemies, of calling them names, and spreading about them stories which, for the credit of humanity, I am glad to note have been time after time disproved. England filled the world with similar 'leas about Americans in 1776 and 1812. Since the sinking of the Lusitania and the mistaken and repudiated attack on the Arabic, the German submarines have been continually active, but they have not violated the rules of the game as announced by America. The present administration can not be accused of slowness or reluctance to call Germany sharply to account upon any necessary occasion. The English plea that they can not trust Germany is almost an insult to the American people's intelligence. But if Germany can submit proofs that English ships carrying "defensive guns" can not be trusted, if Germany can prove that English merchant ships have violated the rules and have actually fired on and sunk German submarines, then it seems to me that what England wishes us to do is just this: England wishes us to say to Germany, "You must let the English have the first shot. Under penalty of our displeasure you must let the English ship always have the first shot. If you see a gun on an English ship pointing at you, you must not fire on that ship until after that ship has fired on you; then you may fire, if you are able." Mr. Speaker, if we tak that attitude, will it not justify the words spoken in this Chamber a few days ago that "we are one of the allies"?

And, Mr. Speaker, is there a Member here who would consent, in the event of our country being involved in a war, that the brave commanders and crews of our submarines should be sent into action, sent out to sea, under such orders, under such suicidal restrictions as that? Certainly not!

Mr. Speaker, for several days the reports in the newspapers indicated that this Government saw the justice, the inevitable logic, the plain common sense of the arguments underlying the announced intention of the German Government and Austro-Hungarian Government to sink armed enemy vessels at sight. Then, suddenly, there was a total and almost entire reversal of position. Are we to believe that the threats which the English representatives here have dared to make, that if we act according to truth and fact they will punish us by refusing us ships for our merchandise? Are we to believe that these threats have been potent? I can not believe this thing. Mr. Speaker, there are men in both Houses of Congress who have introduced bills to put an embargo on munitions of war, the food of death with which we are now feeding Europe. There are bills in Congress to retaliate against that proud nation which boasts that she rules the sea and whose manner of ruling it since this war began has inflicted on us a train of wrongs which would make the grievances set forth in the Declaration of Independence look like a mere selfish whine. There are men in the Congress who believe that we should forbid our citizens taking passage on any belligerent ship which carries contraband of war, whether armed or not, because the business of carryin; contraband is a dangerous business and war is bloody work, and no nation is to be greatly blamed if its naval vessels sink vessels of the enemy carrying contraband, carrying munitions of war to kill their fellow countrymen. I feel sure that American naval commanders would act so, with the approval of the American people, if we were at war. And I believe these are the sentiments of the great majority of plain Americans, Shall we then, when we merely propose to warn our citizens to stay off belligerent ships which are actually armed, which actually invite destruction, shall we be bullied out of that purpose by any nation or by any threats? Rather, I should say, answer such nation by a prohibition against all their ships and by an embargo on the munitions which alone

enable them to continue this bloody and cruel war.

But let us at least be firm in this matter of refusing to be a stalking horse for the game of shooting submarines with "defensive guns." Let us keep our people off such ships or let them go at their own peril, not involving us in any result. Let us compel the belligerents, both of them, to play fair and be men, do their best for their own cause, and not whine about the result or run to your Uncle Sam for protection. Let us remember that the note which Mr. Lansing sent to all the powers at war, suggesting a set of rules for submarine warfare-a note which, to my mind, was the most constructive, intelligent, and humane stroke of statesmanship that has yet been brought forth by this war—let us remember that this note is the very basis of the German and Austro-Hungarian position. Let us stand by that note and let us warn every American that he, too, individually, must stand by it in all its implications or take the consequences.

Mr. Speaker, I make a plea to the Committee on Foreign Affairs to consider this resolution earnestly and quickly. Time

and critical events will not wait.

And let me call the attention of this House also to a notable English proclamation which in other days and other circumstances, when the shoe was on the other foot, expressed clearly the English view of such matters. When the Russian-Japanese War broke out the English consulate at Shanghai issued the following warning to all British subjects in the Far East:

All subjects of the Crown are notified that the British Government will not undertake to be responsible for the safety of any British subject leaving this port on a ship of either of the belligerent nations.

That warning, Mr. Speaker, has been printed in numerous American papers, and its authenticity has not been seriously questioned. The State Department has tried in vain to obtain confirmation of it, but it has elicited nothing to disprove that it was issued as given, and such is the testimony of people familiar with affairs in the Far East. That to me sounds like a genuine English utterance, based on common sense, on proper caution, on justice, and on that unremitting vigilance with which England guards the interests of her subjects in every quarter of the globe. It is only now when the shoe is on the other foot and the John Bull is being gored that England would persuade us that such a rule is not sane and just, and would, moreover, impress us into her service to enforce the view which she has taken but which she herself is impotent to enforce. I do not believe that the American people care to be the mouthpieces or the hired fighters of either Kaiser or King.

Mr. Speaker, I make an earnest plea to the Committee on Foreign Affairs to give this resolution serious and speedy consideration. Time and critical events will not wait on us. is in every sense an emergency measure. Our duty to the very vital interests of the whole Nation demands attention to this problem and action on it before the end of this month. I ask the committee to report this resolution and let this House tell the American people whether I am right or wrong in believing

that both House and people approve it.

I give here what I believe is undisputedly an accurate summary of Mr. Lansing's note to the various powers suggesting the rules for submarine warfare from the Washington Evening Star of January 28, and, following that, the text of my resolution:

MR. LANSING'S PROPOSALS.

SUMMARY OF THE NOTE.

SUMMARY OF THE NOTE.

Such a proposal, now in the hands of the belligerent Governments, has been transmitted in a note which, while not in actual language, is substantially as follows:

It is assumed that all of the Governments addressed are equally desirous of protecting their own subjects and citizens who are noncombatants from the hazards of submarine warfare.

Realizing the appailing loss of life of noncombatants which results from the destruction of a merchant vessel without removing passengers and crews to places of safety, which is held to be violative of the principles of humanity and of international law, which should govern maritime warfare, the United States at the same time does not feel that a belligerent should be deprived of the right to use submarines, in view of the usefulness which they have developed since the outbreak of the present war.

PROPOSALS OF UNITED STATES.

That a formula may be found completely within the rules of international law and of humanity which will require in its adoption only a triffing change in the practices which have obtained in the past and before the war, which formula would be just and fair to all beligerents, it is proposed that:

First. A unoncombatant has the right to traverse the high seas in a merchant ship entitled to fly a beligerent flag and rely upon the rules of international law and the principles of humanity if the vessel is approached by a beligerent war vessel.

Second. A merchant vessel of any nationality should not be subject to attack until the belligerent warship has warned her to stop.

SHOULD HALT WHEN ORDERED.

Third. Any belligerent-owned merchant vessel should promptly obey any order from a belligerent warship to stop.

Fourth. No such merchant vessel should be fired upon unless she tries to fiee or to resist by force, and even in such case any attack upon her by the warship must stop as soon as the flight or resistance ceases.

Fifth. Only in case it should be impossible for military reasons for the warship to supply a prize crew or to convoy the merchant ship into port will she be justified in sinking such merchantman, and in that case passengers and crew must be removed to a place of safety.

DIFFICULTIES ARE APPRICATED.

DIFFICULTIES ARE APPRECIATED.

The State Department is fully appreciative of the obstacles which the adoption of these rules would place in the way of the operations of the submarines because of their structural weakness. Before the present war maritime warfare on the high seas always has been conducted by battleships or cruisers carrying heavy guns.

It is true that merchantmen were permitted to carry defensive armament, but these were light compared with the warships and did not change their nature as merchant vessels. This was based on the superior defensive strength of the warships, and the limitation upon their armaments was for the purpose of limiting their power of resistance to contact with pirates and privateers.

The introduction of the submarine into naval warfare has changed all of this. This craft is almost without powers of defense beyond the ability to submerge to escape an enemy.

LIGHT GUN EFFECTIVE.

A gun even of light caliber on a merchant ship successfully could defend her against a submarine. There are now no more pirates, and the practice of privateering has been abandoned by civilized nations

the practice of privateering has been abandoned by civilized nations by general agreement.

Therefore, there can now be no reason for the maintenance of even small-caliber guns on merchant ships unless it is designed to make them superior to submarines, and thereby deprive that class of warships of their undoubted right with safety to warn and search such merchantmen. In reality, therefore, any such armament of a merchant vessel now might be regarded as offensive armament.

If submarines should be required to stop and search merchant vessels before attacking them and to remove the passengers and crews to places of safety, it is not fair that the submarines should be compelled to expose themselves to destruction at the hands of merchantmen.

GENERAL AGREEMENT NECESSARY.

Therefore, by a general agreement among the belligerents, submarines should be required to adhere strictly to the present provision of international law to step and search merchant ships, to ascertain their belligerent character, and remove the passengers and crews to safety before sinking them.

On the other hand, merchant vessels should not be permitted to carry any armament at all.

There is grave doubt of the legal right to carry armament on merchant ships, and it is submitted that all nations should be animated by a desire to save the lives of innocent people, and therefore should not insist up in the exercise of any supposed technical right.

ANNE POWERS TO ASSENT.

ASKS POWERS TO ASSENT.

ASKS POWERS TO ASSENT.

Is your Government willing to make such a declaration conditioned on a similar declaration by its enemies?

The United States Government has been very much impressed with the arguments that have been advanced in certain quarters that any merchant vessel which carries guns in any position capable of use against warships has forfeited her noncombatant character and may be regarded as an auxiliary cruiser, and is seriously considering the announcement of a purpose to treat these vessels on that basis because of the changed conditions in maritime warfare resulting from the introduction of the submarine and its defenseless character.

The foregoing is substantially the note which Secretary Lansing yesterday announced he had transmitted to "a foreign power or powers." He refused to discuss the subject further.

House resolution 143.

House resolution 143.

Whereas the Governments of two of the powers at present in war in Europe and on the high seas have informed all neutral powers of their intention to instruct the commanders of their submarine naval vessels to attack upon sight after February 29 all armed vessels of their enemies, whether such armed vessels are admittedly mayal vessels or carry their armaments under the name and guise of "defensive armament for merchant ships"; and
Whereas the Government of Germany, one of the powers which have so informed the neutral powers, has submitted to the Government of the United States photographic facsimiles of alleged secret orders of the British Government, which secret orders direct that such so-called "defensive armament for merchant ships" shall be used offensiv-ly and shall be manned and directed by naval officers and men of the nave of Great Britiain, and that such so-called "defensive armament for merchant ships" and such naval officers and men shall be, as far as possible, concealed and disguised when in neutral waters and ports, with the evident intention to deceive; and
Whereas the only possible use for a "defensive gun" is the same as the use for an "offensive gun," namely, to shoot and, if possible, destroy or damage the enemy ship whether submarine or other naval craft; and
Whereas the Government of the United States has no desire and powers the Government of the United States has no desire and powers.

the use for an "offensive gull, mamely, to shoot and, it possible, destroy or damage the enemy ship whether submarine or other naval craft; and

Whereas the Government of the United States has no desire and no right to dictate to any of the powers whether they shall arm their merchant ships with guns or other armament or not, and has no interest in the success or failure of such ships so armed in using their armaments in the only way in which they could be effectively used, namely, in destroying or injuring enemy submarines or other naval vessels; and

Whereas the Government of the United States has no interest in the success or failure of the submarines or other naval vessels of any power in escaping or destroying such merchant ships so armed and has no desire or right to dictate to any of the powers what steps they shall take to protect their vital interests and pursue their legitimate belilgerent operations; and

Whereas the Government of the United States can not look upon any naval engagement between any armed ships of opposing belligerent powers, no matter how such ships, or any one of such ships, may be designated or disguised, as other than a naval engagement undertaken by each beligerent with the purpose of destroying the other belligerent ships and the lives of the people thereon; and

Whereas, while it is indifferent as to quibbles about such terms as "offensive" and "defensive" as applied to guns on ships of powers at war the Government of the United States is vitally concerned to offer its own citizens the best possible advice, counsel, and assistance in avoiding the hazards of war; and Whereas the Government of Germany and Austria-Hungary have given the Government of the United States positive assurances that unarmed ships carrying chiefly nonbelligerent passengers will not be sunk—unless while resisting the right of visit and search—unless it is certain that the nonbelligerent passengers can be removed to a place of safety; and Whereas the Government of the United States is vitally interested to preserve to its own warships, submarine and other war vessels, full necessary freedom of action against an enemy, whether avowed or disguised, in any possible future war: Therefore be it Resolved. That the House of Representatives of the Sixty-fourth Congress of the United States do, and it hereby solemnly does, request the President to warn all American citizens, within the borders of the United States or its possessions or elsewhere, to refrain from traveling on any and all ships of any and all of the powers now or in future at war, which ship or ships shall mount guns, whether such ship be frankly avowed a part of the naval forces of the power whose flag it flies or shall be called a merchant ship, or otherwise, and whether such gun or guns or other armament be called "offensive" or "defensive"; and in case American citizens do travel on such armed belligerent ships that they do so at their own risk.

That when the President of the United States or the Secretary of State shall come into possession of the actual memorandum of the German Government, containing photographic facsimiles of alleged secret instructions issued by the British Government, which alleged secret instructions direct that so-called "defensive armament for merchant ships" shall be used offensively, and that so-called "defensi

Pensions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES J. BRITT. OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 16, 1916,

On the bill to pension widows and minor children of officers and enlisted men who served in the War with Spain, Philippine insurrection, or in China.

Mr. BRITT. Mr. Speaker, I am proud of the opportunity to say a word for a bill to pension the widows and orphans of the soldiers of the Spanish-American War. It is a just and meritorious proposal, and ought to pass this House without a dissenting voice. This is peculiarly the time when Congress should take the right attitude toward the defenders of our

country and their widows and orphans.

The great State of North Carolina, which I have the honor in part to represent, contributed to the War with Spain more than her relative quota of soldiers, and they were of the best manhood of that splendid Commonwealth. Three regiments, manhood of that spiendid Commonweard. Three regiments, comprising 164 officers and 3.802 enlisted men, from my State offered their lives for the freedom of Cuba. And near Cardenas, on May 11, 1898, on the torpedo boat Winslow, in the person of a gallant young knight, Ensign Worth Bagley, we laid upon the altar the first sacrifice for the liberties of that oppressed people. In the capitol park at Raleigh, under the sturdy and towering oaks, we have erected to his memory a beautiful marble shaft that his heroic sacrifices may not be forgotten, and that the world may know that North Carolina loves

Although the Spanish-American War was short and decisive, it nevertheless brought untold suffering and hardships to our soldiers. It broke upon us so suddenly that it was like a storm from a clear sky. We were not prepared. We could not properly equip our soldiers in a time so short and under conditions so new. The climate was hot and unhealthful and tropical disease lurked in every nook and corner. As a result thousands of our young men who went away in the vigor of manhood, in

the very heyday of life, came back either in broken health or carrying in their bodies the seeds of disease that brought them to an early grave. Their widows, who married them while the flush of youth was still upon their cheeks and when a long life seemed to lie out before them, now ask this Congress that they and their children shall not suffer for food and clothes and shelter. And we will not turn them away empty.

Mr. Speaker, we are about to enter upon a new and powerful military policy. This we can not escape. Present world conditions demand it. It will call for a great Army and Navy. There are two modes of raising armies—the one by enforced service, the other by voluntary enlistment. The first method will never prevail in this country. It is contrary to the genius of our institutions; it is inconsistent with a democracy. We shall, then, have to depend upon voluntary service; and if we act justly toward our soldiers and their widows and orphans, the brave sons of America will not fail us in our times of national peril. If we make the calling of the soldier an honorable one, if we equip him, feed him, clothe him, and pay him, and stand by his widow and orphans, our calls to the defense of the flag will not fail of generous response, even to the last man, and we shall show to the world the glorious example of a great volunteer soldiery willing to die that human liberty may endure and that democracy may not perish.

Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES H. DAVIS. OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 18, 1916.

Mr. DAVIS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, our times are out of joint and the world is out of tune, lost in a labyrinth of greed for gold and power. In 1896 John Clark Ridpath, the world-famed historian, told us there was an invisible government being linked together to rule the world. Every thinking man believes that now exists. This invisible power is so linked that all Governments work to their gain, whether in war or in peace. They have more than half the world in war now, and have a large and powerful element in this country frantic because we have not made a mad plunge into the conflict.

The members of this invisible government have been known by various names. They are now called war traffickers, because they are making millions out of the war in Europe (which was manufactured to their order), and are literally raging and raving in most of the great daily papers because Congress will not turn over the Treasury to them to be looted and ransacked while their papers and aid societies, cappers, and clackers call it "national defense and preparedness." Boss Tweed's raids on New York and Smidt's notesing and this result in the contraction of the contractio New York and Smidt's notorious and thieving grabs into the treasury of San Francisco would be mere petty larceny com-

pared to their designs on our country.

Their invisible power makes them able to allure and control many good, clean, innocent persons. They have used the press, billboards, picture shows, theaters, and even pulpits and preachers have been put to serve them often in a most innocent way. The women and children in a great glow of patriotism are in the very name of God giving dimes and nickles to further the damnable designs of these high-toned robbers. For two years they have had the press giving the American people knockout drops so they could sandbag Congress and make a \$4.000.000.000 raid on the Treasury, about two billion of which would be clear profits.

The country is told in glowing headlines that it is rank idiocy to appropriate money to build a bridge, support the Post Office, clean out a stream, or do any honest, honorable work for the public; they call that "pork-barrel" legislation. These political pelf dealers, these millionaire, high-toned highwaymen insist they they be allowed to scuttle the whole Treasury and take a mortgage on the unborn with a big bond issue, as they clamor for more loot. Go where you will and it is war, tax the people, issue bonds, get billions, get it quick and give it to the steel trusts, powder trusts. Morgan and the gang, so they can prepare us to whip the world, including the new country and race that Roosevelt discovered in South America.

And, sir, if it were not for the high-class good men that have caught this contagion, I would consider the matter of an im-

mediate invasion as so vapid and void of reason that it could not be considered as decent nonsense. I can hardly trust myself in the bed, lest some unknown, unseen, unthinkable, unavoidable army turn loose on us, demolish our country, obliterate our race, and sow our lands down in salt, as the Romans did to Jerusalem, and have it all down before I awake. And since these blood-curdling, soul-ravishing speeches of Mr. Gardner, Mr. Mann, Mr. Quin, and others, I want to thank these men for not uncapping the fountains of their eloquence all the same day. If they had, the Members of this House would have been weeping like widows at a husband's grave; the marble images of the patriots in Statuary Hall would have wept like a spanked baby over the impending obliteration and total extermination of this Republic, which is soon to take place by a ruthless invasion from God knows where.

Since the Hon. Percy Quin flopped and made that hair-raising, flesh-crawling, agonizing speech on last Saturday in which he raved and ranted, puffed and panted, moaned and groaned, had nightmares and jim jams over the impending massacres and murders, conflagrations, and calamities that were to be immediately inflicted on our country by an invading army from some unknown country, and confessed with great gusto and gesticulation that since he had read the President's speeches on the horrors that confronted us he had changed his mind and flopped, he convinced me that he had run his soul up into sanctified corners of his conscience, baptized his brain fiber in fountains of truth, and bathed in copious reservoirs of righteousness, and been soul sleeping in sweet communion with the metamorphosed transmigrated spirits of Cæsar, Hannibal, Napoleon, and Roosevelt, and had changed from a stern opponent of "preparedness" to a rich righteousness and resolute advocate of all sorts of "preparedness."

I, too, am in woeful distress over the dread of impending

I, too, am in woeful distress over the dread of impending invasion, knowing that England with the biggest army and navy on earth has been 15 months trying to move Germany back 15 inches, and that millions of her men and billions of her money have been blown in and she is powerless to whip Germany, much less us, yet she has millions of cats in her dominion and she might do like Persia of old—invade us with an army of 13 generations of "tomcats" to squall and caterwaul our people into insanity, and we would never be able to pay Morgan and the bunch the interest on what they have robbed us of through their invisible government. And notwithstanding Germany would have to whip half the world to get out of her trenches and start toward us, she might put her army upin "Zeppelin" airships and stand while the world turned over under them and then drop down on us some night, and America would awake the next morning in a conglomeration of blood and bones and men and women made into mincemeat and macaroni, while the German Army stood triumphantly over a ruined Republic.

And notwithstanding Italy with all her might and main has been nine months trying to invade Austria, her nearest neighbor, and has exhausted millions of her money and thousands of her men, she might send a countless number of her boys and maidens over here with Italian harps and "hand organs" and sing us, pluck us, and grind us into such phantasmagorial ecstacies over the music that we would swoon into a catalepsy, and they would capture us and take us away from Morgan and the other "war traffickers," and thereby win the country.

Sir, in contemplating in mournful despair all these direful,

Sir, in contemplating in mournful despair all these direful, dreadful horrors that might befall us, my heart sinks to the bottom of my stomach and my body quakes with frightful fear, because in the terrible frenzy of all our alarm—"not knowing what a day may bring forth"—the Navy Department has forgotten to put on an extra shift of labor to hurry up the 64 fine warships we have under construction in our navy yards and the many already appropriated fc1.

Therefore, the gentleman from Mississippi, Mr. Quin, Hon. James R. Mann, and Hon. Augustus Gardner should be appointed a committee of three, to be known as the council of "national safety," to go on double-quick time and carry with certainty, celerity, and security our message to the Navy Department and urge with unabating importunity that they put on an extra force and double the shifts and finish those ships before Mount Vesuvius burns the world up, the archways of infinitude fall, the domes of eternity topple over, and this world tumbles into rulus.

Then, Mr. Speaker, one of the most dreadful calamities that may ever overtake us we are wholly unprepared to meet. I speak of the fact that God Almighty once got tired of a lot of rich, haughty, insolent millionaires ruling and robbing all innocent people, and because of their infamy he literally filled their earth with lice, frogs, locusts, and flies, and killed their cattle with murrain, until all the land stunk with carrion. The foot-

and-mouth disease has already come, and who knows but what billions of lice, trillions of locusts, and quadrillions of frogs and flies may come on the next assignment; for, I say to you, sir, that there are a hundred Pharaohs in this country, either one of whom could buy the whole Egyptian Empire as it existed in that day, and whose oppressive, intolerant, arrogant, and unscrupulous treatment of labor has in a hundred strikes and conflicts between capital and labor shown itself to be far more aggressive, murderous, and rapacious than the Pharaohs were over the children of Israel. And for these flies we need to be immediately prepared with a hundred million swatters.

To exterminate the lice, we could have the Steel Trust make us a million oil-tank cars and fill them with high-life mercurial ointment, creosote, and carbolic acid. Then have them make 20.000.000 squirt guns and put out 20,000,000 men to squirt the earth over with high-life ointment and acid and save our country from utter ruin.

Then, Mr. Speaker, I know of no other sane and patriotic way to save ourselves from the frogs and locusts than to have the Steel Trust and the Armor Trust make us a million big boats, regular Noah's arks, and we could get into the boats and jamboree on the oceans to get away from the frogs. I had thought that while we were in the boats we might go on over and join the allies and help whip Germany, as Mr. Roosevelt and a lot of the tories want. But Morgan and the "war traffickers" would object to that, for then their war traffic would stop. To them it would be an unwarranted interference with international law and a total disregard for American rights to stop war or stop preparing for war.

Now, Mr. Speaker, this vision I have recited is senseless, void of fact, and without form in reason. And so it is with all this pipe dream and political prattle and piffle about an early or anticipated invasion of our country. It has been 100 years since any country on earth dared to undertake such hazard. Moderate, sane, and sensible preparation for national defense is a cardinal principle of the Democratic Party from its inception. Then let us proceed in a normal manner. But now, while the world lies prostrate, bleeding, broken, and bankrupt in bloody war, how sad it is, how un-Christlike, what a travesty on our glorious history to challenge the world to combat and to stupendous armaments.

Let us cut loose from the entangling alliances of the old world, stand for America and an ever glorious Union. Make our Mouroe doctrine a virtue by coming back to America and standing for it. The golden rule is a law of God that nations must obey the same as men, and they can not willfully disobey without entailing national dishonor. "Know ye, therefore, that God is not mocked." A nation that sows to the flesh must reap corruption.

Mr. Speaker, I know that during such selfish times as these, when a few sinister gluttonous war traffickers, whose mercenary lives are immersed in greed, whose mysterious power is swaying the land, it is considered weak and silly to trust in God. But, sir, when I lose my faith in God and the justice of his teachings the earth to me becomes a barren waste and eternity a blank. I want to get away from this raging epidemic of war hysteria. Into my mind comes a thousand thoughts from the law of God. "Depart from evil and do good—seek peace and pursue it." "There is no king saved by the multitude of an host—a mighty man is not delivered by much strength." To pay a man to open our sessions in prayer, and then mock the counsel of God, is to challenge his vengeance.

"The counsel of the Lord shall stand forever."

There can never be but one great world power, and that the overruling power of God. The staggering tragedies of Europe, transpiring in the name of war, but emphasize the fact that the rivalry and struggle of nations for supremacy of trade and dominion can not be settled by war.

Civilization has become so complex and interwoven in common destiny that war but adds confusion and embarrassment to international life and progress, while it settles nothing.

Boundary lines no longer separate the affairs of nations. Modern means of communication and transportation have conquered space and distance. Business partners 5,000 miles apart communicate across national lines the results of yesterday and the prospects of to-morrow. Continents are cut in twain and occans are laced together to facilitate the universal actions of man and the relationship of nations. This is an age of international life, in which the extremities of earth are drawn together in commerce, art, literature, science, and religion; hence the world has an equity, an interest, a God-given concern, and an inherent right to universal peace.

It is wrong to permit the incorrigible malice, hatred, rivalry, and resulting rows of nations, in which they spring at each other's throat, blockade the seas, stagnate the world's com-

merce, batter down and even burn the very temples of civiliza-tion, destroy the accumulations of ages of industry, decimate the land in death and the sea in despair, while peaceful nations stand in agony and dismay while the commercial avidity of a special few in so-called neutral nations coin the miseries of war into cash by selling supplies and munitions to every available side of the conflict.

To me this seems a travesty of civilization to provide by accepted codes that a truly neutral nation is one which stands stoically and indifferently by, consenting unto death, while guns, money, munitions, and murder machines are furnished both

sides, adding fury and force to the raging conflict.

Such conditions, in conjunction with the unparalleled terror and devastation of the present war, cry aloud to this great Re-public, which is yet under the control of a tranquil, peace-loving, God-trusting people, to move for peace—one of the greatest joys of earth and grandest attributes of heaven.

We must so act that our action will be notice to the world that the greatest part of our country is anxious for peace; that notwithstanding many of our trading companies and munition factories are making fabulous profits out of the war, the great Christian conscience of our country does not want to make money out of the misery, murder, and degradation of mankind; that we long for that communion, comity, fraternity, and friend-ship among nations of the earth that peace alone can give, Soon after I came to Washington I formed the firm conviction

that the great aggregation of millionaire minions of despotism in the Steel Trust, Powder Trust, and the Armor-Plate Trust had determined to prostitute the Democratic Party to their base desires through the propaganda of their overwhelming clamor

for "preparedness.

I felt that they had set out to imperialize our Government by taking it from the rule of the people and making a military oligarchy through which all Governments would emanate from a military council and an imperial cabinet, thus making war council supreme in power. After several years of such craven conduct the spirit of the masses would be crushed, farmers and workingmen would be ground into helpless poverty under the despotism of such a military machine, doing the bidding of the great combined conscienceless corporations.

Under such impressions I began in my humble way to help

patriotic, sound, sane Democrats like Bryan, Kitchin, and other leaders free the country from the possibility of such a

I now thank God that we have won the first victory by our refusal to adopt the nefarious, un-Democratic, un-American plan of Secretary Garrison, in view of which he tenders his resigna-

tion in utter disappointment.

The unscrupulous insults that the business buccaneers who control the armor-plate and munition trusts have offered this Government since that grand old commoner, BEN TILLMAN, in the Senate, and the glorious young patriot, CLYDE TAVENNER, in the House, introduced bills calling for Government ownership and manufacture of armaments, tends to show what these tyrants would do if they only had the Government in their hands and an army to enforce their orders.

I have just received the following from a ripe, righteous old lawyer of central Texas. He has seen the program forming in

Texas:

Texas:

All the antiprohibition leaders in Texas are committing themselves to President Wilson's program, and they will win the State convention to send delegates to the national convention. They will elect the national committeemen for Texas. Senator Sheppard has fallen into their trap. The Liquor Trust has spoken through Col. Jake Walters, and Onsley, R. M. Johnson are wishing the "Chickenlicken," Duckluck," and "Foxlock," frenzy that the sky is falling, with Woodrow Wilson playing "Chickenlicken" and Morgan and E. D. Gary and the "war traffickers" in the rôle of "Foxlock." The prohibition leaders represent the "Gooseloose" part.

The invisible power that can make our President change his mind and follow Roosevelt and stampede us into a monstrous Army and Navy, with conscription, can plunge us into a monstrous Army and Navy, with conscription, can plunge us into a monstrous Army and Navy, with conscription, can plunge us into a monstrous Army and Navy, with conscription, can plunge us into a war whenever they can make millions by so doing. The great pity of it all is that the "invisible government," whose premier is J. P. Morgan, representing the incarnate flends of hell, are feeding the fires of this war with every form of destruction that flends could conceive at the behest of the manufacturers who are making millions.

We, the people, will have to pay this vast expense the Morgans, the Garys, and their lik have made for us to the uttermost farthing; first, in money and taxes, then in carnage and all the horrors of foreign war, then civil revolution, and our Nation, like the nations of Europe, will be turned into hell of conflicts, because we have killed democracy and forgotten God.

Three great army and war messages have been delivered to three

be turned into hell of conflicts, because we have killed democracy and forgotten God.

Three great army and war messages have been delivered to three great Governments lately. Woodrow Wilson's message to the American Congress; Von Holweg's message to the German Reichstag; the message of Elbert E. Gary, chancellor of Morgan's invisible government, to the representatives of his general council, composed of Democrats and Republicans, assembled at the infamous great Gary dinner. This message at that feast was backed by over three billions of money to defeat Wilson after having committed the party so as to spike all Democratic

campaign guns—elect Roosevelt a greater Cæsar, prepare for war, and have the war.

This Gary meesage was given to indorse the Republican Party and crystalize the demands of the invisible government on behalf of big business. This invisible government, represented by Morgan, Gary, etc., owns or controls the press and is the ally and active aid of the entente Governments, and will force our Government into war to support England and keep alive their munition factories and feed the furnaces of bate, hell, and murder to build their mountain of wealth, if the people don't act and begin action before their hands are tied by law.

The following was written by me to the chairman of the Anti-Saloon League of Texas, in which I am a member of the State board:

The following was written by me to the chairman of the State board:

Mr. A. J. Barrow,

President Anti-Saloon League, Dellas, Tex.

Dean Mr. Barrow: The invisible government that rules this country from the headquarters of the money devil in New York has made a deal, through a group of its agents and satraps, the Steel Trust, and "war traffickers" generally to sell Texas (and perhaps the whole country) to that chief of abominations, that superlative aggregation of seoundrelism, known as the liquor traffic. Jake Walters and a delegation of the leading whisky bunch of Texas spent several days in Washington lately. The National Liquor Dealers and their council of States have also been here.

Big business, the "war traffickers," and the ilquor bunch formed a union over a year ago, in which the liquor traffic was to join the war crowd and fight under their banner for the sweet term "preparedness," which is now used to cover so much villainy that organized greed, the preparedness. This gives them a respectable tarpatili to spread over their dens of filth, and enables them to use a million good prohibition voters to support their infamous conspiracy.

Jake Walters is to be Wilson's floor manager in Texas, and her State convention. If the plan works out, the whole storm is to center round Wilson and preparedness.

A delegation, whooping, yelling, and guzzling drinks for Wilson and preparedness.

A delegation, whooping, the plan works out, the whole storm is to center round wilson and suffrage. Morgan's millions and brewery millions are united commit the Democratic Party, the ag honest farmers' credit system, commit the Democratic Party, the agreement in the South, against national prohibition.

Jake Walters, one of their smoothest, ablest, sober gentleman in Texas is to have charge of the program and can have a million dollars and more if he needs it to spend in "an honorable and legitimate way" for Wilson's preparedness and prohibition advocates of the Bresident and his "preparedness," has called a fount of the countr

"The other topic I shall take leave to mention goes deeper into the principles of our national life and policy. It is the subject of 'national preparedness."

"It is said in some quarters that we are not prepared for war. What is meant by being prepared? Is it meant that we are not ready upon brief notice to put a Nation in the field, a Nation of men well, trained to arms? Of course, we are not ready to do that, and we shall never be in time of peace, so long as we retain our present political principles and institutions. And what is it that it is suggested we should be prepared to do? To defend ourselves against attack? We have found always means to do that, and shall find them whenever it is necessary, without calling our people away from their necessary tasks to render compulsory military service in times of peace.

"Allow me to speak with great plainness and directness upon this great matter. I have tried to know what America is, what her people think, what they most cherish and hold dear. Some of the great conceptions and descree of this people is a voice of peace and hope and liberty among the people of the world. * * *

"We are at peace with all the world. No one who speaks counsel based on fact or drawn from a just and candid interpretation of realities can say that there is reason to fear that from any quarter our independence or the integrity of our territory is threatened. * *

Dread of power of any other nation we are incapable of. We are indeed a true friend to all the nations of the world, because we threaten none, cover the possessions of none, desire the overthrow of none. Our friendship can be accepted and is accepted without reservation.

* * We are the champions of peace and of concord. And we should be very fealous of this distinction which we have sought to earn. Just now we should be particularly fealous of it, because it is our dear-est present hope that this character and reputation may presently, in

God's providence, bring us an opportunity such as has been seldom youchsafed any nation, the opportunity to counsel and obtain peace in the world and reconciliation and a nealing settlement of many a matter that has cooled and interrupted the friendship of nations.

"From the first we have had a clear and settled policy with regard to military establishments. We never have had, and while we retain our present principles and ideals we never shail have, a large standing army. If asked, 'Are you ready to defend yourselves?' we reply, 'Most assuredly, to the utmost'; and yet we shall not turn America into a military camp we will not ask our young men to spend the best years of their lives making soldiers of them.

"We must depend in every time of national peril, in the future as in the past, not upon a standing army, nor yet upon a reserve army, but upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms. It will be right enough, right American policy, based upon our accustomed principles and practices, to provide a system by which every citizen who will volunteer for the training may be made familiar with the use of modern arms, the rudiments of drill and maneuver, and the maintenance and sanitation of camps."

The European countries were then in the flush of world power in wealth and vigor. If Mr. Wilson's declarations were sound then, how much more so now Europe's best men are dead by millions, and millions more weunded and maimed, their countries famished and bankrupt. It is now acknowledged by all thinking men that the allies, making up the greatest powers on earth, would literally fall asander in a few months if not for the overwhelming support they are able to control from this country

Gen. Miles and Admiral Blue testified this week before our Millitary Gen. Miles and Admiral Blue testified this week before our Millitary

trol from this country

Gen. Miles and Admiral Blue testified this week before our Military Affairs Committee that we could easily repel any invasion or exterminate any foe that might invade our country. We have 270 fighting ships now, including 17 dreadnaughts of the world's best patterns. We have 68 more under contract and construction, including 9 of the best, most modern dreadnaughts known to the science of war. In God's name, why should we take up the military mania of Napoleon, the Kaiser, and Roosevelt, tax our common people with stamps on the common affairs of life, and drag out half a million men in handcuffs, under conscription, simply to make ourselves the "military bully" of the earth?

earth?

I would rather tax our people to build a fine merchant marine to carry our crops and commerce to the world without being in the grip of the Steel Trust and Morgan's transportation trust. I am with the President on that; but the "melon cutters" and their conspirators and friends killed that bill last year, and now through leading Republicans and enemies of Democracy are seeking to drown that grand measure by contracting to spend millions for a ponderous Army and Navy we do not need, leaving us helpless to provide funds for the things we do need. In my first two speeches I used the following language showing my position:

"I would like to double or treble our Army and Navy schools, preparing an adequate number of young men for expert service in time of need; enlarge our Rock Island Arsenal; manufacture and keep on hand an ample supply of first-class guns, munitions, and like equipments; plant several aeronautic stations on our shores with submarine and mine equipments"

"A Navy adequate to the country's defense is an established policy of our party; to any necessary increase of that armament I would offer no opposition; but the incomes of the rich, inheritances, and "war profits" should bear a just share of the cost and the load be lightened for the industrious poor."

"Thus prepared and relying on a citizen soldiery, if we give the citizen freedom and fair play at home, we will be impervious to all attacks from any source."

"All these things I stand for as most of the leading Democrats here. We stand by the grand message the President gave us, as quoted herein, and as he said then we will be amply prepared to repel any assault from any source. I join a whole Nation in an outpouring of thanks to President Wilson for this splendid administration in a general way and in keeping this country out of war when we had so many provoking and serious conditions which, under a less patriotic and well-poised man, would have produced war.

The great daily papers have continually faisified or magnified the difference between the President and most Democratic leaders. There has never been a day that a perfect agreement could not have been made if the administration forces had been willing to abandon conscription and let Congress raise the money by an increase in tax on large incomes, large inheritances, and "war profits," and let the Government make its own armaments and get out of the clutches of that bunch of base tories and "war traffickers."

I stand by my life's record of 30 years, as explained herein. Have been ready to go into a Democratic caucus on the great question and be bound by what a majority of the Democratic Members said do. This the administration declined to accept, and placed the whole program on a nonpartisan basis, while the papers boasted that Republican votes under the rabid reactionary leaders Joe Cannon, Jim Mann, and Senator Pennose would carry the plan through.

Since Tillman and others in the Senate have pushed through a plan for Government-made armaments and our committee has practically agreed on the repeal of the stamp tax and to raise the revenue by a tax on large incomes, etc., these Republican leaders are now getting mad. They are routed.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., February 8, 1916.

Washington, D. C., February 8, 1916.

Mr. George D. Armistead,
Postmaster, San Antonio, Tex.

My Dear Friend Armistead: Many thanks for your letter of February 3 and clipping from the Light. There are none but who want adequate preparedness. It is only a question of what that is. The President last year stood where most of the Democratic leaders now stand. He changed his mind and has left Gen. Miles, Bryan, Kitchin, and scores of the best Democrats on earth, and in his last few speeches has gone clear on beyond Roosevelt. The very thing we all predicted was intended by the millionaire melon cutters in the Steel Trust, Powder Trust, etc., who started this propaganda in the press last year.

The facts came out here that some of these scoundrels, these pocket-book patriots, whose war stocks have doubled ten times in one year, who have made millions in multiple in preparing the allies, now have Hon. JAMES R. MANN, the leading Republican on our floor, and the leading castern papers telling us we must contract with the same bunch by billions to prepare us to fight England. Their infamy has been shown in the fact that some of them have a contract with their pals and partners in Europe to furnish them copies of all contracts they make in this country. These things we never see in the papers. Wilson has now committed the Democratic Party, in so far as he can, to the Roosevelt rabid Republican program of military methods executed from military headquarters by the sword and bayonet. He demands these conditions and the billions of expense while we have an empty Treasury and asks that the larger part of the funds be raised by an infamous stamp tax on the common affairs of our people. When you recall the stamp tax in 1776 that bred a revolution and produced a Republic you will understand by I call it an infamous tax. In my remarks Saturday I used the following language concerning that tax:

"The general stamp tax is odious and offensive to all principles of Democracy and traditions of the Democratic Party. It is the spawn of rank Republicanism, begotten of Mark Hanna, whose polic, was to tax the masses and feast the classes. It came through the womb of the Republican Party and was adopted during the War witt. Spain, sent the Republican Party and was adopted during the War witt. Spain, enact the Republicans are in great glee ower the President's position. They have rai-ed the clamor that you will have to lick stamps to raise all your revenue or else lick the Democraties in the leading Republicans are in great glee over the President's position. They have rai-ed the clamor that you will have to lick stamps to raise all your revenue or else lick the Democraties and put us in to restore a protective tariff and sup

and conscription program. Twenty-two letters came in the mail with yours—2 for it, 20 against it, including a list of 100 signers to one of them.

Friend Armistead, let us look squarely at our situation. The President tells us the sparks are flying and we are likely to be engulfed in a conflagration at any time. Immediately the Republican leaders begin to repeat the clamor and mourn over "an empty Trensury and no hope of revenue to prepare for adequate safety, because of an impotent Democratic administration." I am not willing to impeach the honor and patriotism of our President by saying he had knowledge of serious conditions which might result in war. If England is the immediate danger, then I would feel myself (if I were President) to be not only a traitor, but a consummate villain, if I sat supinely still and did not move at once to stop Morgan and the Steel Trust from making millions by preparing her with money and war machines to invade and slaughter us. I would consider myself an idio or gone stark crazy if I thought Germany could pass the whole of Europe in arms and make an immediate attack on us. I raly or France, to make an attack on us, would have to satisfy Germany and Austria with such an indemnity they would be impotent and helpless, and to say there is immediate danger is to pronounce myself so silly that there is no term in my English will express the condition of such a mind. The truth is that Chadda Kitchin, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee; Bon Henry, chairman of the Committee on Rules; Judge E. W. Saunders, show there is no immediate danger, else the President would call the heads of necessary committees together under the rules of the House and lay the facts before them, and every honest man in the House would rise to meet the occasion and supply the means necessary at any cost.

The President, having no platform to commit him to such a program. For if he really knew anything serious, it would be his duty to impart the same to the chairmen of the Committee on this day to his Rooseve

Pensions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS, OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 16, 1916.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I desire, as part of my remarks, to print two acts of Congress providing for pensioning the Texas Rangers up to but not including the year 1860. This does not include the regiment of Col. M. T. Johnson, and, therefore, my bill, if it passes the Senate and becomes a law, will not only put this regiment on a pensionable status but will also include all the Rangers serving after the war, from 1866 and up to 1876, when Indian hostilities ceased in Texas. last man that was killed by hostile Indians, so far as I know, was a Mr. Earle, who was killed by the Comanches in the summer of that year on the ground where the thriving town of

Quanah, in my congressional district, stands.

Mr. Speaker, the term "Texas Rangers" was first used in the legislative provisions made by the Congress of the Republic of Texas for maintaining mounted companies to defend the frontier against Indians and Mexican marauders. became part of this Union, by annexation, one of the articles of annexation required the United States to defend its frontier. It was found necessary by the legislature of the State to continue the Ranger service on its frontier and the Mexican border. They were paid by the State for their services. The Congress of the United States has, with a few exceptions, from time to time refunded to the State the amounts thus paid. I have a bill pending in this Congress to cover the few cases where this refund has not heretofore been made to the State. Several years ago I introduced a bill to pay a pension to all duly enrolled Rangers who have not heretofore been placed on a pensionable status. I reintroduced it this term. It is as follows, namely, H. R. 341:

bill (H. R. 341) pensioning the surviving officers and enlisted men of the Texas Volunteers employed in the defense of the frontier of that State against Mexican marauders and Indian depredations from January 1, 1859, to January 1, 1861, and from 1866 to 1876, inclusive, and for other purposes.

from January 1, 1859, to January 1, 1861, and from 1866 to 1876, inclusive, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the provisions, limitations, and benefits of an act entitled "An act granting pensions to survivors of the Indian wars of 1832 to 1842, inclusive, known as the Black Hawk War, Creek War, Cherokee disturbances, and the Seminole War," approved July 27, 1892, be, and the same are hereby, extended from the date of the passage of this act to the surviving officers and enlisted men of the Texas Volunteers who served in defense of the frontier of that State against Mexican marauders and Indian depredations from January 1, 1859, to January 1, 1861, inclusive, and from the year 1866 to the year 1876, inclusive; and also to include the surviving widows of said officers and enlisted men: Provided, That such widows have not remarried: Provided further. That the record of enlistment or muster into the service of the State of Texas, as evidenced by the muster rolls and vouchers on file in the State archives at Austin, Tex., shall be accepted as full and satisfactory proof of such enlistment and service; and where it is shown that any such muster rolls or vouchers have been lost or destroyed, secondary evidence of their existence, contents, and loss may be made, and when so made shall have the same force and effect as the original rolls and shall be accepted as full and satisfactory proof of the originals: And provided further. That all contracts heretofore made between the beneficiaries under this act and pension attorneys and claim agents are hereby declared null and void.

The gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Keating] introduced a

The gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Keating] introduced a similar bill in this Congress, which was favorably reported by the Committee on Pensions. This bill did not include the Texas Rangers, and under its provisions these Texas troops would have received no pensions. This bill is as follows:

received no pensions. This bill is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 655) to pension the survivors of certain Indian wars from 1865 to January, 1891, Inclusive, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the provisions, limitations, and benefits of an act entitled "An act granting pensions to survivors of the Indian wars of 1832 to 1842, inclusive, known as the Black Hawk War, Creek War, Cherokee disturbances, and the Seminole War," approved July 27, 1892, as amended on February 19, 1913, be, and the same are hereby, extended from the date of the passage of this act to the surviving officers and enlisted men, including militia and volunteers of the military service of the United States. who have reached the age of 62 years, and who served for 90 days in the campaign in southern Oregon and Idaho and northern parts of Callfornia and Nevada from 1865 to 1868, inclusive; the campaign against the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Klowas, and Comanches in Kansas, Colorado, and Indian Territory from 1867 to 1869, inclusive; the Modoc War of 1872 and 1873; the campaign against the Klowas, Comanches, and Cheyennes in Kansas, Colorado, Texas, Indian Territory, and New Mexico in 1874 and 1875; the campaign against the Northern Cheyennes and Sloux in 1876 and 1877; the Nez Perce War of 1877; the Bannock War of 1878; the campaign against the Northern Cheyennes in 1878 and 1875; the campaign against the Northern Cheyennes in 1878 and 1879; the campaign against the Northern Cheyennes in 1878 and 1879; the campaign against the Northern Cheyennes in 1878 and 1879; the campaign against the Northern Cheyennes in 1878 and 1879; the campaign against the Northern Cheyennes in 1878 and 1879; the campaign against the Northern Cheyennes in 1878 and 1879; the campaign against the Northern Cheyennes in 1878 and 1879; the campaign against the Northern Cheyennes in 1878 and 1879; the campaign against the Northern Cheyennes in 1878 and 1879; the campaign against the Northern Cheyennes and 1879; the campaign against the Northern Cheyennes in 1879; the

from September, 1879, to November, 1880, inclusive: the campaign against the Apache Indians in Arizona in 1885 and 1886; and the campaign against the Sloux Indians in South Dakota, from November, 1890; to January, 1891, inclusive; and also to include the surviving widows of said officers and enlisted men who shall have married said survivor prior to the passage of this act: Provided, That such widows have not remarried: Provided further, That where there is no record of enlistment of muster into the service of the United States in any of the wars mentioned in this act the record of pay by the United States shall be accepted as full and satisfactory proof of such enlistment and service: And provided further. That all contracts heretofore made between the beneficiarles under this act and pension attorneys and claim agents are hereby declared null and void.

SEC. 2. That the period of service performed by beneficiarles under this act shall be determined by reports from the records of the Treasury Department, showing payment by the United States military service.

SEC. 3. That section 4716 of the Revised Statutes, relating to loyally during the Civil War, is hereby repealed so far as the same relates to this act or to pensioners under this act.

When this bill was under consideration in the House the

When this bill was under consideration in the House the main provision of my bill No. 341 was incorporated in this bill No. 655 as an amendment. It is now in the Senate for consideration, and I hope that it will soon become a law, so that the few remaining old, brave, battle-scarred Texas Rangers will receive pensions from a Government who has bestowed millions of dollars on soldiers of other wars who were never near enough an enemy to even smell gunpowder. In the war between the United States and Mexico—1846 to 1848—the Texas Mounted Volunteers, then in the service of the United States under such noted leaders as Walker, Hays, Gillespie, Truits, Duggett, and others, achieved world-wide fame and added adtional luster to the name of "Texas Ranger." Between the Mexican War and the Civil War of 1861 the Rangers under such chieftains as Burleson, Highsmith, the McCullochs, Ford, Hardeman, Ross, and others, by their valor, daring, efficiency, and generalship, displayed in the many campaigns against hostile Indians and marauding Mexicans, fully maintained the title of the Texas Rangers for intrepid skill in horsemanship, unerring aim with firearms, quickness in movement, coolness in danger, and dashing courage in action. I personally know three Montague County rangers who charged and defeated nine hostile Comanche Indians, killing several of them and wounding others. These Indians were on one of their many murderous raids in Texas, killing its inhabitants, stealing stock, burning their houses, and carrying off their women and children into a captivity worse than death. Two of these heroic men, W. A. Morris and Levi Perryam, are yet living in that county, and it is such heroic men as these that I desire, by the passage of this bill, to help in their declining years. However, only one of them will get any aid by this bill. of them will get any aid by this bill.

One of them has an income of over \$1 per day. One of the three, a Mr. Williams, has long since departed this life. It is my belief that three-fourths of the rangers coming under the relief given in this bill have already passed away, and many of them are not indigent persons, who under its terms could not receive a pension. I can not understand how any Texas Congressman could vote against this meritorious bill. Yet truth

compels me to say that several of them did so vote.

I want to thank my Texas friends and also Messrs. Murray, CARTER, FERRIS, and other Congressmen of Oklahoma for their votes and the valuable aid they gave me in the passage of this bill. May their shadows never grow less. The benefits of this bill extend to rangers who served from 1866 to 1876, inclusive, and from 1859 to 1861. This will also include M. T. Johnson's regiment of volunteer rangers, who served in 1860 on the frontier.

Mr. Speaker, I was raised on the Texas frontier, and personally know the history of the Indian raids—since the close of the Civil War in 1865. Many of my personal friends have been murdered by these savages, and now sleep in unmarked graves; many of them in my district. Mr. Speaker, when a very young man I volunteered my services—in the early seventies—and served as a scout without pay in Maj. John B. Jones's command. I therefore know something of the hardships and dangers of the ranger service. The name, fame, and incomparable record of the Texas Rangers should be near and dear to the hearts of every native American. Texas has a strange and singular history to her credit—in the last 80 years—first, as a part of Spain; second, as a part of Mexico; third, as an independent Republic; fourth, as a part of the American Union; fifth, as a part of the Southern Confederacy; sixth, again as a part of this Union. Recently Mr. Rainer, a Member of Congress, in eulogizing Louisiana, said she had the most unique history of any State in the Union. He should have excepted Texas from his statement.

The Rangers' organizations have existed as military organizations ever since the Anglo-Saxon race secured a foothold in its

territory, and to-day its members are still battling along the Rio Grande with Mexican marauders, and but recently our present President mentioned them in one of his recent speeches in a very complimentary way. In the winter of 1853-54 the office of the adjutant general of Texas was burned with everything it contained, and in November, 1881, the State capitol was burned. Many important military papers were then destroyed, so that it is now hard and in some cases impossible to reproduce these records except by secondary evidence, the records so necessary to sustain these claims of the State of Texas and its rangers against the United States for reimbursement of the amount of money paid by the State for the service, or to show the service of the Rangers, so as now to put them on a pensionable status.

Rural Mail Delivery.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

THOMAS SCHALL, HON. D. OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 19, 1916.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, I have written and talked myself black in the face in a vain attempt to have the rural mail routes in my district readjusted. And I realize from listening to other Congressmen upon this floor that they have had the same experience. The citizens of my district have written letters explaining the deplorable condition and sent petitions with hundreds of signers setting out the injustices done. Their petitions have been rejected, their entreaties disregarded, and their mouths gagged with the Democratic word "economy." The word "efficiency" seems to be nowhere found in the bright lexicon of Democracy. In short, constituents have come to believe that their Congressmen are impotent to secure relief for them, and they have, in desperation, turned to newspaper men for aid. This telegram was handed to me to-day:

FEBRUARY 16.

W. G. McMurchy, Correspondent Daily News, Washington, D. C .:

Will you assist us in restoring former R. F. D. services? Service now is rotten. Mail not delivered for three and four days. Farmers inconvenienced. Will you personally present affidavits to Blakslee sent you? He is taking away only direct benefit farmers get from Government. Wire answer collect.

AL. HECHTMAN.

In the Minneapolis Journal of November 18, 1915, an interview is published which is an answer of the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General to the flood of petitions that poured in upon him after his wholesale slaughter of the rural routes. He says in part:

No dismissed rural carriers and no fourth-class postmaster who has had his revenue interfered with is going to make any difference with me. The politicians may get after me if I they want to, and they may get me at that, but I have set a pace that will not be cut out by the politicians, no matter what happens to me. We propose to spend the people's money in this service for the benefit of the people, and not for the purpose of serving the ends of the politicians.

Such vaporings do not deceive anybody. The Democratic Party has proved itself mad on theory and short on practice. From the head of the party down they love fine phrases and avoid action. To dismiss the cry for relief that is rising all over the land from the farmer by calling it politics does not remedy the situation. Nothing is so essential to the modern farmer as his mail. He must have his newspaper and he must have his city mail and the market reports in order to carry on the business of the modern farm. The day has gone by when the monthold sheet will serve the purpose just as well. To cripple the service by removing routes works a hardship to the farmer that is not excused by the overworked word "economy."

The district which I represent is a rich and progressive farming tract. The farmers have up-to-date methods. Aside from being the prize dairy district of the world all through the district individual farmers have kept abreast of the wave and are specializing. As a result of the discontinuance and disorganiza-tion of their mail routes they are obliged to walk, some of them a mile and a mile and a half, for their mail. They get their mail out of an other town than the one in which they have been accustomed to market their produce.

At Osseo, where the conditions are particularly atrocious, their mail is routed out of Anoka. They must change the address on their mail. The identity of a thriving village of over

a thousand is destroyed. The community feeling that they have labored to build up is lost. They get their paper two and three days after it is printed and their mail is correspondingly delayed. The routes before the change were all a carrier could handle, especially when the weather was bad. Now they have been so lengthened that in stormy weather the carrier is obliged to skip a day or two or three. (It does not matter how the farmer is served so long as the Government is "saving money.") On November 12, 1915, after numerous deputations of rural patrons had visited me, I sent the following telegram:

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., November 12, 1915.

Mr. Albert S. Burleson, Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.:

Will you hold up proposed changes in rural free-delivery service in Hennepin County until protest petitions reach you. Delegations with petitions have called on me from Osseo, Robbinsdale, St. Louis Park, Hopkins, Rogers, Wayzata. Petitions explanatory.

And received the following reply:

POST OFFICE, Washington, D. C., November 13, 1915.

Hon. THOMAS D. SCHALL,
Minneapolis, Minn.:

Answer to telegram impracticable to recall orders revising rural service in Hennepin County. Letter follows.

Fourth Assistant.

On the 11th of November I forwarded to the Fourth Assistant Postmaster an armful of petitions. One of these, signed by a hundred and four of the rural patrons out of Long Lake, Minn., I take at random:

LONG LAKE, MINN., November 11, 1915.

To the Hon. James I. Blakslee, Fourth Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.

To the Hon, James I. Blakeslee.

Fourth Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: The undersigned, who are patrons of the post office at Long Lake, Minn., and now receive their mail on the rural route, which originates at Long Lake, Minn., have been informed that said route, as heretofore existing, will be discontinued November 15, 1915, and thereafter they will be served by carriers coming from either Maple Plain or Wayzata or Hamel.

Ever since we have lived in this community, the greater number of us have had Long Lake for our railway, telegraph, telephone, and post office, and our interests are centered in and about Long Lake, and we have become identified with that post office, and we wish hereby to protest against any such change as is proposed by your department as being destructive of our neighborhood individuality and detrimental to our general interests.

It seems to us that the department before making such changes should take into consideration the inconvenience it will make to the patrons and the damage that will be done to our community by diverting from the Long Lake post office the mail business naturally tributary thereto and attaching to distant post offices patrons who should be served from the Long Lake post office.

Your obliteration of the Long Lake route and redistribution of its yatrons will result in such a mix-up of the locations and addresses of the undersigned as to destroy the individuality of our community, and we sincerely hope that you will reconsider this matter and decide to continue the rural route from Long Lake as heretofore, and thus furnish us with service which has been very satisfactory.

Respectfully, yours,

The changes at Osseo, Long Lake, Maple Plain, St. Louis Park, Loretto, and St. Bonifacius were made without inspection. So at Brook Park. So at Princeton, where a route was changed "to accommodate more patrons" and put on a road that has not been used because it was impassable. The routes were laid out from a map without consulting local conditions and without visiting the localities.

I am in receipt of a letter from George P. Zachritz, of Excelsior, in which he relates that, in answer to protests that service on the country road was poor, the department's only response was to make the service triweekly instead of daily. And this road is the main thoroughfare from the city of Minneapolis to Lake Minnetonka, and the garden and truck and apple farms are almost as closely located as in a village street.

If these changes were a part of a consistent campaign for economy, there might be less objection. But the reductions are only on the outside. There is an attempt on foot to raise the salary of the fourth assistants to \$7,500 from \$5,000—a lack of sincerity that can only be received with bitterness by the mass of the badly served rural communities.

The case of St. Louis Park is well set forth in the two following communications:

ST. LOUIS PARK, MINN., November 6, 1915.

St. Louis Park, Minn., November 6, 1915.

Dear Sir: From the information that I have received from the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General's office, rural route No. 1, that originates from this office, will be discontinued November 16. Mr. Whipple, one of the oldest carriers in service in the county, and a very dependable man, will be let out same date.

During my incumbency I have rearranged the schedule and moved the post office to a sanitary location in our new bank building, at a saving of \$12 per month (mail-messenger pay) to the department; and if the new route No. 2 were started at this office it would give our people excellent service. I do not lose any revenue under this arrangement; but in the interest of good service I am writing you.

Under the new schedule mall matter for this village will be diverted

as follows (causing considerable confusion and delay): A small portion of route No. 1 will be changed to route No. 3, which will originate at Hopkins, Minn., while the largest portion of route No. 1 will be changed to route No. 2 and originate at Linden Hills Station, of your city. It will be necessary for the public to address this route in two ways, namely, that part of the route which lies south and southeast of this office—Minneapolis, Linden Hills Station, route No. 2; and that part of the route which is north and east of this office—St. Louis Park, Minn., route No. 2; which means that the patrons living on that part of the route that is addressed "St. Louis Park" will receive their mail a day before the portion living in the other part that is addressed "Minneapolis, Linden Hills Station, route No. 2."

Mail for that part of the route that will be known as Minneapolis, Linden Hills Station at 8 a, m. Mail due to arrive on the following-named trains can not be connected:

Chicago & Minneapolis, train 10, due at 8.05 a, m. Chicago & Minneapolis, train 57, due at 8.12 a, m. Elroy & Minneapolis, train 15, due at 8.45 a, m. Minneapolis & Omaha, train 10, due at 8.10 a, m.

St. Paul & Des Moines, train 3, due at 8.10 a, m.

St. Paul & Hayre, train 2, due at 7.40 a, m.

The principal portion of the incoming mail for Minneapolis and vicinity is brought in by the above-named trains and will be delayed a whole day.

No doubt it is clear to you that it will be impossible to receive the

The principal portion of the incoming mail for Minneapolis and vicinity is brought in by the above-named trains and will be delayed a whole day.

No doubt it is clear to you that it will be impossible to receive the letter mail, paper mail, and parcel post which arrives in Minneapolis on any of the morning trains because of the great quantity and because it will be addressed Minneapolis, Linden Hills Station, route No. 2, and combined with other Minneapolis mail. If this route started from the St. Louis Park post office the mail would be addressed to St. Louis Park Minn., route No. 2, and the primary separation would be made on the train. Practically all trains arriving in Minneapolis in the morning connect St. Paul and Aberdeen train No. 1, which arrives here at 8.25 a. m., and the mail would be delivered on the day of its receipt.

This new arrangement makes it practically prohibitive for our business men to send their goods to their patrons by parcel post. For instance, our storekeepers send goods by parcel post or notices to their customers on Friday p. m.; the rural carrier must take this on Saturday to Linden Hills Station, Minn., and bring it back again on Monday to St. Louis Park for delivery. That part of the village whose mail will go to Hopkins, Minn., will be affected in practically the same way.

Trusting my regard for Mr. Whipple will appeal to you and that your interest in good service will prompt you to take this matter up with the department and urge them to adopt my suggestion concerning him and route No. 2.

Most earnestly, yours,

L. V. Langdon.

NOVEMBER 11, 1915.

MY DEAR SIR: I write to you in regard to a proposed change in the delivery of mails at St. Louis Park.

In some respects our town is unfortunately constituted. We cover 3 square miles and have men of all sorts of occupations residing

In some respects our town is unfortunately constituted. We cover 9 square miles and have men of all sorts of occupations residing therein.

There are people living as many as four families on one block, and there are many truck gardens ranging from 5 to 40 acres, dairies with farms of 100 acres and upward.

We have a most progressive village council that is doing everything in its power to give to its inhabitants everything that is up-to-date.

We have a school board of which the same can be said, for they gave us one of the most modern high-school structures in the State, with a normal department, domestic science and art, agriculture and horticulture, and manual training. This building, besides four outlying buildings, all modern and up-to-date.

In the four outlying sections we have very progressive improvement leagues—the Oak Hill, the Brookside, the Lake Street, the Farmer's Club (on the north side), and the St. Louis Park Commercial Club, at the center, open to all.

With all of these elements pulling in the direction of modernism and all things essential to the comfort of life, it seems most deplorable that we should be thrown back into the Middle Ages in the matter of postal service.

As we have been served in recent years, only part of the St. Louis Park people have received their mail through the St. Louis Park, office, part being served through Linden Hills office. As you must know, this arrangement has caused great delay, as often mail addressed to Jno. Doe, St. Louis Park, because he lived in St. Louis Park, has been returned to Minneapolis post office, thence to Linden Hills substation, and finally to Jno. Doe.

As 1 understand, the route having been rearranged a part of the inhabitants of St. Louis Park being served from the Linden Hills substation, or from a Hopkins post office have his mail addressed to him at St. Louis Park, as would naturally be the case, it would go to St. Louis Park, but would have to be forwarded to either one of these offices before finally reaching him.

To make a long a

(Signed) T. H. COLWELL.

I could multiply instances of petition after petition, letter after letter, from the counties of Chisago, Isanti, Hennepin, Mille Lacs, and Pine that have passed through my hands almost daily to the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General. The only satisfaction I can get is that an inspector will visit the locallty and see what steps are necessary. And then they further add insult to injury by inviting suggestions as to extension of service. In a letter dated November 15 the Fourth Assistant writes as follows:

It is the purpose of the department to utilize the funds made available by the revision of routes in Hennepin County in the extension or establishment of service in the State of Minnesota at any point where reasonable necessity therefor can be shown to exist, and I shall be pleased to have you cooperate with the department in this matter.

This "robbing Peter to pay Paul" is not good business. It is not justice, and the farmers are not going to stand for it. They know their rights, and they are going to have them. They are not asking for extension of routes, they are asking to be let alone. They want their old routes back, their old carriers, and they do not want to wait till a new administration makes the change.

Postal Employees Legislation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

CARL C. VAN HON. DYKE,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 19, 1916.

Mr. VAN DYKE. Mr. Speaker, I herewith submit for the information of Congress a copy of the memorial of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, in which are enumerated the various service problems intimately affecting the welfare of the employees. The memorial is as follows:

FEDERATION MEMORIAL SENT TO DEPARTMENT.

VIEWS OF MEMBERS TRANSMITTED IN WRITTEN MESSAGE.

Following its usual custom, the executive committee of the National Federation of Postal Clerks has forwarded to the Postmaster General for the attention and the consideration of the department officials the following memorial, in which are outlined the views of the members of the organization upon service problems discussed at the ninth convention in San Francisco, September 6 to 10:

REDUCTION OF NIGHT WORK.

We earnestly urge the department's acceptance of the principle embodied in the Paimer-Lewis bills, introduced in the Sixty-third Con-gress, which provide for the computation of post-office work performed between the hours of 6 p. m. and 6 a. m. upon the basis of 45 minutes

gress, which provide for the computation of post-office work performed between the hours of 6 p. m. and 6 a. m. upon the basis of 45 minutes to the hour.

This proposed time differential in favor of the night workers is merely long delayed recognition in the Postal Service of the hardships of toiling at night. The British postal service has long recognized seven hours of nightwork as equivalent to eight hours of daywork. The United States Government, in the Government Printing Office at Washington, D. C., pays 20 per cent additional for night work, which is construct to mean work performed between the hours of 5 p. m. and 8 a. m., when it is considered that almost all night work in post offices is confined to the distribution of mail, which must be done by men who devote many hours of their time when off duty to studying distribution schemes, the need for a shorter tour of hours for night workers is apparent and imperative.

Stricter regulative measures and closer cooperation between the post offices and the large mallers would minimize the present practice of dumping tons of third and fourth class matter into offices during the early evening rush hours, retarding the distribution of first-class mail and making necessary the presence of a large force of distributors. If bulk maillings of the less important mail matter were better regulated, the employees and the service would be benefited. Less labor during the unnatural hours of night and correspondingly more work during the day would be an economical arrangement, and operate to expedite the dispatch of all classes of mail.

We promise a continuation of our educational campaign to induce the public to deposit mail as early in the day as possible.

PROTEST AGAINST TIMING DEVICES.

PROTEST AGAINST TIMING DEVICES.

We voice our emphatic objection to the use of timing or clock devices to determine the speed at which a postal employee must work. The installation of such a system is a gratuitous afront to the supervisory officials, who have heretofore managed the forces under them sufficiently well to insure the expeditions dispatch of the mails.

A clerk's record on scheme examination, together with the manner in which he performs daily the duties to which he is assigned, should suffice to determine his fitness for promotion or retention in the service. To harass him to maintain abnormal speed by timing his movements is not conductve toward increasing his efficiency. On the contrary, such methods tend to impair efficiency.

We ask the department's advocacy of legislation to prohibit the use of timing devices in ascertaining the amount of work performed or to be performed by postal employees.

COMPENSATION-FOR-INJURY LEGISLATION.

COMPENSATION-FOR-INJURY LEGISLATION.

We sincerely appreciate the department's effective advocacy of the legislation enacted by the Sixty-third Congress to provide relief for certain postal employees injured in the performance of duty.

We feel, however, that this legislation should be amplified to include employees not now coming within its purview, and we therefore ask the department's aid in securing the enactment of the legislation sought in the Kern-McGillicuddy bill, a comprehensive and scientific compensation-for-injury measure, which will afford proper protection to all Government employees in the classified civil service.

SALARIES.

SALARIES.

We respectfully urge the department's indorsement of legislation to provide a higher salary classification for clerks and carriers. We feel that clerks and carriers should be promoted successively from the initial grade of \$800 per annua to a mandatory maximum grade of \$1,400 per annum in first-class offices, and that clerks and carriers in second-class offices be promoted to a \$1,300 mandatory grade. All promotions to be made after the completion of one year of efficient service in each grade. We view with appreciation the department's recognition of the necessity for a higher wage scale for the skilled, experienced clerks of the service in the number of promotions that have from year to year been recommended into the \$1,300 and the \$1,400 grades; but we think this

recognition has been too limited and should be widened to include all efficient, deserving employees in the present \$1,200 and \$1,300 grades.

The Postal Service of to-day exacts from its employees a higher standard of efficiency and intelligence than ever before. To become a proficient post-office clerk requires constant study and application along specialized lines. Men making the service their life work unfit themselves for employment in other occupations. To encourage the upbuilding and the maintenance of an expert corps of postal workers, higher remuneration than the present maximum grade should prevail. The admittedly high cost of living has reduced the wage of the men to a point where the service can no longer be expected to attract and retain the element it requires—intelligent, ambitious, efficient workers.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

We seek that the present promistion limiting the leave of absence of

We ask that the present regulation limiting the leave of absence of an employee to 150 days in one calendar year be abrogated entirely in so far as it applies to sickness. We think that at least a year's leave of absence should be granted in cases of prolonged sickness, with the further opportunity of returning to the service within the following year at the former salary.

We suggest, furthermore, that the department grant 15 days' sick leave yearly to clerks and carriers without loss of pay, this leave to be exclusive of the present vacation period with pay.

BETITEMMENT FOR SUPPRANNUATED EMPLOYEES.

RETIREMENT FOR SUPERANNUATED EMPLOYEES

We call attention to the urgent need of retirement legislation, and ask the department's cooperation in placing upon the statutes, in the interest of humanity and an improved postal service, a retirement measure which will protect the employees against summary dismissal when incapacitated after long years of service, and render unnecessary the retention of men in the service who have passed their period of active usefulness.

To dismiss men who have given the best years of their life to the service, to cast them upon the world's mercy in their declining years, is not in keeping with the ideals of the Nation or the spirit of the times. Yet to retain men in the service when they are noticeably unfit to perform their allotted tasks is not consistent with a business administration. Civil-service retirement is a natural concomitant of civil-service employment. The need of a system of retirement for aged postal workers is apparent, and we seek the cooperation of the department in arriving at an early solution of this most vexing problem, to the end that justice be accorded to both the employees and the public. SCHEME STUDY.

We respectfully urge the department to take early action toward the standardization of scheme study. In the absence of definite rules, undue hardships are inflicted upon clerks by unnecessary scheme study, the mastering of schemes for which no practical need exists, thus interfering and interrupting the clerks' study of schemes used in the daily duties. As all scheme study must be done upon the clerk's own time, either before or after office hours, it is aggravating and unjust to exact from them such unnecessary sacrifices.

Time off, pro rated upon the amount of time spent in study, would be given clerks who have qualified on scheme or who are expected to qualify. It has been suggested that at least an hour daily be allowed clerks who must learn schemes to enable them to attain at all times the highest point of proficiency in dispatching mail speedily and accurately.

the highest point of proficiency in dispetching man specially due to rately.

Scheme examination should also be considered as part of the day's tour of duty, instead of compelling the distributors, especially the night workers, to report for examination upon their own time.

The attention of the department is invited to the practice in the Railway Mail Service of exempting competent cierks who have been 20 years in the service from scheme examination. A similar recognition of the past valued work of the post-office distributors might well be made with profit to the service and justice to the men.

SANITATION.

SANITATION.

We urge the department to insist upon a rigid compliance by all postmasters with the sanitary rules promulgated some years ago in the interest of the health and safety of the employees. The insanitary, unhealthful, crowded condition of some of the post offices is a menace to those compelled to work amid such surroundings. The use of vacuum cleaners instead of dry sweeping should be made universal; likewise the use of sanitary towels, drinking receptacles, and cups.

The continued use of flithy tlesacks and pouches is undoubtedly the cause of the spread of tuberculosis in the service and a constant menace to the health of all postal employees, as well as the public. We urge the proper and thorough cleansing of all equipment by the use of disinfectants and the issuance of an order to carry rather than drag pouches and sacks.

VACATION LAW.

VACATION LAW.

We suggest that the department adopt a uniform system of allotting vacations to the clerks, so that sufficient advance notice be given to permit of proper preparation. In some offices the clerk does not know the date of his vacation in advance, which seriously interferes with the making of arrangements or plans. New clerks are also complaining, because they are sometimes compelled to wait 16, 18, or 20 months for a vacation. A standard rule, liberal in its scope, covering the selection and allotment of vacations would be advisable.

The amending of the clerks' vacation law to conform with that governing the carriers would be an improvement.

PROTEST AGAINST PERMY POSTAGE.

The reduction of first-class postage from 2 to 1 cent, which is advocated by many who have not apparently given the question deep consideration or who are actuated by selfish interest, we deem inadvisable and unwise. A lower rate of first-class postage would curtail the revenues of the service, and thus greatly hamper the department in its efforts to extend the parcel post and other postal reforms of great value to the public in general. A deficit resulting from reduced postage would affect our working conditions, tending to increase hours and decrease wages, and therefore it would be harmful to the service by impairing the efficiency of the postal workers.

We commend the department for its attitude in discouraging this stimulated agitation for 1-cent letter postage and pledge our continued efforts to ward off legislation of this character.

TRANSFER TO RAILWAY POST OFFICE.

Inasmuch as the knowledge and training of the post-office distributor fits him for Railway Mail Service duties, we suggest that in the interest of greater efficiency clerks be permitted to transfer into the Railway Mail Service without loss of salary. We ask a continuation of the department's efforts to secure from Congress the necessary legislation to make these transfers possible, and we pledge our active cooperation.

ADDRESS ON WRAPPERS

The department is again urged to request publishers to print on the wrappers of single copies of publications the name and office of entry and to have addresses uniform in size of printing and position upon the

REBATE OF HOLIDAY TIME.

We suggest that postmasters be given specific instructions to rebate to clerks all time worked on holidays. The present inequality, whereby some employees are very properly given time off on holidays, wills others, who must work, are denied compensatory time for this service, causes much complaint and dissatisfaction.

METHOD OF PROMOTION TO SUPERVISORY POSITION.

We commend the department's efforts to classify supervisory positions according to the responsibilities devolving upon the employee and to fix the remuneration in a like manner, thus making it an incentive for competent men in the ranks to strive for promotion. We suggest that when a vacancy occurs in the supervisory force it be filled by examination from the clerks in the \$1,200 and higher grades. Experience, ability, knowledge of duties, and postal regulations should be the factors in determining the fitness of the applicants, the appointment to be awarded to the applicant making the highest average.

Minor lapses or occasional failures to register on time clock or throwing a piece of waste on the floor should not be permitted to annul an otherwise perfect efficiency record, and that hereafter the department, in granting promotions, eliminate from consideration any demerits imposed for trivial offenses which do not in the least impair a clerk's efficiency.

CORRECTION OF ABUSE OF DIRECTORY SERVICE.

In order to correct abuses that have tended to make the directory service of the department the instrument of careless patrons, we suggest that mail matter insufficiently or incorrectly addressed, and which does not bear the return address of the sender, be denied directory service and disposed of as undeliverable matter.

OVERTIME.

We earnestly urge the department to minimize overtime for clerks by the employment of an adequate auxiliary force. At present regular clerks are frequently worked in excess of eight hours in the performance of duties that could be assigned to substitute and auxiliary employees at a lower rate of compensation. Inasmuch as clerks must devote time after working hours to scheme study, it necessarily follows that excessive overtime works to the disadvantage of the service in interfering with the study of the clerks, and also operates to the disadvantage of the clerks in subjecting them to penalties for failure to qualify on scheme examination when there are no opportunities for preparation. It is the practice of supervisory employees in many instances to compel clerks to work lengthy hours of duty without opportunity for rest or for meals. This is particularly true when overtime is being worked. We hereby appeal to the department to correct this condition by the issuance of an order to the effect that no employee be compelled to work more than six consecutive hours without opportunity for rest and meals.

CHANGE IN FORM OF MONEY ORDER.

CHANGE IN FORM OF MONEY ORDER.

We suggest to the department that the present money order forms be altered by adding 50 cents in the margin above the \$1 designation to minimize opportunities for raising money orders from small amounts up to \$1.

FILLING VACANCIES.

We vigorously protest against the practice of many postmasters in failing to fili vacancies created by deaths, removals, and resignations in the force of regular clerks when the need of keeping the force recruited to its full strength is apparent. In lieu of appointing the eligible substitute to a vacancy, the practice has developed to assign a substitute to perform the duties for an indefinite period, compelling him to qualify on scheme examination and otherwise meet all the requirements of a regular clerk without, however, giving him the benefits of fixed hours of employment, a weekly rest day, annual vacation, and yearly salary increase. We view this practice as most unjust to the substitute employees and a violation of the spirit of the laws governing the salaries and hours of employment of the clerks.

PARCEL-POST SPECIAL.

We call the extention of the department to the fact that the public

We call the attention of the department to the fact that the public is given first-class service on fourth-class mall by the mere payment of a special-delivery fee, and we think that an increase in the cost of special-delivery service, under these circumstances, is justifiable.

SUBSTITUTE SERVICE.

Substitute clerks are now required to learn distribution schemes and to study the Postal Laws and Regulations when awaiting opportunities for daily assignments to duty; and we therefore suggest that substitutes be compensated for the time that they are required to be at the call of the department. We further recommend that the time spent in substitution be reckoned as regular service, and substitutes receive appointment directly into the salary grade to which their time of actual service entitles them.

RESPONSIBILITY OF MISCARRIAGE OF PACKAGES.

Under the present rules of the department the clerk receiving parcels is responsible for their contents and c. o. d. charges, and also any damage the package may later sustain in transit. Receiving clerks have been penalized under this ruling for damages to parcels that had apparently been properly dispatched. We urge that the department protect receiving clerks against the possibility of losses by ordering a fair and full investigation of every case before fixing the responsibility for damage or miscarriage of packages.

TRANSFER IN CASE OF REDUCTION TO SUBSTITUTE LIST

We urge that when the department is forced to the expediency of dropping regular clerks to the substitute list, that these clerks be given an opportunity to fill vacancies occuring in near-by offices of the same class if they so desire.

ADVANCE NOTICE OF EXAMINATION.

In justice to the distributor, whose promotion or retention in the service depends upon his scheme examination to a great extent, we suggest that an advance notice of 30 days be given for examinations, and at least 90 days' time be given for studying a new scheme.

ASSIGNMENT OF VACATIONS.

We call attention to the lack of uniformity governing the assignment of vacations to clerks. In some offices these vacations are spread out over the entire year; in others, the vacations are confined to the

summer months. We deem the latter arrangement more satisfactory to the cierks and more feasible to the department, insuring, as it does, the presence of an augmented force of workers during the winter months in the office, and enabling the cierks to have the obvious benefit of sur-cease from toil during the summer months when the mails are lighter.

PREFERENCE IN ASSIGNMENT OF TOURS

We believe that the mooted question of seniority in the assignment of tours of duty should be settled by the department's recognition of the right of the clerks who have worked nights and undesirable hours to perference in the assignment to desirable tours over transferees from other branches of the Government service and other branches of the Postal Service. We think it unfair to deprive men who have toiled for years at night work of their opportunity to a rightfully earned promotion to better hours.

FIRST AID TO INJURED.

We suggest to the department that first-aid-to-the-injured medicine cabinets be installed in first and second class post offices for the immediate treatment of injuries sustained by employees when on duty.

Respectfully submitted.

ARTHUR L. HONEYWELL, President. President.

MAURICE M. SIMON,
First Vice President.
GILBERT E. HYATT,
Second Vice President.
LUTHER S. BUTLER,
Third Vice President.
THOS. F. FLAHRETY,
Secretary-Treasurer.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF POST OFFICE CLERKS, Washington, D. C., February 17, 1916.

Mr. CARL C. VAN DYKE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Permit'me to thank you in behalf of the National Federa-tion of Post Office Clerks for having introduced H. R. 8677, a measure to prevent t' use of the stop-watch or time-measuring device or sys-tem in the Postal Service, reading as follows:

tem in the Postal Service, reading as follows:

"Be it enacted etc., That it shall be unlawful for any officer, superintendent, foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any
employee of the Postal Service to make or cause to be made with a
stop-watch or other itlme-measuring device or system a time study of
the movements of any such employee.

"Sec. 2. That it shall be unlawful for any officer, superintendent,
foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any employee
of the Postal Service to use the results or records obtained by a stopwatch or other time-measuring device or system in determining what
amount of work or labor is to be done in a given time by such employee.

watch or other time-measuring device or system in determining what amount of work or labor is to be done in a given time by such employee.

"SEC. 3. That any person violating any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$500 or by imprisonment for not more than six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

"SEC. 4. That this act shall take effect upon its passage."

The use of the stop watch in timing postal workers at their tasks has long been a source of complaint for the railway mail clerks, post-office clerks, and letter carriers. Some measure of rellef has come to the railway mail clerks since the elimination of the so-called "speed test" instituted by former General Superintendent A. H. Stephens, but the clerks and carriers are still subjected to the obnoxious practice of having a supervisory official time their mevements at work. Legislation is therefore sought to have this inhumane system abated entirely in the Postal Service.

Organizations of postal employees have repeatedly passed resolutions at their conventions protesting against the timing systems and speeding-up methods in operation in the service. The department has frequently been memorialized by the service workers to stop the practice of timing them to determine their speed, yet this unjust method of harrassing the employees is still in vogue in the post offices.

The National Federation of Post Office Clerks, assembled in convention in San Francisco September 6 to 10, 1915, unanimously adopted these resolutions:

"Whereas a system of timing clerks to determine their speed at dis-

these resolutions:

"Whereas a system of timing clerks to determine their speed at distributing mail is in effect in many post offices; and

"Whereas this system is unjust and unfair and detrimental to the workers' welfare and the efficiency of the service: Therefore be it "Resolved, That we, the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, in convention assembled, protest against this inhumane method of determining an employee's fitness and capabilities; and be it further "Resolved, That our officers present this protest to the department in the strongest possible manner."

Under date of October 16, 1915, the executive committee of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks transmitted to the Postmaster General this protest:

PROTEST AGAINST TIMING DEVICES.

"We voice our emphatic objection to the use of timing or clock devices to determine the speed at which a postal employee must work. The installation of such a system is a gratuitous afront to the supervisory officials, who have heretofore managed the forces under them sufficiently well to insure the expeditious dispatch of the mails.

"A clerk's record on scheme examination, together with the manner in which he performs daily the duties to which he is assigned, should suffice to determine his fitness for promotion or retention in the service. To harass him to maintain abnormal speed by timing his movements is not conducive toward increasing his efficiency. On the contrary, such methods tend to impair efficiency.

"We ask the department's advocacy of legislation to prohibit the use of timing devices in ascertaining the amount of work performed, or to be performed, by postal employees."

The National Association of Letter Carriers, in convention at Omaha, Nebr., September 6 to 11, 1915, adopted without a dissenting vote this "Whereas the Post Office Department has during the next fiscal year."

"Whereas the Post Office Department has during the past fiscal year introduced the speeding-up system; and "Whereas this speeding-up plan is detrimental to the service, to the public, and to the employees; and

"Whereas the speeding-up plan is frowned upon and has been ordered discontinued to some departments by the Congress of the United States of America: Therefore he if "Resolvede, That our national officers are instructed to use all means in their power to secure the abolition of the speeding-up system." Despite the appeals of the employees the department sanctions the Despite the appeals of the employees the department sanctions the analysis of the comployees of the sanction of a minute a carrier her wasted in casing his mail or whether the clerks engaged in distribution are maintaining the standard of speed—a standard frequently set by the fastest man.

"The officials of the Chicago post office have arranged and instituted a speeding-up system absolutely on a par with the so-called Taylor appealing-up system absolutely on a par with the so-called Taylor chaustive hearings. Holding a watch to ascertain how many letters per minute a clerk or carrier is distributing is an unpracticable and unjust method: First, because the penmanship on various letters and postal cards varies to such an extent that it is impossible to standardizar that contains a typewritten letter addressed to every person in the block, and distribution of them can be made speedily. Second, the effect of a speeding system on the human being is the same no matter that contains a typewritten letter addressed to every person in the block, and distribution of them can be made speedily. Second, the effect of a speeding system on the human being is the same no matter that contains a typewritten letter addressed to every person in the block, and distribution of them can be made speedily. Second, the effect of a speeding system on the human being is the same no matter that the distribution of the stop wasternoon of the stop what industry it is attempted. It results quickly in a nervous high

THOS. F. FLAHERTY, Secretary-Treasurer.

Post Office Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. A. B. ROUSE, OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 17, 1916.

Mr. ROUSE. Mr. Speaker, this bill, as usual, appropriates the largest amount of money of any of the appropriation bills. In 1897 there was appropriated and it required a little over \$92,000,000 to run the Post Office Department for that year. This amount has been increased each year since that time, until to-day we are preparing to set aside about \$320,000,000

to pay the expenses of the greatest department of this great Government. The increase in amount of appropriation over last year is due largely to the normal growth of the service and also to provide for the salaries fixed by statute heretofore enacted. However, we have included in this bill an increase for certain clerks who are employed in first and second class offices by promoting, in addition to the 75 per cent clause heretoonices by promoting, in addition to the 15 per cent clause neteo-fore enacted, 5 per cent of the clerks in the sixth grade to \$1,300, to be designated as "special clerks," and we promote 5 per cent of the \$1,300 grade to \$1,400, and these to be designated as "special clerks." This is a small percentage, but will grow with future Congresses.

The laborers are cared for, the substitutes for the clerks and carriers are provided for, in fact all the employees of the great Postal Service, the people's department of the Government, are provided for either in this bill or in other bills which have been enacted into laws since our party has had control of the House of Representatives, and we will continue to look after those who administer the duties of the department which serves all the people of the United States as long as we have control of this

branch of the Government.

I will insert in my remarks an itemized account of the expenditures of the Post Office Department as contained in this bill, and opposite each item I will give the amount that was appropriated in the last bill and under which we are now working:

> Expenditures in the Post Office Department. IN THE OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL.

Appro- priated this bill.	Appropriated 1916.
\$32,000	{32,000
4,000	4,500
783, 700	779, 500
262, 860	261, 400
134,000	134,000
43,850	43,750
45,000	45,000
7,500	7,500
25,000	25,000
234,000	134,500
	priated this bill. \$32,000 4,000 783,700 262,860 134,000 43,850 45,000 7,500 25,000

THE OFFICE OF THE FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL

Compensation to postmasters	\$31,000,000	\$30,750,000
Compensation to assistant postmasters	3,200,000	3,200,000
Clerks and employees at first and second class post offices		46, 082, 100
Compensation to printers, mechanics, etc	62,000	44,600
Compensation to watchmen, messengers, etc	1,400,000	1,404,000
Clerks in charge contract stations	1,160,000	1,100,000
Temporary and auxiliary clerk hire	1,800,000	2,000,000
Separating mails	710,000	675,000
Unusual conditions	90,000	90,000
Allowance to third-class offices	1,775,000	1,700,000
offices	5,500,000	5, 200, 000
Miscellaneous items, first and second class post offices	350,000	350,000
Letter carriers, salary	39, 100, 000	37,700,000
Letter carriers, substitutes	3, 675, 000	2,975,000
Letter carriers for new offices established during year	75,000	100,000
Horse-hire allowance (screen-wagon service)	5,565,000	4,900,000
Mail-messenger service.	2, 193, 000	2,000,000
Car fare and bicycle allowance	625,000	525,000
Pneumatic-tube service.	976,000	266, 800
Street-car collection service	10,000	10,000
Marine postal service, Detroit, Mich	7,250	6,500
Car fare, special-delivery service	13,000	13,000
Fees, special-delivery messengers	2,000,000	2,225,000
Travel expenses. First Assistant Postmaster General	1,000	1,000

THE OFFICE OF THE SECOND ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL

Inland transportation Star routes, Alaska Steamboats. Inland transportation, railroads. Freight or expressage, postal supplies. Railway post-office car service. Railway Mail Service. Traveling expenses, railway mail clerks. Temporary clerk hire, railway mail clerks. Substitutes, railway mail clerks. Actual necessary expenses, division superintendent's office. Rent, light, and fuel, etc., Railway Mall Service. Fer dlem allowance, 2 assistant superintendents. Electric and cable car service Transportation, foreign mails Assistant superintendent, foreign mails at New York Balance due foreign countries. Travel expenses. Second Assistant Postmaster General.	4,397,000 29,725,050 1,488,336 60,000 193,900	\$304,000 1,049,400 56,188,000 5,412,000 28,521,440 1,534,500 143,900 55,200 777,000 3,607 784,000 4,000,000 2,500 61,700
---	---	--

Expenditures in the Post Office Department-Continued. IN THE OFFICE OF THE THIRD ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL

For—	Appropriated this bill.	Appropriate 1 1916.
Manufacture adhesive postage stamps, etc	\$806,000 1,516,000 15,500	\$810,000 1,650,000 20,500
Manufacture postal cards. Ship, steamboat, and way letters. Limited indemnity:	260, 000 150	185, 000 250
Domestic loss of registered and insured mail	238, 000 10, 000	110, 000 15, 000
Travel expenses, Third Assistant Postmaster General	1,000	1,000

THE OFFICE OF THE FOURTH ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL.

Stationers money order offices etc	COCO 000	6010 503
Stationery, money-order offices, etc	£260,000	\$312,500
Official and registry envelopes	72,700	85, 52)
Blank books, etc., Postal Savings System	75,000	100,000
Supplies, City Delivery Service, boxes, satchels, straps, etc.		250,000
Postmarking, rating, and other stamps	30,000	40,000
Letter balances, etc	50,000	100,000
Wrapping paper	15,000	15,000
Twine, and tying devices	250,000	200,000
Facing slips, intaglio seals, etc	120,000	87,000
Purchase, exchange, and repair of typewriting machines,	2001.02.00	
etc	135,000	120,000
Supplies, Rural Delivery Service	12,000	45,000
Expenses, shipment of supplies.	125,000	145,000
Miscellaneous expenses, Division of Supplies, maps, blue		
prints, etc.	25,000	30,000
Miscellaneous items, water, telephones, first and second		
class offices	70,000	125,000
Miscellaneous equipment, etc	40,000	120,000
Canceling machines	250,000	300,000
Mechanical and labor-saving devices	75,000	50,000
Mail bags, etc.	480,000	
Compensation to labor, mail-bag shop, etc., Washington,	500,000	378,000
D. C. Washington,	127 000	140 403
	155,000	148, 400
Inland transportation, star routes	8, 675, 000	8, 675, 000
Pay of rural letter carriers	53,000,000	53, 000, 003
Village delivery service	200,000	200,003
Travel and miscellaneous expenses, Fourth Assistant Post-		
master General	1,000	1,000

Mr. Speaker, under the able management of our present Postmaster General, Hon. Albert S. Burleson, we have had two years in which the Post Office Department has returned a surplus. In 1913 we had a surplus of over \$4,500,000; in 1914 we had a surplus of over \$4,300,000. The year 1915, as we all know, was an abnormal one, and every business suffered. The Post Office Department is the best barometer, and when its business is slack we can safely say that all lines of business is depressed. Last year the deficit was about \$11,300,000.

The reports from all the large offices of the country during the past few months show a tremendous increase over the same months of last year, and we can safely predict that we will have a balance on the right side of the books at the end of this fiscal year.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I propose to tell you and this House what to do with that surplus. I have introduced a bill, which was referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, of which I have the honor to be a member, a copy of which I will insert in my remarks:

A bill (H. R. 9672) for the purpose of expending the unexpended balances and surplus postal revenues on rural post roads.

A bill (II. R. 9672) for the purpose of expending the unexpended balances and surplus postal revenues on rural post roads.

Be it enacted, etc., That any unexpended balances in the appropriations for the Rural Delivery Service and all surplus postal revenues for the fiscal year 1916 and for subsequent fiscal years may be expended by the Secretary of Agriculture in cooperation with the Postmaster General in improving the condition of roads to be selected by the Postmaster General over which rural or star route service is or may hereafter be established, such roads to be known as rural post roads; Provided further, That the State or the local subdivision thereof in which such improvement is made under this provision shall furnish for the improvement of the road or roads so selected double the amount of money allotted by the Government.

Sec. 2. That sums expended under the provisions of this paragraph shall be apportioned among the various States on the basis of one-third in the ratio which the area of each State bears to the total area of all the States, one-third in the ratio which the population of each State bears to the total population of all the States according to the latest decennial census, and one-third in the ratio which the mileage of rural post road of each State bears to the total mileage of rural post road of each State bears to the total mileage of rural post road of each State bears to the total mileage of rural post road of each State bears to the total mileage of rural post road of each State bears to the total mileage of rural post road of each State bears to the total mileage of rural post road of each State bears to the total mileage of rural post road of each State bears to the total mileage of rural post road of each State bears to the total mileage of rural post road of each state bears to the total mileage of rural post road of each state bears to the total ost of a road inprovi of the amount available therefor shall forfeit its right to same and such sum shall be again apportioned amon

This bill has received a favorable report from the Post Office Committee and should be made a part of this appropriation bill. It will in no way interfere with the Shackleford bill, which passed the House the latter part of last month and for which I had the honor to vote, but can be administered in about the same manner as is contemplated for the Shackleford bill. The manner of administration and distribution is not so important; that can be worked out later. The question now is to get an appropriation for roads and road building and to do the greatest good with the least taxation. I think my plan should be accepted by every Member of the House. I know it will be gladly welcomed by the people whom we represent.

Mr. Speaker, my bill first provides for the appropriation of the unexpended balances, and, second, for the total profits of the department. At the end of the last fiscal year there was an unexpended balance in the rural-delivery item of over \$3,000,000. This year the department asks for \$48,500,000 for rural service, and the committee, fearing the amount was not sufficient, increased the appropriation to \$53,000,000, the same as last year. We all know that the department never underestimates the amount needed, but usually asks for more than is expended. If the present service and the service that is contemplated by extending the rural service to every point possible can be administered for \$48,000,000 and the Congress appropriates \$53,000,000, under my bill the Postmaster General and the Secretary of Agriculture will have \$5,000,000 to apply to road purposes, and this amount does not come out of the pockets

Another source of revenue, Mr. Speaker: The Postal Savings System, under the able management of Gov. Dockery, the Third Assistant Postmaster General, is now on a paying basis. During the first month of this session our committee reported and passed in the House a bill which removes certain restrictions in the postal-savings act, which limits the amount that may be accepted from a depositor in any month to \$100, and raises the total amount to \$2,000, but limits the amount on which interest is paid to \$1,000. The Postal Savings System was inaugurated in 1911, and during the first six months of its existence there was deposited \$677,145. At the end of the fiscal year 1915 there was on deposit \$65,684,708, and it was estimated by the department that on the 1st day of last December there was on deposit \$73,000,000. I cite these figures to show how the system is growing.

If the amendment to the postal savings bill becomes a law. the business will be greatly increased and at the same time not interfere with the banking business of the country, but will work an advantage, because 71.8 per cent of the deposits of the savings system belong to foreign-born wage earners, people who do no business with our banks and who have heretofore kept their savings in hiding or have bought foreign money orders and sent the money to foreign countries. The deposit, of the savings system are placed in the banks and the money again goes into circulation. This system will increase more rapidly under the proposed legislation than under the present law and a large profit will be derived from this source.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to say a few words about the parcel post, which is increasing day by day and, notwithstanding the statements of some of our critics, is a great revenue producer. The statistics indicate that nearly a billion packages are handled yearly, and when we consider that prior to the establishment of the service not more than one-fourth that amount was handled we have some idea of the growth of the service.

I desire to insert in the Record a letter which I have received from the Postmaster General which gives the exact facts relating to this service:

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL, February 10, 1916.

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL, February 10, 1916.

Hon. Arthur B. Rouse, House of Representatives.

My Dear Mr. Rouse: Referring to your personal call at the department to-day relative to the Parcel Post Service, I wish to state that in order to enable the department to ascerta in the growth of the service, as well as the revenues and cost, periodical counts have been made and statistics in the minutest detail compiled from the data obtained in these counts at the 50 largest post offices, which handle approximately three-fourths of the entire parcel-post business of the country. The last such count covered the period from October 1 to 15, 1915, inclusive, which is believed to be a period of the year when an average amount of mail is handled. This count showed that in the entire Postal Service during that period 40,889,595 parcels were handled, or an aggregate of 981,350,280 for one year. As the average weight of these parcels is 1 pound and 11 ounces, the total weight for the year was 1,640,943,240 pounds, and the postage, at an average rate of 6.6 cents per parcel, was \$64,769,118.48.

During the hearings before the subcommittee on parcel post of the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads in 1911, it was estimated by officers of the department that the average cost of handling parcels, exclusive of transportation, would be approximately 2.35 cents. It has been found, however, upon experience that this was greater than the actual cost, due no doubt to the increased number of

parcels handled, the adoption of better methods, and higher efficiency of the Postal Service generally. Based upon statistics which are believed to be absolutely reliable, it would appear that the average cost of handling parcels at this time, exclusive of transportation, does not exceed 2 cents, or 1.185 cents per pound. The average distance which a pound of parcel-post matter is transported is 416 miles and the average rate of transportation per pound for the United States is 2.08 cents, making a total cost of 3.265 cents per pound. The average postage per parcel is 6.6 cents, or 3.911 cents per pound, leaving a net profit of 6.46 mills per pound. As 1.640.943,240 pounds are handled in a year, the profit at this rate would be \$10.600.493.33.

Officers of the department have made a most careful study of the entire parcel-post subject and the statistics which have been compiled are based on records made at the time parcels were actually mailed and are believed to be absolutely reliable. It will therefore be seen that instead of a deficit in this service the revenue derived thereform is sufficient not only to meet the cost thereof but result in considerable profit to the department.

Sincerely, yours,

A. S. Burleson.

The Post Office Department should have a surplus in normal times of from ten to twenty million dollars a year, and with the \$5,000,000 of unexpended balances in the rural service, we will have a sum in the neighborhood of \$25,000,000. It was never thought that the Post Office Department could be administered with a profit at the end of each fiscal year; our fondest hopes would have been realized if this great department was selfsustaining. But if we have normal years and the business is conducted as under the successful administration of Gen. Burleson, and we have a surplus at the end of each fiscal year, where can we place it to a better purpose than in the roads of our country?

This surplus and unexpended balance is not taken out of the Treasury of the United States, it is not taken from the people, it is the results derived from a good administration. ple get value received when they send a letter across the country for 2 cents, this surplus is the profit on that 2 cents and is a part of an appropriation which was not used for the purpose which it was appropriated, and the result will be if this bill becomes a law, that we will have good roads over which our people will travel, over which our mail will be carried, and which will not cost the people a cent. Let us spend the unexpended balances and the profits of the Post Office Department on the roads of our country and thereby benefit all the people.

Unpreparedness to Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HOMER P. SNYDER,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 19, 1916.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, a novel situation has been created, not only in Washington but throughout the country, by the President in his recent anticampaign tour. He was strikingly sensational in his talk of our being on the verge of war, but did not tell us where the danger lies nor with whom. To those who are in Washington, on the outside, or who are trying to get on the inside, the situation does not seem more acute or critical than it has for some time past, when we were told that the President was keeping and would keep us out of war. Now, so recently after his complete somersault from unpreparedness to preparedness, he is the most ardent forecaster of trouble in the country and begs for means to meet it.

Is it possible he realizes his Treasury is empty and that only a campaign of the kind he has been waging is merely a method of preparedness for a bond issue to refill the treasure vaults of the country? No President has ever found a bond issue popular, especially on the eve of a campaign in which he expected to be a candidate. More than this, the President acknowledges that everybody with whom he conferred regarding Mexico are liars, and that he ascertained the truth of that situation through the mouths of liars. However, having ascertained the truth he has taken no step to better conditions there or to protect American lives and property, but he has gone a step further in his formation of his Ananias Club than any other man—he has initiated them in bunches.

That the present session of Congress will, in the end, adopt some plan for preparedness is beyond question. Just what that policy will be only the future can tell.

I have my own ideas regarding this matter, but they are not so fixed and definite that I am unwilling to yield to any plan which will solve the problem and finally place this country into fit condition to resist invasion, in the first place, and to back its just demands to the limit if necessary. My firm belief is that the

better we are prepared in all directions the less liability there will be of our becoming involved to any degree with any nation

of the world, large or small.

First of all, however, as a business man, I would like to see the matter of preparedness placed and go forward on a business basis. Modern warfare, both military and naval, is an exact science, and efficiency in dealing with an enemy, both in offense and defense, has increased by leaps and bounds. In this struggle for efficiency nations have combined in their armies and navies all of the great improvements, all of the great inventions that the peaceful industries of this and other countries have developed: the manufacture of modern munitions, problems of transportation, the supply of clothing, administration, aviation, mathematics, and many more that could be men-I maintain that unless a man has made a most careful tioned and exhaustive study of these things in their relation to modern war he is not competent to recommend a policy to be pur-sued in improving a condition which is acknowledged to be deficient. When you are ill you consult a physician, when in legal trouble a lawyer. Where shall we, then, turn in this trouble?

We have boards of officers in the departments at Washington whose business it is to know our weaknesses in this direction and to suggest plans to overcome them. There are thousands of officers of different grades now (and they are being turned out of our schools yearly at much expense to the Government) whose education is along the lines of defense and offense, and who will in the course of time take their places as advisers and directors of affairs military and naval.

In the end not only Congress, but the administration, must be guided by their knowledge, and on them in the last analysis the

responsibility must rest.

Now, at this particular time it is well that we should know in detail just what we need, and, having ascertained this, the next step will be to appropriate funds to cure these defects as rapidly as possible. This accomplished, my theory would be that we apply business methods to the situation and make contracts for our needs extending over the shortest possible periods of time to cover these needs, with the single restriction that the developments and improvements which science and skill may reveal and perfect during that time shall be utilized as rapidly and as promptly as their practicability is demonstrated. I care not so much where we begin, so long as the end is attained, so long as the cost is right, and so long as modern methods of

business are applied in all directions.

While means of offense are needed, it may be that means of defense should be first considered. Certainly they are not sec-We are told that as far as we have gone our system of coast defense is the most formidable in the world. statement sounds well until it is contradicted by one who is in a position to know what he is talking about. Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood, in his testimony before the Senate Military Committee on January 19, stated that although the present coast-defense guns had a maximum range of 34,000 yards, yet, due to the construction of their mounts, their fire was limited to 14,000 yards, whereas European navy craft were sinking ships at more than 17,000 yards. In addition to this, we all know that there are miles and miles of American coasts unguarded by anything save mosquitoes; but all the defenses we have can not be relied upon, because we are short 800 officers and 25,000 men to man them. We are, therefore, deficient in that regard, and, admitting that we have a large number of heavy guns, it is not admitted that we have sufficient ammunition available for a long and sustained attack at any point.

Our submarine and aeroplane systems for scouting, or for such defense as they could render, are unprovided for in the lowest degree; yet in this country we possess all the necessary plants and material to provide ample fleets of both undersea and overland protection of this character, an advantage of which foreign nations have not been slow to avail themselves.

In the other branches of both our sea and land services like discrepancies exist, and the problem remains for us to solve how shall we meet these various situations in the best possible

manner and in the shortest possible time.

All this brings with it the question of ways and means, and that is a question which is just now more vital to the dominant party than to any other portion of the country. They admit a deficiency; they admit they have not the funds for the needs which must be met. They have, by lowering the tariff, by ex-travagance in every direction, placed themselves in a position where the income will hardly meet the running expenses of the Government, and the balance in the Treasury is being daily encroached upon. Indeed, it is so low at the present time that Senator Smoot, one of the most able of our financiers, can find but a balance of \$3,000,000, while Secretary McAdoo, who seems in America.

also, in one sense at least, an able financier, after the use of a microscope and the use of what he terms a "new and scientific method of bookkeeping," concludes we have about 20,000,000

Last year from these following sources alone the Democratic administration derived the following revenues: From the emergency war-revenue bill, \$52,000,000; from the corporation tax, \$39,000,000; from the individual income tax, \$41,000,000; from tariff collections, \$209,000,000; from the internal revenue, \$283,-

When a Republican Congress reached the billion-dollar mark in appropriations the Democracy of the country was emphatic in its charge of extravagance, yet without an income tax or an alleged war-revenue tax the balance then of one hundred and forty or one hundred and fifty millions in the Treasury was looked upon as small. A just and equitable tariff law not only insured our prosperity as a Nation, but the prosperity of the people individually as well. In 1913, before the present bill went into effect, our tariff collections were netting us over 17 cents on the dollar of all imports received; in 1915 those receipts had fallen to about 10 cents for each dollar of imports received, because of the increase in the free list.

In 1913, 56 per cent of our imports were free; in 1915, 71.30 per cent were free. In other words, in 1913 we collected duty on 44 per cent of the goods imported to this country, while in 1915 we are collecting only 28.70 per cent.

Under the present circumstances, therefore, it is not to be wondered at that the Democratic majority is at its wits' end what to do when the preparedness question is on the carpet for settlement. However, this situation need bother us but little. If the Democratic majority will fix upon some definite and satisfactory preparedness policy, the Republican Party and a Republican President, after the 4th of March, 1917, will find a way to pay the bills and restore the balance in the Treasury, without resorting to the levying of a tax misnamed and uncalled for, with proper management.

That the Democratic Party is wedded to ideals is certain. That it will go almost any length rather than admit that the policy of protection is proper and the only method by which this country can continue prosperous in all industries is also true.

One of the best exponents in originality, so far as tariff mat-ters are concerned, is our present genial Secretary of the De-partment of Commerce. He is bright enough to see that with the ending of the foreign war America will be made a dumping ground for the cheap manufacturers of Europe. He also sees that for some time the markets of Europe and the consequent financial stringency of the belligerent countries will create a situation heretofore unheard of, and that America will be considered as the only desirable market in the world. Instead of making ready to prevent this dumping by adequate tariffs and thus assisting in the building up of a surplus in the Treasury, Secretary Redfield admits:

I should prefer to deal with it by a method other than tariffs, classing it rather as an offense similar to the unfair domestic competition we now forbid.

Illustrating his theory and his views, he goes even further than this and recommends legislation supplemental to the Sherman antitrust law, making it unlawful to sell or purchase articles of foreign origin or manufacture where the prices to be paid are below the current rates for such articles in the country of production.

In other words, if an American dealer should purchase in a foreign country any articles of manufacture at a lower rate than that for which they are sold in that country and be able, because of the low tariff now existing or because they may be on the free list, to import them to America and sell them at a profit, he should be imprisoned and fined for his business acumen. Of course, if the fines were large enough and numerous enough, Secretary Redfield's rather alarming proposition might add to the revenue receipts. To even suggest such a method seems to

me un-American, unwise, and unfortunate.

A practical tariff bill which would prevent the importation into this country of any class of goods in great quantities is the only solution of the problem which the honorable Secretary believes we will have to face in the near future. bill in force, there would be no need to seek to make criminals of American business men, and there would be no alarm as to the financial benefit which would accrue to the country. tary Redfield has invented a unique method of "whipping the devil around the stump."

Such, however, are the methods, unexpected as they may be, by which the Democrats seek to evade the responsibility which they must assume sooner or later, for conditions now prevailing

Thomas Indian School.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 19, 1916.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, the other day, when the Indian appropriation bill was before the House, I asked some questions about the education of the Indians of New York State.

I got some information from the committee, but more from the following letters which I insert in the RECORD for the information of the House.

There are nearly 200 Indian students at this school from seven different Indian reservations in New York State.

Inoquois, N. Y., February 9, 1916.

Hon. Mr. BENNET.

Hon. Mr. Bennet.

My Dear Friend: I read in the Record Friday February 4, page 2318, your question about New York Indians. In a day or two I will send you annual report of the Thomas Indian School, a State institution, and do not throw them aside until you have looked through them. Beside this Indian school, with 200 pupils, we have 10 day schools, manned or womaned with efficient teachers. So with other reservations, Alleghany, Tuscarora. Onondaga, Tonawanda, St. Regis.

Every Indian child in State has education at his door, so to speak. And at the Thomas Indian School, with a plant that cost \$250,000, could not be replaced for twice that amount, and annual cost of maintenance \$50,000. That is what New York State is doing for her Indians. The State takes them when but children and keeps them through eighth grade; keeps and maintains their room, board, clothes, everything. Yours, truly,

MISSION HOUSE, Iroquois, N. Y., February 15, 1916.

DEAR MR. BENNET: Under separate covers I send you photographs and catalogues of the Thomas Indian School.

It was first an orphan asylum.

The summer of 1854 was one of pestilence and famine. Mrs. Wright, the wife of the missionary, one afternoon found 10 little starving children and brought them home and housed them here in the Mission

House.

Mr. Wright appealed for aid, and Philip Thomas, a wealthy Quaker of Philadelphia, replied, "You take care of the children and I will furnish the money." Hence the name.

Then afterwhile the educational feature was introduced, and it was the "Thomas Orphan Asylum and School." Recently the legislature changed the name to "The Thomas Indian School."

I send you three or four annual reports which you can look through and then to the wastebasket. The picture will tell you something.

The report of 1907 contains Mr. Howlan's historical sketch of the school, page 31, and Hon. Mr. Bissell's, of Buffalo, address to the graduating class of that year.

Report of 1912. Our daughter Mary Lucy is a member of the graduating class (1912), the only white child who ever attended (p. 21). She went from kindergarten to diploma.

The other reports show progress in building, etc.

Come and see our—your—work for the New York Indians, 27 miles southwest of Buffalo.

Yours, sincerely,

J. Emory Fisher.

Neutral Rights on the Sea.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. S. D. FESS, OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 21, 1916.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, through the kindness of my colleague W. B. McKinley I was permitted to read the speech of his friend Dr. Zeballos, of the Argentine Congress, on the subject of neutral rights on the sea.

The address was delivered in the Congress following the capture by the British Government of the steamship Presidente Mitre, a memorandum of which I here insert:

MEMORANDUM.

Steamship Presidente Mitre captured by British cruiser Orama November 28, 1915, 12 miles northeast of Punta Medanos, while the steamer was on her way to Puerto San Antonio, flying the Argentine flag, which flag she had the right to use. The British cruiser Orama ordered her to stop, and when the order was obeyed two officers, with nine armed men, took possession of the steamer, lowered the flag, and started their voyage toward the rorth, and they went to anchor at 15 miles from the lighthouse Ponton Recalada. On the following day the steamer had to follow the Orama and went with her to her new place, viz. 15 miles southwest of Montevideo Bay. There all the passengers and luggage were transshipped to the cruiser in order to be taken to Montevideo, where they were eventually landed. The cruiser Orama

then went alongside Mitre (the Mitre lifted the anchor), and both went to anchor at 23 miles, more or less, southeast of the island of Flores. After spending a day there the Orama took the crew that still was on the Mitre and also took them to Montevideo, in which bay they were shipped on the steam tug Ondina in order to have them sent to land. This is according to the declaration made by the commander of the steamer before the Argentine consul general in the Republic of Uruguay. As soon as the circumstances of the referred event reached the executive power they studied the means for obtaining what justice they could expect. First they examined the special circumstances of the case related with the current rules of international rights, which determined the reciprocal duties of beligerent and neutrals in their rights of the seizure. After studying all the facts concerning the conference at London in the year 1909, the steamers belonging to the Hamburg South American Co., who for 15 years have been in charge of the service of navigation on the southern coast, were able to continue their passage without being molested. This being guaranteed by their nutral character by the legitimate use of the Argentine flag. On the conference of the Atlantic misapplying leads to indicate that the English fleet of the Atlantic misapplying leads to indicate that the English fleet of the Atlantic misapplying leads to indicate that the English fleet of the Atlantic misapplying leads to indicate that the English fleet of the Atlantic misapplying leads to indicate that the English fleet of the Atlantic misapplying leads to indicate that the English fleet of the Atlantic fleet mational steamer Presidente Mitre. In mentioning the select the executive power does not mean to justify the capture nor to acknowledge the rights or seizure. It is only his duty to state loyally the circumstances relating to the case and to explain their views on the incident, considering it as a judicial and diplomatic problem, susceptible to be submitted to a

DR. ZEBALLOS'S SPEECH.

the seat of war.

DR. ZEBALLOS'S SPEECH.

The document is vague and avoids answering the most serious questions, judging it not by the words but from its juridical viewpoint.

The first error is that the executive power does not consider with sufficient attention the matter to safeguard the national dignity.

The second mistake is that the executive power should have sent its ministers and all the cabinet to answer questions, as it used to be done in the olden days. Article 63 of the constitution says that 'Congress can call all ministers of the executive power to give explanation and information whenever they think necessary." All the ministers should be here present to participate with the congress in the responsibility of the defense of the right of the nation. The third mistake is that the executive power does not seem to find the necessity to have a perfect union between the executive power and the congress. At the time of Dr. Pellegrini's presidency, when we were about to break relations with the Republic of Chile, I was minister of foreign affairs. On a certain day I was asked at 3 o'clock that afternoon to inform the congress regarding the state of affairs. President Pellegrini asked me to take two or three days to answer, but mstead of that a quarter of an hour after I was at the congress ready to answer the question. I impressed everybody then with the necessity for a perfect union, and it was unanimously accepted in the following words: "Chile must know that behind the executive power stands all the congress of the nation." I would have liked at the present moment to have something like that happening, so that England may not think that the country and the congress of this Republic consider the pending question lightly and to be settled with the diplomatic routine of any customhous affair. The executive power shows the conceit of thinking itself sufficient and not needing the help of the congress.

The fifth mistake is that the executive power does not think that England has had the intention of doin

precedent which is equal to authorizing anybody to tell us in the next 20 or 30 years that in a very serious question the Argentine Republic closed their eyes to the jurisdiction effected by the British Navy in

precedent which is equal to authorizing anybody to tell us in the next 20 or 30 years that in a very serious question the Argentine Republic cases that the purisdiction effected by the British Navy in Argentine waters, the jurisdiction effected by the British Navy in Argentine waters, the purisdiction of the present of the present generation and in the international life it is necessary to govern with a very high soul, looking far ahead, so that the actions of the present generation may not be misinterpreted in the future.

The document speaks about dipionatic negotiation. Such negotiation does not exist, as the only thing that may be the present generation may not be misinterpreted in the future.

The document speaks about dipionatic negotiation. Such negotiation does not exist, as the only thing that may be a such at the papers) making an elementary reclamation. This was a case for an energetic protest as done by the United States. What is happening is the consequence of the historical diplomatic and military policy founded in England by the glorious Queen Elizabeth in the sixteenth century, when she sent out all her sea dogs to selze the discoveries of the Spanish Navy. Which was the program of the great Queen? To dominate the commerce of the world dominate the navigation of all the countries. England wanted to see the seas free of the navigation of all the countries. England wanted to see the seas free of the navigation of all the countries. England does not grasp that whenever a German house falls 10 commercial firms spring up under the United States name, and that the German rival will be duplicated in future by the American rival in all the markets and in all the seas. England suspected that through the neutral countries of Sweden, Norway, Demark, and Holiaud on one side of the Ariactic and the produce could reach the subject of international policy, declared null the treaty of Parls of 1856, and proclaimed a new law with the object of intervention of 1856, and proclaimed a new law with the object of ine

Review of the Government Shipping Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN H. CAPSTICK. OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 21, 1916.

Mr. CAPSTICK. Mr. Speaker, the principal features of this bill are the following:

The creation of a shipping board, made up of the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of Commerce, and three shipping

Authority is given to this board to construct in American shipyards and navy yards or elsewhere or to purchase or charter vessels for commerce which shall be suitable for use as naval and military auxiliaries and to take over the existing vessels of the United States suitable for commerce which are not required by the naval and military departments in time of peace as well as the vessels now being operated by the Panama Railroad Co. not required in the business of that company.

The board is to have the power to charter, lease, or sell these vessels to an American company for operation under the American flag, unless otherwise authorized, between American ports and foreign countries or in trade with Alaska, the Panama Canal Zone, the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, and Porto Rico, and in regard to such of the vessels as are built in American shipyards, in the general coastwise trade of the United States.

The board is given authority to form a corporation with a capital stock of \$50,000,000, of which the United States shall subscribe and purchase not less than a majority, though the

board may sell this controlling interest.

The board is given authority to requisition these vessels when

necessary for the use of the Government.

The board is given authority to regulate the operation, rates, classification, and so forth, of all common carriers by water trading between American ports and between United States ports and foreign ports, and, jointly with the Interstate Com-merce Commission, to regulate through rates, through routes, classifications, and so forth, of rail and water traffic, with power to prescribe preferential rates in both cases.

The board is authorized to investigate the navigation laws, the affairs of all water carriers of the United States, and to recommend to Congress legislation which shall promote the develop-

ment of the American merchant marine.

All common carriers by water entering American ports are to be licensed by the United States Government, this license to be revoked for failure to comply with the provisions of the act.

It is made a criminal offense to sell an American vessel to

foreigners without the permission of the board.

The bill provides for the creation of a naval auxiliary reserve, with a small monetary allowance, comprising seamen and officers of American ships listed as naval auxiliaries.

There is unanimity of agreement throughout the Nation of the necessity for legislation which shall tend to restore our merchant marine to a status commensurate with our agricultural, industrial, and commercial necessities. Recent international crises have vividly demonstrated that it is essential for this country to be self-sufficient in the instrumentalities of transportation on the high seas. Just how best to accomplish this is the problem confronting us.

The bill under review attempts to remedy the situation by means of the purchase of ships by Government funds in the hope that private individuals will be induced to lease and operate the

vessels so purchased.

The world's aggregate shipping comprises about 50,000,000 gross tons, fully two-thirds of which are tramp steamers, and of these latter British companies operate about 70 per cent. At the present moment, with the German and Austrian shipping, totaling about 6,000,000 gross tons, eliminated, the withdrawal by Great Britain of about 3,000,000 gross tons for Government service, and the loss of about the same amount as a result of the war, there is in all probability a shortage of about 11,000.000

gross tons to perform the overseas carrying trade of the world.

The shippards of the United States are at present taxed to their fullest capacity, having under construction or contracted for over 100 steamers, of 3,000 gross tons or over, 40 of which are steamers for cargo and passenger traffic, the majority of which are intended for the trade between our eastern and western coasts, through the Panama Canal, or for the West Indian and Mexican trade. Of the others, a large number are tankers for the carriage of oil and cargo steamers for the oveaseas trade. This represents a larger tonnage than has ever before been in process of construction at any one time in the history of the country, and the ships are better and larger than American companies have ordered in the past.

At the current prices for construction in our shipyards the \$50,000,000 appropriation would not provide more than 40 to 50 freighters of, say, 15,000 gross tons each, or a total of about 600,000 to 700,000 gross tons. This would be but from 6 per cent to 7 per cent of what is required to replace the stupendous shortage now existing. This would afford no appreciable relief if the ships were immediately available; besides, even if the ships were in existence, their presence would simply encourage many of the foreign vessels now coming to our ports to proceed elsewhere where there is an equal demand for shipping tonnage.

The unprecedented demand for new ships is now so great that it would probably be a year before the Government could have a single ship launched and several years before the entire fleet would be ready for business. By that time the war would be over, and with the German and Austrian and British ships now in Government service released, there would be no great dearth of shipping to perform the world's commerce. Furthermore, for each ship that the Government would construct one ship less would be constructed by individual American companies, so that the Government would be displacing what private owners are constructing or would construct. The Government can not expedite shipbuilding and acquire vessels which private enterprises can not obtain. Besides, as the scarcity of tonnage is due to the scarcity of ships themselves, it is impossible today to purchase an existing ship at less than about 150 per cent greater than her original cost of construction. As an emergency measure, therefore, to feed this ship famine the bill can not be seriously considered. That the Government by the proposition embodied in this bill could appreciably add to the world's tonnage or to the tonnage serving American ports is ridiculous. As to the great increase in the rates of freight now ruling, it

As to the great increase in the rates of freight now ruling, it should be remembered that freight on our exports is paid by the consumer, and is covered in the higher prices at which American products are sold abroad. Freights on imports, which the American consumer pays, have not been so greatly advanced, for the reason that our exports being so much larger than our imports, ships coming here for our larger volume of exports are more actively in competition for the lesser volume of imports offering, so that they can have some paying freight in the west-bound direction.

An American merchant marine is a necessary adjunct to the naval and military departments in national defense, and especially so to this country, with its enormous extent of seaboard and its outlying possessions. It is interesting to note, however, in this connection that Great Britain previous to the war did not possess a single transport or vessel adapted for the conveyance of munitions or stores or horses, or a single hospital ship; but the British Government had the plans and knew the dimensions, the capacity, the equipment, and the speed of every British ship afloat, and knew her whereabouts, recognizing that the most economical, in fact, the only practicable plan was to have shipowners go on building vessels on their own account, running them in their ordinary trades, without expense to the country, and knowing that when the hour struck and the Admiralty required their services the ships would be ready at the disposal of the nation. Many years ago the India office of the British Government decided to run its own troopships in order to be independent of chartered vessels, but they soon learned that it was economically more profitable to charter outside tonnage. The terms of the bill under review relating to these auxiliary craft, however, proceeds on the assumption that American ships are not only nonexistent but always will The fact that at present so many ships are being built by American shipowners as to exhaust the capacity of our shipyards is conclusive evidence that private enterprise is doing its part to meet present abnormal conditions.

The small proportion of American vessels engaged in foreign commerce has led to an underestimate of American resources as auxiliaries for the Navy. The large fleets on our coastwise trades would supply many vessels for use as transports, colliers, The large fleets on our coastwise and other auxiliary purposes in case of necessity, nor would the withdrawal of the best part of these coastwise vessels mean a stoppage of domestic trade as railway transportation in this country is so complete that traffic unable to go by water could be forwarded in most cases by rail. The large number of highpowered screw tugs in American harbors would overcome the apparent deficiency caused by the absence of the ubiquitous steam trawler of England. The great extent of our seaboard has so influenced the size of our so-called coasting vessels that the principal steamship enterprises engaged in domestic commerce are operating vessels of a size and type equal to the requirements of ocean navigation, which a voyage from New York to Galveston and San Francisco is in fact. So that the number of tonnage of American vessels engaged in foreign commerce is no criterion of the relative position of the United States as a shipping Nation.

There can be no pretense that the ships the bill under review contemplates are required for our domestic trades. There is nothing to prevent an American citizen to-day from competing on even terms with any other American citizen in these trades. If these Government-owned ships, however, are to be hired out to any body of our citizens under more favorable terms than can be secured in the open market for a like investment by the general citizen body, this surely would be a discrimination which it is not the province of any Government to function.

It is a libel upon the intelligence of our citizens, bearing in mind their past performances in this line of effort, to allege that they are incapable of successfully grappling with this shipping problem. The factors involved in its solution are not inscrutable, notwithstanding its magnitude and complexity, embracing the possibilities and limitations of the construction, management, and operation of modern sea craft. It is only necessary to look the facts squarely in the face. The manner in which we have developed our coastwise shipping is convincing

of what we can accomplish when there are no natural or artificial handicaps surrounding the problem. All that the American asks is a fair field, and the removal of discriminations to which his competitor is not subjected. The Government of the United States has not exhausted its energies in any effort to make shipping attractive to private capital, but on the contrary has been guilty of acts of omission and commission otherwise, and until the Government has done the former it is not entitled to score our shipowners for its failure to accomplish the impossible. The United States Congress should first address itself to the proposition of placing its citizens on a parity with the citizens of other countries in active competition with them if we may hope to fulfill the desires of the country and cease its search for a nostrum that will by magic produce a healthy condition. Whatever legislation is projected should have no regard to the traditional dogmas of political parties adapted to economic conditions which pertained to a dead era. Subserviency to old principles merely because they are old is moldy superstition and a clear index of a nation living in the past and clinging to the idols of its ancestors. Our chief solicitude should be, not a paltry temporizing policy with this important problem in the life of the Nation, but a statesman-like constructive attempt to develop a merchant marine that, with well-defined, carefully thought out safeguards which will stimulate it and protect it from unnecessary legislative burdens, will lay the foundation of an evolution that will insure its survival under normal international relations. should scrap all untenable ideals and adopt a feasible ambition.

This bill virtually embodies an attempt by the Government to control competition and check and regulate natural conditions. International carriage is a bargain in which no one nation can assume successfully to dictate all the terms. It is open to all nations, and can not be looked at locally. It is a world question. In the absence of international agreement to equalize conditions, where the American shipowner has to encounter disabilities imposed upon him by the United States Congress which it is unwilling to remove, or from established economic conditions prevailing in this country over which he can have no control, the Government should extend relief to the extent of equalizing this difference after thoroughly and scientifically ascertaining, ship by ship and voyage by voyage, its precise sum. All that is necessary is to put the American shipowner on exactly the same basis as his foreign competitor. No more is necessary; no less will do. On an even basis American ingenuity and resourcefulness will enable us to hold our own against all comers

The accumulated experience of the nations which have been successful in shipping is that a merchant marine is a distincively private enterprise. In so far as it is needed by the State, the State owes it assistance, and so far as the State imposes burdens upon it not imposed by other nations on their citizens, those burdens should be removed, or, remaining, be at the Whatever assistance is given to shipping should be not for the benefit of the shipowner nor for the benefit of the shipper, but for the benefit of the commerce of the country There is abundant evidence throughout the country that an American merchant marine is a necessity, and it will be supplied by private capital just as soon as our lawmakers permit the investment to be reasonably profitable. Before the war American citizens owned and operated successfully under foreign flags about 2,000,000 gross tons of shipping, proves that if by doing this under a foreign flag, with less restrictive laws and more favorable economic conditions than our own, they could surely do the same under their own flag with these restrictions removed and the economic disabilities overcome.

This bill proposed to lease the vessels contemplated to private companies, but they can not be thus leased unless private companies can operate them profitably, and if private companies could do this in the international trades they would now be doing so without Government connection, if successful operation under existing conditions were possible. The final outcome of any such measure as this is bound to be a deficit which will far surpass in amount the figures considered by Congress in subsidy bill ever before it. That the remedy submitted in this bill can be designated as a substitute for a subsidy, bounty, subvention, or whatever other term euphemism can suggest, is not entitled to serious refutation. It amounts to a subsidy, pure and simple, in a most subtle form in that there is no direct means of ascertaining the amount to be eventually appropriated to meet a deficit. This the taxpayers will fully realize if ever a true bill of expense is exhibited.

The general opinion of the shipping community and our important commercial associations is that the practical effect of this scheme will inevitably be to retard and not promote the restoration of our American mercantile marine.

Tariff and Taxes.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 21, 1916.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under the privi-lege just granted to me by the House I desire to extend my remarks briefly on the subject of tariff and taxes—one a legisla-tive expedient for the protection of American industry and the other a dead sure recourse under political conditions that ignore an economic truth.

I speak of the tariff because, if wisely enacted and fairly administered, it provides the Government with revenue and encourages American industries to compete with each other to the direct advantage of the working people and consumers of our own country. It gives us a square deal in foreign competition and places the burden of paying the duties upon foreign producers, who would compete with us on unequal terms.

We have suffered from so much mistaken philosophy upon tariff questions in recent years that a recital of the foregoing simple truths can not be amiss, now that existing tariffs are unfair to American industries and direct taxes have been substituted by the party in power for the so-called indirect taxes—protective tariffs-which the Republican Party formerly levied upon foreign productions before they were admitted to competition with American productions.

NO HARM TO REPEAT THE TRUTH.

I say it can do no harm to repeat these truths. Opinions with regard to economics change frequently and sometimes the people themselves are misled into doing themselves injury. The workingman, in particular, realizes this when the work he once had under a protective tariff system is taken away as the result of some fine-spun theory about the efficacy of free trade.

We saw how it worked in the transition period before the outbreak of the European war, and we are justified in believing that unless steps are soon taken to restore a reasonable tariff protection to the industries of America the close of the European war may be equally disastrous to those of our own country who must compete with the cheaper labor of foreign countries.

It is because the plain people are thinking about the tariff and because most of them are worrying about their taxes that this discussion is timely. Of course there will be more of it as this Congress proceeds to meet the great problems that confront it. There may be distress in Mexico and war in Europe, but the tariff as an American issue will not down. The difference between Republican protection and Democratic taxes is too painfully significant to be ignored.

THE VIEWPOINT OF A PLAIN CITIZEN.

Let us see how it appeals to the ordinary American home. Making allowances for the enthusiasm of Mr. H. Martin, of Detroit, who evidently derives some pleasure from reading the speeches of my colleagues in the Congressional Record, let me introduce him as a man who thinks.

Here is Mr. Martin's letter:

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE.

Dear Sir: By the courtesy of our Member, I receive the Congressional Record and very much enjoy reading the debates of Congress.

I especially enjoy those of yourself, Humphrey of Washington, Mondell of Wyoming, and lastly the one just delivered by Congressman Ricketts of Ohio, which I finished reading to-day.

Our Democratic friends make a great point in discussing tariff matters in their statements that by this system of revenue tariff the Underwood tariff is conducted on that it is the "wealth of the country that is obliged to pay the expenses of Government instead of the working classes."

as obliged to pay the expenses of Government instead of the working classes."

My idea is that under this system the poorer classes, the working people, pay the taxes if they pay anything. The consumer pays more of the expenses of the Government than under the protective tariff.

My idea is that manufacturers and corporations interested in manufacturing take into account all expenses connected with the operation of their plants, the cost of material, wages, overhead charges, depreciation, insurance, taxes on products before they make their prices for the goods they manufacture. Then they put on a percentage that will allow a profit, and their products are thus sold. Thus the consumer pays the cost of the present corporation tax, the income tax, and all taxes levied that first come out of the capitalist.

Our capitalists nearly all are stockholders in these industries and must have a profit or think they see a return in dividends for the capital they invest in business.

So, indirectly, as on this tariff for revenue only, as well as on the protective policy, if cost is added on this account, the final consumer pays the cost.

Perhaps this is the reason of the greater cost shown in the living expenses of the working classes, as well as all other classes, which we

are now experiencing. The express companies put on the extra cent on their packages, as I well know, when giving a receipt, as I have personal knowledge of this fact, and I presume that all who are taxed by the new system manage to pass it on down to the ultimate consumer. You can enlarge on this and show it up much better than I can, and I am surprised that in no speech by our side that some one of them all have not shown this way.

You can enlarge on this and show it up much better than I can, and I am surprised that in no speech by our side that some one of them all have not shown this up.

I will hope, if I am correct in this view, that you will elaborate this point for the benefit of our free-trade brethren and drive the fact home to them, and not only to them but the people also.

I am quite an old man—voted for Fremont in 1856—so you can calculate my age pretty closely. Was out with the "boys" in 1861, and am short a leg on account of that experience, and the United States is looking out for me some for my services in the old days.

Another fact in my experience: I was a mechanic for 30 years. My tools were made of imported steel. They cost me more under the tariff laws of Buchanan's time than when the tariff was increased upon all makes of steel. My experience is that everything that I had to buy for my family actually decreased in cost as tariffs increased. Same on steel rails, plate glass, tin plate, cotton and woolen goods, tableware, etc., and never in any instance have I been able to purchase articles for any less price after the tariff has been lowered.

I shall hope that you will elaborate this phase of the subject and thrust another thorn through the thick hide of our free-trade friends. Only think, in 50 years they have only had control of the country twice, one term satisfying to the voters, and it is only when a new crop of voters become of age, without the experience of we older ones, that they get into power.

Respectfully,

H. Parker.

DETROIT, 512 FOURTH AVENUE, January 2, 1916. LABOR PINCHED BY TAXES.

From many sources, too, we hear about the war (?) taxes which the Democratic Congress has been imposing upon us. As a rule, these taxes have been supposed to affect only the rich. The new proposition from the White House and the Treasury Department suggests an increase of these taxes "on the rich." We are not to issue bonds; no. We are not to return to the protective tariff of the Republican Party; not yet. We are to impose more direct taxes upon ourselves. That is the idea. Put it on the record on building assertions on tach provider on it on the people, on building associations, on tooth powder, on gasoline, on billiard tables, on theaters.

Let us see how labor feels about that. I have here a letter from the Musicians' Protective Association of Philadelphia, a body of workmen affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The musicians understand how "taxing the rich" gradually percolates through from the theater magnate to the boys in the orchestra. I commend their letter to the careful reading of those who would understand better our present unsatisfactory system

of low tariff and taxes:

PHILADELPHIA, PA., February 14, 1916.

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE.

Hon. J. Hampton Moore.

Dear Sir: In view of the fact that under the war-tax act of the last session of Congress, heavy and unequal burdens were placed upon the one enterprise that could least afford to stand them, we ask you to use your good offices in securing a more equitable distribution of any tax the present Congress may levy.

This plea is made in behalf of the theaters of the United States, which, under more prosperous conditions, directly and indirectly, in the way of actors, stage hands, musicians, billposters, and employees generally gave employment to approximately 300,000 people, at present less than half that number are at work in theatrical enterprises for the reason that many theaters and traveling road attractions have been forced to wholly close, and others are operating but a fraction of the time and with the lowest possible number of employees needed for occasional openings.

A theater building is like a school or a church; it can be devoted to nothing else but the single purpose for which it was built; it is as nearly allied to a school as to the ordinary commercial enterprise in that through the theater the child of to-day knows more of the history, customs, and spirit of ancient times and of the scenery and people of other lands than did the adult before the theater became a fixed institution.

customs, and spirit of ancient times and of the scenery and people of other lands than did the adult before the theater became a fixed institution.

Never in the history of the theater have its houses suffered so heavy from financial depression; not one theater proper throughout the United States pald expenses during the past year. We ask you to think of it. Ninety per cent or more of the hundreds of theaters in America were operated last year at a loss, and the prospects this year are no better; there has been no cessation of depression in theatrical circles.

The natural inquiry is: Then, why operate the theaters at all? Why not close them? The answer is plain: The theater building is not like the store, the warehouse, etc.; if a grocer moves from a store building, it may be rented to a dry goods concern, a druggist, a butcher, or any of the other hundred enterprises demanding a store building for their business; a theater building can only be used for theatrical purposes; and if there are not enough traveling attractions out to make the house pay expenses, a change in tenant can not help the situation.

As to why operate the theater at all: There are certain fixed charges which must go on whether the house is open or closed; the rent must be paid; the house must stay open to retain its patrons; the equipment must be kept in safe and usable condition; any money earned helps reduce the gross loss, and it is for this and not in expectation of profit that a majority of the theaters are kept open to-day.

During the past year about 10 per cent of the one-night stand houses could not even get returns sufficient to pay for the help employed and the light, heat, etc., without taking rents and fixed charges into consideration. These houses have had to close, as it was cheaper to forfeit the rent and fixed charges than to keep them open; yet, under the effort to keep going. Congress have had to close, as it was cheaper to forfeit the rent and fixed charges than to keep them open; yet, under the effort to keep going. C

point of a grim joke that owning or operating a losing enterprise is viewed as a luxury.

As before stated, about 10 per cent of the one-night-stand houses have had to close and more than double that amount had to turn to renting for church or local purposes, motion pictures, etc., to keep open at all. The average theater is not by any means as well adapted for use by motion pictures as are the houses directly constructed for their exploitation.

The average theater is not by any means as well adapted for their exploitation.

Even New York City, with its inflow of out-of-town visitors, is no exception. Although the theatrical season is far advanced, such theaters as the Little Theater and Weber's have not obtained attractions to permit their opening; the Knickerbocker, the George M. Cohan, the Liberty, the New York, the Criterion, the Broadway, the Park, the Circle, the Fulton, and others among the best-known, most costly, and completely equipped, and highest type of theaters in the United States have been forced to turn to motion pictures and waste the valuable equipment and the costly properties purchased for general dramatic purposes. The Wallack and the Herald Square have been wholly abandoned as theaters and dismantled. In addition to all this during the past year the finest theaters of the city have been closed for many weeks, at great expense, simply because they either could not get proper attractions or sufficient patronage to afford to stay open.

The situation throughout the country is much worse than in New York, for practically all traveling theatrical productions have their birth in New York City

Theatrical attractions to keep the theaters open can not be had because the producer of traveling attractions will not put them out. Last season the losses of traveling attractions will not put them out. Last season the losses of traveling attractions will not put them out. Last season the losses of traveling attractions will not put them out. Last season the losses of traveling attractions will not put them out. Last season the losses of traveling attractions will not put them out. Last season the losses of traveling attractions at the production of plays. For such internationally known organizations as the Boston Opera Co., the French Opera Co. of New Orleans disaster or dissolution has resulted.

Loss than one-fifth of the attractions necessary to keep constantly

the Century Opera Co., the French Opera Co. of New Orleans disaster or dissolution has resulted.

Less than one-fifth of the attractions necessary to keep constantly open one-night-stand theaters, the theaters throughout the country generally, are now on the road. Whole theatrical circuits, particularly those housing popular attractions, have closed their doors as theaters

those housing popular attractions, have closed their doors as theaters proper.

Any tax on theaters is a direct tax on the owner of a losing business, and is a burden in addition to all other taxes assessed on property and enterprises generally.

The tax on whiskys and wines, on tobacco, on telephone messages, and so on down the list, is passed on to the ultimate consumer. The owner of the business, even though prosperous, is not the one who actually pays the tax; the theater alone, the one enterprise least able to stand it, is singled out.

Not merely hundreds, but thousands, of members of organized labor connected with theatrical enterprises have already been thrown out of employment by existing theatrical conditions. Any further Federal tax will prove the preverbial straw under existing burdens and close further theaters, with further loss of employment and further increase the non-productive property of the country.

Your own district is directly concerned, and what is stated in this letter applies directly to the managers of the theaters there and to the members of organized labor working with theatrical enterprises in your own locality.

Will you not investigate conditions and use your influence to secure fairer adjustments of the tax burdens than were required under the war tax of last year and, if reports be true, are contemplated this year? Will you not use your efforts to see that a burdensome tax is not again assessed against a losing enterprise, one operated only because the original investment was so made that it can be operated only in one way, and must be operated even at a loss in order to reduce the loss to the lowest possible figure?

If a theater should by any chance make a profit, it pays all the taxes assessed against other enterprises or persons and an income tax, too, if the idea of Congress is to tax luxuries, let the tax be on the luxury or the luxury seeker and not on the manager of a losing enterprise.

Very truly, yours,

W. C. Shepherd, President, Chas. J. McConnell, Secretary, Local No. 77, American Federation of Musicians.

Naturalized Hungarians-Their Rights and Duties.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OB

HON. CHARLES POPE CALDWELL. OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 19, 1916.

Mr. CALDWELL. Mr. Speaker, much has been said here reflecting upon the loyalty of the foreign-born American citizen, and many have been the speeches in defense of the particular nationality attacked. Numerous speeches delivered by leading representatives of the various societies, organized among our adopted people, have been put into the RECORD of this Congress to guide us in our deliberation.

My attention, however, has not been called to anything in the RECORD particularly defining the position of the naturalized Hungarian, and appended hereto and for the information of the House, I have set forth the address of Alexander Konta, delivered under the auspices of the Hungarian Relief Society, at the public library, Yorkville branch, New York, December 7, 1915. I do not indorse all Mr. Konta has said, but submit the same as showing the point of view of a large number of the naturalized Americans of his race.

I believe the great body of naturalized citizens of the central and of the allied powers can be depended upon in our hour of need. It is true that the naturalized citizen and his child, even unto the third and fourth generation, have a sympathy for the home of their fathers. It is good that it is so, for one so devoid of human sympathy that his heart does not yearn to give aid and comfort to his kin in this their greatest hour of trial, or whose manhood fails to respond with a feeling of pride over the feats of arms of those who are fighting for the country from which sprung his race, is too cold and callous to be an American. Things which call for only a protest when done by our fathers are unjust in the case of an uncle and a gross outrage when committed by a step-parent. So, therefore, it is but natural that everyone in America should view the conduct of the European powers from the point of view of his particular blood relative.

Thank God the American institution of government does not destroy the love of country even to the third and fourth generation. America is great because she has attracted to her shores the men of every clime, of every nationality, and of every creed. They have come because their minds were filled with ambition, their hearts with hope, and their bodies with energy. Our form of government has given their individuality an opportunity to expand. We have sapped the good of every nation and the melting pot of a common ambition and understanding has fused these sturdy hosts into a new nation that fears no other, that is jealous of none, that is kin to the whole world, and is proud of that kinship. Our national sympathy therefore goes out to each of the warring nations.

We find ourselves to-day as a sister hoping to settle the quarrel of a younger and older brother, for each of whom she has the warmest love, the greatest respect, and a complete sympathy. It is the earnest prayer of every man who holds dear the American ideal, that before many days an opportunity will present itself by which this Government may in the exercise of its good offices restore peace in the old home and good will among the

nations that are our kin.

APPENDIX.

The following is the address delivered by Alexander Konta, under the auspices of the Hungarian Relief Society, at the public library, Yorkville branch, New York, December 7, 1915:

under the auspices of the Hungarian Relief Society, at the public library, Yorkville branch, New York, December 7, 1915:

Ladies and gentlemen, these are serious times. The future lies dark before us. For more than a year we have watched a war that, far from moving toward either one of its opposing initial purposes, is ever progressing toward greater perplexities. Hungary and Austria on the defensive against intriguing Russia, determined once for all to put an end to her aggressions in the Balkans, to her venomous efforts to prevent the peaceful settlement of racial questions in the dual monarchy. That monarchy's ally, Germany, was forced by unscruphlous diplomacy to fight the trade jealousy of England, the implacable hatred of France, and the determination of Russia to dominate all Europe. Defeated in the east, Russia turned upon the west, upon civilization, to take Galicia from Austria, a part of Hungarian territory, nominally for Servia, her unscrupulous servant and tool: Constantinople from Turkey, and east Prussia from the German Empire.

That is one view of the struggle. The other side claims that it is fighting for civilization and democracy, with savages from India and Africa in the west, with savages from inner Asia on the east, with Calabrians against Tyrolese and Sicilians against Hungarians in the south. The benefit to civilization is unmistakable. Every Senegalese carries in his knapsack a copy of the Rights of Man. Every Sepoy knows the Declaration of Independence by heart. Italy, at least, is straightforward about her reasons for fighting. She frankly admits that she has gone into the struggle to annex that Italia Irredenta which protests as loudly against being made Italian as Alsace protests against being taken tack by France. Ask any merchant, any workingman, any business man in Trieste who or what has made his city prosperous. He will tell you the Austrian Government. Italy can not support the seaports she already has. She lacks the industry and trade. Trieste in her hands would become merely

prosperous. The winter you the Australa with the property and trade. Trieste in her hands would become merely another dead city of the Adriatic.

England claims that she went into this war for the sake of the neutrality of Belgium. But she has been threatening Holland since its beginning because that country has declared its determination to remain neutral. And to-day virtuous England and her French ally not only break the neutrality of Greece, but threatens her with annihilation if she does not join them. This is militarism of the most brutal type.

Let us look for a moment at the small countries that have put their faith in England and her allies. Belgium, left to her fate from the very first day of the war. Servia, relying upon Russian promises and the Russian steam roller that was to crush its way to Berlin in three months, taking in Budapest and Vienna by the way. What has become of that steam roller? Ask the heroes of the Carpathian Mountains, ask the sons of our mother Austria. And what is left of Servia?

And so, looking at the fate of Belgium and Servia, Greece has wisely decided to keep out of it. But will those noble defenders of small nations permit it? Oh, no! Fight or be ruined, says liberal England!

So much ignorance has been aired, so much nonsense has been written about this war by people incapable of judging or deliberately bent on misrepresentation that it would be comical if it were not tragic. Atroettles in Belgium and Servia have been invented by the English press bureaus and obligingly printed far and wide in this country. But never a word about the real atroettles in Galicia, East Prussia, and the Hungarian plain during the months when our heroes prepared to expel the barbarians. Never a word about Senegalese and Turkos and Gurkhas, who are sent out upon the battle fields to gouge out the eyes of the wounded, cut off their ears, and slit their throats. And yet we are toid that Hungary, Austria, and Germany are the savages; that Servia, Portugal,

Russia, Sicily, Calabria, French Africa, and British India are fine flowers of the Control of th

mass of Americans had become indifferent to this "mother country" of theirs. But now all that is changed.

If I have talked so much to you of England, it has not been without a purpose. For, of all the factors of this war, it is only England that counts here in America. If you are pro-English you are a good citizen or a desirable immigrant, even though you are a "Blackhander." Pardon the word. It really does not apply to us. But if you are pro-Hungarian, which means also pro-German, if you even maintain that England's ally, Russia, is a blot on the mantle of European civilization, you are an undesirable. The majority has decided it so.

Now, let us look at the other side; let us take into consideration the provocation which the American spirit has endured with really admirable patience. Public opinion is an uncertain quantity, because one can never tell which side it will take. In the present case American public opinion had been carefully prepared by an English press campaign lasting 20 years. No story published by the English papers against Germany was too silly, too patently untrue, to be reprinted here and commented upon in all seriousness. All America ever heard in a general way about Germany or Austria or Hungary were tales of militarism, abuse of power, and of tyranny over other races. Then came the war and the first installment of British war lies, the stories of the ill-treatment of American tourists in Germany. These lies were disproved by the returning tourists themselves, but, somehow or other, their denials did not receive much attention from the American press. The Belgian atrocities stories followed, charges recklessly made, never substantiated. Denials were vain. Public opinion here was now thoroughly inflamed. Twenty years of British diplomacy, of Russian plotting were forgotten, if they had ever been known. England began to reap the fruits of 20 years of calumny. And to this was added historic sympathy for France.

Finally came the blow that killed Germany's cause in this country, and with it

Arguments that a British steamer in British waters under the British flag should have been protected by British destroyers; that she should not have carried ammunitions; that American citizens were being used to protect with their lives British war supplies—all this had nothing to do with the matter. It was a question of American lives, of sentiment, and so the case of the central powers was irretrievably lost in this country. That one tragedy has remained the only fact with which American public opinion will concern itself. Whatever had gone before, whatever followed, only served to strengthen, to increase the nation-wide resentment. An injudicious propagand, diplomatic plots, the supreme stupidity of being found out—all this has been new fue! to the country and the country and the supplement of the country and an unnaturalized, Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians first of all.

We are face to face with a situation whose ultimate developments none can foresee. It is not a new fact in American history, We have not an experience of the last century the Irish was always existed. There has been Know Nothingism. Its revival has been threatened. In the middle of the last century the Irish was always and the country of their ancestry. Shall they love England Instead, historic enemy of their fatherland in the Old World as in the new? Must an American of Hungarian ancestry side with Russia because Russia is England's ally? Must an American Jew become the champion of the Car of Kishenev for the same reason? America first, always first! But if some of us place England second on their hearts.

Now, as to our rights. They are the same reason? America first, always first! Shu first is not dual nationality; it is not divided allegiance. It is the right exercised by many native Americans who place England second in their hearts.

Now, as to our rights. They are the same as those of native Americans. W

cation. Public opinion is public opinion even when it is wrong. It is even strong enough to turn the wrong into the right, for a time at least. My personal opinion is that the end of this war will bring such an overwhelming exposure of English and Russian intrigue, of the tricks by which this caiamity was deliberately brought on, in pursuance of the policy of King Edward VII and of the Panslavistic agents behind the Servian secret society which plotted the murder at Sarajevo, that there will be a reversal of public opinion in this country, and that it will see how near it came to being the dupe of English perfidy along with France.

And now a few words in conclusion. Never give up your pride in your mother country. Never forget what she has done through a thousand years of glorious history. Always remember that in the days when European civilization was in danger Hungary stood alone and stemmed the flood. Remember that the rich soil of the Alföld has been drenched with the blood of your ancestors, that they, too, won their constitution and maintained it. Remember that your ancestors have always stood for civilization; that to-day, still on the place where west meets cast, their children stand to turn back once more the Asiatic bordes of an unspeakable autocracy. Remember that they are worthy to essentially seed the greatest of their sires. Remember that the indomitable spirit of Hunyadi János and his heroes still lives and conquers in the Hungary of to-day.

Shall we not be proud of these our brethren who fung the Tartarback across the mountains through the snows of a cruel winter, the hardships of an inclement spring? Shall we deny our blood, our race, our fathers—the most gorfous heritage in the world?

It is not our duty to forget them here; it is our right to glory in them. Shall we not celebrate the fortitude of our women—their self-sacrifice, their service, their devotion, the high courage of the mothers of a race of heroes? Three cheers for the break seven and they made across the mountains through the s

The So-Called Philippine Bill-A Protest Against the Clarke Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN, OF TENNESSEE.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 21, 1916.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important measures to be submitted to this House during the present session will be the so-called Philippine bill, which recently passed the Senate and is now before the Committee on Insular Affairs of this The Clarke amendment to the Senate bill has been House. justly condemned by the American daily press—Democratic, Republican, and Independent. It was this unwise and un-American amendment which called forth the unanswerable statement of Secretary Garrison in his letter to President Wilson in which he bravely said it meant the abandonment of our duty and the betrayal of a trust.

In this connection I could not quote a more eloquent or patriotic sentiment than that voiced by our loved Speaker in his recent speech at Fort Myer when he truthfully declared: "No country will endure, and no country is worthy to endure, that will not protect all of its citizens, wherever they may be.

A stronger, a more convincing or unanswerable argument against the Clarke amendment can not be made than that con-tained in the protest filed by Mr. Charles M. Swift, president of the Philippine Railway Co., with the chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs. It is as follows:

WASHINGTON, February 18, 1916.

The drastic Clarke amendment proposes a complete severance of relations between the Philippine Islands and the United States Government.

If the President so wills, it may become effective in two years. When the amendment becomes law the Philippine Islands will be a foreign country, so far as America is concerned. An American doing business in Mexico. The Philippine government may develop into a monarchy or the most tyrannical despotism, the laboring classes become serfs or six was, for all America is concerned. The Philippine government may the most tyrannical despotism, the laboring classes become serfs or six was, for all America is concerned. The Philippine government may the state, may declare all foreigners, including America conserned it to holding property, and it will be none of our business. If 7,000,000 Ftd holding property, and it will be none of our business, if the system of public education is abolished, if the present efficient health department is swept away and the Islands given over to plague, cholera, and smallpox, America will not interfere. We are through with it. The Philippine Islands, even if he went there at America's invitation, must take his loes.

Under these circumstances if would not seem inappropriate to consider the status of the two victims of this extraordinary legislation, the Filipino and the American investor.

And first the Filipino.

And dirst the Filipino was a Spanish subject. The Spanish Government was his sovereign, to whom he owed allegiance and from whom he was entitled to protection. By the treaty of Paris he became a subject of the United States, which, so far as it could be accomplished by treaty, became his sovereign. He was not satisfied, rehelied, submitted als cause to the arbitrament of arms, and was beaten, and thus parity by treaty and partly by force of arms became in the properties of the Constitution. Specifically he is not entitled to a trial by jury when accused of crime. He is certainly a citizen within the broad definition found in the Century Dictionary:

The Supreme Court has decided that he is not so fully a citizen of the United States and the provides that his political status sh

has been the constant study and care of the American Congress.

I suppose it is claimed that the power that has given may also take away.

I venture to deny it. American sovereignty may free the slave, but until American ideals perish from off the earth American sovereignty can not turn a free man into a slave. It may enlarge a citizen's status, but it may not diminish it. It may rescue the victim of anarchy and misgovernment, but as long a: a vestige of American patriotism remains it may not turn him back into the miserable state from which it rescued him. American freedom is not temporary. American liberty is not the gift of a whimsical sovereign to be bestowed to-day and withdrawn to morrow. Having given the Filipino an American status he can not be robbed of that status except by most shameful tyranny. If the true, loyal, freedom-loving heart of America speaks in Congress, no Filipino will be driven from the protection of the Stars and Stripes. Until every Filipino with complete capacity to understand and with full understanding has expressed his desire to withdraw from American protection, the Philippine Islands are and ought to be American territory, and this I submit is self-evident.

Now let us consider the American business man who has invested his capital in the Philippine Islands.

I suppose no one will deny that for 15 years the Philippine Islands have been American territory. Americans doing business there have been operating under the American fiag on American soil and under the protection of a Government to which they owed allegiance, to whom they were proud to belong, and whose customs and ideals they understood and loved. They have committed no crime, unless it is a crime to be business men. They are enterprising, daring, and determined, the stuff of which American pioneers are made. They have given unswerving loyalty to the Stars and Stripes. And now, with startling precipitancy, they are to be forcibly expatriated, made aliens in a far-off country, with possible anarchy, revolution, and polit

to launch them on any but American soil. American enterprises on American soil are entitled to recognition and protection by the American Government. American enterprises on foreign soil have no such protection. If the Clarke amendment becomes law, our investments will be rulned. Our securities will not be worth 10 cents on the dollar. The result will be tantamouat to confiscation of nine-tenths of their value.

Such legislation is in the highest degree arbitrary and tyrannical. If its justification rests on some overwhelming national need not disclosed, full compensation should precede confiscation. There is no adequate provision in the Clarke amendment for ascertaining the damage it will inflict on American enterprise. The vague suggestion that the President may negotiate with the Philippine government on the subject is illusory and meaningless. American citizens may rightfully protest against a debtor of yet more doubtful responsibility.

In conclusion, it seems incredible that an American Congress can be persuaded to agree to this precipitate, ill-considered, and tyrannical measure, and at one stroke legislate the Filipino out of his American citizenship, his security, liberty, and individual independence, and expatriate American citizens. American capital, and American enterprise.

Commenting editorially on this protest, the Washington Post

Commenting editorially on this protest, the Washington Post on last Sunday, under the caption, "Stability of contracts," says:

on last Sunday, under the caption, "Stability of contracts," says:

Charles M. Swift, president of the Philippine Railway Co. and financially interested in the Manila Electric Railway & Light Co., has written a letter to the chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House, directing attention to the fact that the Clarke amendment adopted by the Senate virtually constituted a violation of contract.

There is no doub, as Mr. Swift points out, that American capital was invited by the Government to invest in the Philippines. Bryan had made his campaign against imperialism, and the people themselves had approved of the policy of the United States Government in holding the Philippine Islands. That was the only time the question had ever been brought before the people directly and made a predominant issue in a campaign. At the last election, although there was a plank in the Democratic platform providing for the ultimate independence of the Philippines, the issue was blanketed by the split in the Republican Party and by the greater prominence given to other issues by the Democratic presidential candidate. Congress has received no mandate from the people to cast the Philippines overboard. The only mandate was for the retention of the Philippines.

Although capital was asked to invest in the Philippines and so aid in their upbuilding, the islands will become a foreign country, so far as America is concerned, if the Clarke amendment becomes law. An American doing business there will stand exactly on a par with an American doing business in Mexico. The Philippine government may tax away the entire value of American investment; may confiscate it to the state; may declare all foreigners, including Americans, incapable of holding property, and yet under the Clarke amendment it will be none of the business of the United States Government to interfere.

Preparedness.

For defense every dollar needed; not one dollar for aggression or

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RUFUS HARDY. OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 21, 1916.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, frankly I state that I have taken leave to extend my remarks in the Record in order to send to my constituents a fairly full statement of the facts and conditions bearing upon the present agitation for a big Navy and a big standing Army in time of peace and my own views in opposition to such policy and in favor of a preparedness for defense only and not for aggression, which statement is contained in a letter written by me to a number of my constituents and incorporated herewith.

Washington, D. C., February 19, 1916.

Mr. Clarence Ousley, Chairman, Bryan; Mr. D. D. Peevy and others, Teague; Maj. Charles H. Mills, Chairman, Corsicana; Messrs. P. L. Brady, Mayor, and others, Hearne.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your recent communication touching the subject of national preparedness. I realize that of your number a great many are my warm, true, and long-time friends.

About the same date with your letters to me representatives of the grange in Eastern States and the president of the Texas Farmers' Union, claiming to represent the sentiments of the organized farmers of 22 States, including all Southern States, were testifying before a congressional committee that their organizations were opposed to great increases in our Army and Navy expenditures.

Without claiming to know in detail or to present the plans of the President specifically you, in effect, ask me to follow him blindly, because you trust him, and ask me to do so.

Pardon me if I express the belief and hope that you did not fully understand my views or the President's plans at that time. He was then urging on Congress the continental army plan of Mr. Garrison, his Secretary of War, and though it was not approximately called for in the report to Congress of the Secretary of the Navy, he was declaring, according to daily papers, for the greatest navy in the world. Your petitions and resolutions are vague, but one of your resolutions commends "a citizen soldiery, well trained and well equipped, as the safest assurance against dangers from without and against the sinister peril of militarism that might develop from within." It is the sinister peril of militarism that would develop if Mr. Garrison's continental army plan were adopted more than the expense that made me oppose it. Nearly all military men believe that that plan must involve ultimately, if not immediately, compulsory military training and conscription. Without doubt it would establish a centralized military system, five hundred thousand strong at first, perhaps a million or two million strong later. A system even more vicious and dangerous million strong later. A system even more victors and dangerous in a Republic than in a monarchy, a system easily mobolized and used by powerful interests with a friendly administration to crush or oppress the people. Happily, the President has very lately abandoned that plan, and, fortunately for the country, Mr. Garrison is no longer Secretary of War. I believe the President will accept the National Guard or State militia plan of Chairman Hax, of Virginia, on which the Democratic members of the House Military Affairs Committee have agreed. Had Mr. HAYS'S constituents demanded that he follow the President blindly and had they been obeyed, the great centralized standing army plan would have been fixed on us. I venture to say the President is not sorry that it is not so. Certainly I shall be delighted to support the committee National Guard bill and the small increase they make in the standing Army, as I understand that bill will be written.

The big "continental army" would have given us a vast army of soldiers officered and directed and stationed from Washing ton, soldiers first, citizens last, whose citizen sympathies would have shrunk as their numbers increased. The National Guard, on the other hand, will live, move, and owe their being in and to the States and have their officers elected by themselves or appointed by the States and, like our present militia, be a source of pride and pleasure to the local communities whose people they love and of whom they are. These will be "citizen soldiery," and we will owe them to the fact that Congressmen may differ from and counsel with the President. Our fathers stood for the National Guard and against large standing armies. May I not do so without offense? Having read the full account of the interesting meetings at Bryan and Corsicana on February 9, may I tell you some things you were not told there?

TESTIMONY FACTS AND FIGURES.

The very day of your meeting Gen. Nelson A. Miles, a Democrat, and Admiral Victor Blue, Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, were testifying before the Military Affairs Committee that the United States is prepared to resist successfully, both on land and sea, invasion by any possible enemy. Gen. Miles condemned the "continental army," upheld the National Guard, declared our coast fortifications equal to those of any in the world, and said, further:

If 500,000 men were landed on either of our coasts and we were not able to raise enough men to drive them out, I would want to move to another country.

That kind of testimony does not get much space these days. Some further facts: We have to-day 50 land-grant colleges like our agricultural and mechanical and 51 other colleges where military training is given by officers detailed from the Army and Navy. They turn out annually many thousands of fairly well trained officers and soldiers. They have nearly all been operating 20 years, and in that time have sent out over all the States stalwart, trained soldiers and officers under whom enough patriotic, liberty-loving sons of America could and would muster to justify Gen. Miles's faith if our land was invaded. In the next five years these colleges will turn out an additional 100,000 young soldiers. There are militia companies in nearly every fair-sized town who would not flunk. Our Regular Army would join in. Some of the old boys that wore the gray and the blue would yet fire a gun for home and fireside. With all the strength of my soul I do believe we could repel the invader-any possible invader-of our shores even to-day.

And yet, on the receipt of a letter some time ago from President Biszel, of our Agricultural and Mechanical College, I urged the Committee on Military Affairs to provide a greater number of detailed officers to such colleges, so that their military training might be more efficient. Mr. Hay assures me that that will be done. I favor it, because I believe every instrumentality we have for defense ought to be of the best.

The finest brief defense of our Navy and Army and our National Guard as ample protection against invasion, in the face of charges of general inefficiency and insufficiency, I have ever read was contained in the President's message to Congress December a year ago. It was so grand in its poise, its patriotism, and its statesmanship that it profoundly impressed me.

Will not you read it?

Then he believed we had always found means to defend ourselves when necessary and would always do so without compulsory military service in time of peace. Then we were incapable of the dread of the power of any other nation. Then he declared, "We never have had, and while we retain our present principles and ideals we never shall have, a large standing Army. Then he declared the country had been misinformed and that we had not been negligent of our national defense or unmindful of the great responsibility resting upon us and that to do more than we were then doing would carry with it "a reversal of the whole history and character of our polity." Even in the message of December 7, 1915, he said: "We will not maintain a standing army except for uses which are as necessary in times of peace as in times of war," and "our confidence has been that our safety in times of danger would lie in the rising of the Nation to take care of itself as the farmers rose at Lexington." I do not quote the President to criticize. I quote him because of the unquestioned truth of the quotation. have stood with the President in all his great policies because I have agreed with him, but if he now stands for a great standing Army in time of peace and for the greatest Navy in the world, I can not agree with him. I have been and am his I have defended him on the floor of the House against attack from our own governor and have his letter of thanks I know he is my friend and that he is one man, at least, who does not wish me to be a puppet. I believe the time will come when he will thank some of us for saving him and our country from a "reversal of the whole history and character of

As to our Navy. Let me give you some facts not told in your meetings. When the present war broke out it was warmly disputed whether the Navy of the United States or that of Germany ranked second, England's being admittedly first; in fact, about equal to that of the United States and Germany combined. In December, 1914, Admiral Fletcher testified before the House

Naval Committee, as follows:

Mr. BUTLER (member of committee). Where do we stand, Admiral?
Admiral Fletcher (our highest naval officer). I have not personally
gone into that, but I have estimates that place us about third at the present time.

Then, after being much questioned about the navies of Germany, France, Russia, Japan, and Italy, in comparison with ours, Judge Witherspoon of the committee asked these questions and received these answers:

Mr. Witherspoon. Then what nation is there we are not prepared to resist; there is not one on earth, is there, Admiral?

Admiral Fletcher. I should say that England has a navy so much more powerful than that of any other nation in the world that she could easily keep control of the seas?

Mr. Witherspoon. England. Well, what other one?

Admiral Fletcher. I do not think we need greatly fear any other single nation.

Mr. Witherspoon. Then, there is no other nation except England, in your judgment, we could not successfully defend ourselves against?

Admiral Fletcher. I think that is correct; yes.

After almost a page of further examination-

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Then, understanding your testimony, after reviewing it, do you want us to understand that England is the only nation on earth that las a navy we could not successfully resist?

Admiral FLETCHER. I think that is the fair conclusion, yes, sir, at the present time.

Perhaps it should be stated that experts agree that no nation can afford to send all its navy, or very much more than 50 per cent of it, away from its own borders to attack a foreign nation because of the necessity of protecting its own shores. This testimony, and much more like it, is not often seen in public print to-day.

It is printed and can be read, however, in the Military and Naval Affairs Committee hearings. Let me add only, that at this session Gen. Weaver, chief of our Coast Artillery, testified that "our coast defenses are the best in the world"; and Admiral Winterhalter, who is in charge of our Atlantic Fleet, testified that our Navy is second in size to England's only, and in thorough trim.

pare it with any other navy save Germany's, because hers is admittedly by far the largest of all the others except ours. Here, then, are the figures of expenditure on the respective navies of the United States and Germany annually from 1901 to 1915, inclusive:

Naval appropriations of the United States and Germany from 1900 to 1914,

1000 1001	UNITED STATES, JULY 1-JUNE 30.	001 501 005
1900-1901		\$61, 721, 695
1000-2		68, 438, 301
		82, 977, 641
1904-0		116, 655, 826
1905-6		109, 725, 059
1900-1		98, 392, 144
1907-8		117, 353, 474
1908-9		120, 421, 579
1909-10		122, 247, 365
1910-11		111, 791, 980
1911-12		133, 559, 971
1912-13		129, 787, 233
1913-14		136, 858, 301
1914-15		141, 872, 786
	GERMANY, APRIL TO MARCH.	
1900-1901		37, 173, 074
1901-2	~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~	46, 315, 800
1902-3	***************************************	48, 818, 700
1903-4		50, 544, 000
1904-5		49, 110, 300
1905-6		54, 418, 000
1906-7		58, 344, 300
1907-8		69, 133, 500
1908-9		80, 737, 626
1909-10		95, 047, 820
1910-11		103, 302, 773
1911-12		107, 178, 480
1912-13		109, 989, 096
1912-14	*************************	112, 091, 125
1014-15		113, 993, 329
	the Common Common for the common 10	

I do not give the German figures for the year 1915-16, because I have not them. Our naval bill for 1915-16 was right at \$150,000,000. I do not go back beyond 1900-1901, because vessels older than that are relegated to scrap heap generally.

You can see that in those 15 years we spent on our Navy every single year more than did Germany. How much more, look at the figures, add them up, and see. Now, Germany since this war begun has lost at least six or seven battleships and has built perhaps only submarines, aircraft, and the like, while we have been expending the biggest appropriation of our history in time of peace on our Navy. Our Navy has been a progressive spender, increasing its amount every year but 2 of the 15 shown. Again, take the last 5 years before this war broke out. Germany spent and authorized \$546,454,803, we \$653,869,371-that

is, over one hundred millions more.

Our Secretary of the Navy proposes this year to spend \$217,658,173, or about sixty-eight millions more than last year, and a large part of this to go to more battleships and cruisers when we have not the men to man or the auxiliary vessels to make effective the fighting ships we already have and have authorized. Bear in mind ours is a progressive country with a progressive Navy. If we make this increase this year, it will be made greater next year. We can not hope to spend less than \$1,200,000,000 in the next 5 years or less than three and one-quarter billions on our Navy in the next period of 15 years. That, I think, is about three times our national bonded debt, and young men now will not be old men when the 15 years are ended. But that does not equal the President's platform proposal which you ask me to support and defend-that is, to build the greatest Navy in the world. Then, gentlemen, please bear in mind I have not yet figured the proposed 500,000 "continental army," which, I think, would cost at least as much, very likely far more, than the Navy. Together they would cost seven billions or more in the next 15 years or \$70 for every man, woman, and child in the United States, estimating our population at 100,000,000. In the name of the poor and needy, in the name of labor which must earn all that is spent, ought you not to permit and even welcome somebody to put a check on this terrific speed, somebody to pull back on the breast yoke. But, taking and considering only the passing years, each year must find us spending four to five hundred million on Army and Navy instead of two hundred and fifty millions as now. Who will pay it? Not the big dailies or the munition factories or the armor-plate makers or the railroads or the money lords generally. These will, perhaps, fatten on it. I tell you the unorganized farmer and the hard-working laborer will ultimately have most of it sifted down on his shoulder.

" WHAT I FAVOR."

But, leaving opinion only, let us have some cost figures.

I will not compare our Navy with England's, because that is admittedly twice the strength of any other navy, nor do I compared on by our Military Affairs Committee and which will be

reported. As to the Navy, I believe in making what we have efficient. I have worked as hard as any man in Congress for the President's greatest measure of preparedness for our Navy—that is his ship-purchasing bill which is now before our Merchant Marine Committee, on which I am the ranking Democrat. England's great navy would be crippled without her great merchant marine and her naval reserve. Our Navy is crippled first, for want of a naval reserve—that is, trained forces to fight the ships we have, being about 20,000 men short. I have supported every measure calculated to supply this deficiency. Second, it is crippled for want of an ample supply of transports, colliers, and ships of every kind known as naval auxiliaries. Admiral Benson and Secretary McAdoo have just testified before our committee that we are more than 500,000 tons short on naval auxiliaries and that our pitiful merchant marine can not supply them, but that the administration ship-purchasing bill will practically supply that shortage and will largely furnish a supply of trained men for the naval reserve under the section providing for the enlistment of members of the crews of these vessels in that service. The fight for and against this bill has been long and bitter; the fight on it by selfish interests is unceasing. It is on now. If I do say it myself, the chairman of our committee and I are leading and have lead the fight for the bill for more than a year. We want a balanced Navy. This bill will give it to us, but it will give a balanced Navy. This bill will give it to us, but it will give us more; it will give us transportation badly needed by our industries, by our farmers, our factories, our merchants, our producers, and consumers, because in time of peace it can be used in commerce and it will give that transportation at reasonable rates, and that, too, as I believe, without burden to the Government. It will be a service that, tike the Postal Service, can and will be made self-sustaining or even profitable to the Government, and yet check the rapacity of private transportation companies.

This bill carries no war menace but will add more to the fight-ing power of our Navy in case of war than would the addition of a dozen battleships, and in time of peace would serve us well. But the armor-plate people, the powder and munitions factories have nothing to sell under this bill, which, in my judgment, is not only the greatest preparedness measure of the President, but one of his very greatest peace measures. It will rank with the Un-derwood tariff law, with the banking and currency act, and with this latter act it will do more to facilitate and increase our commerce with foreign nations than any and all other legislation of the last 50 years. It is the initial step in the creation anew of an over-seas American merchant marine. I wonder that some public meetings have not been called to urge its passage. Public meetings have only been heard from in opposition. Perhaps the reason is, its purpose is the general good without any favor to any special interest. It provides for the expenditure by the Government of only \$50,000,000 altogether, not \$50,000,000 per annum, in the purchase or building or leasing of ships to be re-leased or sold by the Government to parties to be operated on lines and terms and at rates controlled by the Government or if not so leased or sold then to be operated by a corporation, a majority of whose stock is owned by the Government. The ships will be built with special reference to naval needs, but also suited for commerce. I have had my heart in this measure and in building up our foreign-going merchant marine. Rightly or wrongly, I have gained some reputation for knowledge of the subject. Last year upon invitation I addressed important bodies upon the subject at different points in New York. This year I have made one address at Baltimore, whose mayor wrote me an appreciative letter of thanks, and I am now invited to address the National Economic League at Boston on next Wednesday upon the subject of our merchant marine and this ship-purchasing bill.

Again, I am and have been in favor of the greatest possible number of submarines, especially coast submarines. They are preeminently defensive weapons. With 30 of them New York City would be absolutely safe, even from the whole navy of England, and yet 30 submarines would cost about 1 battleship.

If our coast-fortification guns are worthless, I would throw them away and get the best, and I would provide ample material for laying mines. In plain words, I favor strengthening our present Navy where it is weak and providing ample coast defenses before we authorize more battleships, especially since we now have nine of them authorized but not yet completed, some of them now being built, some not yet begun. Additional battleships now authorized could not possible be launched earlier than three to five years hence.

Of the two battleships authorized a year ago neither has been started yet; one of them is to be built at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, the other at Mare Island. There are other vessels at this

time on the ways at both these yards, neither of which will be launched before fall, and after they are launched the ways must be extended before the keels of these authorized battleships can be laid. After that it will take two and a half years to complete them, and the big battleships we authorize now must come later.

Last Congress authorized 18 submarines, now nearly a year ago; 16 of them coast-defense submarines and 2 of them seagoing submarines. The contract for the latter has not yet been let, and that for the former has just been let, giving the contractors 22 months in which to build them. Have we not already on our hands a pretty extensive and lengthy building program?

A vast battleship program savors of aggression and not defense, and will be looked upon by other nations as a menace, and certainly prompt and promote rivalry and emulation in building, to the great delight of armor-plate and munitions makers. Submarines, particularly coast submarines, are different. I went before the Naval Committee last session and earnestly urged more submarines. The committee increased their number, but not to the extent I urged. They are this year greatly increasing them. The naval program I favor I believe can be brought within or certainly very nearly within the sum we spent last year. I have no ambition for us to police the seas or play the swaggering bully of the ocean. I have voted and expect to vote against a great number of battleships.

It is urged sometimes that a big navy, a big battleship fleet, will compel acceptance of our Government's demands by Germany and England; that without it they ignore us and mock us. I deny both claims. Both sides in the present war want our friendship; both sides will yield more to preserve it than they would to any menace from us. If we begin to threaten we may expect to engage in war. The President has said that neither side will willingly offend us, but that both sides, in a life-anddeath struggle, in endeavoring to hurt their enemy and not us, may yet inflict an injury on us. The question of submarine warfare and of the rights of belligerent merchant vessels and neutrais bristles with difficult and dangerous questions. With a Roosevelt or a jingo in the White House and a big Navy, what might not happen? Should an English merchant ship carrying munitions of war and guns for defense only be sunk by a German submarine without warning and with American citizens on board, Germany would offer to arbitrate the question, as she did in the Lusitania case. Roosevelt would go to war about it. I would not, even if we had the greatest Navy in the world. What would you do? We send a cargo of cotton on a neutral vessel to Sweden, a neutral Nation. The English Navy seizes it. Ve demand its release and England refuses, because she says it is destined ultimately for Germany. Rooseveit would perhaps go to war about it, though England offers arbitration: I would not, even if we had the best Navy in the world. navy in the world could hardly get at Germany, and certainly an embargo on the export of munitions by us would be more terrifying to England than a naval fleet trying to run the gantlet of her submarined and well-mined shores.

I know alarmists tell us that if Germany wins this war she will proceed at once to make war on us, but who can believe that having barely pulled through with life in the present war, debt burdened and crippled in resources and men, she would desire or dare to make war on us, with England, France, and Russia thirsting for revenge and ready to build a fire in her rear? Turn it around. If the allies win, would England dare assail us, with the central powers thirsting for revenge and ready to rekindle the war with our assistance? And besides this, from England we have a hostage of peace in Canada at our doors.

Now, gentlemen, I have given you my views and my position and my record in detail, and I hope clearly. I am for preparedness, for defense, but not for aggression. I tell you frankly that I regard every war, except one of self-defense, as a crime and the greatest of all crimes. The question of expense is secondary, great as the burden is of criminal wars produced through all the ages by a thousand sinister agents and hard as it is going to be to raise revenue to pay our expenses. The poor and helpless individual soldier, who imbrues his hands in the blood of another whom he would gladly call brother, is for the most part an innocent victim along with the other victims whom his physical act pillages, plunders, or murders, but if there is a hell or lake of burning fire, its lowest deeps are reserved for those who fan the flames of excitement, of greed for gain, or lust for power, or of fury and terror, and thus bring on war. When in my imaginings only, I see its horrors, see the stricken father, the starving mother, the mangled boy, the bleeding babe, I pray that hell may open wide her jaws for me ere I be one, by any means, by preparing for it or declaring for it, to provoke or engage in war,

save in defense of my native land.

It is needless for me to say it has been painful to me to write this letter. It has been hard to be true. I have written it under a sense of my obligations and duty to you, to our common country, to unborn generations yet to come, and in the fear of God. My hands are clean. Let my people do with my political fortune what they will.

Very truly, yours,

RUFUS HARDY.

Motorization of the Rural Mail Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON.S.D.FESS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 19, 1916.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, country life has become an absorbing theme. It has long ago ceased to be a word of local meaning. It is to-day national. Perhaps more thought is being devoted to the question of rural life and all that goes with it than upon any other topic. The "back to the farm" movement is one expression of this phase of our national life. It involves better roads, better schools, better community life, better farms and farmers, and a socialized life on the farm closely articulated with the town. The farmer is no longer an isolated being but he is an integral part of the State. His thought is not confined to his farm but becomes a part of the general intelligence of the country. He thinks as much in terms of the State as any man in it. This is made possible by the modern farm converiences, such as the telephone, the rural mail service, the good roads, the automobile, and the various neighborly associations resulting from these various conveniences. Of all these none is so important as the rural mail service which enables the remote farmer to live abreast of his time. Instead of his having to depend for his mail upon the fugitive passer-by or at the evening hour after a tired day's work, a trip to town when he ought to be at home at rest, he finds his daily mail awaiting his evening's repose, when while resting from the day's task he informs his mind by perusal of the latest news.

This boon, hard to estimate, renders country life superior in some ways to city life. It is one of the most valuable rewards of an enlightened Government. This service started small, but has constantly increased, until to-day it makes the Nation but a country neighborhood. This service employs at least 44,000 carriers, and this present bill appropriates \$53,000,000 for the

service.

The administration now in power, fretting under a financial embarrassment, is proposing to cut down expenses by lessening the number of routes, thereby cutting in two the number of carriers. It proposes to do this by supplanting the horse with an automobile, by doubling the length of the route. We have pressed upon the authorities the utter futility of this change. There is, perhaps, no district in Ohio that has so many good roads as my own; yet but few of them could be used in all kinds of weather for auto service. Indeed, it is the rule of most farmers who own automobiles to place their cars in for the winter, from the last of November until the last of March. It is a physical impossibility to make the trips on these roads. the plan is to use the auto part of the year and horses the other part, it will not need a prophet to see what will happen, both in the way of expenditure and regularity of mail delivery. admission by the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General that he does not expect to use the motor throughout the year lifts all doubt of its failure, both in economy and efficiency. I am op-posing this tearing up of this service as unwise and totally un-warranted. If there is any change, it should be to extend the service, not retard it. Every step that has been taken up to this time has been to increase the service. Here is a step-the first of its kind—to lessen it; and it is put on the basis of economy. Any economy at the expense of mail service is false. If there is needed retrenchment of expenses in the Government—and we all agree there should be—it must not be started with the service that places the rural community in direct touch with the Government. This is especially true because here is the one service the Government renders the people for which the

people directly pay. Here is a case where we pay as we go. Even though it is not entirely self-supporting, yet it is the only service that pretends to pay as we go.

In my own county I find the proposed change contemplates an addition of 31 families. Upon investigation, I find 118 families inconvenienced by being compelled to go some of them over a mile for their mail. This renders the parcel post for them totally impracticable. Likewise the registered letter or money order. I would extend the service to those not yet served, but it should be done without depriving those already served.

The discontinuance of the various centers, such as will occur in my county, will confuse the mail hopelessly. Residents of neighbors in my own immediate vicinity will have their mail delivered from distant points, which will necessitate not only irregular times for delivery but will also deprive the farmer of his mail the very days he most desires it. Anyone who has ever lived on a farm will appreciate the desire for the daily mail the shut-in days when you are confined to the house. One legitimate objection little pressed is the desire for mail delivery from the town in which the farmer has his business relations, where he does his selling, his buying; where he goes to church, or with which he has telephone connection. Whatever else is his interest, the center of that interest is his mail and the post office from whence his carrier is sent.

It will take a long time for the people of Yellow Springs, or Cedarville, or Spring Valley to become accustomed to receiving their mail from the county seat, very infrequently visited, as compared with their home town. In the real sense this is a legitimate objection to the plan of reorganization. The one great desire of mail is regularity, certainty of delivery. So many features of daily life depend upon this item. This change will confuse, delay, and derange the service to no one's benefit,

but to the detriment of many.

Mr. Speaker, I have been literally flooded with letters and resolutions from patrons of all parties urging me to use my good offices to induce a reconsideration. This activity is not mischief-making. It is not from panicky people. It is from our very best citizens. After failing to secure any light as to the purpose of the change, I took the matter before the Post Office Committee and made a charge that the change had some political significance and gave my grounds for the charge. Were it not so I am sure the Democratic membership of the House would join us in our fight. But Senator POMERENE instead has become the defender of the change, which in the light of the undisputed facts smacks mightily of the politician.

The committee urged me to lay the matter before the Fourth Assistant, which I did. He argued his case on the usual basis of economy and efficiency. When I told him his routing in Greene County would not succeed, owing to the character of the roads, he called for a map which he placed before me. Mr. Speaker, of course, if a department official proceeds to route a county by aid of a colored map, and refuses to listen to men who know the road situation, it is not difficult to understand

the errors of this scheme.

I do not only oppose this scheme for reasons already stated, but I certainly object to the treatment accorded to the men who are to be turned out of the service without regard to the character of their devotion to the mail service. It has been the effort in the past to recognize faithful service of mail employees. But this entire scheme is so formulated and all of its details so manipulated that efficient service is to be penalized by refusing to promote from horse to motor carrier. This scheme is so bald on its very face that there is small wonder that it has caused not only a storm of protest but a universal condemnation, save a few higher ups, who shall become patronage dispensers.

The mail service is the one Government activity that should honor efficient service. In every extension those who have proved faithful employees should be promoted or at least honored for what they had done. But here is a scheme which, far from respecting men for their faithful service, at one severe swoop, those who are known in the service must make way for persons unknown, simply because the rules will not permit promotion from horse carrier to motor carrier. If these rules are to be put into force, here are 44,000 men handling a service for which \$50,000,000 are appropriated to make place for others. It would be incredible were it not so palpable.

The mockery of the present civil-service observance demands indignant repudiation. If I am any judge, from the rumbling heard throughout the country, if the administration of this department does not change its course, the people will change the administration at the earliest opportunity. Economy is to be encouraged, but this is not economy, and here is not the place to begin it. Let no step be taken to reduce the intelligence, retard the mutual communication of our rural people.

Let every step be taken to augment this most desirable ambition of our country. Wise statesmanship will throw no stumbling block in the way of the progress of country life, but it will strive to multiply the comforts of such communities. Let the Government and the States in building better roads, and then from time to time, as conditions will permit, extend the service, but never retard it.

The Colombian Treaty.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GUY T. HELVERING. OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 22, 1916.

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, on July 13, 1914, an extension of remarks was printed in the Congressional Record by Representative J. Hampton Moore, relative to the independence of the Panama Republic from Colombia. On Monday this pamphlet containing Mr. Moore's remarks, which also included a letter from Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, secretary of the Commercial Museum of Philadelphia, was transmitted to the Members of Congress. Mr. Schoff has also sent out a pamphlet containing his views on this subject.

Mr. Moore in his discussion shows but slight familiarity with the subject and depends almost wholly on the letter from Mr. Schoff for his argument. It shall be my purpose to briefly explain the inconsistency of Mr. Schoff's contentions, and at the

same time reach the argument made by Mr. Moore.

Briefly speaking, Mr. Schoff insists upon the justice of our course in dealing with Colombia for two reasons: First, he contends that the Marroquin Government, with whom we negotiated the Hay-Herran treaty, was not a constitutional government and did not hold power in accordance with the laws and the constitution of Colombia.

Let us consider this for a moment. When we continued diplomatic relations with Colombia, after President Sanciemente was overthrown and Marroquin came into power, we recognized the Government of Marroquin as the Government de facto. When we consented to negotiate a treaty, and did negotiate such a treaty with the representative of Marroquin, we recognized his Government as the Government both de facto and de jure, and were thereby estopped from setting up any contention as to its constitutionality. Let this suffice for my first point I wish to make.

The next contention of Mr. Schoff is that Panama had the right to secede and could not be kept under subjection by Colombia after her people decided to form an independent

Whether or not the people of Panama wished to form an independent government we have no means of knowing. We admit that such appears to be the fact, but an uprising fostered by the French canal ring, aided by men in the United States, and brought to completion by the fire department of the city of Panama, resulted in the setting up of a paper republic which we recognized in 2 days, and in 14 days we had made a treaty with this shadow republic by which we guaranteed to use all of the power of the United States to maintain its independence. There never was an expression of opinion from the people of Panama, and as to their desire to secede from Colombia we have nothing but assumption on which to base conclusions.

But let us admit for the moment that Panama had the right to secede and that Colombia had no power to take away from Panama any of its rights, and then let us see where it brings us.

If Colombia had no right to dispose of Panama as a part of her possession, then she had no right to arrange the Hay-Herran treaty which gave control of a portion of Panama to the United States. You can not evade that conclusion. We negotiated with Colombia, and in so doing we recognized her absolute right to dispose of Panama as she saw fit. Secretary Hay was wise in diplomacy, and it is not to be believed that he would be willing to pay American gold for something that Colombia did not possess. To affirm that such was the case would be equivalent to asserting that he was deliberately negotiating for property which he knew had been stolen.

Likewise, if Panama had the right to secede from Colombia at will, she could not be dispossessed of that right by any treaty of sale made by Colombia to the United States. In that

event the Hay-Herran treaty, negotiated by the Administration of Mr. Roosevelt, could not be binding on Panama. If Colombia did not have the power to sell to us control over the Canal Zone, then the ratification of the Hay-Herran treaty would not bind Panama, for we would have been in the attitude of buying from one who was not the owner.

When we negotiated for the Hay-Herran treaty we disposed absolutely of the two objections which Mr. Schoff has used so many words to establish and which are indorsed by Mr. Moore. We then admitted by our acts that the Marroquin Government was a legal one, and a Government with which we could make treaties. Likewise, we admitted that Colombia owned Panama, for we were endeavoring to make a purchase of part of that property and thus admitted ownership. By our very acts we admitted the rights which Mr. Schoff now denies, and by those acts we are debarred from setting up such a defense at this late

The argument of Mr. Schoff is like the argument of the lawyer who ignores ethics, equity, and justice, in order to find a flaw by which his guilty client may escape merited punish-

The true situation and the status of the Colombian and

Panaman Governments were as follows:

On the morning of November 3, 1903, the State of Panama was an unquestioned portion of the United States of Colombia. The relationship of the United States of America to Colombia and its possessions was governed by a treaty arranged in 1846. and in order to get a clear view of our relationship to the then existing conditions we must look to see what that treaty pro-

In the thirty-fifth article of the treaty to which I refer we learn that

The Government of New Granada guarantees to the Government of the United States that the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama upon any modes of communication that now exist or that may be hereafter constructed shall be free and open to the Government and citizens of the United States.

Thus we learn just what Colombia was to give us under the provisions of that treaty. It was not a right which we possessed, but was a grant, and for that grant we, on our part, paid a certain price. What price we were to pay we learn in the same article of the treaty, which reads:

The United States guarantees positively and efficaciously to New Granada * * the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned Isthmus, with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed.

In consequence the United States also guarantees, in the same manner, the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territors.

In my opinion the last paragraph is of extreme importance. This country by that treaty guaranteed the rights of sovereignty and property of Colombia over the Isthmus of Panama. What are the rights of property and of sovereignty? Are they not the rights of enjoyment of the property owned and of the right to enforce order and compel obeyance of the laws of Colombia in all of the property referred to? Can any reasonable person deny this?

While interpreting the spirit of article 35 in 1865, Secretary of State William H. Seward wrote:

State William H. Seward wrote:

The question which has recently arisen under the thirty-fifth article of the treaty with New Granada as to the obligation of this Government to comply with a requisition of the President of the United States of Colombia for a force to protect the Isthmus of Panama from invasion by a body of insurgents of that country has been submitted to the consideration of the Attorney General. His opinion is that neither the text nor the spirit of the stipulation in that article, by which the United States engages to preserve the neutrality of the Isthmus of Panama, imposes an obligation on this Government to comply with a requisition like that referred to.

The purpose of the stipulation was to guarantee the Isthmus of Panama against invasions or seizure by a foreign power only. It could not have been contemplated that we were to become a party to any civil war in that country by defending the Isthmus against another party. As it may be presumed, however, that our object in entering into such a stipulation was to secure the freedom of transit across the Isthmus, if that freedom should be endangered or obstructed, the employment of force on our part to prevent this would be a question of grave expediency to be determined by circumstances. This department is not aware that there is yet occasion for a decision upon this point.

With the logic of Mr. Seward's reasoning there is little room

With the logic of Mr. Seward's reasoning there is little room for dissent. His interpretation of the treaty was that we were to defend Panama for Colombia against the nations of the earth, but in case of internal dissension in Colombia, we were not to take sides. We expected and conceded the right of the people with whom we made this treaty to govern themselves in their own way and whether they elected to live under a monarchy, a republic, or as separate and independent States was no concern But when the inhabitants of the Isthmus, or any mob of ours. on the Isthmus, should rise in opposition to the parent Government, if we should interfere to prevent that parent Government from moving troops to suppress the opposition, or sending its police to subdue the mob, then we would be doing the very thing that Seward said we should not do; we would be aiding one party in that country by defending it against another party. The contingency referred to by Mr. Seward was undoubtedly one in which the parent Government had demonstrated its inability to enforce law and order. In that case we would have the right to intervene in order to protect our interests under the treaty. As will be shown, no such contingency existed, and our course in Panama after November 2, 1903, demonstrates that we violated the treaty of 1846, broke faith with Colombia, and acted in opposition to the interpretation of the treaty made by Seward in 1865 and quoted above.

Coming down to the year 1903, we find that early in that year a treaty known as the Hay-Herran treaty was negotiated between Colombia and the United States of America. The purpose of that treaty was to provide the means by which the United States could take over the French interests in the Panama Canal and safeguard the rights of the United States by giving possession and control to us of the territory needed for canal

That treaty was arranged between responsible representatives of the two Governments, but it could not go into effect until ratified by the proper legislative bodies in the two countries affected. Such ratification was given by the Senate of the United States. The Government of Colombia did not exactly show good faith, for while it was in honor bound to defend and strive for the ratification of the treaty arranged by its chosen representatives it did not work for its ratification; dissatisfaction was aroused in Colombia, the public mind was inflamed, and as a result the Senate of Colombia refused to ratify the treaty.

As to the motives underlying the action of Colombia we have no concern, as far as safeguarding our own honor lies. can be but little doubt that Colombia was trying to make a better bargain. She felt that she had something which we must secure, and consequently was in position to demand exorbitant terms to which we must assent. However, that was her privilege. We could accede to preposterous terms or else reject them. The way through Nicaragua still remained open to us if we were determined to build an interoceanic canal, and it must be borne in mind that the way through Nicaragua had been favorably looked upon until the time came when we had the opportunity to secure the French rights in Pamana at what was considered bargain-counter prices. Still, Colombia was perfectly within her rights in asking for more than we were willing to give, and it is no defense of anything wrong that we may have done to say that she had not treated us fairly. We might feel outraged at her treatment of us, but that gives us no valid reasons for acting toward her as to outrage the feelings of all Americans, to whom honor is something more than an empty

Following the failure of Colombia to ratify the Hay-Herran treaty the French investors, who would have profited if the treaty had been ratified by reason of the fact that the sale of their property to the United States hung in the balance until a treaty was arranged, evidently sought to accomplish by illegal action that which they could not gain legally. As proof of this we find one P. Bunau Varilla, who had figured somewhat in French canal affairs, and who was made envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from Panama to the United States before the paper Republic was fairly organized. We find many threads leading from this Varilla to the starting of the revolution in Panama, many suspicious circumstances showing knowledge in the United States of the revolution to be carried on in Panama.

The preceding statement gives the status of affairs in the relations between the United States and Colombia on the morning of November 3, 1903. At 3.40 p. m. on the same date Mr. Loomis, Acting Secretary of State of the United States, sent the following cablegram to the United States consulate general at Panama:

Uprising on Isthmus reported. Keep department promptly and fully informed.

To which cablegram Mr. Ehrman, consulate general, replied:
No uprising yet. Reported will be in the night. Situation is critical.

That cablegram should be labeled "not yet, but soon." The wires had been laid. The United States was made ready to be a party to the raping of a country to whom we were bound by a solemn treaty and one, moreover, whose integrity we were pledged to safeguard. Let us follow the history of the revolution as disclosed by the cablegrams. But before doing so I wish to show further proof that the intent was known to the Govern-

ment of the United States before the day on which the revolution was inaugurated.

On November 2, at the wish of the President, Mr. Roosevelt, the commanders of the Boston, Nashville, and Dixie warships were cabled:

Maintain free and uninterrupted transit. Prevent landing of any armed force, either Government or insurgent, within 50 miles of Panama.

Think over that act and apply it to our solemn pledge as given in the treaty of 1846. Was that the way to guarantee the "rights of sovereignty and property" to Colombia? It was self-evident that the revolutionists were confined to the territory embraced in Panama. It was needless to issue an order to our commanders to prevent their landing, for they were already on the spot. Was it not a duty we owed to Colombia, not merely because of our plighted word, but because the rights of a sister nation made it imperative that the parent be given the opportunity to win back the wayward child, by force if necessary, before we could even consider the advisability of taking part in a family quarrel.

Proceeding with the review of the acts which led up to the culmination of the revolution, we find that on the date, November 3, on which Mr. Ehrman had sent the cablegram which I labeled "not yet but soon," he sent this supplementary cablegram to Secretary of State Hay:

Uprising occurred tonight, 6; no bloodshed. Army and Navy officials taken prisoners. Government will be organized to-night consisting three consuls, also cabinet. Soldiers changed. Supposed same movement will be effected in Colon. Order prevails so far. Situation serious. Four hundred soldiers landed Colon to-day Baranquilla.

At 8.20 p. m., same date, Mr. Loomis, Acting Secretary of State, cabled to Mr. Malmos, United States consul at Colon:

The troops which landed from the Cartagena should not proceed to Panama.

And again at 11.18, on the same date, he and Mr. Darling cabled to Mr. Ehrman:

Message sent to Nashville to Colon may not have been delivered, Accordingly see that following message is sent to Nashville immediately: Nashville, Colon: In the interests of peace make every effort to prevent Government troops at Colon from proceeding to Panama. The transit of the Isthmus must be kept open and order maintained. Acknowledge,

Up to that time Colombia had not been given the opportunity to take steps to preserve order and to keep the transit of the Isthmus open. The revolution was but a couple of hours old, and it took some time to get troops by sea from Colombia to the Panama ports, no railroad route being in existence. To a friendly nation we undoubtedly owed the duty of giving it opportunity to take care of its internal affairs. We had no quarrel with Colombia for not keeping order in the Isthmus and for not keeping transit open. It was our simple duty, first, to give to her the opportunity to police Panama, and, failing in that, then we would have been facing the contingency referred to by Secretary of State Seward in 1865, when he said:

If that freedom should be endangered or obstructed, the employment of force on our part to prevent this would be a question of grave expediency to be determined by circumstances.

In the event of such contingency is it not evident that in determining the use to which we must put the force at our command we would be morally and legally bound to use that force in accordance with the treaty of 1846:

The United States guarantees positively and efficaciously to New Granada • • • the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned Isthmus, with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed.

Did we act in accordance with that treaty? Did we not do the very thing Secretary of State Seward urged us not to do when in 1865 he wrote:

It could not have been contemplated that we were to become a party to any civil war in that country by defending the Isthmus against another party.

Read the Loomis cablegram-

The troops which landed from the Cartagena should not proceed to Panama—

and reconcile it, if you can, with our pledges, the interpretation made by Secretary Seward, and our duty to a sister Republic, with whose people we were at peace.

Following what has been described the railway company refused to transport Colombian troops across the Isthmus; the commander of the American naval forces on November 4 forbade the transit of troops from Colon across the Isthmus, and on the same date American troops were landed at Colon. We continued to march further and further away from the road which pointed to the honorable regard for our treaties and to-the preservation of American honor as well as the respect due to a sister nation.

A little later Colombia sent troops to Panama under command of Gen. Reyes, and the naval forces of the United States prevented these troops from landing in Panama and preserving the

rights of Colombia in the territory.
On November 6, when less than three days had elapsed since the inception of the revolution, Secretary Hay cabled to Mr. Ehrman as follows:

I send for your information and guidance in the execution of the instructions cabled to you to-day the text of a telegram dispatched this day to the United States minister at Bogota. The people of Panama having by an apparently unanimous movement dissolved their political connection with the Republic of Colombia and resumed their independence, and having adopted a government of their own, republican in form, with whom the Government of the United States of America, has entered into relations, the President of the United States of America, in accordance with the ties of friendship which have so long and so happily existed between the respective nations, most earnestly commends to the governments of Colombia and of Panama the peaceful and equitable settlement of all questions at issue between them.

"Ties of friendship which have so long and so happily existed between the respective nations" is certainly ludicrous, particu-larly when you bear in mind that by force we had prevented Colombia from protecting its own interests and had violated a solemn treaty in order that Colombia might be despoiled.

On November 6 this Government sent a message to the consul at Panama which concludes:

When you are satisfied that a de facto government, republican in form and without substantial opposition from its own peole, has been established in the State of Panama, you will enter into relations with it as the responsible government of the territory.

Thus a mere consul was given authority to pass judgment and bind this Nation to a policy which might invalidate existing treaty rights. On November 5 Phillipe Bunau Varilla was made envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States. On November 11 he was received in his official capacity by President Roosevelt, and the latter in reply to Mr. Varilla's address referred to "seeing in the recent events on the Isthmus

an unopposed expression of the will of the people of Panama."
"Unopposed" is amusing, at least, and not even Josh Billings or Artemus Ward could have added to its humor. A few men in Panama had revolted against the parent government in order to carry out the plans of some whose interest in Panama were wholly financial and some in this country whose interest lay in the desire to secure the things needed to allow the construction of an interoceanic canal.

When Colombia sought to regain authority over its wayward child we used force and ordered to "keep hands off." We forbade her landing troops or to use the troops she had on the Isthmus to enforce order and maintain authority. To refer to the Panama revolution as "unopposed" is either humor or hypocrisy, but in either event the situation in which the people of the United States have been placed is a humiliating one and which reflects upon the honor and dignity of the Nation.

Two days after the revolution broke out in Panama the paper government there was recognized by the Government of the United States, and 14 days later a treaty was made between the United States and Panama, a treaty by which this Government guaranteed to defend the independence of Panama and maintain it against the word, and the real meaning of that treaty was that we should protect Panama against the wrath of Colombia, with whom we were already bound to maintain in the rights of sovereignty and property in Panama. We had to violate one treaty in order to hastily arrange another one; but that seems to be of little consequence to those who had violated ethics and ignored honor in order to rape Colombia.

In passing judgment on the hasty action of our Government in recognizing an independent Government in Panama, we must take into consideration what were the precedents for such a course and what had been the declared policy of this Government. In this instance we find that Mr. Seward, Secretary of State in 1861, had gone into this subject exhaustively in a note to Mr. Adams, minister to England. Mr. Seward wrote:

We freely admit that a nation may, and even ought, to recognize a new State which has absolutely and beyond question effected its independence and permanently established its sovereignty, and that a recognition in such a case affords no just cause of offense to the government of the country from which the new State has so detached itself. On the other hand we insist that a nation that recognizes a revolutionary State with a view to aid its effecting its sovereignty and independence commits a great wrong against the nation whose integrity is thus invaded and makes itself responsible for a just and ample redress.

Again in this same note Mr. Seward states:

To recognize the independence of a new State and so favor, possibly determine, its admission into the family of nations, is the highest possible exercise of sovereign power, because it affects in any case the welfare of two nations and often the peace of the world.

In the European system this power is now seldom attempted to be exercised without invoking a consultation or congress of nations. That system has not been extended to this continent. But there is even a greater necessity for prudence in such cases in regard to American States than in regard to the nations of Europe.

And jet this exercise of sovereign power, which Secretary Seward declared was "the highest possible one," was in the in-stance of Panama delegated to a minor official of our Govern-

ment, to be used when in his judgment a de facto government had been established. (See cablegram to the consul at Panama of November 6, 1903.)

Further on in the same note Mr. Seward wrote:

Seen in the light of this principle the several nations of the carth constitute one great federal republic. When one of them casts its suffrages for the admission of a new member into that republic it ought to act under a profound sense of moral obligation and be governed by considerations as pure, disinterested, and elevated as the general interest of society and the advancement of human nature.

Apply this logic of Secretary Seward to our relations with Colombia and our course of action in connection with the revolution. Under that acid test can any unbiased student say that we were "governed by considerations as pure, disinterested, and elevated as the general interest of society and the advancement of human nature"?

At the time when Secretary Seward wrote to Mr. Adams the integrity of this Nation was threatened, civil war reigned in the land, and there was danger that the Confederate States might be recognized as a belligerent nation by some of the European Governments. At that time England was financially injured by the war. The staple product of the South must be secured or the cotton-mill operatives of England would face starvation and her immense foreign trade in the manufacture of fabrics would be ruined. In fact, the interests of England were in greater danger than the interests of the United States were at any time in Panama. If England had brought her fleet to the coast towns of the Southland, had recognized the belligerency of the Confederacy, and had guaranteed to guard the independence of the seceding States, if she had used force to prevent the landing of the troops of the United States and had forbidden the Union troops then in the South from moving against the enemy, the people of the North would know that England had taken advantage of their hour of distress, and the bitterness engendered would never have passed away. We did exactly the same thing in order to gain a selfish end in Panama. We violated a solemn treaty and used the power of a mighty nation to oppress and rob a weaker sister, whom we were pledged to protect, and if out of our acts, out of the seed sown, we have raised the crop of suspicion and hatred in the minds of the people of other Latin-American countries, it was but the inevitable result. we have done is what we are expected to again do, and it is but natural that our brethren in the south, knowing their weakness and our strength, should fear and tremble and wonder if their turn is not soon to come.

It is said that our Nation will be humiliated in the eyes of the world if we confess to the wronging of Colombia and make atonement. That does not alter the justice of our acts. It is of far greater importance that our honor shall be rehabili-tated in our own sight, and when convinced that my country has committed a wrong I know of nothing nobler, nothing more essential, and, speaking in a more material sense, nothing that will redound to the greater advantage of the United States than to make antonement when convinced that we have done a wanton injury.

Government Regulation and Our Transportation System.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD B. ALMON, OF ALABAMA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 21, 1916.

Mr. ALMON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record I include a speech made by Senator OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD recently in Chicago on the subject of an adequate transportation system.

The speech is as follows:

SPEECH OF SENATOR UNDERWOOD, RECENTLY DELIVERED IN CHICAGO, ON THE SUBJECT OF AN ADEQUATE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM.

There are many problems that confront the American people of to-day that must be solved justly to all concerned in order that the solution determined upon may be accepted by the country as

The history of the North American Continent indicates that we have settled the problems that have confronted our people in eras that were measured by the centuries. The first century after Columbus discovered America was devoted to exploration and adventure; the next century to the clearing away of the wilderness, the settlement of the country. Then came a century devoted to the determination as to which of the European civilizations should dominate the North American Continent.

The work of the next century was that of building and development. It saw a fringe of civilization along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts spread and develop until we had builded a Nation and developed our civilization in every part of continental United States.

The destiny of our country is not yet accomplished. work ahead of us for the century in which we live must be the solving of the great governmental and economic problems under which our people will grow into a homogeneous race, with fixed principles and policies that will guide our destiny in the centuries vet to come.

We can not decide and determine all of these problems rightly in a day, in a year, or even in a decade, but we must approach them with a fair and unbiased mind, with the earnest desire to seek after the truth, with a determination to stand only for the right, and with a fixed purpose to reach a conclusion that will be of lasting benefit not only to the people of to-day but to the generations that come after us.

There is no more important question now pending before the American people that awaits proper solution than the settle-ment along just and economic lines of the vexed problems of transportation.

We have recently solved the banking and currency problems of the country by passing legislation that seems to have met with almost universal approbation. This legislation was only accomplished after full and careful investigation by a commission appointed by the President of the United States.

The President of the United States, in his recent message to Congress, has recommended that a commission should be appointed to give a thorough investigation to all the problems that confront us in the field of transportation.

As I understand the purpose of this investigation, it is not to hold an inquest on what has happened in the past. If errors have been committed or injuries have been done, that is a question for the courts and not a question of legislation. The real purpose to be accomplished by the investigation is to give an opportunity for all concerned-the farmer, the merchant, those directly engaged in transportation, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the railroad managers-to appear before a committee of Congress and state their views in reference to the solution of this great problem with the view in mind that in the counsel of many we shall find wisdom to guide our legislative

You may ask me, Why the need of an investigation at all? There may be those present who believe that the transportation companies of the United States are engaged in private business, and that they should not be interfered with by Government regulation. To them I can only say that the transportation of the commerce of this country by the carriers is so closely allied to the healthy growth and the economic business development of the Nation that its regulation was inevitable from the begin-

More than that, revolutions do not move backward, and if we are unable to successfully and fairly regulate the transportation systems of America, the country will demand that we go forward, and the next step ahead is the Government ownership of the railroad lines. I think a step in that direction would be most unfortunate. It would probably lead to many evils that we dream not of to-day, to avoid which we must work out a satisfactory system of Government regulation, both for those engaged in the shipment of freights and those who have their money invested in the means of transportation. It is therefore a matter of great importance that we should earnestly endeavor to reach a fair and reasonable solution of the problem of regulation at as early a date as possible.

It has been said a nation is an organism, not unlike a living individual, wherein the channels of transportation are arteries and veins; if the flow in these be sluggish, industrial disorders are indicated; if it be clogged, industrial diseases follow; if it be stopped, national disaster results.

Something long has been, is, and will apparently continue to be wrong in the relation between the people and those who are engaged in the transportation business-something so wrong as at times it borders on open hostilities. Drastic remedies spasmodically applied and ill-considered and misapplied laws have not reached but rather more deeply rooted the essential wrong.

The capital invested in transportation is about one-sixth of all the wealth of the country, and about one-twelfth of all our people depend for their livelihood on the wages paid by transportation corporations.

Seventeen thousand million dollars of the people's savings are invested in transportation securities.

In almost all countries the railroad question is one of first importance and has been met in foreign lands either by government regulation or government ownership. In other counown, due primarily to two causes. Our large population and vast natural resources located far inland and at great distances from water transportation makes railroad carriage indispensable and industrial freedom could be guaranteed only by just regu-lation. The most serious difficulty that has in the past prevented the solution of the problem here and is not met abroad is a political one. Our system of government, under which the States possess certain inherent governmental rights and the Federal Government the great powers that were delegated to it in the beginning by the States, increase the difficulties and uncertainties that surround the problem before us.

It has been said that "No man can serve two masters," and under the regulation of to-day the transportation companies of America must obey the mandate of the Federal Government and at the same time the orders of each State through which the railroad line makes its way. All of the important railroad lines run through two or more States and are subject to different laws and regulations whenever a train crosses a State line. Go into the baggage car of an express train leaving Chicago, and you will find a package that will reach its destina-tion within the State of Illinois resting against a package whose destination is beyond the State line. Consider for a moment that the one package is subject to the rule of one master and the other must obey the mandate of at least three masters. Our courts have held that under the protection of the Federal Constitution the right of the railroads to charge rates that will produce a reasonable income on invested capital must be held inviolable; then how can we successfully determine what is a reasonable charge to be allowed for invested capital when you leave the determination to three or more sovereignties, each acting in its individual sphere?

Low rates and adequate facilities are demanded by the public, but the granting of one is often the denial of the other. Adequate facilities very often require the expenditure of surplus capital and lessen the borrowing power of the roads.

Without new railroad facilities our commerce can not be expanded beyond our present limitation, and trade has met a permanent barrier to its future development.

Two decades ago the great trunk lines of the country were able to borrow, in this country and abroad, the money necessary to increase their facilities at 4 and 4½ per cent interest. Railroad bonds were considered by the investing public a first-class investment. How is it to-day? It is often with great difficulty that the best transportation systems in the United States are able to renew their old loans or place new ones. Practically none of these loans can now be placed at 4 per cent interest. A large majority of the bonds or notes sold in the last year earn above 5½ per cent interest, and some are placed at rates as high as 7½ per cent. What is the effect of this condition on the shipping public? It must be borne in mind that on every dollar that is earned by the transportation companies of America 88 cents must go to pay wages, upkeep, and operating expenses, and only 12 cents goes to the capital account. It must also be borne in mind that there is no speculative enhancement in the value of the railroads that can be converted to the coffers of the company, because the property of the railroad is needed for its operation, and when the lines are once built the operation must continue in the interest of the public, and whatever their relative value may be does not affect the earning capacity of the company.

The sole source of revenue for the maintenance, development, and expansion of our railroad systems must come from the men who ride on the trains as passengers and from the men who ship their goods over the railroad lines.

If you increase the interest rates the transportation companies must pay, in the end you must get the money to meet the increase either by the reduction of wages, the curtailment of facilities, or by an additional charge on the passengers and shippers of freight.

Practically speaking, the last alternative is the one we must adopt. Where a transportation company placed its bonds at 4 per cent 20 years ago and renews them to-day at 6 per cent, so far as the public is concerned, it is identically the same as if the company had increased its bonded indebtedness by one-half at the old rate of interest. And yet the public derives no benefit whatever from the increased charge.

It is therefore necessary in the solution of the problem before us, in the interest of the public even more than in the interest of invested capital, that the credit of our transportation companies should be so good that they can secure the capital for their present maintenance and future development at the lowest possible charge.

There may be many good reasons to account for the changed status of railroad securities as investments in recent years. You may say that it is due to adverse legislation that has tries the problem has not been as difficult of solution as in our lalarmed the investing public. Whether the legislation has been unwise and ill considered or whether it has been just and fair, there can be no question that the investing public has become alarmed as to the solvency of railroad securities. It is also true that recent legislation of the Congress exempting State and municipal bonds from national taxation has invited capital into that field of investment. Again, it is true that the past genera-tion regarded industrial securities as a more or less speculative investment, but the development of the great industries of our country to-day along safe and conservative lines has opened a field for the use of capital at higher rates of interest than the transportation companies of America can afford to pay, because there is no governmental limitation on the profits that can be made in industry and there is a hard and fast limitation fixed by law on the earning capacity of railroad securities.

The opening of new fields for investment has taken away from the transportation lines much of the market they enjoyed

for their securities in the past.

The rates of taxation have increased in every State of the Union. Wages have gone up. The cost of equipment and supplies has greatly increased. If it had not been for economic management, many of the railroads that are running to-day would have been forced into the hands of receivers.

There is yet another problem that we must consider, and that is the safety of the employees, passengers, and freights that are

carried over our transportation lines.

Statistics show that there are at least 10 employees killed of injured on American lines to 1 on the railroads of Great Britain. It can not be truthfully said that the engineers who constructed these roads have builded them with less ability than the engineers who constructed the English roads. It can not be said that our iron and steel, our timber and rock, are not as good building material as that which is found in the British Isles. It can not be said that the men who sit at the throttle or watch the signal tower are less capable, sober, and alcrt than the men who occupy similar positions in a foreign land. Then why should we face conditions in this country that endanger human life and make a serious charge on transportation that in the end the public must bear, if it is not due to the causes I have named? To my mind, it is clear that the dangers involved in our transportation system are almost entirely due to the lack of proper transportation facilities.

We endeavor to run trains over a single track where the needs of business require double tracks. We load our freight on weak and defective cars where new cars should long ago have taken their place. We rely on antiquated methods for the movement of our trains when our tracks should be provided with the

latest and best signal devices.

In fact, it can not be denied that to adopt modern methods and provide proper facilities for transportation would be true econ-

Then why has it not been done? Largely because the transportation companies of America have been unable to earn sufficient capital to enable them to meet their operating expenses, interest charges, and accumulate a surplus with which to provide for betterments and improved facilities, and that their credit has been so seriously disturbed that they are unable to borrow money for the new improvements at reasonable rates of interest.

In fact, I think it can be said without expectation of contradiction that, taken as a whole, the transportation system of the United States, so far as performing its proper functions of the transportation of our freights to their ultimate markets and the carriage of passengers to their destination with safety and

economy, is breaking down.

What, then, must we do to solve the problem? To restore confidence in the minds of the investing public as to railroad securi-To insure rapid transportation of passengers and freights to their ultimate destination at reasonable rates, and to provide for the safety of transportation and the increased facilities that are necessary to transport the growing business of the Nation? These results can not be accomplished by moving backward or divorcing our transportation system from Government control. Nor can it be accomplished without great danger and great cost to the people by progressing to the ultimate step in advance and accepting Government ownership of the transportation lines.

In my judgment we must find the golden mean, We must solve the problem along lines of private ownership and Government regulation. We must consider the wisdom of substituting 1 master for the 49 masters that regulate our commerce to-day. We must consider the wisdom of Government supervision of the issuance of all securities by our transporta-We must consider the wisdom of Government supervision of the issuance of all securities by our transportation companies with the assurance to the public that new capital will be invested to secure proper facilities and used for legitimate purposes—not for speculation. We must assure the public that when they invest money in railroad securities which are supervised by Government regulation we stand for a system

of regulation which will allow the transportation companies to charge such rates for carriage as will enable them to promptly meet their interest account as well as their operating expenses. We must perfect a system of regulation that will recognize that the transportation lines of America are great public highways in which the people are as much interested as those who have invested their capital in them; that every shipper in America must have equal rights in the transportation of his goods along these highways; that rebates and discriminations of all kinds must be of the past and prohibited in the future; and we must recognize that the man who is willing to invest his money at a moderate rate of interest in railroad securities is not exploiting the public but is a public benefactor.

In my opinion, an adequate transportation system means-First. Roadbeds must be made more secure and more per-

Second. Trackage must be enormously increased and many roads double-tracked.

Third. Safe equipment must be sufficient to satisfy requirements at any and all times

Fourth Terminal facilities must be greatly improved and

largely increased.

Stated briefly, then, our question is whether the American people are willing to put up with an unsafe, inferior, and inadequate transportation system or have the intelligence to pay for one that will supply their needs and protect the lives of the

The main trouble with the regulation of the railway system is that corporate law has been destructive, not constructive;

has been piecemeal, not comprehensive.

To solve these problems it is proposed that a committee of Congress shall give a thorough and complete hearing to all who desire to present their views. Let us hope that the result of the investigation will be productive of wise legislation-legislation which will be helpful and not hurtful, legislation which will build up and not destroy, legislation which will bring lasting and complete prosperity to the people of America.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAMUEL M. TAYLOR,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 23, 1916.

Mr. TAYLOR of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, the Democratic platform, upon which President Wilson was elected, said:

Of equal importance with the question of currency reform is the question of rural credits, or agricultural finance. We favor legislation permitting national banks to loan a reasonable portion of their funds on rea estate security.

The Democratic Party promised the farmer that if elected and our party given power to legislate this law should be passed. The farmer, among others, did help to put the Democratic Party They thought they were going to get some genuine rural-credits legislation, and they have not forgotten this prom-The President says he favors such legislation. He said on December 2, 1913, in his message to Congress:

December 2, 1913, in his message to Congress:

I present to you, in addition, the urgent necessity that special provision be made also for facilitating the credits needed by the farmers of the country; what they need and should obtain is legislation which will make their own abundant and substantial credit resources available as a foundation for joint, concerted local action in their own behalf in getting the capital they must use. It is to this we should now address ourselves. We must add the means by which the farmer may make his credit constantly and easily available and command when he will the capital by which to support and expand his business. We lag behind many other great countries of the modern world in attempting to do this. Systems of rural credit have been studied and developed on the other side of the water while we left our farmers to shift for themselves in the ordinary money market. You have but to look about you in any rural district to see the result—the handleap and embarrassment which have been put upon those who produce our food.

The time to keep our pledge to the farmers of the country is

The time to keep our pledge to the farmers of the country is now. From the throbbing heart and the trumpet tongue of the people comes the mandate "Onward!"

A few days ago I sent a printed statement to the people whom I have the honor to represent in this Chamber, and, among other things, I said:

but some do. The farmer is largely the producer of the wealth of this country. He feeds and clothes not only this country but other countries as well, to a large extent. The census of 1910 showed that only about 32 per cent of our population were engaged in agricultural pursuits. It may be larger now, but think of it. Are not our farmers and those who would like to become such entitled to help in their struggles? I have hopes that this Congress will pass a rural-credits law. Indeed, such a bill will be reported to the House in a few days, and before you read these words I hope you will hear that we have passed it; and you may be sure that your humble representative will do his utmost to secure a result that will give to the producer a cheap farm loan, and that, too, with little cost to obtain it. The farmer offers the best security in the world—first, the integrity of the farmer; second, the industry of the farmer; and, third, the productive capacity of the land. If I had the power, I would blight and wither the grasping hand of the usurer that takes for his toll all products of the farmer—the toll spared by pest, drought, and flood. It is easy to finance the farmer who owns unencumbered land. The difficult problem is to help the small farmer in debt, the farmer boy growing up, and the workingmen in the towns and cities who want to go to the farm. These classes ought to have a chance to own land, to get a foothold in the soil. The prosperity of our Nation has its taproot in home ownership. A system of rura: credits, in my judgment, will solve this problem.

Agriculture is not a State institution, but it is a national affair, and if we are to have a farm credit which will benefit agriculture, the agriculture of the whole country and not of a few States must be considered. Therefore it is plain that a national farm-credit measure must deal with this question of the price of farm credit, and it is evident that the National Government only can make it uniform and equitable.

It may be difficult to define concretely what the rate of in-terest should be, but we know now that it is too high for agriculture, and that it is a national question of the utmost importance to every man, woman, and child in the country, and I believe it should not be in excess of 4 per cent. When the farmer does not succeed none prosper. He is the most sensitive nerve in the whole national system. Prick this nerve and the whole Nation suffers. You can not Shylock a farmer on a 40-

acre patch without bringing hurt to the body politic.

acre patch without bringing hurt to the body politic.

The man who stands upon his own soil, who feels that by the law of civilized nations he is the rightful owner of the land he tills, is by the constitution of our nature under a wholesome influence not casily imbibed from any other source. Perhaps the farm of this man has come down to him from his fathers; they have gone to their last home, but he can trace their footsteps over the daily scenes of his labors; the roof which shelters him was reared by those to whom he owes his being; the favorite fruit tree was planted by his father's hand; he sported in his boyhood by the side of the brook, which still winds through his meadow; through the field lies the path to the village school of his earliest days; he still hears from his window the voice of the Sabbath bell which called his fathers and his forefathers to the house of God; and near at hand is the spot where he laid his parents down to rest, and where he trus's, when his hour is come, he shall be dutifully laid by his children. These are the feelings of the owner of the soil; words can not paint them; gold can not buy them; they flow out of the deepest feelings of the heart; they are the lifespring of a fresh, healthy, generous, national character.

Why should not this great Government help to aid the building

Why should not this great Government help to aid the building of farms and homes and add thereby to the joy, contentment, and happiness of this great class of our grand people who have embraced agriculture as an occupation? Why not encourage and help the young man who desires and would like to follow in the footsteps of his father and gain a home, where he may depend only upon the blessings of God upon his honest industry

Who can estimate the importance of agriculture, in a national point of view, as controlling the character, the prosperity, and independence of our country? It is the most certain source of strength, wealth, and independence; commerce may well be termed the younger sister, for in emergencies she looks to agriculture, both for defense and for supply. We have passed in the House a good-roads bill, the twin sister of agricultural aid.

Agriculture was the first occupation of man, and as it embraces the whole earth, it is the foundation of all other industries.

Newman Hall says:

Labor clears the forest, drains the morass, and makes the wilderness blossom as the rose. Labor drives the plow, scatters the seed, reaps the harvest, grinds the corn, and converts it into bread. Labor, tending the pastures, as well as cultivating the soil, provides with daily sustenance the one thousand millions of the family of man.

Aid to enable farmers to procure money to purchase homes and to carry on agricultural pursuits has been extended by every enlightened Government save our own. We have extended governmental aid in one form or another to every line of business except agriculture. Millions of acres of public lands were given away to corporations to induce them to build railroads. In the past this Government has subsidized shipping lines to carry mail; guaranteed the contract of the bankers in order to enable them to realize on their paper; we have agents in every part of the world developing business for our merchants and manufacturers, but we have left our farmers to the tender mercies of great mortgage and loan companies, who charge ruinous interest rates. We have disregarded the fact that the cost of production necessarily must enter into the cost of the product to the consumer, and therefore have contended that any aid extended to the farmer was class legislation. Yet we must

realize with emphasis that every thing that is eaten and worn must be the product of his toil, and its cost to the consumer necessarily influenced by the cost of production. This being granted, direct Federal aid to the farmer will be as helpful to all other classes as to him, because to the consumer the cost of living would be cheapened and all classes would benefit by the legislation equally, and there would be, therefore, no class legislation. However, the sharp line of division between those who really want to enact helpful legislation that is really helpful to corporations and groups of men of great wealth and hurtful to the farmer divide upon this one question of Government aid. With it the farmer will be emancipated. Without it, he will have to begin over again his fight for justice.

If legislation is enacted at this Congress, as proposed by some, without any aid being extended by the Government, the farmer will reject it. He will realize it was not intended to help him, but merely to silence him; that instead of lifting his burdens, it will grant a respite to those who are oppressing him. It will postpone the day of justice, because, when he complains, he will be answered that "we have legislated in your behalf, and you have not as yet had time to determine whether it will be helpful or not and you must wait."

It is strange that the idea is advanced always that the Government must not come to the relief of one class when the farmer is being considered, yet all other classes are embraced in legislation directly intended to benefit that class. objected to Government aid as applied to commerce and manufacturing enterprises. No one protested when appropriations were made to search out markets. No one now seriously questions the wisdom of purchasing ships to transport commercial com-modities to markets where they may be profitably disposed of. No one seriously objects when millions of dollars are expended to deepen harbors as places of refuge that commerce might be safely and cheaply handled; but the instant that legislation is proposed that will unshackle the farmers and make it possible for the tenants to become owners of farms, we are met with a protest that the proposed legislation is class legislation, is unconstitutional, and is contrary to the genius of our Government. I take it that not for long will-this great and deserving class of citizens submit to this unjust and unpatriotic treatment at the hands of its legislative body. The farmer demands less at the hands of his Government and receives infinitely less than any other class of citizens. His occupation in a measure isolates him. It teaches him to rely upon his own resources; to meet and solve his own difficulties; to fight his own battles, and to do that single handed and alone. Therefore he has never banded himself together, as other classes in this Republic have, and beseeched in one voice in the halls of legislation that justice might be done, and accordingly he has received nothing but faint praise and much exploitation.

In the Sixty-third Congress there was an opportunity to have lifted from the farmers the burden they should not have borne in the way of exorbitant interest rates. I supported this bill but the efforts of those who should have been the friends of the farmers were fritted away in support of measures, some of which were good and some wholly vicious, and each man wedded to his own idol, while those opposed to legislation by lining up first with one group and then the other to fight all measures defeated all measures. Whether the same methods are to be pursued in this Congress is not yet apparent. There are measures pending in Congress, some of those the same bills that were introduced in the Sixty-third Congress, that if enacted into law, or the principles engrafted upon the committee bill, would procure for the farmer the full measure of relief that he is entitled to receive, and we who are his friends in Congress are pledged that no legislation not bearing these provisions shall be enacted into law by a vote of ours, nor shall they be

enacted into law without our protest,

The present Congress and our great President are about to redeem the promise made at Baltimore in the new declaration of human rights. Under the provisions of the present committee bill as it is being redrafted, and amendments added thereto, farmers will be enabled to borrow money on a long-time repayment plan at a rate of interest not in excess of 6 per cent, and possibly not greater than 5 per cent. There are many provisions in this bill that my judgment does not approve; however, in the main it stands for those things for which the friends of rural credits have contended, and I stand with them. It commits the Government in a measure to aid this system. When we have enacted it into law, and I believe we will, great relief will come to the farmer-no such sufficient relief, however, as in my judgment he is entitled to receive, but the best that can be had under existing circumstances. In fighting for this measure, as I shall do, and in advocating its passage, as I will do, I do not mean thereby to say that the farmers have received

under this bill all they are entitled to receive at the hands of this Government. I do not mean thereby to say that I shall accept it as a just and adequate relief. On the other hand, I intend that this shall be merely a stepping stone, a beginning, a new starting point, in the fight that we are now waging to give justice to this most deserving class of our citizenry.

A perfect rural credits bill would be a measure that would enable the farmer to borrow money at a rate of interest not in excess of that which the Government itself pays. It does not necessarily mean that the Government shall advance a dollar toward its establishment. It merely means the Government should extend to the farmer that which it extended to the business world-its credit. There are millions of dollars hidden away by people who are willing to accept a low rate of interest, and loan their money for a long time, provided they can feel assured that it will be returned. This assurance can be given them only by the Government, and when the Government shall have performed that service for the farmers, those engaged in agriculture in this country will borrow money not in excess of 4 or 5 per cent, and under that plan there would be no disarrangement of commercial banking, and no interference with manufacturing enterprises. It would call out of its hiding the money that is not now engaged in active enterprise of any kind, the untold millions of dollars that are practically buried, and at the same time it would give relief to the greatest of all industries, agriculture. It would make possible the improvement by those who already own lands. It would make possible also the purchase of land by those who do not now own a home. It should also have written into it a provision to prevent the building of large estates by alien corporations. That country best where the land holdings are small; its provisions should be available only to those who actively and actually engage in agricultural pursuits. The law should be framed so that it would not be possible for men to take advantage of its provisions to borrow money and acquire lands with no intention of farming or building or maintaining a home, but in turn to rent them to people who are landless

During the Sixty-third Congress and in the present, the Sixty-fourth Congress, my colleague, Mr. Caraway, of Arkansas, introduced a bill, which I approved, looking to such relief as I have indicated. A rural credit bill should have written in it a provision that no man should borrow in excess of, say, \$10,000, and should borrow only on those lands on which he actually makes his home; that if they became alienated for any reason the loan would become due and payable, because, to reiterate, the object of a rural credits bill is to enable the people to own lands who live upon the land, and not to enable the absentee landlord to build up great estates and thereby exploit these producers of our national wealth, the agricultural classes. I have no fault to find with men who own large land properties, are, as a rule, excellent men; they bought their lands; they are entitled to them, and no process of law could take them from them, nor would I be a party to an endeavor to do so. And yet I have great sympathy for tenants. A man is just as good a man who never owned the roof that sheltered his family, but we all realize that that country is happiest and the people most contented where each shall own the acres that he tills, the house in which dwell his wife and babies, and this condition will be brought about when this Government realizes its full duty toward our farmers. The present bill with its low rate of interest and provision for a long-time repayment plan will facilitate and hasten the coming of that day when the dreams of our farmers shall be realized. Then will a shout of joy go up, and the fulfillment of the promised "new freedom" will be at hand.

Rural Mail Delivery.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

THOMAS D. SCHALL. HON. OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 23, 1916.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, I received this morning a letter from the Postmaster General, A. S. Burleson, in response to some remarks made by me, together with data, in the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD of the 19th instant.

sweeping change which went into effect November 15, 1915; and in fairness to him and in order that his views upon the situation may be put plainly before my district, I ask that his letter to me be set out in full:

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL, Washington D. C., February 21, 1916.

Hon. Thomas D. Schall,

House of Representatives.

Hon. Thomas D. Schall.

My Dram Mr. Schall.

My Dram Mr. Schall.

My attention has been called to your remarks a setuded in the Concersional Recomb of February 19.

1816, page Stended in the Concersional Recomb of February 19.

1816, page Stended in the Concersional Recomb of February 19.

1816, page Stended in the Concersional Recomb of February 19.

1816, page Stended in the Concersional Recomb of February 19.

1816, page Stended in the Concersional Recomb of February 19.

1816, page Stended in the Concersional Recomb of February 19.

1816, page Stended In the Concersional Recomb of February 19.

1816, page Stended In the Concersional Recomb of February 19.

1816, page Stended In the Concersion In the Recomb of February 19.

1816, page Stended In the Concersion In the Recomb of the Universion In the India of the Universion of the Universion In the India of the India of In

A. S. Burleson, Postmaster General.

I note the above letter refers to some of the data in my remarks of the 19th, being dated before the change took place. These letters were in protest of the contemplated change, and should have served in avoiding the disastrous muddle.

In response to the above letter, I wish to set out an article published in the Osseo Review, February 16, 1916:

AFTER BETTER MAIL SERVICE.

About 20 patrons on the east end of what is supposed to be Anoka auto route A were in Osseo yesterday and made affidavit to the mall service they are not getting. One man made affidavit that he is forced to go 2 miles to his mail box. Some people can be misused occasionally, but all the people can't be neglected the greater part of the time without resentment—and this resentment is taking form in legal complaints. The Osseo Review, the local paper, which should reach everybody not later than Friday of any week, is seldom delivered before Saturday, and as late as Monday following. To-day's bundle for that route will leave this office as a registered package, and so continue until the spot that falls can be positively located, when some artion will be taken to see if destruction is the object of the mail-route changes. Subscribers should get their Review every Thursday, and if you don't, notify this paper.

I am this morning in receipt of 11 affidavits from citizens in and about Osseo, which I wish to set out in full. These affidavits are all addressed to James L. Blakslee, Fourth Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.:

SERVICE OF MAIL ROUTE A, ANOKA, FORMERLY ROUTE 2, OSSEO.

I am glad to have discovered the means of attracting the attention of the Postmaster General to the deplorable conditions of the rural-mail delivery in my district, brought about by the

for parcel-post delivery without delay on account of carrier not having scales. That the service has been very irregular."

Before me, Charles Hechtman, a notary public in and for the county of Hennepin, State of Minnesota, came W. A. Ferguson, who, being by me duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that his mail is delivered every other day; that he lives on route A, and has to go 2 miles every other day to a neighbor where carrier feeds his horse and has dinner and leaves mail to be called for.

Before me, Charles Hechtman, a notary public in and for the county of Hennepin and State of Minnesota, came Ray Mattson, who, being duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he received his mail 48 hours late; that mail for his neighbors is left in his box for him to deliver.

hours late; that mail for his heighbors is left in his box for him to deliver.

Biefore me, Charles Hechtman, a notary public in and for the county of Hennepin and State of Minnesota, came John Pletcher, who, being by me duly sworn, deposes and says, that he is a patron of the Osseo post office, Hennepin County, Minn., and formerly received his mail on route No. 2, and that all mail was received regular and in good condition. Deponent states he is compelled to walk 1½ miles for his mail. Attached is a letter marked "Exhibit No. 1," which was mailed in Minneapolis December 21 and received December 24, 1915, a distance of 12 miles. Exhibit No. 2 was mailed December 24, 1915, a distance of 12 miles. Exhibit No. 2 was mailed December 27, 1915, a distance of 12 miles. Exhibit No. 2 was mailed December 26, 1915, a distance of 12 miles. Exhibit No. 2 he received his mail from these points as shown in the exhibit the day after the mailing; now mail is received from three to four days late. Deponent states that all his first class and the greater part of his second class mail is always 24 hours late and deliveries are irregular.

Before me, Charles Hechtman, a notary public in and for the county of Hennepin and State of Minnesota, came J. A. Theorin and I. Dahl, who, being be me duly sworn according to law, depose and say that their mail is delivered to them very irregular and is always 24 hours late.

late.

Before me, Charles Hechtman, a notary public in and for the county of Hennepin and State of Minnesota, came A. P. Mattson, who, being by me duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that first-class mall delivered to him about November 25, 1915, was delivered to Ray Mattson and in turn delivered to him four days late; that it caused him a great deal of inconvenience; that the attached postal card marked "Exhibit A" was mailed at Anoka, Minn., December 12, 1915, and received December 15, 1915, too late to attend the funeral of a relative, which caused him much sorrow, and, with the previous service, would have been received the following day; that the distance from Anoka to his home is 9 miles

Before me, Charles Hechtman, a notary public in and for the county of Hennepin and State of Minnesota, came Fred Schreiber, who, being by me duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he receives his mail 24 hours late, and since February 7, 1916, receives his mail every other day, and that his service has been very unsatisfactory and irregular.

mail 24 hours late, and since February 7, 1916, receives his mail every other day, and that his service has been very unsatisfactory and irregular.

Before me, Charles Hechtman, a notary public in and for the county of Hennepin and State of Minnesota, came J. W. Johnson, who, being by me duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he received his mail very irregular; that the Osseo Review, home paper, delivered to the post office in Osseo Wednesday is not delivered to him until Saturday or Monday and is from three to four days late.

Before me, Charles Hechtman, a notary public in and for the county of Hennepin and State of Minnesota, came Feter Zimmerman, who, being by me duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he received his mail every other day; that his mail was delivered February 12, 1916, by Almeda Finch, schoolgirl, given to her by carrier on route A, Anoka, Minn. Service has been very irregular.

Before me, Charles Hechtman, a notary public in and for the county of Hennepin and State of Minnesota, came Guy Mattson, who, being by me duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that instead of receiving mail daily he is served three times a week. Roads have been open and mail is received 48 hours late.

Before me, Charles Hechtman, a notary public in and for the county of Hennepin and State of Minnesota, came Herman Goetze, who, being by me duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is compelled to walk one-half mile each day for his mail; that on February 13, 1916, no mail was delivered to his mail box. The roads were passable and weather conditions were favorable. Mail has been received 24 hours late since change in routes has been effected, and in a good many instances 48 hours late.

The mail brings me a number of letters every day protesting,

The mail brings me a number of letters every day protesting, some of which I will insert:

LONG LAKE, February 8, 1916.

* * Our mail service is still bad. Sometimes we receive it every other day and it is always one to three days late. "Economy" to the Government against the interest of the farmers and rural residents in order that the Government may have a few more millions to squander on some pork-barrel scheme.

ROLLA STUBES.

Minneapolis, Minn., December 23, 1915.

Minncapolis, Minn., December 23, 1915.

Dean Sir: I wish to explain that our mail route has been changed. We were on route No. 3 and had both our carrier and route changed. We used to get our mail at 10.30 a. m. and now we get it about 4 or 4.30 p. m., and if he doesn't get there at that time we don't get our mail until the next day. So we would like to have our route and carrier changed back the way it was at first or always had been. So many are complaining about the route and the mail man being changed; they all want things changed back the way they were. So if you would be so kind and have it arranged the way we want it we would be very glad.

Your friend,

J. GERHARDT

EXCELSIOR, MINN., February 7, 1916.

EXCELSIOR, MINN., February 7, 1916.

Dear Sir: I want to enter a protest against our rural free delivery at Vine Hill.

Last fall they changed our rural delivery along the Minneapolis-Excelsior road, and instead of delivering our mall at our houses they required us to bunch our mail boxes at the intersection of Vine Hill and Excelsior roads, and then they put on the rottenest service they could figure out. Instead of giving us daily service we get it three times a week. Instead of giving us our mail at a given time the time varies as much as six hours, so that If we have any important mail to send we must either take it to Excelsior post office or stand out in the cold and wait for the carrier. The route west of us could deliver our mail without any extra bother, as the carrier comes within one-eighth of a mile of us and turns

west. Our route No. 3 delivers mail in Deephaven, an incorporated village, and that is the reason, I think, that we can not get service. The question is, Should incorporated villages be served to the detriment of the rural district? You understand the Minneapolis-Excelsior road is the old territorial road and is now a main county road, and I can not understand why the service was taken from us without any rhyme or reason. Last fall I complained to the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General, and the only result we got was to have our service reduced to triweekly from daily. Our entire community is complaining about the service, and I understand many people have written from the rural service. If you can do anything for us in this matter you will place our entire community under lasting obligation.

Yours, truly,

GEO. P. ZACHRITZ.

St. Bonifacius, Minn., January 28, 1916.

St. Bonifacius, Minn., January 28, 1916.

Dear Sir: I expected you would have done something about our rural mail route ere this. To-day makes the sixth time this month the carrier has failed to make a trip on his route. There were five days in the week of the 8th that he did not deliver me my morning Tribune. He tried to run an automobile in the snow and got hung up three times. For three days he did not come at all. One horse can not make the trip. * * *
The department, under plea of "economy," has told us our post office is to be Excelsior, 9 miles off. If the department can not afford to deliver our mail it had better discontinue the route, then all our mail would come to 8t. Bonifacius, 3 miles from us, which has been our post office for 30 years, and we would at least know where it was. I subscribe to four farm papers, and not one has been delivered to me since the "economy" change. Every man from Woodend Farm to Victoria is very much dissatisfied with this service. Get our old route back.

Yours,

WILLIAM SMITH.

WILLIAM SMITH.

RURAL FREE DELIVERY ROUTE No. 3,

Minneapolis, December 11, 1915.

Dean: Friend: There is one question before Congress in which I am interested and that is relating to rural free delivery. Changes have been made recently which have proved a failure rather than an improvement to our service. The mail does not reach the farmer as early in the day as before this change. Outgoing mail is delayed in reaching the station in the afternoon. Many patrons have to go a long way after their mail. If the Post Office Department wants to economize don't start on the farmers. They get little enough now in mail service. I hope you will see that the former routes are reestablished, if possible.

Yours, truly,

LORETTO, MINN., January 30, 1916.

Loretto, Minn., January 30, 1916.

Dear Sir: The rural mail service through our district is very, very poor. Some of our best customers with whom we have a great deal of correspondence and who live only 2 miles and less from our post office do not receive our letters sometimes for more than three days after we mail them. This condition is due to the fact that our territory is covered by carriers from other neighboring post offices. The service in cases like ours has lost all of its efficiency and is worse than none. We have only one route out of here and there is ample work for another mail carrier here. What is needed is to have our territory covered from our own post office. Can you not see that we get this much consideration?

Very truly, yours,

FRANK H. SEXAUER.

LORETTO, MINN., January 29, 1916.

LORETTO, MINN., January 29, 1916.

Dear Sir: Can you help us to get another mall route out of Loretto to cover this territory? It takes us two days, and sometimes more than that, to get our mall to our customers who live only 2 miles out of town. It is because the carriers come right through town from Hamel, Minn., and also very close to town from Maple Plain, Minn. All we want is to have our own territory covered from our 'wn post office. Then, there are other customers only a mile or two from town who have no service past their homes at all. For example, when we wish to send Mr. Smith a letter it must lie in this office until the evening train, which takes it to Minneapolis, where it is sent out to Maple Plain and delivered from there on the following afternoon if the connections are made in Minneapolis, and provided also that the mail carrier does not leave Maple Plain until the afternoon train has arrived in Maple Plain. This service is one thing that we really need. And we need it badly.

Alebert Gaspar,

Assistant Cashier State Bank of Loretto.

ALBERT GASPAR, Assistant Cashier State Bank of Loretto.

St. Louis Park, Minn., January 25, 1916.

Dear Sir: At the last meeting of the Farmers' Club of St. Louis Park a resolution was passed to instruct the secretary to write our Representative at Washington and our postmaster of Minneapolis in regard to our present mall service. It has been very irregular and the mail has been badly mixed. There has been a big complaint among the farmers of the mal. service, and hope you will be able to give us a little better service than we now have.

Yours, very respectfully,

L. M. LARSEN, Secretary,

MAPLE PLAIN, MINN., January 18, 1916.

Maple Plain, Minn., January 18, 1916.

Dear Sir: I desire to express my feeble voice in a protest against the Post Office Department reversing the routes of the rural carriers. It seems too bad that every time an economical wave strikes the officials at Washington the farmer is always the "goat" for it to be practiced on. This doub!mg the routes of the carriers has in a large measure robbed the parcel post of its benefit to farmers, as it is impossible to send butter and eggs by parcel post owing to the uncertainty of the arrival of the carriers, and, with the long routes they now have, produce would freeze before reaching the local post office. While millions are being expended by the Government in all directions, it strikes one as a "penny wise pound foolish" method to commence at the rural free delivery for cutting down. It will not popularize the administration any with the farmers or rural dwellers. I hope you will do all in your power to restore the rural delivery of mails to its former efficiency. Thanking you in advance, I am,

Yours, very truly,

Frank H. Ford.

These petitions, with many others, signed by 197 and 56 citizens, respectively, have been forwarded to the department, and that is the last I have heard of them:

SUNRISE, MINN., January 3, 1916.

SURISE, MINN., January 8, 1916.

SIR: We, the undersigned petitioners, do hereby respectfully petition
you that you use your best efforts toward the reinstatement of rural
route No. 1, Sunrise, Minn., which was, by action of the Postal Department, discontinued November 15, 1915, and partitioned between
the following routes: North Branch, Minn., route No. 4; Lindstrom,
Minn., route No. 2; and Center City, Minn., route No. 1, which is
proving very inconvenient and is causing delays in delivery of mails
from one to two days. Also that rural route No. 4, from North
Branch, Minn., be changed so that it will cover its old territory used
prior to November 15, 1915.

Sin:: We, the undersigned taxpayers, voters and United States citizens, and residents of Maple Plain and the surrounding country, do hereby protest to the changes made in the mail routes going out from Maple Plain, Minn. The service given us previous to the change was good, and we were well pleased; since then some of us are compelled to go from a quarter of a mile to a mile for our mail or else drive all the way to the post office for it. In the change one carrier is compelled to drive 4 miles where he does not pick up or deliver one piece of mail, and that is over roads which are never worked, making them almost utterly impassable most of the year. On the other hand, seven families living on the State road within a half mile of each other have no mail service and have to walk a mile or more or to drive to the post office. One of the other carriers is forced by the recent change to drive 5 miles to serve one family that does not even get a daily paper, and that over roads which are impassable over a good deal of the year. Others are not getting their mail at all or else one or two days latenever less than one day late. Others having been in the habit of doing quite a little of their busness by parcel post, are now compelled to make a drive of several miles or wait several days for the articles. It also causes some of use to drive from 3 to 4 miles in order to do our banking or having to send our deposits a long way around, causing them to go through many hands, with several days delay. Since we pay for conveniences, we feel that we are entitled to them and should not be inconvenienced as we now are. We deem it a gross injustice to have a system which gives one man the power to make such radical changes as have been made here, as well as elsewhere, without having any knowledge of knowing what he is doing. Therefore we carnestly request that you do all in your power to bring back our former service and stop the unnecessary expense of driving over roads such as described above, without having as you do in the you

If I were to insert all the complaints filed with me, I could fill the RECORD. From conversation with other Congressmen I find the same conditions prevail in their districts. Where there is so much smoke there must be some fire.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK PARK, OF GEORGIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 23, 1916.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, taking advantage of the leave granted me to extend my remarks on rural credits, I wish to call attention to the fact that the Democratic Party has pledged its aid to the debt-oppressed farmers of our country to give to them a system of rural credits which will in a measure relieve their distressed situation.

I have critically examined the various methods offered to stablish a system of rural credits for the country. these bills present excellent features calculated to advance the None of them interests of those who lend money to farmers. present as many good features solely for the benefit of the agricultural class as bill H. R. 595, which, I understand from the author, embodies in its plan and scope the ideas and ideals of the National Farmers' Union, the organization which has done so much and cherishes so deeply the interests of the farmers of our country. After a careful study of this bill, I have decided that if it represents what the Farmers' Union, the Grange, and Alliance of Farmers desire and have requested, that I shall adopt it with a few amendments that seem good to me as the bill which I shall endeavor to see enacted into law.

I see no good legislative reason, Mr. Speaker, why the comparatively small expense of organizing and operating this system shall not be borne by the Treasury of the United States. The bill asks for no appropriation of money to be loaned the farmer direct, and the expense of operating will necessarily be little when compared to expense of operating other departments and bureaus of the Government.

If the Government can foster and aid the manufacturer, why not equally further and aid the business of the farmer?

For the purpose of organization and establishment of a system of rural credits my bill provides the appropriation of half a million dollars, this to pay for the services of the commission and the minor officials in direct control of the operation of the system. The farmer applying for a loan should not be compelled to pay any commission to any middleman or agent, and shall not be saddled at the outset with unlimited agent's fees.

There are some 12,000,000 farmers in this country, whose aggregate wealth amounts to over \$40,000,000,000. They owe on this about \$6,000,000,000, and their farms are mortgaged for over \$7.000,000,000. They pay out annually as interest over \$500,000,000 on an average rate of interest of $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The computation of experts shows that they can pay but 5½ per cent and thrive. These figures are obtained from those who have made careful computations and should be familiar with what they speak and write, and 1 accept them for their full value. The farmers of this country are paying out annually over \$180,000,000 as interest more than they can pay and succeed at the husiness of farming

The farmer should get his money at 5 per cent, and under a well-managed system of rural credits this interest rate should be reduced gradually to less than 4 per cent.

The objects of the bill introduced by me are obvious. It needs no detailed explanation; any farmer can understand it.

Farmers alone who live on their farms and are actually engaged in agriculture are entitled to the benefit of this act.

Mr. Speaker, we must enact a rural credits law at this ses-The farmer may forget the iniquitous stamp act, which should be repealed as soon as it can be written into law, the failure to put sugar on the free list, and other legislation to which he may be opposed, but he will never forget a failure to enact the only legislation that the 12,000,000 farmers unitedly stand for.

The rates of interest in the bill reported to the House by the Banking and Currency Committee are too high. This is doubt-less the only bill that will be reported to Congress; it is the only bill bearing the approval of that great committee.

The farmer now has to pay 6 to 8 per cent interest on his long-time loans, with unlimited loan agents' fees, besides constantly running dangerous risks of foreclosure because of present impossibility of securing loans on long time at a low rate of interest.

Our entire financial system needs material change and reform, and our farmer constituents say to us to get for them at this session the very best rural-credits bill possible, and let it be amended and improved year after year until we can get it on a good, practical, workable basis, as we have done and are doing with the parcel-post system.

Of course, if we could get an ideal rural-credits system at once we should certainly do so, but we should not adopt the policy of refusing to legislate at all because we can not get the best at this time. Let us strive for the ideal, but take that which we can get that will most nearly approach it.

If the rural-credits bill now before Congress can be made

workable and give farmers money at 5 to 6 per cent on periods up to 36 years, as some believe it can be, it will be a veritable godsend to farmers who now are burdened with extortionate rates of interest.

The idea that money can be obtained by farmers at 5 to 6 per cent under the proposed rural-credits law springs from these facts: Money has always been offered for safe, nontaxable bonds bearing 4 per cent. The bonds proposed in the bill before Congress would be nontaxable and just as good security as State bonds, therefore they should sell in market on basis of paying

If the bonds bear 4 per cent, the farmer will get money at 5 per cent, as the bill provides that he shall get the money at not exceeding 1 per cent of the rate of interest on the bonds. Wherefore if the bill can be so amended, he can secure money at 5 per cent or less.

By making rural-credits bonds nontaxable the buyer will take them at 1 per cent less in the market than if taxed. One per cent added to the interest on the bonds fixes the rate to the farmer, as the bill provides that the money must be loaned within 1 per cent of the bond rate of interest. If the bonds bring 4 per cent, the borrower gets it at 5 per cent, and if they bring 5 per cent, he gets it for 6 per cent.

Commercial banking is no more deserving of aid than rural

America should do for her farmers what Europe did for hers. The tenant farmer needs help more than any other class, and the bill should provide more help for him.

In the Southern States, where cotton is the main money crop, the interest on loans should be payable annually and not every six months, so that the southern farmer can meet it.

The Government has fostered and aided manufacturers of raw materials into finished products by a high protective tariff for many years; why not give some aid to those who create the raw materials?

The farmer will never be contented with the present opportunities afforded him of getting money at exorbitant rates. He is knocking at the door of Congress and crying to us for help. Let us help him.

A Soldier's Talk on War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 23, 1916.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, once a year, on Washington's birthday, at the Union League in Philadelphia, the surviving veterans of the George G. Meade Post, No. 1, Department of Pennsylvania, Grand Army of the Republic, gather together to memorialize the services of those who fought and died to preserve the Union. Amidst these patriotic surroundings, the Union League of Philadelphia being the first of its kind to raise regiments in response to the call of the illustrious Lincoln, the Grand Army boys again assembled last night to renew their pledges to the Constitution and the laws of the land. The speakers included two distinguished Members of the House of Representatives, Gen. ISAAC R. Sherwood and the Hon. D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH, both of Ohio. I trust the speech of Gen. Sherwood may be incorporated in the Record, since there are few of our National Representatives now living who took so interesting and important a part in the Civil War. The speech delivered by my colleague, Gen. Hollinsworth, has been forwarded to me, and, with the permission of the House, I herewith extend it in the RECORD:

ADDRESS OF HON. D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH, REPRESENTATIVE FROM OHIO, AT THE ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE GEORGE G. MEADE POST, NO. 1, DEPARTMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA, GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC, AT THE UNION LEAGUE, PHILADELPHIA, WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1916.

Comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic, I greet you tonight, as of o.d, simply as "boys in blue," believing that it is the proudest title ever held by an American citizen. I do not like the term "old soldier," now universally and on all occasions applied to the survivors of the Civil War. It is too suggestive of muster out, too much like we were done for, whereas if there is anyone on God's green footstool entitled to perennial youth it is the soldier boy of 1861–1865, who, in the morning of his days, voluntarily offered his young life a sacrifice for our beloved country.

Only a few of either the blue or the gray remain on the active rolls of life and leadership, but it is not pleasant for them to be constantly reminded of the fact by those who were babes in their mothers' arms when the greatest tragedy of the ages reached its climax at Appomattox.

Precious memories of the sixties, they must and will live forever in song and story, although the muffled drum and bugle shall soon sound a requiem for the last comrade of either army.

But, my comrades of the blue, new conditions surround us in 1916, and we are expected to keep step with the music of modern ideas whether we like them or not. We must face to the front and at least seem to forget that fifty-odd years ago at the call of duty we went forth to battle, wholly unprepared in the modern, scientific, red-tape sense of the term, and that, notwith-standing this handicap, we did some pretty good fighting for God and country, fighting which the present wordy advocates of preparedness might find it difficult to duplicate should one or all of the war-wrecked nations of Europe attack us after the peace of exhaustion and a drawn battle, as now seems probable, shall have quenched the fires and flying sparks of the world's conflagration. Let us hope, however, that hese prophets of evil may be mistaken and that the hysteria of the hour may pass without any war sparks reaching our shore line on either ocean.

A JUST AND FAIR-DEALING GOVERNMENT.

A Nation of 100,000,000 of freemen, with unlimited resources, situated between two ocean barriers, and these barriers equipped

as they are, or should be, with adequate coast fortifications, mines, submarines and submarine destroyers, air craft, good roads, as in Germany, connecting such ocean barriers and thus furnishing ready means of transportation for an army from one point of danger to another, on inside lines, need not, in a just cause, fear a combined world in arms, even if our Nation does not have a Navy "the strongest and most powerful in the world," as suggested by an eminent but somewhat belated militarist.

We are not an aggressive people; our real permanent defense must always be in the justice, sincerity, and fair dealing of our Government with all the world.

We do not need any great increase in our already efficient fleet of dreadnaughts and superdreadnaughts, unless we intend to sail into foreign waters in a defiant attitude and make of Uncle Sam a veritable jingo of the seas.

This is the day of all days in the patriotic calendar of America, the birthday anniversary of George Washington, Father of his Country, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen. Earliest of American statesmen, his example and unselfish patriotism should to-day be object lessons in patriotism to the alarmists and modern leaders who seem to have forgotten the day when, at Yorktown, the proud legions of England, redcoated, drilled, and equipped, surrendered to the volunteer armies of Washington, who were prepared for Army life only by the actualities of real war. Washington's life and character were of epoch-making type. He was one of the divinely appointed leaders, developed in every great crisis in the world's history. The hour and the man with him came together. So it was with Lincoln of a later period. Towering. like Washington, above all his associates in the Civil War, his wisdom and foresight seemed inspired. The hand of destiny pointed to him as the greatest of all leaders in the incomparable epoch-making days of the early sixties. I count it as the proudest distinction possible to any living American to-day to have had a part, however humble, in the great work of administration. Small as was my own service, a private soldier only at the age of 16, I would not exchange the honor for any distinction within the gift of the present Chief Executive or his official advisers at Washington. I greet you, therefore, my comrades, survivors of the Civil War, at this your annual reunion, as the very salt of the earth, knowing that more and more as the years go by and the shadows lengthen, you must become sacred object lessons of loyalty to the best Government God ever permitted on earth, the one of whose future an inspired American poet has written:

Behind the dim unknown, Standeth God within the shadow, Keeping watch above his own.

But for your victory at Appomattox this Nation would have been dismembered and could never have become, as it now is, the one great power on earth capable of leading the war-mad nations back to sanity and sense, back to civilization and a just recognition of the international obligations which Divine Providence has imposed upon all nations and upon all mankind, and without which, if we are to judge from the lessons of history, no nation can long endure.

A patriotic, God-fearing, level-headed, just citizenship is needed at this hour in America in both official and private life. The teachings of history, instead of hysteria, should guide the Nation, uniformly successful as it has been in all its wars, two with Great Britain, one with Spain, and another with Mexico.

WARNINGS OF WASHINGTON.

Out of the wreck and carnage of the present war, as out of the tragedies and exhaustion of our own desperate struggle of the sixties, there must come, instead of a desire for future conquests, a higher and holier condition, world-wide and universal, heralding possibly the millenlal period when, we are told, satan shall be bound here upon earth and peace and righteousness reign triumphant throughout all the land. One flag it may be, and that the starry flag of the Republic, but whether so or not the goal of permanent peace must be reached. Human nature, naturally patriotic in all lands, must and will

Human nature, naturally patriotic in all lands, must and will rise to higher ideals. Meantime the United States and its citizens, at peace among themselves and with all nations, owe duties to the world, to the belligerents, and to mankind; duties as positive and imperative and as delicate as those which confronted Abraham Lincoln in 1861, when Fort Sumter was fired upon and the smoldering fires of rebellion broke forth in all their fury. The warning of Washington against foreign entanglements must not be forgotten. Absolute neutrality with honor must be the American watchword. American citizenship at home or on the high seas, or anywhere else on earth where they have a right to live, must be respected. International rights and the broad claims of humanity must not be jeopardized

or brushed aside lightly by any of the belligerent powers, and the Washington Government, in contending for these safeguards, must be backed to the limit so long as it in good faith tries to deal fairly, justly, and impartially with all the warring nations. Political scheming in an hour like this, in high or low places, is little less than treason to the Republic.

MIXTURE OF THE BEST RACES.

Let us be Americans, pure and simple, and then if war shall be forced upon us by the machinations of secret or open enemies, and it shall again become necessary to defend American honor or resent insult to "Old Glory" from any source, boys in blue of the real fighting type will come again, come as they came in the sixties, in countless numbers, ready for any sacrifice for home or country. They will answer the first bugle call to duty, prepared or unprepared in the modern military red-tape sense of the term, and will, as in past wars, be found brave and true and effective in the crash of battle along our far-flung coast lines or anywhere else on earth where American honor may be at stake. A just and brave people can never be permanently conquered in this world, and, in my judgment, those who from timid fear or from honest judgment, or, worse, a contractor's ugly greed, seek in advance to turn this country into a vast continental military camp, and our harbors into mere ports of entry for big battleships, on the theory only of preparing for war possibilities, are making a mistake.

Europe is not blinded and oriental eyes are keen. They know and realize the possibility of new destructive inventions in the air and under the seas, which may at any time render useless present-day war preparations, such as that on which Thomas A. Edison, the electric wizard, is now said to be working and by which a wireless electric current is expected to be sent with accuracy any reasonable distance and, striking a warship approaching our shores, will, like a thunderbolt, ignite its magazine and destroy the most powerful dreadnaught afloat, or, passing under the water, destroy any venturous submarine that may be sent to prey upon American commerce. By the mere touching of a button, Mr. Edison is reported to have said, we shall soon be able "to mow men down by the thousands; yea, and both Europe and the Orient must realize that without such new inventions a nation situated as we are, inland between two great oceans, with limitless resources and a patriotic, God-fearing, just citizenship, composite mixture of the best races of mankind, can in defensive warfare defy the world in arms.

EFFECTS OF WAR IN EUROPE.

Crippled and exhausted also as the warring nations must be at the close of the war, it is folly for the great Republic and its citizens to anticipate or get unduly excited over illy-defined possibilities of future attacks from any of them. They are much more likely to have bankrupt treasuries and be offering their big guns and battleships for sale. Fifty years will not suffice to restore the wastes of the war, and meantime Brother Jonathan, if he keeps out of the fight, will have plenty of time to fortify and get ready, if, in fact, his big, charitable heart does not at the close of the war find more need for food ships than warships to send to Europe.

The dreadnaughts of to-day are likely to be in the junk heap and new ones built in the usual course of construction before any nation bigger than Mexico shall dare to murder American citizens or deliberately insult Old Glory; and we are certainly already prepared to take care of American honor, if we will, against the Carranzas, the Villas, and other bandits of the

border.

If there is real danger of attack from any of the great powers, and those in high authority have secret information of the fact, as might be inferred from public acts and speeches, why does not the Government instantly commandeer and seize, as it should, the ammunition plants and factories of the country and keep their products at home safely stored for the emergency? Why the shipment of immense quantities of arms and ammunition to Canada and out of the country by every outgoing steamer? Such an embargo would at least attest the sincerity of the extreme preparedists.

The sudden outcry for hasty war preparation is suspicious. The scent of big Government contracts is in the air. It is not craven or unpatriotic, as suggested by some fleree advocates of militarism, for a Nation of 100,000,000 free-L rn citizens, 10,000,000 of whom are subject to military duty in emergency, to feel secure against foreign invasion without keeping itself constantly on a war footing in time of peace.

A MATCH DROPPED IN A TINDER BOX.

Such a nation is invincible unless it becomes the aggressor, and who is there among us, big or little, willing to admit such contingency? It was war-mad preparedness, without reason or sense, that plunged Europe into the frightful struggle of to-day.

A match carelessly dropped into a tinder box may cause instant explosion, but a dozen such lighted and thrown into cold storage only cause a little spluttering, a fizz, a flare-up, and then gradual burning out without harm. The suggested war parallel is perfect. Calm thought and coolness are of more value than hasty action. A lot of sturdy young men working industriously at home, thoughtful, patriotic, and ready, are a safer reliance in case of war than a like number of aristocratic gentlemen of leisure seeking recreation and sport on the shooting range and drill grounds of Plattsburg. Encroachments on the liberties of a free people come from military, not from civic, leaders. The man on horseback is always well groomed, booted, and spurred. He comes as Napoleon came, after the people have grown weary and exhausted from the maintenance of big standing armies in time of peace.

At the same time, faith without works is dangerous. I am not of the number of those who oppose reasonable preparedness

for war.

NO PEACE-AT-ANY-PRICE MAN.

I do not believe in Bryan's peace-at-any-price patriotism, nor do I believe in the blood-and-thunder, chip-on-your-shoulder attitude of a few very big men in this country, some of whom were old enough to have taken part in the Civil War, but were at that time strangely docile. Eventualities are uncertain, and it may be the un-Godly forces of European malice or the so-called yellow peril shall unexpectedly break loose upon our fair land, notwithstanding its justice and absolute neutrality, but if so it will be an instant call to arms, and soon the war cry of the sixties, "we are coming Father Abraham," changed only to apply to the present Executive, will be heard in stern resolve throughout the length and breadth of the Republic, and the quick response will be an army so overwhelming in numbers as to crush and destroy any possible invading force. It is a misnomer to call such intelligent citizenship a mob, as has been done by some self-opinionated military critics. The undrilled riflemen of Lexington and Concord were effective against trained British redcoats, and later, at New Orleans, a small force of irregular raw recruits, hastily called together under Gen. Jackson, were more than a 10-to-1 match for the trained veterans of England. So it has ever been and ever will be with the American volunteer when nerved to duty by an intelligent conviction of the righteousness of his cause. Nor will it add to his effectiveness, as some militarists propose, to make military duty compulsory in time of peace. Such aping of monarchy is repugnant to the genius of our institutions.

One further thought. It has been suggested, and, being of both English and German descent, I believe it, that both the allies and the central powers are better disposed, more considerate, and less brutish in warfare than they are depicted in partisan publications. A good test of this is their treatment of prisoners of war. In some countries they are lined up and shot without mercy, put out of the way as quickly as possible, but as yet in this war no serious complaints have been made of the general treatment of prisoners by either side. Two millions and more of captives must be somewhere in detention camps, and yet the world has not heard of any prison horrors comparable to those of our own Civil War. I mention this only to show that the future of the world is not hopeless; that the rescue of humanity and civilization from the wreckage of the

war is not impossible.

THE TASK OF READJUSTMENT.

The task may be colossal. The problems of the future are world-wide; they touch every phase of humanity and reach far beyond the present generation. Any mere temporary truce will fail; peace, permanent as the ages, is the only hope of mankind, the only hope of Christian civilization.

A solid basis of readjustment must be found which shall forever make war impossible. It is the one great task of Christendom, and failure on its part will be a reflection on the religious teaching of the ages. But it will not fail.

Truth crushed to earth shall rise again— The eternal years of God are hers; But Error wounded, writhes in pain, And dies among his worshipers.

And when the day of rebuilding and uplift shall come and the wrecked nations begin to look up and lift up, then will be America's opportunity and duty. It must lead in all upward movements having for their object the permanent peace of the world.

The frightfully destructive forces of the war can not last much longer. Appearances are kept up, but the barometer of fast-moving events shows the tightening coils of distress and that both sides are strained to the point of breaking.

The collapse may come at any time, and with it new and unexpected international problems greater than any which have disturbed the world since the crucifixion, vital problems of humanity, the just and permanent solution of which may well cause the stars to again sing together as at the dawn of creation.

In conclusion, my comrades of the Grand Army, as we go hence to-night let us take renewed courage from this reunion, and in life's future battles bravely face again to the front, buckle our belts a little tighter as we did on the eve of battle, rededicate and reconsecrate ourselves anew to our country and to liberty, and resolve to go forward for the few remaining years of our active lives, doing our whole duty as God gives us to see our duty, conscientiously and as independent citizens, as did Washington and Lincoln, and to the same end they sought, the real object of all patriotic endeavor that "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

The "common people," as Lincoln loved to call them, still rule in this country, and they can not be deceived or cajoled into leaving the plain beaten paths of the Republic; they prefer the safe landmarks of the fathers.

As Lincoln advised in his first great war message to Congress, July 4, 1861, they in every great crisis simply "trust in God and go forward without fear and with manly hearts."

It is truly a time for all good citizens, without regard to party, race, or creed, to remember the motto of Stephen Decatur:

Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong.

Pensions to Widows and Orphans of Spanish War Veterans— Tender Care of the Living Better Than Building Monuments to the Dead.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 23, 1916.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, the bill to pension the widows and orphans of Spanish War veterans has been pending for a long time, far too long a time for a measure so just, equitable, and necessary.

All sorts of appropriations have been made in the last few years, ϵ great many of them for comparatively useless purposes. We have had bills to protect cattle and swine, trees and plants, birds and bugs; bills to erect post offices at little wayside stations; bills to improve little rivers and creeks; and in all this time, while the Treasury was being depleted for everything else, the widows of the boys who rushed to the colors in 1898 were struggling for a bare existence and their orphans were, in thousands of cases, crying for bread.

Mr. Speaker, I am never opposed to the necessary expenditure of public money for worthy purposes. I believe in conservation, in public improvements, and in the careful use of governmental funds and agencies to develop and maintain our national resources, but—and I can not place too much emphasis—I maintain that an American boy or girl is of far more importance than a tree, and an American mother is a more vitally important object of governmental care than any public improvement.

We are hearing much of preparedness in these days, and I think most of us agree that while we hope and pray for peace we all know that there may come a time when we will have to fight to preserve the liberties our fathers fought and died for. If that day should ever come, the battle will be won or lost by the quality of our soldiers. In every past crisis hundreds of thousands of virile, red-blooded Americans have rushed to arms at the first drum beat, and we know that if to-morrow the call to arms were sounded a million men would be ready to fight and die for their country.

We can all remember how quick the response was in 1898. In the first week hundreds of thousands more men volunteered than were necessary.

All sectional feeling was wiped out overnight at the bugle call of duty.

Southerners and northerners, eastern men and western men, knew but one country in that supreme bour. There were no sneers in those days at Americans of foreign birth or descent. From every class the ready volunteers came. German-American, Irish-American, Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian American, Italian-American, Polish-American, and Hebrew-American, foreign born and native born, sons of the oldest stock and sons

of the latest immigrant, all—all with but one pulsating thought—that "this is my country, this is my fight."

There was no other thought, no other aspiration, than to fight and, if necessary, die for—

Your flag and our flag.
And how it floats to-day,
O'er your land and my land
And half the world away.
Blood red and rose red.
Its stripes forever gleam;
Snow white and soul white,
The good forefathers' dream.
Sky blue and true blue,
With stars that beam aright,
A gloried guldon of the day,
A shelter through the night.
Your flag and my flag,
Oh, how much it holds,
Your heart and my heart
Secure within its folds.
Your heart and my heart
Beat quicker at the sight,
Sun-kissed and wind-tossed,
The red and blue and white.
The one flag, the great flag,
The tag for me and you,
Glorified, at'! clse beside,
The red the white, and blue.

In this spirit the "boys of '98" left home and occupation, just as the "boys of '76" and the "boys of '61" had done.

Some left lucrative positions behind them; all left the comforts and joys of home and country. They endured the feverladen heat of the tropic sun; they suffered hunger and thirst and exposure; they went into battle as bravely as any troops in any war; and hundreds—yes, thousands—who were not wounded by shot or shell came back wrecked in health, with vital energies supped by hardship and exposure.

To-day, ah, so many lie at rest in every churchyard through-

To-day, ah, so many lie at rest in every churchyard throughout this land. They have fought their last battle; nevermore will they march beneath the starry banner; nevermore will their hearts bea. rythmic time to the battle cry of freedom. But their sons are left to follow their footsteps and fight the

But their sons are left to follow their footsteps and fight the battles of to-morrow, their daughters are left to be the mothers of another generation of patriotic Americans, their widows are left to keep their memory alive and train the generation now growing to emulate the courage and sacrifices of their fathers and it is these widows and little ones we are in duty bound to cherish and care for, to see that not a single one of them shall suffer is not only our sacred duty but our high privilege.

Mr. Speaker, we often make appropriations to erect monuments to the heroes of our various wars who have gone to their last rest. All over this country such monuments rise, triumphs of artistic skill and calling for the expenditure of large sums of money. I have nothing specially to say against this, but I can not help remarking that while we have years and years to come in which to build these monuments, every soldier's widow that dies in want, every soldier's child that grows up in poverty and ignorance, represents an opportunity lost forever.

Let us remember this for surely, most surely, we must agree and certainly every veteran would thank us the most if we bore constantly in mind that tender care of the living is better than building monuments to the dead.

Establishment by Private Capital of High Explosive Plants in the United States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EBENEZER J. HILL,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 23, 1916.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record I include official letters written by the War Department to me on the question of the establishment by private capital of high explosive plants in the United States.

The letters are as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT, Washington, February 16, 1916.

Hon. E. J. Hill, House of Representatives.

My Dear Mr. Hill: 1. In reply to your letter of February 9, 1916, addressed to the Hon. Lindley M. Garrison, Secretary of War, and requesting the opinion of the War Department of the value to the United

States Government of plants producing dyestuffs in time of peace and capable of producing explosives in time of war, I may state that such plants would be of unquestionable value to any government, and that their maintenance in time of peace, with the complete equipment which would enable their output to be changed from dyestuffs to explosives in a week's time, as claimed by Dr. Schoellkopf, would remove to a great extent the necessity for the erection and maintenance of special large plants for explosives for war purposes.

2. The War Department is not sufficiently familiar with the dyestuff industry to form an opinion as to the terms under which a private manufacturer of dyestuffs would be willing to equip and maintain his plant as outlined above. It is understood, however, that many of these plants have all the apparatus necessary for the manufacture of explosives. In addition, their existence in time of peace would create a demand for practically all the raw materials required for the manufacture of the standard explosives, thereby insuring greater supplies of such raw materials in time of war

3. The War Department has appreciated the value of private plants producing, or capable of producing, war munitions, or the essential materials therefor, and is of the opinion that the coordination of these plants with the Government in such manner as to insure their use for its purposes in case of necessity, upon reasonable terms, without waiting for special legislation after development of the necessity, would be advantageous.

Very respectfully.

advantageous. Very respectfully,

H. L. Scott, Secretary of War ad interim.

FEBRUARY 9, 1916.

Hon. Lindley M. Garrison,

Scoretary of War.

My Dear Mr. Secretary: I notice in the hearing before the Committee on Military Affairs, Gen. William Crozier present, a question was asked by my colleague, Mr. Tilson, concerning the manufacture of explosives in dyestuff plants, as is now being done in Germany.

I happen to have definite information with regard to one of the great chemical plants in Germany, that it is being run night and day and has been since the beginning of the war in making high explosives under an arrangement with the Government that it shall continue so to run during the continuance of this war and for five years thereafter.

In view of the statement of Gen. Crozier, on page 80 of the Military Committee hearings, I transmit to you herewith a copy of the hearings on H. R. 702 before the Ways and Means Committee, together with a copy of the bill now pending, and respectfully ask of the War Department its opinion of the advantage which would accrue to the United States Government if a number of plants, such as are now furnishing explosives to the German Government in time of war and dyestuffs to the world in time of peace, would not be of great advantage to this country and obviate the necessity of large expenditures on the part of the Government in establishing similar plants for war purposes, which, of course, would be practically useless except in war time.

I have turned down some of the pages which refer to this matter, and have marked on page 38 the numbers of the pages so that you can make a quick review of the subject. You will note in one of the references that Dr. Schoelikopf, the head of the largest and oldest establishment in the country, expresses an opinion as to whether the Government should not assume some sort of supervision over the entire industry.

My thought in regard to it was that there should be some coordination between these establishments and the War Department in the way of a license to all parties in the United States making explosives or dyestuffs, and that such li

the belligerents abroad are now paying to many of our manufactures in this country.

May I ask the opinion of the War Department on this general topic, as to the wisdom of the establishment of these plants here so far as it relates to the question of explosives? It is not my purpose to ask the department to commit itself on the general policy of protection of the dyestuff industry. I think that that has been established to the full satisfaction of the committee.

Dr. Hesse said in his remarks that, as a matter of national equipment, the establishment of this industry would wipe out all other considerations with reference to it; and he said it after having previously told me that he was a free trader in principle.

Awaiting a reply, which I trust you will be able to give me as promptly as possible, I am,

Very respectfully, yours,

E. J. Hill, M. C.

Rural Delivery.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. M. C. SMITH,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Weenesday, February 23, 1916.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted by the House, I desire to extend my remarks by incorporating a petition received a few days ago, which is addressed to myself and Senator Townsend, of Michigan. It states a not infre-quent result of the hardships and inconveniences to the patrons caused by the recent rerouting and changes of the rural routes. The complaints enumerated are not uncommon have been and are the backbone of our Republic. They have The complaints enumerated are not uncommon. The farmers built the country highways, schoolhouses, and churches. Their interest and welfare is of the utmost concern to the prosperity

and progress of the Nation. One of the chief benefits of national legislation to them was the free delivery of their mail. It brings their mail to their door; it keeps them in ready touch with public affairs; gives them the news and the markets; it helps them in the activities of the parcel post. Before the changes they were contented and pleased with the system. Little has been said about why the changes were made, and little can be said of the reasons for the changes. Many farmers are now compelled to walk from a quarter to half a mile to get their mail who always had it delivered at their door, and the farmer knows as well as anybody when he is used right and when he is not. The following are fair samples of complaints received by nearly, if not all, Congressmen:

BATTLE CREEK, MICH., January 27, 1916.

To the Hon. J. M. C. Smith, Member of Congress; Hon. Charles Town-send, United States Senator; and your colleagues:

We, residents of Calhoun County, Mich., and patrons of the post office at Battle Creek. Mich., previous to June 1, 1915, feeling ourselves aggreeved and our rights sorely trespassed upon by the change made in the Rural Free Delivery Service from Battle Creek at that time, beg leave to petition you as follows, viz:

Whereas previous to June 1, 1915, we received our mail from the rural free delivery routes from Battle Creek, Mich., and such service was entirely satisfactory; and Whereas the changes made then have worked serious inconveniences, and we, therefore, beg to have the former routes restored:

and we, therefore, beg to have the former routes restored:

"First. The post-office address of many of those represented here has been "Battle Creek, Mich.," ever since they or their ancestors had a post-office address; it was the post-office address of those from whom property has been purchased, and it is onerous to have the address changed to a flag station—R. F. D. No. 3, Ceresco, Mich.

"Second. One of those mentioned here implicated in this change is the Wolverine Stock Farm, an important corporation, of 400 acres of land, carrying an extensive line of high-bred stock.

"When the change was made they had out a line of advertisements giving their address as Battle Creek Mich., R. F. D. No. 1. Changing their post-office address to Ceresco, Mich., has cost them valuable time and prestige.

"When the change was made they had out a line of adverusements giving their address as Battle Creek Mich., R. F. D. No. 1. Changing their post-office address to Ceresco, Mich., has cost them valuable time and prestige.

"Third Charles Hutchinson, supervisor of Emmett Township, had on hand a quantity of stamped envelopes with printed return address. The change rendered them practically useless and otherwise interfered with his business, both public and private. He most emphatically condemns the change and asks to have the old routes reestablished.

"Fourth. Very many patrons of the post office who live upon a maintraveled road are practically deprived of the Rural Free Delivery Service. They are obliged to place their post-office boxes from 40 to 120 rods from their houses at the crossings of unimportant highways.

"An instance of this kind can be pointed out where four mailies within three-fourths of a mile upon a main highway are thus afflicted.

"Fifth. Rural free delivery No. 3, from Ceresco, Mich., traverses 3 miles of road that was previously untraveled. It is largely overgrown with grass. There has never been any road work done upon this road, nor has there been any call for such work. No one would ever think of asking to have it opened in winter if it was full of snow, as is often the case. In fact, the township board has seriously contemplated the discontinuance of a portion of this road in order to avoid its obligation to keep an United States mail route open.

"Sixth. The mail routes as adopted June 1, 1915, were made by clerks in Washington who never saw a country mail route except upon paper, and the service since then had been bad.

"These things being so, and feeling ourselves wronged by having our rural free delivery routes changed, as they were, we do most earnestly petition you, who have represented us so well and so very satisfactorily, to use your utmost influence to have the rural free delivery mall routes out of Battle Creek, Mich., restored, and made the same as they were previous to June

The following is a resolution passed by the Jefferson Grange, of Jefferson Township, Hillsdale County, Mich., and forwarded

Whereas he present Postmaster General has seen fit to change the rural-mail service of Hillsdale County, which had been established for many years and was giving universal satisfaction; and Whereas such change has been a great detriment and inconvenience to the rural mail patrons in said county, and the saving made by said change is in no manner commensurate with the hardship and inconvenience entailed on said rural patrons: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of South Jefferson Grange, No. 182, of said county, in regular session assembled, do most earnestly protest against said change and demand that the service be restored to its former efficiency or better, and to this end we ask that all routes abolished be reinstated; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to our Representative in Congress, with the request that he do all in his power to have the county service restored.

[SEAL.]

M. W. TILLMAN, Secretary.

In a letter accompanying the resolution the writer has this friendly and considerate remark to say about his neighbors, showing an unselfishness that is most commendable, and certainly it must be apparent to all that no changes ought to be made without great care and consideration:

A number of years ago a man was sent into the county who went over the roads and laid out the routes that were in operation when the

present change was made. It gave universal satisfaction, although some slight changes could have been made; but the changes made last spring have put this all "up in the air" and are causing a great inconvenience to many people. While I could sit down and map a route that would benefit me, I would be apt, under the existing conditions, to do some one else an injustice What should be done is to have some capable person go over the county and thoroughly reorganize it.

Public Building at Sedalia, Mo.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. COURTNEY W. HAMLIN,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, February 24, 1916.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks on H. R. 3662, a bill to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Sedalia, Mo., I want to insert the following:

First. A copy of a letter written me by Hon. Byron R. Newton,

then Assistant Secretary of the Treasury

Second. Copy of a report made in this case by Ernest G.

Schurig, special agent of the Treasury Department.

Third. Copy of letter from the First Assistant Postmaster General showing the postal receipts of this office for the last six and one-half years.

Fourth. A letter written to me by the Postmaster General.

The exhibits are as follows:

MARCH 17, 1914.

Hon. W. C. Hamlin,

House of Representatives United States, Washington, D. C.

House of Representatives United States, Washington, D. C.

Sir: I have the honor to inclose herewith a copy of a report, dated February 21, submitted by Superintendent Schurig, as a result of an examination of the post-office building at Sedalia, Mo., for the purpose of ascertaining if it is feasible to make alterations in this building with a view to relieving the present congested condition. Such examination was made in compliance with your request.

It will be noted from the report of the inspector that the present is too small to permit of an adequate extension and that the present building can not be remodeled to provide a satisfactory arrangement, Should his recommendation as to the purchase of a new site and the erection of a new building receive favorable consideration, you are advised that in order to provide the necessary space it is estimated that a two-story and basement building of 10,000 square feet ground area will be required, and that such a building would cost, stone-faced and using freproof construction throughout, \$350,000, and the cost of an adequate site would be \$50,000.

Upon completion of the new building the present site and building could be sold and the proceeds turned into the Treasury as a miscellaneous receipt.

Respectfully,

BYRON R. NEWTON, Assistant Secretary.

MARSHALL, Mo., February 21, 1914.

Supervising Architect, Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.

Sir: Pursuant with instructions contained in your letter SA-CN under date of 11th instant, I visited the post-office building at Sedalla, Mo., and beg to submit herewith report pertaining to permanent improvement in the nature of an extension to the present building or in the nature of a new building and site that are required for the purpose of providing more adequate facilities for conducting the postal business. CONDITIONS IN PRESENT BUILDING.

CONDITIONS IN PRESENT BUILDING.

For the past seven years this building has been repeatedly remodeled and the interior arrangements rearranged with a view to obtaining the most useful disposal of the floor space to avoid congestion and delay in dispatching the postal business, with the result that at the present time I am unable, after a careful examination of the premises and conference with the custodian, to suggest any interior changes that would tend to relieve the present congestion.

The postmaster has succeeded in relieving some of the congestion by requiring certain patrons of the office who have been delivering mall in large quantities to make deliveries of mail in smaller quantities and at more frequent intervals.

The present structural arrangement of the building is such that 27 out of a total number of 38 employees are compelled to use artificial light continually during the period of the day when natural light should be available.

The necessity for the urgent consideration at this time of new construction in the nature of an extension to the present building or a new building have hesitated in the past to recommend substantial improvements to provide for future needs. The remodeling that has been done to the building in the past has been piecemeal and only such as to provide immediate relief until at the present time it is impossible to make any further changes in the interior of the building that will result in relieving the congestion.

Data submitted for use in estimating floor space needed.

FLOOR SPACE.

FLOOR SPACE.

Column (a) space now in use in present post office.
Column (b) space required for present needs.
Column (c) space required for 10 years hence.
Figures below are square feet of floor space.

	a.	b.	c.
Floor space money order and registry. Floor space postmaster and assist nt Floor space stamp sales. Floor space general delivery. Floor space post-office work room Floor space lobby. Floor space postmaster's and women's toilet. Floor space vaults.	250 320 70 170 2,013 826 62 194	580 640 140 340 2,600 1,100 70 390	876 966 216 516 3, 906 2, 006 60
Total.	3,905	5,860	9, 110

Inside dimensions of first floor, 71 by 55 feet, or 3,905 square feet.
For present needs it is necessary to add about 100 per cent to all items except workroom, to which is added 30 per cent.
For future needs, 50 per cent is added to all items except lobby, which conditions will require somewhat larger.
The table above does not include floor space in second story of present building, which includes three ordinary office rooms and one toilet room for the Railway Mail Service, revenue collector, and post-office inspector. The table below gives date and corresponding receipts of post office, number of employees, and total number of employees. Number of employees includes postmaster and assistants.

Date.	Receipts.	Clerks.	Carriers.	Rural carriers.	Total.
1900	\$25, 314. 52 36, 992. 77 67, 027. 03	5 7 12	7 11 16	6 8	14 25 38

The increase in employees in 13 years has been 171 per cent.
The increase in postal receipts has been about 169 per cent.
The population of Sedalia as recorded by the United States census in 1900 was 15,231. The estimated population as estimated by the custodian is now from 22,500 to 25,000. In view of the fact that the railroad shops employ an average of 2,500 men here, and as this is a large farming center, I believe the custodian's estimate very conservative, and that it is reasonable to assume that the population increase has been 50 per cent in the last 10 years.

The floor space of 9,110 square feet has been estimated, as before noted under the schedule on page 2, by assuming that the postal business will not increase in a larger proportion than the population, which from the above estimate has been assumed will increase 50 per cent 10 years hence.

from the above estimate has been assumed will increase 50 per cent 10 years hence.

The Parcel Post System will undoubtedly in the future be instrumenta, in largely increasing the present postal business, but as I am unable to obtain any statistics in this branch of the postal business all that can be done at this time is to invite attention to the fact that the Government by instituting this system has entered into an important means of our national transportation system, which will require the use of a large amount of floor space in every post-office building.

Attention is invited to the fact that 9.110 square feet does not include space in second story. The second story should provide two offices for the Railway Mail Service, two for various revenue collectors, one for post-office inspector, and a civil-service examination room, with examiner's office, to seat 50. In addition to the offices mentioned there should be at least four offices for future assignment, making a total of nine offices. By providing each of the offices with not less than 200 square feet of floor space there will be more than sufficient room remaining for the civil-service examination room in second story of such a building as may be ultimately projected.

INDUSTRIES, ETC.

Two trunk lines and three subsidiary branch lines of standard steam railroad pass through and terminate in Sedalia. The railroad companies have two large car and repair shops here, which employ on an average of twenty-five hundred men. One shop is covered by an investment of \$1,500,000 in land and improvements and the other shop is covered by an investment of about \$600,000. The railroad owning the latter named stores supplies in the yards here to the amount of \$1,000,000.

Both of the trunk lines of railroad have been in the past and are at present properties which have been obliged to be operated on a most economical basis, owing to poor financial standing; however, these roads must sooner or later be maintained and equipped on a more substantial basis, which will require a considerable outlay of funds, which funds will be obtainable notwithstanding the fact that the property may be put through receivership process. When this outlay of funds occurs it will result in a permanent increase in the force of the present shops and possibly an increase of floor space of the shops.

Two clothing factories employ about 550 hands.

The town is the center of a large and fertile agricultural district, which supports various small manufacturing concerns and numerous commercial business houses.

STATE FAIR, ETC.

The State of Missouri has invested in a permanent fair ground association, located adjoining the boundaries of the city, \$100,000 in land and \$475,000 in permanent improvements. This organization is maintained primarily for educational purposes, a short summer school being conducted in connection therewith.

The fact that the headquarters for the State Fair Association is located here has developed this place into a center for the propagation of agricultural instruction, which is attested by the fact that the United States Department of Agriculture has a force here working in connection with the Bureau of Animal Industry and Pure Food Research Laboratory. The former-named bureau employs two men and the latter from two to eight, according to the seasonable demands.

EXTENSION TO PRESENT BUILDING.

It is the practice in the construction of the Federal buildings to have a site of sufficient size to permit the maintenance of a minimum space of 40 feet between the building line and the lot line for the purpose of fire protection.

The present building is located on a corner lot 120 by 105.4 feet in such manner that there is a space of 36 feet between the south building line and south tot line and a space of 44 feet between east building line and east lot line. To the south is located a 14-foot alicy, which with 36 feet provide the complement necessary to obtain the 40-foot margin. (In all computations of old building one-eighth has been deducted for exterior wall to obtain floor space.)

By disregarding the margin 40 feet east and south the floor space of first floor can only be increased 25 per cent over that now required (5.860 sq. ft., p. 2) for the needs of the present business.

The figures for an extension and the resulting floor space is as follows:

Present floor space, 71 by 55_______ Extension south to lot line, 34.3 by 55______ Extension east to lot line, 34\(\frac{1}{2}\) by 42.3_____ 3, 905 1, 888. 3 1, 453

7, 246, 3

This in rease is only one-half the increase needed to provide for the conditions 10 years hence, and it is quite probable that the business here will increase sufficiently by the time an extension can be completed to fully demand a floor space of 7,200 square feet.

An extension as above cited will require a demolition of at least one-third of the present building, an entire new heating plant; sanitary and lighting system, and sufficient changes to aggregate a total expenditure of \$60,000, and would probably result in the necessity of abandoning the property before the present decade had expired.

It is impossible to devise any method of extending and remedeling the present building, even by the acquisition of additional land adjoining the present site, whereby better lighting conditions in the post-office workroom can be provided. (See p. 1.)

NEW BUILDING.

In view of the inadequacy of an extension to obtain the desired improvements the matter of providing for a new building will now be considered.

A building 84 feet by 120 feet will realize, after deducting for wall, an interior floor space of 9,280 square feet (allowing 2 feet for walls). Providing a second story to the building on three sides with court in center of rear will give all the office space in second story that may be required.

The cubical contents and the same and the

The cubical contents and estimate of such a building are computed follows:

84 x 120 x 46.5	468, 720 51, 200
Tota	417, 520
417,520, at 35 cents cubic foot	\$146, 132 3, 868
The table of pulling not including site	150,000

NEW SITES.

Schedule of property available for building sites, all of which is improved property, the total value of which is covered by the appraised rates given:

Appraised value.	Location.	Dimen- sions.
(1) \$28,500, size 138 x 240	Fifth Street. Osage Street Sixth Street. Improved property in rear. Third Street Osage Street Alley Rear Osage Street Sesond Street Kentucky Street	Feet. 138 244 138 246 138 126 139 120 120 121 121 121 121
(4) \$24,000 to \$40,000; increase to present post-office site, total 120 x 171-5; total 120 x 265.	Alley	120

Assuming that a corner lot could be obtained for a site, of which there are several available, and allowing 50 feet plus 120 feet for one dimension and 84 feet plus 50 feet for the other dimension, the 50 feet added to size of building being obtained by assuming a 40-foot fire limit plus 10 feet for distance from lot line to building, the minimum size of lot should be 170 by 134 feet. Most of the lots are 120 feet deep to a 12 or 14 foot alley, and a 134-foot lot can be obtained by the purchase of a 120-foot lot.

PRESENT SITE (4).

At an estimated cost of \$24,000, 66 x 120 feet can be obtained east of and in the rear of the present building (present site 105-5 x 120), obtaining a site 171-5 x 120. While a site of this size is large enough for the proposed building, it would not, considering its location, be in keeping with the building that would ultimately be placed upon it. In order to obtain a satisfactory site it would be necessary to acquire sufficient land in the rear of the present site to obtain possession of the entire one-half block—that is, 160 x 120 feet additional—resulting in a total site of 205 x 120, bounded by three streets and an alley. Estimated cost of the additional 160 x 120 feet is \$40,000.

SITE (2).

This site is too small, and no further comment will be made on this site. SITE (1).

This site is satisfactory, but is only submitted for consideration in an event site (3) is not obtainable. SITE (3).

This site is the most conveniently located and probably best site now available. It is the property of the municipality and upon it is located the city hall, a structure of little or no value.

While I have estimated the value of the property at \$35,000, it is quite probable it can be obtained in exchange for the present post-office building and site, the exchange being made with the stipulation that

the city government will remove the present city hall and that the city-hall site shall be considered equal in value to the post-office building and site.

If the Federai Government can obtain the city-hall site for a cost equivalent to the value of the old post-office building and site, it will save the expense of purchasing a new site and the demolition or disposal of the present building.

In the event the city does not acquire the present post-office building, it will only be worth its junk value, which is insignificant as compared with what will obtain from allowing the city to acquire the property on the terms named.

The majority of the city council and the mayor have expressed themselves as in favor of disposing of the city-hall property to the Federal Government, and the custodian has been advised that official action will be taken immediately in the matter.

The custodian will advise you of the action of the council in order that the matter of providing the necessary appropriations may be provided for in accordance with the needs of the situation.

In the event that the city property is not available for a site or the city is unable to acquire possession of the present post-office building, it will be necessary to increase the estimate for the new building from \$150.000 to \$190.000, so much of the additional \$40,000 to be used for purchase of new site as the exigencies of the case may require, the remainder to be used for the building.

RESUMÉ.

Present site too small to permit an extension of satisfactory size to be constructed, and building can not be remodeled to provide satisfactory arrangements.

New site can probably be obtained at less cost to Government than the acquisition of additional land adjoining the present site.

The construction of a suitable building will require \$190,000, including cost of suitable site. The acquisition of the city-hall property on terms named by city will practically result in the Government obtaining a site in exchange for the present post-office building.

It is recommended that such steps be taken as may be required to obtain a minimum appropriation of \$190,000 for the acquisition of site and construction of new building.

Ennest G. Schurig.

ERNEST G. SCHURIG. Superintendent Inspecting.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT, FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL, Washington, February 23, 19.16.

Washington, February 23, 1916.

House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. HAMLIN: With reference to your personal call at the department, relative to the post office at Sedalia, Mo., I have to inform you that the postal receipts at the Sedalia office for the past five fiscal years and for the quarters ended September 30 and December 31, 1915, have been as follows:

Fiscal year ended June 30, 1911	\$65, 508, 70
Fiscal year ended June 30, 1912	69, 994, 63
Piscal year ended June 30, 1913	68, 468, 08
Fiscal year ended June 30, 1914	56, 788, 28
Fiscal year ended June 30, 1915	61, 842, 42
Quarter ended Sept. 30, 1915	14, 364, 73
Quarter ended Dec. 31, 1915	16, 884, 66

DANIEL C. ROPER, First Assistant Postmaster General.

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL, Washington, D. C., January 16, 1915.

Very truly, yours,

Washington, D. C., January 16, 1915.

House of Representatives.

My Dear Mr. Hamlin; I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th instant, in regard to the post office at Sedalla, Mo.

In reply I wish to state that no recent special investigation has been made for the purpose of determining the amount of additional space that should be provided to meet the needs of the service, but from data available it appears that the workroom of the present quarters contains 1,844 square feet of floor space, while 4,800 square feet are required at the present time. The force now employed consists of 14 clerks, 16 city and 8 rural carriers, and experience indicates that not less than 100 square feet of floor space should be provided for each clerk and carrier and the equipment assigned to his use. The receipts of the post office for the three adjustment years ended March 31 were as follows:

1904

\$30,915.67

1904___ 1909___ 1914___ 50, 018, 03 60, 842, 20

From the foregoing it is apparent that the Sedalia office is growing rapidly, and as it is the policy of the department in reporting on prospective buildings to suggest that space be secured to meet the needs of the service 10 years hence, it would seem that if a new building is authorized for Sedalia, the workroom should contain approximately 7,000 square feet of floor space.

A. S. Burleson,

A. S. Burleson, Postmaster General.

P. S.—I was in Sedalia recently and from personal investigation am able to state that additional space is surely needed.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that a careful perusal of these exhibits will, I think, convince everyone that this is a case where speedy action should be taken by Congress to relieve an intolerable

There is an apparent discrepancy between the estimated cost of the building and site as given in the letter of the Assistant

Secretary and that in the report of the inspector.

The Secretary speaks of the estimated cost as \$350,000, but the inspector estimates it at \$190,000, including building and site. I presume this can be accounted for on the difference in the kind of material which may be used in the construction of the building.

My bill asks for the authorization of only \$200,000. This sum was based both on the report of the inspector and on the suggestion of the local citizens who had some knowledge as to the

cost of construction in that part of the country.

I beg to call your special attention to the postscript to the letter of the Postmaster General, which is written in "long-hand." In explanation of that I may say that it was our good fortune to have the Postmaster General visit this city in the fall of 1914. He very carefully inspected this building, and he speaks from knowledge obtained "first-hand."

I have frequently visited this office, and I do not hesitate to say that the conditions under which the employees are compelled to work in the present building are intolerable. This is not an ordinary case of an ambitious town wanting a Government building, but is one in which a new building is required in which the business of the Government may be properly and efficiently transacted in a growing and up-to-date city.

Letter from the Secretary of the Navy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEMUEL P. PADGETT.

OF TENNESSEE.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 25, 1916.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Josephus Daniels, in response to a resolution of inquiry introduced by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gardner]. Instead of formally reporting the resolution of the House I requested the Secretary just to furnish the information:

NAVY DEPARTMENT,

Washington, February 23, 1916.

MY DEAR MR. Padgett: Referring to your letter of the 18th instant, inclosing a copy of House resolution 144, submitted to the House on the 17th instant, inquiring as to the length of time allowed for completion by the contract for the construction of fleet submarine No. 1, the Schley (submarine torpedo boat No. 52), authorized by the act of June 30, 1914, I have the honor to advise you that, replying to the inquiry in the resolution, the contract for the Schley was made with the Electric Boat Co., the same bearing date March 19, 1915, and that the time prescribed for finishing the vessel is 36 months from said date, or March 19, 1918, and to say, in answer to your own inquiry, that there is no reason why the facts should not be made public.

This vessel is designed for a displacement on the surface of about 1,100 tons, as compared with displacement of about 450 tons of the largest submarines previously contracted for, and at the time proposals for her construction were invited no other Government had built so large a submarine, so far as the department was aware. It was known that submarines of about the size of the Schley were contemplated abroad, but the particulars of their design and requirements were not definitely known and there was not obtainable any data that could be of assistance in determining problems to be encountered in the construction and the operation of such a vessel.

Owing to such lack of experience with a vessel of this type it was realized that considerable time would be required for experimental work necessary on the part of the contractors before the mechanical part of the work of construction could be begun, and for that reason 36 months were allowed for finishing the vessel. The experiments made by the completion of the vessel, have in reality saved time as compared with any other method of procedure. The information thus gained, together with the resultant changes and improvements in the vessel, have been secured without additional co

changes and improvements in the vessel, have been secured without additional cost to the Government.

The contractors state they will now proceed rapidly with the construction work, and in response to notification that the department would require the completion of the vessel within the specified time limit I have been assured by them that the vessel will be finished and delivered to the Government by the date fixed in the contract.

For your further information I quote below a report by the chief constructor on the more technical phases of the subject, viz:

"The act of June 30, 1914, appropriated for the construction of the Schley. A quotation from this act is as follows:

"Eight or more submarines, one to be of seagoing type, to have a surface speed of not less than 20 knots."

"Data for the purpose was sent out to the bidders on August 15, 1914. As one of the bidders had previously requested that additional time be given in the preparation of bids, this extra time was allowed, and bids were actually opened on December 15, 1914. After some controversy over various points in the design submitted, the contract was signed for the Schley on March 19, 1915. Owing to this being a large vessel, and of a new type, 36 months were allowed for her construction, making the contract date of completion March 19, 1918.

"On June 23, 1915, a letter dated June 12, 1915, was received from the Electric Boat Co. covering the whole subject of the Schley. In this letter the company stated that at the time the contract was signed it was the intention to use two-cycle, double-acting engines. These engines were a new type for this work, and, after a thorough investigation, they stated that they had come to the conclusion that these engines would be undesirable, and a much better result would be obtained by substituting four-cycle, single-acting engines, with which type they were familiar. This change would give engines of con-

siderably greater length, which involved lengthening the vessel itself, and practically a redesign.

"This proposition of the Electric Boat Co. was approved, and the new contract plans approved by the Secretary on July 23, 1915. The contractors then spent a considerable amount of time completely going over all the calculations in connection with the lengthening of the vessel.

"By the letter rest. of the contractors are considerable as the contractors are considerable amount of time completely going over all the calculations in connection with the lengthening of the

contractors then spent a considerable amount of time completely going over all the calculations in connection with the lengthening of the vessel.

"By the latter part of 1915 the contractors commenced submitting working plans for this vessel, and these plans have been coming in rapidly. During that time a large part of the material for constructing the vessel was also ordered. The last reports received show that a considerable number of the plans necessary for the proceeding with the construction of the vessel have been submitted, and a large quantity of the structural material has been received.

"The work of actually erecting the vessel has not been begun, and no percentage of completion has appeared in the reports for this reason. However, it is expected that material progress will be made during this present month and that this progress will be evidenced by the next report. The contractors state that it is their expectation to complete the vessel within the contract period, and the burcau sees no reason why this should not be done."

The following statement relating to the 16 coast submarines provided for by the act of March 3, 1915, is quoted also from the chief constructor's report for your general information, though not called for by the resolution, viz:

"These vessels were authorized by the act of March 3, 1915. An unusual amount of time was allowed bidders for these vessels as some new firms were to submit designs. Bids were opened on September 30, but due to various controverstal points the contract was not entered into until December 28, 1915, for some of the vessels, December 31 for others, and January 3, 1916, for the last eight. The work has been proceeding in good order since the contracts were awarded, and, though no progress appears on the reports for some of these vessels, plans are being rapidly submitted and progress is actually being made."

Proposals for the two fleet submarines authorized by the act of March 3, 1915, to which reference is made in the second "Whereas" of the resolution,

Sincerely, yours,

JOSEPHUS DANIELS, Secretary.

Hon. Lemuel P. Padgett. Member of Congress, Chairman Committee on Naval Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

The European Situation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DENVER S. CHURCH. OF CALIFORNIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 24, 1916.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, there is no honor in getting into a free-for-all fight, but there is a whole basketful of honor in

staying out.

If a score of men were fighting in front of my house, fighting furiously with knives, clubs, and guns, striking wildly, and all fighting madly for their lives, I would not think of standing around continuously prodding the fighters about my rights. If I did, I would expect to get a broken nose or a nasty lick over my eye. Even if they staggered onto my radish patch I would not at once challenge the whole bunch for a fight. No; I would slip away and come back and see them at their homes when the fight was over and they were reasonable and cool; and I would ask them if they did not think they owed me something for tearing up my garden at the time they had the scrap, and \$5 against a coon skin they would pay all I asked, and I would go away without even a broken nose or battered eye.

If I had the power, I would tell Congress to stop talking about war, and I would tell the traveling public to stay at home; but if they must go abroad, to travel on ships that bear our flag, and I would let them know if they did not honor my request and met with an accident or got killed I would pay no attention to the incident. I would further give everybody to understand that all disputes in regard to commerce would be settled after the war when the heads of men, now hot with anger and wild

with rage, are cool.

It is no time to be exacting when a fight or war is on. I once knew a milch cow to run her master up a tree when he interfered with her fight, and at one time I was bitten through the hand by my own watchdog while I was trying to referee his scrap. That, however, was a long time ago when I was young and foolish. Since then I have made it a universal practice to do my talking the day after the fight, when the air was no longer filled with dust, foam, hide, and hair. America is said to be the light of the world. We are the only great power that is not now engaged in this great and disgraceful war. If we have any honor, let us stay out of it. The poor, exhausted, bleeding, and dying nations will need the help of a strong, just, and impartial friend when the war is over. [Applause.]

Letter from the Postmaster General Relative to the Guaranty Fund.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL F. LAFEAN, OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Friday, February 25, 1916.

Mr. LAFEAN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a letter of the Postmaster General in correspondence relative to the guaranty fund, with my remarks on same:

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL, Washington, D. C., February 15, 1916.

Hon. Daniel F. Laffan,
House of Representatives.

Hon. Daniel F. Lafean,

House of Representatives.

My Dear Mr. Lafean; The Congressional Record of February 12, 1910, reports you as criticizing the action of the department in issuing on November 19 last an order defining the city-delivery service to be accorded by postmasters on holidays. I am sure that you desire to know and to bring to the attention of the Congress and the public only the true facts about this matter, and accordingly I respectfully submit the following statement of facts:

Prior to the issuance of the order to which you referred, the question of the service to be given patrons by city-delivery carriers was left to the discretion of postmasters. This resulted in varying practices in different cities, and the department had for some time been receiving protests from patrons in many cities against the entire curtallment of delivery service on holidays. The complainants directed attention to the fact that railways, express companies, telephone and telegraph companies, and other public transportation and communication utilities accede to the desire of the public for reasonable service on those days. Several postmasters had taken the position with the department that the lack of uniformity throughout the country in the handling of mall on holidays was leading not only to criticism by their patrons but also to a feeling on the part of the employees that they were not being treated uniformly in the various postal districts.

In order to arrive at a correct solution of this matter, a communication was addressed, under date of November 12, 1915, to the bostmasters at several representative offices in various sections of the country, asking them for expressions of their opinion in the premises. They all replied that the department should outline a uniform plan and unanimously recommended that at least one full delivery of mail be made on every holiday. In view of the unanimity of the recommendations on the part of the postmasters, the department feels that this order has resulted in no injustice to th

Mr. Speaker, in connection with this letter from Post-master General Burleson, which I herewith submit, I de-sire, on my own part, to offer additional reasons which, in my opinion, not only constitute a full and complete reply to the explanation offered by the Postmaster General for the issuance of the order enforcing delivery service on all holidays, but it also gives further confirmation to the arguments presented by me before this body on February 12, 1916, in defense of a more liberal holiday observance than is now granted by the Post Office Department.

Quoting the foregoing letter, the Postmaster General is quite right in his assumption when he says:

I am sure that you desire to know and to bring to the attention of the Congress and the public only the true facts about this matter.

After more than an ordinarily careful perusal of his letter, however, comparing his statements with my own, I am utterly unable, in so far as the subject matter of holiday delivery service is concerned, to note any instance in which the accuracy of my statements is questioned. In laying this matter before the

House for its consideration, in substance I said as follows: Prior to November 20, 1915, many post offices, taking advantage of a privilege extended by postal regulations, enjoyed the discontinuance of delivery service on numerous holidays. I stated that such discontinuance of service was altogether dependent upon public sentiment in the community affected. I further stated that on November 20, and just prior to Thanksgiving Day, an order was issued by the department directing postmasters to effect one complete delivery of mail on all future holidays, and that this order came at a time when the people were being advised, by articles appearing in the local news-papers in many cities, that "Thanksgiving Day will be observed by the local post office by discontinuance of the City Delivery Service." Quoting section 284 of Postal Rules and Regulations, which prior to November 20, 1915, was the departmental regulation guiding postmasters in providing for holiday service in their respective post offices, I proceed to explain the general policy that was followed in reference to this whole matter. I quote from my remarks of February 12, 1916:

quote from my remarks of February 12, 1916:

According to custom in different communities, the question of opening post offices on holidays has been guided largely by public opinion. If the desire of the public was for a general observance of certain holidays and all business was suspended on these days, and there was no demand for postal facilities on those days, the postmasters observed section 284 of the Postal Laws and Regulations and closed their offices and gave the employees the benefit of the holiday. If the postmaster in any city knew there was a demand for the delivery of mail on holidays, he took advantage of the discretion contained in section 284 and gave the public such facilities as in his judgment the occasion required.

That the foregoing is an exact statement of the facts in the case is confirmed by the Postmaster General in his communication when he states:

Prior to the issuance of the order to which you referred, the question of the service to be given patrons by city-delivery carriers was left to the discretion of postmasters.

I further stated, in discussing this question of holiday observance, that not only were the Government employees in other departments granted their holidays, as well as 30 days' vacation, but that from year to year, by Executive order, they were given, during the months of July, August, and September, the added concession of regular Saturday half holidays. In fact, this custom prevails among the immediate employees of the Post Office Department itself. Moreover, as I pointed out, by de-partment regulation, discontinuance of mail on rural routes is authorized on certain holidays. I further tried to show that in all civil industry more liberal treatment of employees has grown to be a fixed policy, as evidenced by not alone the general recognition of holiday observance, but by the growing popularity of Saturday half holidays as well. This is a true statement of facts. Their accuracy is unquestioned.

It is then plainly evident, as I have stated before, that for an extended period of time prior to November 20, 1915, local postmasters observed holidays in conformity with what they judged to be the desires of the patrons of their office. In accordance with this policy a great many post offices did discontinue delivery of mail on such days and gave their employees a day of rest. It is further evident that, as a result of the order of November 20, neither the postmaster nor the people have any further voice in this matter, and that employees are now compelled to do regular duty where formerly they were tendered a day's vacation.

That this, too, is a true statement of facts is beyond question.

In fact the Postmaster General, in his letter, does not take issue with the correctness of the statements herein set forth. On the contrary, the one chief reason assigned by the Postmaster General in the foregoing communication is that this order en-forcing holiday delivery was promulgated in deference to public sentiment and in obedience to the wishes of the people. The means whereby public sentiment was ascertained, this communication goes on to state, was through an inquiry issued November 12, 1915, directed to the postmasters in free-delivery offices, with the result, as his letter states, that-

They all replied that the department should outline a uniform pian and unanimously recommended that at least one full delivery of mail be made on every holiday.

As a consequence, seven days after the issuance of this inquiry, November 19, 1915, the Post Office Department issued an order directing postmasters "that at least one delivery over the entire territory should be made" on all future holidays.

It will be noted the statement is made that the postmasters

were unanimous in urging holiday delivery of mail. This can not but appear strange to one who has given the subject thought, when it is remembered that prior to the issuance of this order postmasters had full and complete authority to enforce holiday service in their respective offices. Their freedom in this matter was in no way limited. That a great number of them from time to time did limit the service on holidays, no one will deny, and in doing so they must have been guided by public sentiment in their respective communities. If complaints had been general with the postmasters they certainly would not have continued to follow a practice which met with the disapprobation of even a respectable minority of their patrons. That they did continue the practice we know. That they could have discontinued it at any time they saw fit we also know. Is it not remarkable, then, that postmasters would recommend, in deference to public sentiment, the discontinuance of a custom that they have long followed, when at any time they could have changed this policy on their own initiative? It is passing strange, too, that they should have been unanimous in condemning a custom of their own creation. Indeed, is it not possible that an inquiry directed to the postmasters seeking their opinion on this subject of holiday service could have been so framed as to invite the very sort of replies that are said to have been received.

In this matter, as in all questions affecting the welfare of the Postal Service, I trust that I am in entire agreement with the Postmaster General in believing that there is but one court of last resort, and that is the people. The service is made for the people, and if the patrons of the Postal Service desire holiday delivery of mail undoubtedly they should have it. If, on the other hand, however, the people favor liberal regulations to govern the Postal Service, not only as it affects the service, but in the treatment of the amplayers as a profit these contents. in the treatment of the employees as well, then, again, the people should have their way. Nor should he forget in this in-stance and under this regulation in question that right is now

denied them.

I am not at all convinced that the statements made by the Postmaster General in his communication regarding the opinion of postmasters in various localities is a true index of public sentiment on this question. My own information and whatever else I have been able to glean from other sources leads me to an

exactly opposite conclusion.

In fact, never has an instance arisen in which the people have had an opportunity to broaden the usefulness of the Postal Service or to make more liberal regulations to govern the standard of employment of its servants but what they have availed themselves of the opportunity of doing so. Abundant reason have they in justification of this sentiment. Citizens of all classes see in the Postal Service something more than a mere device for the transportation of mails. They conceive it as a great public institution, whose activities enter more intimately into their lives than any other governmental department. They know, too, that in the character of service it renders and the manner in which it treats its employees leaves a profound impression on employment in civil life, and thus they desire to offer the Postal Service as an inspiring example

to be wisely patterned after by society at large.

Quick to sense this sentiment of the people, Congress has from time to time enacted many wholesome laws, framed with the one idea in mind of keeping this great department fully abreast with all safe and progressive movements in industry. It was here the eight-hour day found its earliest application. The same is true with vacation periods, compensation laws, and with observance of the Sabbath. Let us not forget that it is only a few years now since post offices were closed upon Sunday, and we must remember, too, that every objection offered against holiday observance was even more forcibly advanced in opposition to Sunday closing of post offices. In fact, here is one instance in which the people themselves were directly consulted as to their opinion regarding a proposed change in postal regulation. Closing the post offices on Sunday meant great inconvenience to millions of patrons who had been accustomed to receive their mail on that day; yet in reply to the inquiry, they gave an almost unanimous country-wide response favorable to Sunday closing. I have not the slightest doubt but what the same sort of a response would be given by the people if the same question of holiday service was submitted to them and their opinion was sought as to whether postal employees should be tendered a day of vacation on all future holidays. Comparing the wages, character of work, and the long period of time that must elapse before they can attain their maximum salary, convinces me further that here is a deserving set of employees doing a responsible work in a most reliable fashion who deserve at least the same consideration and should be tendered the same concessions as are granted to any other employees of the Government. This, too, when such sentiments will meet with the echoing approval of the citizens of our Nation.

I further quote from the letter of the Postmaster General:

With reference to your statement that "the department officials have ruthlessly dismissed from the service and forced the resignations of a large number of employees whose sole offense was that they had become superannuated on account of age and its infirmities, I assure you that there is no basis in fact for such a belief. On the contrary,

it is the policy to provide, so far as possible, for employees who have outlived their best years of service by giving them assignments of work which they are capable of performing.

Surely the department does not wish to convey the idea that there have been no removals of postal employees from the service due to age and infirmities. A review of the files of the Post Office Department showing cases of separation from the service must surely disclose numerous instances of employees dismissed from the service for this very reason. Are there no instances of men being compelled to resign on account of age? no employees been removed through the operation of the 150-day leave-of-absence rule? If not, what necessity prompted the issuance of this regulation in the beginning? If not, why this widespread demand from all parts of the Postal Service seeking for some provision to care for the old men of the service and asking for the abrogation of the 150-day leave-of-absence rule? Surely these complaints and this apprehension are not without some foundation in fact. and in my opinion investigation will disclose that few are the post offices of any considerable proportion throughout the country but can furnish instances of employees compelled to leave the service for no other reason but that of age and infirmity.

In conclusion let me express the hope to this body and to the Postmaster General that in the administration of the Post Office Department no backward step be taken. May the service it renders represent the highest type of modern efficiency furnished to the people at a reasonable cost, and in the care and concern manifested for the well-being of its employees may it set such a standard of employment that will be not alone just to its employees but will, in deference to public sentiment, keep the Post Office Department well in the front ranks of all practical movements designed to make easier the lots of those

that labor.

I append the following as a part of my remarks:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT, FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL, Washington, February 17, 1916.

Hon. D. F. Laffan,

Hons. D. F. Laffan,

House of Representatives.

My Dear Mr. Laffan: In response to your inquiry over the telephone, I am transmitting herewith for your information the following data in relation to the correspondence between this office and certain postmasters prior to the issuance of the order of November 19 regarding one delivery of mail by carriers on all holidays.

On November 12, 1915, the following letter was sent to the postmasters at several of the largest post offices:

"As many protests have been received by the department against the complete suspension of mail delivery by carrier on holidays, I wish to secure your opinion as to the advisability of establishing the uniform practice of requiring at least one delivery on all holidays. Reference is made to section 284, Postal Laws and Regulations."

In reply to this letter I am quoting paragraphs from the letters of the postmasters to show the practical unanimity of opinion that the interests of the service demand that at least one carrier delivery be made on all holidays:

"Letter carriers and other post-office employees should be allowed to observe holidays whenever the convenience of the patrons will so permit. It is important that prompt delivery be made of a very large percentage of first-class matter. Many letters are mailed in the belief that they will be delivered on holidays, the same as other days, and messages which otherwise would be sent by telegram are sent by mail. I believe it to be almost a necessity that one delivery of mail be made on each holiday, and that on Christmas the carriers should work full time.

"I can see no objection to the observance of local holidays, provided

messages which otherwise would be sent by telegram are sent by mail. I believe it to be almost a necessity that one delivery of mail be made on each holiday, and that on Christmas the carriers should work full time.

"I can see no objection to the observance of local holidays, provided one delivery of mail is made in all cases where such holidays are generally observed by the business houses. In my opinion, however, the number of local or State holidays to be observed at any post office should not exceed three per annum."

"If no delivery were made at all on holidays a post office might as well be closed entirely, as on Sunday, for undoubtedly many patrons would call and demand their mail, and the inconvenience resulting would affect not only the patrons but the employees of the office, who would be required to secure their mail and deliver it to them when called for. I believe that one delivery on a holiday should be sufficient to accommodate the public, and that after the carriers have left on that delivery the post office should be closed, provision being made for handling the mail for the remainder of the day as it is taken care of on Sunday.

"In reply to your letter of the 12th instant regarding the establishing of a uniform service providing at least one delivery of mail on all holidays, I have strongly held to the opinion that handling of mail is a matter of clear necessity, consequently, as postmaster I have observed the effecting of one complete delivery of mail by carrier service on each national holiday.

"Again, those patrons who are holders of boxes have a decided advantage over patrons who receive their mail by carrier service. If the Postal Service fails to perform delivery of mail by carrier, there is no denial of the service given holders of boxes. The matter should be consistently carried out. The work is current and must be accomplished in regular order."

"It is my belief that at least one delivery of mail should be made throughout the entire city at all free-delivery offices on all holiday

of this office that at least one carrier delivery should be given on each holiday."

"In the business section one delivery is made beginning at 8 a. m. In other sections the first and second deliveries are made as usual, the first beginning at 7 a. m. and the second at 9.30.

"This applies to all holidays with the single exception of Thanksgiving Day, which is almost universally observed, and business is not as heavy as on other holidays. On this holiday one delivery is made throughout the city.

"I consider this service not only essential but necessary for the needs of the service and to relieve congestion on the following morning.

"I am not as conversant with the requirements of other cities as I am in this, but it is my firm opinion that at least one delivery on holidays is a public necessity."

Daniel C. Roper,

First Assistant Postmaster General.

DANIEL C. ROPER, First Assistant Postmaster General.

POSTAL GUARANTY FUND AS RIDER IN POST OFFICE APPROPRIATION BILL (H. R. 10484).

POINTS IN OPPOSITION.

United States Guarantee Co..

United States Guarantee Co..

III Broadway, New York.

I. Bond companies, on bonds of postal employees now are required to pay claims rendered by the Post Office Department or by post-office inspectors not only for losses which the Government sustains or is liable for (such as losses of postal revenues and up to \$50 on registered letters lost or rifed) but also for losses sustained by users of the mails and for which the Government is not liable (such as the excess loss over \$50 on registered letters and all losses from the rifling of ordinary or unregistered mail, loss of or damage to parcels, etc.). The Government, while denying its own liability to users beyond \$50 on registered mail, assumes to act as a trustee for such users and proceeds to collect from the bond companies for the benefit of such users all loss in excess of \$50 on registered mail and all other loss sustained by such users. The Government therefore stops short of assuming full liability as a common carrier but does put a full common carrier's liability on the bond companies.

850 on registered mail and all other loss sustained by such users. The Government therefore stops short of assuming full lability as a common carrier but does put a full common carrier's liability on the bond companies.

H. When this postal guaranty fund provision was first inserted in House bill 10484 it read that the fund was "for the indemnification of the Government and any person or persons sustaining such loss or losses by payment out of such fund." And so it continued to read until after conclusion of the hearings before the Post Office Committee on January 26, 1916.

Under the language above quoted, the fund was plainly applicable to pay losses sustained by the Government out of postal revenues and to reimburse it for its limited \$50 liability on registered letters and also to pay any and all excess and other losses sustained by all users of the mails; thus imposing upon the fund a liability equal to that which would attach to the Government if it had assumed a full common-carrier's liability.

But when the bill emerged from the Post Office Committee and was reported to the House (H. R. 10484) its entire scope had been changed; not only changed but changed without a word in the hearings, from experts or otherwise, as to experiences or facts which would afford a proper basis for or justify the insertion of the new matter.

The main changes were: (a) The elimination of the previous language which permitted paying from the fund (p. 28, line 5) "to indemnify the United States of America for losses incurred," etc.; and (lines 18 to 21) "and to pay in full from such guaranty fund any person or persons who have incurred or suffered loss or losses for which the United States is liable"—thus clearly eliminating all losses to users of the mails beyond the \$50 limit on registered letters; and (b) the insertion (p. 28, lines 11 to 15) of language such as to include in the fund plan contractors for star routes and screen-wagon service (which are by far the most hazardous risks with which the Post Office Department h

ons; and it is certainly most ill judged to attempt to meet such heavy and numerous losses out of a fund contributed to mainly by the postal employees.

III. This injection of star-route and screen-wagon contractors into the fund is illustrative of the lack of due and efficient consideration given to this fund plan at any time.

While the Post Office Department may possibly have a grievance against one or two bond companies who it thinks have refused bonds to lowest bidders on star-route and screen-wagon contracts, yet it stands to reason that if the Post Office Department awards contracts to lowest bidders, uniformly or generally, and if lower than the bond company was willing to take a risk upon, that then the losses chargeable against the fund on such contracts are bound to increase largely beyond the heavy loss ratio thereon which drove most of the bond companies away from such risks.

No wonder, therefore, that the Post Office Department is the only one asking for this fund plan; and no wonder, either, that no group of postal employees are asking for it, satisfied, as they are, with their present premium rates from the bond companies, and only fearing that the present 25 per cent reduction in such rates as proposed by this bill will prove later only a delusion and a snare if such contract losses be made also payable out of their fund, with the result that Congress may within the next year or two have to repeat the 75 per cent limitation so that assessments against them may be increased. If the organizations of postal employees are not actively opposing this fund plan in present form, may it not be due to fear of retaliation by the department in other ways?

IV. Despite the fact that the fund is now to be relieved from payin; losses to users of the malls, for which the Government is not liable, the fund will still have hard enough sledding to pay also, as claimed it will, all losses occurring (1) by robbery, fire, or other casualty; (2) by unbonded employees; (3) excess losses over amounts usually covered by bond; and (4) all the losses which Congress has heretofore relieved postmasters from; and this irrespective of the losses on contractors.

V. What would be the practical working and result of the fund plan as under this bill no one can yet foreteil. It is all general in its terms and leaves everything to the discretion of the Postmaster General to work out any plans he may please.

The draft of this bill as submitted, with no limitations on his discretion and hazy in important respects, does not encourage the hope that a fair, efficient, and equitable plan would result. The Postmaster General would have to legislate for himself on all the material features of a working plan.

It is due at least to the 200,000 or so of postal employees whose interests are not now suffering, but whose interests may be by this bill unwittingly and seriously jeopardized, that this bill be rejected in its present form.

United States Granantee Company,

UNITED STATES GUARANTEE COMPANY, By D. J. TOMPKINS, President.

NEW YORK, February 5, 1916.

Postal Facilities of New York City.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET.

OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 24, 1916.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, supplementing my remarks of yesterday on the postal facilities of New York City, i insert the exact figures:

UNITED STATES POST OFFICE, New York, N. Y., February 15, 1916.

Hon. William S. Bennet, M. C., House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bennet: The inclosed statement is submitted in reply to your letter of 11th instant and shows the answers to your queries. I also inclose for your information a statement dated January 24, 1916, giving statistical data concerning the postal service of The Bronx Borough covering my term in office as postmaster, which began in 1907.

Very truly, yours,

E. M. Morgan, Postmaster.

E. M. MORGAN, Postmaster.

STATEMENT OF STATISTICAL DATA CONCERNING POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y.

1. The increases in postal revenues each year for the past 10 years in New York City:

Postal receipts of the New York (N.Y.) post office (including The Bronx stations).

Calendar year.	Gross receipts.	Increase over previous year.	Per cent.
1905 1906 1907 1908 1909 1910 1911 1912 1913 1914 1915	\$16, 251, 187, 20 17, 820, 884, 98 18, 850, 290, 99 148, 808, 782, 20 21, 173, 756, 65 24, 190, 109, 65 25, 747, 233, 00 30, 002, 303, 09 2 29, 488, 518, 02 30, 127, 062, 01	\$1,569,697.78 1,029,400.01 41,508.79 2,364,974.45 1,942,698.87 1,073,654.13 1,557,123.35 4,255,070.09 513,785.0 638,543.99	11. 00 5. 77 \$6 of 1 12. 51 9. 17 4. 64 6. 44 16. 52 1. 70 2. 11

¹ Decrease due to financial panic.

The gross receipts for 1915 compared to that of 1905 shows an increase of 80.60 per cent, amounting to \$13,875,874.81.

2. The increases in revenues from the stations located in The Bronx for the same period:

Postal receipts of The Bronx stations only.

Calendar year.	Gross receipts.	Increase over previous year.	Per cent.
1905	\$269, 717, 97 327, 893, 85 376, 681, 22 404, 229, 00 457, 976, 93 483, 921, 76 531, 830, 88 590, 681, 88 666, 179, 11 674, 170, 1 704, 668, 75	\$58, 175, 88 48, 787, 37 27, 547, 78 53, 747, 93 25, 944, 83 47, 909, 12 58, 751, 00 75, 597, 23 8, 991, 23 30, 398, 62	21. 57 14. 08 7. 31 13. 04 5. 44 9. 89 11. 04 12. 80 1. 35 4. 50

The gross receipts of The Bronx stations for 1915, compared to that of 1905, shows an increase of 160 per cent, amounting to \$435,850.78.

3. Statement of what the Government pays per mile for the maintenance of pneumatic tubes per year:

Contract price, \$17,000 per mile annually.

² Decrease due to European war.

4. If possible, what extension of the pneumatic tubes has been suggested, if any, for The Bronx from any source?

Copy of a resolution adopted October 27, 1915, by The Bronx Board of Trade (inc.), in the city of New York, advocating the extension of pneumatic-tube service to include The Bronx Borough, is attached THE BRONX BOARD OF TRADE (INC.),

Borough of The Bronx, October 27, 1915.

This is to certify that at a meeting of The Bronx Board of Trade (Inc.), in the city of New York, held this day the following resolution was adopted: "Whereas it has been brought to the attention of this board that the Postmaster General has under consideration a plan to discontinue the present pneumatic mail tube service and substitute automobile service in Manhattan; and "Whereas we believe that such a step would seriously affect the efficiency of the Postal Service and be a decided change for the worse, recent tests having shown conclusively that automobile service in the crowded streets of Manhattan can not possibly be as speedy as the pneumatic tube, particularly in bad weather: "Resolved That The Process." Therefore be it

"Resolved, That The Bronx Board of Trade strongly protests against the discontinuance of the pneumatic mail tube system as a backward step and not to be justified by any plea of economy; and further, be it "Resolvea, That we urge the extension of the pneumatic mail tube service to include The Bronx, so that the 625,000 people of this borough may enjoy the same efficient mail service now given to Manhattan."

E. B. Boynton, President, Charles E. Reid, Secretary. Statement of statistical data concerning the Postal Service of The Bronz Borough, New York, N. Y. GROSS RECEIPTS OF BRONX POST-OFFICE STATIONS.
 Station R
 \$90,087,79

 Station T
 69,573,62

 Station X
 87,425,07

 City Island
 3,696,64

 Fordham
 19,885,70

 Fox Street
 16,332,04

 High Bridge
 4,125,35

 Kings Bridge
 8,260,67

 University Heights (Morris Heights)
 4,125,57

 Tremont
 51,504,50

 Westchester
 12,927,18

 Williams Bridge
 8,784,09
 _____ 376, 681, 22 1915.
 Station R.
 1915.

 Station T.
 107, 899, 73

 Station X.
 116, 700, 79

 City Island
 3, 914, 56

 Fordham
 48, 347, 88

 Fox Street
 86, 104, 35

 High Bridge
 9, 721, 29

 Kings Bridge
 9, 581, 43

 Morris Heights
 8, 204, 49

 Tremont
 91, 360, 27

 Westchester
 13, 886, 67

 West Farms (established Jan. 1, 1915)
 32, 471, 08

 Williams Bridge
 15, 134, 48
 ___ 704, 568, 75 NUMBER OF CLERKS AND CARRIERS. | 102 | Carriers | 215 | Substitute carriers | 36 | Clerks (estimated) | 1915. | 179 | Carriers | 102 | Carriers | 102 | Carriers | 103 | Carriers | 104 | Carriers | 105 | Carriers | 105 | Carriers | 106 | Carriers | 107 | Carr Carriers 172
Substitute carriers (estimated) 57 NUMBER OF AUTOMOBILES AND WAGONS USED. For the transportation of mails to and from the carrier stations of The Bronx 12 motor cars are now used. A half-hourly service is provided during important hours of the day. It is not possible to state the number of vehicles used for this purpose during 1907. There was a less frequent screen-wagon service, as the principal mails were transported by the elevated railroad.

In 1907 one horse-drawn wagon was used in The Bronx territory (assigned to Station R) for collections from street package boxes and numbered stations. There are now 7 motor cars of 1-ton capacity used at The Bronx stations for the combined pareel-post delivery and collection service. These cars are assigned as indicated below: Fordham and Williams Bridge.... Fox Street Tremont
West Farms and Westchester PIECES OF MAIL HANDLED. 1907 1915 Mailed.
Delivered.... 27, 720, 000 50, 200, 000

1 Estimated.

MISCELLANEOUS.		
	1907	1915
Registered articles mailed	85, 769 112, 107	125, 583 211, 075
Insured parcel post mailed	1 1913 30, 681 28, 316	93, 208 100, 302

Parcel post establishe ! Jan. 1 1913.

MONEY-ORDER BUSINESS.

	1907	1915
Domestic: Number issued Amounts Fees International: Number issued Amounts Fees Fees	6, 067 \$56, 843, 53 \$406, 97 4, 928 \$60, 416, 50 \$672, 82	17,666 \$134,425.02 \$1,075.70 5,041 \$48,908,12 2,8607.10

¹ Does not include the money-order transactions at numbered stations.
² Due to European war.

POSTAL SAVINGS BUSINESS FOR YEAR ENDED DEC. 31, 1915. Number of accounts 19, 385
Due depositors \$2, 157, 286

Military Training Schools.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY.

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 25, 1916.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, so much is being said in the newspapers and by the advocates of warlike preparation in favor of military training in the public schools and so many honest people are being carried away by the arguments in favor of this strange departure from settled American standards and customs that I feel justified in calling as a witness on this subject so notable an authority on education as Dr. Nathan C. Schaeffer, at the head of the public school system of the great State of Pennsylvania.

In previous remarks on this floor I have quoted Superintendent Schaeffer in condemnation of the idea that military training is a desirable part of the curriculum of our common schools. He embodied this condemnation in his annual report to the governor of Pennsylvania. And now I beg to present another expression of his views on this very vital question as set forth in a letter addressed to the superintendents, principals, and teachers of the schools of the Keystone State. I deem these views so important and so clearly defined that they are given here in the belief that they will be of help to Congress and the country in reaching conclusions on certain great questions which are being pressed, as I believe, by sinister forces, bent on committing our Republic to policies at war with all its traditions, violative of its principles, and destructve of the liberties it was designed to secure. The address of Dr. Schaeffer follows:

MILITARY TRAINING IN SCHOOLS.

[By Nathan C. Schaeffer, superintendent of public instruction, Pennsylvania.]

To superintendents, principals, and teachers:

To superintendents, principals, and teachers:

In view of the fact that legislation is pending in the United States Senate more drastic than the militarism of the countries now at war, I take the therty of sending you some literature on the introduction of military drill into our schools and colleges. Senate bill 1695, introduced by Senator Chamberlain, of Oregon, provides that all persons between 12 and 23 years, inclusive, must submit to military drill under penalties ranging from \$25 to \$500 and 20 days imprisonment. It makes an exception in favor of members of well-recognized religious organizations whose creed forbids participation in war; but no protection is afforded to the thousands of others or their parents who are conscientiously opposed to military drill and training for killing.

In Australia military drill becomes obligatory at the age of 14 and in New Zealand at the age of 16 In these countries thousands of boys have been thrown into military prisons, where they came in contact with undestrable characters and without any of the safeguards which the home throws around its children. After her defeat in the war of 1870-71, France introduced military drill into the schools. More than two decades ago this was dropped from the curriculum, and

the uniforms and other expensive accounterments were sold at auction. That this was not a mistake is evident from the account of which the French soldiers are giving of themselves in the trenches.

Germany has relied upon gymnastics in the schools to develop the strength and endurance which the soldier needs. Dr. Angerstein, a high authority in army circles, pronounces it a physiological crime to introduce military drill into the schools.

Since gymnastic drills and other exercises are employed to counteract the one-sided physical development which drill with guns produces, the inference is sometimes drawn that gymnastics and military drill are synonymous terms. Did anyone ever claim that dancing is military drill because it is used as part of the setting-up exercises in some military schools? It is possible to introduce and maintain a rational system of physical education without the drill with guns.

A company of 100 soldiers requires 13 commissioned and noncommissioned officers; a regiment requires 130 officers, and 1,000,000 soldiers require 130,000 officers.

Since there are more than 12,000,000 male persons in the United States between the ages of 12 and 23, the proposed legislation would give us more than one and one-half million military officers in a country devoted to the arts of peace. Who can forctell the ultimate effects of such a policy or system after it has been fastened upon the youth of our land?

Very sincerely,

NATHAN C. SCHAEFFER.

HARRISBURG, February 10.

Uniformity in Government Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,

OF MISSOURI.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 26, 1916.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to submit the following letter:

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to submit the following letter:

Hon. Samur. Gompers.

President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Dean Mr. Gompers: I have your letter of the 25th instant in regard to the amendment to the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill of 1917 equalizing the hours formally effort on was taken by your executive committee. As I see it, the provision does not affect the rights of labor generally, except so far as the rights of labor are identical with the rights of all other taxpayers of the Nation. The statements in your letter are so general that I and all other friends of labor can heartily concur in most, if not all, of them without being led to a conclusion that a discrimination should be made between Federal employees in respect to their hours of labor. The facts of the situation are these:

Clerks in certain Government departments in the city of Washington are required to work but seven hours a day, while the employees of other departments in Washington are required to work on a schedule of cight in the Government service in the great post offices throughout the country, and in other Government institutions, were working 9, 10, and 11 hours a day in many instances. After much agitation and a spirited fight we secared an eight-hour day for employees in the Postal Service throughout the country. This was considered a notable victory and an acknowledgment of the principle of organized labor that eight hours was a normal day's work. At this time men in the classified service in certain departments in Washington were working on the seven-hour schedule, which was the lingering remnant of the old days before the civil service came into existence, when the camployees in the service and the lingering remnant of the old days hefore the civil service came into existence, when the camployees have a grade of employment. The fight for an eight-hour day was a glorous fight and greatly to the credit of organized labor. It was made u

thing privance, have a local influence at the seat of the Government which is witelespread, perveyful, and insidious. It has not been so very long ago since these same mercantile interests and department store proprietors were protesting vigorously to Congress against the enactment of an eight-hour day for working women in private employ in the District of Columbia, and they are even now protesting that this law is an unreasonable burden upon them financially. Every newspaper the interests of the mercantile class. Their interests anturally lie in the direction of having the largest number of people employed by the Government at less than a full day's time, but regulate their private employment along lines of the smallest number of people for the longest working hours. While I can understand clearly the attitude influence as against the interest of the can understand clearly the attitude influence as against the interest of the dovernment. The interests of the local merchants are in many respects antagonistic to the interests of the local merchants are in many respects antagonistic to the interests of the local merchants are in many respects antagonistic to the interests of the lax payers of the country and have proved in most instances. Neither is the question of adequate compensation involved in this proposition. If Government salaries are not adequate, that does not justify less than a Tull day's work. In fact, the readjustment of salaries, if it be needed, will not be advanced but materially retarded by the employment of a large number of people working less than a Treasury are involved in this matter. It takes more floor space, more desk room, and consequently a larger rent roll in the District of Columbia to house, in large number of people working a full day. The rent which the Government pays to private landowners in the District of Columbia to house, in large number of people working a full day. The rent which the Government pays to private landowners in the District of Columbia to house, in the many pr

Civilization at the Crossroads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY. OF PENNSILVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 26, 1916.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, is it not true that civilization has come to the crossroads? Under leave granted me to extend my remarks on the general subject of the national defense as it is to-day being pressed upon the country for consideration by those who would head our civilization, not along the straight course it has hitherto pursued in peace and prosperity, but into that troubled way which Europe has followed into the depths of the monstrous tragedy of the ages which is now enacting, it is my purpose to present here some thoughts which, it seems to me, should appeal to the Christian men and women of America. These thoughts were embodied in a remarkable address to the

Union Ministers' Association, of Chicago, by the Rev. Martin D. Hardin, D. D., pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church of that city, and I feel that every man who shall follow them will be the better. In eloquence, in comprehensiveness, in true patriotism, in Christian sentiment, in practical sense, in every aspect of enlightened devotion to the high cause of humanity, this address stands out as a real contribution to the literature of a momentous issue upon the same solution of which the perpetuity of our free institutions depends. It is incorporated here in my remarks as something that is worth while and that is an inspiration in itself.

The address is as follows:

CIVILIZATION AT THE CROSSROADS.

| Address delivered by the Rev. Martin D. Hardin, D. D., pastor of Third Presbyterian Church, Chicago, Ill., to the Union Ministers' Association, of Chicago.

Across the last page of European civilization is written in letters of blood the tragic word "Failure!" Religion, philosophy, science, art, education, commerce, and statesmanship-all the constructive forces of civilization, as they have been-are weighed in the balance and found wanting. The religion of the wise and merciful Christ, except in name only, is largely abandoned for the worship of the Moloch of might. Into the redhot, outstretched, iron hands of this hideous heathen deity Europe's children are being offered up-offered with a blind devotion and unquestioning stupidity equal to that of the most benighted Canaanitish woman of 30 centuries ago. Ideals and ideas, morals and money, homes and churches, vast and beautiful cities, priceless treasures of art, manhood, womanhood, youth, and maidenhood, and, most unthinkable of all, poor, innocent, helpless childhood-all that the heart has loved and the Christian conscience been taught to revere—is being fed to this blind, insatiate monster which with flaming appetite devours and stands calling week after week and month after month for more, more, more!

BACK TO TOOTH AND CLAW.

The cultured and, in many respects, increasingly fraternal Europe of yesterday has slipped back into the jungle to imitate the actions of the tiger, and knowing no law higher than that of tooth and claw.

Men who have thought in their boasted modern wisdom that there is no hell awaiting the sin of man against God awake to find that the fair Europe of yesterday is actually now in a veritable weltering hell of blood and tears, wallings and moanings, insanity and hatreds, demoniacal, loveless brutality as awful as any vision ever haunting the weird imagination of Dante.

The beautiful, art-crowned, garden-cultivated, happy-homed, marvelously citied, increasingly restful Europe of yesterday is gone from the face of the earth, and, for all the men, women, and children of this generation, gone forever. With it have vanished millions of long-cherlshed hopes and golden dreams—the lover's jeweled anticipations, the old man's staff, the father's pride, the toiling, patient mother's comfort and recompense. To every fireside there is appointed not beauty for ashes, but ashes for beauty; not the oil of gladness for mourning, but mourning for the oil of gladness; not the garment of praise for heaviness, but heaviness for the garment of praise. Yes, the heaviness of the destruction of millions of the strongest, bravest, and likeliest makers of to-morrow's happiness and greatness; and, added to all this, the heaviness of such a war debt that Europe's peasantry, already bowed and bent, shall, like the Christ, stagger and fall fainting to the earth under the weight of the very cross upon which they and their children's children for a century to come are to be crucified.

IN THE PACE OF AN INFINITE TRAGEDY.

The mind not moved by this infinite tragedy to seek something radically different in the way of national and international policy from that which has ended thus is to many of us incomprehensible. And yet, at this very hour, with Europe torn and bleeding, burning and dying before our very eyes, we have here in the United States men who dare to draw from this situation this lesson only: That America, now on a scale such as she has never before practiced, must arm and give herself to the gospel of preparedness for the mysterious enemy, just as Europe has done for the last 40 years. Lord Rosebery said recently, and he expressed the sentiment of the best minds in Europe:

I know nothing more disheartening than the announcement recently made that the United States—the one great country left in the world free from the hideous, bloody burden of war—is about to embark upon the building of a huge armada destined to be equal or second to our own.

We are being asked not to see that the very thing which has landed Europe in hell is this same gospel of preparedness. More than anything else, that which has brought Europe to her pres-

ent plight has been a brutai belief in the efficacy of force—a stupid superstition that national stability, commerce, art, civilization, and in the last analysis even Christianity itself rests not upon conformity to the moral order of the world but upon force, and that nation which could mobilize the greatest number of highly trained soldiers or build the greatest number of battle-ships would be the strong and safe nation. According to its size and resources, about every nation now engaged in this bloody struggle has lived fairly well up to this military dogma, with the net result that they all together finally fall, through fear and suspicion and mutually engendered hatreds—hatreds which were intensified a thousandfold by their heavy armaments—into this wicked, wasteful, and stupid slaughter.

ARE FRIENDS OF PEACE FOOLS?

Now, the very men who are most insistent that America shall join more vigorously in this armamental rivalry are those who also insist that all pacifists, and all workers for a world court which may serve ultimately to do away with war, are a set of dreaming, impractical fools, bent upon ignoring "the most fundamental and unchanging facts of human nature." They tell us that this is a practical world, and that any program which does not conform to "human nature as it is now, always has been, and always will be is doomed to failure."

Our first answer to them is that so reasoned "the wise and practical" men of Europe, and yet how Europe could be any more of a failure than it is at this moment is inconceivable. It has been suggested that if every cabinet and council over there had been made up of members taken from their lunatic asylums it is doubtful if they could have wrought such havoc and universal misery as that into which these "wise and practical statesmen" have led, who are supposed to hold a monopoly

of all knowledge concerning human nature.

Europe's wise and practical statesmen, who know all about human nature, have just been wise enough to take all the surplus earnings of her toiling millions, and then mortgage the bodies, brains, and bread of the unborn generations for a hundred years to come, with which to buy instruments of death and destruction, so that when war has come, it has come on such a scale and with such havoc as bleeds Europe to death, and staggers and largely paralyzes all the rest of the world. Marvelous wisdom! Two more generations of such wisdom and practical guidance, and civilization will lose all that it has gained in the last thousand years Oh! they know all about human nature; but they do not know this; That it is of the very essence of human nature to grow suspicious and fearful and finally mad to the point of fighting if a mailed fist is always shoved up under a man's nose, saying "You dare not." No big preparedness man in Europe has known enough about human nature to believe that men of other nations would resent and fear and finally fight over what they themselves would not stand. If a man can look back through the long, fighting history of this earth, and not see that it is in human nature to resent with the last drop of blood the bullying fist and the brute's might, he is but a tyro in his knowledge of what is in the human heart. He who does not know that men of every race under heaven can be led further through intelligent kindness and trust and justice than they can be driven with a club, morally still lives in the stone age.

IS THE SWORD MIGHTIER THAN THE CROSS?

The hands that were pierced on Calvary have wielded a power incomparably greater over human destiny than all the mailed fists of the centuries. And the sword has never been substituted for the cross, Cæsar for Christ, without a moral loss ultimately culminating in a tragedy like that which at present engulfs Europe. Tolstoi, in his open letter to the world at the time of the Russian-Japanese War, said:

No enlightened man can help knowing that the universal competition in the armament of States must inevitably lead them to endless wars, or to a general bankruptcy, or else to both the one and the other.

If every prophecy in Scripture had been fulfilled as literally as Europe is now fulfilling this one, there would not be found an infidel on earth.

But to this side of the preparedness program American advocates of the doctrine seem to-day as blindly ignorant as were their kindred minds across the sea. The horrible war, its suffering, its waste, its insanity, its diabolical wickedness seems to have taught them nothing. Preparedness was fostered on Europe by military minds which insisted that this program would insure peace; that it was "a cheap form of national insurance." Yes; the cheapest swindle that was ever worked off on a poor, gullible humanity. But with the whole philosophy of preparedness as a rational way of insuring peace between nations as completely exploded as any shell which has burst over the bloody trenches, America, at a time when she never was in

so little danger from Europe, is being frightened into its ad-At a time when every rational mind in Europe is praying that the war may have at least one beneficial effect-the end forever of the nightmare of dread under which Europe has constantly lived for a generation or more-America is being asked to set an example which will be used by every military mind in Europe as a cogent reason why when this war is over Europe should proceed to rearm. When America ought to be ringing from one end to the other with a cry of horror over the madness of an armed world and the moral imbedility of a race that can not to-day find some less expensive and dangerous way of keeping the peace than by adopting an adage that was coined in the bloodiest days of heathen Rome, she is, under the adroit hands of absolute unbelievers in the power of Christian truth, being swept into a course which has landed Europe in torment and which will fearfully handlcap the peace minds of the world in persuading their own nations when this war is over to find a new and better basis for international relations.

WHEN THE WAR IS OVER.

The United States at the close of this stupid struggle in Europe will stand forth incomparably the great nation of the world. In men, in resources, in undisturbed industry, in all that ministers to human happiness we will be largely where we were before this bloody slaughter began across the sen—with this difference only, that we will be in the possession of much of the wealth Europe has by her madness lost. Already even England, the creditor nation of the world, is letting go by the billions the accumulated interest-bearing bonds of the last century.

The Europe, on the contrary, that emerges from this conflict will have had its economic and industrial order shattered from top to bottom; will have been well-nigh bled to death in men and resources; will be under a debt so vast that the interest on it alone can not be paid, to say nothing of the principal. It will be a Europe no more resembling that of 18 months ago than the battered, bloody body with half its bones broken from the fall over a hundred-foot precipice resembles the strong, well man at the top before he went over. It will be a Europe saddened, disillusioned, infinitely broken, lying amid its ebbing life's blood, facing an indefinite period of long, hopeless invalidism. Those who prophesy danger from any nation now engaged in this life-and-death struggle surely know little of the modern problems of war. They are reasoning about this war from the past wars of the world, when every man who has really studied the problem knows that history presents nothing from which a parallel can be drawn.

The greatest book which has been written on this war and its probable outcome came out of Russia a dozen years ago. Maurice de Bloch, the great Russian financier, spent twenty-odd years of his life in the most scientific investigation which has ever been made of modern warfare. And he arrived at the conclusion that if ever the great nations of Europe, after their enormous preparations, engaged in war, it would be of such a length, and on such a scale, and so enormously costly, that neither side could win a decisive victory. All which engaged in it would end in financial bankruptcy and economic ruin. I earnestly recommend to all men in America who are to-day tormented with fears of what some country in Europe may do to us when they get through fighting over there, to read De Bloch's "Future of War"—the book which led to the calling of the first Hague conference—the book which is, day by day, being verified by everything that is happening in Europe. Though written 12 years ago, so scientific were De Bloch's conclusions that there is scarcely a detail which would need restatement in the light of the actual struggle which is now going The military minds of Europe which were under the illusion, so strikingly portrayed by the unanswerable argument of Norman Angell, that war could be made to pay its own way, already see the helplessness of recouping their losses through indemnities. They will all spend all they have fighting, leaving nothing but inconceivable poverty to be divided and endured among them. In the light of what has already happened, of what has already been spent, and what now must, with the inevitableness of the law of gravitation, still be spent, no mind in Europe can any longer figure on the hope of reimbursement. In a deadlock of physical force they lie, each side waiting for the other's financial exhaustion to put an end to the struggle. Meanwhile all together are tumbling headlong toward financial and industrial anarchy.

SHALL OUR LEADERSHIP BE EXTENDED?

Yes; the close of this war in Europe will see America the one great, rich Nation of the world, leading all the nations in wealth, commerce, and industry. The question above every other for us to answer is this: Will the United States extend its leadership

also to the realms of morals and ideals? Are American ideals of international good will and justice to prevail? Is real Christianity to spread until it embraces the nations in their intercourse, or are we to confess that during the past 50 years, when we were largely relying on the justness of our actions and our moral ideals to save us from conflicts with other nations, we were wrong and the European nations alone were right when they spent a vast part of their energies and resources in planning for war? Is America now to be dominated by its suspicious military minds, or is America to lead the world in the effort to conquer the deadly militarism which, because of its hellish rule, has swept Europe into her present horrors? Because of our leadership, our wealth, our resources, and relative strength, our conservation of that which Europe has thrown away, Europe's only hope of rehabilitation lies through us; and, whether we want it or not, we are to have an enormous world influence, and it has come to us at an hour when very literally civilization is at the crossroads. The world is at that point in its life where either Christian ideals are going to take hold of the nations and make them see the utter insanity of civilized men fighting like wild beasts, and spending the hard-accumulated earnings of the people for that which is not bread, until poverty and misery are universal, or we are in but the first chapter of a retrograde movement wherein the light of civilization fades into another period The present deluge of blood and misery produced by the power of the military mind in Europe is going to be the last thing of its kind among highly civilized nations and lead to the complete overthrow of the doctrine of military preparedness, or it is going to lead to such hatreds, tyrannies, and fears, to such unbelief in human nature, to such universal suspicion, to such a bold, open profession of supreme faith in force, to such a mania of armamental rivalry, that what Europe has been for the last 40 years-an armed camp-the whole world is going to be. An armed world, a world given over in every country to the leadership of its military winds, is a world headed for a chaos as much beyond that in which Europe is at present engulfed as the present European state surpasses in misery all the preceding wars of the ages.

No generation of men, therefore, were ever called upon to decide a more momentous moral question, a question so fraught with good or evil, so influencing the whole destiny of humanity for ages to come, as that which confronts the people of America over the problem of increased armament. No one of us could sit on a jury, having the life or death of a single man in our hands, without a profound sense of responsibility; but in the decision of the United States over the question of vastly increasing our military strength at this time and in giving our assent to the doctrine that in time of peace it is right to prepare for war, we are deciding the fate of a world; and we are deciding it just the way the men who scoff the loudest at all efforts to create a Christian conscience among the nations, and who openly say that men are going to fight, and that fighting, after all, is not a bad thing but a good thing for the nationsthe way these men of supreme unbelief in moral ideals and spiritual forces want us to decide. Further than that, when America votes to vastly increase her military preparedness at this time she proposes to do under excitement, under fear, under a deliberately planned, Nation-wide campaign of narrowminded specialists and of financial interests, which will make millions out of this new program, what her whole moral judgment during all our preceding history has condemned. She will do what virtually every newspaper in America. under the first shock of the news that at last Europe was at war, denounced in the European nations as the very thing which, above everything else, had led to this universal conflagration. In such a time as this many of us conceive it to be the supreme patriotic duty of all who believe in a righteous God and an eternal moral order, to which nations as well as individuals are responsible-and against which, in the long run, a billion men can not prevailto refuse to let ourselves be swept out of our right senses, but to keep calm and to look thoroughly into the need, the value, and the moral significance of these proposed new and vastly costly policies. To spend billions of dollars over a mere rumor and the fears created by false alarmists is nothing less than criminal. Before entering into the discussion which is to follow let me say that I do not consider all soldiers to be militarists, and, therefore, subject to wholesale censure. All soldiers are not military in mind any more than all preachers are pacifists. For the self-respecting soldier, who does his work conscientiously and so lives and thinks, in touch with the best light of his age, that he has some hope that possibly the world may be educated and made wise enough, if not to get rid of its soldiers, at least to relegate them to such a place of regulated subordination that they do not eat up all the fruits of our common toilwith such a soldier I have no quarrel. And I hope there may be

many such. But for that man, whether in the soldier's uniform, the editor's shirt sleeves, or the garb of a priest of religion, whose ultimate faith for the welfare of society rests upon force and not spirit, upon fear rather than justice and love, I have little respect and no admiration.

A BRAIN WITHOUT A HEART.

Now, the first thing I want to say about the program of vast preparedness is that its chief advocates, the ones who have fathered it from the beginning, the ones who have done the most to create the fear that we are in danger of attack, if not from one direction, then certainly from somewhere else; the men who have produced that state of fear out of which this supposed necessity springs, in their philosophy agree perilously near with the European Bernhardis and the whole blood and iron tribe who are most responsible for Europe's present state. up Bernhardi's book and read it. It fills us with abhorrence. Here is a brain divorced absolutely from heart. Here is a man openly preaching the doctrine that might makes right. Here is a man appearing in the modern world with a spirit as frankly pagan as if he had been lifted bodily out of Rome under Julius Cæsar—a world that never heard of Jesus Christ. We lay the book down with disgust, and we say: "A nation under such leadership is headed for the pit." It is horrible to think that modern civilization anywhere could have so degenerated as to make such a human possible; and we can not help feeling that a kind of moral taint rests upon the whole of Germany that a man so divorced from all the finer feelings of humanity should have flourished there. But hold on a minute before you visit your wholesale condemnation upon the German people. Have you read our own American Bernhardi-Gen. Homer Lea, in his Valor of Ignorance, the book which has received the unqualified indorsement of the military people who are now preaching to us that we are gone unless we straightway arm to the teeth?-the book which has been more responsible for our well-nursed fear of Japan than all causes put together. any man to find anything in Bernhardi which is more frankly pagan, which more brutally denies every postulate of the Christian religion than does Gen. Homer Lea. Gen. Lea's god is blind force. Force, and nothing but force, rules the nations in their intercourse. According to this preacher of valor, men live by conforming only to the laws of force. Hear this sentence: "To exist thus, individually or as a nation, man must cease-lessly endeavor not to thwart but to comprehend and live according to these laws that know not of him and his vain

Some of us, on what we consider even better authority than the dictum of Gen. Lea have for a long time believed that man lives by conforming to the will of a righteous, personal God, who not only knows of us and our vain progeny, but of the very falling But with one fell sweep Gen. Lea wipes God and the whole Christian morality out of existence, and then he proceeds to make for us a new religion founded not on a personal God of love and righteousness but on the worship of force, "that knows not of us and of our vain progeny." People who are religious according to that old mistaken notion which was embodied in the teachings of Jesus Christ can do nothing to alter human life for the better. They are so wildly visionary and so completely misread the laws of life, as Gen. Lea knows "that," I quote again, "as far as the world is concerned they might as well be a louse on the back of a wild duck as it wings it way through the stormy night." Gen. Lea holds that religious people who hate war are powerless to stop it, but that military "experts" like the general, who believe in it, by writing books which constantly play upon the fears of the people, can do a great deal toward making men more belligerent. He is as right in his last proposition as he is wrong in the first. Again I quote from our supreme alarmist: "It is in relation to these forces that govern the formation, duration, and dissolution of political entities, that international arbitration and disarmament are to be considered; not that they themselves are worth even a passing word, but for the fact of the mischief that their illusive ideas are capable of bringing about." amusing to see the intense anxiety with which each one of the modern war writers from every country, including even Bernhardi, of Germany, views the decline of militant patriotism among his own people, and looks upon the growing tendency to find some way to curb war as a sign of national decadence peculiar to his own land; instead of seeing in this growing hatred of war among all free and intelligent classes a worldwide movement big with hope for a new and happier humanity, certain in time to bring about just that change which the militarist says can never come. But to quote again from the

author of "The Valor of Ignorance" (better named "The Ignorance of Valor"):

Usually these delusions are harmful only to the individual, and as such are not worthy of concern; but when the haliucination is apt to become so widespread as to affect the welfare of the Nation, then it is time to point out the mockery of their hopes and the quicksand into which they have led them. * * In this class of visionaries we place International arbitrationists and disarmamentalists, who are so persistently striving, through subservient politicians, through feminism, clericalism, sophism, and other such toilers, drug this already much-deluded Republic into the Brobdingnaglan swamp from whose deadly gases there is no escape.

And, we may answer, exactly so reasoned Bernhardi about the same toilers in Germany. Yet, there is not a free mind in all the world outside of Germany which does not feel that it would have been far better for Germany and for all humanity if Germany had had more of these visionary toilers and less Bernhardis.

THE GOSPEL, ACCORDING TO GEN. HOMER LEA.

War, according to Gen. Lea, who breaks off again and again into peans of praise over the hardened soldier who has been militarily trained until he has shed all the moral sentiments and feelings which belong to ordinary humanity-war is not only a necessary and good thing, it is such a good thing that the very effort to avert and curb it, though that effort appear among intelligent men of all modern nations, is the supreme imbecility and impiety of which the human spirit can be guilty. patient and persistent effort of those who were at the time called "dangerous visionaries" by the Homer Lea type of mind, but whom we look back on now as the real builders of civilization, our race has conquered cannibalism and tribal war, slavery and bloody empires that rested solely on murder and rapine, gladiatorial combats and avowedly wars of conquest; over most of the earth the power of irresponsible kings ruling in wickedness by divine right; wrung from tyranny, ignorance, and superstition a thousand concessions, and put an end forever among really civilized men of the cowardly practice of dueling and the degrading code of honor-all habits of mind as old as war and once thought to be as impregnably fixed "in changeless human nature" as war itself. But they are all gone now and are superseded by new and better habits of life.

But the one supreme curse of them all, the one diabolical thing which is nothing less than hell incarnate, man's deadliest enemy and father of more miseries than all else, we are asked not to attack, not to question its right to be, but to bow down before it as a great god of fate. Before war alone we must be helpless fatalists. For, according to our wise prophet of the way of life for America "War is a biological necessity," and nobody but "Theorists and feminists who are but the feverish phan-tasms and sickly disorders of national life," will ever be fools enough to think that it can be curbed, restricted, or outgrown. According to this man, who in every page of his book shows his absolute contempt of the Christian God, and the Christian hope of the world, what is now going on in Europe must be a part of the world's life until human nature changes; and as all who try to change it "are helpless as lice on the backs of wild ducks, and as the general finds no evidence whatever in all recorded time that human nature has changed one iota, man is condemned forever to be but a fighting animal. The moment he tries to quit fighting and concentrate his energy in things which minister to peaceful cooperation and human happiness, he loses the fighting spirit, and there is no other school of virtue which can possibly furnish a moral equivalent to a periodic wallow in the mire made oozy with human blood shed at the hands of his fellow men. this is the man upon whose observations and authority, more than from any other source, we are told that America must prepare to fight Japan, and that if we are not in a burry about it Japan will permanently take and hold the whole Pacific slope! If his military calculations are so far awry-and they are-as his moral vision and his spiritual reading of the destiny of humanity. those who listen to him need guardians. God pity America and the world if this creature who has not morally emerged from the Tertiary age is to become our supreme prophet! pity the American people if they are blind and gullible enough to be deceived into thinking that when they follow Gen. Homer Lea and the kind who put their approval upon what he has taught, that they are really preparing for peace and not for war.

Has not Europe had 40 years of that kind of preparation for peace? Has not every nation over there been worked into the vast preparedness program by its army and navy leagues, and by its national-defense crowd, the prime movers of which were all the heaviest owners in the concerns which were to furnish the "defense" at the best paying rate of any money invested

WHAT PREPARATION HAS DONE FOR EUROPE.

in Europe? Has not every nation in Europe been led by its military experts into feeling that somebody was sure to attack them, and that their only possible hope and safety lay in ever new and ever vaster expenditures for soldiers and more soldiers. guns and more guns, and ever bigger guns, battleships, and more battleships? Of course, all this was done solely for "defensive purposes." Not in the whole of Europe was there anybody who contemplated "offense." If it were not so tragic, some of the funniest reading in the world is that which has come out of every country of Europe, even by its leading philosophical minds, the men in each country all morally certain that there was nothing wrong with their own "preparedness." I quote from the lengthy statement signed by the leading thinkers of Germany and sent out to America as the nation's justification:

Since the German Army when it is summoned to war represents the whole German people, and since the German people is peaceably disposed, it follows that the army can only be a defensive organization. Again, then, let us repeat that the German Army is a weapon which can be and is used only for defense against foreign aggression.

Well, now, that looks perfectly reasonable from a German standpoint. But our dear German friends do not reason at all that way about the arms of Russia and France or the navy of England. Here is what they say about the Russian arms:

The Czar as an individual is most certainly not the instigator of the unspeakable horrors that are now inundating Europe. But he bears before God and posterity the responsibility of having allowed himself to be terrorized by an unscrupulous military clique.

OUR OWN GRAND DUKES.

Curious, isn't it, how much more innocent look the military cliques on our own side of the line than those on the other? Again, say our peaceably disposed Germans, "The party of the grand dukes in St. Petersburg and the party of the Russian officers, always ready for war, and the Pan-Slavists, the brutal and unscrupulous representatives of the ideal that Russian czarism was destined to rule Europe-these made the war." Now, it so happens that we have but to substitute Prussians for grand dukes and Pan-Germanism for Pan-Slavism, and every one of the allies is using this identical language about the menace of the German cliques. The crime was always with the other fellow. All were sure that they were perfectly innocent and pure of motive. The only difficulty lay in the rather troublesome and aggravating fact, that never seems to have dawned upon military minds and which seems to be inherent in all preparedness programs, that that which looks entirely defensive to the men at the butt ends of these ever-growing and multiplying guns persisted in looking horribly offensive to everybody who was forced to gaze down the front end of the barrels. Of course all this late unpleasantness in which Europe is at present involved would have been entirely avoided if they had all only had a few more millions of guns! If the wicked and foolish pacifists had not interfered with the military experts, these guns would have surely been on hand and peace assured-so reason our wise military minds. And, of course, the whole character of millions of guns and frowning battleships, when we get enough of them to be "adequately prepared solely for defensive purposes" on this side of the ocean will be so changed that they will look to all the world not like "offensive things" but beautiful tubes of peace through which we propose to toss only love messages around the earth. And yet our "wise and practical" friends profess to hold a monopoly of knowledge concerning human nature! Instead of this preparedness program leading to peace in Europe, it led, as in the very nature of things it could not help leading, to fear and suspicion, to crimination and recrimination, to a feverish rivalry, to spying, to constant reports of alarm, until first one side and then the other was in a perfect nightmare of dementia; to the awakening of all the worst elements of the human heart; and the more desperately each nation tried to get "adequately prepared" the more certain was everybody that war was inevitable, until the Bernhardis and Blatchfords in each country were openly publishing that their own nation should strike the other even without warning.

WHAT WILL OUR POSTERITY THINK OF US?

Finally, the nervous tension broke into this present mania of killing, which is the most horrible thing of its kind that has ever disgraced the human spirit. Our more reasonable descendants of 300 years hence will look back upon man's domination by the military minds and philosophy of our day as the most weird, unreasonable, and inexcusable superstition to which the race has ever been subject-trial by fire and battle, the exhaustion of Europe in the vain effort to possess the Savior's tomb, children's crusades, and the burning of witches, will all appear manifestations of right reason in the human spirit compared to an age that puts itself blandly into the hands of military coteries

which thought, or pretended to think, that they really were working for peace by training millions of men day and night to think and plan for war, and by pauperizing the people by

laying in ever more dangerous weapons of destruction.

It is said of the priests of ancient Rome, who worked the superstitions of the simple common people through the supposedly divine oracles, that whenever they met in the streets they winked and laughed a derisive laugh over the general gullibility of human nature. I suspect that a lot of the modern priests of militarism are laughing up their sleeves at the easy way in which, by playing upon fear and with an adroit use of a few catch phrases, Christian people can be led into voting for the military program of men who feel no moral revulsion over war and who are themselves frankly pledged to the idea that there is no greatness nor glory for any nation save through what they call valor. They tell you that they are proposing an enormous increase in our armaments for peace.

Question the men who first fathered this idea of vast armaments in Europe, and they will answer with Von Moltke. "Perpetual peace is a dream, and not even a beautiful dream." Question the men who are loudest in the demand for the same program in America, and, like Homer Lea, they will be found absolute unbelievers in the religious idea that there is a moral order in the universe which demands the cessation of the shedding of human blood.

The military mind and the mind of Jesus Christ and those who really do believe in Him as the God appointed Savior of the world are in absolute and irreconcilable conflict. And I care not whether the military mind appears in England, Germany, Russia, or in America, if it can not be checked in its power of playing upon short-sighted, self-interest, and narrowminded patriotism by preaching the gospel of force, fear, and great armaments, it will destroy modern civilization. Europe right now is its first victim. And that mind is now in America, in a perfect hysteria, screaming to us that we are at the mercy of a mad world unless we, too, go mad and surrender our Christian principles and practice for the worship of that Molech to which Europe's children are being fed. Dr. Jefferson, one of the sanest and most prophetic men in America, is absolutely right when he declares:

There is no question before the world in which the future of Christianity is so vitally involved as this question of international peace. The church can not survive if militarism is to rule. Christianity must languish if Cæsar is to sit on the throne. A house divided against itself can not stand. A nation can not permanently have the ideals of Christ in its homes if it enthrones the ideals of Cæsar in its capital. We can not successively teach the boys the Golden Rule if diplomats are lauded for ignoring it. We can not sing hymns to the God of Love if the money of the people is progressively squandered in the manufacture of instruments of destruction. We can not get men to look adoringly upon Jesus dying on the cross when the magazines and papers are filled with pictures of battleships and battalions of soldiers drilling for the work of human slaughter. Christianity and militarism are implacable and deadly enemies. You can not serve them both. You will come at last to late the one and love the other or you will cling to the one and despise the other.

PREPAREDNESS A CONFESSION.

If there is such a thing as moral certainty, it is that an enormous increased expenditure of money for military purposes on the part of America at the present time is a confession on our part that our faith in the Christian way of life for the nations is weakening before the philosophy which has as its most consistent advocates Homer Lea and Bernhardi.

It is a confession that the military mind in America is already more powerful than the Christian mind. Have we not ever since this war began in Europe hung our heads in shame and humiliation over a European Christianity which had so signally failed in its God-appointed task to curb the murderous spirit of Europe? Now is our first great opportunity to show that our Christianity is of a different fiber. Now is our supreme opportunity to save America from coming to whatever world conference follows this war, with our own faith in the Christ way for nations unshaken and comparatively unpolluted. But let us go to that conference with the record immediately behind us that we have just ordered such an increase in our own program of preparedness as has never been made by any other nation in time of peace, and it will stultify and weaken everything that as a nation we have to say of the moral insanity of a world peace that rests upon nothing but dreadnaughts and bayonets,

If America is to enter that conference free to speak flaming words that shall have the value and power of example back of them, for a new and more rational peace footing among the nations, let her not now vote to spend new billions in the next 5 or 10 years on a program which she professes to abhor. How much more weight our words will carry if we go there as a friend to all, a menace to none, and under no circumstances as a culprit called upon for repentance with all the rest.

AMERICA NEVER MORE SAFE.

There has never been an hour in our national existence for 50 years when we were in so little danger from other nations as we are right now, for the following cogent reasons: To begin with, the European nations have got about all the fighting on their hands that they can take care of for some time to come; and if they should stop fighting to-morrow and patch up some kind of peace between them, their hearts are so full of bitterness that any time within the next 15 years either side engages in another fight; and it looks as if the new antagonist will keep the European power engaged in the front, that European power, whatever it be, can count on its present enemies being immediately upon its back. It is one of the supreme curses of war that it ever breeds more war. Servia and Bulgaria two years ago were at war; and what Bulgaria is now doing to Servia, that either side in the present conflict which should at any time in the near future be foolish enough to attack America, can most certainly count on from its present enemies. That is the first very important fact which is entirely overlooked by our military people, who profess to be so afraid of America's invasion. But they tell us that if it is not the Germans from Europe who are going to invade us, it is certain to be the Japanese.

The Japanese are one of the heaviest taxed peoples in the world. They are still under the burden of the debt left by their war with Russia. More than 35 per cent of Japan's foreign trade, by which alone she is able to keep alive, is with America. The moment she declares war on America that large proportion of her income immediately ceases. With what Japan has recently done to Germany's oriental possessions still rankling in German hearts, and with the Kaiser's remark that "Germany never forgets" cherished by his people as a profound piece of statesmanship, in less than 48 hours after Japan strikes at us it will occur to the Germans that such will be a good time to settle old

scores with the island empire.

If Germany emerges from this war victorious and able to fight anybody, and determined to fight somebody, all tremendous "ifs," she will, in all probability, first try smaller and more accessible nations close at home. The moment she started for the United States she would not only have on her hands the most powerful Nation in the world in potential resources, but

all of her present enemies besides.

America to-day has not only the protection of her Navy, upon which she has spent billions of dollars; of her virtually unlimited power as a fighting nation were she attacked by a transoceanic enemy; has not only the protection of vast seas about her, across which no nation could bring an invading army without enormous risks, but in addition to all these, because she has kept out of the present world insanity, she has half the world arrayed against the other half, each side ready to attack the other that first takes us on as an enemy. Our guns, our power, our distance from the base of the attacker's supplies, our vast potential resources, already enormously increased into actual resources by our engagement in the manufacture of ammunition for the present European war, plus all the resources of either side in Europe which does not attack us, is not after all such a deplorable defense as our military men, who, for public consumption, dream nightmares day and night and profess to see the land swarming with victorious conquerors, would have us

WHERE MILITANT LOGIC FAILS.

There is something else radically wrong with the reasoning powers of those who are howling for more guns. look the fact that while Germany has spent 40 years in preparing for this war, that every day she engages in war she is not only shattering her enemy's guns and supplies, she is using up her own supply of all that constitutes her fighting efficiency. have been single battles around a single city in which during one hour 200,000 high explosives have been discharged from German guns alone. And the fronts where the fighting is always going on with more or less intensity stretch over a distance of many hundreds of miles.

The life of all vast guns which it takes months to manufacture is limited. A certain number of discharges and the hellish things rack themselves to pieces so that they are no longer accurate. Our own Hudson Maxim has recently shown that modern warfare is so exhausting on ordinary rifles that each soldier must be supplied with four in order to be certain that one shall always be ready for action. Let this war go on for months and months, as in all human probability it will go onpossibly for years-and German preparedness, which our people are being so sedulously taught to fear, will be a thing greatly decimated and attenuated compared to what it was when the war began, not only in men and money, as I shall presently show, but also in all the ordnances of war itself. Every day

that this war lasts, in all that constitutes ultimate force efficiency, Europe is growing rapidly weaker and we relatively stronger. The proud Europe that began this war will in nowise resemble the Europe that emerges from it, any more than a cripple who has been bled within an inch of his life resembles an athlete in perfect health. It will be a Europe covered with from five to ten millions of new-made graves in which will lie the very pick and flower of its military manhood. Do you know what that means? Allowing for each body 2 feet by 6, so that literally corpse would be touching corpse, to bury 5,000,000 men would take a trench 42 feet wide that would stretch from Chicago to St. Louis-275 miles-42 feet wide of solid dead bodies of the picked physical manhood of Europe, each one of them a year and a half ago a living man with all the loves and hopes and joys of life that belong to you and me. Would that these dead bodies could be gathered together in one vast open grave where they might lie in all their hideous mutilation, ghastliness, and stench, while around it were gathered all the Kaisers and war lords, Bernhardis and Homer Leas, and the whole military tribe who try to hide the horrors of war under the high-sounding names of glory and valor-would that all such could be forced to march around that grave and look and look; while their ears were pierced by the wails of millions of women and children robbed of their loved ones, until these defenders of war were cured of their mental and moral insanity that war is a necessary part of every nation's life, that would make and keep "a place in the sun."

THE AWFUL RECKONING.

Do not tell me that Europe can bury five or ten millions of her best trained soldiers and still be prepared for conquest. But that is not all. Besides these five or ten millions of dead men, taken out of the world at just that period when they are best fitted to pay back some equivalent for the infinite pains of their rearing, Europe will have to provide for the care and support of an equal number of millions of living cripples-poor, handless, armless, legless, maimed, blind, and mentally derangedno war in history has produced anything like the insanity as this one-creatures who have been rendered absolutely unfit for military services and economically inefficient for life by the fires of hell through which they have been passed. These helpless men Europe must provide for. Allowing \$1 per day as the average earning power of these 5,000,000 men who were slain, and 50 cents a day as the earning power of the cripples, in the next 30 years Europe will be just \$90,000,000,000 poorer for having slaughtered and maimed these victims.

But that is not all. Besides these hosts of dead and cripples, there will be the millions of widows left to be the sole support of from 5,000,000 to 10,000,000 helpless little half-orphan children who are to struggle for a bare existence in an economic order swamped in debt and more frightfully disarranged than any that complex modern civilization has ever witnessed. The war itself is inconceivably horrible; but the reconstruction period is to witness for years to come, a silent human misery which will rival in its torments the fiercest of the battle fields.

To one with Christian sympathies and imagination, the condition of Europe's poor, even before this bolocaust, was little less than tragic. What will this be for the survivors of this deluge of blood? The soldiers died amid the excitement of battle and their agonies were soon over. But what human mind can conceive the bitterness of life to these millions of widows and children pinched by slow but certain starvation, as they cry for bread, and finally lie down to die in festering heaps amid the universal ruin wrought by war? Men who measure the aftereffects of this war by other wars of the past, forget that the last half-century has witnessed the enormous growth of city life, and complex industrial Interdependence.

After other wars most of the people were on soil where they could dig at least a subsistence out of the ground. But to-day a vast part of Europe's population is in great industrial centers where literally the daily bread depends upon the uninterrupted play of industrial and economic forces. Only those of us who have witnessed at close hand the misery of large elements in the industrial workers of a great city during the time of a panic can begin to conceive of the unutterable horrors which are before the laboring people of a continent which has destroyed its bread winners, wiped out billions of its productive property, and spent all its free capital for the work of murder. But what we have seen of human misery for the laboring people in our great American cities in time of nonemployment was but a gentle zephyr to a cyclone, compared to the inevitable miseries and agonies which are going to fall like mountains upon the city population of Europe's industrial centers during the first years of reconstruction following this continual swicide. Here is a part of that infinite madness which beggars all calculation. As certain as to-morrow's sun shines, out of this struggle of the common people who are left in Europe there are going to grow revolutions on such a scale and so irresistible that the minds still haunted, after this war is over with insane dreams of military ambition, will be kept busy at home for a long time to come.

THOUGHTS WHICH APPEAL.

The world will have never seen such suffering and want to be ministered unto in the name of the merciful God as will be found in Europe during the first decade following the close of the present war. If that is true, and the words of Jesus Christ concerning human brotherhood mean anything whatever to us, we are forced to the conclusion that if there ever was a time when it was not only unnecessary and unwise, but positively criminal for a great nation to be thinking supremely of arms, and talking preparedness, such is the time with America to-day.

What an indictment of the feebleness and littleness of our own Christian spirit lies in this awful fact that at a time when all the people from whose loins we sprung and from whom we have received our religion, our art, and all the great constructive ideas of our civilization, all that has made us what we are—when these to whom we are close akin in blood and ideals and religion are dying by the millions and being plunged irresistibly forward into vast hells of universal misery and death, that the mind of America should be excited over nothing but getting

ready to fight those who are left.

Surely if there is a Father in heaven who in any degree resembles the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, He sorrows not more over Europe's tragedy than He does over America's threatened apostasy, when, in such an hour as this in the world, markets and stocks and trade, and battleships and guns, and soldiers and "preparedness" interest us a thousand times more than anything that Jesus Christ ever said. Call me a lunatic if you will, a fool, a freak, a mollycoddle, a coward, a knave, I can not but hold that Jesus Christ's ideal of the kingdom of a God on earth among men where men bear to one another brotherly relations, is something as much more worth dying for than a nation as the British Empire is vaster than an African tribe. And if it is good and heroic and right for men to spend all, even life itself, for patriotism, it is infinitely more good and righteous for Christians to risk something, yes, all, in the effort to establish some sort of a world order in which men of different nations may not be set to blowing off each other's heads every time some intriguing fool upon a throne can get his hand on a hair trigger.

Would that America to-day were not under the domination of minds who see nothing in human nature but that which is responsive to fear. Would that we really were a Christian people. Would that once again we could believe in the common people as our forefathers believed when they founded a Republic which was "of the people, for the people, and by the people." Would that at this hour in the light of the world's history our Nation could be led as one people, not by the priests of Baal but by the mind of Christ and the God in whom we profess to trust, to do for once in the world a great Christian thing. If America has \$2,000,000,000 to take from productive industry in the next decade let her not put it into things which will inevitably be used by the military minds of all other nations as an excuse and as a self-evident reason why they, too, should proceed to get more heavily prepared; let her not put it into things which must, in the very nature of things, be used to help blow the fires of hate and fear and suspicion around the whole earth; into things which thereby may bring on other wars, or, if no wars come, can do no human being any earthly good. If we were a Christian people at this very hour Congress, instead of being beseeched by a great daily press and by thousands of excited citizens over the question of billions for preparedness, would be pressed by millions of Americans demanding that as a Nation we be prepared to minister generously to all the distress of the European world. The money spent to help the Belgians in their hour of supreme need has more completely disarmed Belgian animosity toward us than all the power of German arms could ever do.

While this generation lasts the man in Belgium who would propose evil for America would be looked upon by his countrymen as nothing less than a moral monster. What has done this wonderful thing? Christian kindness, charity, and a living sense of human brotherhood. By the time this war has ended all Europe will be in a state of ruin and misery, want, and exhaustion rivaling that of Belgium. If we could take that hour to do for Europe what American philanthropy has done for Belgium, we would put an end among the common people of every nation over there to the power of any mad set of fools who would be insane enough to want to fight us.

MUST WE GO MAD, TOO?

But to all such ideas it is replied that the German people have gone mad; that they are in the hands of men who, when

they find that they can not get indemnities from the devastated Europe about them, will cross the sea, because we are rich, and take it from us unless we are immediately armed. There are thousands of our people, one regrets to acknowledge, who have been so badly frightened that they honestly believe this. Fear hath torments. And frighten a man bad enough, and his imagination will turn every sound in the house into an invading thief. When I was a child and "saw things in the dark" I spent a night of absolute terror looking at the bull's eye of a burglar's lantern, which, when daylight came on and sanity returned, turned into the kindly coals in the fireplace before which I dressed in warmth and comfort,

Are these terrors justified by the facts? We turn our eyes to Europe and what do we find? Nations whose combined wealth, when they went into this war, roughly speaking, was in the neighborhood of \$270,000,000,000. What it is to-day, since the falling of their stocks, no one can tell. The fright over the Morocco incident sent Germany's stocks tumbling down at the rate of millions. But these nations before going into this war owed for wars already fought \$27,000,000,000, a debt so vast

that it could not be paid and never will be paid.

It is difficult for the human mind to grasp an idea of a billion. When we get into military expenditures we ascend up into astronomical distances and measurements. It is the only "heavenly" thing about the whole military program. But, if you will figure up, you will discover that there have been comparatively only a little over a billion minutes since Christ was born into the world. Well, when this war began Europe owed for wars she had already fought \$27 for every minute of the Christian era. That war debt was a veritable millstone around the necks of Europe's peasantry. But now, in this year and a half of fighting, Europe has already run up a war debt larger than for all the wars of the preceding Christian centuries, and she now owes more than a dollar for war for every second, every tick of the clock, since the Son of Man was here on earth.

CALCULATING THE MONEY COST.

These nations are engaged in a mad struggle which is eating into their common possessions during the first year at the rate of \$20,000,000 in actual borrowed money. If we add the cost of what they have destroyed, it runs up, from the best estimates I can find, into forty or forty-five billions a year. Now, this year, according to the statement of Dr. Karl Helffelrech, secretary of the Germany treasury, in a recent speech before the Reichstag, it is costing all the belligerents eighty-two and one-half million dollars a day; more than thirty billions a year in money, and a corresponding destruction of property goes on. How long are they going to fight? Of course no human being can tell with certainty, but they all declare, even after this year and a half of mutual slaughter, that it is a finish fight, and that they will conquer or spend the last man and farthing in the effort to do so. Would that they could be stopped at this very hour; but, unfortunately, nations mad enough to begin fighting are like men pushed over a precipice, they can not be reached, and they do not come to themselves until they have all struck bottom. The time to stop war is not after they are over the precipice. The neutral world can do little to stop this war; but God pity humanity if after 40 years more of scientific invention the earth ever knows another war. It is that war of 40 years hence that all friends of humanity and of peace ought to be preventing right now.

How long are the nations going to fight? Lord Kitchener, said to be one of the greatest soldiers in Europe, warned the English nation at the outbreak of the present hostilities that they were in it for at least three years. Here is a nice mathematical problem to work on. If it took England three years and cost her \$1,500,000,000 to conquer a hundred thousand Boers in South Africa, how long will it take her and her allies, and what will it cost them, to whip more than a hundred millions of people who have been preparing for 40 years for this particular conflict? And, if it has cost Germany the best soldiers of her marvelously prepared military machine millions and millions of men who were in the prime of their fighting efficiency, so that to-day she is employing mere youths and men over 40 years of age, and billions and billions of dollars to conquer but a relatively small and insignificant part of her enemies' territory, how long will it take her and what will it cost her to conquer 200,000,000 of people who have, and will keep for years, the possession of the seas, and can draw on the ends of the earth for their supplies?

TO THINK OF BELGIUM IS TO WEEP.

The war has swept over little Belgium, and men with hearts can not think of Belgium's condition without tears leaping to their eyes. It swept over a goodly part of France and left the land in ashes. It has swept back and forth over Poland and that is in ashes. It has gone into the edge of Russia and that

is a wilderness. It has passed over Servia, and Servia is no more. It has swept over a goodly part of Urumiah, and more than a million of inoffensive men, women, and children are decimated and wiped out of existence by the hand of those whom German chancellors call "our noble allies." It has turned the Austrian Alps, which reached into heaven, into veritable pits of hell. Once let those splendid German battle lines give way and Germany, too, will go up in smoke, and become in every part where war flames have spread a charred chaos in which the unhappy survivors will be kept alive only through soup kitchens. Meanwhile, what of the navies whose deadly powers we are taught so much to dread? Week by week and month by month German, French, English, and Russian cruisers and battleships go down from shot and shell, torpedoes and mines, by ones and twos and fours.

Months ago it was announced that Germany, in her terrible game of hunting down English commercial ships, had lost over 60 of her submarines. It is true that thus far the main body of the English and German fleets are untouched; but the war is not yet ended, and those last desperate efforts that dying nations will make before surrendering are not over. If the time ever does come—and it may, nay, in all probability, it will come—when the English and German fleets clash, and before that day's battle is over it is within the realm of possibility that America may find herself in the unenviable position of being not the second or third, but the first rate sea power of the world, and all this without building another battleship.

Let this war go on for another 18 months—as it will go on unless it ends in an absolute draw, in which case Europe will herself seriously propose some less dangerous method of keeping the peace than that of preparedness—but let it drag on for months more, possibly years, costing every day it lasts \$50,000,000 a day—eighty-two and a half millions a day, according to the most recent statement of the German secretary of the imperial treasury—a sum sufficient to build one or one and a half Panama Canals once a week, and there will not be left free money anywhere in all Europe sufficient to fit out a formidable expedition against the United States.

HOW THE MONEY CENTER HAS SHIFTED.

Already the money centers of the world have moved from London and Paris and taken up their permanent headquarters, for the next half century at least, in New York City and Chi-The only formidable wars which are going to be fought, or, by any human possibility, can be fought, by any of the great nodern nations after this war closes will be on borrowed capital. Borrowed from where? From the Asiatic Nations? They have not got it. From Africa? Africa has not got it. From Europe? Does any man who has not lost his faculties imagine that by the time European statesmen get through settling with the people of Europe over more than a hundred-billion-dollar debtcan not be paid and much of it must ultimately be repudiated that these people can be immediately hoodwinked into giving up what little they have left to embark on a new venture of blood and death, which, if the conquest of America were its object, would be longer and in the end costlier than the insane struggle that has just closed? No; the money for the conquest of America can not be found in Asia, Europe, or Africa. The only spot on the face of the earth where there will be any free money for a long time to come is in the United States. America, because she has thus far kept comparatively free from the domination of military minds and the philosophy of preparedness, finds herself great, free, and prosperous, while all the rest of the earth has destroyed its fittest manhood and hopelessly engulfed itself in debt, which can be dealt with only by repudiation. Once let nations begin to repudiate their debts and the bankers of the world will for a long time to come have far less interest in the loan game for preparedness and war than they have ever before

Let the United States say to Europe: "We will help you to rebuild your cities and factories; we will furnish capital for every legitimate venture which looks to the rehabilitation of your industrial, economic and social order, but not one dollar will we supply to any nation in Europe which proposes to rebuild its military equipment so that it is a menace to civilization; not one dollar will we loan to any nation that holds back from a world organization which will to a large extent limit the possibility, dread, and costliness of war"—let America say this, and there is not a nation in Europe, no matter what its military minds think, that can force back on the world the horrors of preparedness. The trade and good will of the United States, because we alone possess free capital and purchasing power, will be absolutely essential to the rehabilitation of every European State. When they quit fighting among themselves, unless they do it immediately, their free capital will be gone—

nay, they will have eaten into their own very marrow. Where all are poverty stricken, no matter what the needs, trade is dull indeed. We literally are the hope of the world. Would that we had at the head of our affairs business and political men who are not so easily frightened into blindness to the supreme opportunity to free a world.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

At the close of this stupid siaughter, a slaughter which never would have happened if first submitted to the people, the common people of Europe are going to ask as they have never asked "Who is it and what is it that led us down into this inferno? Was it the aspirations of our own democracy? was it those from above who loaded us down with arms, against our repeated and impassioned protests, and taught us to love that which our honest hearts hate, and to hate that which by all the dictates of our better manhood we love?" And before the people of Europe get through answering that question much that was high and mighty a year and a half ago and that, even yet, looks menacing to all men who love a free humanity will be pulled down from its pedestal of irresponsible power to go the way of all the other tyrannies of the past. America's supreme opportunity to do something glorious for herself, and for this European democracy, and for the free and untrammeled life of to-morrow's larger, juster day among the nations, is to give these downtrodden, deceived common people of Europe a great leverage and a great hope and a great courage to down their war lords and bloodletters of every kind, by pointing across the seas to the great, free, unmilitarized Republic which has set the example to the world of one nation enlightened enough to arrest for once the mad gospel of evermore preparedness

With such military equipment as we now have on hand, and with Europe's utter exhaustion in men, money, industry, and, before the war closes, in the very implements of war itself, we are absolutely safe from European aggression, certainly for the next score or more of years. Let America during those years, with the full weight of her vast moral, industrial, and money power, put herself on the side of those peace forces in Europe that will see the crime of repeating the conditions out of which their present sorrow came, and she will usher in the rule of the people in all Europe. And with real democracy enthroned there is a possibility of a federated world in which all men may be comparatively free and safe.

The hour this war closes rings the death knell of old, tyrannical, war-cursed Europe if America is true to the ideals which have made her great. Between militarism and democracy the feud is eternal. The cause of democracy is the cause of the only kind of Christianity in which the modern mind can be-If America in this hour had any of the vision, faith, and forward-looking spirit of the pioneer souls who gave their lives to found her, and of those who died to save her, she would not now in timorous fear be repeating those damnable shibboleths coined in kings' houses and fostered in dying Europe by those who hate democracy. She would be ringing from coast to coast with the cry that European democracy shall be helped out of its bondage of debt and imprisoning walls of standing armies, forts, and arsenals into a life free to express its own natural good will and fellowship with all brother men. But higher yet along these lines unthinkable to military minds lies America's supreme opportunity to free the whole mind of mankind from that infinite crime and delusion whereby modern science, God's last and, in many respects, greatest gift to the children of men, should have been clutched by wicked hands which wield its wellnigh divine power only for evil. Does the wisdom or sanity of the civilization which has been need any more terrible indict-ment than this; that after a century of the most marvelous scientific discovery and advance that the earth has ever known it is only in the realms of destruction and death that science has been given the money, with a free and unlimited hand, to show what it could do?

THE PROSTITUTION OF SCIENCE.

Every modern nation has overtaxed its people in the creation of scientific ways of killing other people, and has doled out grudgingly little inadequate pittances of money when science has asked that she might show what she could do in the way of bettering and conserving human life. Even in our so-called unmilitary America we, have our Secretary of War and Secretary of Navy who stand unblushingly by the side of our National Treasury and say, "We want \$800,000 a day and every day in the year to spend in getting ready to kill somebody." Now it is proposed they help themselves to nearly two million a day. And then the money is freely voted. And then they say, "We want, besides, \$400,000 every day in the year to pay for having killed somebody in the past." And the money is freely voted. It cost England nearly twenty-seven hundred dol-

lars for every man she killed in the Boer War. It took less than \$2.50 per man to save a life in turning Panama, the deadliest climate on earth, into a region having the lowest death rate in the world. Such is the difference between the cost of science

as an agency of death or as an agency of life.

If but a fractional part of the money and scientific ingenuity and forethought which have been spent in battleships and forts, torpedoes and target practice, and in creating these twenty-odd millions of scientifically trained and equipped soldiers who are finally set to mutually slaughtering one another, and incidentally piling up a seventy-five or a hundred billion dollar debt—if but a fractional part of what the world has spent in killing and getting ready to kill had been devoted to the creation of knowledge, mutual understanding, and good will among the nations; to sanitation, running down the causes and sources and breeding places of disease and preventable death; to wiping out the causes of poverty and crime and misery and human ig-norance, there is not a nation in all the world which would not be, in all that ministers to human happiness and well-being, inconceivably above its present status, and the unrestrained military mind has done this infinite evil. It has robbed us of the incalculable wealth and happiness that might have been ours; it has slaughtered our brothers; it has hardened our hearts; it has clouded our faith; it has made us deny every postulate of the religion which we profess to believe and has left us in a world of blood and tears, sorrows and desolation more tragic than any the earth has ever known since God saw all that He had made and called it good.

Militarism and Christianity can not live together. If Christianity and democracy do not conquer militarism now, militarism will for a long time to come cripple both. In that struggle where ought the sympathies and example of the people of

America to be found?

Our Foreign Policy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH D. McKELLAR.

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 26, 1916.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. Speaker, I wish to extend my remarks by reading the following telegram and letter bearing upon our foreign policy:

KNOXVILLE, TENN., February 25, 1916.

KNOXVILLE, TENN., February 25, 1916.

Hon. K. D. McKellar,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We earnestly petition you to use your best efforts and exert your influence to preserve to this country their unalterable rights and interest which are now jeopardized, and to uphold the position taken by our President, which is to prevent the abandonment of the honor and prestige of the United States and to sacrifice forever the rights for which our President is now so ably and strongly contending.

W. S. Shields.

W. S. Shields.

Cary F. Spence.
M. D. Arnold.
J. Allen Smith.
A. A. Blow.

J. E. Briscoe.

Dean Mc.: It seems to me that while we want to keep out of war with Germany and all other nations, that for Congress, by resolution, or the administration to take the proposed step that this country will assent to any nation sinking without warning so-called "defensively armed" merchantmen will be disastrous, and a complete backing down by the United States from the position it has heretofore taken, and will lead us into inevitable trouble. It is a change from heretofore accepted international law and will for that reason be an unneutral act on our part. It will alienate all the allied nations with whom we are now dealing, and almost destroy our commerce with them. But the worst feature is that if we do that, the bars will be completely down, and the Germans will sink all ships without regard to the facts, and then claim they were armed or that they had good reason to think so, and then we will be left to negotiate for the next 20 years about the facts. It will practically destroy our commerce. If we had the ships of our own to do business, it might be another matter from a business standpoint though not from a standpoint of justice and humanity; but we have not the ships, and you will see, in my opinion, that if this step is taken it will mean a slump in business that will cost this country millions, and the Democratic Party loss of control.

I know you are in a better position to judge of the proper thing to do than I am, but I am writing this as the opinion of one of your constituents, and I believe that opinion is pretty general here.

Yours, truly,

R. M. BARTON.

While not indorsing each particular argument advanced by these constituents of mine, I do most earnestly indorse the position taken in both communications, namely, that in this crisis it is the duty of every patriotic citizen to uphold our President

in his efforts to maintain generally the rights of humanity and especially the rights of Americans on the high seas.

For more than a year and a half President Wilson has, under most difficult circumstances, kept us out of war and at the same time has in the highest and truest sense defended and upheld American rights and American honor. No President could have done more than this, and few could or would have done as well. For these two things alone he is entitled to the highest respect and deepest gratitude of the American people. Our foreign policy is peculiarly in the hands of the Executive. The most of us agree that in the past 19 months he has done marvelously well in keeping us out of trouble. He has peculiar knowledge of the situation that we as a body do not have. We have trusted him up to this date and he has not failed us. While almost all the other great nations are up to their eyes in trouble, ours, under his leadership, is at peace with all the world. Whether one is for him or against him, one must admit these facts. Let us continue to uphold and sustain him.

I believe these constituents of mine, who, as I personally know, are men of the highest standing in Tennessee, are simply giving voice to a sentiment that prevails in our entire country, and for these reasons I ask that their views may be placed in the Appeals of Tennessee. I put these communications in the Record to show that the old Volunteer State stands always in the front ranks of those who wish to uphold American rights

and honor.

Four Million Dollars' Worth of Favoritism.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,

OF MISSOURI.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 28, 1916.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, a Member of Congress is foolhardy who ventures to attack any of the hoary-headed abuses of the Government service in Washington.

When the bill making appropriations for the expenses of the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the Government was under consideration by the Committee on Appropriations I introduced an amendment providing that clerks and employees in all branches of the public service in Washington be required to perform eight hours' service in each working day. The amendment was adopted by the committee almost unanimously and reported as part of the bill. Immediately a storm of protest broke out on the part of the merchants and the press of Washington. The newspapers of the Capital were filled with little else for days I was caricatured as trying to induce good old Uncle Sam to become a slave driver! Abusive and anonymous letters poured in upon me. I was threatened with misrepresentation and vilification at home that would defeat me for reelection. The merchants held meetings to denounce me and to bluff and bully all who could be brought within the sphere of their influence to vote against the change. I was held up to scorn as an enemy of labor and as an ignorant demagogue. It was even pointed out that I had been instrumental in curbing the evils of tax dodging in the District of Columbia; that I was the author of a law requiring property owners in Washington to pay part of the cost of street im-provements in front of their own property and relieve Uncle Sam of that expense, and therefore I was a dangerous man. The attitude of the Washington press is epitomized in an editorial squib in the Herald:

It will be recalled that Representative Borland, who by an amendment to an appropriation bill seeks to compel the Government clerks to work an extra hour each day, is the author of another amendment, which now compels property owners in Washington to pay for paving the streets. His popularity in Washington is thus easily explained.

Why all this tempest in a teapot? Is there anything in-human or oppressive in requiring Government clerks to work a standard day of eight hours?

The facts are simply these: In some of the departments in Washington the clerks work only seven hours a day. In other departments—for example, in the Government Printing Office and in the Ordnance ractory at the navy yard—the employees work eight hours. When I first came to Congress, in 1909, the employees of the Kansas City post office and other great post offices throughout the Nation were working 9, 10, and 11 hours in some cases.

I am a believer in the eight-hour law, and after a spirited fight we secured an eight-hour day for postal employees throughout the Union. This was considered a notable victory. Since then Congress has passed laws giving an eight-hour day to employees on Government work, to employees on public work in the District of Columbia, and to women wageworkers in private employ in the District of Columbia. During all of this time clerks in certain of the executive offices in Washington were working only seven hours a day. This is a lingering remnant of the old political system before civil service came into existence, when clerks were appointed by political influence and governed by favoritism. At one time in the dim past clerks in Washington worked only six hours a day. As the business of the Government grew this time was extended, partly by law and partly by Executive order, to six and a half, seven, seven and a half, and eight hours; so that while the hours of labor of Government employees throughout the country have been cut down to the standard day of eight hours the tendency in Washington has been to eliminate favoritism and discrimination by increasing the working day to the same standard schedule. Thus it happens that there still remains a discrimination in favor of the clerks in certain departments who work on a seven-hour schedule and are thus constituted a privileged class. Such a discrimination is unjust and indefensible. The proposed amendment will not affect the hours of those who are already working eight hours, but will equalize the hours of labor among all Government employees. While the Government ought not to require unusual hours of service, except in emergencies, the most fervid imagination can not see anything inhuman or oppressive in this proposal.

Economists, philanthropists, and labor leaders have all agreed that eight hours is a normal day's work. They have taught that the day should be divided into three periods; that the worker should have eight hours for rest, eight hours for meals and social improvement, and, having these, he is in fit condition for eight hours of productive labor. Even in the case of women and children, no different rule was made, but in some cases even a limitation to nine hours was considered a reform. This is the first time, to my knowledge, that anyone has had the audacity to contend that an eight-hour schedule was in-

human and oppressive.

Uncle Sam's pay roll in the District of Columbia is about \$50,000,000 a year. Not all of this would be affected by the change, but it is estimated that a saving of about \$4,000,000 annually would result from requiring a full day's work from Government employees. As the pay roll increases annually with the growth of the Nation's business, the saving in future years will be greater. The longer the abuse continues the more it is costing the American people. The money in the Federal Treasury belongs to the taxpayers. It all comes out of the pockets of the people. It represents the blood and toil those who support their Government. It is a trust fund to be paid out only for an adequate and legal return. Taxation in some form must be borne by the people to pay the expenses of government, but under the Democratic principle taxation must be limited to the actual needs of the Government, honestly and economically administered.

Can Congress defend the placing of taxes upon the farmers and business men of the land to furnish gratuities for privileged classes? Since the tariff has failed us as a source of revenue, it is necessary to look around for other means of taxation. If we propose a tax to-day the people will ask and will have a right to demand an answer to the question, "What do you intend to do with this money?" Can we reply, "We are taxing you at least \$4,000,000 extra in order to pay salaries to an extra number of Government clerks"?

"We dislike to put them to the inconvenience of working a full day, and therefore we will put the burden on you taxpayers?" The American taxpayers would rejoin: "In that case we shall take matters in our own hands. It is no disgrace to feed at the public crib, but it is bad manners to keep both feet

in the trough."

Besides the extra force that must be employed there are other inconveniences in the short day. The public offices should be open the full business hours of the day in order to properly transact public business. Business men come at great expense from all over the United States to transact business at the departments. Their time is always limited, and they are under expense during their stay in Washington. If they can not finish their business by the middle of the afternoon they must return to their hotels and stay over another day to await the convenience of the Government clerks. If they think to take time by the forelock by going to the departments at the hour in the morning at which they would begin business in their home town,

they are told to wait, hat in hand, on the convenience of a lordly chief clerk who is afraid that some one will offend his dignity, hurt his feelings, and treat his refined nature with inhumanity and oppression by expecting him to observe the same business hours that are observed in all commercial cities throughout the land. Frequently the business man must enlist the aid of his Congressman or Senator to obtain information or to straighten out difficulties, as the great mass of constituents can not hope to be familiar with the division of powers and duties of the different departments and bureaus and the methods of procedure in each. Even a first-term Congressman has difficulty in getting on to the ropes on account of the greatly increased number of bureaus and the multitude of laws governing them. A Congressman or Senator who is called upon by busy constituents anxious to adjust some matter and return home finds he must leave Congress in the very midst of the session and hurry down to the department where the business is pending in order to reach there before the clerks have slammed their desks and gone home.

And then consider the multitude of letters that come to the Congressman or Senator, especially from busy commercial cities, asking for information which can only be obtained by a personal

call at the departments.

Every Member on this floor will bear me out when I say that while Congressmen are glad to put themselves at the service of their constituents in all proper and necessary ways, yet they have to spend twice as much time for that purpose as is necessary or as their constituents give them credit for. This is time wasted, and which they should have spent on the floor of Congress or in attendance upon the committees to which they belong. I know many Congressmen whose days are crowded with their committee work, their departmental calls, and their at-tendance on the sessions of the House, and who, therefore, must keep up their correspondence by working nights and Sundays. And this includes all of the really successful Members of Congress. To talk, therefore, of inhumanity and oppression in requiring Government clerks to work during the usual business hours of the day is folly and nonsense.

There are many enterprising and skillful men among the Government employees, and some of them are scientists and experts, whose services are worth more than the Government pays them, but these are all working under the eight-hour schedule now and will not be affected by the change in the laws. On the slackers we need waste no sympathy. There are a number of negroes in the civil service, and, almost without exception, they are in the purely clerical departments where the seven-hour day prevails and not in the mechanical and technical branches where the eighthour day is enforced. I am told that among the young negro couples it is customary for both the husband and wife to take the civil-service examination and secure appointment, if possible, in the same office. As they get to work late in the morning and go home early in the afternoon, it is possible for them to keep house and raise an interesting brood of pickaninnies while drawing two comfortable salaries from the Federal Government. Sometimes the wife only works in the department, and the husband rests at home or devotes his talents to preaching the gospel.

The most bitter opponents of any reform in the law, the men who have denounced it as inhuman and oppressive, who have reviled Congress in public and private, who have stirred up all this hysteria at the mere suggestion of efficiency and economy, are the mercantile interests of the city of Washington.

These merchants, with the real estate and banking interests with which they are allied and the newspapers which subsist upon their patronage, control the public opinion of the District of Columbia. They have an influence which is powerful, persistent, and insidious. Through the various national organizations that are centered in Washington they frequently attempt to extend this influence out into the country, and by "back-fire" seek to coerce Members of Congress to yield to their demands.

These merchants would like to have the shopping districts

crowded with Government employees in the early afternoon. Their interests lie in the direction of having the greatest possible number of people employed in the departments at the highest possible pay and working the shortest possible time. More people and a short work day means more trade, more amusements, more house rent, and the merchants and landlords get substantially all of the clerk's salary. It is easy to understand their position in opposing reform. It is simple and candid. Their fixed idea is that the Federal Government exists for their benefit, and not for the people who maintain it. look upon it as their cow; they do not care who feeds it the hay, but they must have the milk. Under the Constitution the District of Columbia exists solely for the convenience and safety of the Nation as the seat of Government, and not for the

profit or convenience of those who choose to own property or do business here.

While we can understand the attitude of these local merchants, their interests can not be given weight against the interests of the taxpayers of the Nation. While these department-store proprietors denounce as inhuman an eight-hour day for Government clerks I have not noticed that they are willing to concede a shorter day to their own employees. They like to regulate their private business upon the basis of the fewest number of employees and the longest possible hours.

It has only been a few months since these same men were protesting vigorously to Congress against a law limiting to eight hours the time of wage-working women in private employ in the District of Columbia. They said it was "inhuman and oppressive" to forbid them for working their shop girls as long as they pleased. They are still protesting that it will ruin the retail business of Washington and drive trade to Baltimore. What a delightfully elastic conscience these patriots have! How warmly they are interested in the cause of labor!

In the very set of resolutions passed by the Retail Merchants' Association of Washington condemning the Borland amendment as inhuman and oppressive, they also condemn the eighthour law for women passed by Congress which prevents them working their shopgir 10 and 12 hours a day! Could sordid

stupidity go further than this?

Another powerful class who are very bitter against the amendment are the real-estate speculators of Washington. Building houses and selling them on the installment plan to Government clerks is a very profitable business. The clerk is a good risk. His pay and position is sure. He works for an employer who never misses a pay roll; who never goes out of business; who never has a strike, lockout, or boycott; and who sees that his employees pay their debts. On with the dance! More clerks, more houses. Let the taxpayer of the Nation bear the burden. Here the interest of the landowning class is directly opposed to the interests of the Nation and its taxpayers.

Let those Congressmen who believe that clerks in Washingtion should be a privileged class vote against this provision. Let those who believe in discriminating between Government employees in the same grade of service vote against it. Let those who believe in soaking the American taxpayer vote against it. Let those who believe in truckling to the sordid selfishness of private interest in Washington vote against it. And let those who believe that the public is not entitled to have the Government offices open during the usual business

hours of the day vote against it!

Bending Post-Office Employees.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. M. C. SMITH, OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 28, 1916.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave of the House granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the bonding feature of the Post Office appropriation bill, I desire to insert that provision of the bill.

Section 2 of the bill provides:

Section 2 of the bill provides:

Sec. 2. That hereafter the Postmaster General shall have authority and he is hereby empowered to assess and collect a sum of money, or fee, not in excess of 75 per cent of the present rates of bonds now in force, from each officer and employee of the Postal Service with the United States of America through the Post Office Department who are now, or hereafter may be, required by law to give bond, and to create and establish with the money or moneys derived from such assessments and collections a guaranty fund to indemnify the United States of America for losses incurred because of, or by reason of, the failure of any of the said officers or employees to faithfully perform and discharge, or for improperly performing and discharging, the duties and obligations imposed on the said officers or employees by reason of their acceptance of such office or employment, and a sum of money or fee not in excess of the rates of bonds now in force from each contractor with the United States of America through the Post Office Department who are now, or hereafter may be, required by law to give bond by reason of their acceptance or execution of such contract.

And the Postmaster General is further authorized and empowered to prescribe such regulations as may be necessary to create and maintain a guaranty fund and to pay in full from such guaranty fund any person or persons who have incurred or suffered loss or losses for which the United States is liable: Provided, That any officer or employee may give bond, with surety or suretles approved by the Postmaster General, in lieu of and in the place of an assessment for or contribution to the said guaranty fund: Provided further, That the Postmaster General may, in his discretion, require and secure a bond for the faithful and proper performance and discharge of the duties and obligations of any

office or employment in addition to the assessment for and contribution to the said guaranty fund: And provided further, That the premium of such bond shall be charged against and paid from the said guaranty fund: And provided further, That the establishment and operation of said system shall be without additional cost to the Government.

This is not appropriating money for the conduct of the Post Office Service. It is new legislation and an innovation in the regulation of conducting the post-office business. In recommending this provision of the bill the chairman of the committee said:

Mr. Chairman, there has been much discussion and feeling about this question, but it can be very clear that there can be and is no opposition to it except from selfish motives. Briefly stated, the position of the department in offering this legislation is that such action will result in material saving of money which is now paid in premiums to surety

maierial saving of money which is now paid in premiums to surety companies.

Second. It will stimulate bidding and competition and restore confidence in the minds of the public.

Third. It will prevent collusion among bidders and unwarranted and unfair action by surety companies and their agents.

Fourth It will enable the department to handle and keep within its control confidential information which is now furnished to surety companies by bidders long before it reaches the department, as well as to decide for itself whether or not a competitor is competent or qualified to perform service on proposals submitted by him.

Fifth. It will prevent the restriction and dictation of the amount of bids, such as has been referred to in this report.

They therefore recommend that the present system of bonding of star-route, screen-wagon and other contracts be abolished, and in lieu thereof that a law be enacted containing such provisions as may be deemed necessary in order to have such contracts in the future bonded by the Government.

A specific case is mentioned by the honorable chairman of the committee showing that the Government lost \$20,000 on a single contract because the bonding company refused to bond a contractor unless the contractor would raise his bid from \$44.000 to \$64,000. It looks very strange to the ordinary business man that the Government would award a \$44,000 contract to a contractor at \$64,000, lay the blame on the bonding company, and seek to charge up the loss to the Government of \$20,000 to any bonding company. Has it come to pass that the Government of the United States could find only one man to whom it could let a single contract? And if the contract was only a \$44,000 contract and worth that price, why did it let the contract for \$64,000? This certainly looks like extravagance with a venge-ance. Then, again, why does the Government charge up the loss to the bonding company? Is there not in this broad land any other person who could give ample security to the Government for a \$44,000 contract? Or must the contract be limited to a single person with security from a bonding company? What I insist is that the Government is to blame, whether through the Post Office Department or any other department, for paying \$64,000 for work or material worth only \$44,000, and not the bonding company.

If it is generally known that this method will be tolerated by the Government, we have have no doubt but what there will be plenty of bidders in cases of such contracts where the Government pays a third more for services or articles than they are worth. The agreement is presented by the chairman on the theory that the contract was a \$44,000 contract and not a \$64,000, and it would have been interesting to know whether or not the contractor made money or lost money on this particular

contract, and how much.

We are told that bonding companies do not solicit the bonding screen-wagon or rural-route contracts. Neither do they solicit the bonds for contractors of public buildings. And we are also told of an illustration where a surety company paid an indemnity of \$200,000 in a single case, and the question is then asked. How long could a guaranty fund stand such a strain? This bonding business is a business of itself. It is more or less precarious, and it should not be entered upon without the fullest investigation that it is the proper thing to do. It is of frequent occurrence to notice in the newspapers of the day startling accounts of large defalcations of the surety bonds of public officials and private persons clothed with fiduciary positions.

It might be good business for the Government to accept on such contracts personal surety bonds signed by individuals of undoubted financial standing. This section of the bill for bonding is now eliminated from the bill, but we are given to understand that it wil' be incorporated in the next bill. This keeps the bonding proposition alive, and the intention is to raise a guaranty fund out of which the losses can be paid. This guaranty fund is to be procured from employees by an assessment and collection from each of the officers and employees of the Posta' Service who are required by law to give bonds. No such officers or employees have petitioned or expressed their willingness to furnish money for this fund, although the rate is to be but 75 per cent of what they pay the surety companies for such bonds. But one of the objections lies in the fact that this fund will be from time to time depleted, and if the employees are to be the contributors they stand to contribute from time to time, which

might make the rate greatly in excess of what the bonding companies now charge. The employees are the servants of the Government, and what do you think of the proposition of an employer charging his servants and employees a certain per cent to guarantee him against loss from each of the other employees? If you hire a number of men, you do not compel each one to contribute to protect you against the loss of each of your other workmen. It ought to be sufficient for one to furnish his own guaranty without furnishing surety for his colaborers.

If the employees of the Government are to furnish money to do Government bonding, they should have a voice in placing the bonds. It does not seem right to ask a person to contribute money to conduct a business in which he has no voice. The bonds to be taken are to be passed upon by the Government presumably, but actually by the Postmaster General. Neither furnishes the money and are not particularly interested in the losses, because all losses are to be made good not by the Government but by the employees. It is in principle the same as taxation without representation. It subjects the employees to losses without having any voice in the conduct of the business. At any rate, there is no necessity for forming this bureau; for establishing a large number of new offices; for going into a precarious business; for charging the employees with the losses without any provision for sharing in the gains.

But it is stated that the Government will save money by establishing this activity and bonding its employees. That is not admitted. That remains to be seen. But if the Government is to enter upon the policy of going into the business, then it should furnish its own funds for the conduct of that business and take its own chances. The Government contracts for a large supply of boots and shoes, clothing, blankets, and provisions of all kinds, and uses nearly every product of manufacture. Would anybody advise the Government because it could get its products a little cheaper to go into every industry in which it could accomplish that result? We read of the great profits of the iron and steel industry. Why does the Government not purchase mines, produce its own ore, and engage upon these enterprises? Why does not the Government go into the ship-building business? Why does it not go into the automobile business and pay its employees the wages that some of the automobile companies do? It does not look right that they should pick out this highly scientific business, where the chances of profit and loss are a feature, and not adopt that policy in other

Undoubtedly when the question of bonding is looked into and the facts are fully understood and the testimony weighed that it will not extend its paternal care to this guaranty business.

Pilotage at Southern Ports.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, OF ALABAMA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 29, 1916.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, as a part of my remarks upon House bill 9678—the Small bill—entitled "A bill to exempt from compulsory pilotage barges while in tow of steam vessels navigated by Government pilots," I wish to quote a letter which I have received from Mr. C. W. Shackelford, of Birmingham, Ala., president of Eclipse Coal Co., as follows:

LETTER OF MR. SHACKELFORD.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., February 25, 1916.

Hon. George Huddleston,

Washington, D. C.

My Dean Sir: I notice in the newspapers in the last few days, that the river pilots now busy in Washington, fighting a bill introduced by Congressman Small, of North Carolina, for doing away with the services of pilots, provided the master of the vessel holds a Government license etc.

services of pilots, provided the master of the vessel holds a Government license, etc.

I take the liberty of writing you on this subject, and inclosing some information, which I have obtained, in my endeavor to do some coal business in Cuba in 1914. This statement shows the comparative port cost and expense in handling a schooner of 1,200 tons capacity of coal from Philadelphia and Mobile.

The difference you will note amounts to \$341, and is made up practically in towage and pilot's charges, excess at Mobile. In further explanation of this transaction, I beg to say that in 1914 I was interested in a coal contract for delivery in Cuba, amounting to something like 50,000 tons in sight.

I arranged for a small schooner of 900 tons and had delivery made from Mobile to the port mentioned in April, 1914, and my coal proved satisfactory. In the following July I got another contract arranged for of 1,200 tons of coal to go forward during August, and in my endeavor

to get a vessel with freight rate, to enable me to again get in this market, I run up on the information which I inclose you, showing these port charges at Mobile, as compared with Philadelphia port charges. Pending my negotiations, unfortunately, the war in Europe came on, and, in consequence, I could not get a vessel for love or money, and I lost out on that account.

As I see it, and with the information I have in hand, Mobile as a seaport, with existing towage and pilotage charges, together with some other port difficulties, which will make it simply an impossible proposition for any one in Alabama to compete with any other southern port on the gulf or Atlantic coast in shipping any product.

From the information I get, Mobile has something like 30 feet of water, and it is something like 30 miles to deep water on the Gulf, and the towage from other Gulf and Atlantic Ocean seaport cities range from 10 to 76 miles, and all with less cost.

Now, understand, I am not inclined to raise the question as to the merits of the pilot or towboat charges, but as we Birmingham people, and the entire State of Alabama, are vitally interested in Mobile as a port, we take it that our Congressman will join us and see that Mobile is made a port equal to the best in the country, and with all the facilities, and with reasonable cost in handling export business, without limit, except as to our capacity and ability to handle, and give us the full benefit of the Warrior River.

If you will interest yourself in this matter, I would be glad, if wanted, to furnish you further information on the subject, as I am also sure many of your friends around Birmingham can perhaps give you more of it than I can. I am,

EXHIBIT TO MR. SHACKELFORD'S LETTER.

EXHIBIT TO MR. SHACKELFORD'S LETTER. Philadelphia and Mobile port charges compared.

(Philadelphia to Cay Frances, Cuba, 1,200 tons coal, Sept., 1914.) Commission on charter
Docking at coal dock, tow
Towage down the Delaware River
Loading and trimming cargo coal, 7 cents
Discharging coal at Cuba, 20 cents
Clearing and Cuban consul fee, Philadelphia
All Cuban customhouse, pilot, and consignee charges, Cuba

There are other charges, but this will do. There is no pilotage on coal to foreign ports or any ports out of Philadelphia.

Mobile—Same port.

Commission charter, should be more as freight should be higher. \$114

1,069 728 Philadelphia charges_____ Mobile excess charges

Mobile excess charges 341

This is the difference between shipping coal from Philadelphia to Cuba and Mobile to Cuba, about 25 cents per ton.

Mobile port, excess charges made up as follows:

Towage up and down bay \$170

Pilotage—compulsory 130

Harbor master 5

Loading and trimming yessel 36 341

The President's Address at the Gridiron Club Dinner.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. THOMAS HEFLIN, OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 29, 1916.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an address de-livered by the President of the United States at the Gridiron dinner Saturday night, February 26, 1916.

The address is as follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Toastmaster and gentlemen, I have very little to say to-night except to express my warm appreciation of the invariable courtesy of this club and of the reception you have so generously accorded me. I find that I am seldom tempted to say anything nowadays unless somebody starts something, and

Your talk, Mr. Toastmaster, has been a great deal about candidacy for the Presidency. It is not a new feeling on my part, but one which I entertain with a greater intensity than formerly, that a man who seeks the Presidency of the United States for anything that it will bring to him is an audacious fool. The responsibilities of the office ought to sober a man even before he approaches it. One of the difficulties of the office seldom ap-preciated, I dare say, is that it is very difficult to think while so many people are talking, and particularly while so many people are talking in a way that obscures counsel and is entirely off the point.

The point in national affairs, gentlemen, never lies along the lines of expediency. It always rests in the field of principle. The United States was not founded upon any principle of expediency; it was founded upon a profound principle of human liberty and of humanity, and whenever it bases its policy upon any other foundations than those it builds on the sand and not upon solid rock. It seems to me that the most enlightening thing a man can do is suggested by something which the Vice President said to-night. He complained that he found men who, when their attention was called to the signs of spring, did not see the blue heaven, did not see the movement of the free clouds, did not think of the great spaces of the quiet continent, but thought only of some immediate and pressing piece of business. It seems to me that if you do not think of the things that lie beyond and away from and disconnected from this scene in which we attempt to think and conclude you will inevitably be led astray. I would a great deal rather know what they are talking about around quiet firesides all over this country than what they are talking about in the cloakrooms of Congress. would a great deal rather know what the men on the trains and by the wayside and in the shops and on the farms are thinking about and vearning for than hear any of the vociferous proclamations of policy which it is so easy to hear and so easy to read by picking up any scrap of printed paper. There is only one way to hear these things, and that is constantly to go back to the fountains of American action. Those fountains are not to be found in any recently discovered sources,

Senator Harding was saying just now that we ought to try when we are a hundred million strong to act in the same simplicity of principle that our forefathers acted in when we were 3,000,000 strong. I heard somebody say-I do not know the exact statistics—that the present population of the United States is 103,000,000. If there are 3,000,000 thinking the same things that that original 3,000,000 thought, the hundred million will be saved for an illustrious future. They were ready to will be saved for an illustrious future. stake everything for an idea, and that idea was not expediency but justice. And the infinite difficulty of public affairs, gentlemen, is not to discover the signs of the heavens and the directions of the wind, but to square the things you do by the not simple but complicated standards of justice. Justice has nothing to do with expediency; justice has nothing to do with any temporary standard whatever; it is rooted and grounded in the fundamental instincts of humanity.

America ought to keep out of this war. She ought to keep out of this war at the sacrifice of everything except this single thing upon which her character and history are founded-her sense of humanity and justice. If she sacrifices that, she has ceased to be America; she has ceased to entertain and to love the traditions which have made us proud to be Americans; and when we go about seeking safety at the expense of humanity, then I for one will believe that I have always been mistaken in what I have conceived to be the spirit of American history.

You never can tell your directions except by long measure-You can not establish a line by two posts; you have got to have three, at least, to know whether they are straight with anything, and the longer your line the more certain your measurement. There is only one way in which to determine how the future of the United States is going to be projected, and that is by looking back and seeing which way the lines ran which led up to the present moment of power and of oppor-tunity. There is no doubt about that. There is no question what the roll of honor in America is. The roll of honor consists of the names of men who have squared their conduct by ideals of duty. There is no one else upon the roster; there is no one else whose name we care to remember when we measure things upon a national scale. And I wish that whenever an impulse of impatience comes upon us, whenever an impulse to settle a thing some short way tempts us, we might close the door and take down some old stories of what American idealists and statesmen did in the past, and not let any counsel in that does not sound in the authentic voice of American tradition. Then we shall be certain what the lines of the future are, because we shall know we are steering by the lines of the past. We shall know that no temporary convenience, no temporary expediency, will lead us either to be rash or to be cowardly. I would be just as much ashamed to be rash as I would to be a coward. Valor is self-respecting; valor is circumspect; valor strikes only when it is right to strike; valor withholds itself from all small implications and entanglements and waits for the great oppor-tunity when the sword will flash as if it carried the light of heaven upon its blade.

Coming Restoration of the Mississippi as an Important Artery of Commerce.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. H. GARLAND DUPRE,

OF LOUISIANA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Tuesday, February 29, 1916.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article from the Scientific American of February 26, 1916, in relation to the coming restoration of the Mississippi as an important artery of commerce

The article is as follows:

COMING RESTORATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI AS AN IMPORTANT ARTERY OF COMMERCE

[By O. R. Geyer.]

Can the Mississippi River once more become an important highway of commerce?

Experienced rivermen who have been watching signs of the coming restoration of inland navigation on the river believe that it can and that the day is not far distant when the Father of Waters will be restored to the proud position it once held as the Nation's greatest artery of commerce. After 80 years of inaction and failure to graspy tion on a large and dependable scale, and in the spring the first of the 36 fast steel barges now being built will begin plying between New Orienss and Minneapolis.

Some of the more progressive terminal points along the river have set modern, cheap terminals to compete with the railroads. New Orienss is the leader in this movement and is spending nearly \$100,000,000 in preparing the port for the expected revival of navigation. To-day the snagged, shoal-marked river exists only in the pages of Mark Twain's the turbulent days on the river, and now it is go easy for the modern coordinated terminals bave done move than anything else to postpone with better and cheaper terminal facilities many years ago, there has been no really determined effort to take advantage of the vast opportunities awalting those making proper use of the river way. Minneapolis, Davenport, St. Louis, Quincy, New Orleans, and a few of the distribution of the long ferminals are completed they will find that the Government has more than kept pace with their enditation of the long feramed of 6-foot channel.

Nearly \$60,000,000 has been spent or will be expended in building rolwal is spending about the realization of the long feramed of 6-foot channel.

Nearly \$60,000,000 has been spent or will be expended in building rolwal is spending about the realization of the long feramed of 6-foot channel.

Nearly \$60,000,000 has been spent or will be expended in building a not the first unit of a concrete terminal.

Once of the marvesis of the long fight for the retoration of river traffic has been the propagations and by the city of New Orleans i

of rat proofing the city will cost \$7,500,000, so thorough are the preparations being made for the revival of initiand navigation.

The work that New Orleans is doing supplements that of the State of Illinois in digging an 8-foot barge canal from Chleago to Davenport. The Government has cooperated even further by building the world's greatest inland dry dock at Koekuk, which can care for three of the largest river boats at one time. Even more important work is being done in blasting a 6-foot channel through the dangerous Le Claire Rapids below the town of Le Claire, lowe, on which more boats have come to grief than through any one other agency on the river. The Le Claire Canal will be 250 feet wide and about 3 miles long. The lowa shore will be used for one bank of the canal and a cofferdam is being built on the outer or river side. When the work of blasting and excavating the rock is completed, which will take another year, a dam and locks will be erected at the lower end of the canal.

The Le Claire Rapids are the last great obstacle in the way of a 6-foot channel. Under oresent Federal rules ships are forbidden from trying to pass the rapids in the nightifune, because of the great danger. Five years time probably will be required before the large river boats. The port of New Orleans will be one of the wonders of the world when fully completed. At the present time it consists of 41.4 miles of river frontage, all under the control of the city dock board. This harbor has a developed area of more than 7 square miles, while the deep-water area within the port limits totals it square miles. The harbor varies in depth from 40 to 188 feet. In time, should conditions warrant it, steel sheds and wharfage facilities could be extended from Point a la Hache to Baton Rouge, about 178 miles, which would provide a deep waterway harbor of 85 square miles. The public wharves have a platform area of 3.777.186 square feet, and steel sheds three-quariers of a mile long protect a wharf area of 2.585,906 smuare feet.

The methods

willed the towboat, so that it no longer is used on an extensive scale on the river.

"When there used to be 4,000 steamboats and 10,000 acres of coal barges and rafts and trading scows," Uncle Memford, one of Twain's river friends, said, "there wasn't a lantern from St. Paul to New Orleans, and the snags were thicker than bristles on a hog's back; and now, when there's three dozen steamboats and nary barges and rafts, the Government has snatched out all of the snags and lit up the shores like Broadway, and a boat's as safe as she would be in heaven."

This is why river men believe the time is ripe for the restoration of inland navigation on the Mississippi, for, they say, the Government has done its share of the preliminary work.

Post Office Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER F. TAGUE, OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Tuesday, February 29, 1916,

On the bill (H. R. 10484) making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purpo

Mr. TAGUE. Mr. Speaker, in compliance with the request of Mr. BENNET, of New York, who during the debate on the Post Office appropriation bill requested that I should furnish the names of the directors of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad who were members of the Merchants' Association of New York, I desire to file the following:

find in looking over the membership of the association that the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Co. is a member and that Benjamin Campbell, vice president; Robert T. Haskins, freight traffic manager; John T. Pratt, and T. P.

Maxwell are also members of record.

It can not be successfully denied that this road in the past has been controlled by the Morgan and Standard Oil interests

of New York. I find that the J. P. Morgan Co. and the Standard Oil Co. are members of this association.

The following is a list of the directors of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, against whom the Government is now in action for violation of the interstate-commerce law:

Howard Elliott, A. R. Whaley, H. M. Kocherberger, E. G. Buckland, B. Campbell, J. H. Heustis, L. S. Starrs, William Rockefeller, John T. Pratt, George F. Baker, C. F. Brooker, William Shriver, D. Newton Barnes, Robert W. Taft, J. S. Eaton, J. S. Hemingway, E. Eton Roberts, A. T. Hooley, S. Rea, T. De Witt Cuyler, H. K. McHarg, J. S. Billard, M. F. Plant, and T. P. Maxwell.

In all proceedings thus far it has been acknowledged that the Standard Oil and Morgan interests of New York have dictated the directorship of this road. This not having been denied, it is therefore a fact that the representatives of this road are the representatives of these two interests, inasmuch as the Standard Oil and the J. P. Morgan interests are direct members of this association. The above-named directors, as their representatives, are therefore indirectly allied with the merchants' association.

I also find in looking over the list of this association that there are more than 40 railroad companies having membership in this association, in which many of them the Standard Oil and Morgan interests are allied. I also find there are more than 75 banks and trust companies in which these interests are also associated; that there are more than 125 bankers and brokers who are daily dealing in the stocks of the railroads of the New York, New Haven & Hartford and other railroads who are members of this association and who are now petitioning Congress for protection.

Among the membership of this association are many other interests, including railroad supply houses and brokers of different kinds, who have daily dealings in a business way with

I believe that this verifies my statement that among the membership of the Merchants' Association of New York can be found a large part of its membership who are directly allied with the financial interests who dominate the directorship of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, and that this portion of the membership of this association is also allied, either directly or indirectly, with the railroads now in question.

Rural Free Delivery Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. NELSON E. MATTHEWS, OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 29, 1916.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter from the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General and my reply to same. The letters are as follows:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
FOURTH ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, February 25, 1916.

Washington, February 25, 1916.

Hon. Nelson E. Matthews,

House of Representatives.

My Dear Mr. Matthews: I note in your remarks in the Congressional Record of February 24, 1916 (p. 3502), that you state that in answer to protests from patrons of various offices in your district, "The stereotyped reply comes back that it is in the interest of economy. Economy that cripples a service and makes it, in many instances, worse than no service is surely a faise economy."

As I believe that you will be willing to correct any misstatements of fact, I feel that you will be pleased to do so in this instance. You have received no stereotyped statements from this department in which it is declared that the revision of the Rural Delivery Service was in the interest of economy. While, naturally, there is economy self-evident, yet you were assured that any funds available through such revision or readjustment would be immediately used to establish or extend service to possible prospective patrons wherever found, etc.

This is submitted for such action as you may deem proper.

Very sincerely, yours,

Jas. I. Blaksler,

JAS. I. BLAKSLEE, Fourth Assistant Postmaster General.

FEBRUARY 29, 1916.

Hon. James I. Blakslee, Fourth Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.

My DEAR MR. BLAKSLEE: I have your favor of the 25th and note that you take exception to some remarks I made in the House on February 24, 1916. Possibly you are correct in saying that this is a misstatement of facts. However, there are so many sentences in the letters from you of a similar character, and the views expressed in your

letters in reply to all the petitions I sent you are so much alike, that at the moment the only word that occurred to me as fitting the subject properly was the word "stereotyped."

The variations in the replies received from you were not sufficient to get the idea of their being stereotyped out of my head.

In looking over your letters I find that, while you did not use the word "economy," you, however, state in your letter of February 14, concerning Paulding County, Ohio, "that this can be accomplished at an actual saving in the cost of operation of \$6,912 per annum, seem unquestionably in favor of the readjustment." I think this statement at least warranted me in thinking you had economy in mind.

You also stated, under date of January 15, in your reply to petitions concerning Putnam County: "The saving effected, \$16,212, is to be used in the establishment of new or extension of existing service in communities where the postal facilities are inadequate for the needs of the residents."

What the people are seriously objecting to is the disrupting of their old, established mail routes. It hardly looks fair to injure or disorganize old, established routes, even if there is a saving, especially for the purpose of establishing new routes. My understanding is that Congress is perfectly willing to furnish your department all the money they require to develop and improve the Rural Free Delivery Service.

Frankly, I want to say that I have lived in northwestern Ohio for the past 60 years, most of the time in Putnam County, and I feel that I am familiar with conditions there, especially so far as the roads are concerned, together with the weather conditions, and I feel that I know the people, who will average up in intelligence with the people of any other community in the United States. I am quite sure that the numerous petitions, together with the scores of letters received by me protesting against the action of your department, would not have come from these people if they had not felt that their service was being

Mobiles.

I am still of the opinion that the patrons living along the automobile routes in Putnam and Paulding Counties, where you propose to establish these routes, are fairly good judges of what constitutes good Rural Free Delivery Service, what is for their best interests, as well as what would or would not be an improvement in their service, in spite of the fact that certain postmasters in the larger towns who would be benefited by the discontinuance of rural free delivery routes out of the smaller towns have advised you to the contrary.

Assuring you of my high regards and regretting that we can not agree, I am,

agree, I am, Yours, very truly,

N. E. MATTHEWS.

Military Instructions of Students Under the Morrill Act of 1862.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM R. WOOD. OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 29, 1916.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a letter from Dr. Stone, president of Purdue University, pertaining to military instruction of students under the Morrill Act of 1862.

The letter is as follows:

PURDUE UNIVERSITY, Lafayette, Ind., February 26, 1916.

Hon. WILL R. Wood, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILL R. Wood,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir. At this time of universal discussion of the national question of preparation for defense I deem it important that Congress should not lose sight of one of the most important potential resources which the country possesses as a basis of military organization.

I offer no argument for preparedness, assuming that every intelligent citizen must recognize its importance. Whatever is done in this direction should be in the line of a thorough mustering of resources, a permanent policy utilizing existing forces and organizations and avoiding, if possible, excessive expenditures of money.

Having these principles in mind, I desire to call to your attention the provisions already made under the act of Congress of 1862, known as the Morrill Act, for the administration of military instruction in the land-grant colleges, so called, of the United States. This law was enacted at a time when the state of public mind was similar to that existing to-day, when the people strongly realized the necessity of military resources and the advantage of preliminary training. Under this law there exist to-day 67 colleges, in which over 25,000 students receive military instruction, in which the War Department cooperates by furnishing a regular officer of the Army as instructor and the necessary military equipment

These young men are being trained in engineering, in science, and in all of those technical branches which now have become so necessary as a part of the equipment of the military officer. Indeed, the curricula of these institutions are not dissimilar to that administered in the United States Naval and Military Academies. These young men are being educated at public expense, all of these institutions being maintained by appropriations from Federal and various State treasuries. No other class of young men stands, therefore, in the same relation to their country as do these. Technically trained at public expense, already instructed in the elements of milita

In no other possible way can there be created so efficient a force or one so closely identified with national affairs as by utilizing this existing organization.

I understand that bills have already been introduced covering the lines above suggested, and I can not believe otherwise than that if the subject is understood it would receive the hearty indorsement of Congress; and I make free to ask that, if the matter meets with your approval, you will use such efforts as seem to you wise to bring it to the attention of your colleagues. I am,

Very respectfully, yours,

W. E. Stone, President.

Military Training of the Youth of the Country.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. H. GARLAND DUPRE, OF LOUISIANA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 29, 1916.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a telegram received by me from the Young Men's Department of the New Orleans Association of Commerce regarding the proper military training of the youth of the country.

The telegram is as follows:

NEW ORLEANS, LA., February 28, 1916.

Hon. Garland Dupré, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Kindly have the following resolutions, adopted by the Young Men's Department of the New Orleans Association of Commerce, and representing 500 young business men of New Orleans, inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, to wit:

Whereas Henry Ford is causing to be published throughout this country certain statements with the object of influencing the public to discourage and disapprove of the adequate military preparedness of the United States, so wisely and strongly urged by the President: Therefore be it

the President: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the executive committee of the Young Men's Department of the New Orleans Association of Commerce, representing the general business interests of approximately 500 men of this city, between the ages of 18 and 30 years:

"First. That said statements would encourage and bring about the willful murder of young Americans, by supporting a doctrine which would unquestionably precipitate them into conflict untrained and unprepared, should they be called upon to resist an invasion of this country by the trained armies of any foreign power;

"Second. That the arguments therein contained are dangerous in a high degree to the peace, well-being, and security of our homes and institutions;

"Third. That the language used is impertinent and offensice by charging our most patriotic men with the basest of ulterior motives in the public press with weakness, the citizenry with lack of comprehension, and our elected representatives with dogmatism; and be it further

hension, and our elected representatives with dogmatism; and be it further

"Resolved. That copies of this resolution be sent to the Hon. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, the members of his Cabinet, and to all Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, urging upon them the necessity of condemning this sort of propaganda and asking that they impress upon the young men of military age of the nation the necessity of proper military training."

Chairman Executive Committee,

Young Men's Department, New Orleans Association of Commerce.

Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES POPE CALDWELL, OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 12, 1916.

Mr. CALDWELL. Mr. Speaker, those who are not for preparedness are against preparedness. There can be no middle ground, for a compromise is a failure to prepare. I would like to have it understood at the outset that I am for preparedness a preparedness that will at once provide a sane and scientific organization within the spirit as well as the letter of the Constitution, capable of expansion at a moment's call, and sufficient to maintain the Nation's honor and rights in every quarter of the globe and to protect us from invasion or encroachment from any source. We are as a people the richest Nation of the earth. We bear ill will toward no one, and because of the wisdom and moral courage of our President we are at peace with the world. However much he may be criticized and however much he may be misquoted and misunderstood, all good men will agree that he

has kept us out of the war, and in the light of the conduct of our past Presidents we could hardly expect the same result had

either of them been reelected.

Thanks to a Democratic Congress, guided by that great economist, we have a financial and banking system that has enabled us to withstand the demands of foreign creditors and develop a prosperity which will, in my opinion, extend beyond the life of every Member of this House. We have absorbed nearly all of the foreign-held American securities, which, at the outbreak of the European war, July 31, 1915, amounted to approximately \$10,000,000,000, and we have taken them back at a price far less than that for which they were sold in ex-change for products at a much greater price than the cost of production. The dividends and interest charges upon these enormous values formerly held in foreign countries are now being paid to the American people. At each dividend day we have a new pulsation of finance, increasing prosperity. The gold of the world has found its way into our coffers, and we have ceased being a debtor nation. The balance is now on the other side of the ledger. We are a new people made up of the blood of all nations. An examination of the census reports of 1910 show that there are within the United States those born in the warring nations, or the children of at least one person so born, approximately 27,000,000, or more than one-quarter of our present population, and of the remainder by far the larger portion are of the third and fourth generations of such people. It may be interesting to examine the table as shown by that census report:

(Vol. 1, p. 875, Census Report	1910.)	
England.	2, 322, 442	
Scotland	659, 663	
Wares	248, 947	
Ireland	4, 504, 360	
France	292, 389	
Italy	2, 098, 360	
Russia	2, 541, 649	
Canada	2, 763, 250	
Belgium	89, 264	
Total		15, 520, 324
Germany	8, 282, 618	
Austria	2, 001, 559	
Hungary	700, 227	
Turkey	35, 314	
Turkey in Asia	78, 631	
Total		11, 098, 349
	September 1	State Control Section
Grand total		26, 618, 673

They have been attracted here because their hearts were full of hope, their minds full of ambition, and their bodies strong with energy. Under the American form of Government the individuality of these people has been strengthened, so that to-day America has the power of the organization of the Teuton, the determination of the Englishman, the shrewdness of the Scot, the commercialism of the Jew, the adroitness of the Irishman, and the patriotism of the Italian. A war by any nation against us would be in effect a war upon its own peoples, and certainly a war against its creditor.

I do not expect a situation which will call for the force of arms to decide any matter pending or likely to occur between this Nation and any other nation on the face of the earth. A man does not fight his kin nor his creditor except when deliberately provoked or to support a high moral principle. It seems that the United States need fear nothing unless we take too seriously the cry of the alarmists, or unless we are too greatly impressed by the advocates of peace at any price.

greatly impressed by the advocates of peace at any price.

A man in a high place may "see danger from afar off." The President sits in the highest place in the land, and has information not open to us. He has sounded a warning. In duty we must heed his call. I know not from what quarter to expect trouble. From my 'imited information, it seems that we have not yet reached the crisis. It may be that the President sees trouble with the allies over England's conduct upon the high seas. It may be that he sees a Teuton victory and a demand of England's possessions in America as indennity. It may be that he guards a powder trail leading from Mexico. It may be that our policy toward China is threatened. I can see no cause for alarm from any of these quarters, but my vision is limited and my information more so, and I am prepared to take his word that there is occasion for grave concern and to vote for preparedness with a big "P."

The Nation is able to pay the bill and willing. With a comparatively few exceptions, the business interests of America, backed by its greatest historians and psychologists, demand of this Congress the enactment of a law that will insure the country against terror whenever a crisis may develop. The income from organized business in the United States, exclusive of farm products and rents, amounts to more than \$350,000,000,000

per year. If a demand were made upon the United States by any foreign power capable of enforcing it, to grant which would violate any established principle of international law or result in national dishonor or the surrender of any American right, the machinery of organized business would be affected by the contemplation of our situation to the extent that within a week we would lose, by the pause of the business man at his work, at least one business day. To insure against such a disturbance the business interests could well afford to set aside one-half of a day's income in these very prosperous Democratic years. A vote for preparedness is a vote for business, and my experience has been that an administration that takes care of business generally, generally is taken care of by business at the polls. The protection to be afforded should be commensurate with the risk and hazard apparent; the risk and hazard depend upon the value of the thing protected, and the temper, power, and character of those who covet our property or hate us.

those who covet our property or hate us.

I shall say nothing about the development of the Navy save to express the hope that the Committee on Naval Affairs will present to this House a bill under which, within a reasonably short time, our country will be second to none as a sea power, and that the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries will present a bill designed for the purpose of establishing a merchant marine to the end that the freight charges may be kept at home and not spent abroad. For what profit us that we have the balance of trade and we keep at home the dividends and interest upon our enterprise if upon everything that we sell and everything that we buy the freight charges are carried abroad

for expenditure?

It is with the development of the land force that I have most to do, being a member of the Committee on Military Affairs. seek not to speak for anyone save myself, but I feel that it is our duty to frame a law providing a way within the letter and spirit of the Constitution to establish an armed force of trained men officered by especially educated and patriotic soldiers capable of expansion at a moment's call to meet any emergency and to coordinate business to the end that the Nation's resources would be available for the Nation's defense. The material and reserve supplies should in a large measure be manufactured in Government plants, but not to that extent that private enterprises would be driven from the undertaking, for in case of stress we must have, in addition to the Government plants, a sufficient number of private organizations capable of manufacturing munitions of war, so that all of our needs in the time of war may be quickly supplied.

I herewith submit some correspondence between myself and the War and Navy Departments showing justification for the manufacture of this material in Government plants, and I also at this time wish to say, in response to the attack made upon certain of our liberal and patriotic men who have devoted their time, their energy, their money, and their influence to the upbuilding of patriotic societies advocating the preparation of the United States, that if all the gentlemen mentioned whose motives have been attacked upon the ground of selfish interest are of the same standing and caliber as two whom I have the honor to count as my friends, namely, Col. Robert M. Thompson and Admiral Willard Bronson, the charges must fall with the mere mention of their names. These men are the products of America's greatest institution. They have graduated from the United States Naval Academy; they have served their country. The education received at the hands of the Government has made of them men who stand out among their fellows as being examples of that high character, that strong patriotism, that noble energy toward which all Americans should be striving. I happen to know that Col. Thompson has been one of the best friends the South has ever had. I know that in the social and business world in New York his standing is among the highest, and I know that his greatest delight in life is in service to his country. His purse strings are always open to the worthy cause, and he always has time to discuss or promote any patriotic undertaking. He is known in almost every land as being of the highest type of American citizenship. I am sorry that some of my friends on this side of the House have seen fit to question his and Admiral Bronson's motives. I do not know the others sufficiently to speak of their motives, but I can conceive a patriotism that is above the desire for money.

But, to resume. There are some who are wedded to the pet phrase, "continental army," and many who insist that the absolute centralization of control in time of peace is necessary if we are to have a force available for war; but there is serious contention that in practice there is wisdom in decentralizing in time of peace, and that in time of war the central power becomes absolute. No matter which of these may be right, the Members of this House are sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, and that oath binds us both to the letter of the

document and spirit of its meaning. The Constitution pro-

ARTICLE I, Sec. 8. The Congress chall have power * * * to raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.

To provide and maintain a Navy.

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, and repel invasions.

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

ART II, SEC. 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States and of the militia of the several States when called into actual service of the United States.

And then again we are told that an examination of the military laws of foreign lands shows that the organization of the civilian force in Germany is most nearly like our National Guard, differing only in universal service, and in that the Kaiser has less control than has our President, and the governors of our States have less control in peace and in war than any of the rulers of the twenty-odd principalities of the German Empire. I think that it will be conceded that the land force of the German Empire is the most nearly perfect of any army that has ever been tested on the field of battle.

Our Government was designed to meet just such a situation as now confronts us. It is the highest developed of that human association we call Government, and is the first social organism that takes into account the demonstrated truth "that there may be a man in the community that is wiser than anybody else, but there can be no man who can think better than everybody else."
"The voice of the people is the voice of God," because God is truth, and the whole body politic does not cry out for anything that is not right.

The Committee on Military Affairs, of which I stated I have the honor to be a member, has been in session almost every day since Congress opened. It is composed of 22 members, many of whom have seen active service in the defense of their country. All have studied military science and many of them have had experience fitting them to find the truth. With a patience possible only by reason of the gravity of the situa-tion, with an earnestness born of a patriotic desire to best serve the Nation, and with a courage stimulated by the country's demands this committee has labored unceasingly in an endeavor to arrive at a scientific solution of the Nation's problem and to provide a sane and adequate plan for its de-They have weighed well the testimony given by the advocates of every plan and have counterbalanced the arguments presented in opposition. When the sessions began the bill under consideration contained provisions for a nental army," but after the advocates of that plan had passed through cross-examination it became apparent to my mind that some other plan less selfish and more in accord with the spirit of the Constitution, and less destructive of established institutions, must be presented. The committee hearings are closed. The senior members are now working on a skeleton form of the bill. The full committee will then hold executive sessions. at which, as I understand it, each provision of the proposed bill will be discussed and modified wherever found necessary, and I devoutly hope that all partisan and sectional feeling may be laid aside and that there may be formed a plan giving the Nation an adequate and Regular Army and a citizen soldiery

equal to the Nation's needs. I believe that every means should be first tried without unnecessary delay before compelling universal service or resorting to conscription, without which the "continental army" plan apparently is doomed to failure. While it may be that the people in the East are educated to the requirements of the Nation to that extent that universal service would be acceptable. from an examination of the speeches on the floor of this House and the reading of the newspapers from that portion of our country west of the Allegheny Mountains, it is quite apparent to my mind that the great body of the American public has not come to an acceptance of this doctrine. With a little more pa-tience our efforts will come to fruition, and I hope a law may be framed that will meet the approval of this House and this Nation.

I do not favor a skeleton army. To my mind, the answer to this proposition is one of mathematics. There is no question such a plan would please the vanity and pride of our major officers and provide soft berths for many of them, but we are confronted with something more than politics at this time. With an army filled to war strength, trained to control, the best that we can expect is a 90 per cent efficiency. If a skeleton army is provided, to this 90 per cent efficiency in time

of war must be added raw recruits which we could not expect to be more than 20 per cent efficient, so that with this addition of raw recruits the effect upon the efficiency of our first line would be as 110 divided by 2, or equal to 55 per cent efficiency, and the men we sent prepared to do battle in our time of greatest record would be sent to develop the sent product to the sent pr est need would be sent to slaughter. I would therefore advocate the spending of a few dollars more for the first line.

I would educate and train a large number of officers, and as they go into reserve I would assign them to the citizens' troops. I would have a National Guard under the tutelage of the Regular Army, and I would have summer camps in sufficient number to give men whose patriotism prompts them to surrender a portion of their time to fit themselves to serve the country in her hour of need an opportunity to learn how.

Then in time, if the people come to accept the proposition of the individual's duty of service to the Nation, I would extend the citizen soldiery to universal service if found desirable or necessary, and if the extension of this training did not tend to interfere with the individuality of our people, destroy true Americanism, nor foster in the people a militaristic spirit.

DECEMBER 20, 1915.

Hon. LINDLEY M. GARRISON. Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I have been turning over in my mind the possibility of saying something on the floor of the House of Representatives in relation to munitions and other supplies manufactured by

tives in relation to munitions and other supplies manufactured by Government plants.

Will you please be good enough to send me at your earliest convenience such printed data as you may have on the subject with reference to the various arsenals and other plants under the jurisdiction of the War Department, and particularly will you please furnish me with the following information:

First. In preparing cost data do the various plants carry as an overhead charge the interest upon the money invested in them; and if so, at what rate of interest?

Second. Is depreciation in value of buildings, machinery, and tools taken into consideration; and if so, what percentage in the various articles?

Third. Do the various plants carry as an overhead charge any amount for supervision from the office of the Secretary of War or the bureau under whose immediate jurisdiction they are working?

Fourth. Are any of the salaries of the officers who have supervision or direction or any kind of control of the work in the plants omitted from the cost data; and if so, to what extent?

Fifth. In purchasing materials do the plants pay more or less than is paid by private concerns; and if so, why?

Sixth. Do the employees engaged in work in the various plants receive the highest, the average, or a lower rate of pay than that given by private concerns in the same line of business? What comparison would you make as to hours of labor of the men and pay of supervisory force?

Seventh. Is the product produced by the plants superior, equal to, or inferior to the product obtained from private enterprise?

Eighth. What comparison with private enterprise can you make as to the time required to produce a unit?

Ninth. Do the plants carry in their cost data interest on expenditures from the time of the first outlay until the job is completed?

Tenth. Does the cost data include the expenses of repairs and replacement of tools and machinery and repairs to buildings?

Eleventh. What has been the increased value of plant, real estate, etc.. per annum since its original purchase?

If there are no figures available to answer these questions specifically, will you please furnish me, if you can, a general statement which will approximate as accurately as possible?

Assuring you of my belief in the efficiency of Government work in Government shops and my sincere appreciation of any courtesies extended to me, I am,

Yours, sincerely,

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF CHIEF OF ORDNANCE,
Washington, December 23, 1915.

Hon. Charles Pope Caldwell, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: 1. Your communication of the 20th instant, addressed to the Secretary of War (0.0.000.71/96), has been referred to this office for reply. No printed matter relative to the method of arriving at costs used by this department is available, but a typewritten memorandum on this subject, prepared sometime ago, is inclosed. Replies to part of your question are covered by this memorandum. The answers to your questions will be numbered to correspond to the questions:

answers to your question are covered by this memorandum. The answers to your questions will be numbered to correspond to the questions:

First. Yes; 3 per cent on money invested.

Second. Yes; buildings from 2 to 8 per cent, depending upon whether frame, brick, concrete, or stone; machinery, 4 to 10 per cent, depending upon size and use; allowance for depreciation.

Third. Yes: reference to page 2 of the memorandum herewith will show the items which are considered in determining the War Department overhead and the percentage of the total cost of these items that is considered in arriving at this charge. It will be noted that it amounts to 3.59 per cent.

Fourth. No: 80 per cent of the total pay of the officers so employed is included in arriving at total cost.

Fifth. It is difficult to say, but it is believed that the Government, as a rule, gets slightly lower prices.

Sixth. Instructions as to wages to be paid require that the same wages shall be paid as is paid for the same or similar work in the vicinity. The same rule also applies to the civilian supervisory force. The hours of labor in private plants are, as a rule, 9 or 10, as compared with 8 hours in the Government shops. Many private plants, however, give a half holiday throughout the year on Saturday, but it is without pay, whereas a half holiday, with pay, is given in the Government service from June 15 to September 15. Leaves, holidays, and half holidays now granted amount to 28å days per year, without pay.

Seventh. The inspection of material produced in private plants, as a rule, insures the product being equal to that produced in Government plants, although in some cases the product has been slightly inferior to that produced by the Government.

Eighth. No advantage can be claimed as to the time required in producing material in the Government plants, as compared with private plants.

producing material in the Government plants, as compared with private plants.

Ninth. In only one case has the Government taken into consideration interest on the material involved from the first outlay until the job is completed. This is in connection with the manufacture of smokeless powder at Picatinny Arsenal.

Tenth. Yes; cost includes repair and replacement.

Eleventh. This is difficult to answer. The land occupied by the various arsenals was purchased many years ago, some as early as 1795, and has had the same appreciation that land has had generally in the vicinity.

Referring to the memorandum herewith, it should be noted that the appropriation cost is that usually referred to and given in price lists and is the price used in connection with all transactions with the Army and in certain other special cases. To this price is added the general arsenal burden and War Department burden in making certain other sales; also when comparing arsenal cost with that of private manufacturers. In paragraph 2 on the first page of the memorandum will be found a number of arsenal burden factors. The average for all arsenals is approximately 14.4, which added to the War Department burden given in the second page, makes the average overhead 18, which is the percentage charged in addition to the appropriation cost, as stated in certain cases.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM CROZIER,

Brig. Gen., Chief of Ordnance.

WILLIAM CROZIER, Brig. Gen., Chief of Ordnance.

Memorandum on costs of property manufactured by the Ordnance Department.

Memorandum on costs of property manufactured by the Ordnance Department.

These costs include:

1. Appropriation or allotment cost.

2. General arsenal burden.

3. Wat Department burden.

In greater detail these are as follows:

1. Appropriation cost: The amount chargeable to and defrayed from the appropriation to procure the article.

2. General arsenal burden includes:

(a) Capital cost, or interest on capital invested at 3 per cent. Manufacturing buildings, machinery, wagons, etc., per cent in actual use. Administrative buildings, barracks, quarters, hospitals, etc., at 80 per cent actual value for six principal arsenals.

(b) Depreciation: From 2 to 10 per cent a year. Buildings, 2 to 8 per cent, depending on whether frame or concrete, brick or stone, and use. Machinery, 4 to 10 per cent, depending on size and use of tools. Average annual repairs.

(c) Insurance (fire and accident) at 0.3 per cent.

(d) Administrative cost: Eighty per cent of total, pay of officers and enlisted men, subsistence, clothing, care of grounds, medical service, and pay of clerks, etc., paid out of other than manufacturing appropriations.

Arsenal burdens recently determined, as per above: Frankford, 0.0973: Picatinny, 0.1844; Rock Island, 0.1018; Springfied, 0.1256; Watertown, 0.1507; Watervliet, 0.1792.

Average value of six arsenals, 0.1185.

Arsenal burden=(a) + (b) + (c) + (d) and annual appropriation cost of manufacture, repair, and alteration of ordnance and ordnance stores.

3. War Department burden:

	War	Department burden:	Per cent.
۰	1.	The Adjutant General's office	
	9	Inspector General's office	
	3.	Quartermaster General's office	
	4.	Commissary General's office	+ 5. 7
		Surgeon General's office	т о. т
		Paymaster General's office	Stellar III I
		Pay, commutation heat and light allowances of offi- cers on duty in the above-mentioned bureau offices.	
		Office of the Secretary of War	
	9.	Judge Advocate General's office	
		Contingent expenses, War Department	
	11.	Stationery, War Department	
	12.	Postage to Postai-Union countries	
	13.	Rent of buildings, War Department (excluding Divi- sion of Militia Affairs and Bureau of Insular Af- fairs)	+ 0.94
	14.	Maintenance of State, War, and Navy Department Building (War Department share, 48 per cent)	
	15.	Interest at 3 per cent on cost of State, War, and Navy Department Building (War Department share, 48 per cent of total)	
	16.	Proportion of expense of office of Chief of Ordnance which is chargeable to manufacturing operations	+100
	17.	Pay of retired officers and enlisted men of the Ord- nance Department	7100
	ALC: NAME	4 1 4 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	0 0050

The sum of items 1 to 17 include War Department's burden__ = Total manufacturing appropriations of Ordnance Department. About 1914.

DECEMBER 20, 1915.

Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D. C.

Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I have been turning over in my mind the possibility of saving something on the floor of the House of Representatives in relation to the construction of ships and munitions in Government plants.

Will you please be good enough to send me at your earliest convenience such printed data as you may have on the subject, with reference to the various navy yards and other plants under the jurisdiction of the Navy Department, and, particularly, will you please have the following questions answered:

First. In preparing cost data, do the various plants carry as an overhead charge the interest upon the money invested in them; and if so, at what rate of interest?

Second. Is depreciation in value of buildings, machinery, and tools taken into consideration; and if so, what percentage in the various articles?

Third. Do the various plants carry as an overhead charge any amount for supervision from the office of the Secretary of the Navy or the bureau under whose immediate jurisdiction they are working? Fourth. Are any of the salaries of the officers who have supervision or direction or any kind of control of the work in the plants omitted from the cost data; and if so, to what extent?

Fifth. In purchasing materials, do the plants pay more or less than is paid by private concerns; and if so, why?

Sixth. Do the employees engaged in work in the various plants receive the highest, the average, or a lower rate of pay than that given by private concerns in the same line of business? What comparison woull you make as to hours and labor of the men and pay of supervisory force?

Seventh. Is the product produced by the plants superior, equal to, or inferior to the product obtained from private enterprise?

Eighth. What comparison with private enterprise can you make, as to the time required to produce a unit?

Ninth. Do the plants carry in their cost data interest on expenditures from the time of the first outlay until the job is completed?

Tenth. Does the cost data include the expenses of repairs and replacement of tools and machinery and repairs to buildings?

Eleventh. What has been the increased value of plant, real estate, etc., per annum since its original purchase?

If there are no figures available to answer these questions specifically, will you please furnish me, if you can, a general statement which you will approximate as accurately as possible?

Assuring you of my belief in the efficiency of Government work in Government shops and my sincere appreciation of any courtesies extended to me, I am

Yours, sincerely,

NAVY DEPARTMENT, Washington, January 24, 1916.

Hon. Charles P. Caldwell, M. C., House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CALDWELL: Replying in detail to the questions as to navy-yard costs appearing in your letter of December 20, 1915: First. Interest on capital invested is not taken into account, it being

My Dram Mr. Caldwell: Replying in detail to the questions as to navy-yard costs appearing in your letter of December 20, 1915:

First. Interest on capital invested is not taken into account, it being purely hypothetical in Government work.

Second. Until recently no satisfactory method has been worked out for showing depreciation in costs, owing to the legal impossibility of setting up an actual fund for replacements; consequently up to the present time such a charge has not been included in the cost of work.

Third. The salaries of departmental officials are not included in the cost of work the establishment charge stops at the yard limits, as to recognize any other principle would extend the question into a purely academic field, including the whole cost of government—executive, legislative, and judicial.

Fourth. The salaries of navy-yard officials have not up to the present time been included in costs, as it has only been within the last few months that a satisfactory method has been developed whereby the cost system is divorced from the system required by law, whereby the pay of officers is charged to an appropriation other than the shipbuilding appropriation.

Fifth. Owing to lack of information as to prices paid for material by private corporations, it is impracticable to make a satisfactory comparison with prices paid by the Government.

Sixth. The rates of wages of navy-yard employees conform to the standard of the private establishments in the immediate vicinity of the respective navy yards. The hours of labor in navy yards are eight per diem. Contracts for new ships built by private establishments contain the following provision: "Subject to the conditions enumerated in section 2 of the eight-hour law of June 19, 1912, no laborer or mechanic doing any part of the work contemplated by this contract in the employ of the contractor or any subcontractor contracting for any part of said work contemplated shall be required or permitted to work more than eight hours in any one calendar day upon such work."

seventh. The products of the havy yards and of private plants are manufactured under the same specifications and are subject to the same inspection.

Eighth. The records show that the average time for building the Connecticut, Florida, and New York, all Government-built ships, was 3 years 2 months and 26 days, and that the average time required for the contract-built vessels Louisiana, Utah, and Texas was 3 years 2 months and 16 days.

Ninth, Interest on expenditures from the time of outlay until the work is completed is not taken into account in navy-yard costs, not only because interest is in itself purely bypothetical in Government work, but also because when money is expended at a navy yard for labor and material there is no period of idleness for which interest could be computed, all such expenditures being immediately converted into Government assets in another form.

Tenth. Up to the present time only a part of the expense of repairs and replacements of tools and machinery and repairs to buildings are included in navy-yard costs

Eleventh. The additions to the industrial navy-yard plants in the United States from the year 1906 are indicated by the following figures, showing value of total investment year by year:

1906	_ \$97, 118, 756, 2
1907	_ 102, 395, 093, 4
1908	
1909	
1910	
1911	
1912	
1913	
1914	
	+ 10 000 0F0 W
1915	_ 170, 200, 000. 1

will be very glad to furnish you with any further information desired. Sincerely, yours,

Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy.

Rural Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. MOON. OF TENNESSEE.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 1, 1916.

Mr. MOON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address recently made by the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General on the subject of the rural service.

The address is as follows:

SPEECH DELIVERED BY HON. JAMES I. BLAKSLEE AT THE TRISTATE MEET-ING OF THE RURAL LETTER CARRIERS OF ARKANSAS, TENNESSEE, AND MISSISSIPPI, AT MEMPHIS, TENN., ON FEBRUARY 22, 1916.

Should approximately \$300,000,000 be insufficient during the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1916, to pay all salaries, including those of rural letter carriers, meet contractual obligations, and liquidate all legitimate indebtedness of the Postal Service, a sum needed to supply such deficiency may be advanced to the Postmaster General out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. An individual, a firm, or corporation engaged in any commercial enterprise is compelled to provide for a loss or deficit out of capital or assets, neither of which are located directly in the Treasury of the United States nor indirectly in the taxes paid by the people. The Post Office Department, therefore, has at least this one distinct advantage over any other business concern, otherwise it is in large degree subject to exactly similar limitations.

Thus enormous resources, apparently unlimited capital, vast credit, and tremendous administrative authority are lawfully vested in the Postmaster General as the executive or director of this great business proposition, and, coincident therewith, responsibility, not only for the things that are done and the things that are left undone by every laborer, clerk, carrier, postmaster, or Assistant Postmaster General, but he is also largely responsible for the comfort and convenience of the people of our

country.

It is an absolute certainty that any man clothed with such authority and assuming such responsibility will labor earnestly, honestly, and sincerely to perform his whole duty, to the end that his name and fame will remain stainless and secure in the

history of his time.

Acting for him and with him, every postal employee, imbued with a similar ambition to serve, labors diligently at the task assigned to him-surely none more than the four assistants, who, while directly under the immediate supervision of their chief, have ample daily cause to be thankful that they are subordinate to an experienced public official, familiar with all the details and intricacies of the postal system, and who is wise enough, generous enough, and firm enough to guide them, forgive them, and protect them through every experience, for every failure,

and in every emergency.

During the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1913, and after all estimates had been submitted, all proposed expeditures had been appropriated for, and preparation completed for the conduct of our postal affairs, the department was confronted by an utterly unexpected crisis. Anticipated postal prosperity was suddenly converted into deplorable depression. Instead of profitable returns a deficit was self-evident. The postal receipts, as the barometer of the trade and traffic of the Nation, were falling rapidly, until it was essential to resort to retrenchment to preserve our postal reputation and to minimize the necessity for drafs on the Treasury, which meant additional taxation upon our people already burdened by an emergency war tax. All within a period when a declaration of the facts would have precipitated calamity or a possible panic. Do you wonder that any and every expedient was attempted in order to reduce our We had within our citizenry many who could not understand how this shock to general business affected postal activity, others who adversely criticized any postal economies or who believed that the elimination of useless expense should begin elsewhere than with themselves, and who seemingly failed to realize that the existence of negligence somewhere did not relieve the postal official of solemn duty to eradicate the particular failure within reach. The Postmaster General may properly be proud of the exhibition of courage and efficiency displayed in a time of disaster rarely paralleled in the history of the Postal Service, and the rural carriers and all other postal employees may take unto themselves the credit to which they

are entitled for participating cheerfully and willingly in lightening a burden on the people in the hour of their necessity.

This may be considered only an ordinary duty that could, should, or would be performed by every public servant. True, and in addition, it is similar to daily postal duty, and the only possible recognition merited or desired is the appreciation of our fellow countrymen and their cooperation in our efforts, knowing from such illustrations that whether fully understood or not,

we labor earnestly for their welfare.

Three and one-half lines of House bill 10484, familiarly known as the Post Office appropriation bill, authorize the expenditure of \$53,000,000. More than one-sixth of the entire postal receipts is expended "For pay of rural carriers, substitutes, for rural carriers on annual leave, clerks in charge of rural stations, and tolls and ferriage. Rural Delivery Service, and for incidental expenses thereof." Other statutory legislation provides for the establishment of this particular postal function, and directs that certain specific amounts shall be paid the personnel employed therein for a given number of miles of travel; also for the operation of what are known as motor routes of not less than 50 miles in length at compensation to the carriers of not more than \$1,800 per annum, and so forth,

Fifty-three million dollars is an enormous sum of money to be disbursed within 12 months, at a rate of \$4,416,667 per month. It amounts to \$176,667 per day, or \$245.37 every minute, all paid

to 42,920 rural letter carriers and their substitutes.

Every American citizen is convinced of the substantial benefits derived from the expenditure of this or even a greater sum for the collection and delivery of mail on rural routes, regardless of the revenue received therefrom. We all realize the advantages to our people of the avenues of communication and for the distribution of knowledge, and we are determined that these avenues of communication and dissemination of knowledge shall be improved and increased to where they will be of maximum value to our fellow citizens.

We all have one common desire, one mutual interest, and that is: That every dollar current in this river of money shall produce the greatest amount of good service; furthermore, that under any and every condition absolute equity and fairness in

the distribution of compensation shall appear.

After three years of direct, personal supervision of the methods pursued in the establishment and extension of rural mail service, I am convinced that there has been unfairness in the distribution of mail facilities to rural patrons, that in some localities more than adequate mail service has been provided, while in many other places all mail service has been denied.

I am prepared to prove that there is discrimination and injustice in the compensation paid the personnel employed in the Rural Delivery Service. There are thousands of rural carriers who necessarily work hard for long hours over poor roads, who receive exactly the same compensation as is paid to thousands of other carriers who have a very small amount of work to per-

form in a few hours over a boulevard.

The Postmaster General has directed that every vestige of special privilege, every unnecessary duplication of service, and every unfair retrace for the convenience of one patron at a loss to another be eliminated, and I declare to you that during whatever period it may please the American people to continue this, their administration, and subject to the pleasure of the President, I shall carry out the orders of the Postmaster Gen-eral to the utmost limit of my administrative capacity, regardless of abuse, misrepresentation, or malicious falsehoods. shall endeavor to introduce a square deal in the distribution of rural mails, and not that alone, I shall continue to demand for the rural carriers a fair day's pay for a fair day's work and for the taxpayer a fair day's work for a fair day's pay.

I propose to use any modern device and adopt any improved methods of distribution that will increase the efficiency or productiveness or convenience of the Rural Delivery Service. hope to protect the rural patron against evercharges for collection boxes, and to facilitate the extension of service to him without unnecessary delays, all red tape to the contrary not-

withstanding.

It will be essential that carriers sincerely cooperate in this endeavor, to the end that they maintain the profession or calling of rural letter carrier where it will be recognized as even more necessary, certainly as reputable, as that of any other Federal

employee.

To do so, be prepared to sacrifice pay or place, if through such sacrifice you increase the contentment and happiness of your fellow countrymen. I solemnly assure you that only through patriotic self-sacrifice, only through unselfish desire to serve, only through quick and severe condemnation of trickery and dishonesty can you hope to command the respect and commendation of your fellow countrymen. Thrust out from your ranks all

deceit and hypocrisv and dedicate yourselves cheerfully, willingly, and unselfishly to the service of the people. Do not imagine the people can be fooled; they know. They appear wise, but again let me repeat, they know. cover your route in two, three, or four hours and collect twelve hundred dollars a year, but you can not make your friends and neighbors-and they are a part of the people-believe you earned it.

You may use inadequate equipment and take eight hours to travel a route that should be covered in four with a proper outfit. The postal patron—the people—knows this. It is possible to take a picture of a heavy load of mail transported on some unusual trip, send the picture to a Representative in Congress, and shortly thereafter read an oration printed in the Congres-SIGNAL RECORD having your photograph as an incentive to rounded periods and an inspiration for impressive oratory. Nevertheless, the daily trip report and popular opinion can not be altered in this manner. The people know.

The farmer patron is confronted with a difficult problem when you drive your team leisurely past his domicile or go rushing by at express-train speed on a motor cycle, for his boys whom he fondly expects will grow up to help him work the farm quickly learn that you receive \$4 a day for such work, and they immediately plan to leave the farm and locate at the end of the rainbow, where such easy money is found. Of course, this is not the only cause of the farmer's troubles in this direction. It is, however, one of a number, and we owe such an overwhelming debt to the farmer that we should immediately remove the glitter from the gold that surrounds our particular brick. Now, understand me, this does not apply to all carriers, for thousands of carriers do have to work and work hard for long hours over a difficult road, and the farmer boy who takes your place will surely own a brick, and no gold one, at that. But I speak principally to those who should readjust their point of view and who should forthwith make every effort to improve and elevate the profession or calling of a rural carrier. Those who know that four hours or less is not a day's workand when I speak of cooperation and a readjustment of a point of view I mean that such an employee should join hands with all of us and propose or suggest a plan whereby he may serve more patrons, cover more territory, increase the comfort and convenience of his friends and neighbors, and thereby not only earn every dollar received but be entitled to the gratitude and good will of the people. In fact, as well as in name, he will then become a full-fledged member of the high and honorable craft of rural carrier in the United States Postal Service.

Everybody is familiar with the material evidences of progress within the 20 years since the establishment of the first rural free-delivery route. At a famous dinner in Washington, Hon. Bob Taylor, of the State of Tennessee, aptly described the ad-

vancement poetically, as follows:

There are ships that sail in the sea; There are ships that sail in the sky; The West is irrigating. And the South is going dry.

And it is likewise true that during these 20 years some of the roads have been improved; the automobile as a means of conveyance has been perfected; the telephone is in use everywhere; the electric car is convenient, and parcel post established; and coincident therewith, uninvited, but none the less evident. is the high cost of living. It is peculiar that with all these modern labor-saving devices and the improved efficiency resultant therefrom we must pay more for the necessities of life. Could it be possible that we fail to use the labor-saving devices to the best advantage? This is true in the postal operation known as collection and delivery of mail on rural routes. Only in sporadic cases, only here and there, do we find a single step forward in the method of collecting and delivering mail on rural

In 1896 a standard passenger locomotive weighed 137,000 pounds and could pull a five-car passenger train. In 1915 the standard passenger locomotive weighed 386,600 pounds and could pull a 13-car train of modern steel coaches, each one nearly

four times as heavy as the 1895 coach.

In 1895 a standard freight locomotive weighing 143,000 pounds pulled 50 freight cars having a capacity of 20 tons each. In 1915 a standard freight locomotive weighing 393,200 pounds pulled 100 modern freight cars having a capacity of 50 tons each. All the railroad systems boast of the care in design, excellence in construction, liberality in maintenance, and so forth.

In 1896 the first rural route was established, and since that time numerous others elsewhere, so that to-day 43,800 carriers travel approximately 1,200,000 miles a day. I doubt whether the horse used in the first route established weighs any more, pulls any more, or the size of the vehicle is materially altered.

Why not? Because we have confined our attention, our energies, and our resources to the increase in number and length of And why did these factors predominate? meant jobs and the second pay for the same. Everybody was interested in getting the first, and the lucky selection was actually interested in the second. There you are, and no fault do I find with either, for if there was service that should be rendered, it follows that some one should perform it, and if an employee performed efficient service to the satisfaction of the patron, he was certainly entitled to compensation commensurate to the duty involved. Nevertheless, we must now depart from the limitations heretofore prevailing. We must include in our future activities not only the necessary increasing of the number or rural routes and the desirable enlargement of the emoluments from the same, but also the adjustment, revision, or alteration of existing service so that the greatest amount of good service shall be rendered the people. And to that end, how shall we do it?

At the hearings before the Post Office Committee in Washington a Congressman questioned me rather closely. He said: notice you state in your report that you have increased the number of routes by 6,000 since you came to Washington." I told him yes, I had done that, but I said I think there were a few extensions included in that number. He said: "But I notice that you have a thousand less rural carriers." "That also is true," I declared. "I would like to know how you did it."

Well, there is only one way in which to get my animosity aroused, and that is for anyone to "start something," but I said: "If you will give me time, I will show you how and where we did it," and I made up a partial list. I did not have sufficient time to complete it, but I made up a list of where every new rural route was established during this administration-2,118 new ones-and I made up a list of the extensions to routes, no less than 10 miles-6,845-or making a total of about 9,000, and there were over four of the largest States not included, because I did not have time to complete the list, but the name of the place where it was done, the date, and the length of such extensions is set forth on those sheets, and over 2,000,000 new patrons have been added to the rural delivery service in the past three years, at a reduction in the ordinary expense of operation.

Now, I do not claim very much credit for the reduction or economy involved. It is not an absolute, essential factor in the operation of the Postal Service to economize, but I do say that I, together with the rural carriers, who are certainly entitled to the gratitude of the American people for the additional efforts they have made in covering more territory and serving more people at the same rate of compensation, have gathered in these

2,000,000 people. That has been done.

It is essential that we go further and talk about efficiency in the use of motor devices in the operation of the rural service. As the motor is being perfected it ought to be used. It will in-As the motor is being perfected it ought to be used. It will increase and improve the efficiency of the service. It should reach out from Memphis a distance of 50 miles, as I just heard Mr. Powell state, to the outermost confines of this country. Such service from Chattanooga, New York, Philadelphia, Richmond, Atlanta will communicate directly with the resident on the farm. It will give an opportunity to the farmer to send products of It will give an opportunity to the farmer to send products of his farm in to the city residents and there dispose of same.

Roswell, out from Atlanta, secures its mail by way of Chamblee, over a small short-line railroad, which is not a very highly developed one. Alpharetta is supplied by star route 12 or 16 times a week. Gainesville is right on the line of the railroad. Cummings is supplied by star route, starting from the railroad connection. Three of these four towns lie between the railroads, possibly 6 miles to either. We could operate a motor vehicle through Roswell, Alpharetta, and Cummings to Gainesville and return to Atlanta, a distance of over 100 miles, daily. And thus we would have provided for the people a new avenue for distribution of merchandise and products of the farm and for the dissemination of knowledge, and I do not think there is an American citizen who would endeavor to prevent that. I think they will all endeavor to help us put that system into operation.

The question of rural motor route can be brought very closely The operation of motor routes is handicapped to a certain extent in two directions. One is, you can not establish a motor route less than 50 miles in length; you can not pay the carrier more than \$1,800 a year. These two limitations are serious, because there are some routes over 50 miles in length that cost more than \$1,800 a year to operate and some roads less than 50 miles long that are extremely important and would be of advantage to the people if used.

Second, the applicants who could operate a motor route must be certified by the Civil Service Commission, and new examinations are necessary every time a motor route is established,

and men who have been operating a portion of the motor route are compelled to enter the examination or be dropped from the rolls. That is one of the handicaps of the establishment of motor service I hope to overcome.

The main object we should strive for is to increase the importance of the Rural Delivery Service, and to make it the pride of the Nation. Therefore, do everything you can to make

this branch the most efficient.

I am glad to call your attention to one feature, and that is the appearance of the rural carrier. You do not have to do it, it is not compulsory, it is not mandatory in the service, but I have been furnished some photographs of carriers in uniform. I remember one office in particular where, because of my interest in the use of motor vehicles, the postmaster sent me a picture of all of the carriers who had motors and uniforms, and they certainly presented a neat appearance. Undoubtedly the patrons of these routes were proud of their carriers. This is not an order from the department, but I would be glad if all the rural carriers would appreciate how much it means to be uniformed and well equipped. We are sure you wish to present as attractive appearance and be as well equipped as the city carrier, the railway mail clerk, or any other employee of the service.

Let me assure you, my friends, I have enjoyed coming here, and I sincerely hope some time to have another opportunity to see you and to extend to you the right hand of good fellowship any time you are in my neighborhood.

Eight-Hour Day.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, WILLIAM P. BORLAND, OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 1, 1916.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter from Samuel Gompers, on the subject of the eight-hour day, which I have agreed with him to insert, and my reply thereto.

The letter is as follows:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, Washington, D. C., February 29, 1916.

Hon. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Sin: My attention was called to your letter of February 26 to me, through the columns of the daily press, some time before I received it. You express surprise that any formal action should be taken by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor upon your amendment to the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill for 1917.

You express surprise that any formal action should be taken by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor upon your amendment to the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill for 1917.

Since you were surprised, it is evident you did not appreciate the fundamental significance of your amendment. This is further proved by your additional statement that the provision does not affect the rights of labor generally, except so far as the rights of labor are identical with the rights of all other taxpayers of the Nation.

Principles of humanity and human welfare are the same whether applied to one group of citizens called wage earners or to another group of citizens called Government employees. Any action of the Government that is contrary to these fundamental principles is of grave cencern to all citizens, because their welfare is ultimately concerned in the establishment and maintenance of these principles.

You say further that the amendment you offered "does not affect the rights of labor generally, except so far as the rights of labor are identical with the rights of all other taxpayers of the Nation." I was under the impression that you were aware that the organized-labor movement of America as represented and expressed by the American Federation of Labor as in addition to the general interests of all citizens the particular function to speak in the name of and defend and promote the rights and interests of the wage carners in their movement and protest against injustice and wrong.

The fundamental step in securing the industrial welfare of workers is to limit hours of work so that physical and mental strength shall not be unduly taxed and there shall be ample opportunity for recuperation, continued development, and the satisfaction of all of the wants and desires that belong to the normal human being.

You make a very serious error in assuming that the American Federation of Labor in attempting to limit hours of work to not more than eight, what we have advocated is the shorter work

out the whole country has been toward a limitation of the hours of work to conform to the facts of health and life that have been established by science.

Can you not see, sir, that if the Government of the United States shall by law lengthen the hours of any of its employees, that it will be regarded as the course for all business and industry to pursue the same policy?

work to conform to the facts of health and life that have been established by science.

Can you not see, sir, that if the Government of the United States
shall by law lengthen the hours of any of its employees, that it will be
recarded as the course for all business and industry to pursue the same
A division of the whole day into three equal periods—one for labor,
another for rest, and another for social improvement—is a purely arnitrary standard and represented the demands of trade movements to
secure to wage earners improved conditions represented in that standard.
But the ideals of each age differ as our understanding and our experience
give us wider and higher concepts of the possibilities of human development and better conditions in industry.

Your suggestion of equalizing reminds me very much of a cartoon by
the timous Thomas Nast, which appeared in Harper's Weekly during
day with a musket in his hands and a babe in the cradle, I year old,
sith a toy gun in his, and inasuch as the Confederate Army averaged
35 years, Thomas Nast so pointedly created his cartoon, declaring that
this was the type of the average. The cartoon is on a par with your
position on equalizing hours of labor.

The demand for the eight-hour worklay does not represent a fixed
ideal, but if represents one stage in efforts to secure a shorter work day
and the standard of the eight-hour worklay does not represent the formal
deal, but if represents one stage in efforts to secure a shorter work day
and the standard of the end of the standard of the end of the end of the end of the end
deal, that is your purpose it can be accomplished equally well by reducing
the hours of labor of all other employees to the hours worked in Washington; thus equalization can be accomplished without any backward
step and without acting in violation of principles of human welfare.

You say that if opposition to your amendment is sustained it will
necessitate a general campaling for the establishment of a uniform
will be necessary to repudinte most of th

actuated by selfish motives, but if even selfish and mercenary motives can be made to serve the welfare of humanity, ought not those motives be utilized?

You make mention of the fact that the merchants of Washington opposed the enactment of the elght-bour law for many of the employees in private establishments. While that is true, yet you must know that that law established a maximum of eight hours, not a minimum; and I venture to suggest the thought that because of the enactment of that eight-hour law no merchant increased the hours of labor of his employees to eight per day when previous to the enactment they worked a lesser number of hours.

You state that there was a tendency to increase the hours of labor of Government employees, and you know that on many occasions Government employees are required to work 10, 12, and more hours a day. This is a "purely administrative" act, Xour amendment is not a "purely administrative" act, as you state, but proposes a legislative enactment, and the law is to be solemnly invoked to increase the hours of labor of the Government workers.

Some one has quoted you as saying (I do not know that you have so declared) that "if the Government clerks do not like these conditions they can resign." I opine that this is not a careful, practical, or patriotic position to assume, for even granting that the Government employees could and would avail themselves of that right, the exercise of the right would be very hard upon them and might prove a very embarrassing situation for the Government also. In connection with this phase it may not be amiss to call to your attention the following: When 26 letter carriers in the Postal Service of the United States—men located in West Virginia—recently undertook to exercise the right of resigning from the Government's service they were indicted, haled before the court, and severe punishments inflicted upon them.

You, sir, are the author of the amendment to increase the hours of labor of the Government employees. It is not known to the proble tha

Nor has there been any opportunity for hearing before any committee of Congress upon so vital a question of fundamental human welfare. Would you or any committee of Congress undertake to enact into law any proposition affecting industry, commerce, finance, transportation, without giving a hearing to the interests primarily affected by such proposed legislation? The mere statement of the question carries with it its own answer.

I hope that when you and the other Members reconsider this matter you will reach a different conclusion.

Samuel Gompers,

President American Federation of Labor.

Samuel Gompers,
President American Federation of Labor.

P. S.—Inasmuch as you say that you contemplate making my letter and your reply part of the RECORD, I trust you will also include this letter in the RECORD.

MARCH 1, 1916.

Hon. Samuel Gompers,

President American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gompers: In response to your letter of the 29th ultimo will say that I shall certainly perform my promise and insert your reply in the Cengerssional Record, as you suggest.

I reiterate my belief that eight hours is the normal and standard day's work, and that the people who pay the Federal taxes are as much entitled to a standard day's work from their employees as any other set of employers. This is especially true in view of the fact that the great mass of taxpayers throughout the Nation are working at least eight hours a day or longer.

The present condition of favoritism and discrimination as applied to the employees of the Federal Government in Washington is not the result of any scientific or humane principle based upon the character of the work they perform. If it were, many of the arguments in your letter would apply. The historic fact is that the hours of service of Government employees in Washington have been lengthened from time to time as the needs of the public business required, and there is no reason now why it should not approximate the normal standard, especially in view of the fact the postal employees throughout the country, who are also civil-service men, are upon an eight-hour basis. I recognize that there are some occupations requiring, where the work is so exhausting and the strain so great, less than a normal day of eight hours.

Even before I came to Washington as a public official I had studied

who are also civil-service men, are upon an eight-hour basis. I recognize that there are some occupations requiring, where the work is so exhausting and the strain so great, less than a normal day of eight hours.

Even before I came to Washington as a public official I had studied and devoted a good deal of my time, practically as well as theoretically, to the advancement of the cause of social justice. I know that there are some trades and occupations where the industrial life of the worker is pliftuily short. For example, the great rolling mills, where some of the workers have an industrial life at their maximum working capacity of less than 10 years. The structural steel worker must get high wages because his work is uncertain, and he needs perfect physical, mental, and nervous poise. Both his muscles and his nerves must work like new steel springs. His industrial life is also pltifully short. In many of the other mechanical trades a first-class man finds himself on the junk heap soon after passing his fortieth year. Science, which has long been the servant of greed, is at last being brought to the aid of the worker and humane people are beginning to study the question of prelonging the industrial life and independence and self-reliance of the worker. It seems to me, however, if you will pardon me, that it is entirely out of place to discuss these great principles in connection with the simple proposition of requiring a full day's work of clerks in the Government service in Washington. If an eight-hour day is fair to postal employees throughout the Nation, it is fair to Government Printing Office and in the ordnance factory at the navy yard, it is fair to the Washington. If the eight-hour day is fair in the Government Printing Office and in the ordnance factory at the navy yard, it is fair to the Washington in the world that of bookkeeper has the longest industrial life. I have seen men who have been bookkeepers for 50 years. Their heads are bowed, their eyes are dimmed, and their hands are shaky, but they a

of Government clerks. Very truly,

WM. P. BORLAND.

CULPEPER, VA., February 29, 1916.

Hon. Representative Borland, Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I wish to express to you a few words of commendation for the Borland amendment that you may know that your efforts are appreciated by those who are not directly beneficiaries of the system as it is at present.

We who are not in the Government employ work as a general rule about 10 or 12 hours a day, and many of us receive much less for our labor than the Government employee. They get 30 days holiday each year on full pay and we get none. Why should they be treated so much better than the average citizen of the Nation they are supposed to be serving? The newspapers of Washington appear to think that one holding a Government job is a luxury that the rest of the Nation is under obligation to maintain.

Trusting that you will not consider this as an intrusion,

I am, very truly,

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 29, 1916.

Hon. WILLIAM BORLAND,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir. Regarding your eight-hour proposition and the fear of the business men of this city that Government clerks may be compelled to labor eight hours instead of seven, would it not be a good plan for you to amend your amendment by providing that all employees in the District of Columbia, including those of business houses, be employed seven hours only? The business men who feel so kindly toward the Government clerks must certainly entertain the same kindly feeling for their own employees, although they pay probably on an average of not more than \$8 or \$10 per week, while the Government pays its employees generally considerably more. Looking at it from this angle it would appear that solicitude of the business men is not

so much for the Government clerks as it is for their money and op-portunities for spending it.

Yours, very truly,

P. S.—We have an eight-hour law for female employees; why not have seven hours for all? I would like to see how the business men would regard such an amendment. It certainly would benefit their poorly paid employees.

Post Office Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM E. HUMPHREY,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 28, 1916.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the Post Office bill as it passed the House certainly does credit to the Members of Congress, at least, in so far as it relates to the postal employees. The action of the House is in striking contrast to the attitude of the department in this respect.

The bill did not do all for the employees that perhaps ought to be done, but certainly it shows that the House was not unmindful of their interests. I will refer to some of the provisions of the bill that are carried for the first time bearing upon this subject.

It carries a provision providing that all clerks, when they are disabled, may draw full pay for a period not exceeding one year, and the Postmaster General is authorized to pay the sum of \$2,000 to the legal representatives of the clerk in case of his death. This provision is extended to all clerks in the classified civil service, something that does not exist under the present

Again, it provides that clerks in offices of the first class may have an increase in salary to \$1,400 and in the second class to \$1,200. This is also new.

Again, it provides that the clerks shall be allowed compensatory time on one of the 30 days following a holiday on which they perform service, and provides that, for the purposes of the act, holidays shall be all National and State holidays. This is another change in favor of the clerks.

One of the most important changes that was made was one that provided that hereafter there should be no distinction in salary made between letter carriers assigned to collection duty and letter carriers assigned to delivery duty; and this section further provides that the letter carriers whose salaries have been reduced as the result of any order of the Post Office Department making the minimum salary \$1,000 to be paid letter carriers assigned to collection duty shall be restored to their former grades. This corrects one of the greatest injustices that has ever occurred in the Post Office Department. The Postmaster General I do not believe had any legal right to make such an order, and such order ought not to have been made even if he did have the right to do so. It was clearly an unjust and unauthorized discrimination. The House has shown its desire to do justice to a splendid class of Government employees who were wronged by the action of the department.

I have not mentioned all of the changes made in the bill in

favor of the Government employees, but have mentioned some of the most important. It is to be hoped that the postal employee generally will remember, in considering the action of the House, that there is an unusual condition existing in the National Treasury, and that for the first time in the history of this Government in time of peace we are compelled to levy direct taxes upon the people to meet the expenses of govern-Had the situation been as it has always been under a Republican administration, the House would undoubtedly have felt justified in doing more than it did for those who are serving the Government in this great department.

The department, to make the Postal Service self-sustaining, reduced a large number of postal clerks and letter carriers to the substitute list, and in cities where these reductions took place required other employees to perform extra work. This was an attempt at economy that can not be justified. The result shows that it was not economy, but a great injury to the service.

Notwithstanding a statement given out from the Post Office Department in July, 1915, that the Postmaster General had saved a sum in excess of \$14,000,000 from the amount appropriated by Congress for carrying on the Postal Service during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, it is doubtful whether any such saving was made, and it is certain that if such saving was made that it was done at the expense of the public service. From the public press it is learned that the Postal Service has been inexcusably bad in most of the great cities of the country. In tests made by the merchants' association in New York City it took from Saturday noon until Tuesday at different hours for the delivery of some third-class mail sent out by the merchants' association in a test of Greater New York's postal service. The merchants' association of that city also state that bulletins mailed before noon on Saturday did not reach the Borough of Richmond until Wednesday at 9.15 o'clock, taking for the 6½-mile journey 93 hours. I have heretofore on the floor of the House referred to this incident as showing the result of the so-called economy in the Post Office Department.

This association also makes a statement in which it shows

This association also makes a statement in which it shows that it required longer to deliver mail matter within the confines of Greater New York than it did to send it from New York to Denver, a distance of approximately 2,000 miles. The conditions that exist in New York City have existed in all the great cities throughout the country. This sort of economy may satisfy the Postmaster General, but it does not satisfy the

country.

I am opposed to economy and I believe that Congress is opposed to economy that starts with a reduction of the low-class salaried employees. If we are going to have economy and retrenchment we should find somewhere else to exercise it, at least to commence it. If the present administration would replace the present free-trade tariff law with a protective tariff law they would have sufficient revenues to pay the expenses of the Government without either levying direct taxes upon the people or reducing the salaries of the Government employees.

The figures in the year 1915 conclusively show that it is not the war in Europe but the free-trade law upon our statute books that have emptied the National Treasury and made necessary these petty economies in running the various departments of the Government in an effort to keep within the revenues

received.

I wish now to refer to another matter, the information concerning which has been gleaned from various postmasters who attended the Postmasters' Convention in Washington in October, 1915. This convention was composed of postmasters of the first and second class offices, and was held in the city of Washington. At this meeting it was estimated that there were approximately 400 postmasters in attendance. All the arrangements for this meeting were looked after by the postmaster of Washington, the directors of the postal savings, and the chief post-office inspector. Special topics were assigned to postmasters, who were required to prepare papers to be read before the convention. The resolutions adopted at the close of the meeting were prepared in the Post Office Department and submitted through a committee, who, of course, made a very favorable recommendation on them. These laudatory resolutions were approved without debate. The proceedings of that convention were taken by stenographers paid by the Government and employed in the Post Office Department. They were sent by the Post Office Department, paid for, of course, by the Government, was utilized in sending out press reports of this meeting. Everything was directed here by the Post Office Department at Government expense.

When it came to holding their next annual meeting, several cities in different parts of the country were anxious to have next year's convention there, but directions were given from the Post Office Department that the next meeting should be held here in Washington City. It was argued that Washington was the logical place for such meetings. It was also pointed out that the next meeting would be held just prior to the general election. The department did not overlook the fact that it would be a wise plan to have all postmasters throughout the country gather in Washington just before the next campaign, where they could advise with the powers that be and learn just what was expected of them. Before the adjournment of this convention provision was made for taking in postmasters of the third class, which, it is estimated, will add 10,000 additional members. It can be easily seen what political power may be exerted through this meeting next October that will be held here in Washington City under the direct supervision of the Post Office Department, the proceedings directed by the department, reported by stenographers furnished by the department and paid for by the Government, and the whole affair given wide publicity throughout the United States by the publicity bureau of the Post Office De-partment, for which the Government pays. Here is a splendid opportunity to play politics at Government expense that the Post Office Department is not going to overlook.

Another thing worthy of mention, according to information that has been given general circulation: The Postmaster General at this meeting made the statement that the department conducted its affairs strictly according to civil service and that no politics were permitted in the Post Office Department. But this statement of the Postmaster General was to a certain degree softened by the fact that the secretary of the Postmaster General informed the visiting postmasters of the true faith that, if they had anything of a political nature that they desired to discuss or if they had any changes that they would like to have made in their offices on account of politics, that such matters could be submitted to him, the secretary of the Postmaster General, in confidential communications, and he would see to it that they came to the attention of the Postmaster General.

If these statements that have been generally circulated are correct, it will appear that the nonpartisan attitude of the Post Office Department is probably not so strictly carried out as

they might wish the public to believe.

While this particular convention of the postmasters had the indorsement of the department and the encouragement of the Postmaster General and his subordinates, and while they attended and did what they could to make the event an enjoyable and memorable one, their action in this matter is in strange contrast with their attitude toward the conventions and meetings of postal employees. The meetings of postal employees everywhere throughout the country have not received any great encouragement from the Postmaster General, nor has he or his subordinates extended any unusual courtesies to them. fact, if we can believe press reports, the meetings of post-office employees in every branch of the service have been discouraged by the department. If there is no politics in the Post Office Department, it seems at least to require an explanation why the postmasters that are appointed by political influence receive so much encouragement and courtesy while the employees of the Post Office Department who are under civil service receive very different consideration.

The post-office clerks, the letter carriers, both city and rural, the railway mail clerks, the supervisory officers in the various post offices, are the men who perform the real valuable work connected with the Postal Service. These are the men that enter the service through a competitive examination at a small salary, and their promotions are slow and limited. The men who fill their positions through political influence do not, as a rule, hold them a sufficient length of time to learn the post-office business; and it does seem that if there is any class of men that should receive the encouragement and the assistance in every way of the Post Office Department it is that class that

for small salaries devote their life to the service.

Justice J. Hay Brown on Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM W. GRIEST,

In the House of Representatives,

Friday, February 25, 1916.

Mr. GRIEST. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished constituent, the Hon. J. Hay Brown, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, delivered on February 22, at the university day exercises of the University of Pennsylvania, held annually in commemoration of the birth of the "Father of his Country," an able and patriotic address entitled "Washington on national preparedness." Having exceptional merit, this address has deservedly attracted Nation-wide attention. The House having consented to my suggestion that the address be reproduced in the Congressional Record, I herewith present it for that purpose,

ADDRESS OF HON. J. HAY BROWN, CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Mr. Provost, friends, and guests of the University of Pennsylvania, ladies and gentlemen: Self-preservation is the highest law of a nation, as it is of an individual, and disregard of it by either is disregard of life itself, the preservation of which divine law enjoins no less upon nations than upon individuals. The great, wise men who framed our National Constitution, which is the Nation's source of life, thus wrote the preamble to it:

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

By the first article of that instrument-the ark of the covenant of freemen set up in this new world before all the nations of the old-it is declared that Congress shall have power "to raise and support armies" and "to provide and maintain a With this authority delegated by the States to the National Congress there is a corresponding duty constantly resting upon that body to exercise it for the purpose for which it was conferred—"the common defense" of our common country.

On this day, when the people of a happy, prosperous, and peaceful Nation are gratefully honoring the memory of the Father of his Country, it is well for them to pause and consider what he, in his wisdom and in the intensity of his interest in the lasting welfare of the Republic, believed to be necessary for its preservation. In his first annual address as President of the United States to the Senate and House of Representatives, after expressing his great satisfaction in congratulating them on the then favorable prospects of public affairs, Washington spoke as follows:

Among the many interesting objects which will engage your attention, that of providing for the common defense will merit particular regard. To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace. A free people ought not only to be armed but disciplined, to which end a uniform and well-digested plan is requisite; and their safety and interest require that they should promote such manufactories as tend to render them independent of others for essential, particularly military, supplies. The proper establishment of the troops which may be deemed indispensable will be entitled to mature consideration. In the arrangements which may be made respecting it, it will be of importance to conciliate the comfortable support of the officers and soldiers, with a due regard to economy.

In his second annual address to the same bodies, less than a year later, he uttered words singularly appropriate to the distressing conditions now existing in the lands across the sea:

The disturbed situation in Europe, and particularly the critical posture of the great maritime powers, whilst it ought to make us the more thankful for the general peace and security enjoyed by the United States, reminds us at the same time of the circumspection with which it becomes us to preserve these blessings.

Later, in his seventh annual address to the Senate and House of Representatives, he said:

of Representatives, he said:

Gentlemen, among the objects which will claim your attention in the course of the session, a review of our military establishment is not the least important.

* * In this review you will doubtless allow due weight to the considerations that the questions between us and certain foreign, powers are not yet finally adjusted, that the war in Europe is not yet terminated, and that our western posts, when recovered, will demand provision for garrisoning and securing them. * * It will merit inquiry what imperfections in the existing plan further experience may have unfolded. The subject is of so much moment, in my estimation, as to excite a constant solicitude that the consideration of it may be renewed until the greatest attainable perfection shall be accomplished. Time is wearing away some advantages for forwarding the object, while none better deserves the persevering attention of the public councils.

In his eighth and last address to the National Congress was

In his eighth and last address to the National Congress was the admonition of Washington as to the necessity for a sufficient navy:

navy:

To an active external commerce the protection of a naval force is indispensable. This is manifest with regard to wars in which a State is itself a party. But, besides this, it is in our own experience that the most sincere neutrality is not a sufficient guard against the depredations of nations at war. To secure respect to a neutral flag requires a naval force organized and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression. This may even prevent the necessity of going to war by discouraging belligerent powers from committing such violations of the rights of the neutral party as may, first or last, leave no other option. From the best information I have been able to obtain it would seem as if our trade to the Mediterranean without a protecting force will always be insecure and our citizens exposed to the calamities from which numbers of them have but just been relieved. These considerations invite the United States to look to the means and to set about the gradual creation of a navy. * * Will it not, then, be advisable to begin without delay to provide and lay up the materials for the building and equipping of ships of war and to proceed in the work by degrees, in proportion as our resources shall render it practicable without inconvenience, so that a future war of Europe may not find our commerce in the same unprotected state in which it was found by the present?

Finally, in his farewell to his fellow citizens, almost the last words of Washington were that they should take care always to keep themselves, "by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture." I have quoted at length the words of Washington upon the consumingly interesting question of these times because his words, as the father of his country, ought not to be unheeded by its children, who, if they will stop to consider, will know that what he said was the truth then, is now, and forever will be. While he spoke under conditions then existing, it seems as if with prophetic vision he must have seen from afar what is now transpiring throughout the world.

Preparedness for war is not war; it is for the prevention of war, or of successful war, against peace. To be saved from war and bloodshed we devoutly pray, and for perpetual peace we fondly hope. The former must be averted, except as the sword must be unsheathed for the honor and dignity of the Nation for war.

in defending itself from invasion or from violation of any of its rights or in protecting every American in his rights wherever he may be, whether in the frozen zones, in the Tropics, or upon an island of the sea. The simple utterance, "I am a Roman citizen," carried with it protection to the uttermost parts of the earth, and wherever the tread of the Roman legion was heard or the banner bearing the Roman eagle floated the rights of a Roman citizen were safe; and whenever any man can now say, "I am an American citizen," the folds of the flag of his country must give him protection wherever he may be. In protecting him his Government is but protecting itself, for he is one of it; and, if need be, the sword must be unsheathed for such protection.

National security, peace, and prosperity are constantly men-aced on the one hand by the acts and utterances of those who, imagining themselves to be the only patriots in the land, clamor for war on every pretext; and, on the other, by the hysterical cries of equally unreasonable creatures for peace at any price. The public welfare is in as great danger from one of these classes as from the other, and it seems to be impossible to reason with either, if there be any reason in them. The safety of this "heaven-ordained Union, the light of nations, the hope of the world, the protector of States, the defender of personal rights, the guaranty of free government" is in the patriotic conservatism of the masses of the people, guided and directed by wise and conservative leaders in thought and action. Following such leadership, that patriotism will be as intense and will endure as much as the patriotism of those who are always for war or of those who are everlastingly shouting for peace and against preparedness for war, even with the insulted flag of their country flaunted before their faces. To the first, always avowing their patriotism in the name of Washington, let his hope be repeated, That we may never unsheath the sword except in self-defense so long as justice and our essential rights and national respec-tability can be preserved without it." And let those chronic And let those chronic advocates of war read his letters and contrast his calm, patriotic utterances with their unrestrained clamorings. To David Humphreys, who went abroad with a commission to negotiate treaties of commerce, Washington wrote, in 1781, concerning war:

My first wish is to see this plague to mankind banished from the earth, and the sons and daughters of this world employed in more pleasing and innocent amusements than in preparing implements and exercising them for the destruction of mankind.

In the same year he wrote to the Marquis de la Rouerie:

My first wish is (although it is against the profession of arms, and would clip the wings of some of your young soldiers who are soaring after glory) to see the whole world in peace and the inhabitants of it as one band of brothers striving who should contribute most to the happiness of mankind.

To Rochambeau he wrote in 1789:

Notwithstanding it might, probably, in a commercial view, be greatly for the advantage of America that a war should rage on the other side of the Atlantic, yet I should never so divest myself of the feelings of a man interested in the happiness of his fellow men as to wish my country's prosperity might be built on the ruins of that of other nations,

And to Lafayette, he wrote:

Would to God the harmony of nations were an object that lay nearest to the hearts of sovereigns and that the incentives of peace, of which commerce and facility of understanding each other are not the most inconsiderable, might be daily increased!

And again:

There seems to be a great deal of bloody work cut out for this summer in the north of Europe. If war, want, and plague are to desolate those buge armies that are assembled, who that has the feelings of a man can refrain from shedding a tear over the miserable victims of regal ambition? It is really a strange thing that there should not be room enough in the world for men to live without cutting one another's throats.

At the same time he wrote to Jefferson:

In whatever manner the nations of Europe shall endeavor to keep up their prowess in war and their balance of power in peace, it will be obviously our policy to cultivate tranquility at home and abroad, and to extend our agriculture and commerce as far as possible.

By the second class, equally prone to appeal to the memory of Washington in support of their cries for peace, let it be remembered that he declared that "to be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace," and that in his second inaugural address he said:

his second inaugural address he said:

I can not recommend to your notice measures for the fulfillment of our duties to the rest of the world without again pressing upon you the necessity of placing ourselves in a condition of complete defense and of exacting from them the fulfillment of their duties toward us. The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion that, contrary to the orders of human events, they will forever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms with which the history of every nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war.

And, in their protest against war and preparedness for war, let the advocates of peace at any price, in appealing to the Bible to sustain them, not forget that the God of Israel was the Lord of Hosts and the God of battles for His chosen people, and that the trumpet blast for self-defense which fell from the lips of the Prince of Peace Himself when he stood before Pilate,

My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, hen would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the

It is said, and with much force, too, that if the nations now at war had not for years prepared for war there would not now be desolating war among them. They all did prepare, however, and what would have been the fate of any one of them if it had not prepared itself for the conflict in which it is now involved? What may be the ultimate fate of any one of them no one can now tell, but all know that it would have been doomed at the very threshold of the contest if it had not prepared itself for No one member of a family of nations can remain unprepared for war when all the other members have prepared for it, for when a family fight occurs each member must be on an equal footing with all the others, if assailed rights are to be defended and preserved. We, the United States of America, are an unprepared member of the family of the nations of the earth. How long are we to remain defenseless against enemies that may come upon us, and how long are we to be powerless to protect and preserve our rich inheritance from those who covet it?

The firebrands of war are now upon the earth spreading death and desolation as they were never spread since man first drew his sword against his fellow. Those brands have not reached our shores, but they may reach us. God be prayed that they do not, but if they should we must be prepared to shield ourselves from them by now preparing to meet them, and down to us through 125 years we hear a voice saying:

The disturbed situation of Europe, and particularly the critical posture of the great maritime powers, whilst it ought to make us the more thankful for the general peace and security enjoyed by the United States, reminds us at the same time of the circumspection with which it becomes us to preserve these blessings.

These words of Washington are being heeded. On all sides there are the evidences of a rapidly growing and constantly spreading conviction that this great Nation must be prepared for war if its peace and all the blessings of peace are to be secure. The considerate judgment of the people is calling for preparedness, and the call comes from each side of party lines. It is the call of no particular party, but of united patriotic Americans, forgetting for the moment mere political alliances and remembering only that they are fellow citizens of the United States for whose common defense against all enemies they, too, are ever ready to pledge "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor." There is not—or there ought not to be—one among us who does not feel that the President of the United States reflected the sentiment of the great majority of his fellow citizens when, in speaking of preparedness a short time ago, he said:

when, in speaking of preparedness a short time ago, he said:

I have not the embarrassment in standing before you to-night of making the impression that I am urging the advantage of a party or the advantage of an individual. There are just as many men interested in national defense on the one side as on the other. They are all actuated by the same motives; they differ as to details, but they do not differ as to their objects, and I thank God that there is no party politics when it comes to the life and welfare of the United States. Do you suppose if the country were in danger any man would hesitate to volunteer on the ground that he belonged to this party or to the other? Do you suppose that if a Republican administration were in power at Washington any Democrat would hesitate to enlist, or that a Democratic administration being there an. Republican would hesitate to enlist? Why, he whole history of the country gives an emphatic negative to that question. We are not Democrats or Republicans to-night. We are Americans

While there may be differences of opinion as to just what ought to be done to make the country safe from every foe, there is no difference among the vast majority that we must be prepared for war from every side. Against whom we are to arm no one knows, but all know, or ought to know, that if we wait until danger is upon us it will be too late to avoid it. to do now is to prepare, then we shall be ready. What the details of the physical preparation ought to be is not a matter for discussion here. These must be left to those who know how strong armies are to be raised and an efficient Navy is to be provided, and let us have faith to believe that our Representatives in the National Congress and the President of the United States. inspired only by the loftiest patriotism, will strive to maintain the peace of the country with honor and dignity and promptly adopt such means as will preserve the peace of the Nation, maintain its honor throughout the earth, defend it against every foe, and protect every American in all his rights in every clime

If this is neither the time nor place to discuss the particular means of physical preparedness which should be adopted for the

defense of the country, the time and place are opportune for referring to the duty resting upon each individual to help his country by his personal morality and patriotism to prepare to meet every foe that may assail it. "Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people." The righteousness that exalts and strengthens a nation is the morality of its people, the standard of which is found in the precepts of the great lawgiver of God's chosen people and in the teachings of our later system of truth. God-fearing men and women were our forbears. The strength of the arm of the patriot from Concord and Lexington to Yorktown was his moral virtue, and it bore him up through all the sufferings at Valley Forge. Sustained by it patriotism will to-day endure all things for home and country. Man's first duty is to fear God and keep His commandments, and the people who do so are thrice armed against all danger. all due regard to religious tolerance and for the absolute right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, it is a matter of judicial notice that we are a Christian people and that the Christian religion is interwoven with our whole system of Government.

In Pennsylvania this is not a mere theory, for those clothed with the highest judicial authority in the Commonwealth have solemnly adjudged that-

Christianity, general Christianity, is and always has been a part of the common law of Pennsylvania—Christianity without the spiritual artillery of European countries, for this Christianity was one of the considerations of the royal charter and the very basis of its great founder, William Penn; not Christianity founded on any particular religious tenets; not Christianity with an established church and tithes and spiritual courts; but Christianity with liberty of conscience to all men. (Updegraph v. Commonwealth, 11 S. & R., 394.)

The greatest constitutional lawyer of his time, in addressing the highest court in the land, declared:

There is nothing that we look for with more certainty than this general principle that Christianity is part of the law of the land. This was the case among the Puritans of New England, the Episcopallans of the Southern States, the Pennsylvania Quakers, the Baptists, the mass of the followers of Whitfield and Wesley, and the Presbyterians; all brought and all adopted this great truth, and all have sustained it. And where there is any religious sentiment amongst men at all, this sentiment incorporates itself with the law. Everything declares it The massive cathedral of the Catholic; the Episcopalian church, with its lofty spire pointing heavenward; the plain temple of the Quaker; the log church of the hardy pioneer of the wilderness; the mementoes and memorials around and about us; the consecrated graveyards, their tombstones and epitaphs, their silent vaults, their mouldering contents; all attest it. The dead prove it as well as the living. The generations that are gone before speak to it and pronounce it from the tomb. We feel it. All, all, proclaim that Christianity, general, tolerant Christianity, Christianity independent of sects and parties, that Christianity to which the sword and the land.

We hear much of dangers which beset us from within as well as from without. There can be no danger from within unless, as a Nation, we become sinners against the laws of God, and there can be no danger from without if we observe them, for against the patriotism of the united people of this country, panoplied with the fear of God and keeping His commandments, the gates of hell shall not prevail. But will the manifold blessings of the Almighty continue to rest upon us, making us strong as a Nation, if we have another god before Him, if we blaspheme His name, forget to keep His Sabbath day holy, and children cease to honor their parents? Are we to escape punishment for violations of the commands, "Thou shalt not steal" and "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy And what penalty is being paid for the disregard neighbor"? of the commandment to be chaste?

The heart sickens at the scandalous records of our divorce courts and over the ever-broadening prospects of broken marriage vows, followed by shattered homes, parted husbands and wives, separated fathers and mothers, and scattered children. The sin of violating that commandment is sapping the very foundations of society. May the day be hastened when we shall hear less of alleged violations of constitutions and statutes, Federal and State, and more of those comandments without the keeping of which we can not hope to prosper and be exalted as a Nation. Again, hear words of Washington in his farewell to his fellow citizens:

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indi-pensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, "Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice?" And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason, and experience, both forbid us

to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

Patriotism, pure and undefiled, is the handmaid of religion. Love of country is twin to the love of God. The instinct of love of country, of patriotism, dwelling in every human breast, is the abiding and unchangeable source of every nation's strength and safety and the inspiration of the most enlightened civilization has been the inspiration of all the people of the earth through all the ages: "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori." Strong as love of country is instinctively, it can, by cultivation, be made stronger in each individual and thus become a source of greater national strength. It is a part of the education and experience of a true man and of the real business of life that he should be a patriot. The instinct of the love of country is as natural as the parental or filial love or as the attachment for home. As the bird returns to the nest, so every fiber of a well-educated and well-developed man swells in sympathy with associations of family, home, community, State or Nation. No man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself. There can be no well-rounded character in selfish individualism.

The aim of all sound education is to broaden the vision and to enlarge the horizon. True patriotism consists in maintaining the right relation of the individual to the family, to the municipality, the State, and to the Federal Government. Treason consists in the derangement of these. The duty of intensifying patriotism starts in the home, and first rests upon the fathers and mothers of the land. It is for them to instill in the youthful minds of their children the principles of morality and patriotism; and if they do so, their children will not depart therefrom. Intenser patriotism is next to be taught in the schools, colleges, and universities, and that is what the great University of Pennsylvania is doing at this hour, for, after all, when these exercises are over, what will be longest remembered of them will be that they made still stronger love for country. This day in every year should, as here, be set aside at all seats of learning in the land for the special teaching of lofty patriotism. This used to be a custom at a spot once dear to me. You, Mr. Provost, and I have a common alma mater. For a moment I now go back in memory for 50 years or more to the old college church at Gettysburg and hear again the leading of Washington's Farewell Address and listen once more to the patriotic words of faithful teachers, whose shadowy forms are passing before me. The resolution of every boy who left that church on a 22d of February was to lead a better, purer, and more

And as memory brings the light of other days around me, I see again a crowd of happy boys and girls, of young men and women, and of their elders, too, gathered in a grove on a Fourth of July for rational recreation and to drink deeper from the fountain of patriotism as they listen to the reading of the Declaration of Independence or hang upon the lips of an orator of a class now almost extinct; and I am not persuaded that patriotism is being better fostered to-day than then, or that the new methods of strengthening it are better than the old; but I do know that as a people we are as devoted to home and country as were those from whom our inheritance has come.

The duty of teaching patriotism rests largely with the public press, which reaches every home. Its vigilant eye is upon the whole world, and faithful editors stand as sentinels upon the watch towers. To them the people look for signals of danger, and from them no false signals must come. As the people heed the warnings of a faithful editor, so they look to him for words that will strengthen the common patriotism and intelligently point out the way of common duty. With a due sense of the great and grave responsibility resting upon the public press, those who control it and have controlled it have not been faithless, but, with rarest exceptions, have strengthening the patriotism of the people, who will continue to leak to them for strength. look to them for strength.

And what should our patriotism be? It should be love of country as strong and pure as love of home; it should be as intense upon the field of battle as in defense of the hearth; it should remember the regret of the dying patriot that he had but one life to give for his country; and it should lead every soldier of his country, going anywhere in her defense, to speak last words of love for her, his country, as did England's sweet young singer just before he started to become a soldier in her service:

If I should die, think only this of me:
That there's some corner of a foreign field
That is forever England. There shall be
In that rich earth a richer dust concealed,
A dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware,
Gave once her flowers to love, her ways to roam,
A body of England's, breathing English air,
Washed by the rivers, blest by the suns of home.

For this measure of love for our country let us strive, praying always for her lasting, honorable peace, as we repeat one to the other:

But we grow old. Ah, when shall all men's good Be each man's rule, and universal peace Lie like a shaft of light across the land And like a lane of beams athwart the sea Thro' all the circle of the golden years?

Woman Suffrage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL R. ANTHONY, JR., OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 1, 1916.

Mr. ANTHONY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to present for the consideration of the House these resolutions passed at a meeting of 100 representative women of the State of Kansas, urging that this Congress take steps immediately toward submitting the suffrage amendment to the legislatures of the various States:

Whereas the political freedom of the women of this country is a vital question that demands immediate attention; and Whereas we as women who already possess the franchise regard it as our first duty to use our political power to gain this right for other women: Therefore be it

women: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we women voters of the State of Kansas urge upon Congress the necessity of submitting the suffrage amendment immediately to the legislatures of the various States in order that this measure of justice may soon be a part of our national Constitution.

The above resolution was passed at a meeting of 100 women held February 23 at the state house, Topeka, Kans.

LILLA DAY MONROE,

Chairman of Meeting.

TOPEKA, KANS., February 24, 1916.

Armed Merchantmen.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDMUND PLATT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 4, 1916.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Speaker, the statement, which was published in the newspapers of Massachusetts on Friday, February 25, is as follows:

STATEMENT OF MR. ROGERS.

The issue seems to be this: Germany claims the right to sink, without warning, any armed merchantman of another belligerent, entirely regardless of whether the vessel's armament is for offensive or defensive purposes, or whether she carries among her passengers or crew the citizens of a neutral nation. President Wilson denies this claim of Germany in so far as it includes any merchantman armed solely for defensive purposes and in so far as it involves the lives of American citizens. The consensus of opinion of Congress-certainly in the House of Repseems overwhelmingly in accord with the German program and in favor of warning all Americans not to travel on any armed merchantmen of a belligerent.

In my judgment the President is absolutely right. Ever since scattered precedents began to coagulate into international law the right to arm merchantmen for purely defensive purposes has been unalteringly asserted and unswervingly maintained. It has been asserted again and again by the United States since

the present war began, notably in our note of September 19, 1914, and recognized by both Germany and Great Britain.

If we should modify this axiomatic doctrine or assent to its modification, we should be changing international law in the modification, we should be changing international law in the midst of the war and in a most vital respect, in a respect which would materially aid one belligerent at the expense of the other. Yet no principle of law or fair play is better settled than that the rules of the game shall not be changed during the progress of the game unless by unanimous consent.

Suppose we should acquiesce in the German program, and by officially warning our citizens not to travel on armed merchantmen, tacitly agree in advance that if the warning is dis-

regarded and our citizens lose their lives we will make no protest. We thereby necessarily recognize that merchantmen, even though only defensively armed, are vessels of war. See the Austrian memorandum of February 10, 1916, which says:

Every merchantman provided, for any purpose whatever, with cannon, loses, through this fact alone, the character of a noncombatant ship. Under these conditions the order has been given to the Austro-Hungarian naval forces to treat such ships as combatants.

The German memorandum reads in part:

Under the enumerated circumstances, enemy merchantmen armed with guns no longer have the right to be regarded as peaceable merchantmen. The German sea forces therefore will be ordered to treat such vessels as warships.

In no other way can we justify acquiescence. Either the merchantman is a vessel of war or a vessel of peace. There is no third classification. But if such a merchantman is a vessel of war for some purposes it is a vessel of war for all purposes. It has no chameleon qualities. If it is a vessel of war it must be treated as such when it appears off our coast and seeks to enter our ports. The principles of the neutrality act apply; for example, if it stays in port longer than 24 hours it must be interned. It would have precisely the status of the Kronprinz Wilhelm, now interned at Newport News, when she entered Hampton Roads. Would the allied powers tolerate The question carries its own answer. such a result? should be instantly plunged into a far more bitter quarrel with the allies. In other words, acquiescence in the German program does not avoid a quarrel; it picks a worse one.

The practical difficulty of determining whether a merchantman is armed for offense or defense is emphasized by believers in acquiescence. The difficulty is doubtless great; so is the difficulty experienced by a submarine commander in determining whether the merchantman is armed or unarmed. Yet he

must decide this point to-day.

In our note of September 19, 1914, just after the outbreak of the war, we discussed precisely what constituted the differences between an armed and an unarmed merchantman; we reviewed the 10 or 12 tests (such as size, number, and location of guns) which usage has settled upon to determine whether armament is offensive or defensive. That note was good law when sent; it is good law to-day. It should not be repudiated. The determination of a given case is doubtless difficult as are all questions involving intent and degree. But the importance of the underlying principles demands that they be settled now and

settled rightly.

It must be admitted that our present and future course is made difficult because of three past missteps of the administra-tion: (1) Nine months' faltering over the Lusitania perhaps made Germany believe that we would view complacently this further step or at all events discuss it endlessly while German submarines were exacting their toll; (2) the warning to Americans in Mexico that neither their lives nor their property would be guarded or respected by the American Government makes a "warning" program seem easier and less ignominious in the present case; (3) our unfortunate note of January 18 last in which, according to newspaper reports, it was said that the United States was "impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent government and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly," practically invited Germany to undertake what she has now joyfully undertaken.

But two or three or more mistakes or wrongs do not make a It is not too late to do our national and international duty. Further yielding will inevitably mean further aggression. The camel's head is already within the tent, but if we can not expel him altogether, we can at least keep out his body.

Armed Merchantmen and an American Policy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MARTIN B. MADDEN, OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Monday, March 6, 1916.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to having the United States involved in the war with Europe and I want everything possible done to prevent it.

There can be no question of the right of Congress to say that Americans shall not travel on armed belligerent ships, except at

their own peril, and we will not have performed our full duty if we fail to do so.

I am willing to concede the right of an American citizen to travel on an armed belligerent ship. But simply because he has that right I do not think he should so exercise it as to jeopardize the peace of his country. It is one thing to have rights and quite another to exercise those rights without reference to the rights of others. No American citizen should so far forget his obligation to his country, to its peace, prosperity, and happiness as to insist on the exercise of his privilege, when by the exercise of that privilege he may involve 100,000,000 of his countrymen in war.

The honor of the United States is not now involved in the European controversy. When it is it will be soon enough for us to consider the question of our participation in it. that time comes it is our duty to remain neutral and to give

heed to our own welfare.

Think of the loss of life, the widows and orphans, the misery, want, despair, devastation, the cripples, suffering, and agony that would result from our participation in the war, to say noth-

ing of the cost, and for what?

Americans should be warned against travel on armed belligerent ships, and I hope a resolution so advising them may come before the House in such form that I can vote for it. man will go further than I to preserve the honor of the Nation. Everything I have, even to life itself, would I offer for my country if need be; but until the necessity arises to do that I consider it my duty as a Member of this body to do everything within my power for the maintenance of the peace and prosperity of the country. I can state my views in no more appropriate language than that found in the editorials of the Chicago Tribune of March 2 and 3, which I herewith append as part of my remarks.

ARMED MERCHANTMEN.

"The present issue between the German Government and our own respecting the conduct of submarine operations seems to Shall German submarines concede to armed merchantmen of the enemy the first shot because citizens of the United States have elected to travel on such merchantmen?

"The structure of the submarine is, and at this stage of its development must be, such that the first properly directed shot is virtually certain to be the last, in that only one shot, even

that of a 1-pounder, is fatal to the submarine.

"Put in another form, the issue is whether a merchantman armed sufficiently to destroy a submarine with one shot is defensively or offensively armed.

"Under a rule formulated before the creation of the submarine the presence of a relatively small gun is held consistent

with the presumption of defensive armament.

"That rule was founded on the facts. A small gun could not seriously injure a warship. It could not be made offensive at the will of the commander of the merchantman summoned to surrender.

"The rule does not square with the facts of the submarine. The principle upon which the rule is founded does not apply to them. A 1-pounder can destroy a submarine. The presumption that such a gun will be used only in defense must rest entirely upon the will of the commander or his instructions.

"The position now taken by our Government, therefore, is that a German submarine approaching a British, French, or Italian merchantman which carries a gun capable of destroying such submarine shall challenge the merchantman to surrender

and accept the hazard of destruction.

"Furthermore, the presence of defensive armament on merchantmen was justified by facts, now nonexistent-namely, the practice of privateering and the existence of pirates. As pirates have disappeared from European waters and privateering is no longer permissible under international law, no presumption of defense can attach to the presence of guns on merchantmen.

"Enemy ships consist of only two kinds, combatant and noncombatant. If a ship is noncombatant it will not be equipped to combat. If a ship is equipped with armament sufficient to destroy an enemy warship, as in the case of a merchantman mounting a 6-inch, 4-inch, or 1-pounder gun, such merchantman having no use for such armament except against enemy craft, it can not claim the character of an 'unarmed' merchantman, but should be held what in fact it is, a combatant ship.

The object of any armament on a ship of the belligerents is one and one only, to use against enemy warships—to be explicit, the submarine. It is therefore an armed ship and the distinction as to defensive and offensive armament, founded on the practice of privateering and piracy, and having no application to use against enemy war craft, is not involved.

This is the issue as between Great Britain and Germany.

"What is the issue between the United States and Germany? It is whether the right of citizens to travel on unarmed merchant ships of belligerent nationality is a right to travel on merchant ships of Great Britain armed in fact against German submarines.

"Or, put in another way, the issue is: Does the presence of Americans on a British ship compel a German submarine to allow the British ship to pass or by challenging it accept the

hazard of destruction?

"If this were conceded Great Britain by mounting guns on its merchantmen and Americans by traveling on them can insure such part of the British merchant marine from otherwise lawful operations by Germany against what are in fact armed

and therefore combatant enemy craft.

"The object of arming the allies' merchant craft is to protect them from capture or destruction by German or Austrian submarines. Such destruction is of great importance to the central powers in their conduct of the war and a legitimate measure of sea warfare. British shipping is conveying necessary supplies to the allies. The interruption of this service is of great, if not vital, importance to the central powers. If it is to the interest of the United States to insure this supply, the Government should do so as an ally and not under the pretense of defending neutrality.

"The President asserted the right of neutrals to travel on 'unarmed' merchantmen by the belligerents. He asserted the duty of war craft to challenge 'unarmed and unresisting' merchant ships. Both these contentions have been accepted by the

German Government.

"Yet we now assert that by virtue of a rule framed to meet facts not now involved merchant ships armed in fact are not armed, and must be accepted as unarmed by Germany because Americans are 'raveling on them. The principle that rules of international law must not be altered during the course of the war begs the whole question of whether the rule as to defensive armament applies to merchantmen armed in fact offensively against submarines.

"If American honor is involved in this controversy, it calls upon us to look the facts in the face, to apply to them principles, not a mere formula, and to adopt fearlessly the course which

justice dictates.

"If it is American sympathies or interests that are involved, let us not talk about honor and let us consider sensibly and candidly what those interests are."

FOR AN AMERICAN POLICY.

"Within a week, a few days, 48 hours, or overnight President Wilson's policy with regard to submarines may be, perforce, and without a chance of escape, the policy of every citizen in the United States.

"We approach a point beyond which there can be nothing but action. It will have to be united action. The Nation can not in part accept and in part reject any policy which by event or by the determination of the Government becomes the policy of the

Nation.

"Just now the submarine policy is that of the President. It has almost, but not wholly, been made the Nation's policy. It may be made wholly so any day, either by the act of a German submarine or by the act of the United States Government.

"For the present, however, it is subject to modification. There still remains an opportunity for public opinion, clearly expressed,

to change it.

"The agency for the expression of public opinion is Congress. We believe the national interests demand that Congress refuse to allow Mr. Wilson to commit the country as he wishes to do. If he does commit the Nation, his policy becomes ours. That distinction must be made and emphasized. If he commits the Nation, we haul down our opinions and must stand by his. But there is yet time for protest.

"Congress can check this dangerous procedure. Unchecked it may not lead to war, but it contains the dangerous possibility of war. It is a possibility that can not be ignored. We must look at the most serious possible outcome. We are not justified in taking chances. What is the worst thing that is within

rational consideration? That is the question.

"There is only one thing that can justify President Wilson's policy. It must be stated frankly if it is to be a justification. That is the belief, the assumption, or the fact that Germany's success and Great Britain's defeat will imperil the United States.

"If that be so, or if there be good reason to think that it would be so, the Nation is justified in aiding Great Britain and injuring Germany. It would be more courageous and more honorable to do so as an ally of Great Britain, but it is permissible to do it in the form of benevolent neutrality.

"We can do as Portugal does and as Greece has been forced virtually to do. This Nation does not class itself with Portugal and Greece. It is stronger and is not imposed upon by circumstance.

"A good many Americans may think that the President is insisting upon a matter of national right, supported by international law, and that the national honor is involved. The President tells them this. It is not so. It can be regarded so only by an unusual and inexcusable insistence upon words.

"The trouble is that the submarine is damned in American opinion. It is an illegal craft, a pirate, commanded by murderers. It is to be destroyed. It is not to be permitted to

operate.

"The truth is that if we were in war it would be still more desirable for us than it is for Germany to permit to submarines wide latitude of operation. We have a smaller Navy. We have almost no merchant marine. We have an enormous coast line. Germany has a powerful navy. Germany has a wonderful merchant marine. Germany has a small coast line, and that coast line is impregnable. The largest navy in the world can not reach it.

"If our smaller Navy were to be forced into a protected harbor by greater power or were destroyed, our great coast line could be protected, so far as it might be protected, only by the submarine. This boat can be built quickly, transported easily, and assembled, and it could do the only effective work we could hope to do against a greater naval power.

"We should want to attack the merchant shipping of the enemy. We have no merchant shipping to defend. We should need to cut the enemy line of overwater communication by which supplies were being forwarded to any base established on our

shores.

"This is absolutely certain as a human prospect can be. If President Wilson's policy become the Nation's policy now it will be revoked by national need in the very first emergency which brings it home to us. We shall no more abide by it in danger than we should surrender at the first touch of danger.

"It can not apply to this Nation, and it will not be permitted to apply. If the situation ever touches us we shall not permit a peaceable ship to carry guns and slnk our submarines while our boats are endeavoring to destroy an enemy's commerce and yet give strict consideration to every dictate of humanity.

"If a peaceable ship intends to remain peaceable it does not need guns. If it has guns the submarine takes a chance every time it arises to command surrender. It can be wholly certain of its safety only if it sinks the ship without giving it warning.

"But sinking without warning is unnecessary if peaceable ships will go unarmed. Shall we now direct our policy to such consequence that some day an American commander of a submarine seeing a peaceable ship carrying supplies to an enemy established in a base somewhere on the American Continent had either to expose his boat and his mission to possible ruin or permit the ship to go on undisturbed or to sink it without warning?

"We do not believe that a policy so inimical to the present security of the United States, and so embarrassing to its future, ever was insisted upon before by an American administration.

"It is true that the President has committed himself to a procedure which will help Great Britain more than anything else that could be done short of becoming her ally. It has as its possible consequences the chance that it will end in our fighting by her side and the chance that it will protect her shipping.

"Germany's only chance of success may lie in destroying British shipping. If she can not do that she may not be able to break out of her encircled position or to wear out any one of her strong enemies. If we, by insisting upon words that are as inimical to us as they are to Germany, stand between Germany and the British shipping we are Britain's ally in deed.

"It may be it is the President's plan that we shall be. He may believe that a victorious Germany would threaten our national security. We are far from convinced that it would not. But let's have an understanding of what we are doing.

"If we must help Great Britain to defeat Germany Congress ought to proceed with knowledge of that fact. At least Congress ought to know the seriousness of what we are doing. If we are not helping Great Britain, but are merely inviting difficulty, possibly war, with Germany to insist upon the letter of international law, modifications of which already have been accepted by the American Government, Congress ought to intervene.

"This Nation does not want war to protect the guns which a peaceable ship of another nationality insists upon carrying."

Collectors of and Deliverers of Mail.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM A. AYRES,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 1, 1916.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a letter from the Postmaster General relative to the collectors of and deliverers of mail; that is, the reduction of city carriers to collectors. The letter is as follows:

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL, Washington, D. C., February 28, 1916.

Hon. WILLIAM A. AYRES,
House of Representatives.

Hon. WILLIAM A. AYRES,

House of Representatives.

My Dear Mr. Ayres: Referring to your personal call at the department this morning at which time the question of the assignment of letter carriers to exclusive collection duty was discussed. I am furnishing herewith the following history of the department's action in connection with this matter:

Two years ago the department began a very careful survey of the field service with a view to correcting inequalities and endeavoring as nearly as possible to standardize the service. In the course of the investigations the attention of the department was drawn by a number of postmasters to the fact that an injustice was being done the great body of carriers engaged in delivering mail by the continuance of the practice of giving the highest salaries to carriers exclusively engaged in the duty of collecting mail. In January, 1915, this situation was brought to the attention of the department without any suggestions on its part in the form of a recommendation by two committees of postmasters assembled at Washington to advise the department on service problems. The first of these committees consisted of the postmasters of New York City, Chicago, St. Louis, and Washington, D. C. A second committee followed the first immediately and concurred with the first committee in its recommendation to the effect "that the maximum salary of carriers assigned exclusively to collection duty be fixed at \$1,000 per annum." This second committee consisted of the postmasters of Boston, Brooklyn, and Cincinnatl.

Subsequent to the report of these committees it was discovered by going through the files of the department, and by personal inquiry, that the suggestions of the service advisability of having mail collected by carriers receiving a salary not to exceed \$1,000 per annum was first made by the department in 1908 in connection with an investigation of the Wilmington. Del., post office, to determine what clerks and carriers should be promoted. At that time the department instructed that pr

motions of carriers in the service, in which the following language was used:

"The law now in effect provides that no promotion of a clerk or carrier shall be made except upon evidence satisfactory to the department of the employee's efficiency and faithfulness during the preceding year. It will be observed, therefore, that the faithfulness of an employee—his willingness, carnestness, and punctuality—must be coupled with efficiency before he is entitled to promotion, and the term 'an efficient employee' is construed to mean one who can and will perform the duties assigned to a clerk or carrier of the grade to which promotion is recommended. It is realized, of course, that all clerks can not be assigned to the higher classes of service, and that all carriers can not be given a route that requires more than ordinary alertness, activity, and intelligence, but it is believed to be the intent of the law that only such employees as are clearly capable of earning a higher salary shall be recommended for annual promotion. For example, clerks who are competent to do only directory work or to carry mail from the drops to the canceling machines should not be given the benefit of a yearly increase in salary nor should carriers who are able scarcely to do more than make collections or serve an easy residential district be recommended for endering."

Your further attention is called to the fact that the First Assistant Postmaster General, under date of February 4, 1911, addressed a communication to the postmaster at Boston, Mass., from which I quote as follows:

"I begieve to state that while it is believed that in considering the

Postmaster General, under date of February 4, 1911, addressed a communication to the postmaster at Boston, Mass., from which I quote as follows:

"I beg seave to state that while it is believed that in considering the promotions of carriers a clear distinction should be made between carriers who are available for assignment to collection service only and those who are capable of performing efficiently the duties of a carrier in the delivery service, yet it is recognized " that this rule can not be arbitrarily applied, " nor should carriers who are scarcely able to do more than make collections or serve an easy residential district be recommended for advancement beyond a salary commensurate with the character of service they are capable of rendering. In the future when recommending for promotion carriers assigned to collection duty exclusively to the sixth grade you should satisfy yourself that such promotions go to the carriers who are thoroughly capable of performing all the duties that may be required of a carrier, and not to those who are capable of doing duty only as collectors or whose principal qualifications is a long period of service. " I appears desirable, therefore, that you carefully scrutinize the records of the force of carriers assigned to collection duty at your office, especially those receiving \$1,200, and make such reassignments and submit such recommendations for changes in the salary as will result in the pay received being more nearly commensurate with the capacity of the carrier and the work to which he is assigned."

As the result of this letter, which was similar to a number of other communications sent to postmasters throughout the United States, the postmaster at Boston recommended for reduction six carriers.

In the course of the correspondence with postmasters regarding this matter it is found that Postmaster Campbell, of Chicago, under date of June 10, 1912, stated, among other things:

"The work of a collector is mechanical in character. It is simply that of emptying the boxes on his route and depositing their contents in the place prescribed, requiring only that he be punctual and honest in the place prescribed, requiring only that he be punctual and honest in the performance of his very simple duties. If the maximum salary of an efficient carrier in the delivery branch is fixed at \$1,200 per annum, the maximum salary of the carrier in the collection branch might well be set at \$1,000 per annum."

From the foregoing you will note that the department is at present pursuing a well-defined and uniform policy that was approved by an earlier administration in relation to the compensation of collectors in the City Delivery Service; and, further, that the principle underlying this is one that has been recognized and repeatedly recommended by postal experts and postmasters for a number of years.

In closing permit me to call your attention to the further fact that the department is operating under the classification act of 1907 and that it is clearly its duty, within the meaning of this act. to pay only such salary to any employee as he is actually earning. To continue a carrier engaged in collection duty at the maximum salary of \$1,200 per annum when it has been clearly demonstrated that he can not deliver mail, either because of mental or physical inability, would be a violation of this act. It will be noted, therefore, that if inefficient carriers are restored to \$1,200 per annum, as contemplated by certain amendments to the Post Office appropriation bill, supervisory officials in post offices will be compelled, in order to maintain the efficiency of the service, to prefer charges against them in accordance with this law and recommend their removal from the service. The department will then, as the only alternative,

A. S. Burleson, Postmaster General.

Letter from the Merchants' Association of New York City in Reference to a Speech Made by Mr. Tague.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET, OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March S. 1916.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter from the Merchants' Association of New York City in reference to the speech made by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Tague] some time since.

The letter is as follows:

NEW YORK, March 1, 1916.

Hon. William S. Bennet,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Hon. William S. Bennet.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bennet: We are informed that in the debate on the postal appropriation bill (with especial reference to the Moon rallway mail pay rider) an attack was made on this association's good faith in opposition.

We have not a copy of the remarks before us, but we understand that they were to the effect that this association is dominated by railroad inducate and that our report on railway mail pay was procured thereby. This association has about 3.400 members, representing every important business interest of the community, including transportation. Of this membership the representatives of railroads comprise only about I per cent. In all the numerous questions relating to transportation which arise, this association invariably seeks to defend against wrongful aggression the just rights of shippers, to give due regard to the just rights of carriers, and to promote the interests of commerce by securing adequate transportation facilities.

In pursuance of this policy we have hitherto been parties to numerous proceedings against the railroads and have promoted numerous laws restrictive of carriers' practices which we believed unjust.

We attach hereto a list of some of the matters in which we have been in opposition to the railroads, and especially call your attention to the proceeding against the express companies which this association organized and directed to a successful conclusion and also to our opposition to a further extension of the Parcel Post Service, on the ground that it would interfere with and probably destroy needed transportation facilities.

Our attitude in these and other matters should be conclusive as to the fact that this association, in any action it may take, is not dominated by railroad influence, nor seeking unjustly to promote railroad interests, but that, on the contrary, it deals with each proposition involved on its merits, with the purpose of promoting equitable relations between shippers and carriers and with a

The scope of the investigation made by this association was broad and thorough. Nearly three months' continuous work was applied to it, during which the entire record of the Bourne Joint committee, the reports of previous committees of Cougress, the reports of the Post Office Department from 1900 onward, and the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission germane to the subject were examined with thoroughness and all the essential propositions advanced by the Post Office Department and the Bourne Committee were analyzed and tested with care.

It may fairly be said, therefore, that this association is in position to speak with complete knowledge and to reach conclusions in this important matter which it is amply prepared to sustain.

It was further developed as a result of our study that the conclusions reached by both the Bourne Committee and the Post Office Department completely ignored the relations that should exist between rallway mail pay so far as it affects the carriage of commodities and the ordinary freight charges upon similar commodities—unquestionably the most Important factor involved in the whole controversy, inasmuch as the proposed adjustment of raliway mail pay will affect not alone the mail pay revenues of the railroad but greatly and even dangerously deplete their freight revenues—a result to which both the Bourne Committee and the Post Office Department gave no consideration and of which they appeared to be in ignorance.

This association believes that the best interests of the country will be served not by harsh and unjustifiable attacks upon the revenues of railroads, but by such a readjustment of them as shall compensate them properly for all services rendered to the public, and at the same time assure just treatment of the public.

We are convinced that the Moon bill does not promote the true interests of commerce and the country because it embodies an unjust and harmful attacks upon the proper revenues of the railroads and impairs the power of the latter to provide the facilities whic

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS OPPOSING MOON BILL.

(Corrected to February 25.)

Arizona: Tucson Chamber of Commerce.
California: Berkeley Chamber of Commerce, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Oakland Chamber of Commerce and Commercial Club, Redlands Chamber of Commerce, Sacramento Chamber of Commerce, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, and Stockton Chamber of Commerce.
Colorado: Denver Chamber of Commerce.
Connecticut: Hartford Chamber of Commerce and New Haven Chamber of Commerce.
Geografia: Savaneah Research Commerce.

Der of Commerce.

Georgia: Savannah Board of Trade.

Illinois: Chicago National Industrial Traffic League and Peoria Association of Commerce.

Indiana: Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce.

Kansas: Topeka Commercial Club.

Louisiana: New Orleans Association of Commerce.

Maryland: Baltimore Chamber of Commerce.

Massachusetts: Boston Chamber of Commerce and Worcester Chamber

of Commerce, Michigan: Jackson Chamber of Commerce and Pontiac Board of Com-

merce.
Mississippl: Greenwood Business League.
Mississuri: Kansas City Commercial Club.
New Jersey: Trenton Chamber of Commerce.
New York: Buffaló, Chamber of Commerce; Buffaló, Transportation
Club; Kingston, Chamber of Commerce; New York City, The Merchants' Association of New York; New York City, National Machine
Tool Builders' Association; Ogdensburg, Chamber of Commerce; Rochester, Chamber of Commerce; Schenectady, Board of Trade; Utica,
Chamber of Commerce; Watertown, Chamber of Commerce; Onlo: Columbus, Chamber of Commerce; Cincinnati, Business Men's
Club; Cleveland, Chamber of Commerce; Dayton, Greater Dayton
Association; Marion, Chamber of Commerce; Springfield, Commercial
Club; Youngstown, Chamber of Commerce; Zanesville, Chamber of
Commerce.

Club; Youngstown, Chamber of Commerce; Zanesville, Chamber of Commerce.

Oregon: Eugene, Commercial Club; Portland, Chamber of Commerce. Pennsylvania: Erie, Traffic Club; Philadelphia, Chamber of Commerce; Pittsburgh, Chamber of Commerce; Pittsburgh, National Pipe & Supplies Association; Washington, Board of Trade.

Washington: Spokane, Chamber of Commerce; Seattle, Chamber of

Commerce.

Washington: Spokane, Chamber of Commerce; Seattle, Chamber of Commerce.

Pattlal List of Cases in which the Merchants' association of New York has opposed the Position of Rathroads.

Baggage: (a) Excess baggage rates; (b) rates upon excess value (32 I. C. C., 152); (c) maximum dimensions of (26 I. C. C., 292).

Beer, advance in rates (37 I. C. C., 166).

Bill of lading conditions; Now before commission. Association is opposing many of the provisions as unjust and contrary to public policy.

Claims, presentation within four months (29 I. C. C., 417).

Bills of lading, Pomerene bill for regulation supported.

Cartage absorptions by raliroads at New York.

Colorado-Utah rates.

Explosives and dangerous articles, storage charges.

Export carload freight, free time.

Express rates, etc. (24 I. C. C., 380; 28 I. C. C., 131).

Ferry rates (37 I. C. C., 103).

Freight bills, incompleteness of form (29 I. C. C., 496.)

Intermountain rates (1. C. C., 4th section orders).

Lake lines, control by competing raliroads (33 I. C. C., 700).

Lighterage and storage regulations, New York (35 I. C. C., 47).

Rail and lake rates (37 I. C. C., 302).

Refrigerator cars, demurrage charges.

Split tickets (35 I. C. C., 157).

Spokane rates (I. C. C., 4th section orders).

Spotting of cars, charge for (34 I. C. C., 516).

Limitation of Hability (33 I. C. C., 682).

Petition of the Merchants' Association of New York and 208

Allied Business Organizations, Classified by States, as Foi-

PETITION OF THE MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK AND 208
ALLIED BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS, CLASSIFIED BY STATES, AS FOILOWS:

ALABAMA Florence, Tri-State Launderers' Association. Montgomery, Business Men's League.

Douglas, Chamber of Commerce and Mines.

ARKANSAS.

Little Rock: Arkansas Association of Commercial Secretaries, Board of Trade. Texarkana, Board of Trade.

CALIFORNIA.

Fresno: Fresno County Chamber of Commerce, Traffic Association.
Los Angeles, Chamber of Commerce.
Oakland, Merchants' Exchange.
Pasadena, Merchants' Association.
Sacramento, Merchants' and Manufacturers' Traffic Association.
San Diego, Merchants' Association,
San Francisco: Merchants' Association, Merchants' Exchange.
Santa Barbara, Chamber of Commerce.

COLORADO.

Denver, Chamber of Commerce, Pueblo, Pueblo Commerce Club.

CONNECTICUT.

Bridgeport: Board of Trade, Manufacturers' Association,
Danbury, Business Men's Association.
New Britain, Business Men's Association.
New Haven: Business Men's Association, Chamber of Commerce.
Southington, Board of Trade.
Torrington, Business Men's Association,

FLORIDA.

Jacksonville, Board of Trade. Pensacola, Merchants' Association. Tampa, Board of Trade.

GEORGIA.

Athens, Chamber of Commerce.
Atlanta, Chamber of Commerce.
Augusta, Chamber of Commerce.
Rome, Manufacturers' and Merchants' Association of Floyd County, Ga. Savannah, Board of Trade.

IDAHO.

Boise, Commercial Club.

ILIANOIS.

Champaign, Chamber of Commerce, Chicago: Association of Commerce, Illinois Manufacturers' Associa-

Freeport, Citizens' Commercial Association.

Joliet: Industrial committee of Commercial Club, Merchants' Association.
Quincy, Chamber of Commerce.

INDIANA

Evansville, Manufacturers' Association. Indianapolis: Commercial Club, Merchants' Association, Trade Association, Board of Trade, Freight Bureau. South Bend, Chamber of Commerce. Terre Haute, Commercial Club of Terre Haute.

TOWA.

Burlington, Commercial Exchange.
Des Moines, Iowa State Manufacturers' Association.
Forest City, Iowa Retail Clothiers' Association.
Muscatine, Commercial Club.

KANSAS.

Hutchinson, Commercial Club. Kansas City, Mercantile Club.

KENTUCKY.

Louisville: Commercial Club, Board of Trade.

LOUISIANA.

New Orleans, Board of Trade.

Fryeburg, Board of Trade.
Lewiston, Lewiston Board of Trade.
Northeast Harbor, Board of Trade.
Oakland, Board of Trade.
Portland, Merchants' Exchange and Board of Trade.
Yarmouth, Board of Trade.

MARYLAND.

Baltimore: Board of Trade, Chamber of Commerce, Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, Travelers' and Merchants' Association.

MASSACHUSETTS.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Boston: Boston Music Trade Association, Chamber of Commerce, New England Shoe and Leather Association, Oyster Growers' and Dealers' Association of North America, Stationers' Association.
Fitchburg, Board of Trade and Merchants' Association.
Fitchburg, Board of Trade,
Greenfield, Board of Trade,
Haverhil, Board of Trade,
Holyoke, Business Men's Association.
Lowell, Board of Trade,
Mariborough, Board of Trade,
Mariborough, Board of Trade,
Needham, Business Men's Association and Board of Trade,
North Adams, Merchants' Association,
Pittsfield, Board of Trade,
South Framingham, Board of Trade,
South Framingham, Board of Trade,
South Framingham, Board of Trade,
Soringfield, Board of Trade,
Sterling, Business Men's Association,
Winchendon, Board of Trade,
Worcester, Board of Trade,
MICHIGAN,

MICHIGAN.

Detroit, Board of Commerce. Grand Rapids, Board of Trade. Traverse City, Board of Trade.

MINNESOTA.

Duluth, Commercial Club. Minneapolis, Commercial Club.

St. Cloud, Commercial Club. St. Paul, Associated Merchants.

MISSISSIPPI.

Meridian, Board of Trade and Cotton Exchange.

MASSOURI.

Kansas City: American Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, Commercial Club. St. Joseph. Commercial Club. St. Louis, Merchants' Exchange.

NEBRASKA.

Lincoln, Commercial Club. Omaha, Commercial Club.

NEVADA.

Reno. Commercial Club.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Claremont, Board of Trade. Concord, Board of Trade. Manchester, Board of Trade. Nashua, Board of Trade. Rochester, Board of Trade.

NEW JERSEY.

Atlantic City, Business League. Elizabeth, Elizabeth Board of Trade. Newark, Board of Trade. Passaic, Board of Trade. Paterson, Board of Trade.

NEW YORK.

Albany, Chamber of Commerce.

Buffalo: Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers' Club, National
League of Commission Merchants of United States.

Cohoes, Business Men's Association.

Gloversville: Glove Manufacturers' Association, Merchants' Association

Gloversville: Glove Manufacturers' Association, Merchants' Association.

Hudson, Chamber of Commerce,
Johnstown, Board of Trade.
Lockport, Board of Trade.
Middletown, Business Men's Association.
Newburgh, Business Men's Association.
New York City: Association of Ice Cream Manufacturers, Clothiers' Association, Crockery Board of Trade of New York, Eastern Millinery Association (Inc.), Jewelers' Board of Trade, Merchants' Association of New York, National Association of Clothiers, Stationers' Board of Trade.
Brooklyn, Broadway Board of Trade.

rade.

Brooklyn, Broadway Board of Trade.

Olean, Merchants' Exchange.

Rochester, Chamber of Commerce.

Syracuse: Chamber of Commerce, Traffic Bureau.

Trumansburg, Business Men's Association.

Ltica, Chamber of Commerce.

Watertown, Chamber of Commerce.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Asheville, Board of Trade. Elizabeth City: Chamber of Commerce, Merchants' Association. оню.

Ashtabula, Chamber of Commerce.
Cincinnati, Receivers and Shippers' Association.
Cleveland, Chamber of Commerce.
Dayton, Chamber of Commerce.
Hamilton, Chamber of Commerce.
Marietta, Merchants' Association.
Stuebenville, Chamber of Commerce.
Youngstown, Chamber of Commerce. OKLAHOMA.

Muskogee, Traffic Bureau. Oklahoma City: Traffic Association, Chamber of Commerce. OREGON.

Portland, Chamber of Commerce.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Erie: Manufacturers' Association, Chamber of Commerce.
Lancaster, Chamber of Commerce.
Philadelphia: Chamber of Commerce, Commercial Exchange, Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association.
Pittsburgh, Board of Trade.
Uniontown, Chamber of Commerce.
Wilkes-Barre, Board of Trade.
Williamsport, Merchants' Association.
York, Chamber of Commerce.

RHODE ISLAND.

Pawtucket: Business Men's Association, Merchants' Association. Providence: Board of Trade, Rhode Island Business Men's Association.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Sloux Falls: Commercial Club, South Dakota Retail Merchants' and Hardware Dealers' Association.

TENNESSEE.

Chattanooga, Manufacturers' Association. Knoxville, Manufacturers' and Producers' Association.

Alta Loma, Business League.
Austin, Business League.
Barstow, Commercial Club.
Beaumont, Chamber of Commerce.
Del Rio, Commercial Club.
El Paso, Chamber of Commerce.
Laredo, Board of Trade.
Orange, Commercial Club.
Waco, Freight Bureau.
Wichita Falls: Chamber of Commerce, Retail Merchants' Association.

UTAH.

Ludlow, Board of Trade.

Ogden, Weber Club.

VERMONT.

Danville, Commercial Association.
Lynchburg, Board of Tradé.
Norfolk: Board of Trade and Business Men's Association, Rerchants' Association, Retail Merchants' Association of Virginia.
Petersburg, Chamber of Commerce.
Portsmouth, Business Men's Association.
Richmond, Chamber of Commerce.

WASHINGTON.

Seattle, Chamber of Commerce. Spokane, Chamber of Commerce. Tacoma, Commercial Club.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Grafton, Board of Trade. Wheeling: West Virginia Board of Trade, Wheeling Board of Trade. WISCONSIN.

La Crosse, La Crosse Industrial Association.
Milwaukee: Chamber of Commerce, Merchants' and Manufacturers'
Association.
Oshkosh, Chamber of Commerce.
Sheboygan, Business Men's Association.

Oshkosh, Chamber of Commerce.
Sheboygan, Business Men's Association.

In the Matter of the Investigation of Rates and Charges by Express Companies and of the Individual and Joint Classifications, Regulations, and Practices of Said Companies.

I. The petitioners are mercantile associations, 209 in number, located and with their principal places of business, respectively, in the cities and towns throughout the United States as above specifically set forth, and said associations represent a total membership of many thousands of merchants residing and engaged in business in all parts of the United States.

II. The said merchants in the regular transaction of their business find it necessary to make general and extensive use of the service of express companies, and said merchants have suffered for many years past, and now suffer, from unjust and unreasonable charges, classifications, regulations, and practices of each and all of the express companies doing interstate business as common carriers within the United States.

III. Owing to changes in business methods and conditions, shipment by express instead of by freight, in many classes of commodities, have of necessity greatly increased, the use of the speedier express service having become practically compulsory. Because of this forced substitution of express carriage for freight carriage, a large volume of commodities, which formerly paid freight charges that amounted to but a very small percentage of the value of the merchandise now are compelled to pay express charges of such an amount as in many cases to consume the entire margin of profit on the commodities, the ordinary selling prices of which can not be varied to include abnormal and extortionate transportation, collection, and delivery charges. In consequence, the annual aggregate express charges paid by merchants have gradually increased from an almost negligible amount to a heavy item, which in many instances represents an actual loss. It is, therefore, of much importance to merchants and to the business

being charged for express service is unjust and unreasonable and in violation of the act to regulate commerce approved February 4, 1887, as amended by the several acts amendatory thereof and supplemental thereto.

IV. Express service as conducted in the United States is at variance with the usual practice in England, Germany, and other foreign countries, where the railroad companies themselves take up and deliver express freight. In the United States express business as conducted by an individual association or corporation, separate and distinct from the railroad company, was first organized about the year 1839. In about 1854 the Adams Express Co., the American Express Co., and the United States Express Co. were organized and by agreement divided the territory among themselves, and the said Adams Express Co. subsequently, in 1861, surrendered a portion of its territory to the Southern Express Co. The National Express Co. was organized and is controlled by the American Express Co. Wells, Fargo & Co. was organized in 1866 and, like other express companies, has exclusive rights over the railroad lines over which it operates. Through understandings and agreements with one another, in part, and through contracts with the several railroad companies, in part, all of the express companies doing interstate business have exclusive express privileges over railroad lines over which they respectively operate, and competition in express service has been thereby largely climinated, unjust and unreasonable regulations and practices enforced. All of said express companies, by virtue of said contracts with railroad companies and by virtue of the exclusive privileges granted thereby and thereby preventing competition, so base rates for express regipt in units of 100 pounds is from two and one-half to (in some instances) as high as four times the first-class freight rates.

V. Said contracts between the express companies uniformly provide a compensation to the railroad company for express privilege of approximately 50 per cent of

train haulage charge, therefore, should not increase because of subdivision of weight into small parcels, no additional rail haulage cost resulting from such subdivision. A progressively increasing rate is, however, exacted by express companies as the weight of the parcel decreases, and approximately 50 per cent of this increase goes to the railroad. This increase is warrantable in so far as it is imposed to compensate for increased cost of handling and terminal service resulting from the subdivision of a given weight into numerous parcels, but it is not warrantable for the purpose of increasing the train haulage charge, the cost of such haulage service not being increased by the subdivision of weight. In practice the increased rate imposed for subdivision of weight is exacted not only for terminal service but for train haulage service also, so that the haulage charge becomes grossly disproportionate to the fair value of the service rendered by the railroad when the value of that service is measured by the ordinary tonage standard of railroads. By far the greater part of express shipments are in smail parcels which are charged the higher rates of the graduate scale. Under the graduate scale the railroads receive for moving 100 pounds in small parcels as high as thirty-seven and a half times the amount received by them for moving 100 pounds first-class freight.

VI. Notwithstanding the large proportion of gross receipts under said agreements paid by the express companies to the railroad companies for the express privilege, the net returns to the express companies have been out of all proportion to the service performed and the capital invested by them, and each of them—a disproportion so enormous as to seem incredible but for indisputable evidence. The inventories of assets filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission by express companies represent in most part the accumulations from the extortionate charges exacted from the public; and these petitioners, while not claiming that the amount of original capital actually invested is controlling to the exclusion of other elements entering into the service performed, nevertheless urge and charge that the enormous accumulations and enormous dividends paid upon a small investment establish the extent to which extortion has been practiced in the past upon the public by express companies, and will enable the Interstate Commerce Commission the better to determine what are just and reasonable rates for the future; and these petitioners ask for an investigation as to the allegation herein made.

For the purpose of this petition one instance in support thereof will

the extent to which extortion has been practiced in the past upon the public by express companies, and will enable the Interstate Commerce Commission the better to determine what are just and reasonable rates for the future; and these petitioners ask for an investigation as to the allegation herein made.

For the purpose of the specifion one instance in support thereof will allege that the Great Northern Express Co. was organized in 1892 with a capital of \$100,000; that the total cost of this property—read estate, fixtures, and equipment—to June 30, 1909, amounted to only \$71,288.91; and that upon this total investment it has paid during the past 10 vears \$2,200,000 in dividends, and its last annual dividend was \$500,000, in addition to which it has accumulated \$1,488.881.58, all of which dividends and accumulations have arisen from its proportion of its total charges to the public, after payment to And your petitioners charge that the investment of the express companies, other than the Great Northern Express Co. is, approximately, no greater in proportion to the amount of business transacted than in the case herein cited of the Great Northern Express Co., and that the profits of some oi the other express companies are as excessive as, or more excessive than, therein stated of the Great Northern Express Co. VII. Charges for express sortice include, in addition to charges for or though shipments passing over lines of two or more companies include the sum of the local charge of each company, each company imposing the full graduate charge for the distance covered by it. When the service is thus rendered by more than two companies, the full graduate charge for the distance covered by it. When the service is thus rendered by more than two companies, the furnish services with the result that in numerous instances packages, attlough sort by any interest that payment for two terminal service whatever is performed.

VIII. The several express companies, by virtue of the agreements and understandings to which they several

XII. The said express companies impose additional charges, other than the additional charges mentioned in the paragraph numbered XI. Among such additional charges your petitioners allege that said express companies collect in excess of tariff rates, for delivery beyond specified limits, and for delivery to steamship companies; and in this connection your petitioners call attention to the printed tariff express rate from Buffalo to New York, the rate being 90 cents on a package of 44 pounds weight. When such a package is addressed in care of a steamship company an additional charge of 50 cents is exacted for delivery to steamship pier

XIII. Express companies, in addition to the express service performed by them, engage in the business of selling money orders which, by the terms thereof, are payable at the express companies' offices at the points to which the renittances are to be made. But it is not the practice of the said companies to provide sufficient funds in the hands of their agents in the numerous small offices throughout the country to enable said agents in all cases to pay such express money orders. Therefore, in many instances, the merchant is required to deposit the express money order in his local bank and to pay the collection charges to the bank, the bank being required to send the express order to the nearest large central express office and being often required to pay the return express charges upon the currency. Either the conduct of such banking business by the express companies, common carriers, is improper, or it should be sanctioned. If it is to be sanctioned, then the said companies should be required to keep sufficient funds on deposit in all local offices with which to pay said express money orders when issued by the express companies. This, in practice, being an impossibility, the express companies holding themselves out as common carriers should not be permitted to impose upon the public, as they do impose, in claiming to sell an express money order at a cost of, say, 15 cents, wherea

in remitting the funds.

XIV. Petitioners further allege that it is the practice of said express companies, their agents and employees, to transact business other than legitimate express business, in addition to the banking business as set forth in the preceding paragraph No. 13, and allege that said express companies engage in a brokerage and commission business in competition with the legitimate merchants who are obliged to employ the services of said express companies, in which competition the said merchants are necessarily under a serious disadvantage through self-favoritism on the part of the express companies, their agents, and employees.

merchants are necessarily under a serious disadvantage through self-favoritism on the part of the express companies, their agents, and employees.

XV. Petitioners further aliege that said express companies impose unjust discriminatory rates against American merchants in favor of parcels originating in British territory, and aliege as an instance that among other discriminatory rates an 11-pound package of merchandise delivered to the American Express Co. by the British postal authorities at New York will be carried by said company to any point of the United States—San Francisco, for instance—at a charge of only 24 cents, whereas the rate for New York merchants to San Francisco is \$1.65.

XVI. These petitioners further charge that the indirect method of handling express freight in the United States through the agency of separate and distinct express companies was in some instances adopted by the railroad companies, in part through undue favoritism to those in control of the railroad companies and in part through the direct ownership of express company stock by the railroads, as a means of concealing from the public the unjust and unreasonable excess of charges received by the railroads for express freight when compared to the rates of first-class freight. To the end that these practices may be fully understood and corrected and just and reasonable charges established, these petitioners ask that this honorable commission include in the scope of the investigation herein prayed for an examination of the origin and terms of each and all of said contracts for express privilege and a disclosure of the names of the stockholders of each of said express companies, particularly as to express company stock held by railroad companies, their officers and agents.

XVII. Frequently these petitioners receive from merchants and shippers, members of said organizations, complaints of unjust and unreasonable charges imposed by express companies and of unjust and unreasonable charges for insurance, and impositions regarding money or

panies.

Special reference may be here made to the delays of said express companies in settlement of claims. Correspondence covering a period of more than a year from the merchant members of these petitioning organizations indicate that such delays are the rule and not the exception, and are of such frequent occurrence and of such prolonged duration as to indicate either gross inadequacy of methods, with defective internal organization, or systematic and intentional procrastination to avoid reavener. payment.

To bring a separate complaint before this honorable commission for each of said complainants upon each specific instance of unjust and unreasonable charges and unjust and unreasonable regulations and practices would, in sustaining each complaint, largely duplicate the amount of work involved and the evidence to be introduced, thereby imposing unnecessarily upon the time of this honorable commission in the trial of each such separate proceeding, as well as imposing upon all parties the time and expense of trial to reach determinations which largely relate to the general basis of charges and to similar unjust ruses and practices of said express companies. Upon information and belief these petitioners allege that separate complaints upon specific charges have heretofore been made and are now pending or have been determined by this honorable commission, and your petitioners seek through the investigation herein requested to avoid the duplication of such work, time, and expense.

Wherefore your petitioners pray that this honorable commission will of its own initiative institute an investigation of interstate express service and of the companies engaged in the express business and doing interstate business as to the unjust and unreasonable rates, classifications, regulations, and practices herein charged against said companies, to the end that this honorable commission may determine and prescribe what will be the just and reasonable individual and joint rates and charges to be thereafter observed as the maximum to be charged and what individual and joint classifications, regulations, and practices are just, fair, and reasonable to be thereafter followed.

JOHN W. GRIGGS,
No. 27 Pine Street, New York City,
BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD,
No. 149 Broadway, New York City,
Counsel for Petitioners.

NOVEMBER 19, 1910.

THE MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK AGAINST FURTHER EXTENSION OF THE PARCEL POST SERVICE.

NEW YORK, February 20, 1915.

The following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted by the board of directors of the Merchants' Association of New York at a meeting held February 20, 1914:

"Whereas the Postmaster General is empowered by law at his discretion to determine the weight limit of parcels which may be transmitted by mail, to make regulations relating thereto, and to fix and change the rates therefor; and
"Whereas the parcel post, although useful and desirable within its present limits, is by reason of numerous limitations unfitted effectively to meet all the needs of commerce for quick transportation; and and

and

Whereas the express service fully provides for those needs in a highly efficient manner, and at rates fairly proportioned to the cost of rendering the service; and

Whereas the extension of the parcel post weight limit to 100 pounds would so deplete the volume of traffic available to the express companies as to make their operation profitless and force their retirement:

panies as to make their operation profities and force their retirement:

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this board the express service is an indispensable agency for quick transportation, whose continuance is imperatively required by the needs of commerce; that the parcel post as at present organized would be a wholly inadequate substitute, inferior in many respects to express service; that it is lacking in many important features essential to a complete service, and being unadapted to many classes of traffic, its substitution would leave that traffic unprovided for.

"Resolved, That if the parcel post be so expanded as to cover the entire field of quick transportation it can not in any event perform that function more efficiently or economically than it is now performed by the express companies, and that in all likelihood the cost will be greater.

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this board no social or economic benefit will result from substituting the parcel post for the express service beyond the limits now established, but that on the contrary, serious harm to the country's traffic facilities will ensue, with a probable loss resulting from the parcel post's operations, to be borne by the Public Treasury.

"Resolved, That the further extension of the parcel post be opposed by this association, and that the reasons for such opposition be stated in full in a proper memorial to Congress."

W. A. Marrie, President.

W. A. MARBLE, President. S. C. MEAD, Secretary.

AGAINST FURTHER EXTENSION OF THE PARCEL-POST SERVICE.

W. A. Marrie, President. S. C. Mero, Secretary.

Against further extension of the parcel-post service.

Under the existing law, the Postmaster General is authorized, at his discretion, to modify the regulations as to fourth-class, or "parcel-post" matter, either by changing the prevailing rates or by increasing the weight of parcels which may be transmitted by mail.

It has been stated that the Postmaster General contemplates extending to 100 pounds the weight limit of such parcels.

This association is opposed to any further extension, for the reason that it would so deplete the volume of traffic available to the express companies as to make their operation profitiess, and thereby force their retirement.

The Merchants' Association has hitherto been a chief agent in subjecting the express companies to effective regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission. It formulated a proceeding against them (and secured the concurrence therein of 213 business organizations, representing every section of the United States) whereby their rates were radically reduced, numerous defects were remedied, and greatly increased efficiency was secured. The previous record of this association in opposition to the express companies is therefore a quaranty that in taking its present position it is acting primarily as the champion of shippers and of the public interest, and not as the special advocate of express interests.

The express service is a highly efficient agency for completely and economically performing transportation functions indispensable to the business community. The parcel post is a much less efficient agency, omitting elements of service which are imperative for business needs. To supplant the express companies by the parcel post will deprive the business community of a complete and wholly adequate service, and substitute one that, under existing conditions, is incomplete, inferior, and in many ways inadequate.

We contend that the Government is justified in invading the transportation filed only within the limits

Thus reformed, the express companies perform the function of quick transportation within their field as efficiently and as cheaply as is reasonably possible. As to a large part of this field, the service can no more efficiently or economically be provided by the parcel post or any other agency. As to another part of the field, the parcel post can not on any justifiable grounds undertake the necessary service. The abolition of the express companies, and the substitution of the parcel post (for which no sound reason of economics or public policy can be shown) would therefore leave a considerable transportation gap, and important industries and interests would be without means of quick transportation.

We have above stated the broad grounds upon which we oppose the expansion of the Parcel Post Service. We shall now show in sufficient detail the conditions which warrant our conclusions.

I. THE PROPER FIELD OF THE PARCEL POST.

I. THE PROPER FIELD OF THE PARCEL POST.

expansion of the Parcel Post Service. We shall now show in sufficient detail the conditions which warrant our conclusions.

I. THE PROPER FIELD OF THE PARCEL POST.

Means for the speedy and cheap transportation of small parcels to every part of the country is a public necessity. Where such means do not exist, or are insufficient, the Government may properly supply them. Where the Government can provide a particular quick transportation service better or more cheaply than can existing agencies, it is justified in competing with such existing agencies. Where the Government can give neither better nor cheaper service, competition by it is unjustifiable.

By cheaper service is meant not lesser charges but lesser cost. No efficient private agency has hitherto undertaken generally to provide quick and cheap transportation service to those extensive areas not immediately contiguous to railroads. While efficient service might be supplied by private agencies, the cost would be so great as to make it economically impracticable. The existing extensive machinery of the ordinary postal service penetrates every part of the large areas hitherto without adequate quick transportation service. By utilizing that machinery the Government can, besides the ordinary postal functions, perform to a moderate degree the added function of quick transportation without disproportionate increase in cost.

The Government, therefore, in areas away from railroads, can more efficiently and economically than any private agency perform a necessary and highly useful public service which, without its intervention, would not be performed. Within the field noted, the assumption by the Government of the transportation function is justified on grounds of public policy.

Within the territory directly served by railroads the carriage of small parcels has hitherto been done mainly by the express service; but within this field there is room for a particular transportation service, less complete and at lesser charges than that of the express companies of the

has the option of a partial service by the parcel post for a small charge or a complete service by the express companies for a higher charge.

Here, then, is a legitimate field in which the parcel post can render a service acceptable to and demanded by the public but impracticable to the express companies.

But the limits within which this competion is of economic advantage are narrow. The collection service is indispensable to regular shippers. Indemnity for loss and damage is likewise requisite to that class. The costs of these factors can not be escaped by omitting them from the transportation charges. In that event they will merely be paid in another form. The omission by the post office of receipts and controlling and accounting records, while it lessens operating costs, increases the volume of loss. The limit of possible economics in deliveries is reached when additional carriers or wagon service are required for the movement of parcels.

It is obvious, therefore, that the parcel post can effect a true economic saving in this field only in the case of small parcels of little value, for the reason that large parcels can not be delivered by the shipper to the post office except at a cost equal to or greater than the collection charge, and that in the case of valuable parcels the lesser charges would not meet the costs of loss or damage.

We have now denoted the limits within which, and only within which, the parcel post can supply an otherwise unsupplied social necessity and effect an economic saving, namely, the provision of quick transportation service where it does not otherwise exist and the carriage of small parcels of low value for small charges and with incomplete service.

The most rigid scrutiny of the remainder of the quick transportation field will fall to reveal any economic saving, any increase in efficiency, or any social benefit that can be effected by the parcel post. This we shall show.

II. THE ESSENTIALS OF ADEQUATE QUICK-TRANSPORTATION SERVICE.

Over 90 per cent of small parcel shipments originating in cities are merchants' shipments. For regular, prompt, and economical dispatch of these a thoroughly organized collection system is indispensable. By no other means can the assembling of great numbers of small parcels at railroad stations be so well or so cheaply effected. The omission of this service would impose upon merchants a greater expense than at present and tend to lessen celerity of movement.

The delivery of a shipment to a carrier, when evidenced by a receipt, constitutes a legal delivery to the consignee. The lack of such receipt would make proof of delivery difficult and sometimes impossible, and in case of nondelivery merchants would often be seriously embarassed in enforcing their rightful claims against consignees. Nor can claims against carriers be enforced without the proof of responsibility afforded by a receipt. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, to merchant shippers that receipts be given, as the payment of debts due them will often depend thereon.

Indemnity for loss and damage must be assured, otherwise shippers will be debarred by the risk of heavy loss from using quick transit

whenever it is possible to avoid it. They will thereby often be deprived of an extremely useful facility.

Records controlling movement, locating responsibility, and for tracing shipments when necessary are necessary to secure proper care by employees and to the adjustment of claims. They are essential to any system assuming indemnity, and without them the volume of loss through carelessness and theft would be greatly increased. The passage of unrecorded articles of merchandise through numerous hands offers far greater opportunities for and temptation to theft than in the handling of letter mail.

Security for valuable packages during transmission must be provided. Without special means for security the transmission of currency, coin, bullion, jewelry, valuable papers, and similar articles involves so much risk as to be impracticable. Provision for indemnity does not do away with the need for security, as a loss, even if paid for, involves long delay, effectually defeats the purpose of quick transportation, causes much trouble to both shipper and consignee, and often causes the loss of disappointed customers.

Protection against damage in transit is of importance, especially in the case of fragile articles. Indemnity is no substitute, for the reasons stated above.

Meny fragile articles recovers a careful and skillful necking to prevent

Protection against damage in transit is of importance, especially in the case of fragile articles. Indemnity is no substitute, for the reasons stated above.

Many fragile articles require careful and skillful packing to prevent damage in transit. If the packages are opened it is impracticable properly to repack the articles, and frequent damage is certain. It is highly important, therefore, that parcels be not opened in transit, in order that the original packing be not disturbed. The objections to opening packages containing delicate fabrics or any articles liable to damage from handling are obvious. If a shipment contains such articles as hosiery, gloves, handkerchiefs, or numerous small units opening in transit is certain to result in frequent pilifering.

Provision must be made for the movement of all commodities for which quick transportation is needed, irrespective of character, weight, or size. Upon the provision and perfect organization of quick service without weight limit depends in very large degree the movement, especially to distant markets, of perishable fruits, meats, milk, poultry, and various food products. The absence of this service involves a great curtaliment of the present outlets for important food Industries and detriment to the consumer. For this branch of traffic refrigeration is necessary. This requires refrigerator cars, ice houses at numerous points, feing en route, and solid-train movement on special schedule. The service must provide for glassware, liquids, live animals, machines, carriages, automobiles, boats, for uncommon bulk, for heavy weight—in short, for anything that requires quick movement. The range of articles of this class is large.

A completely efficient quick transportation service, therefore, must provide not merely for the ordinary, most frequent, and least difficult demands, but also for the less common, more difficult, and those which require special facilities.

III. THE PARTIAL SERVICE OF THE PARCEL POST AND THE COMPLETE SERVICE OF THE EXPRESS COMPANIES.

The parcel post omits the following essentials of a complete service:

1. It does not collect parcels.

2. It does not give receipts.

3. It does not provide indemnity for loss, except upon extra payment, and only to the amount of \$50.

4. It does not provide any indemnity for damage.

5. It does not provide controlling records, by reason of which omission the volume of loss is increased.

6. It does not provide special means of security for valuable parcels.

7. It does not provide adequate protection against damage, but, on the contrary, promotes damage and loss by opening in transit.

8. It does not provide for the transportation of a wide range of special commodities.

6. It does not provide special means of security for valuable parcels.

7. It does not provide dequate protection against damage, but, on the contrary, promotes damage and loss by opening in transit.

8. It does not provide for the transportation of a wide range of special commodities.

Unless the parcel post removes these defects it can not by any possibility fill the entire field of quick transportation. It can invade it to a considerable extent, but the service performed by it will be materially less efficient and less comprehensive than that now supplied by the express companies. The result of that invasion would be twofold two did partially supplant an adequate service by an inferior service, and by compelling the express companies to retire by depletion of their traffic would leave a considerable part of the field without needed traffic facilities:

No reasonable person will contend that to destroy an adequate transportation system and replace it by an inadequate system will in any way benefit the community.

It will, however, be said that all the enumerated defects of the parcel post can be removed and an efficiency equal to that of the express service be attained. It is unquestionably true that the parcel post might be so organized as to supply a service as complete and efficient in every respect as that of the express companies.

In that case, however, the parcel post would be compelled to provide every essential to a complete service, as enumerated in Section II above. To do that it would have to employ methods and equipment in all respects substantially identical with that of the express companies. It would need wagon service for collection and delivery, terminal and transfer buildings in all great cities, additional quarters in smaller towns, employees equal in number to those now employed in the express service, and the assumption of full liability for loss and damage. Moreover, it would be required to remove all weight limit and provide whatever facilities are necessary for any commodity requiring

To conclude, we repeat that we see no possible public advantage in so extending the operations of the parcel post as to destroy an efficient and economical agency of transportation and substituting therefor an agency at present decidedly inferior in vital particulars and which it so expanded as to be fully efficient will in all likelihood result in an annual loss to be borne by the Public Treasury.

Very respectfully,

The Merchants' Association of New York,
By W. A. Marble, President.

Crippling the Parcel Post.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM.

OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 4, 1916.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Baltimore Sun of March 1, 1916: The editorial is as follows:

CRIPPLING THE PARCEL POST.

On the face of it the action of the House of Representatives in prohibiting any increase in the existing limit of 50 pounds on parcel-post packages looks like a very narrow and short-sighted proceeding. It looks even worse. It would seem to indicate that the express companies had somehow got a snap judgment on the people in this matter. We trust that the action of the House was due to lack of understanding rather than to corporation activity; but whatever the cause it made a very serious mistake, which it is to be hoped the Senate will correct. Congressman Lewis did not hesitate to say that its practical effect, whether so intended or not, will be directly in the interest of the express companies, which is equivalent to saying that it will not be in the interest of the people. This extract from Mr. Lewis's speech of opposition is worth repeating:

"If this bill passes with this heart stab in it aimed at the parcel post and with the parcel post hog-tied in comparison with the express companies of the country, the stocks of the express companies will go up \$25,000,000 in a week. All the express companies want is to have their great competitor hog-tied, and they want him hog-tied especially on rails. Our experience in the last three years is that of the seven parcels now moving, the express companies in the past could move only three. Their rates were so high, their limitations of service were so great, that four out of seven of the people's parcels were killed at the very point of origin. The proof of that is that 700,000,000 parcels are now moving, counting the service of the express companies and the post office combined, as against only 300,000,000 moving by the express companies in 1912."

It would be interesting to know the reasons which induced the majority of the House to ignore both Mr. Lewis's conclusive statement and the protest of the Postmaster General. If any sinister influences have been at work, the country shoud be informed of it. We hope Mr. Lewis will not give up the fight, but will follow the b

Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN Q. TILSON, OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 6, 1916.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, I have no desire to lay claim to extraordinary prescience, but on the now much-talked-about subject of preparedness I wish to bring to the attention of the membership of the House a few remarks made by me more than membership of the House a few remarks made by the more than five years ago. The circumstances under which I made those remarks were that an amendment to the Army appropriation bill was pending which provided for additional field artillery, and I was urging its adoption. Many of those now most vociferously proclaiming the need of preparation were then

either indifferent or actively opposed.

The present war has emphasized the importance of this particular arm of the service, as it has revealed our comparative weakness in this arm. At a later date I hope to submit to the House some observations on the subject of national defense, supplementing what I said a few days ago, along practical lines as to the best way of accomplishing it. For the present I am content to reproduce here, under leave to extend in the Record, the remarks made by me on January 17, 1911, appearing on pages 1014-1016 of the Congressional Record of the third session of the Sixty-first Congress, without addition and without subtraction:

SPEECH DELIVERED ON JANUARY 17, 1911.

Mr. Tilson. Mr. Chairman, I doubt if this paragraph is subject to a point of order; but even if it were, it seems to me that the importance of it is such that the point of order should be withdrawn.

We have heard much in an earlier discussion to-day in regard to preparedness for war. In our enthusiasm, while listening to these patriotic utterances, we have grown brave, and no doubt all of us feel that we could safely discard most of our present preparations for war and go out and whip almost any country without them. It seems to me, however, that we should come down to earth again, look cold facts in the face, and go along the even tenor of our way in making such appropriations as may be necessary and proper for military pur-

poses.

We frequently hear from well-informed people, and even on the floor of this House, sneering references to the large appropriations for wars, past and future. Varying figures are given showing the proportion of the appropriations for these purposes to the total expenditures of the Government, running as high as 73 per cent. Just a few days ago this House added to the percentage by passing, under suspension of the rules and by a very large majority, a bill generally increasing pensions and augmenting the pension rolls by more than forty millions per annum. The wars of the past have cost much and are still costing very large sums in claims growing out of war and in pensions "for him who has borne the battle and for his widow and orphans." There is no denying the fact that the expense of maintaining the Army and the Navy is very large.

Mr. Goulden. I know the gentleman desires to be entirely fair, as he always is, but in his statement about the amount appropriated the other day, \$40,000,000 annually, I think he should have said that that amount will decrease from year to year, owing to the large death rate among the old soldiers. The gentleman's statement might create the impression that the charge upon the Treasury would be \$40,000,000 annually for years to come, and I know he does not wish that impression

to go out to the country.

Mr. Tilson. I am very glad to be corrected if I am wrong. As I remember the report on that bill, it stated that it added \$45,000,000 to the pension roll. In order to be conservative I

made it \$40,000,000.

Mr. Goulden. That will be the first year, but there are 36,000 deaths now annually among the veterans of the Civil War, and will be 40,000 deaths next year and very likely 50,000 deaths five years from this time, and so on, so that the amount will decrease very rapidly from year to year.

Mr. Tilson. I am not complaining at all of pensions for the

old soldiers.

Mr. Goulden. Of that fact I am confident, as the gentle-

man has always been friendly to the veteran.

Mr. Tilson. It is said, or at any rate assumed, as a basis for the apparent criticism of these large expenditures, that there is no danger of this country's being involved in war within the near future. I am in accord with the belief that war is not imminent. I do not believe that war is coming soon, and I certainly most fervently hope and pray that it may never come. My service on the Committee on Military Affairs of this House has not caused me to fear immediate war, but it has increased my sense of responsibility for the awful consequences if war should come and find us unprepared. No one can rightfully accuse me of being afflicted with "bellophobia." In fact, I am second to none in my abhorrence of war, for I realize that Gen. Sherman in his famous declaration on that subject only very mildly described its character and consequences.

I have had a brief service as a soldier in the Volunteer Army of the United States and a somewhat longer service in the National Guard of my own State. This service has caused me to know something of the hardships of the soldier's life in the field, even when not in the presence of an enemy, and we all know from history the terrible consequences of actual conflict. It is, in fact, easy to picture the most gruesome scenes of blood and carnage without in anywise going beyond the truth.

In our study of the past as a guide in our preparation for the future it is proper to consider how much could have been saved of both blood and treasure by a proper preparation for those wars in which our country has heretofore engaged. Take the case of the War of 1812; we had in the field at that time a little more than half a million men.

We spent quite a large sum of money, large for that day, and the history of the military operations of that conflict is made up largely of a series of defeats and disasters. With the exception of the battle of Lundys Lane and at New Orleans (fought after a treaty of peace had been signed) there is practically no other tale to tell, so far as the land operations were concerned. Owing to the fact that Great Britain was at that time engaged in the Napoleonic wars we escaped rather fortunately. The entire force of regular troops used against us amounted to less than 60,000 men. This very Capitol was captured and burned, so far as it was inflammable, by a small force which was opposed by a body of our own men more than twice as large, certainly just as brave, but without proper preparation or training. For the Mexican War we were somewhat better prepared than for the War of 1812, and we had an enemy much less prepared than ourselves

The greatest object lesson, however, came in the War of the Rebellion. At no time in our history had military preparations or military interest sunk to so low a point as at the beginning of the Civil War. The State Militia of that time could only by a figure of speech be called the Organized Militia. The small regular force was not well equipped. If it had not been for the fact that the arms of the United States were opposed by arms in the hands of men not even so well prepared the results of that war would have been more disastrous than they were. There is the best of ground for the opinion that 50,000 regular troops, well equipped and well trained, on the Union side at the first battle of Bull Run, would have decided that conflict and terminated the war in the summer of 1861.

In the War with Spain it was the same old story. Lack of preparation caused us to rush into the field regiments half equipped and less than half trained. Yes, more; we had to rush into the market and buy all sorts of transportation facilities, both by land and sea, as well as supplies, ordnance, and ammunition at almost any price they might be offered, and to accept almost whatever quality of goods that might be fur-

nished—a very costly as well as dangerous necessity.

Preparation for war and lack of preparation are quite analogous to insurance. You can not insure when the risk against which you would insure is at hand, and in this generation you can not prepare for war after hostilities have begun without running the risk of not having your preparation complete until the war is over I have the honor to represent on the floor of this House a State small in area, but great in other respects. and especially so in the field of insurance. Connecticut believes in insurance for her own people and for others, so shown by the millions of risks written every year by her great insurance companies. In fact, she stands preeminent among her sisters as an insurance State. The life insurance companies of Connecticut write millions of insurance annually and receive vast sums in premiums in payment therefor. Why do men insure their lives, paying premiums that often become a heavy burden? They do not expect to die this year or next year. And what should we say of the man who postponed insuring his life for the protection of his family until the death malady had seized him? His place of business may have been for years a popular resort of life insurance soliciting agents, but when it is known that some fatal disease has finally seized him, the agents pass him with a shrug of the shoulders, saying "too bad." if he applies in person the insurance companies decline to do anything for him. Everyone knows the result: He probably dies and leaves his wife and children paupers.

A prudent man purchases accident insurance at considerable expense to protect his family and himself against temporary or permanent loss of earning power through accident. What would you say of the man who attempted to take out an accident policy after the train in which he is traveling had left the

track and started to roll down the embankment?

Mr. Goulden. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Tilson. I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GOULDEN. I would like to answer the question that the gentleman has just asked in the words of the Good Book, which says:

He who fails to provide for his own, they of his own household, hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel.

Mr. Tr.son. I thoroughly agree with the gentleman from New York.

A careful business man insures his building against loss by fire and renews the insurance year by year, at considerable expense without expecting his building to burn—that is, if he is honest. What would you say of the man who had all of his property engaged in a single business who waited until the corner of his building was on fire before attempting to take out a fire-insurance policy? Or more broadly, what would property owners and the public generally say of a city government that took no steps toward procuring fire apparatus or training firemen until after fire had already broken out in the city? A volunteer bucket brigade would then be the best that could be done.

Instead of this we see cities spending millions for costly firefighting apparatus and for the maintenance of a well-trained

In my own city of New Haven, with a population of a little less than 150,000, there is invested in fire-fighting apparatus and equipment a half million dollars; and we have a force numbering nearly 200 of the bravest and sturdiest of our young men, all maintained at an annual expense to the taxpayers of a quarter of a million dollars, because our mayor and aldermen and the people back of them fully realize the wisdom and necessity of being ready for the conflagration which they hope will never come, and because they know that it requires months and years to secure the proper and necessary apparatus and train the most efficient firemen. All these are but analogies to our lack of preparation for war and illustrations of the arguments and insinuations against proper appropriations for this

In former times and even in the days of our fathers when wars came they came with more or less deliberation. Communication of intelligence was limited to the speed of a courier or a sailing vessel, and transportation by land and sea was both sailing vessel, and transportation by land and sea was both slow and difficult. Preparation for war in those early days of our history was a simple matter. Firearms were more generally owned and used both for hunting purposes and for protection against wild animals and savage men. The largest guns then used could be literally cast overnight, while the preparation of ammunition was a quick and easy matter. Those simple times have passed. Communication of intelligence is now instantaneous. The sea itself, then the greatest barrier against stantaneous. The sea itself, then the greatest barrier against our enemies, as well as our own best defense, is to-day the very best and quickest means of conveying an enemy to our shores. In contrast with the weapons of those earlier days the weapons used to-day are of a highly complex character, delicately adjusted, and require much time and money to make; while the men who are to use them require skill and careful training for the effective handling of such delicate instruments. Even the ammunition requires much time and skill to manufacture. Our guns are now of long range and in the preparation of am-

our guns are now of long range and in the preparation of ammunition for these guns great precision is required in order to make them accurate and effective.

The last paragraph of this bill, against which the gentleman from New York [Mr. Michael E. Driscoll] has reserved the point of order, aims at supplying in part one of the most urgent needs if we would keep our small military establishment in any reasonable degree of readiness for possible hostilities. Our stock of small arms is reasonably adequate, about two-thirds of which are of the latest improved model of the Springfield of which are of the facest improved floods of the Springhen rifle; and the reserve stock of ammunition for these arms, though somewhat small, can without great danger be replen-ished quickly. Lack of field artillery and ammunition is much more serious. If a war of any magnitude were suddenly precipitated, it is very clear that raw troops would have to be used, and it is a well-known fact that the proper use of an abundance of field artillery is the best possible means of giving confidence to and securing steadiness among raw troops. Yet the proportion of field pieces to the number of bayonets and solves of even our small force is ridiculously small as compared sabers of even our small force is ridiculously small as compared to the armies of other countries, while the amount of field artillery ammunition on hand is less than half that required

by the military regulations for a single campaign.

I yield to no one in the fervor of my desire for peace, not even to that distinguished apostle of peace in this House, my friend from Missouri, Mr. Bartholdt. I joyfully welcome to the field that latest and newest peace organization with the longest name, "The American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes." I am rejoiced to see the very large and imposing gifts of Mr. Carnegie to be used to promote the peace of the world. I may have my own doubts as to whether the manner in which those large sums of money have been and will be spent will accomplish as much for the promotion of lasting peace as if they were expended for the pay and training of the Organized Militia, the raising, equipping, and maintaining of a few good batteries of field artillery, or even the building of a battleship, but that is only a matter of honest opinion and is not for me to decide.

If I did not believe that every dollar we appropriate in this bill and all other bills for the support of the Army and the Navy, for the training of the Organized Militia, and for the strengthening of our seacoast defenses, either directly or indirectly, aids in preventing war and securing a more permanent peace, I should vote to keep it in the Treasury. Because I stand on this floor to advocate such an appropriation, I shall not permit myself to be forced into the attitude of favoring war and be classed in the list of bloodthirsty ogres hungering for human gore. I feel that I am advocating only such appropriations as

common prudence dictates as the minimum necessity for proper preparation. I am a peace-loving man and long for that day when "the peace of God which passeth all understanding" shall possess the hearts and minds of all men everywhere so that they shall never again desire war; but in order to help hasten that millennial day I deem it the part of the highest wisdom as well as my solemn duty to favor reasonable, yes, ample, appropriations for military and naval purposes.

The Colombian Treaty.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE.

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 6, 1916.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in the course of my remarks on the Colombian treaty and the prerogative of the House of Representatives in connection therewith on February 19 last the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Kitchin] asked me to insert a comparison of the so-called Bryan treaty of 1914, now under consideration by the Senate, with the Root-Cortes treaty of 1909. I have had these two treaties put in parallel columns for the convenience of those who are interested and present them herewith, with a few remarks and comparisons, showing the differences existing between them:

THE TWO TREATIES COMPARED.

ROOT-CORTES TREATY, 1909.

BRYAN TREATY, 1914.

There shall be mutual and inviolable peace and sincere friend-ship between the Governments and peoples of the two high contract-ing parties without exception of persons or places under their re-spective dominion.

I.

The Government of the United States of America, wishing to put at rest all controversies and differences with the Republic of Colombia arising out of the events from which the present situation on the Isthmus of Panama resulted, expresses in its own name and in the name of the people of the United States, sincere regret that anything should have occurred to interrupt or to mar the relations of cordial friendship that had so long subsisted between the two nations.

The Government of the Republic of Colombia, in its own name and in the name of the Colombian people, accepts this declaration in the full assurance that every obstacle to the restoration of complete harmony between the two countries will thus disappear.

[Senate committee amendment: The Governments of the United States and the Republic of Colombia, in their own names and in the names of their respective peoples, wishing to put at rest all controversies and differences between them arising out of the events from which the present situation on the Isthmus of Panama resulted, express sincere regret that anything should have occurred to interrupt or to mar the relations of cordial friendship that had so long subsisted between the two nations.]

II.

II.

In consideration of the provisions and stipulations hereinafter contained, it is agreed as follows:

The Republic of Colombia shall have liberty at all times to convey through the ship canal now in course of construction by the United States across the Isthmus of Panama the troops, materials of war and ships of war of the Republic of Colombia without paying any duty to the United States; even in the case of an international war between Colombia and another country.

While the said interoceanic canal is in course of construction, the troops and materials for war of the Republic of Colombia, even in the case of an international war between Colombia and any other country, shall be transported on the railway between Ancon and Cristobal, or on any other railway substituted therefor, upon the same conditions on which

The Republic of Colombia shall enjoy the following rights in respect to the interoceanic canal and the Panama Railway.

1. The Republic of Colombia shall be at liberty at all times to transport through the interoceanic canal its troops, materials of war, and ships of war, even in case of war between Colombia and another country, without paying any charges to the United States.

[No exception in case of war between Colombia and Panama; or between Colombia and Panama; or between Colombia and Nicaragua, with which the United States is concluding a treaty conveying options and leaseholds which are claimed by Colombia to be in violation of its sovereignty. (S. Doc. 474, 637d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 250-252.)]

4. During the construction of the interoceanic canal and afterwards, whenever traffic by the canal is interrupted or whenever it

similar service is rendered to the United States.

United States.

The officers, agents, and employees of the Government of Colembia shall, during the same period, be entitled to free passage upon the said rallway across the Isthmus of Panama upon due netification to the rallway officials and the production of evidence of their official character.

The foregoing provisions of this article shall not, however, apply in case of war between Colombia and Panama.

The products of the soil and industry of the Republic of Colombia, such as provisions, cattle, etc., shall be admitted to entry in the Canal Zone, subject only to such duty as would be payable on similar products of the United States of America under similar conditions, so far as the United States of America has any right or authority to fix the conditions of such importations.

Colombian laborers employed in the Canai Zone during the construction of the canai who may desire that their own families supply them with provisions for their personal use shall be entitled to have such provisions admitted to the Canai Zone for delivery to them free of any duty, provided that declaration thereof shall first have been made before the commissary officers of the Isthmian Canai Commission, in order to obtain the previous permit for such entry and subject to such reasonable regulations as shall be prescribed by the commission for insuring the bona fides of the transaction.

Colombian mails shall have free passage through the Canal Zone and through the post offices of Ancon and Cristobal, in the Canal Zone, paying only such duties or charges as are paid by the mails of the United States.

During the construction of the canal Colombian products passing over the Isthmian Railway from and to Colombian ports shall be transported at the lowest rates which are charged for similar products of the United States passing over said railway to and from the ports of the United States passing over said railway to and from the ports of the United States; and see sait, exclusively produced in Colombia, passing from the Atlantic coast of Colombia to any Colombian port on the Pacific coast shall be transported over said railway free of any charge except the

shall be necessary for any other reason to use the rallway, the troops, materials of war, products, and mails of the Republic of Colombia, as above mentioned, shall, even in case of war between Colombia and another country, be transported on the railway between Ancon and Cristobal or on any other railway substituted therefor, paying only the same charges and duties as are imposed upon the troops, materials of war, products and mails of the United States. The officers, agents, and employees of the Government of Colombia shall, upon production of proper proof of their official character or their employment, also be entitled to passage on the said railway on the same terms as officers, agents, and employees of the Government of the United States. The provisions of this paragraph shall not, however, apply in case of war between Colombia and Panama.

[The wording of this paragraph, unlike that in the Root treaty, ex-

Panama.

[The wording of this paragraph, milize that in the Root treaty, excepts the use of the railway only, and not the canal, in the event of war between Colombia and Panama. Both railway and canal may be used by Colombia in a war with Nicaragua.

Equal transportation charges allowed, after completion of canal, instead of during construction, as in the Root treaty. Congress fixes charges and has not authorized this arrangement.]

2. The products of the soil and industry of Colombia passing through the canal, as well as the Colombian malls, shall be exempt from any charge or duty other than those to which the products and mails of the United States may be subject. The products of the soil and industry of Colombia, such as cattle, salt, and provisions, shall be admitted to entry in the Canal Zone, and likewise in the islands and mainland occupied or which may be occupied by the United States as auxiliary and accessory thereto, without paying other duties or charges than those payable by similar products of the United States.

I This adds the privilege of equal canal toils to that of equal duty for entry in the Canal Zone, as provided in the Root treaty. Congress fixes rates of duty, and has not done so in this case.]

3. Colombian citizens crossing the Canal Zone shall, upon production of paper proof of their nationality, be exempt from every toil, tax, or duty to which citizens of the United States are not subject.

[Congress fixes toils, taxes, and

subject.

[Congress fixes toils, taxes, and duties, and has not authorized this privilege.]

(Included in II.2.)

5. Coal, petroleum, and sea salt, being the products of Colombia, passing from the Atlantic coast of Colombia to any Colombian port on the Pacific coast, and vice versa, shall be transported over the aforesaid raliway free of any charge except the actual cost of handling and transportation, which shall not in any case exceed one-half of the ordinary freight charges levied upon similar products of the United States passing over the rallway and in transit from one port to another of the United States.

actual cost of handling and transportation, not exceeding one-half of the ordinary freight charges.

The United States recognizes and accepts notice of the assignment by the Republic of Panama to the Republic of Colombia of the right to receive from the United States payment of \$250,000 in American gold in each year from the year 1908 to the year 1917, both inclusive, such assignment having been made in manner and form as contained in the treaty between the Republic of Panama bearing even date herewith, whereby the independence of the Republic of Panama is recognized by the Republic of Panama is released from obligation for the payment of any part of the external and internal debt of the Republic of Colombia.

[From the Cortes - Arosemena treaty of same date, between Co-lombia and Panama.]

[The Republic of Colombia recognizes the independence of the Republic of Panama and acknowledges it to be a free, sovereign, and independent nation.

IX.

IX.

[It is agreed between the high contracting parties and is declared that the dividing line between the Republic of Colombia and the Republic of Panama shall be as follows, to wit:

[From Cape Tiburon on the Atlantic to the head waters of the Rio de la Miel, and following the range by the Cerro de Gandito the Sierra de Chugargun and that of Mali, going down by the Cerros of Nique to the heights of Aspave, and from there to the Pacific at such point and by such line as shall be determined by the tribunal of arbitration hereinafter provided for, and the determination of said line shall conform to the decision of such tribunal of arbitration as next provided.]

[A temporary equal-rate expedient in the Root treaty, effective during the construction of the canal, is here made a permanent half-rate privilege on the railway; and to sea sait, the only product named in the Root treaty are now added coal and petroleum. These products are to pay permanently the actual cost of transportation, which it is stipulated shall not exceed one-half ordinary freight charges. Conversely, this means that coal, petroleum, and sea sait from the United States must always pay twice the cost of transportation and twice the rate charged like Colombian products, and that freight charges must be double the transportation cost. If canal tolls should be higher than railway charges as thus calculated, Colombia would be entitled to the benefit.

benefit.

But Congress fixes tolls and charges and has not authorized any such arrangement.]

III

The United States of America agrees to pay to the Republic of Colombia, within six months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, the sum of \$25,000,000 gold, United States maney. money.

[Senate committee amendment, \$15,000,000.]

IV.

The Republic of Colombia recognizes Panama as an independent nation, and, taking as a basis the Colombian law of June 9, 1855, agrees that the boundary shall be the following:

From Cape Tiburon to the head waters of the Rio de la Miel and following the mountain chain by the ridge of Gandi to the Sierra de Chugargun and that of Mali going down by the ridges of Niquo to the heights of Aspave and from thence to a point on the Pacific half way between Cocalito and La Arvita.

In consideration of this recognition the Government of the United States will, Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, take the necessary steps in order to obtain from the Government of Panama the dispatch of a duly accredited agent to negotiate and conclude with the Government of Colombia a treaty of peace and friendship, with a view to bring about both the establishment of regular diplomatic relations between Colombia and Panama and the adjustment of all questions of pecuniary liability as between the two countries, in accordance with recognized principles of law and precedents.

[By the Root treaty Paname

recognized principles of law and precedents. (By the Root treaty Panama was released from all obligations connected with the Colombian debt.)

VI.

The Republic of Colombia grants to the United States the use of all

[Omitted.]

[Omitted: and as Colombia thereby retains the reversion of the Panama Railway, which would become Colombian property, according to the terms of the concession, on Aug. 16, 1966 (Report of the Isthmian Canal Commission, 1899-1901, p. 471), the United States Government, as present possessor thereof, remains liable to a claim for the delivery to the Government of Colombia of the entire railway and appurtenances, indissolubly connected as they now are, with the ownership and operation of the canal.]

[Omitted.]

the ports of the Republic open to the ports of the Republic open to commerce as places of refuge for an vessels employed in the canal enterprise and for all vessels in distress passing or bound to pass through the canal and seeking shelter or anchorage in said ports, subject in time of war to the rules of neutrality preserve andienche of neutrality properly applicable thereto. Such vessels shall be ex-empt from anchorage or tonnage dues on the part of the Republic

dues on the part of the Republic of Colombia.

The Republic of Colombia renounces all rights and interests in connection with any contract or concession made between it and any corporation or person relating to the construction or operation of a canal or railway across the Isthmus of Panama.

VII.

VII.

As soon as practicable after the exchange of ratifications of this treaty and the contemporaneous treaties of even date herewith between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama, and between the Republic of Panama the United States of America and the Republic of Colombia and the Republic of Colombia will enter into negotiations for the revision of the treaty of peace, amity, navigation, and commerce between the United States of America and the Republic of New Granada, concluded on the 12th day of December, 1846, with a view to making the provisions therein contained conform to existing conditions and to including therein provision for a general treaty of arbitration.

NOT A PARTISAN QUESTION.

It will be observed upon a careful reading of these treaties that both of them have to do with the revenues of the United States, unless, as I observed in my address of February 19, you can disassociate the Panama Canal Zone from the United States of America, a proposition which it will be difficult to establish, since the "purse strings of the people" of the United States are directly involved one way or the other. And so far as this discussion is concerned, it makes no difference whether a Republican administration sanctioned the Root-Cortes treaty or a Democratic administration sanctioned the more generous and vulnerable Bryan treaty; the House of Representatives has not been consulted with respect to a proposed expenditure of the people's money under a treaty negotiated by the President and the Senate. The House, which will be called upon to pay the lump sum granted by treaty, and which has been deprived of its prerogative to originate revenue legislation affected by the treaty, can not afford to permit this transaction to go by without notice. It is true that it may refuse to make the appropriation of the lump sum of \$15,000,000 which the Senate is reported to have agreed upon as a compromise figure under the Bryan treaty. but, in the light of the precedents of more than a century, it should assert its prerogative wherever the attempt is made to take away its right of initiative in the matter of revenues. due course, Mr. Speaker, I hope to be able to bring this matter more directly to the attention of the House, especially since common report indicates that the House will be called upon, without being consulted as to the merits, to pay another lumpsum appropriation of \$3,000,000 to Nicaragua, a treaty concession, by the way, against which Colombia is reported to have lodged a protest.

THE REMARKS OF MR. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, with respect to the remarks of the gentleman Kansas [Mr. Helvering], commenting upon my address of February 19 and questioning the Colombian treaty data, forwarded to me by Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, of Philadelphia, and by me previously inserted in the RECORD, I shall further extend my remarks by inserting an illuminating statement by Mr. Schoff as to the points made by Mr. HELVERING.

This statement, which is distinctly a contribution to the literature on this subject, is as follows:

The gentleman from Kansas argues-

"1. That the United States, having consented to negotiate a

in Colombia is estopped from setting up any contention as to the constitutionality of that government. "2a. That admitting that Panama had the right to secede, the revolution of 1903 was only a paper revolution which did not

represent the people of Panama.

"2b. That if Panama had the right to secede the United States had no right to negotiate with Colombia for rights possessed by Panama.

The remainder of the argument is based on the treaty of 1846 between the United States and New Granada and an alleged infraction thereof by the United States in recognizing an act of independence declared by Panama against Colombia, a political organization which had succeeded New Granada.

WHAT DID COLOMBIA INHERIT?

"The argument involves the basic question, What was comprised within the sovereignty exercised by the government at Bogota? If Colombia inherited all the rights possessed by the former Spanish viceroyalty of Santa Fe, it would be sovereign not only over the territory of Colombia as now constituted, but over the territories of Ecuador, Venezuela, Panama, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua. This claim, indeed, was set up when the Republic was formed, but never established. Costa Rica and Nicaragua gained their own independence from Spain and never entered the Colombian federation. Panama, Ecuador, and Venezuela gained their own independence from Spain and did voluntarily enter the Colombian federation. Ecuador and Venezuela seceded after about 10 years of union and set up for themselves. Panama seceded altogether four times and returned to the federation three times under explicit reservations of its separate sovereignty. These reservations made the Bogota government a mere trustee for the people of the Isthmus, who reserved the right to revoke the trust when the trustee violated its terms. That the trust was not revoked long before the secession of 1903 was due only to the fact that the Bogota government maintained permanent garrisons on the Isthmus in violation of the agreement of 1861 under the terms of which Panama reentered the federation.

LAYING CLAIM TO NICARAGUA.

"The government at Bogota still claims sovereignty over all the territory of the viceroyalty of Santa Fe, except in so far as it has itself recognized the independence of certain portions of those territories. It protested to the Department of State in 1902 over the signature of J. V. Concha, then Colombian minister in Washington, now President of the Republic of Colombia, against the negotiation of any agreement between the United States and Nicaragua affecting territorial or canal rights on the ground that sovereignty over the territory of Nicaragua was still inherent in the Colombian Government. 'Colombia holds perfect titles over the territory,' wrote the minister. (S. Doc. 474, 63d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 250–252.) This claim of sovereignty would cover the canal route option from Nicaragua contained in the treaty recently ratifled, also the two islands off the Nicaraguan coast, to be leased by the United States under the terms of that treaty, to which Colombia has never withdrawn its claim. Therefore the United States is in no position to admit such claim, which is further contravened by arbitration of the Emperor of Austria concerning Nicaraguan rights over the Mosquito Coast.

"But the history of the various Governments, republican in form, organized at Bogota, indicates that the present-day Colombia is the successor, not of the vice royalty of Santa Fe but of the Province of New Granada, which did not include the Isthmus, and that its claim to the broader sovereignty, which has never been established, does not merit recognition.

PANAMA FREE TO NEGOTIATE.

"The question of an infraction of the treaty of 1846 includes the question. What was guaranteed by that treaty? It guaranteed 'the neutrality of the Isthmus and the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has over said territory. These rights were not defined in the treaty and were limited by the various acknowledgments of isthmian sovereignty made by New Granada and its successors The rights reserved by the Isthmus were so broad and unusual that the United States, in dealing with the Bogota Government for territorial privileges on the Isthmus, was really dealing with the trustee of the property and not the owner. That trustee was discharged by the isthmian revolution of 1903. Had the Hay-Herran treaty been ratified, the United States would have entered into posses sion of the trust subject to a reversion which might never have been demanded, but when the proposed contract was vitiated by the Colombian Senate and the title reclaimed and recovered, a situation arose in which the sovereignty over the Isthmus —the Hay-Herran treaty—with the Marroquin government \ formerly held under limitations by the Republic of New Granada

and the Granadine Confederation, subsequently held in trust by the United States of Colombia, and for 18 years held illegally by force of arms by the Republic of Columbia, had reverted to the Republic of Panama. The treaty of 1846, then, applied only to the maintenance of neutrality on the Isthmus; a neutrality which, according to the agreement of 1861 on which Panama had reentered the Colombian Federation, was to be such as international law defines and constitutes as neutrality for foreign peoples.' The United States and the Republic of Panama were both free agents, competent to enter into a new agreement.

STATEMENT OF SECRETARY ROOT.

"As to the statement that the citizens of Panama did not participate in the act of independence of 1903, it may be said that they participated to the full extent of the administrative organization left to them by the acts of the Bogota Governmentapproval of their governor and ratification by all their municipal councils. (S. Doc. 474, 63d Cong., 2d sess., p. 354; also pp. 532-543, with dispatch of United States Minister Buchanan.)

Their legislature had been illegally abolished by executive decree promulgated from Bogota.

"The constitution of 1886, under which the present Government at Bogota is conducted, was ratified by the same procedure. (Colombian Constitution; preamble.) That Government is therefore estopped from setting up any contention as to

the legality of such procedure.

"The desires of the people of Panama were clearly manifested.
The members from the Isthmus warned the Colombian Congress in July, 1903, that adjournment on October 31 following, without ratification of the Hay-Herran treaty (S. Doc. 474, 63d Cong., 2d sess., p. 354) would bring about the revolt of Panama.

"The facts in this case have been nowhere more succinctly stated than by Secretary Root in his communication to Colombian Minister Mendoza in 1906:

bian Minister Mendoza in 1906;

"We assert that the ancient State of Panama, independent in its origin and by nature and history a separate political community, was federated with the other States of Colombia upon terms which preserved and continued its separate sovereignty; that it never surrendered that sovereignty; that in the year 1885 the pact which bound it to the other States of Colombia was broken and terminated by Colombia, and the Isthmus was subjugated by force; that it was held under foreign domination to which it had never consented; that it was justly entitled to assert its sovereignty and demand its independence from a rule which was unlawful, oppressive, and tyrannical." (S. Doc. 542, 60th Cong., 2d sess., p. 10.)

Rural Mail Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES F. REAVIS, OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 6, 1916.

Mr. REAVIS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the Record I append two letters written by me in reply to letters from the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General, and also a letter from Mr. Gus A. Hyers, sheriff of Lancaster County, Nebr.:

MARCH 1, 1916.

Mr. James I. Blakslee, Fourth Assistant Postmaster General.

Fourth Assistant Postmaster General.

My Dear General: Replying to your favor of the 24th ultimo, in reference to your criticism of remarks made by me and reported on page 3138 of the Congressional Record, will say that the remarks so used and so reported accurately express the substance of your statements to me when I called upon you last summer. I had no conversation with any member of your office save yourself, and the statement made by me on the floor of the House referred solely to the conversation between you and me.

Very truly, yours,

C. F. Reavis.

MARCH 1, 1916.

Mr. James I. Blanslee,
Fourth Assistant Postmaster General.

My Dear General:
My Merchant Ships Captured by a Belligerent, such of its crew as are nationals of a neutral State are not made prisoners of war.
The same rule applies in the case of the captain and officers likewise nationals of a neutral State, if they promise formally in writing not to serve on an enemy ship while the war lasts.

ARTICLE G.
The captain, officers, and members of the crew, when nationals of the enemy State, are not made prisoners of war, on condition

public views were given. You remember that when I spoke to you in your office last summer, you told me after I had made repeated visits to your office that you would send an inspector out there. I asked you when he would arrive and you said that he would be there before I reached home. He was not there when I reached home and weeks passed by, during the passage of which I wrote you several letters, asking you to abide by your promise to me, and eventually wired you. After the wire I received a personal notice from a friend whom I had asked to watch the matter for me, to the effect that the inspector was in Lincoln.

At my own expense I published in the daily papers of Lincoln that the inspector was there, just where he might be found, and invited the patrons to come in. The public hearing that resulted was not the result of any action on the part of the Post Office Department, but was the result of my own action in publishing these notices.

I desire to state to you that I think Mr. Randall, the inspector, is a very high-class man and made an earnest effort to rectify the deplorable condition into which you had put those routes, but the situation was so acute that it did not permit a complete and satisfactory restoral.

I have received many complaints especially from Repnet Walton

restoral. I have received many complaints, especially from Bennet, Walton, and Cheney as to the present inadequate condition of that service. You have made a slight change out of Roca on my complaint. The situation that now prevails is much better than when your inspector got through with it, in the first instance, but it lacks a great deal of being as efficient as it was before the original reorganization.

Very truly, yours,

C. F. REAVIS.

EXCELSION SPRINGS, Mo., March 2, 1916.

Friend REAVIS:

When postmaster and change of routes followed, agents from Post Office Department laid out routes from blue prints in hotel. I was there and talked to carriers, but never went over routes. This conforms with your statement in Congress.

Rights in Naval Warfare.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. S. D. FESS, OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 6, 1916.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, the question of neutral rights on the sea is somewhat illuminated by the rules adopted by The Hague conference touching restrictions with regard to the exercise of the right of capture in naval warfare, signed October 18, 1907.

I herein insert the findings:

CHAPTER I .- POSTAL CORRESPONDENCE.

ARTICLE 1.

The postal correspondence of neutrals or belligerents, whatever its official or private character may be, found on the high seas on board a neutral or enemy ship, is inviolable. If the ship is detained, the correspondence is forwarded by the captor with the least possible

delay.

The provisions of the preceding paragraph do not apply, in case of violation of blockade, to correspondence destined for or proceeding from a blockaded port.

ARTICLE 2.

The inviolability of postal correspondence does not exempt a neutral mail ship from the laws and customs of maritime war as to neutral merchant ships in general. The ship, however, may not be searched except when absolutely necessary, and then only with as much consideration and expedition as possible.

CHAPTER II .- THE EXEMPTION FROM CAPTURE OF CERTAIN VESSELS. ARTICLE 3

Vessels used exclusively for fishing along the coast or small boats employed in local trade are exempt from capture, as well as their appliances, rigging, tackle, and cargo.

They cease to be exempt as soon as they take any part whatever in hostilities.

The contracting powers agree not to take advantage of the harmless character of the said vessels in order to use them for military purposes while preserving their peaceful appearance.

ARTICLE 4

Vessels charged with religious, scientific, or philanthropic missions are likewise exempt from capture.

Chapter III.—Regulations Regarding the Crews of Enemy Merchant Ships Captured by a Belligerent.

ARTICLE 7.

The names of the persons retaining their liberty under the conditions laid down in article 5, paragraph 2, and in article 6, are notified by the belligerent captor to the other belligerent. The latter is forbidden knowingly to employ the said persons.

ARTICLE 8.

The provisions of the three preceding articles do not apply to ships taking part in the hostilities.

CHAPTER IV .- FINAL PROVISIONS.

ARTICLE 9.

The provisions of the present convention do not apply except be-tween contracting powers, and then only if all the belligerents are parties to the convention.

ARTICLE 10.

The present convention shall be ratified as soon as possible.

The ratifications shall be deposited at The Hague.

The first deposit of ratifications shall be recorded in a proces verbal signed by the representatives of the powers taking part therein and by the Netherland minister for foreign affairs.

Subsequent deposits of ratifications shall be made by means of a written notification, addressed to the Netherland Government and accompanied by the instrument of ratification.

A duly certified copy of the process verbal relative to the first deposit of ratifications, of the notifications mentioned in the preceding paragraph, as well as of the instruments of ratification, shall be at once sent by the Netherland Government, through the diplomatic channel, to the powers invited to the second peace conference, as well as to the other powers which have adhered to the convention. In the cases contemplated in the preceding paragraph, the said Government shall inform them at the same time of the date on which it received the notification.

Nonsignatory powers may adhere to the present convention.

The power which desires to adhere notifies its intention in writing to the Netherland Government, forwarding to it the act of adhesion, which shall be deposited in the archives of the said Government.

This Government shall at once fransmit to all the other powers a fully certified copy of the notification as well as of the act of adhesion, mentioning the date on which it received the notification.

ARTICLE 12.

The present convention shall come into force in the case of the powers which were a party to the first deposit of ratification 60 days after the process-verbal of that deposit, and in the case of the powers which ratify subsequently or which adhere 60 days after the notification of their ratification has been received by the Netherland Government.

ARTICLE 13.

In the event of one of the contracting powers wishing to denounce the present convention, the denunciation shall be notified in writing to the Netherland Government, which shall at once communicate a duly certified copy of the notification to all the other powers, informing them of the date on which it was received.

The denunciation shall only have effect in regard to the notifying power, and one year after the notification has reached the Netherland Government.

ARTICLE 14.

A register kept by the Netherland ministry for foreign affairs shall give the date of the deposit of ratifications made in virtue of article 10, paragraphs 3 and 4, as well as the date on which the notifications of adhesion (art. 11, par. 2) or of denunciation (art. 13, par. 1) have been received.

Each contracting power is entitled to have access to this register and to be supplied with duly certified extracts from it.

In faith whereof the plenipotentiaries have appended their signatures to the present convention.

Done at The Hague, the 18th October, 1907, in a single copy, which shall remain deposited in the archives of the Netherland Government, and duly certified copies of which shall be sent, through the diplomatic channel, to the powers invited to the second peace conference.

[Here follow signatures.]

RATIFICATIONS, ADHESIONS, AND RESERVATIONS.

RATIFICATIONS, ADHESIONS, AND RESERVATIONS.

The foregoing convention was ratified by the following signatory powers on the dates indicated:
Austria-Hungary, November 27, 1909.
Belgium, August 8, 1910.
Brazil, January 5, 1914.
Denmark, November 27, 1909.
France, October 7, 1910.
Germany, November 27, 1909.
Great Britain, November 27, 1909.
Great Britain, November 27, 1909.
Guatemala, March 15, 1911.
Haiti, February 2, 1910.
Japan, December 13, 1911.
Luxemburg, September 5, 1912.
Mexico, November 27, 1909.
Notwerlands, November 27, 1909.
Norway, September 19, 1910.
Panama, September 11, 1911.
Portugal, April 13, 1911.
Roumania, March 12, 1910.
Spain, March 12, 1910.
Spain, March 18, 1913.
Sweden, November 27, 1909.
Switzerland, May 12, 1910.
United States, November 27, 1909.
Then, Mr. Speaker, the activities of the prize courts make it

Then, Mr. Speaker, the activities of the prize courts make it necessary to review the latest international agreement upon the powers of such a court as outlined by The Hague Conference in 1907.

PART I .- GENERAL PROVISIONS.

ARTICLE 1.

The validity of the capture of a merchant ship or its cargo is decided before a prize court in accordance with the present convention when neutral or enemy property is involved.

ARTICLE 2.

Jurisdiction in matters of prize is exercised in the first instance by the prize courts of the belitgerent captor. The judgments of these courts are pronounced in public or are offi-cially notified to parties concerned who are neutrals or enemies.

ARTICLE 3.

ARTICLE 3.

The judgments of national prize courts may be brought before the International Prize Court—

1. When the judgment of the national prize courts affects the property of a neutral power or individual;

2. When the judgment affects enemy property and relates to—
(a) Cargo on board a neutral ship;
(b) An enemy ship captured in the territorial waters of a neutral power, when that power has not made the capture the subject of a diplomatic claim;
(c) A claim based upon the allegation that the seizure has been effected in violation, either of the provisions of a convention in force between the belligerent powers, or of an enactment issued by the belligerent captor

The appeal against the judgment of the national court can be based on the ground that the judgment was wrong either in fact or in law.

ARTICLE 4.

An appeal may be brought—

1. By a neutral power, if the judgment of the national tribunals injuriously affects its property or the property of its nationals (art. 3, No. 1), or if the capture of an enemy vessel is alleged to have taken place in the territorial waters of that power (art. 3, No. 2b);

2. By a neutral individual, if the judgment of the national court injuriously affects his property (art. 3, No. 1), subject, however, to the reservation that the power to which he belongs may forbid him to bring the case before the court, or may itself undertake the proceedings in his place;

3. By an individual subject or citizen of an enemy power, if the judgment of the national court injuriously affects his property in the cases referred to in article 3, No. 2, except that mentioned in paragraph b.

An appeal may also be brought on the same conditions as in the preceding article, by persons belonging either to neutral States or to the enemy, deriving their rights from and entitled to represent an individual qualified to appeal, and who have taken part in the proceedings before the national court. Persons so entitled may appeal separately to the extent of their interest.

The same rule applies in the case of persons belonging either to neutral States or to the enemy who derive their rights from and are entitled to represent a neutral power whose property was the subject of the decision.

ARTICLE 6.

When, in accordance with the above article 3, the international court has jurisdiction, the national courts can not deal with a case in more than two instances. The municipal law of the belligerent captor shall decide whether the case may be brought before the international court after judgment has been given in first instance or only after an appeal.

If the national courts fail to give final judgment within two years from the date of capture, the case may be carried direct to the international court.

ARTICLE 7.

ARTICLE 7.

If a question of law to be decided is covered by a treaty in force between the belligerent captor and a power which is itself or whose subject or citizen is a party to the proceedings, the court is governed by the provisions of the said treaty.

In the absence of such provisions, the court shall apply the rules of international law. If no generally recognized rule exists, the court shall give judgment in accordance with the general principles of justice and equity.

The above provisions apply equally to questions relating to the order and mode of proof.

If, in accordance with article 3, No. 2c, the ground of appeal is the violation of an enactment issued by the belligerent captor, the court will enforce the enactment.

the violation of an enactment issued by the beingerent captor, the court will enforce the enactment.

The court may disregard failure to comply with the procedure laid down in the enactments of the belligerent captor, when it is of opinion that the consequences of complying therewith are unjust and inequitable.

ARTICLE 8.

(See art. 2 of the additional protocol.)

(See art. 2 of the additional protocol.)

If the court pronounces the capture of the vessel or cargo to be valid, they shall be disposed of in accordance with the laws of the belligerent captur.

If it pronounces the capture to be null, the court shall order restitution of the vessel or cargo, and shall fix, if there is occasion, the amount of the damages. If the vessel or cargo have been sold or destroyed, the court shall determine the compensation to be given to the owner on this account.

If the national court pronounced the capture to be null, the court can only be asked to decide as to the damages.

ARTICLE 9.

The contracting powers undertake to submit in good faith to the decisions of the International Prize Court and to carry them out with the least possible delay.

PART II-CONSTITUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRIZE COURT.

ARTICLE 10.

The International Prize Court is composed of judges and deputy judges, who will be appointed by the contracting powers, and must all be jurists of known proficiency in questions of international maritime law, and of the highest moral reputation.

The appointment of these judges and deputy judges shall be made within six months after the ratification of the present convention.

ARTICLE 11.

The judges and deputy judges are appointed for a period of six years, reckoned from the date on which the notification of their appointment is received by the administrative council established by the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes of the 29th July, 1899. Their appointments can be renewed.

Should one of the judges or deputy judges die or resign, the same procedure is foliowed for filling the vacancy as was followed for appointing him. In this case the appointment is made for a fresh period of six years.

ARTICLE 12.

The judges of the International Prize Court are all equal in rank and have precedence according to the date on which the notification of their appointment was received (art. 11, par. 1), and if they sit by rota (art. 15, par. 2), according to the date on which they entered upon their duties. When the date is the same the senior in age takes precedence.

The deputy judges when acting are assimilated to the judges. They rank, however, after them.

The judges enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities in the performance of their duties and when outside their own country.

Before taking their seat the judges must swear, or make a solemn promise before the administrative council, to discharge their duties impartially and conscientiously.

ARTICLE 14.

The court is composed of 15 judges; 9 judges constitute a quorum. A judge who is absent or prevented from sitting is replaced by the deputy judge.

(Reservation of this article was made by Chile, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Halti, Persia, Salvador, Siam. Turkey, and Uruguay.)

The judges appointed by the following contracting powers, Geramany, the United States of America, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and Russia, are always summoned to sit.

The judges and deputy judges appointed by the other contracting powers sit by rota as shown in the table annexed to the present convention; their duties may be performed successively by the same person. The same judge may be appointed by several of the said powers.

ARTICLE 16.

If a belligerent power has, according to the rota, no judge sitting in the court, it may ask that the judge appointed by it should take part in the settlement of all cases arising from the war. Lots shall then be drawn as to which of the judges entitled to sit according to the rota shall withdraw. This arrangement does not affect the judge appointed by the other belligerent.

ARTICLE 17.

No judge can sit who has been a party, in any way whatever, to the sentence pronounced by the national courts, or has taken part in the case as counsel or advocate for one of the parties.

No judge or deputy judge can, during his tenure of office, appear as agent or advocate before the International Prize Court nor act for one of the parties in any capacity whatever.

ARTICLE 18.

The belligerent captor is entitled to appoint a naval officer of high rank to sit as assessor, but with no voice in the decision. A neutral power, which is a party to the proceedings or whose subject or citizen is a party, has the same right of appointment; if as the result of this last provision more than one power is concerned, they must agree among themselves, if necessary by lot, on the officer to be appointed.

ARTICLE 19. The court elects its president and vice president by an absolute majority of the votes cast. After two ballots, the election is made by a bare majority, and, in case the votes are equal, by lot.

ARTICLE 20.

ARTICLE 20.

The judges on the International Prize Court are entitled to traveling allowances in accordance with the regulations in force in their own country, and in addition receive, while the courts is sitting or while they are carrying out duties conferred upon them by the court, a sum of 100 Netherland florins per diem.

These payments are included in the general expenses of the court dealt with in Article 47, and are paid through the International Bureau established by the convention of the 29th July, 1899.

The judges may not receive from their own Government or from that of any other power any remuneration in their capacity of members of the court.

ARTICLE 21.

The seat of the International Prize Court is at The Hague and it can not, except in the cases of force majeure, be transferred elsewhere without the consent of the belligerents.

ARTICLE 22.

The administrative council fulfills, with regard to the International Prize Court, the same functions as to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, but only representatives of contracting powers will be members of it.

ARTICLE 23.

The International Bureau acts as registry to the International Prize Court and must place its offices and staff at the disposal of the court. It has charge of the archives and carries out the administrative work. The secretary general of the International Bureau acts as registrar. The necessary secretaries to assist the registrar, translators, and shorthand writers are appointed and sworn in by the court.

ARTICLE 24.

The court determines which language it will itself use and what languages may be used before it.

In every case the official language of the national courts which have had cognizance of the case may be used before the court.

ARTICLE 25.

Powers which are concerned in a case may appoint special agents to act as intermediaries between themselves and the court. They may also engage counsel or advocates to defend their rights and interests. ARTICLE 26.

A private person concerned in a case will be represented before the court by an attorney, who must be either an advocate qualified to plead before a court of appeal or a high court of one of the contracting States, or a lawyer practicing before a similar court, or, lastly, a professor of law at one of the higher teaching centers of those countries.

ARTICLE 27.

ARTICLE 27.

For all notices to be served, in particular on the parties, witnesses, or experts, the court may apply direct to the Government of the State on whose territory the service is to be carried out. The same rule applies in the case of steps being taken to procure evidence.

The requests for this purpose are to be executed so far as the means at the disposal of the power applied to under its municipal law allow. They can not be rejected unless the power in question considers them calculated to impair its sovereign rights or its safety. If the request is complied with, the fees charged must only comprise the expenses actually incurred.

The court is equally entitled to act through the power on whose territory it sits.

Notices to be given to parties in the place where the court sits may be served through the international bureau.

PART III .- PROCEDURE IN THE INTERNATIONAL PRIZE COURT.

ARTICLE 28.

(See art. 5 of the additional protocol.)

An appeal to the international prize court is entered by means of a written declaration made in the national court which has already dealt with the case or addressed to the international bureau; in the latter case the appeal can be entered by telegram.

The period within which the appeal must be entered is fixed at 120 days, counting from the day the decision is delivered or notified. (Art. 2, par. 2.)

(See art. 6 of the additional protocol.)

If the notice of appeal is entered in the national court, this court, without considering the question whether the appeal was entered in due time, will transmit within seven days the record of the case to the international oureau.

If the notice of the appeal is sent to the international bureau, the bureau will immediately inform the national court, when possible by telegraph. The latter will transmit the record as provided in the preceding paragraph.

celegraph. The latter will transmit the record as provided in the preceding paragraph.

When the appeal is brought by a neutral individual the international bureau at once informs by telegraph the individual's Government, in order to enable it to enforce the rights it enjoys under article 4, paragraph 2.

In the case provided for in article 6, paragraph 2, the notice of appeal can be addressed to the international bureau only. It must be entered within 30 days of the expiration of the period of 2 years.

ARTICLE 21.

If the appellant does not enter his appeal within the period laid down in article 28 or 30, it shall be rejected without discussion.

Provided that he can show that he was prevented from so doing by force majeure and that the appeal was entered within 60 days after the circumstances which prevented him entering it before had ceased to operate, the court can, after hearing the respondent, grant relief from the effect of the above provision.

ARTICLE 32.

If the appeal is entered in time, a certified copy of the notice of appeal is forthwith officially transmitted by the court to the respondent. ARTICLE 33.

If in addition to the parties who are before the court there are other parties concerned who are entitled to appeal, or if, in the case referred to in article 29, paragraph 3, the Government who has received notice of an appeal has not announced its decision, the court will await before dealing with the case the expiration of the period laid down in article 28 or 30.

ARTICLE 34.

The procedure before the international court includes two distinct parts, the written pleadings and oral discussions.

The written pleadings consist of the deposit and exchange of cases, countercases, and, if necessary, of replies, of which the order is fixed by the court, as also the periods within which they must be delivered. The parties annex thereto all papers and documents of which they intend to make use.

A certified copy of every document produced by one party must be communicated to the other party through the medium of the court.

ARTICLE 35.

After the close of the pleadings a public sitting is held on a day fixed by the court.

At this sitting the parties state their view of the case both as to the law and as to the facts.

The court may, at any stage of the proceedings, suspend speeches of counsel, either at the request of one of the parties, or on their own initiative, in order that supplementary evidence may be obtained.

ARTICLE 36.

The international court may order the supplementary evidence to be taken either in the manner provided by article 27, or before itself, or one or more of the members of the court, provided that this can be done without resort to compulsion or the use of threats.

If steps are to be taken for the purpose of obtaining evidence by members of the court outside the territory where it is sitting, the consent of the foreign Government must be obtained.

ARTICLE 37.

The parties are summoned to take part in all stages of the proceedings and receive certified copies of the minutes.

ARTICLE 38.

The discussions are under the control of the president or vice president, or; in case they are absent or can not act, of the senior judge present.

The judge appointed by a belligerent party can not preside.

ARTICLE 39.

The discussions take place in public, subject to the right of a government who is a party to the case to demand that they be held in

private.

Minutes are taken of these discussions and signed by the president and registrar, and these minutes alone have an authentic character.

ARTICLE 40.

If a party does not appear, despite the fact that he has been duly cited, or if a party fails to comply with some step within the period fixed by the court, the case proceeds without that party, and the court gives judgment in accordance with the material at its disposal.

ARTICLE 41

The court officially notifies to the parties decrees or decisions made in their absence.

The court takes into consideration in arriving at its decisions all the facts, evidence, and oral statements.

ARTICLE 43.

The court considers its decision in private and the proceedings are

secret.
All questions are decided by a majority of the judges present. If the number of judges is even and equally divided, the vote of the junior judge in the order of precedence laid down in article 12, paragraph 1,

ARTICLE 44.

The judgment of the court must give the reasons on which it is based. It contains the names of the judges taking part in it, and also of the assessors, if any; it is signed by the president and registrar.

(See art. 7 of the additional protocol.)

The sentence is pronounced in public sitting, the parties concerned being present or duly summoned to attend; the sentence is officially communicated to the parties.

When this communication has been made the court transmits to the national prize court the record of the case, together with copies of the various decisions arrived at and of the minutes of the proceedings.

ARTICLE 46.

ARTICLE 46.

Each party pays its own costs.

The party against whom the court decides bears, in addition, the costs of the trial, and also pays 1 per cent of the value of the subject matter of the case as a contribution to the general expenses of the international court The amount of these payments is fixed in the judgment of the court

If the appeal is brought by an individual, he will furnish the international bureau with security to an amount fixed by the court, for the purpose of guaranteeing eventual fulfillment of the two obligations mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The court is entitled to postpone the opening of the proceedings until the security has been furnished.

ARTICEL 47.

The general expenses of the International Prize Court are borne by the contracting powers in proportion to their share in the composition of the court as laid down in article 15 and in the annexed table. (Post, p. 203.) The appointment of deputy judges does not involve any contribution.

The administrative council applies to the powers for the funds requisite for the working of the court.

ARTICLE 48.

When the court is not sitting the duties conferred upon it by article 32, article 34, paragraphs 2 and 3, article 35, paragraph 1, and article 46, paragraph 3, are discharged by a delegation of three judges appointed by the court. This delegation decides by a majority of votes.

ARTICLE 40. The court itself draws up its own rules of procedure, which must be communicated to the contracting powers. It will meet to elaborate these rules within a year of the ratifica-tion of the present convention.

ARTICLE 50.

The court may propose modifications in the provisions of the present convention concerning procedure. These proposals are communicated, through the medium of the Netherland Government, to the contracting powers, which will consider together as to the measures to be taken.

PART IV-FINAL PROVISIONS.

ARTICLE 51.

The present convention does not apply as of right except when the belligerent powers are all parties to the convention.

It is further fully understood that an appeal to the International Prize Court can only be brought by a contracting power or the subject or citizen of a contracting power.

In the cases mentioned in article 5 the appeal is only admitted when both the owner and the person entitled to represent him are equally contracting powers or the subjects or citizens of contracting powers.

ARTICLE 52

ARTICLE 52.

The present convention shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be deposited at The Hague as soon as all the powers mentioned in article 15 and in the table annexed are in a position to do so.

The deposit of the ratifications shall take place, in any case, on the 30th June, 1909, if the powers which are ready to ratify furnish nine judges and nine deputy judges to the court, qualified to validly constitute a court If not, the deposit shall be postponed until this condition is fulfilled.

A minute of the deposit of ratifications shall be drawn up, of which a certified copy shall be forwarded through the diplomatic channel, to each of the powers referred to in the first paragraph. (See art. 8 of the additional protocol, post, p. 207.)

ARTICLE 53

ARTICLE 53.

The powers referred to in article 15 and in the table annexed are entitled to sign the present convention up to the deposit of the ratifications contemplated in paragraph 2 of the preceding article.

After this deposit they can at any time adhere to it, purely and simply. (Nee art. 9 of the additional protocol, post, p. 207.) A power wishing to adhere, notifies its intention in writing to the Netherland Government, transmitting to it, at the same time, the act of adhesion, which shall be deposited in the archives of the said Government. The latter shall send, through the diplomatic channel, a certified copy of the notification and of the act of adhesion to all the powers referred to in the preceding paragraph, informing them of the date on which it has received the notification.

ARTICLE 54.

The present convention shall come into force six months from the deposit of the ratifications contemplated in article 52, paragraphs 1 and 2.

and 2.

The adhesions shall take effect 60 days after notification of such adhesion has been received by the Netherland Government or as soon as possible on the expiration of the period contemplated in the preceding paragraph.

The international court shall, however, have jurisdiction to deal with prize cases decided by the national courts at any time after the deposit of the ratifications or of the receipt of the notification of the adhesions. In such cases the period fixed in article 28, paragraph 2, shall only be reckoned from the date when the convention comes into force as regards a power which has ratified or adhered.

The present convention shall remain in force for 12 years from the time it comes into force, as determined by article 54, paragraph 1, even in the case of powers which adhere subsequently.

It shall be renewed tacitly from six years to six years unless de-

nounced.

Denunciation must be notified in writing, at least one year before the expiration of each of the periods mentioned in the two preceding paragraphs, to the Netherland Government, which will inform all the other contracting powers.

Denunciation shall only take effect in regard to the power which has notified it. The convention shall remain in force in the case of the other contracting powers, provided that their participation in the appointment of judges is sufficient to allow of the composition of the court with nine judges and nine deputy judges.

ARTICLE 56

In case the present convention is not in operation as regards all the powers referred to in article 15 and the annexed table, the administrative council shall draw up a list on the lines of that article and table of the judges and deputy judges through whom the contracting powers will share in the composition of the court. The times allotted by the said table to judges who are summoned to sit in rota will be redistributed between the different years of the six-year period in such a way that, as far as possible, the number of the judges of the court in each year shall be the same. If the number of deputy judges is greater than that of the judges, the number of the latter can be completed by deputy judges chosen by lot among those powers which do not nominate a judge.

The list drawn up in this way by the administrative council shall be nottlided to the contracting powers. It shall be revised when the number of these powers is modified as the result of adhesions or denunciations.

The change resulting from an adhesion is not made until the 1st

nunciations.

The change resulting from an adhesion is not made until the 1st January after the date on which the adhesion takes effect, unless the adhering power is a belligerent power, in which case it can ask to be at once represented in the court, the provisions of article 16 being, moreover, applicable if necessary.

When the total number of judges is less than 11, 7 judges form a guorum.

ARTICLE 57.

Two years before the expiration of each period referred to in paragraphs 1 and 2 of article 55 any contracting power can demand a modification of the provisions of article 15 and of the annexed table, relative to its participation in the composition of the court. The demand shall be addressed to the administrative council, which will examine it and submit to all the powers proposals as to the measures to be adopted. The powers shall inform the administrative council of their decision with the least possible delay. The result shall be at once, and at least 1 year and 30 days before the expiration of the said period of 2 years, communicated to the power which made the demand.

When necessary, the modifications adopted by the powers shall come into force from the commencement of the fresh period.

SIGNATURES AND RESERVATIONS

[The deposit of ratifications provided for in art. 52, par. 2, has not yet taken place.]

taken place.]

Both the 1907 convention and the 1910 additional protocol have been signed by the following powers:
Argentine Republic, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Germany, Great Britain, Guatemala, Haiti, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Persia, Peru, Portugal, Salvador, Siam, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States, and Uruguay.
Reservations: Chile, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Persia, Salvador, Siam, Turkey, and Uruguay signed the convention with reservation of article 15.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the much-discussed question of warships or auxiliaries in neutral waters, I herein insert the findings of The Hague conference on the "Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers in Naval War," as adopted October 18, 1907.

ARTICLE 1.

Belligerents are bound to respect the sovereign rights of neutral powers and to abstain, in neutral territory or neutral waters, from any act which would, if knowingly permitted by any power, constitute a violation of neutrality.

ARTICLE 2.

Any act of hostility, including capture and the exercise of the right of search, committed by belligerent warships in the territorial waters of a neutral power, constitutes a violation of neutrality and is strictly forbidden.

ARTICLE 3.

When a ship has been captured in the territorial waters of a neutral power this power must employ, if the prize is still within its jurisdiction, the means at its disposal to release the prize with its officers and crew and to intern the prize crew.

If the prize is not in the jurisdiction of the neutral power, the captor Government, on the demand of that power, must liberate the prize with its officers and crew.

ARTICLE 4.

A prize court can not be set up by a belligerent on neutral territory or on a vessel in neutral waters.

ARTICLE 5.

Beiligerents are forbidden to use neutral ports and waters as a base of naval operations against their adversaries, and in particular to erect wireless telegraphy stations or any apparatus for the purpose of communicating with the beligerent forces on land or sea.

The supply, in any manner, directly or indirectly, by a neutral power to a belligerent power of warships, ammunition, or war material of any kind whatever is forbidden.

A neutral power is not bound to prevent the export or transit, for the use of either belligerent, of arms, ammunition, or, in general, of anything which could be of use to an army or fleet.

ARTICLE S.

A neutral Government is bound to employ the means at its disposal to prevent the fitting out or arming of any vessel within its jurisdiction which it has reason to believe is intended to cruise or engage in hostile operations against a power with which that Government is at peace. It is also bound to display the same vigilance to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or engage in hostile operations which had been adapted entirely or partly within the said jurisdiction for use in war.

ARTICLE 9.

A neutral power must apply impartially to the two belligerents the conditions, restrictions, or prohibitions made by it in regard to the admission into its ports, roadsteads, or territorial waters of belligerent warships or of their prizes.

Nevertheless, a neutral power may forbid a belligerent vessel which has falled to conform to the orders and regulations made by it, or which has violated neutrality, to enter its ports or roadsteads.

ARTICLE 10.

(See the declaration of Turkey as to the Dardanelles and Bosphorus.) The neutrality of a power is not affected by the mere passage through its territorial waters of warships or prizes belonging to belligerents.

ARTICLE 11.

(Germany made reservation of article 11.)

A neutral power may allow belligerent warships to employ its licensed pilots.

(The Dominican Republic, Germany, Persia, and Siam made reservation of article 12.)

In the absence of special provisions to the contrary in the legisla-tion of a neutral power, belligerent warships are not permitted to remain in the ports, roadsteads, or territorial waters of the said power for more than 24 hours, except in the cases covered by the present convention. convention.

(Germany made reservation of article 13.)

If a power which has been informed of the outbreak of hostilities learns that a belligerent warship is in one of its ports or roadsteads or in its territorial waters, it must notify the said ship to depart within 24 hours or within the time prescribed by local regulations.

ARTICLE 14.

A belligerent warship may not prolong its stay in a neutral port beyond the permissible time except on account of damage or stress of weather. It must depart as soon as the cause of the delay is at an end. The regulations as to the question of the length of time which these vessels may remain in neutral ports, roadsteads, or waters do not apply to warships devoted exclusively to religious, scientific, or philanthropic purposes. (China made reservation of this paragraph.) ARTICLE 15.

In the absence of special provisions to the contrary in the legislation of a neutral power, the maximum number of warships belonging to a belligerent which may be in one of the ports or roadsteads of that power simultaneously shall be three.

ARTICLE 16.

When warships belonging to both belligerents are present simultaneously in a neutral port or roadstead, a period of not less than 24 hours must elapse between the departure of the ship belonging to one belligerent and the departure of the ship belonging to one belligerent and the departure is determined by the order of arrival, unless the ship which arrived first is so circumstanced that an extension of its stay is permissible.

A belligerent warship may not leave a neutral port or roadstead until 24 hours after the departure of a merchant ship flying the flag of its adversary.

ARTICLE 17.

In neutral ports and roadsteads belligerent warships may only carry out such repairs as are absolutely necessary to render them seaworthy, and may not add in any manner whatsoever to their fighting force. The local authorities of the neutral power shall decide what repairs are necessary, and these must be carried out with the least possible delay.

ARTICLE 18.

Belligerent warships may not make use of neutral ports, roadsteads, or territorial waters for replenishing or increasing their supplies of war material or their armament or for completing their crews.

ARTICLE 19

(China, Great Britain, Japan, Persia, and Siam made reservation of article 19.)

Belligerent warships may only revictual in neutral ports or roadsteads to bring up their supplies to the peace standard.

Similarly these vessels may only ship sufficient fuel to enable them to reach the nearest port in their own country. They may, on the other hand, fill up their bunkers built to carry fuel, when in neutral countries which have adopted this method of determining the amount of fuel to be supplied.

If, in accordance with the law of the neutral power, the ships are not supplied with coal within 24 hours of their arrival, the permissible duration of their stay is extended by 24 hours.

ARTICLE 20.

(Germany made reservation of article 20.)

Belligerent warships which have shipped fuel in a port belonging to a neutral power may not within the succeeding three months replenish their supply in a port of the same power.

ARTICLE 21.

(Persia made reservation of article 21.)

A prize may only be brought into a neutral port on account of unseaworthiness, stress of weather, or want of fuel or provisions.

It must leave as soon as the circumstances which justified its entry are at an end. If it does not, the neutral power must order it to leave at once; should it fail to obey, the neutral power must employ the means at its disposal to release it with its officers and crew and to intern the prize crew.

ARTICLE 22.

A neutral power must, similarly, release a prize brought into one of its ports under circumstances other than those referred to in article 21.

ARTICLE 23.

(Reservations as to this article were made by Great Britain, Japan, Siam, and the United States.)

A neutral power may allow prizes to enter its ports and roadsteads, whether under convoy or not, when they are brought there to be sequestrated pending the decision of a prize court. It may have the prize taken to another of its ports.

If the prize is convoyed by a warship, the prize crew may go on board he convoying ship.

If the prize is not under convoy, the prize crew are left at liberty.

ARTICLE 24.

ARTICLE 24.

If, notwithstanding the notification of the neutral power, a belligerent ship of war does not leave a port where it is not entitled to remain, the neutral power is entitled to take such measures as it considers necessary to render the ship incapable of taking the sea during the war, and the commanding officer of the ship must facilitate the execution of such measures.

When a belligerent ship is detained by a neutral power the officers and crew are likewise detained.

The officers and crew thus detained may be left in the ship or kept either on another vessel or on land, and may be subjected to the measures of restriction which it may appear necessary to impose upon them. A sufficient number of men for looking after the vessel must, however, be always left on board.

The officers may be left at liberty on giving their word not to quit the neutral territory without permission.

ARTICLE 25.

ARTICLE 25.

A neutral power is bound to exercise such surveillance as the means at its disposal allow to prevent any violation of the provisions of the above articles occurring in its port or roadsteads or in its waters.

The exercise by a neutral power of the rights laid down in the present convention can under no circumstances be considered as an unfriendly act by one or other belligerent who has accepted the articles relating thereto.

ARTICLE 27.

(China made reservation of this article.)

The contracting powers shall communicate to each other in due course all laws, proclamations, and other enactments regulating in their respective countries the status of belilgerent warships in their ports and waters, by means of a communication addressed to the Government of the Netherlands, and forwarded immediately by that Government to the other contracting powers.

ARTICLE 28.

The provisions of the present convention do not apply except between contracting powers, and then only if all the belligerents are parties to the convention.

ARTICLE 29.

The present convention shall be ratified as soon as possible.

The ratifications shall be deposited at The Hague.

The first deposit of ratification shall be recorded in a procès verbal signed by the representatives of the powers which take part therein and by the Netherland Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The subsequent deposits of ratifications shall be made by means of a written notification addressed to the Netherland Government and accompanied by the instrument of ratification.

A duly certified copy of the procès verbal relative to the first deposit of ratifications, of the ratifications mentioned in the preceding paragraph, as well as of the instruments of ratification, shall be at once sent by the Netherland Government, through the diplomatic channel, to the powers invited to the Second Peace Conference, as well as to the other powers which have adhered to the convention. In the cases contemplated in the preceding paragraph, the said Government shall inform them at the same time of the date on which it received the notification. notification.

ARTICLE 30.

Nonsignatory powers may adhere to the present convention.

The power which desires to adhere notifies in writing its intention to the Netherland Government, forwarding to it the act of adhesion, which shall be deposited in the archives of the said Government.

That Government shall at once transmit to all the other powers a duly certified copy of the notification as well as of the act of adhesion, mentioning the date on which it received the notification.

ARTICLE 31.

The present convention shall come into force, in the case of the powers which were a party to the first deposit of the ratifications, 60 days after the date of the procès verbal of that deposit, and, in the case of the powers who ratify subsequently or who adhere, 60 days after the notification of their ratification or of their decision has been received by the Netherland Government.

ARTICLE 32.

In the event of one of the contracting powers wishing to denounce the present convention, the denunciation shall be notified in writing to the Netherland Government, who shall at once communicate a duly certified copy of the notification to all the other powers informing them of the date on which it was received.

The denunciation shall only have effect in regard to the notifying power, and one year after the notification has been made to the Netherland Government.

ARTICLE 83.

ARTICLE 33.

A register kept by the Netherland Ministry for Foreign Affairs shall give the date of the deposit of ratification made by article 29, paragraphs 3 and 4, as well as the date on which the notifications of adhesion (art. 30, par. 2) or of denunciation (art. 32, par. 1) have been received.

Each contracting power is entitled to have access to this register and to be supplied with duly certified extracts.

In faith whereof the plenipotentiaries have appended their signatures to the present convention.

Done at The Hague the 18th October, 1907, in a single copy, which shall remain deposited in the archives of the Netherland Government, and duly certified copies of which shall be sent, through the diplomatic channel, to the powers which have been invited to the Second Peace Conference. Conference. [Here follow signatures.]

RATIFICATIONS.

RATIFICATIONS.

The foregoing convention was ratified by the following signatory lowers on the dates indicated:
Austria-Hungary, November 27, 1909.
Belgium, August 8, 1910.
Brazil, January 5, 1914.
Denmark, November 27, 1909.
France, October 7, 1910.
Germany, November 27, 1909.
Guatemala, March 15, 1911.
Haiti, February 2, 1910.
Japan, December 13, 1911.
Luxemburg, September 5, 1912.
Mexico, November 27, 1909.
Netherlands, November 27, 1909.
Norway, September 19, 1910.
Panama, September 11, 1911.
Portugal, April 13, 1911.
Roumania, March 1, 1912.
Russia, November 27, 1909.
Salvador November 27, 1909.
Salvador November 27, 1909.
Salvador November 27, 1909.
Switzerland, May 12, 1910.

Shorter Working Day.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL.

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 6, 1916.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, yesterday's mistake warns us against the blunder of to-morrow. Our mistake in the past has been an endeavor to transform our workers into high-speed machines without regard for the economic waste to the worker or to the race. Faster, faster, faster, pile up the garments, heap up the profits, no matter if rest and health and proper food be denied the weary laborer; no matter if girlish forms be withered and the promise of our national motherhood is blighted; no matter if the cheeks pale and the chest becomes hollow; no matter if women and children do starve and freeze and babes moan out their lives in misery. Work the men and the women, the boys and the girls for every ounce there is in them. When they are used up, throw them over in the dump. They are worn out; they are so much human junk. Get more; workers are chean.

Cheap labor and long hours have not helped to bring pros-The laborer goes home at night too weary to think after a long day of toil at underpaid wages to a meanly furnished, dark, insanitary home, a scant, unnourishing supper, and a humpy, comfortless bed. He wakens early, dons his sweaty clothes, and with them the hopeless, disspirited thoughts that envelop them. What chance for him to expand, to improve his mind, to enjoy God's fresh air and sunshine? Who says he has not the right to these things? This man can not make the return to his employer that he could if he were well rested, well fed. and full of courage. It has been proven to a certainty that overwork results in loss of productivity. The amount of work turned out in the longer day is not in proportion to the increase of hours.

If the hours of the day were shortened, so that the workman had time to think and wish, what effect would it have on the employer? We exercise ourselves mightly over the question of foreign markets, over providing ourselves with customers to keep pace with our ever-increasing production. But consumption, not production, is the goal. Why not provide for a market It is not the question altogether to the employer how many shoes are made, but how many shoes are sold. Let us look to it that fewer of our countrymen have shoeless feet. With more leisure, more time for reflection, comes desire for improvement, for better living. The man who comes home at had reduced their rates over 40 per cent and the express com-

night with a little life left in him improves his bit of ground, looks to his garden and fence, paints up around, and improves his yard. Within doors the time to think and wish expresses itself in a carpet perhaps, a picture, a better chair, better clothes. Here is your market, Mr. Merchant, Mr. Employer. Bread cast upon the water will return to you right speedily.

The conditions that welfare workers are seeking to bring about would be sooner compassed by the shorter working day than by any other mode. As long ago as 1816, in England, a report on the effect of shortening the work hours of children says that they grew stronger, could do more work, and several diseases to which that particular employment made them especially susceptible, tended to disappear. This, then, would be the cycle, shorten the day, think more, desire more, buy more. The result would be a higher standard of living, with improved sanitary conditions, lessening of diseases; hope, courage, a life that is better than the beasts of the field, some need for a man to have a soul.

The Government's aim should be the greatest good for the greatest number. Shorten the day of labor. Every movement toward the shorter day for the laboring man is a movement

toward his enfranchisement.

Every man should have the right to work, the right to sleep, and the right to play. The problem that confronts the United States to day is to lighten the burden of the working classes. The ideal of our country can never be realized; we shall never capture the spirit of liberty while half the people are starving and the other half faring sumptuously every day; while the majority are wearing out their life and strength and the sinew of the future at breaking toil through a too long day, and the favored ones are throwing golden hours away in a mad pursuit of pleasure; while countless numbers get only a pittance in return for their labor and a small coterie squander fortunes they have put forth no effort to earn. If our economic liberty is not developed, our personal liberty is of little value.

Madden Parcel-Post Weight-Limit Amendment-Fitzgerald and Siegel Bills.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. GOODWIN.

OF ARKANSAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 28, 1916,

On the bill (H. R. 10484) making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, of all the important legislation of national character for the past few years possibly little if any exceeds in importance and popularity to the great masses of the people, especially the agricultural people, as the parcel-post law. Beginning at 11 pounds as the maximum weight it has gradually grown in public favor until it became necessary to increase the weight, and this has been done until now it is possible to carry 100 pounds by parcel post.

The question as to weight has all been thrashed out on the floor of Congress, and we finally reached the conclusion that Congress should not arbitrarily place a limit on a parcel-post After due consideration Congress decided that the Post Office Department should, just like a railroad or express company, change the limit and rate on filing a petition with the Interstate Commerce Commission and securing an order for the change. Is not that fair, is not that equitable, does not every other country operate a parcel post with a weight limit in excess

of 100 pounds?

This is not only a blow at the system, but the moment it is done, as the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Lewis], author of this law, and who probably knows more about this question than any other man on the American continent, says, that at that moment the stocks of the express companies in this country will increase \$25,000,000 in value. For years the American people have been hamstrung by the express companies and the railroads. The express companies of this country had for 40 years prevented the enactment of a parcel-post law. When at last we enacted the present law they sent up a howl and solemnly de-clared that it would be impossible for them to remain in busi-ness. Have these predictions been borne out? No, Mr. Speaker; on the other hand, after the Interstate Commerce Commission

panies had reorganized themselves on a business basis, they found that they were still able to make money. Why did they wait for Congress and the Post Office Department and the Interstate Commerce Commission to force efficiency upon them? Look at the increasing amount of receipts reported month by month by the express companies of this country vying with the development in volume of parcel-post traffic. When, Mr. Speaker, did this Congress become an aggregation of experts on the subject of transportation, that it should attempt to take out of the competent hands of those institutions we have established for the specific purpose of nandling transportation subjects?

All through the long period the Republicans were in the majority in Congress the farmers appealed in vain for the enactment of a parcel-post law that would be of real service to them. It remained for a Democratic Congress to enact a parcel-post law which the farmers have conceded to be of real worth. In the few years this law has been in operation it has proved its worth and its power to serve the producer on the one hand and the consumer on the other, as well as giving the merchant of the small city and village equality of parcel service with the merchant of the terminal cities. In these first years the farmers have had patience to allow the parcel-post service to be developed slowly, satisfied to give the postal authorities ample time to meet the administrative difficulties incident to the develop-

ment of a new line of work of such magnitude.

But now, Mr. Speaker, in the hour when the farmer is be-ginning to feel the benefit of the Parcel-Post Service in a better price for his produce, and the consumer is feeling its beneficial effects in reducing the cost of living, and the further extension of the weight limit is urgently needed to increase these benefits to the people, like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky comes this Madden amendment, which, if carried into law, will, to quote the secretary of the Farmers' National Committee on Postal Reform, "have the effect of strangling the present parcel post" and "will ruin the people's express service." For the honor of the Democracy, I am glad that it should have been a stand-pat Republican who struck this fatal blow at this vital part of the people's express service. I regret that any Member of this House, calling himself a Democrat, should have supported this amendment. The only excuse is that it came suddenly at the close of the long debate on the postal appropriation bill, and that in the confusion of the parliamentary tangle they lost sight of the real issue and did not realize its importance.

Mr. Speaker, this amendment strikes out of the parcel-post law a provision for which the farmers fought most tenaciously. and which they considered vital to its success. No member of the Sixty-second Congress was left in doubt on this point by the farmers. Through their national committee on postal reform every Member received a letter setting forth their objections to the Bourne bill, and copies of their official statement of provisions essential to a system of parcel post adequate to meet the

service requirements of producer and consumer.

Copies of that letter and "essential elements" were sent to the President, the Postmaster General, to the members of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, and a number of Senators and Congressmen on whose support of a real and not a sham parcel post the farmers knew they could count. I had the honor to have been one of the Members of the House to re-ceive these comments, and in order that Members of the House may see how tenaciously the farmers fought for this amendment, which the Madden amendment now seeks to kill, I submit here the letters and the statement of "essential elements" referred to:

FARMERS' NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON POSTAL REFORM, Washington, D. C., June 15, 1912.

Dear Mr. Goodwin: I inclose copy of letter I have sent on behalf of the farmers' committee to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads together with copy of the "indispensable element" forwarded therewith.

We keenly appreciate your past help in the vitally important matter of securing a real parcel post, and I know that we can count on your continued activity to get these "Indispensable elements" incorporated in the committee. This is the most important service that can be rendered the farmer.

GEO P. HAMPTON, Secretary,

FARMERS' NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON POSTAL REFORM, Washington, D. C., June 14, 1912.

Hon. JONATHAN BOURNE, Jr., Chairman Committee on Post Offices and Post Rouds, United States Schate.

Dear Senator Bourne: I am sending herewith the statement of "indispensable elements" in an adequate system of parcel post agreed to by the farmers' national committee on postal reform and beg to advise you that my instructions are to give no support to any bill that does not provide unmistakably for the use of hampers, the handling of farm products, C. O. D. privileges, and the regulation of weights, rates, and zones by the Postal Department subject to the review and control of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Under no circumstances will a rigid weight limit be acceptable.

Your bill as drafted is not acceptable and will not be unless amended to include the "indispensable elements."

I am sending copies of this letter to the President, the Pestmaster General, to the members of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, and to other Senators and Congressmen known to me as taking a deep interest in enacting legislation that will give to this country an adequate postal package service.

Respectfully submitted.

George P. Hampton, Secretary.

GRORGE P. HAMPTON, Secretary,

STATEMENT OF PROVISIONS ESSENTIAL TO A SYSTEM OF PARCEL POST ADEQUATE TO MEET THE SERVICE REQUIREMENTS OF PRODUCERS AND

(By the Farmers' National Committee on Postal Reform.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 1, 1912.

Washington, D. C., June 1, 1912.

(a) An enlargement of the mailing privilege to include farm and factory and mercantile articles and products. (The present law and the proposed Bourne bill exclude nearly all of these from the mails.)

(b) A weight limit high enough to meet the needs of shippers whether of the farm, the factory, or the store. (A fixed 11-pound limit, that can not be enlarged administratively, will preclude the most important part of the traffic of all three, and force it, at higher rates, from its natural channel—the postal system—to the express companies.)

(g) Provision for the readjustment of rates, weights, and zones whenever the conditions of the service warrant, by expert rate makers who understand what rates the articles can pay and move the traffic necessary to be moved. (Rigid law-made rates will prevent, by their non-adaptation to the character of the traffic, more articles moving than they will move.)

(i) The same facilities and privileges from the railways that are given the express companies; and provisions for the insurance or indemnification of shippers for shipments lost.

W. A. HENRY, GEO. P. HAMPTON, Subcommittee.

Approved:
C. B. Kegley, master Washington State Grange; Wm. T.
Creasy, master Pennsylvania State Grange; C. S. Stetson, master Maine State Grange; C. E. Spence, master
Oregon State Grange; F. P Wolcott, master Kentucky
State Grange; George R. Malone, master South Dakota
State Grange; John Morris, master Colorado State
Grange; O. Gardver, president, and H. L. Loucks, vice
president, Conference of Progressive State Granges.

Executive Commi Executive Committee.

The Senate, Mr. Speaker, refused to accept these farmer amendments, and passed a bill which the farmers had shown they were opposed to, and it was the loyal band of workers for a real parcel post in the House who stood by the farmers to the last, who got these essentials into the law in conference. I can name a number of the Members, including the gentleman from Maryland, Mr. David Lewis, and Mr. Burleson, of Texas, now Postmaster General, who helped in the great fight, and I prize, Mr Speaker, among my records of that occasion the following letter of appreciation of my little part in that work:

FARMERS' NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON POSTAL REFORM.

Washington, D. C., August 24, 1912.

Dear Mr. Goodwin: In the name of the farmers of the United States accept my hearty thanks for your aid in helping the farmers get a real darcel post. But for your determined stand for the "farmers' amendment" along with our other loyal friends in Congress we could not have won, for, when the Senate passed the bill without these amendments, many were ready to quit, thinking further fighting useless, but our loyal band of courageous friends, who kept up the fight, brought us a victory after the bill went to conference, and you can depend on it that you, and all our friends in the House who helped in this fight, will be forever gratefully remembered by the rural people in all parts of our great country.

Sincerely, yours,

Geo. P. Hampton.

Mr. Speaker, the Farmers' National Committee on Postal Reform represented mainly the great farm organizations of the North, but it worked in close harmony with and really under the direction of a joint committee of the National Farmers' Union and the Progressive Granges. That joint committee was composed of President Charles S. Barrett, of the National Farmers' Union; the national secretary-treasurer, C. A. Davis, of my State; and Prof. T. J. Brooks, then of Tennessee, and now professor of rural economies in the Mississippi Agricultural College, representing the National Farmers' Union; and Hon. Obadiah Gardner, of Maine, and George P. Hampton, the secretary of the national committee representing the Progressive Granges. This, Mr. Speaker, shows that the farmers of the entire country were interested in demanding a parcel post with administrative control over the weight limit as well as over rates of postage, and for Congress now to nullify this part of the parcel-post law is to rob the farmer of the profits of his hard-earned victory. Can any Member of this House, can any Senator, say he is giving the farmer a loyal service who helps to perpetuate that wrong? THE FITZGERALD AND SIEGEL BILLS.

In connection with the power and authority of the Post Office Department, the most powerful of all of our departments for good. I desire to discuss another matter that is constantly being agitated throughout the country. A couple of bills to amend the

postal laws of this country, introduced by Mr. Fitzgerald, of New York, H. R. 6469, and Mr. Siecel, of the same State, H. R. 491, seek to increase the power of the Postmaster General, whereas the Madden amendment limiting the parcel post to 50 pounds seeks to arbitrarily limit and restrict the power of the Postmaster General. Now, the first two propositions are in direct conflict with the other so far as the power of the Postmaster General is concerned. The Madden amendment, if adopted by Congress, will be a blow not only at the producer and the consumer, but will increase the profits of the express companies and railroads, whereas the Fitzgerald and Siegel bills, if unfortunately these should ever become a law, would work even a greater blow, and would subvert and overturn the very mudsills upon which this Republic rests. If there is one guaranty out of which the sacred framework of our country is constituted, that guaranty is that every man may worship his Creator as his conscience directs without the interference of the State. If this Republic expects to cling to its pristine principles, that has made it better, freer, and more liberal in giving hopes and aspirations to all its people, it must forever keep separate and apart church and state, and as sacred as is that guarantee that every citizen may worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, just so sacred is that other guarantee by the Federal Constitution, the freedom of speech or the press, that these may be never denied or abridged. Every school boy and girl 15 years of age, who has reached the sixth grade, knows that American shores were made the asylum to the peoples of the Old World in the early days of our country's history; that here they came fleeing from the tyranny not only of rulers but the mobs of the old country; that this land of the free, this home of the brave, might be consecrated to civil and religious liberty, to the freedom of the printing press and of speech. And if that day should ever come that these sacred and holy principles shall be over-turned—that the Congress shall step in and by its law trample under foot these holy and sacred principles for which our fore-fathers fought and cstablished—then the end of free Government is in sight.

No just man who favors the freedom and liberty of his fellow man can but repudiate such a heresy, such a doctrine to muzzle the press of the country. No student of history will fail to recall that the blood of martyrs for hundreds of years and that millions of people have bitten the dust of death in the Old World in defense of these sacred principles; that rivers have run red with the blood of men; that women and children have been butchered and sacrificed by the tyranny of those who would restrict the freedom of press and of speech and who undertook to say that people should not worship their Creator the way they chose to worship Him.

I can not believe, Mr. Speaker, that any religion, race, creed. or fraternal organization worthy of existence could have that existence threatened by the mere publication of some paper in Missouri or some magazine in Georgia or elsewhere. I think it quite evident that any paper that devotes its whole purpose to any one cause is likely to become extreme and overstate the We may concede that; but is that a sufficient reason why any citizen should have his property confiscated or that he may be deprived of his property, which is forbidden by the Federal and all State constitutions without due process of law, according to the guaranty of the Federal and every State constitution? What is depriving a man of his property without due process of law? It is not simply to steal it-to run away with it. There are criminal statutes that visit punishment upon the violators of these laws. If the legislature imposed certain hardships upon certain people or upon certain corporations, taxing them beyond endurance, making their freight and passenger rates so low that they could not continue to operate their trains to carry on the business of the country-this would be depriving our citizens and such corporations of their property without due process of law. Therefore the Federal and State constitutions and the laws based upon those constitutions all say that no citizen—and "citizen" here means likewise a corporation-shall be deprived of his property without due process of law; that is to say, without going into the courts of the country and ascertaining the facts and then rendering judgment according to the established facts.

But here in these two bills the authors undertake to say that because it may be represented to the Postmaster General that certain publications are being sent through the mails which tend "to expose any race, creed, or religion to either hatred, contempt, ridicule, or obloquy, he shall forthwith cause an investigation to be made under his direction and shall, within 20 days after receipt of such complaint if the facts contained therein are true, make an order forbidding the further use of the mails to any such publication."

Mr. Speaker, words beggar description of the blow here aimed at American institutions and American liberty. If such publications are indecent, immoral, or scurrilous in character, are not the courts of the country open to whatever punishment the courts may determine should be inflicted upon such publishers? If things appear in papers and magazines so indecent and obscene that they should not enter our homes, do you think, sir, that the courts of the country would not protect our homes? But these bills arbitrarily turn over to the Postmaster General the matter of determining, not through an investigation of some court or tribunal, but as some Postmaster General of the future may arbitrarily decide, whether certain publications should have access to the mails regardless of the religion of that Postmaster General or any prejudices that he may entertain on any religious subject. A man in this country has a right under our law and under the sacred principles on which this Government was founded to be of any faith or to belong to any political party or to hall from any particular race or to entertain ideas as to any creed.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFF: MCLEMORE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. McLEMORE. Mr. Speaker, the resolution under consideration is an American measure, intended to protect American interests and no other interests on earth. And I believe, moreover, that it is a measure which accurately embodies the wishes of an overwhelming majority of the American people, for in a critical hour like this the spirit, the soul, of a nation has ways of making itself manifest, and I think every man in this Chamber has felt during the last few days that the spirit of America is appealing to us for wise action, for patriotic action, for action which shall preserve us in pence, for action which shall be just and fair to all nations.

It has been contended by some very distinguished gentlemen that the Government should take and declare a positive stand in opposition to the German and Austro-Hungarian intention to sink armed ships on sight. They have told us how long ago the practice of arming merchantmen originated and have cited statutes and enactments of the reigns of Charles I and other English monarchs to prove the justice of that practice.

I am unwilling to follow these distinguished gentlemen and their school of thought so far back, or, indeed, to the other side of the ocean at all; but I invite them and those who think as they do to follow me, not backward but forward, not across the ocean to the atmosphere of either British or German interests, but to the realm of pure American interests.

I would remind those who favor upholding the English contention in this crisis that England once enunciated the doctrine of the "closed sen," which meant that wherever armed English ships chose to flaunt the English flag and claim dominion over the waters, those waters were English as much as any stone of the British Isles themselves, and no ship dared sail those waters without English permission. And to make that doctrine a fixed part of international law King Charles I caused the learned Selden to write a book called "Mare Clausam"—the "Closed Sea."

Does anyone wish to uphold that British contention at this time? And yet all that ever invalidated that law was the change of conditions. Conditions have changed, and international law changes with them; but at this point, where conditions have once more changed in a way radically unfavorable to British pretensions, England would arrest the course of nature and refuse to let the law change. And she would do this, not by her own might, but, with her great fleet locked by steel nets in a safe and secluded harbor, she would have us rush into the gap of danger and cry, "Halt!" to the forces opposing her, and all to protect her English interests.

Mr. Speaker, it is a most remarkable fact that there is not a single American right or a single real American interest threatened by the intended German-Austrian submarine campaign against armed ships. Armed ships! Why, Mr. Speaker, there are no American armed ships except our warships. There are no American "armed merchant vessels." There are no American merchant ships sporting "defensive guns." I reiterate, I em-

phasize, I invite the most earnest attention of this House and of every American to that remarkable fact, that not a single American ship is affected or threatened by the action which

Germany and Austria-Hungary propose.

Why, then, is this Republic diverted from the normal course of its peaceful progress to gravely debate a possible war with Germany and Austria-Hungary? With not a single American ship involved, in heaven's name what are we called upon to protect against Germany, against Austria? Why, sir, we are called upon to protect English ships, Italian ships, perhaps French ships, if France is induced by her predominant ally to abandon the hitherto unbroken French policy, which, mark you, is that a merchant ship has no right to bear arms. Yes; that is the only meaning of it-we are called on to protect the ships of one faction in the present war against the ships of the other. We are called on to take sides in this war; we are called on to take part in this war.

Mr. Speaker, from every scrap of information that can be gleaned in Washington it is—and I speak it solemnly—it is only gleaned in Washington it is—and I speak it soleminy—it is only too certain that we are deciding a question of war or peace. Germany and Austria-Hungary say they are determined; that they will not swerve; and what they are determined on is, I believe, nothing more than what we ourselves will unhesitatingly determine to do should we become involved in war. And for this we are told that we should break with that nation which first recognized the weak Republic—weak then, but glorious in principle—which the fathers of 1776 brought forth on this conbrinche—which the fathers of 1770 brought forth on this continent. We are told that we should break with the people who have contributed the second largest element of our own Nation. And what is our only excuse? That we demand that heedless and adventurous American citizens who, disregardful of their Nation's peace, insist on traveling on armed ships of a power at war. Was there ever a more uncalled-for proposition? To protect them in their foolish conduct we are to sacrifice the ancient tradition of the Nation, the more than century-old friendship of Germany.

Mr. Speaker, if anyone seeks evidences of denial of American rights at sea, let him examine why cotton is contraband; why milk for starving babies and rubber gloves can not go to Germany; why not a pound of American produce can move from any Atlantic or Gulf port to any neutral port in the world without the permission of an English consular spy; why hundreds of cargoes have been taken into English ports, confiscated or ruined; why not a single piece of mail can leave America for Europe with the assurance that it will reach its destination; why the American ships, Hocking and Genesee and Kankakee, are to-day impressed into English service, though they had not even attempted to cross the ocean, but only to sail along the coast of America. Let us learn why a distinguished American woman was stripped of every piece of her clothing by men in the presence of men—English "gentlemen," doubtless—because she talked to a German on a Dutch ship! Let us look upon these matters and we shall find plenty of stern business to do in the line of protecting the freedom of the seas!

Mr. Speaker, for the past three years American citizens who lived in Mexico and had their all invested in that country under treaty rights and a guaranty of the law and Constitution, have been repeatedly warned by our Government to get out of Mexico, and they were notified that should they remain they would do so at their own peril. It has often been proclaimed that this policy which we applied to American citizens residing in Mexico was adopted by our Government "to keep us out of war," and with this conclusion fresh in mind, I could not help but feel that the administration would welcome any movement that would mean a continuance of this same peaceful policy if applied to American citizens in countries other than Mexico.

In my resolution warning American citizens against traveling on the armed vessels of the belligerent nations, it was not even so much as intimated that Americans do not have the right to travel on such vessels, for most undoubtedly they have; but what I contend for, Mr. Speaker, is that they have no right to plunge this country into a war whose consequence no one can foretell, simply because a few American citizens may commit

an act of folly and indiscretion.

Much is now being said by the war-seeking press of this country about upholding the honor of our country. Mr. Speaker, "he jests at scars, who never felt a wound," and many of those who prate loudest of honor at this threatening hour measure honor by the almighty dollar and would force us into war that they might reap financial gain. I do not believe there is a Member of this House or Senate who has not the honor of his country at heart. As for myself, my Americanism began at a period prior to the Revolutionary War, and in that long and sanguinary struggle my ancestors, on both my father's and mother's side, endured untold hardships and bat-

tled for the cause of American independence and against the tyranny and oppression of an English King. They answered their country's call again at New Orleans, Mr. Speaker, and fought with Jackson to repel our country's invaders, and how well those volunteer American soldiers fought, the world knows

only too well.

Mr. Speaker, no man is more jealous of his country's honor than my humble self, and I accord to every other Member of this House the same love of country which I myself would claim. And with this love for my country's honor, I find it difficult to suppress my resentment when I recall how American citizens have been insulted and derided in Mexico the past three or four years, while we have pursued a "watchful waiting" policy that we might not be plunged into war. With these things in mind, it is hard for me to imagine how our country's honor can now be sullied if we warn American citizens against traveling on the armed vessels of the belligerent European nations that are now engaged in a death struggle.

Only a few days ago, Mr. Speaker, the President, in a letter to Senator Stone, denied the right of Congress, according to my interpretation of his letter, to make of him even a simple request regarding American citizens who wish to travel on the armed boats of the belligerent nations.

Now, Mr. Speaker, he comes to us and asks us if we are of the opinion that he should warn American citizens against traveling on such armed vessels. Mr. Speaker, the wind has changed so often in the past few weeks that I must admit my inability to exactly determine just where I am. It is a case of "you'll be damned if you do and you'll be damned if you don't."

When I was notified that the President regarded my resolution as an attempt to interfere with his application of the administration's foreign policy, I was willing, as far as I was individually concerned, to let the resolution rest peacefully, for a while at least, with the committee to which it had been referred. Now, he asks that the resolution, or a similar one, be put to a vote of the House and determine whether or not we shall warn American citizens against traveling on the armed

boats of the belligerent nations.

Mr. Speaker, as a Member of the Congress I feel it a proud duty to uphold the hands of our President when he is in the right, but I must know that he is right. With my country it

but, fight or wrong, my country forever.

Mr. Speaker, I am not asking the Congress to adopt this resolution. If the Members believe its adoption will assist in preventing war, they will wrong themselves and their country if they do not vote for it. If they believe otherwise, they will surely vote as their consciences dictate; and I leave it to every man to be the keeper of his own conscience.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I wish to submit this proposition, that if we are to maintain an open sea for American travelers

and tourists, let us also maintain an open sea for the cotton, grain, and other products of our American farmers.

The Law of Armed Merchant Ships.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, OF ALABAMA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 7, 1916.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs I am impelled to discuss some of the difficulties with which we are confronted in the consideration of the McLemore resolution.

The central idea in the McLemore resolution is a warning to American citizens not to take passage upon armed merchant vessels of the European belligerents. Had this resolution been presented in time of world peace, or even at the beginning of the present session of Congress, the issue would have been very simple and it might have easily been disposed of. However, in the present situation the matter has taken on a vastly wider aspect, so that we are called upon to consider a subject of vital international significance.

Some few weeks ago the German Government gave notice that beginning March 1 it would sink armed enemy vessels without warning, whether such vessels were armed for defense only or not. Diplomatic discussions followed between the United States and Germany. Subsequently the rumor became general that Germany would not recede from the position which she had taken and that President Wilson had stated that if Germany should sink an armed merchant vessel of the entente powers without warning, and as a result an American should lose his life, diplomatic relations would be broken off with Germany. It was further believed that in the event of relations being broken off under such circumstances Germany would declare war. Thereupon the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Mc-Lemore] presented his resolution warning American citizens to stay off armed vessels.

The McLemore resolution was widely approved by the common sense of the American people. We are a practical people; we wish peace; we are not willing to go to war over a technicality. The spirit of America is to shed the last drop of blood in defense of its institutions; to die, if need be, for its liberties. It is not the American spirit to plunge into war over technical diplomatic disputes, to fight blindly and unquestioningly at the behest of governmental authority. This is fitting as the spirit of a great democratic people, a self-governing people.

For the reasons stated, many Representatives at the time the McLemore resolution was introduced were inclined to support it as the best way out of the difficulty. Had the question been presented as a naked abstract question, so that action upon it might have been free from implications, I should myself have voted for the resolution. No American citizen should take passage upon an armed merchant vessel of a belligerent. Even if he has no regard for his own life, he should not take a chance of embroiling his country in a controversy with another nation. He should value the peace and security of America to the extent that he would not do anything to jeopardize it. However, we must bear in mind that the right to sail on armed merchant ships is a right which a citizen has under the principles of international law. Mere warning to stay off can not lessen that right and would be in the nature of monition merely.

But Congress was not to be permitted to pass upon the McLemore resolution upon its merits. The temptation to play politics and to meddle was too great for the newspapers to resist. The section of the press voicing the political opposition to the President seized upon the opportunity to foment strife between the President and Congress. The differences existing were grossly exaggerated, and headlines such as "War Between Wilson and Congress," "Congress in Revolt," "Congress Resists Wilson's Demands," and so forth, of an inflammatory nature constantly appeared. Our militaristic friends and the munition makers also came in with scare heads, for they will permit no occasion to pass to agitate in favor of a great Army and Navy. The pro-German press and the pro-Allies press were also loud in their clamor, and certain silly supporters of the President shouted "cowards" and "poltroons," and insultingly demanded, "Are you for the President or for the Kaiser?"

With all this clamor the still small voice of true Americanism and clear-visioned wisdom was drowned out. Public sentiment was aroused to a high pitch and gossip was rife over the entire country. News of the situation reached European capitals, where, of course, ignorance of the institutions of democracy allowed no clear understanding. Our diplomatic adversaries were impressed that the President was without the support of his country and a deadlock in the negotiations was threatened.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, upon authoritative information that the President had desired no action upon the McLemore resolution and no discussion upon it, withheld consideration of the subject. The President, finding that the country and foreign diplomats had been placed under a false impression, asked Congress to go forward with the matter. The question at the beginning was comparatively simple, but in the setting in which it was presented its aspect was so widened as to fill the whole horizon.

Conscientious Members have considered two phases of the matter. The first phase, that if the resolution should be adopted it would be the abject surrender of a clear legal right, a surrender made under pressure of a great foreign Government which had adopted an aggressive attitude toward our diplomatic representatives. To surrender would mean the breaking down of the President's case and the termination of the negotiations. It would mean the humiliation of the President, his unjust defeat at a critical moment. It would mean that no longer will foreign nations respect our diplomacy or the assertion of American rights. By the surrender of the right to travel on armed merchant ships we will surrender the right to arm them; it will be a logical concession that their status as merchant ships has been abandoned by merely arming them for defense.

The second phase of the situation was that to reject the resolution would have a much wider significance than the mere assertion of an international right. It was said by one member of the committee, in the discussion of the question:

If we vote down this resolution under the present circumstances, there will be an implied authorization to the President to insist upon the right of Americans to travel on armed merchant ships to the last extremity, even to taking action which meant war; by voting the resolution down we commit ourselves morally to supporting the President in any position which he may choose to take upon the question, and if later he should dismiss the German ambassador and should commit the United States to such a policy it would be the duty of Congress to declare war against Germany.

The second phase mentioned was shocking to the sensibilities of members of the committee. I think I may say without betraying confidence that every member of the committee desires peace with all nations, and that we will take no contrary action unless the national honor shall so demand. We are fully alive to the cost of war, to its cost in human blood, in morals, in political principles, and in treasure. War is a hideous nightmare, with not a single favorable aspect. It is never justified except in a clean-cut, single-hearted defense of national honor. It is never to be waged to vindicate abstract rights or technical principles. It may be declared only to avenge a direct, deliberate, and intentional affront to American honor. Certain members of the committee feared that by an adverse report on the resolution they would be committed morally to support the President in breaking off diplomatic relations in the eventuality named. They did not wish to be committed upon this point. They wished to sustain the President, in so far as was consistent and fair, but only in and about the particular matter which was under consideration.

As for myself, I feel it incumbent upon me to say that I shall vote to table the McLemore resolution. I do not think it is at this juncture a suitable matter for congressional action. I have not the slightest doubt that American citizens have the right to travel on merchant ships armed for defense, and that when so traveling their lives may not be taken without warning and without giving the ship an opportunity to surrender. The President is absolutely right in his contention upon this subject and should be sustained by every patriotic American citizen. However, in such action as I take, I must not be taken, by implication or otherwise, as intending to commit myself as to what action should be taken if our rights upon the sea are violated by the German submarine campaign. It must not be assumed that I shall favor breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany or war in any event. I do not bind myself in any sense to take a course which would lead the American people into war over a legal technicality. I reserve to myself full freedom of action in any phase of the German controversy which may be presented in future. This much I feel it my duty, both to our Executive and to the American people, to say.

The McLemore resolution to warn Americans off belligerent merchant ships armed for defense is a novelty. Never in the history of the world has a legislative body of any nation given such a warning to its citizens. Never, prior to the reputed action of Sweden a few days ago, has governmental authority of any nation given such warning. It would present the United States in a very poor light to the world to take such action at this time, especially under pressure from a foreign Government.

Congress has no warrant in the Constitution to advise American citizens as to how they shall exercise their rights under international law, nor whether they shall exercise them or not. Congress has never in our history assumed to give such advice. In only two instances has the Executive given such advice to citizens by proclamation—the first at the time of a filibustering expedition to Cuba in 1849 and the second during the recent troubles in Mexico. Although a lawyer by profession, I attach no undue weight to precedents. However, since we find no constitutional authority for taking such action and Congress has never asserted the privilege before, it seems to me most inexpedient to enter at this time upon the field of giving advice to citizens concerning delicate international matters.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, having in view the reasons which I have stated, felt obliged to accompany any recommendation which it might make on the resolution with some sort of explanation, so that all intendments of their recommendation might be clearly understood. The explanation embodied in our report is as follows:

That House resolution 147, known as the McLemore resolution, requesting the President to warn all citizens of the United States to refrain from traveling on armed merchant vessels, be reported to the House with the recommendation that it be laid on the table. Under the Constitution, the practice, and precedents in this country, the conduct of diplomatic negotiations has been left to the President, and with this practice the committee does not feel it proper for the House of Representatives to interfere. We know that if the President reaches a point

in any negotiation with foreign Governments at which he has exhausted his power in the premises, he will in the usual way report all facts and circumstances to Congress for its consideration.

It may be well believed that this explanation is not wholly satisfactory to any member of the committee, but it was found necessary to make mutual concessions in order to bring out a report which would command the support of a large majority of the members of the committee.

For myself, I criticize the committee's report as being an evasion. Its statements are most obvious, but they do not respond to the subject matter of the resolution. The report attempts to explain without explaining. It does serve the purpose, however, to indicate that the committee does not intend to be bound by implications, nor to have its future actions hampered by its recommendation on the resolution except so

far as same is strictly applicable.

Notwithstanding this which I believe to be a just criticism, the explanation does after all indicate to Congress, to our country, and to foreign nations, our attitude upon the subject. The context clearly shows that we do not purpose to surrender American rights, rights guaranteed to us by well-settled principles of international law; also, that in making this decision Congress does not bind itself to support any aggressive foreign policy which would lead us into a war not necessary for the protection of national honor. Furthermore, we reserve our freedom of action, our freedom to decide when the time comes whether there is sufficient cause for war or not.

American citizens should not travel upon belligerent ships even though armed for defense only. Every consideration of patriotism dictates this, even if the travelers have no regard for their own safety. The peace of our country is the most important thing that any citizen can have in mind. He should do nothing which would jeopardize that peace, and I believe that every Representative in this Chamber, if the question were presented to him, would advise citizens to refrain from such

travel. I would most unhesitatingly do so.

MERCHANT SHIPS MAY ARM AND DEFEND AGAINST CAPTURE.

Under the laws of civilized warfare there is an essential difference between the capture of merchant ships on the high seas and the taking for military purposes of private property on land. In the latter case the property is requisitioned as a matter of military necessity; it is not confiscated, but must be paid for. The taking is not a hostile act against an enemy for property of citizens of the country requisitioning same may be taken to the same extent as that of other persons within the military

jurisdiction.

Capture of merchant vessels is justified only upon the theory that they are potentially a part of the fleet of the enemy country; their capture is an act of hostility against the enemy country and is done to destroy an enemy's commerce and his power for offensive. The theory is that merchant ships may be converted into war vessels and that their crews are potentially members of the enemy forces. This principle is brought into sharp relief by the long-established rule again recognized by article 6 of convention 11 of the Second Hague Peace Conference, which provides that the crew will be interned if they refuse to promise in writing not to hire during the continuation of the war for services connected with the war operations. Such capture of an enemy merchant ship entails the treatment of the crew as war prisoners, not as civilians entitled to immediate discharge. An attack upon the enemy merchant ship is an attack upon the crew. Its purpose is to restrain the crew of its liberties. The status of the crew is strictly analogous to that of a detachment of troops engaged in war on land. They may submit to capture and thereby curtail their liberty, or they may resist and take a chance at being overpowered. If they refuse to surrender, their potential membership in the armed forces remains, and they must either give parole or go into internment.

The status of the enemy merchant vessel which defends itself against an attack with intent to capture, is similar to that of a civil population of an unoccupied district which attempts to fight off invaders. It is certainly logical to treat the crew as pirates, if we consider the defense of an enemy merchant ship against attack for purposes of capture as unlawful. If the defense is contrary to law, then it does not matter who participates in it, and it is illogical to distinguish between the different persons of the crew. Why should the defense of a ship be lawful in so far as it concerns persons who are enrolled in the enemy forces? Apparently only because with the capture of the ship, internment threatens these persons, and they need not subject themselves to capture without defense. Persons of the crew who do not belong to the enemy forces, in case of capture, have the alternative as potential combatants, either of giving parole or of being interned. Why should they submit to this

curtailment of liberty without being permitted to defend them-

The rule is not obsolete. It has been repeatedly recognized recently, and its principles are being recognized to-day by the European belligerents in their internment of the crews of mer-The crew of a merchant ship has to-day the right to defend itself against capture by any means recognized by the laws of war-to defend itself and its ship. The right to defend carries the right to make an effective defense and to prepare for such defense, which means to carry such armament as may be desirable for the purpose. The weakness or strength of an attacker does not affect this right. Having the right to defend and the right to bear arms for defense, it necessarily follows that a merchant ship does not lose its status as such by arming for defense. It follows inevitably that the rights and immunities of persons on board a merchant ship armed for defense remain the same as though the ship was unarmed, and that neutrals lose none of their rights by taking passage on such ships.

Warships may be sunk without notice. The attacker owes no duty except to give quarter to those who surrender when the resistance has ended. This follows from the presumption that the purpose of the warship is offensive. Such presumption does not obtain as to merchant vessels armed for defense. The business of warships is to seek the enemy and destroy him. Merchant ships proceed from port to port in behalf of commerce. The purpose of attack on a merchant ship is not destruction, but capture. Destruction is permissible only if it be necessary to overcome the defense or to stay the defender's flight. It would be unreasonable to say that such ships may be sunk without notice. Neutrals on board such ships have no greater rights than noncombatant subjects of a belligerent country. All alike are entitled the privilege of surrender before being destroyed.

The difficulties which inhere in giving warning by a submarine or other weak war vessel which seeks to capture an enemy merchant ship do not affect the rule. These affect matters of

convenience and can not overturn the principle.

An authoritative exposition of the principles involved is found in the decision of John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States, in the Nereide, Ninth Cranch, page 449. The Nereide was a British armed merchantman carrying 10 guns, and was chartered by Pinto, a Spanish subject, to carry his goods from England to South America. Pinto accompanied the ship, which under its charter was required to be armed. On the voyage the Nereide fell in with a United States privateer, declined to surrender on demand, and after a lively action in which loss of life occurred, was captured by the privateer and brought into port. The question came before the Supreme Court of the United States by Pinto's efforts to recover his goods. The right of the Norcide to arm for defense and to defend against capture was fully considered, ably discussed, and decided in the affirmative. It was held that Pinto, although he had stipulated that the vessel should be armed and was himself on board, retained his status as a neutral; that his goods were not forfeit and should be returned to Pinto. It was held that Pinto and his goods retained a neutral status, which was the same as though the vessel had been unarmed and had surrendered on demand.

The Nereide case was preceded by Brown against United States, Eighth Cranch, page 132, and has been followed by numerous cases including the *Dos Hermanos*, Second Wheaton, page 76; United States against Quincy, Sixth Peters, page 445; and numerous other cases. See also Kent's International Law, second edition, 1878, pages 225 and 226; Halls International Law 524. In the case of the Atlanta, decided in 1814, Chief Justice Marshall said:

A neutral merchant has the right to charter and load his goods on board a belligerent's armed vessel without forfeiting his neutral character.

The doctrine laid down by these authorities is not merely an American doctrine. It had its origin in British courts, but has been universally recognized. Recently it has been asserted that the doctrine is obsolete; that it had its origin in time of privateering and piracy; that the right to defend exists only against piratical and other unlawful attacks, such attacks without quarter, and so forth. These contentions are unsound. Their fallacy is clearly seen when the reasons for the rule are considered.

The right of a belligerent to visit and search neutral vessels wholly different from a belligerent's rights as to enemy ships. The belligerent is permitted to visit and search a neutral vessel so that he may see whether the vessel is, in fact, neutral, and whether there is on board contraband goods subject to seizure. In the case of enemy merchantmen the right to capture only exists. There is no reason to visit and search, for such proceedings could only show that the vessel is subject to capture, which if the ship be an enemy ship is an unnecessary preliminary. Merchant vessels owe no duty whatsoever to allow belligerent enemies to visit and search them or to come within gun range, but may flee at will or defend to the extent of their powers, all, of course, at peril of being captured when overtaken or overcome, and sunk if such course be necessary to overcome them. The crew and passengers aboard retain the same status as though the vessel had been unarmed and had surrendered without resistance. It is noted that a vessel, though unarmed, may seek to escape by flight and when overhauled loses no right which it would otherwise have had. sistance may even be made with small arms. Always there should be no treachery and no violation of the rules of war.

When this question first came up for consideration I was impressed with the argument that because torpedo boats and submarines were legitimate war vessels, but were frail and had small powers of defense, this affected the right of merchant vessels to arm and resist capture. However, it readily became apparent that the weakness of the offensive could not affect the right of the attacked vessel to defend itself. In principle there can be no limitation upon the armament which a merchant vessel may carry for defense only. The nature of the armament may, indeed, throw light upon whether the intent of the vessel is defensive or offensive, but once it is established that the armament is for defense only, principle does not limit the size of the guns nor the strength of the armor. Ships may arm themselves to defend against any strength of attack, whether from a fishing smack or a battleship, and may resist attack by any assailant irrespective of his strength or weakness. A battleship demanding the surrender of the weakest merchant vessel may be defended against even to the extent that the defender is totally destroyed. It is not the right of the assailant to dictate what kind of defense shall be made, nor the strength of the armament of his intended victim. Given a case in which a merchant ship intends in good faith to resist capture only, it may be clad in 9-inch armor and carry guns of the largest caliber. A merchant vessel may be compared to a man in his own home who may resist by any means necessary an unlawful intrusion.

The best consideration of this question which I have been able to find is the discussion by Oppenheim, professor of international law at Cambridge, who says (1913) :

In the dest consideration of tins question which I have been able to find is the discussion by Oppenheim, professor of international law at Cambridge, who says (1913):

Another objection, however, might be advanced against the doctrine here presented, namely, that the defense of enemy merchant ships is lawful. One could class the capture of these ships, which is doubtless lawful according to existing law, in the category of the many other lawful acts which every belligerent may commit against the property of enemy subjects, and against which resistance is not permissible. A belligerent who occupies enemy territory may make requisition which will be a heavy tax on the property of the inhabitants of the enemy territory. Resistance against these lawful acts is not permissible; armed resistance will be visited with severe punishment. Is not capture of enemy merchant ships a hostile act of the same class, which the owners of ship and cargo are liable to suffer as lawful consequence of the state of war, without being allowed to offer resistance?

At first glance, much might be said in favor of this contention, but it is found to be untenable on closer examination. First, requisitions, levy of contributions, and other acts of this category are acts committed in occupied enemy territory, where the inhabitants are under the jurisdiction of the occupant. Capture of enemy merchant ships, however, is regularly an act committed on the high seas; enemy ships are not subject to the belligerents' authority unless they are captured. When the enemy ship is captured, the crew is under the authority of the attacking party. Secondly, all measures such as requisitions, which affect the property of the inhabitants of occupied districts, are not intended as appropriation of private property itself, but they are steps which are taken in the interest of the occupaint gramp or of the administration of the occupain of private property itself, but they are steps which are taken in the interest of the occuping army or of the administration

from the outset regarded as futile. But since the use of submarines and torpedo boats and the conversion of merchant ships into warships threatens to be resorted to extensively in the future the present conditions of naval warfare have changed so much that defense is possible; and therefore the old rule, up to now hardly practicable, again attains practical importance; and it must be expected that at the next Hague peace conference, which it is hoped will soon convene, the rule will receive the same approval of the States represented with which it was accepted by an overwhelming majority at the Oxford Convention of the Institute of International Law, in 1913, during the discussion of the manual of the laws of naval war, because it is in accordance with the present law of custom and the nature of the subject.

The principles stated by Oppenheim have received the approval of the most eminent European authorities. Distinguished jurists of practically all of the leading European nations have within the last few years considered the identical subject, with similar conclusions. I will quote a few of these authorities:

A merchant ship has not the right to first attack the hostile ship, yet if attacked herself she may repel aggression. (Nys, E. (Belgian) Droit International Bruxellees, 1912, p. 113.)

Private vessels without any commission or authorization of their Government are not allowed to wage war or to attack any enemy at sea without classing themselves in the category of pirates. It is a different case, however, when they act in self-defense. "If private individuals confine themselves to simple defense," says Chancellor Kent, "they are to be considered as acting under the presumed order of the State, and are entitled to be treated by the adversary as lawful enemies." All agree that defensive hostflittes on the high seas, as well as on land, without a commission or public authority, are not criminal acts but acts fully authorized by the law of war. (Ferguson, Jan Helenus. (Dutch) Manual of International Law, 1884, V. II, pp. 355, 386; see also Kent, Com. on Am. Law, Vol. I, pp. 94-96.)

In case a noncommissioned merchantman gets possession of an enemy ship by the act of self-defense, the principle is that "she shall have no right to the prize, although it is a fair prize as far as the enemy is concerned if made according to the laws of war. (Boeck (French), De la Propriete privee ennemis sous pavillon ennemi. Paris, 1882, p. 245 ff.)

A merchant vessel surprised by the enemy may resist if she believes

A merchant vessel surprised by the enemy may resist if she believes herself able to hold out against him. If her resistance is unavailing the capture should not be aggravated by any severity. She was attacked by war. She had a right to meet force with force—to make her escape by fighting. If her resistance is successful and she overcomes her aggressor she may apply to him the treatment which she escapes. Her victory makes the enemy ship her conquest and the crew her prisoners. (Dupuis (French), Droit de guerre maritime. Paris, 1899, p. 121)

prisoners. (Dupuis (French), Droit de guerre maritime. Paris, 1899, p. 121.)

Any merchant ship which, during the prevalence of the tradition declaring her liable to capture in time of war, is attacked by an enemy ship, shall have the right to defend herself and perform any act of hostility. (Fiore (Italian), Diritto internazionale pubblico, 1891, v. 3, p. 103.) Private ships shall be allowed during maritime war to use force to defend themselves from enemy ships wishing to attack them, and any hostile act performed by them under these circumstances shall be characterized as an act of self-defense. (Ibid., p. 745.)

A neutral's act in shipping his goods in a hostile vessel is absolutely legitimate, and this vessel's act in resisting her enemy is equally legal; hence no illegality has been committed affecting either ship or cargo when resistance takes place in the case of two enemies. (Kleen (Swedish), Lois et usages de la neutralite, 1900, p. 312 ft.)

It will be noted that Oppenheim refers to the meeting of the Institute of International Law, held at Oxford in August, 1913.
At that meeting a manual of laws of naval war was adopted, article 13 of which manual expressly allows merchant ships to defend against capture. This article was fully discussed by the representatives of the major European nations present. After full discussion, in which the German representatives, Prof. Triepel and Prof. von Bar, participated, the article was adopted "by a large majority.'

The contention that the rule allowing merchant ships to arm and defend against attack is obsolete is an argument of convenience. It is made by those who wish submarine warfare to be more effective, who wish to make it appear that there is something unfair and illegal in a merchantman, devoted to peace, successfully resisting an attack by a submarine devoted to war. This argument is a part of the new militarism which would subordinate commerce, industry, and all instrumentalities of peace and the welfare and happiness of the world to the harsh activities of war. After all, we must not lose sight of the fact that the real business of civilization is consistent only with peace; that war represents a hiatus, a gap, a stopping place where humanity marks time. Civilization has not as its purpose the promotion of war and its instrumentalities; to the contrary, war and civilization are in perpetual conflict—one must destroy the other if it would have permanent dominion.

It is worthy of a great people—of the great democratic American people—that we should busy ourselves with the development of commerce, trade, and industry, the cultivation of the fine arts, and the amenities between nations—that we should make more perfect the instrumentalities of peace and peaceful methods more secure. This is much more worthy than that we should give fuller countenance or larger recognition to the hateful practices of war. I would that our country should always lead in insisting upon the rights of neutrals, upon the rights of com-merce, and of civilians generally, and that we should labor to reduce and restrict the privileges of armies and navies and the advantages of those who would rely upon war for greatness.

Foreign Relations an Executive, Not a Legislative, Function.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON.S.D. FESS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, there are moments in the life of a nation when human destiny seems to hang in the balance. With most of the world in a death struggle and our peace threatened upon every hand, our Nation has reached such a moment.

The questions at issue are not only delicate, but the forces arrayed are insistent. From the very beginning we have realized the danger of the position of a neutral country. It is inevitable that neutrality will be both suspected and misunderstood. It is

bound to provoke hatred.

The exercise of our rights and the recognition of international customs and practices will be resented by those not favorably advantaged by our neutral position. Knowing the delicacy of the position, we at once took our stand upon the code of international law. We have repeatedly quoted the declaration of Paris, The Hague conference, and the declaration of London as the most recent expressions of international practices. We have also impressed upon all the belligerents the necessity of strict obedience to the code of international procedure in times of war.

The Constitution wisely intrusted diplomatic relations with foreign countries to the executive department. The questions are naturally too delicate to be placed in the political department of the Government, where unity of decision would be difficult to obtain. When diplomacy is exhausted and stronger methods are necessary, then the Congress has the final word.

Whether or not I agree with the results of our diplomacy, it is not of such character that we should transfer it from the proper constitutional and historical body to the Congress of the United States.

This proposal of Congress to interfere by the enactment of a resolution warning American citizens off defensively armed vessels is not wise. It interferes with the proper channels for such negotiations, and it will in all likelihood be fraught with grave consequences. Such warning, if it is to be given, must initiate with the department that controls our diplomacy—the President. He can withhold passports, and if it be necessary can warn citizens generally. Congress must not interfere unless he requests to be relieved from the responsibility.

We have taken our stand upon international law, and our only protection is to prove our sincerity to all belligerents by obeying its decrees ourselves while we press them upon the

warring nations.

Should we war citizens and withdraw the Government's protection from them if they go aboard these ressels, we not only surrender our rights upon the sea but we classify these vessels as dangerous, on the ground that they are naval auxiliaries. In that case Germany will exercise her right to so treat them and will demand that we do likewise. This would involve grave consequences.

Whether an American should go upon such vessels there is no doubt in my mind. He should not carelessly subject the Nation to war for his protection. Whether this country should withdraw protection from him if he does go on is another question. Whether the Congress should forbid him going on is still a

graver question.

The first raises the question whether any citizen has the moral right to do what might involve the Nation in war. It would be difficult to justify anyone in such conduct. The second raises the question whether any nation can maintain its honor and dignity by abandoning its citizens because it fears the consequences of the proffered protection. That would be a virtual surrender of national honor. Cases arise where it appears necessary to go on the sea. Waiving both of these questions, the warning is most serious. If the warning is issued, it will be placed upon the grounds of our note of January 18, made public the 12th of last month. In that note we declared that a small-caliber gun can be used effectively against a submarine. We also declared that "any armament on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an offensive armanent." We also declared that "merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carry-

Ing any armament whatsoever" in order that submarines might respect the laws of search and seizure. We also declared it reasonable to consider a merchant vessel carrying any armament whatever as an auxiliary vessel. This negotiation of the Executive Department was an attempt to induce a discontinuance of a recognized custom.

Mr. Speaker, in the light of this note there can be no doubt in my mind what a warning resolution of Congress would mean to all the world. It would be a reaffirmation that any vessel carrying any gun is an auxiliary naval vessel. Germany so regarded it or she would not have at once announced her renewal of submarine warfare against armed merchant vessels without warnare.

ing

If Congress pass the McLemore resolution, we by that act declare these vessels "war vessels." Germany will so regard them and will demand that we so treat them. If we do not do so, we have given the central powers new grounds of complaint, viz, we declare them auxiliary as to our citizens but merchantnen as to commerce. This will give rise to a serious matter between us. If we refuse to respect the international code controlling naval auxiliary vessels in neutral waters, why should she respect its regulations as applied to belligerent waters? We will have lost our chief ground against her. On the other hand, if we treat them as auxiliary, then we must limit their privileges in American waters in accordance with the international code, the regulations of which I placed in the Record yesterday.

These restrictions will destroy all commerce with the allied powers, a result aimed at by Germany in this diplomacy to retaliate on the British blockade. This policy, hurtful as it would be to our own country's oversea trade, will not have its most serious consequences in a disturbance of our commerce, but we will give grounds to the allies to charge us with changing international law during war, and by so doing commit an unneutral act in favor of the central powers. Here is the real

danger.

It is the custom, not adhered to, it is true, by all countries, to place a defensive gun upon their merchant vessels. This custom has never been abrogated by agreement. True, the grounds for so arming have generally passed-piracy, danger of attacks on the shores of uncivilized peoples, and privateering-but as a right it has never been questioned. When belligerent countries exercise this right it can not be denied them during war without a mutual agreement. Our State Department attempted to secure such mutual agreement and failed. That was the burden of our note of January 18 of this year. It is now proposed to ignore the right and declare by resolution that such vessels are dangerous and should be avoided-that is, what our State Department failed to do by diplomacy we propose to do by act of Congress and against the expressed wish of the President. This is denying a right and changing the international law, not by agreement, which failed, but by resolution of this Congress. If we do this, where is our reliance? We have heretofore planted ourselves squarely on international rights as outlined in the various codes. We have protested to the central powers upon every occasion of their violation. We have done likewise with the allies. The moment we ourselves ignore the practices and customs of international law, that moment the sheet anchor of neutral rights is pierced. Then all guarantees are gone, and I tremble for what may follow. Upon this respect for international law I addressed this Congress January 11 of this year, in which I showed how England as well as Germany

What is defensive armament is a question of fact as well as law to be adjusted. It must come through diplomacy, not by resolution. It must be reached through diplomatic channels under the control of the Executive, not through partisan debate in legislative halls. Matters of international relations between sovereign countries must not be transferred from diplomacy to legislation. No man in the Congress has the facts in this controversy to enable him to vote an ultimatum to any government. It was a grave blunder to bring this question to the Congress. It should have been kept with the President. I shall vote to leave it with him. I shall therefore vote against the rule which brings it in here. If the McLemore resolution comes to a vote,

I shall vote against it.

When the President has exhausted his resources, then let him seek the cooperation of Congress, bring the matter to this body, which has within its constitutional prerogative the issues of war, and I, for one, shall not flinch from the performance of my duty.

Mr. Speaker, we are making history. Events are rapidly moving. We are neutral to-day, and I believe, if we make no mistake, we will be able to remain so. Acting as a neutral should, we must keep in mind the possibility of our becoming a beligerent. In our contention on the use of the submarine we

should keep in mind the possibility of our seeing the day when we will be compelled to resort to its use.

To me there is but one course to pursue. Leave the matter with the President, undisturbed by this branch of the Government. The State Department, in the attempt to win the consent of the allies to remove all arms from merchant ships, recognized the custom of such practice. It urged upon the powers the reasonableness of discontinuing that practice.

But, unfortunately, the powers would not agree. Now, it must be apparent that since we could not induce them mutually to agree we can not do so here by resolution. That would be a change of international custom, widely recognized, and the change would be made against the will of those most affected and during the continuance of war. This we could not do without subjecting the Nation to a serious charge. At least if this is done it must be as a matter of diplomacy, not legislation.

A vote against the rule is to refuse to consider the matter in the House. I shall so vote. In case the rule carries and the resolution comes up for action, I shall vote to table it, to avoid interfering with the President's function. This is consistent, for if we vote down the rule the resolution is dead, since it is left on the table, where it now is. The only way it can be brought to life is to carry the rule. That will necessitate another vote to put it back on the table, while a vote against the rule reaches the same result by but one ballot.

Mr. Speaker, I repeat, if warning seems necessary as a means of diplomacy, let all the facts covering the question of defensive armament be fully examined, and then give the President freedom to negotiate, looking to the best possible adjustment. If he finds that instructions of the British Admiralty treat armed merchantmen as offensively armed, he can so regard them and order them so treated in American waters. In that case these orders would be a warning to Americans of the character of the

And when he has exhausted his resources, let him come to Congress and lay the matter before us. Then it will be time for us to act. But until he reaches that point no vote of mine will be cast to interfere with his function.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY. OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult for me to bring myself to accept the view of those who hold that to warn American citizens against taking passage on armed belligerent merchantmen is in some way to compromise the dignity of the Nation and to degrade this Government in the estimation of the chancelleries of the world.

My rights as an individual are limited by the equal rights of my neighbor. I think I have a right to travel the high seas, but not if in so doing I endanger the rights of the American people, as would be the case were I to take passage in an armed belligerent merchantman sailing into the zone of danger and falling a victim to an enemy submarine. My act would endanger the safety of the Nation; it would tend to draw the United States into the maelstrom of war; it would invite complications the outcome of which might be almost too serious for thought; and surely there should be no encouragement for me in this Congress or in any other quarter if my mind were set upon so foolhardy, so thoughtless, or so mercenary a course.

From the very beginning of this great tragedy across the seas I have urged in every way I could the importance of keeping the country out of it. At every opportunity I have spoken and written in praise of President Wilson's efforts to steer the United States clear of any entanglement with the warring nations. With the most devout, I have thanked God for Woodrow Wilson. And I still thank God for the patience, the forbearance, the skill he has shown in dealing with the perilous

situation which the conflict abroad has presented.

But, Mr. Speaker, I confess myself unable to see how we at this end of the Avenue can excuse ourselves if we do not take some thought regarding this situation. It is one that concerns us very closely. Unfortunately we are ignorant of most of the facts. We are children groping in the dark. We are uncertain as to what lies ahead. We can not know what preci-

pice may be at our very feet. If we were in possession of all the facts, as we are in possession of the law, it were a simple matter then to reach a fair judgment, to shape our course confidently, to grasp the duty which the law and the facts impose. But we are not thoroughly informed. All the evidence is not before us. And in reaching a conclusion in the matter now presented we must therefore trust to intuition rather than to knowledge

My intuition is against lending encouragement even by indirection to thoughtless, foolhardy, or corrupt Americans who may be disposed to risk the dangers of travel in armed merchant vessels sailing under belligerent flags. It seems to me that in some way the temper of this body on the subject should be made known. I am the last man to do anything to hamper the President in safeguarding the interests of the country. He is my President. He is the leader of my party. I sat in the

Baltimore convention and voted for him 46 times.

I have supported him earnestly in all his great work since taking office, except in so far as it has related to increased armament, which I think unnecessary and dangerous. I feel that in this matter the best support which can be given him is that which will tend to restrain Americans from any act or any course in the least likely to involve us in complications with any power now at war. And, feeling thus, I have consistently used every resource at my command in the effort to inculcate that patriotism which is the highest and the noblest, the patriotism that makes for peace. The patriotism which makes for

war is not patriotism at all; it is diabolism,

That Congress has already made its position reasonably clear to the world is my firm conviction. No formal action is required to make that position clearer. The temper of this body is almost obviously opposed to any act or effort, whether on the part of those in high places or in low, that may tend to embroil us in war. This country is for peace. It loves Woodrow Wilson because he has stood for peace. It stands with him to-day, because it still believes that his face is set against the jingoes who for one reason or another would drag us into the awful tragedy through which Europe is wading in its own blood. And the country has not concealed its thought from the Members of this body. My mails have been filled with letters imploring me to use every effort possible in keeping our Nation from plunging into the vortex of war. My own people seem to be almost a unit in favor of restraining Americans from taking passage on armed belligerent merchant vessels. And the mails of other Members have borne to them similar messages. The plain people back home are not swayed by the war traffickers and the war They are not obsessed with a false patriotism which finds its expression in terms of force. They are believers in peace and in all that makes for peace, and they profoundly feel that it will make for peace if we shall discourage Americans from risking their lives unnecessarily under conditions so fraught with evil possibilities in this hour of cruel stress and storm, when all the world is mad with passion and we alone with reason left and a sense of justice remaining.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN JACOB ROGERS.

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, the group in this House which favors the passage of a "warning" resolution of some kind seems to take the ground that it is unfair, and almost dishonorable, for anyone to insist that issue be joined squarely upon the McLemore resolution and upon nothing else.

I desire to show why, in my judgment, the attitude of the

"warners" is mistaken.

During the month of February the administration was engaged in admittedly delicate negotiations growing out of the armed merchantman-submarine controversy between Britain and Germany.

On February 22-on Washington's Birthday of all days in the year-a Texas Member of this House introduced a long and rambling resolution, the kernel of which requested the President to warn all American citizens to refrain from traveling upon a merchantman of any belligerent even though armed only for defense, and specifically stating that "in case American citizens do travel on such armed belligerent ships they do so at their own risk."

Naturally feeling that the passage of this resolution would be an invasion of his prerogative to conduct diplomatic negotiations, the President called into conference several of the majority leaders of this House. After their conference the report was spread broadcast through the newspapers that these very distinguished gentlemen, whose words were necessarily entitled to great weight, had told the President and the newspaper men that in their judgment the McLemore resolution would pass two or three to one.

The German newspapers, and through them the German public, were promptly advised that the President and his leaders in Congress were hopelessly out of accord. Speaking of the determination of Germany to destroy all British merchantmen, the Vossische Zeitung, for example, says:

It is not without risk; but the risk, perhaps, is smaller since the American Congress shows signs of demanding that the decision in international affairs be taken from the President's hands and placed in those of Congress.

I think it can not be denied by any reasonable man that utterances like these tended to strengthen, and did strengthen, the position of Germany in its negotiations with the United States on this matter and that they proportionately tended to embarrass, and did embarrass, the President of the United States in his dealings with Germany. Bear in mind that all this time the McLemore resolution, which states that Americans who travel on an armed merchantman did so "at their own risk," was the only proposal generally known in Washington and in the newspapers of the country. The agitation in Congress arose over the McLemore resolution and over nothing else. It arose, therefore, not over a mere "warning" resolution but over a resolution that an American, in effect, lost his citizenship when he walked up the gangplank of a merchantman bound for Europe and carrying even a single gun.

Under these circumstances it can not, I think, be regarded as surprising that the President has insisted upon a square declaration by Congress whether it believes in the McLemore resolution. The President still, of course, feels that the matter is Executive and not legislative, but certain majority leaders of Congress having seen fit to express themselves to the President and to the press that Congress would overwhelmingly pass the McLemore resolution if given the opportunity, the President finds it necessary to have Congress itself repudiate the utterances of its leaders if his hand is to be effective in dealing with Germany. The question is Executive and not legislative, but these leaders of Congress purported to say that Congress sought to regard the matter as legislative, and further that the Congress thought the President was wrong in his view of the merits of the case.

The McLemore resolution, therefore, is and should be before us to-day—not because it is the best resolution which could be drawn by the "warners" nor because it is the worst, but because it is the snake that has made all the trouble upon which the press of this country and Germany have laid stress. This particular snake, and not some other snake, whether more attractive or more repellant, must be "scotched" by Congress.

I confess that I should have been glad to see the question so presented that an affirmative resolution would be the proper one. I should have liked to have the House act upon some such resolution as the following, which I offered in the Committee on Foreign Affairs:

Resolved, That the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled, recognize that the direction of diplomatic negotiations is vested in the Executive, and, in the matter of armed merchantmen, will uphold the Executive in asserting and maintaining by diplomatic negotiations the existing rights of the United States and its citizens in conformity with the decisions of the United States Supreme Court, the accepted principles of international law, and the established usage of nations.

A "warning" resolution is, in effect, negative, and tabling or defeating a "warning" resolution is negativing the negative. It would ordinarily seem weak and perhaps puerile, as contrasted with a strong, definite enunciation of principles; but as the issue is presented we have no choice in the matter. The question is whether Congress shall uphold the President in the matter of the McLemore resolution, not whether it would uphold him in some other type of resolution which can plausibly be encreased.

I have no time to discuss at length the underlying merits of the armed-merchantman controversy. I confess that they seem not necessarily involved in the discussion of to-day. Just two or three very brief suggestions may nevertheless not be amiss:

First. Germany herself has recognized the distinction made by international law between warships, merchantmen armed for

offense, and merchantmen armed for defense. These distinctions are a part of international law. To change them now is unfair, unwarranted, and unwise. More than that, it instantly plunges us from the "frying pan into the fire," for, by acknowledging the German point of view as to merchantmen armed for defense, we thereby make them in effect warships, and must treat them as such in our ports. It is easy to imagine the viewpoint of the allies when the consequences which would flow out of this decision were made clear to them.

Second. The reason for the German demand that the rules of war and international law be changed in this matter is because the submarine is a puny and defenseless thing, and that she, therefore, ought to be given certain immunities which were never claimed for ordinary warships. But the use of the submarine has great and unprecedented advantages—advantages which Germany herself has found far outweigh its disadvantages—even under the existing rules of warfare. Is it fair that the submarine should preserve to the utmost all the advantages appurtenant to this type of craft and at the same time be as free from attack by the merchantmen who see her approaching as if she were a cup defender?

Third. It is the unvarying history of nations that yielding by one nation to the unwarranted demands of another is always followed by further demands, gradually becoming more and more insolent. The actual legal rights of the United States in this matter are probably denied by few in this House. Let us yield these rights and we shall see that we have started a train of trouble instead of bringing to an end the vexations of which we are so painfully conscious to-day.

All this deals with the duties of Congress, What of the duties of the individual? Of course, he should avoid traveling on an armed merchantman of a belligerent, except in cases of extreme necessity. Manifestly, too, it is proper for the State Department to do as it has been doing—namely, to issue passports only in cases of the gravest consequence. There is nothing more damnable than the spirit of the man who sails for fun and in the spirit of adventure or for the resulting thrill. But that has no bearing upon the duties of the Congress. We must as a Nation maintain our rights, even though as individuals we should be sparing in their exercise.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS F. KONOP,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. KONOP. Mr. Speaker, owing to the short time allowed for a debate on the McLemore resolution yesterday, it was impossible for me to get time to discuss this question. I am therefore grateful for the privilege of being able to state my views on the proposition to-day under leave to extend remarks.

Mr. Speaker, on yesterday, I voted against the previous question on the rule submitted by the Rules Committee, because the rule reported deprived the House of opportunity to amend the McLemore resolution. If the previous question had been voted down, a substitute rule could have been adopted with opportunity for amendment and liberality of debate. Under the gag rule adopted three-fourths of the Members were deprived of the opportunity to discuss the question, and every Member of the House was bound hand and foot to vote to table or not to table the McLemore resolution. The defeat of the previous question on the rule compelled me to vote for the rule in order to be able to register my vote on the McLemore resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I am not in sympathy with everything stated in the McLemore resolution. I voted not to table that resolution, so that opportunity would be given to Members of the House to amend and perfect the resolution and make it purely a resolution of warning American citizens off armed belligerent merchant white

To my mind there has been much confusion in the debate on this question. There are two questions involved. One is an international question and the other is purely a national question—purely an American question.

Mr. Speaker, a question of whether or not belligerent merchant ships can arm themselves for defense or offense, and how much armament they can carry before they lose their identity as merchantmen and become auxiliary cruisers, is an international question. We, as a Congress of the United States, have nothing to do with that question. That question should be left to the executive department of our Government. I for one, Mr. Speaker, am willing to leave that question for solution in the hands of our great President, Woodrow Wilson, who has, by his patriotism and statesmanship, piloted the ship of state through a most angry sea. I have stood with the President on nearly every proposition. I believe he has done a great service to his country in keeping it out of war. I am willing at any time to let him handle all international questions for I believe that he has handled them in a way that has redounded to the glory of our country.

But, Mr. Speaker, the question of whether or not we should or should not warn our own citizens to keep off armed belligerent merchantmen is not an international question at all. That is a national question. That is an American question. That is a question which concerns the safety and welfare of American citizens. That is the question which was submitted

to us for action.

Why should we not warn our citizens of dangers not only to themselves but to their country? The warning of our own citizens to keep out of danger is our business. It involves no questions of international law. It concerns no nation abroad nor any of its citizens, nor does it involve any relations of our

citizens with foreign countries.

I for one, Mr. Speaker, am willing to warn American citizens to keep off armed belligerent ships. In doing that, I am asking American citizens to surrender no right. I am simply warning them of danger to themselves and to their country. I am simply appealing to their patriotism as American citizens and asking them not to jeopardize the peace of our beloved country and its peaceful people in this great crisis. In doing that, Mr. Speaker, I am not dishonoring my country. There is nothing dishonorable nor unpatriotic about this. I believe the men who favored the McLemore resolution are just as patriotic as those who voted to table it. The men who are in favor of keeping Americans off armed belligerent ships whose destruction is liable to bring us into international difficulties and war, are as loyal to their country as those who would plunge us into war, over some useless, resurrected, old international code, permitting the arming of merchantmen.

Mr. Speaker, we have warned American citizens to desert their property and their homes and get out of Mexico. I believe that we have even appropriated money and provided ships to get them out of that country. We did it for the simple reason that we did not want to be involved in a war with Mexico. If it was not dishonorable to warn the American citizens to desert their property and homes in Mexico, it is not dishonorable now to ask American citizens to keep off armed belligerent ships.

We have had international difficulties with the belligerents. We have maintained that the sinking of indefensible merchant ships by a submarine without signal for surrender and without adequate protection for the lives of passengers and crew was contrary to international law. This position of our country has been conceded by all the belligerents. This question has been settled

But what is the question now? What are the allies doing now, and what are they doing it for? They have armed and are arming their merchantmen with guns big enough to have sunk any and all warships used during the Civil War. arming them with 6-inch guns to do what? To sink submarines of the enemy. Just because some law of by-gone pirate and barbaric days permitted merchantmen to arm for defensive purposes only, the allies are arming merchantmen to sink submarines. Our own Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, in his note of January 18, stated that the right to arm merchantmen was a "doubtful legal right." What do the central powers propose under these conditions? They serve notice and propose to sink armed merchantmen on sight without warning. Mr. Speaker, the question whether or not the allies have a right to arm their merchantmen, and the central powers a right to sink them when armed, is a question which I am willing to leave to the President to handle diplomatically; but whether or not while this ques-tion is being considered diplomatically our American citizens should needlessly bring about a war by traveling on armed merchantmen is a question for us to settle. Will any man claim that it is dishonorable to warn American citizens to keep off these armed ships while these questions are being settled? Shall reckless and indifferent men who take passage on armed belligerent ships "just for the thrill of it" plunge this country into war? No! Mr. Speaker, it is the exercise of the highest patriotism for our countrymen to forego and postpone the exercise of a "doubtful legal right" and for us, their Representatives, to warn them of the danger to our country,

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. BRITT,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. BRITT. Mr. Speaker, there is a law of the nations of the earth. We are one of the great nations. This law is therefore the law of the United States. We helped to make it; we owe it obedience; and we are entitled to its protection. Under that law the citizens of the United States have a right to travel on the armed merchant ships of nations at war with other nations, and we have a right to immunity from all hurt from either belligerents or neutrals. It is nothing to say that it would be foolish for neutrals to take passage on such ships. That goes without saying.

If my neighbors are carrying on a pistol duel across my yard I should be a fool if I needlessly went on the firing line, but if I should permit my neighbors to deny to me the right to go into my yard, then I am worse than a fool, I am a miserable coward. The question is not whether there are still fools in the world. That question is closed. Like the poor, they are always with us. It is a matter of fundamental right. It is a question of whether we shall claim our rights under the law, or whether we shall yield them. As for warning against taking such passage, all sensible men are already self-warned. Due regard for life should be its own monitor. But there is a difference, a vast difference, between discretion and right.

We are not called upon to say whether we shall give warning to save a few who are scarcely worth saving, but whether we shall save for ourselves, for this Nation, for future generations, those great fundamental rights by which we live and move and have our national being.

The question here in issue is a diplomatic question, and therefore an Executive question, and the right to deal with it, under our Constitution and laws, lies solely with the President of the United States, and I shall vote to commit it to his hands.

I, for one, have been deeply grieved that the President has not been more firm and aggressive in the protection of our rights on the seas and with other nations, and I have deeply deplored his course in this particular, and it would now come with poor grace for me not to vote to uphold his hands in a great and solemn matter in which he is trying to defend the sacred rights of our country. It will be time for this Congress to act when, and when only, diplomacy has failed, and the power of the Army and Navy shall be necessary to enforce the rights of the American citizens. Until that time comes, and I pray God that it may never come, let us, regardless of party, stand by the President, inspired only by a purpose to serve our common country.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY A. BARNHART,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, the intense agitation in Congress comes, as I understand it, from the belief of our national leaders that we, for safety sake, should get off the lid that holds the McLemore and similar resolutions out of consideration on this floor and bring them out and lay them on the table out of consideration. The ultimate helpfulness of such action may come in the awakening of impression abroad that we are all standing for our country as against all foreign opponents, and if such be the result our procedure will have been worth while.

This question of warning foolhardy and dare-devil citizens of the United States to keep off of armed ships of the belligerents, and, by their acquiescent action, assist in keeping us out

of war, is not only serious but it is complex—serious because action out of harmony with our President might embolden some of the fighting nations to feel that we are disagreeing, and thus encourage them to take larger liberties in warfare directly affecting our country; and complex because it places many of us of conscientious convictions in a situation wherein the question, as it comes before us, can not be voted on directly, and even if it did so present itself we would still be in the paradox of voting for what seems to us to be for the best and yet voting embarrassment to our President, who must conduct all international negotiations, who has so far conducted them safely and who believes he can continue to do so if the belligerent world is given to understand that he is backed up by his country and its Congress.

It would not be candid for me to say that I believe it impossible to in some way warn our people to keep off of armed belligerent ships and at the same time preserve all our rights under international law. Instead, I believe it could be done and that it ought to be done by influential authority, and that such action would solidify our people more completely behind our President than to ask them, by implication at least, to jeopardize our lives, our property, and our well-being by permitting, without protest, that the daring or the designing may invite trouble for us by unnecessarily risking their lives and our national safety by taking passage on armed ships which they know are liable to be blown up. It is a clear case of the safety of 100,000,000 people on one side against the probably reckless and unnecessary risk of a very few on the other.

I understand, Mr. Speaker, that international law gives citizens of neutral countries the guaranty of safe passage on belligerent merchant ships, "armed for defense," but warning them to keep off, it seems to me, would not curtail our right of reparation if they be damaged or killed. I understand, also, that the international law, which is our only legal protection on the seas, can not be changed while most of the nations that made it and acknowledge its supreme authority are at war with one another. And I admit that our adding to or taking from it now would weaken its binding force and probably nullify it as the final arbiter of all questions of international

rights and privileges.

But this situation is not of my making. I am not responsible for the questionably "whereased" McLemore resolution which makes it objectionable to all, nor for the reverse orders by which it was first hushed into committee-room sleep and then unexpectedly and surprisingly called into consideration by the same authority. However, it is but fair to say that we hear that changed conditions in satisfactorily progressing foreign negotiations were induced by reports that the importance of warning our people off armed ships met with the favor of most Members of Congress, and that such impression abroad halted our negotiations with the warring nations, one of which is alleged to have exceeded her international right in destruction of lives and property of a neutral and legally protected nation and another by illegal interference with our rights at sea. If this be true, it affords reason for most of the action we are asked to take, for we are in honor, and by the law of self-preservation, bound to stand by our country against all encroachments, be they direct or incidental.

From information in hand I believe that a large majority of

the people of the district I represent believe that wise pre-caution would be conserved by some warning to our people to keep off of belligerent ships. But the President, who more fully than any other man in this country knows our real international situation, insists that such action now would seriously complicate his plans to continue our neutrality and our peace, and therefore the rule to bring the matter into parliamentary form so as to lay it on the table until a safer time for its consideration neither commits us to reversal of our opinions as to the wisdom and efficacy of keep-out-of-unnecessary-danger ac-tion nor places us out of harmony with the President's position that it is his right and his constitutional duty to have unhampered and unquestioned charge of negotiations and settlements of international disputes without interference of Con-

gress unless its action is necessary.

Finally, our action here to-day will also be openly indicative, as set forth in the report of the committee and its approval, that the Congress, the people's direct representation for public welfare, shall be informed and its approval invoked and guaranteed before any radical action against a foreign nation is taken. And not only is such injunction binding while Congress is in session, but it implies that, if emergency arises, the President call Congress in special session for consultation and advice before relations with any other nation are formally broken off.

Under such a situation, Mr. Speaker, it seems to me every Member of Congress can consistently and safely vote for a rule,

if it provides adequate time for debate, to take up and consider the resolution and for a motion to table the resolution. Such action does not compromise the position of those who believe that our people ought to be formally warned to keep off belligerent ships, and yet it proclaims to the world that we are a united people and ready to rally to our flag and its world-famous significance of justice at any time our rights on land or sea are either ignored or abused by any foreign power. We may have personal sympathies in the awful struggle beyond the seas; we may also be prejudiced against England's domineering tactics or Germany's aggressiveness; but we are all Americans, and every loyal citizen of this land of the free is openly for his own country first and forever.

No avoidable war for us, no compromise of our national rights. no division of support of our national leader in a crisis, no intervention without due consideration, and no faltering in loyalty to our flag is and must be our national safeguard if this great bulwark of liberty is to endure as the shining light of

civilization.

The Navy League's Actual Organizers.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER, HON.

OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include some remarks on some matters of preparedness and a communication from the Navy League-nothing offensive:

THE NAVY LEAGUE'S ACTUAL ORGANIZERS.

the Navy League—nothing offensive:

The pioneer organization in the field of national defense in the United States was the Navy League. Over 13 years ago, on November 20, 1902, pursuant to a call issued by Jarvis B. Edson, chairman of the committee appointed by the Naval Order of the United States for the formation of a naval preparedness society, the pioneer meeting of the Navy League was held at the New York Yacht Club.

The men who founded the organization were not, for the most part, of national renown. At this meeting there were present Jarvis B. Edson, a naval veteran of the Civil War, who represented the Naval Order of the United States; Washington Irving, an officer of the New York State Naval Militia, who represented the Association of the Naval Militia, who represented the Association of the Naval Academy Alumni of Philadelphia; and Mr. J. D. J. Kelly, an editorial writer of the New York Herald, representing the Naval Academy Alumni of New York.

The league was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York January 2, 1903, and the incorporators named were as follows: Jacob W. Miller, Washington Irving, and Herbert L. Satterlee, who had served in the Spanish-American War as members of the New York State Naval Militia; Jarvis B. Edson, of the Naval Order of the United States; and Jennings S. Cox. The first meeting of the league was attended largely by Naval Academy graduates in civil life and members of the New York State Naval Militia. At this meeting the following directors were elected:

Allen S. Appar, Jennings S. Cox, William Butler Duncan, jr., Jarvis B. Edson, Alfred Ely, Washington Irving, J. D. J. Kelly, Charles H. Loring, Henry Eckford Rhoades, G. B. Satterlee, Herbert L. Satterlee, Robert S. Sloane, J. Frederic Tams. Aaron Vanderbilt, John Vander Poel, T. C. Wood, and Jacob W Miller.

Although few of these organizers of the Navy League were known to the general public outside of their immediate circle of friends and neusiness acquaintances, the organization which they formed fulfilled

The above statement was prepared by A. H. Dadmun, secretary of the Navy League of the United States. Mr. Dadmun writes that the facts contained are on record in the minutes of the organization.

WHY WE NEED A BIGGER NAVY.

What President Wilson said:

[At Cleveland, Ohio, Jan. 29, 1916.]

And the Navy of the United States. You have been told that it is the second in strength in the world. I am sorry to say that experts do not agree with those who tell you that. Reckoning by its actual strength, I believe it to be one of the most efficient navies in the world, but its strength ranks fourth, not second.

[At Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 2, 1916.]

Do you know the sweep of the coast from the canal to Alaska? It is nearly one-fourth the circumference of the earth. And the coast from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf? Do you think a Navy that ranks fourth is sufficient?

WHY WE OUGHT TO PREPARE AGAINST WAR.

What Secretary of War Garrison said in his report, November, 1915:

ber, 1915:

They are those who predict that war will never come to this country, and assert that therefore precautions with respect thereto are unwise and needless. Since wars have come upon nations from the earliest date of recorded history to this moment, there is no basis of fact for such a position but an actual demonstration of the nonexistence of such basis. We were early warned that there would be wars and rumors of wars, and that nation would rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom, and the end was not yet; and that prediction has been fully verified. There is no basis and no foundation to conclude that this great evil has been eliminated, and it therefore must be treated as are all other existing evils and must be prepared against.

THREE REASONS FOR PREPAREDNESS.

THREE REASONS FOR PREPAREDNESS.

First. Switzerland prepared against war. Belgium trusted to a "scrap of paper." Which country has fared best?

Second. The Monroe doctrine and the exclusion of Asiatic cheap labor are first-class policies. You can never uphold them with a third-class fleet. Dreadnaughts can never be stopped by hot shots from Chautauqua platforms.

Third. Armenia has always adopted a policy of passive non-resistance. Ireland for a thousand years has pursued the oppo-site course. Which is happiest to-day, the crushed Armenian peasant woman or the spirited Iris. colleen?

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND CHINESE EXCLUSION.

Do you believe in the Monroe doctrine, which forbids foreign nations to set up any new branch establishments on American soil? Do you think that we do right in forbidding hordes of Chinese and Japanese to overrun our country?

I for one think those are first-class policies, but you never can support them with a third-class fleet.

ONE OF ÆSOP'S FABLES.

Let me read you what Æsop says about preparedness:

A wild boar was whetting his tusks against a tree, when a fox coming by asked why he did so. "For," said he, "I see no reason for it; there is neither hunter nor hound in sight nor any other danger that I can see at hand." "True," replied the boar, "but when the danger does arise I shall have something else to do than to sharpen my weapons." It is too late to whet the sword when the trumpet sounds to draw it.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PERL D. DECKER. OF MISSOURI.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Speaker, England, speaking for herself and her allies, contends that she has a right to arm her merchant ships for defensive purposes, and that these merchant ships so armed shall be treated in all respects the same as un-

armed merchant ships.

England contends that while a merchant ship armed for defensive purposes has no right to go out of its ordinary course in search of submarines, yet it is not required to wait to be attacked before offering resistance, but has a right to attack the submarine before the submarine has made a hostile move. In other words, England claims the right of an armed merchant ship to "attack in self defense." A recent issue of the London Times recites several instances where armed merchant ships have attacked and destroyed German submarines. She does not base this right on The Hague Convention or upon any definite and specific treaty obligation, but she bases it upon international law. International law is the result of the practices and precedents of various nations at different times, as well as the decisions of prize courts and the theses and essays of internationallaw writers. England contends that while these practices, precedents, theses, and opinions are not uniform and unanimous as to the right of a merchant ship of a belligerent to carry arms for defensive purposes, yet that the weight of authority sustains her contention.

Germany, speaking for herself and her allies, contends that armed merchant ships should be treated the same as warships, and that no practical distinction can be made between a ship armed for defensive and a ship armed for offensive purposes. Germany contends that the law giving merchant ships a right to arm came into existence for the purpose of allowing them to

defend themselves against pirates and privateers and not for the purpose of allowing them to defend themselves against warships.

She contends that since pirates have long since been driven from the sea and privateering was abolished by the declaration of Paris in 1856 therefore no reason now exists why merchant ships, armed to resist and destroy battleships, should not be treated the same as battleships. She invokes the principle of law that "when the reason for a law fails the law itself falls." Germany contends that, while international law can not be changed after the starting of a war, yet international law should be interpreted and applied in the light of changed conditions. And in support of this contention cites the note of our Government to Great Britain, in which it was said:

The Government of the United States is, of course, not oblivious to the great changes which have occurred in the conditions and means of naval warfare since the rules hitherto governing legal blockade were formulated. It might be ready to admit that the old form of "blockade," with its cordon of ships in the immediate offing of the blockaded ports, is no longer practicable in the face of an enemy possessing the means and opportunity to make an effective defense by the use of submarines, mines, and air craft.

Thus, briefly, I have stated the contention of England and the contention of Germany. I am constrained to the belief that there is argument on both sides. I may have been led to this belief by the fact that in the negotiations relative to the Lusitania case much stress was laid on the question as to whether the *Lusitania* was armed or unarmed. Germany insisted that she was armed. The United States insisted that she was not. An investigation was made. Testimony was taken, and one man was sent to the penitentiary for falsely swearing that she was armed. Stress was laid on the same question growing out of the sinking of other vessels by submarines. I was further led to the belief that the right of belligerent merchant ships to be armed was not a certain and established right by the dispatch which Secretary Lansing sent on January 18 to the foreign powers, in which he said:

While I am fully alive to the appailing loss of life among noncombatants which has resulted from the present method of destroying merchant vessels without removing the persons on board to places of safety, and while I view that practice as contrary to those humane principles which should control belligerents in the conduct of their naval operation, I do not feel that belligerents should be deprived of the proper use of submarines, since those instruments of war have proved their effectiveness in this particular branch of warfare on the high seas.

principles which should control belligerents in the conduct of their naval operation, I do not feel that belligerents should be deprived of the proper use of submarines, since those instruments of war have proved their effectiveness in this particular branch of warfare on the high seas.

I believe that a formula may be found which, though it may require slight modification of the precedents generally followed by nations prior to the employment of submarines, will appeal to the sense of justice and fairness of all the belligerents.

Prior to 1915 belligerent operations against enemy commerce on the high seas were conducted by cruisers carrying heavy armaments. In these conditions international law appeared to permit a merchant vessel to carry armament for defensive purposes without lessening its character as a merchant vessel; * * * it could not be used effectively in offense against enemy nava vessels, while it could defend the merchant vessel against the generally inferior armament of piratical ships and privateers.

The use of submarines, however, has changed these relations. Comparison of the defensive strength of a cruiser and a submarine shows that the latter, relying for protection on its power to submerge, is almost defenseless in point of construction. A merchant ship carrying even a small-caliber gun would be able to use it effectively for offense against a submarine.

Pirates and sea rovers have been swept from the main trade channels of the sea and privateering has been abolished. Consequently the placing of guns on m-rchantmen at the present date of submarine warfare can be explained only on the ground of a purpose to render merchantmen superior in force to submarines and to prevent warning and visit and search by them. Any armament, therefore, on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of offensive armament.

If a submarine is required to stop and search a merchant vessel on the high seas, and in case it is found that she is of an enemy character and that conditions necessitate her destr

I am constrained to believe, then, that except from the technical standpoint of international law the right of a belligerent armed merchant ship to be treated the same as an unarmed ship under present conditions is not a certain and unquestionable right.

The importance to England of her contention is great. It is important to her that these merchant ships be armed, because by arming these ships with guns of small caliber they are more effective in resisting and destroying submarines even than battle ships would be, because of their greater speed. It is important to England that these ships while so armed be treated the same as unarmed merchant ships and so have free access to our ports. It is on these ships that she carries her munitions of war.

It is important to Germany that she have a right to sink these ships by every method and means that she would use against a warship, because she, the same as England, is fighting, as she claims, for her existence and is striving to keep the allies from getting cannon and bullets to be used against her

This contention is of vital importance to England and Germany, but, whether we sympathize with England or with Germany, we should not allow our judgment to be warped, but should consider this controversy solely from the standpoint of its importance to America. It is important to America only to the extent that it affects the rights of a few Americans to travel on these ships. America should not be interested in the question of immunity which the presence of American citizens on board would furnish armed merchant ships of England carrying munitions of war; nor should we consider the benefit which would accrue to Germany if the absence of Americans on these armed merchant ships would allow her to make her submarine warfare more effective.

The question which America must settle is, Is it for her welfare and consistent with her honor to prevent Americans

from using these armed merchant ships?

The situation as it now stands is this: England and her allies have placed guns and trained gunners on her merchant ships for defensive purposes and have instructed them not to wait to be attacked, but to "attack in self-defense" any submarine that may come in sight. Germany and her allies have given notice that their submarines will sink without warning any merchant ships so armed. The President insists upon the right under international law of Americans to travel on merchant ships thus armed, and insists that if Germany sinks a merchant ship thus armed without warning and lives of American passengers are lost, Germany will be held to strict account. To put this plainly and bluntly. I believe, as the situation now stands, if American lives are lost as the result of the sinking of any merchant ship by a German submarine without warning, it means war. Therefore I believe steps should be taken to prevent Americans from riding upon armed merchant ships before they are sunk and thus prevent war.

I admit that there are some things worse than war. I admit that war, dreadful as it is, is sometimes justifiable, but I do not believe that it is justifiable to wage war for a right that is in any respect doubtful or for a right that is not vital to our welfare. I do not believe that the right of Americans to travel upon armed merchant ships under present conditions is sufficiently clear and free from doubt as to justify war. I do not believe that the right of Americans to travel on armed merchant ships, even if it was clear and free from doubt, is of sufficient importance to our country to justify war. There are few places in the world that men can not travel to-day on neutral ships. These neutral ships are not so comfortable, so luxurious, so swift, as the belligerent ships, but from the standpoint of importance is it not better that a few who must travel should sacrifice their ease than that hundreds of thousands should

sacrifice their lives?

We may not have the right to change international law after a war starts, but the American Congress, in time of peace or time of war, has the right to regulate the conduct of its citizens in any reasonable manner that is for the welfare of its own people. We have a right to prevent the carrying of dynamite on passenger trains. We have a right to prevent passengers from riding on dynamite trains. We have a right to prevent citizens from riding on ships carrying munitions of war. We have a right to prevent citizens from riding on armed merchant ships of a belilgerent nation. If our Government should say to England, "When your armed merchant ships enter our ports, they shall be interned, the same as war ships," then England might justly say, "You are changing international law and committing an unneutral act." But if we say, not to England but to our own people, "You must not travel on these armed merchant ships," then we would not be changing any international law so as to affect any right of England and we would not be committing any unneutral act. England does not claim that she has the right to have Americans aboard armed merchant ships to furnish immunity against submarine attack.

It is the right and duty of the Chief Executive of this Nation to initiate diplomatic negotiations. This right and duty is based on practice and custom. It is not, as some claim, an exclusive constitutional right. Congress alone is the war-making body. This exclusive right of Congress to declare war implies the solemn right and imperative duty of Congress so to regulate the conduct of its citizens, if it can be done in an honorable

way, to prevent war.

Congress, and Congress alone, has the right to restrict or regulate the rights of a few citizens for the sake of all citizens. If the conduct of these few citizens who desire to ride on armed ships should be regulated, then it is the duty of Congress to regulate it. Congress can not shirk its responsibilities; it can not pass that responsibility to the President, however wise or good or great he may be. Pilate tried to shirk his responsibility and to wash the blood from his hands more than 2,000 years ago. If a Representative believes that these few Americans should be kept off these ships, when should he act? Should he wait until an armed ship has been sunk and American lives lost, when the minds of our people will have been inflamed, and he will have been called upon to vote for peace or war, when it will be difficult, if not impossible, for the President, with all his popularity, to prevent war? Should he wait till then or should he act now. I believe he should act now. Therefore, as a Representative in Congress, caring more for the welfare of the great mass of the people than for the convenience of a few of the people, I believe it is my duty to vote for a law that will prevent a few people from riding upon armed merchant ships of belligerent nations, or to vote for a resolution that will warn them that if they travel upon these ships they travel at their

I believe when we consider that the nations of Europe are in a struggle for existence and dangers lurk in every quarter of that war-stricken sphere, that this is not an unreasonable or humiliating precaution. American citizens had legal rights in Mexico that were valuable, definite, and certain, based on treaty obligations. In that anarchy-ridden country there was no government to call to account for the violation of these rights, but nevertheless we could have sent our Army to maintain those We did not send our Army to maintain those rights: but for the sake of the lives and welfare of the great mass of American citizens we warned the few American citizens in Mexico to come home. An American citizen has the legal right to receive a passport to travel in a belligerent country for business, pleasure, or any honorable purpose; yet the State Department has rightly refused to issue passports to persons who wish to travel in belligerent countries for pleasure or sightseeing. If it is wise for the State Department to use its discretion and restrict American rights, who will say that it is humiliating or unwise for the lawmaking body of this Government to use its discretion and restrict the American's right to travel on armed ships of a belligerent nation for the purpose of saving this country from war?

There are many people who do not appreciate what a calamity a war between the United States and Germany would be, regardless of who won. There is an opinion that we would only be expected to send our fleet. This is folly. Not only would we have to share the stupendous cost of this world war, but we would contribute our quota of lives and blood. When America goes to war her men and boys will not be content to let the men

and boys of other nations do their fighting.

I have no desire to embarrass the administration. My loyalty and devotion to the President has been measured by my capacity. I have helped in his every effort to carry out the mandate of the people who elected him as well as Congress. The issue is not "Shall we stand by the President?" The issue in Germany was, "Shall we stand by the Kaiser?" The issue in England was "Shall we stand by the King?" The issue in Russia was "Shall we stand by the Czar?" The people there did not know why they were called upon to die. This is a representative Government. If war is declared, we will stand by the President, but now the issue is "Shall the Representatives of a hundred million people, in order to prevent war, regulate the conduct of a few Americans who wish to travel on armed merchant ships?"

In this solemn hour I am not thinking of political parties or factions. I am thinking of my country. I am thinking of those who ride on the ships at sea, but I am also thinking of those brave men and boys who, if war comes, will have to die. I am not thinking so much about the price of zinc ore as I am thinking about the men who dig the ore. I am thinking not so much about the price of wheat and corn as I am about the men and boys who till the soil. I am not thinking so much about the success of business men as I am about the sons of business men

who will follow the flag when the call comes.

HON.

I have the great honor to be the Representative of brave men and women and I want to act as brave men and women would have their Representative act. These men who would have to die if war came, these men whose sons would have to lie in the trenches and breathe asphyxiating gas; these mothers, the flesh and blood of whose boys would be splattered over the fields of Europe; these men whose posterity would have to groan under the burden of war debts for countless generations; these are the ones that Representatives in Congress should consider before war is declared, and it is in behalf of these that I believe that Congress should act and use its legislative authority to prevent war before diplomacy has brought us, as it did the nations of Europe, so close to the brink of war that it is impossible to draw back.

It grieves me to differ from my friends. The situation may not be as grave as I think it is. I hope it is not. But entertaining the convictions which I do, my course is clear and I must follow it regardless of the effect on my political fortunes.

The Borland Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

A. GALLIVAN. HON. JAMES

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a copy of a letter written to the honorable Speaker of this House by the Hon. Samuel Gompers touching the Borland rider, so called.

written to the honorable Speaker of this House by the Hon. Samuel Gompers touching the Borland rider, so called.

American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C., February 25, 1916.

Sir: Apropos of the proposition coming before the House of Representatives an amendment to House bill 12207, which, in effect, will increase the hours of service of Government clerks and other employees in the executive departments and of the District of Columbia, the executive departments and of the District of Columbia, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, now in session at its headquarters in Washington, D. C., respectfully calls your attention to the fact that it is now generally recognized that shortening hours of work is a fundamental principle of human welfare. It is fundamental because of the effect upon workers in all the various relations of life. These facts make it doubly deplorable that the United States Government should be asked even to consider a proposition to increase the number of hours that its employees shall work daily, and it is exceedingly regrettable that the demand for a longer workday for Government employees should be made under a pretense of economy.

All industrial experience goes to prove that there is no saving in lengthening hours of toil. On the contrary, decreasing the hours of work to a normal workday always tends toward greater efficiency, greater accuracy of service, and a larger amount of work accomplished in a given time. Those workers who come to the office or places of work each morning refreshed and with quickened physical strength and mental interests and power are of greater value in their respective places of service than clerks warrange, to limit, or to forego entirely of the proposition of the agencies of organized society have as their ultimate purpose the promotion of the warrange, to limit, or to forego entirely of greater value to the Nation than asving public money. The State and all of the agencies of organized society have as their ultimate purpose the pro

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President American Federation of Labor.

Hon. CHAMP CLARK, Speaker of House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Armed Merchant Vessels of Belligerents.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

WILLIAM L. IGOE.

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Tuesday, March 7, 1916.

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Speaker, when the question of warning our citizens against traveling on armed belligerent merchant vessels was under discussion in the House, I could not explain my position fully in the time given to me. I had prepared a statement of the reasons that moved me to vote in favor of such a warning, and under the permission just given I wish now to present that statement.

I do not intend to enter into a discussion of the law relating to armed merchantmen. The cases that have arisen in regard to them do not present facts similar to what we have to-day. The submarine and effective aircraft are used for the first time in warfare, and many accepted rules of international law are difficult of maintenance if these weapons are to be effective. For proof of the difficulty of enforcing the old rules in the face of new conditions the note of Secretary Lansing to all belligerents may be cited. In that note he said:

I should add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

As to the difficulty of determining what is offensive and what defensive armament we have only to read the rules laid down by this Government for port officers. It will be found there that we have stated that the presumption is that an armed vessel is armed for offensive purposes, but that the presumption may be removed by the existence of certain facts which only a careful examination and inquiry could disclose. Our Government concedes that a vessel armed for offense may be sunk without warning, and I am sure that all vessels that leave our ports will not be allowed to clear if they have armament for other than defensive purposes, as laid down by the rules of the State Department. Who can say, however, what changes may be made after leaving our ports? And who will pass on armed vessels that leave the ports of other countries and do not touch our ports? Take, for instance, the case of the ship upon which Consul McNeely lost his life. Suppose another such ship leaves England bound for Italy and is armed. Who will determine whether it is armed for offense or defense? And suppose an American takes passage on such ship, the ship torpedoed and sunk without warning, and the citizen loses his life? Will there be a presumption by our Government that it was armed for offense, since our port officials have never seen the ship? This and many other confusing questions may arise and probably will arise, and the only course is for our citizens to stay off all armed belligerent ships. The argument that it is dishonorable and a base surrender of the rights of our citizens on the high seas to warn them off such ships does not appeal to me.

We warned our citizens to get out of Mexico, not once but many times. They had to abandon their property and suffered many indignities. Some did not heed the warning and lost their lives. I believe the country sustains the administration in its action in warning citizens in Mexico and does not consider it either dishonorable or a base surrender of our rights.

Further, in his note to the American ambassador to Germany, November 7, 1914, Mr. Lansing discussed the efforts of this Government to see that only defensively armed merchant vessels were cleared from our ports. In concluding his letter, Mr. Lansing wrote this remarkable sentence:

Please bring the foregoing to the attention of the German Government, and in doing so express the hope that they will also prevent their merchant vessels from entering the ports of the United States carrying armaments even for defensive purposes, though they may possess the right to do so by the rules of international law.

Here we asked a great belligerent power to "prevent" its citizens from exercising a right upon the high seas if they wished to use our ports. If it was not dishonorable for the German Government to do this, why is it dishonorable for us to merely request (not prevent) our own citizens not to take passage on armed merchant vessels?

Just a few days ago the Government of Sweden, in the interest of the peace of that nation, warned its citizens not to take passage on armed merchant vessels. Sweden is trying desperately to preserve her neutrality. Has she done a dishonorperately to preserve her neutrality.

able thing in warning her citizens?

Our own State Department has adopted rules and regulations relating to passports. As a general proposition American citizens have the right to go where they please throughout the world, and it is our duty to protect them wherever they go. But while the present conflict is going on we have restricted this right of our citizens somewhat by refusing passports to those who would visit belligerent countries for pleasure. The rule adopted by our State Department is:

The department does not deem it appropriate or advisable to issue passports to persons who contemplate visiting belligerent countries merely for pleasure, recreation, touring, or sightseeing.

It must be admitted that this rule is reasonable. Has anyone charged us with doing a dishonorable thing in thus re-

stricting the rights of our citizens?

The statement has been made repeatedly that for Congress to pass a resolution warning our citizens not to take passage on armed belligerent merchant vessels would at this time be an invasion of the right of the President to exclusively handle and control all questions relating to our relations with foreign nations. With that view I do not agree, since the negotiations growing out of the armed-merchantmen question have reached no satisfactory conclusion, and each day may witness American citizens taking passage on armed merchant ships that may later be sunk without warning, and thus precipitate a discussion in Congress and the final answer upon this question. I believe that the Executive, in conducting negotiations upon this matter, is entitled to know where each Member of Congress stands and how far each Member will go to uphold his position. It seems to me also that in fairness and in justice to our fellow citizens who may wish to embark upon these vessels we ought to state plainly and unequivocally whether or not we believe they ought to exercise their right; and that if they do exercise them, whether or not we will resort to arms to vindicate and uphold their exercise of that right. We are told that it would be dishonorable to warn our citizens against exercising their rights on the high seas. If that is so, then, if we do not warn them, they are justified in assuming that this Nation will fight to the bitter end and at all cost to defend them in their exercise of that right. As for the President, if we say we will not warn our citizens, wc. in effect, say to him and to the world that he may insist in his negotiations upon the right of our citizens to tra el upon these ships; that we refuse to warn them; that he may go to any extent within his constitutional powers to vindicate that right; and that we will, if necessary, back up his position by a resort to arms.

In confirmation of this statement, while I do not know that the article appearing in the Washington Star of March 4, 1916, was authorized, I do think it may very properly be considered in this discussion. The following is taken from that article:

THINKS COUNTRY UNDERSTANDS.

THINKS COUNTRY UNDERSTANDS.

The White House was also gratified to-day by the belief that the country has not misunderstood the meaning of the Senate vote. Outside of Washington the impression, from the telegrams, seems to have been unanimous that the Senate, despite the complications injected, at the last minute by Senator Gorg, meant to give the President a free hand in his international work and did so. The country has evidently reached the same conclusion, if the many telegrams represent public sentiment.

Whatever the country believes, however, it is clearly known and understood that the President will proceed from now on with a firmer hand and will continue to stand by his position that Germany will not sink, without warning, defensively armed passenger or merchant vessels, with Americans on board, unless she wants to invite a break with the United States.

The President told the country that he stood for compliance with international rules and that the administration would back its position on that question by force, if necessary. He asked Congress to decide whether he was to be allowed to continue along those lines. He understands that Congress has given him a free hand and he is going to accept the responsibilities imposed upon him.

The President to-day feels that if Germany has not fully caught the spirit of the warning that is conveyed in the whole transaction, then she does not want to get it; that she is bent on submarining in all directions without care or concern for the interests of Americans or of humanity generally. He awaits Germany's next move and then it will be his.

Thus it will be seen that a refusal to warn our citizens may readily be accepted as an invitation to go to the limit, and an assurance that "the administration would back its position by force on that question if necessary," "he understands that Congress has given him a free hand."

Let us see, Mr. Speaker, what it is that the President asks in his letter to Mr. Pov. I quote the following:

The report that there are divided counsels in Congress in regard to the foreign policy of the Government is being made industrious use of in foreign capitals. I believe that report to be false, but so long as it is anywhere credited, it can not fail to do the greatest harm and expose the country to the most serious risks. I therefore feel

justified in asking that your committee will meet to urge an early vote upon the resolution with regard to travel on armed merchantmen which has recently been so much talked about, in order that there may be afforded an immediate opportunity for full public discussion and action upon them and that all doubts and conjectures may be swept away and our foreign relations once more cleared of damaging misunderstandings.

The matter is of so grave importance and lies so clearly within the field of executive initiative that I venture the hope that your committee will not think that I am taking unwarranted liberty in making this suggestion as to the business of the House, and I very earnestly commend it to their immediate consideration.

I do not know that any subsequent letters have been written, but this House is certainly not complying with his wishes unless we inform him in plain terms just what our position is. It is an invitation to each Member to frankly place himself on record either for or against a warning resolution, and far from being an invasion of the presidential prerogative to conduct foreign negotiations, the President himself now asks each of us to define his position, and we would be weak and cowardly did we not do so. I assume that we are also to speak what is in our minds and vote the convictions we have, without regard to the political effect upon party or individual.

I can not do otherwise than place myself on record as favoring a warning resolution. I do so because I feel that while our citizens may have a technical right to take passage on armed belligerent merchant vessels, they should refrain from exercising that right in the interest of the peace of the country and the happiness of their countrymen. I will vote to issue that warning now, because I wish to serve notice on such citizens. I feel that any Member here who votes against warning our citizens to stay off these ships obligates himself to vote for a declaration of war if

one of these citizens comes to harm.

Congress has the power to declare war. The Members of this House who believe in their hearts that our citizens should be warned ought to declare their opinion now, for the question we are considering is one that may or may not result in war, accordingly as we decide the matter here to-day. You can not hide behind the plea that you do not want to tie the hands of the President in his diplomatic negotiations, for he has asked your opinion.

If you vote against a warning, you tell him to proceed; and the next time the question comes before you it will be after an American citizen has come to harm, and you will not be able to weigh the question as coolly, calmly, and sensibly as now. Then your passions will be aroused; the press, which now denounces everyone who favors this proposition as an alien sympathizer or worse, will then demand war and call you a craven, a coward, and a weakling if you do not so vote. Your vote against a warning now will then return to plague you. You will realize too late that the blood of your countrymen must be shed and the wealth of your country dissipated, because you were too weak to record what your heart and your conscience told you was

It is not a pleasant thing to disagree with the President of the United States, especially at this time and upon such a question. I am the Representative here of 250,000 people, and I am sensible not only of the great responsibility that rests upon me as a Representative but also of the obligation to "well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office." The responsibility and the obligation are mine. I can not and will not shift them to

Neutrality of America.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES W. GOOD, OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the letter of Dr. John W. Burgess, formerly professor of constitutional and international law and at present dean of the faculty of political science, philosophy, and pure science of Columbia University, on the subject of the duty of Congress to declare real neutrality of America.

The letter is as follows:

DUTY OF CONGRESS TO DECLARE REAL NEUTRALITY OF AMERICA.

(By John W. Burgess.)

To the EDITOR OF THE EVENING MAIL.

SIR: Replying to many questions concerning the submarine controversy between the Governments of this country and Germany, I beg to

say that, in my humble judgment, the administration has woven around itself such a web of fallacies in regard to the international duties of neutral governments toward belligerents that it has become practically helpless, and that Congress must take the matter in hand, extricate the administration from its self-imposed bonds and set it upon the right

say that, in my humble judgment, the administration has woven around itself such a web of fallacies in regard to the international duties of neutral governments toward belilgereins that it has become practically the administration from its self-imposed bonds and set it upon the right rick again.

In the course of a war, prohibit me manifecture and export of arms and munificions of war without committing a breach of neutral sustainable to the people of this country and to the world that this Government of arms and munificions of war upon the sustainable of th

exercise its full power and authority to save the country from foreign war, which, once entered on, will not in my opinion cease without a thoroughgoing internal economic revolution, as likely to be destructive as constructive JOHN W. BURGESS.

NEWPORT, February 28.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAMUEL W. BEAKES.

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 7, 1916.

Mr. BEAKES. Mr. Speaker, on this momentous day, when we as Representatives of the American people are called upon to take a stand in reference to a question which requires delicate diplomatic handling, I wish to raise my voice as an American, and to raise it for peace. In this dreadful holocaust of war, when all the great nations of the earth excepting only the United States are locked in a death encounter, each straining every nerve to best the other, and none observing any of the rights of neutrals that they do not feel they have to observe, each man here should so act as to aid in keeping our beloved country out of the holocaust. For 18 long months President Wilson has maintained the honor and dignity of America and kept us at peace. Many delicate and difficult diplomatic situa-tions have been successfully met, and we are at peace. Should this House now step in and usurp any of the diplomatic powers which the Constitution, wisely, I think, imposes upon the Executive? If we can not trust the President, whom can we trust? Surely this House, with 435 men of different minds, is not fitted to pursue a straight and firm course the surely than the surely that the pursue of the surely than not fitted to pursue a straight and firm course through the dangerous storm clouds which threaten the ship of state. The dangerous storm clouds which threaten the ship of state. The ship can not survive with 435 pilots. When danger threatens, there must be but one pilot, who knows his business, who is unafraid, possessed of one idea, filled with one determination, that of bringing the ship into a safe and peaceful harbor. And when danger threatens it is the duty of every man of the crew to sustain the pllot. It is a duty the United States owes to itself and to the world to remain neutral. It is the duty of each representative of the American people to remain neutral. It is a duty the United States owes to its citizens to protect the lawful rights of American citizens; among these rights is the freedom of the seas.

International law is not what our reason tells us ought to be international law. It is what the nations of the world have agreed upon. We can not surrender part of our rights under international law to one nation without being called upon to surrender other such rights to another nation. We must either in the end maintain it all or surrender it all. For us to agree with one only of the warring powers to change international

law would not be to maintain our neutrality.

The McLemore resolution should never have been introduced in this Congress. It is not a neutral resolution. On its face it shows that it was not drawn with a clear knowledge of international law. On its face it shows that it was not drawn with an exact knowledge of facts. It has no business here; it certainly has no business on the calendars of an American Congress. Its long preambles set forth facts based only on newspaper reports, reports which have been denied as vehemently as they have been affirmed. In a delicate diplomatic situation is this House to declare mere newspaper rumors reflecting upon the integrity of one of the powers at war to be facts? Do we know absolutely, as this resolution declares, that Great Britain, by secret orders, has armed her merchant ships and manned them with "concealed and disguised" naval officers and men with instructions to use these guns for offensive warfare? Even the resolution admits in express terms that the proof which it says exists is not yet in the hands of the American Government. Why, then, should we declare as facts mere statements of newspapers that Germany has claimed these to be the facts? The Members of this House have no knowledge beyond newspaper statements that Germany so claims, just as we have no knowledge beyond newspaper statements that Great Britain denies ever issuing such orders. If proofs are to be presented to the American Government, why should not the mover of this resolution have waited until such proofs had been presented? Is this resolution anything more than a bid for the German votes? If that is what it is, I believe it will fail in its purpose,

for the gentleman does not know as I do the loyalty which underlies the German character.

In my home county practically half the voters are either of German birth or German descent. As between Great Britain and Germany, their sympathies are, of course, with the Fatherland, and none of us can blame them for that; but if the question ever comes, and God forbid that it should ever come, between their standing behind the German Kaiser or the American President, I know that the great mass of them will stand firmly and loyally behind the American President. And another thing, the German blood is not a cowardly blood. Our citizens thing, the German blood is not a cowardly blood. of German descent will not admire one who truckles for their votes or who shows that he doubts their loyalty to the land of their adoption or birth. If this resolution, which not only warns American citizens off of merchant ships, but also declares that we will not protect American rights on the high seas, was not a futile bid for the German vote, then it must have been for the ignoble purpose of securing peace by abdicating in advance American rights on the seas. When a weak and puny Nation, we fought one war with Great Britain for those rights. we now, a great and powerful Nation, out of fear alone, abdicate those rights? I yield to no man in my desire for peace, but I want peace with honor. If out of fear we surrender now to Germany, later out of fear we may surrender to Great Britain. When the dogs of war are loose, as at present, the coward who slinks before them has not as much chance of escape as the brave man who faces them. Much of the wonderful success which has so far attended the German and Austrian arms has been due to the fact that one man, the Kaiser, has had charge, and the Germans and the Austrians have stood loyally behind him. One man for 18 trying months has successfully upheld America's honor and rights and kept us at peace. He and his Secretary of State are the only men who know all the facts. Of necessity diplomacy is for the most part secret until its objects are accomplished. No man wants honorable peace more than Woodrow Wilson, and certainly none of us are better able to maintain it. And so every true American patriot should endeavor to uphold the hands of America's President, contending now with one nation for the protection of American lives and now with another for the protection of American property.

I do not regard the American who would, out of a spirit of bravado or needlessly, expose his country to the danger of war by traveling on merchant ships of the warring nations as an American patriot. But certainly if threats of a torpedo would not deter him a warning by this body would have no effect. If he is unpatriotic enough to risk the welfare of his country he would care little for the mere warning of an American Congress. And certainly the State Department, without issuing any statement that it is not prepared to defend American rights, is doing more than a mere warning can to keep American citizens out of danger by making it extremely difficult to secure the passport necessary to board the ships unless clear proof of the necessity of travel is shown. But what can be thought of any representative of the American people who would vote for a resolution that would say to any nation on earth that they could with impunity take the life of an American citizen traveling in a manner hitherto recognized in international law as lawful?

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH B. THOMPSON, OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 7, 1916.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, this is a time for honest thinking and plain speaking. All admit that our country stands quivering on the perilous edge of the caldron of war. Men who will stand palsied and permit, by either their action or nonaction, 100,000,000 people to be drawn into this awful carnage of slaughter because, for sooth, their vote or the expression of their views might result in political destruction are unworthy a seat in this high place. If the bugle call of war should sound I doubt if there is a single Member of this House, including those over age and physically exempt, who would not gladly and heroically follow the Stars and Stripes into the jaws of death. If he would do this to the strains of martial music and the rythm of marching feet, why is he not willing to suffer political death and martyrdom by acting with like

courage and speaking the real truth—a truth which he will admit in private-in the presence of a very grave situation with which we stand face to face? Let no man deceive him-This issue is clear-cut; and it ought to be met with courage, without equivocation, and without regard to political con-

The President, in his letter under date of February 29 to Mr. Pou, acting chairman of the Rules Committee of the House,

The report that there are divided counsels in Congress in regard to the foreign policy of the Government is being made industrious use of in foreign capitals. I believe that report to be false; but so long as it is anywhere credited, it can not fail to do the greater harm and expose the country to the most serious risks. I therefore feel justified in asking that your committee will permit me to urge an early vote upon the resolution with regard to travel on armed merchantmen which have recently been so much talked about, in order that there may be afforded an immediate opportunity for public discussion and action upon them and that all doubts and conjectures may be swept away and our foreign relations once more cleared of damaging misunderstandings.

The President said in so many words that he desired a vote "upon the resolutions with regard to travel on armed merchantmen, which have recently been so much talked about, in order that there may be afforded an immediate opportunity for public discussion and action." On what? Why, of course, on the mat-ter of citizens of the United States traveling on these armed merchantmen. Are we doing that to-day? No! What are we doing? We are attempting, by parliamentary legerdemain, to avoid discussing and voting on the very question the President says he wishes discussed and acted upon.

The situation would be very humorous if it were not so serious. It is this: Last Saturday the Committee on Foreign Affairs reported House resolution 147, commonly known as the McLemore resolution, to the House, with the following recommendation:

That House resolution 147, known as the McLemore resolution, be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do lie on the table. Under the practice and precedents in this country the conduct of diplomatic negotiations has been left to the President, and with this practice the committee does not feel if proper for the House of Representatives to interfere. We have confidence that if the President reaches a point in any negotiations with foreign Governments at which he has exhausted his power in the premises, he will in the usual way report all facts and circumstances to Congress for its consideration.

Under the rules of the House this placed the resolution on the table. So on yesterday the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Foss], in order that the House might vote to lay it on the table again, asked that it be taken from the table and placed on the calendar. Now we are called on to do what? Not to vote on whether or not Congress thinks American citizens should refrain from taking passage on armed merchantmen of belligerent nations, loaded with arms, munitions, and soldiers, but to lay the Mc-Lemore resolution back on the table, where it was placed by the Committee on Foreign Affairs. We are marching up the hill in order that we may march down again.

I shall vote to lay the McLemore resolution on the table if we are prohibited from amending it. It contains nine "whereases." These numerous "whereases" contain statements of fact which no one can say are true or false. For this reason I can not vote for this particular resolution. I am a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House and I tried there to amend this resolution, first, by voting for the substitute offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SHACKLEFORD]. Mr. SHACKLEFORD offered before the committee the following substitute:

substitute:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this House that all citizens of the United States should be warned that a serious controversy has arisen in relation to the arming of merchant vessels and the method of waging submarine warfare by the nations engaged in the European war; that the President is conducting negotiations with the belligerents for the purpose of securing an understanding concerning the disputed points of international law involved; that the House has full conductate that in the conduct of these negotiations the President will leave nothing undone in his efforts to safeguard the honor and peace of the Republic and the rights of its citizens; that pending such negotiations no citizen of the United States should take passage on an armed ship of any of the belligerent nations, lest his recklessness in so doing might plunge our country into war; that by the passage of this resolution it is not intended to express any opinion upon the question of international law involved. involved.

Had this resolution been adopted and reported to the House with a favorable report, the President's request for a discussion and a vote on the propriety of our citizens riding on armed merchantmen during the time he is conducting our very delicate foreign relations could have been settled in a manner that would have left no possible doubt as to the views of the House. By taking the action here proposed nothing will be settled and we will find ourselves in the position of another high lawmaking body, which acted on this question last week and has been attempting to ascertain ever since just what action was

Mr. Speaker, we had as well be frank and meet this question squarely, for we can be sure that no question is ever settled until it is settled right. The question is very simple, and it is this: Do we think American citizens should travel on armed merchantmen of nations engaged in armed conflict, the greatest in all history, nations pouring out their lives in rivers of blood for their very existence, or do we think, for their own safety and for the peace, happiness, and prosperity of all the people of this great country they should refrain from such reckless and foolhardy travel? I do not intend to argue the question of international law involved nor the right of, citizens of a neutral country to take passage on a merchant ship of a belligerent, whether armed for offensive or defensive purposes.

To say the least, it is a question not altogether free from doubt. It is an axiom of the law that when the reason for a law ceases the law dies also. The international law on the subject of arming merchantmen grew out of conditions that obtained in another age-an age when pirates infested the seas and before the day of submarines. I am willing to accept the views of our Secretary of State on this subject. On January 18 of this year he addressed a note to the belligerents, as follows:

It is a matter of deepest interest to my Government to bring to an end, if possible, the dangers of life which attend the use of submarines as at present employed in destroying enemy commerce on the high seas, since on any merchant vessel of belligerent nationality there may be citizens of the United States who have taken passage or members of the crew in the exercise of their recognized rights as neutrals. I assume your Government is equally solicitous to protect their nationals from the exceptional hazards which are presented by their passage on merchant vessels through these portions of the high seas in which undersea craft of the enemy are operating.

While I am fully silve to the appailing loss of life among noncom-

merchant vessels through these portions of the high seas in which undersea craft of the enemy are operating.

While I am fully alive to the appalling loss of life among noncombatants, regardless of their sex, which has resulted from the present method of destroying merchant vessels without removing the persons on board to piaces of safety, and while I view that practice as contrary to those humane principles which should control belligerents in the conduct of their naval operations, I do not feel that a belligerent should be deprived of the proper use of submarines in the invasion of commerce, since those instruments of war have proved their effectiveness in this practical branch of warfare on the high seas.

In order to bring submarine warfare within the general rules of international law and the principles of humanity without destroying their efficiency in the destruction of commerce, I believe that a formula may be found which, though it may require slight modification of the precedent generally followed by nations prior to the employment of the submarine, will appeal to the sense of justice and fairness of all the belilgerents in the present war.

Your Government will understand that in seeking the formula or rule of this nature I approach it of necessity from the point of view of a neutral, but I believe that it will be equally efficacious in preserving the lives of noncombatants on merchant vessels of belligerent nationalities. My comments on this subject are predicated on the following propositions:

First, A noncombatant has a right to traverse the high seas in a mer-

lives of noncombatants on merchant vessels of belligerent antionalities. My comments on this subject are predicated on the following propositions:

First. A noncombatant has a right to traverse the high seas in a merchant vessel entitled to fly a belligerent flag, to rely upon the observance of the rules of international law and principles of bumanity, and if the vessel is approached by the naval vessel of another belligerent the merchant vessel of enemy nationality should not be attacked without being ordered to stop

Second. An enemy merchant vessel, when ordered to do so by a belligerent submarine, should immediately stop.

Third Such vessel should not be attacked after being ordered to stop unless it attempts to flee or to resist. In case it ceases to flee or to resist the attack should be discontinued

Fourth. In the event that it is impossible to place a prize crew on board of an enemy merchant vessel or to convoy her into port the vessel may be sunk, provided the crew and passengers have been removed to a place of safety.

In complying with the foregoing principles, which in my opinion embody the principal rule, the strict observance of which will Insure the life of a noncombatant on a merchant vessel which is intercepted by a submarine, I am not unmindful of the obstacles which would be met by undersea craft as commerce destroyers.

Prior to the year 1915 belligerent operations against enemy commerce on the high seas had been conducted with cruisers carrying heavy armaments. In these conditions international law appeared to permit a merchant vessel to carry armament for defensive purposes without lessening its character as a private merchant vessels. This right seems to have been predicated on the superior defensive strength of ships of war, and the limitation of armament to have been dependent on the fact that it could not be used effectively in offensive against enemy naval vessels, while it could defend the merchantmen against the generally inferior armament of piratical ships and privateers.

The us

the submarine.

Moreover, pirates and sea rovers have been swept from the main trade channels of the sea and privateering has been abolished. Consequently the placing of guns on merchantmen at the present date of submarine warfare can be explained only on the ground of a purpose to render merchantmen superior in force to submarines and to prevent warning and visit and search by them. Any armament, therefore, on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an offensive

armament.

If a submarine is required to stop and search a merchant vessel on the high seas, and in case it is found that she is of an enemy character and that conditions necessitate her destruction and the 'removal to a place of safety of persons on board, it would not seem just nor reasonable that the submarine should be compelled, while complying with these requirements, to expose itself to almost certain destruction by the guns on board the merchant vessel.

It would therefore appear to be a reasonable and reciprocally just arrangement if it could be agreed by the opposing beligerents that

submarines should be caused to adhere strictly to the rules of international law in the matter of stopping and searching merchant vessels, determining their belligerent nationality, and removing the crews and passengers to places of safety before sinking the vessels as prizes of war, and that merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatsoever.

In proposing this formula as a basis of conditional declarations by the belligerent Government, I do so in the full conviction that each Government will consider primarily the humane purposes of saving the lives of innocent people rather than the insistance upon doubtful legal rights which may be denied on account of new conditions.

I would be pleased to be informed whether your Government would be willing to make such a declaration conditioned upon your enemies making a similar declaration.

I should say that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

Note carefully the last paragraph of that note to the powers. The Secretary of State says, "My Government." Of course that phrase can have but one meaning, namely, that the administration is seriously considering treating all merchantmen, whether armed for defensive or offensive purposes, as auxiliary Of course if they be treated as auxiliary cruisers, cruisers. either belligerent would have the right to sink them without warning, even though they might carry neutral passengers, But, Mr. Speaker, conceding that American citizens under international law have the right to take passage on armed merchantmen, by no means argues that they should do so. The administration of President Taft warned American citizens to stay out of Mexico.

President Wilson's administration has done the same many times, and it has gone further and warned those who were there to abandon their property and leave the country. Sweeden has warned its citizens to refrain from traveling on armed merchantmen of the belligerents within the past month. Our Department of State has refused passports to our citizens who contemplated visiting belligerent countries merely for "pleasure," "recreation," "touring," "sight-seeing," etc. The notice issued by the Secretary of State is as follows:

All American citizens who go abroad should carry American passports and should inquire of diplomatic or consular officers of the
countries which they expect to visit concerning the necessity of having the passports viséed therefor.

American citizens are advised to avoid visiting unnecessarily countries which are at war, and particularly to avoid if possible passing
through or from a beiligerent country to a country which is at war
therewith.

therewith.

It is especially important that naturalized American citizens refrain from visiting their countries of origin and countries at war

frain from visiting their countries of origin and countries at war therewith.

It is believed that governments of countries which are in a state of war do not welcome allens who are traveling merely for curiosity or pleasure. Under the passport regulations prescribed by the President January 12, 1915, passports issued by this Government contain statements of the names of countries which the holders expect to visit and the objects of their visits thereto. The department does not deem it appropriate or advisable to issue passports to persons who contemplate visiting belligerent countries merely for "pleasure," "recreation." "touring," "sight-seeing," etc.

As belligerent countries are accustomed, for self-protection, to scrutinize carefully aliens who enter their territories, American citizens who find it necessary to visit such countries should, as a matter of precaution and in order to avoid detention, provide themselves with letters or other documents, in addition to their passports, showing definitely the objects of their visits. In particular it is advisable for persons who go to belligerent countries as representatives of commercial concerns.

Not really a merican citizens who reading a merican prospects are

concerns.

Naturalized American citizens who receive American passports are advised to carry their certificates of naturalization with them as well as their passports.

American citizens sojourning in countries which are at war are warned to refrain from any conduct or utterances which night be considered offensive or contrary to the principles of strict neutrality.

ROBERT LANSING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, October 4, 1915.

Note.—An application for a passport must be accompanied by duplicate unmounted photographs of the applicant not larger than 3 by 3 inches in size, one affixed to the back of the application by the clerk of the court before whom it is executed, with an impression of the seal of the court; the other to be affixed to the passport by the department.

I am sure no Member of this House would permit a member of his family to take passage on an armed merchantman without a word of warning. If such a word would be proper to members of our families, why would it not be the right thing to do when the destiny of 100,000.000 people is involved? If it be proper to warn our citizens against going into Mexico; to warn those already there to flee; to refuse passports to travelers in belligerent countries, why is it not proper to request American citizens to refrain from traveling on armed ships on the high seas, and who, by their foolhardiness, may at any moment engulf us in an awful sea of blood and carnage?

Requesting our citizens to refrain from taking passage on armed merchantmen of belligerent nations by the Congress would be the exercise of an undisputed right. It is also in consonance with sound public policy. There is on the statute books of the United States at this time a law prohibiting the carrying of passengers on trains which convey explosives. If this is a wise provision of the law, why is it not also a good statute when applied to the sea? We now prohibit, by statute, the carrying of concealed weapons and, in many States, all character of weapons. We prohibit marriages between the whites and the blacks. In a number of States the sale of liquors is prohibited, and in practically all of the States it is impossible to purchase poisons or narcotic drugs. In times of great excitement and riot people are prohibited from congregating on the streets and all saloons and places of public amusement are closed. When riot stalks abroad in the land and the passions of men run high, people are warned to remain at home and not add fuel to the maddening flames. Why is all this done? It is the result of ages of experience and organized society has decreed, under circumstances of this kind, the individual citizen should for the moment curtail his pleasure in the interest of the whole people and for the public good.

At this time when all the nations of Europe are on fire with the mad passions of war and when it is suggested that citizens for the moment do no act that would hinder the President in guiding our country in safety through the perils of that conflict, we are answered that the interest, the happiness, and the blood of all our citizens is not to be weighed against the abstract right of one foolish man or knave, and in the name of patriotism the withering finger of scorn is pointed at those who do not believe that this Nation should be hurled headlong into armed

conflict because of the caprice of some silly fool.

Mr. Speaker, I had intended to vote against the previous question on the adoption of the rule until the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Mann] disclosed what was in the minds of the minority should the previous question be adopted. He has just read to us what the minority intends to offer, and it is this:

Strike out all after the word "debate," where it last occurs, and insert

Strike out all after the word "debate," where it last occurs, and insert the following:

"The resolution and preamble shall both be open to amendment, with the following amendment considered as pending, to wit:

"Strike out beth the preamble and the resolution and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"Resolved, That in the opinion of the House of Representatives citizens of the United States, under existing conditions and irrespective of their legal rights, ought to refrain from taking passage on armed vessels of belligerent nations except in case of imperative necessity," and the consideration of the resolution and amendments thereto shall proceed under the five-minute rule to a final vote on passage."

It is evident that such a resolution as this would leave us in the exact position we now occupy. Every manufacturer of munitions who is trading with the allies, every Wall Street banker who is loaning them money, and every highbrow who desires to cross the ocean for financial or foolish reasons would be exempt under this resolution. No exemption should be made. There are an abundance of neutral vessels belonging to the citizens of Holland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and the United States that make regular trips across the Atlantic to carry all the people who desire to go from this country to Europe on legitimate business.

I regret that this matter has gotten into such a condition that the membership of the House can not vote directly for or against the question involved. The only effect the resolution proposed by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] would be to request the poor people of the country to remain off these ships while extending to the wealthy people the right to take passage

The spirit of recklessness and utter abandon, the contempt felt by some people who claim to be American citizens for the lives and happiness of their fellow citizens, is illustrated by the remarks of Charles Bellows, of Brooklyn, N. Y., who sailed on the 3d of this month on the White Star liner Canopic. The news item carried in the papers on the morning of March 4 read:

Capt. James said that in the event of his encountering an enemy submarine he would make every effort to elude it. The use of the guns would depend on circumstances.

Two of the Americans were Mr. and Mrs. Charles Bellows, of 30 Peirrepont Street, Brooklyn. Mr. Bellows is an importer, and with his wife has made the trip through the danger zone three times. When asked if he did not fear to sail in view of the captain's announcement, he said:

"By no means. I have run blockades before this, and so has my wife, and I really enjoy the thrills that come with it."

Mr. Speaker, I think a man who is capable of treating so serious a matter, fraught with such grave consequences to the peace, the happiness, and the welfare of 100,000,000 people, should be restrained the same as we would restrain an escaped madman. At a time when practically all Europe is aflame with the mad passions of war, and when the sparks are falling, as the President tells us, even in our own country across the Atlantic-3,000 miles away-I can not consent for our citizens

to walk into the blazing furnace with uncovered vessels of kerosene on their shoulders, knowing as we all know that if it should be ignited an explosion would result that will plunge us into the charnel house of bloody war, I do not believe we ought to permit our country to be placed in a position where it would be possible for one of its citizens, so thoughtless of its peace, its welfare, its happiness, its prosperity, by gallivanting over the high seas on armed merchantmen for the measiy purpose of enjoying a "thrill," to levy so great a sacrifice on the mothers of this Republic. It were well to remember that if war should come these travelers will have already enjoyed all the "thrills that come with it" they desire, and countless thousands of the young men of our land—the very flower of its manhood-will march away never to return, and those who survive will come home mained and pitiful reminders of the folly of reckless "thrillers."

Mr. Speaker, the newspapers report that the action taken by the Senate when it tabled the Gore substitute was entirely satisfactory to the President, so when the Committee on Foreign Affairs met last Friday to consider the matter I offered that substitute as a substitute for the McLemore resolution, with a report that it be tabled in the House. My motion was as

follows:

Strike out all of House resolution 147 after the enacting clause and

Strike out all of House resolution 147 after the enacting clause and substitute the following:

"That the sinking by a German submarine of an armed merchant vessel of her public enemy resulting in the death of a citizen of the United States would constitute a just and sufficient cause of war between the United States and the German Empire, and that the resolution as amended be reported to the House with the recommendation that it is on the table. Under the practice and precedents in this country the conduct of diplomatic negotiations has been left to the President, and with this practice the committee does not feel it proper for the House of Representatives to interfere. We have confidence that if the President reaches a point in any negotiations with foreign Governments at which he has exhausted his power in the premises he will, in the usual way, report all facts and circumstances to Congress for its consideration."

When the Shackleford substitute was voted down I submitted this, as I felt it would more nearly permit the membership of the House to vote on the real question than by submitting the McLemore resolution. By laying this resolution on the table the House would have said, as the Senate did in a negative way, that it did not believe that a citizen's death, resulting as therein recited, would constitute a just and sufficient cause of war.

Mr. Speaker, the President said to the committee, through its chairman, Mr. Floop, that if an armed merchantman carrying one of our citizens should be sunk by a submarine without warning this country would not be plunged into war without the whole matter being submitted to the Congress, and the committee in making its report on this resolution used this language:

We have confidence that if the President reaches a point in any negotiations with foreign Governments at which he has exhausted his power in the premises he will, in the usual way, report all facts to the Congress for its consideration.

I therefore feel sure that our country will not be plunged into war unless there is a real, a substantial necessity for such action-a necessity that appeals to the honor, the dignity, and the prestige of our country-and that war will not be brought about, if it should finally come, which God forbid, on account of the rashness of some pusillanimous and pitiful madcap.

The chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs also re-

ported to the committee that the President said he desired action by the committee, but did not desire to be understood as requesting any member of the committee to take any particular

course of action.

Mr. Speaker, I am willing to trust Woodrow Wilson with the conduct of our foreign affairs. His patience, his restraint, his great abilities, and his passions for peace, as disclosed by his past conduct, convince me that he will not be precipitated into the maelstrom of the European conflict until all honorable means for peaceful settlement of any difficulties that may arise have been exhausted. For this reason I did not introduce a resolution on this subject. For this reason, as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, when it was reported to me that the President did not want the matter acted upon, I joined with the other members of that committee and held the resolution in the committee. I think now that this agitation, this discussion, will not be productive of good.

Under the usages and precedents of our country, the President is the proper party to conduct diplomatic negotiations, and I doubt if any action taken by the Congress will add strength to his arm. I fear it may hamper him in his efforts for peaceful settlement of a very delicate controversy. I wish it were not here, for I can see no good that will flow from our action, no

matter what it may be.

But since the matter is here, Mr. Speaker, I must perform my duty as the Representative of nearly 250,000 American citizens as God gives me the light to see the right. I know that politicians who have always opposed me will accuse me of faltering in support of the President at a very critical time. I know that the changes will be rung on the patriotism of a splendid people who, when the critical hour arrives, will stand for their country against the world without counting the cost. But those who attempt, by appeals to patriotism, to becloud the issue here involved will be confounded. They are trifling with the lives, the happiness, and the homes of a hundred million freemen who are ready and willing to die for the honor and the glory of this Republic, but who are unwilling to send thousands of mothers and wives and children on life's weary way with the sad and bitter message that son and husband and father will come home no more, that a few reckless and feolish people may enjoy a "thrill."

Mr. Speaker, the people of the United States are not yet quite rendy to issue an insurance policy on every cargo of ammunition that sails from our ports aboard armed merchantmen, forsooth, because some hired madman, a citizen of this country, may be a passenger. When we flash the news to the world that the United States proposes to take a hand in this war if an armed ship carrying one of its citizens is sunk, there is little doubt that such a ship will be sunk and an opportunity afforded us to engage in the contest. The belligerents on both sides would like an ally that could furnish the ammunition and food and pay the bills. This is a splendid time for patriotism—a patriotism that places the interests of our country above the interests of any or all of the countries of the Old

World.

The fact that the premium on an insurance policy for the safety of armed merchantmen of any of the foreign countries now at war would be paid in the blood of our young men should sober us and not permit action to be taken here to-day that is likely to involve us in the inferno of slaughter now being enacted on the snow-crowned battle fields of distressed Europe.

In my anxiety to see our country pursue a course of honorable neutrality that will permit us in the future, as in the past, to walk upright amid the conflagration that is consuming the bravest and best manhood of all Europe, I can not close my eyes to the fact—for fact it is—should war come there will be many empty seats around the firesides of the homes out younder in Oklahoma. There will be many sad firewells as our young men, in the morning of life, with high hopes and brave Learts, march awa, to the music of war to return no more until hey are called from the silent city of the dead.

Mr. Speaker, I am thinking of the mothers and the wives who will be required to pay the awful price in the loneliness that will come from silent lips and vacant chairs. And yet, Mr. Speaker, there are those of our fellow citizens who would be willing for others to pay this awful price from emotions of sympathy or friendship for one side or the other in the contest. There are others who would be willing to loo! with complacency on the sacrifice that the nation might win whose bonds they hold. None of the warring nations are free from the just charge of violating the rights of neutrals. Germany has conceded that it was wrong to sink the unarmed Lusitania. England L. quite as much an outlaw against international law and the rights of neutrals when she arbitrarily prohibits the shipment of noncontraband articles to her enemies without establishing an effective blockade. She was quite as wrong when she confiscated the cotton during its voyage to Germany and paid our farmers 6 cents a pound for an article that had been sold for 20 cents.

War is not a Sunday-school affair. Battles are not opened by the singing of hymns. Nations engaged in deadly conflict for their very existence of necessity can not be overpunctilious of the rights of idle curiosity seekers who wander into the zone where shot and shell furnish the only music to the dying ear. An enraged man, standing on the streets fighting a duel to the death, would hardly be expected to cease shooting if his enemy should take refuge and continue the contest from behind some neutral. Our regard for the neutral who would permit himself to be used as a shield under such circumstances would not be very high.

There are no more truthful thoughts than those contained in Shelley's Queen Mab.

War is the statesman's game, the priest's delight, The lawyer's jest, the hired assassin's trade; And, to those royal murderers whose mean thrones Are bought by crime and treachery and gore. The bread they eat, the staff on which they lean.

* The pestilence that stalks
In gloomy triumph through some eastern land
Is less destroying. They cajole with gold.
And promises of fame, the thoughtless youth
Already crushed with servitude; he knows
His wretchedness too late, and chertshes
Repentance for his ruin, when his doom
Is sealed in gold and blood!

Mr. Speaker, the President having asked me for my views on this question, I have tried to give them to him as I feel them. I am sure when he asked me he wanted to know my honest views, and that he did not want me to first find out what some one else thought and express that thought rather than my own.

Mr. Speaker, the President, in closing his letter to Senator STONE, used the words:

I am speaking, my dear Senator, in deep solemnity, without heat, with a clear consciousness of the high responsibilities of my office and as your sincere and devoted friend. If we should unhappily differ, we shall differ as friends, but where issues so momentous as these are involved we must, just because we are friends, speak our minds without reservation.

I have attempted in these remarks to live up to the high ideals so beautifully expressed by the President without regard to what the consequences may be to my own future.

Bonds for National Defense.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN M. MORIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 29, 1916.

Mr. MORIN. Mr. Speaker, for an enlargement of the Navy and increase of the Army, for the protection of the coasts, property, and people of the United States from invasion or the aggression of foreign nations, I have introduced a bill which provides for the issuing of \$1,000,000.000 in bonds. As this increase in the military and naval establishments will give protection and security to future generations as well as to the present, I believe this additional expense should not be carried alone by our citizens through the raising of funds for this purpose by taxation, but the burden should be shared by the citizens of future years.

zens of future years.

The bond issue of \$1,000,000,000, under the plan here presented, is to be payable in not less than 10 years nor more than

30 years.

This money can be used for the building of a Navy and the increase and equipment of the Army, and operations of every kind which will protect the people and the property of the United States.

It is my opinion that a bond issue is the sane and sensible method of providing for the safety of our country and the means of being prepared, which will not bear hardly upon the industry, commerce, and manufactures of our country, as does the present method of taxing everything under and over the earth which will yield more or less revenue to be used for the payment of the expenses of our Government and will relieve the people from the inconvenient and objectionable features of placing stamps on all kinds of instruments, papers, checks, and documents and release awakening business and the industrious life of the Nation from this unsatisfactory stamp exaction.

My plan will distribute the expenses of preparedness to preserve peace for at least 25 or 30 years and not burden the people for the immediate consequences of a policy which is intended and will protect the future of our country, because at present there is no apparent reason to believe that we will be involved in a foreign war, and, therefore, should not be required to provide for the protection of future generations' safety, but as these war preparations are intended to benefit our people in the future it is only fair and just that those who come after us should pay their reasonable share for the protection which we have provided for them.

It appears to me plain that the preparedness which we are providing for is not for our immediate protection and safety, but is for the protection and safety of our future in the United States. It follows that those who are protected should pay their share for such protection, and, therefore, this bond issue i rovides that they shall contribute for their own safety. It may be argued, and has been, that there is no reasonable belief that the United States should be precipitated into a war with any foreign country, but it could have been just as sincerely believed and dogmatically uttered before now of all the civilized and Christian nations of Europe engaged in the terrible and fratricidal war of to-day that it was impossible for such a calamity to arise; yet we have the fact before us that there is now going on in Europe a war unparalleled in its scope, purpose, slaughter, and desolation.

May we not fairly infer that this military frenzy may spread to our beloved country and cause us to be embroiled, with or without cause, with some of the nations of the earth? God forbid that such should be the case! But history, experience, and reason teaches that "in times of peace prepare for war," and we are always in danger of the savage and violent parts of our nature asserting themselves and blasting our hopes and expectations of that glorious time when-

Drums shall beat no longer,
And the battle flags be furled
In the parliament of man,
The federation of the world.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, FREDERICK R. LEHLBACH,

OF NEW JERSEY.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Mr. Speaker, in considering the question underlying any resolution by Congress concerning armed belligerent merchantmen there should be borne in mind certain fixed principles of international law, and also certain undisputed facts which constitute a situation to which these principles of law are applicable. It is unquestioned that an unarmed merchantman of a belligerent nation may not be destroyed by an enemy warship until reasonable provision has been made for the safety of its passengers and crew, provided, however, that such merchantman neither offers resistance nor attempts to escape. This same principle of law applies also to belligerent merchantmen who are armed for defense only. It has been suggested that the reasons for applying this principle to such merchantmen were as follows: The prevalence of piracy at the time of the development of this principle rendered it inexpedient for any ship to sail the seas without some means with which to protect herself against the sea robbers, and such armament for that purpose was incapable of inflicting serious damage to a war vessel. Be that as it may, the principle is recognized as valid existing law.

The war between the central powers and the allies has brought into naval warfare a new weapon-the submarine. The legitimacy of the use of the weapon is manifestly admitted by all the powers, including this country, because all the powers, including this country, have heretofore built and equipped such boats. Therefore the submarine, being a recognized war vessel, differs in no respect from any other type of war vessel, such as the dreadnaught, cruiser, or destroyer, with regard to the rules it must observe and the principles of law applicable to its use. What any war vessel may legally do, a submarine may do. Whatever is prohibited to any war vessel is likewise prohibited to a submarine. It may well be that the development of this naval arm may in time alter established rules of warfare and other international principles regarding the rights of noncombatants, whether of a belligerent or neutral nation. Such is not the case at present. As has repeatedly been said, while the game is in progress the rules may not be changed. Therefore the principles of law to which I referred at the beginning are applicable to the submarine.

Let us now examine the admitted facts which make up the situation to which this law is to be applied. The submarine as it is at present constructed is extremely vulnerable. Such armament which in the past has been classified as armament for defense only, with reference to then known war vessels, now with reference to the submarine may constitute offensive armament.

A belligeren' merchantman thus armed, coupled with the purpose of destroying submarines when occasion arises, does not, in my opinion, come within the principle of international law to which I referred. To the submarine such a vessel stands to all intents and purposes in the position of a formidable and dangerous combative opponent, and the submarine consequently has the same rights with reference to it as it has with reference to any other armed enemy ship. Here the acknowledged principles of law and the ascertained facts end in our present situation. That any belligerent merchantmen, armed ostensibly for defense, have instructions or the intention of attacking submarines has not as yet been established, although asserted. But the fact whether such instructions or such an intention exists or not goes to the very crux of the controversy.

Now, what is the duty of Congress in the premises? Manifestly to leave the ascertainment of the facts and the insistence upon the application of the proper legal principles thereto, in so far as they affect the rights of Americans, to the administrative branch of the Government to which the Constitution intrusts it. It has been said that the passage or defeat of any resolution suggesting the inexpediency of Americans sailing upon armed belligerent merchantmen would mean either that Congress did or did not support the President in his insistence upon the rights of American citizens; and, further, that its passage would embarrass the President and injuriously affect the progress of the negotiations he is now conducting. not so. A resolution so drawn does not expressly or impliedly surrender a single right we have under the established principles of international law, nor does it serve notice upon the President or any foreign Government that Congress does not expect him to insist upon every American right. Congress does demand and the people do demand that the President preserve the dignity and the honor of the country by insisting that our rights everywhere be respected, whether on land or sea. In Mexico or in Europe, the people insist not only that their lives be safe but that their mail shall be inviolate and that their commerce with other neutrals be free. No American wants any American right surrendered. Every American wants American rights maintained, from whatever quarter they are invaded.

But such a resolution gives some sound advice to those people who are so unspeakably wicked or so abysmally foolish as wantonly to jeopardize the peace and welfare of their hundred million of fellow citizens by the exercise of a technical right. Abstention from the exercise of a right is not at all inconsistent with the assertion of the existence of the right. By such conduct recognition of the right may be won by an appeal to reason and law. Another course may lead to indescribable

catastrophe. Any American who wants in the present situation to exercise this disputed right of sailing on an armed belligerent vessel has not in his heart, first of all, the best interests of his country. Hyphenated Americanism is not predicated upon origin, but upon state of mind. He who gives his first consideration to the welfare and prosperity and happiness of the American people, no matter on which side of the European conflict his sympathies may be, is a true American, although he may have received his naturalization papers yesterday. He who would subvert the welfare, prosperity, and happiness of the American Nation to the success of either of the belligerents is hyphenated, though

his lineage dates back to the earliest settlers.

MONTCLAIR, N. J., March 4, 1916.

Montclair, N. J., March 4, 1916.

Hon. Frederick R. Lehlbach,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir. In connection with the report in to-day's Newark Evening News that you are in favor of obeying the German Emperor's suggestion that Americans be warned not to travel on ships which carry defensive armament, I would like to ask a question or two:

In view of the acknowledged fact that the present prosperous condition of the country is due wholly to the large exportation of its products, is a friend of mine who is now a representative of the International Harvester Co., at Paris, and who has crossed the Atlantic twice since the war began "unspeakably wicked and abysmally foolish" because he and his company are trying to hold their export business together, thereby adding to the prosperity of this country? He is a man of splendid character and certainly no fool, in spite of your sweeping assertion, and I feel is entitled to protection by his and our Government. Joy riding across the Atlantic has lost its popularity, so those who go are really serving in the cause of their country's welfare. There are very few of them now, however, for a few days ago a large liner left New York with only three passengers.

Is it strange that American manufacturers are slow to enter foreign markets when hyphenated Congressmen seriously consider warning them not to send representatives outside the 3-mile limit except at their own risk? The Germans have taken the lives of many Americans who have sailed on unarmed liners and none where the boat was armed, and as our Government has been impotent to exact reparation, it would seem that the only way was for each boat to try to protect itself.

The attitude of some of our legislators on this matter is rather effectively shown by a paraphrase of an old familiar rhyme—

Congress, may I get export trade?

Oh, yes, my darling daughter;

But your clothes you'll lose in a German raid,

So don't go near the water.

Yours, truly,

GROVER B. SMITH.

House of Representatives, Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic, Washington, D. C., March 6, 1916.

Washington, D. C., March 6, 1916.

Washington, D. C., March 6, 1916.

Dear Mr. Smith: No authority on international law nor the Government of any civilized power has ever contended or does now contend that an armed vessel capable of destroying any kind of a warship, including a submarine whose master has explicit instructions from his Government to attack a submarine on sight, comes under the rule laid down for the protection of unarmed vessels or vessels armed for defense only. In order to take a merchantum out of the protection of the rule two facts must exist: (1) The presence of sufficient armament for the purpose, and (2) the instructions and intention of attacking, not resisting, a submarine at sight. In the present controversy the first fact is established, the second is in dispute. If the President, with the assist-

ance of the Department of State, after examining the evidence should come to the conclusion that such vessels are armed for offense, then they are not under the protection of this principle of international law. If he comes to the conclusion that they are armed for offense, then they are not under the protection of this principle of international law. If he comes to the conclusion that they are armed for defense only, then they do come within the rule, and Americans sailing thereon are entitled to protection. The determination of this fact was the subject matter of the pending negotiations between the President and the representatives of foreign Governments, and under the Constitution his jurisdiction was exclusive and Congress had no right to interfere in any way. The President very properly resented the suggestion that Congress might interfere with him in his exercise of this prerogative. Then suddenly he unreasonably, illogically, and petulantly reversed his correct attitude and is insisting that Congress take immediate action on this subject over which it has no jurisdiction.

If the facts as found by the President determine that an American has the right to sail on the class of vessels mow in dispute, of course he is entitled to full protection in the exercise of that right by this does so it his own is leaded in the protection of the class of the right by this involved in exercising the prudence of sailing on vessels other than of the class whose status is as yet undetermined, particularly when any part of the world can be reached upon other ships. I did not say, nor have I ever said, that I would vote for any way to interfere with the functions of the President in this matter or to embarrass him in their exercise. I did not say, nor have I ever said, that I would vote for anything that did not in express terms make clear that Congress and the people expect the President firmly to insist upon very American right, and that Congress will back him up in his course. If the President would only let Congress mi

NOTE .- Mr. LEHLBACH voted to table the McLemore resolution.

Eight-Hour Day for Government Clerks.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND, OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, under the leave given me, I desire to give some expressions of opinion outside of Washington on the subject of abolishing the discrimination which now exists in favor of certain Government clerks in Washington.

The first editorial is from the largest Democratic paper in Missouri, the St. Louis Republic, of the issue of March 4, 1916:

WHAT DOES BORLAND MEAN?

The Washington papers are criticizing Congressman "WILL" Bor-Land, of Missouri—and well they may. For he has succeeded in inserting into an appropriation bill the requirement that the Government clerks, who now work seven hours and a half, be required to work a full eight hours.

We want to assure the esteemed Washington Post, which leads the attack, that we share its scandalized surprise. The Post says that the saving of \$4,000,000 a year would be "theoretical" only. This means that the clerks would do no work in the additional half hour. From all we know of Government business we regard this as highly probable. Where did Mr. Borland glean the superstition that the Government expects its employees to give value received?

The Post quotes with approval the statement of a former clerk that the quality of Government clerks has deteriorated; that formerly they went to Washington to study law or other professions, and that now they don't. Just when this lamentable change came about we are not advised. No man's mind goes back to the time when they went to Washington to work. The traditions are squarely against Borland. Just what onght to be done to a Congressman with the temerity to advocate the doing of business by the Government on business principles? The spirit of Washington—no, no! we mean the city, not the

Father of his Country—ought to rebuke him. All honor to the Post, which practically counsels the clerks to soldier on their jobs, when the day is lengthened. There you get the real genius and flavor of departmenta! Washington, after 50 years of Republican rule.

For ourselves, we favor presenting each Government clerk with a set of Blackstone, a chafing dish, or a bag of golf sticks, according to sex and inclination, the reduction of hours, and the increase of pay. And we are glad to do our humble best to give currency to the Post's profest against "the mere adding of a weight to an overladen beast of burden."

Work elght hours? Work? And for the Government? Whither are we drifting?

The next is an editorial from the New York Herald (independent) of February 28, 1916:

PITY THE POOR GOVERNMENT CLERK.

Washington newspapers, doubtless reflecting the sentiments of many of their readers, are up in arms in concerted protest against a proposal of Representative Borland that clerks protected in their positions by the civil-service law shall give to the Government eight hours of service each day instead of the present maximum of seven hours a day.

It will be difficult for the rest of the country to join in the Washington resentment over Mr. Borland's proposal. Government service looks very much like a "private snap" to a vast number of Americans uncomplainingly toiling away at smaller pay for similar service and to whom a 30 days' annual vacation and a 30 days' annual sick leave, both at full pay, represent luxury not only unattainable but existing only in forgotten dreams. It is not unlikely that the thousands of workers in all parts of the country who are striving for the establishment of an eight-hour working day instead of one of longer hours will be somewhat shocked at the discovery that they have been contributing to the support of a favored class, to which eight hours of daily work seems an uncalled-for hardship.

Mr. Borland has incorporated his proposal in an amendment to the legislative appropriation bill now pending before the House. The fact that his amendment would save money to the Government seems a sufficient assurance that it will not become law.

The next is from the Kansas City Star (Independent Wilson

The next is from the Kansas City Star (Independent Wilson paper) of March 6, 1916:

THE CRISIS AT WASHINGTON.

The war scare, the presidential campaign, and the spring fever can go and hold an indignation meeting over their reception in Washington. They called at the National Capital expecting to get a hand. These innocents didn't know how ill timed their visit was to raise a stir; they didn't know that Washington had a sensation of its own that made their little show look like a one-ring affair on a vacant lot.

Washington has been assailed in its tenderest spot and is up to defend itself. Representative W. P. Borland, of Kansas City, is the man responsible for the call to arms. He has proposed that the Government clerks in the Capital be required to work eight hours a day like Government clerks elsewhere. The Government clerk is Washington's Infant industry, and Washington demands Government protection for him. There are about 42,000 of him, and he is the Washington storekeeper's very present help in time of trouble—that is, in the summer time, when Congress buttons up its pockets and goes home. But for the Government clerk Washington would have to shut up shop between Congresses. He is the butcher's friend, the grocer's rich relation, and the haberdasher's rock in the desert.

Mr. Borland's attempt to snatch away Washington's meal ticket naturally is resented. If the Government clerk has to work eight hours a day instead of seven—if his 30-day vacation and 30-day sick leave is abolished or cut down—it requires no great mathematical facility to figure out that the Government can get along with fewer of him. Washington, being good at figures, got at that result right away. It reached it while anybody else would have still been deciding whether to use long or short division. And having reached it, Washington rose as one man—one groceryman—and demanded that this Congressman from Kansas City, that has railroads and wheat fields and pay rolls of all kinds, to work eight hours a day. It can afford the luxury of work. But Washington can't. It has to watch itself closely to keep from overworking. The minute it begins to overw

The next is from the Kansas City Journal (regular Republican) of March 6, 1916:

EIGHT-HOUR-DAY BILL.

EIGHT-HOUR-DAY BILL.

The "revolt" of the Government clerks in Washington against Mr. Borland's eight-hour-day bill was generally regarded at first as more amusing than otherwise. Most people who paid any attention whatever to what appeared to be more or less of a comic-opera "rebellion" laughed at the idea of Government clerks in the Capital seriously objecting to working as many hours each day as their far harder-working colleagues throughout the country put in. Having had his checkle, the average man probably turned to more important matters.

But it now develops that so august an individual as President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, which has been fighting for an eight-hour day year after year, has arrayed the full power of his organization against the measure introduced by the Kansas City Congressman. Either this body or some other potent influence has arrayed a large number of civic organizations in the city of Washington against the bill. Many politicians on both sides of the political fence have east their strength on the side of the toiling seven-hour clerks of Washington and declared that they should not work as long as the hundreds of thousands of clerks throughout the country. The reason of this opposition is quite evident, and it is not difficult to see what is going to become of the Borland bill.

Mr. Gomper's argument against the seven-hour workday is not that eight hours is an ideal daily stint for employees, but only a maximum, which should be reduced as fast as voting power can west concessions from employers. If there was any chance whatever to get a universal seven-hour day instead of an eight-hour day, the opportunity would of course be selzed. Mr. Gomper's contends that a very "mischlevous precedent" would be established if the seven-hour sinceure enjoyed by the Washington clerks should be lengthened to the standard eight-hour day in Government offices throughout the country, and private employers would jump at the "precedent" to make their men work longer hours.

So far as the 42,000 clerks in the departments at Washington are concerned, they are negligible in comparison with the immense numbers of men and women in Government offices from one end of the country to the other who are compelled to work eight hours a day. There appears to be no good reason why they should ever have secured the concession, but having secured it, it becomes a "precedent," to modify which becomes in some interested quarters another "precedent," of iniquitous tendencies.

After all, it is not quite certain that all the humorous features of the clerical "revolt" have been lost in the larger rebellion of the politicians. No matter on which side of the fence they would take their stand if left to their own sense of fairness, they have their own particular "fences" to keep in repair, and it therefore does not require a telescope to see Mr. Bostand's finish in this particular effort to equalize a discrepancy which ought not to exist.

The next is a letter from a Republican physician of Kansas

KANSAS CITY, Mo., March 5, 1916.

Hon. W. P. BORLAND, Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir: I see you stirred up a hornet's nest amongst Government employees in Washington the other day, and they are threatening to "get your goat," for insisting that they do eight hours' work a day the same as other Government employees do outside of Washington. Just tell them there were some Democratic politicians tried that game at the last election and that some thousands of Independent and Republican voters came to your rescue then, and they stand ready to do so again, only more so, next time.

Every honest man here at home applauds your honest and efficient work in Congress, and we want you to know that we are with you body and soul. Keep up the good work. Would to God we had more like you in Congress to help rid the country of those petty gramwhose only thought is to draw their pay without giving value in return. In my humble opinion you have been on the right side on every vital question, and by so doing, I opine you will go further eventually. Wery truly, yours,

E. T. Phillips.

Address of Hon. Martin H. Glyan at the Democratic State Convention in New York.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES B. SMITH, OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address by the Hon. Martin H. Glynn at the Democratic State convention in New York. I will state that the speech of Senator Root has been printed in the RECORD.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Fellow Democrats and gentlemen of the conference, we assemble here under conditions which it has not been given to any of our predecessors to share. Outside the American Continent the whole world is plunged into war, with all its horrors, famine, suffering, grief, desolation spread over civilized Europe. Family ties, which spell joy and happiness in life and render the struggle for existence bearable, have been ruthlessly destroyed within the bounds of the warring nations, and yet we are able, though with sadness, to look upon this horrible spectacle from the confines of a nation absolutely at peace with the world-a nation that is more prosperous than at any time in its history, and a nation whose people enjoy more of liberty and of opportunity and of happiness than has ever been known in the history of mankind. We occupy this wonderful position of peace and prosperity not because of any accident but because of the wise and careful and successful policy of those in charge of our National Government. At any time during the progress of the European war the slightest error in judgment or mistake in action might have plunged us into the same conflict which is now impoverishing the nations of Europe. Our people fully sensing what this condition means to them are standing loyally behind President Wilson in his efforts to maintain peace, and are united in supporting the measures which he proposes to defend this country from any aggression in the future and so perpetuate for all time the peace which the European war has shown means so much to us as a nation and as individuals.

SEA OF NEUTRALITY.

On the sea of neutrality President Wilson has had to sail a hard and dangerous course as captain of our ship of state, but he has sailed it bravely and well. No other pilot of the Nation since Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln has had to sail a sea so beset with storms and floating mines. The old charts have been torn up, the lighthouses extinguished by the belligerent that was not criticized by some one, because phraseology is

nations throwing international law to the winds, but Pilot Wilson insists upon sailing the old course according to the old maps, Great Britain, Germany, and France may interpret international law each day to suit their whims and needs, but America persists in interpreting it with justice, with reason, and with national dignity. If we were to fight foreign nations for a violation of international law, as Mr. Root insinuates, we would fight not only Germany, as Mr. Root seems to imagine, but also every other nation participating in Europe's carnival of woe. Mr. Root's policy would make the United States a whirling dervish of war and send us into a perpetual dance of death. Mr. Root would make the United States the policeman of the world, but the teachings of Washington and Jefferson and Franklin about the avoidance of entangling alliances with foreign nations forbid the United States from attempting any such fantastic rôle. Rome tried to be policeman of the world and went down; Portugal tried to be policeman of the world and went down; Spain tried and went down; Napoleon tried and went down, and the United States proposes to profit by the experience of the ages and not attempt a policy that would surely turn into a Frankenstein to destroy us.

WHERE WILL IT END?

If we start this policy, where are we to stop? There is no stopping. It is a vicious circle leading to destruction. It would mean a reversal of our traditional policy of government. It would mean the adoption of imperialistic doctrines, which we have denounced for over a century. It would make all other na-tions the wards of the United States and the United States the keeper of the world. We would be so busy settling other people's quarrels that we would have no time to attend to our own business. It would make the United States either the bully of creation or else a "globe-trotting, earth-perambulating missionary of good government all over the world." It is founded on no reasonable principle. What becomes of the Monroe doctrine under such a policy? How long do you suppose we would be allowed to meddle in European affairs while denying Europe the right to meddle in American affairs? The policy is a dream; it never could be a possibility. It was not even advanced in good faith; it is simply an appeal to passion and pride, to sym-

pathy and prejudice, to secure partisan advantage.

Under the stress of war international law has been battered out of recognition. As the devil quotes the Bible to suit his own purpose, so the warring nations quote documentary international law to suit their own course, without regard to the existence of neutrals, the rights of neutrals, or the trade of neutrals. Mr. Root says that Germany does this. He fails to say that the other warring nations also do it. Germany brands the seizure of provision ships as a violation of international law, adopts a policy of reprisal, and promises reparation under a treaty that has nothing to do with the case. England ruled the question of maritime law in war time out of The Hague conference in 1898 and failed to adopt the London declaration of 1911. But when war breaks out England says she will stand by the declaration of London. No sooner said, though, than she medifies the list of contraband, and no sooner modifies it than she alters it again, and then rejects the whole theory of contraband by proposing to seize all vessels bound for the enemies' ports or carrying cargoes ultimately destined for the enemies' territory. Between shifting winds from every side, between varying currents all about, America is thus caught in the maelstrom of war. The problem is the same which Washington had, and Jefferson had, and Adams had, and Lincoln had, and Woodrow Wilson is treating it as Washington treated it, as Jefferson treated it, as Adams treated it, and as Lincoln treated it.

"HONOR BY PEACE IF WE CAN, BY WAR IF WE MUST."

"To maintain our national honor by peace if we can, but by war if we must" is the motto of Woodrow Wilson. But before submitting to the chance and misery of war, true statesman that he is, he proposed to put the reason and justice of negotiation to the test. Just as Horace Greeley criticized the form of Lincoln's negotiations, just as Alexander Hamilton and Rufus King criticized the form of the Genet negotiations when Washington was President, just as the members of John Adams's own cabinet criticized his negotiations in averting war with France, just as John Randolph criticized the form of Jefferson's negotiations with France, and just as fanatics condemned Lincoln for overruling his Secretary of the Navy and even the House of Representatives in the Trent affair with England, just so for personal and political purposes men of Elihu Root's stamp criticize Mr. Wilson's policies.

IN DIPLOMACY FORM IS SECONDARY, RESULT PRIMARY.

There never was penned an important diplomatic document

largely a matter of education, taste, and temperament. In diplomacy form is secondary, result is primary. Form is a matter of opinion; result is fact. And what is the result of the form of Mr. Wilson's diplomatic negotiations with the warring nations of Europe? Why, simply this: While Europe is drenched in the blood of a sinister war, we are enjoying the blessings of an honorable peace. The men in society's salons, lettered dilettantes in libraries, and swaggering devotees of fashion who would fight our battles on the carpet of parlor trenches, in the restaurants of clubs, or amid the dangers of afternoon teas, may be primarily interested in the form of our diplomatic negotiations. But the men who must fight our battles where the cannon roars and the bullets sing and death stalks-also their wives, their sons, their daughters, and their mothers—these are primarily interested in the result of our negotiations and not in the form. And the men who would do the fighting stand where Woodrow Wilson stands. Their motto is, "We will maintain our national honor by peace if we can, but by war if we must." For this reason Woodrow Wilson, with malice toward no nation, with justice for this Nation, and with sympathy for all nations, champions and will continue to champion the policy that the United States stands upon its unas-sailable right to be a neutral nation and to act as a neutral nation though-

The heathen rage and the people imagine a vain thing. The of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take council together. FOLLOWING GEN. GRANT.

Mr. Root says this policy has satisfied no one. means that it has satisfied no one who is a partisan in this conflict. The very fact that it may not have satisfied partisans is a proof of its neutrality, a proof of its success, for in a vital war like this neither side is satisfied with justice unless it can tamper with the scales. But Mr. Root forgets that in this strife most Americans are neutral and as neutrals approve of Woodrow Wilson following the policy that the founders and the saviors of this country followed in somewhat similar circum-The policy of Abraham Lincoln in the sixties demanded neutrality, and this is the policy of Woodrow Wilson to-day. Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Lincoln insisted that the United States had a sovereign national right to stay out of war just as much as to go into war, and so does Woodrow Wilson. Gen. Grant said there never was a war that could not have been settled better some other way, and the people of this country are in favor of taking Grant's advice and trying the other way before trying war.

DOMESTIC TO THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

So palpably successful has been the domestic policy of the Wilson administration that our opponents are able to find few loopholes for assault. Our foreign policy the prominent leaders of the opposition have repeatedly indorsed during the past few months, but now on the eve of a presidential election they suddenly turn front and treacherously attack. Their challenge we gladly accept, confident that a fair-minded American public will uphold the honorable, patriotic, and highly American policy which the Democratic Party has pursued, beset by difficulties, hampered by conditions for which the Republican Party is responsible, and surrounded by pitfalls on every side wherein a single misstep would have hurled this country to disaster and to woe. Others may make expediency the star of their course in foreign affairs, but we follow the star of justice. Others for vain glory or for selfish purpose may cry up a policy of "blood and iron," but we contend that in the long run true humanity is true statesmanship and true statesmanship true humanity. NATIONAL HONOR.

Mr. Root talks of "national honor" as if by some divine commission he had been appointed the keeper and interpreter of the honor of the Nation. Now, real honor and real dishonor can be felt and are felt even by the lowliest toiler in the land as acutely and as accurately as by even Mr. Root. Instinct serves better here than legal speculation or metaphysical distinction. The man in the street, the toiler in the fields, the artisan in the shops, the man who shoulders his musket and marches away at his country's call needs no lawyer, no statesman, no interpreter to tell him when the honor of his Nation is outraged or the glory of his flag is sullied. It is an elemental instinct which knows without knowing why. It is an elemental instinct which enables even the unschooled to know right from wrong, justice from injustice, principle from prejudice, passion When the honor of our country is outraged and the glory of our flag sullied the people will know it without Mr. Root or anyone else telling them. If such an insult ever comes to this country, the great mass of the people who will have to do the fighting will not have to be called to war. They will call themselves to war. They will rally around the Stars

and Stripes as their fathers rallied at Lexington and Concord, at Saratoga, and at Yorktown and a hundred other battle fields, and they will rally with the blessing and the prayers of those left at home sorrowing in anxiety, but exulting in self-sacrifice to preserve our honor and to glorify our flag.

WAR DRUMS AND WAR DRUMMERS.

For a man who has signed more arbitration treaties than any other man in the country save one, Mr. Root's warlike speech is a mysterious performance. He is about the last man in the land from whom the country had a right to expect it.

For years Mr. Root has been the star performer at peace conferences, and yet he condemns President Wilson for maintain-Mr. Root may forget, but Woodrow Wilson remembers, that the leader of a nation who plunges his people into an unnecessary war vainly washes his hands of innocent blood, like Pontius Pilate, while the earth quakes and the heavens are darkened and thousands give up the ghost.

R. ROOT BECOMES A DRUM AND TRUMPET STATESMAN—TRANSFORMS HIMSELF FROM A LOVING DOVE OF PEACE TO A SWOOPING HAWK OF WAR—ALSO MR. LODGE.

For years Mr. Root has been acclaimed an apostle of peace, and in 1912 was awarded the Nobel prize for the promotion of peace, but now he sallies forth as a drum and trumpet states-

From a cooing dove of peace Mr. Root suddenly transforms

himself into a swooping hawk of war.

Years ago enthusiasts in Bohemia took the skin of John Ziska, the patriot, and stretched it as a drumhead to rouse their followers to war. So to-day Ellhu Root would stretch the skins of the victims of the *Lusitania*, the skins of the victims of the Belgian invasion, into a drumhead to rouse the kindly sentiment of sympathy into the frenzied craze of war.

Mr. Root may beat his drum and blare his trumpet, but President Wilson will go right on winning the plaudits of the American people by appealing to reason, humanity, and com-mon sense and by keeping the United States the uncompromising champion of the neutral world and the undaunted maintainer of the principles which have guided this Nation since 1776.

And what a glorious rôle is this; what a badge of honor the neutral nations wear to-day! Upon the neutral nations depend the salvation of justice, the preservation of moral balances, and the conservation of the natural energies which will be needed to set this world aright when the present cataclysm is over.

Our opponents say that Mr. Root's speech is not a declaration for war, but hardly have its echoes died upon the air before Senator Lodge, the other great spokesman of the Republican Party, makes a speech at Washington, in which, between the lines, he glorifies the purple testament of bleeding war and minimizes the grandeur of peace. If Senator Lodge is right, Washington and the other leaders of this Nation were like Achilles, who "fed on bears' marrow and lions' hearts." Senator Lodge is not right. James Bryce, one of the greatest living historians, says so. In his American Commonwealth James Bryce says that Washington and his fellows were no sanguinary lords of war. Senator Lodge is not right, and this we can prove by the words of Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin.

Thomas Jefferson says, "I recoil with horror at the ferociousness of men," and then he calls upon nations "to devise a more rational umpire of differences than force." He says, "War is an instrument entirely inefficient toward redressing wrongs, and it multiplies instead of indemnifying losses." Benjamin Frank-"There is one improvement I wish to see in moral philosophy-the discovery of a plan which would induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes without first cutting one oblige lations to settle their disputes without list cutting one another's throats," and then he says that in his opinion "there never was a good war or a bad peace." In 1785 Washington wrote to David Humphrey, "My first wish is to see war, the plague of mankind, banished from the earth." To Lafayette, Washington wrote, "It is really a strange thing that there should not be room enough in the world for men to live without cutting one another's throats," and in his Farewell Address he expressed the hope "that we may never unsheath the sword except in self-defense, so long as justice and our essential rights and national respectability can be preserved without it." upon that declaration the Democratic Party stands to-day. til self-defense and essential rights and national respectability require us to unsheath the sword we are for peace, but when national respectability, essential rights, justice, and self-defense

require it we are for war and war to the hilt.

But, say our opponents, the doctrines of Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin are so old they are dead. Well, if they are dead, how comes it that Mr. Root as Secretary of State handed

these doctrines to our representatives at The Hague as the lamp to guide their feet and light their way?

Both Mr. Root and Senator Longe say they do not plead for war, and yet they plead to passions which cause war, and when you plead for a cause you plead for its effect. Senator Lodge and Mr. Root are both like the craven army drummer who. when captured on the field of battle, begged for release, because he was not a soldier and did not fight, but his captors declared that he should be treated with more severity than an ordinary

soldier because the beating of his drum inflamed his followers to carnage. Unless I am mistaken, the American people to-day look at the present moment upon Senator Longe and Mr. Root as his captors looked upon that caviling drummer.

CHANGE OF MIND.

Mr. Root finds fault with President Wilson for changing his mind. All men, including Mr. Root, change their minds now and If they did not, life would be stagnation instead of

The instructions which Mr. Root as Secretary of State handed to our representatives at The Hague and his words at Carnegie Hall on Belgium show that Mr. Root sometimes changes his mind. The expressions of Mr. Root at Carnegie Hall on Mexico compared with his speeches on our relations with the southern Republics during his South American tour as Secretary of State again show that Mr. Root sometimes changes his mind. Mr. Roosevelt sometimes changes his mind. He once thought Mr. Root the only one of his kind, but when they broke he still thought Mr. Root the only one of his kind, but quite another

But in this Mr. Root and Mr. Roosevelt and President Wilson

keep good company. In 1775 George Washington was opposed to a war for independence; in 1776 he said that a war for independence was the only thing that could save us. Benjamin Franklin thought we should not come to terms of peace with England in the Revolutionary War unless we got Canada, but he changed his mind before the treaty was signed. When Thomas Jefferson bought the Louisiana tract he reversed the position he formerly maintained as a strict constructionist of the Constitution. he became President Thomas Jefferson was opposed to the use of Federal money for internal improvement, but as President he sent a message to Congress advocating the use of public money to improve our rivers and our harbors. For a long while Abraham Lincoln resisted the idea of the emancipation of the slaves. He revoked the order of some of his generals emancipating slaves within the limits of their command, and he struck from the annual report of his Secretary of War a paragraph advocating the adoption of this policy. Yet when the need was pressing and the hour ripe Abraham Lincoln did issue the emancipation proclamation. These examples may have no direct bearing upon the issues of the hour, but they do show the pettiness of criticism running through Mr. Root's speech.

PRESIDENT WILSON FOLLOWS THE PRECEDENTS OF THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND BEST-BELOVED MEN WHO HAVE EVER OCCUPIED THE PRESIDENTIAL CHAIR.

President Wilson has only shaken his finger; when he has to shake his fist the world will find it mailed.

Mr. Root says no man should draw a pistol who dares not shoot, and that a government should not shake its first and its finger afterwards. Like most epigrams containing the wisdom of the world in capsule form, these epigrams are partly wisdom of the world in capacity for the true and partly false. Many a fight with a bully has been averted by shaking first the fist of strength and then pointing the finger of reason; many a necessity for shooting has been averted by pulling a pistol. The experiences of everyday life and the history of diplomacy disclose these truths.

But if Mr. Root means to apply these epigrams to President Wilson he has made an unhappy application of his trick of speech. President Wilson has only shaken his finger thus far; if necessity compels, though, he can shake his fist and the world will find it mailed. Despite Mr. Root's glittering epigrams President Wilson is following and will continue to follow the policy pursued under similar circumstances by the most illustrious and the most beloved men who ever occupied the presi-

dential chair.

The President stands where George Washington stood in 1793, when England in the war with France seized and held hundreds of vessels floating the Stars and Stripes. He prepared for war—he built warships; he erected forts—but he didn't shoot. He settled our differences with England by negotiation, just as Woodrow Wilson is trying to do to-day. And here parenthetically let me remark that, while Secretary of State, Elihu Root

neutrality of this country while he met unmoved the clamor of the people wickedly crying for war is a greater man than Washington crossing the Delaware or taking Cornwallis's sword at Yorktown." Yet Mr. Root condemns President Wilson for the very policy for which he praised George Washington, Verily, Elihu Root agrees with the man who said, "Consistency, is the hobgoblin of little minds." President Wilson stands where John Adams stood in 1799, in our dispute with France. He prepared for war-he created the Navy Department; he built 12 new warships; he brought Washington out of retirement from Mount Vernon to lead the Army-but he didn't shoot. He settled our differences with France by negotiation. just as Woodrow Wilson is trying to do to-day. The President stands where Abraham Lincoln stood during the Civil War in our dispute with England over the Alabama and other privateers which destroyed a hundred million dollars worth of our commerce. Through his Secretary of State he threatened England; he listened to all the talk of the House of Representatives for war and the clamor of the country-but he didn't shoot. He initiated the policy that Grant finished, which settled our differences with England by negotiation, just as Woodrow Wilson is trying to do to-day. The President stands where President Grant stood in our controversy with Spain in 1873, when Spain seized the ship Virginius, flying the American flag, and shot 50 Americans—the captain of the ship, 36 of the crew, and 12 passengers. Grant prepared for war; he authorized the putting of the Navy on a war footing-but he didn't shoot. He settled our difficulties with Spain by negotiations, just as Woodrow Wilson is trying to do to-day. The President stands where James G. Blaine, Secretary of State, steod in the controversy with Chile for shooting the sailors of the U. S. battleship Baltimore; where Grover Cleveland stood in our controversy with England over Venezuela in 1895-they made preparations for war-but they didn't shoot. They settled our difficulties by negotiations, just as Woodrow Wilson is trying to do

Jefferson settled our maritime troubles with France by negotiations, and as a result won the Louisiana tract for a song. We settled our dispute with England about our northwestern boundary line by negotiation, and Daniel Webster pronounced this negotiation a boon to mankind. Though we conducted the presidential campaign of 1844 on the issue of "Fifty-four forty or fight," we didn't fight; we settled the Oregon dispute with England by negotiation, just as Woodrow Wilson is trying to do to-day. And so the record stands that the United States has won more victories by the pen than it ever won by the sword.

LEST WE FORGET THE WORDS THAT MADE US PREE.

Mr. Root may talk in epigrams all he pleases, but it is cowardly for him to hide himself in a cloud of verbal dust. If Mr. Root believes-despite the example of Washington and Jefferson, Lincoln and Grant-that the United States should go to war for every violation of international law, why doesn't he say so like a man? If he desires to make the United States the brandisher of the "big stick" in the face of all the world, he should make his position clear. The United States has not yet drawn a pistol, has not yet shaken its fist. It has expressed disapproval and it has appealed to reason and to law. It has placed itself on record in a way that can not be mistaken, but it has not yet taken the irrevocable step; it has not yet appealed to force.

Would the Republican Party reverse this order? Would the Republican Party shoot first and protest afterwards? Would the Republican Party write its disapproval first in blood and then in ink? Is this the Republican notion of the duty of a Republic which boasts of the brotherhood of man? Mr. Root truly declared that the American people have "embodied their principles of government in fixed rules of right conduct."

If Mr. Root will turn to the Declaration of Independence, he will find a reminder that this is a country which resorts to war

only after every other form of redress has failed.

He will find that before the American Colonies drew the pistol they "warned," "reminded," "appealed," and "conjured" the British Government "to disavow" the usurpation of which they complained. Then as now a race of freemen claimed the right to be patient, and now as then a race of freemen will not falter in a final appeal to arms should their patience be exhausted and all other means of asserting their rights be in vain. As a nation we deprecate the waste, the horror, the unreason of war, because we are masters of our own destiny. We do not desire to seek that destiny, unless we must, over the bodies of our youth and the tears and lamentations of desolated homes. Because each American knows that his country repre-In a speech in Argentina practically repeated the great sentiment of Charles Sumner—"Washington upholding the peaceful his country's flag stands for justice, for opportunity, for reason, sents the highest hopes of all mankind, because he knows that and for liberty, he holds himself every ready to rally to that flag, to lay down his life if need be in defense of the Republic.

No other land must ever mistake this fundamental truth.

No other land should ever mistake our unwillingness to seek war for unreadiness to sacrifice life and all that life holds dear to preserve the glory and the integrity and honor of the United States.

And just as President Wilson observes the truest spirit of America in appealing to reason before he appeals to force, so he now reflects the temper of the Republic in making ready for an appeal to arms should diplomacy become useless and reason without avail.

LUSITANIA.

For a statesman who had long enjoyed a reputation for poise and balance Mr. Root's attitude on the Lusitania issue is amazing and inexplicable. He claims that if the Lusitania notes meant anything they meant that action was forthcoming, and he concludes that the correspondence is now approaching its end without securing even that partial protection which is desirable for the future. He ignores what has been accomplished. He overlooks that assurances for the future have been given and that reparation for the past has been assured. If he had before him the proposals made by Germany a week before his speech, would Mr. Root, as Secretary of State, have dared go before the country and say that they should not be accepted, and that we must enter an armed conflict over a matter of mere words? As Secretary of State Mr. Root would not have dared to do so, and as ex-Secretary of State a proper apprecia-tion of the true equation of things should have prompted him to keep his tongue in consonance with the proprieties. Furthermore, Mr. Root, even as a distinguished citizen suddenly turned political incendiary, would not, in view of the note on the Lusitania which the German ambassador handed Secretary of State Lansing on Monday last, dare to repeat on this plat-form to-night the inflammatory language he lately used in Carnegie Hall.

MR ECOT AND THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CONSERVATISM OF RE-SPONSIBILITY AND THE ANARCHY OF SPEECH.

Again, the difference between Mr. Root's actions and Mr. Root's words illustrate the difference between the conservatism of responsibility and the anarchy of speech. Since leaving public office Mr. Root seems to have lost the sense of responsibility which officials of government should feel and which should guide their every act. He states that our first Lusitania note was conceived in events which marked them as impotent. One of these events, he states, was the alleged intimation to the Austrian ambassador by Mr. Bryan that the note of February 10, 1915, was intended for American consumption. Mr. Root accepted a sensational story as the truth, which he could easily have disproved by reference to the Department of State. The fact is the Austrian ambassador agreed with Mr. Bryan that no such statement or intimation had been made to him, and he sent a message to his Government to that effect. Mr. Root, moreover, is doing an unprecedented thing for an ex-Senator of the United States, an ex-Secretary of War, and an ex-Secretary of State when he endeavors to make political capital in a speech before a political convention out of not only foreign relations of the United States, which he well understands are in a critical stage, but out of pending diplomatic negotiations in what is probably the most important case that has been before the State Department since Lincoln's day. He states that it should have been foreseen that cases of this nature were likely to arise, and that American lives would be worthless unless power was maintained. He points to Switzerland and Holland as countries which are properly defended in their rights by organizations and other measures, and states that, "Nobody has run over them, because they have made it apparent that the cost would be too great." He does not mention, although he must have read it in the press, that Dutch ships have been sunk by submarines, that Dutch passengers and sailors have lost their lives from such belligerent action, and that Dutch ships are constantly being violated in British waters, and Dutch mail to the United States, including diplomatic pouches, are being removed from them. He does not mention the fact that, though Switzerland is mobilized, she is allowed to continue her manufacture of certain articles only at the sufferance of belligerents on both sides, who portion off exports from this mountain country and imports into it with the minutest care. Brass is furnished by the allies for the manufacture of various articles and Switzerland is held to strict account for every pound. Germany supplies Switzerland with aluminum, steel, zinc, and coal and compels a return in machinery and parts.

It is easy to say that things "should have been foreseen," but foresight is not so common an attribute. Mr. Root, I am informed, approved the American notes on the Lusitania case,

but said nothing at the time about preparation for action in case America's demands were not complied with.

Mr. Root would have had our Government protest in regard to the invasion of Belgium, and if in the case of Belgium, certainly he would have had this Government continue to protest all the numberless violations of international law by all the belligerents, no matter whether the violations were against this country or another. Such a course would have been futile, would have amounted to nothing and made us ridiculous in the eyes of the world. And these protests Mr. Root would have backed by force if he were to be true to his position. Mr. Root's course would surely "lead us into inevitable war"says our present course will. The violation of international law in regard to which Mr. Root would have this Government make its attitude clear and enforce its demands occurred within a few months after the war opened and before it was possible to make sufficient preparation, which he says has been neglected by the present administration. Preparation to back up a policy such as Mr. Root has outlined should have been begun years ago by administrations of which Mr. Root was the moving spirit. All the world has known that for years prior to the beginning of the present war the nations of Europe had been preparing great armaments. During that time Mr. Root was Secretary of War, Secretary of State, and United States Senator. "Ordinary practical sense in the conduct of affairs," using the words of Mr. Root, should have taught him and his associates the necessity of voting large amounts for suitable preparation against the outbreak of such a war. Does it therefore become Mr. Root to criticize the President and the administration for not enforcing its demands when previous administrations with which he was intimately connected failed to use ordinary foresight in laying the foundation for suitable military and naval forces? He appears to forget in his suggestion of an aggressive policy that the countries now at war are the great nations of the earth, fully equipped and armed, conscious of their strength and their position in the family of nations, which will not brook the domineering tactics of another nation. Moreover, in this great war the participants are wrought up to a state of excitement which must not be lost sight of in dealing with international situations which arise. While a breach of diplomatic relations might be regarded in ordinary times as not leading to war, such action at the present time with any of the belligerents would inevitably lead to an armed conflict.

TRUE PRIDE

In this phase of the question Mr. Root undervalues but the world holds in proper place a true pride in all the relations of life.

There is a pride of national duty which is incapable of sacrificing peace and happiness; there is a pride of high responsibility which forbids an appeal to the sword until all other means have failed; there is a pride in the possession of calm understanding and patient foresight which stands firm against the protest of the partisan and the blood lust of the brute; but the man who disdains to plunge millions of his fellow beings into the dismal abyss of war until he has exhausted every honorable means for peace will never be too weak to guard the honor or the liberties of his country when assailed.

The man who bravely avoids an unnecessary war will never be too cowardly to wage a just one.

Mr. Root would make of the President of the United States an incendiary in a world of fire. He would make the Chief Executive a swashbuckler instead of a statesman. He would have the President insist upon the propriety of the duello, while the combatants reel upon the cliffs of national existence. He would have the President forget that while we debate men are dying by thousands across the ocean; that while we are inconvenienced the rest of the world is enduring the agonies of the damned; that while we are sitting quietly by our fireside the rest of the human race is writhing in the torments of the firing line.

Is it Mr. Root's conception of American honor that we should assert that honor by adding to universal misery? Is it his idea that our national duty is to make no allowance for the naked passions and desperate needs of the white-heat conflict that now inflames and distorts the reason and humanity of Europe? Surely it is not the part of American honor to shut our eyes to the situation of those with whom we are dealing. Surely President Wilson has been true to the highest ideals of America in prolonging negotiations until a people impassioned by war should have time and opportunity to pass calmly upon the justice of America's claims.

BELGIUM.

The efforts of politicians like Mr. Root to make political capital out of the course which President Wilson deemed it

wise for this Nation to follow in respect to Belgium during the early stages of the present war deserve, and will receive, unqualified condemnation and rebuke at the hands of the most right-thinking and patriotic Americans. The horror and sufferings and devastation of this little nation have sunk deep into the American heart.

No fair-minded man can question the wisdom and integrity of our Belgium policy. To say that it has sullied our honor or besmirched our conscience, as Mr. Root intimates, is an insult to the intelligence of the Nation. On this question Mr. Root quibbles with the genius that has made him famous. He was Secretary of State when The Hague conference of 1907 was held, and from him the American delegates received the instructions to make to the conference a declaration of America's policy, which covered every act and every convention which the American delegates signed. That declaration later on specifically attached by the Senate to the most important of these conventions and now standing as a part of them was as follows:

Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions of policy * * * of any foreign State, nor shall anything contained in the said convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions.

As Secretary of State Mr. Root himself adopted the same policy in handling the Japanese-Korean situation. When by force and duress, and against the will of the Koreans, Japan placed the Kingdom of Korea under a Japanese protectorate no protest was lodged against this action, notwithstanding the provisions of an outstanding treaty between Korea and the United States wherein, among other things, it was agreed that if other powers should deal unjustly or oppressively with either party to the treaty the other would use its good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement of the difficulty. Mr. Root was requested by duly accredited representatives of Korea to act under the provisions of this treaty, and he refused on the ground that, Japan having forced a pro-tectorate upon the Koreans, the treaty between the United States and Korea could no longer be enforced. Here we have a distinct recognition by Mr. Root of the principle of international law underlying the Belgium case. It matters little what Mr. Root may say, yet now, with the presidential election coming on, Mr. Root unworthily seeks to disparage the President of the United States for doing in respect to Belgium precisely what he himself had done as a responsible Government officer a few years before in a very similar case, and precisely what he him-self would, of course, have done in the case of Belgium if he had been President instead of Mr. Wilson.

It is absurd and preposterous to assert that any of The Hague conventions, or any clause in the convention, nullified this general policy of the United States. The argument that one of The Hague conventions specifically bound us to go to the defense of Belgium is of no weight, because England never ratified it and was not even technically bound by it. The whole world knows that Great Britain entered the war at the earliest possible moment after the Belgium invasion because of another

When Mr. Root made his speech his former instructor and leader was on the Atlantic Ocean. This probably enabled Mr. Root to steal Mr. Roosevelt's clothes while he was in swimming and run away with them. Mr. Roosevelt is now condemning President Wilson's Belgium policy, but only a few months ago he praised it. When would Mr. Roosevelt have the Nation take him seriously; now or some months ago?

MR. ROOSEVELT ONCE SPOKE AND WROTE IN FAVOR OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S ATTITUDE ON BELGIUM.

Four days after the invasion of Belgium the colonel made a speech in New York, in which he said that "we should be thankful beyond measure" because we are Americans and not at war, and urged support for the administration in securing peace and justice. But he said nothing of any duty to Belgium.

He discussed at Hartford, Conn., on August 15, 1914, the Byran peace treaties, but had no whisper for obligations under The Hague treaties. Seven weeks after the Belgian invasion he printed in the Outlook, on September 23, 1914, an elaborate article on the war, with long discussions of its Belgian phases. Here are some of its passages:

A delegation of Belgians has arrived to invoke our assistance. What action our Government can or will take, I know not.

It has been assumed that no action can be taken that will interfere with our neutrality. It is certainly eminently desirable that we should remain entirely neutral and nothing but urgent need would warrant breaking our neutrality and taking sides one way or the other.

Of course, it would be folly to jump into the gulf ourselves to no good purpose, and very probably nothing we could have done would have helped Belgium. We have not the smallest responsibility for what

has befallen her, and I am sure that the sympathy of this country for the suffering of the men, women, and children of Belgium is very

real.

Nevertheless, this sympathy is compatible with full acknowledgment of the unwisdom of uttering a single word of official protest unless we are prepared to make that protest effective, and only the clearest and most urgent national duty would ever justify us in deviating from our rule of neutrality and noninterference.

FORMER PRESIDENT TAFT PRAISES THE BELGIUM POLICY OF PRESIDENT WILSON,

But all the Republicans of the Nation do not condemn President Wilson's Belgium policy. Former President Taft does not, At a speech delivered at Morristown, N. J., Mr. Taft said:

At a speech delivered at Morristown, N. J., Mr. Taft said:

While I sympathize with the Belgians in this war, whose country, without any fault of theirs, has been made its bloody center, I approve and commend to the full the attitude of President Wilson.

We are not sitting as judges of issues between countries in Europe in this great war. We are seeking to maintain strict neutrality, and until our decision is involved with an agreement to abide by our judgment and recommendation for settlement, we need not embroil ourselves by official expressions of criticisms or approval of the acts of the participants in the war. This is not only the wisest course for us to pursue in maintaining an attitude that may give us influence in promoting mediation when mediation is possible, but it will help us to avoid being drawn into the war.

The insintentity of the Permyllican Borten in its Belgians with the promotine of the property of the Permyllican Borten in the Research of the country of the Permyllican Borten in the Research of the promotine of the promo

The insincerity of the Republican Party in its Belgium attitude is shown by the words of Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt, and by its record between 1901 and 1909. During those years Mr. Roosevelt was President and Mr. Root in the Cabinet most of the time. In 1903 occurred the massacre at Kishinev and for many years after 1903 Macedonia ran red with blood; in 1905 the horrors of the Kongo were officially published; in 1905 Korea lost its independence; in 1906 Morocco was parceled out by the powers; in 1906 the Russian Government shot, hanged, and massacred thousands of her people; in 1909, 25,000 Armenians were slaughtered at Adana, and yet no note of protest came from the Republican Party seated in the seats of the mighty at Washington. What reason, then, has the Republican Party to expect people to believe that it would have acted any differently in 1914 than it did from 1901 to 1909?

MEXICO.

A great deal of criticism has been directed against the present administration because of the President's advice to Americans in Mexico to leave that country and return to the United States. As is the case in many matters involving our foreign relations, a great part of this criticism is based upon an incomplete knowledge of the facts and a failure to take into consideration all the phases of the situation. President Wilson's advice to Americans to leave Mexico was not by any means a radical departure from the policy of the previous administration. It was merely an affirmation and reiteration of an apparently wellconsidered and wholly justifiable position taken by Mr. Taft in 1912, when he advised Americans to withdraw from localities where conditions or prospects of lawlessness threatened the personal safety of Americans and when he directed consular officers to take charge of abandoned effects of American citizens. This advice was applied to practically the entire Republic. This plainly shows, therefore, the opinion of the Taft administration at that time. On November 21, 1910, the commanding general of the Department of Texas was authorized to send troops to the border to enforce the neutrality laws. Additional troops were later sent to patrol the entire border. The War Department early in February, 1912, held all troops in readiness for service along the Mexican border. This created a situation in Mexico which made some of the people doubt the stability of the Madero government, and gave rise to widespread brigandage throughout Mexico. On February 24, 1912, the Washington authorities hinted to the Mexican authorities that military force was contemplated.

The truth of the matter is, if the Taft administration had given Madero one-tenth part of the support and assistance that this administration is giving the de facto government, President Madero would most assuredly have been successful in establishing peace and order, the alleged crime of Huerta would not have been committed, the loss of American lives and property since that time would not have occurred, and Mexico would have been spared the horrors of the fratricidal war which has

Since prevailed there.

On April 15, 1912, the Department of State under President
Taft sent what was practically an ultimatum to the Madero
government in which intervention was threatened.

This ultimatum stated that "until more headway was made in unseating Madero, no interviews could be granted and no communications received from insurgents.'

It seems that the Taft administration had devoted itself to a campaign of nagging and persecuting the struggling government of Madero. During the early part of September, 1912, President Taft stated to Ambassador Calero that this Government was dissatisfied with internal conditions in Mexico. The newspapers in reporting the matter said:

Mr. Taft is opposed to intervention except as a last resort. It is admitted, however, that conditions in Mexico have become much werse in the last few weeks, and if the Madero government is unable to check the attacks on American citizens the United States will be constrained to take action.

So it will be seen that the situation in Mexico when Woodrow

Wilson became President was an unfortunate inheritance.

Mr. Root says it was President Wilson's duty to do the very things which President Taft did not do and for which he fails to condemn President Taft while condemning President Wilson.

The Taft administration had nagged and persecuted President Madero almost up to the breaking point; it had shifted its troops down to the border for the supposed purpose of protecting its ambassador to Mexico, at a time when such a move weakened and embarrassed the Madero government; it had allowed Americans to be killed in Mexico and American property to be looted and menaced. About 60 Americans are known to have been killed during the Taft administration, and yet Senator Root assumes for his part a "holier than thou" at-

In view of all the circumstances, the last administration had all the opportunity it could wish for to send an army into Mexico if it had desired to avail itself of the justification which Senator Root is now urging upon this administration.

Mr. Taft did not believe it wise to sacrifice thousands of lives and millions of dollars in order to intervene in the internal affairs of Mexico.

President Wilson has found nothing so far which would justify the great sacrifice of human life which would be necessary to obtain military control of Mexico.

President Wilson's Mexican policy has been born of the belief that no permanency in government would be obtained in Mexico or in any other American Republic so long as this Government was ready to recognize every revolutionist who might

President Wilson's Mexican policy is consistent with the American idea that the government of any Republic should be the choice of its people.

So long as governments created by force and financed from without can control in Mexico, just so long will there be no safety of life or security of property in that country.

For 50 years we have been talking Pan Americanism, and Pan Americanism has been impossible because the other American Republics have always suspected sinister purposes in our attitude toward them.

But President Wilson's policy has made every American Republic believe for the first time that our Government has no desire or purpose to take their territory or coerce their Govern-Out of this European war no man can tell what will come, but this much is certain that it is vital for the peace and prosperity and honor of the Western Hemisphere that there be a fidelity in the pretensions and an honesty in the relations between the Governments of the American continent.

Mr. Root charges that our policy has been vacillating; that the President invaded Mexico and then retreated. The charge is not true. Mr. Root has no evidence upon which to base such an accusation.

Here is the truth about the Vera Cruz incident. Admiral Mayo was at Tampico. American sailors and officers were insulted by Mexican soldiers. A boat crew and paymaster of the United States Navy were arrested on the wharf at Tampico by Huerta's followers. Without the knowledge and without any instruction from the administration at Washington Admiral Mayo demanded the release of his men, an apology, and a salute to the flag. Huerta's followers did not comply, and the President backed up the demands of our officers. The salute was denied. Vera Cruz was occupied, not for invasion, but to punish an insult to the flag and the Navy. With a loss of 300 men Huerta's band was punished and the incident was closed. Cruz incident did not have its origin in or any relation to the fixed policy of President Wilson toward Mexico and the other American Republics.

SENATOR ROOT MADE A SPEECH IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE AGAINST OUR INTERVENTION IN MEXICO—TALKS LIKE PHERSITES TO-DAY THOUGH YESTERDAY HE ACTED LIKE NESTOR.

Our opponents say we invaded Vera Cruz to help Carranza and hurt Huerta. They forget that Carranza protested at the landing of United States troops in Vera Cruz. Would Carranza have protested if this charge of our opponents were true?

On the Mexican question Senator Root again plays the weathercock and veers in the shifting winds of opportunism. What he urged President Wilson to do in Mexico, he advised President Taft not to do. And so I say that Senator Root's

conduct as an official and his talk as a political agitator illustrate the difference between the conservatism of responsibility and the anarchy of speech. And here is the proof that Mr. Root can blow hot one day and cold the next, can talk like Phersites to-day though yesterday he acted like Nestor.

When Senator STONE, the present Democratic chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, introduced into the Senate a resolution which would have committed this country to the very Mexican policy which Mr. Root now urges, he rose in the Senate and condemned the effort of the Democrats to do the very thing which he says should have been done, and for want of which he says the Democracy has forfeited the respect of the citizens of this country. Here are the exact words of Mr. Root which expose the somersault he has thrown on the Mexican situation:

expose the somersault he has thrown on the Mexican situation:

Mr. President, before the subject is passed over and the resolution laid upon the table, I wish to express my entire dissent from the assumption which seemed to me to be carried by the expression of opinion on the part of the Senator from Missouri. Granting that injuries have been done to American citizens which ought to be redressed, that wounds have been inflicted that lives have been taken, that property has been destroyed, it does not follow, sir, that we should begin the process of securing redress for those injuries by a threat of force on the part of a great and powerful nation against a smaller and weaker nation. That, sir, is to reverse the policy of the United States and to take a step backward in the pathway of civilization.

There is no reason whatever, sir, to assume, if injuries have been done of the kind described, that the Government of Mexico is unwilling to make due redress upon baving those injuries and claims presented to ber in the ordinary course of peaceful negotiations; and for redress the passage of such a resolution as has been described, equivalent to a declaration of war, would be to preface the ordinary demand—the demand which it is the duty of every civilized power to make upon a friendly nation—with a threat that if the demand is not compiled with force will be used.

Sympathy with the people of Mexico in their distress, a just sense of the duties that we owe to that friendly people, and the duties that we owe to the peace of the world must forbid our assenting to or yielding to any such course.

** **

Evidently Mr. Root's opinion as to what should be our Mexico.

Evidently Mr. Root's opinion as to what should be our Mexican policy shifts from day to day. He is for any policy that at the moment promises the most votes for the Republican Party. Anyway it is a source of consolation to know that as a United States Senator he approved, though as a political agitator he condemns, the policy which President Wilson is following in Mexico.

GREAT NATIONAL LEGISLATION.

Four years ago the Nation committed its care and welfare to the Democratic Party, and the Democratic Party has been true to the trust. It has preserved peace, promoted prosperity, maintained national honor, observed international laws, and followed the traditions of the fathers of the country.

No other administration of our age and generation has enacted such a galaxy of laws for the public welfare.

It passed the Trade Commission bill, which created a tribunal that will arbitrate between disputants in commerce and do justice between the public and the great industrial corporations. It passed the Clayton antitrust law, which does away with interlocking directorates, defines and expands the prohibitions of the Sherman Act, modifies the powers of Federal courts to iscue injunctions in labor disputes, and nullifies a multitude of abuses that have been in controversy for years. It consummated the Federal income tax, which makes the fortunes of the rich bear their proportionate part of the burden of taxation and brings into the Federal Treasury over a hundred million dollars a year. It promoted the constitutional amendment which provides for the election of United States Senators by popular vote and frees the United States Senate from possible control by special interests and makes possible the election by the people of their representatives in the Senate at the polls. It repealed the law fixing discriminatory tolls for the Panama Canal, and thereby proclaimed to the world the sacredness of American treaty obligations. It passed the Lever agricultural extension act to help increase the productiveness of American farms. It passed the industrial employees arbitration act, which affords the Government facilities for settling great railway and industrial strikes that threaten to tie up the traffic and upset business of the country. It passed a conservation law, which will develop the water power of the country, facilitate manufacturing, and open avenues of employment. It drove the lobby out of Washington. It prevented railroad strikes which threatened industry and tranquillity. It enforced the antitrust laws always on the ground of justice, never for the purpose of political reward or partisan punishment. It extended the Parcel Post System, and for the first time in history distributed public funds fairly around the country for the purpose of moving crops. It started the application of scientific and modern business methods toward the elimination of waste in the transportation and distribution of farm products. It made the largest appropriation in the history of the country for educational work in the encouragement of rural and industrial education, education in the home, education in civics and principles of citizenship, education of the negroes and immigrants, education in home economics, home and school gardens, and along other practical lines. It has saved a million dollars a year to the old soldiers and their widows through the direct payment of pensions by check. It proposes to make \$500,000,000 available for the promotion of agriculture by the establishment of land banks that will build up a system of rural credits for the farmer. It has sent special commissioners of Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, China, Japan, and India to promote our commerce abroad, and it proposes to send one to every other important point in the world.

And yet Mr. Root, as chairman of the Republican State conference held at Carnegie Hall, says this administration is "not an administration of force and foresight.'

FEDERAL RESERVE ACT.

In reply to this statement, I say that Mr. Root has no "hindwhen he says this in the face of the wonderful success which has greeted the workings of the Federal reserve act. When in the United States Senate Mr. Root opposed the passage of this law, which one of the most eminent economists in the world has said will prove of more value to the American people than the building of the Panama Canal. This law is one of the greatest achievements of any administration in the last 50 years. Force and foresight. Why, there never has been a finer exhibition of foresight and statesmanship than that exhibited by the President in insisting upon the passage, at the special session of the Congress in 1913, of the Federal reserve act and opposing, even against the advice of leading men in his party, the adjournment of the Congress after the passage of the tariff act of 1913 until the Federal reserve act was enacted. Subsequent events show that the President was prompted by wondrous economic insight. The Republican Party has had possession of the Government since 1861, with the exception of Mr. Cleve-land's two terms. Until Mr. Wilson was inaugurated the Democratic Party had not been in control of the Federal Govern-ment for 16 years. During all of that time, and especially during the last 16 years of Republican rule, the necessity for financial legislation in this country was never so great nor so imperative. The Republican Party stands convicted of absolute impotence and incompetence, because it failed utterly to meet the situation. With one of the most complex and difficult problems the Nation has ever had to face, and amid conditions that rendered the task doubly difficult, the President and his party exhibited in a superlative degree the qualities of statesmanship and prescience, and gave the Nation a financial system which, for all time, will confer incalculable benefits upon the American people.

GREATEST BUSINESS LEGISLATION IN 50 YEARS.

This great piece of legislation not only reestablished beyond the power of impairment that essential confidence upon which alone business could be revived and go forward with safety, but it also provided the enlarged credit facilities for the lack of which the country has suffered for many years, and also gave to these enlarged credit resources the quality of elasticity and automatic responsiveness to the needs of business and enterprise without which it would be impossible for the business of the Nation to expand healthfully and prosperously. Moreover, it put the people of the United States in possession of a financial system which has emancipated them from the control of selfish interests and enables them to go forward with business and enterprise on a safe and assured basis, and provides them with the credit resources to engage in the foreign trade upon a scale limited only by the productive capacity of the country and the enterprise of its people in seeking foreign markets. At last we have the means and the power and the ability to finance our foreign trade. We have never possessed it heretofore under the inelastic and wholly inefficient and unsatisfactory financial system provided by the Republican Party and from which the country has suffered repeated disasters in times past.

PREVENTED A PANIC.

By reason of this splendid piece of foresight the Democratic Party put the Secretary of the Treasury in possession of such adequate power that he was able to come to the relief of the financial and business interests of the country immediately upon the outbreak of the European war August 1, 1914. The country was saved by the administration from an imminent panic of such stupendous proportions that had it occurred we should have been involved in a terrible disaster from which we would not even yet have been able to recover.

Immediately after the first declaration of war that forecasted the involvement of the whole of Europe, the Secretary of the Treasury announced to the country that there was in the Treas-

ury \$500,000,000 of national-bank notes available for immediate issue under the Aldrich-Vreeland Act, as amended and made workable by the Federal reserve act. The prominent bankers of the city of New York appealed to the Treasury Department to save them from the threatened calamity, saying that unless measures were taken immediately to relieve the situation the measures were taken immediately to refleve the situation the banks of New York would be unable to keep their doors open throughout the day of August 3, 1914. Hesitation meant panic and inaction meant national disaster. The administration met the situation with unhesitating decision and lightning rapidity. In the first week of August, 1914, \$100,068,350 of emergency currency was issued under the Aldrich-Vreeland Act as amended and made workable by the Democratic administration, and altogether \$386,444,215 of such currency was issued. All of it has since been retired.

On the morning of the 3d of August, 1914, the Subtreasury in the city of New York was in position to issue and did issue millions of dollars of emergency currency to the banks of New York. The subtreasury was able to do this because a Demo-cratic administration had the foresight and intelligence to ship cratic administration had the foresight and intelligence to simp from the city of Washington, by express, on the Saturday preceding the 3d of August, 1914, something like \$40,000,000 of emergency currency to meet the very crisis the bankers described, and this currency was issued to the New York banks upon the condition that they would pay currency over their counters upon demand not only of their depositors, but of their correspondents throughout the country, so that a manager pages similar to that which beful the country in 1907. currency panic similar to that which befell the country in 1907

through Republican stupidity would not occur again.

The Democratic administration is fully and legitimately entitled to the credit for saving the people of the United States from the irretrievable disasters threatened by the European The President and the Democratic Congress and the Secretary of the Treasury are entitled to all praise for the magnificent statesmanship and foresight with which the business interests of the country and the honor of the country have been

protected since the 1st of August, 1914.

I say, without fear of contradiction, that if it had not been for the Federal reserve act and for the effective work of the administration at Washington the great business prosperity which the country is now enjoying would not be seen that the country is now enjoying would not be seen that the country is now enjoying would not be seen that the country is now enjoying would not be seen that the country is now enjoying would not be seen that the se which the country is now enjoying would not have been realized. Contrast this in 1907. That painful experience in American history will always and forever be an indictment of the Republican Party. In a situation which was a zephyr as compared with the "storm" of August, 1914, all of the Republican machinery of government broke down completely and incalculable loss and disaster overtook the American people. As a matter of fact, the present Democratic prosperity is the only prosperity the American people have enjoyed since the panic of 1907.

Mr. Root was a part of Mr. Roosevelt's administration in 1907, and shares with Mr. Roosevelt and the leaders of the Republican Party the responsibility for the wholly unnecessary and calam-

itous happenings of that panic.

MR. ROOT LOST THE "PEACOCK FEATHER" OF A PROPHET BY HIS FATUOUS SPEECH AGAINST THE FEDERAL RESERVE ACT.

One would assume from Mr. Root's speech that the Republican Party has been infallible and that Mr. Root himself has always acted with infallible judgment upon every occasion. The Federal reserve act is now conceded by everybody to be one of the greatest pieces of constructive legislation enacted in this country within the last 50 years at least. As an evidence of Mr. Root's qualities as a statesman and of his foresight and sagacity, I quote from a speech he made in the Senate of the United States on December 13, 1913. denouncing the Federal reserve act

on December 13, 1913. denouncing the Federal reserve act:

I say that this bill presents the financial heresy twice repudiated by the people of the United States. I say that the central reserve board appointed under this bill will have to represent that very heresy. If this bill passes as it stands, America atands to lose all we saved when Grant vetoed the inflation bill, all we saved when Grover Cleveland abolished the silver purchase, all we saved when we elected McKinley, all the Republicans, all the Gold Democrats saved when they helped in the repudiation of the vital principle which has been put into this bill. The country has become so deadened by the assaults of sounds, so wearled of discussion, so confused and dazed by complicated figures, that this vital and fateful reversal of the American policy is proceeding with but little attention. But unless all our history of human experience and all the previous judgments—the real judgments—of the American people upon this subject have been wrong, we stand to learn by hard experience what has really been done by the sixteenth section of this currency bill.

Not a single fundamental of the Federal reserve act as it

Not a single fundamental of the Federal reserve act as it stands to-day was changed or altered after Mr. Root's speech. This act was passed exactly 10 days later, namely, the 23d of December, 1913, and was approved by the President on the same day. Nearly every Republican in the Senate of the United States and most of them in the House of Representatives voted against the Federal reserve act. If this infallible party and this infallible statesman could not see the value of a great piece of

legislation of this character when they had the opportunity to vote for it in the Congress of the United States in 1913, upon what ground can they claim to possess superior wisdom and upon what ground can they ask the American people to confide their destinies to them?

After such a dismal failure at prophecy it would seem as if Mr. Root could well afford to refrain from prophecy as to what will be the condition of business in this country when the war in Europe is over and as to what might have happened in Mexico and Belgium if the United States had acted otherwise than it did. Failure as a prophet in one thing means failure in all. A prophet must never go wrong. Doubt follows a single slip and with doubt goes the "peacock feather" of the prophet. Mr. Root lost his "peacock feather" as a prophet when he made his fatuous speech against the Federal reserve act.

UNDERWOOD TARIFF-A SPECIAL PLEADER WHO WOULD WIN BY TRUTH IF HE CAN, BUT BY TRICKERY IF HE MUST.

In the Underwood Tariff Act the Democratic Party gave the Nation the first customs enactment of a generation in which neither lobby nor special interest had a hand. This great measure unfettered industry and commerce and deprived monopoly of its control over production, distribution, and prices. tariff stimulated American industry and commerce, met public expectations, and redeemed Democratic pledges for a tariff honestly and intelligently written in behalf of all the people. Until the foreign war reduced importations, no tariff ever worked more satisfactorily. Under it, from November, 1913, to June, 1914, the aggregate importations of merchandise were 10 per cent more than in the corresponding period of the preceding year before the present tariff act was passed and the country's bank clearings in the eight months ending June 30, 1914, following the new tariff law were practically equal to the bank clearings of the corresponding period for the preceding year. These figures show Mr. Root's attack upon the present tariff to be mere words. Mr. Root talks about deficits in trade balances, but says not a word about the fact that out of the entire 48 months of the administration of Benjamin Harrison 25 months showed unfavorable trade balances; that 6 out of the 12 months immediately following the enactment of the Payne-Aldrich tariff showed unfavorable trade balances; that at no time in the last 13 years has the favorable balance on merchandise transactions in our foreign trade been as small as it was for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910, under the Dingley and Payne tariffs; that the favorable balance for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, during 9 months of which the Underwood law prevailed, was nearly \$300,000,000 greater than under the corresponding year when the Payne law was in effect; and that if we select 10 months from the passage of the Underwood law until the breaking out of the war and compare them with the like period following the enactment of the Payne law we find a favorable trade balance of over one hundred and fifty millions greater than was the case under the Payne law.

Comparisons are always odious, but in this case the odium lies

The figures of the comparison show that Mr. Root has stretched to a high degree the lawyer's prerogative of suppressing all evidence save evidence of value to his side. But the Democratic Party did not put all its eggs in one basket. It had sense enough to compel, long before the war broke out, the internal revenue to bear its proper share of governmental taxes, and the soundness of this economic principle is now everywhere acknowledged. No man knows better than Mr. Root that in the latter part of 1913 and the early part of 1914 there was an extreme trade depression the world around, even in countries having a high protective tariff and in which no tariff changes had been made. Every student of economic history knows that at that time the whole world suffered from depression and that our share of the depression was both less and less long than the depression of It is a surprising and not a very admirable act on the part of Mr. Root, who knows the facts as well as any man alive, to cull a portion and suppress the rest of the facts in a desperate attempt to make the country believe what he wanted it to be-lieve regardless of the truth. Perhaps it is a fault acquired from long practice at the bar and unconsciously indulged. In a vital question like this, though the country has a right to know the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, he who gives it less is a special pleader who would win by truth if he can, but by trickery if he must.

PREPAREDNESS.

Our opponents claim the Republican Party is the friend of military preparedness. But Grover Cleveland and William C. Whitney started our Navy on whatever ascendency it enjoys to-day, and Samuel J. Tilden is the father of our present system

of coast defense. The truth of the matter is that Theodore Roosevelt as President and Elihu Root as Secretary of War cut down the authorized enlisted strength of the United States Army.

In 1906 President Roosevelt declared in his message to Congress that the Navy should not be enlarged, that it was adequate for our national purposes, and if existing warships were replaced as they were abandoned all our needs would be met. In 1908 Germany began its new naval program which gave its navy a superiority over ours, and from that time till the present the ratio of superiority of the German Navy has been continuously maintained. This is the preparedness that the Republican Party enforced and is the policy which is directly responsible for our present condition and is far different from the preparedness for what the Republican Party claims credit to-day.

If during all the years it had been in power the Republican Party had adopted a definite and gradual program for the increase of the Army and Navy the defensive strength of the country would be what it ought to be to-day,

Former Secretary of the Navy George von L. Meyer was in charge of the Navy for four years under the Taft administration, and he is strong in his denunciation of President Wilson's administration of the Navy Department. Yet, compared to what the Wilson administration has done for the Navy, Mr. Meyer did very little. The four years that Mr. Meyer was at the head of the Navy he obtained six battleships. In the first two years of the Wilson administration five battleships were authorized and authorized before the European war began. In his whole four years Mr. Meyer obtained \$115,000,000 for the increase of the Navy, while in two years the Wilson administration obtained \$87,000,000, and obtained this authorization before the European war began.

In his recent trip through the West President Wilson made clear his policy on military and naval preparation, and this policy we submit is entitled to the fullest approval from men with the welfare of the country at heart, no matter whether they live on the coast or in the interior part of the country and no matter to what political party they may happen to belong.

Changed conditions brought about by the European war have changed opinions on preparedness. Mr. Roosevelt, including others, has been obliged to change his mind. At the beginning of the Fifty-seventh Congress President Roosevelt in his annual message to Congress said: "It is not necessary to increase our Army beyond its size at this time," but he now recognizes changed conditions and has changed his mind.

At the beginning of the present session of Congress President Wilson, appreciating these new conditions and doubtless with information not entirely given to the public and probably not advisable to be given, presented a reasonable and practical plan for such a state of preparedness as present conditions seem to demand, and he has taken occasion to impress upon the people the necessity for action by Congress on the plans so carefully outlined by his experts. In his speech in New York he said: Americans would not seek a contest or cravenly avoid one. They would fight for the vindication of their honor and character, for liberty, and for free institutions." Thus does President Wilson "point out the way, the straight, sure road that leads out of the fool paradise to the firm ground of armed readiness, where we shall know no fear and be equal to defending our At St. Louis, Kansas City, Chicago, and other places the President's plea was, "Speed up preparedness legislation." He did not insist on the precise program presented by his experts who have had the matter in hand. What he wanted and what he wants is a system of preparedness that will best serve the people and put the country in the best possible position to resist attack by sea and land. At Chicago the President said: "The Army as at present constituted is not large enough for time of peace." At Des Moines he said: "I want to tell you that the men who say that we should prepare and prepare immediately are telling you the sober truth. I think you will agree that no one is in a position to know the truth better than I." In Kansas Ciy he said: "Speaking with all solemnity I assure you there is not a day to be lost."

PLACING THE BLAME WHERE IT BELONGS.

In his declaration that we are unprepared for war, Mr. Root alludes to President Wilson's strenuous efforts to secure adequate defenses, and holding up his hands in mock horror exclaims, "God grant he be not too late."

If he be too late, upon whom should the blame fall? Upon Mr. Wilson, who has been President for two years, or upon the leaders of the Republican Party who controlled the military and naval policy of this country for 20 years? And among those leaders responsible for the present unprepared condition of the

country must be included Mr. Root, for years at the head of the military department of this Government. Upon whom should the blame fall? Upon the Democratic Party, whose responsibility is only two years old, or upon the Republican Party, who has controlled the destinies of this Nation for 40 out of the last

50 years?

The Democratic Party is for a policy of preparedness just as Tilden was, just as Whitney was, just as Cleveland was, but for a policy of preparedness for the benefit of the Nation, not for the benefit of stockjobbers, money lenders, steel makers, or munition manufacturers. The Democratic Party is for enough preparedness to man the walls of the Nation and to sail the seas with honor, but the Democratic Party is for so much preparedness as will insure the serenity of defense and the impossibility of invasion; but the Democratic Party is not for so much preparedness as will beget the insolence of offense or the mania of aggression.

WILL HOLD HIS RUDDER TRUE.

History repeats itself historians say. In the annals of old there is a story of a ship caught at sea in a storm which raged as if the very heavens were at war. Havoc threatened on every side, confusion beckoned, and nature seemed to be out of joint, but to the elements in their wildest fury the captain of the ship calmly said:

"You may sink me, you may save me, but I'll hold my rudder

true"

So to-day the American people, hot-heads and cool heads, partisans, and neutrals—whether they follow wisdom or coax on fury—Woodrow Wilson says by his deeds, not by words:

"You may sink me, you may save me, but I'll hold my rudder

true."

ON THE RED-LEAVED TABLETS OF GRATEFUL HUMAN HEARTS.

From this laudable course no oratorical thunder can drive Woodrow Wilson.

Glittering epigrams, distorted facts, mental quibblings, and verbal twistings will fall upon him like darts without barbs.

When the ship of state is rocked and tossed by angry waves and howling winds the passengers may lose their heads, but the

captain will keep his.

Excitable people whose European sympathies one way or the other have for the moment blinded them to the welfare of this land, and whose spokesman Mr. Root seems willing to become, may just as well realize once and for all that Woodrow Wilson will not swerve from the course he has laid out for himself in this crists. He will refuse to surrender the powers of his great office to those who seek to plunge this country into needless war; he will continue to work for the preservation of its prosperity, the assurance of its happiness, and the maintenance of its honor, even if in so doing he brings down upon his head the bitter hostility that Washington had to face and that Lincoln silently suffered in every critical moment of his career.

No reward, no punishment will make him swerve from what he knows to be his highest duty. He has preserved, strengthened, dignified, and uplifted our noblest national traditions, and he will continue to do so no matter what the cost or what the

penalty.

His ripe wisdom, his knowledge, his infinite patience have contributed more than all other factors combined to rescue the United States from that weight of woe and misery to which the rest of Christendom is now subjected.

His fellow countrymen will not forget this,

Already his name is inscribed on the red-leaved tablets of grateful human hearts.

For these reasons the people of the United States will reelect Woodrow Wilson President to continue the good work he has

so nobly begun.

For these reasons the Democracy of New York follows where Woodrow Wilson leads; but we follow first and foremost for the reason that, amid dangers that threaten and criticism that misrepresents, with an admirable devotion to principle and a wonderful exposition of manhood, Woodrow Wilson stands for the Americanism which, under the magic spell of citizenship and the mystic influence of the Stars and Stripes, imbues Jew and Gentile, Russian, Austrian and Italian, German and Frenchman, Irishman and Englishman with the spirit of the country and teaches them to sing of this old flag of ours:

Your flag and my flag
And how it waves to-day
O'er your land and my land
Aad half the world away!
Rose-red and blood-red
Its stripes forever gleam
Snow white and soul-white
The good Forefather's dream;
Sky-blue and true-blue
Its stars that shine aright
A glorious guidon of the day
A shelter through the night.

Your flag and my flag,
And, oh, how much it holds
Of your heart and my heart
Secure within its folds.
Your heart and my heart
Beat quicker at its sight,
Sun-kissed and wind-tossed
The Red and Blue and White,
The One Flag, the Great Flag,
The flag for me and you
Glorified all else beside
The Red and White and Blue.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM SCHLEY HOWARD,

or GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, for the past several days I have heard much discussion of a situation the graveness of which I fear but few of us realize,

Fugitive statements have filled the very atmosphere as to the attitude of the President of the United States toward the warring

nations of Europe.

Some would have you believe that in the twinkling of an eye the President has become enamored of the goddess of war; that he has been transformed from a clear-headed, cool, and conservative, though firm, being into a rabid declarant of belligerent tendencies, and that he would plunge this Nation into the European cataclysm, and that he is wandering about grasping at a diplomatic straw to involve us in war.

These statements have been positively and unequivocably denied by the President himself, and the American people can not be deceived at this critical moment by statements emanating from men who would capitalize their political fortunes with undemocratic, unpatriotic, and un-American statements.

Why all these resolutions to warn American citizens to withhold their undisputed right to use the high seas? Why, at the most critical moment of our diplomatic relations, should such resolutions be introduced into Congress, when the negotiations had not reached the stage where the President's duties ended

and Congress's duties commenced?

Was it an effort to discredit the President of the United States at home and abroad? Was it an effort to imbue the minds of the people of this country with the belief that the President's diplomacy, in his efforts to maintain American rights, had been a failure? Was it an effort to discredit this administration in every capital of Europe by this premature interference with the pending negotiations, so that the impression would be created abroad that the people of America were in fact not in sympathy with the President's attempt at the maintenance of American rights? Surely this did not inspire these resolutions to be introduced into this body or the body at the other end of the Capitol.

Some very prominent citizens who are red-blooded Americans can see something of a political character very adroitly and very vaguely connected with the newspaper propaganda that has

been carried on for the past several days.

This effort to discredit the President has been carried to the extent that heretofore reputable journals throughout the country have published the statement that the President was on the verge of sending his resignation to the American people.

Let me say to those who affiliate with the Democratic Party that if it is your purpose to capitalize your campaigns in the coming election by taking stock in a political propaganda other than that of President Wilson and his administration, you are taking stock in a bankrupt political machine. Your success depends upon your upholding your President and my President at this critical moment in the history of the United States. If you desert him now you will find yourselves lonesome citizens indeed when you return to your respective districts.

If the administration of President Wilson fails, then all fails; and in failing to maintain the honor, the dignity, and the humanity of this Nation those who seek to destroy him will be met with curses and condemnation, and those who uphold him in his effort to maintain peace with honor will be rewarded with the plaudit, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

Let me say a word in conclusion to the "doubting Thomases" in the Democratic Party. The President is stronger to-day with the American people than any organized party, Democratic or Republican. The people believe in him, and they believe in him because by his splendid courage he has thus far prevented

a clash with any of the warring nations and we are at peace; and if, in the negotiations with other countries the President should find it necessary to sever diplomatic relations, the peo-ple—the American people—will believe that the cause bringing about such a severance was a just and an honorable cause.

Mr. Speaker, this is the sentiment of the rank and file back

home, not the sentiment of the mercenary business man, who puts dollars above the honor of his country, nor is it the sentiment of the political weakling, who would rather sacrifice the honor of his country than to lose a seat in Congress.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES A. HAMILL.

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. HAMILL. Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States has urged that Congress express to him its opinion on a subject of vital international concern. He desires Congress to define at once what attitude it holds on the question whether American citizens shall be warned from traveling on the armed merchant vessels of any of the belligerent European nations.

At present the question is of crucial importance in the conduct of diplomatic negotiations. I quote a paragraph from his letter to Mr. Pou, ranking member of the House Rules Committee. He writes:

I therefore feel justified in asking that your committee will permit me to urge an early vote upon the resolutions with regard to travel on armed merchantmen which have recently been so much talked about in order that there may be afforded an immediate opportunity for full public discussion and action upon them.

The request is most unusual, for the reason that under the Constitution the President has a right to conduct the foreign policy of the Government without resorting to Congress for authority or aid. Evidently, therefore, he has turned to Congress for light and guidance in an effort to ascertain the thought and temper of the people, feeling that the sentiment of Congress would be a fairly representative reflection of the sentiment of the country. It is of the highest moment that we express our convictions frankly and honestly evasion or reservation.

The gentleman from Texas [Mr. McLemore] has presented a resolution which declares it to be the sense of the House that Americans be warned against traveling on armed merchantmen and withdrawing the protection of this Government in case they persist in doing so. This McLemore resolution, as it is termed, is now under consideration and calls up the whole matter for The committee has not brought the matter squarely before the House. It has endeavored to evade the issue by the indirect method of recommending that the resolution be laid on the table.

I firmly and fervently believe Americans should be warned from traveling on the armed merchant vessels of belligerents. Every consideration of patriotism, reason, and prudence irresistibly demands that such warning be issued. So believing I will vote against the motion to lay the resolution on the table.

In order to obtain a little clearer understanding of this socalled armed-ship controversy and its relations to the right of Americans to travel the seas, let us review some recent history and recall a few well-settled principles of international law.

The use of the submarine has created new conditions in naval Before the advent of the undersea boat it was admitted that a merchant vessel could not be assailed and sunk by a hostile ship of war without warning. Only if it resisted capture or endeavored to escape was it lawfully subject to de-struction. At the beginning of this war German submarines sunk British merchant ships without notice, and American passengers on board lost their lives. Notably was this so in the cases of the *Arabic* and the *Lusitania*. As a result of negotiations, the United States, in the interest of and for the protection of American travelers, reasserted this right and compelled Germany to accept and practice the doctrine that merchant vessels could not be torpedoed without warning. This applied, of course, to merchant vessels as classified by international law. But the merchant vessel as known to international law is an unarmed

The very fact of its being a defenseless messenger of commerce, bent on peaceful errands, is what clothes it with immunity from unheralded attack, a privilege which is not extended to an armed ship or man-of-war. It is true that in the days when pirates roved the seas and the fitting out of privatery vessels was authorized by Governments merchant vessels carried a small equipment of guns and ammunition without thereby losing their status as merchantmen. But piracy is now a thing of history, and privateering, which was little more than legalized piracy, is practically abolished. It has been abolished by all the belligerents engaged in the present war. It is consequently with great force contended that the reason and necessity for carrying armament having thus ceased the practice of doing so should cease

The British Government now contends that it has the right to equip merchant ships with an armament capable not only of destroying a submarine but even of warding off successfully an unarmored enemy naval cruiser. These armaments are to be operated by gunners either detailed from the regular navy or specially trained and selected from the ship's crew.

The United States is involved in the controversy for the reason that American citizens may take passage on ships so armed whose lives may be sacrificed in the event of an attack without warning, and has favorably recommended this contention to Germany with a strong request for its accepeance. The German Government refuses to accede. It represents that such a right of merchant vessels to arm is unknown to international law, and that armament of the character described transforms the merchantman into a ship of war, thus depriving it of the right to warning. It principally represents, and without contradiction, that the doctrine of warning to such ships would compel the abandonment of submarine warfare because the undersea boat, being frail of construction and having its protection mainly in its power to submerge, would surely court and be exposed to instant destruction from an armed merchantman the moment it rose to the surface to give the signal for the ship to stop.

In my judgment the best opinion on this whole matter was expressed by our own Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing. On January 18 last he addressed a note to the foreign powers dealing with this subject. I give his language word for word. states:

Prior to the year 1915 beligerent operations against enemy commerce on the high seas had been conducted with cruisers carrying heavy armaments. In these conditions international law appeared to permit a merchant vessel to carry armament for defensive purposes without lessening its character as a private merchant vessel. This right seems to have been predicated on the superior defensive strength of ships of war, and the limitation of armament to have been dependent on the fact that it could not be used effectively in offense against enemy naval vessels, while it could defend the merchantmen against the generally inferior armament of piratical ships and privateers.

POWERLESS IN DEFENSE.

The use of the submarine, however, has changed these relations. Comparison of the defensive strength of a cruiser and a submarine shows that the latter, relying for protection on its power to submerge, is almost defenseless in point of construction. Even a merchant ship carrying a small-caliber gun would be able to use it effectively for offense against the submarine.

Moreover, pirates and sea rovers have been swept from the main trade channels of the sea and privateering has been abolished. Consequently the placing of guns on merchantmen at the present date of submarine warfare can be explained only on the ground of a purpose to render merchantmen superior in force to submarines and to prevent warning and visit and search by them. Any armament, therefore, on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an offensive armament.

If a submarine is required to stop and search a merchant vessel on the high seas, and in case it is found that she is of an enemy character, and that conditions necessitate her destruction and the removal to a place of safety of persons on board, it would not seem just nor reasonable that the submarine should be compelled, while complying with these requirements, to expose itself to almost certain destruction by the guns on board the merchant vessel.

INNOCENT LIVES AT STAKE.

It would therefore appear to be a reasonable and reciprocally just arrangement if it could be agreed by the opposing belligerents that submarines should be caused to adhere strictly to the rules of international law in the matter of stopping and searching merchant vessels, determining their belligerent nationality, and removing the crews and passengers to places of safety before sinking the vessels as prizes of war, and that merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatsoever.

This note undoubtedly embodied and set forth the view of our Government at that time. No reason or necessity exists for reversing it now.

If belligerent nations regard armed merchantmen as ships of war amenable to destruction without notice, the wisest course for an American to pursue is to keep off such merchantmen at least until it is settled and agreed upon that such ships are entitled to warning. Any other course would be preposterous.

Why should an American in these days of peril travel the ocean on the armed ship of a belligerent? If he is a real American with a genuine affection and solicitude for the welfare of his country, he should in times like these, that call for the exercise of exalted patriotism, cross in a vessel that carries at its masthead the Stars and Stripes. If he prefers a foreign to an American ship, let him take passage on a Dutch ship or a Danish ship or a Norwegian ship, or the ship of some other neutral nation. But it is vociferously proclaimed he has the right to travel on any ship that suits him. We will not deny his right, but we ought to inform him that if he is brash enough to exercise it he must do so severely alone and at his own peril. He has also the right to enter the danger zone during the progress of a riot or to step between two men who are fighting each other with revolvers, and he has likewise the right to receive in his own body the bullet intended for some one else.

Why should we permit a few foolhardy Americans who are either reckless of their own safety or perhaps procured and paid to protect a cargo of munitions of war bring down upon America all the multiplied misery and havoc which attaches to modern warfare? Is not the protection of the very flower of our manhood and the welfare of our women and children and our aged of more consequence than the guaranteeing of protection to a fool in his folly? A day or two ago I saw a press notice that a certain American loved to travel through the war zone because he enjoyed the thrill of being chased by a submarine. He is, no doubt, a fair type of the class of citizen the prospect of the abridgement of whose rights occasions us such poignant grief.

How morbidly sensitive we are to-day over the invasion of our technical rights as compared with the exemplary resignation and placidity we exhibited when our dearest and most substantial rights were being ruthlessly trampled under foot in Mexico. I am not expressing any opinion on our Mexican diplomacy, and only for the sake of illustration do I refer at all to that harrowing page of human history.

Sweden as a neutral nation has adopted the policy of warning her citizens to refrain from traveling on belligerent ships, and there is the soundest reason why we should follow her wise example.

Those who advocate tabling this resolution offer no sound or even plausible reason to induce a vote in their favor. Uphold the President, they reiterate, and do not repudiate him; stand for the honor of the country. This is an intensely appealing demand and if grounded on righteousness should meet with an unhesitating favorable response. But let us look the situation in the face and take note of the facts.

The honor of the country is not involved in any manner. It is still intact and stainless. True it is that the Government strongly insists upon the right of notice to armed ships carrying American passengers; true it is that the expression of our desire for warning and the defeat of this motion may weaken or even cause the withdrawal of that contention. But this would not compromise the honor of the Nation. Why? Because the contention is still under discussion and has not been presented as an ultimatum. Diplomatic negotiations are still in progress and the final word has not been spoken. The situation is, indeed, delicate, but it is, nevertheless, in a state of flux capable of being changed, altered, or adjusted without loss of prestige to either of the participants. Let us hope it will be settled as the voice of justice and the welfare of America plainly directs.

What force lies in the demand that we stand by the President and not repudiate him? The President has not demanded our support, but has invited an expression of our honest opinion after full and free discussion. He has requested information and it can be no repudiation to tell him truly what we believe the country wants and is thinking about. He is not compelled to come here for support, for under the Constitution he alone has the right and power to conduct diplomatic negotiations. I admit he would be pleased if the view expressed by the House coincided with his own, and it may be he almost unalterably believes he is right. But are we to agree with him whether we think him right or wrong? I would hesitate to affirm that the President desires a vote recorded on that principle. Let us be not his flatterers but his friends. Let us in this delicate crisis tell him what we candidly believe particularly when he has waived his constitutional privilege to come here and ask for our belief.

It is strongly asserted by some that if we do not by our affirmative vote in this matter support the contention of the State Department for notice to armed ships, then, as a consequence, the strength of its contention may be weakened in for eign capitals. I fully appreciate all there is to that assertion, but I do not overestimate its value. In these days of the newspaper and the ocean cable the whole world knows in a general way what America is thinking about, especially on a matter of this nature. The facts are patent. We may solemnly attempt to deliver our districts by enacting a falsehood, but the people world knows the real sentiment and convictions of the people

throughout the country. Besides, does the administration believe it should persist in pressing a contention which, in the judgment of Congress, the people do not approve?

Some Members of this House are salving their consciences or else honestly deluding themselves by endeavoring to believe that a vote to table this resolution is merely a proceeding to delay consideration which does not affect the merits of the question. I am sure that if they will consult the precedents of parliamentary law they will find that while formerly a vote to table was merely a vote to defer action, the law is otherwise now. Under the present practice a vote to table is regarded as

a final disposition of a question.

We are therefore face to face with the question whether we believe or do not believe warning should be issued to our citizens to dissuade them from traveling on the armed merchant ships of belligerent powers. Let my colleagues impressively consider that their action to-day may entail disastrous consequences and necessitate an inconsistent attitude at a later date. I mean this: Suppose in the event of a favorable vote on this motion to table the Government refuses to recede from its contention regarding the right of armed merchantmen to re-Suppose Germany refuses to recede from her position that such vessels are not entitled to notice and torpedoes one of these vessels without warning, causing the loss of a few foolhardy Americans who were traveling on it as pas-Then the day may dawn which we piously hope never to see when this Congress will assemble to decide the awful issue of peace or war. If you vote in favor of this motion to-day, you commit yourself as a matter of consistency to vote affirmatively on a declaration of war in the event I have mentioned. But few here would vote to declare war for a cause so trivial, and, as a result, many will be compelled to repudiate their action of this day and stultify their consistency in order to vindicate their common sense and their patriotism.

I deeply deplore the necessity which compels me to differ with the President. I enfertain a true and lofty admiration for his sincerity of purpose, and only an overpowering conviction that he is in error causes me to withhold the support I gladly would render. He is, besides, the leader of the Democratic Party, and except for gravest reason is entitled to my support. But I can not complacently follow anyone in a course which may inevitably hurry the country into the horrors of war. I will not become a partner in a proceeding to plunge 100,000,000 of human beings into the European inferno of slaughter and then seek to justify my treachery to America on the filmsy pretense of personal esteem and party loyalty.

Armed Merchant Ships.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAMUEL H. MILLER,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. MILLER of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I favor the adoption of a resolution by the House warning all citizens of the United States, except in cases of absolute necessity, to refrain from traveling on any and all ships which shall mount guns, whether such ships are part of the naval forces of a beligerent power or merchant ships and whether such gun or guns or other armament be called offensive or defensive, and in case American citizens, after warning, do travel on such armed belligerent ships that they do so at their own risk.

I do not deny the right, under international law, of any of the powers at war to arm a merchant vessel for defense. Neither do I deny the right under international law of an American citizen to take passage on a merchant ship of a belligerent power armed only for defense. But, sirs, the armament carried by these merchant ships, it is admitted, is suitable and adapted for either offense or defense, and the passenger has no control over the armament; therefore, under existing conditions, I affirm that an American citizen should not willfully, premeditatedly, and recklessly disregard warning and take passage on an armed merchant ship.

It is true, as was recently said by a distinguished Cenator from Oklahoma—

of this nature. The facts are patent. We may solemnly attempt to deliver our districts by enacting a falsehood, but the world knows the real sentiment and convictions of the people

protected against the possibility of any one of the 100,000,000 citizens exercising the right and thereby plunge this Republic into the European carnival of slaughter; and the right of the 100,000,000 to be protected against becoming involved in war is not to be weighed in the balance with the right of a single irresponsible adventurer to imperil his own life and possibly cause the sacrifice of the lives of thousands of his fellow citizens.

If there were no other ships except armed ones on which American citizens could travel on the high seas the question might present a different aspect. There are, however, unarmed merchant passenger vessels upon which American citizens can travel with safety. There are merchant vessels which fly the American flag upon which they can travel if they so de-The American citizens who took passage on the Lusitania by waiting 48 hours could have taken passage on a ship sailing under the American flag. But it was not so fast, the furnishings were not so luxurious, the voyage would not have been so pleasant as on the Lusitania.

I will not, therefore, by my vote encourage any of our citizens to willfully, recklessly, and wickedly risk their lives on an armed vessel of a belligerent nation, with the possible result of embroiling our Nation in the world-wide war. For American citizens to do so would, in my opinion, quoting the language of the Senator from Missouri to the President in a recent letter, "be

so monstrous as to be indefensible."

I believe I am supported in my contention by a declaration of our State Department delivered as late as January 18, 1916. On that date Mr. Lansing, the very able and distinguished Secretary of State, with the approval of the President, addressed a communication to the foreign powers relative to the submarine question. In that communication Mr. Lansing said:

I shall add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of the undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government, and my Government is seriously considering notifying its officials according. officials according y.

This was the public and official communication of the convictions of our Government on this question six weeks ago.

Mark the language:

Our Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser.

This is not a mere dictum. It is a deliberate and official declaration of an admittedly able lawyer, who knows the meaning and force of words, who was preparing an official communication to be delivered by his Government to its officials abroad, who in turn were to communicate it to the foreign Governments, belligerent and neutral. And why not? Who can foretell whether the armament on these merchant vessels is to be used for defense or offense? Our Government can not foretell. The American passengers on board can not foretell. The only safe plan is to keep off such a vessel. Can anyone give me a good reason why an American citizen should travel on such an armed ship?

Are we in favor by our vote, either direct or evasive, to encourage any American citizen to take passage on an armed ship, and thereby not only endanger his own life but possibly the peace and security of 100,000,000 American citizens, 90 per cent of whom condemn his reckless, unwarranted, and unreasonable conduct?

Assume that one or more of our citizens do unwisely and recklessly take passage on an armed belligerent merchant ship. Assume that the submarine of another belligerent nation torpedoes it and the American passenger loses his life. That our Government should, after a full investigation determine that the armed merchant ship was acting wholly on the defensive.

What next? Shall we avenge his or her death resulting from his or her own folly? Shall we go to war with the Government under whose flag the submarine sailed? Shall we sacrifice the lives of thousands and possibly tens of thousands of our brave men and bring sorrow and sadness to the fathers and mothers and wives of the men who will be thus sacrificed, all on the account of the wicked and unpatriotic conduct of American citizens?

Go ask the fathers and mothers and wives out on the farm, the fathers and men in the shops, or in the busy marts of trade. Do not ask the man that has no intention of going to the front. Do not ask the munition manufacturer. Do not ask the man that is now bravely talking war, but when war comes will seek the comfort, the joys, and the seclusion of his home, far removed from the blare of war trumpets and the sound of cannon. Do not ask the millionaire who already holds the bonds of one or other of the belligerent nations. Go ask the plain, honest, common people if they would not advise Congress to warn American citizens to keep off an armed merchant ship, and go by the slower, but safer way under a neutral, or the American flag, that floats over an unarmed ship.

In voting as I shall, I do not cast any reflection on the official action of the President of the United States. He is not alone your President; he is my President. He is the President of the whole country. I respect him as one of the ablest, most conscientious, most upright men who ever occupied the high office which he ennobles. Have I not the right to differ with him, if I am honest in that difference?

This resolution is before the House not by my seeking, nor do I believe by the seeking of a majority of this House. It is before the House on the demand of the President. At first he demanded that no action be taken by the House on the question of American citizens traveling on armed ships. The leaders of both sides of the House acquiesced. Then the President changed front and demanded of the Committee on Foreign Relations that they report out the McLemore resolution. That committee, not acting as promptly as the President desired, called on the Rules Committee to take the unusual course of bringing in a rule on the subject. Then we are asked, after all this routine, to take the evasive route and lay the resolution on the table. Some of my constituents—a very few—have written me to support the President. That is easy for them. They are 500 miles away. Right here on the ground if you wish to support the President you must take your bearings every morning.

For the reasons thus briefly given I would, if I had the opportunity, record my vote for a resolution to warn all citizens of the United States, except in cases of absolute necessity, to refrain from traveling on all armed merchant ships. I believe by so doing would be to follow a way that leads to assured and honorable

peace; the other way may, and possibly will, lead to war.

I do not propose that one foolhardy citizen shall drag 100, 000,000 people into war if by sensible, reasonable, patriotic, and honorable means it can be avoided. And this, sirs, is not "peace at any price"; this is "peace with honor," aided and abetted by good, refined, common sense.

The Constitution rests in the President all diplomatic questions. As one Member of Congress I am willing that he should exercise that prerogative. I do not think that Congress can as successfully and satisfactorily negotiate matters of diplomacy, and in my opinion I do not believe the President should have forced this issue. Until the President galvanized life into the McLemore resolution it lay upon the table lifeless and would have soon passed into forgetfulness. For myself I had never heard of it until the President resuscitated it.

There is so much in the resolution that the Committee on Rules has brought before the House that I do not approve of that I shall vote to lay it on the table. I voted against the motion for the previous question and against the motion to adopt the resolution reported by the Committee on Rules because the resolution was so framed that it shut out all amendment and thereby prevented the House from having the opportunity to vote for or against the simple proposition of warning American citizens to refrain, except in cases of absolute necessity, from traveling on armed merchant ships of any belligerent power in the present crisis. Having voted twice to prevent it coming before the House, I shall, when the opportunity occurs, vote to lay it on the table, where it had been for weeks, and where it should have remained and would have remained had not the President forced it before the House.

I submit the following letters and telegrams, to be printed with my remarks:

THE BOROUGH OF ST. MARYS, St. Marys, Pa., February 25, 1916.

Hon. Samuel H. Miller, Washington, Pa.

Washington, Pa.

Honorable Sir: In connection with the present agitation concerning the warning of American citizens to avoid traveling on ships of any of the beligerent nations, I wish to inform you that there is a very strong sentiment in this section in favor of issuing such a warning. The belief is quite common here that the safe and sane course for the United States to pursue in this crisis is to warn its citizens to avoid belligerent vessels of all kinds in their travels. The State Department does not appear to be inclined to issue such a warning. It appears therefore to be the duty of the Congress to enact such legislation as will not affect the honor of this country and at the same time will not engulf us in an unpopular and unnecessary war with any of the belligerent nations.

Your kind and serious attention to this matter is respectfully solicited.

Very truly, yours,

W. B. Bauer,

Chief Burgess.

Chief Burgess.

TEMPLETON & WHITEMAN, Greenville, Pa., February 26, 1916.

Hon. S. H. MILLER.

My Dear Judge: I hope you can see your way clear to sustain the President as against the proposition that our people will not be pretected in their rights under international law.

There is no use beginning concessions to Germany.

I hope the House wont turn tail and run.

E. S. Templeton.

FRANKLIN, PA., March 2, 1916.

Hon. Samuel H. Miller,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We sincerely trust you can conscientiously support resolution warning Americans to keep off armed merchantmen.

DAVID B. MCCALMONT.

GREENVILLE, February 27, 1916.

Hon. S. H. MILLER, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I would be very much pleased if you can see your way clear to uphold President Wilson and his policy in regard to handling the question of merchant vessels armed for defense and the issues arising or growing out of this question.

Yours, very truly,

H. T. PORTER.

FRANKLIN, PA., March 1, 1916.

S. II. MILLER, M. C., Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR JUDGE: As one of your constituents I most sincerely trust that you will stand squarely behind our President in his handling of foreign complications. With very best wishes, I am, Very truly, yours, truly, yours,

GEO. J. CAREW.

NEBRASKA, FOREST COUNTY, PA., March 2, 1916.

Hon. S. H. MILLER, M. C.

My Dear Sir: I note by the papers there is to be a resolution introduced in the House to advise Americans not to travel on belligerent vessels. I think for the good of the country it should be supported by every Member. Kindly give it your support; also to get your friends to do likewise.

Yours, cordially,

FRANK X. KREITLER,
Of Company B,
Two hundred and eleventh Pennsylvania Volunteers.

THE MEDICAL WORLD, Philadelphia, Pa., March 3, 1916.

Hon. S. H. MILLER, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Can you 'magine an American traveling in the present time of stress on an armed belligerent ship except with unpatriotic motives?

time of stress on an armed belligerent ship except with unpatriotic motives?

Remember there are at least four first-class neutral lines in operation between this country and Europe—our own American Line, the Holland-American Line, and two Scandinavian lines. At least some of these do not carry ammunition, while practically all, if not absolutely all, the belligerent ships carry cargoes consisting chiefly or largely of ammunition. If we were in war, we would regard enemy ships carrying ammunition to be used against our soldiers as floating arsenals, and we would destroy them if we could, no difference who was on them. And if these floating arsenals were armed we would unhesitatingly class them as auxiliary naval vessels.

Can you favor the granting of passports to Americans to travel on such vessels in the present war with self-evident unpatriotic motives? If we intend to maintain neutrality, should we not keep our people out of the war? Should we not prevent mischief-makers from dragging the rest of us into international difficulties and possible war?

If we wish to go into this war, we should go into it right. If we do not wish to go into this war, we should not declare an intention to defend mischief-makers. Has any American a "right" to drag his country into trouble? Is it a matter of "honor" to uphold an American in a traitorous act?

The writer of these lines is strongly proallies in this war. But he is for peace and neutrality for America. Is it not inconsistent to give apparent immunity to German plotters on American soil and at the same time dictate how Germany shall fight her enemies in distant seas?

**Charles Freemont Taylor.

CHARLES FREEMONT TAYLOR.

MARCH 3, 1916.

Hon, S. H. MILLER.

DEAR SIR: I am for honorable peace at home and abroad, and I am against the sailing of Americans on armed merchantmen.

Yours, with respect,

URIAH KIESTER, Box 64, Marienville, Forest County, Pa.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 7, 1916.

Congressman Miller of Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C.:

Rather had I be a toad than have record of your to-day's vote against administration's effort to protect national honor, and herein pledge my energies, on stump or otherwise, against your reelection to represent Americans in National Congress; so, having expressed my contempt, I feel better.

Col. FRED E. WINDSOR, Warren, Pa.

Mr. FRED E. WINDSOR, Warren, Pa.

MARCH 8, 1916.

Mr. Fred E. Windson, Warren, Pa.

Dear Sir: Your telegram of March 7, 1916, is so discourteous that I am under no obligation to take notice of it, but as I try to be a gentleman at all times, and as I am representing the county you live in, I think I should answer it.

No Member of Congress, so far as I know, was in favor of the McLemore resolution. When the Committee on Rules reported a special resolution to bring the McLemore resolution before the House, and also moved to order the previous question, I voted against both motions for three reasons:

for three reasons:

1. Because the resolution reported by the Committee on Rules was so framed as to prevent any amendment or the offering of a substitute.

2. Because I was opposed to the McLemore resolution and was opposed to bringing it before the House.

3. I was in favor of bringing before the House the issue of warning our citizens from traveling on any armed merchant ships of any belligerent power, armed either for defense or offense, and carrying munitions of war for any belligerent country.

I therefore, when the first opportunity offered, voted to lay the McLemore resolution on the table.

Your threat to oppose my reelection to Congress does not worry me as I had not expected to be a candidate for reelection, and therefore you can save your "energies on stump or otherwise" for some other warthy marries.

you can save your energies on stump or otherwise for some other worthy purpose.

You close your telegram by saying, "so, having expressed my contempt, I feel better."

Are you really sure, desiring always, as I have no doubt you do, to be a gentleman that "you feel better."

S. H. MILLER.

GREENVILLE, PA., March 7, 1916.

Hon. S. H. MILLER, Member of Congress.

Dear Sir and Friend: I am not writing to advise you how to vote on any question before Congress. You know better how to act than any of us countrymen, but I believe that 90 per cent of the people in your congressional district are in favor of the resolution warning fool Americans who want to travel on armed ships that they must do so at their own risk. But no matter what you may see proper to do, we believe that you will act in the way of promoting peace in our country and good will among men, and your friends will stand by you in any event.

If convenient, I would like to have a Congressional Directory of this Congress.

Congress.

With good wishes and high regards, I have the honor to be,
Respectfully, yours,

JAMES SE

JAMES SHEAKLEY.

McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. COLEMAN,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 7, 1916.

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that the President should not have written his letter to Representative Pou. But that letter, having been written, presents to this House, however irregularly, a question which we should squarely meet nowever irregularly, a question which we should squarely meet in the discharge of our duties. Shall American citizens be warned against traveling on armed merchant vessels of belligerent powers? This is the question with which we are now confronted. I submit that it is not before us in the regular order of procedure; for if the President honestly desired this question to be determined by Congress, he should have submitted it by messers with such correspondence as was recessary for it by message, with such correspondence as was necessary for our enlightenment, in order that it could be dealt with intelligently after full public discussion.

So long as the McLemore resolution was slumbering peacefully in committee there was no unwarranted interference on the part of this House with the diplomatic negotiations with foreign powers, and it does seem strange, in view of these conditions, that the President in such an unusual manner as by letter to a Representative of the Rules Committee should call to the attention of this House a question which, according to his own letter, lies so clearly within the field of Executive initiative. Lying thus clearly within the limits of Executive authority, the President should have fearlessly performed his constitutional duties in dealing with the problem without invoking action on the part of this body; and if, after having exhausted his efforts he failed to bring about a satisfactory adjustment, he then, following well-established precedents, should have submitted the question, with message and correspondence, to

This was the course pursued by President McKinley in 1898 when, in his message of April 11, he placed before Congress a detailed statement of his efforts to adjust the Cuban problem with the Spanish authorities, and after setting forth the facts bearing on the situation he continued:

The issue is now with Congress. It is a solemn responsibility. I have exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors. Prepared to execute every obligation imposed upon me by the Constitution and the law, I await your action.

A similar course was followed by President Cleveland in reference to the boundary dispute between the Governments of Great Britain and Venezuela involving, as it did, the Monroe doctrine, and when diplomatic negotiations failed to bring a satisfactory adjustment with the English Government, he sub-mitted the whole question by special message to Congress and, among other things, said:

It will be seen from the correspondence herewith submitted that this proposition has been declined by the British Government, upon grounds which in the circumstances seem to me to be far from satisfactory.

And President Wilson himself in dealing with the Mexican situation, which, however important, was not, I take it, as grave a condition as that with which our Government is now confronted, felt impelled to place the facts before Congress for the information and guidance of the Members, which he did, in his message of August 27, 1913, in which he stated:

It is clearly my duty to lay before you, very fully and without reservation, the facts concerning our present relations with the Republic of Mexico.

And, in laying those facts before Congress, he further said:

We should earnestly urge all Americans to leave Mexico at once, and should assist them to get away in every way possible—not because we would mean to slacken in the least our efforts to safeguard their lives and their interests, but because it is imperative that they should take no unnecessary risks when it is physically possible for them to leave the

But in this instance, where the situation is even more grave, the President has not seen fit to lay the facts fully and without reservation before this House, and yet asks of its Members that they, without the facts to guide them, go on record on a question that may possibly involve our Nation in war. I for one protest against this irregular proceeding. Likewise do I protest against the action of the Rules Committee in trying to force the Members of this House to vote on a warning resolution containing provisions unsatisfactory to many who would support a warning

resolution carefully and properly drawn.

It is in truth a parliamentary trick. It is an effort to convey to the people of this country that this House is opposed to a warning resolution, which, in my judgment, is not true, and the vote to table the McLemore resolution can not honestly be so construed. There was no good reason for the President forcing the issue in the House, but, having forced it, the House should honestly express its opinion, and to do less than express its honest opinion is a fraud upon the people, both of our own and of foreign countries.

It is because I believe this House this day should vote its honest convictions with reference to a warning resolution that I voted against the previous question and against the adoption of the special rule. It is because I contend for full public discussion of this important question, with freedom of amendment, in order that the action taken shall be the true expression of the opinion of the membership in this House, that I vote against tabling the McLemore resolution.

Following the President's message of August 27, 1913, in fact on the very same day that the message was delivered, Americans were warned out of Mexico, where they had an unquestioned right to be under every principle of international law, and the President was sustained by the general public in this action, because it was taken in the interest of peace. Again, in March, 1915, just about one year ago, Americans were for the second time warned out of Mexico, and again this action was taken in the interest of peace. Of course our people had a right to be in Mexico, and, in my judgment, they have a right to be on armed merchant vessels of belligerent powers, but it does not follow that because we have the right that we ought to exercise it. Even if it be an unquestioned right, we might well forego its exercise at this critical period in the world's history, when half of civilization seems to have broken down, in the interest of that peace which it is our bounden duty to preserve when so many millions are beside themselves-maddened by the hell of war.

If we can forego rights in Mexico for the sake of peace, surely we can waive the right to travel on armed merchantmen of the powers now engaged in war for the same noble cause. I have heard much in this debate of maintaining every right of an American citizen and of upholding the honor and the dignity of our Government. No one wishes to lessen the dignity of his country or in any sense to besmirch its honor. Nor do I believe that waiving the right to travel on armed merchant ships, with a view to preventing the slaughter of the young men of our land, can in any true sense be considered as reflecting upon the honor or the dignity of our Nation.

Certainly it is physically possible for our citizens to refrain from travel on armed ships, and just why the President should so firmly insist on our citizens traveling on whatsoever vessels they please, in view of his warning them out of Mexico, is difficult to understand. But just why the honor of our country is so much involved in the action of this House on a warning resolution, in the judgment of the supporters of the President, is not easy to explain in view of the President's action in ordering our armed forces out of Mexico without obtaining that salute for which they were sent to that country.

The question before us is of the gravest importance. Our action this day may lead to war, a danger which in the exercise of a reasonable discretion may be averted. Under these cir-

cumstances surely this House should have every opportunity to discuss this measure fully on its merits, with the right to amend freely, so that the action finally taken would be the expression of the true opinion of this legislative body.

The tabling of the resolution puts it out of the way, but in reality settles nothing. The refusal to table brings the whole question before us without restriction, permitting us to give it that deliberate consideration which its importance demands. It is for this reason that I cast my vote against the motion.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES E. FULLER, OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 7, 1916.

Mr. FULLER. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of Congress passing a resolution warning all Americans not to take passage on armed ships of any nation now at war. I could not vote for the McLemore resolution unamended, and I do not think there are a dozen Members of this House who would do so. I do not see why the Committee on Foreign Affairs could not have brought in a simple warning resolution, on which Members could vote intelligently for or against. Laying this resolution on the table means nothing. It is not an expression of the views of the Members in any respect. It is a farce. On the same day the McLemore resolution was submitted, February 22, I also submitted a resolution, which was also referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, as follows:

House concurrent resolution 17.

Whereas it is manifestly unsafe, owing to the unusual conditions prevailing throughout the world, for American citizens to take passage on belligerent ships that are armed or that carry war munitions; and Whereas the taking of such chances at this time may involve this country in serious trouble in its efforts to protect American lives and integrates and

whereas it is the earnest desire of all our people that this country shall remain absolutely neutral as between the warring nations of Europe: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring). That the President of the United States be authorized and requested to issue a proclamation warning all American citizens of the great danger of taking passage on any belligerent ship that is armed or that carries munitions of war, and requesting them, for their own safety and in the interest of this country's neutrality, to refrain from so doing.

A vote on that resolution would mean something, but it seems Members are to be denied the privilege of recording their votes on the direct proposition of warning Americans off from armed ships of belligerents. The people will not be deceived by any such hocus-pocus, and if anyone can get any satisfaction from the action of the House in this matter they are easily pleased. The people of this country do not want war; they desire to remain at peace with all the world. They are in favor of this country maintaining a strict neutrality, favoring neither one side nor the other, and of letting the belligerent nations of Europe settle their differences themselves, without our aid or hindrance. It is little enough to ask of all loyal Americans that they do not travel on armed ships of belligerents and thereby involve the country in international complications, pos-sibly leading to war. Patriotic citizens will not thus run the risk of plunging this country into the maelstrom of European war.

There is no controversy over the fact that if a belligerent ship is sunk by a submarine, and no lives of Americans are lost or imperiled, it is not our fight and we are not as a Nation under any duty or obligation in the matter. Then let us not put a chip on our shoulder and dare some one to knock it off. icans should, one and all, recognize the obligation to maintain the strictest neutrality and thereby the peace of this country. The horrors of war are before us each day in the daily papers, but God grant they may not come home to us in dread reality. Let every loyal American so conduct himself that war will not be imminent but impossible. No matter about the niceties of international law. There is no settled international law as to We should be Americans first, last, and all the submarines. time, and, although Congress has failed to pass any resolution warning American citizens to not take passage on armed ships of belligerents, every person of sense and of patriotism is now so warned and will govern himself accordingly. Thereby we shall not hamper, but aid, the President in maintaining the strictest neutrality and the peace of the Nation.

The Solution of the Liquor Problem.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, one of the inequalities of our system of government is the lack of opportunity of the minor parties to get their views before the American people. Mine is not a prohibition district. But the 154 enrolled Prohibitionists have the same right to look upon me as their Representative as have the Democrats, Republicans, Progressives, Socialists, Americans, and Independence Leaguers. I have been asked to lay their views before Congress, as expressed by their most recent candidate for governor of New York State, former Gov. William Sulzer:

[Reprinted from New York Critic.]

A GREAT SPEECH BY A GREAT MAN—THE SOLUTION OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM—FORMER GOV. SULZER'S MASTERLY ADDRESS BEFORE THE STATE'S PROHIBITION COMMITTEE, SYRACUSE, N. Y., DECEMBER 20,

Last year the Prohibition Party did me the honor to nominate me for governor. That evidence of its confidence in my sincerity was deeply appreciated, and although it was impossible, for reasons which are known, for me to carry its standard to victory, yet I did my best for the cause. I made a good fight, and the result shows I more than quadrupled the vote of the Prohibition Party.

The chairman, Mr. Bishop, in his report has told us that the impetus of that campaign has not abated, but that the fight has gone on apace. That is gratifying to me and must be to every friend of our principles, so that to-day we know no mistake was made last year, and that by reason of that struggle we are now stronger in numbers and stronger in influence than we ever were before in all the history of the movement.

ment.

So to-day I come to you as one of you, one of you for the right. I would not be true to you, and I would not be true to myself, if I did not say this, and say again, that in the future, as in the past, all that in me is—every effort of my being—will be exerted to promote the cause of prohibition, to forward the cause of morality, to advance the cause of temperance, until the light of success dawns and victory crowns our efforts.

not say this, and say again, that in the future, as in the past, all that in me is—every effort of my being—will be exerted to promote the cause of prohibition, to forward the cause of morality, to advance the cause of temperance, until the light of success dawns and victory crowns our efforts.

It is not my purpose this afternoon to make a prohibition speech. You know I can do that, and you know that now to do it will be as useless as carrying coals to Newcastle. Everyone in this meeting is as good a prohibitionist as I am They say I have a rule which I never break, and that is never to waste time carrying coals to Newcastle.

Since the last campaign many of you know I have been very busy in the fight for the cause. This year I have made more than 200 speeches for prohibition. In making these speeches I have traveled over 14,000 miles—from ocean to ocean—through the West, the Intermountain States, up and down the Pacific slope, and from Alaska to Mexico. So you see I am doing my share of the work in your own way. I know I am accomplishing some good, and that is all the reward I want.

My purpose this afternoon is to say something practicable—and that is always a difficult thing to do. The trouble with some of the advocates of prohibition is that they travel in a circle. That is a fact, is it not? You know, and I know, that we can not succeed going around in a circle. We never get anywhere. Those that see clearly say that the Prohibition Party has been traveling in a circle for 40 years, and if it does not change its methods it will continue to travel in a circle for the next 40 years. It is a matter of knowledge that if one is lost in the wilderness he was wander about in a circle, never finding his way out my the prohibition is the wilderness—going around in a circle—chasing its tail—dog fashion. If that is true we must strike out in a new direction. The half was a statesman.

So, being that kind of a prohibitionist, it comes quite natural for me to say I want to win. To that end I believe in following the li

They say I know, through and through, most of the Democratic and Republican politicians. That is true. The reason it is said I am not liked by some of them as well as one would wish to be liked is because their respective parties fail to adopt it know too much about them—and the man who knows the truth is always the man who is hated and feared—but secretly respected. Let me fell you that very few Democrats and preclous few Republicans are as prohibition that parties because their respective parties fail to adopt the prohibition that parties because their respective parties fail to adopt the prohibition when the way to victory. That's politics, and until we put politics as well as patriotism into prohibition we can never achieve success.

Now, a few words about local option as a remedy for the evils of themperance. There is not a man in this room, and there is not a man as a remedy is a fallacy. So there is not a Prohibition is an index of the who does not believe that a prohibition amendment to the Federal Constitution is an iridescent dream. Local option is local humbug, and the Hobson amendment to prohibit the "saie," and not the "manufacture," is as important as it is impudent.

Is as important as it is impudent.

Is as important as it is impudent.

Is as important as it is into the "saie," and not the "manufacture," is as important as it is into the "saie," and not the "manufacture," is as important as it is into the "saie," and not the "manufacture," is as important as it is into the "saie," and not the "manufacture," is as important as it is into the "saie," and not the "manufacture," is as important as it is impudent.

Is as important as it is impuden

"An act to raise revenue.

"An act to raise revenue.

"Be it enacted, etc., That there shall be levided and collected on the manufacture and sale of all malt, vinous, spirituous, and alcoholic liquors, except for mechanical, medicinal, and sacramental purposes, a revenue tax of \$1,000 a gallon; that all laws or parts of laws inconsistent with this law are hereby repealed, and that any violation of this law shall be a felony, punishable by imprisonment for not less than two years or by a fine of not less than \$5,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

"Sec. 2. That this act shall take effect on the 1st day of January, 1917."

That's the bill. If it were the law, not a callon of the court.

"SEC. 2. That this act shall take effect on the 1st day of January, 1917."

That's the bill. If it were the law, not a gallon of intoxicating liquors will be manufactured for personal consumption. The bill is a prohibition measure with a vengeance. My friend, Mr. Candler of Mississippi, will introduce it in this Congress. Leading Members of the Congress approve it and tell us they will vote for it. They know it is the real solution of the problem. They have asked a few prominent men who stand for the true remedy to come to Congress and urge its passage.

The bill is constitutional. There is not a constitutional lawyer in the land who will tell you to the contrary. There will be a hearing on the measure in the House. The genuine prohibitionists are going to fight for it. A majority vote will pass it through the National Legislature. No President will dare to veto it. If the honest friends of prohibition will get behind this legislation, it can be enacted into law ere the present Congress adjourns. Then the victory is won.

This bill is the simplest way and the quickest remedy. It it were the law there would not be, from one end of the country to the other, a gallon of intoxicating liquor manufactured. But if, for the sake of argument, there was one gailon manufactured. But if, for the sake of argument, there was one gailon manufactured. He man who manufactured it would have to pay the Government \$1,000 and the man who sells it would have to pay the Government \$1,000 and the man who could afford to manufacture and no man could afford to sell alcoholic liquors under these penalities. They are prohibitive. If either the manufacturer or the seller failed to pay the tax, he would be guilty of a felony and punished by fine and imprisonment. All the power of the

Government would be invoked to this end, and the enforcement of the law would abolish for all time, within the confines of our country, the manufacture and the sale and the importation of alcoholic liquors.

What a remedy! Can anyone propose a better solution? Is it not simple? Yes. Is it not honest? Yes. Is it not quick? Yes. Is it not constitutional? Yes. Then why not be for it? Why waste time going around in a circle talking local option while a few of its advocates capitalize it for their personal aggrandizement? Why waste time wandering in the wilderness, like the children of ancient Israel, hoping that some day, in the next century, the light of common sense will dawn upon the old political parties and that then, and not till then, will they have the courage to give you a constitutional amendment?

Do you not know it follows like the night the day that if no intoxicating liquors are manufactured none will be sold? If none were sold none would be drunk. If none were drunk the evils for which intoxicants are responsible would be things of the past. So I say to you, if you want to stop the woes and the wants, the fears and the tears, the trials and the troubles, the cries and the crimes, and the miseries and the inhumanities that follow fast upon each other the indulgence in intoxicating liquors, you must stop the manufacture; and the only way you can do that is by a tax so high as to be effectually prohibitive.

Are you really for prohibition? Then here is the remedy. Do you want to abolish the manufacture of intoxicating liquors? Then here is the solution. Do you want to win? Then stand for this law—so simple, so honest, and so speedy. Put this measure on the statute books and I tell you that the manufacture and the sale of alcoholic liquors will be a thing of the past; that the struggle of the brave men and the heroic women who, in season and out of season, have battled for prohibition will be won; and under the dome of the Union sky there will not be a drunken man or a drunken woman in all the limits of

GOV, SULZER POINTS THE WAY TO SUCCESS.

GOV. SULZER POINTS THE WAY TO SUCCESS.

[Editorial from the Sentinel, the leading Prohibition paper in the State of New York, Feb. 8, 1916.]

Former Gov. William Sulzer is a man who does things. His record proves that. He has that indefinable quality of knowing how. While others wait Sulzer acts

On the opposite page of this issue we print the Sulzer bill to tax the liquor traffic out of existence. This bill has been introduced in the Congress of the United States by Mr. Sulzer's friend, Representative CANDLER, of Mississippi.

The bill was prepared by former Gov. Sulzer. He has given the subject careful investigation and consideration. The bill, in the opinion of those most conversant with the matter, is the true remedy for the abolition of the liquor traffic. In this connection read the great speech of Mr. Sulzer, delivered at the Prohibition convention at Syracuse, N. Y. last December.

Circle, It gets nowhere, We know that a prohibition amendment to the Constitution of the United States is a difficult matter to secure. Those who know most about it declare that it would take half a century for its accomplishment. Why wait? Why wander in the wilderness?

The Sulzer plan is feasible. There is no doubt, as Gov. Sulzer says, that the bill is constitutional. It can not be successfully attacked in the courts. The United States Supreme Court has declared over and over again that the power to Congress to tax is incontrovertible, and that the power to tax is the power to destroy. The Sulzer bill is the practical way to destroy the liquor traffic.

Mr. Nulzer wants to abolish the manufacture and the sale of induced the liquor traffic.

Mr. Nulzer wants to abolish the manufacture and the sale of induced the sale of the constitutional amendment, every antisaloon leaguer, every local optionist, and every friend of the cause should get together and line up in the fight for the Sulzer bill.

Mr. Nulzer wants to abolish where any friend of the cause will fead, what man can say more? What man can do more? Where can the prohi

advocate, and the best-equipped supporters.

Mr. Sulzer is the greatest campaigner in America. He stands squarely for the reforms we want. He has the faculty of presenting them more eloquently and more convincingly to the voters than any other man in the country. He knows what to say and how to say it. He knows what

to do and how to do it. He knows how to get the votes, and votes tell. Without the votes we can not win. With the votes we will win. Why not get the votes? Why not win? It is all very clear to us.

Let us help Mr. Sulzer in every way we can. If he is willing to lead let us agree to follow him. If we do follow him he will lead us to victory. "Sulzer and success" should be the battlecry of all friends of the reforms we have so much at heart from now on until the polls close in the campaign of 1916.

Mr. Sulzer is the Moses to lead us out of the wilderness into the promised land.

MINNESOTA FOR SULZER.

[Editorial from the leading Prohibition paper in Iowa, Feb. 22, 1916.]

The time has fully come when the people should know who are among the prospective standard bearers for the responsibilities and honors for President of the United States. This high office, like all American business, is on a competitive basis. The platform and the candidate plus the partisan spirit determine the business transaction.

There is great value in keeping in touch with the people. This the leaders in Minnesota are doing. They have placed the name of ex-Gov. William Sulzer, of New York, on their primary ballot as candidate for the Presidency on the Prohibition Party ticket. The name of ex-Gov. Foss, of Massachusetts, has also been put on the primary ballot. Already the cry is heard from all parts of the State, "Sulzer and victory." Minnesota realizes that now is the time to make votes for the party candidate. The Nation can be thoroughly aroused for ex-Gov. Sulzer before the convention and at that time his nomination will bring the prenomination campaign to a white heat and spread like a prairie fire from the St. Paul convention to all parts of the Nation.

Now is the time to concentrate on a candidate. Much work can be done that will greatly add to the strength of the campaign. Thousands of votes can be made and thousands of workers lined up who will be doubly prepared for campaign work. The leaders should speak out through the party papers and thorough concensus of opinion established as soon as possible. The principles that will be built into a platform as well as the man who stards on it is a matter of interest to every voter in the Nation, more especially to every prohibition voter going into the national convention.

SULZER FOR PRESIDENT.

SULZER FOR PRESIDENT.

[Editorial from the Illinois Banner, the leading Prohibition paper in Illinois, Feb. 24, 1916.]

The presidential campaign is approaching and the Prohibition Party leaders should be looking out for candidates that will lead on to victory. The presidential nominee must be, first of all, an honest, conscientious man, a true prohibitionist, and a leader who can command men and women and secure votes. The Prohibition Party has always been true to its first principles, but we have been too long playing politics. We must change our methods and go to doing politics.

Our leaders may differ—in fact, they do differ on some of the important matters at issue—but these differences will all be adjusted before going into the national convention. We must have a broad and firmly constructed platform, covering all necessary reforms—a platform upon which all reform voters may unite and elect our Prohibition Party candidates. There is no doubt but that Teddy Roosevelt will lead a goodly number of Progressives back into the Republican Party, but they will not all go with him. There are a large number of the members of the Progressive Party that will go into some other reform party when their party goes to pleces, as it surely will at the twin national convention in Chicago. These reform voters are nearly all prohibition ists in theory, and they will become prohibitionists in reality whenever they can see signs of success in the Prohibition Party. The American Party has been organized in a number of States on a platform almost identical with the Prohibition Party platform. In the State of New York the American Party was merged with the Prohibition Party by the Hon. William Sulzer, who was the Prohibition Party candidate for governor of that State a few years ago. Mr. Sulzer made a wonderful showing in his campaign, receiving five times more Prohibition Party by votes than had ever before been given a prohibition candidate in that State. All these things look favorable for the Prohibition Party to urleaders se

IX I AM FOR PROHIBITION"—FORCEFUL SPEECH OF FORMER GOV. SULZER, OF NEW YORK, AT PITTSBURGH, PA., FEBRUARY 22, 1916.

[Reprinted from the Post.]

[Reprinted from the Post.]

Mr. Sulzer spoke as follows:

"When they ask you why I am for prohibition you tell them because prohibition is the salvation of humanity; because prohibition is the remedy for the evils of intemperance; because prohibition will save 50 per cent of your taxes; because prohibition will solve the problem of the high cost of living; because prohibition will cut in half the expenses of government; and because prohibition is an economic reform that will work a revolution in the industrial development of our country.

"When they ask you why I am for prohibition you tell them because I am against slavery—the slavery of alcohol; because I know strong drink is the enemy of the human race; because I am for the home and against the saloon. Tell them, I say, that every believer in the family, that every rent payer, that every taxpayer, and that every friend of civic righteousness should be with us in the struggle we are making to abolish the slavery of strong drink. Tell them that every man in the

State who is opposed to the evils of intemperance should come to our support, and if he will do so victory will crown our efforts. Tell them I am doing my part, and that we must summon to the standard to do their part every man and every woman who believes in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

"Tell them that prohibition is a moral reform; that prohibition refuses to temporize with vice; that prohibition will not compromise with immorality; that prohibition is a principle; that a principle is either right or wrong; that we know the principle of prohibition is right; and that every workingman, every employer of labor, every farmer, every taxpayer, and every law-abiding citizen in the country should be for prohibition, because it will do more for morality, more to reduce taxation, more for the social upilit, more for economic betterment, more to make the home happy, more to remedy the high cost of living, and more for the common weal, take it all in all, than any other agency in America.

for the common weal, take it all in all, than any other agency in America.

"Tell them I have carefully studied the question of prohibition; that I know what I am talking about; that prohibition has become an issue in politics; that prohibition will never be settled until it is settled right; and that if we present the issue without fear to the voters, it will win in every State in the Union.

"When they tell you about the revenue derived from the liquor traffic you tell them you think so much of your country that you want it to get out of the saloon business, revenue or no revenue, so that we can cut to the depths the evils of strong drink. Tell them that prohibition and only prohibition will do it. Tell them that the first step to success must be the divorcement of government from its copartnership with John Barleycorn. Tell them that we are in a fight for a great cause—the cause of humanity—and that behind this great cause we must put the church, and the school, and the home, and every moral agency in the State.

"When they ask you why I am for prohibition you tell them because I have the courage of my convictions; because I am against intemperance; because I do not straddle a fundamental principle; because I will not be a hypocrite; because I love my fellow man; because I believe the time has come for the Government to get out of the liquor business; because I want no man to enslave himself, to shackle his friends, to wildow his wife, and to bring sorrow to the homes of his fellow man; because I want no friend of mine to make his children dotards, and the children of his associates tearstained orphans; because I am opposed to any man doubling his taxes; because I know from experience that a dollar saved is a dollar made; and finally, because I want to o my share, in my day and generation, to lessen the woes and the wants of humanity; to end the crimes and the criminals of society; and to decrease the poorhouses and the penitentiaries of the State.

pecause I am opposed to any man doubling his taxes; because I know from experience that a dollar saved is a dollar made; and finally, because I want to do my share, in my day and generation, to lessen the work of sectory; and to decrease the poorhouses and the penitentiaries of the State.

"When they ask you why I am for prohibition you tell them that if the people were to save the money the indulgence in strong drink costs annually, and the same were utilized for public purposes, it would develop our great water powers, and give us light, heat, and power free of cost; that it would build the best dirt roads since the days of the Casars; that it would build the best dirt roads since the days of the Casars; that it would erect the most beautiful public buildings the eye of man has ever witnessed—all poems in stone—challenging the admiration of every lover of the beautiful; that it would dig the deepest most magnificent schoolbouses, for the children of women, ever modeled by the genius of man; and that, beyond all, and above all, it would make our people sober and industrious and efficient, and capable of producing in every avenue of trade, every channel of commerce, and every line of human endeavor more than 20 per cent of what they now produce, and, hence, to that extent, increase the earning and the saving capacity of our workers.

"When they ask you why I am for prohibition you tell them that I may for prohibition because I want our men and women to come out of the prohibition because I want our men and women to come out of the prohibition because I know from facts that those who earn their wage in the sweat of their face and spend it for strong drink are robbing their families by picking their own pockets; because I know from statistist, medical and physiological, that the use of alcoholic drinks is death to brain and brawn and fetters to hope and ambition; because I want to make the hearthside happy; because I want to make mankind free; because I want to make mankind free; because I want to make mankind fr

McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HOMER P. SNYDER,

OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 9, 1916.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, with regard to the present diplomatic difficulties which are confronting the President of the United States, and referring particularly as to whether or not the Executive should be supported in a time like this, it is my belief that when a critical situation arises in which the vested power is with the President, and he asks for support, and be-lieves he is right, I am of the opinion that he should receive that support and assistance, and that his hands should be upheld by every good loyal American in the country. It is my further belief that, he having the power and authority. Congress should not be asked to pass upon a question of this kind, but inasmuch as the request has been made, it seems to me there is only one thing to do in the interest of the honor and the dignity of the country and the self-respect of the individual in the last analysis, and that is to support the President.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD E. BROWNE, OF WISCONSIN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 7, 1916.

Mr. BROWNE of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Senator Stone, who is the spokesman for the President upon this subject, in his speech before the Senate, March 2, said:

The President is firmly opposed to the idea embodied in this resolu-tion. He is opposed to any form of official warning to American citi-zens to keep off so-called armed merchantmen.

This being President Wilson's position, it follows that if Congress sustains the President by laying this resolution on the table and an armed merchant vessel is sunk and an American life lost, that it will be followed by a declaration of war by the United States.

Assuming that those who are opposed to the passage of this resolution are technically right in their contention that under a strict construction of international law a citizen has a right to travel on merchantmen that carry guns and is entitled to protection to the same degree that he would be if she did not carry guns, is it expedient at this time, when almost every vestige of international law has been ignored and swept aside vestige of international law has been ignored and swept aside by all the belligerent countries, when a state of anarchy is said to prevail on the high seas, for the United States to jeopardize its peace and safety by insisting on an abstract principle of international law, a right that would be of no practical benefit to anyone?

The right to travel on armed vessels, if such a right exists, is a right that is a survival of the age of piracy.

It is not a reasonable right or a right that civilized nations in an international tribunal would agree to to-day. The rule was promulgated under conditions now obsolete.

We can see how the Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, viewed

this right when he addressed his note to the powers on January 18, 1916. He closes his statement with the following language:

My Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser, and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent (Government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

Sweden has already warned her people not to embark upon these belligerent armed ships.

WE HAVE SUBMITTED TO MORE SERIOUS BREACHES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

We have already submitted to the gravest breaches of international law from the belligerent countries for the sake of

We submitted to a breach of international law by England when she issued her paper blockade. When she mined the open North Sea in November, 1914, the Scandinavian countries When England claimed the right to take our peaceful merchant vessels, flying the American flag and carrying noncontraband goods to neutral nations, and not only searched them but took them before her prize courts, holding their cargoes for months before rendering a decision and demoralizing our trade with other nations.

We submitted to a grave breach of international law when England intercepted vessels carrying United States mail and

rifled our mail bags We submitted to these grave breaches of international law for

the sake of peace. As the President stated in his message to Congress on the 8th

of December, 1914: And especially when half the world is on fire we shall be careful to make our moral insurance against the spread of the conflagration very definite and certain and adequate, indeed

WHY DID THE PRESIDENT WARN AMERICAN CITIZENS IN MEXICO?

Our citizens in Mexico were warned by this Government to leave Mexico, and left their property which meant to many a loss of their savings for a lifetime and made them paupers, and for what reason? Because if our citizens remained in Mexico and were killed it would result in international complications and maybe war.

There was no question whatever but what our citizens had a right to remain in Mexico. No one would contend for a moment that under any interpretation of international law a peaceful citizen in the pursuit of his business could be molested in another country.

GOOD CITIZENS ARE WILLING TO WITHHOLD EXERCISE OF THEIR RIGHTS. The exercise of many individual rights have to be withheld when their exercise is incompatible with the safety and peace of a whole nation.

Blackstone has said in his Commentaries "that any man that exercises all his legal rights was a scoundrel."

In times of quarantine the Nation, under its great police power, quarantines a whole community, and if necessary a whole State, withholding for the time from the people their most sacred right, the right to move from place to place. The right of the few have to yield to the rights of the many.

In this case the rights of the few should yield to the safety

No country can complain of the United States warning its own citizens on a matter that concerns their own safety, and any citizen that objects to this Government warning him can not object to taking his own risk when he refuses the friendly advice of his country. Peace is now within our borders and should re-Congress can not afford to endanger that peace on the pretext of giving the President a vote of confidence.

ABUNDANT OPPORTUNITIES TO TRAVEL ON UNARMED VESSELS.

Any American citizen who desires to go to the European countries can travel on vessels of neutral countries, or if he desires he can travel on merchant vessels of the belligerent countries. He can do this without inconvenience to himself and with perfect safety, and be protected by the United States.

What more can any sane citizen of the United States want? There are a sufficient number of these vessels that do not carry guns to enable any citizen to travel to any part of the world without any inconvenience. What good reason, then, can any citizen of the United States give for wanting to become a passenger on a vessel of one of the belligerent nations that is carrying

If there be such a citizen who wants to endanger his own safety, threaten the relationship of the United States with the belligerent powers, I say that such a citizen is foolhardy, and that the indiscreet act and willful disregard of such a citizen for his country's safety should not be allowed to involve this

country in war. I do not believe in protecting the lives of these hazardous,

foolhardy citizens of the United States who desire to travel on armed vessels, if by so doing it will jeopardize the peace and safety of the United States with its 100,000,000 citizens and involve this country in war, which may result in the loss of life of many thousands and maybe millions of people.

The question of giving notice to merchant vessels that are not armed and do not carry guns has been the subject of much discussion by our State Department and other countries. I indorse the stand taken by the United States in that particular, and Germany and all nations have conceded that our demands

vessels bound for neutral ports, carrying noncontraband goods, and rifling United States mail than they would to go to war because a citizen of the United States insisted upon traveling on an armed merchant vessel of one of the countries at war and lost his life by reason of his recklessness.

Some of the merchant vessels carry 6-inch guns that will shoot 6 miles. For what purpose do they carry these guns? They certainly could surrender if challenged by a submarine just as easily if they had no guns. But there is no question that these merchant vessels which are manned with guns have those guns for a purpose, and that purpose is to sink a submarine if they see one. They thus, by being manned by guns, lose their status as peaceful vessels.

One of these merchant vessels would be more formidable than most of our war vessels at the time of the Civil War.

For a submarine to give notice to such an armed vessel before attacking it would mean that the submarine would put itself at the mercy of the armed merchant vessels. They would not know whether the reply would be a surrender or whether it would be the reply of a 6-inch gun that would send it to the bottom. A submarine is a mere shell, and a single shot from a 6-inch gun will send it to the bottom.

Submarine warfare is recognized as legitimate by all the nations in the world, and all the belligerent nations are using

submarines

The nations involved in the greatest struggle the world has ever known, each nation fighting for its very existence, practically observing no international law, for necessity knows no law. Is it opportune for us at this time to insist upon an abstract principle of what we believe is international law and upon which there is a great difference of opinion, and which law if established or conceded would be of no practical value?

Some contend that although they think the policy of the President is inexpedient, yet that the responsibility lies wholly with the President, and that Congress should refuse to have anything to do with the matter and can accomplish this by laying

the resolution on the table.

Precedents are cited, such as the policy of President Cleveland on the Venezuelan boundary, and claim that other precedents

sustain this opinion.

In answer to this I say, first, that I believe there is a great distinction between the precedents cited and the present situation. In the Venezuela difficulty over her boundary line President Cleveland held that England's possession was contrary to the Monroe doctrine, and set forth his position to Congress in a very able message.

In the matter we are considering President Wilson himself makes this a matter for Congress to act upon by laying the matter before Congress and asking for an early vote upon the resolution

and for a full public discussion and action upon it.

If, instead of asking this, President Wilson had asked Cons to refrain from any action upon the subject, that he was dealing with the situation himself, there would be more strength in the contention of those who seek to lay this resolution on the table under the contention that it is a matter that the President should deal with and not Congress.

If the resolution before Congress is laid on the table, what is the effect of our action, taking the President's communication to Congress and all, and interpreting them together, as they should The effect would be that it would establish the President's policy, and it would go before the people of the country and the world as a policy that Congress was in favor of as well as the President, and thus those who are against this policy and who vote to lay the resolution on the table simply because that would leave it wholly to the President, would be recorded as being in favor of a policy that they did not believe in.

Following this up further, if an American citizen is killed in an encounter between an armed merchant vessel of one of the belligerent countries and a submarine, Congress, of course, after its action in sustaining the President's policy, would have to sustain it further and declare war against the violator of that policy. Thus Congress would be declaring war upon a policy that it thought was wrong and did not believe in.

Again, if Congress sits supinely by and acquiesces in the President's policy, that it believes wrong and inexpedient, and if the policy carried out should result in the death of an American citizen, of course Congress would have to declare war.

The only opportunity of the Congress of the United States to have a voice upon this matter is now, before there is a breach between this country and any foreign country over the policy as enunciated by the President.

were right, and that matter has been entirely settled.

I believe that the American people would fight quicker on account of the outrages perpetrated in seizing our merchant.

It is asserted by some that our national honor is involved.

I do not agree to this. But I do assert that if we allow the President of the United States to go any further upon this pol-

icy our national honor will be involved, and we will have to sustain the President, whether right or wrong.

That is why I am glad this resolution is up at this time, and that is the strongest kind of a reason why this matter should be given the fullest discussion and Congress accept the full responsibility that the President has placed upon it.

I believe for one that the President's policy when he sent the United States fleet to Vera Cruz was inexpedient and unjustifiable. I believe many other Representatives shared this opinion. The matter came before Congress when the fleet was about to land at Vera Cruz. The President's policy, right or wrong, was sustained.

No one wanted our fleet to turn back. We accepted the lesser of the evils and pursued a policy which it is very doubtful Congress would have pursued if the President had consulted it before he committed this great Nation to that policy.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN Q. TILSON, OF CONNECTICUT.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 9, 1916.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave given to extend remarks on the McLemore resolution, I wish to submit a few words on some of the parliamentary phases, and to call attention to some of the difficulties and dangers of attempting to deal with such questions in a large representative body.

The evolution of parliamentary procedure for the purposes of shaping and enacting legislation is one of the most interesting studies connected with representative self-government. Through constant hammerings on the anvil of experience it may be said to have reached a high degree of perfection for the purposes intended. The difficulty in changing the rules of this House so as to make such changes satisfactory or even workable is the strongest possible proof of the wisdom of the essential features wrought out through the years of our history. With only a few exceptions, and these for the most part the result of ephemeral reforms, the rules of this House are admirably adapted to the consideration of legislative propositions and vitalizing them into laws within a reasonable time.

No one will be able to maintain, however, that the rules of this or any other parliamentary body are adapted to the proper consideration of difficult and delicate diplomatic questions.

After the action of the Senate and the House within the last 10 days no doubt remains on this point as to either of these great bodies. No such question should be brought here. Our Constitution wisely provides that the President shall be charged with the duty of conducting all diplomatic negotiations with foreign powers. When conclusions are reached in the form of treaties they come before the Senate for ratification or rejection. When When conclusions are reached in the form of treaties no conclusion can be reached and all the resources of diplomacy have failed to solve a problem vital to the Nation, then it devolves upon Congress to decide the issue of war. Until this stage is reached and this issue is presented, it is extremely unwise, harmful, and even dangerous for either branch of Congress to attempt action upon questions that are the subject of present negotiation between the Executive and foreign powers. I am willing to go further and say that the public discussion of such questions should be avoided as far as possible. We are many men of many minds and are sure to differ sharply. In matters strictly domestic, partisan discussion is not only not objectionable but often useful. In our foreign relations it is entirely different. Partisanship ceases at the water's edge. We all belong to one party there. We are all Americans and would so act in any Therefore it is not well to emphasize our differences in the presence of outsiders. Such a course is not calculated to make it easier to reach a favorable settlement of our differences with others.

The debate and vote in the House on Tuesday last proved all I have said. The so-called McLemore resolution, with numerous whereases, more or less relevant, and a notice to the effect that this Government withdraws all protection from its citizens while traveling on armed merchant ships of belligerents, was ostensibly the subject of the debate and action. It had been adversely reported by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and under the rules of the House was laid on the table, which, in accordance

with the usual practice of the House, finally killed and buried it. Not so with this resolution. For some strange reason it was decided that it should be resurrected, then killed, and buried again

with more elaborate obsequies. Accordingly this was done.

The resurrection consisted in placing the resolution on the calendar. Under the rules of the House it would probably remain on the calendar for the remainder of the session without being in order for consideration. A special rule was necessary to make it in order. The rule reported by the Committee on Rules simply made it in order, fixed the time of debate, and left it to the tender mercies of the general rules of the House, which meant, if adopted as presented, that at the end of the debate the preferential motion to lie on the table would be made, which, if carried in the affirmative, would again dispose of the resolu-

To prevent any change in the terms of the rule, the previous question was moved, which, when carried, precluded any change If anyone desired to make a change in any of the conditions under which the McLemore resolution was to be considered, his only chance was to defeat the previous question. This was in no wise a test vote. Many who were opposed to the resolution or to some part of it or to a whereas voted against the previous question so as to have an opportunity to change the rule in such manner as to make it possible to amend the original resolution. The previous question being carried, there was no alternative on the next vote, except to vote for or against the rule as it was presented. Those who favored as well as those who opposed the original resolution on its merits but who believed it was not a matter in which the House should interfere should have voted against the rule. The defeat of the rule would have stopped consideration and the four hours of debate, as the resolution was not otherwise in order.

The rule having carried and the debate having been finished. the motion to lay the resolution on the table was made. Not being debatable or subject to amendment, the vote was immediately taken.

It is not unfair to say that probably no Member of the House, except the gentleman from Texas [Mr. McLemore], would have chosen just the form and substance in which the resolution was presented, but the vote was to decide whether it should be tabled as it was or further considered. Those voting against the motion to table might do so for a number of reasons. If it were desired to pass the resolution without change, or to make it weaker, or to make it stronger, or to cut off an objectionable whereas, or to make any other change, the necessary vote was "no" on the motion to table. Those who were opposed to the resolution and wished to dispose of it in the most expeditious manner, those who opposed the consideration of any resolution on the subject, and those who desired to comply with the expressed wish of the President that the already-defunct resolution be resurrected and then ceremoniously slaughtered, all joined in voting "aye" on the motion to table.

The consideration and final disposition of this resolution will not have been altogether in vain if it be accepted as a sufficient object lesson of the futility and danger of bringing into this House questions that are the subject of difficult and delicate negotiations between our State Department and foreign powers,

The Borland Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE EDMUND FOSS, OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 10, 1916.

Mr. FOSS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record I include a statement which has been prepared not by myself but by some one else giving the standpoint of the clerks in reference to the Borland amendment. It is a short statement and is as follows:

ECONOMIZING AT THE EXPENSE OF THE GOVERNMENT CLERKS.

[A statement by one of the clerks.]

[A statement by one of the clerks.]

The Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives proposes to add one hour to the day's work of the Government clerk in Washington. It is not proposed to accompany this imposition with any increase in the clerk's pay, because the avowed object of this proposition is economy, the economy consisting in getting more work out of the clerk without added expense to the Government. It has been computed that the saving thereby effected will amount to \$4,000,000 per annum. Say that the average salary of the Government clerk is \$1,000. Then this proposition must contemplate dispensing with the services of 4,000

clerks, their work to be done by working the other clerks an extra hour. In no other way ann the proposed economy be realized.

The notate of the proposed economy be realized.

The notate of the grant of the grant on which the computation was based. But, presumably, it rests on the assumption that by increasing the length of the working day by one-seventh, or about 14 per cent, the Government will obtain an increase of one-seventh, or about 14 per cent, the Government will obtain an increase of one-seventh, or about 14 per cent, the control of the day will not be as productive as the average of the seven preceding hours. It will be worth less to the Government than the seventh lour even, and very much less than the earlier hours. This is not attributable to anything peculiar or exceptional in Government work or in Government clerks. It is a fact of the control of the day will not be as productive as the average of the seven be not attribute to anything peculiar or exceptional in Government work or in Government clerks. It is a fact of the day the control of the day will not be as productive as the earlier hours. This is not attributable to anything peculiar or exceptional in Government work or in Government clerks. It is a fact of the day to the control of the day to the demands upon the attention and intelligence, as in the case with most of the work done in Government offices. No clerk can run a typewriter or add columns of figures or compute perventages for seven hours condemands upon the attention and intelligence, as in the case with most of the day. It is impossible. The work will be less in quantity and of poorer quality. It will contain more errors.

The increased output, then, which will accrue if this proposition to impose an hoor's extra work on the Government their will only the production of the day will appear to the time set of the day will be a liberal ostimate to say that it would be even half of that, or 7 per cent; and of poorer quality. It will contain more errors.

The increased output, the

and appropriate to itself is worth a lot to the clerk and very little to the Government.

But it is said that the Washington Government clerks are at any rate better off than many other people both in Government service and elsewhere who are doing a similar class of work; and this, it is maintained, is wrong. They ought not to be better off. It is not, it seems, contended the Government clerk is any too well off, or that he has any more money or any more leisure than are needed to maintain a decent standard of living. It is not charged that he is living a life of luxury and idleness. All that is contended is that he is better off than some other people. That is attributed to him as a fault, apparently; it is, at any rate, regarded as a condition to be remedied. Well, it might seem that the right way to remedy it would be to improve the condition of the other people. But this alternative is not being considered. On the contrary, it is proposed to make the Government clerk worse off than he is, in order that he may be no better off than some others. The change will not benefit the others in the least. The extra hour added to the Government clerk's day will not be taken off of their day. They will work just as long as before and receive no more pay. But it will, it is true, be a step—properly speaking a backward step—in the direction of equality.

Do we want equality? And if so, how should we go about to secure it, by keveling up or by leveling down? The Socialists, at least those of an extreme type, would establish equality for everybody on a basis of equal pay; and they would not except Congressmen. But they believe it possible to establish that equality on a basis of liberal pay and of freedom from hardship, and they are agitating with that end in view. Most of us, probably, do not believe that their ideals are possible of realization and do not sympathize with their propaganda. But all of us believe that conditions of the working classes of all grades, including our Government clerks, ought to be improved so a

society, the goal toward which the best efforts of the best men and women are being directed. In this movement lies the hope and promise of a better civilization, of a better manhood, and a better world. In this march of progress the Washington Government clerk occupies a position far in advance of those who work in sweatshops, mines, and factories, and perhaps slightly in advance of the average of those who are employed in doing the same class of work as himself. Now, because he occupies this slightly advanced position, for that reason and no other—except the aforesaid economy—he is to be thrust back. Where is the justice of this? What will be gained by it? Who will be any better off?

If the object in view is simply to increase the output of the Government clerks and the efficiency of the Government service as measures of economy there are several ways of doing this which ought to be carefully considered and will produce better results than this crude method of adding one hour to the clerk's working day.

If the proposition to increase the bours is really right and fair, it ought to be possible and it is surely very desirable that the clerks themselves should be convinced of this. The Government clerks are reasonable beings and they are not trying to do the Government; and the spirit in which they do their work will be greatly improved if they feel that they have been fairly dealt with.

If a commission or committee, composed of men who have no axes to grind and no reason to curry favor either with the Government clerks or with outside elements, should be organized to consider the general question of improving the efficiency of the Government service, and this commission, after due consideration of all phases of the question and of all interests concerned should reach the conclusion that it was right and fair as well as economical to have the clerks work another hour, the clerks themselves would cheeffully acquiesce in that conclusion. They will not feel, as they will now, if this proposition goes through, th

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK PARK. OF GEORGIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 9, 1916.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, there being but 120 minutes allotted to the Democrats to discuss the motion to lay on the table the McLemore resolution, and this time being largely given to members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in eight-minute and fiveminute and three-minute periods, it was impossible for a new Member on that day to get recognition in which to express his Taking advantage of the leave granted Members to extend their remarks, as I see it, the sole question before the House is the question whether or not Congress should break away from their legislative duties and interfere with the prerogative of the President in the conduct of negotiations with Germany on their submarine policy or whether we shall attend to the business which the Constitution lays upon us of legislating for the people of the United States.

Believing that we should not interfere and that interference would weaken the arm of the President, I shall vote for tabling

the resolution.

When we come to the merits of the proposition, which we have no right under the Constitution to take action upon unless the President should lay before Congress the facts, after he has exhausted all negotiations, and ask them to say whether or not the condition confronting the people of the United States in regard to denial of the right of American citizens on the high seas be sufficiently acute to warrant a declaration of war, neither the allied forces nor the entente powers nor any neutral country denies the legality of the established principle of International law that citizens of neutral nations have the right to travel on armed merchantmen belonging to belligerent coun-And while this is the law, and our people are standing squarely on international law, believing it is their only safety to avoid entanglements and occasions for war, nevertheless detest that spirit in any citizen of the United States that prompts him, for purposes of financial profit or for pleasure, to enter the war zone of the warring nations on an armed merchantman belonging to a belligerent nation, knowing, as he does, and having full warning through the press and the discussions in Congress, that an armed merchantman belonging to one of the countries at war may be struck by a submarine torpedo and thereby create cause upon which this country might diplomatic relations with one of the warring nations.

I would never be willing to vote for war, which would hurl the sons of the South to death and destruction because some fool or idiot or nonpatriotic rascal who has no good reason to risk a test being made at this time as to whether or not his death on a belligerent armed vessel at the hands of a submarine

would be sufficient provocation for war.

In the event Germany, by her submarine policies, should sink In the event Germany, by her submarine policies, should sink such a vessel, I would be governed largely by the situation presented in each individual case. No one denies that circumstances might arise in which any American would vote for war rather than have his country disgraced or dishonored in the sight of the world. And, so far as the Congress is concerned, I do not believe in the bottom of the hearts of the Members that they would be willing to declare war on Germany solely for sinking an armed merchantman of Italy or England on which is carried some American fool or idiot, traveling for pleasure or for profit. The very fact that such a citizen so disregards the safety of his country, is so reckless of plunging his country into war as to cause such a situation for pleasure or profit to himself, would make me feel that such a citizen was unworthy of the protection of this Government. And while I would be willing to demand a proper indemnity to be paid to his family—if he was worth anything to them—from the country whose submarine occasioned his death, I would not be willing to risk the lives of those who have to fight the wars of this country to average the death of such a contemptible fool. But that is a matter which—while I have taken occasion to refer to it—does not concern us at this time. We need not anticipate war, for I trust that we shall have no serious occasion for it.

It is only among the possibilities that a serious situation shall now confront our people, and these matters of diplomacy of the Government are placed entirely with the Executive, in whose hands they have safely rested up to this moment, and in whose hands, I confidently believe, they may rest in the future, with honor and peace and safety and dignity to the Republic.

Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RUFUS HARDY. OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 10, 1916.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Chairman, on the 22d of February I placed in the Record a letter of mine answering petitions and resolutions sent me on the subject of preparedness. A distinguished citizen of my district has written me a letter vigorously attacking my stand on the subject, and has asked me to place his letter also in the Record. As a courtesy to him I ask leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing that letter.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. HARDY] asks unanimous consent that he may be permitted to print in the Record a letter from a constituent. Is there objection?

What is the request?

The CHAIRMAN. The request is to print in the RECORD a letter from a constituent in reply to a letter which the gentleman from Texas wrote.

Mr. HARDY. It is a letter attacking my position. The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection. The letter is as follows:

BRYAN, TEX., February 29, 1916.

Hon. Rufus Hardy.

Hon. Rufus Hardy.

Hon. Rufus Hardy.

Honse of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I am in receipt of your letter of February 19, which I had already seen liberally quoted in the press of our State. It would not call for a reply but for some errors of statement, which I attribute to the haste of preparation or to careless reading of the resolutions adopted by your constituents of this city.

The resolutions do not ask you to follow the President blindly. They distinctly declare "that the details of needed and efficient expansion of the Army and Navy are matters of expert and technical knowledge, which we do not possess, but we will cheerfully approve any plans which the President, the Congress, and their advisers may evolve in the wisdom of counsel." There is in this expression no hint of blind following of the President. On the contrary, it is a broad avowal of confidence in the high purpose of both the Congress and the President, and it distinctly recognizes the fundamental principle of coordination between the legislative and the executive functions of our Government.

"The policy of better national preparedness for defense as advocated by President Wilson" was the policy deliberately recommended in his message to Congress which the mass meeting was considering. It was not the policy which alarmists might infer by a strained construction of chance phrases in his later public addresses. I was myself a little disturbed by his reported declaration for the greatest Navy in the world, but, in the light of pending complications and portents. I am not so confident that he is wrong even in that. I call your attention to an Amsterdam dispatch in the newspapers of February 27, quoting a distinguished German naval officer, who affirms that "a majority of German series of the pressure of the protest of the pressure of the protest of the protest

man naval officers believe that a complete breach between Germany and America would be conducive to a far earlier victorious termination of the war," and concludes with the statement that "America, when defeated, would have to surrender all German merchant ships which she had selzed and also to pay all war costs of the central powers and their allies." For aught we know, similar views may be entertained by other warring nations.

But more portentous then any contemplation of war and tribute less than any contemplation of war and tribute

the war," and concludes with the statement that "America, when defeated, would have to surrender all German merchant ships which she had selzed and also to pay all war costs of the central powers and their allies." For aught we know, similar views may be entertained by other war.

In actions the world war and the statement of the control of the property of the control of the property of the control of the property of the prope

plan. If so, it will not be the first time that pride of opinion provoked the amusing exercise of distinguishing between tweedledum and tweedledee.

I am glad that you say: "I am for preparedness for defense, but not for aggression." In this statement of policy you do not differ from those of your constituents who have expressed themselves in favor of the President's program, nor from the President's profession of policy which is wholly for defense. But you differ from us widely in the interpretation of the statement in your views upon our present military strength and in the spirit of the movement for preparedness.

The question at issue resolves itself mainly into the degree of preparedness that may be required for national safety. As to this, I profess no exact knowledge; I prefer to heed the advice of those who are best qualified to know—the Secretaries of War and Navy, with their expert advisers—in the light of the revelations of the European war as to new and more powerful instruments of destruction and methods of warfare. I challenge the intimation of pacifists to the effect that our Army and Navy officers seek to plunge us info war, and that military training makes men bellicose. Washington, Grant, and Lee, our most illustrious soldiers, abhorred war; they fought only for defense as they conceived the cause of defense. What excuse is there for assuming that our present generals and admirals are more blood-thirsty or less patriotic than they? Physicians carn their living and win distinction by fighting disease, but they do not encourage disease. On the contrary, they do all in their power to prevent it.

What may have seemed sufficient preparedness two years ago is not sufficient now. I do not ignore the contention of the pacifists that the nations of the world who are our possible antagonists of the future will emerge from this contest exhausted in resources and too humbled in spirit again to take up arms. I simply dissent from that view because it is not the lesson of history; it despises the unvarying

their powerful navies and veteran armies they will be sorely tempted to replenish their exhausted treasuries from our fat stores. Besides there are other militant nations than those now at war, and there is the turbulent land to the south of us whose borders the President solemnly declares we have not a sufficient Army even to police.

Your letter is strangely contradictory. You say, "With all the strength et my soul I do believe we could repel the invaders—any possible invader of our shores—even to-day." Yet you favor the new National Guard bill, involving an increase of the militia in men and money to about the strength of the proposed continental army, an increase of the Standing Army to the extent of about 30 per cent, as proposed in the bill of the House committee, and "the greatest possible number of submarines." If we are already able to repel any possible invader, why should we increase either branch of the service? If I believed as you believe, I would not approve the slightest increase in either Army or Navy.

With all respect for your sincerity, please pardon me for saying that the intimation of an aggressive purpose upon the part of those who favor the President's program is unwarranted and that the fear of militarism is pacifist hysteria. Democracy has grown into the very 6be of our being. The vision of a "man on horseback" is but a dyspeptic nightmare. As well talk about the possibility of making the King of England an absolute monarch or of restoring the temporal power of the Pepoe of Rome.

But suppose, Mr. Hardy, that the future should fulfill the grave apprehensions of the President and his supporters in this policy. You will admit the fallibility of your thinking as well as of his. If he should prove to be wrong, he would do not worse than to put the country to the expense of a few hundred millions of dollars, If you should prove to be wrong, he would do not worse than to put the country to the expense of a few hundred millions of dollars, If you should prove to be wrong, he would do not wors

McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS. OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 9, 1916.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am a Democrat in politics. Democrats have always been in favor of peace and against war, and I shall vote against any policy that would lead to war. In my judgment, if the President forces Congress to permit armed belligerent merchant vessels to carry our citizens on the ocean, over the protests of Germany, he will provoke a war with that country.

Col. Roosevelt and Mr. Root are jingoes, but are in private life and can only invite ridicule by putting forth the false doctrine that this country is the moral guardian of the earth and bound to go to war when a foreign nation acts immorally; therefore they say that it was our Nation's duty to fight Germany for invading Belgium.

Mr. Wilson, as our President, is the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy and represents the moral as well as the

Mr. Wilson, as our President, is the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy and represents the moral as well as the fighting strength of this great Nation. He can, therefore, wield a great power for good or evil in this, our Nation's, great crisis. I had hoped that his great weight might be thrown on the side of peace. Why should he back up foolhardy Americans in recklessly and wickedly traveling on armed ships instead of unarmed ships?

It would be criminal to bring on a war over a very doubtfup point of international law, and against the will, the sound indegment, and the sober common sense of the American people. I am confronted by a most unpleasant task, for I must either oppose the Democratic President or sacrifice on the alter of partisan politics my own solemn sense of duty to my country and to my race. I am a patriot before I am a partisan. No good man will, in such a dilemma, long hesitate to take the side of peace, for it is written in the Holy Book "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." Neither presidential persuasion nor coercion can force me to cash a vote that my conscience and my judgment tells me may force this Nation into a cruel, bloody, and wasteful war, and believe in the end will make our Republic a military autocracy or a Prussianized despotism.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that all Americans should be warned by their Government against traveling on the armed merchant by their Government against traveling on the armed merchant by their Government against traveling on the armed merchant by their Government against traveling on the armed merchant of the United States or the Secretary of State shall at the many force this Nation into a cruel, bloody, and wasteful war, and believe in the end will make our Republic a military autocracy of a Prussianized despotism.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that all Americans should be warned by their Government against traveling on the armed merchant of the United States or the Secretary of State shall at the many force this pare

vessels of belligerents. So believing, I would have voted for the McLemore resolution if the parliamentary situation would have been such that a direct vote could have been had. The committee did not bring it fairly before the House. The rule bringing it before the House prevented any amendment of the resolution unless we could have voted down the rule, and I so voted, but the rule was adopted; therefore the vote was upon the resolution as a whole. It included several preambles, and there were two distinct paragraphs in the resolution itself, I could and would have voted for the first paragraph, which related to warning American citizens off of armed merchant vessels. I could not, however, vote for the preambles nor the second clause of the resolution because it clearly prevented the President from having a free hand in his negotiations with Germany on the question involved in the last clause of the resolution; therefore I could not and would not vote for that clause, and the only thing remaining for me to do was to refrain from voting at all, which course I was reluctantly forced to adopt. The resolution itself is as follows, and will more fully show my reasons as above stated:

Whereas the Governments of two of the powers at present in war in Europe and on the high seas have informed all neutral powers of their intention to instruct the commanders of their submarine naval vessels to attack upon sight after February 29 all armed vessels of their enemies, whether such armed vessels are admittedly naval vessels or carry their armaments under the name and guise of "defensive armament for merchant ships"; and Whereas the Government of Germany, one of the powers which have so informed the neutral powers, has submitted to the Government of the United States photographic facsimiles of alleged secret orders of the British Government, which secret orders direct that such so-called "defensive armament for merchant ships" shall be used offensively and shall be manned and directed by naval officers and men of the navy of Great Britain, and that such so-called defensive armament for merchant ships and such naval officers and men shall be, so far as possible, concealed and disguised when in neutral waters and ports, with the evident intention to deceive; and
Whereas the only possible use for a "defensive gun" is the same as the use for an "offensive gun," namely, to shoot and, if possible, destroy or damage the enemy ship, whether submarine or other naval craft: and

use for an "offensive gun," namely, to shoot and, if possible, destroy or damage the enemy ship, whether submarine or other naval craft; and Whereas the Government of the United States has neither the desire nor the right to dictate to any of the powers whether they shall arm their merchant ships with guns or other armament or not and has no interest in the success or failure of such ships so armed in using their armaments in the only way in which they could be effectively used, namely, in destroying or injuring enemy submarines or other naval vessels; and Whereas the Government of the United States has no interest in the success or failure of the submarines or other naval vessels of any power in escaping or destroying such merchant ships so armed and has no desire or right to dictate to any of the powers what steps they shall take to protect their vital interests and pursue their legitimate belligerent operations; and Whereas the Government of the United States can not look upon any naval engagement between any armed ships of opposing belligerent powers, no matter how such ships, or any one of such ships, may be designated or disguised, as other than a naval engagement undertaken by each belligerent with the purpose of destroying the other belligerent ships and the lives of the people thereon; and Whereas while it is indifferent as to quibbles about such terms as "offensive" and "defensive" as applied to guns on ships of powers at war, the Government of the United States is vitally concerned to offer its own citizens the best possible advice, counsel, and assistance in avoiding the hazards of war; and Whereas the Governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary have given the Government of the United States is vitally interested in preserving chiefly nonbelligerent passengers will not be sunk—unless while resisting the right of visit and search—unless this certain that the nonbelligerent passengers can be removed to a place of safety; and whereas the Government of the United States is vitally interested in preservin

That the House expresses the determination of the people and Government of the United States both to uphold all American rights and to exercise care, consideration, and wisdom in avoiding actions which tend to bring American citizens and American interests into the zone of conflict where the passions of wav are raging.

Mr. Speaker, the following letter from a distinguished Philadelphian, Dr. Charles Fremont Taylor, to myself so well expresses my views on this subject that I attach it hereto and make it a part of my remarks. It is as follows, viz:

PHILADELPHIA, PA., March 3, 1916.

Hon. J. H. STEPHENS, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Can you imagine an American traveling in the present time of stress on an armed belligerent ship except with unpatriotic motives?

Inne of stress on an armed beligerent ship except with unpatriotic motives?

Remember there are at least four first-class neutral lines in operation between this country and Europe—our own American Line, the Holland-American Line, and two Scandinavian lines. At least some of these do not carry ammunition, while practically all, if not absolutely all, the belligerent ships carry cargoes consisting chiefly or largely of ammunition. If we were in war, we would regard enemy ships carrying ammunition to be used against our soldiers as floating arsenals; and we would destroy them if we could, no difference who was on them. And if these floating arsenals were armed, we would unhesitatingly class them as auxiliary naval vessels.

Can you favor the granting of passports to Americans to travel on such vessels in the present war with self-evident unpatriotic motives?

If we intend to maintain neutrality, should we not keep our people out of the war? Should we not prevent mischief-makers from dragging the rest of us into international difficulties and possible war?

If we wish to go into this war, we should go into it right. If we do not wish to go into war, we should not declare an intention to defend mischlef makers. Has any American a "right" to drag his country into trouble? Is it a matter of "honor" to uphold an American in a traitorous act?

The writer of these lines is strongly proallies in this war, but he is for peace and neutrality for America. Is it not inconsistent to give apparent immunity to German plotters on American soll and at the same time dictate how Germany shall fight her enemies in distant

And is not our Government straining a point by quarreling with Great Britain concerning her control of shipments to Germany? Are we not wonderfully prosperous? Is there not a ready market at good prices for everything that America has to sell? Then why should we quibble and make trouble with foreign countries and make ourselves "the most-hated Nation"? We can afford to be friendly with all, and make ourselves the most-beloved Nation.

Now, while "the world is on fire," is not a time to quibble, but to mind our own business strictly, keep out of all entanglements, and be sweet and cool.

Allow me to attempt to clarify the situation by according to

mind our own business strictly, keep out of all entanglements, and be sweet and cool.

Allow me to attempt to clarify the situation by presenting the following analysis:

1. It is perfectly clear that the intent of the international rule concerning merchant ships was to bar any armament that could be really dangerous to a warship.

2. Hence if the small gun permitted under that rule has now become an offensive weapon against the U-boats, then it must come within the intent of the rule. Therefore merchant ships carrying such guns must be regarded as naval vessels.

3. The President's position disregards this plain fact of the situation and clings to the technical interpretation of the international rule under conditions now obsolete.

4. Hence I believe it to be the duty of Congress to prevent this error of Executive judgment from placing the Nation in a position where the act of a single American in sailing on an armed beligerent ship might drag the whole people into war with Germany.

As a citizen loving peace and abhorring what is now going on in Europe, I ask you not to permit, with your approbation or with false ideas of "honor," traitorous Americans to jeopardize the peace and welfare of our country. Shall a matter so important that it may lead to war be decided by the people's Representatives in Congress or by one man in the White House?

Yours, for cool, common sense, while the "world is on fire,"

CHARLES FREMONT TAYLOR.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MICHAEL K. REILLY, OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. REILLY. Mr. Speaker, for some time I have had the conviction that Congress should give expression to the sentiment, that American citizens should refrain from traveling on armed merchant ships of the warring powers, and my views as to the duty of Congress in this regard are well known and have been repeatedly expressed to my constituents in communications addressed to them, in response to letters of inquiry as to

my position on that question.

I believe, that pending the settlement of the law and the facts of the present submarine controversy, for American to travel on armed belligerent merchant vessels is highly unpatriotic and that those of our citizens who insist upon traveling on such ships have no regard for their own lives or for the peace and happiness of their country and are richly deserving of severe censure and condemnation.

The President of the United States has asked this House to give the various warning resolutions pending in this body a full and fair discussion and to come to a vote upon the same.

I voted for the previous question and for the rule giving the House an opportunity to vote on the proposition, because I believed, that the President's demand was a reasonable one and that every effort should be made by the House to accede to the same.

I was not in favor of the McLemore resolution as it was drawn, and I doubt if the said resolution, in its present form, would command the support of more than a small percentage of the membership of this House and I voted against the tabling of the resolution because I believed it was capable of amendment so as to express the views of this House, that American citizens should avoid traveling on armed belligerent merchant vessels, without interfering with the constitutional rights of the President to conduct our foreign affairs and without any denial or infringement of the right of our Government to assert to the limit the clear rights of American citizens under international

The tabling of the McLemore resolution prevented its amendment and also prevented the House from expressing its judgment on the clear proposition as to whether or not American citizens should avoid traveling on armed belligerent merchant vessels.

I am not in favor of surrendering to England or to Germany or to any other of the warring powers any clear rights of our

citizens under international law.

The question whether this House, representing, as it does, the people of the whole country, shall express its belief that American citizens should keep off of armed belligerent merchant vessels pending the settlement of the submarine controversy is not an international question, but rather a domestic question, and it resolves itself in the simple proposition as to whether or not Congress should express its views on a vital question, without any impairment of the rights of our citizens or surrender of national honor, and with the sole object in view of minimizing the possibility of a conflict between our country and the warring nations, as a result of some reckless, thrill-loving, unpatriotic American citizen insisting on exercising his right under international law, viz, the right to travel on armed belligerent mer-chant vessels without regard to his own personal welfare or the welfare of his country.

The President of the United States, in my judgment, does not want war, and the best evidence of that fact is his record in the past 18 months in keeping our country out of war. But if reckless and unpatriotic American citizens are to be permitted to continue to travel on armed belligerent merchant vessels without any admonition from Congress to desist from such imperiling conduct to themselves and their country, the President of the United States, no matter how much he may be disposed toward peace, may be compelled, as the result of the death of an American citizen, the victim of a belligerent sub-marine, to plunge this country into war.

The present European war is not our war and if it is necessary for our people to refrain from exercising some of their legal rights in order that this war may continue to be a European war, it would seem to be the duty of Congress to express at this crisis its judgment that the highest patriotism of the hour demands that American citizens should so conduct themselves as to minimize, if not entirely to remove, the occasions that might create a crisis and involve our country in war.

I can not subscribe to the belief that for Cougress to express the judgment that American citizens should avoid taking passage on armed belligerent merchant vessels would sacrifice the honor of our country or surrender any rights that our citizens have under international law or in any way hamper the President in his handling of our foreign affairs.

Our country warned American citizens to keep out of wartorn Mexico, and it has not been claimed, as far as I can learn, that by so doing we dishonored our country, surrendered any rights that our citizens might have in Mexico, or made more

difficult our diplomatic dealings with that country.

In warning Americans to keep out of Mexico the President simply took a wise and patriotic course to avoid, as far as pos-

sible, any occasion for trouble with our sister Republic. My vote on the warning question was the result of a firm conviction on my part, that an expression of the sentiments of Congress, that American citizens should refrain from endanger-ing their lives and the peace and happiness of their country by taking passage on armed belligerent merchant ships, was the best way to assist the President of the United States in his great and laudable work of keeping our country out of the European war, and entertaining such views I would be recreant to my duty, as a Member of this House, if I did not vote my honest convictions on this question.

A Nation Muzzled by False National Honor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 10, 1916.

Mr. LINDBERGH. Mr. Speaker, where did the edict come from that says all America may be juggled in order to protect foolhardy or designing speculators whenever they wish to travel on armed merchant ships controlled by nations at war?

I can not discuss so important a subject without a few preliminary observations. The general impression is that truth is No one seems willing to buy it, and since it costs money to compile and present it in practical form to be read not much of it comes before the public in concrete form so that everybody can get at it. Everybody is therefore puzzled about existing

DECEPTION AS A FINE ART.

At no period in the world's history has deceit been so bold and aggressive as now in attempting to engulf all humanity in the maelstrom of hell. The whole world is sizzling in the "melting Sober men and women who measure the conditions with unselfish judgment and suggest sane action are pounced upon by the devils in command of the "hell-storm" in an attempt to have them labeled "cowards" and to force us into war over a standard of false national honor. Many of the highest officers of Government fail to sustain their moral courage for common sense, and add to the confusion of the excited by trying to support the demands of speculators.

Amid all this confusion the lords of "special privilege" stand serene in their selfish glee, coining billions of profit from the rage of war. They coldly register every volley of artillery, every act of violent aggression, as a profit on their war stock and war contracts. They commercialize every excitement, scalp in and out of the market alternately, taking a profit both ways

on a fluctuating market. Deception has paid a few so well that its practice has become a fine art, and is maintained by many ingenious schemes. Those who earn their living by the sweat of many hours of daily

the ways in which the schemers gather in the cream of the products of toll.

THE INVISIBLE ORGANIZERS.

toil have little time left after their work is done to figure out

We have been buncoed, and a majority of us do not know how it was done. "Invisible organizers" did it. Special privilege employs many agencies for the purpose; Rockefeller Institute, Carnegie foundation, and the like; besides, most of the great city press are maintained by them for that purpose. Their work is even stealthily being introduced into the public schools. They do not leave the tender minds of the children free to unselfish tutorship by parents and teachers, but use adroit means in an attempt to warp the youthful minds in a belief in special privilege. They also seek to control civic bodies and league them with the United States Chamber of Commerce. Their articles disclose no selfishness. On the contrary, they are commendable in terms, but back of it all are the "invisible organwho make use of the organization to further selfish ends.

The ordinary work of these civic bodies is beneficial. Most of the members are from the best citizens, acting with the best motives. Little do they know when they join of the deep-laid schemes of the "inner circle," or even that an "inner circle" exists. It is the underground lines that are used by the "inner circle" only that influence village and city councils, legislatures, and Congress to grant special privilege.

Mr. H. L. Day, of Minneapolis, takes a keen interest in the public welfare and has, at his own expense, exploited a plan of the "secret organizers." We are indebted to Mr. Day for a difficult as well as dangerous task in presenting in concrete form one of their methods. No man can present the truth about the "secret organizers" for special privilege without bringing on himself the venom of those interests and attack by that part of the press which they support. Mr. Day does not say that the power possessed by special privilege is or will be wrongly used. He clearly shows that it can be. I say, however, that if past experience is at par the power will be used. In fact, the evidence is conclusive that it already has been used. A letter written by Mr. Day upon this subject is akin to my discussion. I will insert it later as a part of my remarks. THINGS THAT STAGGER.

(a) The toiler, whether in field, shop, store, or elsewhere, wonders why the better mechanical devices and effective appliances for production do not effect a material reduction in the hours of labor and a substantial increase in pay. They should, but the results give but little of that advantage to the toilers

(b) For nearly two decades conservation propaganda has been rife. Forest reserves have been created, coal lands in the public domain have been withdrawn, and other things done for conservation, much of it wisely, but, strange to admit, we follow a most wasteful policy in another direction wantonly destruc-tive of conservation. It is in regard to certain kinds of export. Enormous material resources are taken from Mother Earth in America daily, much valuable labor expended upon them, and then vast quantities shipped to foreign nations to be consumed in destroying valuable property, as well as human lives-conservation for destruction.

We even boast when exports exceed imports, without a thought as to what we get in return. Unless we receive imports equal in value to exports, the first of a class not so readily produced in our country and the latter not so necessary to our consumption, it is not conservation. The export of valuable goods in excess of the import of valuable goods is a loss. It is merely done as a scheme for speculators to scalp profits on the one going out and on the other coming in. That practice is the underlying cause of the world's war. Except when we need foreign goods more than we do our own, the exchange is the reverse of conservation.

(d) The labor and risk of effecting exchanges should be paid for according to the service value. There should be no interest charge. Interest is usury. "Credit," said a banker, recently, addressing school children in this Capital City, "is the universal servant of mankind, carrying him along the road of bar-barism to civilization." Originally that was true. The original statement of it is old. Things have changed, however, and under present conditions this banker tried to fool the children.

THE RAVISHER.

"Credit," the most useful agent of commerce, except transportation, one day was met and ravished by Usury. Usury ever since has been carrying on his hellish designs to destroy civilization. Credit herself, through the base seduction of Usury, has become an object of commerce and is no longer the agent of civilization, but, on the contrary, hand in hand with Usury, is leading civilization astray and back to barbarism, making of the existing civilization base mockery. The truth is testified to in the European carnage based on industrial slavery, the offspring of Usury.

ELEMENTS OF PEACE.

In paragraphs a, b, c, and d is seen the cause of social difficulties. Give the toiler the proper results for his toil, practice a correct conservation; carry on the commerce, domestic and for-eign, to supply needs and not as a means for scalping indi-vidual fortunes, and abolish usury. To do those four things would place us on a peace basis and prepare us for war if war would place us on a possible should be forced upon us.

"PREPAREDNESS."

This word "preparedness," according to its most frequent present use, comes under the title "deception as a fine art." It was seized on by the war-munition lords as a substitute for "armament," because armament would suggest what was really meant. Like stealth was practiced when special privilege seized "reciprocity" as a title to make the public accept a fake reciprocity. A like trick was used again when the phrase "Federal reserve banks" was taken to make the public believe them national banks, when, in fact, a more powerful Money Trust was created.

HONEST PREPAREDNESS.

(a) The first step in preparedness is to abandon false ideals and instead exercise common sense in dealing with conditions. War is a violation of all law, God's as well as man's, and we must exercise judgment when such violation occurs and do everything in our power to extinguish the flames instead of adding to them. To seek to apply "national honor" with no thought of existing conditions and without view of the general welfare is weakness instead of strength, foolhardy instead of brave, traitorous rather than patriotic.

(b) We can not in the same breath cling to the Monroe doctrine and insist on interfering in the affairs of Europe and Asia. To claim that we can do both is too contradictory to require more than a bare statement to refute it. We may stick to the Monroe doctrine if we wish, but the other is absurd, and if we hold to it we will have to fight the world without a cause.

(c) The seas are highways for the world. In times of war there is disturbance. Common sense dictates a policy that would

steer us clear of the war, for there is opportunity to use the seas without. It is natural for warring nations to use every means to destroy each other. When merchant ships, armed or unarmed, are employed in carrying materials to prosecute war it is natural for the nation against which they would be used to destroy or capture such ships if it can. For Americans to travel on such ships is wrong. Surely the warring nations will resort to any means to exhaust each other. If citizens of neutral nations can protect them the owners will see to it that such travelers are aboard. A proclamation should issue that Americans on such ships travel at their own risk, except that negotiations would be entered into to determine their rights. Then patriotic citizens would be more willing to travel, because they would know it was at their own risk, whereas now none but moral cowards, thoughtless persons, or scheming speculators willing to take the risk for big profits, will travel on these ships. No American worthy of the name will, by any unnecessary act, jeopardize the welfare of a hundred million fellow Americans.

(d) Citizens living in foreign countries for profit making, speculation, or other purely private enterprise not coupled with a national necessity should take their own chances with the countries in which they live and not involve our country in controversy that might be cause for war. We should not follow false ideals, however old they may be. See what false ideals are doing for Europe. If citizens were discriminated against, negotiations should be entered into with a view to adjusting their rights; but no reason exists why the rank and file of Americans who develop and support America should support adventurers in foreign lands to the extent of making war to

protect their dealings.

(e) The manufacture for export of war material and death-(e) The manufacture for export of war material and death-dealing instruments is a crime not only against humanity but in contradiction of conservation. It furnishes other nations with material that may be used against us. It is a poor way to "preparedness" to manufacture war material for other nations. Special privilege wants that kind of "preparedness" because it gets pay for arming other nations, and then claims that we must arm to defend ourselves against those nations, so it can get pay for that, too. An embargo is a step to honest

and true preparedness.

(f) Loans to float foreign credits and bonds is the broker's kind of "preparedness." The war lords borrowed money to be used for destructive foreign war cheaper than our farmers, merchants, and manufacturers were able to borrow for constructive work at home. The fact that special privilege in America is leagued with special privilege in Europe is the only danger of drawing America into the war. In an article I published in September, 1915, I stated that, while this dealing in war bonds, credit, and war speculation would never be called cause for our being drawn into war, it still might get us in. The tenacity with which the subsidized press demands Government guarantee of safety to foolhardy or inconsiderate American citizens who travel on armed belligerent merchant ships is for the purpose of involving us in war to protect speculators. For the same reason the same subsidized press strains every point to scare the American people to provide a great Navy and vast Army. SAVING FOR PREPAREDNESS.

The banks loan a large part of the people's deposits to special privilege. By the use of the money speculators scalp from the people of this Nation several billion dollars annually. Here we can make a saving. Instead of letting speculators collect annually this vast sum from the people's earnings it may be retained for the people themselves. The Government can take a part to drill men, fortify and protect our coasts, pay all Federal taxes, besides give us financial service at less cost. Speculators went the high formula taxes are the high formula taxes. lators want the kind of preparedness that sows seeds of war and weakens us. Dealing in war material, loaning the people's deposits at war rates, and other speculation pays special privi-lege enormous profits, but it saps the people's life blood, weakens the morals, and leaves the Nation actually weaker in the end than no preparation at all. Special privilege seeks a dividend preparedness to pay its dividends. It would create dependence instead of independence. The Du Pont, Rockefeller, Morgan, and others, brand of "preparedness" would enormously increase taxes and otherwise burden humanity. Their kind of "preparedness" would give them control of an army to buildoze us—exactly what they want in order to maintain economic injustice and special privilege.

SPECIAL PRIVILEGE OPPOSES CONSTRUCTIVE PREPAREDNESS.

The most effective preparedness to meet every possible emergency is conservation of our economic resources which consist of the material natural resources and human energy applied to the best methods of production of serviceable commodities and of desirable things and in making them available to the people.

Along with that we may without burden provide every facility for successful defense. The world will never be conquered by the military, because that provides for nothing but destruction and invites for itself defeat. Therefore it has been alternate victory and defeat since the world began, with no permanent good established-merely a false herald and boast of the bully.

It can not change its cwn law. When it conquers to-day it creates the conditions for its own defeat to-morrow. Special privilege was born in militarism, maintains itself by militarism. now has its support in militarism, and under the guise of preparedness seeks to perpetuate its power. The first step to permanent preparedness is to oust special privilege.

CONSTRUCTIVE PREPAREDNESS

The people of this country have on deposit in the banks over \$20,000,000,000, on which the banks pay an average of less than 2 per cent interest. A part they loan to plain borrowers and charge them several times that rate of interest. The rest, except reserve, they loan to speculators. The latter get inside information from the big banks and scalp the market and fleece the people out of the difference in the price the producer gets and consumer pays. I have heretofore furnished the Record proof that we are losing in the purely speculative process, independent of any necessity of legitimate commerce, several billions of dollars annually.

I suggest that with several billion dollars annual saving that

could be made out of what we have heretofore been fleeced we would have the means to employ all the military service we need at as high pay to our men as is paid in the civil occupations. The same men could give a part of their time to civil occupations and be paid for it. We would save enough to provide the means to protect our coasts, build submarines, aircraft, and so forth, solely as a means for defense and not to save speculators in their foreign-market exploits. Part of the saving could also be used to buy up and store our surplus grain

products for use when we might be short.

When we rid ourselves of the scalpers there will be less military parade and little likelihood of war. The war is exhausting the nations involved, except, perhaps, Japan. They are all praying to God for an end to war. Once the war is over and they recover their reason, take an inventory of their losses, human and material, no war will be made against us from that source for a long time to come, if ever. We should be ridiculous to provide a great Navy that would be useless almost before we could complete it, when it is certain that we can protect ourselves against attack, which we can do by a well-drilled citizenship soldiery, proper submarine, aircraft, and coast defense. We do not want a professional Army and

In September, 1915, I published an article opposing war loans bein; financed in this country. At the time the city press was teeming with praise for the promoters of these loans and naturally did not want my article published, so I published it my-self, with the aid of the country press. I quote parts of the

article, as follows:

COMMERCIALIZING SENTIMENT AT THE RISK OF WAR.

COMMERCIALIZING SENTIMENT AT THE RISK OF WAR.

Speculation coldly watches. It takes advantage of every opportunity. We all speculate, but most of us are not professional. Only few of us ever seek to commercialize sentiment. These few are the professional speculators. They should be separated from the rest of us, just as certainly as wolves should be separated from the rest of us, just as certainly as wolves should be separated from sheep. "Commercializing sentiment" is the act of cool professional speculators only. I refer to them when I use the term speculator.

There is a heap of trouble on in the world. Europe is ablaze with war, with its consequent destruction and creation of race hatred. National sentiment is at its height. Every country realizes the seriousness of things and wishes to meet these trying days by solving in the best way possible its own problems and to hold its place in the affairs of the world with the least loss to its people and gain, if possible, and, if not already in the war, to keep out of it, if that is possible. The worlds "melting pot" is sizzling, however, and the problem is, What are we Americans going to do?

The public is often punished to the limit before it remedles an existing equil. That the existing capitalistic system has reached the limit of some bad practices seems probable from the result of it in Europe. We may not have fully learned the lesson, but the final settlement of Europe's struggle will teach us, whether we stay out of it or not. That struggle is the result of commercial greed, whatever other excuse may be given. * *

Strange it is that a people intelligent as we are, should permit our-

struggle is the result of commercial greed, whatever other excuse may be given. * * *

Strange it is that a people intelligent as we are, should permit ourselves to be taxed to support that war. We had no need of accepting any material part of that burden. It was the speculators, however, who saw an opportunity to use the same old tricks they have always used to reap profits for themselves and burden the tollers. In order to make the multimillionaires richer, they have not hesitated to mix our financial and business interests with those of the warring nations. They thus have forced our people into a position to bear much of the burden that belonged to Europe only. Unless this commercial greed ends, our part of the burden will be billions.

No one who can think rightly and takes the time to do so believes that the welfare of our people is supported by supplying nations at war with financial and material aid to destroy each other. All our interests are opposed to any such action. It matters not whether international laws permit it or not. It can not be required. Unfortunately, the national administration without protest, permits speculators to use the people's means to finance and supply the warring countries for war

purposes. The farmers, with better security, the wage workers, the industrial and business interests in our own country, all are forced to pay more for money to finance their legitimate constructive needs than the nations at war pay to finance their work of destruction.

* * The Money Trust, which controls the so-called Federal reserve banks, follows the same old practice that it dld before the Federal reserve banks were organized, and now with less risk to itself. Wall Street speculators still borrow on call at from 1 to 2 per cent and use the money to exploit the people. When parties not in the trust wish to borrow for legitimate business or industrial purposes they are forced to pay as high or higher rates than before. They are informed that it is caused by the war. The speculators have tied us to the war by this false financial system. Examples are continually before us that teach us the folly of those responsible for the new Federal reserve bank act, and other fakes of carlier days imposed by boss politicians.

Wall Street speculators often pay as low as 1 per cent and seldom above 2 per cent interest, while, on the other hand, the legitimate industrial and business interests have found it difficult to borrow enough money at any price. Whether we examine the press files for the last year or for 20 or more years, we find practically the same story of contrast between the interest rates the Wall Street speculators pay and what the industrial and business interests pay. A single transaction illustrates the practice, for it goes on the same way practically all the time. Take the press reports of September 16, 1915, as the example, for it is the story of every day. It is as follows:

NEW YORK MONEY.

"NEW YORK, September 16.

"Call money steady; high, 2 per cent; low, 17; last loan, 2 per cent; closing bid 11; offered at 2.
"Time loans casy; 60 days, 21 per cent; 90 days, 27 per cent and 3 per cent; six months, 3 per cent; mercantile paper 31 per cent and 37 per cent."

In the same press the following appeared:

REDISCOUNT RATE OF RESERVE BANK LOWERED.

In the same press the following appeared:

"The Federal Reserve Board in Washington yesterday approved a rediscount rate of 4½ per cent on commercial paper of 60 and 90 days maturity for the Minneapolis reserve bank. The rate heretofore has been 5 per cent for that class of paper."

The Federal reserve banks are the banker's banks, and, conveniently for the speculators, are prohibited from doing business with the plain people. The one in Minneapolis is in the greatest agricultural district in America, and, itke the other 11 reserve banks, is a feeder to the Wall Street operators. If member country banks, which the law forced to John, wish to borrow they must pay 4½ and 5 per cent and naturally charge those who borrow from them several additional per cent. "The nigger in the woodpile" they try to conceal by telling us that the speculators are prohibited from borrowing from the Federal reserve banks on speculative paper. The prohibition was purposely made to fool the public.

The Federal Reserve Board was educated to believe in the Wall Street ways, and compels the member banks, if they borrow from the Federal reserve banks, to pay 4½ and 5 per cent, knowing, of course, that they will not borrow extensively at those rates when they can borrow for less from the Wall Street banks, of which there is one or more in every large city. Consequently when the Wall Street rates are from 1 to 2 and 3 per cent. As the reserve banks will not pay the reserve banks. There it is most of the time unemployed. It is taken from the member banks so they can not loan it to the plain borrowers. That is exactly what Wall Street wants. The Federal reserve Board, the legal reserve of the country banks piles up in the Federal reserve banks. There it is most of the time unemployed. It is taken from the member banks so they can not loan it to the plain borrowers. That is exactly what Wall Street wants. The Federal reserve banks have large surplus the speculators can keep up their scalping. If they should be caught in a trap, their banks will

reduction of even 2 per cent interest on the vast sums owing would be an annual loss to the Money Trust control of ever a billion dollars and a corresponding saving to the plain people. So in order to prevent it and to keep interest rates high, to keep farm products the cheapest when the farmer sells, the highest when the consumer buys, to head off a rapid advance in farm lands, to prevent small business concerns becoming too prosperous, to avoid a reduction in the cost of living—yes; for all these purposes, and to facilitate big speculation, the Money Trust planned the war loans and pretended that it was done to help "the poor rarmer" and "the poor wageworker."

Bethlehem steel advanced over \$500 per share. In a single day it advanced \$70 per share. Did wheat and wageworkers get a raise? Not that anyone knows of.

A poem in October Puck hits the ball exactly on the head. The following are a few lines of it:

THE JOY IN WALL STREET.

THE JOY IN WALL STREET.

This is the war stock soaring high,
That brings all the joy to Wall Street.
This is the gambler, wild of eye,
Who shares with his broker, brisk and spry,
The profit in war stocks, soaring high.
That brings all the joy to Wall Street.
So this is the list of what they buy:
An orphaned infant's feeble cry,
A widowed woman's sob and sigh,
A field of graves where the dead men lic,
A shambles where thousands dally die,
A billion shells that in battle fly.
Gladness glows in the gambler's eye,
And he shares with his broker, brisk and spry,
The profits in war stocks, soaring high,
That brings all the joy to Wall Street.

That brings all the joy to Wall Street.

Wonderfully solicitous the Money Trust is for the "poor farmer" and the "poor wageworker" when it fears losing any part of its control. What an array it has of subsidized newspapers to sophisticate in an effort to mislead the public—that part of the press which has no direct answer to honest statements except to say "demagogue" of those who present them. By the cry of "demagogue" they scare many a timid person from the field of honest discussion. When they can not intimidate with the cry of "demagogue" they become peeved and resort to ridicule, funny stunts, and to petty misrepresentation. But what the subsidized press prints is not what harms the public most. The subsidized portion of the press merely seeks to draw the people into dark corners, where they can not see, in order that the field for profit making may be preempted by the Money Trust. The thing that ordinarily saves the Money Trust from defeat, however, is not the influence of the subsidized press, but factionalism among the people. It succeeds in arraying the interests of different sections of the country eagainst each other, political party against political party, and divides the parties into factions, creates jealousy among individuals and officials, and then barters and compromises them all with each other, until all except the Money Trust are losers. That is the way it wins its battles against the people.

An administration which remains silent when money is loaned at 1 and 2 per cent on call and less than 4 per cent on time to parasite speculators on Wall Street, while the Federal Reserve Board forces the Federal reserve banks to charge 4½ to 5 per cent to member banks, thus forcing the plain borrowers to pay as high as 10 per cent, and even more in some instances, is not entitled to the people's confidence.

No patriotic citizen who has given the matter thought enough to be familiar with the facts will be otherwise than deeply disappointed that huge foreign loans have been made by our people to enable Europe's peoples to murder and destroy, while the legitimate business and industrial interests of our own country are forced to pay much higher rates than these war nations pay. Have we come to a condition where we give greater consideration to nations destroying each other than we do to our own people? Do we not know that these nations will return again and again for additional loans, and that since speculators are now managing the game they will wish to follow it to the end? Do we not know that Europe will never pay?

No independence-loving people will saddle on the future generations so unjust a debt as is now being heaped upon those unfortunate peoples. They are paying now with their lives and their fortunes for the follies of the existing capitalistic system. When the war is over and peace is declared, they will come to their natural senses, for they are mostly thinking peoples. They will repudiate their follies and quite likely cancel their debts in a new way not satisfactory to the creditors. Furthermore, these very loans are not unlikely to be the means of getting us into the war, and are in some instances being pressed with that object in view. These same agencies are at work trying to create a sentiment for an extraordinary preparedness for war, offensive and defensive. Only the defensive is being advertised, for the, believe that they can commit the people to a defensive program on so great a scale that

an offensive to protect their war leans. That game is now being played to a finish.

The war loans, while they are not unlikely to be the means of involving us in war, will never be directly named as such. The subsidized portion of the press will be used in an attempt to trump up collateral incidents out of which to fan a binze of public indignation to the extent of creating a war fever. The pretense that these war loans are to help the "poor farmer" and the "poor wageworker" is the limit. Examine what happened to the produce market, independent of what it would be influenced anyway, by the war, and then examine what happened to the stock market and compare the two. Then you will see what the war loans were for. Both the produce and 'he stock markets will be found in the daily press.

The war bonds are certain to be repudiated within a few years. No one should buy these bonds with the hope of collecting them in full.

Some change in interest rates has occurred since the article was written, but the Money Trust control is supreme, as it will continue to be while the Federal reserve banks are governed as

James J. Hill, one of the ablest men in the world in many respects, urged the foreign loans. Mr. Hill, in addition to being

a great railroad man, is interested in the big banks. Note the following statement which the press attributes to Mr. Hill as baving been made March 1, 1916:

It seems to me that what the United States will need the most will be business courage, enterprise, and ample capital. There will probably be ample capital, provided that we have industrial peace and a reasonable assurance that there will be available foreign markets for our surplus products.

Note particularly, "There will probably be ample capital provided we have industrial peace." Mr. Hill can rest assured that there will be "industrial peace" if we have industrial justice, and not before. The people's deposits are in Mr. Hill's banks. His statement is in effect a threat that the toilers must not ask or demand industrial justice, and if they do, the deposits belonging to the people will be locked up. I do not criticise Mr. Hill for the statement, because under the special privilege plan of the world, to which he is committed, it would naturally be done that way. They propose to handle the people's deposits as they "damn" please. That is the effect of it. Parlor talk does not fit the occasion, but some unusualprofane emphasis is necessary to the extraordinary conditions prevailing. This hoarding of the people's funds for the benefit of the speculators by the Federal reserve banks and the implied threat of Mr. Hill and others as to what will be done with them if the people demand justice, and the fact that they diverted the capital belonging to Americans to Europe in order to squeeze greater rates of interest from borrowers for legitimate purposes at home, and to scalp billions of profits from speculation should "get under the skin" of every American and make him fight to the last "trench" this Money Trust combination.

The present executive administration seems to have given itself entirely over to the side of special privilege. Not only does it encourage aid to certain of the belligerents in material and financial ways, but it looks as if it is trying to force the other belligerents to make war a parlor game, in order that certain citizens who insist on jeopardizing a hundred million Americans by their scalping profits out of foreigners as well as out of us may have full control. I speak not for either side of this great European and Asiatic struggle, but for America.

THE FORD IDEA.

Special privilege received a sudden shock one day. A constructive genius made a fortune and created a precedent by making a very material division with his employees of the profits from a great business. Special privilege everywhere looked upon this act with amazement. It wondered if something was wrong with the man, for was it possible that even one man with so great a fortune could think of dividing with those who helped him produce it? But fact showed that there was nothing wrong with this man, for if there had been Henry Ford could not have come up from the poverty of a day laborer to become a great constructive genius. He had now scared special privilege, for would not the toilers everywhere demand the equal recognition that the Ford idea had voluntarily extended? Mr. Ford was despised by special privilege for this recognition of labor. But there was nothing it could do except to wait and watch for an opportunity to deal a blow from the dark.

AN ADDITIONAL FORD IDEA.

Industrial justice practiced by even one great concern was an example that was being watched from every corner of the world. Special privilege feared this, but suddenly another Ford idea flashed over the world. This time, however, special privilege was organized to oppose it. Its subsidized press had been working overtime to frighten the people with all sorts of false statements about war being forced upon us and getting us ready to expend billions of dollars for armament. So when the Ford idea of securing peace flashed over the world and preparations were made to get results the subsidized press trained its guns upon Mr. Ford in an attempt to make him look ridiculous. Everywhere the press belittled and ridiculed the Ford peace idea, Special privilege believed it had its revenge. But the peace idea grew day by day and has become a power. The man who faces the avalanche of ridicule hurled from thousands of newspapers without side-stepping his purpose is stronger than an army general or an admiral advocating billions for armament with no principle behind it except industrial slavery.

THERE ARE OTHERS.

William Jennings Bryan, too, because he dared to advocate methods to encourage good will, is ridiculed by the jingo press. Everyone of prominence who dares attempt to block rushing headlong into enormous expenditures for armament is the object of ridicule from the press, subsidized from the billions of profits

made by special privilege out of the game of war. Every time an Army or Navy appropriation bill is drafted this same press has found war scares to prepare the public to accept any kind of expense proposed. I have watched it for the last 20 years, and the war scares appear in the press headlines regularly in advance of the presentation of these bills.

We have expended on the maintenance of Army and Navy more in the last 11 years than any other country except England, but the war lords in America say that we are in the most pitiable condition and could not defend ourselves against a second-rate power. For God's sake, with all this expenditure they say we are helpless. If that is so, we had better not spend a dollar, for, without previous preparation, we twice whipped England, a first-rate power. With all her navy and a then considerable army, and an excuse she considered sufficient, England did not dare attack us when our States were at war with each other. If the great expenditure we have made has secured nothing, we had better conserve the people, at least, and not work them to death to pay for additional nothing. Preparedness? Of course we want to be prepared, but in the right way.

The problem of armament is one on which honest people differ as to what course we should pursue—extent and everything connected. No one claims that we should not be provided with means to defend ourselves. Unfortunately not only honest and patriotic people study this problem, but selfish interests do, too, and they do it for selfish reasons, which has confused the consideration.

As I have already stated, it is a practice of the selfish, when they start a campaign for graft, to select a captivating name, for a good name frequently wins even a bad case. Reciprocity was sprung as a name for an act which was a fraud upon the farmers and wageworkers. Federal reserve banks was selected as a name to make the public believe they were United States banks, but they were not. When the recent war loan was made it was pretended that it was made to make better markets for farm products, but it was really made to boom war stocks. Special interests wish to use Uncle Sam to further boom war stocks by armament, and they use the word "preparedness" as best suited to fool us.

Now is the time to exercise judgment instead of following fake sentiment. We must not, however, make the mistake of believing that common sense will prevail. It has not done so in the past and will not do so in all cases in the future. We know that mistakes have occurred and will occur again. We expect mistakes to be made in regard to preparedness. It is better to have enough than too little. We must give it rensonable consideration.

UNDERSTANDING OUR CONDITIONS.

We raise more food than we can eat; we produce more material suitable to be made into wearing apparel than we can wear; we have more of the material than is necessary for buildings to shelter us as well as to shelter whatever stock, goods, and provisions we need; we also have the material required to build factories, the machinery to put in them, and railways for transportation. We have exactly enough people to operate everything and the conditions to make us all prosperous. I say "exactly enough people" advisedly, for whatever our population, the industries may be adjusted to our needs. The resources are here for our use. By any sensible application and fair government, half a billion people could prosper equally as well as any lesser number.

Knowing that we have everything necessary to fulfill a better civilization, we should not despair of the future, as some do, because they claim we shall be compelled to meet the competition of impoverished Europe. If with all the natural advantages we have we do not possess common sense to deal with them and keep ourselves free from the conditions that have produced the existing result in Europe, we acknowledge a weakness which, if we do not overcome it, will lead us to ruin.

It is true that if we continue to let wealth govern by a system to strip the toilers of the profits from the products of toil we have a very ragged future before us, and in that event there is every reason why honest men and women might despair for the future of our country. We are operating practically under the same system that led Europe into its present difficulties. The only thing we lack to make it completely so is an immense navy and large professional standing army. There were honest men and women in Europe who for a long time prior to the war despaired for the future of the nations now in conflict. The people generally over there did not exercise their own power, but let crowned heads and aristocrats rule them, and now they are reaping the cyclone of despair, the result of fake economic practice, plus shining armor, conceit, and preda-

tory plotting. We have been equally lacking in dealing with economic facts; and if now, with the example of Europe before us, we fall into the same trap, when our troubles come, as they surely will, if we build a great navy and raise a large professional army, we will be more to blame for our fall when it comes than Europe is for its fall; for now that we know what has come to pass over there, we should not be blind to a similar if not a worse fate here from going on with and enlarging upon what has ruined Europe.

WE HOLD THE KEY TO OUR OWN SUCCESS.

Knowing that within our own continental domain we possess every material resource to supply actual necessities as well as desirable luxuries, why should we worry about foreign commerce? I do not claim that we should neglect it, but it is absurd to fight for it merely as a means of scalping profit for speculators. We should appreciate that the more we export the less we have remaining for ourselves, and that the only economic and true reason for exporting any of our products is to make a few exchanges for those things produced in foreign countries that we need and the likes of which we can not economically

The thing that has prevented our success and likewise the success of other nations is a lack of fight on the part of the average individual for the enforcement of public rights as against individual graft. The reward for the faithful to special privilege, and the rocky road forced by special privilege upon those who are faithful to the public, makes it difficult to secure men to fight for true reform, a reform that would substantially protect the workers of the world. Everywhere the man who stands for special privilege is rewarded. If he has been elected to act for the people, but instead joins secret cau-cuses, secret committee sessions, dark-corner agreements, and acts for special privilege, the stand-pat press will support him for reelection, and if, perchance, his traitorous acts have been discovered by the people and they defeat him, then he is provided an appointment to high office by the President or by some appointing power. He gets a high salary, paid for by the same people who defeat him. The special interest supports, through its press, and an assurance that if it fails to put him across, a good salaried public office from the appointive power higher up will be provided, is the graft not only to the one defeated, but an implied promise, always kept, that the appointing official will in any event also be taken care of. Though they are not all such, we too often find these traitors filling high-salaried office as a reward for special-favor support. That is why this Congress and this administration, as well as some that have been, stand discredited.

Too many think they must keep a pull with the appointing powers.

No graver problems ever faced the Nation and the world than those now presented. For this Congress and individual Members to fear presidential disfavor when Congress believes it should act seems to prevent Congress doing its duty. God forbid that party politics should control; but to the shame of Congress it does, and its failure to act and take responsibility is more than grave. If its failure should be the cause of this Nation getting into a war which could properly be avoided, every Member who has been instrumental in delay deserves the execration of his fellow men.

The secret and underground dark-corner work that is being done to maintain special privilege in the absolute control of the political organization is being brought to a climax through certain civic bodies, to which I referred in the first part of my remarks. I now submit the letter of Mr. H. L. Day, to which I referred. It is as follows:

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., November 29, 1915.

Hon. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Lindbergh: It was a resolution of yours that resulted in the Money-Trust investigation.

You also have alleged that the new Federal reserve banking system is now controlled by the said Money Trust.

It is to you, therefore, that I come with the evidence I herewith submit, because it has an important relation to the alleged control of the Federal banking system as well as to many other important national questions some of which are to be considered by Congress in the com-

Federal banking system as well as to many other important national questions some of which are to be considered by Congress in the coming session

You have said: "The Money Trust was and still is the invisible government, possessing greater and greater power as the years succeed each other." The following evidence will confirm that fact also:

My purpose at this time is to show how the Money Trust with the allied interests has been devising a new method to influence legislation and to perpetuate their control in government in this country since their old methods have been exposed and discredited.

This new method of influence and control is by means of so-called business associations. In our larger cities they are either the reorganization and centralization of business associations already in existence or new associations established with an effort made to absorb or elimi-

nate other like organizations in each city, in order that this reorganized or new association may be the large central organization in each city. In Minnesota they are now endeavoring, through the Minnesota Commercial and Civie Federation, to reorganize or establish so-called civie and commercial organizations in the smaller cities of the State.

They have established as a national organization the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, which is a delegate body from the local associations with headquarters in Washington, D. C., through which they can coordinate in the control of national legislation affecting privileged interests. In order that you may understand the motives and the methods of control through these various associations you must understand the way they are organized, the way they are controlled, and the way they are interlocked together.

In explaining the methods used and analyzing these associations, you must understand the way they have the power to accomplish their purpose until such time as that system is exposed and understood by the people and their Government. In the evidence herewith submitted, where names of individuals are given. It is with no intention of dealing with personalities, for we know that many persons are used by privilege to accomplish its purposes, without said persons knowing the purpose for which they are used.

By the evidence I will herewith submit, I shall show—

1. That privilege has organized a system of so-called civic and commercial organizations in various cities of our country;

2. That privilege has endeavored to eliminate all other important civic and commercial organizations in each city in order that its association may be the central and prominent organization;

3. That privilege control;

5. That these associations are organized on lines of special privilege and centralized control;

6. That these associations are being organized in the smaller cities of Minnesota by the Minnesota Commercial and Civic Federation, which is organized on lines

MINNEAPOLIS CIVIC AND COMMERCE ASSOCIATION.

The Civic and Commerce Association of Minneapolis, Minn., is an illustration of a local association organized and operated as described

The Civic and Commerce Association of Minneapolls, Minn., is an illustration of a local association organized and operated as described hereinbefore.

Assertion No. 1: "That privilege has organized a system of so-called civic and commercial organizations in various cities of our country."

This association was incorporated in December, 1911, by 52 citizens of Minneapolis, 35 of whom were connected as officers and directors of banks, trust companies, and transportation companies, as the diagram designated as "Diagram A" herewith shows. (See page 502.)

Assertion No. 2: "That privilege has endeavored to eliminate all other important civic and commercial organizations in each city in order that its association may be the central and prominent organization."

In the first annual report of the board of directors, in referring to the organization of the association, they say:

"A committee consisting of A. R. Rogers and E. P. Wells was then appointed to make a study of the work of similar organizations in other cities. This committee visited the Chicago Association of Commerce, the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, and the New York Merchants' Association, which were recognized as leaders in the commercial and civic field, and made a minute study of the work of these organizations. Their report urged particularly an amalgamation into one organization of the various prominent civic and commercial bodies of Minneapolis. Negotiations with the Publicity Club, with the public affairs committee of the Commercial Club, and with the Minneapolis Traffic Association looking to an amalgamation were then entered upon, with the result that these associations were finally combined and the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association became the central civic and commercial body of the city."

As further evidence that this statement is true I quote from the directors' report of 1914, as follows:

"And there was no other agency in the city equipped to give such a variety of service."

Assertion No. 4: "That these associations are organized

Assertion No. 4: "That these associations are organized on lines of special privilege and centralized control."

Assertion No. 5: "That the by-laws are so constructed that the powers that organized can continue to perpetuate their control."

The incorporators appointed the first board of directors, and the names and periods of service are given in the articles of incorporation. The directorate to consist of 39 members, 13 for one, 13 for two, and 13 for three years.

The by-laws are drawn on lines of special privilege, in that they give to the sustaining membership, consisting of persons, copartnerships, and corporations who contribute not less than \$500 per annum (and some are said to contribute as high as \$5,000 or more per annum) the special privilege "apart from all other members, to elect five of the directors annually." privilege "apart from all other members, to elect five of the directors annually."

The by-laws divide the active membership into three classes:

1. Individual members who pay not less than \$10 annual dues.

2. Copartnership and corporation members who pay not less than \$50 annual dues.

copartnerships, and

3. Sustaining members, consisting of persons, copartnerships, an corporations who pay not less than \$500 annual dues.

Because of the special privilege granted to the said sustaining members in the election of directors I will refer to them as "special-privilege members". special-privi-

lege members"

The diagram herewith (Diagram B) illustrates how the by-laws provide for the nomination and election of the 13 directors annually. (See page 503.)

That you may clearly understand this diagram you will remember three things:

1. The directors were originally appointed by privilege.

2. Many individual members are officers or employees of privilege, and many other individual members are in sympathy with privilege.

3. "Special-privilege members" are organized; they know what they want; and the general membership are unorganized and unaware of

want; and the general membership are unorganised and the scheme.

The directors nominate the regular ticket (the five nominees by a committee of three "special-privilege members" and the eight nominees by a committee of five individual members). The directors, however, appoint these committees (let me appoint the nominating committees and I will let you do the voting).

There is provision for an independent ticket of 5 that may be nomi-

There is provision for an independent ticket of 5 that may be nominated by a committee of not less than 15 of these "special-privilege members" and for an independent ticket of 8 by a committee of not less than 50 of the general members (note the large size of these com-

If the independent tickets are not nominated, then it has been possible for the directors to dictate the nominations.

If the independent tickets are nominated, then of the 26 nominees "special privilege" and the directors have dictated 18, general members

"Special privilege," exclusively, elects five directors and can concentrate all of their votes (except a complimentary vote on the five) on

such of the other eight they may want because of a provision in the by-laws for cumulative voting, as follows:

"Any members so desiring may cast as many votes for one or more candidates at the annual election as shall not in the aggregate exceed the number of directors for whom he is entitled to vote at such election." (By-laws, art. 2, sec. 13.)

DIRECTORS REVISÉ ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION AND BY-LAWS.

After one annual election the plan of election was changed through a revision of the articles of incorporation and by-laws.

The second annual report says, in part:

"The experience of the organization during its year and a half of existence clearly indicates to the directors the advisability of certain fundamental changes in the charter and by-laws.

"The number of the board of directors has been reduced from 35 to 18.

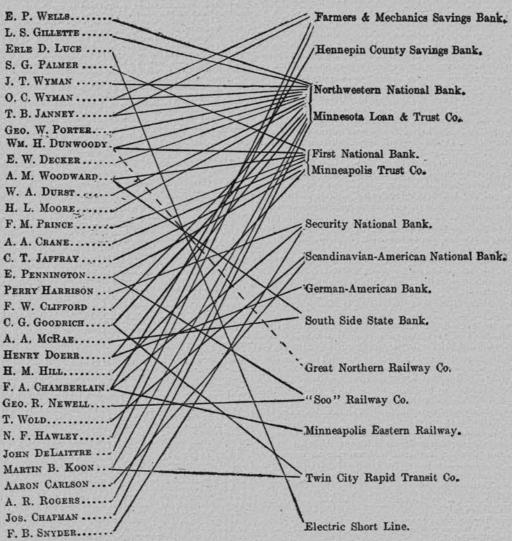
"Experience in other cities has shown that the members of a smaller board of directors feel more directly their responsibility and that they are more responsive to the influence of the membership.

"The directors are confident that these changes will greatly strengthen the organization in the minds of the community and will simplify its operations."

operations."

The outstanding characteristics in the changes in the directorate and the mode of electing directors are a directorate smaller in number

DIAGRAM "A."



W. H. Dunwoody was a stockholder in the Great Northern Railway Company at this time and soon after became a director.

The First National and Security National banks have consolidated since this time.

(easier to control), simplified method of nominating and electing (more sure of results in behalf of "special privilege" in perpetuating control).

Under the revised charter and by-aws the classification of membership remains as before, except "special privilege" has been enlarged and additionally provided for as follows: The individual members who pay not less than \$10 have one vote in electing directors; members who pay not less than \$500 have three votes; members who pay not less than \$500 and up have five votes. (Revised by-laws, art. 2, sec. 17.)

You will notice that "special privilege" in this association always has to do with the election of directors. You will also note, as said before, that the directors represent privilege, many individual members are allied with privilege, and privilege is organized and the general members are not.

Diagram C herewith illustrates how directors are nominated and elected under the revised by-laws. There is one regular ticket containing 12 names—6 to be elected. (See page 503.)

The directors nominate the ticket by a committee of five appointed by them—two "special privilege" members and three individual members (as stated before, let me appoint the nominating committee and you can do the voting).

The by-laws provide that an independent ticket may be nominated in that "not less than 25 members may nominate 1 or more persons." If there be such a ticket, it shall be headed "Independent ticket." (Revised by-laws, art. 3, secs. 5 and 6.)

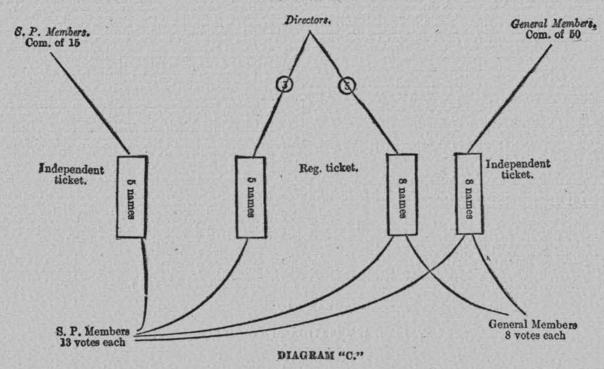
The provision for cumulative voting is also contained in the revised by-laws.

by-laws.
You can see that the directors are able to dictate the nominations on the regular ticket; that organized "special privilege," with cumulative

DIAGRAM "B."

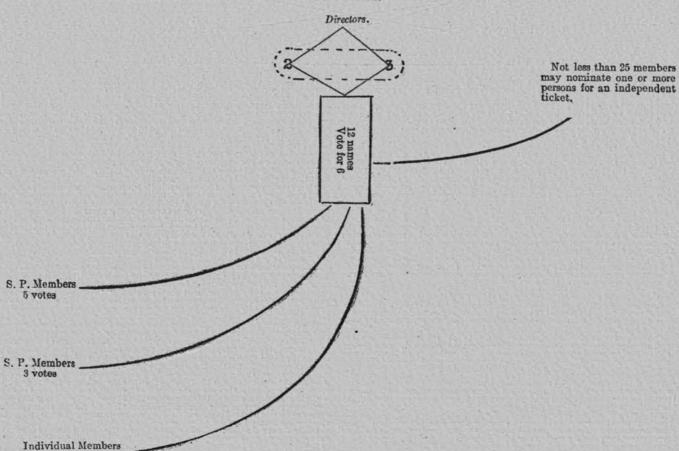
ANNUAL ELECTION (13 DIRECTORS).

NOMINATIONS.



ANNUAL ELECTION (6 DIRECTORS).

NOMINATIONS.



1 vote

voting, can get what they want; that an independent ticket would only strengthen "special privilege" and weaken any opposition by dividing the opposition.

So much for the control by "special privilege" as provided in the bylaws. Now let us consider what additional advantage they have in practical operation.

practical operation.

The directors are elected at the annual meeting of the association held in October. This annual meeting has customarily been held in the main dining room of one of the hotels of Minneapolis that will seat probably not over 500 people, and when you note that the membership of this association at this time in 1915 is said to be about thirty-three hundred in number and that those who are absent from the annual meeting do not vote, you can readily see how the general membership is unprovided for and "special privilege" has an additional advantage.

THE BY-LAWS ARE DRAWN ON LINES OF CENTRALIZED CONTROL.

unprovided for and "special privilege" has an additional advantage.

THE BY-LAWS ARE DRAWN ON LINES OF CENTRALIZED CONTROL.

The directors absolutely control and run the association.

The directors fill the vacancies in the board of directors; they elect all officers, agents, or managers of the association; they create divisions and departments, appoint standing and special committees, make rules and regulations in addition to those contained in the by-laws, and change such rules and regulations at pleasure; they pass upon committee reports; and they determine what reports shall be published.

The revised by-laws, article 8, section 10, say;

"No standing or special committee shall make any report or represent the association in the advocacy of any project without the specific confirmation of the board of directors or executive committee."

The first articles of incorporation say;

"The board of directors shall act as a clearing house for the discussion and adjulication of such matters as may be brought before it."

(This last paragraph is not in the revised articles of incorporation, but I have found no evidence in the revised articles that changes the spirit of this paragraph or reduces its power of control.)

Assertion No. 6:

"That these associations pretend to represent the community in which they are located, and because of such alleged representation they go before city councils and State legislatures to secure what they want from these representatives of the people."

The first articles of incorporation of this association say:

"The purpose of the corporation and the nature of its business shall be to advance the civic and commercial interests of the city of Minneapolis and to promote the general welfare and prosperity of the city and tributary territory, and to that end and for that purpose."

The revised articles say:
"The purpose of this association shall be the advancement of the civic, municipal, and commercial interests of the city of Minneapolis, the promotion of the general welfare and prosperity of the city and its tributary territory, and the stimulation of public sentiment to these

tributary territory, and the stimulation of public sentiment to these ends."

The directors, in their first annual report, say:

"A complete account of the service rendered to the community by this association can not be given. Its influence in many directions, intangible though it may be, is none the less effective. The sum total of this influence is important in the progress of the city."

The third annual report of the directors says:

"The good influence of the association upon the civic life, the business life, and every activity that has for its purpose the betterment and enlargement of Minneapolis can not be questioned."

The retiring president, in 1914, said:

"The organization is a dominant factor in the life of the city. It has, through its freedom from prejudice, its unselfishness, and its accomplishments, intrenched itself in the affections and esteem of the people of Minneapolis."

The president of the association, in his annual address in 1913, said:

"Our work this year has covered a wide range and has brought us in close relationship with the Congress of the United States, our State legislature, our city council and county commissioners, and in almost every instance we have been successful in securing from these governing bodies the action and legislation our association desired, and we have been recognized in all cases as voicing the public opinion of Minneapolis."

You may ask me to give some specific instances of their work and their action an questions where ageingt the action and legislation their cation are general the

You may ask me to give some specific instances of their work and their action on questions where privilege is affected as against the people.

My purpose, as I have before stated, is to show a system and a power of control. I will, therefore, not enter into details in regard to the work or action of this association during its existence, because—First. It is unnecessary to do this to prove the power of control; and, Second. It would only divert from the main issue; that is, the power of control by privilege through these associations.

THE ST. PAUL ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE.

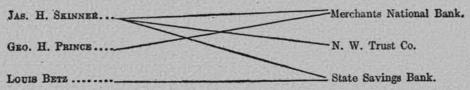
The St. Paul Association of Commerce, St. Paul, Minn., is a second illustration of such a local association organized as described.

This association was incorporated by three citizens of St. Paul and the articles of incorporation filed December 5, 1911.

DIAGRAM "D."

ST. PAUL ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE.

INCORPORATORS.



The diagram "D" gives the names of the incorporators and their alignment as officers and directors with banks and trust companies in

The diagram "D" gives the names of the incorporators and their alignment as officers and directors with banks and trust companies in St. Paul.

The articles of incorporation name the 32 citizens who composed the first board of directors, and specifies that the said board of directors shall adopt by-laws for the government of the association.

Under the by-laws for the government of the association.

Under the by-laws the active membership consists of individuals, firms, and corporations.

Article 4, relating to membership, says:

"Candidates thus proposed shall be voted upon by the board of directors; a majority vote of the directors in attendance shall elect.

* Any person or any firm or corporation, through its representatives, may hold as many memberships as may be applied for and approved by the board of directors." (Memberships cost \$50 cach. Only a matter of buying enough memberships for privilege to control in elections.)

Article 8, sections 3, 4, and 5, says:

"The board of directors shall conduct the affairs of the association, shall make such appointments as shall seem to it necessary for the welfare of the association, and "shall for the second annual election and each annual election thereafter, at least 40 days prior to said election, create a committee of five whose duty it shall be to nominate officers and directors to be voted on at the succeeding annual election."

You will agree with me it is unnecessary to go into further detail as to the government of the association to show centralized control and ability to perpetuate that control by privilege

MINNESOTA COMMERCIAL AND CIVIC FEDERATION.

MINNESOTA COMMERCIAL AND CIVIC FEDERATION.

Assertion No. 7: "That associations are being organized in the smaller cities of Minnesota by the Minnesota Commercial and Civic Federation, which is organized on lines of special privilege and centralized control."

This association was incorporated February 23, 1915, by four citizens of Minnesota, and the articles of incorporation name the first board of directors, consisting of 15 members from various cities and towns of the State.

INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATES.

This directorate interlocks with the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce association, in that A. R. Rogers is a director in both, and with the St. 'aul Association of Commerce, in that E. S. Warner is a director in

The articles of incorporation say:
"Its general purpose shall be to effect cooperation between civic and commercial clubs in town and country for the general welfare and prosperity of the State and its municipalities."

The management and control of the corporation is vested in the board of directors. They appoint the officers and committees and they also determine who shall b come members of the association.

The membership consists of two kinds—organization and individual. The representation of these members in the federation is undemocratic and on lines where it is possible for privilege to perpetuate control. (I have not yet succeeded in getting the by-laws of this federation, and therefore am not at this time able to go into further detail in regard to its operation.)

Assertion No. 8: "That these associations are members of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America."

The board of directors of the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association, in their first annual report, say:

"Representatives of the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association were present and took part in the organization meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. This association has been honored by the appointment of E. P. Wells, its vice president, as a member of the board of directors of the national organization. This national body already includes in its membership several hundred of the prominent commercial and civic organizations of the country and it promises to prove of large value, through its centralizing and correlating functions, to these organizations."

In the third annual report they say:

"National legislative matters have been acted upon by the board of directors and its support has been lent to the national chamber of commerce in behalf of measures whose objects were approved."

In order to fully comprehend the meaning of these local associations and their relations to the national association, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, you must know the following facts:

When the Civic and Commerce Association of Minneapolis was in-

Men the Civic and Commerce Association of Minneapolis was incorporated in December, 1911, the Association of Commerce in St. Paul, Minn., was also incorporated in December, 1911. The acknowledgment of incorporation of these two associations before notaries public, the one in St. Paul and the other in Minneapolis, were made on the same day—December 5, 1911. There was a concerted movement throughout the country at this time to reorganize old commercia! associations or to establish new ones and absorb or eliminate other organizations in order to have only the one large central body in each city. You will see, then, the source of this movement was not a local one in each community, and the only logical conclusion from the nature of the organizations and the relations of the incorporators is that this movement was centered in the headquarters of privilege.

Having organized many associations in cities on proper lines, the next step was to organize the national association and centralize the

various local associations in the one national organization, which was done in April, 1912. This, I believe, proves logically that the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America was organized by privi-

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

My purpose in considering this organization and its by-laws, since we can logically conclude that privilege has organized, is to show that privilege can control the organization, but before doing this I shall quote from their publications, as follows:

"The Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America is a federation of the commercial organizations of the country. At the same time it is an organization of business men.

"Its organization membership consists of nearly 700 commercial and trade organizations, representing about 350,000 arms, corporations, and business men.

"Its organization membership consists of nearly 700 commercial and trade organizations, representing about 350,000 nrms, corporations, and business men.

"Its individual membership—limited to 5,000—now consists of over 2,500 individuals firms, or corporations representing merchants, manufacturers, lawyers, bankers, engineers, ratiroad officials, and other business men of established position.

"The keynote of the national chamber is service to American business. Its function is not to establish a lobby or exert special influence, but by practical application of its democratic constitution, its representative character, and its public methods of operation, to ascertain and express the needs of the Nation's business. Its power rests aitogether with its constituent elements for whom and by whom it exists.

"Meetings of the officers and directors and the executive committee were held in different sections of the country, and these commercial patriots carried the gospel of business by word of mouth to many thousands of people in scattered sections of the United States. They told of this great national body, nonpolitical and nonpartisan in character, that was establishing a new spirit in business, that was forming a basis of relationship between every community and the Nation at large, that was converting a tremendons divergency of individual interests into a unity of action, and that was carrying the voice of business into the Halls of Congress and demanding impartially and legitimately that this voice be heard. They fold of establishing the executive heads of governmental departments in the work of the national chamber. These speaking tours partook of the character of a crusade and evoked great enthusiasm. They achieved national interest in the national cooperation with the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. They created in the minds of business men the thought of service to the State.

"The national chamber is creating a greater democracy and is educating the business men of the United States to a finer con

We will now consider whether process will be advised by the management of this association is centered in the board of directors.

"It shall be the judge of the qualifications of all applicants for membership and no applicant shall be admitted to membership except by vote of the said board of directors." (Art. 9, sec. 3, by-laws.) It appoints all officers and committees; it may adopt such rules and regulations for the conduct of its business as shall be advisable, etc. It privilege organized this chamber of commerce, then privilege controls the directorate and the directors control the organization in management.

ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP.

Now, as to its membership. If the organization membership consists of organizations controlled by privilege (which we have good reason to believe from evidence submitted), then the delegates from these organizations to the national association represent privilege.

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP.

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP.

I quote from sections 1 and 2, article 5, of the by-laws:

"Persons, firms, or corporations who are members in good standing in any organization admitted to the chamber shall be eligible for election to this body by the board of directors and shall be known as individual members. * * Individual members shall be eligible to membership on all standing or special committees, shall have the privilege of the floor, but they shall not be entitled to vote." You will note the assurance that these individual members are "sate and sane in that, first, they must be members in good standing in an affinited organization; and, second, they must be approved by the board of directors of this chamber of commerce.

If the individual members are officers or otherwise affiliated with or in sympathy with privilege, to that extent this membership represents privilege, and they are eligible to membership on all standing and special committees and when we come to consider the referendum on important questions as used by this organization we will realize the impurance that attaches hereto.

The Efferendum.

THE REFERENDUM.

THE REFERENDUM.

The national questions which are considered by this organization, such as changes in tariff, revision of currency and banking laws, development of ocean transportation, inland waterways, railway and other means of transportation and communication, are all questions vitally affecting privilege, and when this organization comes to consider any legislation pertaining to any of these questions and takes a reterendum vote upon such questions, what can we expect as a result?

The legislation under consideration will be submitted to either a standing or special committee having in hand that particular department, for example: Legislation affecting the merchant marine would be submitted to a standing or special committee on merchant marine. That committee may be made up of a membership interested in or whose interests are closely affiliated with the merchant marine. This committee is supposed to make a report presenting in an unbiased way both sides of this question, and said report is sent out as a basis for such reterendum to the membership of this chamber of commerce. Is it logical to suppose that such a report would be unbiased and that a referendum made upon that report would be an intelligent vote?

Since individual members in this association include persons, firms, and corporations, and these members are eligible to appointment on standing or special committees, and since large corporations as a rule are intimately related to privilege, you can see how important to privilege these individuals members may be.

Assertion No. 9: "That privilege, through these associations, local and national, pretends to represent the general business element of

the country, but they represent primarily the powers that organized and control them—privilege."

In the analysis of these various associations the fact has been demonstrated that they pretend to represent the general business element and sentiment of the country, both locally and nationally.

It has also been shown as logical the conclusion that privilege has organized these associations; that privilege has the power to control, and that privilege does control them. If privilege does control them, or has the power to control, it is logical to conclude that it will control them in behalf of the interests of privilege.

HAVE THEY ABANDONED THE LOBBY?

I quote from one of their publications, as follows: "One of the earliest achievements of the national chamber was the dealing of a severe blow to the lobby system. It is told that the lobby method of seeking, to influence business legislation has practically ceased to exist at Washington as a result of the opposition to it by the national chamber;" which is to be interpreted that, finding their old method discredited and believing they have a new method that promises to be more effective, they have abandoned the old.

The foregoing is a brief outline of the organization of these associations and the methods of their government and control.

The simultaneous organization and reorganization of associations during the years 1911 and early 1912, before the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America was organized, indicates a deliberately and centrally planned work coordinating in the various cities throughout the country. This fact, together with the source in each city of the local organizations, leads us to the conclusion that the whole movement originates in the headquarters of privileye.

And for what purpose? Evidently, through them, to control so far as possible government—municipal, State, and National.

If this evidence submitted in this outline and analysis is sufficiently conclusive to warrant a belief that the conclusions are correct, then it would seem that not only publicity should be given to the facts but a further and exhaustive investigation should be made.

Yours, very truly,

H. L. Day.

Anyone who has observed the press on this will recall seeing frequent reports of the activity of the United States Chamber of Commerce. By the way, it will be observed that they followed the usual practice of those seeking special privilege to adopt a name to deceive the people in political matters to make them believe it is a branch of the Government. While it may do some good work, the "invisible organizers" who are responsible for its creation do not trouble themselves with that. If this body had been in full swing when the Federal reserve act was conceived, the "invisible organizers" would never have found it necessary to form the so-called "citizen's league" to fool the people to get that act passed. This United States Chamber of Commerce is a permanent organization, intended by the "inner circle" to hereafter serve all such purposes. All that will be necessary is for the "inner circle" to give the hint to its officers. It is intended to make this a government by the United States Chamber of Commerce for the "inner circle" instead of as the Constitution provides, a Government by the people and for the people. Perhaps I can illustrate the purpose of the United States Chamber of Commerce better by a letter which all Congressmen have recently received. It is as follows:

RE LEGISLATIVE, EXECUTIVE, AND JUDICIAL APPROPRIATION BILL.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE United States of America, Washington, D. O., March 4, 1916.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Washington, D. U. March 4, 1916.

Hon. Charles A. Lindbergh, Washington, D. U.

Dear Sir: The legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill which, among its other functions, makes appropriations for the work of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in the Department of Commerce, is now before the House of Representatives. As reported from the Committee on Appropriations, it makes but slight provision for the extension of the work of the bureau in ascertaining the markets for American goods in foreign countries and the promotion of American commerce.

The work of the Dureau in these fields has had the constant attention of the committee on the department of commerce of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. In 1913 a report of this committee was issued to referendam advocating large extensions of the work for the promotion of the commerce of the United States. These recommendations were almost unanimously indorsed by the commercial bodies throughout the country, and Congress went far toward carrying them out in the appropriation bili of that year.

This was before the European war and had reference to the normal situation which then existed. The war has entirely changed that situation which then existed. The war has entirely changed that situation and has made a necessity for the development of American commerce with foreign countries on a scale wholly without precedent. This necessity expires with the war, and American business can hold only such markets as it has become firmly established in during this period of uncertain duration. American export trade has developed very greatly, and the volume of American export trade has developed an integral part of our internal prosperity.

The development of foreign markets is not in this country or in other countries a matter of individual initiative alone. Only the largest American firms are equipped to enter foreign markets on their own initiative. Even these are dependent in large part on th

This situation in all its phases has been carefully considered by our committee on the department of commerce, which issued a report with recommendations that were sent to referendum under date of November 15. The voting closed on December 31. In the main, the plans of the department for the development of the commercial service of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce were indorsed, but not in any sense plindly Some were rejected; in some cases proposals initiated by our committee were accepted by the department, and in other cases recommendations were made by the committee independent of the department of the department

in any sense blindly Some were rejected; in some cases proposals initiated by our committee were accepted by the department, and in other cases recommendations were made by the committee independent of the department.

The voting by the commercial organizations of the United States closed on December 31, 1915, and the nine separate recommendations of the committee were indorsed, with but a small number of votes in the negative in any case. The organizations that took part in the ballotting were 307 in number and were situated in 42 States, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Paris, France, and Milan, Italy.

The results of this referendum were con municated to Congress through the medium of letters to the Vice President and the Speaker of the House of Representatives. A copy of the letter to the Speaker of the House is attached hereto. In turn, the referendum was sent to the chairmen of the House Committees on Appropriations and on Foreign Affairs (for the report dears in part with development of the Consular Service of the United States). The builetin containing an analysis of the vote and showing how each organization cast its ballot is inclosed herewith, while a copy of the pamphiet containing the report, which was sent out to the members to be voted on, wit be forwarded to you under separate cover.

This referendum places beyond question or doubt the overwheiming sentiment of the commercial bodies of the United States that the Government shound grant adequate support to American business in exploiting to the full the opportunity for the development of American commerce turnished by the European war. We are not in any way responsible for this war. We are not engaged in endeavoring to advance our interest at the expense of others, but we are engaged in a most legitimate enterprise, in accordance with the recognized rules of business and competition, to benefit both American business on the one side and the countries with which we deal in foreign trade on the other.

While it is obvious that the House Committee

The following is the letter referred to as having been written to the Speaker:

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Washington, D. C., January 24, 1916. The honorable the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

The houorable the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: In pursuance of its function of ascertaining the business opinion of the country upon matters of national concern affecting commerce, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States issued to its 700 constituent commercial organizations, located in every State, a referendum upon a report of its special committee on the Department of Commerce, in which was advocated a marked increase in the development of the foreign commercial service of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in the Department of Commerce and the Consular Service on the Department of State. This referendum was issued on November 15, 45 days were allowed for voting, and the balloting closed on December 31. The ballots were immediately canvassed and the result of the count by totals was given publicity through the press.

We now have the honor to transmit herewith a builtin dealing with the results of this referendum, which not only gives the total of the votes cast on each question submitted, but also the vote of each commercial organization that fook part in the balloting. We would respectfully ask that this may have the attention of the House of Representatives and of its Committees on Appropriations and Foreign Affairs. We would further request that these committees should grant an opportunity to representatives of the national chamber, not to argue the matter in a formal hearing (for the results as printed in this buildin carry their own argument), but to present these results orally and explain the method and the significance of the referendum.

Very respectfully,

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, ELLICT H. GOODWIN, General Secretary.

A copy of the referendum pamphiet in the form in which it was transmitted to the constituent organizations has been forwarded to you under separate cover

So far as the facts in this letter go, I have no comment to make now. It is merely the fact that here is a power that seeks to take the place the people themselves should occupy. The people should govern this Congress, though all may present

their claims to be considered.

This same "inner circle" which controls the United States Chamber of Commerce has been the busiest in the war armament propaganda. It is their European speculation they wish to be in shape to enforce by force of arms if necessary to their purpose. That is why they so "patriotically" (?) insist on

the right of a few Americans to travel on armed merchant ships, while a hundred million Americans who have not the means to travel, even if they wished, must take a chance to toil still more and secure less pay and drag out their existence on earth to support this claim in case we get into war over it. gress shirks its duty-hides behind technical rules provided on purpose to keep the people from finding out how Members vote.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CYRUS CLINE, OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, under a square presentation of the question of warning American citizens to refuse to take passage on an armed merchantman of a belligerent, unmixed with any problem of diplomacy, I would vote to request them to stay off. The doctrine that a neutral has a right to take passage to any port at any time and upon any vessel is not questioned as an abstract proposition under international law. All rights are relative, and no man in a moral sense is justified in the exercise of a purely abstract individual right when such enforcement endangers the peace and safety of others. I have no concern but that the sane, level-headed man will not only pursue sucl. a course as will insure his own safety and that of his fellow man; I am concerned about the unwise, foolbardy man that does not propose to surrender his right that he seeks to exercise for the good of his fellow citizens. One man has no moral right to involve a hundred millions of men in war when the right he seeks to enjoy is not a substantial one.

But, Mr. Speaker, the McLemore resolution does not present the question, Shall we request American citizens to avoid passage on an armed merchantman of belligerent nations or not, alone. In its numerous "whereases" it seeks to intervene in the exercise of the constitutional powers of the Executive, assumes to abridge his prerogatives, and asks Congress to do those

things diplomatically that it has no authority to do.

The press of this country has precipitated the issue. abroad have forced the question upon the House to decide whether the people of this kepublic shall stand by the President in the exercise of his administrative duty or whether it shall abandon him and assume the responsibility of negotiating with foreign countries on diplomatic problems ourselves. Every Member of this House is anxious to do his sworn duty as he conscientiously sees it in this crucial hour, the greatest and most momentous since Fort Sumter was fired upon. I am anxious to do what I can to assist the Chief Executive in his effort to continue a condition of peace that he has for 18 months been so successful in maintaining. The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House has been criticized for its action on the McLemore resolution. This is the report of the committee:

That House resolution No. 147, known as the McLemore resolution, be reported to the House with the recommendation that it lie on the table. Under the practices and precedents of this country the conduct of diplomatic relations has been left to the President, and with this practice the committee does not feel it proper for the Representatives of the House to interfere with that authority. If the President reaches a point in any negotiation with a foreign nation with which he believes he has exhausted his power in the premises, he will, in the usual way, report all the facts and circumstances to Congress for their consideration.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs has concretely expressed its position on this resolution. It recognizes that under the precedents and practices the President of the United States is clothed with complete authority to negotiate with other Gov-ernments on diplomatic problems. It also informed the President that in its opinion it did not feel it proper to interfere until the President had exhausted that authority, and then it was proper for him to refer the entire matter to Congress for consideration. We sought in this resolution to preserve the coordinate authority of the House of Representatives with all its rights and constitutional powers. We recognized that the right to declare war was the right to prevent it if possible. September 3, 1914, when the European war broke out, it has proceeded in scope until now two-thirds of the civilized world is engulfed in its coils. As this involution proceeded the President of the United States has continuously been confronted with new and most complex diplomatic problems. The magnitude, intricacy, and far-reaching character of the correct solution of those problems is beyond calculation. Every phase of international precedent and practice has invited his attention. The intensity and magnitude of this European struggle has been titanic. Eleven millions of men have been taken from the peaceful pursuit of production and enlisted to burn and destroy cities and drive peaceful people from their historic abodes. Murder and rapine have been the rule of this immense force. Every force of destruction that the human mind can conceive has enlisted to engage the masses of the people engaged directly in this contest.

Under these conditions, the United States being the only nation at peace with the great nations of the world, it became the conservator of international law; it became its duty to maintain those principles, well settled for centuries, not only regarding the rights of legitimate warfare but the rights of neutrals that lie at the foundations of government and the construction of civilized society. These precedents and principles, if swept away, would result in anarchy, in the reign of martial law, in the cessation of commercial intercourse and the ruin of civilization. The President of the United States has stood as a conservator of these principles; he has not only engaged in protecting them from violation by the belligerent powers but, through their protection, securing the peace, comfort, and happiness of the people of the United States.

A new condition arose by virtue of the invention of the submarine—an effective but fragile weapon of undersea warfare. It was charged that the allies had armed their merchantmen for offensive as well as defensive purposes; had detailed men from its navy to these merchantmen with instructions to destroy all submarines at sight, without waiting for warning. Concurrent with that charge came the declaration that the central powers would, after March 1, destroy all merchantmen of the belligerents by torpedoing them, without notice, whether armed or unarmed. Our position as a neutral nation is that no merchantman has the right under international law to arm for offensive purposes, and if it does so it becomes an armed cruiser, an adjunct of the navy of the power to which it be-

longs, and is subject to be destroyed without notice.

The American Government asserted as a rule of international law that the invention of the submarine as a new element of warfare could not change an international principle that affected the rights of neutrals without the consent of all the powers that might be affected by the change. Both the allied and the central powers refused to submit to any change of their purposes. The President of the United States, through diplomatic agencies, was proceeding not only to secure an agreement on the part of the allies not to arm their merchantmen for offensive purposes, but he was likewise proceeding to secure from the central powers an agreement to abandon its purpose of torpedoing all merchantmen without regard to armament. Through some source it was asserted in the capitals of Europe that the President of the United States was not supported in his efforts to maintain the international principle by the Congress of the United States; that he had not the moral support of the Congress in his efforts to maintain what he believed to be the international principle governing. In both of those purposes he was therefore hampered and weakened in his efforts because foreign Governments believed that he was not supported by the sentiment of the Congress. The President therefore expressed his wish that the McLemore resolution be voted upon, so as to give the capitals of Europe the exact status of the position of the United States: that we were not divided, but the country stood as one man for the support of every phase of international law. That important problem, mixed with the question of warning, was thus presented. I can not compound my vote on the problem of warning with the one expressing the attitude of the country on the maintenance of international principle.

We have heretofore planted ourselves squarely on international rights as outlined in the various codes. We have protested to the central powers upon every occasion of their violation. We have done likewise with the allies. The moment we ourselves ignore the practices and customs of international law, that moment the sheet anchor of neutral rights is pierced. Then all guaranties are gone.

The country at large is opposed to war, and justly so. The United States has never gone to war except in defense of a great principle or for a great cause. The people of this country will not consent to the Congress involving the United States in a war in which its sons are transported 3,000 miles from home and enlisted under the banner and under the control of some other Government to fight its battles, and fight them against people with whom we have no quarrel but, on the contrary, people with whom we are friends. Why should the United States involve itself in war with any nation? We have treaties of peace, amity, and commerce with every nation, except one, involved in this controversy. Why should we join with Germany in a war against England, our parent country with whom we have main-

tained friendly relations for more than a century of our national life? Why should we join in the war with England against Germany, whose sons and daughters are among our best citizens, and who have intermarried with our sons and daughters and given stability and confidence to this great Government; who during all of our troubles, both domestic and foreign, gave no aid or sympathy to any of our contestants but, on the contrary, preserved an absolute and unqualified neutrality?

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN L. BURNETT,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 9, 1916.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote to table the Mc-Lemore resolution. I reached this conclusion after much deliberation and with some misgivings. At first blush I believed it might be wise to adopt a resolution to at least advise Ameri-

cans to stay off armed belligerent ships.

I recognize the fact that the diplomatic end of the controversy is with the President. But Congress alone, under our Constitution, can declare war, and Congress alone can provide the ways and means of carrying on war. Hence by reason of the dual responsibility placed upon the President and Congress I felt that it would not be amiss for Congress to advise our people to stay off armed belligerent ships. I spent many restless hours debating with myself whether we should not at least go as far as the suggestion to pass a resolution along the line that I have just indicated. Then I remembered that for 18 long months the President has battled nobly, loyally, heroically to steer the ship of state away from the maelstrom of war, toward which it so often seemed to be tending.

When the *Lusitania* was sunk, it looked as if it would be impossible to keep out of the vortex; but at the helm sat that wonderful pilot, Woodrow Wilson, patient, imperturbable,

courageous, and loyal.

Both allies and Germans would have welcomed the hour when America would become embroiled with the other. To pursue a middle way between the two required a keen eye and a steady hand. But our President has done it. Then shall we of his own household refuse him a vote of confidence?

He has said that to pass the McLemore resolution would embarrass him in his international negotiations. Can Democrats afford to do it? Have we lost confidence in that loyal heart and level head that has so often said to the troubled waters, "Peace, be still?" I for one have not. Then, can I vote to paralyze the hands of the pilot at the wheel? If I believed as some do, that to table the resolution would mean war, I would not hesitate to cast my vote against it. If I believed the foul rumors that have been set afloat that the President desired war with Germany, I would not hesitate to vote to the his hands hard and fast to prevent it. But, Mr. Speaker, I do not believe one word of any such slanders, and those who are the purveyors of such falsehoods are enemies to our Republic. Such a thought never entered the loyal heart of Woodrow Wilson. Had he ever entertained such a wish, he could long since have had us in the throes of this titanic world war.

The report of the Committee on Foreign Relations ought to set at rest all such vile slanders. One sentence in the report, no doubt authorized by the President, is enough to satisfy me.

It is this:

We know that if the President reaches a point in any negotiations with foreign Governments at which he has exhausted his power in the premises, he will in the usual way report all facts and circumstances to Congress for its consideration.

With this assurance, Mr. Speaker, would it be wise for us to take a step which even has the appearance of usurping the prerogatives of the President or placing ourselves even in apparent conflict with his purposes? Such a system of crosspurposes between Congress and the President might tend to bring about the very clash of arms that we all pray to avert. Mr. Speaker, I have seen war in its worst phases. I was a boy 7 years of age when the Stars and Stripes went down and the Stars and Bars went up in my native State. I saw the first company leave from my native county to follow the fortunes of the "storm-cradled Nation."

I saw the young man in his gray jeans uniform, made by the deft fingers of a loyal mother, wife, or sister, as he went away in the Maytime of 1861, buoyant, hopeful, and happy. I saw him as he returned in the Maytime of 1865, perhaps maimed or halt, despondent, crushed in spirits, with nothing left him at home except the loyal ones whose hearts had never deserted or betrayed him during the four long, dreary years he had spent battling for a cause that he believed to be right and following a flag that he knew to be stainless and pure.

While I was not on the tented fields nor in the battle line, I was where I could see the falling tears and hear the saddening moans of Rachel weeping for her children and refusing to be

comforted because they were not.

I was where I could see the red flames leaping high above the heads of women and children made homeless by an invading army. I was where I could see lone chimneys, silent evidences of the fact that war, indeed, is hell. I was where I could see the only son of widowed mothers brought home to find a last resting place in the graveyard behind the little country church, with the stars and bars as his winding sheet. I was where I could see orphan children led by a weeping mother to the rude coffin of their soldier father, the little ones wondering, What does it all mean.

I was where I could see the pale, wan faces of those whose last morsel of bread had been taken from them and in whose homes the gaunt fingers of famine were laid upon his helpless

I was where I could see the horrible effects of war after the flag we loved so well had been furled forever at Appomattox.

I was where I could see a struggling people trying to rehabilitate their country from the besom of destruction and rebuilding their little homes upon the very ashes of those which the fire flend had recently laid low.

Mr. Speaker, I have seen war in all its horrors, and I want no

more of it.

I thank God for a Woodrow Wilson, who has kept us out of war for 18 months, and I still trust him.

The Late Representative Samuel A. Witherspoon, of Mississippi.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

HON. FRANK BUCHANAN.

OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, March 5, 1916.

The House had under consideration the following resolutions (H.

The House had under consideration the following resolutions (H. Res. 157):

"Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. Samuel. A. Witherspoon, late a Member of this House from the State of Mississippi.

"Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand adjourned.

"Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Senate.
"Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the cold, grim hand of death struck this House and the people of our country a serious blow when my colleague and friend. Samuel A. With-ERSPOON, was suddenly taken from our midst, just as we were about to begin a new and what no doubt will be a memorable Congress. After the eloquent eulogies that have been paid to the memory of Mr. WITHERSPOON, it is not for me to add anything to what has already been well said. My only desire is very plainly and in simple words to pay some tribute to the memory of a personal friend, a patriotic citizen, and an able and upright public official.

My acquaintance with Mr. WITHERSPOON dated only from my entrance into this House in the Sixty-second Congress, yet in that time I learned to love him for his gracious manner and kindly spirit and admire him for his firm adherence to those principles of Democracy that were nearest his heart. Being associated with him as a member of the Naval Affairs Committee, and sharing in common with him many principles and ideals, it was often my privilege to work side by side with him in the business of this House. His impulses were always genquestions which he deemed of vital interest to the people of our

country.

Mr. Speaker, our departed friend gave his best to the service of the people. Who can do more? The State of Mississippi has to the service of the Nation, but none of the people. Who can do more? The State of Mississippi has given many of her sons to the service of the Nation, but none more able, none more sincere, none more courageous than Samuel A. Witherspoon. I share keenly and deeply in the general grief caused by the premature closing of a career which only a short time before was so rich in achievement and so full of promise for the future. However, in our grief there is grati-fication in the knowledge that he contributed his full share in the furtherance of that principle of humanity proclaimed by the Founder of Christianity, who said that "He came that the children of earth might have a more abundant life"; and we can feel that if we respond to the call of duty as he did, when the end comes there will be little to regret. That our Creator may comfort and protect his loved ones is my sincere wish.

McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES H. DAVIS. OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 9, 1916.

Mr. DAVIS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the heaviest responsibilities of my life have been passing over my head the last few The strenuous times and war-mad rage of Europe seems to be reaching America. War and rumors of wars are raging everywhere. No country on earth seems free from the blight of its contagion and agony. The whole of Europe is practically one battle field while the contending forces are drawing on the balance of the world for support.

Some mysterious influence has made this Republic a maeistrom of excitement and dread lest we, too, become involved in the conflict. War clouds, dark and gloomy, seem to have been gathering around this glorious Capitol for the past few weeks. It is natural for racial ties and friendships to manifest them-selves and take sides in almost any contest. Would to God that our country could be free and immune from the calamities that are now baptizing the European countries in blood. But no man who is sane can refuse to understand the manifestations that make for war in this country. We are no longer a neutral, nonpartisan, onlooker to the contest. We are practically separated into two great contending classes, and are centralizing our thoughts, conscience, and conduct in sympathy with the two contending sides in Europe.

Our business and banking world, our great daily papers, our immense manufactures, together with many of our leading professors, magazines, and teachers are openly and avowedly supporting, aiding, and abeting England and the allies. They are literally coining the bloody battle fields of Europe into multiplied millions of dollars that flow to many of our large banking and business concerns. On the other hand, we hear and see a potent and provoking evidence of the sympathy of a large element of our citizenship for Germany and her allies. We hear and see in the daily press a great deal of scorn and insinuating acrimony against the German-American and the hyphenated American in general. If I know myself in the presence of my God and this body of statesmen, I have no sympathy with either of these conditions. I am an American—300 years of ancestral parentage in this country makes me to the manor born.

Standing here under my oath, feeling the grave responsibility that rests upon me, I am trying with all my power and incessant application to steer clear of any entangling alliance or partisanship that would involve this Republic in that dreadful war. But, do what I will, say what I may, I am driven irresistibly by all the manifest environments to the conclusion that we are rapidly approaching the crisis which may plunge us into a cruelty and calamity-direful indeed.

More than a year ago England and her allies made an alliance with the greatest business concerns of this Republic. It is known, sir, unquestionably, that the Morgan syndientes, so called in the United States, represent the greatest aggregations of the money power known to the world. This money power for years has carried on an invisible government in this country that has been able to control our destiny as it saw proper. It has erous, his sympathy broad, and his intellect keen. He was a concentrated our wealth, impoverished our labor, formed unlaw-zealous and untiring worker, oft working far into the night on

their judgments, made mockery of our prosecutions, made our laws impotent and ineffectual, and run riot over the hope and happiness of our country many times. Having been constrained, curbed, and laid under legal restrictions at home by a militant democracy, enthroned in the last campaign with Woodrow Wilson at its head, the war in Europe furnished this money devil with an opportunity to recoup its lost prestige by preying upon the distress of that war-cursed country and at the same time enlist the support and assistance of a large element of resourceful and high-class people in our country. In the early stages of the conflict mysterious meetings, conclaves, and cabals were formed and held between England and these American magicians of our money devil.

Becoming the sponsor, indorser, and general supply agent for England and her allies, they set about to make this country a business annex, if not a war annex. England in her arrogance and assumptive bigotry drew a dead line across the oceans, made a continent-wide war zone and put the whole of the German and Austriau Empires under slege, making the law of might her only right, with a total disregard for neutrals and with a flagrant disregard for Americans and their rights, feeling that the Morgan syndicates could be relied on to keep down resentment and rage against England's infamous conduct in this country. She defied us and the world to cross her dead line and trade with Germany and her enemies.

Sir, strange indeed, wonderfully, mysteriously, remarkably strange, is the fact that she still insolently—yes; I may say villainously-defies us and the world to cross her dead lines. And stranger still, more mysterious than all else, is the lamentable fact that many of our daily papers, magazines, and many prominent people openly, boldly, and without hesitancy, not only condone her conduct, but absolutely acquiesce in all her nefarious actions, and go still further and demand that this Government shall join her and help crush Germany and her allies.

That Germany has sinned in a criminal way we must all admit. It is not my province to pass upon the whys and where-fores that brought about this cruel war. But one thing I do know, that it was not of our making and we ought to keep out of it. In a public speech in Texas last August I stated that Germany's conduct had manifested a total disregard for all the laws of honor, mercy, and justice that was supposed to govern the conduct of a civilized people. But I said also that England's conduct had been equally as unscrupulous, unmitigated, and outrageous, except that England had not destroyed the lives of Americans by her criminal acts. Sir, we must realize that both of these countries are in a dreadful, woeful, destructive war, whose modern methods and improved machines make the conflict the most dreadful cataclysm and holocaust ever known.

A noted American general, educated as a warrior and having gone through four years of the dreadful war in our own country, in a sentence of stoic philosophy that is now recognized by all thinking people said, "War is hell." And when a nation and its armies are in hell it is sheer nonsense to expect them to be governed by and be respectful to the laws of Heaven, honor, or justice. England took America by the throat, dragged her off the seas, crammed a million bales of southern cotton into her block-ade, and held up nearly a billion dollars of our commerce on its way to nations with whom we had a perfect right to trade, killed the cotton market of the South; then her agents, Morgan and his syndicates, bought up that cotton at bankrupt prices. She showed with contempt she had absolutely no regard for the rights of America and for the American people. She cared nothing for the heartaches, heartburns, for the poverty and distress, for the woe and want, the misery and misfortune she was sending into at least a million southern farmers' homes. She expected Morgan and his influence to make the American people stand and deliver.

Little did she care and little did Morgan and his syndicate care for the fact that a hundred thousand sweet, innocent farmers' girls had pumped cotton hoes diving in cotton rows. dragged cotton sacks to gather that crop, and then saw it hawked off on the market at half price, while they stood through the coming winter half clad, half shod, and with heartaches in the penury of their distress. All, sir, that she cared for was to get that cotton to feed to her factories and to make giant cartridges for her massive cannon and serve her as munitions of war. But oh how strange that not even a Republican paper, nor the Dallas News, that is so wont to boast about national honor and na-tional dignity and our natural rights to traverse the seas and

some mysterious way Mr. Morgan and his crowd were soon able to hush and stifle all these complaints and give to England an additional support of \$500,000,000 and underwrite and guarantee the perpetuity of her Government. I grant you, sir, that Germany's conduct in the Lusitania has no parallel in calam-

But why is it that we can read in all the daily papers of the infamy, the brutality, the savage ferocity of Germany, and yet in the same columns often find laudation, praise, sympathy, open and bold support, and justification for England's conduct. Going so far as to demand that we, a great Republic, must ignore all the obligations of an honorable neutrality and all the religious and moral obligations that ought to bind us to peace in the name of humanity and demand that we become a military ally of England, loan her our Army and Navy to help crush the Germans?

This spirit, in what I shall denominate the tory of our country, finding its way into the news service of all our metropolitan dailies and swaying into war, is met by a German-American alliance, whose threats and imprecations portend a resentment that means race riots and strife in the future should we become England's partner in war. And between these contending forces I stand undaunted and immovable as an American, pure and simple.

When the war spirit ran a flame of frenzy through our country a few weeks ago, I began to feel nervous and anxious over impending consequences. I said in a public speech last year that when the overpowering, dominating, unscrupulous wealth represented by the Morgan syndicate, that money devil, that octopus, that we have all inveighed against so long, went security for and underwrote the English Government to the amount of \$500,000,000, that the clutch of this octopus fastened upon so many avenues of our industrial institutions, holding in its grip our highways, our telegraph, cable, and telephone systems, with the insidious and invidious control over all the news sources and information, they would raise some clamor, some cause, some excuse to make this country sustain England and force us to make their millions secure. I said then, and I have said before, and I say now with all the earnestness of my life, that I will not allow my vote and my actions as a Congressman to contribute to such a damnable termination.

We are told now-and told with loud acclamation from headlines of a hundred papers and from thrilling tones of a thousand -that if Germany submarines another armed English ship while one of our passengers is on it that in the name of national honor and to protect our national dignity we ought to forthwith join in and help crush Germany. But, sir, however much I might be willing, however much joy I might feel over crushing the dominating power of the Kaiser or stopping the bewhiskered tyramy of the Austrian Emperor, I resent the demand that we should violate the laws of God, the laws of humanity, and the laws of neutrality, and join another coldblooded king and make good Morgan's millions while we perpetrated the deeds. I have a nobler, a more inspiring, a more God-given mission for this glorious Republic of ours to render. I tell those who make the demands that to me their talk about national honor, national dignity, and American rights comes too late. They should have begun their talk nearly two years ago, when England trampled upon every known principle of international law, spurned and contempted our rights, and impoverished and outraged nearly a million homes in the South.

Much has been said about the right of Americans to travel on armed belligerent ships without molestation. I am not going to controvert that right, but there are many questions involved in this war problem besides the right of travel.

I affirm as a matter of constitutional right that Congress has entire jurisdiction over this whole problem and might to-day pass a law prohibiting any American traveling on armed ships such as are now under discussion.

The Constitution gives to Congress full and absolute power over all our seafaring business. The following passages make that matter entirely clear, and the position can be supported by numerous court decisions. Congress has power to

Define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

The whole power of the President is expressed in our organic law as follows:

tional dignity and our natural rights to traverse the seas and transact business anywhere, ever raised one complaint against the deprayed and damnable conduct of this English Empire.

Millions of our property taken from the industrious poor, practically confiscated, taken by the force that pirates use, because she said it was on the way to feed her enemies. But in

Not one sentence gives any President power over travel on the seas. Congress represents the people, and the President is bound to execute their laws and rules. Where is any power given a President to form a policy of travel on the high seas and thus force Congress into war to carry out his instructions?

When Congress is not in session the governing power is in the President and his Cabinet, but when Congress convenes his board of directors are in session and it his embounden duty to

abide by their laws and their rules.

Months before England declared cotton contraband of war she, with a total disregard of all law, transgressed and tram-pled on the rights of America by throwing millions of dollars worth of our commerce behind her blockades, compelling us to await the verdict of prize courts and action at her pleasure.

Before our bank law had taken effect and when a money famine was imminent she was impounding, impressing, and obstructing by force of arms the transportation of our southern cotton, and through the manipulation of the Morgan syndicate, who are her business agents and, to all intents, resident envoys in this country, they practically robbed the South of her cotton crop, deprived the southern farmer of more than \$400,000,000 by her flagrant, willful, and malicious violations of the codes of war. There was no ultimatum issued regarding outrages by England. I grant you that Germany's conduct has been unscrupulous, willfully cruel, and cold-blooded, but no more so than England's, except that Germany destroyed human life. But for pragmatic and wanton disregard of American rights England has been equally as vulnerable as Germany, and the only reason we have not heard vociferous and unceasing complaint of England's conduct is because of the overwhelming influence of American sympathy and the multiplied millions of money that Americans are making by furnishing munitions and money to England and her allies.

We have seen the Morgan syndicate, representing untold millions of American wealth, openly advertised as the business agents of England and her allies, yet no great daily paper advertised them as hyphenated Americans carrying on a propaganda in the interest of England. We have seen them with brazen bigotry openly underwrite and guarantee the Government of England and the allies to the amount of \$500,000,000. This meant that the Morgan syndicate was betting \$500,000,000 that England and the allies would vanquish Germany; and it is well known that Morgan and his crowd have been the gen-eral managers of these United States for 20 years. This, to my mind, is so far-reaching and involves this country to such a vast extent that it is impossible for us under the vast invisible powers of government that Morgan's firm has over the affairs of our country to be impartial and neutral. But they tell us that England is fighting for liberty and civilization and it is our duty to help. That means we are her ally now.

It seems that when Germany broke through the French lines at Verdun, cleared 9 miles of her trenches, and battered down her forts the market quotations on Morgan's bonds took a tumble the next day and continued to fall as German aggression continued, in which papers began to discuss the probability of France again moving her capital. In a few days these bonds had fallen on the market several millions of dollars. Immediately war talk began to run rife and tory papers began to howl. "Our patriotic duty to help whip Germany" was asked for in the name of civilization in scores of papers, and the Anglophobists in their frantic appeals for "patriotic assist-ance" found vent in such uncalled-for and unjust expression ance found vent in such uncaried-for and unjust expression as an interview given out by Mr. Glass, chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, in which he charged that the whole call for a warning against travel on armed belligerent ships was a mere cloakroom flare-up, made by Members who had This statement did the President's cause German constituents. no good; it did much harm. Speaking for myself, I resent it as an imputation foul in its conception and false in its expression. If I possessed the willful disregard for the honor of my fellow Members that the gentleman from Virginia does, I would say that he, as one of the Morgan satraps, proposed to plunge us into war to make Morgan's English and French bonds good.

The truth is that my record is clear on this whole matter. said in a public speech and letter in Texas last August that I favored adopting the better custom of all nations by warning all Americans to keep off of armed ships of belligerents. I called attention to the fact that two or three standard neutral steamship first-class steamers leaving all our leading ports two or three times a week. And if another Vanderbilt refused to take passage on these and insisted on "strutting" across the ocean on an armed ship of some belligerent nation to inspect his "pedigreed horses" in Europe and got killed, I would count mytake passage on these and insisted on "strutting" across the ocean on an armed ship of some belligerent nation to inspect his "pedigreed horses" in Europe and got killed, I would count myself a villain if I voted to make war on that nation to avenge for the avowed purpose of forcing this country into war to help

his death. And when Morgan's banks bought half a billion of England's and France's bonds and announced openly that his firm had been made the business agents for the allies, I said, "Good-by, Germany"; that the invisible power that exists in the Morgan firm, with all their billions of money permenting every avenue of our national life, they would find some excuse to make this Government join the conflict and help crush Germany to save that vast sum of money.

God tells us that where a man's treasure is there his heart is. Morgan and his friends have their hearts tied to the destiny of the allies with half a billion golden cords. To drive our country into war and murder many thousands of our people would not only make his English bonds good, but would feed fifty or sixty more millions into the greedy may of his Steel Trust, transportation, telegraph, telephone, and the Powder Trust. Backed by all the massive sympathy the tory hyphenate English propa-ganda can exert and the Navy League's big war and navy crowd, they also hope to stampede the country into a great Army and

Navy, pending war.

We stand in front of an impending crisis in which I pray to God for deliverance. Scores of leading newspapers, magazines, and public men are openly advocating and defending alliance with England to help suppress and vanquish Germany. Speaking for myself, I have no defense to offer for Germany's nefarious and abominable conduct. But to join in this conflict, involve our country in war, baptize it in blood for such vile purposes, would be an unpardonable and an unmitigated crime to which I can never subscribe. My contention is that Germany has as much right to create a war zone as England. Neither of them, in fact, have any right to monopolize God's highways and oceans. When you leave the 3-mile border of any Government the oceans become a public highway for the earth and upon its waves all nations and all people are supposed to have equal rights.

But these countries are in war; their war zones have been declared, and I have as much respect for one of their decrees as that of the other. Among many of the organizations and "war traffickers" who deal in war supplies that are so clamorous against Germany and so defensive for the allies, I have before me an address delivered on January 30, 1916, by Josiah Royce, a professor in Harvard University, entitled "The Duties of Americans in the Present War." Among other things he says:

We owe to the allies whatever moral support and financial assistance it is in the power of this Nation to give; it is not merely the so-called American right that our munition makers should be free to sell to the enemies of Germany—it is our duty to encourage them to do so. Let us enthusiastically approve the supplying the enemies of Germany with financial aid and munitions of war and resist with all our moral strength those who would place an embargo on munitions.

But, Mr. Speaker, the treasonable venom of this professor and the forty and odd members of his league whose names are attached to his address is brought to a climax when he says:

Let us do what we can to bring about at least a rupture of diplomatic relations between our own Republic and those foes of mankind (Germany) and fearlessly await whatever dangers this may entail upon us, our land, and posterity.

These words are portentous. They show to us men in Congress that the invisible influence of Morgan's millions and the subtle sentiment it is creating seeks to embroil us in a govern-

mental conflict with Germany and provoke war.

These sentences and sentiments herein expressed are echoed in different language in scores of our metropolitan journals. decline to be led into a partisan defense of either side of this European war. First of all, I am an American—believe in American ideals, and the transcendent traditions of our Republic; and while I am willing to brand Germany's conduct on the high seas as venal and villainous; I want to brand the conduct of this professor, this high-collared, high-browed, hightoned tory and Anglofobiest, as reprehensible, direful, and damnable, and when they openly announce that they are leagued for the purpose of bringing about a rupture and row with Germany by this Government, they have reached the point where they should be dealt with as conspirators and treasonable

This professor, voicing the sentiment of his coconspirators, closes his lecture by stating:

This league is formed to use all lawful means to put this Nation in a position of definite sympathy with the allies.

Germany's friends are secretly dynamiting munition plants, we are told, and in many ways manifesting a sympathy for the fatherland. But when the leading bankers of our country are England whip Germany, we might reasonably expect such conduct by German sympathizers.

The deepest evil of war is not only suffering, death, ruin of cities, wasting of homes; not only plagues, famine, or fire, but war also deprayes as it destroys; it is the moral damage as well as the physical, causing divorce between ethics and religion. The murderous desires and frenzy of noncombatants at home are nearly as bad as the stabs of the soldiers, the brutality of the man in the street, the bloodthirst fostered by teachers, inculcated in schools, preached in churches, and exhorted in the name of the Lord; this saturation of the people at home with murder and hatred can be moral shrapnel. The journalist with his flamboyant headlines encouraging hate, the speculator telegraphing hate for sake of greed, the mob thirsting for blood, a raging hell of diseased patriotism, permeating a whole nation, filling the minds of everyone from the youngest child to the oldest citizenthese are some of the moral evils of war.

SINCE THE ENEMY SHOULD NOT EXIST, ANYTHING CAN BE SAID AGAINST

The leader of a hostile people may be a great patriot and impartial judgment may make him a hero, but those who war against him will ridicule him and the press will influence the

popular mind against him as a scoundrel. In war calumny of the enemy is a local virtue. It has been said that "the journalistic ink slinger is as necessary as the scout, the platform libeler as important as the sentry, the parliamentary mud lark as essential as the general on the field, the pulpit bearer of false witness not less needful than the

chaplain of the regiment."

Often a nation's character must be destroyed in order to get the people to fight; if they seem to be softening a little, then atrocities should be exaggerated. The origin of the war must be justified, right or wrong; it must be labeled self-defense. If it be difficult to get the people in the proper warlike spirit, the enemy must be represented as savages, monsters, and not fit to The foe must be accused of murder, rape, assassination, and-if necessary to stir up the people more-of every imaginable abomination; this seems to be the duty of the patriot scandal-monger, being, as Benjamin Franklin said, "To render the enemy odious and contemptible."

Just as a nation blackguards its enemy, so it must exalt itself. that force of contrast between saint and sinner, as it were, will make the people feel justified in treating the enemy as bad as possible. "To see ourselves as others see us," would be treason

to suggest in time of war.

The longing for distinction is one of the main impulses in military feeling, while scorn increases with conceit and hatred The country is saturated with egomania, with military egotism. continually extolling its own virtues and exaggerating the smallest success over the enemy. If victorious over ignorant natives or untrained soldiers, it calls the result a great triumph of military skill and heroism; the world is thunderstruck. even defeat does not quiet the egomania, which praises the extreme valor and most exceptional strategy of the enemy, skill and fortitude.

In a scientific study of war it goes without saying that im-

partiality has no place.

In war the enemy is a savage, a barbarian, a butcher, a monster, atrocious, kills and rapes women, slaughters children; to exterminate the enemy is the duty of humanity. This is the usual feeling in war and it makes no matter who the enemy is, This is the whether right or wrong he must be killed, and this feeling is called patriotism.

Herbert Spencer mentions how cruel the English considered the French for lighting fires at the mouth of Arab caves, because they refused to submit; but it was no such barbarity in India for the English to execute groups of rebel Sepoys by fusillade and then setting fire to the heap because they were not Thus war bias prevents the sense of justice and sentiall dead. ment. What we do is virtuous and heroic, but if the enemy do it under the same conditions, it is contemptible and barbaric.

To risk life on battlefields is not the only kind of patriotism, for it may be only love of adventure, excitement, and pugilism; it can be more difficult to live nobly for one's country than die for it, more sacrificial to keep it from war than to plunge it into conflict. The martyr is nobler than the soldier. War demands that dissent and free speech be suppressed, that the Government, right or wrong, must be supported; that is, the citizen must rely on passion rather than justice if circumstances make it necessary, as it is said so often "everything goes in war and love," thus the country's interest is greater than personal honor and conscience; glory is higher than righteousness; thus a "nagging" patriotism is pitted against the highest

sense of honor; a peacemaker is called a traitor; such is the inherent injustice of so-called patriotism.

To insist that because a certain country has borne and nourished you, you must indorse all its quarrels is the same as saying you must stand by your parents, even when they commit murder. This is the doctrine worthy of criminals and pirates,

not patriots.

A diplomat picks a quarrel in order to attack and steal a bordering country; a preacher who uses religion to develop hate and justify murder, an editor who supports the country, right or wrong, a mob which breaks windows and stones citizens are all patriots in time of war; but those who stand tor international justice and peace are called traitors. This is moral insanity. This kind of patriotism poisoned Socrates and crucified Jesus. It invokes military necessity, under which every imaginable abomination has been committed.

True patriotism and domestic faithfulness regard the sanctity of other homes. Bigoted pride, not patriotism, trampies

upon the sense of nationality in other people.

Militarism throttles freedom of speech, turns citizens into soldiers, democracy into plutocracy, officialism, dictatorship, and absolutism. Imperialism becomes a school for tyrants. Ministries and cabinets hold almost limitless power, putting a country into such a position as to force its legislature to declare war, leaving it no choice in the matter; a practical absolutism, not the purpose of representative government. Cheap literature causes an outpouring of newspapers, magazines, and books written under the spell and glamor of militarism, making the soldier and war the national ideal, glorifying heroic murder, which practically is the zenith of patriotism. Thus citizens become despots, and love of country is changed to lust for conquest.

Militarism, imperialism, and Cæsarism are of the same family, and mutual friends and enemies of democracy. Militarism, sometimes called "preparedness," means preparedness for war rather than peace, if the history of the world is of any value.

War feeling is often a form of hysteria. If an army conquers a small body of untrained fighters, it is reported as a triumph of heroism and military sugacity. "Every private is a Leonidas and every scuffle a Waterloo." The least victory sets the whole Nation affame. "The whole staff of the governing power assembles * * * to sing the national anthem;" many drunk with whisky bellow forth their patriotism; profanity, insolence, and vice march with the mobs, manifesting uncontrollable emotions, shricking, hallooing, blaspheming, followed by dances and delirium; the bishop gives thanks unto the Lord, and the people rejoice in the ruin of an enemy's country.

We can not teach the golden rule and retaliation; this would tend to make hypocrites and liars. We must choose between the Old and the New Testaments, between Joshua and Jesus; the fundamental spirit of the two are contradictory. To teach our youth the right to kill, lie, steal, boast of slaughter, and rejoice at suffering humanity in war and how to burn down homes, is

to loosen away the foundations of humanity.

A school inspector of England (New Age, Dec. 20, 1900) gave to a class "Paul Kruger" as a subject for composition. One girl, 13 years of age, wrote "Paul Kruger is a scoundrel, and at the same time an earnest man of prayer, because he thinks he can deceive the Almighty as he can a natural man,

Mr. Speaker, before I vote to drag this country into the European war, all honorable methods to preserve peace must have

failed.

The following masterly address against war was delivered by the Hon. Lee J. Rountree, of Texas, president of the National Editorial Association, before its recent gathering in Chicago.

It is so grand, eloquent, and noble of concept that I desire to insert it with my unqualified indorsement:

insert it with my unqualified indorsement:

Nations that have lived by the sword have perished by the sword. Men who have gained wealth and glory as desperadoes and robbers have all met death. Commensurate with their crimes, Ninevch. Babylon, Bome, Memphis, Sodom, and Gomorrah perished because they defled God's immutable law and lived by the sword and in the cesspools of human depravity. Through all the ages men on horseback, with the sword, have gained temporary victories; builded passing empires and have marked their alleged successes with human blood and have attempted to glorify and perpetuate their memories. Kings, rulers, emperors, czars, tyrants, and other murderers have stolen nations and impoverished people. Feasts have been spread and the king and a thousand of his lords have gathered to make merry and canonize the alleged victor. Peoples have been plundered and robbed and taken into slavery to satisfy the insatiate greed and avarice of the wicked. Crowns and scepters have been at stake—they have been won and lost and kingdoms torn down and destroyed. On a fateful night in July, 1914, all Europe went to bed drunken. For many years a crisis had been coming and now: "To arms!" Millions of troops were on the march in a few hours. Preparedness had been the cry and now war was the inevitable result. The European war was on before men and women had sobered from the previous day and night's debauch. From the crowned heads to the serfs there was drink suitable for all purposes. For years before the great conflagration there had been a ceaseless dis-

turbance and out of the macistrom would be heard: "We can whip the world." The European nations had been faught in their cardis, gardens, theaters, schools, and churches that all other nations were their cannels and must perish or their kingdom would be finished. It was a Belshanzar feast every night. But no European nation believed the "Modes and Persians" were coming to them—they themselves were to imbeciles, venal and corrupt or conceited and bigoted and degenerate criminals, and should have long ago forfeited the respect of every man claiming to be civilized. The men with the sword, on horseback, assembled at Gibraira, at Buckinghan, at Potsdam, at Versalities, at Conditional Control of the Control

When I introduced my bill H. R. 10771, to make money fight for its country the same as men, I requested the Librarian of Congress, through its Legislative Reference Bureau, to report the consequences of the bill, which the following report shows would maintain a million soldiers in time of peace and two million in time of war, without affecting corporations of less than \$1,000,000 capital.

I would like to amend and pass the bill after lessening the tax to maintain an army of about 250,000 men at a living salary of \$40 per month and board, and so forth.

You will note that under the provisions of my bill the Army automatically doubles in time of war, likewise the tax.

Under such a plan we will have no more wars and Morgan's

plunderbund will not rave and rant for war.

ASSESSMENT OF CORPORATIONS FOR MILITARY PURPOSES.

Out of 305,336 corporations which had made returns for the calendar year 1912—
Two hundred and ninety-six thousand six hundred and seventy corporations had capital of less than \$1,000,000.

Four thousand six hundred and eighty-eight corporations had capital of \$1,000,000 and over and less than \$2,000,000.

One thousand three hundred and ninety-nine corporations had capital of \$2,000,000 and over and less than \$3,000,000.

Six hundred and seventy-seven corporations had capital of \$3,000,000 and over and less than \$4,000,000.

Two hundred and ninety-two corporations had capital of \$4,000,000 and over and less than \$5,000,000.

Eight hundred and sixty-one corporations had capital of \$5,000,000 and over and less than \$10,000,000.

Six hundred and fifty-two corporations had capital of \$10,000,000 and over and less than \$50,000,000.

Sixty-two corporations had capital of \$50,000,000 and over and less than \$100,000,000.

Thirty-five corporations had capital of \$100,000,000 and over.

The above data, the only data found on the capital of corporations, are taken from the report of the House Committee on the Judiciary, Sixty-third Congress, second session, volume 3, serial 7, parts 21 to 30, pages 1317 and 1318.

On the basis of these data the following calculation may be made:

The 296,670 corporations, the capital of which is stated to be less than one million for each, without any given lower limit, must be left out.

The last 35 corporations may be taken as each having only \$100,000,000 of capital, for it is not stated how much they have over that

To find out an average capital for each group of the corporations between the first and the last groups, it is necessary to divide the difference between the lower and the upper limits of capital into two halves and to add one half to the lower limit. This is a somewhat arbitrary action; still its results may, to a certain degree, approximate the actuality.

Number of corporations.	Capital in thousands of dollars.	
	Each on an average.	In aggregate.
4,688 1,399 677 292 861 652 62 35	1,500 2,500 3,500 4,500 7,500 30,000 75,000 100,000	7,032,000 3,497,593 2,469,503 1,314,003 6,457,503 21,060,003 4,650,003 3,500,000
8,665		49, 960, 500

In the time of peace \$250,000 of the capital of each corporation are exempted from military assessment, which exemption aggregates \$2,166,-250,000, leaving \$47,794,250,000 for assessment. As each \$50,000 of the capital in excess of \$250,000 is assessed by a sum equal to the average annual cost of one soldier or sailor, the income from such assessment would provide for 955,885—approximately 1,000,000—men in military service.

In the time of war only \$75,000 of the capital of each corporation are exempted, which exemption aggregates \$649.875,000, leaving \$49.310,885,000 for military assessment. As each \$25,000 of the capital will be assessed by a sum equal to the average cost of one soldier or sailor, the income from such assessment would provide for 1,972,435, or approximately 2,000,000, men in military service.

According to the Report of the Chief of Staff, United States Army, 1912, page 9, the cost of maintenance of a man in the United States Army was \$913.23—approximately \$1,000—for the year of 1912. This cost includes all cost and al' men of all grades.

Consequently, in the time of peace the corporations have to pay about \$1,000,000,000 and in the time of war about \$2,000,000,000 annually for the maintenance of the Army.

If one climinates the average capital of each corporation and takes into consideration only the given lower limit, the statistical table then is as follows:

Number of corporations.	Capital of each cor- poration.	In aggregate.
4 688 1, 399 677 292 861 662 62 35	\$1,000,000 2,000,000 3,000,000 4,000,000 5,000,000 10,000,000 50,000,000 100,000,000	\$4, 688, 000, 003 2, 798, 000, 003 2, 031, 000, 003 1, 168, 000, 003 4, 305, 000, 003 6, 520, 003, 003 3, 100, 030, 033 3, 500, 000, 003
8, 665		28, 110, 000, 001

In the time of peace the aggregate sum exempted is \$2,166,250,000. This leaves for military assessment \$25,943,750,000, which would support 518,875 men in military service.

In the time of war the aggregate sum exempted is \$649,875,000. This leaves for assessment \$27,460,125,000, which would support 1,098,405 men in military service.

If a "soldier" in military service is meant to be only a private, the cost of his maintenance, according to the information given by the office of the War College, is only \$304 annually per man.

Calculating on this basis, the 8,665 corporations have to pay \$188,870,500 annually for the maintenance of 518,875 men in Army service in time of peace.

In the time of war this sum would be \$399,819,420 for the maintenance of 1,098,405 men.

This was written to explain the contentions of my bill which made the money changers rave so.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., February 24, 1916.

Washington, D. C., February 24, 1916.

H. B. Braucham, Esq.,
Editor Public Ledger, Philadelphia.

My Dear Sir: I thank you for your kind letter of February 17, requesting my views, motives, and purposes on the introduction of my national defense bill, H. R. 10771

I believe every Member of Congress is for adequate defense. I am, and the democracy has ever been, but I want to take the profits out of war and a large part of the profits out of preparedness for war.

One hundred and twenty-six counties in Texas of two hundred and forty-two holding Democratic primaries, nominated me for one of the two places for Congress at large, with nine able and honorable opponents, with a plank in my platform for a law to make money tight for its country the same as men, relative to which I said before Congress February 5:

"They call us who stand for Americanism against imperialism and

nents, with a plank in my platform for a law to make money ignt for its country the same as men, relative to which I said before Congress February 5:

"They call us who stand for Americanism against imperialism and conscription mollycoddling, flabby-sided pacifists. These are pet names, and I return the compliment by stating that if we are mollycoddling, flabby-sided pacifists now, the President, Secretary Garrison, Admiral Fietcher, and the noted gentleman from Illinois, Mr. James R. Mann, were all mollycoddling, flabby-sided pacifists last year, for the record shows they stood then just where Gen. Miles, Mr. KITCHIN, and most leading Democratis stand now as regards the size of our Army and Navy. I want it understood that as long as I have sense enough to obstruct the proceedings I will fight every method of conscription unless we can conscript money the same as men. I would consider it a piece of crowning villainy to support a law to go among the soot and cinders and sweat-soaked tenements, amidst the common walks of life, to drag out the poor, homeless workers of our country in handcuffs, compelling them to stand up and be fed to cannons to save the millions and mansions of the Carnegies, Astors, Rockefellers, and a few thousand trust masters and tariff barons, who have been allowed, through special privilege and protection, to rake in the labor of millions of people and call it theirs, who disdain America and are now building castles among England's nobility."

I felt that one of the first measures of "national defense" was to enlist the great corporations of the country in an effort to preserve peace, which could be done by declaring a corporation a "man in war" the same as they are reckoned a "man in law," viz: Tax every \$50.000 unit of a corporation's capital and surplus in excess of \$250.000 (such corporations being made a full-grown man subject to military duty in time of war, by a taxation sufficient to maintain the average cost of one soldier.

I feel that such a plan to make money fight for its coun

time of war, by a taxation sufficient to maintain the average cost of one soldier.

I feel that such a plan to make money fight for its country the same as men is but right and just to mankind, for it will forbid corporate power the privilege it now enjoys of usurping billions of money from labor's toil in time of war; it would have a tendency to restrain large filegal combinations in restraint of proper commerce, thus tending to solve the trust problem.

Then in the provision of my bill to impress large annulties and estates flowing from this to foreign countries, I hope to reach that set of business buccaneers and political popinjays, who dance, prance, and luxuriate round gorgeous health and wealth resorts of Europe, who, with millions of ill-gotten gains, feast each day amidst jasper walls in banquet halls; who relish their magnificent repast each day, set to the mellifluent strains of a splendid orchestra.

I feel a heart throb for the millions of helpless poor among the great common herd with whom I live and have my being. I want to reach that element of purse-proud plutocrats who have loaded this country's industrial progress with billions of corporation debts, a large part of which is fraudulent, fictitiously forged by chartered monopolies which hold sway ever nearly all our natural, God-given blessings, to the exclusion of the great masses who are being impoverished and enslaved.

After such conduct they flaunt their fabulous wealth in ruter disdain of American ilfe and democracy, by fawning and cringing around the royalty of the Old World, abasing themselves like supercilious syophants, and often pay some royal snob a million dollars to take their daughter to wife or to concubinage as a "morganatic" wife—female bedfellow—then make the two an assignment of from five thousand to five million a year, extorted from American industry, to uphold them in royal ribaldry and voluptuousness.

I want to reach men like Astor, who, out of contempt for America and her glorious ideals, with a sordid sinister craving

This letter was written by me to a fine old patriarch and patriot of Texas:

Mr. A. P. MENDIES, Dallas, Tex.

Mr. A. P. Mendies, Dallas, Tex.

My Dear Mr. Mendies: Your letter is indeed full of thought and splendid spirit. I agree with you that we ought to have the freedom of the seas, and we, not being at war with any nation, under the codes of international law have a perfect right to ship our goods, wares, and chattels to Germany and Austria the same as England and France. But England insulted civilization, outraged and trampled on American rights, stretched a dead line across God's oceans, and forbid us to go with any of our commerce to her enemies; and months before Germany sank the Lustiania England had, with unscrupulous and venal disregard for our rights, put nearly a billion dollars' worth of our commerce behind her blockade. Through Morgan, her agent and resident envoy in this country before our new banking law went into effect to afford us relief, she created a money famine in the South and took by force nearly a million bales of cotton from the high seas and refused it passage, in this way killing the cotton market for the southern farmer. By methods common to pirates and highbinders, she held us up on the high seas, while Morgan and her agents robbed the South of \$400,000,000. This glorious Government of ours said not a word about vindicating our national honor, and we now stand complacent and suave while she "rifles our mails," tramples on our rights, and spurns with utter con-

tompt all our neutral and natural rights, and forbids us to trade with Germany or any country except by her consent. In her deprayity she has now gone so far as to forbid us the sacred right of helping feed the starving ewes in Poland. Their brethren in America, in a heart throb of sorrow for their race, which has been outlawed, plundered, and persecuted in time of peace, and now robbed and ransacked by war, are pleading to take them food but England says no. England tells grand America that these Americans, God-trusting Jews, shall not go there to feed starving brothers; and while millions of Polanders hold out the withered hand of starving hunger to their brethren here, we have the withered hand of starving hunger to their brethren here, we have the withered hand of starving hunger to their brethren here, we have the withered hand of starving hunger to their brethren here, we have the withered hand of starving hunger to their brethren here, we have the withered hand of starving hunger to their brethren here, we have the withered hand of starving hunger to their brethren here, we have the withered hand of starving hunger to their brethren here. We have the winder had been declared to the starving here to the starving brothers had been declared to the starving here and the starving here are to the starving here are to the starving here are to the starving here are the starving here are to the starving here professors, and leading men openly advocating and demanding that we join in and help whip. Morgan's war bonds that he bought from England have fallen on the market about \$10,000,000 since Germany broke through the French lines at Verdum last week. I think he has already sent out his decree to all his papers, political sarraps, and henchmen everywhere that our Government must help whip Germany—to save his bonds. Of course, he does not say to save his bonds. He says we have the save the starving her save his bonds. The save his bonds. Of course, he does not say to save his bonds. He says we have the save the sa

Very respectfully and with much anxiety,

J. H. DAVIS.

In connection with the last Mexican outrage I wrote this letter, which explains itself:

MARCH 10, 1916.

Hon. A. S. BURLESON, Washington, D. C.

Hon. A. S. Burleson, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Friend Burleson: Several northern newspapers are inquiring of me, as Representative at Large from the State of Texas bordering on Mexico, as to what I think of the Mexican situation. As one having been opposed to war, they want to know what I think now. I answer that I think America should catch and exterminate those Mexican cutthroats, bandits, and robbers. It is not a question of traveling on some belligerent ship, it is not a question of protecting somebody's travel in Mexico, but it is a question of protecting our people at bome in their own country around their own firesides and in their own private pursuits. We can not longer dally with and delay settlement of the Mexican problem. We have aided Carranza in many ways, hoping and expecting that he could afford our people the necessary rellef. We transported his armies through our territory in order that he might overtake and vanquish Villa and his guerillas. This he has been unable to do, but these very acts of kindness to Carranza and his army, representing the de facto government or Mexico, gave us the vengeful enmity of Villa and his clans, and he is now carrying out his threat to make us pay for our generosity by burning our homes and murdering our people in a villainous manner.

I think the necessary courtesy should be extended to Gen. Carranza's greenyment by giving him potics that we appected to take ears of our

In a viliatnous manner.

I think the necessary courtesy should be extended to Gen. Carranza's government by giving him notice that we expected to take care of ourselves by entering his territory and doing for him and ourselves what he has been unable to do; that is, literally vanquish and exterminate these incendiaries, murderers, and robbers that are marauding his country and ours under Villa.

I feel quite sure that Congress will be ready and anxious to support the President in whatever method he may pursue to accomplish this nurnose.

With 2,000 miles of border exposed we can not afford to tall chances on another raid by Villa and his clans.

With much respect,

J. H. DAVIS.

The McLemere Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BENIGNO C. HERNANDEZ.

OF NEW MEXICO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Mr. Speaker, I voted on this momentous question as I thought best for the interest of the people at

First. I voted against the previous question, because I thought that the subject should be discussed and the measure amended so that it would be acceptable to all the Members of the House.

Second. I voted against the rule which brought the resolution into the House, and under consideration, because I thought that it should have a wider discussion than it did have.

Third, I voted against tabling the resolution itself, because I, for one, believe that the people should be given ample notice and warning, that taking passage on armed merchant ships belonging to the belligerent nations of Europe is placing our country in a precarious position, while a warning, such as the resolution provided, would have the effect of avoiding trouble with other Lations now engaged in war. The right of our citizens to travel on any armed merchant ship has not been disputed, and international law as has been interpreted so de-clares, but the people who furnish the sinews of war and the men, the fathers, and sons of this great country say that if by these means we can keep out of war it is most certainly a most sensible thing to do.

I do not doubt but that the mere fact that this measure has brought out lengthy and able discussions will answer the purpose of a warning to our people, and that no sensible person will be so unpatriotic as to by his action in this regard be liable to involve his country in war simply because he desires to exer-

cise a doubtful right to travel on armed merchant ships.

On these grounds, therefore, I feel impelled to express my honest convictions in favor of warning American citizens from traveling on armed merchant ships.

We have seen and heard of war on this side of the continent. very close to my own State, where many of our own citizens have been cruelly tortured, murdered, robbed, and assaulted, and little or nothing has been done to either relieve the situation or to give a material warning to our people to keep out of the war-ridden, revolutionized Mexico, where women have been raped, murdered, and subjected to the most vile treatment, where property of many American citizens has been destroyed and appropriated by those who were supposed to be at the head of a government, and where our flag has been insulted and trailed in the dust, and we stand for it all, because it is said that we are "too proud to fight." If the reckless man in search of adventure in the theater of war or the man for selfish gain would travel under the present state of affairs in these warridden countries, knowing, as they must, the condition and danger that surrounds them on such a voyage, if they place themselves beyond the pale of law protection, then, I say, let their blood be upon their own heads, but the warning should come first; then we have done our duty to them and to ourselves.

I represent a State whose citizens are most patriotic. Long before we came into the sisterhood of States they had shown and demonstrated to the world their patriotism by offering their services and enlisting with the men from the North, from the South, and from the East in the defense of their flag and

In the Civil War New Mexico furnished six regiments of In the War with Spain, notwithstanding the ties of blood and religion which bind many to their once mother country, nearly half of Col. Roosevelt's regiment of Volunteers, known as the Rough Riders, were citizens of New Mexico, and some of them descendants of the well-known "Conquistadores." Many of them were killed, many more were wounded; we offered them up at the altar of our country with mourning and with tears, but with the true patriotic spirit which impelled them to serve their country for its honor and defense.

I know that should the supreme moment for action come again, and—God forbid—our country should have to resort to war, New Mexico will be in line with her quota, and more, too, of her sons for the defense of our flag; we are a pence-loving and liberty-loving people, but we are filled with the patriotism of our forefathers, and, as their Representative in the Halls of Congress to-day, say to you that should the occasion arise I but men. For their sakes, and for the good of those who would

voice the sentiments of my patriotic Commonwealth when I say that the men of the State of New Mexico and myself personally will glory in offering our services to our country against

any foreign enemy, be it where it may.

In the meantime, however, we should first exhaust our diplomacy and warn our people to avoid danger, and when we have done all in our power toward preventing war, and having failed and our diplomacies are exhausted, we will then be unflinching in our solemn duty.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES L. SLAYDEN.

OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, when it was first suggested that Americans who proposed to cross the ocean on an armed merchant ship of any one of the nations of Europe now at war should be warned of the danger of such a voyage and asked not to put themselves in peril or to do a thing that might involve the United States in war I resented the idea. At once I said to myself, "Americans have a right to travel on such ships, and I am not willing to have any American right sur-rendered." Then I did a little more thinking, got a little more information, and finally decided definitely and firmly that my first opinion was wrong. I was moved to this change of view by what is happening in Europe in the greatest, most expensive, and most disastrous war in all history. I also came to suspect the existence of a conspiracy to force our country into a war with Germany and was influenced by that suspicion.

When more than 13.000,000 men are actually on the battle line, divided into contending camps of nearly equal size, engaged in the devil's work of trying to destroy each other, it is time for peace-loving men to do all they can to end the horror and save civilization. Every neutral country ought to thank God that it is neutral, and every good citizen should do what he can to keep it so. Until this time we have kept out of war in spite of the efforts of some foolish, partisan and interested people in the United States who have wanted us to get into the

European horror.

Many of our citizens have not been neutral in speech or act, but the attitude of the Government has so far been officially correct. If it were not to continue neutral and if our excited and unreasonable fellow citizens were to drive us into war with one or the other groups of nations, what would be the consequence?

The first thing to be done would be to collect an indefinite number of hundreds, possibly thousands, of millions of dollars from the people to engage in a war that we did not make and should not have anything to do with. Then with an enlarged Army and Navy, enlisted from the fields and workshops, we would plunge into war—into a war that has been called "the greatest crime of all the ages." Some of our ships would probably be sunk, and our young men would be killed in the quarrels of kings and emperors whose language they do not understand, and whose reasons for going to war are equally strange to them.

Finally, when peace came, the remnant of our Army and Navy would limp back home and we would begin granting pensions, the end of which would not come in eighty years. Our experience with Civil and Spanish War pensions shows that here in the United States, great as is the actual first cost of the war itself, the bills that come afterwards are still greater. The Civil War of 1861-1865 cost about \$3,000,000,000. Pensions paid since amount to nearly \$5,000,000,000, every cent of which has come from the earnings of people who labor. It will cost more billions yet, even if we do not have another war for a hundred years.

The war in Europe has increased the debts of those nations to more than \$50,000,000,000, which is equal to about one-fourth the value of all property in the United States. It has cost the lives of millions of young men, sent home more millions of them without eyesight, with the loss of a leg or an arm, or otherwise crippled, and will populate the poorhouses and asylums with vast numbers who will not be able to make a living for themselves and who will have to be supported by those who can

These things might, they probably would, happen to our young

have to work harder to earn all these vast sums, I want to keep out of a quarrel that does not concern us. I do not want some fool, some idle rich person, to sail on one of these armed merchant ships which might be lost and thus plunge the country into ruin.

People who must cross the ocean at this time can find ships that sail under the American or some other neutral flag and incur no other risk than accidents or other ordinary sea dan-

gers. Some of them recklessly court the danger that they are sure to find on the ships of Germany, England, or France.

Last week a man sailed from New York to the Mediterranean on an armed merchant ship under the flag of one of the allied Governments. Interviewed before he sailed he said that he had already made three voyages through the danger zone and that he rather "liked the thrill." Mr. Speaker, it is such fools as that Brooklyn man, with his love of thrill, that are imperiling the peace and happiness of a hundred million people. Such a creature as this is a greater menace than yellow fever, smallpox, or bubonic plague, yet we quarantine against the diseases while granting him full liberty to work his mischief. It is absurd that such persons should not be restrained from doing things that may mean war and misery. The devastations of these diseases are unimportant compared to a battle like that at Verdun.

The McLemore resolution, reduced to a simple phrase, merely meant that if foolish and reckless Americans insist on their right to travel on armed merchant ships of warring countries they shall do so at their own risk. Is it not a great deal better that they should take the risk than to have a hundred million people thrown into a horrible war in Europe? I think so, and that is why I shall vote for the resolution to warn American travelers to keep off the armed ships of England, Germany, France, and Italy,

A great and influential lobby operating about the Halls of Congress and through the press is urging two things. First, they demand that we shall reverse our traditional, nonmilitary policy and shall build up an army and a navy to the size of those of the European kingdoms; and, second, that we shall

employ our enlarged military forces in Europe.

Have our people forgotten the sound advice of George Washington that we should not meddle in the affairs of other countries; that, above all things, we should avoid entangling foreign alliances? It seems so, and unless the American voter interposes his veto it will be done.

Soon after the great war in Europe began the President of the United States, addressing the whole people, said that it was our duty to be neutral—to be neutral in speech and act. In assuming that attitude-the President was right and his advice

No one believed, no reasonable man expected, that the American public, which reads and makes up its own mind, would not incline in sympathy more to one side than to the other. The President certainly did not expect such an unreasonable thing when he requested neutrality. All he asked was that the speech and deeds of the people of our country should conform to the rules of neutrality. But how has that reasonable request been answered?

In an address delivered in Tremont Temple, Boston, Sunday, January 30, 1916, Prof. Josiah Royce, of Harvard University, said some remarkable things. He said things which, if unneutral speech were penalized by law, would surely bring him punishment. The speech was made to an association which calls itself the Citizens' League for America and the Allies, and de-clares its purpose to be "to use all lawful means to put this Nation in a position of definite sympathy with the allies. Here are some of the things Prof. Royce said:

As to munitions of war, it is not merely a so-called American right that our munition makers should be free to sell their wares to the enemies of Germany. It is our duty to encourage them to do so, since we are not at the moment in a position to serve mankind by a more direct and effective means.

Clearly Prof. Royce meant that until we were ready to plunge into war in support of the allies we must go on shipping war material to them.

Later in the same speech the warlike professor said:

Later in the same speech the warlike professor said:

Let us enthusiastically approve of supplying the enemies of Germany with financial aid and with munitions of war; let us resist with all our moral strength and influence those who would place an embargo upon munitions; let us bear patiently and uncomplainingly the transient restrictions of our commerce which war entails; let us be ashamed of ourselves that we can not even now stand beside Belgium and suffer with her for our duty and for mankind; let us do what we can to bring about, at least, a rupture of all diplomatic relations between our own Republic and those foes of mankind; and let us fearlessly await whatever dangers this our duty as Americans may entail upon us, upon our land, and upon our posterity.

Prof. Dovee asks the cotton forwards whose product is shut

Prof. Royce asks the cotton farmers, whose product is shut out from four or five countries in Europe and whose comfort

and prosperity are seriously interfered with by war condi-tions and blockades, to bear the "transient restrictions uncom-plainingly." That is an easy philosophy for the Boston professor. That is an easy philosophy for the Boston professor, whose comfortable salary is not lessened or its receipt delayed by war conditions, but it does not make a strong appeal to the farmer whose cotton is sold at a loss when he can find any market at all.

A few days ago the Washington newspapers carried this item of news:

SECURITY HOLDERS BEGGING FRANTICALLY FOR LIGHT ON THE DIPLOMATIC SITUATION.

[United Press.]

Heavy holders on the Chicago and New York markets, becoming nervous over the international situation, are wiring to officials here in Washington daily pleading for some light on the negotiations. In spite of the fact that they assure all replies will be held "in strictest confidence," their prayers are going unanswered.

That statement is full of meaning. I will try to explain. Not many months have gone by since two of the great nations of Europe came, by their agents, to this country to borrow money. Wars are the most expensive things Governments ever buy. They require vast sums of money. I recently saw an estimate made by some statistician in which it was claimed that the European war was costing \$75,000,000 a day. That may be an overestimate, but it is certainly costing more than \$50,000,000 a day. That would mean 1,000,000 bales of cotton a day, at \$50 a bale. Everybody can see that war is tremendously expensive, and it is no wonder that the European countries have to borrow money, and lots of it.

England and France did borrow \$500,000,000, through New York bankers, or rather they did sell these New York bankers \$500,000,000 of their bonds. A part of those bonds were unloaded on investors throughout our country. It is the prudent practice of these bankers to unload such investments on the general public as quickly as possible. Some, but by no means all, were sold to Tom, Dick, and Harry from San Francisco to New York, and from New Orleans to Boston.

The market reports show that the value of these bonds is less from day to day. The holders have become alarmed. They fear a still greater fall in price and want the United States to go into war on the side of their bonds. The profits on their deal must be secured no matter what it costs the people in blood and money. Of what importance to them are the misery, suffering, death, and high taxes that war breeds? They will not do the fighting, for they will be too busy collecting the interest on their bonds and making profit in their gun and munitions plants to go into a war created by their greed.

In this connection it may be said that no bank in Texas acted as agent for the sale of these bonds, which indicated a spirit of real neutrality and good judgment.

We are urged not to surrender our right to travel on armed ships. What does that "right" amount to? We all know that civilians are not permitted to travel on battleships, cruisers;

or other type of war vessels.

What is a warship? Presumably, and in fact, it is any vessel so armed or equipped that it may do serious injury to an enemy. If a merchant ship is so armed that it can sink a submarine, it is a dangerous enemy. The biggest battleship afloat can do

Submarines are the newest weapon for war on the ocean and, I may say in passing, the most effective. But their steel sides are not thick enough to resist a shot from a cannon of the smallest bore. A modern, high power, shoulder rifle could send a steel-jacketed bullet through the flimsy armor of the undersea boat. Remember that.

Heretofore merchant ships have been permitted to carry cannon for defense. This right to be armed for defense is a tradition. It comes down from the days of piracy. A hundred years or more ago sea rovers, or pirates, intercepted merchant ships and robbed them of valuable cargoes and usually killed the officers and crew. This country fought a war just 100 years ago to stamp out piracy. Since the victory over the Barbary States piracy, except along the coast of China in an unimportant way, has not existed.

Yet merchant ships have gone on carrying cannon for defense against pirates.

Now comes the new naval weapon, the submarine. Under the water it is safe and effective. On the surface it is in danger of being sunk by any merchant ship carrying even a small-bore gun. Is it not reasonable to assume that any ship that can destroy a formidable war vessel like the submarine has been itself lifted by circumstances into the class of offensively armed ships of war? It is a question of fact and common sense.

The Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, who in all foreign correspondence is the mouthpiece of the President, thought so on the 18th of January, when he addressed the following note

to the belligerent powers of Europe:

on the 18th of January, when he addressed the following note to the belligerent powers of Europe:

It is a matter of deepest interest to my Government to bring to an end, if possible, the dangers of life which attend the use of submarines as at present employed in destroying enemy commerce on the high seas, since on any merchant vessel of belligerent nationality there may be citizens of the United States who have taken passage or members of the crew in the exercise of their recognized rights as neutrals. I assume your Government is equally solicitous to protect their nationals from the exceptional hazards which are presented by their passage on merchant vessels through these portions of the high seas in which undersea craft of the enemy are operating.

While I am fully alive to the appalling loss of life among noncombatants, regardless of their sex, which has resulted from the present method of destroying merchant vessels without removing the persons on board to places of safety, and while I view that practice as contrary to those humane principles which should control belligerents in the conduct of their naval operations, I do not feel that a belligerent should be deprived of the proper use of submarines in the invasion of commerce since those instruments of war have proved their effectiveness in this practical branch of warfare on the high seas.

In order to bring submarine warfare within the general rules of international law and the principles of humanity without destroying their efficiency in the dostruction of commerce, I believe that a formula may be found which, though it may require slight modification of the precedent generally followed by nations prior to the employment of the submarine, will appeal to the sense of justice and fairness of all the beligerents in the present war.

Your Government will understand that in seeking the formula or rule of this nature I approach it of necessity from the point of view of a neutral, but I believe that it will be equally effications in preserving the lives of n

in this nature I approach it of necessity from the point of view of a neutral, but I believe that it will be equally efficacious in preserving the lives of noncombatants on merchant vessels of belligerent nationalities. My comments on this subject are predicated on the following propositions:

An noncombatant has a right to traverse the high seas in a merchant vessel entitled to fly a belligerent fing, to rely upon the observance of the rules of international law and principles of humanity, and if the vessel is approached by the naval vessel of another belligerent the merchant vessel of enemy nationality should not be attacked without being ordered to stop.

Second. An enemy merchant vessel, when ordered to do so by a bellification of the control of the control

This suggestion of Secretary Lansing is in harmony with the facts and common sense. The objection to it is that it proposes a change of international law while a war is on. But the

change has already been made and no amount of writing and talking will restore the old conditions. In the interest of belligerents armed merchant ships will be attacked, and in the interest of humanity noncombatants should be kept off them.

If we are ever called on to defend the American coasts against an invader we will largely rely upon submarines, and we shall want them to be free from the restraints of outworn traditions. The submarine is the greatest weapon ever devised for naval warfare and specially strong for defense. It is an American invention. With an adequate supply we can hold off any navy that might be sent against us, and we can not afford to weaken our defense by adhering to a rule the reason for which passed a hundred years ago. Of course, a proper and adequate defense ought to be prepared, but beyond that we should not go.

The munitions millionaires and the Prof. Royces, for reasons that appeal to them, want to push us into war. It is the duty of Congressmen to remember the people who will have to do the

paying, fighting, and dying.

The enemies of peace are active and alert and apparently have exhaustless resources. Against them we can only array earnest, conscientious, peace-loving people. These stand for the right, as they see it, against the majority of the newspapers and great commercial interests. They have not wavered in the face of threats and ridicule, weapons which have been invoked in vain against Henry Ford.

I repeat, sir, that I shall vote to advise Americans not to sail on armed belligerent ships because I believe it is my duty to the

country to do so.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EUGENE BLACK.

OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 13, 1916.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, under the unanimous consent which was granted by the House of Representatives on March 8 to Members of this House to state their views on the McLemore resolution of warning, I now wish to state in a perfectly frank way why I voted against tabling this resolution.

As a Member of Congress, I am perfectly willing at all times to give an account of my stewardship to my people.

In casting my vote on Tuesday, March 7, against tabling a resolution warning American travelers to not take passage on armed merchant ships belonging to belligerent nations, I knew very well that my action would be misinterpreted by some of my very best friends and supporters and would, in not a few in-stances, be severely criticized. This, however, is sometimes one of the penalties of holding public office, and no man who respects his constitutional oath and his honest convictions can allow himself for one moment to be swerved from his duty by considerations of that kind.

Since casting this vote I have received many letters from my friends in my congressional district, some approving and some criticizing my vote in the matter. I have counted the letters which I have received on the subject, and I find that the ratio is exactly 5 to 1 in approval of my stand on the resolution. I am not optimistic enough, however, to say that this ratio actually exists among the people of my district, because I realize that those who approve my course are most likely to write, while those who disagreed will in a less ratio communicate their views to me.

HISTORY OF THE RESOLUTION AND HOW IT CAME BEFORE THE HOUSE.

The McLemore resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives on February 21, and in the regular way was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations by the Speaker of the House. On February 27 Mr. McLemore, the author of the resolution, issued a written statement, in which he said:

Acting on the advice of friends of the resolution, I shall not press the committee to give the resolution consideration, at least until the President has had ample opportunity to try out his policy and arrive, if possible, at a defirite conclusion of the matter. (See Washington Post, Feb. 27, 1916.)

On February 29, two days after Mr. McLemore had issued this statement that he would not press his resolution until the President had had full opportunity to settle the matter through diplomatic channels, President Wilson wrote a letter to Acting Chairman Pou, of the Rules Committee, in which he demanded an early vote upon the-

resolution with regard to travel on armed merchantmen. (See to Acting Chairman Pou from President Wilson, Feb. 29, 1916.)

On March 4 the Committee on Foreign Relations, acting on this demand of the President, reported into the House of Representatives the McLeniore resolution, with a recommendation that it be laid on the table.

On March 7 the question came to a vote and I was confronted with the alternative to either vote my sentiments or make a cowardly surrender of my honest convictions. And whenever I come to a situation of that kind there is never but one course for me to pursue, office or no office. That course is to stand by what I believe to be right, regardless of the consequences. I do have a very poor opinion of the value of any Congressman who will, from a point of political expediency, sacrifice his views on a nonpartisan question like this, involving a peace policy of the Nation, and dodges because he believes in the maxim, "Safety first." I have no quarrel with the man who voted his honest convictions.

A BRIEF EXPRESSION ON THE MERITS OF A WARNING RESOLUTION.

Now, I not only say that I believe that I voted right on this question, but I believe in it so strongly that I am willing to defend the rectitude of my position at any time or place and against any opponent. I would really like to know, stripped of all its technicalities and legal phraseology, how many people in this country believe that the peace and safety of these United States should be imperiled by a few adventurous Americans and globe-trotters who persist in being allowed to travel on these armed merchantmen. In these troublesome times, when the United States is the only great neutral in the world and civilization is hanging in the balance, how many are there among us who want to flash the saber to defend this abstract right? The White Star liner Canopic sailed from New York March 3, with orders from the British Admiralty to mount guns at Gibraltar, and on board this ship sailed Mr. and Mrs. Charles Bellows, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; and Mr. Bellows, when asked if he did not fear to sail on this ship in view of the captain's announcement of the orders from the British Admiralty, said:

By no means. I have run blockades before this, and so has my wife, and I really enjoy the thrills that come with it. (See speeches of Senator Clapp and Senator Jones quoting this interview, Congressional Record March 4, 1916.)

Now, suppose this White Star liner Canopic, after it mounts its guns at Gibraltar, is sunk by a German submarine and Mr. and Mrs. Bellows go down with the ship. Are we to hold Germany to a strict accountability as indicated by President Wilson in his letter to Senator STONE, February 25, 1916, and plunge this Nation into the awful vortex of the European war because of the loss of these Americans "who enjoy the thrills that come with running a blockade"? I for one, am not willing to do it. I believe that this Nation should warn its citizens of the dangers that attend such travel on these armed merchantmen, and officially request them to take no further passage on such ships until the disputed points are settled and agreed upon by the nations involved.

More than a month ago, when the President was being severely criticized by some Republicans and Democrats in Congress for his policy of warning Americans to stay out of warring Mexico, during a speech on the floor of the House of Representatives, I took occasion to express my unqualified support of the President's policy in this respect and condemned those who were clamoring for intervention on that ground. Of course I deeply regretted the deaths of our citizens which had occurred in Mexico, but still, at the same time, I did not believe that this country ought to be plunged into war with that nation because of the unfortunate death of these American citizens who refused to heed the warning that had been given them. But the Mexican situation has changed now since the outlaw Villa has invaded the United States itself and murdered some of our citizens on our own soil, and I approve unreservedly the determination of President Wilson to hunt him and his band of outlaws down and bring them to justice, if it takes the whole United States Army to do it.

Just so are my views in respect to the German situation. Just as I have regretted to see American citizens killed in the war zone in Mexico, after they were amply warned to leave, so I would regret to see American citizens killed on board an armed merchantman of one of the European belligerents. But just as I opposed intervention in Mexico on that ground, so would I oppose war with Germany for the doubtful right above referred to. But, on the other hand, just as I unhesitatingly approve the President's course in pursuing Villa and his band of outlaws with the purpose of exterminating them for invading American soil and murdering our people, just so would I be in favor of

fighting Germany if she sinks a single American ship flying our flag; and I would be willing to go into the trenches myself to protect our national honor against such an outrage, if, unhappily, it were to occur. But I am not willing to join the French and English in the trenches in Europe to protect the doubtful" right of an American traveler or globe-trotter to take passage on an armed merchantman loaded down with munitions of war bound for the war zone. And I might as well say here and now that I will never, as long as I am a Member of the American Congress, cast my vote to feed some other mother's son or wife's husband into the mouth of the cannon unless I am willing to respond myself to my country's call for volunteers and feed my own frame to the Molochs of war. Any man who would do it is a time-serving coward and unfit to hold any public office.

A "DOUBTFUE" LEGAL RIGHT.

"Yes," but some one may say, "it would be a breach of national honor and legal right to warn American travelers to not take passage on these armed merchantmen." And to this, I reply, if Americans have any such right at all, it is a very doubtful right. On January 18, 1916, Secretary of State Lansing addressed a letter on this subject to the foreign powers engaged in the war. In this letter he was asking these powers to disarm their merchantmen, and in the concluding part of his letter said:

In proposing this formula as a basis of conditional declarations by the belilgerent Governments, I do so in the full conviction that each Government will consider, primarily, the humane purposes of saving the lives of innocent people rather than the insistence upon a doubtful legal right, which may be denied on account of new conditions. I will be pleased to be informed whether your Government will be willing to make such a declaration conditioned upon your enemies making a similar declaration. I should add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

Germany readily acceded to these views, but England and her allies have refused to agree.

Anyone who desires to read this letter of January 18, 1916, written by Secretary of State Lansing to the foreign powers, in which he calls this question-so loudly heralded by the metropolitan press of the country as a question of national honor—a doubtful" legal right, may do so by reading the Congressional RECORD of February 29, 1916.

STAND BY THE PRESIDENT.

Most of the metropolitan press of the country have carried in glaring and sensational headlines the artful slogan: "Stand by the President." I can easily understand how the people, under the excitement of the moment, may be for a time swept off their feet by a ruse of that kind; and some of them may be willing to politically crucify their Congressman because he dared to stand up for his convictions. But that a condition of this kind will remain after there is time for cool reflection I will not believe.

It is universally conceded that President Wilson will be re-nominated at St Louis in June, and I hope triumphantly reelected next November, but suppose that Democrats throughout the United States who believe that a warning to those American travelers and globe-trotters should be given were to exercise the same spirit of intolerance toward the President as has been shown by some toward the Democratic Congressmen who dared to vote their convictions on this subject, what would be the result? With such a loss of Democratic votes throughout the country, the nomination would be an empty honor, and the President could not hope for reelection. But we will not be so narrow as that and turn against the President because we happen to differ from him on this one question.

Is this a one-man government, anyway? If so, we have departed from the teachings of our fathers. Mr. Rawle, in his great work on the Constitution, in discussing the respective prerogatives of the President and Congress, says:

It would not be justifiable in the President to involve the country in difficulties merely in support of an abstract principle if there was not a reasonable prospect of perseverance and success on the part of those who have embarked in the enterprise. * * The power of Congress on this subject can not be controlled; they may, if they think proper, acknowledge a small and helpless community, though with a certainty of drawing a war upon our country; but greater circumspection is required from the President, who, not having the constitutional power to declare war, ought ever to abstain from a measure likely to produce it.

And this same author further says in his great work:

In case of war breaking out between two or more foreign nations in which the United States are not bound by treaty to bear a part it is the duty of the Executive to take every precaution for the preservation of their neutrality, and it is a marter of justice, both to those nations and to our own citizens, to manifest such intention in the most public and solem manner. The disquietude of the belligerent parties is thus obviated, our own citizens are warned of the course it becomes their

duty to pursue, and the United States avoid all responsibility for acts committed by the citizens in contravention of the principles of neutrality. It is the office of the Legislature to declare war; the duty of the Executive, so long as it is practicable, to preserve peace.

But a large part of the metropolitan press of this country have lost sight of this distinction and openly advocate a policy that would give the Congress of the United States no more freedom of legislation than the Russian Duma or the German Reichstag. And they would say to Members of Congress, when the President speaks his will, that nothing remains to be done but for the wavering servitor of an imperial will to "crook the pregnant hinges of the knee where thrift may follow fawning. for one, will never do it.

CONCLUSION.

I hold no brief for Germany. Those who have talked with me know that my personal sympathies are strongly with the allies, especially with France and Belgium. But I am for America first, and believe in a policy of rigid neutrality and that it is the solemn duty of every American citizen who is going to Europe to either take passage on a ship flying the American flag or an unarmed merchant vessel or stay at home.

Notwithstanding I voted emphatically against the views of the President, I have not the slightest pique toward him. In the future I will zealously support him in every policy where I think he is right and render him every assistance that is within my humble power to give. Thus far I have supported every administration measure that has come before Congress, among which I will mention the administration conservation measures relating to public lands having valuable coal, oil, gas, and water-power rights; the Shackleford good-roads bill; and the Post Office appropriation bill, with its railway mail pay and other important postal legislation attached.

other important postal legislation attached.

However, when a great nonpartisan question like this warning resolution, involving a vital peace policy of the United States, is thrust upon Congress I will discharge, without swerving, my duty to the people, for whom I entertain an affectionate regard and whose interests I have at heart more than the political fortunes of myself or any other man. In this way only can I preserve my self-respect, which is worth a good deal more to me than any public office within the gift of the people.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert in further explanation of my position a letter which I have received from a friend and constituent of mine and my reply thereto, as follows:

stituent of mine and my reply thereto, as follows:

FIDELITY-PHENIX FIRE INSURANCE CO. OF NEW YORK, Klondike, Tex., March 8, 1916.

Hon. EUGENE BLACK, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BLACK: It is with regret that I notice your attitude against the administration, as was evidenced by your vote on the McLemore reso-

Of course one can't vote to please everyone, but am surprised at your turning against the administration at this time.

I am frank to say that I do not indorse your act, and hope to have the privilege of showing my disapproval by supporting some one in harmony with the administration.

Yours, very truly,

House of Representatives United States, Washington, D. C., March 13, 1916.

Mr. J. R. LEEMAN, Klondike, Tex.

Mr. J. R. Leeman,

Klondike, Tex.

Dear Sir and priedite, our writing me, notwithstanding you are strongly opposed to my vote on the warning resolution.

It is one of the penalties of public office that you sometimes must cast a vote in the discharge of your official duty that will be contrary to the views of some of your very best friends. But no man who respects the oath of his office can be swerved from his duty by considerations of that kind. I note that you say that you hope to have the privilege of showing your disapproval by supporting some one in harmony with the administration. Now, I think that it is entirely proper that I remind you that I have voted for every administration measure thus far brought into this Congress, among which I might mention the conservation measures relating to public lands having coal, oll, gas, and other mineral deposits; also the conservation measure relating to water-power sites in the West; also the Shackleford good-roads bill; and the Post Office appropriation bill, which has just passed the House of Representatives, with its very important legislation for the good of the Postal Service. This last-named bill was introduced by the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, of which I am a member, and I helped frame the bill and was one of the committee having charge of the bill on the floor of the House. So far as I know, the only vote which I have cast contrary to the views of the President was on this warning resolution.

Has it become political treason for a Representative of the people to vote his honest convictions on a nonpartisan question like that?

Now, what would an attitude like yours logically lead to if followed by all Democrats? It would lead to a split in the Democratic ranks that would make President Wilson's defeat inevitable next fall. The Republicans and the Progressives are getting together all over the country and Democratic Congressmen from many of the Western States to win next fall. It is universally conceded that President Wilson will again be nomin

toward President Wilson as you say you are anxious to exercise against me, and vote against him. If such a thing as that were to happen, President Wilson's nomination would be an empty honor and he could only hope to carry the solid South. But no such thing will happen, We Democrats all over the country who believe that such a warning resolution should be given will not allow our differences with the President on this one question to drive us from his support. No; not a bit of it. We will maintain our loyalty to him and help to fight his battles.

I hope you will excuse this blunt way of answering your letter, but I am sure that on reflection you will reconsider your attitude expressed toward me in your letter.

Assuring you of my continued high personal regard and that I will as long as I stay in Congress try and obey with absolute fidelity the oath of office which I have taken, I am,

Your friend,

EUGENE BLACK.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM A. RODENBERG, OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tucsday, March 7, 1916.

Mr. RODENBERG. Mr. Speaker, all Europe is to-day in conflagation. Great and enlightened nations, the exemplars of centuries of civilization, are engaged in a life-and-death strugcenturies of civilization, are engaged in a life-and-death struggle. The flower of the manhood of the Old World is being sacrificed to the god of war. Grim-visaged death has entered the homes of countless millions, and the cries of the widow and the orphan have been lost in the cannon's roar. Judgment has "fled to brutish beasts and men have lost their reason." We, on this side of the Atlantic, far removed from the scene of blood and carnage and death, have until now been successful in preventing our country from being drawn into this awful vortex of war. To-day, however, the President has forced upon Congress a To-day, however, the President has forced upon Congress a situation full of grave portents, and which, if not met in a resolute spirit and without attempt at evasion, will prove a most serious menace to the future peace and tranquillity of the sentiments. United States. In utter disregard of the sentiments expressed in the note of his Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, under date of January 18, 1916, and which, of course, had the President's full approval before it was sent to the warring nations of Europe, the President now insists that belligerent merchant ships carrying contraband war material should have the absolute with the course the defensive way the entire that the contrabance was the contrabance. lute right to arm themselves for defensive purposes. In the note of January 18, addressed to all foreign powers, Secretary Lansing set forth the position of our Government on the question of submarines and armed merchant vessels as follows:

* * * I do not feel that a belligerent should be deprived of the proper use of submarines in the invasion of commerce, since those instruments of war have proved their effectiveness in this practical branch of warfare on the high seas.

Prior to the year 1915 belligerent operations against enemy commerce on the high seas had been conducted with cruisers carrying heavy armaments. In these conditions international law appeared to permit a merchant vessel to carry armament for defensive purposes without lessening its character as a private merchant vessel. This right seems to have been predicated on the superior defensive strength of ships of war, and the limitation of armament to have been dependent on the fact that it could not be used effectively in offensive against enemy naval vessels, while it could defend the merchantmen against the generally inferior armament of piratical ships and privateers.

POWERLESS IN DEFENSE.

POWERLESS IN DEFENSE.

The use of the submarine, however, has changed these relations. Comparison of the defensive strength of a cruiser and a submarine shows that the latter, relying for protection on its power to submerge, is almost defenseless in point of construction. Even a merchant ship carrying a small-caliber gun would be able to use it effectively for offense against the submarine.

Moreover, pirates and sea rovers have been swept from the main trade channels of the sea and privateering has been abolished. Consequently the placing of guns on merchantmen at the present date of submarine warfare can be explained only on the ground of a purpose to render merchantmen superior in force to submarines and to prevent warning and visit and search by them. Any armament, therefore, on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an offensive armament.

a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an offensive armament.

If a submarine is required to stop and search a merchant vessel on the high seas, and in case it is found that she is of an enemy character and that conditions necessitate her destruction and the removal to a place of safety of persons on board, it would not seem just nor reasonable that the submarine should be compelled, while complying with these requirements, to expose itself to almost certain destruction by the guns on board the merchant vessel.

INNOCENT LIVES AT STAKE.

It would therefore appear to be a reasonable and reciprocally just arrangement if it could be agreed by the opposing belligerents that submarines should be caused to adhere strictly to the rules of international law in the matter of stopping and searching merchant vessels, determining their belligerent nationality, and removing the crews and passengers to places of safety before sinking the vessels as prizes of war, and that merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatsoever.

In proposing this formula as a basis of conditional declarations by the belilgerent Government I do so in the full conviction that each Government will consider primarily the humane purposes of saving the lives of innocent people rather than the insistence upon doubtful legal rights which may be denied on account of new conditions.

STAND ON OURSTION SOUGHT.

I would be pleased to be informed whether your Government would be willing to make such a declaration conditioned upon their enemies making a similar declaration.

I should add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

The attitude of the Government of the United States as

The attitude of the Government of the United States, as enunciated in the note of Secretary Lansing, was promptly acquiesced in by the German Government and quite as promptly rejected by the British Government. Upon receipt of Great Britain's protest the President, true to the chameleonlike record of his administration upon every important question, both forcign and domestic, lost no time in completely reversing himself. Not only does he flatly repudiate the doctrine announced in the Secretary's note and accept the contention of Great Britain in toto, but with the zeal that characterizes a new-born convert he now announces with an air of bravado which savors much of mock heroics his uncompromising and unalterable opposition even to the passage of a resolution by Congress warning Americans to keep off armed merchant ships,

On March 2, 1916, the distinguished Democratic Senator from Missouri, William J. Stone, who is chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and who has long been recognized as the official spokesman of the administration, made the following statement on the floor of the Senate:

nized as the official spokesman of the administration, made the following statement on the floor of the Senate:

* * * As I understand it, the President's attitude is this: That he has concluded to support the contention that belligerent merchant ships have a right under international law to bear arms for defensive purposes. What he may regard as a defensive armament I do not know; in fact, I doubt that any man would venture authoritatively to define that kind of armament. Furthermore, if a German war vessel should, without warning, fire upon and sink an armed merchantman of the enemy he would hold the attack to be a lawless act, and if American citizens should suffer therefrom he would hold the German Government to the strictest account. If, notwithstanding, the German Government should persist in their policy he would sever diplomatic relations and submit the matter to Congress, which under the Constitution is the war-making power.

I must here state with equal frankness my own position, as I have stated it to the President. In this emergency there should be nothing of evasion or finesse, much less of partisanship. Distressing as it is to me to be obliged to disagree with the President, as well as with many of my colleagues, my opinions have been matured after great deliberation and my sense of duty is imperative. I can not but believe that a belligerent merchant ship, heavily armed—no matter whether it be called defensive or offensive armament—engaged in transporting contraband war material to the army or navy of her sovereign, is in all essential respects the equivalent of a duly commissioned war vessel. To say the least. I think there can be no manner of doubt that the law now covering that question is involved in doubt and may well be considered as debatable. I shall not discuss that question at this time; I am merely stating my position, and what I know to be the position of numerous others. I shall feel obliged as a duty to myself, my constituency, and the country to discuss this question at length in t

If this is to be the President's position in the future and Congress should sustain the Executive by tabling a resolution of warning, it will follow, then, as surely as the night follows the day, that if an armed merchant vessel of the allies is sunk by a German submarine and an American life should be lost diplomatic relations with Germany will be severed and war will be declared by the United States against Germany. alternative, no escape. It does not even matter whether the American citizen was legitimately on board the armed merchant vessel or whether he was hired at a good price to make the trip for the express purpose of giving the vessel and its cargo of munitions the protection of the American Government. I contend that such a doctrine is monstrous and outrageous in the extreme. It is illogical and untenable. It contravenes every consideration of justice and fairness and makes a miserable mockery of our much-vaunted neutrality.

On the same day that Senator STONE gave expression to his views the distinguished Democratic Senator from Oklahoma, Mr. Gore, who, in the preconvention contest for delegates to Baltimore, strongly supported the candidacy of Woodrow Wilson, in advocating the adoption of his resolution of warning used the following language:

Mr. President, I introduced this resolution because I was apprehen-ve that we were speeding headlong upon war. Perhaps I ought to

go further and say what I have hitherto avoided saying, that my action was based on a report, which seemed to come from the highest and most responsible authority, that certain Senators and certain Members of the House in a conference with the President of the United States received from the President the Intimation, if not the declaration, that if Germany insisted upon her position the United States would insist upon her position; that it would result probably in a breach of diplomatic relations; that a breach of diplomatic relations would probably be followed by a state of war; and that a state of war might not be of itself and of necessity an evil, but that the United States by entering the war now might be able to bring it to a conclusion by midsummer and thus render a great service to civilization.

I do not accuse President Wilson of deliberately planning to

I do not accuse President Wilson of deliberately planning to get us into war with Germany. I do not even go as far in impugning his motives as does his former political friend and adviser, Senator Gore; but I make the statement, and measure my words in doing so, that if the President persists in the autocratic and arbitrary course that he is now pursuing the irresistible and inevitable result will be that the United States

will become involved in war with Germany.

If we were at war with Japan to-morrow and a Japanese armed merchant vessel was engaged in transporting a cargo of munitions to her shores, to be later used to kill and mangle American soldiers and sailors, does any sane and sensible human being believe for a moment that an American submarine would hesitate to attack such Japanese vessel because, forsooth, there were Chinese citizens aboard? An American administration that would stand sponsor for such an absurd and spineless policy in time of war would be execrated and denounced by every red-blooded citizen and would be instantly swept into deserved oblivion. I maintain that we have no moral right to take advantage of an unprecedented situation and by the adoption of bullying methods attempt to coerce a nation with which we have always maintained the most friendly relations into doing that which we ourselves would refuse to do under similar circumstances

Sweden has issued a warning to her subjects not to take passage on belligerent merchant ships, and if the President of the United States were still animated by the same lofty considerations of humanity that caused him in the beginning of the great European conflict to set apart Sunday, October 4, 1914, as a day of prayer for peace, he would welcome similar action by the American Congress. In fact, he would have carried out the plain purport of Secretary Lansing's note, and instead of now insisting on the recognition of a "doubtful legal right" which may plunge us into war, he would have issued a warning notice on his own volition, without waiting for congressional action; and in doing so he would have earned the plaudits of the vast majority of his fellow citizens who are unalterably opposed to war. But a change seems to have "come over the spirit of his dreams." Suddenly and without warning he has seen fit to assume a bellicose attitude. He is willing now to run the risk of involving us in war with a friendly power in defense of a principle which, as late as January 18 of this year, he himself regarded as a "doubtful legal right." Is it possible that the continued vitriolic attacks of a certain warlike ex-President are responsible for the change in the attitude of Mr. Wilson, or has he, perhaps, permitted himself to be influenced by a partisan press, under the mistaken impression that they properly reflect public sentiment?

The President and his friends in this House insist that the McLemore resolution be tabled. They do not want the resolution to be stripped of its verbiage so that a fair and square vote may be had on a simple question of issuing a warning to American citizens not to embark on armed belligerent vessels, as provided in the Campbell substitute. They know that if the parliamentary situation were such that a vote could be had on this plain and simple proposition the prediction recently made by Speaker Champ Clark would be fulfilled and a resolution of warning would pass this House by a majority of more than 2 to 1. They know that the McLemore resolution in its present form will not pass and, taking advantage of the parliamentary situation, they prefer to have the false impression go out that the House is not in favor of the resolution of warning but is content to permit the President to follow his own course and to shape the policy of the Government in one of the most vital matters that has confronted the United States since the Civil War.

I have a most profound respect for the dignity and the prestige of the office of President of the United States. I do not belong to that class of men, however, who affect to believe that when an American citizen is elevated to the Presidency he immediately becomes endowed with superior knowledge and at once secures a monopoly of the wisdom of all the ages, I regard

even a President as being properly subject to mortal limitations.

The theory that the Chief Executive is alone capable of conducting our foreign affairs is a relic of despotism which we seem to have inherited from the Europe of 100 years ago.

When this Republic was founded the framers of the Constitution liberalized every part of the system of government in vogue in the Old World at that time with the single exception of this: We still adhere to the monarchial tradition that our foreign relations should be dealt with by the Executive alone, to the exclusion of the representatives of the people. Such unlimited power placed in the hands of one individual may easily prove a serious menace to the peace of a nation. Under our Constitution the power to declare war is reserved to Con-It is quite reasonable to assume that this power carries with it the unquestioned right to discuss foreign affairs and to assist in shaping foreign policies. If Congress has the sole power to declare war, it is plainly our right to be fully advised of every development in a controversy with a foreign power, and it is our duty, as representatives of the people, to take cognizance of every move that is made and every step that is taken by our Government, so that we may be in a position to protect the interests of the country. The tendency in all civilized countries to-day is in the direction of a larger share of cooperation on the part of the people in the management of for-eign relations, and this tendency unquestionably makes for peace, because as a rule the great masses of the people are not in favor of war when it can be honorably avoided.

I have long been opposed to secret diplomacy. I do not believe in enveloping our diplomatic negotiations in a cloak of mystery. I believe that the President owes it to the people to take them into his confidence. The people of this country are called upon to decide all questions of domestic policy. Why should they not have a voice in determining the most vital question of all, namely, the question of life or death, of peace or war

I believe that the American people are practically a unit in their opposition to war. I believe, also, that fully 90 per cent of the people living west of the Alleghanies, where there are few munition factories and little or no financial connection with London, are in favor of issuing a warning to our citizens against taking passage on armed merchant ships because of the very manifest danger involved to the Nation's peace. No American worthy of the name has a moral right to so conduct himself as to endanger the peace of his own country. If he should persist in willfully disregarding the duty that he owes to his fellow man by following a foolhardy course which, under a logical interpretation of the present attitude of the President, will result in war with a nation which has given us every evidence of loyal friendship in the past, then I regard it as high time for Congress to act and to notify such an individual that he can no longer claim the protection of the Government of the United

The question that confronts us to-day is not a question of insisting upon a "doubtful legal right." It is not even a question of the recognition of our established rights at sea. It is a question of the duty that every American owes to his own country, and Congress should not hesitate to point out that duty in clear and unmistakable terms, so that peace may continue to dwell within our borders.

Warning at Home and Abroad.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. M. C. SMITH. OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 7, 1916.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, if the question was squarely submitted to the House and I was required to vote upon the separate proposition of warning Americans bound for Europe not to take passage or sail on armed passenger or merchant ships belonging to one of the belligerent nations now engaged in that greatest of all wars, I certainly would vote to In fact, I think sufficient notice has already give such warning. been given to all fair-minded and considerate persons that it is the desire of the people of this country that Americans wishing to travel abroad should not sail on armed ships of the warring People must all know by this time that in taking passage on such armed merchantmen they not only imperil their own lives, but jeopardize the peace and tranquillity of our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, we take no chances in warning people against this danger. And it would seem to me that a person considerate of the welfare of himself and his country would abstain from taking passage on such a ship. It is thought by some

that even after the notice already given and after knowing the desire of the Government to have them refrain from traveling on armed belligerent ships that those committing such indiscretion should take their own chances, and if they lose their lives it ought not to be a cause of war. But I am not now discussing the question as to whether or not an American should be permitted to travel on a ship which does not carry an armament. I would be slow not to allow them that privilege, as a matter of abstract right. Neither am I saying that a merchantman that carries a gun for defensive purposes only is an armed cruiser. If in effect such notice would deny an American citizen the right to travel on the high sea, in a neutral or unarmed ship, I would not want to consent to that.

In the second place, if we classed a merchant vessel carrying a gun for only defensive purposes as an armed cruiser, and there seems to be some authority for so holding, then it is our duty to intern and not give clearance papers to such a ship. This might destroy our foreign commerce and deny us the rights on the high seas which we have always had and are now entitled to. If a merchant ship has the right to carry a gun for defensive purposes and has had that right for centuries, and if a citizen of a neutral nation has likewise had the right to travel and carry on commerce on the high seas in time of war and our forefathers fought for these principles, and this right is implanted firmly in international law and agreed to by these very warring nations, then I would not contend that we should relinquish these rights, much as I believe Americans should respect the wishes of the people of the Nation not to travel at this time on armed ships belonging to the belligerents. The right of a citizen of a neutral nation and the right of a ship of a neutral nation to sail the high seas were established long before the submarine was invented. And while I recognize the right of a nation to use any implement of legitimate warfare it can to win, I think as long as the rights of neutral citizens and neutral ships were firmly fixed and agreed to prior to the war, then that all implements and methods of warfare subsequently invented should respect those rights. Laws .f warfare can not be changed during the progress of the war without the consent of nations. No question is raised over the fact that a submarine is a warship. They can carry, and some do carry, a mounted gun. No question but what a warship must give notice before it can sink a merchantman. Why, then, not a submarine? Must we have one law for a warship fighting on top of the water and another law for a warship fighting under the water?

After the sinking of the Lusitania the British proclaimed a blockade of all Germany. A proclamation was then made by Germany to agree not to sink any merchantmen belonging to England without notice, providing England would permit the shipment of foodstuffs into Germany and not try to starve noncombatant men, women, and children. This England refused to do, and has since refused to do. We need not consider whether it would have been better for England to have come to an agreement with Germany on the policy of submarine warfare further than to say that, if she had so agreed, the question of warning Americans to keep off armed merchantmen of belligerent nations would not be confronting us to-day.

GIVING WARNING.

Mr. Speaker, the public press very recently was in favor of giving notice to Americans not to travel on armed belligerent merchant vessels. The people as well as Congress became anxious concerning such warning. Vessels were being sunk without warning and American lives were being lost, and the question of warning has become very acute. We are solicitous about Germany giving warning to merchantmen before sinking them, and I think justly so. Neutral nations have rights which must be respected by other nations when at war as well as when at peace. But while we are contending for the right and duty of giving warning on the part of the belligerent nations why do we not take heed of the warning at home and keep off belligerent armed vessels? I am for heeding the warning at home, and think it should be heeded abroad.

Senator Stone, of Missouri, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, became alarmed over the situation and on February 21 had a conversation with the President about it. This conversation led Senator Stone to write the following let-

ter, February 24, to the President:

ter, February 24, to the Fresident:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Since Senator Kern, Mr. Flood, and I talked with you on Monday evening, I am more troubled than I have been for many a day. I have not felt authorized to repeat our conversation, but I have attempted, in response to numerous inquiries from my colleagues, to state to them, within the confidence that they should observe, my general understanding of your attitude. I have stated my understanding of your attitude to be substantially as follows:

That while you would deeply regret the rejection by Great Britain of Mr. Lansing's proposal for the disarmament of merchant vessels of the allies with the understanding that Germany and her allies would not fire upon a merchant ship if she hauled to when summoned, not

attempting to escape, and that the German warships would only exercise the admitted right of visitation and capture, and would not destroy the captured ship except in circumstances that reasonably assured the safety of passengers and crew, you were of the opinion that if Great Britain and her allies rejected the proposal and insisted upon arming her merchant ships she would be within her right under international law. Also that you would feel disposed to allow armed vessels to be cleared from our ports; also that you are not favorably disposed to be cleared from our ports; also that you are not favorably disposed to be cleared from our ports; also that you are not favorably disposed to the idea of this Government taking any definite steps toward preventing American citizens from embarking upon armed merchant vessels.

Furthermore, that you would consider it your duty, if a German warship should fire upon an armed merchant vessel of the enemy upon which American citizens were passengers, to hold Germany to strict account.

Numerous Members of the Senate and the House have called to discuss this subject with me. I have felt that the Members of the two Houses who are to deal with this grave question were entitled to know the situation we are confronting as I understand it to be.

I think I should say to you that the Members of both Houses feel deeply concerned and disturbed by what they read and hear. I have heard of some talk to the effect that some are saying that, after all, it may be possible that the program of preparedness, so called, has some relation to such a situation as we are now called upon to meet.

I have counseled all who have talked with me to keep col; that this whole business is still the subject of diplomacy and that you are striving to the utmost to bring about some penceable adjustment, and that in the meantime Congress should be careful not to "hell up" a diplomatic situation by any kind of hasty and all-considered action. However, the situation by any kind of hasty and il-considered nection

In this letter the Senator states the attitude of the President to be that England was within her rights if she refused to disarm her merchant ships. And that armed belligerent ships would be allowed clearance papers, and that if Germany should fire on an armed merchantman and American lives were lost, to hold Germany to strict account. This is what Senator Stone states is what he understood the President's position to be, and the letter speaks for itself. The President replies by letter on the same day, stating that the right to change or alter the laws of belligerent nations during the progress of the war does not obtain, and that the right of American citizens must not be abridged, but respected and maintained. The President talks His letter is not uncertain, and that if we acquiesced in a change of the law and custom of nations in denying the right of travel to our citizens we would violate the rights of mankind everywhere, of every nation and allegiance. That it would make everything this Government has achieved during the war meaningless and futile. That he is contending for American sovereignty. The letter of the President follows:

FEBRUARY 24, 1916.

Feruany 24, 1916.

My Dear Senator: I very warmly appreciate your kind and frank letter of to-day, and feel that it calls for an equally frank reply.

You are right in assuming that I shall do everything in my power to keep the United States out of war. I think the country will feel no uneasiness about my course in that respect. Through many anxious months I have striven for that object, amid difficulties more manifold than can have been apparent upon the surface, and so far I have succeeded. I do not doubt that I shall continue to succeed. The course which the central European powers have announced their intention of following in the future with regard to undersea warfare seems for the moment to threaten insuperable obstacles, but its apparent meaning is so manifestly inconsistent with explicit assurances recently given us by those powers with regard to their treatment of merchant vessels on the high seas that I must believe that explanations will presently ensue which will put a different aspect upon it. We have had no reason to question their good faith or their fidelity to their promises in the past, and I for one feel confident that we shall have none in the future.

But in any event our duty is clear. No nation, no group of nations, has the right, while war is in progress, to alter or disregard the principles which all nations have agreed upon in mitigation of the horrors and sufferings of war; and if the clear rights of American citizens should very unhapply be abridged or denied by any such action, we should, it seems to me, have in honor no choice as to what our own course should be.

For my own part I can not consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. The honor and self-respect of the Nation is involved. We covet peace, and shall preserve it at any cost but the loss of honor. To forbid our people to exercise their rights for fear we might be called upon to vindicate them would be a deep humiliation, indeed. It would be an implicit, all but an explicit, acquiessence in

of our hitherto proud position as spokesmen, even amid the turmoil of war, for the law and the right. It would make everything this Government has attempted and everything that it has accomplished during this terrible struggle of nations meaningless and futile.

It is important to reflect that if in this instance we allowed expediency to take the place of principle the door would inevitably be opened to still further concessions. Once accept a single abatement of right and many other humiliations would certainly follow, and the whole fine fabric of international law might crumble under our hands piece by piece. What we are contending for in this matter is of the very essence of the things that have made America a sovereign Nation. She can not yield them without conceding her own impotency as a Nation and making virtual surrender of her independent position among the nations of the world.

I am speaking, my dear Senator, in deep solemnity, without heat, with a clear consciousness of the high responsibilities of my office, and as your sincere and devoted friend. If we should unhapply differ, we shall differ as friends, but where issues so momentous as these are involved we must, just because we are friends, speak our minds without reservation.

Faithfully, yours,

Woodrow Wilson.

The President's letter is a strong plea for the right to arm

The President's letter is a strong plea for the right to arm a merchant vessel and of the right to travel thereon. The right to arm a vessel for defensive purposes seems to be well established in law of long standing.

The right of a German ship to defend herself and to be armed for that purpose has not, so far as I am aware, been doubted for two centuries, until it has again become one of prime importance. The historical evidence down to the year 1815 is overwhelming. (8, Doc. No. 332 on armed merchantmen, p. 32; A. Pearce Higgings in Am. Journal of International Law, vol. 8.)

A merchant vessel of belligerent nationality may carry an armament and ammunition for its sole purpose of defense without acquiring the character of a warship. (From circular issued by the State Department Sept. 19, 1914.)

A leading newspaper of my own State, in an editorial, says the following designation of a warship was consented to by the Kaiser himself at The Hague tribunal October 18, 1907.

I quote from the editorial:

A nation at war has a right to attack and sink, without warning only a vessel of war.

What is a vessel of war? International law explicitly defines and describes it. Fortunately, Kaiser William himself, with his own hand, wrote that explicit definition and description. Here it is, the exact txet as unanimously agreed to by The Hague Tribunal on October 18, 1907. 1907:
"Convention relative to the conversion of merchant ships into war-

"Convention relative to the conversion of merchant ships into warships.

"By His Majesty the German Emperor, King of Prussia, etc.

"A merchant ship converted into a warship can not have the rights and duties accruing to such vessel unless it is placed under the direct authority, immediate control, and responsibility of the power whose flag it flies.

"The crew must be subject to military discipline.

"Every merchant ship converted into a warship must observe in its operations the laws and customs of war."

Thus international law describes exactly how a merchantman must be converted to make it a warship. It must be directly under the authority of the navy department, commanded by naval officers, operated by a crew under naval discipline, and it can not be operated as a merchandise and passenger ship because its business is war and not trade. Unless it is all these it can not be treated as a warship and blown up without warning.

For the purpose of showing just what the question was which

For the purpose of showing just what the question was which the President had in mind when we were called upon to vote on the McLemore resolution, I call attention to the President's letter to Mr. Pou, member of the Rules Committee:

THE WHITE HOUSE, Washington, February 29, 1916.

The White House, Washington, February 29, 1916.

My Dear Mr. Pou: Inasmuch as I learn that Mr. Henry, the chairman of the Committee on Rules, is absent in Texas, I take the liberty of calling your attention, as ranking member of the committee, to a matter of grave concern to the country, which can, I believe, be handled, under the rules of the House, only by that committee.

The report that there are divided counsels in Congress in regard to the foreign policy of the Government is being made industrious use of in foreign capitals. I believe that report to be false, but so long as it is anywhere credited it can not fail to do the greatest harm and expose the country to the most serious risks. I therefore feel justified in asking that your committee will permit me to urge an early vote upon the resolutions with regard to travel on armed merchantmen which have recently been so much talked about in order that there may be afforded an immediate opportunity for full public discussion and action upon them and that all doubts and conjectures may be swept away and our foreign relations once more cleared of damaging misunderstandings.

The matter is of so grave importance and lies so clearly within the field of Executive initiative that I venture to hope that your committee will not think that I am taking unwarranted liberty in making this suggestion as to the business of the House, and I very earnestly commend it to their immediate attention.

Cordially and sincerely, yours,

Woodrow Wilson.

This letter written to Mr. Pou, who was to report out the resolution to be voted upon, shows just what the President had in mind. It was not only respecting a warning to people not to travel on belligerent ships, but also to counteract a report that was being circulated in the capitals of foreign powers that the Congress of the United States was not in sympathy or behind the President in his foreign policy. I think the people of my district would not want me to be hasty in voting for war if some overzealous citizen of ours should persist and insist on his right to go abroad and travel on an armed belligerent merchant vessel and lose his life. But in so declaring I know there

are no more patriotic people in our Republic than those of my district and State. It the War of the Rebellion Michigan sent 90,000 of her citizens to the front out of a population of only 750,000. And should the occasion ever require our country to make the sacrifice Michigan will do her patriotic duty to maintain the dignity and uphold the honor of the Nation.

The text of the McLemore resolution is as follows:

The text of the McLemore resolution is as follows:

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the United States do, and it hereby solemnly does, request the President to warn all American citizens within the borders of the United States or its possessions or elsewhere to refrain from traveling on any and all ships of any and all of the powers now or in future at war which ship or ships shall mount guns, whether such ship be frankly avowed a part of the naval forces of the power whose fag it flies, or shall be called a merchant ship or otherwise, and whether such gun or guns or other armament be called "offensive" or "defensive"; and in case American citizens do travel on such armed belligerent ships that they do so at their own risk.

That the House expresses the determination of the people and Government of the United States both to uphold all American rights and to exercise care, consideration, and wisdom in avoiding actions which tend to bring American citizens and American interests into the zone of conflict, where the passions of war are raging.

The action taken by Congress not only shows that in great

The action taken by Congress not only shows that in great international questions it stands by the President, who has these questions to solve, but it also serves to notify all the people that the United States does not want them to travel on armed ships. And I hope the wishes of the people will be respected by them.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FREDERICK H. GILLETT.

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 7, 1916.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the force and the logic of the arguments against both the adoption of the rule and the laying of the resolution on the table. But despite logic I believe that the issue before us is generally looked upon by the people of this country and of the world as whether we shall vote confidence or lack of confidence in the President in the present crisis of his negotiations with Germany. pretend to have much confidence in either the foreign or the domestic policy of this administration. It has often been suggested to me from that side of the House that my participation in debate here is not always from a purely nonpartisan standpoint. But since the outbreak of this war I have not uttered a word of criticism of our foreign policy. I have felt that as long as it was tolerable it was more important in such serious times that Americans should show a united front toward the world than that deserved criticism should be expressed.

In the present juncture I am thoroughly in accord with the President's position that neutrals have the right to travel in safety on the ships of belligerents, though armed for defense. That is a well-established doctrine of international law, sanctioned by the decisions of our Supreme Court. And that is the practical issue before us now. I do not think good judgment has been shown in the method of bringing it before us. woeful weakness of tactics was illustrated by the fiasco in the Senate, and I regret that the exact issue is not placed before us more explicitly to-day. Whether it is accidental or intentional, whether the administration leaders have bungled or are disingenuous and do not dare to face a clear issue, I can

This is not, as is generally believed, a mere resolution of warning and caution. A resolution which meant only that would have little opposition. I certainly think no American ought to sail on an armed merchantman and risk involving his country in serious complications except in case of stringent necessity. But the McLemore resolution does not mean simply that Congress disapproves such sailing. It says explicitly that he sails at his own risk. Our protection is withdrawn from him. A citizen of the United States fleeing for his life from Turkey, for instance, and taking passage wherever he can find a ship, will not be protected in the right which the law of the world and of his country assures to him. To such a resolution I am unalterably opposed. The fault I have found with this administration has not been that it was too bold in the assertion of the rights of neutrals but that it has been too timid and irresolute and vacillating toward both sides in the war. conduct has brought upon us the reproach that we have been

concerned over property and profits and dollars and not for principles or ideals. We are recognized as the one great neutral nation. If the rights of neutrals, which all the warring nations are constantly trying to infringe, diminish, and break down, are to be maintained anywhere, it must be by us. And so there rests on us a grave responsibility not only for the rights of American citizens and commerce but that all the rights of neutrals established by the growth of centuries should be respected.

I think our course has been based too exclusively on the injury to our citizens and not enough on the injury to internalaw which establishes the rights of our citizens and whose intraction is a menace against all rights. Both sides to this conflict have shown a disposition to ignore these rights, and against both sides we ought to resolutely assert them. If the case were reversed and we were at war and England and France and Germany at peace, do you think we would be allowed to set up the claim that international law should be changed for our convenience? We do not need to speculate; we have the record to convince us. In 1861, when Mason and Slidell were taken from the *Trent*, you remember the peremptory and threatening manner in which Great Britain showed her resentment. France and Prussia were not concerned, except as disinterested neutrals, yet both of them protested to our Government. Prussia was not a sea power or a maritime nation—our conduct could little affect her—yet Count Bernstorff-I presume an ancestor of the present distinguished German ambassador-sent on behalf of Prussia a formal notice to our Government that, if the action of Capt. Wilkes was authorized by the United States Government, "we should find our-selves constrained to see in it not an isolated fact but a public menace offered to the existing rights of neutrals.'

We to-day owe it not only to our citizens but we owe it to humanity and the world that some one shall uphold the rights of all neutrals, and that they shall not be overwhelmed and submerged under this universal deluge of brute force.

It is argued that the invention of the submarine has brought new conditions and that international law must be changed to meet them. To that there are two answers: One is that we, a neutral, have a right to insist upon the old rules until new ones are agreed upon and not simply asserted by one side in the conflict; the other is that we may well hope that when the new rules of international law are agreed upon they will declare that, while the lurking and deadly submarine is a justifiable instrument against men-of-war, it is not a fit weapon against merchantmen, whose passengers and crews it has no means of saving.

I hope the administration will resolutely uphold the rights of all neutrals to travel on merchantmen armed for defense, as established by general international law and our Supreme Court, and, to support the administration in that policy, I shall vote to table this resolution.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM R. GREEN.

OF IOWA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Tuesday, March 7, 1916.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the question before us is very simple: The President, through the State Department, on January 18, in a note to foreign powers, said that the placing of guns on merchantmen at the present date could only be explained on the ground of a purpose of being used against submarines, that any armament on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an offensive armament, and that the reasonable rule was that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser. The allied powers rejected this contention; thereupon the President not only reversed his position, but called upon Congress to sustain him in such action, on the ground that the course which he himself had advocated was an abandonment of American rights and subversive of American honor. The statement which I have made is for the most part a literal quotation from the note sent out by Secretary Lansing. Where it differs at all it is merely in abbreviation and not the slightest in meaning.

This position taken by the President in the middle of January was far stronger than any ever taken so far by any

Member of this House, for it would have made necessary the detention as auxiliary cruisers all armed merchantmen belonging to belligerents. There is no necessity that I should determine whether I would have followed him to that extent, but I am lost in astonishment that he should expect this House to follow him in the astounding change which he has made in

his reasoning and in his policy.

It is idle and useless to say that the rights of merchantmen to arm has never been questioned, when it was abandoned by our own State Department, disputed by lawyers, and denied by publicists. The most favorable claim that could be made for this rule would be that, although doubted and denied, it had existed in the past and ought to be continued in the future. The President, however, has said that the honor and self-respect of the Nation are involved. If so, no man more firmly than I would insist upon their preservation; but when, Mr. Speaker, did our honor become involved in hazy, doubtful, and self-abandoned principles? When did it become a patriotic act to encourage our citizens to recklessly and needlessly expose themselves on foreign territory—the deck of a foreign ship—to the perils of warfare, either legitimate or illegitimate? These are new definitions of honor and patriotism, adopted, I fear, by some who have failed to see that they have been invented to build up the waning political fortunes of their originators. I can understand how Members on the other side, shackled by party ties and driven by the party lash, may vote against their judgment on this matter, but I have yet to comprehend how Members of my own party can be so misled by hollow phrases which neither express the fact nor appeal to the reason.

The President says that if we fail to adopt his conclusion it would be an "abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesman." Mr. Speaker, how tired we have become of the use of this word "proud" since we learned last year that we were too proud to fight for anything, and now find that we are so proud that we are to create some fancied issue in order

that we may fight.

The cry has been raised "Support the President in International difficulties." Mr. Speaker, under this administration we have heard this cry before and this House has harkened to it too often. It supported the President by furnishing him with the means to perpetrate the colossal blunder of assaulting Vera Cruz whereby nothing was gained except to promote the interest of Villa, one of the most bloodthirsty villains that ever cursed God's footstool, and to sow the seeds of hatred which this generation will never live to see uprooted. How many Members are there in this House who then gave the President their vote that do not regret it? We have been compelled to follow the President through the alternate retreats and advances of his Mexican policy and its tortuous and devious course until at last it has become so inextricably involved that neither he nor Congress can tell what the future has in store for us except that it is sure to bring further trouble and probably will result in war. Shall we permit the European situation to fall into the same condition?

What if we grant, as you may, that in fact this right exists? How does it abridge or deny it if we tell those who claim the right that it is not well at this time to exercise it? Our citizens went into Mexico when it was a peaceable country. there with rights that were unquestioned and unchallenged, but they were warned to leave and abandon their property. Shall we now listen to the same voice which issued this command

when we are told that to warn our citizens off all armed ships would be a dishonorable abandonment of our rights?

The State Department for some time has been advising our citizens not to go abroad, and refusing passports even to persons who desired to go abroad for business purposes. I know of one case where a passport was refused to a party who wished to go to London on urgent business; and only newspaper correspondents are given passports to visit the scenes of the conflict. The resolutions warning our citizens to keep off of armed vessels, and resolutions that were introduced refusing passports to citizens who took passage on such vessels, are merely in line with what was the policy of the administration until very recently. If the authors of these resolutions are to be censured as being disposed to give up some right of this Nation or in some way infringe upon its honor, then not only Secretary Lansing but the President himself was subject six weeks ago to the same censure for the same reasons. Those whose argument consists mostly of epithets directed at those who favor a warning resoseem to forget that their denunciations apply more strongly to the administration than to anyone else.

I have always been ready to go further than the administration in maintaining our honor and self-respect. Our citizens have been cruelly murdered in their own homes and in their own land. I would strike hard, fast, and far until a swift and

terrible retribution overtook those who were responsible for this, and would first try to make secure and safe American homes which are being devastated by a refinement of cruelty of which only a monster in human form is capable, administration will do this it will have my fullest and heartiest support. When we think of the insults, degradation, and cruelty that have been heaped upon us by organized bands, both in Mexico and on our Mexican border, the question now raised shrinks into absolute insignificance.

Mr. Speaker, I have no patience with that short-sighted folly which does not look into the future. The rule which the President first announced is absolutely necessary for our own safety; that which he now proposes, suicidal. If we should ever become involved in war with a first-class naval power-and no other would dare attack us-our chief defense would be in our submarines. To establish a rule under which an auxiliary cruiser could not be distinguished from an armed merchant vessel, or the latter from one that is unarmed, would deprive us of our most valuable weapon. If we get into a naval war some of the Members of this House representing districts along the coast, who have been shouting most loudly about a right being given up, will be the first to ask the President to again reverse him-

It has often been said, and truly said, that if the people of Europe had had an opportunity to express themselves the terrible war, which already surpasses in horror all of the calamities which this old world has so far endured, would never have taken place. When I support, as I will support, a resolution in proper form warning Americans to keep off the armed ships of the belligerents, I am not abridging their rights. I am expressing the right of the people at large to have something to say as to whether foolhardy persons who have neither the good sense to look out for their own safety nor the patriotism to care for the interest of their country shall be permitted to needlessly and recklessly put this country in a position so that either war or an ignominious retreat will result. When war comes, if it must come, I want it to be based, and I believe the people want it to be based, upon a real and substantial issue, and not upon one manufactured for political purposes.

American Neutrality.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EBENEZER J. HILL,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 13, 1916.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave to print, I desire to insert in the RECORD an appeal by the President of the United States to the citizens of the Republic, requesting their assistance in maintaining a state of neutrality during the present European war, originally presented to the United States Senate August 20, 1914:

"AMERICAN NEUTRALITY.

"AN APPEAL BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE CITIZENS OF THE PEPUBLIC, REQUESTING THEIR ASSISTANCE IN MAINTAINING A STATE OF NEUTRALITY DURING THE PRESENT EUROPEAN WAR.

"My fellow countrymen, I suppose that every thoughtful man in America has asked himself, during these last troubled weeks, what influence the European war may exert upon the United States, and I take the liberty of addressing a few words to you in order to point out that it is entirely within our own choice what its effects upon us will be and to urge very earnestly upon you the sort of speech and conduct which will best safeguard the Nation against distress and disaster.

"The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what American citizens say and do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. The sprit of the Nation in this critical matter will be determined largely by what individuals and society and those gathered in public meetings do and say, upon what newspapers and magazines contain, upon what ministers utter in their pulpits, and men proclaim as their opinions on the street.

"The people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the nations now at war. It is natural and inevitable that there should be the utmost variety of sympathy and desire among them with regard to the issues and circumstances of the conflict. Some will wish one nation, others

another, to succeed in the momentous struggle. It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it. Those responsible for exciting it will assume a heavy responsibility-responsibility for no less a thing than that the people of the United States, whose love of their country and whose loyalty to its Government should unite them as Americans all, bound in honor and affection to think first of her and her interests, may be divided in camps of hostile opinion, hot against each other, involved in the war itself in impulse and opinion if not in action.

"Such divisions among us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great Nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a par-

tisan but as a friend.

"I venture, therefore, my fellow countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning to you against that deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides. The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed

as a preference of one party to the struggle before another.

"My thought is of America. I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and in our hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a Nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action; a Nation that neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own counsels and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world.

"Shall we not resolve to put upon ourselves the restraints which will bring to our people the happiness and the great and

lasting influence for peace we covet for them?"

Since this appeal was first made, the situation has become far more acute, and I desire its reprint in the hope that every citizen of the Republic may read it now.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. L. C. DYER,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 7, 1916.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, the rule under which we are operating in the consideration of this resolution gives to but few of the Members an opportunity to present their views upon this important question. Therefore I take advantage of the opportunity to extend my remarks for the purpose of making of record the substance of what the greater part of my constituency believe with reference thereto. I have received many communi-cations advising me how I should vote upon the question of whether or not Congress should pass a resolution warning Americans to stay off of merchant vessels that are armed and belonging to belligerent nations. The majority of this House, however, has refused us an opportunity to vote directly upon this question, but are compelling us, under this special rule, to vote yes or no upon tabling the McLemore resolution. Many Members state that they can vote to table this resolution and yet not vote against warning Americans to stay off these fighting ships. It appears that the party in power has finally declined to face the real issue and are giving themselves to quibbling, as is their custom.

I can not take the space in the RECORD to present the views of all those who have written or telegraphed me. However, since I am against tabling the McLemore resolution, I will do my constituents, who are opposed to my action, the honor of printing all of their communications to me upon the subject, which are as follows:

Sr. Louis, Mo., March 1, 1916.

Hon, L. C. DYER, Washington, D. C.:

Speaking for six other Republicans—voters in your district—we desire you to stand with the President, and oppose those other cowardly

Congressmen who are opposing him in his stand against German aggression. S. L. GILBERT.

ST. Louis, Mo., February 26, 1916.

Hon. L. C. DYER, Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Dyer: I do most sincerely hope you will be able to see your way clear to support President Wilson in the position he has taken, regarding our relations with Germany.

I also earnestly hope that every effort will be put forth to place this country in a condition of preparedness. The United States should now have a Navy which would command the respect of the world, and it seems to me we should have a well-trained and well-equipped Army of sufficient size which would also command the respect of other nations.

of same and on the first state of the same and prosperity which Congress can give to the American people.

Most sincerely,

C. H. BARTLETT.

ST. Louis, Mo., February 24, 1916.

Hon. L. C. Dver, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Do you wish our country to be held in contempt by those archmurderers, the Teutons and their Mohammedan allies?

These are a few things for you, as Representative of the people of the twelfth Missouri district, to think about.

I believe in you to the extent that when the hour to vote comes, I believe you will be found supporting our President.

Respectfully,

L. JOHN WERER.

St. Louis, Mo., February 28, 1916.

Hon. L. C. DYER, Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I wish to acknowledge receipt of your esteemed letters of February 5 and other dates, and to thank you for the Government publications I asked for, which have all arrived.

I heartily approve of President Wilson's letter of February 25 in answer to Senator Stone's milk-and-water letter. If this country is to be any further Bryanized and Kitchinized, every red-blooded American must hang his head in shame. I trust you will not Meekerize. A manly upholding of American ideals and American honor without reference to German votes is imperative at this time. There are many spies and traitors now abroad in this country. I am greatly in favor of a tariff commission and taking the tariff out of politics, if it can be done. I earnestly ask you to stand for humanity and the honor of America and the rights of American citizens wherever they may be. I approve the stand taken by Senator Lodge and hope every Republican Senator and Representative will stand with him.

Yours, very truly,

JOHN A. GILLIAM,

JOHN A. GILLIAM.

THE SHERWIN-WILLIAMS Co., St. Louis, Mo., February 26, 1916.

Hon. L. C. DYER, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I hope that you will see your way clear to give thorough and absolute support to the President in his position affecting the attitude of this Government toward submarine warfare. While the great majority of true Americans desire peace, we do not want peace

without honor.
Yours, very truly, B. B. CAMERON, District Manager.

Those who have written and wired me urging me to vote against tabling the McLemore resolution are more than 2,000. I can not make mention of the protests of but a few of these, which are as follows:

ST. Louis, Mo., February 29, 1916.

which are as follows:

Hon. L. C. Dyen,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

May I venture to suggest for your consideration a certain aspect of the armed-ship question which President Wilson seems to ignore:

The position of Germany is this: It has a right, fully recognized by international law, to capture and, if necessary, to destroy enemy merchant ships whenever it has the power to do so, provided it protects passengers and crew. It may accomplish such capture and destruction by any appropriate means. The submarine is not only a proper instrument of war, but the only one available to Germany at the present time. Germany undertakes in the use of this weapon to refrain from unnecessary violence and to guard the safety of passengers and crew whenever the merchant ship is not armed. It can not undertake to warn an armed merchant ship, because it can not do so without inviting the destruction of its own boat. For these reasons it requests the United States to prevent its citizens from traveling on armed merchant ships belonging to England in order that they may not incur the dangers necessarily incident to the voyage.

Mr. Wilson refuses to comply with this request, insisting that Americans have, by immemorial custom and established international law, the right to travel by see on merchant ships of beligerents, and that Germany shall not imperil their safety by the use of any engine of war, however useful it may be against an enemy's power.

Who is right? The following facts are incontrovertible: The merchant ships of England are engaged in carrying immense quantities of multitons, which will be employed for the destruction of German armies. It has caused these ships to be armed, not for the protection

of the lives of passengers, since Germany offers protection if they be not armed, but for the protection of the ships and cargoes. Germany possesses a weapon which can destroy there ships, provided warning be not required, but can not destroy them if warning be required. Should america demand that Germany shall not employ the only weapon it possesses in the only manner possible against armed enemy ships engaged in carrying munitions of war, in order that our citizens may travel on such ships, where the effect of their presence is to shield an enemy's munitions and protect them from destruction? Is there room for the insinuation, however unjust, that while we pretend the safety of our citizens we are in reality bent upon protecting a traffic in arms which is profitable to vs? Our citizens are not bound to travel upon armed ships carrying munitions. They have no natural right to do so. What principle of policy or duty requires us to protect them if they will run into an unnecessary peril, where the result of their presence is so injurious to a belligerent? We pretend to neutrality. Is it neutral to not only permit but to insist that our citizens shall be used as a shield for the protection of munitions of war destined for England?

Yours, very truly,

I. H. Lionberger.

St. Louis, March 2, 1916.

Mr. L. C. Dyer, M. C., Washington, D. C.

Mr. L. C. Dyer, M. C.,

Washington, D. C.

Sir: Your letter of February 5, 1916, duly reached me, and I desire to take advantage of the invitation extended to give you my opinion on a question of the gravest importance which is now before Congress, the attitude of our country toward the warring European nations.

Submarine warfare is a new invention being tried out for the first time, and such rules and regulations as have been in effect between warring countries in the past have not been formulated with a view to dealing with submarine warfare, and are, therefore, not to be relied upon. It would seem that Germany has had much the better of this method of warfare up to the present time and that the allied powers have not been able to successfully contend with that country and are therefore arming their merchant vessels, and such arming of itself implies either attack or defense, and they can be used as armed auxiliary vessels if occasion should require. I therefore believe our stand on this question should be that such armed merchant vessels entering our ports should be interned or, if not, notice should be given to the world that the necessities of submarine warfare have brought about this arming of merchant vessels, and until such time as the nations of the world agree upon laws governing this method of warfare the citizens of our country should be warned that such vessels are liable to come into combat with other vessels, and that as American citizens with the welfare of the country at heart, they should avoid taking passage on such vessels, thus avoiding any occasion for entangling our country in any controversies with the warring powers as to the loss of their lives or property. The infinitesimally small proportion of our people desiring to travel on the high seas at this time should not be allowed to endanger the tranquillity of our relations with the several powers. There are vessels sailing under our flag which can and should be used.

Our country. by maintaining its present neutral position, will, by t

should be used.

Our country, by maintaining its present neutral position, will, by the force of events, become the first nation in the world in every respect, and I can conceive of no possible excuse for us to become embroiled in this warfare, and I believe I express the feelings of my friends and acquaintances when I say that we should avoid entering into this controversy by reason of present conditions.

Six generations back on both sides of my family are born American citizens, which entities me to speak from a neutral point of view, and I trust you will feel the same way and record your vote accordingly.

With best wishes,

Yours, truly,

C. A. VINNEDGE,

4611 Maryland Arcanec.

C. A. VINNEDGE, 4611 Maryland Avenue.

ST. Louis, February 21, 1916.

Hon. L. C. Dyer, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Hon. L. C. Dyer,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Dyer: According to the Paris convention of 1856, armed merchant vessels have no legal status. Their right to carry arms for defense is only the right of usage. In former times nearly all merchantmen carried guns for defense against pirates. As piracy has disappeared over a century ago, this custom disappeared by and by. As a matter of fact, none of the large liners of the world carried guns for decades. You may inquire at the port of New York when the last armed merchantman left the harbor before this war. The question would be different if the merchant steamers had been carrying arms before and would be asked now to give them up. As a matter of fact, they have been armed only after the outbreak of the war. They have therefore changed their international status. This is the correct interpretation not, as the Globe stated some days ago, that by forbidding arming of merchant vessels the international law would be changed during the war.

Even if the right of merchantmen to carry guns for purposes of defense only should be acknowledged, this right can not be insisted upon any longer by a nation that has instructed all its armed vessels to attack ships of the enemy at sight. This order of council makes of every armed vessel a warship, and Germany has not only the right but the duty to consider and treat it as such. We, under the same circumstances, would certainly act the same. Just let us suppose that we had war with Japan, and that Japan would arm all its merchantmen and instruct them to open fire as soon as they see a submarine carrying the American fag. Would then the American people be willing that our submarines be instructed to continue to consider such merchantmen as peaceable vessels and wait until attacked?

As precedence three instances may be mentioned. In the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War England issued a proclamation warning its citizens not to take passage on vessels belonging to a belligerent nation. This warning pertained

But where is the guaranty that they will be used for this purpose only? If ever used otherwise the ship is liable to be torpedoed according to law. Therefore the life of passengers on such a vessel depends entirely upon the action of the captain of the ship.

Our yielding of our rights in reference to the Panama Canal; the closing of the "open door" in China; the loss of our merchant marine in the Pacific; the steadily increasing supremacy of Japan in that ocean; the humiliating and disastrous policy in Mexico; and last, but not least, our submission to England. This latter is the most humiliating of all. We suffer silently what the small Sweden does not permit. When our flag is misused by English warships we do not even protest. To mention all the points where we have yielded our rights to England would fill pages. And in order to cover up the British insults a controversy with the central powers is artificially prolonged.

I beg to remain, with kind personal regards,

Yours, very truly,

Dr. C. Barck.

ST. LOUIS. March 1, 1916.

Hon. L. C. Dyen,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Hone of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I received a letter from you some time since in which you suggested that as one of your constituents I should feel free to write to you in regard to any matters which were coming up in Congress. I take the liberty, therefore, of writing to you in regard to the President's attitude respecting armed merchant ships.

I entertain very positive views in regard to the matter, and think the President is clearly wrong. I very much fear that his course, if persisted in, will result in serious and utterly unnecessary trouble for the United States.

I am not a "pacifist," and am more than willing for the United States to go to war for the preservation of "the rights of its citizens," but I do not believe that the citizens of a neutral country, who travel on armed ships of one belligerent, have any just ground to complain of injuries sustained in a contest between such armed ship and the armed ship of another belligerent. A cannon is not like armor, which can be used for purposes of defense only. On the contrary, it can not be used for defense at all, except through action which is essentially aggressive.

armed ship of another belligerent. A cannon is not like armor, which can be used for purposes of defense only. On the contrary, it can not be used for defense at all, except through action which is essentially aggressive.

In view of this situation and in view of the facts that these merchant ships have been equipped with cannon only since the beginning of this war, and in view of the further fact that there is no possible chance of these ships being called upon to use their cannon against any attack except that of the other belligerents, it seems absurd to talk about any distinction between these ships when armed for defensive purposes only, for, whether the purpose of the cannon be for defense or offense, it is to be used to destroy the other belligerents and for no other possible purpose. Since this is the case, it seems clear that the right of the other belligerents to fire upon the armed merchant ship is the same as that they have to fire upon any other armed ship which will destroy them if it can. And since a belligerent would not be called upon to await a shot from an enemy warship armed with cannon, neither is it called upon to await an attack from an enemy merchant ship armed with cannon merchant ship armed with cannon curtailment of their rights, if they keep off merchantmen armed to destroy an enemy.

If anyone is looking for cases where America's rights have been invaded, he can find more than any real American will like to contemplate without taking any such unreasonable position as that taken by the President. A ship flying our own flag—l. e., the Hocking—was seized just outside New York Harbor, on a voyage from one port in our own country; noncontraband cargoes in our own ships, flying our own flag, as well as noncontraband cargoes in other neutral ships, are seized on voyages between our ports and neutral ports. There are many other similar cases. We have indeed tamely submitted to have our entire commerce on the oceans subjected to the supervision of Great Britain. In fact, we do not make a mov

St. Louis, Mo., February 26, 1916.

St. Louis, Mo., February 26, 1816.

Hone of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: The Catholic Union of Missouri wishes to inform you of its emphatic commendation and indorsement of the step taken by the senior Senator from this State in the present crisis in our international affairs. The effort to concentrate the dispensation of this Nation's policies in the executive department of the Government to the exclusion of the advice and aid of the Congress involves the very essentials of American democratic government. The placing of absolute power of decision in foreign relations in the hands of any one individual, no matter how exalted or responsible his position, is fraught with the gravest of dangers, and we are gratified to know that there have been those courageous enough to protest and take action against such procedure. Not alone do we believe that the judgment of the Chief Executive in the present matter is eminently incorrect, but the disastrous and unsatisfactory results of the policy pursued in our Mexican relations has led us to fear what might ensue from a continuance of this method of procedure in our European affairs.

We trust that in this crisis, of such deep significance to the future well-being of this Republic you will find it possible to support in every legitimate way the senior Senator from Missouri in the position which he has taken, in order that he may be able to successfully maintain the principles which he is championing.

Catholic Union of Missouri.

M. Deck, President.

CATHOLIC UNION OF MISSOURI. M. DECK, President.

Mr. Speaker, on yesterday the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina, the Hon. ROBERT NEWTON PAGE, a Deinocrat and a Representative in this House from the seventh district of that State for going on 14 years, said, in a public statement,

Jesus Christ never uttered a more profound truth than when he declared, "Where your treasure is there will your heart be also." The loan of \$500,000,000 to England by the American capitalists, to say nothing of the profits of munition manufacturers, has destroyed the semblance even of neutrality in the United States and will probably lead

Another distinguished Democrat, the Hon. Thomas P. Gore, United States Senator from Oklahoma, said in the Senate a few days ago that he understood the President to have said that it would be a good thing for humanity if the United States could get into this war. By doing so the war would be ended in a few months.

I do not know whether the President ever made such a statement, but I do truly believe that he is not maintaining a neutral policy as regards the present war. I also believe that he would not regret this country becoming involved in a war with Germany. This is going a good ways to say that of the President of the United States, but, all things considered, I have no doubt of it in my own mind, and I shall not have upon my head the blood of my fellow Americans by refusing to do that which, in common justice, honor, and right, I feel deeply my duty to do.

To me the important question here is, Should a neutral Government place itself in a position whereby, through the consequences of an act of an alien over which it has no control and which may result in injury or death of its citizens, it is to be made a cause of war, or permit its citizens to assume such risks under the idea that their safety is provided for by interna-tional law through the backing of their Government? Common sense would seem to indicate that the policy of a neutral, where questions of war are involved, should be based on the broad grounds of intentional and direct invasion of its rights and not the incidental consequences of an intentional act of a belligerent against an enemy.

I do not regard a vote against tabling this resolution an unneutral act or a hindrance to this country keeping out of the great European conflict with honor. I believe the opposite, and I am for my country and my people in preference to any other nation. I do not have to, for political reasons or otherwise, feel called upon to vote against tabling this resolution. There are not many people in my district of German birth or of Ger-They are few in number as compared with man nationality. the great majority. My opinion is based entirely upon what I conceive to be my sworn duty under all the circumstances as a Member of the American Congress.

The Washington Post, an independent and genuine American newspaper, under date of February 29, has the following editorial, which fairly states my position with reference to this question of warning armed merchant ships of belligerent nations,

The United States Government now has in its possession evidence tending to show that British merchant vessels are armed with effective gans, manned by trained gan crews instructed to fire upon enemy submarines. Basing its action upon this evidence, the German Government has advised the United States that after midnight to-night it will sink armed enemy merchantmen.

If a merchantman attacks a war vessel, the latter certainly has the right to sink the merchantman if it can.

The attempt by Great Britain to make war vessels of its merchantmen and at the same time to claim immunity for them because they are "peaceful vessels" is a fatal error which will lead to the sacrifice of many innocent lives.

Why should there be any sacrifice of American lives in such a situation? Why should not American travelers be warned of the facts? Why should they not be told to beware of taking passage on a vessel which may turn out to be a fighting ship instead of a peaceful one?

The situation that will develop to-morrow is a condition and not a theory. An American has a right to travel on any merchant vessel. In theory he is safe. If he exercises this right by taking passage on a British armed merchantman, he is in deadly danger.

It is the fact and not the theory which disturbs the American people and causes them to urge their Representatives in Congress to warn American citizens to keep out of danger.

Many British vessels are being destroyed by floating mines in the harbors and channels. Innocent lives are being sacrificed. Is it not the part of common sense to avoid these mines and to warn passengers of the danger? In theory there should be no floating mines, as it is a crime against humanity for any belligerent to sow such mines in the path of commerce. But since the theory is set aside by the fact that the mines are there, surely there should be recognition of the fact.

that the mines are there, surely tact.

The American people see with a practical eye: They see that they can not hope to make European nations conform to international law. All the nations at war have violated the law. Americans are concerned with the saving of life and the avoidance of war. If they can save life and avoid war by keeping citizens out of the war zone, away from floating mines, submarines, and bogus merchantmen, they are in favor of that course.

Correct has reiterated its assurance that unarmed belligerent mer-

Germany has reiterated its assurance that unarmed belligerent mer-nantment will not be sunk without providing for the safety of passen-ers and crews. Neutral vessels will not be sunk in any case. Any chantment will n

prudent American, therefore, will be careful to avoid armed belligerent merchantmen if he is advised of the situation.

On certain kinds of ships Americans are safe. On others they are in danger. Certainly the Government can safeguard the lives of its citizens by pointing out which ships are safe and which are dangerous without any surrender of national rights or any besmirching of national boxes.

Commerce on the Missouri River.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OSCAR CALLAWAY.

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 13, 1916.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the Record, I will insert the following House resolution and letters:

House resolution 161.

House resolution 161.

Whereas on April 22, 1915, Lieut. Col. Herbert Deakyne, of the Corps of Army Engineers, pursuant to a law for reexamination, reported to the Chief of Engineers that "the present and reasonably prospective commerce on the Missouri River between Kansas City and the mouth is not sufficient to warrant the continuance of the present project." and apart from snagging "that all other work be stopped"; and Whereas said report was forwarded by Col. C. McD. Townsend, division engineer, chairman of the Mississippi River Commission, who concurred in the opinion of the district officer, that the existing commerce is not sufficient to justify the permanent improvement of the Missouri River from Kansas City to its mouth, but recommended a comparatively small appropriation for snagging and maintenance; and

comparatively small appropriation for snagging and maintenance; and Whereas said report was lased upon the fact that, notwithstanding \$20,000,000 heretofore spent on the entire river, navigation had practically disappeared; that the proposed project involved a further appropriation and expenditure of \$14,000,000 more; that the average cost to the Government from interest charges and maintenance will be \$1,100,000 annually; that the total saving in freight charges on the insignificant commerce of 1913 was about \$10,000 (p. 11), or a prospective direct annual loss to the Government of \$1,000,000 annually for the 400-mile stretch of the Missouri River from Kansas City to the mouth; and Whereas Col. Deakyne and Col. Townsend by such reports emphatically protested against paying over \$1,000,000 annually, in addition to an original investment of over \$25,000,000, in order to save \$10,000 annually for Kansas City chippers; and Whereas, confirming the opinion of Col. Deakyne and Col. Townsend, Senator Burton declared, March 2, 1915, "You may spend \$20,000,000—yes, \$30,000,000—on this project, and in spite of that enormous amount the traffic will diminish, because you are facing a condition that no policy of river improvement can reverse—the loss of that class of river traffic and the utilization of other agencies for the carrying of freight. I wish it were not so; " " but I am tired of rainbow chasing," and that is what this is, It is much worse than 'rainbow chasing'; it is pure, bald, unmitigated waste'; and

whereas on December 8, 1915, Col. W. M. Black, senior member of the Board of Engineers, now Chief of Engineers, reversed the action of the district and division engineers because "a review of the entire situation indicates that the present grounds for continuance of this project are stronger than those which led to its adoption"; and Whereas pursuant to such report of such Chief of Engineers, overruling the district and division engineers, \$1.500,000 has been recommended in the 1916 bill for the lower Missouri River; and Whereas no copy of said Missouri River report made by the several officers is available for the use of Congress, due to the negligence or intentional withholding of such report by the present Chief of Engineers; and

intentional withholding of such report by the present Chief of Engineers; and Whereas Col. Deakyne has been removed from further service upon the Missouri River and, according to press report, has been detailed for duty at Fort Leavenworth, Kans., without fault or blame on his pari save in the fact that he told the truth and tried to stop waste of Government funds on a uscless waterway project: Now therefore Resolved, That the Chief of Engineers be directed forthwigh to present to Congress the reasons for removing Col. Deakyne from his work on the Missouri River and further to explain fully whether the statement of a self-evident truth by Col. Deakyne is subject to punishment by his superiors; further, that said Chief of Engineers be required forthwith to give full and definite reasons for overruling the report of Cols. Deakyne and Townsend, and for the continuance of a project that has been condemned by Army engineers and by Senator Burton, the ablest waterway expert in the country, as pure, bald, unmitigated waste.

MARCH 9, 1916.

Hon. OSCAR CALLAWAY,

House of Representatives.

House of Representatives.

Sin: 1. I notice in the Congressional Record of yesterday that you have submitted a resolution directing that the Chief of Engineers present to Congress the reasons for removing Col. Deakyne from his work on the Missouri River. I have not seen a copy of the resolution which you submitted, and therefore do not know what particular details you desire information on, nor did I know before that you were specially interested in this matter. Had you made application to this office I should have been pleased to have answered you fully, and I trust that the following information will serve your purpose.

2. The relief of Col. Deakyne from the Missouri River is a result of his approaching detail to the War College in August, 1916.

3. As you are, of course, aware, the War College is located in this city, and is an institution for the study and investigation of military matters and policies. There are detailed each year to the War College

a number of officers selected from the grades of colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major. Of this number two is the quota of the Corps of Engineers, and at least one of these two is usually selected from the grade of lieutenant colonel in the corps.

4. This War College course is considered of great importance, not only to the officer but to the Army itself, and a detail to this college is considered an honor, as only those are selected who are considered to have special qualifications for the character of work required.

5. In order to give officers who are to be detailed to the War College an opportunity to prepare for the work which will be expected of them, it is customary to make the selections a long time abead, and, in addition, if the officer has not within recent years attended the service schools at Fort Leavenworth, it is customary to order him to take a special three-months' course there, beginning in January of each year, preparatory to the regular work of the War College, which begins in the August following.

6. Arrangements for the details to the War College, as I have stated, are usually made a considerable time in advance, and in order that this detail may interfere as little as possible with the regular routine duties pertaining to the corps, it is customary to send an officer to the War College at about the time he is completing at some station a tour of the customary length, which is four years.

7. Col. Deakyne started his four in Kansas City in the year 1912, and knowing that in the ordinary course of events his tour would be completed in 1916, and having in view Col. Deakyne's special qualifications for the War College course, the personnel officer of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, as early as October, 1914, placed Col. Deakyne's name on the tentative slate for the War College. In April, 1915, therefore, his name was definitely placed dopon the War College slate for the detail in August, 1916.

8. Col. Deakyne was communicated with on this subject, and in March, 1915—that is, about

lly, H. TAYLOR,
Colonel, Corps of Engineers,
Acting Chief of Engineers, United States Army.

his judgment, then why was he suddenly removed to meet local demands, according to press reports, or in order to receive special honors in an entirely different line of work?

Your letter indicating the routine course of such appointments is carefully noted, and possibly life at Washington for Col. Deakyne would be more conducive to comfort under existing circumstances than at Kansas City; but in view of the peculiar aptitude shown by Col. Deakyne for placing in a few sentences an unanswerable argument against the \$20,000,000 Missouri River waste, do you not believe his removal will be a distinct loss to the Engineer Corps of waterway examiners and to Congress and to the country?

Pursuant to the resolution I further respectfully ask you to please advise Congress when will the Deakyne report made against the Missouri River project over 10 months ago be available for the use of Members? Can it be had before we are required to vote upon the \$1,500,000 item for the Missouri River, and will the Chief of Engineers give any better or more convincing reasons for proposing such a large sum of money for a useless project in this year of financial stringency than the brief *statement that it would be difficult to find economic justification for the expenditure?

Do you advise Congresse to spend \$14,000,000 more on the Missouri River, and, if so, what reasons do you offer for this expenditure? Do you advise Congresses to spend \$14,000,000 more on the Missouri River, and, if so, what reasons do you offer for this expenditure? Do you believe the Missouri River project is a wasteful proposition, as stated in substance by such eminent gentlemen suggested for honorable distinction as Col. Deakyne, elected to the War College, and Col. Townsend, chairman of the Missourip River Commission?

This is an important question for Congress to determine, and it is entitled to the best information which can be had on the subject. The brevity of your report, absence of definite reasons for withholding that report from use of Congress, the

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY W. WATSON, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The CHIEF OF ENGINEERS, UNITED STATES ARMY,

The CHIEF OF ENGINEERS, UNITED STATES ARMY,

MARCH 11, 1916.

The CHIEF OF ENGINEERS, UNITED STATES ARMY,

Was Degartment, Weshington, D. C.

Data Size: I am in receipt of letter, dated March 9, from Co. Toylor, acting Chief of Engineers and letter, dated March 9, from Co. Toylor, acting Chief of Engineers and letter, dated March 9, from Co. Toylor, acting Chief of Engineers and the control of the Missister of Engineers and the Chief of Engineers to present to Congress reasons why Col. Deakyne was removed from work on the Missister of Engineers to present to Congress reasons why Col. Deakyne was removed in substance by Col. Townsend, allow they Deakyne's report, approved in substance by Col. Townsend, and in compliance therewith I shall offer it in the Rucoun, and in compliance therewith I shall offer it in the Rucoun, and in compliance therewith I shall offer it in the Rucoun, and the compliance therewith I shall offer it in the Rucoun, and the compliance therewith I shall offer it in the Rucoun, and the compliance therewith I shall offer it in the Rucoun, and the compliance therewith I shall offer it in the Rucoun, and the compliance therewith I shall offer it in the Rucoun, and the compliance of the S20,000,000 Mission Rucoun Rucoun, and the compliance of the S20,000,000 Mission Rucoun Rucoun, and the compliance of the S20,000,000 Mission Rucoun Rucoun, and the support was approved in substance Rucountry and the compliance of the S20,000,000 Mission Rucountry and the support was approved in substance Rucountry and the support of the Postago Rucountry and the support of the Postago Rucountry and the Chief Rucoun

tariff, schedule by schedule. I can still hear his stentorian tones as he depicted the deplorable condition of the people who were groaning under the enormous annual burden of \$115,-000,000 because of a Republican import duty on sugar. Mr. Underwood not only claimed that the consumers were paying the fifty to sixty million dollars of annual duty collected on imported sugar, but that this protective duty levied increased the price of domestic-produced sugar to the amount of the tax collected on the imported article, and that the American peo-ple thereby were paying \$115,000,000 a year more for the sugar they consumed than they would have paid if sugars were admitted duty free. As he raved and grieved over the tax-ridden condition of the sugar consumers, you could hear the sorrow-ful Democratic acclaim from nearly all quarters on the other side of this Chamber. I then decided that the free-sugar propaganda was simply a demagogic appeal to deceive and mislead the electorate in the political campaign soon to follow. Subsequent events have confirmed that decision.

When Democracy came into power, and had elected not only the President but a Democratic House and Senate, one would naturally suppose from the performance in the Sixty-second Congress that sugar would be placed on the free list of any proposed revision of the tariff. I can not understand from the deep sympathy manifested by Mr. Underwood for the sugar consumer at that time how he could be so hard-hearted as to deliberately have continued this burdensome sugar tax on the people. But it seems as if the President, in a desperate attempt to square himself with his Democratic friends in the State of Louisiana, because of certain preconvention and preelection promises made to them, decreed that we would not have free sugar until May 1, 1916. So the free-sugar agitation by our Democratic friends in the Sixty-second Congress, and which was used as a persuasive argument for the election of President Wilson and a Democratic Congress in 1912, suddenly became a sacrifice to a mere political expediency; and now you are witnessing the spectacular performance of the President driven forward by the povertystricken hand of necessity, in the shape of an empty Treasury, compelled to redeem his preelection promises to his turbulent Louisiana constituents. Under a Republican administration a Democratic House could afford to make a bluff of throwing fifty to sixty million dollars of annual revenue to the winds in an effort to lead the people to believe that they could thereby obtain sugar without money and without price; but a Democratic Congress, under a Democratic President, with practically an empty Treasury, is now anxious to continue what they once denounced as the "robber sugar tax."

But the Underwood tariff law is not only a failure as a revenue producer and a cost-of-living reducer, but it has so exposed the American manufacturer and producers to the cut-throat competition of his foreign competitors that the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Redfield, has on numerous occasions during the past year and during the last few months through newspaper interviews and public statements proclaimed the absolute necessity for legislation which will protect American producers against the dumping upon our markets of foreign-made goods purchased at prices below the general selling price or cost of production in the country from which they are exported.

This demand for direct protective legislation coming from a member of the Cabinet of the President elected upon a platform the chief plank of which for years and years has denounced the hothousing of American industries and has bom-bastically invelghed against all forms of protection is a political and economical somersault more remarkable than facing about on the proposition of free tolls for the Panama Canal, the ignoring of the presidential one-term plank of the now dis-carded Baltimore platform, or even the failure to carry out its mandate by reducing the cost of living or effecting economy and efficiency by decreasing the number of public officials and reducing salaries and governmental expenditures. through the public press is to the effect that the Secretary of Commerce fears that high and even confiscatory duties will not be a sufficient safeguard against the dumping evil, and he suggests the enactment of a law making the dumping of foreign goods upon our markets a crime and that offenders be punished by fine and imprisonment. If my recollection serves me right, Mr. Redfield was a Member of the Sixty-second Congress and voted for Mr. Underwood's popgun free-sugar bill, which made no provision against the dumping of foreign-made goods upon our domestic markets, a matter of which the gentleman now so bitterly complains. Mr. Redfield, as a Member of the Sixty-second Congress, was conspicuous as an ardent advocate of the free-trade policy of his party, and he told our manufacturers that tariff revision was needed for certain definite and specific purposes, namely:

To enlarge the mental and moral vision, to increase efficiency, and to teach them the gospel of self-belp, and, fourthly, get rid of the ghosts. goods upon our markets a crime and that offenders be pun-

He said the two chief ghosts were "rate of wages" and "cost of production" and flippantly minimized their importance with the statement that "the labor cost is but a minor part of total

As a manufacturing expert he announced that "the reduc-tion of the tariff would increase the efficiency of the American manufacturer and therefore add to the profits of his business," and "that the Democratic Party would substitute industrial self-help for tariff protection." Since then the substitute has been made and to Mr. Redfield has been assigned the task of enlarging the mental and moral vision of our manufacturers and teaching them the gospel of self-help. How well he has succeeded is history, but when he undertook to shoo away the ghosts "rate of wages" and "cost of production" these obdurate creatures flapped their destructive wings so violently as to cause Mr. Redfield to see phantoms, and he observed rising above the horizon of his mental, economical vision the red demon "unrestricted foreign competition," which threatens to deluge us with large quantities of foreign-made products and thereby demoralize our domestic commerce and ultimately destroy the numerous American industries left defenseless by the Underwood tariff law, and in terror he cries out, "Raise the protective barriers lest these industries perish." We commend his change of heart and welcome him into the ranks of the protectionists. From time to time during the past year statements purporting to emanate from Mr. Redfield have appeared in the public press warning the people and Congress of the necessity of enacting antidumping laws, and for the purpose of preparing the minds of the free traders to withstand the shock of this protective proposal he cites as a precedent that the Underwood tariff law containing a dumping clause when it was first introduced into the House, and that it was cut out in the Senate. But he failed to inform the public why and by whom it was cut out in the Senate, and he also failed to state that the dumping clause of the Underwood tariff bill only afforded additional protection to articles upon the dutiable list of the bill, and that it gave no protection whatever to articles upon the free list. While the bill was under consideration in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, on a While the bill was under consideration in the number of occasions I undertook to have its application, or scope, extended so as to afford the same protection to articles upon the free list produced in this country as it gave to those upon the dutiable list, but every amendment I proposed was promptly rejected by the majority side of the committee. After the Underwood bill went to the Senate the dumping clause was stricken out by the Democratic members of the Senate Committee on Finance, because in their opinion it was inequitable and unfair, and smacked too much of Republican protection. In their own words they gave in part the following reasons:

First, because it applied only to dutiable articles, and if to be applied to any articles at all it seemed to us it ought to apply to all; secondly, if it did apply to all, it was apable under an unfriendly administration of being used as a means of increasing the duty upon dutiable articles 15 per cent, and of putting articles upon the free list under a duty of 15 per cent.

I then believed and still believe that it was an excellent protective proposition, if sufficiently broadened so as to apply to all articles produced in this country regardless of whether the same are upon the dutiable or free lists of our tariff law. I can see no valid reason why articles upon the dutiable list of the tariff law should be protected from the indiscriminate dumping of foreign-made articles of like kind, while articles upon the free list have no protection whatever. So, on the 6th day of May, 1913, while the free list of the Underwood bill was under consideration, I offered an amendment to the raw-wool paragraph, which if it had been adopted would have extended to raw wool the full protection accorded to articles upon the dutiable list under the Underwood dumping clause; the effect of which would have been that a 15 per cent duty could have been levied upon all raw wool dumped upon our markets which had been purchased at a price lower than the usual selling price or cost of production in the country from which it had been exported. In support of my amendment I then made the following statement:

country. The argument that there will not be any great importations of wool will not down. We consume something like 500,000,000 pounds of wool yearly. We produce only in the neighborhood of 300,000,000, and necessarily our yearly importations will be in the neighborhood of 200,000,000 pounds. There have been excessive importations in the past, and removing the protective duty that is now on raw wool will certainly increase these importations enormously. The product of the American woolgrower, from something like 57,000,000,000 sheep, of the American woolgrower, from something like 57,000,000,000 sheep of Australia, the 100,000,000 sheep of South America, and the 50,000,000 of South Africa, and New Zealand and other islands. In other words, the wool product of 57,000,000 of sheep in the United States will be in direct competition with the product of the remainder of the world's herd of some 250,000,000. The cost of keeping and clipping the American sheep is \$2,11 a head. In Ohio it is as high as \$2.46 a head. The cost in Australia is 93 cents a head, in South America \$1.15 a head. Anyone can see that the competition will be strenuous.

My Democratic friends say that they are not in favor of protection by resorting to a scheme of indirect taxation. They say they are in favor of legislation that will directly protect by providing a law that under certain conditions articles on the dutiable list will be prohibited from coming into the United States unless they pay an extra duty. Every reason that can be named for asking for such a law as this in behalf of articles upon the dutiable list certainly will apply to raw wool, which by this bill is placed on the free list. The woolgrower of this country, the American farmer, certainly will be asking soon why he is not given a square deal.

A rising vote was taken in the committee on this amendment, resulting in 53 for and 145 against it. My recollection is that not a single Democrat voted to give the same protection to raw wool that they proposed to give to tobacco, rice, peanuts, cotton fabrics, and so forth, under the Underwood dumping clause and upon which his bill had already established considerable rates of duty. At the close of the consideration of the free list of the Underwood bill I offered an amendment to extend to all articles produced in this country the protection afforded articles upon the dutiable list by the Underwood dumping clause. In support of this amendment I made the following statement:

of this amendment I made the following statement:

Mr. Chairman, this amendment I have just proposed is of a more general character than the amendments I have previously offered. The dumping clause provided in the bill in section 4 applies only to articles upon the dutiable list and to articles produced in this country. Now, I see no reason why, in order to treat everybody fairly, to be just to those whose products are upon the free list produced in this country, they should not have the same protection by the same sort of a law as the individual whose products are upon the dutiable list. I rather think there is more reason why a person should be protected whose products are upon the free list, for many of the industries the products of which are upon the dutiable list are carried in this bill under a protective duty. They all have recourse to this dumping clause. I can see very readily why it does not matter whether we have a dumping clause which applies to many articles on the free list, such as coffee, rubber, spices, tea, and a good many things of that kind we do not produce in this country, but take the matter of corn, potatees, wool, sugar in three years from now, shingles, lumber, coal, iron ore, boots and shoes, and a good many of the products of the forest, and a majority of the products of the farms of this country placed by this bill upon the free list I can not for the life of me figure out any valid reason why the producer of those articles should not have the same protection afforded by this dumping clause that has been inserted here for the proposed amendment. This follows along the same line of argument I have here suggested on the leather paragraph and on the free wool paragraph, except that it will apply to all articles produced in this country that are on the free list. My amendment will give the producers of such articles the same protection which the pending measure proposes to give to the producers of commodities carried on the dutiable list.

Justice certainly demands that the potato rais

list.

Justice certainly demands that the potato raiser, the boot and shoe manufacturer, the coal operator, the miller, the woolgrower, and the farmer should enjoy as full protection against excessive importations of like articles produced by them which are procured by the importer at a lower price than the articles usually sell for in the country from which they are exported as our Democratic friends are giving the rice grower and other special interests favored by this bill by placing their products on the dutiable list.

Again, when the dumping clause in the administrative sections of the bill was reached, I offered an amendment to cut out the language limiting its application to articles upon the dutiable list, and if my amendment had been adopted it would have extended equal protection to all articles produced in this country. proposal suffered the same fate as my previous ones. Mr. Underwood's persistence in refusing to allow the dumping clause to be amended so as to extend its application to domestic-produced articles on its free list can only be accounted for or explained on the theory that he desired to expose the farm and food products, which are practically all on the free list of his law, to the cutthroat competition of the foreigner, and thereby depress the price of these products in the hope of reducing the cost of living at the expense of the American farmer.

The halting, wavering, and vacillating policy of the Democratic administration in attempting to meet the dumping evil stamps it as absolutely unfit to cope with the situation. The free-trade heresy which prevails among the majority of the membership of the Democratic Party prevents cohesive action and makes futile the efforts of those members of the party who are impressed with the necessity of having enacted some antidumping law. To illustrate this vacillating attitude, it will be noted that

a quasi dumping clause was written in the Underwood tariff bill by Mr. Underwood, and it was reported by the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee of the House at the special session of Congress called by President Wilson in 1913, and the report was signed by every Democrat on the Ways and Means Committee. In the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union the Democratic majority guarded this proposed legislation so carefully that it was impossible to have it amended so that it would apply to articles on the free list as well as to articles upon the dutiable list and thereby be fair to all our producers. Mr. Palmer of Pennsylvania, a Democratic member of the Ways and Means Committee, said in support of the dumping clause that

Many large operators in the textile trade and nearly all in the iron and steel industries admit no fear of the foreigners' normal output, but profess to see fear in the marketing of his surplus stock. It is a perfectly justifiable fear and one well calculated to give pause to radical tariff reduction. * * * To meet this just complaint we have inserted in this bill what is known as the dumping clause, * * and under a real competitive tariff it is simply justice.

It seems that Mr. Palmer was very solicitous as to the future welfare of the textile and iron and steel industries, the products of which were carried on the dutiable list of the Underwood bill and in many instances protective, but that he had no concern for the farmers and other producers whose products were carried on the free list of the bill. What is simply justice to the iron and steel industries would still be simply justice if extended to those whose products are upon the free list and without any protection whatever.

When the Underwood bill passed the House every Democrat voting for the bill thereby indorsed the dumping clause. When it went over to the Senate the Democratic members of the Senate Committee on Finance promptly cut it out of the bill, because its protective tendency ran counter to the time-honored

Democratic policy of free trade.

Subsequently Mr. Redfield, a member of President Wilson's Cabinet, revives the dumping discussion by issuing a statement to the effect that American industries would be fully protected from this nefarious evil. Then follows a newspaper interview purporting to be from the White House that Mr. Redfield was not authorized to speak for the President and this administra-tion upon this important but much-haggled subject; but to cap the climax of the disposition of the Democratic administration to back and fill upon this question, Representative RAINEY, who is heralded as representing the President, in an attempt to secure a tariff commission, introduced a bill on the 1st day of February for such purpose. Section 5 of this bill provides, among other things, that the commission shall have power to investigate-

* * * all conditions, causes, and effects relating to unfair competi-tion of foreign industries with those of the United States, including

dumping.

Proclaiming that Mr. Redfield did not represent him, the President has a bill introduced in Congress which would start on foot an investigation of the dumping evil, ostensibly for the purpose of developing some legislative remedy to curb it. But owing to his disposition to back and fill on the proposition, no one can tell just where he is headed. In closing, I wish to state that while I believe antidumping legislation is necessary to adequately protect American industries, I do not believe that you can fully and effectually protect them until there is enacted into law a tariff bill that has been thoroughly baptized with the protective religion of William McKinley.

The Warning or McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. M. E. BURKE, OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives is to-day required by special rule to consider and act upon a most important and serious resolution. It is one of the most unique resolutions ever presented to this body for action. It is known as the "McLemore resolution," introduced on February 22 last by Hon. JEFF: McLemore, a Representative at Large from the State of Texas. It was referred by due authority to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, where it has remained under consideration by that committee until reported to the House to-day by reason of the adoption of a special rule. This special rule provided for only an hour and one-half debate upon the question of its adoption, and when adopted for but four hours' debate upon the resolution itself. After the debate upon this special rule the previous question was moved and carried by 256 votes in favor and 160 votes against. Immediately thereafter a vote of the House was taken upon the adoption of the special rule, which was carried by a vote of 270 votes in favor and 137 votes against.

The result of the majority vote on the previous question was to cut off and prevent the offering and consideration of any amendment whatsoever to the resolution. Upon the previous question I voted "no," and I did this for two reasons. Since I became a Member of this honorable body I have invariably favored special rules where the rule permitted or provided for the offering and consideration of an amendment or amendments.

The purpose of a special rule is to expedite public business in this body. The expedition of public business after a reasonable consideration has been given is a public virtue, and at no time has such a virtue been so necessary as at the present session of Congress. In my humble judgment, during my membership of this House there has not been an occasion when it was so necessary to offer an amendment to a resolution as in this case, but the majority of the Rules Committee and the majority of this body, in order to accomplish their purposes and to prevent a fair, square, and honest expression of opinion upon the question of issuing an official warning to Americans to refrain from exercising their rights to travel upon the armed merchant ships of belligerent nations, denied to those of us who are in favor of a direct vote upon that question the high privilege of recording our sentiments as our judgment and conscience dictated and as our constituents demand. Such a pernicious practice is permissible under our rules, although, in my humble

opinion, it never ought to be tolerated.

Upon the question of the adoption of the rule providing for four hours' debate, amendments having by the adoption of the previous question been cut off and prevented from being of-fered and considered, I voted "aye." To some this may seem inconsistent with my vote on the previous question, but to me it is consistent and justifiable. Nearly three-fourths of my constituents have demanded since shortly after the commencement of the present European war, and especially since the subma-rines of the Teutonic nations began their campaign of sinking the armed merchant vessels of belligerent nations in the ocean war zones, that Americans refrain from traveling on such vessels. This demand of my constituents has always, and does now, meet with my most cordial approval. It is in accordance with my best judgment and conscience. Therefore, after the adoption of the previous question I voted for the rule, because I was desirous of going upon record in some form on behalf of my constituents and myself on such a warning resolu-If the rule had been defeated a vote upon the original resolution even in its present form or in any form could not have been taken, and the Foreign Affairs Committee had it in their power to refuse thereafter to report a warning resolution in any form whatsoever, and to have prevented both a direct or indirect vote upon the same. I desired to place upon record the sentiments and demands of my constituents in this impor-tant matter designed to prevent international controversies whereby we may be led into war, arising from submarines sink-ing such armed merchant vessels of belligerent nations with American citizens aboard.

The bravery, patriotism, and loyalty of my constituents is not excelled by those of any other district, but they love peace and the welfare of their country far more than they regard or value the right to travel upon armed merchant ships of belliger-

ent nations of a handful of foolhardy Americans.

It is a very regrettable fact that the majority of this body has been so unfair as to refuse to permit a direct vote to be taken upon a simple, domestic, plain, and patriotic proposition of issuing such an official warning. It is easy for me to see from the debate upon this question this afternoon why the majority here refused to grant such a direct vote. A majority of the speakers who have spoken here this afternoon in favor of the motion to lay the resolution upon the table, have voluntarily said that if they were confronted with a vote upon a simple warning resolution that they would vote for the same, but their excuse for not doing so is that they wish to sustain the President.

The President has objected to the McLemore resolution because it contains unnecessary verbiage, consisting of nine long whereases and preambles, and two paragraphs that do un-necessarily call for action and discussion upon international diplomatic matters. But it lay in the power of the Foreign Relations Committee and of the Committee on Rules to have presented a simple warning resolution and to have given us an

opportunity to record our honest sentiments. This would not have been hindering the President. This would have been clearing the field of submarine controversies. This would have been removing, if such a resolution prevailed and was en-forced, all possibility of war arising over the loss of American lives by sinking of armed merchant ships of belligerent nations upon which American citizens were traveling.

To show the unfairness of the majority of the Committee on Foreign Relations in presenting this subject in the form that they have to us to-day to go upon record, let us take a full and fair view of the bewhiskered and bedraggled shape of the now famous McLemore resolution. It is in words as follows:

Resolution 147.

they have to us to-day to go upon record, let us take a full and fair view of the bewiskered and bedraggied shape of the now famous McLemore resolution. It is in words as follows:

Resolution 147.

Whereas the Governments of two of the powers at present in war in Europe and on the highest of the powers at present in war in Europe and on the highest of their submarine navail wessels or carry their armaments under the name and guise of their intention to instruct the commanders of their submarine navail wessels or carry their armaments under the name and guise of their enemies, whether such armed vessels are admittedly navail wessels or carry their armaments under the name and guise of their enemies, whether such armed vessels are admittedly navail wessels or carry their armament for the powers which have so informed the neutral powers, has submitted to the Government of the United States photographic facsimiles of alleged secret orders as called "defensive armament for merchant ships" and such naval officers and men of the navy of Great Britain, and that such so-called "defensive armament for merchant ships" and such naval officers and men of the navy of Great Britain, and that such so-called "defensive armament for merchant ships" and such naval officers and whereas the only possible use for a "defensive gun." is the same as the use of an "offensive gun," manely, to shoot and, if possible, the possible of the submarine of the United States has neither the desire nor the right to dictate to any of the powers whether they shall arm their merchant ships with guns or other armament or other naval vessels; and whereas the Government of the United States has no interest in the success or failure of the submarines or other naval vessels of any power in escaping or destroying such merchant ships so armed, and has no desire or right to dictate to any of the powers what steps they shall take to protect their vital interests and pursue their works of the submarines or other naval vessels of any powers. In many submarines

I am informed that there were several warning resolutions before the Foreign Relations Committee for consideration, some of which stated the essential points of a warning resolution

very briefly and in plain, concise, and unmistakable terms. I refer in particular to the warning resolution introduced by Representative Fuller, of Illinois, on the same day that the McLemore resolution was introduced, and it was also referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It is as follows:

House concurrent resolution 17.

Whereas it is manifestly unsafe, owing to the unusual conditions pre-vailing throughout the world, for American citizens to take passage on belligerent ships that are armed or that carry war munitions; and Whereas the taking of such chances at this time may involve this Whereas the taking of such chances at this time may involve this country in serious trouble in its efforts to protect American lives and

interests; and
Whereas it is the earnest desire of all our people that this country
shall remain absolutely neutral as between the warring nations of
Europe: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the President of the United States be authorized and requested to issue a proclamation warning all American citizens of the great danger of taking passage on any belligerent ship that is armed or that carries munitions of war, and requesting them, for their own safety and in the interest of this country's neutrality, to refrain from so doing.

If the Foreign Affairs Committee had any desire to have this House record its honest opinion on the direct warning proposition of warning Americans off of the armed merchant ships of belligerent nations, it would have been easier, fairer, and more just for that committee to have reported the Fuller resolution, or to have framed a substitute warning resolution in few, simple, plain, and direct words, and if many of those who are advocating the defeat of the McLemore resolution have spoken their true sentiments, with reference to a plain warning resolution, in my humble judgment, the same would be adopted by this House by about a 2-to-1 vote. By passing such a plain, simple warning resolution we would be recording the true sentiments of this House, and we would not thereby be hampering, but would be aiding, the President in maintaining the peace of the Nation by removing the principal. Yes; and according to the history of past diplomatic controversies, the sole cause of war-threatening and war-provoking diplomatic controversies.

I call the attention of the House to the well-established fact that all of the serious controversies which the administration has had with Germany and Austria have, almost without exception, arisen from the sinking of the Lusitania, Arabic, and Ancona, resulting in the loss of life of American citizens while traveling upon the armed vessels of belligerent nations in the ocean war zones when sunk by submarines and resulting in the death of some of such foolhardy American citizens. I believe I am within the bounds of truth when I say that if our citizens had refrained from traveling upon such vessels not a single one of these serious and war-threatening controversies would have arisen between our Government and the central powers excepting over the sinking of the ship Frye in the Pacific by a German war cruiser. I defy any Representative in this House to point out a single serious controversy that this Nation has had with the central powers since the commencement of the present European war which did not arise out of the loss of American lives while such Americans were traveling upon armed merchant ships in the war zones. There were times while the controversies over the *Lusitania*, *Arabic*, and *Ancona* were pending when the people of this country held their breath in fear of a probable war; and great was the relief of our people every time when it was announced finally the administration had won a great diplomatic victory.

All of my constituents of every nationality and every racial descent always rejoiced and breathed freer when those serious and war-threatening controversies were finally determined in a victory for America, and loud and sincere were the praises from all of my constituents in behalf of the President and his administration. We still take pride in the glorious victories for peace which the President and his administration have won; but realizing and knowing that all of those serious and war-threatening controversies were brought about by the folly of foolhardy Americans exercising their international rights to travel on armed merchant ships my constituents have demanded that those great risks of war shall cease, and as their true Representative I am here to-day to record my vote for the elimination of such risks. My admiration and my support for the President will continue as sincerely and as vigorously as ever, notwithstanding the result of the vote here to-day.

It can not be denied that for a few days before the President demanded action on the part of Congress on these warning resolutions there were ugly rumors afloat concerning inter-national complications. The answer of the Teutonic powers to the Lansing inquiry of January 18 last, addressed to all the belligerent powers, to ascertain if an understanding could be reached as to what shall constitute armed merchant vessels, brought forth from the Teutonic powers a declaration that those powers would after the 29th of last February regard all such armed merchant vessels of the allies as war vessels

and treat them as such. This was in substance an acceptance of Secretary Lansing's suggestions with an emphasis. It was then pointed out by the central powers in their answer to the Secretary of State's said inquiry that secret orders had been issued by the British Government to the commanders of armed merchant vessels of that nation to attack all submarines upon sight, thus converting what before were considered "nonwar" vessels into war vessels.

It is not for us to go to war to compel either side to live up to international law where it is violated so far as it affects us when we can prevent the same by exercising a reasonable precaution. With the issue thus drawn it became apparent to the press, to public men, and to the rank and file of the people who keep posted on such matters that as every other controversy had arisen out of submarines of the central powers sinking the armed merchant vessels of the allies with American citizens on board, that in the natural course of events this would necessarily lead us to war. My constituents have announced in a mighty voice that war for such a technical violation is not justifiable, and I believe with them sincerely and shall so record my vote here to-day. In doing so I wish to assure all within the sound of my voice or who may read my utterances that I do so because I honestly and sincerely believe that in such an official warning we will remove the chances of being drawn into this terrible war that is devastating all Europe to a minimum.

During the present administration, every vote that I have cast has been cast with the administration, not because I am a follower of the President but because all of the great problems which he has advocated were, before his becoming President, open and avowed convictions of my own. I admire him personally and I admire and point with pride to his great administration, and I hope and believe that greater triumphs will be won for the people by this administration before the President's term expires, under the proper leadership of the President, and in all of the great national problems advocated by the President which are soon to come before him for consideration I am in hearty accord with him.

It has been urged that the issuing of a simple official warning to our citizens to refrain from traveling upon the armed mer-chant ships of belligerent nations in the ocean war zones is a surrender and a waiver of American rights and not to be tol-erated. This I emphatically deny. Such a warning is not directed to any other nation. It will be directed, if adopted, solely to our own citizens. We can, if thought necessary or best, in such a resolution give notice that we reserve all of our international rights, including the right to travel upon such vessels. It is, in my humble opinion, simply and solely a plain and exclusively domestic question into which there does not enter an iota of international law or diplomacy. It is simply a measure of precaution and protection. Governments are instituted and operated by the consent of the majority of the governed. The rights that the minorities may have, under certain circumstances, necessarily may at any time, for the welfare of the country, be suspended, abridged, or abrogated by the majority. In this case, were an official warning adopted, given, and enforced, it would simply suspend the rights of a handful of American fools during the present war, and if any of these sustained actual loss the Government could well afford to reimburse them. There is no question but what after this war is over the question of what constitutes armed merchant ships will be settled by international law; and if in the future like problems arise it will be found that the new international law has provided a way in which such questions will be easily settled.

But it is argued that if we suspend and fail to protect a few American citizens who wish to enjoy such joy rides and thrills we are discriminating against them. This I also deny. At the best, the right of our citizens to travel upon such vessels is a doubtful right under international law as it exists at present. Even Secretary Lansing, in his letter of inquiry to the different powers at war, dated January 18, expressly referred to this right as a "doubtful legal right."

No greater, no abler, no more statesmanlike document has ever been written by an American Secretary of State than was that written by Secretary Lansing on January 18 last to the various belligerent powers. It is destined to become a historical document of the greatest importance and value. It is well worth our while at this time to read and consider the same. Omitting the formal parts, it is as follows:

It is a matter of deepest interest to my Government to bring to an end, if possible, the dangers of life which attend the use of submarines as at present employed in destroying enemy commerce on the high seas, since on any merchant vessel of belligerent nationality there may be citizens of the United States who have taken passage or members of the crew in the exercise of their recognized rights as neutrals. I assume your Government is equally solicitous to protect their nationals from

the exceptional hazards which are presented by their passage on merchant vessels through these portions of the high seas in which undersea craft of the enemy are operating.

While I am fully alive to the appalling loss of life among noncombatants, regardless of their sex, which has resulted from the present method of destroying merchant vessels without removing the persons on board to places of safety, and while I view that practice as contrary to those humane principles which should control beligerents in the conduct of their naval operations, I do not feel that a beligerent should be deprived of the proper use of submarines in the invasion of commerce, since those instruments of war have proved their effectiveness in this practical branch of warfare on the high seas.

In order to bring submarine warfare within the general rules of international law and the principles of humanity without destroying their efficiency in the destruction of commerce, I believe that a formula may be found which, though it may require slight modification of the precedent generally followed by nations prior to the employment of the submarine, will appeal to the sense of justice and fairness of all the beligerents in the present war.

Your Government will understand that in seeking the formula or rule of this nature I approach it of necessity from the point of view of a neutral, but I believe that it will be equally efficacious in preserving the lives of noncombatants on merchant vessels of beligerent nationalities.

My comments on this subject are predicated on the following propositions:

First, A noncombatant has a right to traverse the high seas in a mer-

My comments on this subject are predicated on the following propositions:

Pirst. A noncombatant has a right to traverse the high seas in a merchant vessel entitled to fly a belilgerent flag, to rely upon the observance of the rules of international law and principles of humanity, and if the vessel is approached by the naval vessel of another belilgerent the merchant vessel of enemy nationality should not be attacked without being ordered to stop.

Second. An enemy merchant vessel, when ordered to do so by a belilgerent submarine, should immediately stop.

Third. Such vessel should not be attacked after being ordered to stop unless it attempts to flee or to resist. In case it ceases to flee or to resist the attack should be discontinued.

Fourth. In the event that it is impossible to place a prize crew on board of an enemy merchant vessel or to convoy her into port the vessel may be sunk, provided the crew and passengers have been removed to a place of safety.

may be sunk, provided the crew and passengers have been removed to a place of safety.

In complying with the foregoing principles, which, in my opinion, embody the principal rule, the strict observance of which will insure the life of a noncombatant on a merchant vessel which is intercepted by a submarine, I am not unmindful of the obstacles which would be met by undersea craft as commerce destroyers.

Prior to the year 1915 bellig-rent operations against enemy commerce on the high seas had been conducted with cruisers carrying heavy armaments. In these conditions international law appeared to permit a merchant vessel to carry armament for defensive purposes without lessening its character as a private merchant vessel. This right seems to have been predicated on the superior defensive strength of ships of war, and the limitation of armament to have been dependent on the fact that it could not be used effectively in offensive against enemy naval vessels, while it could defend the merchantman against the generally inferior armament of privatical ships and privateers.

The use of the submarine, however, has changed these relations, Comparison of the defensive strength of a cruiser and a submarine shows that the latter, relying for protection on its power to submarine, is almost defenseless in point of construction. Even a merchant ship carrying a small-caliber gun would be able to use it effectively against the submarine.

Moreover, pirates and sea rovers have been swept from the main trade channels of the sea and privateering has been abolished. Consequently, the placing of guns on merchantmen at the present date of submarine warfare can be explained only on the ground of a purpose to render merchantmen superior in force to submarines and to prevent warning and visit and search by them. Any armament, therefore, on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an offensive armament.

If a submarine is required to stop and search a merchant vessel on

a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an offensive armament.

If a submarine is required to stop and search a merchant vessel on the high seas, and in case it is found that she is of an enemy character and that conditions necessitate her destruction and the removal to a place of safety of persons on board, it would not seem just nor reasonable that the submarine should be compelled, while complying with these requirements, to expose itself to almost certain destruction by the guns on board the merchant vessel.

It would therefore appear to be a reasonable and reciprocally just arrangement, if it could be agreed by the opposing belligerents, that submarines should be caused to adhere strictly to the rules of international law in the matter of stopping and searching merchant vessels, determining their belligerent nationality, and removing the crews and passengers to places of safety before sinking the vessels as prizes of war, and that merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatsoever.

In proposing this formula as a basis of conditional declarations by the belligerent Government, I do so in the full conviction that each Government will consider primarily the humane purposes of saving the lives of innocent people rather than the insistence upon doubtful legal rights which may be denied on account of new conditions.

I would be pleased to be informed whether your Government would be willing to make such a declaration conditioned upon your enemies making a similar declaration.

I should say that my Government is impressed with the reasonable-ness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

This suggestion of Secretary Lansing is in harmony with the

This suggestion of Secretary Lansing is in harmony with the facts and common sense. The objection to it is that it proposes a change of international law while a war is on. But the change has already been made, and no amount of writing and talking will restore the old conditions. In the interest of belligerents armed merchant ships will be attacked, and in the interest of humanity noncombantants should be kept off them.

But granting, for the sake of argument, that there is no doubt about the rights of such fool Americans to travel upon such vessels, there are other Americans whose rights conflict with the rights of such foolhardy Americans. Of what value are the rights of a handful of American fools to travel upon the armed merchant ships of belligerent nations compared with the rights of 100,000,000 Americans to have the peace of our beloved Nation preserved and the welfare of the whole Nation promoted? Shall the majority rule or shall a handful of foels in exercising their doubtful rights plunge this Nation into the most terrible and hellish war ever recorded on the pages of human history?

An official warning to our citizens to depart from Mexico, owing to the hazard, risks, and danger of their longer remaining in that turbulent country, was proclaimed by the President three years ago, and this warning was to a large extent heeded

by our citizens then in Mexico.

It is only the other day that the papers reported that the administration had warned American citizens to remain away from the Isthmus of Tehuantepee, down in Mexico. were there not for pleasure, curiosity, or joy riding, but for actual business. If this report is true it shows wisdom, discretion, and precaution on the part of the administration and

meets with the approval of all right-thinking people.

Then, again, contrast the course pursued by the administration in issuing passports to American citizens desiring to visit the Teutonic nations during the last few months. I am not aware that the same strict restrictions for the securing and issuing of passports to our citizens intending to visit Canada or the allied countries are maintained. This is well illustrated by a simple experience I had in seeking a passport for a lady constituent of mine residing at Watertown, Wis., whose doctor had advised her that it was necessary in order to protect her health and prolong her life that she should visit Saxony, in the Empire of Germany, for the purpose of taking the celebrated radium baths of that country.

A year ago this time I secured a passport for a citizen of my home city to visit Germany for the sole purpose of viewing the war scenes, and all that was necessary for me to do was to present his verified application in compliance with the rules of the Bureau of Citizenship and the passport was issued, sent to me,

and I mailed it to my constituent.

When I took the matter up a month ago for my Watertown constituent I found that they had rejected her application for a passport to Germany, although in her letter and in her application she had recited that she had engaged passage on a neutral steamer from New York to Rotterdam. It was turned down by the Bureau of Citizenship. When I received a letter from a lawyer explaining these results I felt indignant. I went to the bureau in person, and I was met with the positive assertion that no passport could be issued to my constituent or anyone else unless verified imperative reasons were given, and the bureau suggested that it would be necessary to have the affidavits of her consulting physician and herself to the effect that it was necessary for her to visit Saxony for the purpose of taking the famous health baths at that place, and that she was not going for any other purpose.

Instead of the passport being handed to me to mail to her instructions were mailed her that on the day that she was to leave the port of New York she could secure her passport at a branch office of the bureau in New York City, two blocks from the office of the German consulate, where she could have the same viséed. At first I thought this a lot of unnecessary and provoking red tape, but upon a brief reflection my disappointment over the same vanished, and I took and do still take pride in the precaution that the administration was taking in guarding against our citizens getting into trouble in the Teutonic nations by visiting there when it was unnecessary. Here we have the difference: A year ago a passport I obtained from the same bureau for a constituent to visit Germany, he not having to give any reason at all, and making the trip expressly to see the battles and battle fields, and now no passport is issued excepting upon the proof of the necessity of going to those countries.

I am glad to learn that the administration is exercising such precaution. I hope it will be continued; and the administration is entitled to the praise of all peace-loving Americans in carrying out and executing these precautions in issuing these passports to Americans.

But why not be consistent? The placing of all these restrictions upon the issuing of a simple passport causes more trouble and places a greater restriction upon the rights of American citizens to visit such countries than would be an official warning to Americans to prevent them from traveling on the armed ships of belligerent nations and to enforce the same.

Our American citizens, excepting the "jingoes" and the jingo press, are praying that God may give the President light and strength to keep our Nation out of this terrible war. He has been condemned and denounced outrageously by certain of the proallied metropolitan press for being too easy with Germany. He has been accused of actually favoring Germany in the Lusitania, Arabic, and other submarine controversies. He has actually been called a coward and a traitor to his country by some of the jingo press. Even ex-Senator Root, in his speech before the New York Republican State convention a month ago, denounced his management of the diplomatic relations over the sinking of the *Lusitania* as unbecoming an American. They have said that his actions failed to reflect the dignity that properly belonged to American action in such

important matters.

Lo and behold, however, when the proposition to issue an official warning to a handful of our American citizens to refrain from traveling upon the armed ships of belligerent nations, in order that such dangerous controversies as have in the past arisen over the sinking of such vessels by such submarine boats may not promote future controversies of a similar nature that may lead to war with Germany, what do we find? find every jingo newspaper that denounced the President for being too easy with Germany in the Lusitania, Arabic, and Ancona affairs and every leading jingo in the country joining in denouncing the idea of issuing such a warning. They are standing behind the President now for the first time in the history of his administration. Why are they doing it? Is it love and admiration for the administration? Is it love for our 100,000,000 American people? Oh, no. It is the greedy desire, promoted by British gold, that war may come between America and Germany, thus placing America in the rôle of an ally to John Bull.

Even during the last three or four months the papers report that societies have been organized in New York and New England States the very purpose of which are to advocate and create a public sentiment in favor of this Nation plunging into

this war as an ally of England.

We who are the supporters and friends of this warning measure view this support of the jingo press and of the jingo leaders of this country with the greatest of suspicion. We know full well that the President does not welcome their advice or their support, for the very object of their support is because of the belief that without issuing such a warning submarine controversies will arise that will finally draw us over the chasm and plunge us into the terrible boiling conflagration that is sweeping over Europe. If I had no other reason for favoring such a resolution I would support such a resolution from the fact that I see the jingo proally press of this country opposing this simple precautionary warning resolution.

It is charged by some of the jingo press which so freely denounced the President and his administration for the victories which he won in diplomacy over Germany and Austria that we Members of Congress who are in favor of such a warning resolution are the tools and servants of Germany and are afraid of our German constituents. This I denounce on behalf of myself and constituents and on behalf of my colleagues whose attitude upon this question is the same as my own as an absolute and

abominable lie.

It is true that three-fourths of the people of the district I have the honor to represent are of German birth or descent. But the American citizens of German descent in my district and in every other district in the country are among the most loyal, patriotic, and unswerving Americans. Their loyalty for America is not exceeded by the loyalty and patriotism of any other race or by the descendants of any other race. Their patriotism has been shown upon a hundred battle fields of the South. Men of their race became famous as leaders of the Union Armies. The pension rolls of to-day bear proud and positive evidence of the thousands of our citizens of German birth and descent who fought and bled to save the Union, and their names by the thousands are now carried upon the pension roll of honor with those of other patriotic Americans.

The love and sympathy of our citizens of German birth and descent for the fatherland is great, but their hostility and anger is only against the foreign enemies of the fatherland. Their sympathy for the fatherland is so strong that every movement in this country that has the least bearings of being unneutral meets with their disfavor. If their love for the fatherland were less many of the things of the administration would pass unnoticed. But great as is their love for the fatherland, their love for America is one hundredfold greater. Let war come—God forbid—and the first call for defenders by the President will be answered in overflowing numbers by our citizens of German birth and descent, and their love in upholding the flag of our country will not be excelled by any other class of Americ

cans, even against the beloved fatherland.

I have a vivid recollection of the loyalty and patriotism exhibited by American citizens of German birth, and especially by those German veterans who served in the Franco-Prussian War, about 1878, at the time of our international controversy with Germany over the Samoan Islands. Bismarck was then in his prime and chancellor of the newly founded German Empire.

The King of the Samoan Islands had died, or the Government was in some way overthrown. Great Britain, Germany, and America seized certain of the Samoan Islands, and a bitter, hostile controversy arose between Germany and the States over certain of those islands. The newspapers at the time carried in large headlines daily predictions of open war between the two Nations. When it looked most like the breaking out of war between them, I read in our papers of volunteer regiments being formed composed exclusively of Germans in the large German cities, such as Cincinnati, Buffalo, Chicago, Louisville, and other large cities, for the purpose of aiding the United States if war broke out with Germany. The papers at the time stated that a large portion of these volunteers were composed even of the veterans of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Ever since then and now I have always had full faith and confidence in the patriotism and loyalty of our citizens of German birth and descent in protecting the flag and honor of our country. They at all times live, act, think, and conduct themselves as loyal, patriotic, and genuine Americans.

I was born and lived all my life in one of the most densely populated German sections of the country. Though born of a Tipperary father and a Corkonian mother, I know the German and his descendants as if I were one of their own. I have been associated with them all of my life. As a boy of 12 and 13, attending the country schools in the winters, I wore, with their children, wooden shoes to school. I have observed them in all the paths of life. For industry, for honesty, for thrift, for energy, for respect for law and religion and the rights of their fellow men they are not to be excelled. As citizens, in exercising their citizenship, they are the most worthy to be found among the many races who form our Nation. Much as they have been accused because of their strong sympathy for Germany in the present European war, yet they are the most unclannish, unbigoted class of citizens to be found in this country. This I know personally, by experience. Living in a district where nearly three-quarters of the voters are of German birth or descent, I, the son of Irish parents, have thrice been nominated and elected in that district by splendid majorities. In each of my three different campaigns the Republicans nominated a German Lutheran opponent against me. In three different campaigns unscrupulous Republican politicians tried to prejudice the German vote against me by appealing to their nationality and their religion, but the appeals of such unscrupulous politicans fell on deaf ears. The German carries into his politics no clannishness or bigotry. In exercising his right of suffrage he has always With them proven himself a genuine and intelligent American. in politics there is no racial prejudice or religious bigotry.

In closing, permit me to observe that if this Nation is to be plunged into war because of the failure of the Government to issue such an official warning to our Americans to prevent them from traveling on the armed ships of belligerent nations in the ocean war zones and a war arises from it with Germany that will make this Nation the ally of England-God forbid that such a thing should happen-how shameful the rank and file of the American citizens would feel to find this Nation an ally of England, the nation whose only victories in this terrible war have been in starving German babies, in refusing to permit relief by the millions to be transported by charitable Americans to the destitute and starving millions of people in Poland. God forbid that this country should ever become the ally in war of England, whose Government levied revenue taxes upon the charitable contributions in foodstuffs and clothing sent by charitable Americans to the people of Ireland in 1847 and 1848 when 3,000,000 Irish men, women, and children were dying of starvation.

If we must go to war, let it not be as an ally of the nation that robs the mails of neutral nations upon God's free high seas; let it not be as an ally of the nation that has in this war committed so many, almost innumerable, violations against our commerce, and let it not be as an ally of the nation which even compels our business men when buying raw material from neutral countries and shipped in British ships to bind themselves down to pay a penalty if when the same is manufactured any of the same should be shipped to the enemies of England.

Let us issue a warning to our foolhardy Americans and let us enforce it, and if we must go to war let it be for something more important than the loss of a handful of foolish Americans engaged in enjoying "thrills," pleasure, and curiosity in danger-

ous war zones.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, for these and other reasons that I might enumerate, I shall take pride in voting against laying the resolution before the House on the table, and by so voting I mean to cast no reflection upon the President or upon his administration, but I cast my vote in the hope that by so doing I am doing what little there is in my power to help keep this country out of the hell of war.

The Borland Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EVERIS A. HAYES,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 14, 1916.

Mr. HAYES. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote against this amend-There may be clerks employed in the departments in Washington who are not rendering the best that is in them for the remuneration which they receive. If so, they should be eliminated from the service at the earliest possible date. am satisfied that the vast majority of them are rendering to the Government the best service of which they are capable. of them are working under unfavorable conditions, owing to poor air, crowded conditions, and lack of light, and the work that they are doing is in many cases exacting and calculated to exhaust their nervous energy. A man or woman working seven hours under these conditions will experience more exhaustion than one working under better conditions and more in the open or where there is a combination of mental and physical exertion would experience in eight, nine, or even ten hours. tain that a conscientious clerk can render as efficient work in seven hours of continuous service as he can in eight or more.

I shall vote against this amendment not because the money to pay these clerks comes out of the pockets of Uncle Sam, for when the money came from my own pocket I adopted this same policy in my own business. I shall vote against it because I believe it is just to the clerk and right in principle. For many years I have been a half owner in a daily newspaper. After studying this question of hours of labor for the men and women employed in the composing and press rooms I became satisfied that they could accomplish the same amount of labor in shorter hours than they were working, and that it would be much better for them. As an experiment at first my brother and myself, without request or suggestion from the men, voluntarily reduced their hours of labor to seven and one-half hours. As a result of this experiment we never employed a single extra haxd and received better and more efficient service than we had been receiving under the longer hours, and this has been the working hour for each day for 14 years. I am therefore speaking from experience when I say that I do not believe that Uncle Sam will lose anything by continuing the present working hours of the clerks of the departments. Short hours of labor, vigorous and efficient men and women and the best results from their labor should be the aim of Uncle Sam, the richest employer of labor in the world.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 13, 1916.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I voted to table the McLemore resolution, which purported to warn Americans off armed merchant vessels of belligerent nations. I agree with the sentiment. Foolhardy Americans who involve the peace of their country by riding on these vessels will never find this Congress coming to their rescue or declaring war to sustain their doubtful rights.

It is not necessary to vote a resolution of warning and thereby discredit the diplomatic efforts of President Wilson before the world, for all the world is warned. The delicate intricacies of diplomatic negotiation would have been wrecked beyond repair if the President had been rebuked.

We thank God for Wilson. One hundred million people thank God for Wilson. During 18 months he has steered the Ship of State in peaceful paths. Shall we repudiate all of his efforts in the past just because we can not solve the present riddle of diplomatic maneuver?

The report of the Committee on Foreign Relations ought to set at rest all doubts as to the purpose of the President. One sentence in that report, unquestionably approved by the President, is enough to satisfy me. It is this:

We know that if the President reaches a point in any negotiations with a foreign Government at which he has exhausted his power in the premises, he will in the usual way report all the facts and circumstances to Congress for its consideration.

And the President has just appointed to the post of Secretary of War a man who belongs to all the peace societies in the country. No; no; I can not believe the President has forsaken the paths of peace.

As the days go by the fresh horrors of war freeze the heart's blood. Recently a few of my constituents have asked me to support certain measures before this Congress establishing extensive military training in public schools. I have replied that under the present world civilization we must maintain a few institutions like West Point and Annapolis, where trained military and naval officers can be supplied. But I hope that our Nation will not follow in the footsteps of militaristic Europe. Let us not teach the youth in our public schools the horrible science of war, but, rather, train their minds in the direction of peace as the ruling spirit of the world.

WHISKY WORSE THAN WAR,

I know of no evil in the world which visits such ravages upon humanity as war except it be the evil of liquor drinking. A few months ago we were startled by the statement of Lloyd George to the employees of the munition plants of Europe, begging them to refrain from drink during the war, when he said his nation might not be able to whip both of its enemies—Germany and whisky. A few days ago he announced the success of his appeal, and that drinking has diminished something like 40 per cent. And then, amazing statement, he said:

However successful in war the country might be, I am convinced that the victory in this matter [liquor drinking] would be the greatest triumph of all!

And then he says:

I am doing my best to provide whisky for the Germans, and if whisky will do haif as much harm to the Germans as the alcohol would have done to the people of England I will be satisfied.

Thus, with the greatest navy on the seas, and with munitions going in an endless but shameful stream from our shores, England finds it necessary to fall back on whisky as the surest instrument of destruction.

Rivers and Harbors Appropriation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES A. FREAR,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tucsday, March 14, 1916.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, I desire to place in the Record a remarkable resolution received by Members of Congress this morning from The Bronx Board of Trade, New York City.

In order to secure the passage of one item in the 1916 wasteful river and harbor bill, which totals \$39,608,410, this board of trade asks "all Representatives of Congress, and especially those from New York State, to vote favorably for this bill"—in order to save a \$200,000 item for East River.

That is to say, the Representatives in Congress from New York State are generally upped to compact the \$20,000 to the limits of the same conceptable upped to compact the \$20,000 to the limits of the limits of the same conceptable upped to compact the \$20,000 to the limits of the

That is to say, the Representatives in Congress from New York State are especially urged to support the \$39,608,410 bill, presumably one-half of which will be wasted, as shown by the minority report, and their vote is to be cast in favor of the bill in order to secure one-half of 1 per cent of the total appropriation which covers an item in which The Bronx Board of Trade is specifically interested.

I do not care to comment on the resolution further than to submit my reply thereto, and to say that notwithstanding the extravagance and waste set forth by the minority report, which report is specifically mentioned in the resolution, The Bronx Board of Trade insists the bill should pass in order to save this \$200,000 item. The resolution and letter are as follows:

THE BRONX BOARD OF TRADE,
Borough of The Bronx, N. Y., March 13, 1916.

Hon. James A. Frear, Congressman, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My DEAR Sir: The following resolution has been adopted by our board of trade, and the secretary requested to send you a copy of same and to request that you aid in every way possible to bring around

a favorable vote on the present river and harbor bill, which includes an item covering the East River:

"Whereas the Rivers and Harbors Committee of Congress has presented a report, including a recommendation for an appropriation for the improvement of the East River; and

"Whereas certain members of the Rivers and Harbors Committee of Congress have made a minority report concerning this recommendation: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That this board of trade call upon all Representatives of Congress, and especially those from New York State, to vote favorably for this bill and the item covering the East River."

Very truly, yours,

Chas. E. Reid. Secretary

CHAS. E. REID, Secretary.

MARCH 14, 1916.

The Bronx Board of Trade,

Third Avenue, 137th Street, and Lincoln Avenue,

New York City, N. Y.

Gentlemen: I am in receipt of your favor of March 13, in which is inclosed a resolution asking all Representatives in Congress to "aid in every way possible to bring around a favorable vote on the present river and harbor bill, which includes an item covering the East River." This item amounts to \$200,000, out of a \$39,600,000 bill.

I thank you very much for this expression of your board. It emphasizes more strongly than anything I have yet found, the willingness of high-class men to vote away millions of dollars in money on wasteful projects in order to get a \$200,000 appropriation for Diamond Reef in New York Harbor.

This resolution asks me to vote for a bill that includes \$1,750,000 for the Missouri River, which project, when completed, is to cost the Government over a million dollars a year for maintenance, without any substantial return.

You ask me to vote for a bill which contains \$5,500,000 for the Ohio River, although the commerce of that river does not reach 2 per cent of the commerce carried by New York Harbor.

You ask me to vote for a bill that contains \$9,500,000 for the Tennessee River, although the actual commerce, apart from floatable timber, on that river reaches only 200,000 tons, of which 78,000 tons was coal hauled 16 miles.

You ask me to vote for a bill containing \$1,000,000 for the Norfolk-Beaufort Canal, which is one of the most scandalous projects ever financed by the Government Treasury

You ask me to vote for a bill which contains over \$200,000 for the Arkansas River, which Army Engineers have, within the past year, recommended for abandonment.

You ask me to vote for a bill containing \$8,000 for the Red River, on which the actual commerce costs the Government from \$80 to \$100 per ton.

You ask me to vote for a bill containing \$80,000 for the Red River, on which the actual commerce costs the Government from \$80 to \$100 per ton.

This statement of wasteful projects could be continued to scores of items contained in a bill aggregating many million dollars of waste. Army Engineers of as high standing as Col. C. McD. Townsend, chairman of the Mississippi River Commission, urge us to pause in the wild waste of money to which we have been committed by such resolutions as emanate from The Bronx Board of Trade.

If your board desires any real improvement in legitimate navigation needs you will endeavor to defeat the 1916 bill even though it temporarily delays the \$200,000 item for Diamond Reef in New York Harbor. There may be some excuse for such resolutions from irresponsible waterway organizations that are boosting local expenditures irrespective of returns to the Government, but there can be no possible excuse for any New York organization, however high its standing, to urge upon Congress support for the 1916 wasteful river and harbor bill in order to save a comparatively insignificant appropriation reluctantly granted for Diamond Reef.

Your resolution is intended to induence sentiment in favor of that bill in order to get support for this one item. It is the method pursued by every pork barrel supporter in the country, and no change in present methods can be reached until your organization and others of equally high standing realize to what base uses resolutions can be put.

I thank you sincerely for your letter because I believe you would

be put.

I thank you sincerely for your letter because I believe you would not knowingly seek to put through Congress a vicious wasteful proposition. Am inclosing copy of a minority report No. 254, part 2, Sixty-fourth Congress. Therein you will find noted many other wasteful items which are included in the 1916 bill.

Very truly, yours,

JAMES A. FREAR.

Water-Power Legislation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM KENT, OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 14, 1916.

Mr. KENT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the following letter to the President and his reply thereto:

MARCH 7, 1916.

The PRESIDENT, The White House.

The White House.

My Dear Ma. President: I have not the privilege of personal acquaintance with Mr. Baker, but from what I can hear about him I believe he stands with us on the great questions of public rights, as found in policies that represent control and use of our natural resources in the public interest.

This water-power development is something that under any proposed legislation will run for at least 50 years, and under the Shields bill, as it is being fought out in the Senate, will run for an indefinite time, unless upset by revolution or cured by the sovereign power of taxation. The bill as it is being passed in the Senate will be extremely viclous and what amendments we can secure by conference with the House

committee are unkrown. Unless some one in the administration takes strong ground, there is every chance that nothing at all will be done and that the waters will go to waste simply because some of us feel that a waste for a year or two is better than to sacrifice all public rights in perpetuity.

I know of no greater service that can be immediately rendered by the Secretary of War than the consideration of the control of water power on navigable streams, which comes immediately under his jurisdiction, and it will be my pleasure to put him in touch with the best authorities in this country on this subject.

We are making a fight against people who thoroughly realize the immense fortunes to be made out of control of these our common assets. Without fear of contradiction. I again state, as I have often stated before, that for influence and lobbying work the water-power crowd are the shrewdest and most dangerous people that we have to fight in the country to-day.

I do not wish to bore you with any long disquisition on this subject, but I wish to express my hope that the new Secretary of War can immediately take up and study this question.

It is inherently necessary that there should be no doubt about what will happen if a bill goes before you that does not duly protect the public interest, a bill of such a nature that the injustice may be continued through an indefinite term, practically in perpetuity.

Yours, truly,

THE WHITE HOUSE, Washington, March 9, 1916.

Hon. William Kent,

House of Representatives.

My Dear Mr. Kent: Thank you for your letter of March 7. You may be sure that I will call the attention of the new Secretary of War to the water-power question at the earliest possible moment, for you know, I am sure. my deep and genuine interest in it. I agree with you that it is better to let the water power run to waste than to settle the question of the use of it in the wrong way. I am watching the progress of legislation with a great deal of anxiety.

Cordially and sincerely, yours,

Woodbook Wilson.

WOODROW WILSON.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WM. ELZA WILLIAMS. OF ILLINOIS.

> IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Tuesday, March 7, 1916.

Mr. WM. ELZA WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, It seems to me that the duty of every Member of Congress on this important question is clear and unmistakable. For my part I intend to vote to table the McLemore resolution. The King would have us do one thing and the Kalser would have us do another. Neither France nor Russia nor Italy nor Turkey, in fact none of the warring powers, is satisfied with our course. If we would be neutral and guide our course by the strict letter of international law, we can not hope to please or satisfy any of the contending nations. I am neither Anglo-American nor German-American, but wholly American. When the President said to this Congress that the McLemore resolution and others of like tenor were being misconstrued abroad, and had resulted in tieing the hands of the President and paralyzing our diplomatic relations with the world, I did not hesitate in de-termining my duty to stand by the President and follow his advice against the advice of any European ruler. I have no patience with that class of American citizens who

under present conditions travel for pleasure or adventure and who for the sake of a thrill would hazard their own lives and endanger the peace of their country, but we must not forget that there are thousands of American citizens with interests in all parts of the globe who are engaged in promoting the trade and commerce of the United States and who are impelled by business necessity to take passage on ocean liners for European ports, and who oftentimes have no choice as to the boat on which they will travel. These men are entitled, under international law as it is written, to sail on any passenger steamer and are entitled to protection and safe passage to their destination. Shall the President of the United States humble himself and humiliate his country by warning its citizens against the exercise of their rights upon the world's highway merely at the instance and demand of some foreign power with whose military and naval operations it may interfere? I for one do not intend to vote for such a warning, but will stand by the President in his efforts to maintain the rights of American citizens on the high seas and protect them in the exercise of those rights as against the world. I entirely approve the course of the administration in denying passports to all except those whose business compels them to travel abroad and in limiting passports to the fewest possible number, thereby reducing and minimizing the canger; but beyond this we can not go and preserve the dignity and honor of our Nation.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER,

OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, on February 10, 1915, President Wilson promised to hold Germany to "strict accountability" if in her submarine campaign she took the life of Americans on the high seas. The whole country applauded the President's words. No voice was raised in protest.

Germany's answer was the torpedo which sunk the Lusitania.

At once the President demanded a complete disavowal of the act. Again the country applauded. If President Wilson was wrong in demanding the safety of our citizens traveling on foreign merchantmen armed for their own defense, then was the time to say so, not now, when the skies are lowering and muttered threatenings are heard on every side.

The question of armed merchantmen was nothing new last February when President Wilson spoke. Five months before that time, on September 19, 1914, the United States had announced its decision that a merchantman had the right to arm for its own defense

After the *Lusitania* was sunk, months of negotiations passed and the United States adhered steadily to its demands.

Finally Germany agreed that her submarines should warn "liners" before sinking them, provided they did not resist nor try to escape. Now that Germany is ready to inaugurate a new submarine warfare, we are suddenly told that this agreement holds only if we exclude from its terms all "liners" armed for their own defense.

Of course, I know that those who take Germany's view of this matter believe that a merchantman which fires on a submarine before that submarine can discharge its torpedo is in fact acting offensively and not defensively. To persons who fact acting offensively and not defensively. take this view, I commend the reading of President Jefferson's message in December, 1801. In the previous summer the Pasha of Tripoli had hewed down the flagstaff of the American consul, had pillaged our ships, and had made slaves of all the American sailors who fell into his hands. However, inasmuch as Congress had not declared war, the United States was officially at peace. According to President Jefferson's view of the case, the most that he could do was to provide for a spirited defense. Mc-Master in his History of the United States tells us how Jefferson sent Commodore Dale to the Mediterranean, and then the historian proceeds to describe the battle between the American warship Enterprise and the Tripolitan warship commanded by Raiz. When the Tripolitan vessel was thoroughly battered to pieces, Raiz surrendered to the Enterprise. Says McMaster:

To bring in the wreck would have been an act of war. But to cut down the masts, fling guns and ammunition overboard, strip the vessel, in short, of everything save one old sall or a single spar, and leave the crew to make port as best they could, was a defensive act, and no violation of the orders the President had a right to give.

That was Jefferson's idea of a "defensive" fight.

It is in order to force President Wilson to yield this vital principle, involving the right of merchantmen to arm in their own defense, that the McLemore resolution was introduced. Not only does that resolution warn our citizens to forego their undoubted right to travel on merchantmen belonging to belligerents, but it promises Germany immunity in case this warning is disregarded. It notifies all Americans that if they travel on belligerent merchantmen we shall do nothing to protect them and that they travel at their own risk. Yet many of our citizens will have no choice but to disregard that warning. Men are not traveling for pleasure on the high seas to-day.

The poor hostler who brings his string of mules from Missouri to Norfolk has no choice of steamers on which to embark, The steward who earns his living on the high seas must accept employment where he can find it. The salesman or the buyer journeying to the Mediterranean or to Russia or to India must travel on the merchantmen of belligerent nations or throw up

If we pass this resolution we give Germany full permission to perpetrate such horrors as she sees fit against "liners" armed for their own defense, regardless of how many Americans may be slaughtered.

With our right cheek still tingling from the buffet of Germany's hand, we are to promise her complete immunity if she smites the other cheek as well. To calm Germany's wrath we

are to warn our own citizens to abandon their own rights lest

we be called upon to help them to maintain them.

That is not the way Americans have met the threatenings of the past. We went to war with England in 1812 because she took our sailors off our merchantmen and impressed them into the British Navy and made them fight against Napoleon. Ought President Madison to have cautioned our sailors to stay on dry resident Madison to have cautioned our sailors to stay on dry land lest their impressment into the British service might involve their country in war? Certainly not; but Madison issued no such caution to our sailors. Instead, he solemnly warned England. England disregarded that warning, and the battleflags at Annapolis, captured from vanquished British frigates, mark the price she paid for her folly.

There was a Dey of Algiers, master of the pirates of the Mediterranean, and he commanded one of the strongest fleets of his time, carrying, all told, 360 guns. For 17 years we paid him

time, carrying, all told, 360 guns. For 17 years we paid him tribute and in return he spared our merchantmen in the Mediterranean. But in 1815 we fell out with the Dey on the terms of payment, so he preyed on our commerce and sold our crews into slavery. Did this young Republic warn our merchantmen to keep away from the Mediterranean lest we should be drawn into war's vortex? By no means. Promptly we sent two fine squadrons to the Mediterranean with Decatur and Bainbridge in command, and on the deck of Decatur's flagship the haughty Dey was forced to sign a treaty renouncing all future tribute and paying full compensation for his misdeeds.

Nations which perceive that by threats they can gain inches will not be slow to demand ells. Nations like individuals will trample on all who will not defend their rights. Whether you adopt this resolution or not, I do not believe that this country is on the brink of war; but even if such were the case, worse calamities than war can befall a nation. It is more important that the United States shall make history which shall serve as an inspiration to our fellow countrymen for ages to come than it is that this particular generation should be spared from the

crucible of war.

Great deeds, not great bank balances, make great nations, and this country of ours will fall even as Babylon fell should its people ever look upon it as a rich pasture for greed to fatten in.

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide, In the strife of truth with falsehood for the good or evil side; Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight, Parts the goats upon 'he left hand and the sheep upon the right;' And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that light,"

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM R. SMITH, OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Mr. Speaker, having been unable to secure any time during the debate on the McLemore resolution to express my views thereon, I am availing myself of the permission which has been granted to extend my remarks in the

I am opposed to Americans taking passage on armed merchant ships flying the flag of a belligerent nation, although under international law they undoubtedly have the right to do so. believe an American should refrain from doing anything that might result in involving this country in serious trouble. it does not follow from my position upon this question that I favor the passage of the McLemore resolution, for I do not. I do not think any good could be accomplished by its passage; but, on the contrary, much harm might result from it.

In the first place, this resolution, if passed, would have no

legal effect. It is a simple resolution merely expressing the advice of this Government that Americans should not take passage on an armed merchant ship of a nation at war. It is not a bill nor a joint resolution which, if passed, could have the force of law. It expresses only the sentiment of the House upon this question and could bind nobody. It could not compel Americans to stay off belligerent armed merchant ships. Again, if this resolution were passed, it would add nothing to the warning which Americans have already received. Germany has already proclaimed to the world that she would blow up such ships without warning. All Americans know the danger of rid-ing on such ships, and if consideration for their own preservation and safety will not deter them from taking passage, cer-

tainly a simple warning from us would not do so. It is really absurd to say that a friendly warning from us would be more effective than an unfriendly warning from Germany, which has already been given. Therefore the passage of the McLemore resolution would not help the situation in the least. It would amount to nothing toward accomplishing any good. But in the present circumstances even its consideration might result in much harm, entangled as it is with questions now in process of adjustment through diplomatic negotiations of a most delicate character. Such action would be certain to be misunderstood in Germany: the impression would go abroad that we were divided and not backing our Government; that we were willing to surrender our rights upon the sea; that we were willing that the barbarities of submarine warfare against all principles of humanity and international law should go unrestrained upon the high seas, all of which would embarrass and handicap the President, who, under the Constitution, is charged with the sole power of handling diplomatic matters.

Mr. Speaker, we should do nothing to lead Germany to believe that we consider her right to sink armed merchant ships without warning. This would be certain sooner or later to involve us in serious trouble. Germany treats them as warships, and has notified us that she expects us to intern them as we intern German warships when they come into our ports. Now, what would this lead to? That the arming of a merchant ship for defensive purposes does not change its character into that of a warship has been a universally accepted principle of international law for 200 years or more. So, if Congress should take action admitting that Germany is right in her contention, then how could we refuse to intern those ships which Germany claims are warships? If we should refuse to intern them, then there would arise another serious dispute with Germany, and we would be entirely without international law to support us. If, on the other hand, we do intern them, what answer could we make to the objection of the allied powers? Absolutely none, because the well-settled rules of international law would be against us; and most serious trouble would very probably ensue between us and the allied powers.

Therefore there is but one sane, sensible thing for us to do, and that is to stand squarely upon international law and insist that all other nations shall do the same thing. There is no other safe course. To yield to Germany now in this matter would be more apt to lead into war in the long run than to refuse to yield to her, for thrice armed is he who is right.

Once give up the freedom of the seas and chaos and crime would cover the face of the deep; the commerce of the world would ultimately be destroyed.

The American people have already suffered greatly because of interference with our commerce upon the seas. In 1914 the cotton farmers in the South suffered the loss of hundreds of millions of dollars because of the high cost and unsafety of ocean transportation. Last year they suffered another loss. Now, if you accede the right to Germany to submarine merchant ships only because they carry defensive armor, the loss which would result to the cotton farmer would be greater than ever. It must not be forgotten that we export more than 60 per cent of our cotton crop to foreign markets, and if we are cut off from these markets entirely, as we probably would be, the loss to the American people would be incalculable.

Therefore, let us demand what is ours—that which belongs to all nations—the right to travel and carry on our commerce unmolested upon the high seas, whether that right is interfered with by Germany, Great Britain, or any other nation.

Sugar.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. VARE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 16, 1916.

Mr. VARE. Mr. Speaker, although I do not believe that the present bill repealing the free-sugar clause of the Underwood tariff law will furnish the needed amount of protection to encourage the industry and protect wages, I will vote for this measure on the ground that it is better than the free trade that was threatened.

It is offered here as a revenue measure pure and simple. Nevertheless, it is a confession by the party that sponsored the

Underwood law that the tariff for revenue only does not provide revenue. The Democratic Party might just as well admit that the whole tariff law is a failure. Designed as a tariff for revenue only it admitted in one recent month 74 per cent of all imports free of duty. In other words, it is three-quarters free trade.

The European war saved the Democratic tariff law, because of its interference with the normal currents of trade. But even these interferences are not saving the country from the free-trade policy now. Imports under this free-trade policy are steadily increasing. An evidence of this is shown in the most recent statement of the Department of Commerce, which gives the imports for the month of December, 1914, as valued at \$114,656,545, whereas the imports for the month of December, 1915, were \$171,832,505.

I voted against the Democratic tariff law, but I am willing to vote for even a partial remedy for one of the many mistakes of that law when it is offered by the party that made the blunder. I have no desire to aid in putting the Democratic Party "in a hole." When the Democrats offered to Congress a bill strengthening the antitrust laws, I voted for the Clayton law. When a humane advance in child-labor laws was proposed by the Democrats, although it was not as far as I wanted to go—not as far as my own State, under the able leadership of our governor, had gone—nevertheless I considered it a step forward and voted for it.

No partisanship shall ever stand as an obstacle to my voting for anything which I honestly believe will benefit the people whom I represent. If I can not get as much as I would like for the people I represent, I will vote for as-much as I can obtain in their behalf.

I can not be accused of partisanship when I say that the entire tariff law has been a failure. There is no denial of the fact that it brought an industrial depression to the Nation. If it had benefited the consumers there would have been some compensation for the immeasurable loss of wages and curtailment of industry and business. But there was no such compensation. Prices have gone up instead of down.

The measure that is proposed here to-day does not restore protection to the sugar industry and its vast number of employees. The Democratic Party pledged itself not to harm a single industry. It was a commentary upon the distrust of the people that such a pledge had to be given, but it was given and was not kept.

The legitimate sugar industry was harmed—harmed beyond repair. Even the reduction of the sugar tariff caused many of the sugar factories to close down. The Government lost millions of dollars of revenue. And under the law as framed, in addition to the lowering of the tariff, raw sugar was to go on the free list this month.

The protective tariff system is interdependent. The removal of the tariff on sugar hurt Louisiana and other States, just as the loss of protection on textiles hurt the city of Philadelphia. There was a loss to the people and a loss to the Government. It has been estimated that the loss to the Government from free sugar would reach in the neighborhood of \$50,000,000 per year.

Free wool was as disastrous as free sugar would have been. The whole country is now aroused to the evil that was done. In the case of free wool the damage can not be repaired merely by the writing of a protective tariff law. Realizing the consequences of free wool, many of the American woolgrowers have sent their sheep to slaughter, and the textile interests of my own city are now engaged in an educational campaign seeking to revive the woolgrowing industry. But what will the people think of a Government that refuses to take the simple legislative precautions that are necessary for the preservation of the American market? What will they think of a Government that, as a solution of the dyestuff shortage, simply advises the people to use more white goods and less goods involving the use of dyes?

Shortly after the beginning of the European war the Canadian Government, which had refused to enter into a reciprocity pact with the United States, and shortly afterwards was given, through the Underwood law, everything for which she asked, without being required to make reciprocal concessions, raised her tariffs. The result has been that she has financed all her needs, including the sending of an army to England. There have been no "war" taxes in Canada. The protective tariff solved her problems.

At the present time all of the European nations are preparing for the industrial struggle that will follow the end of the European war. England frankly has abandoned her free-trade policy. It is admitted in the London press that free trade will never again be adopted as the national policy. Is the United States alone to be free trade after the war? Is this country, with the richest market in the world, with the best working conditions and highest wages, all attained under the Republican policy of protection, to surrender all its natural advantages and permit itself to become the dumping ground of the European nations in their anxiety to regain their losses?

Germany has lately appointed an industrial staff to mobilize the financial, business, and industrial resources for the commercial struggle that will follow the signing of peace. It makes no difference how far away peace may be. The fact remains that the nations of Europe are making their preparations for

that time. Can the United States do less?

The remedy for the colossal tariff blunder that is offered here to-day is but a drop in the bucket. It will save millions of dollars of revenue to the Government, but it will not save the American market after the war is over. It does not protect the American market from the free-trade imports that are now coming in, displacing an equal amount of American production, I will vote for it as a revenue measure, but I hope the time is not far distant when the Republican Party will be able to write upon the statute books a protective tariff law that will protect American industry and the millions of working people whose labor is the greatest asset of the Nation.

There is much more to be done for labor than we have yet done; there is a greater advance to be taken in humane legislation than we have yet taken; but without national prosperity, without due regard for the interests of honest business, without protection for the American market, and without amending our laws so that these business men may present a united front in the competition for the world's markets that is to come, we as a Nation will be hampered and hamstrung. There should be a national policy of industrial mobilization, combined with a more enlightened treatment of labor, and an essential part of this program is the enactment of a protective

tariff law. [Applause.]

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOUETT SHOUSE.

OF KANSAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 7, 1916.

Mr. SHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, the duty that confronts the membership of Congress to-day is very plain and very grave. It can not be evaded or shifted. It must be faced squarely and fairly by each Member in the light of his own conscience.

What is the situation? On the 22d day of February a resolution was introduced in this House by Mr. McLemore, of Texas. The intent of that resolution was to warn American citizens against taking passage upon armed vessels of any of the nations involved in the European war and denying to any citizen who should disregard such warning the protection of his Government. Unfortunately the warning feature of this resolution was so involved in statements and implications of uncertain truth and in mere expressions of opinion as to make the resolution itself complicated and unwise. On the same day that Mr. McLemore introduced his resolution, and on subsequent occasions, other Members of Congress have presented simpler, clearer, wiser expressions of a warning nature.

The introduction of these several resolutions was due to the declaration by the central powers that after February 29 last past their submarines would sink without warning all armed merchantmen of enemy nations. These resolutions were referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. At first it was understood that the President desired they should be kept there and not considered by the House, but later he sent a letter to Mr. Pov. acting chairman of the Rules Committee, in which he

made the following definite request:

I therefore feel justified in asking that your committee will permit me to urge an early vote upon the resolutions with regard to travel on armed merchantmen which have recently been so much talked about, in order that there may be afforded an immediate opportunity for public discussion and action upon them, and that all doubts and conjectures may be swept away and our foreign relations once more cleared of damaging misunderstandings.

That request did not mention the McLemore resolution. It did not specify any particular resolution. It referred to all resolutions "with regard to travel on armed merchantmen." In response the Rules Committee brought in a rule which made

possible the consideration of only the McLemore resolution and limited debate on it to four hours. Why, gentlemen of the House, we debated the Post Office appropriation bill for three The executive, legislative, and judicial appropriation, now before the House, will have had two weeks discussion before it is passed. And yet by this rule we are confined to four hours of debate on a question of the most vital concern to this and other nations, a question which may carry with it either pence or war. Clearly such a limitation is a grave mistake. Either the committee should have prohibited all debate on the theory that public discussion in the House at this time might complicate the foreign situation, or it should have allowed ample time for full and free discussion. Believing that the rule as reported should be amended, I voted against the previous question, but when the previous question carried I voted for the The President has asked that we express ourselves on the "resolutions with regard to travel on armed merchantmen." I stand ready to express myself. Expression could not be had without passing the rule. Therefore I voted for the rule.

Let me say very definitely, Mr. Speaker, that I do not favor the McLemore resolution. Upon a straight vote on its passage unamended, I should be compelled to oppose it. But I shall not vote to table it. I believe the dictates of good sense call for a warning resolution. I am certain a large majority of the membership of this House would favor a simple, straight-forward warning resolution. If the McLemore resolution is tabled the House will not have expressed itself. Such an action will mean nothing. But if the McLemore resolution is properly amended, which can be accomplished only by refusing to table it, and if the House votes upon such a carefully considered and amended expression of views, the President will then know where the House stands and what it believes-and that is what the President says he is anxious to learn.

When I say I favor a warning resolution I do not mean to imply that an American citizen has not the right to take passage on an armed belligerent vessel. His right to do so is clear, but his duty not to do so is equally clear. I would not deny him the right, but I would remember my duty to the hundred million of his countrymen whose peace he is jeopardizing, and, unless his necessity be imperative, I would give him to understand that he embarks upon his journey in opposition to the

solemn warning of his Government.

I am not a lawyer. Under no circumstances would I attempt to pose as an authority on international law. But, in pursuance of my duty as a Member of Congress, I have followed diligently the diplomatic correspondence between our Nation and the various belligerents since the outbreak of the European I was deeply impressed by the published note of Secretary Lansing, on January 18 last. In that note he set forth to the world the views of this Government on submarine warfare and the arming of merchantmen, having in mind the splendid purpose of effecting an agreement among belligerents that would lessen the horrors of the present war. He said:

While I am fully affive to the appalling loss of life among noncombatants which has resulted from the present method of destroying merchant vessels without removing the persons on board to places of safety, and while I view that practice as contrary to those humane principles which should control beligerents in the conduct of their naval operation, I do not feel that belligerents should be deprived of the proper use of submarines, since these instruments of war have proved their effectiveness in this particular branch of warfare on the high seas.

I believe that a formula men before the said:

high seas.

I believe that a formula may be found which, though it may require slight modification of the precedents generally followed by nations prior to the employment of submarines, will appeal to the sense of justice and fairness of all the belligerents.

* * Prior to 1915 belligerent operations against enemy commerce on the high seas were conducted by cruisers carrying heavy armaments. In these conditions international law appeared to permit a merchant vessel to carry armament for defensive purposes without lessening its character as a merchant vessel; * * it could not be used effectively against enemy naval vessels, while it could defend the merchant vessel against the generally, inferior armament of piratical ships and privateers.

teers. The use of submarines, however, has changed these relations. Comparison of the defensive strength of a cruiser and a submarine shows that the latter, relying for protection on its power to submerge. Is almost defenseless in point of construction. A merchant ship carrying even a small-caliber gun would be able to use it effectively for observed a submarine

almost detensives in point volud be able to use it effectively for offense against a submarine

Pirates and sea rovers have been swept from the main trade channels of the sea and privateering has been abolished. Consequently, the placing of guns on merchantmen at the present date of submarine warfare can be explained only on the ground of a purpose to render merchantmen superior in force to submarines and to prevent warning and visit and search by them. Any armament, therefore, on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of offensive armament.

If a submarine is required to stop and search a merchant vessel on the high seas, and in case it is found that she is of an enemy character and that conditions necessitate her destruction and the removal to places of safety of persons on board, it would not seem just or reasonable that the submarine should be compelled while complying with these requirements to expose itself to almost certain destruction by the guns on board the merchant vessel.

It would therefore appear to be a reasonable and reciprocally just arrangement if it could be agreed by the opposing belligerents that

submarines should adhere strictly to the rules of international law in the matter of stopping and searching merchant vessels, determining their belligerent nationality, and removing the crews and passengers to places of safety before sinking the vessels as prizes of war, and that merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatsoever.

In proposing this formula as a basis of conditional declaration by the belligerint Governments, I do so in the full conviction that each Government will consider primarily the humane purpose of saving the lives of innocent people, rather than the insistence upon doubtful legal rights which may be denied on account of new conditions.

My Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

Even the last paragraph of Secretary Lansing's note above

From the last paragraph of Secretary Lansing's note above quoted it seems clear that this Government regards the right of a merchantman to arm as a very doubtful right; indeed, it is stated that we, as a Nation, are strongly inclined to the belief that "a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated," and that this Government "is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly." In this note Secretary Lansing spoke for the Govcordingly." ernment of the United States. He spoke under the direction of the President of the United States, who, properly, has not hesitated to dictate the exact phraseology of important communications that have gone from the State Department during his administration. It is not necessary to point out that if bellig-erent armed merchantmen are held to be auxiliary cruisers any American citizen who embarks on one of them does so at his own peril.

Now, Mr. Speaker, what is the situation that confronts us? Great Britain says she will continue to arm her merchantmen. She places upon those merchantmen guns manned by trained gunners. She says they are armed for defensive purposes. Only the British naval board and the captains of the various vessels know the orders that are issued. Perhaps the defensive armament, in the twinkling of an eye, may be converted to offensive purposes. Germany says she will sink without warning all armed merchantmen of a hostile nation. The President of the United States says that if an American life is lost in the sinking of an armed merchantman without warning he will hold Germany "to strict accountability."

In such a situation what is our duty? "Strict accountability," in plain English, means war. And war for what? Because a foolhardy or venal American citizen takes passage on a merchantman the armament of which, in the published view of our Government, should probably place it outside the pale of peaceful craft and bring it into the class of auxiliary cruisers or wat vessels. Is it not clear, Mr. Speaker, that in such cir-cumstances Congress should protect American homes, American property, American rights, and American lives by issuing a very definite and a very serious warning to American citizens against taking passage on such ships? Why, sir, it is not as if our nationals had no other means of travel. At least four lines other than belligerents have ships regularly plying between this country and Europe. They may not be as large, they may not be as fast, they may not be as luxurious, but, before God, is the peace of a nation to be endangered in order that a few selfish citizens may enjoy the comforts of a certain boat?

We have all heard of the man who sailed from New York last Saturday, declaring that he delighted in the "thrill" of running blockades. Can we defend ourselves for allowing him that "thrill" at the possible cost of the lives of thousands of American youths, at the possible expense of the heartaches and

misery of a hundred thousand American mothers?

I am not afraid of war if war must come on some great issue of national honor. I am not afraid of war in defense of the flag and all the flag stands for. But I want no war, and the people whom I represent want no war, that is brought on through insistence upon a doubtful legal right.

Is not this the time to prevent the danger of war? Is not the opportunity given us now to take a stand that will save endless complications and perhaps serious disaster in the near

future?

Much has been said here to-day, Mr. Speaker, about interference by Congress in an international question. May this be called properly an "international" question? Should a German submarine sink an English armed merchantman which had no American citizen aboard, it would be none of our business. Why, then, have we not the same right to warn our nationals against taking passage upon such a ship that we have to prohibit them from riding on a train that carries dynamite or to prevent them from subjecting themselves to danger by traversing the streets of a city which is under martial law?

Speakers here to-day have called attention to the warning issued by President Taft to American citizens to come out of Mexico and to the repeated injunctions of President Wilson to the same American citizens that they would remain in Mexico at their own peril. The warning in that instance has been likened to the warning now sought. There is one important difference. Depredations upon American property and murder of American citizens in Mexico were the work of robber bandits, with no stable, organized government willing and able to control the situation. The loss of an American life through the attack of a submarine is due to the plan of warfare instituted by a responsible and powerful Government. And yet the rights in Mexico which were violated had been for years fixed and definite rights, with no question as to their status under law, while the right of a merchantman to arm, by the very statement of this Government, is an exceedingly doubtful right and open to serious question.

I have upheld and defended the President's policy in Mexico. I have felt that he is wise not to intervene. I have believed that the lives of American boys who might be called upon to wage for years a guerrilla warfare in that unfortunate country are infinitely more important than the mere property losses of a few citizens or a few corporations. Yet how much more to be dreaded than Mexican intervention is entanglement in the European war! Why, Mr. Speaker, the one is not comparable to the other. And if, without relinquishing our rights in any sense but simply governing ourselves sanely by the conditions which we face, we may avert the grave danger that inevitably

threatens, is it not the part of wisdom so to do?

The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Cantrill.], in his eloquent speech in favor of the rule, expressed his deep gratitude that Woodrow Wilson has been our President during the trying times of the past 18 months. I heartily echo that sentiment. I believe it is shared by a large majority of the American people. And the crowning glory of President Wilson's administration is the fact that he has kept us out of war. I know that he is a man of peace. I know that he wants to preserve the peace. I know that he will exert all his splendid qualities of mind and heart to that end. But if Germany and England. of mind and heart to that end. But if Germany and England both adhere to their announced purposes, and if American citizens continue to travel on armed merchantmen without regard to the conditions that prevail, will it be possible to preserve the peace so much desired by our President and by the great

masses of our people?

Moreover, the President has asked for a direct expression from Congress as to whether or not we favor a resolution warning our citizens not to take passage on armed merchantmen. Save for that request we should not have this resolution under consideration to-day. It has not been brought up at the in-stance of the House. Under ordinary procedure it would have been killed in committee, or, if reported favorably to the House would have taken its place at the foot of the calendar. here to be acted on now as a result of the letter of the President to Mr. Pov, of the Rules Committee. That letter asked for a straightforward vote on a simple question. It did not ask for the consideration of the McLemore resolution alone. It requested action on all resolutions upon the subject of warning. There was no suggestion of evasion by tabling. On the contrary, the language was very definitely in favor of such action as would show the sentiment of Congress. And yet the men who appeal to us in the name of the President are urging that the resolution be tabled. Why? Because thereby a lot of the Members of this House may be allowed to "straddle"—may ap-parently vote for one thing when they believe in another.

So far as I am concerned, Mr. Speaker, the easy and the pleasant thing would be to vote to table the resolution. Having so voted I could then explain to my constituents that while I favored a simple warning resolution I could not favor the Mc-Lemore resolution and that I had no opportunity to support the kind of resolution in which I believed. At the same time I should not be subject to the charge of failing to support the President. But, sir, if I should be compelled to stand alone in this House, I would not so vote, for, believing as I do and feeling as I do, such an action would be unparalelled hypocrisy, and in that I will not indulge. I have been cautioned by wellintentioned colleagues that a negative vote will do my political prospects serious harm. I have said to them and I say to the House that it is far more important to me to perform conscientiously the duties which I was elected to assume than to be reelected to an office which is without honor unless honestly administered. And in no vote that I may be called upon to cast in this body will my mind be clearer or my judgment more definite that I am doing what is right than in my refusal to help to table the pending resolution.

That it will be tabled there is no question. That a majority of those who vote to table it are in favor of a warning resolution there is equally no question. Almost every speaker upon the other side has so announced himself, but each has given some reason, more or less indirect, why he will not seek to amend the present resolution and pass it in amended form. The burden of the plea has been that we must stand by the President in his diplomatic negotiations. Aye; but the President has asked for an expression. Let us tell him the truth. Let us not take action that is meaningless, that is spineless, that is cowardly. If we believe in a warning resolution, let us pass it. If we do not believe in it, let us defeat it. But let the issue be clear-cut and definite. Speaking for myself, I want to see the President unhampered in his diplomatic negotiations, but I refuse to believe that his hands are tied and his efforts paralyzed, as some eloquent gentlemen here assert, unless this House does—what? Tables a resolution, refuses to act on it, fails to give an expression of its views as the President has urged.

Mr. Speaker, if definite need arise, if the honor of our Nation is threatened, there can be no doubt concerning the attitude of this House. As one man we shall stand behind our President. But the question to be decided to-day is not one of national honor, not one of diplomatic negotiation. Oh, I know that a lot of newspapers say it is; I know that a big hullabaloo has been raised throughout the country and many good people have been deceived as to the real issue. I know, too, that a large number of the newspapers which are now making the most noise have advocated for months that we should become a party to the European war. The question before us is a domestic question. It is this: Have we the right to advise our citizens so to exercise their privileges as not to risk involving this Nation with its hundred million people in the European war? That is the question. And for my part I believe we have that right. Moreover, I believe we owe that duty. I can not persuade myself that one or one hundred or one thousand of our people should so exercise their rights of citizenship, no matter how clear those rights, as to run the risk of destroying the peace and the happiness of a nation.

The resolution will be tabled. Perhaps, by the grace of God, we shall be spared war. Let us so hope. Let us so pray. In the end it may prove that this day of debate has done some real good, for in one thing we are all agreed. Every speaker here to-day, whether favoring a warning resolution or not, has expressed the belief that American citizens, regardless of their rights and privileges, but actuated by patriotism and common sense, should refrain from passage on armed merchantmen. If such views carry their message to the country and the people of the country respond, we shall have accomplished much.

Cotton Claims—Captured and Abandoned Property—Tillman Bill to Pension Confederate Veterans and Their Widows.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. GOODWIN,

OF ARKANSAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Wednesday, March 1, 1916.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, I shall not address myself as directly to the pending measure, as important as are the war claims that constantly arise for consideration by Congress, as practically every phase and feature of the pending measure has been discussed; but I do desire to speak with reference to another claim that a great section of the country—the great South—should properly have against the Federal Government.

Wars are always fruitful of heavy taxation. Revenues must be provided to support the armies in the field, and all things incident thereto. The moneys that go into the Federai Treasury by taxation from any source under ordinary occasions would last but a few days if great armies were in the field, and therefore Congress in the past has reached its taxing hand and assessed many things under warrant of constitutional authority that it does not dare to do in times of peace. Congress has no greater power than the power to tax. The power to tax carries with it the power to destroy. Certain things can be taxed by the Federal Government, but only those things that either are expressed or implied by the Federal Constitution. Most things within the States can be taxed by the legislatures of those States, such as a tax on land and on personal property,

Seldom has Congress overriden the taxing authority vested in the Federal Constitution, but in the case of the tax imposed upon cotton during and succeeding the late Civil War, an exception was made by Congress that had no precedent before this law was passed and none has since followed. Its enactment, the cotton tax referred to, Mr. Speaker, was an arbitrary and exceedingly unjust one. Why should cotton have been singled out as an object of taxation? Why were not corn and wheat and tobacco and other things, too numerous to mention, taxed? Certainly if Congress had constitutional authority to levy a tax on cotton it likewise had the same authority to levy a tax on the other things mentioned by me; but a war tax was needed at a time when passion ran high, and there was much hatred and animosity between the two sections of the country, and Congress put this heavy burden on the cotton producers of the South.

The bill introduced by my colleague, Mr. TILLMAN, of Arkansas, regarding the \$68,000,000 collected by the Federal Government as a tax imposed upon cotton during the Civil War has attracted no little attention throughout the Southern States,

The bill asks that the amount so collected be used as a pension fund and distributed among the surviving ex-Confederate soldiers and their widows, giving to each \$500, and in addition to such payments, such soldiers and such widows shall be paid quarterly the sum of \$30 per month each during the remainder of their lives, and that the act shall be administered by the United States Pension Office.

This does not include all the bill provides for, as the bill also asks that an appropriation shall be made for captured, abandoned, and confiscated property in addition to the collection of the cotton tax between 1863 and 1868, making a total of \$100,000,000.

I am not asking for alms or that charity be given to this remnant of soldiers who wore the gray. We do not come knocking at the door of Congress for gratuities, but only for justice; that there be restored to that section the money that was wrongfully taken from us; that that little band of surviving patriots and their widows may pass their remaining days in peace and plenty. I here quote from Mr. TILLMAN'S speech showing the amount of taxes paid into the Federal Treasury from this source, as follows:

From 1863 to 1868 there was collected from citizens of the Southern States a cotton tax, amounting in the aggregate to \$68,072,388.99, an itemized statement of which I submit herewith. This statement shows the sums of money realized by the Government under the various acts levying a tax on cotton:

1864	
1007 1, 2	38, 412, 56
1865 1, 7	72, 983, 48
1866 18.40	19, 654, 90
1867 23, 76	9, 078, 80
1868 22, 50	0, 947, 77

Total 68, 072, 388. 99

The collection of this cotton tax was under the control of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

The impression prevails in some sections of the South where, unfortunately, there is lacking specific information, that this cotton-tax money of \$68,000,000 is to-day in the Federal Treasury set apart and segregated; and, furthermore, the impression prevails that the Supreme Court of the United States held that this tax was unconstitutional. Certain politicians, Mr. Speaker, who seek to ride into office and endeavor to hoodwink the people make this contention in the face of the facts. No money is segregated in the Treasury, but all moneys collected go into the general fund. While my colleague, Mr. Tillman, of Arkansas, was making his splendid speech on his bill some time ago in the House I arose and propounded this question to Judge Tillman. I had made the investigation years ago, and knew what his answer would be; and, of course, Mr. Tillman very frankly stated the facts as they are, in reply to my inquiry. Here is the question propounded to Mr. Tillman:

"Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas. I am very much interested in my colleague's discussion, as well as in the merits of the bill, and shall vote for his bill. I know he has given much thought and attention to it, because he has been quite industrious along that line. I arise to get some information upon this point. It is thought by some that this cotton tax of \$08.000,000 is segregated and set aside in the Treasury and only awaits the action of Congress to bring about its disbursement. I made some investigation myself and there is some conflict of opinion. I would like to get my colleague to answer that question, if the amount is set aside or if any money is segregated in the

Treasury.

"Mr. Tilman. Oh, no; that is not true. The money was collected and has been expended. It is not segregated in the Treasury. You could not get your finger on the identical

money; but it was collected without constitutional warrant, and should be refunded for that reason.

So that, Mr. Speaker, disposes of the fallacy that this money is set aside in the Treasury and only awaits the action of Congress to bring about its disbursement.

Now, as to the decision of the Supreme Court as touching the constitutionality of this law. I do not believe, and, in fact. I almost know, the Supreme Court of the United States would not hold to-day such an act to be constitutional. No one will challenge the integrity or fair-mindedness of any honest court. All of us are creatures of environment. Those were days when hate rankled in the hearts of the people of the two sections, but I am happy to say that the courts of the country have generally been largely free from that prejudice. No one would accuse the Supreme Court of the United States of being biased or prejudiced. No doubt that great court in holding this law to be constitutional acted from the most patriotic motives; but let us analyze the situation. The court at that time, as it does to-day, consisted of nine members, seven Republicans and two Democrats, and all nine hailed from the northern part of the Republic. Judge TILLMAN in his speech had this to say of the personnel of the court. I quote Mr. TILLMAN, as follows:

My insistence is that this tax was illegally collected.

And in this I concur with Judge TILLMAN. Again, Judge TILLMAN says:

The history of its levy and collection involves some curious history. Continuing, Mr. TILLMAN reviews the personnel of the court and the history of the case, as follows:

Continuing, Mr. Tillman reviews the personnel of the court and the history of the case, as follows:

About four years after the Civil War one William M. Farrington brought suit in the Federal court for the western district of Tennessee against Rolph S. Saunders, collector of internal revenue, alleging in his complain that Saunders had collected without legal right the cotton tax imposed by the Federal Government. The Tennessee court decided against him, and he appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. A splendid array of counsel appeared in the case. Albert Pike, ex-Confederate soldier, poet, and lawyer, filed a brief that is a classic. Ex-Justice John A. Campbell; former Justice B. R. Curtis; Philip Phillips, who defended Gen. Daniel E. Sickles for killing Philip Barton Key, Phillips at that time being the leader of the Supreme Court bar: ex-Judge Sharkey, of Mississippi; Roberston Topp, of Tennessee; James M. Carlisle, leader of the Washington bar; W. P. Chilton: W. T. Otto: Hughes, Denver & Peck, of Washington; and William M. Evarts, of New York, one of the great Inwyers of the country, all appeared in the case, as well as Attorney General E. R. Hoar, brother of Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, he appearing on behalf of the Government. This volume which I have In my hand contains copies of the briefs filed by these distinguished lawyers.

The Supreme Court at that time was composed of Chier Justice Chase, a Republican of Ohio, appointed by President Lincoln; Justice Miller, a Republican of Iowa, appointed by President Lincoln; Justice Miller, a Republican of Iowa, appointed by President Lincoln; Justice Strong, of Pennsylvania, a Republican, appointed by President Lincoln; Justice Strong, of Pennsylvania, a Republican from New Jersey, appointed by President Cincoln; Justice Strong, of Pennsylvania, a Republican from New Jersey, appointed by President Grant—a court composed of seven Republicans and two Democrats, and all northern men. Although it was a great case, ably argued by the greatest lawyers

"This case came on to be heard on the transcript of record from the Circuit Court of the United States for the Western District of Tennessee and was argued by counsel. On consideration whereof, the court being equally divided in opinion, it is now here ordered and adjudged by the court that the judgment of the said circuit court in the case be, and the same is hereby, affirmed by a divided court."

So you see, Mr. Speaker, notwithstanding this was a case without precedent, novel in all of its bearings, the court handed down no written opinion, no reasons were assigned for the find-ings of the court, and no opinion published in the reports of that great court. The above half dozen lines, the very short entry of the proceedings, constitute the only findings of the Supreme Court on this case, involving millions of dollars and establishing a precedent that has not since been followed. And this memorandum, so to speak, has been found among the musty records of the court kept by the clerk of the court at that time. Certainly, sir, an opinion of this importance—and I am not criti-cizing the court for its failure to hand down an elaborate opinion-might have been written, as I view it, with the greatest care and in the most punctilious fashion, for it involved many millions of dollars collected from a stricken people upon a statute without precedent in the history of congressional legis-Iation and involving a vital proposition in the law of taxation.

The Supreme Court, Mr. Speaker, by an equal division held

that the tax was legally and constitutionally collected, four members deciding one way and four the other way, the burden rest-ing upon the plaintiff, of course, to prove his case to be unconstitutional. One member of the court did not participate in the

decision. I dare say that that would not be the findings of that high court to-day should a similar proposition be involved. More than half a century has come and gone since this tax was imposed upon cotton, the bitter feeling that subsisted then between the two sections has happily died away, and we stand to-day a reunited people, honoring but one flag.

This case being without precedent and the law upon which it was founded wholly unjust, why can not a great, big, just, and generous Government, through its Representatives in Congress, give back to the people-yes, to the Southern people-this tax of \$68,000,000 in pensions, that it may go to that remnant of veterans, even to those who wore the gray, now with tottering step and stooped shoulders, and their widows, that their few remaining days may be passed in peace and plenty. Could this Government do a more generous thing than that? Could it do a more just thing than that? I believe such an act on the part of Congress, with both sections joining in the consummation of this work of justice, would do more to heal forever the wounds and to bridge over the chasm in every part of the country, if that chasm has not yet been wholly bridged, than any dozen other

things that Congress might do.

There are living in the South to-day but few of that remnant of men, as brave and courageous as Casar's legions. Their ranks are serried. The grim reaper has been abroad in the land, and with his sickle he has moved down all but about 50,000 of those scarred-faced veterans who grimly withstood shot and shell and fought for the right as God gave them the power to see the The widows of those veterans likewise should equally be for. Their brows are also wrinkled, their hands and cared for. fingers are bony, and age is fast hurrying them to the great unknown, and they, too, will soon join the ranks of those patriots who have passed into the beyond. The last call will soon be heard. There will be but few more gatherings of the clans. There will be no more rendezvous. The muster roll will in a few short years become a blank. The last watch will then be over and all tents will be folded in the bivouse of the dead.

Sugar.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT F. HOPWOOD,

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 16, 1916.

Mr. HOPWOOD. Mr. Speaker, this question has been so ably presented by the gentlemen—Mr. FORDNEY, of Michigan, Mr. MAR-TIN, of Louislana, and others—that it seems unnecessary to add a word.

My friend Bailey, who represents an adjoining district to mine in Pennsylvania, has lamented the fact that his party— Democratic—has broken about all the pledges contained in the Baltimore platform. That instead of an economical administration they have been profligate and extravagant. That because of this extravagance they are now compelled to break another plank in order to get money to replenish an empty

My friend Bailey loves that platform because of the fact that it was the child of the man he worships, "Billy Bryan."

What is a platform among friends, anyhow!

The Baltimore convention stultified itself when it robbed the knightliest Democrat of them all of a nomination which he had fairly won from the people of his party by a majority of the instructed delegates to said convention.

The platform was made to get in on, and it served that purpose. It, however, by the astuteness of its maker, contained a self-acting device to throw the occupant overboard at the end of one term, which seems to be thrown out of gear by the man at the wheel. The Republicans have started a little device of their own that will accomplish the same result when the people get a chance to register their will at the ballot box in November.

So Bryan need not worry.

This 25 per cent reduction on sugar duties has in the past two ears cost the country thirty millions in loss of revenue, and if the provision to take off the remaining 75 per cent of this duty on May 1 were put into force, it would cost the Government from forty to fifty millions of dollars per annum in addition. Why do not our Democratic friends restore the 25 per cent they took off in addition to retaining the duty now collected on imported

Why do they not go further and restore the tariff on wool, thus adding about \$50,000,000 annually to our revenues that the country now so badly needs?

Has the loss of these revenues under the Underwood tariff benefited any citizen of the Republic? Do we not pay more for sugar and clothing and all the necessaries of life than ever

The answer will be registered at the polls in November, and the Democratic Party will be again relegated to a state of "innocuous desuetude" for the next 25 or 50 years.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. McLAUGHLIN,

OF MICHIGAN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 7, 1916.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, during the short time allowed for debate on the McLemore resolution—the resolution of warning, as it is called-I had no opportunity to state my position or the reason for the votes I intended to cast, so shall

with the permission of the House, I shall insert with my remarks in the Record a copy of the resolution and a copy of the special rule under which it was considered.

House resolution 147.

remarks in the Record a copy of the resolution and a copy of the special rule under which it was considered.

House resolution 147.

Whereas the Governments of two of the powers at present in war in Europe and on the high seas have informed all neutral powers of their submarine intention to instruct the commanders of their submarine under the yessels of tatack upon sight after February 29 all armed vessels of their enemies, whether such armed vessels are admittedly naval vessels or carry their armaments under the name and guise of "defensive armament for merchant ships"; and Whereas the Government of Germany, one of the powers which have so informed the neutral powers, has submitted to the Government of the United States photographic facsimiles of alleged secret orders of the British Government, which secret orders direct that such so-called "defensive armament for merchant ships" shall be used of the united States photographic facsimiles of alleged secret orders of the British Government, which secret orders direct that such so-called "defensive armament for merchant ships and such naval officers and men shall be so far as possible, concealed and disguised when in neutral waters and ports, with the evident intention to deceive; and Whereas the only possible use for a "defensive gun" is the same as the use for an "offensive gun," namely, to shoot and, if possible, destroy or damage the enemy ship, whether submarine or other naval vestels and over the right to dictate to any of the powers whether they shall arm their merchant ships with guns or other armament or not and has no interest in the success or failure of such ships so armed in using their armaments in the only way in which they could be effectively used, namely, in destroying or injuring enemy submarines or other naval vessels of any power in escaping or destroying such merchant ships so armed in using their armaments in the only way in which they could be effectively used, in the success or failure of the bunded states on a ships of powers, no matter

German Government containing photographic facsimiles of alleged secret instructions issued by the British Government, which alleged secret instructions direct that so-called "defensive armament for merchant ships" shall be used offensively, and that so-called "defensive armament for merchant ships" shall be used offensively, and that so-called "defensive armament for merchant ships" and such naval officers and men of the Navy of Great Britain, and that such so-called "defensive armament for merchant ships" and such naval officers and men shall be, as far as possible, concealed and disguised when in neutral waters and ports, with the evident intention to deceive, the President of the United States or the Secretary of State shall at the earliest possible moment transmit such actual memorandum of the German Government, with such facsimiles of alleged secret instructions of the British Government, and with all appendixes whatsoever, to the Speaker of the House, that it and they may be laid before the House for its full information and for its assistance in performing its constitutional duty of advising the President of the United States with regard to foreign relations.

That the House expresses the determination of the people and Government of the United States both to uphold all American rights and to exercise care, consideration, and wisdom in avoiding actions which tend to bring American citizens and American interests into the zone of conflict where the passions of war are raging.

SPECIAL RULE

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this rule the llouse shall proceed to consideration of House resolution 147; that there shall be four hours of general debate, one-half to be controlled by the gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Flood, and one-half by the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. Cooper; that at the conclusion of said general debate the said resolution shall be considered under the general rules of the House.

After 1 hour and 30 minutes of debate on the rule had been had I voted for the previous question-a motion to close the debate. I voted for the rule, and after four hours of debate on the resolution I voted for the motion to lay the resolution on the table, which motion being carried defeated and finally disposed of the resolution.

My votes on the resolution and on questions connected with its consideration by the House were not an expression of opinion on any feature of the administration's foreign policy; approval or disapproval of that policy, confidence or lack of confidence in the President was in no way involved. The votes meant simply, or I was expressing the feeling, that it is not proper during these troublous times for Congress to interfere with the administration in its negotiations and correspondence with foreign powers. The resolution, objectionable even as a resolution of warning to American citizens, contains other things which, in my judgment, made it impossible of consideration. A simple note of warning looks harmless, but I believe consideration of it at this time is unwise.

There is no doubt of the right of American citizens to ride on armed merchant ships of belligerents if they wish or are determined to do so, but connected with and inseparable from the exercise of that right and the difficulties which may result therefrom are other matters concerning which there is or likely will be serious dispute between our Government and some, perhaps all, of the belligerents. There is the question of the attitude of our Government toward the entire subject of submarine warfare; the attitude of our Government toward armed merchant ships of belligerents and their rights in the harbors of this country; its attitude toward the demand of both Teutons and allies that international law, even when vital interests of neutrals are involved, may be changed or altogether disregarded, as the wishes or interests of belligerents seem to require.

In our Government the President and his immediate advisers are and always have been charged with the duty and responsibility of carrying on diplomatic correspondence and of representing the people of the United States in all matters in dispute between this country and foreign countries. This is no time for Congress to interfere with the exercise of that duty; it is no time for Congress to enter the field of diplomacy. Congressional action would be a step in the direction of usurpation of an executive function and at this time might embarrass the administration, detract from its dignity, lessen its power and influence, and lead to confusion worse confounded.

Is there danger of confusion? Is there danger of embar-

rassing the administration or of encouraging foreign countries in their refusal to accede to its request in behalf of American rights and for the protection of lives and property of American citizens?

A few days ago leading Members of this House, including the Speaker, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and floor leader of the majority party, and the chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, told the President that the House was demanding opportunity of considering a "resolution of warning," and if a vote were taken such a resolution would be carried by a vote of 2 or 3 to 1. Newspapers of this country and of foreign countries told of this meeting of Democratic leaders with the President and of the apparent determination of the House to assert itself and to take part in the consideration and settlement of the troublesome "armed merchantmen issue." Notice of this threatened action on the

part of the House reached foreign capitals, and that it attracted serious attention and influenced consideration of the "armed merchantmen issue" appears by an article in a prominent newspaper published in the capital city of one of the belligerents, a significant part of which is as follows:

It (the armed merchantmen issue) is not without risk; but the risk, perhaps, is smaller since the American Congress shows signs of demanding that the decision in international affairs be taken from the President's nands and placed in those of Congress.

Can there be any doubt as to the purpose of the McLemore resolution or any doubt of the effect upon pending negotiations relating to the "armed-merchantmen issue" if the resolution be adopted? Can there be doubt as to which side of the controversy will be aided or encouraged or which side will be embarrassed or hindered?

It is commonplace to say that we stand by our own country. We can better and more properly state our position by saying, "Our country! May she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong."

The people of the United States, including Members of Congress, exercise the right, sometimes wisely, sometimes unwisely, of criticizing the administration in its course relating to foreign affairs, but such criticism is or ought to be offered only for the purpose of assisting the administration in the choice of the proper course to be pursued. It is entirely different from formal action by Congress which may belittle the administration in the eyes of the world and embarrass it in the consideration of mat-

ters involving the honor and safety of our country.

Some months ago Mr. Bryan, then Secretary of State, delivered to the Austrian ambassador a letter which set forth the view of our administration in the matter of shipment of munitions. The ambassador, reading the letter and noting that it was a refusal to accept the Austrian contention, asked Mr. Bryan if the letter meant what it said, or if it was "to be taken at its face value." Mr. Bryan replied that the letter was "intended for home consumption." That statement by Mr. Bryan was rank treachery to the administration and, besides, was an insult to the American people. We are very well able to believe the President said, as is reported, that "it has taken six months to overcome the influence of Mr. Bryan in foreign

The Congress may, and many of its Members do, differ radi-cally from the President in his management of foreign affairs, but it will not be guilty of treachery, nor will it, on account of political or other differences, take any action which might embarrass the consideration of questions involving the rights and, possibly, the safety of all the people of our country.

Sugar.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LUTHER W. MOTT. OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, March 16, 1916.

Mr. MOTT. Mr. Speaker, this measure to retain the existing duty on sugar that would otherwise be abolished May 1 is one that Republicans can vote for with satisfaction. The only mistake made is that the duty imposed by the last protective tariff measure is not fully restored. The Nation has derived no benefit whatever from the reduced tariff on sugar, but has suffered a Although the Democrats promised reduced prices that would lower the cost of living, prices have been much higher. Sugar cost more to consumers before the European war began than was the case before the passage of the Democratic tariff act, and the price has advanced to 61 cents a pound, wholesale, in New York this month. The Government lost over \$10,000,000 annually in revenue; development of the sugar industry ceased; 13 beet-sugar factories closed, while the cane-sugar industry in Louisiana was severely demoralized. If this bill is not passed, \$40,000,000 more in revenue will be lost.

The cane-sugar refineries profited, and that is why Mr. Spreckels and others of that class worked so hard for the Democratic ticket in 1912 and contributed generously to the election of Mr. Wilson as President. Those refineries are most strongly op-posed to this measure, which the Democrats are forced to urge because of the bankrupt condition of the Treasury, due to their tariff legislation. The refiners propose a consumption tax. The consumers would pay that tax and leave the refiners free to increase their enormous profits.

CANE REFINERS' PROFITS-SOUTHERN PRODUCTS PROTECTED.

Beet sugar does not pass through these big cane refineries and the refiners do not make an average net profit of \$10 a ton on beet sugar as they do on cane. It is estimated that owing to the high price of sugar this year the production of beet sugar will reach 862,000 short tons. If the beet-sugar industry were destroyed the big refiners would receive \$8,628,000 more for refining cane sugar to take its place. That is why they have been so anxious to put the free-trade party in power and to retain it in control of the Government. By raising the price of sugar only one-fourth of a cent per pound the refiners would make \$21,000,000 more, and that added to \$8,628,000 would total nearly \$30,000,000. That is the stake the refiners have in view

in destroying the beet-sugar industry.

Why is the duty on sugar, as now levied, to be retained, along with that on rice, peanuts, and other southern products, while so many northern products are left on the free list? Not one of these is any cheaper under the Democratic tariff than was the case under the protective tariff, while many of them are higher in price. But imports from Argentina have more than doubled in volume, though exports to that country have de-creased, and so on with Canada and other agricultural countries. When the European war ends our farmers will be enormously injured by these foreign products without any gain to consumers. But the southern producers will be protected-in fact it is probable that the outcry of the cane-sugar producers in Louisiana has had much to do with bringing forward this bill to retain the duty on sugar instead of raising the necessary revenue by internal taxation, as suggested by President Wilson.

WHAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD GAIN BY SUGAR PROTECTION.

The United States pays over \$100,000,000 annually to foreign producers of raw sugar, every pound of which could be produced in this country. The United States, according to the Agricul-ture Department, has at least 274,000,000 acres of land on which sugar beets could be grown profitably, but only 500,000 acres were so used in 1912. To produce the sugar now imported would require the use of only 1,671,000 acres. It is a profitable crop. France, Germany, Austria, and other European countries produce all the sugar they consume, and even export it, although their advantages for the growth of sugar beets are not equal to those of the United States; but they protected the industry and its enormous growth was the result. The production of beets for sugar in rotation with other crops greatly increases the productivity of the soil. The average growth of wheat and other crops on soil used a part of the time for beets has more than doubled in Europe. The same result has followed in this country, although comparatively few beets are grown here. The yield of wheat, rye, barley, and oats per acre increased 80 per cent in Germany, while it increased only 6 per cent in the United That was one result of beet-sugar production in Germany. Similar results have followed in other European countries. The cost of developing the beet-sugar industry in Europe has been repaid many times, and the same result would follow here. The per capita consumption of sugar in the United States has increased from 18 pounds in 1860 to 85 pounds in 1914, another strong reason for promoting the production of the sugar we consume.

Free trade is fatal to the farmers as well as other producers. Since the United Kingdom put farm products on the free list, 1,335,000 people have ceased to cultivate the soil in that country, and 4,000,000 acres of land are no longer cultivated but turned over to pasture. But every other European country has increased the number of acres cultivated, though Britain had less acreage than other nations. That is an indication of what is in store for the farmers of the United States under free trade, if the Democrats are retained in power.

SLOW PROGRESS OF LEGISLATION.

There are many important subjects to be considered at this session of Congress, but so far slow progress has been made in the way of legislation. The party in power learned something from the last election, in which they were saved from overwhelming defeat by the European war. Mr. NEWLANDS, of Nevada, one of the old and conservative leaders in the Senate on the Democratic side, intimated in a speech in that body that defeat for his party in 1914 was "only averted by the European war." Perhaps the delay and hesitation in legislating at this session are due to the result of the last congressional election. But it is not easy to see what is to be accomplished by this

The Democratic Party is divided on the most important question which the President has recommended for the consideration of Congress—that is, national defense. The wisdom of prompt action on that subject is self-evident. The bankrupt condition of the Treasury, owing to Democratic tariff legislation, is a detriment to legislation in regard to preparedness or anything else requiring an appropriation. Still, when it comes to what is known as "pork-barrel" legislation the party in control has no hesitation in proceeding promptly without regard to the

The appropriation of \$25,000,000 for the construction of public roads in various States has been pushed through this body, although that is an entirely new field for the Government, and such work is taken up at a particularly bad time because of Treasury conditions. That is practically the only measure of importance, outside of the deficiency appropriations and other routine matters, on which action has been taken in this body.

ENORMOUS DEFICIENCY BILLS-PUBLIC BUILDING SCANDALS.

The deficiency bills will apparently aggregate, before this session closes, as much as \$30,000,000. Not appropriating sufficient money in the annual appropriation bills, and making up the deficiency in separate bills, is an unfortunate way of making it appear that appropriations are smaller than they really are. There were 13 pages of appropriations for public buildings. many of them for the beginning of such buildings and some of them in towns of less than 1,000 inhabitants, in the urgent deficiency bill considered at this session. That is only another way of securing "pork" for the benefit of various Members. The Trensury Department has already held up a good many appropriations of that kind, because they provide for buildings in places of less than 5,000 population or in which the post-office receipts do not amount to \$15,000 annually. One of the items to which I refer provided for the construction of a public building in De Land, Fla., which had a population of only 2.812 according to the census of 1910. That is another illustration of "urgent deficiency." A building in a town of that lies "urgent deficiency." A building in a town of that kind will cost much more for its upkeep than the rental of a building to provide accommodations for needed purposes, to say nothing of deterioration

In large cities—even in the city of Washington, where there is urgent need of public buildings—they are not provided, because it will not help at election time. The Government is paying in this city over \$600,000 annually in rentals, but that goes on, while appropriations are made for public buildings in villages all over the country. Gainesville, Fla., has 6,000 population and a public building that cost \$150,000. Evansville, Wyo., has 2,500 population, and a \$125,000 building where the Federal courts meet about two days in the year. In 1906 there were 503 Government buildings in the country, but in 1915 there were 967. About as many buildings were erected in 9 years as in the previous 130 years. Texarkana, Tex., has a \$110,000 courthouse, used three or four days in the year, and a separate building for a post office, but in New York City the Government leases court rooms on the twenty-seventh floor of a private building. An effort to get an appropriation for a site for a courthouse in New York was defeated, yet one was obtained for a courthouse in Paintsville, Ky., with 942 population. An appropriation for a new and necessary post-office building in Chicago was refused, yet one was made for Vernal, Utah, with only 836 population. The fact is, a great mistake is made in locating public buildings through acts of Congress. In England they have found a better way. If a public building is wanted there, the lord commissioners of the treasury investigate and decide the question. Thus they are saved from the scandals that attach to the "porkbarrel" methods followed in this country.

TREMENDOUS DEFICIT IN THE REVENUE FROM THE TARIFF.

In his Indianapolis speech, a year or more ago, the President boasted of the effectiveness of the Democratic tariff in the production of revenue to meet the expenses of the Government. That was the same speech in which he said that the Republican Party had had no new ideas for 30 years. There was about as much truth in one statement as in the other. He also boasted in that speech of the provision in the bill creating the Trade Commission, giving it all the powers of a tariff commission, which provision, he told his audience, had been sneaked through Congress, without the Republicans becoming aware of the fact. As has been shown repeatedly here in this body, there was no truth about such a provision having been passed surreptitiously. There is also no truth in the statement that the tariff law is effective for the purpose of revenue. In his message to Congress on December 7 the President dealt with the present state of the Treasury, and said that if the laws were not changed there would be on June 30, 1917, a deficit of \$297,000,000. But that figure is far below what the actual deficit would be, though it is a fair illustration of the effectiveness of the Democratic tariff and other laws in producing revenue.

ANTIQUATED METHODS IN THE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT.

\$606,000,000. During the corresponding period under the Democratic law, before the European war began, the balance of trade was reduced to \$345,000,000, a loss of \$260,000,000, or \$26,000,000 a month. That shows again the utter failure of the existing tariff law

The imports for the 10 months under Republican law, which were free of duty, aggregated \$782,005,392, while for the corresponding period in 1915 the free imports reached \$940,798,793. The dutiable imports for 10 months in 1915 were \$167,000,000 less than for the corresponding period at the close of the Taft administration. These are the figures of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, although a special committee of the United States Chamber of Commerce, after investigating the methods followed in that bureau, declared the figures worth-less owing to antiquated methods. That is an illustration of That is an illustration of how the bureau has failed to improve its methods, though it has devoted so much time and public money to advertising the alleged wonderful accomplishments of the Democratic administration Judging by the figures of that bureau for months before the European war began, as compared with the corresponding time under the Taft administration, imports increased at the rate of over \$200,000,000 annually while exports decreased to about the same extent. In other words, American wage earners suffered a loss in the production of goods that sold for \$400,000,000 annually. But that was only a small part of the loss, as our exports of manufactures are only about 3 per cent of the total production. We all know of the millions of men thrown out of employment and of the soup houses and other charitable methods of feeding them that necessarily followed the enactment of the Democratic tariff law.

WAR ORDERS-A WINDFALL FOR THE DEMOCRATS.

The foreign trade during the last year of the Taft administration reached \$4,278,892,383, but during the fiscal year of 1915 the aggregate was only about \$168,000,000 more, notwith-standing the enormous war orders. What these war orders total may be gathered from the exports already made, though the full effect of the orders has not yet been felt. War muni-

tions are only a part of the orders.

The exports of horses and other animals for nine months ending September, 1913, under the Republican tariff were \$5,600,000 in value; for the corresponding period in 1914, under Democratic tariff, they were \$4,600,000, or \$1,000,000 less in that time. But in the corresponding period in 1915, with the war orders, they reached \$92,200,000. Meats, cotton, explosives, breadstuffs, wool manufactures, and so forth, all come in under The exports of breadstuffs in nine months, under war orders. war orders, increased \$256,000,000. That will give a fair idea of what the war has done for our export trade in those particular lines. In other branches exports are less, and were much less under the Democratic law before the war began. Exports to South America and countries not directly affected by the war are less than they were under the protective tariff. The Democratic tariff law is a failure in every way, and instead of producing sufficient revenue it necessitated the imposition of the income tax and the so-called "war-revenue taxes" to make up the deficit created by the tariff law and excessive appropriations.

LOSS OF IMPORTS NOT THE CAUSE OF TREASURY DEFICITS We hear much about the loss of revenue because of the war. Secretary McAdoo has said that the loss of revenue was "due solely to the falling off in importations." That is a misleading statement. The imports for December, 1912, under the Republican tariff, were, in value, \$154,095,444, but for December, 1915, they were \$171,841,665, or \$17,000,000 more than under the Republican tariff. They were greater in November than in the corresponding month under the Republican tariff. In January, 1916, they reached the enormous total of over \$184,000,000, or \$62,000,000 more than in January, 1915, and \$30,000,000 more than in January, 1914, six months before the war began. The imports for 1912 were \$100,000,000 larger than in any previous year. But for 1915, under the Democratic tariff, notwithstanding the war, which shut off imports from Germany and Austria and some other countries, they were only \$39,467,200 less than in the record year of 1912, and 71.7 per cent of the imports in

December came in free of duty.

With the average duty at less than 12 per cent the amount of revenue from that source would have been small, showing how ridiculous is the assertion that the loss of revenue was due to a decline in imports. Had the Republican rates of duty been imposed, there would have been ample revenue. For the entire war period the average imports are over \$140,000,000 a month, or \$5,000,000 a month more than from May, 1913, to August, 1913, under the Republican tariff. The imports for last June During the last 10 months of the Republican tariff there were the largest for any June in our history. For last October was a balance of trade in favor of this country amounting to they were larger than in the same month for 1913 or 1914.

In November the imports were the largest for any corresponding month in our history. That shows how little there is in the talk of the deficit being due to a decline in imports. With about the same imports, under Republican rule the revenue for the month was about \$11,000,000 more. The average ad valorem rate on all imports under the law passed when Cleveland was President was 20 per cent; under the Dingley tariff law they averaged from 22 to 29 per cent; under the Payne law, from 17 to 21 per cent; and for the first fiscal year under the Underwood law, 12.9 per cent. But at the present time they are not in excess of 10 per cent, and have been going lower since June.

LARGE IMPORTS-WHAT IS IN STORE FOR US WHEN THE WAR ENDS-WHAT DEMOCRATS SAY.

For the first 10 months under the Underwood law the increase in the imports of foreign manufactures—that is, of goods similar to those produced in our ccuntry—was very great, amounting, for instance, to 54 per cent in cotton cloths, while of woolen goods they more than trebled. The war checked imports, but they are more now than under the last months of the Republican fariff. From the imports of the last few months it is evident that the total will reach about \$2,000,000,000 per year, or nearly \$200,000,000 more than for any preceding year. We can judge what is ahead of us under the Democratic tariff when the war ends and all of the producing forces of the Old World are at work again.

The exports of foreign nations not engaged in the war are greatly increasing, while England and France begin to show large increases, even Russia showing an increase in recent months. Spain exported 25 per cent more in the latter part of 1915 than she did before the war began. Japan shows a very large increase. The United States is not alone by any means in its increase of exports due to the war. Argentina's exports last year increased \$209,000,000, while imports decreased \$45,000,000.

A distinguished Democrat of Boston, chairman of the directors of that port, pertinently remarks:

The great increase in the value of our exports is due wholly to the demand for supplies and materials used in warfare. We have about \$00,000 wage earners employed who at the close of the war will be innocent victims of the gigantic readjustment which must then take place. There is no doubt that after the war there will be an extreme reaction. * * Our trade balance for the year ending June 30, 1915, in normal legitimate merchandise was smaller than it has been since 1910, and almost \$200,000,000 less than that of the year before the war.

Our exports are less with countries not at war while our imports from them have increased. There will be an avalanche of foreign products sweeping down on this country when the war ends. The Boston Globe, a Democratic newspaper, says that after the war closes "an industrial war, in which we will have the most to lose, and into which we shall be drawn, will follow the present crisis," adding:

the present crisis," adding:

Obviously we must prepare to meet the coming struggle in the best way to safeguard American industry. The European nations will seek ruthlessly to crush their American rivals, since we shall be their principal opponents, in their efforts to recover from the losses by war. Their method will be the most effective one possible. This method is "dumping." Goods produced cheaply will be poured into the United States after the war to undersell American-made goods produced in normal conditions. Our budding dye industry, for instance, will be swamped under a flood of German chemicals sold at prices below the cost of production here. If we do nothing to stop this flood of European goods our country will suffer one of its worst financial panics. Thousands of men will be thrown out of work; the labor market will be drugged by hungry men, and we will have the soup kitchen, the bread line, scared capital, and industral chaos. Our industrial defense is our tariff. We must keep out pauper goods from war-sodden Europe.

Souptor I rwys of Ulinois is another Domeoret who begins to

Senator Lewis, of Illinois, is another Democrat who begins to see a new light. He says:

To allow the manufactured articles of Europe to come without limit to this country as a Democratic theory, the goods to be sold at such price as Europe could take in order to obtain money to build up her wasted places, would be to overcome our own manufactures and slay the possibility of establishing American plants to take the place of those which heretofore in Europe served the uses of America and the world.

Mr. William Randolph Hearst, an eminent Democrat, urges-

The Democratic party to abandon its free-trade policy, a policy which has persistently proved a disastrous failure and which has continually plunged the country into the depths of financial depression during Democratic administrations, and which has invariably resulted in a deficiency of revenue which had to be met by extraordinary taxation or bond issues.

WOMEN EMPLOYED INSTEAD OF MEN IN EUROPE-WAR DEBTS-FALSE
TARIFF PREDICTIONS.

Women are now being employed in Europe instead of men, who have gone to war, which will be a gain in industrial work to the European countries. Those nations will soon be in a bankrupt condition. Great Britain now has a debt of about \$10,000,000,000 and Germany owes about as much more, while France and Italy and Russia have enormous debts of like

nature. About 3,000,000 men have been killed, nearly 10,000,000 wounded and maimed, and over 2,300,000 made prisoners. The money that has been borrowed to carry on the war means twenty-seven times the national debt of the United States incurred in 139 years of history. It means a debt of about \$360 for every family in all belligerent countries. Where is that money coming from? Europe will be bankrupt when the war ends and we will have bankrupt nations to contend with. But nothing is being done in Congress to meet the tremendous influx of foreign goods at the close of the war. Our Democratic opponents, as a rule, admit the danger, but they do nothing.

It is like their predictions as to their tariff. The President

declared that it would produce abundant revenue. Mr. Underwood, in charge of the bill in this House, declared that the law would reduce the cost of living in the United States, and that it would not disturb the business of the country; it would increase our foreign trade and would collect revenue sufficient to run the Government. Mr. Simmons, in charge of the bill in the Senate, said that it would "cut down the cost of living," and would produce a surplus of revenue equal to \$18,000,000 at the close of the fiscal year 1915. Like talk came from other prominent men on that side, but every one of those predictions has proved false. The cost of living has increased instead of decreasing. According to the New York Times, a responsible Democratic newspaper, 25 food commodities which are in daily use upon the table of the average family, and which cost \$1.31 in 1911, under Republican tariff, cost \$1.48 last year under the Democratic tariff, and the cost was only 2 cents less in 1914, before the European war began. In other words, there has been an increase of at least 13 per cent in the cost of living under the Democratic tariff law. We all know that instead of a surplus, as Senator Simmons predicted, there has been an a surplus, as Scinitor Similors predicted, there has been an enormous deficit made up in part by a vast increase in direct taxation. As to disturbing business conditions, there were 18,820 failures during 1914, the worst record in history as to number, while the amount of liabilities were only exceeded by those of the fateful Democratic year of 1893. Bank clearings, a fair massive of the business of the country were 111 pages. a fair measure of the business of the country, were 11.1 per cent less than in 1912, the last year of Republican administration. Capital invested in new enterprises was \$700,000,000 less in 1914 than in 1912. Railroad gross earnings declined 4.4 per cent; iron production decreased 25.3 per cent; steel mills were reduced 40 per cent in production; 30 per cent of the looms of our woolen mills were idle, and so on with other industries, while the imports of these articles enormously increased. Millions of men were out of work, and many are still in that condition. Instead of increasing our foreign trade, it rapidly decreased with a balance against us before the European war began as compared with a large balance in our favor under Republican tariff. The war has been a tremendous aid to the Democrats in obscuring their costly blunders.

DEMOCRATS VIOLATE THEIR PLATFORM.

The Democrats have violated practically every plank in their platform of 1912. They promised to revise the tariff without disturbance to business, whereas the failures and the liabilities were only exceeded in one year under President Cleveland. They promised to reduce the cost of living and succeeded in increasing it 13 per cent. They promised to reduce the alleged "profligate and wasteful expenditures made by the Republicans," but they have appropriated hundreds of millions of dollars more than was ever before appropriated during a corresponding period in the history of the Nation. And so it goes all along the line. They promised to make the Panama Canal free of tolls for coastwise shipping and such a law was passed. President Wilson was pledged to it, but later, on his recommendation and without any assigned reason, that law was repealed. There has been no explanation of that most extraordinary course up to this time. Then there was a plank adopted pledging the President to abide by one term. That plank he has repudiated, although Mr. Bryan has stated that any man who seeks office on a platform which he fails to observe is a man not to be trusted.

ABOLISH AND THEN PROPOSE ANOTHER TARIFF COMMISSION-BAD APPOINTMENTS.

It is not their platform planks alone which have been repudiated, but policies they have followed in Congress. There was a nonpartisan tariff commission at work getting information at the time President Wilson was elected, but the Democrats refused to make any appropriation for it, thus ending the work, stating that no such commission was necessary. Now the President has recommended a tariff commission and a bill for that purpose has been brought into the House. Although Mr. UNDERWOOD and some others are opposed it is probable the bill will pass. A properly constituted tariff commission to gather information only, might be useful.

If such a law is placed on the statute books, its usefulness will all depend upon the men who are appointed as members of the commission; but they may not be the right men, should the President have that authority, as it is unfortunate that he does not always choose well. He removed old and tried diplomats to make room in the foreign service for men without any experience because they had been useful to the Democratic Party and had contributed generously to its funds, one of the men appointed being a brewer. An Excise Commission was created by Congress to lessen the number of saloons in the District, and the President appointed as a member a man who had lobbied against the law and who was opposed to it. The Senate would not confirm him, though the President did not even then seek to choose the best men for those places, apparently looking to political ends. One of the commissioners he has recently nominated is a politician from New Jersey, who is said not to be in sympathy with the excise law, and who the Senate committee says should not be confirmed by the Senate. Mr. Brandeis has been nominated for a member of the Supreme Court, though he has been a violent opponent of many vested interests, and is undergoing investigation. He may be a competent man in point of learning. but he does not appear to possess a judicial temperament. In the same way many like appointments have been made; and if the President appoints a tariff commission, it is not at all improbable that similar misfits will be selected; but the change of view on the part of the Democrats appears to be a scheme to delay tariff legislation.

DEMOCRATS VIOLATE THEIR PLATFORM IN REGARD TO RAILROADS, ETC.

The Democratic platform adopted at the Baltimore convention contains this provision:

We favor such legislation as will effectually prohibit the railroads, express, telegraph, and telephone companies from engaging in business which brings them into competition with their shippers and patrons, and also legislation preventing the overissue of stocks and bonds by interstate railroads.

That is another plank that has been repudiated. To gloss it over for effect at the coming elections the Democrats have passed a bill in the Senate to appoint a commission to investigate interstate commerce. There has been investigation of a very expensive kind along that line, and if more is undertaken, as proposed, it will be years before it is completed. This is a suggestion of the President. In December, 1914, he spoke of "the great harm and injustice that had been done to many, if not all, of the great railway systems by the way they had been financed and their own distinctive interests subordinated to the interexts of the men who financed them." The Interstate Commerce Commission has made a thorough investigation, with recommendations that have not been carried into effect.

In the case of the Frisco system, the commission reported an enormous loss—\$8,844,706 in one item alone—by the manipulation of its finances. The New Haven road is another illustration. In 1903 it operated 2,040 miles of road, with a capitalization of \$93,000,000. On June 30, 1912, the capitalization, excluding stock premiums, was \$416,000,000, an increase of \$324,000,000, while the operative mileage had increased only 50 miles. The commission stated that the financial management of the road had disclosed "one of the most glaring instances of maladministration revealed in all the history of American railroading." The commission also reported on the Chicago & Rock Island road, stating that its territory was one of the richest and most prosperous in the country, and that it had a fine business, and its stock was selling at over \$200 a share. But under glaring mismanagement its shares fell to \$20, and the road is now in receivers' hands, although the earnings have steadily increased. Those are illustrations of what was meant by the declaration of the Democrats in their platform to prevent the overissue of stocks and bonds.

The case is entirely clear, but the Democratic Party has done nothing to stop that great rbuse. It is now trying to conceal its delinquency by another investigation. This will cost, according to the statement of Senators, over \$500,000 and will take years to complete. The telegraph and telephone question has also been included, opening a wide field for work. If legislation is delayed to hear the outcome, any definite result will be defeated. The Industrial Commission had nearly half a million dollars for its investigation, and spent every cent of it. Now it will cost the Nation \$92,000 to print the testimony and report. Nothing is likely to come of that partisan work. The large number of employees the commission appointed, entirely outside of civil-service regulations, have been incorporated in the civil service by order of the President, something he has done in many other cases, to the injury of the civil service and in defiance of his pretended support of civil-service regulations.

THE NEED OF UNIFORM CHILD-LABOR LAWS.

Uniform legislation is a crying need of the Nation. Each of the 48 States legislates for itself on divorce, marriage, inheritance, and other things. Persons seeking to be incorporated as an organization, as a rule, go to the State whose laws are most liberal, or, rather, loose, in granting a charter. The States are at variance in regard to women and child labor. Manufacturers in a State like New York, Pennsylvania, or Massachusetts, with enlightened laws on the subject, can not compete with those in a State which is willing to weave the life blood of its women and children into its products. Imports from foreign countries, made by women and children serving for miserably low wages, are brought into this country to compete with products made here by adult labor, children being excluded. To remedy this unsatisfactory situation in regard to these various States a bill was brought up and passed in this House to prohibit the interstate shipment of goods manufactured in whole or in part by the labor of children under the age of 14 years or under 16 who work more than eight hours a day.

Of course that measure was opposed by Representatives from Southern States which have no laws in regard to child labor or very meager legislation on the subject. These same Representatives were largely responsible for the passage of the Underwood tariff law. They and their party refused to allow a clause to be inserted in the law providing against the importation of the products of child labor and those made by labor employed anywhere from 12 to 18 hours a day. In the same way the Lemocratic Party refused to permit an amendment to the convict-labor bill which would extend protection to the people of the United States against the convict-made goods of Europe and elsewhere. Thus, while foreign goods made by convict labor and by child labor are permitted to come in without restriction, manufacturers in the United States are not permitted to employ such labor except in a few Southern States.

CHILD LABOR IN THE ORIENT.

The Representative from Tennessee [Mr. Austin] made a personal investigation last summer of conditions in China and Japan, where child labor is employed to a very large extent. A cotton mill in Kobe employing 9,000 Japanese boys, and a spinning mill employing 4,500, and a woolen mill at Tokyo employing 1,500, and many other such establishments, were shipping their goods to the United States without restriction. But in this country 45 State and Territorial legislatures have passed laws affecting and protecting children. Even Alaska has forbidden the employment of boys under 16 years of age in mines underground. One mill in China, visited by the gentleman from Tennessee, employed 4.500 boys. In Japan they were paying from 8 to 15 cents a day for 11 hours labor in such mills.

There are 525,000 Japanese women and girls in the textile mills of Japan and 66,000 men and boys. The lowest wages paid in cotton mills in this country—in Tennessee, for Instance—is said to be 50 cents a day, running up to \$1.50 a day. But in China, with longer hours, they pay boys 5 cents a day. That is a situation that accounts for the fact that last year we sold only \$1,200,000 of American-made cotton goods to China, where we formerly sold \$30,000,000 worth. The Japanese have taken most of that trade. In 1913 and 1914 there was imported into the United States and into the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands foreign-made cotton goods to the value of \$105,000,000, or \$25,000,000 worth more than we sold abroad, and we produced 60 per cent of all the raw cotton in the world. That is a humiliating situation that can be corrected only by protective legislation.

SOUTHERN OPPOSITION TO CHILD-LABOR LAWS.

We should have the same protection against this foreign product made by child labor that is proposed to be given to producers in the various States of the Union. Why do southern Representatives oppose such legislation in Congress? That is explained in the hearing before the Committee on Labor. One of the important witnesses from the South, an editor of the Southern Textile Bulletin, said that the "cotton mill owners do not favor this legislation." That explains why so many petitions have come from a few Southern States against this legislation. Statistics prove that tuberculosis has been increasing more rapidly among the people of the South in factories and mills where children and mothers have been compelled to work 12 hours a day than is the case elsewhere. Another reason favoring such legislation is found in school statistics, which show that in States where child-labor laws require attendance at school of children between the ages of 10 and 14 they number 95 per cent of all children between these ages, whereas in States having no child-labor laws the percentage of children between the ages of 10 and 14 years who are in school ranges about 25 per cent less. That is a dan-

gerous situation.

The exploitation of child labor for the sake of financial gain is a species of human slavery, and the sooner it is stopped by Congress, as far as possible, the better for the Nation. The bill of which I have been speaking only proposes to stop the interstate shipment of goods made by such labor. It does not prevent a State from allowing the employment of women and children without restriction in the production of such goods. But the employment of child labor in the South, to a greater extent than in the North, and the long hours for both children and women accounts in part for the rapid growth in the manufacture of cotton in those States, and is one reason why they have made such vigorous opposition to beneficent legislation of this character.

FILCHING THE TREASURY FOR LOCAL PURPOSES.

The construction of roads in various States embarks the Government in a new branch of State work. The committee, in reporting the bill, said:

Primarily roads are local concerns, and jurisdiction over them belongs to the State and local authority, which jurisdiction should not be disturbed by the General Government.

But because States do not always do their duty in the matter, it is proposed to dip into the Federal Treasury to secure aid in this work. And this is proposed at a time when there is a large deficit, when stamp taxes and other such objectionable methods are followed to obtain revenue, and when measures must be adopted in this Congress to increase the revenue. The bill provides for the appointment of a lot of officials outside of the civil-service regulations to inspect and supervise this road work. In that way it provides a new avenue for political appointments,

In defiance of the civil-service plank in their platform, the Democrats created political places to be filled by this administration for the collection of the income tax; then, another set of officials outside of the civil-service regulations were provided under the Federal reserve law, and still another lot under the so-called war revenue act. But notwithstanding these base betrayals of their civil-service professions they go on legislating in the same way. The Government is not only to build roads—that is, it will contribute money for that purpose—but it is also provided in the bill that there shall be no limitation of the size or span of bridges to be constructed under the law by the Federal Government, thus opening the way to use more Government money for local purposes.

DEFTING THE CIVIL-SERVICE REGULATIONS.

To provide political places for the Democratic Party and to make Northern States furnish money for southern roads are to be the principal features of this measure. The States of New Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Ohio will pay into the Treasury the larger proportion of the sum appropriated in this measure and will receive in some cases less than one quarter of the amount paid in, while other States will receive relatively twice as much as they contribute to the Federal Treasury. In 1913, Alabama spent for State highways about \$127,000, but under the allotment of this bill that State would receive \$579,000; Georgia spent nothing and would State would receive \$579,000; Georgia spent nothing and would receive \$722,000; while California, which spent \$2,000,000 would get less than Georgia, or \$504,000; Florida spent nothing, and would get \$202,000; but Connecticut, which spent \$3,483,000, would get only \$258,000; New York has expended \$82,638,729 on its roads; Pennsylvania, \$24,250,954; Massachusetts, \$16,365,425; Connecticut, \$14,934,176; and New Jersey, \$7,192,268. Those States, with a few others that have spent their money liberally for good roads, will be taxed for much the greater part of this annual gift of \$25,000,000 to States who tax themselves little or nothing for like purposes. Louisiana, having 0.75 per cent of the total mileage of these so-called post roads, is allotted \$345,064; but West Virginia, with 1.19 per cent of the total mileage, receives only \$340,688, or less than Louisiana, That is a specimen of Democratic legislation, showing the kind of "economy" that is practiced and why the Government is short of revenue, and is in a most unfortunate condition in many

The measure will work something like the income tax, to which New York contributed \$18,000,000 out of \$41,000,000 of personal taxes collected, or nearly one-half. Of the corporation and income tax collected for the last fiscal year. New York contributed several times as much as the entire 13 Southern States, including Arizona and Oklahoma. That is one reason why the southern Democrats propose to raise the additional revenue needed by extending and increasing the income tax.

There are about 6,500,000 farmers in the United States and about 45,000,000 persons to a large extent dependent on them.

It cost 25 cents a ton-mile, according to good authority, to transport farm products to market where the roads are bad in this country. In Continental Europe, with good roads the cost is 8 cents a ton-mile. That means a loss to the farmers of this country of 17 cents a ton-mile. It costs a man living on a dirt road about four times as much as one living on an improved highway, or any good modern road. That shows the advantages of improved roads to farmers, but it is not the business of the Government of the United States to improve the roads, more particularly in States where no appropriations are made for that purpose.

NO SIGN OF ECONOMY.

If we include the deficiency appropriations, which must be made at the next session, there is no apparent purpose to cut down the appropriations at this session of Congress. The estimates of the regular annual appropriations for the fiscal year 1917, as submitted by the departments or the Secretary of the Treasury, are \$195,082,673 larger than last year's estimate, and \$170,920,796 greater than all of last year's appropriations, excluding the deficiencies. When these are included the estimates this year and last year's appropriations will still be far apart. This great total asked for is very discreditable to the party in power, when we consider what it has had to say about appropriations under the Republican Government, which were many millions of dollars less.

The estimate of the total appropriations this year, and the estimated revenues, leave a deficit of \$366,357,808. That is one of the tasks that Democrats should make provision for. But they are not doing so. The \$25,000,000 road bill, the rivers and harbor bill, the public-buildings bill, the one for preparedness, and the numerous bills for armor-plate plants, arsenals, naval stations, aviation stations and schools, munition plants, gunforging plants, and so on, of course, will not all get through, but some of them will and go to swell the total of the appropriations.

FAVORING GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP.

The administration favors munition and other such plants to be operated by the Government, although Gen. Crozier has stated that it would at least take \$400,000,000 to establish such plants to accommodate the Government. The Postmaster General wants the Government to take over the telegraph and telephone lines, which would cost an enormous sum. The shipping bill now before Congress and supported by the administration will take at least \$50,000,000 to start with. How much will be necessary to prepare the country for naval and military defense has not yet been determined. The treaties with Colombia and Nicaragua, if both are ratified, will take over \$28,000,000, and the administration wants that done. The \$25,000,000 asked for Colombia is nothing except a gift without any sound reason for its existence. It was stated in the Senate that \$140,000,000 has been expended on the Mississippi River without accomplishing any good results. There is a proposition before the Senate now to appropriate \$140,000,000 more. These are illustrations of the Democratic idea of economy. A Member of that party from Ohio, chairman of an important committee, after making an eloquent plea against the President's policy of preparedness, asked for an appropriation of \$5,000,000 to build a munitions plant in his district. The Rivers and Harbors Committee has recommended appropriations only for projects that are already authorized by law, for which some \$44,000,000 will be required. New York Harbor has an appropriation for new projects as an attempt to appease Tammany.

OSWEGO HARBOR SHOULD BE CARED FOR.

In my home city of Oswego a deeper harbor is necessary to accommodate the shipping that will enter that port on the opening of the Barge Canal. The State of New York, at an expense of over \$100,000,000, is completing the Barge Canal for the benefit of a large part of the Nation. A branch of the canal runs to Oswego and Canada is to deepen the Welland Canal. That will make it very important to use larger vessels in reaching Oswego and will be a great measure of economy, but that can not be done without a survey of the harbor and a deepening of it to some extent. The Government engineer of that port will prepare plans and estimates for a harbor adequate to take care of the business which is coming at the completion of the Barge and Welland Canals. The necessary appropriations should be secured without any trouble, as the State alone pays for the cost of the canal. The harbor improvement is not a new enterprise, but merely the extention of a very old one, the first appropriation for which was made available in 1827.

THE POST-OFFICE BILL.

The Post Office appropriation bill as passed by the House exceeded by several million dollars the Post Office estimates, the reason being to provide a large sum for rural free-delivery routes. Some of the reorganizations that the Post Office De-

partment has made have caused an unwarranted reduction in service in many places in the North, a great disturbance in business, and other injury, but new routes have been established in the South. The Postmaster General has said that a large sum can be saved by placing the rural business on a proper basis. The Fourth Assistant Postmaster General stated that \$15,000,000 can be saved in that way, and he has charge of that service. But Congress does not respond to the Postmaster General because of the unnecessary injury he has already done to the service.

A BUDGET SYSTEM ADVISABLE.

The United States Chamber of Commerce has recommended that a budget system be adopted in good faith by Congress which would result in bringing to an end the constant discussion of "pork barrels." That is a wise suggestion. In New York State the legislature has taken up the subject, and it will be fortunate if such a system is adopted there. In Congress committee chairmen are not responsible to any person for their appointment, and the system seems to be to get the largest total appropriation possible. A budget system would make the committees, as well as Congress itself, more responsive to the public will, and would result in a more businesslike system of planning great national improvements. It might reduce the influence of some Members of Congress, but the country would probably be able to stand that change.

TEMPORARY PROTECTION.

The effect of the European war in excluding to a large extent some classes of imports has the effect of a protective tariff, which effect will vanish when the war ends. In my own district, in the village of Theresa, there is a silk mill that has been idle for a considerable time. It has recently changed hands and there is a prospect now of it reopening with an enlargement to 200 looms to start with. There are many industries that would show an expansion if they could be assured of protection from European "dumping" and aggression when the war ends.

THE NEED OF PROTECTION FOR DYES.

The dye industry is an illustration. We have all the material for making dyes that Germany has, but we have never built up the industry here to compete with Germany for lack of sufficient protection, though it was growing rapidly at one time the reduction in tariff rates closed several mills and stopped development. Germany has some very large mills, employing upward of 8,000 men each, and those mills work together in trusts or syndicates, as they call them, so that if an attempt is made in other countries to establish the industry, the Germans sweep down on their competitors and destroy them, and then put up prices again.

Now that Germany can not export to the United States, our manufacturers are in a great plight. Prices of some of these dyes have gone up two or three thousand per cent; some mills have stopped operation, and others will soon have to unless relief is found, of which there does not seem to be any probability. Why should not the people of this country make their own dyes, supply their own wants, and keep at home the vast millions of dollars sent each year to Germany for dyes? The only reason they have not done so heretofore has been for the lack of sufficient protection to prevent a man who enters into the business from being ruined. Dyes are not used alone for cloth, but for leather, paper, bank bills, and many other purposes. It takes a large sum of money to establish the necessary dye works and capitalists do not care to go into the business to any great extent without protection. They know that the German mills, extent without protection. They know that the German mills, organized into trusts, will dump any quantity of goods here at less than cost to break down their American competitors. can only be prevented by sufficient tariff rates and a law such as Canada and other countries have against "dumping." But we look in vain to the party in control in Congress and the administration for any legislation effectually to make this country independent in the case of the dye industry. We have had any amount of talk and may expect a continued flood of it from the same source, but no action is probable that will be of the slightest benefit. As soon as a Republican Congress and a Republican President again come in charge of the Government the dye industry will be established in this country for good. We will no longer allow Germany to hold patents in this country without producing in this country. We will treat her precisely the same way she treats us.

FRITTERING AWAY TIME ON THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Congress has no willingness to act on these questions, but it has time to fritter away on making the Philippine Islands independent. Altogether we are said to have spent over \$300,000,000 on the Philippine Islands. Only a small percentage of their people can read and write, and thousands of them are ignorant savages. We have done more to civilize and educate them and

teach them modern ways and methods in 17 years than the Spanish Government did in 300 years. But the Filipinos, with their numerous races and dialects, are still wholly unfitted for independence. The Democrats propose that we shall withdraw, but still hold ourselves responsible for their conduct. If we do such an extraordinarily foolish thing, we are liable to be involved in war at almost any time. We either should hold the islands until they are fitted to govern themselves or we should cut adrift entirely, which would be unjustifiable. I do not believe there is any room for doubt that the American people—that is, the great majority of them—would hold the islands until they are qualified to govern themselves. Trade has increased greatly under our rule, though the government of the islands has been demoralized and trade depressed under the shameful Democratic methods followed.

OUR NEGLECTED MERCHANT MARINE.

There is nothing this country needs more to extend its foreign trade than ocean-going vessels. We have not a sufficient number, because we have not enabled such vessels to run under the American flag in competition with the Japanese, Italian, British, French, German, and those of other nations. There is not one of these nations that does not either subsidize its vessels, give them preferential freight rates on the railways, or help them in other ways, in addition to lower rates of wages which their owners pay as compared with American vessels.

Any one of those vessels entering our ports in the foreign trade has precisely the same advantages that an American vessel has, and the Democrats under this administration have sought to allow these foreign vessels to engage in our coastwise trade. Our laws force our vessel owners to provide satisfactory accommodations for American crews, to feed them well, and to care for them in other respects. There are no provisions of that kind in the laws of many foreign countries. We can not hope to build up a merchant marine in the foreign trade without we pass laws that will place vessel owners on an equality with those of other nations. Foreign vessels are excluded from the coastwise trade, and we have the largest coastwise shipping of any nation in the world, and rates have been immensely lowered under this system of protection. The Democratic Party has done nothing except hurt the shipping in our foreign trade since it has been in power. American vessels have practically been driven from the foreign trade on the Pacific Ocean. We have had only one American line crossing the Atlantic. In fact, we have been wholly at the mercy of foreign shipowners, who act in combination and serve their countries at the expense of our own. That in one reason why our foreign trade with South America and other parts of the world has suffered. There will never be much improvement in that situation until conditions are changed. The Government proposition to spend \$50,000,000 in buying ships that can be used in the mercantile trade will not help to build up American shipping in the slightest degree. This bill now brought before Congress has been changed to a slight extent only from its condition in the last Congress, when it was defeated. No matter whether or not it becomes a law, it will be costly to the Government and a complete failure. Our merchant marine and our foreign trade can not be built up in that way.

THE TERRIBLE SITUATION IN MEXICO.

As to Mexico, every person who reads the newspapers realizes the shameful conditions in that country. It has been going from bad to worse ever since the Democratic Party came into power in Washington. A large number of American citizens have been killed, millions of dollars' worth of American property destroyed, and this country has stood by while the President has looked on and done nothing to help the situation. Foreign countries look to us for the protection of their citizens in Mexico, and they had a right to expect such protection, but they have not obtained it. There is nothing more disgraceful in the annals of the United States than its conduct toward Mexico in the last three years. We are now reaping the fruit that follows from such a course in the slaughter of peaceful citizens within our borders by Mexican marauders. The President, without asking the consent of Congress, has ordered our military forces to enter Mexican territory to punish Villa and the men responsible for this flendish work. What this will lead to can not easily be foreseen. It looks as though it might result in intervention and a war that will be costly and long in duration. A proper course on the part of our Government at the start would have averted this danger. The President sent an armed force to take Vera Cruz, and some American lives were sacrificed and considerable money expended, without accomplishing any good There has been one blunder after another in the conduct of this Mexican situation, much the same as in the course followed in regard to the European war. The need of a change in our Government is imperative, and when the voters have opportunity to express themselves they will see that the change

LOOSE EXPENDITURES.

The loose and reckless way in which the Government money is expended by the party in power is well illustrated in the socalled urgent deficiency bill. Less than a year ago Congress made a deficiency appropriation of \$2,500,000 for the eradication of the foot-and-mouth disease.

When the new urgent deficiency bill came in recently the shameful way that money was expended to eradicate the foot-and-mouth disease, under the Secretary of Agriculture, was brought to light, but it did not seem to bother the party in power in the least. A man inspected creameries in connection with the refrigeration, water, and power problems, and that was charged to the foot-and-mouth disease. Another man inspected the financial records of local offices at New York and Boston, and that was charged to the foot-and-mouth disease. Another man investigated the cost of the different operations of city milk plants in Philadelphia and New York, and that was charged to the eradication of the foot-and-mouth disease. Charged to the same fund were sums for inspecting renovated butter factories and creameries at various places; for delivery of an address on the effect of skim milk on the quality of Swiss cheese; to consult with the North Carolina authorities in regard to the establishment of cheese factories in the mountain districts of that State; to attend a meeting of potato growers at Bangor, Me.; to assist in the cooperative community poultry-breeding work in New York and Virginia; to inspect ostrich breeding in Arizona and other points; to consult breeders concerning the turkey and guinea industries; to make a study of the preparation of wools for market; to attend a convention of national canners; to supervise the horse-and-mule investi-gations at the United States experimental stations; to give instructions to officials selected to inspect butter for the Navy Department; and so on. In that way a large sum of money appropriated to eradicate the foot-and-mouth disease was diverted to other uses in utter defiance of law. Perhaps it is no wonder that new taxes have to be levied to carry on the Government under such circumstances.

MR. REDFIELD'S EXUBERANCE.

Secretary Redfield has said that "the United States is now in the most prosperous state in its history." That is a remarkable statement, but coming from the exuberant head of the Department of Commerce will perhaps surprise no one. The foreign situation, according to the President, is in a very delicate condition, and the Nation should have an efficient Army and Navy for self-defense. But one reason why we have not a better Army and Navy has been the persistent opposition of the Democratic Party to appropriations for that purpose. The first thing they did a few years ago when they came into possession of the House was to cut down appropriations for the Army and They made a hard fight to prevent an appropriation for more than one battleship, though that would not increase the Navy at all, owing to the old ships that had to be taken out of service. That is the policy they have pursued, and they had the support of the President in doing so. Now, he discovers that we need a large increase. Of course, we do; but it will not be easy for him to persuade his party to furnish that increase after he has taught them we dld not need it.

If the increase is obtained it will be accomplished only through the aid of Republican votes. It is a case like the tariff commission, which the President now wants, but which heretofore he did not want, nor did his party. If such a commission is obtained, it will be the result of Republican votes. The President is learning. He has reversed himself in numerous cases. and may be expected to do so in the future in case he is allowed to remain in the White House. But I trust that will not be the He was short some 2,000,000 votes of a majority of the voters at the last Presidential election. The Progressives, who voted for Mr. Roosevelt at that election, may be expected to support the regular Republican ticket at the coming election. There are very few of those men who could justify themselves in any other course. That alone would mean the end of Democratic control in Washington. It will be a most fortunate thing for the country when that takes place.

SECTIONAL CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The acuteness of our relations with some European governments at the present time is another example of the lack of statemanship on the part of the Democratic Party in dealing with the problems involved. If we had stood up for our rights from the start and not wasted so much time in writing diplomatic notes this trouble would probably never have arisen. As it is, the division between the President and a large section of his party illustrates the hopelessness of any expectation of satis-

factory results from Democratic control. One trouble with the Government is its sectional control. The Southern States, which have not outgrown the teachings of slavery days, and which have only a fraction of the wealth and population of the country, are in control of both Houses of Congress, nearly every executive department, and the Presidency. Practically every important committee in Congress has a chairman from the South. That is why legislation takes on such a sectional character. It is even proposed to put the Confederate or rebel soldiers and their widows and orphans on the pension rolls and treat them the same as Union men. They are now pensioned by Southern States and all northern men owning property in those States are taxed for that purpose. The Member from Arkansas [Mr. Till-MAN] has introduced a bill to pay to each Confederate soldier and the widows of such soldiers, and their orphans, \$500 and a pension of \$30 a month. He has made a speech in support of the bill, which has the approval of other southern Members and The Confederate soldiers are now buried in Arnewspapers. lington Cemetery with the same honors as Union men, and Confederate uniforms make their appearance in the departments and elsewhere, while the rebel soldiers are given the same privileges as to holidays, and so forth, as Union soldiers have. If the Democrats continue in power this proposed appropriation of about \$100,000,000 to pay pensions to Confederates will probably pass. The northern Democrats are, as a rule, mere echoes of the southern leaders. The Arkansas Member said that this proposed Confederate pension payment was "an honest debt." In other words, for bringing on an unjust war, involving enormous loss of life and property, we are asked to pay this sum to the men responsible. Are you ready for that course? If so, keep the Democrats in power.

Some of the southern Members attack the payment of pensions to former Union soldiers and their widows and orphans. Speeches have been made in this House at this session expressing such views. Attacking the payment of pensions to Union soldiers, and advocating their payment to men who served under Lee and Jackson, sounds incredible, but it is an indication of the feeling on the part of some of the southern men in control of the Government. No wonder that such representatives of the Democratic Party as Gen. Sherwood of Ohio and Mr. Page of North Carolina have announced their decision not to seek renomination, though assured of no opposition in their party. The great outpouring of Republicans in the Indiana primaries and elsewhere must be discouraging to Democrats in general.

Three Years.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD L. HAMILTON. OF MICHIGAN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 16, 1916.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, nature abhors vacuum and the Democratic Party abhors a surplus. On the 5th day of March, 1913, we had a balance in the Fed-

eral Treasury of \$150,823,096.89.

Now, after three years of Democratic administration, the President tells us that without the extension of the so-called emergency tax and the present duty on sugar "the balance at the close of the present fiscal year will be only \$20,644,605.78," and if from that you deduct \$12,535,275, the price of two battleships sold to Greece, the balance will be \$8,139,230.78, with a deficit just ahead.

The present method of making a Treasury statement may be entirely fair, but it has certain advantages which can not have escaped Mr. McAdoo of concealing the bottom of the Treasury

and making it difficult to institute comparisons.

It was said of Colbert, the administrator of finance under Louis XIV, that he had "the art of drawing up an account and the much more valuable art of complicating it.

This is not to say, however, that Mr. McAdoo in any other way resembles M. Colbert.

1897 TO 1913.

For 16 years down to March 4, 1913, we were collecting revenue from duties levied for the protection of American labor and American industry.

For 16 years all our problems were problems of prosperity.

For 16 years we were proceeding upon the theory that it is better for us to supply our own markets by exchange among ourselves and have a surplus to sell abroad than it is to turn our own markets over to foreign nations which contribute nothing to the maintenance of our institutions and protect their

own markets against us.

Reacting from a condition of profound depression from 1893 to 1897 under the Wilson law, we entered upon a period of phenomenal prosperity extending from 1897 to 1913, in which our national wealth increased from seventy-seven to one hundred and thirty billions; the value of our farms and farm property from sixteen to fifty billions; our foreign commerce, coming and going, from one and one-half to three and one-half billions; our internal commerce from eighteen to thirty-five and our manufacturing conditions were transformed from 3,000,000 men out of work in 1895 to 7,000,000 men employed in 600,000 factories in 1912 at higher wages and shorter hours than ever before.

We were paying our debts then out of normal revenues derived from duties levied for the protection of American labor and American industry instead of discriminating against American labor and American industry and taxing them to pay for the discrimination.

Men combined their capital then and borrowed more to produce commodities to supply the needs of widening trade.

Under the inspiration of public confidence factories were built, railroads extended, farms improved, labor employed, and every energy was strained to make the most of a condition of phenomenal prosperity.

These were our assets; our liabilities were the policies of the Democratic Party.

Times were good and prices were high-high for what we had to sell and high for what we had to buy; high here and high the world over.

The Democratic Party insisted that high prices were due to protection, and we explained that protection in the United States could not possibly be the cause of high prices in foreign free-trade countries, and that protection in the United States could not possibly be the cause of high prices the whole world

We argued that when there was a universal condition of high prices there must be a universal cause, and that the universal condition of high prices was explained by the quantitative theory of money and the law of supply and demand.

But you said the quantitative theory of money was a dream of theorists; that the universal law of supply and demand had been repealed by protection in the United States and that you

were going to reduce prices by reducing duties.

And you went into power with more than a million votes against you on the tariff question declaring that protection was the unconstitutional cause of high prices, which you said you were going to reduce "by legislation that would not injure or destroy any legitimate industry," and prices have kept on going up.

You said high prices of things in general and of farm products in particular were a cause of national solicitude, and finally you framed a tariff bill designed to cheapen farm products for the benefit of the people who live in cities and to reduce the wages of labor by competition with the products of cheap for-eign labor and to "sharpen the wits" of American business men by requiring them to figure on how to pay an income tax out of the profits of business that paid no profits and to "sharpen the wits" of American laboring men by compelling them to figure out how to pay for food and clothes and rent while looking for work when there was no work,

In his inaugural address the President immediately proposed "the repeal of a tariff which," he said, "cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world and violates the just

principles of taxation.'

And yet the only thing that has saved us from utter devastation by reason of the repeal of a protective tariff and the substitution of a so-called competitive tariff is the temporary protection of the war in Europe, and among the things now proposed by the President for the relief of the Federal Treasury is a continuance of the duty on sugar, levied under a protective tariff which he said "violates the just principles of taxation."
Of course the "just principles of taxation" ought not to be

violated under any circumstances and we are therefore compelled to conclude that when the President said a protective tariff "violates the just principles of taxation" he was seduced by what Col. Harvey, of the North American Review, calls his talent for "fascinating articulation."

"Fascinating articulation" has been of great value in times past to some great men and to mountebanks, as we may learn

from the President's historic writings-and I hasten to say that the President is a great man.

THREE PARTS.

This Democratic administration for purposes of historic comment divides itself into three parts:

First, the period of seven months during which it was still deriving sustenance from a protective tariff at the average rate of \$26,000,000 a month.

Second, the period of 11 months from October 4, 1913, the beginning of the new tariff bill, to September 4, 1914, the day when the President came before Congress to tell us that the war, which had then been raging 35 days, had caused a falling off in revenue for 10 months before the war was dreamed of.

It was in the month of May during this period of 11 months that the President informed a deputation of business men and manufacturers who called upon him in relation to the halting and depressed state of business that business depression was merely psychological. Thereupon to cheer and sustain men out of work and fool the empty stomach with delusions of a feast, the poet laureate of the occasion put it in imperishable verse to this effect:

You can let your hopeful bosom give a psychologic throb; Ask your psychologic brother for a psychologic job; If your savings have been scattered in a psychologic crash, Pay the grocer and the butcher with some psychologic cash; And you speedily will find yourself in psychologic health, And possessed of an embarrassment of psychologic wealth. If the interest on your mortgage isn't anywhere in sight, And the sheriff is expected to forcclose it any night, It will cheer you to remember the depression that you feel Is merely psychological—which means it isn't real.

The third period into which this administration divides itself covers the time during which we have been protected by a foreign war from the effects of the Democratic tariff policy and at the same time taxed to cover the bottom of a depleted Treasury.

Meanwhile, in our relations with Mexico, we have been pursuing a policy that declared for neither side and yet took sides; that declared against intervention and kept on intervening; that did not think our flag insulted by the murder of American citizens, the outrage of American women, and the destruction of American property, but took Vera Cruz on account of a controversy as to whether 7 or 21 guns constituted an apology which was never made.

The result is that we are hated in Mexico for what we have done and despised for what we have not done.

The President stated at New York January 27 last that he got his information about Mexico "by hearing liars talk about The President ought to change his advisers.

Some time ago when he was reported as having said that he proposed thereafter to consult only with safe advisers, Puck published a cartoon of the President seated alone at the Cabinet

THE WAR AND REVENUE.

The new tariff went into effect October 4, 1913, and for every month except the month of May down to and including August, the first month of the war, there was a gain of importations and a falling off of revenue derived from importations, as compared with the corresponding months the year before.

On August 1, 1914, the war flames began to redden the sky of Europe and the shifting scenes of a strange and terrible drama began, which now has three continents for a stage.

Armies greater than the world has ever known began to be hurled against each other, equipped with every scientific device for killing, and the harvest fields of peace became the harvest fields of death.

The student assassin, Gavrio Prinzip, lies forgotten somewhere in an Austrian prison, while the tide of war rolls over him, but the shots fired on the 28th of June, 1914, were the sparks that started a blaze that has set the world on fire.

The war was the President's pretext for more taxes. September 4, 1914, 11 months to a day from the time the tariff law went into effect and 35 days after the war commenced, he came before Congress and asked that a tax be laid upon the people to raise \$100,000,000, because he said the falling off of revenue was in "chief part" caused by the falling off of importations caused by the war in Europe.

That is to say, the falling off of revenue was caused by the war in Europe before there was a war in Europe. And the falling off of revenue was caused by the falling off of importations

when there was no falling off of importations.

The total importations under the new tariff for the 11 months from and including October, 1913, down to the time the President delivered his address to Congress had exceeded the total importations for the same months the year before by \$93.715.722.

The falling off of revenue, then, was not due to the war in Europe, and was not due to decreased importations, but was due to decreased duties drawn from increased importations, about 70 per cent of which were free and was the logical result of a system under which the only way to increase revenues is to increase importations, and thereby decrease the wages of American labor.

Messages to Congress ought to import the highest verity. plain statement of the simple truth that the revenues under the new law were proving insufficient would have at least commanded the respect of men of intellectual integrity everywhere.

Again, on the 7th day of last December the President came before Congress to advocate the extension of this same war

tax and the extension of the sugar duty.

But even then, as he explained, we shall still have "a total deficit of some one hundred and twelve millions" on the 30th day of June, 1917, and he admitted that the only way to avoid this deficit is to resort to new methods of taxation or to issue bonds.

Again, the President told us that the falling off of revenue was due to the war in Europe, and yet during the first year of the war our imports were \$621,604,019 more than the average annual imports under the Dingley law and \$20,125,510 more than the average annual imports under the Payne law, but 70 per cent of our imports were free.

APPROPRIATIONS.

But there is another reason why our revenues derived from importations plus internal revenue plus the corporation tax plus the income tax and plus the emergency tax are not sufficient to pay the running expenses of this administration, and that is because Democrats, in the language of the chairman of the Democratic Committee on Appropriations, "have unnecessarily piled up the public expenditures until the Democratic Party has become the laughingstock of the country.

Appropriations for the Sixty-third Congress ran \$177,000,000 beyond those of the last Congress controlled by Republicans and yet were \$83,000,000 below the estimates submitted by an ad-

ministration pledged to economy.

These appropriations were made against the protest of Mr. FITZGERALD, as able a chairman as ever presided over the deliberations of the Appropriations Committee; and finally astonished and discouraged by the onslaught of his party upon the Treasury, he told them that because of their failure "to carry out their pledge of economy he was tempted to quit his place."
What was that pledge? Let me read it, so that it may sink

into the consciousness of the American people:

We denounce the profligate waste of money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation through the lavish appropriations of recent Republican tongresses, which have kept taxes high and reduced the purchasing power of the people's toil.

And yet the appropriations of the Sixty-third Congress were \$177,000,000 more than the appropriations of the last Republican Congress.

SCRAPS OF PAPER.

The world has been made familiar with the doctrine that a treaty is a "scrap of paper," and for three years now the people of the United States have had unrolled before them the moving picture of repudiation one by one of the planks of the platform on which a great political party sought their support

No performance of any party has ever so thoroughly justified the cynicism that a political platform is a thing "to get in on' as the open, flagrant violation of its pledges by the Democratic

This is the school which for three years the Democratic Party has conducted for the moral instruction of the young manhood

of America. Let us be specific: First, a Princeton instructor of youth ran for the office of President of the United States on a platform pledging him to a single term. He is now seeking a second term.

Second. The Democratic Party promised not to "injure or destroy any legitimate industry," but it has deliberately discriminated against farmers to gain the city vote and it has discriminated against labor by inviting foreign competition.

Third. It promised to reduce the high cost of living, but the high cost of living has gone higher and it has levied taxes

grievous to be borne.

Fourth. It denounced "the profigate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation through lavish appropriations" and demanded a return "to that simplicity and economy which befits a democratic government," but it has in-

creased appropriations and increased taxes.

Fifth. It promised "a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people," but it has increased offices and hypocritically used the civilservice rules to create vacancies to be filled by "deserving Democrats."

Sixth. It promised "the full protection of this Government" to the persons and property of American citizens "in foreign countries" and "on our borders," and has ignored the murder

and maltreatment of Americans in Mexico and the destruction of their property.

Seventh. It promised free canal tolls to the interests controlling the American coastwise trade to get their influence in the election, and repudiated its promise when it got into power.

Eighth. It promised to maintain the merit system in the civil service for the sake of votes and violated it for the sake of jobs. Ninth. Its final pledge was a padlock pledge to keep the pledges it has broken.

You gentlemen talk about the infallibility of the popular judgment, but the fact that you are here is the strongest evidence of how easily the people can be fooled-once.

AFTER THE WAR.

Events in Europe are so stained with blood, so loaded with tragedy, so crowded with consequence to all the world, that discussion of the relation of political policies to national loss and gain seems almost trivial.

And yet the welfare of a hundred million people will be at stake in the next election when the people must decide whether the policies of the Democratic Party shall be our only safeguard against results which must follow the war in Europe.

The present tariff law neither protects us nor produces revenue, but for a time we have been saved by war from its full effects.

In the language of William Randolph Hearst-

We have still to face the full and final results of Democratic folly and fatuity which will surely be upon us at the end of the European war.

For a year and a half the factories of Europe have been either closed, destroyed, or largely turned to warlike purposes, and the men of Europe who in times of peace would have been employed in peaceable production for home consumption and for export have been busy in the business of mutual extermina-

Meanwhile war has fired the furnaces of our factories to supply food, clothing, and all the things required by armies in the field, while the dangers of transportation by sea have minimized the importation of European products made in spite of war.

And so the normal course of international trade has been suspended and the full tide of invasion of our markets has been stayed.

But there will come a time when the harvest fields of death will be turned back again to the harvest fields of peace.

There will come a time when the forges of Europe on which are being hammered out the tools of war in the red blaze of hate will ring again in the quiet air of peace with the making of the implements of peace.

There will come a time when the weaver's shuttle will weave again the things of peace and not of war.

Then the full effect of all your free-trade fallacy will fall upon

the country.

Then the war-made market for war supplies will be closed. Then our markets will be open for foreign competition and foreign markets will buy less than ever before of what we have to

Germany, the most highly organized industrial nation of Europe, is now isolated. Her \$5,000,000,000 foreign commerce is suspended. In normal times she has protected her own markets and has sanctioned combinations organized to sell cheaper abroad than at home. German thrift, industry, and frugality are ingrained and her matchless industrial mechanism is still intact.

Before the war England and Russia were her largest customers, but trade reprisals will for a time follow war reprisals. Meanwhile her ships will turn their prows toward America loaded with the merchandise of a nation whose genius is to

work as well as think. Great Britain, France, and Russia will prefer to trade with

us rather than with Germany.

Belgium, the workshop of Europe, whether her national entity is restored to her or not, will rise again and go to work.

Burdened with debts and forced to work to pay their debts,

the nations of Europe will seek to swell the arteries of their depleted trade with gold drawn from America.

And how does this administration, confronted with a deficit and realizing the dangers that will come upon us, propose to

MR. GREGORY'S BROOM.

In his annual report the Secretary of Commerce says:

When the war shall close the public control of railways in foreign lands, the semiofficial chambers of commerce, the publicly fostered organizations which control great industries in some countries, will all exist and will all be used in an effort to recover lost commerce.

The growth in the United States of industries which may menace large markets heretofore controlled from abroad will not be permitted, if public and semipublic forces acting together in foreign countries can permit it.

The outreach of American industries—nay, their very existence in our own land in some cases—will be resisted to the full, and every stratagem of industrial war will be exerted against them.

"Expecting this," he says, "we must prepare for it."

And expecting this, he proposes to prepare for it.

And expecting this, he proposes to prepare for it asking Congress to pass a law to make the buying and selling of foreignmade commodities at prices "materially below" prices current in the country of production "unfair competition," to be punished under the antitrust law,

But your declared purpose was to lower duties to invite

foreign competition.

Now you propose to penalize the competition you invite. By one law you invite competition and by another law you propose to punish competition.

The Secretary tells us this tide of importations will threaten the "very existence" of our industries, and the way he proposes to stop it is to send the Attorney General out with his broom.

But in the midst of our emotions over the salvation of our markets by Mr. Gregory's broom the thought obtrudes itself as to whether, after all, the foreign manufacturer, who can not be reached by our statutes, may not sell to the middleman, and whether the middleman may not raise the price to a little lower than the price the law prohibits and pocket the profits, while the foreign manufacturer achieves his purpose, the American manufacturer loses the business, and the American laboring man loses the work.

It is a curious thing, too, that it never occurred to this administration to invoke the aid of the antitrust law to restrain the importation of Argentine corn imported for the benefit of the Corn Products Co., and the importation of Argentine beef imported for the benefit of the Chicago packers, and the im-portation of Canadian barley imported for the benefit of the brewers, and the importation of rye imported for the benefit of the distillers.

CONSISTENCY.

It would not be entirely fair to say the President has not been right part of the time, because he has been on both sides of several public questions.

You advertised him as the pillar of hope and the Gibraltar of reform in a wicked world, and since that time he has kept you

guessing what the next change would be.

He was against preparedness, and ridiculed those who wanted preparedness as "nervous and excited."

Now he is piping shrilly for a strong Army and a "Navy incomparably the greatest in the world."

He was for free tolls, and explained that his party platform was not "molasses to catch flies," and changed his mind after the flies were caught.

He said a "man might be too proud to fight," and the phrase became a byword of scoffing and contempt among foreigners of American citizenship. Now he says he "always accepts an invitation to a fight."

He was opposed to protection, because "it violates the just principles of taxation," and signed "with very peculiar pleasure" a bill that has no just principles of any kind, and he now proposes the extension of the sugar duties.

He said so long as he could prevent it no one should interfere with the spilling of blood in Mexico. Now he says he did

not have soldiers enough to interfere.

He put up a Haman scaffold for business men who objected to bankruptcy. He has taken it down now and is trying to cajole them into forgetfulness.

He was against a tariff commission because his party did not want a standard by which its tariff conduct could be measured. Now he has changed his mind because "the circumstances of the world have changed.'

The President is right, "the circumstances of the world have changed"; but if we need a tariff commission to ascertain and report the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad we need a tariff high enough to protect American labor and American industry and low enough to protect us from domestic monopoly.

PREPAREDNESS.

We need preparedness against commercial warfare as much as we need preparedness against military warfare.

I am for preparedness to protect American labor against the

competition of cheap foreign labor.

I am for preparedness to fight, if necessary—preparedness to

use our strength to promote peace, if possible.

I am for preparedness to maintain the Monroe doctrine, to protect the Panama Canal, to defend the Philippine Islands, to protect Hawaii, to maintain peace along our borders, to protect American citizens always and everywhere, to maintain our national self-respect and to command the respect of other nations in a force-respecting world.

Preparedness to keep our flag "full high advanced" as the symbol of a Nation whose aspirations are for honor with peace, if possible, but for honor always.

Armies are not recruited, trained, and equipped overnight. Navies do not spring into life and rid the seas at a moment's

notice

If we are to have an Army, it should be an efficient Army. If we are to have a Navy, it should be an efficient Navy.

Events for the last 18 months have forced upon the world the realization that what we call civilization is not yet civilized; that what we call international law is a combination of diplomacy, common law, convenience, aggression, concession, and gunpowder, without power to enforce itself; that so-called civilized warfare is the scientific use of all the most effective means of ancient and modern killing.

The world must soon make its choice between the march of iron-footed brute force, which blots out laws in blood, or the march that leads toward the millenium, and in that choice America ought to be most potent in the councils of the nations.

If we remain weak and defenseless, we shall be weak in the councils of the nations and at the mercy of the predatory strong.

This war has demonstrated that courage is more courageous now than ever before, and that, in spite of the brutality of war, human sympathy is more helpful than ever before.

But must mankind hark back to barbarism to prove these things? If empires are extended and kings have wider sway, is it any consolation to the dead or to those who weep above their graves? Not the slightest.

Did these millions who have died have any quarrel?

"Busy as the devil is not the smallest.

"The nation in every country dwe'ls in the cottage."

What will the cottage profit if kings have wider dominion? America will never fight to gain dominion.

But America will fight for the homes, the liberty, the man-

hood, and the womanhood of her people. America will not fight to gain dominion, but it has fought to

wipe out slavery-and would do it again-and it will fight to wipe out oppression and it will fight to maintain itself an undivided Nation on the map of the universe, so that government by the people shall not perish from the earth.

The danger to our institutions and the test of our strength as

a Republic lies before us.

Let us act our part in a world of action.

Let us win back the moral leadership of the world, which we lost when our State Department, headed by a man who talked noble things and did nothing but collect the gate receipts, saw Belgium violated and said no word of disapproval.

Let us win back the respect of the world, which we had before a "slippered pantaloon" administration of the State Department became the target of foreign jokes, which Lansing

arrived too late to save us from.

Whether we shall live and go on, whether we shall permanently endure, depends not primarily on what kind of Presidents we have, not primarily on what kind of Congresses we have, not primarily on what kind of courts we have, but upon what kind of people we are.

Let us arise, then, and stand forth with all our giant power and reawakened patriotism, as the champion of justice and humanity, the advocate and upholder of the moral forces of the

world.

I do not look for war, but I want this Nation, as the final bulwark of popular government, to be big enough and strong enough not only to save itself but to advance the average man throughout the world.

Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GORDON LEE, OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 17, 1916.

Mr. LEE. Mr. Speaker, the great war now in progress in Europe has put the American people to thinking of the plight this country would be in if called on to defend itself or enforce its rights. Naturally, opinion is widely divergent. No one is opposed to preparedness. Of the 100,000,000 Americans there is probably not one who does not wish to see his country prepared for any emergency it may be called on to face; but there is a

wide difference of opinion as to what measure of preparedness is necessary. There are some who think we are already adequately prepared and others who would have us support an Army and Navy equal to that of any possible enemy. There are very few of these extremists; but 100,000,000 Americans to-day are trying to decide what is adequate preparedness and are looking to Congress to give it. I wish to discuss this question not only from the standpoint of military preparedness but from preparedness in other ways.

Our country grows so rapidly in wealth and population that it is difficult for the conceptions of the people to keep up with its growth. An Army of 150,000 men to-day would be no larger in proportion to population than one of 5,000 when the Government was formed, and not more burdensome in proportion to wealth that one of 1,000 at that time. The other great powers are armed camps, and they have not merely increased their armed strength in proportion to their growth, but they have increased it out of all proportion to their growth.

We have done more for the Navy than for the Army, and for a good reason. If our Navy were absolutely unconquerable we would have no need for an Army larger than might be necessary to deal with Mexico, for Mexico is the only independent Government that touches the borders of the United States.

We should enlarge our Navy and round it cut. If there are any who fear that a large Army would endanger the liberties of our people they could not have the same fear of the Navy. We have too few speedy battle cruisers. We have not enough submarines, though the submarine was first used in American waters. We need both for the Army and Navy a vastly larger number of aeroplanes than we have. For defensive purposes these are necessary, and there is no good reason why the American Navy should not be the equal of the strongest of the world. No nation could invade the United States without first destroying or bottling up the American Navy. No nation would risk the lives of half a million men on transports crossing the Atlantic or Pacific if it was known our fleet might go out to meet and destroy them.

I believe in providing such a number of battleships of the dreadnaught type, fast cruisers, and submarines as will protect our great seacoast. That seacoast, stretching from Maine to Texas and from Washington to southern California, must be protected from attack at every point. In addition to an efficient battle fleet I would have transports to move our forces, should it ever be necessary in a war for defense to take the offensive against the enemy. In times of peace these transports could be used as merchant ships to carry the surplus produce of our farms and factories to the markets of the world.

We should have an adequate number of aeroplanes and hydroplanes to guard against surprise and to launch an attack from the air against an enemy approaching our shores.

Finally, I believe we should abandon our policy of neglect and revolutionize our building program so as to provide a navy and auxiliary craft ample to expel from our shores the strongest force any enemy could dispatch against us.

With an adequate Navy we need an Army for the defense of the continental United States, but we have taken on responsibilities that we should be ready to meet. Our territory is not now confined to the continent. We need soldiers in our insular possessions. The Philippines, Hawaii, the Panama Canal, Porto Rico and Alaska all would have to be defended in case of war, and we should have as many as 75,000 soldiers to defend them. With 75,000 more in the United States we would have an Army of 150,000 men.

We have never yet had to fight for the Monroe doctrine, but if it is to be maintained we should be prepared to maintain it, and we might have to send troops to other American countries in its defense. In this, however, we would always have an ally in the country whose rights we were defending; but the fact remains that the Monroe doctrine imposes on us the necessity of keeping up a greater military preparedness than would be necessary if that doctrine had never been announced.

I confess to a curiosity that I think is shared by all who know of the fact—a curiosity to know why our Army costs five times as much per man as the armies of continental Europe; why our War Department expenditures should amount, in round numbers, to about \$1,000 a year for every officer and enlisted man. I believe that if the facts were known economies could be practiced without detriment to the service that would enable us to keep in the field an Army of 150,000 without paying any more than we now pay for two-thirds of that number.

The Regular Army should be supplemented by an enlarged and improved National Guard. There is no reason why its numbers should not be doubled or quadrupled. If the National Guard is inefficient its defects can and should be pointed out and remedied. There is no reason why it should be inefficient. It is

composed of the very best possible material and there is not a State in the Union that would not-cooperate in any reasonable Federal plans for the improvement of its citizen soldiery, especially since cooperation could be required as a requisite to Federal assistance.

While there is no necessity to keep in this country a large standing Army, we should keep on hand a plentiful supply of ammunition and arms of all kinds for a large Army. We should be ready to arm and equip fully a million men constituting a well-rounded Army. It is the business of the military experts to tell us what arms would be needed by the different branches of the service, and when we know we should have them ready.

In making direct military preparation, I am in favor of development, not revolution. It would be folly to tear down what we have and build anew. We should strengthen what we have to the extent that it needs strengthening and perfect what we have until we are unable to see how we could make it better. Above all, we should not make such preparation as would indicate an intention of abandoning our policy of peace, a policy which for more than a century has kept for us the respect and good will of the world. I would regret very much to see the day when we would fear any nation or when any nation would have reason to fear the United States.

But there are indirect preparations for war that are also preparations for peace, and peace is normal, while war is abnormal. We should pursue a policy that would benefit us all the time, and this policy would give us a strength that would enable us to raise armies quickly when needed and equip and sustain them through any ordeal to which they might be subjected.

Whatever we can do to promote the highest and best balanced prosperity in this country is the very best possible preparation for war. The accumulation of force is only temporary and the cost of it is a permanent incubus. If we armed, equipped, and drilled 2,000,000 men now, we would not by doing so lay any foundation for future strength. We would have to keep these men ready year by year. The fact that we have 2,000,000 men now would not help us 10 years hence. The thing that would matter would be the number we had when they were needed, and the expense of maintaining 2,000,000 men not needed would lessen our ability to sustain the needed number in the time of need. If there could be a guaranty of peace for 10 years the best thing we could do would be to do without an Army for 8 years and save all our strength for 2 years of prepara-tion. Whatever we spend in military preparedness in time of peace is wasted except for the fact that we do not know when war will break out, and we are weakened by waste. If we could know when wars would come the best thing we could do would be to have our Army when needed, and have the money when the men were not needed.

So we see that costly direct preparation for war weakens a nation, but the indirect preparation adds to our strength every day. We can build up an Army in a year or two, but a general prosperity that is the life and strength of a nation must grow, and growth takes time.

We need armor and munition plants, and they should not all be crowded together in one section of the country and that section near the seacoast. Guns and armor are made of iron and steel. The great deposits of iron ore are not near the coast but in the interior, and iron products are so heavy that the transportation adds very much to their cost. Guns could be made in the ore beds of the country at less cost than on the seaboard. The same is true of nearly all materials used in war. In self-defense we ought to be able in the interior of the country to supply our means of defense.

We ought to have industries of this kind in different parts of the country so that an enemy by overrunning one part of our territory would not have possession of the vital part. The country should be vital in all its parts. We should protect all parts from invasion, but our industrial development should be so distributed that as long as any part of the country remained free from invasion that part would be vital and virile.

In time of war the soldiers on the battle field are not the only men who are fighting for their country. They are taking the greatest risks, but the men at home who are furnishing food and clothing and arms and ammunition for the soldiers are as essential to the national defense as the men on the firing line. England hoped to starve Germany and, while she has not succeeded, it is probable that she has caused much distress. The drawback from which the allies suffered for a long time was not a lack of men but a lack of arms and ammunition for them. In this great war the men who have been pursuing the vocations that are useful in peace as well as war have played quite as necessary a part as the soldiers themselves.

We gain in strength when we increase the facilities by which all the parts of the country can cooperate to help defend any part. When we produce food with less effort or less expense, when we get it to the markets in less time or at less cost, when we are able to gain anything in celerity or economy of effort, we increase our ability to do what we wish to do whether that is fighting on the battle field or in the markets of the world. The Germans owe as much to their celerity and to the fact that they have learned how to secure the greatest results with the least effort as to their prowess on the battle field.

So my prescription for preparedness is, build up the country. In this we do not have to strain our efforts to hold our own, but every advance we make furnishes us with a new position from which to make a new advance. Every accomplishment is a foundation for the next and that for the next and the next, and

the progress of improvement goes on forever.

If we will get everything out of the way of the well-rounded development of the Nation, we will not need to give much thought to military preparedness, for we will keep the country always in condition to prepare quickly. When we get the question of food and equipment off our minds and know that our resources can be quickly and economically used, that we are in position to concentrate our force with celerity at any point needed, we have laid such solid foundations for any emergency that other preparations can be speedily made.

First, the country needs food. Do the gentlemen here to-day

First, the country needs food. Do the gentlemen here to-day realize that every day we are getting less able to supply our needs? Our surplus of foodstuffs for export is growing smaller in proportion to the amount we use every year, and if present tendencies continue, before many years, instead of helping to feed the outside world, we will be calling on the outside world

for food.

Our agricultural production is not keeping pace with our growing need, because the movement of population is from the country to the cities. There are a number of reasons for this, and the movement is so threatening that the Government should seek to remove its causes.

Isolation is the one drawback with which the farmers have to contend. That can be removed by the extension of the Rural Mail Service, and the Government which has taken the contract for the diffusion of information through the mails should not be content until every farmer in the land has his daily mail, his daily paper if he wishes it, and at any rate such

daily contact with the world as he desires.

The farmer is hindered by a lack of credit. He can not borrow money as readily or on as good terms as the business man of the city can borrow it, though he has the best security on earth to offer. It is not so much a matter of honesty or of character or of solvency. He may be known as perfectly honest and perfectly solvent and as a man of the highest character, and still a business man of the city who may be his inferior in all these qualities may have better credit. The essential thing is the easy convertibility of property into money on short notice, and in this respect the business man of the city has the advantage over the farmer that gives him better credit.

There is a vast amount of money in this country that seeks investment for a year or a term of years; but if this money is loaned through the banks which lend the money of their depositors and yet hold themselves in readiness to replace it at a moment's notice, it is loaned on such short time that the farmers can not have the advantage of it. I am in favor of passing laws to enable the farmers to borrow money at the lowest rate of interest on long time. By doing this we will render them the greatest service possible at this time. Rural-credits legislation now before Congress will, I hope, do much to remedy these evils and keep us on a plane of agricultural preparedness that is an essential to any solid preparedness for

war.

Then let us remove the waste that is now incurred in marketing our products, whether agricultural or manufactured. Anything that cheapens transportation increases the wealth and prosperity of the country. I am not now referring to the arbitrary reduction of freight rates by the exercise of the direct power of the Government, but to furnishing the people with a cheaper means of transportation than they now have. We should improve our rivers, and in that way we would secure for a great part of the country—even affecting the whole country—the most economical carriers we can have—the carriers that nature provided—if we will only improve them.

Projects for the improvement of our rivers and habors are often sneeringly referred to as "pork-barrel" legislation. This work is as important as any the Nation can engage in. Of course, unimportant work is sometimes proposed, but not one-tenth as much of this gets through Congress as many of the people suppose. The improvement of our rivers and harbors is

an important step toward the highest national prosperity that is essential to military as well as to civic preparedness.

Beyond comparison, the cheapest power for manufacturing is water power, and the hill and mountain streams of the country furnish it in abundance. It is ready for work, and all that remains is for man to take advantage of what nature has done. We should encourage the development of our water power for all purposes, not the least of which is the manufacture of nitrogen, vital to agricultural and military interests of the country. Farmers should not now be facing prohibitive prices. cessive cost of fertilizers threatens to restrict greatly our agricultural production. We should be independent of imports that are liable to be cut off by war and that may be controlled to our disadvantage by foreign Governments. The Coosa River one of the streams partly in the district I have the honor to represent, has 300,000 undeveloped horsepower right in the heart of one of the best farming sections of the country, a country rich in deposits of coal and iron, limestone, bauxite, barites, and many other valuable minerals; a section also richly en-Why not make our laws dowed by nature for manufacturing. for developing our water power more liberal, so that these fertilizer plants and other industries can be built and the farmers be supplied with nitrates and the whole country be benefited by other products that can be manufactured without cost of

To bring the country and the city nearer together in time and cost and convenience I think the Government should spend \$100,000,000 a year and cooperate with the States in building good roads. Whether transportation is by rail or water a good part of it and a very costly part of it is by wagon road. It has been stated that the cost of getting products to and from railroad stations is as great as that of shipping them over the railroads. By building good hard roads we can cut this cost in two or possibly in three, and thereby we can save to the people of the United States a sum half as great as all the earnirgs of the railroads of the country, and this would not be saved for some interests by taking it from others. It would be saved from the mud or the rocks or the sand that makes our roads difficult of passage. This would be a constant gain for 50 years of peace as well as an incalculable saving for one year of war. We are engaged in important work here and hold positions of great responsibility. We should do all that lies within our power to remove all obstructions that hinder the growth of our country, a growth that strengthens for war as well as for peace. We should remember that meat and bread and potatoes are as important in war as cannon, rifles, and

asphyxiating gases.

Our country has made spectacular progress in the forward march of nations. One hundred and forty years ago we were at the rear of the procession, but have since been passing others rapidly by. We have not made our relative gain by retarding others. The whole procession has been moving more rapidly since we have entered the race, and I am glad to believe that we have been to others an inspiration instead of a hindrance, The generation that achieved independence and founded the Government lived to see it defend itself successfully against the strongest power of the earth. The next generation saw it throw a protecting arm around the struggling Republics of Central and South America. The third saw it arm, equip, and maintain more than 3,000,000 soldiers, counting both sides, and fight within its own citizenship the greatest war the world had then ever seen. The fourth generation saw it stand in an unquestioned place among the foremost powers of the world, just to all and afraid of none, and now we, only five generations removed from the beginning, may claim and could maintain supremacy. Our distance from any other powerful nation has saved us the expense of supporting a burdensome military system, and this saving has gone into the upbuilding of the Nation for any emergency.

We are now to the front and the gap is widening between us and our nearest follower. In 50 years more the comparison will not be between the United States and any one nation, but between the United States and all Europe. We have no need to fear and we have never feared. If we conduct ourselves with the justice that has been handed down to us from our forefathers, as well as with the heritage of courage they left us, we will hold a position of moral power that will dwarf even our

material strength.

Mr. Speaker, speaking of my own section of country, we have had our share of war, and we want to build for enduring peace. The great conflict of the sixties laid my district in waste and ruin. Over every foot of the soil fought the armies of Johnston and Sherman. It was a continuous battle of 150 miles from Chattanooga to Atlanta. The battle fields of Chickamauga, Mission Ridge, La Fayette, Ringgold, Rocky Face, Dal-

ton, Snake Creek Gap, Resaca, Cassville, New Hope Church, Kenesaw Mountain, Peachtree Creek, tell the tale. This struggle left death and destruction in its wake. But little was left of that peaceful, happy country except widows and orphans, burned churches, and ruined homes. It has been more than a half century since the sanguinary struggle, yet the people have not recovered from the blasting effects of war. Let us build up the resources of our country along the lines I have discussed, then we will be free from internal dissensions and the world will respect us for our strength.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 16, 1916.

FARM AND PERSONAL CREDITS.

Mr. LINDBERGH. Mr. Speaker, in one way all people should become prosperous; that is, to have equal social opportunities and no special privilege. When special privileges are granted to any, all others require special privilege to overcome the advantages created against them.

Special privileges have already been granted to the big national banks and to certain other interests. If we can not get rid of the existing special privileges, special privileges must be granted to all legitimate industries. The practice, however, of granting special privilege to all is much more expensive than it would be to have none.

Some farmers want a special privilege from the Government in the nature of rural credits. They are entitled to it. Unfortunately for them, as well as for all unprivileged people, the big banks framed the Federal reserve act, a special-privilege law created especially for them. It appropriated all existing financial advantages for the benefit of the big banks. The rural credit proposed by the committee bill, called the Moss bill, avoids taking anything that the banks want. Since the banks want all that is of value, the farmers would get nothing of value in this bill. In fact it is sop to the farmer and is meant to indefinitely postpone any substantial rural credit.

Let us keep in mind the fact that the farmer feeds the world, while the big bank owners simply scalp profits from the exchanges between the producers and consumers, exploiting them both. Let us compare a few of the special privileges the Federal reserve act gives to the national banks with the failure of the Moss bill to give any substantial relief to the farmer. Following that, I will present a modified plan which would give an equitable and substantial credit system to all the people.

SPECIAL PRIVILEGE NO. 1 TO BANKS.

Bank corporations hold over twenty billions of the people's credits, paying an average of less than 2 per cent. They loan those deposits and collect about \$1,000,000,000 interest. Certain speculators also, to whom a part of the loans are made, make enormous profits scalping on the market. In the double game, the one by the banks and the other by the speculators who borrow from the banks, the people are forced to pay not only what the banks pay the depositors but in addition enormous profits, besides the billions of dollars the speculators make.

SPECIAL PRIVILEGE REFUSAL NO. 1 TO THE FARMER.

The farm corporations will not be allowed to receive deposits, not even from the farmers themselves. There was a sort of fake pretense for savings deposits in the original bill, but if that had been retained it might have ultimately lead to a system favorable to the people, so it was taken out. The farmers could not, even though they have the best security in the world, directly connect with any of the depositors' money. The banks retain that exclusive monopoly.

SPECIAL PRIVILEGE NO. 2 TO THE BANKS.

The Government established a Postal Savings Bank System for the benefit of the bank corporations. It gathers in the funds of those who prefer to have the Government guarantee their deposits, pays them 2 per cent, and turns the deposits over to the banks for 2½ per cent to speculate with. The Government is put in the capacity of a "capper" for the banks in gathering in the postal savings deposits.

The banks and speculators, who produce nothing, make more profit from the use of the people's deposits than all the toilers in field, shop, and elsewhere combined make for all their labor, and yet the toilers patiently submit to the usury.

SPECIAL PRIVILEGE REFUSAL NO. 2 TO FARMERS.

The Government refuses the use of the postal savings bank deposits to farmers and other toilers. What would happen to the value of the farm in the way of improvements if the Government turned over postal savings bank deposits to farm corporations at 2½ per cent? It would be an economic saving to toilers everywhere and would make them independent.

SPECIAL PRIVILEGE NO. 3 TO THE BANKS.

The bank corporations were given the exclusive privilege to secure emergency currency from "Uncle Sam" when the world war began. The United States Treasury printed, became responsible for, and delivered to the big banks \$387,000,000 and charged 3 per cent interest, while the banks used it to speculate in war credits, and made enormous profits.

SPECIAL PRIVILEGE REFUSAL NO. 3 TO THE FARMER.

As stated, when the war began the Government furnished the big banks \$387,000,000 currency to speculate with. At that time, and as a consequence of the war, the farmers of 12 States were in dire distress, because they could not market their farm products. They could not pay their creditors or buy the necessaries of life. They offered as good security as there is in the world, but they were refused emergency currency or Government aid, and suffered enormous loss. Many of them will never be able to recover.

SPECIAL PRIVILEGE NO. 4 TO THE BANKS.

The taxes collected for the United States Treasury were turned over to the bank corporations for 2 per cent interest. When the war broke out, rather than disturb the banks in the use of these tax funds for speculation, the Government, instead of making the banks pay what they owed the Government, forced the people to pay special war taxes. The big banks, and especially their owners, because of that favor made enormous profits on war stocks and war-trade speculations. It is a war tax for their benefit.

SPECIAL PRIVILEGE REFUSAL NO. 4 TO THE FARMERS.

A fake and ineffective provision, section 7, is inserted in the bill by which the Government could deposit money with farm corporations, but that is a mere sop, for the other provisions of the bill make it absolutely impractical. The folly of believing that the Treasurer would ever use current taxes to float 36-year or long-time mortgages is too apparent to need comment

SPECIAL PRIVILEGE NO. 5 TO BANKS.

Bank corporations loan their depositors money; also use it to buy bills, acceptances, etc., take the paper in their own names, and are given the monopoly of securing from "Uncle Sam" upon this paper money. It is secured by the paper they take for their depositors' money. They not only owe their depositors but they also owe the Government, which has a lien ahead of the depositors. In that way the Government permits the banks to inflate the money when they wish for their own benefit. Note the following language in the Federal reserve act:

SEC. 16. Federal reserve notes, to be issued at the discretion of the Federal Reserve Board for the purpose of making advances to Federal reserve banks through the Federal reserve agents. The said notes shall be obligations of the United States, and shall be receivable by all national banks and member banks and Federal reserve banks, and for all taxes, customs, and other public dues.

There was on February 18, 1916, outstanding of these notes \$206,978,000 of such money. It may be increased to billions. Uncle Sam gets not a cent for this special privilege given exclusively to banks. Even at that, the direct profit to the banks is not so great as the advantages it gives to the big stockholders and speculators who operate the banks or work with them. It serves as an insurance to them in their game of exploiting the people, for in the event of their being caught in financial distress, their banks will pledge paper to get Uncle Sam to print money for the banks. Then the banks will not be forced to collect from the speculators. The speculators have scalped huge fortunes aggregating more than a billion dollars since the world began. The people will hereafter be forced to pay dividends on those fortunes, "vested rights," we understand.

SPECIAL PRIVILEGE REFUSAL NO. 5 TO FARMERS.

The farm corporations are refused the privilege to take notes, paper, or security to the Government, even though they have the best, to get a single dollar from Uncle Sam. The bank corporations may and do that, but the farm corporations are refused a like privilege.

It is unnecessary to list all the special favors the banks enjoy. Those I have named show that the banks already have a complete monopoly of financial affairs. They have accepted what they asked and what Congress gave them. It is not so much their wrong as it is the wrong of Congress in having granted the privilege to the banks.

Every considerable supply of money must, under existing conditions, come through the banks. This fake rural credit bill deprives the banks of nothing; not even the exclusive monopoly they enjoy. The system proposed by the bill would be dependent upon the supply of money which the banks control, and consequently would be dependent upon the banks. The Government has no credit except that supported by the earning capacity of the people. Whatever draft is made upon it the people must pay. That is why the Federal reserve act is bad. It supports the banks with the Government credit. The difference between what is charged by the Government to the banks and what the banks charge borrowers is collected from the people's actual earnings. Not only that, but the Government makes the banks the sole depositaries for the people, and the difference between what the banks pay for deposits and what they charge is also paid out of the actual earnings of the people. I call attention to these facts merely to show what "sop" it is that is offered to the farmer.

RORROWER BORROWING FROM HIMSPLP

By a strange jugglery of proposed law, before a farmer can secure money from the farm department to be created by the bill he must begin by supplying funds for himself, "lift himself by his bootstraps," so to speak. He must become a stockholder in a corporation where none but borrowers can. Stock would in a corporation where none but borrowers can. Stock would be issued to him. He would collect from himself to pay for the stock and a dividend, send it in to the head office where they will take out all the expenses of the corporation and credit the balance. If there should be any, to him, and if there should not be enough to pay the expenses he can pay the difference. Whatever money the farmer is to get on his loan that he does not lend to himself and which his farm mortgage calls for will have to be gotten in the open market by hids, and it must in will have to be gotten in the open market by bids, and it must in nearly all cases come from the banks.

The absurdity of borrowers loaning to themselves should sug-The absurdity of borrowers loaning to themselves should suggest itself to a United States Congress. Will this Congress commit itself to such absurdity? It makes no difference what has happened in other places or in other countries; this Congress should exercise sense in dealing with a concrete proposition simple as 1, 2, 3. The Moss bill takes only the best security for loans, besides each borrower must become responsible for a part of all the other borrowers. Why complicate it all and increase the expense to the borrower by forcing him to take stock

JOINT-STOCK COMPANIES.

The only effective thing in the bill is the adoption by the United States of the existing loaning companies and the exemption of them from taxation. That is a special privilege to them-not to the farmers. They would do the business, not the farm cooperative corporations under the Moss bill. Now and then, some place, a temporary advantage might be had. The effect of passing this bill will be an indefinite postponement of a real honest credit system.

A COUNTER PROPOSAL.

I have not undertaken to draft such a bill as I feel certain would afford complete relief, because conditions here in Wash-ington would prevent its acceptance at this time. The country is engaged too deeply studying world conflicts to divert very much now, but this credit bill, if it was as it should be, would prevent war arising out of commercial schemes. I have offered in sections 3, 4, and 5 an entire new system for securing funds, independent of the banks. The other sections would be changed merely to adjust to the requirement of the three substitute sections;

There will be no satisfactory credit system as long as one industry alone acts. All the legitimate industries must join, and that is the purpose of the sections 3, 4, and 5, which I propose. They are the vital sections, especially section 4, while section 5 would be the guarantee that would give the assurance of impartial Government management. This would provide the funds and start a rural credit system that would give farmers money at 4 per cent to begin with, and still lower rates when it got well under way.

I will quote the three sections in reverse order of their appearance in the bill:

SEC. 5. That every Federal cooperative bank shall have, and is by this act created with, an initial authorized capitalization of \$500,000, which shall be subscribed, owned, and kept by the United States and paid in only as the business requires, to be determined by

the Federal cooperative board. There is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be required therefor.

Not a dollar of this capital would ever be required, but it forms a guarantee. The expense of organization is provided independent of that, and section 4 would supply the funds in abundance. The following are excerpts from section 4:

abundance. The following are excerpts from section 4:

Sec. 4. That in each Federal cooperative district there shall be a Federal cooperative bank located in the capital city of the State and it shall be named the Federal cooperative bank of whatever State the same may be located in.

That in each Federal cooperative banks as the demands of business justify, to be determined by the Federal cooperative board: Provided, That not more than one branch banks shall be established in any one town or city; that all branch banks shall be a branch of the Federal cooperative bank of whatever State the same is located in and become a part of the same system without additional capital.

Every Federal cooperative bank and all branches thereof shall be banks of deposit where deposits may be made by any person in sums of 10 cents or more. All deposits belonging to the same person equaling \$10 and not in excess of \$10,000, when not subject to be checked out shall draw interest at the rate of 2½ per cent per annum, such interest to begin on the 1st day of the month of lowing the date of deposit and be figured to the 1st day of the month of its withdrawal: Provided, That no interest shall be paid on any sums not having been on deposit for at least three full calendar months; said board shall establish rules for the notice required for withdrawal of time deposits by depositors, which rules may be waived whenever the funds on hand justify.

Checking accounts may be kept in all such banks, but shall draw no interest.

That such banks may make loans from the checking deposits with or without security: Provided, That the maturity for payment of all loans made from deposits subject to check shall not exceed six months, the policy to be for even shorter periods: Provided Jurther, That renewals may be freely allowed when the safety of ultimate payment is not impaired.

The Federal cooperative board shall have a wide discretion, not inconsistent with the express terms hereof, in providing the detail rules.

not impaired.

The Federal cooperative board shall have a wide discretion, not inconsistent with the express terms hereof, in providing the detail rules for the government of the banks to be created under this section. It is the purpose to give the public every convenience that will establish a greater freedom of trade in the exchanges of commerce and at the lowest possible cost, provided that purely speculative enterprises shall be discouraged.

That a reserve shall be weightinged on all deposits subject to check

That a reserve shall be maintained on all deposits subject to check equal to 20 per cent thereof.

That a reserve shall be maintained on all other deposits equal to 5 per cent thereof.

That no new loans shall be made when the reserves fall below the legal

That a reserve shall be maintained on all other deposits equal to 5 per cent thereof.

That no new loans shall be made when the reserves fall below the legal requirement.

That each Federal cooperative district shall stand by itself in respect to profits and losses.

That there shall be kept such exchange accounts between the several Federal cooperative districts as the Federal cooperative board shall deem necessary to facilitate the exchanges required for the business.

That then et profits arising from the business of the respective banks and their branches to be created under this section shall be credited first to undivided profits.

Semiannually there shall be an accounting, and the undivided-profit account shall be disposed of in the following manner:

First. Any poor, uncollectible paper shall be charged to said account, and a poor-paper account created.

Second. The Federal Government shall be credited with 2½ per cent on the paid capitalization: Provided, That no part thereof shall be withdrawn except as hereinafter in this act provided.

Third. There shall be credited to the Federal Government 10 per cent of the balance: Provided, That no part thereof shall be withdrawn except as hereinafter in this act provided.

Fourth. The remaining balance shall be declared as a dividend to borrowers and depositors in the following proportionately to the amount of their deposits, which shall be in addition to the 2½ per cent in this section before provided for.

(a) One-half to the time depositors proportionately to the amount of their deposits, which shall be in addition to the 2½ per cent in this section before provided for.

(b) One-half to the borrowers, to be applied in payment to them for indorsement upon unpaid notes in force during the earning period, in order to equalize and lower the rates of interest by application first upon those bearing the highest rates, bringing in those bearing ower rates when reached, and so on, until the rate of interest shall be reduced to equal the lowest rates, and to reduce

labor required, and shall be as uniform as practicable for all like purposes.

Whenever the Government has a credit in any Federal cooperative bank derived from profits equal to one-half its capital investment in such Federal cooperative bank, and there is no demand upon it for uncharged-off bad notes or paper, thereafter all the profits arising out of the further business shall become a part of the general funds of the Government and be carried into the Treasury of the United States; that at any time it becomes necessary to charge off bad notes or paper, the surplus account created from deposits shall again be made complete by the same rules under which it was originally created.

Wherever practical the different cooperative banks created under the provisions of this act shall aid and cooperate to secure the best results without cither becoming liable for the acts of the other.

Each Federal cooperative bank shall be managed by the member of the Federal cooperative board from that Federal cooperative district, who shall be president and the presiding officer of said board, and three directors appointed by the Federal cooperative board. Said directors shall be citizens of the United States and residents of the district and shall each give a surety bond, the premium on which shall be paid by the banks. They shall choose from their number, by majority vote, a vice president, secretary, and treasurer. They are further authorized to employ such attorneys, experts, assistants, clerks, laborers, and other employees as they may deem necessary, subject to the approval of the Federal cooperative board.

Such directors shall, under their hands, forthwith make an organization certificate, which shall specifically state—

First, The name of the bank.

Second. The district within which its operations are to be carried on, the names of its first directors and officers, and the particular city in which its principal office is located.

Third. The amount of the capital stock.

Fourth, The fact that the certificate is made to enable such persons to put into operation certificate shall be acknowledged before a judge or clerk of some court of record or notary public, and shall be, together with the acknowledgment thereof, transmitted to the Federal cooperative board commissioner, who shall record and carefully preserve the same in his office, and a certified copy thereof shall be filed in the office of each of the members of said board, in all of which it shall at all times be open to public inspection.

The Federal cooperative board is authorized to direct such changes in or additions to any such organization certificate as it deems expedient.

in or additions to any such organization certificate as it deems expedient.

Upon duly making and filing such organization certificate the bank shall become, as from the date of the execution of its organization certificate, a body corporate, and as such, and in the name designated in the organization certificate, it shall have power—

First. To adopt and use a corporate seal.

Second. To have succession until it is dissolved by act of Congress or under the provisions of this act.

Third. To make contracts.

Fourth. To sue and be sued, complain and defend, in any court of law or equity, as fully as natural persons.

Fifth. To elect or appoint a vice president, appoint a secretary and a treasurer and other officers and employees, define their duties, subject to the ratification of the Federal cooperative board, require bonds of them and fix the penalty thereof; by action of its board of directors dismiss such officers and employees, or any of them, at pleasure, and appoint others to fill their places.

Sixth. To prescribe, by its board of directors, subject to the supervision and regulation of the Federal cooperative board, by-laws not inconsistent with law, regulating the manner of conducting its general business and the privileges granted to it by law exercised and enjoyed.

eral business and the privileges granted to it by law exercised and enjoyed.

Seventh. To exercise, by its board of directors or duly authorized officers or agents, subject to .aw, all such incidental powers as shall be necessary to carry on the business herein described.

The Federal cooperative board shall designate one of the district directors to serve for three years. It shall designate one of said directors to serve for a term of two years and one to serve for a term of one year. After the first appointments each director shall be appointed for a term of three years.

Directors of Federal cooperative banks shall have been for at least two years residents of the district for which they are appointed or elected, and at least one district director shall be experienced in practical farming and actually engaged at the time of his appointment in farming operations within the district. No director of a Federal cooperative bank shall act as an officer, director, or employee of any other bank.

operative bank shall act as an omeer, director, or employee of any other bank.

That when not otherwise provided in this act such banks may be governed by the usual methods now practiced by the banks of the country, except that no interest in excess of 5 per cent shall be charged and loans shall be made most freely to borrowers of small amounts where they have outstanding indebtedness with interest charges thereon in excess of 5 per cent, provided the safety of payment is satisfactory

The funds collected into the banks under the provisions of section 4 would create an entire new condition among the people. They would control their own capital, apply the means to run their own industries and business and be independent of the trusts-especially the money trust.

Section 3 is merely the machinery of organization. It is as

SEC. 3. There shall be established a United States cooperative investment and loan board, for brevity to be called the Federal cooperative board, which shall be charged with the execution of this act

years, except when to fill vacancies, in which case the appointment shall be made to fill the unexpired term. Any and all members shall be subject to removal by the President for cause. Each of the said members shall, within 15 days after notice of his appointment, take and subscribe to the oath of office.

The first meeting of the Federal cooperative board shall be held in Washington, D. C., as soon as may be after its appointment, at a date and place to be fixed by the chairman of said board.

No member of the Federal cooperative board shall at the same time be an officer or director of or own any stock in any institution, association, or partnership engaged in banking or the loaning business. Before entering upon his duties as a member of said Federal cooperative board each member shall certify under oath to the President that he is eligible under this section.

Each State shall constitute a Federal cooperative board, shall appoint one farm-loan registrar and one urban-loan registrar in his respective State, he farm registrar or receive applications for issues of urban-loan bonds, and each to perform such other services as prescribed by this act. In the same manner there shall be appointed one or more property appraisers for each district and as many special appraisers as it shall deem necessary. All registrars and special appraisers as a special appraisers as a special appraisers and expenses of the Federal cooperative board and of all registrars and special appraisers and expenses of the Federal cooperative board and of all registrars and special appraisers and expenses of the Federal cooperative board and of all registrars and special appraisers as it shall deem necessary. All registrars and special appraisers appointed under this section shall be public officials and shall have no connection with or interest in any other institution, association, or partnership engaged in the banking or loaning business.

The salaries and expenses of the Federal cooperative board and of all registrars and special apprais

Sections 3, 4, and 5 are fundamentally different than in the Moss bill. To adopt them would require rearrangement in the wording and phrasing of the bill in other parts. If these three sections were placed in the bill, they would give relief, not only to the farm borrower, but to all borrowers.

The other sections of the bill provide for farm and urban loans at the lowest rates of interest. The bill provides forpersonal credits as effectively as any can.

FEDERAL RESERVE ACT.

When the big banks sought special legislation for themselves they adroitly built up and officered their own so-called "citizens' leagues", and had them make a demand upon Congress to make it appear it was a public demand for banking reform. They followed the same stealthy system that the "armament" people are now following. That was not all that the big banks did. They also created a panic in order to excite the people so they would demand immediate banking reform, which, of course, the big banks were prepared to fix for their own special benefit. As a part of the same scheme and to further safeguard themselves in securing exactly what they wanted they trained their own bank experts and adroitly managed to get the Government to employ them to help fix up the bill and administer it after it became a law. By planning the whole scheme along their own lines far in advance the big banks secured exactly what they

restment and loan board, for brevity to be called the Federal cooperative board, which shall be charged with the execution of this act and all acts amendatory thereof.

The Federal cooperative board shall consist of one member from each of the States and, in addition, one member at large, who shall be the Federal cooperative board commissioner, and be appointed for a term of eight years and act as chairman and executive officer thereof, and whose office shall be at Chicago, in the State of Illinois: that each of the other members of said board shall have an office in the Federal cooperative board shall hold meetings in the said city of Chicago annually, and hold special meetings if emergency arises, of the Federal cooperative board shall hold meetings if emergency arises, of the Chited States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. It shall be the policy to make said board nonpartisan. The members shall be citizens of the United States and shall hold no other office, State or Federal, and shall each receive an annual salary of \$6,000, payable monthly, together with actual necessary traveling expenses.

One quarter of the members of the Federal cooperative board shall be designated by the President, to serve for two years, one quarter for four years, one quarter for six years, and one quarter for eight years. In the event that any new State shall be created, the first appointment shall be for two years. After the sald members have all been appointed and have qualified, all appointments thereafter shall be made for eight timely an actual proposal propo

is entitled to. Because of that condition the farmers as a whole thought they could let it take care of itself. That was exactly what the American Bankers' Association had considered the farmers would do. That is the reason why we have this sofarmers would do. That is the reason why we have this so-called rural credit bill before us. It gives the farmers nothing of value, but if it becomes a law will have the effect of delaying. Thus the bankers will continue in complete control.

Let no one think he is not interested in this credit system simply because he happens to not be a borrower. Not a soul on earth who lives in civilization escapes the burden of interest. There is no congressional district in the United States, agriculcultural or other, and no person except bankers, speculators, and capitalists, who do not in the aggregate pay more interest or its equivalent than they collect. When they buy the necessaries of life, sell their products, earn their salaries, pay their taxes, and so forth, the interest account is assessed against them. It was this levy of excessive profit for the few that drove Europe to war. Let the United States beware lest it meet the same misfortune. Human nature has a limit to the burden it will bear, and will resist when it is reached.

This dogged, persistent war craze is the logical result of the existing capitalistic system. War becomes a matter of course a climax to capital absorbing the profits from the energy of the toilers, leaving the latter industrially in a state of slavery. The struggle of capitalists for high interest, big dividends, and profits from scalping fluctuating markets, domestic and foreign, was bound to lead to war-if not international war, then civil war. It will be both if we do not correct some of the existing evils, for no liberty-loving, self-respecting people will long endure industrial slavery. The Civil War was the climax of human physical slavery. It took as grand an army as the world man physical slavery. It took as grand an army as the world has ever seen to strike out physical slavery, but the sacrifice has come to almost naught by the induction of industrial slavery. It was an agent of the English capitalists who issued the "Hazard Circular" in 1862 and sent it to his clients. It

"Slavery is likely to be abolished by the war power and all chattel slavery abolished. This, I and my European friends are in favor of, for slavery is but the owning of labor and carries with it the care of the laborers, while the European plan, led on by England, is that capital shall control labor by controlling The great debt that capitalists will see to it is made out of the war must be used as a means to control the volume To accomplish this the bonds must be used as a We are now waiting for the Secretary of the banking basis. Treasury to make this recommendation to Congress. It will not do to allow the greenback, as it is called, to circulate as money any length of time, as we can not control that. But we can control the bonds and through them the bank issues."

The prophetic wisdom of President Lincoln was clearly in evidence when he gave utterance to the following:

Yes, we may all congratulate ourselves that this cruel war is nearing its close * * * but I see in the future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of the war corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the Republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war.

In the last 20 years it has not required prophetic wisdom to see the way we are headed. All that is necessary is to stop and figure on what we are doing. Then we must come to the conclusion that we are bound up with a capitalism that spells disaster if we continue it. I stated in a speech on the floor of the House in 1908 that the railways would be forced to apply for increase in freight and passenger rates. Last year they secured the President's influence with the Interstate Commerce Commission to do what I had predicted more than four years The freight and passenger rates were increased, and they will be increased again or the roads will fail, if we keep

our present banking and currency system.
On June 13, 1911, and February 24, 1912, I made speeches on this floor, from which I quote as follows:

"Mr. LINDBERGH. It may be noted that the trusts are adjusting to the Supreme Court decisions. The people are paying the expense of the litigation in order that the trusts may know where they stand. Some of them are dissolved by decree, but the decrees are mere form, for the trusts carry on the work regardless of that fact. What is the difference if they accomplish their purpose by a community of interest or under the management of the corporations?

"Mr. MURDOCK. Will the gentleman yield?
"The CHAIRMAN (Mr. RUSSELL). Will the gentleman from

Minnesota yield to the gentleman from Kansas?

"Mr. LINDBERGH. In a moment. Yes; now.

"Mr. MURDOCK. Does the gentleman from Minnesota be-lieve from what he has said that the Standard Oil Co, will not dissolve?

"Mr. LINDBERGH. There will be a community of interest between all the subsidiary companies; that is, all interests that belong to the Standard Oil Co., so there will be little or no benefit come out of the recent decision. The trust operations will continue just the same.

"Mr. MyRDOCK. Does the gentleman also believe that the same thing is true of the Tobacco Trust?

"Mr. LINDBERGH. The people need not look to the Sherman antitrust law nor to any other 'anti' acts for relief, nor to the decisions of the courts. It will do us no good to fight the trusts until we cooperate ourselves and go ahead independently. We have been working on a plan of tearing down the trusts and leaving it to them to build up again. Do we suppose they will build up on a less selfish basis?

"Mr. CULLOP. Will the gentleman from Minnesota yield?

"Mr. LINDBERGH. Yes.
"Mr. CULLOP. What is the trouble with the decisions in the last two cases-those of the Standard Oil and Tobacco Trustin your judgment?

"Mr. LINDBERGH. I do not claim those decisions will not dissolve those trusts so far as their corporate form is concerned, but the community of interest that naturally exists among the owners of the different properties and individuals making up the trusts will continue to control the action of those who have the different properties.

"Mr. CULLOP. Is that the fault of the law or of the attor-

ney who is prosecuting the case?
"Mr. LINDBERGH. I should not say it is the fault of the It is it, the administration of the law. A greater farce than the suit against the Standard Oil Co. is not to be found, unless it is the final wind-up of the Tobacco Trust case. court finds (in the Standard Oil case): 'The distribution of the stock among the various defendants ratably among the shareholders of the Standard Oil Co., and the conveyance of the business and physical property of the defendants to one of their number, to perpetuate the unlawful monopoly must be and is prohibited by the decree herein.' The entry of the judgment relating to that reads: 'But the defendants are not prohibited this decree from distributing ratably to the shareholders of the principal company the shares to which they are equitably entitled in the stocks of the defendant corporations that are parties to the combination.' The decree, in practical effect, is the opposite of the court's findings.

The Government administration was kind enough to legalize the trusts. That is just what was done, and the trust buster attorneys who drew fees equal to the President of the United the trusts. States left the situation exactly as it was before the suits were commenced except that the trusts have become legalized by the suits and their stocks are worth more than before the suits were begnn.

I pointed out in 1911 and 1912 what would happen because of the trust busters' operations. It has been just as I stated it would be. I do not claim any credit for pointing it out in advance, because it was as plain as the nose on a man's face. After paying the trust buster's fees and expenses, approximately \$100,000 of the people's money, to carry on the prosecution, it was a farce. All the Standard Oil Co. and the Tobacco Trust did was to add the costs and expenses they paid their attorneys to the price of oils, so we paid for the defense as well as the prosecution.

These trusts have established in all the large cities certain magazines and newspapers that falsify and misrepresent in every issue of their publications. These have been and now are engaged in a frenzied campaign to commit our people to a war program—a program that would entail billions of dollars of burden upon the tollers and increase the coffers of wealth ac-

cordingly.

Unfortunately, the Government is administered in favor of only that portion of America which constitutes the money kings, the manufacturing lords, merchant princes-in other words, "American dollar plutocracy." It so happens that this "plutocracy" has no opportunity just now to make money off Gertocracy many, because the communication is cut off by the English If Germany had a navy that would have commanded the seas and "American dollar plutocracy" had thereby been prevented from coining its dollars by English trade, our relations with Germany would have been exactly what they are now with England. Germany need not, in a personal sense, be ag-grieved because of any act of our Government supporting dollar diplomacy. As long as the money kings control the administration of our Government it will always do that with perfect impartiality, depending on who can supply the coin.

THE TOILER'S JUBILEE.

Inexhaustible natural resources; organic laws suited to bring an intelligent people into sympathetic cooperation for a fulfillment of their best purposes—true Americanism—unswerving loyalty to the United States; these are the bases for greatness these we have. But it is for us to do and not wait for it to be done, because waiting for others to do ends in their doing what they want and not what is generally needed. Let this Congress act in the interest of all the people. Instead of permitting speculators to control the deposits made by those having money. as well as the Government also pledging the people's credit to these speculators, thus enabling them to exploit all the people; instead of doing that, I urge that Congress adopt the suggestions which I have made with reference to farm and personal credits. If Congress does that and also manufactures its own munitions of war and prepares itself industrially and otherwise, instead of letting war munition lords prepare other nations to fight us and then demand that we let them, these war lords, prepare us to fight the nations which they have armed, we shall all be Then the jingo press would disappear, for no one would pay for their jingo articles. Remove the opportunity for speculators making profit out of war; then you will see war conditions disappear. Let the United States simply be prepared to defend the United States. I will vote for any measure that means defense, but will not vote for a dollar of appropriation for "American dollar plutocracy." The amendment which I offer to farm and personal credits would prepare the Nation industrially for any emergency, because it would make the plain business interests and the toilers independent of "American dollar plutocracy."

RURAL AND PERSONAL CREDITS FOR FARM AND CITY.

Much has been said and published about preserving the national honor. What American would not preserve the na-tional honor? None except a few speculators and their hired agents, who in an exciting period have vociferously paraded the national honor to screen their schemes to exploit America and the world at large. Some of our patriotic citizens, failing to see the designs of these exploiters, have believed their propaganda, but the rank and file of the American people have been patient and calm in the storm. No American rights have been endangered by their patience. On the contrary, their refusal to be stampeded by the frenzy has kept the exploiters from rushing us into war. Our danger, however, is from letting the exploiters shape the industrial conditions in our own country. A few Americans have scalped billions of dollars in profits out of war speculation. This additional capital Congress, legislatures, and courts construe to be so much more on which the toilers must be assessed an annual profit. Wealth of the few has taken another jump upward, so according to the existing practice more interest and dividends must be paid by the toilers. To escape that wrong is why my bill for credit to farm, city, and legitimate plain business borrowers should be passed. would reduce the interest below 4 per cent, and the cost of living would be much reduced.

"The Making of a Representative."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS M. BELL,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 17, 1916.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks, I include remarks of Hon. Champ Clark at the Washington Press Club reception to "baby Congressmen." Thursday, March 16, 1916.

The remarks are as follows:

"THE MAKING OF A REPRESENTATIVE."

REMARKS OF CHAMP CLARK AT THE WASHINGTON PRESS CLUB RECEPTION TO "BABY CONGRESSMEN," THURSDAY, MARCH 16, 1916.

I most heartily congratulate you gentlemen in being even what are facetiously denominated "baby Congressmen." It is a high honor to be a Representative in Congress, if for only one term, and with the number of terms the honor increases in geometrical rather than in arithmetical proportion. A Mem-

ber's usefulness to his country should increase in the same proportion. A man has to learn to be a Representative just as he must learn to be a blacksmith, a carpenter, a farmer, an engineer, a lawyer, or a doctor.

"Poeta nascitur non fit"—a poet is born, not made—says Horace; but Congressmen—that is, useful and influential Congressmen—are made largely by experience and practice.

The old Charlotte district in Virginia knew this and kept John Randolph, of Roanoke, in the House till he became a great national figure. Then the Old Dominion sent him to the Senate and Gen. Jackson sent him to St. Petersburg. There are sporadic cases of similar action in other districts.

It is an unwise performance for any district to change Representatives at short intervals. A new Congressman must begin at the foot of the class and spell up. Of course, the more brains, tact, energy, courage, and industry he has the quicker he will get up. If he possess these qualities, and if his constituents will keep him in the House, he is as certain to rise as the sparks are to fly upward. No human power can keep him down. It is only fair and rational to assume that every Representative's constituents desire to see him among the "topnotchers."

Let us take the present House and see how long the men who hold the high places have served. I can not name all, but

will cite a few as samples.

Mr. Speaker Cannon is serving his fortieth year. He holds the record, or, in pugilistic parlance, "he holds the belt." for length of service in the House in our entire history. In several Congresses he was chairman of the great Committee on Appropriations and then was Speaker eight years, only one man,

Henry Clay, having been Speaker longer.

I am serving my twenty-second year; Minority Leader MANN is serving his twentieth year; Mr. KITCHIN, chairman of Ways and Means, his sixteenth; Mr. Fitzgerald, chairman of Appropriations, his eighteenth; Mr. Moon, chairman of the Post Office and Post Roads, his twentieth; Mr. Jones, chairman of Insular Affairs and "father of the House," his twenty-sixth; Mr. Floop, chairman of Foreign Affairs, his sixteenth; Mr. Hay, chairman of Military Affairs, his twentieth; Mr. Glass, chairman of Banking and Currency, his sixteenth; Mr. Adamson, chairman of Interstate and Foreign Commerce, his twentieth; Mr. Stephens, chairman of Indian Affairs, his twentieth; Mr. SLAYDEN, chairman of the Library, his twentieth; Mr. HENRY, chairman of Rules, his twentieth; Mr. Lever, chairman of Agriculture, his sixteenth; Mr. Padgett, chairman of the Navy, his sixteenth; Mr. Lloyd, chairman of Accounts, his twentieth; and Mr. Sparkman, chairman of Rivers and Harbors, his There are other big chairmanships, but these will suffice to show that as a rule the big places go to old and experienced Members, for most of the men who rank close to the chairmen are old timers. The same thing holds good with reference to members of the minority. As an illustration, Messrs. Gillett and Cooper, who are serving their twentyfourth year, are the ranking Republicans on Appropriations and Foreign Affairs, almost certain to be chairmen thereof should the Republicans ever again have a majority in the House, as in that event, in all probability, Mr. Mann will be Speaker, unless he is nominated for President next June.

Go through the whole list and you will find, with few exceptions, that the men of long service have the high places.

New England and the cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh have understood the value of long service all along, and, having elected a fairly good man to Congress, they keep him in the harness.

The Member of longest consecutive service is called "the father of the House," Five Philadelphians in immediate succession bore that honorable title—Randall, Kelley, O'Neill, Harmer, and Bingham. Then it went to Mr. Dalzell, of Pittsburgh. When Gen. Bingham announced the death of Gen. Harmer, his immediate predecessor as "father of the House," he stated that the five Philadelphia "fathers of the House" had served a total of 147 years, and he served 8 or 10 years after making that interesting statement.

In the second and third Congresses in which I served, Maine, with only four Members, had the Speakership and the chairman-ship of the great Committees on Ways and Means, Navy, and Public Buildings and Grounds—a most remarkable circumstance, giving the Pine Tree State an influence in the House and the country out of all proportion to her population and wealth. These four men—Reed, Dingley, Boutelle, and Millikin—each served in the House 20 years or more. Other States might profit by her example.

No man should be elected to the House simply to gratify his ambition. All Members should be elected for the good of the country.

The best rule, it seems to me, is for a district to select a man young enough to learn and to grow, with at least fair capacity, industrious, honest, energetic, sober, and courageous, and keep him here so long as he discharges his duties faithfully and well. Such a man will gradually rise to high position and influence in the House, His wide acquaintance with Members helps him

amazingly in doing things.

I can speak freely on this subject without violating the proprieties, for my constituents have kept me here 22 years, and for 20 years have given me nominations without opposition, for all of which favors I thank them from the bottom of my heart. Their generous action and unwavering friendship have enabled me to devote all my time to the public service. I have not been compelled to spend any portion of my time in "mending my fences." My constituents have attended to that. God bless them!

One other thing. I do not know what committee assignments you new Members secured. If they are good, you are to be congratulated. If bad, do not be cast down. No congressional tenderfoot ever had poorer assignments than I had—Claims and Old Pensions—but I never complained or kicked. I went to work as though those committees suited me exactly. Here is an illustration of what may happen and how luck plays an an industration of what may happen and now lick plays an important part. I was next to top Democrat on both Foreign Affairs and Patents for eight years—never advanced a peg so far as committees went. Just when, at the beginning of the ninth year on those two committees, I was about to become top Democrat on Foreign Affairs, Hon. John Sharp Williams, then minority leader, assigned me to the foot of Ways and Means, and at the end of four years through the happenings of politics in five different States I jumped from the foot to the head of the Democratic minority on Ways and Means. So it may be with you. Events over which you have no control may advance you more rapidly than you dream of or hope for. My advice is this: "Whatever your hand finds to do, do it with your might."

An Appeal for Peace.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE.

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 17, 1916.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, an appeal from the Christian ministers of Philadelphia has been forwarded to me, and it has so direct a bearing upon the problem now under discussion that I ask unanimous consent to extend it in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none. Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The clergymen making this appeal are representative of the best thought of a great city and I ask for them a respectful consideration at the hands of Congress.

I append the correspondence:

PHILADELPHIA, March 11, 1916.

PHILADELPHIA, March 11, 1916.

The Hon. J. Hampton Moore,
House of Representatives of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I have the honor to transmit to you a memorial prepared by representative ministers of the church in the city of Philadelphia, Pa.

I also inclose the list of the members of the committee appointed to present this matter to the President and to the Senate and House of Representatives.

Very respectfully, yours,

Robert Hunter, Secretary.

At a gathering of ministers held in the Witherspeep Building Phila-

Very respectfully, yours,

At a gathering of ministers held in the Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pa., February 14, 1916, representing several of the Christian churches of the city, action was taken as given below with relation to the situation of noncombatants in the world war.

The undersigned, ministers of the Churches of Christ in Philadelphia, Pa., respectfully submit to the public a statement concerning one feature of the world war, which is now waging, for sympathetic consideration. While we deplore greatly the dreadful loss of the lives of myriads of the combatants in the armies of the several belligerent nations, and also the serious injuries of multitudes who have been maimed for life, we deplore yet more deeply the grievous conditions which surround the noncombatants in these nations. To us it appears that little consideration has been given by certain Governments to the situation of the men, women, and children whose only part in the war has been patient endurance of terrible suffering. Neither old age nor childhood has been a defense against certain forms of military aggression. What is true of the war upon land has been likewise true of war upon the sea. There is safety nowhere, even for little children, from the flerceness of a war which seems to be characterized increasingly by a lust for atrocity.

This situation has led to widespread effort in the United States for the relief of the Armenians, Belgians, Jews. Poles, and other nationalities. These relief measures have been of untold benefit to the sufferers of many peoples, but they do not atone for the cruelties, which have utterly wrecked hundreds of thousands of households and brought death to numberless noncombatants.

There is evidently need for a change of policy on the part of some of the Governments of the belligerent nations, and we ask all our people to unite with us in an appeal to the Government of the United States to seek yet more earnestly from all the nations at war agreements which shall lessen the frightfulness of present conditions concerning or threatening noncombatants, and which shall bring into this terrible struggle something of the justice and kindly spirit of the gospel of Christ, and thus alleviate the horrors which accompany war.

Deeply impressed by the situation, we give form to our convictions through the following resolutions:

"Resolved:

"First. That we solemnly and sincerely protest, in the name of God and humanity, against this horrible and detestable slaughter of innocent men, women, and children, contrary to our standards of religion, morals, and civilization.

"Second. That a committee of one from each of the various religious bodies of this city be appointed by the chairman to present this memorial to their Representatives in Congress; that it may be presented, through them, to the House and Senate of the United States for their consideration; and that similar resolutions be requested from the representatives of religious bodies in other communities; also that any committee appointed be authorized to submit the whole matter to the President of the United States."

The list of the members of the committee appointed to present this subject to the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives will be found on an additional sheet inclosed.

Very respectfully,

J. Grax Polton, Chairman.

J. GRAY BOLTON, Chairman. ROBERT HUNTER, Secretary.

FULL LIST OF COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO GO TO WASHINGTON.

ROBERT HUNTER, Secretary.

PULL LIST OF COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO GO TO WASHINGTON.
Presbyterian: Rev. J. Gray Bolton, D. D., Rev. Robert Hunter, D. D.,
Mr. George V. Massey.
Methodist Episcopal: Bishop J. F. Berry, Rev. William Powick,
D. D., Mr. John Gribbel.
Reformed Church, United States: Rev. Rufus W. Miller, D. D., Rev.
James Crawford, D. D., Mr. H. E. Paisley.
Congregational: Rev. William V. Berg, D. D., Rev. Clinton B.
Adams, D. D.
Protestant Episcopal: Bishop P. M. Rhinelander, Rev. Floyd W.
Tomkins, D. D., Mr. E. H. Bonsall.
Lutheran General Synod: Rev. Edwin Heyl Delk, D. D., Rev. William J. Miller, Jr., Mr. Harvey C. Miller.
Baptist: Rev. Russell H. Conwell, D. D., Rev. George D. Adams,
D. D., Mr. Ernest L. Tustin.
United Presbyterian: Rev. J. C. Scouller, D. D., Rev. R. W. Burnside, D. D., Mr. Robert H. Ferguson.
Covenanter: Rev. Findley M. Wilson, D. D., Rev. R. A. Blair, D. D.,
Mr. Joseph M. Steele.
Reformed Episcopal: Rev. Augustus E. Barnett, D. D., Rev. Forest
E. Dager, D. D.
Interchurch Federation of Philadelphia: Rev. William H. Roberts,
D. D., Rev. Edwin Heyl Delk, D. D.
ROBERT HUNTER, Secretary.

The Borland Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. L. C. DYER,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 14, 1916.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BOBLAND], in his extension of remarks, inserted in the Congressional Record, February 28, 1916, with reference to his amendment of this bill to lengthen the hours of service of certain employees of the Government, included in his remarks, the

following:

There are a number of negroes in the civil service, and almost without exception they are in the purely clerical departments, where the seven-hour day prevalls, and not in the mechanical and technical branches, where the eight-hour day is enforced. I am told that among the young negro couples it is customary for both the husband and wife to take the civil-service examination and secure appointment, if possible, in the same office. As they get to work late in the morning and go home early in the afternoon, it is possible for them to keep house and raise an interesting brood of pickaninnies while drawing two comfortable salaries from the Federal Government. Sometimes the wife only works in the department and the husband rests at home or devotes his talents to preaching the gospel.

Mr. Speaker, I consider this an unjust attack against the

colored people.

I am in receipt of the following letter with reference to it, as follows:

HYATTSVILLE, MD., February 29, 1916.

My Dear Sir: I have the bonor to invite your attention to the inclosed copy of a portion of Representative W. P. Borland's remarks published in the Congressional Record of February 28, 1016, the same constituting, in my judgment, an undeserved, gratuitously insulting thrust at the colored people of this Nation, a comparatively small number of whom are employed in various branches of the Federal Government.

As one of the taxpayers whose interests Mr. Borland seems to cherish so close in his heart, I have the honor to ask if you will ascertain to what extent, if at all, conditions actually existing in the various branches of the Federal Government, or in any of them, were on February 28. 1916, such as warranted the utterance quoted on the accompanying sheet.

Very respectfully,

James C. Waters, Jr.,

Member National Association for the

JAMES C. WATERS, Jr.,
Member National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Speaker, the colored race numbers 10,000,000 in the inited States. They have done well under all circumstances, United States. and there ought to be credit given them instead of criticism. The development that they have made has been in practically every line of business as well as in education. In farming they have made great progress, and they now occupy an acreage of land of a total of 42,609,117. There are nearly a million colored farmers.

When it comes to the various trades we find that the colored man and the colored woman are making splendid headway; 62.2 per cent of them are engaged in gainful occupations. agricultural pursuits there are 2,143,176; in professional service there are 47,324; in domestic and personal service there are 1,324,160; in trade and transportation there are 29,154; and

in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits there are 275,149.

During the past 50 years the colored people have accumulated a second colored people are accumulated as a second colored people accumulated accumulated as a second colo lated property to the value of over \$600,000,000; they have established banks, and now have in existence 65. They do a banking business amounting to \$20,000,000 a year. No other people, no other race, can point to the progress made by the colored people in the same length of time. When they were freed they had no property and no education, and all that has been accomplished by them has been in a remarkably short time.

. The colored race are a religious people. They have many splendid churches that they have built and own; they are rearing and educating their children with every desire to make them good and useful citizens.

In the last several months some people have been fearing that the United States would be brought into the European war. We are now in trouble with Mexico. Some of the first soldiers to enter Mexico were those of the colored Cavalry. Other colored soldiers will go there. They are serving the Nation in the Philippines, in Hawaii, and elsewhere. If we get into a serious war we will need many soldiers. The colored men have always responded.

I do not believe it is necessary to point out the fact that the colored people of this Nation love the country, its flag, and its institutions as well as any other Americans, but for the benefit of some who perhaps do not know how patriotically the colored man has stood by his country in the hour of danger let me call your attention to some things that have been done by the colored man along that line.

They were found in all branches of the Patriot Army. They generally served in the same regiments with the white soldiers. Connecticut, however, had one complete company of colored soldiers, and Rhode Island a complete regiment. According to an official report there were in the Army, under Gen. Washington's immediate command, on the 24th of August, 1778, 775 colored soldiers. It is estimated that there was an average of 35 colored soldiers in each white regiment. This does not appear to include the colored troops furnished by Connecticut, New York, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. There were altogether about 3,000 colored soldiers. about 3,000 colored soldiers.

Some of the most heroic deeds of the War of Independence were performed by colored men. The first martyr in the Boston massacre, March 5, 1770, was Crispus Attucks. Samuel Lawwere performed by colored men. The first martyr in the Boston massacre, March 5, 1770, was Crispus Attucks. Samuel Lawrence, a prominent white citizen of Groton, Mass., led a company of colored soldiers to the Battle of Bunker Hill. It was the colored man, Peters Salem, who at the Battle of Bunker Hill. It was the colored man, Peters Salem, who at the Battle of Bunker Hill fired the shot that mortally wounded Maj. Pitcairn. Solom Poor, another one, so distinguished himself at the Battle of Bunker Hill that a petition was drawn up by some of the principal officers to secure him recognition by the Massachusetts Colony. Austin Dabney, another, rendered such conspicuous service in the Revolutionary War that he was freed and the Federal Government granted him a pension. The State of Georgia also granted him a considerable amount of land. The Black Legion, organized in 1779 in St. Domingo by Count D'Estaing, consisted of 800 young freedmen blacks and mulattoes. At the siege of Savannah, on the 9th of October, 1779, this legion, by covering the retreat and repulsing the charge of the British, saved the defeated French Army from annihilation.

A large number of colored sallors were in the Navy during the War of 1812. It is estimated that one-tenth of the crews that manned the vessels on the Great Lakes were colored. They served faithfully in all the battles of the Great Lakes and in LIII—36

the Battle of Lake Eric rendered very effective service. In the celebrated picture of Perry's victory on Lake Erle is seen a colored sailor

Gen. Andrew Jackson, September 21, 1814, issued a call to the free colored men of Louisiana to enlist. As a result, 500 of them were organized into two battalions. These battalions distinguished themselves in the Battle of New Orleans. The legislature of New York, October 24, 1814, authorized the raising of two regiments of men of color. As a result, 2,000 colored men were enlisted and sent forward to the Army at Sacketts Harbor.

One hundred and seventy-eight thousand nine hundred and seventy-five colored soldiers were enlisted in the War of the Rebellion. These made up 161 regiments, of which 141 were infantry, 7 were cavalry, 12 were heavy artillery, and 1 light artillery. The first colored regiments to be organized were the First South Carolina, in which the first enlistments were made May 9, 1862; the First Louisiana Native Guards, September 27, 1862; the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, February 9, 1863; the Second Carolina Volunteers, February 23, 1863.

July 28, 1866, Congress passed a law that colored regiments should be a part of the Regular Army. Under this act, the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry and the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, and Forty-first Regiments of Infantry were organized. March 3, 1869, a consolidation act was passed, and the Thirty-eighth and Forty-first were organized as the Twenty-fourth Regiment of Infantry; the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth we reorganized as the Twenty-fifth Regiment of Infantry. These regiments were stationed on the frontier and rendered valuable service in the military operations against the Indians, extending from Dakota to Mexico. The Ninth and Tenth Cavalry won the reputation of being the best Indian fighters on the frontier.

At the outbreak of the Spanish War in 1898 the four colored regiments were among the first troops ordered to the front. Here, again, they won great distinction by their bravery and Colored soldiers took a more conspicuous part in the Spanish War than in any previous war waged by the United States. At the first battle in Cuba-Las Guasimas-the Tenth Cavalry played an important part by coming to the support of Col. Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders. The Twentyfifth Infantry took a prominent part in the Battle of El Caney. The Ninth and Tenth Cavalry and the Twenty-fourth Infantry rendered heroic service in the famous Battle of San Juan Hill.

Reply to the Washington Post.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOE H. EAGLE.

OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 16, 1916.

Mr. EAGLE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record I include a copy of a letter which I wrote to the Washington Post in reply to some observations it made concerning me,

The letter is as follows:

WASHINGTON, March 8, 1916.

To the WASHINGTON POST:

I can not so arrange my personal business affairs as to allow me longer to remain in public life."

Thus it clearly appears that my voluntary retirement from Congress has no connection whatever with any current legislative or diplomatic issue.

As the reporter undertook, doubtless in good faith but evidently purely upon rumor, to state for me my view actuating my vote on the McLemore resolution issue in the House yesterday, I deem it but fair to correct his impression by making my own statement of my reasons, as follows:

In the proceedings in the House vesterday upon the McLemore resolution.

to correct his impression by making my own statement of my reasons, as follows:

In the proceedings in the House yesterday upon the McLemore resolution there were three votes cast. I voted "yes" on the first and second and "no" on the third roll call.

My reasons were:

First, On the first vote the question was whether to order the previous question; that is, whether to "cut out the talk" and "get down to a vote." On that I voted "yes." There is too much talk.

Second. On the second vote the question was whether to adout the rule; that is, to debate for four hours and then vote on the resolution. On that I voted "yes," because I wanted a test vote as soon as possible on the resolution.

Third, On the third vote the question was whether to table the McLemore resolution; that is, kill it without a vote on it. On that I voted "no." because I wanted to have a record vote on the principle of warning Americans to keep off of merchant ships of belligerents armed for defensive purposes. I would have voted to warn them off of such vessels if we could have had a vote on such resolution, although under international law our nationals have the undoubted legal right to travel on such vessels.

Yours, very respectfully,

JOE H. Eagle.

JOE H. EAGLE.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET.

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, there seems to be a general misapprehension concerning the McLemore resolution vote.

A concise statement is this: On February 22 the gentleman from Texas [Mr. McLemore] introduced a resolution with a long string of "whereases" and a resolution concerning the warning of American citizens against traveling on armed belligerent merchant vessels. As drawn, the resolution had practically no support. But for some reason there was a good deal of excitement about that time on the Democratic side concerning U boats and armed merchant vessels. Certain prominent Democratic Members of the House were reported as saying that there was an overwhelming sentiment in the House for a warning resolution. On February 29 the President sent the following letter to Representative Pou:

THE WHITE HOUSE, Washington, February 29, 1916.

The White House, Washington, February 29, 1916.

My Dear Mr. Pou: Inasmuch as I learn that Mr. Henry, the chairman of the Committee on Rules, is absent in Texas, I take the liberty of calling your attention, as ranking member of the committee, to a matter of grave concern to the country, which can, I believe, be handled, under the rules of the House, only by that committee.

The report that there are divided counsels in Congress in regard to the foreign policy of the Government is being made industrious use of in foreign capitals. I believe that report to be false, but so long as it is anywhere credited it can not fail to do the greatest harm and expose the country to the most serious risks. I therefore feel justified in asking that your committee will permit me to urge an early vote upon the resolutions with regard to travel on armed merchantmen which have recently been so much talked about in order that there may be afforded an immediate opportunity for full public discussion and action upon them and that all doubts and conjectures may be swept away and our foreign relations once more cleared of damaging misunderstandings.

The matter is of so grave importance and lies so clearly within the field of Executive initiative that I venture to hope that your committee will not think that I am taking unwarranted liberty in making this suggestion as to the business of the House, and I very earnestly commend it to their immediate attention.

Cordially and sincerely, yours,

Woodbow Wilson.

This made the McLemore resolution rather famous. The Committee on Foreign Affairs, where it was quietly pending, took it up for consideration and finally reported it adversely, with the recommendation that it lie on the table. This absolutely killed the resolution under the rules of the House, unless the Rules Committee acted. That committee, on March 6, reported a rule making it in order to discuss the resolution for four hours and then to move to put it back on the table. I opposed the form of rule in committee and on the floor, contending that four hours was not "full public discussion," as demanded by the President, and that simply laying the resolution on the table did not give the President any information as to our views. For the same reason I voted against laying the resolution on the table. I believed, and still believe, that

when the President asked our real views on a matter of "grave importance" we should have given them to him instead of indulging in some excellent Fourth of July oratory and then putting a perfectly dead resolution back among the dead from which it came.

As a minority member of the Rules Committee, I spent six days working on the question, and came to a conclusion on

the questions involved.

The foreign situation which now confronts our country is the most serious in our history. We had as difficult questions during the Napoleonic wars. Then our decisions required weeks for transmissal and the ocean was a barrier. Now our decisions are transmitted by wireless and the ocean is a highway,

The contest has embroiled two-thirds of the world and has become ghastly, ruthless, unbelievable slaughter. The nations at war are no longer normal. A slight accident might drag us

into the awful conflict.

Our national safety is dependent upon our remaining strictly neutral and preserving international law as and where it ex-

isted by common consent prior to the war.

What is our present danger? Briefly stated, Germany on the one hand claims the right to sink without warning any merchant vessel of the allies equipped with armament efficient enough to sink a submarine; Great Britain and the allies, on the other hand, claim the right to equip merchant vessels with armament efficient enough to sink a submarine, but to be used for defensive purposes only.

In practice, of course, no submarine will ever trust itself near enough to such an armed vessel to give a warning, and no such armed vessel will ever let a submarine get within range

without shooting at it.

There have already been at least three contests, of which we know, between such armed vessels and submarines, in which the submarines were either driven off or sunk. So long as there are no American citizens on any of these armed vessels we have no concern in the controversy. It is a contention between the central powers and the allies. But the first armed merchant vessel which sinks, carrying with it an American citizen, makes

us a party to the controversy.

The questions to be considered are: (1) Has a merchant vessel of a belligerent the right to arm? (2) What are the rights of neutrals on armed merchant vessels of the belligerents? (3) In the face of our grave situation, what is the duty

of our citizens?

First. A merchant vessel of a belligerent always has had and still has an undoubted right to arm. Armed, it has the right to fight, not only privateers and pirates but war vessels. There are only five decided cases in the highest courts of Great Britain and America, and in two of these (the Fanny, 1 Dodson, 443, and the Nereide, 9 Cranch, 388) the vessels stoutly resisted capture. But the fact of the resistance was not considered as an element in either case. Under the decided cases there is no limitation on the number of guns or their position. The Nercide, with a crew of but 16 men, carried 10 guns, and the Amelia, another of the cases (1 Cranch, 1), carried eight iron and four wooden guns. It is possible to contend, merchant vessels having been chiefly in old days armed against privateers and pirates, that, pirates having practically disappeared and privateers being no longer used, the right to arm disappeared with the necessity to arm; but this overlooks the right of merchantmen to arm as against warships. It is sound reasoning that this right, always exercised, has never ceased to exist.

The first way in which this question came up to our State Department in this war was in connection with the visits of armed vessels to our ports. On September 19, 1914, Acting Secretary Lansing issued an official circular for the guidance of collectors of customs, in which he drew a word picture of a merchant vessel of belligerent nationality armed for the sole pur-

pose of defense.

CIRCULAR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH REFERENCE TO THE STATUS OF ARMED MERCHANT VESSELS. [Issued Sept. 19, 1914.]

[Issued Sept. 19, 1914.]

(A) A merchant vessel of belligerent nationality may carry an armament and ammunition for the sole purpose of defense without acquiring the character of a sbip of war.

(B) The presence of an armament and ammunition on board a merchant vessel creates a presumption that the armament is for offensive purposes, but the owners or agents may overcome this presumption by evidence showing that the vessel carries armament solely for defense.

(C) Evidence necessary to establish the fact that the armament is solely for defense and will not be used offensively, whether the armament per mounted or stowed below, must be presented in each case independently at an official investigation. The result of the investigation must show conclusively that the armament is not intended for and will not be used in offensive operations.

Indications that the armament will not be used offensively are:

1. That the caliber of the guns carried does not exceed 6 inches.

2. That the guns and small arms carried are few in number.

3. That no guns are mounted on the forward part of the vessel.

4. That the quantity of ammunition carried is small.

5. That the vessel is manned by its usual crew and the officers are the same as those on board before war was declared.

6. That the vessel intends to and actually does clear for a port lying in its usual trade route or a port indicating its purpose to continue in the same trade in which it was engaged before war was declared.

7. That the vessel takes on board fuel and supplies sufficient only to carry it to its port of destination, or the same quantity substantially which it has been accustomed to take for a voyage before war was declared.

8. That the cargo of the recommendation is small.

6. That the cargo of the recommendation is small.

6. That the cargo of the recommendation is small.

7. That the cargo of the recommendation is small.

8. That the cargo of the recommendation is small.

which it has been accustomed to take for a voyage before war was declared.

8. That the cargo of the vessei consists of articles of commerce unsuited for the use of a ship of war in operations against an enemy.

9. That the vessei carries passengers who are as a whole unfitted to enter the military or naval service of the belligerent whose flag the vessel flies, or of any of its allies, and particularly if the passenger list includes women and children.

10. That the speed of the ship is slow.

(D) Port authorities, on the arrival in a port of the United States of an armed vessel of belligerent nationality claiming to be a merchant vessel, should immediately investigate and report to Washington on the foregoing indications as to the intended use of the armament, in order that it may be determined whether the evidence is sufficient to remove the presumption that the vessel is and should be treated as a ship of war. Clearance will not be granted until authorized from Washington, and the master will be so informed upon arrival.

(E) The conversion of a merchant vessel into a ship of war is a question of fact which is to be established by direct or circumstantial evidence of intention to use the vessel as a ship of war.

He had solid ground for his description:

On May 8, 1871, our Government and Great Britain entered into what is known as the treaty of Washington for the adjustment of the Alabama claims. The commission appointed under that treated decided that the Confederate cruisers Alabama and Florida were war vessels and that Great Britain should have known so. Mr. Lansing into his picture puts a vessel largely the opposite of the Alabama and Florida and is well within international law. Further, Mr. Lansing has held the rights of merchant vessels within for merchant vessels within of merchant vessels within far more restricted rules than I have laid down.

Prior to the circular of September 19 two armed British merchantmen entered our ports. As to both our Government protested. From one, the Marron, the British Government removed the guns and sent them to England on another vessel as freight. The other, the Adriatic, cleared before the British Government received our protest and never returned to any of our ports carrying armament.

As to Germany, Mr. Lansing, on November 7, 1914, sent a dispatch to Ambassador Gerard, which is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, November 7, 1914.

Your 515, October 15. The Government of the United States is obliged to dissent from the views of the German Government, as expressed in your telegram in regard to the treatment to be accorded armed merchant vessels of belligerent nationalities in neutral ports. The practice of a majority of nations, and the consensus of opinion by the leading authorities on international law, including many German writers, support the proposition that merchant vessels may arm for defense without losing their private character, and that they may employ such armament against hostile attack without contravening the principles of international law.

The purpose of an armament on a merchant vessel is to be determined by various circumstances, among which are the number and position of the guns on the vessel, the quantity of ammunition and fuel, the number and sex of the passengers, the nature of the cargo, etc. Tested by evidence of this character, the question as to whether an armament on a merchant vessel is intended solely for defensive purposes may be readily answered, and the neutral Government should regulate its treatment of the vessel in accordance with the intended use of the armament.

ment.

This Government considers that in permitting a private vessel having a general cargo, a customary amount of fuel, an average crew, and passengers of both sexes on board, and carrying a small armament and a small amount of ammunition to enjoy the hospitality of an American port as a merchant vessel, it is in no way violating its duty as a neutral. Nevertheless it is not unmindful of the fact that the circumstances of a particular case may be such as to cause embarrassment and possible controversy as to the character of an armed private vessel visiting its ports. Recognizing, therefore, the desirability of avoiding a ground of complaint, this Government, as soon as a case arose, while frankly admitting the right of a merchant vessel to carry a defensive armament, expressed its disapprobation of a practice which compelled it to pass upon a vessel's intended use, which opinion if proven subsequently to be erroneous might constitute a ground for a charge of unneutral conduct.

As a result of these representations no merchant vessels with armaments have visited the ports of the United States since the 10th of September. In fact, from the beginning of the European war, but two armed private vessels have entered or cleared from ports of this country, and as to these vessels their character as merchant vessels was conclusively estatished.

Please bring the foregoing to the attention of the German Government, and in doing so express the hope that they will also prevent their merchant vessels from entering the ports of the United States carrying armaments, even for defensive purposes, though they may possess the right to do so by the rules of international law. This Government considers that in permitting a private vessel having

The German contention has been against the right of merchantmen to arm. It will be seen from what has been said that our Government has never conceded any but a limited right to armed merchant vessels of belligerents to enter our ports; that in practice it has asked both Great Britain and Germany to refrain from the exercise of that limited right. Upon this question the conduct of our State Department has been wise, conservative, and the one best calculated to keep us out of war,

while at the same time following the decisions of our own Supreme Court

It should be remembered that so far the discussion has dealt merely with the right of belligerent merchantmen, first to arm and second to visit our ports when armed, and both these rights are conceded.

We now come to an entirely different phase of the subject; that is, the right of a neutral on board the armed vessel of a belligerent. There are but five decided cases in the United States and Great Britain which have any bearing on this question. They are the Katherine Elizabeth and Fanny, British, and the Nerlide, Amelia, and Atalanta, American. All of these cases treat of goods, but it is believed, as Chief Justice Marshall said in the Nereide case, that in relation to passengers "the law would operate in the same manner on both.

None of these cases hold in a flat-footed way that a neutral has any absolute right on an armed merchant vessel of a belligerent. The *Nercide*, decided in 1815, was one of those cases where a majority of the judges could not decide on any one principle of law, but where a majority did concur in a particular decision for different reasons. It was decided in the Supreme Court of the United States (9 Cranch, 388).

The facts briefly were that Mr. Pinto, a Spanish subject, chartered the Nereide, a British vessel, to earry cargo to the Argentine, and under a charter party called with the goods. The Nereide had a crew of 16 men, was armed with 10 guns. and sailed under convoy. She became separated from her convoy and falling in with an American privateer, this being during the War of 1812, was captured and taken into New York City to be condemned as a prize. The British vessel was, of course, condemned without contest, but the owner claimed the right to the goods as a neutral. Six judges sat in the appeal. Chief Justice Marshall and two of his associates held squarely that the goods of a neutral friend are safe in the ship of an enemy. Justice Story and another refused to concur, but, it is fair to say, based their decision largely upon the ground that by chartering the whole vessel and by proceeding under convoy, Mr. Pinto forfeited whatever rights a neutral had. This left This left the decision to the sixth judge, who concurred with Chief Justice Marshall and his associates in the result without concurring in their opinion. In a later case, the Atalanta (3 Wheat., 409) this judge described what he had decided in the case of the Nercide as follows:

When the case of the Nereide was before this court, I declined expressing my opinion upon the general question, because the cargo, considered as Spanish property, was exposed to capture by the Carthagenian and other privateers, and, considered as belonging to a revolted colony, was liable to Spanish capture. The neutral shipper, therefore, could not be charged with evading our belligerent rights, or putting off his neutral character, when placing himself under the protection of an armed belligerent, when sailing, as that shipper was, between Seylla and Charybdis, he might accept of the aid or protection of one belligerent, without giving just cause of offense to another.

Therefore, the Nercide is not a clear cut precedent for the present claimed rights of neutrals.

A case decided in England prior to the Nercide, but not brought to the attention of the court, was the case of the

Fanny (1 Dodson, 443).

This case is the most analogous in its reasoning to the presentday question of an armed merchant vessel of a belligerent na-tion of any case in the books. The Fanny, deliberately armed in Brazil defensively as against American warships and privateers, increased its crew, which is analogous to the naval crews being put on British merchantmen by the British Admiralty to-day. She had letters of marque, but was not a pri-Her cargo consisted partly of Portuguese and partly of vateer. British property. She was attacked by the American schooner General Armstrong, defended herself in a severe engagement, but was captured. She was subsequently recaptured by a British warship, taken into a British prize court, where her captor demanded salvage. Sir William Scott, in the British High Court of Admiralty, held that the neutral Portuguese goods must pay salvage as well as the British ship and British cargo. The judge said:

The judge said:

A neutral subject is at liberty to put his goods on board a merchant vessel, though belonging to a belligerent, subject, nevertheless, to the rights of the enemy who may capture the vessel, but who has no right, according to the modern practice of civilized States, to condemn the neutral property. Neither will the goods of the neutral be subject to condemnation although a rescue should be attempted by the crew of the captured vessel, for that is an event which the merchant could not have foreseen. But if he puts his goods on board a ship of force, which he has every reason to presume will be defended against the enemy by that force, the case then becomes very different. He betrays an intention to resist visitation and search, which he could not do by putting them on board a mere merchant vessel, and so far as he does this he adheres to the belligerent; he withdraws himself from his protection of neutrality and resorts to another mode of defense; and I take it to be quite clear that if a party acts in association with a hostile force and relies upon that force for protection he is, pro hac vice, to be considered as an enemy. It is not a sufficient excuse to say that the

Portuguese are not possessed of shipping of their own sufficient for the whole of their commerce, and are therefore under the necessity of making use of those belonging to others. If they choose to take the protection of a hostile force instead of their own neutral character, they must take the inconvenience with the convenience; they must abide by the consequences resulting from the course of conduct which, upon the whole knowledge of the matter, they have thought proper to pursue, it could not in this case have been a secret that force was to be used for the protection of the property. It must have been known to the laders of the cargo that this ship was to sall as a single ship and to fight her way home, since a large number of men were openly and publicly collected for the purpose of enabling her to resist a hostile force.

In 1818 there came up in our Supreme Court the case of the Atalanta heretofore referred to. The Atalanta was a British armed vessel, captured by an American sloop of war. The cargo was claimed by a French citizen, who contested condemnation in the prize court and was upheld in that court, but the proceedings in the prize court were extremely irregular, and the Supreme Court sent the case back for further proof. On the question of the rights of a neutral, Chief Justice Marshall said that the case of the Atalanta did not essentially differ from that of the Nereide, and that the three judges in the Nereide case retained their opinion, but he said:

The principle of the law of nations, that the goods of a friend are safe in the bottom of any enemy, may be, and probably will be, changed or so impaired as to leave no object to which it is applicable; but so long as the principle shall be acknowledged this court must reject constructions which render it totally inoperative—

thus very considerably weakening his opinion in the Nereide case. On the other hand, Judge Johnson, who had refused to concur with Judge Marshall and his associates in the Nercide case, took up the discussion of the right of a neutral and finally came to the following conclusion:

Upon the whole I am fully satisfied that the decision in the case of the Nereide was founded in the most correct principles, and recognized the rule that lading on board an armed belligerent is not per se as a cause of forfeiture.

The only other cases in the books at all touching the subject are the Katherine Elizabeth, which is distinguished by both Sir William Scott in the Fanny and Chief Justice Marshall in the Nereide; and the Amelia (1 Cranch, 1), in which the goods of a neutral recaptured by an American war vessel were held liable for salvage, but, though this would seem to be a decision in the line of my reasoning, the case so clearly stands on its own peculiar conditions that I do not quote it as such. Therefore, as a basis for this alleged right, we have one case in which less than a majority of the court held it to be the law; the English case which holds against the right and the second American case in which the reasoning of the earliest American case is, on one hand, weakened by Chief Justice Marshall's contention, and on the other to some extent strengthened by the adherence there to the principle by the judge who refused to adhere to it in the first case. But, of course, the opinion is merely obiter, as the case was sent back for further proof on another point.

A. Pearce Higgins, in his article on armed merchant vessels (vol. 8, American Journal of International Law), cites the cases, and says:

It does not appear that there is a definite decision on the question s to the fate of neutral goods laden on a defensively armed and un-commissioned enemy merchant ship either in Great Britain or the United States.

Twiss Law of Nations in War (2d ed.), page 188, cites the

So that the decisions of the highest tribunal of the United States are on this point in direct conflict with the judgment of the English high court of admiralty.

It is very evident to me that Secretary Lansing is one of the apparently few men in the United States who has taken trouble to familiarize himself with the exact condition of the law, and it is no surprise to me that on January 18, 1916, he sent to some, at least, of the foreign Governments the following memorandum:

It is a matter of the deepest interest to my Government to bring to an end, if possible, the dangers of life which attend the use of submarines as at present employed in destroying enemy commerce on the high seas, since on any merchant vessel of belligerent nationality there may be citizens of the United States who have taken passage or members of the crew in the exercise of their recognized rights as neutrals. I assume your Government is equally solicitous to protect their nationals from the exceptional bazards which are presented by their passage on merchant vessels through those portions of the high seas in which undersea craft of the enemy are operating.

While I am fully slight to the expections of the among your

While I am fully alive to the appalling loss of life among non-combatants, regardless of age or sex, which has resulted from the present method of destroying merchant vessels without removing the persons on board to places of safety, and while I view that practice as contrary to those humane principles which should control belligerents in the conduct of their naval operations, I do not feel that a belligerent should be deprived of the proper use of submarines in the invasion of commerce, since those instruments of war have proved their effectiveness in this practical branch of warfare on the high seas.

In order to bring submarine warfare within the general rules of international law and the principles of humanity without destroying their efficiency in their destruction of commerce, I believe that a formula may be found which, though it may require slight modification of the precedent generally followed by nations prior to the mployment of the submarines, will appeal to the sense of justice and fairness of all the beligerents in the present war.

Your Government will understand that in seeking the formula or rule of this nature I approach it of necessity from the point of view of a neutral, but I believe that it will be equally efficacious in preserving the lives of noncombatants on merchant vessels of belilgerent nationalities.

BASIS OF PROPOSALS.

comments on this subject are predicated on the following

My comments on this subject are predicated on the following pronositions:

First. A noncombatant has the right to travel the high seas in a merchant vessel entitled to fly a belligerent flag, to rely upon the observance of the rules of international law and principles of humanity, and if the vessel is approached by a naval vessel of another belligerent, the merchant vessel of enemy nationality should not be attacked without being ordered to stop.

Second. An enemy merchant vessel when ordered to do so by a belligerent submarine should immediately stop.

Third. Such vessel should not be attacked after being ordered to stop unless it attempts to flee or to resist. In case it ceases to flee or resist the attack should be discontinued.

Fourth. In the event that it is impossible to place a prize crew on board of an enemy merchant vessel or to convoy it into port, the vessel may be sunk, provided the crew and passengers have been removed to a place of safety.

OBSTACLES FOR SUBMARINES.

OBSTACLES FOR SUBMARINES.

In complying with the foregoing principles, which, in my opinion, embody the principal rule, the strict observance of which will insure the life of a noncombatant on a merchant vessel which is intercepted bu a submarine, I am not unmindful of the obstacles which would be met by undersea craft as commerce destroyers.

Prior to the year 1915 belligerent operations against enemy commerce on the high seas had been conducted with cruisers carrying heavy armaments. In these conditions international law appeared to permit a merchant vessel to carry armament for defensive purposes without lessening its character as a private merchant vessel. This right seems to have been predicated on the superior defensive strength of ships of war and the limitation of armament to have been dependent on the fact that it could not be used effectively in offense against enemy naval vessels, while it could defend the merchantmen against the generally inferior armament of piratical ships and privateers.

POWERLESS IN DEFENSE.

The use of the submarine, however, has changed these relations. Comparison of the defensive strength of a cruiser and a submarine shows that the latter, relying for protection on its power to submerge, is atmost defenseless in point of construction. Even a merchant ship carrying a small-caliber gun would be able to use it effectively for offense against the submarine.

Moreover, pirates and sea rovers have been swept from the main trade channels of the sea and privateering has been abolished. Consequently the placing of guns on merchantmen at the present date of submarine warfare can be explained only on the ground of a purpose to render merchantmen superior in force to submarines and to prevent warning and visit and search by them. Any armament, therefore, on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an offensive armament.

armament.

If a submarine is required to stop and search a merchant vessel on the high seas, and in case it is found that she is of an enemy character and that conditions necessitate her destruction and the removal to a place of safety of persons on board, it would not seem just nor reasonable that the submarine should be compelled, while complying with these requirements, to expose itself to almost certain destruction by the guns on board the merchant vessel. armament.

INNOCENT LIVES AT STAKE.

It would therefore appear to be a reasonable and reciprocally just arrangement if it could be agreed by the opposing belligerents that submarines should be caused to adhere strictly to the rules of international law in the matter of stepping and searching merchant vessels, determining their belligerent nationality, and removing the crews and passengers to places of safety before sinking the vessels as prizes of war, and that merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatsoever.

In proposing this formula as a basis of conditional declarations by the beligerent Government I do so in the full conviction that each Government will consider primarily the humane purposes of saving the lives of innocent people rather than the insistence upon doubtful legal rights which may be denied on account of new conditions.

STAND ON QUESTION SOUGHT.

which may be defiled on account of new conditions.

STAND ON QUESTION SOUGHT.

I would be pleased to be informed whether your Government would be willing to make such a declaration conditioned upon their enemies making a similar declaration.

I should add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

In my opinion, this memorandum states the law, and, if it does, no American citizen has a clear right on an armed vessel of a belligerent.

But it is said that the central powers in giving notice that they will sink armed merchant vessels of the allies without warning are changing the rules of international law during the conflict. It does not so appeal to me. I will assume, for the purpose of the argument that the allies' orders are that the armament is to be used only for defensive purposes. There is armament is to be used only for defensive purposes. There is only one way that an armed merchant vessel can defend itself against a submarine, and that is by keeping the submarine so far away that it can not discharge its torpedo or use its guns. In other words, the best defensive way to use the armament is

to commence firing at the submarine as soon as the latter gets within range of the merchantman's guns. It seems clear to me that a merchant vessel which revives the practice of carrying armament, after that practice has been permitted to become obsolete, and then revives it openly as against one form of war vessels and with an armament superior in range to the armament of that war vessel, very clearly can not be heard to say that the war vessel must come within a range which would be certain destruction and give a warning. Or in line with Sir William Scott's decision, if a ship chooses to rely upon force, it must take the inconveniences as well as the conveniences of force.

So far the discussion has proceeded on the question of the right of an American citizen, and it has been rather clearly demonstrated that there is no such clear right as has been mentioned. If it is borne in mind that Secretary Lansing's memorandum of September 19, 1914, referred solely to the right of armed merchant vessels of belligerents to enter our ports, while his memorandum of January 18, 1916, is the only one referring to the rights of our neutrals on board such armed vessels, an absolutely distinct proposition, then the two memorandums already mentioned, the memorandum of November 7, 1914, heretofore set out, and the protest to the British Government in relation to the Marron are all consistent, not only with each other, but with the decided cases and with the textbooks cited.

It is also apparent that in view of these cases, Secretary Lausing has handled the question from an American standpoint most admirably. His positions uphold every real American right, make the best possible effort to keep us out of the European war, and in addition, by attempting to limit the destruction of life and property threatened to be caused by the armed merchant vessel of the allies, on the one hand, and the submarine of the central powers, on the other, has attempted to do a service for humanity not only splendid in itself but of incalculable benefit as a precedent in future wars.

It seems scarcely necessary, having demonstrated that there is no clear American right, such as is insisted on, to go further and prove the propriety and wisdom of advising American citizens not to travel on armed merchant vessels of belligerents, but inasmuch as many people insist that such a right exists, it seems pertinent to call their attention to the fact that American citizens during this war have been advised many times to refrain from the exercise of undoubted rights so as to reduce the chance of our Government being in some way involved in the European war or its consequences.

On August 20, 1914, President Wilson asked all of us to refrain from discussing the European war—that is, to refrain from exercising the sacred right of free speech.

On October 4, 1915, Secretary Lansing asked American citizens to avoid visiting unnecessarily countries which are at war, and to particularly avoid, if possible, passing through or from a belligerent country to a country which is at war therewith; and naturalized citizens to refrain from visiting either the countries of their origin or countries which are at war therewith. In other words, to restrict their right to travel where they had a legal right to travel. He also announced that the Government would restrict the rights of American citizens to passports and would not issue any to persons who were merely touriets.

On October 25, 1915, he notified newspaper correspondents that issuance of passports to them would be restricted, thus restricting not only the right to travel, but a property right—i, e., the right to earn money.

The right of expatriation is a right for which our Government has always contended. Nevertheless, on November 1, 1915, the Department of State advised American citizens that enlistment in foreign armies might expatriate them, and asked them not to enlist in foreign armies.

On December 17, 1915, and theretofore we notified our citizens that we would restrict their rights to passports to persons going abroad on business or other imperative reasons satisfactorily shown to the Department of State.

The record, therefore, is that we have asked both Great Britain and Germany to refrain from the exercise of their right to send armed merchant vessels into our ports, and in the ways that I have mentioned, and possibly others, have either asked our own citizens to refrain from the exercise of rights or have curtailed those rights by executive departmental action. I do not criticize this advice and these restrictions. On the contrary, I think the action admirable. It tends to keep our country out of war, and an administration which has done these things ought, it seems to me, to be very willing itself to advise American citizens to keep off the armed vessels of belligerents, or, having asked Congress for its online, ought

to welcome an expression of opinion that such ought to be the course of American citizens.

There is, in addition, a moral side. Ought an American citizen, for a light cause, to jeopardize the peace of his country? The Apostle Paul, who was not a pacifist and who always stood up for his rights when he thought it essential, understood the necessity of sometimes waiving a right.

Wherefore, if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend.

I wish that there could be put into the hands of every reckless American, whose conduct tends to jeopardize our peace, the article in the February Atlantic entitled "The radical's progress," a description of a portion of the experiences of a British transport captain at Gallipoli. I quote one paragraph.

How would any one of your American jingoes like to be 27 years old, with both eves shot out and both wrists shattered by shrapnel? The man I mean was a young Scot. I helped him up the gangway. He stood six feet three—a beautiful specimen of physical manbood. After a day aboard he suffered terrible torture from the heat of the weather and of the ship, and also from the swarms of files attracted by the smell of blood. He could not lie on a cot, so we had to fence off a corner in the 'tween decks, carpet it with pillows and mattresses, and let him grope around in his agony. On the spots where the blood had soaked through his eye and wrist bandages the files clustered in black clots. He moaned night and day and was scarcely conscious. He was totally blind, and even the sense of touch was denied him, because his wrists were so shattered that they would have to be amputated.

Personally, while I am perfectly willing in the exercise of the constitutional duties of Congress to vote to declare war because of a clear invasion of American rights, I am not willing to vote to duplicate all over our land experiences such as this, because of the assertion on our part of a doubtful right; and not being ready to vote to declare war because of the invasion of a right which I do not believe to exist, I have no moral right to deceive the President of the United States by voting to encourage him to continue to insist on a nonexistent right when such insistence might lead to war.

The Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS F. KONOP,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 18, 1916.

Mr. KONOP: Mr. Speaker, we are to-day considering a bill to increase the efficiency of the Military Establishment of our country. I believe that this should be done as speedily as possible. I do not know of a question over which there has been more discussion among the people of the country than the question of providing an adequate Military and Naval Establishment in order to insure our country a permanent and lasting peace. I believe in the slogan, "In time of peace prepare against war." The war now raging in Europe has opened our eyes to the fact that war in modern times is carried on under such a large scale that the little Military Establishment we now have is inadequate to defend our Republic.

Mr. Speaker, I love peace. I am for peace, and I hope that we may never have another war. I hope that when this war abroad comes to an end the civilized world will come to some understanding whereby peace can be guaranteed to the world. I believe in arbitration of international disputes rather than their settlement by war. The settlement of international disputes by having innocent citizens of one country kill innocent citizens of another is so uncivilized and so unchristian that no one can subscribe to it. But barbarous, uncivilized, unchristian, and horrible as it may seem, we are face to face with the fact that war is upon us, that war is resorted to for the settlement of international disputes among the most civilized countries of the world. We are face to face with the fact that, civilized though he may be, man has not reached that ideal of Christian brotherhood when international disputes can be settled by arbitration.

Why, Mr. Speaker, when agitation for international arbitration was at its highest, when the opinion of the civilized world was unanimous for universal and lasting peace among nations, when rulers, statesmen, generals, publicists, and people everywhere had reached so happy a thought that war was impossible in modern civilization, like a thunderbolt from a clear sky a war broke out so stupendous, so cruel, so uncivilized, and so unchristian that will overshadow the wars of all past ages. am in favor of arbitration; I am in favor of some tribunal for the settlement of international disputes; but we must take the world as it is. We must take facts as they are in present civilization and act accordingly. We must make peace secure by

preparing ourselves against war.

Mr. Speaker, my opinion is that it will be impossible to settle international disputes by a court of arbitration until nations create a court of arbitration that will be capable of enforcing its judgments, orders, and decrees. A court without ability, means, and machinery to enforce its commands would indeed be weak and impotent to settle anything. Let us see how we settle disputes between individuals and between governmental authority and citizens. We settle these disputes by courts, of But back of these courts is a means and power ready and able at any time to enforce their judgments, decrees, and orders, even by violence if necessary. The ability and power to enforce judgments of courts is what makes them an institution capable of preserving peace among individuals. For examples: A man sues another for a debt. What commands obedience and respect for the court's judgment in the case is the executive power to enforce the judgment, even by violence if necessary, by the officer forcibly making a levy. A man assaults another or commits some crime. The judgment and sentence of a court against the defendant would be useless if back of the power to render judgment and sentence there was no executive power to forcibly put into prison the violator of the law. So in every case of our courts, back of their power to render judgments is the power to enforce them, even by violence if necessary

So, Mr. Speaker, if we expect to have international disputes settled as disputes are settled between individuals; if we are to have a court of arbitration that will be able to succeed as a tribunal to settle international disputes, it will be necessary to back up such a court with some executive power to enforce its judgments and decrees by violence. It will be necessary for all nations to disarm and to place at the disposal of such an international tribunal sufficient armament to enable it to enforce its judgments. I for one, Mr. Speaker, in view of what is going on in Europe, am unable to indulge in the happy thought and hope that such a tribunal will soon be established and that there will

be no wars in the future.

Mr. Speaker, now as to the bill presented: The bill provides for a Regular Army of 140,000, which in case of war or imminent danger can be increased to 207,000 men by the President. It provides for an increase of 786 officers to be detailed to our colleges and universities and to the National Guard to train our citizen soldiery. It provides for the federalization of the National Guard in order that it may become a dependable reserve. It provides for pay for these patriotic young men who up to now have received nothing for their time in training themselves to fight for their country in time of war. vides for the mobilization and utilization of our industries in time of war. I believe that this bill provides a most comprehensive Military Establishment to meet the needs of the country, and the Committee on Military Affairs and its distinguished chairman should be congratulated and receive the plaudits of I believe that the committee has presented to us the country. a reasonable bill. I hope that this bill will be approved by Congress as well as by the country generally. This bill. I be lieve, settles in the most sensible way the question of national preparedness in so far as the Army is concerned. I think this bill ought to satisfy the extremists on this question.

There are many in this country that would have no increase in the Army at all, and there are others that want an Army of half a million men. To those that do not want an increase in the Regular Army I would say that I believe that, considering the size of our country, its wealth and its great resources, and its many interests outside, and comparing ours with other countries, 140,000 men is indeed a modest regular Military Estab-

lishment.

To those that would have a Regular Army of half a million men I would say that, with a provision in this bill for the federalization of our militia, which will create a reserve ample to meet any exigency, ought to be satisfied with the regular estab-lishment provided for in this bill.

The chairman of the committee stated that the testimony presented by officers to the Committee on Military Affairs shows that it would be impossible to recruit a Regular Army of more than 140,000 under our voluntary system of enlistment. To recruit an Army of more than that number the compulsory system would have to be inaugurated or the pay of the private would have to be doubled.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that there is any man in this

country that would want to place this country under a compulsory military system as they have in the monarchies of go upon the assumption that all that defense of our country

Europe. I for one am opposed to compulsory military service in time of peace. I fear militarism, and never would stoop to vote for it in this Republic. Militarism results from compulsory military service, and compulsory military service should never be resorted to in our country in time of peace. I believe that in this country experience has shown that when the country is threatened with danger patriotic citizens rally around the flag in defense of the Republic.

Mr. Speaker, to maintain a Regular Army of 250,000 men under our voluntary system would cost us about \$500,000,000 a year. I do not think that the American people would consent to be burdened by an expense of half a billion dollars a year in

support of such an Army.

Mr. Speaker, what is our military situation to-day and what is expected under this bill? I can not state it better than it is stated on pages 14 and 15 of the report on this bill:

stated on pages 14 and 15 of the report on this bill:

It appears from the evidence given before the committee by The Adjutant General of the Army that under the reserve law now in operation there will be maintained a reserve of 60,000 men; that 27,020 men of the Regular Army are discharged each year on account of expiration of service, and that for the same reason 39,559 men are discharged from the National Guard.

It thus appears that, in addition to the Army reserve, there are now in the country 270,200 men who have passed through the Army in the last 10 years and 395,590 men who have passed through the National Guard during the same length of time; in addition to this, there are 33,000 young men who were last year passed through the military schools and colleges of the country, and that there are 330,000 of these young men who in the last 10 years have had military training. It is true that some of these have died, but in a general way it may be said that there are now in the country 995,790 men of military age who have had military training.

It is further proposed in this bill to create a reserve corps for the National Guard, and it is safe to say that there will be maintained for that force a reserve of 100,000 men.

This bill provides for—

This bill provides for—	
In time of peace	140,000
Reserve of Regular Army	60,000
National Guard	129, 000
Men trained and in the country	995, 790

Total

Men who will be at once available upon the passage of this bill.

The committee will also call attention to the amount of reserve material which is available for immediate use should any trouble arise. The following figures are taken from the hearings of the bureau chiefs in the War Department, under whose immediate control these supplies are:

Gen. Crozier, Chief of Ordnance, states that we have on hand nearly enough equipment to equip an army of between 400,000 and 500,000 men. He also stated that there were on hand 700,000 service rifles of the new model and between 300,000 and 400,000 Krags; also 200,000,000 rounds of small-arms ammunition, or 300 rounds per man. There are also built and under construction 1,077 machine guns and 900 Field Artillery guns. We had on hand 750,000 rounds of Field Artillery ammunition.

Gen. Aleshire, the Quartermaster General of the Army, states that there is on hand now equipment enough to supply the Regular Army, the National Guard, and 250,000 men in addition, and that in 90 days there could easily be provided equipment for from 600,000 to 700,000 men, with sufficient deliveries to maintain those who are now or may be equipped.

Gen. Kingman, Chief of the Engineer Corps of the Army, states that

men, with sufficient deliveries to maintain those who are now or may be equipped.

Gen. Kingman, Chief of the Engineer Corps of the Army, states that we have on hand heavy intrenching tools for 9 Infantry divisions, and that these tools can be supplied in 15 days. He also states that we have in reserve pontoon equipage for 500,000 men.

Gen. Gorgas, the Surgeon General of the Army, states that we have in store supplies for about 250,000 or 300,000 men in addition to what we have for the Regular Army. We have those supplies already packed and ready for use.

The present Military Establishment is costing us in the neighborhood of \$100,000,000 a year. We pay our privates \$15 per month. In the foreign countries where they have compulsory military service the pay is a few cents a day. In Russia it is 13 cents a day, Austria and Japan 23 cents per day, in France 63 cents per day, in Germany 123 cents per day, Italy 233 cents per day, and Great Britain 30 cents per day. Under this bill, considering the proposed increase of the Regular Army to 140,000 men and considering the pay of the militia, the cost of our Military Establishment will be about \$140,000,000 per year.

Mr. Speaker, as I said before, this bill provides for the federalization of the National Guard. It also provides for paying the members of the National Guard one-quarter of the amount paid to soldiers of the Regular Army. This little pay allowed to the militia will, in my judgment, stimulate the organization of military companies all over the country, and in that way a reserve will be created to augment the Regular Army in time of The provision for mobilization and utilization of our industries in time of war is one of the most important provisions in this bill. If there is anything that has enabled Germany to make such wonderful progress in this war, it has been the utilization of the industries of that country for war. We want to be prepared to do likewise if war should come.

Mr. Speaker, there is another matter that I wish to refer to, and that is this. What do we mean when we say that we want an Army only for defense? The pacifists argue that we have a means is the patrolling of the borders of our country and thus preventing the landing of a hostile force. These pacifists forget that in time of war with a foreign power this country can not simply stand its forces along its borders and await the enemy's attack. We can not in that way defend ourselves by shutting ourselves from the rest of the civilized world.

Mr. Speaker, is it contended by those who want only a Military and Naval Establishment for defensive purposes that, in case of war with Great Britain, we would not order the advance of our Army into Canada and thus take the offensive, if by offensive strategy we can gain from a military standpoint? Would the same pacifists claim that in a war with Mexico we should simply patrol the border with our Army and wait for the onslaught of our enemy? To my mind an army and navy for defensive purposes should in time of war be able to strike our foe wherever it is weak and make that foe seek peace. In time of war we can not wait to be attacked by the enemy. If necessary from a military standpoint our Army and Navy should be able to take the offensive and thus defend our country. Did we wait to be attacked when the Spanish-American War broke out? No. We struck the enemy offensively and thus kept it from our shore. So, in order to have an army sufficient for defense, we must have an army large enough to take the offensive in time of war.

Mr. Speaker, we have other interests to protect besides Territorial United States. We have interests in the Orient. We have the Philippine Islands. We have the Hawaiian Islands; we have Porto Rico. We are exercising a protectorate over Cuba, and under the Monroe doctrine we are responsible for the integrity of the Republics of South America. We are in a way responsible for order in Mexico. We can not protect these in-

terests if we can not act offensively.

Mr. Speaker, we are more and more becoming a great commercial world power. We are a country of wonderful resources. We are not only one of the greatest producers of raw materials, but we are taking the lend in manufacturing. We are growing so fast in industry that we are becoming the greatest exporter in the world. As we go out on the high seas with the products of our factories and our farms to the harbors of the world we excite the jealousy of our competitors.

In this struggle for commercial supremacy is it not our duty as patriotic citizens to provide for the protection and defense of our rights in the commercial world? I believe that our Military and Naval Establishments should be such as will up-

hold our rights everywhere.

In conclusion, let me suggest another thing that I think this The provisions in this bill will result in more bill will do. military training for our boys in colleges and schools and in more military training of our citizen soldiery. This will instill more patriotism into the hearts of our citizens. What is better What is better for an American boy than some military training? However little military training the American boy may get, it will teach him discipline and obedience to authority. If there is anything that the American boy needs to-day it is discipline and respect for the law of the land. Military training will make our boys stronger physically, instead of the mollycoddles we now turn out in our schools. It will make our boys more patriotic. What boy does not feel the heart throb for his country as he marches with his school company headed by the American flag? Go into a city where they have the National Guard. How interested not only the boys but even grown up citizens get. How enthusiastically their hearts beat for their flag displayed by the local company. The presence of a company of militia recalls to the mind and heart of everyone the history of the brave American soldier from the men who fought at Concord and Bunker Hill to the marines who fought at Vera Cruz.

Shellfish.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,

In the House of Representatives,

Friday, March 17, 1916.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, my reason for bringing to the attention of the House the needs of the shellfish industry is because this important food supply is in danger of serious diminution, if not extermination, unless the Federal Government adopts prompt and effective measures to correct the evils which are undermining its prosperity.

Many of the citizens I have the honor to represent obtain their livelihood—at best a precarious one—from the products of the sea. While it is true that the shellfish industry is confined to a comparatively small area, it is equally true that the prosperity of this valuable fishery is essential to the Nation at large, for a large percentage of our food supply is derived from the oysters, clams, and scallops caught in the waters along our shores.

If we compare the natural shellfish areas of to-day with those of former years we find a marked change. Formerly the clam, oyster, and scallop were found in great abundance in the numerous bays and estuaries of our coasts. Now, many acres once productive lie barren, and we have but a part of the natural yield we once enjoyed. As a boy on the farm I have frequently heard my father tell of sending a wagon down to Hempstead Harbor to gather a load of scallops, which were afterwards fed to the chickens. To-day not a scallop exists in that or neighbor-Through the careless indifference of former generaing bays. tions our heritage of the shell fisheries has been abused and dissipated. The story of the wasteful exploitation of the natural resources of our country is a sad chapter in our history. Much of it was undoubtedly made necessary by our rapid development; a great part of it was due to the generosity of nature which inculcated in the minds of the pioneers the belief-a wofully mistaken one-that the supply was inexhaustible. In the mad desire for immediate gain the present only was considered; the future was left to take care of itself. As Prof. James L. Kellogg, in his notes on the shellfish of Louisiana, has said:

As one looks over the record of the settling of this country and notes how a continent was reclaimed from a state of nature he can hardly fail to be impressed with the reckless wastefulness of his ancestors in their use of the treasures which nature, through eons of time had been collecting. In thousands of cases natural resources, which carefully conserved would have provided comfort and even luxury for generations of men, have been dissipated and destroyed with no substantial benefit to anyone. We have learned some wisdom from the past, because our attention has recently been drawn to the fact of the annihilation of several former sources of subsistence. Rapidly in America in recent years the struggle to obtain support for a family has become more severe to the wage earner. Often, no doubt, the extinction of useful animals and plants that we have witnessed has been due to the ignorant assumption that, under any circumstances, the supply would last forever. This idea seems especially to prevail concerning marine food animals. The fact that the sea is vast might naturally give the impression that its inhabitants are numberless. But when a natural food supply nears complete annihilation, men begin to think of the necessity of a method of artificial culture.

What has been done can not be undone. Regrets will not bring back our wasted resources. Our duty is to conserve that which remains and by scientific investigations endeavor to devise methods of increasing the output from the sources yet at our disposal. In many States laws have been passed to check the wasteful use of shellfish grounds, but a systematic study of the conditions essential for the propagation and development of this fishery has never been undertaken, although detailed statistical reports of the production, wages paid, and capital invested in the industry have been published. Save investigations carried on concerning the organisms destructive to the fishery, the Bureau of Fisheries, through lack of means, has been unable to make exhaustive experiments or go thoroughly into the breeding and general life history of the shellfish.

In a large measure the handicap imposed by the paucity of natural production has been overcome by the culture system, but now, in order to supply the ever-increasing demand and to make certain the "set," other methods must be devised.

To those who may not be familiar with the industry, let me say that it is the most valuable fishery in the world, yielding to the fishermen annually an amount greater than the combined fisheries of Norway, which constitutes one of that country's most valuable assets. The oyster, by far the most important of the shellfishes, contributes nearly 30 per cent of the total value of all the aquatic products of the United States. With clams and scallops, the oysters furnish a food supply of great magnitude to the people of this country.

In some quarters, owing to the agitation about infection and the erroneous attribution of many cases of illness to the eating of shellfish, it has been popular to malign the oyster. The Brooklyn Eagle recently, in commenting upon the report of Dr. Bolduan, of the New York health department, in reference

to oysters says:

Dr. Bolduan's statement is the more detailed and the more reassuring for that reason. He says that for a year there has not been a case of typhoid in the city traceable to eating oysters, and that very few such cases are on record at any time.

For several years both the set and the fattening of oysters have been uncertain in some parts of the oyster grounds. Those directly interested do not know the reasons for the failure; they have neither the means nor the facilities to make a scientific study of the causes which have produced these results, and they appeal to the Government for assist-

ance. To other industries the Government has lent its aid liberally and promptly, with results that have justified the expenditures. Investigations have been undertaken to ascertain the reasons for certain diseases in our animal and plant life and securing their prevention; expeditions have been organized for the purpose of discovering fresh material among our resources; commissions have been appointed to devise new methods of developing our latent forces; research work has been carried on to promote agriculture, increase the productivity of the soil, and improve the products raised thereon; scientific study has been given to our animal industry to increase the value and usefulness of our live stock; reports and scientific treatises upon a vast number of subjects have been spread broadcast over the land with the noble purpose of ameliorating the conditions under which men toil, and rendering the reward for their labor larger and more certain. Hardly a field of our diversified activities but has felt the support, assistance, and cooperation of the National Government, and the results have been beneficial in the extreme.

I commend the foresight which prompted all these meritorious undertakings, approve the policy, and rejoice over the success attained. Now I feel it is time to heed the call that comes from the neglected industry of our coasts. Upon the other fisheries the Government annually expends upward of \$500,000 for purposes of fish culture, yet the aid given to the shellfish, which represents one-third the value of the whole, is less than the amount expended in propagating such fishes as the black bass, whose chief value is to afford sport and recreation rather than food. The customary methods of fish culture are not applicable to the oyster on account of its peculiar characteristics and the

conditions under which it lives.

The Bureau of Fisheries, which has carried forward successfully so many worthy projects, is anxious to undertake the investigation. They have the facilities but not the means, and the purpose of the bill I have introduced is to provide the necessary funds for scientific investigators who will make a careful study of the entire shellfish industry—oysters, clams, and scallops. Hon. H. M. Smith, in a recent report to the Secretary of Commerce, states the case clearly and emphatically:

merce, states the case clearly and emphatically:

Oyster culture is of necessity a private enterprise, but it presents many difficulties and dangers which the growers are not in a position to combat, for lack of proper knowledge, and this knowledge can not be obtained excepting through investigations and experiments which the Government alone is in a position to conduct.

The bureau is without the means, and particularly the personnel, to carry on this much-needed work, although the deficiency and the necessity which it creates have been repeatedly pointed out in these reports and in the estimates for appropriations. Those interested in the oyster fishery in particular have repeatedly pointed out, with justice, the difference between the lack of consideration which is accorded their industry and the assistance which is received by other interests who find help available, but the oysterman, laboring under much greater disadvantage, finds it withheld, for the reason that the bureau has not been provided with the means for extending it. In all justice, and for the very practical consideration should be corrected without further delay.

The district whose commission I have the honor to hold pro-

The district whose commission I have the honor to hold produces the finest oysters in the world. Throughout the length and breadth of that noble body of water-Long Island Soundand in all the harbors and estuaries which indent the northern shore of the most beautiful of islands, known to the Indians as Seawanhaka, are found the oyster and the clam. In Gardiners Bay and the two Peconics, in Shinnecock Bay, and Napeague Bay, on the east, the oyster and scallop industries are potent factors in the life of the people. To the westward lies Jamaica Bay, connected with the waters to the east by the Great South Bay and Moriches Bay, all teeming with shellfish. These bays and harbors, Mr. Speaker, are the most beautiful bodies of water in America. They are the farms of "folk who live by the sea"—people of virile Americanism, imbued with

liberty and independence-fearless and courageous.

That great chain of bays and channels along our southern shore is unique in its position and formation. The western portion lies within the limits of the premier city of the world, touching the markets of the great metropolis. The central and eastern sections are bordered by thriving towns, and farms producing the choicest potatoes, cauliflower, and other products of agriculture. The sea fisheries which have made the name Montauk famous the country over are in close proximity. rated from the Atlantic by a narrow bar that protects it from the ravages of the sea, it offers an opportunity for development in the interests of commerce that is of prime importance. Should those bays be connected by navigable channels, an artery of water transportation of untold value would be added to our industrial life. Here lie dormant, potentialities of wealth and trade, of possibilities for the increase of commerce and industry that should command the attention and support of all who are desirous of developing the latent forces of our re-

sources. At some future time, Mr. Speaker, I will ask the indulgence of this House in presenting the importance and the value to the Nation of the Great South Bay waterway project.

For the present I plead for the men of the sea, for the oysterman, the clammer, the scalloper, and for an industry which is subject to many perils and susceptible to much improvement in its methods. The persons engaged in this hazardous enterprise are industrious and enterprising. Hard work and small profits are their portion, under the most favorable conditions. do not ask this help as a charity; far from it. In their inde-pendence they would scorn such assistance. All they ask for is fair treatment and the right to receive their share of considera-tion at the hands of the Government. The importance of their industry warrants it, the justice of their claim demands it.

NOTES ON THE OYSTER.

The oyster is a native American, found along the coasts of all the Gulf States and on the Atlantic seaboard from Cape Cod to Key West, as well as on the southern and western shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. At the time of the settlement of the Colonies it grew in abundance in Massachusetts Bay and on the coast of New Hampshire and Maine, a fact evidenced by the vast shell heaps still in existence, as well as by the records of the Pilgrim Fathers. To the Indians of the coast, long before the advent of the white man, the oyster was an important element of diet, and when dried or smoked was a valuable medium of barter with their inland neighbors. At many places great mounds of shells deposited in prehistoric times tell of the free use which the red man made of oysters, and on the Damariscotta River, in Maine, where none are now found, there is a mound containing about 7,000,000 bushels of shells. The species of oyster found in eastern and southern waters is the Ostrea virginica, while the small-sized oyster of the Pacific is known as Ostrea lurida. In Washington, Oregon, and California the industry is confined almost exclusively to the raising of eastern oysters grown from seed brought from the Atlantic coast and planted on the local beds. Formerly the supply for the eastern markets was obtained from the natural beds, but with the increase of population of the coastal towns and the wasteful methods employed these beds were gradually exhausted, and it became obvious, that lest the supply fail, new methods must be adopted. This led to the introduction of the culture system, by which oysters were planted and cultivated, as well as a change of control of the grounds from public to private, either by lease or ownership.

It may be asked what use is oyster culture where nature furnishes a lavish supply without other care or labor than that involved in gathering her bounty. If nature furnished enough to supply the demand, and if her product were as good as could be produced by systematic and intelligent oyster culture, the question would be pertinent, but the fact is that she fulfills neither of the premises. The demand for oysters, good and indifferent, is greater than the natural beds can supply, and in all parts of our coast where an active fishery exists they are yearly becoming more and more depleted despite all regulations

to protect them from extinction.

Every oyster bed wherever located owes its beginning to the lodging of some foreign body on the bottom. It may be a piece of drift carried by a freshet, a clamshell rolled up by the waves or some object accidentally or intentionally thrown into the It matters little what this object may be so water by man. that it be clean during the spawning season and that it does not become buried in the mud.

The oyster, while it eventually attaches itself to some fixed object on the bottom, in its infancy swims freely though feebly, and before it settles down may wander far from the parental

locality.

The oyster is a most prolific breeder, and as an average-size one will produce 16,000,000 spats, and a large one 60,000,000, the

mortality of the seedlings is enormous.

The embryo oyster, which forms after the egg is discharged into the water by the mother, is so small as to be just visible to the unaided human eye. This embryo soon becomes covered with microscopic fleshy bristles, which, beating in unison, give it some power of locomotion, though they are serviceable chiefly in suspending it in the water and bringing it within reach of the tidal currents which waft it afar.

After a brief career of travel a tiny shell begins to form, and as the burden of this increases a change of habit comes. little oyster must attach itself to a support and settle down to the sedentary life of the adult, and this necessity brings one of the gravest crises of its life. It is hardly visible without a lens and the thinnest film of sediment will cover and stifle it, and most of the bottom over which it has been swimming is muddy. On oyster beds, only gravel and shells, piling, and similar bodies in the water present a surface sufficiently firm and clean to serve the little oyster's purpose. The more fortunate ones cement their shells to such objects, grow, and henceforth remain where they fell unless displaced by some external force; but for each one which becomes so attached there are unknown myriads which fall on unsuitable surfaces and perish. This is one reason why it is necessary for the female oyster to produce millions of eggs that her kind shall not disappear from the

The men who first undertook oyster culture in America did not know these things, nor many other interesting facts of the oyster's life; but they had observed that almost any hard-surfaced objects falling into the water, if they did not become engulfed in the mud, became coated with a growth of oysters, and they reasoned that such materials purposely placed on barren bottoms would establish artificial oyster beds and that to the man who made the deposit belonged the oysters.

Thus began, through the initiative of the oystermen themselves, the practice of oyster culture in the United States, which has developed until at the present time about one-half of the oysters produced in the country, and nearly two-thirds of the total value of this product, are derived from artificial beds,

privately owned or leased from the States.

Beginning in shoal waters alongshore, the oyster growers have extended their operations into the deep open waters of Long Island Sound and Chesapeake Bay and to every coastwise State from Massachusetts to Texas and from Washington to California, and the few small boats first employed, propelled by sails or oars, have given place to fleets of motor boats and steamers. In 1911 planters spread 17,000,000 bushels of young oysters, shells, and gravel over their 500,000 acres of oyster farms, and they harvested a crop of over 15,000,000 bushels of oysters, worth to them approximately \$10,000,000.

Between the planting and the harvest, an interval from two to five years, the oyster culturist assumes many hazards. On the New England coast, after all his material is down, the fickle may not appear, possibly because at the critical time some weather disturbance may have killed the baby oysters while they were yet swimming near the surface. In the Gulf of Mexico the "set" may be so heavy that there is scant room for the oysters to grow, and many die, while those that are left are half starved and mischeron from growding.

are half starved and misshapen from crowding.

At all stages of its career the oyster is preyed upon by more or less dangerous foes. It might be supposed that an animal inclosed in a ponderous armor, which in times of danger is a complete encasement, would be free from the attacks of enemies, but no organism has ever evolved a protective device which some other organism has not found partially vulnerable, and it must be remembered that the oyster is not always as well protected as we find it in the adult and marketable condition. In the young state, before attachment, the minute and delicate fry is fed upon extensively by the adult oyster and by other mollusca, lingulas, worms, sponges, and hydroids. Upward of 200 young have been found in the stomach of an oyster, and there is but little doubt large numbers are so consumed on every

Even after the vicissitudes of larval life are passed, and the little oysters have attached themselves, the infantile spat may be buried in an accumulation of organic or inorganic sediment or devoured by enemies against which it can present no ade-

quate defense.

Schools of drumfish may grind them into fragments between teeth arranged like a cobblestone pavement, and so the oyster grower's crop may melt away, almost in a night. Starfish often appear in great hosts, and by the muscular force of their arms, furnished with rows of suckers, rend open the shells, and turning their own stomachs inside out absorb the oyster while it still lies within the armor designed to protect it. The drill, a little marine snail, uses its rough tongue like a rasp, and boring a smooth round hole through the helpless oys ter's shell inserts its snout and licks up the delicious meat

While it is the prey of aggressive enemies, it wages a passive fight against starvation and suffocation with mussels, barnacles, jingles, aquatic vegetation, and other prolific or luxuriant organisms growing on the beds.

Freshets from the land and storms rolling in from the sea take their toll—the one by rendering the water too fresh or too muddy and the other by the force of the waves tearing up both oysters and the bottom. Even with their own species these mollusks have to contend, and numbers uncountable die in the warfare. They struggle with their kind as man struggles with man for room to grow and enough to eat; and though the struggle is passive it is relentless, and the loser, unable to run away, is starved or stifled through lack of room in which

to open its shell for food and oxygen. The oyster feeds on small particles suspended in the water, and so scattered is its food that to get its daily meal the oyster filters between 25 and 35 quarts of water through its delicate sievelike gills.

The direction in which assistance can be rendered to nature in augmenting the oyster supply is governed by local conditions, but in general it may be stated that all methods of oyster culture depend for success upon the modification of the natural conditions in such a manner as to bring about one or several of the following results:

1. An increase in the number of eggs successfully fertilized. 2. An increase in the surfaces available for fixation, and consequently an increase in the number of spat which become fixed and pass through the early stages of spat existence.

The utilization and salvage of spat, which would otherwise fall victims to the several vicissitudes of their careers—storms, frosts, crowding, and so forth.

4. A decrease in the liability to attacks from enemies.5. The utilization of otherwise neglected bottoms and food

supplies.

Upon our coasts the objects set forth above, or some of them, have been best realized by the process of "planting." This consists in placing firm bodies in the water for the purpose of catching the spat or in spreading young oysters upon the bottom in places suitable for their growth. Vast as are our oyster fields, but a small portion of the bottom available for the growth of this mollusk has been utilized by nature. This has arisen from the fact that in many cases where the other conditions are favorable the bottom is of such a character as to prevent the attachment of the young, though perfectly adapted to the rapid growth of the adults. If, then, the spat be caught on planted cultch, or partially grown oysters be placed upon such bottoms, the difficulty is overcome and nature has been assisted to the degree necessary and all or some of the conditions mentioned above are more or less completely fulfilled; the first by increasing the number of adult oysters in any region and by their closer aggregation; the second, by the process of preparing the ground and sowing the shells; the third, by the use of seed from regions less favorable to its maturing; the fourth, from the greater care with which a bed under private ownership will be watched and guarded; and the fifth, by the very act of planting upon virgin or depleted bottom.

At the present time about 46 per cent of the quantity and

65 per cent of the value of our oyster supply comes from planted grounds, the output in many of the States depending largelyin some of them entirely—upon oyster culture. In the New England States 93 per cent, in New York 86 per cent, in the Pacific States 73 per cent, and in New Jersey 35 per cent of the oyster product is derived from private beds. In most of the

southern districts natural beds are still utilized.

To show what results can be accomplished by oyster culture and how important it is to the industry, let me cite what has been accomplished in the New England States in 30 years:

Massachusetts in 1880 produced 36,000 bushels, valued at 235,000 Rhode Island in 1810 produced 163,000 bushels, valued at 1,369,000 Connecticut in 1880 produced 336,000 bushels, valued at 1,369,000 Connecticut in 1890 produced 336,000 bushels, valued at 1,369,000 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,893,000 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,893,000 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,893,000 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,893,000 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,893,000 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,893,000 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,890 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,890 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,890 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,890 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,890 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,890 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,890 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,890 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,890 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,890 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,890 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,890 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,890 Connecticut in 1910 produced 3,384,000 bushels, valued at 1,890 Connecticut in 1910 Connecticut in 191

In the New England States there is held under lease or ownership by private parties 124,737 acres of bottom for purposes of oyster culture. Of this area only a third is under actual culti-The proportion of ground cultivated to the area held is less than 9 per cent in Massachusetts, while it is 33 per cent in Connecticut and 93 per cent in Rhode Island. The reason for the low percentage in Massachusetts is due to the fact that a large part of the ground is of little value. By reason of the continued popularity of the Blue Points, Rockaways, Peconics, Shinnecocks, Smithtown, Oyster Bay, Hempstead Harbor, Manhasset and Little Neck Bay, and other Long Island oysters with their superior quality and the proximity of the New York market, the oystermen of my district are able to obtain higher prices for their products than the growers in other States.

The feature of Delaware's oyster business is the taking of seed oysters from public grounds and planting them on private beds where they grow and fatten. In Maryland only 136,000 bushels of oysters are sold in the shell while 4,000,000 gallons of opened and 10,000,000 cans of canned oysters are shipped to market. The area of largest production in the United States is in Chesapeake Bay, but the value per bushel is less than in

the Northern States.

STATISTICS OF THE OYSTER BUSINESS.

[Wherever values are given in these tables they are based on the value of the catch to the fishermen.]

Total value of the fisheries of the United States (excluding Alaska), \$54,000,000; total value of the oyster production, \$15,000,000.

From this it will be observed that nearly 30 per cent of our sea food is supplied by the oyster, a statement which I dare say will be a surprise to many.

The industry produces annually about 33,000,000 bushels of oysters, valued at \$15,000,000, employs 67,257 persons and pays

wages of \$10.876,000.

Ninety per cent of the world's supply of oysters is grown in the United States, France being the only other country which produces them in any quantity, although a few are found in Great Britain and the regions bordering on the Baltic and 'Mediterranean.

Comparative statistics of the oyster production of the United States for various years.

(Where no report was made on year mentioned, nearest year is given; production in boshels I

	Table 19	1911	1900	1890	1880
New York	{Value	\$3,381,600	\$1,972,500	\$2,457,600	\$1,577,000
	Yield	3,917,800	2,312,800	2,350,900	1,043,300
Virginia	{Value	\$2,296,000	\$2,923,500	\$2,482,300	\$2,218,400
	Yield	6,205,000	7,885,500	6,074,000	6,837,300
Connecticut	Value	\$1,885,500	\$1,471,600	\$1,035,800	\$386,600
	Yield	3,272,000	2,081,500	1,485,900	336,500
Rhode Island	Value	\$1,368,700	\$589,000	\$271,900	\$225,500
	Yield	2,268,300	608,000	203,500	163,200
New Jersey	Yalne	\$1,244,600	\$2.247,700	\$1,594,200	\$2,080,600
	Yield	2,778,000	3,609,100	2,258,900	1,975,000
Maryland	Value	\$1,128,000 5,510,400	\$3,031,500	\$4,854,700 10,450,100	\$4,730,500
Louisiana	{Value Yield	\$1,022,700 4,504,400	\$493,200 1,198,400	\$299,900 841,600	\$200,000
Washington	(Value	\$387,000	\$174,600	\$147,900	\$10,000
	(Yield	143,300	98,300	184,200	15,000
Massachusetts	(Value	\$335,500	\$133,700	\$65,500	\$41,800
	Yield	287,500	103,400	37,000	36,000
California	Value Yield	\$280,300 68,000	\$867,000 420,000	\$592,100 151,300	(1)
Delaware	Value Yield	\$223,200 493,500	\$62,600 173,200	\$73,600 168,500	\$687,700
Georgia	Value	\$170,800	\$220,500	\$40,500	\$35,000
	Yield	505,000	1,224,000	224,400	70,000
Florida	Value	\$144,700	\$161,300	\$108,500	\$15,900
	Vield	340,800	888,600	468,400	78,600
Mississippi	(Yalue	\$140,400	\$426,200	\$166,700	\$10,000
	Yield	657,600	2,405,100	806,500	25,000
Texas	{Value Yield	\$131,600 434,600	\$100,400	\$128,000 440,800	\$47,300 67,100
South Carolina	Value Yield	\$94,600 710,000	\$118,500 689,700	\$23,200 63,200	\$20,000
Alabama	{Value	\$72,700	\$119,800	\$107,800	\$45,000
	Yield	442,000	347,500	481,100	104,500
North Carolina	Value	\$63,400	\$268,400	\$175,600	\$60,000
	Yield	332,300	1,022,800	807,300	170,000
Oregon	{Value Yield	\$9,000 2,200	\$1,600 1,000	\$2,800	(1)

1 No report.

While no figures are available, the value of the scallop yield and the hard and soft shell clam output is a very considerable item, and every effort should be made to assist the men who are employed in this kindred industry.

Statistics of the oyster industry of New York State for 1911. (The last

report.)	
Persons employed	2, 979
Weens noid	\$1,610,000
Capital invested (exclusive of beds)	\$2, 205, 000
Oyster grounds owned or leasedacres	87, 256
Oyster grounds under culturedo	
Oyster grounds under culture	10, 783
Oyster grounds planted during yeardo	
Seed oysters planted during yearbushels	701. 850
Oyster shells planted during yeardo	
Oysters on private beds Jan. 1, 1912do	5, 320, 365
Market oysters produceddo	3, 547, 900
Seed oysters produceddo	369, 300
Total ovsters producedbushels	3, 917, 800
Having a value of	\$3, 381, 600
Oysters sent to wholesale market:	
In the shelibushels	1.392.651
Openedgallons	883 101
Of the state of th	902 697

It is five years since this report was published, during which time serious inroads have been made upon the yield, and the industry to-day is far from prosperous. In some fields the oysters have failed to fatten, and the growers unable to market their crop have not dredged the beds, hoping that the cause for the failure would disappear. Causes which have produced these results are unknown to the oystermen, and they ask the Government to send investigators into the field to study the subject.

The above data has been taken from the reports of the Bureau of Fisheries, from whose pamphlets I have freely quoted in describing the oyster.

A Sign and a Portent.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES E. FULLER. OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 20, 1916.

Mr. FULLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave given to extend remarks in the Record, I quote from the following editorial from the Chicago Tribune of March 19, 1916:

A SIGN AND A PORTENT.

A SIGN AND A PORTENT.

If the exposure of the fraudulent measure known as the Hay bill does not bring the American people up standing, there is something rotten in this Republic.

The correspondence given out yesterday strips the Hay bill naked. Congress and the Nation now know it for a vicious sham, a brazen and outrageous fraud.

The Hay bill is dead and done for. But that is not enough. The American people will ask how in the face of their apparent will and in the midst of what is, as we all know, a crisis in our international affairs an arrant quack dare thrust his wares into the face of Congress. We demand medicine for our urgent need and we are given a bottle of muddy water.

How can that be after months of earnest discussion, after months of anxiety, and the perpetual imminence of war?

How can that be after months of earnest discussion, after months of anxiety, and the perpetual imminence of war?

The Hay bill tells the people that they are to rest secure behind a million and a quarter of trained men.

That is a criminal lie.

The Hay bill leaves the land defense of the country virtually where it is. Even its miserable increment of Regulars will not be complete for four years. It leaves untouched the chief defects of the present organization, its undermanned and underofficered companies, its system which makes waste and inefficiency inevitable. It fills pages with provisions for soldiers who are not soldiers. It provides elaborately for officers who are not officers. It ignores the lessons of the war as to men, guns, munitions, and material.

It is a monstrous pretense, and if it had been accepted by Congress and the country its unreality would have cost the Nation in its hour of trial thousands of innocent lives, defeat, and humiliation.

Desertion in the face of the enemy is a venial offense, a petty misdemeanor, compared to such a piece of legislation at such a time as this.

Desertion in the face of the chemy is a valuation at such a time as this.

The Hay bill is the crowning achievement of years of stubborn ignorance, of quack devices, of selfish shirking politics. It belongs to the shameful past which has always found us unready in time of need, unrepentant and untaught when the need was over. The folly and shallowness and incompetence which the Hay bill repeats have been written down in our annals again and again in blood and tears. In every war we have had not only to fight the foe; we have had to fight ourselves, our own criminal procrastination, our own ignorance and indifference, our own swift forgetfulness of the sanguinary lessons of our repeated experience.

Worse than any external danger is this enemy within ourselves. Our own wars have taught us nothing. The spectacle of a world in flames—is that to teach us nothing?

What of the Nation's urgent need in the midst of this clamor of folly and self-interest?

The Hay bill is worse than an insolent fraud, gentlemen of the Government and citizens of this Republic. It is a sign and a portent.

No nation can endure, no nation deserves to endure, which will condone perpetual sloth and subterfuge in the highest places of government. The United States stands to-day at the parting of the ways. It can go forward or downward. It can accept its responsibilities and its opportunities. It can turn its back upon them both. But it can not both shirk and possess. It can not lie down and yet move forward. It must require of its representatives honesty, industry, efficiency in government. It can not submit to the intolerable irresponsibility which its government is showing now in a great crisis of its history and call itself a nation fit to stand among the powers of the world.

The Nation asks for a sword and a shield to sustain the Nation's honor, to defend the Nation's life. Our armorers offer us a painted lath.

The Submarine Controversy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON.S.D. FESS,

OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 18, 1916.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, the recent discussion of the submarine controversy developed a state of uncertainty due most largely to a want of facts upon which to base a judgment. It brought forth charges and countercharges of the belligerents. It disclosed the attempt of our Government to induce the entente powers to agree to total disarmament of their merchant vessels. Our note to this effect was of date January 18. This note was placed in the Record by Senator Lodge February 18, and is found on page 2762. I need not therefore include it here.

On February 10 Germany announced the intention of attacking armed merchantmen without warning, and gave as reasons that the British Admiralty had given instructions to their mer-

chantmen to operate as offensively armed vessels.

On February 18 Mr. McLemore gave his reasons for pressing his resolution of warning in an extension of remarks, in which he included the Lansing note of a month before.

On February 24 Senator Stone wrote the President as fol-

THE LETTER FROM SENATOR STONE TO WHICH THE PRESIDENT'S IS A REPLY,

UNITED STATES SENATE, Washington, February 24.

THE LETTER FROM SENATOR STOKE TO WHICH THE PRESIDENT'S IS A REPLY.

UNITED STATES SENATS, Washington, February 24.

Dear Mr. President's Since Senator Kern, Mr. Floop, and I talked with you on Monday evening I am more troubled than I have been for miny day. I have not felt authorized to repeat our conversation, but I have attempted, in response to numerous inquiries from my colleagues, to state to them, within the confidence that they should observe, my general understanding of your attitude. I have stated my understanding of your attitude to be substantially as follows:

That while you would deeply regret the rejection by Great Britain of Mr. Lansing's proposal for the disarmament of merchant vessels of the allies, with the understanding that Germany and her allies would not fire upon a merchant ship if she hauled to when summoned, not attempting to escape, and that the German warships would only exercise the admitted right of visitation and capture, and would not destroy the captured ship except in circumstances that reasonably assured the safety of passengers and crew, you were of the opinion that if Great Britain and her allies rejected the proposal and insisted upon arming her merchant ships, she would be within her right under international law.

Also that you would feel disposed to allow armed vessels to be cleared from our ports. Also that you are not favorably disposed to the idea of the control of the shaded of the control of t

W. J. STONE.

On the same day the President addressed the Senator as fol-

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO SENATOR STONE MADE PUBLIC FEBRUARY 24. THE WHITE HOUSE, Washington, February 24, 1916.

Washington, February 24, 1916.

My Dear Senator: I very warmly appreciate your kind and frank letter of to-day and feel that it calls for an equally frank reply.

You are right in assuming that I shall do everything in my power to keep the United States out of war. I think the country will feel no uncasiness about my course in that respect. Through many anxious months I have striven for that object, amidst difficulties more manifold than can have been apparent upon the surface, and so far I have succeeded. I do not doubt that I shall continue to succeed. The course which the central European powers have announced their intention of following in the future with regard to undersea warfare seems for the moment to threaten insuperable obstacles, but its apparent meaning is so manifestly inconsistent with explicit assurances recently given us by those powers with regard to their treatment of merchant vessels on the high seas that I must believe that explanations will presently ensue which will put a different aspect upon it. We have had no reason to question their good faith or their fidelity to their promises in the past, and I for one feel confident that we shall have none in the future.

But in any event our duty is clear. No nation, no group of pations has the stable with the course of their stable with the course of the confident was the stable with the course of the course of the course of the course of their stable with the course of the course o

But in any event our duty is clear. No nation, no group of nations, has the right while war is in progress to alter or disregard the principles which all nations have agreed upon in mitigation of the horrors and sufferings of war; and if the clear rights of American citizens should ever unhappily be abridged or denied by any such action we should, it seems to me, have in honor no choice as to what our own course should be.

For my own part I can not consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. The honor and self-respect of the Nation are involved. We covet peace, and shall preserve it at any cost but the loss of honor. To forbid our people to exercise their rights for fear we might be called upon to vindicate them would be a deep humiliation indeed. It would be an implicit, all but an explicit, acquiescence in the violation of the rights of mankind everywhere and of whatever nation or allegiance. It would be a deliberate abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesmen, even amidst the turmoll of war, for the law and the right. It would make everything this Government has attempted and everything that it has achieved during this terrible struggle of nations meaningless and futile.

It is important to reflect that if in this instance we allowed expediency to take the place of principle the door would inevitably be opened to still further concessions. Once accept a single abatement of right, and many other humiliations would certainly follow, and the whole fine fabric of international law might crumble under our hands, piece by piece. What we are contending for in this matter is of the very essence of the things that have made America a sovereign Nation. She can not yield them without conceding her own impotency as a Nation and making virtual surrender of her independent position among the nations of the world.

I am speaking, my dear Senator, in deep solemnity, without heat, with a clear consciousness of the high responsibilities of my office and as your sincere and devoted friend. If we should unhappily differ, we shall differ as friends; but where issues so momentous as these are involved we must, just because we are friends, speak our minds without reservation.

Faithfully, yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

On the 29th the President wrote Acting Chairman Pou, of the Rules Committee:

THE WHITE HOUSE, Washington, February 29, 1916.

Washington, February 29, 1916.

My Dear Mr. Pou: Inasmuch as I learn that Mr. Henry, the chairman of the Committee on Rules, is absent in Texas, I take the liberty of calling your attention, as ranking member of the committee, to a matter of grave concern to the country which can, I believe, be handled, under the rules of the House, only by that committee.

The report that there are divided counsels in Congress in regard to the foreign policy of the Government is being made industrious use of in foreign capitals. I believe that report to be false, but so long as it is anywhere credited it can not fail to do the greatest harm and expose the country to the most serious risks. I therefore feel justified in asking that your committee will permit me to urge an early vote upon the resolutions with regard to travel on armed merchantmen, which have recently been so much talked about, in order that there may be afforded an immediate opportunity for full public discussion and action upon them and that all doubts and conjectures may be swept away and our foreign relations once more cleared of damaging misunderstandings.

The matter is of so grave importance and lies so clearly within the field of Executive initiative that I venture to hope that your committee will not think that I am taking unwarranted liberty in making this suggestion as to the business of the House, and I very earnestly commend it to their immediate attention.

Cordially and sincerely, yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

On the 2d of March the British Admiralty made public its instructions:

FULL TEXT OF BRITISH INSTRUCTIONS TO ARMED LINERS—APPROACH OF SUBMARINE TO BE DEEMED HOSTILE ACT.

LONDON, March 2.

London, March 2.

The British Admiralty to-night officially made public the admiralty orders to armed merchantmen given October 2, 1915.

The orders say that the armament of such vessels must be used solely for resisting an attack by an armed vessel and for no other purpose. As British submarines and aircraft are ordered not to approach merchantmen, the orders say the approach to a British merchantman of a submarine is to be regarded as done with a hostile intention.

The official statement reads as follows:

"In view of the recent issue by the German Government of a memorandum on the treatment of armed merchant ships, the admiralty has decided to make public the instructions actually governing the actions of British merchant vessels armed for self-defense:

"Instruction, dated 20th of October, 1915, in re the status of armed merchant ships:

"Instruction, dated 20th of October, 1915, in re the status of armed merchant ships:

"(1) The right of the crew of a merchant vessel to forcibly resist visit and search and fight in self-defense is well recognized in international law and expressly admitted by the German prize regulations in an addendum issued June, 1914, at a time when it was known that numerous merchant vessels were being armed for self-defense.

"(2) Armament is supplied solely for the purpose of resisting attack by an armed enemy vessel and must not be used for any other purpose whetsever.

whatsoever.

"(3) An armed merchant vessel, therefore, must not in any circumstances interfere with or obstruct the free passage of other merchant vessels or fishing craft, whether these are friendly, neutral, or

cumstances interfere with or obstruct the free passage of other merchant vessels or fishing craft, whether these are friendly, neutral, or hostile.

"(4) The status of a British armed merchant vessel can not be changed upon the high seas.

"Rules to be observed in the exercise of the right of self-defense:

"(1) The master or officer in command is responsible for opening and ceasing fire.

"(2) Participation in armed resistance must be confined to persons acting under the orders of the master or the officer in command.

"(3) Before opening fire the British colors must be hoisted.

"(4) Fire must not be opened or continued from a vessel which has stopped, hauled down her flag, or otherwise indicated her intention to surrender.

"(5) The expression 'armament' includes not only cannon but also rifles and machine guns in cases, where these have been supplied.

"(6) The ammunition used in rifles and machine guns must conform to article 23, Hague Convention, 1907; that is, bullet must be cased in nickel or other hard substance and must not be split or cut in such a way as to cause them to expand or set up on striking a man. The use of explosive bullets is forbidden.

"Circumstances under which armament should be employed:

"Circumstances under which armament should be employed:

"Circumstances under which armament should be employed:

"Circumstances and armament is supplied for the purpose of defense only. The object of the master should be to avoid action whenever possible.

"(2) Experience has shown that hostile submarines and aircraft have frequently attacked merchant vessels without warning. It is im-

portant, therefore, that craft of this description should not be allowed to approach to short range, at which a torpedo or bomb launched without notice would almost certainly be effective. British and allied submarines and aircraft have orders not to approach merchant vessels; consequently it may be presumed that any submarine or aircraft which deliberately approaches or pursues a merchant vessel does so with hostile intention. In such cases fire may be opened in self-defense in order to prevent the hostile craft from closing to a range at which resistance to a sudden attack with bomb or torpedo would be impossible.

"(3) An armed merchant vessel proceeding to render assistance to the crew of a vessel in distress must not seek action with any hostile craft, though if she hersed is attacked while doing so fire may be opened in self-defense.

"(4) It should be remembered that the flag is no guide to nationality. German submarines and armed merchant vessels have frequently employed the British, ailied, or neutral colors to approach undetected. Though, however, the use of disguise and false colors to escape capture is a legitimate ruse de guerre, its adoption by defensively armed merchant ships may easily lead to misconception. Such vessels, therefore, are forbidden to adopt any form of disguise which might cause them to be mistaken for neutral ships."

Admiralty comment:

"These instructions, which are those at present in force, are the latest issued. Successive Issues have been made, not by reason of a change in policy—the policy throughout has remained unaltered—but by improvement in wording and greater clearness of expression, to emphasize the purely defensive character of the armament of merchant vessels.

"It is because of the distorted interpretation given these instruc-

to emphasize the purely defease character of the mandel of the chart vessels.

"It is because of the distorted interpretation given these instructions as a whole and the very forced character of the interpretation given by the German Government to portions which they quote from an earlier issue of the instructions that the Admiralty felt it desirable, with a view to aliaying neutral anxiety, to publish these in extenso.

On the 7th of March the House tabled the warning resolution. On the 8th of March Secretary Lansing gave out the following statement and requested its publication:

I wish to deny that there is the slightest foundation for a story sent out of Washington last night by a news service and appearing in the newspapers this morning to the effect that American citizens will "receive indirect but effective warning" not to take passage on armed merchantmen. The story is false from beginning to end. Nothing I have said could be construed as having such a meaning.

About the same time the German ambassador handed Secretary Lansing the following memorandum:

The Imperial German Government, on account of the friendly relations which have aiways existed between the two great nations, and earnestly desiring to continue them, wishes to explain the U-boat question once more to the American Government.

At the outbreak of the war the German Government, acting upon the suggestion of the United States, immediately expressed its readiness to ratify the declaration of London. At that time a German prize code had already been issued, which was entirely—and without modification—based upon rules of the declaration of London. Germany thereby proved her willingness to recognize full and existing rules of international law, which insure the freedom of the sea for the legitimate trade of neutral nations not only among themselves but also with belligerent countries.

GERMANY UTILIZES NEW WEAPON.

Great Britain, on the other hand, declined to ratify the declaration of London, and after the outbreak of the war began to restrict the legitimate trade of the neutrals in order to hit Germany. The contraband provisions were systematically extended on August 5 and 20, September 21, and October 29, 1914. On November 3, 1914, the order of the British Admiralty followed, declaring the whole North Sea a war zone, in which commercial shipping would be exposed to most serious danger from mines and men-of-war. Protests from neutrals were of no avail and from that time on the freedom of neutral commerce with Germany was practically destroyed.

Under these circumstances Germany was compelled to resort, in February, 1915, to reprisals in order to fight her opponent's measures, which were absolutely contrary to international law. She chose for this purpose a new weapon, the use of which had not yet been regulated by international law, and in doing so could and did not violate any existing rules, but only took into account the peculiarity of this new weapon—the submarine boat.

NEW DANGER TO NEUTRALS.

NEW DANGER TO NEUTRALS.

The use of the submarine naturally necessitated a restriction of the free movement of neutrals and constituted a danger for them, which Germany intended to ward off by a special warning analogous to the warning England had given regarding the North Sea.

As both belligerents—Germany in her note of February 17 and Great Britain in those of February 18 and 20, 1915—claimed that their proceeding was only enacted in retailation for the violation of international law by their opponents, the American Government approached both parties for the purpose of trying to reestablish international law as it had been in force before the war. Germany was asked to adapt the use of her new weapon to the rules which had been existing for the former naval weapons, and England not to interfere with the food supplies intended for the noncombatant German population, and to admit their distribution under American supervision.

GERMANY OFFERS TO COMPLY.

Germany, on March 1, 1915, declared her willingness to comply with the proposal of the American Government, while England, on the other hand, declaned to do so. By the order in council of March 11, 1915, Great Britain abolished even what had remained of the freedom of neutral trade with Germany and her neutral neighbors. England's object was to starve Germany into submission by these illegal means. Germany, after neutral citizens had lost their lives against the wish and intention, nevertheless, in the further course of the war, complied with the wishes of the American Government regarding the use of her submarines. The rights of neutrals regarding legal trading were, in fact, nowhere limited by Germany.

Then England made it impossible for submarines to conform with the old rules of international law by arming nearly all merchantmen and by ordering the use of guns on merchant vessels for attack. Photographic reproduction of those instructions have been transmitted to neutral Governments with the memorandum of the German Government of February 8, 1916. These orders are obviously in contradiction with

the note delivered by the British ambassador in Washington to the American Government on August 25, 1914.

On account of the proposals made by the United States on January 23, 1916, regarding disarmament, the Imperial Government hoped that these facts would enable the neutral Governments to obtain the disarmament of the merchant ships of her opponents. The latter, however, continued with great energy to arm their merchantmen with guns.

SHIELDED BY AMERICANS

The principle of the United States Government not to keep their citizens off belligerent merchant ships has been used by Great Britain and her allies to arm merchant ships for offensive purposes. Under these circumstances merchantmen can easily destroy submarines, and if their attack fails still consider themselves in safety by the presence of American citizens aboard.

The order to use arms on British merchantmen was supplemented by instructions to the masters of such ships to hoist false flags and to ram U-boats. Reports on payments of premiums and bestowals of decorations to successful masters of merchantmen show the effects of these orders. England's ailies have adopted this position.

SITUATION CONFRONTING GERMANY.

Now Germany is facing the following facts:

(a) A blockade contrary to international law (compare American note to England of Nov. 5, 1915) has for one year been keeping neutral trade from German ports and is making German exports im-

neutral trade from German potes are possible.

(b) For 18 months, through the extending of contraband provisions in violation of international law (compare American note to England of Nov. 5, 1915) the overseas trade of neighboring neutral countries, so far as Germany is concerned, has been hampered.

(c) The interception of mails in violation of international law (compare American memorandum to England of Jan. 10, 1916) is meant to stop any intercourse of Germany with foreign countries.

ATTEMPT TO STARVE NATION.

(d) England, by systematically and increasingly oppressing neutral countries, following the principle of "might before right," has prevented neutral trade on land with Germany so as to complete the blockade of the central powers, intended to starve their civil popula-

tion.

(e) Germans met by our enemics on the high seas are deprived of their liberty, no matter whether they are combatants or noncombatants.

(f) Our enemies have armed their merchant vessels for offensive purposes, theoretically making it impossible to use our U-boats according to the principles set forth in the London declaration (compare American memorandum of Feb. 8, 1916).

TRADE CUT OFF BY BRITAIN.

The English White Book of January 5, 1916, on the restriction of German trade, boasts that by British measures Germany's export trade has been stopped almost entirely, whilst her imports are subject to England's will.

The Imperial Government feels confident that the people of the United States, remembering the friendly relations that for the last hundred years have existed between the two nations, will, in spite of the difficulties put into the way by our enemies, appreciate the German viewpoint as laid down above.

On the following day the British Embassy gave out a reply to the memorandum presented to the State Department by Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador. According to the British view, the German submarine warfare was not in retaliation for anything done by the British Navy, because German submarines had torpedoed British merchantmen without warning so far back as October 26, 1914. The British Embassy also gave another version of the failure to adopt the principles of the declaration of London.

ciples of the declaration of London.

The British Embassy's statement follows:

According to the German statement, German submarine warfare was enforced on February 18, 1915, as an act of reprisal against illegal acts of Great Britain.

The Amiral Ganteaume, with 2,000 unarmed refugees on board, mostly women and children, was torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine on October 26, 1914. Two British merchant vessels were torpedoed without notice on January 30, and the British hospital ship Asturias fired at with a torpedo on February 1.

The illegal acts complained of are apparently the nonacceptance of the London convention of 1909, the enlargement of the list of contraband, the warning to merchantmen as to mines in the North Sea, and the capture of the Wilhelmina with foodstuffs on February 9.

The declaration of London of 1909 was never ratified by the British Government and was never binding on them. One of the reasons of the nonratification of the convention was the claim of the German Government as to the right to treat foodstuffs as contraband. The enlargement of the list of contraband is an acknowledged belligerent right; the warning to merchant vessels in November was due to the fact that the Germans had sown mines in the high seas, resulting in the destruction of many innocent merchant vessels, foreign as well as British. The Wilhelmina, with a cargo of foodstuffs for Hamburg, was only stopped after the German cruisers had destroyed the Dutch vessel Maria (September, 1914) and the Frye (January, 1915), which were conveying grain from California to Ireland.

The press on the day the above was published carried the following dispatch:

ASKS FOR BRITISH ORDER.

ASKS FOR BRITISH ORDER.

The United States has asked Great Britain for a copy of the confidential instructions to commanders of merchant vessels, which Germany contends prove that merchantmen, armed ostensibly for defensive purposes, have orders to act offensively against German and Austrian submarines. The request is understood to have been made to-day through Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, the British ambassador. This is the first step the United States has taken since administration officials began studying the complete memorandum, in which the German Government announced its intention to treat as warships armed merchantmen of the entente allies.

There were strong intimations to-night that an opportunity would be afforded to Great Britain to answer all the German charges and to comment upon the 20 incidents where Germany asserts that defensively

armed ships have acted offensively toward submarines of the central European powers. The inquiry to Great Britain was determined upon as a means of gaining an accurate understanding of the British position. The State Department wants to know definitely under just what instructions British sea captains are operating, so that it will be in a position to carry on future diplomatic negotiations.

The British Government already has given out for publication a copy of instructions said to have been issued to the commanders of merchantmen. The German version of the contents, as submitted to the State Department, is materially different. The State Department has no official knowledge of the British version, although officials have read with interest the press dispatches containing the instructions, as given out in London for publication.

Pending receipt of the copy of the instructions asked for, the State Department, it is said, will not consider the question of whether the British Government has violated the assurances given during the early days of the war in regard to the peaceful character which would be assumed by British merchantmen.

It is considered unlikely, too, that there will be any further negotiations on the subject with Germany until after a reply has been received from Great Britain.

To-day's press carried the following, which I submit from the New York Times:

BERLIN ATTITUDE TO U-BOAT WAR—TEXT OF GERMAN WARNING TO NEU-TRALS AND EVIDENCE BACKING IT IS GIVEN OUT—ATTACKS ON SUB-MARINES—GERMAN DETAILS OF CLASHES WITH ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS OF AILIES—INSTRUCTIONS THEY FOUND—DOCUMENTS TAKEN FROM THE ADMIRALTY TRANSPORT "WOODFIELD" MADE PUBLIC IN WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, March 17.

Washington.

Washington, March 17.

Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, to-day made public the official text of the memorandum issued by the German Government on February 10, which announced to the neutral powers the purpose of Germany to treat all armed enemy merchantment as beliigerents liable to attack without warning after February 29

At the same time the State Department made public for the first time the official copies of all the so-called "appendices" to the memorandum in the form of a dozen exhibits, embracing what are declared by the German Government to be secret instructions issued by the British Admiralty to British merchant ships armed for defense, advising them to use their guns against enemy submarines pursuing or approaching them. One appendix is a recital of instances in which merchant ships are alleged to have fired on German and Austrian submarines.

The alleged secret instructions covered by these exhibits are declared to have been found on the British steamer Woodfield, which was sunk by a submarine in the western Mediterranean on November 3 last and on the British is version of the Admiralty orders to armed merchantment, the full text of which was made public by the British Admiralty on March 2, and which were printed in the New York Times of March 3.

The British Admiralty's version stated that the instructions were issued on October 20, 1915; that they are those now in force, and being the latest issued take the place of previous instructions.

OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE FIRE.

OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE FIRE.

The German Government appears to be laying stress on paragraph 3 of the confidential instructions of February 25, 1915, and of April, 1915, which provide: "If a submarine is obviously pursuing a ship by day and it is evident to the master that she has hostile intentions, the ship pursued should open fire in self-defense notwithstanding the submarine may not have committed a definite hostile act, such as firing a gun or torpedo."

The instructions of April, 1915, suggest, in view of the difficulty of distinguishing between friendly and hostile submarines, that instead of British merchant vessels opening fire at long range they "retain fire until the submarine has closed to a range of, say, 800 yards, at which fire is likely to be effective."

But these earlier instructions, upon which the German Government is laying emphasis, have not been officially admitted by the British Government to be authentic, and, even if they were so recognized by Great Britain, that Government, according to the understanding here, is now governing its armed merchantmen by the instructions of October 20, 1915, the essential portion of which provides:

"It is important, therefore, that craft of this description (hostile submarines) should not be allowed to approach to short range, at which a torpedo or bomb launched without notice would almost certainly be effective. Consequently it may be presumed that any submarine or air craft which deliberately approaches or pursues a merchant vessel does so with hostile intention. In such cases fire may be opened in self-defens in order to prevent the hostile craft from closing to a range at which resistance to a sudden attack with bomb or torpedo would not be possible."

REGARD ONLY LATEST ORDER,

REGARD ONLY LATEST ORDER,

It has already been announced semiofficially by the State Department that the matter of the instructions governing British armed merchantmen will be viewed by this Government in the light of the instructions now in force, and which have superseded those issued prior to October 20. Copies of the German memorandum and of the exhibits as made public to-day have been submitted by the State Department to the British Government, and it is expected that the British foreign office soon will indicate whether these orders, alleged to have been taken from the steamer Woedfield, were issued by Great Britain.

One of the most important disclosures made by the official publication of the appendices is that the German Government indicates it is speaking not only for itself but for the Austro-Hungarian Government. This is apparent from the title at the head of Exhibit 4, which reads: "Digest of cases in which enemy merchant ships fired on German or Austro-Hungarian submarines." Until to-day it was understood outside official circles that this enumeration covered only German submarines alleged to have been attacked. But the publication of the German note and its exhibits shows that Germany enumerates Austrian as well as German submarines, and the inference is that this list was prepared after exchanges between the German and Austrian Governments.

Here is the full text of the official translation of Germany's notification to the powers on the treatment of armed enemy merchantmen:

FOREIGN OFFICE, Berlin, February 10 1916

NOTE VERBALE.

The foreign office has the benor to transmit herewith to the embassy of the United States of America three copies of a memorandum of the

Imperial German Government on the treatment of armed merchantmen, with inclosures, and to request that the embassy be good enough to bring the essential contents of the memorandum to the members of its Government by telegraph, stating at the time that the order to the German naval forces mentioned in Section IV, No. 1, of the memorandum will not be carried into effect until the 29th instant, in the interest of neutrals already on board armed merchant vessels.

Memorandum of the Imperial German Government upon the treatment of armed merchantmen.

trais already on board armed merchant vessels.

Memorandum of the Imperial German Government upon the treatment of armed merchantmen:

I. Even before the outbreak of the present war the British Government had given English shipping companies the opportunity to arm their merchant vessels with guns. On March 26, 1913, Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, made the declaration in the British Parliament (Exhibit 1) that the Admiralty had called upon the shipowners to arm a number of first-class liners for protection against danger menaced in certain cases by fast auxiliary cruisers of other powers; the liners were not, however, to assume the character of auxiliary cruisers themselves. The Government desired to place at the disposal of the shipowners the necessary guns, sufficient ammunition, and suitable personnel for the training of the gun crews.

II. The English shipowners have readily responded to the call of the Admiralty. Thus Sir Owen Philipps, president of the Royal Mall Steam Packet Co., was able to inform the stockholders of his company in May, 1913, that the larger steamers of the company were equipped with guns; furthermore, the British Admiralty published in January, 1914, a list, according to which 29 steamers of various English lines carried guns aft. For example, the crew are not to wear uniforms in neutral ports and thus plainly belong to the British Navy. Above all, it is shown by the instructions that these armed vessels are not to await any action of maritime war on the part of the German submarines, but are to attack them forthwith. In this respect the following regulations are particularly instructive:

(a) The instructions for guidance in the use, care, and maintenance of armament in defensively armed merchant ships, Exhibits 5 and 6, provide in the section headed "Action," in paragraph 4: "It is not advisable to open fire at a range greater than 800 yards unless the enemy has already opened fire." From this it is the duty of the merchantmen.

(b) The instructions regarding sub

the submarine.

(b) The instructions regarding submarines applicable to vessels carrying a defensive armament, Exhibits 9 and 10, prescribed under No. 3: "If a submarine is obviously pursuing a ship by day and it is evident to the master that she has hostile intentions, the ship pursued should open fire in self-defense, nothwithstanding the submarine may not have committed a definite hostile act, such as firing a gun or torpedo." From this also the mere appearance of a submarine in the wake of a merchantman affords sufficient occasion for an armed attack.

In all these orders, which do not apply merely to the zone of maritime war around England, but are unrestricted as regards their validity, see Exhibit 12 for the Mediterranean, the greatest emphasis is laid on secrecy, plainly in order that the action of merchantmen, in absolute contradiction of international law and the British assurances, Exhibit 2, might remain concealed from the enemy as well as the neutrals.

neutrals.

III. It is thus made plain that the armed English merchantmen bave official instructions to attack the German submarines treacherously wherever they come near them; that is to say, orders to conduct relentless warfare against them. Since England's rules of maritime war are adopted by her allies without question, the proof must be taken as demonstrated in request of the armed merchantmen of the other enemy countries also.

IV. In the circumstance set forth above enemy merchantmen armed with guns no longer have any right to be considered as peaceable vessels of commerce. Therefore the German naval forces will receive orders within a short period, paying consideration to the interests of the neutrals, to treat such vessels as belligerents.

The German Government brings this status of affairs to the knowledge of the neutral powers in order that they may warn their nationals against continuing to intrust their persons or property to armed merchantmen of the powers at war with the German Empire.

APPENDICES TO THE NOTE,

The so-called appendices to the note verbale, above quoted, embrace 12 exhibits, the most interesting of which are what purport to be the secret and confidential orders issued by the British Admiralty to British merchantmen. Germany's note points out that on March 26, 1913, Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the British Admiralty, called on British shipowners to arm a number of first-class liners for detense. Churchill's statement is the first exhibit submitted by the German Government, as follows:

EXHIBIT 1.

Declaration of the First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, at the session of the British lower house of March 26, 1913. Parliamentary debates, official report, third session of the Thirtieth Parliament, House of Commons, 1913 (Bd., 1 S., 1775 Bis., 1776):

"I turn to one aspect of trade protection which requires special reference. It was made clear at the second Hague conference and the London conference that certain of the great powers have reserved to themselves the right to convert merchant steamers into cruisers, not merely in national harbors but, if necessary, on the high seas. There is now good reason to believe that a considerable number of foreign merchant steamers may be rapidly converted into armed ships by the mounting of guns. The sea-borne trade of the world follows well-marked routes, upon nearly all of which the tonnage of the British mercantile marine largely predominates. Our food-carrying liners and vessels carrying raw material, following these trade routes, would, in certain contingencies, meet foreign vessels armed and equipped in the manner desirable. If the British ships had no armament, they would be at the mercy of any foreign liner carrying one effective gun and a few rounds of ammunition. It would be obviously absurd to meet the contingency of considerable numbers of foreign armed merchant cruisers on the high seas by building an equal number of cruisers. That would expose this country to an expenditure of money to meet a particular danger altogether disproportionate to the expense caused to any foreign power in creating that danger. Hostile cruisers, wherever they are found, will be covered and met by British ships of war, but the proper reply to an armed merchantman is another merchantman armed in her own defense.

"This is the position to which the Admiralty have felt it necessary an armed merchantman is another merchantman armed in her own defense.

"This is the position to which the Admiralty have felt it necessary to draw the attention of leading shipowners. We have felt justified in

pointing out to them the danger to life and property which would be incurred if their vessels were totally incapable of offering any defense to an attack. The shipowners have responded to the admiralty invitation with cordiality, and substantial progress has been made in the direction of meeting it by preparing a defensive measure to equip a number of first-class British liners to repel the attack of armed foreign merchant

first-class British liners to repel the attack of armed foreign merchant cruisers.

"Although these vessels have, of course, a wholly different status from that of the regularly commissioned merchant cruisers, such as those we obtain under the Cunard agreement, the admiralty have felt that the greater part of the cost of necessary equipment should not fall upon the owners, and we have decided, therefore, to lend the necessary guns, to supply ammunition, and to provide for the training of members of the ship's company to form the gun crews. The owners on their part are paying the cost of the necessary structural conversion, which is not great. The British mercantile marine will, of course, have the protection of the Royal Navy under all possible circumstances, but it is obviously impossible to guarantee individual vessels from attack when they are scattered on their voyages all over the world. No one can pretend to view these measures without regret or without hoping that the period of retrogression all over the world, which has rendered them necessary, may be succeeded by days of broader international confidence and agreement than those through which we are now passing."

Exhibit No. 2 is the text of the note delivered August 25, 1914, by Sir Cecil Spring Rice, British ambassador at Washington, to the State Department, in which he gave fullest assurances that British merchant vessels "will never be used for purposes of attack; that they are merely peaceful traders armed only for defense; that they will never fire unless first fired upon; and that they will never under any circumstances attack any vessel."

Exhibit No. 3 is the text of a memorandum delivered by the German Government to Ambassador Gerard on October 15, 1914, concerning the treatment of armed merchant vessels in neutral ports.

SHIPS ATTACKED

Exhibit No. 4 of the German appendices is a list of cases in which armed enemy merchant ships are alleged to have fired on German or Austrian submarines. It follows:

"Digest of cases in which enemy merchant ships have fired on German or Austro-Hungarian submarines.

"April 11, 1915.—Unknown steamer, South North Sea, near the Nordhinder Lightship; steamer without a flag. Steamer saw periscope, opened gunfire at about 3,000 meters and turned on U (boat). Report of shells could be heard near the boat—about 15 or 20 shots.

"April 28, 1915.—Unknown steamer of medium size, North Sea, about 60 nautical miles northeast of the mouth of the Tyne. Steamer was sighted running onward; suddenly opened fire at abou 3,000 meters without hoisting flag. On account of her head-on position it could not be seen whether she bore neutral marks. From the impact of the shots the guns were from 5 to 7 centimeters. U escaped the well-directed fire by speedily submerging.

"May 29, 1915.—English steamship Demerara, west entrance to the English Channel, near Ouessant (Ushant Island). U chased the steamer and tried when 4,500 meters off to bring her to a halt by firing warning guns. Steamer turned off and returned the fire.

"June 3, 1915.—Unknown steamer, west entrance to the English Channel, 50 nautical miles south of the Scilly Isles. U tried to bring the steamer returned the fire with a poop gun.

"June 14, 1915.—Two unknown steamers, west of the Hebrides (about 30 nautical miles off Lewis). The two steamers were running close together, at about 4,000 meters; both opened fire on U with small-caliber poop guns. Shots hit sideways very bad. Speedy submerging, running deep; so submarine attack hopeless.

"August 14, 1915.—Large English steamer of the Royal Mail Line, Irish Sea. U was fired on suddenly by the steamer were running close together, at about 4,000 meters. Shots fell short. No attack was attempted on the steamer.

"August 18, 1915.—Unknown steamer, Bristol Channel. Tried to bring steamer to halt by gunfire, after warning. When

promenade deck.

"September 10, 1915.—Unknown steamer, western Mediterranean. Steamer was challenged to show her flag. She turned away without hoisting the flag and opened fire with a 10-centimeter poop gun on the U boat, which escaped the firing by speedily submerging.

"October 7, 1915.—French steamship Amiral Hametin, middle Mediterranean. U signaled the steamer to stop. She turned away and ran on a zigzag course. The U boat tried to bring the steamer to a halt by artillery fire. When about 3,000 meters distant she returned the fire. It was some time before the steamer stopped. She was sunk later.

the fire. It was some time before the steamer stopped. She was sunk later.

"November 3.—English transport steamer Woodfield, western Mediterranean. The steamer did not stop at the warning gun. At a distance of 6,000 meters she returned the fire with a small gun. She was forced to stop by artillery fire, and her crew list showed that the steamer carried gunners and enlisted men of the navy as members of her crew.

"November 5.—Unknown steamer, western Mediterranean. A large steamer was chased by U boat after being challenged in vain. The steamer returned the fire with a large gun. The chase had to be given up.

steamer returned the fire with a large gun. The chase had to be given up.

"November 6.—Eastern Mediterranean, English tank steamer Lumina. The steamer was challenged to stop by a warning gun. She turned about, ran away, and returned the fire with a poop gun. She was compelled to stop by artillery fire, and later was sunk.

"November 11.—English steamship City of Marseilles, western Mediterranean. U boat after warning tried to stop a large freight steamer by artillery fire. The steamer turned away and returned the fire with two guns of about 10 centimeters. The U boat had to give up the chase; the steamer got away. A press telegram of January 1, 1916, from Bombay told the incident in detail. The steamer claimed she had sunk the U boat.

"November 30.—Unknown steamer, middle Mediterranean. U boat after a warning gun tried to stop a large steamer by artillery fire. The steamer turned away and returned the fire with a small gun.

"December 8.—Unknown steamer, eastern Mediterranean. The steamer was approached under water. She fired with a poop gun on the periscope as soon as it emerged.

"December 13.—Unknown English steamer, middle Mediterranean. U boat tried to stop by artillery fire a large steamer, with poop guns,

that showed no flag. The steamer hoisted the English flag and returned the fire with two guns.

"December 14.—Unknown steamer, middle Mediterranean. U boat approached the steamer, which stopped at sight of the boat, and ordered her to show her flag. The steamer speeded away, keeping up a brisk fire from a poop gun.

"January 17. 1916.—Unknown steamer, middle Mediterranean. U boat ordered steamer, apparently in ballast, that was sighted on a westerly course to stop. The steamer turned about, ran away, and fired with a poop gun.

"January 17.—English steamer Melanic, middle Mediterranean. U boat signaled a flush-decked freight steamer, with raised forecastle and cabin, of about 3,000 tons, sailing under the Dutch flag, to send a boat and have the ship's papers examined. This was done after awhile. As U boat, which for safety's sake had gone under, came to the surface about 1,000 meters away from the steamer near the ship's boat, the steamer opened fire with two guns of medium caliber and machine guns so briskly that the U boat barely saved herself by speedly submerging. Throughout the action the steamer displayed the Dutch flag. She bore the name of Melanie, which is found not in the Dutch but the English marine list."

BRITISH ORDER TO MERCHANTMEN

Exhibit No. 5 is what purports to be the text of confidential instructions to British defensively armed merchantmen regarding the use of their armament. These instructions are declared to have been found on the British steamer Woodfield and are given as follows:

"CONFIDENTIAL.

"Instructions for guidance in the use, care, and maintenance of armament in defensively armed merchant ships,

" GENERAL.

"1. Ratings embarked as gun's crew will sign the ship's articles at the rate of pay communicated.

"2. They are to obey the orders of the master and officers of the ship. If they think it necessary to make a complaint against any order, they are to obey the order and make their complaint in writing, asking that it may be forwarded to the proper authorities.

"3. The ratings are not required for duties unconnected with the armament, except in case of emergency, but they are to assist at all times in the welfare of the ship and look after the cleanliness of their berths.

"4. They are to keep watch and watch at sea and also when the ship is anchored in any place liable to attack by submarines.

"5. They will receive their pay through the master of the ship. They will not mess with the crew, but in one of the officers' messes, as the master may decide.

"6. Uniform is not to be worn in neutral ports.

"7. A brief report is to be rendered by the senior rating on the first of each month, countersigned by the master, and sent to the Director of Trade Division, Admiralty, Whitehall, S. W.

"DRILL AND MAINTENANCE OF GUN.

"DRILL AND MAINTENANCE OF GUN.

"BRILL AND MAINTENANCE OF GUN.

"8. The ratings embarked are entirely responsible for the efficiency in all respects of the gun and ammunition, which should be ready day and night.

"9. The senior rating is to arrange with the master to detail the necessary additional men to complete the gun's crew up to the numbers required by the drill book.

"10. One of the ratings is to act as gun layer and the other as breech worker. The remaining numbers should be told off to act as sight setter, projectile loader, and cartridge loader, etc.

"11. Arrangements are to be made with the master to detail a sufficient number of hands, over and above the gun's crew, to supply ammunition to the gun on going into action.

"12. A ready supply of 10 complete rounds, with percussion tubes in the cartridges, is to be kept at the gun day and night. Care should be taken that a supply of one percussion tubes to each cartridge is kept aside for action, and this supply of tubes is never to be encroached on for practice firing.

"13. The senior rating should arrange with the master for the instruction of the ratings told off as gun's crew and ammunition supply party.

"14. A drill book is supplied for information, but it is not necessary.

"13. The senior rating should arrange with a supply party.

"14. A drill book is supplied for information, but it is not necessary that the gun's crew should be burdened with details, provided that they understand what is required when the gun is to be fought.

"15. Percussion firing should always be used, as it is the most certain means of discharging the gun; and, therefore—

"(a) Cartridges in ready supply only should be kept ready tubed with percussion tubes. Tubes not required for ready supply of cartridges should be retained in their sealed boxes to preserve them from damp.

"(b) Alming practice with a percussion lanyard should be carried out daily. It is not necessary to fire a tube in this practice, but the breech worker should be exercised at the same time in cocking the striker while the breech is open and in hooking on the firing lanyard and passing it to the gun layer.

"NOTE.

"The present allowance of percussion tubes is one per cartridge. Electric firing mechanism and batteries are therefore to be kept efficient in every respect, in case the supply of percussion tubes becomes insufficient from damp or other causes.

"16. Great attention is to be paid to the ready supply of ammunition, to keep it clean and dry. If tubes and cartridges are not kept dry there is considerable danger of hanging fire. The projectiles are to be lightly olled. In case the cartridges are suspected to have become wet, they should be laid aside until return to harbor.

"17. For the maintenance of the gun and mounting, it is to be borne in mind that 'lubrication is the secret of efficiency in gun machinery.' All oll channels should be seen clear of vascline and filled with oll. It is to be remembered that vascline is a preservative only; oll is a lubricant.

"Each morning and evening the bore is to be seen clear, recoil cylinders filled, striker protrusion gauged, and the gun trained and elevated to both extremes.

"The gun is to be cleaned twice a day, gear being supplied by the master."

master. "Brick dust is not to be used on machined surfaces.

"ACTION.

"The master is responsible for handling the ship and for opening and asing fire. He has been furnished with instructions which will enable

him to do this to the best advantage. The duty of the gun's crew is to fire the gun under the general direction of the master, who will communicate to them so much of the instructions as he may consider necessary to enable them to fire the gun to the best advantage.

"In action the following instructions should be carried out:

"I. When in submarine waters everything should be in a state of readiness, but the gun should not be kept actually loaded.

"2. When the enemy is engaged:

"(a) The point of aim should be the center of the water line.

"(b) It is to be remembered that 'over' shots are useless. A short shot by causing a splash confuses the enemy. It may ricochet into the enemy. If the shell bursts on striking the water—as it usually does—some fragments are likely to hit the enemy. To get the best results at least half of the shots fired should fall short.

"3. The master will probably keep the submarine astern, so that little defection will be necessary.

"4. It is not advisable to open fire at a range greater than 800 yards, unless the enemy has already opened fire, for the following reasons:

"(a) The ammunition supply is limited.

"(b) Accurate shooting under probable existing conditions can not be expected at greater range.

"5. When in action and a missire occurs with a percussion tube the following procedure is to be adopted.

"(a) The 18 M. leyer is to be tapped to insure it is closed.

"(b) The striker is to be recocked.

"11 the gun does not then fire the striker is to be taken out to insure that the point is not broken. If unbroken, the breech is to be opened and the cartridge is to be thrown overboard, it having been ascertained that the percussion tube has been inserted.

"The gun is then to be reloaded.

"The gun is then to be reloaded.

"INSTRUCTIONS FOR CARRYING OUT FIRING PRACTICE.

"1. In order to insure that the gun is maintained in an efficient condition one round is to be fired every two months.

"2. In order to prevent false alarms it is essential that the firing referred to in paragraph 1 shall take place in clear weather and out of sight of tand and or other ships.

"3. If convenient a cask or other suitable object should be dropped as a target, and the gun should be fired when the range is about 600 paragraphs."

"4. The gun's crew and ammunition-supply party should be exercised on the day previous to the practice, and also immediately before

firing.

5. Before practice firing the following procedure is to be carried

(a) Recoil cytinders and tanks are to be seen filled.

"(b) Bore is to be seen clear.
"(c) Movable objects in the way of blast from the gun are to be

"(c) Movable objects in the way of blast from the gun are to be removed.

"(d) The striker is to be reexamined to see (1) that sheet net is screwed up and keep pin in place and intact; (2) that needle set and check nuts are screwed up; (3) that striker does not protrude with B. M. lever in open position: (4) that striker does not move forward till marks on breechbleck and gun are in line; (5) that safety step is correct and keep screw is in place.

"ADMIRALTY.

"ADMIRALTY.

" MAY 7, 1915."

INSTRUCTIONS TO SHIP MASTERS.

Exhibit No. 6 gives the text of a separate set of confidential British instructions for guidance in the use of armament on defensively armed merchantmen, said to have been found on the steamer Woodfield, and is similar to the secret instructions given in Exhibit No. 5, except that the instructions described as Exhibit No. 6 appears to be a reprint of the instructions described as Exhibit No. 5, with several slight technical rules concerning the guns.

Exhibit No. 7 embraces brief supplementary instructions of a confidential nature, also said to have been found on the steamer Woodfield, as follows:

dential nature, also said to have been found on the steamer Woodfield, as follows:

"Confidential addends to instructions for guidance in the use, care, and maintenance of armament in defensively armed merchant ships:

"I. The master should arrange, wherever possible, that the space in the immediate vicinity of the gun 's railed off, and passengers and other unauthorized persons should not be allowed near the gun.

"2. A notice to this effect should be posted up near the gun.

"3. When the ship is in harbor one of the two ratings is always to be on board to keep guard on the gun and ammunition, and the master is to use his discretion as to keeping both ratings on board should he consider such a course to be desirable.

"4. The gun is to be kept covered at all times when not in use.

"5. Whenever the ships anchor in the vicinity of a man-of-war a request should be made to the commanding officer of the man-of-war for an armorer to inspect the gun and mounting.

"Admiralty.

" MAY 27, 1915."

LEAF FROM DRILL BOOK.

Exhibit No. 8 is a facsimile of the title page of the "Drill book for 12-pounder quick-fire guns, issued to defensively armed merchant ships, issued by the gunnery branch of the British Admiraity in May, 1915." This book is alleged to nave been found on the steamer Woodfeld.

Exhibit No. 9 is a copy of secret instructions No. 45 regarding submarines, applicable to vessels carrying a defensive armament, issued by the British Admiratty on February 25, 1915, and also found on the steamer Woodfeld. It follows:

" CONFIDENTIAL-NO. 45.

"In no circumstances is this paper to be allowed to fail into the hands of the enemy.

"This paper is for the master's personal information. It is not to be copied, and when not actually in use is to be kept in safety in a place where it can be destroyed at a moment's notice.

"Such portions as call for immediate action may be communicated probably to the effective present."

verbally to the officers concerned.

" FEBRUARY 25, 1915.

"Instructions regarding submarines applicable to vessels carrying a defensive armament:

"1. Defensively armed vessels should follow generally the instructions for ordinary merchant ships.

"2. In submarine waters guns should be kept in instant readiness.

"3. If a submarine is obviously pursuing a ship by day and it is

evident to the master that she has hostile intentions, the ship pursued should open fire in self-defense, notwithstanding the submarine may not have committed a definite hostile act, such as firing a gun or torpedo.

"4. In view of the great difficulty in distinguishing a friend from an enemy at night, fire should not be opened after dark unless it is absolutely certain that the vessel fired at is hostile.

"5. Before opening fire the British colors should be holsted.

"It is essential that fire should not be opened under neutral colors."

FURTHER RULES FOR ATTACKS.

Exhibit 10 is a copy of British secret instructions No. 291, and is similar to and repeats instructions No. 45, printed above, with the addition of the following instructions:

" CONFIDENTIAL-NO. 291.

In no circumstances is this paper to be allowed to fall into the hands

"This paper is for the master's personal information. It is not to be copied, and when not actually in use is to be kept in safety in a place where it can be destroyed at a moment's notice. Such portions as call for immediate action may be communicated verbally to the officers

"APRIL. 1915.

"April, 1915.

"Instructions regarding submarines applicable to vessels carrying a defensive armament.

"6. If a defensively armed vessel is pursued by a submarine, the master has two alternatives:

"a. To open fire at long range immediately it is certain that the submarine is really in pursuit.

"b. To retain fire until the submarine has closed to a range, say 800 yards, at which fire is likely to be effective.

"In view of the very great difficulty of distinguishing between friendly and hostile submarines at long range (one British submarine has already been fired at by a merchant vessel which erroneously supposed herself to be pursued by the submarine) it is strongly recommended that course b should be adopted by all defensively armed ships.

"7. A submarine's hag is no guide to her nationality, as German submarines frequently fly British colors.

"8. Vessels carrying a defensive armament and proceeding to neutral ports must not be painted in neutral colors or wear a neutral flag.

"9. It is recommended that in neutral ports, particularly those of Spain, the armament should be concealed as far as possible. A canvas cover is recommended for this purpose."

ORDERS TO TROOP TRANSPORTS.

Exhibit No. 11 purports to be the text of secret instructions to masters of transports carrying troops, issued by the British Admiralty, May 31, 1915, and found on the steamer Woodfield. The document

" SECRET.

"SECRET.

"Memorandum for issue to masters of transports carrying troops.

"Use of ride and machine-gun fire by troops on board transports against enemy submarines or torpedo crafts.

"I. In daylight a submarine will probably attack while submerged, with only her periscope showing.

"At night, in moonlight, a submarine may attack while on the surface, or with only her conning tower above water, owing to the difficulty of seeing through the periscope at night.

"2. In either case heavy ride or machine-gun fire will make it more difficult for a submarine to make a successful shot with a torpedo. If submerged, no injury will be done to her, but a good volume of fire falling just short of the periscope will make spiashes which will render it difficult for the observer to see clearly through the periscope.

"3. When a destroyer escort is accompanying a transport troops should not open fire on a submarine, as it may prevent a destroyer from ramming her, nor should their weapons be loaded, in order to avoid the possibility of an escorting vessel being fired on by mistake, especially at night.

possibility of an escorting vessel being fired on by mistake, especially at night.

"4. When no escort is provided machine guns should be in readiness to open fire, and a strong party of riflemen should also be on duty.

"5. Military officers should be in command both of the machine guns and riflemen to control the fire.

"6. A military officer of the watch should be in command of the troops on deck. He should not order fire to be opened on a hostile submarine or torpedo vessel without the previous assent of the master or his representative—the ship's officer of the watch.

"7. The object of those controlling the fire should be to keep the center of the pattern just short of the hostile vessel.

"8. Machine-gun tripods can be lashed to the rails or other deck fittings. If there is motion on the ship and machine guns are fitted with elevating or training gear, it is advisable to disconnect it and point (he gun by hand.

elevating or training gear, it is advisable to disconnect it and point the gun by hand.

"9. Feid guns with recoil mountings might possibly be secured on deck in such a manner as to permit of their being fired, but their arc of training would be very restricted, and it is unlikely that gun layers, without previous training affoat, could make satisfactory practice from a ship with motion on. Their use is not, therefore, recommended.

"10. In men-of-war it has been the practice for many years to station sentries with ball cartridge on deck opposite the boats in the event of collision or other serious emergency lakely to the boats being required. Their duties are to prevent anyone getting into the boats or attempting to lower the boats without orders from the captain or his representatives. This practice should be followed in transports.

"Admiral.TY.

"31st May, 1915."

The last of the appendices, Exhibit No. 12, purports to be instructions to British merchant vessels in the Mediterranean, alleged to have been found on the English steamer Linkmoor. It follows:

"ADMIRALTY SUPERINTENDENT'S OFFICE, "Malta, June, 1915.

"Instructions to British merchant vessels passing through the Medi-

terranean Sea.

"It is now certain that there are enemies' submarines at sea in the

Mediterranean.

"In order to avoid attack you are to keep out of the track of shipping,
"You are to darken ship at night and are not to show navigation
lights except at discretion to avoid collision, and all lights are to be
extinguished when necessity is passed
"You are to carry out the procedure recommended by the Admiraity
in their printed instructions if a hostile submarine is sighted."

Democratic Exploits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. GREENE,

OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 20, 1916.

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a speech delivered by Senator Henry Cabor Lodge, of Massachusetts, before the Republican Club of Lynn, Mass., March 16, 1916.

The speech is as follows:

SPEECH OF HENRY CABOT LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS, BEFORE THE REPUB-LICAN CLUB OF LYNN, MASS., MARCH 16, 1916.

In every campaign it is usual to dwell upon the importance of the issues involved, and it is true that all elections which determine the policy of the United States are important in a high degree; but, weighing my words, I say with deliberation that since 1864 there has been no election comparable in its meaning and its results to that now before us. This is due to two facts—the unparalleled condition of the civilized world owing to the war in Europe and the conduct of the Democratic administration which came into power on the 4th of March, 1913. In my opinion, since the foundation of the Government, with the exception of the administration of Buchanan, there has been no administration in power which has been so injurious to the United States, both at home and abroad, as that now in control at Washington.

They began with the destruction of the protective tariff. shall not argue the question of protection or free trade; it is enough to point to results. They left our producers open to a destructive competition, and the consequences of this action were seen before the 1st of August, 1914, in languishing industries, diminished employment, lowered revenues, and increased taxation. The European war had two effects: One was that it acted like a prohibitory tariff, by largely stopping imports from Europe; the other was that the demand of Europe stimulated abnormally certain great industries and brought to the country large sums of money for their products. Despite the protection which the war afforded, other industries upon which the war caused no demand still remained dull and languishing, and they have made no preparation to meet the destructive and abnormally low-priced competition which will come with the end of But the Democratic Party did more than simply overthrow the protective policy; they altered our entire system of

By the Constitution of the United States the great source of revenue to be found in duties on imports was reserved to the General Government alone, and it was the policy of the framers of the Constitution and the founders of the Government to use duties on imports as the normal source for the national reve-The fields of direct taxation, except for the excise on liquors and tobacco, was left to the States, and it was tacitly understood that this field was not to be invaded by the General Government except in times of stress. In a period of profound peace the Democratic Party threw away a large part of the revenues to be derived from duties on imports, thus abandoning the field reserved exclusively to the United States, and deliberately substituted direct taxes, in this way crippling the resources of the States and increasing the burdens upon the people. They announced that their purpose was to have the taxes paid by the rich; but all taxes in the end are distributed among all the people, and you will find, if you will inquire into it, that the true object was to take money from the North and spend it in the South, the sure outcome of a party under sec-Yet, with all their new taxes and all the fresh burdens which they have placed upon us, they present us with a deficit in the Treasury and with Government expenditures larger than any ever known under a Republican administration. This has nothing to do with additional appropriations for national defense, because those appropriations have not yet It is due to reckless extravagance in directions intended to produce sectional benefits and supply a living for needy and deserving Democrats. What promises of theirs in this department of public affairs have they kept? They prom-ised to lower the cost of living by tariff changes. It was a false pended at any time under Republican rule. They have thrown away the best sources of national revenue and have increased the burdens of the States by entering the fields of taxation which ought to be reserved to the States alone. It is a melancholy picture of broken promises and disastrous results.

It would be impossible for me to trace even in outline what they have done in other fields of domestic legislation, but it has all proceeded on the one general principle of punishing any man who is successful in business. They have framed their policies in such a way as to impose a penalty upon everyone who wins an honest business success and they have treated business success as if it was a crime. It is one thing to prosecute those who do wrong in the management of great business enterprises, but it is a very different thing and a very pernicious thing to prosecute all success in business, no matter how honest and how well deserved.

I shall not attempt to follow any further Democratic exploits in the field of domestic legislation, accomplished or proposed. If I should attempt even in the barest outline to review their trust legislation, their ship-purchase bill, their raids upon the civil service, their administrative shortcomings, I should occupy hours where I have only minutes which I wish to devote to a subject far graver than anything involved in what the Democrats are pleased to call their domestic policies. We must pass beyond our own borders if we would understand the evils which have been wrought by the present administration and the humiliations to which they have subjected and the dangers to which they have exposed this country. It is not altogether easy to follow them in all the turns and twists and gyrations which have characterized this administration in our foreign relations. The President, it is true, has said that he has a single-track mind, but it is a track interspersed with so many turntables that it is not always easy to find out the direction in which the mind is running. For example, the Democratic Party, as a party, set itself firmly against continuing the policy which had worked so well with San Domingo, and one of the first acts of the administration was to recall the Nicaraguan treaty pending in the Senate when they came into power. took to deal with the Nicaraguan situation, and back came the treaty with Nicaragua made under the Taft administration, in not quite so good a form. It has just been ratified with the whole force of the administration behind it.

A little more than a year ago the President declared that there was no need of any increase in the national defenses and sneered at those who urged it as nervous and excited, but as the months passed it became apparent that there was a large body of voters interested in the question of the national defense. Now, this administration does not seek information and is indifferent to argument and reason, but it is extremely sensitive to votes. Its taxes are laid solely on the basis of votes, which are not a recognized economic principle. The votes began to look ominous on the question of national defense; the turntable suddenly operated; national defense became a leading policy and was made the principal subject of the President's message to It is true that the plans which be suggested proved on analysis to be partly shams and wholly inadequate, but there could be no doubt of the presidential zeal for the appearance, at least, of an earnest desire to increase the national defenses. enthusiastic did he become that, reversing the action of young Lochinvar, he went out into the West, like the three fishers in Kingsley's poem, and poured forth a torrent of generalities as to our national dangers and the need of arming, and declared, although he had sneered at the whole proposition a year before, that we must have "incomparably the best Navy in the world," larger even than England's. One whole precious year had been wasted and now, despite this outpouring of language in favor of increasing the national defense, nothing so far has been accomplished, and it is to be feared that in the end little will be done. These are but examples of the reversals of policy which have now grown so frequent that they dazzle the eyes like the rapid

twirlings of a dancing Dervish.

Let us now come to the most important question—our foreign relations. On this subject I feel that I have the right to speak and frankly to criticize, for I have never allowed politics or party feeling to influence my action in regard to our intenational relations. Mr. Cleveland had my earnest support in his action in the Venezuelan question, and on more than one occasion I found myself obliged, with great reluctance, to oppose treaties negotiated by Presidents of my own party.

needy and deserving Democrats. What promises of theirs in this department of public affairs have they kept? They promised to lower the cost of living by tariff changes. It was a false promise when it was made, and the cost of living is higher than ever. They promised to put an end to Republican extravation against the embargo, where there will be, I trust, no wavering. Very recently I came most heartily to his supported and helped to pass his treaties with Nicaragua and Haiti. I have supported him in his absolutely right position against the embargo, where there will be, I trust, no wavering. Very recently I came most heartily to his support when he took the position, which I have always held and advo-

cated, that American rights must not be abridged by foreign nations; that peace must not be bought by dishonor; and that he would not accept the public proclamation of national cowardice by warning Americans not to exercise their undoubted right because we would not protect them it they did. How long he will adhere to the proposition laid down in the letter to Senator Stone I do not know, but if he changes I shall not. These principles I have held all my life. They are nearest to my heart, and I will stand with and sustain any American of any party who asserts and defends them. Therefore in what I am about to say I speak as an American, and I have the right to criticize and attack what is wrong, as I have defended and supported what I believed to be right, without regard to party.

There, to begin with, is Mexico. What a tragic spectacle! And the responsibility for the conditions in Mexico rests largely on the Government of the United States. The present administration found Mexico and Mexican relations in a bad condition. They have made these bad conditions infinitely worse. They found a de facto government, under Gen. Huerta, in control of the capital and supported by the great bulk of the Mexican population, although not in control of certain large areas of the Re-The President, for some reason, took a personal dislike to Gen. Huerta, on good grounds, possibly; but personal dislikes have no place in diplomacy or international relations. There were good international grounds on which he could have withheld recognition from the Huerta government, but there is a very great difference between refusing recognition and active intervention. Huerta would not depose himself, as the President requested him to do, and so the President determined to intervene and put him out. It is wholly proper to refuse to recognize a government in another country, but it is direct intervention to say that you will not recognize a government because a particular man is at the

The expedition was sent to Vera Cruz nominally to secure a salute to the flag, which has never been given, and haste was urged in order to prevent the landing of a cargo of arms from a German vessel for the Huerta government, which were in due time delivered to that government. Nineteen American sailors and marines were killed and a hundred wounded in taking Vera Cruz, and several hundred Mexicans were killed or wounded. It was war against Gen. Huerta, a successful war, for at the same time we raised the embargo and allowed the opponents of Gen. Huerta to import arms from the United Gen. Huerta was driven from power, and the President's war against Gen. Huerta culminated in complete victory by the imprisonment of Huerta in a Texas jail and his death in consequence. The result in Mexico was the destruction of the only government that offered any prospect of order or peace or responsibility. The murderers and bandits favored by the administration in preference to Gen. Huerta, who was also a murderer, have been desolating the country and fighting among themselves ever since. Property has been almost entirely destroyed; industry is at a standstill; the people in many parts of Mexico are starving, and there is no end to it yet, But out of this miserable tragedy of Mexico one thing arises and commands our attention above all others. Americans have been murdered in Mexico; soldiers wearing the American uniform have been shot on the soil of the United States. The administration admits that there have been 112 such murders since they came into power. There were a good many before that time, and there are a good many not included in their Is is, I believe, speaking within bounds to say that some 400 Americans have been killed in Mexico. If you add those who fell at Vera Cruz you will find that more American lives have been lost in Mexico than were lost in the Spanish War, under the operations of the President whose great glory is proclaimed to be that he has kept the peace.

Turn now to the awful struggle in Europe which has continued for nearly two years. What has been the course of the administration there? Out of their own mouths let us judge them. On the 21st of October, 1915, the Secretary of State, in a note to the British Government, speaking, of course, in the name of the President, said:

name of the President, said:

* * * It is of the highest importance to neutrals not only of the present day but of the future that the principles of international right be maintained unimpaired.

This task of championing the integrity of neutral rights, which have received the sanction of the civilized world against the lawless conduct of belligerents arising out of the bitterness of the great conflict which is now wasting the countries of Europe, the United States unhesitatingly assumes, and to the accomplishment of that task it will devote its energies, exercising always that impartiality which from the outbreak of the war it has sought to exercise in its relations with the warring nations.

Brave words! You will find no lack of bold language in dispatches to the British Government, where there is nothing

at issue but trade and dollars, where the administration thinks that votes may be gained and none lost, and where they feel assured there is little danger of war. But in the sentences I have quoted I would have you mark that they say that "the principles of international right be maintained unimpaired." They do not confine the language to trade. They then go on, as you will have noticed, to say that "this task of championing the integrity of neutral rights the United States unhesitatingly assumes." Let us, I say, take their own words and see how they have been fulfilled. The neutral rights of Belgium, guaranteed by a convention of The Hague, to which we had put our name, were shamefully disregarded. Where was the "championship of neutral rights which we unhesitatingly assumed" then? or heatrar rights which we unnestratingly assumed their We were the great neutral power but we made no attempt to unite under our leadership all the neutral powers of Europe and America in defense of neutral rights. Such a league would have had a powerful influence and prevented some of the horrors of the war and saved us from some of the difficult and dangerous controversies which now menace us.

At the very outset of the war the open ocean, the pathway of all the nations, was in the North Sea and elsewhere strewn with contact mines, a flagrant infraction of the freedom of the seas of which some people have been prating, a flagrant infraction of neutral rights, because the contact mine does not distinguish between the neutral and the belligerent, between the innocent and the guilty. Where was the "championship of neutral rights which we unhesitatingly assumed" in October, 1915; where, oh, where? Echo answers "where," and silence follows. American citizens have the right, established by centuries, to take passage and to ship their goods on belligerent merchantmen in time of war and under the rules which humanity has dictated, and to which all nations have assented for centuries if captured by an enemy ship they are to be guarded and set free at the first opportunity. More than a hundred American men, women, and children, rightfully on board the Lusitania, an unarmed merchantman, were sent to their death without warning, without notice, without visitation or search, and nothing has yet been done except to pour out words and carry on inconclusive negotiations for eight months. Not until February 25, when the President's note to Senator Stone appeared, was any real step taken to protect Americans in their rights, and that step which the President then took in words boldly and clearly, but in words alone, came only because his own party in the House were clamoring for the public surrender of American rights in order to conciliate one belligerent and its voters. The Democratic Party showed itself to be worse than its own administration. There is, it would seem, a point of humiliation at which the President stops, definitely, I trust, firmly I hope. There is no such point apparently to be found in the action of the party to which he belongs. The Lusitania, alas, is not the only case. The Arabic and the Ancona are still fresh in our minds, and there are many others which might be mentioned and as to which no action has been taken.

It is well to remember, when we talk of neutrality, that there are neutral duties, like the refusal to commit a grossly unneutral act, such as the adoption of an embargo would be, as well as neutral rights. The duties should be fulfilled; the rights should be insisted upon and enforced. It is only of the rights that I am speaking here to-night. What I charge is that the rights of American citizens have been absolutely neglected and protection denied to them. The Americans robbed and slain in Mexico were entitled to our protection both for their property and their lives. They have had none. Only a few weeks ago 17 men who had gone back to peaceful occupations in Mexico on the invitation of an officer of the so-called government which Mr. Wilson has recognized were taken from a train and brutally murdered. Has anything been done about that? Nothing except to pass it by and hope that in the rush of events it will be forgotten. Within a week Mexicans have invaded the United States, attacked an American town, and killed American citizens and American soldiers. This is the inevitable result of our failure to protect Americans in their rights everywhere by land and sen. I say to you, my fellow citizens, that those dead lie at our doors. As for the dead of the Lusitania and the Arabic and the Ancona and the rest, we have not had even the poor reparation of an apology, for I will not speak of money in connection with our dead. Nothing like it has ever happened before in the history of the United States, and when we change the Government, as we shall change it on the 4th of next March, nothing like it, I believe, will ever happen again.

We are told that the great cry of the Democratic Party is to be that their President has kept the peace, and that they welcome the issue which we have made. The virtue of keeping the

peace depends altogether on how it is kept. The man who runs away and leaves his wife or daughter or sister to be assaulted and outraged keeps the peace, and is not worthy to cumber the earth. You can always keep the peace if you will submit to any wrong, to any outrage, to any oppression. The peace of this country would have been far better kept, we should be in far less danger of war to-day or of war when peace comes among the warring nations of Europe, if we had kept it without humiliation, kept it in honor and without fear. Humiliation and neglect of the rights of the American citizen are not necessary for keeping the peace. We all want peace, we all are against war if it can possibly be avoided; but we shall insist, we Republicans at least, that American rights shall be protected at home and abroad, in Mexico, and on the seas. The citizen owes allegiance, owes every sacrifice, even the sacrifice of life, to his country; and the country owes to him, while he obeys her laws, protection in every right that he possesses. The President has protection in every right that he possesses. The President has kept the peace, we are told, but until the letter of February 25 at what a sacrifice and humiliation! The peace could have been kept in such a way that it would have been

Proud to meet a people proud With eyes that tell of triumph tasted,

But the question that the generations yet to come will ask of us is not whether we have kept the peace, because that can be done very meanly and very humiliatingly. What they will ask of us, and what we have a right to ask to-day, is not merely whether we have kept the peace but whether we have kept the faith. Our children will demand, Have you kept the faith of the men who began at Concord Bridge and ended at Yorktown; of the men who stood behind the stone wall at Gettysburg; or have you sacrificed the principles in which they believed in order that you might have "safety first" and a peace which might have been maintained with honor, but which has been clouded and darkened by humiliation and surrender? Let us forever dismiss from our minds the idea that the Nation's life depends on the preservation of our individual lives. The life of a nation lies in its ideals. If it abandons its ideals of humanity and justice, if it casts aside its principles, if it becomes tributary and subject, then the nation is dead even if its citizens live on in a country whence honor, hope, and aspiration have fied. Let it not be said of us by our children that our motto was:

Down with honor, Down with right, Down with the flag; Toe proud to fight.

See to it that our children and our children's children shall be able to say of us, even as we say of the men of the Revolution and of the Civil War:

They fought the good fight, They kept the faith.

National Legislation and Its Bearing on the Future Growth and Development of this Country.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES C. KEARNS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Monday, March 20, 1916.

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record I include a speech made by my colleague Mr. McCulloch on the 12th of February last. The speech is as follows:

NATIONAL LEGISLATION AND ITS BEARING ON THE FUTURE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THIS COUNTRY.

DEVELOPMENT OF THIS COUNTRY.

SPEECH OF CONGRESSMAN ROSCOE C. M'CULLOCH AT LINCOLN DAY BANQUET, NEW PHILADELPHIA, OHIO, FEBRUARY 12, 1916.

Mr. Tonstmaster and ladies and gentlemen, since I have had the honor of a seat in the National Congress—"the greatest lawmaking body in the world"—realizing the sacred responsibility devolving upon me as the representative of approximately 250,000 people, the question has recurred to me time and time again what are the purposes of government and how will the actions of Congress affect the individual welfare, peace, and prosperity of the people of this great country of ours?

The founders of the Republic in framing the Declaration of Independence—the greatest public document ever penned by human hands—declared that Governments are instituted among man for the purpose of securing to the people certain inalienable

rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is declared in the preamble of our Federal Constitution that governments are formed for the purpose of promoting the general welfare, providing for the common defense, and establishing justice and domestic tranquillity in order that the blessings of liberty may be secured to the people of the United States of America and their posterity.

The cardinal purposes of government, therefore, would seem to be to promote the general welfare, peace, happiness, and prosperity of all the people, and there can be little happiness with-

out peace and prosperity.

PEACE.

With half the civilized world now at war, with the President of the United States recommending the expenditure of millions of dollars for defense, the question of how, by national legislation, to insure peace is one of the momentous problems now confronting the American Congress. I shall not dwell at any length upon the question of "preparedness" or on ways and means of insuring peace, but shall confine myself to a few general observations.

I believe that I am expressing the sentiment of the vast majority of the people of this country when I say that they are opposed to war except for the purpose of defending this country against invasion or protecting the rights of its people against the assaults of other powers. I can not conceive of a situation that would justify this country in entering upon a war of conquest. Ours is a peace-loving people engaged in the avocations of peace. We have millions of men and millions of money for defense, but not one life to give and not one cent to spend in a war of conquest.

But while we are preparing for defense we should keep in mind that the founders of this Republic, striving for liberty and for free self-government, feared most military power. History records the uncontrovertible fact that large standing armies foster militarism, bring on a lust for conquest and military aggrandizement.

That the founders of the Republic realized this is proven conclusively by the fact that in our Federal Constitution they made provisions imposing safeguards and restrictions against the dangers of militarism. There will be found in the constitution of the State of Ohio a section providing—

the people have the right to bear arms for their defense and security; but standing armies in time of peace are dangerous to liberty and shall not be kepi up, and the military shall be in strict subordination to the civil power.

The governor of our State has only power to call forth the militia "to execute the laws of the State, to suppress insurrection, and repel invasion." Militarism has always been a menace to free government, and if militarism is fostered by large standing armies, which history proves to be true, it would seem to me that Congress would do well, confronted, as it is, by a serious and, to the minds of some, a dangerous situation, to hearken to the voice of the fathers, whose wisdom, whose statesmenship, whose bravery, not only with the sword but with the pen, created the only free Government that has withstood the test of time and endured through the years.

I do not believe that our people would favor compulsory military service, and while it is true that an army without discipline is little less than a mob, yet I believe that there are ways and means of training and disciplining which will result in the raising of a sufficient and efficient army for defense without maintaining a great standing army.

The Revolutionary fathers, breathing the spirit of liberty, beat back the trained soldiers of England and then returned to the avocations of peace. This country would be strong in defense, even though it might be regarded as weak in a war of aggression. It takes trained soldiers to invade a country, but soldiers of less experience and less training are effective for the purpose of defense.

It would seem to me—and I will say that I am open to conviction on the subject and shall not act without a careful study of the testimony which will be followed by the committees of Congress now dealing with this important matter—that we should strengthen our coast defenses, provide a strong and efficient Navy, one effective in action and not only good on dress parade; provide in some way for the training and disciplining of a citizen soldiery—and at this time it would seem that the best way of training and disciplining a citizen soldiery would be through the National Guard, and after we have done all these things, then let Congress and the people of this country turn their attention to preparing for peace.

TROSPERITY.

To a greater extent than the average person realizes, the future prosperity of this country depends upon the wisdom of

the legislation enacted by our National Congress. Without the enactment of comprehensive national legislation, which will protect and encourage our people, this country will be unable to take advantage of the great opportunities which will come when peace is again restored. Should Congress and the administration fall short of its duty in this regard, the responsibility will lie with them alone. This is the time when party differences should be subordinated to the welfare of our country and all of its people. The situation should be viewed from the patriotic standpoint of national necessity and we should seek to enact legislation which will result in the greatest good to the greatest number.

PROBLEMS FEW.

I have always believed and contended—and I am stronger in that conviction to-day than ever before—that the great economic policies of Government which directly affect the prosperity of the country and therefore the individual welfare of all its people are very few in number. My limited experience on the floor of the National House of Representatives has served to strengthen that belief.

There is no great difference of opinion among the vast majority of the Members of Congress on either side of the House upon most of the questions which come before that body. Such questions are called nonpartisan, and while Members may differ as to the methods to be pursued in the accomplishment of reforms, in the expenditure of the public moneys, in the prevention of frauds by the regulation of commerce, or upon any other nonpartisan question, yet on the broad proposition of whether or not there shall be reform or remedial legislation I believe they are for the most part in accord. But on certain vital questions involving party policy, or in regard to which the two great parties differ, it is remarkable to see how close the lines are I never really realized to what extent our country is governed by parties and party policies upon these really vital issues until within the last few weeks. The Hall of the National Congress is divided into what they call two sides. one side is called the Republican side and the other side is called the Democratic side. When a question of party policy is up for consideration party leaders are active in seeing to it that all their votes are marshaled and that each party votes its full strength upon the proposition. If there is any doubt about the attitude of Members the party caucus is resorted to, and Members are bound by a majority vote to abide by the decision of the caucus.

When the war-tax resolution was up for consideration, involving as it did one of the most important, if not the most important question of governmental policy, about which the two great parties differ, the Democratic Members stood almost as a unit for direct internal taxation and against protective-tariff rates of duty, and the Republicans stood equally solid for indirect taxation and protective-tariff rates of duty.

TARIFF AN UNSETTLED QUESTION.

As I listened to that debate, filled as it was with much of partisan bitterness, the Democratic leaders standing for and defending their tariff-for-revenue-only policy approaching free trade, as carried out in the Underwood law, and the Republican leaders contending for protective-tariff rates of duty and for a return to the policy of protection; as I listened to that debate and contemplated to what extent the views of the two great parties diverge upon this great vital question, it seemed to me almost inconceivable, and after over 100 years of governmental experience, such a vital and important question as the tariff policy to be followed by this country should be still a mooted question. It would seem to me that wisdom gained by bitter experience would dictate the importance of a settled tariff policy in this country.

I have felt strongly that, aside from any party advantage which might be gained or result to the party of which I am a member by this question remaining unsettled (for the Republican Party is right on the tariff question) yet, in justice to all the people and for the purpose of safeguarding the future of the country, it should be settled for all time. But if the attitude of Congress is to be regarded as indicative of the true situation, we are no nearer the solution of this great question to-day than we were 100 years ago.

WHY CAN NOT THE TARIFF QUESTION BE SETTLED?

Why is this true? Why can not the tariff question be settled? Why is it that periodically or every few years, when the administration changes, this country must be subjected to tariff changes and business ruined and suffering and distress brought upon the people?

After a careful investigation of the whole situation I have concluded that the only answer is the "Solid South." So long as periodically the Congress of the United States is controlled by the Senators and Representatives from the South, unless

there are radical industrial changes there, the tariff question, in my judgment, will not be settled.

Representatives and Senators from the South have been actively opposed to the principle of protection for almost a hundred years.

Senator Hayne, of South Carolina, speaking for the planters during the congressional debate of 1831 on the tariff, stated the whole case of the planters of the South, the importers, and shippers, and covered all the grounds of sectional objection which they made against the American system of protection in the following words:

The value of the raw material is about one-fourth part of the manufactured article. Now, if the cotton yarns manufactured at Great Falls were imported from England instead of being made in New Hampshire, we should find the market for 12,000 bales of our cotton instead of 3,000 so that instead of gaining a market for 3,000 bales we should have lost a market for 9,000 bales. If trade were free, the goods manufactured in this country would be imported from England and paid for in our cotton, but in cutting off the imports, you of course to the same extent diminish our exports.

That the people of the South remained steadfast in their conviction and to the policy of free trade or tariff for revenue only in organizing their Confederacy is shown by the fact that they adopted a free-trade constitution which declared:

The congress shall have power: To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excise, for revenue necessary to pay the debts, provide for the common defense, and carry on the Government of the Confederate States; but no bounties shall be granted from the treasury, nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry.

It has been recorded that this is the first instance in the history of the world in which a nation attempted by organic law to prohibit the encouragement and promotion of the industrial arts.

In direct contradistinction to the policy outlined in the plank just referred to of the constitution of the Confederacy the Republican Party in nominating Abraham Lincoln made protection to native industries one of its cardinal principles, inserting the following plank in its platform:

That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties from imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the country; and we commend the policy of national exchange which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the Nation commercial prosperity and independence.

Mr. Underwood, when chairman of the Democratic Committee on Ways and Means, said on April 25, 1911, on the floor of the House:

We do not believe in levying taxes at the customhouse for the benefit of any man or the benefit of any industry. Our position is that taxes levied at the customhouse are for the sole purpose of producing revenue to support the Government of the United States, and that we are not justified in levying taxes for any other purpose.

The attitude of Chairman Underwood in the year 1911 is the same as the attitude of Chairman Wilson in the year 1893, who helped to frame the Gorman-Wilson law, who at a banquet given in his honor in England by British manufacturers shortly after the passage of the Gorman-Wilson law said:

Our protectionists have been building up defenses to keep you and other nations from competing with us in our home market. The tariff reformers are breaking down those defenses.

The only real difference between the bill which Chairman UNDERWOOD was defending in 1911 and the bill which Chairman Wilson defended in 1893 is that the Underwood bill was more of a free-trade measure than the Wilson bill.

That the present Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, Mr. CLAUDE KITCHIN, adheres to the same views and the same policies as his predecessors, Chairman Wilson and Chairman Underwood, is indicated by his statements made when the war-tax resolution was up for consideration on the floor of the House December 16, 1915.

House December 16, 1915.

The attitude of Chairman Kitchin, the attitude of Chairman Wilson, and the attitude of Chairman Underwood are in accord with the attitude of Senator Hayne and the leaders from the South, not only during the Confederacy, but in Congress during all these years.

SOUTH NOW IN CONTROL.

The South is to-day in complete control of the Congress of the United States. Every important committee except only the Committee on Appropriations of the National House of Representatives, has for its chairman a Representative from the Southern States. The Democratic Representatives from the North are forced to and do support their Democratic colleagues from the South. This was shown on the vote on the Underwood tariff bill. Some Democratic Representatives from the North reflecting t[†], sentiment of the industrial centers which require protection in order to survive, expressed themselves as opposed to some of the provisions of the Underwood tariff bill.

But they were powerless for the reason that they were bound, hand and foot, by a Democratic caucus controlled absolutely by the Democrats of the South.

There is only one way to insure to the American people the benefits that result from the principle of protection and that is to elect a Republican Congress and a Republican President. THE DUTY OF PROTECTIONISTS.

It is well known, especially in my congressional district, that I have for almost 10 years constantly advocated a tariff board composed of experts with full powers for investigation, which powers, to my mind, should be broad enough to enable the President, upon recommendation of this commission, to refuse to permit to come into this market products of foreign countries which refuse to furnish the information required by the tariff board to determine the difference in the cost of production of articles in this country and abroad. The investigations of this commission should be reported to Congress, and rates of duty should be fixed so as to equalize the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad.

I know that there are protectionists who are opposed to a tariff board. I have recently received a great deal of literature from persons who are opposed to attempting to fix rates of duty scientifically. They advance many arguments in opposition to the plan. I shall not refer to them except to say that I regard their arguments for the most part as unsound. I believe in a

tariff board for two reasons:

First, I am opposed to the system of wirepulling, dealing, and trading that has characterized the enactment of every tariff law that has been placed upon our statute books. I first became impressed with the injustice of fixing tariff rates of duty on pull in 1908, when I appeared before the Ways and Means Committee, then holding hearings on the Payne-Aldrich bill. The American manufacturer would appear before the Ways and Means Committee presenting figures and data in regard to wages and relative cost of production. The American manufacturer would be encouraged by the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee, and he would be cross-examined and assailed by the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee. Following the American manufacturer would appear the importer or the agent of the foreign manufacturer, who would be questioned and encouraged by the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee and cross-examined and assailed by the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee. And then, after the hearings were over, the testimony submitted being entirely partisan and biased—being the testimony given by the parties in interest themselves—the committees of Congress would guess out a rate.

The result of this system was that the man who did not have a pull was likely not to secure a rate that would be sufficient to properly protect him against unequal conditions of competition abroad, while a manufacturer with a pull very often got rates that would guarantee to him profits to the extent that his

conscience would stand.

I am for a tariff board, therefore, because I believe in justice, because I believe in treating everybody alike, and because I regard this as a question of so vital importance to all the people that it should be handled as a business proposition and dealt with in a manner that the manufacturer, the laboring man, the business man, and the people at large will have confidence in the justice and equity of the rates fixed, which, in my judgment, can only be done through the intervention, either directly or

indirectly, of a tariff board.

Second. I believe in a tariff board for another reason, and that is that I am sure that such a board would ultimately result in taking the tariff out of politics. For it would create confidence in the minds of electors that the protective tariff system is not a graft system, but a legitimate policy of Government which safeguards the prosperity and well-being of all, and insures to all a chance in this free country of ours to earn a living at a reasonable wage. The unpopularity of the Payne-Aldrich bill resulted entirely, to my mind, from a feeling on the part of the people that the tariff was inequitable and unjust, and the majority of those who voted against the Republican Party as a protest against the Payne-Aldrich bill did so not because they were opposed to the protective tariff principle but because they felt that the special interests, through pull and political influence, were securing from the Government protection which guaranteed to them exorbitant profits to the detriment of the great consuming public.

The protective tariff principle will be the issue in the next campaign whether the war stops or whether it continues, and it is by that sign that the Republican Party will conquer.

PRESIDENT MADE ISSUE IN MESSAGE,

The President of the United States, in his message recently delivered to the joint session of Congress, made the issue when statement. Admitting that every tariff rate of duty carries

he said that the revenue should be raised to take care of his preparedness program and to meet any deficit in the National Treasury by direct internal taxation. It is true that the President recommended the retention of the duty on sugar for the purpose of raising revenue only, and it was clear to my mind that when the necessity for raising revenue had passed the duty on sugar would be removed should the Democrats remain in

The fact that the President recommended the retention of the duty on sugar means nothing from a protective standpoint, for the reason that just as soon as the necessity for raising revenue has ceased the duty under his tariff for revenue only theory will be promptly removed. The beet-sugar industry of this country could not rely upon any such protection, and I venture to say that the retaining of the duty on sugar under the circumstances under which it is being retained will not increase by a single dollar the investment of capital in this industry, but it proves one thing conclusively by the admission of the President himself, and that is that the levying of protective tariff rates of duty will raise revenue which will be paid by the foreigner for the privilege of selling his wares in our market.

Why not, therefore, follow the theory of protection which will raise revenue without the necessity of resorting to the direct taxation?

IMPORTS HAVE NOT MATERIALLY DECREASED DURING WAR.

It developed during the debate on the war-tax resolution. as shown by the following report, that the importations during the war have not been materially reduced, and that, had the duties provided in the Payne-Aldrich bill been maintained, there would have been no necessity, in order to take care of the needs of the Government, to resort to internal direct taxation, such as was provided in the war-tax measure recently extended.

Contrary to the impression conveyed by the majority report, imports at this time are not below normal. Imports for the eight months ended November 1, 1915, amount to \$1,203,452,698, an increase of \$56,000,000 over the corresponding eight months of 1913, when adequate customs receipts were being collected by the Government. In the table presented by the majority imports for the recent months are ignored completely. During this eight-month period showing an increase of imports of \$56,000,000 the customs-revenue receipts have declined to the extent of \$77,000,000. The average ad valorem rate of duty collected on imports during the 1913 period was 18.4 per cent, and during the 1915 period it was 11.1 per cent. This is due to the change in revenue laws and not the war in Europe. It is interesting and instructive to compare importations and customs receipts for the month of August, 1913 (the month on which the President based his calculations showing the necessity of additional revenue), with the month of August, 1915:

Imports, August, 1913Imports, August, 1915	\$137, 651, 553 141, 804, 202
Total	4, 152, 649
Customs receipts	30, 934, 952 15, 780, 540
Total	15 151 110

Food animais	\$12, 189, 000
Corn	2, 731, 000
Bituminous coal	3, 731, 000
Flax Fish	2, 192, 000
Beef and veal	6, 661, 000 7, 892, 000
Milk and cream	2, 650, 000
Lumber, lath, and shingles	17, 245, 000
Wool	68, 016, 000

INCIDENTAL PROTECTION.

There have been those who have said and contended that every rate of duty, however small, is a protective tariff rate, because every tariff rate of duty carries with it incidental protection. I can not understand what merit anyone can claim for any such an incidental protection, it should be clear that unless the protection is sufficient to enable the American producer and employer of labor to compete with the foreign producer, it is of no real value from a protective standpoint, because foreigners will be able to undersell the Americans,

The theory of protection is to fix rates of duty that will equalize the cost of production at home and abroad, taking into consideration all the various elements of advantage which the foreigner has over the American, the most important of which is

the difference in wages.

The revenue-producing powers of protective-tariff measures are always regarded as incidental to the main purpose of affording protection to the American people against unfair and unequal competition from abroad, but history proves that protective-tariff laws have always supplied more than sufficient revenue, while on the other hand, in fixing tariff rates of duty for the purpose of revenue only, the question of revenue becomes paramount and the question of protection is not only regarded as incidental but those who believe in this theory would eliminate it entirely if it were possible; and peculiar as it may seem, the history of all tariff-for-revenue-only laws has been that they failed as revenue producers as has the Underwood law.

Incidental protection means nothing; adequate protection means everything. I can best illustrate my views in regard to it in this way: Any obstruction across a stream will carry with it a degree of resistance which will create incidental power. But a dam across a stream which will produce sufficient power to run a mill must be high enough to afford sufficient resistance which will create the power required to move the wheels of the machinery of the mill. If the dam is not sufficiently high to create the necessary resistance, it will be inadequate for the purpose for which it is intended. This is true of tariff rates of duty. Incidental protection is nothing. Sufficient protection is all important; and in order that the American people may have security, they must know that rates of duty are fixed upon the theory of protection.

LET US PREPARE FOR PEACE.

Let us engage in preparing for peace and to take advantage of the great opportunity that will come to this country after the war is over. Let us not by a short-sighted economic policy lose our advantage. If by proper national legislation our interests are conserved; if we adopt a policy of America for Americans, protecting our country against the importations of cheap, foreign-made goods and against the immigration of cheap, foreign labor, we will experience one of the greatest eras of prosperity the world has ever known, with the resultant happiness and contentment which always comes to a people when times are prosperous.

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The United States before the war was the third financial power in all the world. Our area is vast and its productivity great. Our natural resources are still nearly unlimited and so great in variety as to be unrivaled by any country in the world.

The growth and development of our country up to this time is the marvel of the age. Before the discovery of America the people of the eastern continent were looking westward for an undiscovered world of wonders. Fables were told of a marvel-ous land to the west beyond a sea filled with monsters so terrible as to preclude the safe passage of the ships of explorers.

The story of the famous island of Atlantis had been told by

Plato, who described in eloquent detail-

The salubrity of the climate, the beauty of the natural scenery, the lofty mountains, the abundant rivers, the useful animals, the rich mineral resources, and the happiness and prosperity of the sturdy and wealthy people who had the good fortune to be its inhabitants.

Men believed that gold could be found everywhere and on every hand in that wonderful land; that the climate was perfection, the air always balmy, the skies serene, and that there was to be found the fountain of perpetual youth-indeed a paradise on earth.

Columbus died in neglect and poverty, a poor, broken man, because of the disappointment of the people, who regarded the land he had discovered (which had been called America) as a howling wilderness, inhabited by barbarians and savages, offering no promise and no hope, instead of the land of miracles, which their imaginations had pictured.

It is seldom that we stop to consider how different the America of to-day is from the America discovered by Columbus, and how wonderful our progress has really been. The same mountains towered to the skies then as now. The outlines of the land and the ocean shores were practically the same then as now. The same mighty rivers flowed to the seas. The same here. It was a land especially prepared by the forces of nature for the birth and development of the greatest nation and the greatest people on the face of the earth.

The Atlantic on the east, the Pacific on the west, connected from the north to the south by navigable rivers, furnishing great natural means of transportation and of power; great forests of sturdy timber; soil of marvelous fertility, made so by the decay of the vegetation of hundreds of years; vast treasures of mineral wealth—gold, silver, copper, iron, and coal; natural resources indeed unsurpassed, but inhabited by savages; a wilderness undeveloped from the frozen lands of the North to the tropical southern seas, with no man possessing the intellect or the genius to bridle the rivers and utilize their power, to mine or make use of the ores or till the soil for more than a mere subsistence.

The barbarians who roamed through the forests and hunted game in the wilderness and on the great prairies lived in dugouts, holes in the cliffs, or under a covering of bark or skins; their only accomplishments were their expertness as hunters and their bravery as warriors. They were only savages, lack-ing the ability and the intellect to develop and make the most the wonderful opportunities all about them, and it was only when the white men came as permanent settlers and with sturdy patriotic purpose, struggled first for independence and then for a place among the nations of the earth, that the wonders of the new world, which the explorers had overlooked, began to be realized.

The history of the development of our great country reads like a romance. It has become indeed a western world of wonders; from a wilderness to an industrial and commercial miracle land, so vast, so varied, and so wonderful that the mind of man can scarce conceive what the forces of liberty and civ-

ilization have wrought.

A contemplation of the wonders of our land-its progress, its development, its hope for the future-should inspire patriotism in the heart of every true American. If I were to be asked the question, "Wherein lies the strength of the Nation?" I would answer that it can all be summed up in one word, "Patriotism." Patriotism is the most important element of national character. We need have no fear of successful invasion by foreign powers so long as we keep burning in the hearts of our countrymen the spirit of patriotism.

I believe in inspiring patriotism in the youth of the country. I try to teach my children patriotism. I want them to love their country and all that it stands for. I want them to respect the soldiers of the Republic, living and dead, who fought for freedom, for union, and for humanity-not for conquest, but for

conscience; not for themselves, but for others.

Every young man should be impressed with the solemn fact that ours is the one Government on the face of the earth that offers equal opportunities for all; that all the avenues of distinction, honor, and success are open to him; that the preservation of this Nation and the principles of liberty upon which it is founded and has been maintained are all important to his future well-being, happiness, and prosperity; and I would have him bear in mind always the last public words of one of the greatest and best loved of our President—William McKinley who said at Buffalo, an hour before his assassination, "Let us ever remember that our interests are in concord, not conflict, and that our chief eminence rests in the victories of peace, not those of war."

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROSCOE C. McCULLOCH, OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 11, 1916.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, in voting against tabling the McLemore resolution I felt that I voiced the sentiments of the sixteenth congressional district. I can not see where any other course could be justified.

President Wilson, in his letter to Representative Pou, acting chairman of the House Committee on Rules, asked for a vote by the House of Representatives on the issue of warning American citizens to stay off armed merchantmen flying the flags great natural resources, undeveloped by the genius of man, were of countries which are at war. Everyone will admit that the

request occasioned great surprise, both in and out of Congress, for the opinion is almost general that the conducting of international affairs is the function of the Executive and not the legislative branch of the Government.

The fact remains that President Wilson saw fit to ask the House to vote on the issue. His request was entitled to full The President asked Congress to take up the consideration. question, and it should have been taken up fairly and honestly with a vote reflecting accurately the true sentiment of the Members

The House never got an opportunity to vote on the clean-cut issue of warning. Through a parliamentary trick, engineered by some members of the Committee on Rules and certain of their colleagues, a vote was obtained on a resolution which in no way could bring a test of the real sentiment of the House.

I voted against tabling the McLemore resolution because I wanted—and the vote shows that I was by no means alone in the desire—a resolution which would bring about an honest expression of the attitude of Congress and prevent any dodging of the real issue.

I can best explain this matter as I see it by calling attention to the situation in which I personally was placed. Commissioned by approximately 250,000 people as their representative in Congress, feeling the responsibility of the situation keenly, being neither pro-German nor pro-English, but desiring to do only that which would be for the best interests of the American people I concluded, after careful consideration, that it was the part of wisdom and common sense to warn Americans of the dangers of traveling on armed merchant ships of belligerents. I was, therefore, favorable to a resolution, properly drawn, which would express the views of Congress upon the subject, since the President had asked for such an expression, and at the same time not em-barrass the President of the United States in the exercise of the duties imposed upon him by our Constitution in the handling of the diplomatic relations between this country and other nations. These were my honest convictions, and, having arrived at that conclusion, I felt it was my duty to so express myself by

The much-talked-about McLemore resolution was not a resolution of simple warning, but a resolution far-reaching in its effect, which on a straight vote would have received the support of very few, if any, Members on the floor of the House. The only hope, therefore, of those who were in favor of a warning, but opposed to the passage of any resolution that would embarrass the President or this Government in its present or future negotiations with foreign powers, was to amend the McLemore resolution, eliminating its objectionable features, and passing, if possible, a simple resolution of warning, such as I have referred to. Had the motion to table been voted down, this could have been done. Therefore I voted "no."

The situation is just this: The President asked for an expression of opinion from Congress upon this subject. Having asked for it, it is fair to assume that he wanted an honest expression, and he should have had it; but those in control of the parliamentary machinery of the House reported a rule that made it impossible to get an honest expression, and many Members made declarations on the floor of the House that while they were for warning, yet they were for preventing the consideration of the subject. If they were afraid of a fair consideration and a fair vote, why did they allow the matter to come up

The only reason why the majority prevented by this rule a square vote on this proposition was, in my judgment, because they knew that a square vote would result in a resolution of warning; so that in order to avoid an appearance of defeat they prevented a fair consideration of the proposition.

My vote should not be taken as indicating that I favored the McLemore resolution, for I did not. I desired that the resolution should be considered by the House and not tabled in order that it might be amended so as to provide for a simple warning of Americans to stay off belligerent ships without foregoing any material American rights.

My attitude in this whole matter is entirely American. I am vigorously opposed to the surrender of any material American rights; everything I have done and everything I expect to do will be guided by my opinion as to what is for the best interests of our country.

My vote should not be regarded as partisan. There was no politics in it. If I should permit partisan politics to influence my vote on a matter of this kind, I should regard myself as unfit to represent a district in Congress. I believe that it is the patriotic duty of all to stand by the President in any crisis in our national affairs, but when he asks for my opinion he is entitled to have me express it honestly and not dodge the issue.

Military Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM C. ADAMSON,

OF GEORGIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 20, 1916.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave already granted to extend my remarks in the Record, I submit the following two articles from a recent issue of the Columbus Ledger on the subject of military roads. I will state that for many years, assisted by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Anthony], I have tried to secure legislation to construct some military roads connecting various military reservations. The articles from the Ledger hereinafter submitted are in line with our efforts and very opportune at this time.

The articles are as follows:

HIGHWAYS AND FEDERAL PRISONERS.

A great highway from Atlanta and points north direct to Pensacola via Columbus (and the Dillingham Street Bridge) to be constructed by the Federal Government, with Federal prisoners now confined in the pen at Atlanta, is suggested by Road Engineer Julian Lane as a part of Uncle Sam's preparedness program, and it seems to the Ledger that it is a timely suggestion, too. Mr. Lane advocates further highways in sections where they are needed—and they are needed everywhere—which, he claims, can be constructed with little real expense to the Government with the use of Federal prisoners.

That such a highway is needed to connect Atlanta and sections to the north, including Chattancoga, Knoxville, Spartanburg, Cincinnati, and other big centers, with deep water at the Florida coast, not only in times of threatened war, but for any emergency that might come to the Government, seems to be quite clear, and that the proposed route via Columbus is the most plausible and direct to the port city, must be admitted by those who are posted on existing conditions.

The suggestion regarding the use of Federal convicts to carry on this construction work seems to the Ledger to be most timely. We can see no good reason why the Government should "board" the thousands of Federal prisoners and just allow them to sit down and practically idle away their lives in such a manner as they are now doing. A great majority of these people are used to active lives and they would be much better off with some kind of employment out in the open. Muscogee County prisoners, for instance, are rarely ever sick, and this is due largely to the fact that they are kept out in the open and employed.

Let the "preparedness program" be extended to the construction of

due largely to the fact that they are kept out in the open and employed.

Let the "preparedness program" be extended to the construction of a number of national highways, and let the Federal prisoners be put to work. It will be to their interest and it will certainly mean the saving of much money to the Government. Let Congressmen Adamson. Steagall, and others take up this matter, which seems to be of great importance at this time, and let us have the highways. The country needs these substantial roadways at all times and the Federal prisoners need exercise.

LANE WOULD CONSTRUCT ROADS WITH FEDERAL PRISONERS—CONNECTING ATLANTA AND PENSACOLA—SUFFICIENT TO CARRY WAR MACHINERY, BIG GUNS—CROSS CHATTAHOOCHEE ON DILLINGHAM BRIDGE—MUSCOGEE CONCRETE BRIDGES ALREADY STRONG ENOUGH—ENGINEER CALLS ATTENTION OF CONGRESSMEN TO PLAN.

Along with the general plan of preparedness, seeing the need of good roads as well as railroads and other things, Road Engineer Julian Lane has a suggestion for the forming of a plan to construct a military road from Atlanta to Pensacola, Fla., which bears merit.

It is pointed out that Pensacola is a naval basis of the Government and that Atlanta is a concentration station, and yet there is no road connecting them which would stand up under the moving of the heavy machinery and guns which would be necessary to move, with the exception of the roads in Muscogee County.

FEDERAL PRISONERS.

FEDERAL PRISONERS.

Mr. Lane suggests that the prisoners in the Federal prison at Atlanta and those elsewhere be placed on the road by the Government constructing roads and concrete bridges which would be heavy enough to stand the hard traffic. In support of this plan he states that it would put possibly 2,000 prisoners in Atlanta to doing something, making it more healthful for them, and also making them better satisfied.

He points out that Muscogee County has near 200 convicts and that not one of them is sick, while hearsay has it that the hospitals at the Federal prisons are often filled with sick prisoners. He believes that "out in the open" plan would be the best for their health and at the same time would construct a highway or several highways which would be of great use in time of war for this country, and he believes that it should be a part of the plan of preparedness as well as any other thing.

OVER DILLINGHAM BRIDGE.

The Chattahoochec River would have to be crossed at some point be-tween Atlanta and Pensacola, and in Columbus the place to cross it is already constructed. Mr. Lane says that the Dillingham Street Bridge is strong enough to hold up any machinery or gun which might be trans-

MUSCOGEE READY.

MUSCOGER READY,

Mr. Lane says that in the construction of the roads of Muscogee
County that every concrete bridge which has been placed here has been
constructed of such strength that it could stand any machine or gun
which would have to be moved over it, and that he believes that this
county is the only one in Georgia that this can be said about.

In the construction of a concrete bridge strong enough for any use,
Mr. Lane says that the difference in cost is less than 20 per cent, so it
can be seen that to do such work right it could be done with little extra
cost.

EUROPEAN ROADS.

The roads of Europe which have been constructed in the years past have saved the day for many a movement of troops. This is especially true of Germany, and has been a part of the preparedness as much as any other part, and Mr. Lane believes that the United States should prepare in the same way.

CONGRESSIONAL ATTENTION.

CONGRESSIONAL ATTENTION.

If no need in the history of the country should ever come up, the roads would be constructed and would serve as great highways for the States. There is one Government road in Georgia now, built from Chattanooga to La Fayette, Ga., past Fort Oglethorpe, and this could be continued into Atlanta, giving a straight highway to the Gulf and to the greatest Gulf port of the Army and Navy.

The plan is an interesting one, and with the labor to make it a success at hand, the attention of the Congressmen is called to it, with a view of them taking it up and making the highway a reality. The way over the only difficult place—the Chattahoochee River—is already constructed and some of the road already built, it is pointed out.

The History of Liberty.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM GORDON.

OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 17, 1916.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave to print I insert an address by Edward Everett, delivered at Charlestown, Mass., on July 4, 1828, on "The history of liberty."

Edward Everett, a Representative and a Senator from Massachusetts; born in Dorchester, Mass., April 11, 1794; was graduated from Harvard College in 1811; tutor in Harvard 1812-1814; studied theology and was ordained pastor of the Brattle Street Unitarian Church, Boston, February 9, 1814; elected professor of Greek literature in Harvard in 1814, and served as such 1819-1826; elected as a Whig to the Nineteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first, Twenty-second, and Twenty-third Congresses (Mar. 4, 1825-Mar. 3, 1835); declined a reelection; governor of Massachusetts 1836-1840; declined a commission to China in 1843; minister to Great Britain September 3, 1841, to August 8, 1845: elected president of Harvard College and served from 1846 to 1849; appointed Secretary of State under President Fillmore to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Daniel Webster, and served from November 6, 1852, to March 1853; elected to the United States Senate and served from March 4, 1853, to May 17, 1854, when he resigned; defeated as the American compromise candidate for Vice President in 1860 on the ticket headed by John Bell; presidential elector in 1864 on the Lincoln and Johnson ticket; died in Boston January 15,

Edward Everett was a worthy colleague in Congress of Clay, Webster, Benton, and Calhoun, one of the great men of his time, and "there were giants in those days."

The address is as follows:

THE HISTORY OF LIBERTY.

(Oration delivered at Charlestown on the 4th of July, 1828.)

Fellow citizens, the event which we commemorate is all important not merely in our own annals but in those of the world. The sententious English poet has declared that "the proper study of mankind is man," and of all inquiries of a temporal nature the history of our fellow beings is unquestionably among the most interesting. But not all the chapters of human history are alike important. The annals of our race have been filled up with incidents which concern not, or at least ought not to concern, the great company of mankind. History, as it has often been written, is the genealogy of princes—the field book of conquerors, and the fortunes of our fellow men have been treated only so far as they have been affected by the influence of the great masters and destroyers of our race. Such history is I will not say a worthless study, for it is necessary for us to know the dark side as well as the bright side of our condition. But it is a melancholy study, which fills the bosom of the philanthropist and the friend of liberty with

But the history of liberty-the history of men struggling to be free-the history of men who have acquired and are exercising their freedom-the history of those great movements in the world by which liberty has been established and perpetuated forms a subject which we can not contemplate too closely. This is the real history of man-of the human family-of rational, immortal beings,

This theme is one; the free of all climes and nations are themselves a people. Their annals are the history of freedom. Those who fell victims to their principles in the civil convutsions of the short-lived Republics of Greece, or who sunk beneath the power of her invading foes; those who shed their blood for liberty amidst the ruins of the Roman Republic; the victims of Austrian tyranny in Switzerland and of Spanish tyranny in the Netherlands; the solitary champions or the united bands of high-minded and patriotic men who have in any region or age struggled and suffered in this great cause belong to that people of the free, whose fortunes and progress are the most noble theme which man can contemplate.

The theme belongs to us. We inhabit a country which has been signalized in the great history of freedom. We live under forms of government more favorable to its diffusion than any which the world has elsewhere known. A succession of inci-dents of rare curiosity and almost mysterious connection has marked out America as a great theater of political reform. Many circumstances stand recorded in our annals connected with the assertion of human rights which, were we not familiar

with them, would fill even our own minds with amazement.

The theme belongs to the day. We celebrate the return of the day on which our separate national existence was declared; the day when the momentous experiment was commenced by which the world and posterity and we ourselves were to be taught how far a nation of men can be trusted with self-government—how far life and liberty and property are safe and the progress of social improvement is secure under the influence of laws made by those who are to obey them; the day when for the first time in the world a numerous people was ushered into the family of nations organized on the principle of the political equality of all the citizens,

Let us, then, fellow citizens, devote the time which has been set apart for this portion of the duties of the day to a hasty review of the history of liberty, especially to a contemplation of some of those astonishing incidents which preceded, accompanied, or have followed the settlement of America and the establishment of our constitutions, and which plainly indicate a general tendency and cooperation of things toward the erection in this country of the great monitorial school of political

We hear much at school of the liberty of Greece and Romea great and complicated subject, which this is not the occasion to attempt to disentangle. True it is that we find in the annals of both these nations bright examples of public virtuethe record of faithful friends of their country, of strenuous foes of oppression at home or abroad—and admirable precedents of popular strength. But we nowhere find in them the account of a populous and extensive region, blessed with institutions securing the enjoyment and transmission of regulated liberty. In freedom, as in most other things, the ancient nations, while *hey made surprisingly near approaches to the truth, yet, for want of some one great and essential principle or instrument, came utterly short of it in practice. profound and elegant scholars, but for want of the art of printing they could not send information out among the people, where alone it is of great use in reference to human happiness. Some of them ventured boldly to sea, and possessed an aptitude for foreign commerce, yet for want of the mariner's compass they could not navigate distant oceans, but crept for ages along the shores of the Mediterranean. In respect to freedom, they established popular governments in single cities, but for want of the representative principle they could not extend these institutions over a large and populous country. But as a large and populous country, generally speaking, can alone possess strength enough for self-defense, this want was fatal. The freest of their cities accordingly fell a prey, sooner or later, either to a foreign invader or to domestic traitors.

In this way liberty made no firm progress in the ancient States. It was a speculation of the philosopher and an experi-ment of the patriot, but not an established state of society. The patriots of Greece and Rome had, indeed, succeeded in enlightening the public mind on one of the cardinal points of freedom—the necessity of an elected executive. The name and the office of a king were long esteemed not only something to be rejected but something rude and uncivilized, belonging to savage nations ignorant of the rights of man as understood in cultivated States. The word "tyrant," which originally meant no more than "monarch," soon became with the Greeks synonymous with "oppressor" and "despot." as it has continued ever since. When the first Cæsar made his encroachments on the liberties of Rome the patriots even of that age boasted that they had—

Heard their fathers say, There was a Brutus once that would have brooked The eternal devil to keep his state in Rome As easily as a king.

So deeply rooted was this horror of the very name of king in the bosom of the Romans that under their worst tyrants and in the darkest days the forms of the Republic were preserved. There was no name, under Nero and Caligula, for the office of monarch. The individual who filled the office was called Cæsar and Augustus, after the first and second of the line. The word "emperor" (imperator) implied no more than "general." The offices of consul and tribune were kept up, although if the choice did not fall, as it frequently did, on the er:peror it was conferred on his favorite general, and sometimes on his favorite horse. The senate continued to meet and affected to deliberate, and, in short, the Empire began and continued a pure military despotism, ingrafted by a sort of permanent usurpation on the forms and names of the ancient Republic. The spirit, indeed, of liberty had long since ceased to animate these ancient forms, and when the barbarous tribes of Central Asia and Northern Europe burst into the Roman Empire they swept away the poor remnant of these forms and established upon their ruins the system of feudal monarchy, from which all the modern kingdoms are descended. were made in the Middle Ages by the petty Republics of Italy to regain the political rights which a long proscription had wrested from them. But the remedy of bloody civil wars between neighboring cities was plainly more disastrous than the disease of subjection. The struggles of freedom in these little States resulted much as they had done in Greece, exhibiting brilliant examples of individual character and short intervals of public prosperity, but no permanent progress in the organization of liberal governments.

At length, a new era seemed to begin. The art of printing was invented. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks drove the learned Greeks of that city into Italy, and letters A general agitation of public sentiment in various parts of Europe ended in the religious reformation. A spirit of adventure had been awakened in the maritime nations, and projects of remote discovery were started, and the signs of the times seemed to augur a great political regeneration. But as if to blast this hope in its bud, as if to counterbalance at once the operation of these springs of improvement, as if to secure the permanence of the arbitrary institutions which existed in every part of the Continent at the moment when it was most threatened, the last blow, at the same time, was given to the remaining power of the great barons-the sole check on the despotism of the monarch which the feudal system provided-and a new institution was firmly established in Europe, prompt, efficient, and terrible in its operation, beyond anything which the modern world had seen-I mean the system of standing armies; in other words, a military force organized and paid to support the king on his throne and retain the people in their subjection.

From this moment the fate of freedom in Europe was sealed. Something might be hoped from the am'elioration of manners, in softening down the more barbarous parts of political despotism; but nothing was to be expected in the form of liberal institutions founded on principle.

The ancient and the modern forms of political servitude were thus combined. The Roman emperors, as I have hinted, maintained themselves simply by military force, in nominal accordance with the forms of the Republic. Their power—to speak in modern terms—was no part of the constitution. The feudal sovereigns possessed a constitutional precedence in the State which, after the diffusion of Christianity, they claimed by the grace of God; but their power, in point of fact, was circumscribed by that of their brother barons. With the firm establishment of standing armies was consummated a system of avowed despotism, paralyzing all expression of the popular will, existing by divine right, and unbalanced by any effectual check in the State. It needs but a glance at the state of Europe in the beginning of the sixteenth century to see that, notwithstanding the revival and diffusion of letters, the progress of the reformation, and the improvement of manners, the tone of the people in the most enlightened countries was more abject than it had been since the days of the Cæsars. The state of England certainly compared favorably with that of

any other part of Europe; but who can patiently listen to the language with which Henry VIII chides and Elizabeth scolds the lords and commons of the Parliament of Great Britain?

All hope of liberty then seemed lost; in Europe all hope was lost. A disastrous turn had been given to the general movement of things, and in the disclosure of the fatal secret of standing armies the future political servitude of man was apparently decided.

But a change is destined to come over the face of things, as romantic in its origin as it is wonderful in its progress. All is not lost; on the contrary, all is saved at the moment when all seemed involved in ruin. Let me just allude to the incidents connected with this change, as they have lately been described by an accomplished countryman, now beyond the sea. (Irving's Life of Columbus.)

About half a league from the little seaport of Palos, in the Province of Andalusia, in Spain, stands a convent dedicated to St. Mary. Some time in the year 1486 a poor wayfaring stranger, accompanied by a small boy, makes his appearance on foot at the gate of this convent and begs of the porter a little bread and water for his child. This friendless stranger is Columbus. Brought up in the hardy pursuit of a mariner—occasionally serving in the fleets of his native country—with the burden of 50 years upon his frame, the unprotected foreigner makes his suit to the sovereigns of Portugal and Spain. He tells them that the broad, flat earth on which we tread is round, and he proposes, with what seems a sacrilegious hand, to lift the veil which had hung, from the creation of the world, over the bounds of the ocean. He promises by a western course to reach the eastern shores of Asia—the region of gold and diamonds and spices; to extend the sovereignty of Christian kings over realms and nations hitherto unapproached and unknown, and ultimately to perform a new crusade to the Holy

found gold of the East.

Who shall believe the chimerical pretension. The learned men examine it and pronounce it futile. The royal pilots have ascertained by their own experience that it is groundless. The priesthood have considered it, and have pronounced that sentence, so terrific where the Inquisition reigns, that it is a wicked heresy. The common sense and popular feeling of men have been kindled into disdain and indignation toward a project which, by a strange new chimera, represented one half of mankind walking with their feet toward the other half.

Land and ransom the sepulcher of our Savior with the new-

Such is the reception which his proposal meets. For a long time the great cause of humanity, depending on the discovery of this fair continent, is involved in the fortitude, perseverance, and spirit of the solitary stranger, already past the time of life when the pulse of adventure beats full and high. If, sinking beneath the indifference of the great, the sneers of the wise, the enmity of the mass, and the persecution of a host of adversaries, high and low, he give up the thankless pursuit of his noble vision, what a hope for mankind is blasted! But he does not sink. He shakes off his enemies, as the lion shakes the dewdrops from his mane. That consciousness of motive and of strength which always supports the man who is worthy to be supported sustains him in his hour of trial, and at length, after years of expectation, importunity, and hope deferred, he launches forth upon the unknown deep to discover a new world, under the patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella.

The patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella! Let us dwell for a moment on the auspices under which our country was discovered. The patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella! Yes; doubtless they have fitted out a convoy worthy the noble temper of the man and the grandeur of his project. Convinced at length that it is no day dream of a heated visionary, the fortunate sovereigns of Castile and Aragon, returning from their triumph over the last of the Moors, and putting a victorious close to a war of seven centuries' duration, have no doubt prepared an expedition of well-appointed magnificence to go out upon this splendid search for other worlds. They have made ready, no doubt, their proudest galleon to waft the heroic adventurer upon his path of glory, with a whole armada of kindred spirits to accompany him.

Alas! from his ancient resort of Palos—which he first visited as a mendicant—in three frail barks, of which two were without decks, the great discoverer of America sails forth on the first voyage across the unexplored ocean! Such is the patronage of kings. A few years pass by; he discovers a new hemisphere; the wildest of his visions fade into insignificance before the reality of their fulfilment; he finds a new world for Castile and Leon, and comes back to Spain loaded with chains. Republics, it is said, are ungrateful; such are the rewards of mon-

archies!

With this humble instrumentality did it please Providence to prepare the theater for those events by which a new dispensation of liberty was to be communicated to man. But much is yet to transpire before even the commencement can be made in the establishment of those institutions by which this great advance in human affairs was to be effected. The discovery of America had taken place under the auspices of the Government most disposed for maritime adventure, and best enabled to extend a helping arm, such as it was, to the enterprise of the great discoverer. But it was not from the same quarter that the elements of liberty could be introduced into the new world. Causes, upon which I need not dwell, made it impossible that the great political reform should go forth from Spain. For this object a new train of incidents was preparing in another quarter.

The only real advances which modern Europe had made in freedom had been made in England. The cause of constitutional liberty in that country was persecuted, was subdued, but not annihilated nor trampled out of being. From the choicest of its suffering champions were collected the brave band of emigrants who first went out on the second, the more precious, voyage of discovery—the discovery of a land where liberty and its consequent blessings might be established.

A late English writer (in London Quarterly Review for January, 1828) has permitted himself to say that the original establishment of the United States, and that of the colony of Botany Bay, were pretty nearly modeled on the same plan. The meaning of this slanderous insinuation is that the United States were settled by deported convicts, in like manner as New South Wales has been settled by transported felons. It is doubtless true that at one period the English Government was in the habit of condemning to hard labor as servants in the colonies a portion of those who had received the sentence of the law. If this practice makes it proper to compare America with Botany Bay, the same comparison might be made of England herself before the practice of transportation began, and even now, inasmuch as a considerable number of convicts are at all times retained at home. In one sense, indeed, we might doubt whether the allegation were more of a reproach or a compliment. During the time that the colonization of America was going on the most rapidly some of the best citizens of England, if it be any part of good citizenship to resist oppression, were immured in her prisons of state or lying at the mercy of the law. (See Mr. Walsh's United States and Great Britain, sec. 2.)

Such were some of the convicts by whom America was set-.tled-men convicted of fearing God more than they feared man; of sacrificing property, ease, and all the comforts of life to a sense of duty and the dictates of conscience; men convicted of pure lives, brave hearts, and simple manners. The enterprise was led by Raleigh, the chivalrous convict, who unfortunately believed that his royal master had the heart of a man and would not let a sentence of death which had slumbered for 16 years revive and take effect after so long an interval of employment and favor. But nullum tempus occurrit regi. The felons who followed next were the heroic and long-suffering church of Robinson, at Leyden-Carver, Brewster, Bradford, Winslow, and their plous associates, convicted of worshiping God according to the dictates of their consciences, and of giving up all—country, property, and the tombs of their fathers—that they might do it unmolested. Not content with having driven the Puritans from her soil, England next enacted or put in force the oppressive laws which colonized Maryland with Catholics and Pennsylvania with Quakers. Nor was it long before the American plantations were recruited by the Germans convicted of inhabiting the Palatinate, when the merciless armies of Louis XIV were turned into that devoted region, and by the Huguenots, convicted of holding what they deemed the simple truth of Christianity, when it pleased the mistress of Louis XIV to be very zealous for the Catholic faith. These were followed in the next century by the Highlanders, convicted of the enormous crime, under a monarchical govern-ment, of loyalty to their hereditary prince on the plains of Culloden; and the Irish, convicted of supporting the rights of their country against what they deemed an oppressive external power. Such are the convicts by whom America was settled.

In this way a fair representation of whatsoever was most valuable in European character—the resolute industry of one nation, the inventive skill and curious arts of another, the courage, conscience, principle, self-denial of all—was winnowed out by the policy of the prevailing Governments as a precious seed wherewith to plant the American soil. By this singular coincidence of events our country was constituted the great asylum of suffering virtue and oppressed humanity. It could

now no longer be said-as it was of the Roman Empire-that mankind was shut up as if in a vast prison house, from whence there was no escape. The political and ecclesiastical oppressors of the world allowed their persecution to find a limit at the shores of the Atlantic. They scarce ever attempted to pursue their victims beyond its protecting waters. It is plain that in this way alone the design of Providence could be accomplished, which provided for one catholic school of freedom in the Western Hemisphere. For it must not be a freedom of too sectional and peculiar a cast. On the stock of the English civilization as the general basis were to be ingrafted the languages, the arts, and the tastes of the other civilized nations. A tie of consanguinity must connect the members of every family of Europe with some portion of our happy land, so that in all their trials and disasters they may look safely beyond the ocean for a refuge. The victims of power, of intolerance, of war, of disaster, in every other part of the world, must feel that they may find a kindred home within our limits. Kings, whom the perilous convulsions of the day have shaken from their thrones, must find a safe retreat, and the needy emigrant must at least not fail of his bread and water, were it only for the sake of the great discoverer, who was himself obliged to beg them. On this corner stone the temple of our freedom was laid from the first:

For here the exile met from every clime, And spoke in friendship every distant tongue; Men, from the blood of warring Europe sprung. Were here divided by the running brook.

This peculiarity of our population, which some have thought a misfortune, is in reality one of the happiest circumstances attending the settlement of the country. It assures the exile from every part of Europe a kind reception from men of his Had we been the unmixed descendants own tongue and race. of any one nation of Europe, we should have retained a moral and intellectual dependence on that nation, even after the dissolution of our political connection had taken place. It was sufficient for the great purposes in view that the earliest settlements were made by men who had fought the battles of liberty in England, and who brought with them the rudiments of constitutional freedom to a region where no deep-rooted proscriptions would prevent their development. Instead of marring the symmetry of our social system, it is one of its most attractive and beautiful peculiarities, that with the prominent qualities of the Anglo-Saxon character inherited from our English fathers we have an admixture of almost everything that is valuable in the character of most of the other States of Europe.

Such was the first preparation for the great political reform, of which America was to be the theater. The colonies of England, of a country where the supremacy of laws and the constitution is best recognized—the North American Colonies were protected from the first against the introduction of the unmitigated despotism which prevailed in the Spanish settlements, the continuance of which, down to the moment of their late revolt, prevented the education of those Provinces in the exercise of political rights, and in that way has thrown them into the revolution inexperienced and unprepared-victims, some of them, to a domestic anarchy scarcely less grievous than the foreign yoke they have thrown off. While, however, the settlers of America brought with them the principles and feelings, the political habits and temper, which defied the encroachments of arbitrary power, and made it necessary when they were to be oppressed that they should be oppressed under the forms of law, it was an unavoidable consequence of the state of things-a result, perhaps, of the very nature of a colonial government—that they should be thrown into a position of controversy with the mother country and thus become familiar with the whole energetic doctrine and discipline of resistance. This formed and hardened the temper of the colonists, and trained them up to a spirit meet for the struggles of

On the other hand, by what I had almost called an accidental circumstance, but one which ought rather to be considered as a leading incident in the great train of events connected with the establishment of constitutional freedom in this country, it came to pass that nearly all the colonies (founded as they were on the charters granted to corporate institutions in England, which had for their object the pursuit of the branches of industry and trade pertinent to a new plantation) adopted a regular representative system, by which, as in ordinary civil corporations, the affairs of the community are decided by the will and voices of its members or those authorized by them. It was no device of the parent government which gave us our colonial assemblies. It was no refinement of philosophical statesmen to which we are indebted for our republican institu-

tions of government. They grew up, as it were, by accident, on the simple foundation I have named. "A house of burgesses," says Hutchinson, "broke out in Virginia in 1620," and, "although there was no color for it in the charter of Massachusetts, a house of deputies appeared suddenly in 1634." "Lord observes the same historian, "tempted the principal men of Massachusetts to make themselves and their heirs nobles and absolute governors of a new colony, but under this plan they could find no people to follow them."

At this early period and in this simple, unpretending manner was introduced to the world that greatest discovery in political science, or political practice, a representative republican system. "The discovery of the system of the representative republic," says M. de Chateaubriand, "is one of the greatest political events that ever occurred." But it is not one of the greatest, it is the very greatest, and combined with another principle, to which I shall presently advert, and which is also the invention of the United States, it marks an era in human affairs, a discovery in the great science of social life, compared with which everything else that terminates in the tem-

poral interests of man sinks into insignificance.

Thus, then, was the foundation laid, and thus was the preparation commenced, of the grand political regeneration. For about a century and a half this preparation was carried on. Without any of the temptations which drew the Spanish adventurers to Mexico and Peru, the Colonies throve almost beyond example, and in the face of neglect, contempt, and persecution. Their numbers in the substantial middle classes of life increased with singular rapidity; no materials out of which an aristocracy could be formed, no great eleemosynary establishments to cause an influx of paupers. There was nothing but the rewards of labor and the hope of freedom.

But at length this hope, never adequately satisfied, began to turn into doubt and despair. The Colonies had become too important to be overlooked; their government was a prerogative too important to be left in their own hands, and the legislation of the mother country decidedly assumed a form which an-nounced to the patriots that the hour at length had come when the chains of the great discoverer were to be avenged, the sufferings of the first settlers to be compensated, and the long-

deferred hopes of humanity to be fulfilled.

You need not, friends and fellow citizens, that I should dwell upon the incidents of the last great act in the colonial This very place was the scene of some of the earliest and the most memorable of them; their recollection is a part of your inheritance of honor. In the early councils and first struggles of the great Revolutionary enterprise the citizens of this place were among the most prominent. The measures of resistance which were projected by the patriots of Charlestown were opposed but by one individual. An active cooperation existed between the political leaders in Boston and this place. The beacon light which was kindled in the towers of Christ Church, in Boston, on the night of the 18th of April, 1775. was answered from the steeple of the church in which we are now assembled. The intrepid messenger who was sent forward to convey to Hancock and Adams the Intelligence of the approach of the British troops was furnished with a horse for his eventful errand by a respected citizen of this place. At the close of the following momentous day the British forces-the remnant of its disasters-found refuge, under the shades of night, upon the heights of Charlestown, and there, on the ever-memorable 17th of June, that great and costly sacrifice in the cause of freedom was consummated with fire and blood, Your hilltops were strewed with the illustrious dead; your homes were wrapped in flames; the fair fruits of a century and a half of civilized culture were reduced to a heap of bloody ashes, and 2,000 men, women, and children turned houseless upon the world. With the exception of the ravages of the 19th of April, the chalice of woe and desolation was in this manner first presented to the lips of the citizens of Charlestown, Thus devoted, as it were, to the cause, it is no wonder that the spirit of the Revolution should have taken possession of their bosoms and been transmitted to their children. The American who, in any part of the Union, could forget the scenes and the principles of the Revolution would thereby prove himself unworthy of the blessings which he enjoys; but the citizen of Charlestown who could be cold on this momentous theme must hear a voice of reproach from the walls which were reared on the ashes of the 17th of June-a piercing cry from the very

on bloody fields-to establish in the place of the Government whose yoke had been thrown off a Government at home, which should fulfill the great design of the Revolution and satisfy the demands of the friends of liberty at large. What manifold perils awaited the step! The danger was great that too little or too much would be done. Smarting under the oppressions of a distant Government, whose spirit was alien to their feelings, there was great danger that the Colonies, in the act of declaring themselves sovereign and independent States, would push to an extreme the prerogative of their separate independence and refuse to admit any authority beyond the limits of each particular Commonwealth. On the other hand, achieving their independence beneath the banners of the Continental Army, ascribing, and justly, a large portion of their success to the personal qualities of the beloved Father of his Country, there was danger, not less imminent, that those who perceived the evils of the opposite extreme would be disposed to confer too much strength on one general government, and would, perhaps, even fancy the necessity of investing the hero of the Revolution in form with that sovereign power which his personal ascendency gave him in the hearts of his countrymen. Such and so critical was the alternative which the organization of the new government presented, and on the successful issue of which the entire benefit of this great movement in human affairs was to depend.

The first effort to solve the great problem was made in the course of the Revolution, and was without success. ticles of Confederation verged to the extreme of a Union too weak for its great purposes, and the moment the pressure of the war was withdrawn the inadequacy of this first project of a government was felt. The United States found themselves overwhelmed with debt, without the means of paying it. Rich in the materials of an extensive commerce, they found their ports crowded with foreign ships and themselves without the power to raise a revenue. Abounding in all the elements of national wealth, they wanted resources to defray the ordinary expenses of government.

For a moment, and to the hasty observer, this last effort for the establishment of freedom had failed. No fruit had sprung from this lavish expenditure of treasure and blood. We had changed the powerful protection of the mother country into a cold and jealous amity, if not into a slumbering hostility. The oppressive principles against which our fathers had struggled were succeeded by more oppressive realities. The burden of the British navigation act was, as operating on the Colonies, removed, but it was followed by the impossibility of protecting our shipping by a navigation law of our own. A state of material prosperity, existing before the Revolution, was succeeded by universal exhaustion, and a high and indignant tone of militant patriotism by universal despondency.

It remained, then, to give its last great effect to all that had been done since the discovery of America for the establishment of the cause of liberty in the Western Hemisphere, and by another more deliberate effort to organize a Government by which not only the present evils under which the country was suffering should be remedied but the final design of Providence should be fulfilled. Such was the task which devolved on the statesmen who convened at Philadelphia on the 2d day of Mny, 1787, of which Gen. Washington was elected president, and over whose debates your townsman, Mr. Gorham, presided for two or three months as chairman of the committee of the whole during the discussion of the plan of the Federal Constitution.

The very first step to be taken was one of pain and regret. he old Confederation was to be given up. What misgivings The old Confederation was to be given up. and grief must not this preliminary sacrifice have occasioned to the patriotic members of the convention! They were attached, and with reason, to its simple majesty. It was weak then, but it had been strong enough to carry the Colonies through the storms of the Revolution. Some of the great men who led up the forlorn hope of their country in the hour of her dearest peril had died in its defense. Could not a little inefficiency be pardoned to a Union with which France had made an alliance and England had made peace? Could the proposed new Government do more or better things than this had Who could give assurance, when the flag of the old Thirteen was struck, that the hearts of the people could be rallied to another banner?

sods of yonder hill.

The Revolution was at length accomplished. The political separation of the country from Great Britain was effected, and it now remained to organize the liberty which had been reaped.

Such were the misgivings of some of the great men of that day—the Henrys, the Gerrys, and other eminent anti-Federalists, to whose scruples it is time that justice should be done. They were the sagacious misgivings of wise men, the just fore-

bodings of brave men, who were determined not to defraud posterity of the blessings for which they had all suffered and for

which some of them had fought.

The members of that convention, in going about the great work before them, deliberately laid aside the means by which all preceding legislators had aimed to accomplish a like work. In founding a strong and efficient Government, adequate to the raising up of a powerful and prosperous people, their first step was to reject the institutions to which other Governments traced their strength and prosperity, or had, at least, regarded as the necessary conditions of stability and order. The world had settled down into the belief that an hereditary monarch was necessary to give strength to the executive power. The framers of our Constitution provided for an elective Chief Magistrate, chosen every four years. Every other country had been betrayed into the admission of a distinction of ranks in society, under the absurd impression that privileged orders are necessary to the permanence of the social system. framers of our Constitution established everything on the pure natural basis of a uniform equality of the elective franchise, to be exercised by all the citizens at fixed and short intervals. In other countries it had been thought necessary to constitute some one political center toward which all political power should tend, and at which in the last resort it should be exer-The framers of the Constitution devised a scheme of confederate and representative sovereign republics, united in a happy distribution of powers, which, reserving to the separate States all the political functions essential to local administration and private justice, bestowed upon the General Government those, and those only, required for the service of the whole

Thus was completed the great Revolutionary movement; thus was perfected that mature organization of a free system, destined, as we trust, to stand forever as the exemplar of popular government. Thus was discharged the duty of our fathers to themselves, to the country, and to the world.

The power of the example thus set up in the eyes of the nations was instantly and widely felt. It was immediately made visible to sagacious observers that a constitutional age had begun. It was in the nature of things that where the former evil existed in its most inveterate form the reaction should also be the most violent. Hence the dreadful excesses that marked the progress of the French Revolution and for a while almost made the name of liberty odious. not less in the nature of things that when the most indisputable and enviable political blessings stand illustrated before the world-not merely in speculation and in theory, but in living practice and bright example—the nations of the earth, in proportion as they have eyes to see, and ears to hear, and hands to grasp, should insist on imitating the example. France clung to the hope of constitutional liberty through 30 years of appalling tribulation, and now enjoys the freest constitution in Europe. Spain, Portugal, the two Italian Kingdoms, and several of the German States have entered on the same path. Their progress has been and must be various, modified by circumstances, by the interests and passions of Governments and men, and in some cases seemingly arrested. But their march is as sure as fate. If we believe at all in the political revival of Europe, there can be no really retrograde movement in this cause, and that which seems so in the revolutions of govern-ment is, like that of the heavenly bodies, a part of their eternal

There can be no retreat, for the great exemplar must stand, to convince the hesitating nations, under every reverse, that the reform they strive at is real, is practicable, is within their reach. Efforts at reform by the power of action and reaction may fluctuate, but there is an element of popular strength abroad in the world stronger than forms and institutions, and daily growing in power. A public opinion of a new kind has arisen among men—the opinion of the civilized world. Springing into existence on the shores of our own continent, it has grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength, till now this moral giant, like that of the ancient poet, marches along the earth and across the ocean, but his front is among the stars. The course of the day does not weary nor the darkness of night arrest him. He grasps the pillars of the temple where Oppression sits enthroned, not groping and benighted, like the strong man of old, to be crushed himself beneath the fall, but trampling in his strength on the massy ruins.

Under the influence, I might almost say the unaided influence, of public opinion, formed and nourished by our example, three wonderful revolutions have broken out in a generation. That of France, not yet consummated, has left that country

(which it found in a condition scarcely better than Turkey) in the possession of the blessings of a representative constitu-tional government. Another revolution has emancipated the American possessions of Spain, by an almost unassisted action of moral causes. Nothing but the strong sense of the age that a Government like that of Ferdinand ought not to subsist over regions like those which stretch to the south of us on the continent could have sufficed to bring about their emancipation against all the obstacles which the state of society among them opposes at present, to regulated liberty and safe independence. When an eminent British statesman (Mr. Canning) said of the emancipation of these States, that "he had called into existence a new world in the West," he spoke as wisely as the artist who, having tipped the forks of a conductor with silver, should boast that he had created the lightning which it calls down from the clouds. But the greatest triumph of public opinion is the revolution of Greece. The spontaneous sense of the friends of liberty at home and abroad-without armies, without navies, without concert, and acting only through the simple channels of ordinary communication, principally the -has rallied the Governments of Europe to this ancient and favored soil of freedom. Pledged to remain at peace, they have been driven by the force of public sentiment into the war. Leagued against the cause of revolution as such, they have been compelled to send their armies and navies to fight the battles of revolt. Dignifying the barbarous oppressor of Christian Greece with the title of "ancient and faithful ally," they have been constrained by the outraged feeling of the civilized world to burn up in time of peace the navy of their ally, with all his antiquity and all his fidelity, and to cast the broad shield of the holy alliance over a young and turbulent Republic.

This bright prospect may be clouded in; the powers of Europe, which have reluctantly taken, may speedily abandon the field. Some inglorious composition may yet save the Ottoman Empire from dissolution at the sacrifice and liberty of Greece and the power of Europe. But such are not the indications of things. The prospect is fair that the political regeneration which commenced in the West is now going backward to resuscitate the once happy and long-deserted regions of the older world. The hope is not now chimerical that those lovely islands, the flower of the Levant-the shores of that renowned sea around which all the associations of antiquity are concentrated-are again to be brought back to the sway of civilization and Christianity. Happily, the interest of the great powers of Europe seems to beckon them onward in the path of human-The half-deserted coasts of Syria and Egypt, the fertile but almost desolated Archipelago, the empty shores of Africa. the granary of ancient Rome, seem to offer themselves as a ready refuge for the crowded, starving, discontented millions of Western Europe. No natural nor political obstacle opposes itself to their occupation. France has long cast a wishful eve on Egypt. Napoleon derived the idea of his expedition, which was set down to the unchastened ambition of a revolutionary soldier, from a memoir found in the cabinet of Louis XVI. England has already laid her hand—an arbitrary, but a civilized and Christian hand-on Malta, and the Ionian Isles, and Cyprus, Rhodes, and Candia must soon follow. It is not beyond the reach of hope that a representative republic may be established in central Greece and the adjacent islands. In this way, and with the example of what has here been done, it is not too much to anticipate that many generations will not pass before the same benignant influence will revisit the awakened East and thus fulfill, in the happiest sense, the vision of Columbus by restoring a civilized population to the primitive seats of our holy faith.

Fellow citizens, the eventful pages in the volume of human fortune are opening upon us with sublime rapidity of succession. It is 200 years this summer since a few of that party who in 1628 commenced in Salem the first settlement of Massachusetts were sent by Gov. Endicott to explore the spot where we stand. They found that one pioneer, of the name of Walford, had gone before them, and had planted himself among the numerous and warlike savages in this quarter. From them, the native lords of the soil, these first hardy adventurers derived their title to the lands on which they settled, and in some degree prepared the way by the arts of civilization and peace for the main body of the colonists of Massachusetts, under Gov. Winthrop, who two years afterwards, by a coincidence which you will think worth naming, arrived in Mystic River and pitched his patriarchal tent on Ten Hills upon the 17th day of June, 1630. Massachusetts at that moment consisted of six buts at Salem and one at this place. It seems but a

span of time as the mind ranges over it. A venerable in-dividual is living at the seat of the first settlement whose life covers one-half of the entire period, the venerable Dr. Holyoke, of Salem; but what a destiny has been unfolded before our country! What events have crowded your annals! What scenes of thrilling interest and eternal glory have signalized

the very spot where we stand!

In that unceasing march of things, which calls forward the successive generations of men to perform their part on the stage of life, we at length are summoned to appear. have passed their hour of visitation; how worthily, let the growth and prosperity of our happy land and the security of our firesides attest. Or, if this appeal be too weak to move us, let the eloquent silence of vonder famous heights-let the column which is there rising in simple majesty-recall their venerable forms as they toiled in the hasty trenches through the dreary watches of that night of expectation, heaving up the sods, where many of them lay in peace and in honor before the following sun had set. The turn has come to us. The trial of adversity was theirs; the trial of prosperity is ours. Let us meet it as men who know their duty and prize their bless-Our position is the most enviable, the most responsible, which men can fill. If this generation does its duty, the cause of constitutional freedom is safe. If we fail-if we fail, not only do we defraud our children of the inheritance which we received from our fathers, but we blast the hopes of the friends of liberty throughout our continent, throughout Europe, throughout the world, to the end of time.

History is not without her examples of hard-fought fields, where the banner of liberty has floated triumphantly on the wildest storm of battle. She is without her examples of a people by whom the dear-bought treasure has been wisely employed and safely handed down. The eyes of the world are turned for that example to us. It is related by an ancient historian (Dio Cassius, Lib. XLVII in fin.) of that Brutus who slew Cæsar, that he threw himself on his sword after the disastrous Battle of Philippi, with the bitter exclamation that he had followed virtue as a substance, but found it a name. It is not too much to say that there are at this moment noble spirits in the elder world who are anxiously watching the practical operation of our institutions, to learn whether liberty, as they have been told, is a mockery, a pretense, and a curse or a blessing, for which it becomes them to brave the scaffold

and the scimitar.

Let us, then, as we assemble on the birthday of the Nation, as we gather upon the green turf, once wet with precious blood, let us devote ourselves to the sacred cause of constitutional liberty. Let us abjure the interests and passions which divide the great family of American freemen. Let the rage of party spirit sleep to-day. Let us resolve that our children shall have cause to bless the memory of their fathers, as we have cause to bless the memory of ours,

The Army Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN R. CONNELLY, OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, March 20, 1916.

Mr. CONNELLY. Mr. Speaker, each Member of Congress as well as the whole people of the country have for some months thought much about the condition of our national defenses, and I believe most Members have tried to ascertain what were the needs and demands on this question and to sanely provide for those needs and bring forth such a measure as would meet the approval of the great body of American people who constitute the real strength of the Nation. It is not a matter of surprise that a question, old as the Government yet comparatively new in its demands, because of changed conditions in the affairs of the world, should have found the people of the country far from a unit as to just what should be done. There have, in the main, been two ideas that have engaged the minds of the people since the matter was brought pointedly before them a few months ago. One idea has been to go to the extreme of military preparedness and cumber the country with an Army and Navy exceedingly expensive and unreasonably large. The other has been that, while it is apparent that our present Army and Navy are hardly what they should be, there were no good and sufficient reasons why the country should become hysterical and provide such an Army and Navy as would be unreasonably large.

Mr. Speaker, I am glad to note that the great Military Affairs Committee of this House has chosen rather to approve of the reasonable view and have unanimously reported that appeals to me to be one worthy of support. The bill will. as I view it, be a disappointment to those who want a standing army of half a million soldiers. It perhaps will not quite meet with the approval of those who believe that no increases should be made. It will, however, provide what appears to be a very reasonable increase in the Regular Army and at the same time provide for the organization of a potential force of trained men

that will meet any reasonable expectation should trouble come. It is a matter of much satisfaction to those of us who have hoped for a sane and sensible bill to be brought out, that we are permitted to support such a bill as I believe this to be. report on this bill shows that the country is not now as destitute of defense as many have insisted that it is. In reading the report of the committee I note that we now have perhaps more than a million men in this country of military age who have had military training. Most of these would be available in time of trouble and would form a very formidable basis around which an army could be mobilized. The report says we have 750,000 modern rifles and 400,000 Krag rifles, which are effective modern arms. We have more than 1,000 machine guns and nearly 1,000 field guns of the most modern pattern. The report cites the further fact that there are stored away in the arsenals of the country 200,000,000 rounds of ammunition for the small guns and nearly a million rounds for the larger ones. It might

plies should the emergency require.

Lieut, Gen. Nelson A. Miles, United States Army, retired, in the hearing before the Military Affairs Committee, among other

be stated in addition to this that the Government has arms and

ammunition factories fully equipped for bringing out more sup-

things, said as follows:

Our gun and ammunition factories are manufacturing at least 5,000,000 rifle cartridges daily and will be soon capable of manufacturing daily 50,000 artillery shells or even more. As a matter of fact, there is now being manufactured in our country daily more war materials than any two armies now warring against each other are using in the same time.

Continuing, he said:

Having had much to do with the construction and placing of our fortifications and inspecting every one along the Atlantic, Pacific, and Guif coasts, as well as having had an opportunity of seeing all the great armies of the world and many of their strongest fortifications, including the Dardanelles 1 am prepared to say that our coasts are as well defended as the coasts of any country, and with the same class of high-power guns and heavy projectiles. At the time of the Spanish War we had but a few modern guns mounted. To-day there have been manufactured and mounted, or placed ready to be mounted, approximately 1,000 high-power guns—to be accurate, 994 high-power guns and nearly 500 12-inch mortars. These are better in some respects than the guns that are mounted at the Dardanelles, which have resisted the most powerful ships of the war of the British and French Navies and practically resulted in that expedition being a total failure with the loss of 125,000 lives and \$1,600,000,000 in money.

In view of these facts it appears to me that while the committee has not provided a bill that will meet with the approval of the ultramilitary advocates, it is such a bill as should command the respect of the great body of the people and we believe that it will. This bill, if I understand it, provides for an increase of 40,000 in the Regular Army and nationalizes the State militia in times of war or times when war appears imminent.

I like the idea of making the State militia a part of the plan for our military defense. In the first place the militia is composed of men and boys from among the great body of people who in times of peace go about getting the spirit and sentiment that makes for peace, while the man who does nothing but continually talk war, drill, and prepare for war may lose this very essential touch that the member of the State guard has. Then again, the pay that is allowed the militia, when compared with the pay it would require to keep that same number of men in the Regular Army, is but nothing. It appears to me that it is but paying the actual expense that the State guard goes to in getting to and from his place of drill, and is not a pay for his patriotic service that he renders when he prepares himself to be a unit in the de-fense force of the Nation. We do not keep him as a burden on producing and consuming people of the country, but rather give him such pay as will assist him in his drill and preparation. While on the other hand, the Regular soldier, useful and essential to a certain number, necessarily lives in a sphere that prevents his coming in close contact with the great body of people, and thus ne may come to cultivate the military rather than the civic ideals, which military ideals, I believe, in a republic, should not be encouraged to the extent of creating and maintaining a great Regular Army in time of peace.

Mr. Speaker, there may be those who would like to see this country at war with some other country. I hope there are none who would. I have here and there read opinions in certain newspapers that would seem to justify such a course, and the reasons given did not appeal to me, nor will they appeal to the great body of American people who desire only to be allowed to exert their energies along the avenues of peace with all man-kind. All over this fair land to-day the men and women who are engaged in making homes, educating children, and teaching the principles of justice, humanity, and Christianity are praying that we may go on in peace and devoutly hoping that the blighting touch of war may be spared our land forever. I am one of those who have not been impressed with the claims of those who believe that great preparation for war insures us against war. I can not persuade myself that our danger of a conflict with any of the first-class nations of the world is probable at any time in the near future. I am rather of the opinion that when the war god has taken his frightful toll from the broken and bleeding nations of Europe reason will again be enthroned and a long period of peace ensue. It appears to me that to believe otherwise is to forsake much of the faith that has gone far to make us a great people; but, believing this as I sincerely do, I would not neglect so important a matter as to make a reasonable and rational provision to repel any hostile people who would dare to do us harm or interfere with our purpose to be a free people, fully determined to enjoy the blessings of free government even, if need be, at the expense of fighting for that liberty as did our fathers. My position exactly stated is that I want to be ready to meet trouble if it comes, but I do not want to be so ready as to invite it. Mr. Speaker, I do not represent a people who are for peace at any price. They have neither preached nor practiced that code. They believe that past wars of this Republic have been waged for the high purpose of establishing or extending liberty. the time ever comes when the institutions of this Republic that have come to us as a heritage from martyrs are threatened, millions of men will rush to their defense with guns in their hands. But who is there now to threaten us? The great nations of Europe are practically all engaged in a death grapple, out of which they must come bruised and chastened. have dissipated their men, their resources, their energies. will be busied for long years binding up the wounds they have made and building up the devastation they have wrought. Is it reasonable that they should seek trouble with a people who look upon their present misfortune in pity rather than in anger? I for one shall not expect that to happen. I know the great masses of people of this country, when this war over there shall cease, would rather see our merchant ships start for their ports with food and raiment and money to help them than to see our battleships called into action to engage any of them in war, I can not escape the conviction that much of the hysteria in this country over our state of unpreparedness is not warranted. either by the present state of our armaments or the conditions that confront us from abroad. I do not want to say that all of the noise is made by the shipbuilders, the munition makers, and the thousands of other concerns that fatten from preparedness contracts, which have found the time opportune to frighten our people. I am, however, of the opinion that if the voices of these profit seekers could be silenced for a little while that the tumult would subside to that extent; that the voice of reason could be heard and we could go along making those rational preparations for such an adequate defense as sanity demands.

Sugar.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CYRUS A. SULLOWAY,

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 15, 1916.

Mr. SULLOWAY. Mr. Speaker, we are to witness to-day one of the greatest acrobatic feats ever displayed by a political party in this country. As an example of lightning changes and high and lofty tumbling it stands without a precedent in the administration of party affairs since the birth of this Nation. We here see the spectacle of the Democratic Party about to abandon and repudiate its great paramount principle of a competitive tariff, of virtual free trade, and compelled by its own acts to recognize the great Republican principle of protection.

Woodrow Wilson, theorist and dreamer, whose tariff views are said to be largely expressed in the Underwood bill, has been compelled to recognize the utter fallacy of the position of himself and his party on this great fiscal issue. The action taken here to-day shows the complete failure and collapse of the tariff program of the Democratic Party and the practical reenactment of a Republican tariff schedule on sugar shows the utter helplessness and hopelessness that party is now confronted with.

The visionary views of the President on the tariff question, his oft-expressed prophecy that a sweeping reduction of the tariff would surely result in a sweeping reduction of the high cost of living, have come to naught. Failure is being stamped on the fiscal policy of the present administration here to-day by its own acts and its own admissions. Where three years ago in this very same body, over on the Democratic side of this Chamber, present Members of this House were hollering their heads off for free sugar, shouting that it was a "tax on the poor man's breakfast table," we find them now meekly and solemnly lined up to preserve the duty on sugar and in a complete right-about face upon their whole tariff policy and about to give a national certificate of recommendation to the greatness and goodness of the protective system. The Democratic Party by its action here to-day is saying to the country that the Republican Party has been right and that it has been wrong. It is an admission of its weakness and a record vote of its inefficiency. It serves notice on the country that it has been legislating for the ethereal and not for the real.

It admits its position has been wrong on the sugar schedule, which leaves no construction except that it has been wrong on all. It points out that while the party has started out to save one industry it has neglected all others which have been similarly affected. I am in favor of the passage of this bill, notwithstanding the fact that it will receive the support of our Democratic friends. It is an orphan Republican schedule, which was cast off and which has come back to us in bad company. It is a Republican prodigal, which has come back to rise up and smite the party that tried to destroy it. I wish it had more I was in hopes the Democratic Party, the President company. of the United States, and the leaders of the House on that side of the Chamber would be wise enough, patriotic enough, and public-spirited enough to bring back to the House a tariff bill that would wipe out the unfortunate, un-American, and unbusinesslike provisions of the Underwood bill from its opening paragraph to its closing words. I was in hopes that this industrydestroying nonrevenue-producing failure would be brought here and be embalmed and forever laid away. But I am doomed to disappointment. I find that only one schedule, that touching sugar, something that will leave a pleasant taste, at least, in the mouths of our political opponents, has alone been brought forward. But it is something. It shows while Democracy on its fiscal policy can not be reformed in its entirely it is at least beginning to see the light and that it has begun to administer to itself Republican doctrine, on the installment plan, for its political ills and its financial sufferings,

The putting of sugar on the free list May 1, 1916, which was the plan and policy of the Underwood bill and the Democratic Party, not only was a blow at the great beet-sugar industry of this country, which was practically in the hands of the farmers of the United States and which represented an investment of \$100,000,000, but it actually placed this great ndustry, this important and necessary commodity of the American people, directly in the hands of the Sugar Trust and gave them an absolute monopoly of the business. Republican protection had fostered and developed the beet-sugar industry and thus created competition, which prevented the Sugar Trust from fixing prices and squeezing the public. In 17 States of the Union it was the means of constructing 77 great beet-sugar refineries, which represented an outlay of \$100,000,000. These industries were built by American capital, operated by American workingmen, and were owned by American citizens.

Since the Underwood tariff bill was enacted into law October 22, 1913, there has not been constructed a single new sugar refinery in the United States, but down in Cuba the Sugar Trust, with the prospect of free sugar next May, where labor is cheap and the profits greater, have built 20 new refineries, 11 of which were constructed in 1915. They were erected because the Sugar Trust knew that the free-sugar provision of the Underwood bill meant the death of the beet-sugar industry in the United States. With free sugar the trust would absolutely dominate the American market. The labor cost in refining imported raw sugar, with the low wages paid, is about one-third of a cent a pound for converting raw into refined sugar, while in the beet-sugar industry it is 3½ cents per pound. So that there was but one con-

clusion, sugar produced by cheap labor, free of duty, must, of necessity, destroy the great beet-sugar industry of this country.

But Providence and a depleted Treasury have forced the Democratic Party to intervene. The policy of the Republican Party has been seized upon to help rescue our political foes from their financial dilemma. A great industry has been saved and preserved, which in a few years, under wise legislation by the Republican Party, would have made us the greatest sugar-producing country on the face of the earth, and which would have made us in times of peace or war absolutely independent of foreigngrown sugar. Tests made by former Secretary of Agriculture Wilson show that 274,000,000 acres of lands in this country were available for producing the sugar beet. Protecting our industries spells preparedness in both peace and war.

During the past 14 years beet sugar increased in production from 40,000 to 760,000 tons, while the price of granulated sugar has been reduced to the consumers of the country 85 cents per hundred pounds. This means a saving of \$68,000,000 a year to the people of this country. This is one of the fruits of protection in one industry alone. It explodes the fallacy of Democracy, that the "tariff is a tax," or that it has ever enhanced the value of a single article to the consumer. It explodes the Wilson theory that the tariff was responsible for the high cost of living, and to-day, the action being taken by the Democrats of this House, places the stamp of approval upon the past fiscal history of the Republican Party and the votes of the Members of this House on the other side of this Chamber, indorses the policy of protection and uphold the righteousness and neces-

must be levied on the people.

President Wilson has learned from experience that "whet-President Wilson has learned from experience that wher-ting wits" and seeing who has the "best brains" under free trade does not create business or provide revenue to run the Government, but, on the contrary, that such a policy is ruinous to our business, throws labor out of employment, cripples and curtails our industries, and bankrupts our Treasury. Such a policy has compelled the Democratic Party in a time of profound peace to levy "war taxes" and to place other additional tax burdens-directly on the backs of the American people, something unheard of in the history of the Republican Party. Yet, in spite of all these added taxes, the administration finds itself running behind millions in the matter of meeting the running expenses of the Government, and still other additional burdens

I am glad that even in the closing hours of this Democratic administration, just previous to the time when it is to be removed from power by the votes of the American people, that it has at least had a "death-bed repentance" on its tariff policy. That again it has repudiated its policy of the past and shifted its views upon another great issue. With three years in power, not only its Chief Executive but the party in Congress itself has wobbled or side-stepped practically every potent issue it stood for on the Baltimore platform. It has not taken a long period to show up the Democratic Party in all its hypocrisy or to demonstrate its fallures and its fallacies. Stripped of its last great issue, it is to-day making a spectacle of itself and displaying such an element of governmental weakness that it is signing its own death warrant politically, and serving notice on itself that it must vacate March 4, 1917.

To-day the Democratic Party has given the policy of protection an indorsement of which the voters of this country will take heed. It means that once more the people of this land will turn to a reunited Republican Party; the party that stands for something; that believes in the upbuilding of American industry and American labor; the party that stands for progress, protection, prosperity, the hum of industry, and the full dinner pail; the party that will bring to this country peace, contentment, efficiency, economy, and Nation-wide happiness.

The Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES J. BRITT,

OF NORTH CAROLINA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Tuesday, March 21, 1916.

Mr. BRITT. Mr. Speaker, in this House we sometimes do our work cheerily, sometimes indifferently, and sometimes even unwillingly, but I believe every Member here will vote for this bill with a joyous pride and with a swelling of patriotic fervor.

For my own part, no other measure since I have been a Member of this House has so completely enlisted all my sympathies, so strongly challenged my unqualified support. Some of our work here may be but little above the trivial, much of it is fleeting in its nature, but somehow I believe there clusters around this measure a great and powerful national destiny. With its passage we launch upon a new career among the nations of the earth, we begin a new epoch in American history. It is indeed a measure of tremendous importance. And it is infinitely greater in promise than in provision, for I believe it is the beginning of a sound military policy, one that will be adequate to the protection of our lives, our liberties, and our institutions. This bill is admirably drawn. It shows the hands of master draftsmen. It is not only great in subject matter, it is fine in phrase and singularly direct in purpose. I wish personally to thank each member of the Committee on Military Affairs for the time, the pains, and the care which they have given to the preparation of this bill.

And yet, with all my heart, I wish they had gone further. I would gladly vote for a larger Infantry, for a stronger Cavalry, for a more powerful Field Artillery, for better coast defenses, and especially for better provision for the National Guard. My only objection is that the defensive forces raised by the bill are not large enough, but, having caught the step, I feel assured that we shall from year to year make the necessary additions to every arm of our national forces.

And, Mr. Speaker, we have commenced none to early. Indeed, we may yet rue the lateness of the hour. We all love peace, we all seek peace, and our unending prayer is that it may abide with us, but we are living in a strangely confused world. We are amid the play of forces—political, racial, economic, moral, and religious-which we can not ourselves control. We are a part of the newly adjusting world. We may any day be called upon to justify our right to a place under the sun. Man is still a fighting animal. His primal instinct for prey is yet a part of him. Civilization, that thin veneer that hides our savage nature, has not yet been able to lift us above imbruing our hands in human blood. The teachings of the Christ, with all their sweet influences, with all their healing efficacy, have not, in 20 long centuries, brought to the world the universal brotherhood of man. True, man's nature changes, and changes for the better, but it is only by slow and imperceptible advances, such as the Psalmist had in mind when he said, "A thousand years in the sight of the Lord are but as yesterday when it is past and as a watch in the night." Personally we are no larger, no taller, no more comely than when Phidias first chiseled the human form in stone, 2,300 years ago. Intellectually, while more efficient, more variously cultivated, we are nevertheless no keener, no more profound than when Aristotle taught the Greeks, 2,400 years ago. And, even more, we can not tell how much better we are morally than were the men of Israel when David sang and Solomon wrote, 3,000 years ago.

In preparing for the national defense, we ought to take into account what we have to defend, our national policies, and the strength of our probable enemies.

Let us, for a moment, inquire whether we have anything

worth defending, worth living for, or worth dying for.
First, we have the continental United States, with its 3,000,-000 square miles of rich and smiling lands, teeming with the best that God has permitted the earth to produce, a precious heritage from our fathers, sealed with their blood on a thousand battle fields; its 100,000,000 of people, with their lives and liberties in our keeping; its sweet memories and glorious traditions, reaching far beyond the Revolution; its vast heap of \$150,000,000,000 of resplendent wealth; its monuments of beauty and galleries of art; its churches and religious institutions; its schools and colleges; its literature that has enriched the world; and its inventions that have given wings to thought and arms to industry.

Far to the south of us, under tropical suns, we have the Isthmian Canal, that mighty enterprise of \$400,000,000, the crowning workmanship of the world, by which we have wedded the two oceans, separated from the beginning of time, and cut the globe's distance in twain, constructed for the welfare of mankind, and for the neutrality of which we have given pledges to the world.

Away to the northwest w have Alaska, that boundless tract of 600,000 square miles of undeveloped treasure land, rich in gold, silver, fuel, and forest, those prime necessaries of mankind, our hope for the coming years when our homeland is cut over and burrowed into and wasted away by the scrambling masses of our crowded population.

We have, too, our great historic foreign policies, the Monroe doctrine, by which, for a hundred years, we have guaranteed republican government to the 20 Central and South American

Republics; the maintenance and defense of the Panama Canal, and the guaranty of its neutrality; the exclusive of undesirable Asiatic citizens; and, lastly, the preservation of the open door in China.

These are the peoples, the institutions, the traditions, the policies, and the possessions of which God has made us his keeper, and it is a task worthy of the noblest efforts and the bravest defense of men who, though they love peace, are yet men of blood and iron in defense of home and native land.

One hundred and thirty-six years ago Washington laid down the maxim that no nation can be trusted further than it is bound by its own interests, and all history confirms this truism. Treaties are but "pieces of paper," ententes are useless, and understandings count for naught when they clash with the greed and ambition of nations. Our position in the world is suddenly changed. We are no longer protected by a remote isolation. Steam and electricity have destroyed all distance. The nations of the earth have moved together and live in speaking range. The oceans now make war vastly more easy instead of more difficult. A quarter million soldiers can be brought across the Atlantic in 10 days, and across the Pacific in 30 days. The diplomatic, commercial, and social relations of the nations are bewilderingly complex, and the points of collision are constantly increasing. We are in the whirl of the vortex, and from it there is no escape. But we can yet play the part of noble men of a great Nation.

Are we likely to be attacked by any great nation of the world? No one can tell. But we know that Washington's maxim is true. We hear the crash of falling timbers among the nations of Europe. We behold the world bristling with martial airs. The race stands aghast at its own madness. We can not foresee the events of a day. We know that all Europe fell to pieces overnight. To-morrow we may be in the whirlwind of war.

We are not loved by Germany, whatever we may hear to the contrary. She hates our Monroe doctrine because, as she says, it makes us virtual overlords over all Central and South America, one-half of the unexploited globe, while she is without a field for the display of her genius or an outlet for her surplus population. Nor does she like our commercial rivalry, or our foreign trade in the munitions of war, the benefit of which she, because of her military misfortunes, can not share equally with her enemies.

Japan, although we first introduced her to the family of nations, cherishes two festering grievances against us, our taking the Philippine Islands at her very gateway, and clearly within her sphere of influence, and our refusal to admit Japanese immigrants to our shores on equal terms with immigrants from the other favored nations of the world.

Nor is the future secure as to England. Although at peace with us for the last hundred years, yet when the time comes, as it surely will come, when we shall dispute her right to the supremacy of the seas, she will then appeal to the inexorable law of self-interest, and the world will see that blood is not thicker than water.

Our position, then, should be that of the just man armed for battle. We should seek no quarrel with any nation and should suffer no wrong from any quarter. We should demand our every right and should comply with our every obligation.

This is not a party measure. It transcends all party considerations. It is not the measure of the President of the United States, or of the Secretary of War, or of the majority, or of the minority. It is the concrete and harmonious voice of the American people, demanding through their chosen Representatives that this Congress shall make ample preparation for the defense of their lives, their liberties, their property, and the sacred institutions bequeathed to them by their forefathers.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 7, 1916.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, in casting my vote against tabling the McLemore resolution I am voting against a subterfuge, a trick, an unwarranted attempt on the part of the Democratic majority to dodge responsibility. The question that they have arbitrarily thrust before us is not a discussion of the

merits or demerits of a resolution warning Americans off armed belligerent merchantmen.

A vote to table is not voting for or against warning, it is not voting for or against the President; it is simply and only voting not to vote—an expedient to avoid putting yourself on record.

You gentlemen, with your flaunt of patriotism, who have paraded the catch phrases, "Stand by the President," "Don't waive our international rights," "Don't palsy the President's arm," "Hold up the President's hands," know that you are befuddling the issue to the American people.

I hear the hiss of the party lash and the scuttling of feet before it; and if this parliamentary trick can be congratulated on anything, it is that it will prevent an opposition vote of its

own supporters from coming into the open.

As I sat here listening to the voices of Congressmen who before now, upon subjects even where I differed from them, have moved me by the truth and force that was in them, those same voices, speaking in defense of tabling this resolution, have come to me shorn of conviction, with no message, faltering, broken, stumbling, no inspiration, lacking the ring of sincerity and truth, because they know that every man upon this floor understands the ruse and reads their hearts straight and not through the lens ground for the particular purpose of distorting the vision of the people.

I could join with the so-called patriotic slogan "Stand by the President," and ride as a glorified patriot on the easy wave of applause, but in doing so I should be false to myself and false to my better judgment. I should stultify my conscience and leave bare my soul to the just rebuke of the still small

voice

I am not infallible in my judgment, and I may be wrong; but as God gives me the light to understand between right and wrong, I believe that in casting my vote against the tabling of this resolution, I am casting it against deceit, fraud, gag rule, and all the petty intrigues that have gone to weaken the people's confidence in their Congress.

I realize it is like reasoning with a big locomotive coming down the track to attempt to explain, in the face of public misconception of the point at issue, a vote against the tabling of the McLemore resolution. I am no seer, but I have faith to believe that "truth crushed to earth will rise again" to confront us all and judge between us. I would rather go down to defeat with truth in my heart than up to victory as a part of deceit and fraud practiced upon the American people.

It was the Democrats and not the Republicans nor the Progressives who raised the question. They indulged in a cloak-room revolt and the President asked for a show-down. He asks that Congress advise him, that it give the matter a full and free discussion. The Democratic majority do not propose to give this matter a full and free discussion. Neither do they propose to go on record for or against a warning resolution. Their leaders have said that a warning resolution would carry 3 to 1 in the House; therefore the problem is to engineer a parliamentary trick which will enable them to think one way and vote another. How all of a sudden the shelving of the whole subject can be satisfactory to the President is beyond my comprehension.

In picking from the several similar resolutions the McLemore, they chose the one most incapable of passage, because it bore the most seeds of dissension. And now they intend to jam this program down the throat of Congress without a full discussion, as the President especially requested. If the advice of Congress is worth anything on a subject that may involve the peace and welfare of the United States, surely four hours is not a full and free discussion, especially when the time is spent on the proposition of tabling and not on the meat of the thing itself. The plan to table the resolution does not give the House a chance to express its views on the subject. It is plainly a ruse.

Had the Democratic House Members wished a square vote, it would have been easy to put the issue squarely before the House by adopting a parliamentary handling which would permit of amendment germane to the subject, and would also permit a direct vote so that each man could show where he stands. If the special rule had been defeated, this amendment would have been introduced:

Resolved, That citizens, under existing conditions and irrespective of their legal rights, ought to refrain from taking passage on armed merchantmen of belligerent nations, except in cases of imperative necessity.

The above would have put the real question before Congress, where it could have had full and free discussion, as the President said he wished.

But this is not the Democratic plan, as was shown conclusively in the Senate, where the plan adopted, it is charged, came through subterranean passages from the power "higher up."

In so much haste was the Democratic majority to table the Gore resolution that they paid no attention to the amendment offered by the Senator from Oklahoma, and when they had completed their record performance they had voted to table a resolution which declared that the sinking of an armed merchantman with a loss of American lives would be a cause for war. This amended resolution contained the gist of the President's position, yet in their haste to get under cover, in their avid eagerness to avoid a record vote which would have been frank, clear, and open, they put themselves in the ridiculous position of voting, presumably upon the orders of the President, in a manner directly opposite to the position which the President wished them to take.

The purpose of the parliamentary jockeying which places the McLemore resolution before the House, so that it may be tabled,

is equally insincere.

If a triumph for the administration consists of forcing a recalcitrant majority to side-step a question of such tremendous importance, it is easy to see the adminstration needs little with which to grace such an occasion. How many ruinous victories like this will it take to open the people's eyes!

A vote against tabling the resolution is a protest against deceit, subterfuge, parliamentary trickery, and an utter failure on the part of the majority to rise to the great responsibility which the President's request has placed upon them. But-and here is the crux of the whole fiasco-the Member who votes to table the McLemore resolution will be in a position to go before his constituents and say that a vote to table was not a vote against, oh my. no! or in favor of warning, oh, no! as the political exigencies of his constituency may dictate. The unstable character of the vote is possibly in keeping with the mobile character of an administration position which possesses an incomparable agility.

In asking for a vote of confidence the President asked Congress to vote blindly, since he did not furnish, and never has furnished, that body with information. Admit that the President should handle the diplomatic relations of our country, but when he asks the Representatives of the people to commit themselves on a matter so important, surely he should not expect them to vote without knowledge and without information.

The firmness which the administration so valiantly parades at this time, is but a part of the belated program which it has displayed and which has subjected our entire foreign relations

to the charge of always being too late.

It was "too late" when a firm stand might have halted the war at its outset. It advertised a policy of nonresistance at a time when to do so invited the very troubles which now beset us. Had it shown the firmness which it now assumes at the outset of the European war, had it locked the barn door before the horse was stolen and not afterwards, our course would have been clear. Europe wants no trouble with us and has wanted none. A firm course would have obviated the difficulty at the outset. Every step made by this administration in its handling of our foreign policy has been an effort to remedy the error which sins of omission or commission had previously invited. On one day the administration devotes itself to scrambling the situation, and the next day is devoted to the pleasant task of unscrambling it.

The present issue of the armed belligerent merchantmen which the President caused to be raised in Congress would probably never have come up had it not been for the communication made by the President through his Secretary of State, Lansing, in which he opened the entire question and apparently assumed the position of the German contention, wherein he said, on January 18, 1916:

The use of submarines, however, has changed these relations. Comparison of the defensive strength of a cruiser and a submarine shows that the latter, relying for protection on its power to submerge, is almost defenseless in point of construction. Even a merchant ship carrying a small-caliber gun would be able to use it effectively for offense against the submarine.

It would therefore appear to be a reasonable and reciprocally just arrangement if it would be agreed by the opposing belligerents that submarines should be caused to adhere strictly to the rules of international law in the matter of stopping and searching merchant vessels, determining their belligerent nationality, and removing the crews and passengers to places of safety before sinking the vessels as prizes of war, and that merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatever.

In proposing this formula as a basis of conditional declarations by the belligerent Government I do so in full conviction that each Government will consider primarily the humane purposes of saving the lives of innocent people rather than the insistance upon doubtful legal rights which may be denied on account of new conditions.

I would be pleased to be informed whether your Government would be willing to make such a declaration, conditioned upon their enemies making a similar declaration.

Almost the next day the administration was "on again, off again," and endeavoring to get out of a ticklish situation by placing the responsibility upon the Members of Congress of its

own party, who, forsooth, were merely expressing opinions in loyalty to his opinions, as set forth by his Secretary of State.

With such a record of ineptness, of instability, of wabbling uncertainty, it is not strange that the administration should hesitate to insist upon the "full and free" discussion which it asked for, for purposes of publicity only, and to put over in the confusion the idea that it was Congress, instead of his own Secretary of State, that was tying his hands, and should prefer that the dehate be confined to the four-hour discussion of the that the debate be confined to the four-hour discussion of the parliamentary method of handling the situation rather than to a discussion of the situation itself,

Standing by the President is a splendid attitude to take; it is the usual and unquestionable attitude for any patriot; but the tabling of the McLemore resolution has nothing to do with

standing by the President.

The country would benefit by the discussion of this resolu-tion upon its merits. Its significance would be complete were the Members privileged to vote on the resolution directly, and I therefore believe it my patriotic duty to cast my influence toward securing them that privilege and vote against tabling the resolution.

The Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN M. MORIN,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 20, 1916.

Mr. MORIN. Mr. Speaker, I am heartily in favor of the amendment offered by Mr. Kahn, of California, to increase the Regular Military Establishment to 220,000. I regret that the amendment does not provide for 250,000 men, which I would gladly support. I agree with Maj. Gen. Wood that we should have an adequate regular force of at least 220,000 men just as soon as possible to record enveraged that the provide in the provide soon as possible to meet emergencies that may arise in the near future, which force might be reduced somewhat in strength, so far as troops within the continental United States is concerned, for the sake of economy. When we have an adequate and well-trained reserve this reduction need not exceed 15 per cent of the full war strength of the regular military organization.

The Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 21, 1916.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following amendments, which will be introduced to the Hay bill.

The executive committee of the National Guard Association of the United States recommends the following amendments to section 23 of House bill 12766, together with the reasons therefor: Amend, on line 22, page 48, by substituting for the period a comma, and adding the following words:

and shall have the status of Federal soldiers, within the meaning of section 8 of Article I of the Constitution of the United States whenever ordered into the service of the United States by the President: Practided, That commissioned officers shall take and subscribe to the following oath of office:

-, county of -STATE OF -

STATE OF _______, county of _______, ss:

I, _________, do hereby solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of the State of _______ against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office of ______ in the National Guard of the United States and of the State of ______ upon which I am about to enter, so help me God.

And provided further, That enlisted men shall take and subscribe to the following oath of enlistment:

I do hereby acknowledge to have voluntarily enlisted this — day of —, 19—, as a soldier in the National Guard of the United States and of the State of —, for the period of three years in active service and three years in the reserve under the conditions prescribed by law unless sooner discharged by proper authority. And I do solemnly swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and to the State of —, and that I will serve them honestly

and faithfully against all their enemies whomsoever, and that I will obey the orders of the President of the United States and of the governor of the State of —, and of the officers appointed over me, according to law and the rules and Articles of War.

Amend, by substituting for the period, on line 16, a colon, and adding the following words:

Provided, That when ordered into the active service of the United States the National Guard shall be taken as organized, by regiments, brigades, divisions, or independent and separate organizations as the guota of each State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, or major fraction thereof, may require, including all regimental, brigade, and division staff officers authorized by law and regulations for corresponding units of the Regular Army.

ARGUMENT.

The proviso recommended above as an amendment to this section is necessary to protect the interests of those men who may qualify under the provisions of this act for the command of authorized units, be they divisions, brigades, regiments. or companies. The justice of this principle has been recognized in all measures concerning the use of the National Guard for Federal purposes that have been submitted for the consideration of Congress in recent years and has been conceded as just and fair by the War Department authorities.

Amend, by substituting a colon for the period at the end of

paragraph 30, and adding the following:

paragraph 30, and adding the following:

Provided, That there shall be appointed in each State an adjutant general, who shall be an officer of the National Guard with rank of brigadier general. The office of the adjutant general shall be the office of record and administration for the militia of each State, except when such militia has been called into the service of the United States. In addition to his duties as prescribed by the laws of such State, such adjutant general shall make such returns and reports to the Secretary of War, at such times and in such form as the latter shall from time to time prescribe. The adjutant general shall be appointed from among officers on the active list of the National Guard of their respective States who shall have had not less than five years' prior service as commissioned officers of the National Guard or in the Regular Army, or both combined: Provided further, That the adjutants general of the Territories and of the District of Columbia shall be appointed by the President with such rank and qualifications as he may deem proper.

ARGUMENT.

ARGUMENT.

In the tentative militia code submitted to the Military Committees of Congress by this committee, the above suggested amendment appeared as section 14.

It has been suggested that the said section 14 was not made a part of the House bill because it was felt that by prescribing qualifications for the adjutants general Congress would in a measure be restricting the field of selection of the governors from which this office may be filled, and that in some States the office of adjutant general has come to be considered as a political rather than a military office. On the other hand, it may be that the House committee was influenced in this matter by a belief that the force authorized to be organized under this act could be more effectively federalized and centrally controlled under a system of administration which would enable the War Department to deal directly with commanding officers of troops rather than through the adjutants general of the several States.

It is the opinion of this committee, however, that neither of these presumptions are sound. Dealing with the first, it will be recalled that the Chief of the Division of Militia Affairs in his testimony before the House committee stated that the successful administration of militia affairs had been seriously interfered with and hampered by lack of uniformity in rank, tenure of office, and the prescribed duties of the adjutants general in the several States and Territories. It has also been established beyond question that efficient military administration has been interfered with by the fact than in many instances political considerations enter into the filling of this office. The fact must not be lost sight of that under existing State constitutions and laws the office of adjutant general is provided for and recognized, and that this officer has important functions to perform, in connection with the administration of military affairs within a State, including the disbursement of funds appropriated by the State legislatures for the support of the National Guard, and that the existing Federal law provides and requires that there shall be an adjutant general in each State. If it is thus established that there must be an adjutant general in each State, obviously great military advantage would result from the exercise of the power of Congress to regulate. as a matter of organization, the rank, tenure of office, and qualifications of those who may be appointed as adjutants general, and this is what is recommended. Thus there may be established such conditions, uniform throughout the whole United States, as will insure the filling of the office of adjutant general within each State by the appointment of a competent person who has had reasonable military training and experience.

The control of the National Guard within a State in time of peace devolves upon the governor, and the mass of detail work involved must necessarily be performed by a subordinate of the governor. Established military procedure and the plan of organization now prescribed for the militia by the United States recognizes the office of adjutant general as the proper State agency for performing this service. In the relations of the War Department with the National Guard there must be a fixed medium of communication not subject to constant change, nor influenced by those changes which occur in individual line officers, their station or rank, and which are incidental to the service. It is plain that the volume of administrative duties devolving upon an adjutant general is such as could not be assumed by a line officer not permanently on duty as a salaried officer of a State.

There should be no misapprehension as to the meaning of the term "administration" as used in the amendment which this committee suggests as being the normal function of the adjutant general. This term will not be confused in military minds with the term "control" or "command," which functions are exercised only by line officers in whom the right to command troops is vested.

Rural Post Roads.

Good roads benefit the capitalist and the laborer, the rich and the poor, the adult and the child.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROYAL C. JOHNSON,

OF SOUTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 25, 1916.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7617) to provide that the Secretary of Agriculture, on behalf of the United States, shall, in certain cases, ald the States in the construction and maintenance of rural post roads.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. Chairman, I had not expected to speak upon this measure appropriating \$25,000,000 for the construction of rural post roads in the United States until I listened to the inspiring and patriotic address of the gentleman from New York, Mr. Hulbert. In his speech he called attention to the fact that some of the opponents of the measure apparently based their opposition on the fact that they represented city districts, which did not receive benefit from the law, and called attention to the fact that no part of this country could receive any help without a corresponding benefit to every other part. He said, "Any man who has lived in the city of New York, who has grown up with its commercial progress and advancement, must look to the East, to the West, to the North, and to the South," and I agree with him that no Member of this body can afford to oppose this measure because it does not directly appear that his district will receive direct benefit, because there is no East, no West, no North, and no South, and any measure which will benefit one section of the country indirectly, benefits every citizen.

I desire, however, to call the gentleman's attention to the fact that, in addition to the indirect benefit to his constituents, which the measure will have, it will have direct effect upon their pocketbooks. Any measure which will tend to lower taxation or to lessen the cost of living financially benefits every citizen, and the lowering of indirect taxes is as much a benefit as the lessening of direct taxes. This measure will tend to lower an indirect commercial tax assessed against his consti-This measure will tend to tuents in the city of New York-the tax of transportation.

It has been estimated that of the total income of the average citizen, from 10 to 25 per cent of it goes to pay for the transportation of food, clothing, and the necessities of life. The first transportation tax is added by the producer. Each middleman adds a proportionate share; and the total is paid by the con-Lower this tax and you help the consumer. Nothing will tend to lower it as will the building of good roads. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WM. ELZA WILLIAMS] stated Saturday that-

Statistics show that it costs 25 cents per ton per mile to transport farm products in the United States; while in continental Europe, where they have good roads, it costs but 8 cents per ton per mile, a loss on account of bad roads of 17 cents per ton per mile.

And the statistics bear out his statement.

The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Britt] stated, in effect, that farm products must be transported over our public roads an average distance of about 9.4 miles before being served up as food for our city population, or to provide raw material for running our factories-and his statement is borne out by the statistics. If the consumer is paying an excess of 17 cents per ton per mile for 9.4 miles for each ton of food products, he is paying 8 cents per hundred pound; more than he would pay if we had a comprehensive system of good roads.

Concretely, then, he is paying about 8 cents per hundred pounds more for wheat flour from the great Northwest than he would pay if the farmer who hauled that wheat could secure good roads over which to haul it, and this 8 cents is paid by the consumer as a part of the cost of production, exactly the same as if it were rail transportation. In other words, the consumer should pay just as much attention to the cost of wagon transportation as he does to railroad rates, because one affects his pocketbook just as much as the other, and the cost of transportation will never be as low as it should be in this country until we have a comprehensive system of good roads.

Mr. DALLINGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DALLINGER. I would like to ask the gentleman if he thinks that this bill now being discussed by the House will give the country a comprehensive system of good roads?

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I do not know; but in my opinion it would be a start toward giving the country a

comprehensive system of good roads.

A slight study of this bill demonstrates the fact that the Committee on Roads have given much of their time to an attempt to devise a fair and equitable scheme of division of the funds appropriated among the different States and Territories, taking into consideration in each State the population, the per cent of population to the total population of the United States, the number of rural free-delivery routes, the aggregate length of such routes in every State, the number of star routes, the aggregate length of star routes, and the per cent of total miles of rural free-delivery and star routes in each State to the total of such routes in the United States.

Under an estimate of the committee, the State of South

Dakota would receive from the Federal Government under this bill the sum of \$337,406 and, although the minority report of the committee objects to the allotment to the States of South Dakota, North Dakota, Colorado, and certain other Western States because of the small population in such States, I am of the opinion that the allotment is fair, taking into consideration the mileage of rural free-delivery routes in such States. It is true that it may be necessary to amend the constitution in some of the States to secure the benefits in this act, but I shall not enter into a discussion of the legal questions involved, as those questions are for the people of each State to determine

and have no part in the deliberations of this body.

I would call attention to the fact, however, that no particular kind of a State highway commission is required and there seems to be nothing in the law to prevent State highway commissions from operating through the county authorities, or through the authorities of any legal subdivision of a State. It is manifest that it would be unwise for the United States to attempt to deal with any unit smaller than a State in the matter of road construction or maintenance. Otherwise the cost of supervision and overhead expense would use up a large proportion of the appropriation. I agree with the committee that, "Roads are local concerns, and primarily, it is the duty of the States to provide them for the people," but the taxes collected by this Government come from all of the people and their expenditure in the aid of good roads assist all of the people.

The Federal Government has reserved to itself the right to conduct the Postal Service, and if rural free deliver routes are to be extended and mail service given to all of the citizens of this country, its cost will be prohibitive, unless the carriers can travel over roads that are at least passible. Good roads are just as necessary as an adequate office force and competent carriers. The United States has been very liberal in its appropriation for harbor improvements and it is more necessary that we have land transportation than water transportation.

Much has been and much will be said concerning the so-called preparedness of this country for war, and it is manifest from temper of the House and Senate that vast appropriations will be made for an increase in the Navy, an increase in the Regular Army, and an increase of the reserve or National Guard.

The present war in Europe has demonstrated the fact that the transportation of soldiers, arms, and munitions of war is one of the big problems to be solved and battles are won or lost, depending on facilities of transportation. Both France and Germany have for many years expended vast sums of money in building military roads and as a consequence have been able

of the sum needed for national defense in building roads that will be of military value and the sum so expended will not only be of benefit in time of war, but of equal value in time of peace. This is more than can be said of any other funds for the support of the Army or Navy.

Vast sums of money are being expended in the United States for the education of our children. It is impossible to build a schoolhouse in every section of the land and pupils can not attend educational institutions unless some arrangement is made for their transportation, and good roads are just as necessary

as good schools.

The only valid objection that I can see to this legislation is the present depleted condition of the National Treasury and the fact that the money that is now being raised to run this Government is being procured through odious stamp taxes. I should not vote for the measure, if I did not feel sure that the people of this country will retire the administration that depends for its revenue upon stamp taxes instead of a fair tariff measure, but this condition will soon be in the hands of the people themselves and they can again decide in what manner they wish to raise revenue, whether it shall be the Republican policy of protection or the Democratic policy of stamp taxes.

In conclusion I will say that this measure ought to receive the vote of every Member of this House and it will receive the votes of a vast majority of the Members. It is fair, just, and equitable, benefits alike the rich and the poor, the capitalist and the laboring man. It will help the farmer move his grain to market and assist the child in his attempt to get an educa-

tion. [Applause.]

To Repeal Free-Sugar Provisions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MAHLON M. GARLAND, OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Friday, March 17, 1916.

Mr. GARLAND. Mr. Speaker, the bill now before the House to amend the Underwood tariff bill in order that the reduction arranged in said tariff bill making sugar free may be stayed and not take effect in order that the depleted Treasury, caused by a Democratic administration in the enforcement of their theories and fallacies, may be helped a little against the wreck and ruin of a lowered tariff. While this measure is introduced by the leader of the majority party in this House, Mr. KITCHIN, yet it is a Republican measure, being for a protective tariff on

Mr. FORDNEY, of Michigan, gave to this House to-day a most splendid and thorough history of the growth of the sugar industry and the revenues that have accrued therefrom to the United States under a protective tariff that it has ever been my fortune to either hear or read, and in addition thereto he has charged, proven, and defied contradiction to the effect that the so-called Sugar Trust, represented by one Frank E, Lowery, had written into the Democratic campaign textbook of 1912 the chapter on "The Farmers' Sugar Bowl," and yet, Mr. Speaker, only a few evenings ago, when the Democrats in this House met in caucus in this room, Mr. Keating, of Colorado, is reported to have held aloft that same textbook and with all the reverence of a believing Democrat demanded to know from his assembled partyites whether this bill would not be sacrilege to the gospel There were but 14 other party conscious present who joined with him in protest, the reason thereof being that they needed cash. To-day the floor leader of the majority in this House did not presume to answer the truths established on the sugar industry in this country by Mr. FORDNEY and other Republicans under a protective tariff, but has proceeded to try to establish by newspaper clippings, boom-town boosting publications, that the Underwood tariff had been beneficial to the The reading of these articles being received with country. applause on that side of the House, we are constrained to the belief that they accept these clippings as sufficient evidence, notwithstanding the known fact that depression and distress brought on in any community by mistakes of a fleeting administration is minimized by the newspapers in order that when the cloud has passed the real facts as they existed may not be a future detriment to their part of the country. But, Mr. Speaker, that does not alter the truth that the fact that the majority party presents this tariff bill by necessity to-day which the Republicans will unanimously support is evidence to the counto move their troops with great rapidity. The United States would do well to follow their example; to expend a large part and distrust in Democratic rule.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARTER GLASS, OF VIRGINIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. Speaker, there has been, as I think, so much confusion of thought and expression as to what is precisely the issue which the House must determine to-day that I feel a little disposed to avail of the general leave to print in order that I may exactly state my own conception of the question and indicate unmistakably to my colleagues and to my constituents the meaning of the vote which I presently shall give. It is a pity that on a great matter like this, fraught with consequences, it may be of the gravest nature, no more time has been appointed for discussion than would enable some score of Members to rise in their places and hurriedly adjure us to "stand by the President," or, if of contrary mind, needlessly to depict the folly of risking war with a foreign country merely to assert the abstract right of "some fool Americans to joy ride on the seas." To such a plane of disputation have we this day reduced our consideration of an issue that holds for us, as for other nations of the earth, the very profoundest import!

WHY THE QUESTION IS HERE.

It repeatedly has been said that this question should not have been brought to the House, and in this view I readily concur. But most of those who thus affirm at the same time bitterly impute to the President of the United States responsibility for the presence here of this vexatious matter. From this opinion I flatly dissent. It is not true in point of fact, no matter how ingenious a guise the assertion may assume in its distinctly technical aspect. What, briefly, is the history of this agitation? The executive department of the Federal Government was

patiently pursuing diplomatic negotiations with a European nation concerning an intolerable disregard by the latter of the rights of American citizens on the high seas. The demand of this Government, involving in a very practical sense the charge of maritime murder, was for disavowal of the crime, reparation for the lives taken and assurances against a repetition of the With a caution that provoked the taunts of the truculent; with a courage that excited the apprehensions of the timid; with an undeviating frankness and firmness that commanded the respect of foreign nations, as they confirmed the faith of millions of his own countrymen, the President had for 18 months applied himself to the task of preserving the peace without impairing the honor of the Republic.

A PROPOSED USURPATION.

The negotiations were proceeding in a way that gave promise of speedy adjustment, when suddenly resolutions were presented here and elsewhere proposing, as I construe them, an astounding usurpation by Congress of the diplomatic functions of the President of the United States! I do not omit to note that, by some gentlemen, this interpretation of the resolutions is contested; but nobody can fairly contradict the assertion that the well-nigh universal opinion of the country, as expressed by the press of every shade, was that these resolutions betrayed a lack of confidence in the residue to the re of confidence in the pacific purpose of the President and comprised a plain intent to vitiate, as far as such a legislative explosion could, the consistent effort of this Government to maintain the incontestable rights of its citizens.

That is not all. That, indeed, is the least of it. These reso-

lutions might not have been seriously regarded as anything more than the mental exhaust of a few Members of the House had not the newspapers of the country been filled immediately with a circumstantial, and apparently authentic, story to the effect that the resolutions were warmly approved by the titular leaders here and reflected the overwhelming sentiment of the Moreover, it was represented that the leaders and Members were in open outbreak against the diplomatic methods of the President; impatient with his "obstinate insistence upon the doubtful, and, at least, technical rights of American citiens," and proposed to block forthwith his fixed purpose to plunge this country into war." Only a quick and sharp legislative rebuke, it was averred, could save the situation!

That was the printed story, wired from ocean to ocean, from Lakes to Gulf, and cabled abroad. And, Mr. Speaker, it was not a wicked invention. The publication was neither malevo-

Capitol. Is there any occasion, then, for astonishment that the President should have been concerned, as well as amazed, at this extraordinary disclosure? Was it to be assumed that he would, in the circumstances, regard with indifference this threatened legislative interposition—this impertinent and agitated seizure of the diplomatic reins of government by those certainly ignorant of the facts and, as now appears, utterly disdainful of constitutional sanctions and usages

THE PRESIDENT AGAINST CONGRESSIONAL ACTION.

The President did not fail to take notice. In a perfectly gnified, though pungent, way he protested. But he did not dignified, though pungent, way he protested. But he did not get excited. He did not even get defiant, albeit it is not difficult to imagine how a man of spirit might have gotten indignant. Nevertheless, he seems to have courteously, if not precipitately, assented to an interview with gentlemen who deemed it important that the President should be straightway apprised of the serious nature and formidable extent of the insurrection here against his conduct of foreign affairs. We are told that at that parley the President was duly advised as to the gravity of the situation; how ardent the House was to register its disapproval and how hard it would be to restrain and hold the protestants The President, we likewise are told, resolutely remonstrated against this prodigious blunder of attempting, at a critical moment, to fetter the Executive in his effort to vindicate the indubitable rights of American citizens by the usual processes of diplomatic representations. The President desired no interference by Congress. He urged the suppression of the resolution and of the outbreak to which it gave expression; and to this end was promised the cooperation of the leaders.

And now, Mr. Speaker, we have to-day the sequel to this extraordinary eruption. Members with a greater bent for satire than for the truth have twitted the President with vacillation and derided him for inconsistency. The whole excuse for the imputation is that "one day he protested action by Congress and the very next day demanded action by Congress." Very conveniently gentlemen put out of view the thing that intervened. They mutilate the episode to justify their raillery. suppress a pregnant part of the incident for the sake of a bitter quip. All the world knows what happened between the one day and the other; hence all the world knows why the President protested action by Congress one day and demanded action the next day. There is not a semblance of inconsistency in his attitude-not the shadow of anything whimsical about it.

PRESIDENT THREATENED WITH HUMILIATION.

After the conference at the White House it was, with apparent warrant, sent broadcast that the President had been told by Members of Congress high in authority that the House was eager to vote on this question; that, given a chance, it would vote two to one—perhaps three to one—for these intrusive resolutions to warn American citizens off the seas and to abandon them as fair prey to the barbarities of submarine warfare! The state of mind in this body toward the President and his diplomatic policy was portrayed as that of impatient condescension—a sort of momentary toleration, in imminent danger of changing to openly expressed hostility. We know that these outgivings were instantly dispatched to foreign chancelleries as accurately reflecting American public opinion. We know that they created abroad the triumphant belief that a breach at last had been made in the political situation in this country which might be turned to good account by the party of merciless and indiscriminate destruction over there. We know, in short, that this whole wretched incident practically blocked negotia-tions and threatened with humiliating failure the President's supreme effort to maintain the honor of the Nation by asserting the rights of its citizens. Through resolutions of its Members and by proclamation of its leaders Congress had practically challenged the position of the President and brought negotiations to an ominous pause.

That is why this matter is before the House. It is here because the President accepted your challenge to the bar of public opinion. You know—the American people know-Woodrow Wilson stands; now the President wants the American people to know where the Congress stands.

DEFENDING AN IMMUTABLE PRINCIPLE.

The issue has been utterly misstated here by the critics of the President and by some who are not his critics. It is not a mere question of "standing by the President." It is something of infinitely greater dignity, of vastly more consequence than that. It is a question of vindicating human rights which, for the moment, with half of mankind at war, are peculiarly American rights. It is not a question of protecting "a few fool Americans" who recklessly jeopardize the peace of their coun-try to experience a thrill on the ocean. It is a question of delent nor without excuse, for that was exactly the talk in the try to experience a thrill on the ocean. It is a question of decloakrooms, in the lobbies, and along the corridors of the fending an immutable principle which, within the last year

alone, held the fate of 400,000 human souls, transported across the seas. We are distinctly not asked simply to justify the President. He stands serenely on his constitutional rights and unliesitatingly avows his position to all the nations of the earth. Nor is the President a suppliant before this body for an empty vote of confidence. He has declined to be a party to any such petty travesty. He has impatiently put aside the suggestion whenever or by whomsoever made. Nothing of a nature so obsequious as that is presented here nor will anything of that kind meet the issue which really is presented here. The fact is, Members of Congress challenged the purposes and authority of the President and we now are counterchallenged to maintain the supremacy of law over the practices of piracy; to assert the cherished rights of civilization against the incursions of oceanic barbarism; to execute, if we dare, the threatened capitulation of Congress to the atrocious idea that international honor is a fantasy and moral obligation a dream.

NULLIPICATION BY LEGISLATIVE FUROR.

And gentlemen can not confuse the question here as was done in another place. They can neither make a mockery of representative accountability nor a farce of so critical a problem. They can not by parliamentary expedient shift the issue. At the very outset of discussion to-day it was made plain to those who had professed an anxiety to checkmate the President by warning American citizens off the seas that adoption by the House of the "previous question" and the rule would preclude nmendment. It repeatedly was pointed out to them by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Campbell] and others that a vote 'previous question," or the rule itself, was a vote to confine the issue to the identical resolution which had been taken to reflect the opposition in the House to the President's undeviating purpose to maintain the very rights which Congress was represented as eager to surrender. Thus no Member has been recorded under a misconception of the practical effect of his action. With a clear understanding the House voted-256 to 160-to order the previous question on the rule. Likewise the House, by a vote of 270 to 137, has adopted the rule itself; and we are, by a parliamentary process, of which no Member may profess ignorance, brought face to face with the question as to whether or not it is true, as represented to the President and cabled abroad, that the Congress of the United States stands ready to withdraw the protection of this Government to citizens of the United States who may choose to exercise the rights which international law and usage, for the whole period of our existence, have assured them; whether Congress is so restless to make this cowardly and humiliating surrender that it will resort to the amazing experiment of trying by legislative furor to nullify the diplomatic achievements of the President of the United States in maintaining the conceded rights of neutral nations against the unscrupulous aggressions of belligerent powers.

ISSUE CAN NOT BE DODGED.

That is the plain issue. It can not be dodged; it can not be evaded; it can not be obscured. Neither adulation nor defama-tion of the President will avail. I know perfectly well what my two recorded votes to-day have meant and precisely what my next vote will signify. I know, as every other Member of the House must know, that the plain parliamentary intent of laying a proposition on the table is to kill it-kill it without hesitation or mental reservation; to bury it without ceremony or tears. That is why I shall vote to table the McLemore resolution. I want the people of Virginia to know that I oppose any surrender, actually or implicitly, of any vital American right merely to propitiate a war-mad foreign nation, which already has strewn the seas with the dead bodies of helpless American victims. I want them to know that I have no absolution for such a crime; that I stand for full reparation and ample security, and am utterly opposed to the suggested interference of Congress with the diplomatic functions of the President. want them to know that I should despise myself for a vote cast here to warn American citizens that they must travel the free waters of the globe in merchant ships at their own peril, without their country's protection. I want them to know that I would tear to tatters my commission as a Member of the House of Representatives could I imagine that the people of the sixth Virginia district would have me do a thing so repugnant to my sense of national honor and so at variance with my conception of national self-respect.

EXPOSITION OF THE LAW.

The suggestion that the neutral rights which the President has sought to maintain and which Congress is asked to yield are of a doubtful nature needs little serious attention. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Temple] has dealt lucidly and convincingly with that phase of the dispute. His accurate recital of the facts, reinforced by a temperate but incontestable

exposition of the law, puts the case beyond the realm of conjecture. Rhetoric nor verbal froth can obscure the truth so well defined. Vociferation on so grave a problem seems like profanation contrasted with the frigid logic which the gentleman from Pennsylvania applied to the question. The rights of neutral persons and their noncontraband property are inviolate except by breach of international law or by exercise of savage propensities interdicted and abhorred by civilization.

LANSING MADE NO "CONCESSION."

Ah, but gentlemen say, Lansing "conceded" that the right of merchant vessels to defensive armament is of "exceedingly doubtful legality" and confessed the "reasonableness of Germany's contention" that altered circumstances necessitate a modification of maritime usage. Do not let us lose our direction in any such oral fog. The plea is strictly specious. The quickest and surest answer to it is, that Lansing's opinion does not constitute international law nor can his ethical beliefs change the law. No doctrine ever has been more positively asserted by the textbook writers nor more certainly accepted by civilized nations than that international law is not a moral philosophy, but a code of historical facts generally incorporated into the usages of States. International law is not ideal, it is real. It may be morally good or morally bad; in either case it is the law, and nothing that the Secretary of State for the United States might think or say, however cogent or exalted, could change the law one jot or tittle without the general assent of other nations.

Another answer to the proposition is that Mr. Lansing has made no "concession" whatsoever to any contending power on the point at issue. He simply underfook to state to the allied powers the extreme contention of the central powers with respect to merchant ships carrying armament and to indicate the potential concurrence of his Government in the Teutonic view. He did this in compliance with a previously expressed willingness to bring about, if possible, a modus vivendi in submarine warfare between the belligerent nations. Right or wrong, this was done with a view to constraining the allied powers to acquiesce in the proposition totally to disarm merchantmen.

THE CASE PROVES ITSELF.

The memorandum was not addressed to the central powers nor intended to be seen by them. It was a private memorandum. But the vital fact that a memorandum of the tenor indicated was written at all furnishes conclusive proof that there existed at the time it was written a universally recognized maritime usage, constituting international law, which the Teutons insisted on changing and to which suggested alteration Lansing was asking the assent of the allied powers. Indeed, the very text of the Lansing memorandum itself reveals a definite knowledge of the fact that, regardless of his own opinion upon the ethics of the case, there could be no change of the fixed rules of international law respecting the stopping and searching of merchant vessels or regarding the right of such craft to carry defensive armament except "it could be agreed by the opposing belliger-Mr. Lansing may have presented the matter skillfully or unhappily, as one may please to view it; but the inexorable fact remains that international law sanctions the use of defensive armament for merchant ships, and the Secretary of State for the United States, whether speaking for himself or for the President or for the Republic, had no more right, as I think he had no more desire, to yield this point to Germany, except by common consent, than he had to change the law of seizure and blockade to suit the convenience of Great Britain. He is bound to have known that capitulation in either or any other event would bring about chaos and expose neutral nations to a state of outlawry on the seas. It not only is plainly evident that Lansing knew this when he wrote the memorandum in question, but equally manifest that the President had no other view when he sanctioned the dispatch. This is confirmed by Senator STONE'S letter of February 24 reciting his own understanding of the President's attitude as consistently stated to him:

the President's attitude as consistently stated to him:

That while you would deeply regret the rejection by Great Britain of Mr. Lansing's proposal for the disarmament of merchant vessels of the allies, with the understanding that Germany and her allies would not fire upon a merchant ship if she hauled to when summoned, not attempting to escape, and that the German warships would only exercise the admitted right of visitation and capture, and would not destroy the captured ship except in chromatances that reasonably assured the safety of passengers and crew, you were of the opinion that if Great Britain and her allies rejected the proposal and insisted upon arming her merchant ships, she would be within her right under international law.

law.

Also that you would feel disposed to allow armed vessels to be cleared from our ports. Also that you are not favorably disposed to the idea of this Government taking any definite steps toward preventing American citizens from embarking upon armed merchant vessels. Furthermore, that you would consider it your duty if a German warship should fire upon an armed merchant vessel of the enemy upon which American citizens were passengers to hold Germany to strict account.

The reply to Senator Stone accentuates the fact that the President has never wavered for an instant in his fixed determination not to yield the rights of American citizens on the seas or withdraw the protection of this Government. He said:

seas or withdraw the protection of this Government. He said:

No nation, no group of nations, has the right while war is in progress to alter or disregard the principles which all nations have agreed upon in mitigation of the horrors and sufferings of war, and if the clear rights of American citizens should ever unhappily be abridged or denied by any such action we should, it seems to me, have in honor no choice as to what our own course should be.

For my own part I can not consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. The honor and self-respect of the Nation are involved. We covet peace, and shall preserve it at any cost but the loss of honor. To forbid our people to exercise their rights for fear we might be called upon to vindicate them would be a deep humiliation, indeed. It would be an implicit, all but an explicit, acquiescence in the violation of the rights of mankind everywhere and of whatever nation or allegiance. It would be a deliberate abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesmen, even amidst the turmoil of war. for the law and the right. It would make everything this Government has attempted and everything it has achieved during this terrible struggle of nations meaningless and futile.

RIGHTS OF MERCHANT SHIPS.

RIGHTS OF MERCHANT SHIPS.

Aside from all this, Mr. Speaker, a glance at the diplomatic record reveals clearly the uncompromising attitude of this Government on the question in point. Specifically and incidentally, over and over again, deftly and bluntly, the Secretary of State now in charge, as well as his predecessor, asserted and maintained the rights of defensively armed merchantmen. Within six weeks after the war in Europe began on September 19, 1914, Mr. Bryan not only reasserted the right of merchant ships to defensive armament but actually published rules defining the exact nature and extent of armament which a vessel might carry and still be treated in our ports as a merchantman. These rules, already quoted in part by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, prescribed that—

Pennsylvania, prescribed that—

1 A merchant vessel of belligerent nationality may carry an armament and ammunition for the sole purpose of defense without acquiring the character of a ship of war.

2. Evidence necessary to establish the fact that the armament is solely for defense and will not be used offensively * * must be presented in each case independently at an official investigation.

3. The caliber of the guns carried does not exceed 6 inches.

4 No guns are mounted on the forward part of the vessel.

5. The vessel is manned by its usual crew and the officers are the same as those on board before war was declared.

When the German Government protested this action on October 15 following, Mr. Lansing, Acting Secretary of State, suavely retorted on November 7, 1914, by saying:

The practice of a majority of nations and the consensus of opinion by the leading authorities on international law, including many German writers, support the proposition that merchant vessels may arm for defense without losing their private character, and that they may employ such armament against hostile attack without contravening the principles of international law.

This was but a repetition of the doctrine proclaimed by Chief Justice Marshall in the Nereide case of 1815, reaffirmed by the Supreme Court decision of 1818 in the case of the British ship Atalanta, and strictly adhered to in all judicial determinations from that time to the present; and, in pursuance of this accepted doctrine, the United States Government repeatedly thereafter gave clearance and is to-day giving clearances to defensively armed merchant vessels of belligerent nations. Few things have been more steadfastly established in international jurisprudence than the status of merchant vessels defensively armed. It has been fixed both by the court decisions and the naval codes of this and other countries; and, as I have said. not only was the principle specifically reasserted by this Government after the outbreak of war, but every incidental allusion made to the subject in our diplomatic correspondence confirms the view that I have presented. In Germany's note touching the Lusitania it was contended that the vessel was an auxiliary cruiser, and, upon perjured testimony, it was held that the Lusitania "had guns on board, which were mounted under decks and masked." Brushing aside this and other unsubstantiated allegations, Mr. Lansing, Secretary of State ad interim, reminded the Imperial German Government that among the recognized duties of a neutral power, which this Government had strictly performed, was "its duty to see to it that the Lusitania was not armed for offensive action." Mark you, "not armed for offensive action"-a plain implication that the Lusitania was or might have been lawfully armed for defensive action. And almost instantly Mr. Lansing further asserted that, thus defensively armed, only the vessel's "actual resistance to capture or refusal to stop when ordered to do so for the purpose of visit could have afforded the commander of the submarine any justification for so much as putting the lives of those on board the ship in jeopardy." In this identical note Lansing also "understands the Imperial German Government to accept as established beyond question the principle that the lives of noncombatants can not lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unresisting merchantman." Indeed, he points to the pregnant fact that the Imperial German Government itself so thoroughly understood and completely accepted this requirement of its own naval code that on August 3, 1914, the Imperial German Admiralty specifically instructed its commanders at sea accordingly.

SOME AMERICAN WARNINGS

On these points this Government has never yielded an inch to any belligerent nation. It has stood from the first, as it should stand to the last, for the humane doctrine of "warning and search." I do not mean the doctrine proposed by our I do not mean the doctrine proposed by our pacifists of warning American citizens off the seas. That is even unique with Mr. Bryan. When that gentleman presided over the State Department of this Government he not only issued no warning himself but sharply rebuked the Imperial German Government for "the surprising irregularity" of its Washington embassy in presuming to warn citizens of the United States against their "right of free travel upon the seas." Mr. Bryan reminded Von Jagow that—

American citizens act within their indisputable rights in taking their ships and in traveling wherever their legitimate business calls them upon the high seas, and exercise these rights in what should be the well-justified confidence that their lives will not be endangered by acts done in clear violation of universally acknowledged international obligations, and certainly in the confidence that their own Government will sustain them in the exercise of their rights.

And yet, Mr. Speaker, it is not only proposed that the Congress of the United States shall imitate the malapert example of the Imperial German embassy in warning citizens of the United States off the seas; but it is proposed that we shall gracelessly renounce the duty of their "own Government to sustain them in the exercise of their rights." Mr. Bryan, when Secretary of State, pointed out to the Imperial German Government "that no warning that an unlawful and inhumane act will be committed can possibly be accepted as an excuse or palliation for that act or as an abatement of the responsibility for its commission." But this House is now asked not only to excuse and palliate crimes against humanity but practically to incite a foreign nation to the perpetration of such crimes, Mr. Bryan warned the Imperial German Government not to "expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment." Likewise Mr. Lansing warned the Imperial German Government that the Government of the United States would vindicate the rights of its citizens "from whatever quarter violated, without compromise and at any cost." He supplemented this warning by the significant statement that "repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of those rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly." Yet, with phrases like these ringing in our ears, resonant with fine sentiment and high resolve, we are asked abjectly to disavow the admonition which they convey and, lost to shame, decry the memory of our Lusitania dead! Shall this House to-day proclaim to the world what Dumba is said to have been told in a corner, that the Government of the United States did not exactly mean what it said?

REVERSAL OF NATIONAL POLICY.

How unique, how incredibly singular, is the suggested reversal of national policy! I wonder that all gentlemen do not realize what it means. I marvel that some here appear not to perceive to what a state of debasing impotence it would reduce The proposition is to alter the tenor and to change the direction of American warnings. Instead of aiming them at submarine depredations, such a tender regard has manifested itself for this sinister method of killing innocent people that we are placidly invited to abandon the humanities of naval combat in order to embrace the miscreancy of the newer dispensation. We are literally admonished that we will adhere to the tenets of honorable warfare only at the risk of being ourselves unable consistently to practice hereafter the villainy which the President ventures now to condemn. No longer must we hold the culprit responsible for transgressing the elementary principles of international law; the criminal must go acquit, and the helpless victims of his ferocity, denounced here to-day as fools and traitors for confiding in the purpose and power of their Government to protect them-these must bear the blame and, unavenged, suffer the consequences of their trust!

In this humiliating way and to this amazing extent, Mr. Speaker, despite the thrilling words of the President and in contravention of every note dispatched by the Secretary of State, it is proposed that Congress shall "forbid our people to exercise their rights for fear we might be called upon to vindicate them." And with what fascinating complaisance is the reason for this shameful change of nautical usage presented. "When the occasion for a thing ceases the thing itself should no longer exist" is the axiom employed; and the determination

of the first point of this convenient doctrine having by God been committed to the Grand Admiral of the German Navy, the enforcement of the ensuing point by the same high functionary proceeds inevitably as a vicarious exercise of divine right. And thus the path is cleared for the benignant activities of the undersea Sneak. Simple enough, to be sure. But strangely in conflict with the very precise utterances and uncompromising attitude of the Government of the United States, as well as of all other civilized Governments, except those of the central European powers. Not once, but at various times, this Govern-ment has explicitly declined to subordinate the immemorial rights of peaceful merchant vessels to the sinister provess of newly invented warcraft. This was notably done in the dis-patch to Germany on the Lusitania tragedy, in which Lansing

The Government of the United States is not unmindful of the extraordinary conditions created by this war or of the radical alterations of circumstance and method of attack produced by the use of instrumentalities of naval warfare which the nations of the world can not have had in view when the existing rules of international law were formulated, and it is ready to make every reasonable allowance for these novel and unexpected aspects of war at sea; but it can not consent to abate any essential or fundamental right of its people because of a mere aiteration of circumstance. The rights of neutrals in time of war are based upon principle, not upon expediency, and the principles are immutable. It is the duty and obligation of belligerents to find a way to adapt the new circumstance to them.

THE "SIMPLÉ WARNING."

That, of course, is the true position; that is the doctrine of the textbooks; that, until now, the unchallenged naval code of the world, based upon usage and confirmed by every juridical decision ever rendered on the subject of maritime warfare. It is the thing for which the President stands and for trying to vindicate which Congress is asked to override him. In my judgment, Congress will do nothing of the kind. In my belief there is not now nor has there ever been any foundation for the astounding assertion that this House is eager to warn citizens of the United States against the exercise of their "indisputable right to take their ships and to travel wherever their legitimate business calls them on the high seas." Some gentlemen favor a "simple warning," unaccompanied by any surrender of technical rights; but, Mr. Speaker, aside from the usclessness, the emptiness, of such a thing, we could not disengage the intimation from the factthey are, in the circumstances, inseparable; they are indistinguishable. Any sort of warning would convey the idea of concession, would be tantamount to yielding, would cover us with odium and excite against us the just indignation of the American people. God save us from the degradation and from the universal execration involved in it!

A FALSE ANALOGY.

I can not appreciate the attitude of gentlemen who appear to discover an analogy between the warning proposed here and the warning issued by the Department of State to citizens of the United States in the bandit-infested territory of Mexico. Here we have an issue between organized Governments; here we have in question the assumption of one responsible Government to justify its own unlawful practices against the citizens of another Government, even to the extent of murdering them on the open seas. In the other case it was merely a matter of warning citizens of the United States against the dangers of intermittent brigandage on alien territory, where there was no organized or responsible government to protect their lives or property. In the one case the offense was by and against a nation; in the other by and against individuals. which can not discern the difference is simply hopeless. He who can not perceive, and makes the argument, is shallow; he who knows better, and makes it, is-worse. In any event it is a sad tribute to the intellectual integrity or sanity of any man who either affects or fails to see no distinction in fact or in principle between the cases cited.

AN APPRECIATION OF PEACE.

Mr. Speaker, every one of us in authority here is for peace. The whole Congress is for peace. The President of the United States for many months, by night and by day, has kept a vigit for peace. Both on this continent and in the other hemisphere he has fervently pursued this end. With enduring patience, with amazing skill, oblivious to all things else, he has passionately sought, by every conceivable means, to keep this country out of the maelstrom of war. Neither taunt nor threat has out of the maelstrom of war. Neither taunt nor threat has shaken his purpose or diverted him from his course. But there are some things better than life, as there are other things worse than death. This human body, bereft of the soul which reveals the image of God, is but a whited sepulcher; and so a nation with its righteous spirit quenched is as a tossing derelict of the sea. We are asked to do a thing to-day that would waste, indeed would palsy, every worthy aspiration of our national existence and shame us through the remaining years. Warn Warn

American citizens from the seas! Of course, the President will 'Twere to abandon, as he so finely said, the "very essence of the things which have made America a sovereign nation"; yea, and to approvingly celebrate the never-to-be-forgotten day when a thousand innocent human beings, victims of maritime stealth and atrocity, were suddenly plunged into the cold embrace of the fathomless deep. Why, sir, their very spirits would ride upon the waves to mock our battle craft from the oceans. Their outraged memory in some fateful form would cling to our ships avengingly and cast derision in the faces of our sailors in every port of the civilized earth.

AN APPEAL TO HONOR.

And like unto the proposal to discredit the Nation is the pathetic, perfervid talk about desolating American homes and distressing American mothers by sacrificing their sons to the god of war. The nearest approach to war which this country has recently made, Mr. Speaker, was when Members of Congress sought to impede the President's plans for maintaining an honorable peace. The surest prelude to intolerable affront from one direction is the manifestation of a cowardly submission from the other; and unless it be conceived that no injury, however great, no insult, however grlevous, could provoke this Nation to resentment, the course proposed by meddling resolutions was most certain to invite aggression and ultimately to precipitate war. And there are some things worse than war. Virginia has homes which might be desolated and mothers who might be distressed and sons who might be sacrificed. But I pray God that the mothers and sons of Virginia who live appreciate their heritage from those who, "being dead, yet speaketh." Two of Virginia's boys are my own-stalwart, manly fellows, for either of whom I would die a thousand times-and I would have them hear me say, without a tremor, in the spirit which I hope animates their hearts, that I would rather be pursued through time and eternity by the pitiful apparition of their shattered forms than to see my country dishonored and its flag hauled down in disgrace.

I shall vote to lay this resolution on the table.

Free Sugar.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BEN JOHNSON, OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 16, 1916.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, recently the House had under consideration what has come to be known as the war-tax act. That act was to have expired on the 31st day of December last. The proposition which was before the House recently was to extend that act instead of letting it expire on the 31st day of December. All the Republicans, with possibly one or two exceptions, and many Democrats of the House voted against extending that act. At that time I made some remarks undertaking to show that the act should be extended. In those remarks I showed that under the war-tax act no necessity of life was taxed, and that, in consequence, it was a good tax.

I adhere to the position that the luxuries of life should be taxed and that the necessities of life should go untaxed. In those remarks I cited the luxuries that were taxed therein, such as champagne, wine, beer, tollet articles, perfumery, beauty lotions, wrinkle removers, and things like that, and at that time I challenged anybody to point out one item in that act which taxed any necessity of life. Nobody at that time nor since has been able to point to a single article necessary to the life of man

which is taxed by that act.

At this time the proposition is to continue the tax on sugar. Under the provisions of the Underwood Tariff Act the tax was to be taken off of sugar on the 1st day of next May. It is now claimed, and that claim is true, that the Government needs more money. But it is not true that it is best to have the tax remain on sugar after May 1, as I hope to demonstrate.

Some people insist that sugar is not one of the necessities of

life. I contend that it is.

At one time man was able to live without window glass. With the first appearance of window glass it was regarded as a luxury. Everybody now concedes that it is a necessity. At one time man lived without a hat. With the first appearance of hats they were treated as luxuries. Everybody now concedes that a hat is a necessary article of wearing apparel. At one time man lived without having any sweet at all. The aboriginal man in every land found a sweet. The aboriginal man in America—the Indian—dug up the root of the maple or sugar tree, broke it off and let the water from the root run into some sort of receptacle. He then reduced that sweet water either by the process of boiling or freezing until it was reduced to a thin sirup. Later along the American made good maple sugar and maple sirup. The very old persons in Kentucky recall that they once had what was called "long sweetnin" and "short sweetnin". The "long sweetnin'" was molasses and the "short sweetnin'" was sugar. By and by the sugarcane industry was so developed that sugar could be bought at every little store.

At this time sugar has become so extensively used in the United States that the average per capita consumption of it is about 80 pounds per annum. In other words, the yearly portion of sugar for each man, woman, and child in the United States is about 80 pounds. This fact testifies to its general use. By the use of sugar numerous articles are made so palatable and wholesome that they can be used for the support of human life, while without it these same articles would be useless and would go to waste.

For these and many other reasons that I could give I assert that sugar is a necessity, and because it is a necessity that it should not be taxed.

I fully agree with practically everybody in this House and in the land that on account of the great European war our revenues have constantly fallen off and that now we must raise money for the support of the Government from sources which at the time of the passage of the Underwood bill were considered unnecessary. While I admit that the Government needs and must have more money than it is now getting, I deny the soundness of the proposition that that money should be gathered from the sugar-eating people of the United States. When I deny that this money should be gathered from a tax on sugar I am asked how we are to get along without the money. My answer is that we can not get along without the amount of money which it is now proposed to raise by taxing sugar. But I insist that sugar should go untaxed, and that either some luxury of life which now goes untaxed should be added to the taxable list or that some luxury of life which is being taxed but which can bear a greater tax should have that greater tax imposed upon it and thus relieve sugar of taxation altogether. Then I am asked to name some article of luxury that can bear a greater tax, so as to make up the amount which it is now proposed to raise by taxing sugar.

Beer is one of the very first items of this class to which my mind turns. If the alcohol in beer were taxed at the same rate that the alcohol in straight whisky is taxed, that of itself would bring to the Federal Government much more money than it is now proposed to raise by taxing sugar.

For the purpose of taxing whisky the Government has created the standard of 100 proof. Whisky at 100 proof is only half alcohol, the other half being made up of water, fusel oil, and various ethers and acids in small quantities. To put it more practically, straight whisky at 100 proof is 50 per cent alcohol and 50 per cent water, the quantity of fusel oil, ethers, and so forth, being small in comparison to the alcohol and water.

Straight whisky at 100 proof is now taxed at the rate of \$1.10 per gallon. The per cent of alcohol in beer ranges from 2 per cent to 9 per cent. The 2 per cent beer is called "next-to-beer," and its sale is permitted in some prohibition sections. The beer that is sold over the counter of the usual saloon averages 5 or 6 per cent alcohol, while the alcohol of all kinds of beer—high proof and low proof—averages about 4 per cent. Therefore, I shall treat beer as being 4 per cent alcohol in order to be certain that my figures may not be too large.

The records of the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue show that last year the brewers of the United States turned out 59.746,701 barrels of beer, each barrel containing 31 gallons. If pure whisky, which is only 50 per cent alcohol, pays a tax of \$1.10 per gallon, then beer, which is 4 per cent alcohol, if taxed upon the same basis, would pay a tax of \$8.8 cents per gallon. The tax on 31 gallons in each barrel at 8.8 cents per gallon would amount to nearly \$2.73 a barrel. When the number of barrels which were turned out by the brewers last year is multiplied by the tax of \$2.728 per barrel the result is \$162.989,000.

Under the Republican tariff bill, better known as the Payne-Aldrich bill, the tax on beer was only \$1 per barrel instead of \$2.73. Under the war-fax act, which was recently extended, the tax on beer was increased to \$1.50 a barrel, so that last year the tax on the 50.746.701 barrels of beer which were made by the brewers amounted to \$89,620,051. Therefore under the war-

tax act the tax on beer amounts annually—the annual consumption being the same—to nearly \$30,000,000 more than it amounted to under the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act.

If the alcohol in beer should now be made to pay the same rate of tax that the alcohol in straight whisky is made to pay, then we would gather \$73,368,949 more than is now being gathered from beer under the concessions which have been made to the brewers.

Insisting, as I do, that sugar is a necessity and that beer is a luxury, I also insist that it would be far more equitable to collect the needed revenue from beer rather than from sugar.

The advocates of the sugar tax claim that if the tax is left on sugar it will bring an annual income of \$44,154,187; whereas, if they would tax the alcohol in beer just as they tax the alcohol in straight whisky, they would get annually \$29,214,762 more than they will get by taxing sugar.

In my judgment it is indefensible to tax sugar in the light of this fact. The least that can be said about it is that it is a concession to the brewers; and, at the same time, a discrimination against a hundred million men, women, and children in the United States who eat sugar.

There is also a concession which for generations has been made in favor of another class of merchandise which, in my opinion, should never have been made and which should not now exist,

The additional concession of which I speak results in a discrimination in favor of the tax on adulterated whisky as against straight whisky or pure whisky. If adulterated whisky were taxed just as straight whisky is taxed, that would bring the Government an increased revenue of nearly \$15,000,000 every year.

As I have said before, straight whisky at 100 proof is 50 per cent alcohol and 50 per cent water. When the 50 per cent alcohol and 50 per cent water are considered together they make a gallon of whisky, on which the tax is \$1.10. It is therefore a positive, certain, clear fact that the water in straight whisky is taxed, while, upon the other hand, the water in adulterated whisky is not taxed.

I can not see either wisdom or justice in taxing the water in straight whisky and at the same time permitting the water in adulterated whisky to go untaxed. If any discrimination whatever is to be indulged in, certainly it seems to me that that discrimination should be in favor of the pure article rather than in favor of the adulterated one.

By straight or pure whisky I mean that product which goes upon the market just as it came from the tail of the worm at the distillery, plus the aging period—nothing added, nothing subtracted. By adulterated whisky I mean that which is made of commercial alcohol and water, with coloring matter and bead oil added to give it the appearance of whisky, with just enough whisky also added to make the compound smell like whisky.

As I have said, straight whisky at 100 proof or less bears

As I have said, straight whisky at 100 proof or less bears a tax of \$1.10 a gallon, whereas adulterated whisky at 85 proof—that being the average proof of adulterated whisky—bears a tax of about 93½ cents a gallon. Therefore the tax on a gallon of adulterated whisky at 85 proof is 16½ cents less than the tax on a gallon of straight or pure whisky at 100 proof or less.

Last year the adulteraters of whisky put 90,858,331 gallons of their product on the market. That many gallons, when multiplied by 16½ cents, the difference between the tax on adulterated whisky and the tax on straight whisky, show a loss of \$14,991,624 to the Government, and amounts to a concession of that much to the adulteraters.

Without enumerating others of the great number of luxuries which are either not taxed at all or are not taxed sufficiently, we find that beer and adulterated whisky, if taxed like straight whisky is taxed, would bring an additional annual revenue of \$88,360,573; whereas the advocates of the sugar tax admit that the tax on sugar will bring a revenue of only one-half that amount.

For the life of me I can not understand why these concessions are made to the brewers and the adulteraters of whisky, thus discriminating against the manufacturer of pure whisky and, at the same time, necessitating a tax on sugar to make up half of the amount so generously conceded to the brewer and the adulterater of whisky.

brewer and the adulterater of whisky.

Again, I wish to invite attention to the fact that before the adoption of the war-tax act the tax on beer was \$1 a barrel, and that the war-tax act increased it to \$1.50 a barrel, and that when the question came to extending that act, which contained the increased tax of 50 cents a barrel, every Republican Member of the House voted against it. In other words, every Republican Member of the House thereby voted in favor of having a

dollar tax on beer instead of a tax of a dollar and a half. Now, on the proposition to keep a tax on sugar, every Republican in the House is favoring the tax on sugar instead of taxing beer and adulterated whisky just as pure whisky is taxed.

For half a century the Republican Party has refused to tax beer and adulterated whisky to the same extent that straight or pure whisky is taxed. Instead, during all that time, they have preferred to tax the necessities of man from the cradle to the And only a few weeks ago the members of that party in this House to a man voted against the continuance of the If their votes had prevailed, the result would have been to still further lessen the tax on beer and at the same time to make champagne, perfumery, beauty lotions, and alleged wrinkle removers free of all taxation, and thus compel an additional amount of revenue to be raised by taxing the necessities

No matter how many may vote to retain the tax on sugar, I shall derive much gratification in after years from being able to say that I voted to leave sugar free of tax to the men, women, and children of this country, and preferred to raise the necessary

revenue by taxing the luxuries of life.

There is scarcely a man, woman, or child in the United States who does not, in one form or another, use sugar; while, upon the other hand, there are millions of our people who do not use either beer or whisky or beauty lotions or wrinkle removers. Why these millions should have their sugar taxed in order to suffer beer, adulterated whisky, and other luxuries to escape with less taxation is beyond my comprehension.

The manufacturer of pure whisky pays a tax of approximately \$3 more on each barrel of his product than the manufacturer of

adulterated whisky pays on each barrel of his product.

Neither can I understand why the manufacturer of pure whisky is discriminated against for the benefit of the adulterator of whisky.

As I have said, I could go further and continue to find articles which, in my judgment, could be more justly taxed than sugar. I believe, however, that the two items of beer and adulterated whisky suffice to make good my contention that they should be looked to for revenue before taxing sugar or any other necessity of life.

The Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LUIS M. RIVERA,

OF PORTO RICO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 21, 1916,

On the bill (H. R. 12766, sec. 12) making provision for an increase in the organization of the Porto Rico regiment of Infantry.

Mr. RIVERA. Mr. Speaker, in this great question of preparedness, directly affecting my country, I wish to take the only position corresponding to a son of my country, a Porto Rican in the Congress of the United States of America.

You are for the interests of your Nation first, after that for the highest ideals of humanity, engaged in a lively discussion about the more efficient way to put yourselves in readiness for every future struggle, for every possible complication.

And you do not forget that the insular forces can be and

must be increased. At present we have there in the little island two battalions. They are our soldiers, so brilliant, so valiant, and resolute as to invite comparison with other brilliant, valiant, and resolute corps of the United States Army.

In support of the arguments made for the increase of the Porto Rico regiment to the same strength as other regiments of the Regular Army, the following facts must be considered:

First. Its strategic position making Porto Rico the advanced base for the protection of the Panama Canal, it is unsafe not

to provide for the necessary safe-keeping of the island.

Second. The development of the commerce and industries of an island like Porto Rico, with 1,200,000 inhabitants and worth \$180,000,000 a year, entitle it to more than the protection it receives from the scanty 559 men composing the Porto Rico

regiment of Infantry.

Third. Since 1912 the Chief of Staff of the Army has advocated making the Porto Rico regiment a three-battalion organization and its maintenance at "a minimum strength of at least 100 men per company.

Fourth. The Chief of Staff further says in the report quoted above:

I am of the opinion that a battalion of Mounted Artillery should be organized in Porto Rico.

Fifth. The Porto Rico regiment has never had any trouble in keeping its ranks full, and the island has plenty of men to organize at least a war strength of Infantry brigade-three regi-

If Congress should authorize, at the same time the third battalion is organized, to fill up the regiment to war strength, the Porto Rico regiment would have about 1,900 men, for the maintenance of which the United States would approximately expend \$1,500,000 a year, not including the cost of new buildings, furniture, arms, equipments, clothing, food, and animals; money for

which things would also be spent in the island.

All organizations serving in the Philippine Islands are recruited to war strength before leaving the United States. this way the Federal Government makes a great saving, because by sending the regiment recruited to war strength, 1,900 men, one cadre of officers-the 51 officers to each regiment-are used to command three times as many men as they would otherwise; when in order to have the same number of men they now keep in the islands the United States would have to send to them almost three times as many regiments as are now sent.

As an illustration of the convenience to the United States of giving Porto Rico more participation in preparedness, I beg to submit that just before the European war, and in order to meet the increase in the German Army, France extended the military service to all her possessions, and these have answered in the

way shown during the war.

It is current opinion in the island "that the regiment is the best thing done for Porto Rico." The physical development, dis-cipline, and hygienic principles inculcated in the men who enlisted in the regiment, says the Insular Chamber of Commerce, of San Juan-

is of so much benefit to them and they are so much better prepared to enter the industrial, agricultural, and commercial fields that former soldiers are given the preference above any other competitors for positions outside. It is a fact that, for instance, 80 per cent of the insular police is made up of former soldiers.

Mr. Anthony, the gentleman from Kansas, said on the floor of this House, after making a trip to Porto Rico and inspecting the regiment:

The Porto Rico regiment is one of the finest in our Army. Its officers, both American and Porto Rican, are a splendid lot of men, the equals of others of their rank in other branches of the service and as deserving of the same privileges and opportunities for promotion.

It is advisable to complete the regiment, and it is fair to give the officers the same standing which all other American officers enjoy. You can be assured, Mr. Speaker, that these Latin soldiers, if necessity arises, will emulate the tranquil valor, the bold intrepidity of the Anglo-Saxon soldiers of this hemisphere. Rest assured that they will defend, with no care for the sacrifice of their own lives, the rights and the flag of this Nation, for they well know your splendid history, for they realize that in maintaining the supremacy of your national character and influence they maintain the principles of modern freedom and modern civilization.

You have heard, and if not you hear it now from my lips, that we long for our beloved independence. But we have never sought to obtain such blessing through a rebellion against your sovereignty, but through a vote of this Congress, the singular and unique parliamentary body in the world, capable of attracting to its shelter insular peoples, as Cuba and the Philippines, not to exploit them, but to convert them into free and independent peoples in whose hearts love and gratitude toward

the United States will never die.

We are absolutely certain that some day the United States will do justice to the sentiments of Porto Rico. We do not entertain the least doubt that, in a not very remote time, the United Sates will become convinced that Porto Rico deserves to be a small and peaceful republic, a model republic among her sisters, the agitated and constantly convulsed South American Republics. But even after that day, the military forces of Porto Rico will be a body willingly cooperating to guarantee the Panama Canal and to protect the American frontier against foreign invaders

Without any hesitation, I vouch for the loyalty of the Porto-Rican troops. The privates are honest countrymen, educated under the old customs of the "Cavalleria rusticana"; the officers are magnificent boys, belonging to the more distinguished families, speaking your language easily and identified with your enterprising temperament. When in contests of skill, they have won many medals for marksmanship and general efficiency, and they are anxious to fight for an American cause, which can not be other than a cause of honor and liberty.

And not only for that reason are they anxious to fight, but the Porto Ricans are aware that somebody has questioned their military fitness, their valiancy, their eagerness to unsheath the sword. They, in the eighteenth century, repulsed many attacks from the buccaneers, from the British and the French Navies; from the buccaneers, from the British and the French Navies; they, in the nineteenth century, went to help the Cubans to gain, in the battle field, their nationality. They freely expended their blood for the sake of their brothers. But, on account of the smallness of the country, the Porto Ricans were never able to expend their blood as a sacred tribute to their own land. Now they want to demonstrate that there is in the forests of Porto Rico good timber out of which to make heroes. I know, and I proudly proclaim, that they will be heroes following and defending the Star-Spangled Banner.

The Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN N. TILLMAN, OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 21, 1916.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Gard], and in connection with this amendment I ask leave to print in the RECORD the following letter written by President Futrall, of the University of Arkansas:

MARCH 15, 1916.

Hon. Jno. N. Tillman,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: It is understood that when H. R. 12766 comes up for debate in the House of Representatives Mr. Gard, of Ohio, will introduce his bill, H. R. 10845, as a substitute for section 18 of the bill. Section 18 is the one making provision for 30 cadet companies. H. R. 10845 is the bill indorsed by agricultural colleges and State universities and is favored by the administrative council of the University of Arkenses.

versities and is favored by the administrative council of the University of Arkansas.

I may say further that this bill of Mr. Gard's embodies and, so far as I know, is very generally indorsed by them. Your support of Mr. Gard's effort to make his bill a part of H. R. 12766 will be much appreciated if you can consistently give it.

Yours, very truly,

J. C. FUTRALL.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE R. SMITH.

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 7, 1916.

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, it is not my purpose to enter upon a general discussion of the McLemore resolution warning or requesting American citizens to refrain at this time from traveling on armed belligerent vessels, but to set forth the facts and circumstances that influenced the House of Representatives to take the action it did on this resolution, so that the public can better judge as to whether the final disposition of this matter by Congress was wise or not.

In the note of January 18, 1916, addressed to all the foreign

powers, Secretary Lansing set forth the position of the United States on the question of submarines and armed merchant

vessels, as follows:

* * I do not feet that a beligerent should be deprived of the proper use of submarines in the invasion of commerce, since those instruments of war have proved their effectiveness in this practical branch of warfare on the high seas.

Prior to the year 1915 belligerent operations against enemy commerce on the high seas had been conducted with cruisers carrying heavy armaments. In these conditions international law appeared to permit a merchant vessel to carry armament for defensive purposes without lessening its character as a private merchant vessel. This right seems to have been predicated on the superior defensive strength of ships of war, and the limitation of armament to have been dependent on the fact that it could not be used effectively in offensive against enemy naval vessels, while it could defend the merchantmen against the generally inferior armament of piratical ships and privateers.

POWERLESS IN DEFENSE.

The use of the submarine, however, has changed these relations. Comparison of the defensive strength of a cruiser and a submarine shows that the latter, relying for protection on its power to submerge,

is almost defenseless in point of construction. Even a merchant ship carrying, a small-caliber gun would be able to use it effectively for offense against the submarine.

Moreover, pirates and sea rovers have been swept from the main trade channels of the sea and privateering has been abolished. Consequently the placing of guns on merchantmen at the present date of submarine warfare can be explained only on the ground of a purpose to render merchantmen superior in force to submarines and to prevent warning and visit and search by them. Any armament, therefore, on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an offensive armament

a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an obtensive armament

If a submarine is required to stop and search a merchant vessel on the high seas, and in case it is found that she is of an enemy character and that conditions necessitate her destruction and the removal to a place of safety of persons on board, it would not seem just nor reasonable that the submarine should be compelled, while complying with these requirements, to expose itself to almost certain destruction by the guns on board the merchant vessel.

INNOCENT LIVES AT STAKE.

It would therefore appear to be a reasonable and reciprocally just arrangement if it could be agreed by the opposing belligerents that submarines should be caused to adhere strictly to the rules of international law in the matter of stopping and searching merchant vessels, determining their belligerent nationality, and removing the crews and passengers to places of safety before sinking the vessels as prizes of war, and that merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatsoever.

In proposing this formula as a basis of conditional declaration by the belligerent Government I do so in the full conviction that each Government will consider primarily the humane purposes of saving the lives of innocent people rather than the insistence upon doubtful legal rights which may be denied on account of new conditions.

STAND ON QUESTIONS SOUGHT.

I would be pleased to be informed whether your Government would be willing to make such a declaration conditioned upon their enemies making a similar declaration.

I should add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

This suggestion of Secretary Lansing is in harmony with the facts and common sense. The objection to it is that it proposes a change in international law during the progress of the war. The suggestions of the Government of the United States, as set

The suggestions of the Government of the United States, as set forth in Secretary Lansing's note were promptly agreed to by Germany and rejected by England.

On February 15, 1916, in Carnegie Hall, New York City, ex-Senator Root made a merciless assault on the Wilson administration. Mr. Root attempted to show by briefly relating the history of the Wilson policy toward Mexico how the President first failed to protect American life and property beyond the Rio Grande and then interfered without warrant in Mexican states the transposition of the semiptric before a state of the semiptric states and the semiptric states are semiptric to the semiptric states. by taking sides against Huerta, so that to-day no flag is so dis-honored and no citizenship worth the claiming in Mexico as

Mr. Root also pointed out what he claimed to be three fundamental errors in the administration's policy toward Europe:

First, the lack of foresight to make timely provision for backing up American diplomacy by actual or assured military and naval force. Secondly, the forfeiture of the world's respect for our assertion of rights by pursuing the policy of making threats and failing to make them good. Thirdly, a loss of the moral forces of the civilized world through failure to interpret truly to the world the spirit of the American democracy in its attitude toward the terrible events which accompanied the early stages of the war.

THE PRESIDENT'S HANDLING OF THE U-BOAT ISSUE IS SEVERELY CRITICIZED.

Our Government undertook one year ago to prevent the destruction of American life by submarine attack, and now that the attempt has failed and our citizens are long since dead and * * * there is small advantage in discussing whether we shall or shall not have an admission that it was unlawful to kill them. * * * Measured and restrained expression, backed to the full by serious purpose, is strong and respected. Extreme and belligerent expression, unsupported by resolution, is weak and without effect. No man should draw a pistol who dares not shoot. The Government that shakes its first and its finger afterwards falls into contempt. Our diplomacy has lost its authority and influence because we have been brave in words and irresolute in action. Men may say that the words of our diplomationotes were justified; men may say that our inaction was justified, but no man can say that both our words and our inaction were wise and creditable.

After thus resugrection the sinking of the Australiance of th

After thus resurrecting the sinking of the Lusitania and bringing to the minds of the American people all the horrors of that incident, as though it had happened yesterday, Mr. Root proceeded to open up the Belgian violation sore in this fashion:

The American people were entitled not merely to feel but to speak concerning the wrong done to Belgium.

The law protecting Belgium which was violated was our law and the law of every other civilized country.

We had a right to be neutral and we were neutral as to the quarrel between Germany and France, but when, as an incident to the prosecu-tion of that quarrel, Germany broke the law which we were entitled to have preserved, and which she had agreed with us to preserve, we were entitled to be heard in the assertion of our national right.

The pro-ally and partisan press, as well as the press owned or controlled by our militaristic friends and munition makers, pronounced the Root speech an utterance combining the vision of true statesmanship, the virility of stern patriotism, the convincing force of cold logic, pointing out the utter failure of the Wilson administration in the handling of foreign affairs.

The temptation to throw the public into a state of excitement and to arouse their prejudices and passions was too great for a heartless press to resist, so it resurrected scenes of the invasion of Belgium and the sinking of the Lusitania, much to the discomfort and disadvantage of the Wilson administration.

Associations calling themselves Citizens' League for "America and the Allies" had been formed in the East. Prof. Josiah Royce, of Harvard University, a member of one of these associations, in an address delivered in Fremont Temple, Boston, Sunday, January 30, 1916, said things that not only reflected the views of his association but, I' am sorry to say, of some other citizens in this country. Among other things of like character, Prof. Royce said:

Character, Frot. Royce said:

We owe to the allies whatever moral support and financial assistance it is in the power of this Nation to give; it is not merely the so-called American right that our munition makers should be free to sell to the enemies of Germany—it is our duty to encourage them to do so. Let us enthusiastically approve the supplying the enemies of Germany with financial aid and minitions of war and resist with all our moral strength those who would place an embargo on munitions.

Let us do what we can to bring about at least a rupture of diplomatic relations between our own Republic and those foes of mankind (Germany) and fearlessly await whatever dangers this may entail upon us, our land, and posterity.

This league is formed to use all lawful means to put this Nation in a position of definite sympathy with the allies.

The only construction that can be placed on Prof. Royce's words is that until we are ready to plunge into war in support of the allies we should continue our shipment of war supplies to them. What an exhibition of neutrality for a professor in our most ancient and most renowned university! And, again, there appeared the other day in the New York Journal of Commerce, one of Wall Street's publications, this article:

If the present submarine controversy should result in war with Germany, what would be the chief effects upon the United States outside of military and naval activities?

And it answers:

And it answers:

A second general readjustment of business affairs to a new situation, less violent than in 1914.

Some temporary deraugement in the security markets.

Extensive bond issues, which would tend to lessen foreign borrowings on this side.

A larger home demand for war munitions, which would probably interfere with foreign orders.

The German ships now interned in this country might be commandeered as transports or to relieve the freight situation.

Taking the situation at large, war with Germany could not be a very serious matter to the United States, "and if it hastened peace would be distinctly beneficial."

This last expression has been quite freely used of late by some

distinguished citizens.

With the press mercilessly assaulting him and the people blindly following its lead and that of Mr. Root, Prof. Royce, and his associates and sympathizers, the President deemed it the better part of valor to get out from between the trenches where he had thus thrust himself and his country when he caused Secretary Lansing to send to the belligerent nations the now famous note of January 18, but just how this could be done without loss of honor and credit to himself, and possibly the Presidency, was a most perplexing question. He feared and dreaded the criticism made upon his foreign policy by Mr. Root, the pro-British press, and the partisan press. Something had to be done to turn the tide. Root had sounded the keynote for the Republican national campaign against the President This note was rapidly finding a responsive chord in the minds of the American people. The situation was desperate and demanded prompt and heroic action. Meanwhile, the German Government not only notified the President of its acceptance of the suggestions of the Lansing note, but that on and after March 1, 1916, it would treat armed merchant vessels 'auxiliary cruisers.

This brought the U-boat controversy again to the front. Senators Kern and Stone and Representative Flood sought an interview with the President on February 21 to talk over the situation. As a consequence of this interview, Senator Stone,

on February 24, wrote the President as follows:

on February 24, wrote the President as follows:

Dear Me. President: Since Senator Kers, Mr. Flood, and I talked with you on Monday evening, I am more troubled than I have been for many a day. I have not felt authorized to repeat our conversation, but I have attempted, in response to numerous inquiries from my colleagues, to state to them, within the confidence that they should observe, my general understanding of your attitude. I have stated my understanding of your attitude to be substantially as follows:

That while you would deeply regret the rejection by Great Britain of Mr. Lansing's proposal for the disarmament of merchant vessels of the allies with the understanding that Germany and her allies would not fire upon a merchant ship if she hauled to when summoned, not attempting to escape, and that the German warships would only exercise the admitted right of visitation and capture, and would not destroy the captured ship except in ciscumstances that reasonably assured the safety of passengers and crew, you were of the opinion that if Great Britain and

her allies rejected the proposal and insisted upon arming her merchant ships she would be within her right under international law. Also that you would feel disposed to allow armed vessels to be cleared from our ports; also that you are not favorably disposed to the idea of this Government taking any definite steps toward preventing American citizens. from embarking upon armed merchant vessels.

Furthermore, that you would consider it your duty, if a German warship should fire upon an armed merchant vessel of the enemy upon which American citizens were passengers, to hold Germany to strict account.

Furthermore, that you would consider it your duty, if a German warship should fire upon an armed merchant vessel of the enemy upon which American citizens were passengers, to hold Germany to strict account.

Numerous Members of the Senate and the House have called to discuss this subject with me. I have felt that the Members of the two Houses who are to deal with this grave question were entitled to know the situation we are confronting as I understand it to be.

I think I should say to vou that the Members of both Houses feel deeply concerned and disturbed by what they read and hear. I have heard of some talk to the effect that some are saying that, after all, it may be possible that the program of preparedness, so called, has some relation to such a situation as we are now called upon to meet.

I have counseled all who have talked with me to keep cool; that this whole business is still the subject of diplomacy and that you are striving to the utmost to bring about some peaceable adjustment, and that in the meantime Congress should be careful not to "ball up" a diplomatic situation by any kind or hasty and ill-considered action. However, the situation by any kind or hasty and ill-considered action. However, the situation in Congress is such as to excite a sense of deep concern in the minds of careful and thoughtful men. I have felt that it is due to you to say this much.

I think you understand my personal attitude with respect to this subject. As much and as deeply as I would hate to radically disagree with you, I find it difficult from my sense of duty and responsibility to consent to plunge this Nation into the vortex of this world war because of the unreasonable obstinacy of any of the powers, upon the one hand, or, on the other hand, of foothardiness, amounting to a sort of moral treason against the R-public, of our people recklessly risking their lives on armed belligerent ships. I can not escape the conviction that such would be so monstrous as to be indefensible.

I want to be with you and to stand by

After the attitude of the President on the U-boat controversy became known to Great Britain through the publication of the Stone letter, there would be no advantage to Great Britain in accepting the proposals of the United States, moreover, on the contrary, it would be to her material advantage not to accept them. In his letter of reply to Senator STONE the President confirmed all that Senator STONE had said as to the administration's undersea warfare views. The President's letter in full is as fol-

FEBRUARY 24, 1916. MY DEAR SENATOR: I very warmly appreciate your kind and frank letter of to-day, and feel that it calls for an equally frank reply.

You are right in assuming that I shall do everything in my power to keep the United States out of war. I think the country will feel no uneasiness about my course in that respect.

Through many anxious months I have striven for that object, amidst difficulties more manifold than can have been apparent upon the surface, and so far I have succeeded. I do not doubt that I shall continue to succeed

to succeed

to succeed

The course which the central European powers have announced their intention of following in the future with regard to undersea warfare seems for the moment to threaten insuperable obstacles, but its apparent meaning is so manifestly inconsistent with explicit assurances recently given us by these powers, with regard to their treatment of merchant vessels on the high seas, that I must believe that explanations will presently ensue which will put a different aspect upon it.

We have had no reason to question their good faith or their fidelity to their promises in the past, and I, for one, feel confident that we shall have none in the future.

But in any event our duty is clear. No nation, no group of nations, has the right while war is in progress to alter or disregard the principles which all nations have agreed upon in mitigation of the horrors and sufferings of war; and if the clear rights of American citizens should ever unhappily be abridged or denied by any such action, we should, it seems to me, have in honor no choice as to what our own course should be

For my own part, I can not consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. The honor and self-respect of the Nation is involved. We covet peace and shall preserve it at any cost but the loss of honor.

To forbid our people to exercise their rights for fear we might be called upon to vindicate them would be a deep humiliation indeed. It would be an implicit, all but an explicit, acquiescence in the violation of the rights of mankind everywhere and of whatever nation or allegiance. It would be a deliberate abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesman, even amid the turmoil of war, for the law and the right.

It would make everything this Government has attempted and everything that it has achieved during this terrible struggle of the content of the right.

If would make everything this Government has attempted and everything that it has achieved during this terrible struggle of nations meaningless and futile.

FEARS MORE CONCESSIONS.

FEARS MORE CONCESSIONS,

It is important to reflect that if in this instance we allowed expediency to take the place of principle the door would inevitably be opened to still further concessions.

Once accept a single abatement of right and many other humiliations would certainly follow, and the whole fine fabric of international law might crumble under our hands, piece by piece. What we are contending for in this matter is of the very essence of the things that have made America a sovereign Nation. She can not yield them without

conceding her own impotency as a Nation and making virtual surrender of her independent position among the nations of the world.

I am speaking, my dear Senator, in deep solemnity, without heat, with a clear consciousness of the high responsibilities of my office, and as your sincere and devoted friend. If we should unhappily differ, we shall differ as friends; but where issues so momentous as these are involved we must, just because we are friends, speak our minds without reservation.

reservation, Faithfully, yours, WOODROW WILSON.

The President's letter set forth very clearly principles of international law with which we all agree, and expresses in a most pleasing manner the hopes, ideals, and desires of every true American citizen. I fully agree with him that should the clear right of American citizens be abridged or denied by any of the belligerent nations we should have in honor no choice as to what our course should be. My life is at the service of my country to prevent any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. Neither as a Nation nor as an individual should we covet peace at the loss of "honor" "respect." However, there may come a time when our rig However, there may come a time when our rights as a Nation or as a citizen are not "clear" and easily ascertainable.

I am not so sure that I have under the law of nations a "clear" right to travel upon a merchantman of a belligerent country armed with powerful guns in the hands of trained naval officers bearing secret instructions to attack U boats on sight, supplemented by instructions to the masters of such ships to hoist false flags and ram U boats. Under circumstances where my right is not clear, but is doubtful, what is the prudent thing

for me to do?

Germany claims that British merchant vessels are armed and instructed to fight, and that masters of ships are instructed to hoist false flags and ram U boats, and has submitted to our Government evidence to that effect. Great Britain asserts that merchantmen are armed solely for defense, but she has not controverted the evidence furnished by Germany. The dispute is over facts, not over law. There being doubt as to the facts, it is obviously the duty of American citizens to forego traveling upon vessels of doubtful character or intentions. It is likewise the duty of the Government to inform its citizens of the danger, and to request them to refrain from doing anything that would complicate the situation until their "clear rights" can be ascer-Our Government would be placed in a dangerous and humiliating position if it should protest against the killing of American citizens on an armed British merchantman only to find that the vessel had been heavily armed with guns manned by a trained naval crew, and had made war upon the enemy. Until we know the true character of the British merchant vessels the United States and its citizens are in serious danger of being drawn into this horrible conflagration of death and destruction that is so ruthlessly decimating the flower of European manhood. Why should our Government deliberately insist on thrusting itself into a position where it may be called upon to defend a very "doubtful" legal right?

Prior to the Root speech and the subsequent unwarranted assault made upon the President by a mercenary and partisan press he was advocating that all guns be taken from merchantmen, and in this connection the note of his Secretary of State

said:

I should add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be "an auxiliary cruiser" and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

Germany, looking eagerly for an opportunity to damage her enemies, seized upon the American proposal as an indorsement of her own contention and immediately announced that, beginning March 1, her submarines would sink without warning and regardless of passengers all armed enemy merchant vessels "as auxiliary cruisers." The position of the President was untenable, because his declaration would make it impossible to demand reparation for the killing of American citizens on armed merchantmen, whether armed for defensive or offensive purposes or whether or not their commanders had secret instructions to hoist false flags and ram U boats. There was only one course open to him, and that was to reverse himself. He did this most completely in his letter of February 24 to Senator Stone, in which he said:

I can not consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. The honor and self-respect of the Nation is involved. We covet peace and shall preserve it at any cost but the loss of honor.

In these strong, patriotic words the President has voiced my sentiments and has clearly expressed the position every true American citizen should take in reference to this controversy. I am proud to be able to testify that my colleagues, with the exception of a very few who are in sympathy with Prof. Royce's school of thought, since the beginning of this deplorable European war,

have committed themselves absolutely to the policy of "neutrality even in thought." They have studiously refrained from even exercising their constitutional right to discuss the policy of our Government in reference to this subject lest they might embarrass in the slightest degree our President in his negotiations with belligerent powers.

Mr. Speaker, in my own case, on the day of the sinking of the Lusitania, when I thought my words would help still the agitation and excitement of our people and thus be of assistance to

my President, I gave to the press this statement:

I consider the present the greatest crisis that has arisen in the history of the United States, and in this crisis it is imperative that we bear ourselves with calmness, dignity, and loyalty to our Government. We must uphold our President in the policies he outlines and initiates, irrespective of personal opinions. To do otherwise would be an act of disloyalty. He alone can represent the policy, the honor, and the dignity of the United States in our foreign affairs. He is our representative, and the only one authorized to speak for us as a Nation. Therefore it is incumbent upon us to uphold him in whatever course he, in his judgment, sees fit to pursue. In a time like this, when there has been such a wholesale substitution of unrestrained will for international law, good citizenship demands that every individual dedicate himself without mental reservation to the support and protection of our Nation. I am confident that every American citizen will rally to the support of America and American ideals, as they have on all previous occasions.

From that day until this I have religiously lived up to the sentiments expressed in that statement and I propose to do so

in the future, whether in public or private life.

While the President's new position was highly patriotic, and as an abstract proposition was sound, it by no means clarified the situation as to "doubtful" rights of American citizens. Λ large majority of the Members of Congress-and I include myself among that number-believe that Americans should forego their right to travel on armed vessels until it has been determined whether or not such a vessel is "an auxiliary And such was the position taken by the President cruiser." himself prior to the Root speech, as evidenced by a logical de-

velopment of the policy outlined in the Lansing note. On February 17, 1916, Representative McLemore, of Texas, introduced a resolution having for its central idea the warning of American citizens not to take passage upon armed merchant vessels of belligerent nations. This resolution was generally approved by the American people. Considerable feeling existed among the Members of Congress of the President's own party on account of his sudden change of front. The section of the press that had been hurling bitter invectives at the President since the Root speech seized upon this opportunity to foment strife between the President and the Members of Congress. Headlines appeared, such as "War between Wilson and Congress," "Congress in revolt," and so forth.

This gave the President's advisers a cue. They insisted that his political salvation depended upon making Congress the cen-By so doing he would divert the enemies' fire ter of attack.

from himself.

By this time the press reported that he was in desperate straits and had about concluded to withdraw as a candidate for reelection.

The President opened his campaign against Congress on February 29 by writing Representative Pou, ranking member of the Committee on Rules, this letter:

WILSON TO FOU-THE LETTER THAT SUSPRISED ALL.

THE WHITE HOUSE, Washington, February 29, 1916.

Washington, February 29, 1916.

My Dear Ma, Pou: Inasmuch as I learn that Mr. Henry, the chairman of the Committee on Rules, is absent in Texas, I take the liberty of calling your attention, as ranking member of the committee, to a matter of grave concern to the country which can, I believe, be handled, under the rules of the House, only by that committee.

The report that there are divided counsels in Congress in regard to the foreign policy of the Government is being made industrious use of in foreign capitals. I believe that report to be false, but so long as it is anywhere credited it can not fail to do the greatest harm and expose the country to the most serious risks. I therefore feel justified in asking that your committee will permit me to urge an early vote upon the resolutions with regard to travel on armed merchantmen which have recently been so much talked about in order that there may be afforded an immediate opportunity for full public discussion and action upon them and that all doubts and conjectures may be swept away and our foreign relations once more cleared of damaging misunderstandings.

The matter is of so grave importance and lies so clearly within the field of Executive initiative that I venture to hope that your committee will not think that I am taking unwarranted liberty in making this suggestion as to the business of the House, and I very carnestly commend it to their immediate attention.

Cordially and sincerely, yours.

Woodbow Wilson.

After the contents of the Pou letter became known word was sent to the President by his supporters that an agreement had been reached to drop the warning resolution and to pass a general resolution of "confidence" in the President. He rejected this suggestion at once, and demanded that the Congressmen eat their words by calling up the McLemore resolution and tabling it. This was a complete reversal of his position prior to February 29, for he had previously informed the Foreign Affairs Committee not to report out the McLenore resolution.

In obedience to the President's subsequent request, the Foreign Affairs Committee reported out the McLemore resolution, accompanied by the following recommendation:

That House resolution 147, known as the McLemore resolution, be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do lie on the table. Under the practice and precedents in this country the conduct of diplomatic negotiations has been left to the President, and with this practice the committee does not feel it proper for the House of Representives to interfere. We have confidence that if the President reaches a point in any negotiations with foreign Governments at which he has exhausted his power in the premises, he will in the usual way report all facts and circumstances to Congress for its consideration.

By the action of the committee the McLemore resolution was laid on the table as effectively as though it had been done by a vote of the House. However, it was not laid on the table in the precise manner that the President had demanded, and had to be taken from the table and tabled again by the House for the satisfaction of the President and to the great benefit, satisfaction, and pleasure of that section of the press that had been heaping coals upon the head of our President. But like the sinner of old, who "went to church to scoff, but came away to pray," these self-same purveyors of news and molders of public opinion that had been so relentlessly criticizing the President before his war upon Congress were now, as had been predicted by his advisers, proclaiming him a martyr to the cause of free institutions; the brayest and most heroic President that ever occupied the White House; the embodiment of patriotism and self-denial.

So the ridiculous, absurd, and wholly unnecessary and selfinvited controversy between the Capitol of our Nation and the White House was not to end by the committee placing the offending resolution in the legislative tomb. Apparently the President's campaign had not been sufficiently advertised. Therefore it was further demanded that the House take from the table this resolution and immediately, without debate or discussion, return it to this selfsame table. The excuse offered for further continuing the agony was that the President desired a vote of the House upon the resolution in order that there might be full public discussion and action. On what? Why, of course, on the matter of citizens of the United States traveling on armed merchantmen. Was that done? Was an opportunity for full public discussion and action given? No. What was done? parliamentary situation was deliberately created to avoid discussing and voting on the very question the President said he wished fully discussed and acted upon. This was brought about by forcing the Committee on Rules to bring in a special rule to gag the House. At the command of the President, the House hog tied itself by adopting the following rule:

House resolution 158.

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall proceed to consideration of H. Res. 147; that there shall be four hours of general debate, one-half to be controlled by the gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Flood, and one-half by the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. Coopen; that at the conclusion of said general debate the said resolution shall be considered under the general rules of the House

To those unfamiliar with parliamentary procedure the words "shall be considered under the general rules of the House" are misleading, for a motion to lay on the table was in order as soon as the four-hour debate closed, and all opportunity for amendment or further discussion was foreclosed. Representative Campbell, the ranking minority member of the Rules Committee, pleaded with the House to vote down the previous question on the rule so that he might have an opportunity to offer the following as a substitute, which simply warned American citizens of the danger of taking passage on armed ships of nations at war:

Strike out all after the word "debate" where it last occurs and in-

Strike out all after the word "debate" where it last occurs and insert the following:

"The resolution and preamble shall both be open to amendment with the following amendment considered as pending, to wit:

"Strike out both the preamble and the resolution and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"Resolved. That in the opinion of the House of Representatives citizens of the United States under existing conditions and irrespective of their legal rights ought to refrain from taking passage on armed vessels of belligerent nations, and the consideration of the resolution and amendments thereto shall proceed under the five-minute rule to a final vote on its passage."

Under the Campbell substitute rule amendments could have been offered, and full discussion, "so explicitly demanded by the President" in his letter to Congressman Pou, prevented, however, by his managers through a parliamentary situation created for that express purpose, could likewise have been had. The attitude of Members of the House that disagree with the

supporters of the President as to the proper mode of procedure

was ably and succinctly expressed by the minority leader, Hon. JAMES R. MANN, as follows:

was ably and succincily expressed by the minority leader, Hon. James R. Mann, as follows:

If we are correctly informed by gentlemen on the floor, not having been informed directly by the President, either in a message or in person here, as to what he desires, the President desires our opinion on the subject of American citizens traveling on armed vessels of beiligerent nations. We do not express any opinion on that subject by laying the McLemore resolution on the table lapplause], unless such action shall be construed as an invitation to American citizens to travel on these armed vessels. I am not willing to extend an invitation to American citizens to travel on armed vessels when to do so may bring us into serious compilications, and I would not voluntarily offer to inject my owe opinion apon this subject while the President is carrying on his negotiations; but when the President seeks to know what the American people may think on the subject as expressed by their Representatives, I think it is our duty, if we are to act at all, to meet the question fairly and squarely and express the opinion such as we have; and if we believe that American citizens, under at least ordinary circumstances, ought not to render this country liable to war, we ought to say so, and leave the President in his discretion and power to take care of the future. [Applause,] We have not sought to bother or annoy the President; but the President, it is said, asks our beliefs on the subject. Let us tell him frankly and fairly that we do not desire compilications which will lead to war [applause]; and the only method by which we can now proceed under these circumstances, if we are willing to meet the question fairly, is to vote down, first, the previous question. I can not conceive how it will be considered that the President is informed through a parliamentary trick, such as is proposed by the Committee on Rules, to give the House no chance to vote on the real question at issue, but only to table a resolution which the House would not agree

Is anyone so credulous as to believe that foreign countries will be influenced in their negotiations with our Government by reason of this fiasco? If so, he credits them with little understanding.

I voted against laying the McLemore resolution on the table because I knew that under the rule, if that motion were defeated. full opportunity would be given to Members of the House to go upon record upon a resolution simply warning Americans against traveling on armed merchant vessels of belligerents until their character had been determined. No right would be denied by such a resolution, and our Government would be left free to assert any right to the extreme limit, and I am free to admit that in casting my vote as I did-and I want it so understoodit gave me much satisfaction to be able, at the same time, to register my protest against encroachments by the Executive department upon the legislative branch of our Government.

It will be recollected that a little over a month ago when Secretary Garrison resigned because the President had reversed himself on a fundamental principle of "preparedness," the President declared with much feeling "that under no circumstances" would he "feel at liberty to insist upon the adoption by Congress of any specific course of action." He was offended that Mr. Garrison should even suggest his using the power of his office to advance a policy, however worthy.

At that time I most heartily commended the President for his clear conception of the attitude that one branch of our Government should maintain toward a coordinate branch. His excellent sentiment and lofty purpose, as thus expressed, was comforting to Members of Congress who still had very vivid recollections of the performances of the President on the occasion of the repeal of the Panama Canal tolls act and the declaration of war against Huerta. But, alas, how vain were our hopes! Within a fortnight he is found riding roughshod over rules and precedents and arbitrarily dictating not only the action the legislative branch should take but the forms under which it shall proceed.

The President and Congress were created by the solemn mandate of the people, expressed in words so clear that their meaning can be readily ascertained. The founders of this Government caused these words to be transcribed on parchment and delivered into our hands as our guidebook in carrying further the Government which they created. When in doubt as to the Government's power to do a particular thing, or as to the respective powers of the different branches of the Government, recourse is had to this guidebook, or Constitution. In the present instance our Constitution provides that Congress has power

Define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations.

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties. He shall, from time to time, give to Congress information of the state of the Union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and

expedient. He shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

I fail to understand how the President can find warrant of authority in this language of the Constitution for his peremptory demand that Congress make a complete denial at once of any intent or purpose to express an opinion or offer advice on the question of warning our citizens to keep off of auxiliary cruisers-a domestic question having nothing to do with our foreign affairs, unless we desire to make it so. However, upon an examination of his work on Constitutional Government in the United States, published in 1911, he clearly defines his view as to the unlimited and exclusive prerogative of the Executive in dealing with foreign affairs, and he has decided to treat this question as one relating to foreign affairs, which it is not.

this question as one relating to foreign affairs, which it is not.

One of the greatest of the President's powers I have not yet spoken of at all—his control, which is very absolute, of the foreign relations of a nation. The initiative in foreign affairs which the President possesses without any restriction whatever is virtually the power to control them absolutely. The President can not conclude a treaty with a foreign power without the consent of the Senate, but he may guide every step of dipiomacy; and to guide diplomacy is to determine what treaties must be made if the faith and prestige of the Government are to be maintained. He need disclose no step of negotiation until it is complete, and when in any critical matter it is completed the Government is virtually committed. Whatever its disinclination, the Senate may feel itself committed also.

If a President is need disclose no step of negotiations until it.

If a President "need disclose no step of negotiations until it is complete, and when in any critical matter it is completed the Government is virtually committed," he can go to the limit of making war, and Congress has no alternative but to accept. The Czar of Russia could do no more,

Mr. Speaker, by resorting, as on two other occasions since he became Chief Executive of this Nation, to an appeal to the patriotism of the American people on the pretext that the dignity and honor of their flag was being attacked, the President won in his recent war on Congress.

But when the people realize that this appeal was but a pre-text to conceal the real purpose of the attack I do not believe

text to conceal the real purpose of the attack I do not believe they will rejoice over the fact that the legislative branch of our Government was degraded and brought to the dust for "political," not "patriotic" purposes.

Can any unprejudiced person, knowing the facts, doubt that the alleged cause of this war was but a pretext, and that the real cause was a desire to advance the political fortunes of the

If this were the first time that resort was had to our flag to carry through Congress an Executive program, I would be loath to believe that such a thing was within the realm of possibility. However, when I recall, as I do most vividly, that the same methods were pursued by the same parties and by the same sections of the press when Congress was commanded to declare war on Huerta, and to repeal the Panama Canal tolls act, I am forced to believe it, much as I dislike to. On March 5, 1914, the President delivered a message in person to Congress in part as

Gentlemen of the Congress, I have come to you upon an errand which can be very briefly performed, but I beg that you will not measure its importance by the number of sentences in which I state it. * * * I have come to ask you for the repeal of that provision of Panama Canal act which exempts vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States from payment of toils, and to urge upon you the justice, the wisdom, and the large policy of such a repeal with the utmost earnestness of which I am capable. I ask this of you in support of the "foreign policy of the administration." I shall not know how to deal with other matters of even "greater delicacy and nearer consequence" if you do not grant it to me in ungrudging measure.

What foreign policy is investored to our transcent.

What foreign policy is involved in respect to our transcontinental railroads

Mr. Root, in his Carnegie Hall speech, said:

The taking of Vera Cruz destroyed confidence in the sincerity of the American Government in Mexico, because every intelligent man in Mexico believed that the avowed reason for the act was not the real reason.

The avowed purpose was to compel a salute to the American flag. Is there anyone who doubts that the alleged cause was but a pretext and that the real cause was the purpose to turn Huerta out of office?

Mr. Root made a serious charge, but produced facts to prove it. Mr. Speaker, for the consideration of the House and the great mass of the American people I have stated the incontrovertible facts and circumstances of the President's war on Congress and have drawn certain deductions therefrom which are fully warranted and sustained by these facts and circumstances.

No question of international law or foreign policy was involved.

except as Mr. Wilson sought to make it so.

What question of international law was involved in an expression by Congress as to the wisdom of Americans traveling upon belligerent ships of doubtful character?

Is our internationalism to supersede our nationalism?

Has it come to pass that we have more concern for the people

of other countries than for American citizens?

I can not consent to the doctrine that our Government should constitute itself the guardian of the peoples of the world.

should extend to them our deep sympathy in their hour of mis-fortune, but refrain from thrusting our Government into their family quarrels, unless we intend to abandon the Monroe doctrine and our acknowledged rights as American citizens.

The idea of internationalism at the present time is very intoxicating, because it brings with it a sense of large responsibility, experienced by such international characters as J. Pier-

pont Morgan.

However, the average American citizen is quite content to forego this international thrill. He still finds comfort in love, loyalty, and respect for his own country. He is neither pro-German nor pro-British, but only an American, in favor of the American Nation standing up and facing the world in defense of American institutions and American ideals,

True, there will always be with us the Tories of Revolu-tionary days and the copperheads of the Civil War, but thank God, at the present time their number is infinitesimal.

There will be no need of working the flag overtime to arouse either the patriotism of Congressmen or the loyalty of our patriotic and complex citizenry; for whenever a real situation confronts the country, not an imaginary one, and the administration in charge of affairs informs Congress that legislation or money, or both, are needed in order to put the country in proper shape for its own safety, it will meet with ready response from Congress and the great mass of patriotic American citizens, as was evidenced in this House the other day, when all proceedings under the rule providing for the call of committees were suspended—a thing that had never happened before—at the request of the President, and legislation materially increasing the Army and providing a large sum of money for the Navy was passed in less than five minutes by the unanimous vote of the membership then.

Pro-German, pro-British, and pro-everybody will be cemented into an indissoluble union for the defense of America, justice,

liberty, and equality under-

ality under—
Your flag and my flag
And how it waves to-day
O'er your land and my land
And half the world away!
Rose-red and blood-red
Its stripes forever gleam
Snow-white and soul-white
The good Forefather's dream;
Sky-blue and true-blue
Its stars that shine aright
A glorious guidon of the day
A shelter through the night.
Your flag and my flag. A shelter through the night.
Your flag and my flag,
And, oh, how much it holds
Of your heart and my heart
Secure within its folds,
Your heart and my heart
Beat quicker at its sight,
Sun-kissed and wind-tossed
The Red and Blue and White,
The One Flag, the Great Flag,
The flag for me and you
Glorified all else beside
The Red and White and Blue.

The inspiration that created, the love and sacrifices that have sustained my flag and your flag did it for a nobler purpose than that of forcing the public to pay unreasonable rates to transcontinental railroads; than that of interfering with the internal affairs of a sister Republic; than that of making an unconscionable war on a coordinate branch of the Government.

The Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM GORDON, OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Wednesday, March 22, 1916.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under the rule granting leave to print pertinent remarks on the consideration of H. R. 12766, to increase the efficiency of the Military Establishment of the United States, I insert a very able argument in opposition to the subordination of the civil to the military authority made by the late John H. James, of Urbana, Ohio, in an open letter to the Attorney General of the United States in 1869.

The principles herein contended for were subsequently vindicated, but this letter was written during a time of great po-litical excitement, while the passions of the people of the Northern States were quite generally aroused over the greatest We civil war in all history, and for the time being all the important safeguards of constitutional liberty were subverted

by the military arm of the Government.

This paper is an important contribution to the military history of the United States, and emphasizes the importance of subordinating the military to the civil authority, as this bill now under consideration seeks to do.

The letter is as follows:

MILITARY COMMISSIONS FOR THE TRIAL OF CITIZENS, A LETTER TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

To the Hon, E. R. HOAR,

Attorney General of the United States:

In the matter of the application of E. M. Yerger, a civilian now under military arrest, and recently tried before a military commission, for a writ of habeas corpus, the American people have been called upon to witness the spectacle of an Attorney General of the United States going into the Supreme Court and making an argument on behalf of the Government against the granting of the writ and in favor of the unchecked supremacy of military power. Whatever regret and humiliation the fact may cause, it can hardly excite surprise. On every occasion which has offered you have been the ready apologist of arbitrary power. When Yerger first made his application in July last, invoking the decision of the civil tribunals as to the legality of his detention by the military authorities and his trial by a military commission in time of peace, you appeared to resist the application, though it would be difficult to explain the interest of the Government in the case. And when a short time previous to this the case of James Weaver, a citizen of the United States, not in the military service, tried by a military commission and sentenced to suffer death, was referred to you for your official opinion as to whether the President might legally approve and his subordinates legally execute the sentence of the commission, you responded in favor of the legality of the commission in an opinion equally distinguished by its extraordinary views of the law and its apparent eagerness to sustain the action of the commission. The country and the world learned with surprise from that remarkable opinion that, though more than four years have elapsed since a hostile gun was fired, the war is not yet over, and that in this country, boasting of its freedom, and whose Constitution expressly secures trial by jury, habeas corpus, and all the safeguards of English and American liberty, citizens are liable to be taken out of the hands of the civil authorities or from their homes by the military, tried by military courts, and hung or shot by military order. The course of reasoning by which you sought to justify this arbitrary power it is hardly worth while to notice. The very statement of its result is its own most conclusive refutation. There are some things about which the unsophisticated understanding of the people refuses to be deceived, which it even refuses to discuss. The people will treat with contempt any argument which insults their common sense, as does your proposition that a state of war still exists in the face of their four years' knowledge and experience to the contrary, and unless they are much degenerated they will refuse to listen calmly to any proposition to lay down the liberties for which they and their forefathers have struggled. So far as the intrinsic weight of your opinion is concerned, it is hardly necessary to consider it. But your advocacy has the appearance at least—as it was doubtless intended to have—of giving in the eyes of the people the sanction of law, the color of legality, to that outrage on all law and all liberty, the employment of martial law in time of peace. You hold the office of Attorney General of the United States, an office which has an hereditary claim to popular respect, derived from the days when it was filled by Randolph, Pinckney, Wirt, and Rush men who had acquired national reputations at the bar before being called to the Cabinet. You are the legal adviser of the President and of the heads of departments, and you have given advice in the opinion just referred to, upon which it was intended that officers should act and upon which they will act, utterly ignorant, so far as they depend upon you, of the responsi-bilities they are incurring. Under these circumstances it is worth while to see what the law really is, to examine your opinion, to show that its positions are untenable, the authorities you cite inapplicable, and the whole result of your reasoning

directly subversive of public liberty.

You justify the trial of citizens of the United States in this year, 1869, by military commissions? What are military commissions? A distinguished United States Senator (now or recently representing the country at a foreign court) characterized them as tribunals "organized to convict." It was a very happy description. The triers of the prisoner's guilt or innocence— the court and jury—are selected by the same authority that orders the arrest and prosecution, and afterwards executes the sentence. When the prosecuting attorney selects the jury, it is

certainly his own fault if anyone escapes. The bitterest enemy of the accused may be appointed one of his judges; no law protects him against it; his only appeal is to the court itself. If his offense partakes of a political character, or involves party feeling, his judges may be, and almost inevitably will be, selected with gross partiality, and he has no remedy. It is the distinguishing characteristic of these tribunals that the accused before them has no rights secured to him by law. His life, liberty, and property are entirely at the mercy of his judges. Their will is law.

This will be clearly understood if we consider the origin and constitution of these tribunals. What is a military commission? It is simply a court-martial taken out of its legitimate sphere and applied to the trial of civilians. How perfect an engine of despotism it is can be seen from its very purpose and nature. The government of an army is, and must necessarily be, a pure despotism. Its object is not as in civil government, to secure the happiness, welfare, safety, liberty, and rights of its subjects and their property. Its first object is to promote the discipline and efficiency of the army; all other purposes are merely incidental and subordinate. Hence we find while the civil laws punish only two or three offenses with death-generally only two, treason and murder-that out of 46 offenses of all grades defined by the Articles of War as punishable by courts-martial, 14 are punishable with death at the discretion of the court. The same difference in the objects and purposes of the two systems is seen in the courts which enforce their laws. The enlightened men of every succeeding age have sought to render the administration of civil justice as impartial as possible. Courts are permanent and are made as independent as possible by a proper tenure of office and by laws guarding against interest or par-tiality; positive law regulates the selection of juries, the course of procedure, and the rules of evidence; and to guard against errors of law or fact appeals and proceedings in error are provided. All these have come down to us from our American and English ancestors, and they constitute the strongest muniments of our boasted liberties, the surest safeguards of our personal rights. But what have courts-martial to do with them? has a system born amid the shock of arms, and having for its very object the enforcement of that rigid despotism so essential to military success-what has such a system to do with the safeguards of personal liberty? A man expressly surrenders his liberties for the time being when he enters the Army. The court-martial is a court temporarily appointed for the trial of the particular case or cases to be tried, often in the very midst of military operations. Its very constitution is subordinate to the interests of the hour; it is to be composed of as many officers, from 5 to 13, as can be detailed "without manifest injury to the It is a court of military men for the trial of military And as such its decisions and its opinions upon the laws and usages of war are entitled to respect for the same reasons that give weight and character to the decisions of learned judges of the civil and common law, because they are the opinions of men on subjects which they understand and which their education and profession have made them master of. it is exclusively for the trial of military offenses committed by persons in the military or naval service that courts-martial are The Constitution of the United States, the supreme law of the land, says so-

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger.

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district where the crime shall have been committed.

And the Articles of War, the military code, enacted by Congress, but framed by military men, say the same. You may look through them from first to last and you will find no punishment provided for murder or robbery or arson or any of the crimes punished by the civil laws, even when committed by soldiers. On the contrary, the thirty-third article of war distinctly provides as follows:

When any commissioned officer or soldier shall be accused of a capital crime, or having used violence or committed any offense against the person or property of any citizen of any of the United States such as is punishable by the known laws of the land, the commanding officer and officers of every regiment, troop, or company to which the person or persons so accused shall belong are hereby required, upon application duly made by or in behalf of the party or parties injured, to use their utmost endeavors to deliver over such accused person or persons to the civil magistrate, and likewise to be aiding and assisting to the officers of justice in apprehending and securing the person or persons so accused in order to bring him or them to trial. If any commanding officer or officers shall willfully neglect or shall refuse, upon the application aforesaid, to deliver over such accused person or persons to the civil magistrates or to be aiding or assisting to the officers of justice in apprehending such person or persons, the officer or officers so offending shall be cashiered.

Such is the law as framed by military men themselves. There is no lawful authority for trying by military court even a soldier for the crime of murder. If he is accused of it, he has the right of any other citizen of the United States to be tried before a court whose knowledge of the "known laws of the land" enables it to define the legal limitations of the crime, and to be convicted only by the "lawful judgment of his peers." What, then, must be the thought of the American citizen—above all the American lawyer—who seeks to thrust upon these military courts a jurisdiction which their framers distinctly refused and to prostitute them to the destruction of the liberties of his country? For there is no bulwark of our civil rights which these tribunals do not destroy.

The Constitution of the United States assures the humblest citizen that he shall not be put upon trial for any capital or infamous crime unless he has been indicted—unless a grand jury of his fellow citizens, after hearing the evidence against him, shall decide that he ought to be put upon trial. The system your opinion sanctions sends him to trial upon the order of a general or colonel—the same who afterwards picks out the court

to try him.

The Constitution guarantees to every citizen the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State ...nd district wherein the crime was committed; and to insure this impartiality, the laws throw certain safeguards around the selection of the jury; it is provided that it shall be selected by lot from a large number of suitable persons previously appointed, and the right is guaranteed by law to the defendant to object to any member of the jury for a number of specified causes affecting their impartiality or fitness, on establishing the existence of any one of which the court has no discretion but to set the juror aside. The accused has also the right to chal-lenge peremptorily any two members of the jury whom he may object to or regard as unfriendly to him, without giving any reason therefor; and in capital cases he may so challenge 24 successive jurors. Your military commission is composed of such persons as the commanding officer thinks proper to pick out for the particular case to be tried. No law controls him in his selection. If he is corrupt, or passionate, or tyrannical; or prejudiced, he has the power to constitute the court to suit his purposes exactly. He knows the material he has to select from—what officers are corrupt, what ones are weak and easily influenced, what ones are strongly prejudiced against the pris-oner, who are his political friends, and who are his political or his personal enemies. He can appoint whom he pleases, All these tremendous powers over the life, liberty, and property of the citizen on trial are placed, unchecked and uncontrolled, in the hands of the officer ordering the court. If he exercises them corruptly, or tyrannically, or with partiality and prejudice, there is no law to appeal to—no courts of appeal before which to bring his action. The only challenge-the only appeal-is to the court itself, to the officer himself, or to a superior officer as totally irresponsible as he is. The accused, instead of being tried, as the Constitution guarantees, by an impartial jury of the State and district where the crime was committed, is sent before a board of officers from distant parts of the country temporarily stationed in the State during the pleasure of their superior officers, without the least interest in the State or its property-aliens to all intents and purposes to its people. They are, moreover, all the salaried employees and agents of the Government which institutes the prosecution-dependent upon it for preferment and promotion, and liable to be made to feel its displeasure in a very substantial manner. In what condition are they to exercise impartial judgment? It has been the constant effort of wise governments, as it is the spirit of the divine command, "Lead us not into temptation," to promote in every way possible the independence, impartiality, and purity of judges and juries. The system you advocate reverses all this and throws round the arbiters of the citizen's life and liberty temptations to partiality and injustice.

It has been commonly supposed, too, that some knowledge of the law was necessary to its proper administration. Judges and other law officers have always hitherto been appointed on the theory, at least, of taking the men best qualified by their learning and knowledge of the law. The labors of such men—of learned judges, statesmen, and legislators; of Coke, Mansfield, Erskine, and Brougham; of Kent, Parsons, Story, and Marshall—have been building up, generation after generation, a system of common and statute law regulating all the interests of society. It is the result of the experience of ages. It secures our lives, our liberties, and our property against arbitrary power and popular clamor and excitement—against malice or prejudice or ignorance. In the domain of criminal law it defines the different grades of crime; what degree of premeditation will make homicide murder, and what circumstances will re-

duce it to manslaughter; how far provocation will palliate or excuse the offense, and within what "cooling time" it ceases to operate; in the peculiar and difficult field of insanity it defines what kinds and degrees of mental disease exempts a criminal from responsibility for his acts and what do not. In all such cases the law provides rules, derived from experience and from close observation and study of the human mind, and its principles of action in given circumstances. In the department of evidence the conclusions arrived at by courts and jurists, in the course of the administration of the law in different ages and countries, have gradually taken shape in certain principles and rules known as the law of evidence, having for their object to elicit the truth, to ascertain the weight and value of testimony, to exclude what is unreliable, and to remove temptation to perjury. Few persons who have studied them will fail to agree with Lord Erskine that they are founded "in the charities of religion, in the philosophy of nature, in the truths of history, and in the experience of common life." If they had been understood or regarded at the time of the so-called trial of the persons charged with the murder of President Lincoln, the country and the men who sat on the commission might have been spared the conviction, now deepening into certainty, that one of the victims of that court was a wholly innecent woman. But they can not be understood nor applied by persons wholly unacquainted with them. For the interpretation and application of this system of common law-handed down to us by our fathers, incorporated in and recognized by the Constitution of the United States, and every day relied on by the people—for the administration of this system, the highest talent and legal learning have not been deemed too great. But you would commit the administration of justice and the lives and liberties of American citizens to a board of officers-wholly ignorant of the law-whose very profession and education remove them from even the ordinary acquaintance with it gleaned by citizens who serve as jurors. A lieutenant just from the academy at West Point, a member of a court to decide complicated questions of law and evidence and medical jurisprudence in a case of life and death! And you, an American lawyer, a judge, and-save the mark—an Attorney General, approve this thing.

And on what ground do you justify the employment of these tribunals subversive of all liberty and all law? It appears from the statement of the facts in your opinion in the Weaver case, that James Weaver had been indicted for murder in the district court of Bastrop County, Tex., and was under arrest awaiting trial, when one J. J. Thornton, a district judge, represented to the military commander that the civil courts were badly situated and managed, and that if the prisoner were left to them, no trial could probably be had, and asked that he be tried before a military commission, which was accordingly ordered. As this opinion of Mr. Thornton's is the sole basis on which the military acted in taking Weaver out of the hands of the civil authorities, it provokes the inquiry in passing how far the alleged condition of the civil courts (supposing it to exist) is attributable to the prolonged denial of civil self-government to the people of Texas-the last phase of such denial being the recent postponement of elections till November, in the midst of the cotton season—a postponement procured (as recently stated in an influential journal in political sympathy with the dominant party) by persons interested in a certain land speculation to which the interests of the State were held subordinate, thus prolonging by military rule a disorganized condition of civil society, and then in turn making such condition an excuse for military rule. But this is a political rather than a legal question, and it is with the legal aspects of the case that we

are now dealing.

As a matter of fact, the loose assertion or opinion of Mr. Thornton that the civil courts were badly situated and no trial could probably be had is controverted by the positive statement of the defendant's plea "that the district court of Bastrop County was fully organized and prepared to pass upon all questions brought before it," and by the fact that a grand jury of that court had already found an indictment against him for murder, and that he was under arrest awaiting trial. But he was brought before a military commission, duly selected by the officer to whom Mr. Thornton had made his complaint, and thereupon he filed exceptions to the jurisdiction of the commission, objecting, first, that he was entitled to a trial by jury; second, that the Constitution of the United States provides that no person shall be twice put in jeopardy of life and limb for the same offense; that the offense with which he was charged belonged entirely to the civil courts of Texas; and that he would be unable to plead the finding of the commission in bar in the district court of Bastrop County, in which he was under in-dictment; that said district court was fully organized and pre-pared to pass on all cases brought before it, and that neither he nor the deceased were in the military service of the United States. Compelled, as you are, to admit the irrefragible force of these objections (for you say "it is obvious that under the Constitution of the United States Congress has no right to subject any citizen of a State to trial and punishment by military power in time of peace"), to what theory do you resort to sanc-tion the employment of these tribunals? To the miserable subterfuge (it deserves no better name) that war exists in the United States, and therefore these provisions of the Constitution omited States, and therefore these provisions of the Constitution just quoted may be overridden by virtue of some supposed war powers in the Constitution. Even if you could establish this preposterous proposition that the war still continues, it would avail you nothing. We have seen that the military code (the Articles of War) is intended for the punishment of military offenses only, and makes no provision for ordinary crimes, such as murder, arson, and others, but expressly leaves them to the civil authorities and the "known laws of the land." This is so even where the accused is himself in the military service, and it has been so held. At the trial of Brig. Gen. Hull before a court-martial at Albany, during the last war with Great Britain, for the surrender of Detroit, three charges were preferred by the judge advocate—for treason, cowardice, and neglect of duty and unofficerlike conduct—the last two being military offenses and the first, treason, a common-law and statutory crime, cognizable exclusively by the civil courts. Gen. Huil objected to the jurisdiction of the court to try the charge of treason on the very grounds above indicated, "because treason is a crime of which a court-martial has no cognizance. Their power is confined to such military crimes as are specified in the Articles of War, and their jurisdiction is so limited, not only by the Constitution, but by the very articles themselves." And the court in their finding say: "The accused having in his final defense protested against the jurisdiction of the court to try the charge of treason, and the opinion of the court being that the objection would have been tenable if the same had been pleaded by the accused on his arraignment, and believing also that the court can not acquire jurisdiction of the offense by the waiver or consent of the accused, they decline making any formal decision on that charge" (though the evidence having already been publicly given, they informally expressed the opinion that he was not guilty of the charge). (Hull's Trial, Appendix, pp. 21 and 118.) And this was in the midst of a foreign war, and the accused an officer in the Army.

The same rule prevails in England. Even in the midst of wars and civil commotions such a thing as the trial of civilians by military courts has not been heard of for 200 years. martial law was declared and the habeas corpus suspended in Ireland during the rebellion of '98, and recently during the Fenian troubles, such a thing was not thought of as denying to the persons accused of crimes, even of a political nature, a trial in the civil courts, and according to the rules of the common law. Shall our people be less free, less under the protection of law, than the people of England? To hold your position is to admit the absurd and dangerous doctrine that in time of war the constitution may be laid aside; that there are certain "war powers" lurking in it which are latent in time of peace; and that those provisions especially designed to secure the citizen against violence and the administration of justice against excited popular feeling may be disregarded at the very time when they are most needed. This doctrine was highly favored during the late war by persons seeking excuse for lawlessness, but it has no ground to stand upon, and never had. Our constitution is a written one; its language is the same in peace and in war; the powers it gives and the rights it secures are the same in war and in peace. It gives ample powers for war without twisting or straining. Congress has power to declare war, and when declared, of course, it carries with it all the recognized usages of war within the district which is its theater. The President-not Congress, as you very singularly assert—has power to suppress insurrection by virtue of his duty to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and if this insurrection or opposition to the execution of the laws becomes so formidable as to assume the proportions of a war-when it becomes, in fact, civil war-the law of nations attaches to it, in the very interests of humanity, the incidents and usages which obtain in wars between foreign countries. During the continuance of such a war, if necessary, the writ of habeas corpus may be suspended, and, as one of the incidents of a state of war, when the civil tribunals are entirely closed or overthrown in the district which is the immediate theater of war, martial law may be declared and administered as a mere matter of discipline and police. But this is a mere temporary expedient in the absence of all law. So great a master in the art of war as the Duke of Wellington declared in his place in Parliament that martial law was no law, that it was the absence of law. And even during the continuance of a war, when a

country has been brought subject to the hostile arms, the modern usages of nations do not authorize the administration of justice between citizens of the conquered country by military law. The conqueror is to administer the laws of the conquered country. During our occupation of Mexico in 1847–48 alcaldes were appointed from among our officers for towns and cities and charged with the duty of administering the Mexican laws. If Texas had been a conquered foreign State, her people, even during the war, would have been, under modern usages, governed according to the former laws. But the people of Texas are citizens of the United States. The war proceeded on this theory. When they were conquered they were still citizens. The most that could be claimed was that they were liable to trial and punishment, according to the laws of the land, for their participation in the rebellion. But this has not been attempted. No indictments have been preferred against them for that offense. But you propose to hold them indefinitely, during the pleasure of Congress, "within the grasp of war," and subject to a military government which knows no law, and is responsible to none.

But whatever force may be attached to the maxim inter arma silent leges, amid the shock of armies and the roar of artillery, the idea that it can have any application four years after the firing of a hostile shot, under a free constitution and with the civil courts in operation, as they have been for at least three years, trying civil and criminal cases, is so absurd that it is difficult to believe that it can be seriously advanced by any lawyer. You quote the reconstruction acts authorizing the employment of these military commissions, and you argue in support of them that, as Congress has the power to declare war it has the power to recognize the existence of a war begun by others, to provide for carrying it on, and to declare how long the war shall continue and when peace is restored; that the Government had a right to protect itself and its lawful authority; and that it was the duty of Congress to recognize the war and "apply itself by means belonging to war to the vindication of the national authority, the preservation of the national territory, and the restoration of a republican government, under the National Constitution, to each of the rebellious States" while the war lasted and the courts and governments were overthrown it was necessary to govern by martial law, and, finally, that the war is not yet over, and that Congress, having the power to say when the war is ended, have by the reconstruction acts declared that it is not yet over. Such, in substance, are the main points in the argument on which you base your opinion. But Congress has no such power over the termination of the war or declaring when peace is restored. A foreign war is terminated by a treaty which is made by the President and Senate. A civil war such as the late contest—caused by "resistance to the execution of the laws, too powerful to be subdued by the ordinary processes," as it was generally described in the legislation of Congress during the war-is terminated whenever the President, whose duty it is to see the laws executed, declares that there is no longer any resistance to their execution—a declaration which he has long since made.

If Congress has the power you claim for it, what is the result? The reconstruction laws provide that the States recently engaged in the rebellion shall remain subject to military government till they adopt constitutions approved by Congress, and until their Senators and Representatives are admitted to Congress. No fixed conditions are laid down on compliance with which they are to be entitled to be admitted; they are to depend entirely on the will and pleasure of Congress—in other words, under a free government and constitution, States and people are liable to be deprived of their civil and constitutional rights, and subjected to military government during the pleasure or caprice of a Congress in which they have no voice.

As to your claim of the right to govern during the war by martial law, the very language you use and the authorities you cite prove that by no possibility can such right now exist. You say:

Where all lawful governments have been extinguished by the rebellion on the theater of active military operations where war really prevailed, there is a necessity to furnish a substitute for the civil authority thus overthrown to preserve the safety of the Army and society, and as no power is left but the military, it is allowed to govern by martial rule until the laws can have their free course.

And in the case of Milligan (4 Wallace, 127), before the Supreme Court of the United States, you say that the test is suggested "that the right to govern by military power depends upon the fact that the courts are actually closed, and that it is impossible to administer criminal justice according to law." This "test" is perfectly conclusive against your opinion. Are the courts actually closed in Texas and other Southern States? Is it not notorious that they have been in constant operation for more than three years? Do not these very reconstruction acts

recognize the fact by authorizing the military commanders to employ them? Is all lawful government now extinguished in Texas and no power left but the military? The Supreme Court of the United States, in the recent case reported in American Law Review for July, 1869, of Texas v. White et al-which you cite but not for this purpose-has decided that Texas is a State in the Union, and has a State government authorized to order and conduct a suit in the Supreme Court against a citizen of another State.

To see the crudeness and absurdity of the jurisdiction attempted to be conveyed by these reconstruction acts, it is only necessary to examine for a moment its practical working. is provided (sec. 3, act of Mar. 2, 1867) that it shall be the duty of the commanding officer "to punish, or cause to be punished, all disturbers of the public peace and criminals, and to this end he may allow local civil tribunals to take jurisdiction of and try offenders; or, when in his judgment it may be necessary, he shall have power to organize military commissions or tribunals for that purpose." It is further provided (sec. 4) that "the laws and regulations for the government of the Army shall not be affected by this act, except in so far as they conflict with its provisions." Here, then, we find military commissions authorized for the trial of "criminals" of all kinds. No form of organization or oath is prescribed for these commissions or tribunals. It must either be intended that they should be organized and sworn (if sworn at all) at the sole discretion of the commanding officer-like a vigilance committee-or that they should be appointed and sworn according to the laws and regulations for the government of the Army, with which, on this subject, there is nothing in the act to conflict. The oath presubject, there is nothing in the act to conflict. scribed by the articles of war for a court-martial requires the members to "well and truly try and determine according to the evidence the matter before them, and administer justice according to the provisions of an act establishing rules and articles for the government of the Armies of the United States, without partiality, favor, or affection," and "if any doubt should arise not explained by said articles, according to your conscience, the best of your understanding, and the custom of war in like cases," Suppose the accused to be charged with murder, forgery, counterfeiting, conveying land without color of title, or any other crime, the definition and limitations of which are somewhat intricate; we have seen that the Articles of War throw no light upon the subject. They define and punish military offenses only. The "custom of war" is no better. The members of the court know nothing about the civil or common law, and they have not, like a jury, any judge to charge them what the law is, and they are left to the "best of their understanding" in a matter about which they understand nothing.

If your acquaintance with the reports had been equal to your

bias in favor of a party position you might have referred the military authorities—for whose information mainly your opinion was sought—to cases much more calculated to enlighten them was sought—to cases much more chromated to unight have as to the responsibilities they are incurring. You might have cited the case of Little v. Barreme, decided by the Supreme Court of the United States (2 Cranch's Reports, p. 157). This was a civil suit for damages, brought against Capt. Little, of the United States Navy, for capturing a ship in obedience to an order of the President of the United States, which the Presi-dent had no legal authority to give. During the hostilities be-tween the United States and France an act for the suspension of all commercial intercourse between the two countries was passed which authorized the President to instruct the commander of armed vessels to seize any American vessel sailing to any French port. This act received a construction from the Executive, under which orders were issued to seize vessels sailing to or from a French port. The Flying Fish having been seized under these orders of the President while sailing from a French port, her owners obtained some \$8,000 damages for her detention, before the circuit court at Boston, from which Capt. Little appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Chief Justice Marshall, himself an Army officer in his youth, in delivering the opinion of the court said:

These orders, given by the Executive under the construction of the act of Congress made by the department to which its execution was assigned, enjoin the seizure of American vessels sailing from a French port. Is the officer who obeys them liable for damages sustained by this misconstruction of the act, or will his orders excuse him? If his instructions afford him no protection, then the law must take its course, and he must pay such damages as are legally awarded against him.

And in deciding this question he says:

I confess the first bias of my mind was very strong in favor of the opinion that, though the instructions of the Executive could not give a right, they might yet excuse from damages. I was much inclined to think that a distinction ought to be taken between acts of civil and those of military officers, and between proceedings within the body of the country and those on the high seas. That implicit obedience which military men usually pay to the orders of their superiors, which, in-

deed, is indispensably necessary to every military system, appeared to me strongly to imply the principle that those orders, if not to perform a prohibited act, ought to justify the person whose general duty it is to obey them, and who is placed by the laws of his country in a situation which in general requires that he should obey them. I was strongly inclined to think that where, in consequence of orders from the legitimate authority, a vessel is seized with pure intention, the claim of the injured party for damages would be against that Government from which the order proceeded, and would be a proper subject for negotiation. But I have been convinced that I was mistaken, and I have receded from this first opinion. I acquiesce in that of my brethren, which is that the instructions can not change the nature of the transaction or legalize an act which without those instructions would have been a plain trespass.

Capt. Little, then, must be answerable in damages to the owner of this neutral vessel, and as the account taken by order of the circuit court is not objectionable on its face and has not been excepted to by counsel before the proper tribunal, this court can receive no objection to it.

There appears, then, to be no error in the judgment of the circuit court, and it must be affirmed with costs.

This is the law of the land, as declared by its highest tri-

This is the law of the land, as declared by its highest tribunal. A military officer can not by the plea that he is obeying orders exempt himself from being personally liable if he does any act not warranted by the law and which without those orders would have been a plain trespass." And it is immaterial whether the illegality of the act arises from the order which he obeys, being in contravention of the terms of a valid statute, or whether it arises from acting under the provisions of a void or unconstitutional statute. In either case the act is equally forbidden by that Constitution, which is declared, together with the "laws made in pursuance thereof," to be "the supreme law of the land." An unconstitutional law neither justifies nor excuses anyone acting under it. It is a simple nullity, the same as if it had never been. Neither the President nor any of his subordinates can, by ordering the execution of a void or unconstitutional law, give that law any validity if it had none in itself. If the statute violates the supreme law of the land, the order to enforce it equally does so and is, in fact, simply an order to violate such fundamental law.

If, then, these reconstruction laws are unconstitutional, which no lawyer, looking at them unbiased by political feeling, can doubt they will be held to be as soon as they come before the courts for adjudication, they will protect neither the President nor his subordinates in acting under them against liability for any act committed by them forbidden by the Constitution, "the

supreme law of the land."

But it is not only in civil actions for damages that such officers become liable. They become amenable to the criminal laws of the country by doing acts unsanctioned by law. This familiar principle has received recognition in a very recent judicial decision-which also bears on the subject of your opinionthe legality of military commissions. In the matter of the application of certain parties claiming the rewards offered for the capture of Booth, Payne, and others, charged with the murder of President Lincoln, the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, a court which, considering the mode of its appointment and its antecedents, certainly will not be suspected of any political leanings adverse to your opinion, held the following language: After saying that "the guarantee of trial by jury contained in the Constitution was intended for a state of war as well as a state of peace, and is equally binding upon rulers and people at all times and under all circumstances," and reciting the fact that the parties for whose apprehension the reward was claimed were tried and convicted before a military commission appointed by the executive department of the Government, and that they were not in the military service of the United States nor of the Confederacy, Judge Olin said:

United States nor of the Confederacy, Judge Olin said:

The crime committed by those persons was committed in this district. Martial law was never proclaimed here. Courts of law had been established and were daily engaged in efforts to punish crimes and redress wrongs. I do not see upon the principles announced in exparte Milligan (4 Wal. Rep., p. 2) how an action in this case can be maintained. It will not, I think, be contended, if none of the parties arrested had been tried and convicted, or having been tried had been acquitted, that an action could be maintained to recover this reward. If that be so, the question necessarily arises whether there was a legal conviction of any of those parties before this military commission. If there was not, the commission was but little better than a mob and were themselves guilty of murder.

This is strong language, but it unquestionably defines the offense of those who either as mobs, vigilance committees, or by illegal and usurped authority take the law into their own hands. you ever hear of the case of Gov. Wall? Gov. Wall was the English military commandant at Goree. Some insubordination or discontent breaking out in the garrison, he seized those whom he considered the ringleaders and subjected them to corporal punishment, from which three of them died. He was indicted for murder on his return to England, but escaped to the Continent. Here he remained nearly 20 years—not hiding in exile, but countenanced by men of high rank among his countrymen at Naples, which was part of the time his residence.

Partly induced by the countenance received from such persons, partly by his pecuniary necessities and the belief that after so long a time the witnesses would be dead or scattered, the occurrence forgotten, and the danger of conviction small, he returned to England and gave himself up for trial. Witnesses appeared from the remotest part of the island whom he had supposed dead.

The question-

Says Southey, who gives a cotemporary account of the trial-

For that was admitted-

was to be considered as an execution or as a murder. The evidence of a woman who appeared in his behalf was that which weighed most heavily against him; his attempt to prove that a mutiny actually existed falled—

Just as your argument to prove that war now exists has

and the jury pronounced him guilty. For this he was utterly unprepared; and when he heard the verdict, clasped his hands in astonishment and agony. The bench had no doubt whatever of his guilt, but they certainly thought it doubtful how the jury might decide; and as the case was so singular, after passing sentence in the customary form they respited him that the circumstances might be more fully considered.

The governor was well connected and had powerful friends; and it is said that as the case turned on a question of discipline, persons high in the military service exerted themselves warmly in his favor. It was urged that his self-surrender evidently implied that he believed himself justifiable in what he had done. To quote again the language of Southey:

Form only was wanting to have rendered that a legal punishment which was now called murder, and he may have regarded himself as a disciplinarian not a criminal

The deliberations of the privy council continued for so many days that it was evident great efforts were made to save his life, and he was several times respited. But the feeling of the populace was very strong against him, especially in view of the rigorous justice recently meted out to some mutineers in the fleet of much humbler rank; and the Government was either indisposed or feared to commute his sentence, and he was executed for his act committed 20 years before.

These cases are very suggestive. They show what the law is with regard to unauthorized executions and unlawful procedures, It is a matter of very great interest to officers acting in pur-suance of your advice to know what the law is—a knowledge which they wholly fail to obtain from your opinion. The country will not always be dominated by a lawless power. The instincts, the traditions of the people are in all in favor of the supremacy of the civil laws. The law will everywhere resume its sway, or rather its powers, which have never ceased to exist, though at times betrayed by its chosen guardians and at other times overborne by arbitrary violence, will again be felt. question of the constitutionality of these reconstruction laws and the responsibility of officers for acts affecting the rights of persons or property done under them will come before the courts-with what results may be inferred from the tenor of the decisions quoted above. It were to be regretted if meritorious officers of subordinate rank thus incur liabilities b; obeying, from a sense of obligation, orders which they disapprove; but such is the law, and it is well they should know it.

As to the leaders who give the orders—the Canbys, the Ames, the Reynolds, and others higher in authority, who, under the sanction of your opinion and dressed in a little brief authority, are cutting such antics as are making American liberty and republican institutions a by-word among intelligent Europeans—it is hard to tell what to say of them. It is always desirable, where possible, to take the most favorable view of men's motives; and it is possible that some of them act simply through party prejudice and ignorance of law.

But it is difficult to find even this excuse for some of their acts. For instance, the following order appeared in the papers of the day as recently issued by the Gen. Ames who commands the troops in Mississippi to officers commanding military posts in that State:

The commanding general directs that you do not obey in future any writ of habeas corpus issued by the United States court and circuit court or any order made by such courts for the release of prisoners in your custody. Should such writ or order be served upon you, report the fact by telegraph.

What bearing, if any, this order has upon the pending application to the United States Supreme Court for a writ of habeas corpus in the case of Yerger, above referred to, has not appeared. But an order like this, directing subordinates to set at defance the orders of the United States courts, hardly admits the defense of ignorance or fanaticism. Taken in connection with the recent

case in the city of New York, where a prisoner was taken out of the hands of the civil authorities by the military and taken to one of the forts in the harbor, it looks very much like part of a scheme to test the submission of the people to arbitrary power and their acquiescence in the subjection of the civil to the military arm of the Government. To these higher and bolder offenders against the law it ought to be sufficient to suggest that the most cursory reading of history is sufficient to teach that popular favor, or the appearance of it, is very changeable and that the tide of political affairs is as uncertain as the turn of fortune's wheel. The power they now hold and abuse may soon fall from their hands, and it would be the part of wisdom to introduce no innovations which may "return to plague the inventor." The people of this country have grown up under free institutions and with a respect for law, and they will not tolerate their subversion. You doubtless claim your and their present trampling upon liberty and law to be the very pink of modern "loyalty." The time is near at hand when it will be differently regarded.

But loyalty truce, we're on dangerous ground; Who knows how the fashions may alter? The doctrine to-day that is loyalty sound To-morrow may bring us a halter.

-John H. James.

Federal Usurpation of State Rights in Water-Pewer Legislation.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLIFTON N. MCARTHUR,

OF OREGON,

In the House of Representatives, Friday, January 7, 1916.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 408) to provide for the development of water power and the use of public lands in relation thereto, and for other purposes.

Mr. McARTHUR. Mr. Chairman, it is well established by judicial decision that the title to waters of nonnavigable streams is vested in the States and not in the Federal Government, yet this bil proposes to wrest from the States the control of such waters for the purposes of hydroelectric-power development, and lease them without regard to the wishes of the States, claiming the right to do so by reason of the Federal Government's proprietary ownership of the public lands lying adjacent to the streams. As the Federal Government is a government of enumerated and granted powers only, it is fair to assume that the framers of our Constitution did not contemplate Federal usurpation of a right which was not especially delegated or alienated by the States.

Legislation concerning the control and use of waters lying within a State is municipal in character and can not be rightfully exercised by Congress or anybody other than the legislature of that State. The Supreme Court of the United States has, in numerous decisions, recognized this principle and held that the United States has no constitutional capacity to exercise municipal jurisdiction after the admission of a State to the Union, except in cases where the same is expressly granted.

STATES HAVE RIGHT TO LEGISLATE,

I do not believe that there is a man within the sound of my voice who will dispute the proposition that neither man nor government can rightfully sell or lease another's property, and, as the States own the water in the nonnavigable streams, how can the Federal Government lawfully exact compensation for the rental of waters which it does not own? Yet the bill under consideration proposes to do this very thing because of a proprietary ownership of the land, through which the streams happen to flow. The ownership by the States of water within their limits means that the States have the right to legislate as to the use of such waters, unhampered by Federal control. It means that the State could even grant authority to one of its citizens to divert the flow of a nonnavigable stream for power, irrigation, or other purposes and thereby render valueless a power site located on land owned by the Federal Government, I do not articipate that any State will take such action, but mention the possibility only to show the complete control which a State may exercise over its waters.

BILL DENIES LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT,

The bill before us strikes at the very root of one of our treasured rights—the right of local self-government. It pro-

poses to establish a long-range bureaucratic control over our country's greatest potential resource. It proposes to deny to the sovereign States of the great West the right to regulate and control their own internal affairs. It has been suggested that these States can not be entrusted with this great responsibility and that our various State legislatures will fritter away the interest of the people in great water-power sites and sell them to corporations at a ridiculously low price. Let me suggest in this connection that the rights of the people in most of the Western States, commonly known as "Public Land States," are amply safeguarded by the initiative and referendum and that these rights are more likely to remain inviolate under State rather than Federal control of water power.

The rights of the people of nearly all these Western States are further safeguarded by the existence of public-service commissions, which protect the consuming public against monopoly and unreasonable rates. The West may have made mistakes in frittering away its school land and water-power rights, but it is not doing these things to-day, and this very fact is sufficient proof that we are capable of administering our own affairs. The West prefers to correct and rectify these mistakes, in so far as possible, without bureaucratic interference from Washington. The West does not like absentee landlordism or bureaucratic rule by Federal agents who are not responsible to the people of the West, and we are opposed to having the public domain put into a Federal leasing system. Such a policy tends to re-store the Crown-land systems of the Middle Ages—a policy uta policy utterly foreign to our American ideals. We of the West are a free, virile race of people, and instead of Federal tenants or vassals, we want independent landowners who will pay their share of taxes, take an interest in public affairs, and become a part and parcel of our splendid citizenship.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS MADE MISTAKES,

I have heard the suggestion that the Federal Government is a safer guardian of the public domain and resources of the country than are the States, but let me remind you of the manner in which the public domain owned by the Federal Government and located in certain Western States has been looted by land, timber, and swamp-land thieves, and how the Federal Government deeded away immense wagon-road and railroad land grants for a song. No State in the West has ever imposed such a burden upon its people as the Federal Government imposed upon the people of Oregon in the matter of the Oregon & California Railroad Co.'s land grant. Had Congress prescribed a few simple restrictions to this grant, all the resulting delay and litigation would have been avoided and the immense tract of land embraced within the grant would now be the scene of civilization and development instead of a howling wilderness, In view of all this, it seems to me that the advocates of Federal control of our natural resources should not overlook the fact that the Federal Government's administration of the public domain has not been such a wonderful success

We people of the West are a loyal people. We love our Government, both State and National, and our flag, and I resent the insinuations that we are not to be trusted in the government of our internal affairs and of protecting ourselves and our posterity from monopoly and exorbitant rates. It has been stated by ultraconservationists that we of the West want the control of these resources in order to turn them over to corporations. There is, of course, no warrant for such charges, and they represent the counterfeit zeal of the demagogue rather than the sober apprehensions of genuine patriotism. The record of the West in the matter of corporate regulation and control speaks for itself, and speaks louder than these spurious charges.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS MERELY PROPRIETARY OWNER,

Those who are advocating the passage of the pending measure fail to distinguish between the sovereign and the proprietary capacity of the United States. The sovereign jurisdiction does not, and, from the very nature of things, can not, extend to the public domain, for is not this domain all located within sovereign States, and is not each State sovereign within its own boundaries? Did not the original thirteen States reserve to themselves all power not specifically granted to the Federal Government, and have not all States admitted subsequently been admitted on an equality? Is not the State required to maintain roads and schools, exercise the police power, and hold elections throughout its entire area, including public domain owned by the Federal Government? Can it be successfully argued that a State can exercise all these functions and the sovereignty of the public domain repose in the Federal Government? If the Federal Government is sovereign, then these vast areas throughout the public-land States of the West are not portions of the States, but are Federal provinces—a proposition too

ridiculous to admit of serious consideration. The truth of the whole matter is that the Federal Government is not the sovereign but the proprietary owner of the public domain, and as such has the legal right to hold, sell, or lease this public domain—the same as any other proprietary owner of land has the right to hold, sell, or lease. But has the Federal Government the moral right to adopt any policy that will withhold this public domain from settlement and development? It is true that the organic acts by which these Western States were admitted to the Union prescribed a relinquishment of all unappropriated public land to the Federal Government, to be held in trust for the benefit of the people, but does this mean that this public land is to be withheld forever from settlement, private ownership, and the jurisdiction of the power of the States to tax?

PUBLIC DOMAIN MUST EVENTUALLY BE ON TAX ROLLS.

Any policy which tends to create and continue large areas of untaxed public domain works a great hardship upon the people of the State in which such domain is located and destroys the time-honored principle of equality among the States. It must eventually be conceded that the Federal Government holds the public domain for the use of the people, and that the larger portion of domain must, in the course of time, pass into private ownership and be taxed for the support of schools, roads, and the institutions of the State and county governments. The Federal Government recognizes this tendency in the enactment of homestead and reclamation laws, and it can not be successfully contended that the Government intends to withhold from settlement forever the lands and resources of the great West, except such as may be needed for parks, monuments, public works, or forest-reserve areas that are unfit for cultivation or presentday use, but upon which timber may be grown for future generations.

BILL VIOLATES CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF STATES.

I have a very high regard for the patriotism and statesmanship of the author of this bill [Mr. Ferris] and for the Secretary of the Interior [Mr. Lane]. I recognize many commendable features in the bill, but I also recognize a number of weak points and have discussed what I believe to be the most important—the usurpation of the States' undisputed right of ownership and control of the waters of nonnavigable streams. I believe this to be a violation of the moral, legal, equitable, and constitutional rights of the Western States, and therefore can not give my assent to it. I would not oppose the bill upon partisan grounds and am glad to see that partisanship has not entered into this debate. My objection to this bill is fundamental and based on principle, and I would be recreant to the sentiment of the West and unworthy of the trust reposed in me if I failed to voice my protest against it.

The Government's ownership of the public domain being proprietary and not sovereign, I contend that the State, which is sovereign within its own limits, should unquestionably be privileged to exercise the right of eminent domain over all land within its borders, and that by virtue of such a right the State, or those acting under its authority, can condemn Government-owned land lying adjacent to nonnavigable streams and can proceed to the development of hydroelectric power plants thereon. This is the main point involved in this entire discussion, and is the great question at issue in the case now pending in the Supreme Court of the United States—the case of the Beaver River Power Co. against the United States.

WESTERN DEVELOPMENT RETARDED.

The public land of the East and Middle West has long since passed to private ownership and contributed its share of taxation to the various State and local governments, and yet we find gentlemen from these States who stand upon this floor and tell us of the West that our magnificent section of the country, endowed as it is by a bountiful Providence with a delightful climate, fertile soil, abundant resources, and a sturdy race of people, is to remain dormant and undeveloped because the Federal Government is the proprietary owner of a large portion of its area.

Does anyone believe that any of our Western States can become truly great if they are denied that right to tax large portions of their areas or to utilize their greatest and most useful natural resources? Does anyone believe that the framers of our Constitution contemplated that large areas of free States should be forever controlled from Washington and the people of these States denied the right to legislate as to matters that are of local and State-wide concern? Again I say that the Federal Government was created and established as one limited and delegated power, and that this proposed usurpation of the rights of the States of the great West was not contemplated by our constitutional forefathers. [Applause.]

The American Woman.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES H. DILLON, OF SOUTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 22, 1916.

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print I insert a speech made by Mrs. Harley Thomas, of White Lake, S. Dak., before the South Dakota Universal Franchise Association, at Huron, S. Dak., on November 18, 1915.
The speech is as follows:

THE AMERICAN WOMAN.

ADDRESS BY MRS. HARLEY THOMAS, OF WHITE LAKE, S. DAK., BEFORE THE SOUTH DAKOTA UNIVERSAL FRANCHISE ASSOCIATION AT HURON, S. DAK., NOVEMBER 18, 1915.

This age is witnessing a readjustment in the affairs of women. The great movements of the day are attracting our attention on every hand. Politics are interfering with our realm at every turn, so that we have been forced into the position we take, and it is only right that we should go forth to help solve the problems of the home and the interests

great movements of the day are attracting our attention on every hand. Politics are interfering with our realm at every turn, so that we have been forced into the position we take, and it is only right that we should go forth to help solve the problems of the home and the interests we represent.

When our sphere of action is compared with that of our grandmothers it is to be wondered what the next 50 years will demand of the American woman. The high and holy position of our grandmothers has been and is still the subject of sublime culogy; and well it should be, for they contributed their link in the chain of human progress. But however that may be, to judge correctly of an age or generation one must know the surroundings or forces at work. In those days the home and all its exclusive rights were hers; to-day we are obliged to follow our domestic activities into business and industrial enterprises. Whatever the fate of other days, it is our duty to contribute our share to human progress as it appeals to us in the conditions of to-day; for it has been wisely said that. Man looks after the affails of life, but when the subject of t

The bravest of battles that ever was fought,
Shall I tell you where and when?
On the maps of the world you will find it not—
Twas fought by the mothers of men.
No marshaling troop, no bivouac song,
No banners that gleam and wave;
But, oh, its struggles they last so long—
From babyhood down to the grave.

The American woman of to-day must be a financier. She must be keenly awake to existing conditions. A few years ago, when a young girl either failed in or disliked her chosen work, her parents found relief in the thought that she could get married and settle down. But times have changed. This decisive step to-day does not mean settling down, but rather a rising up to meet life's responsibilities. She must think, for her life in reality then begins. She must first realize the keen competition of the business or professional life of her husband, and realize the value of money as she has perhaps never realized it before. She must know just where they stand in money matters; then she must invest accordingly.

She must have a knowledge of the constituents of food. She must study the prices of food products and practice economy in the use of foods. She should become interested in the factories, the health of their employees—so that the food she serves her family has not been subjected to diseased conditions. She must study the cheapest and best methods of buying, whether in large or small quantities. One might think this all an easy matter; but it becomes quite complicated, especially where obliged to do it on limited income. So that those who think a married woman does not need to use her mind to advantage are laboring under a serious mistake. If she does not live within a margin of the family income, she fails in the science of financing; and home building will lose some of that cherished effort, for there is a consolation in knowing that a little is being saved for the rainy day.

Let us guard against excessive demands. It isn't necessary that

inancing; and home building will lose some of that cherished effort, for there is a consolation in knowing that a little is being saved for the rainy day.

Let us guard against excessive demands. It isn't necessary that we try to compete in luxury with our more wealthy friends; often-times our humbler homes are the happier, and it is the spirit of the home that tells. And it is often quite true that our wealthy friends do not spend so freely or dress so lavishly as those of more limited means, so that we gain no point on that ground. I might add that in these days, when styles change so rapidly, judgment in buying, and a little tact in the art of sewing, might mean considerable to the hank account. The American man is justly proud of his family, and rather than refuse those whom he loves best, he is often tempted in a weak moment to forme the cheek. I do not meam to emphasize money as the all-important factor of the home, for it is not, but in these days of keen competition it forms a very important factor.

We havn't gathered here to pour forth a torrent of corruption upon the men of our country. Our motio should be "justice and equality." The social and industrial forces which are largely shaping the history of this century must need the strongest cooperation between men and women. Public thought has sort of released the father from his moral duties to the home, deeming it sufficient if he but sustain it financially, which is no trivial matter to say the least: but our children must be fed morally as well as physically. The home is a moral organization—the mother superintends, directs, and upholds its standard, but the father must be a presiding factor.

I must add that we are largely responsible for the attitude of the men of to-day. They give us what we demand, and present conditions, as a rule, demand that we bring men back into the home, where they, too, must have a sacred influence to lend to the home and family. The duties of father must not be transferred to those of mother. It requires the peculiar ex

to nation.

The old idea that men are interested only in a pretty face has fallen through. A face full of thought and expression is more attractive than the one of passive beauty. It is personality, not beauty, that influences our men unconsciously, and it is the active mind that develops personality and personality develops beauty, for it is the soul within us that speaks. If we influence man we must become artists of human nature. We must feed his heart and his mind as well as his appetite. If we look about us we will observe that it is the women of ideas who find in their husbands true companionship. The woman whose mind is never refreshed by the current topics of the day too often drifts into the household drudge.

Society cossip want satisfy the man. A little may act as a flever

often drifts into the household drudge.

Society gossip won t satisfy the man. A little may act as a flavor, but his practical mind responds to something richer and deeper, and we must prove to him that we live and think in higher things. Let us, the women of this country, become more interested in the living questions of the day and the American man will begin to prefer family and home to good-fellowship and clubroom, for there is no home complete without both man and woman. If we preserve our country we must preserve our homes, for the home is the lever to uplift the world.

Free young women should receive training in some spacel line of

Every young woman should receive training in some special line of work whether she marries or chooses to remain single. It is necessary to the single woman and might prove so to the married woman. If the husband fails as the bread earner, it is the wife's duty to come to his relief, and there are thousands of women all over our country enlisting as bread winners in order that the homes may be sustained. If man and woman are going to establish a home, when one falls in performing his duty, the other must do it for him.

Lack of employment creates discontent on the part of women of leisure. There was a growing tendency among the women of the last generation to try to establish prestige by elevating themselves above the menial employments of the home; but the great throng of American women are casting aside the false sentiments of the past.

women are casting aside the false sentiments of the past.

God gave us hands to use and there is no better place to use them than about the home, and the woman who is an artist in the home stands on the same footing with the sculptor or musician, and it is within the reach of every woman to become skilled as a home builder. Let us remember that to work is to worship, and that the cleanest citizenship and the great moving power of the country come from those who labor with mind and body. Our inventors, financiers, statesmen, and philanthropists do not come from the leisure classs. The greatest men and truest women laid the foundation of this Republic with the toil of their hands, and to-day women are found in factories, offices, and schools wherever there is work to be done. The business and financial world must recognize her as a rising factor, and as a tax payer she meets the demands of the Government.

They tell us that the days of chivalry are gone, that the sacred mis-

They tell us that the days of chivalry are gone, that the sacred mission of woman is fading from view; but we are on the eve of a new day, and when the morning dawns the Stars and Stripes will wave

ever a freer people. Then will the American woman stand enfranchised under the Goddess of Liberty.

The last century still echoes the old story—woman's influence. If an influence chained is so powerful, what would it be set free? The judgment of the American woman is a balanced quantity. Our opponents do not understand us. They do not understand womankind. They think with the ballot in our hands we will suddenly become transformed into military forces, going about the country dictating unto all mankind. That the enfranchised woman will never more love the sacred portals of bome, but what a mistake. There will never be any place on earth so welcome to woman's heart as home, sweet home.

The great dramatist Shakespeare has said human nature never changes, and we find this true with the women of the enfranchised States. It has given them a keener insight and a larger understanding of life in general. This public sentiment against woman's progress is merely repeating itself in history. Whenever women were offered any special advantages, the masses rose up in horror of the results. When the gates of coeducation were thrown ajar, and woman grasped the opportunity, wild denunciations rose up from both men and women. Again it repeated itself; women begin to invade the business and industrial world.

The cry went up that men would be driven out of employment. But God has decreed labor for all and there are still fields of industry and wealth undeveloped and unexplored; and through it all she stands cleaner with her superior intellect, ready to gracefully accept the right of citizenship and thence march on hand in hand with man, neither his master nor his slave.

I speak of suffrage because it is the main public issue of the American woman of to-day, and it would indeed be interesting if all the objections raised to it were placed on record, and future years would, no doubt, smile, as we do when we read objections raised to great movements of the past. The one objection holding preference in the minds of our opponents is

With political equality within our reach, we are now facing a momentous question, that of establishing moral equality—not by lowering woman, but by elevating man. There must be a single standard of morality for both men and women. We shall no longer tolerate commercialized vice and see our sons poisoned mentally and physically before they reach mature judgment. I can give no better thought than that expressed by Dean Summer when he said, "One kind of man walks our street without a spark of honor, without a spark of sportsmanship. He is the hunter of the uninformed, lonely girl, the girl who is lonely as you and I have been. She is hunted down by him. She is lost to her family, lost to her friends, lost to herself, lost to her God; but he is accepted everywhere. He continues to walk the streets a romantic figure."

It will never be any different till you women demand the single standard, till you say to your boys, "Somewhere, some girl is keeping standard, till you say to your boys, "Somewhere, some girl is keeping

figure."

It will never be any different till you women demand the single standard, till you say to your boys, "Somewhere, some girl is keeping herself clean and sweet for you. Can't you do as much for her?" I challenge you, the flower of womanhood, to say to men. "No longer shall you exploit my sex in degradation of marriage to which you bring disease." Public opinion has become very indifferent to this growing vice. On one hand it caters to wealth and position and carries those steeped in the vice on the tide of society, while on the other hand the working girl who falls through her struggle for existence is sent down to dishonor. But public sentiment is now being aroused, and it is to be hoped that the social evil has reached its climax, and I claim this credit for the American woman, whose heart and mind were first touched by human conditions.

She has labored conscientiously against that mental and moral de-

that the social evil has reached its climax, and I claim this credit for the American woman, whose heart and mind were first touched by human conditions.

She has labored conscientiously against that mental and moral destroyer—intemperance. She has been confronted with every argument and with every obstacle, at times not even a gleam of victory. But with a purpose true, her efforts knew not fail, and, like Hamlet's ghost, she would not down. And to-day the whole world is taking up her thought and justice is being enthroned in the conscience of men. In 1916 we shall prove to the inhabitants of this great State that we can improve cities, that we can build schools and churches, and greater than all clee, we can build men, without the revenue from the saloons.

As we look upon warfare as it is being waged between enlightened nations to-day it seems that history is turning backward. While the constructive genius of those great nations were leading the world in art and science, there was silently going on inventions to destroy the purpose of higher man. One must pause with the question, for what purpose does a nation build if the government which fosters it at the same time encourages forces for its destruction? All this seems like mock civilization. They are not fighting for the emancipation of man from some great evil; even were this true, the better judgment of this age should resorf to saner means. It is said that war is the result of political gamblers who care little about the country that is laid waste, the millions of lives that are sacrificed, the manhood degenerated, or the hearts that are broken. They must have power at whatever cost.

As one looks upon this country, beautified by the higher purpose of man and made more wonderful by his inventive genius, he sees a country that stands for right and not for conquest and power. As American eagle, as he hovers in the atmosphere above us, gives warning of threatening danger, and it seems at times that this country will become entrapped in war's dreadful machin

resort to The Hague tribunal for settlement. But let no one lose faith in a better day; a day when armaments on land and sea will cease; when it will not be a question of air crafts and submarines, but of right and wrong, and till then—

Be strong.
We are not here to play, to dream, to drift;
We have hard work to do and loads to lift,
Shun not the struggle, face it, 'tis God's gift. Be strong, Say not the days are evil, who's to blame, And fold the hands and acquiesce, O shame! Stand up, speak out, and bravely in God's name. How hard the battle goes, the days how long, Faint not, fight on, to-morrow brings the song.

Americanism and Patriotism.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES H. DAVIS. OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 22, 1916.

Mr. DAVIS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it has been nearly two generations since our fratricidal war of the sixties, and it would seem that our Americanism and patriotism would inspire a better feeling than that of intolerance and sectional hate. But there are men yet on both sides who keep the cankering sores of the war period rubbed raw because it provides a partisan purpose in which they serve some sordid special interest by

preying upon the passions of a past age.

Some days ago on this floor in commenting on the malicious designs of syndicated wealth as represented in the notorious "Gary dinner," where the money-mongers and sordid trust masters were holding conclave with a damnable design, as I thought, to debauch this country and destroy the Republic, I spoke of it as far more reprehensible and destructive of human spoke of it as far more reprehensible and destructive of liberty than that cabal of the slave power, spoken of in what is known as the "Ostend circular," when the slave power was designing to annex Cuba and Mexico, south of Mason and Dixon's line, which finally resulted in secession and a bloody war. In this connection I mentioned in the light of history Bob Toombs, W. L. Yancey, and Jeff Davis, seeking to convey the idea that these money devils that were holding these Belshazzar's feasts these war traffickers and trust masters—were designing to put us in war, make millions out of the war, and then elect Roose-

velt, whom they were feasting, to prolong their sway.

In my speech I referred to Gen. Miles's testimony against a huge Army and Navy, with its conscription and despotism, and called him a "grand old patriot." This made Morgan's and called him a "grand old patriot." This made Morgan's minions and the defenders of the damnable liquor traffic who run newspapers furious, and in Texas they raised the bloody shirt, and men who belonged to "the rabbit-hunt brigade" during the war began to fight the war over and to cave and cavort all around me because I called Gen. Miles a patriot, saying "he was the man that cruelly imprisoned Jeff Davis." Perhaps he was cruel; those were cruel times. A raging, murderous, cruel war of four years had just ended with the assassination of Lincoln as President and maddened resistors of in nation of Lincoln as President, and maddened passions of in-tense frenzy held the country under its sway.

Then following, on Sunday eve, by invitation, I made a prohibition speech at Poli's Theater that awakened great interest

throughout the country. I am now marked for slaughter. One so-called Upshur Vincent, in the Houston Post, vituperating Miles and me, says I slandered Jeff Davis. I deny it in toto. Jeff Davis, like my father and thousands of southern leaders and citizens, believed slavery was a divine institution, taught and supported in the Bible. For the men as such I have a high respect, but for such doctrine I have an utter abhorrence. But since I read this man Vincent's venomous fusillade against Gen. Miles and me, I want to compliment Jeff Davis by saying that this willful, malicious, pragmatic poltroon, compared to Jeff Davis would be like comparing Judas to Jesus. But I beg pardon of Judas for even mentioning him in comparison with this man Vincent.

This bloody-shirt issue including Gen. Miles and me in its imprecating poison is a national question. Hence I am glad to use the national forum to set Gen. Miles, myself, and the issue squarely before the country in its true light, and at the same time uncover the perfidious pelf dealers who raise the bloody shirt to conceal their nefarious designs. I never saw Gen. Miles or Jeff Davis. I only know them in history, as I know many others of that war period.

Mr. Speaker, I, like my Savior, let the dead past bury its dead, and with a glorious hope for the destiny of this Republic,

look forward to grand achievements in its name.

Twenty-five years ago, one Sunday morning in May, on the battle field of Corinth, in whose trenches lay the unmarked bones of my oldest brother, who went down in that carnage wearing the gray, with uncovered head, in deepest melancholy, I called upon God to witness the rectitude of my conduct while I stood-in my mind's eye-on the south side of a dead brother's bones, strewed flowers over the clay that covered them, and reaching out my right hand, shook hands in American fellowship with the soldier who wore the blue, and thanked God that Abraham Lincoln had lived and that chattel slavery had been

abolished in this Republic forever.

And there in my solitude I meditated over what the war had cost me and mine. I called to mind that my father and oldest brother, five uncles on my father's side and three uncles on my mother's side all wore the gray; and that three of those on the field answered the last roll call amid carnage, bullets, bayonets, and blood, making a pillow of their knapsack, went to sleep in eternity. I thought of the fact that all on earth my father had in earthly possessions was in black chattel slaves, and went down in the emancipation proclamation. And left homeless and destitute at the close of the war, my mother, a consumptive invalid, died soon after, leaving seven living children, of whom I was next to the oldest boy. Without a home, without an education, we set about to battle our way through the world, my brother and I being the principal breadwinners for the family. I thought of the fact that I had been deprived of a collegiate and even a commonschool education, and although just previously admitted to practice law in the supreme court of my State, the most of whatever education I had was acquired by burning a midnight lamp and by pine-knot fires in an humble home.

And yet, in the Americanism of my heart, I said to myself that the preservation of this Union and the hope it held out for human freedom was worth all the sacrifices that had been made. And then and there, without abating one jot or tittle of love and admiration for the boys in gray and their chieftains of my southland, I dedicated myself with whatever powers of mind and body I possessed to the perpetuation of this Republic as an "indissoluble Union of indestructible States," confederated under a Constitution binding them in mutual cooperation to stand for the glory of God and the grandeur of men, as made manifest in the Declaration of American Independence that gave And then and there I pledged my life to help free this land from the corporation combines and the greedy monopolies that were then forming and feasting upon the toil of the farmers and helpless labor with as heartless cruelty and as merciless avidity as ever the slaveholder did with the slaves, and rapidly concentrating the wealth of our country into a few great corporations. I also pledged my life to the utter extermination of that legalized infamy known as the liquor traffic, which had become a great Government monopoly and was feasting upon human depravity, growing rich upon the wreck of happy homes, and building palaces out of the tears and tribula-

tion of innocent women and children.

As to whether I have fulfilled that promise, I leave the historian to tell. But I beg pardon for pointing to the fact that since that time I have helped in four States in this Union, in which we drove the liquor traffic from its legal intrenchments; helped in 120 counties in Texas, in which the liquor traffic has been legally exiled; that in the defense of progressive democracy, with all its best known and sacred principles, I have repeatedly canvassed most of the States of this Union. Sacrificing many opportunities to make money and acquire wealth, I have given the best years of my life to the cause of the plain people, of democracy and prohibition, asking and expecting but little; and the only recompense of value to which I can point is the heart blossoms of gratitude in many thousand homes that have been made sober, peaceful, and happy by my labors.

And now this man Vincent, supposed to be the agent, emis-

sary, and secret-service sleuth of combined conscienceless busiturns loose on me with a tirade so malevolent, so vicious, so full of unscrupulous venom that I can not maintain my selfrespect and remain silent under his vindictive anathemas.

The Houston Post and Chronicle have slandered me with unabating malice for years, and this last exudation of putrid filth is nothing new. Out of its total disregard for Democracy and clean government, five years ago the Post threatened vehemently and vigorously to secede from Texas in defense of the villainous liquor traffic and make a whisky State out of south Texas. A paper that is so depraved as that may be expected to do anything to support dishonor, uphold vice, slander virtue, traduce

honesty, and extol falsehood and villainy. For years it has taken every opportunity to slander, traduce, and vilify me, and this fresh onslaught is only another overflow of its gall and

Every honest man that stands for decency, honor, virtue, clean politics, and sober homes will find the Houston Post, Houston Chronicle, and papers of their ilk ready to turn over whole pages to men who want to castigate, calumniate, abuse, and

Not content with slinging the bloody shirt and slime all over Gen. Miles and me, these miserable cankerworms on the body politic challenge and calumniate my Democracy. The Houston Post has been the devil's defender and the speaking tube for the

liquor traffic for years.

I am now 62 years of age; my life has been subject to the common frailties of humanity, and I shall not offer myself a bright example for Democracy or religion, but I resent, refute, deny, and defy every charge that these character assassins deny, and dery every charge that these character assassins make in their venomous attack. Friends of the liquor traffic and big business have slandered me for years and this scurrilous attack is part of their program; but I have, inspired by the love of God and home, gone on helping to exterminate the traffic, and all the combined powers of Morgan and the traffic can not stop me while I live. With me on these questions there is no truce and no treaty.

The coward may cringe and the timid may be terrified by vindictive assault. It is different with me. I can stand up with St. Paul and join in that glorious spirit he had when he

Though beaten with many stripes and twice put in prison he counted it all honor to suffer for a cause so righteous.

They may hush my voice in the chambers of death, And take from my veins the crimson blood, But as long as these lungs can inhale breath I'll stand in the battle where I've always stood—
A battle for the weak against the strong, A battle for the right against the wrong, A battle for the poor and plundered masses, Against the plundering arrogant classes, And the slanderous tongues of scornful men Shall have no terrors for me.
I'll stand in the fray where I've always been No matter what results may be.

A United States Senator from a historic southern State, a man famous for his real democracy, who has been governor as well as United States Senator, told me since I have been in Washington that the sublimest set of Democratic principles ever written in a national platform was the Populist platform of the Omaha National Convention. Ex-Congressman, Ignatius Donomana National Convention. Ex-Congressman, agnatus Poin-nelly, of Minnesota; ex-Senator Tom Patterson, of Colorado; and Cyclone Davis, of Texas, wrote practically every word of that platform. Donnelly and I spent nearly one whole night in its preparation before the convention convened. These principles first appearing in the platform of the National Farmers' Alliance adopted at Ocala, Fla., were indorsed later at a national conference of the grange, the alliance, and the Knights of Labor at Cincinnati. They were then enlarged and amplified as the basic principles of the Populist movement at Omaha and as the basic principles of the Populist movement at Ghana and received 2,000,000 votes in that election. They made up the cardinal principles of the Bryan platform of 1896, in which they rent in twain the Democratic Party, putting Bryan at the head of the great reform movement.

In 1912 they had found such lodgment in the hearts of Americans that Roosevelt took up a large portion of them and literally tore asunder the Republican Party. And the whole world now knows that upon these issues Woodrow Wilson was elected. And if loyalty to these grand principles makes a man a Democrat, my Democracy has been unswerving for 25 years, for beginning with the Ocala platform, under that noble patriot of North Carolina, Leonidas Polk, as president of the National Alliance, I took part in all the struggles that finally led up to the election of Wilson. And in the Wilson campaign I volunteered my service and campaigned nine States in his interest.

When I saw those pages of slime and slander against Gen. Miles and me, I bathed my soul in prayer, and knew that when I had to take such slanderous abuse I was only paying the price that every man must pay who fights Morgan and his invisible government and that organized legalized demon known as the liquor traffic.

"A tree is known by its fruit," and I point to a thousand battles and a thousand victories won in defense of patriotism, prohibition, and progressive Democracy, as apples of joy growing on my tree. These principles have become the shibboleth and battle cry of millions of freemen, enshrined in the hearts of our country's noblest men, and this nondescript, this Hessian has columns in the Houston Post in defamation of my name and of Gen. Miles, simply because we refuse to run raving mad in this war craze, and turn the country over to Morgan and his war traffickers.

When I read those infamous assaults my heart grew sick over the wanton depravity of the men that wrote them and the papers that published them, but remembering that God has said that the man who conquers himself is far greater than a man who conquers a city, I am trying to smile at the iniquity of their recurstion and pray for those who despitefully use me.

accusation and pray for those who despitefully use me.

All these years I have stood for the income tax, election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, the initiative, referendum, and recall, a liberal farm-loan rural credit system, and all of those grand principles which mark our greatest patriots. I had more than 500 debates in their defense. For them my voice has rung out in almost every county seat from Chicago to the Pacific Ocean and from the Ohio River to the Gulf. I have been trusted and honored by their friends for 20 years, and never yet lost my lance, lowered my shield, or faltered in the face of an enemy. I have been called often by telegram to all parts of the Union by the best men that ever lived, trusted by them to lead the conflict in more than 500 joint debates, one of the chosen men sent throughout the United States to bear the toil, endure the pain, face the frowns of sordid, selfish greed in their defense; spent my own money to attend more than a hundred conventions and conferences throughout the Union to promote their adoption.

And now this ribald ruffian finds bloody-shirt sheets in Texas, where he ventilates his venom in defense of those gluttonous,

greedy concerns that want me destroyed.

All this clamor and calumniating abuse of me found in the pages of Morgan's minions and mouth organs, like the Houston Post and the Houston Chronicle, is nothing new or strange. They spread slime and slander over every man that stands for

honest, clean government and the plain people.

When I came to Congress, if I had lined up with Morgan and his war traffickers to load the common people with billions of taxes fed into the greedy maw of the Steel Trust, if I had been willing to prostitute myself to the base service of Morgan and his melon cutters and got behind the curtains and played soft and sweet with them and helped them in their mysterious and invisible government rob the people and fix up a great military machine to stifle the cry of the oppressed and perpetuate the sway of Morgan and his plundering minions, I might have abused Jeff Davis in the vilest terms, and yet the Houston Post and Houston Chronicle would have now been extolling me as a great and worthy patriot and statesman. But I thank the God who gives me the light to see the right that He also gives me the courage to perform. The only way I could expect to win their praise would be to abase myself to the infamous service of organized greed and organized infamy. This I refuse to do. If they can find some spineless specimen of humanity who will come under their wing and be their puppet, you will see them singing his praise and working for him to take the place I hold.

Mr. Speaker, there are a lot of venal character assassins who operate daily papers to serve the sordid selfish interests by a continuous attack upon Members of Congress and public men who refuse to betray the people and assist in their spoliation. The Houston Post stands at the head of this generation of vipers in Texas. But I thank God there is one paper in the United States that tells the truth about Congressmen and in which they give the people the truth untarnished and in which they can expose the people's enemies.

I now give the Houston Post notice that I will serve God and humanity by exposing the venom of its villainous attacks in the Congressional Record, a paper that does not belong to the "subsidized press," but belongs to the people and speaks the

truth as their sworn Representatives see it.

It is a sad commentary on the hope, heart, and prospects of this Republic to think that 50 years after the Civil War a southern boy, born a slave holder, and who lost all on earth he had in the emancipation proclamation, began life at the close of that war a motherless orphan, can not refer to Gen. Miles as a patriotic man without being castigated, maligned, and abused by these vile papers. There may be another reason for their malignant shafts thrown at me. Their pretended love and devotion to Jeff Davis and the southern cause may be only a hypocritical cant with which they seek to shield their infamy while they protect organized greed, organized lechery and lust and the brutal trusts and combines that are preying upon the innocent people.

Congress has been considering the question of what should be done with some sixty-five millions of cotton taxes that were unlawfully collected from southern people during the war and reconstruction period. And, sir, speaking for myself, I want to rise above the prejudices and passions of the past and pray God that I may live to see the day, and that I may help to

write the law that will carry this money back to the country from whence it was unlawfully taken. The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that this money was unlawfully taken, and hence this Republic has no right, either in law or justice, to refuse to honestly and fairly return it to the people. And to assume that this Republic is under no obligations to return this fund, because some of the persons from whom it was unlawfully taken were disloyal to the Union, is to set up the astounding doctrine that this great Republic is under no obligation to do justice; for, if the money was unlawfully taken, it is immaterial in any court on earth whether it was taken from saints or sinners, the taker himself has no right to the property unlawfully and wrongfully taken. To assume otherwise is to undermine the very foundations of all law and of civilization itself; and cold must be the heart and callous the conscience of the man on either side of that great struggle who, 50 years after its close, would ignore and scorn down the righteous demands of

There may be another motive behind all this bloody shirt, spite, spleen, and vindictive acrimony against Gen. Miles and myself. The depraved designs of the war traffickers may be to stand guard around the Treasury and allow no claim, however just, to take \$65,000,000 out of the Treasury. The Steel Trust, the Powder Trust, the Armor-Plate Trust, the "war traffickers," and the munition makers are longing to get their clutches on that \$65,000,000.

It may be, sir, that some secret power and pipe lines connect these institutions with such papers as the Houston Post and the Houston Chronicle to bring down their venom and condemnation on men like myself who refuse to surrender to these

munition plunderers and war traffickers.

Soon after the opening of this session, Congressman Tillman, of Arkansas, a man like myself, who has grown up since the war, feeling that the highest elements of national honor is to do justice, introduced a bill to pay this sixty-odd millions of dollars back to the South by pensioning the old Confederate soldier. And if the Texas papers that have been maligning and abusing Gen. Miles and me had been half as anxious to serve the old gray-coat soldiers as they were to raise the bloody shirt and serve Morgan and war traffickers, they could have joined in a general patriotic appeal in the name of a reunited country to help Mr. Tillman, myself, and others who have labored day by day to advance this measure.

But, sir, in the maddened rage of the war frenzy, now clamoring for all the money there is in the Treasury to be handed out to the Steel Trust and war traffickers, many papers brand almost every honest appropriation of public funds for the general purposes of government as "pork-barrel" legislation, while they yell in remorseless greed for a whole pork hogshead of funds to be handed out to Morgan and his meion cutters.

And in this pell-mell of perfidy that is now running rampant I fear the old, maimed, battle-scarred, tax-ridden, corporationrobbed veterans of the gray will be shoved aside. But, sir, if I
could have my way I would pass some just measure to dispose of
this fund toward a reunited, rehabilitated Union. I would like
to set out at least \$250,000 of that fund to pay the expenses of a
grand national union of the blue and the gray here in the
Nation's Capital, with fitting ceremonies, mementoes, and mottoes. Then pass a law providing the larger part of this fund be
appropriated for pensions to the old southern soldier. And in so
doing we could show to the world a great example of patriotism,
chivalry, and poetic justice.

The old soldier of the North, the veteran of the blue, would be on the pension roll from the general funds of the Republic as a compliment to him from the great heart and conscience of a Union he helped to preserve. The old soldier, the haggard, the worn old soldier of the South, could go home from that reunion with his heart aglow over the grandeur, the glory, the magnanimity of our Republic. This sum, which the Government unlawfully took, amid the passions of the past, it had in the calm, cool consideration that 50 years of reflection had brought about, with a generous love of justice handed back

to these sons of the South.

Mr. Speaker, scenes and realizations of this kind would be to men like myself entrancing indeed. For, whatever may have been felt and seen and heard in those cruel days of the sixties, when the fiery, impetuous chivalry of the South and the cool patriotism of the North met to make the bloodiest battle fields of history, the very valor and splendid courage of that day behooves us now to make sure a transcendent future by abating the last vestige of hate and malice and turn our face to the coming day of our Nation's grandeur. For, if we are to succeed in the future in holding our sphere and position among the peoples of the earth as the world's glorious example of self-government and democracy, we must

not nourish the hatred of the past, but cherish the friendship

and solidarity of a glorious future.

It will not be long until all the old veterans, both North and South, will hear the bugle's blast, blown by a trumpeter who stands by the golden gates of eternity. It will not be long until bent down by years they will take their last drink from the canteen of life. It will not be long until heaven's angel band will be the music of their drum corps,

And, sir, in my mind's eye I pull away the mystic curtains that hang between us and glory land and see the grand reunion of the sons of the South and boys of the blue following Grant and Lee under the archways of infinitude and entering that

joyous day in glory that knows no end.

The American Army.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH,

OF MINNESOTA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 22, 1916.

Mr. LINDBERGH. Mr. Speaker, as throwing a line of light on this section for promotions, section 11, I wish to use a letter which I received and to have it read into the RECORD. It is from a man who was seven years in the Regular Army, a very well read man, and a good observer as well as a student of economics. He is the author of a book upon important social problems that shows him to be a man of exceptional ability and unques-tioned integrity. I mention those facts merely to give the weight to what he states in his letter that it should have.

The letter is as follows:

BATTLE LAKE, MINN., February 15, 1916.

Hon, CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Every young man who enlists in the Army and applies himself to his duties in the proper spirit can feel reasonably sure of promotion. This is a statement which some no doubt will dispute, but, nevertheless, I believe I am right in the assertion. There is nothing the matter with the opportunities, but the system of promotion is absolutely

himself to his duties in the proper spirit can feel reasonably sure of promotion. This is a statement which some no doubt will dispute, but, nevertheless, I believe I am right in the assertion. There is nothing the matter with the opportunities, but the system of promotion is absolutely wrong and unjust.

A large number of the commissioned officers have worked their way up to a commission from the ranks, and it seems though as those officers have a very successful "knack" of handling men; in other words, they know the "ropes" from the bottom up.

The American Army is, I believe, the only army worth the name which permits the men from the ranks to gain the coveted shoulder straps. The examination for a commission is open to all enlisted men who have not less than two years' service to their credit and are under 30 years of age. During my entire service I have never yet heard of a single case where an enlisted man desiring to go up for a commission was not given every opportunity to do so. Officers, as a rule, do all they can in encouraging the men in gaining knowledge, and thus promotion. It is safe to say that the private libraries of officers are at the disposal of enlisted men who are in earnest. The reason why more men do not try to get a commission than there is, is undoubtedly due to lack of enterprise or simply lack of nerve. There is no doubt, but that a commission is worth going after, when it is considered that a second lieutenant's pay is \$1,700 per year. In addition, he is allowed quarters, light, and fuel, making the position worth at least \$2,000 per year to start with. After 5 years' service officers get 10 per cent increase. A second lieutenant's pay will then be \$1,870. After 10 years' service 20 per cent, and after 15 years' service 30 per cent increase. A second lieutenant's pay will then be \$1,870. After 10 years' service 20 per cent, and after 15 years' service 30 per cent increase. An officer should then have reached the rank of capitain, and his pay would be \$3,120 per year, besides the al

In the "line" promotion is not obtained by competitive examination, as for a commission or a noncommissioned staff position, but by appointment. The captain usually "picks" out one of the sergeants for a first sergeant, the same way with the company quartermaster sergeant and mess sergeant. From the ranks of privates men are "picked" out and usually recommended by the first sergeant for corporals and sergeants.

and usually recommended by the first sergeant for corporals and sergeants.

All the noncommissioned officers of "line" hold their warrants "at the pleasure of the commanding officer." There is a constant "picking" and "recommending" "that" man or "this" man for promotion, absolutely no merit system in force whatever. Consequently favoritism plays a great rôle in the matter of promotion, and some men fairly fail over themselves in trying to get "a stand in with the captain" or with some one who they "think" has a stand in with him. The present system of promotion naturally results in the formation of "cliques" among the men, reminding one very much of machine politics on a small scale. No one feels sure of his position, because the warrant continues "at the pleasure of the commanding officer." A great deal of injustice is also the result of this peculiar behind-the-times system, some men can break the rules and it is overlooked, while if somebody else does the same thing, he is punished severely. A noncommissioned officer may be perfectly fair and impartial, but in the execution of his duty he may be obliged to reprimand some one, this "some one" may be the "friend" of somebody higher up, and in nine cases out of ten there is "trouble" ahead.

I have in mind the case of Sergeant F, of Company —, Coast Artillery Corps. Sergeant F had been a sergeant for 15 years and was considered an excellent noncommissioned officer. In some way or other he found himself in disfavor with some of the other noncommissioned officers of his company. A program of systematical "knocking" was instituted against him. In due time the captain was "influenced" and Sergeant F was reduced to a private for "inefficiency" without even the formality of a court-martial, simply at "the pleasure of his commanding officer."

Corporal G was a very efficient noncommissioned officer in the company of which he was a member; he permitted no "back talk" and was a stern disciplinarian coupled with justice. "Knocking" had no

instituted against him. In due time the captain was "influenced" and Sergeant F was reduced to a private for "inefficiency" without even the formality of a court-martial, simply at "the pleasure of his commanding officer."

Corporal G was a very efficient noncommissioned officer in the company of which he was a member; be permitted no "back talk" and was a stern disciplinarian coupled with justice. "Knocking" had no influence whatever with his company commander, who intended to promote him at the first opportunity. He had enemies of higher rank who did not "like" him, and a "frame up" regarding Corporal G's moral character was launched Corporal G had 19 years service to his credit, was a veteran of the Spanish and Philippine campaigns, during which time his alleged immorality had not been discovered. The result of the "frame up" was that Corporal G bought out of the service. Under the present system of promotion a man may be a noncommissioned officer for years in the same organization, but if he should want to serve in some other company he can not do so and retain his rank, he must start in as a private and take his chances for promotion. The result of this very unjust system is that in every organization in the line there can be found oil soldiers, veterans of wars, who perhaps have been noncommissioned officers for years, under the authority of noncommissioned officers barding, maybe, only a year's service to their credit, and the result of this sort of injustice is dissatisfaction and numerous cases of insubordination.

In the year's service to the credit, and the result of this sort of injustice is dissatisfaction and numerous cases of insubordination.

In the year's service to their credit, and the result of this sort of injustice is dissatisfaction and numerous cases of insubordination.

This principle is recognized in the case of commissioned officers. Officers are given very little authority over men until they reach the rank of captain, which usually takes about 10 years. Sometimes a second and first

themselves, but will usually "influence" some innocent fool to do the "testing."

I have in mind a case to which I was a party to myself. I had for some time before I was "picked" for promotion to corporal earned the enmity and jealousy of some of my associates because of the fact that I happened to be, as far as I know, the only enlisted man who ever wrote and published a book white serving in the Army. To make matters worse, I was "made."

Private C, a young, good-natured boy, with whom I heretofore always had had the best of dealings, one day undertook to curse me out. I told him to stop, but he grew more abusive. It was a plain case of insubordination. I had nothing against the man personally; I rather liked him.

insubordination. I had nothing against the man personally; I rather liked him.

Private C was a possessor of a certificate of merit, and I hesitated a long time before I finally placed him under arrest. At the same time I knew that he was influenced by the "agitators," but it seemed to be the only course open, and, as a consequence, Private C was given a fine of \$15 and 30 days' confinement. Needless to say Private C was considered as a "martyr" among the element that did not "like" me. For example: Two young men who had grown up together decided to enlist in the Army and are assigned to the same company, which very often happens. One is picked for promotion, the other one is

not; naturally the one who is promoted is not going to be as strict with his friend as he is with the rest. It would not be human nature for him to be impartial.

Mr. Charles Johnson Post, in Harper's Weekly, in his articles, "The Honor of the Army," writes up cases of severe punishment meted out to enlisted men by courts-martial for offenses which, on the surface, appear insignificant. I admit that the punishments in most cases are too severe; for that matter the method of punishment should be changed altogether, a subject which I will endeavor to deal with later. But Mr. Post does not know the "inside" story, and it is safe to bet that in each case which he cites there was one. Perhaps the offender had for months been engaged in stirring up dissatisfaction among his fellow soldiers or felt slighted because somebody else had been promoted over him, etc. It is safe to assume that the latter reason is the "inside" story in cases where Mr. Post cites the acts of "hysterical corporals and sergeants."

It is my personal belief, backed by actual observation, that a great many cases of insubordination and disobedience of orders, with its trail of courts-martial, fines, and guardhouse sentences, is really due to the prevalent peculiar system of promotion "at the pleasure of the commanding officer."

I have observed that old noncommissioned officers, who have years of service and experience, have very little, if any, trouble with the men, and when an "old soldier" joins the company his promotion is taken as a matter of course.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PROMOTION.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PROMOTION.

I recommend that the present system of promotion by appointment in the "line" of the Army be abolished, and a system of competitive examination be introduced in its stead, as follows: Any private who has served in the Army not less than two years shall be eligible to be promoted to the grade of corporal upon his qualifying for the position. He must be of good moral character, his general fitness for promotion to be determined by a board of officers and noncommissioned officers. Upon the successful passing of the preliminary examination he shall then be required to attend a noncommissioned officers' school for six months; upon graduation he shall then be sent to fill a vacancy wherever it may occur, except in the company where he came from. To do away with reducing to the ranks at some one's pleasure, a noncommissioned officer should be tried for offenses before a regular constituted court, who shall inflict such punishment as may be necessary, including dismissal from the service.

Noncommissioned officers' schools could be established in most any Army post, with officers detailed as instructors. To fill vacancies for sergeants, corporals should be required to pass an examination in the same manner as a lieutenant now has to pass an examination for captain.

It is evident that if promotion in the "line" was made according to a merit system it would not be long before the Army would be in possession of an efficient, well-educated corps of noncommissioned officers, and I believe that the number of them could be reduced 25 per cent and their pay added to the remaining 75 per cent, which would make the position more lucrative and worth keeping. Corporals should be paid \$30, sergeants \$45, and first sergeants \$60 per month. With the establishment of a merit system of promotion, instead of the present "hit-or-miss" nuisance, vacancies for commissioned officers, reserving West Point graduates, with their higher technical education, for the higher commands.

Respectfully,

Carl E. Swanss

I have three other letters from Mr. Swansson, one particularly relating to the rations of the soldiers in the Army. He having been an officer dealing with the commissary department, his ideas are worth consideration. He states in one of his letters that if 10 cents a day additional would be allowed the soldiers for their rations that the service would have all the recruits they could take.

Postal Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN JACOB ROGERS, OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 22, 1916.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement by my colleague [Mr. Tinkham] with reference to House bill 12407, to place certain positions in the Postal Service in the competitive classified service:

The statement is as follows:

STATEMENT BY MR. TINKHAM.

The bill to place the first, second, and third class postmasters in the classified Federal civil service is merely the natural and logical extension and application of the sound business standards of the civil service to the higher offices in the Post Office Department. The postponement to this late day of this natural evolution of the principles of civil service to those positions has been too long deferred with loss both to the service and to the finances of this great department of the people's business, and is without justifiable reason.

The first, second, and third class postmasters have executive charge of the larger post offices of the United States. postmasters have nothing to do with the determination of Government policies. They are subordinates of the Postmaster General, and are no more than administrative officials in charge of the business management of their respective offices. discretion even in details is not large. Their business is not partisan in any part or particular; no more partisan than the business of the postal clerk or letter carrier. It is completely nonpartisan in its entire character, and in its every aspect.

It is an anomaly and an anachronism in the Federal civilservice law that first, second, and third class postmasters of the United States should be removed as a matter of course every time there is a change in the national administration, and that these places should be disposed of as partisan spoils. There is no sound or defensible reason why these positions should be filled by political hirelings to pay political debts. These appointments should not be political patronage, and that the spoils principle maintains in these positions is a denial that the merit system should apply in the more important adminis-trative offices of the Federal Government, and vitiates at the head in the Post Office Department the very principles, standards, and practices of honest civil-service reform.

On January 1, 1916, the number of first-class postmasters was 503, with aggregate salaries of \$1,897,100; the number of second-class postmasters was 2,139, with aggregate salaries of \$5,057,700; and the number of third-class postmasters was 6,479, with aggregate salaries of \$9,030,200; a total of 9,121 a total of 9,121 postmasters with aggregate salaries of \$15,985,000. These posttions and these salaries should no longer be apportioned by the political boss, and disposed of for the political exigencies of any partisan Federal administration-Republican or Demo-

cratic.

The Post Office Department is the largest business unit and department of the peoples' government in the United States, and the principles of the civil service, namely, competitive merit and personal efficiency, and not political influence and personal favor, should apply to every office in this great American public business institution. This department comes in contact with more people than any other department of our national civil administration, and any deficiencies in its administration are more broadly diffused than those of any other Government service. Government service.

On September 30, 1915, there were employed in the Post Office Department 296,879 persons, nearly all of whom were under the beneficent provisions of the Federal civil-service law.

The Post Office Department receipts for the fiscal year 1915 were \$287,248,165.27, and there was expended for the main-tenance of the service \$298,546,026.42. Under the Parcel Post tenance of the service \$238,346,026.42. Under the Parcel Post Service of the Post Office Department 1,000,000,000 packages are now handled annually, and on June 30, 1915, the number of depositors in the Postal Savings Banks system was 525,414, and the amount on deposit was \$65,684,708. This is a gigantic business, and in the near future the business of this department promises an enormous increase.

To-day this greatest of the departments of our civil government is demoralized because of the irregular system of appointment of the first, second, and third class postmasters; these most important positions in the department being filled by political favorites, who are placed in charge of each set of the competitive civil servants employed in the 9,121 principal post offices of the United States. With these positions in the hands of political appointees, promotions under them can only be arranged with difficulty, dismissals are not made with an even hand, and, where it is possible, the merit basis of the civil-service law is evaded both in spirit and in letter. The result is inefficiency in the service, dissatisfaction among the civil-service employees, and extravagance in expenditures, and thus the public is robbed in part of a vital service which should be the most proficient and scientific, the best and most complete.

To secure a body of able and competent civil servants a system should allow an employee to look forward to a life of increasing activity and a career as broad as the service to which he is to devote his life. There should be no arbitrary limit barring him from looking forward to the higher places of his particular branch of the service. The present system of appointment to the first, second, and third class postmasterships places this arbitrary limit upon faithful and competent employees of the

As plain American business reform demands experts more and more rather than amateurs, so the people's business demands better trained and more skillful men. The larger and more intricate the scope of public business becomes the more and more reliance must be placed by the Central Government in Washington upon reports and investigations; so, consequently, the more and more should the delegated head of a local department be skillful and of the best ability.

By applying the merit system to the first, second, and third class postmasters it would be possible to fill many of the postmasterships from the clerical and carrier forces in the post offices and the rest by the promotion of a postmaster from a smaller to a larger office on a basis of efficiency and under a

system of competitive examination.

Postmasters of the first, second, and third classes should be able to conduct large business affairs and by experience be familiar with the character of postal work. The Post Office Department could not do the business it is now doing, nor could it do it with any degree of its present efficiency, if most of the employees were not selected under the merit system or unless demonstrated ability was the principal test of employment and

promotion.

The original reason for the application of the civil-service law—the merit system—to public employment was to take away patronage from the party boss, to bring back to the people the control of their representatives, and to check the demoralization that always follows an irregular system of appointment in the public service. To-day the purpose of the civil-service law is to improve government and, by the application of the principles of efficient business management, produce the best Government results and maintain a permanent and well-ordered control of the great problem of public employment.

To-day the merit system as applied to Government employ-

ment is as positive a policy and as constructive as the policy of the conservation of natural resources. It should be as definite and as complete in its aim and application and as important

in the national program.

On April 4, 1912, President Taft, in connection with the work of his economy and efficiency commission, said:

of his economy and efficiency commission, said:

In my message submitted to the Congress on January 17, I referred to the loss occasioned to the Government because of the fact that in many cases two persons are paid for doing work that could easily be done by one. In the meantime I have caused an inquiry to be made as to the amount in money of this loss. The results of this inquiry are that the loss amounts to at least \$10,000,000 annually. For example it appears that a very substantial economy would result from putting experienced and trained officers in charge of first and second class post offices instead of selecting the postmasters in accordance with the present practice. As the annual operating expenses of the first and second class offices aggregate the enormous sum of more than \$80,000,000, undoubtedly if the postmasters of these offices were embraced in the classified service, and required to devote all of their time to the public service, the annual savings would eventually represent many millions of dollars. The savings in salaries alone, not taking into account any saving due to increased efficiency of operation, would amount to about \$4,500,000. At the present time the salaries of postmasters of the first and second class amount to \$6,076,900 while the salaries of assistant postmasters of the same classes amount to \$2,520,000. If the position of postmasters were placed in the classified service, and those officers were given salaries equal to 20 per cent more than the salaries now given to the assistant postmasters at the latter position being no longer required, there would be a saving in salaries of the third class a large annual saving could be made.

The bill to place the first, second, and third class postmasters

The bill to place the first, second, and third class postmasters in the classified Federal civil service, if made law, will substi-tute in the great Post Office Department nonpartisanship for partisanship, demonstrated efficiency for demonstrated inefficiency, and competitive reward of merit and skill for political influence and party advantage.

> "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." -Acts xix: 28.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND. OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 22, 1916.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, when I proposed an amendment to the effect that clerks in the Government offices in Washington be required to work a full day of eight hours, like civil-service employees elsewhere throughout the United States, it seemed to me a very simple and businesslike proposal-one which any honest business man would adopt in the management of his own business.

It aroused, however, a perfect frenzy of criticism in Washington. I was flooded with abuse, ranging all the way from sanctimonious sermons of preachers to the anonymous filth of blackguards. As I never permit personal feelings to enter into the performance of public duties, I have refused to reply to personal attacks. Whether I am a good man or a bad man has The question is nothing to do with the merits of the case.

whether an abuse exists in the city of Washington that is costing the American people a tax burden of \$5,000,000. It is remarkable that no attempt is made to dispute the facts I have

Outside of Washington there is practically but one opinion on this abuse, and that is that it is indefensible and should be corrected.

One organization in Washington, however, went so far as to transmit its resolution of criticism to the House of Representatives, and thereby brought itself to the bar of public opinion of the Nation.

In order that there may be no mistake as to what I really said in my letters to my fellow Congressmen, I set forth herewith, first, the resolution of criticism, and second the letters complained of:

Offinance of:

Whereas Congressman W. P. Borland has, under date of March 10,
1916, circulated among his colleagues three communications the tenor
of which seriously reflects upon the citizenship of the District of
Columbia; and
Whereas the Piney Branch Citizens' Association is firmly of the opinion
that the sentiments expressed in said communications do not reflect
the views of Members of Congress generally, in whose sense of fairness we have faith: Therefore be it

ness we have faith: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this association earnestly and emphatically protests against the undignified language employed in said communications, and against the aspersions and reflections thereby cast upon the citizenship of the District of Columbia; and be it further

Resolved, That this association regrets that a Representative honored by the citizenship of this great Nation should consider it necessary to forget to such an extent the dignity and fairness which should characterize the actions of a Member of Congress; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be furnished to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and Mr. Borland.

[From the Washington Star, Mar. 11, 1916.]

LETTERS ASK VOTE FOR BORLAND RIDER—AUTHOR OF UNCOMPENSATED HOUR OF WORK FOR CLERKS WRITES TO COLLEAGUES—ALSO FREELY CIRCULATES CARDS BEARING SARCASM—CARRY WOEDS "EIGHT HOURS A DAY FOR MAN WHO WORKS; SEVEN HOURS FOR GOVERNMENT CLERKS."

HERE IS THE PRIZE LETTER.

HERE IS THE PRIZE LETTER.

DEAR COLLEAGUE: The statement that salaries in the Government service in Washington have not been changed for 56 years is false. Every appropriation bill carries a number of increases and promotions, and the work is constantly readjusted.

The statement that salaries are adjusted on a seven-hour day is false. Clerks are paid for a full day.

The clerks have 30 days' vacation, 30 days' sick leave, and all the holidays; they work 238½ days out of the year, or an average of less than 20 days a month. This is equivalent to only 208½ full days of 8 hours, or 17½ days a month.

Civil-service employees outside of Washington work eight hours and only have 15 days' vacation, and many of them work Sundays and holidays.

There are 476,366 civil-service employees in the United States. Thirty-four thousand four hundred and thirty are in Washington and are treated as a privileged class. Thus 7 per cent of the Government employees do all the bellyaching; the other 93 per cent work and ask no favors.

The merchants and landlords of Washington are for more Government clerks, extravagance, and inefficiency.

The American taxpayer is for an "honest day's work for an honest

Are you for the financial interests of Washington or for the taxpayers of the Union?

Very truly, yours,

William P. Borland.

The second letter:

CALLS CLERKS LEISURE CLASS.

CALLS CLERKS LEISURE CLASS.

Dear Colleague: If we spend without adequate return four or five million dollars of the people's funds primarily for the departmental clerks, but ultimately and really for the benefit of the mercantile interests of Washington, where are we to get the money? It must be laid upon the American people as a tax burden in some form. We are not spending money we have already raised—that would be wrong enough—but we must honestly and wisely face the problem of raising money for vital national expenses. Only a demagogue will vote for appropriations and refuse to vote for taxes. Can we justify laying a tax upon the farmers, business men, and wage earners of the country to pay for the privilege of having a leisure class in Washington?

Whose rights are paramount—those of the man who supports the Government or the man who is supported by it?

Does the farmer work seven hours a day?

Does the wage earner work seven hours a day?

Does the merchant work seven hours a day?

Let's give the American taxpayer a square deal; heaven knows he needs it.

Very truly, yours,

The third letter:

WHY DO MERCHANTS OPPOSE IT?

WHY DO MERCHANTS OPPOSE IT?

DEAR COLLEAGUE: If the eight-hour law for Government clerks will not save money for the Government why are the merchants and landlords of Washington opposing it? They know that it will cut at least \$4,000,000 a year off Uncle Sam's pay ro'l.

All the money the clerks get finds its way into the pockets of the merchants and landlords. They pick the bones of the clerks clean. Are they friends of labor? Are they against an eight-hour day on high moral grounds? Why don't they give a seven-hour day to their own employees? Why did they oppose so bitterly an eight-hour day for woman wage workers in Washington? Ask these department-store keepers who now want your vote.

The land speculator, too, wants your vote. If the Government hires more clerks than it needs in order to work them less than a full busi-

ness day, our real estate friend can sell them houses on the installment plan. The merchants and farmers back home pay the salaries that buy these houses.

Also it takes more office space for a large number of clerks working seven hours than for a smaller number working eight hours. Much of this space must be rented from private owners. The Government pays \$36,000 a year for the quarters now occupied by the Attorney General. In all it pays out about \$700,000 a year in rent in Washington. All of the saving in space will reduce this item.

The financial and mercantile interests of Washington have bullied and villified Congress. They call us salary grabbers, mileage grafters, pork-barrel thieves. If we are bullied into voting for this hogshead of pork for them are we not all that they say we are?

Very truly, yours,

WILLIAM P. BORLAND.

Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DUDLEY DOOLITTLE,

OF KANSAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 22, 1916.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave to print, I desire to insert in the Record a grand and patriotic letter received by me from one of my farmer constituents. gardless of what differences of opinion there may be in this House and in the country on the question of "preparedness," I submit the following as indicating the spirit of a true patriot:

RURAL FREE DELIVERY No. 2, Americus, Kans.

Hon. Dudley Doolittle, Washington, D. C.

Hon. Dudley Doolitle, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: In writing you for agricultural bulletins, list inclosed, I want to say also that I am for Wilson's brand of preparedness for five special reasons, and they are five sturdy boys who call me daddy. Young jayhawkers, every one of them, but men by and by, and with enough patriotic blood in their veins, I am sure, to spring to their country's call when needed. Give them a fighting chance with guns, ammunition, equipment, that if they must lay down their lives the enemy will have paid the cost in advance.

Friend Doolltrike, keep standing by Wilson; get a brace with your feet against the rock of his policies and let your back aid him in bearing his crushing load. And us hayseed farmers want your rural-credit bill. Keep boosting along that line.

Respectfully submitted.

STEVE BURCH.

WILLIAM P. BORLAND.

I have not inserted this letter in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, without having asked and received Mr. Burch's permission to make it public, and, excepting a personal remark concerning myself, which I have eliminated from the letter printed, the foregoing is an exact copy of the original in all particulars.

Patriotism and National Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. M. E. BURKE,

OF WISCONSIN, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 22, 1916.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert an address by Hon. Willet M. Spooner, an attorney of Milwaukee, Wis., before the Congress of the National Security League, at Washington, D. C., January 20, 1916.

The address is as follows:

REMARKS OF WILLET M. SPOONER, DELIVERED BEFORE THE CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY LEAGUE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 20,

There is a powerful sentiment in the Middle West in favor of wise and adequate preparedness for the national defense,

An adequate standing army of professional soldiers is immediately essential to proper protection, an army sufficient in size and equipment to withstand attack for such length of time as would enable the Government to recruit and prepare the real army of defense, drawn from the citizenry of the country.

Lying at the threshhold of military preparedness, so far as it relates to so-called citizen armies, is the matter of officers capable of instructing and generally preparing untrained men for active service in the field. The greater the number of patriotic men who would spring to arms at call the more difficult would be the problem of the Government, unless it had capable officers in sufficient number to drill and otherwise prepare them for modern warfare,

Whether universal obligatory military training, a continental army, or other plan be enacted into law, the fact remains that the efficiency of the force would depend absolutely upon the number and capability of the officers whose duty it would be to instruct and discipline it.

Acting merely as presiding officer to-night, it is not my function, however, to discuss the question of preparedness, and particularly because skillful and eminent men are here to deal specifically with its varied problems.

Whether it be opportune or inopportune, I want, however, to deliver this message. If ever it should become necessary to marshal armies under our flag, the men of German parentage, in the Middle West in any event, would send their full quota of men, whether that war should be with England, Russia, Japan, Germany, or any other nation under the skies.

Contrary indications, doubtless carrying a certain degree of conviction, owing to loudness of assertion, come only from a comparatively few among them. They do not reflect the senti-

ment of the masses.

The only danger-and I think the great danger-confronting the American people does not lie in the probability of war. War may come, and if it should soon come we should probably at the present time be defeated; but great peoples always have and doubtless always will survive the shock of defeat. We would survive it. With all its horrors and heartbreakings it would not be an unmixed evil if out of the ashes there should arise a united and solidified people, transfigured by a loyalty and devotion to country the like of which it is doubtful if we know to-day.

We need to prepare ourselves more thoroughly for the discharge of patriotic duty in times of peace. Without an unfaltering national spirit, preparedness in the way of material and training would be only partially effective. We can preand training would be only partially effective. We can pre-pare for war with money—we can not buy patriotism. Without the unhesitating willingness of the people to subordinate all personal and political interests to the welfare of the Nation we have no Nation-no country, in the higher sense-but merely

The "Nation," as such, has to all peoples who have accomplished the great things of life, been a personal thing—a part of the lives of the people—something to live for and to die for

in war or in peace.

They have been the guardians of its honor and integrity as they saw it, because it was their country. They have jealously safeguarded its interests and have sought to extend its power and influence. They have always been careful to protect its prestige and to save it from humiliation and distress

It is not material that sometimes the methods have been bad nor that the ends sought unconscionable and wrong. point is that these people have done these things because they regarded the honor and power and prestige of the Nation as their honor and power and prestige-collectively and individually.

It is the sense of common interest—the spirit of nationality which makes men, now and in the past, refer to their country as the "Father Land" or the "Mother Land" or in other terms of similar import. Do we not need more of that spirit in our country?

Are we willing, as individuals and as members of political parties or other organizations, to subordinate, in times of peace, the personal or party interest-to maintain the dignity and to promote the interests of the country-just because it is our country?

Events of current history to some extent answer the question. Day by day we have seen, and without apparent resentment on the part of the people, men seeking to hinder and embarrass the President of the United States in the discharge. of great and vitally important national duties. It seems to be immaterial to these men and to these parties, of whom the Nation has the right to expect other things, that their efforts to nullify, for political purposes, the efforts of the President to successfully work out in the interest of the country delicate and perplexing international problems, work manifest injury to the Nation.

If the constituted authorities of Government achieve a socalled diplomatic success for the country, greatly increasing its prestige and power, a large section of the people and press hasten to minimize its importance and to destroy the value of the result obtained so far as in them lies, merely to the end that the political influence of the administration shall not, by such success, be enhanced.

We see politicians in office and anxious to stay in, and politicians out of office and anxious to get in, offering no word of advice, making no effort and apparently Laving no desire to assist in the proper solution of great questions for the country's sake, but swift to herald to the world the story of failure, of unfortunate mistake, simply for the sake of the political ad-

vantage that may follow.

Only a few days ago there was transmitted to the United States Senate a military report from a high officer of the Government with the suggestion that part of the document contained information which should be treated as confidential, because in the hands of foreign Governments the information would be damaging to the United States.

The Senate with complete unanimity ordered the report made a confidential document, intending thereby to prevent publication at this time. Some newspaper men worked day in and day out to ascertain the nature of the confidential facts submitted, and having obtained those facts immediately proceeded to publish them to the world without the slightest regard for the interest of the Nation or the request of the department and the Senate that such information should not be published.

There is an almost countless number of instances of utter disregard for the welfare of the Nation when that welfare runs counter to personal or political profit. Assume, if any one will, that these things are in and of themselves unimportant. They lend persuasive force, however, to the suggestion that there is not among our people that spirit of loyalty and patriotism

which puts the Nation before all things.

If every one of us felt, as each one should feel, that the Nation is a part of himself and that anything that injures it injures him, acts, whether by person, party, or press inimical to the public interest, now an almost daily occurrence—although perhaps generally done without conscious intent to injure the -would end, and there would come a new order of things in the United States and we would move forward to more glorious national achievement. The very fact that things are said and done hurtful to the country without intent so to do, indicates that we need an awakening of the national conscience.

That there should be full and free criticism of public officers is undeniable, but its expression as to time and manner should be regulated, not by restrictive laws but by a solid public senti-

ment which springs only from patriotism.

It should not be forgotten that the President of the United States represents before the world the sovereignty of the United States. He occupies a far different status from that of the ministers of France, England, Germany, and other countries. We ought always to remember that in a government by the people such as ours evidence of lack of unanimity in support of the President in dealing with international affairs weakens his position and thereby inevitably the position of the country.

What is true of the present administration has been true of

practically every other.

The principle of free speech and press lies very close to the hearts of the American people. But the people, let us fondly believe, will some day curtail, when the interest of the Nation is involved, free speech and free press, not by the enactment of restrictive laws nor by the closing of newspaper offices nor by the dispersing of assemblies, but by some such swift and crushing popular condemnation that no man nor party nor paper will dare attempt in the face of such public opinion, for personal or political profit to impede and hinder the President of the United States in the discharge of his constitutional duties nor to attempt to humiliate him in the eyes of his own people and the peoples of the world-much less to speak or print facts hurtful to the country and helpful only to its enemies.

When our people feel that degree of national spirit and loyalty

then, indeed, will we have become a real Nation.

If Providence guides the destiny of our Republic, the time will surely come when, at least in times of national peril and when the President is dealing with great international problems, all men, without regard to personal prejudices or party politics, driven by a sublime spirit of patriotism, will say: "You have decided on your policy; I do not agree with it, but you are the President of my country, and I shall not, by word or deed, nor so far as in me lies will I permit any man to hinder or embarrass you in the discharge of your duty as you see it, but I shall in all ways encourage, uphold, and sustain you. You are the President of the United States; you represent the honor, the power, and the prestige of my country. My country is representative of all that is dear to me in life."

Should we not encourage the more rapid growth of such a

Should we not begin to do so now?

We can and we will prepare for our defense by adequate military equipment, but the only thing that will make this Nation enduring, that will perpetuate it through the ages, that will make it the greatest Nation of the world, is a spirit of unfaltering and uncompromising patriotism. We will have that degree of patriotism when the individual citizen can and will say from his heart, "This is my country," when he feels that spirit of nationality and gives expression to it.

The real foundation for preparedness in time of war and progress in time of peace primarily lies in the unification of our people, in the steadfast adherence to the ideals of the Republic, and in the growth of feeling among us that we have a nationality of our own; that we have builded a Nation rather than a mere shell in which an unmerged collection of races dwell.

The Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL. OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 23, 1916.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, seeking an expression of the sentiments of the voters of my congressional district on the question of a reasonably increased Army and Navy, I wrote to 14,000 of my constituents asking for their views, and in response thereto received over 600 replies in the affirmative and but 5 in This more than justifies the attitude that I have taken that the citizens of our country desire it placed in a position where it can command the respect of the entire world.

It must be borne in mind, as stated in Collier's Weekly of

December 4, 1915, that-

Our readiness to prepare and our beginning to prepare in 1916 may prove the paramount factor in turning the world from folly to wisdom. Our attitude would then be that we with our wealth and resources could still make ourselves ready to defend our land; but should they—the European combatants—in the reaction from the horrors of war, turn their thoughts toward disarmament, we in the process of preparation would be better able to lead the world in disarmament than could any of the more or less broken nations in Europe after the war.

Some men still ask why we need an increased Army and Navy, and the answer is that it is beyond dispute that with the twentieth-century artillery, aided by large aerial squadrons, the armor-clad fleets of this age can proceed directly to any port that may be selected by the aggressor, and then bombard at will any city that is on or near the sea.

The question has been succinctly answered by Mr. George E.

Adams, who says:

Adams, who says:

Invasion does not necessarily mean the subjugation of the United States. It may mean taking hostile possession of a part of our territory on the Pacific or Atlantic coasts or on the Panama Canal and holding it to ransom by imposing a war indemnity. That this could be done by any one of several powers of the Old World, considering their present armaments and shipping and our lack of means of defense, is the opinion of the War College. How large an indemnity the invader would impose we can only guess. How much, for example, for the ransom of our Pacific coast, including the western ends of our transcontinental railways? How much for our Northern Atlantic coast, including Boston, New York, Washington, and the eastern ends of our principal railways? How much for the Panama Canal? * * * That it would be reckoned in hundreds of millions of dollars is probable. That it might be reckoned in thousands of millions is possible. To drive out the invader after he has dug himself in would cost more. To buy him off by paying the indemnity would be a loss not to be reckoned in dollars.

Is there a man who has given any study to our country's

Is there a man who has given any study to our country's history who has forgotten how, through lack of preparedness, the Capitol of the United States was burned and possession of the city of Washington taken by the British in the War of 1812? Nearly everyone agrees that if we had had an adequate Regular Army in 1861 the Civil War would have been quickly decided instead of taking four years, besides necessitating the the tremendous sacrifice in both life and property.

We have learned from what we have witnessed during the past two years that wars do usually come without the slightest premonition or notice. The Spanish-American War came upon us from a clear sky, and if the country had been properly pre-pared, not only would the conflict have been shorter but the

losses sustained would have been smaller.

Gen. Wotherspoon, in his report as Chief of Staff from April 22 to November 15, 1914, has said:

OUR RIDICULOUS OVER-SEAS GARRISONS,

OUR RIDICULOUS OVER-SEAS GARRISONS.

In looking over the strength of our garrisons in foreign possessions it becomes at once manifest that the garrisons we are maintaining there or propose to maintain there under the scheme of distribution of our Army as it exists at present are entirely inadequate to the needs of those possessions. That an effective defense against an enterprising enemy in the Philippines could be made with a dediciency of 38 per cent of the maning details of the coast defenses o. Manila and Subic Bay and with a mobile force of a little over 7,000 American troops, supplemented by less than 6,000 Philippine Scouts, is manifestly impossible; that the great waterway of the Panama Canal can not be protected against the operations of a first-class military power by the present or proposed

garrison we contemplate placing there without the power and ability to reenforce it rapidly by troops from the United States is equally manifest; that we can retain our valuable Territory of Alaska in its isolated position against an enemy with any military power by placing there a garrison of less than 500 men verges on the ridiculous unless we have ample forces at home to occupy that Territory in the very earliest stages of an impending conflict. As regards the Hawaiian Islands, all military persons will recognize that the proposed garrison in this possession is far below what it should be to meet a serious attack unless, in this case again, we have an adequate force on the Pacific coast ready to dispatch to the island when trouble is impending. It must therefore be frankly admitted that the present garrisons of these outlying possessions are entirely inadequate for the purpose for which they have been sent there, and that without a material change in conditions at home we have no available resources from which to reenforce them, even should time be given to us to do so. As the Philippines are too distant from the United States to be reenforced when war is impending, it would seem necessary that the garrison of those islands should be at least a full manning detail for the Coast Artillery defenses and one complete division at full war strength plus the ne essary administrative staff. As to our other outlying possessions, with the exception of Alaska, may be considered adequate only under the contingency that we have available in the United States sufficient thoroughly trained troops in excess of our home needs to warrant us in heavily reenforcing the peace garrisons.

WE MAY BE INVADED.

As to the necessities within the continental limits of the United States, whilst our isolation by water from the other great powers is an undoubted protection, that protection is limited by two main factors: First. The power of our fleet to protect the country from invasion over those

over those seas.

Second. Our ability to assemble rapidly at the points of debarkation selected by an enemy an adequate force to delay, if not prevent, his effecting a lodgment on our share.

Whether or not our Navy is adequate for the purpose indicated, i. e., to protect our country from overseas, is a question beyond the scope of this report. That we can not, with our present strength, rapidly assemble a sufficient force, fi-ily equipped for field operations, to meet such an expedition as might be dispatched against our shores is evident. The very fact that an enemy traversing the seas would have a wide choice of landing points, or points of attack, at once evidences the difficulties attending the assembly of organizations of sufficient strength to meet him at the point be may select. It therefore appears to be necessary that the general distribution of forces to meet such a situation would be on a very wide front, if prompt opposition to a landing is to be effected.

There have been six plans advanced for increasing the Na-

There have been six plans advanced for increasing the Nation's land forces, respectively, as follows:

1-THE HAY PLAN. In time of peace
Reserve of Regular Army
National Guard

In time of peace Reserve of Regular Army National Quard Men trained and in the country	140, 000 60, 000 129, 000 995, 790
TotalCost per annum, \$137,494,954,	1, 324, 790
2—GENERAL STAFF PLAN (THE WAR COLLEGE PLAN). Regular Army, Continental army, under training three months a year for each three years On furlough, subject to three months additional training before taking the field	500, 000 500, 000 500, 000
Grand total	1, 500, 000

Cost per annum, \$353,000,000. -SENATOR CHAMBERLAIN'S PLAN.

A Regular Army of 64 Infantry, 20 Field Artillery, and 19 Cavalry regiments; also 30,000 men for the Coast Artillery, 7 regiments and 7 battations of Engineers, and a Signal Corps of 1,840 men-165,524

4-COL, ROOSEVELT'S PLAN. Regular Army 250, 000 Some sort of compulsory service, based on the Swiss or Australian

5-GEN. WOOD'S PLAN. Regular Army ___

Federalization of the National Guard; compulsory service, based on Swiss or Australian system.

6-GEN. NELSON MILES'S PLAN (THE NATIONAL GUARD PLAN).

Federalization of the National Guard, with shorter enlistment term as basis of increase. National Guard as backbone of defense.

It is generally conceded beyond question that our main reliance on land must be on the Regular Army, but the dispute arises how and in what manner to obtain the additional men who must make up the reserve forces of the Army in case of

Ex-Secretary Garrison, in a statement made on January 6, 1916, said:

Many people who think that this situation has been successfully met in other places urge the adoption of the system in use in Switzerland or that in use in Australia. There is, unfortunately, very little accurate knowledge among many who discuss this matter concerning the details and what is involved in the adoption thereof.

Very briefly, the two systems are as follows:

Every male Swiss is liable to military service from the age of 20 until the age of 50 and officers until the age of 55. Between the ages of 10 and 16 the Swiss boy receives courses of gymnastics or calisthenics in the public schools, and after the last-named age the law requires him to go on with his gymnastics and to make a beginning at musketry. Rifle shooting is a national sport, and practically every boy belongs to rifle clubs that are under national auspices. The first line, called the "elite," consists of those from 20 to 32, inclusive; the second, or "landwehr," of those from 33 to 44, inclusive; the third con-

sists of all others from 17 to 50 years of age. When a recruit reports be is fitted with his uniform and equipment and given a rifle, all of which must be taken care of by him and remain in his custody until the end of his military service. Recruits receive instruction from 60 to 90 days, depending upon their arm of the service. For the "elite" a repetition course of from 7 to 14 days is held every year. Sergeants and higher noncommissioned officers serve 10 repetition courses. In the "landwehr" a repetition course of 11 days takes place every 4 years for all the different arms. All work is in the field and on the target range. Universal military service and the beginning of the work in the public schools are the most prominent elements of the Swiss system.

in the public schools are the most prominent elements of the Swiss system.

The Australian system likewise requires all male inhabitants to render military service. They are divided into junior cadets, of those between the ages of 12 and 14, inclusive, who serve for 2 years for 90 hours each year; senior cadets, 14 to 18 years, serve 4 years, 4 whole days, 12 half days, and 24 night drills. Variations are permissible, provided the total remains the same. ('litzen forces from 18 to 26, for 8 years, in first 7 years equivalent to 16 whole days, of which at least 8 must be in camp. There are particular requirements for particular branches of the service which need not be here gone into. Musketry is carried out on Saturday afternoons throughout the year, and nearly every training locality has rifle ranges within a few miles. As in the Swiss system, the attention given in the schools to gymnastics and preliminary education along military lines, together with universal military service, are the striking features of this system.

In this country it is not believed practicable at this time to found a military policy upon either of tae two essential bases of the systems just described. The National Government has no jurisdiction over the public-school systems of the various States. A constitutional amendment would be required to give it any such jurisdiction. If it attempted to acquire any participation in the school work by the consent of the States, it would require contemporaneous, identical legislation in the 48 States of the Union, and this, as we all know, would consume long years of time to accomplish. In addition to this, it would require an enormous number of Federal officials to supervise the innumerable public schools scattered throughout our enormous area, Furthermore, it is not believed that the people of this country have reached the conclusion that compulsory military service is a necessity.

Our people do not see the necessity for a compulsory military service, and therefore the reserve forces must be directly under control of the Federal Government.

As far as the militia is concerned, the Washington Post of March 22, 1916, in an editorial, expresses the views of the people of this country when it says:

ple of this country when it says:

The relations of the militia of the States to the Federal Government have been frequently considered in the light of the Constitution, and up to this time it has never been doubted that the militia was under the control of the States and could be called into the service of the Government only to execute the laws, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions. In time of peace the General Government can not enforce its will upon the militia of the States, and in time of war the uses of the militia are limited by the Constitution.

Forty-eight variations of National Guards in time of peace, to be suddenly transformed into a compact, efficient national army in time of war! Who believes such a thing is possible? Experience shows that it is an impracticable arrangement, and prudence suggests that the Government should not depend upon it for national security. It is a reversion to the old failure under the Articles of Confederation, when each State did as it pleased, and many of them failed or refused to do their share in furnishing men to defend the Nation.

The United States as a Nation should provide its own Army, absolutely independent of any or all State governments.

The Philadelphia Ledger of March 13, 1916, confained similar

The Philadelphia Ledger of March 13, 1916, contained similar editorial comment, which is as follows:

editorial comment, which is as follows:

As to universal service, if the Nation has to choose between universal military training in time of peace and compulsory service of reluctant and untrained citizens in time of war, we should most emphatically prefer universal service in time of war, we should most emphatically prefer universal service in time of peace. The call for volunteers in war time has never been filled. Lincoln had to resort to the draft, and in the Spanish War the number who volunteered fell far short of the number called for. If the war had lasted longer and if more men had been needed, we should once more have seen that the volunteer system is fatally defective.

What the Nation needs is a new birth of patriotism in order that citizens may understand and appreciate the obligations of their citizensip. There are men who say that the right to vote and the obligation of military service should be inseparable; that if a man is not willing to train himself to take up arms to defend the nation he should have no share in its government. As a general proposition this is sound, but it can never be applied in the United States. Some way must be found however, to impress upon the men of military age and upon their employers the duty of assisting in the formation of a large reserve force of trained men. The Regular Army is the proper first line of defense, A second line composed of trained reserves ready for instant service on the call of the President will find us ready for quick action when any action is needed. Then the State troops would very well form a third line of defense, which could have ample time for preparation after the first alarm. And the tourth reserve body would be the great mass of untrained citizens who would be called upon to volunteer after the other reserves had taken the field. In the event of failure to volunteer they would be drafted. These are mere suggestions. The duty of framing a plan rests on Congress.

I hope to see each State have a State constabulary to attend to police work. I believe it is the concensus of opinion that the militia should only be used for national defense, repress insurrection, and for sudden emergencies, and not to be required to do the work of police in strike troubles.

Our Army should be reasonably increased, but against a foreign foe our main reliance must be on an adequate Navy, which shall not only have the respect of our own people but which shall be respected by all the nations of the earth. It is our Navy and our shipping fleet that must carry our flag over the four corners of the earth. It is only with the maintenance

of a Navy, fully and properly manned, together with proper equipment, that will cause our passports to be respected abroad and create sufficient respect for us as a world power, so that when we make representations abroad they shall receive prompt

consideration and approval.

As I have previously stated before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, we are at peace with the world. With all the powers engaged in the European struggle we have numerous ties, both by treaties and by acts of friendship demonstrated on many an occasion. Every day that the war continues means a further retardation of the progress of the entire world. The chain is no stronger than its weakest link. The world at peace means progress for humanity; the world at war means retrogression in every effort to relieve humanity. To the nations at war peace means more than they would desire to disclose to the world at the present time.

We are the largest and most influential neutral nation to-day. It is our manifest duty to set in motion the machinery for the termination of hostilities and to make strenuous efforts to bring about peace. We owe it to ourselves; we owe it to humanity. We must show the world that we desire the peace and prosperity of the world rather than the temporary gain being derived by us from the sale of war's munitions. In times of peace we have made our greatest progress. As in the past, so in the future, mankind can only make progress when peace reigns supreme

everywhere.

I recognize the fact, however, that when the world is afire it is our duty to take reasonable precautions by insurance, which in this case means a reasonably increased Army and Navy.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I read a poem that has stirred men to duty in days gone by, and I hope to see it do the same thing now in every walk of life, so that we may realize the dream of the founders of the Republic-a nation at peace, and never the aggressor; a home for the oppressed, and where men may be judged by their worth, ready to do their duty to the Nation in its hour of peril and need.

GIVE US MEN.

Give us men! Give us men!

Men from every rank,
Fresh and free and frank;
Men of thought and reading,
Men of light and leading,
Men of loyal breeding,
The Nation's welfare speeding;
Men of faith and not of fiction,
Men of lofty aim in action;
Give us men—I say again,
Give us men.

Give us men.

Give us men!
Strong and stalwart ones;
Men whom highest hope inspires,
Men whom purest honor fires,
Men who trample self beneath them,
Men who make their country wreath them
As her noble sons,
Worthy of their sires;
Men who never shame their mothers,
Men who never fail their brothers,
True, however falls are others;
Give us men—I say again,
Give us men.
Give us men. Give us men!

Give us men.

Give us men!

Men who, when the tempest gathers,
Grasp the standard of their fathers
In the thickest fight:

Men who strike for home and altar—
Let the crowd cringe and falter—
God defend the right.

True as truth, the lorn and lonely;
Tender as the brave are only;
Men who tread where saints have trod,
Men for country, home, and God:
Give us men—I say again,
Give us men.

Our Coast Defenses.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

J. HAMPTON MOORE. HON.

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 23, 1916.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the Military Affairs Committee, in reporting this bill, declared that some people would deem it adequate and that others would not, The debate thus far has shown that the committee was right as to the criticism that was to be expected, but the chairman of the committee has frankly told the house that this bill in all

essentials is "the President's own bill," and that counts for much in these war-talk days. It is evident the bill does not meet the expectations of the ultrapreparedness people, and it is equally clear that from their point of view the bill is inade-

quate and unduly economical.

My own view of the bill, judging it in the light of the public expectation, is that it is an extremely economical measure. It will not meet the expectations of those who have been agitating for preparedness, although it is possibly the best bill that the majority of the House, cooperating with the President, will stand for at the present time. So long as the attempt is being made to satisfy the public demand for preparedness, I regret that the bill does not go further in three particulars.

NEED MORE COAST ARTILLERY

First, in the increase of the Coast Artillery. Coast Artillery at present comprises 170 companies, I am advised that this number is 93 companies short of the number required to man one-half of our guns. It is true that the Hay bill provides for an increase of 52 companies, but that still leaves the Coast Artillery far short of its ability to man one-

half of the guns.

While it has been charged in debate that an enemy, seeking to land upon our shores, would not be likely to sail up direct to our fortifications, it is generally conceded by military men that coast fortifications, together with the Navy, constitute our first line of defense. Unless these fortifications are efficient, an enemy could destroy our seacoast cities without setting foot on our soil. If the Navy is strong enough to beat off an enemy there can be no invasion, but our coast lines are so extensive that our coast fortifications become an essential factor in the problem of defense. These important fortifications are manned to-day especially along the Atlantic seaboard by about 25 per cent of what would be esteemed a reasonable quota to properly man and defend them. At Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, Savannah, and Jacksonville we have yielded up probably 75 per cent of our coast defenders for economy's sake or because the men were needed in our Territorial possessions. I am glad we are going to get 53 more companies of Coast Artillery, but that will not be sufficient to adequately man our guns with regular trained forces if it should be necessary to stand off an enemy seeking to destroy or capture any one of our great seacoast cities.

SHOULD INCREASE ENGINEER CORPS.

Second, I regret that this bill does not make more ample provision for the strengthening of that useful branch of the military service, the Corps of Engineers. The committee has rejected what is believed to be a reasonable increase of officers and men for this service, partly upon the ground that there have been two increases in recent years, due to rivers and harbors work. It is generally conceded that the United States Army Engineer is an efficient officer. He is so efficient that he is with-drawn from the regular service of the corps for high-grade special duty, as, for instance, at the Panama Canal; and thus depletes the service for constructive work in the United States. I understand the department favored an increase in the Corps of Engineers of 6 colonels, 8 lieutenant colonels, 14 majors, 58 captains, 52 first lieutenants, and 15 second lieutenants, to-gether with 4 regiments of 2 battalions of 3 companies each and 1 mounted battalion of 3 companies. This increase has been rejected by the committee despite the fact that the Corps of Engineers is heavily drawn upon for constructive and special work in times of peace. The necessity for maintaining a well-equipped Engineer Corps for war purposes, as well as for constructive purposes when there is no war is patent. These are the road builders, the bridge builders, the channel builders, and the generally practical soldiers of the service. To them has been committed the development and supervision of the waterways of the country. They are not only equipped for fighting but they are thorough up-to-date business men, prepared for immediate service in peace or war.

NO PROVISION FOR WAR CHANNELS.

Third. The bill in its scheme for increasing the efficiency of the Military Establishment of the United States makes no provision for the utilization of certain channels along the coasts, upon the use of which in time of war the fate of armies might It is the misfortune of those who advocate these coastal channel improvements to be buffeted about from committee to committee and from one session of Congress to another, but now, when an increase of the Army and of the Navy is uppermost in the minds of most people, it is almost unthinkable that these avenues of accommodation and approach should be left out of any scheme for the national defense. The waterways were the chief means of communication and for the movement of troops in the earlier wars of the country, and they were of such

strategic value in the last great war between the States as to be worthy of the best attention of Congress now. The capture of Washington in 1814 was due to the channel approach and the poor defenses of the Chesapeake. That incident was a disgrace to the Nation, and we make small mention of it in our histories. If a foreign fleet were to chase an American fleet into the Chesapeake Bay to-day, that fleet would be bottled up as successfully as Cervera was at Santiago, because the Government has refused thus far to take over a small canal 13 miles in length at the head of Chesapeake Bay that would permit an American fleet to pass through to the Delaware Bay and River for repairs or to pass out to sea as it saw fit. If an American fleet were driven into the Delaware Bay, it could not pass through to the Chesapeake or to any of the southern outlets to the ocean for the same reason. If driven into New York Bay, it could not pass through to the Delaware River or the southern ports, because the Government has not yet deemed it prudent to take over an existing canal or to build a new one connecting New York Bay with the Delaware River and the Chesapeake Bay.

WHERE ATTACK MIGHT BE EXPECTED

And yet here is that section of the country which would be most likely to be the scene of activities in event of war. The existing canals are incapable of accommodating the commerce that seeks to do business upon them. They are not of sufficient draft to permit of the passage of the smallest gunboats or submarines of the Government. Rather than be of service to the Government in time of war they might prove a hindrance, unless taken over and improved suitably to the needs of the Government, and this would take time just as the mobilization of an army would take time. Gentlemen may say that this is a commercial or a naval proposition having no place in an army They are mistaken. The Army is responsible for the burden-bearing waterways of our country in times of peace; it would be the greatest user of them in times of war. It is not generally known, but nearly all the Government departments are now provided with a fleet. The Army has one of the largest of the fleets, the total number of vessels under its control at the present time being no less than 2,500. I concede that the committee might establish a point of order against an amendment to this bill which would provide for the taking over of such a waterway as the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, but I insist with all earnestness that if war should come the failure to fortify ourselves in this substantial and common-sense method would reflect no credit upon Congress. The military value of this project has been pointed out to Congress in numerous reports, one of the latest of them coming from a commission headed by Gen. Felix Agnus, of Baltimore. Only recently the War Department itself has again pointed out the urgency of connecting the Delaware and Chesapeake Bay for strategic reasons. A report to the Senate, signed by Grig. Gen, Macomb, Chief of the War College Division, approved by the Acting Chief of Staff and by the Secretary of War, is so in point that I ask leave to extend it as a part of my remarks:

A WAR DEPARTMENT OPINION.

WAR DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF, Washington, February 27, 1915.

Memorandum for the Chief of Staff. Subject: Military advantages of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal.

Subject: Military advantages of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal.

1. There is returned herewith a memorandum with attached papers on the above subject, dated February 24, 1915, from the Secretary of War to the Chief of Staff, wherein three questions are submitted:

(a) The military advantage, if any, of the existence of this canal.

(b) Whether a canal along this line would be of any military advantage, and if so, what?

(c) What character and size the canal would have to be in order to be of any advantage?

These questions superpently refer both to the present and contaments.

(c) What character and size the canal would have to be in order to be of any advantage?

These questions apparently refer both to the present and contemplated canal along this line.

2. In answer to 1 (a), it is believed that the existing canal has some value as it exists to-day as an obstacle to the advance of a bostile expedition landing on the west bank of Delaware Bay and advancing against Wilmington and Philadelphia. The fine, undefended harbor at Lewes, Del., makes such a landing a probability. The canal especially at the locks, is so narrow, only 24 feet at the locks, as to form an obstacle not very formidable. The canal is too small for the passage of submarines or other naval craft that would be used for preventing the landing of troops from hostile transports, and too small and obstructed by locks for rapid transport of troops and matériel from one bay to the other.

3. As to 1 (b), a sea-level canal along this same line would be of very great military importance from the following points of view:

(a) For the novement of submarines and other craft that must constitute an important part of our coast-defense system.

(b) As forming an almost impassable obstacle to the passage of the novement of submarines and other craft that must constitute an important part of our coast-defense system.

(c) For the transport of men and matériel of the Coast Artillery supports from one bay to the other.

4. The first of the points enumerated in paragraph 3 is a military nue because submarines and other small craft are believed to be at present an integral part of the seacoast defense, for use not only against naval attack on the harbors, but in a still more important part of the seacoast defense, for use not only against naval attack on the harbors, but in a still more important part of the seacoast defense, for use not only against naval attack on the harbors, but in a still more important part of the seacoast defense, for use not only against naval attack on the harbors, but in a still more important part of the sea

sense against transports attempting to land a hostile force on our shores in case of the defeat of our Navy. Seacoast defenses reach ho farther than the range of their guns, and it is impossible to distribute mobile army troops at all possible landing places to prevent the landing of troops without so frittering away the Army in small detachments as to render it almost impossible to collect them for united action. A canal such as proposed would allow the whole force of submarines, etc., to be held in one of the two bays and used with equal efficiency in either. Without the canal the force of submarines, etc., must be divided between the two bays and to reinforce one another they must attempt a passage by the outside, a distance of over 200 miles, as against about 15 miles by the canal.

A canal along this line and one from Delaware Bay to New York Harbor would make a landing of hostile troops almost impossible between Nargagansett Bay and Chesapeake Bay, and the construction of this canal is an important step toward the accomplishment of this result.

5. As an obstacle and a part of the land defense of Wilmington and Philadelphia a canal suited for other commercial and naval purposes would be of great importance. Defended by a few troops and small gunboats, such an obstacle, of the size recommended below, would hardly be crossed, and it is not believed that it would be attempted.

6. As a means of transport it has a measure of value for the easy transportation of men and matériel between the fortifications of Delaware Bay and of Ba timore.

7. As to 1 (c), the objects set forth in paragraph 3 above can be obtained by a sea-level canal having a depth of 18 feet at mean low water and a bottom width of about 150 feet. While tides of 6 feet to 10 feet prevall in the waters at the ends of the canal, investigation has shown that guard locks will not be necessary and that an open canal will be entirely feasible.

M. M. Macoms,

M. M. MACOMB, Brigadier General, Chief of War College Division.

I concur.

TASKER H. BLISS,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Acting Chief of Staff.

I concur.

LINDLEY M. GARRISON, Secretary of War.

Workingmen and National Defense.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD KEATING.

OF COLORADO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 23, 1916.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print, I desire to place before the House an article which appeared in the editorial section of the New York World on Sunday, March 12. It is entitled "Conditions under which the American workingman would shoulder a gun," and is an interview with James Lord, president of the mining department of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Lord is one of the really great leaders of organized labor in this country, and I am sure that no man is better qualified

to voice the sentiment of the toilers of the Nation.

I venture the assertion, Mr. Speaker, that no statesman in this land has in recent years given utterance to a finer expres-sion of patriotism than is to be found in the following paragraph from Mr. Lord's interview:

If the country were actually invaded, no one would sacrifice more, and more quickly, than the organized American workers. But they do not want mintarism. They want democracy and constitutional government. They are watching the situation in Europe and hoping that it is the beginning of the end—the end of king and kaiser, Prussianism, and every form of professional militarism.

The interview with Mr. Lord in full is as follows:

[By Charles W. Wood, in the New York World of Sunday, Mar. 12, 1916.]

"The average American workingman is hesitating between patriotism and dismay. He is a patriot; you can bank on that. He is not a coward, and he is not a nonresistant pacifist. He is willing to give his life in defense of his home. But, in spite of this, all the programs of preparedness now before the country leave him cold and sulien."

I was looking for a "new angie" on the question of preparedness, and I found it. I was talking with James Lord, president of the mining department of the American Federation of Labor. A mine worker at 11, a pioneer in the Miners' Union, now at the head of tive allied organizations, representing haif a million men, there is no one in America more closely in touch with the most rugged and militant class of American workers.

ruling class of any country does not want its workers to make. Mr. Runciman, of the board of trade, was hustled over to settle the 'scandalous' situation summarily. The miners argued that they were asking only a molest raise 'n wages, while the mine owners were suddenly acquiring exorbitant profits.

"Then, after a conference, the union leaders approached Mr. Runciman. 'All right,' they said, 'we have decided that we will all go back to work for our board and lodging—for just what is necessary to keep us allve and working, on one condition.'

"The condition was that the coal should be furnished to the Government at cost

"That settled the strike. The miners got their raise. In one sentence, which is bound to become historical in the labor movement, they called the bluff of British capital."

Mr. Lord is not one of the excitable radicals. He is known as a practical fighting man in the labor movement, not as a dreamer or a prophet. He would not tell me that American workers will not stand for this and that.

"TAKE THE ALL OF ALL."

"If you want to know whether American workingmen are patriotic," he said, "propose some scheme where everybody will be called on to throw everything into the meiting pot for the national defense. Make John Smith give up everything and make John Rockefeller give up everything. Make no distinction between J. P. Higgins and J. P. Morgan. Don't propose to borrow what they have or take a part of what they have, but propose to take all that all of them have, just as they take all that John and Jimmle have when they put them into the Army to-day. Watch the way the capitalists and workers react to such a proposition and you might get a line on which class is really the more patriotic.

"Governments do not propose anything of the sort. They expect workingmen to give up everything for their country, and then turn over the country to everything but workingmen. The flower of England's manhood went to South Africa to fight for the country. The remnant that returned had no country, not even a job. Malmed, diseased, broken, rotting body and soul, these ex-soldiers could be seen all through England begging bread. At the same time the diamond mines which their sacrifice had guaranteed to English capital were being filled with Chinese coolies."

But can it be that American workmen suspect any such a deal? Clearly, America has no schemes of conquest. "Will the American workers," I asked, "do anything which might hinder a policy of adequate defense?"

"No," said this representative of the working class. "If the coun-

But can it be that American workmen suspect any such a deal? Clearly, America has no schemes of conquest. "Will the American workers," I asked, "do anything which might hinder a policy of adequate defense," I asked, "do anything which might hinder a policy of adequate defense," I show a standard of the working class. "If the country wants defense, it can have all the defense it wants. Miners and railroad men and shopworkers would raily by the million to any military system which meant pure defense, or in the event an invasion was actually threatened. Any time this Nation wants to arm its workers and show them how to fight it will have no difficulty in getting men. If that were all that military service means, there would be no such attitude as there is to-day toward preparedness.

"But what does it mean?" I asked And I learned, incidentally, why this very quiet and hard-headed miner, born in England, has come to have the confidence of half a million American workers.

"It means an autocratic military machine," he said. "It means that a man joining the Army must give up everything he holds dear and trust in God and his superiors not to turn his gun against his own class interests. It means service obedience to certain individuals, an honest workingman having to cringe before some whiffet of an office, because he is dirr while the officer is a 'gentleman.' It means the denial of all the principles he is supposed to be defending; the denial of democracy, the denial of decent manhood, the denial of the home. How can a man defend democracy by building up a machine in which he has not the slightest say; not even the right to speak in protest? How can he defend the home by deserting his own wife and children to fall for the dissipation and disintegration that goes with a tropical expedition or a brutal occupation?

The big miner's face became tense. "I was sinking a shaft in Indiana," he ead, "when my partner, one of the finest chaps I ever worked with, told me his Philippine story. He had a wife and two children here

"Just how?" I asked. A democratic army was a hazy jumble of words to me.

"By volunteering en masse," he said, "on one condition—on the condition that the army could not be used to tyrannize over themselves, either as individuals or as a working class. Oh, I admit that it is impossible for the American militarist to see it, but it may be impossible for the workers to see anything else. Then, of the two impossibilities—well, we could that out shortly whether the army was really wanted for defense or whether the word 'defense' was being used as a pretext in order to get the army established."

ELECT AND RECALL OFFICERS.

"But just how would a democratic army function? How could the working-class soldiers be guaranteed against the usual run of militarism?"

militarism?"
"It is very simple," said Mr. Lord, "or very impossible—just whichever way you happen to see it. But tell me first: Is a soldier a man? Is he entitled to a decent living? Is he a citizen? Should he be allowed to think and speak and vote? Is there anything in the

ordinary schedule of a workingman's life which is too good for him in case he agrees to defend his country?

"Well, then, if a soldier is a man, there is no reason why he should have to cringe before an officer. And if he is a citizen, there is no reason why he should be tried by an officer. And there is no reason why he should take orders from an officer. And there is no reason why he should take orders from an officer. And there is no reason why he should take orders from an officer. And there is no reason why he should take order from an officer. And there is no reason why he should take orders from an officer. And there is no reason why he should take order from an officer. And there is no reason why he should be given the chance that a workingman is supposed to get if he breaks the law. Nothing short of a trial by his peers, not by his superiors, would be demanded in a democratic army.

"A democratic army would possibly elect and recall its officers. That would be impossible in an army intended only for defense. We have much to defend in America, much that is very dear to the workingman's heart. If that is threatened, there is no sacrifice he will not make. But just now he is wondering how he can defend it by selling himself body and soul to a machine over which he has not the slightest control. Can we defend ourselves against militarism by establishing militarism? Can we defend ourselves against tyranny by becoming slaves?

"Incidentally a democratic army would demand decent pay, so long as the country in general was not impoverished. In a crisis it would starve for an ideal just as so many millions of American workingmen have starved through long-drawn-out strikes. But it would not do the country's dirty work for 10 cents a day while the country was rolling in wealth as a result of its services. And it would not black the shoes of the officers except at union rates for bootblacks.

"But, above everything else, it would not shoot down other members of its class for demanding better conditions. That is why

THE WORKER DISARMED.

"And have the country at the mercy of a great military organization?" I interjected.

"Not a professional military organization at all," he explained, "but an armed working class. Can you imagine a country being overrun by its people? Don't you know that a fundamental principle of the American Constitution was that the right to bear arms should not be abridged? It has been abridged, however. The workers have been disarmed, and the arms have been placed in the hands of a military organization out of touch with the workers, or in the hands of private detectives and thugs hired by the capitalists, as in Colorado.

"I would not commit the organized workers of the country to any particular policy. No man can do that. Personally, I am opposed to militarism, the only militarism I have seen and can judge. Also I can not see any danger of European powers arranging to invade America; but with our immense coast line an adequate coast defense seems thoroughly reasonable.

with our immense coast line an adequate coast defense seems thoroughly reasonable.

"If the country were actually invaded, no one would sacrifice more, and more quickly, than the organized American workers. But they do not want militarism. They want democracy and constitutional government. They are watching the situation in Europe and hoping that it is the beginning of the end—the end of King and Kaiser, Prussianism, and every other form of professional militarism. They are reading and thinking and waiting. I think they will refuse to be swung off their balance by the hysterical appeals of munition makers, partisans, and professional militarists, even at the risk of being misunderstood."

Comments on the Remarks of Mr. Davis of Texas.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES P. BUCHANAN, OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 24, 1916.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on page 2472 of the Congressional Record, February 5, 1916, under the heading "Extension of remarks," my colleague from Texas, Mr. J. H. (Cyclone) Davis, had, among other things, the following printed in the RECORD:

in the Record:

It was the leading envoys of this class that met at the Gary dinner a few days ago. Touching knees under a table in a gorgeous feast representing unfold millions of loot legally extorted from a helpless people, they met to devise ways to put Woodrow Wilson in ignominious defeat by the corrupting and debauching influence of their ill-gotten millions and to destroy Democracy and put Roosevelt at the head of "their" bidding. What Brutus was to Cesar, what Judas was to Jesus, they are to this Republic. When W. L. Yancey, Robert Toombs, Jeff Davis, and others met to extend slavery by the annexation of Mexico and Cuba as slave country south of Mason and Dixon's line, and later to seede from the Union to save their special privilege to appropriate the labor of slaves as legal, they never had a more damnable design on American liberty than that bunch which met at that millionaire carouse of the war traffickers and trust masters which made up that Belshazzar feast. And the slave traffic with all its infamy never represented more than one-tenth the wealth said to have been represented in that gold-bound, diamond-tipped cabal of conspirators. When the slave masters met they, with complacent aristocratic minds, covered their sordid, knavish designs under the sweet and sacred terms of State rights. When these trust masters met they covered their knavish depravity under the euphonious term of "protection" to American labor.

And then again, on March 22, 1916, on the alleged subject of Americanism and patriotism, my colleague from Texas [Mr. Davis] had printed, among other things, the following

Davis] had printed, among other things, the following:

Some days ago on this floor, in commenting on the malicious designs of syndicated wealth as represented in the notorious Gary dinner, where the money-mongers and sordid trust masters were holding conclave with the damnable design, as I thought, to debauch this country and destroy the Republic, I spoke of it as far more reprehensible and destructive of human liberty than that cabal of slave power, spoken of in what is known as the Ostend Circular, when the slave power was designing to annex Cuba and Mexico, south of Mason and Dixon's line, which finally resulted in secession and the bloody war. In this connection I mentioned, in the light of history, Bob Toombs, W. L. Yancey, and Jeff Davis, seeking to convey the idea that these money deviis that were holding these Belshazzar feasts, these war traffickers and trust masters were designing to put us in war, make millions out of the war, and then elect Roosevelt, whom they were feasting, and prolong their sway, as the slave powers did in the sixties.

* * And now this ribald ruffian [Upshaw Vincent] finds bloody-shirt sheets in Texas where he ventilates his venom in defense of those gluttonous, greedy concerns that want me destroyed.

In these characteristic harmaness.

In these characteristic harangues my colleague, Mr. Davis of Texas, staged utterances so sensational, unjust, and unwarranted that every true citizen of the United States who reads them resents the reflection with the rising pulse of scorn. Under the guise of discussing the "Mexican situation and national de-fense" and "Americanism and patriotism" and under the momentum of his well-known fondness for sensational postures, he recklessly flaunts a gratuitous insult at the holiest memories and most revered names of the historic South.

And so malicious is his apparent intent to traduce the land of his own nativity, like the unclean bird that befouled its own nest, that he proclaims his abuse without one recorded word to substantiate his libelous assertions. There is not a word of truth in his assertions that-

W. L. Yancey, Robert Toombs, and Jeff Davis and others met to extend slavery by the annexation of Mexico and Cuba as slave countries south of Mason and Dixon's line.

The Ostend circular he so flippantly cites to bolster his gratuitous libel was at the instance of President Franklin Pierce, himself not a southerner nor affected by any special southern sympathy; and the only reference to slavery in that historic document was in condemnation of that "infamous traffic," and the names of W. L. Yancey, Robert Toombs, nor Jefferson Davis are not mentioned in it or even remotely referred to.

President Franklin Pierce in 1854 directed our ministers to Spain, England, and France—Soule, Buchanan, and Mason—to compare opinions and to adopt measures for perfect concert of action in aid of the negotiations at Madrid. The three envoys assembled at Ostend October 8, 1854, which resulted in the promulgation of the Ostend circular. The hoped for annexation of Cuba was for many other pertinent reasons.

No chivalrous son of the South now defends the institution of slavery, which every candid student of history knows was a national sin; and there is no escape from its culpability for any of the thirteen original States. The South, as the proverbial facts are known, became the dumping ground for the unremunerative human chattels of the colder North.

When this cyclonic, slanderous diatribe reached the people whose lost cause it defamed through the privileged publicity of the Congressional Record, the indignant voice of the offended manhood of Texas and elsewhere was aroused. The great dailies of Houston and of other cities of the State denounced in unmeasured terms the unsupported attack upon our enshrined ideals of immemorial honor, and, as always, these great standard journals hold themselves steadfast and undismayed when the tumult of the delirious fanaticism imperils our republican institutions or as, when now, the venom of vituperation assaults a commemorated name.

Why should our great official mouthpiece, the Congressional Record, be permitted to be prostituted to the low level of disreputable yellow journalism, as it is when made the vehicle disreputable yellow journalism, as it is when made the vehicle of circulation for a defamatory slur upon the lofty character of the heroic dead and the unjust abuse of our standard representative journals, the champions, through thick and thin, of our rights and liberties? All the southerners who cherish the lost cause and hallow the memory of our departed chieftain, fall under the lash of the frenzied denunciation, for they are in identity of the Jefferson Davis blood and faith. He represented and led us in every dectrine of the old South and the sented and led us in every doctrine of the old South, and the stroke aimed at him falls on his followers who are devoted to the splendor of his character, cherish his memory, and honor the cause for which he suffered and sacrificed.

As a further reply to the unjust reflection upon our illustrious dead, I adopt the language, thoughts, and sentiments of Senators Lamar and Garland in Congressional Record of March

Mr. LAMAR. The only difference between myself and Jefferson Davis is that his exalted character, his preeminent talents, his well-established reputation as a statesman, as a patriot, and as a soldier enabled him to take the lead in the cause to which I consecrated myself, and to

which every fiber of my heart responded. There was no distinction between insult to him and the southern people, except that he was their chosen leader and they his enthusiastic followers, and there has been no difference since.

Jefferson Davis, since the war, has never counseled insurrection against the authority of this Government. Not one word has he uttered inconsistent with the greatness and glory of this American Republic. The Senator from Massachusetts can point to no utterance of Jefferson Davis which bids the people of the South to cherish animosities and hostilities to this Union, nor does he cherish them himself.

The Senator, it pains me to say it, not only introduced this amendment, but he coupled that honored name with treason, for, sir, he is honored among the southern people. He did only what they sought to do; he was simply chosen to lead them in a cause which we all cherished, and his name will continue to be honored for his participation in that great movement which inspired an entire people, the people who were animated by motives as sacred and noble as ever inspired the breast of a Hampden or a Washington. I say this as a Union man to-day. The people of the South drank their inspiration from the fountain of devotion to liberty and to constitutional government. We believed that we were fighting for it, and the Senator can not put his finger upon one distinction between the people of the South and the man whom the Senator has to-day selected for dishonor as the representative of the South.

Now, sir, I do not wish to make any remarks here that will engender any excitement or discussion; but I say that the Senator from Massachusetts connected that name with treason. We all know that the results of this war have attached to the people of the South and the sense in which the gentleman used that term as applied to Mr. Davis, He intended to affix—I will not say he intended, but the inevitable effect was to affix upon this aged man, this man, broken in fortune, suffering from bereavement—an epithe

Sir, it required no courage to do that; it required no magnanimity to do it; it required no courtesy; it only required hate, bitter, malignant sectional feeling and a sense of personal impunity. The gentleman I believe takes rank among Christian statesmen. He might have learned a better lesson even from the pages of mythology. When Prometheus was bound to the rock it was not an eagle—it was a vulture—that buried his beak in the tortured vitals of the victim.

Mr. Garland, Mr. Pavis and myself were not, in a general way, of the same politics in reference to this Government; but I have never had occasion, in the long service that I had with him and under him, in a civil capacity entirely, to doubt his capacity, to doubt his integrity, or to doubt his nower of purpose under any and all circumstances; and I will say to the Senator from Massachusetts, and all others who agree with him and indulge in the spirit that prompted this amendment, that whenever they seek to see a game man die, whether he dies in adversity or in prosperity, they may go to the dying bed of Jefferson Davis and they will witness that.

Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALLEN T. TREADWAY,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 23, 1916.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to section 82 of the Military Establishment bill. The section reads as fol-

That to provide for the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen by the development of water power, or any other means, necessary to establish an adequate supply of nitrogen, the appropriation of such sum or sums of money to construct the necessary plant for such purpose is hereby authorized.

This is so distinctly an effort on the part of shrewd business men to secure capital, through a loan at a low rate of interest, from the Government to carry on their private business that the item should be stricken from the bill. We all recognize the importance of securing atmospheric nitrogen, but if the Government is to carry on any line of business looking toward better preparedness, there is no reason why the Government should become a partner in a firm wherein it assumes the risk of capitalization and the other member the opportunity of profiting thereby.

We have in the hearings before the Committee on Military Affairs a statement from former Assistant Secretary Breckin-ridge, on page 134, in which he says that the Secretary of War ringe, on page 134, in which he says that the Secretary of War has not as yet determined in his own mind what ought to be done in regard to this matter. There is also, on page 491, some testimony from Gen. Crozier, in which he says that at Rock Island Arsenal there is sufficient unused power for the purpose of meeting the need of the Army in times of peace for the development of atmospheric nitrogen. The only other testimony we find is the statement of Mr. Frank S. Washburn, who, I understand, represents the large company now manufacturing nitrate at Niagara Falls, and who also represents the interests nitrate at Niagara Falls, and who also represents the interests in control of the power at Muscle Shoals.

Section 82 is so evident the result of his effort to secure capital from the Government that it ought not to be given favorable consideration by Congress. There are at least three distinct efforts being made by those interests to have the Government furnish them capital for their private business enterprise. In company with my colleagues on the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, I visited Muscle Shoals last May. I thoroughly be-lieve in the development of that power. There is a great opportunity there for business development and a tremendous

amount of possible energy now going to waste.

The proposition put up to the Rivers and Harbors Committee is practically the same as the one advocated before the Military Affairs Committee, and the one which has been before the Committee on Agriculture, all three calling on the Government to provide capital for a private business enterprise. Undoubtedly these shrewd business men will offer other suggestions wherein Government capital would be valuable in their business. Any other business man in the country could do the same thing and would be willing to pay the same rate of interest to the Government as these people are willing to pay, namely, 3 per cent, whereas no money in that section could probably be secured for less than twice that amount.

We want to be fair with the Muscle Shoal Interest, and after the passage of the Adamson Dam Act, I hope they will undertake the development of their properties as any other business

enterprise would.

I wish to say that in no section of the country is there more interest in the construction of a dam for hydroelectric purposes, and thereby secure river navigation, than in the district which I represent. We are going to secure that result in time, but I can assure this House that neither I nor any other interested Representative from that section will ever come before you with any subterfuge or effort to secure Federal capitalization. That is exactly what is back of section 82, and for the good name of this House it should be excluded from this bill at once.

I wish now to make very brief reference to the bill itself.

heartily concur in the purpose of the committee in their effort to take the first step toward better national defense. With the conditions confronting the country to-day, debate should be made as brief as possible, and action prompt. Our duty is plain and consists simply in voting. Let us do that immediately both with this bill and others that will follow, bills looking to increased equipment in the Army and Navy as well.

Some weeks ago I issued a letter to my constituents asking for an expression of views. I have received over 800 replies. Of these 650 favor increased national defense, and 175 were opposed. The intelligent expression of opinions showed the study and thought the people are giving to this great problem. I am confident that this ratio of nearly 4 to 1 is about the proportion of opinion throughout my district, and I would be greatly mistaken if that same proportion did not fairly represent

the views of the entire people of the country.

Undoubtedly this bill is imperfect in many particulars, but it represents the careful study of a thoroughly interested committee, every member of which I am confident is inspired by the one object of properly serving the people in an effort to solve this great national problem. Their decisions are the result not alone of their own study, but of testimony which has been submitted to them by the leading experts both in civil and military life. I for one am willing to accept their judgment, and so far as I am concerned will delay a vote no longer in discussing any separate features of this important measure.

Villa's Raid on Columbus.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD, OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Thursday, March 23, 1916.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a letter from Marcus M. Marshall, giving an account of Villa's raid on Columbus, which is vouched for by the New York Times.

The letter is as follows:

SAYS VILLA FOUND BORDER UNGUARDED-NO PATROL OUT THE NIGHT OF THE COLUMBUS RAID.

A letter reporting the raid made by Francisco Villa and his band on Columbus, N. Mex., on Thursday, March 9, and the murder of several American ranchmen by the Villistas the day before was given to the New York Times yesterday by E. J. Marshall, president of the Paiomas

Land & Cattle Co., whose 2.000,000-acre property lies on the Mexican side of the line a short distance south of Columbus.

In his report the younger Marshall severely citicizes the troops stationed at Columbus at the time of the raid. No troops were patroling the border, he asserts, although the military authorities had received ample warning that Villa was approaching. He tells how Villa hanged two of the Palomas ranchers and ordered his outlaws to ride their horses over another who was fighting desperately for life. He declares that Villa had only 500 men with him. The letter follows:

SAW 500 MEN WITH VILLA.

PALOMAS LAND & CATTLE CO.,
HACIENDA DE NOGALES, CHIHDARUA, MEXICO,
OFFICE OF CASHIER,
Columbus, N. Mex., March 12, 1916.

Columbus, N. Mex., March 12, 1916.

My Dear Father: At about 8 o'clock on the morning of Tuesday we were coming down the Boca Grande River when McKinney and myself sighted about 500 men beginning to make camp. They were unsaddling and starting to cook coffee. McKinney wanted to go up to their camp and talk to them, but I said to him, "Arthur, please don't go, for they may be Villistas." I told him this several times, but finally he turned to me and said. "Well, I'm going to talk to them; are you such a coward that you don't want to go with me?" I told him that if they were Villistas they would certainly kill us, so what was the use of taking such a crazy risk; that it would be better to stay where we were and wait to see what they intended doing.

GAVE THEM THE SLIP IN CANYON.

These men had sighted us and we started north for the line. They gave us a close chase, but we gave them the slip in a canvon and came straight into Columbus, arriving here the same night. Upon reaching here I notified the colonel of the United States troops of the happenings during the day, and he sent me back next day to locate the band and report to him. I reported that night, Wednesday, that Villa, with about 500 or 700 men, was on the Boca Grande River and was headed this way. The following morning the Villa outfit attacked Columbus.

PUTS BLAMB ON THE ARMY.

PUTS BLAME ON THE ARMY.

The blame for the Columbus affair should rest on the United States Army. It had been forewarned not only by Foreman Fondille and Antonio, our men, as to Villa's whereabouts and the directions being followed by Villa on his march, but had information from several other sources. As I understand, there were no troops patrolling the border during that night—only sentries about the camp of troops in Columbus. Villa left his horses about 300 yards south of the town and came in mainly from the south and west. Villa's outfit was in the town about one hour and a half before withdrawing. The United States Army was extremely lucky in having so few soldlers killed—I believe seven in number—and luck is all that it can be called. A large part of their guns and ammunition was locked up. Overconfidence and the thought that Ville would not dare attack a detachment of United States troops no doubt juli-d our soldiers into a feeling of security.

Four or five of the largest stores and the Commercial Hotel were burned. Our houses were not damaged except by a few stray bullets. The Villistas took all of our horses which were at the time in our corrais at Columbus and all harness and saddles. They broke no windows and took nothing from the commissary. The horses lost both here and through Villa's capture of our branding outfit number about 2 head. Seven of these horses are lying dead between here and the Mexican border and along the route taken in the retreat of Villa's outfit.

Villa is now only about 50 miles to the south as far as we can learn.

Mexican border and along the folder outfit.

Villa is now only about 50 miles to the south, as far as we can learn from our men here. It is not believed he will make another attack on this side.

Unless the United States Army now goes into Mexico there can be no more work done on our Palomas ranch, except to in a way keep up the watering places by sending courageous men in from time to time. This is the first time, as far as I can learn, that our men seem inclined to say "quit." but they all say it now, unless something is done toward furnishing protection.

This is the lifst time, as its to say "quit," but they all say it now, unless something is done toward furnishing protection.

The last two nights have just about cleaned this town out of Mexicans; Thursday night five were shot. Friday four, and last night three. We have kept our men inside the house or grounds at headquarters, and to-morrow, after obtaining passes for them, they will be sent with the horses to Alamo, Waco, in charge of Foreman Fondille. Cashier Forzan left Columbus with his wife on Friday, thinking it best for him not to remain while feeling was running intensely against Mexicans.

MARCUS M. MARSHALL.

Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LUTHER W. MOTT, OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 10, 1916.

Mr. MOTT. Mr. Speaker, the problem of establishing an army for this Nation on a broad and comprehensive scale, to make it adequate to meet all possible contingencies and at the same time to avoid the establishment of an autocratic military machine, always so detrimental and eventually destructive to the principles of equal rights for all on which our Government is founded, is not one to be considered lightly. It calls for deep thought, elimination of everything save that which is best for future generations, a broad spirit of patriotism, and an exercise of statesmanship in the true meaning of the word. Those of us who are politicians must seek to be statesmen, and those of us who are statesmen must consent to play politics fo: a little while so we may get rapid and united action on this vital measure. It is the most important question which has agitated this country for more than a half century; it is more material even than that of the Civil War, for at that time only one-half of the Nation was at stake. Now the entire Nation, with its foreign dependencies and commercial future, is jeopardized, to say nothing of the future of every other country in the Western Hemisphere that looks to us as the guiding spirit of freedom and democracy.

So when we take this Army bill up for consideration we are doing more than talking about regiments and batteries and fortifications, munitions, and officers and men; we are talking about our national future. The United States, we trust, will never enter upon a war of aggression. We are not built that way, and when we do then must our Monroe doctrine, that inspired policy which has been the preservation of many a minor Republic in time of stress, go by the board, and we shall lose our position that has cost us so much labor and endeavor. The world is watching us now, and we must make good for its effect on the future of this Nation, if nothing more.

Since 1898 the United States has been a world power. Sometimes, diplomatically, we forget it, but the fact remains that we are considered such by foreign powers, which have been looking askance for years at our unrestricted growth in wealth, population, power, and influence. Should any one of these great foreign nations take the notion to experiment to ascertain whether we are a world power, they would be disillusioned and would we be?

We have always needed a constructive policy for our Army and Military Establishment. While we are the best-educated Nation in the world, having the lowest percentage of illiterates and enjoying freedom of speech and of the press to enlighten us, we have been unwisely taught some facts in our own history which are not borne out by truth in history as viewed by disinterested observers. Some of these untruths taught under guise of history are on our Army and national prowess, and as a Nation we have not taken the time to analyze what history should have taught us as far as our military policy is concerned.

We have been taught to regard military resources as military strength. We are taught that all of our wars have been fought by volunteer troops raised on the spur of a moment, and that with these troops we have never known defeat. Nothing was more certain than ultimate defeat by Great Britain in the Revolution had it not been for the aid given by our ally, France.

In 1812 we were defeated in every land engagement of note, and during that war our militia forces, to say the least, were not capable of creditable performance in battle against the trained soldiers of the enemy. Nor have our volunteers ever been able to do their full duty, although I hesitate to say this, disliking to injure the feelings of any volunteers who have served their country with patriotic fervor in the past. It is a fact that they would have been so much better able to have rendered military service of the approved kind had they been trained for that duty. All of us at times talk about a million armed men springing into action in 24 hours. Last week it took us nearly a week to get 10,000 Regulars in shape to chase an unorganized and illy disciplined force of bandits. That is a fact, the more apparent than older facts because of its youth, but no more striking than past performances of our military forces.

Our Volunteers in the Mexican and Civil Wars were not Volunteers when they performed their best services. They were Regulars, made so by years of training that was costly to them and costly to the Nation. They gave up in the early stages of those wars, their lives oftentimes sacrificed because they did not know how to fight. It has cost this country millions and millions of dollars, acres and acres of wasted substance, and hundreds of thousands of lives for entering on so-called necessary wars without being prepared. Every war we have ever entered upon has been prolonged unnecessarily and the cost in dollars has mounted millions upon millions because we have not had a sufficient Military Establishment and lacked a constructive policy in the Army.

It is time now to think of these serious matters. If the world war in Europe, awful as it has been in its toll of dead and maimed, in its destruction of priceless works of art and science, and its tearing down of civilized convention, has awakened in us a sense of what we as Americans owe our country, the United States, and owe to future generations, then it has not been without its good effect.

We have been "lucky" in our wars up to this time, but it

We have been "lucky" in our wars up to this time, but it is now come to the point where we must play safe, by not depending on a continuance of that good fortune, and the one way to be safe on this proposition is to outline now a policy for the development of our Army. We must treat this question as one which shall not please this or that faction but as a national question involving not alone the present but the future. Let us issue national insurance to protect the safety of our children and their children, and to teach them the lesson of preparedness and let each of them learn that he must do his part in the work.

NOT SO PEACEFUL AS A NATION.

We have been a Nation for about 140 years. During that time, such a short time as years are counted in history, we have been at war for a total of about 25 years. The Revolution lasted 7 years, the War of 1812, 2 years, the Florida wars 7 years, the Mexican War 2 years, the Rebellion 4 years, and the Spanish War and the Philippine wars about 2 years. This estimate does not take into consideration the years of actual warfare spent on the plains of the West, against Indians, genuine warfare though it was. So with more than one-sixth of our existence spent in warfare we have not been such a peaceful Nation after all.

WHY MILITARY DUTY IS UNPOPULAR.

As a Republic, we have borne through our years with us a spirit of hatred for militarism and for that reason have been opposed to a large standing army. That is but natural, for did not most of the early settlers come here to get away from war, while our comparatively recent immigration influx has been inspired by men from nations which exact compulsory military training from every male citizen. Naturally these men hate and fear compulsory military training because it has always stood for something that has taken them from their homes for a period of years, placed them on a military treadmill where they lived by rote and had officers of a so-called higher social class to do their thinking for them. They got little or no money for their years of toil and service for their country, and, if they were of a race not thought worthy even of serving in the army of their country, they hated military establishment for the cruelties brought about in its name and by its agency.

So when we prepare a constructive military policy our first aim must be to make military duty for the citizen as compatible as possible with the ideas of right and freedom which have come to be established standards in this country. There can, of course, be no comparison between a machine-made soldier of a European army and the citizen soldier of the United States service. We have just pride in the fact that our trained Regulars are the equal or superior of any European regular in everything save numbers. We feel that our Army system even under its present limited status is far superior to any other. Our men place less dependence upon their officers than those of any other army. Many an old scarred and gray-haired sergeant has just as good a knowledge of practical military science as has many of his officers. We give our rank and file every advantage possible, but it is no sign that we can not improve the Army.

GOOD MACHINERY IS EXPENSIVE,

Our present Army, inadequate though it is for almost any purpose, is a costly machine, and it is to be more costly. The reason is that we spend more money on it—spend it in accordance with American ideas that the laborer is worthy of his hire. We pay our officers fair salaries, feeling that, as professional men, they earn them, presumably. We pay our enlisted men fair wages, considering that they are clothed, fed, and cared for according to a liberal standard. They are clucated, too, in more things than military science. They are taught obedience, but, more than that, they are shown the way to lead clean lives and be real men.

Therefore, when we come to a consideration of this new policy, we must avoid the abolition of any ideals we have built up, and not alone maintain the standards of the past, but extend them on a wider plan. Our problem, as I see it, is to increase our standing army considerably, provide for establishing a suitable reserve and for an adequate system for raising, training, and officering Volunteer forces.

We have still another task. We must make the Army popular in civilian circles, not on the coasts, where the dangers are greater than inland and where the soldier is respected for the good he may sometime do, but throughout the country. We must instill in the mind of every male citizen the fact that the main duty he owes his country and that to which he must look forward as a part of his education is a service he owes the Military Establishment of the country. I mean compulsory military training—the only training which will bring real preparedness, not alone to the country, but to the man who answers a call to arms in time of need. Perhaps the time is not just at hand for this measure, but it will come, and we should be preparing that system, and it will be no child's play, either. In some States we make children attend school for the good that will accrue to

them. No child in after years regrets being forced to learn. Neither will citizens, if they are taught their duty to their country in the right way. To force a man into the Army for three years of irksome service is a sure way of making the Army unpopular. The answer is a difficult one, when the question is, "How?" Therefore we must go back to the beginning and start our military training in schools of the country, that place where to-day the first lessons in patriotism are taught. In some schools I have visited the children give what is called the flag salute. A stand of the United States colors is on the platform, and in unison the children, tots, just able to lisp, repeat after their instructor, "I give my hand, my head, my heart to my country." Well enough as far as it goes. I do not want to place rifles in the hands of infants, but I believe it will be well for this body to give heed to some things that will help the children and help the Nation when they reach the age of citizenship. I am against militarism, but I hope I am patriotic, and to be the latter necessitutes, in these troublous times, facing the situation and acting in accordance. It is not the old men who fight the battles of their country and win its victories. It is the boy just out of his teens or still in them, as has been shown just this last year. Older men sometimes have to be drafted.

The boys always go first and are the first to suffer. They suffer more because their outlook on life has been restricted, and most of the time they go to premature graves for the lack of a little military knowledge. Obviously the way to teach them the elements of this science of military life is when they are in school, when it will be accepted as a part of their training. Those boys will be more sure of themselves in war and in peace for having been prepared. They will come to know that war is not medals, gay uniforms, flying machines, and stirring trumpet notes and vacation camp life. From experience they will know that it is far more serious, even mimic war. It means hard work. The rank and the file of an army in modern warfare works. They work far more with a pickax and spade than with a gun. One augments the other.

WHY THERE IS OPPOSITION TO A STANDING ARMY.

One reason I want a larger standing army, outside of the fact that it is a security measure, is for educational purposes. People inland, far removed from military stations and regular establishments, hardly ever see a Regular. They know he exists somewhere, just as they know China exists, through reading. I venture to state there are millions of people in this country who have never seen a regular soldier marching with his fellows. Apparently there are some Members of the House who have never seen one.

Perhaps my ideas of patriotism are peculiar. The word means "love of country," not love of congressional district. We all see the flag and know for which it stands. Beautiful and symbolic though it may be, there is another sight which brings to me more acute thrills of patriotism than even the flag. It is a sight of soldiers—Regulars—marching. They may march in peace down a village or city street, but when I see them, shoulders back and in perfect step, I feel that I am looking at what is back of the flag, what protects that for which the flag stands. The sound of military music is inspiring, but soldiers marching without it are just as inspiring to me; they mean something more, something impressive, that in a glance calls back what soldiers have done for us.

I do not want to be recorded as a lover of pomp, and glory, and jingling spurs, and military medals, yet I would like to see the uniforms of our service stand for more than they do. I dislike very much the practice of officers of both Army and Navy discarding their uniforms, the badge of what they are, when they go on detached duty at headquarters in this city or elsewhere. When I go to see an official of the United States service on official business I want the admiral or the general I see to look more like a soldier or more like a sailor than will be lent by civilian attire. During the Spanish-American War officers on duty at the Army and Navy Building wore their uniforms, and the sight called up the service they were performing; let the uniform serve that for which it is intended—to show the service a man performs.

INADEQUATE PREPAREDNESS.

We all have varied ideas on the numbers that should compose our standing Army. It is significant that the Committee on Military Affairs of this House reported out a measure calling for an increase in the Regular Army without a dissenting vote. Otviously the measure has its defects; to me they are chiefly in the fact that it is inadequate preparedness. If we are going to have an Army and make changes in the numbers of that Army let it be an increase substantial enough to be felt. I am aware that it is just ignorance of necessity, lack of knowledge of what the Army is and means, that brings forth the opposition from

inland States. I am aware, too, that some of us—perhaps I am as the pot calling the kettle black when I say it—are of the opinion that we know better than the men we have educated to military life what our Army needs. When I am sick I call a physician and let him prescribe. When I need work done to my teeth I consult a dentist, not a blacksmith. So when I want to know about an army it is but natural to consult an Army officer, one who has spent years in a study of what I want to know. Some things we hear from Army officers we must discount, but in the main their ideas must be correct from a military standpoint. I favor taking their advice, founded on practical experience, more than the vagaries of a theorist who thinks he knows.

Our Army can not be accused of a lack of initiative. We have always taught the world more about warfare than we have learned ourselves. Outside of our costly mistakes at the start of every war as regards volunteers we have reason to be proud of our military performances. We must for the most part give the credit to Regulars.

WHAT WE MAY EXPECT.

When this present war is over and peace has been signed at least six of the greatest nations of the world will have mammoth armies of veterans, made so from years of fighting under modern conditions of which even our Regulars know through actual experience. Those nations will each h millions of fighting men, fully equipped, ready for battle. Those nations will each have will have by the present laws 120,000 regulars and about the same number of militia, and the latter needs a great deal of training to fit itself for strenuous service. We propose in this so-called "preparedness" military measure to increase our standing force to some 140,000 men, and to create a reserve, which will approximate some additional hundreds of thousands men, trained and ready to fight. The increase to the Regular Army is pathetic as far as numbers go. It is disgraceful as a measure of preparedness, and insignificant from the standpoint of real increase. It is a halfway measure, between nothing at all and nothing much of anything, a sop thrown to those who want little and those who feel the need for much. diplomacy, perhaps, and evasion of a real issue; but as an example of statesmenship is a waste of time. We have seen a division of this House on the question of increasing the increase to 220,000 men. We know the result, and know better why our Army has been kept down in numbers for so many years. surely can not be a matter of expense that is doing it; for some of the gentlemen who voted against the Kahn amendment are some whom I have noted raising their voices in appeals for public buildings, plants, and other Government financed projects for their districts. It must therefore be set down to mental torpidity and lack of knowledge of the why and the wherefore. Some of us need patriotic education. I pray that it will not require a war to bring it about.

We have had over a year to think over this measure of preparedness. We may not have such a similar lengthy period again to think of its gravity. Hindsight is better than foresight; but it is always well to remember that a few dollars spent now, when we can well afford it, notwithstanding the state of the Treasury, may save us millions later on and many thousand lives.

We have been stirred now and again by ominous reports and semiofficial recommendations as to what the world thinks of us as a Nation and thinks of our foreign policy. We are more likely than not to be stirred further in the future. As a nation we have no friends, and we have not pursued a policy to make us friends. The European crisis has served to draw us closer to our South American neighbors than anything in years has done; but when this war is over abroad those who have been fighting for two years or more will naturally turn their bloodshot eyes across the seas to a Nation swollen with receipts from war munitions, with national credit unimpaired, and resources intact, It will be a look of bitterness and disappointment, for every nation in that world war will be vanquished. There will be no victors. They will have been defeated by death, by sorrow, by debt; and after the war will be crushed by taxes. The only profits from the war, outside of ethical ones, perhaps, will have been to the United States. They will be money profits, not profit by experience of others.

THE EXAMPLE OF ENGLAND.

We may well consider what happened in England when that country needed men to fight her battles. Her little standing army was as nothing to that of her opponents. She has been two years raising an adequate army, and it has not been able to do any effective fighting yet. A sister Republic of ours—France, our ancient ally—has been doing most of the fighting on the side of the allies. She was prepared, in a measure, and it was only that measure of preparedness that saved her capital from invasion.

I need not mention that Germany was prepared. Her preparedness, if it has not been able to win a decisive victory, has at least been sufficient to save her territory from invasion in turn and to make the whole world wonder at her wonderful resources

and her military strength and efficiency.

Englishmen have for years maintained about the same opinion of themselves that we enjoy about ourselves. Before the war whenever a German said his country was prepared we admitted it, and said that every German had to train for arms when needed. England said she was prepared. We admitted that too, for she had the same system that we have now liance on military resources instead of military strength. We know how England fared and is faring. There have been a few riots and a few drafting measures in the United Kingdom and a whisper that the noble spirit of old that prompted every mother's son of them to turn out as one for their country, is It has been because England believed in the theory rather than the practice, of volunteer troops. The practice has not worked out successfully as far as returns have shown. We need a spiritual Zeppelin or two to show us what patriot-Patriotism means serving country as well as loving We should attempt to devise a plan here for making every citizen love his country and show his affection by service that counts. We must act the part of statesmen not politicians. This is too sacred a cause for admixture and contamination by

We have time yet to take a measure of preparedness that will prepare for something. We have the money and can not afford to spend it in so worthy a cause. There are times when saving is in spending in time. Next year may be too late. We have the past to profit by, the present is here, but the future is unforeseen. One famous American said, "Millions for defense and not one cent for tribute." We still have the millions but are nevertheless paying tribute, and the tribute we are paying is a mortgage on the security of the future of the Nation. are paying tribute to pacifists, which will be a good thing when bring on a plan for universal peace that will work, but until they do we must be in a position to work out our own measures for peace—and that is in preparing for emergencies. The Hay measure does not prepare us for anything. serve it creates is a figment of the imagination and will be for years to come. We shall still go on counting our resources for strength and fooling ourselves that they are adequate. We need a universal training, one that will give us all a chance to do something when the time comes and the need arises. We should devise that plan and put it through unhesitantly. We should prepare to take our armies off paper and put them on terra firma. We have been fighting with paper armies too long. We have a sacred trust and a sacred duty. I for one do not want to be accused of failure in either.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MOSES P. KINKAID, OF NEBRASKA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. KINKAID. Mr. Speaker, a strong and earnest attempt is being made to baffle if not stifle the real question now involved. Many are trying to make it appear that the question is whether the Congress will "stand by" or "uphold the hands" of the President; but, sir, the McLemore resolution does not involve any such a question. It involves the question of whether it would be a wise step to take to warn American citizens not to travel on armed merchantmen of belligerent nations. Mr. Speaker, my predilection is very strong for cooperating with the President in any international issue. I deem it very desirable that our American people stand together regardless of political affiliations when an issue may arise with a foreign nation. I will sacrifice much in a partisan way to be with the President in such a crisis, as I did in fact do in a conspicuous instance when my convictions were decidedly to the contrary. But my vote then only helped to ratify what had been already half accomplished before the vote was taken.

Mr. Speaker, I defy anyone to read the record in this case whereby the issue is formed, on which Members are to vote, and find involved in it the question of whether Members will be "standing by" or standing against the President by the way they vote. Speaking from the standpoint of the legal profes-

sion, no such issue is contained in the pleadings by which the issue is formed. It is only by the oral arguments made by the Members that any issue involving the President is intimated or brought in question and that is not legitimate. So far as the written record is concerned, consisting of the McLemore warning resolution and the rule of the committee bringing it into the House go, the matter of "standing by" or against the President is not put in issue, but it is a question of the wisdom of giving warning to our citizens to not travel on armed merchantmen of belligerent nations that is expressly put in issue. A vote upon this question, therefore, will show how the Members of the House stand upon the warning resolution. That is, if a vote were permitted upon the real question, such would be the But we are going to be cheated out of a vote directly upon the question by parliamentary juggling, the final part of which is the motion to table the McLemore resolution.

Mr. Speaker, the policy of neutrality is directly involved in the present issue. It is so plain that any man who runs may read that to needlessly persist in the exercise of our rights to travel on these armed merchantmen of the nations at war. thereby to hinder or obstruct one or the other in attacking its foe, is against a neutrality policy. For an American citizen to deliberately and unnecessarily place himself upon one of these armed merchantmen knowing it is traveling into a war zone, it seems to me, is like willingly going between two enemies and saying to one or the other "You dare not shoot because you may injure me. I am a citizen of a neutral nation and you dare not shoot me."

Mr. Speaker, I favor a policy of scrupulous neutrality with regard to this European war. Every American citizen has a right to his own views, and most of us will unavoidably express a sympathy for one side or the other, owing to where we trace our ancestry. But in every public way, collectively and as a Nation, in my judgment we citizens owe it to our country as a patriotic duty to studiously avoid taking sides with either of the belligerents. Mr. Speaker, no condition of which my mind can conceive could in my judgment be more demoralizing to our country than for America to become involved in this European war, especially if we were to take sides with either.

Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as the President has requested a vote upon the question of warning I think we owe it to him and at the same time to the American people to vote upon that question squarely and directly, and thereby advise the President how the Members believe their constituents stand upon the issue. Inasmuch as the President has asked for a referendum of the matter why not deal with it consistently in that way and then the Congress and the President abide by the result.

Mr. Speaker, as I view it, giving warning to our citizens not to unnecessarily travel upon the armed vessels of belligerent nations is a step supported by every rule of ordinary prudence, common sense, and humanity, and I am constrained to believe that an overwhelming majority of my constituents will view the question in the same way. It is in keeping with the homely maxim that an ounce of preventative is worth a pound of cure. Mr. Speaker, I do not favor the McLemore resolution in toto. In fact I would discard nine-tenths of the language it contains. First, I would strike out of the nine lengthy "whereas" paragraphs. I would only preserve the few simple words it contains to fhe effect that citizens of the United States be warned against traveling on armed merchantmen of belligerent nations, in the language of the substitute proposed by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Campbell] which reads:

Resolved, That in the opinion of the House of Representatives, citizens of the United States, under existing conditions and irrespective of their legal rights, ought to refrain from taking passage on armed vessels of belligerent nations, except in case of imperative necessity.

The Beginning of Militarism.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL. OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Friday, March 24, 1916.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday I voted "present" when my name was called an internal present. Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday I voted "present" when my name was called on the passage of H. R. 12766, a bill to "increase the efficiency of the military establishment of the United States." The passage of this bill was a great rebuke to the "big Army" men in Congress. It calls for only 20,000 men in addition to the Regular Army strength of 120,000 already authorized. On that score I had no complaint

But the provision for military training and military courses to be placed in the public schools makes it impossible for me to support it. I have no objection to military schools, where those who desire to do so may take military instruction. But this bill would supply the public schools with guns and all sorts of war equipment, and it details United States Army officers to give military training. The whole atmosphere of our schools, and all the children in them, would become charged with the war spirit. It is the beginning of European militarism in this country. I can never support the teaching of the horrible science of war to the youth in our public schools.

TO LIMIT ARMAMENTS.

The military spirit is running rampant throughout this country. We seemingly have forgotten that this Government's duty is to use the present opportunity to teach the warring nations of the world that peace pays better, and that all disputes can be settled without bloodshed, by cool-headed conference. We ought to be promoting this sentiment through the columns of the daily press, rather than our big Navy and big Army schemes. But frenzy has taken the place of reason. Therefore all that I can do is to give notice that I shall offer the following amendment to all the "preparedness" bills which may come before this House:

Be it enacted, etc., That upon the conclusion of agreements between the leading nations of the world, to which the United States is a party, wherein limitation of armaments or disarmament of such nations is proposed, the President shall have authority, in his discretion, to limit or suspend any provision of this act.

The Bogy of Alien Illiteracy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM GORDON.

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 24, 1916.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record, I insert the following editorial from the North American Review of March, 1915:

THE BOGY OF ALIEN ILLITERACY.

Negroes, American born.... Whites, American born.... Whites, foreign born..... 1, 534, 272 1, 650, 361

entire population. in 1910:	Here are the percentages of illiteracy among a	dults
Negroes, American Whites, foreign bo		30.4
Whites, American	born of American parents	3, 7

Whites, American born of immigrant parents.

1.1

Thus the illiterate children of immigrants were less than one-third as many, proportionately, as the illiterate children of native Americans. What is the natural and inevitable deduction? Why, that illiterate immigration, while a present evil, assures a much greater future good. It increases for the present the sum total of illiteracy in the Nation, but promises in the next generation to decrease its proportion. It means a present generation of illiterates, but a coming generation of literates.

what is the natural and inevitable deduction: Why, that litterate immigration, while a present evil, assures a much greater future good. It increases for the present the sum total of illiteracy in the Nation, but promises in the next generation to decrease its proportion. It means a present generation of illiterates, but a coming generation of There is the less reason for applying the literacy restriction to immigration at this time, because for some years to come the volume of allens entering this country is practically certain to be greatly diminished as a result of the European war. While the war lasts there will be few immigrants. Some who would otherwise have come will not come because they can not get passage, in the great disturbance of ocean traffic; some because they are in the armies or were in the armies and have been killed; some because they expect soon to be need in the armies; some because they are urgently needed to carry on the industries the ranks of whose workers have been depleted by the military conscription.

So much while the war lasts. But with the return of peace we need look for no marked resumption of migration to America. The enormous losses of the war will have decreased the industrial efficiency of the chief European nations so greatly that all the survivors will be needed at home, and will, in fact, have at home greater opportunities of achievement and of gain than they would have here. Nor will the need be for an increase in the armier of the chief European nations so greatly that all the survivors will be needed at home, and will, in fact, have at home greater opportunities of achievement and of gain than they would have here. Nor will the need be for each merely to man the ordinary industries. The create interest of the chief European has not be spared by their neighbors to rebuild their razed cities, to till their ravaged fields, and to rehabilitate their own citizens and all who can be spared by their neighbors to rebuild their rated cities, to till their ravaged fields, and

Early Irish Settlers.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLYDE H. TAVENNER. OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 25, 1916.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Speaker, while the subject of immigration is up I desire, under leave to print, to present some information relative to early Irish settlers. I submit as a part of my remarks a tribute to the Irish settlers of the Pan Handle of Montgomery County, Ill., by Mr. John F. McCarron, of Farmersville, Ill.:

THE IRISH SETTLERS OF THE PAN HANDLE OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, ILL. (By John F. McCarron, of Farmersville, Ill.)

A careful census of the settlers of Irish extraction who settled upon the prairies of the Pan Handle of Montgomery County, Ill., 50 and 60 years ago will show that only a few survive of that brave band of stout hearts. And yet it seems but yesterday since most of them were active participants in the life of the community they loved so well.

The history of Montgomery County can never be accurately written without a correct appreciation of the work of the Irish settlers of the Pan Handle. They have contributed a large share in the development of that county, and a knowledge of their lives, characters, and the work performed by them must be carefully reviewed by the historian for a full comprehension of their worth to the State and Nation.

It must be first said of them that they loved and cherished the home of their adoption. As believers in and upholders of the Constitution and laws of the land they were surpassed by none and equaled by few. No heart beat with more patriotic pride than that of the Irish settler at the sight of Old Glory. And in his children he instilled the love of country and respect and devotion to her institutions. No one loves liberty-true liberty-more than the Irishman, and no one respects lawful constituted authority more than he. John Boyle O'Reilly has well described the Irish attitude in that respect:

I am Liberty—God's daughter!

My symbols—a law and a torch;
Not a sword to threaten slaughter,
Nor a flame to dazzle or scorch;
But a light that the world may see,
And a truth that shall make men free.
I am the sister of Duty,
And I am the sister of Faith;
To-day adored for my beauty;
To-m:rrow led forth to death.
I am she whom ages prayed for;
Heroes suffered undismayed for:
Whom the martyrs were betrayed for!

When the men and women of Irish birth settled upon the prairies of the Pan Handle they brought with them the best characteristics of their race, namely, character, honor, thrift, a deep religious fervor, and splendid physique. These things made them a valuable addition to the brain and brawn of the Nation. Their sunny dispositions, their keen wit, and wholesome humor, combined with a sense of fairness and justice, made them respected by all.

Blessed with broad minds, pure hearts, and sound bodies, they gave to the Republic the vitality so essential to its growth and progress. The great truths of Christianity were strongly imbued in their minds and hearts and the Golden Rule was their "cloud by day and their pillar of fire by night." They made the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence living things, and the great truths of centuries stood personified. They breathed into their hearts and souls the air of freemen and the exhilarating blood of new-born life coursed through their veins.

In the old country their lot had been a hard one, through no fault of theirs. For centuries the beautiful land of their birth had been oppressed by the most damnable and tyrannical laws that had ever been enacted by one civilized country for another. And what a verdant spot. Father Tighe has eloquently portrayed its beauty in the following words:

trayed its beauty in the following words:

It is the fairest patch of earth ever flung by the Creator out of the windows of God's heavens. On the face of the Almighty's green footstool there is no land so green. Nowhere is the sky more soft, the air more bilthe, the sun more metlow, than the sky that smiles, the air that blows, and the sun that shines upon this verdant sea-locked isle.

For when the day god rejoicing in His strength streams up the valleys and rolls away the blue haze from the mountain tops all nature is aglow with congenia; gladness. When the early flowers of springtime show their heads above the humid soil, and the enameled meads are lighted up with the ineffable radiance of the noontide's golden showers, the bewirching beauty of the landscape precludes all ordinary expressions of delight. The heather blooms upon the hillside; the rose blushes in the valley; the birds tunefully carol in every grove and glen. Nature has blessed the ancient isle.

The lands of their fathers had been taken from them and parceled out to the soldiers of a triumphant and tyrannical op-pressor. Civil and religious liberty was cast aside while the plunderers drove the Irish into the bogs and mountain fastnesses. A price was placed upon the heads of those who dared oppose the plunderers who yearned for the spoils. To read the history of the terrible oppression in Ireland when the blood of her sons and daughters was shed for home and liberty makes one's blood boil with indignation. How terrible the crimes that were perpetrated upon her defenseless women and children. The eyes glisten with the tears of sorrow for Erin's sons and daughters during this dark page of her history. The Irish people forgive those terrible wrongs, but they never can forget them.

It is hard to forget when a deliberate attempt is made to Crive a nation of patriotic, God-fearing people from off the earth—for no cause, except that they loved liberty. Can they forget how laws were made to drive every vestige of education and religion out of the land so that their posterity should be

brought up in the darkest ignorance and thus made easy of subjection? No, indeed.

Would they stand idly by and allow their civilization to be thus taken from them? Would they permit their posterity to be deprived of centuries of learning dating back almost to the beginning of the Christian era? No; never! Not while a drop of Irish blood remained would they submit. How proud they were of the part played by them as a race. Back in the fifth and sixth centuries Ireland's missionaries had carried the work of Christian civilization to the Continent of Europe, especially among the Germanic tribes, when continental Europe and Britain, too, were enveloped in pagan ignorance. Universities flourished in Ireland and were the seats of learning for western Europe. In 837 the University of Ardmach alone had an en-rollment of 7,000 students. Ireland was rich in culture and education. It would be interesting to show the large part she played in the Christian civilization of Europe, but space forbids.

The oppressor would take from the sons and daughters of Erin the priceless heritage of centuries. He did not care for culture, education, honor, and character so long as there was an opportunity to lay his murderous hands upon the beaten and bruised body of Erin. Kill her children, ravish her noble and pure women, and murder her men, yet he could not conquer the spirit of the Irish race. Ireland's beloved poet, Tom Moore, has well described this spirit:

The minstrel fell—but the foeman's chain
Could not bring his proud soul under;
The harp he loved ne'er spoke again,
For he tore its cords asunder
And said, "No chains shall sully thee,
Thou soul of love and bravery;
Thy songs were made for the pure and free—
They shall never sound in slavery!"

The spirit above described is as fertile and as fair in the descendants of the Irish in this country as it was in the days of It was this selfsame spirit that animated and suslong ago. tained the Irish settlers in the trying days when the Pan Handle was a wilderness.

In the early days there were no roads to guide the Irish settlers over the vast prairie. They followed the trails that wound here and there over the knolls and around the swamps. And when they had erected their homes they proceeded to plant their crops. In the swamps they found the germs of ague and malaria lurking and ready to fasten their grip upon them. Many of the Irish fell a prey to those diseases. Physicians were scarce, and what few there were could not attend all. There were times when there were not sufficient well people to wait upon those who were sick. Thank God, there were doctors, if I may call them so, who understood quite well the simple remedies that do much to alleviate the sufferings of those afflicted with those diseases, and who as nurses were unequaled. They were the women. Through all hardships and privations they were ever ready to do their part in the great work of settlement. The good old Irish machree (mother) was an indispensable factor. Her charm and nobility are well summed in the following lines of the poet:

I summed in the following lines of the poet:
Pray come and unfold the strange secret to me,
And tell what an Irishman means by machree.
The tight of the day and the warmth of the sun,
The ripple of waters that laughingly run,
The sweet bloom of youth, the harvest of years,
The gold of all smiles, and the salt of all tears;
The gold of all smiles, and the salt of all tears;
The grow of the cheek, and the light of the eye,
The grow of the cheek, and the lip's softest sigh;
The tight shadness of welcome, the pang of farewell,
And the loneliness left by the funeral knell;
The music of woman's—the wine of man's life;
The music of woman's—the wine of man's life;
The all that he lives for and hopes for above;
The whole of creation, and one isle in the sea;
And that's what an Irishman means by machree.
The spirit was manifested by those good old Irish

What a spirit was manifested by those good old Irish men and women! God bless them, every one. They were firm believers in toleration and practiced the virtues of faith, hope, and char-No stranger was ever sent hungry from the door of any ity. No stranger was ever sent hungry from the door of of them, and the latch string always hung on the outside.

Kind-hearted, courageous, and generous, they made all feel who came in contact with them the fullness of those virtues.

They laid broad and deep the foundation of good citizenship. Side by side they erected the church and school. In the development of true citizenship they realized that religion and education go hand in hand.

In the technique of mathematics and rhetoric they did not excel, but in natural ability, keen perception, and genuine honesty they were unsurpassed. America needed them, as she does to-day-men and women possessed of the latter qualities more than of the first two mentioned.

History shows that in the part played by the Irish in America they have borne their share with great credit and honor to themselves and the Republic. Lest we forget, let it be remembered that the first Commodore of the American Navy was John The convincing and eloquent orators of Barry, an Irishman. the Colonies were Matthew Lyons and Patrick Henry, both of Irish descent. John Hancock, the first signer of the Declara-tion of Independence, was the descendant of an immigrant from Ireland. The secretary of the Continental Congress, Charles Thompson, was born in Maghera, Ireland. John Nixon, who was the first to publicly read the Declaration of Independence from the statehouse in Philadelphia, July 8, 1776, was the son of Richard Nixon, of county of Wexford, Ireland. The man who first printed the Declaration of Independence was John Dunlap, who was born in Strabane, county of Tyrone, Ireland. Ten signers of the Declaration of Independence were of Irish birth or Irish descent. Prominent among those was Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.

When the Continental Army was in dire distress and Congress was unable to supply its needs, "the plan of the Bank of Pennsylvania" was created by a number of gentlemen for the purpose of supplying the Army with provisions and clothing. total sum raised to supply the Army was \$1,575,000, of which amount \$560,000 were subscribed by members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and the Hibernian Society.

One historian, speaking of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick,

has this to say:

In December, 1781, Gen. George Washington was elected an adopted member of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia, and in his letter of acceptance to the president of the society he said: "I accept with singular pleasure the ensign of so worthy a fraternity as that of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick—a society distinguished for the firm adherence of its members to the glorious cause in which we are embarked."

Brilliant are the pages of our country's history with the deeds and courage of the Irish race. From the birth of the Republic the Irish have shed their blood and sacrificed themselves upon the altar of our country in order that liberty might prevail throughout the land and the government of a free people be maintained. In all the wars of our country they have been ever ready to do and dare and die. And they stand to-day, as of yore, ready to do their country's bidding.

No braver soldiers ever wore the trappings of the United States than men of Irish birth and descent. This was shown in a splendid manner in the late Civil War. The correspondent of the London Times, writing to his paper, had the following to say of the charge of Meagher's Irish brigade up the slopes of

Marys Heights at Fredericksburg:

Never at Fontenoy, at Albureau, or at Waterloo dld men show the daring and the courage of their race than was evinced by the sons of brin in their sixth frantic dashes against the impregnable position of the foe. That any mortal man might carry the position seems idle to believe, but the dense masses which lay within 40 yards of the muzzles of Coi. Walton's guns is the best evidence of what manner of men were they that pushed on to death with the dauntlessness of a race that have won glory upon a thousand battle fields and never more richly deserved it than at the foot of Marys Heights, December 12, 1862.

Not alone in warfare but in the material pursuits of life they have contributed a large share of our country's brain and brawn. And they will continue to do so, for an Irishman is by nature a true American citizen in all that the word typifies.

The Irish settlers of the Pan Handle were scoffed at because of their rough appearance and lack of education, but those who scoffed were ignorant of the character of those people. Little did they know about the Irish, and they took no trouble to find out anything about their past. But character will always tell, and those who scoffed soon found out how foolish they were, for the Irish people from the beginning showed themselves thoroughly adapted to their new condition.

Those men and women had suffered for liberty and justice as their fathers before them. They had come to America to enjoy those natural rights which God ordained that all men should enjoy, and which are so clearly annunciated in the Declaration of Independence. They found in the Pan Handle that haven where under the Stars and Stripes they could practice and enjoy true liberty and contribute their share in the

upbuilding of the State and Nation.

It was my good fortune to have grown up among those peo-le. A child of the race I learned early their characters and as time went on my desire to emulate those good old men and

women grew upon me.

Often have I stood for hours 'neath the shade of one of the clustering trees of a grove in a favorite spot where they were wont to gather and listen to the jestings and banterings of the men folk. What wit! Humorous and keen, that flowed in as natural a manner from their lips as the water trickles from the miller's wheel. No Grecian god ever enjoyed a feast more than I enjoyed those gatherings. As I recall to mind many of those occasions I laugh at the quaint things said and marvel at the wonderful natural ability shown by them,

Who of our generation can accurately portray the sufferings endured by the Irish settlers? Yea, to do that, one must have suffered with them. They endured hardships and suffered privations because they loved liberty and justice. No poor words of mine can pay those men and women a higher tribute than to say, that they were honest, generous, industrious, Godfearing, liberty-loving Americans. And of them the poet has well said:

They came from the hills of Erin away from a tyrant's ban, Seeking a home on your kindlier shore, where a man may be a man; Holding your friends as chosen friends, your foes as their hated foes, Faithful to death in blood and breath were those loyal Mac's and O's. Columbia, Queen of the Western Gate, whose bountiful hands outspread To the exiled poor of the older lands give succor of peace and breat. We ask no boon but the best you have, the highest you ever knew, For the rank and file of the ancient isle who has given its best to you.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS.

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 25, 1916.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the subject of foreign immigration has been passed upon by the two great political parties of this country. In 1896, the year when Mr. Bryan was the Democratic nominee for President, the Democratic platform, which he indorsed, made the following declaration:

We hold that the most efficient way of protecting American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with it in the home market.

In the same year the Republican national platform contained the following declaration:

For the protection of the quality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workingmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly en-forced and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write.

The candidates for President and Vice President of the United States nominated upon the platform containing this latter declaration were elected.

It will be remembered that Mr. McKinley, running on the Republican platform, the platform which specifically demanded the exclusion from entrance to the United States of immigrants who could neither read nor write, was elected President, and Mr. Bryan, whose platform only demanded exclusion of foreign pauper labor, so as to prevent competition with American labor in the home market, was defeated. Therefore when President Wilson, in his recent message vetoing the Burnett immigration bill, asked the following question, "Has any political party ever avowed a policy of restriction in this fundamental matter?" the answer is, "Yes; and it is found in the platforms above quoted of both great political parties." Further answering the President's question, I will state that the voters in that presidential election ratified that avowal at the ballot box; and if the voters of the United States have ever given their indorsement to any measure of legislation it has certainly indorsed, by their votes, the principles embodied in the Burnett immigration bill before Congress in its recent session. Not necessarily for your information, but because of the enlightening effect the Congres-SIONAL RECORD may have on this subject, I will further state that in 1896-97 the Senate and House passed an immigration bill containing the literacy test found in the Burnett bill vetoed re-

cently by President Wilson.

It was also vetoed by President Cleveland, and the House passed the bill over the President's veto. In the Senate it failed of passage over the veto by a few votes. In 1898 the Senate passed an immigration bill containing the literacy test, but the bill, it is generally conceded, was crowded out of consideration of the House of Representatives by reason of the Spanish-American War. In 1902 the House passed an immi-Spanish-American War. In 1902 the House passed an immigration bill containing the literacy test. In 1906 the Senate passed an immigration bill in which the literacy test was embodied. The House substituted a bill creating the Federal Immigration Commission. This commission consisted of nine members, eight of whom recommended the adoption of the literacy test as the most practical means for restricting, limiting and better regulating immigration.

ing, and better regulating immigration.

Mr. Speaker, in 1913 the Senate and House passed an immigration bill containing the test recommended by the com-

mission. The bill was vetoed by President Taft. That bill passed the Senate over the President's veto, but failed to pass

the House over the President's veto by 4 votes.

Gentlemen, I voted to pass that bill over President Taft's veto and on the same ground that I voted to pass the Burnett bill over President Wilson's veto. I advocated the passage of these immigration bills over presidential vetoes, because I was following the doctrine in the Democratic platform of 1896, namely, "to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with our American labor in the home market," and also because I was then and am now fully persuaded that the needs of the people of our country require some means to protect them, their rights, their work, and their future, against wholesale immigration; immigration planned on a great scale first so that steamships may profit; and second to depress the condition of the workers here by large numbers who may and do supplant them and take from them their opportunities to earn a livelihood; immigration which is so potent a factor to in-tensify and make acute the industrial and social injustice to our own people. In a word, there must be some provision to meet a serious and menacing situation jeopardizing American standards of life and American concepts of freedom. If there be any desire for further information as to the justification for the attitude of the advocates of immigration restriction, for the attitude of the advocates of immigration restriction, ample evidence can be found in the report of the Federal Immigration Commission, the report of the Federal Bureau of Labor upon an investigation in Bethlehem, Pa., the report of the House committee giving the results of its investigation of the conditions in the steel industry (known as the Stanley Report), the statistics of immigration for the last 20 years, and many other sources of official and authentic information.

Mr. Speaker, in order to rightly understand the motives of the men prompting this veto message I quote from a Washington paper what took place when this Burnett bill was before the

President for his consideration:

Heading the list of opponents to this bill is Tammany and big business. Why? Because big business wants cheap labor and Tammany wants cheap votes. Next comes Bourke Cochran, of New York, a politician who at some time in his life has belonged to almost all of the modern political parties and been true to none; and as to Congressman Gallivan, who opposed the bill, I will let his remarks on this bill made in the House of Representatives on February 4, 1915, speak. He shows plainly that the Catholic Church, to which church he belongs, opposed this bill and favored its veto. His remarks and their introductory headnotes are as follows:

"THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF AMERICA AND THE KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS— SPEECH OF JAMES A. GALLIVAN, OF MASSACHUSETTS, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 4, 1915.

"THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF AMERICA AND THE KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS—
SPEECH OF JAMES A. GALLIVAN, OF MASSACHUSETTS, IN THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 4, 1915.

"Mr. Speaker, let it never be said that within less than 150 years of
the Declaration of Independence a Congress of the United States, so
far forgetting the foundations of our own America, gave the lie to the
hopes and to the aspirations of people struggling under the absolutism
of Europe and other countries, and who, yearning for opportunities for
improvement for themselves and those that came after them, found
closed upon them the doors of a country which in the providence of
God had been reserved as a haven for the struggling, aspiring manhood,
wherever found on earth. [Applause.]

"'The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof.' All men are
his creatures. Shall we dare to say that man, the image of the
Creator, shall not have a share in the fruits of the fairest land upon
which the sun shines upon?

"Mr. Speaker, I can see influences back of this proposed legislation
other than those exercised and controlled by organized labor; I can
see influences which dare not come out into the light of day, but which,
under the cover of an inky, slimy darkness, masquerading in the guise
and garb of so-called patriotic orders, are ceaselessly endeavoring to
divide the great body of American citizenship along lines of racial and
religious prejudice. I ask every fair-minded man in this body to listen
to this extract from one of these so-called patriotic publications, and
when you have heard it ask yourselves whether there be even the
shadow of truth in its base reference to 'Rome and its lobby.' The
paper said in its last issue:

"What the Menace said:

"On January 14 the Senate agreed to the conference report on the
Burnett immigration bill without a record vote. Senator Reed, of Missouri, after four weeks of talk and fillbuster in opposition against this
meritorious measure, finally tired of talking and allowed the Senate to
take the vote resulting in agree

Gentlemen, we will let a Washington daily paper speak fully on the reasons for this veto by President Wilson. They are as follows:

IMMIGRATION BILL IS DISCUSSED—FRESIDENT WILSON HEARS ARGUMENTS BY BOTH SIDES AT OPEN MEETING—THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, RAILROAD EROTHERHOODS, AND FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS PLEAD FOR THE LAW—CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL INFORMED THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE "ONE MILLION SOCIALISTS" OPPOSE BILL—"TAMMANY AND BIG BUSINESS" ALSO PROTEST.

WASHINGTON, JOHNBUL 20

WASHINGTON, January 30.

In the White House last week 300 men and women urged President Wilson to sign and urged him to veto the Burnett immigration bill. It was an interesting assembly that arranged itself in a semicircle around the Nation's Chief Executive, who gave close attention to the workers'

pleas for restriction and the oratorical flights of "big business" representatives. The battle was waged on the section of the bill providing for a literacy test. Unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, the railroad brotherhoods, and the farmers' organizations asked that the bill be signed. On the other side were the patriotic representatives of "big business," vote-hunting politicians from every party, and those who opposed the bill for sentimental reasons.

Ex-Congressman Bourke Cockran New York lawyer, and Congressman Gallivan, of Massachusetts, led the opposition. Their rounded sentences and inspiring appeals for the American flag might well be termed classics for schoolboys. Such gems as these were common: "A constellation in the firmament of civilization."

Mr. Cockran indicated who he represented, however, when, in opposition to the literacy test, he said: "I believe a hand calloused with labor should be a better passport."

Former Lieut. Gov. Whitman told the President he represented Tammany and that that organization was opposed to the bill.

Charles Edward Russell, magazine writer and lecturer, said, "one million socialists" oppose the bill, which, he declared, was "unsound and could not be enforced."

Secretary Morrison, of the American Federation of Labor, diplomatically called attention to the opposition of some associations "that depend for existence for contributions from the employing class." In referring to the \$60,000,000 annual income of steamship companies, he said: "This will account in a great measure for the opposition of societies of various nationalities composed wholly or partly of business men and the attorneys of business men," whose freight charges might be lincreased to meet the companies' deficit if immigration was restricted. The unionist presented organized labor's position on this question, and showed, by the testimony of investigators, that workers are correct when they state that ignorant aliens are beating down the living standard of Amercan wage earners.

The

year.

Prof. Fairchild, of Yale University, insisted that the illiteracy test is American and fair. He stated that when this same bill was up for consideration in previous Congresses Italy built schoolhouses in anticipation of its passage. The schoolhouses were abandoned when the bill was defeated.

Prof. Ross, of Wisconsin University, said that of all the tests that had been proposed to restrict immigration, the one of illiteracy was the best.

Mr. Speaker, the opponents of the bill showed much alarm at the prospects of this country running short of labor. Many opponents declared in favor of restriction, but "not this kind." None of them, however, even hinted of an effective substitute. Among the other speakers against the bill were Representatives Sabath, Illinois; Goldfogle, New York; J. Hampton Moore, Pennsylvania; and Prof. Larned, of the University of Pennsylvania; Oscar Villard, editor of New York Evening Post, and several representatives of foreign fraternal and other organizations.

President Wilson stated that he vetoed the immigration bill because it seeks to exclude "those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceived to be the natural and inalienable right of man," and because it excludes "those to whom the opportunities of elementary education have been denied without regard

to their character, their purposes, or their natural capacity."

President Cleveland, President Taft, and President Wilson, all three, vetoed the literacy test. The House tried and failed to pass these bills over the President's veto. The literacy test in the last vetoed bill would have excluded chiefly Russian Jews and southern Italians. The objections to these immigrants was not altogether that they can not read nor write. The advocates of the measure wishes to exclude the southern Italians and Russian Jews because they did not believe in the quality and character of these people. Failing to find any test of quality and character the literacy test was used. Our melting pot is not capable of handling all kinds of people in unlimited quantities. We are afraid to put the Chinese and Japanese into the pot. We are finding out that in times of stress it has not Americanized all the other peoples whom we have admitted to our shores. The situation in which we find ourselves now, however, has an element in it which we have not faced in the past. The English, Irish, German, and Scandinavian people that have come to the United States assimilate more readily than the immigrants that are coming now. The immigrants of the past were more productive people at home than the present ones. They were held in higher estimation in their own countries. Their quality and character were better. A policy that worked well with a Swede in 1890 will not be equally beneficent with a Sicilian in 1915. The melting pot can

not melt and transform the present stream of immigration. It is equally certain that there is a limit to its efficiency, and I believe that in the recent past we have overtaxed its abilities, and must call a halt by enacting an educational-test law. If so many of one kind of immigrants come that they remain un-Americanized let us meet the situation frankly and put a limit upon the numbers we will take from any one country and add to this any tests of quality and character that may be devised, and no better test than the educational one can be found.

Mr. Speaker, the Bible tells us that a man can not serve two masters, and human experience abundantly sustains this doctrine; therefore there can be no English, German, Irish, or Catholic American, because a man can not serve two masters; if they are Americans they can not be a German, Britisher, or Irishman. I regret to state that many men who have isher, or Irishman. I regret to state that many men who have taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, thereby renouncing their allegiance to any foreign prince, potentate, or power have, since the beginning of the present great European war, forgotten their oaths, and are now boldly taking the side of their relatives by blood, and have also boldly criticized our Congress and our President, thereby rocking our ship of state, making it much harder for our good and great President to steer clear of all foreign complications that might lead our country into war, which God forbid.

Had these kickers (of foreign extraction) not been permitted to immigrate to our country this danger would have been avoided, and it behooves us to close this door to all persons who are not willing to become in good faith only American citizens. President Wilson was right when he said in his message vetoing the immigration bill that it would exclude "those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceived to be the natural and inalienable rights of man." Because no civilized country will harbor in its bosom the anarchist, such as Herbert Parsons, who wrote on February 2, 1915, the following letter to me, namely:

FEBRUARY 2, 1915.

Hon. John H. Stephens,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: To us it seems of very great consequence that the right of political asylum shall be maintained inviolate in this country.

The history of nations—of others as well as of our own—teaches that at times only through the unlawful destruction of property and the advocacy of this may despotism be thrown off and representative government attained.

We can only urge you to vote against passing the immigration bill (H. R. 6060) over the veto of the President. This we do solely on the ground that the bill, in our opinion, runs counter to the proper and historic policy of this country in excluding and deporting (sees. 3 and 19) aliens "who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property," and in subjecting to fine and imprisonment (sec. 28) "any person who knowingly aids or assists any * * * (such) alien to enter the United States."

Yours, very truly,

Herrent Parsons,

President Friends of Russian Freedom.

HERBERT PARSONS, President Friends of Russian Free

Mr. Speaker, I maintain, with President Wilson, that no other civilized country would accept as a citizen such a man as Herbert Parsons, who boldly advocates and teaches the destruction of property in the foregoing letter in order to carry out his diabolical purpose of rushing this country into a reign of anarchy and despotism. But I wholly and respectfully dissent from the views of the President, who, it seems from his lan-guage above quoted, would admit to citizenship in this country men who claim that it is one of the inalienable rights of man to destroy property, as is shown by the aforementioned letter of All classes of anarchists are rightfully excluded by Parsons. the Burnett bill, therefore I shall again vote for the bill vetoed by the President this year. I believe that the allegiance of the American citizen, whether by birth or oath of allegiance, should be of the loftiest and most exclusive type, and in our country's intercourse with foreign nations may she always be right-but right or wrong, our country. Our first duty is to our family and our country before we think of the other fellow, especially when the other fellow desires to come to our country to rock our boat, criticize, find fault with, and defy our laws and institutions, and in two instances murder our Presidents.

Mr. Speaker, the following letters from labor organizations express fully my views on this subject, and are as follows:

Boston, Mass., January 30, 1915.

Hon. John H. Stephens, Washington, D. C.

GREETING: The 45,000 members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union desire the passage of the immigration bill now before Congress, because a slight measure of restriction will tend against the glutting of an already overstocked labor market. Many of our members are of foreign birth, but they are here and must live on what they earn.

Large employing interests want to flood the labor market in all trades. Therefore they oppose the literacy test as they would any other test that would impose the slightest restriction. If restriction is desirable, upon what better basis can it rest than that of intelligence and education. Surely one would not impose a property qualification.

It is said that the percentage of illiteracy is high in the United States. If that is so, the literacy test can be no hardship on the immigrants from the nations of higher education than ours. Also, if we are more illiterate, it is because we have admitted a million or more each year with no educational test, and we need the protection of the literacy test to raise the standard of immigration.

With due respect to the President, we do not think he understands the wage-earners' battle for a living, and we respectfully ask you to vote to pass the bill over the veto of the President.

Very truly, yours,

O. L. BAINE, General Secretary-Treasurer.

Hon. John H. Stephens, M. C. CLEVELAND, Ollio, February 1, 1915.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, February 1, 1915.

Hon. John H. Stephens, M. C.

Dear Sir: The American labor movement deeply regrets the action of President Wilson in vetoing the immigration bill, and on behalf of several thousand organized workers, with whose sentiments on this question I am familiar, I wish to express the hope that you will vote to repass the bill over the President's veto.

With all due respect to the President's sincerity we should like to know what surer test of sentiment could be obtained than the fact that this question has received the approval of Congress twice within three years by overwhelming majorities? Congress has, without a doubt, recorded the sentiments of the American people. Those who are denouncing the bill on the ground that an educational qualification furnishes no test as to character or industry, have, with few exceptions, opposed as strenuously every other means of restriction that has been considered in the past. However, restriction is the big issue here, and not so much the method by which the restriction is to be brought about.

The statisticians who tell us how few people we have to the square mile or how many more millions our acres can support don't seem to have done much toward putting the incoming millions on to those untilled acres or from preventing those millions from settling down in the industrial centers, to make worse a labor situation in which there are several applicants for every available position.

With the products of the farm the highest in years, and with hundreds of thousands of workers unable to secure employment, large numbers of whom are in the charity line, we are confronted with a situation that can not be either settled or relieved by the theorist with his handy pencil.

The labor movement is earnestly concerned in this immigration question, and we again express the hope that you are in sympathy with the purposes of the Burnett bill, and that you will give your approval at the purposes of the Burnett bill, and that you will give your approval at the pro

UTICA, N. Y., February 1, 1915.

Hon. John H. Stephens.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: The undersigned is directed by the executive council of the New York State Federation of Labor, a body representing 700,000 organized workers of the State of New York, to respectfully request you to vote and use all honorable means to override the veto by the President on the Immigration bill. The organized workers of this State feel that this bill is of the greatest importance for the future welfare of the workers of this country, both organized and unorganized. The ending of the present war will more than likely send to these shores millions of workers to crowd an already overcrowded labor market. It is only tair to the organized workers of this country who are using every effort possible to assimilate and educate the foreign worker to provide some safeguard against the influx of the lilliterate of the Old World. Thanking you in advance for complying with this request, I am. respectfully,

Edward A. Bates,

EDWARD A. BATES, Secretary-Treasurer New York State Federation of Labor,

Mr. Speaker, I have very recently received many letters from numerous labor organizations throughout the country favoring this bill. I will here insert the following ones as part of my remarks, namely:

BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL OF DALLAS AND VICINITY, Dallas, Tex., February 19, 1916.

To United States Senators and Congressmen of Texas, Washington, D. C.,

To United States Senators and Congressmen of Texas, Washington, D. C., greeting:

This is to notify you that the Dallas Building Trades Council of Dallas and Vicinity is especially interested in the passage of the Burnett immigration bill, which will come up, we are informed, for passage at this session of Congress; and we are joining with all organized labor, not only of Texas but of the entire United States and Canada, and particularly the South, in asking our Senators and Congressmen to support this bill when same is presented to Congress for final passage.

You may have supported the bill at the last session of Congress, when it almost became a law over the veto of the President, but we are asking you to use your influence and vote this time to have this bill enacted into law and become effective before the great European war is over, when we believe a great influx of undesirable immigrants will pour into this country if this bill is not a law at that time.

Thanking you in advance for your support of the Burnett immigration bill when 't is presented to Congress for final passage, which we believe is a solution to this question, we beg to remain,

Very truly, yours,

Dallas Bullding Trades Council,

Dallas Bullding Trades Council,

DALLAS BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL, DAVID G. HINCKLEY, President, W. A. GOODE, Secretary.

SAN ANTONIO, TEX., February 18, 1916.

Hon. John H. Stephens,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Realizing that the Burnett immigration restriction bill is of the greatest importance to the workingmen, therefore it is requested upon your part that you vote for the passage of this bill, and, if necessary, vote against the President of the United States, should he veto the bill if passed in the House and Senate.

Organized labor realizes that the workingman will bear the brunt of the battle after the European war is over, and in order that the social conditions under which the American workingman is living shall be

continued it is necessary that a restricted immigration bill, such as the Burnett bill, should be passed.

SAN ANTONIO TRADES COUNCIL, JAS. R. WEBB, President. HARRY M. SPANGLER, Secretary.

THE ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR, Chicago, Ill., February 21, 1916.

To the Members of the Sixty-fourth Congress, Washington, D. C.

Chicago, Ill., February 21, 1916.

To the Members of the Sixty-Jourth Congress, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: The Illinois State Federation of Labor, representing nearly half a million organized working people in the State of Illinois, requests you to vote for the Burnett immigration bill, and, in event that it is vetoed, to vote for its passage over the veto of the President.

The legislation proposed in the Burnett bill is becoming more and more necessary. Evidence of this can be seen in every industrial center in the country. Thousands of illiterate foreigners, with whom it is difficult and in some cases almost impossible for other working people to even communicate, are at the mercy of cheap-labor exploiters. This condition should not be permitted to grow worse. It must be improved if the American standard of life is to prevail.

To speak of America as "the haven of refuge for the oppressed of the world" is mockery when that phrase is merely used as a cover under which to bring into the United States the oppression existing in some foreign lands. Immigrants coming to this country should be of the kind capable of quickly adjusting themselves to the standards of life here and to the American ideas of democracy, progress, and freedom. The invasion of our country by stimulated immigration, particularly from southern and eastern Europe, may be profitable to steam-ship companies, to the Steel Corporation, to mine owners, and to other employers of cheap labor, but it is a danger to American institutions so grave that the necessity for a check upon it, such as is provided for in the Burnett immigration bill, is so obvious that we believe it scarcely needs argument.

We respectfully urge that you join with us in this effort to protect American standards, and that to this end you do everything in your power to bring about the enactment of the Burnett immigration bill at the present session of Congress.

Respectfully,

ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR,

ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR, By V. A. OLANDER,

Secretary Treasurer.

Chicago, Ill., February 21, 1916.

To the Honorable Representatives of the Sixty-fourth Congress, Washington, D. C.

To the Honorable Representatives of the Sixty-fourth Congress, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs: The Chicago Federation of Labor, representing over 250,000 organized men and women, request that you vote for the Burnett immigration bill and also vote for same in the event this legislation is vetoed by the President.

We make this request on the ground that American standards of living can not resist the onslaught of immigration from southern and eastern Europe that it stimulated by steamship companies, mine operators, the Steel Trust, and other employers of cheap labor.

We are aware of the sentimental protests against this bill that have so artfully been manufactured by those who would degrade and exploit the men and women of labor; but we call your attention to the report of the United States Commission on Immigration that investigated this question, and which, after nearly four years' study, and at an expense of approximately \$1,000,000, took a position identical with that of the trade-union movement.

We are asking our Representatives in Congress to protect us from this unnecessary and unfair competition. Our battle for a continuance of American living standards should enlist the sympathy and support of every one whose ideals of democracy are not dimmed by the pleas of those who are blind to national dangers because of cheap labor and an illiterate citizenship.

We respectfully request that you join with us in this effort for American standards and do all in your power to obtain positive action by Congress during this session.

We hope you will vote for the Burnett immigration bill on its final passage and also in the event of its being vetoed by the President.

Thanking you for consideration of same, we beg to remain,

Most respectfully.

Chicago Federation of Faberation of Labor,

E. N. Nockels, Secretary.

CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR, E. N. NOCKELS, Secretary.

MINING DEPARTMENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, Washington, D. C., February 16, 1916.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
Washington, D. C., February 16, 1916.

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.
Dear Sir: In the name of the nearly one-half million men affiliated with the mining department of the American Federation of Labor, and for the good of all the workers of America, I am hereby requesting you to vote for the passage of the Burnett immigration bill.

Employers of labor, especially those connected with employers' associations and shipping trusts, are utterly selfish and un-American in their desire for unrestricted immigration conditions. Their greedy desire for profit overshadows all attempts of the workers to resist the breaking down of American standards of working and living, and, as some of them have brutally stated, they find the pauper immigrant laborer an excellent "wage regulator."

We in the ranks of labor do not propose to be so regulated; we object to being brought to the economic and social conditions of the southern European pauper laborer, and we ask you, in the name of Americanism, justice, and common decency and honesty, to vote for the passage of this bill, even over the President's veto.

The American Federation of Labor and all the affiliated international, district, and local unions are unanimous in their desire for the provisions of the bill, and we sincerely hope that our plea to you will not be in vain.

Yours, truly,

President Mining Department, A. F. of L.

President Mining Department, A. F. of L.

Mr. Speaker, I believe with Mr. Bates that at the end of the present European war millions of foreigners will seek our shores to escape the fearful taxation that will be levied by all of the belligerent nations upon their citizens.

They will also be induced to emigrate to this country because of better wages and because our money will be good all over the world, while their home wages will be small and their money far below par in value.

They will further seek citizenship in this country in order to escape military service in future wars in their country.

Mr. Speaker, every foreign soldier becoming a citizen of and securing a job in this country after the close of this war will deprive an American citizen of a job. Why, then, should any lover of our country vote to take the bread out of the mouths of our American children, or clothes off of their backs, to give some illiterate foreigner the jobs of our own needy countrymen?

We are told by the Bible "that charity should begin at home." Now, let us practice as well as teach this wholesome home." Now, let us practice as well as teach this wholesome and just doctrine by voting for this bill, and thus carry into

effect this Divine command.

Sugar.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MOSES P. KINKAID,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 16, 1916,

On the bill (H. R. 11471) to amend an act entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes," approved October 3, 1916.

Mr. KINKAID. Mr. Speaker, I am heartily in favor of the ill. The revenue it will permit to be realized will help to replenish our depleted Treasury, and necessity makes it impera-tive that money for that purpose be realized. But I favor it also because the principle involved is in accord with the policy of the protection of American industries. I voted against the law now sought to be repealed when it was enacted, and I had previously to that time so voted. To encourage this industry, yet young, to help to expand and increase the production of sugar is a thoroughly economic and sound policy for America to pursue. It is obvious to everyone that the high cost of living is directly involved, and this problem, so serious to American consumers, may be solved by increased production and the price lowered in keeping with the irresistible law of supply and demand.

Mr. Speaker, the sugar-beet industry has helped to diversify farming here and there in the old-developed sections of our country, while at the same time it has contributed directly and very noticably to the development of newly settled sections of the West. Observation shows it goes hand in hand with the irrigation of arid lands, the most productive home-making, homebuilding land act that was ever passed.

In connection with the operation of the national reclamation law, the fostering of the raising and the manufacture of sugar beets inures to the mutual benefit of the Government and water users under irrigation projects. It is a fact that, viewed from a practical standpoint, the growth and manufacture of sugar beets under these projects has become almost indispensable to the

interests of the Government and the water users

It would be very easy to secure verification from the officials of the Reclamation Service that wherever sugar-beet culture is practiced on these projects water users are able to make prompt payment to the Government of construction and maintenance charges, while, on the other hand, if the irrigation project is located too distant from a sugar-beet factory the making of the annual payments to the Government for the cost of building canals and reservoirs and upkeep of same is found to be difficult, and water users fall behind. It is very clear to me that if the irrigation projects started under the national law were supplied with a sufficient number of sugar-beet factories to consume the sugar beets that would be raised, the Government would soon be repaid the large sums of money it has invested in the construction of the project.

Many object lessons of the existence and operation of the sugarbeet factories in the Mountain States could be cited, coupled with reliable statistics which would abundantly and conclusively prove the correctness of the assertion I have just made.

Mr. Speaker, even under ordinary circumstances I have for years been a believer in the wisdom of a country making itself as nearly self-sustaining and industrially independent of other countries as the natural resources and genius of the people may

permit. When this European war is over the reason for more self-reliance upon the resources and industries of our own country will be greatly increased. Already a trend in Europe, particularly in Great Britain, has manifested itself in favor of pursuing a policy of more reliance on home products, home industries, and correspondingly less reliance for these upon foreign nations. In other words, they will favor and follow a policy of a protective tariff more than ever before. The object lesson afforded by the great industrial development in Germany prior to the present war and the value this has been and is to its war and food crisis commends the adoption of such a policy. It has been sugar-beet growing and their manufacture into sugar that has perhaps done the most for the solving of the food question and the high cost of living in Germany of any single factor. Besides the direct beneficial effects of the sugar-beet industry to that country, the yields of other crops have been greatly augmented by the fertilization of the soils by the growing of beets. Besides, the production of cereals has been increased 50 percent and the yields of all kinds of crops have been noticeably increased by the rotation of sugar beets with the other crops.

Mr. Speaker, it is plain to anyone who has given the question consideration that the production in our country of crops which are grown where sugar beets may be profitably cultivated, may be readily increased from 30 to 100 per cent by the previous cultivation of sugar-beet crops in the same soil. And is not this the cheapest and best way to solve the high cost of living? And is it not also the best way for this country to become self-sustaining, to become at least self-sustaining as to foodstuffs, to say nothing of the advantage of production for exportation? Will not such a policy materially help to secure the result of the balance of trade in our favor in our dealings with foreign countries, and thus sustain and increase the volume of currency in our own country?

Mr. Speaker, I advocate such a degree of protection for this industry, not yet one-fourth developed, as may enable the growers of sugar beets and the manufacturers of the same into sugar to successfully compete with producers in foreign countries who would participate in our home markets. I would protect every other agricultural product to a like extent when needed, as well as every other American industry.

But, Mr. Speaker, as I started out to say, after the close of the great European war, which stands without a parallel in all our history, the signs are that the warring nations are going to pursue a policy of protection for home industries similar to the practice of our own country, more or less broken by occasional party political changes in our national administration. When our country has pursued this policy of protection, prosperity has prevailed; but when a change has been made toward free trade, business depressions, if not commercial and industrial disasters, have been the result. And in this instance the effects upon the sugar industry would have been very damaging by the operation of the act this bill will repeal had it not been for the occurrence of the European war.

Mr. Speaker, it has well been said that America is another name for opportunity. It is plain to me that this opportunity, the opportunity of the foreigner to better himself by coming to our country, has consisted very largely of the condition that industrially we have stood upon a protective-tariff basis. [Applause.]

Pacifists' Dream of Perpetual Peace.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. MURRAY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 25, 1916.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Speaker, out of all discussion we find those who believe in "preparedness" divided on the program as to degree or amount necessary. Many believe sufficient what we now have, others favor an increase of Navy only, and yet others an increase of both Army and Navy, and in turn these disagree upon the amount or degree of each. But it is not my purpose here to discuss preparedness. I shall take the opportunity to do that at a later date. It is my purpose now to discuss the pacifists' dream and to answer the question, Will the world ever have universal and permanent peace?—and to try to show that this can not be expected. I regard this necessary since it is observed that those who believe that it can will not

consider any degree of preparedness as essential to national safety.

There is nothing to justify the belief in permanent and universal peace, either from man's nature, his past experience, or his religion, nor from Divine purpose or the tendency of the times.

Of the five great religions making for peace—Confucianism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity—the last named is regarded as the most altruistic, while all the rest, particularly Mohammedanism, are religions of war and brute torce. Nevertheless, Christianity pleads with all men to become righteous and to live a life of rectitude with "peace on earth and good will toward all men," but enjoins upon its votaries perpetual contest and war with evil, with Christ himself saying, Matthew x, 34 "I am not come to send peace on earth but a sword."

The heart of the religion of the 600,000,000 Chinese and the soul of their code of morals, the sustaining power of their hopes and the preserving strength of their Government for upwards of 24 centuries, is this simple truth, known as the maxim of Confucius: "Learn the past and you will know the future." This is but another statement of the universal truth so admirably expressed in English adage, "Experience is the best teacher." He who would judge the future must judge it by the past; he who would solve the problems of the future must do so from a knowledge of the experience of humanity in ancient and medieval ages, not from a knowledge alone of the present. A knowledge of the present is but a knowledge of a condition. A knowledge of the past will give the statesman the philosophy for the solution of the problems of the future. Hence, all statesmanship founded alone on modern history will prove shortsighted.

I have scrutinized the philosophy forming the superstructure of the nations of all ages; I have read all political history worth reading; and I challenge any man to point out a single nation in any age (except a portion of Chinese and Japanese history) and in this I include our own Republic, that did not have a war every generation, I care not what the form of government or degree of civilization, or the race or religion of its people.

The thirteenth century was one for the awakening of constructive forces, and yet civilized nations of that century had a war every five years. Perhaps you say we have progressed toward peace. Let us see about that. The twentieth, or present century, has run now 15 years, and we have had a war in the civilized world on an average each one and one-half years. Moreover, the United States, since July 4, 1776, has been in war one day out of every four—the French and Indians wars, the campaigns against the Seminoles, the Creeks, and Tecumseh, and the Indian wars of the West, aggregating more than twenty years. Add to these the Revolution, the war with the Barbary States and of 1812, the Mexican, the Civil, the Spanish, and Philippine wars and you will find that this is not overstated.

The longest period of peace during the one thousand or more years of the Roman Empire and Republic was just 44 years; and in fashions, hopes, social conditions, and evils, as well as in political propaganda for their solution, we are to-day traveling for the most part along the same road of the last century of the old Roman Republic.

P. H. Von Treitschke, in "Politik," has said:

It has always been the weary, spiritiess, and exhausted ages which have played with the dreams of perpetual peace.

I know of no better reply to the pacifist who wants us to believe that our civilization has reached the summit and who overlooks the civilizations of other peoples, than to quote from President Wilson in his speech in New York:

We live in a world which we did not make, which we can not alter, which we can not think into a different condition from that which actually exists. It would be a piece of provincialism to suppose that because we think differently from the rest of the world we are at liberty to assume that the rest of the world will permit us to enjoy that thought without disturbance.

Moreover, I can not understand how men can even think our own civilization above the brutish impulses of war so long as our cities must needs be protected and peace preserved by prisons and police. Alas! Iceland is the only country having neither. Why, indeed, the police force of our American cities surpass in number the standing Army of the Republic. Should they be removed for a single day in the great populous centers like New York and Chicago, robbery, arson, and murder would gain such headway as to require a standing army to suppress it, so that President Wilson is correct in saying that we can not change the conditions of the world by thinking them different. The conditions of the world are so replete with human nature, with conditions not to escape the observation of a practical man

if he will but look at those conditions and take his mind off of academic theories and look among men to find them instead of

the books of impractical dreamers and pacifists.

This belief-1 do not say doctrine, for those who believe it have not sufficient information of the world's history upon which to found a doctrine—is not new. It has recurred from time to time since the dawn of civilization, and was acted upon by the ancient Greek, when they refused to heed the warning of Demosthenes: "Let us arm and go against Philip," leading to their downfall; and as it was taught by Malthus, who, upon this belief gave expression to the political dogma: "The time this beilef gave expression to the political dogma: will come in the world when the world can not feed the world." This is true if his premise (permanent peace) were true. Such doctrine was believed in Germany even at the close of the seventeenth century. Every nation and people, in a natural desire to avoid strife or to become disturbed in their ease and comfort or in their effort at money making and financial aggrandizement, have embraced this belief whenever their people became "book readers." By this term I mean they "read" books, but do not study them. They believe books (and magazines) and whatever is written in them without analyzing or criticizing their contents to determine whether true or false. Many modern writers put popular theories into books just to satisfy a popular belief, and all such books have a ready sale.

History of the fifth century teaches us that Attila, the military genius of the Huns, the philosopher of his age, when he marched upon the municipalities of Greece for the purpose of carrying away their wealth and making his armies rich with the spoils, found the Greeks hugging this delusive phantom. When his soldiers had gathered together all the spoils of the city they also gathered all the books and manuscripts of science and learning, piled them in the market place and were ready to apply the torch, when this old Hunnish philosopher bade them not to burn the books, for, said he, "The books constitute the reason we are here. If you destroy the books of the Greek we shall never be enabled to return. Without their books they will be compelled to study men and nature, and will thereby become practical men. Take everything else, but leave them their

books."

Many Americans have reached that stage now, and this is the explanation of the belief that universal peace is possible. This is the reason for so much mollycoddleism, for so many fads, for our epidemic of beliefs and opinions. Too many people believe whatever they read if it conforms to their natural de-Too many people sires, to their hopes, and particularly to their beliefs. But we must remember that belief begins where information ends. I have found the ignorant man ready at any time to give me a complete formula and program of government involving all the relations of man, whether under local, State, and National laws or of international policy, and they are cocksure that they are right upon all these questions-questions that I have not solved, and I have spent 30 years without a holiday at the job. While on the other hand the wisest men in my acquaintance, men whom I know to be students and learned, confine their recommendations to a few questions which to them "after serious contemplation, seems to be sound," and they request my "most earnest consideration of them." Their appeal, in any event, is in more modest language than the man who is really ignorant and who has been environed by an epidemic of beliefs and opinions. To say the least, this is our most dangerous sociological condition. The wise man who has not mastered a subject says, "I do not know; I shall investigate." And this is the only course to pursue in this, the world's greatest crisis since the dawn of modern civilization. There are many things in the propaganda of political reform, in social habits and fashions, including the slit skirt and bear hug dance, and in the beliefs and opinions of the public that are but a repetition of fashions and measures tried and believed 2,000 years ago, many of them abandoned after lessons which experience has taught. These things invariably serve the student of history, not the "reader of books," but the man who extracts philosophy from history, learns by experience, and judges the future by the past. This of all times requires the deepest study, and above everything else the greatest courage, even at the sacrifice of political pro-This is no time for an appeal to practical politicspolitics that leads to continuous victory-but is the time to adopt measures of safety, to adhere to principles of sound statesmanship if the United States shall be steered clear of the shoals and shallows that civilization and republican institutions may endure.

THE FOUR BATTALIONS OF PACIFISTS

Have each proposed a remedy which their several enthusiastic followers proclaim would bring universal peace. These four are: "Disarmament," "Arbitration," "Commission of inquiry

and delay war a year," and the "Federation of the world," or "World's court."

The three first of these I subscribe to as wholesome and worthy of adoption. The last I regard as an unmitigated evil and most dangerous, not only because it violates the fundamental principles of government, but for the other and further reason that the so-called Carnegie Peace Foundation has and is now promoting it with a fund of a half million dollars annually to publish books and spread its propaganda. Let us analyze these propositions, with a view of determining: First, whether they will vouchsafe universal, permanent, or continued peace; and, second, with a view of determining to what extent they may become wholesome, with this object in view.

DISARMAMENT.

Will this bring universal peace? If it would, why was it that men have fought during every stage of their march up and down the long slope of civilization, irrespective of their armament or lack of armament? Why did they fight when their military preparation consisted of but bow and arrow and the Bowie knife? Why did they war with one another when they made the Spanish blunderbuss, then the cannon, the machine gun, the dreadnaught? The only difference has been that the smaller the armament the more often they fight and the greater the duration of the war, while the greater the armament the shorter the wars and the longer the duration of peace between them, but the greater the destruction of life and property by war. It can therefore be observed that in every country since history began, comparing the number of people and the amount of property, there has been proportionately the same destruction of life and property in every century since this The answer to this is the conclusive proof that world began. we can not hope for disarmament to relieve us from the natural True enough we can afford, as we ought, to and inevitable. reach protocols with all of the great nations, agreeing that all shall together disarm; but I submit until they reach that agreement and lay down their great guns we, at least, should keep our pistol.

ABBITRATION.

This has always proven a wise policy whenever used to settle those disputes properly subject to arbitration, but we are left where it is neither wise nor safe to submit all questions to arbitration. We could not arbitrate the Monroe doctrine or the law excluding the Japanese and Chinese from coming to our shores; and did we do so, we shall lose both. In the case of the Monroe doctrine no nation has ever agreed that it is a part of international law. They have obeyed it either because, as in the case of England, it was in their interest; and in the case of Germany, Italy, and Japan because our Navy was strong enough to compel obedience.

Upon the old dispute between us and Japan, wherein she for many years has claimed the right of being treated on the 'same terms as the most-favored nations of Europe," we would also lose here in any arbitration court, because Japan would prove that, under Commodore Perry, we made a treaty in the early fifties agreeing to the terms expressed in the very same language which the Japanese used in their diplomatic notes to We could not arbitrate the form of our Government. We could not submit certain constitutional safeguards to an arbitration court composed even of the representatives of the American Republics, for we have the only Republic on the Western Hemisphere whose constitutional provisions guarantee both that palladium of liberty, the right of trial by jury, and total separation of church and state. We fought for these. We may have to fight for them again, and we could not risk them to the arbitration courts of republics who do not agree with them nor to abritration boards selected by monarchies from whom we wrested them.

A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY AND DELAY WAR FOR A YEAR.

This will not give us peace. It is worthy of adoption because it would delay war 12 months honorably, and whatever would delay it for one day honorably should be adopted; but let us analyze its effect upon human nature. Suppose we had a dispute with one of the great powers of the world and both in good faith undertake to carry out the provisions of a treaty requiring such "commission of inquiry and delay war for 12 months"; would that nation, would our Nation know whether at the end of 12 months the other intended to fight or not? They would both answer this question by preparing, so at the end of 12 months of newspaper campaign and political controversy the people of both nations would be nearer the breaking point then than at the beginning, and the only difference would be both would be better prepared to fight than they were at the beginning of the quarrel. The conduct of Italy in the present

struggle is a concrete illustration of this course. She had a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Germany and Those two nations had a right to expect that Italy would at least remain neutral; but the Italian people, following the statesmen out of power, joined in, as they do in all nations, and began an agitation for war, knowing that the King and cabinet in control of the Government had made such a treaty and desired to keep it. This agitation, by taking the form of an appeal for the restoration of three northern Provinces of Italy, the garden spot of her once great empire, all shades of popular opinion against the cabinet grew so strong that they made bold to placard the streets with the warning, "Give us war with the allies or we will give you a republic," forcing the King to enter the conflict on the side of the allies in violation of their solemn treaty, and that, too, in the face of 10 months of the most gigantic and destructive war that history has ever recorded. so would it be with the policy of a "commission of inquiry," because the party out of power would begin an agitation the very reverse of the party or cabinet in power. This is true of all nations the world over. This is the human nature of all peoples. It is true of our own Republic. There is one saving power with us, however, and that is in the midst of a crisis both the great political parties in all the history of the past have willingly laid down their differences and supported the Govern-ment. That was true in the breaking out of the Spanish-American War. The Democrats began an agitation for a war to liberate Cuba, knowing that President McKinley wanted to maintain peace with Spain, nor did the Democrats want war; they wanted to build up an issue, but the waves of popular demand grew so strong they engulfed McKinley and his Cabinet, forcing us into the war. Then the Democrats, like true patriots, ceased their criticism and supported the policy of Mc-Kinley with such unanimity that it swept him and his party back into power with greater majority. We heard last winter much criticism on the floor of Congress about the foreign policy of President Wilson, and that continued until the sinking of the Lusitania and it looked like German guns were pointed toward us; then the Republicans, with equal unanimity—to use the language of the Republican governor of Ohio, whom I heard say, It is the duty of every American to stand in this crisis behind the man in the White House." Recently, in the present Congress, when it was made clear of threatening danger to us in Europe, we witnessed the minority leader, the Hon. James Mann, boldly, fearlessly, unselfishly announcing his intention to uphold the President.

So long as this remains the attitude of the American people it will prove the saving power of the Republic.

I repeat again, in international crises or in international policies there is no room for either the demagogue or the partisan.

FEDERATION OF THE WORLD, OR WORLD'S COURT, TO ENFORCE PEACE.

The advocates of this provision do not seek to avoid all armament. They tell us that they will need soldiers and battle fleets, supported by the various nations of the world in such proportion as this court may determine, but all under the com-mand of the "world's court." I submit if such court can not assume the functions of anything other than the questions willingly submitted by all nations to it, or agreed to be submitted by treaty, then it is no more than a court of arbitration. If it assume and possess the power to decide any disputes not agreed to be submitted, it would have the power to settle all disputes; and this would make of it a world's nationality, or "republic of the world," as some seek to call it. Then it would settle all questions of difference, whether difference in the construction of a treaty or whether there is any treaty provision at all on the subject, and hence it will decide all disputes between Then international law would not be made up of 'precedents" founded upon practices of the nations and gen-bining all the powers of supreme nationality in one body, which is fundamentally opposed to our view of a separation of the three powers of government. The advocates of this provision overlook the most fundamental principles of government and adopt, rather than the practical view, the academic view, that every theory of government is capable of being installed among all nations, irrespective of race, religion, or degree of civiliza-tion, when in truth government is a practical thing. Its very form must depend upon the intelligence, the character, the heart throbs, the hopes, and ambitions of its citizens. By this view a republic could exist in one nation while it could not in I tell you that government must not only take into consideration all these things, but, in addition, the races and religions, the appetites, and passions of men. In the making

of Oklahoma we considered, when our attention was called to the fact that an Indian, unlike a white man, when under the influence of liquor becomes poor, while a white man gets rich and can buy the earth. The Indian remembers all of the wrongs committed against him, every quarrel and difference, and this leads him while thus intoxicated to kill his best friend, and he is unable to stand up against the temptations to drink; hence we provided that intoxicating liquors should never be manufactured or sold in the State of Oklahoma. Now, if our people had been Germans it would have been quite different. A German can have a half day's fun on one little bottle of beer, while an Indian would want a keg. We have considered in Congress the passions of men by the enactment of the whiteslave law; the greed of men by the enactment of the childlabor law; and wherever you go, on every hand, the wise system, the best system, is the one that takes into consideration all the relations of the citizen. In proportion to your falling short of a correct analysis of humanity as it exists in a nation, in that proportion is your government a failure. This "federation of the world" is but an attempt to put into concrete governmental policy the poetical dream of a world power and "brotherhood of man"; but before we subscribe to it let us ; but before we subscribe to it let us first remember that poets have poetical "license" to violate every rule of language in the interest of rhyme, and in this every sound principle of government is sacrificed for the rhythm and beauty of the verse.

Tennyson's "Locksley Hall" also doubtless became the inspiration of this academic or book statesman who first conceived the notion of a "federation of the world."

Tennyson's dream, in part, is contained in these couplets:

Till the war-drums throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.

There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe, And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.

However, after thus expressing his dream, he doubted the philosophy of it, particularly in its effect upon the "wisdom" of the "individual," who must needs "wither" under such a system. This philosophy is expressed in these couplets:

Knowledge comes, but "wisdom lingers," and I linger on the shore, And the "individual withers," and the world is more and more.

And then Tennyson sums up and concludes his philosophy in the following couplets:

Thro' the shadow of the globe we sweep into the younger day; Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay. The old poet's dream of "brotherhood of man," coupled with

The old poet's dream of "brotherhood of man," coupled with an erroneous ethnological theory that all races can become amalgamated, constitute the basis of this book form of statesman-

While it is true that every great civilization in history was the result of a mixture of races—this was true of Greece, Rome, and Egypt, and in a great measure of the United States-but in each case a cross of allied races, which produced strength and virility. This historical fact has caused many ethnological scientists, with but a superficial knowledge, to conclude that it would be wise to eliminate all races by their complete amalgamation. In this they overlook the further scientific fact that, whether in plant or animal life, unallied crosses in blood, mental, nerve, and moral fiber tend to weaken. This was thoroughly understood by the old philosophers who founded the Brahaman religion, creating a caste system based upon race, giving to each race a sphere in life, but never permitting one to rise above that sphere or his caste, or to entertain hope or desire to do so. At the time of the promulgation of Brahamanism the races lived together in Central Asia, and these old philosophers realized that races must be kept separate, which succeeded until these races scattered to other continents. Then this religion began to wane because its necessity had ceased to exist. Modern dreamers of the "brotherhood of man" to the extent of complete amalgamation have not as yet reached that degree of philosophy which the ancient understood, making it of great importance that governmental policies shall not be framed in obedience to their one-sided scientific be-That like mental, moral, and nerve fiber of race crosses gives strength and virility, and that the crossing of races unallied in these particulars produce mongrelism, weakness, or sterility runs through both animal and vegetable kingdoms. We find this notably so in the progenitors of the mule. be something poisonous in the serum of plants and in the blood of animals of unallied species either in grafting or crossing them, as in the case of grafting an apple upon the red haw, once the same plant, but which forbids a like grafting of the peach, and, as Dr. Carver, of Harvard, showed that he could graft a dog's leg on a wolf's leg, but not a cat's leg. The same rule which applies to this experiment of grafting applies with equal or greater force, both in the animal and vegetable kingdom in producing either weakness, sterility, or mongrelism in the crossing

of the unallied species.

My conception of the "brotherhood of man" is that even if a negro be hungry that I should feed him, but it does not comprehend that I should take him into my family; and likewise I should not take any alien races into my national family when dangerous to our prosperity or our civilization. If this were not true. God Himself would not have placed a ban on certain crosses, producing sterility and mongrelism. We do know that upon this principle in nearly all the Southern States the provision in the constitution prohibiting the amalgamation of the white and negro races only extends to the third degree, because in the fourth degree they cease to breed further toward the white race. This is verified by Burbank's experiments in the agricultural world, by his cross between the petunia and tobacco plant, and between a wild dewberry and an apple, pear, and mountain ash, which last produced berries, the seed of which in turn produced plants, but the seed of them in turn were hollow, although these plants were originally the same, but so thoroughly changed, although of the same species, by centuries of environment they became wholly unallied, and therefore the serum became poisonous to each other, which is but following Darwin, and applies with equal truth to the animal world. In commenting upon this he warns us against the Turk-Semitic of Asia, the Jup and Chinaman, and against the southern Italian, who has a strain of blood disclosed by his curly hair and aureo eve mixed from the shores of Africa during the Saracen in-

Let us also take warning that now and for years past the greatest migration of peoples in all history is going on toward the United States.

A federation of the world is another impractical principle of government. Governments in all the past ages have been bounded for most part according to race or religion. We live in peace with Canada, a province of a monarchy, because we are of the same race and religion, but we do not live in equal peace, because they are of another race, with Mexicans, although of the same Christian religion. If they were pagans, that difference would prove more marked.

So it does appear that in all the years of the future these things must be considered, and that it is incompatible with our liberties, religion, and civilization to join a federation of the world for the settlement of disputes, except those we agree to.

How will this federation be formed? Certainly by selecting proportional number of representatives from each nation, either by the chief executive, the legislative branch, or some other method, or by a combination of all of them, more likely by the same method we select arbitration courts and ambassadors by the Chief Executive. In such a deliberative body, with the power to make international law, to construe it, and enforce it, fortified with all armies and navies of the world, I warn you that those of the white race would be in the minority; Christianity would be outnumbered by the followers of Mahomet and Confucius. Those who believe in republican government would be outvoted 5 to 1 by those who believe in monarchy. We can not afford, from either of these considerations, to take the risk.

History discloses to us that all the wars in the world have been fought for one or more of the following reasons:

First. Because of race prejudice.

Second. Because of religious prejudices.

Third. Because of pressure of population and economic struggle for existence, the same thing which caused the war in

Fourth. A few, comparatively a very few, have been fought for liberty.

It therefore follows that you will never have universal peace until all religious prejudice, race prejudice and jealousy, the desire to acquire property, and the love of the flag are totally banished from the breast of man-from all men of all the earth. To do this would not only overturn in part the highest ideals of our Republic, but would require a change of human nature, which to-day is just what it was when the Shepherd Kings of ancient Egypt laid the Pyramids and has continued to be down to the laying of the keel for the latest dreadnaught, and God alone can change it. War can not be abolished. We may prepare against it and to alleviate the suffering; we may provide for the sick and wounded; we may counsel peace and approach as near as our limited wisdom will permit to prevent it, but it seems to be the one universal fate. It appears God's scourge for man in wrongdoing. In all nature, in all the experience of man. it has been one of constant war. By war all the kingdoms of the earth have perished or advanced.

War has sometimes proved individual strengthening of man. It is his great leveler. In gigantic military struggles the wealth trade of all of them and of our own Nation, compelling us to

of the world is soon dissipated. The soldier returns from the battle field a scar-worn veteran with a crown of heroism upon his head, physically able and prepared to start life new; the rich by the revolution have lost their all, have sunk into poverty, and in the following generation the top layer of society becomes the ground sill. This has characterized all wars. It was shown in the great Civil War, as in numerous other instances of all history.

"The federation of the world," the "republic of the world," the "government of the world," if no other danger from this policy should arise, should it start out a republic with a written constitution and every part sound, can any man guarantee that this body of men, responsible to no one, fortified with all the armament of the world, would not grasp power and encroach upon all the liberties of the nations? Did they not do so they would be the one exception in all history. It will be remembered that the States of the American Union early in the history of the formation of the Republic, with extreme reluctance, and that in order to create a national power for self-preservation, gave up any of the powers of the States, although they were of the same race and religion, with the same hopes and ambitions, and yet we have seen it grow from when no man would dare introduce a resolution in Congress affecting the morals or material habits of the citizen to such a centralized nationality that the National Legislature has but recently passed a law prohibiting the citizen of the State, even though the State did not choose to pursue that policy, from working for more than eight hours a day and those under 14 years of age from working at all at certain public industries of the country.

Such a federation of the world would affect the civilization of mankind, just as did the Roman Empire, by jealousies between the central national power and different sections, races, and peoples, engendering internal strife and turmoil, and thus hastening the downfall of civilization. Civilization is best preserved by leaving each race or group of people to work out its own destiny. Herein lies the reason for local self-government.

I warn you also that in this "federation of the world" we shall give up the Monroe doctrine and the Chinese and Japanese exclusion acts; California and Oklahoma must abandon their alien land laws; we will give up all power to legislate against foreign immigration; we shall ultimately surrender the power to create armies, tariffs, commercial relations, and all international questions will be yielded to the "federation of the world," just as we have yielded all the power of the State government wherever questions between State and State or citizens of different States may arise. In other words, this supreme nationality will exact absolute obedience to its will, and if we do not choose to do so, they will have all the armies, including our own, to enforce that decree.

do not know how you look upon it, but God forbid the day shall ever come that an American soldier shall ever obey the command or consult any governmental power upon the field of battle over and above Old Glory!

EFFECT OF EUROPEAN WAR.

We do not know what evils or benefits may flow from the present European war. It is incomparable. It is beyond our limited philosophy to foresee. However, there are some things we may with tolerable certainty, drawing from the philosophy of the history of the past, foretell.

First, following the present war in Europe, monarchy will be stronger in all the belligerent nations than it has been since it received the shock of the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon, for the reason that history discloses to us that never was the liberty of the citizen, nor was local self-government strengthened by war except in those cases where that was the

direct object of the war.

No person except one independent in the financial and social world can resist aggression of power, whether political, social, financial, or otherwise. A dependent man in society can no more resist the aggression of power from the ruling classes of a country than can a tenant cotton farmer resist exorbitant rates of interest of the money lender when he is compelled in order to make his crop, to mortgage that crop in advance, together with his team and plow tools. Only the independent class-the great middle class—in every government are situated so as to lend a helping hand to the dependent class and at the same time aid in restraining the cupidity and selfishness of the powerful When this European war is over this middle class will be reduced to a dependent position and will not have the time nor the power to resist the aggression of the crowned heads of Europe who, following the human nature of all ages, will take all power that the people will permit them to take.

Second. We may expect a shifting of the commerce and of

embark upon a new field in order to give security of market and of trade, prosperity to the farmer, and keep our labor employed; for we can certainly conclude that with the loss of many thousands in Europe there will be many thousands less in Europe to buy our supplies, and they will have many millions less with

which to buy.

Leaving belligerent nations out of the question, we shall be compelled to recoup that trade elsewhere in order to keep our labor employed and give the farmer markets. That trade can be found nowhere else except in South America and China, and a trade can not be established with them without a merchant marine for transportation of our products to such markets; but a merchant marine without naval protection will constitute an open invitation to war. Any and all nations finding our trade and commerce competing with theirs and imperiling their industrial prosperity would pick a quarrel with us just to destroy our ships of commerce and our foreign trade, knowing that, even though they might be compelled to pay an indemnity at the end of the war, which neither our defeat nor our idealistic policy would permit, they would yet be the gainers; but if we had a naval fleet equal to theirs they would hesitate long in a desire to sink our "tubs" for fear of getting theirs sunk. Without such naval fleet where would we be at the end of such

In this connection I call your attention to the fact that no nation can become great or strong, and none has become such in the history of the past, retaining for any length of time prosperity, work for its laboring men, and markets for its agriculturists, without being a maritime nation. All the maritime nations of the past have been told in story and song, and ours can not become a maritime nation without its merchant vessels, and it can not have the merchant vessels without guns to protect them. For 40 years England, with all the power of her navy, has stood behind the Monroe doctrine, although not subscribing to it, in consideration of our having surrendered to her the control of the seas and monopoly of foreign trade. would continue to do so if we would continue that policy, but I called your attention a while ago to the necessity of a change, because of our loss of markets in Europe, so we may not expect even that continued friendship with England if we hold the merchant fleet that has come to us as a result of this conflict

and build it greater.

There is a third result which we, with the philosophy of history to back us, may conclude as inevitably flowing from the present conflict in Europe, and that is, there will be a revival of religion. Mark you, I do not say Christianity in its altruistic purity, but religion. It is through these periods of the coming of some awful catastrophe that cause men to realize the lack of strength for self-preservation. Then naturally they turn to a supreme power for strength and guidance. Hence, if the European war should continue for 30 years, as it may, if the allies are not satisfied with defeating, but determine to crush and disarm, Germany at all cost, this selfsame religious spirit may, as it did in the Middle Ages, degenerate into a fanaticism and intolerance of opinion, now rife in our own Republic, as shown by the strife between branches of the Christian religion. And through such fanaticism, engendering internal strife, is history to repeat itself, with the reign of terror in France, when more than 1,000,000 people were killed by massacre and fusillades? If it reaches this period, it inevitably follows there will be a universal war of revolution and bloodshed, from which the United States might not hope to escape. At any rate, after it is over in Europe, civilization, old man Civilization—Christian civilization—will be a nervous wreck, walking up and down the earth in search of a fountain whose waters may restore him to vigor and health again. America may become the beacon light of weak and nervous civilization, or, by the wrong policy, she may become the stumbling block upon which civilization will fall, and, falling, he may lie prostrate, as he lay before for centuries, too weak to rise again, ushering in a second period of the Dark Ages, with all of its fanaticism and superstition, when men reveled in debauchery and brute force, intolerance, despotism, and crime.

America can avoid it by preparing not only in military and naval fleets but with markets and trade, by the development of her industries, by keeping the farmer happy and prosperons, and giving employment to labor and making them contented. The giving employment to labor and making them contented. wisest of us do not know how to approach the question, but we do know how to prepare against the worst. that our wise course is to stay clear of entangling alliances with the Old World, to remain absolutely neutral, and be prepared to husband our own resources and to protect them, if need be, by naval and armed strength, which our rich Nation is capable of paying for. I say we do not know. It may be that Russell, the English scientist, was right when he stated that civilization

went up and down-like the elevator of the House Office Building, sometimes rising to the second floor, sometimes to the third, but to go down again, and sometimes reaching the top, but then sure to start down again. It may be, sirs, that civilization is not unlike our planetary system, not unlike our seasons, not unlike nature all about us, revolving in cycles. It may be that in our steady, striding step up the long slope toward the mountain peak of a perfect civilization we have reached the summit and that the summit is the last way station, the nearest approach of man's earthly existence to his Maker, and that way station once reached we can not remain stationary, but thereafter must needs take the decadence toward the valley and shadow of ignorance and weakness from which we scaled those

Does it not follow that death ends the life of man? Who, with all man's past experience, can deny this same fate also awaits nations and civilizations-life, then death? The summit of intellectual development, or life, may have been reached, now to totter and fall over into insanity and barbarism.

As the decline of the ancient culture of Egypt, Greece, and Rome was followed by the lapse of Europe into a thousand years of night, so also modern culture may have reached its summit, just now to begin to totter to the final fall, and the whole world lapse again into death-when men shall revel again in ignorance and brute force. Who knows? Shall we not therefore strive to steer the American ship of state off the rocks and shoals? The stakes are worth the trial.

Thus this Government, every government, is a plaything with fate—a mere toy in the hands of providence—all depending on whether its destiny shall be guided by wisdom and statesmanship or by the error of impractical beliefs and opinions.

Address of Hon. Charles M. Stedman.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWIN Y. WEBB, OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 25, 1916.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address of my colleague [Mr. Stedman] delivered on the 21st of March, 1916, at Confederate Memorial Hall, District of Columbia, by request of the Confederate Veterans' Association of the District of Columbia

The address is as follows:

"Ladies and gentlemen, comrades, when I received from the Confederate Veterans' Association of the District of Columbia an invitation to deliver an address here to-night, it could not be aught but a very great pleasure to me to accept. It came to me from a camp named in honor of one whom it was my high privilege to know, to whose division I belonged in the Army of Northern Virginia, and for whom I had profound respect and admiration. Maj. Gen. Harry Heth, by his example and conduct upon every field, inspired his men with those high sentiments and great qualities which will perpetuate the fame of the Confederate soldier in ages yet to come. It is an occasion which appeals to the hearts of all who admire moral and per-sonal heroism as exemplified by its greatest exponents. It is a monthly reunion of Confederate soldiers, a small remnant of those who have preceded us by a day's march along the route of the innumerable caravan—the mighty dead—not inappropriately called the deathless dead—for though they have yielded in the order of nature to the conqueror of humanity, they are not dead but sleeping. Their lives are still continued in their uttered thoughts—their spoken words—in their undying acts and unfading example. Their history shall ever be kept alive, that invoked by the brightness of its record, the pages of the book will be kept still illuminated, that at some future day yet farther down the aisles of time, the youth of that generation may be directed to a still unfalling and continuous panorama without tarnish or blemish.

The historian in ages far remote from the era in which we live will record the glories of this great Republic. He will gild his pages with its achievements in war and in peace. The reader will linger long over their recital. The description of this beautiful and attractive Capitol will not fail to charm and delight him. He will be lost in admiration and wonder when he learns that within its limits, more than half a century after the close of the Civil War, which shook the continent to its foundations, there was a Confederate camp where representatives of every section of our common country met in friendly intercourse, proclaiming to the world the complete unity of sentiment existing everywhere throughout this broad land, and foretelling its grandeur and enduring greatness through all the ages to come.

I have been requested to adopt as the theme of my discourse "North Carolina in the War between the States." A subject so splendid in itself, so replete with great and heroic action, seldom falls to the lot of any speaker. When I reflect upon the self-denial and the unshaken fortitude of the people of North Carolina during that unhappy period, when the splendid and unexcelled achievements of North Carolina soldiers during that same era pass in review before my mental vision, I can but feel my inadequacy to so great an undertaking.

If aught I say shall seem to detract in the slightest degree from the merit of any Confederate soldier from any State or from my loyalty to this great Republic, whose flag protects and shields all its citizens, I ask that you do not so construe my words, out ascribe them to the enthusiasm which characterizes all the children of North Carolina for her great name. The character and reputation of every Confederate soldier will ever be near to my heart, and the glory and honor of our common country will ever command my sincere and unchanging fealty.

The part acted by North Carolina in the greatest drama of modern times—the War between the States—history will preserve vithout blemish upon its pages. It has long since passed beyond the pale of legitimate controversy that in the number of troops furnished to the Southern Confederacy, in proportion to its white population, and in the losses sustained by those troops, she stands first of all the States which made up that galaxy of great names.

It is likewise true that no troops in any corps of the Confederate Army were more thoroughly equipped and provided for in every way necessary to their efficiency and comfort, both as to arms, food, and clothing, than were the soldiers from North

In considering the number of troops furnished by North Carolina to the Confederate Army, her attachment to the Union of the States will ever demand your consideration and attention, and her loyalty to her sister States of the Confederacy when once her faith was pledged, will claim the admiration of all who have an honest pride in national honor, wherever it may be found. North Carolina was next to the last State to secede from the Union, and in February, 1861, voted against secession by more than 30,000 majority; yet with a white population of 629,942, and a military population of 115,369, being one-ninth of the military population of the 11 seceded States, she sent to the Confederate Army 125,000 men, one-fifth of its entire enrollment, which was 600,000, according to the accepted estimate approved by Gen. Cooper, the adjutant general of the Confederacy. Maj. A. Gordon, who was on the staff of the adjutant general of North Caroline, and who was thoroughly conversant federacy. Maj. A. Gordon, who was on the staff of the adjutant general of North Carolina, and who was thoroughly conversant with the organization of the North Carolina troops, estimates her contribution to the Confederate Army at 127,000. Gov. Vance, after a thorough examination of the records of the adjutant general's office, stated the number to be 125,000, and Capt. S. A. Ashe, who, at the request of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, gave to the consideration of this subject careful research, adopted the figures given by Gov. Vance, and in his report says they are as correct as it is possible to make them. Lieut. Gen. Stephen D. Lee, in an address delivered at Asheville, N. C., stated North Carolina furnished 22,942 more troops than any other State. Of the troops furnished to the Confederate Army by North Carolina, four regiments of infantry and one of cavalry were sent to the Army of Tennessee.

Of the soldiers present for duty, North Carolina had a larger proportion than naturally fell to her lot. They were ever ready in camp or upon the field of battle. Of the 92 regiments which assailed and defeated the right flank of McClellan's army in front of Richmond, 46 were from North Carolina. Of the 16 brigades engaged in the first day's fight at Gettysburg, 7 were from North Carolina.

The First North Carolina Regiment, commanded by Col. D. H. Hill, later a lieutenant general, was the first regiment sent by the government to Yorktown and the first to arrive at Bethel. Over 800 of the 1,200 present when the action commenced were from North Carolina.

The first Confederate soldier killed in battle was Henry L. Wyatt, of the Edgecombe Guards, Company A of that regiment, who fell at Bethel on the 10th of June, 1861.

At Reams Station, on the 25th of August, 1864, after a previous assault by other troops had falled, the three North Carolina brigades of Cooke, Lane, and MacRae, in number less than 2,000 men, drove the Federal troops from the field, capturing their breastworks, with 2,150 prisoners, 3,100 stands of small arms, 12 stands of colors, 9 guns and caissons. The result of this brilliant engagement was hailed with great re-joicing throughout the South and shed a declining luster upon the Confederate battle flag, upon which the sun of victory was about to go down forever. Gen. R. E. Lee publicly and repeatedly stated that not only North Carolina but the whole Confederacy owed a debt of gratitude to Lane's, Cooke's, and MacRae's brigades which could never be repaid. He also wrote to Gov. Vance, expressing his high appreciation of their services. From his letter I make this extract:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY NORTHERN VIRGINIA.

August 29, 1864.

His Excellency Z. B. VANCE, Governor of North Carolina, Raleigh, N. C.:

Governor of North Carolina, Raleigh, N. C.:

I have frequently been called upon to mention the services of the North Carolina soldiers in this army, but their gallantry and conduct were never more deserving of admiration than in the engagement at Reams Station on the 25th ultimo.

The brigades of Gens. Cooke, MacRae, and Lane, the last under the temporary command of Gen. Conner, advanced through a thick abatis of felled trees, under a heavy fire of muskerry and artillery, and carried the enemy's works with a steady courage that elicited the warm commendation of their corps and division commanders and the admiration of the army.

On the same occasion the brigade of Gen. Barringer bore a conspicuous part in the operations of the cavalry, which were no less distinguished for boldness and efficiency than those of the infantry.

If the men who remain in North Carolina share the spirit of those they have sent to the field, as I doubt not that they do, her defense may securely be trusted in their hands.

I am, with great respect,
Your obendient servant,

R. E. Lee, General.

R. E. LEE, General.

The regiments from North Carolina engaged in this battle again illustrated those high qualities which will perpetuate the name and fame of the Confederate soldier in years to come. Unshaken by the fall of Vicksburg and the disaster at Gettysburg, undismayed amidst the general gloom which was settling upon the fortunes of the South, they exhibited the same enthusiasm and valor which had marked their conduct upon every field where they stood for the honor, glory, and renown of their

The greater part of the Confederate infantry who were engaged in the last battle fought at Appomattox were from North Carolina. They were commanded by Maj. Gen. Bryan Grimes, a North Carolinian.

The last charge made and the last volley fired at Appomattox was by a North Carolina brigade, commanded by Gen. W. R. Cox, of North Carolina.

The last capture of cannon by the Army of Northern Virginia was made by Roberts Brigade of North Carolina cavalry.

No State stacked so many muskets at Appomattox as did North Carolina.

These facts are beyond dispute. The accuracy of the first two just mentioned in connection with the light at Appomation has been established by a statement made in writing in the year 1879 by Gen. Grimes, which will be found in volume 11 of Moore's History of North Carolina, and which has never been contra-dicted. The statement of Gen. Grimes is corroborated by a statement made by Gen. William R. Cox, which wa. also published during the same year in volume 11 of Moore's History of North Carolina. If more evidence could possibly be needed, it is furnished by the statements of Brig. Gen. W. L. London, of the Second Brigade in the North Carolina division of the United Confederate Veterans, who was serving on Gen. Grimes's staff on the morning of the surrender, and of Hon. Henry A. London, of the Thirty-second North Carolina Regiment, who carried the last orders at Appomattox. Both Gen. W. L. London and Hon. Henry A. London are now living in Pittsboro, N. C., model examples of the highest order of citizenship represented by Confederate soldiers, equally distinguished in war and peace.

Wherever the flag of North Carolina floated on land or sea it was without tarnish, the emblem of honor, of courage, and unchanging fortitude which endured to the end.

The Shenandoah, commanded by James Iredell Waddell, a North Carolinian, flew the Confederate battle flag at its mastheac more than six months after Gen. Lee's surrender.

Shall their immortality be reckoned by their blocd? thousand two hundred and seventy-five soldiers from North Caro-lina gave their lives to the Confederacy, more than one-third of her entire military population, and a loss more than double in percentage than that sustained by the soldiers from any other The entire Confederate loss during the Civil War, killed on the battle field and died of wounds, was 74,524. The loss of North Carolina soldiers was 19,763, more than one-fourth of the whole.

Of the 10 regiments of either side which sustained the heaviest loss in any one engagement during the war Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey furnished one each, and North Carolina furnished three.

The Confederate loss at Gettysburg was 2,592 killed and 12,707 wounded. Of the killed 770 were from North Carolina, more

than one-fourth.

Wherever the tide of battle was strongest and the harvest of drath greatest on that field of carnage, there could be seen the battle flag of North Carolina. Her dead sons were found far up its blood-stained slopes.

The three rigades at Gettysburg suffering the heaviest loss were Pettigrew's from North Carolina, with 190 killed; Davis's from Mississippi—composed of three regiments from Mississippi and one regiment from North Carolina—with 180 killed;

Daniels's from North Carolina, with 165 killed.

No brigade in Pickett's division, whose laurels won upon that field I trust may grow brighter with each revolving year, suffered so great a loss as the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment. Its loss was 86 killed and 502 wounded, the largest sustained by any regiment on either side during the Civil War. Company F of that regiment, with 3 officers and 84 men, lost every officer and 83 of the 84 men in killed and wounded. Thirteen standard bearers of the regiment were shot down. Upon that same field one company in the Eleventh North Carolina Regiment lost 2 of its 3 officers killed and 34 of 38 men killed or wounded. The color company of the Thirty-eighth North Carolina Regiment had every man either killed or wounded.

At Sharpsburg the Third North Carolina Regiment lost 330 in killed and wounded of 520 men which it carried into action, and upon that field Company C of the Fourteenth North Carolina Regiment lost every man, either killed or wounded. At Chancellorsville the same company, which carried into the fight

43 men, lost every one in killed or wounded but 1.

The charge of the Fifth North Carolina Regiment at Williamsburg ranks in military history with that of the Light Brigade at Balaklava. The regiment lost 197 in killed and wounded of 240 men which it carried into action. That charge gave to immortality its illustrious commander, Col. D. K. MacRae.

At Seven Pines the Fourth North Carolina Regiment went into the fight with 25 officers and 520 noncommissioned officers and men and lost in killed and wounded every officer and 462 men. At Bristoe Station the Twenty-seventh North Carolina Regiment lost 291 of 426 men in less than half an hour.

The four regiments of North Carolina infantry—the Twenty-ninth, the Thirty-ninth, the Fifty-eighth, and the Sixtieth—and the Sixth Regiment of North Carolina Cavalry, upon the field of Chickamauga, rivaled the deeds of their brothers in the east and linked their names forever with imperishable renown. It has been established by the highest and most impartial testimony that "the point where the topmost wave of the tide of southern battle broke nearest to the unbroken line of Thomas's defense" was reached by the Fifty-eighth North Carolina Infantry.

This was the unanimous report made by five commissioners appointed by Gov. Carr, of North Carolina, to locate the position of the North Carolina regiments upon the field of Chickamauga. One of the commissioners was an officer of high reputation in the Federal Army who afterwards made his home in North Carolina and won the friendship and esteem of all who

knew him. I allude to Judge Clinton A. Cilley.

When stating the exceptionally great losses sustained by the troops from North Carolina there is no intention to assert that they were braver or better than those of any of her sister States. The soldier from North Carolina desires no praise, no laudation, no eulogy, at the expense of his brother Confederate soldier. The fortune of battle on many different fields furnished North Carolina soldiers the opportunity for their great achievements, and they ever proved themselves to be equal to the occasion.

It has been said by some writer that the qualities which distinguished the soldier from North Carolina were like unto those which made the legions of Julius Cæsar famous.

Lieut. Gen. A. P. Hill, when asked what troops he preferred to command, replied:

Unquestionably North Carolinians; not that they are braver where all are brave, but brave as the brayest; they are the most obedient to command.

To this trait of character, obedience to orders, many have ascribed their preeminence.

Without underestimating this great quality in a soldier, it will be found upon scrutiny that a higher, nobier, and more exalted virtue than even the spirit of obedience to orders gave to the Coufederate soldier, from whatever State he came, his superiority on the battlefield.

A supreme sense of duty was the cardinal trait of character which gave to him that moral power against which it is vain to hurl trained legions and endless battalions. It was the dauntless moral resolution of the soldiers of the South which

made their great deeds possible.

Without that moral power to sustain them, the incomparable legions of Lee would have in vain struggled for so long a time to roll back the tide of invasion across the banks of the Potomac, and the marvelous campaigns of Stonewall Jackson would have found no place in history to gild forever with a romantic luster the beautiful valley of Virginia. Neither famine nor pestilence nor mighty armies carrying in their track the destruction of all that was near and dear to them could subdue their invincible will. In the splendid future which awaits the southern portion of this Republic there is no character the study of which will more elevate its citizens and fit them for its blessings than that of the Confederate soldier. The capstone of the arch of his glory was the moral power which sustained him upon the buttle

field and which will forever perpetuate his fame.

An incident which illustrates the supreme sense of duty which can only be imparted by moral firmness, as exhibited by a North Carolina soldier, deserves to be recorded amidst the feats of heroes. The conduct of a private by the name of Tillman, in the Forty-fourth North Carolina Regiment, had attracted the favorable notice of his brigade commander, and he was at his request attached to the color guard. Tillman's name was also honorably mentioned in orders of the day brigade headquarters. Soon thereafter, in front of Petersburg, the regiment became severely engaged with the enemy and suffered heavy loss. The flag several times fell, as its bearers were shot down in quick succession. Tillman seized it and again carried it to the front. It was but an instant and he, too, fell. As one of his comrades stooped to raise the flag again, the dying soldier touched him and in tones made weak by the approach of death said, "Tell the general that I died with the flag." The tender memories and happy associations connected with his boyhood's home faded from his vision as he rejoiced in the consciousness that he had proved himself worthy of the trust which had been confided to him.

Wolfe died upon the heights of Abraham the death of a hero, and his spirit took its flight to another world and left as a legacy to his countrymen words which will forever live.

Nelson, at Trafalgar, illustrated by his conduct and speech

his supreme sense of duty to England and her glory.

The Scotchman who died at Waterloo with his bagpipe in his hand, by the sabre of the curassier of the guard, whilst thinking of Ben Lothian and playing an air of his native land, has been immortalized by Victor Hugo. But which of these three—aye, who of all those who live in song and story—is more worthy of the crown of immortality than that humble country lad whose grave to-day is unnoticed and unknown?

It would be idle for me to attempt to-night to give a record of the achievements of North Carolina soldiers upon the different fields of their glory. There was not an engagement in which the Army of Northern Virginia participated in which they did not contribute to its immortal renown. The day has come when our whole united country accords to them the full measure of praise to which they are entitled as representing the

highest and best type of American manhood.

I am greatly indebted to Chief Justice Walter Clark, of North Carolina; to Hon. Henry A. London; and to Capt. S. A. Ashe for assistance in securing, as far as it can be furnished with accuracy, a statement of the number of troops furnished by North Carolina and their losses. I have used for reference the History of North Carolina Regiments, edited by Chief Justice Clark, to which work he gave great and unstinted labor without renumeration or reward, except the gratitude of the Confederate soldier. I have also been aided by the information gained from an eloquent speech of Hon. Henry A. London, of North Carolina, delivered by him a few years a.jo, which was reproduced in the fifth volume of the History of North Carolina Regiments, and by the report of Capt. S. A. Ashe, of North Carolina, made to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association.

For the splendid organization which equipped and supplied North Carolina troops, they are largely indebted to the provident foresight, practical business ability, and untiring efforts of Gov. Z. B. Vance, the great war governor of their State, who thereby endeared himself forever to all North Carolinians.

North Carolina not only clothed her own troops during the entire war, but furnished clothing for troops from other States, and when Lee's army surrendered had in store and ready for use 92,000 suits of uniform, with many thousand blankets and a large amount of leather. During the winter succeeding the battle of Chickamauga, North Carolina sent to Gen. Longstreet's corps 14,000 suits of clothing, and when the great drama was drawing to a close North Carolina was furnishing food and supplies to a large part of Lee's army.

Gov. Vance in a memorable speech delivered at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., 18th of August, 1875, stated that he was told by Gen. Joseph E. Johnson "that when his army was surrendered at Greensboro he had in his depots at North Carolina, gathered in the State, five months' supplies for 65,000 men and that for many months previous Gen. Lee's army had been almost entirely fed from North Carolina."

For the comfort of her soldiers when at home sick, wounded, or traveling to and from the army North Carolina established hospitals and inns at many different points in the State along the lines of railway.

She did more than this. For the helpless wives and children of soldiers who might be in distress she established depots of grain, salt, and provisions for their subsistence and appointed committees to provide for them and see that they were not neglected.

The soldier who was sleeping upon some field afar off under the stars in northern Virginia rested calmly as he dreamed of the loved ones at home, for he knew that if he fell in the conflict of to-morrow that they would be cared for by the great State which sent him to the battle field.

My friends, can you wonder that North Carolina is still to all her children the well-beloved mother and sovereign, whose name ever brings to them when exiled from home by the decree of fate that poetry of youth and memory of early happy days which neither gold nor power nor place can buy.

neither gold nor power nor place can buy.

If commemorative words were needed to perpetuate the fame of the Confederate soldier, I should be all unhappy here to-night. But it is not so. It will live, transmitted from generation to generation, when the costliest tombs erected by the love of their countrymen have perished by decay and crumbled into dust.

It may not seem proper for me to make this prediction, but I do so with a reverent love for all portions of this great Republic. The day will come, though I trust it may be far distant, when the intentions and ideas of the founders of this great Government will be disregarded by those who, in the wild greed for money and amidst the dissolute luxury engendered by the vast accumulation of wealth, have forgotten the teachings of better and purer days and the very existence of a constitutional form of government, as framed by our ancestors, will be in jeopardy. Then will be found amongst a people regenerated by fire and blood that high and broad and lofty patriotism which shall constitute them the strongest, safest, and best defenders of the land of our fathers in its entirety, and as the suffering and oppressed of every land and every clime shall still turn their steadfast gaze toward this Western Hemisphere they shall rise up and call you

Have we learned naught from the silent endurance, the patient agony, the deathless valor of the Confederate soldier? It can not be, His life and his conduct have taught us the lesson over again which history has ever repeated.

It is neither on the greatest fields of battle nor places where the most calamitous bloodshed has taken place that the recollection of future ages is chiefly riveted. It is moral grandeur which produces a durable impression. It is patriotic heroism which permanently attracts the admiration of mankind. The day may come when the memory of the fields of Gettysburg and Chancellorsville, of Fredericksburg and Sharpsburg, shall be dimmed by the obscurity of revolving years and recollected only as a shadow of ancient days, but even then the enduring fortitude and patriotic valor of the Confederate soldier who followed the banner of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson will stand forth in undecaying luster amidst the wreck of ages and survive unshaken above the floods of time.

Friends and comrades, let us never fail to defend the fame and achievements of the brave men whom the South sent to the

Death, which destroys the pomp and power of this world, has only placed the seal of immortality upon their lives. The sacred charge of their fame is intrusted to you, my countrymen and countrywomen. Guard it devoutly, gravely, justly, and truly, that it may remain untarnished in its pristine glory, not alone with this generation but with all those who may come after us

until time shall be no more. Let the glorious example left by them be preserved for untold ages and for every people from the rising to the setting sun. If history be false, let tradition preserve it, and on every anniversary of our memorial days let eloquence proclaim it as a heritage for all humanity, which it has elevated and adorned with a pathos and glory which belongs to the civilized world.

Religious Liberty.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. H. COLEMAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 25, 1916.

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, in view of the injection of the religious issue into the debate on the immigration bill under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to discuss the principle of religious liberty. A principle that is firmly imbedded in our institutions, the supreme law of the land, the Constitution of the United States, Article VI, section 3, providing:

No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States.

And as if this were not sufficient protection to the people in the exercise of their religious freedom one of the original amendments to the Constitution further provides:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

Similar provisions are contained in the constitutions of the various States of the Union. The constitution of my own State of Pennsylvania providing in article 1, section 3:

All men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; no man can of right be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent; no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience, and no preference shall ever be given by law to any religious establishments or modes of worship.

Section 4:

No person who acknowledges the being of God and a future state of rewards and punishments shall, on account of his religious sentiments, be disqualified to hold any office or place of trust or profit under this Commonwealth.

Analogous provisions in the fundamental law of the different States ratify and confirm the principle enunciated in the Federal Constitution and justify the statement of Chancellor Kent, as follows:

The free exercise and enjoyment of religious worship may be considered as one of the absolute rights of individuals, recognized in our constitutions, and secured to them by law.

But notwithstanding these provisions in the fundamental law of the States and the Nation, we find ourselves to-day surrounded with religious antagonisms that surely can have no permanent abiding place under our free institutions. And under these conditions it is the duty of those who believe in the American principle of religious freedom to speak out plainly in its defense and to range themselves in opposition to every movement, from whatever quarter, that aims to curtail in the slightest degree that liberty of conscience guaranteed by our constitutions—State and National—and which is America's most precious gift to human kind.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Feeling deeply on this subject, I purpose speaking plainly. The history of the past is full of political persecution, which other Governments have vainly sought to justify.

Most of these persecutions are traceable to the Old World idea on interdependence of church and state. But when the Puritans of Massachusetts, who sought a home in this western wilderness in which they might worship Almighty God as they deemed best, drove from their community that champion of religious liberty, Roger Williams, they prepared the way for the colony of Rhode Island, where was founded the first State to establish itself firmly on the rock of liberty of conscience for all men

True, for a brief period under the Empire in the time of Constantine, the edict of Milan introduced a universal and unconditional religious freedom. The Emperor, while encouraging the Christian religion, was able to see and argue that constrain by fear was no proper means of conversion. He saw clearly what became the cornerstone of the little colony of Rhode Island, that conscience demands for all men what it

asks for itself. Yet this brief period of time in the fourth century was the only exception among the Christian nations to the rule of union or dependence of church and state.

UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE

The reason for this universal idea is found in the supremacy of the church after the fall of the Empire, for with that fall civilized Rome was face to face with the barbarism of the north. It was the church to which all eyes turned, and to the church is due the credit of saving society from the wreck. It was the only stable thing in the midst of that universal ruin; and, faithfully performing its duty, it not only saved society but civilized and made Christian the northern invaders. supremacy of the church was the inevitable result, and it continued to sway a powerful influence in civil affairs until checked by the rise of nationalism, following in the footsteps of the Reformation.

But with the establishing of the nation followed the desire of the nation's chief to control the religion of his realm; and so, whether under Catholic or Protestant rule, the religion of the king became the established worship of the State. Unity of faith, all reasoned, was essential to the integrity of government. The Reformation, therefore, did not introduce religious liberty. religious war following Luther's death resulted in a victory for Charles, but brought no peace to warring religion; and the peace of Augsburg, in 1555, could only legalize the Lutheran religion for the time, with the understanding that the religion of the community in the future was to be determined by the religion

Even Calvin, who insisted upon the independence of the church from the civil authorities in matters of order and discipline, demanded, on the other hand, that the secular power should enforce the censures of the church in the punishment of heresy and vice; but the magistrates in the Swiss Republics did not agree with Calvin, even to the extent of his teaching, and the leading reformers held that excommunication should be in the hands of the civil authorities.

I refer to Calvin because, like the gentleman from New York [Mr. Benner], I am largely Calvinistic in my beliefs and can not therefore be accused of reflecting on another's religion. And as a student of Calvin I am mindful of the fact that the Spaniard Servetus was committed to the flames in Geneva in 1553 for committing the offense of writing his views on the doctrine of the Trinity. Calvin himself was largely to blame for this crime against freedom of conscience and freedom of speech and can be excused only on the ground that his error was the error of the time in which he lived.

RESULT OF STATE RELIGION.

As a result of this clinging to the old idea of union of church and State followed, in time, the religious wars, with their persecutions and counter persecutions, all of which history should impress us with the truth of the words of Grotius: "To put men in prison on account of their religious belief or persuasions is a great oppression and, properly speaking, false imprisonment; to fine them or take away their estate for that cause is robbery; to put them to death for not acting against their conscience is murder." And so likewise, my friends, in this day it is equally wrong to punish men by opposing them for public office on account of their religion or denying them equal rights with you in all civil matters.

Let us draw nearer to the Rhode Island spirit, which has come to be the American spirit; let us endeavor to understand it better and carry out, in our individual practice, what we so

appland in the attitude of the State.

Listen to the appeal in the application for a charter to merge Providence with the other settlements into the Colony of Rhode Island: "It is much in our hearts to hold forth a lively experiment that a most flourishing civil state may stand and best be maintained with a full liberty of religious concernments." King Charles granted this charter, and Roger Williams described this act as "the King's extraordinary favor to this Colony, in which his Majesty declared himself that he would experiment whether civil government could exist with such liberty of con-science." The charter, in its section pertaining to religion, The charter, in its section pertaining to religion, read: "No person within said Colony at any time hereafter shall be in any wise molested, punished, disqualified, or called in question for any difference of opinion in matters of religion. Every person may at all times freely and fully enjoy his own judgment and conscience in matters of religious concernments.

THE AMERICAN IDEA.

Thus was constituted, in contradiction to the ideas of the Christian world, a genuine Republic-the first thoroughly free Government in the world, the conscience of the individual at liberty to express itself in any way of doctrine and of worship. This Government was the answer of Roger Williams to his

Puritan persecutors for conscience sake. This was his great gift to the people of Rhode Island, and his principle of religious liberty has come to be the great American principle, and the spirit of Rhode Island is now the boast and pride of our great To Williams a state church was an abomination. held civil law had nothing to say of religion save that each individual should be left free to the guidance of his own conscience and the church or churches should be molded by the members therein. He insisted on the Lordship of God alone over man's conscience, and for liberty for all kinds of consciences. It was impossible, he argued, for man or men to maintain their Christ with a sword and worship a true Christ, and his work has proven that there is no more prudent way of preserving peace in the world but by permission of differing consciences

We need argue no further for the right of the Rhode Island spirit or show the persecution on the part of religious zealots in other of the Colonies, but remembering only that there was persecution. That Episcopal Virginia persecuted Quaker, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Catholic; that New York persecuted Lutheran, Baptist, Quaker, and Jew; that Puritan Massachu-setts banished Nonconformist, punished the Baptist, which sect, as early as 1524, drew the distinction between the kingdom of nature and the kingdom of grace, and insisted that freedom of conscience and worship was fundamental, and that religion should be entirely exempt from the regulation or interference of the civil power, so that a man's religion should not work his civil disability.

MADE MEN THINK.

But Puritan Massachusetts, with its intolerance, met in the grapple of death with religious liberty under the guise of Quakerism, when her unjust laws sent four Quakers-one a woman-to the gallows. From the gallows the blood of those representatives of a peaceable, industrious, and Godly people cried aloud until in time the Quakers won the victory, and Puritan Massachusetts was obliged to give up her theocracy, in which state and church were merged, and none but communicants were privileged to exercise the franchise. Martyred Quakers made men think, and the spirit of Rhode Island, which was the spirit of the banished Roger Williams, long years after his death conquered the Puritan intolerance that had persecuted

No argument, I take it, is required to this congressional audience to convince you of the virtue and the justice and the right of the spirit of Rhode Island, which spirit from this, the smallest of the Colonies, spread abroad until its influence broke down the intolerance of its neighbors and after the Revolution became the accepted doctrine of the new Republic. Our country to-day furnishes an answer complete and satisfactory to the questioning of King Charles as to whether civil government could exist with such liberty of conscience. Here we have not only proven that diversified religious opinions can live in harmony together, but have demonstrated that this liberty of conscience is the best foundation on which to rear a State.

If, then, this right of private judgment in every concern respecting God is superior to the control of all human authority, we should set ourselves against every phase of religious perse cution, for persecution of man to-day because of his faith, in view of our enlightenment, is worse than that of Puritan persecution and has less of justification than the spirit which sent the founder of Christianity to the cross.

PERSECUTION INDEFENSIBLE.

Persecution can not possibly be defended upon Christian principles. "If I am wrong," said Robert Wedderburn, when being tried for blasphemy, "they—the Christians—ought to pity and pray for me and endeavor by argument and persuasion to convince me of my error; but all attempts to force me are absurd because impossible, tyrannical because unjust." And again, in the words of the Rev. Robert Taylor: "He who can be angry with another for not being a Christian is himself no Christian; or he who can love another the less, or withhold his confidence for the avowal of dissent from his opinions, only holds out a bribe to purchase insincerity. He pays to be deceived, and he is so."

I rejoice that my own State of Pennsylvania occupies so conspicuous a place among the early communities contending for the right of religious freedom; for it was under Penn's government that the second State was established, though 40 years after Rhode Island, on the expressed purpose of the founder of trying an holy experiment on the cornerstone of freedom.

Members of Congress and citizens of the United States, let us set our faces against all intolerance or persecution for conscience' sake; let us range ourselves with Roger Williams, demanding freedom for ourselves and, with it, freedom for all

That minister who lends himself to any movement tending to curtail this priceless boon, whether Catholic or Protestant, does not measure up to the requirements of the age. That organization, secret or otherwise, that teaches opposition to men in civil affairs because of their religion is an un-American organization and can not live for long in our free soil. That individual who is governed by narrow religious prejudice that prompts him to antagonize his fellow man because he holds opposite opinions on matters of religion is not the kind of a citizen that helps to make a great State. That candidate for public office who seeks support for position in the civil state on the ground of his religious beliefs is unworthy to hold public office in this free land.

ABOLISH INTOLERANCE.

Let us strike down this intolerant religious attitude. Because, in this enlightened age, there is neither justification nor excuse for its exercise; but, on the other hand, it is more reprehensible, because of changed conditions, than the Puritan punishment of Roger Williams or unjust execution of Quaker.

Oh, that men could rise above all such petty prejudices and, with reason as their guide, conduct themselves in this age as becomes an American freeman. Let us remember that there is one Lawgiver who is able to save and to destroy. Who art thou, then, "that judgest another"?

Did you ever hear the Athenian story of the Aeropagites assembled on the mountain top? A sparrow, pursued by a hawk, flew into the bosom of one of their company in its flight for safety. He was of harsh, repulsive disposition, who, taking hold of the little trembler, threw it from him violently, so it was killed on the spot. He was arraigned by his comrades, and for his lack of mercy was degraded from his senatorial dignity with which he had been graced. Shall we, as Christians, show less of love and mercy than these men? Shall we oppose our fellow Christians of different denominations or even men of other faiths who do not believe in Christ? To do so is the very antithesis of Christianity. It is only the little, narrow minds that pose as completeness in themselves and act with bold, assuming air of infallibility.

STAND FOR PRINCIPLE.

I range myself on the side of those who battle for religious freedom.

I stand with Constantine, whose lonely figure rises out of that bygone age as one of the foremost defenders of liberty of conscience. I stand with Roger Williams and the other leaders of the great Baptist Church, which church did more for religious freedom in America than any other sect. I stand with Lord Baltimore, under whose brief reign Catholic Maryland gave religious liberty to other faiths. I stand with William Penn, the Quaker founder of Pennsylvania, who said, "I abhor two principles in religion—the first is obedience to authority without conviction and the other is destroying them that differ from me for God's sake." I stand with James Gibbons, a cardinal in the Catholic Church, as he says, "Religious liberty is the true right of every man, because it corresponds with a most certain duty which God has put upon him. Every act infringing on man's freedom of conscience is justly styled religious intolerance." I stand with Alexander Campbell, founder of the Christian (Disciples) Church, as he says, "There is nothing more genial to civil liberty than to enjoy an unrestrained, unembargoed liberty of exercising the conscience fully upon all subjects respecting religion."

I believe with Chancellor Kent that-

Civil and religious liberty generally go hand in hand, and the suppression of either for any length of time will terminate the existence of the other.

I agree with Daniel Webster when he says:

It is established as our principle that a man's religion is a matter above human law, because he is responsible to none but his Maker for it.

I am in accord with the words of James G. Blaine, as follows:

I am in accord with the words of James G. Biaine, as follows: I abor the introduction of anything that looks like a religious test or qualification for office in a Republic where perfect freedom of conscience is the birthright of every citizen.

I stand with Macaulay, English statesman and historian, who, Protestant strongly as he was, ever raised his voice in the English Parliament in behalf of persecuted Catholic and Jew, and in one of his fervent speeches said:

For my own part, I will give a strenuous support in this House to any attempt to take away any civil disability imposed upon men in consequence of their religious opinions.

And at another time, with equal force, Macaulay used these words:

Infliction of any penalties on account of religious opinion is persecution, and I can not conceive any argument to be adduced in favor of the mildest degree of this injustice, which, logically speaking, though not morally, indeed, might not be used with equal force in favor of the most cruel inflictions from similar motives.

And these sentiments, my friends, concurred in by the best thought of the world, should meet the approval of all lovers of liberty, and especially of all who live beneath the folds of our flag, which represents, among other things, first and foremost the principle—the American principle—of religious freedom. Let us as citizens of this land stand together with our feet firmly fixed on this rock, guaranteeing to every man the rights we claim for ourselves, remembering, in the words of William McKinley, that—

That citizen is the best citizen who does his best, who follows the light as God gives him to see the light, and freely accords to others the rights and privileges which he claims for himself.

Let us remember that the American principle of religious liberty is for all—liberty of conscience, for the white man and the black man; freedom of worship for the Jew and the Gentile; equality of rights for the Catholic and the Protestant—liberty, freedom, equality, for you and for me, forever and for all,

The Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELIJAH C. HUTCHINSON,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 22, 1916.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I feel that it is my duty to give this House the benefit of my experience and knowledge concerning the portion of this bill known as section 82, as my business has been largely along the lines and with the commodities treated of therein. This section of the Military Establishment bill reads as follows:

That to provide for the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen by the development of water power, or any other means, necessary to establish an adequate supply of nitrogen, the appropriation of such sum or sums of money to construct the necessary plant for such purpose is hereby authorized.

This, to my mind, is one of the most important sections of this bill, and to remove it would mean the defeat of some of the most

important purposes of the bill.

This bill is looked upon by the country at large as a preparedness measure, and by one of its provisions we increase the strength of its Army. By removing section 82 this purpose is defeated, as you are making this country entirely dependent upon foreign countries for its supply of ammunition. I can not see the usefulness or advisability of increasing our Army to 140,000 men, or any other number, if you are not going to make some provision to supply that Army with ammunition other than the dangerous uncertainty of depending upon foreign countries for it. At present we are depending entirely upon Chile for nitrate of soda. This means that in times of war an enemy could very readily cut off our supply of this essential in ammunition manufacture. There is but one plant on the continent of North America producing cyanamid at the present time and that plant is situated on British territory at Niagara Falls, Canada. This plant is to-day manufacturing large quntitles of nitrogen from the air. Atmospheric nitrogen is a cheap product, and I am of the opinion that if this Government should establish a plant or plants for its manufacture, it could be obtained at a much lower figure in normal times than here-

I am not considering this section from the standpoint of the manufacture of ammunition alone, but from the standpoint that it will reduce the cost of ammonia to the farmer as well. This, in my opinion, is another step, and an essential one, toward preparedness. It will enable the farmer to produce larger crops and will go a long distance toward making this country self-supporting in times of war as well as reducing the cost of living in times of peace.

The prices of cyanamid, sulphate of ammonia, and nitrate of soda are double to-day what they are in normal times. To-day's prices of nitrogen, reduced to ammonia on the unit basis, are: Cyanamid, \$2.65 per unit; suplate of ammonia, \$3.12 per unit; and nitrate of soda, \$3.89 per unit; or, by the 2,000 pounds, cyanamid, basis 20 per cent ammonia, \$53 per ton; nitrate of soda, basis 19 per cent ammonia, \$74 per ton; and sulphate of ammonia, basis 25 per cent ammonia, \$78 per ton.

I am informed that at the outbreak of the present European war Germany had stored in her warehouses \$30,000,000 worth of nitrate of soda, and that in less than four months this supply was exhausted. To-day in Germany there are 8 or 10 cyanid plants manufacturing atmospheric nitrogen for the use of her

ammunition factories.

The high prices of these commodities have made it impossible for the farmer to purchase them for fertilizing purposes, and we must surely look for a diminished crop this year as a result. That the farmers are alive to this condition is borne out by a resolution which I have recently received concerning section 82 of this bill and which is as follows:

Resolution adopted by the National and State officials of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America and of the National Grange in joint conference, with a unanimous vote, urging Congress to enact such legislation as well authorize the building of dams by the Government for the development of water power for the fixation of the nitrogen of the atmosphere as a fertilizer, and to provide nitrates for the manufacture of powder to supply the Government needs.

Whereas nitrogen is an indispensable element of plant food and on a great many of our soils is the limiting factor of crop production; and Whereas this country is entirely dependent upon the country of Chile for its supply of nitrates, both as to quantity and price, which fact the Government of Chile has used to exact an export tax of between \$11 and \$12 per ton on nitrates which we pay; and Whereas the cost of Chilean nitrates before the European war so high as to almost prohibit its use, and since the European war there is not even a supply of Chilean nitrates at any cost: Therefore it is, hereby

ti is, hereby

Resolved, by the National and State officials of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, and by National and State officials of the National Grange, in joint conference—

(1) That we hereby as strongly as possible appeal to the President and Congress of the United States that during the present term of the Sixty-fourth Congress such legislation shall be enacted as will authorize the construction of a dam or dams for the development of the necessary power for the fixation of the nitrogen of the atmosphere as a fertilizer and in such quantities to supply the needs of the Government and, as far as possible, supply the demands of agriculture and by this development free in part the farmers of this country from the Chile saltpeter monopoly.

ment free in part the fallier.

(2) That we ask, in order to prevent this great necessary industry from becoming a monoply, that any dams built by the Government to create this industry shall forever remain in the ownership and control of the Government.

from becoming a monoply, that any dams built by the Government corrected this industry shall forever remain in the ownership and control of the Government

(3) We insist that the location of this air-nitrate industry be determined with reference to the agricultural interests of this country, and that a site be selected that has near it a source of limestone, coke, and phosphate rock, as has been recommended by the Department of Agriculture, and that, furthermore, if possible, it be selected closest to the greatest consumption of fertilizer in this country.

(4) We recommend Government ownership and control in order that the cheapest money available may be used in the development of this industry and in order to regulate the prices of air fertilizers and protect the farmers of the country against monopoly, and since nitric acid is an essential munition of war and this Government is now dependent upon the country of Chile for its supply of nitrates for the manufacture of powder, and water-power development by the Government should be owned by the Government.

(5) That our legislative representatives are requested to present a copy of these resolutions to the President and to each Member of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

Adopted unanimously February S, 1916, at Washington, D. C.

I urge that this House very carefully consider this important

I urge that this House very carefully consider this important section before voting to eliminate it from this bill, or we may find ourselves in the same position regarding these articles as Germany has placed us in regarding potash, another great factor in preparedness and the manufacture of ammunition, which normally sells at \$35 per ton and which to-day is bringing \$500 per ton, with every possibility that the small quantity that still remains in this country will bring \$1,000 per ton if some relief is not soon forthcoming.

Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL HAYDEN. OF ARIZONA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 18, 1916.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to all Members of the House to extend their remarks, I desire to print in the RECORD a number of statements that I have made during the past five months on the subject of preparedness for national defense. In Phoenix last November I addressed a meeting of the Arizona Branch of the Navy League, at which time I said,

"The war in Europe forces the American people to think of preparedness. This war is a fact—a stubborn, unyielding fact that, however much we may prefer peace, we can not waive aside. The colossal conflict came upon the world with bewildering suddenness. The common people of Europe loved peace, just as we do, for they had enjoyed its blessings, just as we have I

for over a generation. Yet the fact that these same people are now in the death grip of war, slaughtering each other by millions, makes it certain that no man here and no man elsewhere can give us a promise of permanent peace.

"We must therefore look to the armed American, for we are

not yet ready to do without him.
"There are two ways for the United States to invite warone is to be so well prepared that we are tempted to attack some other country; the other is to be so defenseless that some other country is tempted to attack us. Our true military policy lies between these two extremes.

"There are some things worse than war. No man who is not afraid to die need be a slave, and no people are fit for the blessings of liberty unless they are ready to fight for it. As for myself, I am for America, whose glorious past has been sanctified by the blood of her sons, whose prosperous and progressive present we are therefore permitted to enjoy, and whose peaceful future we hope to insure by being prepared to defend our freedom whenever it may be attacked."

THE ARMY REORGANIZATION BILL.

After referring to the bill that is now before the House, I have said:

"The Committee on Military Affairs, after three months' hard work, unanimously reported this measure; and, while the bill will not please either the militarists or the pacifists, I am confident that it will meet with the approval of the great ma-

jority of our citizens.

"You will note that nothing is said in the Hay bill about the continental army advocated by ex-Secretary Garrison, but that provision is made for greater Federal control over the militia. The committee became convinced that the continental-army scheme in reality meant universal compulsory military service, and the plan was thereupon abandoned, because a majority of the people of the United States are not in favor of conscription in time of peace. By properly federalizing the National Guard we can obtain an adequate military force without endangering our liberties.

"The American people will submit to conscription after their country has embarked on a great war, just as they did in both the North and the South during the Civil War, and just as have the English in the present war. America has a right to demand that the burden of war shall rest with equality on all of her sons, and whenever a real crisis comes I am sure that Congress will require that military service be universal. It does not follow, however, that our people are willing to accept the principle of compulsory military training in time of peace. I am inclined to agree with ex-President Taft that no political party could live that advocated conscription except when our country is at

"The Committee on Naval Affairs is still considering the naval bill, and I feel sure that as a result of their deliberations a measure will be reported which will be generally satisfactory to the country. Most people are convinced that the Navy is our first and best defense, but the sentiment in Congress is that it would be both foolish and useless to attempt to exceed Great Britain in naval strength. Like the Army bill, our naval policy when finally adopted will appeal more to the good judgment of the great mass of the people than it will either to those who advocate peace, whether honorable or not, or to the other extremists who, if they could have had their way, would now have this country embroiled in war."

APPROPRIATIONS FOR ARIZONA.

I have also received a letter signed by certain good citizens objecting to "pork-barrel" appropriations for Arizona and favoring large expenditures for national defense. After mentioning a considerable number of requests for assistance from the United States that have been sent to me I continued my

reply by saying:
"There are Congressmen residing on the Atlantic seaboard who, because they fear that some fine morning a foreign fleet will bombard the towns in their districts, would not hesitate to denounce each and every item of appropriation that I have just mentioned as 'pork that smells to heaven.' They will insist that every dollar that is asked for work in Arizona had

better be spent on coast defense or the Navy.

"Now, I do not intend to be so narrow minded as to vote against appropriations for coast defenses and an adequate Navy merely because it so happens that Arizona is not open to attack from the sea. My name will be found recorded in favor of reasonable preparedness when the roll is called on the Army and Navy bills, but each one of you sadly misjudges me if he thinks that in the meantime I intend to neglect any opportunity to obtain what assistance I can from Congress for the people of Arizona. I can 'think big' enough to comprehend

the needs of the Nation and my State at the same time. And when I do vote for a greater Navy nothing will keep me from realizing that the cost of one battleship is greater than the combined total of all the requests for help from Congress that I have received from Arizona during the four years that I have been a Member of the House.

'I am here to serve every part of Arizona, and if any citizen or group of citizens asks me to present their wants to Congress I shall certainly do so. Any Congressman who would re-fuse to heed the cry of his people for help would not be acting

as a true Representative.

I realize that you earnestly favor such preparation for national defense as will tend to keep this country at peace. You are mistaken, however, in your belief that the money for preparedness should be obtained by cutting down other expenses, which in themselves are entirely legitimate. There is ample wealth in the United States that can be taxed to pay for the increased cost of the Army and Navy. Personally I am in favor of obtaining such sums as are necessary for this purpose by raising the rate of taxation on incomes, by an inheritance tax, and, if possible, a tax on the profits of the manufacturers of munitions. When these new revenues are available I intend to vote for ample appropriations not only for national defense but also to make it possible for every department of this great Government to perform its proper functions.'

REPLY TO MEMORIAL BY ARIZONA STATE BOARD OF TRADE.

Mr. JOHN F. MEYERS, Secretary Arizona State Board of Trade, Tucson, Ariz.

My Dear Mr. Meyers: I am in receipt of your letter of recent date transmitting a memorial in favor of "a Navy second to none" and "an Army larger than any that could possibly be landed on our shores," which was unanimously adopted at the recent meeting of the Arizona State Board of Trade. I am very glad to have this expression of the views of the Arizona State Board of Trade, and I heartly agree in the patriotic sentiments set forth in this resolution. As practical business men, however, the members of your organization are well aware that too high a price can be paid for any service or commodity. Adequate preparedness for national defense will cost large sums of money, and it must be measured in terms of dollars.

I doubt whether there is a member of your organization who does not carry fire insurance on his home or who does not have life insurance for the benefit of his family. It is the universal practice of all good business men to seek this form of personal protection, but no sensible man spends all of his income in pay-

ing fire and life insurance premiums.

The great majority of the American people look upon expenditures for the Army and Navy as an insurance against the ruin that would follow the defeat of this Nation in a great war. I find that, regardless of politics, the duly elected Representatives of the American people take this same sane view of the situa-

tion, and they intend to act accordingly.

We have not had a war with Great Britain for over a hundred years, and most people believe that we are in no danger of an attack from that source. For this reason there is very little sentiment in Congress in favor of the construction of a Navy "second to none." Most people are opposed to conscription "second to none." Most people are opposed to conscription in time of peace, otherwise called "universal military service." For this reason practically no sentiment could be found in Congress in favor of the continental army plan, and it has been abandoned.

A serious and, I believe, a successful effort will be made to federalize the militia to the extent permitted by the Constitution. There will be an increase in the Regular Army sufficient to man our coast defenses and to provide for the garrisons that should be maintained at Panama, the Hawaiian Islands, and in the Philippines until we give up our jurisdiction over the last-named islands. There will be a substantial increase in the appropriations for the Navy, but not enough to make it "second to none." In short, this Congress will adopt a military and naval policy that will be satisfactory neither to the radical advocates of preparedness nor to the extreme pacifists, but which will meet with the approval of the great majority of the American people.

I have no doubt of the sincerity of the members present when they adopted the final paragraph of the resolution describing your organization as the "voice of Arizona." I must advise you, however, that I have received a very large number of communications in opposition to preparedness from professional men, bankers, farmers, workmen, and other persons repre-senting all walks of life in Arizona. Since there is such a great diversity of opinion as to what ought to be done in behalf of national defense, I have reached the conclusion that it is my duty to carefully examine the bills to increase the efficiency of our Military and Nava: Establishments and to vote in accordance with my honest judgment, after considering all of the facts that will be presented to the House. I assure you that I shall be guided by no other motive than to render real and practical service to my country.

Yours, very truly,

CARL HAYDEN.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS M. BELL.

OF GEORGIA. IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Saturday, March 25, 1916.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, the amendment I offer is to increase the head tax on all aliens coming into the United States.

The bill under consideration provides for a head tax of \$8 instead of \$4 under the present law. I am convinced that my amendment ought to pass, because surely no intelligent foreigner who desires to become a citizen of our great country, and whose application for entrance conforms with the other provisions of the law, can object to paying this nominal fee, which goes into the Treasury of the country he is to become a part of. I shall not argue that the amount of money a man has in his possession establishes the standard of citizenship desired, but since re-stricted immigration is desired by the majority of the people of the country, especially the section which I have the honor to represent, it must, as we see it, be done by selective methods of some kind, and this is one means of doing this, and my amendment certainly will tend to lessen the danger of these people becoming charges upon us. I think the amount of money which aliens should have in their possession ought to be enacted into law and would be in keeping with the spirit of this legislatien, and I am willing to support an amendment making this amount \$100.

In my humble judgment, Mr. Speaker, the time has come when we should enact drastic legislation on the lines of restricting foreign immigration, because it is my opinion this country will be the objective point of thousands and possibly millions of foreigners of every kind and character after the European war has ended who can qualify for admission to this country under our laws and shelter themselves under the protection of this Government. It will not be the rich and edu-cated and well-mannered Italians, Slavs, Poles, and Hungarians who will come over; but, on the contrary, it will be the ignorant, the shiftless, and poorest class, and those who have contributed the least toward making their own country what it is.

The following statement, taken from the last annual report

of the Commissioner General of Immigration, shows the number of South Italians arriving in the United States each year from 1899 to 1915, inclusive:

Number arriving, by years.

1899	65, 639 84, 346
1900	115 704
1902	152, 915
1903	196, 117
1904	159, 329
1905	186, 390
1906	240, 528
1908	242, 497 110, 547
1909	165, 248
1910	192, 673
1911	159, 638
1912	135, 830
1913	231, 613
1914	251, 612 46, 557

It will be seen from the above table that at the end of the fiscal year June 30, 1915, there were 251,612 south Italians that came into the United States, almost 10,000 more than in any year since 1899, and 185,973 more than in 1899, hardly 17 years ago. Of course in 1915, after the European war was in full blast, but few came to us, while a large majority returned to their home country. What, in my judgment, will be detrimental to us will be the influx of these people when the war is over, hence I favor the legislation proposed in this bill. I prefer population from Anglo-Saxon mothers.

These people have been told of the great possibilities of this country, and when they are at liberty to take passage from their own country and try new fields of labor, because of the devastation and ruin of their own country, they will take advantage of the opportunity. I have no objection to admitting good people into our country, but we must look to it when we make our laws that they are so constructed as to prevent the admission of the vicious class, who will not and can not assimilate with our institutions and become a body part of this the greatest country on the face of the earth.

It will be argued by some that the adherents of restricted immigration are not consistent because, as they say, we ourselves are immigrants. This I deny. We should be considered, and are in the true sense discoverers, and, as such, have built up and made possible the United States of America, which is to-day the greatest, the richest, and most powerful nation in the world and inhibited by the most progressive, the most in-dustrious, the mest moral, and the most God-fearing people

existing in all the earth.

The bone of contention in this bill is not the head tax, but the literacy test, which, to my mind, is the redeeming feature of the proposed legislation and which, by all means, should be enacted into law, and must be before we may feel safe from interference with our institutions, with our labor problems, and, in a great

measure, our homes and firesides.

Shall we invite a mature person who can not speak or understand our language to come to us and assist us in the financial development and moral and religious uplift of our country? Of what use could they be to us in building up our churches and our schools, our military and civil institutions? None on earth. Then why and under what pretense can any Member of this body defend his attitude when he proposes by his vote to open the doors of the country to the ignorant, vicious, lazy, and pauper element, which, I fear, we will have unless we proceed before the end of the European war to enact a law which will prevent this movement. I feel proud that the South, as a section, has never invited indiscriminate immigration, for by her refusal and constant care along these lines we have left the nearest a pure Anglo-Saxon blood in our whole country. I trust it will always remain so, and though our growth numerically and financially may not keep pace with some other sections we will be on a safe basis and, upon the whole, we will be happy, with nothing to molest or make us afraid. This is substantially the same bill as was reported and passed the House while I was a member of the Immigration Committee, and I am heartily in favor of its passage.

I am sure I represent the sentiment of a very large majority of all classes of the people of the South in insisting upon restricted immigration. I know I represent the wishes of the people of my district and of the State of Georgia, which is regarded by all as the Empire State of the South, and I believe the Empire State of this Union, because within her borders is enough gold to purchase the fields of California, within her borders is enough marble to supply building material for this Government, within her borders is enough coal to supply the demands of her Commonwealth, within her borders is enough water to run the machinery of this great age, within her borders are as true-hearted men as the world ever knew, and within her

borders are as pure women as God ever let live.

Militia.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROLLIN B. SANFORD. OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 21, 1916.

Mr. SANFORD. Mr. Speaker, the legislature of the State of New York has pending before it a bill which is likely soon to become a law providing a system for the people of that State of universal compulsory military training. I do not claim that my State is more patriotic than other States of this Union, but I do claim that the people of that State are fully alive to their obligations to this Government. In taking the proposed action they will not be adopting a new institution. The principle of compulsory universal training was recognized and practiced by all of the original Thirteen Colonies. The first constitution of the State of New York, adopted in 1777, emphasized the duty of every man who enjoys the protection of society to be pre-

pared and willing to defend it. Washington declared this obligation to be the main pillar of a free government and held that every man of proper age and ability was "firmly bound by the social compact to perform personally his proportion of military duty for the defense of the State."

The real strength of this Government is in the militia of the Constitution, the militia which the founders of the Republic well understood to mean all men of fighting age. Upon that militia they imposed compulsory training, but the training days were few and far between and finally were neglected

altogether.

All of the armies of continental Europe to-day are organized on the theory of universal training copied after the system that the American colonists practiced under their militia laws.

It may not be an unneutral act to acknowledge that no nation ever had a finer motto than that which is literally translated "I serve." A nation that relies on the political philosophy that writes into the military law the principle of all for one and one for all, can not easily be crushed.

England's voluntary system has broken down under the test. In 1911 Lord Roberts warned the English people of the weakness of the vountary system in the following language:

The requirements of our defense either at home or abroad can not be met in any possible way under the volunteer system. Nothing short of universal service will give us the strength we need, and the only question to consider is, in what form the principle of universal service can be best adopted to our complex requirements.

But England clung to her voluntary system with her "first shock" or "nucleus" army, and now with that army prac-tically wiped out and with all her strong men gone, the married cowards are quarreling with the single cowards as to who will enlist and train.

The statesmen who doubtless were applauded when they opposed universal training in England in 1911 are wiser to-day.

The bill before us continues the voluntary system in the face of England's horrible example. Every line of the bill places the obligation squarely on the patriotic as if lack of patriotism were a virtue to be protected.

The following address recently delivered by the adjutant general of the State of New York, Hon. Louis W. Stotesbury, shows clearly that there is nothing essentially American in the voluntary system.

ADDRESS OF HON. LOUIS W. STOTESBURY, ADJUTANT GENERAL OF THE NATIONAL GUARD OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, the object of civil government can not be better expressed than in the words of our Constitution, "To establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty."

Of these objects, that upon which the strength and stability of the whole structure depends is the common defense.

From the beginning of our history provision for the common defense has been an impelling motive in the development of our governmental system.

The first union among any of the Colonies—that formed in 1643 between Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, known as "the United Colonies of New England"—was for common defense against the Indians and to resist the claims and encroachments of the Dutch.

After the Declaration of Independence and the establishment of a

Dutch.

After the Declaration of Independence and the establishment of a central government under the confederation, provision for the common defense was formally declared in the articles of confederation as the primary object of that firm league of friendship.

The weakness of the common defense during the confederation was abundantly manifest. It was said that Congress had the power to declare anything, but could actually do nothing. They were authorized to contract debts, but 13 independent legislatures, according to their own convenience, granted or withheld the means which were to enable the General Government to pay them. Congress might declare war and determine what number of troops were necessary to carry it on, but could not raise a single soldier. They had only the power to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions upon each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants of such State.

agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions upon each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants of such State.

The experience of the whole country during the Revolutionary War demonstrated the utter inadequacy and impropriety of such a system of requisition. It was equally at war with economy, efficiency, and safety.

It was not surprising that Washington should write as he did to a Member of Congress:

"You talk, my good sir, of employing influence to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts. * * But influence is not Government. Let us have a Government by which our lives, liberties, and properties will be secured, or let us know the worst at once."

To devise a new plan which would give strength and authority to the Central Government, consistency, stability, and dignity to the Union, was the great problem of the time, and when there was finally substituted for the loose and unsatisfactory confederation of the States a real union of the people of the United States as one Nation, under the Constitution, provision for the common defense was declared in the enacting clause to be one of the express purposes for which "this Constitution for the United States of America" was ordained and established.

stitution for the United States.

No provisions of the Constitution were the subject of more careful deliberation than those by which there were finally committed to the General Government the abundant powers and authority for providing the means of common defense.

By the powers conferred upon the Congress, and the prohibition enjoined against the keeping of "troops or ships of war" by the States,

the responsibility, as well as the obligation of providing for the common defense, was placed upon the Federal Government.

In pursuance of this object the Congress was given power—
"To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States, ""To raise and support armies. ""To provide and maintain a navy, "To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.
"To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and or governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

"To make all laws which shall be necessary an proper for carrying

"To prövide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States reserving to the Strates, respectively, the appointment of discipline prescribed by Congress."

"To make all laws which shall be necessary an i proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers."

"To make all laws which shall be necessary an i proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers."

"To make all laws which shall be necessary an i proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers."

"To make all laws which shall be necessary an i proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers."

"To make all laws which shall be necessary an i proper for carrying into execution to the control of the And forces of the United States. The one is to raise and support armies, with no limitation upon the number to be raised, the purposes for which it may be used, or the manner in which it is to be supported, save that the congressional term. This gives the virtual control of the Army to the people. The other is the provision for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militid, with a limitation upon the governing of the strain in the property of the provision for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militid, and they of the provision for organizing, arming, and the people. The organization and disciplined, would undoubtedly, from the standpoint of effectiveness alone, completely meet the requirements of adequate defense; but the ostification from a many even assuming that the met were available in prohibitive.

There has always been a prejudice in this country against a large standing army, and the people more readily stand for the expense of a body of professional soldiers audicately in the common defense.

The prejudice against a standing army existed during the Revolution, and has been diligently kept up to this day, it is due in large measure as the proposal proposal paid military force.

The result of the proposal proposal proposal

appear so armed. accourted, and provided when called out to exercise or into service.

Instead of providing for the organization of the militia Congress expressly delegated such authority to the several States and provided only that the militia should be organized into such divisions, brigades, regiments, and companies as the legislatures of the several States should provide. In respect to the discipline, while Congress had every authority to provide continuous training for one or more years or for six months, or intensive training for two-months or one-month periods in each year, it did none of these things, but again refused to interfere with a system which had grown up under the confederation and left it to the disposition of the several States to prescribe their own system of training. In New York State the legislature provided for three so-called parades in each year—twice by company once by regiment.

The militia law passed by Congress in 1792 remained substantially without amendment until 1867, when provision was made for the enrolling of negroes by striking out the word "white" from the provision for the enrollment of "white male citizens."

The militia organization planned by the Constitution has never had a fair test. It has never had any test at all.

No system of training for the militia as such was ever provided. The so-called militia system is characterized rather by its defects than its inherent character and possibilities under the Constitution. Washington did his best to induce the Congress to revise the system. In his fifth message, after the enactment of the militia law under which these defects subsequently grew up, he said, referring to the militia:

"They may be trained to a degree of energy equal to every military exigency of the United States, but it is an inquiry which can not be too solemnly pursued, whether the act which is to provide for the national defense by establishing a uniform milita throughout the United States, has organized them so as to produce their full effect, whether your own experience in the several States has not detected some imperfections in the scheme, and whether a material feature in an improvement of it ought not to be to afford an opportunity for the study of those branches of the military art which can scarcely ever be attained by practice alone."

Under the authority of the act itself, which permitted such other exemptions from the enrollment as the States might provide, every State eventually abandoned the enrollment, and substituted a system of State volunteers in its place.

The State of New York continued nominally under the system of enforced universa service until 1846, when, under the authority conferred by the Federal militia law, it exempted everyone from service on payment of a commutation fee of 75 cents per individual per year.

The so-called "uniformed militia" had in the meantime grown up as a protest against the lack of organization and training

Other States were quick to follow the lead of New York State in this respect, and passed similar laws, doing away with the old system of compulsory service and substituting in its place the system of State volunteers.

State volunteers.

The difficulty of enforcing the fines and collecting the commutation became so great that the enrollment periods were extended to two years and the fee for commutation reduced from 75 to 50 cents. This continued until 1869, when the enrollment period was changed to every five years, to commence in 1871, but in 1870 the first military code was adopted, which provided that there should be an enrollment only when the governor deemed the same necessary, and while that provision is still in our military law, there has been no enrollment since that time.

The Federal militin law of 1792 remained in force military in the same in the s

The Federal militia law of 1792 remained in force substantially without change until 1903, notwithstanding that the privilege of exemption which had been granted to the State had been exercised to the extent of exempting everyone from enrollment and service, and the only organizations left in any State were the State volunteers, which had been variously termed Organized Militia, National Guard, or volunteer organizations under the constitution and laws of the several States.

Volunteer organizations under the constitution and laws of the several States.

The great possibilities for national defense which had been pointed out by Washington and Jefferson and Madison had all disappeared. Compulsory service, which was to have been the safeguard and reliance of the Nation, the citizenty in arms, did not exist.

Even the enrollment, which at least had had the effect of recalling to the citizen the obligation of service, which was reciprocal to his rights as a citizen, had been abandoned and was no more.

And it had disappeared, not by reason of any right or authority withheld to the States under the Constitution, but under the express provision of the militia law, which provided among those exempted from the enrollment "All persons who now are or may hereafter be exempted by the laws of the respective States."

At the time of the Spanish-American War we had no Organized Militia, in the national sense, ready to be called into the service of the United States, and our Federal volunteer laws were so defective and inadequate that there was no authority by which the National Guard organizations—the only forces available other than the Regular Army—could be accepted into the service of the United States as part of the Volunteer Army, save as individuals.

That defect in the volunteer law has been only recently corrected, and even now what is regarded as one of the most essential provisions of our present militia law, providing for the use of the troops beyond the territorial limits of the United States in time of war, is concededly unconstitutional.

With the great world conflict raging all about us, we have at last had forced upon us the realization of the defects in our military system.

The most pressing and important problem of the day is to determine the plan upon which our future military and the day is to determine the plan upon which our future military and the day is to determine

had forced upon us the realization of the defects in our military system.

The most pressing and important problem of the day is to determine the plan upon which our future military policy is to be established.

It is so vital to the right determination of this problem that we should have the courage and wisdom to apply the lessons to be derived from our own past experience and present world conditions, that we should disregard expediency and establish ourselves once and for all time according to correct military principles.

All military students agree that the only safe and sound policy for any nation that is free and intends to remain so, is to adopt a policy, based upon compulsion, by which every man, whether he wants to or not, is required to perform a patriot's duty, by which every man when he attains the high privilege of citizenship, and even before, is taught the practical lessons of military training and exercise.

Whatever is done, whatever plan may be finally adopted, the definition of militia incorporated in the present militia law should be wiped out of the statute, and in its place should be substituted the enunciation of principle that was declared for many years in the Constitution of the State of New York, that "It is the duty of every man who enjoys the protection of society to be prepared and willing to defend it."

We must enforce the recognition of the obligation of service as reciprocal to the rights of citizenship.

We hear much talk to the effect that the people are not yet ready for universal training. It is the oldest principle of our institutions. If the policy had been maintained in good faith, there would have been no question to-day about our preparedness to meet any and every contingency.

It is the most democratic system that could possibly be devised. Under such a system none can complain. All are treated alike; all are required to render the same sort of service, to submit to the same system of discipline. Nothing so much increases the spirit of loyalty and patriotism as service. To make every citizen feel that he udividually is part of the defensive force of the country would make him justly proud; the physical and mental training and discipline and practical instruction which is part of the education of a soidler to-day would make him a more valuable citizen in every way, and the time spent in his military service would be returned to him manifold in increase of efficiency and ability for sustained and disciplined effort in all his subsequent career.

Such a system early inculcates the more trying duties which devolve at times upon free men, and these duties become a matter of course. It is the only system under which a real national spirit can be engendered and impressed upon the heart of every citizen.

The first step in any system of compulsory training or service is an enrollment. Before the force can be organized, trained, educated, or utilized it must be ascertained of what it consists. That is a mere inventory to ascertain the Nation's military asset. If compuision is to be applied at all or to any extent, it must be based upon an enrollment, and an enrollment may as well include all citizens between the ages of 12 and 64 as between the ages of 18 and 45.

It is as easy to make an enrollment of all of our male citizens as of any particular part of them.

When it comes to the application of the system, compulsory military training without arms between the ages of 12 and 15 may be deemed.

It is as easy to make an enrollment of all of our male citizens as of any particular part of them.

When it comes to the application of the system, compulsory military training without arms between the ages of 12 and 15 may be deemed advisable—the teaching between those years of the fundamental principles underlying our military service, particulum, punctuality, diligence, obedience, courtesy, and the obligations to duty.

Between the ages of 15 and 18 may be taught the principles of drill and hygiene and the knowledge of the rifle. Actual military drill it may be found expedient to confine to ages between 18 and 21. These are all details, to be worked out according to the best information and independent obtainable. But universal service, as the obligation of the citizen, is at the foundation of the system.

In addition to this system of universal training and education, which is to make a man able and prepared to serve his country in time of need, we must have a Regular Army of sufficient numbers to adequately garrison the coast defenses of continental United States and our oversea possessions—a sufficient mobile army maintained at all times and ready upon the call of the President for internal disorders, sufficient tumber of officers and noncommissioned officers to conduct the training and instruction of our other forces, whatever they may be.

We have said nothing as yet of the part to be taken by the National Guard, the only present existing organized forces outside of the Regular Army. It is doubtful that we will be able to secure at once a Regular Army sufficiently large to meet present requirements. It is necessary that the existing organization of the National Guard be placed in a situation, through appropriate legislation, to be utilized to the fullest extent as a national force. That they are not at this time capable of being so utilized is not due to any disposition on the part of the States or on the part of the organizations themselves to withhold such service, but wholy through the defects in the

a force.

The State of New York, for example, has invested in its armories used by the National Guard more than \$26,000,000, and is spending each year between two and three million dollars toward the maintenance of its military forces, and the organizations could not be maintained under present conditions without such expenditure. It is unlikely that the Federal Government would undertake the full cost of maintaining the armories occupied by these organizations and supply them with military funds, beadquarters, allowance and other moneys which the States are now contributing to their support; but the Federal Government is at the present time contributing largely in funds and property for the support of the National Guard organizations, in providing or affording the opportunity of participation in camps and maneuvers, in the establishment and maintenance of rifle ranges, and the furnishing of equipment.

of equipment.

It is proposed to remove the limitation upon the use of the National Guard in time of war beyond the territorial limits of the United States by providing a double form of enlistment by which the member of the guard at the time of his enlistment will undertake not only to perform his duties as a soldier in time of peace, according to the regulations governing the State forces, but will at the same time, in the event that the President of the United States shall order the National Guard into active service because of war or imminence thereof, agree to serve as a member of the National Guard in the service of the United States within or without the continental limits of the United States for the period of two years, unless sooner discharged by order of the President of the United States.

This form of enlistment, it is better the period of two

states.

This form of enlistment, it is believed, will remove the limitation upon the service heretofore existing under the militia law, and justify the further support of the National Guard by the Federal Government.

At the same time, it is proposed by proper legislation to exercise the right which is given to Congress, under the Constitution, to provide for the organization and discipline to a fuller extent than has heretofore been enforced, so as to make of the National Guard of the several States a truly unified and coordinated force.

These are details which, with the concentration of thought and council devoted to the common purpose of making of the National Guard a real national force, it will not be difficult to work out.

But the most important feature of the whole scheme of national defense, and the one on which the success of any plan must depend, is this for which your organization stands and which is set forth as the subject of this convention on the very first page of your calendar—that of universal compulsory military training.

Our plan of national defense will be safe, our military polley secure, if we can impress upon the heart of every youth in our land the fact that he individually is part of the defensive force of the Nation, and make him proud that he is truly a defender of the liberties of the country and one of the guardians of our glorious Republic.

"Let Us Take Every Precaution Which Will in the Slightest Degree Assist in Keeping Us Out of that Awful War in Europe."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRED A. BRITTEN, OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 23, 1916.

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to address the House briefly on what I conceive to be a question of considerable importance which has grown out of the recent controversy in the Senate and in the House upon certain "warning" resolutions. It is not my purpose, Mr. Speaker, to discuss generally the

resolutions which were introduced warning or requesting American citizens to refrain at this time from travel on armed belligerent ships excepting in so far as it is necessary to correct the mistaken impression that Members in the House who voted to table the McLemore resolution "stood by the President," while those who voted against tabling this resolution "were against the President."

First of all, let it be understood that the Gore resolution in the Senate and the McLemore resolution in the House were in themselves distinctly undesirable, and could not have received a handful of affirmative votes without first being properly amended so as to constitute a simple advisory warning from a zone of danger while at the same time relinquishing no rights which any American citizen might have any place on earth.

Mr. Speaker, on August 20, 1914, about three weeks after the terrible war now devastating Europe had started, the President issued a statement directed to "My fellow countrymen,"

which he stated:

The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action: must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another. My thought is for America.

Those are fine words, Mr. Speaker, and I have tried to live up to them, but I could not fail to recognize in all subsequent controversies between Germany and the United States that our demands were strict and severe, while England's flagrant vio-lations of international law, her arbitrary confiscation of our mails to neutral countries, her thorough disregard of the rights of neutrals on the high seas, have only caused us to send notes of flexible mildness, each of which in turn has been politely ignored.

Since the issuance of the President's statement it has been my pleasure to visit the Hawniian Islands, the Philippines, and a great portion of China and Japan, and it was my firm inten-tion to voyage through the Suez Canal, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic Ocean back to God's own country in a trip around the globe.

But while in that far-away land of perpetual sunshine, I was forced to realize that a voyage through European waters must be fraught with danger from submarine and mine, irrespective of the character of ship we might travel upon, and it did not take me long to conclude that the best interests of my country lay in a complete avoidance of the danger zone, and we returned to the United States over the broad Pacific without having finished our contemplated travels.

I am sure that no one will say that we (I was accompanied by Mrs. Britten) did not have every legal right under international law and custom to negotiate our voyage as intended, and am equally certain that every Member in this House will agree with me that my decision not to tempt danger for the sake of a little temporary pleasure was the sensible course to pursue, and after all, if common sense were displayed, there would be no necessity for all this wasted time in both branches of Congress over the matter of a simple warning to American citizens who might be foolish enough to court fate during these days when "men's souls are being tried" to their utmost.

Mr. Speaker, there is no disputing the fact that rights of

neutrals on the high seas are clearly defined by the principles of international law, but when you realize that Great Britain, Germany. Austria, and Italy have repeatedly violated or modified recognized principles as an exigency of the present war, due to the appearance of submarines, mines, acroplanes, and Zeppelins, or to the necessity of an existing condition, it surely is the moral and patriotic duty of American citizens to refrain from traveling on armed belligerent merchant ships.

As a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs, I have watched the European war most earnestly, and you may rest assured that as I was one of the 37 out of more than 400 Members of this House who voted against the President's Mexican war resolution, nearly two years ago, so I will surely be one of those who would vote against a war with any of the European belligerents, without first being unquestionably satisfied that the honor of my country was at stake or that my flag had been degraded.

The American people desire no war over a technicality, nor will the Congress be stampeded into one in defense of a citizen who deliberately endangers the welfare and peace of his country by recklessly insisting upon the exercise of a "doubtful

legal right."

And yet if war must come, can any sane individual doubt that we all will stand by the President of the United States, for this is no partisan question? Mr. Wilson is not the President of the Democratic Party. He is the President of the entire American people. He is our President and should receive our sympathies and support regardless of political affiliations when we can conscientiously give same, and yet, let us not forget that Mr. Wilson is only the President, and, as such, it should be his sincere desire to carry out the mandate of the American people.

Since practically every Member who spoke on the McLemore resolution has indicated a preference that a plain resolution warning our citizens from travel on armed belligerent ships could not possibly be objectionable, it must therefore be the consensus of opinion of the great American masses that its reflection in Congress is true, and there could be no good reason

for withholding same.

Mr. Speaker, I do not think it will take long to prove to the complete satisfaction of anyone who is not biased, or whose opinion is not completely swayed by sentiment for or against some of the warring powers, that neither the President nor the people obtained their desires for a direct vote on a "warn-

ing resolution."

I do not mean to be discourteous or offensive to the Members who concocted that parliamentary trick for a special gag rule that prevented the "full discussion" suggested by the President, but I would be untrue to my convictions if I had voted to lay the resolution on the table, and by so doing "straddle" a momentous question. I could then go to all my constituents and say that no direct vote on the resolution was taken, and therefore their views were my views irrespective of the truth in the matter. The resolution should have been amended and considered on its merits.

This is no time for politics, Mr. Speaker. 'It is a time for honest patriotism and loyal Americanism irrespective of party

affiliation.

Let us follow the trend of diplomatic correspondence between our country and Germany for the past couple of months and then frankly conclude whether or not we would be justified in holding Germany to a "strict account" in order to maintain a doubtful right.

Let us remember that this entire controversy was forced upon Congress by the President and that he wished an honest opin-ion. My personal views in the matter are governed entirely by the facts presented by the State Department and my knowledge of naval warfare, and I hope to see my country enjoy the fruits of a strict neutrality.

Mr. Speaker, it was as late as January 18 of this year that Secretary Lansing wrote foreign Governments the following

most interesting letter:

Prior to the year 1915 belligerent operations against enemy commerce on the high seas had been conducted with cruisers carrying heavy armaments. In these conditions international law appeared to permit a merchant vessel to carry armament for defensive purposes without lessening its character as a private merchant vessel. This right seems to have been predicated on the superior defensive strength of ships of war, and the limitation of armament to have been dependent on the fact that it could not be used effectively in offense against enemy naval vessels, while it could defend the merchantmen against the generally inferior armaments of piratical ships and privateers.

POWERLESS IN DEFENSE.

The use of the submarine, however, has changed these relations. Comparison of the defensive strength of a cruiser and a submarine shows that the latter, relying for protection on its power to submerge, is almost defenseless in point of construction. Even a merchant ship carrying a small-caliber gun would be able to use it effectively for offense against the submarine.

You will note, Mr. Speaker, that the President and Secretary Lansing agree that even a small-caliber gun would make a merchantman strong enough to destroy a submarine.

Moreover, pirates and sea rovers have been swept from the main trade channels of the sea and privateering has been abolished. Consequently the placing of guns on merchantmen at the present date of submarine warfare can be explained only on the ground of a purpose

to render merchantmen superior in force to submarines and to prevent warning and visit and search by them. Any armament, therefore, on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an offensive

Now, bear this in mind, only two short months ago the President and Secretary of State said that "Any armament on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an offensive armament.

armament."

If a submarine is required to stop and search a merchant vessel on the high seas, and in case it is found that she is of an enemy character and that conditions necessitate her destruction and the removal to a place of safety of persons on board, it would not seem just nor reasonable that the submarine should be compelled, while complying with these requirements, to expose itself to almost certain destruction by the guns on board the merchant vessel.

It would therefore appear to be a reasonable and reciprocally just arrangement if it could be agreed by the opposing belligerents that submarines should be caused to adhere strictly to the rules of international law in the matter of stopping and searching merchant vessels, determining their belligerent rationality, and removing the crews and passengers to places of safety before sinking the vessels as prizes of war, and that merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatsoever.

You will observe that our President has suggested that under

You will observe that our President has suggested that under present conditions it would be reasonable and just "that merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatsoever." Some of the armed vessels in question, Mr. Speaker, carry 6-inch guns firing highexplosive shells, which would destroy a submarine just as effectively as could the largest guns of a dreadnaught.

In proposing this formula as a basis of conditional declarations by the belligerent Government I do so in the full conviction that each Government will consider primarily the humane purposes of saving the lives of innocent people rather than the insistence upon doubtful legal right, which may be denied on account of new conditions.

Thus, in January the President is most desirous of saving the lives of people rather than the insistence on "doubtful legal right." Can it be possible that this same President is now willing to go to war over the violation of a "doubtful legal right"? If it was doubtful in January, what could possibly make it the basis of war to-day? If it was honorable to write these views in January, what makes them so dishonorable to-

I would be pleased to be informed whether your Government would be willing to make such a declaration, conditioned on their enemies making a similar declaration.

The next paragraph, Mr. Speaker, evidences the President's complete familiarity with the contents of this letter:

I should add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

Secretary Lansing's reference to "my Government" certainly means the President of the United States, with whose collabora-tion this letter was surely written on that memorable January 18.

Mr. Speaker, I have many times said that our foreign policy in Mexico was a farce, and I am constrained to believe that most of the Members of the House will agree with me, at least in confidence, that this last piece of European diplomacy ranks very well with that which has been inflicted upon Mexico for

nearly three years past.

When the President has said to Germany that if the life of an American citizen was sacrificed on board an armed merchant ship, without warning, by a German submarine, "I will hold you to strict account," stripped of its diplomatic language the note indicated that the loss of American life meant war. I am willing to go to war if need be to uphold American honor and right, but not over any "doubtful legal right." It must be a vital right. My father and uncle fought in the Civil War to preserve our

flag, the latter receiving gunshot wounds on two different oc-casions, so that I can rightfully feel a special pride in upholding

the flag for which the blood of my own people was spilled.

The private citizens, however, the men who pay the taxes, the men who in war will die in the trenches, and whose homes will suffer from raids by airships and from asphyxiating gases, will want to know before war is declared what it is all about. And who will dare tell them that another bloody carnage is upon us because of a "doubtful legal right" and the persistence of some foolish American to enjoy the thrill of a voyage through water where deadly submarines are preying day and night for one fair shot at the ship he has so ruthlessly, so unpatriotically, so fanatically dared to embark upon?

Although international law takes no cognizance of the submarine, it has nevertheless been recognized as an implement of modern warfare and as such takes its place with other war-craft. I am unwilling to give, even to the President, the power to determine what our future policy shall be in the use of these

destructive engines of war. The status of a nation determines the status of its ships, and a merchant ship of a country at war equipped for destructive purposes must be regarded as an im-

plement of war.

Mr. Speaker, let us take a concrete example in order to establish the rights of a neutral traveling on an armed belligerent ship. Suppose we were at war with Japan, and one of that country's great fast liners loaded with munitions was heading for Magdalena Bay, in a neutral country. Do you suppose that our submarines would refrain from torpedoing that ship because we had been informed that two of its passengers were Chinamen, citizens of a neutral Government? Do you suppose that one of our few submarines would lay itself open to positive destruction by first communicating with the merchant ship in order to ascertain its armament and list of passengers? And yet this is the very dangerous precedent our President is aiming to establish.

It takes a submarine from two to six minutes to submerge, depending upon the condition of its deck, and when totally submerged is completely useless in offensive or defensive. It must have at least its periscope above water in order to see its target. It is unwieldy and slow of operation, the entire boat having to be pointed directly at the target before launching a torpedo. Thus a small rapid-fire gun on a merchantman could destroy a submarine as effectively as could a battleship.

Should our Navy, which the President says is fourth among the great navies of the world, ever be wiped off the seas, it might be necessary for us to depend entirely upon the submarine for Let us not withhold from any European belligerent a right which may some day very properly be the straw on which would float or sink our national honor.

"My thought is for America." Let us take every precaution which will in the slightest degree assist in keeping us out of

that awful war in Europe.

Sugar.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN.

OF TENNESSEE.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 16, 1916.

Mr. Speaker, the bill under consideration Mr. AUSTIN. means the restoration of a Republican tariff duty on foreign or imported sugar, protection to an important American industry, safeguarding the interests of the cane-sugar industry in Louisiana, Texas, Porto Rico, the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands, and the beet-sugar farmers and mills in 16 States of the American Union. It means the Republicans in the Sixty-third Congress were right in opposing the provision in the Underwood-Wilson bill placing foreign or imported sugar on the free list. and that President Wilson was wrong in approving such an unwise measure. The pending bill is a confession, an admission to the people of the United States that the party in power, on account of a depleted Treasury, is forced to repudiate its record and undo in part some of the destructive work contained in the un-American tariff law, which will be repealed by a Republican administration and Congress after the 4th of next March. This action comes after a partial reduction in the tariff on sugar, during which invested millions in Louisiana were wiped out, sugar mills dismantled, abandoned, or transferred to the West Indies, thousands of acres of sugar lands given up in the South, and 12 prosperous beet-sugar mills in the Western States closed, and a desirable local market for the farmers' beet crop destroyed.

This is not the whole story. The records of the Treasury Department show that we lost in customs duties during 1914 \$16,824,481 and in 1915 \$16,606,075, or a total of \$33,430,556. This sum represents the loss sustained by the people—the taxpayers of the United States-on account of a reduction of 25 per cent of the duty on imported sugar. It represents a great loss to the Treasury of the United States in a time of financial stress and a great gain for the coffers of the sugar refiners who supply the foreign or imported sugar sold in this country. The very companies and men who have been successfully prosecuted by our Government for frauds in false and dishonest weights and crooked methods in connection with imported sugar; who have paid the present administration countless thousands of dollars for cheating and defrauding the Government: have been the beneficiaries of the first cut or reduction in the

tariff on sugar. Under this Democratic law they are favored in 24 months to the extent of \$33,430,556. They were relieved of the payment of this amount of taxes and the Treasury of the United States deprived of the same, which was badly needed to meet the necessary and legitimate expenses of the Government,

If Congress fails or refuses to pass the pending bill, it will mean an additional annual gift of more than \$50,000,000 to the same Sugar Refining Trust and a shameful robbery of the American people-a transfer of this amount from the vaults of the Treasury to the pockets of the men who seek to destroy a great American industry scattered through 18 States and in our insular possessions, which purchase annually goods and supplies to the value of \$90,000,000 made in American mills by an army of our deserving mechanics and operatives. The men who served in this House during the last Congress remember the campaign for free sugar, led by a representative of the sugar refiners, in the person of Francis C. Lowry, who now modestly offers us a new "gold brick" in proposing a so-called consumer's tax of 1 cent on every pound of sugar used in the United With the experience before us, Congress will act wisely States. and in the interest of the people and the Treasury Department by opposing any proposition proposed by the Sugar Refiners' Trust or anyone representing it.

The Members of Congress were elected to look out for the interests of the people and not the interests of the Refiners If they heed the advice of a trust which has virtually confessed its frauds against the Government of the United States, their constituents will elect men who will place the interest of the people always above the interest of this trust. For the benefit of the new Members of this House—those who did not serve in the Sixty-second and Sixty-third Congresse when free-sugar legislation was under consideration—it will be well to briefly review the activities of Mr. Lowry in his previous campaign for free sugar and also his present campaign against the repeal of the free-sugar clause of the Underwood bill, favoring in lieu thereof an internal-revenue tax upon all

sugar consumed in this country.

I will not dwell upon the history of his activities as secretary of a mythical "committee of wholesale grocers, formed to assist in obtaining cheaper sugar for the consumers by a reduction in the tariff duty." How Mr. Lowry was "smoked out" and compelled to admit that this so-called "committee" was a mere creature of his imagination, and that the whole proposition was purely a scheme of the Federal Sugar Refining Co. to secure free sugar, not in order that the refining interests might reduce the price of sugar to the consumer, but that the refiners might obtain a weapon with which to kill their only competitor, the domestic beet-sugar industry, and thereby add millions of dollars to their profits after they had obtained a monopoly of the domestic sugar market.

Mr. Lowry adopted a high-sounding phrase-" cheaper sugar for the consumer"-and our Democratic friends fell for it. They were warned at the time that the only beneficiaries of sugar-tariff reduction would be the seaboard refiners of for eign or imported raw sugar. They were warned that the refiners would absorb all of any small reduction which might be made, and a large portion of the remission, if sugar were placed on the free list. We already had an illustration of what free

on the free list. We already had an raw sugar would do for the refiners.

In 1890 Congress placed imported sugar on the free list and provided for a bounty on domestic sugar, but the refiners did not reduce their price the full amount of the duty remitted. They reduced it a little over one-half the amount of the duty taken off, but under the free-sugar law, they steadily increased their margin between raw and refined from 72 cents per 100 pounds in 1890, to \$1.15 per hundred in 1893, the last complete year of free sugar. Thus instead of the full benefit of the tariff reduction going to the consumer, as they argued then it would, and as Mr. Lowry now is arguing it will, the refiners absorbed 45 cents per hundred pounds, thereby increasing their margin by 64 per cent. As a result of free sugar, the Sugar Trust increased its dividends from 4 per cent to 211 per cent, and during the seven-year period of free sugar and the ad valorem duty which followed, this one corporation not only paid out \$48,500,000 in dividends, but accumulated a surplus of \$50,000,000.

After sugar was returned to the dutiable list in 1894 the refiners were compelled to reduce their average margin between raw and refined from \$1.15 to 88 cents per hundred for that year, and the yearly average margin from 1895 to 1913 was 84 cents per hundred pounds.

During this latter period the domestic beet-sugar industry had grown by leaps and bounds. From an annual production of 40,000 tons in 1897, the output had increased year by year until in 1913, when the Underwood bill was passed, the production amounted to 733,401 tons. This sugar, produced mostly in Michigan and the Middle and Far West, was at first practically all locally consumed and did not come into competition with the product of the seaboard refiners except to deprive them of a long-haul market which heretofore had obtained. But as the beet-sugar industry began to grow with such rapid pace production in the Western States exceeded local consumption, and the beet-sugar manufacturers had to look for new markets for the sale of their product. They gradually began to encroach on the territory which the seaboard refiners considered their "exclusive own," beet sugar underselling the refiners' product from 10 to 60 cents a hundred pounds; and whereas a few years ago refined cane sugar had a complete monopoly of the markets east of Chicago, to-day the refiners have to meet beetsugar competition in all Eastern States-from Maine to Florida.

Realizing that by stifling this competition the refiners would add millions of dollars annually to their profits, Mr. Lowry, as general spokesman, started a propaganda for the removal of the import duty on sugar, knowing that this would place in the refiners' hands a means by which they could destroy the domestic beet-sugar industry at will. One of the main advantages to the refiners of the retention of the free-sugar clause and the imposition of a consumption tax on all sugar consumed lies in the fact that under such a proposition the beet-sugar manufacturer would still be compelled to pay the same price as he is paying to-day for his raw product-sugar beets-while the refiners could, under free sugar, purchase their raw product at a reduction in price of practically 1 cent a pound, thus giving the refiners the opportunity, when they desired, to reduce the price of their product below the cost of production of domestic beet sugar and consequently drive the domestic industry out of Then, having a monopoly of the domestic market, business. they would be at liberty to regulate the price of sugar at will.

When the Underwood tariff bill was under discussion solemn warning was given to our Democratic friends that if they passed the bill reducing the sugar tariff 25 per cent to take effect March 1, 1914, and automatically placing sugar on the free list on May 1916, they would play into the hands of the seaboard sugar refiners; that the refiners would absorb the reduction; and that, except possibly for a short period, the price of sugar to the consumer would not be lowered, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Lowry claimed that the full amount of the reduction would be

reflected in the retail price of sugar.

Our Democratic friends may have been sincere in believing that a 25 per cent reduction in the sugar tariff and the placing of sugar on the free list would benefit the consumer. I will at least give them the benefit of the doubt; but if they will analyze the results of the sugar clause of the Underwood bill as far as it affects the price of sugar it will open their eyes to the fact that they were duped by the refiners for having secured a 25 per cent reduction in the import duty, the refiners lost interest

in the consumer and began pocketing the reduction.

For a few weeks after the 25 per cent reduction became effective the refiners slightly reduced the wholesale price of refined sugar, but not enough to reflect in the retail price to the consumer. Then, as predicted, the refiners began marking up the price of sugar and for several months previous to the outbreak of war in Europe the price of sugar was higher than it had been for several months prior to March 1, 1914, when the 25 per cent reduction became effective. The refiners absorbed 78 per tent of the reduction, and the consumer did not receive any benefit whatever.

The European war has disrupted the sugar market to such an extent as to make it impossible fairly to compare the conditions as they exist to-day with those prevailing before the passage of the Underwood bill. But we had 22 weeks of the operation of the 25 per cent reduction under normal conditions, and a comparison of the average price of sugar during this period, with the period immediately preceding the passage of this measare, throws considerable light on the effect of the reduction upon the price of sugar to the consumer and the profits of the seaboard

sugar refiners.

For instance, for a period of nine weeks prior to the passage of the Underwood bill, the average New York wholesale price of raw sugar, duty paid, was \$3.373 per hundred pounds. The average New York wholesale price of refined sugar during this period was \$3.92 per hundred, the average refiners' margin being 54.7 cents per hundred.

The 25 per cent reduction in the sugar tariff, which amounted to 33.7 cents per hundred on Cuban 96° centrifugals, became ef-

fective March 1, 1914.

Taking the average price of raw and refined sugar from this date to the outbreak of war in Europe, we find that the average New York wholesale price of raw sugar, duty paid, was \$3.164 per hundred, as against an average price of \$3.373 per hundred during the nine weeks preceding the tariff reduction. On the other hand, the average New York wholesale price of refined sugar during the latter period was \$3.975 per hundred, as against an average of \$3.92 for the former period, the refiners increasing their margin from 54.7 cents to 81.1 cents per hundred pounds. In other words, the refiners purchased their raw sugars for 20.9 cents per hundred cheaper than they did before the tariff reduction became effective, and yet they increased the average price of the refined product 5.5 cents per hundred, thereby increasing their profits 26.4 cents per hundred, or 78 per cent of the 25 per cent tariff reduction.

Let us see what this probably would mean to the New York refiners in the way of profits. During the 22-week interim between the date of the reduction and the outbreak of war, their total meltings, according to Willett & Gray, amounted to 1,370,880 short tons. Applying this 26.4 cents per hundred pounds increase in profits to their meltings, we see that through the 25 per cent reduction they were able to add during this period of 22 weeks \$7,238,246 to their net profits, and the con-

sumer received no benefit at all from the reduction.

In answer to this statement, the refiners probably would say that the average margin between raw and refined sugar during the 9 weeks prior to the tariff reduction was abnormally low, which I concede, but the refiners were making some profit even on the 54.7-cent margin, which more than covered their operating expenses, and so the increase in the margin referred to represented net profit to the refiners.

I am well aware that the refiners claim the average margin necessary to come out even is in the neighborhood of 63 cents per hundred pounds, but every one believes this to be entirely A fair estimate of the actual expense of refining too high.

would be 50 cents a hundred instead of 63 cents.

So much for the effect of the 25 per cent tariff reduction up

to the time of the outbreak of the war.

What the refiners have been doing to their friends, "the consumers," since the outbreak of war is even more astounding than their manipulations of the sugar market before the war

During the week ending October 29, 1914, their margin between raw and refined amounted to \$1.84 per hundred, nearly 2 cents a pound, while the general average of their margin from the date of the outbreak of war, August 1, 1914, to December 30, 1915, was 94.5 cents per hundred pounds. How much additional profit this has meant to the refiners it is impossible to say, but that they have reaped many millions of dollars goes without saying.

The passage of the Underwood bill brought about the situation for which Mr. Lowry had been working for years. abled the refiners to increase their profits under the 25 per cent reduction and upon the free-sugar clause becoming effective, would place in their hands a weapon with which to destroy

the domestic sugar-beet industry.

The prospect of free sugar in 1916 had a demoralizing effect upon the domestic beet-sugar industry. Not only did the beet-sugar companies realize that they could not compete with the cheap-labor foreign product, but the banks through which the companies had financed their sugar campaigns were not disposed to advance funds under these conditions, and consequently 13 domestic beet-sugar factories closed their doors, and had not the European war occurred, it is safe to assume that many more of these immense industrial plants would have gone to the wall. The industry only was temporarily saved by war conditions shutting off the large sugar exports of continental Europe and thus maintaining a price for sugar which would enable the industry to exist as long as these conditions

Due largely to the passage of the Underwood tariff bill, a deficit was created in the Federal Treasury in the neighborhood of \$100,000,000. During the first 16 months of the operation of the sugar schedule of this bill the loss in revenue from sugar imports alone amounted to twenty-six and a half millions of dollars, or over one-fourth of the total deficit of the Treasury. loss was due solely to the 25 per cent reduction in the sugar tariff and not because of a reduction in our sugar imports, for the imports during the first 16 months' operation of the Underwood tariff sugar schedule exceeded the imports during a corresponding period of the previous year by nearly 1,000,000,000

Realizing that the loss of an additional thirty or forty millions of dollars in sugar duties under free sugar would place the Government in an even more embarrassing position than it finds itself at the present time, the Secretary of the Treasury and the President recommended to Congress that the present rate of duty on sugar be retained, and the sentiment among both parties in Congress and among the public generally favored this action. The people had not been able to purchase their sugar any cheaper under the tariff reduction—in fact, the price had increased—and the Government was losing millions of dollars through the reduction in sugar duties. And so under free sugar the people had nothing to gain and everything to lose.

That the seaboard refiners were pleased with the free-sugar clause of the Democratic tariff bill goes without saying. There was great rejoicing over the fact that they had accomplished a purpose for which they had been working for years. But a wet blanket was thrown over their enthusiasm when the Democratic Party, realizing its mistake in placing sugar on the free list, decided to repeal the free-sugar clause and allow the duty to stand as it is. Undaunted, however, Mr. Lowry devised a scheme by which he could throttle the domestic beet-sugar competition under the subtle guise of a consumption tax.

He first importuned Members of Congress to allow the freesugar clause of the Underwood bill to remain on the statute books, and in lieu of the revenues which the Government would lose thereby, to impose an internal revenue tax of approximately 1 cent per pound on all sugar consumed, whether of domestic,

insular, or foreign origin.

When his method of importuning seemed to meet with no success he next cajoled, then threatened, the Democratic Members with political annihilation if they did not grant his wishes.

Mr. Lowry paints a roseate picture, showing how much better off the Government and the people would be with the import duty on sugar removed and a consumption or direct tax

on all sugars imposed in its place.

He still clings to the subterfuge that he and the other seaboard refiners have the interest of the public at heart. But his purpose is clear to those who know his methods, even though that purpose is masquerading under a new cloak. To place sugar on the free list and impose a consumption tax on all sugar consumed would simply mean that the refiners would pay a tax of 1 cent a pound on the refined-sugar product, but this tax would be offset by reason of the fact that under free sugar they would be purchasing their raw sugar for a cent a pound cheaper. In the case of the beet-sugar manufacturers the 1-cent per pound consumption tax would be added to their cost of manufacture, without any reduction in the cost of their raw material. This would give the refiners the same opportunity of killing off their domestic competitors as would the simple retention of the free-sugar clause.

As stated before, domestic beet sugar undersells refined cane sugar from 10 to 60 cents a hundred pounds. We may take 25 cents as a general average of the price at which the entire domestic beet-sugar crop is sold below the refiners' price. On 862,800 tons of domestic beet sugar—the estimated production this campaign—this would make a saving to the consumers of the country of over \$4,000,000 in their sugar bills—a saving which they would not be able to take advantage of if a consumption tax were placed on the production of beet sugars, or if the industry were destroyed through placing sugar on the

free list.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the majority party in Congress realizes that the people of the country are dissatisfied with the present method of replacing indirect with direct taxation. Already have their voices been raised against this character of taxation, and we are informed through the press that the leaders of the Democratic Party are to heed their criticisms and repeal the stamp taxes and perhaps some others of these obnoxious taxes. I do not believe our friends on the other side of the House will follow the advice of the seaboard refiners and add further to the burdens of the people by placing a direct tax on sugar in lieu of the indirect tax now levied on imports of foreign raw sugar.

A glance at any of Mr. Lowry's circulars disclosed his animus to the domestic beet-sugar industry, and I have endeavored to

point out the reason underlying this animus.

I will not attempt to answer his many misstatements and erroneous deductions. I do not think my colleagues will be misled any more by either his figures or his arguments.

I desire, however, to direct the attention of the House to an article which appeared in one of the New York daily papers on February 10, quoting Mr. Lowry's circular concerning the "War profits of beet-sugar companies." In this circular Mr. Lowry gives a comparative table of prices of certain beet-sugar companies' stock. Mr. Lowry's table shows the price of preferred and common stock of four beet-sugar companies March, 1914, and February, 1916.

The following is a copy of the table referred to, to which I tariff changes is simply another argument on a false deduction.

these companies in October, 1912, just prior to the presidential election which placed the Democratic Party in national power.

	Oct. 15,	March,	February,
	1912.	1914.	1916.
American Beet Sugar Co.: Preferred. Common Great Western Sugar Co.:	Asked.	Lowry.	Lowry.
	961 to 100	65	95
	691 to 711	20	68
Preferred Common Michigan Sugar Co.:	80 to 85	91 45	112 14)
Preferred. Common Utah-Idaho Sugar Co., preferred. Price of sugar, per pound.	100	85	100
	85	35	102
	112.80	6, 50	12,50
	24.95	2 4, 00	= 6,00

1 Quotation of November 1.

2 Cents.

Mr. Lowry contends that the beet-sugar producers are the chief beneficiaries of a sugar tariff. I can not acquiesce in this statement. I do concede that a protective tariff on sugar benefits the domestic beet-sugar manufacturers; in fact, they can not exist without some protection from the cheap labor product of tropical and European countries. But the beet-sugar companies are not the only beneficiaries of the sugar tariff; the sixty-odd thousand sugar-beet farmers are benefited by the maintenance of a high price for their beets and the consumer is benefited by securing his sugar at a lower price during the time when domestic beet sugar comes into competition with the product of the seaboard refiners.

Mr. Lowry is an adept in using figures and dates, which, in some instances, while accurate in themselves, do not make a

fair comparison of conditions.

The above-quoted table is a striking illustration of this fact. For instance, he quotes the price of stock of four leading domestic beet-sugar companies in March, 1914, when the 25 per cent reduction in the tariff duties became effective. He contends that the beet-sugar companies are making enormous profits by reason of the high price of sugar, due to war conditions. To substantiate this Mr. Lowry quotes the price of stocks of these companies in February, 1916, showing a considerable increase in price above the quotations of March, 1914.

But had Mr. Lowry been fair in his comparison he would have included in his table the price of these stocks under normal conditions before the domestic industry was threatened with annihilation by the placing of sugar on the free list.

A reference to the table will show that while at present the price of stocks of the beet-sugar companies is considerably in excess of the price in March, 1914, they are not appreciably higher, and, in fact, in some cases are lower than they were in October, 1912, when normal conditions prevailed.

For instance, the price of preferred stock of the American Beet Sugar Co. in October, 1912, ranged from 96½ to 100; in February, 1916, the preferred stock of this company was quoted at 95. Taking the common stock of this same company, we see that in October, 1912, it was quoted at 69½ to 71½, while in February, 1916, it was quoted at 68.

In October, 1912, preferred stock of the Great Western Sugar Co. was quoted at 108, and in February, 1916, it was quoted at 112 an increase of but 4 points above the normal price.

112, an increase of but 4 points above the normal price.

The most appreciable increase in these stocks is that of the common of the Great Western Sugar Co., which was quoted in October, 1912, at from 80 to 85, while in February, 1916, it was quoted at 140.

In the case of the Michigan Sugar Co., the price of preferred was quoted in October, 1912, at 100, and in February, 1916, it was quoted at the same figure. The common stock of this company was quoted at 85 in October, 1912, and in February, 1916, at 102.

The Utah-Idaho Sugar Co. has retired all of its common stock since 1910, and the price of its preferred was quoted on November 1, 1912, at 12.80, while in February, 1916, it was quoted at 12.50.

It will be observed, therefore, that while the price of the stock of these companies was beaten down in 1914, when the 2⁵ per cent reduction it the sugar tariff became effective, with the definite prospect of free sugar in 1916—which caused 13 of the beet-sugar factories to close their doors—the rise in the price of sugar by reason of the war in Europe sent the stocks back only to where they were in 1912; and the conclusion that the domestic beet-sugar companies have reaped untold millions of dollars because of war conditions and the prospect of favorable tariff changes is simply another case of Mr. Lowry basing an argument on a false deduction.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES B. ASWELL,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 27, 1916.

Mr. ASWELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Congressional Record an editorial entitled "The case for the literacy test," which appeared in the Unpopular Review for January, 1916, a magazine published by Henry Holt & Co., of New York City. The editorial is as follows:

THE CASE FOR THE LITERACY TEST.

"When President Wilson vetoed the Burnett immigration bill last January, he gave as his principal reason his conviction that the literacy test which it contained was not wanted by the American people, and his determination to await a more explicit expression of their wishes before giving his sanction to what seemed like so radical a departure from American tradition, This was a surprising attitude, in view of the fact that in the preceding 18 years there had been 7 record votes on the question in the House, with an average of 192 votes in favor to 73 against, and 5 record votes in the Senate, with an average of 52 yeas and 19 nays, while the Congress then in session had passed the measure by a vote of 253 to 126 in the House, and 50 to 7 in the Senate. The President's demand that the question be settled by including the proposal in party platforms, and voting upon it, seems to imply that a party platform is a more reliable indication of the wishes of the people than the repeated votes of their Representatives in Congress. this basis, the President might have found support for his signature, since William McKinley was elected President in 1896 on platform which specifically declared for a reading test. The failure of the measure to become law has been due solely to presidential vetoes, those of President Cleveland and President Taft haveing set the precendent for President Wilson,

"There is no doubt that there is, and long has been, a very insistent demand on the part of a large proportion of the American people—just how large, no one can say—for this particular addition to our system of immigration control. There is every indication that this demand is growing, and will continue to grow until it achieves its end. It is the purpose of this article to examine the arguments for and against the test in question, and to show the validity of the demand for its

enactment into law.

"In order to understand American immigration legislation, actual and proposed, and the literacy test in particular, it is helpful to distinguish three main principles which might serve as guides to action. These are the principles of exclusion at one extreme, free immigration at the other extreme, and regu-

lation as a mean.

"The exclusionist view is that it would be best to deny admission to any and all immigrants without exception, and that we have a perfect right to do so. Perhaps the most eminent exponent of this view was Thomas Jefferson, who expressed the wish that there were an ocean of fire between this country and Europe, so that it might be impossible for any more immigrants to come here.

"The free-immigration theory is that it is desirable to admit any alien whatsoever, without reference to his antecedents, character, or purposes. This view was thus expressed in a

magazine in the middle of the nineteenth century:

"What, though the population which is annually cast upon American shores is all of the filthlest and most degraded kind! " " " Let us welcome the bouseless and naked of every land. " " Let us invite the ill-fed and the starving of every grade. " " Let us urge the oppressed and downtrodden of every name to the blessings of American freedom.

"Between these two extremes there lies the middle ground of regulation. Here the assumption is that immigration is desirable, or at least permissible, but that the best results demand that it shall be subjected to some form of control. As to the method of control, however, there are again two distinct principles, which also need to be carefully distinguished. These are selection and restriction. The general public frequently fails to discriminate between these two, and much confusion results.

"The principle of selection assumes that the only danger lies in the admission of aliens of poor quality—commonly known as "undesirables." There is no menace, according to this view, in

mere numbers, no matter how great. This point of view was concisely stated by President Roosevelt in one of his messages:

"We can not have too much immigration of the right kind, and we should have none at all of the wrong kind.

"The restrictionist, on the other hand, may or may not believe in selection. He generally does. But he differs from the selectionist in refusing to admit that there is no danger in numbers. He is ready to grant that a moderate immigration is innocuous, if not absolutely advantageous. But he maintains that the volume can swell too much, and the interests of the country suffer, however high the quality of the individuais. His distinctive objection to unregulated immigration is quantitative. The following quotation from Dr. Gustav Le Bon is a moderate statement of this view:

"A preponderating influence of foreigners is a sure solvent of the existence of States. It takes away from a people its most precious possession—its soul.

"Selective tests must of necessity have a slightly restrictive effect for the time being. But the ultimate effect may be to increase the numbers, by keeping the quality high, and thereby avoiding the discouragement which would arise if self-respecting aliens were forced to associate with and compete with and be classed with the dregs of foreign races.

"Historically the exclusionist principle has played no practical part, and there has been little demand for its extreme application. A dominating principle for nearly the whole of the first century of our national life was the principle of free immigration, as was natural in a sparsely settled and undeveloped country. Nevertheless, this policy was not maintained without

much protest.

"Under a laissez faire administration the character of some of the immigrants was so desperate as to arouse the consternation even of the easy-going Americans, and the years from 1830 to 1880 were marked by repeated attempts to secure some regulative measures which should raise the average of quality. Nothing of the sort, however, was adopted by the Federal Government. The individual States made ineffectual efforts to ameliorate the situation, mostly in the way of imposing a head tax or requiring a bond from those whose ability to support themselves was doubtful. But the motive of these measures was neither selection nor restriction, but indemnification against the support of indigent foreigners. The only important measures passed by the Federal Government during this period were designed to improve the means of immigration, not to control immigration itself.

"It was not until 1882 that the Federal Government undertook definitely to regulate the matter. (The law of 1875 excluding immigrant women imported for purposes of prostitution, and criminals convicted of nonpolitical offenses, was passed with the Chinese in mind and, like the entire Chinese-exclusion legislation, belongs in a special category.) The principle adopted was frankly that of selection. This was natural, as the agitation which had led up to it had rested almost entirely on the dangers and injuries from immigrants of an inferior type—particularly paupers, criminals, and diseased persons. Accordingly, this new legislation excluded certain classes. Also a small head tax was imposed, and that, of course, has incidentally a

slightly restrictive influence.

"The complicated body of immigration legislation which has grown up from this beginning has added more and more 'undesirables' to the excluded classes, more and more complicated expedients have been introduced for debarring and deporting them, and the machinery of administration has been steadily improved. Yet one might search in vain through all the laws on the subject to find a single statute which was avowedly and directly restrictive. It was not until very recent years that any avowedly restrictive measure has even been proposed and supported strongly enough to gain public prominence. The single important instance of this sort of measure is furnished by the scheme, worked out independently by Senator Dillingham and Prof. Sydney L. Gulick, of Japan, to limit the immigration of people of any race on a percentage basis, according to the number of that race already in this country. Senator Dillingham would base his percentage simply on those resident, Prof. Gulick on the number naturalized. But in either case the proposal is for a straightforward and positive restriction.

"The literacy test is evidently regulative and selective. It distinguishes a new type of undesirable. It adds an educational test to the various physical, mental, and moral tests which already exist. Its restrictive effects would be very considerable. Just how much nobody has been able to tell positively. The percentage of illiteracy of all immigrants 14 years of age or over for the years 1899 to 1900 averaged 26.7. But since any law, to have a chance of passing, must allow certain exemptions, the total number excluded would not equal the total number of

illiterates applying. On the other hand, the figures of illiteracy furnished by the Immigration Bureau are based merely on the statements of the immigrants themselves, and since the immigrant often believes that he is more likely to be admitted if he is literate than if not, there may be considerable overstatement of literacy. It seems likely that the test would exclude in the neighborhood of 25 per cent.

The semblance of introducing a new principle into our immigration legislation gives the literacy test a special value in the eyes of its friends and offers a point of attack to its enemies. Whether its restrictive features constitute an argument for or against it evidently depends on one's point of view. selectionist they tend to condemn it. This was evidently the attitude of President Wilson when he wrote in his veto message:

"The object of such provisions is restriction, not selection.

"If one has restrictionist leanings, on the other hand, this aspect simply adds to the desirability of the test as a selective measure. It is probably true that a considerable portion of the agitation for the test comes from-those who are inspired partly

by a desire to secure restriction.

"This is not the place to discuss the arguments for and against restriction. Volumes have been written on the subject and public opinion is not yet unanimous. The matter can be clearly understood only after an exhaustive examination into the various economic, political, and social bearings of the case, such as the average busy citizen can not possibly undertake. It is true that almost all of those who have taken up the question in a thorough and scientific manner have become convinced of the need of restriction. The most remarkable example of this is furnished by the Immigration Commission. As Prof. Jenks, a member of the commission, said in a public lecture:

"The commission in its report recommended with absolute unanimity the adoption of a policy of restriction, although one member differed from his colleagues as regards the method of restriction that it was most expedient to employ. It is well known that at the beginning of their investigation several members of the commission were strongly inclined not to restrict immigration further, but the results of the investigation had completely changed their views, so that all nine members—three Senators, three Members of the House of Representatives, and the three civilians—appointed by the President, Republicans and Democrats alike, agreed in their recommendation. Moreover, so far as can be ascertained, all of the field agents of the commission, perhaps a hundred, even before the final statistical results of the investigation had been fully calculated and the results made manifest—simply through their personal observations—had become convinced that a restrictive policy was needed.

"In spite of this proprimity of animics on the post of the investigation is a second of the investigation of the investigation of the control of the investigation and been fully calculated and the results made manifest—simply through their personal observations—had become convinced that a restrictive policy was needed.

"In spite of this proprimity of animics on the post of the investigation in the proprimity of animics on the proprimity of animics."

"In spite of this unanimity of opinion on the part of scientific students, the restrictionist arguments have not had much weight in shaping legislation. Lawmaking bodies are conservative; legislation tends to move in well-worn channels, and the mass of voters are strongly influenced by tradition. It is much more difficult to get passed a law which involves some new principle than one which is merely an extension of an old principle or at least looks like an old law. The principle of selection is so thoroughly established in our immigration statutes, and the people have become so thoroughly habituated to it, that there is a much better chance of securing restriction, if that is desired, through a measure which can be supported on selective grounds than by one which is solely restrictive. The likelihood of the passage of a literacy test may very possibly be enhanced by the extension of the recognition of the need for restriction, but the effective arguments for it must bear largely on its selective char-

"What, then, are these arguments?

"The positive arguments for a literacy test as a selective measure dwell on the proposition that an immigrant who can read furnishes better material, all things considered, for the building up of the American people than one who can not.

"This point is customarily argued on the grounds of individual fitness, and there is, indeed, much to recommend the literacy test from this point of view. Much effort has been expended, particularly by Mr. Prescott F. Hall, to show that the immigrant who lacks such a rudimentary education is both hampered in the struggle for success and likely to injure rather than aid the country.

"Economically, it is pointed out that illiterate immigrants furnish an unintelligent, or at least mentally untrained, labor Their intellectual processes are primitive; they can not read printed instructions; they are not able to understand our complicated modern industry. Particularly, it is shown that they are especially liable to injury in factories, mines, and foundries because of inability to read the warning placards They do not possess that mental alertness and posted about. adaptiveness which, in the minds of many, has enabled the old type of American laborer to contribute so much to the economic upbuilding of his country.

To these arguments the opponents of the literacy test reply that mental training is a very minor requirement in the work

for which the immigrant is desired. We need immigrants to furnish the unskilled-labor supply, to do the menial, dirty, laborious work, which, it is alleged, the native American will no longer undertake. In these occupations education is not needed; even natural intelligence may be of a very low order. What is called for is brawn, not brains. Too much thinking capacity and habit is a drawback, not an advantage. It is pointed out that many of those aliens who have the hardest time in this country are the ones who have had some education in the old country-the clerks, cheap musicians, bookkeepers, etc., who are either unable or unwilling to do low-grade manual labor, and who find their European education of no advantage in competition with American trained workers.

"It is seldom that this point is so frankly stated as it was in the following letter to the New York Times, printed January

23, 1915:

"I read with much interest your editorial on 'Immigrant bone and brawn'; and while I do not claim to be an authority on this matter, yet I have a fairly good knowledge of the labor situation, being an employer of not an indifferent number of common laborers every year.

"Now, without any exception, I have found that illiterate laborers make far better diggers than immigrants of higher standard, because, first, in their native land they have done nothing else, therefore are well accustomed to hard work, and, second, the laborer's mind, not being trained in other channels, lacks the nerve to branch off in other fields, and remains what it is trained to be, a common laborer, a common digger, if you wish, but the most vital part and the most perfect of the whole machine which makes the country what it should be.

"The heavens of the United States are bright enough without the need of foreign stars, but the land of this glorious Republic does need the bone and brawn of the foreigner, whether or not he can read or write.

"It may be granted that from the strictly economic point of

"It may be granted that from the strictly economic point of view the opponents of the literacy test can present the weightier arguments. If the goal of our public policy is to secure the greatest and most rapid production of wealth, regardless of the conditions which attend it and of the steadiness and continuous ness of the accumulation, then the cheaper, the more docile, and the more abundant the supply of common labor is, the more rapidly will the immediate process go on. A group of Slavic workers—who will accept any standard of living; who will be mute, if not content, in the face of intolerable working conditions; who will submit to the exhaustion of their native forces in the rounds of industry; who, in fine, do not let their minds 'branch off in other fields'; and who, when their period of with broken bodies and dulled minds, leaving their places to be filled by others like them-such a group of laborers will no doubt leave a greater mass of accumulated capital in the hands of the master producers than those whose minds are trained to think. To this argument there is no effective answer.

"But the adherents of the literacy test maintain that there are other considerations—social, in the wide sense and reaching far ahead-which outweigh the immediate economic interests. These have to do with the building up of the American people and their enduring prosperity rather than their immediate wealth.

"Prof. Commons has said, 'The true foundations of democracy are in the character of the people themselves, that is, of the individuals who constitute the democracy. These are, first, intelligence-the power to weigh evidence and draw sound conclusions, based on adequate information; second, manliness, that which the Romans called virility, and which at bottom is dig-nified self-respect, self-control, and that self-assertion and jealousy of encroachment which marks those who, knowing their rights, dare maintain them; third, and equally important, the capacity for cooperation, that willingness and ability to organize, to trust their leaders, to work together for a common interest and toward a common destiny, a capacity which we variously designate as patriotism, public spirit, or self-govern-

"It is believed by those who advocate the literacy test, that the man who can read is more likely to possess these qualities in some measure than one who can not, and is also better

equipped to acquire them to a fuller extent.

"From the political point of view the illiterate immigrant is handicapped in his efforts to become worthy of his adopted He is unable to keep posted on national affairs by even the journals published in his own language. He is forced to have constant recourse to the interpreter, the padrone, and the 'banker.' He becomes the easy prey of the ward boss, and furnishes plastic material for naturalization and election frauds. He readily yields to the machinations of unscrupulous labor leaders and anarchistic agitators. He is compelled to rely on others for all his knowledge of world events.

"The effort has been made to prove that the illiterate aliens contribute more than their due proportion to the volume of pauperism and crime. Accuracy and convincingness in investigations of this sort are rendered difficult, if not impossible, by the careless record keeping of most of our penal and relief agencies. Yet there is much general evidence in favor of this view, of which a typical example is the statement made by Mr. Frederick A. Pope, prosecuting attorney of Somerset County, N. J., to the effect that out of a group of 54 crimes, committed by foreigners that involved violence 46 were committed by illitcrates. Of course, only an overwhelming mass of testimony of this sort would constitute a positive demonstration.

To these arguments the opponents of the literacy test reply that this test will not keep out criminals and other individuals with antisocial motives. While the percentage of illiterate criminals is high among those guilty of minor crimes, yet the most dangerous criminals are those with a high grade of intelligence and education, which this test would not touch. To this the other side responds that the literacy test is not supported as a cure-all. We already have laws providing for the exclusion of all criminals and paupers who can be detected; and as for the others, the literacy test would keep out some of them, and that would be so much clear gain.

"Thus on purely individualistic grounds there is much to be said in favor of the literate immigrant as material for American citizenship. But the selective advantages of the literacy test become much clearer if the matter is considered, not from the point of view of individuals, but of groups. The argument

briefly is this:

"The final aim of our immigration policy, and the sine qua non of a good immigration situation, is assimilation. If this is not accomplished with speed, certainty, and completeness, the solidarity of progress, if not the very life, of the Nation are threatened. Even the broadest 'free immigrationist' will hardly deny this. The differences of opinion of candid students come from disagrement as to whether assimilation is actually accomplished, rather than from uncertainty as to the need of it. One of the chief reasons why restriction is favored by so many is that excessive numbers are a bar to assimilation.

"Now, evidently the groups of immigrants which are most easily assimilated, and which therefore can most readily be received into this country are those whose habits of thought, attitude toward life, conception of their relation to government, 'ideas and ideals,' to use Prof. Ellwood's expressive phrase; or 'mores,' in Prof. Sumner's still more significant term, are most similar to those of the United States. Assimilation is an intellectual process, accomplished with the greatest difficulty in the lifetime of any adult immigrant, and quite impossible in the case of an immigrant whose early environment and social traditions have been widely diverse from our own. The United States may be characterized as an industrial democracy, and the groups of immigrants who can be most readily assimilated into our life are those who come from countries whose economy is of the modern industrial type, and whose government is fundamentally democratic, by whatever name it may be called. Now, nations of this sort have long ago established and maintained efficient compulsory education systems, and their people have a very small percentage of illiteracy. The monarchical, semifeudalistic, economically backward nations, on the other hand, and those which have only recently emerged from that state, have public education systems inadequate either in plan or administration, and their people show a high percentage of illiteracy. Thus, considered groupwise, illiteracy appears less as a quality than as a symptom or indication of other qualities, and these some of the most deep-seated and tenacious from the point of view of group character. Considered in this way the literacy test reveals itself as a selective measure of the very highest importance.

There are many other advantages, incidental or of lesser importance, connected with the literacy test. First, from the point of view of administration, it meets all desirable require-It is positive, rapid, and can not be evaded. It is foreknowable; that is, the would-be immigrant can determine for himself, before he leaves his native village, whether he can meet this test. It is impartial and leaves as little as possible to the

judgment of the inspector.
"Second, it would exercise a highly stimulative influence on the public education in European countries. When, in the administration of President Taft, it appeared likely that a literacy test would be passed, schools sprang up on many a hillside in southern Italy where none had been before. When President Taft vetoed the bill the schools were deserted and were closed.

"Third, the test is a barrier which can be overcome by any intelligent and ambitious person. Any European who really wants to come to the United States need only take the pains to secure the most rudimentary education. This may be difficult for some, conceivably impossible for a few, but it could not involve any great general hardship. If the demand for simple educational facilities were strong enough, it would be supplied.

"This suggests a further consideration, which is really too vital to be included among incidental things. This is that the literacy test would put a certain premium on American residence. The very fact that it imposed a barrier which could be overcome by effort would have a most beneficial effect upon those who did overcome it. It is almost a truism that anything which is cheaply acquired is lightly valued. Participation in the 'glories of America' is now cheaply acquired.

"In early days there were natural obstacles of one sort and another, which automatically selected for emigration the hardy, ambitious, and the courageous. Very few obstacles of that sort All the great channels of emigration are now carenow exist. fully smoothed and oiled, and to emigrate is almost as easy as to stagnate. A test which could be overcome, but only by some personal effort, would be a highly desirable thing. extent to which it actually was overcome, it would, of course, neutralize the restrictive effects of the literacy test, leaving only its selective features. Experience alone could prove how far this would go.

"Turning now to the positive arguments against the literacy test, they are found to be almost all highly abstract, not to say metaphysical. They have to do with 'natural rights' and 'liberties,' with American traditions and duties, with the inherent obligation of the favored to share their blessings with the less fortunate. They all boil down to three simple propositions: The literacy test invades 'natural rights'; it is narrow and

illiberal; it is un-American.

"The proposition that it violates 'natural rights' and 'liberties' is manifestly not an argument, but an assertion, capable neither of proof nor refutation. The whole question of natural rights lies outside the field of logic and is not a matter for argurights lies outside the field of logic and is not a matter for argument. If one sees fit, as one writer on the subject has done, to include among the great natural rights of man 'the right to choose a home,' no amount of reasoning will dislodge him from that position. The best that can be done is to point to another great 'right' which may be absolutely opposed to this, viz, the right of every nation to protect its interests as against the interests of any individual.

"The charge that the literacy test is narrow and illiberal rests on the assumption that those who urge it are animated by selfish or exclusive motives, that they desire to monopolize the advantages which they are fortunate enough to possess rather than to share them with others. This charge may be true of some. But there are others who advocate the test not because of narrowness of vision but because they take a view of humanity which extends far beyond the confines of nation, group, or race.

"There is no question that the United States as a nation is highly favored by nature. All the conjunctures of climate, soil, and natural resources combine with the high character of the original population to afford every advantage in the struggle for existence to those who are fortunate enough to call America their home. But it does not follow that a broad humanitarian policy demands the indiscriminate sharing of these advantages with anyone who wishes to come. These very advantages have set apart the United States to be the leader of the world in its struggle for the achievement of the higher democracy. Here, if anywhere, the stage is most favorably set for the great drama of the destiny of the common people. If democracy fails in America, where shall we look for it to succeed? The broadminded adherent of the literacy test holds that the immigration movement, as it has manifested itself in recent years, constitutes a menace to democracy in the United States, and that our highest duty to humanity will not permit us to tolerate anything which threatens to check or hamper the progress of the common people in this country. The fact that measures like the literacy test run counter to the interests of some individuals of our own generation does not alter the case in his mind. It is simply a matter of conservation. Every conservation policy is carried out by restriction and works hardship to individuals. The policy of forest preservation is an example. call the scientific forester narrow. Laws for the protection of woman and child laborers involve restriction and injure the interests of individuals. But we do not accuse the social legislator of illiberality. Neither ought this reproach to be applied to the advocate of the literacy test, or even of more distinctly restrictive measures, who believes that such steps are necessary for the preservation of the high ideals of the United States or of the standard of living of its common citizens.

"In fact, if self-seeking is a mark of narrowness and illib-

much of it emanates from those who fancy they see in it a menace to their own private interests, economic and other.

"The assertion that the literacy test is un-American is one which has been urged against many measures of social progress, and which can be employed against any proposition which involves departing from traditional methods or policies-in other words, which recognizes that the world moves and conditions When policemen were first introduced into the cities of the United States, the innovation was bitterly opposed on the ground that it was un-American and interfered with the natural rights of the individual. The 'penalty clause' by which the cooperative farmers' elevators of the Middle West maintain themselves has been attacked as un-American by those whom it affects unfavorably. The anti-immigration agitation of the forties and fifties, which called forth such rhetorical outburst of protests as that quoted in an earlier paragraph, was due to the desire to exclude paupers, criminals, and diseased persons—and this desire was dubbed un-American.

"It would seem hardly necessary to consider arguments of this type, were they not propounded with so much frequency and earnestness and accepted with so much sobriety. Especially it seems extraordinary that a measure which asks that the foreigner should have the same training for citizenship or residence that we require of our own children should be called un-American. When we spend over half a billion dollars annually on our public schools, and then compel children born in this country to take advantage of them, is it illogical-not to say un-American-to say to the adult foreigner that he should have so much of an education as is indicated by the ability to

"But it is asserted that an educational test would be un-American, because it would exclude aliens on the basis of opportunity, not of character. Hilteracy, it is maintained, is not a test of ability but of early opportunity. But a test based on opportunity is not un-American. For our immigration law already contains a number of tests which rest, in part at least, on opportunity. Such are the tests excluding paupers, those likely to become pub-lic charges, persons with contagious diseases, etc. In fact, when the individual immigrant appears before the inspector little can be gained by trying to separate those of his characteristics which are due to native ability from those which are traceable to environment. The man must be judged as he is on the grounds of his fitness.

"In pursuance of the 'un-American' argument, however, it is further pointed out that illiteracy can not reasonably be considered a test of fitness for American life, because this Nation was founded by illiterates, and that it has nevertheless done pretty well. The trouble with this argument is that it is not true, and that if it were, it proves too much. It might be said with equal cogency that this Nation was founded by men who made their living by slave labor in the South and the slave and rum trade in the North, and that therefore these good old institutions should have been preserved. All such arguments ignore the fact that the world has progressed during the past three centuries, and that illiteracy stands for very different things now from what it did in the days of the Pilgrim Fathers or of the Revolutionary heroes.

"Another argument which proves too much is that produced so triumphantly and with so great effect in some such words as these: 'This measure would keep out a great many people who would be very useful citizens. If it had been in force in earlier years, it would have kept out the mother of Abraham Lincoln, who signed her name with a cross.' Certainly the literacy test would keep out some who would be useful. So do many, if not most, of the tests now in force. The futility of such arguments may be illustrated by another reductio ad absurdum. Booker T. Washington was one of the most useful citizens of the United States. His ancestors on one side were brought over as negro slaves. Therefore it was a mistake to abolish the

slave trade.

"Such are the arguments of the opponents of the literacy test. Aside from these, their efforts are devoted to countering the claims of the opposite side, which, as has been shown, can be done successfully only with respect to the strictly and tem-porarily economic aspects—the building up of quick fortunes by questionable and probably dangerous means. There are those who do not regard this as an argument against the literacy test,

"The matter can be rightly understood only by taking the broadest possible view of the relations, not of this generation alone but of the generations to come. The natural destiny of the United States is to be the leader of the nations into the fullest development of the common people. Our duty is to set standards, not to distribute the natural advantages we possess.

We can not render our highest service to mankind by hastily and inconsiderately yielding to the demands of a specious humanitarianism and dissipating to-day what should be the heritage of future generations."

Militarism.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH, OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 23, 1916.

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker-

Four score and seven years ago-

Said Abraham Lincoln on the historic field of Gettysburgour fathers brought forth on this continent a new Nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created

Hitherto militarism in varying degrees had ruled the world and the power and influence of the nations had been reckoned by the number and strength of their standing armies. From feudal lords to Kaiser and King the course of empire had been marked by blood and iron. The army was a distinct class and often overthrew the Government and humiliated the civic classes of the people. In early times the rank and file were quartered in private homes. It was the dominant force, a permanent military establishment, and ordinary citizenship seldom rose above the rank of serfdom. King and army were the government.

But it was different with the new Nation, thus brought forth on the American Continent. Its basic principle rested with the people. Its power and strength in peace was to depend upon the justice and fair dealing of its citizenship and those who might be temporarily selected to exercise the functions of government. In war its reliance was to be upon a volunteer army, called temporarily from the walks of civil life, and to be disbanded and again become an integral part of the citizenship on the passing of the exigencies of war.

A big standing army in peace, eating up the substance of industry, was not to be thought of. It was a reproach in the eyes

of the men of 1776.

Thus was liberty and republican government established in the New World. The new Nation, thus constituted, flourished and waxed strong. And at Yorktown, where the world's militarism received its first great shock in the surrender of British regulars and hired Hessians to the volunteer forces under Washington, its form of government and citizens soldiery were vindicated.

Again and again, in the War of 1812, and in the Mexican War, this basic principle of free government was attacked and re-

peatedly vindicated.

But the supreme test did not come until civil war shook to its foundation this new form of government, and caused President Lincoln, in this same speech at Gettysburg, to exclaim in

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure.

It stood the test. "A new birth of freedom" came to the Nation at Appomattox. The lessons of that hour and the example of Grant and Lee, great leaders of volunteer armies, in at once disbanding their forces and retiring with them to the peaceful pursuits of civil life ought for all time to be a warning against militarism in every form.

For a half century it seemed as if such warning would be world-wide and effective. The leaven of American liberty gradually worked itself upward and outward around the world. Absolute governments became constitutional, and in some notable instances, like that of France, purely democratic in form. The Russian Duma and the Republic of China may be extreme and to some extent doubtful experiments, but they show the clear tendency of modern thought away from the militarism of

But in an evil hour, seizing upon the unhappy war conditions in Europe, a new propaganda of militarism, under the specious name of "preparedness," has made its appearance in the land of Washington and Lincoln, of Grant and Lee. shall not stop to discuss the cause. Be it hysteria or sense, it is here in such force as to dominate the executive and legislative branches of the Government; and, very naturally, the

favored few who have been retained in the military service, or at least on the pay roll, during the years of peace, assume to possess all wisdom and knowledge on this subject. The ideas and example of Grant and Lee are forgotten in the words and seerlike suggestions of Maj. Gen. Jingo and Brig. Gen. Butterfly, who see conflagrations and "spark flying" everywhere.

But details are unimportant. As Members of Congress, in the consideration of the pending bill (H. R. 12766—Hay bill) we are up against a condition. The splendid response of Con-

gress and the country to the recommendations of the President, now that actual war exists in Mexico, and the fact that Congress has already, by a practically unanimous vote, provided for a further enlistment of 20,000 volunteer citizen soldiers, and indicated its willingness by like unanimity to back the Executive to the limit with additional volunteers, now that American lives are in actual peril and "Old Glory" has been wantonly insulted, does not seem to abate or modify the zeal of these propagandists of militarism.

Their grip upon Congress and public sentiment seems to

Leaders on both sides in Congress, in this wild movement to revolutionize our form of government, change and alter the basic principles of the new Nation brought forth by the fathers in 1776, have grown excited, dictatorial, and arrogant, and even the President, on the theory of preparing for unknown possibilities, is understood to have demanded that all the business of the country in Congress be suspended until a huge Army and Navy of royal and monarchical size can be provided for as a permanent, voracious, tax-eating substitute for the volunteer citizen soldiery of the Republic, who have heretofore successfully defended our country when assailed by both foreign and domestic foes.

We are asked to abandon the beacon lights of experience. We

are asked to return to the iron age.

Nine-tenths of the present American Congress, in my judgment, are ready to stand by the President and follow any socalled preparedness plans he and his advisers may submit, even though some of them may doubt his disinterested motives. They are not disposed to be critical or stop to inquire the cause of undesirable facts. Congress is moving rapidly, and, although much time is wasted in volunteer speech making intended for use only in the districts, the time has come for every Member to take his position and do his duty as he sees it. If he acts conscientiously, without personal or political considerations, looking only to the practical welfare of his country, he may, even if mistaken, calmly face the future conscious of his own integrity and without fear of those at home who may be hoping to see him submerged politically by a U-boat or mine set for the unwary.

Under such conditions what is the duty of a patriotic citizenship, what the duty of their representatives in Congress

Answering for myself, with due deference to those who are older than I am in service in Congress and those at home who may not agree with me in sentiment, I believe it to be my duty to so vote and act as to get the best results possible for my country out of existing conditions, and keep the old ship of state, now rocked in angry seas, as far as possible away from the dangerous reefs and swift-moving currents of the present and as near as possible to the safe headlands and courses charted by the fathers.

No Member can afford to be a passive nonentity or play the rôle of an egotistical, self-opinionated, useless obstructionist.

Accordingly, I shall vote against any and all amendments to the pending bill calculated to increase its tendency toward militarism and in favor of every one calculated to modify or minimize such tendency. Some amendments, like the Kahn proposition to more than double the present authorized strength proposition to more than double the present authorized strength of our standing Army, have already been voted down by substantial majorities, thus giving hopeful promise of the future. The bill itself, as unanimously—in form, at least—recommended by the committee, is not a radical measure. It increases the peace footing of the Army by only about 40,000 above the number at present allowed by law, and this increase is to be gradual. Other details, already fully discussed, might be referred to by me, but it would only be a waste of time. Suffice it to say that the bill as now amended and ready to be voted upon is, in my judgment in the best possible form that antimilitarists can hope judgment, in the best possible form that antimilitarists can hope to have it. My fear is that, although on the floor of the House it has been repeatedly called the "President's bill" by Chairman Hay, when it goes to the Senate the extreme militarists, self-styled preparedists, may be able to induce the Executive to look upon it from a different angle and demand that radical, almost revolutionary, changes be made. No one can anticipate what a day may bring forth at the White House. I do not wish to criticize. The President has a fearful responsibility resting

upon him. In a sense he is and is to be the Government until March 4, 1917, and my conception of patriotic duty is, in for-eign controversies, in all matters not of conscience, to stand by

our country, right or wrong.

In this spirit I vote "aye" on the Hay bill. I do not, however, share in the present war scare, if ordinary diplomatic common sense be exercised. It is inconceivable to me to think of any or all of the war-wrecked nations of Europe attacking this country. It would be superlative folly. The recent words of a lone German statesman in the Reichstag may be nearer the truth than his fellow members were willing to admit:

There will be neither victory nor vanquished in this war. We can not bring our encodes to their knees any more than they can Germany, Europe is steering in the direction of utter impoverishment and bankruptcy. What sense is there in a continuation of the war?

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAMUEL J. NICHOLLS,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, March 27, 1916.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word, in order to secure a few minutes in which to express my approval of this needed immigration legislation, recommended by a congressional immigration commission, after a four years' searching investigation at home and abroad that cost the taxpayers of this country nearly a million dollars, that has been urged by the various farmers' organiza-tions, the railroad brotherhoods, trade unions, the various patriotic societies, and is unquestionably demanded by a great ma-iority of the voters and people of the country. The time for jority of the voters and people of the country. The time for general debate being limited, and the older Members of the House, and particularly the members of the Committee on Immigration being justly entitled to preference, and having requested all the general debate time, I am taking advantage of the rule allowing every member the privilege of offering an amendment, and thus securing five minutes in which to debate the proposition.

It is my opinion, as I have just stated, that the vast majority of the people of this country desire and demand the enactment of this measure into law now. It is in connection with that opinion that I take issue with the gentleman from New York [Mr. Bennet] in his statement of last Friday to the effect that in so far as the people spoke at the polls in 1912 they spoke against restriction. According to the Congressional Record,

he said:

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Illineis [Mr. Foster], my colleague on the Committee on Rules, said that merely a small minority of this country is opposed to this proposition. He is a Democrat; I am a Republican. His party in national convention did not put a single line in their 1912 platform about the restriction of immigration. Mine advocated the restriction of immigration. His party ran first; mine ran third. So far as there has been any evidence on the question recently, that indicates what the people of the United States want.

The gentleman is correct in saying that the Republican Party had a restriction plank in 1912, and that the Democratic Party did not. It is also true that for 20 years, a full genera-tion, both the Republican and the Democratic Parties have had tion, both the Republican and the Democratic Parties have had restriction planks in their platforms, but neither of them have had an antirestriction plank. Back in 1896 the Republican Party declared specifically for the reading and writing test, and the Democratic Party went them one better by declaring, "We hold that the most efficient way of protecting American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with it in the home market." Likewise the platforms of 1900 and 1904 both demanded more stringent importation laws and these platform declarations compared after migration laws, and these platform declarations, campaign after campaign, whose fulfillment was delayed by investigations and the like, must be held a part of the party's faith until publicly repudiated in national convention assembled.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. Bennet] intimated that in so far as the immigration issue affected the last presidential election it caused the candidate running on a restriction platform to come in a bad third. It is true that his party's candidate, President Taft, failed to secure more than 8 out of over 500 votes in the Electoral College and carried only Utah and Vermont. But the gentleman failed to state that President Taft repeatedly during the campaign, both in public and private, in personal conferences with heads of organizations and associations, asserted his opposition to this measure and through his secretary and the chairman of the Republican national cam-paign committee completely repudiated the restriction plank in his party platform, just as the gentleman from New York has repudiated it, and refused to run or stand on it.

I have here a clipping from the New York Sun of January 12, 1912. I understand that in the gentleman's city there is an adage to the effect that "if you see it in the Sun it is so."

The news item reads as follows:

WASHINGTON, January 11.

The members of the board of directors of the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers called on President Taft to-day to protest against any further change in the immigration laws. They were introduced to Mr. Taft by Louis N. Hammerling, of New York, president of the association. The members of the board expressed to the President the hope that he will be renominated and reelected, and they pledged him the support of their respective newspapers. The delegates also called on Secretary of Commerce and Labor Nagel.

To be sure, the clipping does not state that President Taft assured the editors of foreign-language newspapers that he would veto the Burnett-Dillingham bill at that White House conference, but I am confident they were so assured, for they came away with a smile on their faces, and 120 of them during the campaign came out in a signed statement denouncing Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt and espousing the reelection of President Taft. I have a news item, clipped from the New York Times, which appeared in many other big dailies July 29, 1912, and which reads as follows:

July 29, 1912, and which reads as follows:

The editors and publishers of the foreign-language newspapers in the United States have issued an address to their readers advocating the reelection of President Taft and condemaing Gov. Wilson for his so-called attacks upon foreign-born Americans. The document is signed by 120 different newspaper publishers, representing 120 different newspaper publishers in foreign languages, saying: "President Taft has shown himself to be a friend of the lumigrant, while Woodrow Wilson has publicly condemned all immigrants except the Chinese. President Taft has not only discouraged the enactment of laws for the unreasonable and unfair restriction of immigration, but on more than one occasion has conferred with representatives of the foreign-language press and with various committees. Our representatives have been welcomed at the White House, and their arguments against unreasonable and unjust restrictions upon the immigrant have always met with most favorable responses from the President. In strong contrast to President Taft's public acts and declarations is Woodrow Wilson's attitude toward our foreign-born population * * .

"Woodrow Wilson is the foe of the labover, as he is unfriendly to the immigrant. He has shown himself to possess no sympathy for the toiling masses."

The address concludes with an appeal for the support of the President.

And the newspapers contained one news item after another during the campaign of 1912, showing conclusively that the antirestrictionists supported President Taft and opposed both Wilson and Roosevelt. For instance, as late as October 18, 1912, the New York Herald contained a long account of a big delegation that went to see President Taft at Beverly, Mass., assuring him of their support, and from which I quote merely a sentence, as follows:

Seventy-five members of the Jewish organizations called on President Taft at Beverly and assured him of the support of their organizations—

On account of his stand on immigration and the abrogation of

While it is not apparent from the above that President Taft assured this delegation and the foreign-language newspaper editors that he would veto the Burnett-Dillingham bill, which had passed the House and was pending in the Senate at the time to be passed after election and sent to the White House, still there is no doubt but that he had declared himself to that specific effect, as appeared from an official statement issue by Chairman Hilles October 21, 1912, and the following extract from a letter printed in the Gazette, of Haverhill, Mass., June

To the EDITOR OF THE GAZETTE:

* • I have a copy of the Boston Polish Gazette of April 27, 1912, which contains an official advertisement of the Taft campaign committee and the most prominent feature of this advertisement is the statement that President Taft is against the Burnett bill • * •.

Furthermore, when in Chicago, March 10, 1912, President Taft personally teld Rt. Rev. Paul P. Rhodes, the Polish auxiliary bishop that he would never sign the bill • * •.

REV. A. SYSKI.

The official statement of Hon, Charles D. Hilles, as chairman of the Republican national committee and secretary to President Taft, was issued in New York City, October 21, 1912, almost a fortnight before election day, and was carried in the daily newspapers of this country October 22 from coast to coast and border to border, and I quote here a part of what appeared October 22 in the Ledger, of Tacoma, Wash.:

VITAL ISSUE IN CAMPAIGN. THE DILLINGHAM-BURNETT BILL, [By Charles D. Hilles, chairman Republican national committee.]

Burnett bill has been condemned by the German-American alliance and other associations. Its chief provisions are still indorsed by another element. Dr. Wilson is looked to, if elected, to bring these immigration restrictions into operation with the help of a Democratic Congress. Representative Henry, of Texas, an apologist for Dr. Wilson and for Bryan, has said Burnett would reintroduce the Dillingham bill in Congress. President Taft, if reelected, would positively prevent any such proposed legislation from becoming effective. He is not afraid to use the veto power, as he has shown in the instances of the Democratic popgun tariff bills. With Taft reestablished in the White House no straining for the limitation of immigration on any such lines as laid down in the Dillingham-Burnett bill and taight by Dr. Wilson will be tolerated. Reports from all parts of the United States show that President Taft will receive the active support of the army of foreign-born citizens.

It seems to me that there can be no doubt about the position of President Taft in the campaign of 1912 on the Burnett bill and his pledge to veto the illiteracy test. As far as I can find out he was the only one of the candidates that specifically and by name agreed in conferences and through authorized official statements to veto the Burnett illiteracy test bill, which he did

February 14, 1913, three months after election day.

President Woodrow Wilson, however, kept an open mind on the question. There is absolutely nothing in anything he wrote or said, so far as I have been able to find, until his veto message, indicating specifically and definitely that he was opposed to the Burnett bill or the reading test. And when he authorized the public hearing at the White House on the bill it was stated that the President's mind "was open" and that he desired to hear the opponents and proponents of the measure before mak-ing up his mind. I know some of his letters to individuals have been referred to as indicating that he might veto the bill, but not a one of those letters, so far as I can find, contain a specific, definite assertion by him that he was opposed to the reading test or that he had examined the Burnett bill and would veto it because of the test.

On the other hand, I have here what he said in his five-volume History of the American People, with which the rank and file of the country were more or less familiar and which, together with his speech in New York City September 4, 1912, on immigration, had semething to do, no doubt, with the opposition of all antirestrictionists, unharnessed by partisan loyalty. In his

history he said:

history he said:

The census of 1890 showed the population of the country increased to 62.622,250, an addition of 12.468,467 within the decade. Immigrants poured steadily in as before, but with an alteration of stock, which students of affairs marked with uneasiness. Throughout the century men of the sturdy stocks of the north of Europe had made up the main strain of foreign blood, which was every year added to the vital working force of the country, or else men of the Latin-Gaelic stocks of France and northern Italy; but now there came multifudes of men of the lowest class from the south of Italy and men of the meaner sort out of Hungary and Poland—men out of the ranks where there was neither skill nor energy nor any initiative of quick intelligence—and they came in numbers which increased from year to year, as if the countries of the south of Europe were disburdening themselves of the more sordid and hapless elements of their population, the men whose standards of life and of work were such as American workmen had never dreamed of hitherto. The people of the Pacific coast had clamored these many years against the admission of immigrants out of China, and in May, 1592 got at last what they wanted—a Federal statute which practically excluded from the United States all Chinese who had not already acquired the right of residence; and yet the Chinese were more to be desired, as workmen if not as citizens, than most of the coarse crew that came crowding in every year at the eastern ports. (History of the American People vol. 5, p. 212.)

In his one big speech on immigration during the campaign, de-

In his one big speech on immigration during the campaign, delivered in New York City September 4 and carried in all the dailies of September 5, 1912, I find the following:

dailies of September 5, 1912, I find the following:

It we can lit upon a standard which admits every voluntary immigrant and excludes those who have not come of their own motion, with their own purpose of making a home and a career here for themselves, but have been induced by steamship companies or others in order to pay the passage money, then we will have what we will all agree upon as Americans. I am speaking to you as also Americans with myself, and just as much American as myself, and if we all take the American point of view, namely, that we want American life kept to its standards, and that only the standards of American life shall be standards of restriction, then we are all upon a common ground, not of those who criticize immigration, but those who declare themselves Americans. I am not saying that I aw wise enough out of hand to frame the legislation that will meet this idea. I am only saying that it is the ideal, and that is what we ought to hold ourselves to. * * * Of course, if the immigrants are allowed to come in uninstructed hosts and to stop at the ports where they enter and there to compete in an oversupplied labor market, there is going to be unhappiness; there is going to be deterioration; there is going to be everything that will be detrimental to the immigrant.

The attitude of Col. Roosevelt on this question and in favor

The attitude of Col. Roosevelt on this question and in favor of this needed legislation is too well known to need much elaboration. As President he urged the illiteracy and other tests upon Congress in one message after another. In his message to Congress December 3, 1901, he wrote at length what I will quote in the RECORD, but have not time to read. He urged:

[By Charles D. Hilles, chairman Republican national committee.]

New York, October 2t.

The Democratic candidate has not been able to explain away his "know-nothing" ideas concerning immigrants. Fereign-horn voters the country of any laborers brought over by contract, or those who, coming freely, yet represent a standard of living so depressed that they can undersell our really have a vital issue in the campaign * * The Dillingham—

immigration laws are unsatisfactory. There should be a comprehensive law enacted with the object of working threefold improvement over our

law enacted with the object of working threefold improvement over our present system.

First. We should aim to exclude absolutely not only all persons who are known to be believers in anarchistic principles or members of anarchistic societies but also all persons who are of a low tendency or of unsavory reputation. This means that we should require a more thorough system of inspection abroad and a more rigid system of examination at our immigration ports, the former being especially necessary.

The second object of a proper immigration law ought to be to secure by a careful and not merely perfunctory educational test, some intelligent capacity to appreciate American institutions and act sanely as American citizens.

This would not keep out all anarchists, for many of them belong to the intelligent criminal classes. But it will do what is also in point; that is, tend to decrease the sum of ignorance, so potent in producing the curv, suspicion, malignant passion, and hatred of order, out of which anarchistic sentiment naturally springs.

Finally, all persons should be excluded who are below a certain standard of economic fitness to enter our industrial fields as competitors with American labor.

ard of economic fitness to enter our industrial fields as competitors with American labor.

There should be proper proof of personal capacity to earn an American living and enough money to insure a decent start under American conditions. This would stop the influx of cheap labor and the resulting competition which gives rise to so much of bitterness in American industrial life, and it would dry up the spring of the pestilential social conditions in our great cities, where anarchistic organizations have their greatest possibility of growth.

Both the educational and economic test in a wise immigration law should be designed to protect and elevate the great body politic and social. A very close supervision should be exercised over the steamship companies which mainly bring over the immigrant, and they should be held to a strict accountability for any infraction of the law.

I agree with the gentleman from New York [Mr. Bennet] in his statement that "in so far as there has been any evidence on the question recently," the fact that Taft ran third and Wilson first "indicates what the people want." That, however, is true merely of presidential candidates. Far more indicative of what the people think and want however in the feed that the people think and want, however, is the fact that each succeeding Congress, fresh from the people after this measure has been up in both branches and debated and passed by large votes, passes it by an ever-increasing majority. Like Banquo's ghost it will not down, and as sure as the sun rises and sets and rivers run, there is only one way to solve this popular question namely, make this needed legislation law.

The Late Representative Witherspoon.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

HON. PAT HARRISON.

OF MISSISSIPPI.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, March 5, 1916.

The House had under consideration the following resolutions (H.

The House had under consideration the following resolutions (H. Res. 157):

"Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. Samuel A. Witherspoon, late a Member of this House from the State of Mississippi,

"Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand adjourned.

"Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate. "Resolved, Thost the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, there are occasions in human experience when the heart so overflows with sadness that it is difficult to find or employ proper expression to convey our feelings or thoughts. I have listened with interest and pride to the splendid eulogies so eloquently delivered in this Chamber to-day. I rise now with embarrassment, cognizant of my inability to render an appropriate eulogium upon the life and character of our departed colleague and the friend to whom we

all were so devotedly attached.

When the news of his death flashed over the Nation I happened to be in the city of New Orleans, and it came to me so suddenly that I was inexpressibly shocked and could not believe it true. Sam Witherspoon dead! Taken from us just when opportunity for a larger usefulness than he had previously enjoyed opened with such assured promise before himthe opportunity which he had so industriously and painstakingly prepared himself for. His splendid talents were not long employed in the public service, and yet in so short a time as a representative of his people in this body he had impressed his character and ability not alone upon his colleagues here, but upon the people throughout the Nation.

His greatest reputation in this House was made in connection with his work on the Naval Affairs Committee. Like all subjects that engaged his attention, he recognized no bounds within which to confine his investigations; he knew no limit within which his labors might be restricted. I never knew any-

one who loved work more and obtained greater satisfaction and pleasure out of it than did our departed colleague. predominating qualities of the man were unsurpassed analytical powers, unyielding courage, and untiring industry. He never spoke on any question unless his heart was in it and until he had thoroughly prepared himself. And with his splendid intellect, sincerity of purpose, and thoroughness of preparation, he naturally forged himself to the front as one of the really great men in this House.

As a speaker his manner was pleasing, his voice was musical, and as a debater on the floor of this House or before courts or juries or on the hustings in his native State, by the force of his marshaled facts and through his matchless, persuasive eloquence, reenforced by the strength of his irresistible logic, he swayed his hearers, inspiring confidence in those who agreed

with him and silencing those who opposed him.

But his reputation in this House is not builded alone upon his speech relating to the Navy, for no greater ovation was ever tendered any Member on this floor than the one accorded him at the close of his speech championing the appropriation for the preservation of the torn and tattered flags of the Revolution. That speech was delivered at a most opportune time. Scintillating with pathos and patriotism, it aroused the membership of this House to the highest degree of enthusiasm and created a sentiment on this floor that found its fruition in the passage of the appropriation measure practically unanimously. I shall never forget the scene. He followed a gentleman from the South who opposed the appropriation, and with all the feeling that it is possible for a man to arouse in himself he played upon the hearts of his colleagues; and with burning words of eloquence he held them enthralled, and the whole House was lost in the seductive influence of his overpowering personality. As he pictured the old flag as only he could picture it, I saw old men and young men on both sides of that aisle lose themselves in the bewitching charm of his eloquence and sob the smothered sob of suppressed joy and shed tears of patriotic elation.

By his charming personality he made friends and held them. Few men in this House were more popular with his colleagues than was Mr. WITHERSPOON. His disposition was kindly, his manner most charming. He was independent in thought, expression, and action. He took counsel with his own conscience, and when he had once formed an opinion it was as immovable as the Rock of Gibralter. The only fault that it was possible to find with him, if that can be a fault, was that his convictions were so strong and he was so confident of the correctness of his position that in argument the combative instincts of his strong personality exerted themselves to such a degree that sometimes he manifested a touch of impatience and intolerance at the slightest opposition to his views. So strongly did he believe in his opinions he could not understand how any intellect less powerful than his could arrive at other conclusions. Yet, with this apparent defect of his splendid character, those of us who knew him recognized this only as an evidence of the sincerity of his thought and the strength of his position.

As he rose high in the estimation of his colleagues in this body, so did he rise high at the bar of his State. He was classed, and rightfully so, as one of the best lawyers in Mississippi. His practice was large and varied. He specialized in no branch of the law. It was my good fortune to have known Mr. Witherspoon a number of years before he came to Congress. I first met him in the court room in the trial of an important criminal case. I met him afterwards in other cases, and I have never seen a lawyer who was more at home in the court room and who took care of the interests of his clients with greater ability and more fidelity than he.

As a citizen his time and talents were ever used in the upbuiliding of his section and State and the uplift and betterment of society. He was modest to a fault and like the violet that grows in the lonely valley unseen by the haughty eye, shedding its perfume on the desert air, he lived a life of goodness and kindness, without bigotry and without ostentation.

Mr. Speaker, a nobler man never lived. Hospitable, gentle, and lovable, a gentleman in honor, in manners, and in innate refinement, he was everything that a man could be to be respected and loved. He revered the teachings and traditions of our fathers. He measured his actions by the organic law of this land, and the plain people of the Nation lost a consistent and ardent champion when he died. In his family relations he was a most devoted husband and loving father, whose constant delight was to do some act that would bring pleasure to his wife or his children. He loved children, and how eloquent have I seen him grow as he related to me some incident or some "tale unfold" about his little grandchild. His death was a distinct loss not only to his State but to the Nation, and while to-day we are bowed in sadness, we can console ourselves with the

thought that by his illustrious career, his incomparable honesty, and his stainless honor, he has left a heritage more enduring and more to be treasured than all the riches of the world.

It is not gold, but only man
Can make a people great and strong,
Men who for truth and honor's sake
Stand fast and suffer long.
Brave men who work while others sleep,
Who dare while others fly,
These build a nation's pillars deep
And lift them to the sky.

Such a man was SAM, WITHERSPOON, and of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK PARK. OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 27, 1916.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave granted Members to extend their remarks on the immigration bill now before the House, I shall give my reasons for supporting the bill.

The greater portion of the substance of this bill is, and has been for years, the written law of this country. We have the Chinese exclusion law; and, as far as our treaty with Japan allows, we have a Japanese exclusion law. We have had for years a law for the exclusion for the mentally unsound, the physically defective, the immoral classes, and those who are industrially vicious. There has also been in existence for years a law preventing the admission of anarchists and all those who are opposed to organized law and good government. The present bill is but a reintroduction of the bill of last session with but few changes, as, for instance, increasing the head tax and enlarging the penalties on owners of immigrant ships. The literacy test stands practically the same with the exception of increasing the number of words submitted to the immigrant as a test of his literacy, and the admission without the payment of head tax of members of camilles who are under 16 years of age. There is practically nothing in the bill that is new law except the literacy test. Then, practically, the whole question to be decided by each Member of this House is, Are you for or against the literacy test? At the first session when the bill was on its passage I voted for the bill and every amendment; but, owing to my past environment and experience I had some serious misgivings on the literacy test. I have always felt earnestly that the poor, by reason of lack of opportunity, should have an equal chance in this world with their more fortunate brothers. Equality of opportunity is the very keystone in the arch of democracy. When the bill passed both Houses and went to the President for his signature he vetoed it and called up to my mind very forcibly some of the same reasons that had been pulsating through my brain, and having great confidence in his learning and patriotism and good judgment, I voted to sustain the veto.

Since then many changes have been taking place in those countries across the Atlantic whence most of our immigrants War has devastated the lands of Europe, decimated the population, impoverished the people, and rendered conditions in those countries horrible to contemplate. After this great war shall have ended no one can tell to what extent and in what vast hordes those who are left will seek a home in this country. Many apprehend that they will deluge this country with immigrants; some contend there will be little immigration for years.

As a rule, after such great catastrophes, the best citizens of the country remain to rehabilitate and resurrect their ruined countries. The less patriotic and weaker classes as a rule seek other countries. If, as some contend, there will be no immigra-tion on account of the great thinning out of the populations of those countries, then the enactment of this bill into law can do no harm; but if, on the other hand, vast numbers should come, throng our shores, crowd our cities, and reach out into the rural sections of the country, then the law, if properly enforced, will do much good.

The distinguished chairman of the Immigration Committee, in an unchallenged statement on the floor of this House, said last week that Italy had compulsory education, one law for all her subjects, and that these citizens along the shores of the Mediterranean contained 60 per cent of illiteracy, while those of

northern Italy have but 8 per cent of illiteracy. This fact establishes a condition and characteristic of these scuthern European people which make them undesirable for our country. who has the opportunity in his own country to educate himself at public expense and who will not do so is not likely to change if he comes to this country, and such characteristic is a mark of degeneracy of those people, and we do not want the dregs of other nations to amalgamate with our citizenship.

Another statement was made on the floor last Saturday and is still unchallenged—that there are 2,565,012 foreign born in this country 21 years of age and over who can not speak English, and only 35,614 are attending public schools presumably to learn. Less than one-seventieth of two and a half millions who can not speak English are trying to learn to speak our language. That does not coincide with the opinion I had previously formed that the great desire of immigrants who come to this land of opportunity was to educate themselves and their children and to become good and true Americans. Then, if these facts go unchallenged they must be admitted; and, if admitted, then there is little in the argument that they seek to become good American citizens, and certainly we desire no others.

Again, it has been stated and has not been challenged that during the war now in progress across the Atlantic within the past 18 months over 400,000 foreign-born citizens of America have forsaken their families, their friends, their occupations, and their property in this their adopted country, to which they have sworn allegiance, and have returned to their native lands to enlist in the armies and fight for their native lands.

This may be commendable as a mark of loyalty to blood andnative land, but it presents a query to a patriotic American citizen who seeks the welfare of this country which is trying so hard to be neutral, whether or not if a conflict is forced upon us in the future he would take arms with his adopted country or his native land. Certainly, in the event war should be de-clared between the United States and any of the countries to which these foreign-born Americans have gone to enlist, they would immediately be forced to make war against their adopted country in favor of their native country. In my opinion, such citizens are a menace to this Government.

While but 2 per cent of all the immigration to America has, up to this time, drifted south of the Mason and Dixon line, and while perhaps it will be many years before they do in large numbers, yet considering, as I have, after a careful study of the question, which up until recently I have for many reasons had little opportunity to analyze, I feel it my duty to support every section of this bill.

I can not say whether the President, on account of the changed conditions relating to immigration at this time, will veto the bill when it goes to him. And however much I may dislike to differ with him on great questions, nevertheless, if he should feel it his duty, on account of the literacy test, to veto the measure again, I shall feel it my duty to vote to over-

From letters I have received from various parts of the country, not only organized labor, but the organized farmers throughout the country are demanding this legislation. representing a district of largely agricultural industries, I would feel it my duty to support what the majority of my constituents desire, irrespective of any feeling which I might have to the contrary, but if the literacy test will keep out a quarter of a million of the thickly populated denizens of southern Europe along the shores of the Mediterranean who, it is understood, come and go as birds of passage to and from this country, then if the literacy test does no more than that, it should be adopted by this House, and every Member who has the welfare of the United States at heart should vote for it.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

WILLIAM H. CARTER, HON. OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Tucsday, March 28, 1916.

Mr. CARTER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker and gentle-men, I am opposed to this immigration bill chiefly because of the literacy test, and for this reason intend to register my vote

strong, willing immigrant that this country needs. The attacks to-day against immigration are less bitter in character, but are very similar to those of the early immigrants from Germany, Sweden, Ireland, England, and Scotland.

This bill to-day is nothing more nor less than a provision to exclude from our shores the Greeks, the Poles, the Russian Jew, the Itulian, and the Frenchman. Some of the most learned citizens of this country are from Jewish parentage. In law, art, and science the Jew holds a position of preemi-

The Greeks, Polanders, Italians, and the Frenchmen need no public apologies from me. The door of opportunity should be thrown open to them all.

This literacy test will not bar out the clever criminal, whose record we are unable to obtain. The records will prove that the majority of the criminals of foreign birth are not the

I believe that the immigrant to-day is a good, patriotic citizen. Stop for a moment and glance back at the history of our own country and see what great influence and help the immigrant was. Nine signers of the Declaration of Independence were born in foreign lands. The War of the Revolution was not tought by native-born sons alone. Standing elbow to elbow with them was the immigrant boy of that day.

On the fields of Lexington, at Bunker Hill, and at Valley Forge the immigrant walked in the snow, stood in the trenches, and died as bravely as the native sons of that day. A great many of the most distinguished officers of the Revolution were foreigners, who out of pure love for liberty came here to assist us. Without their assistance the cause of the patriots might have failed. Look at Lafayette and the 437 French officers who served with the American Army. Look at Pulaski, the Polish patriot and exile, and see what he did in the Battle of Brandywine, and look at Charleston. The illustrious Paul Jones was a foreigner by birth.

In the War of 1812 the immigrant responded to the call of duty.

In the great War of the Rebellion, let me quote from Mr. Higginson's work:

Who that recalls the war for the Union does not remember how we all, from President Lincoln downward, played upon the string of "a home for all oppressed mankind"; how fearlessly we then appealed to the Germans, the Irish, the Swedes, the Scotch within our borders, and how well they responded. Even the green flag of Ireland, now forbidden to be displayed from our city halls, was then welcomed with cheers on battle fleids when it was borne to front, amid decimated regiments, under shouts of "Faugh a ballagh"—"Clear the way."

We all know what happened in the War with Spain. war the immigrant boy served just as bravely as the native-born At Vera Cruz, when one reads the names of the heroic dead, he finds the sons of immigrants among the first to give up their lives for their country.

Many of the early men of Massachusetts, my native State, were illiterates. In those days illiteracy was not the test of character. But the best test at that time was how the man at the end of the gun behaved. They learned the legend "all men are born free and equal," and for that legend they rallied, fought, and died, the literate and the illiterate side by side.

Literacy is not a test of character, but one of opportunity. believe that the desirable immigrant to-day is the law-abiding worker who is healthy and who comes to this country with but one purpose, to earn an honest living. I believe that the undesirable immigrant is the one who is a clever schemer, educated, and as soon as he arrives here begins to start trouble.

We already have sufficient laws which keep out the insane, the criminal the pauper, those mentally and morally unfit.

A short time ago I took the occasion myself to see just what the illiterate immigrants were doing in order to obtain an education in my own congressional district. I went into the night schools of the various towns and cities of the district and there saw them sitting side by side, the Russian Jew, the Italian, the German, the Pole, the Frenchman, and others, all eager to learn. Here there were little boys and girls, as well as grown-up men and women, each striving to master the first principles of reading and writing. These people, to my mind, are the ones that this country need and the ones that will make the best type of citizens.

To my mind this was conclusive proof again that literacy is but a test of opportunity and not of character.

I have received many petitions from labor organizations from all sections of the country asking me to vote in favor of this I do not believe that the individual members of these labor bodies would themselves vote for this bill containing the literacy I do not believe this portion of the bill will affect organized labor, and for that reason I intend to register my protest

against it. As you are aware, already three distinguished Presidents have vetoed this bill.

On March 2, 1897, Grover Cleveland, in his memorable message vetoing the literacy test, said:

sage vetolng the literacy test, said:

A radical departure from our national policy relating to immigration is here presented. Heretofore we have welcomed all who came to us from other lands except those whose moral or physical condition or history threatened danger to our national welfare and safety. Relying upon the zealous watchfulness of our people to prevent injury to our political and social fabric, we have encouraged those coming from foreign countries to cast their lot with us and join in the development of our vast domain, securing in return a share in the blessings of American citizenship.

A century s stupendous growth, largely due to the assimilation and thrift of millions of sturdy and patriotic adopted citizens, attests the success of this generous and free-handed policy, which, while guarding the people's interests, exacts from our immigrants only physical and moral soundness and a willingness and ability to work.

A contemplation of the grand results of this policy can not fail to arouse a sentiment in its defense, for, however it might have been regarded as an original proposition and viewed as an experiment, its accomplishments are such that if it is to be uproofted at this late day its disadvantages should be plainly apparent and the substitute adopted should be just and adequate, free from uncertainties and guarded against difficult or oppressive administration.

Ex-President Taft, vetoing the literacy test on February 14.

Ex-President Taft, vetoing the literacy test on February 14, 1913, wrote:

I can not make up my mind to sign a bill which in its chief provision violates a principle that ought, in my opinion, to be upheld in dealing with our immigration. I refer to the literacy test. For the reasons stated in Secretary Nagel's letter to me, I can not approve that test.

Ex-Secretary of Commerce and Labor Charles Nagel, in his letter of February 12, 1913, upon which President Taft based his literacy-test veto, wrote the following:

letter of February 12, 1913, upon which President Taft based his literacy-test veto, wrote the following:

I am of the opinion that this provision can not be defended upon its merits. It was originally urged as a selective test. For some time recommendations in its support upon that ground have been brought to our attention. The matter has been considered from that point of view, and I became completely satisfied that upon that ground the test could not be sustained. The older argument is now abandoned, and in the later conferences, at least, the ground is taken that the provision is to be defended as a practical measure to exclude a large proportion of undestrable immigrants from certain countries. The measure proposes to reach its result by indirection, and is defended purely upon the ground of practical policy, the final purpose being to reduce the quantity of cheap labor in this country. I can not accept this argument. No doubt the law would exclude a considerable percentage of immigration from southern Italy, among the Poles, the Mexicans, and the Greeks. This exclusion would embrace probably in large part undestrable but also a great many desirable people, and the emburrassment, expense, and distress to those who seek to enter would be out of all proportion to any good that can possibly be promised for this measure.

My observation leads me to the conclusion that, so far as the merits of the individual immigrant are concerned, the test is altogether overestimated. The people who come from the countries named are frequently illiterate because opportunities have been denied them. The oppression with which these people have to contend in modern times is not religious, but it consists of a denial of the opportunity to acquire reading and writing. Frequently the attempt to learn to read and write the language of the particular people is discouraged by the Government, and these immigrants in coming to our shores are really striving to free themselves from the conditions are concerned, I think, the question has

President Woodrow Wilson in a most forceful message, vetoing the pending legislation, said:

In two particulars of vital consequence this bill embodies a radical departure from the traditional and long-established policy of this country—a policy in which our people have conceived the very character of their Government to be expressed, the very mission and spirit of the Nation in respect of its relations to the peoples of the world outside their borders. It seeks to all but close entirely the gates of asylum which have always been open to those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceived to be the natural and inalienable rights of men, and it excludes those to whom the opportunities of elementary education have been denied without regard to their character, their purposes, or their natural capacity.

Restrictions like these adopted earlier in our history as a Nation would very materially have altered the course and cooled the humane ardors of our politics. The right of political asylum has brought to this country many a man of noble character and elevated purpose who was marked as an outlaw in his own less fortunate land and who has yet become an ornament to our citizenship and to our public councils.

The children and the compatriots of these illustrious Americans must stand amazed to see the representatives of their Nation now resolved, in the fullness of our national strength, at the maturity of our great institutions, to risk turning such men back from our shores without test of quality or of purpose. It is difficult for me to believe that the full effect of this feature of the bill was realized when it was framed and adopted, and it is impossible for me to assent to it in the form in which it is here cast.

The literacy test and the tests and restrictions which accompany it constitute an even more radical change in the policy of the Nation. Hitherto we have generously kept our doors open to all who were not unfitted by reason of disease or incapacity for self-support or such personal records and antecedants as were likely to make them a menace to our peace and order or to the wholesome and essential relationships of life. In this bill it is proposed to turn away from tests of character and of quality and to impose tests which exclude and restrict, for the new tests here embodied are not tests of quality or of character or of personal fitness, but tests of opportunity. Those who come seeking opportunity are not admitted unless they already had one of the chief of the opportunities they seek, the opportunity of education. The object of such provision is restriction, not selection.

I want at this time to insert as part of my remarks an editorial from the Washington Post of to-day:

THE LITERACY TEST.

With strange persistence the House of Representatives again attempts to bar the gates of the United States to honest, able-bodied immigrants by imposing a literacy test. In the face of history and in spite of the repeated reminders of patriotic Presidents of both parties, the House clings to the notion that immigrants unable to read and write are not fit material to enter the United States.

The pressure for this legislation comes from men who were themselves immigrants not long ago, and who would now shut the door through which they entered. They would monopolize the opportunities of America under the pretext of purifying the stream of immigration. They stand directly athwart the pathway of progress, and would call a halt to the march of millions of honest and hard-working aliens who have in them the stuff of which America is made.

How can immigration be purified by a language test? Will it keep out Black Handers, and poisoners, and anarchists, and birds of prey generality? There is no pretense that book learning makes for morality or that lack of it impiles criminality. No one has had the hardhood to suggest that if an anarchist were unable to read he would be more criminal than he is. The literacy test is not set up as a moral sieve, but is intended merely to restrict immigration without regard to its moral quality. It is a device for excluding good and bad, indifferently, for the benefit of those already in. It is supposed that it will make labor scarcer and therefore raise wages.

The United States needs more labor if it is to develop and meet the needs of an increasing population. Illiterate immigrants do not remain illiterate long, and even while illiterate they are good workers. Probably the proportion of shirkers is smaller than among immigrants who have absorbed the vicious socialistic stuff dealt out to the submerged tenth in Europe. Immigrants do not make up the majority of meddlesome agitators in this country. The worst offenders, who would wreck the Constitution and introduce crazy schemes of ref

The Military Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ISAAC BACHARACH, OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 23, 1916.

Mr. BACHARACH. Mr. Speaker, I have listened with much attention and a great deal of edification to the remarks of many of my distinguished colleagues who have addressed the House on the merits of the bill under consideration, and I have given very careful thought to all that has been said on the subject of our country's state of preparedness; especially have I dwelt with much care upon the statements made by the very able and capable men who compose the Committee on Military Affairs, I felt sure, because of the extensive and exhaustive study of the question that has been made by that committee and by reason of the many and prolonged hearings held by it, at which hearings the members of that committee were given the benefit of the opinions, views, recommendations, and criticisms of those men in the military service of the Government-men who are trained to know, who are paid to know, who ought to know, and I firmly believe that they do know what are the conditions confronting this country at this time, in so far as the military aspect of it is concerned; men who are all experts in their respective lines, and I dare say that a more intelligent nor a finer body of men does not exist in the service of any country to-day than those men who go to make up the military branch of the United States—I repeat, that I felt sure the committee would be able to present a bill to the House which would have the approval of a unanimous Congress; and, with the exception of a few very good amendments which have been added to the bill on the floor of the House, that has been the result, there being but two dissenting votes recorded against the passage of the bill.

Because of the very great difference of opinion that has prevailed throughout the country, and because this difference of

opinion was markedly apparent in the second congressional district of New Jersey, which district I have the honor to represent, I realized very keenly the grave responsibility which confronted me in arriving at a conclusion which I believed to be for the best interests of our country.

Mr. Speaker, no Member of this august body has a greater abhorrence for war than I have; and I hope that I may live to see the day when wars will cease to be the method by which international disputes and questions shall be settled. Nor yet, do I wish it understood that I am a pacifist, if that word is to

be construed as a "peace-at-any-price man."

If the time shall come, which God forbid, when this country shall be called upon to defend its rights, its honor, or its integrity against the attack or encroachments of a foreign foc, if at that time I shall have the honor of being a Member of this House, no one shall be quicker to rally to the support of our House, no one shall be quicker to rally to the support of our President, either by supporting necessary legislation or by appropriating money, or both, than will I; or if that time shall come when I shall have the honor of being one of that greater body of men—just a plain, private American citizen—I shall be ever ready to give such aid to my country as it shall be within my power to give.

Mr. Speaker, this bill provides an increase in our Regular Army of 10,000 men a year, for a period of four years, or a total of 40,000; and in ordinary times of peace and contentment I believe a standing army of 140,000 men to be a sufficient mo-

I believe a standing army of 140,000 men to be a sufficient mobile force for the protection and safety of our country

But, Mr. Speaker, when we think of the terrible conflict that has been devastating the most powerful of the countries of Europe for the past two years, and we stop to reflect upon the thousands upon thousands of men that daily meet their deaths in this ferocious struggle, which, up to the 1st day of January of this year amounted to more than 13,000,000, and at a cost of thirty-nine and a half billions of dollars; when the possibilities of war in our own country are being very forcibly and vividly brought home to us each day by the critical conditions existing along our southern border, and in the words of our President— "we know not what the morrow may bring forth"—it would seem that at this particular time we would be justified in providing for an increase in our Regular Army much larger than that carried in this bill.

Mr. Speaker, I do not favor an excessively large standing army in times of peace; but these are perilous times, and conditions at home and abroad are of such an unsettled character that it behooves us to be alert and awake, so as not to be found wanting should an emergency arise. Even the most ardent pacifist must admit, when one stops to consider that at this very date, exclusive of the forces now operating in Mexico and the Coast Artillery and Staff Corps, there are only five mobile organizations available for service in the United States, numbering about 5,000 men, that this protection can not even be considered as adequate protection, and that action should be taken immediately looking to the increase of our military and naval forces to such a strength as to render this country well fortified against serious trouble. And when the disturbed conditions which now seem to be world-wide once more subside and we are again permitted to work out our destines in peace and harmony little difficulty will be had in reducing our forces to a peace

Mr. Speaker, I am absolutely opposed to any method of conscripting or drafting. I believe that a large reserve force can be created by the proper military training under Federal supervision of our young boys, and I believe that attention should be given to the Boy Scout movement and similar organizations which are having such a rapid growth in this country, for it would seem to me that with correct training of these young lads a wonderful reserve force could be brought into existence. The training of our youth in the Boy Scouts, school cadets, and similar organizations is more strikingly brought to our attention when we consider the facts contained in a letter of the Commissioner of Pensions addressed to that distinguished, venerable, and much-beloved Member of this House, the Hon. Joseph G. CANNON, and by him read on the floor here several days ago, which letter transmits a statement of the relative ages of those who enlisted during the Civil War, as follows:

Those 10 years and under	25
Those 11 years and under	38
Those 12 years and under	225
Those 13 years and under	
Those 14 years and under	
Those 15 years and under	104, 987
Those 16 years and under	231, 051
Those 17 years and under	844, 891
Those 18 years and under	1, 151, 438
Those 21 years and under (these two classes make the total	
number of enlistments)	2, 159, 798
Those 22 years and over (these two classes make the total	C. 2000
number of enlistments)	618, 511
Those 25 years and over	46, 626
THOSE NO SERIO HIS CICETALINESSEE STATES	-01 040

It will be noticed from this statement that the greatest number of enlistments were of boys 18 years and under, numbering 1,151,438, while the number of enlistments between the ages of 12 and 17 was 1,182,977. These ages correspond with the ages of the boys connected with the organizations mentioned above.

Mr. Speaker, as I view the situation to-day, as a result of the new methods of fighting that have been inaugurated in the war in Europe, it does not appear to me that we essentially require such a tremendous number of well-drilled men in the conduct of modern warfare; rather is it necessary that we should have an adequate number of officers and men who have become skilled in the art of aviation and in the handling and operation of the intricate and complex death-dealing machinery and engines of destruction that have been worked out and put into action since that war began; men who are familiar with the deadly, dangerous gases and powerful explosives, and who know how to handle them without loss to their own forces. If we could have a sufficient number of these highly skilled soldiers, together with the necessary equipment to make such a corps effective, a reserve force made up of young men who had had the military training contemplated above, and these fortified by a standing army such as is provided in this bill, I believe this country would be adequately prepared to meet any emergency; and it would not become necessary to levy extraordinary revenues and taxes upon the people to maintain such an organization.

Mr. Speaker while in my early life I have had some military training, I do not in any sense attempt to pose as an expert on military matters and I have tried to consider this question of preparedness from the standpoint of a business man, with the idea of protecting the best interests of those whom I represent and the people of this country in general. I have not been unmindful of the opinions of many of my constituents on both sides of this question. My understanding of the duties of a Representative in Congress is that he shall do what he believes is for the best interests not only of his constituents, but, in matters of this kind, for the best interests of the whole country. I have been here on the ground and have had the benefit of information and knowledge which otherwise 1 could not possess. No partisan spirit has guided my actions, nor has my vote been influenced by any other thought or desire than to do what I believe to be for the protection of this glorious country of ours.

As this bill passed the House it provides:

 A Regular Army of 140,000 men, an increase of 20,000 over present authorized strength.

2. A federalized militia of 420,000 men under the control of the Federal Government.

A system of reserves, recruited from retiring members of both the Regular Army and the militia.

 A reserve officers' corps of 50,000, recruited from graduates of military schools under Federal supervision.

5. Federal pay for officers and enlisted men of the National Guard.

6. Authority for the President and Secretary of War to make plans for the mobilization of the industrial resources of the country in time of war.

War Propaganda-Dollar Plutocracy v. Patriotic America.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 20, 1916.

Mr. LINDBERGH. Mr. Speaker, as a result of the long-practiced commercial greed and militarism the greatest war of the ages seized Europe. But with the nations at war all dollar questions have ceased. They now struggle for national survival. Americans generally extend every possible sympathy with impartiality—wish to be makers of peace on honorable terms for all. But there were dollar Americans also, though relatively few in number; still they control the means for the distribution of news, including most of the daily press, from which a part of the other press copies. Instantly when war broke loose "dollar Americans" saw the greatest opportunity for speculation. It immediately developed into a case of "dollar Americanism" against "patriotic America," with the principal part of the press working overtime, desperately attempting to deceive the public.

AMERICAN RIGHTS.

No one can wonder that, in consequence of innumerable current false statements, many patriotic Americans fear for the maintenance of American rights. Congressmen who have supported the principles that are absolutely essential for the welfare of 100,000,000 Americans have been attacked by venal speculators through the press and by certain high officials who do not differentiate between "American dollarism" and "patriotic America," who do not distinguish between property privilege and human rights. An attempt has been made to make the people believe that Members who can not be influenced by "dollar Americanism" are sacrificing American rights and American ideals, and that those persons only who defend American dollarism are patriotic.

No country should have higher ideals than America, for ours has been the best of the world's opportunities. We came into being after the world had been striving with human affairs for thousands of years. We had notice of its mistakes. "The shoals had been marked off" for us, and we could have steered the Ship of State clear of them. We had a "brand" new continent to adjust ourselves to. It lacked nothing that God could supply. We had a chance to make the best of the best opportunity, so really we should have American ideals superior to any on earth.

WHAT ARE AMERICAN IDEALS?

What do we understand American ideals to be?

Is it that we shall live and strive for "American dollarism," merely, or shall we live to build higher and higher for human rights and independence? Instantly when Europe's "war dogs" were unleashed two great forces appeared before the President and Congress of the United States. One was a demand from Wall Street for Government aid to enable "dollar Americans" to finance speculation in stocks, bonds, and war contracts. The other was by farmers from 12 States having more than 20,000,000 people. Who of these two applicants for Government aid do you suppose received it?

Many of you were in Congress at that time. We all remember that eventful day when Wall Street threatened the President and Congress. The President submitted and Congress obediently brushed aside the rules which are ordinarily used to prevent desirable legislation and instantly gave Wall Street speculators the control of the Government credit for over a billion dollars. It all took place in 24 hours.

What about those farmers who were then also knocking at the doors of the White House and Congress? What did they get? What wonderful subtlety of mind was displayed by the White House and Congress when these two representatives of the American people answered that it would be paternalism for the Government to aid the distressed farmers, but that it was not paternalism to aid plutocratic Wall Street. So the American farmer was kicked out of the White House and out of Congress and told that he could rely on the tender mercies of Wall Street, to which ample Government aid had been given and to spare, and that if Wall Street wished it could give the "spare" aid to the farmers at a price. There you see what the treatment by this Government was of the "dollar plutocracy," on the one hand, and of the "tollers" on the other.

THE SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT.

Because they were refused Government aid the farmers of 12 States were forced to sell the products of their farms for less than the cost of production. Many of them lost all they had, and millions suffered irretrievable loss. Wall Street, on the other hand, used the Government aid to manipulate the markets. It closed the stock exchange until it could get control of just such stocks as it wanted. Every sign for other nations becoming involved in the war was used to drive the price of stocks down. Soon after the stock exchange closed the money the Government had loaned exclusively to "plutocratic Wall Street" enabled the gamblers to squeeze out most of the small and weak stockholders. Then the stock exchange reopened, Ever since then stocks have boomed. Now we see in the daily press numerous headlines of which the following are samples:

Bethlehem Steel will pay 112 per cent. Annual report to show earnings of \$17,762,812.61 for 1915. * * * Peace denial braces market. American smelters up. Food is short in Norway. Russ fast two days of week.

The above are just samples of hundreds of press headlines as a result of the operations of greedy speculators. The Record could be filled to show the work of different greedy operations. Why should food be short in Norway, where they have peace? Simply because there, too, scheming speculators manipuate the markets. It is not the American people alone that are exploited. A world-wide war trust exists for the purpose of making war profitable to special privilege.

THERE IS DANGER OF WAR.

Not so as a result of natural conditions, but it is so because of the frame-up made by special privilege. The highest agencies of government are influenced. It ma, be that war can not now be avoided. We may be attacked. But if we had done as we should in the first place, and as it was apparent to any commonsense person we should have done, there would not be the slightest chance of us getting into war. It is because of our failure to do as we should have done that we may have war. False statesmanship has placed us in a false light before the world. By permitting special privilege to exploit us, it is enthroned in this country; and since we are politically sponsors for it, now that it has also exploited the rest of the world, we are hated and may be attacked. The question now arises as to what our duty is.

We can be tolerant with weak nations; patient, dignified, and firm with great nations; sensible on all occasions. One thing we must not lose sight of. Our internal difficulties are many and acute, injustice prevails, and the a tual danger is greater from within than from without. It requires greater statesman-ship to deal with our domestic than it does to deal with our foreign affairs. We must differentiate the two, however. always will have the power to deal with our domestic affairs. The basis exists on which we can proceed to correct evil practices

in our own business. But it would be quite different if we left ourselves in a helpless condition to be dominated by other nations. We should not be weak and vacillating, for, if we be so, we possibly may lose the power to deal with our own social problems.

THE SANE WAY TO PREPAREDNESS.

Do away with the causes of war as one of the most important steps. Commercialism in the manufacture of munitions of war must be stopped. Let the Government immediately build all the factories and establish every agency to make its own preparations complete. Let there be no profit in any war enterprise. If the Government manufactures all it requires, there will be no accumulation of capital on which to charge the people an annual interest.

PREPAREDNESS.

Yes; prepare. Give our boys, at the proper age, discipline with the use of arms and teach them the science of defense of themselves and of the country. Teach them the manliness of discipline, the control of themselves, and the respect due to the toilers of the world, and to understand their rights. Let the games of baseball, football, and manly sports equip the youth of our land for the use of every function of the human body and mind as a part of the plan of discipline. Preparedness that makes an independent people is what we want. That is a different kind of preparedness than the subsidized press cries for. Special privilege wants a kind of preparedness that creates billionaires, who, with their fortunes, will enslave the rest of us. That is the kind which creates disloyalty, weakness, and in the end would result in a fall of the Nation.

STANDING BY THE PRESIDENT.

Any citizen who will run back over the press files will find that the newspapers which are saying "Stand by the President," have not themselves stood by the President, except when the President did as they wanted. On other occasions they have attacked him pitilessly. Every patriotic citizen wishes to stand by the President when he can, but no thoughtful person will sacrifice his right to consider things. This is not a monarch's When a citizen has done all he can to reconcile his views with the President's action and is unable to do so he has a right to follow what he believes to be the right course, not only a right but a duty. Otherwise our form of government would be a farce.

What about the facts on which the President asked the action of Congress? The press has stated that they were facts peculiarly within the President's knowledge; that he knew more about the facts than Congress. The President undoubtedly knows more about diplomatic facts, but not necessarily basic principles. But what the President did know he failed to inform Congress when he asked its action. If it was within his province to determine, he had no reason to ask Congress to act, and if it was not within his province he should have in-

formed Congress of all that he knew.

The President sent a part of our Navy to Mexico a short time ago. It was because an unauthorized act of Mexican soldiers had taken place. A fleet was sent to make Huerta salute the United States flag. Huerta refused to fire 21 guns in salute, but only 5. The President was Commander in Chief of the American Army. He acted upon his own authority and dispatched a fleet to Vera Cruz, and subsequently asked Congress to ratify the act. A majority of us stood by the President. I was opposed to his action, but to sustain the dignity of

the President I voted with him on that occasion. Ever since then I have done all I could on every occasion to reconcile my views with those of the President when the relations of our country with foreign countries have been in question, but when I find myself believing that the President is in error I have voted my own convictions.

THE ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EXISTING WORLD CHAOS.

Now is the time the plain people must look out, lest their best interests be sacrificed. The present time and the few years now first to come are more important to humanity than any within the last 1,900 years. Special privilege is seeking right now, and has been ever since the war began, to enthrone itself forever to dominate the tollers of the world. By every means possible it is seeking to excite the people so that they will forget about the great economic problems that concern their daily lives. Special privilege does not want the toilers to think of their own needs. It has already secured practically everything that it has asked. It is completely organized, not so much with the object of asking additional privilege as it is to retain what it already has. It often uses its organization to promote desirable things which do not in any way conflict with what special privilege wants. Doing that gives it a better standing with the screens its dark-room work, and makes it more influential. So, when from time to time it discovers that because of changing conditions it wishes some additional special privilege, it has some good acts to its credit and finds it comparatively easy to fool the people to give it the additional privilege.

Right now there is a concerted attempt to keep us excited with war affairs in order that all economic conditions may be lost sight of by us. In the meantime special privilege expects to secure the election of Senators and Representatives who can, when the time comes, be influenced in favor of special privilege. It is well known that when the war ends new and what may now seem to many persons strange economic plans will be proposed in the interest of the toilers, plans which will end all inducement to make war for commercial purposes. Not only will this occur with the nations at war, but with every civilized nation on the face of the globe. While this war is in progress special privilege, always anticipating the future long before the people themselves do, are preparing to head off any reform in

the existing unjust economic conditions.

Approximately \$2,000,000,000 profit has been made the last 18 months by bond and stock brokers, munition people, and contractors in war supplies. It is a harvest of gold for the subsidized press as well.

A Minneapolis man wrote me a letter, in which the following sentences occur:

Look at England—had she gone into this war prepared, as is admitted she was not, the war would have been over with long since.

* * In these modern days of trained and fittest men you would send an army of raw and inexperienced men to be slaughtered for their want of knowledge and training, as is likely to be the case in Mexico.

* * You are quoted as saying, "I am opposed to a standing army."

The writer winds up his letter with the following:

The inclosed clipping would make good reading for you and give you and your other few an idea of the feeling in this part of the country. The clippings were: "THE MINNESOTA ELEVEN.

"The Minnesota delegation in Congress consists of 11 Kaiserites and 1 American. * * Ten Minnesota Representatives in Congress, 8 Republicans 1 Democrat, 1 Progressive, and Senator * * * * voted against the President, against upholding of American rights. The German-American Alliance of Minnesota urged or builded these 11 weaklings to the course they followed. * is the only man, the sole American, Minnesota had in Congress." * * * New York Times.

-New York Times

a broken shaft, another was put out of commission because the engine wouldn't work, and something equally as cheerful happened to the third. The fourth was lost in the desert with a leaky gasoline tank. This is a four days' record of the condition of preparedness in which a single branch of the Army is found, and that the branch upon which the quick success of the expedition may depend."

It was not disclosed where this last clipping came from, but it refers to Mexico. This man knows that England has spent more for war than any nation. Still he says, "Look at Eng-* * the war land—had she gone into this war prepared * * * the war would have been over long since." He also knows that our country has spent about two billion dollars in the last few years on armament, and more than any country on the globe except England. Still he says what you see above about our mix-up in Mexico.

If, after spending so much money as we have, we are still not prepared to defend ourselves against weak, exhausted Mexico, and only against a band of outlaws at that, it is time to take an inventory of the "sole American" statesmen who have been in Washington all the time while this vast sum was spent for nothing and made no complaint until now. No wonder those

who got the rake-off for the last 20 years should have beautiful encomiums for the so-called Americans responsible for the failure of the Army, and especially, they eulogize them at this time, when they seek to get our country into war to spend perhaps \$50,000,000,000, out of which they expect to get a giant profit. No wonder that the beneficiaries speak through the New York Times, a special-privilege paper, and through a thousand other like papers, berating those who voted for 100,000,000 Americans instead of for speculators who travel on armed merchant ships. The people can, if they choose, as this man said in his letter they would, defeat Members of Congress who vote against the expenditure of billions in the manner proposed by special privilege, but the day will come very soon when the people will understand, if they do not already, why it is that special privilege demands extravagant arms ment special privilege demands extravagant armament.

special privilege demands extravagant armament.

Will these maximum-armament persons, who name themselves the only "true Americans," answer the following questions: Why has the President all this time, when it is claimed that the country is in peril, and when the law authorized him to act, kept the Army nearly 20,000 below maximum? Why do these "sole Americans" (?) object to the Government manufacturing its own war materials? Why do these "sole Americans" (?) claim that the Hay bill provides for an Army of only 120,000 when they know that if the terms of the bill were carried out it would in emergency be near 1,500,000? The truth about the whole matter is that special privilege wants a carried out it would in emergency be near 1,500,000? The truth about the whole matter is that special privilege wants a rake-off from armament contracts and does everything it possibly can to get us into war to give it billions of profit. If war comes, which is not unlikely, it will be because of the false machinations of these "sole Americans" (?). If it had not been for their greedy conduct there would never a war cloud have crossed the American Continent.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAMUEL J. NICHOLLS,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 27, 1916.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, on February 25 last, when the House had under consideration the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Bennet] undertook to inject, as a few other opponents of this bill have done, the religious issue. He intimated that the Junior Order of United American Mechanics was opposed to unrestricted immigration, and in favor of the illiteracy test and this bill for religious reasons.

When the gentleman from New York [Mr. Bennet] was a Member of this House six years ago he served on the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. During his service on that committee I understand a member of that committee accused the Junior Order with being the same as the old A. P. A., much as the gentleman did in this House on February That accusation resulted in the national officers of the organization appearing before the gentleman's committee on May 21, 1910, denying the charge and challenging anyone to produce competent evidence tending to prove the accusation. As my time is limited I will be unable to read the statement made on that occasion by National Vice Councilor Weitzel, but will insert his statement in the RECORD.

The statement is as follows:

HEARING ON IMMIGRATION BILLS. COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, May 21, 1910.

STATEMENT OF JOHN J. WEITZEL, ESQ., OF CINCINNATI, OHIO, NATIONAL VICE COUNCILOR OF THE JUNIOR ORDER OF UNITED AMERICAN MECHANICS.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, in the first place, as a member of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics and its national vice councilor, and chairman of the national legislative committee of the Daughters of America, I beg to correct an impression conveyed to this committee by certain persons who have not only appeared here but who have been elsewhere, quite misrepresenting the principles, objects, aims, and purposes of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics.

According to page 472 of the printed hearings a member of this

Mechanics.

According to page 472 of the printed hearings, a member of this committee states that he has been "reliably informed" that the Junior Order "is the same as the old bigoted A. P. A.," and is "merely operating under a new name." Another Congressman charges the order (p. 365) with engaging in a "particular propaganda," and I take it that he had been informed by what he considered "reliable authority" also that the Junior Order was an anti-Catholic organization. And, no doubt, his information came from some such overzealous church enthusi-

ast as, for instance, the editor of the Morning Star, a Catholic weekly, who has several articles in his issue of April 23, 1910, from which I desire to quote a few lines. In one editorial, entitled "Catholics and the duty of the hour," everlastingly criticizing President Roosevelt for the Vatican incident, there are, among others, the following sentences: "All this cry of anticlericais, Protestants, and Masonic orders of 'Down with the church,' 'Away with the Pope,' is bombast and nonsense. Knowing our strength, what have we to fear? See the strength of Free Masonry and anticlericals. Are we not more powerful than they? Cognizant that we are the heirs of al. ages in truth and doctrine, and that ours is the only church founded by Jesus Christ, why should we hide our light under a bushel?" In another column reference is made to the Junior Order and Daughters of America, whose "avowed purpose" is editorially asserted to be "nothing else than a revival of the fierce war waged by the infamous A. P. A.'s some years ago against the Catholic Church."

There is no foundation in fact for such statements, and I am sure they do not represent either in the matter of Masonry, Protestantism, Roosevelt, or the Junior Order the sentiments and attitude by which the entire church would be judged.

Just as an instance and in order to show that such criticism is not general, and that the order is nonsectarian, I desire to call the committee's attention to the friendly feeling existing between and courtesies exchanged between three conventions of Catholics, Juniors, and Daughters of America, which happened to meet in Canton, Ohio, September, 1906, partially set forth in the following newspaper account:

"CATHOLICS AND JUNIOR ORDER MINGED—CINCINNATIANS FIGURED IN

CATHOLICS AND JUNIOR ORDER MINGLED—CINCINNATIANS FIGURED IN PLEASANT INCIDENT AT CANTON—COMPLIMENTARY VISIT BY PROTEST-ANTS IS RETURNED BY CATHOLICS—PRIEST SPEAKS IN COMPLIMENTARY TERMS OF SUPPOSED HOSTILE BODY.

"CALIDITICS AND TUNIOR CHEEF MINISTED—CININATIANS FIGURED IN TELESANT INCIDENT AT CANNON—COMPLEMENTARY VISIT BY PROTEST."

TERMS OF SUPPOSED HOSTILE BOY.

"That America is the home of religious toleration and Ohlo and Cincinnati the State and city where it has reached its broadest meaning was shown in an occurrence which was a beautiful feature of the sessions of the conventions of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics and of the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association, both of which were held in Canton Wednesday. Each convention had a large body of the Mutual Benefit Association, both of which were held in Canton Wednesday. Each convention had a large body of the Junior Order as an adjunct of the 'A. P. A.,' and many of the Junior Order as an adjunct of the 'A. P. A.,' and many of the Junior Order as an adjunct of the 'A. P. A.,' and many of the Junior Order as an adjunct of the 'A. P. A.,' and many of the Junior Order as an adjunct of the 'A. P. A.,' and many of the Junior Order as an adjunct of the 'A. P. A.,' and many of the Junior Order as an adjunct of the 'A. P. A.,' and was a state of the work of the Junior Order as an adjunct of the 'A. P. A.,' and was a state of the work of the Junior Order as an adjunct of the 'A. P. A.,' and was a state of the minist of both past bitterness.

"At the meeting of the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association Wednesday afternoon a committee of the Junior Order asked admittance to the was received by a rising vofe. Innuediately the Catholic association sent a committee of both bodies then minged in the best fraternal spirit and a vertiable love feast easwed. In a serum following the committee. Delegates of both bodies then minged in the best fraternal spirit and a vertiable love feast easwed. In a serum following the committee. Delegates of both bodies then minged in the best fraternal spirit and a vertiable love feast easwed. In a serum following the committee of the Junior Order convention and returned the committee of the Junior Order is not an admittance of the cathol

making selection of our immigrants and the present artificial stimulation of immigration traffic, in which there is the most money for the foreign steamship companies. As to distribution as a remedy we would quote President Roosevelt to the effect that distribution is merely a palliative and not a cure. It is advecated chiefly by the transportation interests financially interested in the promotion of immigration and because distribution and diversion would make more room for them to unload more immigrants if successfully carried out. We do not at all favor restrictive legislation simply because southeast European and western Aslatic countries send us almost exclusively Catholics and Jews, but it is for purely patriotic and protective reasons that we advocate such additional selective restrictive measures as a \$25 to \$50 money test, such as Canada has, and such an illiteracy test as Cape Colony New Zealand, and Australia have, which, together with our being made by the foreign steamships the cheapest country to reach, we believe to a large measure accounts for our being the only country with any considerable net foreign immigration.

Our desire for better immigration laws is not founded on any religious or other prejudice, foreign or native. That there are "immigration evils" demanding drastic action is a matter of official record. The first partial report of the Immigration Commission (H. Doc. 1489, 60th Cong.) states; "Many undeniably undesirable persons are admitted every year. There is a dangerous and apparently growing criminal element in the country due to immigration." And even says. "Many women are being regularly imported under conditions which amount to absolute slavery," etc.

If was Marcus Braun, a Government inspector, who foreshadowed the commission's finding, and even discovered a secret contract between a foreign steamship company and a foreign Government that provided for the dumping practically of so many thousand annually upon the United States, and who, according to House Document 1884. Fifty

"Dear Mg. Flynt: As you know, I consider the problems furnished by crime in the United States as of the most pressing importance. We are allowing a great and powerful criminal class to be developed, and while crime is held carefully in check in most European countries, and in them is steadily decreasing, with us it is more and more flourishing. It increases from year to year and in various ways asserts its power in

"So well is this coming to be known by criminal classes of Europe, that it is perfectly well understood here that they look upon the United States as a happy hunting ground, and more and more seek it, to the detriment of our country and all that we hold most dear in it.

"Yours, faithfully, "Andrew D. White."

The detriment of our country and all that we hold most dear in it.

"Yours, faithfully,

"Anderw D. White."

In this connection I beg to say in passing that over one-fifth of all the alien felons now confined in our State and Federal jails and prisons are illiterate, everyone of whom and their offspring would have been excluded, as well as the Czojoss family, by the illiteracy test.

There are two extracts from a previous report of the present commissioner of immigration at Ellis Island, Hon, William Williams, who handles the bulk of the present alien infux of from about a million to almost a million and a haif aliens annually, that I beg to read. In his report, as practically in last year's report, he said:

"The laws do not reach a large body of immigrants, who are generally undesirable, because mintelligent, of low vitality, of poor physique, able to perform only the cheapest kind of manual labor, desirous of locating almost exclusively in the cities, by their competition tending to reduce the standard of the wageworker, and unfitted mentally or morally for good citizenship. I believe that at least 200.000—and probably more—aliens came here who, although they may be able to earn a living, yet are not wanted, will be of no benefit to the country, and will, on the contrary, be a detriment, because their presence will tend to lower our standards. Their coming has been of benefit chiefly, if not only, to the transportation companies which brought them here.

"Relying on the views generally expressed by the intelligent press throughout the country, on those expressed by nine out of ten citizens, whether native or foreign born, with whom one discusses the subject; on letters received from charitable and reformatory institutions in some Eastern States, and upon official observation at Ellis Island, I would state without hesitation that the vast majority of American citizens wish to see steps taken to prevent these undesirable elements from landing on our shores. Attempts to take such steps will be opposed by powerf

bureau helicece in a strict administration, not only because it is best calculated to protect the country against understand immigration, our because of its humanitarian advantages. A risk the country against understand to protect the country against understand in the country against t

UNGUARDED GATES.

Wide open and unguarded stand our gates, And through them press a wild, a motley throng—Men from the Voiga and the Tartar steppes, Featureless figures of the Hoang-Ho, Malayan, Scythian, Teuton, Kelt, and Slav, Flying the Old World's poverty and scorn; These bringing with them unknown gods and rites, Those tiger passions, here to stretch their claws. In street and alley what strange tongues are these, Accents of menace allen to our air, Voices that once the tower of Babel knew! O, Liberty, white goddess, is it well. To leave the gate unguarded? On thy breast Fold sorrow's children, soothe the hurts of fate, Lift the downtrodden, but with the hand of steel Stay those who to thy sacred portals come To waste the gift of freedom. Have a care Lest from thy brow the clustered stars be torn And trampled in the dust. For so of old The througing Goth and Vandal trampled Rome, And where the temples of the Cæsars stood The lean wolf unmolested made her lair.

His statement completely refutes the charges and elaborately sets forth the objects and purposes of that patriotic society, which really goes back to the Sons of Liberty and the Sons of America, which played such an important part in the American Revolution, and enumerates reasons why the membership favors legislation like that in the pending bill.

I have here a copy of a letter written by the superintendent of the Junior Order National Orphanage, located at Tiffin, Ohio, in which it is stated that the highest paid employee in that Junior Order home for orphans, under the superintendent and assistant superintendent, is a Roman Catholic by the name of Swope, who is chief engineer. I will insert the letter in the RECORD. I also have a copy of a letter which was written by Mr. Patrick F. Malone, of Brooklyn, N. Y., which is a part of greater New York City, from which the gentleman from New York hails. Mr. Malone states that he is a Roman Catholic, and a member of Red, White, and Blue Council No. 7, Junior Order United American Mechanics; that he has held all the offices in his local council, is at present treasurer, and that both the present councilor and vice councilor of the council are members of the Catholic Church. I will insert Mr. Malone's letter in the RECORD.

I also have a copy of a letter written by Mr. Dwyer, of the same city, who is secretary of the Irish-American Society, Mr. Dwyer advocates the illiteracy test and the other legislation contained in this bill, declaring that "the attempt of the foreign steamship companies, their paid attorneys, and the corrupt press to raise the cry of religious bigotry and racial animosity in order to injure the cause of immigration restriction

has failed." I will insert Mr. Dwyer's letter in the RECORD.

One word in conclusion. The gentleman from New York
[Mr. Benner] intimated that the Junior Order, as I have said, was opposed to unrestricted immigration because our present immigration comes largely from "Catholic countries," and his conclusion was that antipathy to Catholics prompted many to favor the illiteracy test because illiterates came chiefly, if not exclusively, from Catholic countries. In the same paragraph the gentleman is reported as stating that the Junior Order claimed it had been fighting unrestricted immigration for over The gentleman knows that 60 years ago we got practically and substantially no immigration from Catholic coun-

I have made these remarks in order that the record may be kept straight as to one of the greatest fraternal organizations in existence.

I am in favor of restricting immigration not on account of any political or religious reasons, not on account of the fact that a man belongs to any particular race or has any particular creed, but because I believe as the great American Federation of Labor believes, as the great Junior Order of United American Mechanics believe, and as the great body of laboring people in the country believe, that unless we do restrict labor this country will be flooded by immigrants who do not come here to make homes and to make good American citizens, but who come here for the sole purpose of competing with our laborers and reducing the scale of wages, which is certainly low enough at this time.

JUNIOR ORDER UNITED AMERICAN MECHANICS, Tiffin, Ohio, February 21, 1916.

John H. Notes,
National Vice Councilor, Plaistow, N. H.

Dear Brother Noves: Your letter of February 19 at hand, and I very gladly give you the information that you desire.
We have in our employ a man by the name of Mr. Swope, who is a Catholic. He is and has been chief engineer of the home for the past eight years, and is receiving a higher salary than any other employee in the home except the superintendent and the assistant superintendent. At various times during the past 14 years there have been other Catholics at work in the home, sometimes as regular employees and at other times simply on plecework. There has always been, as far as I know, the kindest feeling between the Catholics and our order in the city of Tiffin. It is quite a surprise to me that we are accused of being narrow or of fighting them. The strongest member of the order that we have in the city of Tiffin, Dr. H L. Wenner, is chief surgeon in the Catholic hospital in the city of Tiffin. At the time when our hospital was in operation, and the only hospital in the city of Tiffin came as freely to visit as did the other ministers, and, as far as I know, there has always been the friendliest and warmest feelings toward our work and our order.

has always been the friendliest and warmest feelings toward our work and our order.

It may be true that there have been various hot-headed ones who would go to the extreme in both the Junior Order and the Catholies, or both bodies, who have always taken the attitude that they were to be tolerated or to apologize for not representing the true sentiment.

Several years ago at the time that Mr. Sheartzer was national councilor be visited the home and saw the children playing with rag dolls. He made an appeal to the various councils, with the result that there were over 33,000 presents sent here for Christmas. The orphans' home at Tiffin was simply flooded with presents of all descriptions. In addition to this it must be remembered that the year previous we had in our attic almost a wagonload of toys which had been donated the year

before and which we had not been able to use up until the time for the new lot of Christmas presents to come in. In view of the surplus of new presents that came, the children decided it would be a shame not to let somebody have the benefit of the toys that they had been unable to use and that were stored in the attle, and they voted to offer them to the children of the Catholic home. Mother Superior was called up and accepted the same very gratefully, sending a team down after them, and they were sent to the Catholic home that Christmas—a one-horse wagon box full of toys and various things that make the children happy at Christmas. Nothing more was thought about this until the next Christmas, when the compliment was returned by the children of the Catholic home, who sent the children of the Junior home a wagon box full of apples. This they could very easily do, as they had over 800 acres of land and big orchards, and our apple supply that year was very limited. We received the apples in the same spirit in which they received our presents.

S. H. Kernan, Superintendent,

BROOKLYN, N. Y., February 21, 1916.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., February 21, 1916.

JOHN H. NOYES,
National Vice Councilor.

Dear Sir: Replying to your letter of 19th instant, asking am I a Catholic? I will say I am of the Roman Catholic faith, also a member of Red, White. and Blue Council, No. 7, of Long Island City, Junior Order United American Mechanics

In my connection with the American Mechanics I have filled the office of recording secretary, vice councilor, and councilor. I am at present holding the office of treasurer.

The present councilor and vice councilor of our council are both members of the Catholic Church, and the fact of their election to office proves that there is no religious feeling one way or the other.

Independence Council of New York City, is composed mostly of members who are of Jewish parentage.

Respectfully,

Patrick F. Malone,
No. 188 Calyer Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

No. 188 Calyer Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

[From the Brooklyn Daily Eagle of Dec. 12, 1912.]

NEW YORK IRISH-AMERICANS FOR THE ILLITERACY TEST AND THE WHOLE IMMIGRATION BILL.

WOULD STIFFEN SULZER ON ILLITERACY BILL-MR. DWYER FEARS CON-GRESSMAN IS AGAINST MEASURE.

Following is a copy of a letter sent to Governor-elect Sulzer by Edward Dwyer, of Bay Ridge:

Edward Dwyer, of Bay Ridge:

Dear Sir: I have been rather surprised to notice statements in the columns of the daily papers to the effect that you were opposed to the enactment into law of Senate bill No. 3175, drawn up by Mr. Dillingham, which provides an illiteracy test for immigrants desiring to land on our shores. Inasmuch as this bill was passed by the Senate ast April, and it is a well-known fact that the leaders of the Democratic House of Representatives agreed to have it considered in December, it seems odd to other members of the organization with which I am connected, as well as myself, that you should be so active in opposing a measure that is needed to protect the American workingman.

As a supporter of the Democratic Party in the Nation and State, I had imagined that there could not be any of the leaders who would take the stand the newspaper reports indicate that you have taken. During the campaign just ended you never referred to this immigration question, and if it was even hinted that you were opposed to restrictive legislation it would have cost you many votes and your stand would seriously injure your chances for reelection two years hence.

The American people, native as well as foreign born, are becoming thoroughly aroused over the lax immigration laws that permit tens of thousands of undesirables to enter this country annually, a class which does not understand nor care to learn anything concerning American institutions. They are willing to labor for a wage that no American citizen can exist on. These people are content to live on filth, can keep body and soul together on the sort of food that would soon kill off the native-born American, the Irishman, German, Englishman, or Seandinavian.

What we are entitled to in this great country is a chance to live de-

citizen can exist on. These people are content to live on fifth, can keep body and soul together on the sort of food that would soon kill off the native-born American, the Irishman, German, Englishman, or Scandinavian.

What we are entitled to in this great country is a chance to live decently, to rear our children up good Americans, and to be enabled to save a fittle money for the rainy day. How can we carry out this program when in every occupation of life we have to compete with foreigners whose only aim is to gather enough money to bring them back to their native land and to live in ease for some time?

It has been shown, as you well know, that almost 40 per cent of the immigrants arriving here annually leave the country. Speak to men who have worked for large railroads and they will tell you of the same crowd of foreigners that they have observed, working for a few months on a railroad, returning to Europe with the money earned, and repeating the thing every year. A large percentage of those who stay are not a credit to any land. In New York State the undesirable foreigners form 40 per cent of the population of our fails and insane asylums.

Think of the tax all of this means on our citizens. The attempt of the foreign steamship companies, their paid attorneys, and the corrupt press to raise the cry of religious bigotry and racial animosity in order to injure the cause of immigration restriction has failed.

This is a question that affects every American, no matter where he was born. It is a fight for existence. The clinching argument in favor of the adoption of the illiteracy test is the report of the Congressional Immigration Commission, which declared that "many andeniably undesirable persons enter every year"; "there is a growing criminal class in this country, due to foreign immigration." etc.

Organized labor has demanded restrictive legislation, resolutions have been adopted time and again by the labor unions, and the leaders like John Mitchell and Samuel Gompers have repeatedly spoken out against t

The Literacy Test.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 27, 1916.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in extending the remarks already made by me in opposition to the literacy test in the immigration bill, I wish to say that there is a large foreignborn constituency in my district in Philadelphia to which such a test would be no barrier. There is a feeling, however, that in the case of immigrants who come from countries where oppression has begotten illiteracy, such a barrier should not be raised against hard-working and law-abiding poor people who are honestly seeking to improve their conditions in the United States. In the public schools, in the night schools, and through various associations organized to aid the immigrant the desire of the foreign-born to obtain knowledge is generally acknowl-In some iustances the aptitude for learning is more pronounced among the foreign-born children than it is among the native born, due, possibly, to the pent-up ambition of the foreign child of oppression for a chance to take advantage of its American opportunities,

The desire for naturalization is also strong in my district. Not only the local schools but the Bureau of Naturalization at Washington are cooperating in this regard. The immigrant is being given a chance to learn about citizenship, and it is important that he should be trained as our people are undertaking to train him. The Bureau of Naturalization, I am informed, has recently forwarded to the superintendent of education at Philadelphia more than 5,000 preliminary forms that have been prepared with the view special to the instruction of the foreignborn in the duties of American citizenship. All this tends to reveal much that is helpful on the part of the authorities and

much that is commendable among the foreign born.

ITALIANS ON THE FARM.

In the course of the debate much has been said about the tendency of immigrants to remain in the large cities. To a certain extent this is true, but active agencies are at work to encourage the newcomer to go upon the farm, where he is badly needed. We have heard the cry of the western farmer on this floor; he needs farm labor. This is true of the farms in New Jersey and in eastern Pennsylvania. Farm labor is scarcer now than it has been for a long time because of the higher wages paid in the powder and munition factories that have recently sprung up over night. If the European war continues the eastern farmers will be obliged to contend against the hardest conditions this spring and summer because of the migration of farm hands to the munition factories. It is not true, however, that immigrants disdain the farm. The Italians take to farming immigrants disdain the farm. The Italians take to lathing naturally. They conduct truck patches and small farms in Philadelphia and the counties adjoining, while over in New Jersey they constitute considerable of the farm life, many of the communities that are highly prosperous. The them working in communities that are highly prosperous. Italian immigrant drifts into fruit growing, berry raising, the cultivation of vineyards, and other specialties at which he is adept. This sort of labor is recognized as of value to our urban adept. This sort of labor is recognized as or value to our urban life. There are certain settlements in southern New Jersey where the Italian immigrants have not only succeeded on their farms, but have shown their confidence and interest in American institutions by building attractive homes and laying by their savings in banks and trust companies that cheerfully attest their industry and business capacity.

THE VIEWS OF A RABBI.

The Jews are also going into farming more extensively than is generally understood. The National Farm School, at Doylestown, is not a sectarian institution, although it is chiefly supported by Jews. Its scholars come up largely from the Jewish persuasion, and the reports that have come in from farmers, horticulturists, and others who have given employment to the graduates of the institution are highly gratifying. The president of this institution is the Rev. Dr. Joseph Krauskopf, who has given careful study to the land problem, both in Europe and the United States. Having recently completed a six months' tour of the stricken countries of Europe, Dr. Krauskopf's views upon the immigration question, as well as upon the farming problem, will be of interest. At the Temple Keneseth Israel recently this distinguished rabbi, among other things, said:

"Large as our immigration has been in recent years, so vast is our country, and so sparse is our population that, were many times that number admitted every year for the next two centuries, the density of our population per square mile would even

then not be as large as that of England, France, or Germany.

"Were the density of the population of the United States anything like that of European lands it could hold and support a population equal to that of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australia combined. Texas alone is larger than the whole of Austria and Germany, and while Germany is obliged to support a population of more than 60,000,000 people, Texas, with its more than 250,000 square miles, has to provide for but 3,000,000 souls. Were all the arable land of Texas to be cultivated, its harvests would equal the principal crops raised in all the rest of the United States. Were all the 250,000,000 acres of idle farm lands in the United States to be cultivated, they would feed and clothe and shelter

the population of all the earth.

"Alas for the day on which the oppressed of humanity shall no longer find an asylum on these shores! We have the room, we have the food and work and shelter, and we have heart and brain enough to give of it as freely to others as was given to us. A thousand times rather one red-blooded immigrant in a tenement house than a lordly avenue full of degenerate blue bloods who could not make their living if it depended on their own brain and brawn. A thousand times rather one poor, even illiterate, immigrant, making money for himself and us by hard work and honest means in this country, than the scores of American blue blood dudes and title seekers, wasting American money in foreign capitals, finding our country no longer good enough for them.

"In the red-blooded immigrant lies our country's hope and promise; in the degenerate blue blood lies the possibility of our decline. Let us take care of our immigrants; in due time they will take care of us, and of those after us. As said the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, so say we: 'Ellis Island is only a twentieth century Plymouth Rock, and the trans-Atlantic liner only an

up-to-date Mayflower.'

AN EXPRESSION FROM PITTSBURGH.

That the inclination of the immigrant, once he is admitted to the United States, is to attend the public school or otherwise improve himself for naturalization and citizenship, is generally conceded by those who are familiar with the work that is being done in the great cities. Thus far, I have spoken of what is taking place in Philadelphia. The Pittsburgh Post, a leading Democratic paper, in an editorial on March 27, gives an interesting summary of the educational work that is going on in the western Pennsylvania metropolis. I append this article for the light it throws upon the subject:

IMMIGRANTS EAGER TO LEARN.

article for the light it throws upon the subject:

IMMIGRANTS EAGER TO LEARN.

News in the cosmopolitan department of The Post and reports from the school authorities of the city are of particular interest in connection with the coming vote in the lower branch of Congress this week on the proposed "literacy test" for immigrants. They show eagerness on the part of the immigrants in this busy district to learn English and prepare for American citizenship. What any of them lack is requisites of a common education when they arrive is being made up with encouraging rapidity. This shows the unfairness and the short-sightedness, from the standpoint of a land of opportunity and one greatly in need of labor, of a literacy test that would deny opportunity to the individual trying to better his condition and which would at the same time interfere with the progress of the country. If the immigrants performing work in our industries that calls for brawn rather than literacy were suddenly withdrawn from the mills the plants would be obliged to close for a time, throwing many thousands of other workers out of employment. But the schools established for the education of the immigrants in American ways show that there is no selfishness that would hold the allens down to illiteracy. The record shows that as soon as they have capacity for advancement they are advanced, their old places going to the new-comer; the rate of industrial expansion in this country guarantees employment for the able-bodied immigrants about as rapidly as they arrive. This holds throughout the land; but, owing to the great industries here that are constantly attracting allen labor, Pittsburgh is a conspicuous example in Americanization work.

In addition to classes in citizenship conducted in connection with the public-school system, there are classes in English for the beginners, and the resort, to them, as pointed out, shows the keenest appreciation of the opportunities. The social-center work also appeals strongly to the allens, many of the women receiv

WOMEN OPPOSE THE LITERACY TEST.

While the Members of the House have been flooded with petitions favoring the passage of the bill with the literacy test included, I recall very little that anyone has said about the interest of American women in this proposition. The humane side of a question usually appeals first to womankind. They are a little more sympathetic than the men. It is possible the serious problem of household help may also bear upon their point of view; but no matter what the actuating cause, a very large preportion of the women of the United States have taken a decided stand upon this bill. An organization which represents 2,000,000 women, if it had votes, would be as strong approximately as some of the patriotic societies or some of the labor organizations which, wisely or unwisely, are insisting upon the passage of the literacy test. That the voice of this large body of women may be represented in this contest I include herewith, as a part of my remarks, a letter from Mrs. Iams, chairman of the legislation department of the General Federation of Women's Clubs:

Women's Clubs: General Federation of Women's Clubs, 1914-1916, March 27, 1916.

(President: Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, 2606 Whitis Avenue, Austin, Tex. Legislation department: Mrs. Franklin P. Iams, chairman, 521 Bakewell Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Miss Mary Wood, vice chairman, 556 West One hundred and eighty-fifth Street, New York, N. Y.; Miss Flora Dunlap, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. George F. French, 99 High Street, Portland Me.; Miss Jean Gordon, 1800 Prytania Street, New Orienns, La.; Mrs. Bertha Stull Green, Mountain Home, Idaho; Mrs. Frank E. Jennings, 1807 Oak Street, Jacksonville, Fla.; Miss Mary Honora McCabe, Little Rock, Ark. Board member: Mrs. Grace Julian Clarke, 115 South Audubon Road, Irvington, Indianapolis, Ind.)

Hon J. Hampton Moore

apolis, Ind.)

Hon J. Hampton Moore,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Moore: The General Federation of Women's Clubs, which is one of the largest organized bodies of women in the world, having a membership of more than 2,000,000 women, has authorized me, as the chairman of its department of legislation, to oppose the literacy test in the Burnett immigration bill.

I have made this statement to Mr. Burnert by letter some time since, but I desire to remake it, and make it to one who will publicly state this opposition to the House and have it noted in the Recond.

I wish also to add that the General Federation is not an organization that indiscriminately approves or disapproves of any particular plece of legislation, as many associations do, simply because they are requested so to do. On the contrary, we exercise the greatest care in our indorsement of or opposition to bills. But we have steadfastly opposed this literacy test because we believe it to be both unjust and unwise.

Very respectfully, yours,

Lucy D. Iams.

National Defense.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LOUIS C. CRAMTON, OF MICHIGAN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, March 29, 1916.

Mr. CRAMTON. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the privilege given me to extend my remarks on the question of national defense, I present herewith certain correspondence between the Perry branch of the Navy League of the United States, located at Port Huron, Mich., and myself.

TELEGRAM.

PORT HURON, MICH., January 21, 1916.

Hon. Louis Cramton, M. C., Washington, D. C .:

The Port Huron Branch of the Navy League at its meeting this evening, by unanimous vote, directed the undersigned com-mittee to request you to communicate to it at your earliest convenience your views on national preparedness, so the same may be known to the members of the league.

LINCOLN AVERY, HARVEY TAPPAN, Ross Mahon, Committee.

THIEGRAM.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 22, 1916.

Mr. LINCOLN AVERY, Chairman Committee, Port Huron, Mich .:

Am opposed to radical increase in Army or Navy. favor of more economical and effective expenditure of huge appropriations now devoted to Army and Navy. My request to Navy League, November 4, for definite statement of what they would consider adequate preparedness and what it would cost has not been compiled with, and my request for recommenda-

tions from them "in behalf of reforms in our present naval organization or equipment that would secure greater efficiency or greater economy" has been absolutely ignored. I trust, if your branch organization honor me with your views on preparedness, you will advise me whether you deem the administration program adequate preparedness or whether you consider sary a Navy large enough to fight Germany, or whether you join Henry A. Wisewood, of the Navy League, in his declaration for a Navy equal to those of England and Japan combined. In any event, I will appreciate your suggestions as to the best way to raise the money, increase in tariff duties being out of question under this administration.

LOUIS C. CRAMTON.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE PORT HURSON BRANCH OF THE NAVY LEAGUE

In answer to your message of recent date, the Port Huron Branch of the Navy League submit the following for your consideration:

The Port Huron association is in favor of the United States Navy being brought to that degree of efficiency within the shortest interval of time that will insure the following results to the Nation:

We believe the money used for naval purposes should be appropriated by Congress in the form of a budget and expended under the direction of a board consisting of naval experts for such purposes as such a board shall deem for the best interests of securing our country from any foreign invasion. We do not know the amount of money that may be necessary to accomplish this purpose; but we favor its accomplishment and know that it is within the reasonable means of a people who are citizens of a country whose wealth is \$200,000,000,000 and constantly increasing.

We are in favor of maintaining the Monroe doctrine, but are not unmindful that this doctrine can be no stronger than the

Navy which may be called upon to enforce it.

Under the Monroe doctrine our country is pledged to protect the interests of foreign States in this hemisphere, and we can not see how this obligation can be honorably and faithfully performed without a Navy adequate in all its branches in equipment and men to insure its defense and enforcement.

We do not consider the question of preparedness a political one. We believe patriotic Americans of all parties feel we are rich enough to maintain an adequate Navy without the same being a burden upon our people. We do not believe the ques-tion of cost should prevent or make a Congressman hesitate about incurring the expense when a national necessity confronts

We are opposed to a policy that will permit Congress to so reduce proposed and needed Navy appropriations as to render it impossible to sufficiently man the ships of the United States Navy with able seamen.

As we understand it, there is now a shortage of 18,000 men needed to properly man the ships of the Navy, due solely to the

needed to properly man the ships of the Navy, due solely to the policy pursued by Congress in refusing to appropriate the necessary money to hire and pay for the services of these men.

We favor a change in the method of selecting students for the Naval Academy at Annapolis. We believe that students desiring to enter the Naval Academy should be selected after an academic and physical examination, open to all young men without regard to their station in life, and that such a method of selection would result in having the academy filled to cannot be successful.

pacity.

We believe that money wisely expended on our Navy is similar to the money spent for an insurance policy upon our property, and that the more valuable the property, the greater is the

necessity for increased reliable insurance.

We understand that for the 15 years prior to the breaking out of the European war the United States had expended upon its Navy 50 per cent more money than Germany had expended on hers and 60 per cent more than France had spent on hers, with the astounding result that each of these foreign countries have more effective and superior navies than the United States. We believe the budget system to provide the funds and a board of experts to expend them will largely eliminate this incompetency and waste.

The Port Huron Branch of the Navy League will not assume to advise as to the sufficiency of the administration's program to establish adequate preparedness to prevent the landing of hostile forces on American soil. Any opinion, as we see it, to be of service or value to you must be based upon expert knowledge; and if the opinion of experts such as compose the General Navy Board is in accord with the administration's requirements, it would seem that partisanship should give way to patriotism to secure the desired and necessary protection that a well-bal-anced and efficient navy insures.

In your telegram you ask the following question:

Do you consider it necessary to have a navy large enough to fight termany or whether you join Henry A. Wise Wood, of the Navy League, in his declaration for a navy equal to those of England and Japan combined?

We have not and do not now request a navy for the purpose of fighting Germany or any other nation or nations. This branch of the Navy League is made up of Democrats, Republicans, and Progressives, and are descended from ancestors representing many of the nationalities engaged in the contest being waged in Europe. Every member, however, is an American citizen, and as such believes in "locking the stable door before the horse is stolen."

To secure this end we request you as a Congressman to think and act for the whole Nation by cooperating with the public demand, supported by the best opinion of our leading and greatest statesmen, business men, and educators, and by supporting such measures as will create and maintain a wellbalanced and efficient navy in all its branches without regard to the political effect of such action. We do not want a navy that will be used for conquest in any part of the globe, but we desire a navy as a guaranty that foreign powers, east or west, will recognize that America is now and shall forever remain the home of government established on and maintained by the consent of the governed. REPLY OF MR. CRAMTON. FEBRUARY 12, 1916.

The PERRY BRANCH, THE NAVY LEAGUE,

Port Huron, Mich.

GENTLEMEN: Have recently received resolutions of your organization addressed to me with reference to national defense, and have noted with care your views, so far as they are therein

I am inclined to think that I would favor a Navy budget such as you suggest. I certainly would if it would tend to wipe out the unconscionable waste that now characterizes our military and naval expenditures in useless navy yards, needless Army posts, extortionate prices for contract-made armor and munitions, and thereby give greater real preparedness without increase in appropriations. That it would have this effect I am by no means certain, by reason of the lack of encouragement given those needed reforms heretofore by the Navy experts. But the question of a Navy budget is, as you gentlemen no doubt are aware, of but theoretical importance, as nothing of this kind is to be brought before this Congress.

I regret that on the question of more practical importancethat as to the size of a Navy necessary to our needs-you are not more helpful to me. I understand from your resolutions that you desire me to support the recommendations of the General Board of Navy experts, whatever they may be. you deem the administration program, which is the particular phase of the question now at issue, is in accord with the views of such Navy experts is not made clear, your appeal to me being to support such program " if the opinion of experts, such as compose the General Navy Board, is in accord with the administration requirements."

You urge me to put patriotism before partisanship. The program urged by the President in his address at the opening of this Congress contemplated "the construction within five years of 10 battleships, 6 battle cruisers, etc." In his St. Louis speech the President declared for the "greatest Navy in the world." you not think he thereby condemns in his public address the program he himself recommended to Congress in person-a program which would have us at the end of five years about a score short of what England already has in battleships and battle cruisers? And if the President condemns his own program, am I to be accused of partisanship if I do not blindly accept every program the administration places before this Congress

As a matter of fact, the question is not a partisan question. and I have no intention of treating it so. It has been my custom here to vote according to the merits of questions proposed rather than to be governed by political considerations, and I shall do so in this case.

As to the shortage of men and officers to properly man and command the units of our Navy referred to by you, I am willing to vote for the money required if such shortage is shown to exist and to be due to lack of money rather than lack of enlistments.

Eleferring to your comment on vacancies in the Naval Academy, I have promptly filled all vacancies from my district at the Naval and Military Academies, so that I have no responsibility for any vacancies there. My last appointee to the Naval Academy stood at his mental entrance examination fifth among the several hundred who wrote at that time from all parts of the United States, so that the quality of the selection is not open to criticism.

You compare money spent for national defense to money spent by an individual for insurance upon property. Permit me to call to your attention that the rates of insurance upon property against loss by fire are based not only upon the value of the property but the likelihood of fire, and it is not the undertaking of the insurance company to prevent fire, but to make good the loss,

In the matter of national defense it is urged that our insurance rates shall be based not at all upon the value of the thing insured. nor upon the likelihood of war, but solely that we shall prove our patriotism by carrying a bigger policy than anybody else, no matter whether our isolated position lessens our danger of war or not; and, further, while a fire insurance policy protects against loss, radical preparedness expenditure not only does not reimburse for loss from the disaster of war, but it increases the danger of the thing happening against which it is alleged to insure

I think I will not be deemed partisan if I quote with approval the following from the address of the President before the Railway Business Association banquet at New York, January 27, the first, and hence the most conservative, of his speeches on his preparedness circuit:

But militarism consists in this, gentlemen. It consists in preparing a great machine whose only use is for war, and giving it no use to which to apply itself. Men who are in charge of edged tools and bidden to prepare them for exact and scientific use grow very impatient if they are not permitted to use them, and I do not believe that the creation of such an instrument is an insurance of peace. I believe that it involves the danger of all the temptations that skillful persons have to use the things that they know how to use."

He was in that speech discussing the Army, and the danger of militarism so aptly defined by him in the above language was the wisest passage in that address, a warning to us of the dangers from militarism and navalism alike. It is not for me to account for advocacy of the "greatest navy in the world" by the man who but a few days before so clearly defined the dangers from so terrible an idle weapon. It is only for me to take the pearl of wisdom and leave the pebbles.

How such absolute preparedness endangers peace should be realized by our people most of all when they are almost daily viewing newspaper declarations of war, goading an administration to wars for which they urge our absolute unpreparedness. Our comparative unpreparedness has no doubt been a tremendous influence toward temperate and peaceful handling of unusual and delicate problems, and who can say that through diplomacy we have not won in peace more victories of late than European nations are winning in war?

Perhaps in his statement the President has in mind an experience of his own administration. Admiral Fletcher, in command of the great American Fleet was able to and did bring on a national crisis by demanding an apology and a salute of guns from Huerta—the actual but not recognized master of one little gunboat—and his handling of "edged tools" got us into trouble that cost the lives of a score of American boys, 200 Mexicans, and millions of money, and would have brought war had Mexico been less distracted internally, and we did not get even the

I am seeking to deal with this question as a patriot rather than as a partisan, and absolutely "without regard to the political effect of my action," as you suggest I should do. I recognize that quiet compliance with the demands of the preparedness propaganda would have spared me political opposition, but I have never truckled to public opinion to gain political

A patriot is defined as "one who loves his country and zeal-ously supports its authority and interests." Such I hope I am. Such I strive to be. As such I hope we may avoid the evils of militarism and navalism, of war and sun-spot chasing; as such I want to do my little part to make this Nation really great within, helpful to its people to the utmost. As such I believe that our present expenditures-70 per cent of all our expenditures—is large enough a proportion for war, preparation for war, and the effects of war, and should not be increased, and I shall not vote to so increase them. To give us the "greatest Navy in the world" would mean immediate expenditure of over a billion dollars, and untold millions in the future, to maintain our supremacy, would arouse the suspicions of the whole world. would be a permanent menace to peace, and forever burden our people. I am not for any such program, and I yield to none in my love for my country.

recognize that our present is filled with unusual dangers, but the preparedness propaganda is not aimed to prepare us to meet present dangers but to meet the needs of the future, as from three to five years elapse between the authorization of a battleship and its commission. The European war must be ended before that time, and then will come a period of unusual safety from war. No matter who is technically the winner of that war, all the great nations of Europe will then be exhausted and overwhelmed with debt, and their war-harrassed and stricken people will seek rather the almost-forgotten joys of peace rather than new war with a people whose ways are the ways of peace.

You refer to the Monroe doctrine. You will no doubt recall the blunt but successful defense of it in the Venezuela case by Grover Cleveland when President, and that at a time when we were spending about an eighth of what we are now spending for

It is not the present that is at stake, it is the great future. oppose most of all any program that announces to the world that year in and year out this Nation is to be, not upon a peace footing in days of peace as in the past, but on a war footing in days of peace. That is the great issue of the present.

Richelieu, in his Testament Politique, said:

You are free to choose at the start, but the choice once made, there is no more choosing.

In our present choice should be all our patriotism and whatever wisdom we may have. I concede to you gentlemen, many of whom I know well and all of whom I esteem highly, motives grounded upon love of country. I can not agree with you in

your conclusions nevertheless.

I note the film "The Battle Cry of Peace," a commercial venture trading upon the present agitation, was recently shown in Port Huron, and no doubt many of you have witnessed it, as it is a magnificent thing-as a moving-picture show. You will agree with me, I trust, that it is but an extravaganza, which is a travesty upon truth as great as it is upon American patriotism, American courage, and American genius. The picturing of the possible ruin of this country by foreign foc without loss of a life by such foe. The absurdity of it all, as more than a figment of the imagination, is apparent. As an antidote to its poison, I wish you might with me have seen Madam Nazimova present the appeal of womanhood for peace, in the sketch "War Brides," a nobler expression of real patriotism, the real advancement of human rights, which should be the great purpose of all government.

It is easy for your organization to say "We do not know the amount of money," and make no response to my request for suggestions as to where it may most fairly be raised. If this program for "the greatest Navy in the world" goes through, I will be called on to vote for new taxation, and I can not so easily

sidestep the question of finance.

I have not discussed in this statement some features of the question which I alluded to in a letter recently to Mr. Rosa Mahon, a member of the committee appointed to inquire my views. This letter Mr. Mahon is at liberty to place before you in so far as he may deem it of interest to you.

Thanking you for the expression of your views, and regretting my own judgment does not permit me to entirely meet your

wishes, I remain,

Yours, very truly, LOUIS C. CRAMTON. PORTIONS OF LETTER TO MR. MAHON, ABOVE REFERRED TO.

JANUARY 26, 1916.

Mr. Ross L. Mahon, Port Huron, Mich.

MY DEAR MR. MAHON: * * * As a representative of more than 200,000 people, I am guided always by two considerations: First, the sentiment of the people that I represent; and, second, my own best judgment as to what is for the best, both for my disrict and the Nation. On this particular question I am satisfied that I am faithfully representing the sentiment of my district. During the recess of Congress I made a score or more of speeches on this subject before gatherings in various parts of the district. I talked with many people in all walks of life. Since my return to Washington, I have had a large amount of correspondence on the subject. While I have heard from a number who are favoring the policy of more or less extreme preparedness, the preponderance of sentiment, as expressed to me, indorses my position.

Furthermore, my own best judgment, reached after very conscientious and careful study of this great question, had led me to a very positive opinion that danger rather than safety lies in any radical program of preparedness. Therefore, such being my opinion and such being my judgment as to the sentiment of the district, I can only continue, as I have heretofore, firm in my opposition to any radical program of preparedness.

At the same time I am not what is termed a pacifist, namely, a person opposed to all measures of defense or opposed to war no matter what the provocation. My father served for four years in the Cavalry during the Civil War, being present at Gettysburg and other historic battle fields, and I take pride in my descent from one who performed his duty in that historic struggle.

Further, I believe in a reasonable amount of preparedness, such as our situation and the apparent need of the future may make necessary. I believe that such appropriations as have been made of late for this purpose are ample for such situation and such need. We have been increasing appropriations along this line at a tremendous rate. One might think, judging from the articles predominating in the press upon this subject, that this Nation not only is absolutely defenseless, but that we have not been spending anything for defense. Both of these impressions are absolutely wrong. I believe that very substantial measures of defense have been taken. I know that very substantial appropriations have been made for some time to secure such measures of defense.

Since 1885 we have increased our appropriations for purposes of defense 900 per cent. That is to say we are spending each year nine times as much as was spent in the year 1885. At the present time the expenditures for war and preparedness war and the results of war are about 70 per cent of the total expenditures of our Government, not taking into account the appropriations for the Post Office Department, which are practically replaced by the receipts in that department. I believe that this percentage is high enough. I took this position in my primary campaign in 1910 and again in 1912, urging that a nation should spend as much for interior development and upbuilding and the welfare of its people as it spends for defense. In particular I recall that I urged that a nation should spend as much for good roads as it did for battleships. I still hold to that opinion. In the first session of Congress of which I was a Member I voted for one battleship instead of two, and again a year ago I voted for the smallest number of battleships offered. Hence my record on this question is well established.

The present European situation is causing great distress to many minds, and is urged as a reason for radical action upon this subject. The two most prominent leaders in this cam-paign for preparedness are Col. Roosevelt and Congressman Gardner, of Massachusetts. Careful consideration of the writings and speeches of both of these men make it apparent that both of them look to Germany as our most likely opponent. It is also apparent that both of them feel that we should be active participants in the present war, instead of peaceful on-lookers. Therefore I can not accept either of them as a trust-worthy leader in this emergency, however high may be my opinion of each of them.

A more satisfactory presentation of that side of the question was that made by Mr. Mann, the Republican leader in Congress, yesterday, a presentation which I listened to with the greatest of interest and the manner of which presentation I admire as highly patriotic and effective. I agree with Mr. Mann that if the future holds for us war with any nation it is more likely to be with England than with Germany. I go further, however, and believe that war with England would inevitably mean war against an alliance between England and Japan. I do not, however, agree with him that such a war is a probability or even a reasonable possibility. I believe that there is much less danger of such a war now than there was before the great

European war broke out.

In my judgment all the great European powers were looking forward to that conflict and anticipating it. I visited Ellis Island in August, 1914, just after the outbreak of the war, and I was told there that for many months prior no able-bodied men practically were coming in. Our only immigration through that port had been consisting of old men, women, and children. From this it is apparent that the European countries had for many months recognized the conflict as inevitable and all had been making ready for it. At the same time, I am satisfied that there is not one of the countries now at war but what would be mighty glad to be out of it. Not one of them but what recognizes that the losses they sustain in the war are going to be far greater than any gain will compensate. trouble with them now is that they do not know how to let go. This is certainly true of the people of those countries, and I believe it has also come to be true of the ruling governments.

I am absolutely satisfied in my own mind that when the end of this present terrible struggle does come not one of those nations will contemplate further war for a generation. One war leads to another, is the lesson of history. The present European war is the product of former European wars. Other European wars may come in the future as the result of this But there are no such wars in our past to cause fear of such a war in the future. However ambitious may have been the designs of either Germany or England before this war broke out, I am satisfied that when it is over each of them will only ask to be let alone and we are safer from aggression from

either source than we were prior to 1914.

Furthermore, the time has gone by when individual nations will carry on great struggles. Future great conflicts will be as this one, a conflict between alliances. This is the only great Nation that is free from alliances. I note that while the preparedness advocates are freely quoting the words of Washington in behalf of preparedness, words uttered under conditions immensely different from those existing to-day, they are not repeating the warning which he gave in his farewell address against untimely alliances, a warning which has more meaning to-day than it ever had before.

It is apparent now that the result of the European war will be, in effect, a draw. Neither side is going to absolutely demolish the other or win by any such margin as will leave it in its full strength with the opponent entirely done away with. This being the case, it seems a certainty in my mind that if, following this war, one of the contending forces should attack us, sending its navy and its troops across the sea to engage us, that the opportunity thus given its present opponent to reap its revenge would be welcomed and promptly seized upon. I believe that the thirst for revenge which will live in Europe following this war, just as it has persevered in Europe following the Franco-Prussian War, is one of our elements of safety.

You have already noticed that this letter has reached length greater than you have perhaps desired or than is consistent with orderly correspondence. There are, however, many features of this question as to the particular items of preparedness that I would be glad to discuss with you or with any of your associates, but I do not feel justified in taking these up in this letter. Such questions include the relative value of battle-ships, submarines, aeroplanes, and so forth, importance of coast defenses, the various suggestions for the increase of the

Army, and so forth.

In order that you may not feel as do some of my critics that I am opposed to all items of preparedness, I will say that I anticipate that I will support as large an appropriation for aeroplanes or submarines as is likely to be offered to this Congress. I am also in favor of giving the inventors' board all the money they can use in studying the newest questions of warfare and keeping us absolutely up to the minute in methods of preparedness. I am willing to support measures tending to the enlargement of our Military and Naval Academies in order to secure us an increased number of trained men as leaders in case of emergency. I also favor more economical expenditure of our present appropriations, and I believe that if the useless navy yards are closed up and private extortion in the manufacture of armor plate and munitions is done away with, the present appropriations are ample enough to take care of our needs. It is significant, however, that such organizations as the Navy League and the National Security League and others absolutely ignore these matters and seem to seek wholly and exclusively increased appropriations.

Assuring you that if I have not in this letter exhausted your

Assuring you that if I have not in this letter exhausted your patience and your time, I will be glad to discuss further with you any phase of this highly important subject, realizing that your attitude is one of absolute good faith, inspired by only a

patriotic desire to safeguard our country, I remain, Yours, very truly,

LOUIS C. CRAMTON.

Restricted Immigration and the Economic Pressure Which Lies Back of It.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 28, 1916.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, while I am not greatly in sympathy with the idea of exclusion which is embodied in this measure, and while the application of the literacy test appears to me to be peculiarly obnoxious, there is still a clear recognition on my part of the growing sentiment in favor of exclusion, not alone among natives of the United States but among those of alien birth as well, for I have been surprised to find among

those who have petitioned me to vote for this measure the names of many having no familiar English sound. Not only do I recognize this growing sentiment but I fancy, Mr. Speaker, that more clearly than some who have spoken in support of the pending bill I am able to recognize its real inspiration. And I do not believe that this springs from race or religious prejudice nearly so much as from the increasing sense of pressure which is felt in this Republic. It was not so long ago that a song rang across this land and was echoed throughout the reaches of the Old World—

Come along, come along, wake not delay, Come from every nation, come from every way, The country it is broad enough, and don't you feel alarm, Uncle Sam is rich enough to give you all a farm.

As the years run, that was but a little while ago, yet to-day we are feeling the economic pressure. To-day we begin to hear of overcrowding, of lack of room, of failing opportunity, of land scarcity. In some sections farm-land values have increased almost beyond imagination, and in our cities and towns actual overcrowding is the most striking phenomena of our urban life,

While various and perhaps conflicting motives actuate many of the supporters of this plan of exclusion and others even more drastic, I believe that back of all other notives, and perhaps acting unconsciously upon those so influenced, lies this motive of self-protection, protection from the squeezing-out process, protection against a pressure which increase of population under existing conditions inevitably brings, protection against a force which left to operate unchecked would tend to impoverish the

masses and fabulously to enrich the classes.

I do not believe, Mr. Speaker, that many of the advocates of exclusion consciously entertain this view of the problem. Most of them content themselves with explaining their attitude by declaring that immigration tends to beat down wages and to lower the American standard of living. But it is to be noted that immigration had no such effect in the earlier day, of the Republic. On the very contrary, every immigrant who came was regarded as an actual gain and proved to be. He added to the sum of wealth produced. He assisted in reducing the wilderness. He proved a tremendous factor in developing our natural resources. In a hundred ways he curiched the land by his labor and his industry. No one then thought seriously to assert that his coming was a detriment to the wage earner of a threat against the American standard of living.

What has brought about the change? I think this has been

What has brought about the change? I think this has been made clearer by Mr. Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, than by anyone else; and I shall incorporate in these remarks portions of an address delivered by that gifted gentleman before the annual meeting of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America at New York, February 27, 1916.

Mr. Post told the members of the societ; that they realized that it was his duty to enforce the law without regard to person or race, adding that he intended to administer the law, so far as he was concerned, according to its purpose. Continuing, he said:

"ADDRESS OF HON. LOUIS F. POST, ASSISTANT SECRETARY UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, AT ANNUAL MEETING OF HEBREW SHELTERING AND IMMIGRANT AID SOCIETY OF AMERICA, FEBRUARY 27, 1916.

"With its spirit I personally have no sympathy whatever, and I am speaking personally here—as a citizen, not as an official. As a Democrat I can not have sympathy with the principle of exclusion from our country; but as an official I will enforce that law as the lawmakers intended it to be enforced.

"It is a pathetic duty. Many of you can realize this better than I can. A family comes across that great wilderness of ocean to get away from economic pressure, industrial pressure, political persecution. They see that Goddess of Liberty loom up as they approach New York. They are full of hope. The promised land is before them, but they find they can not come ashore. They pass the Goddess of Liberty again, but on their way to Ellis Island. Then they pass immigration officials in a line to be examined. They answer questions. Possibly some one of the family comes within the provisions of the exclusion law. That one is excluded. The case is appealed to the Secretary of Labor, who has very little discretion. And then it may be that the excluded one must go back to a homeless land instead of entering this land of promise.

"Now, my friends, some of the things I am going to say to you, you may not like; but, standing on that most exalted plane of human association, the brotherhood of man, I am going to

assume a brother's privilege to say what I think.

"One of these unpleasant things is the fact that exclusion of aliens is necessary. It is going to become more and more drastic. Not because I want it so. I tell you I don't. But it is going to be so just the same. And more than that, the same

thing that has made it necessary, and will make it more and more necessary, is going to sweep you yourselves or your children into the stream of exclusionists. I do not mean that the exclusion of aliens is essentially necessary. Let me emphasize that. I mean that it is necessary under existing conditions.

"We did not always have exclusion laws. I am not as old as Mr. Wolf, but I can remember when we had no exclusion laws. I can remember when it would have been political death to any political leader in almost any part of this country to have advocated exclusion laws for aliens. But the exclusion

laws came. Why?

"We are told by Senator REED, and I do not doubt the Senator's assurances, that the principal reason for making the exclusion laws more drastic is to keep Jews out of this country. I can take you to other men who will tell you the same thing. But it is also true that the exclusion laws are urged from other Some say they are urged for the purpose of keeping another kind of religionists out of the country. Some have still other motives. Plenty of reasons are urged, openly or not openly, for making the exclusion laws more drastic. But the original laws for exclusion were not for the purpose of keeping out particular religionists or races.

"I will tell you what started exclusion legislation; and it is

still the great leverage, whatever other motives there may be.

"The reason we did not have exclusion laws when I was young is because there was then an abundance of cheap land in this country. There was no pressure of population; yet the population was half or more than half what it is now. to sing in those days a song inviting the oppressed of all nations to come to our ports. Part of the refrain of that song was 'Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm.' It was true. There was an enormous amount of cheap or free land.

"But Congress soon after those days got a scare on-a wonderful scare. They were afraid that this cheap land would get up on its hind legs and run over to the Pacific Ocean and dump itself in. So, in order to keep the land here, in order to prevent its running away, Congress passed laws which made land grants galore. They gave the land to greedy owners to hold it in its place. They gave to States lands for schools; and the States also were so afraid the lands would run away that they sold them for a song. To keep the lands from running away, don't

you see?

"Congress gave 80,000,000 acres to corporations for building continental railroads. For the Government; for the people? No; for themselves. Now wasn't that a fine scheme! They gave these lands away in order to pay railroad financiers for building railroads—for themselves. I figure that those railroad grants alone would make a path 5 miles wide all around See, that land was given to railroad companies for building railroads for themselves. Of course, they were to see that the lands didn't leave the country; and in that respect they have been faithful, for the lands are still here. But they are monopolized. That sort of thing went on until Uncle Sam hadn't any farms to give. And with the rest went mineral deposits-coal and iron that were here before the children of Israel went upon that long pilgrimage out of Egypt. We gave them all away. And now we are short of land-not of vacant land but of cheap land.

"It is so the whole country over. We are short of cheap land, although there is an abundance of good land that is not in use. although there is an abundance of good land that is not Look at the city of New York. Is there a spot that is more congested with people? Yet New York is not so very much than half built mon even on Manhattan Island. It has plenty of vacant spaces and insufficiently used spaces, but they are held out of full use by enormous prices. This is indicative of the process which led to the alien exclusion laws. It is the kind of thing that will make exclusion laws necessary as long as we maintain the institution, which for short I will call land

"You tell me that foreigners should have the right to come into this country. I say so, too. They are our brethren and should have the right to come here as brethren. But when they come here, what then? Is it enough that foreigners shall be allowed to pass Ellis Island? Is it enough that foreigners shall be allowed to cross the boundary line into this country? Haven't they the same right to a spot of earth when they get here? But there is little room in this country, not only for the foreigners who cross the ocean, but for the foreigners that come down from heaven, and there are a good many of them. We haven't got any exclusion laws for them yet. But they come, and they are filling up the country—a country which is crowded. I do not mean that this country is crowded literally. I mean that so much of it has been passed over into the ownership of a few that there is no room left for the great mass.

"Now for the effect, which has caused alien exclusion laws. In the early sixties the wage working class of this country began to see their jobs slipping away from them. If they had stopped to think, they might have suspected the true cause. They might have said, 'The land of our country is monopolized so that there isn't enough land to go around.' But they didn't stop to think. All they knew was that immigrants were taking their jobs away, by working for less than they were getting. Then we had the foreigner question. It wasn't a religious or a race question. Do not imagine that. Do not imagine that it was national. It was a bread-and-butter question.

"I want to illustrate this. Once I had occasion to talk to a man in Texas, an old-time slave owner, and in our conversation I asked him to tell me about the race question down there. He answered, 'I will tell you about the race question in a few words. When the white man owned the "nigger" there was no race question; if the "nigger" owned the white man there would be no race question; but when the "nigger white man both want the same job at the same time, then there is a race question.' Something like that is what happened back in the sixties. The American wageworkers found foreigners getting their jobs, and then there was a race question, a

religious question, an alien-exclusion question.

When all our cheap land had been taken away from the people, when the people who worked for wages began to find out that jobs were getting scarce, then we began to pass exclusion laws. And that condition of scarcity of jobs is what is maintaining those laws to-day. It is what will make them more drastic. It is what will make you and your children favor exclusion laws against belated foreigners. Until we alter these land-monopoly conditions exclusion laws will keep out your

"The message I want to leave with you is this: If you are opposed to exclusion laws you must strike at their cause. You have got to make this country free, really free; and no country is free where the mass of the people have no right to a place on the land without paying higher and higher prices to land

monopolists for the opportunity.

"If you abolish land monopoly-I shall not take the time to indicate how it may be done—but if you do it, you will remove the cause of alien exclusion. Give us cheap land in this country once more, get rid of land monopoly, and there will be no necessity to organize to fight any exclusion law. Cheap land means dear men and dear land means cheap men. We have dear land now, secondly we have got cheap men. Consequently those who are at work are in conflict with foreigners coming into the labor market at lower wages. It is because dear land means cheap men and because we now have dear land that ex-clusion laws must be. They are necessary in order to keep out men that will work cheaper.

"I may be wrong. I may not. Think it over. That is all that any Democrat has a right to ask of any other Democrat. Think it over. And if when you think it over you agree with me, come out and do what you can to abolish land monopoly. Do more if you can, but at least do that.'

Mr. Speaker, it would be impossible for me by anything I could add to what Mr. Post has said better to explain my own attitude and my own general view of this perplexing and increasingly vexatious problem. But may I not on my own account suggest that, exclusion an accomplished fact, those who have lent their energies to bring it about, should now turn to the deeper phases of the problem? For the exclusion of immigration will not alone stop the pressure; it will not permanently arrest the tendency of which exclusion is a dim recognition. Men and women will continue to assume the holy bonds of wedlock and to bring children into the world. And if we relieve pressure from without through the exclusion of aliens, we shall infallibly encourage it from within by promoting marriage and the raising of larger families. Do not doubt this. It is just as certain as any fact in life. As good wheat crops tend to raise the birth rate, so any other factor which has a similar effect in reducing the economic pressure will bring about the same result. And if exclusion shall have the effect of relaxing the pressure which it is aimed to do, we take it as a foregone conclusion that the pressure will quickly reappear, not from immigrant sources, but from within; from the homes of America, where baby voices will be heard more often, where love will find its way with fewer restraints.

So it is my hope that the friends of exclusion will not permit themselves to fancy that their task is ended. It is only begun. The duty rests upon them now to find the true causes of the economic pressure. Is there no way to relieve it save by race suicide? Is it indeed true that increase of population necessarily means what it seems to mean to-day? May it not indeed be a blessing rather than the curse it now appears to be? Can we be sure without searching inquiry that the trouble does not lie in the forestalling of opportunity, in the monopolization of natural resources, in shutting the great mass of mankind out of God's storehouse by means of laws that are in utter contravention of those of the Almighty? Mr. Chairman, this thought is left with those who believe this legislation to be necessary, in the hope that they may pursue it further than most of them have ever undertaken to go. For, just as sure as fate, this problem in another form will be confronting us at no distant day unless we shall go to the roots of the question and offer a solution that shall be final by adapting human law and conventions to the laws of God. We can do this by the simple process of making land monopoly unprofitable through a single tax upon its value exclusive of improvements.

The Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS HON. OSCAR L. GRAY. OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Thursday, March 23, 1916.

Mr. GRAY of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, we have reached a period in the life of this great Republic when it seems that all men who love their country, cherish its institutions, honor its glorious traditions, and take pride in its magnificent achievements, must stand together on common ground, and it is welcome proof of the patriotic unity of our land that to-day men from every State and of varying partisan beliefs are united in the face of a common danger.

We do not want war. The genius of America is for peace and development of all the bountiful resources of nature and the progress of an enlightened spirit of liberty, equality, and fraternity among the children of men, but if war should be forced upon us, we should be ready to preserve at all hazards the liberty and security of American life and American property.

When it comes to protecting our rights and defending our liberties, there can be no party creed to divide us. The patriotism that glows and burns in the breast of every true American wipes out every dividing line and unites us as with bands of steel to join in a common cause.

That man who stands out against this sentiment misconceives what his real duty is toward his people, misreads the history of his country, and misunderstands the signs that point to a glorious destiny of the United States.

This country has never been unduly hasty in going to war. We have been a long-suffering and a patient people. The leaders of the country, foremost among them our President, have shrunk from saying or doing anything that would tend to involve us in a war with any country. Probably some have misjudged the real motive, and have been impressed with the thought that, may be, the United States Government and its people were timid and really afraid to assert their inalienable and sacred rights. But the thoughtful man knows that no such motive impels our people, or the brave and patient man who leads the people of this Nation to-day. The awful scourge of war that is devastating the manhood of Europe to-day, the widows and orphans that are being made as each dreadful week of slaughter rolls around, may well give us pause before we summon the manhood of our country, it may be, to "tread the paths of glory that lead but to the grave."

But when the limit of endurance has been reached it will be discovered that, no matter what the cost, the manhood of our country and the womanhood of our country can and will revolt against any further encroachment upon our rights, either on land

An arrogant and brutal enemy, whether it be an outlawed horde of bandits or the picked flower of a civilized army, that attempts an assault on American life, liberty, or property will find themselves immediately and bitterly opposed by a sturdy Army of the best fighting men that ever trod the earth.

I know from long personal contact that every city, town, and hamlet, and every isolated farmhouse of the Southland will send their stalwart sons to battle for their flag and country if necessary. And well do I know that the southern boys of to-day will prove themselves worthy scions of the sires and grandsires who bequeathed them a heritage of courage, and of the noble woman-hood who gave them life and taught them the lessons of pu-

triotism and fidelity that each is ready to prove by a sacrifice of that life, if need be. And it is therefore with solemn pride and a high sense of duty that I cast my vote to-day in favor of this necessary and patriotic measure. I am no believer in militarism. The pomp and glare of soldiery does not appeal to me, nor to the people I represent. I do not believe that it is necessary to-day, nor will it be necessary for generations to come, that this country should be burdened with a large standing Army. The swashbuckling professional soldier will never be a popular figure in the United States, and this bill does not in any way open the door for such an evil.

Advanced civilization, with its wonderful inventions, has changed every phase of human life. Even war is now a thing largely of armament and skilled mechanism, and if the trumpet call to arms is sounded I want to see our soldiers provided with the best arms that skilled inventors can devise. to drill and teach them the details of modern fighting methods quickly and expeditiously. And we need an organization to which they can rally and add the knowledge of military science to the bravery they inherit. Then, Mr. Speaker, I am assured that we will have an army that the world could not conquer, and a ready reserve that would make the boldest nation hesitate, before they attempted to cross swords with the country that would furnish a million of the sturdlest fighters that ever entered battle, armed and equipped with the best weapons that human skill could devise.

I do not fear for the future of this country, either in peace or in war. While the men of America stay as they are to-day-industrious, temperate, and progressive in peacethey will be ready to do their part when the hour of battle nears. While the women of this country remain as they are virtuous, intelligent, and devoted to duty, training their youth in honor and sobriety-they will never want for defenders. While this great Republic continues to offer to its people manifold blessings, there will never be a lack of men to fight its

battles in behalf of justice and the right.

Unholy conquest-wars of rapine and plunder-make no appeal to the true American spirit. Wars for greed or commercial rivalry will never call forth an army of American volun-Wars involving religious faith are impossible in this land of freedom, where each can worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. But let the foe once step across the border line of our country, to disturb without cause the peace, happiness, and security of our people, and the old spirit that was once aroused by the famous phrase "Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute" will again stir the patriotism of our people. Inspired by no ignoble lust of battle, but stimulated by the principle that created civilization—the protection of home and fireside—we will stand ready to defend—

Your fing and our fing,
And how it floats to-day,
O'er your land and my land
And half the world away.
Blood red and rose red,
Its stripes forever gleam;
Snow white and sout white,
The good forefathers' dream. Sky blue and true blue,
With stars that beam aright,
A gloried guidon of the day,
A shelter through the night. Your flag and my flag, Oh, how much it holds Your heart and my heart Secure within its folds. Your heart and my heart
Beat quicker at the sight,
Sun kissed and wind tossed,
The red and blue and white. The one flag, the great flag,
The flag for me and you,
Glorified, all else beside,
The red, the white, and blue.

Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN R. K. SCOTT,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Saturday, March 18, 1916.

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, during the present session of Congress Members of this House have been figuratively bombarded with speeches, essays, pamphlets, and arguments by a number of people—forming, fortunately, but a small pro-

portionate part of the total citizenship of this country-who insist that the present Military Establishment of the United States is ample for the present needs of the country and that it requires no additional increase. The main and apparently universal argument of these so-called pacificists is summed up with the alleged unanswerable questions "Who is going to attack "For whom do we need prepare?"

As is to be expected, these questions can not be answered with any degree of certainty. However, the best answer which I have heard given to these questions-the one which impressed me the most-was that given by Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood in his testimony before the House Military Affairs Committee, and while I appreciate the fact that the Members of the House are probably fairly well acquainted with that testimony, yet I feel that the answer of Maj. Gen. Wood was so apt, so appropriate, and so much to the point, that it is well worth repeating. A lady had asked the general this stereotyped question, "For whom do we need to prepare?" while he was standing at the wharf of one of our Atlantic sea ports, where a Cunarder had just come in from a stormy passage. The answer which Maj. Gen. Wood gave to the lady was, "Madame, if you will ask the captain of this Cunarder for what particular storm he carries his lifeboats and life-saving apparatus and he tells you, I will tell you who we are getting ready to fight."

At the present time the country at large feels that it is extremely important that this Congress take steps to place the country immediately in a proper condition of military preparedness and to provide means that will give us an adequate defense for any and all eventualities. To accomplish this it is necessary that we adopt some definite military policy to guide us in the future and one which will enable the United States to so develop and expand its military resources as to keep pace with the new conditions and necessities of the future. The acquirement of a definite military policy is one of the most important phases of the program which confronts this Congress.

In the past the policy of this Nation has been, and in the future in all probability the policy of the country will be, to maintain as small a standing army as conditions and circumstances require and to depend in times of emergency upon citizen soldiery. This policy, to my mind, is right and proper and is in keeping with out American and democratic ideals. Of course there is a wide variance of opinion as to how large our standing army should be in order to give adequate protection to the country.

If we are to depend upon citizen soldiery, it appears to me to be essential that a large body of our citizens be trained to the use of arms, experienced in the duties of a soldier, and acquainted to some practical extent with the requirements of a soldier's life in the field. The history of this Nation and the history of all other countries have amply demonstrated that, if a citizen soldiery is to be effective and is to be such that can in times of emer gency be relied upon, some basic fundamental training must be given to it in times of peace, so that when the occasion arises it can be taken and turned into a well-drilled army in the shortest possible time.

Time is an extremely important factor in conditions of modern warfare, and is one of the phases of military operations of which the United States has not as yet realized the importance. Thus it took us practically five whole days to start a small punitive expedition across the borders of Mexico, although for years previous we had anticipated possible and probable trouble in that quarter and had stationed a large force of our Regular Army on the border to meet just such an emergency as actually oc-curred, and yet when it did occur it took us five whole days to get started.

While I do not desire to contrast European military policies with our own, yet I can not help but recall with much bitter ness that in the same length of time from the outbreak of the present European war Germany with an immense army was hammering almost at the gates of Paris. The contrast is not pleasant to an American citizen who has the Nation's welfare at heart.

Our committees and individual Members of the House have carefully considered and have given much time and thought to the present needs and requirements of two important branches of our land military resources-our regular standing army and our Organized Militia. However, comparatively very little at-tention has been directed to the third branch of our land forces, the unorganized or reserved militia, which comprises practically all abled-bodied citizens of the country. There can be no question of doubt but that if this country ever becomes involved in war with any one of a dozen nations of the world we would have to look to our unorganized militia to aid us in placing

and Organized Militia combined would not be of sufficient size to cope with the conditions of modern warfare.

Numerous deep-thinking people in the country and a number of men well versed in military affairs are at the present time advocating compulsory military service in the United States. It is alleged that the very foundation on which this country should stand is equality of service to the Nation, and that such equality of service can only be obtained through some system of universal military training. It is claimed that compulsory service of all citizens is in keeping with our ideas of democracy. Without a question of doubt this proposition of compulsory ser ice is gaining favor very rapidly. I do not believe that this country is as yet ready to accept this idea or to put it into effect, at least not until all other means to attain the desired end have failed.

However, there appears to be a means of fostering this idea of general military training, which embodies many of the virtues of compulsory service and avoids most of its objections; that is, by the introduction of military training in the higher grades of the schools and in the colleges and universities. enabling the youth to acquire such instruction at the time he is attending school we avoid the objection that such training would impede his industrial development and would compel him to undergo such training at a time when all of his energies and thoughts should be centered upon making a start in life. By taking the boy at a time when he is still at school we have a means of instilling in him the basic principles of military training without interfering with any part of his industrial life. It is not to be imagined that any such training as can be given to a youth in his school days would be sufficient to develop him into a well drilled or finished soldier, but the thought is that we could at least give him sufficient practical knowledge and training as would enable us thereafter, if the necessity arose, to take hold of him in a fairly well-advanced stage of development and teach him the active duties of a soldier in a comparatively short

The proposition of introducing military training in the higher grades of our schools has many advocates at the present time throughout the United States. It is thought that by the introduction of a properly modified form of military instruction in the higher grades of our schools, the military preparedness of this Nation would be greatly enhanced, and at the same time the instruction so given could be utilized to develop in the youth of the country those qualities most useful to him in all walks of

There is no question of doubt but that many advantages and benefits could be derived from a course of military training. The characteristics of self-reliance and self-restraint derived from such training are foundations for success in all pursuits of life. The calisthenics involved are invaluable in a proper physical development. A military drill inculcates a conception of authority and respect for authority which can not be equaled by anything else and the habit of obedience which comes from the knowledge of power and authority is invaluable at the time of life when boys are attending higher schools. Of all things that the American youth of to-day needs, and needs most, is the advantage resulting from an experience of rigorous self-imposed discipline. Among young men there are especially two classes to whom such a thing would be most valuable-those coming from well-to-do indulgent parents, and those who, lacking parental control, have developed an independence of action not consistent in all respects with the proper conventions of society and life. One of the fundamental principles of military discipline is self-control.

A knowledge of military hygiene, a knowledge of military science and tactics and military discipline is of undoubted advantage to the boy, even though he never engages in war. It will in itself add to the economic value of the individual. Such knowledge and training will be as useful to the average student in his after life as will a knowledge of geometry or of chemistry, and yet we insist in practically all of our high schools that these branches of studies be placed in the curriculum.

If a form of military training were introduced into the higher grades of our schools the problem of obtaining sufficient enlistments for our standing army would in all probability be solved at once as a result of the true conception of a citizen's duty

and the patriotism which would be taught to boys.

No fair-minded man would advocate that a technical or advanced course of military instruction should be given to our schoolboys. But many educators and men engaged in that profession maintain, and I am constrained to agree with them, that a course or form of training could be worked out, such as is in use with the Boy Scouts at the present time, which will a proper and sufficient army in the field, as our Regular Army not only be of great use to the Nation at large but will be of

incalculable benefit to the boys themselves. It is important for us to determine whether a course of instruction in military science and tactics can be arranged in such a form and added to the curriculum of the higher grades of the public schools, that the instruction so given, even though never called into use for military purposes, will be of advantage to the individuals in other pursuits of life.

Certainly no one would claim that the boy-scout movement of to-day has a tendency to promote "militarism." Yet it has been stated by men of wide experience, by men who are acknowledged military experts, that a body of well-trained Boy Scouts could at the present time be turned into efficient relatives in one helf the time it would take a bedy of ordinary soldiers in one-half the time it would take a body of ordinary

I realize that this Congress has no direct control over the public schools of the United States, but the Congress can un-doubtedly take steps that will encourage the State authorities to make provision for the introduction of instruction in military

science and tactics in the schools.

For the past few weeks I have been endeavoring to ascertain the sentiment among Pennsylvania school authorities on the question of instituting military training in the schools of that State. With that purpose in view, I addressed a circular letter, requesting an expression of sentiment, to the various county superintendents of public schools in Pennsylvania. Replies have been received from about 75 school authorities residing in practically every portion of the State. A large number of the practically every portion of the State. A large number of the heads of our schools are absolutely opposed to the introduction of any kind of military training whatever. This opposition is to be expected, as the introduction of such training in the public schools would be a radical step, and as a general rule any schools movement relating to the contraction of such training in the public schools would be a radical step, and as a general rule any radical movement relating to our school system receives much opposition.

The reasons assigned by the school authorities in Pennsylvania opposed to the introduction of military instruction may be

summed up as follows:

It is not within the province of the public schools to concern themselves with a matter that does not and ought not to belong to the adolescent period of a young man's life, and that it is unwise to permit the mind of a young man of 18 years or under to dwell upon the possibilities of a military life.

The boys of public-school age, most of whom are under 18 years, are not sufficiently developed to take up military training and are too immature physically, mentally, and morally to undergo the rigid discipline which would probably be required.

The ideals called forth and developed under military training are not of a kind which should be sought to be developed in school life.

Military training would add very materially to the work of the public schools, in the curriculum of which there is now more work than can be thoroughly done.

These quotations from the replies of the opponents of military training practically summarize all the arguments which were given as to the reason why military instruction should not be

introduced into the public schools.

When we recall that the records of the office of The Adjutant General of the United States Army show that in the War of the Rebellion, out of a total enlistment of 2,778,304, covering the four years of the war, there were 1,151,438 enlistments of boys of 18 years and under and 2,778,304 enlistments of boys of 21 years and under, we can realize how unconvincing are the statements that the boys in the higher grades of the public schools are not sufficiently developed and are too immature to take up military training. The boys of to-day are no weaker and are no more undeveloped and immature than were the boys of 50 years It was Gen. Sherman who said that the boys of 21 years and under fought for us and won for us the battles of our Civil War. Over 1,000,000 boys of 18 years and under went forth on the battle fields of that war that the Nation might live. Is it too much to ask our boys of to-day of a like age to assume the duties of training and drill that the Nation might be made secure?

If this country to-day became involved in a war, the percentage of enlistments of the youth of our land would in all probability bear comparison with the records of our Civil War. We have been told time and time again that in the bloody struggle now being conducted across the ocean the trenches for the most part are being manned by boys who have not as yet reached their majority. And yet some of our school authorities believe that our boys of 17 and 18 years of age are too undeveloped and are too immature to be instructed in military science and tactics.

No one will gainsay that it is one of the most fundamental duties and purposes of the schools to teach a proper regard for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship; and a proper conception of the duties of citizenship should include a willingness to prepare for the defense of our flag. If the dreaded occasion should arise—if this Nation should ever become involved in a war of any consequence—the probability is that thousands

of boys of minor ages would go forth on the battle fields of this country. Must we again send them forth untrained, undrilled, and unprepared, or are we willing to sacrifice a little knowledge of chemistry and a little knowledge of geometry or some other branch that they may be trained and prepared for the unforeseen? The duties of citizenship require the youth of this country not only to acquire an intellectual and moral equipment to fit them for good citizenship, but also to acquire the means that will enable them to defend the institutions and homes of this Nation under all circumstances.

As I stated before, there was much opposition among the school authorities of Pennsylvania to the introduction of any kind of military training in the schools. It was a source of great satisfaction to me that the replies from a large number of these school authorities showed a keen appreciation of the necessities and possibilities of military training. A few of the letters received by me demonstrate the trend of opinion among some of the teachers themselves.

Dr. George H. Wilson, superintendent of the Radnor Public Schools, of Wayne, Pa., wrote:

I would say that if there is any medium through which respect for righteous authority and an adequate sense of responsibility for civic duty can be inoculated in our people, I believe that almost any means would justify the end sought. I am opposed to militarism as the term is generally applied, as we do not want to duplicate in our country the condition that now encompasses one of the European nations, but I can see no reason why some phase of this work could not be adapted to our schools with profit both to the individual and to the Nation.

Dr. E. L. Kemp, principal of the State Normal School at East Stroudsburg, Pa., wrote:

Dr. E. L. Kemp, principal of the State Normal School at East Stroudsburg, Pa., wrote:

I have received your letter asking my opinion on the subject of military training in our schools. I am very glad that you have both the patriotism and good sense to do what you are doing in the matter. The time has come when we must recognize the fact that our schools exist not only in the interest of the boys and girls individually, but also in the interest of the community, the State, and the Nation, and that the business of the school is to educate the boys and girls for useful citizenship.

No man has the right to enjoy the privileges of citizenship who is not at the same time willing to meet all the obligations of citizenship. Therefore no man is properly educated to accept his obligations and fulfill them as efficiently as possible. The belief that we are approaching the time when there will be no further danger of great wars is abased on beautiful and attractive sentiment, but on very poor judgment. If our country and its institutions are precious to us, we ought to think it one of the first obligations of citizenship to preserve and develop them, even if it is necessary to fight in order to do so. Inasmuch as it is not one man's duty more than another's to risk his life for his country, every boy who is to be a citizen ought to be thoroughly prepared for military service within the limits of possibility. The beauty of such preparation is that it cultivates the sense of citizenship and its obligations in boys as nothing else can do, and also the appreciation of a fine physique, which the training helps to develop. Both fit the boy for other than military service. If it were possible for the United States to pass a law requiring military training in all the schools above the proper grade, I would advocate that strenuously, but I know that it is impossible for the country to do that now. The proper thing therefore is to work up to the desired result by wise graduations.

In the first place, it strikes me that our War Dep

Many of the graduates from these colleges and normal schools naturally go into the public schools, and they would help to introduce the system of physical and military training there. They would also help cultivate in the different States the spirit which would gradually prepare the States to accept a law for universal military preparation in

The letter received from Dr. William R. Straughn, of the State Normal School of Pennsylvania, stated:

State Normal School of Pennsylvania, stated:

I received your letter inquiring about my opinion as regards a certain form of military training in our normal school. Personally I am very much in favor of this for the good which may come to the young men who participate in this kind of exercise, as well as for the fact that I am entirely in accord with something that will aid in training young men in case of an absolute emergency, such as war, or some similar catastrophe (for in general war is a catastrophe).

Before answering your letter, however, I laid this matter before our faculty, consisting of about 40 members, and the opinion of all of them who expressed themselves, and most of them joined in the discussion, is that they would like to see a modified form of military training instituted at our school, but not to such an extent as to create a military spirit.

I find that the sentiments expressed by R. M. Steele, superintendent of the Latrobe public schools, Latrobe, Pa., are as

I am not in favor of military training in the grades below the high school. I do believe, however, that under proper conditions military training when carried on in conjunction with physical culture work would be advisable in the high school. In schools where provision is made for physical culture, military instruction, which would include marching tactics, manual of arms, and where possible target practice, would not only aid in giving the Nation a trained citizen army but would also produce good results in the schools where this training is given.

Personally I see no menace of militarism in the introduction of such training into the high schools, and I firmly believe that every boy would be benefited by having had this military training. It may be of interest in this connection to state that I have sufficient faith in military training in connection with physical culture that I have planned such a course and expect its introduction in our own high school.

Dr. Albert Montgomery, superintendent of the German township schools, McClellandtown, Pa., writes:

ship schools, McClellandtown, Pa., writes:

1 believe in military training in the public schools because it will be the cheapest and most direct method of equipping a body of citizen soldiery; because of the fine physical training that it will afford our boys, because of the teamwork and mental discipline that will be developed by such training; because it will arouse a spirit of patriotism and love of country that seems sometimes to be rather in a state of apathy; because it will serve a definite purpose in that it will assist in the uniting of a heterogeneous mixture of all nationalities represented in our public schools into a homogeneous unit that will act to the honor and credit of the country.

War is terrible, but there are conditions that may be brought about in the affairs of nations that are more deplorable than war. These conditions may be forced upon us at any moment. The world seems to be war crazy. What assuance have we that we may not be plunged into this conflict now waging in Europe? If we are not prepared, what is to stand in the way of armed invasion of this country by any of the strong powers of Europe? I am a believer in the old adage, "Put your trust in the Lord, but seep your powder dry." Therefore I believe in military training in the public schools, for that seems to me to be the logical solution of military training in this country if we have not put it off too ions. We may be sadly in need of trained soldiers long before we can develop them in our public schools.

Dr. S. H. Dean, superintendent of the public schools at Mount Carmel, Pa., wrote:

My investigation and experience have led me to the conclusion that military drill and training develops a wholesome respect for authority, strengthens the moral instincts, makes manly boys, gives our youth a chance to work off some of their surplus energy, and at the same time they are developing a robust body. It is a good thing for children to learn to obey orders with implicit obedience.

From the pen of Dr. E. M. Balsbaugh, superintendent of the public schools at Lebanon, Pa., I received the following:

We have accompanied undergoing military discipline and training in the high schools, organized entirely by volunteers. I believe that in the third and fourth years of the public high schools military instruction might be required of all able-bodied boys, but for the first and second years it should be largely voluntary.

I am satisfied that there is sufficient evidence that military training does lend itself to the moiding of manly men, the development of moral instincts, instills respect for authority, develops a willingness to obey, a proper regard for civic duties and responsibilities, as well as resulting in an excellent physical development and carriage.

In this city there has been little or no opposition to the military training already instituted. The local papers indorse the move entirely.

Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson, president of the Central High School of Philadelphia, the oldest and largest high school in that city, wrote to me as follows:

city, wrote to me us follows:

In response to your inquiry of February 28, which did not reach me until yesterday, I wish to say that I favor the introduction of military training into the public high schools to a limited extent, and under the conditions created by the proper work of these schools.

I should deprecate the devotion of much of the time now taken for classroom work to "military science and tactics," as the demands of the universities for their preparation leave but little time for that purpose. In fact, I think that most of what your phrase covers should devolve upon the colleges and universities, whose students are better fitted to undertake it. But i do think that military drill and rile practice might well be given in the high schools, without any loss to the academic work.

I should especially welcome the drill as adding the development of both the physique and the morals of the student. My experience with my own son's attendance at a military academy leads me to believe that it is the best possible corrective of a tendency to hollowness of chest and roundness of shoulders, which often result in lung diseases. Also the drill helps to correct a bad tendency in the American boy to look around after getting an order, to see if it is meant scriously.

I received a letter from Gen. Edward de V. Morrell, of Phila-

I received a letter from Gen. Edward de V. Morrell, of Philadelphia, in which he stated:

delphia, in which he stated:

For the past 25 years I have been interested in military work connected with the State, and had military drills, and "setting up" exercises included in the curriculum of our two industrial and vocational schools, where we have between four and five hundred students, I have found that the drills and exercises have maintained largely to respect for authority; for self-government among the students and individual development.

The board of education of Philadelphia, of which I have the honor of being a member, recently appointed me as chairman of a special committee to consider the advisability of introducing military training in the high schools of this city, and it is the intention of the committee to consider the subject in the near future,

The Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL HAYDEN. OF ARIZONA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 23, 1916.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave beretofore granted, I desire to extend my remarks by printing in the RECORD a letter that I have written to the editors of a number of newspapers in Arizona, the substance of which is as follows:

The Hay bill to increase the efficiency of the Military Establishment of the United States passed the House by a vote of 402 to 2, which is a good indication that this measure is satisfactory to the great majority of the American people. The bill provides for a Regular Army of 140,000 men, which can be expanded to 207,000 by calling the reserves to the colors when war is declared. I voted to increase the standing Army by 40,000 men because I have believed for a long time that more men were needed to properly discharge the functions of an army in time of peace. The conditions in Mexico for the past five years have been argument enough for a reasonable military increase. As matters stand to-day, with our troops in pursuit of Villa, there are not enough soldiers available to properly protect the lives and property of our citizens who reside along the southern border.

THE NATIONAL GUARD.

In addition to this increase in the Regular Army the Hay bill places the militia under Federal control and authorizes the expansion of the National Guard to a peace strength of 425,000 men. Enlistments in the National Guard will be for six years, three with the colors and three in the reserve, so that on a war footing the National Guard will consist of over 800,000 men. When the plan provided in the Hay bill is in full operation by combining the Regular Army and the National Guard the United States will be able to mobilize 1,000,000 men for national defense. The military experts say that we need at least 600,000 men for our first line of defense. At a conservative estimate the Hny bill will certainly provide the United States with that number of trained soldiers, which ought to be ample, because not a shot would be fired against an invader from across the ocean by any one of them until after our Navy has lost control of the sea.

CONTINENTAL ARMY ABANDONED.

The federalization of the National Guard takes the place of the continental-army plan proposed by the General Staff and advocated by ex-Secretary Garrison. This scheme never was anything but a makeshift. The Army officers admit that they advanced this idea, knowing that it was impractical, to demonstrate the continuous con strate that ultimately the American people must agree to universal military service if we are to be adequately prepared for war. Neither Congress nor the country is ready for conscription in time of peace, and consequently any plan looking to this end was discarded.

FEDERAL CONTROL OF MILITIA.

After careful consideration the Committee on Military Affairs unanimously agreed that Congress has ample authority under the Constitution to control and develop the Organized Militia so as to make it a first-class fighting force. The founders of this Republic, with the experience of the Revolution fresh in their minds, knew exactly what they were doing when they drafted the article of the Constitution relating to the militia. Washington, Madison, Monroe, and Patrick Henry can be quoted to show that they all understood that Congress has power to make the militia a national force capable of meeting every military exigency of the United States. Because Congress has not heretofore exercised its full authority, is no reason why it can not do so at this time.

AMENDMENTS.

The Hay bill was amended in several particulars when it was under consideration in the House. Of course, I supported my own amendment, which provides for reserves by the organization of a fourth battalion when any regiment of the National Guard is in the service of the United States in time of war. Such depot battalions will train recruits and forward them to the front as casualties occur, thus keeping the regiments in the field at full war strength. By the adoption of this amendment there will always be a force in each State for use in case of an emergency.

RESERVE OFFICERS.

I voted for the Gard amendment which was adopted, and which provides that graduates of educational institutions who have completed a prescribed course of military instruction under an Army officer may be appointed as temporary second lieutenants in the Regular Army for at least six months. After this period of training they will be transferred to the reserve officers' corps, and will be subject to call for active service for 10 years. The great majority of the officers who are now serving in the French and German Armies were called from the ing in the French and German Armies were called from the reserve lists, and it is estimated that in time under this plan the United States will have a reserve of 50,000 officers.

SPORT-TERM ENLISTMENTS

I favored the Gardner amendment which was adopted by a vote of 204 to 198. This amendment provides that after one year's active service an enlisted man may be transferred to the reserve provided his commanding officer certifies that he is a proficient soldier. As a member of the reserve he will be subject to call for six years. The Regular Army should be used as a training school for officers and men, and it was for this reason that I supported both the Gard and the Gardner amendments.

LARGE STANDING ARMY.

I helped to defeat the Kahn amendment because I am convinced that, without compulsory military service, it is useless to authorize a standing army of 240,000 men. The Adjutant General reports that not more than 50,000 voluntary enlistments can be obtained during the ordinary year. With a three-year enlistment period this means that we may have a standing Army of about 150,000 men. The only way to get any more soldiers is by conscription, and the great majority of the American people are opposed to drafting men into the Regular Army in time of peace.

PAYING FOR PREPAREDNESS.

The increases that are going to be made in the Army and Navy will cost money and the question is, "Who is going to pay the bills?" Personally, I believe that when the common people, the workingmen and women of this Nation, give the lives of their sons to the country in time of war, that they have made the greatest of all sacrifices and they should not be asked to do more. For this reason I am opposed to levying any tax for war purposes the burden of which falls upon the people generally. There is an abundance of wealth in this country that can be taxed to support a greater Army and Navy, and I shall vote to see that this wealth which cries so loud for protection from a foreign attack pays the bills for preparedness. Most of the Democratic Congressmen favor this policy so that you can look for an increase in the taxes on incomes, a tax on large inheritances, and we will also try to find a way to tax the profits of the munition makers.

Woman Suffrage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL HAYDEN. OF ARIZONA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 29, 1916.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, I was sincerely disappointed vesterday to learn that the Committee on the Judiciary had determined by a vote of 10 to 9 to indefinitely postpone the consideration of all proposed constitutional amendments. This action by the Judiciary Committee means that none of the joint resolutions proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women, which have heretofore been introduced and referred to that committee, can be again voted upon during this Congress. In order, therefore, that the committee may have an equal-suffrage resolution before it in case a majority of its members should change their opinion on this question, I have to-day reintroduced the original Susan B. Anthony amendment, which is as follows:

Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved, etc., That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE -.

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Sec. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation. to enforce the provisions of this article."

That the adoption of the Susan B. Anthony amendment is favored by the great majority of the people whom I have the honor to represent is conclusively shown by the following resolution which was transmitted to me by the chairman and secretary of the Democratic State central committee of Arizona:

Resolved, That we, the Democratic State committee of Arizona, assembled in Phoenix this 4th day of March, 1916, in response to the desires of the women voters of our State, urge Congress to pass forthwith on to the legislatures of the several States, for ratification, the Susan B Anthony amendment, known in this Congress as the Sutherland-Mondell resolution. We recommend this action in no spirit of party advantage but solely with the desire that the women of America may be placed on the same political plane as the men of the Nation and because we recognize that it is unwise to delay longer the establishment of equality between the women of the East and West.

All of the political parties in my State indorsed woman suffrage prior to its adoption in Arizona, and that this issue is still considered to be strictly nonpartisan was further demonstrated by the approval of a resolution at a recent meeting of the Arizona Republican State central committee, which is as

Resolved, That we, the Republican State committee of Arizona, meeting this 18th day of March, 1916, in Phoenix, in response to the desires of the women voters of all political parties of our State, urge Congress to pass forthwith the Sutherland-Mondell woman suffrage amendment on to the several States for ratification. We urge this action in a spirit of fair play in order that the women of America may enjoy the same rights under the United States Constitution as do the men and in order that the unjust and harassing condition of political disability for the women of the East may end in enfranchisement for all citizens under our flag without distinction of race, color, or sex.

I have also received the following resolution, which indicates

I have also received the following resolution, which indicates that the people of Arizona are earnestly in favor of extending the right to vote to all the women of the United States:

Resolved, That this mass meeting, composed of men and women voters of Arizona, assembled in Tucson this 20th day of March, 1916, calls upon Congress to pass forthwith on to the States, for ratification, the Susan B. Anthony amendment enfranchising all the women of the country.

To Survey Chattahoochee to Make River Navigable from Atlanta to Gulf.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM C. ADAMSON, OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 29, 1916.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, already granted, I submit an article from the Carroll County Times descriptive of conditions on the Chat-tahoochee River in the district I represent. The situation presented by that river at and below Franklin, Ga., presents the most inviting prospect for generating hydroelectricity to manufacture cyanamid and other commodities necessary for the War Department and for the farmers of the country to use in agriculture. The passage of the general dam bill as reported by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce will insure enough dams on that river, without a cent of cost to the Government, to manufacture from the air all the lime nitrates that we now import from Chile at a cost of \$22,000,000 a year. At the same time slack-water navigation would be promoted without cost to the Government to furnish transportation for manufactured and agricultural products along the river. All of this could be done at a cost of one-third the cost of the Keokuk project, and that fact makes it inviting to private capital. The War Department, having thoroughly surveyed the river, is fully informed as to the conditions. In case it is determined that the Government shall itself erect a plant, the most economical and advantageous location for it can be found at the several shoals between Franklin and Goat Rock.

The article is as follows:

TO SURVEY CHATTAHOOCHEE TO MAKE RIVER NAVIGABLE FROM ATLANTA TO GULF.

William Garrard, writing in the Sunday Atlanta Journal, has the following to say with regard to making the Chattahoochee River navigable to Atlanta:

"Atlanta port by 1920 is rapidly changing from a dream to an actuality

ality.

"Thirty Government engineers have advanced down the Chattahoochee from a point 8 miles above Bolton to Protector Creek, near the Chattahoochee brick yards. These engineers will go as far as Franklin,

Ga., by next winter. They are making a survey of the river to determine the location, size, and character of dams and locks necessary to make the Chattahoochee navigable from the Gulf of Mexico to

Ga., by next winter. They are making a survey of the river to determine the location, size, and character of dams and locks necessary to make the Chattahoocheen navigable from the Gulf of Mexico to Make the Chattahoocheen arvigable from the Gulf of Mexico to Linking the Chattahoocheen and the Gulf of Government Engineers, set aside \$27,000 for the preliminary work on the Chattahoochee. This money is now being spent on the survey from a point near Atlanta to Franklin.

"The Government's plans, already mapped out for making Chattahoochee navigable, are:

"To decrease the Government's plans, already mapped out for making Chattahoocheen and the Gulf of the Higher than the present water level, at Franklin, Ga., 67 miles from Atlanta. This will flood about 48,000 acres of land and will back the river up to navigable depth as far as Camp Creek, a point near Camp Creek, a Bulles from Atlanta.

"To build at Camp Creek ad dam 40 feet above water level. This will back up water in the river as far as Howell Mill Bridge, near Atlanta."

"To build a series of low dams between Franklin and West Point. The river between these points runs through a very flat section comparatively easy to worp. Were dams between West Point and Columbration of the many power dams were planned near Gainesville on the Soquee River, one of the main tributaries of the Chattahoochee, These dams would be used to hold water for emergency purposes in case the Chattahoochee, near Atlanta, became too low for navigation.

"The Government is making the survey to present these plans in tangible form. Then the Government is expected to stop and turn the Interests, or any other interests which wish to undertake the actual development.

"A. A. Slimonton, Government engineer in charge, says the Government journal of the company of the river was a series of the continuous proposed to the common horsepower development is said to be the one at Niagara Falls; yet it is an accepted fact that interests, or any other interests which wish to undertake the one at Sull Rin

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD W. POU. OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 7, 1916.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, having obtained permission to extend in the Record remarks submitted on the 7th day of March, I shall print the letter of the President asking that the McLemore resolution be considered by the House and action taken

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, February 29, 1916.

My Dear Mr. Pou: Inasmuch as I learn that Mr. Henry, the chairman of the Committee on Rules, is absent in Texas, I take the liberty of calling your attention, as ranking member of the committee, to a matter of grave concern to the country which can, I believe, be handled, under the rules of the House, only by that committee.

The report that there are divided counsels in Congress in regard to the foreign policy of the Government is being made industrious use of in foreign capitals. I believe that report to be false, but so long as it is anywhere credited it can not fail to do the greatest harm and ex-

pose the country to the most serious risks. I therefore feel justified in asking that your committee will permit me to urge an early vote upon the resolutions with regard to travel on armed merchantnem which have recently been so much talked about, in order that there may be afforded an immediate opportunity for full public discussion and action upon them and that all doubts and conjectures may be swept away and our foreign relations once more cleared of damaging mismederstandings.

The matter is of so grave importance and lies so clearly within the field of Executive initiative that I venture to hope that your committee will not think that I am taking an unwarranted liberty in making this suggestion as to the business of the House; and I very earnestly commend it to their immediate consideration.

Cordially and sincerely, yours,

Hon. Edward W. Pou,

Hon. EDWARD W. Pou, House of Representatives.

The Committee on Rules reported the following resolution:

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall proceed to consideration of House resolution 147; that there shall be four hours of general debate, one-half to be controlled by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Flood] and one-half by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Cooper]; that at the conclusion of said general debate the said resolution shall be considered under the general rules of the House.

It will be seen that the President urged an early vote upon the resolution, which he hoped would be taken after opportunity for full public discussion. I have received inquiries asking if the President requested that the McLemore resolution be laid on the table. His letter addressed to the Committee on Rules will answer that question. Let it speak for itself. It is so clear that comment is not necessary. The House of Representatives must legislate in accordance with its rules. A very common way of defeating a bill or resolution is to lay it on the table. The resolution reported by the Committee on Rules afforded opportunity for full public discussion. The action of the House in laying any bill or resolution on the table is exactly the same as a vote taken resulting in the defeat of such bill or resolution.

National Defense.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,

OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 8, 1916.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, a nation's honor, the protection of its citizens, and the perpetuation of its institutions are not party questions or the foibles of personal ambition. Motives such as these should not actuate our judgment or sway our

opinion on the subject now before us.

"Government means authority, and in the last analysis all government rests upon force." The true purpose of a democratic government is best expressed in the preamble to the Constitution of the United States "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." With that admonition of the fathers selves and our posterity. With that administration of the fathers before us, with the history of other nations as a chart for our guidance, it is our duty to determine whether or not adequate provision has been made for the "common defense" and if the Nation is prepared to defend itself should trouble arise during

or after the present conflict in Europe.

During the past half century our increase in wealth and popu-During the past hair century our increase in weathr and population has been so marvelous and our success in surmouting every crisis so easily attained that many of our people are obsessed with the belief that we can continue on our course unmindful of every precaution, heedless to every warning, indifferent to all the danger signals which the experience of other countries flash across our path. The long interval of peace enjoyed by the Republic since the close of the Civil War—intervanted only by the relatively unimportant War with Spain—led rupted only by the relatively unimportant War with Spain-led many to believe that war was a thing of the past, or at least so remotely improbable that it was useless to make any preparation against the possibility of trouble. Many have maintained that peace or war was a matter for us alone to decide; while others argued that the surrounding oceans gave us adequate protection. The conflict in Europe has dispelled the delusion regarding universal peace—wars are neither impossible or improbable; steam, electricity, and the skill of the shipbuilder has all but destroyed the protection which the Atlantic and Pacific formerly afforded; and no sane man can harbor the belief that when the hour emission for some man can harbor the belief that when the hour arrives for some nation to strike, either because of some grievance, real or fancied, or in defiance of the Monroe doctrine, that such nation will give us time to prepare. Another reason for our lethargy is due to the enermous

size and wealth of our country which has led us to confuse and mistake military resources for military strength.

From all sections of the country comes a demand for a larger and more efficient national defense, and it is our duty as trustees of the interests of the people to adopt measures of real preparedness-preparedness that will protect. Our citizens will

preparedness—preparedness that will protect. Our citizens was be satisfied with nothing short of it and they demand it now. Preparation will be costly; no one denies that. It can not be otherwise, but I prefer to spend millions for defense rather than billions for tribute. This country is great enough and rich enough to provide it. Fire departments, police forces, lifeboats, and quarantine stations are necessary, but the funds expended in their upkeep is money well spent. The premium we pended in their upkeep is money well spent. The premium we pay on our fire-insurance policy may seem like money wasted, but it is protection—a safeguard for the future. In my judg-ment a more efficient and effectual marshaling of the forces of defense for this country is also necessary. We trust they will never be called into action, and that the great insurance policy thus created may never be collected. It is protection, and we can consider the premium we pay each year as part of a huge guaranty fund.

My vote in favor of preparedness will be recorded in the firm conviction that it is the surest guarantee of peace. Some maintain that military and naval strength may be the cause of provoking war. I challenge that statement. Do quarantine stations spread disease? Do lifeboats hanging at a ship's davits make storms more liable? Do safety devices on rail-road trains increase the number of accidents? No; and proper defense of this country will not make war more imminent. Were we a Nation seeking additional territory or world power, military and naval strength might be a means of provoking hostilities, but while we remain true to the spirit and the letter of our institutions and our ideals and continue as the standard bearer of liberty and justice we need have no fear that we are paving the way for a cataclysm of blood. As the Hon. Oscar Strauss has so eloquently said:

Oscar Strauss has so eloquently said:

I deny emphatically that preparedness leads to war. I assert with deep conviction that thorough preparedness on the part of America will be the best guarantee that the world can have that there will be no more wars. If it's possible for this country to be threatened by war—and who can say that it is not possible—can such a calamity be better averted by weakness or by strength? If it is possible for this world to be delivered from the fearfulness of war—and who can say that it is not possible—can such a universal benediction be pronounced by any other nation than America? And can America enforce such a world peace by weakness or by strength?

Surmounting the great dome above us, standing as a beacon on the highway of civilization, rises the majestic figure of Liberty. It is the masterpiece of an inspired genius. One hand of that noble statue supports a shield while the other grasps a sword. It is liberty—liberty armed and prepared. Could those eyes of bronze have vision, they would behold on the banks of the Potomac Mount Vernon, beautiful and peaceful; and could those eyes penetrate the hallowed light of those rooms they would see two swords hanging upon the walls above which is this inscription, taken from the last will and testament of George Washington:

To each of my nephews I give one of the swords of which I may die possessed. These swords are accompanied with an injunction not to unsheath them for the purpose of shedding blood except it be for self-defense, or in defense of their country and its rights, and in the latter case to keep them unsheathed and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquishment thereof.

To those who may rely on the past for guidance in the future let me quote from Washington's second inaugural address, when

The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion that contrary to the order of human events they will forever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms with which every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness.

I would be unmindful of the faith of my fathers and forgetful of the environment in which I was born and reared were I not to utter a fervent prayer that peace, peace and good will to men, would forever be the blessing of this Nation. I would be untrue to myself were I to hope for less. But we are living in times not of our own making, surrounded by conditions not of our own choosing, and so long as hate and jealousy and envy play on the heartstrings of mankind we owe a duty to ourselves and to unborn generations to protect and defend our heritage of democracy. We are no longer an isolated Nation, and whether we will it or not we must play our part in the progress of civilization and be willing to meet its probelms. With our vast foreign trade now receiving a mighty impetus from South America; with our citizens scattered over the whole earth; with our interests interwoven with the interests of all the nations on the globe; with the whole economic structure of Europe being swept away in the conflict now raging, we must not think that the lits location and choose its time of fighting. I am in favor of a seas will shield us from the issues which confront us and which large fleet of submarines and destroyers, vessels of light draft

with increasing force will demand our attention. We can not shirk; we must not fail in the duties imposed upon us by our position in the family of nations.

We hear much these days of what the Government is doing for the people and little as to what the people are doing for the Government. I approve of Government aid and assistance in the various fields of our activities, but in the mad rush of our prosperity we are apt to forget our obligations to the State. A nation's greatest asset, whether in peace or in war, is the patriotism of her people and the willingness with which they assume and carry forward the responsibilities of citizenship. this connection let me quote an editorial from the Philadelphia Ledger of March 13:

Hedger of March 13:

What the Nation needs is a new birth of patriotism in order that citizens may understand and appreciate the obligations of their citizenship. There are men who say that the right to vote and the obligation of military service should be inseparable; that if a man is not willing to train himself to take up arms to defend the Nation he should have no share in its government. As a general proposition this is sound, but it can never be applied in the United States. Some way must be found, however, to impress upon the men of military age and upon their employers the duty of assisting in the formation of a large reserve force of trained men. The Regular Army is the proper first line of defense. A second line, composed of trained reserves ready for instant service on the call of the President, will find us ready for quick action when any action is needed. Then the State troops would very well form a third line of defense, which could have ample time for preparation after the first alarm. And the fourth reserve body would be the great mass of untrained citizens who would be called upon to volunteer after the other reserves had taken the field.

Peace-ves, peace-with honor to our institutions and honor to ourselves on land and sea; but national weakness does not make for peace; treaty stipulations do not guarantee it; precepts of international law do not assure it; 3,000 miles of ocean will not make it absolute. Let the dream of universal arbitration and disarmament remain the goal of our aspirations, the hope of a coming day; but while conditions are as they are and while men are actuated by greed and avarice, we must be willing and ready to meet with force, if need be, the aggressor and the trespasser upon our rights. Might that is wrong must be met by might that is right. General disarmament must be the desire of every thoughtful man, but for a rich and prosperous nation to disarm alone and remain unprotected in the midst of an armed world would invite trouble and disaster. As Senator Lodge has said:

Unarmed, unready, undefended, we offer a standing invitation to aggression and attack and the idea that we can meet all dangers by springing to arms when the moment comes is a dream so wild that it would be grotesque if it were not tragic.

It may be asked, What danger threatens? I do not know; I trust there is none. We expect no war; we anticipate no trouble; but good judgment dictates that we prepare the country for any emergency which might arise.

Let us approach this question calmly as courageous, patriotic citizens. We should not be led astray by the jingo, clamoring for a great standing army and the most powerful navy on earth, neither should we be lulled to sleep by the memories of the glorious deeds of seventy-six, thinking that in the modern method of warfare we can spring to arms at a moment's notice and stand up against rapid-fire guns and long-range artillery. Molly Pitcher ramming last year's almanacs down the mouth of a smooth-bore gun will not win any battles in the twentieth century. Patriotism is as virile and as deeply impregnated in the hearts of our people to-day as it has ever been in our history, but patriotism must be tempered with judgment and supported by organization which will make effective the enthusiasm and devotion of our citizens. There is a middle course, which avoids the evil of one extreme and lessens the danger of the other—efficient preparedness for defense. This is not militarism. If it was, I would oppose it. Preparedness is no more militarism than an efficient police force is autocracy. It does not mean war against any nation nor war for any nation; it is simply protection for the homes and hearthstones of our people.

Our military arm should be strengthened by providing for a larger army both in actual service and in reserve, by the estab-lishment of military courses in our colleges and institutions of learning, and by providing training camps for drills and maneuvers.

But, above all, we should enlarge our Navy and increase the means of defending our coasts and harbors. We need more battleships, more cruisers, more submarines, more destroyers, more men, and we want them now. We should have ships of great speed, mounting heavy long-range guns. A few years ago an indicated horsepower of 25,000 on a battleship was considered enormous. To-day England is building ships with a horsepower of 60,000. Speed and range of guntire are all-essential features in naval warfare, for it enables the ship possessing them to pick its location and choose its time of fighting. I am in favor of a

and small cost, in comparison to the dreadnaughts, which can be quickly mobilized at points along the coast and at the harbor entrances. We should also increase our Coast Artillery and have on hand both for the Army and Navy an adequate supply of ammunition and arms.

The great need is and will be for properly trained officers. We have already increased the facilities at Annapolis and to a smaller extent at West Point, I doubt if these will be sufficient. I can not divorce myself of the idea that instead of greatly augmenting the quarters at West Point, it would be better to establish other training academies, located in various parts of the country. What better institution could be selected than the Virginia Military Institution at Lexington, provided the Government could arrange with the State of Virginia for the transfer of this splendid college? Here is an institution possessed of traditions second only to West Point; here lie buried in state two great leaders of the South, Gen. Lee and Gen. Jackson; here is an institution with a course of training equal to that of the National Military Academy. By acquiring this college and incorporating it into the Federal training system we would accomplish two things-the increase of our facilities without loss of time necessary to erect buildings and complete an organization, and the closer cementing of the ties between the North and South. Later it might be found feasible to establish a "West Point" in the Mississippi Valley and another on the Pacific coast, so that all sections of the country could feel they were represented in the plan of protection.

That our Atlantic seaboard is not now adequately protected is evidenced by the following letter from Admiral Dewey:

OFFICE OF THE ADMIRAL OF THE NAYY,
Washington, January 5, 1916.

Dear Mr. Hicks: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of
January 2, asking if, in my opinion, the shores of Long Island are
not easily accessible for the landing of troops from an enemy's ship,
and also how can we best protect those shores.

In my opinion the whole south coast of Long Island would present
an easy landing place for an enemy, and the Navy alone can prevent
landings, and that Navy must be strong enough to defeat the enemy.
The Navy, therefore, must ever remain our first and best line of
defense. This defense, unless adequate, is impotent; and adequacy
is not reached until the Navy is strong enough to meet on equal
terms the navy of the strongest probable adversary.

Very truly, yours,

We on Long Island, with our exposed and unprotected coasts, our rich farm lands and prosperous communities, and our proximity to New York City, the objective point of any invading force, can especially appreciate the urgent necessity of adequate de-

America is a Nation of many creeds and many races. To those from lands across the sea we have extended a hand of welcome: we have inspired these pioneers with hope; we have offered them the opportunity of sharing our prosperity. They have been potent factors in developing and carrying forward our ever-advancing civilization, and are part of the bone and sinew of America itself. They have adopted our traditions and stand with us, guardians of the destinies of America. I can not think, will not believe, that these sturdy sons from other shores, whose patriotism has never been doubted in the past, will ever be untrue to the spirit of America or disloyal to the flag under which they live.

This question of preparedness is a national one. It is a call to duty—a call that comes to us from every sculptured stone or lettered tablet that has been reared to the memory of those who made sacrifices for their country and their country's honor.

We pray for peace and raise our voices to the God of Hosts in earnest supplication that our children and our children's children may be forever free from the horrors of war, but we stand for the rights and the honor of our Republic, and the man whose heart does not beat a little faster when he hears the strains of the Star-Spangled Banner or is not animated with sincere patriotism and undying love for country when Old Glory is raised to its "place in the sun" is unworthy of being an American citizen.

Bring me men to match my mountains;
Bring me men to match my plains—
Men with empires in their purpose
And new eras in their brains.
Ploneers to clear thought's marshland
And to cleanse old errors few.
Bring me men to match my mountains;
Bring me men to ring me men Bring me men; bring me men.

NAVAL AND MILITARY STATISTICS. The Navy. STRENGTH.

The following data were taken from a document entitled "Information Concerning Some of the Principal Navies of the

World," an official publication of the United States Navy Department:

Relative standing at outbreak of European war.

Present order (tonnage completed).		As would be the case if vessels now building were completed.		
Nation.	Tonnage.	Nation.	Tonnage.	
Great Britain. Germany. United States. France.	2, 158, 250 951, 713 765, 133 665, 748 519, 640	Great Britain	2,713,756 1,304,640 899,915 894,889 699,916	

Dreadnaughts and battle cruisers. [July 1, 1914.]

Nation.	Built.	Building or author- ized.	Total.
Great Britain. Germany United States France. Japan	29	17	46
	17	11	28
	8	7	15
	3	9	12
	2	6	8

All countries now at war have greatly increased their building programs, so above notes do not hold good after July, 1914.

Ships over 20 years old from date of launching, unless they have been reconstructed and rearmed within five years, are not included in above tables.

The United States Navy on July 1, 1915.

	Built.		Building.	
Type of vessel.	Number.	Tons.	Number.	Tons(esti- mated).
Battleships (dreadnaught type). Battleships (predreadnaught). Coast-defense vessels. Battle cruisers. Armored cruisers. Cruisers. Torpedo-boat destroyers. Torpedo boats. Submarines.	8 22 4 0 10 15 57 6 36	189,650 309,282 12,900 140,040 75,625 41,417 1,082	7 0 11 22	213, 800 12, 192
Total tons		770, 036		225, 992
Total tons built and building	996,028			

BIG GUNS.

The following table is taken from the United States Navy Yearbook, 1915:

Large guns (11 to 15 inch). Grand total. Great Britain___ Germany_____ United States__

Building program for United States Navy recommended for fiscal year ending June 30, 1917.

	Secretary Daniels's plan.	General Board of Navy's first plan.	General Board of Navy's second plan.
Dreadnaughts. Battle cruisers Submarines Destroyers Sundries	2	4	4
	2	4	3
	30	37	22
	15	28	10
	7	24	10

SOME REQUIREMENTS OF THE ATLANTIC FLEET.

[Extract from the report of Admiral F. F. Fletcher, commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet, Aug. 15, 1916.]

RESUMÉ.

In brief, the principal (1)
follows:

(a) Shortage of officers.
(b) Shortage of men.
(c) Lack of fast armored ships and fast light cruisers.
(d) Limitations of mobility and seagoing qualities of submarines.
(e) Lack of aircraft.
(f) Lack of radio direction finder.
(g) Too frequent overhaul of battleships.
(h) Necessity of maintaining complements in active ships of the fleet. In brief, the principal weaknesses and requirements of the fleet are as

(i) Need of additional mining and sweeping vessels.
(j) Desirability of mobilizing ships in reserve annually with the active fleet.
(k) Need of battle target practice at long ranges.
(l) Necessity for increased facilities at fleet rendezvous.
(m) Provision for division commanders for mining division and auxiliary division.
(n) Provision for more speed in design of fighting craft intended to operate with the fleet.
(o) Need of antiaircraft guns.

Naval expenditures of the principal naval powers of the world.

Piscal year.	Great Britain, Apr. 1- Mar. 31.	United States, July 1- June 30.	Germany, April to March.	France, January to December.
1900-1901 1901-2 1902-3 1903-4 1904-5 1905-8 1906-7 1907-8 1908-9 1909-10 1910-11 1911-12 1912-13 1913-14 1914-15	152,954,342 151,880,617 156,401,161 181,936,341	\$61, 721, 695 68, 438, 301 82, 977, 641 104, 126, 192 116, 655, 826 109, 725, 659 98, 392, 144 117, 353, 474 120, 421, 579 111, 791, 980 111, 791, 980 129, 787, 233 136, 838, 301 141, 872, 786	\$37, 173, 074 46, 315, 800 46, 818, 700 50, 544, 000 54, 918, 000 54, 918, 000 68, 133, 500 80, 787, 628 95, 047, 820 103, 302, 773 107, 178, 480 109, 989, 096 112, 091, 125	\$72, 683, 180 67, 079, 011 59, 217, 558 59, 740, 222 60, 178, 222 60, 178, 69, 514 60, 685, 813 62, 194, 916 64, 899, 489 74, 102, 439 80, 371, 109 81, 692, 832 90, 164, 625 123, 828, 872

THE ARMY.

[Extract from the Report of the Secretary of War, Nov. 15, 1914.]

For the purpose of information the following table is presented, showing the area, population, and military resources on a peace and war footing of other nations in comparison with

	Land forces of various countries.				
	Area (square miles).	Popula- tion.	Peace strength.	Total trained war strength.	
Germany France Russis Great Britain and colonies Italy Austria-Hungary Japan Turkey Spain Switzerland Sweden Belgium United States (including Philippine Scouts)	208, 830 207, 054 8, 647, 657 11, 467, 294 110, 550 261, 035 147, 655 1, 186, 874 194, 783 15, 976 172, 876 11, 373	64, 903, 423 38, 961, 945 160, 095, 200 396, 294, 752 32, 475, 253 49, 418, 596 35, 875, 390 35, 764, 876 19, 503, 008 3, 741, 971 5, 476, 441 7, 074, 910	620,000 560,000 1,200,000 254,500 275,500 360,000 230,000 420,000 115,000 42,000 97,760	4,000,090 3,000,000 4,500,000 1,500,000 1,200,000 1,200,000 1,200,000 1,200,000 275,000 200,000 1,200,000 275,000 1,200,000 275,000	

¹ Excluding native army, 160,000. ² Including Organized Militia and Philippine Scouts

Strength of United States Army June 30, 1915. [Report of Chief of Staff, United States Army.]

	Officers.	Enlisted men.	Total.
Regular Army	4,616 182 8,705	195, 765 5, 430 17 120, 693	100, 381 5, 612 17 129, 398
Grand total	13,503	221, 905	235, 408

¹Including 8,381 enlisted men of the Hospital and Quartermaster's Corps.

COAST FORTIFICATIONS.

AMMUNITION SHORTAGE (SEACOAST GUNS).

[Extract from the report of the Chief of Staff, United States Army, 1914.]

There is a serious deficiency, however, in ammunition for these coast defenses, the supply which the department has been attempting to maintain being on the basis of approximately an hour's full and active operation of the guns in the United States proper and a two hours' full and active operation of the guns in oversea fortifications. According to the report of the Chief of Coast Artillery, the amount of ammunition now available and provided for by appropriations is equal to about 73 per cent of this requirement for the guns and 50 per cent for the mortars.

mortars.

[Extract from the report of the Chief of Staff, United States Army, Oct. 15, 1915.]

The full effectiveness of the existing seasonst armament can not be attained under present conditions, because of the shortages in the supply of the essential accessories, such as ammunition, searchlights, and fire control. Of the latter deficiencies, that of ammunition is the most serious, as the total supply on hand is only about three-fourths, of the so-called one hour's allowance. That allowance is deemed

wholly inadequate, and no material measure of relief will be afforded unless future appropriations for ammunition are greatly in excess of the annual appropriations for that purpose that have been made

of the annual appropriations of the submarine-mine matériel required for the mine defenses is another urgent need. This matériel should be maintained at all times in a state of preparedness for immediate service, as naval attacks upon our seacoast cities may occur coincidently with or even may precede a formal declaration of war.

EXPOSURE OF OUR SEACOAST CITIES.

EXPOSURE OF OUR SEACOAST CITIES.

[Extracts from the testimony of Brig. Gen. E. M. Weaver, United States Army, Chief of Coast Artillery, before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives, Jan. 19, 1916.]

Gen. Weaver, I am going this afternoon before the fortifications committee to urge additional fortifications, the necessity of which has been brought about by the evolution of naval attack. These new fortifications include those at Cape Henry, Rockaway Beach, San Francisco, and one or two other places.

Gen. Weaver. When we mounted guns at Fort Hamilton and Fort Wadsworth and at Sandy Hook it was not thought that ships could stand outside of Rockaway Beach and fire over the whole width of Long Island and Brooklyn and reach New York City. There were no guns mounted that could do that at that time. Now there are, A ship could do that and be beyond the range of any gun we have mounted.

SHORTAGE OF MEN FOR SEACOAST GUNS.

SHORTAGE OF MEN FOR SEACOAST GUNS.

[Extracts from the report of the Chief of Coast Artillery, United States Army, Oct. 2, 1915.]

As the defenses outside of continental United States have been completed and made ready for their garrisons, it has been necessary to transfer to these a considerable number of Coast Artillery troops from the home fortifications are complete, 291 officers and 6,800 men will be required for duty outside of the United States. This will leave in the United States only 410 officers and 12,219 men, which is approximately 44 per cent of the officers and 53 per cent of the enlisted men necessary for providing a minhuma manning body for all mines and for that one-half of the guns and mortars which it is contemplated shall be manned by Regular troops.

Apart from this, the action of the coast States has been most discouraging in their failure to provide Coast Artillery personnel from the State forces for the manning body of the other half of the gun and mortar batteries in the United States. Of the 711 officers and 17,329 enlisted men, which it was hoped and expected the States would furnish for this purpose, there were, at the 1915 annual inspection, only 440 officers and 7,438 enlisted men organized and available (p. 4).

At the present time many of the coast fortifications have been so stripped of the personnel that they have been placed in the hands of caretakers, who can only keep the material in serviceable condition. The garrisons for the coast defenses of Portsmouth, the Delaware, the Potomac, the Cape Fear, Charleston, Key West, Tampa, Mobile, Galveston, and the Columbia are greatly below what they should be under the policy which contemplates that one-half of the guns and mortars be manned by Regular troops.

Jewish Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON.

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 30, 1916.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, the city of Birmingham, in which I reside, has a Jewish population of between three and four thousand. Quite a number of these are French, German, Bohemian, and Austrian Jews and their descendants, and have been in America for 20 years or more. The remainder of our Jewish population is Russian in origin, with a few from the Balkan countries.

While residing in that city for 25 years and being actively engaged in practice as a lawyer, it has been my good fortune to associate intimately with its Jewish population. Prior to my retiring from practice I had a large clientage among these people; in fact, most of them were my clients. In representing Jewish clients I necessarily became intimately acquainted with them, with their racial characteristics, with their families, and their domestic affairs. I formed many warm and lasting friendships with Jews.

During the latter years of my practice I had associated with me as a junior partner one of the brightest of the younger lawyers of my city. He was a Jew. of German extraction, and was in every respect a splendid type of the American Jew; refined, honest, courageous, brainy, and kind.

The warm friendships which I have among the Jewish people have brought me into close relations with them. I flatter my-self that I know the Jews. I think I know their good qualities; I am also conscious of their weaknesses, for, of course, like all humanity, they have their weaknesses.

I have visited many Jewish homes as a guest. I have partaken of their generous hospitality, have sat with them at the family table, have eaten the wholesome kosher food, as well as

the splendid fare found on the tables of those who are not so strict in the orthodox faith. To be honest, I believe I like the kosher victuals best.

From my own knowledge of the Jewish race, which, as I have stated, has been most intimate both as to the reformed and orthodox faiths, I assert that the Jews constitute a most important element of our citizenship and one which America could illy afford to be without. There are many who admire the financial instinct of the Jews, and those who are ignorant of the real soul of the Jew imagine that money is the big thing in their lives. But I know the Jews well enough to know that this is not true. The big thing in the life of a Jew is his family life—his wife, his children, and his home. I assert that there is no element of our people in America who have such tender and devoted domestic relations as our Jewish population. Strife and discord never enter the true Jewish home.

Also, I would pay tribute to the Jew's benevolence, to his fraternal instinct, and to his love for mankind; and there is the poetry of the Jewish soul, its music, its art, its inspiration.

In November, 1914, after I had been elected to Congress and just before I was to leave my city for Washington to take up the study of my official duties, I was the guest at a dinner given by my good friend Himon Abromson. The pleasure of the occasion was very great. I was well acquainted in the home of my friend, who is a Jew. The other guests were Jews, and all were of the orthodox faith and all my intimate personal friends.

Mr. Abromson was born in Russia of poor parents and came to America alone, and practically destitute, when little more than a boy. By industry and honest and fair dealing he has made a success in our country, has amassed a competence, and now, in his middle manhood, is a substantial property owner and has a prosperous business, but still continues to reside in the modes home in my city which he has occupied for a number of years. I look upon him not merely as my warm personal friend, but as a splendid citizen, a man of exemplary habits and character, and a solid and substantial man in every respect, whose word is as good as his bond.

As we sat at the table and partook of the palatable kosher food at the November dinner our host related to his guests some of his experiences as a boy in far-away Russia and told us of his early struggles and of the hard life of Jews in that land of oppression. After discoursing upon this subject for some time Mr. Abromson arose to his feet and, addressing his remarks to me said:

We have elected our friend to represent us in Congress at Washington, and in a few days he is to go away to take up his duties. He is known to every Jew in this city as the friend of the Jews, and they are his friends. We have one appeal to make to him—that is, that in his public life he will not forget the sufferings of our kinsfolk in Russia.

Naturally I was much touched by the incident. I could not have done less than to make an appreciative response. I then stated to my friends who were present, for I understood the full significance of what had been said:

I will never vote to keep the poor persecuted Russian Jews out of America.

The pledge which I gave on that occasion was given deliberately and is a sacred one in my eyes. I shall not violate it.

When the Burnett immigration bill was presented to Congress

I was anxious to observe its provisions as applicable to the Russian Jews. I had heard much of the literacy test and read this with some apprehension. This test provides that no immi-grant over 16 years of age shall be admitted who can not read in English, Hebrew, Yiddish, or some other language or dialect as much as 30 ordinary words in plain type. This provision, while not harsh, is modified by the provision that any immigrant now in the United States or who may hereafter be admitted may bring in or send for his ancestors whether they can read or not. However, the provision of the bill upon which I set most store is that which provides that all immigrants shall be admitted when they come to this country to avoid religious persecution, whether such persecution be by overt acts or by laws or governmental regulations. I was glad when I found this provision in the Burnett bill, for I realized that under it all Jews could come in and that only the ignorant of other races would be excluded. Nearly all Jews, even those who have had the poorest opportunities, can read a little Yiddish. There are very few of them who would be excluded as unable to read. However, the provision as to religious persecution opens wide the door to Jewish immigrants, and all Jews who wish may come to America.

It is the source of great pleasure to me that I am able to keep my pledge to my friends among the Jews and at the same time to perform my duty toward the working classes of the country, and because of the provisions of the Burnett bill, which are so liberal toward the Jews, I will support that measure.

There can be no doubt that as a general proposition immigration to our country should be restricted. I do not look upon the literacy test as being fair in all respects. I do not look upon it as being effective, because it will not keep out those who will come into competition with skilled labor. It will keep out only the common laborer, and I very strongly believe that the common laborer needs protection as well as anyone else. Still the restriction will help some.

The first duty of a Member of Congress is toward those who are already in America, and their welfare should be his first concern. I am willing for the foreigner to come when he is honest and respectable, but no criminals should be admitted. I do not think that we should admit foreigners in such floods as would drown out American ideals and institutions. I think we should admit them in such numbers only as we are able to digest and to assimilate into American citizenship.

The interest of the immigrant who is already here and who has identified himself with our country demands that immigrants shall not be admitted in such numbers as to reduce him to destitution by competition in labor and to destroy his opportunity to make a living for himself and to have a future in our great new country.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM SCHLEY HOWARD,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 30, 1916.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, this is a great day for the fulfillment of campaign pledges, both parties being able to vote almost as a unit upon this bill for the restriction of immigration in conformity with those pledges.

It is a source of much gratification to me that the President of the United States will have another opportunity to pass upon a measure that has been directly before the American people in the last election, and they have again approved the course of those of us who voted for this measure in the last Congress.

The guiding influence that controlled the President in his veto message was his fear that the American people had not demanded so restrictive a measure as the Burnett bill. He need have no such fear to-day. The people have spoken from one end of the country to the other, and they have said that they need and want this legislation.

The farmers in all of their organizations have said they want it. The labor organizations have said they want and need it to protect their dinner pail and the American workingmen's standard of living. The railroad organizations have said they want it. The patriotic organizations from one end of the country to the other say they want it.

The people as a great mass have said they want it by returning to this body practically every man who voted for the Burnett bill in the last Congress, and the places of those who voted for it and failed to return have been taken by men who will unhesitatingly cast their vote for this bill to-day.

No man can tell what the effect of the European war will be upon the influx of immigration to our shores, whether when the war is ended it will be increased or decreased. Those in favor of the bill will tell you that thousands upon thousands will seek our peaceful shores to escape the awful burden of taxation and the almost insurmountable task of rehabilitation of their devastated countries, while those who oppose the bill will argue that such a drastic bill is not now needed to protect our workingman and our society against the undesirable foreigner, as every man will be needed at home, and the life of the man in Europe will be more remunerative after the war than ever before.

My opinion is that restrictive legislation is imperative at this time. It is human for those who return from the battle fields of Europe to be impelled to fiee from the devastation and ruin, from a burden of taxation that now appalls the world, and seek the advantages to be derived in a prosperous and peaceful land. While it is true that there is a sentimental side to this question, and gentlemen have pictured the poor, ignorant immigrant knocking at our gates of opportunity, only to be refused admission, it is also true that experience is oftentimes a cruel teacher, and we know what a tax upon this country was imposed by the millions who sought our opportunities and our

wages, but who had no interest other than to benefit themselves, and when satisfied returned to their native land with Americanearned dollars to expend in the upbuilding of their own

country.

Gentlemen on the Republican side of the isle are always harping about protection for American industries from the paupermade goods of Europe, yet these very gentlemen are standing here to-day fighting for free immigration that they may bring those very paupers they so malign in the tariff arguments to America to take the place of the native workingman, thereby reducing his wage scale and his standard of living. You have been most selfish in your desire to protect your dividends and your industries, but most ungenerous in your treatment of the American workingman. You want a prohibitive tariff on your manufactured product, but free trade on your labor. Let me say to you gentlemen who are opposing this measure—and I am glad there are so few of you—the red-blooded American laborers are watching your capers upon this bill. The people who have labored to build this great Nation and who have shed their blood that its institutions might be perpetuated will remember your vote on the day of reckoning. They know the motive prompting everyone of you, and they know those motives are selfish and not patriotic.

Some of you gentlemen appear to be outraged at the literacytest provision requiring, among the other qualifications of the
immigrant, that he be able to read 30 words in any one language
on the face of the earth. This is only a selective test after all.
To provide that all immigrants that were red-nosed or snaggletoothed or black-haired should be excluded would have raised
just as many objections as the literacy test. We just feel that
the immigrant who can add only additional ignorance to the
country is undesirable until we wipe out our own illiteracy. To
use a homely illustration: If I am going to make a friend a
present of a watermelon I should at least take the precaution
to "thump" it. That is the test to put to the melon to determine
its fitness for consumption. So we want to "thump" the immigrant's head to see whether he is fit to assimilate with our people and learn our forms of government and become a patriotic,
law-abiding citizen. Certainly gentlemen will not contend that
this is asking too much of a foreigner when we are taxing our
own people to the limit to stamp out illiteracy, so that every
boy and girl in America will at least have a fair start in the

race of life.

Let us in our program of preparedness protect our shores from the ignorant and the lawless. Let us preserve the American standard of living for the native American workingman; let us forever stamp out the "bread line" of idle men, brought about by this horde of surplus labor from Europe. Let us be charitable and broad-minded people, but let our liberality be first showered upon our own people in our own land, and when they have gathered fully unto themselves the blessings our country has afforded, we will be glad to extend the hand of welcome to him who seeks our shores to become one of us and join with us in heart and with hand in loyalty and love of the Stars and Stripes.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN JACOB ROGERS,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 30, 1916.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, an immigration bill somewhat similar to the one now before the House was considered by the Sixty-third Congress. It came to a vote on February 4, 1914. On that day (Congressional Record, 63d Cong., 2d sess., p. 2910) I am recorded in favor of a motion the effect of which was to strike out of the bill the so-called literacy test. That same day (Record, p. 2911) I am recorded as voting against the bill itself when it was upon final passage. My primary reason for these votes was because I was definitely opposed to the inclusion of a provision which debarred from our shores foreigners on the sole ground that they were unable to read. Such a test then seemed to me, and still seems, an illogical one, because I could not, and can not, perceive that there is any necessary connection between the usefulness to us in America of a given individual and his ability to read.

The immigration bill is again before the House for consideral after full debate. The Senate measure is now pend tion. I propose to vote as before, against the so-called literacy | the House, and discussion of the subject is germane.

test; even if, however, the literacy test is by vote of the House retained in the bill, I propose to vote in favor of the bill as a whole.

I have come to this conclusion for two reasons:

First. The literacy test comprises three lines of section 3 of the bill and excludes "all aliens over 16 years of age, physically capable of reading, who can not read the English language or some other language or dialect, including Hebrew or Yiddish." The bill further states that such test shall consist of "not less than 30 nor more than 40 words." The bill as a whole includes some 1,550 lines, in practically every one of which, with the exception of the 3 above noted, I heartily concur. I have concluded that the many desirable provisions should outweigh the single one, even though to me that single one is highly objectionable.

Second. My controlling reason, however, is this: Ir February, 1914, when the question was previously before the House, the world was at peace, with not even a single cloud to warn of the impending struggle. Already as we debate this measure the devastating conflict has continued a year and eight months, with no immediate prospect of its conclusion. When the war at length does come to an end, what will be the effect upon the immigration problem? No one can say with absolute confidence. But it is clear, at least, that after the war taxes in Europe will be cruelly high, the cost of foodstuffs and necessaries of life greatly advanced over normal peace prices, and wages by no means commensurate with the needs of the wage earner. Under these circumstances, is it not highly probable that the United States will, more than ever before, appear a "promised land" to myriads of war-tossed individuals, who will throng by hundreds of thousands, and perhaps by millions, to our shores? It is, and I trust it always will be, a source of pride to the American people, that our country is regarded as a haven and an asylum to the oppressed of Europe. But it is not kindness, either to those who are already here and whose interests we must cherish first of all or to those who may come to our shores at the close of the war, to permit a flood of immigration larger than the country can readily assimilate. In 6 out of the 10 years ending 1914 our immigration exceeded a million persons per year. It has been, I think, increasingly clear that this number certainly equals, and perhaps exceeds, the number which we can care for. As I said a moment ago, it seems to me that the balance of probability is heavily that the end of the war will be succeeded closely by a flood tide of immigration far exceeding any which we have previously known. Under these circumstances, I believe it to be the duty of Congress, in order wisely to promote the test and ultimate interests of our people, present and future, to take a step now, while there is yet time, which will result in a reasonable restriction of immigration. The literacy test, even though unscientific and illogical, will undoubtedly restrict. Aside from the literacy test, the bill as a whole will undoubtedly add to our laws many provisions which are skillfully designed to improve our general scheme of immigration control. For this reason, weighing the good and the bad, I am willing to cast my vote in favor of the bill, ir. spite of my serious objection to the literacy clause thereof. We can not always, in the world or in Congress, have a question presented as we would wish. We must decide yes or no on the proposition before us, not on the proposition we would like to have before us. This immigration bill, not some other better bill, is before us for rejection or acceptance. I prefer, with conditions in the world as they are to-day, to have the Burnett bill the law of the land rather than to have the present law retained, perhaps indefinitely.

Government Manufacture of Armor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF HIBRITI

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON.

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 1, 1916.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, at the beginning of the present session of Congress on December 14, 1915, I introduced a bill providing for the erection of a Government plant for the manufacture of armor, at Birmingham, Ala., and this bill is now pending before the House Committee on Naval Affairs. The erection of a Government plant has also been under consideration in the Senate. A bill offered by Senator TILLMAN to construct an armor plant has recently been passed by the Senate after full debate. The Senate measure is now pending before the House, and discussion of the subject is germane.

Whether the Government shall enter into the manufacture of armor for its war vessels is a matter which involves questions of public policy and of saving the taxpayers money. Is it for the public welfare that the Government should manufacture armor for its warships? Can the Government manufacture armor cheaper than it can be bought from private concerns? My conclusions are in the affirmative on both these points.

MONEY CAN BE SAVED.

There is no real competition between the armor-plate makers. The law requires that all armor used on our war vessels shall be manufactured in the United States. There are only three firms engaged in this business in the entire country. They are the Bethlehem Steel Co., the Carnegie Steel Co., and the Midvale Steel Co. All these plants are located near Philadelphia, Pa.

The Government is restricted by law to purchases from these companies. This gives the three firms a monopoly, and in itself would destroy all competition between them. But it is evident that the firms have agreed among themselves as to the prices

which they will charge the Government.

The Bethlehem Co. went into the business in 1887, and down to 1915, inclusive, has sold the Government 95,007 tons of armor, at an average price of \$445.70 per ton, receiving therefor \$42,344,937. The lowest price which it has ever charged was \$345.84 per ton in 1906. The Carnegie Co. began furnishing \$345.84 per ton in 1906. armor in 1891, and to 1915 we had purchased of them 89.933 tons of armor, at an average of \$442.36 per ton, or a total of \$39,783,497. The Midvale Steel Co. entered the business in 1903, and to 1915 had sold the Government 48,399 tons of armor, at an average price of \$420.99 per ton, receiving \$20,375,858 of the public money. A total cf \$102,504,292 has been paid out of the Treasury for armor plate.

The Carnegie Co. and the Bethlehem Co. agreed between themselves on the price from the very beginning. The Midvale Co. made its first bid for armor in 1900 at \$438 per ton. This company had no plant at the time it made the bid, but expected to construct a plant if its bid were accepted. The naval authorities declined to consider the bid and awarded the contract to the Carnegie and Bethlehem companies at \$490 per ton. Midvale Co. thereupon proceeded to build a plant, and in 1903 made a bid of \$398 per ton. The result was an award of one-third of a 16,000-ton contract to Midvale on its bid and onethird of the contract each to the Carnegie and Bethlehem firms at \$453.60 per ton. In 1905 and in subsequent years Midvale was the lowest bidder, but the contracts were always divided among the three firms, with usually some discrimination against the Midvale Co., apparently as a punishment for coming into the business and offering competitive prices.

Naturally the Midvale Co. soon ceased trying to underbid, and sought only its share of the contracts at the prevailing price. In 1913 the three companies put in bids identical to a cent. This was evidently not a coincidence, but was the result of an agreement which any court would have held to be fraudu-

lent.

The Government must have armor. It must buy it from these three concerns. They are the only firms which can manufacture it. The Carnegie Co. and the Bethlehem Co. have always been in harmony as to price, and the course of the naval authorities has forced the Midvale Co., which showed a disposition to compete honestly, to come to an understanding with the two other companies. An Armor Trust, secure in a monopoly of armor is the result. No intelligent man can believe that there is any competition in the business.

The situation surrounding armor making makes economy in cost impossible. The three plants have a total capacity of 30,000 tons per annum—Bethlehem, 12,500 tons; Carnegie, 10,000 tons; Midvale, 7,500 tons. The total value of the plants is estimated at from fourteen to eighteen million dollars. not making armor the plants are forced to remain in idleness, as they are not suited to other kinds of work. Nothing but armor can be manufactured at an armor plant. The cost of making armor is shown to be from \$60 to \$100 per ton greater when the plant is working at from one-third to one-half full capacity. In other words, if a 10,000-ton plant has a 10,000ton contract, it can manufacture armor about \$100 per ton cheaper than if it had a contract of 3,000 tons.

When an armor plant has no contracts it must be shut down. Its highly skilled force of employees are scattered unless the company has other steel works in which they may be employed. The necessary result is that to retain the force of labor, great expense is incurred. There is also constant and rapid depreciation in an idle plant and the interest upon the investment, with

taxes and other charges, run very high.

For these reasons an armor maker must make his contracts upon a basis which allows a profit, not merely for the work

done, but for the risk and hazard of an idle plant, a scattered force, and overhead charges. He must not only allow for a profit while he is at work, but must secure a profit for the time when he is idle. This forces the armor maker to charge an unusual profit on his contracts. The business can scarcely be said to be on a legitimate, orderly basis.

He has only one customer, the Government. The customer has, practically speaking, only one source from which he can buy. Our orders for armor have averaged during the last 10 years not exceeding 16,000 tons per annum, so that on an average the plants have been only about one-half fully occupied. In effect the Government might as well have been paying interest, up-keep, and charges upon a 14-000-ton plant costing eight to ten million dollars, which has been kept idle and It can not be doubted that this fact has greatly increased the cost of armor, an increased cost which in this particular is honest from the manufacturer's standpoint.

Not only have the conditions surrounding armor-making prevented economical operations, and not only has there been no honest competition, but the armor makers have been most avaricious in their dealings with the Government. Unjust and unreasonable prices and profits on armor have been charged. For many years the belief has widely prevailed that the armor makers are overcharging the Government. There has been great dissatisfaction in Congress and over the country on account of this belief. From time to time bills have been introduced authorizing the construction of a Government armor plant. In 1900 an appropriation of \$4,000,000 was made by Congress, and the Secretary was authorized, if he could not obtain armor at a fair price, to erect a plant; but the armor makers found a way to dissuade him from action and new contracts continued to be entered into at the old extortionate prices. A number of investigations have been held under authority of Congress to investigate the subject and to ascertain the reasonable cost of armor. The Niles board, in 1905, found the cost of manufacture to be \$244 per ton.

The most recent investigation of this subject was made in 1915 by a congressional commission composed of Senator B. R. TILLMAN, Representative L. P. PADGETT, and Rear Admiral Joseph Strauss. This commission was directed to investigate the cost of an armor plant, and its report is found in Docu-

ment 1620, of Sixty-third Congress, third session.

The commission held hearings at the plants of the Bethlehem, Carnegie, and Midvale companies, and had before it the officials of the armor makers. These officials, without exception, refused to give any information as to the cost of making armor. Making the excuse that they did not wish to betray their trade secrets to their competitors, they insisted upon the privilege of refusing to answer the questions asked them. These officials knew the purpose of the investigation. They knew that Congress wished to know whether they were making unreasonable profits, and whether it would be cheaper for the Government to manufacture its own armor than to buy it from private concerns. They knew that they had no competitors except each other. Their trade secrets were not asked for, for if they had any such secrets they were fully known to the naval officers who were detailed for the inspection of the armor and the details of its manufacture. All armor is made under close Government inspection and under naval specifications. Besides, the commission asked no questions as to methods of manufacture nor as to any matter which might fairly be considered a trade secret. The questions asked related wholly to items of cost, and this in only a general way. It is evident that the refusal of the officers to answer the questions was not in good faith, and that their real purpose in refusing was to withhold the disclosure that the prices charged were unreasonably high.

During recent hearings before the Senate committee upon the armor-plate bill the officials of the Bethlehem and Midvale firms came forward with an anxious show of being willing to give the information which they had refused only a year before. But when pinned down they insisted on taking as a basis the figures on the cost of armor reported by the 1915 commission and declined to give the facts as to what the actual cost of armor

making was.

These officials made the bold offer to allow an expert accountant to go through their books and report the cost in a confidential way, but made a condition that the cost should not be made public and should not be shown in a public document. This was an impossible condition, for neither Congress nor any governmental department had the right to withhold such in-formation from the public. It happens that the people of the United States are the rulers of this country, and they are entitled to know everything that any Government official knows. Necessarily the offer which involved this impossible condition was declined, as no doubt the officials had intended it should be.

The Tillman commission of 1915 reported that a 20,000-ton armor plant would cost \$10,331,906, and that at such a plant armor could be manufactured for \$230.11 per ton when operated at full capacity; that a 10,000-ton plant could be built for \$6,635,107 and could be operated at a cost of \$262.79 per ton.

The figures of the commission were based upon estimates. This was necessary, because the armor makers had withheld all the facts. A close study and analysis of the items which go to make up the estimate of cost forces the conclusion that the estimate is a liberal one; that it is amply large; that perhaps the estimate of cost of making armor might well be reduced from 10 to 25 per cent. This conclusion is further fortified by the fact that in the recent Senate hearings the armor makers offered to accept the commission's estimates as correct, though they declined to give the public their own actual facts and figures. The estimate must be accepted as amply large, and in all probability 10 to 25 per cent excessive.

Another evidence that the Government has been charged an excessive price is the fact that in 1894 the Bethlehem Co. sold armor to Russia for \$249 per ton, while at the same time, under the contract of March, 1893, it charged the United States \$616.14 per ton for armor. In 1897 Secretary of the Navy Herbert, under authority of Congress, made an investigation as to the cost of armor manufactured, and reported that all labor and materials cost only \$217.78 per ton, and that up to that time the Bethlehem Co. had made sufficient profits out of the Government to pay for

the cost of its entire plant with 22 per cent thereon.

Secretary Daniels in his 1915 report states:
Since the passage of the naval act of June 7, 1900, the Navy Department has spent \$76,195,960 for armor for its ships. It is believed that if the intent of Congress to order the erection of a factory had been carried out at that time the Government would have saved enough money on armor plate to own a plant as large as that owned by all three of the private companies, and in the meantime to have supplied the armor plate for its own ships at a less price than it has been compelied to pay.

It is only fair to say further that when the passage of the bill for Government manufacture of armor was imminent in the Senate the armor makers offered to reduce their price from \$425 per ton, which we are now paying, to \$395 per ton. Subsequently, as an evident bid for public opinion to defeat the bill, they offered to allow their cost sheets to be examined by experts and to accept contracts for a small per cent of profit, to be agreed on. From the course that these gentlemen had previously pursued, however, Congress is warranted in declining to stay action on the bill, for if the opportunity to pass the bill escapes it may be found convenient to withdraw the armor makers' generous offer of cooperation. This view is supported by the fact that officials of at least one of the armor makers threatened, if the bill was passed, that pending the crection of the plant the armor makers would require the Government to pay an increase of \$200 per ton on armor, so that when the Government plant was ready for operation the armor makers would have been paid the full value of their plants from this excessive profit.

In view of the foregoing considerations it seems impossible to escape the conclusion that money for the Public Treasury could be saved by Government manufacture of armor. In this connection attention is called to the great saving which has resulted from Government manufacture of munitions. A few years ago the Government paid \$1 per pound for powder. It is now producing just as good powder at the Indian Head works for 34 cents per pound, including all overhead charges and interest on the plant. Even the private powder makers are now selling powder for as low as 53 cents per pound. In 1913 the War Department purchased 7,000 4.7-inch shrapnel at \$25,26 each. At the same time the same shrapnel was being manufactured at the Government works for \$15.45 each. For 3.8-inch shrapnel \$17.50 was paid, compared to the cost of Government manufacture, \$7.94. Caissons for gun carriages are manufactured at Rock Island for \$1,128.67. Private concerns charge \$1.744.10 for these caissons. Many other similar comparisons might be made. For instance, 14-inch guns are made at Government works for something less than \$60,000 each. Some months ago Midvale and Bethlehem asked \$79,000 each for these guns.

Government manufacture gives better wages and conditions for labor. It gives honest manufacture, no shams and frauds. It cuts out the big items of profit, of waste, of interest on watered stock and fraudulent bonds. It eliminates all the evils inherent in big business.

The specifications under which armor is made are as difficult as human ingenuity can devise. It is safe to assert that the cost of armor is greatly increased by specifications which add little, if anything, to the value of the armor. The naval authorities do not concern themselves with cost. They are concerned with quality alone. A specification or test, which adds very slightly to the strength of the armor, is imposed, although

it may tremendously increase the difficulty and cost of manufacture. The specifications are too theoretical and not sufficiently practical. If the Government were making its own armor at its own plant, it is safe to say that the tests would be practical in every instance. Fancy tests and extreme specifications would be moderated. Even if private manufacture is to be continued, changes in these respects are much to be desired.

THE PUBLIC WELFARE DEMANDS GOVERNMENT ARMOR MAKING.

I have called attention to the fact that the enormous sum of over one hundred millions has been spent by the Government upon armor for its ships. The chief part of this has been spent within the last 10 years, during the development of our Navy. The profits upon these contracts for armor have been many millions, and have been a great temptation to the firms engaged in the business. These firms have always been in close touch with our Navy Department. In numerous instances naval officers have resigned their commissions in order to take employment with the armor makers. The relations between our naval authorities and the armor makers have been most intimate. The armor makers have had their champions in Congress. They have never lacked for a spokesman and a defender. Without any intimation that there has been corruption, it may be asserted with the utmost confidence that the big interests engaged in this business have exerted a tremendous influence upon Congress and Government officials.

The men who make armor are human like the rest of us. The influence which they have exerted upon the Government has been a selfish influence and for the advancement of their own interests. The armor makers are not less selfish than other men who are in business not for pleasure or patriotism but for

what they can get out of it.

A close study of the development of our Navy discloses the influence of the armor maker. I refer to the Congressional. RECORD of March 20, 1916, and to the article of one who is said to be the foremost British expert, Arthur H. Pollen, upon the needs of our Navy. This article calls attention in the most emphatic way to the fact that our Navy is lop-sided in heavy We have ample armored ships for our defense, but there is a deficiency in fast cruisers and other unarmored vessels. In the British Navy there are four cruisers and seven destroyers to each capital ship. The United States at present has no battle cruisers and its few armored cruisers are comparatively slow and out of date. It is also woefully deficient in destroyers. According to the new preparedness program, in 1925 we are to have 27 battleships, 41 cruising craft, and 108 destroyers. This will give us 1½ cruisers and 3½ destroyers to each capital ship. To put our fleet on the British basis, which, it must be admitted, is as near perfection as human ingenuity and experience can devise, our program when completed will leave us 120 cruisers and 100 destroyers short of the number we should have for our capital ships, so that our Navy still will be unbalanced in the proportion of armored to unarmored ships.

What significance attaches to the foregoing comparison between our Navy and the British Navy? It is this: The armor makers need business, and they have had enough influence with those influential and in control of increases in our Navy to cause such ships to be built as suited the interests of the armor makers instead of the Navy. The fact as drawn from the experience of other nations is that we already have too many battleships for the number of cruisers that we have. The addition to our Navy should first be made in the way of unarmored cruising vessels. It seems reasonable that at least three-fourths of the proposed entire increase in our Navy should be made in unarmored

vessels.

It is urged that we shall spend \$500,000,000 in an increased naval building program. This is a big stake to be won, and those who play for it will exert their powers to the utmost. With the armor maker eliminated as a selfish interest, it must be admitted by all that there is a better chance that the money will be spent with an eye single to the public welfare.

There has been a great disposition recently to belittle our Army and Navy, to decry the efficiency of our means of defense. It is asserted that we are practically defenseless. A systematic campaign has been carried on to alarm the American people, to inspire them with fear. Our dangers have been grossly magnified and our national perils exaggerated in a shameless manner. Topping this, we have had a dishonest and unpatriotic criticism of our means of defense. We have had "The Battle Cry of Peace," syndicated articles in the newspapers, dishonest editorials, paid lecturers upon the platform, and by every means the ears of the people have been assailed in the effort to make them afraid for the safety of our country.

I do not mean to intimate by this that all the agitation for a larger Army and Navy has been based upon selfish motives.

Many honest arguments have been advanced and many thoughtful and intelligent men, inspired by love of country and the purest principles of patriotism, have insisted that our means of national defense should be strengthened. But to those who have gone below the surface it is very clear that much militaristic clamor, insistence on conscription in time of peace for unnecessary military service, and exaggeration of fears for the public safety has been inspired by selfish motives. There have been a number of selfish organizations, masquerading under patriotic titles, engaged in this work. Some of these selfish organizations have succeeded in bringing into their membership many well-meaning people, whose fears they have played upon and whom they are using to give respectability to the work in which they are engaged. I refer to the Navy League as one of the worst of these organizations.

The moving picture called "The Battle Cry of Peace" is

financed by the Navy League. It is a good picture from the "movie" standpoint, but from the standpoint of honesty, patriotism, and good public morals it is a most shameless ex hibition. Persons not well informed, viewing this terror-inspiring production, tremble at the peril which hangs over our country and are made afraid for our liberties and American institutions. In the skill with which it is designed to rouse the fears of the people in the furtherance of its vicious purpose,

it is hellish in its ingenuity.

The Navy League, which finances this false "Battle Cry of Peace," is an organization which was thoroughly exposed upon the floor of the House by Hon. CLYDE H. TAVENNER, of Illinois, in a speech which he made on December 15, 1915. It was then shown that practically all of the 19 founders of the Navy League were closely allied with the munition makers, Conspicuous among them we find the late J. Pierpont Morgan, chief owner of the Carnegie Co.; the Midvale Steel Co., which appeared in its capacity as corporation and not by any officer; and Charles M. Schwab, the inspiring genius of the Bethlehem Co. Robert M. Thompson, who was one of the founders of the Navy League and is now its president, is also head of the Nickel Trust-nickel being the chief metal used in making armor. Practically all of the leading spirits of this organization were in some way connected with munition making and with the reaping of rich profits from dealing in war materiel.

I insist that the public welfare demands that profits be taken out of the making of war materiel. The temptation is too great for the men who are engaged in that business. They do not want war, perhaps, but they want this Nation for a customer for their products. They want a customer and want the customer to buy. They want big armies and big navies, not wholly for national protection but also to create a demand for their wares. Taken as a whole, the interest which powerful aggregations of wealth have in supplying the Government with munitions makes them dangerous to the public peace. If these gentlemen were taxpayers merely and did not eat from the Public Treasury far more than they contribute to it, they would be conservative, sober influences, tending to restrain national passions and prejudices. As it is, they and their minions and their newspapers and their echoes all over the land become factors of danger.

I would restore these gentlemen to their equilibrium as honest I would place them back in the position of the great mass of the people of this country, which loves peace and finds its greatest profit and welfare in peace with all the world.

Another point which we should have in mind is that so long

we look wholly to private sources for our supply of armor plate, we are not secure that it will be furnished. It would be easy for the ownership of the armor-making companies to pass to foreigners who might belong to nations hostile to our country. It would be a singular predicament if, when war should be imminent, we should find that our enemies had bought up our armor plants and had quietly dismantled them or rendered them ineffective. The public defense, with which many patriotic persons are now so much concerned, is scarcely safe so long as the chief element of it is under the sole control of private parties.

Again, it takes from two to three years to build an armor plant. What would our country do with war declared and the necessity for armored ships apparent if the armor makers should calmly demand \$500 or \$1,000 per ton, or any other extravagant price, for their armor? The ready answer will be "confiscation," this is no answer when you consider that the armor plants are connected with other steel works and are not operated separately, and that after all it is the men who make the armor and who run the business successfully that we would need rather than the mere kaked machines and furnaces. the force that runs the plant scattered and gone, it would take months to make satisfactory armor. Besides, confiscation by

the Government of an armor plant without the consent of the State in which it is located presents almost insuperable legal difficulties.

WHERE THE ARMOR PLANT SHOULD BE LOCATED.

It is my purpose in a brief way to show the advantages of the vicinity of Birmingham, Ala., as the site for a Government armor factory. I am firmly convinced that this section of the country is better suited as the location for a plant of this kind than any other part of the United States. It has every advantage of climate, accessibility, raw materials, labor, transportation, security, and healthfulness.

Birmingham is located in the north-central section of Alabama, in the Appalachian foothills. It is now a rapidly growing city of about 165,000 inhabitants, and is in a rapidly developing industrial section, with ample supply of coal, iron, and other raw materials. This city, founded in 1871, had a growth during the decade prior to 1910 of 245 per cent, which is a fair indication

of the industrial advantages which it affords.

Security from attack should be the first consideration in locating a Government plant. It should not be possible for any sudden raid of an invader to capture the works and to destroy their usefulness. The armor plants now in the United States are all located near Philadelphia. In fact, within a radius of 200 miles of that city are found practically all the works which might be used to supply materials for war. Should an invader overrun this small territory, the balance of the wide expanse of our country would be practically paralyzed for inability to obtain weapons, and so forth, wherewith to fight. Birmingham is about 275 miles from Mobile, which is the nearest seaport, and is some 400 miles from the Atlantic seaboard. The country is of a nature easy for defense. No enemy's raid short of the substantial occupation of the country could ever endanger the plant. It would be far more secure than it could possibly be if located upon the Lakes or in the coast region.

The transportation facilities enjoyed by the Birmingham district are excellent. These facilities consist of nine trunk lines of railroad, giving ready access to every part of the country. Since the completion of Lock 17 on Warrior River we have slackwater navigation to within a few miles of the city. Armor plate manufactured at that point could be barged on slack water to

Mobile at a minimum cost.

It has often been said that Birmingham makes the price of iron for the world. We have immense deposits of red iron ore lying alongside of the Warrior coal field, which affords an unlimited supply of fine coking coal. In places the coal and iron measures are only 2 to 3 miles apart, and intervening is found excellent limestone for fluxing. Large deposits of brown iron ore are also found in the vicinity. The nature of these raw materials and their close proximity has made the situation an ideal one for the manufacture of pig iron. It is claimed that pig iron has been manufactured in the Birmingham district for as low as \$6 per ton, and it is said that under present conditions, with increased labor cost and other increases of a similar nature, our pig-iron cost is about \$8 per ton.

The pig iron used in the Birmingham district is excellent for steel making. In a suburb of the city is located the works of the Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co., where steel rails are manufactured in large quantities. The coal found in the district yields a fine quality of gas necessary in steel making. There is also an ample water supply and timber, fire clays, and

other raw materials necessary for manufacturing.

In choosing a site for an industry the matter of climate should The healthfulness of Birmingham is well known. be considered. A report for February, 1916, shows the white death rate to be only 10.08 per 1,000 per annum. The summers are not excessively hot. The temperature rarely goes above 87 degrees, and the summer humidity is not nearly so great as in the Ohio Valley. No days in summer are too hot for work. Sunstrokes are unknown. The altitude of the district ranges from 500 to 1,000 feet, and the nights are always comfortably cool. The winters are mild with temperatures rarely below 25 degrees. Farmers frequently plow in January, and all kinds of work may be done in the open air when it is not actually raining.

The growing season of the Birmingham district is long. Gardens are planted in early March and killing frosts rarely occur before the middle of November. Live stock may be kept on pasture during the entire winter. The cost of living as applied to housing, clothing, fuel, and other similar items, is fully 25 per cent less than in the region of the lakes. With the development of the trucking indu try, for which the soil and climate are admirably adapted, fruits, vegetables, poultry, and dairy products should be as cheap as anywhere in the country.

The exceedingly agreeable climate of the Birmingham dis-

trict should make employment in industry in that vicinity highly

attractive to labor. Employment in a manufactory located there would likely be sought by the very best class of native white labor. There are at present in the district many mines, furnaces, pipe works, rolling mills, steel works, railroad shops, and so forth, which have already brought together large numbers of high-class working men, many of whom would no doubt be glad to be employed in a Government plant. There could, under no circumstances, be any shortage of labor.

The community of Birmingham is noted for the progressive qualities of its citizens, and especially for the intelligence and good character of its laboring population. It is provided with ample churches, schools, and other similar institutions. Its people are patriotic and well informed upon public questions. While it retains in a very large measure the old spirit of hospitality for which the South is famous, there is nothing bourbon, reactionary, narrowminded, or exclusive about it. The social life is upon a high moral plane with little of the pretense, affectation, and display usually characteristic of big cities.

If the Government is to go into the business of manufacturing armor plate, and this I am firmly convinced it should do without delay, much will depend upon the selection of a proper site for the plant. Such location should be made solely upon the merits of the site. I believe that a fair consideration of the merits of the section for which I have spoken will cause it to be chosen.

Protection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OI

HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 1, 1916.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker-

Truth crushed to earth shall rise again— The eternal years of God are hers; But Error, wounded, writhes with pain, And dies among his worshippers.

I wish to add my little in assistance of the burial by asking unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record upon the well-worn subject of protection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the Record. Is there objection,

There was no objection.

CEASE PRODUCING AND INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION FOLLOWS.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, when the war stops a commercial danger threatens American investors, merchants, and workers. The demand for war materials will cease. The resultant shrinkage of our exports will not be made up by a corresponding increase in domestic trade. Within our own borders we shall have to face a titanic struggle for markets, a great inrush of goods produced by foreign labor. The trade streams flowing so naturally from our shores will be choked and obstructed and swept back upon us by the incoming fleets of foreign merchant ships. Labor will be underpaid in Europe, for the employers will have less to pay with. All the products of the women and children, trained in time of war to take the men's places, together with the product of the men when released from battle line, will be dumped upon us at forced-sale prices, by forced production under longer hours. Desperation will attempt to rehabilitate the frightful ravages made by the war and its taxes through stimulated commerce. Every effort will be made to undersell us. The cheaper goods so made and dumped upon us will replace the goods made by American labor and capital. Our money will sweep into foreign coffers. Their factory wheels will buzz and whir, while our own will lie silent. The inevitable results will be disaster from top to bottom of our Nation unless the party in power speedily reverses itself and places a protective duty on imports. We must maintain this duty to protect our merchants, manufacturers, farmers, and laborers from ruin. We must provide the revenue needed by the Government. Let the foreigner pay the increased cost of our preparedness.

The country is crying for such a duty. Instead of a well-filled and seemingly inexhaustible Treasury, the bequest to the Democrats from their Republican predecessors, we are faced with an appalling and ever-increasing deficit. Had not the war intervened to save the country with its artificially stimulated trade eurrents, who knows what brink of commercial destruction might confront us. We are to-day forced to bolster up a depleted reverage.

nue by a "war tax," so called. We are not at war. Why should we, with the money of the world flowing into our coffers, with every condition present for an unparalleled prosperity, be called upon to pay a war tax? Perhaps the present administration, among its other classic reversals of policy, will turn and adopt the good old principle of protection. Call it tariff for revenue only, if you want to. "A rose by any name will smell as sweet," but give us protection. Protect our farmers, protect our laborers, protect our industries.

This would prove a far more popular move than the proposed high-handed and piratical method of extending the burdensome and vexatious "war tax" to bank checks or to gasoline, already soaring out of the ken of moderate incomes, or the outrageous proposition to put a consumption tax on sugar. Gentlemen wax eloquent on the subject of the poor man's breakfast and then proceed to consider the means of removing his chance to obtain his breakfast. Protection means flourishing industries, good times, busy shops, stendy employment, and higher Free trade means unprotected industries and the unfair competition of cheap foreign labor, the resultant closing of shops, hence lack of employment and low wages, a setback to every factor in the development of the entire Nation. Under the protective system the greatest measure of freedom is se cured for the workingman. The American workingman is the best paid in the world. In 1912 for the same grade of skill American workers received double, sometimes treble, what workers in free-trade England received. Free-trade England is to-day considering the abandonment of her ancient policy; and an illustration of the overwhelming sentiment in favor of protection, which is vying in interest with war talk, is shown in a vote recently taken in the chamber of commerce in Manchester, which stood 928 to 527 for protection. Every man should be for that system which holds within it the greatest benefits for the greatest number. Germany owes her remarkable trade growth to her policy of protection, which her statesmen adopted from the United States, because they considered it the reason for our growth and prosperity, our speedy payment of war debts, and the means of our liberation from the trade bondage of the mother country; and she has carried the protection system adopted from us to such efficiency that she has built up all her industries, and the stress of war has demon-strated that she is absolutely independent, due entirely to the foresight of her protection policy. Even a war in another country demonstrates our deplorable condition in the production of dyestuffs. Our textile industries are on the verge of ruin. In order to insure investment in this industry, we must place an adequate protection on dye, for capital is willing to invest if they can be guaranteed protection. To develop dye is to develop preparedness, because the dye industry and making of high explosives go hand in hand. The war of loom and shuttle and factory will be no less bitter and cruel and relentless than the war of shrapnel and gas bombs. Let us prepare. Protection is the first line of trenches in the industrial war to

Republicans and Democrats alike should embrace the opportunities to repeal the tax on sugar. It will partly remedy a mistake. The press of the country, regardless of party leanings, approves the position of the administration in moving to repeal the free-sugar clause of the Underwood tariff law, for which there is no possible defense. It is better to abandon a disastrous policy than to hold on stubbornly, in defiance of wisdom and judgment. The present law is a failure.

The theory that the repeal of duty on sugar would result in cheaper sugar has not been borne out by the facts, any more than their theory that free trade would generally reduce the high cost of living. Sugar is higher to-day than it has ever been in spite of the removal of the tariff upon it, with the exception of the nine weeks after the law went into effect. In other words, in the time it would require to unload the imported sugar that had piled up in bonded warehouses in New York, waiting to take advantage of the tariff change, the price of sugar has mounted. When the war broke out, the shortening of the supply was reflected in a rise of the prices of sugar. With the report that the new law had had the effect of limiting the acreage planted in the United States, the price soared once more and has remained there,

Had the war not broken out the Louisiana cane-sugar industry would have been ruined. Eleven beet-sugar factories were shut down in the year that followed the passage of the law. That 7 of the 11 are again opened is the result of the high prices resulting from the war. The beet-sugar industry bids fair to be one of the best wealth producers for the farmer, in its sturdy resistance to unfavorable conditions, its benefits to the soil, its great proportionate yield per acre, and the fact that the money return comes in during the winter when taxes and cold weather

expenses come due. Minnesota soil is well adapted to its pro-Thirteen million pounds of sugar was the output of Minnesota last year. If we adopt a permanent policy of protection for the beet-sugar industry factories will spring up all over the State. In Colorado the farmers received last year \$20,000,000 from their beets. The estimated value of the incoming crop, if the present level of prices keeps up, will be \$90,000,000. This domestic crop must be protected, this industry must not be allowed to go down after the war swamped by the inrush from foreign markets.

The placing of a protective tariff will increase the domestic production of cane and beet sugar; there will be a keen competition between the refiners of imported sugar and of domestic product with a resultant decrease of price to the consumer.

The approximately \$50,000,000 revenue will be saved to the United States in a form that is least burdensome of all the proposed taxes. It has none of the objectionable features of the war-revenue taxes, the irksome telephone tax, or the irritating taxes on deeds. There may be some pinching of the profits of the big sugar refineries of imported sugar, but there is a widespread demand for this change as the quickest means of reducing the deficit in the Treasury.

As a sop to the farmer, the Democrats gave him free tools, they said. Under free trade, since iron and steel were to come in free, the farmer was to be so much better off. But tools cost more than ever and, besides, the Government is losing the revenue. The farmer of Minnesota and Montana and North Dakota now has to compete with 340,000,000 bushels of Canadian wheat, to say nothing of other grains. The total wheat-producing area of Canada has not yet been developed and opened to its full limit. The vast acreage is capable of pouring yet more wheat into our markets. Right now Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth elevators have been increasing at the rate of 1,500,000 to 1,750,000 bushels weekly. When harbors and terminals are glutted owing to our lack of facilities for handling our own When harbors and terminals are grain, it is suicidal to keep open our doors.

If true and lasting prosperity is to come to this country we must foster a cry for "Made in America goods," the product of American investment and American labor; both of them permanently protected.

We should look to it that the laws are framed to serve the people. And we should not lose sight of the fact that in protecting our industries we are protecting all the people. In concentrating upon preparedness this must be held in mind. Battleships, brave warriors, fighting craft in air or under the sea can not avail, unless a nation conserve and foster her commercial resources. The foundation of preparedness rests far behind the battle line, in the organization of the industrial resources of a nation.

Resolutions Passed by Washington Camp, No. 14, Patriotic Order Sons of America.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES R. CRISP,

OF GEORGIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Friday, March 31, 1916.

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following resolutions passed by Washington Camp, No. 14, Patriotic Order Sons of America, of Americus, Ga.:

Sons of America, of Americus, Ga.;
Whereas the world is to-day witnessing in the great struggle in European countries a war that is the greatest tragedy of history; and Whereas it appears that in the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, heir apparent to the throne of Austria, by a Serbian subject, and the resultant refusal of the Serbian Government to surrender its judicial powers and prerogatives to Austria to try a Serbian subject, lies the spark that has kindled the same of war and has plunged nations into the business of the destruction of each other; and Whereas we recognize the right of the Serbian Government to try its subjects for crimes committed against the law within its own borders, and our sense of justice as between nations and people could do no less than applaud her stand for the inherent rights that belong to all nations; and

less than appland her stand for the inherent rights that belong to all nations; and Whereas the tragedy of the Serbian people should be a solemn warning to the Government of the United States in that it points out in thunder tones what the weak and unprepared may expect from the strong and unscrupulous; and Whereas it may appear that the reason or causes for this struggle are trivial, yet it constitutes one of the fundamentals of freedom and liberty, and while there may be a grave question as to Austria's and Gernany's other motives that to them might have been the greater, nevertheless we can see plainly in their action regarding Serbia and Belgium two great wrongs, viz, the overriding of the weaker peoples and an utter disregard for treaties between nations; and

Whereas this great world tragedy has come upon us after and in spite of great efforts upon the part of some of the greatest statesmen and thinkers of modern times to bring about a universal peace, thus pointing out that selfish and unscrupulous nations, for reasons that may not appear, but sufficient unto themselves, will regard treaties as mere "scraps of paper," and the rights of other nations not able to protect and defend their rights not at all, this being amply proven by events that have been and are transpiring upon land and sea in which the rights and lives of American citizens have been utterly disregarded, as well as the flagrant violation of international law and the freedom of neutral nations on the high seas: Now, therefore, be it

therefore, be it

Resolved by Washington Camp, No. 11, Patriotic Order Sons of America, this day in mass meeting assembled at Americus, Ga., That, realizing the great principles of freedom, liberty, and justice for which the Government of the United States stands, and for which she is now at great hazard to her own peace contending, and realizing the duty she has assumed regarding the Western Hemisphere, as well as the duty she owes to the people within her own borders, it has become imperative that measures be taken at the earliest possible moment to protect our own shores and people and to spare no effort looking to the preparedness of this Nation to enforce the principles for which she stands.

preparedness of this Nation to enforce the principles for which she stands.

Resolved further, That, looking to the accomplishment of this end, we most heartily indorse the efforts now being put forth by the leaders of the Democratic Party to bring about the proper state of preparedness; and we most earnestly urge upon these leaders the necessity for leaving no stone unturned to place the Nation's means of defense at that high pinnacle that will insure peace to this Nation and to be hoped to all mankind.

Resolved further, That copies of these resolutions be furnished to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the President of the Senate, Congressman CHARLES R. CRISP, and the press.

Unanimously passed this the 27th day of March, 1916.

E. F. Wilder, President.

th day of March, 1910.
E. F. Wilder, President.
O. D. Reese, Recording Secretary.
J. R. Statham, M. D.,
G. L. Williams,
Committee on Resolutions.

The Coast and Geodetic Survey.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 3, 1916.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the Coast and Geodetic Survey is this week rounding out a full 100 years of existence and the event will be duly celebrated on Wednesday and Thursday, April 5 and 6, the President of the United States being one of those who will participate in the exercises. The Congress of the United States has been invited to take part and I trust it will, since no branch of the Government service is more useful to the American people than this important auxiliary of the Department of Commerce. The river and harbor bill being under discussion, I obtained leave to extend my remarks in order that I might introduce a brief statement which I asked the Coast Survey to prepare for me by way of explanation and description of the little-understood work intrusted to its care. I wish these facts to be known while the river and harbor bill is under consideration, since they have so important a bearing upon port and channel improvements, the continuance of which is so often questioned by unsympathetic economists.

The statement referred to deserves the most careful reading by those who are legislating for the common welfare. It is as follows:

WATER AND LAND AREA COMPARED,

"One of the first and most important geographic truths is the fact that the surface of the globe consists of three times as much water as land. While the rotundity of the earth is of more than passing interest, the comparative insignificance of the land masses relative to the wide expanse of ocean and the sense of isolation thereby conveyed, in its realization, doubtless, more deeply impresses the human mind than any other of geography's teachings.

"Just so far as isolation is fatal to development along any of the lines of human endeavor, to that extent is it necessary to overcome the divorcement of peoples and their purposes, the insularity of lands and their products. The ocean has ever been a primary natural cause in producing and maintaining such isolation, and to a great extent man's most notable advances have been those due, in great measure, to his subjugation of the sea, to his successful efforts which have converted a most formidable barrier into an unrestricted avenue of trade and travel. To render travel upon the waters more secure against the dangers that lay heavy toll upon the lives and property exposed to its hazards is the constant effort of the nations of the earth.

"To all nations whose territories touch the sea or who have any interests in the commerce of the sea a full and complete knowledge of the coast, its nature and form, the character of the sea bottom near it, the locations of reefs, shoals, and other dangers to navigation, the rise and fall of the tides, the direction and strength of currents, and the character and amount of magnetic disturbance are of the greatest practical value,

OUR EXTENSIVE COAST LINES.

"To supply this knowledge the Governments of the principal maritime nations have in modern times made surveys of their coasts by the most exact methods, and it was for this purpose that the United States Coast Survey was organized a hundred years ago on the recommendation of President Thomas Jefferson.

"Some idea of the importance to this country of such operations may be formed when it is remembered that the coast line of the United States and Alaska, measured along its general trend, exceeds 10,000 miles in length. To represent the actual shore line, which includes all the islands, bays, sounds, and rivers in the littoral or tidal belt, these figures would have to be increased to 91,000 miles; and to the foregoing must be added the shore line of Porto Rico, Guam, Tutuila, and the Hawalian and Philippine Islands. The length of the general shore line of these islands exceeds 6,300 miles, and their detailed coast line is in excess of 13,000 statute miles.

"In the early days of the survey the circumstances of limited means and the immediate need of charts of the more important harbors and approaches necessarily confined the work to selected localities; and while the original program was ambitious and of wide scope, the growth of the survey has scarcely kept pace with the expansion of our territory or the rapid development of

our resources.

"The work is not productive of spectacular results; the benefits it confers are rather of the homely, substantial sort, by which trade is stimulated and travel made more secure. It is more comparable to the labored effort of the pioneer than the explorer's glorious hazard. Its spirit is that of enterprise, not fame.

"Before the survey was, commerce made liberal contributions to man's welfare, but in a restricted fashion and subject to

many handicaps.

DANGERS OF EARLY NAVIGATION.

"The early navigators were dependent largely upon an intimate personal acquaintance with the locality visited, and their movements were correspondingly circumscribed, and the safety of craft, cargoes, and company committed to their care was subject to all the uncertainties of their limited knowledge of the region.

region.

"The systematic collection and publication of nautical information, in the form of charts or otherwise, renders available the combined results of the efforts of all, whether nations or individuals, and as far as it is humanly possibly, presents those results complete, free from error, and in a form most

readily used by the mariner.

"Surveys and the resulting charts have added few to the number of harbors; rather have they increased the accessibility of all harbors and diminished the dangers which attended navigation within them and in their approaches. In the early days of what may be designated emperical navigation, movement in certain harbors and entrances was limited to a simple sailing line or, in better-known localities, to restricted areas, largely from the fact that a vessel of a certain draft had previously done so without disaster. The general situation then, and in some regions it is still the case, was that practically all waters were forbidden ground, with only a few of the more-traveled ways supposed to be in a measure free from danger.

"Under such circumstances the resulting difficulty attending the development of regions dependent upon water transportation, either long delays that development or greatly retards it by prohibitive rates, even if vessels can, by any means, be

induced to enter the trade.

VALUE OF SURVEYED HARBORS.

"The surveyed harbor at once develops the capacity of its maximum natural possibilities. Every foot of depth is rendered safely available for vessels of the greatest draft, through the entering channel and over the anchorages. Smaller craft have almost unlimited freedom of movement, and congestion is relieved at all points, Entrance surveys are especially valuable to sailing craft, which require considerable sea room, without which they must delay their movements for a favoring wind or resort to use of tug. Dangers are clearly indicated and means provided for avoiding them; changes in conditions are promptly noted and announced.

"The surveys of estuaries and their approaches are of great value in harbor-improvement studies; and when surveys of different dates are compared the magnitude, direction, and rate of change of the features, with which the work of harbor improvement has to do, are often clearly indicated, and the best solutions of the problems involved are suggested. Current surveys, conducted primarily for the navigator, contribute indirectly to commercial interests in connection with sewage-disposal problems, which are at times of vital importance to the port.

"Along shore between ports and off shore at considerable distances the work is of primary importance. In clear weather, with well-determined positions of the vessel, a knowledge of the location of all dangers warrants the use of a distance saving track and a speed which otherwise ordinary prudence would forbid. In thick weather the charted relief of the bottom and the indicated character of the material composing it enable the mariner to hold his course outside, and even approach and enter

harbors in safety.

KNOWLEDGE OF CURRENTS IMPORTANT.

"While most of the surveys' operations are evidently eminently practical, the utilitarian character of other lines of research are not so apparent. An example of the latter may be found in the current studies along the Atlantic coast and at very considerable distance off shore—in fact, general oceanic circulations, particularly between Hatteras and Key West. However, whatever of academic interest attaches to such inquires, their greatest value by far lies in their importance to the mariner, bound south and uncertain of his position, in his efforts to make Matanilla Shoal, at the northwest corner of the Bahama Bank, or in his rua along the Florida Reefs; also to a mariner bound north and trying to sight Diamond Shoal light vessel. In fact, there is generally a time in every locality when a knowledge of the currents is indispensable.

"One element—draft—in the marked development of vessels in recent years has in itself exposed the shipping to additional hazard. The great increase in draft has in many localities had the effect of rendering obsoletely the entire adequate surveys

of earlier days.

"Many of our surveys were based upon a maximum draft of 18 feet for ocean-going vessels and coasters of 12 feet. To have extended our detailed examinations much below the requirements for that draft would have entailed an expenditure for which there could have been offered no justifiable excuse at that time; but since that time the draft of ocean-going vessels has attained a present maximum of 38 feet, and the port that can not accommodate coastwise vessels of more than 22 feet draft must pay the penalty of a full cargo charge for only a partial lading.

"These demands have been met by resurveys, which have been coextensive with the original surveys in the area covered and in much greater detail than ever attempted before. In fact, in many localities the requirements have been so exacting that new methods and devices have become necessary. Detailed development in depths heretofore regarded as excessive has become an ordinary operation, and its further extension to depths several times the present limit should, if possible, anticipate the

imperative needs of the submarine.

MENACE TO VESSELS OF GREAT DRAFT.

"In consequence of the present great draft of vessels, high speed, steel hulls, great cost, considerable value of cargoes, and enormous passenger lists and the unreliability or inadequacy of the lead line as a means of revealing all submarine dangers in certain localities, the wire drag has been developed for the purpose of determining with absolute certainty the presence of all dangers within a given area, whatever their character may be—bowlder, ledge, pinnacle, coral head, bank, or other obstruction. In addition to its thoroughness, the drag gives satisfactory results at very great depths. It has been operated at a depth of 80 feet below the surface, and the limit will doubtless prove to be considerably below that.

"Many harbors and entrances are subject to frequent and considerable changes, and unless these changes are determined promptly and announcement of the new conditions made immediately vessels are discouraged from attempting such entrances, and the port and tributary territory suffer in consequence.

"With the exception of the most important Atlantic and Gulf ports south of New York, practically all the entrances directly on the ocean or Gulf are of this class; and where they suffer in addition from compulsory pilotage at excessive rates, the prospect is not encouraging.

SMALL INLETS-MILITARY NECESSITY.

"Scarcely less important in this region are those small inlets or openings affording entrance to the inside protected waters along the coast. In many localities they are the refuge of many small pleasure and fishing craft which venture out on promise of favorable weather conditions, and often with disastrous results on account of their distance from any safe entrance to protected waters. All entrances affording shelter, under such circumstances, should be under constant observation, and examinations made so frequently that their condition will be known at all times. It is necessary only to collect such data in order to give it the widest publicity, because by means of our weekly notices to mariners and cooperation by other Governments it is almost immediately brought to the attention of mariners throughout the world. In fact, it is possible under the present system of disseminating such information for a stranger from the Antipodes to approach our shores with comparatively complete knowledge of local conditions, including even recent changes in aids. As far as possible changes are announced considerable in advance of the date on which they are made.

In addition to the work of the systematic survey of the coast, much time and effort are required to meet special demands for surveys in localities where such needs could not be anticipated. In 1898 surveys were made in the main approach to Key West under the stress of military necessity. The work had for its object the development of a 30-foot anchorage area for battleships inside the Florida reefs. This work was soon carried to successful completion, and charts showing the buoyed anchorage were promptly issued to the fleet.

THE PORTO RICO CAMPAIGN.

"In 1899 military and commercial surveys of the waters of Porto Rico were commenced before the troops were withdrawn and subsequently pushed to an early completion. Charts carrying reliable aids soon became the rule in those waters, whereas prior to our occupancy in those waters there were ne charts worthy of the name and often the aids to navigation were designedly misleading. It may be noted in connection with our first season's work in Porto Rico that in several important localities not only were the surveys completed in every detail, but finished charts were prepared on board ship and issued to naval and commercial vessels for immediate use.

The survey of Porto Rico was completed in 1909; the work involved 80 large field hydrographic sheets and 42 topographic sheets, which material is now published in the form of 20 charts. These charts are supplemented by a coast pilot volume, which contains comprehensive sailing directions for those waters and much general information relating to the island. In 1900 the survey of the Philippines was organized, and notwithstanding the increased demands upon the service in home waters, particularly Alaska, the work has been pushed with such viger that the little known and extremely dangerous waters of the archipelago have been in a great measure completely surveyed and charted, as is evidenced by the publication by the Coast Survey of 131 different charts of that region.

HAWAITAN ISLANDS-PANAMA-ALASKA.

"Incidentally the work in the Hawaiian Islands has not been neglected; in fact, it has been prosecuted to such good purpose that 52 original topographic and 39 hydrographic field sheets have been finished and the material collected published in the form of 12 charts. For the Philippines and Hawaii complete sailing directions have been prepared and issued, and, as in the case of all the survey's publications, are corrected for all changes affecting the subject matter and extended as additional data become available.

"The survey has contributed in full measure to the completion and successful operation of the Panama Canal project by exhaustive examinations in the approaches and entrances to the canal.

"The work revealed important unknown dangers in the Pacific approach and established the absence of such features in practicable lines of approach to the canal.

"An area 13 by 23 miles, and covering 175 square miles, has been thoroughly explored by the wire drag, developing 52 shoal spots, of which 37 are actual menaces to navigation. Seventeen original field sheets have been made by the Coast Survey, which, together with information from other authentic sources, as the basis for four charts now published by the Coast Survey covering the entire canal and both approaches

"These charts were in the hands of navigators at the time

the canal was opened to traffic.

"In Alaskan waters our contributions have been noteworthy, and important and substantial additions to the final chart of that extensive and most difficult coast line are made with each season's work. Along with the general survey in that region in-sistent and even imperative demands for charts of particular localities have to be supplied, as development and its resulting water-borne traffic are constantly finding new and little-known fields for their activities.

"The importance of this class of work is strikingly illustrated in several well-known instances.

CHARTING THE KUSKOKWIM.

"The Kuskokwim entrance, the gateway to an empire, was one of the most difficult to navigate on account of the very irregular broken line and restricted areas of deepest water it was necessary to follow from the sea to the river, the absence of aids, the remoteness from land and landmarks, and the almost perpetual fog and rain. It has been stated that vessels have made the passage into the river by blundering in through a fog and consumed much less time in doing so than was often required to accomplish the same feat in clear weather and under the most favorable conditions.

The survey of this entrance was completed in 1915, and in addition to locating and charting the intricacies of the shoals and channels there were also determined a sufficient number of mountain peaks to supply all necessary natural aids to naviga-tion. Supplementary to the charts, and issued with them in time for use at the beginning of the 1915 season of navigation, pamphlets giving detailed sailing directions and predicted tides were prepared.

Marble Bay, a tributary of Davidson Inlet, developed on its shores in 1912 an important marble quarry; but by reason of a total lack of surveys in Marble Bay the steamships declined to enter, and did not do so until the survey in prempt response to request did the necessary work in the fall of 1912 at the close

of the regular season.

"The development of the rich gold deposits in Klag Bay, a tributary of Khaz Bay, would scarcely have been possible without the chart which was furnished immediately upon demand

" SURVEY WORK IN ICY WATERS.

"The chart of Nushagak Bay and approaches covers waters which were frequently the scene of disaster to the vessels operated in connection with the important canning industry leeated there. The chart has greatly diminished the difficulties of navigation in this very dangerous area and disasters have hecome almost unknown.

'Similar surveys in response to urgent local requirements, and often in anticipation of such needs, have been made wher-

ever the occasion has arisen. Among such are:

Survey of the lower Yukon, including the difficult approaches to and through the delta in 1898 in connection with the Klondike strike.

"Surveys in Norton Sound in 1899 and 1900 for benefit of shipping to Nome and vicinity.

"Surveys of Port Clarence and tributaries required for development of gold and coal in the central Seward Peninsula

Various parts of Prince William Sound and neighboring waters were covered under similar circumstances.

The survey's contributions to the solution of the problems involved in a choice of terminals for the Government railway now building from Anchorage northward have been material.

"The general bearing of the work upon the development of Alaska and the importance of the final, completed survey is clearly indicated by the results of the wire-drag work in 1914 and 1915.

NO CHART, NO CHARTER.

"Another example of the application of the underwriter's settled policy of no chart, no charter, and of the absolute dependence of an important industry upon the work of the survey is found in the situation that confronted the phosphate shippers along the Withlacoochee River. The open roadstead off the entrance and its approaches were of such a character and so little known that vessels could not be induced to enter the trade. A survey was made, and, in addition to developing the dangers within the area, an important anchorage basin was found and aids established for the safe use of the roadstead, which now enjoys considerable international trade.

'The magnitude of the work required to meet the needs of the shipping, which is a measure of its importance to commerce, is indicated by the number of different charts published and the

total number of copies issued and sold.

"We now issue for all waters, exclusive of the Philippines, 522 different charts, which are constantly undergoing more or less extensive revision in our effort to keep them strictly up to date; and of these charts the annual sales to the public amount to about 50,000 copies, each of which is subjected to the closest scrutiny and corrected to date of issue, by hand if necessary.

MOTOR BOATING AND INSIDE COAST CHARTS.

"An interest of great importance and comparatively recent development is that of motor boating of all sorts, those operated for pleasure, by fishermen, and in freight or passenger service being the most numerous classes. The rapidly increasing numbers of such craft affect our work, more particularly as it applies to the shallow, protected, and heretofore little used inside waters and their generally shoal connections with outside water creas to which they are tributary. To meet their needs the issue of a series of special publications has been commenced, and their popularity, as evidenced by the number sold, has fully justified the venture.

"The Inside Pilot from New York to Key West has had an

average annual sale of over 1,000 copies.

"The first year's sales of the volume covering the route from Key West to New Orleans was 800 copies. "The volume covering the New Jersey coast has had a sale of over 1,000 copies in 10 months."

National Defense and Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CYRUS CLINE. OF INDIANA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 29, 1916.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, there seems to be no doubt in the general opinion as to the need of national defense and pre-paredness. The extent to which the Federal Government should go in making preparation constitutes the debatable grounds. It is admitted that the reserve forces of the United States ought to contain all the elements that would be necessary under actual hostilities. The force should be so organized and equipped that the mobilization to some central point could be made quickly effective. This, of course, can not be done unless there is, to a certain extent, organization in the reserve. The departments of this force held in reserve for emergency should be actual, and not visionary or paper forces. The one lesson that has been taught us by the European war is that the time to prepare is not after hostilities have commenced. I desire to say, first, that I am strongly opposed to the so-called continental-army plan. I am in favor of promoting the efficiency of the National Guard, which has been and is now maintained jointly by the Federal Government and each of the several States. It is said by those who favor the continental scheme that the Constitution intervenes and places restriction upon the use of the National Guard as a military defense for the Federal Government. This objection is being made use of not by the friends of the National Guard but by its enemies.

I am somewhat familiar with a number of National Guard officers and I know that when a National Guardsman enlists it is his idea that he does so to serve the Federal Government at any place and at any time that be may be called upon. I know the sentiment of the National Guard is that it desires such legislation as shall make it first, last, and all the time a dependable auxiliary to the military arm of the Government.
The National Guard as now organized in the several States has adopted the Regular Army as the model of its organization. It depends upon each State largely how far the organization has been carried. I mean by that its regimental formation. From that, the strength varies to brigades and divisions. In nearly all the States the staff department is well organized and

effective.

The National Guard is the force that should receive the attention of the Federal Government as a reserve power, to the exclusion of all other forces at this time. That is true for the following reasons: First, it has an organization patterned after the Regular Army; second, it has representatives in every State of the Union; third, it has a large number of officers who have given serious thought and time to the development of the organization, who are sincere in their patriotism, and who have, at a sacrifice to themselves, improved opportunities that have been given them for military training.

The development and efficiency that the guard has made in the last five or six years is of great value and to a certain extent would be lost if it was supplanted by any other organiza-tion. One reason why the National Guard is not more efficient than it is is that it has not received adequate support either from the State or the Federal Government. Under proper encouragement the National Guard can be recruited so that each element will contain the same enlisted strength that it would have under actual hostilities. In all the States the National Guard has a continuous existence. It is subject to the call of the

governor at any time. There are many instances where it has

shown its ability to rapidly concentrate.

The National Guard has had pretty thorough training in the administration of affairs of an army. Every company commander has prepared pay rolls, muster rolls, made requisitions for clothing and other supplies, has rendered vouchers for the same as he would be required to do if he were in the Regular Army. The regimental quartermaster and commissary department have had the experience and understand the forms that are used in the Regular Establishment to-day. With these improvements and advantages over any other adjunct organization the guard would come to greater efficiency in a shorter time than

any body of quickly enlisted men.

A pay bill for the National Guard is essential and seems to be the most feasible plan whereby the Government can secure a force adequate for defense. This pay bill should include pay for monthly drills, camps of instruction, and rifle practice, and the pay should be adequate to accomplish the objects we seek through this organization. Heretofore the country had expected too much sacrifice on the part of the National Guard. In the present condition of prosperity throughout the country the National Guardsmen, who, by the way, are the most active and brightest young men of the country, will not give all the necessary time required by them for efficiency. These are some of the advantages of the National Guard as a reserve force.

The objections to the continental army plan, to my mind, are so strong as to make the scheme an untenable one. The chief

objections that occur to me are as follows:

The six weeks or two months' volunteer camping expense in the midst of the productive season of the year will not command sufficient volunteers

The officering of this force must be drawn from the Regular

Army, because no civilian can afford to give his time.

The storing and shipping each year of equipment to different camps, then repacking, shipping, and storing again, having no regular headquarters, is impracticable.

There would be no continuance of the organization from week

to week and month to month.

No continuance of staff department.

No experience from making out and filling forms except during these annual camp periods.

No intimate or systematic knowledge of the administration of

the Army.

No opportunity to show rapid concentration, which is a vital and essential feature.

The continental scheme involves no State or local pride in its

organization.

The more this question is studied the more certain becomes the conviction to me that the National Guard possesses the primary and fundamental qualifications that a reserve defense must possess.

National Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES R. MANN, OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 1, 1916.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print granted to me I insert the following letter from the committee of the Illinois Bankers' Association:

ILLINOIS BANKERS' ASSOCIATION, Chicago, March 31, 1916.

Hon. James R. Mann, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIE: As indicative of the intelligent, sober judgment of the Central West we call your attention to what we believe to be the first poll with respect to the subject of national preparedness, which has been fairly taken by a representative organization covering a wide

been fairly taken by a representation of the members area.

The poll is particularly significant, as the majority of the members of the association are small institutions, owned and controlled by local farmers and business men, intimately in touch with the sentiment of the public they serve, and for the further reason that the poll was taken without making any reference to the present international situation, the urgent need for better defense, or an appeal to patriotism.

The referendum was ordered by President Woodruff in the current number of the Association Bulletin as a guide for the action of this committee.

number of the Association Bulletin as a guide for the action of this committee.

The results are so overwhelmingly in favor of a larger Army and Navy and the adoption by Congress of the recommendations of the Army and Navy officers that this committee feels obligated to bring the matter to the attention of the Members of Congress from Illinois.

The nonpartisan character of the inquiry and the intimate relationship between the men in the small banks and the public justifies the assertion that the expression is that of public opinion in the agricultural, industrial, and other communities in which the banks are located. The details of the poll are shown in the following tabulation: Question No. 1. Do you believe our Navy should be enlarged and strengthened?

Five hundred and seventy-two vote "yes," 23 vote "no."

Question No. 2. Do you believe our Army should be enlarged and strengthened?

Five hundred and sixty-nine vote "yes," 28 vote "no."

Strengthened?

Five hundred and sixty-nine vote "yes," 28 vote "no."

Question No. 3. In adopting any plan for Army and Navy enlargement do you believe that Congress should be guided by the recommendations of our Army and Navy efficers, who are experts on the subject of Army and Navy matters?

Five hundred and fifty-eight vote "yes," 24 vote "no" (16 qualify their answers by saying "to a certain extent").

It will be seen that to question No. 1,96 per cent voted in the affirmative; to question No. 3, 96 per cent voted in the affirmative; and to question No. 3, 96 per cent voted in the affirmative, and to question No. 3, 96 per cent voted in the affirmative, and to question No. 3, 96 per cent voted in the affirmative, 3 per cent qualifying their vote.

question No. 3, 96 per cent voted in the ammative; and to question No. 3, 96 per cent voted in the affirmative, 3 per cent qualifying their vote

To further justify your confidence in the cosmopolitan character of the replies, attention is called to the fact that over 90 per cent of the votes cast are from the smaller communities in the State, where the relation sustained between bank men and depositors is that of the confidential advisor, thus making the returns a reflection of public opinion. It should also be borne in mind that the vote was given by a conservative element and in a secret hallot.

Without urging upon you the very positive convictions of this committee, and that the rank and file of the people in the Central West are emphatically in favor of adequate measures of defense commensurate with the wealth and exposed position of the Nation, we leave you to draw your own conclusions from the very significant poll which we have pleasure in reporting.

Emphatic comment as to the urgent need for action appears on numerous ballots, while opposed to this are several explanations of the votes against an increase. In only one case is reference made to international disarmament. The "peace-at-any-price" propaganda seems to have few, if any, adherents.

Yours, very truly,

COMMITTEE ON PREPAREDNESS, OMAR H. WRIGHT, Chairman, N. M. HARRIS. JOHN W. THOMAS,

River and Harbor Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES A. FREAR,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Saturday, April 1, 1916.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. SMALL] on Saturday last delivered a carefully prepared statement before the committee on the subject of commerce carried on rivers and canals, wherein he challenged the accuracy of statistics presented on page 15 of the minority report against the rivers and harbers bill. He attempted to confuse the issue with a mass of misleading statistics, which, however, he has so far withheld from the Record.

Apart from the question of veracity raised by his statement, one of the most important questions pertaining to waterway improvements is based on actual commerce floated on extrava-

gantly financed rivers and canals.

Generally speaking, that commerce averaged from 10 to 50 per cent lower in 1914 than in 1913, but statistics found on page 15, with two or three exceptions, were taken from 1914 engineers' report of 1913 commerce, for remarks appearing in Record of January 13 last. The statistics found on page 15 of the report were taken from those remarks and based on the analyses made at that time. The exceptions for 1914 were afterwards ascertained, and will be here noted. That question is not material in view of the wide difference alleged to have been discovered by the gentleman from North Carolina. The statement criticized is found on page 15, and is as follows:

Over \$250,000.000 has been spent on the 12 river and canal projects by the Government in an effort to resuscitate a lost commerce. Deducting floatable timber and sand that floated a half century ago in larger quantities than to-day and do not require expensive waterways, several of these projects are reported to have floated in 1913 approximately as

	Tons.
Upper Mississippi	170, 000
Lower Mississippi	200, 000
Onio (3D per cent coal) under	2,000,000
Tennessee	200, 000
Tombigbee and Warrier, average	56, 000
Beautort Canal	65, 000
Cumberland	53, 000
Missouri	24, 000
Hennepin Canal	11, 850
Muscle Sheals Canal	5, 887
Red River	1, 694

Aside from soft coal, as near as can be estimated, the average haul was from 30 to 100 miles on the various rivers.

That statement refers to a dozen projects discussed in another connection, and of which 10 furnished commerce as stated. The pages and brief tabulations are given herewith.

Because the statement of the gentleman from North Carolina has been withheld from the committee I am obliged to depend upon memoranda taken when Mr. SMALL addressed the com-

Without reference to any specific reports, so far as noted, he claims the foregoing statement was absurd, and presented his own understanding, as follows:

	Tons.
Upper Mississippi	1, 400, 000
Tennessee	1, 343, 709
Missouri	340,000
Beaufort Waterway	603, 000
Ohlo	9, 530, 000

If any error occurs in quoting his figures, it arises from the unexplainable delay in withholding his remarks at a time when the truth and not idle assertion is of value to the committee.

The gentleman from North Carolina stated there could be no innnocent mistake. I agree with him there could be no innocent mistake on his part, because he was endeavoring to find error in my own computations. There can be no excusable mistake on my own part if error occurs, because the committee is entitled to facts so far as can be ascertained, and I ought to know them.

Volume, page, and computation is here offered to prove the truth of my statements and the inexcusable misstatements of

the critic.

UPPER MISSISSIPPI COMMERCE.

Actual commerce, deducting floatable timber and sand, appears on page 15 of the report as 170,000 tens. Mr. SMALL's statement, 1,400,000 tons.

Keeping in mind that actual commerce on the river has probably decreased 95 per cent during the past few years, during which time \$20,000,000 of Government funds has been dumped into this 600-mile stretch during that period, let us examine the statement of commerce, taken from page 2437 of the Chief Engineer's report for 1914. It will not be found easily in the index.

The report says the quantity of freight carried by all boats, including the rock and brush used in Government work, and also including logs and lumber floated down the stream, is as follows, and then follows a table, of which 772,392 tons hauled 9,445,576 ton-miles, valued at \$781,897, is for material used by the Government in improving the river.

Upper Mississippi River freight statement for 1913.

Designation.	Short tons.	Ton-miles.	Valuation.
Logs. Rafted lumber, shingles, etc. Miscellaneous freight United States material	64, 489 13, 570 1, 294, 864 772, 392	30, 245, 340 4, 400, 147 12, 229, 310 9, 445, 576	\$315,271 190,001 31,417.968 781,897
Total.	2,145 315	56,320,373	32,705,137

Classified freight traffic, 1913.

	Amount.		Aver-		
Articles.	Customary units.	Short tons.	Valuation.	age haul.	Ton-miles.
Apples Automobiles Brick Brick Brush Coment Coal Corn Farm produce Fish Gravel Hay Lath Live stock Lumber Merchandise Oats Rock Sand Shells Shells Shells Teams Wheat Wood Miscellaneous	3,056,000 pieces 58,964 head 8,904,380 feet b. m 19,167,689 feet b. m 17,101 tens 3,550 bushels	26,236 3,463	\$200, 218 9, 445, 930 34, 378 90, 400 77, 431 259, 319 666, 600 195, 242 44, 269 10, 575 5, 218, 730 461, 775 2, 117, 830 1, 775 2, 117, 830 1, 775 2, 246, 229 1, 266, 229 1, 266, 249 10, 575 10, 10, 10, 10, 10, 10, 10, 10, 10, 10,	Miles. 34.4 3.8 7.3 20.6 9.9 9.13.5 6.4 23.5 9.8 9.1 1.5.4 21.8 0.126.9 1.0 11.3 4.7 7.7 42.9 1.3 1.7 7.9 16.4 231.0	295, 959 23, 914 7, 157 1, 700, 694 425, 790 254, 401 22, 144 21, 890 62, 485 14, 122 322, 989 190, 202 217, 089 190, 202 217, 089 190, 202 217, 089 190, 202 217, 089 190, 202 217, 089 190, 202 217, 089 190, 203 4, 195, 827 217, 089 190, 203 4, 195, 827 217, 089 190, 801 86, 537 3, 015 860, 865 1, 642, 366
Total		2, 145, 315	32,705,137	26. 2	56, 322, 373

ENGINEER'S STATISTICS OF COMMERCE (?).

"Commerce" reached 2,145,315 tons in 1913, so the Chief of Engineers reports. Tons of what? Let us see:

	Tons.
Brush for river construction work	82, 450
Gravel dredged from river	398, 178
Rock for river work	708, 000
Sand dredged from river	562, 000
Logs that have floated for 50 years	98, 268
Lumber and wood barged	64, 408
Animals ferried across river	55, 322
Automobiles ferried across river	6, 034
	THE PARTY OF THE P

All could be floated in 2 or 3 feet of water, leaving 170,335 tons of questionable commerce remaining, which was hauled on an average of 26 miles or thereabouts.

What a legislative travesty when eleven-twelfths of the commerce for which \$1,000,000 was allotted by the Chief of Engineers is of that character. Who weighed the brush? Who weighed the logs? Who weighed the rocks, gravel, sand, and so forth, used in the river work? Where was it carried and for what purpose? Was it floated 1 mile or 10 miles? Who knows? Why measure Government material for river work, anyway?

A WONDERFUL SYSTEM IN VALUING "COMMERCE."

The Chief of Engineers says that 26,609 tons of horses were carried a mile and a half across the river, and their value was \$6,540,900, or one-fifth of the total. Other live stock carried across the river, he says, was valued at \$5,218,730; and then, to cap the climax, this report adds that 6,034 tons of automobiles ferried across the river were valued at \$9,545,950.

Nearly two-thirds of all the glowing commerce valuations on the upper Mississippi, including Government sand, rock, and gravel, turns out to be animals and automobiles ferried across the river.

Again, how much of the remaining 170,000 tons was repair material or Government supplies out of a total 772,000 tons reported? How much was dupilcated before it could boost a million-dollar allotment for the upper river?

QUADRUPLICATIONS OF SAME FREIGHT STATISTICS.

Last session Chairman Sparkman was asked by Mr. Callaway in debate if river tonnage passing different places was not often included in the Chief of Engineers' reports, and if it was not duplicated, to which the chairman frankly responded: "Oh, yes; it is duplicated, triplicated, and quadruplicated in some cases." This bill asks \$1,200,000 for that commerce, or \$2,000 a mile for 1916.

So much for the 1913 commerce which the gentleman from North Carolina declares to be 1,400,000 tons, and which with

fair deductions reached 170,000 tons as stated.

The "commerce" was floated about 50 miles on the average. and included 37,000 tons of shells and coal floated from 13 miles to 42 miles. And this commerce statement is disputed by the gentleman from North Carolina, who seeks to bewilder the committee with a mass of senseless "commerce" statistics. After spending some \$20.000,000 in the upper Mississippi we are about to give \$1,200,000 this year for that small traffic,

with its insignificant haul, or at the rate of \$2,000 per mile.

The gentleman from North Carolina then revels in Tennessee

TENNESSEE RIVER.

Take the Tennessee River where a clean-cut comparison may take the Tennessee River where a clean-cut comparison may be made. The report says, deducting sand and floatable timber the actual traffic was about 200,000 tons. This statement he disputes and claims the "commerce," according to official reports, is 1,343,000 tons. Some one again is guilty of deceit or is badly mistaken. As he made his examination for the purpose of correcting my statements no excuse lies at his door for innocent mistake. I quote from the Engineers' Report, 1915, pages 2870 to 2872:

25	Carlos Control of the			
	Commerce	071	Tennessee	River.

	Tons.	Tons.
Above Chattanooga Logs, ties, and timber Sand	57, 873 145, 832	305, 616
Chattanooga to Florence Logs and ties Sand	30, 477 54, 708	124, 872
Florence to Paducah Logs, ties, and timber	408, 783	449, 956
Logs, ties, timber, and sand	697, 673	880, 444 697, 673

My statement was about 200,000 tons. Of the 182,000 tons, 28,418 tons of marble was hauled 5 miles and 50,000 tons of iron ore, valued at a dollar a ton, was hauled 15 miles, or 78,000 tons of cheap freight with an insignificant haul. For that com-

Actual net_

merce, so reported, we have appropriated \$11,000,000 in round numbers on the Tennessee and \$944,000 more is carried in this bill. Again the gentleman from North Carolina has blundered without any apparent excuse.

MISSOURI COMMERCE.

On the lower Missouri he is equally at sea or else has improperly sought to mislead.

My own statement, on page 15 of the report, is 24,000 tons of commerce, excluding sand and floatable timber. Mr. SMALL'S statement, as I have it on the memoranda, is 340,000 tons. Again some one owes an apology to the committee.

A NAVIGATION COMEDY IN THE LOWER MISSOURI.

Here is a remarkable illustration of advanced mathematics found on the Missouri River, which Col. Deakyne condemns and which Col. Townsend, of the Army engineers, asks to have left in statu quo. While passing this deserted waterway we are permitted to revel in "commerce" delusions. Attention is given this project, because after spending \$20,000,000 of Government money during 50 years, on the recommendation of Army engineers, on the different sections of the Missouri River down to the mouth, they have launched us into an additional \$20,000,000 expenditure, or over thirty millions, in a game that has no limit on the Missouri. Let us see what we are to get for \$75,000 per mile for 400 miles. I quote from the Chief of Engineer's 1914 report, page 2513:

COMMERCIAL STATISTICS-LOWER MISSOURI RIVER (MOUTH TO KANSAS CITY).

Season of navigation, year 1913; Opened March 15; closed Novemr 30. Vessel classification.

Classos.	Number.	Net regis- tered ton- nage.		
Registered: Steamer Gasoline		754 114		
Total. Unregistered barges.	10 5	668		

Freight traffie.					
121	Amount		the appropriate	Aver-	
Articles.	Cutomary units.	Short tons.	Valuation.	age haul.	Rate per ton-mile.
Grain. Hay Feed and flour Off. Manufactured iron and steel. Live stock Salt. Sand and gravel. Brick Cement. Lumber. Other building material. Railroad ties. Produce. Wood. Miscellaneous Logs and lumber rafted. Sand and gravel barged.	253,940 bushels 46 barrels 4,800 head 148 barrels 1,735 cu b ic yards 4,800 534 barrels 75,360 feet b.m 128,908 591 cords 43,000 feet b.m 238,136 cubic yards	6,701 114 334 12 1,655 245 2,513 16 107 183 10,312 196 847 13,579 107 309,577	\$195, 303, 38 2, 049, 66 9, 538, 83 45, 00 897, 790, 50 137, 039, 20 259, 00 1, 646, 00 1, 152, 90 2, 976, 60 1, 088, 00 62, 697, 50 22, 370, 40 2, 135, 60 2, 520, 734, 80 71, 555, 00	Miles. 123 106 8 8 8 291 31 9 9 9 26 13 100 114 125 9 9 237 150 1	\$0, 6091 .0156 .0670 .0483 .0089 .0403 .0510 .0557 .0349 .0346 .0333 .0415 .0085 .0114 .1002 .0993 .011
Total		347, 235	3, 929, 212. 32		7.15

1 Owner.

Total ton-miles, 5,173,170.

Of this imposing commerce over 312,000 tons of "sand" was hauled about 1 mile in 1913. Nine-tenths of the "traffic" was barged 1 mile. Study the table in order to get a fair understanding of humbug statistics handed Congress by Army engineers and of a vanished river traffic.

Instead of a 6-foot channel being required, a 2-foot channel will float the insignificant commerce, according to experienced river men, and for that river's commerce \$2,050,000 was allotted by Chief Kingman out of the \$50,000,000 turned over to him by

Deducting from the above table sand and 11,159 tons of ties and wood barged about 14 miles, leaves 24,000 tons of questionable commerce for which the Chief of Engineers gives \$1,000,000 in 1915, or over \$40 per ton 1913 expense for the waterway, including maintenance and interest on prior expenditures. Speaking of this Missouri River project on March 2, 1915, one month before the allotment was made, Senator Burton said:

You may spend \$20,000,000—yes, \$30,000,000—on this project, and in spite of that enormous amount the traffic will diminish, because you are lacing a condition that no policy of river improvement can reverse—the loss of that class of river traffic and the utilization of other agencies for the carrying of freight. I wish it were not so, * * * but I am tired of "rainbow chasing," and that is what this is. It is much worse than "rainbow chasing"; it is pure, bald, unmitigated waste.

Again my statement is correct. What a commentary on a stream that gets \$1,500,000 under this bill and carries such insignificant commerce, a stream which the gentleman from North Carolina must defend in order to get \$1,000,000 for his

own equally indefensible project.

I am prepared to sustain every item set forth on page 15 of the report and would do so in detail but desire to get the facts before the committee without delay, therefore will only take one or two more projects, including that which the gentleman from North Carolina has pushed incessantly upon the attention of Congress. Originally repudiated by Army engineers and stony members of the committee, persistence gained it a place in the bill where to-day it demands \$1,000,000. Why and

NORFOLK AND BEAUFORT CANAL.

On the Norfolk and Beaufort waterway the gentleman from North Carolina says my statement of 65,000 tons, deducting floatable timber, is incorrect, and according to my memorandum he informs the committee that 603,000 tons is right. Again we find a question of veracity. My statement can not be misunder-stood and the data on which facts were given in the minority report appears on page 1949 of the Engineers Report for 1914.

Waterway, Norfolk to Beaufort.

Commerce in short tons		258, 441
Logs	Tons. 64, 225 39, 840 59, 384 27, 218 3, 502	194, 169

Net reported tons_____

The 64,272 tons of commerce is not of such character as to call for a 12-foot, \$5,400,000 project, and when we find the only focal cooperation is a "wharf and warehouse," cost unknown, built at Coinjock, N. C., we are prone to wonder just what we are getting for our \$5,400,000 and why we are giving \$1,000,000 in the 1916 bill to benefit a few private dredgers who charge 80 per cent more than Government rates for the \$800,000 to be turned into their coffers by the 1916 bill. The project has been repeatedly denounced by waterway experts as "a fraud." Can there be any doubt of it?

But the important question to determine is who has sought to deceive the committee, the gentleman who has \$1,000,000 at stake now nestling in the Beaufort item, or those who wish to avoid squandering millions of dollars in wasteful waterway expenditures.

THE OHIO RIVER COMMERCE.

One of the worst cases of duplication and misstatement of actual conditions of traffic exists with reports of the Ohio River.

Ferriage across the river is counted in the absurd calculations and that ferriage furnishes about one-half of the Ohio's total valuation statistics. Open river traffic and duplications and quadruplications of the same traffic are used to make a fairly

valuation statistics. Open river traffic and duplications and quadruplications of the same traffic are used to make a fairly presentable case to justify a total expenditure reaching possibly \$100,000,000 by the Government on this river by the time the present project is completed.

On pages 809 and 810 of the Record for January 10 of this session appears an analysis of the Ohio River freight, showing how unreliable and misleading the engineers' reports have become. From data furnished by the engineers reports have become. From data furnished by the engineers reports have become. From data furnished by the engineers reports that an average of less than 2,000,000 tons of coal floated along the Ohio in 1913 and left the river at Cairo to float down the Mississippi at nearer 1,000,000 tons.

Excluding coal, sand, gravel, logs, and ties that do not require extravagant river improvements, the remaining commerce reached 25,000 tons at Lock 1 and 16,651 tons at Lock 8. Other locks were in similar proportion. The statement given on pages 809 and 810 of the Record, taken from official reports, shows the untrustworthy character of statements made by the gentleman from North Carolina, who assumes to throw light on the commerce carried by this and other rivers. Coal counted at different locks and at Cairo, Memphis, Vicksburg, and New Orleans, like other freight, has a fashion of being duplicated and in the first of the commerce residual propers. The commerce carried by this and other rivers. Coal counted at different locks and at Cairo, Memphis, Vicksburg, and New Orleans, like other freight, has a fashion of being duplicated and the commerce residual propers and at Cairo, Memphis, Vicksburg, and New Orleans, like other freight, has a fashion of being duplicated and the commerce residual propers and at Cairo, Memphis, Vicksburg, and New Orleans, like other freight, has a fashion of being duplicated and the commerce residual propers and residual propers and the first propers and the first propers and the first propers and th

quadrupled, with the same barge load figuring from Pittsburgh to New Orleans.

I do not assume to give the exact commerce on this river. No man can approximate the facts, excepting by unofficial reports furnished to the Army engineers. From those reports, accepted at their face, I have made the deductions found on page 15 of the minority report, and they are substantially correct wherever definite information is available. I have no further comment to make upon the remarks of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. SMALL], excepting to say that where he has put up a straw man to knock down or assumes to defend the committee against charges never made, he is engaged in an antiquated practice that ought to be, and I am sure will be, discredited by those seeking the truth.

To use the words of a distinguished North Carolina Member, quoted from the Holy Writ, "Where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also." With \$1,000,000 hanging on the passage of this bill, it may unconsciously warp the judgment of the gentleman who unjustly and unwisely endeavored to discredit statements of commerce appearing in minority report, part 2.

Removal of Diamond Reef in New York Harbor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,

OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 4, 1916.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, before mentioning the subject under consideration, I desire to congratulate my colleague from New York, Mr. Benner, upon his seamanship and the able way in which he has taken us past the dangerous reefs of which we have heard so much. The Brooklyn Navy Yard is located on the East River, a little over 2 miles to the northward of Governors Island. The main channel leading to it from the upper bay passes between this island and the Battery. The strong tidal currents which sweep through this channel, together with the enormous amount of traffic it bears, makes it difficult and dangerous to navigation at all times. Setting off from the north side of Governors Island is a shoal known as Diamond Reef, submerged 25 feet below the surface of the river. Less than 500 feet to the northward is another dangerous ledge-Coenties Reef-having about the same depth of water over it. Both these reefs lie about 250 yards from the end of the New York piers, and, while they are separated from each other by 165 yards, owing to the curve in the river and the peculiar way in which they are located, a vessel of large draft standing on her true range must pass between them at such an angle as to afford little sea room. As a matter of fact, such a ship at low water would have but 75 feet on one side and 150 feet on the other side of the exact course, and when the beam of the vessel—in our largest ships over 90 feet—is taken into consideration, it leaves practically no margin for the navigation of the ship.

[Extracts from testimony of Rear Admiral Benson and Capt. Knapp, of the United States Navy, before the Committee on Rivers and Harbors February 12, 1916:]

steer at an angle, and it leaves the available space between them very small, not certainly over 100 yards, and I do not think it is that much I never felt I had that much leeway when I went up there.

Capt. Knapp. I have very little to add, except that I do not think admiral Benson, perhaps, made plain all the difficulties that we have in getting through this present channel between Governors Island and the Battery. In the first place, this range over here ipointing to range of channel just mentioned is a miserable affair, owing to the formation of the land. There is a low front range mark on the wharf and a high back range mark on the Hotel Margaret, and very frequently a mist will cut out the lower range. In the second place the deep-water channel is very narrow, and in the third place there is a large amount of traffic around there i pointing to channel]. I have myself been in a ship in this channel when we had to stop and back to avoid a tow that was being swept down the tide across our bow; and to stop a large vessel in a narrow channel with cross currents is a dangerous thing to do. Finally, to avoid Coenties Reef in entering it is necessary to go over quite close to the Brooklyn shore, and then make a considerable turn in order to go under the bridge and approach the navy yard.

That these reefs should be removed, it seems to me, is not a

That these reefs should be removed, it seems to me, is not a debatable question. There evidently exists some confusion as to the nature of the subject under consideration. Partisanship has been injected into the discussion. Let me say that Diamond Reef is a rock and not a political issue. I hope no one will use that as a reason for voting against this appropriation or will oppose the project because of their fallure to recognize its importance to the Navy of the United States. We from New York are not favoring this project because we hope it will increase the commercial importance of our harbor. While the removal of every danger to navigation naturally operates as an incentive to shipping, it is not for this reason that we ask for the appropriation. Were we, however, Mr. Speaker, to urge it in the interests of commerce, I submit that the ever-increasing trade of our port would justify us in the demand, and that no criticism could be leveled against us for seeking Federal funds for so meritorious a project.

The commerce of the East River, in which these reefs are located, does not attract vessels of the deepest draft. Obstructions which lie submerged 25 feet below the surface are not dangerous to most of the shipping seeking the docks at Williamsburg, Long Island City, and on the New York side of the river.

Those great leviathans of the deep, the Cunarders, the American, the French, the German, and the Dutch liners, steaming through the Narrows and the upper bay to their piers on either side of the Hudson, do not pass even closely to these dangerous reefs. Their huge hulls are not endangered by these shoals.

Why is it that we from New York ask Congress to appropriate money for the removal of these rocks? Why is it that we, irrespective of district or party affiliations, stand united for this project? It is not primarily because of any commercial advantage which may accrue to the city of New York or the State we represent. Her greatness and her supremacy as the commercial center of the world is assured. The sum of \$500,000 will neither mar nor embellish her record of achievement.

We ask for this appropriation not for any profit to our city, but for the safety and the protection of the warships of our

Nation.

Lay aside the claims of commerce if you will, ignore the needs of trade if you must, but above all, rising supreme to party and to sectionalism, is the necessity to give the greatest degree of protection to the ships of the Navy, which are and must ever be the first line of defense for our country.

Letter from Hon. Steven B. Ayres.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM BENNET, S.

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 4, 1916.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Hon. Steven B. Ayres, which represents the sentiments of many good citizens of New York City:

THE BRONX, April 3, 1916.

Hon. WILLIAM S. BENNET,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Four mouths have now passed since Congress assembled on the first Monday of last December. No measure for national defense has been made into law. Not an additional ship has been authorized yet for the Navy. No needed for the city of New York or where urgently demanded on the Atlantic coest.

coast.

The citizens of the New York City expect more prompt results. We are becoming dissatisfied at the delay. We look to you to protect our interests in this most critical time in the history of the Nation. You are urged, therefore, to use every means in your power to hurry

along the measures for national defense. The sentiment of the city of New York is almost unanimous in this direction. You can not afford to delay or palter with the manifest duty which confronts us. The time of danger is the time for unity of purpose and concert of action. May we suggest that the Representatives in Congress from the City of New York hold a meeting and throw their united influence in behalf of prompt measures for the defense and honor of America. Yours, very truly,

STEVEN B. AVEES.

Adequate Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. MURRAY,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 5, 1916.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Speaker, at the outset I desire to reply to some of the sophistry presented as arguments upon this ques-tion. It is stated here by the reactionaries that the Socialist Party is opposed to preparedness; therefore we ought to favor it; and by the ultraradical that the munition plants favor preparedness, and therefore we ought to oppose it. Such arguments are fallacious, and are not reasons for opposing it in the one instance or favoring it in the other.

It is but natural that munition plants should seek to benefit themselves, just as every class, irrespective of wealth, through class selfishness, seek through governmental agencies to benefit themselves at the expense of the general public. I know no exception to this rule, whether it involves the control of the great corporations or the advocacy of beneficial legislation by labor

organizations.

In dealing with international problems there is neither room for the partisan nor the demagogue, nor should the honest legis-lator be driven from his position, if correct, because great captains of industry might be benefited. Nor should he study inter-national relations involving the weal and woe of this Republic with a view of making an argument to sustain his beliefs, which may have been founded on ignorance, environment, or popular sentiment. The one object in the study of these questions should be to learn the truth, without reference to partisan advantage or to "What will people say?

I do not fear either the loss of votes or defeat, but I do fear

for my country and posterity to be wrong.

On this question no man has a right to assume a negative policy if he agree that preparedness at all for a nation is wise and justifiable. If he can not agree with the program submitted, it then becomes his duty to submit such a program as will in his judgment serve the best interest of the Republic.

"The origin of every right is in a duty fulfilled," says Guiseppi

Mazanni, one of the liberators of modern Italy.

INJUNCTION TO PREPARE FOR ALL THINGS.

The early settlers of the West upon going into that new country, surrounded by hostile savages, were careful to be "pre-pared." The intelligent farmer, after the harvest is over and he is rewarded with plenty, constructs a wheat bin or a corn crib, hangs a door to it, and places a lock upon it, and is thus prepared against the weather and the thief. When petty thieves are known to exist in the community he is always prepared with a lock upon the door. When the crib or bin is empty he does

It is a puzzle to me why there should be any opposition to a reasonable national preparedness, or why the pacifist should exist at all, for they reverse the training all about them and of a lifetime. All men living will recall that their fathers enof a friedmen. An inear that the friedmen of their childhood the necessity of going to school, for learning a trade, for being industrious and diligent, to be "prepared" for life; every sensible man remembers that when he thought of entering upon family relations he first considered and strived to reach such "preparedness" that he, jointly with his spouse, could justify the step. All good men having children have constant care and regard to impress upon them the importance of being "prepared" for to impress upon them the importance of being "prepared" for life. For this most men spend restless days, weeks, and years, exhausting their effort to feed and clothe their children, educate and supply them with textbooks, and whenever everything else is over the pious preacher admonishes us all to be "prepared" for heaven. Wherever you go, on every hand, the wise exhortation has ever been "Prepare, prepare!" No one questions or criticizes this philosophy until preparedness is proposed for national self-defense. Such a position is illogical and dangerous. To be logical and methodical, we should admonish pre-paredness in everything. There can be but one explanation of

such a sentiment-either men have become too bookish, and thereby impractical, or else they are ignorant about the things concerning our past military establishments and experience, for we do know that too often beliefs begin where information ends.

The thirteenth century was one of greatest constructive forces following the Middle Ages; but it had a war every five Perhaps you say we have progressed in the past 700 Let us see about that. The present or twentieth vears. century has now run 15 years, and we have had one war every one and a half years among the civilized nations. Since July 4, 1776, the United States has been engaged in war one day out of every four. When you count the campaigns against the Creeks, Seminoles, Black Hawk, and Tecumseh, and the Indian wars of the West in the seventies and early eighties you can calculate a period of nearly 20 years. Add to these the Revolution, the War with the Barbary States, of 1812, with Mexico, the Civil War, with Spain, and the Philippines, and you have nearly 20 years more, or nearly 40 years of war during the life of the Republic of 140 years.

To take the position of the pacifist I would not need the reading of the past ages. I could take their position and throw the Congressional Library—the greatest magazine of learning in the world-into the Potomac River; but it is an unsafe position; it is a dangerous position, and in the end the most expensive. Among certain citizens, I am aware, in my own State this position is not one of practical politics, but it is

statesmanship, and means public safety.

In the framing of policies for the government of man we must ofttimes reverse the idealistic theories of government. The practical man must realize that government can not be made from a book or framed from any philosophy or theory. Government must be a very practical thing, because it must be made for men, and must, in its organic form, be founded upon the character and intelligence of its citizens. It must take into consideration their hopes and ambitions, fashions, customs, and sentiments; their races and religions; even their appetites and passions. Therefore I have little care for academic theories or idealistic principles when they interfere with the prosperity or safety of the citizen. I'do not agree with the President in all the matters of his international policy, but I am glad that because of the European war he has found it expedient to reverse the policies of the State Department and to enter upon a constructive international policy. No party can remain in power that has not a constructive program—a program sensible, wholesome, and practical. The President has doubtless realized this, and through the necessity of the European war he has entered upon a consideration of such policy and has arrived in part at the only conclusion to which any student of history can arrive; and although we may disagree, yet the fact remains that these disagreements are matters of detail, and not matters of fundamental principle or purpose; therefore I am with him.

I am opposed to militarism. I dread and regret war, but war is not altogether the worst of evils.

CHINA'S PEACE AND PREPAREDNESS.

China, one of the two exceptions in the history of nations, without a war every generation, under her wise Monarch, Chi-ho-ang-ti, two centuries before Christ, began a program of preparedness in an effort to secure perpetual peace by building the Chinese Wall, 1,728 miles in length, to hold back the Tartars, Kalmucks, and other tribes of the north, and in his hurry to complete it, to prevent the invasion of China by these tribes, it is said he caused the death of no less than 10,000 laborers by overwork on that wall-a very expensive preparedness in both men and money. While this did for some generations prevent such foreign invasion, nevertheless China had continual insurrection and turmoil, as illustrated in the Tae-ping rebellion at Nanking as late as 1853, wherein not only the men but a half million women were armed and took possession of the capi-This rebellion lasted for more than 11 years, or until 1864, when finally suppressed by the aid of English, French, and American officers at the cost of an indemnity and a corresponding economic and commercial advantage to foreign powers. ask what is the difference between a foreign war and such internal anarchy and insurrection? As between the two alternatives, in my opinion, a foreign war is more preferable.

To those who say we need no military establishments whatever, we might ask the question, Should we introduce bills to sell or burn or destroy the Navy, to disband and send home the soldiers we now have, and abolish the Military and Naval Academies? Should we cease to train and equip officers to lead our armies in case of war? Should we not provide in time of peace for Army supplies to be used quickly in case of emergency? they answer no to any of these questions, then they must confess

they are in favor of preparedness. If they subscribe to the doctrine of preparedness at all, the question will then arise, How much? To know how much requires information of our present military establishments and our experience with them in the past, as well as their comparative strength with other nations. That information can not be found in the ordinary school histories, which, for the most part, were written to make the schoolboy's heart throb; nor can that information be found in the press of the country. Much of this information can be had only by searching the private records of the Government or those in the Congressional Library. Nearly all school histories will leave the student to conclude that we were victors on land as well as on the sea in the War of 1812, when the reverse is

Five thousand of the British regulars landed at Chesapeake and marched across the border toward Washington City. had 6,000 slightly trained militia and volunteers to defend the Capital. The Secretary of War was warned that we were not prepared to meet the British regulars. He refused the warning and was supported by the greater part of the press of the country as well as by Congress, but these 5,000 British regulars came to our fortifications around Washington and upon firing the first volley our 6,000 untrained men turned and fled, running so confoundedly fast that the British could kill but 19 of them. The British marched into the Capitol, the commanding officer took the Speaker's stand and put the question: "Shall this harbor of democracy be destroyed?" The question was adopted with a shout, the British soldiers burned the Capitol, the White House, and many other public buildings. This self-sufficient Secretary of War fled that night to Baltimore, resigned, and Monroe was appointed in his place. This was the War of 1812.

JEFFERSON AND CALHOUN.

After this war was over Jefferson and nearly all the great men of the Republic urged our statesmen to enter upon a plan of preparedness. This continued until 1820. At that time John C. Calhoun was Secretary of War. Congress, in order to evade the question, adopted a resolution calling upon him to prepare a plan and submit it to the next Congress. Calhoun studied the question and submitted a plan to Congress, and it may be new to many to know that the plan Calhoun then adopted was the very plan upon which every great nation has at this time founded its basic principles of preparedness and is very much like the recent plan of the very able ex-Secretary Garrison. His principle was the formation of skeleton regiments to be swelled to full strength when war began, with definite plans down to the last detail worked out in time of

John C. Calhoun declared:

At the commencement of hostilities there should be nothing either to new model or to create.

The conflict of 1812 has for the most part characterized all of our wars. In all of them, because we lacked preparedness, we were compelled to call out untrained men and have them slaughtered by the thousands while we were training an army capable of meeting the enemy's regulars. We made breastworks and fortifications of men. This invariably resulted in longdrawn-out wars, just as the European war will probably mean a long one, because the allies combined did not have their preparation sufficient to meet that of Germany. If the allies set their determination to crush and disarm Germany, they have yet to train an army capable of doing it, and it may mean three years and it may mean more. So from this standpoint lack of preparedness means long-drawn-out wars, heavy expense, exorbitant prices for materials, heavy pension rolls, more dead and wounded, more widows and orphans, and therefore lack of preparedness is the most expensive, as it is the most dangerous, thing for a nation?

Compare the difference in other periods of our history with our preparedness following the Civil War. Although the United States had buried many of her citizens, many more were wounded, yet at the close of that war she had 1,500,000 armed and efficient men, with a good Navy fully equipped with trained They were Regulars in every sense of the word, with a morale far greater than Regulars; and, although a foreign army was on the soil of Mexico, led by Emperor Maximilian, we sent one little note requesting the withdrawal of these troops, and they were withdrawn so quickly that Maximilian was left unsupported, solely because of such preparation. If a like foreign army should now be on our continent, does anyone imagine that one little note would remove them?

HOW TO PRESERVE PEACE.

A nation, like an individual, starting out to hunt a figl t will be regarded as a bully and have its hand quickly called. When any nation, like any man, taking the other extreme, prates about its love of peace, boasting that it has no arms, and that under no circumstances will it fight, will be despised, and in the end kicked and cuffed by all nations of the world. It is manifest, therefore, that neither of these methods will insure peace for any great length of time. A nation, like an individual, can best maintain peace with its fellows by never parading either its prowess or weakness, but by assuming at all times its readiness and capability of meeting any emergency, while pursuing a course of fairness and justice.

Preparedness ought to mean a demeanor toward other nations impressing them with the belief that so long as they treat us justly and will not tread upon our toes no disagreement will arise, and that if they jump on us peace will be restored as soon as they restore our rights and let us alone.

Nations are never made outwardly weak by war, and at the end of the present lamentable struggle in Europe they will all be better prepared than ever before in their history; and this includes the defeated nation, which will prove a menace if she threatens us.

It is also a truth, disclosed by the philosophy of history that nations are more prone to fight during the first few years following a military conflict than during a long period of peace. During long periods of peace citizens of all nations dread to be discussed as the conflict of the disturbed—some in their ease or luxury and others in their money-making. A concrete example of this can be illustrated by the War of 1812, showing that neither the British nor the Americans were satisfied until they had the second war after the Revolution.

FUTURE WARS WITHOUT WARNING.

This being true, we must also remember that, although we can never wage war against any nation, due to our form of government and a written Constitution, until we have made public declaration of such intent, nevertheless no notice will ever again precede war upon us by any of the great nations of the earth. We are irresistibly driven to this conclusion because on September 2-5, 1807, England, without notice to the world, and like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, shelied Copenhagen and carried off the Danish fleet, burned 400 houses, damaged 2,000 other buildings, and 3,000 peaceful inhabitants and innocent women and children were killed; and this same nation pursued a like course on July 11-12, 1882, toward Alexputring Feyret. The Jampage began their war on Puggie by andria, Egypt. The Japanese began their war on Russia by shelling the Russian fortifications in Korea without notice or warning; likewise did Italy begin her conflict some few years ago with Turkey; and in the present struggle Germany had marched her armies across into Belgium before the world knew that they had even mobilized. If we ever have another war it will be with one or more of these nations. They will not follow the "rules of honor" of the knights in the Middle Ages, with cthics of dueling, approaching us, hat in hand and bowing, say, "Uncle Sam, you will please do us the honor to fire." On the other hand, each and all of them will begin hostilities when we are least aware of it. They will attempt, under the plea of a naval maneuver, to take circuitous sea routes and land on some unprotected shore of our coast their armed battalions before we even remotely expect a conflict, and either England or Germany could by this ruse, but for our Navy, land 400,000 regulars upon our shore without our knowing it, finding us, as present, with but 36,000 mobile troops, without our possibility of removing the remaining troops, although we have a total of 100,000, from the fortifications on the coast. What would be the result in a conflict between our 36,000 and their 400,000? The answer to this is found in the War of 1812, when our public men and many citizens everywhere boasted that should another war with Great Britain arise we could with one company take Canada, but when war actually broke out we called into action more than one-half million men in a vain effort to drive back 67,000 British regulars who had already landed on our shore, and they whipped us in every battle on land except the Battle of New Orleans, and it was fought after the war had ended, and except the little skirmish in Canada between 3,000 of the American troops under Gen. Harrison against about 800 under Gen. Proctor, and that made possible only by Perry's victory on Lake Erie, while on the sea we whipped them practically in every battle, because our Navy, as it nearly always has been, was prepared.

How like the braggarts of 1861 and the pacifists of to-day

It was a favorite notion with a large class of northern politicians—and the people, too—that nothing but an imposing display of force was necessary to crush the rebellion—

Said Gen. Barnard, In his "Battle of Bull Run." And Robert Toombs said to the people of the South:

We can whip the Yankees with cornstalks,

Possibly they could if the Yankees had fought with cornstalks, which disclosed to us that the nations will always fight us by their own method, not by our unprepared standard. Doubtless in the Japanese-Chinese War the Chinese could have whipped the Japs if they had fought by the Chinese method, with "stink pots" and dragon-shaped mobilized army, but this method made China's Army an easy mark for Japanese artillery.

Had we better not heed the wisdom expressed by Frederick the Great in a letter to Pitt, July 3, 1761:

No man, if he has a grain of sense, will leave his enemies leisure to make a preparation in order to destroy him; he will rather take advantage of his start to put himself in a favorable position.

I agree there is one way by which we could avoid war on the high seas and the expense of a Navy, and that is by pursuing the same course that China pursued, abandon all attempt to establish foreign markets or foreign trade, abandon all merchant ships or merchant shipping, cut off the cotton farmers' foreign market, live within our own borders, and use our own citizens in a self-competition, but this in turn, because of lack of work for the laborer, would bring internal turmoil, strife, and insurrection, just as it did in China, necessitating a stronger central government-government strong enough to suppress any popular uprising or even criticism of the ruling power.

It is a popular notion that armies and armament destroy liberty, but this is, as a rule, not borne out by history. How true the statement of Maj. Gen. Emory Upton, who was sent around the world to review and study the military powers of the earth, and whose recommendations have been acknowledged to be wise for the future military safety of the Republic, who many years ago pointed out that-

China, the most despotic of Governments, has no military strength; numbering 400,000,000 people, she has been twice conquered by a few desplaed Tartars, and only a few years ago 20,000 English and French dictated peace at the walls of the capital. In Persla the Shah can lop off the heads of his subjects or wall them up alive at his pleasure, and yet it has been said that a single foreign battation could overthrow his throne, while a brigade would starve in his dominions.

It is true that the Anglo-Saxon race has never been prepared like the others. The Teutonic, or German, is the only branch of the white race ever prepared for such conflicts. The Anglo-Saxons have all through history looked upon military establishments as dangerous to their peace and liberty, while at no time has militarism ever oppressed them.

WAR NOT WHOLLY EVIL.

Wars are not altogether evil, particularly when we must needs choose between evils. Foreign war is infinitely more preferable to internal strife and turmoil, sedition and anarchy, insurrection and rebellion.

And I here now announce as a sound principle of statecraft that whenever the ruling statesmen of any nation upon whose shoulders rests its responsibility for weal or woe should be confronted by these two alternatives, rather than bring such upon the Nation, resulting in industrial depression, impoverishment of the weak, and degradation of labor, it becomes the duty of such statesmen deliberately to steep that country late. such statesmen deliberately to steer that country into a foreign war. Otherwise, liberty would be lost, internal government proportionately made stronger; lockouts and strikes, bloodshed and murder would weaken civilization, ushering in internal turmoil and fratricidal strife.

WAR SAVED CHRISTIANITY.

Many people do not know, because few read the history of the Middle Ages, that the existence of Christianity was made secure only through war, and but for the wars of Charles Martel (or Carl the Hammer) and Charlemagne, Europe to-day would be controlled by the Mohammedans, with their despotic military power suppressing all religion except the followers of Mahomet. The Saracens, the name given to Mohammedans, after getting control of eastern Europe, all of western Asia, the whole of Africa, and of the Mediterranean Sea, all of southern Italy and of Spain, began their steady march across the Pyrences Mountains to conquer central Europe. They were met upon the historic battlefield of Tours in the year 732 and defeated by the Christian German prince Charles Martel, the first effectual check to the steady and onward trend of the Saracen armies toward the conquest of the world. Of this battle, Gibbon has so truthfully said that but for the victory of this Christian prince the Koran, instead of the Bible, would be taught in Oxford to-day. Yes; there are worse things than war.

After all, is not Frederick the Great right in saying:

The life of the individual citizen is valuable only when it is consciously and actively employed for the attainment of great ends. The same holds good of nations and states.

No one will dispute that the verdict of history would condemn the statesman who was unable to take the responsibility of a bold decision but sacrificed the hopes of the future for political expediency to his own need of peace.

PROPLE DIVIDED ON PREPAREDNESS.

In all of this question of preparedness the people are primarily divided into two classes. First, those who do not believe in any preparedness whatsoever, even in what we now possess, believing that universal peace is at hand. The second class are those who believe in judging the future by the past. They have observed also that civilization is always moving and never stands still. However, this last class disagree on the kind and the amount, and there is logical reason to support each. Some believe that our present preparedness is sufficient, others believe in an increase of the Navy only; others in the Army and Navy; and yet others favor these and increase in coast fortifications, coast artillery, and harbor defense, and these in turn disagree upon the amount for these several purposes.

sagree upon the amount for these several purposes.

I believe in that line of preparedness which ultimately will believe in that line of preparedness which ultimately will be wight and dury of self-defense. With enable us to exercise the right and duty of self-defense. this end in view I would build up a large Navy, the greatest on the Pacific Ocean-I would not say the largest on the Atlantic-greater harbor and coast defenses, with guns placed on these coast and harbor fortifications that will shoot as far and with as great force as any guns on any battleship of the world. So far, to such preparedness no objection can arise theoretically or otherwise from the old Anglo-Saxon fear of militarism. Naval and coast defenses are peculiarly the fortifications of Republics. In addition thereto I would provide for a reserve of naval and military stores and supplies for the Ordnance Department, the Medical and Dental Corps, Field Artillery, with small arms of the latest pattern held in reserve in case of emergency for all probable needs and to supply such an increase in our Army should a war arise, with smokeless powder, shot, and shell sufficient to conduct such war for six months. would not, however, adopt compulsory service, the continentalarmy plan, nor provide for a large standing army. I would give additional aid to the National Guard of the several States, paying them based upon their training and efficiency.

MILITARY TRAINING IN SCHOOLS.

I would provide enough trained men to man all the fortifications and leave us an army of about 50,000 soldiers that could be mobilized at one time, and for the purpose of other and as a second-line land defense I would provide for education in military hygiene, discipline, and tactics in the schools, academies, and colleges of the country—not wholly from the standpoint of war or of defense, but in order to give the citizen that training which will make of him a better citizen and give to him a greater earning capacity, that will teach him how to protect himself against disease, to make his body stronger, and to nusband his own individuality and strength. In other words, if we had the German military training without the German compulsory militarism, it would be wholesome from every consideration. Such training in our public schools would be worth all it would cost, even agreeing to the belief of the pacifist that there will never be another war. It would give them proper discipline, which they do not now get either at home or in the public schools; it would teach them to control their passions and appetites. If there is one thing above another that the schoolboy of to-day should be taught, it is to throw a brake upon his passions.

The average German is the master of himself. He can have a half-day's fun on a little bottle of beer, while an American would want a keg, and I am not sure but what this self-control and these temperate habits grow out of his long training in military schools. Quintillian, the old Roman rhetorician, in his work entitled "The Institutions of Oratory," stated that no man can be a great orator unless he is also a "trained soldier and dancer," basing this statement upon the fact that mannerism and graceful poise of the public speaker has much to do with the attractiveness of his oration. At the time this was stated by Quintillian Rome was a republic, and it was the doctrine of that old republic, as well as of Greece, that every citizen should be a trained soldier, which is quite a different doctrine from every citizen being a member of the army. The citizen was trained, sent home, and became a part of the multitude, enjoying the daily routine of civil life, and his viewpoint, although trained for self-defense or for war, was quite different

from a member of the army in the barracks.

This is the same principle announced by Jefferson in 1814 after he had retired from the Presidency and had witnessed the

after he had retired from the Fresidency and had witnessed the failure of the early policy of his administration, acting upon the belief that by use of embargoes, commercial retaliation, and diplomacy, no preparedness was necessary, and after he had had an opportunity to witness our disgraceful defeat on land in the War of 1812 and at a time when he had no other political

ambitions and could possibly have no other motive or desire than to give the best advice to his country. At this time he wrote to James Monroe that—

It proves more forcibly the necessity of obliging every citizen to be a soldier. This was the case with the Greeks and Romans and must be that of every free State. Where there is no oppression there will be no pauper hirelings. We must train and classify the whole of our male citizens and make military instruction a regular part of college education. We can never be safe until this is done.

Switzerland and Australia have already settled upon this policy, and in case of war Switzerland could put into the field immediately an army of 220,000. She would have in reserve in case of necessity an additional 270,000, and in less than six months she could call into action 1,500,000 armed and efficient men, although she is no larger than the State of Massachusetts. and yet the cost of this system of military defense is, in round numbers, \$92,000,000, in comparison with our cost of \$96,000,000 for our pygmy Army of less than 100,000. If we would adopt the Swiss system at the end of another generation we would be enabled, with our great population, to put into the field 18,000,000 well-trained, equipped, and efficient men in case of necessity easier, quicker, and at less cost than we could to-day 225,000 efficient men. These millions of trained men, however, would be no part of a standing army; they would be civilians living in peace, having no desire to rush the country into war or themselves to be disturbed by it. They would be the voters of the country, and whatever policy was formed would be formed at their will, not as militarists, not as a standing army, but as trained citizens. This plan I conceive to be the real military training of a Republic.

NECESSITY FOR TRAINED OFFICERS.

Above everything else there should be a sufficient number of trained generals, well equipped and level headed, with all of the training that our rich Nation could give them, to lead our armies in the event of war. In the past we have always relied upon a declaration of war before we attempted adequate preparedness. Then, in a hurry to get ready, we paid fabulous prices for all kinds of materials and war supplies, attempted to mobilize large, untrained Volunteer forces, ignorant of all discipline and military hygiene, causing them to be exposed to typhoid fever and other diseases and epidemics so fatal to untrained armies, so conclusively shown in the military records of the Civil War, when 42 per cent of the Regulars were attacked by disease, while among the Volunteers 59 per cent, or one-third more, were subjected to diseases of the camp and with more fatalities, and as illustrated in the Volunteer camps of the Spanish-American War of men mobilized in malarial districts, ignorant of the most rudimentary principles of military hygiene.

Then in the past we commissioned right and left politicians and men in civil life to lead our gigantic armies of untrained Volunteers, notwithstanding our experience in the past that such Volunteers, until they became trained, never achieved marked success on the field of battle except at Bunker Hill and the Battle of New Orleans, and these two exceptions were due to the fact that they were commanded by well-trained generals. We never learned from experience until the Spanish-American War the hazardous policy of permitting the governors of the States to appoint the commanding officers. Then we reversed the rule and appointed them by the President; and then out of some 1,200 appointed only about 400 of them were thus trained.

STATE SYSTEM OF ARMIES.

The State system is wise in time of peace to preserve a military balance between the States and central power, but both unwise and hazardous in time of war; then all officers should be selected by the Federal authority.

In time of war there must be only one army, for unity of command is the first necessity—

Says Napoleon.

It is not a question now any more than it has been in the past of getting men to enlist. Mr. Bryan was right when he said that a million men would enlist in 24 hours, but it is the effect of such enlistment. Such spontaneous enlistment without training constitutes little more than a mob; and their efforts against even a smaller trained number to maintain their position would be scarcely better than a mob of 1,000 men who could be routed by 100 city police.

BRYAN'S MILLION MEN IN ARMS.

Bryan assures us that in case of war a million men would rush to arms. That a million men without training, without a knowledge of military hygienics, without discipline, without a knowledge of self-defense in formation by mass, would but increase the slaughter, no sensible man will deny. Virgil has so truthfully said: "It never troubled a wolf how many the sheep be," A million men thrown together without training, without

sufficient arms and military supplies, and without trained generals, would be as helpless as sheep, because the greater the mass the less the personnel of the general and the greater the training of the individual soldier must be to enable him to coperate with his fellows in one organized unit and at the same time rely upon his individual resources in such mass. Their very numbers would constitute a weakness in itself. They could not, like the old Roman armies, live off of the land they conquered; they would be compelled to be fed from the rear—the base; disease would be more likely and more deadly in its results.

Assuming that Mr. Bryan is correct, and that in the future we should continue that policy, then in the event of war we would, as he says, call into the field a million men, but among the officers commissioned we may imagine Billy Bryan, and from those in Oklahoma there would be Bill Murray, Senator Roddie, Moman Pruitt, with the Socialist regiments under Stanley Clark and Pat Nagle, the Republicans under McGraw and Jim Harris, the Prohibitionists under Mr. Sweet and Dr. Dinwiddie, and to make it complete and most modern Jane Addams would command a regiment of suffragettes. When we all got down to the seat of war, if there would be anything greater than the stupendous ignorance of military affairs of all of us, it might be the bravery of some of us. Knowing nothing else to do, but in order to show military prowess, these brave officers would rush our battalions into critical gaps, having them mowed down by the thousands just to read in the headlines of the following day the magnificent eulogies, "What a brave general made such a glorious charge on yesterday's battle field." When, as a matter of truth, it would be, as it has been in the past, little short of murder. Gen. Henry Lee, the greatest military chieftain of the Revolution, said that any nation which attempted to go to war "with untrained troops was but the murderer of its citizens." Gen. Washingon said that to rely on "untrained militia was but to rely upon a broken reed."

I can not fathom why a laboring man, a farmer, or an average citizen who has no hope of competing for an officer's commission, but in every great war, as in the War of the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Civil War, was subject to conscription would not want to have preparedness sufficient to be led by leved-headed, well-trained generals, equipped with all the efficiency which this rich Nation could give them, because such officer could protect many of them from the loss of life or from wounds in battle and would know when and where to attack with safety.

DOUBLE THE MEN OF THE ENEMY.

This policy in the past is the explanation of the necessity of our having called into action double the number of troops or volunteers of that of the enemy. We have never had a war until the Spanish-American War that our troops did not double the enemy, and that includes the wars against the Indians. In the American Revolution we called into action upward of 395,000 men against 150,000 British, and yet there never was a year from the first to the last of those seven years of the Revolution when the fate of the Republic hung in the balance but what Washington could have driven the British off of this continent if he had had 50,000 well-trained and efficient men. Notwithstanding these numbers, he never had at any one time more than 17,000 trained and efficient troops. At Princeton and Trenton they sank as low as 4,000 efficient men. What were we doing with them? We were holding them in camps, over 50 per cent of them diseased, due to their ignorance of military hygiene, with unnecessary expense of feeding and clothing them, while others were used as breastworks, shot down by the thousands, holding in check the enemy until we could train a force sufficient to meet him on a successful field of battle. After all this, the success and independence of the Colonies could not have been made secure but for the French regulars under Rochambeau and Lafayette, the Polish patriots Pulaski and Kosciuszko, and Von Steuben, together with the great achievements of another foreigner, the Scotchman, John Paul Jones, who made the name of the Bon Homme Richard the symbol of American naval glory so long as the American Republic shall

BULL RUN AND THE CONFEDERACY.

Why did the United States troops flee at the Battle of Bull Run? It was largely because of the difference in the military organizations of the United States and the Confederacy. The United States adopted the old plan of organizing and officering based upon State troops of as many systems as there were States, enlisting men from sections of the country not accustomed to wars and without military training, while the South adopted the centralized system, the very same plan of organization used in the Spanish-American War. In addition to this

the southerner was a cavalier and the South had been in the saddle since the beginning of the Government; its leading men had been given the chief military posts; its armies were made up of the very men who fought against Mexico and who had but a few years prior thereto been engaged in the many years' war against the Creek, Seminole, and other Indians, so that its armies were lead by trained generals, and were composed of a greater per cent of trained soldlers and men inured to camp life and to the battle field. The North, on the other hand, called out 75,000 volunteers for three months, began to train them—and they could not be trained in that length of time—the time of some of them began to expire and notwithstanding they were not yet ready to risk a battle, politicians, the press, and Members of Congress, with the same degree of intelligence now characterizing the pacifist, began to demand that they fight one battle before their time of enlistment expired. Against their better judgment their officers were compelled to risk a battle at Bull Run, and you know the result. They fled precipitately, nor did they stop until they had reached the fortifications around Washington, for the second time exposing the Capital to capture and pillage.

INDIAN AND MEXICAN WARS.

It may be surprising also to call attention to the fact that in the Creek and Seminole campaigns there were called out a portion of the Regulars and 48,000 volunteers to whip less than 3.000 Indians. And thus I could enumerate all the wars we have ever had, which policy but increases the wounded and the dead, swells the pension rolls, increases the number of widows and orphans, and in the end proves more expensive than reasonable preparedness in time of peace. This is why we have double the number of pensioners of any nation in Europe. Shall we continue it or shall we reverse that policy and thus save us from danger in future conflicts?

It may be noticed the difference between the War of 1812, when we lost every battle on land, and the Mexican War. In the last named we had the greatest number of trained troops proportional to the total number of any war in the history of the Government. Zachary Taylor trained his new recruits, many of them old Texas rangers, and many fresh from experience of fighting in the Indian wars, but before he risked them he spent eight months of six hours a day training them before he formed a union with the forces under Gen. Scott and began that uninterrupted march toward Mexico City, and, although their force was one-fourth the size of the Mexican armies, when they met and encountered them they won every battle because their troops were trained and efficient.

Then the glory of those achievements came very nearly being lost by our volunteer system which enlisted for but "one year," and in sight almost—three days' travel—of Mexico City. Those whose enlistment had expired immediately quitted the Army and returned to the United States, compelling Gen. Scott to sit down for three months at the gate of the Montezumas, maintaining his communication with Vera Cruz with extreme difficulty, until reinforcements could arrive, incurring the risk of having his Army annihilated, requiring additional volunteers, and new recruits and time to train them in order to become successful in the conflict, due to the faulty system of enlisting for a few months or for a year.

ENLISTMENT " FOR THE WAR."

This calls attention to another bad policy of the past needing correction, and that is that hereafter in all wars the volunteer should be enlisted "for the war," and I am proud to state that in the last Congress we for the first time in time of peace adopted this wholesome policy and began a wise, sensible system of preparedness in time of peace.

Armaments of the present day must be prepared in peace time, down to the smallest detail, if they are to be effective in time of need.

A nation's standing army is never a menace in time of war. It exists only in time of peace, and that by a possibility of the supremacy of military over civil power. Hence enlistment of all militia and volunteers "for the war" is both wise from a military standpoint and safest by automatic disbanding upon the return of peace, thus making certain a return of the supremacy of civil power.

REORGANIZATION OF MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

In truth all our organizations in military affairs should be reorganized, since by reorganization and adopting military principles, our present force, without increase, could be made more efficient and that at \$5,000,000 less cost. How is this so? It is due to the fact that we have established some 57 military posts, scattered throughout the country, for the most part in the mountains west of the Mississippi River, and maintain them because

of political or local influence, which such post gives to the nearest city or town. In other words, our Military Establishments and posts are founded upon the same system we adopted 70 years ago to fight Indians. This is the reason why the cost of maintaining an Army in the United States is greater than that of foreign countries and greater than maintaining the police force of our great cities per head. Yet I realize that Congress will probably never abolish these military posts for political reasons and political expediency. What Member of Congress could afford to vote to abolish a military post in his own State? Did he dare do it he would be met with defeat.

There is only one way out of this difficulty, and that is to adopt a "commission of defense," giving them plenary power to reorganize the entire Military Establishment of the Government, so that the Congressman's constituency may curse the commission for such removal and not the Congressman. In other words, here is a case where "practical politics" interferes with a Congressman's doing his whole duty just as it interferes to-day with adopting a sensible, wholesome plan of national defense.

REVENUE TO SUPPORT PREPAREDNESS.

The question bobs up everywhere, How will we get the money to create this preparedness? I answer by calling attention to the fact again, that an empty corn crib needs no protection; nor does a poor nation. It is the wealthy nation, and particularly a nation with surplus wealth. I therefore regard it sound in principle that this surplus wealth should pay for its surplus protection. I would therefore follow the advice laid down by Dr. Frederick von Bernhardi, the German philosopher, of paying for all material increase of preparedness from a tax on inheritance and increased tax on incomes, and at this time we could collect one-half of it from the output of munitions plants.

GOVERNMENT NAVY YARDS AND MUNITION PLANTS.

I would also provide for building all battleships, submarines, and like naval craft particularly requiring care in workmanship and secrecy in construction from other nations in a Government-owned navy yard. The supplies and ammunition authorized for war emergency I would have made, whenever secrecy is necessary to be maintained, in Government owned and operated munitions plants.

I would not, however, require this in case of ordinary supplies, for the reason that it will be essential in case of war for the Government to have the entire output of private munitions plants as well as its own, and they must be encouraged to some extent to continue their operation. It may be noted that England, France, Russia, and Japan, as well as Germany, had munitions plants of their own established long prior to the present war, and yet they were compelled to call on the private plants of the United States.

In the matter of medical supplies alone, which require six months to furnish enough to last an ordinary war, we have never acquired a sufficient amount of supplies held in reserve for emergency in this department, although its province is that of aiding the sick and wounded and wholly in the interest of humanity and And yet we have gone along unprepared in this field as in all the rest, although these supplies cost four times as much in the midst of war as they do in time of peace. Just as to-day, although we are out of the war, because of the European war this Congress will be compelled to appropriate \$200,000 for medical supplies for the United States Army, whereas \$100,000 was sufficient prior to the war. This is due to the fact that articles like quinine, which cost 30 cents before, now costs \$4 an ounce. Of course not all the medical supplies can be kept for such reserve, but the appliances and articles for the field hospital and Dental Corps and many medicines could be kept indefinitely, and such as these should be provided for in time of peace sufficient to carry on any ordinary war for 12 months. It will be less expensive to do so than to wait until the war begins.

Our Coast Artillery, so important to protect our cities and to obviate the necessity of a large standing army, is about as well equipped as any other branch of our military arm, and yet every shot held in reserve could be fired in two days.

WHERE OUR MONEY WENT:

It is sometimes urged that we have spent many millions, and that because our fortifications are not now sufficient this money has been "fooled" away. There are explanations for this, and I give you one of them. When we built our fortifications they were equal to the emergency; they were of sufficient strength and the guns of sufficient range to meet the requirement in comparison with other nations; but these things, like the water gap of a farm fence, must undergo constant upkeep. When you understand that of all our coast fortifications we have but 24 guns of more than 12-inch caliber—only 4 on the continental coast, the remaining 20 being on insular possessions—with but

one 17-inch gun, and that one installed at the Panama Canal in the last 12 months, requiring almost a year in its construction; and these 12-inch guns have a range 4 miles short of the range of the German guns and those of the Queen Elizabeth type of the British Navy. We thought ours were sufficient until this war began. We find them now inadequate. It was not a foolish expenditure. They simply cease to serve the purpose, so that the British Navy, learning the range of our coast guns, could sail up within one-quarter of a mile of our range, fire their shots over the heads of our fortifications into our cities and markets to a distance of 3½ miles, completely smashing them and killing thousands of our citizens, and then in turn laugh at us, as they witness our shots falling in the water one-quarter of a mile ahead of them. Now, these 12-inch guns, by raising the muzzle and changing the carriage, may have the range extended that 4 miles, of course at the loss of the power of the shot, but who is it that would argue for a moment that this expense should not be incurred? It will cost many millions of dollars, and, in my opinion, every third or fourth gun should be taken out and one of the largest type immediately made and placed there in its stead.

It is essential to encourage these private munitions plants because it would hardly be profitable for the Government to maintain and operate a sufficient number to supply the Army in case of war unless the Government would undertake completely the monopoly of powder and shot both for Government use and private sale. Thus the encouragement of the privately owned plants would relieve the Government's necessity of owning a sufficient amount in the event of war.

It will be remembered that the American Volunteers in the Spanish-American War mobilized at Tampa, Fla., and that when President McKinley ordered their embarkation for Cuba Gen. Miles made a hurried trip to Washington City to call the attention of the President to the fact that all the munitions in all the plants of the United States had been bought for use in the Philippines, and that there was not sufficient ammunition either in the hands of the Government or in the United States to carry on a campaign in Cuba, and that it could not be made in less than eight weeks time, while the soldiers themselves had in camp sufficient ammunition for 70,000 men to fight only one battle. Upon this showing the President countermanded the order for embarkation, losing the importance of time in the beginning of the war, the most important element in all military conflicts. This fact was expressed in the statement attributed to Napoleon when he sent Col. Colbert on a trip to Russia, he said:

Go quickly. Remember the world was made in six days. Ask me for anything in the world you need except time. I have none of that to furnish.

IMPORTANCE OF MILITARY RESERVE.

We must have a reserve, because 50 per cent of the strength in modern warfare is exhausted the first six months of fighting. There are three ways of creating this reserve—one by service with the colors and then pass to the reserve; second, the continental-army plan; and, third, by training all able-bodied boys in the schools and colleges of the country. This simply could be accomplished by extending the law now governing military training in agricultural and mechanical colleges to all schools in the country having the necessary number of 100 boys of the proper age. The Hay bill provides for this by furnishing West Point graduates free to each school; who become instructors in mathematics.

Is it desirable to have a reserve of either a standing army sufficient to serve with the colors, which will then pass to the reserve to constitute a second line of land defense, or one on the continental-army plan? I do not think so, because to make either method a success would essentially require compulsory service, which should never be resorted to except in case of actual war and that as a last resort.

The Civil War records show that out of all the enlistments for the Union armies 2,159,000 were boys under 21 years of age, leaving some 600,000 only of enlistments over that age. This proportionate number of young men fairly represents all armies. We therefore may expect in the future, as in the past, our armies to consist of young men, and in view of this and the further fact that the American people will never stand for compulsory military service nor for a large standing army, it is therefore clear to my mind that a second line of land defense must be made by training the boys in the schools and colleges of the country, based upon the Australian or Swiss system of training a citizenship who would be available in case of necessity.

I would fear any other plan, because it would require a United States Army of a million men, and since the States of the North, East, and West for the most part permit soldiers to vote, this body of men would be the deciding factor in every election and would largely determine our policies. They would support candidates and parties because of the personal interest through Army appropriations to themselves, and since we could not disfranchise a member of the Army, because this is a State question, it would render it extremely dangerous to the Government to pursue this ment to pursue this course. A standing army of a million men would thus prove politically as dangerous as to leave ourselves

exposed to foreign attack.

In the early history of the Republic nearly all the States disqualified from voting any person in the Army or Navy of the United States, but as a result of the Civil War, in order to enable the old volunteer to vote in the States of the North, East, and West this policy was changed, but in making the change they were erroneously extended to time of peace; while during the dark days of reconstruction the Southern States, finding themselves with soldiers stationed in their midst, returned, and have adhered since, to the old principle followed in the formation of the Republic and denied the right of suffrage to all members of the Army and Navy.

I have never believed in permitting a member of the Army to vote. This question in the Oklahoma constitutional convention was most stubbornly fought. We made a compromise which prevented the evil by providing that soldiers who may be stationed in the State should never thereby acquire residence qualifying them to vote. This left only such persons with the ballot who were citizens of the State at the time of enlistment

in the Army.

Aside, however, from all these considerations it would be worth the money, even though we never had another war, to train all the citizens of the country in military hygiene, tactics, Their earning capacity would be greater, their and discipline. knowledge of health laws enabling them to correct the habits of themselves and their families would save them much expense in the cost for medicine and physicians' bills, and give us a race of stronger men and at the same time remove the need of a standing army. Moreover, the trained citizen would hesitate long to vote for a war that would take him from his family and from peaceful pursuits. His viewpoint would be quite different from the viewpoint of the man in the barracks.

Dr. Edmond J. James, president of the University of Illinois,

has so aptly said:

Military drill is the most democratizing element at work in our student body. It crosses all lines of college, church, fraternity, or social organization. It is susceptible to no pull of favoritism. It measures all classes, rich and poor, idle and industrious, social and misanthropic, by the same standard and insists on efficiency or elimination. Its principle is "do" or "get out"—a most desirable antidote for the enervating policy of indulgence pursued by so many American parents and college faculties which develops a race of mollycoddles and inefficients. parents and co and inefficients.

SCHOOL OF DIPLOMACY.

Another important element in our national preparedness is in the matter of our diplomatic establishment. Heretofore, because we have failed to build embassies in foreign nations, and compelled the diplomats to the larger nations like England, France, and Germany to pay more for rent upon an embassy than the salary amounts to, it has resulted in our diplomatic posts being berths for some very rich men who have worn out their brains making money and who accept the posts merely as a means of getting their wives and daughters into society; and these old dolt heads have traded off the best rights of the

American Republic.

Again, we observe that, with but few exceptions, the only persons whose diplomacy have been worth while are naval or military officers. To my thinking we should build an emmilitary officers. bassy in these nations and establish a national university I have introduced a bill creating one-having, among other things, a school of diplomacy and international law, men for this service could be specially trained. England, by reason of her school of diplomacy, has used this more than war to build up her empire and to add to her public domain. Such a university should also have a chair on "foreign trade and commerce," to train men suitable for consular service in aid of our growing commerce and in the establishment of foreign markets.

Remember the principle laid down by Frederick the Great:

There is no alliance or agreement in the world that can be regarded as effective if it is not fastened by the bond of common and reciprocal interests; if in any treaty the advantage is all on one side and the other gets nothing the disproportion destroys the obligation.

Therefore we may expect treaties illogically drawn between us and other nations, if not reciprocally beneficial or if time evolves them all to one side, the other nation will naturally regard itself as relieved from all compact wherein all the favor is on one side; and therefore the treaty-making power of the Government as represented by its diplomats should be wise and fully equipped in the practices of nations and the principles governing inter-

national law. However broad our good intentions be, we must never lose sight of the fact that the political maneuvers of other States are governed only by their own interests, and that the different great powers of the world will be grouped together and must be judged by this standard. This standard may best be stated by Frederick the Great in these terms:

The great art of policy is not to swim against the stream, but to turn all events to one's own profit. It consists rather in deriving advantage from tavorable conjunctures than in preparing such conjunctures. Wisdom is well qualified to keep what one possesses, but boldness alone can acquire.

And this constantly brings before the mind the proper course of our future diplomacy; when we have the advantage are we to use it or leave it to the generosity of some selfish power? Since we have failed by reliance upon their generosity in the past, let us be prepared here also for the future.

In every walk of American life the value of trained men is recognized save in the matter of holding public office, the

diplomatic service, and our land forces.

MASSED ARMIES REQUIRE GREATER ORGANIZATION.

There is another consideration we can not escape in the wars of the future. The armies will be larger, and the larger the army the less the personality of the general, the more left to the subaltern commanders. This requires every officer, commissioned and noncommissioned, to be thoroughly trained, levelheaded, and equipped. In turn, each individual soldier must have a wider range of his duties to be performed and of the objects to be undertaken. He must move with a steady step, having a complete understanding of his relation to his comrade to the right and to the left, and the duty of each to the whole of the organization up through the subalterns to the commander in chief.

In addition to all this the greater the massed unit the greater the field for executive ability and organization. Small armies may live off the country they conquer, large armies must be fed from the rear. And think of the tremendous task of feeding an army equal to all the population of an average that the companion and Hose American State—in every department, the Ordnance and Hospital Corps, and even the smaller branches, down to the one man who would furnish the bread. A million men can not be led like Gen. Lee led his men, for when he surrendered at Appa-

mattox it was found that he had but 26,000 men.

Without such training not only of the individual soldier in these armies, as well as the equipment, executive ability, and knowledge of organization of all the officers as well as the commander in chief, they would be little more than a mob.

It might be well to remember, although we are unable to fathom it, it is nevertheless true in fact, that the hardy Scotchman was developed in the midst of warfare, and the greatest learning of the Greeks in science, art, literature, and sculpture was during the period of the half century of strife known as the Punic wars. The reason for this we may not understand unless it is that man is a fighter, and that all nature is a constant, never-ending contest for the survival of the fittest. We must therefore agree with high authority:

Among all political sins, the sin of feebleness is the most contemptible; it is the political sin against the Holy Ghost.

ONLY RICH NATIONS REQUIRE PROTECTION.

Plutarch tells us that when Sparta's soldier-philosopher, King Lycurgus, was asked how they could best guard against foreign

invasion, replied, "By remaining poor."

The thief never visits an empty corncrib, nor does a nation seeking economic advantage war upon a nation without natural resources and whose inhabitants are poor. Therefore a poor nation needs little protection. But we find the United States to-day, in addition to its great resources, with the greatest wealth in its history. Owing to our tremendous amount of exports over imports, we have at this hour the greatest amount of gold, or the world's money, of any nation ever recorded in his-This amount of the world's money is said to be upward of \$2,200,000,000. When this war is over both sides of the belligerents will want some of this gold with which to pay off their tremendous war debts. They might be satisfied if we should lie down and let them control the world's trade, undermining our resources, and thus gradually but surely regaining financial control, but that would mean hardships and starvation for the people of the United States. I for one would like for us to be prepared so as to take advantage of the war and get the larger portion of the world's trade, and thus be prepared for the world's market for our products, particularly those of the farm. This involves, as before stated, a great merchant marine and a return to the old doctrine prior to the Civil War of a complete policy of differentiating duty and "free ships, free seas, and sailors' rights." BANCROFT'S FOREBODING OF JAPAN.

Herbert H. Bancroft, the historian, has given us a very pertinent warning in a recent production in this: He calls attention to the fact that Japan and Germany keep secret the subtleties of their strength; America opens her doors and gives them to the world. Then he says:

Japan has her Bernhardi and book for the capture of the United States, together with a disposition of the spoils.

He calls attention to our delivering the Japs from the depths of ignorance, and they charge us with having sent to them the "rough barbarian Perry." Notwithstanding we have given them the knowledge of free schools, free universities, free hospitals, and free court service, yet they denounce us as a "nation of thieves, with hearts of rabbits," and then they united with the rallying cry, "Let us take our arms, both by sea and land, and punish these devils." This great historian and philosopher further says:

Either Japan, with Germany, must abolish militarism or the United States must adopt more drastic methods, not for aggression but for defense. There is no other way, unless we would become as Belgium is, or as China.

Encouraged by success in conflicts with weaker powers, Japan regards herself invincible and bides her time to strike; when she does strike, it will be the beginning of the end either with Japan or with us.

Neither you nor I know when another war will occur, how soon, nor how long the duration, any more than I know when my house may catch fire; but I take the precaution, as does every sensible business man, to insure against total loss. Why is it not wise for the old Republic to take out such policies of insurance by preparing?
President John Adams was wise when he said:

Safety of the Nation is the first duty of the statesman.

For the perpetuity of our institutions, the preservation of our national honor, the supremacy of the flag, all our mind, energy, and intelligence should be devoted and dedicated. For these blessings we should call upon the music of the stars ever to chant a martial refrain and let muffled drums eternally beat their everlasting reveille.

SIMPOSIUM OF FACTS.

[From experts, naval and war records, and recognized naval and military authorities, for use of college and political debaters and other persons seeking information upon which to form an opinion as to the necessity of preparedness.]

the necessity of preparedness.)
(Compiled by Hon. William H. Murray, M. C., fourth district of Oklahoma.)

Christ said:

I come not on earth to bring peace, but a sword. (Matthew x, 34.) When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace: But when a stronger than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils. (Luke xi, 21 and 22.)

Then said he unto them, But now, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise his scrip: and he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one. (Luke xxii, 36.)

Again the word of the Lord came unto me, saying,
Son of man, speak to the children of thy people, and say unto them, when I bring the sword upon a land, if the people of the land take a man of their coasts, and set him for their watchman:

If when he seeth the sword come upon the land, he blow the trumpet, and warn the people;
Then whosoever heareth the sound of the trumpet, and taketh not warning; if the sword come, and take him away, his blood shall be upon his own head.

He heard the sound of the trumpet, and took not warning; his blood shall be upon him. But he that taketh warning shall deliver his soul.

But if the watchman see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned; if the sword come, and take any person from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand. (Ezekiel xxxiii, 1-6.)

OPINIONS OF LEADING STATESMEN.

For a people who are free and mean to remain so, a well organized and armed militia is their best security. (Richardson, I, p. 455, Works of Thomas Jefferson.)

None but an armed mation can dispense with a standing army. To keep ours armed and disciplined is, therefore, at all times important. (Jefferson, letter Feb. 25, 1803.)

Trust in the Lord, but keep your powder dry. (Oliver Cromwell and the Covenanters.)

John Adams, in his second message, said:

An efficient preparation for war can alone secure peace.

Lord Roberts, of England:

Strive to stir up, to foster, and develop the manly and patriotic spirit in the nation—the spirit which will induce our youth to realize that they must be not only ready but prepared to guard the heritage handed down to them.

Gen, Leonard Wood:

Our people must remember that there is nothing in the experience of the past or in the conditions of to-day which in any way justifies the assumption that wars are past. While we should strive for world peace and endeavor to settle our international difficulties by arbitration, we can not, unless we are unworthy of the trust handed down to us, fail to make adequate preparedness to defend our heritage. We must not forget that there is many a peace which is worse than war.

Gen. Washington, on January 16, 1776, to General Court of Massachusetts:

Massachusetts:

To bring men to be well acquainted with the duties of a soldier requires time. * * * To expect, then, the same service from raw and undisciplined recruits as from veteran soldiers is to expect what never did and perhaps never will happen. * * * Nor would the expense which is incident to the support of such body as would be competent to almost every emergency far exceed that which is daily incurred by calling in new enlistments, which, when effected, are not attended with good consequences.

To place any dependence upon militia is assuredly resting upon a broken staff.

The jealousy of a standing army and the evils to be apprehended from one are remote, and, in my judgment, situated as we are, not at all to be dreaded; but the consequences of wanting one, according to my idea formed from the present view of things, is certain and inevitable ruin.

Washington to John Bannister, April 21, 1778:

Men may speculate as they will; they may talk of patriotism; they may draw a few examples from ancient story of great achievements performed by its influence; but whoever builds upon them, as a sufficient basis for conducting a long and bloody war, will find himself deceived in the end. I do not mean to exclude altogether the idea of patriotism. I know it exists. But I will venture to assert that a great and lasting war can never be supported on this principle alone. It must be aided by a prospect of interest, or some reward. For a time it may, of itself, push men to action, to bear much, to encounter difficulties, but it will not endure unassisted by interest.

Gen. Knox, September 5, 1776:

It is misfortune that must raise us to the character of a great people. We must have a Standing Army. The militia get sick, or think themselves so, and run home.

Gen. Henry Lee, of the Revolution:

A government is the murderer of its citizens which sends them to the field uninformed and untaught where they are to meet men of the same age and strength mechanized by education and discipline for battle.

Washington foresaw the strife of nations, the innumerable appeals to arms that were yet to be, and in his fifth annual address warned his countrymen that-

The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion that, contrary to the order of human events, they will forever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms with which the history of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war.

In recounting the comparative Field and Coast Artillery strength of the United States and the ammunition for them in reserve, remember what Napoleon said:

Victory is on the side of the heaviest artillery.

Theodore Roosevelt says:

Arbitration treaties, neutrality treaties, treaties for the selection of independent tribunals, treaties of all kinds can do nothing to save a nation unless that nation is able to defend its own honor, its own vital interest.

A. W. von Slegel says:

War is as necessary as the struggle of the elements in nature, for man is a fighter.

And Frederick the Great has said:

War opens up the most fruitful field to all the virtues, for at every moment constancy, pity, magninimity, and mercy shine forth in it; every moment offers an opportunity to exercise one of these virtues; and the moment the state cries out its very life is at stake, social selfishness must cease, the individual must forget his egotism and feel that he is a member of the whole body. * * * What a perversion of morality to wish to abolish heroism among men.

THE NAVY. STRENGTH.

The following tables are taken from a document entitled "Information Concerning Some of the Principal Navies of the World," an official publication of the Office of Naval Intelligence, United States Navy Department:

RELATIVE STANDING AT OUTBREAK OF EUROPEAN WAR.

[Extract from Table I.] Relative order of warship tonnage. [July 1, 1914.]

Present order (tonnage com	pleted).	As would be the case if vessels now building were completed.		
Nation.	Tonnage.	Nation.	Tonnage.	
Great Britain	2, 158, 250 951, 713 765, 133 665, 748 519, 640	Great Britain	2,713,756 1,304,640 899,915 894,833 699,916	

[Extract from Tables IV and V.] Dreadnaughts and battle cruisers. [July 1, 1914.]

Nation.	Built.	Building or author- ized.	Total.
England	29 17 8 8 3 2	17 11 7 9 6	46 28 15 12 8

All countries now at war have greatly increased their building programs, so above notes do not hold good after July, 1914. The United States Navy on July 1, 1915. (Extract from Table II 1

	Bu	ilt.	Build	milding.	
attleships (predreadnaught type)	Number.	Tons.	Number.	Tons (estimated).	
Torpedo-boat destroyers	10 15	189, 650 309, 282 12, 900 140, 040 75, 625 41, 417 1, 082	7 0 11 22	213, 800	
Total tons		770,036		225, 992	
Total tons built and building		99	6,028		

The following table is taken from the United States Navy Yearbook, 1915 (p. 534). (S. Doc. No. 3, 64th Cong., 1st sess.) TABLE XXXIII.

Large guns (11 to 15 inch).

	[July 1, 1	914.]	Grand total.
	Britain		564 320
Germa	1 States		224
France			204 164
outhern			

RELATIVE STANDING OF OUR NAVY TO-DAY.

[Extract from speech of President Wilson as reported in the press.] [Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 2, 1916.]

Do you know the sweep of the coast from the canal to Alaska? It is nearly one-fourth the circumference of the earth. And the coast from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf? Do you think a Navy that ranks fourth is sufficient?

FIFTEEN TROUBLES OF THE ATLANTIC FLEET.

[Extract from the report of Admiral F. F. Fletcher, commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet, Aug. 15, 1916. (S. Doc. 251, 64th Cong., 1st sess., p. 19.)] RÉSUMÉ.

In brief, the principal weaknesses and requirements of the fleet are as follows:

(a) Shortage of officers.
(b) Shortage of men.
(c) Lack of fast armored ships and fast light cruisers.
(d) Limitations of mobility and seagoing qualities of submarines.
(e) Lack of radio direction finder.
(f) Lack of radio direction finder.
(g) Too frequent overhaul of battleships.
(h) Necessity of maintaining full complements in active ships of the fleet.

(h) Necessity of maintaining full complements.

(l) Need of additional mining and sweeping vessels.
(l) Destrability of mobilizing ships in reserve annually with the active fleet.
(k) Need of battle target practice at long ranges.
(l) Necessity for increased facilities at fleet rendezvous.
(m) Provision for division commanders for mining division and auxiliary division.
(n) Provision for more speed in design of fighting craft intended to operate with the fleet.
(o) Need of antiaircraft guns.

Building program for Navy recommended for fiscal year ending June 30,

	Secretary Daniels's plan.		General Board of Navy's second plan.
Dreadnaughts. Battle cruisers Submarines Destroyers Sundries	2 2 30 15 7	4 4 37 28 24	4 3 22 10 10

Appropriation necessary for coming year to carry out al	ove plans:
Secretary Daniels's plan	\$57, 003, 000
General Board's plan No. 1	113, 020, 587
General Board's plan No. 2	82, 792, 500

General Board's plan No. 2. 82, 792, 500

The figures for Secretary Daniels's plan and for General Board's plan No. 2 were taken from the Report of the Secretary of the Navy, December 1, 1915, page 7 and page 85. The figures for General Board's plan No. 1 were taken from a letter dated January 22, 1916, from Secretary Daniels to Hon. E. W. Roberts, of the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives.

In addition to the foregoing building program, Secretary Daniels recommended for the ensuing year an appropriation of \$2,000,000 for aviation and \$8,000,000 for aviation and \$8,000,000 for aviation and \$11,000,000 for ammunition. The General Board plan No. 1 recommended \$5,000,000 for aviation, but made no mention of ammunition.

[Extract from the testimony of Coat Mark Bristol United States

for aviation, but made no mention of ammunition.

[Extract from the testimony of Capt. Mark Bristol, United States Navy, commanding the Aviation Service of the United States Navy, before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives, Dec. 3, 1914 (Hearings. p. 299).]

Representative Browning. Captain, I wish you would tell us how the aircraft equipment of the various nations compare.

Capt. Bristol. At the beginning of this war our best information gave, approximately, France, 22 dirigibles and 1,400 aeroplanes; Russia. 18 dirigibles and 800 aeroplanes; Great Britain. 9 dirigibles and 400 neroplanes; Belgium, 2 dirigibles and 100 neroplanes; Servia, 60 aeroplanes; Germany, 40 dirigibles and 1,000 neroplanes; Austria, 8 dirigibles and 400 neroplanes; and the United States, 23 neroplanes.

[Extract from the report of the Secretary of the Navy, Dec. 1, 1915.] There are now in the service 15 aeroplanes and 15 aeronautic motors. By the first of the next year at least 15 new aeroplanes and a number of new motors will be delivered, etc.

AIRCRAFT.

[Extracts from the report of the General Board of the Navy, Nov. 17, 1914.]

The general Board in its indersement No. 449 of August 30, 1913, and accompanying memorandum brought to the attention of the departmen the dangerous situation of the country in the lack of aircraft and airmen in both the naval and military services.

At the present time, more than a year later, the total number of aircraft of any kind owned by the Navy consists of 12 aeroplanes, not more than two of which are of the same type, and all reported to have too little speed and carrying capacity for service work.

In view of the advance that has been made in aeronautics during the past year and the demonstration new being made of the vital importance of a proper service to both land and sea warfare, our present situation can be described as nothing less than deplorable. As now developed aircraft are the eyes of both armies and navies, and it is difficult to place any limit to their offensive possibilities.

In our present condition of uppreparedness, in contact with any foe possessing a proper air service, our scouting would be blind.

[Extract from the testimony of Capt. Mark Bristol, United States Navy, commanding the Aviation Service of the United States Navy, before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives, Dec. 3, 1914 (Hearings, p. 229).]

Representative Browning, p. 229).]

Representative Browning. Captain, I wish you would tell us how the aircraft equipment of the various nations compare.

Capt. Bristol. At the beginning of this war our best information gave, approximately, France, 22 dirigibles and 1.400 aeroplanes; Russia, 18 dirigibles and 800 aeroplanes; Great Britain, 9 dirigibles and 400 aeroplanes; Belgium, 2 dirigibles and 100 aeroplanes; Servia, 60 aeroplanes; Germany, 40 dirigibles and 1,000 aeroplanes; Austria, 8 dirigibles and 400 aeroplanes; and the United States, 23 aeroplanes.

[Extract from the report of the Secretary of the Navy, Dec. 1, 1915.] There are now in the service 15 aeroplanes and 15 aeronautic motors. By the first of the next year at least 15 new aeroplanes and a number of new motors will be delivered, etc.

Brig. Gen. Scriven, the Chief Signal Officer of the Army, and his lieutenant, Col. Reber, testified before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives December 8, 1914, that the United States possessed then only 119 aviators, 21 aero-planes; that an aeroplane costs from \$2,000 to \$2,400; that it requires fully a year to construct one; that European nations possess and carried in their budget for 1914 for aircraft as follows:

	Aero-	Dirigi-	Expendi-
	planes.	bles.	tures.
France. Russia Great Britain Austria Germany Italy	500	11	12, 800, 600
	500	4	22, 500, 000
	250	8	1, 080, 000
	100	3	3, 000, 000
	500	20	45, 000, 000
	150	2	800, 000

The United States has 21 aeroplanes, no dirigibles, and spent \$250,000.

LAND ALMOST ANY PLACE.

[Extract from the testimony of Rear Admiral Frank F. Fletcher, United States Navy, commanding Atlantic Fleet, before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives, Dec. 9, 1914. (Hearings, p. 536.)]

Representative Witherspoon. How many unharbored places are there on the coast where they (the enemy) could land?

Admiral Fletcher. In smooth water and fine weather, they could land almost any place, as we did from the open sea at Santiago.

[Extract from the testimony of Brig. Gen. William Crozier, Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, before the Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives, Jan. 25, 1916. Hearings, p. 73.] Representative McKenzie. Do you think any power on earth can

land 600,000 or 700,000 men on our shores in less than eight or nine months?

Gen. CROZIER, I think if there were a power which had no entanglements near home, and which was free to do it, it could be done right now, as far as anything we could do to prevent it was concerned, within the time you mentioned.

Preparedness of the great powers for over-sea expeditions.

[Extract from statement of War College Division, General Staff Corps, United States Army, Sept. 11, 1915.]

		Tonnage available of ships with capacity over—		using 50 per cent using 75]			xpedition 5 per cent age given.	cent Time needed to		numb		Total number each
Nation.	Strength of army.	3,000 tons.	2,000 tons.	1,000 tons.	Men.	Animals.	Men.	Animals.	Load and cross ocean with first expe- dition.	Return, load, and recross with second expe- dition.	nation would land in two expe ditions or in 61.1 days	
Austria-Hungary. France. Germany. Great Britain. Italy. Japan. Russia.	4,320,000 5,000,000 5,000,000 695,000 2,600,000 2,212,000 5,000,000	3,569,962 13,000,000	762, 756 1, 705, 931 4, 018, 185 1, 065, 321 428, 019	1,013,985	100 001	14,000 32,186 81,270 90,000 13,650 24,416 7,940	108,000 243,295 440,000 136,000 142,622 66,444	21,600 48,279 94,600 20,475 36,628 11,918	Days. 20.7 15.8 15.8 14.0 18.3 22.5 20.5	Days. 40.4 30.0 30.8 27.0 35.0 41.0	178,000 404,226 827,020 227,000 238,367 104,074	

Such landing is on the assumption that such expedition would not be opposed by our Navy—that is, in the event of the defeat of our Navy. In the event of such landing by France, Germany, or Great Britain the result is made known by our experience in the War of 1812.

Moral: The United States needs a large navy, complete in all

its parts. (MURRAY.)

THE ENEMY COULD LAND.

A LETTER FROM ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY, UNITED STATES NAVY.

OFFICE OF THE ADMIRAL OF THE NAVY, Washington, December 10, 1915.

Hon. A. P. Gardner, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Hon. A. P. Gardner: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of December 9 asking me to write you setting forth my views on the question of the possibility of large hostile forces landing on our coast, and inviting my attention to an article by Eric Fisher Wood, which appeared in the Century last month.

The part of the Atlantic coast mentioned in Mr. Wood's article extends from Eastport, Me., to Cape Henry, Va., and in this area we have permanent defenses on the Penobscot and Kennebec Rivers at Portland, Portsmouth, Boston, and New Bedford Harbors; at Narragansett Bay; at the eastern entrance to Long Island Sound; at the entrance to New York Harbor; on the Delaware River; at Baltimore; on the upper Potomac River, and at Hampton Roads. Of these defenses only those at Portland, Narragansett Bay, entrance to Long Island Sound, and the entrance to New York protect the coast, the others are solely harbor defenses.

It is true that a large hostile force can land on the open coast wherever the transports can get within reasonable distance of the shore, and especially so where their landing is covered by the gunfire of the naval escort, even though the landing be opposed by troops; the most recent example of this is the landing of the allied troops on the Gallipoli Peninsula. We have similar examples in our own history, as the landing of Scott's army near Vera Cruz, the landings near Fort Fisher, and the landing of Shafter's army on the south coast of Cuba.

From Eastport, Me., to Cape Henry, Va., there are but very few

as the landing of Scott's army near Vera Cruz, the landings near Fort Fisher, and the landing of Shafter's army on the south coast of Cuba.

From Eastport, Me., to Cape Henry, Va., there are but very few places where large ships can not approach with safety to within 2 miles of the coast, and the extent of this shore line that is too precipitous or too ragged to make a landing impracticable is small. The only force that can prevent such a landing is a Navy of our own strong enough to prevent such an expedition from reaching our coast.

In saying that a hostile expedition can land upon our coast at will, outside the range of our coast-defense guns, I mean that it is physically possible, and with no very great difficulty. I do not mean that such a force could accomplish its object by landing anywhere on our coast. No commander would desire to have his force isolated on the peninsulas of Malne nor on the sand dunes of New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, or Virginia, with inland waters between them and the mainland. They will prefer to land where there are railroads and good roads leading to their objective, which would probably be one of our large cities. Such places are numerous along the coast of Massachusetts, both shores of Massachusetts Bay, the eastern end and south shore of Long Island, and in the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays.

A landing place sheltered from the force of the sea would greatly facilitate the disembarkation of a hostile force, but is not a vital necessity; such sheltered places are too numerous to name, but among them are Frenchmans Bay, Penobscot Bay, Blue Hill Bay, Sheepscott River, Casco Bay, in Malne; Rockport, Gloucester, Salem, Plymouth, Provinceton, Vineyard Sound, and Buzzards Bay, in Massachusetts; Fort Pond Bay, and then to the southward Delaware and Chesapeake Bays. Only the Navy can prevent landings at those places, and that Navy must be strong enough to defeat the enemy; and should we have such a Navy the enemy would not attempt an invasion must therefore always rest with the Navy, w

before stated, adequacy is not reached until the Navy is strong enough to meet on equal terms the navy of the strongest probable adversary. Sincerely, yours,

GEORGE DEWEY.

THE ARMY. [Extract from the Report of the Secretary of War, Nov. 15, 1914.] For the purpose of information the following table is presented, showing the area, population, and military resources on a peace and war footing of other nations in comparison with ours:

	Land	ries.		
	Area (square miles).	Popula- tion.	Peace strength.	Total trained war strength.
Germany France Russia Great Britain and colonies Italy Austria-Hungary Japan Turkey Spain Switzerland Sweden Belgium United States (including Philippine Scouts)	208, 830 207, 054 8, 647, 657 11, 467, 294 110, 550 261, 035 147, 655 1, 186, 874 194, 783 15, 976 172, 876 11, 373	64, 903, 423 38, 961, 945 160, 095, 200 396, 294, 752 32, 475, 253 49, 418, 596 35, 875, 390 35, 764, 876 19, 503, 908 3, 741, 971 3, 476, 441 7, 074, 910	620,000 560,000 1,200,000 275,000 360,000 230,000 420,000 115,000 140,000 42,000 97,760	4,000,000 3,000,000 4,500,000 1,500,000 1,200,000 1,200,000 1,200,000 1,200,000 275,000 400,000 180,000

Excluding native army, 160,000.
 Including Organized Militia and Philippine Scouts.

Strength of United States Army June 30, 1915. [Pp. 6, 16, 32, Report of Chief of Staff, U. S. Army.]

	Officers.	Enlisted men.	Total.
Regular Army Philippine Scouts Reserve Army	4,616 182	1 95, 765 5, 430 17	100, 381 5, 612
Organized Militia (National Guard)	8,705	120, 693	129, 398
Grand total	13,503	221,905	235, 408

¹ Including 8,381 enlisted men of the Hospital and Quartermaster's Corps.

Thomas Jefferson conducted the first years of his administration on the principle that it was possible to avoid military conflict by use of embargoes and commercial warfare, but after an experience similar to that now confronting the United States with the allies with reference to shipping agricultural and food products of the United States to neutral countries, Jefferson reversed his policy, the only one he ever lived to regret, and in the closing years of his administration increased the Army so that at the end of the decade, or in 1810, we had the greatest mobile army in proportion to population that ever existed in the history of the Government. We then had for every 1,000 people 1.378 soldiers, while the greatest we ever had at any other decade was in 1870, which was 0.963. In 1910 it was

Jefferson so fully reversed himself in the matter of policy that he submitted to Congress practically the present plan of preparedness. After he retired from the Presidency and had no other desire, political or otherwise, except to give the best advice to his country, having witnessed the defeat on land of more than one-half million volunteers by 67,000 British regulars, he advocated universal military training in the schools as the safest and surest preparedness, and he thus expressed himself to James Monroe:

It proves more forcibly the necessity of obliging every citizen to be a soldier. This was the case with the Greeks and Romans, and must be

that of every free State. We must train and classify the whole of our male citizens and make military instruction a regular part of collegiate education. We can never be safe until this is done.

CITIZEN SOLDIERY.

The greatest proof of the expense attending a lack of preparedness is shown in the following table, explaining our heavy pension roll, due to our making breastworks of raw recruits until we could train an army. The following table will show the number of troops on both sides, the cost to us, and the pensions in all our wars, beginning with the Revolution:

War.	Regulars.	Militia, Volun- teers, etc.	Opponents.	Cost.	Pensions.
Revolution 1812 Creek Seminole Biack Hawk Florida Mexican Rebellon Spenish Philippines	231, 771 56, 932 600 11, 900 1, 341 12, 539 31, 924 67, 900 58, 688 76, 416	164,087 471,622 43,921 5,911 4,638 48,152 73,532 2,606,341 223,235 50,052	1 150, 605 1 67, 000 1 2, 000 1 1, 000 800 to 1, 000 1, 200 to 2, 000 1, 46, 000 1 1, 000, 000 228, 160 Unestimated.		48, 693, 102, 18
Total	562, 511	3, 691, 491	1, 297, 605	47, 365, 106, 267, 00	4, 729, 957, 370. 00

1 About.

Total Regulars Total militia and volunteers	562, 511 3, 691, 491
Grand total for all wars The total cost of war and war preparedness since	4, 254, 002
The total cost of military preparedness in time of	\$7, 457, 970, 863. 54
peace or in the preparation for war not actually existing	\$3, 092, 864, 596, 61
The total cost of pensions (as disclosed by the mili- tary records of the Government) is	\$4, 728, 957, 370, 94

AMMUNITION SHORTAGE, MOVABLE GUNS.

[Extract from the testimony of Brig. Gen. William Crozier before Committee on Military Affairs of House of Representatives, Jan. 25, 1916. Hearings, p. 76.]

"The total number of rounds of such [field artillery] ammunition on hand and under manufacture is 967,500, of which 481,000 have been completed."

NOTE.—European reports have mentioned that as many as 1,000 rounds of field-artillery ammunition are sometimes fired in a single day by a single gun. The Chief of Staff, United States Army, in his annual report, November 15, 1914, stated that as an accumulation in anticipation of war we need 11,790,850 rounds of field-artillery ammunition.

A. P. G.

SHORTAGE OF FIELD ARTILLERY.

[Extract from table presented by Brig. Gen. William Crozier, Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, before Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives, Jan. 25, 1916. Hearings, p. 76.]

"Total batteries field artillery completed, 176."

Note.—As each battery consists of 4 guns, this means that we have only 704 field guns completed. The Chief of Staff, United States Army, in his annual report, November 15, 1914, stated that as an accumulation in anticipation of war we need 2,834 field guns (exclusive of giant

COAST FORTIFICATIONS.

AMMUNITION SHORTAGE (SEACOAST GUNS).

[Extract from the report of the Chief of Staff, United States Army, 1914.]

There is a serious deficiency, however, in ammunition for these coast defenses, the supply which the department has been attempting to maintain being on the basis of approximately an hour's full and active operation of the guns in the United States proper and a two hours' full and active operation of the guns in over-sea fortifications. According to the report of the Chief of Coast Artillery, the amount of ammunition now available and provided for by appropriations is equal to about 73 per cent of this requirement for the guns and 50 per cent for the mortars.

[Extract from the report of the Chief of Staff, United States Army, Oct. 15, 1915, p. 23.]

The full effectiveness of the existing seacoast armament can not be attained under present conditions because of the shortages in the supply of the essential accessories, such as ammunition, searchlights, and fire control. Of the latter deficiencies that of ammunition is the most serious, and the total supply on hand is only about three-fourths of the so-called one hour's allowance. That allowance is deemed wholly inadequate, and no material measure of relief will be afforded unless future appropriations for ammunition are greatly in excess of the annual appropriations for that purpose that have been made heretofore.

The completion of the submarine-mine matériel required for the mine defenses is another urgent need. This matériel should be maintained at all times in a state of preparedness for immediate service, as naval attacks upon our seacoast cities may occur coincidently with, or even may precede, a formal declaration of war.

EXPOSURE OF OUR SEACOAST CITIES.

[Extracts from the testimony of Brig. Gen. E. M. Weaver, United States Army, Chief of Coast Artillery, before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives, Jan. 19, 1916 (Hearings, pp. 42 and 68).]

pp. 42 and 68).]

Gen. Weaver. I am going this afternoon before the Fortifications Committee to urge additional fortifications, the necessity of which has been brought about by the evolution of naval attack. These new fortifications include those at Cape Henry, Rockaway Beach, San Francisco, and one or two other places.

Gen. Weaver. When we mounted guns at Fort Hamilton and Fort Wadsworth and at Sandy Hook it was not thought that ships could stand outside of Rockaway Beach and fire over the whole width of Long' Island and Erooklyn and reach New York City. There were no guns mounted that could do that at that time. Now there are. A ship could do that and be beyond the range of any gun we have mounted.

[Extract from the testimony of Lieut. Col. William G. Haan, Coast Artillery, United States Army, before Senate Committee on Military Affairs, Jan. 28, 1916.]

Lieut. Col. Haan. I reported officially that there are points in Boston Harbor where an enemy's ship can lie now and destroy the Boston Navy Yard, the statehouse, the Fore River Shipyards, and the business part of Boston without our being able to reach him with our short-range guns.

CHESAPEAKE BAY UNFORTIFIED.

[Extract from the report of the National Coast Defense Board, Feb. 1, 1906.]

Commercially and strategically, Chesapeake Bay is to-day, as it always has been, of the very first importance. With the entrance, as it is now, unfortified, a hostile fleet, should it gain control of the sea, can establish, without coming under the fire of a single gun, a base on its shores, pass in and out at pleasure, have access to large quantities of valuable supplies of all kinds, and paralyze the great trunk railway lines crossing the head of the bay. (The above was written 11 years ago The entrance to Chesapeake Bay is still unfortified. A. P. G.)

Guns now mounted or being mounted, after eliminating batteries declared obsolete by the War Department Board of Review (Report of Chief of Coast Artillery, p. 5).

	16-inch.	14-inch.	12-inch.	10-inch.	8-inch.	6-inch.	5-inch.	4.7-inch.	4-inch.	3-inch.	Mortars.
Number for which manning bodies are now provided	i	7 17	75 38	67 64	20 29	104 102	11 41	5 26	2 2	64 212	280 128
Total	1	24	111	131	49	206	52	31	4	276	408

Guns and mortars (after eliminating obsolete ba

Caliber.	United States.	Insular.	Total.
3-inch. 4-inch. 4-7-inch. 5-inch. 6-inch. 8-inch. 10-inch. 12-inch. 14-inch. 18-inch. 18-inch. 18-inch. 18-inch. 18-inch. 18-inch. 18-inch. 18-inch. 18-inch.	254 4 19 46 171 37 125 102 4 0	22 0 28 2 35 0 4 8 20 1 72	276 4 477 48 206 37 129 110 24 1
Total	1,078	192	1,270

The above table, as well as the table following, is given on the authority of Assistant Secretary of War Breckinridge. It will be observed that on the continent of the United States, with the exception of four guns, all the other guns at our fortifications are 12 inches and less. These 12-inch guns have a range just 4 miles short of the larger type of the German guns and of the Queen Elizabeth type of the British Navy. Therefore these two nations could learn the range of these guns, draw up to within one-fourth mile, and fire over the head of our fortifications into our cities and markets to a distance of 3½ miles and watch our shot fall one-fourth mile in front of them. The carriages of these guns may be changed and by raising the muzzle so that the range will extend this 4 miles, at a loss, of course, of the striking power of the shot; and many believe this should be done to make our coast fortifications worth anything, and in addition every third or fourth gun replaced with a 16 or 17 inch gun, which requires 12 months in making.

The next table will show the conditions at the various coast fortifications and the shortage of Regulars and militia to be 52 per cent of the necessary number, there being 39 coast fortifications unmanned, with no command about the fortifications or other control except their caretakers. Thus they are exposed to capture by a foreign enemy and our own guns turned upon us:

Coast Artillery companies sent from United States, those to be sent in the near future, those required in United States, and shortage of Regulars.

	Companies sent from—	Companies to be sent from—	Companies remaining.	Companies required for mines and one-half guns.	Shortage in United States.	Per cent of short- age to number required under 50 per cent plan.
Portland Portsmouth Portsmouth Boston Narragansett Bay New Bedford Long Island Sound Eastern New York Southern New York Sandy Hook Delaware Baltimore Potomae Chesapeake Bay Cape Fear Charleston Savannah Key West Tampa Pensacola Mobile New Orleans Galveston San Diego Los Angeles San Francisco Columbia River Puget Sound	1 7 3 5 5 2 1 1 2 2 1 1	3 3 3 3 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	9 1 8 6 1 10 3 7 5 5 2 2 2 2 1 1 6 1 1 2 2 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 1	15 3 17 12 2 2 14 77 12 9 7 7 5 4 4 9 3 3 6 4 5 4 5 4 5 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	6 2 9 6 6 1 4 4 5 5 3 3 3 2 2 4 4 3 2 2 2 2 4 4 1 4 6	Per cent. 40 67 53 59 59 57 42 44 71 71 60 75 33 67 67 67 80 70 100 77 50 32
Total	34	27	109	206	97	47

Total shortage Regulars and militia in United States.....

	Officers.	Men.
In the United States: Regular Coast Artillery for one-half of the gun defenses	740	18, 531
Regular Coast Artillery for all mines, power, and light	309	5,544
In the insular possessions and the Panama Canal Zone: Regular Coast Artillery for all gun defenses	220	5, 040
Regular Coast Artillery for all mines, power, and light plants	43	1,194
Total Regular Coast Artillery.	-,312	30,309
Total Militia Coast Artillery to man one-half the guns and mor- tars in the United States	740	18, 531
Total force of Regulars and militia required	2,052	48, 840

Apropos of this table the Chief of Coast Artillery says in his report for 1914:

From the foregoing it will be seen that the present authorized strength of the regular Coast Artillery Corps is short 564 officers and 10.988 enlisted men of the strength required to man our coast defenses under the adopted plan outlined above.

CITIZEN SOLDIERY.

The militia ran away or deserted.

Battle.	Date.	Organization or expedition.
Long Island	Aug. 27,1776	Parson's brigade.
Evacuation of New York	Sept. 15, 1776	Brigades of Parsons and Fellows.
Brandywine	Sept. 11, 1777	Sullivan's division.
Guilford Courthouse, N. C	Mar. 15, 1781	North Carolina Militia and Second Maryland Regiment.
Burwells Ferry, Va	Apr. 19, 1781	Virginia Militia.
Williamsburg, Va	Apr. 20, 1781	Do.
Indian village near Fort Wayne, Ind.	Oct. 22,1790	Gen. Harmar's Miami expedition.
Darke County, Ohio	Nov. 4,1791	Gen, St. Clair's expedition,
Frenchtown and Raisin River, Mich.	Jan. 18-22, 1813.	Gen. Winchester's column.
Sacketts Harber, N. Y	May 29, 1813	Gen. Brown's New York Militia.
French Creek, N. Y	Nov.1-2, 1813	Gen, Hampton's column.
Chrystlers Fields, Canada	Nov. 11, 1813	Gen. Wilkinson's column.
Burning of Buffalo, Lewis- town, and other towns in northern New York.	Dec. 30, 1813	Gen, McClure's New York Militia.
New Orleans, La	Jan. 8, 1815	800 militis, under Gen. Morgan, posted on the west bank of the Mississippi.
Lake Okeechobee, Fla	Dec. 25, 1837	Missouri Volunteers and spies under Gen, Zachary Taylor.
Bull Run, Va	July 21, 1861	The entire force of militia under Gen. McDowell.

The militia mutinied.

Place.	Date.	Mutineers.
Morristown, N. J	Jan. 1, 1781	Six regiments of the Pennsylvania line, 1,300 men.
Pempton, N. J Lancaster, Pa	Jan. 24–28, 1781 June, 1783	New Jersey line. 80 recruits, joined by 200 o.her malcontents, merched to Philadelphia, demanded their pay, and held Con- gress prisoner for several hours on June 21, 1783.
On the march from Urbana, Ohio, to Detroit, Mich.	June, 1812	Part of the militia under Gen. Hull.
Detroit, Mich	July, 1812	180 Ohio Militia of Gen. Hull's command.
On the march from Fort Har- rison, Ind., to the Wabash and Illinois Rivers.	Oct. 19, 1812	4,000 Kentucky Mounted Mi- litia under Gen. Hopkins.
En route to the rapids of the Maumee River.	October, 1812	Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginis Militia under Gen. Wm. H. Harrison.
Battle of Queenstown, Onta- rio.	Oct. 13, 1812	New York Militia under Gens. Van Rensselaer and Wads- worth.
En route from Plattsburg, N. Y., to Canada.	November, 1812	Nearly all the 3,000 militia under Gen. Dearborn.
Fort Strother, Fla	November, 1813	Tennessee Militia and Volun- teers under Gen. Andrew Jackson.
Retreat to Buffalo, N. Y., after the evacuation of Fort George.	December, 1813	The New York Militia under Gen. McClure.
Withiacooche River, Fla	Dec. 31, 1835	About 500 Florida Militio and Volunteers under Gen. Clinch.
Charlestown, W. Va	July 16-18, 1861	Militia of the Army of the Shenandoah under Gen. Patterson.

The States defy the United States Government by refusing to furnish their militia to its service.

State.	Governor.	Date.	Cause and reason for refusal,
Massachusetts,.	Strong	Apr,1812	Denied the right of the President or Congress to determine when such exigencies arise as to require the militia to be called out, and claimed that "this right is vested in the commanders in chief of the militia of the several states."
Connecticut	Griswold	do	Substantially the same contention as the above.
Vermont	Chittenden	Nov. 10,1813	Declared that "the military strength and resources of the State must be reserved for its own defense and protection exclusively."
Do	do	Sept. —, 1814	Refused to permit the militia to sup- port Gen. Macomb in repelling 11,000 British veterans, under Gen. Sir George Prevost, who had then invaded northern New York.
Virginia North Carolina. Kentucky Tennessee Missouri Arkansas	Letcher Ellis Magoffin Harris Jackson Rector	Apr. 16, 1861 Apr. 15, 1861 do Apr. 17, 1861 Apr. 22, 1861 do	Rebellion.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

On November 27, 1914, the actual strength of the Medical Department was-

Medical Corps (exclusive of 20 vacancies)	424 67
Medical Reserve Corps, active 97 Medical Reserve Corps, inactive 1, 249	1 346
Contract surgeons	15
man has been been been been been been been bee	1 859

He also stated that there were only 19 motor ambulances; that in time of war it would take "perhaps six or eight months to accumulate the medical supplies needed; and that, owing to their being in units, as well as prepared and specially adapted for field service, they can not be bought in open market, "but must of necessity be manufactured."

FIELD ARTILLERY.

According to the latest authoritative statistics obtainable, in 1913 Russia had 6,000 field guns, Germany about 5,000, and France 4,800, and in nearly all the European armies the number of guns per 1,000 infantrymen is at least 5, and often 6 or more. On December 8, 1914, according to the testimony of Brig. Gen. Crozier, the Chief of Ordnance, the United States possessed only 658 three-inch fieldpieces. The minimum estimate of what would be needed has been placed at 323 batteries of 4 guns each, a total of 1,292 guns, while the maximum estimate, made by the late Chief of Staff, was 2,834, which is undoubtedly what would be required in a war against a great power. December 23, 1914, the Secretary of War acknowledged that we had only 634 completed modern field guns and howltzers alto-The United States has nothing larger in caliber than the 6-inch howitzer, and only 40 of those either in existence or appropriated for.

PIELD ARTILLERY AMMUNITION.

Disregarding the other fieldpieces possessed by the American Army and assuming that the five hundred and sixty-eight 3-inch guns were alone supplied with 1,856 rounds each, the number required would be no less than 1,054,208; yet the Chief of Ordnance confessed on December 8, 1914, that all the United States then had "was about 580,000 rounds for the Field Artillery, for the guns of all different calibers." He also acknowledged that he had received trustworthy information of one battery in the present European war which had fired "2,400 rounds for each gun in four days.'

If the 634 field guns of all calibers which the United States possessed in 1914 fired only 915 times each, they would more than exhaust the present reserve supply of Field Artillery ammunition, amounting to 580,000 rounds, and it is a conservative estimate that two days of such firing as is a common occurrence in the battles of the present time would suffice to consume the entire amount now on hand.

THE MANUFACTURE OF CERTAIN WAR MATERIEL.

We Americans are prone to be boasting that, regardless of what might happen in the shape of a coalition against us, the United States could not be materially affected. It may, therefore, afford something of a shock to our pride to discover that

the manufacture of war materiel and powder would be decidedly hampered if it should become impossible to import certain ingredients, such as ferromanganese, ferronickel, the opti-cal glass for field glasses and telescopes, nickel, nitrate of sodium, tungsten, and wolfram ore—the bulk, if not the total supply, of which is imported from abroad.

In the making of steel the alloy upon which our steel manufacturers are most dependent is ferromanganese, which has heretofore been largely imported from India. At the present time this source of supply has been supplanted from Brazil, but the mines of this latter country are as yet comparatively undeveloped. Should this source be shut off, our manufacturers would be reduced to making ferromanganese out of American ore, with the result that the manganese content would be lower than in the case of Indian and Brazilian ore, and the steel could only be produced with distinct trouble and inconvenience,

to say nothing of the increased cost.

In the matter of powder the situation would be much more serious. From Chile is derived almost all our supply of sodium nitrate, from which nitric acid is made, and the latter is essenital in the manufacture of guncotton, which in turn is the principal ingredient of smokeless powder. The extraction of nitrates from the atmosphere is not only scientifically but commercially practicable and is in general operation in Germany. In the United States not more than one such plant exists. From abroad has hitherto come the bulk of our carbolic acid, out of which is made picric acid, one of our most powerful explosives. (Hulde-koper, Military Unpreparedness of the United States, pp. 520-

A fair instance of the deficiencies in the matter of war mate-A fair instance of the denciencies in the matter of war materiel is to be found in a tabulated statement prepared by the Chief of Ordnance on January 20, 1915, and transmitted to the President six days later by the Secretary of War. It is based upon the conservative estimate of the Greble Board, which was appointed on February 20, 1911, "to consider questions concerning the types of field guns and ammunition supply therefor," and summarized as follows:

	To be on hand at the outbreak of war, as estimated by the Tables of Organization and by the Greble Board.	Actually on hand or under manufac- ture, January 1, 1915.	Shortage.
Rounds of rifle ball cartridges, Model 1906	513, 130, 640	231, 186, 596	282, 244, 044
Number of Field Artillery guns and howitzers.	1, 292	743	549
Rounds of Field Artillery ammunition	1, 713, 240	224, 097	1, 489, 143
Sets of Artillery harness.	21, 104	9, 808	11, 296

In addition to the shortage of horse equipment for Field Artillery troops, there is a complete deficiency of horse equipment required for other branches of the Volunteer service in case of emergency, such as staff departments, mounted detachments, mounted Engineers, mounted Signal Corps troops, and Hospital Corps troops accompanying mounted detachments

On December 4, 1914, the Quartermaster General stated to the House Committee on Military Affairs that in the principal Army depots, located at Philadelphia, St. Louis, and San Francisco, there existed a sufficient supply of clothing and shoes to "equip more than 100,000 men and maintain this equipment for from four to six months"; that, on the assumption that the clothing, shoes, etc., were of the correct sizes, 150,000 to 175,000 men could be fitted out; that the plant at Philadelphia was capable of manufacturing a thousand garments per diem.

SWALL-ARMS AMMUNITION.

The reserve supply of small-arms ammunition in December, 1914, was only 195,000,000 rounds. Our Field Service Regulations prescribe 1,360 rounds for each infantryman—that Is, 100 in his belt, 120 in the combat train which goes with the troops, 120 in the ammunition train which follows behind the supply trains, 340 rounds in the advance depot from which it supply trains, 540 rounds in the advance depot from which it can be sent forward to the troops, and 680 in the depot at the base of supplies. In other words, 195,000,000 would not be sufficient to supply an army of 145,522 infantrymen with 1,360 rounds each. The 1,360 rounds prescribed for American infantrymen would, in all probability, be exhausted in four days' fighting.—(Huidekoper, Military Preparedness of the United States, pp. 478-9.)

The number of remount depots now possessed by the United States is limited to three, which are situated at Front Royal, Va.; Fort Reno, Okla.; and Fort Keogh, Mont., and the number of animals received through them during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, was 1,838 horses and 231 mules.

PROGRAM RECOMMENDED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

The following is the program recommended, and I hope Congress will indorse it by so large a vote of its Members as to make certain its continuance by Congresses to come:

	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921
Dreadnaughts Battle cruisers Seout cruisers Destroyers Destroyers Pleet submarines Coast submarines Gunboats Hospital ships Ammunition ships Fuel-oil ships Repair ship	(2) 11, 158, 000 (3) 6, 900, 000 (15) 10, 500, 000 (5) 4, 425, 000 (25) 5, 750, 000 (2) 760, 000 (1) 1, 250, 000	(2) \$26,580,000 11,921,000 (1) 6,350,000 (10) 18,900,000 (4) 5,577,500 (15) 13,950,000 (1) 1,140,000 1,200,000	(2) \$37,600,000 (1) 17,500,000 (2) 10,000,000 (5) 10,000,000 (2) 5,437,500 (15) 9,750,000 380,000	(2) \$37,600,000 (2) 17,118,500 (2) 8,650,000 (10) 10,300,000 (2) 4,215,000 (15) 9,750,000 (1) 799,587 (1) 700,000	(2) \$87,600,000 (1) 23,460,500 (2) 10,000,000 (10) 13,600,000 (2) 3,400,000 (15) 9,750,000 (1) 389,000 (1) 1,766,000 (1) 1,776,000 (1) 1,175,000
Total	57,003,000 28,369,127	84, 273, 750 20, 149, 000	90, 767, 500	89, 133, 087	101, 786, 750
Total		104, 422, 750 1,000,000 5,000,000	1,000,000 5,000,000	1,000,000 5,000,000	1,000,000 2,000,000
Grand total	95, 372, 127	110, 422, 750	96, 767, 500	95, 133, 087	104, 786, 750

22 2

Grand total for five years, \$502,482,214.

If this program is carried out, accepting the General Board estimates of survival for present vessels, the Navy would be composed of the following vessels, built or building, in 1921:

| Statement of the totals of the appropriations carried by the naval acts from 1903 to 1915, etc.—Continued.

- 2
. 2
2
î
i
1
_ 10
_ 1
15
-
1
37.5
1

Predreadnaughts, second line	13
Superannuated predreadnaughts, third line	-10
Battle eruisers	
Scouts	13
Destroyers	113
Fleet submarines	
Coast submarines	113
Fuel ships, coal	113
Fuel ships, oil	107
Repair ships	
Supply ships	
Supply ships	
Transports	
Hospital ship	
Mine ships	
Destroyer tenders	
Fleet submarine tender	
Ammunition ships	
Harbor-defense monitors	
narbor-detense monitors	
Harber-defense battleships	
Gunboats	13
River gunboats	

APPENDIX D.

INCREASE OF NAVY SINCE 1903. Statement of the totals of the appropriations carried by the naval acts from 1903 to 1915, showing separately the amounts for "Increase of the Navy," and showing the number and types of vessels authorized by those acts.

Year.	Appropriation.	Amount for increase Navy.	Building program.
1904	897, 503, 140. 94	\$32,176,860.00	1 first-class battleship. 2 armored cruisers. 3 scout cruisers. 2 colliers. 2 tugs.
1905 1906	100, 836, 679, 94 102, 091, 670, 27	42, 255, 833. 00 33, 475, 829. 00	4 submarines. 2 first-class battleships. 1 first-class battleship. 3 torpedo-boat destroyers.
1907	98, 958, 507. 50	23, 713, 915. 00	8 submarines. 1 first-class battleship.
1908	122, 663, 885. 47	30, 307, 962. 00	2 torpedo-boat destroyers. 2 first-class battleships. 5 colliers.
1909	136, 935, 199, 05	38, 819, 595. 00	10 torpedo-boat destroyers. 8 submarines. 2 first-class battleships. 1 collier. 8 destroyers (3 subsurface). 4 submarines.

Year.	Appropriation.	Amount for increase Navy.	Building program.
1910	\$131, 350, 854. 38	\$33, 770, 346. 00	2 first-class battleships. 2 colliers. 6 torpedo-boat destroyers.
1911	126, 478, 338. 24	26, 005, 547. 67	4 submarines. 2 first-class battleships. 2 colliers. 1 river gunboat. 1 gunboat. 2 tugs.
1912	123, 225, 007. 76	20, 569, 373. 48	4 submarines. 1 submarine tender. 8 torpedo-boat destroyers. 1 battleship, first line. 2 fuel ships. 6 destroyers. 1 destroyer tender. 8 submarines.
1913	140, 800, 643. 52	35, 325, 695, 00	1 submarine tender. 1 battleship. 1 transport. 1 supply ship. 6 destroyers.
1914	144, 868, 716. 61	41,091,734.00	4 submarines. 3 battleships. 6 destroyers.
1915	149, 661, 864. 88	1 46, 853, 801. 00	8 (or more) submarines. 2 battleships. 6 destroyers. 2 seagoing submarines, 16 coast-defense submarines 1 oil fuel ship.

1 Includes reappropriation of \$800,000.

Stations.	Date of estab- lish- ment.	Expenditures.
NAVY YARDS (AT HOME).		VIV. SV
Portsmouth Boston New York Philadelphia Washington Noriolk Mare Island Puget Sound Charleston Pensacoha New Orleans	1801	\$11, 212, 98 16, 164, 45 30, 765, 71 13, 035, 01: 14, 069, 29: 19, 200, 28: 20, 149, 78: 9, 668, 20: 4, 632, 61: 7, 727, 31: 2, 729, 18:
NAVY YARDS (ABROAD).	1/200	
Hawaii	1899 1898 1901	7, 984, 600 3, 795, 850 2, 133, 830
NAVAL STATIONS (AT HOME).	-	
Port Royal Key West.	1883 1854	1, 242, 52 2, 791, 341
NAVAL STATIONS (ABBOAD).		40.0
Guantanamo	1903 1898 1898 1900	1, 982, 073 85, 773 458, 46 565, 80

Int	cestments in	naval establishmer	ts-Continued		Ve	ssels on the N	avy list June 30,	1915—Continu	ied.
	Stati	ons.	Date estab lish- ment	- Expendi- tures.	Vessel.	Date of first commission or purchase.	Туре.	Cost.	Repairs, changes, and additions to June 30, 1915.
Newport San Francisco Great Lakes	TRAINING COALING 8			\$2,018,819 397,975 3,646,036	Concord	1797 1797 1914 Dec. 3, 1898	Gunboat	6, 394, 757. 77	\$565,041.9 1,112,327.9 132,678.2 191,538.1
Frenchmans Bay Melville Pichilinque, Mes San Diego				1, 236, 484	Cummings	. 1904	Destroyer do do Fuel ship Submarine		33, 077, 1 19, 262, 4 76, 6
Sitka	MISCELL.	ANEOUS.		1, 148, 962	D-2 D-3 Dalgren	Sept. 8, 1910	Submarinedododo	377, 234, 25 376, 100, 98 380, 318, 81 200, 771, 07	65, 560. 4 65, 680. 3 54, 644. 3 78, 750. 8
Yokohama, Japa Annapolis (Nava Naval Proving C Las Animas (naval Culebra (naval b Torpedo Station	at Academy) Fround val hospital) ase) , Newport		1900 1845 1890 1907 1904 1869	90, 168 12, 173, 092 1, 406, 696 408, 799 23, 144 1, 712, 925	Dale. Decatur Delaware De Long Denver Des Moines Dixie. Dolphin Don Juan De Austria.	May 17, 1904 Mar. 5, 1904 Apr. 19, 1898	do do Torpedo bost Destroyer do Battleship Torpedo bost Cruiser do Tender do Go	278, 990, 35 276, 038, 01 6, 830, 795, 88 174, 810, 88 1, 136, 146, 06 1, 156, 256, 68 575, 000, 00 350, 000, 00 187, 000, 00	229, 718. 8 314, 666. 8 536, 181. 6 81, 452. 1 408, 605. 8 326, 472. 2 1, 097, 962. 3 660, 704. 3 337, 398. 9
	Vessels on	the Navy list Jun	ie 30, 1915.		Dorothea		Yacht. Destroyerdo. Gunboat.	187, 500.00 721, 512.15	88, 531. 9 586, 4
Vessel.	Date of first commission or purchase.	Type.	Cost.	Repairs, changes, and additions to June 30, 1915.	I TO O	Aug. 30, 1913 Sept. 23, 1897 Feb. 14, 1912	Torpedo boat Submarine	165, 489, 43 165, 489, 43 387, 788, 57	54, 84 . 5 129, 396. 4 2, 260. 1 118, 981. 1 36, 175. 8 33, 455. 7
A-2 A-3	May 28, 1903	Submarinedodododododo	173, 364. 35	\$73,396.11 74,825.36 76,540.68 71,597.09	Eagle. Elcano Elfrida Ericsson Essex F-1	Nov. 20, 1902 June 30, 1898	Yacht. Gunbeat Yacht. Destroyer. Unserviceable. Submarine	783, 276. 46 117, 800. 00	212, 275, 6 149, 638, 2 35, 254, 4 247, 937, 6 28, 041, 6
L-5L-6	1000	do do do Fuel ship Tug. do Unserviceable	171, 843, 44 171, 431, 34 175, 000, 00 40, 000, 00 75, 000, 00	82, 957, 13 71, 137, 84 391, 286, 33 68, 365, 81 81, 150, 57	F-2. F-3. F-4. Fanning. Farragut. Florida.	June 25, 1912	do	469, 588. 17	24, 281. (12, 844.) 48, 206. (38, 437.) 139, 481.
AdamsAlleenAlleenAlleenAllabamaAllbanyAllbanyAllert	May 14,1898 May 21,1898 Nov. 16,1900	Unserviceable Yacht. Fuel ship. Battleship. Cruiser. Tender.	55,000,00	314,118.46 30,188.38 545,252.52 1,328,261.43 695,612.24	Foote Fortune	Aug. 7, 1897 1864 July 8, 1899	Torpedo boat Tug Torpedo boat	119, 216, 74 146, 600, 00 100, 285, 93	271, 085. 140, 027. 70, 188. 211, 949. 57, 117. 101, 675.
Alice Ammen Amphitrite Annapolis Apache Arapaho	1898 May 23,1911 Apr. 23,1895 July 20,1897	Tug Destroyer Monitor	19,000.00 655,460.56 1,951,868.17 278,131,52	416, 577. 51 72, 297. 12 64, 459. 75 427, 960. 52 365, 577. 91 112, 268. 04	G-3	Dec. 7,1914 Oct. 28,1912	Unserviceable Tender Submarinedododo	497, 600, 49 470, 629, 29 464, 959, 43 505, 349, 31	2,289.7 84,632.1 9,683.2 170.6 1,719.2
Arapaho Arethusa Arizona Arkansas Aylwin B-1	Sept. 17, 1912 Jan. 17, 1914	Battleship	780, 237, 54	1,866.38 476,477.79 194,093.02 23,838.03	Galveston General Alava, Quiros, and Villalobos, General Alava.	. Feb. 15,1905 . Mar. 9,1900	Cruiser	1, 426, 850, 73 99, 760, 00	226, 549. 140. 172.
B-2	Dec. 3, 1907 Oct. 18, 1901 June 10, 1901 Nov. 24, 1902	do	187, 982. 32 185, 077. 84 166, 065. 40 234, 299. 09 303, 900. 63	47, 506. 82 30, 280. 92 55, 020. 63 68, 482. 24 175, 931. 30 240, 712. 54	Georgia	July 5,1898 May 20,1899 Apr. 9,1908 1871 1818	Battleship. Supply ship. Yacht. Torpedo boat Unserviceabledo.		1,016,069.1 660.664.7 188,363.0 63,947.8 141,643.4
BalchBaltimoreBarneyBarryBarryBarryBarryBarryBarry.	Mar. 26, 1914 Jan. 7, 1890 Oct. 21, 1901 Nov. 24, 1902 Aug. 30, 1912 Jan. 20, 1914	Special type Torpedo boat Destroyerdo	778, 124, 55 1, 554, 483, 94 165, 752, 26 303, 389, 15 669, 396, 42	5,592.73 1,811,453.85 90,162.52 245,989.25 33,642.05	H-1 H-2 H-3 Hancock Hannibsl	Dec. 1,1913 do Jan. 6,1914 Nov. 20,1902 June 7,1898	Submarine	518, 462, 92	14, 696. 1 7, 925. 1 13, 033. 1 7, 801. 1 556, 687. 1 251, 216. 1 859, 479. 1
BenhamBiddleBirminghamBlakelyBostonBoxerBoxer	Oct. 26, 1901 Apr. 11, 1908 Dec. 27, 1904 May 2, 1887 1905	do. Torpedo boat Cruiser. Torpedo boat Cruiser. Unserviceable	774, 521. 94 165, 804. 01 1, 629, 956. 43 182, 105. 02 700, 000. 00 94, 703, 14	11, 659, 16 80, 784, 88 334, 586, 47 63, 058, 73 1, 007, 128, 68 472, 23	Hartford	Apr. 5,1898 Oct. 22,1909 July 8 1897	Fuel ship. Gunboat	514, 027, 60 430, 669, 05	64, 809, 6 113, 500, 5
Brooklyn Brutus Buffalo Burrows Bushnell	Dec. 1, 1896 May 27, 1898 July 18, 1898 Feb. 21, 1911 Jan. 25, 1912	Fuel ship Transport Destroyer Tender	94, 703, 14 3, 944, 820, 73 215, 000, 00 550, 000, 00 679, 718, 76 838, 355, 35	472. 23 1,327,713.08 337,448.97 848,188.40 52,626.72 75.51	Huntress Idaho Illinois	July 1,1898 Apr. 1,1908 July 16,1901	Tug. Destroyerdo Yacht. Battleship Battleship	313, 350, 79 318, 316, 05 27, 500, 00 3, 332, 144, 98 4, 073, 429, 26	51, 293.7 86, 471.0 245. 818.1 214, 523.1 20, 014.0
1-1	June 30, 1908 Nov. 23, 1909 do Feb. 2, 1910 May 13, 1898	Submarine	253, 119, 81 299, 833, 16 300, 331, 08 299, 078, 27 344, 142, 36 175, 194, 00	53, 536, 45 37, 046, 48 44, 312, 79 53, 366, 52 33, 448, 59 344, 920, 07	Indiana Intrepid Iowa Iris Iroquois Isla de Luzon.	June 16, 1897 Apr. 1, 1898 1898	Unserviceable Battleship Tender Tug.	403, 948, 19 5, 162, 587, 12 145, 000, 00 150, 000, 00	1, 271, 107. 2, 113, 173. 25, 998. 1, 583, 301. 534, 939. 134, 790. 370, 100.
California Callao Cassin Castine Celtic Charleston	July 31,1898 Aug. 9,1913 Oct. 22,1894	Fuel ship. Battleship. Gunboat. Destroyer. Gunboat. Supply ship. Cruiser.	405, 239, 20 18, 000, 00 781, 387, 87 510, 878, 13	30, 940, 51 18, 813, 19 546, 945, 91 567, 426, 63 490, 429, 02			Tug	33, 253, 57 619, 097, 34 651, 500, 80 971, 338, 04 665, 719, 08	28, 883, 34, 477, 44, 643, 44, 400, 45, 408, 200, 200, 200, 200, 200, 200, 200, 2
Chattanooga Chauncey Chester Cheyenne Chicago	Nov. 20, 1902 Apr. 25, 1908 Dec. 8, 1902 Apr. 17, 1889	do Destroyer Cruiser Monitor Cruiser Tug Cruiser	3,167,234.16 1,378,445.75 303,287.48 1,766,293.52 1,372,093.16 1,150,000.00	490, 429, 02 320, 030, 49 244, 626, 36 327, 860, 67 292, 941, 89 1, 935, 455, 51 100, 151, 89 1, 285, 065, 42 347, 981, 46	Jupiter	Apr. 7,1913 Apr. 27,1898 Mar. 17,1914 Jan. 31,1914	Tug. Destroyer. do Fuel ship. Destroyer. do Fuel ship. do Submarine do do do do do do do do do	666,511,33 1,326,111,36 145,000,00 484,174,45 -483,520,98 499,296,94	2, 893. 0 4, 267. 1 1, 260.
Cincinnatí Cleveland Colorado	June 16, 1894 Nov. 2, 1903 Jan. 19, 1905	Tugdodo Cruiser (armored). Cruiser.	2,023,326,91	100, 151, 89 1, 285, 065, 42 347, 981, 46 1, 223, 523, 31 731, 690, 29	K-4 K-5 K-6 K-7 K-8		do	499, 296, 94 499, 736, 62 496, 653, 55 477, 409, 77 508, 935, 84 509, 133, 17	1,716.1 275.0 237.0 1,252.8 1,780.8

	21.10-1			Repairs,					1 -
Vessel.	Date of first commission or purchase.	Type.	Cost.	changes, and additions to June 30, 1915.	Vessel.	Date of first commission or purchase.	Туре.	Cost.	Repairs changes, a additions June 30, 19
anawha		Fuel ship Battleship do	\$959,599.13	\$44, 13	Pennsylvania Pentucket		Battleship. Tugdo. Destroyerdo Gunboat Unserviceable	\$9, 519, 266.13	
earsarge	Feb. 20, 1900	Battlesnip	6, 208, 540, 89 4, 429, 890, 69	805, 160, 80 1, 412, 342, 87 1, 455, 922, 04	Pentucket	1903 1898	Tugdo	95, 181, 86 100, 000, 00	\$35,44 120,75
entucky	May 15,1900	Submerine	4, 429, 890, 69 4, 418, 094, 99 482, 685, 72	1,455,922.04	Perkins	Nov. 18, 1910	Destroyer	615, 132, 21	75, 88 168, 61
2		do	482, 685, 72	************	Petrel	Oct. 10, 1889	Gunboat	309, 981, 65	393, 53
4		do	482, 685, 72 481, 845, 73	128, 589, 65 282, 284, 09 207, 074, 68 298, 231, 86	Philadelphia	1890	Unserviceable	1,561,392.47 130,000.00	805, 08 155, 33
5		do	240, 770. 18		Piscataqua Pittsburgh	Mar. 9, 1905	Tug Cruiser (armored).	4, 857, 086, 24	1,229,57
7		do	196, 020.18		Pompey	May 26, 1898	Tender	111, 929, 50 30, 000 00	211,93 91,11
8		do	35,641,53		Pontiae Porter Portsmouth		Destroyer Unserviceable	573,001.80	
10		do	401, 250.00		Portsmouth	1843 1898	Tug	33, 275, 00 125, 300, 00	43,56 276,11
mson	Feb 10 1910	Destroyer	341, 189, 00 604, 801, 09	128, 589, 65	Powhatau Prairie Preble	1898	do	42,500,00	276, 11 90, 86 976, 34 193, 22 109, 01 272, 84 416, 96 77, 77 105, 68
neester	1858	Unserviceable	165, 700.00	282, 284, 09	Preble	June 21, 1902	Transport Destroyer	575,000.00 302,882.71	193, 25
wrer ca	Apr. 14,1903 Apr. 16,1898	Destroyer. Special type. Fuel ship. Battleship. Submarine.	296, 659, 77 225, 000, 00	298, 231, 86	Preston Princeton Prometheus	Dec. 24, 1909	A A CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF	0.69 004 46	109,0
on das	May 21,1898	Fuel ship	147, 941. 60	261, 760, 72	Prometheus	Jan. 15, 1910	Special type	313, 176, 68 1, 605, 622, 20	416, 96
1	June 2,1900	Submarine	6, 065, 531, 79 493, 476, 17 297, 023, 98	1,080,232.67	Proteus	July 9, 1913	Fuel ship	998, 652, 53	77,71
cdonough	Sept. 5, 1903 July 20, 1893 May 1, 1899 Dec. 29, 1902	Destroyer	297, 023, 98 492, 502, 32	165, 477, 99 509, 562, 68 15, 581, 53 1, 347, 872, 07 16, 241, 15 657, 809, 13	Proteus	July 18, 1898	Gunboat Special type Fuel ship Gunboat Transport	176, 250. 00	105, 68 675, 53 1, 217, 30 479, 00 49, 7: 156, 26 380, 3: 1, 153, 98 91, 22 40, 9:
clenzie	May 1,1899	Gunboat Torpedo boat Battleship Torpedo boat	66, 334, 59 4, 567, 464, 52	15,581.53	Raleigh	Apr. 17, 1894	Cruiser	1,867,934.32 127,962.00	1,217,30
ine	Dec. 29, 1902 1898	Torpedo boat	4,567,464,52 24,250.00	1,347,872.07	Rapido	1898	Tug	5,000.00	49,7
rblenead	1898 Apr. 2,1894 Sept. 1,1897	Cruiser	1,061,426.30 260,572.02	657, 809, 13	Reid Reina Mercedes.	Dec, 3,1909 1898	Cruiser	637, 600. 99	380,3
rietta	Aug. 26, 1909	Fuelship	514, 634, 05	386, 610, 71 141, 783, 70 867, 143, 15 1, 926, 408, 24	Relief	1898	LIOSDIIAI SILID	200,000,00	187,8
ryland	Aug. 26,1909 Apr. 18,1905 June 10,1896	Fuelship Cruiser (armored). Battleship	4,874,874.16 5,401,844.97	867, 143, 15	Rhode Island Richmond	1858	Battleship Unserviceable	5, 360, 125, 52 43, 380, 00	91,2
ssasoit	1898	Tug	30,000.00	40, 648. 65	Rocket	1898	Tug	29,000,00 110,720.63	40,9 101,6
tiinee	1898	Fuel ship	881,705.77 430,000.00	621,886.86	Rocket	Sept. 17, 1910	Destroyer	643, 092. 74	85,3 2,0
yrant	July 12,1911 Jan. 23,1911	Battleship Tug. Fuel ship Yacht. Destroyer do. do. Tender Monitor. Battleship Cruiser do. Battleship do. Tug. do. Tug. do. Tug. Co. Destroyer Go. Destroyer Go. Destroyer Go. Destroyer Go. Go. Tug. Go. Go. Go. Tug. Go. Go.	673,943.53	65, 272. 13 62, 520. 31	Salem		Tug. Torpedo boat Destroyer. Gunboat. Cruiser. Gunboat. Tug.	493, 075, 08 1, 619, 325, 00	2,0 350,1
Call Dougall	Jan. 23, 1911 June 16, 1914	do	684, 286. 82 840, 381. 63	9,702.63	Samar	May 26, 1899	Gunboat	18,000.00	84,9
lville	Oct. 27,1891	Tender	1,180,921.46 2,241,418.64	LOCAL DECEMBER OF A STATE OF A ST	Samoset	Mar. 20, 1897	Tug Cruiser (armored).	73, 505. 28 4, 713, 274. 11	45,7 580,0
antonoman chigan	Jan. 4, 1910	Battleship	5, 693, 619. 87	252, 998, 49 457, 793, 96 300, 896, 56	San Diego Sandoval	July 2, 1898	Gunhoat	17, 000, 00	41,7
lwaukee	Jan. 4,1910 May 11,1906 Dec. 13,1894	Cruiser	3,275,217.29 3,403,707.07	300, 896, 56 686, 883, 64	Sam Francisco Saratoga	Ang. 21, 1911	Special type Cruiser	1,738,257.82 3,897,840.32 290,000.00	1,681,2 2,304,7
nnesota	Mar. 9, 1907	Battleship	6, 149, 874. 47	886, 085. 26	Saturn	Apr. 11, 1898	Cruiser		399,7 334,0
ssissippi	Deo. 1,1903 1898	do	2,501,890.10 4,438,925.08	1,055,228.65	Scorpion Sebago		Yacht	28, 000, 00	57,0
do	1898	Tug	30,000.00 125,666.67	39, 634, 16	Severn	Dec. 3, 1899	Tender Torpedo boat	357, 641. 96 145, 299. 20	118,1 86,2
have	1914 1898	do	125, 666, 67 44, 000, 00	2,775.86 98,617.61	Sioux	1898	1110	25, 555, 51	80,3
ohi an	No record. Feb. 20, 1896	Tender	76,800.00	426,759.88 380,382.22	Smith	Nov. 26, 1909	Destroyer	608, 437, 32 600, 000, 00	116, 1 916, 6
		Destroyer	2,549,170.70 644,444.29	54, 462, 24	Somers	Mar. 28, 1898	Hospital ship Torpedo boat	72,997.50	38,2
AND IN THE PARTY	Torno 24 1014	Gunboat Cruiser (armored).	134, 468, 72 4, 781, 089, 20	986 48	Sonoma	Aug. 24, 1912	TugdoBattleship	198, 778. 55 71, 143. 05	30,0 63,8
onterey	Feb. 13, 1893	Monitor	2,301,104.75	581, 554. 10	South Carolina.	Mar. 1,1910	Battleship	5, 669, 186. 53	. 589, 2
ontgomery	June 21, 1894 May 11 1898	Special type	1,050,933.54	903,347.50	South Dakota	Jan. 27,1908 1898	Cruiser (armored). Unserviceable	100,000.00	531,5 244,8
1	June 24, 1914 July 21, 1908 Feb. 13, 1893 June 21, 1894 May 11, 1898	Submarine			Southery	No record Dec. 15, 1910	Tug Destroyer	48, 380.00	165,9 92,2
3		do	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		Sterett	Apr. 16, 1898	Fuel snip	190,000.00	264, 2
4		do	42,700.00		Stewart St. Louis	Dec. 17, 1902 Aug. 18, 1906	Destroyer	299, 877. 30 3, 173, 782. 63	267, 0 457, 6
6		do	42,700.00		Stranger	Linna 30 1898	Yacht	75,000.00	37,1 594,6
7	1909	Free ship	42,700.00 155 728 00	938 905 17	Supply Sylph	Aug. 18,1898	Supply ship Yacht	325,000.00 50,000.00	108,5
rkeeta	Dec. 20, 1891	Tug	33,648.91	126, 189. 27	Sylvia Tacoma	June 29, 1898 Jan. 30, 1904	Cruiser	25,000.00 1,113,395.45	54,6 300,5
shville	Nov. 21, 1907	Tug	476, 722.06 115.000.00	484, 015, 31 52, 638, 36	Tallahassee	July 18, 1903	Monitor	1,307,130.91	289,1
braska	July 1, 1907	Battleship	5, 679, 515, 96	1,001,110.17	Tecumseli	July 17, 1906	Tug. Cruiser (armored).	45,000.00 5,213,918.04	105,9 685,4
reus	Sept. 10, 1913	Cruiser (armored). Monitor. Special type. Torpedo boat. Submarine. do. do. do. do. do. Tug. Gunboat. Tug. Gunboat. Tug. Battleship. Fuel ship. do. do. do. do. do. do. do. do. do. do	1,023,854.15	53, 657. 17	Terror	Apr. 15, 1895	Monitor	2,018,759.25	211, 5 96, 2
ro	June 8, 1898	Rattleship	215,000.00	486, 313. 37	Terry	Oct. 18, 1910 Mar. 12, 1913	Destroyer Battleship	639, 505. 55 9, 476, 937. 31	87.4
w Hampshire	Mar. 19, 1908	do	5, 976, 236. 99	729, 098. 61	Texas Thornton Tillamook	June 9,1902 Dec. 2,1914	Torpedo boat	144, 425, 90 125, 666, 66	74,8
w Jersey w Orleans	May 12, 1906	Cruiser	5, 385, 806. 41 1, 430, 091. 59	1, 285, 622. 41 716, 685. 96		Dec. 2,1914 Jan. 7,1904	Tug Torpedo boat	196, 707, 65	54, 2
wport	Oct. 5, 1897	Gunboat	298, 615, 14 9, 757, 749, 07	191,016.13	Tingey Tonopah Topeka	Mar. 5,1903 1898	Monitor Unserviceable,	1,396,488.61 170,327.50	248, 2 507, 6
w York Pholson rth Carolina.	Apr. 15, 1914	Destroyer	822, 447. 49	59, 457. 61	Traffic	1 1898	Tug	26,400.00	73,8 17,0
rth Carolina .	May 7, 1908 Apr. 11, 1910	Destroyer Cruiser, armored Battleship	4, 779, 380. 27 7, 246, 687. 04	317, 456. 08 646, 689. 50	Transfer	Mar. 23, 1911	Destroyer	665, 838, 44	63.3
Grion		Destroyer	823, 112. 12	47.47	Triton	No record.	Tug Destroyer	35, 000. 00 304, 537, 10	95, 3 215, 1
lahoma	Oct. 4,1904	Battlesnip	4,475,375.45 9,386,796.95	1, 122, 818. 28	Tucker		do	560, 093, 39	
mpia	reb. 5, 1895	Cruiser	2, 484, 027.54	986, 594. 91	Unadilla Uncas	1895 1898	Tugdo	101, 145, 08 75, 000, 00	102, 4 137, 9
tario	Aug. 24, 1912	Tug	210, 137.97	36, 703.31 19, 579.82	Utah Vermont	Aug. 31, 1911	Battleship	7,002,295.02	248, 8 1, 222, 1
on	Aug. 24, 1912 July 15, 1896 July 29, 1912 1898 Oct. 28, 1902 July 2, 1905 June 24, 1914	Fuel ship	9,386,796.95 2,484,027.54 60,000.00 210,137.97 5,914,021.90 974,479.85	1,723,340.41 48,485.00	Vestal	Oct. 4, 1909	Special type	6, 166, 267, 28 1, 625, 417, 26	440, 1
eola	1898	Tug	100,000.00	48, 485, 00 97, 532, 76 257, 887, 96	Vesuvius Vicksburg	June 7, 1890	Gunboat	360, 007. 94 286, 050. 92	354, 5 278, 8
ducah	Oct. 28, 1902 July 2, 1905 June 24, 1914	Gunboat	1,413,962.99 392,698.97	1 140, 507, 54	Vigilant	1898	Tug	60, 000. 00	108, 4
	PULLU AT, AVAI	do	136, 497. 43	2,306.76 80,798.87	Villalobos Virginia	I Mar. 3, 1900	Gunboat	5, 491, 036, 12	45, 0 1, 051, 3
mpanga nay	June 8, 1899 June 2, 1899	do	18,000.00 14,000.00	74, 652, 66	Vixen	Apr. 11, 1898	Yacht	150, 000. 00	243, 2
nther	June 2,1899 Apr. 22,1898 Dec. 30,1913	Battleship Destroyer Battleship do Cruiser Yacht Tug Battleship Fuel ship Tug Monitor Gumboat do do do Special type Destroyer	375, 000.00	677, 926, 77	Vulcan Waban	Oct. 2,1909 1898	Fuel ship	515, 136, 49 20, 000, 00	105, 1 74, 0
rker tapsco tterson	1908 1908	Tug.	754, 358. 86 219, 402. 53 647, 703. 28	16, 425. 68 47, 761. 69	Waban Wadsworth	1901	Yacht. Fuel ship. Tug. Destroyer Tug. Destroyer	795, 929, 81	
liixent	Oct. 11, 1911 1908	Tug	647, 703, 28 212, 167, 02	50, 639.31 41, 989.80	Wahneta Wainwright	1891	Destroyer	33, 176, 52 619, 083, 68	86, 1
ulding	Sept. 29, 1910 July 19, 1902	Special type. Destroyer Tug Destroyer Tug. Destroyer do tug. do do do do	652, 242, 26 301, 279, 01 25, 000, 00 75, 366, 49	64, 435, 42	Walke	July 22, 1911	do		74, 5 94, 1
wnee wtucket	July 19, 1902 1908	Tug	25, 000, 00	221, 114.61 49, 702.47 51, 393.84	Washington Wasp West Virginia	Aug. 7, 1906	Cruiser (armored).	670, 469. 28 5, 201, 905. 64	94, 1 628, 5 163, 6
	1898		The state of the s	10,100121	***		Yacht Cruiser (armored).	95, 000. 00	19.000

· Vessels on the Navy list June 30, 1915-Continued.

Vessel.	Date of first commission or purchase.	Туре.	Cost.	Repairs, changes, and additions to June 30, 1915.
Wheeling	Aug. 10, 1897	Gunboat	\$256, 069, 19	\$308, 297. 91
Whipple	Oct. 21, 1902	Destroyer	303, 754, 39	227, 246, 96
Wilmington	May 13, 1897	Gunboat	424, 868, 65	364, 206, 83
Winslow		Destrover	751, 892, 61	
Wisconsin	Feb. 4, 1901	Battleship	4,162,617.53	1,142,332.90
Wolverine	1844	Unserviceable	47, 795, 00	26, 558, 37
Wompatuck	1898	Tug	65,000.00	113, 644, 10
Worden	Dec. 3,1902	Destroyer	303, 301, 00	206, 898, 24
Wyoming	July 25, 1912	Battleship	8, 241, 265, 53	218, 401, 22
Yankton	May 16, 1898	Yacht	125,000.00	278, 523, 27
Yantic	1864	Unserviceable	62, 030, 00	51, 782, 21
Yorktown	Apr. 23,1889	Gunboat	548, 006, 61	779, 245, 78
Destroyer No.63			278, 359, 65	
Destroyer No.64			238, 609, 66	
Destroyer No.65			160,000.00	
Destroyer No.66			160,000.00	
Destroyer No.67			81, 230, 90	
Destroyer No.68			34, 068, 86	
Supply Ship				
No. 1			118,777.30	
Transport No. 1			119, 485, 15	
Aircraft			99, 241, 37	
Total			459, 686, 551, 32	109, 534, 166. 99

NOTE.—Battleships Nos. 43 and 44, destroyers Nos. 69 to 74, inclusive, and submarines Nos. 60 to 77, inclusive, were authorized and appropriations toward their construction made available July 1, 1915, by naval act of Mar. 3, 1915.

Military Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL E. BURKE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Friday, March 24, 1916.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, a new and important national question affecting the life and perpetuation of our Government and its institutions has arisen within the last 9 or 10 months and is now confronting the people of America. Its importance is such as to require and demand the most serious attention.

The people of the Nation are seriously considering and weighing this new question with which they are confronted. The columns of the press of the country are, and have been for months, filled with serious thoughts pro and con upon the question of national defense and national preparedness. In the Halls of Congress the voices of Representatives and Senators have been heard upon this question pro and con. It has attracted the attention and consideration of the people in all lines and in all vocations of life; naval and Army commanders of the past and present have given voice to their opinions upon this subject; the columns of the press of all kinds and classes have contained the ideas of able writers and students relating to the same; even the pulpit and the school has given consideration and voiced its opinion upon this all-important question; the pages of history have been ransacked and examples with which to compare the situation which confronts the country to-day with that existing in nations in generations gone by; deep and serious thought has been devoted to the same by profound thinkers in all avenues of life.

Upon this bill to increase the efficiency of the Military Establishment of the United States the Representatives of the people are now called for consideration and action. We find that many noted statesmen are honestly and sincerely divided upon this question. We also find that many of our constituents are divided and give us advice and instructions pro and con. In this complicated situation it is necessary that we should consider the question in the light of history and in the light of surrounding circumstances and be guided not so much by what each of us would prefer, but by the light of the stubborn facts of history. If future wars could be prohibited and their prospects banished, the question would be easy and one-sided, but all human history carries upon its every page the lessons of war. In scanning the pages of history from time immemorial to the present it will be impossible for readers or students to find a single generation in any nation which was free from war. While wars among civilized nations may not be as frequent as in the more remote ages, yet what modern wars lack in fre-

quency they make up in intensity, devastation, destruction, and cruelty, both in property and life.

It is true that as compared with other civilized nations our beloved country has been comparatively free and unmolested by wars. Previous to the commencement of the present European war we Americans in this generation were prone to look upon the peace of our and other nations as the regular order of nations. We were looking forward to an unbroken continuance of peace. This country had considered itself the champion of peace. At the time of the breaking out of the European war this country, through the present administration, had entered into some 28 different freaties of arbitration with various nations of the world to prevent war and promote peace. We began to think, and the apostles of peace prophesied that the days of war for nations were over, and that peace had come to reign undisturbed among civilized nations. Twenty-six of those

Senate either before or early during the present war.

Many of the apostles of peace have been so far overcome with the idea of permanent national and international peace that they actually introduced and passed in this House of Representatives a resolution instructing our Government to invite the nations of the world to a holiday of a year, in which the construction of war vessels should cease among all nations. So serious and widespread was this idea that peace had come to stay that even in this House of Representatives only 28 months ago such an impractical and unreasonable resolution was passed, with only 11 votes out of 328 cast on the resolution against the same, of which negative votes I am proud of the fact that I cast one yote

28 treaties of arbitration were ratified by the United States

With the outbreak of the present war and conflagration in Europe the prospects of permanent peace among the nations of the world went a glimmering. When Americans beheld how the little nations of Europe, and also the nations of Europe which were unprepared for war when war broke out, were meeting with defeat and defeat, day after day, they woke up to the undeniable fact, established beyond repetition by the history of the present war, that the unprepared nations were the ones which were unable to defend themselves and were suffering most the ravages and destruction of war. It then became apparent to all thinking Americans, who realized the smallness and weakness of our Army and the incompleteness of our Navy, that it was time that consideration be given to the question of national preparedness in America. Our people realized that the causes of the present war in Europe are due to racial prejudices and to commercial greed. From racial prejudice this country is fortunate in being comparatively free, but, unfortunately, this country is not free from commercial greed, but is tared with a commercial greed that is as great and strong and as enduring as that of any other nation on earth. Racial prejudices and commercial greed are causes of all wars, excepting those deliberately brought on by kings, czars, and kaisers.

Our people witnessed how suddenly and with what little cause or reason the present European war began. It broke out of the clear skies of Europe like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky, and has continued with a hatred, ferocity, and a destruction of life and property never before witnessed in the history of the world.

The present European war has caused thinking and reading people of this country and of every country in war to review and study the war lessons of history. From studying its pages thinking and observing men and women have discovered that wars are certain in the life of every generation of every nation. The only thing uncertain about it is the time when it may break out and the immediate cause of its ignity.

and the immediate cause of its ignity.

As the European war has progressed during the last 20 months we have discovered a jealousy existing on both sides of the European conflict over the attitude of America. We have discovered that America is hated and detested by both the central powers and the allies, and for the same reason both sides have been trying to entrap and engulf America in the war as its ally, and, failing in so doing, the press and the people in the central nations, as well as in the ally nations, refer to and speak of us in terms of hatred and contempt. The personal experience of each of us shows that this is what may be expected by every person who assumes an attitude of neutrality between his neighbors and friends when quarreling. History shows that neutral nations of importance have always by their neutrality incurred the hatred, condemnation, and prejudice of both sides of a war.

With the lessons of the great war before us, the press and the leaders of thought throughout the country began an agitation for preparedness and national defense of this country. This preparedness at all times has been intended not for war, but to resist war. On the other hand, the people who believe in

"peace at any price" have opposed and attacked the movement for national preparedness on the ground that it was unneces-sary and contrary to the history and traditions of this country. They have veciferously and loudly pointed to the fact that upon all occasions we have had in this country in times of peace but a comparatively small standing Army during all of its history, and with the same vigor and assertions they claim that it is the militarism of European countries that is the cause of the present European war. With trembling voices, shaking hands, and tears in their eyes they proclaim that the result of this agitation for reasonable and sane preparedness will be the establishment of militarism in this country and the overthrow of our laws and free institutions and the removal of the guaranties of peace.

Upon this question of national preparedness or national de-fense, unfortunately, there have been two extremes in opinion, fense, unfortunately, there have been two extremes in opinion, one class desiring a Navy and Army of overwhelming numbers and another class desiring no increase in preparedness at all, and, in fact, favoring the abolition of the present preparedness for the defense of this country. The great rank and file of this country, who keep in mind the lessons of history and have the welfare of their country at heart, must settle the question of adequate preparedness by fighting both extremes.

extremes.

It is not un-Christian, it is no crime for a nation to make preparedness to defend itself for the day when, according to all history, it is sure to be assaulted by an invading foreign foe. It is not a departure from the traditions of our country to undertake that preparedness which will adequately defend our liberty and our institutions. One would think that the idea of adequate preparedness in this country is due to a vast change in opinion of our people. It is said that we are absorbing the military notions and measures of European nations. Such, however, is not the case. The fathers of our country have preached preparedness.

President Wilson said in his admirable and patriotic speech

at Milwankee:

I want the people to know something of military life if the question should come. That is the reason I am urging on the Congress of the United States that at least a large part of the people be trained. • • • We have got down not to the sentiment of national defense, but to the business of national defense. • • Even that arch-Democrat, Thomas Jefferson, believed in compulsory military education.

To catch the full meaning of the President's utterances with reference to Jefferson's belief in compulsory military educareference to Jefferson's belief in compulsory military educa-tion, we should remember that under the Federal militia law of 1792 every free able-bodied white male citizen between the ages of 18 and 45 was enrolled. That was the law when Jeffer-son was President. That is the law to-day, with an amend-ment of 1867, which permits the enrollment of negroes. Able-bodied male citizens between the ages of 18 and 45 are nominally and legally in the militia service and may be called for service at any time. Only those who volunteer, however, are in the active militia.

JEFFERSON WANTED TRAINING FOR THE YOUNG MEN

JEPPERSON WANTED TRAINING FOR THE YOUNG MEN.

When Jefferson speaks of the militia he means the whole body of able-bodied American citizens. "In the meantme," says his fifth annual message, of December 3, "you will consider whether it would not be expedient, for a state of peace as well as of war, so to organize or class the militia as would enable us on any sudden emergency to call for the services of the younger portions, unincumbered with the old and those having families. Upward of 300,000 able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 26 years, which the last census shows we may now count within our limits, will furnish a competent number for offense or defense in any point where they may be wanted, and will give time for raising regular forces after the necessity for them shall become certain; and the reducing to the early period of life all its active service can not but be desirable to our younger citizens of the present as well as future times, inasmuch as it engages to them in more advanced age a quiet and undisturbed repose in the bosom of their families.

"I can not, then, but earnestly recommend to your early consideration the expediency of so modifying our militia system as, by a separation of the more active part from that which is less so, we may draw from it when necessary an efficient corps, fit for real and active service and to be called to it in regular rotation."

WAR THEN WAS NOT THE WAR OF OUR TIME.

WAR THEN WAS NOT THE WAR OF OUR TIME.

WAR THEN WAS NOT THE WAR OF OUR TIME.

The fact is further to be considered, for it is vital, that warfare has grown stupendously since the days of Jefferson. European armies in his day were not a tenth their present numbers. On the famous field of Waterloo Napoleon had in action 72,000 men and only 242 guns. In the recent German drive across Serbia the central powers captured from the Serbians three times as many guns as Napoleon had at Waterloo.

The possibilities of invasion were inconsiderable in the times of Jefferson, as compared with the present times. It was a day of small sailing ships, and the difficulties of moving forces across the Atlantic were all but insuperable.

Unless our Navy could beat off the invaders, the United States now would need a great defending army to save itself from invasion. The hope lies deep in all our breasts that this Nation may never have another war with Great Britain, yet the possibility of warfare with that great sea power is not to be ignored. In case of war with England, Britain would endeavor to dispose or our Navy as it has disposed of the greater German Navy in the existing war—that is,

destroy a part of it and drive the remainder to shelter. Once that were accomplished, England could easily land millions of men in Canada and from that safe base direct the invasion of this country.

WASHINGTON SAW THE FUTURE WITH PROPHETIC VISION.

Twice in our national existence we have been at war with England, and at one time or another in the century just past Great Britain has been at war with every great power on earth—with France, with Russia, with Spain, with Turkey, with Germany, with Austria, with United States.

Looking down the century with prophetic vision, Washington foresaw the strife of nations—the innumerable appeals to arms that were yet to be—and in his fifth annual address warned his countrymen

saw the strife of nations—the innumerable appearance to be—and in his fifth annual address warned his countrymen that—

"The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion that, contrary to the order of human events, they will forever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms with which the history of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war."

The counsel of Washington has been the counsel of every other great American in the White House. These are voices of wisdom, of prudence, of patriotism speaking solemnly from the tomb, and they will not be scorned by the American people of this generation who are

The greater portion of the people of this generation who are unfamiliar with the early history of this country, would be surprised to learn of the opinion of the early fathers of our country upon the question of preparedness. This question occountry upon the question of preparedness. This question oc-cupied the attention of such statesmen, not only like Jefferson, but of Washington, Adams, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson and others. If those of our citizens who are bewailing adequate national preparedness as an infallable sign of the establishment of militarism in this country would familiarize themselves with the thoughts of some of the early Presidents and statesmen of this country, their alarm would not be so great. I take the liberty at this point of submitting for consideration some of the ideas of the early Presidents and statesmen of this country, as shown with extracts from presidential messages, that Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Monroe, and Jackson advocated universal military training of the country's youth:

versal military training of the country's youth:

Compulsory training was the clear intent of the founders of our Government. Washington urged it in 1790, and Congress passed a law in 1792 to provide for the national defense by establishing a uniform militia throughout the United States by the enrollment of every free able-bodied white male between the ages of 18 and 45.

That act was passed under the provision of the Constitution which gives Congress power—

"To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress."

That substantially is the law to-day. Theoretically we have now, and have had continuously since 1792, the principle of universal liability to training and service. But it is the shadow and not the substance of what Washington proposed and Jefferson urged.

PRESIDENT ADAMS WAS FOR COMPULSORY TRAINING.

PRESIDENT ADAMS WAS FOR COMPULSORY TRAINING.

bility to training and service. But it is the shadow and not the substance of what Washington proposed and Jefferson urged.

PRESIDENT ADAMS WAS FOR COMPULSORY TRAINING.

John Adams, second President, followed Washington's example and urged that Congress strengthen the country's defense. In a special session message of May 16, 1797, Adams said: "As our country is vulnerable in other interests besides those of its commerce, you will seriously deliberate whether the means of general defense ought not to be increased by an addition to the Regular Artillery and Cavalry and by arrangements for forming a provisional army. With the same view, and as a measure, which, even in a time of universal peace, ought not to be neglected, I recommend to your consideration a revision of the laws for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, to render that natural and safe defense of the country efficacious."

President Adams here was referring to the whole militia of the Union—all able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 45. He wanted them to be organized, drilled, and disciplined, and to that end called on Congress to pass additional legislation.

But unhappily Congress falled to beed the advice of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, and the country drifted unprepared into the second war with Great Britain, the War of 1812.

MADISON HAD NO DELUSIONS ABOUT PREPAREDNESS.

A belief has long been extant, fostered by false representations in school histories and the flamboyant oratory of Fourth of July speakers, that the militia forces of the United States drove the British armies before them as the November blasts scatter the frosted leaves of autumn. The painful truth is that our poorly drilled and imperfectly disciplined militia did a lot of running from inferior forces of the enemy, and were whipped in nearly every engagement of that war. Only the good fortune that England was at war with France, and that Madison's administration, thoroughly humiliated by our military reverses, was taking steps to organize and train much

"The present organization of our militia is universally regarded as less efficient than it ought to be made, and no organization can be better calculated to give to it its due force than a classification which

will assign the foremost place in the defense of the country to that portion of its citizens whose activity and animation best enable them to rally to its standard. Besides the consideration that a time of peace is the time when the change can be made with most convenience and equity, it will now be aided by the experience of a recent war in which the militia bore so interesting a part."

Note Madison's studied use of the word "interesting." With the sorry record of the war immediately behind him he could not, in honesty of speech, say the militia had borne a "gallant," an "honorable," or even a "distinguished" part.

But Congress was again supine and nothing was done to heed the wise counsels of Madison and his predecessors. The old defective militia law of 1792 was allowed to stand, and stands to-day.

TO BOUNTIES AND ALL SORTS OF SHAMEFUL THINGS.

"Have we not now in the statutes some provision for universal training and even compulsory service?" was asked by Senator Fletcher of Col. Glenn of the General Army Staff, who was testifying recently before the Senate committee.

before the Senate committee.

"Col. GLENN. I do not know of any. We have this provision, which I think has been on the statute books since 1792, that every man is available, and can be made to serve, between 18 and 45.

"Senator DU PONT. All are liable?

"Col. GLENN. Yes, sir; they are all liable; and in every war where we have accomplished anything we have gone to the draft or, failing in that, we have gone to what we did in the Civil War, to the draft and to bounties, and all sorts of shameful things, as the result of which the rich man bought the poor man to do his fighting and to stop the bullets. I do not know anything that will degrade a people worse than that."

DISTINGUISHED LIST OF ADVOCATES OF NATIONAL PREPAREDNESS.

It is unnecessary for us to quote the words of wisdom uttered by our early Presidents upon the importance of national pre-We have a long and distinguished list of the ablest American citizens in all lines of thought and action who bear disinterested witness to the wisdem of passing, as soon as due consideration can be had, of laws which, when enforced, will give to us an adequate preparedness. In this list will be found our ablest and most experienced military and naval officers, noted and distinguished educators of the country, statesmen of all parties, and pious and respected members of the clergy. It may not be amiss to at this time and place quote a few of our distinguished citizens as witnesses upon this subject:

QUOTATIONS FROM NOTED EDUCATORS ON BEHALF OF PREPAREDNESS TO RESIST AGGRESSION AGAINST AMERICA—URGE THAT AMERICANS ARM FOR PRESERVATION OF PEACE.

The advocate of peace who believes in international arbitration must be prepared to compel assent to the decrees of his court, otherwise his peace talk will provoke either ridicule or attack.—President Hadley,

The advocate of peace who believes in international arbitration must be prepared to compel assent to the decrees of his court, otherwise his peace talk will provoke either ridicule or attack.—President Hadley, of Yale.

In order that this country may be protected against aggression, it should not only be prepared to resist aggression but it should be prepared to forestall aggression.—Chancellor Brown, of New York University.

Preparedness in every department of civic and social life is our present need.—President Garfield, of Williams College.

The conscience of the country demands such measure of preparedness as will defend us against aggression. * * Less is folly; more is crime.—President Hyde, of Bowdoin College.

I believe in peace. * * But I do believe that as a practical necessity the Nation should prepare to defend itself.—President Burton, of Smith College.

The question which confronts the country is how to be prepared through suitable training for defense of home and kindred, and at the same time eliminate the spirit of militarism.—President Hamerschlag, of the Carnegie Institute of Technology.

We need to mobilize our industrial, commercial, and transportation resources, so they will work together with our naval and military equipment and enable us to maintain whatever position our duty and patriotism may indicate we should take.—President Boyd, of the University of New Mexico.

Preparedness seems to me another term for efficiency, and I am a great heliever in efficiency—President Eggleston of the Virginia Poly-

of New Mexico.

Preparedness seems to me another term for efficiency, and I am a great believer in efficiency.—President Eggleston, of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

I can see little hope for civilization unless the peace-loving nations of the world can bind themselves together and arm themselves with a stick big enough to keep the peace.—President Maclaurin, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

One hundred thousand men, the strength of our present Military Establishment * * * is far too small. Five hundred thousand is, in my judgment, a safe minimum for the Regular Establishment.—President Nichols, of the Virginia Military Institute.

I am sure it will be most pleasing to patriotic Americans and the friends of national preparedness to hear the testimony of Archbishop Ireland, of St. Paul, Minn., who served with distinction as one of the patriotic chaplains of the Union Army. who in an eloquent oration at the funeral of Josias R. King, said by Minnesota historians to be the first man to answer the call of Lincoln for 75,000 volunteers in 1861, gave utterance to the following patriotic sentences:

My prayer is that our country may have social and commercial peace, that we may have the prosperity to make us great in all things good, and may have a quick response to patriotic duty. We hear much of peace at any sacrifice. Peace with honor, aye. Peace to the glory of our country, yes. But if it means that we are to be the prey of international ambition; if it means that we are to do the bidding of every country on earth, and that our flag must dip in disgrace, then we must not have peace. No nation can be weak to-day in preparedness and strong to-morrow in efficiency.

In recently addressing a public audience Cardinal Gibbons named four hopes of the Republic, the second and third of which were as follows:

My second hope rests upon the intelligence and patriotism of the American people. They fully appreciate the civil blessings which they

enjoy, and they will not permit those blessings to be snatched from them without defending them with their lives.

My third bope rests upon a strong Army and Navy that will uphold the dignity of the Republic and repei every invasion. We have no desire to increase our territory, but we are determined that not one acre of our and shall ever be withdrawn from us without a loyal defense.

Other distinguished prelates of all creeds and denominations in the country have by voice and pen urged the speedy adoption of all reasonable measures to enable this country to defend itself

in case of invasion by any foreign nation. In the recent annual national convention of the Grand Army of the Republic resolutions were adopted by such convention approving and urging the necessity and wisdom of this movement. Numerous patriotic and industrial organizations throughout the country have spoken by resolutions to the same effect. The press has voiced the sentiments of a vast majority of its readers

in indorsing this patriotic movement.

It is apparent to all impartial and intelligent American citizens that this Nation can not longer continue in safety with an Army and a Navy and a preparedness such as that which was sufficient when we were a nation of only a few million people and of much less wealth than is now found within our borders. When the Navy and Army strength of this Nation in the Revolutionary and 1812 Wars is compared with our present naval and military strength and our present national wealth it will be found that we are not now maintaining even as strong a military and naval defense in proportion to our present popula-tion and wealth as we were in the Revolutionary and 1812 Wars,

This Nation is now enjoying its one hundred and fortieth year of independence, and yet such an eminent student of military history and military science as Gen. Upton asserts that during the short life of our Nation 18 years have been spent in unnecessary wars. He gives as his unbiased opinion that with preparedness even the Rebellion might have been averted and other struggles shortened. He further says that with an adequate Army in 1861 there would have been no four years of bloody struggle. The Nation before the breaking out of that struggle was consoled with an Army on paper, which failed the Nation in the hour of need, and that the Nation was the victim of pacifists' failacies. I take the liberty of quoting from one of his articles published in the press, which is as follows:

The indisputable facts of history show the horrible cost of unpreparedness in 1861—over half a million men slaughtered by their brothers.

The opening of this war found the Government with an Army of but 16,367 men.

Of the 198 companies of the Regular Army 183 were on frontier posts or west of the Mississippi and the other 15 were distributed along the Atlantic coast from Canada to Mexico.

As an Army, considered in relation to the area and the population of the Nation, it was utterly inadequate. Insufficient as it was, its strength existed largely in the imagination of the public. Companies were scattered so far and wide it could have been assembled in its full force only after a long delay, and then only by leaving important posts in the custody of caretakers.

THREE MILLION MILITIAMEN.

True, we had 3,000,000 militia, another army whose strength lay in the imagination of the public. "Excepting a few regiments, these did not merit the name of a military force," and when Lincoin turned to this he found the militia to be, as it ever was, a broken staff.

Many of the District of Columbia militiamen refused to be sworn, and others dictated that they should not be required to go outside of the District.

Many of the District of Columbia militiamen refused to be sworn, and others dictated that they should not be required to go outside of the District.

The governors of six States indignantly refused to supply any troops, and then from the mistake of depending on the militia, we turned to the companion error of short enlistments. The Government called for 75,000 men, and the President, by a law 60 years old, was obliged to limit their service to three months.

The disaster of the First Battle of Bull Run was the logical result of the short-term error in the military system and the ignorance of the public in military matters. Raw troops—28,568 of 90-day men opposed to 29,949 Confederates—were sent into battle because the North desired to get some service out of them before they were dishanded.

THE POPULAR BELIEF.

"The disaster that ensued demands that the causes leading to it be carefully considered: First, was the popular but mistaken belief that because our citizens individually possess courage, fortitude, and self-reliance, they must necessarily possess the same qualities when aggregated as soldiers. And next to this error was the fatal delusion that an army animated by patriotism needed neither instruction nor discipline to prepare it for battle."

The Union loss was only 5 per cent. Military authority declares that the same force after a year's training would have scorned to retreat with less than a loss of from 30 to 50 per cent. The complete rout of the Union forces convinced the country that war had arrived, but the public did not perceive that war had come because the Government was unprepared.

public did not perceive that war had come because the Government was unprepared.

If the Government had had at the outbreak of the war a regular army with a mobile strength of 20,000 men and had burled it against the Confederates at Buil Run and followed up the victory which would surely have ensued, there would have been no four years of Civil War. There would not have been lost 559,928 lives in four years of strife. The three-year term of enlistment which next followed gife. Government an Army of 637,126 men in 1862, but again the lack of another kind of preparedness prolonged the war—the armies were mismanaged because military knowledge was lacking. "The President and the Secretary of War," Upton observes, "were simply eminent civilians, distinguished lenders at the bar, who, like the mass of our citizens,

had given very little thought to the national defense. In military matters or the direction of armies they made no profession of knowl-

Gen. Upton makes no criticism of individuals enforcing the military system of a people who were grossly ignorant of military knowledge and imbued with the thought that there was nothing to learn. But he abserves that the military system by which Prussla in two campaigns of seven weeks each humiliated Austria and subverted the French Empire was 60 years in the making, while the system by which the Civil War was won in four years was fixed up in just four weeks by Contross.

The weakness of the short term of enlistment often revealed in other wars caused the usual demoralization in the rebellion. One regiment of lafantry and one battery of Artillery, their time expired, despite the catreaties of the Secretary of War and of their commanders, marched home "to the sound of the enemy's cannon."

GRANT'S OFFER IGNORED.

So little value was placed on the services of a trained officer—even a graduate of West Point—that when Gen. U. S. Grant wrote to The Adjutant General telling him that he felt it to be his duty to place whatever skill and experience he had acquired at the disposal of the Government no notice was taken of his letter, and he had to take service in a regiment in Illinois under the governor's commission. Nevertheless, the first real success of the North in war was won by a professional soldier, Gen. Halleck.

Our lack of military knowledge in the Revolution compelled Washington to assume dictatorial powers. Our lack of military knowledge and system compelled Lincoln to assume dictatorial powers. That meither retained the powers offers no excuse for the system.

Numerous political evils, of course, crept into the management of the armies in the rebellion, many such evils springing from mistaken motions of humanity and expediency. Strategical principles gave way to polities. Through the hospital system governors took away with one hand what they gave with the other.

PREPAREDNESS V. UNPREPAREDNESS.

PREPAREDNESS V. UNPREPAREDNESS.

PREPAREDNESS V. UNPREPAREDNESS.

If the cost of adequate preparedness is considerable, it is as nothing compared with the cost of unpreparedness.

The expenditures of the United States for its Army during the 10 years preceding the Civil War were \$168,079,707.57.

The cost of the Civil War (for which we are still paying at the rate of hundreds of millions a year) was \$10,902,768,219.09.

Now, suppose that the United States had spent three times as much on its Army during the decade preceding the war and in 1861 had possessed an Army of 50,000 men (strong enough to have quelled the rebellion), we would have spent in that decade only \$504.239,121, and we would have saved in money alone over \$10,000,000,000, the difference between what adequate preparedness would have cost and what we have up to the present time paid for that one war!

Adding to the four years of Civil War which came from unpreparedness the other years of wars prolonged because of the same neglect, it appears that the best agents of the makers of arms and ammunition are the advocates of defenselessness.

The Revolution lasted five years longer than it would have run had we met the issue intelligently; the War of 1812 ran two years longer than it would if we had been prepared; the Creek War six months; the Florida War six years; the Mexican War one year.

Thus, eliminating the smaller Indian wars, unpreparedness has given us a clear total of 18 years of war.

Many lessons of truth, wisdom, common sense, and patriotism may be gleaned from the following expressions of opinions by learned men upon this great question of preparedness:

YALE'S RESPONSE TO APPEAL

President Hadley, of Yale University, said:

President Hadley, of Yale University, said:

To-day the younger men of our Nation are confronted with the possible need for public service in the defense of their country.

You already know how the Yale students have responded to this appeal. Gen. Wood told the Yale boys at Plattsburg that the most effective work of preparation that they could do during the winter at New Haven was to organize a battery. So many enlisted that they egganized four batterles instead of one. A large number of our best men are giving time and labor and serious study to a kind of work which has little of the show of military life and much of its substance. The Yale battalion is not a cadet corps, but an organized unit of the State militia. Neither officers nor men have parade uniforms. If there should be a riot with which the civil authorities could not deal they would be called upon to take their share in suppressing it.

In the critical conditions, national and international, which we are now facing, the Natioa is going to be saved by the character of its citizens. No physical or governmental machinery is going to protect us. The advocate of peace who believes in international arbitration must be prepared to compel assent to the decrees of his court; otherwise his peace talk will promote either ridicule or attack. The advocate of preparedness who places his reliance on a large navy may perhaps give us security against some of the dangers which threaten us at the moment if he can get the Navy sufficiently out of politics to place his ships in charge of intelligent fighters; but in the face of modern scientific progress the safety that can be given by the largest battle-ship program is only temporary. Unless a growth in the size of the fleet is accompanied by a corresponding growth in the size of the fleet is accompanied by a corresponding growth in the size of the fleet is accompanied by a corresponding growth in the size of the fleet is accompanied by a corresponding growth in the size of the fleet is accompanied by a corresponding

TO PREVENT EXCUSE FOR WAR.

Elmer E. Brown, chancellor of New York University, said:

The aspect of international preparedness in which I am chiefly interested at the present time is the wide range of nonmilitary preparedness. In order that this country may be protected against aggression it should not only be prepared to resist aggression, but it should be prepared to forestall aggression. The agencies which prevent international misunderstandings from arising certainly do as large a part in

the advance of the country as do those which deal by force with misunderstandings which are already far advanced.

I am destrous of seeing the American Diplomatic Service greatly improved. The detailed suggestions for such improvement which were made some years ago by Ambassador Andrew D. White seem to me particularly worthy of careful consideration at this time. The building up in our colleges and universities of departments of international affairs which shall cultivate a thorough understanding of our commercial, cultural, and political relations with other countries is greatly to be desired. And the systematic promotion of an international understanding by the press of our country, together with the systematic discouragement by the press of unnecessary international irritation—these are elements of our advance for which we should especially take thought in these critical times.

WARS OF DEMOCRACIES WASTEFUL.

WARS OF DEMOCRACIES WASTEFUL.

Dr. Harvey A. Garfield, president of Williams College, said:

Dr. Harvey A. Garfield, president of Williams College, said:

Our Army and Navy ought to be well oragnized and equipped and economically maintained, but we ought not to have a larger Military Establishment than we need to police our country and defend our shores. To base our building program upon that of other nations is to put ourselves in the vicious circle of navai competition and to commit ourselves to a policy dictated by Europe and absurdly inapplicable from a political point of view to our needs.

Democracles have waged great wars, but they have done it wastefully and have succeeded only when they have evolved themselves for the time being into something not democratic. The departure advocated by the enthusiasts for a big Army and Navy is not for a season, but permanently. If this is to be done, it is folly to attempt longer to maintain our democratic institutions. If necessity dictates that we enter into competition with European States in the maintenance of great Army and Navy establishments, wisdom demands that we adopt as the permanent machinery of government that which under our Constitution was intended or emergencies only. In other words, that we put our liberties in commission and clothe our President with autocratic powers and surround him with expert military advisers.

Political parties are preparing new to make capital out of conditions that need mending. Fears and prejudices are being played upon to put through programs involving vast expenditures. It is the part of wisdom, of true patriotism, to look before we leap. Preparedness in every department of civic and social life is our present need. That is our first line of defense. Military preparedness is our second.

DEFENSE AGAINST AGGRESSION.

William De Witt Hyde, president of Bowdoin College, said:

The conscience of the country demands such measures of preparedness as will defend us against aggression, fulfill our responsibilities to our neighbors, maintain our rights in treaties, and contribute to fusitive and peace of the world an influence commensurate with our numbers, our wealth, and our intelligence. Less is folly; more is crime. There is room for wide difference of opinion between parties and between members of the same party as to what that measure is. But whoever attempts to make out of those differences political capital for himself or his party is a traitor to the country and an enemy of the human race.

UTILIZE LAND-GRANT COLLEGES.

UTILIZE LAND-GRANT COLLEGES.

Edmund J. James, president of the University of Illinois, said:

I am very much interested just now in vitalizing and energizing work of military training which is going on in our land-grant colleges. I think that the Federal Government might accomplish more in a shorter time and with less money by developing immediately the possibilities of these institutions than in any other way.

NATIONAL DEFENSE A NECESSITY.

M. L. Burton, president of Smith College, said:

I believe in peace as a counse of perfection, and I am unalterably opposed to militarism as such. But I do believe that as a practical necessity the Nation should prepare to defend itself.

VALUE OF MILITARY TRAINING.

Arthur A. Hamerschlag, president of the Carnegie Institute of Technology, said:

Technology, said:

Martial exercise on the part of the young is in itself a salutary method for upbuilding the strength, endurance, and hygienic attributes of the race. The method by which a plan of this kind is enforced is more important than the good results attained, since other exercise without the martial spirit can easily be substituted for developing physique. The military spirit introduces with martial exercise a possibility of the militant ideal. This will be more difficult to overcome than to accomplish the service which martial exercise is to do for preparing youth for military service. Therefore the question which confronts the country is how to be prepared through suitable training for defense of home and kindred and at the same time eliminate the spirit of militarism.

defense of home and kindred and at the same time eliminate the spirit of militarism.

Switzerland has undoubtedly solved it by placing the question in a threefold way before the people. First, as duty involving patriotism for the safety of the Republic; second, by placing a social stigma upon those who attempt to avoid this responsibility; and lastly, but equally important, by an intelligent plan of general education which makes the nation a peace-loving people, who have no foreign aspirations for conquering neighboring territory.

This end can not be attained in the United States by legislation alone. We need general educational propaganda to establish our foreign relations upon a basis of the brotherhood of nations; we need growth in the acceptance of individual responsibility toward the Republic; and, lastly, we need a training which makes each able-bodied citizen a useful unit for the defense of the Nation. Any movement which couples these ideals impresses me as being the right beginning.

MUST NOT EVADE RESPONSIBILITY.

MUST NOT EVADE RESPONSIBILITY.

David R. Boyd, president of the University of New Mexico, said:

At the end of this war the United States will become the financial center of the world. The large recent accumulation of wealth in this country has been brought about by the war. After the war is over the belligerents will have both the motive and efficient armies and navies to deal with us in securing privileges and even reimbursements on account of our contributions to the war in the sale of munitions and

loans, and in securing commerce on the high seas that was lost to the nations at war. Whatever part we may wish to take in the peace negotiations after the war must be based on such resources as will enable us to make our proposals with dignity and assurance.

I think it is conceded that although our Navy is of good quality, it is not large and strong enough for these purposes; and it has also been conceded that our land forces are not sufficient for our present purposes, even though we are not called upon to deal with foreign forces. Moreover, the naval and military forces, as Gen. Wood has pointed out, are only the sharp edge of the tool. We need to mobilize our industrial, commercial, and transportation resources so they will work together with our naval and military equipment and enable us to maintain whatever position our duty and patriotism may indicate we should take. The steps we must take to enable us to accomplish this preparedness should be so safeguarded that it can be done with the most efficiency, from a financial point of view. Members of Congress and others charged with the duty of carrying into effect these plans must not evade this responsibility. The sentiment of our country is absolutely in favor of it, and they will be held responsible for whatever they may do or fail to do in dealing with this great question.

THINGS WORSE THAN WAR,

J. D. Eggleston, president of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, said:

Preparedness seems to me another term for efficiency, and I am a great believer in efficiency in every phase of life and in every department that touches life.

Looking at the matter solely-from the standpoint of protection, it would seem to be as logical for the Nation to be in a position to resist evil-minded and evil-intending force as it is fer cities and towns and rural districts to protect themselves and their citizens by an efficient police force.

rural districts to protect themselves and their citizens by an efficient police force.

It happens that I am a father. I am not "raising my boy to be a soldier" unless he desires to enter that profession. Certainly I am not raising him to be a raw recruit either in peace or in war. I am endeavoring to raise him to be as efficient a citizen of his State and country as it is possible for him to be, and to be ready not only to offer his services for any call that may come to him, but to see that those services shall be efficient through previous preparation. To find that when called, either in peace or war, he should prove either unworthy of the call or unprepared for it would be to me heartbreaking.

Some things are more terrible than war, and some things very much dearer than life itself.

SPIRIT OF DOMINANCE ABROAD.

Dr. Richard A. Maclaurin, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said:

The one great truth that has been made indisputable by the war is the fact that the spirit of dominance is still very much in evidence in the world, and while that spirit is prevalent there must always be danger to the unguarded. How to deal with this spirit of dominance when it appears is, to my mind, the greatest of all problems presented to the human race, and I can see little hope for civilization unless the peace-loving nations of the world can bind themselves together and arm themselves with a stick big enough to keep the peace.

Says our distinguished ex-Secretary of State, W. J. Bryan, in eloquent and patriotic terms-

if any foreign foe should declare war on our country and attempt to invade it a million brave and patriotic American citizens would rise up in arms between sunrise and sunset, in the same 24 hours, to defend their country.

It is my conscientious belief that in bravery and in patriotism there are no people on the face of the earth that are imbued with greater patriotism and bravery than the citizens of this country. The citizens of no country would fight braver, longer, or sacrifice more to drive a foreign foe from our shores than the citizens of our country, but, in the present condition of our Military Establishment, where would those million brave and patriotic American citizens obtain their arms and ammunition? Where would they obtain personal training and discipline? Where would they obtain the experience to handle and manipulate modern and scientific weapons of war?

Gen. Charles King, of Milwaukee, Wis., a veteran of the Civil and Spanish Wars, said recently in a speech on prepared-

ness, delivered at Sheboygan, in my district:

That the claims of the pacifists, that our isolation from the fighting countries would automatically protect us, are absolutely false in this day and age, owing to modern facilities in shipping, which would allow a European nation to embark 300,000 soldiers in 48 hours and land them on our shores in 15 days.

He further says:

The United States does present a temptation to foreign nations, for all the armor-plate factories in the United States, excepting one, all but one of the cannon factories, ship-building plants, and rifle factories are located at easily accessible places on the eastern coast, and we are not on the best terms of friendliness with all the world. If an enemy struck the country stretching between Boston and Philadelphia, this Nation would be crippled for 50 years.

And in concluding he asks respect of our citizenry for the National Guard, composed of young men who are sacrificing their

leisure hours in preparedness.

The preparing of trained and disciplined troops to defend the country in time of war is, notwithstanding their bravery and patriotism, a matter that can not be rapidly done. It takes time and work to train a citizen, however brave and patriotic, into a trained fighting soldier capable of giving a good account of himself in the defense of his country.

Many important lessons in military preparedness may be drawn from the experience of certain nations engaged in the

present European war. It is now exactly 20 months since the war began and England is still preparing for the war. She has found that by depending upon the bravery and patriotism of her citizens that she is not able to build up her armles to the proportions necessary to defend the interests of herself and that of her allies. In a final effort to raise the necessary number of untrained and undisciplined men for her armies she has finally resorted to conscription of both single and married

men of her population.

England was not ready when the war began; and why was England not ready when the war began? Because she maintained a small regular army, exactly as does the United States; because she relied upon volunteers in case of trouble, just as does this country to-day. The result has been chaos. During all of these dreadful months England has as a military power amounted to very little. She has trained an army of volunteers. We hear of these volunteers on paper, but they are not in evidence on the battle lines, excepting as they occupy a limited portion of the western battle front in Belgium and France. Witness this spectacle of unpreparedness: The length of the western battle front between the central powers on the one side and the allies on the other is estimated at 525 miles. Until recently the little Belgium army occupied and defended 17 miles of this battle front, and England, with a mass of great untrained troops, occupied and defended 31 miles, while the gallant and brave French, who were prepared in small numbers, occupied and defended nearly 500 miles of the battle front. This illustrates the difference between preparedness and unpreparedness.

On the other hand, witness the domination of the seas by the British nation, due solely to her wisdom in preparing her sea power. On the other hand, witness the result of the preparedness of the armies of Germany. At the first call to arms her troops were immediately on the march for Paris, and whatever advantage the German armies have gained on the western front has been due solely to the fact that her armies were maintained in preparedness, ready to march at a moment's notice. But the French Army, much inferior in numbers to the Germany Army, was prepared and did finally raily, and through the fact of their preparedness held the German armies at bay within a few cannon shots of the French capital for the last 18 months.

It is clearly to be seen, that although inferior in number, it was solely the preparedness of the French Army which prevented the capture of Paris in September, 1914, and the overrunning and surrender of the entire nation would have been the result of the capture of the French Capital. If this result had taken place there is every reason to believe that the war would have been ended many months ago, and the French Nation would have had imposed upon itself by the conquering Germans millions of dollars in indemnity, and perhaps lost large and valuable territory.

It is also clear to be seen that in the event that the French Army had not been prepared and France was overrun and conquered by the German Armies, and if the British were not masters of the sea by reason of their preparedness, that long before this German Armies would have invaded English soil and easily conquered the untrained and green troops of England; thus again illustrating that it was solely the prepared-

land; thus again illustrating that it was solely the preparedness of England on the sea that has prevented the German Armies from invading England and planting the flag of the Kaiser on the throne of the British Monarchy.

These clear and positive lessons from the present European war also teach us that our first line of national defense must be a strong and powerful Navy, the equal of that of any other nation; that our second line of defense must be our coast defenses, well equipped, well manned, and well gunned; and our third line of defense a well trained and disciplined and fairly large-sized Army Establishment

large-sized Army Establishment.

Again we have a momentous example in the lessons of pre-paredness when we look upon the history of the ill-fated expedition of the allies in attempting to capture the Dardanelles where for months the ally troops, filled with a bravery and skill seldom equaled in any war, and after losing some of the most magnificent superdreadnaughts in the British Navy and over 100,000 allied troops were compelled to sneak away from the Dardanelles shores in the dark of night.

There is to be found in the whole history of war no more splendid example of preparedeness than during the Spanish War, when our Government deemed it necessary in order to have a naval fleet to match the Spanish naval fleet, that the Oregon, then stationed on the Pacific coast, should round Cape Horn and join the Atlantic Fleet in order to be able to fully match the Spanish fleet. The Oregon made this historic trip watched by the eyes of 90,000,000 American people, who lustly cheered as she joined her sister ships in the Atlantic Ocean prepared to fight the Spanish armada. This vessel was sufficient, and it was the only one to spare or to add, to overcome the Spanish fleet. The battleship Oregon was one of the products of naval preparedness instituted and installed during the Democratic administration of President Cleveland, under the leadership of that great statesman Hon. William C. Whitney, then Secretary of the Navy

What impartial and intelligent American citizen can look upon the fate of peace-loving China, with her 400,000,000 people, without heartfelt sympathy? Who can read her recent history and from it see the various ports and territories of China which have been seized by plundering nations against her will simply because she was unprepared to defend herself? This is unpreparedness with a vengeance. This is the condition of helplessness into which this country would easily drift if we listened to the advice of those who preach "peace at any price."

During this period of agitation over preparedness there has been much said untruthful that is detrimental to our Navy and our Army. Our naval and military leaders have been freely charged with being the instigators of the preparedness They are charged with being in league with the movement. manufacturers of arms and ammunition needed by the Government for its defense because they have given it as their opinion based upon study, that the present Military and Naval Establishments of this country are not sufficient to properly and adequately protect this country in case of attack by a strong foreign foe. They have been accused of seeking to unload on the Government of their country the products in armor, ammunitions, and weapons of manufacturing plants in which it is alleged that some of them are interested.

President Wilson repeatedly in his preparedness speeches made during his Western tour resented and answered that criticism in the building up of the Navy and Military Establishments in this country. He said that in obtaining preparedness that he and Congress would see to it that graft in all forms was eliminated. He advocated Government ownership and operation of all plants necessary for the making of armor for battleships, and to build, operate, and maintain the fleet necessary, and to manufacture weapons and ammunitions for the Military and Naval Establishments. I have no doubt that this Congress, acting in conjunction with the President, will see to it before this session adjourns, that everything in the line of armor, weapons, and ammunition necessary for the Naval and Military Establishments that can be satisfactorily, efficiently, and eco-nomically made by the Government will be undertaken by the Government, and as the manufacture of armor plate and of weapons and munitions are practically a monopoly, this will be a wise and patriotic undertaking.

There are many things that we know about our Military and Naval Establishments; it has finally been admitted that instead of being second our Navy is only fourth in strength among the naval powers.

The present international man hunt in Mexico discloses the fact that most of our Military Establishment is scattered in our outlying possessions, and that there is at call barely enough of troops of the regular line to carry on the celebrated inter-national man hunt, and hourly the National Guard of the country is expecting to be called into service to participate in the same hunt.

We know that our Navy is weak in spite of padded statistics, wea' in ships, in guns, in munitions, in men, and especially in destroyers, submarines, and hydroaeroplanes.

We know that our Army is negligible in numbers and scat-tered in units. We know it is unequipped with proper artillery, that it lacks aeroplanes and every other necessity of modern warfare.

We know that we have neither ammunition or munition plants. We know that our private arms and munition plants are so near the Atlantic coast that they would be an asset to the enemy rather than ourselves.

We know that our coast-defense guns are outranged by any of the large guns on any modern battleship. We know that New York, for example, could be bombarded and destroyed comfortably and safely by ships beyond the reach of our artillery.

And we have in the past year been getting educated. have learned some things we did not know before, and we know the falsity of some doctrines we have always unquestionably accepted.

Thus: We know that war is not an impossibility nor was an improbability in the modern world.

We know that police forces and fire departments are necessary; that insurance money is well spent.

We know that modern warfare means the handling of great bodies of troops, and that therefore it is not sufficient to arm a State militia and drill it on armory floors.

We know that our Atlantic seaboard could be taken by any foe better equipped than ourselves, and that once taken it could be held almost indefinitely. The development of modern trench warfare has taught us that.

We know that we are wealthy enough to provide ourselves

adequate protection.

And knowing it, we know further that the humiliation of redeeming our proudest cities by ransom would not be tamely accepted by us. This is a patriotic country. Our men would fight, and they would continue to fight until they had won. Can you doubt that it would be a long and deadly process? first volunteers, the flower of our patriotic spirit, would go into the struggle unequipped, untrained, overmatched. They would fight and they would die, probably almost to the last man. They would know this, as they know all the above facts, and they would go to their certain fate cursing the men whose shortsightedness or petty political maneuverings made such a martyrdom necessary. It will seem to them better to have paid in advance by wise legislation and mere money than to pay now usuriously in blood. They will know that their resistance will be ineffective, but they will know also that their sacrifice will arouse the spirit of the Nation to sweep pork-barrel and party politics aside and belatedly to try to accomplish what its servants should have done long ago.

We do not want war; we do want preparedness against war. We know that unless we can defend ourselves we are a tempta-

tion to attack.

I admit that, in common with most of the Members of this House, I have never had any practical experience in military affairs and have never been, until the agitation over the present preparedness movement arose, much of a student of such matters. The Committee on Military Affairs, however, has had the experience and knowledge of Army officers, both those who are on the retired list as well as those on the active list. I am not one of those who believe that the patriotism of American Army and Navy officers has been dimmed or dulled by mercenary connections with the manufacturers of any of the supplies furnished the United States Government for its Army and Navy. I believe that they are equal in patriotism, bravery, and loyalty to the institutions of this Government and its welfare as any set of officers to be found in any nation of the world. The Military Affairs Committee has had the benefit of their advice and experience. It has prepared the pending bill for an increase in the efficiency of the Military Establishment of the United States. On the whole I am fairly well satisfied with the bill, excepting the provision with relation to the increase in the standing army. increase is for but 40,000. If these 40,000 were to be provided within the first year, my objection to this small increase would be less; but as the first increase of 10,000 is to be within 15 months after it becomes a law, and the balance of the increase in the standing army at the rate of 10,000 for each of the succeeding three years it does not receive my indorsement, and will not receive my vote if a proper amendment to increase the same is offered. Otherwise the bill has my hearty indorsement.

FEDERALIZATION OF THE NATIONAL GUARD.

The constitutional power of Congress to provide for the discipline, organization, training, and pay of the militir as set forth in the bill under consideration has been doubted by many able lawyers, trained in constitutional law, of our country. am satisfied, however, that the reasons given by the Committee on Military Affairs in the report accompanying this bill demonstrate clearly that the provisions of the bill relating to the federalization of the National Guard, when enacted into law, will be found constitutional. Convincing proof of this fact may be found in the following quotations from the report of the Military Affairs Committee:

Affairs Committee:

The framers of the Constitution evidently intended that the militia provided for in that instrument should be a national force, and never had any doubt that Congress had full power to make it so.

Patrick Henry, in a speech delivered in the Virginia Convention on June 14, 1788, said: "Your militia is given up to Congress; all power will be in their own possession."

Quoting the Constitution, be further said: "By this, sir, you see that their control over our last and best defense is unlimited."

George Washington, in a message to Congress in 1795, said: "In my opinion, Congress has the power, by the proper organization, disciplining, equipment, and development of the militia, to make it a national force, capable of meeting every military exigency of the United States."

Madison believed that the Congress had the power to call out the militia for training during peace. In his message of December 5, 1810, he said: "Toward the accomplishment of this most important work (that is, the developing the militia). I recommend for the consideration of Congress the expediency of instituting a system which shall, in the first instance, call into the field at the public expense and for a given time certain portions of the commissioned and noncommissioned officers."

Total_

In his message to Congress on September 20, 1814, he said: "I can earnestly renew a recommendation of such changes in the system of the militia as by classing and disciplining, for the most prompt and active service the portions most capable of it."

On December 3, 1816, he said: "An efficient militia is authorized and contemplated by the Constitution."

Mr. Monroe said, December 2, 1823: "As the defense and even the liberties of the country must depend in time of imminent danger on the militia, it is of the highest importance that it be well organized, armed, and disciplined throughout the Nation."

The cpinions of these men who were at the birth of the Constitution, and who must have known the intent and meaning of the framers of that instrument, are quoted here to show that not until a much later day did there arise any doubt as to the power of Congress to discipline, train, organize, and arm the militia, not the militia of the States but the militia of the country.

Much has been said by well-meaning but superficial persons about 48 little armies, commanded by 48 different generals, and trained in 48 different ways. Even a superficial study of the Constitution would have convinced any unprejudiced person that Congress has the power to discipline, train, organize, and arm the militia of the entire country with uniformity.

It is admitted by those who think that the militia can not be brought under full control of the General Government that Congress can exercise the following powers:

"1. The power to prescribe lower age limits for service in the Organized Militia and other conditions of the enlistment contract so as to insure the presence in the Organized Militia of any State of men in a position to respond to the call of the General Government without the severance of too many local ties; in other words, prescribe the organization of the recruiting service of the Organized Militia.

"2. The power to prescribe the qualifications of officers, providing in his regard that no person shall be appointed an offic

It is estimated by the committee that when this bill becomes a law and is in full force that it will provide for the following number of trained men, from whose ranks a sufficient number may be called to properly defend the country:

The bill provides for, in time of peace, a standing Army of	140,000
National Guard	129, 000 995, 790

Even if there should be an honest doubt about the constitutionality of the federalization of the National Militia, I for one firmly believe that the brave and gallant members of the Na-tional Guard in the several States will banish the doubt of constitutionality of the President's power to do so by rushing pell-mell to the defense of our country.

Address of Hon. William M. Calder.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

EDMUND PLATT, HON.

OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 6, 1916.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the privilege granted me, I wish to say that the following address was delivered by my former colleague, Hon. William M. Calder, who in all probability will be the next Republican nominee for United States Senator from the State of New York, at the annual banquet of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association at Little Falls, N. Y., on the evening of March 24, 1916:

ADDRESS OF HON. WILLIAM M. CALDER,

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to be present this evening and discuss with you for a few minutes a matter of great importance which is occupying the attention of our people at this time. I know much of your great county, of its fertile soil and the character of its agricultural products. Your villages and cities are well known far beyond the borders of your county.

For a number of reasons I have always had a very high regard for your people. Your former Representative in Congress, the late Vice President Sherman, was my intimate friend during all of my 10 years' service there. When he became Vice President dent it was on his recommendation that I succeeded him on the great Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, which has so much to do with the business affairs of the Nation.

In this presence I am glad to pay a tribute to your present Representative, your own fellow townsman, the Hon. Homer P. Snyder, who in the few short months that he has represented you at Washington, has made a distinct impression on the affairs of the Nation. His sound business sense has made him exceedingly valuable, and often in debate his advice has had much to do with deciding the question at issue. I know that on this grave question of the national defense he has been foremost among the New York State delegation in Congress in insisting

that the country be properly prepared to meet any emergency.

May I be permitted to say a personal word to you? In 1914

I was a candidate for the Republican nomination for United

States Senator, and although many of your people did not know me, I received a very handsome vote here, carrying the county over Senator Wadsworth by a vote of 948 to 630. I have not forgotten it, and in the near future may give you another op-portunity of indicating your judgment of me; and while I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your very fine support in 1914, I am hopeful, now that you have looked me over, I may do just a little better the next time.

The great world war, engaging more than half of the civilized world, has brought to us a realization of a condition of things in the country that we have never before fully appreciated. We have gone along for half a century without any conception of the possibility of conflict with any of the other nations of the world.

Preparing our Nation for war in time of peace is a duty that we owe to ourselves. It is a duty that every country owes to itself—not that we seek war, but that we wish to prevent and guard against it. It is not to be assumed because a nation prepares to defend itself against possible attack on the part of another that it seeks war, or that it expects it.

Such preparedness is simply a form of insuring national integrity, with the additional merit of promoting a spirit of patriotism and love of country among the people of the Nation. If our country is worth living in, it is worth defending and main-

taining.

1, 324, 790

We have learned from the great war in Europe what preparedness means. It was preparedness of the army that enabled Germany to make great initial gains of territory. It was similar preparedness on the part of France and Belgium that checked the German offensive when it was almost at the gates of the French capital. It was the preparedness and superiority of the English Navy that saved the seaports of France from her enemy, without which it seems certain that the initially more powerful military machine of Germany would have swept through the French Republic. It was and still is the prepared-ness of the English Navy that has saved the British Islands from invasion by a foe which, in the beginning, was capable of putting 20 trained soldier into the field to England's 1.

We have seen little Belgium forced into war. Switzerland,

with her proportionately large reserve army, is at peac in the midst of war. If she had not been prepared, might not her plight be that of Belgium—her men at war, her homes ran-

sacked, her people outraged?

The United States is a large Nation; one of the greatest in the world. Prepared against war in proportion to its vast resources of men and material would mean that no country in the whole world could conquer this Republic. To-day the country is not prepared. The entire Army within continental United States numbers about 40,000 men. The Navy ranks

fourth in tonnage among the great fleets of the world.

It is always to be assumed, because of the fortunate isolation of this country from powerful enemies, that the Navy will constitute the first line of defense. The United States Navy to-day is not large enough successfully to withstand the navies of either England or Germany. It would be about on a par with that of France, if we assume, as we must, that great modern navies are practically identical in point of effectiveness when rated shir for ship. There may be slight superiorities here and there, with regard to special types of ships, but, generally speaking, modern war vessels of whatever nation are very much

alike and are of approximately equal power.

The latest reports issued by the United States Government indicate that on July 1 last the tonnage of Great Britain's Navy was 2,704,000; Germany's, 1,306,000; France's, 899,000, and the United States', 894,000. The Navy must be made larger. How much larger is a matter for experts. Certainly the program

zow put forward by the administration seems to represent a minimum of naval preparedness. We should not do less; we may be compelled to do more. And in building this enlarged fleet the United States must promptly make the necessary provision for caring for it, else it will become a useless thing. There must be more dry docks, more efficiently equipped navy yards, and fewer navy yards. We are scattering our resources to-day among 11 navy yards within our home borders, of which several are obsolete. England has 6 yards for her infinitely greater navy Germany has 3. France has 5. We have nearly as many as these three great naval powers combined.

A greater Navy must go hand in hand with a more scientific and centralized shore equipment. Generally speaking, I believe we should maintain no navy yard that is not prepared to dry dock and repair a modern superdreadnaught such as we have already built and are building. Yet there are but two navy yards on the Atlantic coast and one on the Pacific which can dock these great fighting units. In other words, only 3 of our 11 home navy yards could offer refuge and repair to a wounded superdreadnaught. This is a matter which should be considered simultaneously with a policy of upbuilding and increasing the fleet. It goes to the very root of naval effectiveness, Big navy yards can handle small ships as well as big ones; small navy yards can handle only the small ones. For strategic and economic reasons the day must inevitably come when we shall consolidate and reduce the number of these plants.

The great trouble with all navies is that because of the development of naval armament a vessel becomes obsolete after a few years. For some reason or other the Navy Department and Congress have failed to appreciate the need of a thorough equipment of this most important branch of our Military Establishment. For instance, the keels of the two battleships authorized on March 3 of last year have not yet been laid, and they can not be for at least three months' more time. After that it will take several years to build them. The seagoing submarines authorized in June, 1914, will not be completed for two years. Germany can build hers in six months' time. Our whole system of naval construction must be revised. There is something radically wrong with it.

The second line of defense of the United States must be the

The second line of defense of the United States must be the Army. It will come into action in case the Navy should fall to check the invasion of an enemy, or be defeated by a superior navy. It is wholly unlikely that any army raised in this country, however large, would be sent on an errand of invasion against a great foe. It will be primarily and almost exclusively an instrument to be employed on home ground.

It is the opinion of most military experts that such an army, with its trained reserves, should number not less than half a million men. Forces of that magnitude, fully equipped and armed, could be set upon our shores by more than one possible foe, if our Navy should fail us. It is merely common sense that we should be prepared to combat such forces. It is a national duty. Certainly, there should be an immediate increase of the Regular Army to 200.000 men, with provision for training reserves. Whether we must rely upon the proposed continental army or upon a development of the present National Guard for our trained reserves is a matter that must be worked out by the experts.

It has been suggested that we adopt the system in vogue in Switzerland. In that country every schoolboy on reaching the age of 12 is trained in calisthenies; after reaching the age of 15, the use of the rifle and military discipline; and between the ages of 19 and 25 he must give part of his time each year to field and camp duty.

The youth of Australia are trained in practically the same way. Examination of the military records shows that after the age of 21 the Australian youth is required to give up only six weeks of his time to intensive military training in camp, and the Swiss soldier 20 weeks; previous to this, however, both Australian and Swiss, from the age of 15, are required to spend about 14 months of their time in equipping themselves for military duty. After they have come to manhood they pass out into their chosen professions, and are not expected to give further military service.

It may be maintained by some that this plan would tend to inculcate the military spirit in the youth of the Nation. Many believe it to be an excellent scheme, however. In my judgment, it would teach our young men to be more patriotic, to appreciate the value of discipline, and would tend, more than anything else, to insure peace not only within this Nation but throughout the entire civilized world. At the outbreak of the European war Switzerland had only 1,400 men under arms, who were doing simple police duty, but at the end of 48 hours they had available 300,000 men, fully equipped and ready for service.

That would, indeed, be an effective plan for this country to follow. We have 5,000,000 young men between the ages of 19 and 25, and if we trained them as Switzerland and Australia do theirs we could have a reserve force of that number always ready to go into the field in the defense of their country.

The term of enlistment of the men in the Regular Army is now four years. In my judgment it would be an excellent idea to change this so that a soldier could retire of his own accord at the end of a year's service, with a provision that if he did retire he would be subject to call for the full term of enlistment. The records of the War Department show that it takes a year to make a good soldier, and this method would not only increase the size of the Army, but would also establish a very large reserve.

We must remember, also, that not only is our Army far too small in point of numbers, but is wholly unfamiliar with methods of warfare that have been developed in the European struggle. They are employing new devices, new weapons, new methods of attack and defense, of which we know nothing save by report. We must be prepared in the event of war to meet an adversary armed after a fashion of which as yet we have virtually no knowledge. We must study equipment as we enlarge our Army.

Europe has taught us the lesson of training and maneuvering men in large masses. We know nothing of this in the United States. Our Army, the mobile force, is located in 49 posts, widely scattered, some capable of accommodating but a few companies of Infantry or a troop or so of Cavalry. Most of these posts are obsolete. Many were established in the days of Indian warfare, which has ceased in this country. They are expensive to maintain. But their worst feature is that they make for the scattering of the Army into small units, so that nowhere may a considerable force be quartered for training on a scale that modern warfare demands.

We must do away with a lot of the old Army posts. We must assemble our new and greater Army on a scientific basis, train it with a view to large operations, equip it on a scale that would enable it to withstand successfully the invasions of possible enemies, which are infinitely more advanced in these respects than ourselves.

I know what it means to advocate the abolition of useless navy yards and Army posts. It means determined local opposition from every quarter. But in putting this Nation in a position to defend its territorial integrity we can not permit either local or political differences to stand in our path. We must keep the big idea constantly in mind. If sacrifices are necessary, they must be made. Much of the old system will have to be torn down. There must be reorganization along modern lines. The mere building of more ships and the raising of more men will not suffice. That is but a part of national preparedness. We must plan to care for our Navy and our Army as the lessons of the European war dictate, otherwise they will be cumbersome and in many respects helpless.

Have any of the gentlemen present heard the speech of Darwin P. Kingsley on the subject of "Democracy versus Sovereignty," in which he brings out the fact that in the preparation of the Constitution of the United States a way was made clear for a real democracy here on this continent? Previous to that Constitution we had thirteen independent States, each one setting up a barrier against the others. These barriers were broken down, and we lived here for three-quarters of a century, developing the finest traditions of a free people, until we were compelled in the great War between the States, from 1861 to 1865, to fight out the principle again, and at the conclusion of that war to establish, let us hope for all time, a democracy of all the States.

Mr. Kingsley points out that the opportunity to create a democracy of the world, or at least of the English-speaking nations of the world, is greater to-day than it was in 1787. He further suggests that the larger English nation which could be so created would do for its units what the United States has done on this continent; that it would bring the "federation of the world" within the realm of probabilities. He asks if we are great enough at the same time to plead for peace, and strong enough to lead in the movement which must ultimately unite the English-speaking States of the world, if the glorious Anglo-Saxon tradition is to survive, if democracy and not the doctrine of sovereignty is to prevail.

Perhaps this is impossible in our day; but who can say but that out of this conflict the opportunity may be afforded us of being the beacon light, around it to gather the greatest thinkers of the civilized world, in the hope that by some means a democracy of all the nations of the world may be formed, perhaps not under one flag, but under some sort of an agreement that will insure for all time "Peace on earth, good will toward men."

Until that time comes, however, we can not afford to leave

ourselves unprotected.

These things are questions of patriotism and national wisdom, so overwhelmingly overshadowing local and political issues that they must ultimately prevail, if the United States is to establish a sound and effective insurance against disaster in war, and to elevate itself to a position which will be as nearly a perfect guaranty of peace as human minds can yet conceive. never seek war because we are ready for it; we shall not become a fighting Nation until we are forced to fight. But if war should come, and we are not ready for it, we may cease to be a Nation at all.

Letter to Senator CLARKE:

BROOKLYN, N. Y., March 7, 1916.

Hon, James P. Clarke, Chairman Committee on Commerce, United States Senate, Washington, D. C. My Dean Senator: My great interest in the development of the waterways in and about the city of New York prompts me to write you, so that during the discussion of the river and harbor bill you may have in mind how greatly it affects the matter of our national defense.

In case of trouble with a foreign nation the most vulnerable places of the Union would be the cities on the seaboard, particularly the port of New York

The destroyable property on Manhattan Island alone is competently estimated at over eleven billion and a half dollars, besides bullion, preclous metal, and securities in vaults and safes of unascertainable value. An hour's bombardment and ensuing confagration would ruln all of the insurance companies in the country. The ransom asked to save Greater New York from bombardment would stagger the country, rich as it is.

It seems worth while to call the attention of Congress to the possibility of such calamities and the urgency of avoiding them, if possible. The cost, great as it would be, would be an insignificant percentage of the rich.

The cost, great as it would be, would be an insignificant percentage of the risk.

It is well established that some of the foreign nations have ships whose range of gunfire very greatly exceeds the range of the guns on our harbor defenses. So for example, a big ship, with the latest modern guns, lying off Rockaway, could devastate Kings, Queens, and most of Manhartan without fear or hindrance from fortifications.

The Navy must be, then our greatest reliance. Its efficacy as to New York would be saidy handicapped by the narrowness of the fairway north of the Ambrose Channel, the impassability for big ships of the East River, and the uselessness of the Harlem River and Kills for submaruses.

north of the Ambrose Channel, the impassability for big ships of the East River, and the uselessness of the Harlem River and Kills for submarines.

Continuing the Ambrose Channel to its full width and depth to deep water in the Hadson, opening the East River and Hell Gate into long Island Sound, with a channel wide enough for big ships to turn about, as in the Kiel Canal, and deep enough for ships of any draft, making the Harlem River and Külls usable for submarines, would divide the force of an enemy fleet and so more than double the efficiency of our own. That is the plan of the division officer. It could be carried out by contract within the time it takes to build a battleship, carried out, too, at less than the cost of two battleships.

While the proposition to improve the East River up to the navy yard is desirable, it is not nearly sufficient for the purpose of the Government, and is not indicative of the broad and comprehensive policy which Congress should adopt at once. For example, if the splendid new ship Pennsylvania should be ordered to the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and while there the Brooklyn Bridge or Manhattan Bridge be blown down, the Pennsylvania would be compelled to remain idle at the yard for the reason that she could not get out by way of the Sound because of the fallure of Congress to open the channels of the East River through to the Sound, and thus enable the ship to resume her active duty in the line. To prevent such an unfortunate condition justifies any expense.

Apprehensions of the outlay necessary to put our seaboard ports into the best defensible shape are lessened by remembering that they would bring, incidentally, commercial advantages, repaying the outlay many times over.

Taking this port as an example again, widening and deepening the

bring, incidentally, commercial advantages, repaying the outlay many times over.

Taking this port as an example again, widening and deepening the channel in the Upper Bay the East River and Heil Gate Channels would cheapen transportation between the whole Gulf and southern seaboard and New England, and save the perilous outside passage. Making the Harlem River and Kills passable for submarines would make that channel passable for barges, and so immensely benefit all the States on the Great Lakes and New England.

I am sure you will see the great importance of this matter, and will see that it is given the earnest and careful attention of Congress.

Believe me, sincerely, yours,

WILLIAM M. CALDER.

WILLIAM M. CALDER.

The McLemore Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH D. McKELLAR, OF TENNESSEE.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 6, 1916.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. Speaker, when the McLemore resolution was up for discussion I prepared some remarks, but could not get time to make them on the floor. I now ask unanimous consent to insert those remarks in the RECORD.

I have had a number of letters and telegrams, some urging

me to favor the resolution warning Americans not to travel on belligerent merchant ships, armed or unarmed, and others urging me to vote against the resolution.

This question is peculiarly within the jurisdiction of the President. Men on all sides agree that under our Constitution the President is the head of our foreign affairs. The Senate, indeed, has a right to approve or disapprove, but the House is left out of the equation entirely, except in the final matter of declaring war.

One hundred and one years ago Chief Justice Marshall in a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States settled this question. In the Nercide case, in Ninth Cranch, he held that a neutral had a right to transport himself and his goods on a vessel of a belligerent, whether the vessel was armed or unarmed. In his opinion he quotes the King of Prussia as holding to the same view. This opinion was delivered in February, 1815, and has been the law of the United States ever since.

No well-informed persons deny that this is a correct statement of the rules of international law, and the resolution itself admits this, and admits that the President has entire charge in dealing More than a year ago the question first arose in Congress in the Lusitania case. That ship was sunk, the belligerent power apoligized, agreed to make reparation, and promised to do so no more, and everyone, including that power, thought the matter was settled. At that time, as now, President Wilson simply demanded that the provisions of international law should be complied with. The President won out in his contention then, and every patriotic American felt proud of him, and all hoped that the trouble was over. Now, some gentlemen who dislike the President, and who took the other side of it then, have seen fit to raise the question again in Congress. There can be but one result of this agitation, and that is, to embarrass the President in handling a most trying and difficult foreign complication, over which only he has jurisdiction. He is elected by the whole people, and is the representative and spokesman for them all in matters of foreign policy. Neither of the Houses of Congress is given charge of our foreign affairs.

Again, the resolution is wholly ineffective. It merely asks the President to warn Americans to stay off of armed belligerent ships. Surely, all citizens who might go abroad are now sufficiently warned. The only effective measure, if Congress desired to act at all, would be to prohibit passports to citizens

who would travel on such ships.

If Congress should give this warning it will be misunderstood by some of the belligerent powers. The newspapers say that some of them are already taking it to mean a congressional criticism of the President, and they may be misled into believing that Congress may not uphold him, when every citizen knows

that when the test comes Congress will uphold him.

Our President is face to face with a critical situation. He is fighting now, as he has been ever since this war began, to maintain the well-known principles of international law, and thereby at the same time to keep our country at peace. If the President accedes to the annulment of one provision of international law, belligerent powers would insist that other provisions be also nullified by us, and the result would be chaos, and perhaps, war—something that all of us are intensely desirous of avoiding. There is but one sure foundation that this Goverament can stand on, and that is, for the strict maintenance of the established provisions of international law. We are almost certain to get into trouble if these provisions are dis-regarded. I have no bias whatsoever for or against any of the belligerent powers. I think they are all wrong in going into or keeping up this horrid warfare. I am for America first, I am for peace above all things save honor.

Again, there is a practical side to the question. If America permits any belligerent power to disregard the provisions of international law and merchant vessels are swept from the seas, where are we going to get ships to transport our wheat, corn, cotton, and lumber in? Looking at it from purely a selfish standpoint, ought we not to be very careful before we allow the

provisions of international law to be violated?

Finally, the idea that the President wants war is ridiculous and absurd. It is wholly untrue. I know personally, from having talked with him and from having heard him talk, that no man in the Nation is more desirous of peace than he is; that no man in the Nation is more thoroughly neutral than he For 19 long months during this awful conflict he has safely carried our country through a trying situation with honor and without war. Why should we at this time seek to embarrass him who has thus far so splendidly preserved our country in an honorable peace? At this late day, why swap horses in the middle of the stream? Why take our foreign affairs out of the hands of the President and put them in the hands of excited Representatives and Senators? Why hamstring our President? Why line up with his enemies to destroy him? Looking at it from a purely party standpoint, what has our Democratic President done to us that we should desire to

humiliate and disgrace him and make it so much harder for him to keep us at peace? Our President is a God-fearing, Christian gentleman, striving for peace, abhorring war. Under his leadership our country has been blessed with prosperity, with happiness, with peace, and with honor. Jingoes in and out of Congress have been trying to get him into some war ever since he came in, but he has remained steadfast. While all the other great nations have gone war mad, our Nation, under his leadership, has thus far retained its sense. Let us all who love peace and happiness and prosperity and honor uphold our President's hands and think only of America and her interests in this crisis brought about by his enemies. I believe that it is the duty of every patriotic citizen in this country, foreign born or native, to uphold our President in his fight for peace with honor-a fight that he has made so successfully up to this time, and a fight which he will win if we let him alone.

I shall vote to lay this resolution on the table.

Gasoline Situation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 5, 1916.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, the gasoline situation has become acute and it is engaging the attention of the country in a way that calls for some action looking to prompt and effective relief. Investigations, however interesting in themselves and however clearly they may reveal the sinister influences of monopoly, will hardly reach the root of the trouble. In my opinion, this is to be done only by making it unprofitable, through taxation, to hold valuable oil-producing opportunities out of use or by opening up such opportunities in the public domain by the Government itself.

I do not mind saying that the former method appeals to me as the simpler and the more desirable, yet I realize that it can not be so quickly or so certainly applied, as the taxing power with reference to lands rests in the hands of the several States; and we could not get very far in the matter of taxing valuable oil lands, whether used or unused, without first securing the active and sympathetic cooperation of the Commonwealths in

which such lands are located.

Let me briefly call the attention of this House to one or two salient facts which should be considered in connection with the proposal I shall make in the direction of affording the public relief from the extortions practiced upon them by monopolistic control of oil and its derivatives and manufactures. About 90 per cent of the oil lands are now under lease, but less than 10 per cent of the operated. Oil lands are put under lease not to be operated, but to forestall them. This is something that should command the earnest attention of every Member of this House who sincerely desires to solve the problem of high-priced gasoline.

According to official information, there are in the public domain to-day approximately 6,000,000 acres of oil lands. There are considerable bodies of proven territory. My information is to the effect that in California there is a strip of territory 125 miles long and averaging about 12 miles in width held in alternate sections by a land-grant railway and the Government. The land-grant portion of this territory is largely developed and oil in great volume is being produced and marketed. As I understand it, the private owners of the alternate sections have drilled wells in large numbers along the very borders of their holdings and are pumping oil as much perhaps from the sec-tions belonging to the public as from their own. They are robtions belonging to the public as from their own. They are robbing the American people to the extent that that is possible, but it is understood that it is impossible for them to suck the oil from any considerable distances, this, however, being no fault of theirs. They would suck the last barrel of the product from the public domain through the wells on their own territory if that were possible. They are restrained, as I understand it, by no qualm of conscience, by no respect for the rights of property, but only by the nature of the case.

It is not so many years ago that gasoline was selling at retail as low as 5 cents a gallon. There must have been a fair profit in the product at this price, as otherwise the producers would

either have advanced the price or quit business. The price has been advanced only as the grip of monopoly on oil and gasoline became firmer. About 80 per cent of the production of gasoline is now in the hands of one great interest. This interest dominates the field. The independent producers do not dare challenge it in any effective way. They know that to do so would spell destruction. It is simpler and more profitable for them to accept the situation and keep well within the shadow of the great interest which commands the field.

I am persuaded that gasoline at 5 cents a gallon or perhaps even less is not an iridescent dream. All the figures which have been put out by the monopoly which controls the product by way of justifying the staggering advances in the price exacted from the public are designed merely to befog the actual fact— that prices are fixed not by the cost of production, not by the law of supply and demand, but simply by "what the traffic will bear." The profits resulting from this magnificent holdup of the American people run into stupendous figures, as indicated by the market value of the stocks of the subsidiaries of the great corporation which was forced to dissolve, yet which seems

Is there any sound reason why the people of the United States should not protect themselves against the extortions of this powerful and merciless monopoly? It must be obvious that they have the remedy in their own hands. With millions of acres of oil-bearing lands belonging to them, much of it proven territory, they have only to proceed to develop their own. And this is what I am venturing to urge and which I am proposing to bring about under the terms of a bill which is now pending before one of the committees of this House, a copy of which is here given.

A bill (H. R. 14126) to authorize and empower the Secretary of the Interior immediately to develop oil-producing lands belonging to the public domain, to make an appropriation therefor, and for other

purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is bereby, authorized and empowered immediately to proceed to the development of oil-producing lands included in the public domain wherever located, under regulations to be prescribed by him, the product of such development to be sold in the open market and the proceeds covered into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts: Provided, That in the sale of the product preference shall be given to independent refiners: Provided further, That, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, the oil produced from such lands may be refined by contract with private refiners under terms to be agreed upon after due public notice given by advertisement in at least six newspapers of general circulation: And provided further, That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to undertake forthwith the development hereinbefore authorized; and for this purpose the sum of \$10,000,000, or as much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Public Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be drawn upon as required.

Sec. 2. That all acts or parts of acts in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

Mr. Speaker, the extent of this gasoline holdup is hard to

Mr. Speaker, the extent of this gasoline holdup is hard to estimate, but it is enormous. It affects not alone the users of motor vehicles. It affects hundreds of industries. It affects perhaps many hundreds of thousands of poor people who use gasoline for domestic purposes. It affects the farmers, who have become heavy consumers of the commodity. It would be difficult indeed to follow gasoline into all the fields where it is employed and where it has become a prime necessity. But this is unnecessary. We all know its importance to the welfare of the people. We all know the burden the present extortionate prices are placing on the shoulders of the consumer. know that the demand for relief is insistent and steadily grow-Why then should we hesitate in responding to the call of the people?

Congress has the power at its command to afford relief. Let it proceed to draw upon the resources of the people themselves. That is all the situation requires. The people have the oil. But as matters stand they are deprived of its benefits. Under the terms of my bill these benefits are made almost instantly available, not perhaps in the actual production of crude oil from the public domain, but in the salutary influence development of the oil in the public domain would have on the monopoly now in control. Nothing can be much more certain than that a declaration of purpose on the part of the United States to develop this great resource would be effective, and instantly effective, in checking the rapacity of the oil barons. They would hunt cover without delay. And rather than meet such competition as this would involve they would make haste themselves to offer relief

to the oppressed consumer.

The suggestion is left with the House for its earnest consideration. I regard it as something really worth while; and it may be said, in conclusion, that it should have the support of an administration which is building railways in Alaska and proposing to engage in shipping on the high sens. Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DENVER S. CHURCH, OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 5, 1916.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, over in India there are 350,000,000 Hindus who would like to come over and mingle with our people and live on our shores. The question is, Do we want them to come? If so, let us leave our golden gate ajar and they will come in upon us like swarms of hungry flies. If we do not want this plague to fall upon us, let us exclude them in this bill, and do it now. If we do not make this exclusion, in time to come there will be 15 Hindus to every white man in California, and its fertile valleys will be then crowded with heathen

shacks and shanties.

There are many reasons why they should not be admitted to ar shores. First, their manner of living and ours is fundamentally different. Ours to them is a matter of amusement and curiosity, while theirs to us is ridiculous and absurd. It is impossible, within the same land, for Christians and heathen to live in peace. Each will be an object of hatred and ridicule to the other. Had we not excluded the Chinese, by this time their presence would have caused the wholesale shedding of blood; and if we do not exclude the Hindus their presence will in time

I am in favor of excluding the Hindus because they can never be assimilated by our people; because we have no use for them and they have no use for us. They dislike us as a people as much as we dislike them. They will not stop at any American hotel nor eat at a white man's table, neither will they partake of food unless prepared by people of their own caste and race. While I was district attorney of Fresno County, Cal., I was frequently called upon to prosecute Hindus for robbery and other violations of the law, and it was a real problem to keep the defendants from starving while they were in jail, for they refused to eat the food prepared by the American hand. In my district in California, where there are thousands of them, they make their homes generally beside the public highway. Their visible earthly belongings consist of a few blankets spread upon the ground. When they move they have but to put out their fires and walk away. They can be seen traveling on the public highways all hours of the day and night.

I maintain that their heathen and outlandish superstitions forbid even the thought of their living in this land. Let us recall some of their vicious practices and decide whether we want them

in the United States.

Heretofore the most terrible of all the Hindu gods was the crocodile, and in order to appease the wrath of these scaly and saw-toothed monsters, loving but superstitious mothers fre-quently cast, from the banks of the Ganges, their helpless off-

spring into the crocodile's mouth.

Their land is overrun by 33 species of poisonous serpents, the worst of which is the cobra. By the natives this reptile is worshiped as a god. The bite of the cobra is certain death. A hundred thousand lives each year are sacrificed as victims of its fangs. To injure this miserable, slimy reptile is an insult to the Hindu's god, and so the cobra is everywhere given the right of way. To kill a poisonous snake would equal the assassination of a god. They have special shrines for snake gods in the Himalaya Mountains. Harmless snakes they regard as the ghosts of their ancestors and guardians of their homes and goods. Many of the villagers believe in the domunha, a serpent with a mouth at both ends.

With these thoughts in view, it is plain that the notions of the Hindu will not fit the ideals of the West. Their sacred crocodiles and serpents can not exist in harmony with our emblem-the California bear. Their darkness will spoil our light, and their

strange gods can never reign with our God—Jehovah.
I wish you had seen the Hindu and knew him as I do. such were the case, I would not have to speak to you of him. His swarthy, ragged form, his leaden, dreamy eyes would speak. His lifeless, shuffling walk and drooping, downcast head would speak. He is as hopeless as a lonesome crane, a human form from which light and hope seem gone, while the body wanders on, guided by strange, superstitious fears.

Another reason for making the exclusion is to prevent the debasing of our wage standard. In India the average wage is from 12 to 24 cents per day. The Hindu is perfectly willing

to work for the same wage in this country that he does at home, if necessary. At present he cuts wages and is content with what he gets. The only thing a Hindu likes that pertains to our civilization is the American dollar. By and by, if the immigration of these fellows is not restricted, wages will be the same here as in India; for everyone who comes lowers, in a Not only do certain definite degree, our standard of wages. they do this but every dollar that comes into their possession they send home to British India, from whence no dollar ever returns. American labor can not and does not want to compete with them. A Hindu can live as cheap as a coyote, and he is as wiry and tough as a piece of rawhide. He has the same love for this country that a crocodile has for a julcy fish. About all he consumes comes from India, and he can live on a handful of rice or corn for a day. When he becomes hungry he simply takes up another notch in his belt.

At present they do not bring their slaves—the female Hindus-with them; traveling expenses are too high; but it will be only a matter of time when they will establish themselves here domestically and religiously. That is, they will bring with them their families and their family gods, the latter consisting of graven images, crocodiles, and venomous reptiles. When that day shall come, tourists traveling in our sublime Sierras will have to wear iron boots in order to escape the poisonous fangs of the Hindu god; and I suppose on the banks of our two majestic rivers—the Sacramento and the San Joaquin-there will be Hindu temples dedicated to the charming

god crocodile.

I say it is constitutionally wrong for these strange people, who have slept and degenerated through the ages, to wait until the last great prize of civilization, America, has been discovered and won, and then take a short and reversed course across the sea, traveling in ships made possible through the inventive genius of other lands, and fall upon us like hateful birds upon the first fruits of spring. I believe the rewards of civilization should be enjoyed only by those who have endured the hardships of the way. I object to having California become the babbling and gabbling ground of people speaking strange tongues. I object to our beautiful valleys being filled with serfs, and hovels in which strange people dwell. I object to our far-famed cities being disfigured by oriental sheds and shacks, and I object to the seashore, the river banks, and the green mountain sides of California becoming the building places of heathen temples.

No; we do not want the sun, as it goes down behind the sea and bids our native land good night, to lift its last beams from heathen temples dedicated to unknown gods. We want the great West to be left as it now is-the abiding place of Anglo-Saxon pioneers; the most beautiful land of all the earth, free from superstitious fears; where the people live in harmony, having the same ideals, the same hopes and fears, and where they speak one language, and all worship the same God.

Letter from Samuel D. Pepper, Judge Advocate General Michigan National Guard.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LOUIS C. CRAMTON, OF MICHIGAN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 7, 1916.

Mr. CRAMTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a letter from Samuel D. Pepper, judge advocate general Michigan National Gnard.

The letter is as follows:

MICHIGAN NATIONAL GUARD, April 5, 1916,

Hon. Louis C. Chamton,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Congressman: I have been endeavoring to follow the House and Senate debates on the Hay and Chamberlain bills and to make a study both of the purposes of and the objections to the two bills. It is, of course, difficult for a person at this distance from Washington to follow the debates, as we do not get the Congressional Record for three or four days after each day's proceedings.

Doubtless you have been interested in the constitutional questions involved, and I was pleased to note your support of the Hay bill in the House, which, on the whole, I think will meet with the approval of the National Guards of the country and of the people.

The main objection I have to the Hay bill is based upon the language of section 76, wherein use is made of the word "draft." I noted with

great interest the debates upon this section and the arguments made especially by Mr. Hay as to the use of this word.

Conceding for the sake of argument that the National Guard, which is carved out of the militia of the United States, can not be used for foreign service under its present status, I still disagree with Mr. Hay that the only method by which the National Guard can be used for foreign service is by the process of "drafting." In this connection is have undertaken to look up both the ordinary and the military meaning and acceptance of the term. The ordinary meaning of the word makes it synonymous with the word "drawing." The military meaning of the word is almost similar. In its popular meaning it denotes a process by which men liable to military duty are compelled to perform that duty.

During the Civil War the process of drafting was only resorted to after it was found that an insufficient number of men were volunteering. It is interesting in this connection to read the provisions of the act of March 3, 1863, volume 12, United States Statutes at Large, page 731. The title of this act is as follows:

"An act for enrolling and calling out the national forces, and for other purposes."

The process consisted of the following steps: (1) The President's proclemation calling for quetes from the resulting districts.

"An act for enrolling and calling out the national forces, and for other purposes."

The process consisted of the following steps: (1) The President's proclamation calling for quotas from the enrolling districts; (2) the appointment of provost marshal for each enrolling district; (3) the creation of enrolling districts; (4) the provost marshals were required to enroll all persons Hable for military duty as defined in the act; (5) provost marshal made a "drawing" of the number required from his lists; (6) those drawn were notified and required to report; (7) compulsion could be used; (8) those so drawn for duty or drafted were examined and forwarded to the units to which assigned.

I am informed that under the ordinary method used in carrying out the provisions of the act, and possibly under regulations prescribed, the provisions of the act, and possibly under regulations prescribed, the provisions of the men on his lists in a box and draw out, as by lot, a sufficient number. I am not certain that this was the universal method, but I imagine it was very generally followed.

This is what became known as "drafting" in the Civil War, and it will at once be seen that the word "draft," as used in the act, is synonymous with the word "drawing" or the words "drawing by lot." It is difficult to understand how the use of the word "draft" or "drafting" in the act of 1863 can be construed in any other way, popular notions to the contrary notwithstanding.

The word "draft" itself is not so generic as to carry with it when standing alone the entire process. In fact, it is only applicable to one of the steps in the process, namely, the method of determining the exact persons who shall be taken for service.

The fault with section 76 of the Hay bill is that the word "draft," as therein used, is taken to imply the entire process. As used in section 76 I doubt if its meaning is even clear. At best it means no more than the word "call." You will note that the title to the so-called draft act of 1863 uses the word "call "and, as a

of 1863 uses the word "call" and, as a matter of law, the word "call" is much more appropriate than the word "draft" when used to define the power lateaded to be given to the President with respect to the National Guard.

It occurs to me that the right of the President to the services of the National Guard in time of war should rest upon something more in harmony with the spirit of our institutions than a mere arbitrary act, as Mr. Har supposes the word "draft" to imply. That is, it is argued that because the President can draft any person into the service or any class of persons, even to the extent of saying that all red-haired persons could be so singled out and compelled to serve, therefore he can draft the National Guard without regard to their former status. Such an arbitrary use of the President's power has never been recognized in this country, even admitting that it exists. Even in the Civil War when the exigencies were so very great, Congress devised an absolutely fair and impartial method of obtaining soldlers by compulsion. If the arguments in favor of the word "draft" are true, then the President might call upon the uniformed ranks of the various lodges to the exclusion of all others. It is scarcely conceivable that any President would ever do such a thing, however.

It occurs to me that the term to be used in section 76 should be conformable to the purpose sought to be attained. What is desired is that the National Guard should be available for duty in a foreign war. It seems to be generally conceived that their status must be changed from that of militia to that of "armies of the United States." The idea expressed in section 76 appears to be that the National Guard can only be taken forchly into such service because of their militia status, and that the President can do what Congress has not the authority to do in that respect or that Congress can delegate to the President the authority to do something which Congress tiself can not do. This, it seems to me, is a mistaken idea, pecause the right to

praise that followed voluntary service. The term implied service against one's will and consequently unwilling service.

To the extent above indicated, the meaning of the word "draft" is derived from the :aw of 1863, both its legal and popular meaning. As said above, its legal meaning is not sufficient for the purposes of section 76, while its popular meaning makes its use extremely inappropriate.

My suggestion is that the proper method would be for Congress to prescribe the entire process by which the President may call the National Guard into the full service of the United States; that such process should include (a) the enrollment of the National Grard; (b) an original enlistment contract which would include foreign service; (c) the payment of a small bounty to each National Guardsman on the signing of his enlistment contract; (d) the declaration in the act of Congress that the National Guardsmen who comply with the above requirements and who accept the bounty shall be deemed liable for foreign as well as domestic service, and prescribing a punishment for disobedience to any call of the President; (e) authorizing proper regulations for the mustering of the National Guardsmen into the United States service contemplated.

By defining the various steps in the process it becomes unnecessary to use the word "draft" or any similar term, and the effect is the same as intended by section 76 as it now stands.

I trust I have made myself clear in this matter, but, if not, I would be very glad to write you again upon the proposition. You are at liberty to make any use you see fit of this communication, and if it would be of any service I should be pleased if you would take the matter up with Chairman Hav.

With kindest personal regards, I am,
Yours, sincerely,

SAML. D. Pepper,

Judge Advocate General Michigan National Guard.

Judge Advocate General Michigan National Guard.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PERCY E. QUIN,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Friday, April 7, 1916.

Mr. QUIN. Mr. Speaker, under the privilege granted me to extend my remarks on the Burnett immigration bill (H. R. 10384), which passed the House almost 4 to 1, March 30, I in-10384), which passed the House almost 4 to 1, March 30, 1 insert in the Record the following articles clipped from the Weekly News Letter of the American Federation of Labor, just out and dated Washington, D. C., Saturday, April 8, 1916, together with an editorial from the Boston Evening Transcript of March 31:

HOUSE PASSES BURNETT IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION BILL 307 TO 87.

WASHINGTON, April 8.

Washington, April 8.

By a vote of 307 to 87 the House passed the Burnett immigration bill, with the literacy test, on Thursday, March 30. Prior to this vote Congressman Sarath moved to recommit the bill "with instructions" to strike out the literacy test. This was defeated on a roll-call vote, 284 to 107.

Opponents of the measure presented no new arguments, while the position of its advocates was strengthened by conditions in Europe because of the war. Congressman Mann, the minority leader—who voted for the Sabath amendment, but later voted for the bill—indorsed this position. He said:

"And unless those countries (European) by their own legislation can prevent their citizens coming here, we are liable to have a flood of immigration such as no country in the world ever experienced before. I am not willing to take the chances on it."

Advocates of restriction referred to the increasing sentiment in favor of greater effectiveness in every field of activity. They insisted that democracy can not be developed to its highest possible point while we encourage the admission of liliterates who destroy living standards of American labor and who refuse to become a part of our national life.

The literacy test provides that aliens over 16 years of age must read at least 30 words in some language or dialect, including Hebrew or Viddish, chosen by the immigrant. Exceptions to this test are made in the case of an immigrant's father or grandfather over 55 years of age: his wife, his mother, his grandmother, or his unmarried or widowed daughter

Exception to the literacy test is also made where an immigrant flees

In the case of an immigrant's father or grandfather over 55 years of age; his wife, his mother, his grandmother, or his unmarried or widowed daughter

Exception to the literacy test is also made where an immigrant flees from religious or political persecution. The latter exception includes "persons convicted, or who admit the commission, or who teach and advocate the commission, of an offense purely political." Under this provision the Old-World revolutionist who advocates force to overthrow his Government, or who admits the use of force for that purpose, will be admitted to this country regardless of educational qualifications.

The question of immigration restriction by a literacy test has been favorably voted on by almost every Congress since 1896. On three occasions the proposal has been vetoed—by Presidents Cleveland, 'latt, and Wilson. In 1897 the House passed the bill over President Cleveland's veto, 193 to 37. This was 37 votes more than the necessary two-thirds vote. The Senate failed to act, owing to a rush of business and Congress adjourning a few hours after the House vote.

In 1913 the Senate passed the bill over President Taft's veto, 72 to 18, but the veto was sustained in the House by a few votes. On February 4, 1915, the House sustained President Wilson's veto, 261 to 136. If any 4 of the 136 that voted to sustain the President had voted with the majority a two-thirds vote would have been secured and the bill passed.

The last vote in favor of immigration restriction—307 to 87, recorded March 30 last—indicates the increasing demand by the people for this legislation.

The bill is now in the Senate. Its passage by that body is conceded if its advocates can overcome the small minority that will take advantage of the rules of the Senate to keep the bill from being voted on.

Trade-unionists and other friends of this legislation are urged to write their two United States Senators and insist that the Burnett immigration bill be voted on at this session of Congress.

VOTE ON RESTRICTION IN HOUSE ANALYZED.

An analysis of the House vote on immigration restriction, March 30, indicates an increasing demand for this legislation.
Out of a possible 434 votes in the House, only 87 were cast against the bill, 36 were recorded "not voting," and 3 "present." Of these 39 only 13 were paired against the passage of the bill. There was not a single vote against the bill from the following 26 States: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyomling. Eighteen States were divided in their vote, but in none of these was a majority of the Congressmen against the bill.

In only four States—Connecticut, Michigan, New York, and Rhode Island—was a majority of the delegations recorded against the bill on final passage. In these cases the vote was: Connecticut, 4 out of 5 against or were paired against; Michigan, 7 out of 13; New York, 27 out of 43; Rhode Island, 3 out of 3.

Rhode Island was the only State whose entire delegation either voted or was paired against the bill, 2 voting nay and 1 being paired to vote nay.

But one-fifth of the total membership of the House voted against the

But one-fifth of the total membership of the House voted against the bill, which passed by nearly a four to one vote of Congressmen fresh from the people, just a year and two months after the President's veto of the same bill January 28, 1915, when the Chief Executive stated that he doubted whether there was a popular demand for this legislation.

HOUSE ROLL CALL VOTE ON BURNETT IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION BILL. THE VOTE EXPLAINED.

Prior to the final vote on the immigration restriction bill, Congressman Sabath moved to strike out the literacy test. This was defeated on a roll-call vote, 284 to 107.

The bill was then passed by the vote printed herein.

The names in the "Aye" column, with a star (*) at their left, indicates that these Members first voted to strike out the literacy test, and when the motion to strike out was defeated, these Members voted for the bill on its final passage.

ALABAMA.

Aye: Abercrombie, Almon, Blackmon, Burnett, Gray, Heflin, Huddleston, Oliver, and Stengall.
Not voting: Dent.

ARIZONA.

Aye: Hayden.

Aye: Caraway, Goodwin, Jacoway, Taylor, and Tillman. Not voting: Oldfield and Wingo. Wingo was paired in favor of the passage of the immigration bill with Cary, of Wisconsin, against.

CALIFORNIA.

Aye: Church, Curry, Elston, Hayes, Kent, Kettner, Nolan, Raker, Randall, and Stephens.

Nay: Kahn.

COLORADO.

Aye: *Keating Taylor, and Timberlake.
Not voting: Hilliard.
Hilliard was paired in favor of the passage of the immigration bill with Loud, of Michigan, against.

CONNECTICUT.

Aye: Hill.
Nay: Freeman, Glynn, and Oakey.
Not voting: Tilson.
Tilson was paired against the passage of the immigration bill with Edwards, of Georgia in favor of the passage of the immigration bill. DELAWARE.

FLORIDA

Aye: Clark, Sears, Sparkman, and Wilson.

GEORGIA.

Aye: Adamson, Bell, Crisp Howard, Hughes, Lee, Park, Tribble, Vinson, and Wise.

Not voting: Edwards and Walker.

Edwards was paired in favor of the passage of the immigration bill with Tilson, of Connecticut, against.

Aye: McCracken and Smith.

Aye: Buchanan, Chiperfield, Copley, Denison, Foss, Foster, Fuller, King, McKenzle, McKinley. *Mann, Rainey, *Rodenberg, Sterling, Tavenner, Wheeler, Thomas S. Williams, and Wilson.

Nay: Britten, Cannon, Gallagher, McAndrews, McDermott, Madden, Sabath, and Stone.

Not voting: Wm. Elza Williams.

INDIANA.

Aye: Adair, Cline, Cox, *Cullop, Dixon, *Gray, Moores, Moss, *Rauch, and *Wood
Nay: Barnhart and Lieb.
Not voting: Morrison.

IOWA.

Aye: Dowell, Good, Green, Haugen, Huil, Kennedy, Ramseyer, Steele, and Sweet.

Nay: Towner and Woods.

KANSAS.

Aye: Anthony, Ayres, Campbell, Connelly, Deolittle, Helvering, Shouse, and *Taggart. KENTUCKY.

Aye: Barkley, Cantrill, Fields, Helm, Johnson, Kincheloe, Langley, Powers, Rouse, and Thomas. Nay: Sherley.

LOUISIANA.

Aye: Aswell, Lazaro, Morgan, and Wilson, Nay: Dupré, Estopinal, and Martin, Not voting: Watkins.

Aye: Hinds and Peters. Not voting: Guernsey and McGillicuddy. McGillicuddy was paired against the passage of the immigration bill with Guernsey in favor.

Aye: Linthicum, *Mudd. Price, and Talbott.
Nay: Coady,
Not voting: Lewis.
Lewis was paired in favor of the passage of the immigration bill with
Doremus, of Michigan, against.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Aye: Gardner, Gillett. Olney. *Rogers, and *Treadway. Nay: Carter, Dallinger, Gallivan, Greene, Paige, Phelan, Roberts, Tague, Tinkham, Walsh, and Winslow.

MICHIGAN.

Aye: Hamilton, Kelley, McLaughlin, Mapes, Scott, and Smith.
Nay: Beakes, Cramton, Fordney, James, and Nichols.
Not voting: Doremus and Loud.
Doremus was paired against the passage of the immigration bill with
Lewis, of Maryland, in favor.
Loud was paired against the passage of the immigration bill with
Hilliard, of Colorado, in favor.

MINNESOTA. Aye: Anderson, Davis, Ellsworth, Lindbergh, Miller, Schall, *Smith, Steenerson, Van Dyke, and Volstead.

MISSISSIPPI. Aye: Candler, Collier, Harrison, Humphreys, Quin, Sisson, Stephens, and Venable.

MISSOURI.

Aye: Alexander, *Borland, Decker, Dickinson, Hamlin, Hensley, Lloyd, Rubey, Rucker, and Russell.

Not voting: Booher, Dyer, Igoe, Mecker, and Shackleford.

Booher answered "Present."

Igoe answered "Present."

Dyer was paired in favor of the passage of the immigration bill with Igoe against.

Macker was paired in favor of the passage of the immigration bill with

Byer was parted in favor of the passage of the immigration bill with Booher against.

Meeker was parted in favor of the passage of the immigration bill with Booher against.

Champ Clark—Speaker—not recorded. (The Speaker does not vote as a rule except in the event of a tie vote.)

Shackleford voted to retain the literacy test in the bill.

Aye: Evans. Not voting: Stout.

NEBRASKA.

Aye: Kinkaid, Reavis, Shallenberger, Sloan,* and Stephens, Nay: Lobeck.

NEVADA.

Aye: Roberts, NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Aye: Sulloway and Wason.

NEW JERSEY.

Aye: Browning, Capstick, Drukker, Gray, Hutchinson, Lehlbach, and Parker.
Nay: Bacharach and Eagan.
Not voting: Hamill, Hart, and Scully.
Hamill was paired against the passage of the immigration bill with Young of Texas in favor.
Hart was paired in favor of the passage of the immigration bill with Graham of Pennsylvania against.
Scully was paired against the passage of the immigration bill with Rowland of Pennsylvania in favor.

NEW MEXICO.

Aye: Hernandez.

NEW YORK.

Aye: Charles, Danforth, Dempsey, Dunn, Hamilton, Hicks, Husted, Magee, Mott, Parker, Pratt, Snell, Snyder, and Ward.
Nay: Bennet, Bruckner, Caldwell, Carew, Chandler, Conry, Dale, Dooling, Driscoll, Farley, Fitzgerald, Flynn, Gould, Griffin, Haskell, Hulbert, Loft, London, Maher, Oglesby, Patten, Riordan, Rowe, Sanford, Siegel, Smith, and Swift.

Not voting: Fairchild and Platt.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Aye: Britt, Doughton, Godwin, Hood, Kitchin, Page, Pou, Small, Stedman, and Webb. NORTH DAKOTA.

Aye: Helgesen and Young, Nay: Norton.

OHIO.

Aye: Allen, Ashbrook, Brumbaugh, Cooper, Emerson, Fess, Gard, Hollingsworth, Kearns, Key, Longworth, McCulloch, Matthews, Mooney, Overmeyer, Ricketts, Russell, Switzer, and Williams.

Nay: Crosser, Gordon, and Sherwood.

OKLAHOMA.

Aye: Carter, Davenport, Ferris, Hastings, McClintic, Morgan, Murray, and Thompson. OREGON.

Aye: Hawley, McArthur, Sinnott.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Aye: *Bailey, Beales, Butler, Coleman, Costello, Crago, Farr, Focht, Garland, Heaton, Hopwood, Keister, Kiess, Kreider, Lafean, Lesher, Miller, North, Porter, Scott, Steele, Temple, and Watson.

Nay: Barchfeld, Casey, Liebel, Moore, Morin, and Vare.

Not voting: Darrow, Dewalt, Edmonds, Graham, Griest, McFadden, and Rowland

Graham was paired against the passage of the immigration bill with Hart of New Jersey in favor.

Griest was paired in favor of the passage of the immigration bill with Edmonds against.

Rowland was paired in favor of the passage of the immigration bill with Scully of New Jersey against.

RHODE ISLAND.

Nay: Kennedy and O'Shaunessy. Not voting: Stiness. Stiness was paired against the passage of the immigration bill with Henry of Texas in favor.

SOUTH CAROLINA. Aye: Aiken, Byrnes, Finley, Lever, Nicholls, Ragsdale, and Whaley. SOUTH DAKOTA.

Aye: Dillon, Gandy, and Johnson.

TENNESSEE.

Aye: Austin, Byrns, Houston, Hull, McKellar, Moon, Padgett, Sells, and Sims.

voting: Garrett.

TEXAS.

Aye: Black, Callaway, Davis, Dies, Eagle, Garner, Gregg, McLemore, Rayburn, Slayden, Smith, Stephens, and Sumners.
Nay: Burgess, Buchanan, and Hardy.
Not voting: Henry and Young.
Henry was paired in favor of the passage of the immigration bill with Stiness of Rhode Island against.
Young was paired in favor of the passage of the immigration bill with Hamill of New Jersey against.

Aye: Mays. Nay: Howell.

VERMONT.

Aye: Dale and Greene.

VIRGINIA.

Aye: Carlin, Flood, Glass, Hay, Holland, Jones, Montague, Slemp, and Watson.
Not voting: Saunders.
Saunders voted against striking the literacy test out of the bill.

WASHINGTON.

Aye: Dill, Hadley, Humphrey, Johnson, and La Follette. WEST VIRGINIA.

Aye: Cooper, Littlepage, Moss, Neely, and *Sutherland. WISCONSIN.

Aye: Browne, *Cooper, *Esch, Frear, Lenroot, and Nelson.
Nay: Burke, Konop, Reilly, and Stafford.
Not voting: Cary.
CARY was paired against the passage of the immigration bill with
Wingo, of Arkansas, in favor.

WYOMING.

Aye: Mondell.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS REFUGEES ARE NOT BARRED.

The Burnett immigration restriction bill makes clear provision for the continued admission of political and religious refugees to this country.

Opponents of the bill evade discussing the main purpose of this legis-lation—to maintain American living standards of workers by debarring illiterates

As it is unwise to combat this principle, the trusts and other cheap-labor advocates insist that the act would change America's traditions and policy toward those who are forced to leave the Old World because of political or religious beliefs.

The following sections of the bill, however, completely refute these

claims:

"That the following classes of persons shall be exempt from the operation of the liliteracy test, to wit: All aliens who shall prove to the satisfaction of the proper immigration officer or to the Secretary of Labor that they are seeking admission to the United States to avoid religious persecution in the country of their last permanent residence, whether such persecution be evidenced by overt acts or by laws or by governmental regulations that discriminate against the alien or the race to which he belongs because of his religious faith.

"Nothing in this act shall exclude, if otherwise admissible, persons convicted, or who admit the commission, or who teach or advocate the commission, of an offense purely political."

Congressman Burnett, author of the bill, and chairman of the House Committee on Immigration, has repeatedly stated that the friends of immigration restriction would not support legislation that would evar these refugees.

immigration restriction would not support legislation that would debar these refugees.

Other advocates of restriction have taken a similar position, which is in line with the innumerable humanitarian declarations of the American Federation of Labor, and which was pointed out by Congressman MERKER, of Missouri, who made this answer to the claim of anti-restrictionists:

"You speak of the positical refused."

restrictionists:

"You speak of the political refugee. If the language is not distinct and plain on that one issue, then I can not understand how it is to be written. The revolutionist, your Kosciuszko, and all those men to whom reference has been made, could enter this country under this provision. This country will always remain the home of the religious and the political refugee, but we would just as well begin now to face that other problem of imported ignorance."

WHY THE TRADE-UNION MOVEMENT URGES IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION. [By President Gompers, in American Federationist.]

[By President Gompers, in American Federationist.]

As a people we have barely begun to appreciate the value of those qualities which make for real progress, the necessity to insist and persist in formulating sound policies to redound to the interests of the people of our Nation. Indeed, for years we have delayed in even formulating a national policy that would protect us against such elements and conditions which act as a barrier to the development of American character and national unity. We have excused this delay on the ground that we were a young Nation; that we had vast public lands and national resources that must be developed, and that we could afford to open our doors to a practically unrestricted immigration in order to increase our population.

But conditions have changed. We are no longer a young Nation. We have wasted much of our national heritage and the frontier has

practically disappeared. Recent events that have tested national institutions and men's faith to the uttermost proved conclusively that we can not hope to be the ideal which America represents, we can not maintain a place of influence in the affairs of the world, if we do not plan to carry out those purposes. Haphazard development may do well enough for the ordinary activities from day to day but will not endure the tests of a great crisis or the slower test of time.

To achieve the best that is possible for our Nation and for our citizens generally, we can not escape the duty devolving upon us of thinking out a national policy that will develop out of the many peoples within our boundaries a homogeneous nation bound together by common ideals, common customs, common languages, and a common culture.

To achieve the best that is possible for our Nation and for our citizens generally, we can not escape the dury devolving upon us of thinking out a national policy that will develop out of the many peoples mon ideals, common customs, common languages, and a common culture.

America has not yet become a nation. It is still a conglomerated months and the property of the common and the common languages, and a common culture.

America has not yet become a nation. It is still a conglomerated and the conglomerated of the conglomerated

persecution in the country of their last permanent residence, whether such persecution be evidenced by overt acts or by laws or by governmental regulations that discriminate against the allen or the race to which he belongs because of his religious faith: Provided, That nothing in this act shall exclude, if otherwise admissible, persons convicted, or who admit the commission, or who teach and advocate the commission, of an offense purely political."

The proposed legislation does not represent a radical change in the policy of our Nation. It is an extension of our educational policy, and is in harmony with the conviction that has been growing recently that we, as a Nation must leave our haphazard methods of development behind and inaugurate a definite sustained national policy that shall promote our best development, and shall coordinate and organize all of the resources of our country and plan for their best utilization.

Opposition to the literacy test and to any proposition to restrict immigration has come from steamship companies, steel corporations, coal operators, and other employers whose financial interests were associated with the maintenance of large numbers of workers forced by their helplessness to work for low wages. The activities of these interests have been given a cloak of respectability by many who, for sentimental reasons, were unwilling to Indorse any form of restriction of immigration. But selfish interest or sentiment that is contrary to the fundamental principles of national welfare can not frustrate efforts to promote the best interests of our Nation.

The meaning of America lies in the ideal she represents. That ideal is liberty and opportunity. But beautiful as any ideal may be, it becomes of practical value when it has effectiveness in the daily lives of men and women.

Real liberty and opportunity mean a certain mental attitude toward life, certain standards of life and work, and possession of that which

becomes of practical value when it has effectiveness in the daily lives of men and women.

Real liberty and opportunity mean a certain mental attitude toward life, certain standards of life and work, and possession of that which secures the enjoyment of opportunities.

America the ideal—the land of the free—exists only when her people are Americans in all things.

Ours has been a most perilous task—to weld together those from other lands who have sought our shores and to make of them homogeneous people, a nation with common ideals, common standards of living, a national language, and an ideal national patriotism.

The building of a nation is not a thing of chance; it is the result of statesmanship, knowledge of tendencies, a discernment of cause and effect, ability to distinguish the good from the evil.

Too long our national policies have been determined by sentimental emotions, business profits, and political expediency. But there must come a change. These months of terrible warfare have compelled a testing of things that have passed over. "The world is afire," and we must put our own house in order lest we, too, be caught unawares. We must search out each weakness and strengthen every danger point.

The workers of America make the demand that there shall be restriction of immigration to such as can be readily identified and assimilated with Americans and can become truly American.

USTS ARE PROTECTED PROM FOREIGN PRODUCTS BUT DEMAND AN UNLIMITED FLOW OF CHEAP LABOR, WHICH DESTROYS AMERICAN WAGES AND IDEALS.

[By Frank Morrison, secretary American Federation of Labor.]

[By Frank Morrison, secretary American Federation of Labor.]

"A high tariff against European cheap labor products is insisted upon by American trusts, but these trusts are the chief opponents of immigration restriction intended to protect American workers," said Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, at a recent hearing on this legislation before the House Committee on Immigration. The American Federation of Labor official declared that American manhood can not compete with the living standards of eastern Europe and Asia and that it "is unwise to expect them to resist the tidal waves of Slav and oriental onslaught." He further said:

"The proposition to prohibit immigration to the United States of able-bodied men and women because they can not read has a sympathetic viewpoint, where individuals are considered; but, notwithstanding such a viewpoint, the American Federation of Labor, which represents the organized workers of the country, and which is the only method of organization or agency which can with any justification or reason represent the unorganized workers, has repeatedly declared by resolutions in conventions 'that the literacy test is the most practical means of restricting the present immigration of cheap labor whose competition is so ruinous to the workers already here, whether native or foreign.

"A great deal has been said and published in an endeavor to create the impression that it is necessary to induce immigration to come to this country for the purpose of securing agricultural workers. There is

competition is so ruinous to the workers aiready here, whether native or foreign."

"A great deal has been said and published in an endeavor to create the impression that it is necessary to induce immigration to come to this country for the purpose of securing agricultural workers. There is no question, in my mird, but that such agitation has for its purpose the enticing of immigrants to our country to supply the United States Steel Corporation, the great manufacturing concerns, coal companies, packing houses, and railroads with men willing to work at a cheaper wage than those who are born here.

"The opponents to this test make the argument that common laborers would belong to the class that could not pass the literacy test, and that this country is very much in need of that particular kind of labor.

"The great industrial companies of this country have more men today than they can emoloy, but they want two men for every job. They know that unemployed men must work to live and their necessities will force them to accept any wage set by the companies. Hence the workers' wages are afterally held below a living wage by the hunger, misery, and distress of the unemployed.

"The organized wageworkers have declared in favor of restriction of

distress of the memployed.

"The organized wageworkers have declared in favor of restriction of immigration to maintain unlowered the American standard of life. Those who oppose restriction are representatives of companies and associations composed of employers of labor whose dominant interest is the dollar, and associations that depend for their existence upon contributions from the employing class.

"They feel that a reduction of immigration will result in a higher wage for their workers, which will disturb the profits and dividends from products manufactured by them, or perhaps they have been informed that it the steamship companies do not receive \$60,000,000 a year for transporting aliens, they will raise their freight rates.

"This reason will account in a great measure for the opposition of societies of various nationalities composed wholly or partly of business men and the attorneys of business men. Restrictions may interfere with their profits.

"We oppose any attempt to lower the standards of American life. We want to raise them: and we are opposed to the exploitation of millions of aliens, with its attending evils, to swell the profits of the steamship companies, even if it adds to the resources of those companies \$50,000,000 a year, even if it enables the United States Steel

Trust to pay dividends and interest on \$400,000,000 of stocks and bonds which never cost that company 1 cent.

"I wish to call your attention to the fact that industry is protected, but we have a free flow of labor coming to our shores all the time; that manufacturers have protection against products manufactured by cheap labor in foreign countries, but labor has not protection against the importation of cheap labor is measure say that if the products of planor are protected, them also itself must be benefited, because the manufacturer can sell the products at a much higher price than can be obtained in other countries and will be in a position to pay higher wages to his employees. The protected must be benefited, because the manufacturer can sell the products at a much higher price than can be obtained in other countries; and the second contention—that they are thus made able to pay higher wages to the employees.—Is also true, but the fact is they do not pay higher wages.

"We find that the most highly protected industries, particularly the industries that are now controlled by trusts, such as the Steel Trust. Repeated the products of the most of their employees the lowest wage in the country, and soft of with the wages in these industries.

"We hold that limitation of immigration to our country will compel social and industrial reform in the countries from which the immigrants flow. The fact that these countries have an outlet for a great number of their people means that there is an outlet from the oppressive conditions in these countries, For that reason hose countries are induced to tons in these countries, because their clienes are induced to the fact by degrated to retain the American standard of living. The standard of wages for both skilled and unskilled labor in this country is the result of many years' effort by organized labor. When an immigration downward the prevailing rate of wages in the fundatory, which result carries with it a corresponding reduction in the physical, moral, and in the steel in

"UNAMERICAN" IS FAMILIAR PLEA OF REFORM-LEGISLATION OPPONENTS. [Editorial in the Unpopular Review, January-March, 1916.]

"UNAMERICAN" IS FAMILIAR PLEA OF REFORM-LEGISLATION OPPONENTS. [Editorial in the Unpopular Review, January-March, 1916.]

The assertion that the literacy test is un-American is one which has been urged against many measures of social progress, and which can be employed against any proposition which involves departing from traditional methods or policies; in other words, which recognizes that the world moves and conditions change. When policemen were first introduced into the cities of the United States the innovation was bitterly opposed on the ground that it was un-American and interfered with the natural rights of the Individual. The "penalty clause" by which the cooperative farmers' elevators of the Middle West maintain themselves has been attacked as un-American by those whom it affects unfavorably.

It would seem hardly necessary to consider arguments of this type were they not propounded with so much frequency and earnestness and accepted with so much sobriety. Especially it seems extraordinary that a measure which asks that the foreigner should have the same training for citizenship or residence that we require of our own children should be called un-American. When we spend over half a billion dollars annually on our public schools and then compel children born in this country to take advantage of them, is it illogical—not to say un-American—to say to the adult foreigner that he should have so much of an education as is indicated by the ability to read?

But it is asserted that an educational test would be un-American, because it would exclude allens on the basis of opportunity, not of character. Illiteracy, it is maintained, is not a test of ability but of early opportunity. But a test based on opportunity is not un-American. For our immigration law already contains a number of tests which reest, in part at least, on opportunity, such are the tests excluding paupers, those likely to become public charges, persons with contagious diseases, etc. In fact, when the individual immigrant, appears before the i

and that illiteracy stands for very different things now from what it did in the days of the Pilgrim fathers or of the Revolutionary heroes. Another argument which proves too much is that produced so triumphantly and with so great effect in some such words as these: "This measure would keep out a great many people who would be very useful citizens. If it had been in force in earlier years, it would have kept out the mother of Abraham Lincoln, who signed her name with a cross." Certainly the literacy test would keep out some who would be useful. So do many, if not most, of the tests now in force. The futility of such arguments may be illustrated by another reductio ad absurdum. "Booker T. Washington was one of the most useful citizens of the United States. His ancestors on one side were brought over as negro slaves. Therefore it was a mistake to abolish the slave trade."

Such are the arguments of the opponents of the literacy test. Aside from these, their efforts are devoted to countering the claims of the opposite side, which, as has been shown, can be done successfully only with respect to the strictly and temporarily economic aspects—the building up of quick fortunes by questionable and probably dangerous means. There are those who do not regard this as an argument against the literacy test, but for it.

The matter can be rightly understood only by taking the broadest possible view of the relations, not of this generation alone but of the generations to come. The natural destiny of the United States is to be the leader of the nations into the fullest development of the common people. Our duty is to set standards, not to distribute the natural advantages we possess. We can not render our highest service to mankind by hastily and inconsiderately yielding to the demands of a specious humanitarianism and dissipating to-day what should be the heritage of future generations.

heritage of future generations.

RAILROAD EMPLOYEES AND PARMERS FAVOR IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION.

RAILROAD EMPLOYEES AND FARMERS FAVOR IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION.

Railroad train service employees and the millions of organized farmers have repeatedly declared for immigration restriction, and their representatives are cooperating with the American Federation of Labor to secure the enactment into law of the Burnett immigration bill.

Last January, when the House Committee on Immigration held public hearings on this measure, the American Federation of Labor was represented by Secretary Frank Morrison; the railroad men by Val Fitzpatrick, vice president and national legislative representative of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; and the organized farmers by J. H. Kimble, national legislative representative of the Farmers' National Congress.

Congress.
Val Fitzpatrick also spoke on behalf of these legislative colleagues:
H. E. Wills, assistant grand chief engineer, Brotherhood of Locomotive

Val Fitzpatrick also spoke on behalf of these legislative colleagues:

H. E. Wills, assistant grand chief engineer, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

P. J. McNamara, vice president, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

W. M. Clark, Order of Railway Conductors.

The railway employees' spokesman referred to a resolution passed on November 20, 1915 at a meeting of the chief executives of the four railway brotherhoods, when it was "unanimously agreed that we indorse the bill on this subject (immigration restriction) approved by the American Federation of Labor." Mr. Fitzpatrick told the committee that "our members have no guaranty that they are going to remain as engineers, fremen, and brakemen," and that the railroads annually dismiss between 30,000 and 40,000 'rain service men, and these workers are forced to enter other industries, where wages are often reduced because of the large number of illiterates. The speaker read numerous resolutions passed by the various railroad brotherhoods in favor of immigration restriction and the literacy test.

Speaking for the organized farmers, J. H. Kimble denied that agriculturalists favor unlimited immigration. He said:

"The farmers' organizations—and I am an actual farmer and live on a farm and make a living out of a farm—are opposed to any attempt to distribute the present immigration until the laws are stiffened up.

* * There is no demand among the farmers of the country for allens unable to speak our language or to read their own. A glance at the last annual report of the Bureau of Immigration, which, by the way, gives many reasons for adopting the Burnett bill, shows that very few 'farmers' are coming to this country. Out of a total immigration last year of 434,244 aliens, only 9 210 were 'farmers,' and only 29,247 could be classified as 'farm laborers.' Very few 'farmers' or 'farm laborers' come to this country. That is one important reason why distribution of immigration is a failure. Another reason is that the farmers do not want and can not use th

ONLY PRACTICAL TEST OFFERED.

TOLEDO, OHIO, April 8,

Toledo Blade in these few words sums up the agitation for and against the Burnett immigration restriction bill:

"The literacy test for immigrants has never been advertised as perfect. In operation it would turn back many allens who might become worthy citizens. But no other test that promises to restrict immigration in a practical way has been suggested.

"The advocates of this measure are trying only to slow down the stream of foreigners who, for so many years, poured through our gates. The opponents of the test do not offer a substitute, and for a very good reason. They are not really troubled as they profess to be, least an occasional nealthy and intelligent though illiterate alien be refused admittance. Their concern is lest the supply of cheap labor be restricted."

CHICAGO TRIBUNE STATES CASE.

CHICAGO, April 8.

The Chicago Tribune is one of the very few large newspapers in this country that is fearless enough to state the forces for and against the Burnett immigration bill. In an editorial last week this paper

the Burnett immigration bill. In an editorial last week this paper said:

"The literacy test has just one purpose—that is, to reduce immigration into this country.

"Opposition to the literacy test has just one purpose—to prevent any limitation of immigration into this country.

"Proponents of the literacy test believe that the time has come when we must slow up the inrush of foreign blood, in order to allow the Nation to assimilate the multitude of strange races now within its borders and in order to dmit the competition of pauper labor, which is more and more bearing upon American-born workingmen.

"Opponents of the literacy test desire a broader labor market or they desire to open the oenefits of America to foreigners, let the consequences to Americans be what they may.

"People favoring the literacy test wish to reduce immigration into America. People opposing it wish an unrestricted flow of foreigners, literate or liliterate."

Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

DUPRE. HON. H. GARLAND OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Saturday, April 8, 1916.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to print accorded me by the House, I desire to insert in the Congressional Record an extract from a book published by William Darby, in 1816, entitled, "Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana." By so doing I do not mean to convey the fact that I subscribe to the views expressed in this excerpt, but I do regard it as a very quaint and instructive discussion of the flood problem in the lower Mississippi River which, even after the lapse of a century, should prove of value and interest to the earnest and unprejudiced student of this great question.

The extract is as follows:

[Extract from "Geographical Description of the State of Louisiaua," by William Darby, published in 1816.]

Extract from "Geographical Description of the State of Louislaua," by William Darby, published in 1816.]

Many treatises have been written upon this great river, but few correct philosophical ideas respecting it have been published. The cause of its rise and fall, the revolutions in its quantity of water, and the changes of its course, have been too obvious to permit mistake; but the laws of its general motion, and the real rapidity of the stream, have been but little understood.

We may lay down the following as the universal law of the motion of water. It moves with equal velocity, in equal times, at equal depths, on equally inclined planes.

The preceding law, when once understood, is like that of gravitation; too obvious in its principles to permit doubt. The consequence of its application to rivers, is that their waters at equal elevations, move equal distances, in equal times; therefore, when swelled by accretion of water, no additional velocity is communicated to the decumbent volume. If rain produces an accumulation near the sources of rivers, a greater inclination is given to the surface; therefore an increased rapidity is the consequence, but the decumbent waters continuing to move upon the same plane, retains an uniform motion.

Either from inattention to the principles of hydraulics or from assuming the velocity of the surface as that of the mass, the motion of all rivers have been overrated. Respecting none, has ignorance of their true motion led to more erroneous conclusions than the stream of the Mississippi.

Presenting the following observations upon that very important river, we are far from pretending that our inductions will all be clearly drawn from correct reasoning upon the phenomena under review. We will exhibit the facts to the public, and give as far as our means of information extend, an accurate view of the estuary of the greatest river in the United States territory, and the longest and largest stream of this globe whose whole course lies within one sovereignty.

cierry man from correct reasoning upon the phenomena under review. We will exhibit the facts to the public, and give as far as our means of information extend, an accurate view of the estuary of the greatest river in the United States territory, and the longest and largest stream of this globe whose whole course lies within one sovereignty.

From the thirty-third degree north latitude to the mouth of Red River only one bank of the Mississippi is in the State of Louislana, the distance 306 mlies. From the mouth of Red River to the sea (following the meanders of the river) is 326 mlies. Fifty mlies above the entrance the banks are too low for cultivation, therefore the arable lands below Red River, including both banks, may be estimated at 550 miles, and adding in round numbers 300 miles above Red River gives 850 miles, and adding in round numbers 300 miles above Red River gives 850 miles as the cultivable border of the Mississippi within the State of Louislana. In making an estimate of the quantity of cultivable soil and woodland that would be adequate to a farming establishment, 1½ miles may be assumed as the mean depth, which ought to be included in the valuation of river lands; this data would produce 1,275 square miles, or 826,000 acres, as the arable superfices of fluviatic soil adjacent to the Mississippi below the thirty-third degree of north latitude, considerably more than one-half of which is below Red River. Nothing can be more vague than an attempt to calculate the mean depth of the Mississippi; so much variation arises from the ever-varying helight of the water, from projecting sand banks, from islands and other localities. The breadth is equally variable as is the depth, but can easier be reduced to a medium. One observation may be made here that will apply to most rivers; that is, the over-alculation that is generally made of their width. From careful triangular measurement of the Mississippi, made at Natchez, at the efflux of the Atchafalaya, the efflux of the Plaquemine, and near to the efflux o

its depth, allow 150 feet as the length of the ordinate line or depth of water at the greatest elevation, and 2.400 feet as the extent of the elliptical diameter or river's breadth, we are confident that these constituent principles will give a very correct result. From the application of the above elements 141,372 cubic feet would be contained within 1 foot, longitudinal section, of the river. At the rate of 1 mile an hour, 5.280 feet in length, would be discharged every hour, or 746,444,160 cubic feet of the entire mass. (Equal to 4.573,938,000 gallons.) If the water at different stages of elevation is considered as superincumbent strata every single stratum will move with nearly uniform motion, the friction of the superstratum having exactly the same tendency to retard its own motion as to accelerate the one next below.

gallons.) If the water at different stages of elevation is considered as superincumbent strata every single stratum will move with nearly gallons.) If the water at different stages of elevation is considered as superincumbent strata every single stratum will move with nearly gallons.) If the water in the close the superincumbent strata present of the superincumbent strata every single stratum will move with nearly stratum gallons. The exposition of this simple hydraulic principle will demonstrate the falsity of the idea that the whole mass of vater in the river moves and more inclination on the plane of acceleration, yet the incumbent strata, preserving the same inclination, with little variation, must move and more inclination on the plane of acceleration, yet the incumbent strata, preserving the same inclination, with little variation, must move and more inclination on the plane of acceleration, yet the incumbent strata, preserving the same inclination, with little variation, must move more shown in the stratum of the superiod of the plane of acceleration, yet the inclination of the eartherness. We will now proceed to apply the principles lidd down to their use in improvements made or that may be made to reader the bank of the Mississippi an agreeable, said, and profitable method appeared obvious, or, indeed, practicable but to raise an embankment or level of earth in front of every plantation. These levees by stopping the overflow reclaimed a small portion dry like the properties of the stratum of the carther stratum of the cartherness of the control of the cartherness of the stratum of the cartherness of the control of the cartherness of the stratum of the cartherness of the control of the cartherness of the control of the cartherness of the control of the cartherness of th

vessels of 6-feet draft. The tide flows up the Manchac to the mouth of Wards Creek, within 9 miles of the Mississippi.

It is a singular and curious circumstance that the tide in the Manchac and Plaquemine flows within 15 miles of actual contact, upward of 200 miles following the stream, above the mouth of the Mississippi.

Galveston stands on the right bank of the Amite at its junction with the Manchac. The ground is sufficiently elevated to admit the building of a city without any artificial accretion of soil. Were the bed of the Manchac made sufficiently deep and wide to admit uninterrupted navigation, the advantages that would accrue to the commerce of Louisiana would be certainly immense. The point of contact between boat and ship navigation would be removed much farther into the interior of the country. A route would be opened for the direct introduction of the produce of the regions upon the northern waters of the Ohio and Mississippi into the fine settlements of west Florida.

No great diminution of the waters of the Mississippi could be made by the Manchac without producing a refluent mass of water that would materially injure the plantations upon the Mississippi between St. Gabriel Church and Bonnet Quarre.

It may be observed that there are two evils arising from surplus water to be remedied on the Mississippi—one, the incumbent waters in the river; the other, the reflux from the swamps. It is in most instances very difficult to remove one inconvenience without producing the opposite.

water to be remedied on the Mississippi—one, the incument waters in the river; the other, the reflux rom the swamps. It is in most instances very difficult to remove one inconvenience without producing the opposite.

It may be assumed as a postulatum that no useful purpose, as it respects the consequences of overflow, can ever be answered by drawing part of the waters of the Mississippi into new channels unless a reservoir, into which the surcharge can be thrown, exists within a few miles of the main stream. (See note.) This advantage is only offered by the Plaquemine on the left bank of the Mississippi. On the right shore Bonnet Quarre Point is the first place where a contiguous deposit for the water approaches sufficiently near the Mississippi. A moment's inspection of the map will at once determine this place to be, without comparison, the most eligible ion the creation of a large channel of conveyance for the superabundant water that every summer injures, more or less, the inhabitants of Louisiana, sented on the Mississippi between Manchac and the English Turn.

Like the descent at Plaquemine, there must be the same fall from the low-water mark at Bonnet Quarre to the level of Lake Pontchartrain extra distance from the Bonnet Quarre to the level of Lake Pontchartrain than 5 miles. If a large canal of communication was cut, there is no doubt but that an immense quantity of water could be drawn from the Mississippi. Finding an immediate deposit where the decumbent mass could expand, none or very little accumulation of water could take place in the intermediate space between Pontchartrain and the banks of the Mississippi in the parishes of St. Bernard and Oriens.

How much a canal from Bonnet Quarre to Lake Pontchartrain would benefit the people of Louisiana in their commercial pursuits is very difficult to determine. There is no doubt, however, but that a great part of the waters of the spring floods could be diverted from the Mississippi at this place. The real expense attending the necessary works would no

If this great river had at any time flowed in any other route than the present, monum-nts would remain to attest that fact. The natural process of the Mississippi is to protrude the lands near its outlet. There are good reasons to believe that this protrusion is still in slow

operation.

All observations made respecting a canal from Bonnet Quarre will equally apply to one, if made from Gen. Villaret's or Jumonville's plantation, below New Orleans, into Lake Borgne, by Bayou Blenvenu. Similar improvements may also be made from the Mississippi into Black Lake at the mouth of the River Aux Chenes and at the profile Aux Moucles, but below English Turn neither commercial facility nor diminution of overflow would result so extensively from canals as above the latter place.

above the latter place.

Perhaps, in fact, no situation on the Mississippi could be more beneficially improved than the space between Villaret's and Lake Borgne. This place has been rendered remarkable by the advance toward New Orleans of the British Army in December, 1815.

These general remarks on the Mississippi might be much dilated, but we trust enough has been said to give a correct idea of the country adjacent to the bank and included in the Delfa of this noble river.

Note 1.—No correct judgment can be formed upon the best means of obviating the inconvenience of the inundation of the Mississippi without having determinate ideas upon the real motion of the water. That the rapidity of the mass of water in the Mississippi is usually overtated has been shown; but not only the body of the fluid in the river has been supposed to move more rapidly than it does; in fact, the current itself proceeds a much less distance in a given time than is

commonly thought. The following, taken from actual measurement, will illustrate the soundness of the conclusions formed in the text:

From the Falls of Niagara to Lewiston is 7 miles, following the stream; about 5½ miles in a direct line. In this distance the water falls 104 feet, and from very careful admeasurement and observation runs within a small traction of 4 miles an hour.

The given fall in the above distance is very much greater than the depression of the plane upon which the Mississippi flows: If the motion of the great mass of water was as great as commonly thought, no inundation would succeed; the fluid must reach the Gulf too soon to admit accumulation. When the water flows from the main stream and meets with no place of deposit, like Lake Ponchartrain, Lake Borgne, or the Atchafalaya, it quickly rests on the back lands and finally produces a reflux toward the river.

Water would be reduced to foam by having fall enough to produce but very little more acceleration than is allowed to streams moving upon planes having very slight inclination, such as the Mississippi and Atchafalaya.

Note 2.—Mr. Schultz, in his travels, makes a similar remark respecting the Mississippi. Most writers on Louisiana, being better acquainted with the surface than the bottom of this subject, have drawn contrary conclusions.

Safeguarding Commerce.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE.

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 6, 1916.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks and because it is appropriate to the rivers and harbors bill now under discussion, I extend as a part of my remarks an address made by me at the centennial celebration anniversary of the Coast and Geodetic Survey:

THE UNITED STATES COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY'S PART IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCE.

[An address by Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE at the centennial exercises of the Coast and Geodetic Survey at the New National Museum, Wash-inton, D. C., Wednesday evening, Apr. 5, 1916.]

Ladies and gentlemen, some day this great country of ours, which talks much of preparedness, will realize the truth familiar to every American household, that if we are to provide for preparedness or a future state of contentment we must have and maintain a source of revenue. The country can not spend money for preparedness or any other purpose unless the people of the country have an earning power. The situation is no different from that of the family which spends in excess of its income, with no trade or occupation to fall back upon. The importance of encouraging the media through which revenue is raised for governmental purposes is therefore clear. We can not forever tax the people for preparedness or for any other purpose without giving the people the opportunity to earn what they are called upon to pay. Neither can we expect the highest type of patriotism from those who are not prospering and who find their

individual burdens heavy.

At the outset, therefore, I wish to make it plain that while we are agitating for preparedness in a military sense, we should not overlook those substantial instrumentalities of production and commerce upon which all preparedness, whether foreign or domestic, must depend. It is not necessary to carry the analogy further except to remind ourselves that while the State Department, the Department of Justice, and the War and Navy Departments have been with us almost from the beginning of the Government, it is only in recent years that we have begun to recognize officially and to give direct encouragement to agriculture and manufactures, and the other wealth-producing factors of the Nation. The Coast and Geodetic Survey has been with us for 100 years in one department or another, and has been contributing its part to our commercial development, but it was not until President Lincoln's time that we gave direct Federal recognition to the development of agriculture; nor was it until 1903 that commerce and the industries were given recognition at the Cabinet table of the Nation.

OUR FOREFATHERS FORESAW COMMERCE.

Notwithstanding all this our forefathers had great foresight as to the import of our commercial affairs. They considered them in the Constitution of the United States when they delegated to Congress the power "to provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States"; "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes," and also "to establish post roads," which in the days anterior to the railroads were carriers of the mails, as well as of commerce, both by land and water, since water routes were held to come under the designation of post roads.

The framers of the Constitution dealt in their time with a population approximating 4,000,000 people, but they were shrewd enough to perceive that the country would expand, and that commerce would grow, and in due course come under the regulation of law. When they announced the Constitution in September, 1787, an extensive international commerce had already been developed. It was carried in American ships, which did a profitable business, though at great risk, in all the seas of the world. It was the active operation of these ships and the importance of American interchange with other nations that induced Thomas Jefferson to suggest the establishment of a Coast Survey to chart our coasts and otherwise provide for the encouragement and safety of American shipping. Congress was a laggard in those days, even more than it is accused of being now, and it was not until 1816, after the close of the War of 1812, that field operations were undertaken by this new arm of the Government service. We are celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of this event to-night, a celebration that is timely and appropriate, since so little is known by our more than 100,000,000 population of the direct benefits which this service is constantly rendering to life and trade.

PATHFINDING ALONG THE COASTS.

Organized originally as a bureau of the Treasury Department, continuing under the rigorous methods of the Army and Navy, and now operating under the civil jurisdiction of the newly created Department of Commerce, the Coast and Geodetic Survey pursues its prosaic work of discovering new water routes, charting new regions, and recharting old ones in a manner that invokes our highest admiration. Loss of vessels along the Atlantic seaboard and on our inland waters was not infrequent when the survey was organized 100 years ago, but the draft of vessels and the depth of channels were far different then from what they are to-day. In the beginning it was sufficient to make surveys and point out the marine menaces to vessels of so shallow a draft as 12 feet; to-day it is necessary to extend the survey over inland waters and across tempestuous seas upon which vessels drawing as much as 38 feet must have leeway for maneuvers. It is not difficult. therefore, for those who entertain a kindly appreciation of faithful Federal service to understand the extent of the hardships and privations that must be endured by the men who in fair weather or in foul, in daylight or in darkness, mark the channels and point out the impediments to navigation in our rivers and harbors and upon the high seas. Like the Lighthouse Service or the Coast Guard, which we formerly knew as the Revenue-Cutter and Life-Saving Services, the Coast and Geodetic Survey is constantly on duty at the frontier where it is needed to preserve and safeguard the life and property of our people. I can not respond more happily to the subject that has been assigned to me than to say that the Coast and Geodetic Survey is an arm of the Federal service that is indispensable both to the Government and to commerce. It is made up of as loyal and devoted a body of public servants as may be found anywhere under the Stars and Stripes.

SILENT PLOTTERS OF THE SEA.

In the midst of our prosperity, and more particularly since we have come to discuss the preparedness of this Nation to maintain its honor in peace or at war, it may be wondered whether the Government, and the people who support it, have fully appreciated the part which the Coast and Geodetic Survey has played in our commercial development. We may wonder whether the business man who has been a great beneficiary of this service has thoroughly understood the work and the needs of this important bureau, for we know how easy it is to criticize the work of public servants, and how unusual it is to properly and justly appraise their services. Here we have a bureau unmixed with political conditions, sharing the perils which beset the Army and Navy, and yet which never attains the spotlight. Even Congress sometimes unduly stints itself in its efforts to protect the public funds when appropriations are sought to support the work of these silent sea plotters who sound the lead off the rocky coast of Maine or haul the wire drag in the icy waters of Alaska. The persistence and the heroism of these men pale into insignificance when it comes to the adjustment of the dollars and cents. It is one of the misfortunes of these men whose hearts and hopes are wrapped up in the serious work they have to do that, like "the flower born to blush unseen," they are obliged for the greater part of their lives "to waste their sweetness on the desert air." And in this connection we may appropriately observe that while poetry is not sufficient compensation for self-sacrifice it is still something of a solace.

CHARTS MUST BE KEPT UP TO DATE.

Vast as has been our national growth, and important as it is that our water routes shall be made safe for transportation, it is regrettable that the facilities of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, both as to men and means, have not been increased in proportion to the work that is to be done. There is a strange misunderstanding in the public mind as to the need of appropriations for rivers and harbors. It is said that appropriations once made for improvements, or for maintenance, should be sufficient for all time. An outcry is raised when Congress is asked to provide for the maintenance of a channel that was dredged last year or the year before, as if a channel once dredged would forever maintain itself. This sort of reasoning is sometimes indulged with respect to the Coast and Geodetic Survey, as if a chart of a sandy shore made a decade ago would be safe and serviceable for the mariner of to-day.

With the old type sailing vessel giving way to the steamer

With the old type sailing vessel giving way to the steamer and dreadnaught, with the modern barge taking the place of the antiquated canal boat, how absurd it is to hold that the ancient condition will suffice for the modern or that nature will stop short at the beck of man. No body of men is more capable of dealing with the forces of nature than the United States Army engineers, and yet I doubt if any of them, efficient and capable as they are, would undertake to guarantee that the forces of nature in 1920 will not sweep around the most expensive but unsupported jetties of 1916. It is inevitable that new shoals will form and that new obstructions to navigation will be discovered, as it is incontrovertible that artificial channels in tidal streams will not forever maintain themselves. They must be cared for, just as the horse must be curried.

OUR COAST LINES EXTENSIVE.

What the Coast and Geodetic Survey undertakes to do for commerce is to keep commerce informed as to hydrographic conditions. It surveys the waters; it marks upon a chart the underlying conditions; it points the mariner to the lanes of travel that are safe; it warns him, so far as it is able to do, of the rocks and the shoals that may bring him to grief. When I speak of a lack of public appreciation of the invaluable service thus performed I rely upon the facts as they are revealed by a study of our geographical conditions.

Who stops to think of the extent of the coast lines of the United States? Coupled with that of Alaska it exceeds 10,000 miles. All this is supposed to be traversed by the men who

explore our waters for the sake of commerce.

Add to this 10,000 miles of coast line the actual shore line including all the islands, bays, sounds, and rivers in the littoral or tidal belt, and we bring into the purview of the Coast and Geodetic Survey for investigation and exploration, for sounding by lead, and dragging by wire, no less than 91,000 miles. But the work of the bureau does not stop with its oversight of the shore lines of continental United States and Alaska. It embraces the shore lines of Porto Rico, Guam, Tutuila, the Hawalian Islands, and the Philippine Islands, whose general shore line exceeds 6,300 miles and whose detailed coast line is in excess of 13,000 miles. Since the commerce of the United States, greater within the United States than out of it, finds lodgment in every port of this country, and in all our islands and possessions, and in every nation of the world, it is easy to understand how tremendously important it is that our coast charts should be accurate and up to date.

HIDDEN DANGERS AND THEIR AVOIDANCE.

In discussing the relation of the Coast and Geodetic Survey to commerce, the element of human life must be considered. It is bad enough that valuable property in ships and cargo shall go to destruction upon uncharted rocks, but it is deplorable that human life should thus be lost, and yet each great storm on any of our coasts brings its chapter of accidents. wreck of the revenue cutter Tahoma on an uncharted reef in Alaskan waters is easily recalled. For days the captain and men drifted about in an open boat, and were finally rescued, but the valuable property of the Government was lost. many such instances. The crash of the Titanic against a berg in the waters of the Atlantic, and the loss of hundreds of lives is still fresh in the minds of the reading public. These and hundreds of other tragedies of the sea contribute to the annual toll which is due to a lack of information as to hidden dangers. It is possible that many of these accidents would have occurred in spite of any survey, and yet it may be assumed that the incompleteness of the survey of the American coast is responsible for many of them.

I shall give some facts later with respect to the work that is yet to be done, especially as it pertains to some of the more frequented watercourses along the Atlantic coast. For the present I shall cite the figures of passengers carried on the vessels of the United States which are obliged to report to the Super-

vising Inspector General of the Steamboat-Inspection Service. They are imposing. I wish all those who give little heed to the life-saving functions of the Government and who are sometimes led into violent criticisms of public service after reading of exceptional accidents, might peruse these figures.

SOME FIGURES AS TO PASSENGERS.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, the number of passengers carried on steam vessels obliged to report to the Steamboat-Inspection Service, and these were not all the water-borne passengers by any means, was 307,348,008 passengers. Dividing this number by 107, the total number of passengers lost, it is shown that only 1 passenger was lost for 2,872,411 passengers carried. The total number of lives lest from all causes, includ-

ing passengers and crew, was 368.

herever commerce is there human life is also. It is not unfair, therefore, in discussing the relation of commerce to the Coast and Geodetic Survey to introduce this human-life feature. But if we were to ignore it altogether, the commerce side of the question is formidable enough. We can even afford to eliminate the Government's own interest, including naval vessels and the fleets of the various departments, including that of the Army, which, although it is not generally known, includes about 2,500 vessels. All these have to do with the work of the Coast and Geodetic Survey; but my purpose now is to introduce the commercial statistics so far as I have been able to assemble them. I am unable to give the figures with respect to our coastwise trade. For some unaccountable reason Congress has never made any appropriation to enable us to obtain statistics as to the business done along the Atlantic seaboard. I presume the same condition prevails on our other coasts.

ESTIMATING COASTWISE TONNAGE FROM LOSSES.

The Secretary of Commerce has sought to obtain appropriations for this purpose, but they have not been granted to him. It is a fair presumption, however, that our coastwise trade in tonnage and value is not far below that of our foreign trade. However, this is but a guess. We have haphazard statistics brought up through commercial bodies, but they are not de-However, we can tell something about our losses. They constitute so small a percentage of the entire commerce of the coast as to be an indication of its magnitude. A few years ago a voluntary board of experts reported to the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association that in 10 years, from 1900 to 1909, inclusive, there had been no less than 5,700 disasters to shipping along the Atlantic seaboard. The loss of 2,200 lives was involved and more than \$40,000,000 worth of property was destroyed. If these figures may be relied upon, and they were taken principally from the Life-Saving Bureau statistics, it is to be inferred that the volume of trade along the Atlantic seaboard that passed safely was enormous.

We are more fortunate with regard to statistics in our foreign trade, all of which, of course, passes from or returns to the United States through charted waterways. A perusal of these figures is illuminating. They throw much light upon mooted questions with respect to tonnage and values in geographical divisions of the United States, and they serve to emphasize the value of the Coast and Geodetic Survey. I intend to present as a part of this address an official statement by the Department of Commerce of the number and net tonnage of sailing and steam vessels entered and cleared in the foreign trade of the United States during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1914, but for convenience shall summarize the totals. Our greatest foreign trade, tonnage and values considered, is along the Atlantic seaboard, but including the Pacific, the Gulf, and the Great Lakes the number of vessels coming and going during the year referred to was 80,667. Their net tonnage aggregated 106,571,986, and their total value was \$3,785,468,512. The detailed statement is as follows:

SIGNIFICANT FOREIGN COMMERCE STATISTICS.

Number and net tonnage of sailing and steam vessels entered and cleared in the foreign trade of the United States during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1914.

[By geographical divisions.]

Geographical divisions.	En	itered.	Cl	eared.	Total entered and cleared.		
Conference of	Vessels.	Net tons.	Vessels.	Net tons.	Vessels.	Net tons.	
Atlantic	10, 489 5, 319 4, 697 20, 512	26, 401, 314 6, 042, 347 7, 008, 628 13, 336, 288	10, 084 5, 236 4, 986 19, 344	25, 491, 836 5, 798, 238 8, 453, 138 13, 440, 197	20, 573 10, 555 9, 683 39, 856	51,893,150 11,840,585 16,061,766 26,776,485	
Total	41,017	53, 388, 577	39,650	53, 183, 409	80,667	106, 571, 986	

Total values of imports and exports into and from the United States during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1914.

[By mode of transportation and geographical divisions.]

Geographical divisions.	Imports.	Exports.	Total imports and exports.
Water borne: Atlantic. Pacific. Gulf. Great Lakes. Interior.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Doltars.
	1,360,519,398	1, 209, 062, 457	2, 659, 581, 855
	130,767,796	125, 991, 894	256, 759, 690
	120,983,430	570, 139, 028	691, 122, 453
	104,996,047	52, 565, 775	157, 561, 822
	20,441,982	705	20, 442, 687
Total water borne	1, 737, 708, 653	2, 047, 759, 859	3, 785, 468, 512
	156, 217, 004	316, 819, 289	473, 036, 293
Total	1, 893, 925, 657	2, 364, 579, 148	4, 258, 501, 805

Note.—The above tables cover only the commerce of the United States with foreign countries. No data are available for the domestic coastwise commerce. A COMMERCE WORTH WORKING FOR.

These figures relating to foreign and domestic commerce, which may be credited up to our aids to navigation, speak eloquently for themselves. It is to be regretted that they do not speak loud enough to be heard by the beneficiaries in commerce whose interest in a continuance of the service would assist in procuring for it the congressional recognition it deserves. Men of commerce, if they would only stop long enough to consider the needs of the service which serves them, could speak more eloquently upon this subject than can the tireless workers who heave the lead and draw the wire drags. In the presence of scientists and explorers, professors of universities, and picked men of the Army and Navy, I shall not attempt a discussion of the technical phases of the Coast and Geodetic Sur-I am fairly familiar with the practical side of it, and that, I take it, is about equal to the average information possessed by the millions of passengers who sail upon the steamboats and the thousands of merchants and traders who busy themselves with the commerce that seeks the markets of the world.

I know what it means for a vessel to run upon the sands; I can understand the sensation of striking a pinnacle rock. If I were the captain of a merchant vessel I would not enjoy a meeting with the owners if the ship entrusted to my care had run upon a bar that was not marked in last year's chart. If I were captain of a naval vessel under like circumstances I would expect to be court-martialed. I think all of us, scientists or laymen, understand the significance of running a ship aground, And yet it is not impossible that a new captain with an old chart, or a smart captain without any chart at all, may find that the shifting sands have made impassable the course he ran when he made his voyage the year before. It is not improbable that venturing into new territory he may run upon the point of a rock which he did not know was there. All these things have occurred to captains of merchant vessels, and even to officers of the highest skill in the Navy. It is because these things have happened and because they are bound to happen so long as the winds blow and the tides ebb and flow, that the work of the Coast and Geodetic Survey must be supported and extended.

SURVEYING IN DISTANT TERRITORY.

We can not adequately survey a coast line of 10,000 miles with men and equipment for 5,000 miles. We can not increase the area over which the force must operate without increasing the force. We can not successfully survey the Philippine Islands and our other island possessions and continue effectively the work along the shore lines of continental United States without neglecting a part of the work in one place or the other; and yet it is evident so long as nature continues to roll the waves of the ocean against our sandy shores that the changes must be studied and observed.

Compare the work that is going on in Alaska with the work along the lower regions of the Mississippi River. The Coast and Geodetic Survey has recently made a relocation of the Kuskokwim River, which empties into the Bering Sea. Commerce is picking its way along that river into the rapidly developing Alaskan Territory; but men and vessels were required to do this work, and they had to be drawn from other sections of the country. The Kuskokwim River, wonderful stream that it is, is only an insignificant part of the work that is awaiting the surveyors in Alaskan waters. The pinnacle rock prevails in that territory, and, left uncharted, threatens the vessels which attempt to enter it; and yet the surveyors have only begun their work in Alaska.

MISSISSIPPI AND THE ATLANTIC.

Now, as to the Gulf approaches to the Mississippi: The com-

wonders at this point. The original depth of 10 fathoms of water off Southeast Pass of the Mississippi has shoaled up to a a few feet only. Big ships can no longer enter. When the commercial public grows tired of denouncing pork-barrel appropriations for rivers and harbors it may find food for serious thought in the proposition that commerce is more interested in the maintenance of channels than are the overworked engineers of the United States Army, or even the Members of Congress, who stand a good deal of unwarranted abuse because they endeavor to keep the channels of commerce in order.

In closing, I wish to refer to the Atlantic seaboard. I am interested in the safety of life and commerce on all our coasts, but by reason of familiarity with the Atlantic coast, I may be pardoned for calling attention to a few of its needs. some day, as many experts think probable, the Caribbean Sea should become the base of a great naval warfare. Florida undoubtedly would become a center of American activities. Her inland waterways, so far as they are fit, would be serviceable for supply and munition ships and for small vessels of the Navy. We can not count too much on these waterways now, for they have not been improved as they should have been. But what layman ever knew, or knows now, that the Coast and Geodetic Survey has 72,000 square miles of hydrographic surveying ahead of it before all sides of the Florida coast are thoroughly covered?

Our needs by way of protection against reefs and shoals around the Florida coast are far more extensive than they are in the Alaskan waters, and yet in Alaska but 8 per cent of the navigable waters have been surveyed to the satisfaction of the

DANGERS OF CAPE HATTERAS.

The dangers of Cape Hatteras are known to every American, and the currents that abound on that treacherous coast demand the frequent inspection and oversight of the chart makers. Just above Hatteras, along the North Carolina coast, the shore line is constantly changing, as is well known. Inlets close and open according to the whims of nature. It is an interesting historical fact that no living man is now able to locate the inlet through which passed the Sir Walter Raleigh expedition, which made the first English settlement on Roanoke Island in That the vessels of Amidas and Barlow entered Croatan Sound is well established, but the channel through which they came has long since disappeared.

The closing of inlets as far north as New York has not been of infrequent occurrence in the course of the last century, nor has the accretion or recession of land where the waves and

storms have played upon it.

Near Chincoteague Inlet, Va., is a comparatively new harbor, known as the Assateague anchorage. It owes its existence to a natural change in the coast line at the south end of Assateague Is and, which has converted an exposed bight into a well-protected and much-frequented harbor. This harbor is preferred by local shipping to some of the artificial harbors of refuge along the coast. It has an added importance because it is the only harbor between the entrances to the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays, but it must be examined frequently in order that the shifting sands may be so charted as not to deceive the mariner.

SHOALS ALONG THE NEW JERSEY COAST.

Advancing along the coast to the New Jersey and Delaware shores, where shipping increases, it is observed that at the present time the Coast and Geodetic Survey stands in need of funds to survey and resurvey about 13,000 square miles offshore. There are shoals constantly forming on these shores which should be examined and charted in the interests of navigation. This is an area which is presumed to have passed the pioneer stage, but it evinces that same disposition to conform to the forces of nature that prevail in less frequented waters.

More remarkable than this, however, is the situation with respect to the waters approaching the great metropolis of New York. The rivers and harbors bill now pending in the House of Representatives carries an appropriation of \$700,000 to extend and deepen the channel from the sea to the Brooklyn Navy Yard, a very important work that should have been completed long ago. The reason for this appropriation is that there are obstructions in the channel, possibly of rock formation, which make navigation perilous for the dreadnaughts of the When vessels of 12 feet draft were sailing into New York Harbor it made no difference about this channel, but the increase in the size and draft of vessels has made a difference and the lead and the drag must be invoked again.

ROCKS A MENACE IN EAST BIVER, N. Y.

There are rocks in the East River, as everyone knows. merce in that vicinity warrants a careful and accurate survey. of them are of the pinnacle type, and, strange as it may seem, We are informed that nature's constant changes have worked have only recently been located. As late as 1915 the wire drag

was used by the Coast Survey in the East River, locating certain dangerous shoals, which are a menace to navigation, and which in the event of war would seriously handicap our battleships. If commercial New York, exposed as it is to the guns of a hostile fleet, is just beginning to make discoveries of new formations and obstructions in its waterways, it is high time that the people elsewhere along our coast line should wake up to the importance of increasing and developing the Coast and Geodetic

I have not time to further discuss the work along the Atlantic coast, except to say that the Maine waters abound in rocks and shoals. The wire-drag service is badly needed there, as it is all along the New England coast. The report of a recent survey in the vicinity of the Rockland naval trial course discovered no less than four shoals, on any one of which a battleship might have been seriously damaged. It is noteworthy also that in a survey of the approaches to Narragansett Bay, one of our most beautiful sheets of water, evidences of hidden formations were discovered. As late as 1914 the wire-drag party found no less than 50 shoals at the entrance to Buzzards Bay, from which vessels now pick their way into the newly constructed Cape Cod Canal.

A WORD TO THE BENEFICIARIES.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is as far as my time will permit me to go. Enough has been said, I trust, to show the value of the Coast and Geodetic Survey Service to commerce and the Nation. What has been said I hope may attract the favorable attention of those who reap the advantages of the service without knowing the difficulties with which it has to contend. The Coast and Geodetic Survey is worthy the highest praise that you and I can bestow upon it. It has had a long and useful career. It has been less appreciated than it deserves. Its work is not finished; it never will be. So long as the winds and tidal currents exist, so long as the waters of the ocean beat upon our shores, so long as the waterways and canals of the interior are capable of bearing the burden of commerce, just so long will the work of the survey be necessary for the promotion of trade and the preservation of life and property.

Arkansas River, Ark. and Okla.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. H. M. JACOWAY.

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Friday, April 7, 1916.

Mr. JACOWAY. Mr. Chairman, I wish to incorporate into my remarks at this time an argument made by me before the Committee on Rivers and Harbors of the House February 2,

COMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, February 2, 1916.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a.m.
The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Taylor, are you ready to proceed?
Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, I would like to proceed now with our side, as this is the day set for it. I present, first, Mr. JACOWAY, who desires to speak in regard to the improvement of the Arkansas River.

STATEMENT OF HON. H. M. JACOWAY, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM ARKANSAS,

ARKANSAS.

Mr. Jacoway. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, to my certain knowledge this committee has been in session for a number of weeks listening to the arguments of Congressmen, Senators, and various representatives of commercial bodies from many sections in regard to various and sundry river and harbor projects. I appreciate the fact that the committee is more or less tired, and for that reason will go through with the remarks I have to submit to the committee in as hasty a manner as the subject will permit.

I will try to reduce my remarks to the least possible compass and present the subject in the light of testimony that has been taken in regard to the Arkansas River being made navigable, at least from its mouth to Ozark, in Franklin County. When that is done, I will leave the final disposition of this important question to the good sense and the judgment of this committee for them to decide what projects shall be incorporated into the rivers and harbors bill for Arkansas River for the coming year.

In stating my case, Mr. Chairman, I will be very frank to say that we have the favorable report of the district engineer's office at Little Rock, Ark., and have an unfavorable report from the division engineer and the Chief of Engineers of the War Department, Gen. Kingman. I contend that in this case the report of the district engineer should prevail, due to the fact that he has more first-hand, complete, and defailed knowledge of the project than the Chief of Engineers has or

can possibly have. This matter should not be lightly passed and ifficustation of the considered by this committee.

The CHAIRMAN, You are addressing yourself to the report on the Arkansas River made by the Board of Engineers to the Chief of Engineers in response to a provision in the rivers and harbors to the Chief of Engineers in response to a provision in the rivers and harbors of Engineers in response to a provision in the rivers and harbors who died?

Mr. BEROSS, Is this A. B. Putnam the engineer who was formerly stationed at Little Rock, Ark.

The the control of the committee by stating that the Arkansas River has been the subject of serious consideration by the Pederal Government ever since the year 1832. The first project that was adopted for this river was in that year, and it called for snage stationed at the control of the committee by stating that the Arkansas River has been the subject of serious consideration by the River up to and including the year 1869, one year after the Civil War, at which time a ocal project was taken on for Fort Smith in 1876. In 1876 the Arkansas From Fort Smith to Wichita, Kans., received a 1880 a local project for Pine Bioff was also added and an appropriation made for this city. In 1886 improvement on the river between Little Rock and the Mississippl River, at a cost of \$2.588,544 received the second of the control of the control of the Chief of

growth of the West than of the growth of a state of the document.

"It is a difficult matter to give in condensed form any idea of the immense quantity of produce that is waiting the opening of this river to navigation.

"In a short reach from Dardanelle to Fort Smith, on the south side of the river only, about 70,000 bales of cotton are raised now, and the amount is steadily increasing. This cotton can be sent to New Orleans at 60 cents per bale by boat. If sent by rail, it costs \$2.25 per bale, exclusive of ferriage and cost of hauling by wagons. Corn and wheat command good prices in Little Rock, but the railroad rates are so high that it can not be moved.

"Timber that sells in Little Rock as high as \$75 per 1.000 is abundant in this section, but can not be marketed owing to the high freight rates.

"What has been said of this section applies with greater or less force to the entire reach from Little Rock to Fort Smith. A just conception of what benefits are likely to accrue can only be found by looking at some great fertile river valley in the Northern or Eastern States as they were years ago and as they are now, since settled up and with its river improved.

"What benefits have accrued to that community will surely accrue to this, with this addition, that the mineral resources of this valley are to be added. Its coal products alone and its wealth of timber will place it well to the fore.

"When the vast acreage of the Indian Territory is brought under cultivation its products must go this way. That already well-known and exceedingly fertile State of Kansas will find Fort Smith or Little Rock its nearest water outlet eventually.

"It will be seen how difficult it is to handle this question briefly if it is borne in mind that, with deep water to New Orleans from the Gulf, the Mississippi improved, and the Arkansas River navigable to Little Rock by boats drawing 5 feet of water, we have the conditions likely to exist when the improvements are completed.

"I have, therefore, only attempted to outline this matter, and trust that when this portion of the report is read a map of the territory covered may be had in mind, as this will probably be of itself the strongest proof that the benefits likely to accrue can but be too yast to summarize in a report like this."

He also states that this plan, with the estimates, is condensed, from the fact that the time to prepare it has been limited. He said further:

"This plan, with the estimates, is condensed from the fact that the time to prepare it has been limited. Time has been given to elaboration in examinations rather than to elaboration in this plan. The data is at hand for elaboration if the same is desired."

Mr. Kennedy. What date is that, Mr. Jacoway?

Mr. Jacoway. That is 1888.

Mr. Booner. Will you please state again what you said the rates on cotton by river and rail are, and the points?

Mr. Jacoway. Col. Taber said the rates by rail were \$2.25 per bale, and if shipped by boat it was 60 cents per bale.

Mr. Kennedy. From what point to what point?

Mr. Jacoway. He takes the initial point of shipment as Dardanelle and terminating at New Orleans.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you state now what the rates are from the same point to the same point?

The CHAIRMAN. The river point?

The CHAIRMAN. The river point?

Mr. Jacoway. No; I can not, offhand, but will supply this information to the committee. I will state now, for the benefit of the committee. If you desire, I can put into my remarks a table showing those rates.

The CHAIRMAN. We would be glad to have you do that.

STATEMENT OF TRAFFIC BUREAU OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, PINE BLUFF, ARK.

Statement showing the present rail rates and the boat rates from river points to Pine Bluff, Ark.

	Class rates.										
From-	First class.		Second class.		Third class.		Fourth class.				
	Rail.	River.	Rail.	River.	Rail.	River.	Rail.	River.			
Cincinnati, Ohio. Louisville, Ky. St. Louis, Mo. Memphis, Tenn.	\$1:219 1:128 1:00 .78	\$0.75 .75 .75 .45	\$1.026 .956 .85 .60	\$0.65 .65 .65 .36	\$0.782 .722 .65 .45	\$0.50 .50 .50 .30	\$0.598 .548 .49 .36	\$0.40 .40 .40			

Freight moving from Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis to Pine Bluff is handled by 3 boat lines and from Memphis by 2 lines.

The above rates have been effective for only 1 year, and it will be noted that they are from 20 to 75 per cent lower than the rail rates.

The estimated saving to the Pine Bluff shippers during the past year on traffic from these points alone is \$4,000, and the movement is doubling every few months.

Statement comparing the class rates from St. Louis, Mo., to Pinz Bluff and Little Rock, Ark., with the rates to various other points where the distance is the same or greater.

				10	lass rate	es (cents	per 100 j	pounds).				m .tm
From-	Miles.	.1	.2	3	4	. 5	A	В	С	D	Е	Tariffs,
St, Louis to— Pine Bluff and Little Rock, Ark. Topeka, Kans. Emporia, Kans. Lincoln, Nebr. St. Paul, Minn Duluth, Minn Mobile, Ala. Pensacola, Fla. New Orleans, La	358 345 392 491 576 686 866 761 701	100 80 96 65 63 78 90 90	85 62 74 50 52½ 66 75 75 75	65 49 58 39 42 53 65 65 65	49 39 46 31 26 34 50 50	37 28 37 25 21 26 40 40 40	39 32 42 27½ 26 34	.32 .26 .33 .22½ .21 .26	27 22 26 20 18 23	23 18 21 16½ 15 20	18 15 16 14 13} 19	1 4 4 4 5 5 5 (1) (1) 2
Chicago to— St. Paul, Minn Kansas City, Mo Memphis, Tenn Mobile, Ala. Pensacola, Fla	442 -451 -535 -866 912	60 80 85 110 110	50 65 65 90 90	40 45 55 75 75	25 32 43 58 58	20 27 37 47 47	25 32	20 27	17 22	14 18½	13 16	(1) 5 (1) (1)
Cincinnati to— Mobile, Ala New Orleans, La Pensacola, Fla Birmingham, Ala Louisville to—	784 923 768 508	98 98 98 98	83 83 83 79	73 73 73 68	54 54 54 55	44 44 44 47						(1) (1) (1) (1) (1)
Montgomery, Ala Mobile, Ala New Orleans, La Pensacola, Fia New York to—	491 670 -809 -654	98 90 90 90	87 75 75 75	78 65 65 65	62 50 50 50	50 40 40 40						(2)
Cincinnati, Ohio. Louisville, Ky. Evansville, Ind. Padueah, Ky. Memphis, Tenn Nashville, Tenn	750 850 987 1,092 1,160 1,047	65 75 83 90 100 91	57 65 72 78 85 78	44 50 55 60 65 60	30 35 39 42 45 42	26 30 33 36 38 36						0000000
8t. Paul to South Pakota. Iowa to— Kansas and Nebraska State of Texas State of Oklahoma. State of Arkansas.	360 360 360 360 360	89 86 80 85 82	75 72 72 70 69	57 60 58 57	43 58 50 45	36 34 44 43 33	36 34 46 40 37	31 30 40 33 28½	27 26 34 27 244	22 22 23 20 20 ³	18 17 17 16 161	100

¹ I. C. C. Decision 30, I. C. C., 153.

Tariffs used: 1, F. A. Leland's, S. W. L., I. C. C., 1058; 2, M. P. Washburn's, I. C. C., 119; 3, W. T. L., I. C. C., A602; 4, W. T. L., I. C. C., A494; 5, W. T. L., I. C. C., A422; 6, C. E. Fulton's, I. C. C., A108; 7, I. C. C. Decision 30, I. C. C., 662; 8, I. C. C. Decision 28, I. C. C., 193; 9, Railroad Commission of Texas rates; 10, Railroad Commission of Arkansas rates.

Effect of water competition on rail rates at Memphis, Tenn., as against Pine Bluff and Little Rock, Ark.

· From—								
Buffalo, N. Y.	Detroit, Mich.	Cleveland, Ohio.	Dayton, Ohio.	Cincinnati, Ohio.	Kansas City, Mo.	St. Louis,		
815 952	752 889	756 893	548 685	494 631	484 514	305 358 \$0, 65		
1.527	1, 425	1.425	1.342	1. 219	1.10	1.00		
. 0321 1. 062 . 465 9. 30	. 0242 . 0321 1. 076 . 35 7. 00	.0319 1.075 .35 7.00	.0274 .0392 .937 .405 8,10	.0386 .958 .26 5,20	.0331 .0428 .849 .251 5.02	.0426 .0558 .763 .237 4,74		
	815 952 \$0.91 1,527 .0223 .0321 1,062	815 752 889 \$0.91 \$0.91 1.527 1.425 .0223 .0321 .0321 1.062 1.076	N. Y. Mich. Ohio. 815 752 756 952 889 893 \$0.91 \$0.91 \$0.91 1.527 1.425 1.425 .0223 .0242 .0241 .0321 .0321 .0329 1.062 1.076 1.076	Buffalo, N. Y. Detroit, Cleveland, Ohio. Dayton, Ohio. 815 752 756 548 952 889 893 685 \$0.91 \$0.91 \$0.91 \$0.75 1.527 1.425 1.425 1.342 .0223 .0242 .0241 .0274 .0321 .0321 .0319 .0392 1.062 1.076 1.075 937	Buffalo, N. Y. Detroit, Cleveland, Ohio. Dayton, Ohio. 815 752 756 548 494 952 889 893 685 631 \$0.91 \$0.91 \$0.91 \$0.75 \$0.75 1.527 1.425 1.425 1.342 1.219 .0223 .0242 .0241 .0274 .0304 .0321 .0321 .0319 .0392 .0386 1.062 1.076 1.075 .937	Buffalo, N. Y. Detroit, Mich. Cleveland, Ohio. Dayton, Ohio. Cincinnati, Ohio. Kansas City, Mo. 815 752 756 548 494 484 952 889 883 685 631 514 \$0.91 \$0.91 \$0.91 \$0.75 \$0.75 \$0.80 1.527 1.425 1.425 1.342 1.219 1.10 .0223 .0242 .0241 .0274 .0304 .0331 .0321 .0321 .0319 .0392 .0385 .0428 1.062 1.076 1.075 .937 .958 .849		

EXHIBIT A .- Through all-rail class rates applying to Pine Bluff, Ark. (western classification).

From—		Classes (cents per 100 pounds).										
		2	3	4	5	A	В	c	D	E		
Atlanta-Knoxville. Birmingham-Chattanooga. Chicago, Ill. Cincinnati, Ohio. Dayton-South Bend, Ind.	116 110 120 120 132	98 93 101 101 112	75 71 77 77 77 85	57 54 59 59 65	42 40 44 44 48	46 43 48 48 50	37 35 40 40 42	32 30 34 34 34 37	28 26 29 29	2 2 2 2 2 2		
Des Moines. Detroit-Caveland Louisville, Ky	125 140 111	107 130 94	83 92	63 68 54	45 53 40	49 55 43	40	35 39 30	31 35 26			
Macon Miwaukee, Wis Nashville, Tenn	121 120 106	102 101 90	71 77 77 69	59 59 52	43 44 39	47 48 42 59	35 38 40 34	33 34 29	29 29 25			
Pittsburgh, Pa.	150	130	97	72	56	59	48	43	39	1		

Tariff reference: Leland's S. W. L. Tariff 45 J, I. C. C. 1017.
Water rates applying by boat from Memphis, Tenn., to Pine Bluff, Ark. Classes: 1, 45 cents; 2, 40 cents; 3, 30 cents; 4, 25 cents; 5, 25 cents.

EXHIBIT B .- All-rail rates in effect to Memphis, Tenn. (southern classification).

From—		Classes (cents per 100 pounds).											
	Note.	1	2	3	4	5	6	A	В	c	D	E	н
Chicago, Ill Cincinnati, Ohio Cleveland, Ohio Dayton, Ohio Detroit, Mich Louisville, Ky Milwaukee Nashville, Tenn Pittsburgh, Pa. St. Paul, Minn South Bend, Ind	C A B B A C A B D B	85 75 91 75 91 65 91 50 91 115 85	65 60 70 60 70 50 70 38 70 90 65	55 55 59 55 59 45 59 35 59 76	43 40 46 40 46 35 46 27 46 61 43	37 35 39 35 39 30 39 23 39 51 37	31 30 33 30 33 25 33 19 33 44 31	21 20 23 20 23 15 23 11 23 31 21	32 30 34 31 34 26 34 21 34 43 33	21 30 23 30 23 15 23 16 23 23	18 17 20 17 20 12 20 9 20	25 24 27 24 27 24 27 20 27 15 27 43 25	5 4 5 4 5 4 5 3 5 6

Tariffs naming rates not available for Atlanta, Ga., Knoxville, Tenn., Birmingham, Ala., Chattanooga, Tenn., Macon, Ga.
Tariff references: A, Washburn's Mississippi River Points Tariff No. 6, I. C. C., 88; B, Eugene Morris's Tariff 15 H, I. C. C., 471; C, C. E. F Iton's Tariff 108 E, I. C. C.
A 108; D, W. H. Hosmer's W. T. L. Tariff 80 A, I. C. C., A 421.

Mr. KENNEDY. The report here says it would have no effect on freight

Mr. Kennedy. The report here says it would have no effect on freight rates.

Mr. Taylor. Here is a gentleman who has investigated, and he gives this not only of his own knowledge but from the tariff commission.

Mr. Jacoway. I will just state, Mr. Chairman, that the consensus of opinion is this, and it is by experts that the reduction in the freight rates to the people of Arkansas that will necessarily follow from improvement of the Arkansas River from its mouth to the Oklahoma line will be a decrease of from 30 to 300 per cent. I think this statement will be abundantly borne out by the facts.

Mr. Frear. May I ask a question?

Mr. Jacoway. Yes.

Mr. Frear. Is this the report of Col. Harry Taylor, the one that you have been reading from?

Mr. Jacoway. No: this is Col. H. S. Taber.

Mr. Frear. Col. Harry Taylor, I see, was present at the hearing in November, 1915

Mr Jacoway. This is 1888. That which I have just stated is borne out by the testimony of Col. Taber. This project for the Arkansas River received his sincere official approval. He says it is not only feasible but it is practicable, and that the Government can carry it to a successful consummation with a slight outlay of money in comparison to what It spends upon other streams of less dignity and far less merit. In a later report, which will be designated as Document No. 510, Sixty-first Congress, second session, and for the information of the committee, I want to quote from the report made by Maj. Walker. In that report he says, Mr. Chairman, speaking of freight rates, page 7:

"That the freight rate on coal from the coal fields west of Little Rock is exorbitant in comparison with the rates from other fields there is no doubt. The rates from the southern Illinois fields are shown in the following:

"Southern Illinois fields to East St. Louis, 76 miles, \$0.36 per ton:

doubt. The rates from the southern Illinois fields are shown in the following:
"Southern Illinois fields to East St. Louis, 76 miles, \$0.36 per ton; southern Illinois fields to Chicago, 260 miles, \$0.90 per ton; southern

Illinois fields to Memphis, 239 miles, \$1 per ton; Spadra (Arkansas) to Little Rock, 105 miles, \$1.25 per ton; southern Illinois fields to Little Rock, 335 miles, \$2.70; southern Illinois fields to Monroe, La., 530 miles, \$2.25 per ton; southern Illinois fields to Monroe, La., 530 miles, \$2.60."

Now, in that report which I have just read to you he says, further:

"Showing the average rate out of the southern Illinois fields to the several places mentioned as 4.7 mills a ton-mile, while out of the Arkansas field to Little Rock it is 12 mills a ton-mile, the rate out of the latter field being nearly two and one-half times that out of the former."

He makes comment, as follows:

"Taking Denning, 119 miles from Little Rock, as representing the average point of origin for coal shipments, and taking one-half a cent a ton-mile as reasonable charge for haulage and 20 cents a ton flat for terminal costs, on account of short haul, the reasonable rate out of the Arkansas coal fields to Little Rock becomes 80 cents a ton, a reduction of 45 cents a ton on the present rate."

In other words, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, every ton of coal shipped out of Spadra or Denning fields by river transportation, the rate now being prohibitive on the rallroad, there would be saved to the city of Little Rock in freight rates on coal alone the magnificent sum of \$86,500 a year, as reflected by the report of Maj. Walker: and it will be far greater now, for this report of Maj. Walker was made in 1910 and this is 1916.

Mr. Frean. May I ask you a question right there?

Mr. Jacowax, Just a minute. He further says that the saving of freight rates to the other towns between Fort Smith and Little Rock, Ozark, such towns as Coal Hill, Atkins, Clarksville, Dardanelle, Russellville, Plummerville, Argenta, Morritton, and Conway, an additional saving on coal alone of another \$86,500 a year, making, in all, \$176,000 a year saving on coal rates to the State of Arkansas. He makes the other significant suggestion that there would be an a

Now. your question, Mr. FREAR.
Mr. FREAR. I was going to ask, after 18 years succeeding the report, how many tons of coal have been carried on the Arkansas River last

how many tons of coal have been carried on the Arkansas River last year?

Mr. Jacoway. I will state, in response to your question, that there has been no way of ascertaining how much freight moves upon the Arkansas River. I regret that such is the case.

With all due respect to the engineer's report, it states that the tonnage upon the Arkansas River is decreasing each year; it also says that only 55,000 tons of freight was moved upon the Arkansas River last year. In answer I wish to say to this committee that this is as erroneous a statement as was ever incorporated into a public document. If the engineer who made that report had looked west out of his window across the river to the Big Rock Stone & Construction Co, and then secured the tonnage of crushed rock that went alone from there for the purpose of revetting the banks of the Mississippi River he would have found in that single item that last year 160,000 tons of crushed rock went down the Arkansas River for the purpose of improving the Mississippi River banks.

Mr. Freere how far was that carried?

Mr. Jacoway. That was carried from Little Rock to the mouth of the Arkansas River, a distance of 174 miles, and how much farther I do not know.

Mr. Treasnway. In view of Mr. Jacoway's statement, contradicting

do not know.

Mr. Treanway. In view of Mr. Jacoway's statement, contradicting so completely the report of the Chief of Engineers, I would like to ask the gentlemen if they can suggest any way in which the committee can secure information, if we do not put credence in statements such as

can secure information, if we do not put credence in statements such as are submitted to us?

Mr. Jacoway. I will state that a member of the Arkansas delegation attempted to get from the War Department the total tonnage that floated upon the Arkansas River last year, what boats carried it, what was the nature of the tonnage, when it was shipped, and, as yet, we have been unable to get it. I do know that when this report says that only 55,000 tons of freight went down the Arkansas River last year it is an erroneous statement. I do not say it was incorporated into the report intentionally, but, perhaps, it was unintentionally and unwittingly done.

have been unable to get it. I do know that when this report says that only 55,000 tons of freight went down the Arkansas River last year it is an erroneous statement. I do not say it was incorporated into the report intentionally, but, perhaps, it was unintentionally and unwittingly done.

The Chairman. Are you able to supply this statement?

Mr. Jacowax. I think I can; and the reason I know about this tonnage is due to this fact; I introduced a bill last year having for its object the purchase of 15 acres of land from Fort Logan H. Root, across the river, for the use and benefit of the Big Rock Stone & Construction Co. In a way I was recognized by Speaker Clark, on account of it being in the nature of an emergency matter, and by talking with Mr. W. W. Dickinson I found this to be true. This fact was further shown, and in the testimony taken before the board of engineers at Little Rock in November last I think I will have no trouble whatever in getting that tonnage for the committee.

Mr. Treadway, In statistical form?

Mr. Jacoway, I do not know. Mr. Dickinson can give a detailed statement and possibly will state, I suppose, that he shipped so many tons of rock.

The Chairman, Are you speaking of the entire tonnage on the river?

Mr. Jacoway, I do not suppose I can get all of that. I would not say I could.

Mr. BOOHER, Could it not be obtained through the boards of trade along the river?

Mr. Jacoway, I do not see how it could, Mr. BOOHER, for this reason: They keep no record of freight inbound and outbound; and I think that is one weak point in the engineer's department down there.

The Chairman, If the people were to make an effort to get that done, I think that committee wants information along that line I invite their careful reading of the hearings held in Little Rock in November. A copy of these hearings is before you now on the table.

Mr. Pream, Mr. Jacoway, on page 719 of the Engineer's Report it is stated that 2,696 tons of coal were shipped 7 miles. That is all it shows in the last report. Of course

Mr. Frear. I was speaking of the report, which you may not have seen before.

Mr. Treadway. Not as a question to Mr. Jacoway, but may I ask, for information personally as a member of the committee, in what manner do the Board of Engineers secure their information which is incorporated in these reports?

The Chairman. In various ways, but chiefly from boards of trade and other commercial bodies near the water in the way of replies to questions seeking the desired information.

Mr. Treeadway. I think, in view of the Representative's statement that this is a gross error, for the information of the committee we ought either to secure further details as to where they secure their figures or else secure them ourselves.

Mr. Jacoway, I will answer your question again, if you will permit me. In the report of Maj. Putnam for this year—

The Chairman. Just one moment. In some instances communities appoint a committee on statistics and have them gather and furnish data to the engineers, which are incorporated in their reports. But these statistics may be gathered in other ways.

Mr. Treadway. That evidently has not been done in this case, because the statistics are not satisfactory to the representatives.

Mr. Booher. I find here on page 84 of the hearings a letter that was introduced.

Mr. Jacoway. Answering the question further, I call attention to Document No. 461, present session, on page 9. Maj. Putnam, the district engineer for Little Rock, at the bottom of the page, section 7, says:

"I have not available an analysis of the freight movement in the

says:

"I have not available an analysis of the freight movement in the Arkansas Valley from which to determine the quantity that would be affected in dependable transportation lines on the Arkansas River. In the report upon the examination of the river between Little Rock and Ozark, this was given as 608,000 tons for that 144 miles of river. Of this quantity 400,000 tons was coal. By using this as a basis, the assumption may be made that the total tonnage of freights that would be affected by dependable transportation lines on the Arkansas River from its mouth to Muskogee and Fort Gibson would be 675,000 tons of general freights and 600,000 tons of coal, making a total of 1,275,000 tons."

May I supplement this statement with the observation that if the committee will read the reports of Col. Taber, Maj. Walker, and Maj. Putnam, referred to by me, and then in addition read the hearings held at Little Rock, Ark., in November last, the most doubting will be convinced that the tonnage on the Arkansas River will be forthcoming when the river is made navigable by the Federal Government.

Another thing, Mr. Chairman, when you come to study what would be the tonnage for the Arkansas River—
Mr. Treadwax. Pardon me just a moment, in that same connection. Just continue that, Jacowax.

Mr. Jacowax (resuming reading):

"The actual freight movement on the river during the 10-year period ending with the calendar year 1913 was:

Year.	Short tons.	Value.
1905 (ending May 31) 1906 (ending May 31) 1907 (ending May 31) 1908 (ending May 31) 1909 (ending May 31) 1910 (ending May 31) 1910 (calendar year) 1911 (calendar year) 1912 (calendar year) 1913 (calendar year)	103, 214 104, 593 103, 919 92, 455 62, 172 59, 516 81, 371 71, 516	\$1,636,930 1,512,719 2,192,531 2,150,269 2,122,105 1,630,338 1,612,288 1,085,018 1,170,990 573,089

The next statement is for each calendar year from 1905 to 1913. Taking that as correct testimony in this case, he makes it for 1913, 55,228 tons.

Mr. Treadway. That is in accordance with the other report?

Mr. Jacoway. That is in accordance with the other report. That statement is made and will be found on page 10.

Again, Mr. Chairman, when you speak of tonnage for the Arkansas River, any man who will study this proposition carefully and painstakingly and go into it in detail, having for his object the ascertainment of truth, he will be unalterably driven to the conclusion that this proposition is most practicable and most feasible, and should receive generous favor at the hands of Congress.

Referring again to the testimony taken before the Board of Engineers at Little Rock, we have a statement by a man who has been in the coal businesses in Arkansas for 25 years, Mr. James P. Hoye, a man of unquestioned integrity and a successful businesses man. In the statement are some remarkable observations. He states that there are 131,000 acres of coal alone between Little Rock and Ozark, and that each year there is being produced a tonnage of 960,000.

He further states that these mines have an annual capacity of 2,000,000 tons per year.

This is not hearsay on the part of Mr. Hoye. That statement made by him is not chimerical, but is based upon solid facts. He states that this coal is located as follows: Shinn Basin, 3,000 acres; Ouita Basin, 2,500 acres; Spadra, north side of river, 14,000 acres; Parife View, south side of river, 20,000 acres; Denning, 3,000 acres; Parife View, south side of river, 20,000 acres; and eastern Oklahoma, 50,000 acres; Sebastian, 35,000 acres; and eastern Oklahoma, 50,000 acres; Sebastian, 35,000 acres; and eastern Oklahoma, 50,000 acres; Afr. Wingo. That does not include either Scott County or Crawford County.

Mr. Jacoway, I think not.

View, south side of river, 20,000 acres; Denning, 3,000 acres; Paris, 4,000 acres; And eastern Oklahoma, 50,000 acres, making a total of 131,000 acres.

Mr. Wixoo. That does not include either Scott County or Crawford County.

Mr. Hoye further says the present production is nearly as follows: Russellville, about 60,000 tons; Ouita, about 15,000 tons; Spadra, 200,000 tons; Denning, 175,000 tons; Paris, 20,000 tons; Sebastian, 350,000; and eastern Oklahoma, 150,000, making an approximate total of 960,000 tons the testimony of Mr. Hoye further, he said that he had a project with Mr. G. O. Patterson, of Clarksville, a gentleman whom I know well, and he stated before that board that if he could get the benefit of a used river, if the Arkansas River were made navigable from Little Rock to Spadra, he would guarantee each year as a traffic upon that river from that small enterprise alone of 50,000 tons.

Another thing that should challenge the unstinted attention of the committee to-day is this: That the Bauxite & Aluminum Co., at an expense of some \$5,000,000 or \$6,000,000, has erected a reduction plant 20 miles from Little Rock. It works, as the testimony shows, some 600 men, and the testimony further shows that if the Federal Government will appropriate a sufficient amount of money to make this river navigable even from its mouth up to Little Rock that this aluminum company will guarantee each year, in bauxite alone, 400,000 tons of freight. If has been shown that the freight rate is exorbitant on bauxite out of Arkansas. The railroads have raised the freight rates on bauxite until now it has become almost prohibitive. It is an anomaly within an anomaly when I state to this committee that buaxite mined in my district in the State of Arkansas, and within only a short distance of St. Louis, comparatively speaking, costs more money for transportation to St. Louis than it does to mine the bauxite in France, transport it across the Atlantic Ocean and up the Mississippi, and lay it down at the dock in St. Louis, on accoun

400,000 tons of bauxite; there are 150,000 tons of crushed rock; there are 122,802 tons, as reflected in Maj. Walker's report, of classified freight and 75,000 tons of unclassified freight that will float upon the Arkansas River if it were made navigable, the total of which is grand and should be overwhelmingly convincing.

In House Document No. 510, on page 7, is given you the reduction in freight rates if the Arkansas River is made navigable.

On page 9, speaking of coal tonnage, we find that the outbound tonnage is 400,000 tons; that cotton is 28,000 tons; hay, 12,000 tons; cooperage stuffs, 24,000 tons; produce, 5,000 tons; wood, 7,000 tons; not classified, 32,000 tons; inbound, not classified, 100,000 tons, making a total tonnage influenced by the river, as reported by Maj. Walker, of 622,000 tons.

In that report he also makes a summary on the reduction of freight rates to the people of Arkansas when this stream is made a used river. On page 8, at the bottom of the page, Document No. 510, Maj. Walker makes this observation: That the decrease on coal freights, outbound, \$225,890; and decrease on general freights, outbound, \$220,000, or a total saving in freight charges to Arkansas of \$667,010 yearly, and greater would be the amount to-day, since it was six years ago when this report was made.

Maj. Walker and others have made no comment, Mr. Chairman, of the cotton that would go over that stream if made navigable. In the State of Arkansas we produce 1,000,000 bales of cotton. Three-fourths of that million bales are raised in the Arkansas River Valley. A great portion of that, on account of the excessively low freight rates, would find its outlet to the markets of the world down the Arkansas River, and the saving in this item alone to the people of Arkansas would reach into multiplied thousands of dollars.

So, Mr. Chairman, from a standpoint of engineering we find that this proposition is feasible and is practicable, as stated by the district engineers in reports—1880, 1900, 1910, and 1915, and others.

Th

So, Mr. Chairman, from a standpoint of engineering we find that this proposition is feasible and is practicable, as stated by the district engineers in reports—1880, 1980, 1910, and 1915, and others.

The Chairman, Mr. Jacoway, I notice the local engineer, Maj. Pulnam—
The Chairman, Mr. Jacoway, I notice the local engineer, Maj. Pulnam—
The Chairman, Kin. Jacoway, I notice the local engineer, Maj. Pulnam—
The Chairman, Kin. Jacoway, I notice the local engineer, Maj. Pulnam—
The Chairman, Kin. Jacoway, I notice the local engineer, Maj. Pulnam—
The Chairman, Kin. Jacoway, I notice the local engineer, Maj. Pulnam—
The Chairman, Kin. Jacoway, I notice the local engineer of the propose of securing the channel and confined ourselves alone to dredging by a few dredge boats to be constructed. I notice in his recommendation be first says i reading!

"I am not of the opinion that the improvement of the Arkansas River should be abandoned, but am inclined to the belief that the work of revetting the banks should be revived. The commercial importance of the valley is increasing all the time, as is natural under an increase of population. While this laborace is not reflected in the river commerce, "In line with the foregoing, I must report that I think the project for the improvement of the river from its mouth to Grand River (40 miles) by sangging operation, by reverting of banks, and by drediting the providence of the river from there to Oxark, 25 feet from there to the mouth of Neosho River."

He seems to recommend dredge boats and snagging operations, containing two of the different plans of improvement under the old project, Mr. Jacoway, 1 and 1 and

We have one steamboat captain, whose testimony is in the hearings, stating that he made 52 consecutive trips on this river in a given year. We have another steamboat captain who has been plying that river for fifty-odd years, and he says there are but two places between Little Rock and Fort Smith that those dredge boats would have to operate before there would be a navigable stream from Little Rock to Fort Smith

Rock and Fort Smith that those dredge boats would have to operate before there would be a navigable stream from Little Rock to Fort Smith.

Mr. Kennedy. Are there any boats running clear through now?

Mr. Jacoway. They run when the river is high. Answering further let me say that the board of trade and the chamber of commerce of Little Rock followed out the suggestions of the War Department and other parties and spent \$200,000 for boats to ply between the mouth of the river and Fort Smith; but on account of the Government being derelict in not doing the necessary work to be done, and because a stream is just as mavigable as the weakest point in it, or like a good road it is just as good as the worst place in it, they could not make these trips regularly; and as a result the people of Little Rock lost in that enterprise some \$200,000, as I am informed:

Mr. Chairman, allow me to say this, that if I were called upon to prove this issue by a preponderance of evidence, I think it has been amply done. I think if the sterner test should be made and the case should be placed in my hands to prove this issue beyond a reasonable doubt, that there is ample testimony here to warrant a verdict favorable in detail to my contention.

Mr. Lieb. May I ask a question?

Mr. Jacoway. Yes.

Mr. Lieb. With reference to the tonnage of coal being mined, I would like for you to repeat the amount of tonnage that you stated.

Mr. Jacoway. 960,000 tons.

Mr. Jacoway. Maj. Walker in his report says that 40 per cent of that will go by rail and 60 per cent by the river. That is the report of 1910.

Mr. Lieb. How many mines are there opened along the river now, accessible to shipping by water?

Mr. Jacoway. That is in the hearings. I will state it again. The production for Russellylile is about 60,000 tons; Paris, 20,000 tons; Spadra, 200,000 tons; and eastern Oklahoma, 150,000, making the total of 960,000 tons; and eastern Oklahoma, 150,000, making the total of 960,000 tons; and eastern Oklahoma, 150,000, making the total of 960,000 tons; an

say 70 per cent of it would find its way to the markets of the world by water.

Mr. Wingo. If you will permit me, most of that that would not go by water would go by joint haul of rail and water. It would be a very short haul to the water.

The Chairman. In going down the river it is the tendency of the heavy freight to go by water?

Mr. Jacoway. It is.

The Chairman. Where would that freight on those boats go to?

Mr. Jacoway. To Cincinnati, St. Louis, New Orleans—it would go to the markets of the world.

The Chairman. After its transport on the river, where would it seek rail transportation?

Mr. Jacoway. At various points.

In conclusion, I would say, Mr. Chairman, that Senator Burton, as I am informed, on one occasion, when he was chairman of a subcommittee, came to Arkansas for the purpose of looking over the Arkansas River, lie went up the Arkansas River as far as the Grand and then he came down to my town on some big boat and took the railroad. He is quoted as saying that the Arkansas River project was entirely feasible and practicable, but that he thought that not to exceed \$2,000,000 should be spent in any one eyear.

down to my town on some big boat and took the railroad. He is quoted as saying that the Arkansas River project was entirely feasible and practicable, but that he thought that not to exceed \$2,000,000 should be spent in any one year.

Mr. Faear. Where do you find that opinion?

Mr. Jacoway. I said, as I had been informed. That was told to me bi a gentleman who said that Senator Burton said it to him. I think that Senator Burton is a sensible man, and I know that in making those findings he reflected the conditions found on that river.

Mr. Hulbert. Out of an expenditure of \$117,000 last year, did you say that the dredges only operated 60 days?

Mr. Jacoway. The report says some 90 days, but I do not think it exceeded 90 days.

Mr. Hulbert. Did you say that you operate for a greater length of time, due to lack of or oversufficiency of water?

Mr. Jacoway. Both.

Mr. Hulbert. Have you had called to your attention this expression of the Chief of Engineers at page 5 of House Document 461 [reading]: "The physical conditions on this stream, however, and particularly its small low-water discharge, are such as to prevent any radical improvement except at a cost which is entirely disproportionate to resulting benefits, as far as they can now be foreseen."

Mr. Jacoway. I have read that, and I want to say that while the report shows this, an eternal traverse has been written upon that proposition by the reports of other engineers who have examined this matter in detail and gone over the physical river. The man who made that statement, I believe, never saw a great deal of the Arkansas River. I do not believe he traversed it for any great distance. I think the most he knows about it is shown by the geography and reports. But the most he knows about it is shown by the geography and reports. Mr. Halbert. You spoke of the matter of discriminatory rates of stream points along the Arkansas River and St. Louis.

Mr. Halbert, Have you not been able to get any relief from the Interstate Commerce Commission?

Mr. Jacoway. The city o

Mr. Jacoway. I did not catch the name correctly. I want to say that, as reflected in the testimony of the Walker report and other sources, railroad lines would put competing boats upon the river,

lower the rates, and when they ran the river traffic off they would withdraw and then raise the rates.

As a final remark to the committee, let me add that the people of Arkansas are intensely interested in the improvement of the Arkansas River from its mouth, and at least as far up as the Oklahoma line. An expenditure of \$20,000,000 by the Federal Government would not be a waste of public funds. To the contrary, it would be money well spent, and the beneficent results that would flow from the permanent improvement of this great stream would be told in the story of multiplied millions of dollars that would go toward the betterment and progress of the State of Arkansas and the people who have made her what she is.

The committee will observe that I have addressed myself to the improvement of the Arkansas River from its mouth to Fort Smith. With equal force the argument can be made for the stretches of the Arkansas River in the State of Oklahoma, but for the want of the detailed data I can not do so at this time.

I thank the committee for the kind and patient hearing they have given for an hour.

given for an hour.

Dairy and Cream Industries.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT L. DOUGHTON,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 8, 1916.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter which I addressed to Dr. Melvin, Chief of the Bureau of Animal Industry, and the reply to the same by Secretary Houston, in regard to the dairy and creamery industries of the country.

The letter is as follows:

House of Representatives, Washington, March 30, 1916.

Dr. A. D. Melvin,

Chief Bureau of Animal Industry,

United States Department of Agriculture,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I am inclosing you copy of House resolution No. 137,
introduced by Mr. Linthicum, in which he makes very startling statements as to the insanitary conditions of the creameries and dairies of
the country.

I would be glad to know by what authority this statement is made
and whose investigations show that such conditions exist; also whether
or not your bureau has power and authority to correct these conditions, and, if not, what you would suggest in the way of the necessary
reliet.

Any and all information you can give me beging on the

Any and all information you can give me bearing on this very interesting subject will, I assure you, be greatly appreciated.
Yours, very respectfully,

Chairman Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture.

APRIL 6, 1916.

Hon. R. L. Doughton,
House of Representatives.

Hone R. Le. Doughton.

House of Representatives.

Dear Mr. Doughton: I have your letter of March 30, addressed to Dr. A. D. Melvin, Chief of the Bureau of Animal Industry of this department, transmitting a copy of House resolution No. 137, regarding an investigation of the sanitary conditions of the dairies and creameries of the country.

The Bureau of Animal Industry already has done a good deal along the line of renovated-butter factory and dairy inspection; milk examination, quarantine of, tuberculin tests of, and experimentation with dairy cattle. Much good undoubtedly has been accomplished, resulting in the destruction of tubercular cattle and improved sanitation in dairies and renovated-butter factories. The work is being continued to the fullest extent possible with the funds available under existing authority of law.

Much has also been done by the Bureau of Chemistry, under the food and drugs act, which has been beneficial in securing better sanitation in dairies and greater cleanliness of milk products shipped in interstate commerce. This statute provides that an article of food shall be deemed to be adulterated "if it consists in whole or in part of a filthy, decomposed, or putrid animal or vegetable substance." Under this provision milk containing bacteria and dirt, indicating the presence of filth or decomposition, has been sampled and the shippers have been prosecuted. These prosecutions have resulted in great improvement in the milk supply of some of our larger cities. The bureau is continuing to perform this work, but, of course, its operations are confined solely to milk and milk products shipped in interstate commerce or sold in the District of Columbia or the Territories of the United States.

From a large amount of correspondence received by the department is appears that a campaign has been started having for its object the se-

or sold in the District of Columbia or the Territories of the United States.

From a large amount of correspondence received by the department it appears that a campaign has been started having for its object the securing of Federal legislation governing the inspection of milk and milk products, and that this subject is involved in trade controversies which have long existed between people financially interested in dairying and the resultant industries and others who are active business competitors. While this condition should not interfere with the securing of effective legislation to protect the public against impure milk and milk products, nevertheless it emphasizes the necessity of proceeding carefully to analyze the situation in order properly to understand what evils are intended to be remedied and how the personal and property rights of citizens will be affected by the proposed legislation. Were Congress to enact a statute providing an effective and comprehensive system of inspection of milk and milk products shipped in interstate commerce, this would require extremely large appropriations at least equivalent to those now provided for meat irspection.

Unquestionably some of the dairies and creameries are insanitary; but the data available, especially on the subject of creameries, are prob-

ably not sufficient to be used as a basis for legislation. The terms "dairies" and "creameries" have often been erroneously used as synonyms, which has led to some confusion and misunderstanding. The word "dairy" is commonly accepted as meaning a dairy farm where milk is produced, while the term "creamery" implies a manufacturing establishment where butter is made.

Our officials in the course of their educational work have been in close contact with State and municipal health authorities and have inspected hundreds of dairy farms annually during the past decade. Nearly every State of the Union and most of the cities have statutes, ordinances, and regulations to control the milk supply, and dairy inspections are required by most of these regulations. The quality of milk supplied for use in the fluid state has improved considerably within the last few years due to better sanitary conditions at the dairy farms and the more extensive use of pasteurization.

The regulation of creameries and the material used for manufacture in such establishments has not been so extensive or complete as that of dairies producing milk for city and town consumption. The Bureau of Animal Industry has made investigations to determine the sanitary condition of creameries and cream-buying stations, and has found that while some of them were in excellent condition, others were very unsatisfactory. Recent observations, however, indicate that there is a desire on the part of those interested to secure improvement.

The department has in its files much valuable information regarding the production of milk and milk products. This was not collected for the purpose of furnishing a basis for legislation, but was obtained in the course of investigations which the department has been authorized to undertake from time to time. You will understand, of course, that a large number of the dairies and creameries of the country operate only local y, and consequently could be dealt with only by the State or local authorities. It would not be possible to d

The Acid Test on Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH.

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 8, 1916.

Mr. LINDBERGH. Mr. Speaker, think of it! Two per cent of the people own 60 per cent of all the wealth, while 98 per cent of the people own only 40 per cent. Plutocracy has plundered the Nation. The toilers do all the work that creates the wealth, but the schemers get it. The majority of us are slaves to the "system" and get only a bare subsistence. This we know to be a fact. The question is, What shall we do to get justice? It is simple enough, but it takes determination on the part of the people to put it into force. Therefore we must grit our teeth, clinch our fists, exercise our judgment, and fight with a determination to win.

Every civilized country faces crucial problems in its fights against plutocracy, the greatest foe to humanity. Washington, the Capital of the greatest Nation on earth, is under its control. It has been operating here to undermine the noble institutions which were the inspiration of our forefathers and gave birth to the American flag and the United States of America. Plutocracy has often desecrated the Star-Spangled Banner by using it to inspire America, and while the minds and work of the people were directed to patriotic purposes, plutocracy has robbed the people of 60 per cent of all their wealth. All humanity must now join in the fight against this bold, unscrupulous power.

At other times, here and elsewhere, I have discussed the causes of a few becoming immensely rich and the masses remaining always poor. The pending wars prove conclusively what a folly, yes, worse, what a crime the "system" is that has governed our economic relations with each other and with the world at large.

Anyone not having special privilege who, in contemplation of the last two years, will still support the "system" that special privilege has created must either be contented to be an industrial slave, not know that he is such, or be one of its beneficiaries. A beneficiary must have been of a low order to accept it, for no self-respecting American would voluntarily be a nincompoop. How the toilers and plain consumers who bear the burdens of the "system" could have tolerated the injustice as long as they have is strange.

The existing ravages of war furnish a complete example of how absolutely ridiculous the existing commercial system is. In this war period we have exported enormous quantities of valuable products from farm and factory. We have loaned the credit of our country as well. As yet we have received comparatively little value in return, except that some of our foreign debts were liquidated. For every shipment of goods, the press boasts that the "balance of trade" is enormously great in our favor. In the true measure of value it has been tremendously to our disadvantage, Our toilers have been working to feed, clothe, and shelter foreigners while millions of Americans were needy and able to pay for what they need if given employment. Unfortunately, too, and in addition we have employed our valuable energy to supply foreigners with material for the destruction of valuable property and human When war began we arose out of a state of unnatural industrial and commercial depression and emerged into a state of extraordinary unnatural industrial and commercial activity. Neither was or is satisfactory to the toilers and consumers and both will become more objectionable as time progresses.

SOMETHING OF THE REASON.

The best preparedness in the world against foreign aggression, commercial or other, is to reinforce ourselves with a contented, prosperous, and well-informed American public, by utilizing the great natural resources of this grand continent, as well as the machinery necessary to productive effectiveness, for the common welfare of America all the time. The public is fairly well informed and it knows that no such use has been made of our resources. On the contrary, it knows that the natural resources as well as the most effective machinery have been and now are utilized principally to the advantage of a few-the privileged class.

In order to be prepared to defend our rights-domestic and foreign—we should simultaneously and immediately do two great works: First, correct our social system so that the toilers would be the principal beneficiaries of their own toil; second, and coordinate in time, make ourselves impregnable from foreign foes, should there be any.

SOMETHING OF THE FACTS.

There are still great numbers of unemployed persons willing and able to work. Comparatively few of those who are employed receive more than is barely necessary to a subsistence. There are many hungry, poorly clad, badly sheltered, and unentertained people. This is not natural, but is due to a commercial system that favors speculation more than it favors industry of toil. Let us see what has transpired in this respect since the war began.

In general terms, whatever has been produced in our country, that has been shipped abroad, has depleted an equivalent of our natural resources. It has put to work persons who were idle, to be sure, but who could far better have been employed to supply the necessities of these whom I have described as not having the necessaries of life. They in turn should and could be employed producing necessaries. Then benefits would be reciprocal.

No amount of speculative foreign commerce can make good this lamentable failure in our domestic industry and commerce, either in supplying the needs of a great people or in reenforcing the country in a belief on the part of the people in the practical operation of its industrial, political, and social purposes, thus making its own power of defense the greatest.

Instead of permitting the use of our machinery, the draft upon our material resources, and the employment of our people to make munitions of war and supplies for foreigners, those forces and agencies should be employed producing what is necessary to satisfy the needs of our own people—America—and to put our country in a state of proper preparedness. To reenforce our future needs the Government should buy and store all the excess products except what are required to exchange for foreign products that we need and can not as practically produce. This is the first and most important law of preparedness. Instead of doing that, speculators continually keep their agents on the ocean. traveling between here and Europe and other continents, making bargains for the speculators.

American speculators alone have already made probably over \$2,000,000,000 in the war period. In the meantime, and in consequence of that practice, the cost of the necessaries of life increases constantly, so that for every exportation of goods made to enable the speculators to scalp their enormous profits, the goods of the kind necessary for home consumption have increased in price to the consumers at home.

Take the price of gasoline alone as an example. A year ago it was sold at retail for 11 to 15 cents per gallon. Now, because of export demand it sells for an average of twice what it did then. The press boasts of exports because, as it says, it increases the balance of trade in our favor. How absurd their boast is!

The total profits the Oil Trusts make on all the gasoline

they export does not begin to equal the amount that the consumers in our own country have been forced to pay over what they did in the previous year. Therefore the thing that has really happened is that for the support of the "national honor" (?) we have spent hundreds of millions of taxes collected from the people and made the taxpayers pay very much more for the necessaries of life, and we have reduced our natural resources in the supply of gasoline. Is this the part of wisdom on the part of a mighty people? These Oil Trust magnates,

of preparedness that builds up that kind of business-the very thing that weakens us year by year as time passes.

I will give one more illustration, which will further explain

the folly of the existing system of commerce. industry. I have not the exact figures at hand and will state the case hypothetically: The foreign commerce in shoes, we will say, has netted \$90,000,000 profit to the dealers. The price of shoes to the consumers in America has increased on an average \$1 per capita additional for shoes worn during that period. This is equal to \$100,000,000. That would be equivalent to every dollar of the profit the Shoe Trust made on foreign trade and \$10,000,000 additional. That came out of our home consumers to support foreign commerce. In the meantime the material and industrial resources of the country were being consumed to the disadvantage of the American people. Additional examples are not needed to illustrate the operation of the fake system. That is the system of economics practiced and for which some misguided but patriotic and honest Americans would fight the world in arms. The beneficiaries of this system have subsidized every agency that could be influenced to cry for their kind of "preparedness," a preparedness which would ultimately reduce the people of this country to the very dregs.

True Americans want the preparedness that would mean an independent American citizenship, one that is not under the heels of plutocracy. Plutocracy demands the preparedness that will add additional billions to their individual bank accounts and property holdings in order to force from the toilers an additional toll to pay interest, dividends, and profits upon it. Such "preparedness" will undermine the very foundations of our Government and weaken America. Let the toilers who are now employed in making munitions of war for Europe and foreign lands be employed to make the things needed to protect ourselves and to build an honest domestic commerce. I would vote billions upon billions of dollars, if necessary, for such preparedness, and for preparedness against foreign aggression, but not a penny to support a false commercial system. I insist that so far as my vote goes it shall be for the kind of preparedness that strengthens rather than weakens us; of the kind that makes to the independence and prosperity of the people, which in turn makes the strongest America and one that is worth

After the war is all over the plain people will, in the mean-time, have lived up all their earnings secured from a false system, and have nothing ahead; but the speculators who have had their agents traveling on the ocean between America and Europe to drive sharp bargains will have additional billions of capitalization to their credit, and it will be used as a basis on which to levy against the toilers an additional so-called "rea-sonable profit." The toilers will have to pay this or go hungry, unless America arises to its duty and establishes a just system.

Why is it that all the letters, petitions, and demands for so-called "preparedness" are for one kind of preparedness only— for gun-armament preparedness? No one who asks for this kind of preparedness has ever suggested economic preparedness to go with it. I get letters, demands, and petitions from bankers, club men, munition factories, navy leagues, steel and other trusts by the thousands, but not one of them ever suggested that military preparedness should go hand in hand with economic preparedness. They are not willing to sacrifice one dollar of their own unless they get back many.

The bankers know that military armament preparedness will require more credit, increase the debts, make the interest rates higher, and their profits greater. The munition trusts know that they can make hundreds of millions in profits out of that kind of preparedness. The navy leagues are known to have been organized by those who get the profits out of the kind of preparedness they demand. The same thing is true of the rest of those making these persistent demands.

What about the plain toilers and consumers? To them the whole expense of armament is assessed. The bankers, instead of reducing the rates of interest, increase the rates. others who profit out of that kind of preparedness will increase their profits. Why, if they are the "sole" Americans, do they not offer to reduce the rates of interest or the profits for themselves? When they do that, instead of letting the burden all fall on the tollers, even to adding a big profit for the bankers and others, I shall believe that they are really loyal, patriotic Americans instead of the "sole Americans," as the subsidized press now labels them.

In my remarks a few days since I showed that by certain economic changes we could save for the toilers several billion dollars per annum and that the toilers would gladly stand for what is necessary to pay for true and necessary preparedness against any possible contingency. If the country demands of on the part of a mighty people? These Oil Trust magnates, the tollers that they bear the expense of preparedness, let it together with the other trust magnates, are demanding a kind include economic preparedness, so that it will all be worth white.

Oh, how the plain people-the toilers, the producers, and con--have been deceived! The general impression is that truth is free. No one seems willing to buy it, however, and since it costs money to compile and present it in practical form to be read, not much of it comes before the public in concrete ferm so that everybody can get at it. Everybody is therefore puzzled about existing conditions.

DECEPTION AS A FINE ART.

At no period in the world's history has deceit been so bold and aggressive as now in attempting to engulf all humanity in the maelstrom of hell. The whole world is sizzling in the " Sober men and women who measure the conditions with unselfish judgment and suggest sane action are pounced upon by the devils in command of the "hell storm" in an attempt to have them labeled "cowards," and to force us into war over a standard of false national honor. Many of the highest officers of Government fail to sustain their moral courage for common sense and add to the confusion of the excited by trying to support the demands of the speculators.

Amid all this confusion the lords of "special privilege" stand serene in their selfish glee, coining billions of profit from the rage of war. They coldly register every volley of artillery, every act of violent aggression, as a profit on their war stock and war contracts. They commercialize every excitement, scalp in and out of the market alternately, taking a profit both ways on a

fluctuating market.

Deception has paid a few so well that its practice has become a fine art and is maintained by many ingenious schemes. who earn their living by the sweat of many hours of daily toll have little time left after their work is done to figure out the ways in which the schemers gather in the cream of the products

THE INVISIBLE ORGANIZERS.

We have been buncoed, and a majority of us do not know how it was done. "Invisible organizers" did it. Special privilege employs many agencies for the purpose; Rockefeller Institute, Carnegie Foundation, and the like, besides most of the great city press, are maintained by them for that purpose. Their work is even stealthily being introduced into the public schools. They do not leave the tender minds of the children free to unselfish tutorship by parents and teachers, but use adroit means in an attempt to warp the youthful minds in a belief in special privilege. They also seek to control civic bodies and league them with the United States Chamber of Commerce, supported by and for special privilege. Their articles disclose no selfishness. On the contrary, they are commendable in terms, but back of it all are the "invisible organizers" who make use of these civic bodies to further selfish ends.

The ordinary work of these civic bodies is beneficial. Most of the members are from the best citizens, acting with the best motives. Little do they know when they join of the deep-laid schemes of the "inner circle" or even that an "inner circle" exists. It is the underground lines that are used by the "inner circle" only that lead to the crooked work, and only the "inner circle" and the attorneys of them know how it is done. Now, however, we have come to the acid test of existing capitalism. I have simply given a few hints of the folly of the plain people supporting it. I realize that for the attacks I have made heretofore, and now, and will continue to make upon this unjust system, that I will be misrepresented and libeled by that portion of the press that belongs to special privilege. I further realize that their agents scattered into nearly every community will be busy with the purpose of injuring me if they can.

Cumberland River.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN H. SMALL, OF NORTH CAROLINA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Saturday, April 8, 1916.

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Speaker, at the top of page 10 of the minority report by Mr. Frear it is stated:

After deducting floatable timber and sand that does not require 28 locks, a commerce of 53,000 tons is reported. The haul is not stated, possibly 20 to 50 miles.

On page 2847 of the Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers an itemized statement of the commerce of this river on the section above Nashville is given. It shows a total of 314,028 tons, valued at \$6,784,999; the average haul being 64 miles, and the rate per

ton-mile 1.59 cents; 172,672 tons consisted of wood products, 96,993 tons of which were rafted; farm products amounted to 16,037 tons; manufactured articles, 23,445 tons; sand and gravel, 100,925 tons (carried 12 miles); coal, 199 tons; mussel shells, 810 tons. Out of 35 different commodities transported 7 were carried a distance less than 100 miles, 14 between 100 and 200, and 14 between 200 and 271.

On page 2848 of said annual report an itemized statement of the commerce on the lower river is given. Forest products amount to 102,003 tons, of which 46,335 tons were rafted; farm products, 6,151 tons; manufactured articles, 6,054 tons; sand and gravel, 38,976 tons (average haul, 12 miles). commerce amounted to 153,458 tons, valued at \$2,238,207, and the average haul 100 miles. Average rate per ton-mile, 1.05 cents. The average haul on 14 commodities was between 1 and 100 miles, and on 14 others between 100 and 200 miles. There is not continuous navigation on this stretch of the river, which is 192.6 miles long.

The construction of Lock 21, on the upper section, caused a reduction of freight rates of about one-half within its pool area (p. 1087); Locks 1 to 7, on the upper section, have caused a reduction in railroad freight rates between Nashville and Carthage, 115.8 miles, and in river freight rates between Nashville and West Point, 125.2 miles.

Page 1088:

Only one of the six locks and dams covered by the project is completed; nevertheless, even in its present condition, the lower Cumberland River has a marked effect on railroad freight rates, and the navigable facilities offered by this stream are undoubtedly responsible for the favorable freight rates which Nashville has been granted, as compared with rates between towns not connected by a navigable waterway. The effect of the continuous navigation provided by the canalization for the 41.4 miles below Nashville was noted from the immediate reduction by about 50 per cent in the rates charged by the Tennessee Central Railroad over that part of its line which parallels the pool of Dam A.

COMMERCIAL STATISTICS.

COMMERCIAL STATISTICS. (A) ABOVE NASHVILLE.

Season of navigation: Open beginning of calendar year 1914; closed Vessel classification.

Registered steamers (American)_____ Net registered tonnage_____ Passengers_____

Freight traffic.

The customa: The customa: The customa: Customa:	eet b. m.	63,583 20,656 60,240 1,010 435	351,170 344,064 13,115	haul or distance freight was carried. Miles. 60 122 248	Rate per ton-mile.
Logs 22,561,695f. Lumber 10,328,539f. Railroad ties 688,129 Handles and slabs 898,344 Headings 348,239 Hoops 706,660 Poles 49,000 Posts 47,539 Spokes 1,214,040 Staves and bolts 4,230,205 Wagon felloes 5,000 Wood 647 cords	eet b. m.	20,656 60,240 1,010	351,170 344,064 13,115	60 122	11.39
Logs 22,561,695f. Lumber 10,328,539f. Railroad ties 688,129 Handles and slabs 898,344 Headings 348,239 Hoops 706,660 Poles 49,000 Posts 47,539 Spokes 1,214,040 Staves and bolts 4,230,205 Wagon felloes 5,000 Wood 647 cords	eet b. m.	20,656 60,240 1,010	351,170 344,064 13,115	60 122	11.39
Lumber. 10,328,539 ft Railroad ties 688,129 Handles and slabs 898,244 Headings 248,229 Hoops 706,660 Poles 49,000 Posts 47,539 Spokes 1,214,040. Staves and bolts 4,230,205. Wagon felloes 5,000. Wood 647 cords	eet b. m.	20,656 60,240 1,010	351,170 344,064 13,115	122	
Railroad ties 688,129 Handles and slabs 898,244 Headings 348,229 Hoops 706,660 Poles 49,000 Posts 47,539 Spokes 1,214,040 Staves and bolts 4,230,205 Wagon felloes 5,000 Wood 647 cords		1,010	344,064 13,115		
Handles and slabs 898,344 Headings 348,229 Hoops 706,660 Poles 49,000 Posts 47,539 Spokes 1,214,040 Staves and bolts 4,230,205 Wagon felloes 5,000 Wood 647 cords		1,010	13, 115		22.6
Headings 348/229 Hoops 706,660 Poles 49,000 Posts 47,539 Spokes 1,214,040 Staves and bolts 4,230,205 Wagon felloes 5,000 Wood 647 cords		425		195	. 9
Hoops 706,660 Poles 49,000 Posts 47,539 Spokes 1,214,040 Staves and bolts 4,230,205 Wagon felloes 5,000 Wood 647 cords		708	7,835	100	2.0
Poles. 49,000 Posts. 47,539 Spokes. 1,214,040. Staves and bolts. 4,230,205. Wagon felloes. 5,000 Wood. 647 cords.			9,893	249	.61
Posts 47,539 Spokes 1,214,040 Staves and bolts 4,230,205 Wagon felloes 5,000 Wood 647 cords		7.350	9,800	48	1.2
Spokes. 1,214,040. Staves and bolts 4,230,205. Wagon felloes 5,000. Wood 647 cords			9,507	222	.5
Staves and bolts 4,230,205 Wagon felloes 5,000 647 cords	O-CHUDGEON!		138,400	198	
Wagon felloes 5,000 647 eards		2, 400	253, 812	71	32.0
Wood 647 cords			562		2.4
				10	1.2
			2,088	42	1.4
Timeleticus and Johns. 00,000	*******	250	7,500	118	2.0
Farm products:			200 007	010	
Chickens 11,562 coop	S		226,037	219	2.4
Eggs		567	151,668	145	4.5
Hay 6,098 bales.			121,960	167	1.3
Produce		301	30, 100	250	1.6
Peas 14,398 bush		296	28,796	208	1.0
Tobacco		2,479	446,310	271	1.2
Corn 62,290 bush			46,717	197	.9
Oats 24, 202 bush		369	14, 521	235	.7
Wheat 39,479 bush		1,189	39,479	228	2.2
Rye 5,900 bushe	MS	172	5,900	225	2,2
Live stock—		Hime Size	10000	Connect Control	
Cattle 3,807 head.	*******	1,903	190, 350	208	1.3
Horses 25 head			3,750	124	2.3
Mules 107 head	*******	53	18,725	231	1.5
Hogs 58,925 head			824,950	194	1.6
Sheep 1,117 head.		39	13,962	225	1.5
Manufactured articles:					
Fertilizer		4,386	109,650	139	1.6
Machinery		337.	1,446	203	2.1
Briek 20,000		55	60	18	5.5
Lime and cement 1,648 barre	ls	276	2,204	194	1.0
General merchandise		18,391		183	1.8
Cool		100	696	194	.9
Sand and gravel 67,617 cubic	e vards	100, 925	50, 462	12	(1)
Mussel shells		810	1,680	105	2.4
Total and average		274 000			1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

^{161,600} tons rafted; 41 tons transported by owners.
25,393 tons rafted; 3,418 tons transported by owners.
1,671 tons transported by owners.
Transported by owners.

(B) BELOW NASHVILLE. Season of navigation: Open beginning of calendar year 1914; closed Vessel classification. Registered steamers (American)___ Net registered tonnage____ Passengers _____ 933

Freight traffic.

	Amount.			Average haul or	Rate
Articles,	Customary units.	Short tons.	Valua- tion.	distance freight was carried.	per ton- mile.
Forest products: Handles and slabs Logs Lumber. Railroad ties. Singletrees and bolts. Spokes Farm products:	65,000	73 2, 903 580 96, 092 1, 412 943	\$949 23, 233 9, 860 549, 508 42, 510 54, 043	Miles. 140 39 75 138 100 35	Cents. 2.85 1.2.00 1.60 2.72 (3) (8)
Tobacco. Corn. Wheat. Oats. Hay. Produce. Rye.	2,550 hogsheads 75,050 bushels 8,100 bushels 3,500 bushels 1,300 bales	1,913 2,101 243 53 65 537 1	344, 250 56, 287 8, 100 2, 100 26, 000 53, 700 50	82 199 198 100 94 140 25	4.85 .90 1.02 2.99 .49 2.14 2.00
Live stock— Cattle Horses Mules Hogs Sheep Chickens Eggs	955 head	478 113 93 467 15 32 40	47, 750 33, 750 279 65, 338 4, 975 10, 655 10, 710	148 100 100 147 132 91 96	2.68 3.00 3.00 2.65 3.03 4.97 4.57
Manufactured articles: Lime and cement Machinery Fertilizer Bricks General merchandise. Coal Sand and gravel. Mussel shells	1,550 barrels	265 760 851 28 4,140 10 38,976 274	2,120 228,000 21,250 75 621,000 35 19,488 2,192	40 104 100 25 85 25 12 41	6.27 2.63 3.00 1.60 3.42 8.00 (*) 4.88
Total		153, 458	2, 238, 207	100	1.05

1 46 tons transported by owners; 2,737 tons rafted.

* Transported by owners. * Transported by owners. * Total tonnage. Nashville	314, 028 153, 458
Total	467, 486
NashvilleNashville	\$6, 784, 999 2, 238, 207
Total	9, 023, 206

What is Americanism?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD KEATING.

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 8, 1916.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, I have asked unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record, in order that I might insert an article on "Americanism," by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Buchanan]. This article was prepared for the Illinois Staats-Zeitung, of Chicago, and appeared in a recent issue of that paper. Mr. Buchanan's article is as follows:

WHAT IS AMERICANISM?

[By Frank Buchanan, Congressman from Illinois.]

When we ask "What is Americanism?" we instinctively call to mind the struggle which made this great Republic possible. We ask ourselves why this great sacrifice, why this heroic determination to throw off the yoke of a mother country? The answer is to be found in the preamble of the greatest instrument of freedom in the history of mankind, our Constitution, and in the immortal words of Thomas Jefferson: "Equality for all, and special privilege to none."

True Americanism means upholding the basic principles of humanity, upon which this Government is founded. It means a love and attachment to our institutions and ideals. It means that America shall be held above all other nations and that there shall be no divided allegiance. But this, however, does not preclude a man from loving his native land; it does not mean that he must wipe from his vision the picture of his childhood days, from his mind the memories of his youth,

and from his heart the love and associations that grew and were fostered there.

and from his heart the love and associations that grew and were fostered there.

If a man raise his voice in behalf of universal peace, should he be maligned by a venal press and pronounced a traitor? If he lifts his hand in opposition and protest to the manufacture of death-dealing weapons meant to slay men who are our friends, and to widow their wives and orphan their children, should he be condemned and ostracted? Let us hope that our race has not fallen to such a level. Let us hope that the crimson words of our Constitution shall not have been written in vain.

A true American is one who loves the people of America and faithfully tries to serve them, and whose fidelity to their cause will not be swerved by imminent danger to his personal interests or by threats from powerful influences to destroy him. True Americanism exists in him who has the courage to strive for the rights and freedom of humanity under great difficulties. A true and intelligent American understands that he is to a degree a citizen of the world, and while striving to serve the best interests of America, realizes that their interests are best served by directing his influence to serve humanity elsewhere.

There were men—mostly of foreign birth—in the coal districts of Colorado, who, but a few months ago, arose in their might and wrath in protest against the tyrannical and despotic rule of their masters. They fought, they suffered, they died for the principles of humanity and justice. Who dare say that they were not Americans does not mean a family tree. Americanism means liberty, equality, and justice, and he who stands firmest in support of these principles deserves most to be called an American.

Woman Suffrage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. C. C. DILL,

OF WASHINGTON, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 8, 1916.

Mr. DILL. Mr. Speaker, under the permission granted me to extend my remarks in the Record on the subject of woman suffrage, I include a letter from the Washington branch of the Congressional Union and my reply thereto. The letter reads as follows:

CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE, Seattle, Wash., April 1, 1916.

Representative C. C. Dill, Washington, D. C.

Representative C. C. DILL,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: We beg to submit to you for your most earnest consideration the attached resolution which was unanimously adopted by the 200 women voters of Washington assembled in State conference in Seattle, at the Washington Annex, March 30, 1916.

The conference was for the purpose of organizing women voters on behalf of the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment during the present session of Congress. All the leading women's clubs in the State were represented, and the delegates pledged political and financial support to the work.

We hope you will do all in your power to make possible the immediate passage of this measure.

Very respectfully, yours,

Mrs. Frances Axtell; Mrs. Floyd Otis Lamson, Seattle; Miss Frances Skinner, Seattle; Mrs. Wallis Williams, North Yakima; Mrs. Ella Balabanoff, Tacoma; Dean Rhoda White, Pullman; Mrs. Marion Field Green, Spokane; Miss Grace Isaacs, Walla Walla, vice charman; Mrs. Marshall Fulton, Spokane, treasurer.

Officers Washington Branch, Congressional Union:

FLORENCE DES CAMT TERRY, Secretary.

Address, Mrs. Frances C. Axtell, 413 Maple Street, Bellingham, Wash.

Address, Mrs. Frances C. Axtell, 413 Maple Street, Bellingham, Wash. The resolutions are as follows:

The resolutions are as follows:

Resolved, That we, as women voters of the State of Washington, assembled in conference at the Washington Annex, in Seattle, the 30th of March, 1916, protest against the action of the Judiciary Committee of the House in voting to postpone indefinitely reporting the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the House for action.

Resolved, That we, as women constituents of the Federal Government, demand an immediate and favorable report of this measure to the House, that the women of the East may soon enjoy the same political freedom as the women of the West, and we call upon the national administration leaders as well as the members of the Judiciary Committee to do all in their power to give facilities for the immediate passage of the amendment: Be it finally

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to all men herein named and to the entire Washington congressional delegation, and be read into the Congressional Record.

My reply therefo is as follows:

My reply thereto is as follows:

APRIL 8, 1916.

APRIL 8, 1916.

Mrs. Frances Antell,
413 Maple Street, Bellingham, Wash.

Dear Mrs. Antell: I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, inclosing a resolution adopted by 200 women voters of Washington at Seattle, March 30, 1916, under the auspices of the Washington Branch of the Congressional Union. In the resolution you request that I place a copy of the proposed resolution in the Congressional Encoup, which I shall be glad to do, together with your letter and my reply.

I am informed by some of the women who were present at the meeting at Seattle that one of the representatives of the Congressional Union, Miss Doris Stevens, criticized me for not supporting woman suffrage. As a basis for her statements, she repeatedly referred to the fact that in sending out a list of questions to the voters of my district recently, asking their opinions on certain public questions, I did

not include a question on the subject of woman suffrage. The argument seems so ridiculous on its face that at first I questioned whether or not it is worthy of a reply, and had this meeting been held in Spokane, my home town, I certainly would not have dignified it by discussion. As her address was made in Seattle, however, I think it but fair that you and the women associated with you should know the facts.

facts.

It seems to me that to have included a question on the subject of woman suffrage to the voters of my district would have been the strongest possible way to suggest that I was in doubt as to what they thought on the subject. I knew beyond any doubt that they are overwhelmingly in favor of woman suffrage, and they knew how strongly I favored suffrage because of the speeches I made before I was elected to Congress and my work since I was elected. In short, to have asked them such a question as Miss Stevens suggested would have been an insult to their intelligence.

snifrage because of the speeches I made before I was elected to Congress and my work since I was elected. In short, to have asked them such a question as Miss Stevens suggested would have been an insult to their infeligence.

I may add that during the campaign of 1914 this same Congressional Union sent a worker into my district, who opposed me in every way possible and appealed repeatedly to the women voters of the fifth congressional district to vote against me. She did this in spite of the fact that I had for years been an ardent supporter of woman suffrage, that I was then in favor of woman sufrage, and that I was pledged to support any amendment or bill which might come up in Congress granting suffrage to women in any part of the United States or its Territories. This woman spent the last 10 days preceding election in my district, because she said she was especially anxious to defeat me. When the votes were counted I had a plurality of more than 4,000 and was the only Democratic Representative elected from the State of Washington.

Since that election I have worked for suffrage at every opportunity. I have spoken for the cause again and again. During the last 10 days preceding the election of 1915 I donated my services as a speaker for suffrage in the State of New York, traveling through the northern part of the State, speaking every night at suffrage meetings, and also at two meetings in New York City the closing day and night of the campaign. Since Congress convened I have repeatedly urged the members of the Judiciary Committee of the House to report the woman-suffrage amendment favorably. On different occasions I have laid aside other work and have gone to see individual Members of the House in the interest of suffrage, at the request of members of the House in whe interest of suffrage, at the request of members of the House in the interest of suffrage, at the request of members of the House in the interest of suffrage, at the request of members of the House in the interest of the suffrage, at the reques

The Fable of the Wolf and the Lamb.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON.

OF ALABAMA. IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 10, 1916.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, as the old fable runs, a wolf going for a drink of water saw a lamb drinking farther down the stream, and wishing to make an excuse for making a meal off the lamb approached it, saying:

"You are muddying the water I was going to drink."

"That can not be," meekly replied the lamb, "for the water is running from you to me."

The baffled wolf took a new tack. "You insulted me last week," he snarled.

week, 'ne snarled.

"Spare me," said the lamb, "I was born only yesterday."

"Then it was your brother," growled the wolf.

"No," said the lamb, "I have no brother."

"Oh, well," snarled the wolf as he advanced on his prey, "it is no matter; it was one of your kind." And so the wolf pro-

"Oh, well," snarled the wolf as he advanced on his prey, "it is no matter; it was one of your kind." And so the wolf proceeded with his breakfast.

The moral of this fable is that the wicked can always find an excuse for their misdeeds.

Prior to my entry into public life I had been a sort of self-appointed champion of the rights of the people in my city. I had volunteered to defend the public interest on several occasions against the encroachments of large business interests which were seeking their selfish ends at the expense of the public good. I had taken an active part in movements for the

beauty and healthfulness of my city and for lower water and light rates. I had given close study to questions affecting the rights of labor and had dared to be sympathetic toward the poor and oppressed and to show an interest in the common man.

As a result of my activities along these lines, I incurred the enmity of selfish interests engaged in exploiting the people. These interests opposed me in my election to Congress and have refused to accept in good spirit the result of the election. They have continued to cherish the rancorous dislike which they disclosed in my first campaign. My efforts to conciliate them by a high-minded devotion to the duties of my office have failed. These small but powerful interests, with their newspaper organ and their friends and sycophants, have belittled and ridiculed me ever since my election. They have been resolved that I should not be reelected and have plotted and planned to defeat

The selfish interests opposing me have hunted diligently for some excuse for their course. Not being able to find any real excuse in my public or private life, they have been forced to manufacture a false one. They now bring against me the charge of lack of loyalty to my party.

Those who criticize me are not Democrats; never have been and never will be. They are mere self-seekers, and selfishness is their highest principle. They merely masquerade as Democrats in order to further their selfish ends.

The charge of party irregularity which my opposition brings against me is based upon my vote at the beginning of the present Congress to postpone the adoption of rules for the House so that some needed amendments might be made, it happening that o majority of my party voted on the other side. The question was not a party question. It had not been mentioned in any party caucus. It had nothing to do with the principles of Democracy and was a trifling matter relating merely to how the House should carry on its business. But my enemies needed an excuse, and they made this the excuse; and to further carry out their plot they not only misropressed my too but how too business. carry out their plot they not only misrepresent my vote but charge that as a result of it I have lost my influence and standing among the Democrats of the House, and that my usefulness as a Representative is gone.

The suggestion that my vote has affected my influence with the Democrats in the House is not only false but absurd to anyone who knows the facts. After I had cast that vote I was elected by the Democrats to three important committees in the House, one of them the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which at this critical time is a committee of the greatest importance. I have been treated with confidence and respect by every Democrat in the House. Not one of them has ever mentioned my vote on the rules. Nothing whatever has been heard of it in Washington. It is only in false and unjust reports in my own city that the matter has been exploited. I have been invited into small circles of leaders for consultation on matters of party policy. On more than one occasion, by invitation of Speaker Clark, I have presided over the House, an honor which would not have been conferred had my party regularity been in question.

I was the first of all the Alabama Members, new or old, to get a bill passed by the present Congress. It was not much of a bill. It was merely a bill for the pension of a poor, paralyzed, blind veteran who was a cook in our company kitchen in the Spanish War. I had been one of his flunkies and dishwashers when I was a soldier, and knew all about his case, and it was not hard to get his bill through. I succeeded in getting an item for the survey of Valley Creek included in the general rivers and harbors bill, which has passed the House. I am willing that my work here may be compared with that of any other new Member.

A few days ago Mr. T. H. Molton, of Birmingham, one of my friends, wrote to Hon. CLAUDE KITCHIN, the Democratic House leader, and asked whether the charge of party irregularity against me was true, and whether my vote on the rules had destroyed my influence. To this letter Mr. KITCHIN made the following reply:

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 31, 1916.

Mr. T. H. Molton, Birmingham, Ala.

up to every requirement of an able, useful, patriotic, and wise Representative and legislator. I count any district fortunate in having such a Representative.

With best wishes and kind regards, I beg to remain,
Sincerely, yours,

CLAUDE KITCHIN.

This correspondence was known to the Birmingham papers. Only the Ledger published an account of it. Other papers had published the criticism against me, but they did not mention r. Kitchin's letter.

My opposition is insincere in the criticism. It is a dishonest criticism. They are seeking to make an excuse. They conceal their real reason for opposing me. My critics know that I am kept in Washington by the pressure of my official duties. can not come home to expose their malice and insincerity. They take advantage of my absence to stab me in the back with false criticisms.

I am at my post in Washington, and I shall not leave it. The Democratic majority is very small in the House. My absence might prove fatal to some important measure for the public Our great President needs me to hold up his hands in the House and to help to preserve the peace and prosperity The House Committee on Foreign Affairs, of of this Nation. which I am a Member, has charge of matters affecting our relations with foreign countries. We can not tell when something may break loose in Mexico or Europe. I am needed here. I will not desert my post merely to further my own private

My critics are indeed like the wolf. Having the desire to tear me to pieces they seek for some excuse for their meanness. It may be that the wolf who had made up his mind to eat the lamb was himself satisfied with the excuse that he made. may be that my critics have satisfied themselves with their silly excuse. I doubt that they can deceive the honest people of my

I am willing to trust the fairness and good judgment of my people. They know me personally, nearly every one of them. They know that I am honest and that I am not the candidate of any clique or faction and under no obligation to such. They know that I am a good Democrat. They will give me a square

The Valley Creek Survey.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON.

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Tuesday, April 11, 1916.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, some months ago I introduced a bill (H. R. 8225) providing for the survey of Valley Creek in Jefferson County, Ala., with the view to making same navigable. This bill was referred to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and after receiving consideration by that committee was reported as an item in the general rivers and harbors bill, which is now before the House.

The improvement of the Warrior, Black Warrior, and Tombigbee Rivers for the purposes of navigation has been under way for a number of years. These rivers flow in the main through an agricultural section, which does not produce much commerce. The upper reaches of the Warrior lie in the celebrated Birmingham district of Alabama, with its rich veins

of coal and its deposits of red iron ore.

The improvement of these rivers was entered upon chiefly for the purpose of giving the Birmingham district water connection with the Gulf. They flow through the Appalachian foothills and have many shoals and rapids, and the expense of improving them for navigation would have been unwarranted had the commerce produced by agriculture alone been considered. However, it was realized that there was an immense tonnage of heavy freight suitable to be carried by water originating in Jefferson County, where Birmingham is situated, and that with suitable improvement of the rivers transportation of these heavy products would be greatly facilitated.

The district intended to be reached is rich in coal, iron ore, and other raw materials. It is splendidly adapted to iron and steel manufacturing. It is said that pig iron may be made more cheaply there than anywhere else in the world. It has many coal mines, coke ovens, iron furnaces, steelworks, rolling mills, The matter presented foundries, and similar establishments. The products of the dis-

trict are in the main of the kind to demand low cost of carriage and do not require rapid transportation. For this reason water carriage is much to be desired and will prove highly beneficial.

The extension of navigation up the Warrior River was recently completed by the construction of Lock 17, which provides slack water to within about 20 miles of Birmingham. The total cost of all the improvements on these rivers to date is \$9,928,879.18, exclusive of maintenance and care. Lock 17 was opened for operation on May 13, 1915. The tonnage of freight passing through that lock had gradually increased until for December, 1915, it was 11,218 short tons. At Tuscaloosa, some 60 miles down the river from Birmingham, the entire water-borne commerce for 1915 was only 54,088 tons.

These figures indicate that the commerce borne by these streams is greatly less than had been anticipated. It is a shocking fact that if all the commerce borne by these rivers had been confiscated and sold at full value the amount realized for 1915 would be insufficient to pay interest upon the amount which the Government has expended upon the river improvement. This is

a situation provocative of thought.

By the completion of Lock 17 slack water is brought to certain coal measures in the southern and central portions of the Warrior coal field. The iron deposits are not reached. The coal measures reached by slack water are worked by a number of mines located on or near the river. Three concerns have availed themselves of the opportunity to use the river to transport coal. Two of these shippers have mines near the river, but have used it to no great extent. The third concern which has used the river has carried its coal over the Ensley Southern Railroad to a point near Short Creek, where it has been loaded into barges for Mobile and New Orleans, the operation being carried on at a cost of from 5 cents to 10 cents per ton more than it would cost to ship the coal by an all-rail route from the mines to the same

It is expected that the use of the Warrior River for carrying coal will be increased and that a commerce in other commodities will be built up. It is a fact, however, that to the present the Birmingham district has received very little benefit from the improvement of these rivers, and the result has been a great disappointment. The people of our community are thoroughly alive to this situation, and a number of solutions for it have been presented. It has been urged that the corporate limits of Birmingham be extended so as to include a narrow strip extending to the river with the idea that this would force the railroads to reduce freight rates to the basis of water competition. Another project urged is the construction of a paved wagon road from the city to slack water with the idea of establishing lines of trucks and other vehicles for hauling the freight to the water. Another scheme has been to build an electric railway to the river.

None of the projects advanced for the solution of Birming-ham's transportation difficulties has appeared to meet the situation. The making of freight rates is a practical matter. Competition in carrying commodities is practical and not theoretical. Railroads will reduce their rates only if by failing to do so they will lose traffic to a competitor. It must also be manifest that there can be no real competition with the rail-

roads by means of trucks or similar vehicles.

Birmingham has three lines of railroad touching slack water on the Warrior River. Two of these lines reach it at Cordova, some 30 miles west, but to this time little, if any, benefit has been derived on account of this fact. The chird railroad is the Ensley Southern, some 20 miles in length, which reaches the river near Short Creek. It is stated that a proposition has been made to sell this railroad to the city of Birmingham, but this is unpractical, for the reason that it is more of a scenic than a commercial road and is full of extremely difficult grades and curves, and it would have to be practically relocated and rebuilt to have much value as a line for freight transportation.

For many years the desire of my community for slack-water connection with the Warrior River has been keen. The project was first brought to the public attention in 1896 by J. A. Van Hoose, then mayor of Birmingham, who insisted that it was feasible. Under an authorization of the general rivers and harbors bill of 1896 an examination was conducted by Maj. W. T. Rossell, who reported that he was of opinion that a thorough investigation should be made, as he believed that the

The original project was to bring slack water to a point on Village Creek near the suburbs of Birmingham. It was contemplated that Valley Creek should be canalized to Bessemer, and from thence to the terminal north of Birmingham, about 15 miles, a canal with numerous locks should be constructed. The matter presented difficulties, not merely of cost but of water

A thorough investigation of the project was made by the United States Engineer Office in 1898 and a report made which is found in House Document No. 88 of the Fifty-fifth Congress. This report is as follows:

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ENGINEERS, UNITED STATES ARMY, Washington, D. C., December 13, 1898.

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ENGINEERS,
UNITED STATES ARMY,
Washington, D. C., December 13, 1898.

Sir.: I have the honor to submit the accompanying report of November 10, 1898, with map, by Maj. William T. Rossell, Corps of Engineers, of a survey made in compliance with requirements of the sundry civil act of June 4, 1897, to examine into the feasibility and advisability of the improvement of the waterway beginning at a point at or near the site selected for Lock No. 13 on the Warrior River, and continuing up Valley River from its month to Bessemer, Ala., thence to Birmingham, Ala., and beyond to Five Mile Creek, so as to secure a channel to have a minimum depth of 6 feet, with a least width of 50 feet at the water line, and to ascertain the cost of such improvement.

Maj. Rossell states that the country through which the Valley River runs is very broken and rocky, with high banks; that there is no question of the feasibility of building this line; and that, if the work is confined at present to canalizing Valley River and building storage reservoirs for supplying the canal with water in times of drought, the project is both feasible and advisable.

The project for this improvement contemplates the construction of 21 dams and locks of 10 feet lift, between the Warrior River and McAdory (about 40 miles), a storage-reservoir dam at Big Blue Creek. I at Little Blue Creek, and 2 at McAdory, and the estimated cost of the entire work, including damages, water powers, snubbing posts, telegraph and telephone lines, contingencies, and the construction of a railroad for transporting materials, is \$4,500,000.

A separate project is presented for continuing the improvement by canal to Five Mile Creek. It provides for construction between McAdory and Five Mile Creek (about 23 miles) of 13 locks and dams and a reservoir dam, and the estimated cost of this work, including miscellaneous items and contingencies, is \$4,000,000; but the local engineer states that it is doubtful if the canal can be operated throughout the year on accou

JOHN M. WILSON, Brigadier General, Chief of Engineers, United States Army.

Italics are not in the original.

The project then under investigation was not the same as that which we are now considering, which contemplates terminals at Bessemer. The original project contemplated terminals 15 miles north of Bessemer, at a point north of the city of Birmingham. I also call attention to the fact that Locks 16 and 17 had not been constructed at the time this examination was made, and that the situation has materially changed.

The construction of Lock 17, into the pool of which Valley Creek empties, has backed the water for several miles up Valley Creek, so that this much of the stream has already been taken care of. The item carried by the bill is for the improvement of the remainder of the creek up to a point adjacent to the city of Bessemer, where terminals would be located. The most expensive and troublesome part of the project—that is, the extension from Bessemer to the point north of Birmingham, which is over difficult ridges-is eliminated.

The change in the project will reduce the cost, it is believed, to less than half, and will solve the difficulty of water for This was one of the chief difficulties in the original project and one of its chief items of cost, for it was found to be necessary that water for this purpose should be brought by canal from the Locust Fork of the Warrior, some 25 miles from the Birmingham terminal, which involved impounding dams and other expensive works.

The city of Bessemer has a population of about 15,000. It is a manufacturing center and is the site of numerous furnaces, rolling mills, foundries, and so forth. It is connected with Birmingham by two electric lines and practically all the railroads of the district have terminals there. It is believed that slack-water navigation with terminals at Bessemer will be almost as beneficial to the Birmingham district, as a whole, as though the terminals were at Birmingham itself. All sources of heavy freight are located substantially as conveniently to Bessemer as to Birmingham, and the railroads and other convenient means of transportation would cause a great reduction in freight rates on other commodities.

The Government has been generous in appropriations for the Warrior River. As previously stated, the prime object of the improvements made on this river is to reach the Birmingham district, so as to give it the benefit of water transportation for

the heavy mineral products originating there. The work of improvement, however, has stopped short of accomplishing the desired results, and it must be admitted that the benefit which is now being derived by the district from the improvements which have been made is so small as to be most disappointing. The traffic is there. A larger tonnage of freight originates in that immediate section than any other similar region south of the Ohio or west of the Mississippi. Many millions of tons of coal, coke, iron, and steel products are waiting to be moved.

I regret to fear that the Warrior River improvement will re-

main a failure and disappointment if the work stops where it now is. I fear that the Government's millions will be shown to have been spent in vain unless something further is done. A crown should be placed upon these improvements by canalizing Valley Creek to Bessemer. When this is done the transportation problems of the district will have been largely solved. It is not fair to argue that the city of Birmingham itself will not be benefited unless water should be brought to its very limits. The fact is that our whole manufacturing and industrial district is a single community, and what benefits one part of it will benefit all. It is also a fact that with the water terminals at Bessemer practically every advantage will be gained as though these terminals were at the point originally contemplated north of Birmingham.

This project does not rely for its merits upon forcing the railroads to reduce their rates by water competition. The commodities are there that need to be carried by water. There is plenty of traffic for both railroads and river. To-day there is a plenty of traffic for both railroads and river. To-day there is a distressing car shortage in the Birmingham district, a shortage which greatly hampers our mines and mills. We want these improvements made, not to be kept in costly idleness but to be put into the actual service of transporting freight. There is an actual necessity for this,

The canalization of Valley Creek is not a matter which concerns the mineral district of Alabama alone. The Gulf ports need our products of coal and iron. They need these products freed from the heavy tax of railroad freights. The growth and development of every city on the Gulf would be promoted by this work. Great ships sailing the seas would be able to obtain our superior Alabama coal for their bunkers at these ports and would be encouraged to call at them. Commerce with all the world and the development of the entire southern country would be promoted.

Parcel Post.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL.

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Tuesday, April 11, 1916.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of recommitting the Post Office appropriation bill to the Committee on the Post office and Post Roads with instructions to report it back forth-with with an amendment adding the words "one hundred and" before the words "fifty pounds." One hundred and fifty pounds as the limit of a parcel-post package would not, as the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Mann] suggests, require derricks to load the mail, but it would effectually put this valuable branch of the Post Office Department at the service of the farmer. This innocent-looking amendment to limit the parcel-post weight to 50 pounds is in the interest of the express companies.

The parcel post is the people's express company. Although it is still in its infancy, it has almost revolutionized farming of to-day, and it is capable of almost limitless development in the rural districts. The reciprocal advantages to the consumer of obtaining fresh, crisp vegetables, new-laid eggs, and plump country chickens, and to the farmer of a ready market, caused hope to spring that the fell ghost of the high cost of living would be a little put to rout.

Parcel post has opened to the farmer a new vista. In conjunction with good rural free-delivery service, it solves the marketing problem. In the fruit district around Lake Minnetonka, where I live, members of the cooperative association pick and box their berries, apples, or vegetables, load them on the parcel post, and they are taken to the cooperative ware-houses the same day. The poultry industry has been given an impetus; both fowls and fresh eggs finding their way quickly the consumer via the parcel post.

Merchants in small towns send out their advertisements to their rural patrons who return the order on the next mail. By the original bill, the weight, the size of the parcel-post package is left to the regulation of the Postmaster General.

The Madden amendment is in the interests of the express companies, who are deadly rivals of the parcel post, and would be happy to see its scope and future development strangled, which the Madden amendment seeks to do. It is vicious in its intent. No one can tell what the future of the parcel post may To limit it in the direction of weight now is subversive of the best interests of the farmer. Suppose the rural carrier has only a small cart, and is unable at present to accommodate parcels anywhere near the limit, shall that be used as an argument to choke forever the future possibilities of this institution, when light, practical motor trucks are in sight? If the business warrant, it is easy to put on more carriers. One hundred and fifty pounds would take in a dressed hog, or a calf, a sack of pota-toes or rutabagas. The United States can surely take care of the simple problem of transportation and roads when our citizens are convinced of the necessity. It is medieval to sit down by the wayside in the face of so slight an obstacle when the advantages on the other side is so overwhelming. The question of economic delivery and a proper structure for rural delivery ought to be left to the discretion of post-office experts to meet as the traffic develops. The parcel-post limit should begin where the express company becomes exorbitant-that is, at the 100-pound limit. Under that limit express-company prices are prohibitive. They bar the farmer from using that medium for the exchange of his commodities.

I am not in favor of cutting down the service to the farmer. This is the one tangible benefit that accrues to him from his taxes. I am, therefore, opposed to limiting the parcel post.

River Improvement in Idaho.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT M. McCRACKEN, OF IDAHO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Monday, April 10, 1916.

Mr. McCRACKEN. Mr. Speaker, this bill incorporates the main provisions of House bill 10762, introduced by me on the 3d day of February of this year, looking to the survey of the Snake River from its mouth to Pittsburgh Landing, with a view to canalizing the Snake River so that it might be utilized for the purposes of commerce and the development of hydroelectric power. The Rivers and Harbors Committee considered my bill very carefully before its provisions were written into the bill which is now before the House, and I am glad to know that there is no sentiment in the House against making the surveys which we ask for.

The Dalles-Celilo Canal was opened to traffic less than one year ago. Within three months after the opening of the canal and before the low-water season, the Dalles-Columbia line made 18 trips to the city of Lewiston on the Snake River, carrying an average cargo of 100 tons a trip. This is the equivalent of 180 boat carloads, or 90 rail carloads, as designated in transportation These cargoes were carried over the practically unimproved stretch of the Snake River from the mouth of that stream to Riparia, a stretch of the river that for years unfriendly interests contended would forever bar steamboat navigation. The tonnage referred to in the brief period of three months embraced everything from salt to automobiles. The rate on disferent classifications varied, but for the purpose of clearly demonstrating the saving made to shippers the lowest base rate is taken. example, if these 18 boats had carried only salt to Lewiston the saving in freight would have been \$2,700. If only sugar, \$3,600. Instead, due to the advanced rates on other classes, the saving easily reaches \$5,000 to \$7,000 on incoming Lewiston freight During this same brief period of three months 1,000 passengers were carried by boats out of Lewiston, and the saving to these passengers over the rail rate to points of destination would average \$3.30 each. While I have no specific data as to the outgoing tounage hauled by these boats, yet I am informed by some of the best business men of the city of Lewiston that the saving on freight charges for incoming and outgoing business taken together for that period of three months would approximate \$10,000, and for the year should reach a total of \$40,000. As to the outgoing business, numerous instances could be cited not only as to profit but the convenience of the boat line to

shippers. In this connection I should like to mention a certain shipment of hogs to Portland, Oreg. These hogs were owned by George Ansman, of Asotin, Wash. They were loaded on the beat at Ten Mile warehouse above Lewiston. On the all-water trip to Portland the hogs had full rest, were fed conveniently, and actually weighed more upon delivery at Portland than at the point of loading. A feature of open-river boat operation of importance also is that, in addition to this saving of freight, the money spent in connection with the operation of boats is largely distributed in that vicinity. One boat company in a single month paid a Lewiston business concern \$612 for supplies. An inspection of the tariffs of the boat and rail lines shows that on every classification there is an important saving to the shippers using boat service. Comparisons are made, for instance, on six classifications from Portland to Lewiston. The saving per hundred pounds in class 1 is 23 cents; class 2, 18 cents; class 3, 12 cents; class 4, 12 cents; class 5, 17 cents; class A, 7 cents. The saving on sugar is 10½ cents per hundred and on salt 7½ cents per hundred. As to passenger service, the saving is shown in a pronounced way, when it is considered that the rate by water from Lewiston to Kennewick is \$1 and by rail \$3.30; from Lewiston

to Portland by water, \$4; by rail, \$10.65.

With the improvement and canalization of the Snake River there will be developed great water-power possibilities. The Salmon and Clearwater Rivers, which are tributaries to the Snake, have wonderful power facilities which await the touch of the engineer. Along the Snake River there are thousands of acres of land which will be reclaimed when cheap power is afforded. I can not conceive of any project in the general scheme of preparedness which is more comprehensive than the improvement of the Snake River from its mouth to Pittsburgh This locality is the natural home of the largest body of white pine in the world, estimated by the Government at 20,000,000,000 feet. The Nez Perce and Camas prairies are contiguous and produce annually on the average of 10,000,000 bushels of wheat, besides hay and grain. Hundreds of carloads of horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs raised in that section are shipped to the markets of the world annually. On account of its low altitude, the Lewiston section, which is only 600 feet above sea level, has become famous for its production of both hardy and delicate fruits. It has long been known as the home of fine grapes, and many of the most favored European varieties grow in profusion. Not only will the improvement of the Snake River increase the tonnage of agricultural products and live stock to be shipped in the future, but the river is the outlet of a great undeveloped mining region, with some 54 mining districts which have been organized for many years, and the development of which depends entirely upon cheaper transportation. Among some of the districts which have already gained recognition as producers of high and low grade ore are the Florence, Pierce, Elk, and Warren.

I assure the Members of the House that no mistake will be made by Congress in granting liberal appropriations for the improvement of the Snake River and its tributaries, and on behalf of the people of that region in Idaho known as the inland empire I want to thank the House of Representatives for the friendly consideration it has given to this important

item in the bill.

Address of Hon. Franklin K. Lane.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM KETTNER. OF CALIFORNIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 13, 1916.

Mr. KETTNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the remarks made by Mr. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, as representative of the President at the reopening of the Panama-California International Exposition at San Diego, Cal., March 18, 1916. It is as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. FRANKLIN K. LANE AT THE OPENING OF THE PANAMA-CALIFORNIA INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION AT SAN DIEGO, CAL., MARCH 18, 1916,

I know that those of you who are Californians will sympathize with the feeling of elation that I have in coming home and bringing to you the personal greetings of the First Citizen of our country. The time will surely come when the country will call to its first place a son of California, but until that time does come no greater honor can be given to a Californian than to speak for the President. He asked me to give you his greeting; not a perfunctory word, formal and set, but a word of hearty cheer at the spirit, the confidence, and the courage you have shown. He had intended to make this trip himself; but circumstances, some to the east of him and some to the south of him, made that an impossibility. It is necessary now, above all times, that he should stay at the seat of government that the nations of the world may know that, while our Army may be small and our Navy rank but third in the world's calendar, the spirit of this democracy will not permit the invasion of her rights either upon the land or upon the sea.

It is a great burden that we have cast upon our President. He must interpret to all other peoples the sense of dignity, of self-respect, and of proper pride of a hundred million people whose voice he can not hear but whose self-reliant will he must assert. Pitted against him are the trained and cunning intellects of the whole world outside our hemisphere, and no one can be more conscious than is he that it is difficult to reconcile pride and patience. I give you his greetings, therefore, not out of a heart that is joyous and buoyant but out of a heart that is grave and firm in its resolution that the future of our Republic and of all republics shall not be put in peril.

It is a fine thing that you have done here. You are presenting to the world one of the greatest expositions ever seen. Not so great perhaps in the multiplicity of machines or fabrics or works of art; not so costly as some, but no exposition ever presented to the eyes of man gave proof of more daring and splendid spirit. And after all it is the spirit of the man or of the thing that he does which makes him noble or mean.

If the patron saint of San Diego, the Padre Serra, could cross that bridge which steps the canyon like some grand dame in a minuet and mount the steps of that church and look out of the bell tower upon this city, upon those red roofs, these cloisters and arcades, these turrets and towers, and cast his eye over this land which so lately was desert and which now is the rarest of gardens, I believe that he would not think himself demeaned were he to hear me say that the spirit which has built this thing of beauty was like to the spirit that brought him to this shore to win a people and a country for the glory of his God and his king. Men are the creatures of their times, and he was bold in his adventure of the eighteenth century as you are bold in your adventure of the twentieth century. - If he heard men say this is an age of the grossest materialism when men worship only money and have souls for things no nobler than trading stamps, I believe he would point at what you have done and say this is my answer to that charge. Here is the proof that men glory in beauty and in the work of their hands. taught my Indian boys to lay before the altar tributes of I taught them to lead the stream over the fruits and flowers. desert, to make it bring forth vine and fig. I taught them to model with their hands the cunning arches of our Holy Church. I taught them to have joy in the things that they did that their souls might be satisfied and these things these men of a

You call this an international exposition, because there are exhibited here the products of the minds and fingers of some 30 or more nations. They show to us porcelains and silks, pictures and statues, carvings and carpets, finer than any that we can show; but in return we show to them a continent conquered and civilized in a century, a people more fertile in imagination than any that the world has ever known, and enterprises of greater magnitude than Cæsar or Napoleon dreamed of.

This is a fitting place for such an exposition. the rim of the continent. The Aryan race, which was born in the other hemisphere, has encircled the globe and has come back to report to its wise and aged mother the story of its great adventure. What has this Nation to say to those who lie before it and round about it? We answer that we have come to know that this world is made not for the gratification of the desire of a few, but for the benefit of the many. That power must be common capital. That nature, not man, is the enemy man must conquer, and that the world belongs to him who reclaims the desert, who bores the mountains, who most swiftly sails the sea, and most surely masters the air; who with plow and microscope, furnace and blowpipe, test tube and machine makes this world serve mankind best.

To conquer nature man broke down the gates of the Garden of Eden and came forth to meet the challenge of an unordered world. For 10 times 10,000 years he has been engaged in this conquest. Trench after trench he has taken, hilltop after hilltop, and no one can dare to say what shall be the limit of his progress. A thousand years hence I have no doubt the world will see another international exposition beside this very bay, and then will realize that the high purpose of democracy is to prove it is the conquerer of the world by being its supreme The Cotton Tax and the Confederate Pension.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

JAMES HON. H. DAVIS, OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 13, 1916.

Mr. DAVIS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, since the bill introduced by Mr. TILLMAN, of Arkansas, to appropriate the fund known as the cotton tax to a pension fund for the old Confederate soldier there has been great anxiety among the old gray veterans over the final outcome of that measure. Scores of letters have come to me from the haggard, helpless, and worn-out gray coats, wondering if it is possible for them to have the joy of receiving a small portion of that fund as a pension in their declining years.

Falling under the fate of the lost cause 50 years ago they returned to desolate homes and began to resuscitate and rebuild their southland. With an energy and application born of indomitable courage and energy they helped to make what the commercial world calls the new southland. Recognizing the right of the conqueror over the conquered, they laid down their arms, undertook to revamp their lives, and make themselves and their posterity a part and parcel of the future history of this great Republic. Those who know the South best know this has been heroically done.

Some years ago the Supreme Court of the United States, neither a southern court nor one of Democratic membership, but a court made up of Republicans, high-class, broad-minded, brainy men from the North and West, decided that a certain cotton tax, levied on the South during the later part of the war and recon-struction period, was unlawfully collected and hence was unlawfully held against its rightful owners in the South. This fact becoming known throughout the South, inspired an anxious solicitude among many of the old grizzly, gray veterans, who are already journeying far down the decline of life and are often found in straitened and stringent circumstances. Many of them maimed, wounded, and battle scarred, have struggled for half a century to earn a livelihood, making no complaint and feeling no spite toward the brave boys in blue whose bullets and bayo-nets lacerated and pierced their bodies in the struggle of the

When it became currently known that this fund, consisting of some \$65,000,000, might in justice and reality be returned to the South, the question arose as to whom it should be returned. Many of those from whom it was collected had long since passed to the other shore without leaving a record of the transaction. Yet occasional records show persons eligible to refund.

When Mr. Tillman introduced his measure setting this fund aside as a pension for old Confederate veterans there was an exclamation of exultant joy from the hearts of several thousand of the old sons of the South. Having been born in South Carolina, reared in Texas with southern environments and antecedents, it may be that I am unable to see the meritorious viewpoint of those who would oppose this measure. I realize that in the heat of campaigns and even here on the floor of Congress the faint echoes of sectional strife are yet sometimes heard and felt. It is not so with me, feeling a pride in the history, traditions, and glorious achievements of the South. I realize to the fullest extent that the glory, grandeur, and perpetuity of this Republic must rest not only upon constitutional legal bonds, but it must rest upon a union of sentiment, fraternity, love, fellowship, and community of interest that knows no North, no South, no East, no West when acting for the destiny and hope of the

It seems to me there can be no just grounds for opposition to such a measure. Mr. Tillman's bill does not ask this Republic to pension those old veterans from the funds of the Republic. He simply means, in common terms, that although this fund was collected on the cotton of the South in good faith at the time, it has since been declared an unconstitutional, illegal method of taxation. Hence, this fund rightfully belongs to the South, from whence it was collected-held, as it were, in trust for its rightful owners for adjudication.

The Government itself has what it calls a conscience fund, into which any person in any part of the earth may remit and refund any money that the owner feels in his conscience he has wrongfully taken from this Republic. And we are told that many thousands of dollars come into the Treasury of the United States every year from those who, under the lash of their conscience, feel they had once wrongfully taken money from their Government.

Now, let this Government rise in its majesty and make this a kind of conscience fund and tender it to the South from whence it came. Speaking for myself and family, we could readily make a just claim for refund to a small portion of this \$65,000,000. But, sir, I am sure that I join in the common sentiment of the younger men and women of the South when I state that I would rather see the amount go to the old veterans than to receive it myself.

And now, Mr. Speaker, while I am on this question let me state that on the 5th of February in my remarks on this floor, having occasion to discuss the imperious designs of syndicated wealth, as represented in the "Gary dinners" and great feasts of the "frenzied financiers," whom I felt and yet feel had sinister designs against the commonweal of our country, I made some comparisons, in which I used the names of Jeff Davis, William L. Yancey, and Bob Toombs in such a way as to cause some of my friends and many of my enemies to think that I had used these names in an unjust and unfair manner. I had no thought of reflection on their character as great men in the age in which they lived. I have often said that my father and all my nearest relatives stood for every principle of slavery and secession that actuated the life of John C. Calhoun, Yancey, Toombs, or Davis. Realizing this, I would have no more cust a slur on their name and character than one on my father, brother, or three uncles, whose bones lie beneath the silent sods of southern battle fields, where they went down beneath leaden hail wearing a tattered uniform of southern gray.

Having received letters from men who I know to be my friends and whose motives I know are pure, telling me that my remarks are likely to do these men and their places in history a serious injustice, I now withdraw the names of those men from my remarks of February 5, and thereby disclaim any intention to mar either their historic standing or personal probity, having simply spoken of them and the slave power of the South in the light of history. The following letter from Senator Sheppard and the following address to the old soldiers

of the South explain themselves:

UNITED STATES SENATE, April 10, 1916.

My Dear Sir and Friend: In further reference to the Jefferson Davis matter I wish to say that I have again looked over the statement to which Camp Sterling Price, at Dallas, drew my attention.

As your friend and well wisher permit me to say that there are words in the statement conveying serious personal reflection on the character of Yancey, Toombs, and Davis,

Inasmuch as you have said that you would no more attack the character of these men than you would attack the character of your own father, brother, or uncles, who stood with these men and believed in their doctrines, it is evident that this language is unfortunate and did not convey your real meaning.

I believe that in justice to yourself, your friends, and the memory of these men who represent a large part of the history of the South which you with us all cherish you should withdraw and disclaim this language through a statement to that effect in the Recone, and that you should accompany this withdrawal with such an explanation as you have given through other channels.

I make this suggestion to you in all sincerity and with an earnest desire to promote your own welfare and your usefulness to the people. Yours, very sincerely,

Morris Sheppard.

Hon. J. H. Davis, M. C., Washington, D. C.

MORRIS SHEPPARD.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., April 8, 1916.

To the old soldiers of Texas:

Washington, D. C., April S, 1916.

To the old soldiers of Texas:

I see some of your camps are condemning me in severe terms, alleging that I standered Jeff Davis in a speech of the Congressional Record, February 5 in which I charged that Toombs, Yancey, Davis, et al. stood for the extension of slave power which resulted in the Civil War.

I made those statements, commenting on the "Gary dinner," while arraigning the trusts and combines, the Steel Trust and war traffickers, as being ready to plunge us into war to make good their millions and prolong their sway. I meant no more personal thrust at or discourtesy to the memory and honor of these Southern men than of my own father who stood with them in every contention and through every trial. He and my only brother that was old enough offered their services to die for the cause if necessary. My brother did die, and his bones lie in the trenches at Corinth, where he fell at the breech of a Confederate musket. For the valor, honor, and chivalry of these men, among whom my own father, brother, and seven uncles stood, I have the flighest esteem, but for the institution of slavery there is no defense and the world now knows it brought on the war. The negro has been a burden, a blight, and a curse to this country from the time the "Boston brigands" traded red beads to the savage chiefs in Africa for the first shipload landed in this country to the present time.

My tather was a slaveholder and a Confederate, like his kinsman, Jeff Davis, for whom one of my four living brothers was named. Three of my uncles went down under the missiles of death that came from the boys in blue. As slaves and confederate currency—all on earth my father had—went down with the southern cause, left homeless and destitute, I came up through great tribulation.

But David said he had "never seen the righteous forsaken nor his seed begging bread."

Many low-flung, lecherous debauchees that swill around saloons in Texas are now, with vitest insulting, unsigned letters, sending marked copies of ma

Morgan and his war traffickers are quoting your resolutions with great gusto and hoping to gloat over my downfall. Men who stood for freedom, justice, and human überty have often been mariyrs to the mad passions of hero worshipers. Men who opposed crowns, aristocracy, organized greed, and legalized infamy, as i now oppose Morgan's gang and the booze brigade, have aiways had to suffer bitter persecution. My life is now becoming a marked "xample of that truth.

The great trust masters, Morgan's meion cutters and war traffickers, the Steel Trust, and the money devil are all joined with that organization of political infamy and social corruption, known as the liquor traffic, to drive Cyclone Davis out of Congress. He has tormented them on the stump for 20 years and is now in Congress, where his presence has become a national terror in uncovering and exposing their hideous and infernal methods of peculation, pillage, and plunder and the putrefying corruption and venal political influence of the liquor traffic. They can neither suppress or intimidate him, nor can they expunge his speeches—hence he must be destroyed.

Among the last words my tather ever said to me, speaking of the war, was, "My son, if there had been no negro, there would have been no war. We lost everything. It is now the patriotic duty of every son of the South to see that the great corporation combines neither make wage slavery worse and more oppressive than chattel slavery has been nor make the farmer helpless in their clutches."

Speaker Clafac this week, in referring to a ruling made by a former Speaker in the struggle over the admission of Kansas and Nebraska, said that was one of the most noted parliamentary battles ever fought, and was followed by more bloodshed than was spilled in the siege of ancient Troy. The great struggle over the admission of fhose States was whether they should be "free States" or "slave States." The crists came in 1858, when they were "organized" as free Territories, to be "free States."

came in 1858, when they were "organized" as free Te "free States." The war followed three years later. Two lines of the first war song I learned as a lad ran:

Two lines of the first war song I learned as a lad ran:

"Old Andrew Johnson, of east Tennessee,
Has gone to join Abe Lincoln to set the negroes free."

Even the war songs showed what the issue was. In my speech I spoke only of the economic issue involved in that war, having in mind economic effects, and had no thought of casting any personal reflections on those historic characters. I think there are scores of men now who feel that they represent the best interest of the country when they defend the unscrupulous trusts and the ungodiy and damnable liquor traffic. I do not despise them. I despise the institutions they defend. I shall be glad to have you request and read my remarks of March 22, in which I answer my traducers in Texas, which is costing me. at Government rates, about \$350 per 100,000 to distribute, even under frank.

A few Republicans, led by Mr. Madden, of Chicago, resenting, I infer, the manner in which I attacked the trusts and the liquor interests, tried to have this speech expunged. The same kind tried to expunge a speech made by Tillman, of South Carolina, when he first came to Congress.

Respectfully,

J. H. Davis.

Now, Mr. Speaker, in closing let me make a last appeal in the interest of justice, fair play, and righteousness for the old soldier of the South. A large majority of the old soldiers on both sides of the battle lines of the sixties are now close to the banks of the river, and must soon cross a pontoon bridge not built with hands. The old soldier of the South, for 50 years, many of them limping along the lane of life, have borne their share of the burdens of government without murmur, receiving few of the special blessings of government. Many of them now live in tenement houses with their sons and daughters, earning in toil barely enough to keep them above penury.

I said in a speech a few weeks ago that I would be glad to see at least \$250,000 of this fund set aside as a reunion fund to entertain and care for the veterans in blue and the veterans in gray, to meet in a grand union in the National Capital on the 4th day of July, our national birthday, and the balance of that fund allotted in pensions to soldiers of the South. No more transcendent example of fraternity and national patriotic pride could, in my judgment, be adopted to cement and forever seal the North and the South in reunited bonds of fraternity.

The Second Lincoln Campaign and the Second Wilson Campaign, 1864-1916.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY T. RAINEY,

OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 12, 1916.

Mr. RAINEY, Mr. Speaker, 52 years ago the campaign for the reelection of Abraham Lincoln was opening. The real issues were surprisingly similar to the issues of to-day. The same arguments were being used for and against the reelection of Lincoln as are being used to-day and will be used throughout the campaign which is opening for and against the reelection of President Wilson.

LINCOLN STRONGLY OPPOSED BY PROMINENT LEADERS IN HIS OWN PARTY, BUT HIS STRENGTH WAS WITH THE PEOPLE.

On page 183 of the very excellent work of A. K. McClure, Our Presidents: How We Make Them, Dr. McClure calls atten-

tion to the fact that prominent leaders of Lincoln's own party were bitterly opposed to Lincoln and were opposed even to accepting him as a candidate. Chase, Wade, Henry Winter Davis, and Horace Greeley were among those who did not think Lincoln would make the best candidate. Sumner was not heartly for him. Stevens was earnestly opposed to him "because he had not pressed confiscation and other punishments against the South, and the extreme radical wing of the Republican Party was aggressive in its hostility. Lincoln's strength was with the people, and they overwhelmed the leaders who sought his overthrow."

There are, however, few, if any, men prominent in Democratic councils who are opposing the candidacy of Mr. Wilson; but the

real strength of the President is with the people.

In his Twenty Years of Congress, volume 1, page 530, James G. Blaine, commenting upon the presidential elections of 1864, calls attention to the fact that it seemed that Lincoln would be defeated. President Lincoln thought so himself, but the crisis through which the country was passing soon brought an end to mere political controversies.

Mere political feeling largely subsided and the people were actuated by a higher sense of public duty.

In this connection Mr. Blaine also says:

The argument for Mr. Lincoln's reelection addressed itself with resistible force to the patriotic sentiment and sober judgment of the

The Nation is passing through a crisis now in its history as great as the crisis which confronted the country during the campaign of Lincoln for reelection in 1864. Fortunately under one flag, the 48 great States of this Union stand united against the international perils which confront us. Alone among the great nations of the earth, we must accept the task of keeping brightly burning upon the seas, as well as on the continents, the lights of civilization. We can not shrink within our national boundaries and avoid the duties imposed upon us in this great crisis of the world's history. We can not permit the nations of the earth to sink back into the darkness of the medieval night. We confront a world in arms. Under the wise guidance of President Wilson we have so far been able to uphold the standards of civilization and escape participation in the present struggle. It is not wise to adopt any other leadership.

DISAPPOINTED OFFICE SEEKERS IN 1864 AND IMPATIENCE WITH MR. LINCOLN'S CONSERVATIVE METHODS.

The disappointments among those who had not succeeded in their ambition to secure appointive positions were more marked during Lincoln's second campaign than now. The Republican Party was absolutely new in national politics. Thousands of men who had been interested in its prior campaigns and who had fought hard for the things the party stood for had not been able to obtain the appointments they desired. Lincoln had at his disposal more appointive positions than President Wilson has had at his disposal. There was no civil service in those days and

the appointments were both civil and military.

James G. Blaine, on page 514 of volume 1 of his Twenty Years of Congress, calls attention to this situation:

Years of Congress, calls attention to this situation:

A part of the hostility was due to a sincere though mistaken impatience with Mr. Lincoin's slow and conservative methods and a part was due to political resentments and ambitions. The more radical element of the party was not content with the President's cautious and moderate policy, but insisted that he should proceed to extreme measures or give way to some bolder leader who would meet these demands. Other individuals had been aggrieved by personal disappointments, and the spirit of faction could not be altogether extinguished even amid the agonies of war. There were civil as well as military offices to be filled, and the selection among candidates put forward in various interests could not be made without leaving a sense of discomfuture in many breasts.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN IN THE GREAT CRISIS WHICH CONFRONTED THE

PRESIDENT LINCOLN IN THE GREAT CRISIS WHICH CONFRONTED THE NATION PREQUENTLY CHANGED HIS MIND.

President Wilson is charged with changing his position on important economic questions. In this present period of rapid kaleido-scopić changes in world affairs men who stand still will soon find themselves standing alone. The charges of changing his mind and of vacillation urged with such insistence against President Wilson at the present time were urged with equal insistence and vigor against President Lincoln during the campaign of 1864, and in order to meet the arguments along this line it was necessary, in the month of October, 1864, to bring back from the front a popular military hero to deliver an address, which was at once widely circulated, on this very subject. The meeting was advertised for the 9th day of October, 1864, and on that day one of the greatest mass meetings of the campaign assembled in the city of Brooklyn. The military hero who was brought back from the front to address this great meeting was Maj. Gen. Carl Schurz. President Lincoln had already made an answer to the charge of changing his policies. After reviewing the policies and the particulars upon which President Lincoln had changed his position, with great force

and effect, Gen. Schurz, in his speech on that occasion, quoted from Lincoln as follows: "I am not controlling events, but events are controlling me." The speech was printed in the New York papers of October 10, 1864, and was widely copied throughout the country. People saw at once the force of Lincoln's position, and so at the present time, in the great crisis which confronts us amidst changing world conditions, when our industries are reaching out for a world trade they never had before, and when the charge of vaciliation and changing his mind is made against the President of the United States, we can reply, as Lincoln replied over a half a century ago, the President is not controlling events; events are controlling him.

THEY CALLED LINCOLN NAMES AND ABUSED HIM.

At the present time vile, scandalous terms are being used by critics of President Wilson and his policies in the magazines and newspapers of the land. These terms are being used by writers from the caliber of Owen Wister, with his mastery of English, down to the most insignificant penny-a-liner who writes for metropolitan papers in great cities, but they have not been able to invent as many opprobrious words as were used by the critics of Lincoln in 1864. The New York Daily Tribune of Tuesday, September 6, 1864, assembles some of the names used by the opponents of Lincoln in and out of his party in the campaign of 1864. According to the Tribune these are some of campaign of 1804. According to the Pribate these are some of the names applied to Lincoln during that campaign: "Filthy story-teller," "despot," "big secessionist," "liar," "thief," "braggart," "buffoon," "usurper," "monster," "Ignoramus Abe," "old scoundrel," "perjurer," "robber," "swindler," "tyrant," "fiend," "butcher," "land pirate," and other pleasant epithets.

The article in the Tribune assembling these terms concludes as follows:

The vocabulary of billingsgate is limited and their ammunition of abuse may be exhausted before the day of battle.

So may we not hope in this campaign that the vocabulary of billingsgate, in which so many of the President's opponents are apparently so splendidly skilled and their ammunition of abuse may be exhausted before the day of battle? But whether it is or is not it will have no effect on the final result.

NOT BEST TO SWAP HORSES WHILE CROSSING STREAMS.

This was the argument which prevailed in Lincoln's second campaign, and in the strangely similar campaign which opens now before us this appeals most strongly to men of all parties. The phrase is not a new one. It has been used in American politics from 1864 to the present time. Its origin, however, has become obscured. It may be interesting at the present time in this connection to call attention to the origin of this expression which had such tremendous effect in the campaign of 1864.

The Republican convention closed its sittings at Baltimore on the 9th day of June, 1864. On the next day a committee selected by it assembled in the East Room of the White House and Gov. Dennison, who had been president of the convention and who was chairman of the committee, addressed the President officially, conveying to him the information as to the action of the convention. President Lincoln replied, accepting the nomination conferred upon him and approving the platform declarations. This meeting in the East Room of the White House, however, attracted not the slightest attention in the campaign which followed; but on the afternoon of that day a number of the members of the National Union League informally called on the President at the White House to congratulate him upon his renomination. In the entirely extemporaneous address made by Lincoln on this occasion he was at his best, and it was in this address that he sounded the keynote of the campaign which followed. After expressing his thanks for the personal compliments paid to him on that day he assured his callers that the only compliment he was entitled to appropriate was the one expressed to the effect that he might hope that-

I am not entirely unworthy to be intrusted with the place I have occupied for the last three years. I have not permitted myself, gentlemen, to conclude that I am the best man in the country, but I am reminded on this occasion of the story of an old Dutch farmer who remarked to a companion once that "it is not best to swap horses when crossing streams."

The story was new in national politics. It was greeted with tumultuous applause and laughter when Lincoln related it in the White House on the afternoon following the adjournment of the Baltimore convention. It was reported the next day in the New York Daily Tribune and was copied throughout the country. It found a place in the campaign literature and on the campaign banners used in 1864. During the present campaign which so strangely parallels the second Lincoln campaign it can appropriately be used again.
On the night of June 9, at a great meeting at the Cooper

Union Institute in New York City, the Rev. Dr. Buddington, of New York, in his eloquent address caught the spirit of the ap-

proaching campaign and alluded to Mr. Lincoln as the man "who was and is leading the people as Moses led the children of Israel through the Red Sca," and this phrase, along with the homely story of Lincoln, became popular throughout the cam-paign which followed. The story told by Lincoln had its effect again when one week later the great hall of the Cooper Institute in New York was again crowded at the ratification meeting of the Central Union Lincoln Campaign Club, of New York. On the platform were Peter Cooper, Theodore Tilton, and others, but the greatest enthusiasm was provoked by the speech of Hon. Charles S. Spencer, the president of the club, when he said:

We have no disappointing ambition, no personal revenge to gratify. As the President has stood by the country in the hour of trial so stand we by the President.

I can think of no better expression than this with which to depict the sentiment which ought to prevail and will prevail in the campaign which opens now for the reelection of President Wilson, 52 years after the speech of Mr. Spencer was delivered.

The New York Daily Tribune of Wednesday, September 14, 1864, calls attention to the appeal for the reelection of Lincoln sent out by the national union committee from its headquarters in New York City. The appeal went out on the 9th day of September, 1864. It was a stirring appeal for the reelection of Lincoln. It was in harmony with the sentiment which dominated the campaign. That part which appealed most strongly to the country, and which those who favor the reelection of President Wilson can appropriate at the present time, read as follows:

We call upon you to stand by the President, who under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty has wielded the power of the Nation with unfaltering courage and fidelity, with integrity which even calumny has not dared to impeach, and with wisdom and prudence upon which success is even now stamping the surest and the final seal.

In Edward Stanton's History of the Presidency, on page 299, referring to Mr. Lincoln's reelection, he calls attention to Lincoln's story, which he does not quite correctly quote, and says:

Mr. Lincoln neither obtrusively urged himself as a candidate for re-election nor made any coy professions of unwillingness to be chosen again. He was simply and frankly a candidate. He believed that it was best for the country, under the circumstances, that he should be continued in office. It was not good policy "to swap horses while cross-ing a stream."

IMPORTANT ISSUES OF 1864 AND 1916 THE SAME.

No matter how much we may differ on the question of the tariff and on other economic subjects, we must all agree that the crisis through which we are passing as a Nation at the present time is as important in its consequences as the crisis of 1864. The same questions of soul-stirring patriotism appear again and, strangely, the same methods used against Lincoln in the campaign of 1864 are being used now by the enemies in all parties of President Wilson. May we not hope that the shafts of envy and malice aimed now against President Wilson will fall as harmlessly to the ground as they did in the second Lincoln campaign? It was not best 52 years ago, it is not best now "to swap horses while crossing streams."

River and Harbor Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY A. BARNHART, OF INDIANA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tucsday, April 11, 1916.

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunate that in framing bills committees can not meet the special views of all the 435 Members of this House, but such never has been done and probably never will be. However, in river and harbor bills there are always some projects open to question, and this bill is like all its predecessors in that respect. But much of this is hearsay. One Member contends that his item in the bill is all important and others are not, while other Members insist that the reverse is true. And in these heated contentions things are said which lead the country to understand that there is "pork" in all river and harbor legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I can not believe that the honorable men who work for months on bills like this intentionally admit unworthy projects and neither do I question the sincerity and honesty of those who vote for the legislation. But the national calamity of war threatens us every day, we are expected to spend large sums for preparedness to protect our country if trouble comes, and so I feel that we should now omit every expenditure of

public money that can be done without damage to the well-being of the Nation.

Therefore I shall vote to reduce the proposed appropriation to \$20,000,000, an amount sufficient to continue work already commenced and work necessary for preparedness, and if this proposition is defeated I shall vote against the bill.

I shall do this not as a reflection on the members of the committee and others who favor the bill, but because I believe that we ought to keep expenditures down as low as possible.

And I have another reason for voting against anything more than expenditures for emergent improvements this year. I want to be consistent; I am a member of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds and opposed to any bill being reported by this committee which covers more than actual necessary improvements. Therefore I am opposed to a rivers and harbors bill which carries anything more than emergency provisions, and shall oppose any public-buildings bill reported by my own committee which undertakes to spend money for new improvements which can wait, and which ought to wait at this time when we are going to spend so much public money for military defense.

Deed to Homestead of Abraham Lincoln.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PAT HARRISON,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 12, 1916.

Mr. Speaker, in the consideration and Mr. HARRISON. discussion of this bill, proposing that the Government of the United States take over and preserve the home in Kentucky in which Abraham Lincoln was born, it is not inappropriate that I place in the Record a letter that I received in my mail only a few moments ago from as gallant an array of men and women as ever lived.

Not far from the home in which the martyred Lincoln was

born, Jefferson Davis was born.

Like Lincoln, his life was spent in another State—and service extended beyond any section. Beauvoir, on the shores of the Mississippi Sound, was the last home of Mr. Davis. For the last decade that beautiful place has been transformed into a home for Confederate veterans. About 250 of these gallant old soldiers, although true to the cause which in the sixties they espoused, to-day are as true to the Union and as loyal to the flag as are the men who in the sixtles enlisted in the Federal Armies. The letter, Mr. Speaker, which I ask unanimous consent to place in the Record has come to me from these old patriots, tendering their services to the President to go into Mexico as a part of the Armies of this Government, if necessary.

THE JEFFERSON DAVIS BEAUVOIR SOLDIERS' HOME, Gulfport, Miss., March 23, 1916.

Mr. Pat Harrison, M. C.

Dear Sir: We the undersigned Confederate veterans of Beauvoir Soldiers' Home tender our services to the President, if needed, to join the Army for Mexico.

J. C. Granigan, Dan. Robertson, J. C. Calhoun, A. Adair, J. S. Brown, R. I. Lanius, J. C. Summers, S. O. Freeman, J. T. Fair, A. R. A. Harris, J. F. Mercer, W. D. Cooke, A. S. Furr, J. L. Thomasson, G. F. Jones, W. W. Gibson, Sam. E. Jones, C. W. Agnew, J. W. Patterson, S. H. Powell, T. J. N. Bloodworth, H. M. Wilson, C. M. Walker, J. C. Bridewell, W. M. Collins, R. C. Clark, R. C. Le Cloud, A. P. Sparks, W. R. Jonston, Capt. W. A. Dill, W. F. Gainey, J. C. Alinsworth, E. A. Johnson, Jas. A. Locke, G. W. Barns, F. M. Sharp, J. W. Hunter, R. B. Johnson, Chas. Tallaferro, Thom. D. Reed, W. E. Luse, J. C. McKenzle, J. H. Allen, J. H. Jennings, W. J. Ray, A. G. Wood, W. S. Hickingbottom, J. G. Worsham, J. H. Harell, B. C. Covington, P. R. S. Baily, I. I. Baldridge, J. McDonald, R. N. Robinson, P. A. Cook, Mrs. P. B. Kine, T. J. Buckley, S. H. Box, O. R. Mallette, John Noble, R. H. Porter, O. S. Beck, W. D. Franks, James Everett, J. A. Lott, B. F. Sadler, Dennis Kane, James A. Cuevas, S. W. Brister, W. J. Pittman, G. F. Allin, C. S. Smith, W. J. Long, C. A. Binet, W. W. Robeson, C. A. Breard, T. W. Hughes, G. W. Hill, W. H. Stevens, E. C. Robiuson, W. M. Marshall, E. P. Hitt, A. H. Honse, Georg W. Christe, J. T. Gibson, J. H. Thorn, T. J. Harrell, S. J. Lane, J. W. Dyers, W. A. Wood, I. N. Webb, C. C. Nelson, A. J. Eastling, A. J. Duren, J. D. Grubbs, W. T. Hester, Sol Happs, J. A. J. Cagle, Thomas E. Wright, G. J. Ward. Totat, 100, and many others.

If we are old, we are good guns yet.

Agriculture Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,

In the House of Representatives, Thursday, April 13, 1916.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, it is hardly necessary for me to say that, although living in a district largely given over to steel and coal, my interest in agriculture and in its development and extension is as keen as that of the author of the measure now under consideration or that of any member of the great committee whose labors it represents. It is in no perfunctory sense that I speak of agriculture as the basis of our prosperity. It is with no purpose of flattering him that I refer to the farmer as entitled to the very highest consideration at all times and under all conditions. For it is to the farmer we must look for the very means of keeping soul and body together; and when the farmer fails or falls behind, every member of society must inevitably suffer.

I am not here, Mr. Speaker, to toss bouquets to the farmer. Nor am I here to ask for him any special privilege. would ask in his behalf is that he shall be given a fair field, an equal chance; that he shall not be called upon to render tribute to any other man in any form whatsoever. And let me add that if the farmer were here seeking a special privilege, if he were clamoring at our doors as manufacturers have been wont to clamor, begging that the taxing power be turned over to him for his enrichment at the expense of mill men and others, I would as sternly and as uncompromisingly withstand his demands as have withstood the demands of the steel barons, the sugar kings, and the beggars in velvet gowns, who for years have descended upon the Capital in a hungry horde in quest of The farmer needs no legislative bounties. He needs nothing at our hands except unfettered markets and a free highway thereto.

THE WORKING FARMER'S HEAVIEST HANDICAP.

In a previous talk on this floor I endeavored to call attention to what I consider one of the heaviest handicaps under which the working farmer labors-the steadily advancing prices of farm land under the pressure of speculation. At first blush one is apt to look upon rising farm-land values as a most excellent thing for the farmer. And the farm owner who finds himself enriched without any effort of his own by the enhanced value of his land is very likely to look with entire complacence on the fact. He will not easily be convinced that the rise in values which has placed gold in his pocket without labor on his part is otherwise than a blessing. Yet if we look about us we shall discover that farmers as a class do not prosper with the growth of land values. The reverse seems to be true. It was in the era of cheap farm lands that agriculture was in its highest estate and that farmers as a class were the most prosperous and the most influential in the affairs of State and Nation. As farm-land values have advanced we have seen agriculture relatively decline and the farmers as a class become less potent in shaping the course of government.

I fancy that every man on this floor has observed how farm production has been pushed back from points of highest results to points of lower results and increased effort as land values have advanced. This phenomenon is particularly apparent near our great centers. Lands that should be yielding abundantly are yielding practically nothing; they are so excessive in price that no one can afford to work them. The working farmer has been driven back by increasing prices toward the margin, and it requires greater effort at the margin to secure a given result than would be required at the center. I think everyone on this floor will readily agree to this proposition.

WHY AGRICULTURE HAS DECLINED.

Mr. Speaker, I think that we shall be able to account for much of the increased cost of living if we regard this factor in its influence on production. I have said that agriculture, in a relative sense, has declined. No one is likely to contend that agriculture in the United States has kept pace in its extension with population or with manufactures. High premiums have been placed on this particular branch of industry, and these premiums were paid out of the profits derived from agriculture. The substance was ruthlessly drained by our Republican friends out of the farmer for the benefit of the manufacturer. But, happily, legislation effected by the Wilson administration

through a Democratic Congress has modified this in very large measure, not in as great a measure as I had hoped for, but in sufficient measure to justify the claims made by the Democratic Party on the interest and good will of the great farming class of the country.

It was in part because of the premiums offered through the tariff to capital engaged in manufactures that agriculture tended to decline in a relative sense. Obviously it was not going to engage in agriculture, with all its hazards, when it could more profitably engage in manufacturing enterprises from which practically all hazards were removed by means of a benevolent and paternal Government which blandly robbed a portion of its people for the enrichment of another and much smaller portion. It was inevitable under the tariff system maintained by the Republicans and still besottedly advocated by them that agriculture should undergo a relative decline. But even the protective tariff fails to account for all the relative shrinkage. It is my belief that the tendency to speculate in farmland values has played a very large part in bringing on this relative decline.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, permit me at some length to quote from a remarkable book published some years ago by a very dear friend of mine who has but lately joined the silent majority. This book, The Problem of the Unemployed, was published anonymously. I do not know what circulation it has enjoyed, but I know that it ought to have a wide circulation and that it should be in every library in the United States and in the hands of every thoughtful student of modern economic and industrial problems. The author of the book, the late Henry F. Ring, of Texas, devoted the greater part of a long and useful life to be dissemination of ideas which ought to appeal to the farmers and the toilers of the country in an especial manner. I have just spoken of the effect of the artificial scarcity of land resulting from speculation in land values. Let me here quote from the book of my lamented friend:

THE PROBLEM OF THE UNEMPLOYED,

"If there were no artificial obstacles to prevent it, the most fertile or most favorably situated land would always be first selected for use. There would then be few, if any, of the intervening spaces, to which attention has been called, of more valuable unused land between lands in use. There would rarely, if ever, be such space in cities and towns. Land most conveniently situated and most valuable for use would no longer be withheld from use. Capital and labor would no longer pass by vacant lots and unused farming lands, coal beds, and mineral deposits and apply energy to lands more remote and naturally less valuable. The waste of effort occasioned by the present custom would be saved and the aggregate amount of wealth produced vastly increased.

"Let it be assumed, then, for the purpose of argument only, that the taxing power of the Government was so exercised as to make it unprofitable to withhold land from the use to which it was best adapted, and that no one could afford, as a business proposition, to own land without putting it to such use. were the case, vacant land would always be free land. Under such conditions there would be none of the intervening spaces between business houses and between residences and between cultivated or improved fields to which attention has been called. Moving from the center of any city improved business lots would join improved residence grounds, and the latter would join cultivated or improved fields which would extend in almost unbroken masses to the unimproved pasture lands and unused lands beyond, except as such natural order might be modified by difference in the fertility of soils or other natural causes. The land beyond and adjoining the last improved or cultivated fields would thus be practically free land, open to the use of whoever cared to take a deed for it from the State and use and improve it.

"Let it also be assumed, for illustration only, that the tax was so adjusted as to give the Government approximately the unearned increment or increase in value of land resulting from increase of population and progress generally. The State would then take, in the form of a tax, what the landowner now takes in the form of rent, according to the economic definition of rent heretofore given. In the division of the wealth produced, the portion attributable to land as rent would then go to the Government in the payment of a tax. At present it goes to an individual in the payment of rent. Of course, the tax would be levied on the value of the land alone in lieu of all other taxes, without regard to the improvement. The tax on land would be so adjusted from year to year as to take practically the entire unearned increment, and hence no one would have the slightest desire to accept a deed to land from the Government for speculation or investment purposes. Hence unused land would always be free land. When, with increase of population, the necessity for the use of such land arose, no private owner would then

stand in the way of its use, and thus the purchase price of unused land, the greatest of all obstacles to employment, would disappear.

FREE LAND CLOSE AT HAND.

"Let it be further assumed, for illustration only, that under the conditions above shown, there would always be free land, thus conveniently located for the small capitalist and the laborer This land would not lie in a roadless wilderness, remote from markets, schools, and neighbors. It would always adjoin a compact and thickly settled community, with macadamized roads at every farmer's door, and all the social and economic advantages which come with density of population. The settler upon it would at once become a member of such community, and a participant of its advantages. It would be land from which the bulk of the product would often go almost directly to the consumer, unaffected by trusts and combinations in restraint What such advantages are worth is apparent from the fact that men will often pay hundreds of dollars per acre for raw land thus situated, rather than \$10 an acre for equally fertile lands 20 miles farther from the center of a neighboring city. This difference in price arises in part from the fact that while a day's labor on the remote land will produce, say, a dollar's worth of wealth, the same amount of labor on the other land will produce, say, three times as much. Yet, under the condition stated, this three-dollar-a-day land would at first be practically rent free. The tax, to begin with, would be but nominal. It would only increase as with increase of population and material progress, labor applied to the land would become more effective, and then the increase of the tax would only be sufficient to give the State, instead of the individual, the benefit of the uncarned increment. The values created by the community would thus go to the community instead of to individuals.

"With an abundance of unused land to be had on such terms, situated as thus described, how absurd to suppose that labor would then be abjectly dependent upon capital, even though plants requiring an investment of hundreds of millions of dollars might be necessary in many kinds of enterprises? How could the wages of employees in such plants, or in plants of any kind, be forced below the scale of wages fixed by what labor could make on rent-free land? What possible combination of employing capitalists could compel employees to accept less than laborers would make on lands of this character? Under the conditions described many laborers would be able practically to employ themselves without the aid of capitalists, and speedily creating their own capital, they would become personally independent of all capitalists. Since agriculture is the simplest, most easily learned, and most generally followed of all trades, the independence of agricultural laborers would mean the independence of all laborers.

WHAT PINGREE POTATOE PATCHES TAUGHT.

"The success of the Pingree potato patches proves that the earnings of even common laborers on valuable free land would exceed those now usually earned by ordinarily skilled laborers. No one can doubt that with free access to near-by unused lands more labor would be employed and that labor would naturally become less dependent upon capital. As already stated, the unemployed laborer himself might not go to the soil, but if conditions were such as to make its cultivation highly profitable to other laborers and to small capitalists enough of his competitors would do so largely to increase the demand for his labor, no mat-

ter what the line of his employment might be.

"It follows, then, that the extent of labor's necessary dependence on capital does not rest upon the amount of capital in existence nor on the amount of capital required successfully to carry on manufacturing and commercial enterprises. simply on the amount actually needed to enable the laborer to produce wealth on near-by unused lands, and, exclusive of the price of the land, this amount is so small as to be within the price of the lithi, this amount is so shad as the first including reach of every laborer possessed of moderate forethought and prudence. Labor existed before capital, and unaided it brought forth capital. Given free access to unused lands and the laborers would be as independent of the capitalists under the most complex as under the most simple conditions of society. Experience tends to prove this to be true. In new countries, where the least amount of wealth is needed for the purchase of conveniently located unused lands, wages are highest; in old countries, where the most is needed, wages are lowest,

"Increase of wages arbitrarily by trade-union methods, like increase of prices produced by trusts, means gain for some one and loss for others; but the independence of the laborer when brought about naturally by the unrestricted operation of the law of supply and demand means greater wages for employers as well as employees and greater prosperity for workers of every The reason for this difference will presently be made

clearly apparent.

NO LACK OF ROOM ANYWHERE ON EARTH.

"The thought thus suggested, for the purpose of showing to what extent labor is necessarily dependent upon capital, will be recurred to and more fully developed in subsequent pages. Before leaving it, however, one of the questions which may have arisen in the mind of the reader in this connection will be briefly answered. The query is this: While the conditions re-ferred to might exist and produce the results described in a new and thinly settled country, what application can it have to those countries in which there is little or no vacant or but partially used land suitable for agricultural purposes? The answer simply is that in no country in the world is there any lack of an overwhelming abundance of such unused land, nor is it likely that there ever will be, considering the probable results of the application of science to agriculture. When such unused land is not literally close at hand modern transporta-

"Where are the thickly settled countries to which the question mentioned above is supposed to apply? The population of India is but 100 to the square mile; of China, 200; Japan, a little more than 300; France, about 150; the islands of Great Britain, a little over 300. The population of the State of Massachusetts, which is 350 to the square mile, slightly exceeds in density that of Great Britain. Holland is perhaps the only country in the world, except Belgium, where the population is more dense than in the State of Massachusetts, and it has only about 400 to the square mile. The enormous amount of unused land which careful investigation brings to light in the most densely settled countries is shown from the following extract, taken from Thomas F. Millard's article on the 'Financial prospects of Japan' in the September number, 1905, of Scribner's Magazine:

"'It will probably surprise many people to learn that there is now only about one-half the arable land of Japan in culti-Some time before the war the Japanese Government appointed a commission to inquire into the state of agriculture in the realm, which in due time reported certain facts bearing thereon. Commenting upon the findings of this commission, one of the leading and more conservative native journals had

this to say:
""According to the latest statistics compiled by the geological investigation bureau of the department of agriculture and commerce, the present total area of cultivated fields in Japan forms only 133 per cent of her total area. Comparing this with the ratios of cultivated lands in foreign countries it will be seen that the land cultivated by countries in Europe covers from one-third to one-half of the total land area. the above (figures) it will be seen that Japan still has 48 per cent of the total land area which can be turned into cultivated land. There is at present about 5,000,000 cho (a cho is equal to 2.45 acres) of cultivated land in the country, leaving some four and a half million cho to be still cultivated. efforts be made to turn this arable land to advantage, the increase of population is little to be feared.'

WHAT MASSACHUSETTS FIGURES SHOW.

"The amount of unimproved land compared with improved land in Massachusetts, therefore, must illustrate, to some extent at least, the situation in all countries in which population is supposed to crowd the means of subsistence. is supposed to crowd the means of subsistence. The facts in this connection, as shown by the 1895 census of Massachusetts, prepared under the authority of that State, are as follows: To begin with, there are only 902,650 acres in Massachusetts classed as 'cultivated lands,' or less than one-fifth of the improvable land in the State; 1,320,522 acres are classed as unimproved lands, and 1,460,994 as woodlands, making a total of 3,847,749 acres used for agricultural supress. of 3,847,749 acres used for agricultural purposes. This leaves 1,437,434 acres in and near cities and towns which are not used for agricultural purposes, and on which about five-sixths of the population of the State, or 2,100,000 people, were living. This was enough to have given every five of these people two and a fifth acres of land, after allowing one-third of the total area for public parks and streets. Yet the lots in actual use for residence and business purposes in the cities and towns of Massachusetts do not probably average the one-tenth part of 2½ acres of land to the family unit of five. But say that the allowance per family ought not to be less than an area of 100 by 100 feet, including business as well as residence lots, and it follows that at least six-sevenths of the 1,437,434 acres of land referred to is wholly unused. In other words, in Massachusetts there are considerably over a million acres of land in and adjoining cities and towns spoiled for any present productive use, because its owners believe that in the succeeding 5, 10, 20, 50, or perhaps a hundred years, some of it may be used as sites for buildings. The laborer and the capitalist are unable to use this land for agricultural purposes because of the high price demanded for it, and so most of it is practically abandoned to the speculator and to the mere landholder. Yet of all the land in the State, this, with few exceptions, is the most valuable for farming purposes.

"As in Massachusetts, so everywhere in connection with thriving cities and towns, an area from five to ten or twenty times greater than that on which the population would be concentrated under natural conditions referred to is excluded from use. In Massachusetts the amount thus excluded exceeds all the land in cultivation in the State.

HAD THE NATURAL ORDER PREVAILED.

"Had the natural order been observed in Massachusetts in the use as well as in the appropriation of land, had the land most suitable for use always been first used, doubtless most of the farmers of that State would now be located on the most valuable and conveniently situated 1,000,000 unused acres in the suburbs of cities and towns instead of upon the 902,650 acres classed as 'cultivated lands'; the remainder of the unimproved land in the State, amounting to over 2,400,000 acres, besides the 1,400,000 acres of woodland, would still be unimproved, the only difference being that nearly all the 'cultivated would then lie adjacent to compactly built cities and Of course this is but an approximation of what would really have happened under the conditions referred to, but in the main the lands of Massachusetts would have been settled in the manner stated. The best and most valuable land, considering the fertility of the soil and its proximity to centers of population, would always have been first used, and unused land would always have been the least valuable land for use. Under the effects of the taxing power applied in the manner which has been suggested, the unimproved land in Massachusetts, amounting to nearly 4,000,000 acres, would have been practically free land. And, as heretofore shown, this free land would generally have commenced where the cultivated fields ended, and where labor could produce as much wealth as when it is now applied to land held at perhaps hundreds of dollars or more per acre.

WHAT A GOOD ROAD MEANS.

"A macadamized road at the farmer's door will often alone add 10 per cent and more to his gross income, and quadruple the fund from which his possible savings must come. He can haul his crops over it when wet weather suspends work upon the farm, and at such times, especially, it facilitates the exchange of visits between neighbors, and adds immensely to the enjoyment of life. It also enables him constantly to increase the richness of his soil by easily placing upon it the fertilizing material often obtained without price from neighboring cities and towns.

"Compare the lot of a man located on land of the character above referred to with that of the average husbandman on his oft mud-bound and storm-bound farm. The former has almost all the advantages of a city, including perhaps a telephone, a trolley line, and electric light and power, and the best of educational facilities close at hand; while the latter lives remote from neighbors, schools, and churches, deprived not only of many economic advantages but also of social pleasures which would add so much to the happiness and contentment of himself and family. What wonder that so many of the sons and daughters of farmers crowd the trades and professions in cities and towns. What else could be expected when the social instincts of mankind are taken into account?

"There is no economic necessity for the hard and dreary lives which so many farmers and their wives and children are forced to live on lonely farms. Less than half the money, for instance, now expended in the construction and maintenance of dirt roads would put macadamized roads and a telephone line to every farmer's home, together with electric light and power if all farmers were located on the lands best situated for farming purposes, and the remainder devoted to pastoral uses. Not only so, but the same amount of labor wholly applied to such lands, under such advantages, would produce double and quadruple the wealth at present obtained from much of the farming lands in use.

WHAT ANY MAN MAY SEE BY OPENING HIS EYES.

"What has been stated as to the enormous areas of unused lands near the centers of population is not exaggerated. Careful observation in and adjacent to any city in America will convince the most skeptical on this point. Start from the business center of any average city, and note the proportion of improved to unimproved, or but partially improved, land between two parallel lines a quarter of a mile or so apart, running into the country. Extend these lines until a region is finally reached where the price of land is based upon the wealth which

it is capable of producing when devoted to agricultural uses, Or, in other words, extend them until land is reached, the value of which is not inflated by the hope of its sometime being used for other than agricultural purposes. In every instance, it will be found that not one acre in five, often not one in ten or twenty, between these lines, is used for any productive purpose

"If the natural order of settling upon and using land were observed, unused lands would be found everywhere in abundance immediately adjacent to thickly settled communities. Given conditions under which land could not be profitably appropriated in advance of any economic demand for it for actual use-let the forces of government be so applied that all unused or but partially used land would be practically free land, and free land then could always be found where the laborer upon it would be able to enjoy from the very start the social and economic advantages of a densely settled community. On such land most laborers, as heretofore shown, could produce wealth without the aid of any so-called capitalist, and the wages earned by them upon it would many times exceed what can now be earned on the free land which can only be found at present in

the heart of a wilderness.
"The necessary dependence of labor upon capital, and of the laborer upon the capitalist, can only be ascertained when both are supposed to have access to free land under the natural conditions which have been described. Under such conditions, the agricultural laborer would always be practically independent of the capitalist as well as the landlord, and, as already remarked, his independence would bring about the independence of all laborers. Under the natural conditions thus described, employers would compete for the privilege of employing labor, even as laborers now compete for the privilege of being employed, and wages would rise accordingly.'

Speech of Hon. Carter Glass at the Jefferson Day Banquet.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FINIS J. GARRETT,

OF TENNESSEE.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Friday, April 14, 1916.

Mr. GARRETT. Mr. Chairman, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a speech delivered by Hon. Carter Glass, of Virginia, at the Jefferson Day banquet held in this city last night.

The speech is as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. CARTER GLASS AT THE JEFFERSON DAY BANQUET.

Mr. Toastmaster and gentlemen, the task to which I shall briefly address myself this evening is that of presenting a compendium of the financial achievements of this Democratic administration as they relate themselves directly or indirectly to the Federal reserve act. This can not more impressively be done than by drawing a simple contrast between the deficiencies of the old system, with its persistent disorders, and the effectiveness of the newer system in abating the distempers which, for so long a period, afflicted the country in every phase of its business life.

And it may be remarked at the outset that the defects of the old system were so glaring, as the failure to remedy them was so fraught with disaster, that the omission, when we contemplate it, not only causes amazement but constitutes an offense against the well-being of this Nation of which our political adversaries should feel ashamed. It affords justification for an indictment of the Republican Party from which it can find no avenue of escape. The party was plainly incompetent or it was afraid to alter a banking and currency system which lent itself so inevitably to the enterprises of financial adventurers and, periodically, visited every community of the country with blight.

FIFTY YEARS OF BARBAROUS BANKING.

For exactly half a century, almost to the very day, the United States was compelled to endure the handicap of the most unscientific banking and currency system of any that prevailed in the major nations of the earth. For a part of the time we seem to have been ignorant of our plight; for another part indifferent to the situation, and for the remainder of the time afraid to apply the remedy lest we should wound the sensibilities or interfere with the profits of a privileged class. We were during no protracted stage without ample warning, for the malady manifested itself irequently and violently in disturbances which swept the country like a hurricane from end to end. Five times within 30 years, immediately preceding the advent of this administration, a financial catastrophe had overtaken us right in the midst of apparent business prosperity and contentment. Each time the disaster was due largely, if not altogether, to a defective banking and currency system; and it is literally certain that our always tedious restoration was rendered vastly more difficult and painful by the sad lack of well-devised facilities.

SIAMESE TWINS OF DISORDER.

The old system had two fundamental defects. One was an inelastic currency; the other a fictitious bank reserve. They were Siamese twins of disorder; and sometimes I am inclined to ascribe the invariable failure of our Republican friends to reform the financial system of the country to their unwillingness to subdue both of these evils at the same time. While they repeatedly would tackle the problem of an inelastic currency, which everybody wanted solved, they seemed never in a mood to defy the powerful interests behind the national bank reserve system, through the peculiar operation of which nearly the whole sum total of idle bank funds in the United States was congested at a single center for use in the stimulation of speculative enterprises.

AN UNRESPONSIVE CURRENCY.

The national currency was inelastic because based on the bonded indebtedness of the United States, rather than upon the sound, liquid business assets of the country. For 50 years we proceeded upon the assumption that the country always needed a volume of currency equal to its bonded indebtedness, and never at any time required less, whereas we frequently did not need near as much as was outstanding and just as often could have absorbed vastly more than was available. Hence, when it happened that the circulating medium was redundant, when its volume was too great to be used in local commercial transactions, instead of taking it through the expensive process of retirement it was bundled off to the great reserve centers at a nominal interest rate, to be thrown, at call, into the vortex of stock speculation.

In a different way and to an immeasurably greater extent the business of the country was made to suffer by this rigid currency system in times of stirring development and enterprising activity. It could not begin to meet the commercial and industrial requirements of the country. For example, the total capitalization of the national banks of a given community in time of stress, under the old system, measured the full capacity of those banks to respond to the currency requirements of the locality. If the combined capital stock of the national banks of a city was \$5,000,000, that exactly circumscribed the ability of those banks to supply currency of their own issue to meet the demands of business, albeit these might necessitate the use of \$10,000,000 or more. And in time of panic, such as that which convulsed the country in 1907, had these banks held \$5,000,000 of gilt-edge short-time commercial paper in their vaults, they could not, under the old system, have exchanged a dollar of it for currency wherewith to make up the deficiency and promptly respond to the requirements of business, for practically all the banks were in the same desperate plight, every one, with rare exceptions, looking out for itself, with no other source of supply.

A NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENT.

The first notable financial achievement of the Wilson administration was to revolutionize this wretched currency system, the unhappy victims of which are without number and the losses beyond human approximation. We substituted for a rigid bondsecured circulating medium, unresponsive at any time to the commercial requirements of this great Nation, a perfectly elastic currency, based on the sound, liquid commercial assets of the country, responsive at all times and to the fullest extent to every reasonable demand of legitimate enterprise. It comes forth when required and is canceled when not needed. The amount is ample when business is active and only enough when business is Contradistinguished from bond-secured currency, every dollar of it is based on a stable commercial transaction, whether of a mercantile, industrial, or agricultural nature, fortified by a 40 per cent gold reserve, by the assets of a great banking system, by the double liability of member banks, and by the plighted faith of a Government of a hundred million free citizens. So that in a case similar to the one cited a while ago. where the banks of a given community, with \$5,000,000 of liquid commercial assets, could not, under the old system, in time of stress get a dollar of currency on their holdings, because there was no source of supply, the same banks, under the Federal reserve system, could exchange their \$5,000,000 of liquid assets at a Federal reserve bank for \$5,000,000 of the best currency on earth, less a fair rate of discount. That one reform, gentlemen, represents the difference between disaster and success.

A VICIOUS RESERVE SYSTEM.

Another fundamental defect of the old system was its fictitious bank reserve, created by that provision of the nationalbank act which authorized a deposit or book credit of individual country banks, with banks in reserve and central reserve cities to be counted as reserve, just as if held in the vaults of the interior banks. On these reserve balances, subjected to a process of multiplication, the big banks of the money centers would pay nominal interest, which operated as a magnet to attract the reserve funds of the entire country; so that on March 14, 1914, eight months before the Federal reserve system was put in actual operation, the New York banks alone held \$836,000,000 of the funds of outside banks, while they were loaning outside banks only \$192,000,000. Already the congressional monetary inquiry had disclosed the startling fact that on November 24, 1912, the legal custodians of these reserve funds had put \$240,000,000 of them in the maelstrom of Wall Street stock operations. Do you realize quite what that means? It means that these millions and many millions more were withdrawn from the reach of mercantile and industrial uses throughout the United States at a fair rate of interest and loaned to stock gamblers at an abnormally low rate of interest in comparison. We talk about the law of supply and demand and pass laws to punish combinations in restraint of trade; but before the enactment of the Federal reserve act the banking community, under the sanction of the atrocious system of an inelastic currency and a fictitious reserve, was enabled to defy the law of supply and demand both in the lax season and in the tense. For in the season of lax trade and abundant currency, as I have already indicated, instead of keeping the money at home and giving the local commercial and industrial interests the advantage to be derived from low rates of discount, the surplus funds were sent to the money centers for the accommodation of Wall Street.

A PANIC BREEDER.

And, likewise, the old system was a rank panic breeder. In periods of greatest business activity the country was made to suffer desperately for lack of adequate credit facilities. When the prospect was brightest; when men of vision and ambition and energy would press forward in pursuit of prosperity and the hum of industry would literally be heard throughout the land, two links in the chain would suddenly snap, tearing to shreds the whole business fabric and carrying dismay to every community on the continent. That is to say, in plain terms, that when the country banks of the United States, trying to respond to the commercial and industrial demands upon them in their respective localities, being unable to issue additional currency, would seek to draw in their reserve balances from the congested centers, and when the big banks of these centers would, in turn, be compelled to call their loans on stock, thus contracting the credit facilities of "the street," interest rates would quickly jump, mounting higher and higher, until panic would ensue, banks throughout the country would stop pay-ments across the counter and consternation would reign where confidence and contentment so soon before had prevailed. I have said the losses are beyond computation; and that is so. They affected not alone the financial institutions immediately involved, but the merchants whose credits were suspended; the industries whose shops were closed; the railroads whose cars were made idle; the farmers whose crops rotted in the fields; the laborer who was deprived of his wage. No business enterprise, if any individual, ever entirely escaped.

ANOTHER GREAT ACHIEVEMENT.

Another great achievement of the Wilson administration, therefore, was to remedy this monstrous condition. No other legislative effort, as I recall the history of events, was ever directed against this bank-reserve evil. It required courage. It constituted a challenge to the dominating financial interests of America, and they accepted the invitation to the conflict. It was a memorable fight, in which sound economic principles triumphed so completely that many of the great bankers who seemed once implacable now concede that a tremendous advance has been made in the direction of scientific banking, and there is a general concurrence of belief that the Federal-reserve system saved this country from a financial convulsion in the fateful autumn of 1914, even before it was in full operation.

We corrected this vicious bank-reserve system by establish-

We corrected this vicious bank-reserve system by establishing regional reserve banks and making them, instead of private banks in the money centers, the custodians of the reserve funds of the United States; by making these regional banks, instead

of private correspondent banks, the great rediscount agencies of the country; by requiring these regional banks to minister to commerce and industry rather than to the schemes of speculative adventure. Under the old régime we had been taught to believe that the balance of the country was dependent on the money centers. Under the new dispensation the fact has been revealed that the money centers are dependent on the balance of the country. Under the old system the country banks were subservient to the money centers, for only there could they resort for rediscount favors. Under the new system it is no longer a question of favor; it is purely a question of business. Under the old system it was at times a question of ability to serve, and at other times of willingness. The new system supplies both the ability and the incentive to do business. Indeed, this financial product of the Wilson administration is both a proclamation of emancipation and a declaration of independence for the national banking system of the United States.

NEW YORK'S RIGHTFUL PRIMACY UNDISTURBED.

I noted the other day that a Representative in Congress tauntingly referred to the fact that bank deposits in New York had vastly increased since the adoption of the Federal reserve act and triumphantly asked what had become of the boast that the primacy of New York as a money center would under the new system depart. Such talk, however specious it may seem, is assuredly not sensible. Nobody ever made such a silly boast. Nobody ever dreamed of such a stupid notion. Nobody ever pretended to desire anything of the kind. Of course, New York has more deposits under the Federal reserve act than ever before. So has Pittsburgh, so has Boston, so has Baltimore, so has Richmond, so has Chicago, so has San Francisco, so has Dallas, so have the banks of a thousand other communities scattered from one end to the other of this country. That is exactly what we expected; that is precisely what we predicted; that is the very thing the Federal reserve act was designed to It was contrived for the express purpose of putting the whole national banking system on such a sound basis as to create confidence and stimulate business and swell the volume of deposits of every community of the United States.

People put their money in banks now, and banks redeposit with other banks now, because they know that under the new system no panic will ever come to keep them from getting their funds back. The proponents of the Federal reserve act had no idea of impairing the rightful prestige of New York as the financial metropolis of this hemisphere. They rather expected to confirm its distinction, and even hoped to assist powerfully in wresting the scepter from London and eventually making New York the financial center of the world. Eminent Englishmen with the keenest perception have frankly expressed apprehension of such result. Indeed, momentarily this has come to pass. And we may point to the amazing contrast between New York under the old system in 1907, shaken to its very foundations because of two bank failures, and New York at the present time, under the new system, screnely secure in its domestic banking operations and confidently financing the great enterprises of European nations at war.

AN INSPIRING CONTRAST.

In 1907, after six years of Theodore Roosevelt and 43 years of the old system. New York could not let a country bank have \$50,000 of bank currency to meet the ordinary requirements of commerce or the pay rolls of industry. In 1915, after three years of Woodrow Wilson and one year of the new system, New York let two European nations, in the very cataclysm of a stupendous war, have \$500,000,000, still leaving the banks of that city with larger deposits than ever before in their existence. Oh, yes, Mr. Toastmaster, New York City banks have greater deposits to-day than they had 17 months ago by \$605,000,000, thus putting to shame the evil Republican prophecy that the Federal reserve act would create a disastrous constriction of commercial credits and precipitate a panic of unsurpassed violence in this country.

THE COUNTRY'S RESERVES SECURE.

But, with all this, there are some things that New York once had which it has not to-day and never will have again as long as the Federal reserve act shall remain on the statute books. It has not the gold reserve funds of the country for use in the stock markets of "the Street," nor has it any longer the power to control the rediscounting system of the United States upon terms of its own adjustment. To-day 12 regional banks of the new system, strung from Maine to Mexico, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, hold more than \$500,000,000 of these funds, and soon will have many millions more, to be used as basic credit facilities for cheerfully rediscounting the commercial paper of the

merchants and manufacturers, the farmers and stockmen, the exporters and importers of America, with not a dollar for the whirlpool of speculation. And these trade loans are already being made at an average rate of interest 1½ per cent lower than has prevailed before in a long number of years.

FOREIGN BANKING.

In the foreign field, for the first time in the history of national banking, six great branch banks have already been established in countries to the south of us, four of them by the very national bank of all others that most desperately resisted the passage of the Federal reserve act, but which was quickest to avail of its advantages. Other branch banks are in contemplation, and before many years have clapsed the branch-banking system authorized by this Democratic administration will not only be saving millions of dollars in foreign exchange, hitherto paid to London, Berlin, and Paris, but will be a powerful factor in establishing and fostering foreign trade relations throughout the world.

RURAL CREDITS.

I sometimes think that in its eagerness to do more for the farming community of the United States this Democratic administration has failed to appropriate full credit for the really great things it already has done. Not in 50 years did the Republican Party ever write a provision into the national-bank act for as much as one dollar of rural credits. On the contrary, by the text of the law, by the rulings of the Treasury, and by decisions of the courts, every semblance of farm credits was seduously excluded. In the first great banking measure put on the statute books by the Democratic Party, in nine months after the inauguration of a Democratic President there are millions of dollars of farm-credit facilities, whatever professional demagogues may so to the contrary. Not a dollar of the funds of a national bank could be loaned on improved farm land by any legislation of a Republican Congress. Under the Federal reserve act, according to a computation by the late Charles A. Conant, one of the best financial experts this country ever had, \$359,000,000 are made available for loans on farm mortgages alone having five years to run. In the matter of current rediscounts every possible advantage is given to farm credits over mercantile paper, and in the matter of acceptances on the exportation of the great staple products of this country infinite aid is extended to the American farmers. In addition to this the Federal reserve system has already had a powerful influence in lowering the rate of interest, and in this circumstance alone it may confidently be predicted that the farmers of the country will be saved annually hundreds of thousands of dollars.

AN UNPRECEDENTED RECORD.

In the limited time prescribed for me I can not begin to recount the financial achievements of this Democratic administration as embodied in its legislation and illustrated by the splendid service of its executive efficers, at the head of whom stands the most courageous and resourceful Secretary of the Treasury the country has had in a quarter of a century. These accomplishments, in their number and magnitude, surpass the record of any other administration of which I have knowledge.

THE MASTER MIND.

As to the Federal reserve act itself there has been occasional speculation as to who most deserves credit for its conception and its enactment into law. Its paternity has curiously been ascribed to men who were savagely hostile to the act; to men who never saw a sentence of the original draft; to men who could not write its title in a month's trial. I know very well that the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House has been given an undue part of the praise. commendation so seldom is applied to a public man that I have never repelled the pleasant things said of me. With outward gravity and inward amusement I have heard myself accused of statesmanship, and-have liked it. But, gentlemen, the serious fact is that the master mind of the whole performance was Woodrow Wilson's. It was his infinite prescience and patience; it was his admirable courage and wisdom; it was his patriotism and power-his passion to serve mankind-that gave zest and inspiration to the battle for financial freedom. And when, on the evening of December 23, 1913, he affixed his signature and seal to House bill 7837, there was consummated in the offices of the White House the greatest legislative miracle of our It is because I realize now as never before the inevitably dangerous as well as the tremendously beneficent potentialities of the Federal Reserve System that I earnestly for the reelection of the man who may most be relied on to administer the law to the lasting good, and not to the injury, of the American people.

The Navy League.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OSCAR CALLAWAY,

OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 14, 1916.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert herewith the following:

[By W. T. Bost.]

RALEIGH, April 11.

Wiley Croom Rodman to-day furnishes the newspapers something in the shape of lobbies that must be impressive even to a National Con-

in the shape of lobbles that must be impressive even to a National Congress.

Col. Rodman's statement is made up of letters written to the president of the National Security League, resigning from membership in that league because of Rodman's cordial disagreement with its evident purposes. It combines letters also to Senators Overman and Simmons, and the letter of President Mengel to the members of the league.

All of them are very interesting documents. Recently the National Guard was charged with "lobbyism," the reproach attending the activities of the guard in defeating some of the military measures pending before Congress. Adjt. Gen. Young gave to the newspapers last week a statement respecting the guard's interests. Col. Rodman, who is also a member and an officer of the guard, supplements the adjutant general's with some letters that carry a good deal of interesting news matter.

Col. Rodman tells the league's president that he not only does not think that the league's purposes in attacking the National Guard are patriotic but he thinks it exists solely as a professional lobbying organization. He follows his attack on it with quotations from the letters being sent out. Manifestly he puts the next move up to the Security League.

Col. Rodman is a native of Washington, a brother of Division Counsel.

Col. Rodman is a native of Washington, a brother of Division Counsel W. B. Rodman, of the Norfolk Southern, and former member of the general assembly from Beaufort County. The letters written by himself and by the president of the National Security League are decidedly germane to the charges of lobbying.

LETTER TO THE SENATORS.

Col. Rodman writes to Senators Overman and Simmons as follows:

"Having read in the public press the charges of 'lobbyism' made by Senator Chamberlain et als. with reference to the National Guard, I beg to inclose herein a printed letter, which I have just received from the National Security League.

"This, it seems to me, is 'lobbying' of the most undesirable kind, and I suggest, if you think proper, that you present it to the Senate in rebuttal of the charges made against the officers of the National Guard. I have received many such letters from the National Security League and have received many such letters from the National Guard Association.

"In June, 1915, I happened to be in New York and read of a meeting at Carnegie Hall and an exhibit at the Astor House, presumed to be in the interest of national preparedness. I attended both the exhibit and the meeting and became then a member of the National Security League under the innocent presumption that the promoters had the best interest of our country at heart. For some time past I have thought, and I am now convinced that their only interest was the creation of a large 'professional army' in the United States.

"To this I am as utterly opposed as to the principle of 'peace at any price."

"The position you gentlemen have taken in this matter, if you will

"To this I am as utterly opposed as to the principle of peace at any price."

"The position you gentlemen have taken in this matter, if you will permit me to say so, is to me the only possible patriotic American stand to take.

"The National Guard has for years and years served to the best of its ability without regard of any kind. It has at all times been opposed and belittled by the professional soldier for reasons too obvious to need explanation, and by virtue of the propaganda by them conducted it has unfortunately been misunderstood by its friends at home.

"In connection with this I take the liberty of inclosing a copy of my letter of resignation forwarded to-day.

"Yours, very truly.

"WILEY C. RODMAN, G."

"WILEY C. RODMAN, "Colonel Second Infantry, N. C. N. G." LETTER TO MENDEN.

The following goes to Stanford Menden, president of the league:
"I am in receipt of your favor of March 28, 1916, and have also received your previous favors with regard to contributions, etc.
"In addition to this I read your full-page advertisement in the Washington Post when the Hay bill was before the House of Repre-

Washington Post when the Hay bill was before the House of Representatives.

"I Joined your association in New York in June, 1915, and attended your meeting at Carnegie Hall from the purest patriotic impulses, believing that your society had the best interests of our United States at heart. I have felt, since I saw your advertisement in the Washington Post, that I was mistaken in my impression, and since the receipt of your letter of March 28 I am convinced that my opinion is correct.

"It was a pleasure to me, as well as a duty, to associate myself in any capacity, no matter how humble it might be, in any matter that looked squarely and fairly toward the defense of our country, but for some time charges have been made which I now believe were not made in good faith against the National Guard, of which I have the honor to be a member. Your letter of March 28 is to me the ultimate proof. "In resigning I feel constrained to say that it seems to me that your organization is not founded in the interest of the welfare and protection of our country, but exists solely as a 'professional lobby,' which seeks by every means within its power to control and dominate our country, at the same time seeking to impute its own faults to others.

"Yours, very truly," "WILEY C. RODMAN,"

"WILEY C. RODMAN."

THE LEAGUE'S LETTER.

"To the Members of the National Security League:

"To the Members of the National Security League:

"We ask that you immediately write or wire to your Senators and Congressman in Washington in favor of preparedness along national lines. Although it is highly preferable that you make the appeal in your own language, the following wording may be employed: 'I earnestly request that you use your vote and influence for adequate military and naval preparedness of the United States. I believe we should have an adequate standing army and reserve, together with a large body of citizen soldiery trained to arms, in a second line of defense; all of these to be under absolute and direct Federal control in every particular. I am convinced the Hay bill is weak and insufficient and therefore wasteful. As to the Navy, I advocate immediate and energetic prosecution of a naval program substantially as recommended by the General Board of the Navy.'

"League headquarters or any newspaper office can give you the names of your two United States Senators and of the Representative from your district.

"In addition to your individual letters and telegrams, it is desirable that you write any other Members of Congress whom you may be able to influence, and that you induce as many other persons as possible to do likewise.

"Evel of your should and every to induce at least fine ether persons."

that you write any other and to induce as many other persons as possible to influence, and that you induce as many other persons do likewise.

"Each of you should endeavor to induce at least five other persons to comply with the request of this letter. Do not allow any one to persuade you that letters written to Congressmen are ineffective; it is not true. Such letters are valuable, especially if written by constituents. The influence already exerted by the antipreparedness people (entirely out of proportion to their numbers) is evidence of this.

"This is the most important request that has been made of you as a member of the league for individual constructive action. Do not fall of your patriotic duty at this critical time, but act and act promptly.

"We have inclosed a card which we should be glad to have you mail to this office when you have written to your Senators and Congressman.

"Yery truly, yours,

"S, STANWOOD MENDEN, President."

Agricultural Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FREDERICK L. BLACKMON.

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 13, 1916.

Mr. BLACKMON. Mr. Speaker, our people have been handlcapped for many years by reason of the high rate of interest charged. Our wonderful and practically unlimited resources can never be developed until we secure a lower rate of interest. The continuous appeals from the farmer for a lower rate of interest have been ignored by the Republican Party, and it is now up to us to do something that will secure to the farmer and those desiring to develop our waste lands a cheaper rate of interest. My contention is that we should do this now, and, for my own part, I object to any further delay on the subject. [Applause.

Some progress has been made in an effort to provide legisla-tion for the creation of an efficient system of rural credits. In my judgment, the time has come for efficient, definite congressional action. A glance at the great subject demonstrates that it is beset with seemingly insurmountable obstacles. There are approximately in the United States more than 6,000,000 farms in operation to-day. About 2,000,000 of these farms are carrying mortgage indebtedness, most of them at a rate of interest much higher than the merchant, manufacturer, promoter, or speculator pays for loans. It is estimated that the aggregate amount of farm mortgages exceeds \$6,000,000,000 and that the rate of interest being paid upon them, including the cost of procuring the loan and the cost of renewals, averages 8 or 9 per cent. When it is remembered that land-mortgage loans in the Northeastern and a few of the more progressive Hiddle Western States bear an interest rate of less than 6 per cent, it becomes apparent that the landowning farmer, who borrows money on such land in the South and West, pays perhaps an

money on such land in the South and West, pays perhaps an interest averaging 10 per cent per annum.

Again, it is a fact that 2,000,000 of the country's farms are operated under a system of tenantry. Therefore 2,000,000 of the country's farmers have no interest other than that of lessee in the land which they till. The presence of this large number of landless farmers makes it necessary to provide two systems of rural-credit legislation, one adapted to the landowning farmer and the other to the landless farmer. One system must provide facilities based upon personal or character. owning farmer and the other to the landless farmer. One system must provide facilities based upon personal or character security, while the other can be builded up on farm-land security. On this occasion I shall address my remarks to the land phase of the subject.

The low interest rate on farm-land mortgages prevailing in Iowa, Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania demonstrates that

density of population and proximity to consuming markets stabilize land values to such an extent that the owner of desirable farm lands in these favored States borrows money today about as cheap as the maximum interest rate contemplated in the bill now pending in Congress.

Density of population and proximity to markets have long since stabilized land values in the more progressive countries of Europe. This condition largely accounts for the fact that the German Landschaft has sufficed to provide the German farmer with abundant funds for farm development on long terms at a very low rate of interest, certainly less than 5 per cent per annum.

The German Landschaft scheme is readily adaptable to conditions in Pennsylvania, New York, or Illinois, and would probably, if put into practice there, lower somewhat the rate of interest prevailing in these States and materially extend the life of farm loans. But this is not proof that the German Landschaft, or any other particular system of rural credits now prevailing in any of the progressive countries of Europe, are adaptable to present-day conditions in the South and West, or that, if adopted, they would bring relief to the landowning farmer in these vast sections of the country. The profound study which has been made of the European systems of rural credits is very valuable and will prove helpful to Congress in solving this commanding problem. But the advocates of the present systems will fall into grievous error if they attempt to blindly follow these systems in building up an effective and beneficent system of American rural credits.

The report of the joint committee of the House and Senate on rural credits and a draft of the proposed bill to provide a system of land mortgage credit in the United States under Federal supervision, made to the House on January 4, 1916, demonstrates the fact that public sentiment has crystallized into the following conclusions:

I.

That the land-owning American farmer has been and is a very sick man, suffering from an acute attack of "dearth of credit." The Federal and State tax and banking laws have The Federal and State tax and banking laws have been so shaped that they have tended to isolate him from the Nation's abundant source of credit, and this conclusion is fully supported by the history of our legislation. National law called into being the national banking system, conferred upon the na-tional bank valuable special privileges, threw around it alluring safeguards, such as direct Federal supervision and double stockholder liability. These special privileges and safeguards in-stantly made the national bank attractive as a public depository. Billions of the people's money was and is deposited in these national banks. A single provision in the national banking law provides that neither capital stock, accumulated surplus, nor deposits, aggregating to-day \$9,000,000,000, shall be loaned upon land. This inhibition rested upon the national bank for more than half a century, and was only partially removed by the wisdom of the Democratic Party upon its accession to power. Under Republican rule, for more than 50 years, as a result of the operation of Federal statute, the farmer and his land were absolutely cut off from access to half of the country's available money supply.

A Republican Congress dealt the farmer another deadly blow and further estranged him from the country's sources of credit when it created central reserve banks and authorized the Comptroller of the Currency to count deposits made by the interior banks in such central reserve bank as cash in making up the reserve fund which the national bank is required to continuously keep on hand. As a practical result of this Republican stroke in high finance it came to pass that interior bankssouthern banks and western banks-were lending their money to Boston, New York, and Philadelphia banks at less than 3 per cent interest per annum when some were charging local borrowers on gilt-edge security from 6 to 60 per cent. (See recent charges of Comptroller of the Currency.) In this way the big interests, in sympathetic touch with the great central banks of the country, were provided with cheap money for long-term periods, while the southern and western farmer, with his land, was left to the mercy of an artificially depleted local money market in his pursuit of funds to develop and operate his little The Republican Party, under the lash of the manufacturer, the merchant, the promoter, and the speculator-the dominant personalities in big business—built a Chinese wall be-tween the vast resources of the national bank and the farmer. The Republican protective tariff system has made the farmer pay two prices for machinery, implements, clothes—practically everything that he has to buy—and all this because the Republican Party never dared to enact legislation which would restrict the manufacturer to a reasonable profit on his goods,

Congress has power to levy an excise or income tax. This vast power has always been and is available under the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States to protect the consumer and the wage earner from the unrestricted greed of the manufacturer without exposing American industry to foreign competition.

One big, tragic fact tells the tale. There isn't a farmer in the United States who has amassed a million dollars out of his strictly agricultural activities, while manufacturing, merchandising, banking, promoting, and speculating count their millionaires by the thousand and their multimillionaires by the hundred. This grim harvest is the logical result of the gross discriminations which the farmer has suffered during the last 50 years of Republican misrule.

II.

THERE IS A NECESSITY FOR FARM CREDITS.

The land-owning farmer of the South and West, as well as many of those who live in the favored States of the Union, could profitably employ in farm development and operations \$10,000,000,000 on a long-term basis at a rate of interest not to exceed 5 per cent. They could use several billions more in preventing their products, after harvest, from being sacrificed upon glutted markets. The cotton producer, for lack of fair and reasonable borrowing facilities, has to dump his cotton upon a conscienceless market within three months after its production, frequently regardless of price, when fair credit opportunities would enable him to house it, to hold it, and to feed it out to the consumer throughout the whole year, and in that way escape the onerous toll annually extorted from him by the speculator, who only buys because he knows that he can subsequently sell at a profit. The farmer who produces wheat, corn, meat, and other such staple products is also forced to make the same annual sacrifice upon the artificially created altar of short-term credit loans.

The farmer needs ten or twelve billions of dollars, and if he ever gets it on a long-term basis at a reasonable rate of interest, the capital stock, surplus, and deposits of national, State, and savings banks and trust companies will have to be utilized. To supply this need the constitutional power of Congress must be exercised to remove every barrier, both natural and artificial, which intervenes between the farmer's land and the country's credit resources. It is a distinct disappointment to public expectation that the joint committee should come to the conclusion that the resources of such existing lending institutions may not be made available for long-term farm loans. It is true that demand and short-time deposits held by existing banks under existing Federal and State law could not be invested in long-term loans without jeopardizing the depositor. It is true that existing lending institutions have a large clientelle demanding loans who have, by reason of previous patronage, the first claim upon the assets of the institution, but it does not follow, as the committee seem to think, if I correctly gather their sentiment from their proposed bill, that Congress should shape its rural-credit legislation along lines which would, as a matter of law, exclude the farmer and his \$30,000,000,000 worth of land from participating in the loans which are being made out of perhaps \$25,000,000,000 now owned or controlled by existing money-lending institutions of the country. If the farmer and his lands are directly cut off from all these sources of credit, then it is utterly impossible for Congress to create other sources of credit to meet the farmer demand.

Should Congress attempt to shape any legislation which would produce sufficient credit for the farmer outside of existing national credit resources, it would have to flood the country with flat money, even to the verge of economic suicide, raid the United States Treasury, and rape the Constitution. Neveras unbelievable and inconceivable as it is, it doth appear that in the bill proposed by the joint committee, as well as the bill reported out of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, that the authors and advocates of the two bills contemplate bringing into being a Federal rural-credit system so conceived and so shaped that the great pressing agricultural demand for credit will be supplied independent of present-day money-lending institutions, which own or control as trustees 95 per cent of the national credit resources. The idea, as avowed in the proposed bill, is to bring the farmer and his land in closer touch with the Nation's credit, and, as incredible as it may appear, in order to promote the indispensable sympathetic contact between the farmer and the money lender, the authors of the bill propose to exclude substantially all of the money-lending institutions now in existence. They propose to bring the farmer in loving communion with the country's credit resources by further isolating him from existing lending institutions, which now have under their control the aforesaid credit resources. The bill at once proceeds upon the theory that the way to promote this contact is to call into being a brand-new system of banks, known as farm-loan banks, a system of banks without any capital stock, without any surplus, without any deposits, without any experience, without any commercial prestige whatever other than the capital stock which the United States Government, under the terms of the bill, is required to purchase in the event other agencies refuse to buy the capital stock. The mysterious psychological element lurking behind the farm-loan bank seems to be that they will entice the owners of deposits in existing banking institutions to draw their deposits out of these institutions and fall over each other in an effort to buy the imperfectly secured farm-loan bonds issued by the different farmloan banks. The whole scheme is fundamentally unsound, unsafe, and unfair. Among the more obvious of the innumerable objections to it are: (1) It creates a horde of highsalaried middlemen to feast upon the sweat of an overtaxed people; (2) it casts aside the experience, the prestige, the assets, and the solvency of old-established banking institutions, whose unconditional indorsement upon said bonds would instantly inspire Nation-wide—yea, world-wide—public confidence, and substitute therefor the indorsement of a brand-new, inexperienced, surplusless, depositless, farm-loan bank.

Again, the scheme as outlined in the bill possesses inherently constitutional infirmities. It obviously takes money out of the United States Treasury and devotes it exclusively to farmmortgage loans. This, indirectly at least, makes the United States Government liable for the redemption of the farmmortgage bonds. It distinctly involves Government aid, and that, too, in a novel and unprecedented way. As drawn the bill vests the power in the Federal farm-loan board, just as their discretion may dictate, to create 12, or 1,200, or, for that matter, 12,000 regional farm-loan banks, 90 per cent of whose \$500,000 minimum capital stock must be purchased by the Secretary of the Treasury upon a time-limit public default. Under the terms of the bill \$6,000,000, \$60,000,000, \$600,000,000, in the discretion of five men, must be loaned out by the United States Treasurer, and exclusively upon land security. If only 12 banks are established under the terms of the bill, the august sum of \$6,000,000 of capital stock will be provided to meet the ten or twelve billion dollar immediate pressing demand of the land-owning farmer of this country. A limited number of regional banks would only stultify Congress and mock the farmer in his hour of distress. A number of such banks, adequate to create sufficient funds to meet the farmer demand, would deplete the Treasury of the United States and bankrupt the Government, provided the millions of depositors do not draw their funds out of existing money-lending institutions and come to the rescue of the Treasury either by subscription for come to the rescue of the Treasury, either by subscription for the stock of these farm-loan banks or by purchasing as rapidly as issued the farm-loan bonds issued by these banks.

If it be the purpose of the two bills now before Congress to

If it be the purpose of the two bills now before Congress to raise sufficient funds to meet the actual needs of the country in this indirect, awkward, unjust, unsafe, and unconstitutional manner, then I am against the proposition simply because an unconstitutional or uneconomical farm-loan system is predestined to speedily prove a gigantic boomerang, disastrous to the Government and the American people.

tineoustrutional of the conomical farm-roan system is precestined to speedily prove a gigantic boomerang, disastrous to the Government and the American people.

It is fundamental, in my judgment, that all of the credit resources of the country must, by Federal statute and through constitutional governmental aid, be made available for long-term, low-interest-bearing farm-mortgage loans. That the quickest, the best, and the fairest way to bring the farmer in personal contact with the country's credit resources is to utilize existing banking machinery of every kind and character. gress would be well within established and universally recognized precedents if it extended the facilities afforded by the Federal reserve bank act to long-term, low-interest-bearing loans on farm-land security. Let the discount provision of the Federal reserve act be so amended and extended that any member bank, or any other reputable, solvent bank willing to comply with the conditions in the United States, State or National, shall have the right to lend its assets on governmentally supervised and controlled long-term land mortgages-as to confer upon such bank holding such a farm mortgage, the right at its option to immediately turn over, through unconditional indorsement, such farm mortgage to the Secretary of the Treasury, or some Federal officer designated for that purpose, and receive therefor its face value in Federal reserve notes, and that a hundred millions of the unlimited amount of the Federal reserve notes now authorized by the Federal reserve bank act be specifically devoted to that purpose. That when in the judgment of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Treasury of the United States has accumulated enough of such farm mortgages

it shall be the duty of the Secretary or person in control of such fund to issue farm-mortgage bonds, bearing not less than 4 per cent, running for 36 years, interest payable annually, or semiannually, as he may determine, and state thereon: "This bond is secured, first, by the land mortgaged; second, by all the assets of the bank discounting the mortgage; third, by the United States Government." In this way any citizen or trustee having money to invest would find an absolutely safe, long-term investment, paying an attractive rate of interest, simple in terms, and immediately convertible into cash. Such a bond would almost pass as legal tender. The banks of the country would naturally hold these mortgages just as long as they could in order to secure the interest, as upon their discount the interest would immediately pass to the bondholder, while the responsibility of the bank for the bond's redemption would continue. With immediate liquidity thus guaranteed the timid, law-hampered banks would be reanimated and thereby glad to lend their assets upon such mortgages, because they could convert them into cash as the exigencies of their business might require. The swarm of middlemen would be eliminated, public consumption of the bonds would be assured, and the bonds would be as safe as if offered by the United States. The rapid sale of these bonds would automatically restore and maintain the original hundred million dollars of reserve notes appropriated. It would follow that the farm lands and the money lender would be brought into direct and effective contact, and, in addition to that, the plan would have the hearty and unqualified support of all existing money-lending institutions in the country. The plan would be founded on constitutional grounds, as safe and sound as that upon which the national-banking system and the Federal reserve system now rest. In fact, every constitutional qualm would vanish. The plan would operate in such a way as to show the money lender that he could not oppress the people, and the banks would vie with each other in taking the loans, and the present disinclination to accommodate the farmer would disappear. The friends of the farmer and of a square deal, who are enamored of the common weal, should insist that the ruralcredit legislation passed at this session of Congress proceed along these fundamental, enduring, and constitutional lines.

The faith of the United States Government has been frequently pledged to increase the Nation's sources of credit. More than three hundred millions in greenbacks circulate to-day as legal tender with popular and judicial approval. Seven hundred millions of national-bank notes also circulate as money, based exclusively upon the deposit of Government bonds in the Treasury of the United States. The Federal reserve notes circulate freely, based upon commercial securities and the assets of the bank that discounts them.

With the farm lands of the Nation specifically pledged to the extent of 50 per cent of their governmentally appraised value, the highest and best security in the world, plus the unconditional indorsement of reputable, solvent, governmentally inspected banks, furnishes an ample basis of security to warrant the United States Government in guaranteeing bonds designed to supply the farmer with sufficient funds to develop and operate the Nation's farm life. When Mother Earth, tickled by the implements of husbandry, ceases to produce her perennial harvests, then credit, then civilization itself disappears. The national-reserve banks are creatures of Congress and therefore are subject to national control. Their best friends must admit that many of them have been great sinners in the past, but the big fact remains that as an institution they retain the confidence of the great investing public and control the Nation's money supply. Therefore they needs must be reckoned with in framing effective rural-credit legislation.

I hold no brief for any bank; but I do hold in my heart an ardent desire to emancipate the great agricultural classes of this country from the clutch of an oppressive financial bondage. The great money-lending institutions of the country are indispensable in any scheme of emancipation. Any congressional effort, however honestly made, to ameliorate agricultural conditions, which excludes them, must needs be a farce and a mockery.

If we would give to the farmer a cheaper rate of interest, his past thrift and industry have demonstrated that he is capable of developing and building up this great country of ours. The banks need have no fear, because, as the farmer prospers and accumulates money, he is too intelligent not to deposit it in some safe and reputable bank.

I have given the subject of rural credits a great deal of study, and I am firmly convinced that until Congress passes a safe and sane rural-credits bill, our great resources, as I have said, will never be fully and properly developed.

Government Ownership of Dredges.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 11, 1916.

On the bill (H. R. 12193) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the so-called Good amendment, prohibiting river and harbor appropriations if the contract price exceeds 25 per cent of the estimated cost of Government work, is of dubious value. It is a further step in the direction of Government ownership which the Congress ought not to take. The argument that contractors should be satisfied with a profit of 25 per cent is specious, because there is no assurance now of any profit to the contractor and his risk of loss would be just as great under this amendment as under the existing order. I have no special information about the profits or losses of contractors who do dredging for the Government, but in this as in other instances, I do not believe we should be swept off our feet and made to discourage private enterprise, because some private individual or concern doing business for the Government has made a profit. Neither am I in favor of the delaying of legitimate work, which I believe the adoption of this amendment will result in.

Why is the amendment objectionable?

First. Because it would postpone, if not completely stop, many needed river and harbor improvements where Government plants are not available. It would not seriously interfere with the great Mississippi River and its tributaries, because appropriations carry provision for the construction of dredges and the other equipment necessary to keep that work going. Along the Atlantic seaboard, the Pacific coast, and the Lakes and the Gulf, where contracts are entered into because the Government is not equipped to do the work, we would probably wait indefi-nitely under certain conditions, in the event that private contractors were not available under the terms of the amendment.

Second. Because if the Government, which is already at great expense for the construction and maintenance of dredges and other equipment, must fit itself out for all the river and harbor work that is to be done where contractors are not available under the terms of the amendment, it could not obtain dredges or equipment for urgent work for a series of years. The Government was obliged to build a dredge for the Absecon Inlet at Atlantic City, N. J., because no private contractor would invest the \$180,000 that was necessary to construct the special type of dredge needed for the work. The Government was in substantially the same position with respect to the Ambrose Channel, approaching New York; no contractor or set of contractors were willing to build dredges costing \$360,000 apiece for that one job. This sort of work the Government has to do itself, and its dredges are available for open-sea work on which contractors, in view of the expense and risk, have no desire to compete. It is not probable that any sane contractor in the ordinary course of business would build a special type of dredge at a cost of \$360,000 if he could see no use for the dredge after a single contract was fulfilled. He is presumed to be smart enough, as most any business man would be, not to the himself up with a worthless but expensive plant which used up all of his capital. It is different with the Government of the United States, which has the taxpayers' money to fall back upon whether the plant is kept going or not.

Third. Because the confusion arising from the interpretation of the meaning and effect of the amendment will tend to prejudice legitimate improvements where there is no Government plant as against those localities where Government plants are established. This would apply particularly to inland river work. We have Government dredges at work on the Delaware River channel now, and they are very effective because of their being designed for the work; but probably 75 per cent of all the work on this important stream is done by contract. If we have to wait until appropriations are obtained for a sufficient number of Government dredges to keep the work up to date, we must suffer great loss through the delay that will ensue.

On other projects than the Delaware, where there is no Government competition, who is to tell whether the contractor will get 25 per cent more or 25 per cent less than it will cost the Government to do the work? Granted that given the dredges and

the appropriations free from taxation, free from interest charges, and free from insurance, the Government can dredge a per cubic yard cheaper than a contractor with all his overhead charges can do it. How are the engineers to make an estimate on a given project where there is no Government competition? The whole trend of the amendment speaks confusion and delay, to say nothing of a lack of confidence in the War Department.

Fourth. Because an increase of the Government dredge outfit can only be acquired after much legislation and a terrific increase in construction cost. The seagoing dredges, to which reference has been made, could not be constructed to-day for the prices that obtained when they were built; and even if they were authorized at an increased cost, they would be of no service to the Government except for the special projects that called them into being. The Government dredge in this respect is different from the privately owned dredge, because the private distribution of the private work in off concerns while the Government. dredge can obtain private work in off seasons, while the Government dredge is a dead loss, with maintenance cost added, when it is not in service on the work for which it was designed.

I do not believe the amendment will have the effect its spon-

sors claim for it; but, on the contrary, will hamper the engineers and delay the public work.

Interview With Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD W. POU, OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 14, 1916.

Mr. POU. Mr. Chairman, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an interview with the Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, published in the New York World of Sunday, March 26.

The interview is as follows:

The interview is as follows:

Secretary of the Navy Daniels Takes the Field Against His Enemies—How He Has Smashed Rings and Defeated Grafters Told in a Frank and Enlightening Interview.

(George Cree's name is familiar to readers of periodicals and newspapers as that of a writer who devotes himself to causes that need assistance. With fights for good government in various parts of the country he has identified himself as a type of journalistic knight errant. His valiant support of Judge Ben Lindsey and his defense of the miners made him a conspicuous figure in Colorado. Mr. Creel had never met Secretary Daniels up to the time he secured this interview.)

[By George Creel.]

[By George Creel.]

Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, is at once the most maligned and most misunderstood man in the United States to-day. To wade through the lies that have been told about him, to discover the truths that have been hidden or distorted, is to come to a new loathing of the greed that poisons when thwarted and to an added contempt for the public that takes no larger interest in a public servant than to swallow every slander circulated about him.

Ask the average citizen about Josephus Daniels and he'll wag his head and mouth something about mountchank and demagogue. Press him for details and he can cite none more definite than vague generalizations that Daniels has "let the Navy run down" and has "made us a laughingstock."

This derision is the price that Josephus Daniels has been made to pay for saving millions of the people's money from the traffickers in armor plate and munitions; for breaking up the armchair clique that ruled the Navy for years; for making merit the test of promotion rather than "social pull"; for opening the doors of advancement to the enlisted man. He has given us a Navy that, according to Admiral George Dewey, "is not excelled, except in size, by the fleet of any nation in the world" Facts and figures entitle him to rank with the greatest Secretaries of history, and yet so well have his enemies wrought that many of the people for whom he has labored grin at his name.

Practically all of this ridicule has flowed from his abolition of the

wrought that many of the people for whom he has imbored grin at his name.

Practically all of this ridicule has flowed from his abolition of the wine mess. Back in 1890 Secretary Long Issued an order forbidding the sale or issue of liquor to enlisted men on board ship, and all that Mr. Daniels did was to extend the rule to officers, taking the step upon the official recommendation of the Surgeon General of the Navy. This policy, that was to make the United States the "langhingstock" of the nations, was followed within the year by all other world powers. Russia and France first, then Lord Charles Beresford scored the use of liquor in the British Navy, and after that Emperor Wilhelm, addressing the German navai cadets, uttered these words:

HOW HE HAS EARNED HATRED.

"The next war and the next sea battle demand sound nerves of you. "The next war and the next sea battle demand sound nerves of you. Nerves will decide. These become undermined through alcohol. * * * The nation which consumes the least alcohol wins, and that should be you, my gentlemen. And through you an example should be given the crews. And in consequence of this I expect of you * * * that you take heed thereto and provide that indulgence in alcohol be not counted as belonging to your privileges."

In the Hearst papers most active in ridiculing the "grape-juice" order, pages are devoted to proving that all of the great businesses of the country are refusing to employ men who drink. Yet for the foresight that enabled Josephus Daniels to point a way to the nations he is denounced.

Such attacks, of course, are mere blinds. The real causes of the campaign of hatred against Secretary Daniels are not to be found on the surface, but deep down in the mud of human greed. The Powder Trust hates him because he is manufacturing smokeless powder for 34 cents a pound as against the 50 to 80 cents that used to be paid to the monopoly. In 1915 alone \$1,115,793 was saved, and this year the capacity is doubled. The projectile makers hate him because he cut out \$1,077,210 on one bid alone and is asking Congress for money to build his own plant. The grafters hate him because his economies have effected a reduction of fifteen odd millions on public work at shore stations. The armor-plate monopoly hates him because he made them poof \$1,110,084 that was headed for its pockets and has caused a bill to be introduced for a Government plant where armor can be manufactured for \$230 a ton as against the \$440 exacted by the trust. Back in 1900 Congress appropriated \$4,000,000 for a Government armor plant unless contracts could be made at "a reasonable and equitable figure," but Secretaries Moody, Morton, Bonaparte, and Meyer closed their eyes to the expert reports that proved the gross extortions of the monopoly and paid out over \$76,000,000 in high prices.

When Josephus Daniels took office he found an investment of millions in navy yards going to waste. Many stations were closed and the others were used for petty repairing so as not to infringe upon the profits of private companies. Secretary Daniels opened them up for real business, and to-day every one is aiding naval construction and saving millions. Two dreadnaughts are building at New York, and the keel of a third will be laid this summer; manufacture of torpedos has reduced the cost over \$1,000 per torpedo; airships are building at New York, and the keel of a third will be laid this summer; manufacture of torpedos has reduced the cost over \$1,000 per torpedo; airships are building at York provided as an all-year-round aviation school.

Everything that is be

EIGHTY-FIVE PER CENT REENLISTING.

EIGHTY-FIVE PER CENT REENLISTING.

"They charge that the Navy is going down hill, that enlisted men hate the service, and that my brand of democratization has spelled the demoralization of the service. What is my brand of democratization? I nave established schools on board ship, attempting to let every enlisted man have an opportunity for academic and technical education, and I have opened certain doors of promotion to these men. What demoralization has resulted? When I took office only 52 per cent of the men discharged in good standing were reenlisting, while to-day the percentage is 85 per cent.

"I found a Navy 5,000 men short of the number allowed by law. In my three years 0,365 men have been added. There was an average of 1,800 men in prison, while to-day there are less than 700, permitting us to restore two prison ships and two disciplinary barracks to normal uses. During the Taft administration there were over 10,000 desertions. A decrease of 17 per cent has been achieved already, and every day sees the number lessening. Do these figures indicate discontent, hatred of the service, and destroyed discipline?

"I stand by my schools, and if necessary I am willing to fall with them. No man believes more firmly in discipline than I do; never in spoken speech or written have I questioned the absolute necessity in all military service of instant and implicit obedience to a superior; I will have no mercy on insolence or insubordination, be it from seaman to his petty officer or junior lieutenant to his captain, but I do not hold that discipline is dependent upon ignorance or the denial of an American's right to rise as high as his ability will carry him.

"Time and again it has been declared to me that education does not better fit a man for deck washing or coal heaving, and the contemptuous snobbery of it has never failed to offend. If 85 per cent of discharged men are reenlisting, and if more than 6,000 men, that the Navy called for in vain until 1912, have entered the Navy, may it not be that the cause is to

THE NEW NAVY PROGRAM.

"If the Navy itself is not as large as the experts recommend, it should be borne in mind that navies are not built in a day. For the first time in history I have caused the reports of the General Board to be made public, and any citizen may see for himself the Navy's growth from year to year. From 1903 to 1912 the recommendations of the General Board, with Admiral Dewey at its head, were disregarded steadily, and it was as a consequence of this continued disregard that Germany passed us as a naval power in 1909, several years before I became Secretary of the Navy.

as a navar power in 1905, several years before I became secretary of the Navy.

"Throughout those years the General Board urged a program of continuous building tather than a slipshod, annual affair, and had their advice been beeded there would have been no excuse for the hysterical activities of to-day. Of the 34 dreadnaughts recommended

15 were authorized; 40 cruisers were recommended and 5 were built. I found the Navy without a single seagoing submarine and just fur aviators; one mine-laying ship, an inadequate and outworn system of wireless, and on every hand a variety of lacks.

"I say this in no spirit of criticism. With the world at war to-day we are bending a new and more enthusiastic eye upon our Navy, while in years gone by peace seemed such a permanence that every Navy increase was attended by outcry. I mention it merely to show that this administration has been called upon to face tremendous naval problems and tremendous naval tasks.

"An appropriation of \$1,000,000 has already been made for aviation, we have 15 machines on hand, 15 are being constructed, 18 aviators are in the service, and the Pensacola school is turning out new batches as fast as the courses can be completed.

"Three new seagoing submarines, of the latest and largest model, have been authorized. A separate submarine flotilla has been organized, and assigned to the command of a rear admiral, and the establishment of submarine shore bases has changed the absurd condition that necessitated 1,928 men on 14 ships to care for 29 submarines carrying 831 men.

"We have had to design antiaircraft guns and manufacture them.

lishment of submarine shore bases has changed the absurd condition that necessitated 1,928 men on 14 ships to care for 29 submarines carrying 831 men.

"We have had to design antiaircraft guns and manufacture them, and the same course has had to be followed with nets and mines and entanglements. Radio has been installed on every submarine and 75 ships, and three new shore stations have been added to our chain; we now have three mine-laying ships, with more in view, and until construction can catch up I have equipped a fleet of seagoing tugs and a fleet of torpedo boats with mine-sweeping equipment.

"We have 31 mines to-day for every mine possessed two years ago; the supply of torpedoes has been more than doubled, and manufacture continues steadily; and my adoption of a continuous building program for the next five years, if authorized by Congress, will give the United States a strong, well-balanced Navy.

"It is true enough that gunnery efficiency had decreased, but under date of October, 1915, Admiral Fletcher made the cheering report that the scores made at long-range practice were the highest ever made in the open sea. Ninety per cent of the shots, at longest range, would have hit an enemy ship. Yet in spite of this report that uphoids the best traditions of the American Navy the report persists that our men are less than eager, less than able.

"I can understand the spirit of honest criticism, but I can not understand the vileness that revels in the slime of a base un-American detraction. In order to enlist the best thought of the Nation in science and invention, I asked Thomas A. Edison to serve as the head of an advisory board composed of two representatives from each of the 11 great engineering and scientific societies of the United States. Germany, France and England place major reliance upon such boards and provide great laboratories for their use. Mr. Edison and his associates serve without salary, paying their own expenses, yet even this devotion has not been able to protect them against slander. It

NO LIE TOO MALICIOUS.

"It is asserted that I have deprived the kin of an enlisted man of the customary death gratuity should he lose his life while on liberty. The law on this subject was passed in 1912, and states specifically that the only cause for withholding payment shall be when death is due to the misconduct of the deceased. We bought 8 searchlights from a German inventor and tendered him a second order for 12 more at \$3,960 apiece, as set down in his bid. The manufacturers did not desire the contract, requesting a new award at \$5,200 apiece, but I awarded the contract to the inventor, who, by reason of getting it, will be paid \$25,000 under his contract with the manufacturers. This transaction constitutes the base of the charge that the United States Navy robbed a stranger and took advantage of him. Nothing seems to be too low, too mean, or too vicious to be said; and the attacks do not stop at me, but soil Nation, Navy, and officials.

"I do not care about these petitinesses as far as I personally am concerned, but I do resent the extension of this enmity to others. The people are asked to believe, for instance, that I appointed some inefficient underling to be Chlef of the Bureau of Navigation. Victor Blue, the man attacked by inference, has his name in the Naval Register with the notation 'advanced for extraordinary heroism during the War with Spain.' His daring expeditions to locate the Spanish fleet at Santiago, however, were no less brilliant than his action in penetrating the Spanish gunboat blockade in an armed ship's boat, meeting Gen. Gomez, and then capturing two Spanish patrol sloops as he ran out of the harbor. He has filled every office on a modern man-of-war, served on Admiral Kempff's staff during the Philippine insurrection, and was a member of the first relicf expedition which marched from the sea to Tientsin. After that he was chief of staff of the Pacific Fleet, was appointed by Secretary Meyer to the General Board, and it was there I found him.

"The same malice has attempted to discredit the splendid me

"The same malice has attempted to discredit the splendid men gathered about me as heads of the various bureaus. Rear Admiral Griffin, Chief of the Bureau of Steam Engineering; Rear Admiral Strauss, of the Bureau of Ordnance; David Watson Taylor, of the Bureau of Construction and Repair; and Rear Admiral Benson, Chief of the Bureau of Naval Operations, were chosen for their preeminent ability, and their records should constitute an answer to base insinua-

NO ONE HAS BEEN MUZZLED.

"When I came into office I found a system of aides, each one standing as a buffer between the Secretary and his bureaus, a plan that resulted in delay, confusion, red tape, and a tremendous amount of correspondence carried on between men in adjoining rooms. This system had been refused sanction by Congress time and again.

"I ended the system, because it had no legal status, and because I desired direct contact with my bureaus. No doubt this aroused personal resentment, and likely enough the irritation has been fanned by

my insistent recommendations to Congress that promotion by seniority be discarded in favor of promotion by merit.

"I have been criticized also for refusing to permit naval officers to deliver public addresses and otherwise seek to influence legislation. This has been the unbroken policy of the Navy from time immemorial, and President Roosevelt; in 1902, and President Taft, in 1909, reenforced the rule by executive orders that established dismissal as a penalty for violation. But even while I did not make this regulation I gave it the usual enforcement. Congress has called before it many officers of the Navy regarded as authorities, and the testimony of these gentlemen has been available to the press, and, to supplement publicity, I have made public the reports of the General Board. No one has been muzzled; simply the law has been enforced that forbids officers from running about the country for purposes of propaganda, a practice in which 99 per cent had no desire to indulge.

"The people of the United States have never had cause to be ashamed of their Navy, and never more than to-day has there been cause for pride. Testifying before the House committee the other day, Capt. J. S. McKean said that we had made more progress in the last two years than in any previous five-year period, and that he had never known a time when everybody in the service was working as hard with their heads and hands.

"Two Hospital Corps training schools have been established; the Naval Pay Officers' School has been reopened; likewise the Fuel Oil School, where firemen, oliers, and water tenders are prepared for service on board the oil-burning vessels of the Navy. On every hand, in every department of the Navy, there is a generous enthusiasm that is finding effective expression in efficient and devoted service, and I say to you, and I say to the people of the United States, that even while we are urging the expenditure of \$500,000,000 in construction during the next five years, the Navy to-day is a finer, better balanced, and more eff

ONE MORE CAUSE OF HATE.

ONE MORE CAUSE OF HATE.

There is another matter that may be mentioned in explanation of the campaign of hate that is being waged against Josephus Daniels. In alliance with Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, he is urging upon Congress a plan to build ships for commercial purposes, so constructed and manned as to constitute auxiliary craft for the Navy in time of war. During the War with Spain the United States paid out over \$21,000.000 for auxiliary craft, and had to sell them afterwards at an 80 per cent loss. The Daniels-McAdoo plan contemplates the formation of a private company, with the Government holding 51 per cent of the stock, or all of it if necessary, and the leasing of the ships for commercial purposes, or else Government operation of them. A twofold benefit would be secured by the commencement of a merchant marine and the provision

of the Navy with the auxiliary craft that are absolutely indispensable in time of war.

Taken from his entrance into office, viewed from every angle, and subjected to every scrutiny, Josephus Daniels shows bigger than any Secretary of the Navy in past years. He has not been content to be rubber stamp for the use of any Navy clique or coterie; he has kept greedy hands out of the people's money. Wherever he has violated tradition it has been in the interests of common sense and greater efficiency; he has fought for justice, and he has given the United States a great Navy and the high promise of a greater.

It is not our naval preparedness that is being attacked, but the honesty, sincerity, keen intelligence, splendid vision, and unfaltering courage that have enabled Josephus Daniels to smash rings and defeat graft and rapacity.

Burnett Immigration Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Friday, April 14, 1916.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, the city of New York has within its borders 5,047,221 residents, which is at least one-twentieth of the entire population of the United States. It is as lawabiding a community as can be found in this country. In my speech in opposition to the Burnett immigration bill I discussed this matter at length, and gave the figures of the number of arrests for each of our large cities.

I point with pride to the statistics of the manufactures of Greater New York, and insert the following from the World,

1916. Almanac:

Manufactures of Greater New York.

The Census Office in October, 1911, published the following tabular statement, giving aggregates regarding manufactures in Greater New York in 1909, compared with 1904:

	Boroughs of I	danhattan and Bronx.	Borough of	Borough of Brooklyn. Total, Greater New Y		
	1909	1904	1909	1904	1909	1904
Number of establishments Capital Cost of materials used. Salaries and wages. Miscellaneous expenses Value of products Value added by manufacture (products, less cost of materials). Employees: Number of salaried officials and clerks. A verage number wage earners employed during the year.	19, 769 \$\$22, 726, 000 \$725, 456, 000 \$332, 438, 000 \$206, 789, 000 \$1, 431, 089, 000 \$705, 633, 000 77, 849 399, 792	15, 975 \$620, 526, 000 \$507, 030, 000 \$238, 839, 000 \$160, 648, 000 \$1, 043, 252, 000 \$536, 222, 000 539, 221	5, 218 \$362,337,000 \$235,132,000 \$89,474,000 \$46,855,000 \$417,223,000 \$182,091,000 15,844 123,883	\$313, 452,000 \$230,809,000 \$38,056,000 \$38,470,000 \$373,443,000 \$142,654,000 9,932 104,995	25, 938 \$1,364,353,000 \$1,092,155,000 \$445,772,000 \$266,034,000 \$2,029,683,000 \$937,538,000 97,453 554,002	20, 839 \$1,042,946,000 \$118,029,000 \$221,156,000 \$206,825,000 \$1,526,523,000 \$708,494,000

1 Including also the Boroughs of Queens and Richmond.

Only establishments conducted under the factory system were included in the census. Those distinguished as neighborhood, hand, and building industries, and small establishments having an annual product of less than \$500 were excluded.

In 1915 New York City spent \$7.31 per capita for educational matters; \$3.08 per capita for health and sanitation; for protection of life and property, per capita \$5.40; for charitable purposes, per capita \$1.65; and for science and art, for each person, 58 cents.

This demonstrates beyond further discussion that New York

City is doing its duty in every line of endeavor.

Within its confines is the New York Navy Yard, which was established in 1801. It is the largest naval station the country

It is there that we have our largest dry docks. Yet, I regret to say, I have heard many of the gentlemen here, representing country constituencies, constantly reproaching the people of New York City because of the demand urged here that in the interest of preparedness, as well as commercial supremacy, the East River be deepened near the navy yard so that our warships may be able to enter the navy yard at all times. This bill gives to the State of New York as follows: New York Harbor, \$2,356,000, and for the upper Hudson River, \$1,250,000.

If the line of argument advanced here was to be followed to its logical conclusion, then the State of New York, with one-tenth of the whole population of the Nation, should receive a similar proportion of the whole appropriation, which in this case would be at least \$4,000,000.

The Representatives in this House from New York never raise the question of sectionalism in discussing legislation. To them every part of this Republic is just as important and on the same basis as all the other constituent parts. It is the welfare of the

whole Nation that we should discuss here in as broad a spirit as man can.

It has been said on the floor of the House that there is politics in making an appropriation this year for the East River project.

Then every Democrat and every Republican from the city of
New York in this House has played the game of politics in behalf of the best interests of the whole country and of the city of New York. We believed, and we still believe, that the appropriation for this project is more urgent and more necessary than the numerous small projects which have heretofore been commenced and which are more costly than economical management would have made them.

Every time either the State or city of New York asks an appropriation for some important project the expense of which should fairly, justly, and rightfully be borne by the National Government, we are told that the State or city of New York, as the case happens to be, is rich and should be able to raise its own money by taxes or otherwise and thus make the required and essential improvement,

The residents of the State and city of New York are contributing their just share toward the vast sums being expended for the running expenses of the large governmental machinery maintained here. It can not, however, be said that in return either the city or State of New York is receiving its proportionate share of the benefits.

Were the Treasury of the United States in normal condition I would urge the erection in the southern district of New York of a building devoted wholly to the Department of Justice. Several parts of the United States district courts are now holding sessions in the old post-office building and several other parts have their court rooms in the Woolworth Building. That such an arrangement does not serve the best interests of the Government and of litigants requires no affirmative argument. It would seem that at the city of New York, where strangers come from all over the world, that men would not question the advisability or importance of having a United States courthouse there commensurate with the dignity of a great Government like ours. The lack of proper facilities for naturalization results in fewer aliens becoming citizens. Were there more court rooms, more judges could be present and attend to the large and growing number of cases arising in New York. The necessity for such a new building has been repeatedly stated by former and present United States judges, yet some men who do not know conditions will say that New York should put up such a United States courthouse at its own expense.

Mr. Speaker, I shall look forward to the day in the near future when Congress will appropriate the money for a courthouse in Manhattan Borough and recognize the fact that the prosperity of the entire country is the foremost thought of every American citizen regardless of which State in the Union he calls his home.

The Mississippi River.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. C. DYER,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 11, 1916.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, the Mississippi is our greatest river. It is our "Father of Waters." This river and its treatment by the Government is of vast concern to 30,000,000 and more people. We of the Mississippi Valley are interested in this river for two special reasons—for transporting commerce and building its levees so as to protect the land from overflows,

The money provided for in this bill for the Mississippi River amounts to over \$8,000,000. It is needed and is necessary for the protection of the people who live in the Mississippi Valley. This river has been, and will continue to be, a source of great concern. The Government has expended in the past probably \$150,000,000 for the same purposes for which this \$8,000,000 is provided. I heartily approve of this provision in the present bill and urge that this money be appropriated for the Mississippi work because of its absolute necessity. This annual appropriation will have to continue until Congress approves of a project that means the taking hold of and handling of this great Mississippi River question. I have urged for several years, in and out of Congress, that the engineers of the United States Army, with the assistance of the best engineers in the civil life, come to an agreement as to the best plan for building the levees so as to put an end to these periodical overflows. That is what ought to be done, and then we would know that in time this work would be completed. This would give stability to the con-sideration and cause the farmers to take an interest in making the swamp and overflowed land of the Mississippi Valley habitable and fit for cultivation. I have introduced bills to carry this scheme into effect. I hope that it will come about at an early date. Its enactment into a law means eventually the saving to this country of more than \$100,000,000. In addition to that, it will be worth several hundred millions of dollars to the people who live in the Mississippi Valley. A greater disaster than heretofore known threatens our people and their resources in the floods of the Mississippi. Lives and much property have already been destroyed by the overflows, and much danger still exists. The great and beautiful city of New Orleans is in possible danger of destruction from the waters of the Mississippi. Other towns, villages, and cities along the Mississippi either have been destroyed, damaged, or are in dire danger thereof. This is not the first time that your attention has been called to the great destruction rendered by the floods and overflows of the great Mississippi River. We go about appropriating money in piecemeal to repair the levees and to restore them as they were before the flood; we appropriate money to assist those who have been made homeless and to relieve the suffering. Having done that, we go on and apparently forget that the time will come when there will be a recurrence of the floods and overflows. Why not provide the money and the means to build and complete the

floods similar to those of the past? It can be done. We all know that. Why not proceed? I beg the Rivers and Harbors Committee to take up this matter at once and bring us a bill to authorize it.

Those who specially attack this provision for the Mississippi River give as a reason that there is no commerce upon the river. They urge that this river has lost over 90 per cent of its commerce during the past 40 years. They urge that from this standpoint there is no justification for more than nominal expenditures. This charge, made by the opponents of this item for the Mississippi River, is in the main well founded. There is practically no commerce upon the Mississippi River to-day. This is regrettable, and the fault lies very largely with the people of the cities and towns located upon the banks of the Mississippi. Years ago this river was one of the greatest highways of commerce. It must be and will be again.

St. Louis, the city I have the honor in part to represent here, has started in the right way to restore this commerce by building docks and river terminals. These are now under way, and will soon be ready for use. The business will follow and our commerce will then go to the Far East by water. New Orleans has done great work along this line of building docks and terminals. With commerce restored upon the Mississippi the people will gladly vote the money to make the levees safe. Then comes the great prosperity of the Mississippi Valley and its 30,000,000 and more people. There is no longer any doubt as to the feasibility that the levees can be raised and the swamp land reclaimed. This has been tried in many other places with success, and the cost of doing this work would be very small when we compare it with the results that would be realized. There are now some 77,000,000 acres of swamp and overflowed land in the Mississippi Valley which can be drained and made suitable for cultivation. The total cost, I have determined from careful calculation, would be about \$15 per acre.

The present value of these lands runs from \$2 to \$20 per acre. When they have been drained and made suitable for permanent cultivation the value will be anywhere from \$60 to \$100 per acre, and in many instances it could be sold as high as \$400 per acre. Consider these figures as an evidence of the importance of the project. These 77,000,000 acres, after drainage, with an average value of \$60 per acre, would have a total value of \$4,620,000,000. The present value of this land is only about \$8 per acre, which amounts to \$616,000,000.

The cost of draining this land, at \$15 per acre, would amount to \$1,155,000,000. The value of the land, plus the cost of draining, would be \$1,771,000,000. The amount therefore that the land would increase in value by reason of drainage would amount to \$2,849,000,000. This land would also provide homes for 1,925,000 families, and thus result in a real and substantial reduction in the cost of living by increasing production. Vegetables and provisions for the home and table could be raised on this rich and fertile land in the greatest abundance.

Mr. Speaker, let us do something for our own people and our own country. Reclaim this vast area of land in the Mississippi Valley. This land would be most suitable for agriculture, and rich and fertile. It would also increase in taxable value, and the getting rid of these swamp lands would tend to the health of the Nation; it would banish mosquitoes and malaria from this section of the country; it would aid in the construction of good roads and in many ways be of great benefit. We should not continue appropriating without some definite plan fixed and agreed upon, but we should get down to the real proposition at once, which is the raising of the levees, the deepening of the channel, and the reclaiming of this swamp and overflow land. The people of the city of St. Louis are anxious to see this brought about at the earliest practicable date. We of that city recognize that this will be the means of opening up new avenues of trade and commerce for our products, which we so abundantly manufacture, and of which we are capable of supplying the needs of the 30,000,000 of people in our trade territory.

Mr. Speaker, I know of nothing that this Congress could do

Mr. Speaker, I know of nothing that this Congress could do which would be of greater interest to my city than the enactment of a law that would mean the reclaiming of these swamps and overflowed lands of the Mississippi Valley. As stated, we need markets for our goods.

When we have additional markets we can increase our manufactured products. That will give additional employment to many men and women in the factories in our city and also provide markets for goods raised by the farmers, a greatly increased quantity of which we would need for our increased population and also for manufacturing purposes in the factories and mills.

provide the money and the means to build and complete the levee system of the Mississippi so that they will withstand to the people of my city by the carrying out of this project

would be to greatly assist in restoring commerce from St. Louis to New Orleans. In other words, we could load our manufactured products at St. Louis in ships, send the goods on down the Mississippi to New Orleans, thence on through the Panama Canal, and deliver them to the western coast of North and South America and the Far East at a greatly reduced expense to our manufacturers, and which will enable them to sell at a less price than now and thus meet competition from foreign

St. Louis and Missouri would benefit greatly by reason of this shorter route for its products. St. Louis is to-day exporting more than \$50,000,000 worth of goods annually to South American countries. St. Louis, by reason of the Panama Canal, is nearer the western coast of South America than any other manufacturing city. The export trade of St. Louis will greatly increase, and, as its manufacturing industries enlarge and its product becomes greater, so will the great agricultural sections of the Mississippi Valley feel this impulse, and greater prosperity come to it also.

Abraham Lincoln.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MARTIN B. MADDEN,

OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 12, 1916.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, in a log cabin on the banks of the Sangamon River, a small stream emptying into the Illinois River, there lived about 83 years ago a long, lank, homely, sad-eyed rail splitter, unknown save only to his parents and a few scattering neighbors, who, like himself, were eking out by the hardest kind of labor a mere existence in a then wild and unpromising section of this the home of the free and the land of the brave. He was not employed by the hour, day, week, month, or year, nor did he receive a daily wage as compensation for his labor. He worked from sunup to sundown, and when he had piled up 400 rails he received from a poor widow in exchange therefor enough homespun cloth to make him or his father a pair of trousers.

He was a Kentuckian by birth, and moved, when a young man, with a worthless father, a carpenter by trade, to the State of Indiana, and after sojourning there for a short time came on to Illinois, where they built a log cabin on a bluff near the River Sangamon, when the young man soon became famous, not only as the champion rail splitter of his county, but also for his ability to dispatch hogs with lightninglike rapidity, and for which service he received the munificent sum of 30 cents per day.

His rail-splitting and hog-killing proclivities did not constitute all of the qualifications which this young man possessed and which made him the envy of his many rural competitors. He could run faster, jump farther, strike harder, and could throw down with great ease any man bold enough to question his physical superiority; and, although at this time his mental strength did not keep pace with his physical greatness, he could read, write, and cipher, and, above all, he could be relied upon and was absolutely honest, a characteristic which, like the rugged mountain peak, rises majestically above the clouds.

Young Lincoln gave up the rail-splitting industry to engage in the grocery business; but having an inborn dislike for business precision and indoor confinement, he speedily abandoned that avocation to engage in the more agreeable pastime of fighting Indians. He had himself elected captain of a military company in 1832, and proceeded to put his company in condition to end the Black Hawk War forthwith; and although it is not recorded that he ever saw an Indian during that engagement, it is a matter of record that his failure to meet the enemy was no

Having political ambition and being popular with his neighbors, who for the most part were a sorry lot of very poor people, he, in 1833, by such methods as are perfectly familiar to those who are in politics, and in the same way now employed-we have not improved much upon Lincoln's manner of doing politics-ingratiated himself into the good graces of his Congressman and was appointed postmaster, in which position he familiarized himself with current happenings by reading to his patrons newspapers, postal cards, and other publications which came into his official hands for distribution and delivery. His office, as can well be imagined, was a meeting place for all sorts

of quaint characters, who came in crowds to listen with admiration to the witty and wise sayings of their foremost fellow citizen. The official duties of this governmental dignitary were not arduous-in fact, it is said he carried the mail in his hat, and when transporting even his heaviest mail in this way there was ample room for a head destined in the near future to furnish intelligence enough to rule with matchless splendor and success

the greatest Nation on the face of the earth.

Lincoln at this time had, of course, no intimation of his ultimate greatness, and it is doubtful if he had ever dreamed of representing in an official capacity a greater number of his fellow citizens than were then residing in the little village over which he presided with great dignity as postmaster. of greatness were in him, however, and were being slowly developed by Almighty God to fit him, when the emergency should come, to grapple with and master the greatest and most complicated national problem that has ever fallen to the lot of man to solve. True, he was ambitious, and wisely seeing that his manly character and his native wit had given to him a place of political prominence among his fellow townsmen, it was perfectly natural that he should seek still higher ascendancy in the political firmament, and having natural inclination to orate he became a candidate for the State legislature in 1832 and took the stump. It is written down that his speeches were calculated more to amuse than edify, but with a persistency characteristic of all western men of ambition, and remembering the precept that "Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise,' he sailed in and told his rustic hearers all about the affairs of government and a lot more. The following was his maiden speech as a candidate for the legislature:

Fellow citizens, I am humble Abraham Lincoln. My politics are short and sweet, like the old woman's dance. I am in favor of a national bank, of internal improvements, and a high protective tariff. These are my sentiments. If elected, I shall be thankful; if not, it will be all the same.

He was defeated, but having taken on considerable knowledge by his experience and the persistent reading of books, he did not complain or cuss his successful competitor for this high office, but like a good American citizen he went to work and bided his time. Again he tried the grocery business, and again he failed. Somehow he seemed to be unfitted for the business of selling the products of the soil. Possibly the alluring smile of his customers when they saw the scales tip in their favor had something to do with it. Anyhow he falled. Anybody else, easily discouraged, would have, after so many adversities, gone back to the rail-splitting business. Not so with Lincoln. He took to the study of the law, and by so doing he hoped to add to his political success, and at the same time to fit himself so as to render competent legal services to some unfortunate fellow man after he should have mastered the intricacies of human jurisprudence. His great aim in life was to help his brother man, and to do this he was ever ready to give up his life. While studying law it became necessary to keep body and soul together; he became an assistant surveyor, and by hard study equipped himself to perform the services of such an employee in six weeks. About this time the sun began to shine through the dark clouds of despair which had hung over him, and Lincoln grew more optimistic—he never was a pessimist, but always seemed sad. He purchased a decent suit of clothes, the first he had ever had, made the acquaintance of prominent men, and profited by their acquaintance.

In 1834 the people of the State of Illinois elected a new legis-

lature, and Lincoln was one of the successful candidates. The State capital was then located at Vandalia, and Lincoln was prominent in having enacted into law a bill removing it to Springfield. Aside from this bit of wise legislation nothing was done in which he played a prominent part calculated to create an impression that he was soon to become in fame second only to Washington, but in the succeeding legislature, to which he also was elected, he and his colleague, Daniel Stone, the two members from Sangamon County, introduced the famous resolution declaring that the institution of slavery "was founded on

both injustice and bad policy."

In 1837 Lincoln was admitted to the bar and moved to Springfield, a village of some 1,500 people. In 1838, at the age of 29, he was again elected to the legislature, where he continued assiduously, by wise legislation, to better the condition of the people. He found time to carry on the practice of law and was reputed to be a good lawyer, although his services as such, being respectable, was not great.

Lincoln was a born politician. His heart was in the work, and it was in this prolific field that his great achievements were accomplished. He did not like the technicalities of the law, but rather preferred to make political speeches, in which particular occupation his genius shone with great brilliancy.

In 1840, during the Harrison presidential campaign, Lincoln stumped the State in behalf of the Whig cause, and it was during this canvass that he came in contact with the great scholar

and political debater, Stephen A. Douglas.

In 1843 Mr. Lincoln was defeated for Congress, to which high position he had long aspired. He was more successful in 1846, however, when he received a majority of the votes cast in the congressional contest and was elected to a seat in the National House of Representatives. As a Congressman Lincoln's record was but fair. He made some three or four speeches, devoted more to wit and humor than sound reasoning, although questions of great moment were during those days demanding the attention of leading statesmen.

Many biographers have given too much time and attention to Lincoln's domestic life, which was all but pleasant, as is well known to everybody. It is the public services of great men rather than their private affairs that receive and merit the attention of the public, and this incomparable man's public life is so filled with brilliant achievements that to deviate therefrom would avail nothing intellectual and would be doing that which,

to say the least, would be unwise.

As I have said before, Lincoln's ability as a lawyer did not shine with any particular brilliancy. He did not become famous through his practice of the law, as a State representative, or as a Congressman. Neither could be compare in eloquence with Webster, or Calhoun as a public speaker. It Douglas, Clay, was his matchless moral character, the prominent part he played in a great cause, and his marvelous leadership that will cause his name to be honored and revered throughout the ages.

His great political career really began in 1854, notwithstand-

ing he had served two years in Congress, 1847-1849.

It was the attempt of southern statesmen to compel Congress to extend slavery in the Territories that aroused the great indignation of Lincoln and which, indirectly, made him the leader of the opposition to the movement to establish slavery in territory belonging to the United States, an institution declared by

him to be "founded on both injustice and bad policy."

Henry Clay's great compromise bill succeeded in quieting for a time the bitterness that was engendered by this inhuman attempt. It was but the calm that precedes a storm, however, and was short lived. An attempt to pass the fugitivelaw was regarded as a national outrage by northern men, and the protest that was registered when man hunters seized trembling fugitives and took them back to a life infinitely worse than death was of a nature to cause public men to tremble. The whole North became alive with righteous indignation at this barbarous and unspeakable act of inhumanity. Newspapers protested, orators thundered, excitement exceeded all bounds. More fuel to the flames was added about this time by Stephen A. Douglas, a United States Senator from the State of Illinois, by the introduction of his famous Kansas-Nebraska bill, the purpose of which was to open up the vast territory of bill, the purpose of which the introduction of slavery, providing that the recole of these Territories should so favor. The South that the people of these Territories should so favor. needed this territory, and Douglas, who had presidential aspirations, was playing into their hands.

The attempt to put the bill on the statute book opened the eyes even of some Democratic leaders of the North and a united outcry of protestation from the press, the platform, and the pulpit was raised in one great scream of wrath, which no doubt could be distinctly heard south of Mason and Dixon's

It will not be necessary for me to recount the many crimes committed in the Territory of Kansas by armed rufflans from Missouri, who elected by fraud a legislature favorable to slav-ery in that Territory. Nor will it be necessary for me to dis-cuss the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case. You are all familiar with these matters. Suffice it to say that these triumphs were exceedingly pleasing to the southern cause, and that the question now was, Shall slavery advance into new territory? The North said "no," the South said "yes,"

At this stage of the contest Lincoln came upon the scene and his career as a national character began. He crossed swords with Douglas, reputed to be the most powerful advocate of Democratic principles in the North. They were both candidates for the United States Senate-Lincoln the Republican candidate and Douglas the Democratic nominee. The debates which took place between these two giants became world famous. Lincoln, filled with indignation at the wrongs that had been perpetrated upon humanity, seemed to be inspired as he combated the arguments of the trained political debater Douglas. His battle cry was, "The Government can not endure half slave and half ' and that "a house divided against itself could not stand.' He did not go beyond the constitutional limits, however, but admitted that the South had a right to a fugitive-slave law, but | experiment of the kind ever attempted by man; it was given no

he never missed an opportunity to let it be known that he despised the institution of slavery. His speeches during this contest attracted such universal attention that he was invited to speak in Eastern States, which he did in such splendid style as to add increased glory to his fame as an orator.

Following his contest with Douglas, which attracted so much attention throughout the civilized world, the people of the North demanded the nomination of Lincoln as President. lican Party heeded the call, and in 1860 made him its standard bearer. After the election, which waged furiously in all sections of the country, Lincoln was elected. The North had triumphed over the South. Cannons roared, bells were rung, brave men cried with joy, and the prayers of the oppressed ascended to high heaven. Great was the victory and great was

The South immediately set up the cry that the election was "sectional and minority election," and between election day and the date when Lincoln was to be sworn into office several of the Southern States seceded from the Union and set up a government of their own at Montgomery, Ala. They seized Federal forts, arsenals, customhouses, post offices, and every-thing else they could appropriate which would aid them in a

war which was sure to follow.

On the 4th of March, 1861, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President of the United States. How I should love to have seen that ceremony and listened to the words of wisdom as they fell from his lips during his inaugural address. What a privilege it must have been to look into his sad and pensive face as he counseled his countrymen to remain cool during the pending crisis. His whole address was summed up in two short paragraphs:

The power confided in me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government and to collect the duties and imports, but beyond what may be necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no use of force, among the people

anywhere.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourself aggressors.

The South became the aggressors and inevitable war fol-The trials and tribulations of the great Lincoln were many during these dark and uncertain days; but out of his tribulations came patience, and out of patience came experience, and out of experience came hope, according to the Scriptures. His love for man seemed to grow in the very face of the fiercest war that has ever been waged. A war between father and son, brother and brother—a horrible, unthinkable war. Lincoln well knew, however, that the end justified the means, and realized that out of the awful slaughter of men and loss of treasure would come a reunited country and lasting peace; and, far more important than either reunion or peace, he knew that the shackles which bound in servitude a race of people would fall from bruised limbs and 4,000,000 souls would march erect into the bright sunlight of sweet freedom. Thank God, the great emancipator lived long enough to witness this, his crowning achievement.

Some writers hold that Lincoln's death was timely, in that

it prevented a possible political error during the reconstruction period, which might have sullied in some degree his illustrious services. I do not believe it, and I am sorry he did not live to know that even the most radical of southern sympathizers now rejoice in the delivery from bondage of a race of human beings into the glorious realm of liberty; and I am persuaded that had the fatal bullet never been fired from the pistol of the assassin, Booth, no public act of his, had he lived to this good day, would have resulted in anything but good to his fellow man. His great foresight and his inborn love for justice would have precluded such a result. The present universal admiration for his matchless services frowns upon the very intimation of such a thing. He was too great, too sympathetic, too far-seeing, too wise, and too just to enter into surpariette, too in seeing, too wise, and too just to enter into any arrangement whereby anything but the full measure of justice would result to all.

Commemoration of the Nation's heroes is not only proper,

but it is wise. It fosters patriotism, without which no country

can be great.

Lincoln's life was one of purest patriotism; it was devoted unselfishly to the promotion of the country's good. He was the friend of mankind; he believed in manhood; he wanted to see this a land of freedom in fact as well as in name. He worked to that end. He assumed a great burden when he took the Presidency; he met the responsibilities with courage and a heart full of charity, but he met them and overcame every difficulty: he conquered the foes of free government and made this a Government of manhood suffrage.

When this Government was formed it was the most gigantic

place in the political considerations of the world; it was thought to be but a passing illusion. No one believed the experiment would succeed; failure was freely predicted. A government by the people, it was said, was impossible. But Washington's Government still lives. It has grown and prospered. It has become a great world power. It thrills with potent life and exalted hopes, The Civil War was the one test needed to prove the ability of the people to govern themselves, and never was the Nation so full of life, so filled with courage, so encouraging to the friends of freedom, so menacing to the foes of the Republic as when the sun of Appomattox shone upon its banner and revealed within its azure ground the full galaxy of its stars.

Through the instrumentality of the martyred Lincoln and his patriotic followers were fought the battles for the preservation of the Union, and we of the present day are enabled to live in a land where every citizen is a sovereign and every man, woman, and child is free to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience; a land whose inventions lead the world, where the printing press and the church follow close upon the march of empire, where caste is ignored, where the humblest child of poverty may aspire, unrebuked, to the highest place in the gift of the Nation.

It is fitting that the birthplace of this great man should be preserved as an evidence that lowly birth is no handicap to greatness. It should be preserved as an example to the youth of the land and as an encouragement to emulate the life of Lincoln and to keep constantly before the minds of the people that great though Lincoln was in his maturity, that after all if he had not been born there could have been no such history as is recorded through his life, his sacrifices, and his patriotic archievements.

Abraham Lincoln.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. McKINLEY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Saturday, April 15, 1916.

Mr. McKINLEY. Mr. Speaker, it has always seemed to me almost a blessing that, because of the necessities of Lincoln's parents, so many of us could have received inspiration and encouragement from a sort of neighborliness to the scenes of his early struggles. I have always been glad and proud that I was born within a mile of old Salem, where young Abraham Lincoln lived and worked and studied and loved. He went to central Illinois at the age of 21 without trade or profession, without money or influence, without a patron or friend, and there began his real career—a career not equaled in all history. There he began his first profitable work; there he began his political trend; there he began his earnest study of law and history and statecraft and men; there he gave his first love and met his first great sorrow. When the young and gracious Ann Rutledge was taken by death, brought on by a shadow of a former love, Lincoln's great heart went out in his own sadness and loss, and no doubt the sweet nature of his life found its birth where, as he himself said, his heart was buried. But deep as was his grief he set out with an indomitable will to master every ob-

History has recited the progress of our immortal statesman and you are ail familiar with the names of his associates, McClernand, Stuart, Hay, Ninian and Ben Edwards, Dr. Jayne, Judge Logan, and others to whose talk I listened when a boy. I need not say that all this is the fondest memory of my life, and I allude to it as an illustration of the wealth of aspiration ever possessed by the youth of our land in the wonderful and mighty example given us by young Lincoln as he fought the battles of early manhood. In all history there is no parallel to the greatness that came from such lowliness, save in the life of our Redeemer. No one could have had a more humble birth than Lincoln; no one could have had a more obscure childhood; no one could have had such early struggles of body, mind, and soul as did the Lincoln who afterward; become one of the most illustrious characters of all the ages.

Every monument and temple and highway dedicated to his name bears witness to his nature, his character, his courage, and his achievements. His life path, began in such simplicity, merged into a bravery that knew no disheartening and that carried him to sublime heights of glory. We do well, then, to continue to honor him and to keep fresh the memory of the various stages of his life's progress from birth to the grave.

By industry and honesty, through hardship and suffering, in peace and in war, Abraham Lincoln made for himself and for us the most glorious pattern of all humanity. His birthplace will now, more than ever, become a mecca of American youth and their elders, and we can rejoice, indeed, that in the wisdom of Providence there has been given us for example and recital such illustration of the possibilities of attainment from poverty and lowliness. With Lincoln as a guide there should be no failure, no discouragement, no giving up of purpose and attempt. All can not reach the same heights, but all can, as Lincoln did, try for the best that opportunity, diligence, and undaunted zeal afford. He was given to us not only for the performance of his tasks, not only for the results of his wondrous mind, but for the influence that must ever come from such an example of all that goes to make useful citizens, masterful men, and helpful comrades. In every element that goes toward the molding of the highest and best characteristics that serve in the mightiest purposes of life, Lincoln will ever stand out clear and distinct, not only as a foremost American but as a leader of all humanity.

Our eulogies and tributes, our memories and monuments, can never repay our debt to Abraham Lincoln. But they do and will serve to keep first in the minds and hearts of our people his sweet and tender nature, his sturdy, rugged will, his persistent and successful struggles, and the splendid example to each and all of us who love to turn to his life work and learn a devotion to duty and right that can well be emulated by all.

The Niagara Ship Canal.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LUTHER W. MOTT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 11, 1916.

Mr. MOTT. Mr. Speaker, during the present session of Congress much has been said on the subject of preparedness; that kind of preparedness that involves an increased Army, a greater Navy, and their equipment and maintenance; and with most of what has been said on the affirmative side I concur heartily.

I want to say a few words on another kind of preparedness, which may in time of war become a source of strength. I refer in general to a betterment of inland-waterways transportation on the Great Lakes, and in particular to one project, which, to my mind, is almost as great in importance as our recent commercial and engineering achievement—the construction of the Panama Canal. Like the latter, this particular project involves a canal, a waterway around Niagara Falls, connecting Lake Erie with Lake Ontario, and opening a navigable communication between the two, through which shall flow annually millions of dollars' worth of freight in cargoes in lake carriers of the greatest possible capacity that find shelter in the harbors of the Lakes.

This is not a new project. A survey for a canal of this type was made in 1784, and in 1798 a law was passed for this purpose, but no action was taken afterwards to put it into effect, although it had been demanded by the early settlers of the West desirous of linking together the two more eastern Lakes, which then, as now, were the natural pathways of commerce. It is unnecessary to repeat here the number of times since that time that efforts have been made to start the construction of this canal around Niagara Falls; it is sufficient to state that this project is still a principal source of earnest discussion wherever men interested in Lake commerce gather. Their pleas have fallen on deaf ears so far as the United States is concerned; we have been following a policy that is penny wise and pound foolish, and that policy is slowly and steadily leading to the ruin of our great commerce on the Lakes. We have been content to hear through commercial channels and the ordinary news sources of the freight congestion in the harbor and at the terminals of Buffalo, with dozens of Lake vessels waiting for days at a time to unload, and have flattered ourselves that this was prosperity in its highest form. But such is not the case. It is rather an evidence of our blindness and a symptom of danger to that commerce which means so much to us. To show where our policy is leading us we have only to scan hastily the pages of a history of 100 years of commerce on the Great Lakes.

Transportation is production. We never finish the production of anything until it is in the hands of the consumer; and at the same time transportation is a charge on production. Easy conveyance from place to place, whether on land or water, makes a nation great and prosperous; but without easy conveyance we

can have no prosperity worthy of the name. Our easy conveyance methods in this country have put the United States where it is to-day among the nations of the world. We should keep up that improvement of these channels of easy conveyance which

means so much to production and prosperity.

To start at the commencement, the Creator endowed the United States along its northern frontier with a natural chain of waterways, extending from Lake Superior in the west, to Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River in the cast, but the march of historical events preserved for Canada, our northern neighbor, that portion of the St. Lawrence River which reaches to the sea. We got the Great Lakes, or at least a major portion of them, but lost their outlet provided by nature, while our neighbors were permitted the equal use of the Lakes.

Under these conditions it is but natural to have as our competitors the Canadians, and it is but natural for these competitors to seek more than their equitable share of the business of the Lakes. We are neighbors in peace, but competitors in business, and competition is the life of trade. Too much is the death of trade. We have been used to boasting of our national prowess and commercial supremacy and to think of ourselves as unbeatable. We are careless in our assumptions of what we are and what we can do commercially and otherwise. History has been kind to us, as we have never faced a grave crisis involving others than ourselves, and it is but natural for a young and growing Nation to crow when it has never known defeat.

Yet while we crow we are facing defeat along our northern frontier; a defeat ruinous to the greatest commerce that this country knows. Greater tonnage goes east and west over the Great Lakes and their connecting links than any other route in this country. That is what is to be ruined for the United States and diverted to another country unless we have pre-

paredness and devise means for its protection.

Our merchant marine has been for years almost totally abolished on salt water. Our flag no longer flies from the mastheads of ships that frequent the great ports of the world. American built, owned, and operated ships have become almost as rare as the dodo. Other nations have stepped in and have taken the place we once so proudly held. We have been asleep, and our merchant marine was taken from us while we slept, and on awakening we find that alien ships under alien flags

carry our products destined for abroad.

Such a condition faces us on the Great Lakes. We must open our eyes and see; but more—act, and act at once. We have been blind and deaf as regards the Great Lakes and their commerce. We have been niggardly in what we have done to preserve the commerce which was handed to us from the start; that commerce which is slipping away because we act as if we do not care for it. We must cease looking through the wrong end of the telescope at the Lakes and their business opportunities, else in a few years, and a very few at that, we shall one day ask, "Why, where is our business?" The answer will come back, "Canada. You sent it there." Once it goes to Canadian shores it shall be "good-by business," for it will not come back. Canadians with caressing hands and coaxing manners give business a fondling attention which is such a contrast to our methods of scaring it off.

Canada has always been in competition commercially for the freight business of the northern frontier of our country. started to get it in 1800, when Canada was poor and just emerging from the woods. Then DeWitt Clinton dreamed a dream, which New Yorkers called a ditch. It in time became the Erie Canal, the greatest waterway of its time, and staved off tempothe Canadian competition which threatened. ada did not complacently watch business go through New York State. She canalized the St. Lawrence River, eliminating dangers of navigation, and while we were building a ditch for barges she made a waterway for ships. Then, not content, she built the Welland Canal. In the meantime the Erie Canal became almost useless through the coming of railroads and its inadequate capacity for barges of any size. We in New York pondered the question for two score or more years, made a little improvement, and finally expended what will this year and next total \$160,000,000 on a new barge canal. It is still a ditch; larger it is true, but still not capable of carrying ships. When the Welland was built ocean craft drew 121 feet of water. few years afterwards ships that were ocean carriers called for 20 feet of water or more. At that time Canada's population was about that of Massachusetis, and she had spent over \$60, 000,000 on canals. Not content with that she has started enlarging the Welland to a depth of 21 feet of water and with locks to carry 600-foot ships. She has mortgaged the future and has taken a chance which will be crowned with the greatest success to her and the greatest disaster to us, unless we hasten to defend ourselves. What happened to Canada when we built the Erie Canal is happening now to us in turn.

Down the north shore of Lake Ontario there runs during the season of navigation a constant stream of lake carriers of the size that may use the old Welland Canal. Night and day, week in and week out, they speed on their way 123 miles or more an hour, to have their cargoes transshipped at Montreal and have them go thence over seas to foreign markets. What is the condition on the American side? In Buffalo, the terminal for most of our eastern-bound commerce on the Lakes, dozens of freighters await their chance to reach docks and elevators; tied up in a complex mass of sailing craft and steamers congested by insufficient elevator service and unloading facilities, commerce is throttled. Thousands of dellars in demurrage slip away. Charterers curse and compare that condition with Canada's open, speedy waterway. The next time it does not happen, for necessity drives the charterer to seek relief in the Canadian route. and the cargo goes down the St. Lawrence in a Canadian ship, and Montreal has driven another nail in the coffin lid of American commerce.

NEW YORK'S SUPREMACY AND COMMERCE ENDANGERED.

We are all proud of the great port of New York. We gaze at the returns in millions of tons of freight and millions of dollars earned by it. We pat ourselves on the back and call on the world to see our prosperity. But that commerce of which we boast is doomed to wane and fade, for just as soon as Canada, through her enlarged Welland Canal, has opened a deep-waterway connection between the upper Lakes and Montreal, then shall we in sorrow see New York's supremacy pass and view the rise of Montreal as the queen of commerce of the Western Hemisphere. This is not idle conjecture; it is a fact based on Our boasted lake merchant marine will gasp and die, may perhaps die fighting, but will nevertheless die, and we shall be justly accused of murder. Canadians know this from past experience from which they have not been slow to learn. is why Canada, with hundreds of millions of dollars indebtedness incurred through her share in the world war, with thousands of her youngest and bravest and best fighting at the front, is still earnestly, steadily, and surely continuing work on the new Welland Canal so that she may reap the harvest. We are the ones who will pay back to Canada the sums she is spending on her canals. We have spent money-many millions of dollars-on the harbors of the Great Lakes; but we might just as well have thrown that money into the Lakes, for all the good it will be to us after communication in deep water is extended from Montreal to the upper Lakes. Our million-dollar breakwaters will shelter ships whose cargoes will seek the sea at Montreal. That is what we are facing; that is what we must prevent.

THE REMEDY-A NIAGARA SHIP CANAL TO START WITH.

We have in New York, as I have stated, a barge canal just nearing completion. Its western terminals are in Buffalo and Oswego, the former on Lake Erie and the latter on Lake Ontario. Buffalo is at the western extremity of the State; Oswego directly north of the center. The route from Oneida Lake west, on that canal, is in an artificial channel dug and blasted from the earth; that from Oswego to the Hudson along the Oswego River, inland lakes, and canalized rivers, including the Mohawk. The latter is an improved natural waterway, larger and with fewer locks than is the case west. This canal from Oswego to tidewater on the Hudson is ready for business. The rest of the canal may be ready in a year or two. Buffalo now has more business in rush seasons than it can handle. Its harbor is mammoth, its resources great, but commerce becomes congested and choked there by too much business concentrated in one place. Shippers in order to get service and keep their shipments in American territory demand an alternative route, and one that is quicker and more certain.

That alternative is offered in the Oswego and Eric Canals to tidewater. It may do for the present, but of that and the future time alone will show. But it needs something more, something greater, something more effective; it needs a Niagara ship canal, constructed and controlled by the United States. The influence of the Canadian shipper must be combated. Canada will have the Welland Canal large enough to accommodate the great ships that float on the Lakes, and much larger than many now doing duty on salt water, and the influence which will be exerted by Canada through the Welland Canal will be to have commerce

seek the sea by an all-Canadian route to Montreal.

Oswego is nearer to tidewater by 162 miles than Buffalo. Its harbor is being put into shape to handle the business which will be diverted from the Canadian channels, but we need more—we

need the Niagara ship canal.

We have no assurance how long Canada will permit the free use of the new Welland Canal by American bottoms destined for Oswego or another American port on Lake Ontario or the St. Lawrence River. If Canada does shut down on her new Welland, where will we be? We will be on the side lines watching business leave us by millions of tons and millions of dollars. That is what we must avoid; that is what we must take steps to prevent. We in New York State have been jealous of the growth of each city not our own and have permitted that jealousy and shortsightedness to interfere with and endanger the public good. Buffalo and New York have felt that theirs were the only routes for grain and other products from the Middle West and along the Lakes to the seaboard. Canada is demonstrated.

strating the opposite and doing it successfully.

Three-quarters of all the grain exported from Canada and the United States through eastern channels is handled and routed through the New York Produce Exchange. That amounts to millions of bushels a year, or rather the year of navigation, which is about seven or eight months. A difference of onequarter of a cent a bushel in freight charges determines what route a cargo shall take. The question of routing a cargo of grain now resolves itself into one of two things: Oswego and thence through the barge canal to New York, or Canada to Montreal, down the St. Lawrence River. Americans are patriotic, we boast, but members of the New York Produce Exchange can not afford to sacrifice thousands of dollars just to be patriotic and have their shipments go through American ports. In justice to themselves and to those for whom they act, they must select the most economic route for their shipments. route next year, or is now, for that matter, down through the St. Lawrence River. Americans prefer America for their business transactions, but they can not afford to do so long under conditions as they are coming to exist.

The need and demand for protection for the United States and for the Great Lakes commerce is apparent to every shipper. demand takes the form of the Niagara ship canal. The Rivers and Harbors Committee of this body has included in a list of surveys this year one for the Niagara canal. Its route is yet to be The engineers will have old surveys to go by largely, and it will just be a matter of revising figures to obtain an estimate of the total cost. That cost will be millions of dollars, probably thirty-five or forty million dollars. This is a large sum, but little in comparison with the worth of our Great Lakes business; a mere insignificant item compared with the worth of business to New York City. It is nothing in com-parison with the contemplated ruin of the maritime business of New York. It is the only solution offered to overcome Canadian competition and disaster. The future is likely to show, too, if the Niagara canal is built, and I and millions of men along the northern frontier hope and pray it will, that another canal will be necessary as an adjunct. That canal will of necessity be a ship canal to connect the Hudson with Lake Ontario at the most feasible point. But that is for future consideration. The Barge Canal will serve a present and temporary purpose, but it must have a Niagara ship canal to play its part in the conservation for the United States of business that is its own. want to state, too, that the Niagara ship canal will not be in my district; it is nearly 200 miles away from it.

WHAT CANADIAN CANALS ARE DOING;

The St. Lawrence canals—that is, the canals built along the St. Lawrence River to make navigation safer—are 35\(^2\) miles in length, and are made up of half a dozen short canals around rapids, and so forth. In 1913 these canals did a total business of 4,302,427 gross tons, of which the eastbound business amounted to 3,198,302 gross tons. In 1914 the total tonnage was but slightly increased, reaching the figures of 4,391,493 gross tons of freight which passed through this waterway, and of that the eastbound traffic, that with which we have chiefly to do, was 3,405,539 gross tons. There was an increase of over 200,000 gross tons in the business eastbound, and that increase has been just as marked for the past 10 years.

The Welland Canal is 26 miles long. In 1913 it did a total business of 3,570,714 gross tons, according to Canadian official figures, and of this total 3,484,651 tons was through business. In 1914 the total was 3,860,969 gross tons, and through business totaled 3,725,099 gross tons, with eastbound tonnage totaling 3,004,920, as compared with 2,565,611 gross tons in 1913, again showing the increase, which is felt also on the St. Lawrence

canals.

Stop for a moment and consider this increasing tonnage with that which is shown by the Erie Canal in New York State, which is the only artificial or natural waterway to compete with these two Canadian canals from an American standpoint, although for the sake of making it complete in every way and giving the United States the benefit of the doubt I have combined the business of the Champlain Canal with the returns from the Erie. Here are the figures for the past five years:

1910	761, 260 658, 256
1912 1918	518, 616 499, 359
1914	385, 696

Ten years ago the business done on the Hudson from its canal feeders was over 2,500,000 gross tons, 20 years ago it was over 3,500,000 tons, but it has been steadily declining since that time. It is true that of late years the new barge canal is being built, and that may interfere somewhat with navigation, but the new Welland Canal is also being built, and the Canadians do not interfere with business. Nothing interferes with business in Canada, not even present American competition.

Even while the present war is going on, and Canada, as a loyal Province of the British Empire, is nobly taking her part, spending billions, furnishing hundreds of thousands of men, she is continuing, even rushing, work on the new Welland Canal, which is to be 25 miles long, involving a construction of 8 new miles of canal, This enlarged Welland will be open for navigation in 1918, and will cost \$50,000,000 or more. It is to be 200 feet wide on bottom, 300 feet wide on top of the prism, and have a depth of 30 feet of water on the sills in the locks. Of the latter there are to be seven, each 800 by 80 feet, and these can be filled with water in eight minutes each, the supply of water being drawn from lakes 107 to 150 acres in extent.

Our Corps of Engineers of the Army point with pride to the Sault Ste. Marie Canals, yet most of us forget that Canada, too, has parallel waterways with them. These canals are about 7,500 feet long and 150 feet wide, with a little over 20 feet of water on the sills. In 1913 in the two American canals there 15,599 vessels, with a tonnage (registered) of over 32,062,619 gross tons, carried 37,022,201 gross tons of freight through the canals, while through the Canadian canal 8,285 vessels of about 25,000,000 gross tonnage carried 42,699,324 tons of freight. This was more than the American canals, but it is not a fair comparison as, generally speaking, the use of either canal is optional with captains of vessels, and the larger vessels use the Canadian waterway. In 1914 the total tonnage was 53,370,551 gross tons, a falling off of about 26,000,000 tons from the year previous, yet the business done was equal to twice the tonnage that goes through the Suez Canal in peaceful times. Yet we hear of the Suez Canal, thousands of miles away in another world, three times as often as we do of a canal that is in our own front yard. These figures but serve to show the decline of American commerce and the increase in Canadian commerce. It is due to the fact that Canada is fostering and aiding business while we are apparently doing everything we can, by laxity and shortsightedness, in driving it to Canada. But figures are obtainable which go still further. We shall always have more or less control of our iron and steel and coal business on the Great Lakes, even though it is carried sometimes in Canadian bottoms, but that is trading with ourselves, playing a game of commercial solitaire, so to speak, in which we win or lose, according as we desire. "Let not your right hand doing" might as well be our motto. "Let not your right hand know what your left hand is

THE DEADLY PARALLEL.

It is our grain business that is suffering, and that is the business that we should strive to keep, for with it in our possession we can dictate to others than ourselves. The price of a loaf of bread in England may be said to depend on the freight traffic on the Great Lakes, for it is over those channels that a great portion of the wheat supply of Europe goes, or that part of it that comes from the Plains of the North American Continent. We want that business, but where is it going? Figures seem to show that it is seeking the ocean for export at Montreal, in larger proportion than by the way we want it to go, via New York. The following figures will show something of what I mean. They are figures in bushels of wheat received in the ports of New York and Montreal by water for the past 15 years, and are taken from the reports of a concern that has reason to feel friendly to New York, the produce exchange of that city.

Bushels of wheat received in the ports of New York and Montreal by water for the past 15 years.

The state of the s	New York.	Montreal.
1900	11, 546, 506	34, 356, 468
1901	14, 427, 100	30, 156, 899
1902	11,900,350	30, 156, 899
1903	12,900,100 9,649,880	36, 967, 271 24, 288, 608
1905	9, 804, 675	31, 804, 504
1906	11,769,800	31, 965, 187
1907		42, 954, 386
1908	7, 228, 000 9, 676, 000	41,006,738 43,551,119
1910	11,000,700	45, 427, 290
1911	7,895,000	49, 325, 297
1912	3,530,600	59, 393, 707
1913	4,371,700 5,803,900	66,078,237 99,054,293

Those figures tell a story of our commercial decline, and it is all due to lack of proper water communication between the

Great Lakes and tidewater at New York. From 1891 up to and including 1914 there is an interesting comparison in the Great Lakes business done by Canada as viewed from the tonnage reports of the Sault Ste. Marie canals. In 1891 Canadian craft worth \$2,119,500 did just 4 per cent of the business, the American-owned vessels being worth \$31,947,300; in 1914 Canadian vessels worth \$17,420,700 were doing 9 per cent of the business through the canals. One company, the United States Steel Corporation, handled in 1915, 24,080,359 gross tons of ore, not counting other countless tons of material they shipped by water through this canal to their Duluth and near-by holdings. The Canadian business increase is in grain, and that is what we want to get back. We had a good share of its once, but we are losing

MORE COMMERCE-ENTICING CANALS FOR CANADA,

But Canada is not through yet on her constructive policy to get a firm grasp on the ocean-bound and overseas trade from She is about to start work on the Georgian Bay Ship Canal, the greatest project she has yet undertaken and one that if carried through without American competition of the successful sort will be the greatest canal in the world. This canal will extend from St. Lawrence River, at Riviere des Prairies, 25 miles from Montreal, along rivers and lakes and natural waterways, totaling 346 miles of free navigable channels, or 80 per cent of the distance to French River Harbor on Georgian Bay, Lake Huron. It will be 440 miles long, and of this only 28 miles will be through artificial canal and 66

through improved and enlarged channels.

The remainder will be through open water on which there will be no limit of speed of carriers. It will cost between \$93,000,000 and \$100,000,000, or a great deal less than the New York State Barge Canal, which is not going to be nearly as effective, even if the most sanguine hopes of its builders are verified. It is planned to have 22 feet of water in the canal, and when it is built Liverpool will be 809 miles nearer to the source of the grain supply on the Great Lakes by an all-water route than it is at present. There is a menace in the plans of the busy Canadians, and the commercial prosperity not alone of New York but of several States and many millions of people is threatened. If we as a Nation are to combat the Canadian commercial ascendency we must halt now and start reconstructive So much for Canada and Canada's business turn to the business of the Great Lakes, consider what it means, its present status, and a few other essential features.

A GLORIOUS PAST-AN UNPROMISING FUTURE.

The eight States of this country that border on the Great Lakes may well be considered the commercial heart of the Nation. They have a total population of over 30,000,000, not counting the city of New York, although as New York's commercial fate is interlocked with that of the interior, that, too, should

be considered, because of the business that seeks the ocean over lake channels to New York. In these eight States, according to the census, there are no less than 25,882 men who claim sailing or dock occupations as their business, and in addition there are on the Lakes 4,607 lake captains, mates, and pilots. In the State of Michigan alone there are 1,011 captains of vessels and 4,288 sailors, longshoremen, and so forth. In Greater New York, the heart of our marine business, there are 3,287 captains, mates, and pilots, and 21,908 sailors, longshoremen, and so forth, most of whom depend on lake business directly or indirectly for their livelihood. So, counting New York City there are 47,790 sailors and dock workers and 7,894 captains and deck officers in these eight States. No estimate is obtainable of the numbers of engineers, firemen, stokehold workers, and mechanics necessitated by the ships that ply those waters, but they are in equal proportion to the men that man other parts of the

On the Great Lakes there are registered and enrolled, according to the latest obtainable reports of the Commissioner of Navigation, 1,615 vessels, steam propelled, with a gross tennage of 2,478,043, and 733 gas-propelled vessels, with 9,902 gross tonnage. Compare this with the total tonnage of the 3,539 registered, enrolled, and documented vessels on the Atlantic coast, with 2,489,584 gross tons in steamships, and 5,126 gas-propelled vessels with 84,312 gross tonnage. Yet, in newspapers, merchant-marine reports, and discussions of the same, we hear much about the Atlantic trade and only a casual mention of the lake business, if it is mentioned at all. We hear a great deal about the Pacific business and how it is about to be ruined. The official figures show 1,036 vessels on that coast, with a total of 683,879 gross tons in steamships, and 2,178 gas-driven vessels with 50,478 gross tons in all. These are about one-fourth of the Lakes' business, which apparently is not important enough to be mentioned in the same connection. The business of the Lakes is restricted to five bodies of water, while the two seacoast traders have the whole world to do business with.

SOME SHIPBUILDING FIGURES.

Much the same attitude is taken on shipbuilding. Every time a United States battleship splashes into the water on the Atlantic seacoast we hear so much about our wonderful saltwater shipyards and the great business they are building up and have been building up for years. Everybody feels that the shipbuilding pulse of the Nation beats in these Atlantic coast shipyards. Perhaps so, yet figures show that these same ship-yards, well advertised though they may be by our national patronage in battleships, must step down to second place in comparison with the yards on the Great Lakes.

Here is what has been built in gross tons in the ship line in this country in the past 10 years, according to official reports:

	1903	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	Total.
Great Lakes. Atlantic. Western rivers. Pacific	246, 025 42, 363 359 347	226, 722 96, 256 1, 914 8, 579	324, 203 96, 036 555 21, 831	88, 070 30, 270 452 4, 350	146, 683 85, 021 119 3, 165	82, 782 101, 803 1, 330 10, 049	75, 213 40, 882 393 2, 693	64,430 123,514 1,528 16,203	42, 196 129, 107 3, 341 11, 414	9, 249 104, 373 1, 259 14, 413	1, 305, 573 849, 625 11, 250 92, 774
Grand total	289, 094	333, 471	442, 625	123, 142	234, 988	195, 964	119, 181	205, 675	186,058	129, 024	2, 259, 222

Something has evidently been wrong on the Great Lakes in the shipbuilding business. Perhaps it is Canadian competition, for Canadlan shipyards are busy, so busy they turn work away, and once in a while come over and give American yards a big order or two to have a ship built in America to ply in direct competition with the United States and still keep within the law. Such vessels were those constructed by the Richelieu & Ontario Navigation Co., and they have the most powerful and wealthy combination of vessels in general trade on fresh water. For some years Newport News, Philadelphia, and other seaboard cities have been heralded as the shipbuilding cities of the country, yet they must stand back while Cleveland, Ohio, with 484,753 gross tons in steel steam-driven ships goes to the lead as the shipbuilding center of the country.

In January, 1915, not a single vessel was on the stocks for the bulk freight business in a shipyard on the Great Lakes, and last year not a single vessel worthy of mention was launched from an American yard. The general conditions in 1914 discouraged expansion but the war prosperity, so called, and the demand for carriers, due to the fact that many Canadian vossels were put into the service of the British Government, brought about a revival, which it is hoped will be more than temporary. Lake shipyards are working overtime, just as is the case on the sea-

coasts, and several of the orders for vessels are for the largest types that float on fresh water. Of course some of these are necessitated by the loss of several of the big carriers. property was good property last year, and already several sales have been reported which show that the value of vessels is on the increase still, but this is due mainly to war conditions on the ocean.

With an outlet from the Lakes for bulk freighters this business would grow and wax stronger. Many of the commodities which now go by rail to the seaboard and go from the East to the West by rail, would instead go by river, canal, and lake if the outlet was presented. We have talked much about lowering the high cost of living, and have let it go at that. One sensible way to lower the high cost of living is by lowering the high cost of transportation. We have the money and we ought to know how to utilize it, not waste it.

THE GRAIN TRADE-WHAT WE WANT AND MUST GET.

With the settlement of the Canadian Northwest, and the more acreage devoted to wheat and other grain growing, the business of the Lakes in carrying grain is increasing, and will increase from year to year. Grain as a bulk cargo is carried cheaper and better via a water route than by rail, and some means should be devised by the United States to permit bulk cargoes to reach

tidewater on American territory without breaking bulk more than 400 miles from New York, recognized to be the only available point for ocean and overseas shipments to clear from.

Last year, 1915, the grain trade of the Great Lakes was extremely heavy, so far as Lake Superior points were concerned, while Lake Michigan shipments fell off. The Lake Superior movement, where two big Canadian grain-shipping ports are located, amounted last year to 320,236,805 bushels, as against 218,622,167 bushels for 1914, a gain of 101,614,638 bushels, and 3,000,000 bushels or more over 1913. Chicago's shipments went down in 1915 to 44,428,000 bushels, as against 89,791,000 bushels in 1914, while Milwaukee shipped only 4,324,428 bushels last year, as against 10,875,683 bushels in 1914. Even though the movement was so heavy last year on the Lakes there were estimated to be some 380,000,000 bushels yet for eastern movement at the close of navigation, for last year was a banner grainraising year. It is estimated that not more than 30,000,000 bushels have been moved this winter by rail eastward. This will mean more congestion during the coming spring and early summer, not counting the fact that there will be a new crop coming into the market for eastern transport just at the time when the carriers are needed for other things. There is bound to be con-gestion under these conditions, and when the Canadians present an uninterrupted all-water, no-delay route to the ocean it is not hard to see which route will get the heavier patronage.

There are some more very significant figures to be considered in last year's grain movements. Canadian vessels carried 687 cargoes of grain, or 48 per cent of the entire movement. United States vessels carried 452 cargoes, or 52 per cent, and the United States cargoes were, therefore, much heavier. But there is a reason. The large carriers, and most of them are under American registry, can not use the Welland Canal because of while the Canadian carriers, being designed and built for that trade, do. Most of the Canadian carriers went right on to Montreal with their cargoes destined for the seaboard, while the American ships stopped at Buffalo. There they met delays and congestion and the other turmoil incidental to a needless breaking of bulk. Of course, that bulk-breaking process is needful under present conditions, but if the powers in control of this country had been wise 20 years ago it would be unnecessary to break bulk, as far as concerns grain and bulk freight destined for the ocean is concerned. Nature did not give us the means for open-water communication with the sea coast from the Lakes, but we can make it so, and we must, or perish commercially in the grain business.

I regret that the 1915 figures for the grain handled from Canadian ports on Lake Superior are not yet available, but the figures for 1913 and 1914 present an interesting study in comparison. Grain shipments from Fort William and Port Arthur, the two Canadian shipping centers on Lake Superior, for 1913 were as follows: To Canadian ports, which means down the St. Lawrence practically, 105,188,414; to American ports, 100,076,899; total, 205,265,303. That was a big year. In 1914 the total was only 128,379,363 bushels, but of that quantity only 37.591,110 bushels went to United States ports, the balance, or 90,788,253 bushels, going to Canadian ports. That does not count American-grown wheat which went down the St. Lawrence to Canadian ports or the rail shipments. It does not matter so much, as far as New York is concerned, what vessels as to national carry the grain, but where it goes and where it reaches tidewater is the big thing. Canada is getting the ocean-bound business and it must be stopped.

NIAGABA CANAL MEANS EFFECTIVE PREPAREDNESS.

There is another side to this proposition which should be presented and coming at a time when we are discussing preparedness for war, which we trust will never come, it is most timely. We have always accepted the fact that there will never again be war with Canada or what Canada stands for—England. We hope that shall always be the case, but contingencies arise always, and it is against the unusual that we need the most preparedness. Canada may never be conquered by a foreign foe from another continent, but if she is our entire nation is thrown open to the victor. We have no protection along the northern frontier—just a few antiquated old fortresses that serve as stations for a few regiments. They are old in history and without armament. But we have a means of protection in the Great Lakes and their connections. A crank with a bomb or two may at any time blow up the Welland Canal at a vital point. That is entirely possible, if not probable. The Welland Canal is, as I have stated, the only navigable channel connecting the lower two of the Great Lakes. With that cut off we can not send ships of war from the Atlantic seaboard to the Great Lakes farther than on Lake Ontario. What will be possible with a Niagara Canal is this: Torpedo-boat destroyers,

submarines, and smaller craft of war may use the barge canal as far as Oswego. That gets them to Lake Ontario, but unless they use the Welland Canal they can go no further. With the Welland Canal out of commission or its use refused, our naval preparedness on the Lakes stops suddenly. But with a Niagara Canal of our own, these vessels of war could range the five Great Lakes at will. The head of a division in the Navy Department when I was discussing this matter with him last week, expressed the wish that some day the Great Lakes would be open to Navy for the use of the torpedo boats, that is without being obliged to send them around the coast to enter the Lakes by means of the St. Lawrence River. The Lakes would offer to these small craft of war all of the advantages possessed on the ocean and have an added one, that of conservation. Steel ships deteriorate rapidly in salt water. On the Lakes their upkeep expense would be reduced to a minimum, in addition to affording a means of possible protection in time of necessity.

But this scheme of commercial and national preparedness goes still further. Should we be plunged into a condition of war that required the use of all our facilities, we would need most an effective means of transportation from West to East and East to West. Out of the West comes the greater portion of our raw materials for food. From there comes our wheat, our corn, our various grains, our iron-our products of a hundred varied natures but all intensely essential. Our railroads in 1907 could not handle that business. They have not been improved noticeably since 1907, and we would have to fall back on the most economical means of transporting bulky freight—the Lakes. Where would we be if the use of the Welland Canal was refused by its holders? This is another reason why we should have our own connecting waterway between the two lower lakes. If we delay and never construct it, we here to-day may live to regret our passive stand. Other nations have prepared themselves for emergencies by getting their water transportation routes in shape, why not the United States? Must we be relegated into the position of being imitators? Where is our boasted initiative; that initiative that gave us the first steamer, the first ironclad, the first clipper ship, the first submarine, the first flying machine, and many other things which have revolution-ized war and peace in the world? Our inventions are used by other nations more effectively than we use them ourselves. Other nations adopt and follow year after year a comprehensive plan for the development of their waterways. Why must we be the last in the procession?

Unless we do this, and do it scientifically, systemmatically, but above all do it immediately, we must suffer commercially. We must lose our commerce in the North, and our people will be poorer and as a Nation we will be poorer by millions of dollars a year. We must hasten and work while we have time, and of the latter we have but little. With the completion of the survey by the Chief of Engineers of the Army, and a submission to the Rivers and Harbors Committee of a favorable report and estimates on the Niagara ship canal I shall at the next session of Congress, providing I am here as a Member, offer a bill to provide an appropriation to start that great work. I have tried to show its importance, but there are many who can show its worth more ably than I, and when the proper time comes they will appear to plead for conservation of their commercial rights, to seek protection for that great commerce of the Lakes.

The National Guard a National Army Locally Raised.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ESCH,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 13, 1916.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, in view of the widespread interest now being manifested in and outside of Congress over the federalization of the National Guard and the powers granted to Congress by the Constitution in relation thereto I wish to submit the views of Gen. Orlando Holway, adjutant general of the Wisconsin National Guard.

Gen. Holway has had a military training, and for the last 30 years or more has beer connected with the National Guard of our State, serving in all official capacities from second lieutenant to adjutant general. The superiority of the Wisconsin

State troops in field maneuvers, target work, readiness to respond to calls, and general efficiency, as shown in official reports by Regular Army officers to the War Department, are in large these troops. His opinions, therefore, as expressed in the following article should have much weight and influence. He writes under the title "The National Guard a national army locally raised": measure due to Gen. Holway's long and efficient service with

THE NATIONAL GUARD A NATIONAL ARMY LOCALLY RAISED.

writes under the title "The National Guard a national army locally raised":

THE NATIONAL GUARD A NATIONAL ARMY LOCALLY RAISED.

The militian whether one body including all sub-ebdied ritizens of military age as originally provided by Congress, or organized and reserve, as later classified by the same authority, is the national force intended under the Constitution for use in every great national energy within its oorders, is limited to such minor particulars as will better enable the State to use these troops in time of peace to supply the place of those which it is otherwise forbidden to keep, adoption of the Polace of those which it is otherwise forbidden to keep, adoption of the place of those which it is otherwise forbidden to keep, adoption of the case of very lesser powers than those conferred upon the Congress over the militia, and with essentially the same particulars of peace-time control reserved to their respective Cantons and Provinces as to the States of the Union, have created trained clitzen armies which are now up-lifed as models.

The Congress shall have power—

"The Congress when have power—

"To raise and support armies: to make rules for the government and regulation of the last the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions; to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and off or governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers, and states and regulation of the last the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions; to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers, and states when congress in the exercise of the suppress of the Union suppress insurrections, and repel invasions; to provide for organize the militia, and the suppress of the Union suppress i

he says:
"To render a (standing) army unnecessary will be a more certain method of preventing its existence than a thousand prohibitions on

method of preventing its existence than a thousand prohibitions on paper."

In the same article he advocated the organizing and disciplining by Congress under the Constitution of selected corps of militia, first, because of the futility of attempting to organize all citizens, and further, on account of the hardship, then at least considered unnecessary, and the financial loss that would be occasioned if Congress required from the whole citizenry the amount of training necessary to make them well-disciplined soldiers.

Patrick tienry before the Virginia convention of 1788 said:

"Your militia is given up to Congress; all power will be in their own possession."

And, quoting the Constitution:

"By this, sir, you see that their control over our last and best defense is unlimited."

In other forms the like uncontradicted assertions appear in the records of debates of every State convention of the time.

George Washington in a presidential message to Congress in 1795

stated:

George Washington in a presidential message to Congress in 1795 stated:

"In my opinion, Congress has power by the proper organization, disciplining, equipment, and development of the militia to make it a national force, capable of meeting every military exigency of the United States."

President Madison recommended to Congress the calling to field training at public expense of commissioned and noncommissioned officers of the militia.

President Monroè in a message to Congress in 1823 said:

"As the defense and even the liberties of the country must depend in time of imminent danger on the militia, it is of the highest importance that it be well organized, armed, and disciplined throughout the Nation."

These doubted neither the constitutional status of the militia as the principal National Army, nor the constitutional power of Congress to require of the militia all things that are necessary to make it efficient as such national force, nor did they doubt the power of Congress to enforce whatever requirement necessary for this efficiency it might prescribe.

There is another and legally more authoritative interpreter of the Constitution—the Supreme Court of the United States.

There is another and legally more authoritative interpreter of the Constitution—the Supreme Court of the United States.

Every decision of this court which treats of the militia provisions of the Constitution is directly or by inference favorable to the broad and effective interpretation given to them by their makers and in part quoted above.

The case of Houston and Management of the Constitution is directly or by inference favorable to the broad and effective interpretation given to them by their makers and in part quoted above.

of the Constitution is directly or by inference favorable to the broad and effective interpretation given to them by their makers and in part quoted above.

The case of Houston v. Moore (5 Wheaton) fully upholds the right of Congress to organize, arm, and discipline the militia in such manner and to such extent as it shall deem best calculated to promote the general welfare and to provide for national defense, and holds further that Congress through its agent, the President, for purposes enumerated in the Constitution, may call forth all or any unit of the militia and may punish, as adjudged by a court-martial, any militiaman who falls to respond to such call.

The opinion rendered for the court by Mr. Justice Story in the leading case of Martin r. Mott (12 Whrat, 29), rendering nucatory an earlier and contrary decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, deserves the serious attention of every American citizen.

In part, Justice Story says:

"It has not been denied here that Congress may not lawfully provide for cases of imminent danger of invasion as well as for cases where an invasion has actually taken place. In our opinion, there is no ground for a doubt on this point, even if it has been relied on, for the power to provide for repelling invasions includes the power to provide against the attempt and danger of invasion, as the necessary and proper means to effectuate the object. One of the best means to repel invasion is to provide the requisite force for action before the invader himself has reached the soil. * * We are all of opinion that the authority to decide whether the exigency (for calling forth the militia) has arisen belongs exclusively to the President, and that his decision is conclusive upon all other persons. We think that this construction necessarily results from the nature of the power itself and from the manifest object contemplated by the act of Congress."

Under the interpretation and ruling established by this decision, high power and grave responsibility rest with the President.

I

the United States."

The power to organize all citizens, if so great an Army is deemed necessary, the power to require and direct the training that is needed to make this Army well disciplined, and the power to command its services in every great national emergency save a war of aggression, and in this also if, in the judgment of the President, the enemy threatens invasion—what greater or other power have the ruler of any civilized nation over their citizen armies?

Even lesser powers, as has been stated, have enabled Switzerland and Australia to provide amply for security, and the German Emperor in reality has no greater over the federated armies of the German Emperor in reality has no greater over the federated armies of the German Empire.

That the militia army of the United States is not now the well organized, well disciplined force, commensurate in size with the requirements for national defense, which is contemplated by the Constitution, is due to the failure of Congress to adequately exercise its sweeping powers for the purpose.

For the Congress has not only the power to organize, arm, and discipline the militia, but also to make all laws that are necessary and proper to carry this power into execution.

If, in its judgment, national security is so best conserved, the Congress may require of the militia all things that are required of the Regular Army save routine service in peace and war service initially for aggression.

The United States has suffered much from lack of trained

aggression.

The United States has suffered much from lack of trained armies. It has suffered as well from a multiplicity of armies, Regular, Volunteer, and Militia—the one in many particulars directly antagonistic to the others.

As the Regular and the Volunteer Armies, when coexistent, detracted the one from the strength and efficiency of the other, so will all three—Regular, Militia, and Volunteer—react against each other if the third army is now created, whether for training or for actual service.

Unity of form and organization, like terms of enlistment and conditions of service, are at least desirable military features.

The Constitution, in the intent of its makers, provided for but two armies, a standing army ample for all the occasions of peace and the great national army of the militia.

Volunteer armies were the creation of a later time, necessitated only by the failure to organize, arm, and discipline the militia, and if this failure be now remedied, will be justifiable hereafter only in a war of aggression.

aggression.

What at this juncture is most serious and even vital is this: The Organized Militla has endured for years against misrepresentation and popular misconception of its true status and appointed purpose. Their own belief that they were national troops and for national service has kept its members steadfast and increasingly earnest to become well disciplined.

disciplined.

Nothing has so tended to keep down their number as the popular impression, industriously fostered, that they were not available for such service nor could be made fit for it—that they were soldiers for passing show whose possible gravest duty was to quell internal disorders.

The disastros effect can well be surmised if there is now attempted to be organized within every district from which the militia draws its recruits, a separate and rival force which, in popular opinion at least, will have precedence for national use.

It may not always be wise to exercise in profound peace a right justified by custom only in extreme crises. The Imperial Constitution of Germany does not permit the German Emperor even in war to so raise troops in any confederated State of the Empire save, his own Kingdom

Kingdom

If, with the execution of this project, the Organized Militia is also required to more than double its present strength, the very probable result will be two weak organizations, where the Organized Militia, unhampered and granted the aid proposed for both, would have procured all the recruits that could have been secured by both: and division and discord will become rife where unity is the prime military consideration.

cured all the recruits that could have been secured by both; and division and discord will become rife where unity is the prime military consideration.

The States of the Union, by express irrevocable constitutional contract, are held to the militia system as to no other.

This system provides for their own military requirements in peace. Their departments of military administration are subservient to the lawful orders of Federal authority.

That class of the militia known as organized, measurably the selected corps advised by Hamilton, forms no inconsiderable nucleus of troops, organized, and at least partially trained.

Its units have the advantages of definite permanent station and strong affiliation with their respective States and local communities, the basic characteristics of every national army that has ever been successfully recruited and maintained.

The Congress has over the militia, organized or unorganized, in all essentials, the same powers of organizing, arming, disciplining, and developing that it has over any volunteer army.

If the great national army of defense, disciplined by training for its purposes, is to be had by voluntary enlistment, it will be had most certainly, most quickly, and most economically by exclusively developing the militia, as recommended by Washington, and especially the Organized Militia, the selected corps originally advised by Hamilton and later recommended, after an exhaustive investigation, by a committee of the Nineteenth Congress.

In all that has been written there is no word meant in opposition to or detraction from the Regular Army of the United States.

The calling forth of the militia army, or any part of it, is limited by the Constitution to national exigencies. The nature of that army is such, and the responsibility of calling it forth so heavy, that the exigency preceding such a call should not only be national but also very grave.

The Regular Army should not only be constantly maintained at a strength sufficient to care for all the military concerns of p

is such, and the responsibility of calling it forth so heavy, that the exigency preceding such a call should not only be national but also very grave.

The Regular Army should not only be constantly maintained at a strength sufficient to care for all the military concerns of peace, but this strength should be such as to render the Army reasonably capable of meeting minor exigencies of the character which unrepressed would necessitate the calling forth of the militia army.

Whether it will prove possible to procure by voluntary enlistment these greater Armies, both Regular and Organized Militia, depends upon a better understanding by American citizens in general, and consequently by the legislators whom they elect, of the true effect and merit of such enlistment. Their thought is now so perverted or heedless, as to cause grave injustice to those who are enlisted, whether as Regulars or as militia.

Upon injustice and unfairness nothing may have enduring foundation and growth.

The law is that every able-bodied male citizen of this land, 18 to 45 years of age, owes it military service. It was and is equally within the power of the law to impose this service upon whatever citizen, however feeble.

Had there been no provision for a Regular Army, or if none enlisted therein, the turmoil attendant upon the levy of citizens to preserve public order, peace, and security would have been incessant and a very present apprehension at all times in the mind of every man.

He who does so enlist helps to relieve all citizens from this burden of trouble and anxiety. That this fact is well-nigh forgotten is but strong proof of the good service that has been rendered by the men of the Regular Army.

But their common, reward too often has been slight and even disdainful regard; and their wage for perilling body and life in a soldier's hazards and to possible war is far less than that of those of like ability and circumstance whom their enlistment permits to follow uninterruptedly the gainful pursuits of peace.

When the exigency h

Yet in great degree the same slight regard is put upon the militia-man as on the Regular. The parent too often withholds consent and approval of enlistment, the employer discriminates either by refusing the leave necessary for training or by discharge and nonemployment of militiamen.

The public and their legislators overlook that in any nation where compulsory service is not enforced, while the soldier is paid, the greater part of his maintenance cost represents merely the necessary cost of his equipment and training. Such annual cost per soldier in

England, for instance, is above \$500 and in Germany, under compulsory service, most economically administered, well above \$200.

As the militiaman approaches a like standard of equipment and proficiency there has been spent in time, effort, or money the like value. His oath of service puts his body and life in peril of possible war in the interest of his fellow citizens. He should not, as now, be expected to spend from his own time and money the major share of his necessary training.

If these things may be comprehended by the people of American communities and the injustice and unfairness substantially remedied, it may well be possible to raise sufficient armies without compulsory service, but otherwise not.

Agriculture Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK PARK,

OF GEORGIA,

· IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 13, 1916.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to discuss briefly some features connected with the important and increasing industry for manufacturing table sirup from sugar cane.

According to the 1909 census report—the last report I can find on the subject—the total number of farms in the United States growing sugar cane for sirup making was 268,454, making a total of 21,633,579 gallons, valued at \$9,642,312.

The States in which sirup making from sugar cane is an important industry are Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas. Other States that are producing some sugar-cane sirup are Arizona, New Mexico, North Carolina, and Oklahoma.

In the sirup-producing localities and over an extensive area farther north the sirup constitutes an important article in the diet of the masses. It is common for the individual families on the sirup-producing farms to consume 1 or 2 barrels of sirup per year. It is not unusual for poor people in some sections of the South to do a year's farm work subsisting the while upon

bread made of corn meal along with sirup and a few vegetables.

This sirup is a staple food. It is as much a staple article of diet in the sirup-producing sections as the white or Irish potato is in other sections. One of the greatest difficulties confronting the producers is to make an article that will not sugar or ferment. If the cane juice is boiled too long, it becomes thick and turns to sugar, and if boiled too short a time it ferments and sours, and in either case is rendered inferior and unsuited for table use.

From governmental experiments during the last two years, in which the Department of Agriculture is experimenting under the provisions of a bill which I introduced, these two problems have been practically solved. The method of transforming part of the ordinary sugar to invert sugar has been applied with very encouraging results. The method was applied on farms near Cairo, Ga.; Sterling, La.; and Pinellas Park, Fla., and sirup was produced which, after standing in an open barrel in a warm room for several months, neither crystallized nor fermented. If the results so far accomplished by the department with the appropriations authorized by my efforts have accomplished that alone, the value of the results is worth many thou-

sand times the amount of money expended.

Mr. Speaker, my efforts in Congress for the short time I have been here have been directed along lines to make living easier for the people who toil and "earn their living by the sweat of their brow." If the experiments so ably conducted by the Department of Agriculture should progress from this splendid beginning which has been made toward standardization of table sirup, to the end that will enable our farmers to place on the market a sirup that will bring to them 60 cents per gallon, we will have solved a great economic problem and will have encouraged another great industry which will add untold wealth

to the sirup producers of the country.

Mr. Speaker, if our Government would put more steam behind the effort to assist the farming classes by teaching them better methods of preserving what they produce and a broader and better method of marketing their surplus crop; if we will put into effect a real system of rural credits that will help the debtoppressed farmer to lift the mortgage from his farm and will enable the tenant farmer to become a landowner, we shall then have solved the greatest of all problems of "preparedness.

I insert here an extract from a letter received from Dr. William A. Taylor, Chief of Bureau of Plant Industry, along the line of these remarks:

FARM OUTFITS FOR SIRUP MAKING.

The sirup-making outfits at present in general use are very inefficient in several ways, especially with reference to the extraction of the juice, the utilization of the fuel to evaporate the juice, and the securing of a uniform product. To study questions along these lines and to afford us a means of making the crop from our experiment plats into sirup we installed a small sirup-making outfit and provided therefor a temporary shelter.

THE EXPERIMENTAL SIRUP PLANT INSTALLED.

A 40-horsepower boiler has been installed; also a 15-horsepower boiler and a new apparatus was designed and built. In this apparatus it is aimed to combine certain advantages of steam evaporators or vats with those of the shallow evaporators used over direct fire in the hearth. Steam offers advantages in fuel economy and in more nearly perfect control of the boiling, and therefore conducive to greater unformity of product. The shallow evaporators commonly used have the advantage of more quickly finishing the sirup and better clearing it by skimming, thereby securing a better-flavored, clearer, and lighter-colored product. The new evaporator combines these advantages. It was built at the Naval Gun Factory and used last fall in all our sirup making.

built at the Naval Gun Factory and used last fall in all our sirup making.

To further assist in securing greater uniformity of product an instrument was designed to indicate, in plain view of the operator at all times, the density of the sirup flowing out. A special device to control the inflow automatically has also been devised. These two pieces of apparatus are not yet installed.

These new pieces of apparatus are deemed to emody features of commercial value; therefore it is expected to take out patents in the name of the Department of Agriculture, and thus to give the United States public the free use of the features. Application for a patent on the evaporator has already been made for the department.

I insert at this point opinions expressed in two letters from prominent large cane growers in Grady County, Ga., where a greater part of the experimentation in growing and cultural tests, as well as a large part of manufacturing tests, are now carried on:

CAIRO, GA., December 15, 1915.

Hon. FRANK PARK, M. C., Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir in reference to the results from the experiments in sugar cane being conducted at this place by the Department of Agriculture, beg to say that the work has not been pursued long enough to give definite results, but the work that is being pursued should, and no doubt will, solve some of the problems in sugar-cane culture in this section of Georgia, Florida, and Alabama, particularly the question of the best varieties to plant. The best way to save seed cane, and also some manufacturing problems, such as better clarification of sirup and the reducing of granulation and fermentation of sirup.

These are only some of the lines that are being followed in this work, and I think it would be a calamity to stop the work just in its inciplency. To stop now would be wasting the amounts appropriated for the past two years and would leave many important problems unsolved.

I therefore urge that the work be continued.

Yours, truly,

W. B. Roddenberg.

CAIRO, GA., December 17, 1915.

Hon. FRANK PARK, M. C., Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: As Congress has met and thinking possibly that appropriations might soon be considered. I wish to write you a few lines asking that you please be kind enough to do all you can to get necessary appropriation for continuing the stup experiment station here. It is true this work has not been under way long enough for us to realize the great good we expect from this movement to our sirup-growing and manufacturing industry in this county. It will be necessary, in my opinion, to continue this work, and the sirup dealers and farmers, I honestly believe, are a unit on wanting the experiment continued by the Government. I think it would be money uselessly spent by the Government to discontinue this work this early in the game, before the people in charge have had an opportunity to prove its real, genuine worth, which we feel will certainly result by continuing the experiment; furthermore, I believe the work is in competent hands and is receiving hearty cooperation from our people. I, of course, will depend upon you to do all you can along lines indicated above.

Really, I beg the privilege of adding, marked pressure from you is expected, if necessary, to continue this all-important work, throwing more light and help upon one of our greatest sources of revenue to our people in this section. We need more help and information.

Yours, very truly,

W. H. Robinson.

And now, as a brief résumé of what has been done and what is contemplated in the future, I insert a letter from our distinguished Secretary of Agriculture:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, Washington, April 13, 1916.

Hon. Frank Park,

House of Representatives.

Dear Mr. Park: In answer to your telephone request of yesterday, the following is a concise statement of the progress of the cane-sirup investigation under the appropriation, "General Expenses, Bureau of Plant Industry, 1916 (table sirup)," which has been carried out under the portion allotted to the Bureau of Chemistry:

Experiments have been carried out at Golden, Miss.; Cairo, Ga.; Pinellas Park. Fla.; Largo, Fla.; Evergiade, Fla.; and in the laboratory of the Bureau of Chemistry.

We have succeeded in making sirups that have kept in perfect condition for several months, whereas sirups made by the methods now generally in use have deteriorated to a marked degree, and in many cases have become unfit for food.

The method we have adopted involves some change in the present methods of evaporating the cane juice, and also the use of a substance called "invertase," obtained from yeast. We have as yet been able to apply the results we have obtained only on a small scale, but there seems to be no reason why this method can not be put on a commercial basis.

The contemplated future work on this subject involves the applica-tion of the method we have worked out on a scale comparable to that which is in use by the farmers of Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, and other Southern States.

and other Southern States.

We plan to set up evaporators at Cairo, Ga.; Sterling, La.; and Pinellas Park, Fla., where our method can be given a thorough testing out. Our contemplated work also involves experiments to determine the best and cheapest method of manufacturing invertase from yeast.

We also plan to carry out a number of experiments on the clarification of cane sirups, making the product clearer and brighter.

If our experiments at Cairo, Ga.; Sterling, La.; and Pinellas Park, Fla., are successful, we also plan to find new uses for the sirup and to bring it to the attention of the trade in the various sections of this country, with a view to increase the demand for it. At present the demand for cane sirup is limited on account of the readiness with which it deteriorates and the difficulty of securing a uniform product. Our experiments have shown that it is possible to make a uniform strup which will keep indefinitely. It remains to apply our knowledge under actual manufacturing conditions.

Yours, very truly,

D. F. Houston, Secretary.

If by the simple and inexpensive methods proposed the farmers of the second district can make their sirup, put it up in barrels and cans, with the satisfying knowledge that it will neither turn to sugar, crystallize, or ferment and sour, and that it will be as palatable in 12 months as when at first manufactured, we will have saved to the farmers producing sirup a staple article of food that will be a substitute even for meat, if the meat supply should run short during the year.

If the sirup produced on our numerous farms is standardized, as it surely will be in the near future, so that the farmer when planting will know that he can not plant too much or produce too much cane sirup for the reason that there will be a ready market, he will have added to his other assets a source of revenue that

will be unfailing and very valuable as a farm asset.

As I see it, Mr. Speaker, the Congress can not engage in more useful work than that of devising means and providing plans to

within the past 20 years the price of meats, including poultry, has doubled, and in some instances trebled. The price of other commodities has increased almost in the same ratio. The purchasing power of a dollar is not much more than that of a half dollar 20 years ago, and efforts along legislative lines must be educational if we shall hope to reduce this ever-increasing cost of living. The poorer classes of people of the United States are to-day not so much concerned about luxuries as they are the bare necessities.

I wish to propose to the Congress the enactment of legislation along another line that would encourage another great and growing industry, which is the proper preservation and marketing of the sweet potato crop of the United States. With sweet potatoes all the year round, and good wholesome table sirup all the year round, and vegetables from the garden, and meat and poultry and milk and butter, such as any farmer can produce on a one-horse farm, the problem of the high cost of living ought to be practically solved, at least for those who live on the farm.

Needs of Baltimore Harbor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM.

OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tucsday, April 11, 1916.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, the people of Maryland have the deepest interest in the improvement of the rivers and harbors of this country. They feel that one of the great assets of the United States is the harbors of the various cities along the These ports are not alone useful to the cities themselves but they are gateways for the imports from abroad which enter the country and reach the remotest sections.

They likewise are the centers from which the great export shipments, now amounting to millions of dollars, are loaded and sent to the markets of the world. My people do not believe that money wisely expended in the improvement of the water-ways can be put to better use. They feel that the meritorious propositions should be taken care of, and that those cities from whose ports the great export and import business is conducted

should be taken care of at the earliest possible time.

They realize also that by virtue of the many things which have occurred since the beginning of the war in Europe Congress has from lack of the usual revenue been prevented from doing many things which it would like to do, and among them the greater improvement of the rivers and harbors of the land, and

particularly the harbor of Baltimore,

Baltimore, situated nearest to the great wheat-producing section of the country, has become a great shipping center for cereals of all kinds. In the year 1915 the grain receipts for 10 months including October were as follows:

40, 062, 976 22, 159, 361 45, 549, 559 Corn_. Oats_.

which, with other cereals, made a grand total of 123,976,875 bushels, and of this vast amount more than 110,000,000 bushels were shipped to the markets of other countries.

My city has likewise greatly increased as a manufacturing and distributing center, having over 1,000 wholesale and jobbing houses, 200 of which carry over 300,000 accounts in the South alone and have invested in that section below the Potomac more than two hundred millions of dollars, in addition to vast

sums in other sections of the land. Baltimore has three great trunk lines bringing the products of the farm and factory to Baltimore for transshipment to other sections and to other countries.

She is increasing in population at a rapid rate, developing her manufactures more speedily, and conducting a commerce which has placed her as the fourth commercial city of the land. We have grown to such extent that our harbor and channels will soon be insufficient to carry on the great business which comes to us, and it is extremely necessary for Congress to take action toward widening, deepening, and constructing more adequate channels in accordance with the Engineer's recommenda-

Our commerce, according to statistics for the year 1914, was as follows:

SUMMARY.

	Amount.	Value.
Foreign: Imports Exports Canadian articles exported Coastwise and domestic	Tons. 1,676,844 2,569,282 186,879 8,992,180	\$30, 317, 891 106, 822, 295 6, 440, 706 239, 820, 844
Grand total	13, 425, 185	383, 401, 736

And from this commerce the National Government has received the following revenue:

SUMMARY OF DUTIES COLLECTED IN 1914

Duties and miscellaneous customs receipts	\$2, 971, 866 82, 590 11, 432
---	-------------------------------------

Total ____ 3, 065, 388

EARLY NEED FOR IMPROVEMENT.

The terminal facilities at the port, while not exactly inadequate for present traffic, the Army engineers contend that unless the work outlined by them is promptly undertaken by the United States Government there is grave danger that the growth of the harbor will be restrained and the commerce of a large section of the country hampered, because the influence of the port reaches to the center of the United States and affects the prices of all commodities. These engineers further state:

of the port reaches to the center of the United States and affects the prices of all commodities. These engineers further state:

That it is not a fair criterion to judge the future commerce of Baltimore Harbor from the past, for, owing to various influences and causes which have existed, but are now being pushed aside or removed, and the awakening which has occurred to the city's great natural advantages as a port, and the extensive terminal improvements now in progress or in plan by every one of the railway systems of the port, there is reason to confidently expect that the harbor will soon see a movement of freight through it greater and much larger than has ever yet taken place and which will give the city the place to which it is naturally entitled but not heretofore tried to attain. There is no reason why Baltimore, with proper utilization of its advantages, should not be at lowest the third port of the country in point of tonnage, and the Government should promptly begin the work of providing the channels of proper dimensions and suitable anchorage areas to serve the terminals already planned and others that there is every reason to believe will before long be constructed. As an industrial harbor it promises soon to be second only to New York.

All the work by the Government in the Patapsco and its tributaries should be embraced under one project, as it now becomes the project for Baitimore Harbor itself. All the channels, except probably those portions at the upper ends where development may not yet have taken place, should have a depth of 35 feet. For many portions of the harbor a depth of 36 feet will be sufficient for many years to come. In order to avoid undue expense to the General Government it is believed that the development should be gradual, keeping pace with the growth of the harbor. This will permit work to be done most economically and advantageously, and if a definite project is adopted all plans for terminals, all constructions, and all work in the harbor can be made to accord.

The devel

wide and 27 feet deep—that is, of dimensions entirely inadequate to serve the vessels which will desire access to the Western Maryland piers. The location of this channel is also extremely bad, this location having been necessary on account of the existence of the Light Street Bridge and the peninsula at Ferry Bar. This bridge is to be removed, probably within the next year or 18 months, following the completion of the new Hanover Street Bridge by the State of Maryland, and the Western Maryland has voluntarily offered to relinquish its title to the outer 500 feet of the peninsula of Ferry Bar in order that a properly located channel can be provided to the upper portion of this arm of the harbor. In relinquishing this 500 feet the railroad had to run of the harbor. In relinquishing this 500 feet the railroad had to run of the harbor. The railroad believed that an elevator to which vessels would have access on both sides could be most advantageously located at this point, but upon explanation to the president and chief engineer of that road of the necessity for a better channel to Spring Garden, it took the broad public policy of aiding as far as it could in the harbor improvement, and has offered to relinquish the outer end of the tar without any compensation whatever. The channel through the Middle Branch of the Patapsco should have a width of not less than 400 feet and a depth of not less than 35 feet as far as the Hanover Street Bridge. Above that point the channel should be 400 feet wide, with a depth one side of these channels, so as to permit beats to lie in reasonable proximity to the wharves while waiting their turn to load or unload. One such anchorage basin should be provided north of the proposed 35-foot channel leading to the Western Maryland terminals, and one should later be provided to the south of this channel.

"BALTIMORE SOON TO BE SECOND INDUSTRIAL HARBOR.

It will be seen from these statements that the Army engineers believe that Baltimore will ere long, as an industrial harbor, become second to New York alone.

For the information of the committee I will insert here a report from the War Department. United States Engineer's Office, Baltimore, Md., December 2, 1915, showing what the Engineer's Office have recommended for the Baltimore Harbor and giving details as to the amount of soil to be removed in order to se cure the proper depth.

SURVEY OF BALTIMORE HARBOR, MD.

WAR DEPARTMENT, UNITED STATES ENGINEER OFFICE, Baltimore, Md., December 2, 1915.

From: The district Engineer officer.
To: The Chief of Engineers, United States Army
(Through the Division Engineer).
Subject: Survey of Baltimore Harbor, Md., and approaches thereto.

(Through the Division Engineer).

Subject: Survey of Baltimore Harbor, Md., and approaches thereto.

1. In compliance with department letter of October 6, 1915, the following report is submitted, with plan and estimates of cost of improving "Baltimore Harbor, Md., and approaches thereto."

2. It is proposed to include all Government river and harbor works in the Patapsco River and its tributaries and the approaches thereto in one project for Baltimore Harbor, Md., to read as follows:

"For a channel 35 feet deep and 1,000 feet wide between the curves of 35-foot depth in Chesapeake Ray opposite York Spit; 35 feet deep and 600 feet wide from the 35-foot curve below the mouth of the Patapsco River, to and in that river as far as Fort McHenry, with a branch channel 35 feet deep and 250 feet wide into Curtis Bay to head of bay; and one 35 feet deep and 250 feet wide into Curtis Bay to head of bay; and one 35 feet deep and 400 feet wide into the Southwest Branch of the Patapsco River to a point hear Ferry Bar, and 27 feet deep and 250 feet wide to the Western Maryland Raliway bridge, wickened at the approaches and bends, and with anchorage and turning basins, as shown approximately on the map accompanying this report."

3. For purposes only of estimation and recommendation, the above proposed project is divided into six parts, viz:

"First. The channel 35 feet deep and 600 feet wide and between 35-foot contours opposite York Spit, which has been completed.

"Second. The channel 35 feet deep and 600 feet wide from the curve of 35 feet deepth in Chesapeake Bay, below the mouth of Patapsco River, to and in that river to Fort McHenry, with an anchorage basin 600 feet wide and 3,500 feet long below the entrance to Curtis Bay, which has been completed.

"Third. The branch channel into Curtis Bay, which it is proposed to

to and in that river to Fort McHenry, with an anchorage basin 600 feet wide and 3.500 feet long below the entrance to Curtis Bay, which has been completed.

"Third. The branch channel into Curtis Bay, which it is proposed to deepen to 35 feet with its present width of 250 feet by removing 1.124,600 cubic yards of material, seow measure, at 10 cents per cubic yard, amounting, with about 10 per cent for contingencies, to \$123,700. This item is one that was recommended in House Document No. 7, Sixty-third Congress, first session.

"Fourth. A branch channel into Southwest Baltimore Harbor as far as Ferry Bar, 35 feet deep and 400 feet wide, which would require the removal of 3,700,000 cubic yards of material, scow measure, at 10 cents per cubic yard, amounting, with 10 per cent for contingencies, to \$407,000.

"Fifth. A channel 27 feet deep and 250 feet wide from Ferry Bar to the Western Maryland Railway bridge, with an anchorage and turning basin, as shown on accompanying map, requiring the removal of 1,740,000 cubic yards of material, scow measure, at 10 cents per cubic yard, amounting, with 10 per cent for contingencies, to \$191,460.

"Sixth. Widening to 1,000 feet the anchorage on the south side of the channel to Baltimore, below the intersection of the Southwest Baltimore Channel, requiring the removal of 1,400,000 cubic yards of material, scow measure, at 10 cents per cubic yard, amounting, with 10 per cent for contingencies to \$154,000."

Summary.

First part, completed. First part, completed.
Second part, completed.
Third part, 1,124,600 cubic yards, scow measure, at 10 cents, plus about 10 per cent.
Fourth part, 3,700,000 cubic yards, scow measure, at 10 cents, plus about 10 per cent.
Fifth part, 1,740,000 cubic yards, scow measure, at 10 cents, plus about 10 per cent.
Sixth part, 1,400,000 cubic yards, scow measure, at 10 cents, plus about 10 per cent. \$123, 700 407,000 191, 400 154,000 Total, 7,964,600 cubic yards, scow measure, at 10 cents, plus about 10 per cent_____

876, 100

34,000

4. The material encountered in dredging on previous projects (excepting in the York Spit section, where it consisted of compact sand) was generally clay, varying in consistency from soft to stiff. A short section of rock was encountered in the cut-off channel and a short section of hard material in the Fort McHenry section. The estimated price of 10 cents is believed, however, to be sufficient to cover the whole work.

5. The cost of maintenance of the projects in Baltimore Harbor has been relatively small, and it is not believed that an increase in the dimensions or depth of any of the present improvements or the adoption of new ones, as outlined above, will greatly increase it. From available information, it is estimated that the annual cost of upkeep for the various separate parts will be as follows:

First part (completed) \$12,000
Second part (completed) \$0,000
Third part 4,000
Fourth part 4,000
Fifth part 4,500

8, 000 4, 000 4, 000 4, 500 1, 500 Fifth part.

were extended in 1915, so as to permit larger docks. It is believed with the improvement as indicated that large commercial development will follow.

8. As to the Southwest Harbor, the existing channel, 27 feet deep, is very crooked and narrow, and is often complained of. The Western Maryland Railway has a large terminal, covering the land east of Light Street and south of McComas Street, and is developing rapidly its terminal and the strended in 1915, so as to permit piers of greater length, and accommodation is sought for the largest ocean steamers; that is commodation is sought for the largest ocean steamers; that is commodation is sought for the largest ocean steamers; that is the strended in 1915, so as to permit piers of greater either than the strended in 1915, so as to permit piers of greater of 35 feet and a width of 400 feet to Ferry Bar is considered essential on account of the length of the channel and the extent of the development, past and prospective. The necessity of dredging by private parties from the channel of the extended and is now constructing a new bridge at Hanover Street, and will remove the present bridge at Light Street. The new bridge provides a clear opening of 150 feet. That the peninsula termed 'Ferry Bar' shall be cut back to low-water deepth for a distance of 500 feet from the present end of the point of land.

"That the 500 feet of land lack from the point of Ferry Bar shall be deeded to the United States, and made available for waterway purposes prior to the completion of the bridge.

"That all portlonsers the present Light Street bridge shall be removed from the new bridge provides a clear opening of 150 feet. That all portlonsers the present Light Street or small be deeded to the United States, and made available for waterway purposes prior to the completion of the bridge.

"That all portlonsers the present development, except for small locks, is not great, although one firm which manufactures bricks has found it advisable to take advantage at one of this offer.

10. Above

ports.

12. As to the anchorage basin, there is demand for anchorage basins at various localities. It would seem best to obtain one good anchorage ground, so situated as to be convenient for the largest amount of vessels. This location, near the junction of the Northwest and Southwest Harbors and not far from Canton, will fulfill these conditions. A width of 1,000 feet would seem to be necessary to allow for vessels swinging with the tide. This location is to-day largely used as an anchorage, but has a width of only 400 feet.

13. It is recommended—

"(1) To include all Government river and harbor works in Patapsco River and its tributaries, and the approaches thereto, in one project, to be known as 'Baltimore Harbor, Md., and approaches thereto.

"(2) That funds for the deepening of the Curtis Bay Channel in accordance with the recommendation in House Document No. 7, Sixtythird Congress, first session, be provided at once.

"(3) That funds, amounting to \$752,400, for the channel 35 feet deep at mean low water and 400 feet wide from the main ship channel to Ferry Bar and 27 feet deep and 250 feet wide from that point to the Western Maryland Railway bridge, with a turning basin at the upper end and the enlargement of the anchorage basin near the entrance to this branch channel, be provided at once.

"(4) That with the exception of the improvement mentioned in the second recommendation above, the work of improvement by the United States be made conditional upon local interests previding, whenever required by the Chief of Engineers, free of cost to the United States, suitable areas behind bulkheads or other revetment, satisfactory to the district engineer officer, in which the dredged material may be deposited. "(5) The city of Baltimore is about completing a sewerage system costing over \$20,000,000. One of the resultant conditions of this is the cessation of the deposit of a large amount of sewage into that part of the harbor inside of Fort McHenry, and which has been maintained by annual dredging by the city, which is also now extending the 35-foot depth from the head of the United States channel about 1½ miles to the large terminals in the harbor. It is recommended that as the city at its own expense extends the 35-foot depth into the inner harbor or basin, the United States take over the maintenance of such extension."

JOHN BIDDLE, Colonel, Corps of Engineers.

Now, Mr. Speaker, while we have no desire to complain about the bill before the committee, because we realize the great demand upon the Treasury of the United States in order to bring our country up to the proper standard of preparedness, we also realize that by virtue of the war in Europe revenues formerly obtained have been greatly reduced, but we do feet that, as soon as Congress can have the money to appropriate for any further river and harbor matters, Baltimore and its interests should be looked out for. We feel, further, that if it is possible to include any appropriation in the present bill to start the work in the Baltimore Harbor, it should be done,

We have spent a great deal of money ourselves in the inner harbor and are now dredging a channel 35 feet deep to the docks and piers. Our railroad companies have spent vast sums of money in the enlargement of their terminal facilities and in procuring deeper water to their wharves. Baltimore has done its part. We wish to impress upon Congress that it is unfair for it to do more. Baltimore, being one of the great scaports and one of the few cities of the world having a 35-foot channel, is entitled to early consideration from the National Government in the widening and deepening of its channels so that it may not be hampered in the great commercial enterprises in which its people are engaged. Give us what we are entitled to and we will ere long reach our coveted goal as an industrial harbor second to New York alone.

The Gasoline Situation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. M. C. SMITH,

OF MICHIGAN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 17, 1916.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under the leave of the House I wish to make a few observations relative to the recent and rapid rise of gasoline. I doubt whether there has been any one thing that has recently awakened more universal interest in the minds of the public generally than the sudden advance in the prices of gasoline. The industry is highly It involves an immense investment of capital. efficient. covers a large field. It employs a large amount of labor, Many millions of our citizens are consumers of its product. Complaints are general and, while information is meager, it is thought that any facts tending to give or throw any light on the subject will be of much interest to all.

INVESTIGATIONS BEING NOW MADE.

So general and widespread is the complaint and the desire to learn the causes for the increase in price that the subject to learn the causes for the increase in price that the subject is now being investigated by the Senate of the United States, by the Federal Trade Commission, by the Department of Justice of the United States, and by the Department of Commerce, as well as through private sources. With these great bodies looking into the question, we may in due course understand the true cause. Of course, it is well known that I am not an expert on the production of oil. I have never had that experience; but, like the great majority, I am a consumer. The Federal Trade Commission, in its report, makes mention of the magnitude of the oil industry on page 7, which states:

267, 216, 413 246, 845, 341 209, 088, 169 175, 430, 444 159, 199, 755 152, 512, 278

3,717,726 3,507,094 3,122,967 2,822,250

2,978,578 3,317,354

MAGNITUDE OF THE INDUSTRY.

MAGNITUDE OF THE INDUSTRY.

The oil industry, moreover, is an unusually complex one. The prospecting for oil, the purchase or lease of oil lands, the drilling of wells, and the provision of tanks for crude storage in the field, form more or less distinct branches of the crude-oil industry. The crude oil must be gathered through a network of pipes to some central point for shipping, and then it must be transported by trunk pipe line or tank car to the refinery. Millions of barrels are carried by pipe line from Oklahoma even as far as the Atlantic seaboard. At the refinery large supplies must be stored to provide a stock of crude oil which will insure continuous operation. In refining, the different crudes yield different products, and refineries vary from the "skimming plant" which takes off gasoline and sells the balance largely as fuel, to the "complete run" plant that gets not only naphtha and gasoline, but also kerosene, lubricating oils and greases, parafin, floor oils, road oils, gas oil, fuel oil, tar, asphalt, and coke. Then the refined products are marketed, and the larger companies own and operate tank cars and ships, tank stations, and tank wagons. Any thorough investigation of even the gasoline situation alone involves a consideration of the entire petroleum industry from the production of the crude petroleum to the consumption of the refined products.

In looking over the various branches of this vast industry

In looking over the various branches of this vast industry the question naturally arises as to just what changes have occurred to warrant the increase in price? This is the leading and important fact in which we are interested. The companies have the same old pipe lines. They have the same old tanks for storage. They have the same distributing agencies; the same field and means of operation. It is not seen that wages were increased. In fact, it does not appear that there were any changes in the field of operation that would warrant a rise in the price from 9.86 cents a gallon in August, 1915, to 16.28 cents a gallon in December, 1915, as is shown by the report of the Trade Commission in its table No. 10, as follows:

Table 10.—Comparison of average monthly tank-wagen prices of gaso-line (58°-60°) in the East (Pennsylvania) with those in the West (North Central States), by months, 1915.

	East (Penn- sylavania), Atlantie Refining Co. (Standard).	West (North Central States).		
		Standard companies.	Other companies.	
January February March April: May June July August September October November December	10.00 9.86 9.86 9.86 9.86 9.86 10.38 12.23	11. 09 10. 95 10. 57 10. 57 10. 57 9. 84 9. 61 10. 21 11. 85 13. 45	11, 15 16, 92 10, 64 10, 43 10, 38 9, 72 9, 50 9, 50 10, 35 11, 93 13, 64 15, 62	

The "tank-wagon prices" referred to in Table 10 are the wholesale prices charged dealers for gasoline delivered in bulk by tank wagon. They are computed for gasoline having the same gravity according to the Baumé test (58°-60°). As freight and marketing costs are included, the figures are not comparabble on an absolute basis, but are chiefly valuable as indicating the movement of prices.

Neither do we see any reason shown why the prices of gasoline has since risen to 20 and as high as 24 cents a gallon. The following table, taken from a letter written by the Secretary of the Interior relative to the price; of gasoline, dated February 2, 1916, shows more nearly the consumers' price paid for gascline:

	prices per	Crude oil prices per barrel.			Crude oil prices per barrel.
1915. Jan. F. Feb. I. Mar. I. Apr. I. May J. June I. July I. Aug. I.	Cents. 13 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12	\$1.45 1.50 1.50 1.40 1.35 1.35 1.35	1915. Sept. 1	Cents. 14 16 17 19	\$1.70 1.80 2.00 2.00

This table is taken from Senate Document 310, page 21, and shows that the price remained steady at 12 cents a gallon until the month of September, 1915, when it went up to 14 cents, and to 21 cents by January 1, 1916, an increase of 33½ per cent in both crude and gasoline.

It is but fair to state that the output of some of the producing companies has diminished during the last year, notably the Cushing pool, which is one of the largest of the companies or association of companies. It is said that at one time this pool produced upwards of 1,000,000 barrels a day, and at the present time is only producing one-third as much. But notwithstanding

this, the output of all the producing companies during the year 1915 continually increased, as is shown by the report of the Federal Trade Commission in Table 6, page 12:

TABLE 6 .- Quantities of gasoline produced and stocks on hand the 1st of the month.

				Produ	ection.
				Standard.	Other.
February. March. April. May June. July. August September. October. November.				Gallons. 49, 500, 619 46, 053, 843 52, 079, 421 61, 039, 714 61, 048, 885 53, 117, 943 60, 074, 304 58, 545, 829 62, 337, 332 62, 275, 051 54, 406, 103 61, 242, 672 681, 721, 716	Gallons. 27, 162, 918 24, 531, 091 28, 824, 590 30, 124, 039 32, 936, 152 35, 660, 139 35, 944, 836 34, 366, 594 35, 078, 242 36, 785, 348 36, 093, 920 36, 263, 545 393, 671, 434
	Stocks o	n hand on the	1st day of the	month.	
	Refin	iers.	Jol t	ners.	Total stocks on hand (refiners and jobbers).
	Standard.	Other.	Standard.	Other.	Jobours).

From Senate Document No. 310, page 20, I also quote the following extract to show that the increase in price is not due to the lack of supply:

14, 903, 028 13, 795, 622 14, 908, 848 15, 281, 999 14, 328, 596 16, 659, 496

30,714,128 26,859,626 22,189,934 17,835,655 19,192,970 20,631,394

217, 881, 531 217, 881, 531 202, 682, 999 168, 866, 420 139, 490, 540 122, 699, 611 111, 904, 034

the lack of supply:

(d) Decreased production of crude containing a large percentage of gasoline, as in the Cushing pool of Oklahoma, the daily production of which declined from more than 300,000 barrels in April, 1915, to less than 100,000 barrels in January, 1916. The decline of the Cushing pool was partially compensated for by an increased production of crude from other pools, the gasoline content of which production, however, was from 5 to 7 per cent less than that of the Cushing crude, The stocks of Cushing crude, while from 10,000,000 to 15,000,000 barrels larger at the end of 1915 than at the beginning of that year, reached their maximum in July. This surplus is now being drawn on to supply the shortage represented by the difference between daily production and existing transportation and refining capacity, and thus until exhausted this surplus tends to steady the oil market. These stocks, however, are controlled by the stronger companies, and have been withdrawn from the open market. Thus, while there is a market shortage of Cushing crude, which is directly responsible for some of the independent refiners paying a premium of from 20 to 50 cents a barrel above the quoted market price, other companies have not exhausted their 1915 surplus of Cushing crude. Since these larger companies have, in fact, larger stocks than a year ago, it follows that with them the shortage of gasoline-rich crude is at most only threatened and to the extent that these companies are using their 1915 surplus, the threatened shortage is not yet a factor in increasing the cost of gasoline production.

EXPORT TRADE.

In England the price of gasoline is said to be 40 to 45 cents a gallon. There is a vital reason for the high prices prevailing in the European countries which does not obtain in this country. Prices of all commodities are abnormally high in European countries on account of the war. But as the war was in progress last year when the price was steady at 12 cents a gallon throughout the country, the rise in price can not be attributed solely to the war. In fact during the month of January, 1916, when the price of gasoline was near the high point the foreign export was the least. I give the table of the Trade Commission, which is

TABLE 7 .- Exports of gasoline, naphtha, and benzine (combined), by

months, 1310.	
1915.	Gallons.
January	13, 624, 708
February	23, 346, 701
March	22, 034, 941
April	24, 259, 214
May	25, 117, 025
June	28, 372, 830
July	24, 947, 975

1915.	Gallons.
AugustSeptember	33, 067, 432 21, 035, 160
OctoberNovember	18, 543, 754 27, 424, 510
December	22, 895, 570
January	17, 129, 972
Annual totals:	284, 669, 820
1914	238, 671, 187 188, 043, 379
Per cent of total gasoline content of 1915 crude exported during 1915	
CONSUMPTION AND SUPPLY.	

Increased consumption would naturally be followed by increase in prices, according to the law of supply and demand. In 1915 there were issued 2,100,000 automobile licenses in the United States. It is estimated that this number will be increased to 2,750,000 in 1916. Figuring 500 gallons for each automobile, which is the estimate, automobiles will require 1,375,000,000 gallons for 1916 against 1,025,000,000 gallons for 1915. But the fact remains that the increased number of cars or autos for 1916 has not yet taken place, while the rise in the price of gasoline has already occurred far in advance. So that the rise can not be laid to the increase in the number of autos.

Mr. Speaker, not being an expert on the production or the prices of gasoline, I have at some length shown by the tables and proof of those high in authority that there is no just reason for the sudden rise in the price of gasoline. Let me, however, at the risk of being a little prolix, give the letters received by me in making some inquiry and efforts to find out the true cause,

if any. The letters are self-explanatory: DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, Washington, March 27, 1916.

Washington, March 27, 1916.

House of Representatives.

Dear Mr. Smith: Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of March 25, 1916, relative to the high cost of gasoline and the possibility of using kerosene for automobile power.

In reply you are advised that this department has no available information in the matter and your inquiry has been referred to the Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior, for consideration, since that bureau is conducting special investigations on the subject.

Very truly, yours,

D. F. Houston, Secretary.

D. F. Houston, Secretary.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR BUREAU OF MINES,
Washington, March 39, 1916.

Washington, March 39, 1916.

Hons. J. M. C. Smith,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Smith: Your letter of March 25, addressed to the Secretary of Agriculture, has been referred to this bureau.

Inclosed please find a copy of Senate Document 310, which is the report of the Secretary of the Interior on the gasoline situation.

With regard to the use of kerosene, the general consensus of opinion among automobile engineers is that to date there has not been developed a kerosene-burning carburetor which is entirely satisfactory for automobile use. There are, however, kerosene-burning carburetors, such as that of the Kerosene Burning Carburetor Co., of Detroit; the Deppe carburetor; and the Harroun carburetor, which have proven satisfactory for stationary and marine work and which are claimed by the manufacturers to be satisfactory for automobile use, basing their claims on reports of demonstrations which have been made.

Very truly, yours,

VAN. H. MANNING, Director.

VAN. H. MANNING, Director,

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION, Washington, April 10, 1916.

Hon. J. M. C. Smith. M. C.,

Washington, D. C.

My Dear Congressman: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter bearing date of April, 1916, requesting a copy of the reported probe by this commission into the increased price of gasoline.

I am handing vou herewith a copy of the preliminary report on this subject, which was to-day submitted to both Houses of Congress. It is not known definitely just when the gasoline report itself will be ready for publication.

Very respectfully,

Ferenal Trade Commission, By L. L. Bracken, Secretary.

FERERAL TRADE COMMISSION, By L. L. BRACKEN, Secretary.

It should not be difficult to determine whether or not the rise in price is a legitimate one. If it is not, then prompt and vigorous action should be taken against the offenders and the full penalties imposed. But, from experience already had, we should now fortify ourselves and the country against the possibility of any organization, corporation, or trust manipulating prices. We should adopt every known substitute for gasoline as motor power. We should discover new substitutes and devices if possible. Kerosene, which can be and is now being successfully used for motor power, in time, if generally used, will greatly reduce and steady the price. It will increase the supply of an-

other product for motor power.

I again quote from Senate Document 310, at page 25, the sum-

mary of the letter of the Interior Department, as follows:

OTHER INFORMATION WHICH MAY BE USEFUL OR BENEFICIAL IN THE
CONSIDERATION OF THE SUBJECT OF PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF GASOLINE.

The situation may be summed as follows:
The consumption of gasoline is rapidly increasing.
The production of crude has been generally regarded as near its maximum.

Some immediate relief may be afforded by means of the following:

(a) The use in internal-combustion engines of heavier distillates approaching kerosene.

(b) An acceptable kerosene carburctor would at once go a long way toward relieving the present shortage of gasoline.

(c) General use of cracking processes, whereby gasoline is made from kerosene and other less valuable petroleum oils. Such cracking processes are being rapidly developed, and promise near relief. It is practicable to produce gasoline from kerosene, gas oil, fuel oil, residuums, and heavy crudes by present-day cracking processes, and no oil should be used for fuel that has not been so treated.

(d) Increasing the production of crude to furnish the necessary supplies of gasoline; but this is not to be recommended if it increases the output of distillates, for which there is no market.

It may be of interest to note that the United States produces two-thirds of the entire oil production of the world. The following table is taken from Senate Document No. 310, page 16, showing the whole production:

Year.	United States.	Entire world.	Year.	United States.	Entire world.
1900	63, 600, 000 69, 400, 000 88, 800, 000 100, 500, 000 117, 100, 000 134, 700, 000 126, 500, 000 166, 100, 000	149, 100, 000 167, 400, 000 182, 000, 000 194, 800, 000 218, 300, 000 215, 400, 000 214, 000, 000 264, 900, 000	1908	178, 500, 000 183, 200, 000 209, 600, 000 220, 400, 000 222, 900, 000 248, 400, 000 265, 800, 000 1 267, 400, 000	285, 100, 000 298, 400, 000 327, 600, 000 345, 700, 000 352, 500, 000 384, 700, 000 400, 500, 000 (2)

1 Estimated.

2 No figures available.

Keeping in mind that the sudden rise in price was in the month of September, 1915, and the succeeding months, let us look at Table 12 of the letter of the Secretary of the Interior, found on page 20, and it will be observed that the exports for the months of September and October were much less than the exports were for the months of May, June, July, and August preceding the rise:

Month.	1913	1914	1915
	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.
January	160,000	150,000	325,000
February	325,000	280,000	550,000
March	350,000	320,000	525,000
March April	550,000	550,000	480,000
May	450,000	540,000	600,000
June	320,000	430,000	680,000
July	380,000	650,000	550,000
August	590,000	270,000	700,000
September	490,000	550,000	490,000
October	510,000	£60,000	430,000
November	280,000	400,000	640,000
November	250,000	800,000	530,000
Total	4,455,000	5,000,000	6,500,000

So that, from whatever angle we view the cause, it does not seem that the rise was due to increased consumption, or to shortage of production, or to diminished stock on hand, or to additional exports, or to increased cost of production, the only legitimate conclusion being that the increase in price was an legitimate conclusion being that the increase in price was an arbitrary one. It would be presumptuous to hazard a remedy, but with the undeveloped millions of acres of oil lands in the United States which have already been surveyed, in the States of California, Minnesota, Wyoming, Montana, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, North Dakota, Louisiana, and Texas, there ought to be no question of an abundant supply for years to come. Alaska, that has yielded so bountifully of her mineral wealth, also is known to contain large oil districts. Besides, there are boundless areas of oil lands in the Mexican Republic, in South America, China, and Russia. One other thing that is expected to reduce the price of gasoline is perfecting a carburetor for the use of kerosene for motor power. use of kerosene for motor power.

In due course of time, no doubt, other oil fields, other methods of operating motor power, and substitutes for gasoline will be found. Personally I have thought denatured alcohol might be found a good substitute. It can be manufactured from a number of by-products of the farm, but the cost of the reducing plant is prohibitive to any individual farming opera-

The investigations by the departments of the Government and the United States Senate are not yet completed, but enough has already been shown to raise the presumption that the increased price of gasoline was not a legitimate one; that it was arbitrary and mercenary and unwarranted. The reports of the Government departments and of the Senate will contain valuable information. If found to be illegal and unjust, the penalty should be imposed upon those responsible for any violation of the law.

Bridge Across the Missouri River at Chamberlain, S. Dak.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES H. DILLON.

OF SOUTH DAKOTA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 12, 1916.

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Speaker, this bill (H. R. 9909) seeks to require the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co. to construct and maintain a permanent bridge across the Missouri River at Chamberlain, S. Dak.

On February 9, 1905. Congress authorized the White River Valley Railway Co., its successors and assigns, to construct and operate a pontoon and pile bridge across the Missouri River at Chamberlain, S. Dak. The Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co. became the successors of the White River Valley Railway Co., and has during the greater part of the time operated and maintained a pontoon bridge across the river, as provided in the act.

This bill grants to the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co., its successors and assigns, authority to maintain and operate a permanent bridge across the said river and repeals the former act of Congress. It grants permission to such company to maintain the pontoon and pile bridge for one year from the passage of this act, and provides that if within one year it is shown to the satisfaction of the Secretary of War that actual construction of the permanent bridge has commenced, then permission is given to operate the pontoon bridge during the construction of the bridge, but in no case for more than three years from the passage of this act. The bill has the approval of the War Department

The line of road extends west from Chamberlain to Rapid City, a distance of about 220 miles. The maintenance of the pontoon and pile bridge has been unsatisfactory to the traveling and shipping public ever since its construction. From two to four times a year the bridge has been carried away by high water. Whenever the ice broke up in the early spring it rarely failed to carry out the bridge. The rise in June usually took out the bridge, and likewise in the fall of the year it was usually carried away, to the great annoyance of passenger traffic and the shipment of freight. On such occasions traffic has been thoroughly demoralized by the inadequate service on the line of These conditions render it unsafe and dangerous for the traveling public to attempt crossing the river on such inadequate facilities.

The State Railroad Commission of South Dakota in various ways sought to require the construction of a bridge, and at one time brought a mandamus suit against the railway company, but for want of jurisdiction the commission was unable to compel the construction of a bridge. The towns and cities west of the river have for years been urging the construction of a permanent bridge across the river at Chamberlain, and the State legislature has memorialized Congress to compel the construction of a bridge at said place.

The railway company claims that the line of road is not paying a fair return on the investment, and claims that the income on the line of road would not justify the construction of a permanent bridge at said place at this time; that in view of improvements now under construction it ought not to commence the construction of such bridge short of three years from the passage of the act, but that in order to avoid any conflict the company would consent to commence the construction within the period of two years and finish it within four years if the bill was amended accordingly.

In order to reach the sentiment of the people in my district, telegrams were sent to Chamberlain, Kimball, Mitchell, and the State railroad commission, asking their views on this question, and I now present the replies as a part of my remarks.

Having conferred with a number of the members of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and the author of the bill, and knowing that consideration of the bill would be postponed on the unanimous-consent call by objection, and in view of the doubt of securing the passage of the bill in its original form and the delay likely to occur, I deem it wise not to oppose the amendment and thus secure the immediate passage of the bill.

KIMBALL, S. DAK., April 13, 1916.

C. H. Dillon,
Care House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.: Have taken the matter of bridge at Chamberlain up generally with the citizens of Kimball. The sentiment here is for the original Gandy bill.

DR. H. GALBRAITH, - President Commercial Club.

CHAMBERLAIN, S. DAK., April 12, 1916.

CHAMBERLAIN, S. DAK., April 12, 1916.

Congress Hall Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

The people of Chamberlain want a bridge, but are not unreasonable.

Make date of commencement two years, if possible; if nothing better in sight, accept their proposition.

Scerctary.

PIERRE, S. DAK., April 12, 1916.

Congressman Charles H. Dillon, Congress Hall Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

Milwaukee has been promising to build bridge at Chamberlain ever since 1909. I am directed to say it is opinion of this board it could have constructed this bridge several years ago if it desired. We think bridge is a necessity.

H. A. USTRUD,
Sceretary State Railroad Commissioner.

MITCHELL COMMERCIAL CLUB, Mitchell, 8. Dak., April 13, 1916.

C. Hall Dillon, Congressman, Washington, D. C.

Congressman, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sin: Your message arrived late last night, and the writer was absent from the city and did not get same until this morning, and immediately upon receipt of same made a canvass of many people, then called together our traffic department, and was instructed to wire you as per copy inclosed.

We trust you will use your best efforts in getting this bill to stand at one year for commencing and three years for finishing. The railroad company is taking a great risk of life and property, operating at a very heavy expense under present bridge they have at Chamberlain, owing to the fact that several times each year when the bridge is out they have to route their trains via Wolsey, and I understand pay \$400 the train to pull same from Wolsey to Rapid City, and then have to back haul and distribute from Rapid City to Missouri River.

There are a great number of our people, and especially traveling men, who have to go into the hills country, will not go over the bridge at Chamberlain and make the hills via Wolsey.

We trust you will use your best efforts in passing bill as it now reads, and are, we assure you,

Yours, very truly,

T. J. Mongan.

Secretary.

Rivers and Harbors Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES В. TIMBERLAKE,

OF COLORADO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tucsdan, April 11, 1916.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. Mr. Speaker, although in the district which it is my privilege to represent there are but few harbors or navigable inland waterways on which it is either advisable or necessary to expend public money, I am none the less interested in the bill making provision for a continuance of work of this character already begun and for new undertakings of similar kind judged to be necessary.

That improvements to our harbors and water highways are highly important to the best interests of the Nation, and that the Congress should be liberal in providing the means necessary to carry plans which are both practicable and of real merit into effect are self-evident. But in appropriations of magnitude such as are proposed in the bill now under discussion it is but natural that despite the utmost care many items should be included, amounting in the aggregate to a very large sum, intended to effect so-called improvements the merit and expediency of which could safely be considered doubtful.

That many of the projects, provision for the continuance of work in which mention is made in the bill, are without merit sufficient to justify the expenditure of the public funds.

The bill, as reported by the committee, appropriates no less a sum than \$37,898,410 in cash and authorizations of \$1,710,000, making, as stated in the report, a total of cash and authorizations of \$39,608,410—a stupendous sum, indeed, when it be considered that this represents the proposed outlay of one branch of one department of the Government for one year. It is thought that were the moneys thus proposed to be expended those of a corporation instead of being Government funds some way would be found of very materially reducing the total of the proposed expenditure without in any way interfering with or hindering the work and development of those really essential and meritorious enterprises with which it is indispensable to proceed with proper

regard of the public good.

There seems to be a grave danger, judging from the minority report submitted by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Frear], of expending money from the Federal Treasury on some projects which will result mainly in benefits to private interests and private individuals, which projects, it is stated, "have a very distant relation to navigation." Such abuse of public funds should, of course, at all costs, be avoided. Only those proposed works which are of essential importance, not to the few but to the many, should be provided for in a bill of this kind, and only for those plans, economically sound and of demonstrated public importance, should an attempt be made to undertake or to continue.

We are told that one authority on these matters has openly recommended the suspension of work on some 58 of the projects on which millions have already been spent and to continue the development of which the bill now being considered provides further appropriations. This recommendation, it is presumed, was made simply because, in the judgment of the authority referred to, it is no longer indispensably necessary to continue work on such projects. River and canal traffic is becoming yearly of less and less importance, both in this country and Europe, owing to the quicker transportation offered by the railways, and it would seem to be the height of folly to authorize the expenditure of millions of dollars to increase the navigability of streams the traffic on which, after the improvements shall have been completed, would not be sufficient to justify the proposed expenditure of time, money, and effort.

Considering river navigation alone, and apart from projected improvements to harbors, the information on the subject available would seem to indicate that many of the items included in the bill could be expitted with the could be expitted. cluded in the bill could be omitted without halting the progress of the work on such improvements as the Secretary of War. in consultation with the Chief of Engineers of the Army, might

consider imperative.

If the facts are as stated in the minority report, to which reference has already been made, viz, that approximately \$75,000,000 has been expended on the Mississippi River alone within the past 12 years without adding anything to its com-merce it is high time to demand a rigid accounting as to what the people are getting for their money, and, failing a conclusively satisfactory response, to call a definite halt on additional appropriations for this purpose.

Similarly, the Ohio River, we are told, has swallowed up over \$50,000,000 to date, while the traffic has steadily decreased. To complete a 6-foot channel in the Missouri, in order to save shippers some \$200,000 annually, will cost \$14,000,000 more, or a net loss to the Government of \$1,100,000 per annum. Com-

ment is superfluous.

It is further shown that the very large sum of money which has been expended on the Tennessee River has benefited chiefly a private power company; and that the improvements and maintenance charges on the Cumberland River are growing rapidly with a small and decreasing commerce as a result of the expenditure.

Valuable privileges, it is claimed, have resulted to a private corporation by Government expenditure of some two and a half millions on the Coosa River, which, instead of helping to develop traffic has, apparently, had an opposite result, its com-merce having fallen off 45 per cent between 1912 and 1914.

One lock canalization project, it is learned, is likely to cost the United States \$10,000,000 before it is completed, although there is no actual commerce on the river and although it may take a century, at the present rate of progress, to complete it.

These illustrations could, it seems, be increased ad libitum, and if such statements contained in the minority report on this bill are founded on fact, as it is presumed, of course, they are, certainly there is ample reason to hesitate before appropriating the very large sum authorized in the bill itself, and should rather serve to the passage of legislation which would tend to stop injudicious and useless expenditure, by curtailing siderably the appropriations asked for.

A very striking statement is made in the minority report heretofore alluded to, with regard to the late form of canal which has passed from popular favor, and the commercial value of which, in consequence, has materially decreased. The statement in question, which is well worthy of being called to the attention of Members of this House, is to the effect that while "our Government has spent \$4,455,000 for navigation on the 26 miles of Muscle Shoals Canal, two freight trains could easily have hauled all the commerce passing through the locks in 1913.

It is beyond dispute that the enormous sum of money which the United States has spent in waterways has not brought anything like the return which it should have brought, certainly not sufficient to justify continuing to appropriate money in like ratio for the same purpose.

In view of the development of our railroads, the main carriers of freight, the same reasons no longer exist for the improvements of canals and navigable streams as was the case years ago. No matter to what point river improvements can be developed, they will, according to all authorities, yield less and less return, and less and less good will consequently result to the community from the furtherance of such projects.

It is also established that the improvement of rivers and canals, so as to be available for the carriage of freight thereon, has no effect whatever upon railroad freight rates; consequently from this point of view, contrary to the general belief, the community is not benefited by money expended for the purpose of making streams and canals navigable.

While, sir, I am heartily in favor of the liberal appropriation of the public money for all practicable and worthy purposes, am unalterably opposed to sanctioning the sinking of practically unlimited funds into projects which can do little or no good to the people at large, and which do not and can not in the very nature of modern conditions yield a proper return.

For these reasons, therefore, I felt constrained to support the amendment offered in which it is sought to appropriate a lump sum of \$15,000,000, to be expended by the Secretary of War for the maintenance and improvement of rivers and harbors for

the next fiscal year.

It is, of course, natural, and from one point of view com-mendable, for each Member of this House to do his utmost to secure as liberal an appropriation as is consistent for the development of the rivers and harbors situation in or even near his own district; and this regardless at times of the real necessity for and the advisability, from the broader outlook of the whole country, of the proposed expenditure and work. It would seem, therefore, the part of wisdom to err, if err we must, on the side of economy, rather than to be too lavish in the expenditure by the people of the sums called for, and consequently my vote will be cast against the bill.

Philadelphia and the Delaware River.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER E. COSTELLO. OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Tuesday, April 11, 1916.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Speaker, in addition to the remarks made by me under the five-minute rule, I wish to say in extension thereof that the appropriation carried in the rivers and harbors bill for the Delaware River, leading up to the city of Philadelphia and beyond, is in line with the original recommendations of the United States Army engineers. It is the largest appropriation that has yet been made to further the 35-foot channel project, and if it remains in the bill will not only hasten the work on the Delaware River but will save the Government deterioration and waste which result from inadequate appropriations to complete the project.

As one of the Representatives from Philadelphia, I have a natural pride in the Delaware River and am glad the Rivers and Harbors Committee, of which I have the honor to be a member, and the House have finally put us in a fair way to advance the port to an equality with other great ports along the seaboard. We have the population, and we have the business to justify a full channel depth of 35 feet, and it is only fair that our river should be promptly brought up to a point where it can fully serve the great commercial and industrial interests which abound in the vicinity. The city of Philadelphia has a population in excess of 1,700,000, while the State of Pennsylvania has a population of more than 8,000,000. The vast mineral resources and the tremendous industrial activities of these people all contribute to the wealth of the United States.

THE SHIPPING DAYS OF STEPHEN GIRARD.

From Philadelphia, in the early days of our country, came men who sailed ships to trade with all the other countries of It was they who were largely instrumental in carrying the American flag to foreign ports where now in trade it is hardly known.

These were men of the type of Stephen Girard, who himself came to our great country poor, friendless, and unknown, and, taking advantage of the possibilities of our country, became one

of the foremost traders and shippers of his day. He made the port of Philadelphia known in all parts of the world. By means of his shipping and trading he amassed a tremendous fortune, and dying endowed with all his wealth one of the greatest charities that the world has ever known—an institution where orphan boys are educated and from which they go forth each year full of the American spirit to add to the glory of our country and its institutions.

PHILADELPHIA A CITY OF HOMES.

The city of Philadelphia, for which I have the honor to speak, has a population of 1,700,000. There are within its boundaries between 300,000 and 400,000 separate dwellings constructed of durable material and with an assessed valuation of about \$1,000,000,000. Of these homes 156,000 are owned by the people who occupy them, who are therefore directly interested in the success of the city and the Nation. Our city contains manufacturing plants that give employment to 300,000 skilled laborers, plants that have a value of over a billion dollars, that add annually over a billion dollars to the wealth of our country.

SKILLED LABOR AT PHILADELPHIA.

This splendid body of skilled labor whose ability is unexcelled, represents not only a creating value but is an important factor as an investment force. In one of our saving-fund institutions we have an account for every fourth man, woman, and child within the limits of the city, there being in this institution alone over 300,000 separate accounts, and its total deposits amount to over \$127,000,000. This immense sum in one institution represents part of the savings of the men and women of our great industrial and commercial city, and the money is invested in securities of the corporations serving the city of Philadelphia. This you can see shows that there is no hard and fast line between capital and labor in Philadelphia, but we have a real democracy, in which happiness is the cornerstone, and home life, along the American lines, is our characteristic feature.

BRINGING THE PORT UP TO DATE.

Thus, I am pleading for recognition for the port of Philadelphia, asking for what we are entitled. Why should the port of Philadelphia follow in the rear of other ports that have been granted waterways deeper than we are allowed? We get a survey for a 35-foot channel, others get one for a 40-foot channel; hence, Philadelphia is behind with a channel of 5 feet less depth in meeting the commerce that is seeking our port and consequently, to that extent, is at a disadvantage.

I am sure that you will agree with me that past Congresses have not dealt justly with us, and you will appreciate my statement more fully when I tell you that in the last 50 years we have been assisted by the Government of the United States to the extent of only \$11.000,000. Why, in the corresponding period our import taxes alone at the port of Philadelphia have amounted to over \$\$00,000,000.

LOCAL COOPERATION EXTENSIVE.

In closing I desire to say that in the future Philadelphia expects the recognition of its port to which it is entitled. We expect support to enable us to conduct our commerce in a satisfactory manner and to make the port of Philadelphia attractive to the shipping of the world; we expect the Government to help us by developing our channel for its own use as well as for our city, whose expenditures on wharves, docks, and terminal facilities will have cost \$30,000,000 on the completion of the present development.

Federal Trade Commission.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH D. McKELLAR,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 18, 1916.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. Speaker, recently the Hon; W. J. Harris, a member of the Federal Trade Commission, made a speech in Atlanta, Ga., upon the powers and work of the Federal Trade Commission. It is such an excellent speech, and so clearly and comprehensively sets forth the work of this commission, that I ask unanimous consent to put it in the Record as a part of my remarks.

The speech is as follows:

THE WORK OF THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

Address of William J. Harris, Federal Trade Commissioner, before the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, Atlanta, Ga., April 4, 1916.]

I feel highly honored by your invitation to address you on this occasion. It is a source of gratification to me to have this opportunity of coming into contact with the members of the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, because you are a group of men who have been doing great things individually and collectively for the development of this country.

VALUE OF COLLECTIVE EFFORT.

Most of the large problems of business with which your association is concerned have to do with the improvement of conditions in your industry, and to that extent with the industrial welfare of our country.

A great deal can be accomplished by collective efforts on the part of those engaged in like enterprises, and by cooperating you can accomplish wonders in many ways in improving conditions under which your business is conducted.

Concerns engaged in the same industry have much in common in improving processes of manufacture, standardizing products, establishing systems of cost accounting, obtaining credit information, and promoting the welfare of employees.

By exchanging ideas you broaden your outlook of business as a whole, and your combined knowledge and experience helps to solve many difficult problems, such as, for example, the extension of your foreign trade.

GERMANY'S POLICY OF COOPERATION.

Germany's success as a commercial world power is due very largely to the policy of organizing and cooperating. Her business men have worked together. They have established communities of interest among themselves for the mutual purpose of promoting trade at home and abroad. They have organized in every important industry trade associations, and into these are gathered 85 per cent of the manufacturers engaged in the respective industries. This has proven to be the very backbone of Germany's industrial and commercial achievements. More than 600 associations of manufacturers, producers, and merchants exist in Germany to-day, and in addition to these there are about 5,000 subsidiary business organizations. The German Government not only sanctions these industrial organizations, but assists them in many ways.

COTTON MEN AND THE CENSUS.

Of the various investigations conducted by me while I was Director of the Census, I naturally was greatly interested in the statistics concerning the production and consumption of cotton. With these you are familiar.

cotton. With these you are familiar.

In my effort to improve these data I consulted with the members of your association and with the cotton producers. On account of the valuable suggestions received, many changes were made in the conduct of the work.

One of the most important changes, for example, made under my direction was the separation of the statistics for the quantity of linters obtained. Linters are not used for the same purpose as lint cotton and should not be included in the same totals. The number of bales of linters produced annually has constantly increased, until last year it amounted to more than 881,000 bales. It was misleading to include linters when comparing the annual crops. Except for the separation of the statistics of linters from lint cotton, the crop of 1915 would have been regarded as a 12,000,000-bale crop instead of 11,000,000.

The constantly increasing amount of cotton manufactured in our own country has had its effect on the price of cotton, and benefits directly or indirectly every person engaged in its production.

Cotton is the second largest crop of the United States, the principal crop of the Southern States, and ranks first in exports of the United States. Without cotton the balance of the export trade would have been against the United States until the absence of the second states of the second states.

normal conditions of the past two years.

If the cotton produced in this country were manufactured here into as fine a grade of products as is now produced from it in foreign countries, there would be created annually from the lint obtained from the cotton crop a total of \$2,155,000,000 instead of \$665,000,000. Taking into consideration the number of persons employed in the 25,000 ginneries required to gin the cotton from an average crop, the number of persons employed in the cottonseed-oil mills, in the cottonseed-oil refineries, in the manufacture of cotton goods, and in the production of hosiery and knit goods, as well as in the planting of the crop, its cultivation, care, and picking, I am satisfied that there is no other agricultural crop of the world from which such a large number of persons, directly or indirectly, obtain a liyelihood.

At the time of the organization of the Federal Trade Commission business conditions on account of the war were completely demoralized. In the South, where the cotton you manufacture is produced, business was paralyzed. Though across the ocean from the countries at war, the financial interests of the South suffered more than that of any country except Belgium.

Those engaged in the production and manufacture of cotton suffered more than any other class of business. The energetic and able manner in which the producers and manufacturers of cotton handled this serious situation is an index to what they can do to develop this industry in the future when conditions are again normal. This leads me to hope and believe that before many years the manufacturers of the United States will consume practically all instead of only one-third of the cotton produced in our country.

The census of manufactures was the last important investigation conducted by me before leaving the Census Bureau. I pursued the policy of conferring with you and other manufacturers in regard to the schedules, and the investigation was made in a cooperative and friendly spirit.

The manufacturers, appreciating my spirit toward them, realized that instead of the Government interfering with their business they would reap great benefit from the investigation.

The friendly spirit shown by me while I was Director of the Census in dealing with the manufacturers and producers in securing without delay statistics which were really useful I think influenced the President in naming me a member of the Federal Trade Commission.

GOVERNMENT COOPERATION IN OTHER ECONOMIC FIELDS.

Your association is interested in business efficiency, the conditions which make business prosperous, and the relation of government to business. Government and business are had should continue to be mutually helpful. Our Government and been gradually extending its assistance to different groups upon whose prosperity depends to a large degree the prosperity of the country.

The Interstate Commerce Commission, for example, was organized to adjust and determine questions arising between shippers and carriers. Farmers, fruit growers, and various producers' associations of the country also receive advice and rulings in matters affecting them from the Department of Agriculture. The Federal Reserve Board likewise gives to the bankers information as to their powers and duties. These groups have received assistance. Why should not the business men in industry be aided also?

MEETING NEEDS OF BUSINESS MEN IN INDUSTRY.

Realizing that general business had no such Government agency, the President recommended to Congress that a board with such duties and powers be established, and the Federal Trade Commission was created. In his message to Congress the President used the following language which explains clearly the reasons for the establishment of this commission:

the reasons for the establishment of this commission:

The business of the country awaits also, and has long awaited and has suffered because it could not obtain further and more explicit legislative definition of the policy and meaning of the existing antitrust law. Nothing hampers like uncertainty, and the business men of the country desire something more than that the menace of legal process in these matters be made explicit and intelligible. They desire the advice, definition, and guidance and information which can be supplied by an administrative body, an interstate trade commission. The opinion of the country would instantly approve of such a commission, it demands such a commission as an indispensable instrument of information and publicity, as a clearing house for the facts by which both the public mind and the managers of great business undertakings should be guided, and as an instrumentality for doing justice to business where the processes of the courts, or the natural forces of correction outside of the courts, are inadequate to adjust and remedy the wrong in a way that will meet the equities and circumstances of the case.

To direct the newly established board, the President appointed Joseph E. Davies, of Wisconsin; Edward N. Hurley, of Illinois; Will H. Parry, of Washington; George Rublee, of New Hampshire; and myself, and the commission was organized March 16, 1915. Never have I come in contact with men more anxious than my associates to be constructively helpful to the legitimate business interests of the country.

POWERS AND WORK OF COMMISSION.

The Federal Trade Commission has been in existence a year. We have found among business men a rather vague idea as to the power of the commission. I propose in this address to outline the various duties and powers of the commission and to give a brief account of how the law is actually working in practice.

When the commission was created the impression was general that it was to be an inquisitorial body which would be ever searching the field of business like a detective for evildoers. This is a very one-sided conception. The commission is an

agency of public service—service to the whole people. Its duty is quite as much to bring to light what is sound and serviceable in business as what is sinister; to give the Government and the public a correct knowledge of the facts of business so that the laws and their administration may promote and not, through misunderstanding, hinder the interest of us all. More and more the importance of the constructive side of the commission's work will be perceived.

The commission is of especial interest to business men. As practical business men you are interested in knowing how the Federal Trade Commission may affect you and your business. What have you as business men to hope for from the commission or to fear?

POWER TO INVESTIGATE.

The powers of the commission, as outlined in the act creating it, are of three kinds. In the first place, the commission has a general power of investigating corporations engaged in interstate commerce. It may require such corporations to make special or annual reports to the commission, furnishing such information as the commission may require as to the organization, business, conduct, practice, and management. It is hoped that the information to be gathered by these general investigations or by these reports may be of aid and benefit, not merely to Congress as a basis for future legislation regulating interstate commerce, but to business men.

INFORMATION HELPFUL TO BUSINESS.

The Federal Trade Commission, no matter how anxious it is to be helpful to the business interests of the country is confronted at the outset with a lack of adequate information on industrial conditions.

In spite of all the attention that has been given to business during the last decade it is remarkable that to-day there is no comprehensive data available, no constructive material at hand to furnish to a manufacturer, merchant, or trade association desiring to improve unsatisfactory conditions in their industry. This need we seek to meet. What the Government is doing for the farmers, the railroads, and the bankers, we are trying to do for business men engaged in industry. Is not this as legitimate a field of Government activity as any of those already tried and found desirable? Should not manufacturers and merchants who are merchandising the farmers' product, shipping their goods over the railroads, depositing their money in the banks, and meeting the payroll of thousands of employees, be furnished with data and information vitally important to them?

In order to cooperate intelligently with the manufacturers and merchants of the country we must have comprehensive data. Realizing this, we recently mailed to every corporation in the United States a form in which we asked a few simple questions about their industries. This information embraces the products which they manufacture, their annual sales, the capital invested, and other principal items such as depreciation, and so forth. These data will be compiled by industries and a summary of results sent to each company in that particular line. indicate to each and every man in the business whether or not the industry he is engaged in is in a healthy condition. industry is showing no earning power, that industry either is not well managed or the production exceeds the demand. Knowledge of existing conditions will prevent others from entering the business or unprofitably investing additional capital where overproduction already exists. The industry in which conditions are unsatisfactory will receive particular attention and the real cause of the conditions will be ascertained,

These facts are not to be asked for in any inquisitorial spirit, and the hearty cooperation which the Trade Commission has so far received from the business men of the country indicates their appreciation of the need of such definite facts.

ACCOUNTING METHODS.

When business was done on a large percentage of profit, questions of accurate cost and of operating efficiency were not so important, but in most lines of industry to-day profits are comparatively small and manufacturers must, therefore, know what their goods cost. Unreliable methods of arriving at cost of production must be eliminated.

A manufacturer who does not know with a close degree of accuracy what it costs him to produce the different articles he manufactures and what it costs him to sell them is not in a position to meet intelligently competition and invites business disaster.

Many of the larger manufacturers have thorough cost-accounting systems, which they recognize as necessary in order to give them the information essential to successful management. On the contrary, the number of small manufacturers who have no adequate cost-accounting system and who price their goods arbitrarily is amazing.

Proper accounting for the small manufacturer is most essential. It is necessary for his success that he know on what particular article he is making a fair profit and on what he is making only a narrow margin of profit or losing money. If he has this information, he can concentrate on the manufacture and sale of the product on which the profits are satisfac-

Whole industries, in many instances, are suffering from a general lack of intelligent knowledge of cost,

WAY COMMISSION CAN HELP.

How can the Federal Trade Commission help to improve this situation?

The commission has no intention and no desire to use compulsory methods; but it does hope to reach the desired end by encouraging improvements in accounting practice, by indorsing standard systems of bookkeeping and cost accounting, and by assisting in devising standard systems, either at the request of individual merchants and manufacturers or through the association that represents the industry.

It is recognized that no one standard system of accounting is applicable to all classes of business, but that special systems are required for each group or class of commerce and industry.

The commission, however, while recognizing the commercial advantages to be derived from uniformity of systems, does not advise making a change where systems already installed give adequate information and are economically operated.

ADVISORY POWERS.

The commission, in the second place, is especially authorized to make investigations at the request of the President or either House of Congress, or the Attorney General, as to alleged violations of the antitrust law; also to investigate the manner in which decrees entered at the suit of the United States to restrain violations of the antitrust laws are being carried out. commission is also authorized, at the request of the Federal courts, to suggest appropriate decrees in suits brought by the United States under the antitrust laws.

The decrees of the court in some Sherman-law cases have not, in fact, brought about the beneficial results intended. No court trying a great variety of cases can have the expert, intimate knowledge of an industry necessary to formulate effective It is expected that a commission, composed of business men with a permanent expert staff, can render real assistance to the Federal courts in their difficult and important tasks.

PIPE-LINE INVESTIGATION.

In connection with the duty of instituting investigations at the direction of Congress, it may be noted that the commission, pursuant to a resolution of the Senate, has made an investigation into the subject of pipe-line transportation in the mid-continent field. A summary of the commission's report has already been issued.

The report shows the amount of investment in such pipe lines, the cost of carrying the oil, the profits, the charges, and other conditions imposed on shippers, and various other matters which show the true situation and significance of the present conditions of pipe-line transportation.

The purpose of these special investigations is to render aid and assistance to the Government in the enforcement of the law against restraint of trade and monopolies.

INVESTIGATION INTO POREIGN TRADE.

The commission is also specifically authorized to investigate trade conditions in and with foreign countries where associations, combinations, or practices of manufacturers, merchants or traders, or other conditions may affect the foreign trade of

Under the authority granted by this section, the commission is conducting a thorough investigation into competitive conditions in foreign trade, and methods adopted by foreign manufacturers and exporters in the distribution of their goods. It has held hearings in different sections of the United States. considered the views of thousands of prominent manufacturers and exporters in this country, received special reports from United States consuls abroad, and sent its agents to foreign markets to obtain first-hand information.

I take pleasure in stating that in this work the commission has received the hearty cooperation of the business men, and, as a result of the investigation, the commission has obtained a vast amount of valuable information. The commission expects to submit the results of its work to Congress in the immediate future, with the hope that legislation will be enacted which will place our business on an equal footing with our foreign competitors.

DUMPING.

Acting with the Secretary of Commerce, the commission has recommended to the President that legislation to prevent unfair

"dumping" be enacted. It has been the practice of some European manufacturers, who control in their line a large part of the world market, to destroy competition abroad by reducing prices in the markets of their competitors to a point below the cost of production. While not necessarily contrary to business ethics, this practice usually is unfair. Competition to-day is international in character, and the American manufacturer is entitled to the same degree of protection from unfair methods, sought to be perpetrated by foreign rivals, as it receives from unfair competition from domestic competitors.

Some countries are already protecting their industries against this form of unfair competition. England following their example is considering the enactment of such a law to protect its newly established dye industry. This country, too, in the judgment of the commission, should declare dumping in foreign trade to be an unfair method of competition and subject to the same restrictions as are placed upon similar practices in

domestic trade.

FOREIGN TRADE.

If our business men are to be factors in the world's markets, they must receive encouragement to do as our foreign rivals are doing

We have reached the point under normal conditions where we must have foreign markets for our surplus manufactured prod-The American people, and particularly business large and small, are heartily in favor of the Government giving immediate relief that will make it possible for us to obtain our share of foreign business, so that our factories may run continuously and keep our labor permanently employed.

Germany's success as a commercial and industrial world power, as I have already said, is due very largely to the policy of organizing and cooperating, of the working together of its leaders of industry, of establishing communities of interest between the small and the big business men for the mutual purpose of promoting trade at home and abroad. Cooperation has proven to be the backbone of Germany's industrial and commercial achievements, efficiency, and strength.

In foreign trade men think in terms of national competition. In many foreign markets the contest is not so much between individual corporations as it is between national industries. For example, the contest in South America is not between two steel manufacturers in Germany or two steel manufacturers in England, but it is between the German steel industry, the English steel industry, and the American steel industry.

In South America we hear not of the actual or potential competition of European individual corporations or houses, but of German, French, American, or English competition. By means of cartels or trade associations the leading industries in those countries have organized, and when they move forward into foreign markets they move forward united against competitors from other nations. Countries like England and Germany have built up a permanent export market in the countries of the world through the earnest cooperative efforts on the part of those interested in the particular industry in question.

REGULATIVE POWERS.

The Federal Trade Commission, in the third place, has certain regulative power over interstate commerce. This power of the commission affects vitally men engaged in interstate commerce and is the one in which you, as business men, ought to be most interested.

The regulative powers of the commission are conferred not alone by the trade-commission act, but by certain sections of the Clayton Act. Section 2 of the Clayton Act declares discrimination in price between different purchasers of commodities to be unlawful under certain conditions. This section is especially interesting to manufacturers. It does not mean that the same price must be made to all customers, but it does mean that a manufacturer or dealer shall not make low prices in the places where he has competition for the purpose of putting the competitor out of business. This kind of price cutting was one of the favorite clubs of certain powerful monopolies.

Undoubtedly there is much less price warfare than formerly, but the commission has had its attention called to quite a number of instances.

Numerous complaints respecting alleged discrimination in the sale of gasoline led me to move the commission to authorize an investigation to determine whether this section of the law was being violated. This suggestion was adopted and the investigation has been vigorously prosecuted under my immediate supervision. The scope of the work has, however, been extended to include an investigation into the causes for the prevailing high price of gasoline, and the commission will submit a preliminary report on this phase of the investigation in the immediate future.

You will be interested in knowing that some of the most serious cases were settled by the commission without formal proceedings. As soon as the commission investigated the facts

the unlawful practice ceased.

Section 3 of the same act makes exclusive purchase and sale arrangements unlawful under certain conditions. This section prohibits exclusive or "tying" contracts, whereby a lessee or purchaser agrees not to use or deal in the machinery or merchandise of a competitor when the effect may be to substantially lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly in any line

Some of the most important cases now before the commission involve the legality of these so-called "tying contracts."

It may be noted that similar agreements with respect to patented articles have in recent years been prohibited by the laws of

England, Australia, and New Zealand.

Section 7 declares it unlawful for a corporation engaged in interstate commerce to purchase the stock of a competing corporation where the effect of such purchase may be to substantially lessen competition between the two corporations or to restrain commerce in any section or commodity or tend to create a monopoly in any line of commerce, Section 7 also makes it unlawful for a holding company to acquire stock in two or more corporations where the effect of such acquisition may be to substantially lessen competition between such corporations or to restrain commerce in any section or commodity or tend to create a monopoly in any line of commerce.

Section 8 makes it unlawful for corporations with more than a million dollars capital to have common directors if elimination of competition by agreement between the two would restrain This provision does not become effective until October 15, 1916, two years after the passage of the Clayton Act, consequently the commission has not as yet had anything to do

in the enforcement thereof,

Section 5 of the Federal trade act makes the general declaration that unfair methods of competition in commerce are unlawful, and authorizes the commission to enforce this provision in all cases where the commission is of the opinion that the public interest is sufficient to require action by the Federal Government.

None of these provisions, either in the Clayton Act or the Federal trade act, are criminal provisions. There is no penalty of any kind provided. The method provided for their enforcement is entirely new. The commission is authorized, whenever it has reason to believe that any of these laws are being violated, to file complaint, stating its charges, notifying the person or corporation complained of to appear before the commission and show cause why an order should not be issued by the commission directing the person or corporation complained of to cease and desist from the illegal practice. If a hearing is considered desirable by either the commission or the party complained against in the circuit court of appeals, the court must accept the facts found by the commission if there is any evidence in the record upon which such findings can be based.

HOW COMMISSION HANDLES UNFAIR PRACTICES.

You will be interested in knowing how the commission actually handles complaints for violations of these various sections of the Clayton and Federal Trade Commission Acts. It has been the purpose of the commission to make the preliminary work as informal and expeditious as possible. Any person may apply to the commission and call its attention to the use of unfair methods of competition or to the violation of any of the sections of the Clayton Act. The commission, if it considers the facts as stated a probable violation of law, conducts a thorough investigation into the facts before any formal proceedings are instituted. In all cases it notifies the party complained of of the charges and gives him a full opportunity to state the facts from his point of view, and to explain or deny the charges that have been made. The person complained of is also given an opportunity voluntarily to cease and desist.

If, as a result of this investigation, the commission is satisfied

that the complaint is unfounded in fact, or if the practice com-plained of is voluntarily discontinued, the commission files no

formal complaint of any kind.

On the other hand, if the commission has reason to believe that the law is being violated, and the persons complained of refuse to discontinue them, the commission issues a formal complaint and holds a hearing.

As a usual thing in practice the commission does not disclose, either publicly or to the persons complained of, the name of the person who filed the application with the commission. There are two reasons for this practice:

First, it is desirable that everyone should feel free to call the

attention of the commission to the practices which are unlawful without incurring the hostility of powerful interests, and, sec-

ond, the commission in filing any formal complaint acts for the public interests and makes its charges in its own name.

You will be interested in knowing how this practice of the

commission in relation to the enforcement of law is working out in practice. During the first year of the commission's work there have been filed with it nearly 200 applications or com-plaints for violations of those provisions of law the commission

is authorized to enforce.

Many of these complaints gave rise to conference rulings, which the commission published for the information of business men and others interested in the work of the commission. These are not decisions in formal proceedings, but merely expressions of the opinion of the commission on applications for the issuance of complaints and informal inquiries with regard to particular facts which involve the interpretation and con-struction of the Federal Trade Commission act and of those sections of the Clayton Act with the enforcement of which the commission is charged. Copies of these rulings may be obtained

from the commission.

It appeared, for example, on application for the issuance of a complaint, that a manufacturer engaged in interstate commerce issued a publication which, under the guise of trade news, conveyed misinformation of a character unfair and detrimental to the applicant's business. Upon investigation by the commission the applicant advised that the use of the alleged unfair method had been discontinued, and the party complained of assured the commission that its policy had changed with a change of management and no such practice would in the future be engaged in either against the applicant or any other competitor. Under these circumstances the commission held that a formal proceeding would not be in interest of the public.

As it was to be expected with a new law, the provisions of which were not generally well understood, many of these applications were trivial or relating to matters clearly outside the

jurisdiction of the commission.

HON.

On the contrary, many of the complaints were of a substantial nature and most of them were adjusted or settled without any formal proceedings or litigation. The informal investigations conducted by the commission have resulted either in proving clearly the facts as charged were not true or the person or corporation complained of has, at the suggestion of the commission, voluntarily ceased to use methods of business which were illegal or doubtful.

CONCLUSION.

The work of the Federal Trade Commission, then, is, first, preventive, and, second, constructive. We have found from experience that the number of business men who intend to violate the law is negligible. The great majority of them are conducting their business honestly and desire to continue to do so. We have found them willing to cooperate with us to eliminate unfair methods from their own industry—methods which they individually disapprove, but which they lack the collective power to destroy.

But our work, as you have seen, is more than negative. It is constructive. While real success in business depends on the men in it, it is our purpose to do everything that we possibly can to help the business interests of the country—not only the large concerns but the small and medium-sized concerns as well. Business men will find us willing to cooperate heartily with them in increasing the efficiency of their industries, in improving the methods of trade, and in developing markets abroad for American goods.

Democratic Achievement.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

WILLIAM R. SMITH, OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 13, 1916.

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the special order of the House already made courteously granting me the privilege of extending my remarks in the Record, I shall summarize briefly the more important things the Democratic Party since coming into power has done for the country. I do this for the purpose of putting the record of Democratic achievement into compact form, in order that the people may have the opportunity to inform themselves in regard thereto without having to search through many volumes of the Congressional RECORD.

My entry in Congress was at the time when the influence of the Democratic Party was just beginning to be effective in pushing forward the great movement of reform for which it I well remember the first day of my service in this House. at the beginning of the Fifty-eighth Congress. The Republican Party, then in the majority, proposed the adoption of the socalled Cannon rules, which gave the Speaker absolute and arbitrary control over the proceedings of the House and the power of life and death over all legislation. The Democrats lined up solidly against these rules, but were defeated; but we thereafter continued to wage the fight against them as opportunity afforded, until they were finally overthrown and a set of rules substituted in their place making possible the restoration of popular government and the enactment of laws for the benefit of the people. Since then I have seen the reform movement go forward. have seen the force of Democratic influence and power beat back the Republican machine step by step, finally overthrow it, and take charge of this Government. And then I have seen the birth of a new freedom. I have seen the special interests driven from the committee rooms and from the Capitol and made to take their hands off legislation in order that we might have government by, of, and for the people.

During this period the Democratic Party has made a record for achievement in beneficial legislation without parallel in our history, and, in my opinion, deserving of the approbation of every American patriot. This record is soon to be judged by the American people, and as one who helped to make it I want to say I am proud of it and I am willing that the Democratic Party

may be judged by it.

Now let me call attention briefly to this splendid record:

UNITED STATES SENATORS.

To further clear the way to reform and for the purification of our political life measures have been passed providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people instead of by vote of the legislatures.

PUBLICITY OF CAMPAIGN FUNDS AND EXPENDITURES.

We have passed laws limiting the amount of campaign funds and expenditures and requiring the publication thereof both before and after election, thus eliminating corruption from our political life.

TARIFF.

We have repealed the Payne-Aldrich tariff law, the highest and most unjust, burdensome, and oppressive tariff tax law ever enacted in the history of the world, and have provided in its place the Underwood tariff law greatly reducing taxes on the necessaries of life and indeed placing many articles of necessity on the free list.

INCOME TAX.

We have passed measures providing for a tax on incomes, from which we now derive revenue to the amount of about \$100.000.000, thus requiring the wealth of the country to bear its just share of the burdens of government.

REGULATION OF RAILROADS.

We supported the law giving the Interstate Commerce Commission power to fix rates for transportation by railroads, to prevent extortion, discrimination, and unfair practices by them, and to require them to furnish ample facilities for prompt and effective service to the public.

FEDERAL RESERVE ACT.

We have passed the Federal reserve act, which put an end to Wall Street control of currency and credit and equipped the country's legitimate business and financial institutions to meet panics and weather the severest storms. It has received the praise of business and financial authorities everywhere and by common consent is pronounced the best piece of constructive legislation of modern times.

TRUSTS.

We have passed the Clayton antitrust law, which defines and expands the prohibitions of the Sherman Antitrust Act, puts an end to interlocking directorates, suppresses monopoly, modifies the power of the Federal courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes, provides for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt, and strikes out a number of other abuses of long standing.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

We created the Federal Trade Commission, a tribunal with power to investigate and expose illegal practices by industrial corporations, to arbitrate between disputants in commerce, and do justice between the public and such corporations.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

We created the Department of Labor and placed a representative of Labor in the President's Cabinet, in order that labor might have a voice in the highest executive councils of the Nation. LABOR LEGISLATION.

The Democrats have supported every measure for establishing an eight-hour working-day for men on all national public works which is now the law, and we have enacted a law whereby farmers and laboring men are protected from punishment for organizing for mutual benefit, as persons of other vocations are permitted to do, and we have passed many other laws in the interest of labor.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION.

We passed the Lever Agricultural Extension Act establishing agricultural extension departments under the direction of the agricultural and mechanical colleges of the various States to aid in carrying to the people useful and practical information relating to agriculture and home economics through field instruction, demonstration, publications, and otherwise.

COTTON FUTURES.

We have passed a law prohibiting operations upon cotton exchanges injurious to the cotton growers.

CHILDREN'S WELFARE.

We have created a Children's Bureau charged with the duty of looking after the welfare of children by making timely investigations of infant mortality, the birth rate, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertions, dangerous occupations, accidents, and diseases of children, and by making publication of the result of such investigations.

TRUST AND LOBBY EXPOSURES.

We have authorized investigations which have laid bare and exposed to the lashing scorn of an outraged people the unfair and oppressive methods of the Steel Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Shipping Trust, and the Money Trust, and the Mulhall system of corrupting and intimidating the national lawmakers.

PUBLICITY OF NEWSPAPER CONTROL.

We have placed upon the statute books a law which compels all newspapers and other periodicals to publish the names of their owners, editors, and lien holders in order that the people may know what influence, if any, pro:npts the editorial advice they read.

GOOD ROADS.

We have twice passed in the House a good-roads bill, providing for Government aid for improving all roads in the United States over which mail is carried by giving both financial and expert assistance. The bill is now before the Senate, and if it passes that body it will be the beginning of a policy which will result in untold benefit to all, but more especially to the people who live on the farm.

PHYSICAL VALUATION OF RAILROADS.

We have passed a law providing for the physical valuation of all the railroads in the United States, and the work of making such valuation is now going forward, and when completed it will serve as a basis for squeezing the water out of railroad stocks and bonds and for compelling fair, just, and reasonable rates for transportation.

INTOXICATING LIQUOR.

We passed the Webb-Kenyon bill, which gives the various States complete jurisdiction over all intoxicating liquors immediately upon coming within their territorial limits, thereby removing all obstructions to the enforcement of State prohibition laws.

IMMIGRATION.

We have twice passed the Burnett immigration bill, excluding undesirable immigrants from this country, but both times it has been vetoed. We have again passed it through the House and it is now pending in the Senate.

MERCHANT MARINE.

In order that the producers of this country might have adequate means for transporting their products to foreign markets at reasonable rates we passed a bill in the last Congress providing for an American merchant marine, but it failed on account of Republican opposition in the Senate. I have no doubt we will pass a similar bill in this Congress. The merchant ships thus provided for will secure our commerce in time of peace and may be used as an auxiliary to our Navy in time of war.

CONSERVATION.

We hope the conservation measures now pending will be placed upon the statute books before the close of this session. They have already been passed by this body. Their purpose is to put an end to the waste of our national resources, such as land, timber, water power, coal, oil, and other minerals, and to bring about their development in such way as will best serve the public and bring adequate returns to the people as a whole who own them.

WAREHOUSES.

During the last Congress we passed a bill for the licensing of warehouses by the Federal Government, but it did not become a law. Such a bill is now pending on the calendar of this body, and I have no doubt it will be again passed and become a law. It will be of vast benefit to the producers of staple agricultural products in that it will enable them to standardize their security and obtain loans with much greater facility and on better terms than they can now do.

PREPAREDNESS FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE.

We are now taking the necessary steps to provide for the national defense. We are not for so-called militarism, and do not favor burdening ourselves with the heavy expense of keeping the Nation in a state of readiness for war, but we do believe it our duty to so form and strengthen our Military Establishment as to make it readily capable of expansion in time of war and enable us to meet and discharge all the duties and responsibilities resting upon us as a Nation.

RURAL CREDITS.

We have made the subject of rural credits a part of our program, and before this session ends will enact a law by means of which farmers may find ready access to the investment capital of the country. Land security is the safest in the world, and we shall make such provision as will enable farmers to utilize it for securing money on long time at a low rate of interest and payable on the amortization plan. Such a law will greatly aid tenants to acquire homes and afford to landowners means for improving their farms and finance their crops. Rural credit measures were passed by both houses in the last Congress, but failed in conference.

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE.

We are making rapid progress toward redeeming our pledge to give the Philippines independence. A measure looking to that end will at an early date receive the final sanction of Congress and be approved by the President. And thus we shall again proclaim to the world that we oppose imperialism and still adhere to the fundamental principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

CHILD LABOR.

During the last Congress and at this session recently we passed in the House of Representatives a bill for the protection of child labor. In the past thousands of children of tender years have been worked in the mines, factories, and sweatshops of this country dwarfing both their minds and bodies, and putting them into their graves prematurely. It is hoped this humanitarian measure will soon become a law.

PARCEL POST.

We have enlarged the usefulness of the parcel-post system. The weight limits have been increased and the fees for the service have been reduced. The parcel post is now being used at low cost for the shipment of farm products direct to city consumers, thus bringing producers and consumers closer together for their mutual profit. As a result extortionate express rates have been forced down all along the line, and markets have been extended for the products of the farm and factory and for merchandise.

AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATIONS.

We have from year to year made adequate appropriations to carry on the work of eradicating boll weevil, cattle-fever ticks, scabies in cattle and sheep, hog cholera, black leg, and for destroying depredating animals in order that the farmers and stock growers of the country might as for as possible be protected from damage by these pests and diseases.

PEACE.

While we recognize the possibilities of war and are providing the necessary military force to meet it should it come, we have abundantly demonstrated our ardor for peace. The masterful mind now directing the foreign relations of this country—Democracy's superb gift to the world, Woodrow Wilson—has thus far brought us safely through many dangerous and complex crises. Had it not been for this deep passion for peace, his rare tact and skill in diplomacy we might have long ago been tossed upon the storms of war. But he has led us through it all with safety and honor and has thereby earned the everlasting gratitude of mankind. This Democratic administration has negotiated 30 treaties with foreign countries which greatly lessens the possibilities of war. The treaties provide that all disputes of every kind shall be investigated by an international tribunal before any declaration of war or commencement of hostilities.

before any declaration of war or commencement of hostilities.

Mr. Speaker, the foregoing is a brief summary of the more important achievements for which the Democrate Party is entitled to credit. What a record! What a faithful redemption of pledges to the American people! I make the assertion

without the least fear of successful contradiction that in the brief period of time the Democratic Party has been in control more has been done for the benefit of the masses than was accomplished under Republican rule in 50 years. In speaking of the "men who have so honorably shared in these distinguished labors," President Wilson has said, "I doubt if there has ever been a finer exhibition of teamwork or of unhesitating devotion to the fulfillment of party pledges." And we shall not yet rest from our labors. With faces toward the rising sun we are still carrying the work forward, determined not only to complete that which I have said has already been begun, but we shall also undertake other great things. The program of Democracy is to completely destroy every vestige of special privilege in this country and restore to the people of every class, calling, and condition equal rights and equal opportunities; and this program will be carried out.

Among the new things of prime importance which, I have no doubt, we shall soon take up is a law which will effectively suppress usury, and also a law which will authorize Federal reserve banks to loan money direct to borrowers when local member banks fail or refuse to do so at reasonable rates of interest. I have already introduced bills embodying these proposals, and they are under consideration by the committee. It passed, the perplexing question of financing and marketing the cotton and grain crops from year to year upon reasonable and satisfactory terms will be solved.

With the splendid record it has made, the Democratic Party will go before the people this year with confidence. The usual Republican "calamity howl" will not be in evidence. That has been silenced by the presence of a prosperity throughout the country without a parallel in our history.

Republican leaders to-day stand helpless. They dare not attack the splendid record we have made, and the record of their own party is a "body of death" to them. They are trying to forget it. What could they promise the American people if returned to power? Would they propose a return to Cannonism in the House and Aldrichism in the Senate? Would they propose to repeal the new banking and currency act and reenact the old financial system they created and maintained so long, under which a few special interests dominated and controlled all the business of the country? Would they declare in favor of their old system of protection in the interest of trusts and monopolies, again exempt wealth from its just share of taxation, and replace all the burdens of government upon those least able to bear them? In short, will they go back to their same old reactionary stand-pat program? These are pertinent questions they will be called upon to answer.

If it shall be claimed that the Republican Party has cast off

If it shall be claimed that the Republican Party has cast off its old clothes and now stands for better things, what evidence can be offered of the genuineness of its repentance and regeneration? What assurance can it give that it will not again betray the people and return to its old alliance with crooked business and crooked politics? If I mistake not, the Republican Party, in order to again secure the favor of the American people, will have to convince them that it has absolutely and completely turned its back upon its own record and also show that it has undergone a radical change; that it is now imbued with an entirely new spirit; that it has new aspirations and ideals and higher patriotism; that it has freed itself from the old corrupt and corrupting influences which formerly dominated it; and that it now has the intent, ability, wisdom, and good faith to serve the people as a whole better than the Democratic Party is now serving them. But this the Republicans will be unable to do.

River and Harbor Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH B. THOMPSON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 11, 1916.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to place in the Record the reasons that controlled my votes, first, in opposition to taking up this bill for consideration; second, in favoring the motion to recommit it with instructions to reduce the amount of the appropriation from \$39,608,410 to \$20,000,000; and third, when this motion to recommit was defeated, why I voted against, the passage of the bill.

I am not antagonistic to proper, fair, and adequate river and harbor legislation. I am, however, very earnestly opposed to "pork-barrel" legislation. The Government of the United States should and does provide ample funds for the improvement of our harbors located on the oceans, the gulfs, and the lakes. The Government should and does provide ample funds for the improvement and keeping in repair of the rivers of the country that have a sufficient water supply for navigation purposes. Twenty million dollars would have been amply suffi-cient—yes; extravagant—for all necessary and proper purposes. Inasmuch as the bill carried twice that amount, I voted in each instance in a manner that would defeat the bill if the size of the appropriation were not reduced to a legitimate and proper sum. In my judgment every dollar carried in this bill beyond \$20,000,000 is just that much of the people's money thrown away. There never will be any return on the investment, either to the Government or to any of the citizens of the United States. Indeed, no return is expected. The millions required to make improvements on the very large number of projects reported in this bill is not warranted by the merits of the different propositions, but the appropriations are made in order to secure a sufficient number of votes to insure the bill's passage. New York Harbor, Boston Harbor, Philadelphia Harbor, Buffalo Harbor, Cleveland Harbor, Chicago Harbor, Superior-Duluth Harbor, Galveston Harbor, and many others of the same character located on the ocean, gulf, and lake coasts, over which is transported many millions of tons of freight annually, should be provided for, and that liberally. There are, perhaps, a few rivers that should receive appropriations, but the great majority of projects provided for in this bill justifies the opinion entertained by the people of the country generally, that the river and harbor bill has come to be "pork-barrel legislation" of the rankest sort.

In the interest of economy the Government could well afford to purchase every ton of freight carried on practically every river in the country, and, when purchased at a fair market value, destroy it, provided appropriations for river improvements were discontinued. The engineers' reports disclose that the cost to the Government for moving freight on some of the big rivers—those that we have been taught in our geography to believe were navigable, and which are taken care of in this bill—is:

Ohio River (excluding soft coal, \$50 to \$70 per ton)	
Upper Mississippi	
Lower Mississippi	
Arkansas	-
Missouri	ş
Muscle Shoals	j
Arkansas Pass Canal	ij
Brazos	ij
Red	3
Muscle Shoals (proposed)	į
Big Sandy, Ky	ð

Now, if it costs the taxpayers of the United States \$5 for every ton of freight transported over the Ohio River and \$12 for every ton transported over the Mississippi above St. Louis, and \$35 for every ton below St. Louis, and \$40 for every ton transported over the Missouri, and \$80 for every ton transported over the Brazos, and \$350 for every ton transported over the Brazos, and \$350 for every ton transported over the Big Sandy in Kentucky, it would require the services of an expert mathematician to figure the cost to the people of the United States of transporting freight over some of the creeks and ponds provided for in this bill. I submit just a few of the projects appropriated for in the bill and call your attention to the manner in which the people's money has been squandered. The figures I give are taken from the report of the majority of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and certainly they do not disclose a worse condition than that which really exists, but they do disclose a condition in river and harbor legislation which is quite as well known to the people of the country generally as to the Members of the House.

THE BRAZOS RIVER FROM ITS MOUTH TO WACO, DISTANCE 424 MILES.

There has already been spent on this project \$1,393,180.98, and during the year 1913, 1,080 short tons of freight, of the value of \$81,000, was transported on this stream. In 1914 this small tonnage had entirely disappeared, and so little was carried that no record was kept of it. The people of the United States would have been ahead more than \$1,300,000 if that \$81,000 worth of freight had been purchased and burned. No Member of this House, in conducting his own private affairs, would have squandered this amount of money for the purpose of transporting 1,080 short tons of freight, the greater part of which, perhaps, consisted of logs, that could have been rafted downstream during any freshet period. Notwithstanding this condition, and with an available balance from previous appropriations of \$347,765.31, this bill carries an additional appropriations of \$347,765.31, this bill carries an additional appro-

priation for the Brazos project of \$215,000. Is there any wonder, and can there be any, that the people all over the United States, when the river and harbor bill is mentioned, instantly cry, "Pork"?

TRINITY RIVER, GALVESTON BAY TO DALLAS, DISTANCE 5124 MILES.

Heretofore there has been expended on this project \$2,060,262,42, and the commerce transported on the river during the year 1914 was 12,610 short tons, valued at \$102,394, consisting chiefly of logs and timber. Notwithstanding this the bill appropriates an additional \$300,000 for further improving this Trinity joke. Many people living in my district often cross the Trinity as they go by rail into Fort Worth, and I dare say not a single one of them, though they have crossed the stream many times, was ever aware that he was passing over such an important body of navigable water. This Trinity project is so notorious that at the end of the prohibition campaign carried on in Texas some years ago it was said that the Trinity was the only dry territory in the State. The Trinity is the project that the engineers recommended should be supplied with water secured by sinking artesian wells.

I have quite a number of very important streams in my district that are navigable on the same theory. There is Wild Horse, Rush Creek, Sandy, Peavine, Walnut, Little River, Cottonwood, Deer Creek, and Otter Creek. They are all navigable streams provided, of course, the Government will straighten, widen, and deepen the channels, and sink a sufficient number of artesian wells to fill them with water. I have not included in this list of navigable streams in my district the Washita, the North and South Canadians, and the Cimmarron, because these streams have real water in them.

RED RIVER FROM FULTON, ARK., TO MOUTH OF WASHITA-RIVER, OKLA.—DISTANCE 292 MILES.

Prior to June 30, 1915, there had been expended on this project \$444,783.53, and there was a balance available from previous appropriations amounting to \$41,190.

The committee in its report—page 250—speaking of the commerce transported over this stretch of Red River, said:

The navigation of Red River above Fulton has practically ceased. No steamboats are now in operation and the rafting of logs has been reduced to an almost negligible quantity.

In the face, Mr. Speaker, of all these facts the committee provided an additional appropriation of \$25,000 for this project. This is not "pork." No; you could not call a project like this "pork." It is the "whole hog."

Next we have this item.

THE ARKANSAS RIVER, ARK. AND OKLA.

This is the only place in the entire bill where the name of Oklahoma is mentioned. Of course everybody knows that there never has been—it is not intended out of this appropriation that there shall be—and there never will be a dollar spent by the Federal Government for the purpose of making the Arkansas River in Oklahoma a navigable stream; but in a bill of this kind, where votes are needed, it is not a bad idea, to name as many States as possible whether it is intended to benefit the streams of the States mentioned or not. The committee's report discloses that \$3,402,929.55 had been spent on the Arkansas River prior to June 30, 1915, and there was a balance available on that date from previous appropriations amounting to \$182,757.06. The tonnage transported over this stream for the years 1912–1914 is as follows:

(s	Tonnage hort tons).
1912	71, 516
1913	55, 228
1914	75, 169

And 60 per cent of this tonnage was logs and forest products, all of which could have been carried without any improvement whatever and transported just as safely and effectively. These figures disclose that there was less than 30,000 short tons of miscellaneous freight, farm products, supplies, and so forth, carried over this stream during any one of these years. The people of the United States could have afforded—and they would have saved much money by doing so—to pay the railroad freight on every pound of miscellaneous freight transported on this river. Now, in the face of these facts this bill carries an additional appropriation of \$209,700 for the Arkansas River.

I am not selecting these projects—the Brazos, the Trinity, Red River, and the Arkansas River—because they are any worse than nine-tenths of the other projects appropriated for in this bill. In fact if this bill is going to pass, these rivers ought to remain in it because they have merits superior and far beyond those possessed by the greater number of other projects in the bill. Legislation of this kind may get through the Congress this session, a similar bill may be passed next session, but

the people of the country are becoming aroused over these river and harbor bills, and they do not propose that money that is wrung from them by taxation shall go into the improvement of

dry creeks and waterless rivers.

Then we have what is known as the intercoastal canal. It is now made up of different links. The Chesapeake & Delaware Canal is one link, the Norfolk & Beaufort Canal project is another link. The Atlantic Intercoastal Waterway Association is an organization perfected for the purpose of promoting the construction of this canal from Portland, Me., to Brownsville, Tex., and I have received, I suspect, 25 pounds of literature from this association "boosting" this project. Heretofore the burden of their song has been the safety of vessels,

They have set forth in glowing detail how dangerous it was for a ship in rough water to go out in the ocean around Hatteras, how apt it was to be destroyed, what an awful crime the people of the United States were committing against the sailors and humanity in general by permitting them to sail in the open sen, whereas if this canal were completed they could sail though it without fear of danger, and the result would be a great saving in life and property. It is, indeed, very easy to present imaginary reasons—and this scheme is purely imaginary—but they have got it started, and they have already spent millions of dollars on it.

The Atlantic Intercoastal Waterway publication reports that the engineers have recommended the projects at the estimated cost, as follows:

St. Johns River, Fla., to Fernandina, Fla., 7 feet depth. \$251,726.75;

work under way.
Fernandina, Fla., to Savannah River, Ga., 7 feet depth, work under-

work work way.

Formadina, Fla., to Savannah River, Ga., 7 feet depth, work underway, \$195,000.

Savannah River, Ga., to Charieston Harbor, S. C., 7 feet depth, \$427,400; work partly under way.

Charleston Harbor, S. C., to Winyah Bay, S. C., 7 feet depth, construction recommended, \$1,227,800;

Winyah Bay to Lattle River, S. C., 7 feet depth, \$5,677,800; construction recommended.

Little River, S. C., to Cape Fear, N. C., 7 feet depth, \$3,724,219; construction recommended.

Cape Fear, N. C., to Beaufort, N. C., 7 feet depth, construction recommended, \$2,872,111.

Total, southern section, Atlantic intercoastal waterway, St. Johns River, Fla., to Heaufort Inlet, N. C., in round numbers, \$14,400,000.

Beaufort Inct, N. C., to Norfolk, Va., 12 feet depth, \$5,400,000.

Project approved by Concress, Work partly completed. Chesapeake & Albermaric Canal purchased. Much of the route lies in Pamico and Albemarle Sounds, natural waterways, requiring no improvement.

Norfolk, Va., to head of Chesapeake Bay, Md., \$10,514,290. Recommeded for immediate action, including purchase or condemnation of existing Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, This is the project that was in this bill.

Delaware River, for which present depth is sufficient over entire distance, assuming a 12 foot project. \$20,000,000; which also includes. I think, Bordentown, N. J., to New York Bay, and thence to Hudson River and Long Island Sound natural waterway, requiring no improvement for a 12-foot project.

Total, northern section, Atlantic intercoastal waterway, Beaufort Inlet, N. C., to New York Bay, in round numbers, \$36,000.000.

Total cost, as recommended by the Army Engineers, \$50,400,000.

Then the pamphlet goes on to set out the postponed projects. The following sections of the intercoastal waterway route have been surveyed by the Army Engin-ers; and, while not adversely reported, consideration is postponed until more progress has been made on the foregoing sections:

Key West, Fla., to Indian River, Fla., 7 feet depth, \$2,127.950.

Indian River, Fla., to St. Johns River, Fla., 7 feet depth, \$2,491,-056.02.

Fishers Island Sound, Conn., to Narragansett Bay, R. I., 18 feet depth, \$12,322,000.

Narragansett Bay, R. I., to Boston Harbor, Mass, 18 feet depth, \$29,590,000.

Or a total for projects named of \$96,931,006, 03.

It will be noticed that these links when connected up only extend from Boston, Mass., to St. Johns River, Fin-not half the length of the proposed canal. It will also be noticed that the depth of this canal, as recommended by the engineers, is 7 feet practically throughout its entire length. A vessel that could sail in 7 feet of water would carry very little freight. Those sailing vessels that are wrecked off Cape Hatteras in rough weather and storms and for which many tears have been shed, and for which it is proposed to construct this canal in order that they may avoid that terrible danger, would never be able to go into that canal. They draw more water than 7 feet. But a little thing like that does not interest the advocates of this canal. What they are after is spending the people's money. The fact that no freight will be carried over this canal after it is completed does not worry them.

The cost of this half of the canal, according to the estimates

given by the engineers, is practically \$100,000,000 to construct it to a depth of 7 feet. If the engineers are as far off in the estimate of the cost of this canal as they were in the estimate of the cost of the Panama Canal, then it will cost twice \$100,-000,000 to construct it from Boston to Florida. The engineers

estimated that the Panama Canal would cost \$200,000,000. The fact is that it cost nearly \$400,000,000 to complete it. If it costs \$200,000,000 to construct a 7-foot canal one-half the distance from Portland, Me., to Brownsville, Tex., it will cost \$400,-000,000 to construct it for the entire distance, and what will we have when it is completed? A 7-foot canal running from Portland, Me., to Brownsville, Tex., along the seacoast parallel with two of the finest bodies of water in the world, the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico.

Every sensible man knows that this canal would not be used except by pleasure craft and to float a few logs. The shipping of the country could not be carried on vessels that did not draw more than 7 feet of water; the great ocean steamers that draw from 30 to 40 feet of water could not enter the canal. Those who are advocating the construction of this canal know that it will not be of any value whatever for commercial purposes, but its construction will result in the expenditure of many hundreds of millions of dollars wrung from the hard-working taxpayers of this country in the particular localities through which the canal passes—and this includes many congressional districts in its meanderings from Maine to Texas. So without regard to the burdens imposed upon the already overburdened and highly taxed people this additional "pork

is to be charged up to them.

Heretofore the argument for the construction of this canal has been safety, but during the course of the debate on this bill an entirely new argument has been sprung. It has been discovered that the construction of this canal is an absolute necessity for "Preparedness!" "Preparedness!" "Oh, Pre-paredness!" How many crimes have been committed in they name? It has been suggested that they need this canal so that our warships-in case the navy of some other country should get after them-could run in, take refuge in this canal behind the land, and thereby escape destruction. Just how a warship that draws 30 to 40 feet of water is going to take refuge in a .- foot canal they do not try to explain. That is a little matter. Of course, when once they construct this canal from Florida to Boston to a depth of 7 feet, an agitation will immediately begin to increase it to a depth of 35 or 40 feet, so that battleship, can sail up it without any danger o' being destroyed while the coast is being shelled by the ships of a foreign country. Now, of course, to build a canal 40 feet deep from Maine to Mexico instead of costing \$400,000,000 would cost \$4,000,000.000,

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS BILL.

Some partisan newspapers have attempted to make it appear that the Democratic Party is responsible for this appropriation. I deny this. Let us analyze the three roll calls. First, the one by which the bill was taken up for consideration; second, the roll call on the motion to recommit, with instructions to re duce the appropriation to \$20,000,000; and, finally, the roll call

on the passage of the bill. What do we find?

On March 31 the chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Sparkman], moved that the House go into the Committee of the Whole for the consideration of this bill. There was a roll call on this motion, and it was shown on page 5991 of the RECORD. On this roll call 61 Republicans veted to take the bill up for consideration and 97 voted against. There is not much politics in that kind of a division. Political parties do not split up that way when a political question is involved. No Member of Congress claimed during the debate, and it never has been charged on this floor, that this was a political measure. Such intimations came from beyond these walls and are actuated by a desire to charge the Democratic Party with the enactment of this grossly extravagant piece of legislation. The truth is, had this bill been made a party measure, it could not have gotten started on its legislative course. In order to insure its passage those behind the bill were compelled to include appropriations that would catch the votes of Members without regard to their politics,

On the motion to recommit the bill with instructions to re duce the appropriation from \$39,608,410 to \$20,000,000, 31 Democrats voted to recommit, and 50 Republicans voted against the motion to recommit. This does not indicate that the bill was a political measure. This vote is shown on page 5916 of the Congressional Record of April 11. Seventy Republicans voted for the passage of the bill, and 39 Democrats voted against its passage. There is not much politics in that vote. But one of the political parties represented in Congress voted its entire strength for the bill in all of its legislative stages first, to take it up for consideration; next, against reducing the appropriation from \$39,608,410 to \$20,000,000; and, finally, to pass it, notwithstanding all the dry creeks and mud-pond projects it carried—and that was the Socialist Party. The gentleman from New York [Mr, London], the representative of the Socialist Party in the House, voted for the bill in all of its stages.

There has been appropriated, as shown by the report of the Secretary of War to the Speaker of the House, on January 12, 1915, commencing with the first appropriation of April 6, 1802, to the following States and Territories for the improvement and maintenance of their rivers, canals, and harbors, the following sums of money, to wit:

Alabama	en		nna	00
	Du,	115.		
Alaska			500.	
Arkansas	1.	871.	501.	05
California		672,		
Connecticut		799,		
Delaware		560,		
	17	500,	240.	20
Florida		536,		
Georgia		388,		
Hawali	3,	058,	500.	00
Idaho		37.	705.	59
Illinois	19.	874,	736.	72
Indiana	2	461.	839	99
Iowa	-		500.	
Kansas			000.	
	•			
Kentucky		568,		
Louisiana		296,		
Maine.	7,	399,		
Marina Islands		10,	000.	00
Maryland	10.	836,	445.	50
Massachusetts		410,		
Michigan		387.		
Minnesota	1	699.	999	20
	υ,	848,		
Missouri		224,	000.	UU
Montana		14,	750.	00
New Hampshire	1.	719,	471.	00
New Jersey	.7.	311,	272.	71
New York		161,		
North Carolina		190,		
Ohio		423,		
Oragon	- E	816,	970	50
Oregon				
Pennsylvania	υ,	082,		
Porto Rico			500.	
Rhode Island		134,		
South Carolina	10,	600,	536.	64
Tennessee.		356.	853.	.00
Texas	40.	135.		
Vermont			085.	
Virginia	10	797.		
		394.		
West Virginia		559,		
Wisconsin	10,	484,	000.	00
	-			

And in addition to these sums appropriated for river and harbor improvement in the States listed an additional sum aggregating \$409,947,557.97 has been appropriated for miscellaneous purposes and not charged up to any particular State or Territory. The aggregate amount of the appropriations ending with the fiscal year June 30, 1915, was \$850,551,708.25. Twenty-five million was appropriated as a lump sum for river and harbor legislation for the fiscal year 1916, with five millions additional to be used under certain conditions.

It can be safely asserted that at least half of this more than \$880,000,000 has been wasted on projects that will never be completed or, if completed, will never carry any considerable part of the commerce of the country. Had this half, squandered on these dry creeks, waterless ponds, and artesian-fed rivers, been invested in the construction of Government railway lines or in the building of good dirt roads, the people would have had something to show for their money. Ten thousand miles of railroad, over which practically all of the commerce of our country is transported, could have been built and equipped. These lines of railroad, when constructed, would have resulted in the development of our country and compelled privately owned railroads to reduce their freight rates, and, moreover, they would still be the property of the people and subject to their control and operation for all time at a profit and greatly to the welfare and convenience of the entire country.

Had it been expended in the construction of good dirt roads, over which practically every pound of the freight of the country is transported, there would scarcely be a neighborhood in the United States over which the farmer could not, in any kind of weather, haul to his railroad station a reasonable amount of freight without injuring his team and destroying his wagon as is the case now when he makes such an attempt over the

dirt roads in a large part of our country.

I have prepared a table showing the amount of corporation and individual-income tax paid by the people of a number of States and the amount of the appropriations carried in this bill to improve the so-called rivers and harbors of those States. The corporation and individual-income tax collected by the Government is the only direct tax levied against the people of the different States. All other taxes collected by the Federal Government are collected either through the Internal-Revenue office in the nature of a consumption tax on beer, liquor, cigars, and so forth, or at the customshouses of the country on foreign goods imported. These taxes necessarily can not be charged up

to the people of any particular State because it can never be known where the article that pays the tax will finally be consumed.

The table which I have prepared is as follows:

State.	Amount of corporation and individual income tax collected during the fiscal year 1915.	Amount appriated in this bill for the river and harbor projects.	Amount drawa out of the Treas- ury for rivers and harbors alone in excess of the amount paid in on in- comes of indi- viduals an 1 corporations for the fiscal year 1915.
Arkansas. Florida Georgia Louisiana North Carolina South Carolina Texas.	\$127, 328, 61 229, 509, 82 440, 601, 13 526, 177, 94 381, 379, 34 161, 401, 95 1,048, 277, 73	\$560,000.00 956,500.00 873,750.00 295,000.00 279,850.00 259,250.00 2,861,500.00	\$432,673.39 726,990.18 433,148.87 97,848.05 1,813,222.27

Oklahoma paid into the Treasury for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, as individual income tax and corporation tax the sum of \$406,889.02, and when we had up for consideration, during the month of January, the proposition to appropriate money out of the Federal Treasury for the improvement of the dirt roads of the country there were none who protested more loudly or vociferously against such legislation as being unconstitutional, and there were none who ridiculed with more contempt the improvement of "cow trails" leading from the railroad stations to the farmers' homes than the gentlemen along the Atlantic seaboard who now want to absorb the amount of taxes paid into the Treasury (\$406,889.02) by the people of Oklahoma for the purpose of improving their rivers and harbors. They have inverted the wise saying that has come down to us through the ages, "It is more blessed to give than to receive," and the motto emblazoned on their banner is, "It is more blessed to receive than to give"; and they are, therefore, in favor of taking everything in sight and giving nothing in return.

The proponents of this measure, while making these words of the Master convey a meaning opposite to that spoken, are critically careful that the taxpayers of the country should adhere strictly to that other bit of Scripture, "Give to him that asketh thee," and with faces of flint they are not satisfied with "pork" merely; they want the "whole hog."

For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I voted, when the opportunity presented itself to defeat this rivers and harbors bill. The

For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I voted, when the opportunity presented itself, to defeat this rivers and harbors bill. The money of the people, wrung from their toll by taxation, should be spent by public officials and appropriated by Congress with the same scrupulous regard for efficiency and economy as a good business man would exercise in conducting his own private affairs. If this rule were applied to this bill, I have no hesitancy in saying that it never would have passed.

Demonstration Work in North Carolina.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HANNIBAL L. GODWIN,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 18, 1916.

Mr. GODWIN of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make a statement showing the marvelous growth and the vast amount of good the farm demonstration work has done in my State.

Demonstration work was started in North Carolina in the fall of 1907 with the appointment of a State agent and the assignment of \$8,000, contributed by the general education board of New York through the Department of Agriculture. In the beginning there was no cooperation between the department's work and that of the State department of agriculture and the Agricultural and Mechanical College. No funds were required from the counties to help carry on the work, the idea being to establish demonstrations and get definite results before asking for local financial assistance. Fight counties were organized in 1908. In 1909 the funds were in-

creased to \$16.000 and the work extended to 16 counties. In 1910, 24 counties were covered, and for the first time small amounts of local funds were contributed by some of the counties to help carry on the work. In 1911, 30 counties were worked, all of which made small contributions to help finance the agents' salaries. In 1912 the State agent's office was moved from Statesville to Raleigh and two district agents appointed to assist in the supervision of the work. This year the cooperative arrangement was established between the State department of agriculture and the Agricultural and Mechanical College to put on an extension agent to be in charge of the boys' club work.

Since 1912, practically every county having demonstration work has helped to finance it. At first these local contributions were small, but they have gradually increased until they now average about \$600 per county. In 1911 the Girls' Canning Club work was started in 10 counties. In 1913 cooperative arrangements between the United States Department of Agriculture and the State department of agriculture were made, and since that time the State department of agriculture has been contributing to the finances of the work. A closer cooperation with the Agriculture and Mechanic Arts College was also established this year.

Since July, 1914, after the passage by Congress of the Smith-Lever bill, all of the extension work of the State has been carried on cooperatively between the United States Department of Agriculture and the State department of agriculture and the North Carolina Agriculture and Mechanic Arts College.

At first the work of the agents was confined to securing a few definite concrete demonstrations with corn and cotton on farms distributed throughout the county. The agent visited these farms once a month to give instruction as to proper methods of handling the crop; the farmers did the work, kept complete records of all results, and reported to the agent at the end of the year. These demonstrations were intended as community centers, from which the information and the instruction of the agent would reach out to neighboring farmers, and in that way assist from five to ten times as many as were listed as real demonstrations. The records show that all crops grown by demonstration methods about doubled in yield over the similar lands by old methods.

The agents' duties have gradually increased until they are conducting demonstrations with every crop of importance that is grown in the State, and their services extend practically to every phase and feature of farm life outside of the home. Combined with the home-economics work with women and girls, the whole field of rural life is being reached in such a way as never before. From the small beginning of 1907 has grown the present field organization in demonstration extension work, which comprises the following force: One State agent; 1 assistant State agent, in charge of the boys' club work, with 3 assistants; 3 district agents; 72 county agents in the men's work. In addition, there is the organization for home-demonstration work for women and girls, with a State agent, assistant, and 40 county agents.

All the extension work of the State is cooperative, and is under the supervision of the director, who has charge not only of the demonstration field work, as outlined above, but the work of the specialists, whose first duties are to assist the county agents and the farmers throughout the State with the various problems that require a more specialized and specific training than is usually found in the county agent.

Some idea of the growth in finances may be seen by contrasting the \$8,000, which was contributed in 1907, with the contributions from all sources for 1915-16 extension work in North Carolina:

Federal Smith-Lever	\$32, 952, 65
State Smith-Lever	22, 952, 65
State department of agriculture	16, 424, 35
County appropriations	62, 715, 00
Federal farm-demonstration work	41, 000, 00
Bureau of Animal Industry	
	The second secon

this amount the following goes into the different branches

Of this amount the following goes into the different branches of the agents' work:

	County agents.	Home economics.	Boys' clubs.
Federa: demonstration funds	\$33, 150, 00 2, 059, 65 14, 025, 65 6, 634, 35 35, 664, 75	\$8,000.00 8,020.00 5,530.00 6,712.34	\$1,850.00 3,775.00 1,900.00
Total	91, 534. 40	27, 262, 34	7, 525, 00

The following briefly summarizes some of the most important things that have been accomplished through the county agents' influence:

influence:	
Number of acres in demonstration and yield.	
Corn, 9,205 acres bushels per acre_ Cotton, 3,978 acres pounds per acre_ Tobacco, 1,408 acres do Wheat, 7,096 acres bushels per acre_ Legume crops and grasses, 20,073 acres tons per acre_ Potatoes (sweet, 534 acres bushels per acre_ Orchards (demonstration with 282,756 trees; assistance rendered in pruning, spraying, and setting) acres_ Pure-bred cattle brought into State Creameries established Creamerous acres_ Course_ Creamerous acres_ Cr	45, 00
Cotton, 3,978 acrespounds per acre	1. 48
Tobacco, 1,408 acresdo	76
Wheat, 7,096 acresbushels per acre	3
Legume crops and grasses, 20,073 acrestons per acre	2.7
Potatoes (sweet) 534 acresbushels per acre	199
dered in pruning envering and actions	
Pure-bred cattle brought into State	91
Creameries established	20
Cream routes started	83
Beef cattle brought into State	378
Hogs brought into State	663
Poultry demonstrations (with 23,486 fowls) Hogs- treated for cholera Silos built	474
Hogs treated for cholera	29, 750
Silos built	14
Farmers advised regarding fertilizers	20, 58
(This plan seved \$20.00%)	13
Furmore who did home mixing of fortilizer	0.00
(This enved \$3.72 per ton)	2, 92
Farmers who did home mixing of fertilizer(This saved \$3.73 per ton.) Farmers induced to take care of manure	5, 05
Manure spreaders placed	16
Manure spreaders placed (Estimated that 650,369 tons of manure saved.)	
Farmers induced to use time	3, 62
Water systems installed	21
Lighting systems installed. Home grounds improved Sanitary conditions improved	33
Home grounds improved	1, 24 3, 55
Sanitary conditions improved	3, 55
Homes screened	4, 85
Telephone systems installed	9 05
Drainage systems	2, 056
Tile drainage neres	2 04!
Tile drainage acres Open-ditch drainage do Farmers removing stumps	14. 28. 1. 58. 1, 22. 7, 51
Farmers removing stumps	1. 583
Farms terraced	1, 228
Gardens planted and improved	7, 51
Binders bought	16
Farms terraced Gardens planted and improved Binders bought Mowers bought Plows bought	643
	5, 63
Crain drille hought	12 81
Hay presses bought Grain drills bought Ensilage cutters bought Gas engines bought	11
Gas engines hought	45.41
Disk harrows bought	81
Cream separators bought	53
Two-horse cultivators bought	296
Disk harrows bought Cream separators bought Two-horse cultivators bought One-horse cultivators bought	2, 54
Small tools boughtSpraying machines bought	8, 62
Spraying machines bought	229
Number of visits by company agent to demonstration and other	
farmsCalls on agents—personal and telephone	85, 89
Farmers' meetings held	23, 01; 2, 10; 3, 25; 171, 73;
Meetings addressed	2, 10
Total attendance at meetings	171 73
Total attendance at meetings Meetings held. Meetings addressed. Total attendance at meetings. Meetings held in field. Attendance at field meetings. Official letters written by agents.	51
Attendance at field meetings.	9, 11
Official letters written by agents	31, 30
Official letters written by agents	31, 300 16, 099
Bulletins distributed (U. 8.)	153, 200 52, 59:
Bulletins distributed (State)	52, 59:
Combining two sets of circulars, county agents rendered service	
The state of the s	525, 296
Farmers selecting seed	16, 56
to farmers selecting seed. Farmers selecting seed. Agents traveled by rall. Agents traveled by team and otherwise. Total number of miles traveled by agents. Farmers setablishing definite systems of crop rotation. Community cluos organized.	70. 59
Total number of miles traveled by agents	206, 313
Farmers establishing definite systems of crop rotation	1 14
Community cluos organized	170
	9.4. 500

The most striking piece of work done by the agents was in getting the farmers to plant winter cover crops, such as crimson clover, rye, red clover, and vetch; the total being 147.649 acres. This item alone, at nominal estimate of \$10 per acre, has added \$1,476,490 to the resources of the State.

Miscellaneous work of State, district, and club agents is as

Visits to county agents	900
	366
Meetings addressed	403
Attendance	58, 747
Conferences held	17, 032
Official letters written	10, 667
Circular letters written	130, 216
Bulletins mailed (United States)	
Bulletins mailed (State)	5, 142
Total number of services rendered to farmers and club mem-	
bers, excluding visits, conferences, and letters	196, 925
Miles traveled by rail	
miles traveled by rati-	
Miles traveled by team and otherwise	5, 667

One of the most popular features of the extension work in North Carolina, as well as all of the other States, is the boys' corn clubs, which has been associated with the work almost from the beginning. The county agent is required to assist the club specialist in this work. Where the teachers and the county superintendent will cooperate in the schools the results have been exceedingly satisfactory. In the beginning the club work was confined to corn clubs alone. It has now been extended to include pig clubs and poultry clubs, and a few peanut, cotton, and crop rotation clubs.

Mark 1 11 1 1 1 1 1017	0 404
Total enrollment in corn clubs in 1915	
Total number of boys reporting	
Total number of bushels reported	10, 0621
Total cost	\$30, 611. 85
Average cost of bushels	\$0, 436
Average number of bushels per acre	63.5
Number of counties in State	100
Members enrolled incounties	
Members reported fromdo	88
Members finishing and making complete record_per cent_	
aremoers unishing and making complete record per cent	01.0

The pig club, being a lately organized work, the membership was not so numerous, but there has been some splendid work done under the supervision of the specialist in charge of the work; valuable instructions were given in the selection and care of pigs and the boys were urged to secure pure-bred stock, and in some cases they are making a specialty of growing good hogs for sale as breeding stock.

\$0, 051 \$10, 076, 77

This is the second year of poultry-club work. A great deal has been done in the way of giving instruction to the young people and women on the farm in the handling of poultry, especially as to the matter of feeding and housing, with a view of baying beginners are also as a second poultry. of having beginners procure good stock and to tend them so as to get eggs during the season to command fancy prices. There was enrolled in this club 1,000 members during 1915.

One feature of the club work is the organization of negro boys' farm clubs in cooperation with the Agricultural and Me-chanical College for the Colored Race at Greensboro. An agent has been appointed to look after these negro clubs and work

out from the college at Greensboro.

The home-demonstration work was organized in North Carolina in 1911 with 10 agents, working in as many counties with \$1,000 from the Department of Agriculture and \$4,000 or \$5,000 local funds. This work has made a remarkable growth and has become very popular in the State. In 1915 there were 37 counties organized with a total enrollment of 2,914 members. The girls are enrolled in 200 clubs with 173 supervisors. Out of 37 counties organized, all made complete reports on the work. During the first two years of the organization the work was confined almost entirely to the canning of tomatoes, but it is now extended to include beans, soup mixtures, peaches, berries, and many kinds of fancy preserves and jams. The quality of these goods has become so well established that there is quite a demand for them and there has been no difficulty in disposing of the output of last year. A number of girls have made quite a little profit on growing their crops and the State agent reports that in 16 counties in which this work has been carried on there are 109 girls paying their tuition in school, wholly or in part, from the profits in their canning-club work. A brief summary of last year's results is as follows:

Total number of products canned in tin or glass.
Value of products sold, fresh, and used at home...
Total value of products...
Total cost of products...
Total profit...
Average cost per member...
Average profit per member... \$6, 025, 61 104, 241, 89 28, 985, 46 75, 256, 43

My term in Congress began March 4, 1907. The above, in the interest of farming, has been accomplished in my State dur-ing my service in this House. I am proud of the record made in the farm-demonstration work. I performed my part during the making of this record.

Flood Control on Nonnavigable Streams.

SPEECH

HON. STEPHEN M. SPARKMAN, OF FLORIDA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 3, 1916.

The House had under consideration House resolution 122, as follows:

"Resolved, That the standing rules of the House of Representatives be, and they are hereby, amended in the following manner, to wit:

"In Rule X insert a new paragraph to read as follows:

"54b. On flood control, to consist of 15 members."

"In Rule XI insert a new paragraph to read as follows:

"54b. To flood control, other than appropriations therefor, to the Committee on Flood Control."

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am always sorry when I can not agree with the action of a committee of this House, and I especially regret that I am unable to agree with the Committee on Rules as to this measure and that I am compelled to oppose the gentleman who I understand is its author. But the passage

of this resolution and the appointment of the committee for which it provides will likely have such far-reaching results that I ask the indulgence of the House for a few minutes while I state my objections to the same.

In the first place, Mr. Speaker, if it is the purpose of this resolution to deal alone with navigable waters, then it is not necessary, because the Committee on Rivers and Harbors has, and exercises, jurisdiction over the matter of flood control in navigable waters in so far as navigation may be affected, as it usually is. Especially is that true with reference to the stream that is always prominent in the minds of everyone when the subject of flood control is under discussion, which, of course, is the great Mississippi River. The Committee on Rivers and Harbors has jurisdiction of, and has been caring for, that river for several years. To such an extent have its activities gone along that line that the country lying contiguous to that stream is practically safe from any flood that does not exceed in volume that of 1912. I have this information from Col. Townsend, one of the most prominent engineers in the country, and who, as the head of the Mississippi River Commission, is in charge of that great work. He says that while the work has not gone as far as it should go, nor as far as we intend, yet it is in a condition even now to protect against the flood at present sweeping down the lower reaches of that river, which is not expected to reach in volume that of 1912.

Only a few days ago I submitted to him a request for information as to how much of an expenditure would yet be required on that stream in order to place it in a condition to protect the property along its banks from these recurring floods. His estimate was about \$45,000,000. I presume, of course, that under any proper system or arrangement with the people in the levee districts adjacent to the river they would furnish at least onehalf of what would be needed, so that the Federal Government would not be expected to expend more than \$22,000,000 or \$23,000,000 toward this work of flood control. I may say that the people there have heretofore been furnishing more than

one-half of the money expended for that purpose.

We have been going ahead quite rapidly during the past four years in taking care of that stream and in the work necessary to control against disastrous overflows. And, Mr. Speaker, I wish to say that I am in entire accord with the view that it is the proper function of the Federal Government to undertake a large part of this work. I yield to no one in my feeling of sympathy for the people there who suffer so greatly from these recurring floods, and my sympathy and views have been reflected in my action during the past two decades in advocating and assisting in the appropriation of large sums of money for the purpose of carrying on this great work of flood protection, a work so well done that it is now sufficient to protect against any ordinary flood; in fact, against all floods except the greatest.

Mr. OGLESBY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a

question?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly.
Mr. OGLESBY. I am not inclined to favor this resolution if it is going to take away any proper jurisdiction from the Committee on Rivers and Harbors. I would like to ask for informa-tion whether, in the opinion of the chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, there are any rivers which will require expenditures for work for flood control which do not come under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors? if not, whether there are any rivers which may be navigable, upon which work is required to be done to control the floods, where no work would be done on these rivers in the way of deepening or widening or otherwise making them navigable for

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, I was coming to that point presently. I suppose the gentleman refers to navigable streamsstreams that are navigable?

Mr. OGLESBY. Yes; streams that are navigable, but which are not navigated.

Mr. SPARKMAN. This resolution is broad enough, I take It, to cover any stream that is subject to overflow, whether it is navigable or nonnavigable.

Mr. McKENZIE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for question?

Mr. SPARKMAN. With pleasure.
Mr. McKENZIE. Is it the judgment of the gentleman from Florida that this would include streams lying wholly within a State?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I think so. In fact, I fancy that is one of the objects the authors of the resolution have in view. Of course, some constitutional questions may be raised whenever an effort is made to legislate under this rule; but that is something I do not care to go into now.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Can the gentleman tell, under the rule, just what matters this new committee would have jurisdiction of? It says, "To flood control, other than appro-priations therefor."

Mr. SPARKMAN. No; I can not. I tried by questioning the gentleman in charge of the bill to ascertain if it was the intention to confine the work to streams over which the Committee on Rivers and Harbors had no jurisdiction, and, as I understood him, that is the intention of those responsible for the resolution

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does not the resolution confer rather new powers upon the committee, excepting the making

of actual appropriations?

Mr. SPARKMAN. It would seem so. Wherever a stream is accustomed to overflow its banks, and by such overflow causes injury to adjacent property, it seems to me this new committee would have some kind of jurisdiction over it. Just what or just where the lines circumscribing its jurisdiction should be

drawn is hard to say.

Now, Mr. Speaker, continuing the observation I was making regarding the Mississippi River, the stream, as I said, that is always most prominent when we begin to talk about flood control, the work of levee building, a part of the system of flood control in the interest of navigation devised by the Government engineers, is well under way and perhaps more than half done. But there have been efforts made from time to time to extend this work of flood control to other streams. This sentiment, however, has not as yet acquired sufficient strength to induce Congress to go much beyond the Mississippi River, but I want to say in all frankness and candor that there is no more reason, except one based upon the magnitude of the floods and their resultant effects, for taking care of the property along the banks of the Mississippi River than for the protection by similar means and methods of the property along the banks of any other navigable stream where property is destroyed by reason of periodical overflows.

Now, there is another matter to which I wish to address myself, and that is the question of the jurisdiction of the committee for which this rule provides. The rule is silent as to whether it is intended to give this new committee jurisdiction over nonnavigable streams, or whether it is to be confined alone to navigable streams. Its very silence, however, on the subject would seem to indicate an intention to cover both classes of streams. In that view, or in any view, you enter a field of governmental activity which the River and Harbor Committee, knowing the dangers and difficulties involved, have been striving for years to avoid. But the moment this committee is appointed you will find that schemes and plans from all parts of the country, for every creek and river, whether navigable or unnavigable, whose banks are subject to overflow, will be presented to Congress by interested parties demanding protection. I sympathize with the gentleman who I understand is slated for the chairmanship of this committee. He is a good man for such a position and will strive as best he can to circumscribe the activities of the committee and to guard the Treasury, but I fear without avail, for once the field is entered there is no sure stopping place until all streams subject to overflow are fully treated.

The committee can not appropriate money, to be sure, but it can adopt projects which when adopted will not, I infer, come to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, but will likely go to the Committee on Appropriations, as other authorizations do. When they go there they will go with the indorsement of Congress, and the Committee on Appropriations will be compelled to take care of them. I say compelled, because that committee usually regards the estimates for work authorized by Congress as being in the nature of a mandate. Now, I am not saying that I am

going to vote against this resolution.

I am only offering suggestions and calling attention to the dangers and difficulties which lie ahead if this committee, with

its proposed powers, is created.

In speaking of dangers, I refer to the probable demands upon the Treasury, for whoever the chairman of that committee may be, and whoever the members may be, he and they will not, I fear, be able very long to withstand the pressure that will be brought to bear upon them. And what will be the expense to the country? One of our Army engineers told me a short time ago—and I repeated the remark here at least on one occasion—that it would require billions of dollars to do the work it is expected this committee will have to do. Of course an effort will be made to stop short of this, but where are you going to stop? No one can tell. We can tell something about what future river and harbor work is likely to cost, because since we began river

and harbor improvements, about 100 years ago, the total cost has been only about \$800,000,000, with the result that about three-fourths of the work necessary to put all our rivers and harbors in good condition has been done or is under way, so that not more than \$300,000,000 will likely be needed to take care of the new work of that character necessary to be under-

Mr. Speaker, I do not say that private property along the banks of streams subject to overflow should not be protected by Congress, even when that protection is disconnected from all questions of navigation; but I doubt if it is constitutional to give this protection unless it comes as one of the incidents of the improvement of the rivers or other waterways in the interest of navigation. I am not going into that matter, however, any further than to suggest the constitutional difficulty. The Rivers and Harbors Committee has jurisdiction under the commerce clause of the Constitution to deal with all matters pertaining to the improvement of rivers for the purposes of navigation. The Good Roads Committee has jurisdiction of the construction and care of roads under another clause of the Constitution. But where do you find the warrant for appropriating money for the protection of private property? Some say it is to be found under the general-welfare clause, but high authority has held that no warrant can be found under that provision of the Constitution for doing such work.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly.
Mr. LONGWORTH. Do I understand the gentleman to say that any recommendations of this committee which involved an appropriation would be referred to the Committee on Appropriations?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I am not the parliamentarian of the House, but I am under the impression that when Congress authorizes a work to be done without making an appropriation at the time it will be sent to the Committee on Appropriations to furnish the money. I have had but little opportunity to give thought to this question, which is an important one and ought to receive more attention and discussion here than it is receiving. I am under the impression, however, that an authorization for work coming from this committee, like the authorization for a public building or river and harbor work, would be sent to the Committee on Appropriations to furnish the money.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I was only asking the gentleman for information. It occurred to me that any appropriation which dealt with a navigable or nonnavigable river on which there was any commerce would of necessity go to the committee of which the gentleman is the chairman—the Committee on Rivers and

Harbors

Mr. SPARKMAN. That ought to be the case, but I am not certain that it will under the rule as amended by this resolution. It had occurred to me that under the rules of the House whenever a piece of work is authorized by this new committee it will go automatically to the Committee on Appropriations to provide the money. That is my view, hastily formed, and yet I may be mistaken about it. As I say, I am not the parliamentarian of the House, and do not know what his views or those of the House may be.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, will the gentle-

man yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly.
Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Following the question proposed by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Longworth], suppose the new Committee on Flood Prevention should bring in a bill which included a comprehensive plan for conservation and flood prevention, calling for the expenditure of \$25,000,000, more or less; does the gentleman think that would detract from the ability of the Rivers and Harbors Committee to put through the House appropriations for legitimate navigable streams, demanding improvement for commerce and navigation?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It would deduct from the appropriations made heretofore by the Rivers and Harbors Committee for the Mississippi River, would it not?

Mr. SPARKMAN. In answer to a question propounded a little while ago to the gentleman who has charge of this resolution, he expressed the opinion that it would not interfere with the right of the Rivers and Harbors Committee to make appro-

mriations for the Mississippi River.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Then the situation would be this: In the event of our having two committees, the Committee on Flood Prevention would bring in a systematic plan for flood prevention, including revetments and the building of levees along the Mississippi River or any other stream, calling for the expenditure of so much money, and the Committee on Rivers and Harbors would bring in a bill calling for the ex-

penditure of so much money to improve and maintain the navigation of that river. Is that correct?
Mr. SPARKMAN. It would seem so; yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Then there would be a dual object to appropriate for, as to those streams that happened to have occasional floods.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Just where the line should be drawn between the jurisdiction of the two committees it is hard to determine: but I should think that whenever the main object of levee building or revetment work is to improve the navigation of a stream or protect the banks against erosion, in the interest of navigation, that the Rivers and Harbors Committee would have jurisdiction.

Mr. LONGWORTH. If the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Moore] will pardon me, there is this difference: That this committee could not bring in any appropriations at all, but only a mere recommendation; and if it applied to any navigable or nonnavigable stream on which there was commerce, that would immediately go under the jurisdiction of the Committee on

Appropriations to make that appropriation.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That is correct, but the gentleman from Florida has just explained that when an authorization is made by a committee it has all the sanction of law

Mr. SPARKMAN. Heretofore, as the gentleman from Ohio knows, whenever a committee has authorized a piece of work, and that committee has no power to appropriate money-or even when the Rivers and Harbors Committee, which has the power to appropriate money, authorizes a piece of work to be done under what is known as a continuing contract—then the matter goes automatically to the Committee on Appropriations to furnish the money. I mean, of concommittee is ratified by Congress. I mean, of course, when the action of the

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The Committee on Rivers and Harbors has been making appropriations for the purposes of the Mississippi River Commission; it has made appropriations for the construction of levees and some revetment work?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Is it the judgment of the gentleman that the work of that commission would be separated as between the two committees—the Rivers and Harbors Committee and the Committee on Flood Control-and would have to go to both hereafter?

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is a hard question to answer. should think that the committee now having jurisdiction of the improvement of the Mississippi River, or any other river where revetment work is to be done, which is the Rivers and Harbors Committee, should have jurisdiction, notwithstanding the creation of this committee.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. In normal times, when we have no flood control, the work on the Mississippi River would go to the Rivers and Harbors Committee, but in time of flood it would have this committee to go to for an emergency appropriation?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I think it ought still to go to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly.

Mr. FESS. Following the suggestion if the recommendation would carry an appropriation, some one suggests that it might go to the River and Harbor Committee. Suppose this committee should recommend a project that carries an appropriation and come to your committee, you would not feel estopped

from reporting against it, would you?

Mr. SPARKMAN. No; and if such a contingency should arise, the proposition would receive careful consideration, but ordinarily I should feel very much like carrying out the views

of the Committee on Flood Control,

Mr. LENROOT. If the gentleman will pardon me, in response to the gentleman from Ohio, I will say that it would not go to the Rivers and Harbors Committee until Congress authorized the appropriation, and then the gentleman's committee would be called upon to follow the will of Congress.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. SPARKMAN. I will.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. As I understand it, the Committee on Rivers and Harbors have studied the question of flood control in navigable streams, studied it in conjunction with the question of maintaining and improving the navigable streams. That being so, would the proposed new committee, having up for consideration legitimately the question of flood control, study that question of flood control without any regard to the

navigability of the stream or improving it?

Mr. SPARKMAN. It would have no jurisdiction over a stream except as to flood control.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. They could bring in an elaborate scheme without any consideration of the navigability of the stream or improving it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes; that might be done. The River and Harbor Committee has heretofore been dealing with those questions. Propositions are frequently presented for the coordination of plans for the drainage or reclamation of land, or the protection of lands against floods with improvements in the interest of navigation. A number of these have been recommended by the Committee on Rivers and Harbors for adoption,

which has been done.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I desire to do nothing more than call attention to what I consider the bad features of this resolution. am not so much concerned with its effect, if any, upon the jurisdiction of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors as I am with the opportunities the establishment of this new committee will present for embarking upon plans and works of land reclamation with which the Federal Government should have nothing to do, and which should be left to private enterprise or to the States; works that will cost, unless greatly restricted, many hundreds of millions of dollars. Nor do I believe it will be possible, without showing great partiality, to restrict the work that will be demanded of the committee and of Congress. As I have already said, when we once embark upon that class of work there is no place to draw the line short of the protection and reclamation of all lands subject to overflow from floods or surplus waters. This I do not believe we are ready to do. Indeed, I doubt if Congress should ever undertake to protect private property against floods save in extreme and exceptional cases, and then only along navigable waters where the work is wholly or in part in the interest of

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CLINE). The gentleman from Florida asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Late Representative Brown, of West Virginia.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

HON. EDWARD COOPER, OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, April 16, 1916.

The House had under consideration House resolution (H. Res. 204), as follows:

"Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. WILLIAM G. BROWN, Jr., late a Member of this House from the State of West Virginia

"Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased and in recognition of his distinguished public career the House, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand adjourned.
"Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the

Senate.

"Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. COOPER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, in the measurement of time I knew the Hon, WILLIAM G. BROWN, Jr., but a

scant four months In the measurement of a friendship offered at once without reserve and accepted with an open-hearted desire, it seems to me incredible that we knew each other and were on such friendly

terms for so brief a space of time. This illustrates to my mind a prominent and important characteristic of the man which contributed largely to his remarkable success as a politician and in other channels in which the currents of his life flowed: His nature was such that he promptly accepted an acquaintance as a friend, without suspicion or reserve, and left it to time and events to write their judgment

upon his trust in his fellow man. It is given to comparatively few men to meet their fellows with a geniality, an interest, and an affection such as our departed colleague's personality radiated.

It was a natural gift bestowed upon him.

There was no strained effort, no pose, no artificiality about him in his relations with others. Happiness seemed ever to be singing its joyous song in his heart, and in his smiling eyes, hearty handclasp, and cheery greeting others could catch the strain and echoes of its music and feel the happier therefor.

Add to these traits of sunny disposition the sterling quali-tics of a strong character and it is plain to be seen why it was that in the counties of the second district, in a part of West Virginia where our civilization and enlightenment in the mass attain their highest perfection, William G. Brown was held in such great esteem and affection that, although a large majority of the people opposed his political principles and his political party, they waived aside their opposition time and again and honored him with election to this House.

There is no tribute to his memory, however beautifully it may be written or however eloquently it may be spoken, that

can equal the bare statement of that fact.

In the death of our colleague we on this side of the House have no revision to make at his tomb of our opinions of him as a friend and coworker.

There are no estimates of him to change and no regrets to express over judgments we held of him when he was living.

What we are here saying to-day in memory of him we could have said and did say to others of and about him when he was here in the flesh.

Although our political ways lay along different routes, there was not petty and narrow-minded partisan feeling between us. Such as that never entered in the relations of Congressman

Brown with either his Republican colleagues here in this Chamber or in his relations with his Republican constituents.

Many of his views on public questions, but by no means all

of them, were opposite to ours. We did not question his sincerity, no more than he doubted the

honesty of our convictions.

He was too broad-minded a statesman, too honorable a gen-

tleman, and too devoted a friend for that.

On the contrary, it was no uncommon occurrence for some of us to seek discussion for the purpose of getting his viewpoint, frequently his counsel and advice, and it is a tribute to his high qualities of mind and heart that he could and did rise above all thought of partisan association and advantage and. placing himself in our position, gave us the benefit of his ripened judgment and greater congressional experience.

Mr. Speaker, I leave it to others more competent than and more familiar with the events involved to take up step by step the progress of this man as shown in the biography of

his successful and well-lived life.

Under the circumstance of an all too brief friendship it is appropriate for me to weave my wreath to lay upon the altar of his beloved memory out of the impressions he made upon my heart and upon my mind.

They were everlasting impressions. I shall never forget them. They have helped me here in my short time as a Member, and I am sure that they will help me and be ever a pleasant and an inspiring memory till the end of my time upon earth.

TO WILLIAM GAY BROWN time is no more; it is eternity.

There is no calendar there; no days, no nights; no season coming and going; no reckoning by months and years.

The sun goes no more down, but is ever in meridian.

It is one infinite now-one eternal consciousness

While yet in love with life and raptured with the world he passed to silence and pathetic dust.

House Resolution 137.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM. OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 19, 1916.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a letter from James W. Helme, of Lansing, Mich., and my reply thereto on House resolution 137.

The letter is as follows:

MICHIGAN DAIRY AND FOOD DEPARTMENT, Lansing, Mich., April 8, 1916.

Hon. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I am in receipt of your recent letter inclosing copy of resolution that you have introduced in the House; also note your inquiries in such letter and have also received copy of a speech made by you upon this resolution.

In reply to same I would make the following statements:

The introduction of this resolution and the characteristic manner of your speech reminds me of the old Biblical story in which it was said that "the voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau."

This resolution is clearly introduced in the interests of about 30 manufacturers who control the manufacture of oleomargarine in this country and who have been endeavoring for years to boost their industry by misrepresenting the dairy industry of the country and at the same time trying to sell their products as dairy products.

For the last five years I have had under my personal supervision the creameries of Michigan—and Michigan is the fifth State in the Union in the production of butter and the third State in the production of cheese. Your resolution states that 94 per cent of the creameries of the country are insanitary. So far as Michigan is concerned, I will guarantee that over 90 per cent of the creameries of Michigan, and I believe a much larger proportion, are strictly sanitary in their conditions and surroundings.

are insanitary. So far as Michigan is concerned, I will guarantee that over 90 per cent of the creameries of Michigan, and I believe a much larger proportion, are strictly sanitary in their conditions and surroundings.

The statement that 72 per cent of cream is not pasteurized is not so as regards Michigan, as over 90 per cent of the butter made in Michigan in creameries is pasteurized, and the percentage is constantly increasing. It is not a fact that a large per cent of dairy cattle is affected with tuberculosis, but, on the contrary, a very small percentage is affected with that disease, and it is not a fact that infected dairy products "are among the most active agents in the spread of tuberculosis, typhoid fever, and other diseases." The reason is that a large proportion of our creamery butter is made frem pasteurized cream in which all such geems, if any there exist, are killed, and a large proportion of the milk consumed in our cities is likewise pasteurized.

Recently I made separate tests of milk from a large number of individual cows and in none was able to detect a germ of disease.

You state in your speech that "The most stupendous frauds against the revenues of the Government" are perpetrated by the dairy interests. As neither butter, cheese, nor milk is subjected to any tax by the Federal Government nor are dealers therein, it would be most pleasing to me to understand where these great frauds are committed. I do know that millions of dollars worth of frauds have been committed by oleo manufacturers in this country, but they should not use their crimes to blacken the dairy interests of the country.

You also state that "filthy cream, often in a putrid state, is frequently shipped great distances to creameries to be made into butter." This is sometimes so and an explanation of it is in order. Formerly in Michigan, as in other dairy States, local creameries were operated generally on the cooperative plan by farmers. Big business saw an opportunity to develop a business shipped from a large number o

Indictment of "putrid cream."

The really laughable thing about it is that these centralizers are generally connected with the oleo-manufacturing industry. The largest centralizer in Michigan operates over 100 cream stations, and is a Chicago packer who is also a very large manufacturer of oleo. It seems to me highly ridiculous that an oleo manufacturer should use his own bad practices to attack an industry in which he is engaged in order to help his main business of manufacturing steer butter.

In these centralizer plants alone is found the use of neutralizer used by these.

He mentions only one-

He mentions only one—
same oleo manufacturers, and yet as oleo manufacturers they complain of their own practices in making butter in order to give butter makers who do not use neutralizer a black eye for their product.

Moreover these same oleo manufacturers who are now engaged in endeavoring to give the dairy industry of the country a black eye, are persistent law violators. The State of Michigan has a law prohibiting the coloring of oleo yellow in order to prevent its fraudulent sale as butter to the consumer. In a dry county when some liquor interest wishes to establish a "blind pig," the first think they do is to take out a Federal license to sell liquor, so as to get rid of the Federal authorities. It is the same in Michigan. Those oleo dealers who desire to sell colored oleo in defiance to Michigan law proceed to the collector's office in the city of Detroit and take out a Federal license to seil colored oleo. They are simply the "blind pigs" of the oleo business. In November, 1914, inspectors of this department visited 12 of these blind pigs in the city of Detroit, called for a pound of butter, for which they paid 30 cents, and got a pound of colored oleo which could have been purchased of like quality for 20 cents under its own name. Prosecutions were begun against these defendants in 1914. The manufacturers hired skilled counsel to defend oleo law violators, This colored eleomargarine law had been passed on by the Supreme Court of Michigan as constitutional, yet these skilled oleo lawyers raised a constitutionality question about the law that was submitted to the courts, and a question which should have been decided in 10 minutes by a court is still undecided. The oleo blind pigs are still defying the laws of this State, justice is blocked, all by the clever lawyers of oleo manufacturers who are so tender about what might be in butter but who care nothing about blocking the sovereign laws of the State. I have no objection to the sale or use of oleo provided it is sold as oleo and the consumer knows it

ever tried to masquerade their product under the name and form of butter.

I note also in your speech that the charge is made that the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury shows that one butter factory had defrauded the Government out of \$1.503.203.30. You state further that "all the product in this case, while not butter, was placed on the market as butter without the payment of any tax." Such a statement is most absurd. No butter factory could defraud the Government out of one dollar, let alone a million. Nothing but an eleo factory could do this. Such statements are evidently made to deceive the ignorant although I can not imagine that anyone would be so ignorant as to soak up a statement that a butter factory defrauded the Government of a million dollars.

The statement also made by you that butter factories are able to get into their factories oils and "thereby greatly increase their output" is also highly ridiculous. In my five years as dairy and food commissioner I have never yet heard of an instance of the mixing of oils or fats into butter by any butter maker, and you say "thus they defraud the Government of its taxes." No one but eleo manufacturers are taxed. Butter is not taxed by the Federal Government, so it must be that it is again your friends, the eleo manufacturers, who are engaged in these fraudulent practices.

A great many manufacturers of eleo defy and evade the laws of this State and other States in regard to the sale of eleo. Not only that, but when I commenced a vigorius crusade to make them obey the

law, an olco dealer promptly sued me for \$25,000 for libel in order, as I believe, to decrease my activities.

It is not necessary in my mind to have Federal inspection of dairy products. I know that in Michigau we are straining every effort to give the public a pure product and we are doing it in 90 per cent of the product. No Federal inspection could do the work that we are doing in Michigau, and I believe the other dairy interests are equally as diligent as we are in this matter.

I note from your letterhead that you live in the State of Maryland. Last fall I visited New York City and discovered there that a large number of Michigan beans had spolled in storage owing to the wet weather. I was also informed that these were shipped to Baltimore for canning purposes. I have before me the annual report of the food and drug commissioner of Maryland for the year ending December 31, 1914.

Maryland is a great canning State. It is one of her prides and boasts, and certainly if we need anything we need clean canned goods as well as clean dairies, yet on page 32 of this report I find that out of 398 canning establishments in your State, 57 of them, being over 14 per cent, have no tollet facilities whatever connected with them. It would seem that the Maryland canning factories have not all as yet progressed out of the primitive stage of mankind. The idea of food establishments without toilet facilities would not be tolerated in Michigan for a single hour.

I also note in this report on page 30 the following statement by one of your officials:

"Of the slaughterhouses visited, I found 95 per cent in a very insanitary condition. Floors, walls, and ceilings were dirty; offal was on the ground, both inside and outside the house, some of the men depending on dogs to eat the offal; also dirty utensils and surroundings."

This seems to be a much worse condition than that that you allege against the dairy interests, and I would suggest that when your resolution comes up for hearing before the House that you amend the same in o

remain. Very truly, yours,

J. W. HELME, State Dairy and Food Commissioner.

House of Representatives, Washington, April 18, 1916.

Mr. James W. Helme, Commissioner, Michigan Dairy and Food Department, Lansing, Mich.

Mr. James W. Helme: I am in receipt of your letter of the Sth instant and have carefully considered the statements you make.

Your first statement is that my resolution, H. Res. 137, "is clearly introduced in the interest of about 30 manufacturers, who control the manufacture of oleomargarine." That statement is both untrue and insulting. I wrote you in good faith, supposing that you would offer objection or approval in like good faith. It appears that I was in error when I assumed that every man connected with any branch of pure-food work would gladly cooperate with me in the work I have undertaken. Let me here advise you that, out of over 400 replies, yours is the only one questioning my motives. Let the record speak for itself. Be good enough to observe a few of the glaring errors in your statement.

You state that over 90 per cent of the Michigan creameries are entirely sanitary in their conditions and surroundings. This is certainly interesting, if true, and I congratulate you and the people of the State. My resolution states that 94 per cent of the creameries are insanitary, and this statement is taken from the annual report of the Department of Agriculture for 1912. In discussing this report Dr. A. E. Melvin, Chief of the Bureau of Animal Industry, of that department, stated on the stand on April 11, 1916, before the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives, that he believed the statement in the report of 1912 represented a fair estimate of conditions at that time; that the conditions were somewhat improved now, but that there was room for further improvement, and that he would regard my proposed investigation as very helpful.

You second statement, in regard to the per cent of pasteurized cream, is likewise shown by the departmental reports to be entirely incorrect, as far as the whole country is concerned. If you pasteurized poet provential michigan, you might have cause to hold your State up as perfect, not otherwise.

You state that it is not a fact that a large per cent of dairy cattle is

as a "small per cent"? Do you wish to be on record as defending the reputations of these tubercular cows as against the lives of thousands of babies?

You say you have examined milk from a large number of individual cows and in none was able to detect a germ of disease. I shall again give you the benefit of the doubt and assume that you are a competent bacteriologist. Your cows certainly should be a pride to your State. There are other cows which are a disgrace to any State. No denials and no amount of negative evidence can down the fact that these diseased cows transmit tuberculosis to children. Are you willing they should continue pouring a diseased stream into the life of the Nation? You ask how it is possible for a butter man to defraud the Government. The facts are that the revenue frauds are committed by men who hold themselves out to the public as butter dealers or makers and who secretly introduce oleomargarine into butter and sell the combination as butter. Dr. Melvin says all the oleomargarine factories are inspected by the Government, and that such frauds could not occur therein. It is immaterial to me whether the criminal is called an oleomargarine dealer or a butter dealer. If we had Federal inspection of butter going into interstate commerce, such frauds could not be practiced on the Government and the public. Do you know the facts in the fraud case referred to in the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury to which you refer on page 3 of your letter? That plant was in New York City. The owner was a butter dealer, wholesale, and had an immense business. He nad a secret room on the fourth floor of his factory—had it there for years—admitting only fellow criminals. There they mixed butter with oleomargarine and then sold the combination as butter. This butter dealer did defraud the Government out of \$1,503,203.30. I

care not what you call him, he was supposed to deal in butter. His wares were going into interstate commerce, and had there been in force a law requiring inspection of butter as there is of meat, that gross fraud could not have been perpetrated.

You say it is "sometimes so" that filthy cream, often in a putrid state, is frequently shipped great distances to creameries to be made into butter. Why should we endure such a rotten condition, even a part of the time, is enough to justify every word I or the dairy and pure-food and farm journals have said about the depicrable condition, even a part of the time, is enough to justify every word I or the dairy and pure-food and farm journals have said about the depicrable condition, and the same part of the time, is enough to justify every word I or the dairy and pure-food and farm journals have said about the depicrable condition, and the same part of the same part of

Expatriation Under the Act of March 2, 1907.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET. OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 18, 1916.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, under leave of the House, I insert in the Record a letter from John H. Claus and an opinion of Judge Hough, of New York, on expatriation under the act of March 2, 1907:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, IMMIGRATION SERVICE, Montreal, Canada, April 10, 1916.

Hon. WILLIAM S. BENNET,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: My attention has been directed to the Congressional Record for March 30, wherein, on pages 5943 and 5944, in the debate preceding passage of the new immigration bill, you are credited with certain reference to the writer in connection with the decision rendered in the case of an American citizen who had subscribed to the Canadian mil'tary oath in consequence of which he was refused admission to the United States at Port fluron, filch., on August 22, 1915.

As your aliusions to me in the comment referred to were thoroughly misleading as to my connection with the above matter. I feel that I will be pardored for asking your attention to the subjoined, which it is hoped may dispet the very erroneous impressions which you are shown to now entertain:

Frank Caswell, aged 39, single, woodworker, born at Harrison, Me., in 1876, at the age of 37 migrated to Canada. August 13, 1914, Mr. Caswell enlisted in the Canadian military service, subscribing to the usual oath in connection therewith. April 7, 1915, he was discharged from the service at Salisbury Plains, England, on account of illness. On August 22, 1915, Mr. Caswell applied for admission to the United

States at Port Huron, Mich., stating that he was proceeding to Detroit for the purpose of taking employment with the Detroit Cabinet Co., Mr. Caswell having displayed a letter from the firm mentioned, making him in offer of a position. The applicant was carefully questioned by the board of special inquiry at Port Huron as to his birth in the United States residence, and enlistment in Canada, and at the conclusion of his examination the board of special inquiry acted as follows:

"Inspector Wiggin. I move to reject the alien before the board as a contract laborer. In my opinion, Mr. Caswell has expatriated himself by taking the oath of allegiance to a foreign state, under the terms of section 2 of the act of March 2, 1907, and that he is therefore an alien; and in view of the fact, as shown by the record, that he is proceeding to the United States under promise of employment, that he is an alien contract laborer.

"Inspector Goden. I second the motion to reject.

"Chairman Hoppe. I make the motion to reject unanimous."

Having been regarded as an alien and excluded as a contract laborer, Mr. Caswell was accorded the right of appeal, and in mailing the record to this office for transmission to the Commissioner General of Immigration our inspector in charge at Port Huron commented as follows:

"Event Caswell claims to have been been at Harrison Me. in 1878.

Immigration our inspector in charge at Port Huron commented as follows:

"Frank Caswell claims to have been born at Harrison, Me., in 1876. He resided continuously in the United States until December, 1912, when he went to Canada, and has remained there practically ever since, his absence from that country being for a brief period while he was in millitary service in Engiand. He returned to Canada from Engiand on April 3, 1915. This case hinges upon the question of whether or not Mr. Caswell continues to be a citizen of this country. It is the unanimous opinion of the board that he expatrated himself by taking oath of allegiance to a foreign state, as advised under terms of section 2 of the act of March 2, 1907, of our naturalization laws. If the board correctly interprets section 2 of our naturalization laws, I feel that its action was proper, as Caswell is undoubtedly induced to come to the United States under a promise of employment. The case is a technical one, and is therefore submitted for a decision."

In forwarding the record in this case to the Commissioner General of Immigration. under date of August 27, the following comment was indulged in by the writer:

"I have the honor to submit herewith record on appeal in the case of Frank Caswell, aged 39, male, single, a native of the United States, excluded at Port Huron, Mich., on August 22 as a contract laborer.

"It will be observed that the board was of the opinion that Mr. Caswell by join ng the Canadian Army had expatriated himself; but this question appears to have been decided otherwise by the Department of Justice in the Esther Berryman case, covered by bureau file No. 53983/136.

"If my understanding in this regard is correct. I would respectfully

well by join in the Canadian Army had expatriated himself; but this question appears to have been decided otherwise by the Department of Justice in the Esther Berryman case, covered by bureau file No. 53983/136.

"If my understanding in this regard is correct, I would respectfully request that I be furnished with the bureau's views in the premises, in order that a general letter for the instruction of officers in this jurisdiction may be prepared, as the question is sure to arise in connection with many cases in the future, and that the department's decision in this particular case, if favorable to Mr. Caswell, be wired to our Port Huron office direct."

Under date of September 15, 1915, file No. 54003/431, the Commissioner General of Immigration wrote me as follows:

"Referring to your No. 11035/395 of the 13th Instant, relating to the case on appeal of one Frank Caswell, excluded at Port Huron, Mich., on the 22d ultimo as a contract laborer, you are advised that the case has been referred to the Attorney General for his opinion as to whether Caswell had expatriated himself by taking the oath of allegiance or of enlistment in joining the expeditionary force from Canada to Great Britain.

"As soon as report is had from the office of the Attorney General, you will be advised."

Under date of O tober 9, the same bureau file number as above, the Commissioner General of Immigration again wrote me as follows:

"Referring to the Frank Caswell case (your 11035/395), you are advised that the board should reconsider his application for admission without relation to the lact he enlisted in the expeditionary force from Canada to Great Britain.

"Instructions should be issued by you to the end that hereafter the boards will not question the American citizenship of an applicant because of the fact he took the oath of allegiance and enlisted in the Canadian forces."

These instructions were very naturally communicated to all inspectors under my control in a general letter bearing date of October 11, 1915.

The foregoing is t

These instructions were very maturally communicated to at the spectors under my control in a general letter bearing date of October 11, 1915.

The foregoing is the correct history of the case to which you were pleased to make reference in the House on March 30, and I believe you will find little justification therein for the remark: "The commissioner of immigration in Canada ought not to have presumed to have passed on a question of citizenship, but have referred it to the Department of Labor at Washington."

Absolutely no instructions in advance of those received from the Commissioner General of Immigration to which I have alluded above, were ever promulgated by me to the inspectors in this immigration district, with a view to in any way controlling their action in dealing with applicants for admission to the United States from Canada, who might be shown to have been citizens of the United States when enlisting in the Canadian military service and subscribing to the oath in connection therewith.

Considering all the circumstances, for immigration purposes, I know of no method, other than the one pursued, by which the status of Mr. Caswell could have been determined and instructions for the guidance of officers under my control secured, and as the decision rendered appears not to have met your concurrence, it would seem that your criticism should have been addressed to the Attorney General of the United States, rather than against the writer. I am tempted further to suggest that you will find the files of our department strongly supporting the claim that I am not in the habit of attempting usurpartion of the prerogatives of the honorable Secretary, by attempting to rule upon such important questions as the one mentioned above, in advance of instructions from those higher in authority.

My friends, who have the pleasure of your acquaintance, represent you as being an emimently fair man, and as your criticism of the writer gained much publicity by reason of the time and place selected for your remarks, is it too

JOHN H. CLARK, Commissioner.

DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

UNITED STATES EX REL CARL EDWARD ANDERSON V. FREDERICK C. HOWE, COMMISSIONER, ETC.

Hearing on habeas corpus.

Hearing on habeas corpus.

Anderson is a Swede who came to the United States in 1891 and appears to have remained here continuously until 1906. He left a wife and children in Sweden and never brought them to America. In 1905 he was duly naturalized and in the year following returned to Sweden. There is no disinterested evidence as to his intent to remain or return, at the time of his departure from the United States.

He did continuously remain in Sweden, tilling a farm which he held under a 20-year lease, and owning the house wherein he lived upon said farm, and also paying taxes, until 1915, during which time he took no steps to register himself as an American citizen with any diplomatic or consular officer of this country.

He did not bring with him on returning to America any member of his family. The farm he left in charge of his children. On arrival in New York the immigration authorities found him insane, also nearly penniless, and, so far as discoverable, without relatives or friends in this country. After detention at Ellis Island for a considerable time he so far recovered his sanity as to testify before a board of special inquiry, and substantially admitted the truth of all the foregoing facts, adding, however (in substance), that it had been his intention on returning to the United States to utimately bring his family with him, because he was "scared by the war." He denied any intention of abandoning his American citizenship, and asserted that he had always had an Intention to return at some time.

Having been held as an alien of the prohibited classes and ordered deported by the Secretary of Labor, this writ was taken.

Olav J. Schultz de Brun, for the relator; Harold A. Content, assistant United States attorney, opposed.

deported by the Secretary of Labor, this writ was taken.

Olav J. Schultz de Brun. for the relator; Haroid A. Content, assistant United States attorney, opposed.

Hough, D. J.:

The questions raised by this proceeding are whether under section 2 of the act of March 2, 1907 (U. S. Comp. Stat., see, 3859), or under the treaty between the United States and Sweden and Norway of May 26, 1869 (Mailoy's Treaties, Conventions, etc., between United States and Other Powers, Vol. 2, pp. 1758-1761), Anderson is, after more than 10 years' residence in Sweden, an allen or a citizen. The question of expatriation—the question whether one zains or loses citizenship by residence in or away from a country—is one that has been discussed as long as courts in the United States have spoken.

There is no doubt that a man may throw off his allegiance if he desires, and the right so to do is declared to be a natural and inherent one by United States Revised Statutes, page 1999, which statute is no more than the legislative expression of the doctrine laid down by Marshall, C. J., in The Venus (8 Cranch, 280). On the other hand, it has been held with almost complete uniformity that mere residence in a foreign country, even by a naturalized American, has no effect upon anch person's citizenship. (Young v. Peck, 21 Wend., 389; 26 Wend., 613. See also Ware v. Wisner, 50 Fed. Rep., 310; State v. Adams, 45 Iowa, 99; and Brown v. United States, 5 Court of Claims, 571.)

When the law was in such a state as to hold that a man could change his citizenship or allegiance at will, and yet foreign residence, no matter how long continued did not per se affect the status of citizenship, a matter as to which presumptions are needed if any certainty is to be introduced into decisions.

Accordingly the act of June 29, 1906 (see, 15, U. S. Comp, Stat., 4374), makes a return to the native country of a naturalized citizen when any "naturalized citizen shall have resided for two years in the foreign State from which be came," it shall be presumed that he has c

considered in the decision) is no more than a statutory affirmance of the common law, but the court's opinion rests upon the statute and not on tradition.)

This decision also does away with all arguments that might have been founded upon the fact that the act was passed after Anderson left the finited States for Sweden, for if the statute may conclusively hold a female citizen to have elected alienage by marriage it is obvious that it may also hold a nonresident naturalized citizen to have elected alienage by his nonresidence. If there is no deprivation of liberty or property by one act under the statute, there is none by the other.

This is thought to be the first litigation of its kind under this statute, although the law has been upon the books for upwards of eight years. This is because of an opinion of the Attorney General rendered in 1910 and found in volume 28 of Opinions, at page 504.

By referring to the history of the act as it passed through the Houses of Congress and depending for interpretation upon the speeches of Members the conclusion was reached that the statute referred only to the status of naturalized citizens abroad "when the conditions are apparently such as to Indicate that they have no bona fide intention to return and reside in the United States. When a citizen returns to the United States the necessity for such protection no longer exists, and it is fair to assume that with the cessation of the necessity the presumption created by the act also ceases."

There is no such limitation in the act itself, and no obscurity in the language of the section in question. The same style of interpretation was urged upon the Supreme Court in the Mackenzie case and there rejected, and the action of the Department of Labor in respect of Anderson is the result of a belief that the Attorney General's opinion has been overruled by the decision of the Supreme Court. I share that view.

It follows that by force of the statute Anderson lately presented himself at the door of this country with a statutory presumption against him that he had ceased to be an American citizen by reason of his long-continued residence in the land of his birth.

I think this is a rebuttable presumption, but am clearly of opinion that there is nothing in the evidence to sustain the rebutter. It follows that Anderson is an alien, and as such plainly to be excluded upon the facts duly found and shown in the return to the writ.

While the statute is sufficient to dispose of this case, the treaty of consideration. By the naturalization convention of 1860, supra, it was agreed "that if a Swede or Norweglan who has become a naturalized citizen of the United States renews his residence in Sweden or Norway without the intent to return to America he shall be held by the Government of the United States to have renounced his American citizenship.

"The intent not to return to America may be held to exist when a person so naturalized resides more than two years in Sweden or Norway"

Norway"

It is said that this treaty is not now in force because of the separation between those Kingdoms, which occurred in 1905. This is wholly erroneous. The collection of treaties above referred to is official, having been compiled under a resolution of the Senate of January 18, 1909, and the documents which continued in force as to each Kingdom, the treaties made by the United Kingdom may be seen as to Norway at page 1300 and as to Sweden at page 1724 of volume 2 of Malloy's Compendium.

treaties made by the United Kingdom may be seen as to Norway at page 1300 and as to Sweden at page 1724 of volume 2 of Malloy's Compendium.

Thus the treaty raises the same kind of presumption as does the statute. It is, however further urged that upon the construction of the statute contended for by the relator and justified by the opinion of the Attorney General the act of Congress overrides the treaty. As above set forth, I can not agree with this interpretation of the act; but, even if it were otherwise, the admission of aliens and the regulation of citizenship as distinct from allenage is peculiarly a matter of national concern. As to such matters there can be no doubt that treaties are the supreme law of the land, a subject treated of with great force in the address of Hon. F. B. Kellogg before the American Bar Association in 1913 (A. B. A. Repts., vol. 38).

The writ is discharged and the relator remanded.

March 31, 1916.

Oration on William McKinley.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY I. EMERSON.

OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 20, 1916.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an oration on William McKinley by Hon, John J. Sullivan, former United States attorney, at the Tippecanoe Club banquet.

The oration is as follows:

ORATION ON WILLIAM M'KINLEY.

[By Hon. John J. Sullivan, former United States attorney, at the Tippe-canoe Club banquet.]

Here, near his beloved home, near the silent shadows where he sleeps in peace, in the bosom of a people he cherished dear, where live the sunny memories that lightened his labors and his life, where the applauding multitudes worshiped at his shrine, where lived and lies, embosomed in fragrant flowers, the gentle woman he adored, near where he paid his fond adieus, and said his last farewell, we meet to-night to cherish the memory and to pay deserving tribute to the imperishable name of William McKinley.

He was a rare student, a brave soldier, an able lawyer, a gifted statesman, a born diplomatist, an eloquent orator, the leader of the American Congress, a distinguished governor, a people's President, and a royal man. He was gifted with genius and gentleness, and take him all in all, he was incomparable among the mighty men of those eventful days. when by one stroke of his pen, one empire ended, and another was begun; and where a foreign flag went down and his own flag went up, floating forever over the grave of despotic power in the Western Hemisphere.

The crown of his rich and royal life was gemmed and jeweled with the joy of service to his fellow men; and in the firmament

of fame his golden memory is as radiant as a blazing star.

He was an optimist. With unfaltering steps he walked through the bush and bramble, along the way, and plucked the fairest flower that grows in the fragrant field of life. He was gentle, and like the quiet moon in midnight's sky, his chaste memory is a rich serenity and a supreme calm. The golden pages of American history are emblazoned with the glory and genius of his gifted life. At the shrine of our dead chieftain is burning the flaming fire of love and adoration. Under his magic statesmanship the mouths of the hungry were fed, the shivering bodies of the naked were clothed, and the gaunt and

ghastly specter of unemployment cowered and fled before the gave flaming torch to the toiler on his pathway to his happy home. He made the full dinner pail the shining and protecting shield of American labor, and the famous emblem of the Repub-lican Party. He fired the furnaces, gave busy hands to idle toil, and made the sunshine of industry light up the dark, dead places of Democracy.

The mills that were closed by the Democrats were opened by the Republicans, and the doors of public charity that were opened by a Democratic administration were closed by the administration of William McKinley. They were opened again by the administration of Woodrow Wilson, and 4,000,000 unemployed men and women are at the entrance "watching and waiting"—for work and wages. Democratic administrations are the rests in sheet music of American history. Silence in the shops seem to be "the music of the Union," to which the Democratic Party marks time instead of keeping step. As a coiner and creator of crushing chaos the present the administration makes the administration of Grover Cleveland a bright and shining light and a thing of joy forever. The two Democratic administrations of Cleveland and Wilson are the twin lights on the shore that flickered and flashed out when the ship of state, dancing on the Democratic rocks of incapacity, flew the flag of distress from its shivering mast. In the last national campaign the Democratic Party was handicapped by the prosperity of the country. In less than six months of Wilson's administration the country was handicapped by the prosperity of the Democratic Party. And why? Wilson has his Bryan and his Daniels, but William McKinley had his Elihu Root and his John Hay and the experience of his own true, tried, and tested statesmanship.

In every Democratic administration of this country there has always been a miscarriage in the conduct of national affairs. One would think in the face of these recurring disasters that the Democratic Party would flee in its necessity to the scientific experiment of "the twilight sleep." The President says we haven't had a new idea in 30 years. We give him this

Secession and slavery were new ideas, but they were not given birth by the Republican Party. So was greenbackism and free and unlimited coinage of silver, but they were not born in the breast of Republicans. The \$100,000,000 war tax in time of peace is the newest idea, but a stranger to Republican doctrine. Four million idle men is a new idea, but a

stranger to Republican administration.

The Democratic Party never gave birth to a new or an old idea that ever lasted longer than the next election. idea in 30 years! Who is the father of the rural-credit system? There is more hope in the heart of every farmer in the world since that idea was born in the breast of ex-Ambassador Her-This distinguished Republican has flashed the only star that shines to-day in the crown of American diplomacy. In the archives of our foreign affairs this Republican has written the purest and the brightest page. Its heroic luster will shine as long as the stars of night. The earth of Paris trembled with the giant tread of approaching armies, but the only protecting flag that flew in the sky was the glorious banner of the Stars and Stripes; and under its precious waving folds, representing the power, majesty, and humanity of the United States, stood that matchless Republican patriot from Ohio, Myron T. Herrick, the bosom companion of our fallen chieftain. Compare the humiliation to the flag in Vera Cruz to the glory of the flag in Paris. In Vera Cruz the idea was new, but Democratic; in Paris the idea was as old as the spirit of American valor, but Republican. Oh, that we could blot the history of our flag in Mexico from the pages of American history! But in 1916 we will redeem it and place it in the hands of an Ohio man to carry it to glory and victory for the party of William McKinley. It may be Theodore Burton, that soul and sage of statesmanship; it may be Warren G. Harding, the lord of logic, the oracle of oratory; it may be Frank B. Willis, that classic champion of the power of the people; and it may be the civil hero of the world's great war, Myron T. Herrick. Whoever of the four it may be, he will stand for those great principles of protection to American labor and industry that placed William McKinley among the immortals

In the bright lexicon of Republicanism William McKinley believed there was no such clause as "the Nation's unemployed." He believed that there was no cresural pause in the eloquence of industry. To him bad times was a disease in the body politic and prosperity was the normal condition of the country. He diagnosed the disease, revealed the remedy, and gave hope and heart and health to his countrymen. He taught

the world that under his policies of protection that men get work and wages, and that under Democratic policies they lose them both.

The Republican Party has always been a job giver, the Democratic a job loser. He gave the home markets to his own country, and in his last speech, gave us the golden key of reciprocity for the markets of the world. He loved his country, his

party, and his people.

As a lad of 17 he joined the Union Army, and served until 1865 as sergeant, second lieutenant, first lieutenant, and captain of his company. He was promoted on the field of battle for gallantry. As commissary sergeant he had charge of supplies for his company. With such a duty he had no weapon for defense or attack. At Antietam, the bloodiest battle of the war, he carried coffee to the soldiers on the battle line in the midst of a fiery rain of hissing bullets. His valor was witnessed by the colonel of his regiment, R. B. Hayes, another future President of the United States, and was immediately recognized by appointment to the staff of that brave man. He came home and was admitted to the bar, and soon was elected prosecuting attorney of Stark County. After 10 years' practice he proved his fitness for the bar, and in 1876 he was elected to Congress for the eighteenth district of Ohio. In Congress he made his way to the top, and after 14 years of service, having served as chairman of the most important committee, and having become the author of the famous McKinley tariff bill, he

In the hour of defeat he stood staunch and steady in his fight for the principles of protection, and soon was elected governor of Ohio, where he served two terms with great distinction as an able executive. In two national conventions, as a leader of the Sherman and Harrison forces, he was besieged by clamoring hosts to desert his candidate and accede to the insistent call of himself for the Presidency, but each time he turned aside the tempter, and on each occasion he grew nearer and dearer to the great American heart. In 1896 he was the nominee of the Republicans, and after one of the flercest battles in political history he was elected to the highest office in the gift of the people. He guided the destinies of the country during the Spanish-American War, and the victories on sea and land made us a world empire and struck the flag of despotism forever from the western seas.

He was reelected to the Presidential chair by an overwhelming vote, and while delivering a message in golden thought and language, was stricken down by the hand of anarchy, and the whole world wept, and paid his life the homage of its faith

and love.

From prosecutor to President—the mountain top of earthly hope, the limit of human ambition, the brightest gem that glit-

ters in the jewel of human glory.

He had the classic face of Cæsar, but dimpled with manhood's happy smile. In every lineament, his shining countenance was Napoleonic in its grace and grandeur. His life was as pure and clear as the sparkling brook or the golden streams of the dawning sun. In stalwart mind, gentle grace, and courteous word, he summoned from the spirit land the very form and front of Washington himself. His golden voice was music to the eager ear, and his wondrous oratory thrilled the hearts of multitudes. His countrymen came to his hearth and home, from every spot between the oceans, and they were inspired by his matchless presence and princely personality.

His clearness of conception often concluded argument. He

saw clear through the darkness into the hopeful horizon of the light. His thoughts and words were as pure as a mother's love, and his friendships as deep as the ocean. He and Mark Hanna were as Jonathan and David. He and Myrcn Herrick,

as Damon and Pythias.

He loved the birds flying through God's air, throwing rich music from their throats and filling the world with the rapturous melody of song. He loved the sun, the moon, and stars, the gold and silver triune of the sky. His devotion to his sainted wife raised him to heights sublime, and to the women of America he was the idol of the home.

He loved nature. So does every real man. It inspires. In the last sad hour, his eyes turned toward the window, and he saw the sun shining on the foliage of the waving trees. He requested the nurse to move his pillow. She did. "How beauti-

ful," said he, "are the trees."

He loved the Republican Party, he gloried in its triumphant history, and we who love his memory, and revere his shining deeds, will never falter in our fight to restore to the American people, through the party he led and loved, the humane and beneficent principles that foster American labor and protect American industries.

Legislation and Legislative Proposals.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CALEB POWERS.

OF KENTUCKY.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 19, 1916.

Mr. POWERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am going to insert an article bearing date of April 3, 1916, and written by Rev. John A. Ryan, D. D., professor of economics in the Catholic University of Washington, D. C., and entitled "Recent trend of immigration legislation and restriction." This article is a refutation of the charge made by certain Members here, notably Messrs, CHAN-DLEE and BENNET, of New York, and Mr. Gallivan, of Massachusetts, that the Burnett immigration bill is largely the result of religious prejudice. The article written by Dr. Ryan appeared in the weekly press service of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, of which Rev. Peter E. Dietz is the editor. The article is as follows:

LEGISLATION AND LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS.

In 1819 a law was passed regulating conditions of steerage passengers, and providing for collection of statistics.

As a result of the "Know-nothing" movement, a bill was introduced in Congress in 1838 to exclude idiots, lunatics, and incurables, and persons convicted of infamous crimes, but the bill was not even considered. In consequence of the revived "Know-nothing" agitation following the great immigration after 1848, bills were introduced in Congress in the fifties requiring 21 years' residence for naturalization, and excluding foreign paupers and criminals. They did not become laws.

In 1864 Congress passed a law providing for a Commissioner of Immigration, and contract by which the immigrant could assign his wages for not to exceed one year in payment of his passage. Repealed in 1868.

In 1882 after several State (missioner)

in 1868.

In 1882, after several State immigration laws had been declared unconstitutional, Congress formally assumed exclusive control over immigration. Enacted law imposing head tax of 50 cents, excluding those convicted of crime, except for political offenses, and excluding lunatics, lidiots, and those likely to become public charges. State laws mostly had required steamship companies to give bonds to provide for improper immigrants. In 1885 Congress enacted law forbidding immigration of contract laborers.

In 1891 victims of loathsome and contagious diseases and polygamists were added to the excluded classes, and steamship companies were forbidden to solicit or encourage immigration.

In 1892 a bill containing the literacy test was vetoed by President Cleveland.

In 1903 a bill was passed raising the head tax to \$2, and excluding

Cleveland.

In 1903 a bill was passed raising the head tax to \$2, and excluding anarchists.

In 1907 a law was passed raising the head tax to \$4, and adding to the excluded classes imbectles, feeble-minded, and those whose physical or metal defects might affect their ability to earn a living; and it also required the stramship companies to make better provision for steerage passengers. And the Immigration Commission was created.

In 1913 a bill containing the literacy test was vetoed by President Taft, In 1914 an immigration bill was vetoed by President Wilson on account of the literacy test.

By treaty with China in 1880, supplemented by legislation in 1882, Chinese laborers were excluded for a period of 10 years. A renewal of treaty in 1892 continued this exclusion for another 10 years. By legislation in 1902 and 1904 this exclusion was extended indefinitely.

In 1907 an understanding was reached with Japan by which that country refused passports to Japanese laborers seeking embarkation for the United States.

Laws at present in force may be summarized thus: Chinese and Japanese laborers are excluded. A head tax of \$4 is imposed on immigrants. Convicted criminals, except in cases of political offenses; persons afflicted with loathsome and contagious diseases; persons likely to become public charges and those whose physical and mental defects might affect their ability to earn a living; and lunatics, idiots, maniacs, epileptics, imbeciles, feeble-minded, polygamists, and anarchists are excluded.

Bill of 1916 raises head tax to \$8, but exempts children under 16; adds to the liter of excluded releases "nersons of constitutional rescu

excluded.

Bill of 1916 raises head tax to \$8, but exempts children under 16; adds to the list of excluded classes "persons of constitutional psycopathic inferiority"—the near mental incompetents; vagrants; persons suffering from tuberculosis in any form; persons advocating the unlawful destruction of property; Hindus; persons ineligible to citizenship, which means Chinese and Japanese; and those over 16 years of age who can not read some language; certain relatives of admissible allens being exempt from this restriction—namely, father or grandfather over 55, and mother, grandmother, wife, and unmarried or widowed daughter. Besides the bill strengthens considerably the administrative features of our immigration laws, something which was badly needed.

OBJECTS OF LEGISLATION.

Evidently the aim of such laws is primarily the welfare of the United States, and, secondarily, the welfare of the immigrant. All legislation has aimed at improving the quality of immigration as to physique, efficiency, character, and intelligence, and one proposed legislative article also aims to improving the quantity—i. e., lessening it. The only laws affecting the welfare of the immigrant are those providing for better accommodations on vessels, the division of information, the requirement that steamship companies should carry back persons not eligible to admission, and the efforts of some State laws to encourage immigration. immigration.

Despite the best possible methods of improving the quality there may be too many immigrants for one of three reasons—delinquency and dependence, retarded assimilation, and lowered standard of living. Delinquency and dependence do not seem to be sufficiently great to warrant restriction, and while assimilation is considerably slower among the new than the old immigrants, on account of differences of quality, the difficulty is not so great as to warrant restriction of their numbers on the sole ground of assimilation. The change in manners, outlook, and ideals in the second generation is so great that the difficulty is only temporary.

The lowered standard of living is the main justification for restriction, and it is probably the reason behind the greater part of the agitation. Between two-thirds and four-fifths of the adult males of the country received less than \$750 a year, and real wages have declined from 10 to 15 per cent since 1890. The great majority of the new immigrants go into the unskilled industries, thereby overstocking the market for that kind of labor and bringing down the wages. They do not become farmers, as so considerably occurred with the old immigration. The supply of unskilled labor should be reduced. The Immigration Commission was unanimons on this point.

Among methods of restriction suggested are: The requirement of a contract enabling the immigrant to command living wages; the restriction of the arrivals from any country to a certain per cent of the average emigration from that country during the preceding period of 10 years; the division of the immigrant to command living wages; the restriction, it would exclude about one-third.

The opposition to restriction is sentimental, or superficial, or selfish. The sentimentalists want America to be kept a haven for the oppressed, but charity begins at bome, and we want to keep it a genuine haven, instead of developing a proletariat; and we want to keep it an example of genuine democracy and of a better distribution of wealth than exists in Eur

CONCLUSION.

With the Burnett bill passed we shall have sufficient legislation to improve the quality, provide for assimilation, and protect the standard of life that is required for decent living. The religious-persecution exemption from the literacy test is unfair and unnecessary.

Naval Stores.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK PARK, OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 20, 1916.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, if there be any class of citizens of the United States who have been "hard hit" by reason of conditions brought about by the European war, it is the naval-stores operators in the pine belt of the South. The results of a lifetime's effort which had carried many of them to pros-perity have been swept away within a space of 18 months. While their naval-stores operations were conducted on broad lines, some of them having 40 and 50 mules, wagons, and expensive equipment and plants for the manufacture of spirits and rosin from the crude gum, the sudden depression of prices brought about by the cutting off of the foreign market has reduced, I would say, 90 per cent of the operators to bankruptcy or to the verge of bankruptcy.

In many instances the laborers at the naval-stores plants

have been compelled to work without wages and simply for the bare necessities of life and a place to live. The operators have seen their leases on timber expire without realizing a cent's profit; have had their splendid mules, that cost from \$450 to \$600 a pair, sold at sheriff's sales; have had their outfits put up at auction and sold by the sheriff because of circumstances beyond their control and by reason of the closed markets for the products of their business.

If any class of our citizens deserves help along the lines of their business, and who will be grateful for assistance on the line of conserving the timber, of standardizing the product of

that timber, of making better products that will bring better prices, it is the naval-stores operators of the pine belt. While the appropriation is small, at the same time it will go a long way in solving methods of conservation and standardization that is much needed by these people.

It has been shown that when worn-out fields are protected from fire that a crop of pine timber will be produced in 20 years, that is very lucrative when worked by naval-stores operators. And above all, there should be some consideration for the young and growing timber before this industry shall be

blotted out from the industries of the pine belt.

The cotton producers and the tobacco producers have griev-ously and greatly suffered, but I dare say that no class, not even those classes, have been placed in such dire straits as rapidly and with such destruction to all the resources upon which they were dependent, as the naval-stores operators have in the last two years.

Congress can not do better work or investigate along more important lines than to provide a means that will help this class of citizens. The appropriation should not only remain in this bill, but should be increased.

An Open Letter to the Antisaloon League of Oregon.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLIFTON N. MCARTHUR. OF OREGON.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 21, 1916.

Mr. McARTHUR. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the Record, I desire to print a copy of a letter which I have this day mailed to the Antisaloon League of Oregon, in answer to certain false and libelous charges made against me by that organization. The letter is as follows:

> HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Washington, D. C., April 21, 1916.

ANTISALOON LEAGUE OF OREGON,

Stock Exchange Building, Portland, Oreg.

GENTLEMEN: My attention has been called to a circular recently published by the Antisaloon League of Oregon which is not only false and libelous, but which contains matter that seriously reflects upon my rights, reputation, and conduct as a Member of Congress. This circular charges me with bad faith Member of Congress. This circular charges me with had faith because of my refusal to support the proposed prohibition amendment to the Federal Constitution and seeks to convey the impression that I am in league with criminals and am opposed to law enforcement. It is true that I have made the statement that I shall vote against the national prohibition amendment, but my attitude in this matter is the result of the vote on State-wide prohibition in my district on the day of my election to Congress. On that day the people of Oregon adopted State-wide prohibition, but my district rejected it, and, as I had previously agreed to regard the district vote on State-wide prohibition as an instruction to me upon the national question, I feel it, honor bound to fulfill my piedge. I shall, therefore, oppose national prohibition until the people of my district direct me otherwise or until it becomes evident that they have changed their minds.

Under the initiative power vested in them by the constitution of the State the people have the right to vote on this question at any regular election or to pass a directory law asking their Congressman to vote in a specific way upon any question before Congress. I have no prejudice on this question and am animated only by a desire to represent the views of the majority of my constituents. I do not intend, however, to disregard a campaign pledge, which I made in good faith, in order to please any group or faction who may undertake to deliver my vote to a measure with which the people of my district are no: in sympathy. I shall take my orders from the people—not from carpetbag leaders or self-appointed political bosses.

HUTTON PROPOSES SECRET AGREEMENT.

My attitude in this matter is satisfactory to a large majority of my constituents, but a little group of professional politi-cians who have been imported from other States to fill highsalaried positions in your organization have vainly attempted to induce me to change my position, and thereby stultify myself. Mr. R. P. Hutton, your superintendent, has even sought to induce me to enter into a secret agreement with Dr. E. C. Dinwiddie, representative of the Antisaloon League here at Washington, to the effect that I disregard my campaign pledges and vote to submit the national prohibition amendment. sideration for this proposed secret compact Mr. Hutton held out the promise that Mr. E. V. Littlefield, my principal opponent in the coming primary election, would not enter the race. It is needless to say that this proposal was ignored by me.

CIRCULAR IS LIBELOUS.

The circular which your organization has distributed throughout my district is libelous, in that it reflects on my character and integrity. Among other things, it says:

"PAT" MCARTHUR gives license to California booze-boosting, home-destroying defiers of Oregon laws.

This statement is not only false in every particular but is libelous under section 3519 of Lord's Oregon Laws. You know that I have nothing whatever to do with the California liquor dealers who are shipping their goods into Oregon. You know full well that liquor shipments into Oregon are made under authority of a law which you yourselves proposed at the last session of the Oregon Legislature, and which your candidate for Congress, Mr. E. V. Littlefield, supported as a member of that legislature. You know in your hearts that your charge that I give license to California dealers is willfully false. Your circular is replete with false and libelous statements, and contains a nauseating cartoon that should be enough to disgust all decent people with your methods. I blush with shame to think that houses of worship have been defiled by the circulation of these filthy, libelous circulars and that they have been widely distributed among Sunday-school children. A decent regard for the house of God and the innocence of childhood would prevent the circulation of these disreputable publications in such places. Under the section of Lord's Oregon Laws above referred to you are chargeable with political criminal libel, which is punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than two nor more than five years.

VOTERS URGED TO COMMIT PERJURY.

The circular in question is also a criminal publication in that it seeks to induce the electors of the third congressional district of Oregon to commit the crime of perjury. Among other things the circular says:

We are not Republicans. We are dry Independents. We go where the fight is. Since the only chance to crack booze is in the Republican primary, we are registered as Republicans and shall vote for the nomination of Judge E. V. Littlefield and submission of national prohibition on May 19. Will you spoil a good fight by keeping out of it? Register Republican before April 19 and vote for Judge Littlefield in the Republican primary on May 19.

Section 2 of chapter 225 of the Laws of Oregon for 1915 provides that an elector in registering must swear that he is a member in good faith of the party in which he seeks to register, and section 19 of the same act provides that any person who shall swear falsely to any affidavit required by said act shall be deemed guilty of perjury. You admit your own perjury in connection with your registration as Republicans and you show further evidences of your criminality by seeking to suborn others to swear falsely. The penalty for perjury or suborna-tion of perjury under the laws of Oregon is imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than two nor more than five years.

BOAST OF LARGE CAMPAIGN FUND.

I mention these acts of libel, perjury, and subornation of perjury in order to show your thoroughly disreputable methods. I have been told on good authority that you boast of a fund of \$50,000 which will be spent to accomplish my defeat at the coming primaries. You have stated that you intend to make an example of me in order that Congressmen in general will not dare to oppose your program. The public is entitled to know of your corrupt methods and of the brazen boast that a fund of \$50,000 is available to bring about the defeat of a Member of Congress who has announced his determination to fulfill his campaign pledges and keep faith with his constituents.

DOES MR. LITTLEFIELD APPROVE?

In addition to its printed libel, its efforts to suborn perjury, and its disgusting cartoon, your circular contains a picture of Mr. E. V. Littlefield. It is evidently published and circulated in the interests of his candidacy. It is hard for me to believe that Mr. Littlefield approves of your action in printing and dis-tributing your disreputable circular, but his failure to repudiate it and his continued silence upon the subject indicates his acquiescence.

DISTRICT ATTORNEY ASKED TO INVESTIGATE.

I have called the attention of the district attorney of Multnomah County to your circular and have requested him to investigate all facts and circumstances surrounding its author-

ship and publication and to prosecute all guilty parties.

I am certain that the rank and file of the honest and sincere people of which the Antisaloon League of Oregon is composed

had nothing to do with the publication of the circular in question and do not sanction it. The guilty parties are undoubtedly the professional politicians who are on the pay roll of your organization.

Yours very truly.

C. N. MCARTHUR.

South Side Waterways of Long Island.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS.

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 4, 1916.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, of the many problems which confront a nation, few are of greater importance than those per-taining to transportation. Production and consumption are linked together by communication. Each is dependent upon the other, and the three working in harmony form the basis of our domestic and industrial welfare. Our prosperity in times of peace and our safety in times of war to a very large extent rest upon an efficiently managed, well-regulated, and economically

operated system of transportation.

Much has been said and written about the part played by our much has been said and written about the part played by our railroads in developing our resources—achievements indicative of the virility, energy, and faith of the Nation. Let me say a word in reference to our neglected canals, once potent factors of commerce, and which, in my opinion, are destined in the not distant future to regain the favor they once enjoyed and the importance they formerly possessed. Our forefathers, realizing the value of canals and improved waterways in the development of the country, planned and carried forward to completion in the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century many enterprises of this character. With the advent and rapid expansion of the railroad, however, interest in water-ways lagged, and this important aid to our industrial growth was neglected.

Within the past few years the congestion of traffic on our railroads caused by the enormous growth of our population with its increased power of consumption—a corollary of the Nation's material prosperity—has made us realize the need of additional facilities for the transportation of the products of

our industries.

The importance of a well-devised and judiciously located canal system as a factor in the material development and substantial progress of a country is apt to be underestimated by most men in these days of multiplied railway communication.

This quotation from the pen of A. Barton Hepburn, Esq., is worthy of serious thought and consideration. While water routes may in certain classes of freight rival transit by land, canal and river borne traffic primarily supplements rather than

competes with the railroads.

Previous to the introduction of the steam engine, less than 100 ears ago, mankind was dependent upon the slow and costly method of transportation by animal power, supplemented by canals and waterways. Canals are among the most ancient of man's works. Far back in the twilight of antiquity, in those remote ages when authentic history emerges from the mists of tradition and legend, we find those old civilizations of China, along the Euphrates, and in the Valley of the Nile utilizing manmade waterways to transport their products from place to place.

Europe began her great canal systems in the twelfth century, under the lead of the Dutch, whose lands were peculiarly adapted to canalization. For centuries Holland pushed forward the work, until to-day cargoes can be shipped by barges to every part of the country. With an area of 12,741 square miles, this little part of the country. With an area of 12,741 square miles, this little Kingdom has 2,400 miles of canals. Belgium, the most densely populated nation in the world, probably has the most complete waterway system of any country. With 2,600 miles of railways this great industrial and agricultural nation has 1,400 miles of navigable waterways, costing over \$100,000,000, upon which it depends as the principal means of transportation. France has 10,500 miles of waterways, of which over 3,000 are canals, the system penetrating into all the districts, furnishing cheap transportation between the interior and the seacoast. In the past 100 years France has spent nearly \$500,000,000 upon these public waterways

Following the Franco-German War Prince Bismarck undertook the extension and modernizing of the German waterways, by which her water-borne traffic has been increased to enormous proportions. Cleap water transportation has been a potent factor in the industrial development of the Empire and of inestimable value in the handling of her military forces.

In Great Britain there are 4.673 miles of inland canals, nearly

all of which are privately owned and operated, upon which over a third of the domestic trade of England is carried.

Austria-Hungary in the past 50 years has by an expenditure of \$100,000,000 on waterway improvements more than doubled her water tonnage.

In Russia the construction of canals, inaugurated by Peter the Great, has been pushed forward at the cost of many millions of

In 1893 Greece completed the Corinth Canal, 4 miles in length, between the Gulf of Corinth and the Saronic Gulf, which shortens the distance between the Ægean Sea and Adriatic by 200 miles. Owing to the narrowness of the channel-70 feetand the strong tidal currents this canal has not proved a success. Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Italy have all entered extensively into the work of canal construction, which has proved most efficacious in developing their resources and stimulating their commerce. Canada has completed many extensive canal projects and has expended \$110,000,000 upon artificial The Dominion is now contemplating the construcwaterways. tion of another great canal to parallel the Welland, connecting Lakes Ontario and Erie. In China canals for ages have been the principal means for transportation, constituting a vast network of waterways connecting the principal cities of that vast nation. The world's most famous canal is the Suez, projected by De Lesseps and opened to commerce in 1869. This canai, which is about 90 miles in length, is carried on the company's books at a valuation of \$136,000,000. Its high record of tonnage in a single year stands at 25,775,000 tons, and of passengers passing through 282,235, producing a revenue of nearly \$27,000,000. Under the skill, determination, and foresight of America the Panama Canal, the greatest engineering feat of the ages, will add to the commerce of the world another trade route. This great lock canal, 50 miles in length from deep water to deep water, having a minimum depth of 41 feet and a width of 300 feet, cost the United States, including all charges, over \$375,000,000.

I have briefly outlined the attitude of other nations in regard to this subject to show its importance in their development. We annually appropriate vast sums for the improvement of our own rivers and harbors, a policy essential for the promotion of our trade and commerce. I believe we should give greater consideration to our canals than we have done, for the time has arrived when we can profit by their construction. We have done but little comparatively; and, while we possess 4,479 miles of canals and 48,000 miles of other waterways, our canals, with but few exceptions, are so antiquated as to be of little commercial

Mr. Speaker, I desire to lay before this House a project which merits the favorable consideration of the Government; it is meritorious, feasible, and certain in its reward. I refer to the South Side waterways of Long Island, and desire as briefly as I can to mention its most salient features. Long Island, known in the Algonquin tongue as Sewanahaka, is undoubtedly of glacial origin. Stretching along its northern side in slightly converging lines, is a series of hills-the deposit of ancient terminal moraines, with elevations of from 150 to 384 feet above The south side consists of an unbroken plain of stratified drift flanked by a chain of shallow bays and narrow channels, separated from the ocean by a fringe of sandy beach. This protecting bar extends in nearly a straight line from the west end of the Island at New York Harbor eastward a distance of about 70 miles. The project, which has been discussed and advocated for many years, proposes to connect by a continuous channel this series of inland bays, of which all but two are already confluent, and thus open up a great water route from New York to all the towns situated on the south side and eastern end of the Island. The present water connection between these communities and the city is through the tide-swept inlets and thence along the coast on the ocean side of the bar. For vessels of small tonnage and light draft this is at all times dangerous.

The most important of these bays, commencing at the west, are Jamaica, Hempstead, South Oyster, Great South, Moriches, Shinnecock, and Peconic. They vary in width from a few hundred yards to as much as 5 miles. Jamaica Bay is connected with the Atlantic Ocean by Rockaway Inlet, and also with Sheepshead Bay. This latter bay was formerly connected with Gravesend Bay, a part of New York Harbor, by Coney Island Creek. Hempstead Bay is connected with the ocean by two inlets—East Rockaway and Jones—while the Great South Bay, the largest of all, has an outlet through Fire Island Inlet. Moriches and Shinnecock Bays have no direct connection with

A channel, part natural, part artificial, connects the Great South Bay with the bays to the eastward and by means of a canal, between Shinnecock Bay and Peconic, built 25 years ago by the State at a cost of \$200,000, it is possible to operate a small boat through the greater part of these waters.

The upland along the northern shore of these bays consists of a series of low promontories separated from each other by creeks and tide-swept meadows. In close proximity to the shore a great highway extends the entire length of the Island, passing through many large and prosperous villages, including Inwood, Lawrence, Cedarhurst, Woodmere, Lynnbrook, Rockville Center, Freeport, Massapequa, Amityville, Babylon, Bay Shore, Islip, Sayville, Bayport, Patchogue, Bellport, the Moriches, Eastport, Westhampton, Quogue, and Good Ground. Bordering on Jamaica Bay are the Rockaways, part of the city of New York. To the eastward of the canal route are the Hamptons, Wainscott, Watermill, and Amagansett. All these towns extend along the shore line and are as accessible by water as by railroad. In fact, in most cases water communication will be the most convenient. The communities nearest New York have developed so rapidly within the past few years that to-day they form a continuous stretch of residences and business blocks. system of protected inland bays lies practically fallow, due to the absence of connecting canals. The project presents no serious problem of engineering and offers no difficulties that can not be easily overcome. The work consists of deepening and widening a few channels, cutting a short canal, and building a few bridges. Before summarizing the advantages to be derived by the construction of this waterway let me refer to the development which is now going forward in Jamaica Bay, one of the links in the chain, having as its objective the increase of the harbor facilities of New York and the construction of one of the world's greatest terminal harbors

From the report of the Chief of Engineers:

From the report of the Chief of Engineers:

Jamaica Bay is an indentation in the south shore of Long Island, the entrance being about 8 miles east of the Narrows, New York Harbor. The bay includes a total area of about 18½ square miles, and is separated from the Atlantic Ocean by Rockaway Beach. The project for the improvement of this bay is a cooperative one, for making a general harbor in Jamaica Bay by dredging an entrance channel and protecting it by one or two jettles, as may prove necessary, and by dredging a main interior channel along the west and north side of the bay, at the expense of the United States, the city of New York to make these channels of service by predging basins, bulkheading the water front, and making suitable highway and rail connections with the upland. It provides for making and maintaining a channel with width of 500 feet and depth of 18 feet 16 oc increased as the needs of commerce require and as may be further authorized by Congress to a width of 1,500 feet for the entrance channel and 1 000 reet for the interior channel, and to a maximum depth throughout of 30 feet. The tength of channel included in the project is 12 miles; tidal variations 4½ feet. Approved estimate of cost to the United States for original work not to exceed \$7,430,000 in any event; to the city of New York, from \$13,500,000 to \$70,000,000, according to the extent of works undertaken.

ABGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE PROJECT.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE PROJECT.

Long Island, with a length of 123 miles and an area of 1,365 square miles, has a total population of 2,432,115, of which the major portion live along the line of the proposed waterway. This vast aggregation of people demands increased facilities of transportation. In the development of the villages on the shores of the bays great quantities of building material are annually consumed. Brick, lumber, cement, and tiling, as well as much of the hardware, naturally belong to water traffic. Coal and material for road construction can be transported far more cheaply by boat than by cars. Several of the large oil companies now operate supply boats in the delivery of gasoline, an item of vast importance to the automobile owners and baymen of Long Island. This canal would enable boats to discharge their cargoes in the very center of the towns. Traffic would operate both ways, for the farmers could deliver their products at the docks built on the canal laterals, to be shipped to the markets in New York at less expense than by rail. the baymen engaged in fishing or the dredging of oysters this canal would be of inestimable value, for in their own boats, without the expense of reshipping, they could carry their catch direct to the dealers in the city. With the development of the gasoline marine engine, water transportation has undergone a vast change in the past few years and is destined to revolutionize our system of distribution. In addition to giving us increased freight facilities, and thereby lowering the rates of transportation, this canal would stimulate business and commercial development along its entire length. By placing the dredged material upon the marshes new areas would be created for cultivation, which would add greatly to the assessed valuation of the State as well as providing additional land for homeseekers.

It may be asked, and properly so, what help will Long Island give to the undertaking; what cooperation will the State of New York lend to the enterprise? Mr. Speaker, permit me to say in behalf of the district whose commission I hold as Member of this House that in the full conviction of its merit we stand ready to give not merely our enthusiasm but are ready to support our faith with our gold. For every dollar which the Federal Government appropriates for the project we will

expend an equal amount.

Another project worthy of favorable consideration is the construction of a canal from Jamaica Bay to Flushing Bay across the Island, a development which will be of utmost importance to the industrial expansion of the Borough of Queens, which is fast becoming a great manufacturing center. Here in the great city of New York, with a constant demand for factory sites and transit facilities, an opportunity is afforded of adding tremendously to the resources of the State and increasing the industrial growth of the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of increasing the commerce of the Nation and augmenting the prosperity of a large number of the citizens of the Empire State, Long Island, which contributes its full quota to the revenues of the Government, which stands now and always for the development of the country and which responds to every impulse in the great forward movement of our civilization, submits its claim for consideration to Congress and appeals to every gentleman of this House to

support the South Side Waterways Improvement.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE PROJECT.

By the River and Harbor act of March 2, 1907, a preliminary examination was authorized of a proposed inland route on the southern shore of Long Island from Jamaica Bay to Peconic Bay, through the Great South Bay and adjacent waters, with a view of obtaining a channel 100 feet wide and 6 feet deep with lateral canals.

The proposition embraced 84 miles, of which 76 miles were for

the direct route and 8 for laterals.
On July 17, 1907, Col. Knight reported adversely to the

project

In 1908 the case was reopened by the House Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and the Board of Engineers reported that they had "reached the conclusion that the interests involved are now sufficient to warrant a full investigation." A survey was duly authorized in 1909 with Col. Knight in charge of the work. A report on the undertaking, through pressure of other work, was delayed until 1914, when Col. Roessler, of the Corps of Engineers, rendered an unfavorable report which was concurred in by Gen. Plack. curred in by Gen. Black. As a result of this report an appeal was taken and hearings were held in Washington on April 22 and May 19. 1914, at which time many gentlemen interested in the enterprise appeared and strongly advocated the undertaking. It was then intimated that there would be extensive cooperation, both from the towns and the State, and as a result the board recommended that the matter be reconsidered. Carrying out this recommendation, Maj. Dent, of the Corps of Engineers, held a meeting in New York on January 18, 1915, at which time interested parties again urged the importance of the canal. It was suggested at this meeting that local interests cooperate by providing the following:

(A) Right of way sufficient for the proposed canal and sufficient to ultimately increase the cross section to 100 feet wide

and 12 feet deep.

(B) All bridges over the canal.

(C) Disposal area for the proposed canal, for its enlargement as above, and for materials to be dredged during maintenance operations for 20 years.

(D) Lateral canals connecting with the main channel.

At this conference a proposed bill authorizing the appropria-tion of \$995,000 by the State of New York to further the work was approved, and in discussing it Maj. Dent said:

was approved, and in discussing it Maj. Dent said:

As I understand the intent of this bill, it is that the State of New York shall furnish the right of way for the proposed waterway, leaving all dredging to be done by the United States. Now, in connection with the right of way, there has, of course, to be considered the subject of bridges to centinue the rights of way across the proposed canal, and this bill proposes to take care of those, also. There is one other subject in which the localities are able to materially cooperate with the United States, and that is by provision for areas for the disposition of the dredged material. In most cases this becomes a matter of filling in swamp lands, and while the bill does not contemplate the purchase of swamp lands for that purpose, in my report I shall include as one of the requirements that the localities furnish areas for the disposal of material for constructing a G-foot canal, as originally projected, and for enlarging that to a 10-foot canal, a subject on which I am not allowed to report at the present time, and for the disposal of material in course of maintenance of this canal for a period of 20 years.

After several gentlemen had spoken in reference to the subject, Maj. Dent requested that the matter of disposal areas be considered. Supervisors Smith, of Hempstead, and Cocks, of Oyster Bay, both stated that in their opinion their respective towns would furnish facilities for the disposition of dredged material. It was also stated that other towns along the route would cooperate in this matter.

Maj. Dent, continuing, said:

Before it is possible that any work can be done on this canal, the matter will have to pass through the hands of Congress, and for that reason a considerable delay in months from now is absolutely to be expected. The usual form to follow under these conditions is that money shall not become available until these rights of way and lands for other purposes have been set aside. I do not think that the matter is in sufficiently definite form to get definite relinquishments at the present time.

On January 30, 1915, Maj. Dent made a favorable report on the subject, with the proviso that the State of New York lend its cooperation as outlined in the proposed bill. This report has not yet been acted upon by the board, the matter being held in abeyance pending the action of the State authorities.

In pursuance of an act passed by the legislature soon after this hearing, calling upon the State engineer to investigate and report his findings, Mr. Williams, the State engineer, reported

as follows:

as follows:

I believe that a majority of the people of the south shore of Long Island desire the construction of this canal; that if properly constructed and of the proper dimensions such a canal would form a continuation of the Barge Canal system and would afford an opportunity for commercial development on certain sections of Long Island; that it would form part of the national intercoastal system, the completion of which is to be much desired; that I have been informed and believe that such a canal would serve as part of the national-defense scheme; that as to the cost of the necessary right of way, including the erection of necessary structures, bridges, etc., I have formed no opinion for the reason set forth above, but that if the cost of the right of way does not prove to be excessive and the United States Government will build a channel of a size and type conforming to Barge Canal dimensions, it would seem to me as though there might be an opportunity to add to the commercial waterways of the State an important link.

Respectfully submitted.

Respectfully submitted.

FRANK M. WILLIAMS, State Engineer and Surveyor.

In the session of 1916 a bill, having the indorsement of Senator Thompson and Assemblymen McWhinney, Murphy, and Talmage, was introduced appropriating \$995,000 "to provide for securing lands and rights of way for a proposed canal and appurtenances, to be constructed by the Federal Government on Long Island, and for aiding such construction, and making an appropriation therefor."

This bill is still being considered by the legislature.

ROUTE.

The route of the canal is naturally divided into four sections, as follows:

First, The Far Rockaway section, which traverses the uplands and salt marshes between Jamaica Bay and Hempstead Bay.

Second. The Hempstead and South Oyster Bay section. Third. The Great South Bay section, traversing the open bay between Babylon and Bellport.

Fourth. The Moriches-Shinnecock section, extending from

Bellport to Peconic Bay.

Section No. 1 offers the most difficulties and will be the most expensive to construct, as it cuts the high ridge of ground which connects Far Rockaway with the main part of the Island, upon which are many costly buildings. Any route across this strip will cost in the purchase of the right of way and the construction of the necessary bridges four or five times as much as the excavation work of the canal.

Estimates of cost:

Section No. 1: Land Excavation 4 bridges	\$600, 000 297, 000 290, 000	
Section No. 2: Excavation (main canal) Excavation (laterals)	153, 000 115, 000	\$1, 187, 000
Section No. 3, nominal. Section No. : Excavation	202, 000	268, 000
2 bridgesPeconic jetties	100, 000 62, 000	364, 000
Contingencies		75, 000 1, 894, 000

To make this canal of the greatest benefit and prevent a monopoly of terminal facilities a lateral canal from the trunk line should be constructed to every village, terminating in a large basin, along which warehouses and landings should be built for public use.

Maj. Dent, in support of his recommendation, summarized the

arguments in favor of the canal as follows:

(a) Due to its proximity to New York City and to its location on the water, the shores of Great South Bay are being rapidly developed for residential use.

(b) In the course of this development large quantities of building materials, paving materials, etc., are required, and such materials can be most economically transported by water.

(c) In the larger communities there is an opportunity for the establishment of depots for the supply of coal, ice, etc., which can also

be most economically transported by water. This traffic should rapidly increase as the communities grow in size.

(d) In the process of the development of water-front property channels from the bay inland can be dredged by local interests. A through channel connecting these side channels is an essential feature before they can be fully utilized.

(e) Barge traffic between New York City and the waters to be reached by the proposed channel is under present conditions subject to many interruptions, due to weather conditions, and is regarded as extra hazardous. The proposed channel would make such traffic safe at all times.

(f) The proposed channel will provide a right of way for a channel of larger dimensions should the necessity for such larger dimensions become apparent. The cost of such right of way will be less if it is obtained now than if its purchase is delayed.

(g) A constant increase in traffic is to be expected.

I regret that time does not permit me to review the many arguments advanced by gentlemen of influence, whose opinions are worthy of the most serious consideration. I will, however, give the views of three experts on shipping matters.

J. H. Williams, of the Williams Line of towboats, New York:

There is not the slightest doubt but what such a canal would be of great benefit to all shipping interests.

E. Platt Stratton, noted shipping expert:

The value of deep inland waterways has been demonstrated in France, Germany, and recently in England on the Manchester Canal. There is more to be gained by such systems in this country on account of the greater length of haul to and about our seaboard.

Mr. B. W. King, of the King's Transportation & Supply Co.,

There is no question about the practicability or the profitable business and benefits that would be derived on the realization of such a water route on the south side and east end of Long Island.

The project has been indorsed by and received the hearty support of the New York Waterways Association, town and county boards, chambers of commerce, boards of trade, civic organizations, public officials, and men of standing from all sections of Long Island, to whom sincere thanks are due from all of us who are interested in this important enterprise. To show the urgent need of the canal let me cite the growth of Long Island in recent years and that of the State from the first census.

Population by counties.

	1890	1900	1910	1915
Kings County Queens County Nassau County Suffolk County	838, 547	1,166,582	1,634,351	1, 803, 191
	87, 050	152,999	284,041	395, 651
	41, 009	55,448	83,930	115, 827
	62, 491	77,582	96,138	117, 446

POPULATION STATE OF NEW YORK.

Long Island furnishes homes to more people than reside in the combined States of Arizona, Delaware, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, Vermont, and Wyoming.

Brief notes on the great canals of the United States

Brief notes on the	gicar ca	1				
Name.	Year opened.	Length.	Bottom width.	Depth.	Cost.	Points connected.
Albemarle-Chesapeake Augusta (Georgia). Champlain Chesapeake & Delaware Chesapeake & Ohio. Chicago Drainage. Cape Cod. Columbia (Oregon). Delaware & Raritan Erie. Illinois & Michigan Lehigh Coal (Pennsylvania) Louisville & Portland Miami & Erie. Morris (New Jersey). Ohio Oswego (New York). Schulkill Navigation Schulkill Navigation Schulkill Navigation	1847 1822 1829 1850 1900 1914 1889 1838 1825 1848 1821 1830 1835 1836 1835	Miles. 14 7 66 13 181 28 13 4.5 44 352 96 2.4 263 106 326 38 50 2.7	Feet. 45 106 35 40 118 158 100 40 56 30 18 35 30 26 56 40	Feet. 10 11 5 10 6 22 25 8 9 7 7 8 6 12 5 5 4 7 7 6 6 25	\$1,151,800 2,090,000 14,000,000 52,697,000 3,816,000 65,402,000 9,195,000 7,066,000 5,856,000 6,000,000 6,000,000 7,905,000 11,018,000 11,018,000	Norfolk-Albemarle Sound. Augusta-Savannah River. Lake Champlain-Hudson River. Delaware River-Chesapeake Bay. Washington-Cumberland. Chicago-Lockport. Massachusetts Bay-Buzzards Bay Around Cascades. New Brunswick-Bordentown. Albany-Buffalo. Chicago-La Salle. Coalport-Easton-Bristol. Around falls of Ohlo River. Toledo-Cincinnati. Jersey City-Easton Pa. Cleveland-Portsmouth. Oswego-Syracuse. Philadelphia-Port Clinton. Around falls St. Marys River.

The old Erie Canal, conceived by Gov. Clinton, as originally built had a depth of 3½ feet and cost about \$7,000,000. Its successful operation gave a great impetus to inland transportation, and in 1850 the canals of New York were carrying 81 per cent of all traffic handled. Before 1837 the canal, which by that time had cost \$10,000,000, had earned \$15,000,000 in tolls. Then with the development and rapid extension of the railroads the tide turned, and by 1875 water-bound traffic had fallen to 34 per cent, and by 1908 to less than 4 per cent. In 1862 the canal was enlarged both in depth and width. In 1905 the State of New York began the construction of the Erie Barge Canal, the route in the main following the old Erie Canal from Buffalo to Albany. This canal will have a depth of 12 feet and will cost with terminals about \$137,000,000. A project which is receiving favorable consideration is the proposed canal on American soil connecting lakes Ontario and Erie.

The Great "Soo" Canal of Michigan has been improved from

time to time to meet the demands of the ever increasing traffic. Taken in conjunction with the Canadian canal at the same falls, the tonnage of this short canal is the largest of any artificial waterway in the world.

The Philippine Question.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL, OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 22, 1916.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, our position in regard to holding the Philippines is a good deal like the fellow who got hold of the bear. It is as dangerous to let go as it is to hang on.

Before we set the Filipinos adrift to paddle their own canoes they must be capable of self-government. A grant of independence will not convey the power of self-government. Let us move slowly and prevent. It will be hard to restore after the harm has been done. The natives are not in the clutches of a rapaclous, nonresident, taxing government, tyrannous and oppressive. The question is whether they shall remain a little longer in their The question is whether they shall remain a little longer in their progress to ultimate independence under the tutelage of the United States, protected from elements of destruction within and from enemies without. If a general knowledge of the people, the country, and the conditions in the Philippines prevailed, there would not be such differences of opinion as to our duties there. Ex-President Taft; Dean Worcester, late secretary of the interior of the Philippine Islands; Prof. Thomas Blaney, of Texas, commissioned by the Review of Reviews to go to the islands and get a true report; and perhaps best informed of all, Representative Miller, of Minnesota, all agree that there is a thoughtful and serious mass of natives to be considered there is a thoughtful and serious mass of natives to be considered who do not want independence. This viewpoint the Filipinos are reticent of delivering, except to those they trust, for should the "politicos" prevail such a statement would put a period to their usefulness. They would be marked for slaughter in the day when the bolo usurps the constitution. They hold that revolution will have forthere the statement would be the United Statement. lution will burst forth once the strong hand of the United States is withdrawn. The mutual hatred of native tribes and Filipinos will flame into deadly strife, and near at hand is an avid power which will not be slow to avail itself of their extremity. Already, at the suggestion that the islands be set free, there is a state of industrial panic.

We hardly regard the Mexicans as ready for self-government. But there is even greater diversity from the top to the bottom of humanity in the Philippine Islands. From the Fili-pino to the countless wild tribes, each with his dialect, unintelligible to the others, there is such animosity that they can not be called a people nor appealed to as a whole. Though the Filipinos are in the majority, they can not rule this inchoate mass. At the one extreme is the lowest depth of savageryhead-hunting, belief in witchcraft, charms, and miracle healers. These mistake liberty for license, and imagine it some magic thing that will relieve them of the burden of taxes and jail and work. Prof. Blaney says that the big error of this present administration has been "a nervous zeal to please the native Filipino, with a resultant Filipinizing of the service that is for meaching in the had affect."

Filipino, with a resultant Filipinizing of the service that is far-reaching in its bad effect."

A native Filipino, who dare not give his name for fear of the lively bolo, says that the legacy of the United States to the Philippine Islands will be remembered as "a splendid educational system, an excellent judicial system, and an all-pervading system of petty Tammany politics, which the present administration has fostered, and which, unfortunately, will far outshadow the other two." In the years of tenure there gathered in the islands man who underground how to handle these spoiled shadow the other two." In the years of tenure there gathered in the islands men who understood how to handle these spoiled children of nature. Straightway the new administration, spurred by their wonderful policy of economy, on which they expected to make a record, and forgetting that other equally important word efficiency, proceeded to undo what had been accomplished. Instead of standing back of those officials who were in touch with the situation, on one pretext or another they caused the "resignation" of these men, supplanting them with new material. These new officials were out of sympathy with the natives. They did not realize that it was necessary to stand firm for the hard-won principles worked out by their predecessors. They lacked the imagination to perceive that office changing with change of administration was an incomprehensible thing to the native mind. They tried to excuse their mistakes by vilifying the preceding administration. The native

mind was further bewildered. They lost respect entirely as a result of our methods being held up to scorn.

Realizing that they were losing their hold on the people, though evading the true solution, they sought to remedy their blunders by currying favor with the natives. Matters degenerated into a mad chase for a job. The presidency of the university fell to a Filipino "to whom no other position was open and whose friends insisted that he be taken care of." The work done by these native appointees is the best evidence of their unfitness for self-government. Since Capt. Sleeper "resigned" from the land office and it was consigned to the hands of a Filipino the work slumped. Another had to be appointed. The result was no better. Since the bureau of agriculture is in the hands of Filipinos there has been an increase of rinderpest. In the native assembly they seem to be too busy assigning jobs

to do any lawmaking.

In the Outlook of September 15 ex-President Taft is quoted as saying that "the Filipinos would not be ready for self-govern-ment for two generations of American-educated children. And self-government must come before independence can be dreamed about." Who should know better than our ex-President and former governor of the islands? He speaks of his own knowledge that they have no self-control, and counsels the danger of giving them self-government too quickly. The percentage of illiteracy in the islands is 79.8 per cent. And those are counted as literate who can manage a few words in their own dialect. The native press stands as a veil between the people—such of them as can read—and the United States Government, and deliberately falsifies facts and misrepresents our motives. tries to stir up the people to rebel by holding up as oppressive the efforts of the United States to maintain sanitation and establish schools. It hinders the Government in its efforts to stamp out cattle plague and human contagious diseases

Our duty is to teach the Filipinos how to prosper. We must give them right standards of living. They must be given time to assimilate our methods, our efficiency, our administration. We must maintain justice for them and keep their nationality until it is able to stand by its own strength. We must not limit ship shall terminate on such and such a day. We must leave a self-sustaining people or else not assume responsibility for their actions when we shall have no power to say what they shall do. our power for use by saying that, whether or not our guardian-

If we turned these islands loose and did not guarantee their independence, England would not stand for it. We could never take on us the responsibility of guaranteeing their independence. From the island of Formosa, the southmost of the Japanese group, once China-owned, now owned by Japan, the Philippine Islands stretch is a broken line eleven hundred miles across the front of China. The trans-Pacific trade routes must pass through these islands to reach Hongkong, Singapore, New Zealand, Sumatra, and Australia. Trade coming from Australia to the English ports of Hongkong and Singapore is routed through these islands. All trade from the Suez Canal to Australia and the trans-Pacific coasts passes through these islands. Should we turn them loose without guaranteeing their

independence, they would fall into the hands of Japan, and to this England would never consent.

When Spain in the treaty of Paris ceded to the United States the "archipelago known as the Philippine Islands" there was no mention of the length of our tenure, no question of the termination of our obligation. We agreed to guard the property rights of all, whether native or foreign; we promised to preserve religious freedom. We supplanted the Spanish Government, such as it was, and it is our business to maintain government in its stead, not abandon the place to anarchy. On the basis of our assumption many firms invested capital which otherwise they would not have invested. People from this country took up their residence on the islands. Our own citizens have a right to have their property safeguarded. We are under moral obligations to remain on this account if for no other—a perpetual, not a short-lived obligation. To turn back now would be criminal. It is not American to give up, to quit because a thing is difficult. To do so would make of our name and fame a byword, place our statesmanship in jeopardy, and leave our wards in danger, and I am therefore opposed to "scuttling."

The Services Rendered in War to the Nation by the Mother and the Wife.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LOUIS C. CRAMTON,

OF MICHIGAN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 22, 1916.

Mr. CRAMTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me, I desire to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting the following correspondence between the Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage and myself relative to suffrage and the part borne by women in time of war:

PENNSYLVANIA ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE, Philadelphia, Pa., January 28, 1916.

Hon. Louis C. Cramton, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood is reported in the Philadelphia newspapers as having testified before the Senate Committee on Mili-tary Affairs that with the right of suffrage goes an obligation for mili-

tary Affairs that with the right of suiriage goes in domestic that you tary service.

This is the contention of all antisuffragists, and we trust that you will not vote for the woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution, which would divide our electorate into responsible and irresponsible voters—the males being responsible for national defense on the battle-field and the females necessarily exempted from such service.

Those who in the last analysis must risk their lives for their country should be solely responsible for its policies.

Respectfully, yours.

D. W. Brock, President.

Mrs. Horace Brock,

President Pennsylvania Association

Opposed to Woman Suffrage,

1126 South Penn Square, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr Dear Madam: I am in receipt of yours of the 28th instant referring to the statement of Gen. Wood to the effect that with the right of suffrage goes an obligation for military service. I note especially your conclusion:

"Those who in the last analysis must risk their lives for their country should be solely responsible for its policies."

From this statement, much to my surprise, I find that you draw the conclusion that suffrage should not be extended to women. I am willing to place my support of suffrage for women on the very clause in your letter which I have quoted. Using your own test, I do not deem women irresponsible voters. Waiving those classes of women who "risk their lives for their country" at other times than in military crisis, as in childbirth, I do not agree with you that women piay no part in the salvation of their country in times of military crisis. Waiving even those cases of heroism on the part of women on every European battlefield, I insist that the woman at home who sends forth to war her husband and her sons has, in yielding up to the service of her country the all of her happiness, perhaps robbing all her future of everything but mourning, and who remains at home and keeps running the machinery of civilization, her day filled with dread of what the news from the front may bring or with tears for the news that has come, such play their parts in the welfare of their Nation just as truly as the men that go into line of battle. Lincoln thought so, and penned his eloquent tribute to the services of womanhood in his world-famous letter to Mrs. Bixby, extending to that poor woman the thanks of the Republic her five sons died to save. What man has sacrificed more for his country?

Sometimes men smaller than Lincoln have seemed loathe to appreciate the sacrifices of womanhood, but it is to me a distinct shock that he inevitable trend toward universal suffrage can be s

The Late Representative Witherspoon.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. CLAUDE KITCHIN, OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, March 5, 1916.

The House had under consideration the following resolutions (H.

The House had under consideration the following resolutions (H. Res. 157):

"Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. Samuel A. Witherspoon, late a Member of this House from the State of Mississippil.

"Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand adjourned.

"Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate. "Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolution to the family of the deceased."

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, it is a genuine pleasure to join with his friends in honoring to-day the memory of a man whom I admired and loved. I knew our deceased friend perhaps as well as any man in Congress did. During his entire service as a member of Congress we lived at the same hotel. I knew him in his private room; I knew him in the assembly room, in the smoking room of the hotel, where every night a half dozen or more Members would gather for a social exchange of views. I knew him in the cloakroom, in his office, in my office; I knew him on the floor of the House. I have been a Member now 15 years, and presume that during that time I have served with from fifteen hundred to two thousand Members of Congress. Of all that number Sam Witherspoon stands out in my mind as one of the rare, marked men. I am going to say here when he is dead what I have often said while he was living, that in many respects he was the superior of any man with whom I WITHERSPOON had more courage have ever served in Congress. of conviction than any Member whom I have known. His conscience and judgment blazed and marked out for him the path of duty, and down that path he would walk more steadfastly and with less swerving than any man with whom I have served. He had the most analytical mind of any man in the His perceptions and conceptions of the different principles involved in every question were clearer, he could set out the lines of demarcation with more definiteness and accuracy than any man with whom I have served. Witherspoon was a man of unusual ability. He was a thinker, a profound thinker, a student, a diligent student. He was a philosopher, wise and interesting; he was a logician, unexcelled. He measured up fully to the standard of statesman.

As has been indicated here, he sometimes voted quite differently from many of his colleagues, from myself, from his colleagues from Mississippi. Often, in the evenings in the smoking room of the hotel, I would hear gentlemen discussing with him why he voted this way or that way. While I have sometimes thought he voted wrong, I have never heard anyone give as good reason why he was wrong as Witherspoon could why he was right. I have discussed his vote with him sometimes, and had to quietly confess to myself that he had a better reason for voting the way he did than I could give why he should have voted the other way. He had as little of the demagogue in him as any man I ever knew-he had none at all; he had no hypocrisy about him; he was not a courtier; he was not a bellboy of any man's opinions; he took orders from no man. His convictions were his own, and they were formed only after the most mature study and thought. He never jumped to conclusions. He never asked with respect to a single vote he cast in this House, Will it hurt or help me in my district? He never asked with respect to any measure, Will it pay? The only question he ever asked was, Is it right? And when WITHERSPOON was convinced that it was right, he so stood, and he so voted, absolutely regardless of consequences.

He was not an orator in the sophomorical sense, but he was a real orator, because he always had something to say, and he knew how to say it; he always enlightened the audience; he was always master of any subject he undertook to discuss. He never discussed any proposition upon this floor when he did not have the undivided attention of every man, Republican or Democrat, because everyone knew that Witherspoon had some-

thing to say worth hearing.

He made no play at rhetoric; he made no attempt at cloquent periods. He held attention and asked for judgment, not by appeals to prejudice, or passion, or sentiment, but by appeals to the cold, calm reason of those who heard him. And

yet I heard him make the most eloquent, the most delightful, the most charming 10-minute speech that I ever heard on this floor. He spoke in favor of an appropriation of \$30,000 for the repair and preservation of 136 old flags captured by the American Navy in conflicts with other navies. There some opposition. Witherspoon, standing just where Mr. Harrison now sits-I was sitting by him-seemingly without effort or premeditation, and altogether impromptu, delivered that most charming speech, which we, who were fortunate enough to hear it, will never forget. When he concluded practically every man on the floor on both sides of the aisle gathered about him, with words and handshakes of congratulations and commendations. For several minutes he was given an ovation. Some minutes afterwards, when the enthusiasm of the House had subsided and other business had begun, the ex-Speaker of the House, Mr. Cannon, of Illinois, came over here and, looking around, came up to me and said, "I am looking for that Mississippi man who made that speech a moment ago. I just want to shake his hand, for that was one of the most delightful talks I ever heard in this House." I told Mr. Cannon that he had gone out into the Speaker's lobby. Mr. Cannon walked out to the lobby. I saw him shaking hands and congratulating WITHERSPOON. He told me afterwards that Mr. Cannon's seeking him out to congratulate him and what he said to him was the greatest compliment he had ever had paid him since he had been a Member of the House.

I was with Judge Witherspoon a part of the time almost every day while he was in Washington. I never heard him utter one sentiment or one word that could not with propriety be uttered in the presence of a lady. He was a clean and pure man. He never had a low thought or a little sentiment; all of his thoughts and all of his sentiments were big and high and ennobling. He was a Christian gentleman, clean in word, in thought, in conduct. Some of us will live a long time, and some of you will be Members of the House many years, but it will be a long time before you will see again in this House or elsewhere his like. He was a typical man, a typical Representative, of character, of integrity, of courage, of sincerity, of ability, of patriotism. He possessed every virtue of a well-rounded gentle-

man, Christian, and statesman.

My friends, it has been a real, genuine pleasure to speak these simple words of tribute to a man whose friendship, confidence, and esteem I shall always be happy to know I possessed. Hail, once more, SAM WITHERSPOON, my friend, good and true, loved and admired, and farewell forever 'till we meet again on the farther shore

The Late Representative Witherspoon.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

HON. OSCAR CALLAWAY, OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, March 5, 1916.

The House had under consideration the following resolutions (H. Res. 157):
"Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tribute to the memory of Hon. Samuel A. Witherstoon, late a Member of this House from the State of Mississipation.

"Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand adjourned.

"Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.
"Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I have tried upon various occasions since I was notified that we were going to have these memorial services to-day to write something respecting our departed friend, but I have not yet been able to do it. I may never be able to do it. On one other occasion I was unable to write anything about a deceased friend. He had stood by me and supported my ideals and policies from the time I was a boy. He died while I was away from home. I tried to write a letter to his wife, but I was never able to do it. And so it has been with respect to Judge WITHERSPOON.

When I first met him in the Sixty-second Congress I was not so very much impressed by his general appearance and bearing. The only noticeable and striking thing about him on first meeting was the frankness, openness, sincerity, and tenderness that gleamed in his eyes. There was nothing in his general bearing

or appearance other than the beauty of expression in his face that made you realize on first meeting that you were in the presence of one of the purest, noblest, tenderest, and sweetest characters that it is ever the good fortune of any mortal to

come in contact with in this life.

He was as pure as a woman and as tender as a child. This was one side of this admirable and pure man; but there was another side which, when I knew him better, when I had seen him tried, and had worked with him, aroused in me the supremest admiration. He was fixed in his principles as the eternal hills, never questioning what the advantages or disadvantages of his position were to him politically; he was unyielding as adamant when a fundamental question was at stake, fearless as the immortal Cæsar in his stand for the right. He demonstrated conclusively his deathless faith in the ultimate triumph of right and justice by his unwavering stand on public questions, regardless of how unpopular that stand might seem to be. The question with him was always, "How will this matter affect the future of this Republic and the welfare of the masses, who ask nothing but the usufruct of their endeavor, who eat their bread in the sweat of their faces?

He was a real man. What he said was what he thought, what he acted were his convictions. He had neither sympathy nor tolerance for sham, hypocrisy, and make-believe. The patent saying of so many Representatives, "What the people do not know will hurt them not," aroused him to righteous indignation. He believed in a democratic, representative form of government, responsive to the will and interests of the masses, but he knew the checks and balances provided in the Constitution of the United States by the forefathers of this Republic were necessary to prevent hasty and ill-considered action in times of upheaval or excitement. He stood an impregnable barrier against popular prejudice or passion when it threatened

to overturn reason or dethrone justice.

He knew human nature, he knew how subject it was to in-fluence by interest, how it might be swayed by passions, how it might be blinded by prejudices and momentarily swept from its moorings and carried far afield by false statements of facts, false logic, and shortsightedness; but he had an abiding faith in the common judgment and the common conscience, and he knew the masses of mankind would act right, if left free and unhampered in their actions, when the facts were all in and the conscience

appealed to

He was truly a great man with a mind that saw through the sham and seeming of things—the real things themselves—with a soul that understood. Never in the history of our country was the need so urgent for men fearless as he was fearless, learned as he was learned, logical as he was logical, and forceful as he was forceful, to hold back the onrushing hordes seeking to break down the principles of this democratic Republic by taking advantage of the feverish state of the public mind and persuading the people unwittingly to accept a policy of militarism before all the facts can be obtained and considered. By the clamor of the press, by the organized effort of the powerful pecuniary interests, by the excitement and fright of many in the nervous, uncertain, and feverish state of the public mind, the average Representative is driven like chaff before the wind to accept what temporarily seems to be the popular demand, lest he pay with his political life for his devotion to the best interests of his country before the settled and sober judgment can be obtained. SAMUEL A. Witherspoon was not made of such stuff. He accepted public office with its responsibilities and administered it conscious of the rectitude of his own purpose without regard to the political consequences to himself. Public office to him did not mean emoluments spelled with capitals, it meant opportunity to serve humanity. Emoluments of office and the honors attendant were incidents, the purpose for which he held office was to serve his country and his kind. He knew there was only one way a Representative could render such service and that was by knowing the questions he was called to pass upon and then exercising his honest judgment in passing on them. He knew he could not exercise the judgment of someone else, he knew he could not exercise the popular judgment of his district except as reflected in himself.

The public could not know the subject as he knew it. It had neither the time nor the opportunity to understand it that he had; it had not put the thought to it that he had. He repre-sented their sentiments as in his heart of hearts he felt they ought to be, and he trusted they would see the correctness of his position as he saw it when he had argued it out with them. He was not awed by place and power. Fame did not appeal to him; he recognized that it was but the ephemeral dew on character's everlasting gold. He followed no man because that man was much esteemed by his fellows. The attitude on public questions of the man high up influenced him as much as-and no more than-the attitude of the humblest citizen. His mind was guided by the reasons given by each so far as their reasons appealed to his judgment; so far was he influenced and no

He knew his own motives and his own purposes, and he did not allow himself to be stopped short of the basic facts. He had perfect confidence in his ability to reason to right conclusions, and when he had reached a final judgment he had faith in it and held to it with a tenacity and fixedness of purpose

rarely met with.

Mr. Speaker, many here have spoken of the splendid culture of this great soul, of his ability as a lawyer, of the unerring logic of his mind and the eloquence of his tongue. show if I can the brightest jewel in his crown of jewels-the key to his real character, to the steadfastness of it, the unpretentiousness of it. In my judgment that key is revealed in these words from a speech delivered May 4, 1914, on the death of Elzie C. Fisher, who lost his life at Vera Cruz the 23d of April, 1914:

Mr. Speaker, learning and intellect and eloquence and courage do not make the noblest acts of human beings. It is self-sacrifice that raises the act of a man to its highest point. He who gives his life for his country makes the nearest approach to the fulfillment of the divine command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"; and the death of this ordinary seaman, by its very contrast with the magnitude of his sacrifice, emphasizes and increases the nobility of his act.

"Honor and shame from no condition rise; Act well your part, there all the honor lies,"

It is self-sacrifice that raises the act of a man to its highest point. An average man never does that which raises his acts to the highest point. It takes greater than an average man to do that. Judge Witherspoon's whole service in the American Congress evidenced his willingness and readiness to sacrifice self for the public weal. What a rare man was he! The greatest character I have ever known.

The Late Representative Brown, of West Virginia.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

HON. JAMES S. DAVENPORT.

OF OKLAHOMA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, April 16, 1916.

The House had under consideration House resolution 204, as follows: "Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. William G. Brown, Jr., late a Member of this House from the State of West

G. Brown, Jr., late a Member of this House from the State of West Virginia.

"Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand adjourned.

"Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the

"Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. DAVENPORT. Mr. Speaker, we have assembled to-day to pay our last respects and to do honor to the memory of a comrade who has fallen on the battle field of life's uncertain and great struggle; we mourn his loss and cherish his memory; we delight and love the recollection of his kindness and friendship; and we honor the high character, the sterling courage, and the purity of purpose which were so eminently portrayed in the life of our departed colleague. I ask no higher privilege and find no sweeter duty than the right to express my pleasant remembrance of our departed colleague, William G. Brown, Jr. He was born in Virginia, in that section of the State that afterwards became a part of West Virginia, and grew to manhood in the county of his birth.

When he reached the years of maturity he selected as his profession and life's calling, the law, and in his chosen profession rose to a high standing amongst the members of the bar of his native State. Not only was he a lawyer of renown and prominence, but he became a first-class, successful business man, and so demeaned himself among the people with whom he transacted business that they imposed implicit confidence in his business ability, honesty, and integrity that he was honored by his people to represent them in this Hall, where he made them a useful and honest representative to the hour of

WILLIAM G. BROWN, Jr., or JUNIOR BROWN, as he was known by his friends, came to the House at the beginning of the extra session of the Sixty-second Congress. It was my pleasure to meet him shortly after the session began. We lived in the same hotel the greater part of the time, and I was with him in the lobby and around the hotel, where I had the opportunity to see his real character and the true nature of the man. He was kind, affable, polite, and gentle, having for everyone a pleasant smile, a kind word, and a gentle and happy greeting. In the committee room, in the House, or in private life, he possessed self-control, and exhibited that kindly spirit which made him a lovable companion, a wise coenselor, and a dangerous antagonist. His friends loved him, and his acquaintances sought his company.

It was also my pleasure to be with him and his wife for eight weeks last year, on a trip to the Hawaiian Islands, and while on that trip I had the opportunity to see him, the real man, and study his character. Many happy hours we spent together, and it was on that trip that I saw the true nature and lovable spirit of our departed colleague displayed. He was always ready and willing to accede to the wishes of others and make any self-sacrifice that would tend to make others happy. I learned him as he was, and having learned him as I did, I learned to love him. He was a devoted husband and father, always ready and willing to grant the request of his dear wife and children and to do all in his power to make them enjoy themselves to the fullest extent.

In the House he was universally liked, and in every relation of life he was honored and respected. He was in the truest sense a patriot, loving his country and its institutions, and devoted to the happiness and welfare of all classes of its people. He extended friendship to the needy and never oppressed anyone. He was broad-minded and incapable of a meanness, and filled with love and kindness for his neighbor and friend. Truly, such a life as he lived did not end when death came. Let us believe that it was the beginning of a higher and broader existence in the world beyond, and that the earthly activities of our departed colleague and friend were but the prelude to a life of greater beauty, of grander aspirations, and of nobler achievements. He died at his post of duty; his character was strong; his standard lofty. He left us the good example of his life, and to his family he left the heritage of a good name.

When Earth's last picture is painted.
And the tubes are twisted and dried.
When the oldest colors have faded,
And the youngest critic has died.
We shall rest, and, faith, we shall need it—
Lie down for an zeon or two;
Till the Master of all good workmen
Shall set us to work anew.
And only the Master shall praise us,
And no one shall work for money.
And no one shall work for money.
And no one shall work for fame;
But each for the joy of the working,
And each in his separate star
Shall draw the Thing as he sees it
For the God of Things as They are!

The Great Need of the Farming Industry in New York.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE W. FAIRCHILD,

OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 12, 1916.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Mr. Speaker, it is especially important at this time to give attention to the agricultural interests of New York. The State is so well known for its manufactures that the importance of its agriculture is often overlooked. But the agricultural resources of the State are very great, and our farmers have been devoting their best skill and labor to securing a good yield of agricultural products. The circumstances of the present time emphasize the importance of abundant production in all fields of industry. It is therefore our duty to consider carefully the requirements of such production; and as agriculture is the fundamental industry, especial considera-

tion must be given to its condition and its needs.

It is because agriculture is the fundamental industry that we can not do better for our State than by aiding to advance the welfare of our farmers. It is our farmers who by their constant labor and care bring forth from the soil the products whereby all of our people must live. It is in this way that the beginnings of prosperity and wealth are obtained. Whatever we do to advance the welfare of our farmers is really done, therefore, for all the people.

GREATER PRODUCTION POSSIBLE AND DESIRABLE.

I have for a long time been convinced that a greater production from agriculture in our State could readily be obtained. I have been impressed by the fact that we have acres upon acres of good land which is either not used at al. or not fully used. It is clear that all such land should be used and made to produce as much as possible, for the product would be so much additional wealth for the farmers and the rest of the people of the State, It would be in every way to our advantage if we could produce here at home more of the farm products which our population consumes and send more of such products to the people of neighboring States.

It is true of agriculture, as it is true of manufactures, mining, and, in fact, every productive industry, that the great thing to be obtained is more abundant production. This is the great object to be achieved, for in this is the secret of real prosperity, and it is well worth our best efforts to obtain it. We all know that everyone engaged in agriculture or manufactures is always anxious to produce as much as possible. Everyone, farmers as well as others, will cheerfully produce all they can from the resources at hand, provided they can dispose of the product to some advantage; that is, at a price which will include a living margin of profit over the cost of production.

HOW GREATER PRODUCTION MUST BE MAINTAINED.

Whether or not they can so dispose of the product depends altogether on the state of the market for it. No matter how efficiently the work of production may have been carried on—no matter how much painstaking labor and skill may have been applied to it—if the article produced does not find a satisfactory market, the return for all the labor and skill will be loss instead of gain. It is for this reason that the market is by far the most important factor in agriculture or any other productive industry; and when we are working to increase or maintain our production, we must first be sure of our market.

If the market be satisfactory, the sale of the product yields a sufficient return to more than meet the cost of production, and this encourages and provides for further production. If the market be not sufficient for such return, further production of the article is discouraged and prevented. A satisfactory market is therefore the necessary condition which we must have

in order to continue and increase production.

The condition of the market is made up from the condition of the country and from the circumstances of the trading carried on between our country and foreign countries. And the condition of our own country, whether prosperous or the reverse, depends chiefly on the condition of its international trade. Our producers, therefore, are really dependent for the requirements of their production upon the state of our trade with foreign countries. Any market can at any given time absorb just about so much of such and such a product at such and such a price. And so if the markets of our country are receiving from foreign countries extraordinary quantities of commodities which can be produced abroad more cheaply than our people can produce the same or similar commodities here, the sale of our own products in our home market is necessarily affected thereby, either through a less quantity going at a satisfactory price or the same quantity at a less satisfactory price, or through both of these ways, as is usually the case.

THE ONLY WAY TO MAINTAIN A FAIR MARKET.

It is clear that the condition of our home market and the preservation of our opportunities to dispose of our products there at prices which will enable us to live and thrive and go on producing, is of direct personal interest to every farmer, and to every farmer's wife and child, just as it is to every man engaged in any other productive industry and to those dependent on him. How can fair conditions in the home market be maintained? There is only one way. This is the way which has been used and found successful during most of our history as a Nation. Ever since the foundation of our National Government duties imposed on articles brought to our shores from foreign countries have been used as the best means of providing revenue for the Government and at the same time equalizing as may be needed the conditions of production at home and abroad, so that our own people might have a fair chance to sell the products of their labor in their own country, which means a fair chance for them to live and prosper, and by continued production be useful to their fellow countrymen.

Under this common-sense policy, which has been indorsed and used by a greater part of the civilized world—by all nations, in fact, which have at home large productive resources—our people have lived and prospered greatly, and whenever the conditions maintained by this policy have been interfered with the people have ceased to prosper and have fallen into distress. Such has been the unvarying experience of our

people. So that if anything is ever proven by sound reason and long experience, the success of this policy and our need of it have been proven.

A MATTER OF NATIONAL POLICY.

The matter of having or not having satisfactory duties on imports is a national affair and therefore depends necessarily upon the attitude of our National Government toward this subject. And to-day, as for a great many years past, the great issue or division between the two great political parties which are con-tending for control has to do with this matter of import duties. The Republican Party has from the beginning of its history steadfastly maintained the principle and practice of sufficient duties on imports to give our own producers a reasonable advantage in their own home market, in order to encourage and enable them to keep on producing in large and increasing quantity. This is the protective tariff. The Republican Party recognizes that it is for the real and lasting welfare of all our people that we should produce as much as possible fron. our own resources, and that as a people and a Nation we are prosperous and strong in proportion to such production of our own and our consequent independence of foreign production. The Democratic Party, on the contrary, has throughout its history opposed this policy and proceeded to upset it whenever it could get the opportunity.

THE EXISTING DEMOCRATIC TARIFF.

It happened that the Democratic Party came into power in March, 1913. True to its habit, it lost no time in upsetting the Republican protective tariff system and substituting its Democratic low tariff, more extreme than before. This Democratic tariff became a law on October 3, 1913. This tariff made a large number of manufactured articles absolutely free of duty and made heavy reductions of duties on such articles. And it was even more severe with agricultural products than it was with manufactured articles, for it at once made practically all the important farm products entirely free of duty. This tariff is so radically low with respect to farm products that it amounts to a special attack upon the tariff rates which had protected the farming industry. In fact, such was the deliberate intention of this Democratic tariff, for the Democratic Party had maintained that the people of the cities had been suffering from the "high cost of living," and that the remedy for this was to invite abundant importation of foreign farm products and thereby reduce the prices of American farm products.

This Democratic tariff continues to be the law of the land and must necessarily remain so until the Republican tariff policy can be restored through the success of the Republican Party. Because this Democratic tariff still prevails and if not soon repealed will again in normal times control our lives and industries, it is of especial importance to farmers to consider carefully the effects which it produced upon their industry and which continued and grew worse until an unexpected and unprecedented event, far beyond the calculation of any of our political leaders, nullified these effects for the time being, and practically suspended the operation of this tariff law.

THE EFFECT OF THE GREAT WAR.

This event is, of course, the great European war, which broke upon the world with startling suddenness about the 1st of August, 1914. At once the former conditions of international trade were upset. The imports from European and other countries which had been crowding into our markets under the advantages to them of our Democratic tariff were very largely cut off. The warring nations ceased to be exporters and became, as far as they could be, importers of foodstuffs. Other countries in various parts of the world, which had been pouring foodstuffs in great quantities into the American market, found that Europe had become, for the time being, the real market, and extraordinary quantities began promptly to be shipped there, including a great deal from the United States. In a word, the market conditions in the United States, in foodstuffs as in other commodities, were practically reversed by the war from the situation which had been made by the Democratic tariff.

This substantial reversal of our market conditions has made. as is well known, a very considerable change for the time being in the industrial and commercial situation among us, and in the agricultural conditions. All of this illustrates the economic truth about which I am speaking, that our prosperity or the absence of it depends upon the condition of our markets, and that this condition in turn depends upon the conditions affect-The essence of this truth is that as production is encouraged we prosper and progress, and that as production is discouraged we suffer adversity:

ditions which the war has brought us. They seek now to attribute the improvement in the condition of the country in 1915 over that in 1914 to something in connection with the Demo-This forlorn attempt is made in the hope of winning to their cause some measure of the public confidence which is now wholly lost to it. But the situation is so clear that there can be no misunderstanding of it by the people. latest official reports of the National Government under the Democratic administration will be found, when closely studied. to give explicit evidence of the real situation. All the imports of commodities entering the United States are under the jurisdiction of the Treasury Department at Washington and the official figures relating to them are collected and reported by the Division of Customs in that department. The official report by the chief of this division for the fiscal year 1915, after stating the great decreases in the amount of merchandise imported and in the collection of duties therefrom, tonnage taxes, and so forth, states that "all of these decreases are directly attributed to the European war."

THE EFFECT OF THE DEMOCRATIC POLICY.

As everyone knows, the effect of the Democratic policy is found in the conditions which prevailed under that policy before the war broke out. It is well worth our while to give some attention at this time to these conditions, rather than to dwell with too much satisfaction upon the temporary market condi-tions now prevailing as an incident of the deplorable war. For, as I have stated, this Democratic policy is still written into our There it is now. The war has not set aside or altered this policy of our Government. It has merely interrupted its effects for the time being. With the approach of peace between the nations now at war—and peace is inevitable before long— the war conditions and their effects must end. In fact, peace may come at almost any moment and just as unexpectedly as the war came. And then the conditions under the Democratic policy must come upon us again, unless we can change this policy in the meantime. In fact, with peace restored and the Democratic policy in effect, the market conditions in this country will be worse than they were just before the war began, for reasons which I shall refer to further on.

There were just 10 months which elapsed between the enactment of the Democratic tariff at the beginning of October, 1913, and the outbreak of the war at the beginning of August, 1914, It is in these 10 months that the Democratic policy was tested and found so destructive to the welfare of the country. months are so recent and so fresh in our memories that everyone can recall the great industrial and commercial depression that then prevailed. Discontent was general. There is an abundance of authoritative and official evidence of the extent of the calamity. I find a good example of such evidence in the latest annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury. This is certainly unquestioned Democratic authority. In this report the Secretary refers with approval to a statement concerning business conditions which was submitted to him at his request by one of the greatest commercial agencies in the country. In their statement this agency—R. G. Dun & Co., of New York writing in November, 1915, says:

It seems strange, in viewing the present financial, commercial, and industrial situation, to recall the fact that little more than a year ago the United States was passing through nearly every possible experience of adversity except that of complete disaster.

SELF-PRESERVATION UNDER THE AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING.

I refer to these unfortunate conditions which preceded the war, not in any spirit of partisanship, but solely in order to consider fairly the situation which will confront us upon the return of peace in Europe. The situation of our farmers and other producers in this imminent event, while it has been brought about by a purely partisan policy forced upon the country by the Democratic Party, is not really a partisan matter to any producer or to the average man. It is strictly a matter of livelihood, a matter of bread and butter, of the support and com-fort of those dependent on us. It is really nothing more than a simple matter of business, in the best sense of that term. Certainly when we are face to face with a matter vitally affecting the occupation of our lives—a purely economic matter—we ought to be able to lay partisanship aside and consider the matter upon the fundamental principles of self-preservation.

It is such consideration which is especially needed by the farmers, in their own interest, because of the tremendous effect upon the domestic market for farm products which the Democratic tariff was exerting when the war broke out. time when this tariff went into effect, a great increase in our imports began, and there was an actual decrease in our ex-Strange to say, the Democratic Party, through its administration at Washington, is endeavoring to take credit to itself in various public announcements for this reversal of market conver the world. They came not only from countries near us, such as Canada, but from the great areas of South America. They came also from the very remote countries—from Siberia and Australia and from China. From practically every country in the world where great quantities of farm products are produced from cheap lands and by the use of cheap labor such products came abundantly into our American market.

And as these products came in they necessarily displaced and depreciated similar products grown on American soil. All of these foreign farm products which came in could have been produced from our own soil. But our own farmers who raise such products form a great part of our American civilization. They labor and produce under the higher standard of living which is characteristic of American life, and hence all that they produce must come from more highly priced lands and more highly paid labor than are found in the countries whose products are so freely admitted under the Democratic policy into the American farmers' home market. In order to convey some idea of the great extent to which the foreign farm products were occupying the American market at the time the war began, I will give in round numbers the figures, taken from the official reports, concerning a few of the more important items of agricultural production in New York.

LAIRY PRODUCTS.

Our State ranks high in dairy farming. To this important branch of agriculture our farmers have devoted much skill and attention and very considerable resources. The Democratic tariff treated these products very severely. On butter the Republican tariff had maintained a duty of 6 cents per pound. The Democratic tariff made a 60 per cent reduction, putting down the rate to only 2½ cents per pound. The statistics of the imports under this very low rate show how our American butter market was thereby thrown wide open to the butter from Canada, Siberia, Argentina, and other countries.

As I have stated, the Democratic tariff had been in effect just about 10 months before the war broke out; that is, from October 3, 1913, to July 31, 1914. During the corresponding 10 months one year prior to this time—that is, from October 1, 1912, to July 31, 1913—during which time the Republican tariff was in effect, the imports of butter and substitutes therefor amounted to 1,000,000 pounds and were valued at \$272,000, But during the 10 months when the Democratic tariff was in effect—the corresponding 10 months one year later—the imports in question grew to as much as 7,685,000 pounds, which were valued at \$1,700,000. The increase in these imports was not less than 608 per cent, and this was the result of a reduction of 60 per cent in the rate of duty. It was during the winter months of 1913–14 that the greater part of this increase took place, and our domestic butter market was being seriously affected by the prospect of even greater imports j.... before the war began.

On cheese also the Democratic tariff made a great reduction—equivalent to about 40 per cent—in the rate of duty. As a result the imports under the low rate, in the first 10 months of that rate, increased by 12,500,000 pounds. It was the war, and nothing but the war, which prevented an even greater increase.

The Republican tariff dealt fairly with milk and cream also. The Republican rate on cream was 5 cents per gallon. The Democratic tariff removed all of this and made cream absolutely free of duty. The result of this free trade in cream in the 10 Democratic months before the war was an increase in imports of 482,000 gallons.

Milk was also made entirely free of duty—both fresh and condensed milk. This action was followed by a tremendous increase in imports. During the 10 months from October, 1912, to July, 1913, under the Republican tariff, the imports of fresh and condensed milk were \$134,000 in value; but during the corresponding 10 months one year afterwards, with the Democratic free-trade policy prevailing in these items, the imports grew to the amount of \$1,264,000 in value.

As a consequence of the great importations of condensed milk, our American manufacturers of this article were obliged to lower the prices at which they were buying milk for condensation from American dairymen. And still greater importations of condensed milk were being expected by the trade, for additional arrangements for such imports were then being made. As to fresh milk, Canada was sending it into the United States in tank cars at the time the war began. Everything will be ready for the resumption of such imports of farm products—and in greater quantities—when the war is ended. This is the prospect which the American dairymen have to face.

POTATOES.

The State of New York is greatly interested in potatoes. Here again the Democratic tariff applied severe treatment. The Republican duty on potatoes was 25 cents per bushel, Under the Democratic tariff potatoes are absolutely free of duty when imported from countries which impose no duties on potatoes imported from us, and otherwise the rate of duty is only 10 cents per bushel. This is, for the most part, a free-trade tariff in potatoes. At the time the war began the effects of it were only beginning to be felt.

During a great deal of the time in which the Democratic tariff was effective before the war the Agricultural Department at Washington was obliged to maintain a quarantine against potato diseases. By this large quantities of potatoes intended for the American market were kept away. Nevertheless, during the 10 months of the Democratic tariff no less than 3,630,000 bushels of potatoes were imported, and these were valued at \$1,752,000. Most of these great imports were free of duty. Under the corresponding 10 months of Republican tariff a year before the potato imports were only 314,000 bushels, valued at \$283,000. Under conditions of peace and in the absence of quarantine it is certain that very many millions of bushels of foreign potatoes will be brought into our home market.

EGGS.

Every farmer in New York realizes the importance of eggs and poultry in the economy of farm life, and the wives and daughters on the farms, who give so much attention to the poultry, are keenly interested in getting a fair return for their work. The Democratic tariff took away all of the Republican duty of 5 cents per dozen on eggs and established free trade in this article. Then enormous importations began, and in the 10 months under this free trade, prior to the war, 6,000,000 dozens of foreign eggs were brought into our home market. This was an increase of five times the quantity imported in the corresponding 10 months one year before under the Republican rate.

It is worthy of note that of these new importations a great many thousands of dozens came from the great Asiatic countries—China and Japan. In these countries the wages of labor are extremely low, farm laborers receiving only about 42 cents a week, and hence their farm products, which these Asiatic people raise in great abundance by intensive cultivation, are sold at remarkably low prices. Moreover, the Chinese have developed great skill in preserving eggs, and because of this and because of the improved systems of refrigeration which have been in recent years installed on ocean steamers, eggs and other farm products can readily be brought to our shores from the most distant countries. The official reports which are made by our consuls in foreign countries state that during the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1914, and which included nine months of Democratic free trade in eggs, there were shipped from the port of Shanghai alone, in China, not less than 3,600,000 dozen Chinese eggs, which went to the western seaboard of the United States.

In recent months, and since the war began, such shipments of Chinese eggs to this country have been much less than expected. This is because the war has made a very great and unusual demand for eggs in Europe and also because many vessels have been withdrawn from the service of merchant traffic and engaged in war traffic. During the winter of 1914-15 a ship from China. passed through the Panama Canal and went to New York City with a large cargo of frozen Chinese eggs. In a time of peace these eggs would have been landed in the New York market, but because of the war they were sent on for consumption in Europe. I noticed, however, that during the same season there was landed at San Francisco a great cargo of such Chinese eggs, notwithstanding the war. Our people in New York must always remember that, since the opening of the Panama Canal, eggs or almost any farm product can be sent directly from China and Japan to ports all along the Atlantic seaboard. It has been announced that eggs from China, so shipped, can be laid down in the port of New York at an average cost of only 12 cents per

VEGETABLES AND FRUITS.

In every part of our State our farmers are devoting their best efforts to the production of vegetables for the home markets in the neighboring cities. They are producing in great abundance a large variety of vegetables and fruits, and as a result of this great production canning and preserving establishments have been built up in many parts of the State. Wherever such industries are established they are of advantage to our own farmers by extending the market for their products and they also create additional opportunities for the employment of our labor and bring additional wealth into the State to the benefit of all our people.

Through these useful industries a great many fruits and vegetables, such as our State by its soil resources is very well fitted to produce, are taken into all parts of the country. It is therefore of especial importance to New York farmers that these industries be encouraged and developed. There are similar re-

sources in a great many of the other States which can be and should be developed further, and all of this would be of great benefit to the whole American people. But such development depends upon having the market to take the products. The development of such production all over the country would be just as great a service to the consumers as to the producers, for what the consumers most need is a much greater production.

So great are the resources in our own country for such increased production that there is no good reason for encouraging the importation of foreign vegetables and fruits, whether fresh or canned. It is well known that under the protective tariff a really great production of fruits has been developed in this country. Formerly we produced here merely such fruits as apples, peaches, pears, quinces, and berries, but imported practically all other fruits. But at the present time we produce also great quantities of oranges, lemons, and grapefruit, from great areas which have been developed to the production of such fruit in Florida, California, and elsewhere, under the Republican It is universally admitted that this development has added to the wealth and prosperity of the whole country.

But when the Democratic tariff was framed vegetables were subjected to very severe reductions in the rates of duty, and on fruits such as are raised by New York and other northern farmers even more severe treatment was inflicted. This is true both of fruits in their natural condition and when prepared or preserved. Under the Republican tariff, which was set aside by the Democratic Party in 1913, apples, peaches, pears, plums, quinces, and cherries, in their natural condition, were dutiable, when imported, at the rate of 25 cents per bushel. This rate was cut down by the Democratic tariff to only 10 cents per bushel, which was a reduction of 60 per cent. Edible berries in their natural condition paid duty under the Republican tariff at the rate of 1 cent per quart. The Democratic tariff cut this rate to only one-half cent per quart. On edible fruits and berries, when prepared or preserved, the Republican rate was 2 cents per pound. The Democratic tariff cut this down to only 1 cent per

The reductions in the rates on vegetables were, in general, almost as severe, and, as they affect the New York farmers, were practically just as drastic as the reductions on fruits. On vegetables generally, in their natural state, the Democratic tariff made a reduction of 40 per cent in the duties, and almost as much on prepared and preserved vegetables. The celery and asparagus which our State produces in such excellence and abundance are included in this classification. The reduction on beans was 40 per cent of the former rate, and on peas 60 per On other favorite products of our State unusually heavy reductions were made. For example, on onions the reduction was 50 per cent. These heavy reductions have injured New York farmers more than those of most of the other States, because we are so close to the competition of Bermuda, as well as Canada. From this fertile island of Bermuda, where crops are raised practically all the year round, and which is only about 48 hours' sail from our shores, there comes in normal times a very serious competition with our farmers in their home market, particularly in onions and potatoes.

SECTIONAL FAVORITISM.

The farm products which I have mentioned are the most important ones in which our farmers are interested, and the situation with respect to them is typical of the situation with all farm products. If I were to discuss hay or sheep or buckwheat, for example, it would merely be, in substance, a repetition of what I have already said about other products. The items which I have spoken of are sufficient to show how the industry of the farmers has been treated by the Democratic tariff and the situa-tion which must be faced by the farmers when the settlement of the war brings again to our shores the products to which this tariff has opened our doors.

While referring to these farm products, however, there is a feature of the Democratic tariff which the people of New York, in common with the people of all the Northern States, in justice to themselves, ought to keep in mind. This feature is the spirit of sectional favoritism which the Democratic Party displayed in its tariff work. The Democratic Party is controlled for the most part, as we know, by Representatives in Congress from the Southern States. These men, although they profess the theory of free trade as a principle to be applied generally, nevertheless took good care in framing their tariff that their own agricultural constituents should not be hurt as severely as the farmers of the Northern States.

The grains such as are raised by the northern farmers were either made entirely free of duty or cut down to extremely low rates, but rice, a great product of southern farmers, was permitted to continue to enjoy a protective duty. Potatoes, which northern farmers produce, are practically on the free list, while

peanuts, which the farmers of Virginia, North Carolina, and other Southern States produce, have the benefit of a protective The wool produced by northern farmers is on the free list, but the hair of the Angora goat, which is produced in Texas, has a protective duty. The fruits of the Northern States were made to suffer heavy reductions of duty, but the lemons and oranges produced in Florida are allowed a substantial protective duty.

THE ADVANTAGES OF GENERAL PROSPERITY.

Our northern farmers are not narrow in their views, and are not dissatisfied that southern farmers enjoy the benefits of protective duties such as they themselves do not now enjoy. Our farmers realize that any development of industry in this country is a benefit to all, and that this is true whether the industry be agricultural or manufacturing. But they realize also that the policy of the southern Democrats in Congress was a narrow one in not giving just consideration to the needs of agriculture in all sections, and that it could also be criticized as unfair to the sections discriminated against.

Our northern farmers are also of more liberal views in recognizing that the continued development of manufacturing enterprises and general business activities is necessary for the welfare of the farmers and of the public at large. It is well understood by our farmers that such industries produce genuine wealth, just as the farming industry does, and that all wealth so produced adds to the working capital of our people and is used to produce more and more wealth in different lines. Experience has repeatedly shown to our farmers that, in the absence of general industrial activity and the general prosperity that goes with it, the consumption of farm products declines, with decline of prices and smaller returns to the farmers for all their work and their expenditures.

THE FARMERS NEEDLESSLY INJURED.

The excuse given by the Democratic Party for destroying the protective tariff of the farmers was that this would be to the advantage of the consumers of farm products in the cities, by bringing in great quantities of such products from foreign countries, whereby prices would be reduced for the consumers in the cities. But the complete failure of this plan was admitted long before the war began. The prices of food products to the consumers were not reduced and the consumers were not benefited at all by the Democratic policy. There was no reduction of the cost of living in the cities, and Democratic leaders finally had to admit that no such reduction was to be expected from their policy. The real effect of their policy was to injure the home market of the American farmers, but it turned out that what was lost by the farmers had apparently gone to the advantage of speculators and middlemen only and had disappeared in the course of the distribution of farm products before they reached the consumers.

THE REPUBLICAN POLICY HELPS BOTH PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS.

Long before the war began this situation was clearly recog-The real way by which to benefit the consumers and improve the condition of living in the cities was well known to the best economists who had studied agricultural affairs and to the Republican leaders. This way is to increase the production and improve the distribution of our farm products. Nothing else can really help the consumers. It is folly to suppose that they can be genuinely benefited by a discouragement of our American producers. The truth is that all the difficulties incident to the cost of living in the cities can readily be overcome by improved methods of distribution. Such methods were being successfully developed by associations of farmers and otherwise under the Republican policy of encouraging home production. Methods of cheaper and better distribution to the consumers can not be applied successfully to floods of foreign importations, but they can be applied with entire success to the steady, gradual growth of domestic production.

The Republican policy is and always has been to encourage production, and it is a proper and necessary part of this policy to give especial attention to securing better facilities of distribution. The most important field for this work is that of agriculture, the original and basic source of wealth. A great deal can be done in the way of constructive work in this field, all of which will be of great permanent advantage to all, and our leaders in Republican statesmanship must make such work a principal feature of their program. It is just as important for the people of the cities to cooperate in this as for the people in the country, and I am confident that there will be an awakening of interest in the cities in response to such work.

OUR GREAT RESOURCES.

We have abundant natural resources in our own State and in . the other States, which are calling for better development. It has for a long time been recognized that the great need of agriculture in the United States is greater and better production from our own soil. The Department of Agriculture of the United States has often called attention to this need, and under Democratic as well as under Republican management. In fact, in a recent report the present Secretary of Agriculture at Washington, a Democrat, declared that, according to his estimate, less than 40 per cent of our total arable land is reasonably well cultivated and that less than 12 per cent is yielding fairly full returns. He also said:

There is no ground for thinking that we have yet approximated the limit of our output from the soil. As a matter of fact, we have just begun to attack the problem; we have not even reached the end of the pioneering stage, and have only in a few localities developed conditions where reasonably full returns are secured.

This existing need of proper agricultural development is in all sections, North, South, East, and West. Many people in the cities suppose that it is only in some of the great Western States like North Dakota and Montana that there are considerable quantities of good farming land awaiting development. Of course there are great areas of such land in these and other Western States, but it is also true that in a number of the older States of the East there are many thousands of acres of fertile land which are not being properly used or normally developed. This fact is openly proclaimed by some of our best authorities in agriculture. In a recent official report the commissioner of agriculture in the State of Maine said:

There are thousands of acres of land located near our cities and yielding only light crops that might be made to produce abundant and profitable harvests of fruits, vegetables, grains, and potatoes.

One of the greatest agricultural authorities in the country is Prof. Liberty H. Balley, who was formerly director of our New York State College of Agriculture. He said in a recent

Speaking broadly, we are now in the rough and crude stage of our agricultural development, but the situation will develop only as it pays and satisfies persons to live in the country. * * New York is undeveloped agriculturally. The same is true of New England and Pennsylvania and the great regions southward.

NEW YORK'S REQUIREMENTS.

We in New York are naturally anxious to do our whole duty to ourselves and our country by producing from our own land all that it really ought to produce. We believe that a much larger part of the food products consumed in New York cities can be and should be produced on New York farms. By so doing unnecessary transportation and unnecessary waste will be saved, and there will be more original wealth created in New York, the benefits of which will flow through and remain in New York, adding to the prosperity of all the people of New York.

This can be done with satisfactory conditions in the home markets for New York's agricultural products-that is, in the neighboring cities in the State and in adjoining States. The right sort of a home market is the fundamental requirement of such home development of agriculture. Such a development will be to the advantage of all our towns and cities, for it means more abundant and better food products. Such development is also dependent upon the industrial conditions in our towns and cities, for only as such conditions are prosperous can the workers in the cities take the abundant farm production.

Thus the two great divisions of useful industry-agriculture and manufactures-must prosper and progress together. Our recent experience, like every other experience, shows that in order to have real welfare for one we must have it also for the When manufacturing industry is depressed, factories closed down or on part time, wages reduced, many men out of work, the local markets for farm products are seriously in-But when factories are working on full time and paying good wages, new factories being started and additional workers employed, and merchants doing good business, then there is an active and continuous demand for plenty of farm products and at good prices. In fact it is only at such times that a really satisfactory market is found for such products as celery and asparagus, peaches and other fine fruits, and certain other products which are not strictly necessities but refinements and luxuries. All the city people should remember also that with more and better farm products raised within easy distance of their local markets there is created not only an addition to their food supply, but also an increased power among the farmers to buy the goods manufactured in the cities. For these reasons both the farmers and the city people are interested, as the brother of one family, in maintaining and increasing the production both of agriculture and of manufactures,

MAINTAINING THE FERTILITY OF THE SOIL.

The fertility of our soil must be constantly maintained. To this end it is necessary to emphasize the fact that as many cattle as possible should be kept in New York. Those who are

skilled in agriculture know that no artificial fertilizers can really take the place of cattle. If farming is to be really profitable there must be a sufficient number of cattle on the farms. For this reason, among others, the agricultural welfare of the State positively requires the prosperity of our dairy farming. The injury which the Democratic tariff has inflicted on our dairy farming, and which I have already referred to, has hurt not only the production of milk, cream, butter, and cheese, but also all other agricultural production.

MAKING FARM LIFE MORE ATTRACTIVE.

Too many young people have left the farms for the cities. By so doing they give up a most important productive work, in which they are needed, and add to the intense competition among those who are seeking employment in the cities. young people leave the farms because farm life seems to them often unattractive. It is important for the general welfare that farm life should be made just as attractive and com-fortable as possible. The conditions of life on the farms fortable as possible. The conditions of life on the farms should be improved by every possible improvement that can be afforded, by better roads and improved methods of transportation and communication, by more conveniences and luxuries in the homes, and by the opportunity to achieve greater prosperity.

This last-mentioned factor is the key to all the rest and is the first requirement for such improved farm conditions. Farmers know how to provide themselves with what is needed to make the farm life all that it ought to be, but it is impossible for them to make progress in this direction unless farming is actually and steadily profitable. It is therefore for greater prosperity that the farmers should strive. It is simply their duty to themselves and their children to demand much more than a bare living as a result of their hard work.

THE COMPETITION THAT WILL COME AFTER THE WAR,

In all their work and plans to maintain and increase their prosperity their most serious concern must be with reference to the invasion of our home market by foreign farm products after the conclusion of the war. They have seen how serious the competition of such foreign products was under the Democratic tariff before the war began, and how it was nothing but the war which interrupted the foreign flood and gave them temporarily the command of their home market. They know that the war must end before very long, and that the flood of foreign farm products entering our markets will then be resumed.

But it is not yet fully realized either by the farmers or the general public that because of the economic conditions which the war has brought there are likely to be, if the Democratic tariff is allowed to continue, much greater imports of farm products than before the war and a competition in our markets which will be a more serious affair for our farmers than they have ever experienced or contemplated. The warring nations of Europe have suffered enormous losses, financially and industrially. Manufacturing and commercial industries have been swept away throughout a great part of There have been unprecedented losses of capital and general impoverishment.

This is the situation there while the war lasts, but as soon as peace comes all the energy and resources of these peoples and their Governments will be strenuously devoted to building up their industry and commerce again. Extraordinary efforts will be made to secure a greatly increased production of wealth. To do so they will have to utilize to the utmost the original source of wealth-agriculture. It is the agricultural industry, as we know, that lies at the base of all others, and this industry has not been and can not be destroyed by the war. All the agricultural land is there as before and just as fertile as before, and it will all be put to the fullest possible use with the most improved tools, for it will be very largely through the sale of the products of agriculture that new capital will be obtained for the needed reestablishment of other industries.

POREIGN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION INCREASED.

While the war has been going on there has been practically no decline in the volume of agricultural production in the nations at war. In fact, there has been and is a forced agricultural production. Everything possible has been done by the Governments and the people of Europe to increase the yield of food products. In Germany, Austria-Hungary, and other countries every bit of available land has been forced into cultivation, and every assistance that intense labor, great skill, and advanced science can afford has been pressed into service to wrest the greatest possible yield from the soil.

It is very easy to keep on with such work after it has been once started, and the necessities of these peoples will drive them to keep on with it. They will then have an extraordinary output of farm products, and hence will not be buyers of such products to the same extent as before, but, on the contrary, sellers to a much greater extent than ever before. Moreover, in all the great agricultural countries throughout the world where vast areas of cheap land abound—those countries from which came into our American market before the war the great quantities of farm products which I have referred to-in all these countries there has been an extraordinary increase in agricultural production, stimulated by the great war demands and the war prices. The same stimulation has produced similar increases in this country, and the natural tendency in all places is to keep on with such increased yield when it has once been obtained unless and until there is a positive check by falling prices.

WHAT AMERICAN FARMERS MUST DO.

This is the serious situation which American farmers will face when the war is over. What are they to do? It is not really safe for them to rest content with the present war conditions, for the end of the war may come at any moment, and then surplus farm products from everywhere will be rushing into the markets of the United States. The Democratic tariff policy, as long as it lasts, will be inviting such imports by providing free and easy entry. American farmers will have no advantage in their home market against such extraordinary and forced competition. They will have to see their own products displaced and depreciated to a greater extent than ever before in their lives. The result will be a most unfortunate discouragement of production in New York and throughout the United States,

Our manufacturing industries will be in the same situation as soon as the industries of Europe can be started up again. It is stated that preparations are even now being made for a program by certain of the European powers whereby the products of agriculture and manufactures will be poured into the American market, no matter what the prices may be. The supreme neces-sity of these foreign powers is a great extension of their foreign commerce; the profits whereof are to repair their economic ex-

This danger to us is so serious and so certain to come that the Democratic administration at Washington is obliged to officially recognize it. The Democratic Secretary of Commerce speaks of it in his latest annual report and has mentioned it in several public addresses. He admits that this "dumping," as it is called, threatens us with disastrous results, and he promises to try to do what he can to prevent it through investigations by our consuls abroad. But he is not willing or permitted by the administration to favor a correction of our present turiff laws, and it is common knowledge that this is the only way of prevention.

THE REPUBLICAN POLICY NEEDED.

Nothing but sufficient rates of tariff can prevent such "dumping" and protect our farmers and other producers. Long experience has proven this. It has also proven that the Democratic Party will never give us such tariff rates, but will tear down and destroy the Republican tariff rates whenever it is given power to do so. The Democratic Party can not give up its freetrade theory. Even in the present admitted emergency it can not lay aside this destructive idea. It is therefore necessary for producers—the farmers and all others—to save themselves from the emergency and to set aside the Democratic Party and its unfortunate policy. The farmers of New York will serve themselves and their families, their State and its progress, and the farmers and all the people the country over by adding their power to the movement now progressing so favorably in the other States for the reestablishment of the Republican protective tariff policy, in order that all our productive industry may flourish and all our people be comfortable and satisfied.

Migratory Bird Law.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. L. C. DYER. OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 24, 1916.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

To the Members of the honorable United States Senate and House of Representatives, assembled at Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIRS: Your petitioners respectfully ask that we be given consideration regarding an injustice being perpetrated against us by the Burean of Biological Survey, Department of Agriculture, under certain regulations provided for in the migatory bird law.

We have appealed in vain to that bureau, but are unable to obtain redress affording "equal and exact justice to ail, with special privileges to none," which we, therefore, request your honorable body to accord to us, through the power of Congress.

When this law was enacted provision was made therein for the very relief which we are new compelled to ask you to insist upon in the name of justice.

Seasons for hunting migratory birds have been so arranged by the Biological Survey officials that hunters residing in the Middle Western States are authorized to hunt migratory game only during such seasons of the year when the migrants are practically absent, and they prohibit us from hunting them during the seasons when they are present in our locality.

The migratory fowl begin passing over our States, going southward from their breeding zone in the North, according to variable climatic conditions.

The flight begins about September 1 to October 1 and is spread out until the period of our autumn storms, but the dry fail weather affords no attraction, and they do not tarry with us, but continue on to the south.

In the winter months they are farther south.

south.

In the winter months they are farther south
They begin their return migration to the North in February, and
periodically arrive here, and again depart southward upon alternate
warm or cold weather changes of a few days' duration at a time.
This process continues during February and March.
Our ideal period for hunting waterfowl begins February 1 and ends
March. 31, but at this opportune time we are legally prohibited from
hunting.

hunting.

The season established by the Biological Survey for us to hunt these waterfowl is during our dry fall months, but when our wet season arrives, and likewise the waterfowl, we are denied the hunting privilege.

In the dry fall season the large watercourses afford the main resort for the fowl, but the biological officials prohibit hunting on the upper Mississippt River (above Memphis, Tenn.), but at no period do they prohibit hunting upon the Mississippt River by citizens residing farther south.

we have offered positive physical evidence, contained in the dead bodies of the ducks, to prove that they are not even approximating the breeding or nesting period in February and March, nor do they at any other season breed in this section of the Nation.

Our facts about climatic conditions, topography of the country, and natural habits of the birds are not disputed, and yet we receive no redress.

natural habits of the birds are not disputed, and yet we receive no redress.

The Bilogoical officials even admit that they have made no scientific collection of evidence such as we have done, nor have they accepted our offer to furnish them dead specimens of the fowls killed each week for their own investigation and information.

The sole reason given us for not correcting these errors is that should our just claims be recognized it would probably cause a protest by other sections of the Nation, whose residents, they claim, would object to our proper seasons, though presumably satisfied with what the Biological Survey had decreed for the alleged objectors.

There has occurrented a so-called advisory board for consuitation about this subject by the Agricultural Impartment, though we are aware of no congressional authority for the same.

However, the members of this board are not representative of the various sections of the Nation; in fact, 5 of them out of 12 reside in a single Eastern city.

This law has prevailed since 1913, during which time three United

various sections of the Nation; in fact, 5 of them out of 12 reside in a single Eastern city.

This law has prevailed since 1913, during which time three United States district courts have held it to be unconstitutional, and no other court has sustained it. Its constitutionality is now before the United States Supreme Court for final decision.

Large sums of money have been appropriated by Congress for the enforcement of this law, but in numerous instances the Biological Survey has positively refused to prosecute violators.

The law has been flagrantly disregarded, and we offered proof of this statement to those intrusted with its enforcement.

In every instance the issue has been evaded. We have since been informed by one of the administrative officers in the Biological Survey that pending the decision of the United States Supreme Court upon its constitutionality no further cases would be received by the Department of Justice for prosecution.

Notwithstanding this statement, notices have been recently circulated in the daily press by the Department of Agriculture, which announced that "the law would be vigorously enforced."

Our best citizens had hoped that the law would be enforced and that the unjust season would be corrected. This has not been done.

The unruly element has regaled itself in hunting liberties which are alone denied to the better element through its conscience about law observance.

nlone denied to the better element through its conscience about law observance

Their conscience, and not the vigilance of the law officials, is the only restraint produced by this deplorable state of affairs.

We are being deprived of our rights without any compensation on behalf of wild-life conservation.

If the migratory fowl are the property of all of the people of the Nation, the residents of the Middle West are part owners therein, and should be accorded their constitutional rights in its use and enjoyment, without any excuse or subterfuge being offered.

Article IV, section 11, of the United States Constitution declares: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

All other means having been denied us, we carnestly petition that no further public funds be appropriated for the enforcement of this migratory bird law, and that our Senators and Representatives oppose it in every form and manner, even to its repeal.

Investigations into the transactions of the Bureau of Biological Survey will disclose that, in connection with the administration of this law, there have been many irregularities.

One official, who was in immediate charge of framing the aforesald regulation, has so conducted himself that it was deemed necessary to dismiss him from his high position.

Several officers have cliner been removed or are now under investigation, and one Federal inspector has been indicted for faisifying his expense accounts.

tion, and one Fuderal inspector has been indicted for faisifying his expense accounts.

The latter individual, while under annual salary and expenses as Federal game inspector, also during the same period occupied a position as deputy State game warden in Missouri and received, as salary and expenses, large sums of money, during two years, from the Missouri State game and fish commission.

The letters on file in the Biological Survey, and likewise the replies thereto, will discose correspondence calling attention to this condition over a year ago, but only very recently has it been deemed of sufficient

importance to verify the true state of affairs which caused the Federal indictments.

importance to verify the true state of affairs which caused the Federal indictments.

We respectfully submit our plea for such action as your good judgment and regard for justice deems adequate to meet the conditions named herein.

In support of our position, and to show that the residents of Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska are not seeking special privileges, nor are they antagonistic to modern methods of whid-life conservation, we with pride call attention to the fact that our State game laws are the most perfect and restrictive legislation of any of the various States.

The Federal regulations also produce such conditions in conflict with our State laws as to sadly deplete our hunting license revenue necessary to protect not only our native wild game but also protection of our public fishing waters, as well as the nongame, song, and insectivorous birds of great value to our agricultural interests.

The Federal law affords no substitute for this material damage.

Most respectfully submitted

The Interstate Sportsmen's Protective Association,
By Dr. S. H. Ragan, President.

W. L. Moore, Secretary-Treasurer.

Headquarters, Kansas City, Mo.

Headquarters, Kansas City, Mo.

Other signatures and addresses: E. T. Grether, editor Rod and Gun, St. Louis Globe-Democrat; Edn. C. Flachmein, Home Country Club. 617 Pine Street; Arthur D. Holthaus, 5350 Waterman Avenue; Henry W. Rett, Wellington Hotel; Otto Richter, 504 Market Street; A. O. Straub, 3929 Flora Boulevard; R. F. Wells, 1902 Blair Avenue.

River and Harbor Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK D. SCOTT.

OF MICHIGAN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 11, 1916.

Mr. SCOTT of Michigan. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, with the existing method of legislating on river and harbor appropriations I find myself confronted with a somewhat

Having lived in a country abounding in real lakes and rivers I can almost believe an improbable fish story; but in this bill you are endeavoring to pull off a few jokers I am unable to swal-In the bill now before us you propose to spend approximately \$40,000,000. Of this amount, between twenty and thirty million are necessary and meritorious and the balance is not only unnecessary, but flagrantly abuses the purpose of a rivers and harbors bill and completely contaminates the otherwise meritorious projects therein contained. At the present time this country has an almost depleted Treasury. Our citizens are being taxed as never before in a time of peace. Our constant growth means enlarged expenditures. Economy should not only be the watchword, but economy must be the watchword if we are to avoid a higher taxation or the issuance of bonds.

The people of this country fully realize and appreciate the necessarily increasing maintenance cost to fittingly care for our continuing growth. They do not deprecate enormous expenditures on great and needed projects, but they do emphatically resist this, or any other Congress, linking bad and undesirable projects with good and meritorious ones with the hope that the major good in a bill of this kind will carry the evil items with it. About two-thirds of this bill is valuable and worthy of our support, but the other one-third is not only unnecessary but in most part it is bad. That undesirable one-third, by its appropriation, is depriving the valuable two-thirds of the money that should be expended thereon. If we were spending our own money, the attitude of this House would change wonderfully and our generosity would be greatly diminished. Many of the river and harbor projects of Michigan and elsewhere are being deprived of an adequate appropriation in this bill because you have diverted that money to the making of a river where there is no river, and to other similar enterprises.

As an illustration, you insist that the channel of the Trinity River, in Texas, should be deepened for navigation, yet a Representative from that State testifies on the floor of this House that as a boy he was unable to find enough water in that river in which to swim. You are also endeavoring to start a most extensive undertaking on the St. Francis River in opening up its channel, when the testimony before the committee, and before this House, is to the effect that in many, many places you can cross the St. Francis River without getting your feet wet and without even knowing that the river is there. There is further testimony that where the river was there is now a dense growth of vegetation, "and if you should probe down through this

growth you would be apt to find water at a depth of from 18 inches to 10 feet."

There certainly can be no extensive navigation on a river where a boy can not find enough water in which to swim or on a river where you are obliged to dig down 18 inches to 10 feet before you strike water. Think of tying up such projects with the Soo Locks and the St. Marys River, where the commerce annually aggregates from sixty-five to eighty million tons, and yet you will jeopardize and injure such a great governmental enterprise by tying to it such political monstrosities as I have just called to your attention, and you expect to compel me to vote an expenditure of the people's money on such enterprises in order that the rivers and harbors of northern Michigan may receive a part of their just deserts. I refuse to be sandbagged in such a manner. Our projects will stand on their own merits. I do not ask to lean on you in order to carry them through, and I refuse to let you lean on me with your cistern, sink hole, subterranean propositions. If this bill is defeated, the appropriations for the northern Michigan rivers and harbors will still be allowed, even if it is necessary to introduce a general bill, which policy was adopted in the last Congress to avoid the very thing which you are attempting to do in this bill.

No man on this floor is more earnest or sincere in his desires to see the good enterprises in this bill allowed than am I, but I can not, by my vote in favor of this entire measure, become a party to the deception its passage must necessarily convey.

The people are entitled to the maximum benefit from a minimum taxation, and the citizens of the district I represent do not expect me to barter their intelligence and their honor to secure one or two million dollars for our rivers and harbors by voting for the expenditure of upward of \$10,000,000 in this bill on projects so tinged with pork-barrel hypocrisy that the rind is apparent to the naked eye.

Resolution of Chicago Federation of Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK BUCHANAN. OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 25, 1916.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, so much has been said, and well and ably said, against the pernicious propaganda of the war traffickers, who are enthusiastically fanning the flames of war in their attempt to clinch a system of militarism upon the people of this country that it is hardly necessary for me to enter into a further extended discussion of the sophistry upon which their campaign is grounded. Every argument they have propounded in their attempt to rush the people of the United States into a mad rivalry with Europe in military and naval expansion has been met with irrefutable facts. The duplicity of this sordid crew which aims to carry the "war brides" to new and higher levels in Wall Street has been exposed. Theirs has been a campaign of manufactured sentiment, misrepresentation, and deception, but I am happy in the belief that the great masses of our people are becoming awakened to the real motives of this ravenous system, and as an indication of this 'awakening" I desire to have inserted in the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor, an organization representing 250,000 workingmen.

The resolution is as follows:

Resolution adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor, Sunday, April 16, 1916.

Whereas the Chicago Tribune, April 4, 1916, and other papers printed the following article:

the following article:

"PREPAREDEESS SPECIAL TRAINS TO VISIT CAPITAL—TWO HUNDRED PATRIOTS OF CHICAGO AND DOWN STATE TO LEAVE ON APRIL 18.

"The newest idea in the better-defense movement is a 'prepare special." The Middle West business interests have adopted the plan of invading Washington with extra trains for personal conferences as a part of the agitation to acquaint Congressmen with the sentiment back home.

"The first train will leave Chicago on April 18 over the Baltimore & Ohio with 200 Chicago and down State patriots. They will have with them a carefully thought out memorial containing a definite statement for a permanent defense policy, which will be presented to the 30 Illinois Representatives. A banquet will be held at the Shorcham Hotel in Washington on April 19 Senator Lewis, as the senior Illinois Senator, will preside, with Samuel M. Hastings, president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, representing the business men."

HERE'S THE COMMITTEE.

The committee that is now working on the plan the Illinoisans will pack includes the following: Samuer M. Hastings, K. K. Knapp. La Verne Noyes, Milton J. Foreman, Charles H. Markham, J. S. Miller,

John P. Hopkins, Paul Schulze, Milton S. Florsbeim, A. H. Mulliken, D. E. Felt, G. R. Meyercord, John C. Spry, W. M. Lewis, J. B. Sanborn, Hale Holden, Courad Poppenhusen, Colin C. H. Fyffe, W. Nelson Pelouze, F. W. Upham, Peter Theorer.

OTHER SECTIONS REPRESENTED.

Capt. George B. Blow, of La Salle: H. G. Herget, of Pekin; George D. Tower, of Mendota; and William Butterworth will represent the other sections of the State in the committee.

In addition to originating the invasion method, the Illinois leaders are working on the organizations in othe. States to get up similar expeditions.

AGAINST PREPAREDNESS.

That the labor element, the small business men element, and the farmer element in most of the cities recently visited by President Wilson in his last trip West are against preparedness was the statement of Victor S. Yarros at the City Coub yesterday

Mr. Yarros, as correspondent of the New York Evening Post investigated the subject of "preparedness sentiment" in seven cities after the President's visit to them.

Also on April 13, 1916, the following:

RE NOTE FOR DINNER—ILLINOIS MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION WILL BE HOST OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ON APRIL 26.

"PREPARE NOTE FOR DINNER—ILLINOIS MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION
WILL BE HOST OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ON APRIL 28.

"WASHINGTON, D. C., April 22 (Special).

"Headed by Samuel M. Hastings, president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, 260 members of that body will visit Washington on April 26 to give a dinner to the Illinois delegation in Congress and present a pian for preparedness. Announcement of this impressive manner of convincing the delegation that Illinois industrial leaders are warmly in favor of effective preparation against war was made to-day by John M. Glenn, secretary, who is in Washington.

Whereas the "patriots" of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association therein mentioned are nearly all reaping great financial benefits from the present war in Europe by furnishing ammunition and other war materials; also would repeat very large profits if the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States should adopt their so-called "military preparedness" plan;

Whereas the 'patricts, whose ill-gotten profits enable them to hire a special train and arrange for an elaborate dinner in Washington to the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives, represent numerically a very small portion of our community, and do not represent the sentiment of the "people back home" in Chicago; and

Whereas the daily press has not given us any record of any of these self-admitted "patriots" of the Hilnois Manufacturers' Association rushing to the recruiting station and enlisting in the Army or Navy of the United States since Mexican trouble started at Columbus, N. Mex.: Therefore be it

Resolved by the delegates to the Chicago Federation of Labor, representing 250,000 organized workers of the city of Chicago, who are not participating in the profits of war and "military preparedness." but, on the contrary, are suffering from the continued rise in price of the necessities of iffe, and the decline of the purchasing power of their wages and salaries and are therefore unable to hire "special preparedness" and the M

GRESSIONAL RECORD of February 18, 1916, and which we hereby reaffirm; and be it

Further resolved, That the secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor be instructed to send a copy of this resolution to the Hon. Frank BUCHANAN, requesting him to have same read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; also a copy to be sent to the President of the United States, to each of the Schators and Members of the House of Representatives from Illinois, and to the American Federation of Labor.

Respectfully submitted.

CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR

I also insert an article in the Chicago Day Book of April 18, 1916, a publication that accepts no advertisements, and is read largely by the wageworkers and which speaks the sentiments and ambition of the working masses:

BANQUETING GAME OLD STUFF-CONGRESSMEN TO FEED WITH MANUFAC-

The Illinois delegation in Congress will be guests of 200 members of the Illinois Manutacturers' Association at a banquet in Washington April 26. The manufacturers left Chicago for the Capital Tuesday

April 26. The manufacturers left Chicago for the Capital Tuesday morning.

Once when the writer of this was working on another paper he was put hep to the way this game of banqueting legislators is played.

It happened that the big commercial and manufacturing association of the State was giving a banquet to the 200 members of the legislature. The cost was \$5 for each of the 750 plates—for the eats alone—and there was entertainment by a star of the Chicago Grand Opera Co., the most noted moving picture comedy star of the day, and the stars from many theaters. No drinks were served, because many of the legislators were "dry," but fine booze was passed out free at a special bar in an adjoining room.

The reporter knew that the evening's entertainment was costing the commercial association a little better than \$1,000.

"Why waste so much money?" inquired the reporter of the secretary of the association.

of the association.

The secretary roased with laughter.

"Waste? Waste nothing!" he shouted. "We consider this the best investment of the year. Why, do you know that on either side of every lawmaker at that banquet there sat a member of our association. We have an ax to grind. We want some special legislation that will be a great boon to manufacturers. So we spent \$7,500 on a big feed and fine entertainers to get the legislators in a good humor to listen to us.

"I told you there was an association member on either side of every legislator. Each one of these members was picked for the part. Our legislative experts studied for weeks to find out just how each lawmaker stood on the 'ssues in which we are interested. If he was not favorable to us, we put our best persuaders beside him at the table.

"Don't tell me it was wasting money. We're going to give one every

"Don't tell me it was wasting money. We're going to give one every year."

Before that legislative session was over it passed four of the six bilist the association wanted, and would have passed another, a gigantic street franchise 'feat, but the people got wise and so mad that it dared not put the bill through.

The Illinois Manufacturers' Association is going to send trainloads of members at great cost to Washington to sit beside Illinois Congressmen at the banquet April 26 to interest the Nation's lawmakers in military preparedness measures which big business wants passed.

The passing of preparedness bills will bring more money to the coffers of Illinois manufacturers, who will share in furnishing the extra equipment and ammunition, while it will increase the amount of public guards of private property.

The Manufacturers Association admitted that the purpose of the banquet is "to upress on the Congressmen the fact that the business interests of the Middle West are keenly alive to the necessity of a broad general plan of preparedness."

President Samuel M. Hastings of the association, it is announced, will present a memorial to the memoers of the delegation containing a pian for preparedness which the manufacturers feel should be indorsed.

After summing up the plans of the manufacturers, the Chicago Federation of Labor, at their meeting Sunday, passed resolutions which wound up with:

"Re it resolved by the 250,000 organized working neople of Chicago."

eration of Labor, at their meeting Sunday, passed resolutions which wound up with:

"Be it resolved by the 250,000 organized working people of Chicago who are not profiting by the European war and who will not gain by the 'military and naved preparedness plans,' but, on the contrary, are suffering from a continual rise in prices of the necessities of life, and who are, therefore, unable to hire special trains and pay for dinners, That we condemn this attempt by these self-styled 'patriots' of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association to mislead Congress as to the true sentiment of the people back home."

Susan B. Anthony Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BENJAMIN C. HILLIARD.

OF COLORADO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 24, 1916.

Mr. HILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to include the following resolution:

Resolved, That this mass meeting of citizens assembled in Colorado Springs, Colo., in the opera house, April 16, 1916, in response to the appeal of women from nonsuffrage States, calls upon Congress to pass forthwith on to the State legislatures for ratification the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and protest against the action of the Judiciary Committee in unjustly blocking the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and demands an immediate and favorable report of this amendment to the

Resolved also, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President, Speaker Clark, the Senate and House leaders of all parties, and to the two Senators and the Representatives from Colorado; and be it further Resolved, That the chairman of this meeting be empowered in lorwarding copies to request that the resolution be read into the Congressional Record.

A United Service First-Year School as Provided by House Bill 12487.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ARTHUR W. OVERMYER. OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 25, 1916.

Mr. OVERMYER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to include an article from the November, 1915, Issue of the Navy, commenting upon an article by Commodore R. G. Denig, United States Navy, retired, which appeared in the New York Sun of October 31, relative to a plan for establishing a united service first-year school to increase the efficiency of the United States Military and United States Naval Academies, as provided in House bill 12487, introduced by myself February 29, 1916, and now pending in the Committee on Military Affairs.

The article follows:

UNITED SERVICE FIRST YEAR SCHOOL.

Commodore R. G. Denig, United States Navy, retired, in an article published in the New York Sun of October 31, makes a valuable and timely pien for the establishment of a united service first year school. He believes that the best solution of the problem of obtaining more trained officers for the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps lies in the immediate inauguration of such a school. He says:

"The creating of other military or naval schools identical in character to West Point and Annapolis is not possible, and the attempt not advisable, for they never could produce officers with the same prestige,"

The Secretary of War, Lindley M. Garrison, in his address to the members of the graduating class at West Point in June said:

"You at the Point here are permeated with traditions of the highest import. The unwritten part of your curriculum is that which puts its best stamp upon you. To be honorable, valorous, truthful, fair, and just in your dealings, and ready to sacrifice all for your country, are the traditions which were handed on to you and will be handed on by you to those who follow."

These same inspiring words apply equally to the Naval Academy.

This preparatory school, with a training course of one year, must be a part of the Military and the Naval Academies, and therefore a strictly military institution commanded by an officer of the Army whose staff and corps of instructors must be composed of Army, Navy, and Marine Copps officers.

The purpose set forth is to give, at the First Year School, the cadets first year of instruction, leaving the last three years of their military and naval education to the parent schools.

He clearly shows that because of the absolute demand for more officers fully trained, that the combined graduates of the two academies should not be less than 760, or 380 from each. The present number, less than 200, is "barely sufficient for our present Army and Navy, and Shamefully inadequate when we consider our needs for even moderate preparedness, to say nothing of our actual necessity for officers in time of war."

preparedness, to say nothing of our actual necessity for omcers in time of war."

A board of Army officers has been appointed to make plans for the enlargement of West Point to a capacity of 1,200 cadets, like provisions are under way at Annapolis.

This is a move in the right direction and clearly in line with the preparatory school proposed by Commodore Denig.

The last annual report of the Superintendent of the Military Academy shows that, under the present system, a corps of cadets of 1,200 would only produce a graduating class of 125. To exceed this number we are convinced that the present high standard of fitness would be lowered. By the introduction of the first-year school the corps of cadets at each academy would be 1,200, but composed of the three upper classes, and the graduating classes of each academy would be 380 trained officers ready for instant duty in all the military branches of the Government, Commodore Denig advocates that these graduates be at once commissioned in the line of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Navy Construction Corps, Navy Pay Corps, and the United States Coast Guards, without in any case lessening the number of enlisted men commissioned from the ranks.

He advocates that those graduates for whom no vacancies exist should be returned to civil life, but receive commissions as officers in reserves of the Army and the Navy, with certain conditions not here

reserves of the Army and the Navy, with certain conditions not need set forth.

The lowest ebb of interest in military and naval preparedness was in the eighties. Admiral Mahan speaks of how the Nation sank into a period of "general apathy concerning its military and naval necessities."

period of general apathy concerning its initiary and naval necessities."

A repetition of this he adds "will be a matter not merely of lasting regret but of permanent harm." ("Lessons of the War with Spain."). During that lamentable period excess graduates from the Naval Academy were returned to civil life without commissions.

This practice was not done with any idea of future benefit to the country, but purely through mistaken economy. Mark the unforeseen result. To the lasting honor of the Naval Academy, the patriotism of these graduates was shown by the fact that almost to a man they immediately, upon the outbreak of the War with Spain, volunteered for the Navy and rendered invaluable service throughout the war.

Shall we not take heed of this lesson of loyalty and use it for preparedness?

We would suggest that the value of their training would be greatly enhanced if this commission be given after one year of active service with the flag, affoat or ashore.

The article proposes that the number of appointments each year be 550 for West Point and 544 for Annapolis, examinations in March, and would distribute them as follows:

	Military cadets.	Naval cadets.
President of the United States. Vice President. Each Senator, one to each service. Each Congressman, one to each service. District of Columbia. Porto Rico. Ha vali. Philippine Islands.	10. 2 96 435 1 2 2 2	10 2 96 435 1
Total	550	544

Total cadets to enter preparatory school each June, 1,094. Commenting on this proposition, Commodore Denig says:

"Assuming then that 1,100 cadets will each June enter the preparatory school, we may safely predict that 800 will qualify for the two academies, and that these will be equally divided between military and naval cadets. Thus each June 400, a fully prepared battalion, will proceed under orders to West Point and Annapolis and report for duty as third classmen, with a 95 per cent chance of graduating.

"The two academies will have constantly within their walls a full regiment of cadets, a well-balanced and highly satisfactory condition for organization, studies, and drills, and one that will go far toward meeting the quota of trained officers that the services demand."

The suggestion is supported by sound arguments and aims.
First. To preserve the prestige of our two great academies. Second. To increase the number of graduates from them without lowering one jot their present high standard of efficiency, a standard that would be endangered if the academies be overloaded.

Third. To augment the education of the Army officer by the valuable addition of naval training.

Fourth. To fill the demand for an increased number of graduate officers by retaining the present democratic and equally distributed manner of appointments to cadetships.

Fifth. To make the number of cadets under instruction the same at all times.

The West Pointer, because of the variety of accomplishment required in modern warfare and our possessions beyond the seas, is positively in need of a better knowledge of navigation and seamanship, especially

in the handling of small boats, hydroplanes, mine planters, trans-

ports, etc.

The early association of these young men in the same class, pursuing the same patriotic end, will lead to acquaintances and friendships and eventual understandings that must result in good to all branches of the

the same patriotic end, will lead to acquaintances and friendships and eventual understandings that must result in good to all branches of the service.

West Point began this year with 79 vacancies; the same annoyance exists at Annapolis.

The first-year school will correct this, because of the greater number of yearly appointments and because the weeding-out process will take place there.

To a mixed board of Army and Navy officers this duty should be assigned; they would eliminate political expediency and disregard the ambitions of a locality not provided with the necessary requisites.

The Outlook of November 3, in commenting on the plan, says:

"If such an academy could be located somewhere in the interior of the country, its political value in bringing home to the citizens of the Central States a realization of the needs and worth of the Army and Navy might prove as great as the worth of its military product."

The advantages of combining the early education of Army and Navy officers has often been in the minds of both services, but we have never before seen it so logically and clearly outlined. The distinct conservation of the scheme appeals to us. The great benefit that would result, the rapidity with which it could be put into operation, and the economy of the plan should commend it not only to the services, but to the Nation as well, for a favorable indorsement.

Editorially in the same issue the Navy says:

Editorially in the same issue the Navy says:

UNITED SERVICE FIRST-YEAR SCHOOL.

In another column is an article on the united service first-year school proposed by Commodore R. G. Denig. This plan seems to offer the basis for a logical solution of the difficult problem of largely increasing the output of the Naval and Military Academies without in any way interfering with their present high standard or with their future development. The plan commends itself most strongly to the Navy, and while it will doubtless take further consideration to work it out in detail, the idea, which so far as we know is entirely original with Commodore Denig, seems most valuable. We would only suggest at this time that the proposed increase in the number of appointments, 550 for West Point and 544 for Annapolis, may not be sufficient to meet the requirements of the two services. The Outlook of November 17, commenting upon the article, says:

"This in our opinion is a proposal which deserves wide discussion and the attention of those upon whem rests the responsibility of the solution of our problems of national defense."

We heartily indorse this opinion.
We invite discussion of this plan, particularly from our naval readers. Its potential value is such that it deserves the support and study of all who are able to assist in its perfection.

Agriculture Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES H. MAYS. OF UTAH.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 22, 1916.

Mr. MAYS. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Lever] increasing the amount available for "use upon the national forests and public domain in destroying wolves, coyotes, and other animals injurious to agriculture and animal husbandry" from \$125,000 to \$250,000. This increase becomes essential since a point of order against the proviso carrying an item of \$125,000 with which to combat the spread of rabies among such wild animals.

Objections so far made to this provision appear to be based upon the theory that the farmer and stockman, aided by the various States infected, should eradicate these predatory animals. It should be remembered, however, that the Government owns and supervises vast quantities of the territory of these Western States. Forest reserves and public domain together comprise more than half the area of some of the States so severely afflicted. The Government is thus virtually pro-viding a breeding ground and harbor and refuge for these animals which sally forth and destroy the live stock of the citizens. It is clearly the duty of the National Government to do its share in this great campaign of extermination. States and the citizens interested are now and long have been cooperating in

In Utah a bounty of from \$2.50 to \$15 each is provided upon such animals. Many thousand have been exterminated, but the coyote, which we regard as the most perticious offender, is a most wary animal. He is said to be a cross between the gray wolf and the fox, and has the viciousness of the one combined with the cunning of the other. He is possessed of a refentless disposition to kill, to destroy, even far beyond his requirements. I have personally counted as high as 20 lambs from one flock whose throats had been cut by a single coyote. No effort had

been made to devour the flesh of these lambs. The killing was accomplished in response to a cruel, wanton, natural desire to destroy. Why should the farmer and the stock raiser be required to feed the coyotes owned by the General Government and oc-Why should the farmer and the stock raiser be required

cupying these forest reserves and public domain?

It is interesting to observe the cunningness of the coyote. one of these should, when alone, discover a mother sow with a litter of young pigs, he will be too cowardly to attempt to take the pigs from the mother alone, but will secure the assistance of a companion in crime. One will then approach the mother, who gives angry chase. He encourages the pursuit until his companion steals a pig, this process being repeated until the entire litter is destroyed.

One mountain lion will, during a single year, destroy in value many times the bounty offered for his destruction. I have seen in the mountain lair of a family of these beasts evidence that a score of deer had been slain and devoured during the preceding year. Old hunters of the Rocky Mountain region will tell you that these lions destroy many times the number of deer slain by

all the hunters.

The farmer who leases these public lands for his stock has the right to know that the stock will not be destroyed by the animals harbored and protected by the Government.

The losses to live stock, in many instances, absorb all the

profit, in some cases utterly ruin the stockman.

The gentlemen who so vigorously oppose such appropriation, who for the most part reside in the great eastern cities, should realize that this unnatural waste of our meat supply must be borne by the consumer ultimately. The producer may be the direct and immediate sufferer but the dwellers in the great cities will bear their share of the losses these predatory animals inflict upon our meat supply. From this there is no escape. The total annual loss is astounding, sufficient to feed millions of people. One coyote, in average condition and with his usual attention to business, may annually destroy a hundred head of sheep. Some flocks will be reduced by one-tenth their number in a single season and a detached flock will often be entirely destroyed.

It is strangely shortsighted and narrow for gentlemen to display themselves as the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] have done in this debate. They and their constituents must look to the great meat-producing ranges of the West for their daily supply of this food. It is rapidly decreasing while the popula-tion is increasing. This must have a disastrous effect upon the cost of living, already most beyond the poor man's attain-

The gentlemen, and others of the great eastern cities, show an amazing solicitude for the Treasury when a small sum is proposed to aid the overworked, overburdened, and underpaid producer of life's necessities. They forgot the depleted condition of the Treasury and the sad condition of the taxpayers, tion of the Treasury and the sad condition of the taxpayers, over whom they periodically shed crocodile tears of grief assumed for political effect, when the \$40,000,000 were appropriated a few days ago by the rivers and harbors bill. That money is to be expended largely in and around their cities, The Boston man gets his share. The Chicago man gets his. The New York man gets his portion. And the Philadelphia man gets a few millions for the Delaware River. Altogether they extract from the Treasury the handsome total of \$40,000,000 to follow the \$800,000,000 already appropriated upon these same to follow the \$500,000,000 already appropriated upon these same projects. They believe that an essential and profitable expenditure, and the larger portion of the money may be wisely expended. The States of Utah, Colorado, Nevada, Idaho, and Wyoming will receive not a penny of that magnificient total but we supported the appropriation. We ask that a spirit of fairness be exhibited now toward this sparsely settled portion of our country.

This bill carries an appropriation of over \$60,000 for "investigating" insects affecting deciduous fruits; over \$114,000 for "investigating" insects affecting cereals and forage; over \$60,000 for "investigating" insects affecting cotton, tobacco, and other plants; over \$50,000 for "investigating" insects affecting forests; over \$40,000 for "investigating" insects affecting truck gardens; \$20,000 for "investigating" bee culture; over \$17,000 for "investigating" insects affecting citrus fruits; over \$33,000 for "investigating" the Mediterranean and other flies; over \$57,000 for "investigating" miscellaneous insects affecting citrus fruits; over \$57,000 for "investigating" miscellaneous insects affecting citrus fruits; over \$57,000 for "investigating" miscellaneous insects affecting citrus fruits; over \$57,000 for "investigating" miscellaneous insects affecting citrus fruits. over \$57,000 for "investigating" miscellaneous insects affect-ing man and beast. This bill appropriates \$305,000 to "investi-gate" and prevent the spread of the gypsy and brown-tail moths. This is largely for the benefit of our fellow countrymen who dwell in the gentleman's State of Massachusetts.

Mr. Speaker, by this bill we appropriate nearly \$900,000 for "investigating" these insects, flies, and moths, and so forth, and every dollar is wisely appropriated. We want the \$250,000 provided

in this amendment not to "investigate" the various predatory animals which prey upon the live stock of the West and drive the producer into insolvency. They are thoroughly investigated already. Their pernicious character is known to every strugalready. Their pernicious character is known to creating gling settler who must contend against beak and claw and fang gling settler who must contend against beak and claw and fang gling settler who must contend against beak and claw and fang throughout all that vast region. It is not investigation that we contemplate, but extermination, relentless and determined extermination

The spread of rabies among coyotes, beginning in Oregon and extending rapidly into California, Idaho, Nevada, and Utah, is becoming an alarming menace to the settler and inhabitants, and should elicit immediate aid from the National Government. coyote may infect scores of domestic animals. You have heard related the record of the treatment of many individuals who had been bitten by these animals. It is clearly a national duty to suppress this most fearful of maladies and exterminate these animals which find harbor and refuge in the Nation's forest reserves and public domain.

. The gentlemen from the great cities and those dwelling along the Atlantic seacoast, and whose constituents are largely engaged in manufacturing, are always on the alert and ready to secure Federal aid for their enterprises. In this they are to be commended and their constituents to be congratulated. Their

interests have been carefully guarded and conserved.

It is high time, Mr. Speaker, that the attention of the Congress be turned for a brief time toward those who produce the necessities of life for the whole Nation. The American yeoman is the hardest worked and the poorest paid of all our citizenship. He is the victim of predatory man and beasts of prey.

The Sixty-third Congress has been deservedly credited with more constructive legislation than any 10 Congresses preceed-It emancipated the business interests of the country from a crude, unscientific financial system which had periodically plunged the Nation into panics destructive and damaging to all

classes and instituted a system under which such panics can That Congress enacted wholesome antitrust laws designed to liberate the business of our country from monopoly. It put upon the statute books an income tax which places the burdens of taxation upon the backs of those most able to bear them. That Congress dealt wisely and effectually with the tariff question, with banking questions, with questions of interstate trade, and brought forth many measures for the relief of business,

banking, and commerce.

It is time now, we submit, to pay some attention to the real producer of the wealth of the Nation. His interests have been too long neglected. He has been compelled unjustly, because of our archaic system of banking laws, to pay exhorbitant interest rates on capital required, rates which no business on earth could continue long to pay and survive. He has been robbed systematically by middleman, commission man, and monopoly. He is entitled to a system of rural credits from this Congress. He is entitled to relief from such monopoly as the investigation of a committee of this Congress is now disclosing among the packing houses of the country.

All other countries of any standing guard with watchful care the rights and interests of the producers of life's necessities. They seem to appreciate the paramount importance of the food supply to the whole Nation, and in this regard we would act wisely to consider such wholesome examples.

I trust that the amendment carries and becomes a law.

The American Farmer.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,

OF PENNSYLVANIA, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 25, 1916.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago it was my privilege, in discussing this great measure concerned with the farmer and farm interests, to call attention to what I regard as one of the most vital factors in the problem with which we are attempting to deal. In my former remarks I dwelt at some length on the fact that in a relative sense agriculture has declined in this country. It has not kept pace with the growth of population, with manufactures, with transportation, with mining. It has indeed grown and is still growing, but not in proportion to

the growth of the other elements in our national life.

Yet it seems to me that agriculture above all other interests should thrive in the United States. There is perhaps no other

portion of the habitable globe of equal extent so well adapted to agriculture. Climate, soil, everything combines to favor this primary industry. There is scarcely a square mile of our huge territory that, tickled with the hoe, will not laugh with a harvest. And there is a diversity of soil and climate almost if not quite unequaled anywhere else under the sun. In a hundred ways we are favored above others by nature. The imagination staggers in the presence of the magnificent possibilities of wealth and prosperity which our fields offer to the cultivator. Yet men like James J. Hill have been telling us for years that we are not far from the day when it will become necessary for the United States to look outside their own borders for food. They have been warning us against the time when our fields will no longer feed the ravening mouths of our cities and towns.

What does all this mean? Does it mean that our apparently boundless resources are, after all, approaching exhaustion? Does it mean that population is already pressing upon subsistence in any true sense? Does it mean that our soil is wearing out; that our farmers are losing their skill; that actual scarcity of land is even thus early confronting this Nation of a hundred millions? I think not. But I think that a factitious scarcity is already being felt. As I endeavored to make clear in the previous remarks on this same subject, the trouble lies chiefly, as I believe, in an artificial scarcity resulting from the forestalling of agricultural opportunities through speculation in farm-land values; it comes inevitably as a consequence of a system which encourages monopoly control of the soil at the expense of the mass of farm workers who must live upon the soil and bring forth the fruits thereof.

In my previous remarks I took the liberty of quoting at length from the late Henry F. Ring's Problem of the Unemployed; and in connection herewith it is my desire to quote at equal length from another and a greater authority on the land question. No man who has written on the subject of political economy has done so with as clear a vision as Henry George; and in none of his writings has he more vividly set forth his doctrine as it relates to the working farmer than Chapter XX of his Social Problems on The American Farmer. I want to include in my remarks that illuminating chapter, and I desire in doing so to impress upon the Members of this House and upon all who may read it the important bearing it has on the great problem with which we are dealing, or undertaking to deal, in the bill now under consideration, for it must be clear to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Lever] and to his colaborers on the Committee on Agriculture that if the typical American farmer must disappear, as he is already disappearing, propositions more fundamental than any contained in this measure must ultimately be forthcoming; we must go deeper than we are now going if we are to check the obvious tendency and save him from utter extinction,

I think that in the chapter to which I have referred the more fundamental proposition is set forth logically and with power. It supplements what has previously been brought to the attention of the House by me on the same general subject, and I would most earnestly urge upon the members of the great Committee on Agriculture and upon the Members of this House an open-minded study of the question as a whole as I have sought to present it with the aid of two master minds from which I have borrowed and to the memory of which I pay my grateful tribute. Chapter XX from Social Problems on The American Farmer follows:

SOCIAL PROBLEMS,
[By Henry George.]
THE AMERICAN FARMER,
Chapter XX.

It is frequently asserted that no proposition for the recognition of common rights to land can become a practical question in the United States because of the opposition of the farmers who own their own farms, and who constitute the body of our population, wielding, when they choose to exert it, a dominating political power.

That new ideas make their way more slowly among an agricultural population than among the population of cities and towns is true, though, I think, in less degree true of the United States than of any other country. But beyond this, that those who look upon the small farmers of the United States as forming an impregnable bulwark to private property in land very much miscalculate.

Even admitting, which I do not, that farmers could be relied upon to oppose measures fraught with great general benefits if seemingly opposed to their smaller personal interests, it is not true that such measures as I have suggested are opposed to the interests of the great body of farmers. On the contrary, these measures would be as clearly to their advantage as to the ad-

vantage of wageworkers. The average farmer may at first start at the idea of virtually making land common property, but given time for discussion and reflection, and those who are already trying to persuade him that to put all taxation upon the value of the land would be to put all taxation upon him have as little chance of success as the slaveholders had of persuading the negroes that the northern armies were bent on kidnapping them and selling them in Cuba. The average farmer can read, write, and cipher-and on matters connected with his own interests ciphers pretty closely. He is not out of the great currents of thought, though they may affect him more slowly. and he is anything but a contented peasant, ignorantly satisfied with things as they are, and impervious to ideas of change. Already dissatisfied, he is becoming more so. His hard and barren life seems harder and more barren as contrasted with the excitement and luxury of cities, of which he constantly reads, even if he does not frequently see, and the great fortunes accumulated by men who do nothing to add to the stock of wealth arouse his sense of injustice. He is at least beginning to feel that he bears more than his fair share of the burdens of society and gets less than his fair share of benefits, and though the time for his awakening has not yet come, his thought, with the decadence of old political issues, is more and more turning to economic and social questions.

HOW EQUAL RIGHTS TO THE SOIL MAY BE ASSERTED.

It is clear that the change in taxation which I propose as the means whereby equal rights to the soil may be asserted and maintained would be to advantage to farmers who are working land belonging to others, of those whose farms are virtually owned by mortgagees, and of those who are seeking farms. And not only do the farmers whose opposition is relied upon-those who own their own farms—form, as I shall hereafter show, but a decreasing minority of the agricultural vote and a small and even more rapidly decreasing proportion of the aggregate vote, but the change would be so manifestly to the advantage of the smaller farmers, who constitute the great body, that when they come to understand it they will favor instead of oppose it. The farmer who cultivates his own small farm with his own hands is a landowner, it is true, but he is in greater degree a laborer, and in his ownership of stock, improvements, tools, and so forth, a capitalist. It is from his labor, aided by his capital, rather than from any advantage presented by the value of his land, that he derives his living. His main interest is that of a producer, not that of a landowner.

THE STORY OF COZY MURPHY.

There lived in Dublin some years ago a gentleman named Murphy—"Cozy" Murphy, they called him for short and because he was a very comfortable sort of a Murphy. Cozy Murphy owned land in Tipperary, but, as he had an agent in Tipperary to collect his rents and evict his tenants when they did not pay, he himself lived in Dublin, as being the more comfortable place. And he concluded at length that the most comfortable place in Dublin—in fact, the most comfortable place in Dublin—in fact, the most comfortable place in the whole world—was in bed. So he went to bed and stayed there for nearly eight years; not because he was at all ill, but because he liked it. He ate his dinners and drank his wine and smoked his cigars and read and played cards and received visitors and verified his agent's accounts and drew checks—all in bed. After eight years' lying in bed he grew tired of it, got up, dressed himself, and for some years went around like other people, and then died. But his family were just as well off as if he had never gone to bed—in fact, they were better off, for while his income was not a whit diminished by his going to bed, his expenses were.

This was a typical landowner—a landowner, pure and simple. Now, let the working farmer consider what would become of himself and family if he and his boys were to go to bed and stay there, and he will realize how much his interests as a landowner.

HOW INDIRECT TAXES HURT THE WORKING FARMER.

It requires no grasp of abstractions for the working farmer to see that to abolish all taxation, save upon the value of the land, would be really to his interest, no matter how it might affect larger landholders. Let the working farmer consider how the weight of indirect taxation falls upon him without his having power to shift it off upon anyone else; how it adds to the price of what he has to sell; how it compels him to contribute to the support of government in far greater proportion to what he possesses than it does those who are much richer, and he will see by the substitution of direct for indirect taxation he would be largely the gainer. Let him consider further and he will see that he would be still more largely the gainer if direct taxation were confined to the value of the land. The land of the working farmer is improved land, and usually the value of the

improvements and of the stock used in cultivating it bears a very high proportion to the value of the bare land. Now, as all valuable land is not improved as is that of the working farmer, as there is much more of valuable land than of improved land, to substitute for the taxation now levied upon the improvements and stock, a tax upon the naked value of the land, irrespective of improvements, would be manifestly to the advantage of the owners of improved land, and especially of small owners, the value of whose improvements bears a much greater ratio to the value of their land than is the case with larger owners; and who, as one of the effects of treating improvements as a proper subject of taxation, are taxed more heavily, even upon the value of their land, than are larger owners.

WHAT THE WORKING FARMER MAY SEE BY LOOKING ABOUT HIM.

The working farmer has only to look about him to realize this: Near by his farm of 80 or 160 acres he will find tracts of 500 or 1,000, or, in some places, tens of thousands of acres, of equally valuable land, on which the improvements, stock, tools, and household effects are much less in proportion than on his own small farm, or which may be totally unimproved or unused. In the villages he will find acre, half-acre, and quarter-acre lots, unimproved or slightly improved, which are more valuable than his whole farm. If he looks further, he will see tracts of mineral land, or land with other superior natural advantages, having immense value, yet on which the taxable improvements amount to little or nothing; while, when he looks to the great cities, he will find vacant lots 25 by 100 feet worth more than a whole section of agricultural land such as his; and as he goes toward their centers he will find most magnificent buildings less valuable than the ground on which they stand, and block after block where the land would sell for more per front foot than his whole farm. Manifestly to put all taxes on the value of land would be to lessen relatively and absolutely the taxes the working farmer has to pay.

So far from the effect of placing all taxes upon the value of land being to the advantage of the towns at the expense of the agricultural districts, the very reverse of this is obviously true. The great increase of land values is in the cities, and with the present tendencies of growth this must continue to be the case. To place all taxes on the value of the land would be to reduce the taxation of agricultural districts relatively to the taxation of towns and cities. And this would be only just, for it is not alone the presence of their own populations which gives value to the land of towns and cities, but the presence of the more scattered agricultural population, for whom they constitute industrial, commercial, and financial centers.

WHAT APPEARS AT FIRST BLUSH.

While at first blush it may seem to the farmer to abolish all taxes upon other things than the value of the land would be to exempt the richer inhabitants of cities from taxation, and unduly to tax him, discussion and reflection will certainly show him that the reverse is the case. Personal property has been, and can never be fairly taxed. Personal property is not, The rich man always escapes more easily than the man who has but little, the city more easily than the country. Taxes which add to prices bear upon the inhabitants of sparsely settled districts with as much weight, and in many cases with much more weight, than upon the inhabitants of great cities. Taxes upon improvements manifestly fall more heavily upon the working farmer, a great part of the value of whose farm consists of the value of improvements, than upon the owners of valuable unimproved land, or upon those whose land, as that of cities, bears a higher relation in value to the improvements.

The truth is that the working farmer would be an immense gainer by the change. Where he would have to pay more taxes on the value of his land he would be released from the taxes now levied on his stock and improvements, and from all the indirect taxes now weighing so heavily upon him. And as the effect of taxing unimproved land as heavily as though it were improved would be to compel mere holders to sell, and to destroy mere speculative values, the farmer in sparsely settled districts would have little or no taxes to pay. be until equally good land all about him was in use and he had all of the advantages of a well-settled neighborhood that his

taxes would be more than nominal.

LOSS NOMINAL, GAIN REAL.

What the farmer who owns his own farm would lose would be the selling value of his land, but its usefulness to him would be as great as before-greater than before, in fact, as he would get larger returns from his labor upon it; and as the selling value of other land would be similarly affected, this loss would not make it harder for him to get another farm if he wished to move, while it would be easier for him to settle his children or to get more land if he could advantageously cultivate more. I tivates his own small farm. When a Brooklyn lawyer or Bos-

The loss would be nominal; the gain would be real. better for the small farmer, and especially for the small farmer with a growing family, that labor should be high than that land should be high. Paradoxical as it may appear, small land-owners do not profit by the rise in the value of land. On the contrary, they are extinguished. But before speaking of this let me show how much misapprehension there is in the assumption that the small independent farmers constitute, and will continue to constitute, the majority of the American people.

Agriculture is the primitive occupation; the farmer is the American pioneer; and even in those cases, comparatively unimportant, where settlement is begun in the search for the precious metals, it does not become permanent until agriculture in some of its branches takes root. But as population increases and industrial development goes on, the relative importance of agriculture diminishes. That the nonagricultural population of the United States is steadily and rapidly gaining on the agricultural population is, of course, obvious. According to the census report the urban population of the United States was, in 1790, but 3.3 per cent of the whole population, while in 1880 it had risen 22.5 per cent. Agriculture is yet the largest occupation, but in the aggregate other occupations must exceed it. cording to the census, which, unsatisfactory as it is, is yet the only authority we have, the number of persons engaged in agriculture in 1880 was 7,679,493, out of 17,392,099 returned as engaged in gainful occupations of all kinds. Or if we take the number of adult males as a better comparison of political power we may find, with a little figuring, that the returns show 6,491,116 males of 16 years and over engaged in agriculture, against 7,422,639 engaged in other occupations. According to these figures the agricultural vote is already in a clear minority in the United States, while the preponderance of the nonagricultural vote, already great, is steadily and rapidly increasing.

FARM OWNERSHIP STEADILY DECLINING.

But while the agricultural population of the United States is thus already in a minority the men who own their own farms are already in a minority in the agricultural population. According to the census the number of farms and plantations in the United States in 1880 was 4,008,907. The number of tenant farmers paying money rents or share rents is given by one of the census bulletins at 1,024,601. This would leave but 2,984,306 nominal owners of farms out of the 7,679,493 persons employed in agriculture. The real owners of their farms must be greatly less even than this. The most common form of agricultural tendency in the United States is not that of money or What proportion of American share rent, but of mortgage. farms occupied by their nominal owners are under mortgage we can only guess. But there can be little doubt that the number of mortgaged farms must largely exceed the number of rented farms, and it may not be too high an estimate to put the number of mortgaged farms at one-half the unrented ones. However this may be it is certain that the farmers who really own their farms are but a minority of farmers and a small minority of those engaged in agriculture.

Further than this all the tendencies of the times are to the extinction of the typical American farmer—the man who cultivates his own acres with his own hands. This movement has only recently begun, but it is going on and must go on under present conditions with increasing rapidity. The remarkable increase in the large farms and the diminution in the small ones, shown by the analysis of the census figures, evidence of the fact-too notorious to need the proof of figures that the tendency to concentration, which in so many branches of other industry has substituted the factory for self-employing workmen, has reached agriculture. One invention after another has already given the large farmer a crushing advantage over the small farmer, and invention is still going on. And it is not merely in the making of his crops, but in their transportation and in their marketing, and in the purchase of his supplies, that the large producer in agriculture gains an advantage over the small one. To talk, as some do, about the bonanza farms breaking up in a little while into homesteads is as foolish as to talk of the great shoe factory giving away again to journeymen shoemakers with their lapstones and awls. The bonanza farm and the great wire-fenced stock ranch have come to stay while present conditions last. If they show themselves first on new land it is because there is on new land the greatest freedom of development, but the tendency exists wherever modern industrial influences are felt, and it is showing itself in the British Isles as well as in our older States.

WIPING OUT THE TYPICAL AMERICAN FARMER.

This tendency means the extirpation of the typical American farmer, who with his own hands and the aid of his boys cul-

ton banker can take a run in a palace car out to the new Northwest; buy some sections of land; contract for having it broken up, seeded, reaped, and thrashed; leave on it a superintendent, and make a profit on his first year's crop of from \$6,000 to \$10,000 a section, what chance has the emigrant farmer of the old type who comes toiling along in a wagon which contains his wife and children, and the few traps that with his team constitute his entire capital? When English and American capitalists can run miles of barbed-wire fence, and stock the inclosure with large herds of cattle which can be tended, carried to market, and sold at the minimum of expense and maximum of profit, what chance has the man who would start stock raising with a few cows?

TWO DEVELOPING TYPES.

From the typical American farmer of the new era now beginning to pass away, two types are differentiating—the capitalist farmer and the farm laborer. The former does not work with his own hands, but with the hands of other men. He passes but a portion of his time, sometimes hardly any of it, upon the land he cultivates. His home is in a large town or great city, and he is, perhaps, a banker, and speculator as well as a farmer. The latter is a proletarian, a nomad—part of the year a laborer and part of the year a tramp, migrating from farm to farm and from place to place, without family or home or any other influences and responsibilities that develop manly If our treatment of land continues as now, some of our small independent farmers will tend toward one of the extremes, and many more will tend toward the other. But besides the tendency to production on a large scale, which is operating to extirpate the small independent farmer, there is, in the rise of land values, another powerful tendency operating in the same direction.

At the looting of the Summer Palace at Pekin by the allied forces in 1860, some valuable jewels were obtained by private soldiers. How long did they remain in such possession? If a Duke of Brunswick were to distribute his hoard of diamonds among the poor, how long would the poor continue to hold them? The peasants of Ireland and the costermongers of London have their donkeys, which are worth only a few shillings. But if by any combination of circumstances the donkey became as valuable as a blooded horse, no peasant or costermonger would be found driving a donkey. Where chickens are cheap, the common people eat them; where they are dear they are to be found only on the tables of the rich. So it is with land. As it becomes valuable it must gravitate from the hands of those who work for a living into the possession of the rich.

What has caused the extreme concentration of landownership in England is not so much the conversion of the feudal tenures into fee simple, the spoliation of the religious houses and the inclosure of the commons, as this effect of the rise in the value of land. The small estates, of which there were many in England two centuries and even a century ago, have become parts of large estates mainly by purchase. They gravitated to the possession of the rich, just as diamonds, or valuable paintings, or fine horses, gravitate to the possession of the rich.

So long as the masses are fools enough to permit private property in land, it is rightly esteemed the most secure possession, It can not be burned, or destroyed by any accident; it can not be carried off; it tends constantly to increase in value with the growth of population and improvement in the arts. Its possession being a visible sign of secure wealth, and putting its owner, as competition becomes sharp, in the position of a lord or god to the human creatures who have no legal rights to this planet, carries with it social consideration and deference. For these reasons land commands a higher price in proportion to the income it yields than anything else, and the man to whom immediate income is of more importance than a secure investment. finds it cheaper to rent land than to buy it.

WHEN IT BECOMES MORE PROFITABLE TO SELL THAN TO HOLD,

Thus, as land grew in value in England, the small owners were not merely tempted or compelled by the vicissitudes of life to sell their land, but it became more profitable to them to sell it than to hold it, as they could hire land cheaper than they could hire capital. By selling and then renting, the English farmer, thus converted from a landowner into a tenant, acquired, for a time at least, the use of more land and more capital, and the ownership of land thus gravitated from the hands of those whose prime object is to get a living into the hands of those whose prime object is a secure investment.

This process must go on in the United States as the land rises in value. We may observe it now. It is in the newer parts of our growing cities that we find people of moderate means living in their own houses. Where land is more valuable,

we find such people living in rented houses. In such cities, block after block is built and sold, generally under mortgage, to families who thus endeavor to secure a home of their own. But I think it is the general experience, that as years pass by, and land acquires a greater value, these houses and lots pass from the nominal ownership of dwellers into the possession of landlords, and are occupied by tenants.

So, in the agricultural districts, it is where land has increased little, if anything, in value that we find homesteads which have been long in the possession of the same family of working farmers. A general officer of one of the great trunk railroad lines told me that his attention had been called to the supreme importance of the land question by the great westward emigration of farmers, which, as the result of extensive inquiries, he found due to the rise of land values. As land rises in value the working farmer finds it more and more difficult for his boys to get farms of their own, while the price for which he can sell will give him a considerably larger tract of land where land is cheaper; or he is tempted or forced to mortgage, and the mortgage eats and eats until it eats him out, or until he concludes that the wisest thing he can do is to realize the difference between the mortgage and the selling value of his farm and emigrate West. And in many cases he commences again under the load of a mortgage, for as settlement is now going, very much of the land sold to settlers by railroad companies and speculators is sold upon mortgage. And what is the usual result may be inferred from such announcements as those placarded in the union depot at Council Bluffs, offering thousands of improved farms for sale on liberal terms as to payment. One man buys upon mortgage, fails in his payments, or gets disgusted and moves on, and the farm he has improved is sold to another man upon mortgage. Generally speaking, the ultimate result is that the mortgagee, not the mortgagor, becomes the full owner. Cultivation under mortgage is, in truth, the transitional form between cultivation by the small owner and cultivation by the large owner or by tenant.

WHERE LAND IS DEAR LABOR IS CHEAP.

The fact is that the typical American farmer, the cultivator of a small farm of which he is the owner, is the product of conditions under which labor is dear and land is cheap. As these conditions change, labor becoming cheap and land becoming dear, he must pass away as he has passed away in England.

It has already become impossible in our older States for a man starting with nothing to become by his labor the owner of a farm. As the public domain disappears this will become impossible all over the United States. And as in the accidents and mutations of life the small owners are shaken from their holdings or find it impossible to compete with the grand culture of capitalistic farming, they will not be able to recover and must swell the mass of tenants and laborers. Thus the concentration of land ownership is proceeding, and must proceed, if private property and land be continued. So far from it being to the interests of the working farmer to defend private property in land, its continued recognition means that his children, if not himself, shall lose all right whatever in their native soil; shall sink from the condition of freemen to that of serf.

The Proposed Washington Stadium.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS.

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 25, 1916.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call the attention of the House to a very commendable bill recently introduced by my colleague Mr. HULBERT, of New York, with the comment made thereon by the New York Sun, providing for the construction of a stadium in Potomac Park, a project with which I am in hearty accord.

THE PROPOSED WASHINGTON STADIUM.

Officials and members of the Amateur Athletic Union are keenly interested in the success of the bill of Congressman Murray Hulbert, now pending in the House at Washington, which provides for the erection in that city of a Government stadium where athletic contests of nation-wide or world-wide interest can be properly staged. Other lands, some of them having but one-tenth as many athletes as we have, and athletes of far less ability than ours, have built such structures, and have also paid training and traveling expenses for their Olympic teams. The athletes of the United States, however, have paid all the expenses incident to their mighty deeds from their own pockets

and those of their friends. They feel that this one request of theirs should be granted, and that the Government should signify its appreciation of the luster reflected upon America by the achievements of its world-mastering knights of track and field, by rearing in the Capital City a fitting site for great contests.

If the project should meet with success, it is the belief of the leading athletic authorities of the Nation that four years from now, with war's red flood subsided and the opportunity given to turn away from its horrors, Europe would gladly accept the invitation for the holding of the Olympic games in the shade of congressional hails. Many of the British, French, German, and Austrian athletes of yesterday are dead; others are dying daily, shell rent or disease eaten, and it will be a sorry remnant that will return to lean battered bodies on walls and watch their upspringing successors at play.

It is believed, however, that within four years it will be possible for all the lands covenanted together under the Olympic games committee to select athletic teams of sufficient power to make a good showing. And what would be more natural, American athletic authorities ask, than that Europe's athletes should prefer to contest on this side of the Atlantic, where there are no memories of bitterness and where new bonds may be cemented under the most favorable conditions.

A hill (H. R. 14905) for the improvement of East Potomac Park as a public recreation ground.

Be it enacted, etc., That the sum of \$1.545,397 be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, to be made available as requested and to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War for the improvement of East Potomac Park as a public recreation ground in accordance with the comprehensive plan approved by the War Department and set forth in House Document No. 1038, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session.

National Banks.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM A. CULLOP.

OF INDIANA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Tuesday, April 25, 1916.

Mr. CULLOP. Mr. Speaker, the report of the national banks made to the Comptroller of the Currency in response to the call of March 7, 1916, is most gratifying and shows the financial condition of the country to be the best ever known. It discloses a state of facts which clearly justifies the optimistic views entertained by the business men and financiers all over the country. The splendid conditions shown by these reports are in part as follows:

part as follows:

The total resources of the national banks of the United States on March 7, 1916, amounted to \$13,833,000,000, exceeding by \$370,000,000 the greatest resources ever shown in the history of the national-banking system, and exceeded by \$2,271,000,000 the resources of these banks as shown in the March 4 statement a year ago.

The increase which has taken place in the resources of the national banks of this country in the past 12 months exceeds in amount the entire resources of the Reichsbank of Germany, as reported in its statement of February 15, 1916. The aggregate resources of the national banks of the United States at this time exceed by approximately \$3,000,000,000 the aggregate resources of the Bank of England, the Bank of France, the Bank of Russia, the Reichsbank of Germany, the Bank of the Netherlands, the Swiss National Bank, and the Bank of Japan.

The increase in the loans and discounts of our national banks March 7, 1916, was \$132,000,000 as compared with December 31, 1915, and \$990,000,000 as compared with March 4 a year ago.

The total deposits on March 7, 1916, amounted to \$10,790,000,000, an increase since December 31, 1215, of \$411,000,000, and an increase of \$2,198,000,000 as compared with March 4 a year ago.

Of the \$411,000,000 increase in deposits since December 31, 1915, \$335,000,000 were from banks and bankers, and \$78,000,000 were reported as time deposits, while demand deposits for this period showed a decrease of \$2,000,000. Of the \$2,198,000,000 increase in total deposits since March 4, 1915, however, the principal increase was in demand deposits, which increased \$1.072,000,000, against an increase in time deposits, which increased \$1.072,000,000, against an increase in time deposits, which increased \$1.072,000,000, against an increase in time deposits, which increased \$1.072,000,000, against an increase in time deposits, which increased \$1.072,000,000, against an increase in time deposits of \$290,000,000.

This is unmistakable evidence of the marvelous era of prosperity the country is enjoying, the sound condition of our financial institutions, and the scope of our business affairs. We are growing by leaps and bounds and are now the greatest financial power in the world. Our people are reaping the golden reward of a sound financial policy, the fruits of safe and sane husiness conditions.

The carping critics who a short time ago were criticizing the constructive measures this administration was enacting into law, predicting as a result the destruction of business and distress among the people, have learned by experience that their prophecies of evil have, fortunately, not been realized.

The resources of our national banks exceed by approximately

three thousand million dollars the aggregate resources of the Bank of England, the Bank of France, the Bank of Russia, the Reichsbank of Germany, the Swiss National Bank, the Bank of Japan, and the Bank of the Netherlands. We are the greatest of all the world powers, and by thrift and enterprise are earning as a criticism on the people of that great State for not having

greater returns here than are being earned elsewhere in the world. It shows a marvelous condition and is the result of our wise and conservative domestic and foreign policies

This condition is not the result of chance but the result of our splendid business policies, brought about by our splendid constructive legislation enacted during the last three years, The door of opportunity has been opened to all alike and special privileges to the favorite few have been withheld and competition has inspired business activity.

A financial system has been adopted which removes fear from the business world, and the business man knows now his business life can not be placed in jeopardy by a few financial sharks who

flourished under our old financial system,

By the enactment of our present financial system the control of our finances was taken out of the hands of a few private individuals, who manipulated it as a private concern, to suit their greed and avarice, and placed its control in the hands of the Government, where it would be administered in the interests of the people and preventing its concentration in one financial center, but distributed it over the country where it would be acessible to the whole people for the conduct of all the business throughout the entire country.

It dethroned the financial kings of Wall Street and took from them the power of dictating the kind and volume of business which the country should do. It emancipated the business man from their domination, and, as could be expected, the business of the country has improved far beyond the most sanguine ex-

pectations of the most optimistic;

Less than three years of trial has satisfied the people of the country, as the results clearly show, the wisdom of the policies

inaugurated.

Legitimate business never flourished before as it is doing now, nor was it ever known to be so remunerative and safe. Such activity as now exists was hitherto unknown. Ample money on reasonable terms can be had to engage in legitimate business and panics "made to order" are things of the past.

Business is expanding, new enterprises are springing up, because the people and the country know money can be had to operate them and they are no longer subject to the hazards which formerly jeopardized their existence-a squeeze in the

money market.

This splendid financial system has terminated the bondage of the business interests of the country. We now have a system which can be expanded or contracted as the business conditions of the country require. More capital is to-day invested in the business of this country than ever before, and it is healthier, more remunerative, and better than ever before, and yet our financial resources are not taxed to their limit; but if business

should require, here is our ability to meet the requirements.

It is conservatively estimated that the surplus reserve now held by the national banks would be sufficient to give a further loaning power of three or four billion dollars should the growth and development of commerce, agriculture, or industry call for

so huge an enlargement of credit.

This condition inspires confidence, encourages activity, and enables our people to forge ahead and win victories in the walks Victories much more precious than those of war. of peace. Here is where we are winning the world. These are the vic-

tories that make the people happy and contented.

Prosperity abounds in the land and the people appreciate it, and they are content to let well enough alone. The carping critic and the calamity howler will not allure the people by eloquent pleas or plausible sophistries to turn from these prosperous conditions or take chances on a change of men or policies. They are satisfied with existing conditions, satisfied of their cause, and desire them to be let alone.

Good Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND, OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, April 26, 1916.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker; the subject of good roads is of live interest to the people at this time, and I desire to call attention to the following editorial from the Minneapolis Journal. It shows what is being done in Minnesota. It is not intended

done more, but as a compliment to them for the interest shown in permanent roads. It shows that the people are not satisfied with short roads that go nowhere, nor with unimproved roads that are only serviceable part of the year, but they are beginning to demand a good system of connected, improved, high-grade roads that open up every portion of the country to traffic and travel.

The editorial is as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Journal, Apr. 3, 1916.]

"Good roads help small towns, and they are the only phase of modern life that have that effect. Railroads and most other modern inventions kill the small towns and build up the great cities, but altheyear-round roads turn the stream of wealth, travel, and business back toward the rural centers." (Congressman W. P. BORLAND, of Kanses Cities)

inventions kill the small towns and build up the great cities, but allthe-year-round roads turn the stream of wealth, travel, and business
back toward the rural centers." (Congressman W. P. Borland, of Kansas City.)

There is wisdom here for the contemplation of the small town. Good
roads are the means by which the small town may win back much of
its old-time prosperity and importance.

But such roads, to be effective, must start somewhere and lead somewhither. Short stretches of well-surfaced and well-maintained roads
leading into a town will help bring the farmers into town more
frequently. But that is only a part of the harvest the town may
reap if it is situated on a good through road.

One of the best roads in the State strikes south from St. Paul
through Rosemount, Farmington, Northfield, and Faribault. It is the
testimony of business men in all these towns that this road has brought
them greatly increased business. Consequently they do their share
toward maintaining it in fine condition, and prevail on the road
authorities of Dakota and Rice Counties to do likewise.

This is a case where the benefits are so well realized that the roadway
is maintained as a through route by the cooperation of the local communities which profit thereby.

But, unfortunately, many other communities in Minnesota do not
have this keen appreciation of the opportunity to better themselves.
If they did, they would send men to the legislature instructed to legislate without further delay for a complete State system of roads,
planned, built, and maintained by the State itself.

Such a system would open up all sides and corners of the State
with roads continuously good from one end to the other, and so
placed as to invite the heaviest traffic—the main traveled roads, in
short. Feeders connecting with these roads would be the work of the
counties to build, with those of still less importance left to the townships.

The granting, now imminent, of Federal aid to States that engage
in such enterprise, makes the moment propit

Agriculture Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN H. CAPSTICK, OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 26, 1916.

Mr. CAPSTICK. Mr. Speaker, to my mind there is no service of greater value to the people of the United States than that rendered by the Bureau of Animal Industry. One of the most important of its functions is the inspection of cattle intended for slaughter for food purposes. This inspection assures the condemnation of all animals not having a clean bill of health when offered at the abattoirs, thereby preventing the marketing of unfit meat, and I shall do all I can to encourage this work.

I do not approve, however, of the methods or manner of payment for condemned animals. It seems to me a better system should be devised. As a class the farmers of our country are honest, upright, honorable citizens.

I am a strong believer in the work of the bureau in caring for cattle in transit. The present operations are modern and humane. They minimize the discomforts of transportation for the dumb beasts and proposit them being always. the dumb beasts and prevent them being abused. At the same time disease and sickness are detected. When this occurs the affected animals are immediately quarantined and the disease traced to its source.

My reason for speaking is so there may be a plain understanding concerning the law on these questions and a better comprehension of circumstances under which condemnations are made, and whether the owner of the condemned cattle is entitled to reimbursement.

The subcommittee of the Claims Committee, of which I am a member, now has under consideration two claims for Government inspected and condemned cattle, I desire to read two letters

from the Bureau of Animal Industry regarding one of them. It was introduced by my colleague Mr. Moore of Pennsylvania in behalf of the D. B. Martin Co., of Philadelphia.

The letters are as follows:

MARCH 16, 1916.

Hon. E. W. Pou, House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. POU: Your letter of the 11th instant, inclosing copy of bill (H. R. 12244) for the relief of the D. B. Martin Co., and requesting all papers or copies of same on file in the department relating to the claim and an expression as to its merits be forwarded for the use of the Committee on Claims, has been received.

Inclosed you will find two letters signed by Dr. C. A. Schauser, under whose supervision the condemnations were made; a copy of the claim filed by the company; and a copy of the department's letter to Hon.

J. HAMPTON MOORE explaining why the company's claim could not be paid.

whose supervision the condemnations were made; a copy of the claim filed by the company; and a copy of the department's letter to Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE explaining why the company's claim could not be paid.

The claim presented by the company arose from the condemnation under the meat-inspection law by representatives of the Bureu of Animal Industry of \$4 cattle as being unfit for food purposes on account of being affected with foot-and-mouth disease. The meat-inspection law under which the condemnation was made does not provide for the reimbursement of owners for such losses. As shown in the copy of letter to Representative Moore, all animals must be inspected and passed before they are accepted for slaughter can not be withdrawn. The animals which were condemned were offered by the company for inspection in the usual manner and with the knowledge that any animal condemned by the Federal inspectors must be destroyed by the establishment itself in the presence of an inspector, and that there is no provision for the reimbursement of losses thus sustained. It will be readily seen that under the operation of the ment-inspection law the animals were destroyed by the establishment and not by a representative of the department. The department has never reimbursed any establishment for losses sustained on account of such condemnations and Congress has never appropriated funds to cover such losses.

The bill (H. R. 12244) indicates that the condemnation of the company's animals could have been made under the act "for the prevention and eradication of foot-and-mouth disease." This is incorrect. The acts of Congress (Public, 286 and 293) appropriating funds for the arrest and eradication of toot-and-mouth disease. The six incorrect. The acts of Agriculture to arrest and eradicate the disease by giving him authority to purchase and destroy any animal or animals affected with or exposed to the disease. Use of Congress cited do not give the Secretary of Agriculture to purchase and destroy animals affected with or exposed to

	Num- ber.	Estimated value.	Parts.	Estimated value.	Total estimated value.
Cattle	52, 665 6, 380 17, 650 658 222, 605	\$2,001,796.65 60,291.00 57,892.00 2,158.24 2,056,870.20	178, 409 1, 750 298 14 464, 217	\$133, 806, 75 1, 312, 50 223, 50 10, 50 348, 162, 75	\$2, 135, 603, 40 61, 603, 50 58, 115, 50 2, 168, 74 2, 405, 032, 95
Total	299, 958	4,179,008.09	644, 688	483, 516.00	4,662,524.09

The animals and parts represented by the above figures were condemned on account of various diseases and in the same manner and under the same law that the animals belonging to the D. B. Martin Co. were condemned.

It is the opinion of the department that the claim should not be allowed as the condemnation was made in the same manner that condemnations are made by the department's inspectors of cattle affected with pneumonia or any other disease which renders them unfit for food purposes or hogs affected with hog cholera. To reimburse owners of some packing establishments for animals condemned on account of foot-and-mouth disease and refuse to reimburse others for animals condemned on account of pneumonia or hog cholera would appear to be discrimination in favor of a class of diseased animals. It is believed that if such claims, as the one presented by the company, be allowed it will open the way for the presentation of claims for the value of animals condemned on account of being affected with any disease. The above table showing an estimated loss of \$4,682,524.09 for the fiscal year 1915 shows to what extent claims are possible if a precedent is once established.

Attention is also called to the fact that the bill reads for \$7,184.15, the full amount of the company's loss. The department has not in any instance paid or allowed the full amount of the value of any animals condemned on account of foot-and-mouth disease. At the beginning of the outbreak agreements were made with the representatives of various States providing that the expenses incidental to the purchase and destruction of all animals affected by or exposed to such disease would be borne equally, therefore the claim of the company as far as the Government is concerned ought not to exceed \$3,592.08.

Very truly, yours,

(Inclosures.)

(Inclosures.)

United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Animal Industry, Washington, D. C., April 19, 1916.

United States Department of Agricultures,
Burrau of Animal Industry,
House of Representatives.

Dear Mr. Capstick Referring to your verbal request of this morning for information concerning the claim of the D. B. Martin Co., on account of \$4\$ can aptered and condemned under the morning for information concerning the claim of the D. B. Martin Co., on account of \$4\$ called aughtered and condemned under the morning for information concerning the claim of the D. B. Martin Co. were offered for inspection in the customary manner under the Federal meat-inspection in the County manner under the Federal meat-inspection in the customary manner under the Federal meat-inspection in the customary manner under the Federal meat-inspection in the following facts and, because of being condemned by our inspector, were required, by the express terms of the meat-inspection law, to be "destroyed for food purposes by the said establishment in the presence of an inspector" of the department. The action taken in the case of these cattle was the same as is taken every day in establishments operating under Federal meat inspection, when animals or the carcasses thereof are inspected and found to be affected with tuberculosis, authrax, cholera, pneumonia, or other diseases. Animals condemned and destroyed in this manner are in no sense purchased and destroyed by the Secretary of Agriculture. Such animals and their carcasses are entirely, and at all times, the property of the establishment and are destroyed not by the Federal Government, but by the establishment fiself. On the other hand, animals destroyed in order to arrest and eradicate foot-and-mouth disease, in accordance with the authority contained in the appropriation "for the prevention and eradication of foot-and-mouth disease" are first purchased from the outer stablishment fiself. On the other hand, animals destroyed in order to arrest and eradicate foot-and-mouth disease. The appropriation of the full amount of the value of any animals condemned on account of foot-and-mouth dis

such establishments in accordance with the requirements of the meat-inspection law.

I trust that this information will make clear to you the position taken by the department. The papers left with me are returned herewith.

Very truly, yours,

A. D. MELVIN, Chief of Burcau.

The Griffin Pension Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL. OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 25, 1916.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, the country is daily expressing itself in favor of the Griffin bill, known as H. R. 6915.

The many requests for copies of this bill leads me to insert it in full, as follows:

A bill (H. R. 6915) granting indefinite leaves of absence to superannuated employees of the Postal Service.

Be it enacted, etc., That, beginning with the 1st day of July next following the passage of this act, the Postmaster General shall grant an indefinite leave of absence, together with an allowance of \$600 per annum, to be payable monthly, to any person employed in the Railway Mail Service, the Rural Free Delivery Service, the City Free Delivery

Service, and to post-office clerks and other employees in post offices who are in the classified civil service who have become incapacitated from performing their duties through superannuation.

SEC. 2. That should it be found necessary to employ a substitute to fill the place of an employee who has been granted an indefinite leave of absence, said substitute shall be paid at the rate allowed for vacation work: Provided, That such assignment shall not interfere with the promotion of the substitute to appointment on the regular force when a vacancy occurs or when the force is increased and when said substitute is eligible for such regular appointment by virtue of his standing on the substitute list.

SEC. 3. That the Postmaster General shall establish boards of retirement, each board to consist of not less than three members, to be selected from employees of the Post Office Department and the Postal Service, who shall serve without extra compensation, whose duty it shall be to examine all applications for the granting of such indefinite leaves of absence and to make recommendations based upon their findings to the Postmaster General for his guidance: Provided, That the Postmaster General shall have authority to appoint a physician to advise each board in making its recommendations.

SEC. 4. That applications for the granting of indefinite leave of absence may be either voluntary on the part of the employee or may be recommended by the proper administrative or supervisory official.

SEC. 5. That the Postmaster General shall immediately formulate and issue such rules and regulations as in his judgment may be best calculated to carry out the purpose of this act.

When the hearing was granted on this proposed measure I

When the hearing was granted on this proposed measure I appeared and urged the committee to make a favorable report. I do not propose to restate what I then said, but dally I am in receipt of letters from men of all parties urging its enactment into law, and it gives me great pleasure to read the resolutions adopted by the Republican county committee of the county of New York, which are as follows:

New York, which are as follows:

Whereas there is now pending in the Committee on Post Offices a bill introduced by Hon. Daniel J. Griffin, in the House of Representatives, and known as H. R. 6915, which has for its object the pensioning of post-office employees who have become incapacitated through superannuation; and

Whereas such legislation would be in line with the present-day practice of many large corporations and business men, and has proven a factor in making for greater efficiency; and

Whereas the cost of operation of H. R. 6915, as shown by the well-known actuary, Miles M. Dawson, will be more than offset by the saving to the department of the Government affected by the employment of fewer men at lower salaries to take the place of those retired by this bill: Therefore be it

Resolved. That we, the executive committee of the Republican county

Besolved, That we, the executive committee of the Republican county committee of the county of New York, do hereby indorse this measure, and urge the Members of the House of Representatives from the city of New York and the Senators from the State of New York to aid and support its passage in Congress; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary send a copy of this resolution to the Members of the House of Representatives from the city of New York and to the Senators from the State of New York.

Adopted April 13, 1916.

In addition thereto, I would call the attention of the House to the fact that the entire press of the country has expressed itself in favor of this measure.

Its passage would signify to the employees of the Government that the enlightened policy adopted by the large corporations is to be hereafter followed by it. In that way the Government would save money and do justice to its hardest workers.

Susan B. Anthony Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE. HON. OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 25, 1916.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to extend my remarks in the Record I wish to include the following resolutions:

lowing resolutions:

Resolved, That this mass meeting of citizens, assembled in Colorado Springs, Colo., in the opera house, April 16, 1916, in response to the appeal of women from nonsuffrage States, calls upon Congress to pass forthwith on to the State legislatures for ratification the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and protests against the action of the Judiciary Committee in unjustly blocking the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and demands an immediate and favorable report of this amendment to the House.

Resolved also, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President, Speaker Clark, the Senate and House leaders of all parties, and to the two Senators and the Representatives from Colorado; and be it further Resolved, That the chairman of this meeting be empowered in forwarding copies to request that the resolution be read into the Congressional Record.

Resolution passed unanimously by 1,800 citizens of Denver, Colo., April 15, 1916.

Whereas President Wilson declared vesterday in his speech in New York that the Democratic Party controls the Government, and that he personally is interested in lifting the load depressing humanity.

Be it resolved, That we, women voters of Colorado, in mass meeting assembled in Denver, April 15, 1916, in the Broadway Theater, agree with the President and now demand that the Democratic Party fulfill

this responsibility that has been laid upon it by its leader, and give at once the necessary aid and facilities for the passage during this session of Congress of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, proposing to enfranchise the women of the Nation; be it further

Resolved, That we protest against the undemocratic methods now being used against this measure to free humanity and the continued blocking of the submission of it to the various States for ratification; be it finally

Resolved, therefore*, That we call upon the President and all his colleagues to pass the Federal suffrage amendment on to the States without further delay, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to all the administration leaders and to the members of the House Judiciary Committee and to the entire Colorado congressional delegation to be read into the Congressional Record in the Senate and in the House.

Ida Kruse McFarlane, Chairman Denver District Congressional Union; Mrs. James B. Belford, First Vice President; Louise Mellen, Second Vice President; M. Jean Gale, Third Vice President; Garnet Isabel Pelton, Fourth Vice President; Ida B. Blakemore, Secretary; Mrs. Helen T. Mills, Treasurer; Kate Russell, Third Vice President State Executive Committee; Mrs. L. M. Culbbert, Dorn Phelps Buell, National Advisory Committee.

Agriculture Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

CHARLES В. HON. TIMBERLAKE,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 27, 1916.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. Mr. Speaker, to a newcomer and to a person who is accustomed to thinking in "small change," these millions asked for by this bill seem appalling; and yet, when we remember the other millions we have been recently so liberally voting away on various projects and schemes, more or less local in character, and that this appropriation is for the benefit of the greatest interests in our country—agriculture—and that it will be so widely distributed, benefiting directly a greater number of individuals than any measure to be considered by this Congress, I say, remembering these things, one can vote for the dispersion of this vast sum with confident assurance of great and far-reaching result. As a large proportion of our revenue is derived from our agricultural wealth, it is most fitting that the tiller of the soil should have large consideration when his industries are involved.

The subject of preparedness seems to be the one all-engrossing topic of consideration at the present time. That this subject should not be lost sight of in the consideration of this bill is apparent to all, for what is the greatest of all measures of national preparedness to meet the exigencies of world consideration, whether of war or peace, but that of speeding up to the utmost possible efficiency our food production. With 8,000,000 farmers in this country, the production efficiency of whom is contemplated in the measures herein proposed, in order to increase materially the \$10,000,000,000 now produced annually by reducing the handicaps under which to-day they labor is surely worthy of our best and most careful thought. It is therefore evident that no bill submitted to this House for consideration, discussion, and passage exceeds in real importance to the whole country the one now claiming attention, which calls for appropriations for the continuance of the work of the Department of Agriculture for the coming fiscal year.

In common with other Members of this House more conversant with and far more experienced than I in matters pertaining to national legislation, I am not slow to recognize the great value of the important work which has been done by this department of the Government, and with them I feel it to be my duty to facilitate in every possible way the continuation of the numerous activities of this department and to aid it, so far as we may, in carrying out all of the salutary measures it proposes to undertake for the greater good of the farmers, which means the ulti-

mate greater good to our entire citizenship.

Whether the many different amounts stated in the bill are all of them absolutely necessary to the prosecution and successful continuation of the work in which the department is now or may be later engaged could, it is presumed, be determined only by those who are thoroughly conversant with matters of departmental expenditures and necessities. The members of the committee from which the bill has been reported are-or, at least, the majority of them are—evidently satisfied as to the wisdom of appropriating the various sums therein stated. And if they, with full opportunity for examination and inquiry, recommend

the passage of the bill without material change, it would seem that there is little left for others of more limited special knowledge and less favorable opportunity of securing detailed information but to gracefully concur, unless, indeed, a question of party policy should be involved. It is, of course, difficult, if not impossible, for one not specially trained in this work or, at least, for one who has not any intimate knowledge of and practical acquaintance with the various spheres of activity enumerated in the bill to be able to pass judgment on the necessity of the sums demanded. The appropriations sought vary apparently from \$1,770,760, required for the work of the Weather Bureau, to \$632,400 for the expenses attendant upon the efforts now being made to eradicate southern cattle ticks. From the one to the other of these beneficial activities is a far cry indeed, but doubtless each is of prime importance in its special sphere.

If, Mr. Speaker, there is one department of our Government more than another in which the people of this country as a whole take special interest it is that of Agriculture. Its work is of the very highest importance to all States alike; it must be done and done well, if the country prosper, and we, as providers of the means, should be careful not to detract from the highest good it is capable of accomplishing, by furnishing appropriations insufficient to carry on this department's most necessary task. At the same time, however, caution and consideration should pravail, and should be insisted upon in the matter of its expenditures. Too liberal appropriations in this, as in other things, tend to wastefulness and abuse, and, while it is not suggested that money is at present being unnecessarily spent by the Department of Agriculture, we should guard

against rendering such a contingency possible.

It is but natural that I, personally, should be more than ordinarily interested in this bill, having been brought up on a farm myself and being directly interested in and in close touch with farmers and their interests. I am among those who feel it their duty to direct attention, whenever possible, to the preeminent importance to the Nation of this the most ancient of all pursuits of man, and to point out the constantly increasing claims for further consideration and help. Agriculture, it is acknowledged, is the source of all wealth and the foundation of all our prosperity, and, yet, it is but too evident that in many directions it has not received at the hands of Congress the means of aid and attention to which it is justly entitled. Much has been done, it is true, but more yet remains to be accomplished.

There is urgent need for effective legislation which will cause the desirable immigrants who come to our hospitable shores to go to the farms and to adopt agriculture as their work in life instead of remaining in the large centers of population to too often swell the ranks of the unemployed. In the one case, they would become food producers instead of remaining, as is now largely the case, food consumers. Then, too, measures should be undertaken which will tend to keep our youth on the farms and to prevent or, at least, lessen their present large exodus to our towns and cities. This could be accomplished by making farm life and country life, generally, more desirable and attractive. Much good is being done in this direction by those working under the provisions of the Smith-Lever Act, under the direction and with the cooperation of our most efficient agricultural colleges, which efforts should be increased

and the plan extended in all practical ways.

The whole question of rural highways and country roads, their improvement and maintenance, needs to be considered and vigorous action taken to remedy their conditions, thus helping the country and town dwellers alike. A very large extension of the Rural Mail Delivery Service must be undertaken and ac-complished if the farmer is to enjoy anywhere equal mail facilities with others, and to which he is justly entitled. Plans under which the farmer could secure money easily, at a lower rate of interest and for a longer time under an amortization scheme, should be devised and put in operation. This would encourage the farming interests and would contribute largely both to agricultural development proper and to making farm life more attractive by rendering possible the installation of modern conveniences, both in the home and on the farm. The stock-raising industry should be increased and farmers should be encouraged to undertake and combine dairying with their farming, thereby adding materially to their profits and maintaining the productive character of their land. A practical system of farm marketing should be evolved by Congress, as under the present conditions by far too much of the farmers' profit goes into the pockets of the middlemen. There should be provided some means whereby would be avoided the necessity for the farmer to sell his crops as soon as grown, regardless of the then market price, and would enable him to hold them until prices were reasonable and favorable. All of these are problems of

the first importance, awaiting appropriate action of Congress, and all affect materially the welfare and prosperity not of the

farmer alone but of the entire community

I represent a district largely agricultural, populated by an intelligent, industrious, and progressive people. All questions affecting agricultural prosperity are to them matters of paramount importance. They excel in stock raising and in the cultivation of the sugar beets, and have developed what is termed "dry farming" to a marked degree of efficiency by adopting the most scientific methods of "summer fallowing crop" rotation, and so forth.

Our country is growing, its population increasing, and its necessities are consequently greater. This naturally entails a constant increasing expense. The country will not object to this, if as a result our lands are rendered more fruitful and productive. If the best interests of the farmer, whose condition forms the basis of all commercial prosperity, are thereby subserved, and if in consequence the welfare of the country as a whole is materially enhanced, we should have no hesitancy in giving our support to the measure, which I shall cheerfully do.

Agriculture Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 27, 1916.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, under the permission to extend in the Record my remarks on agriculture by printing a letter from a constituent I submit the following:

My dear Mr. HICKS
I am now in a fix.
My garden is lying untilled
For want of your seeds.
I am greatly in need.
Now send them to me if you will. You wrote me a letter,
And said I had better
Send you word if seeds did not come.
And as I have waited,
And seeds are belated,
Kindly hurry them on to my home. My neighbor, a farmer,
A vegetable charmer,
Has waited till hair's turning gray.
The seeds from your garner
He is waiting, this farmer,
And I think it is truth that I say. We wait for its coming,
And coming a running,
Fast Setauket will find us at home.
V. Hallock just write it,
E. O. Darling beside it,
And now, Mr. HICKS, I have done.

Yours, very truly,

V. HALLOCK, East Sciauket, Long Island, N. Y.

War Disproves Theory of Federal Arms Plants.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

BENNET. HON. WILLIAM S.

OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 27, 1916.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print I insert the following article from the New York Commercial of March

WAR DISPROVES THEORY OF FEDERAL ARMS PLANTS—PRIVATE MUNITION COMPANIES GERMAN POLICY FOR 40 YEARS—EFFECTIVENESS OF TEUTON PREPAREDNESS CLEARLY SHOWN TO BE DUE TO COOL JUDGMENT OF KAISER AND HIS ADVISERS IN FOSTERING INDEPENDENT INDUSTRY IN POWDER, SHELLS, AND GUNS.

rowder, shells, and guns.

What is regarded as one of the most significant results of the world war is the attitude that some of the legislators in the Capitol at Washington have assumed with regard to the building of Government-owned munition plants as a means of national preparedness. The supplying of powder, shells, guns, and all of the multifarious articles necessary to the complete equipment for army and navy was the work of 40 years of German preparedness and during this period the ex-

perience and cool judgment of the Emperor and his council was in favor of privately owned plants rather than the operation of Govern-

perience and cool judgment of the Emperor and his council was in favor of privately owned plants rather than the operation of Government plants does on the theory that it was always possible to increase the number of operatives in a privately owned plant that had to depend upon outside work as well as Government work for its expenses and profit, and that this was a much better plan than to create an enormous Government plant with its thousands of skilled operatives remement as in no land was it ever the policy for Government plants to make goods to compete with individuals in open market.

This same policy has ruled in England and in France, as well as in Austria-Hungary and the lesser European countries.

They created their types of guns, rifees, and various grades of extended their types of guns, rifees, and various grades of extended their types of guns, rifees, and various grades of extended their types of guns, rifees, and various grades of extended their types of guns, rifees, and various grades of extended their types of guns, rifees, and various grades of extended their types of guns, rifees, and various grades of extended their types of guns, rifees, and various grades of extended their types of guns, rifees, and various control of their army and navy officers, but did not engage in the completion of their army and navy officers, but did not engage in the completion of their army and navy officers, but did not engage in the completion of their army and navy officers, but did not extended their types of their grades of their grades of their grades of extended their types of their grades of their

down of Government plants is a matter that the records show on every page regarding the activities of this Government in any of its ship-yards.

From the many records scoted in the Brooklyn Navy Yard, the Mare Island Navy Yard, the League Island Navy Yard, and Norfolk Navy Yard it shows that on the approach of completing a cruiser or battle-ship many hundreds of men are instantly dropped from the pay rolls and left to shift for themselves and find work in private foundries, ship-yards, and machine shops. Such intermittent labor as they could find in the Government-owned shop would never bring them to the same point of efficiency as is attained where they are employed year in and year out, some of them for their entire period of active business careers in the one plant, as is the case with many of our large foundries, shops, shipyards, and munition plants.

Lurking in the background of the idea of Government-owned plants concentrated in a few places throughout the United States is the possibility of their destruction by enemies of the United States. Such a catastrophe during actual war would be almost fatal. This reason is minimized—almost neutralized to the point of negligibility—where private plants in a hundred cities are turning out the articles needed for the Army and Navy.

Another nation-wide conflagration or sudden assault could be conceived and the steady flow of goods on order could be counted upon just as is now the case in all of the European countries where the private plants are responding to the tremendous demands made by their Governments. Here it is well to consider that all of the invidious assaults that have been made upon American capital and labor engaged in the legitimate production of munitions is directed toward weakening our ultimate resources. One of these attacks is in the form of an effort to pass an embargo act to prevent American manufacturers of munitions and war supplies from selling their goods and having them shipped abroad. One of the strongest arguments in favor

of the unyielding maintenance of our rights in regard to export trade in munitions is that it carries with it the assurance that in our day of peril we would be free, as we have been in the past, to call upon our foreign friends to supply our needs.

It was this thought that dominated the wording of our treaties with foreign countries and which has been our guiding star since the creation of the Republic. In no war at no time has America ever deviated from its attitude of holding to the right of trading with whom it pleases and using the high seas without trammel from any other nation. The vote of confidence which President Wilson has received from both the House and Senate shows clearly that the executive branch of our Government is receiving the full, hearty support of the great majority of the Legislature and the people.

Linder these conditions no one can contemplate the surrender of our right to export American-made merchandise. It is to be hoped that no scheme of foreign hatching will result in the Government checking itself by the creation of plants to produce its own equipment, which in the end would result in keeping it constantly behind the onward procession of the world in matters of armament and equipment, while depleting to a considerable extent the virility of America's leading Industries in steel, iron, and copper, and the other allied industries associated in the matter of arms and munitions by reason of Government competition.

Probation System in United States Courts.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL.

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 27, 1916.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, it is now conceded that the probation system adopted by 44 States in the Union has tended to reform a large number of offenders without subjecting them to imprisonment and at the same time saving the States the expense of their maintenance in penal institutions,

Until the power of the judges of the United States district courts to suspend sentences whenever they deemed same advisable for the best interests of the people was questioned, the judges exercised such power under what they believed to be the inherent power vested in courts.

Recently, however, the right to exercise that power has been challenged by the Attorney General, and accordingly a mandamus proceeding was instituted by him in the Supreme Court against

In a letter to me dated March 23, 1916, the Attorney General. among other things, said:

among other things, said:

While appreciating that you are moved to this request by the fact that I have challenged the present power of judges in that regard in the proceeding referred to by you, and now under submission in the Supreme Court of the United States (the Killits case), the question involved in the last-named case, viz, whether judges are usurping power, is a very different one from the question as to whether such a power should be bestowed upon them, or, if to be bestowed, the extent of the power or the mode of its exercise. And I seriously doubt the wisdom of giving official utterance on rhose latter matters, so peculiarly addressed to the discretion of the legislative branch of the Government.

I may say, generally, that while the infinite variety of crime and the varying conditions of individual offenders may make it desirable to lodge in a court some power of differentiating consequences of a violation of criminal laws beyond the usual latitude afforded by the maximum and minimum penalty—as, for example, in the case of first offenders, either very young or very old, who are charged with offenses less than bouicide or less than the gravest felonies, or in the case of all offenders charged with offenses of a nature so petty as that any action taken in that regard would not be calculated to arouse distrust of the court in the public mind—such a power, if given, should always be carefully restricted and safeguarded so as to insure the latter result.

It appears therefrom that the Attorney General takes the view

It appears therefrom that the Attorney General takes the view that the adoption of a probationary system in the United States courts is one for the consideration of Congress.

Mr. Charles L. Chute, who has gathered information re-carding probation laws, has furnished the following list of States as having same, and I insert same in the RECORD:

States and Territories having juvenile and adult probation laws, and year enacted. cted to Jan 1 1916

[Corrected to Jan. 1, 1910.]		
Alabama:	Juvenile.	Adult.
Mobile County	1907	
Jefferson County	1911	351321
Alaska, Territory of	1918	
Arizona		1913
Arkansas		1919
Cellfornia	1311	7777
California		1903
Colorado		1909
Connecticut	1903	1903
Delaware		1911
District of Columbia	1901	1910
Florida		2010
Georgia, Atlanta city	1904	1907
Hawali, Territory of	1002	1904
		7777
Illinois	1899	1911
Indiana	1903	1907
Iowa	1904	200

Kansas	1901	1909
Kentucky.		
Louisiana	1906	- 100000
Maine		1909
Maryland		1902
Massachusetts	1878	1878
Michigan		1903
Minnesota		1909
Mississippi		
Missouri		13000
Montana		1913
Nebraska		1909
Nevada		2000
New Hampshire		7777
New Jersey	1903	1900
New Mexico	1000	1500
		1901
		1901
North Carolina	1911	1909
North Dakota		1908
		1908
Oklahoma		1905
Oregon	1009	1909
Pennsylvania	1903	1309
Porto Rico, Territory of		1899
Rhode Island	1899	TO SECURE
South Carolina		
South Dakota		
Tennessee		
Texas		
Utah		
Vermont	1900	1900
Virginia		1910
Washington		
West Virginia	1915	
Wisconsin		1909
Wyoming		
Total Inventle AA States Alacks and	District of Columbia	

Total juvenile, 44 States, Alaska, and District of Columbia. Total adult, 26 States and District of Columbia.

The report of the Attorney General shows that the United States district courts convicted 13.477 persons during the year ending June 30, 1915. Of the offenders committed during the same period of time 77.7 per cent had never been in prison because 100 person b fore: 52 per cent were less than 30 years of age; 9 per cent, or 247, had not reached the age of 20 years; 81.8 per cent were native born; 48 per cent were married; and 68.5 per cent were white.

The bill H. R. 9660 introduced by me does not provide for any paid probation officers. It simply provides for the payment of necessary expenses and makes the United States marshal the probationary officer.

That a probation system of some kind in the United States

courts is necessary is no longer open for argument.

I have submitted this bill to a number of United States district court judges, and I read the following letters which I have received from them:

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT,
WESTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK,
Buffalo, N. Y., March 6, 1916.

Hon. ISAAC SIEGEL, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Congressman: I have read with care House bill 9660, for the establishment of a probation system in the United States courts, and I thoroughly approve the same. I think it embodies all the requirements necessary for carrying out the purposes of the bill. No advantageous changes occur to me.

Very truly, yours,

John R. Hazel.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT, EASTERN DISTRICT OF MISSOURI, St. Louis, March 18, 1916.

Hon. ISAAC SIEGEL, Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIB: I am in receipt of your favor of the 16th instant inclosing copy of bill introduced by you creating a probationary system for the United States courts. I have examined the bill and most heartily approve of its provisions.

Yours, truly,

DAVID P. DYER,

DAVID P. DYER, District Judge.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT,
JUDGE AUGUSTUS N. HAND'S CHAMBERS,
New York, March 15, 1916.

Hon. ISAAC SIEGEL,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Siegel: I am very glad to see that a Congressman from New York has introduced a bill for a probation system. You will be entitled to great credit if you succeed in having it passed. If the Supreme Court in the proceeding against Judge Killits should hold that the power to suspend sentence does not exist. I should feel that a probation system was not only important but almost vital. I think it a mistake to specify the marshal as probation officer. He might not be able to do the work in a busy district, and frequent changes in office would be some drawback. I think all the judges would know trained people connected with organized charities who would act without compensation, and that it would be more satisfactory to leave the selection of the probation officer to the particular judge. Your plan to pay nothing but expenses is sound.

Very truly, yours,

Augustus N. Hand.

United States Courts, Pittsburgh, March 18, 1916.

Hon. ISAAC SIEGEL,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Siegel: I have your letter inclosing copy of the bill which you have introduced, creating a probationary system for the

United States courts. I have run over this bill, and without undertaking to pass upon it in detail I think such a measure would be wise and in entire harmony with the modern trend of legislation in the various States. I would, therefore, favor the bill.

Very sincerely, yours,

W. H. S. Thomson.

UNITED STATES COURTS, Boston, March 21, 1916.

Hon. ISAAC Siegel, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Siegel: Yours of the 16th was duly received with the inclosed copy of bill establishing a probationary system for the United States courts. It has my hearty approval. If there is anything which I can properly do to assist in securing favorable consideration for it by the Massachusetts delegation, please let me know.

Yours, very truly,

J. M. MORTON, Jr.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT,
WESTERN DISTRICT OF MISSOURI,
Kansas City, April 1, 1916.

Western District of Missouri,
Kansas City, April 1, 1916.

Hon. Isaac Siegel,
Committee on Immigration and Naturalization,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Siegel: Your letter of March 4 came while I was in attendance upon court at St. Joseph, Mo., and I have been continuously occupied on court work ever since. This must be my apology for failure to make earlier reply to your communication.

I have examined House bill No. 9660 with some care. It may be that upon trial latent defects, which do not now attract attention, may become apparent; but I am unable at present to suggest any change which seems necessary or advisable. The ample discretion lodged in the judges would seem sufficient to meet any case that might arise, and I am of opinion that such discretion will not be abused. Certainly in cases of major offenses the courts would not exceed the clemency extended by the pardoning power, and if they fall too far short of it that power may still be invoked.

I am greatly in favor of the principle involved in this bill. It will relieve the courts of the pain and embarrassment experienced in dealing with cases which present undoubted violations of law, but under circumstances and conditions in mitigation of the offense which demand substantial consideration. In such cases the court is now largely, if not entirely, helpless.

I thank you for your courtesy in submitting your bill to my consideration.

Sincerely, yours.

Arba S. Van Valkenburgh.

sideration Sincerely, yours,

ARBA S. VAN VALKENBURGH, District Judge.

United States Court,
Eastern District of New York,
Brooklyn, N. Y., April 5, 1916.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Siegel,
My Mr. Owen, to accomplish somewhat the same result, but with a paid probation officer.
I do not feel that I can definitely make suggestions directly as to the language of such a bill, as I have not given the matter sufficient thought. My first impression, however, is that a salaried probation officer is hardly necessary, that the marshal or some other of the court officials could easily do whatever might be needed in that respect, and that your bill, or one along those lines, would probably prove useful. In the cities there would seem to be much more occasion for the use of a probation officer, and yet I have the feeling that even in New York the amount of benefit received therefrom would hardly justify the appointment of a salaried official. I think, however, some bill along these lines would be worth trying in working along with the administration of the criminal courts of the State.

Yours, respectfully,

Thomas I. Chatffield,
United States Judge.

THOMAS I. CHATFIELD, United States Judge.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT, JUDGE'S CHAMBERS, Norwich, N. Y., March 7, 1916.

The Hon. ISAAC SIEGEL.
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

The Hon, ISAAC SIEGEL, House of Representatives, Washington, D. O.

My Dear Mr. Siegel: I have your communication of March 4, inclosing copy of House bill 9660, and thank you for the same. The Supreme Court of the United States now has before it the question whether United States courts have power to suspend or defer sentence in criminal cases. If that court holds that no such power exists, action on the part of Congress of some character is imperative. In the case of first offenders, more especially young men and boys, I am opposed to jail sentences, except in rare instances. My judgment and experience are that in uine cases out of ten more harm than good is done by this course in such cases. More than 50 per cent of young criminals sent to prison lose their sense of manhood to ouite a degree, and after discharge are inclined to, and usually do. fall into criminal practices and reappear in court, State or Federal. During my 13 years and 6 months on the bench I have suspended sentence in the case of probably 100 boys and young men between the ages of 15 and 25 years. In only 6 cases where I have suspended sentence has the offender reappeared in court. Of these 3 were men between 35 and 50 years of age. On axain offending they were promptly arrested and sentenced. My experience, therefore, is that the suspension of sentence in the case of boys and young men is wise and beneficial. If we could have a suitable prison where the offenders might be divided into classes and segregated and trained in classes. I think the evils of imprisonment would be lessened; but, unfortunately, we have no such provision in the law. I am very busy, and have not had time and will not have time to study your bill in all its details and formulate an opinion as to its workings in detail. I am, however, in favor of the general principles involved and stated therein and would advocate its passage, possibly with modifications and amendment, although I would not undertake at this time to make suggestions which are immature.

I think the prov

sion. In suspended sentences or in-deferring sentences I have always made it a practice to inquire thoroughly and carefully into the history, character, and circumstances of the defendants and into the history, character, and circumstances of the family connections, if any.

Probably in nine cases out of ten young boys between the ages of 15 and 25 years who go astray and commit offenses against the law do so because of peculiar environment and temptations and ignorance. I feel that it is better to save, if possible, by placing the defendants under supervision and suspended sentence than to degrade them by imprisonment. If it were true that their acts are the result of deliberation and choice and criminal instincts on their part, my ideas would be different; but my experience is that such cases are rare, indeed. I feel that you are doing a good work, and will be entitled to commendation if you can secure the enactment of your bill or one similar to it.

I, of course, favor suitable limitations on the power of the judge in suspending or deferring sentences in criminal cases. It is perplexing, however, to know where to draw the line.

Most respectfully, yours,

Geo. W. Ray.

UNITED STATES COURTS,
MIDDLE DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA,
Sunbury, March 18, 1916.

Hon. Isaac Siegel,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I have before me your letter, with inclosure of House bill
No. 9660 for the establishment of a probation system in the United
States courts, and in reply take pleasure of advising you that this bill
meets a long-felt want in my judgment. I have been following the
practice to an extent which you are here attempting to legalize by direct
legislation, and often thought that a law of this character should be
placed on the statute books.

Very respectfully, yours,

Charles B. Ditmer.

Judge Charles M. Hough, of the southern district of New York, in a letter to me, says:

I have read your bill relating to probation and am very much interested in it. With the principle I am entirely in sympathy. * * * On the other hand, I do not think that paid probation officers have proven a very striking success in our State. I am of opinion that there is very little use in probation unless some one can be found who is really interested in a personal way in the accused. * * * I thank you, very sincerely, for the interest that your bill shows you have taken in this very worthy advance in the law.

Although Judge Learned Hand does not believe that the United States marshal could perform the work in a very hardworked office, he holds the view, however, that no paid probation officers should be employed, and I therefore read his letter giving his views in full:

JUDGE LEARNED HAND'S CHAMBERS, March 6, 1916.

Hon. ISAAC SIEGEL, M. C.

Hon. ISAAC SIEGEL, M. C.

Dear Sir: I have your letter of March 8 inclosing a proposed bill for a probation system in the district courts, and asking my opinion in regard to it. As you probably know, the Supreme Court has still under consideration the question whether at common law the district judges have power to suspend sentence, and it would seem to me wiser to wait until they have decided that question before creating a probation system. If they should decide that we have not power to suspend sentence some such bill as yours would certainly be absolutely essential to the proper administration of justice.

On the other hand, I question whether the United States marshals have the machinery by which they could properly take over this function. In our district, in any case, the United States marshal has a very hard-worked office and he has no time or means to give any effective attention to the probation of prisoners, and I do not believe that he would welcome this addition. I think it would probably be better to allow judges to select probation officers who would do the work voluntarily, which I do not think would be difficult. There are a number of intelligent and experienced women who would be glad to give their services without charge, or, at least, if they got back their expenses only, and my own judgment would be that they could afford more time for that than the marshal would be able to give. My own theory, therefore, would be that if a probation system is to be started it would be well to keep it within the hands of the judges, relying upon the good will of public-spirited citizens to discharge these duties.

It is a source of much satisfaction to me to find that you are interested in so worthy and necessary a part of the administration of justice.

Respectfully,

justice. Respectfully,

Judge Julius M. Mayer, of the southern district of New York, formerly attorney general of the State of New York, says:

On the other hand, I think it just as well, in the long run, not to have paid probation officers. * * * It would be a very valuable matter to have probation recognized by statute, and to have proper records kept, etc. On the other hand, while I recognize the necessity of paid officers in the State system, I do not see that necessity of paid officers in the Federal system, and I am not much of a believer in the creation of new offices.

Although Judge Hollister, of the southern district of Ohio, differs on the question as to who shall be the probationary officer, at the close of his letter he says:

I am very much in favor of some system which will save the judges from the necessity of sending young and first offenders to jail.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that we may be able to give consideration this session of Congress to this question, and that among the beneficial laws that the Sixty-fourth Congress may enact may be one for a probation system for the United States district courts, and in that way help the judges in performing their duties according to the dictates of their consciences and at the same time do justice, both to the people and to the offender who may appear at the bar.

The people are asking for such a law, and it is our duty to comply with their demands.

Juvenile Court, District of Columbia.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES T. LLOYD,

OF MISSOURI.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 24, 1916.

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, the juvenile court bill now pending, in my judgment, means more to the unfortunate classes in the District of Columbia than any measure that has been before Congress in a number of years. I regret that some people seem to have misunderstood its purpose and are unduly alarmed about the effect of the passage of the bill. I am safe in making the statement, I am sure, that this bill is not drawn with the idea of helping any political organization, charitable institution, or church enterprise. After it becomes a law the good services of all these various benevolent institutions may be employed to give help and homes to those who need help and who are without homes.

I arose for the purpose of calling attention especially to the charge that has been made that the legislation sought to be enacted here is in the interest of a particular church. I have not the time to discuss this matter, and therefore append to this statement as a part of my remarks an article found in the Presbyterian Standard of date April 19, 1916, that was written by Rev. A. J. McKelway, a Presbyterian minister. The article referred to explains a situation which has been misunderstood and is as follows:

A REPLY TO "PATRIOT."

[By Rev. A. J. McKelway, D. D.]

A REPLY TO "FATRIOT."

[By Rev. A. J. McKelway, D. D.]

I have read the article in the Standard of April 5 entitled "Free Press and Personal Liberty Endangered," signed "Particl." I think no patriot need be alarmed jest the bills which aim to class scurrilous and defamatory publications with indecent publications should pass. They would only be seriously considered when the American public has become even more disgusted than it now is with the senseless and malleious abuse of Catholics and Jews, which is the stock in trade of certain publications. I am more concerned, however, with the representations made in this article concerning the new juvenile-court bill for the District of Columbia. "Partict" has evidently been misled by an article file the concerning the new juvenile-court bill for the District of Columbia. "Partict" has evidently been misled by an article file the concerning the new juvenile-court bill for the District of Columbia. "Partict" has evidently been misled by an article file the concerning the new juvenile-court bill for the District of Columbia. "Partict" has evidently been misled by an article file out the control of the control of the Catholic University here. It was this Julia Lathrop, Chief of the Children's Bureau, a Congregationalist; Mr. Walter C. Clephane and Mr. William Raldwin, both Presbyterians; and Dr. Kirby, a professor in the Catholic University here. It was this latter name that probably aroused the indignation of the Menace, which goes so far as to say in regard to the appointment of a Catholic on his commission by Attorney General McReynolds: "A few months after rendering this service Mr. McReynolds was appointed a member of the Suprase of Mr. and the Catholic University has a proper of a Catholic on his commission by a considered by organizations interested in the welfare of children, and has received wide indorsement by people who know what they are talking about. Representative Ern Johnson, of Kentucky, happens to be chairman of the House District Committee, to which th

It should be recalled that the juvenile court deals with dependent and neglected children as well as with delinquent children, and I presume that if a Methodist family wished to adopt a child of Presbyterian parents and any Presbyterian family were found willing to do so, the spirit of this section would be carried out.

The alleged quotation from section 10 of the bill is a misquotation throughout, a petition being substituted for the ordinary warrant. The section asserts that "the petition shall set forth the name and residence of the child and of the parents, if known to the petitioner, and the name and residence of the person having the guardianship, custody, control, and supervision of such child, if same be known or can be ascertained by the petitioner, or the petition shall set forth that they are unknown, if that be the fact." One of the conditions under which such a petition may be filed is where a person finds a child "under such improper or insufficient guardianship or control as to endanger the morals, health, or general welfare of such child." And upon the filing of such a petition "the court may forthwith, or after first causing an investigation to be made by a probation officer or other person, cause a summons to be issued requiring the child to appear before the court and the parents or the guardian to appear with the child, at a place and time stated in the summons, to show cause why the child should not be dealt with according to the provisions of this act."

The whole purpose of the bill is to remove the court from the atmosphere of criminal proceedings. But so far as endangering the liberty of anybody is concerned, I suppose any truculent or irresponsible person, not known to be such, could swear out a warrant against the editor of the Standard charging him with almost any crime in the calendar, though we should hope that the proceedings would not go very much further than that. And I have no doubt that any one irresponsibly deceiving the juvenile court by a false petition would be subject t

"for."

I notice that "Patriot" urges this: "Let every patriot make his influence felt and urge his Congressman to defeat these infamous measures," one of them being this juvenile-court bill. Knowing the attitude of the Standard as to mixing up the affairs of church and State in the remotest way, I would have hesitated to ask through its columns that patriots with some knowledge of the facts should urge their Congressmen to pass the juvenile-court bill, or the Federal child-labor bill, as another example. I presume that the very idea of any Catholic support for the bill is a sufficient excuse for mixing the affairs of church and State in the appeal which "Patriot" makes through the columns of the Standard.

WASHINGTON D. C.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Arbitration Treaties.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ISAAC R. SHERWOOD, ог онго.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, .

Friday, April 28, 1916.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record I include a list of the treaties negotiated by three administrations—the Roosevelt, the Taft, and the Wilson administrations-with comments:

House concurrent resolution 35.

Whereas treaties between the United States and 18 other Governments that solemnly pledge each of the contracting parties to the principle and practice of investigation and delay before the resort to arms in the settlement of international disputes are at the present time in full force and effect; and
Whereas other treaties are in force between the United States and sundry other Governments which specifically provide for the arbitral settlement of disputes not capable of adjustment by diplomacy or friendly composition; and
Whereas nine of the Governments of Europe and the Government of the United States have entered into treaty agreements, duly ratified, exchanged, and proclaimed, to submit all controversies that threaten to interfere with their peaceful relations to an international commission for investigation and report within one year, thus securing a delay before resort to arms that may, and probably would, prevent war; and
Whereas the principle involved in these treaties has been assented to by other Governments with which formal agreements have not been ratified and exchanged; Therefore be it

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the same and humane method of settling disputes between Governments set out in the treaties hereinbefore mentioned should be employed in the adjustment of any and all controversies between the Government of the United States and any other Government.

COMMENTS ON THE RESOLUTION.

The above resolution can in no way embarrass or interfere with any diplomatic negotiations now in debate between the United States and any foreign nation. It only recommends the humane principles of arbitration indorsed and adopted by three administrations-Roosevelt. Taft, and Wilson.

The so-called Bryan treatles negotiated under President Wilson are agreements on the part of the Governments with which they were negotiated to submit any controversy between the United States and the Government with which it happens at the moment to have a dispute to a commission for investigation, with instructions to report within one year. These treaties were negotiated for the purpose of securing delay, the theory being that if quarreling Governments could only be persuaded to await a resort to arms for that length of time and at the same time have the situation thoroughly investigated the result might avert the dire calamity of war.

Eighteen of these so-called Bryan treaties that provide for a commission of investigation and the delay of a year were completed, have been ratified, and are now in force. The ratification of 10 others was advised by the United States Senate, but they were not promulgated and are not in force. Similar agreements were negotiated with Panama and the Dominican Re-

public, but have never been ratified.

A table is submitted which shows the countries with which the United States has negotiated general arbitration treaties. The negotiation of these treaties occurred during the years of 1908 and 1909, and all treaties were to run for a specified time. In some instances the time limit has expired and the treaties have been renewed for another five-year period. There are 22 of these general treaties of arbitration.

A list of the treaties ratified during President Wilson's administration and in force is also submitted. A list of 10 such treaties, ratification of which has been advised by the United States Senate, but which have not been put in force, is also

submitted.

All of the treaties of arbitration negotiated by Secretary Root, of the State Department, contained an identical clause, defining what should and what should not be arbitrated, and provision was made that all arbitral questions should be referred to the "Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the convention of July 29, 1899."

These excepted from arbitration questions of "vital interest, independence, or the honor of the contracting States." treaties were all negotiated before the beginning of the administration of Mr. Taft, who has frequently and forcibly expressed his willingness to submit all controversies between this Govern-

ment and any other to arbitration.

These facts all show that the United States is thoroughly committed to the policy of arbitration, and there seems to be no question at issue between this and any other country at this time which may not be properly submitted to an arbitral tribunal.

GENERAL ARBITRATION TREATIES.

Countries with which the United States has negotiated general arbitration treaties.

tion treaties.

France, February 10, 1908; Switzerland, February 29, 1908; Mexico, March 24, 1908; Italy, March 28, 1908; Great Britain, April 4, 1908; Norway, April 4, 1908; Portugal, April 6, 1908; Spain, April 20, 1908; Netherlands, May 2, 1908; Sweden, May 2, 1908; Apann, May 5, 1908; Penuark, May 18, 1908; China, October 8, 1908; Peru, December 5, 1908; Salvador, December 21, 1908; Ecuador, January 7, 1909; Haiti, January 7, 1909; Uruguay, January 9, 1909; Costa Rica, January 13, 1909; Austria-Hungary, January 15, 1909; Brazil, January 23, 1909; Paragnay, March 13, 1909. Twenty-two treaties. All negotiated in 1908 and 1909. Thirteen now in force.

In addition to the above treaties, the following treaties were also negotiated and have been ratified by the United States Senate but have not as yet been ratified by the foreign Governments:

Argentina, December 23, 1908; Bolivia, January 7, 1909; Chile, January 13, 1909.

PEACE TREATIES UNDER PRESIDENT WILSON. Treaties promulgated and in force.

Treaties promulgated and in force,

Guatemala, signed September 20, 1913; Bolivia, signed January 22,
1914; Portugal, signed February 4, 1914; Costa Rica, signed February
13, 1914; Deumark, signed April 17, 1914; Italy, signed May 5, 1914;
Norway, signed June 24, 1914; Peru, signed July 14, 1914; Uruguay,
signed July 20, 1914; Chine, signed July 24, 1914; Paragay, signed
August 29, 1914; China, signed September 15, 1914; France, signed
September 15, 1914; Great Britain, signed September 15, 1914; Spain,
signed September 15, 1914; Russia, signed October 1, 1914; Ecuador,
signed October 13, 1914; Sweden, signed October 13, 1914. Elighteen
treaties.

Ratification advised by United States Senate, but treatics not promulgated and not in force.

Salvador, signed August 7, 1913; Houdurss, signed November 3, 1913; Nicaragua, signed December 17, 1913, Netherlands, signed December 18, 1913; Persia, signed February 4, 1914; Switzerland, signed February 13, 1914; Venezuola, signed March 21, 1914; Argentine Re-

public, signed July 24, 1914; Brazil, signed July 24, 1914; Greece, signed October 13, 1914. Ten treaties.

Ratification not yet advised by United States Senate.

Panama, signed September 20, 1913; Dominican Republic, signed February 17, 1914. Two treaties.

IDENTICAL ARTICLES OF THE TREATIES OF GENERAL ARBITRATION NEGOTIATED BY MR. BOOT UNDER PRESIDENT BOOSEVELT, Article 1.

Differences which may arise of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two contracting parties, and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplemacy, shall be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the convention of the 29th July, 1899: Provided, nevertheless, that they do not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two contracting States and do not concern the interests of third parties. ests of third parties.

The only general arbitration treaty negotiated by the Taft administration which was not a renewal of the above treaties was a treaty of March 13, 1909, which contained the identical article above given.

Preparedness for National Defense.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. L. C. DYER, OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 29, 1916.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, the Senate and the House have already given much time to the consideration of what is necessary to be done in order to put our country in condition to be able to defend our possessions and honor. Shortly we will give more thought to this matter, when the naval bill is taken up. We have expended considerable money in the last few years in building a Navy. The amounts are as follows:

Date of act,	Congress.	Amount.	Fiscal year,
Mar. 3, 1905 June 29, 1906 Mar. 2, 1907 May 13, 1908 Mar. 31, 1909 June 24, 1910 Mar. 4, 1911 Aug. 22, 1912 Mar 4, 1913. June 30, 1914 Mar. 3, 1915	Fifth-eighth, third. Fifty-ninth, first Fifty-ninth, second. Sixtieth, first. Sixtieth, second. Sixty-first, second. Sixty-first, third. Sixty-second, second Sixty-second, third. Sixty-third, second. Sixty-third, third.	\$102, 836, 679, 94 102, 371, 670, 27 99, 971, 449, 79 122, 606, 133, 27 136, 935, 199, 05 131, 510, 246, 01 126, 478, 338, 24 128, 908, 196, 96 141, 050, 643, 53 145, 503, 963, 48 149, 763, 563, 45	1908 1907 1908 1908 1918 1911 1913 1914 1918 1918

As a result of this expenditure, which includes the general expenses of the Naval Establishment, we learn that the United States has on the Navy list-built, building, and authorized-the following number of armed ships:

Battleships, first line17
Battleships, second line 25
Armored cruisers10
Cruisers, first class5
Cruisers, second class 4
Cruisers, tnird class 16
Monitors 7
Destroyers 58
Transports 5
Hospital ships 1
Converted yachts 14
Special type8
Coast torpedo vessels (destroyers not serviceable for duty with fleet)
Torpedo boats19
Submarines 75
Tenders to torpedo vessels8
Gunboats 29
Supply ships 5
Fuel ships 22
Tugs
Unserviceable for war purposes21

A number of these ships are, however, out of commission, because there are not enough men to handle them. The Navy is many thousand men short of what is required.

is admitted by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy that the authorized enlistments for the Army and the Navy are far from being realized. Young men of good character and physical fitness are not looking for the recruiting offices. That is the condition now, and yet there are bills pending in the Congress that, when written into law, will call for many thousands more men. From where and how will we get them? Some think we should have compulsory service—the drafting of men needed for the Army and Navy. I think the people

realize, however, that this Congress will not pass a law to that effect while we are at peace. So, Mr. Speaker, the only way to recruit our Army and Navy to authorized strength, now and under pending legislation, is to make the Army and Navy more attractive to the men. No one is foolish enough to expect men to enlist for the money they receive as soldiers and sailors. While in the service our soldiers and sailors must be treated like men and human beings. They must not be laughed at and belittled; they must not be denied admission to places of amusement or public gatherings because they are clad in the uniforms of the soldiers and sailors of the United States. They must not be looked down upon, but instead shown special consideration because of their being in the service. Not only the people must act differently toward these men but the commissioned officers must realize that enlisted men are Americans and human beings, the same as they, and also that good treatment tends to efficiency and discipline. Opportunity for promotion and retirement must be improved upon in many respects.

Then, Mr. Speaker, when the men have served their enlistments and received an honorable discharge, that discharge must mean something. It must be considered by the American peo-ple as a badge of honor and distinction. This honorable discharge must mean something for these men when they seek employment either from the Government, the States, the municipalities, or the employing business men of the country. That is not so now. Service counts for very little at this time. Public officials ignore the preference laws, little as they are, that There must be a change by appointing powers we now have. in patriotism if we are to have a better and more patriotic

spirit in this regard.

Why, Mr. Speaker, the Congress has not shown enough appreciation of the service of the men in the Spanish War to pass the widows and orphans' little pension bill-that which is to take care, in a small way, of the dependent widows and orphans of those soldiers and sailors who are in sore need. This House, I am glad to say, passed it in this Congress and in the two pre-ceding ones, but never yet has the Senate done so. It is still pending there, and is now on the calendar for action. Let the Senate act favorably and at once on this Spanish war widows and orphans' pension bill and the result for the good of our country will be manifest in many ways.

Here, Mr. Speaker, let me read a letter and table of figures upon the subject of pensions in Canada, to show the liberality that prevails in that country for the widows, orphans, and men who serve their country. It is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF MILITIA AND DEFENSE, Ottawa, April 10, 1916.

Ottawa, April 19, 1916.

From: The President Pensions and Claims Board, Canadian Militia.
To: L. C. Dyer, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.
Sir: In compliance with the request contained in your letter of March 29 last, addressed to the clerk, House of Parliament, Ottawa, I have the honor to inclose herewith copies of the militia pension act, which contains the provision which the Canadian Government has made for the widows of soldiers.

This department has no information respecting pensions for the widows of sailors in the Canadian service. I would advise you to write, however, to the deputy minister, department of naval services, Ottawa, for such information.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,

J. F. Dunbar.

J. F. DUNBAR, Colonel, President Pensions and Claims Board. SCALE OF PENSIONS.

Articles 641 to 648, inclusive, pay and allowance regulations, are canceled and the following substituted, to take effect September 1, 1914: 641. The following rates of pension will be granted militiamen wounded or disabled on active service, during drill or training, or on other military duty, provided the disability was not due to his own fault or negligence:

Rank held at time of injury or illness.	First degree.	Second degree.	Third degree.	Fourth degree.
Rank and file	\$264 336	\$192 252	\$132 168	\$75 100
major Squad, battery, or company quartermas- ter sergeant	372	282	186	108
Color sergeant Staff sergeant Regimental sergeant major, not warrant officer.	432	201	016	100
Master gunner, not warrant officer Regimental quartermaster sergeant		324	216	132
Warrant officer	480	360	240	144
Lieutenant	480	360	240	144
CaptainMajor	720 960	540 720	360 480	216 288
MajorLieutenant colonel	1,200	900	600	360
Colonel	1, 440	1,080	720	456
Brigadier general	2,100	1,620	1,050	636

⁽a) The first degree shall be applicable to those only who are rendered totally incapable of earning a livelihood as the result of wounds or injuries received or illness contracted in action or in the presence of the enemy.

(b) The second degree shall be applicable to those who are rendered totally incapable of earning a livelihood as a result of injuries received or illness contracted on active service, during drill or training or on other duty, or are rendered materially incapable as a result of wounds or injuries received or illness contracted in action or in the presence of the enemy.

(c) The third degree shall be applicable to those who are rendered materially incapable of earning a livelihood as a result of injuries received or illness contracted on active service, during drill or training or on other duty, or rendered in a small degree incapable as a result of wounds or injuries received or illness contracted in action or in the presence of the enemy.

(d) The fourth degree shall be applicable to those who are rendered in a small degree incapable of earning a livelihood as a result of injuries received or illness contracted on active service, during drill or training or on other duty.

(e) Where the injury is great enough to require the constant services of an attendant, such as the loss of both legs or both arms or the loss of sight of both eyes, or where the use of both legs or both arms has been permanently lost, the rates shown in columns "First degree" and "Second degree" may be increased one-third.

(f) In addition to the above rates, a married officer, warrant officer, noncommissioned officer, or man totally incapacitated may draw for his wife half the rate provided in article 642 for the widow and the full rate for the children of an officer, etc., of his rank, subject to the limitations respecting the age of children. After the death of the officer, warrant officer, noncommissioned officer, or man the widow may then draw the full rates provided in article 642 for man the widow and children.

(g) The widowed mother of a totally disabled soldier may be granted

then draw the full rates provided in article 642 for widows and children.

(g) The widowed mother of a totally disabled soldier may be granted a pension at half the rates fixed in article 642 for a widow, provided the soldier is ner sole support and unmarried. In the event of the soldier's decease, she may draw the full rate referred to.

642. Pensions may be paid to the widows and children of those who have been killed in action or who have died from injuries received or illness contracted on active service, during drill or training or on other military duty, at the following rates, provided the soldier's death was not due to his own fault or negligence and was clearly due to the carrying out of his military duties:

ENAN HELD BY HUSBADD, SON, OR FATHER AT TIME OF DEATH.

RANK HELD BY HUSBAND, SON, OR FATHER AT TIME OF DEATH.

Rank and file: \$22 a month for widow and \$5 a month for each child.

Sergeant: \$28 a month for widow and \$5 a month for each child.

Squad, battery, or company sergeant major; squad, battery, or quartermaster sergeant: \$30 a month for widow and \$5 a month for each

Color sergeant, staff sergeant: \$30 a month for widow and \$5 a month for each child.

Regimental sergeant major, not warrant officer; master gunner, not warrant officer; regimental quartermaster sergeant: \$30 a month for widow and \$5 a month for each child.

Warrant officer: \$32 a month for widow and \$5 a month for each child.

lld. Lieutenant: \$37 a month for widow and \$6 a month for each child. Captain: \$45 a month for widow and \$7 a month for each child. Major: \$50 a month for widow and \$8 a month for each child. Lieutenant colonel: \$60 a month for widow and \$10 a month for each

Colonel: \$75 a month for widow and \$10 a month for each child. Brigadier general: \$100 a month for widow and \$10 a month for each

Brigadier general: \$100 a month for widow and \$10 a month for each child.

(a) A widowed mother whose son was her sole support, and unmarried, shall be eligible for a pension as a widow without children and subject to the same conditions as hereinafter set forth.

(b) In the case of orphans, the rates shown above for children may be doubled and the pension paid to legally appointed guardians.

643. Pensions to widows and children shall take effect from the day following that on which the death of the husband, etc., occurred, and a gratuity equivalent to two months' pension shall be paid the first month, in addition to the pension.

644. The pension of a widow, a widowed mother, or child may be withheld or discontinued should such widow, etc., be, or subsequently prove, unworthy of it, or should she be or become wealthy.

The decision of the minister as to whether a pension should be so withheld or discontinued shall be final.

645. The pension to a widow or widowed mother shall cease upon her remarriage, but she will be eligible for a gratuity of two years' pension payable to her immediately after her marriage. (Any pension of a widow's children will cease when the mother remarries, but the mother's gratuity will include the children's pension for two years.)

646. Neither gratuity nor pension shall be paid on account of a child (or orphan) over 15 years of age if a boy, or over 17 years of age if a girl, unless, owing to mental or physical infirmity, the child (or orphan) is incapable of earning a livelihood, in which case the pension may be continued till the child (or orphan) is 21 years of age, but no pension will be paid to a child or orphan after marriage.

647. Individual cases for which the regulations do not provide, or sufficiently provide, may be specially considered by the governor in council.

648. Pensions may be paid monthly, in advance.

These facts, Mr. Speaker, ought to convince the Senate of the United States of the justice of passing without further delay the widows and orphans Spanish War and Philippine insurrec-

tion pension bill.

Mr. Speaker, if the American people and the youth of the land see and understand that the widows and orphans of soldiers and sailors are taken care of and that soldiers and sailors will be respected and given preference in the employment after they have served their country, it will inspire genuine patriotism and cause enlistments to fill up all shortages now existing in the Army and Navy, the present and the future. I believe sincerely that preference in employment should be given to men who serve their country, and especially should this be so for those who volunteer in time of war.

Section 1. Preference in apppointment—section 1754, Revised Statutes, (sec. 1, joint resolution Mar. 3, 1865), provides that:

Persons honorably discharged from the military or naval service by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness incurred in the line of duty shall be preferred for appointments to civil offices: Provided, They are found to possess the business capacity necessary for the proper discharge of the duties of such offices.

This law is ignored and violated by the appointing powers of the Government. Time and again they have done this. know of many instances where the civilian is taken in preference to the veteran. The Civil Service Commission certifies to the appointing power the three highest upon the eligible lists, and the veteran, if on this list, is most always turned down for the civilian. Especially is this true if the civilian has political influence.

Congress should enact a law to compel the Government officials to comply with the preference law and not permit it to be ignored as it has been and is to-day. In addition to that, the law of preference should be enlarged and everyone who has served honorably in the Army and Navy should receive prefer-

ence in appointments under the Government.

Mr. Speaker, I have asked the legislative reference division of the Library of Congress to advise me with reference to preference laws for honorably discharged soldiers and sailors under the United States Government, State governments, and foreign Governments, and the following is what they report to me, to

UNITED STATES LAWS GIVING PREFERENCE IN EMPLOYMENT TO HONORABLY DISCHARGED SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

R. S. 1754 (resolution of Mar. 3, 1865) directs preference of "persons honorably discharged from the military or naval service by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness incurred in the line of duty" for "appointments to civil offices." This section was declared not to be affected by the civil-service act of January 16, 1883 (22 Stat...

not to be affected by the civil-service act of January 16, 1883 (22 Stat. 406, sec. 7).

H. S. 1755 (resolution of Mar '3, 1865) recommends the preference of persons honorably discharged from the military or naval service for private employment.

The act of August 15, 1876 (19 Stat., 169, sec. 3), directs the heads of executive departments to give a preference, in case of reductions in their force, to persons "honorably discharged from the military or naval service of the United States and the widows and orphans of deceased soldiers and sailors."

The act of March 1, 1889 (25 Stat., 762, sec. 5), directs preference to "persons honorably discharged from the military or naval service of the United States" in the appointment of census enumerators.

The act of March 6, 1902 (32 Stat., 52, sec. 5), directs preference to "persons who have served as soldiers in any war in which the United States may have been engaged, who have been honorably discharged from the service of the United States, and the widows of such soldiers," for employment in the Census Office.

The act of March 3, 1905 (33 Stat., 1088), directs preference "to persons honorably discharged from the military or naval service who served in the Civil War" in transfers from the Railway Mail Service to department duty.

department duty.

The act of August 23, 1902 (37 Stat., 413, sec. 4), prohibits the discharge or reduction in any of the executive departments of an "honorably discharged soldier or sailor whose record in said department is rated good."

STATE LAWS GIVING PREFERENCE IN EMPLOYMENT TO HONORABLY DIS-CHARGED SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

California: Union soldiers, sailors, and marines of Civil War given preference for State employment, and may not be discharged without just cause, after a hearing. (Stat. 1891, ch. 212.)

Colorado: Soldiers and sailors of Civil War given preference for State, county, and municipal employment. (Laws 1911, p. 602.)

Connecticut: Union soldiers and sailors given preference in State employment or on public works. (Gen. Stat., 1902; sec. 2876.)

Union soldiers, sailors and marines who have served in Civil War may not be removed as janitors, engineers, or firemen on State or county public buildings, except for incompetency or misconduct; nor reduced except for cause, after a hearing. (Gen. Stat., 1902; sec. 2877.)

Iowa: Soldiers, sailors, and marine.

2877.)

Iowa: Soidiers, sailors, and marines of the United States in the Civil War given preference for State, county, and municipal employment, and may not be discharged except for incompetence or misconduct. (Code, sec. 1056a 15, 16.)

Soldiers, sailors, and marines of Regular or Volunteer Army or Navy of the United States given preference for employment in cities under commission form of government. (Code, sec. 1056a, 32 (b).)

Soldiers, sailors, and marines or Regular or Volunteer Army or Navy of the United States given preference for employment as policemen and firemen in cities. (Code sec. 679c.)

Kansas: Persons having served in Army or Navy of the United States during the Civil War given preference for State, county, and municipal employment and retention. (Gen. Stat., 1909; secs. 7879-7882.)

Massachusetts: Persons who served in Army or Navy or State.

Massachusetts; Persons who served in Army or Navy of the United States during the Civil War, or received medal of honor for heroic conduct in Army or Navy given preference in appointments and promotions, and may not be removed or reduced without a hearing, in the State and run. 1902, ch. 413; 1903, ch. 150; 1910, ch. 500.)

Persons of the same class may be retired on half pay in State, county, and municipal employment. (Acts and resolutions, 1907, ch. 458; 1909, ch. 398; 1910, ch. 459, 1911, ch. 113; 1912, ch. 375; 1913, ch. 313, 642; 1915, ch. 95.)

Michigan: Union soldiers, sailors, and marines of Civil War or Spanish War given preference for State and municipal employment, and may not be removed, suspended, or transferred without a hearing. (Howell's 1912 Stat., secs. 733, 734.)

Minn-sota: Soldiers, sailors, and marines of the United States in the Civil War given preference for State, county, and municipal employment, and may not be removed except after a hearing. (Gen. Stat., 1913, secs. 3976-77.)

Secs. 3976-77.)

Soldiers, sailors, and marine given preference for employment by State Soldiers' Home Board. (Gen. Stat., 1913, sec. 3957.)

New Jersey: Soldiers, sailors, and marines of Civil War passing civil-service examinations are to be at head of eligible list. (Comp. Stat., 1910, p. 3803, sec. 76.)

Soldiers, sailors, and marines of the United States having served in any war given preference in appointments of noncompetitive class, (Comp. Stat., 1910, p. 3800, sec. 71.)

Union soldiers, sailors, and marines of Civil War given preference for State, county, and municipal employment, and may not be removed except for incompetence or misconduct. (Comp. Stat., 1910, p. 4871,

sec. 59.)
Union soldiers, sailors, and marines of any war given preference for State, county, and municipal employment, and may not be removed without a good cause. (Comp. Stat., 1910, p. 4873, secs. 63, 64.)
Union soldiers, sailors, and marines of Civil War given service pension after 20 years in State, county, or municipal employment. (Laws, 1912, ch. 84.)

Union soliders, sailors, and marines of Civil war given service pension after 20 years in State, county, or municipal employment. (Laws, 1912, ch. 84.)

Soldiers or sailors of the United States and their widows are not affected by certain acts terminating various county offices. (Comp. Stat., 1910, p. 512, sec. 138; p. 528, sec. 188; same, in case of Civil War only, p. 534, sec. 199.

New York: Soldiers, sailors, and marines of the United States in the Civil War, being citizens of New York, given preference in State, county, and municipal employment. (Coms. Laws, 1909, ch. 15, sec. 21.)

Soldiers, sailors, and marines of the United States in the Civil War or Spanish War are not to be discharged except for incompetence or misconduct, after a hearing, and may recover pay for the period of removal. (Cons. Laws, 1909, ch. 15, secs. 22. 23.)

Soldiers or sailors of Civil War over 70 may be retired as officers of a certain court after 15 instead of 25 years' service. (Laws, 1915, ch. 557.)

North Dakota: Union soldiers and sailors given preference for State and municipal employment. (Comp. Laws, 1913, sec. 3186.)

Ohio: Soldiers, sailors, and marines of the United States given preference for employment by State and municipal corporations and on public works. (Ann. Gen. Code, 1910, secs. 12893, 12894.)

Oregon: Union soldiers and sailors of Civil War and Spanish War given preference for employment by State and on public works. (Pub. Laws, No. 263.)

Pennsylvania: Union soldiers, sailors, and marines of Civil War given preference for employment by State and on public works. (Pub. Laws, No. 122 (1887), sec. 1.)

Union soldiers, sailors, and marines of Civil War not to be removed or suspended from State, county, or city employment, nor office abolished nor salary reduced without sufficient cause. (1897, Pub. Laws, No. 196, secs. 1, 2.)

or marines of the United States in any war. (1906, Pub. Laws, No. 83, sec. 1.)

Soldiers and sailors of the United States in the Civil War given preference in civil service of cities of second class. (1907, Pub. Laws, No. 206, sec. 1.)

Rhode Island: Union soldiers, sailors, and marines of Civil War given preference for employment in State Soldiers' Home. (Gen. Laws, 1909, ch. 104, sec. 10.)

Soldiers' Home, Board to include six persons who have served in Union Army or Navy during Civil War and two during Spanish War. (Pub. Laws, 1904, ch. 1045.)

Washington: Union soldiers and sailors and soldiers and sailors of Spanish War and Philippine Insurrection given preference for State and county employment. (Laws, 1915, ch. 129.)

Wyoming: Union soldiers and sailors given preference for State, county, and city employment. (Comp. Stat., 1910, secs. 291, 292.)

[McClenon. Mar. 24, 1916.]

DIGEST OF LAWS PROVIDING GOVERNMENT POSITIONS FOR HONORABLY

DIGEST OF LAWS PROVIDING GOVERNMENT POSITIONS FOR HONORABLY DISCHARGED SOLDIERS AND SAILORS IN AUSTRIA, FRANCE, GERMANY,

[A. Bernard and T. H. Thiesing.]

AND ITALY.

The law of April 19, 1872, sections 1-5, provides that noncommissioned officers who have been honorably discharged from the Army or Navy after having served 12 years, during 8 of which they have been noncommissioned officers, are entitled to employment in the Government service, or in the ratiroad, steamship, and other services subsidized by the Government; also, that noncommissioned officers, incapacitated for military service on account of wounds received in campaigns or while on duty for the protection of the public, but not thereby rendered unit for civil employment, may claim a Government position regardless of the number of years served.

Positions exclusively reserved for these noncommissioned officers are; (1) Doorkeepers and watchmen in the Government departments, courthouses, offices, and penitentiaries and in those institutions whose running expenses are entirely or partly defrayed by the Government; (2) Office messengers and conductors and operating employees in the railroad, steamship, and other services subsidized or guaranteed by the Government, to which franchises may be or have been granted, and which provide in their by-laws, etc., that in filling such positions preference should be given to former noncommissioned officers; but it is provided that those who show special fitness shall have preference over those less suited for the positions, (Reichsgesetzblatt, 1872, No. 60.)

Title IV, chapter 4, of the act of March 21, 1905, as amended by sections 34 to 37 of the act of August 7, 1913, provides for the employment in the classified service of honorably discharged noncommissioned officers and privates as follows:

1. Nearly all positions of janitors, unskilled laborers, etc., and from one-half to three-fourths of the clerkships in certain grades of the classified service, are reserved for recalisted men who have served not less than 10 years, 4 of which must have been as noncommissioned

discrete and to years, 4 of which must have been as backdanased officers.

2. One-half to three-fourths of the positions of unskilled laborers, etc., and of the clerkships in certain grades of the civil service are reserved for noncommissioned efficers who have served at least four years.

3. One-half, three-fourths, five-sixths, or in some cases all of the unskilled positions in certain grades of the civil service are reserved for privates who have served not less than four years in the army.

Section 69 of the act of March 21, 1905, authorizes the Government to divide the positions of the three classes enumerated above into groups, and to determine the mode of obtaining a certificate of professional qualification in each group.

Under this authorization, the decree of August 26, 1905, established four groups. The first group includes positions requiring a certain amount of technical knowledge, such as assistant inspectors, mechanics, foremen, etc. The second group includes such positions as clerkships not requiring technical knowledge. The third group includes such posi-

tions as copyists and typists. The fourth group includes unskilled po-sitions such as watchmen, janitors, etc. The first three groups require the passing of an examination; for the fourth no examination is re-

The examinations in the case of the first group include chiefly subjects of a somewhat technical nature. In the case of the second group, the nature of the examinations is determined by agreement of the minister of war and the minister in whose department the position exists. In the case of the third group, only a common-school education is necessary. Candidates for the fourth group must have a certificate from the chief of the corps or director of the service to which the candidate belonged, stating that he can read and write and has a knowledge of arithmetic, and is competent to fill the position sought. Passing grade in every case is 60 per cent average on all examinations. No one over 40 may be certified.

(Sources: Journal officiel de la République Française, 23 mars and 2 septembre, 1905; 8 août 1913.)

GERMANY.

The second part of the military pensions law of May 31, 1906, contains provisions for the employment of reenlisted soldiers and non-commissioned officers who have seen active service in the army, navy, or in the colonies for a certain number of years, or who have been incapacitated during such services.

Sections 15 and 16 provide that soldiers who have served their regular term and reenlisted for 12 years, and reenlisted soldiers, who have been incapacitated during such service, shall be certified as eligible for certain positions in the civil service, if they seem to be fitted to hold such positions.

Section 17 provides that noncommissioned officers and grivates who

such positions in the civil service, if they seem to be fitted to hold such positions.

Section 17 provides that noncommissioned officers and privates, who have not served more than their regular term but have been incapacitated during such service, may, besides drawing a pension, be certified as eligible for certain positions in the civil service, if they seem to be fitted for them.

Section 18 enumerates the classes of employment to which such certificates apply and the positions which shall preferably be filled with holders of the same, under regulations to be prescribed by the Bundesrat and communicated to the Reichstag (which can not, however, alter them). They include subordinate, clerical, or unskilled positions in the Imperial, state and local government services, in the Invalidity insurance offices, and in institutions supported wholly or in part by the Imperial Government, the states, or the local authorities, excluding the forest service. (Reichsgesetzblatt 1906, No. 30, p. 593 ft.)

The regulations prescribed by the Bundesrat which went into effect October 1, 1907, were published in Zentralblatt f. d. Deutsche Reich 1907, page 309 ff.

ITALY.

The act of May 6, 1909, on the status of noncommissioned officers, contains the following provisions concerning civil-service positions excinsively reserved for honorably discharged noncommissioned officers:

1. First sergeants who have served 12 years are entitled to civilian positions in the state railway service or in other Government departments. Noncommissioned officers who have reenlisted with bounty, honorance are actualed.

ments. Noncommissioned officers who have reenlisted with bounty, however, are excluded.

2. The positions reserved for noncommissioned officers are as follows:

a. In all the military offices under the war departments all the unskilled positions, such as those of watchmen, etc., and in the department proper, two-thirds of those of doorkeepers.

b. In all departments of the Government, one-third of the unskilled positions and a storeroom and warehouse keepers, existing or likely to be created, and paying an annual salary of from 900 to 1,200 lires.

a. In the railway service, one-third of the unskilled positions, watchmen, etc., paying an annual salary of from 900 to 1,200 lires.

A proportional part of the positions enumerated under the letters b and c is reserved for petty officers of the navy with 12 years of service, who are always given preference for such positions under the navy department.

The above provisions apply also to subordinate officers of the quartermaster's department.

master's department.
(Sources: Collezione celerifera della leggi, decreti, struzioni e circolari dell'anno 1909, p. 672 et seq. Gazzetta ufficialle del Regno d'Italia 21 octobre 1909, p. 5725-5726.) CIVIL EMPLOYMENT FOR EX-SOLDIERS AND SAILORS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

ditatia 21 octobre 1908, p. 5725-5726.)

CIVIL EMPLOYMENT FOR EX-SOLDIERS AND SAILORS IN GREAT BRITAIN. Admission to the civil service of Great Britain is regulated not by statute but by orders in council—particularly that of the 10th of January, 1910—and by regulations framed in pursuance of these orders by the civil-service commissioners, with the approval of the lords of the treasury. In these regulations limits of age, generally lying between 21 and 35, are prescribed for each class of appointments. As a general rule, the only advantage given to ex-soldiers and sailors wishing to enter the civil service is that they may deduct from their actual age any time which they may have served in the army or navy.

In a few cases army or navy educational certificates may, at the discretion of the civil-service commissioners, be accepted in lieu of civil-service examination, namely:

"Persons nominated for the situation of messenger, established postman, park keeper, prison warder, and some other situations of a similarly subordinate character who possess an army second-class certificate of education or a petty officer's certificate of education obtained in the navy may, at the discretion of the civil-service commissioners, be exempted from examination in the foregoing subjects."

In the case of certain lower grades of clerical positions in the war office candidates who possess first-class army certificates of education may, at the discretion of the civil-service commissioners, be exempted from examination. A similar ex-mption applies to one of the circla grades in the Admiralty.

The latest report of the civil-service commissioners (for 1914) gives the following statistics of civil employment for ex-soldiers and sailors, but does not indicate how many are admitted on certificate instead of by examination:

"Out of a total of 14.445 male candidates of all classes for whom certificates of qualification, or their equivalent, were granted during the past year, 1.541 ex-soldiers, 230 sailors, and 67 marines received appoi

20 sailors and 6 marines) as skilled workmen. These figures relate only to the established service. The unestablished ranks of the post office include, it is believed, a large number of soldiers.

"The various prison services, including Breadmoor and Rampton Criminal Lunatic Asylums and similar institutions, also absorb a large proportion of men from the army and navy, 67 (including 4 sailors and 2 marines) having been appointed to warderships and similar posts during the year 1914.

"During the same year the Admiralty appointed 1 soldier and 4 sailors to various situations in naval establishments; and the office of works recruited the staff of park keepers by 3 candidates from the army.

works recruited the staff of park keepers by 3 candidates from the army.

"Of the remaining military and naval candidates, 1 was certificated as constable in the consular service, 1 as second-class warehouseman in the customs and excise department, 1 as third-class workman in the mint, 13 as clerks or clerk messengers in the labor exchange and unemployment insurance branch of the board of trade, 12 as established civilian employees, etc., in the army ordnance department, the royal ordnance factories, or the supply reserve depot, Woolwich; 5 were appointed as established civil assistants on the ordnance survey; and the rest secured posts chiefly of the messenger class. (Of the 2,110 artificers placed on the establishment of the dock yards, etc., during the year, many no doubt have served in one or other of the combatant services, but the necessary details are not known in this department.)"

The above statement applies only to positions in the classified civil service which are filled by competitive examination. A study of other opportunities was made by the committee on civil employment of exsoliders and sallors in 1906, whose report is published in the Parliamentary Papers [Cd. 2991]. In Appendix I (pp. 32-36) of this report is given a list of the "Present classes of civil employment of exsolders and sallors."

Following is a summary of the recommendations of this committee

Following is a summary of the recommendations of this committee (pp. 29, 30):

"That an association, which should be financially assisted by but not under the control of the Admiralty and war office, should be created for the provision of employment for ex-soldiers and sailors.

"II. That this association, which should consist of a central office in London and affiliated branches in counties and towns, should undertake all the work of employment now carried out by the war office and by existing agencies.

"III. That it should be supervised by a council selected, in the first instance, from—

"(a) Members of the existing societies in London.

"(b) Representatives of the corporations of the cities of London and Westminster, the London County Council, and the metropolitan borough councils.

"(c) Employers of labor, including representatives of the war office and Admiralty.

westminister, the London County Country, and the metropolitan sorough councils.

"(c) Employers of labor, including representatives of the war office
and Admiralty.

"(d) Ex-soldiers and sailors who have achieved success in civil life
after leaving the colors.

"IV. That the management of the county and town branches should,
under the general supervision of the central office, be conducted by local
committees.

"V. That such local committees should be presided over, where possible, by the lord lieutenant, in the case of the county, and by the
mayor, in that of the town.

"VI. That the members of the local committee should consist of—

"(a) The officer commanding the grouped regimental district.

"(b) The colonel of the territorial battallous or corps.

"(c) The naval recruiting officer of the district.

"(d) Representatives selected from influential people of the district,
employers of labor, etc.

"(e) Ex soldiers and sailors in the district.

"VII. That the Government subscriptions to existing associations
should cease and an annual grant of £16,000 (£12,000 from the army and
£4,000 from navy funds) should be made to the association.

"VIII. That trunds should also be obtained by voluntary subscriptions.

24,000 from navy funds) should be made to the association.

"VIII. That funds should also be obtained by voluntary subscriptions.

"IX. That the Government should direct the various public departments to fill vacancles in the appointments detailed in appendices 2 to 5 and any others which may be suitable by ex soldiers and sailors of good character, and that only in the event of such candidates not being ferthcoming are the posts to be filled by civilians.

"X. That all future vacancies for customs preventive men should be selled by ex soldiers or sallors.

"XI. That at least half the vacancies for outdoor customs officers should be set aside for ex soldiers and sailors.

"XII. That the majority of the vacancies for assistant clerks should be similarly dealt with.

"XIII. That all established messengerships should be so filled.

"XIV. That service in the army or navy of a satisfactory character which has not earned pension, should reckon toward superannuation allowance in the case of men appointed to established positions in the civil service.

"XV. That in the case of ex soldiers and sailors serving in Government departments a proportionate value should be assigned to service in the army or navy with a view to its being considered with the period of civil employment when discharge on reduction of establishment is determined by length of service.

"XVI. That county and borough councils should be urged to reserve a number of appointments for ex soldiers and sailors.

"XVIII. That the age limit in the case of ex soldiers on a sailors who are candidates for appointment to the police should be raised to 32.

"XVIII. That, in view of the imperial contribution made toward the cost of the police, an obligation should be placed upon the force to employ men of the two services in preference to others, so long as suitable candidates are forthcoming, and that, as in the case of the civil servant, previous service in the army or navy should reckon toward police pension.

"XXI. That classes for instruction in motor driving,

"XXIII. That the endeavor should be made, by means of periodical lectures at each military center, to bring clearly before the men the possibilities of their future civil career.

"XXIV. That arrangements should be made to give to ex-soldiers facilities for emigration, and for obtaining, whilst serving, a short course of training in work which is likely to be of use to them as emigrants.

facilities for emigration, and for obtaining, whilst serving, a short course of training in work which is likely to be of use to them as emigrants.

"XXV. That an employment gazette should be published by the central office of the suggested association, giving particulars as to situations vacant, the method of obtaining them, the prospects offered by various classes of employment, etc., and that subscriptions to cover its cost, fees, and traveling expenses of lecturers would form a suitable charge against the canteen funds of ships and units.

"XXVI. That the form of character given to the soldier on discharge or transfer should be improved, both in respect to its division between his military and civil conduct and in regard to its general assessment.

"XXVIII, That, with the view to encouragement of thrift, arrangements be made, on the lines suggested in paragraph 72, to increase the inducements of the soldier to save money whilst serving.

"XXVIII. That the advantages of membership of friendly societies should be brought to his notice.

"XXIX. That payments of pensions and reserve pay should be made at more frequent intervals."

Mr. Speaker, a study of the above shows us that our own

Mr. Speaker, a study of the above shows us that our own National and State Governments have given but little favorable consideration to the enactment of laws providing for preference in employment for honorably discharged soldiers and sailors. It also shows that foreign governments have done much better. It also demonstrates the fact that the foreign governments which have done most in this regard for their ex soldiers and sailors have been the ones to be the better able to recruit up their armies and navies. This Government must awake to its duty and act. If it does not take care of the widows and orphans and show preference to soldiers and sailors there will be but one outcome of it, and that will be compulsory service. I do not know if this country is ready for that or not, but, in my judgment, this Congress is not favorable to it. I would rather see voluntary enlistments needed for the Army and for the Navy than compulsory, and if laws are enacted along the lines that I have indicated, there will be no need of compulsory

Army Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH D. McKELLAR.

OF TENNESSEE.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 29, 1916.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. Speaker, when the general debate on the Hay Army bill was had I was unavoidably absent. I prepared a speech on that bill at that time and ask unanimous consent to insert it in the RECORD now.

Mr. Speaker, our committee has reported out a bill making far-reaching changes in the military department of our Gov-ernment. They are changes for the most part that make for our

better security and for better national defense.

As the law now stands we have a standing Army composed of 4,834 officers and 97,248 enlisted men, or a total of 102,082 officers and enlisted men. This is exclusive of the Philippine Scouts, which is composed of 182 officers and 5,733 enlisted men. That was the authorized strength of the Army on June 30, 1915, and the actual strength of the Army on that date was 55 officers less owing to vacancies in the Medical Corps, the Engineer Corps, and the Signal Corps mainly, and a deficit on that date of between 1,200 and 1,500 enlisted men. It is believed that the actual strength of the Army now is about the authorized strength. There were 6,403 enlisted men in the Quartermaster's Department that are included in the above figures, but they are not necessarily included in the authorized strength of the Army.

The Hay bill proposes to increase the Standing Army by 40,000 enlisted men, and increases the officers 2,616, and provides that the Quartermaster Corps and the Medical Corps will not be included, which will bring the number up to about 18,000 more, or a total of 158,000. The bill also provides for the formation of skeleton units in the Army, which may be brought up in times of war or when war is imminent to full strength, and in this way the Army we have could almost at once be expanded to about 195,335 enlisted men. Those branches of the service that are increased are: The Infantry, increased by 10 regiments; Field Artillery, 6 regiments; Coast Artillery, 52 companies; Engineers, 15 companies; aero squadrons, 4. The Cavalry was not increased. In the present establishment we have, in round numbers, about 15,000 enlisted men in the for this are as follows;

Cavalry, 20,000 in the Coast Artillery, 36,000 in the Infantry, 10,000 in the Staff Corps in the department, and 7,000 in miscellaneous places. In other words, we have at the present time a mobile Army of about 60,000, exclusive of Quartermaster and Medical Corps, composed of 15,000 cavalrymen and 36,000 infantrymen, with a stationary force of about 20,000 in what is known as the Coast Artillery. The remainder are what might be termed "helpers.

Under the Hay bill these figures will be changed very considerably. The Coast Artillery will be increased so that it will amount to about 25,000 enlisted men; the Infantry will be increased to about 46,000 enlisted men; the Engineer Corps about 4,500 enlisted men; the Signal Corps to about 2,000 enlisted men; the Quartermaster Corps to about 8,000 enlisted men: in all,

about 85,500 men.

MOBILE ARMY UNDER HAY BILL.

The mobile Army under the Hay bill, including the Coast Artillery as a part of the mobile Army, will be as follows: Cavalry—officers, 805; enlisted men, 14,625. Field Artillery—officers, 684; enlisted men, 15,648. Coast Artillery—officers, 956; enlisted men, 25,203. Engineers—officers, 258; enlisted men, 4,468. Signal Corps—officers, 46; enlisted men, 2,174. A total 4,468. Signal Corps-officers, 46; enlisted men, of 107,991. So that, including the Coast Artillery, we would have a fighting Army of 107,991 enlisted men and fully officered, and exclusive of the Coast Artillery, we would have 82,788 enlisted men in the real mobile Army of the country. This could be expanded when war becomes imminent probably 50 per cent. The increases authorized by the Hay bill are to be extended over a period of four years, as provided in section 14 of the bill.

FEATURES OF THE BILL.

The features of the bill are, first, the Cavalry is not increased. This is right, because the Cavalry arm of the service was larger and out of proportion to the other arms of the service. Cavalry is much more expensive than the Infantry, and in modern warfare it is much less effective. Cavalry can only be used in modern warfare for scouting purposes. The next important modern warfare for scouting purposes. The next important feature is the large increase in the Field Artillery. At the present time the Field Artillery consists of 262 officers and 5,664 enlisted men. This establishment is increased to 684 officers and 15,648 enlisted men, an increase of nearly 200 per cent. The Coast Artillery is given a reasonable increase, because of its being generally believed that our coast ought to be well protected. The Engineer Corps is given an increase of about 20 per cent in enlisted men. The Infantry is given a very moderate increase of only about 10,000 enlisted men. The Quartermaster Corps is given a large increase, and probably one out of proportion to the needs of the Army. It seems to me we have got too many "helpers." Under the new bill, in round numbers, we will have about 108,000 fighters and about 50,000 helpers. There ought to be some way to lessen the "helpers."

CADET COMPANIES

The defect in the bill is to be found in the method adopted in the selection of reserve officers.

Section 16 of the bill gives power to the President to organize not exceeding 30 cadet companies of Cavalry, Field Artillery, Infantry, Engineer Corps, Coast Artillery, and Signal troops, to be attached to and serve with regiments and other units of their respective branches of the Regular Army within the

continental limits of the United States.

It is further provided that each company shall consist of not to exceed 100 cadets between the ages of 20 and 27 years, and they are to be recruited from among the officers of the National Guard and graduates of educational institutions to which officers of the Regular Army are detailed. The cadet serves one year with the cadet company and five years in the officers' reserve corps. He is to receive the base pay of a master signal electrician, which is about \$75 per month. For the purpose of conducting the interior administration of these cadet companies the President is authorized to increase the number of noncommissioned officers, to which a fully organized cadet company of not less than 50 men is attached, by 1 first sergeant, 1 supply sergeant, and 2 cooks. These cadets are to be subjected to thorough training in the duties of privates, noncommissioned officers, and commissioned officers, "Upon completion of one year's service with the company as herein prescribed, each cadet shall, if found proficient, be commissioned in such grade in the officers' reserve corps as may be warranted by the degree of proficiency he may have attained, under such rules and regulations as the President may prescribe."

Now, I submit that this is a half-baked plan of securing reserve officers, and should not be enacted into law. My reasons

(1) That no proper training is provided in the bill. A man may be an officer in the National Guard for 10 minutes, and may never have had a gun or a sword in his hands; he may be put in the awkward squad in the cadet company; he may never serve as an officer, commissioned or noncommissioned, in the company at all during his one-year period of service, and under a lenient system of rules and regulations may be graduated into the Army officers' reserve corps within a period of one year. After being graduated into the Army officers' reserve corps he need not have any more instructions at any time within the five years; no more duties to perform, and yet he receives \$1,452 a year to act in the capacity of a reserve in the Army officers' reserve corps.

These cadet companies can also be recruited from "graduates of educational institutions to which Army officers of the Regular Army are detailed." Now, it is well known that there are innumerable students at colleges where Army officers are detailed who receive no military instructions, and a great many of them where they receive military instructions do just enough to enable the institution to get the Federal appropriation in that behalf; and yet a graduate of this institution, without military training, or however small his military training may be, may go into the cadet company and become a reserve officer at the end of a year at a cost to the Government of about \$1,542 a year.

Experts claim that it takes a year of intensive training to make a good private soldier; and yet the bill, at a tremendous expense to the country, undertakes to make an officer at the end

of one year without any such intensive training.

(2) The second objection to the bill is the nondescript posi-tion of these cadet companies. They have no place in the Regular organization, and no duties to perform in the Regular organization. They are not trained by officers of the Army, but are to be under the direction and control of certain noncommissioned officers in the Army. It is surely an anomalous method of training Army officers. If the President, by his rules and regulations, as it is assumed he would, provide that these cadet companies should be officered by members of the company, the result would be that the captain and lieutenants of the company would be under the direct control of the first sergeant in the Regular Army attached to the company. If this is the way to get Army officers, then I confess my absolute ignorance of anything that pertains to the military organization.

(3) Under the terms of the bill the training of these cadets is to be divided into three parts-first, training as a private; second, training as a noncommissioned officer; and, third, training as a commissioned officer. The only requirement to graduate into the reserve corps is to be "found proficient." Proficient in what? Proficient as a private? Proficient as a noncommissioned officer? Proficient as an officer? If proficient as an officer, only three of them out of a company can be made officers, because there can only be one captain and two lieutenants; and it is supposed, therefore, that the other 97 can be "found profi-

cient" as privates or noncommissioned officers.

(4) Cadets upon joining the cadet company are not required to have any standard education. Those that come from the National Guard may have no education at all. Those that come from certain colleges may have all degrees of education. Surely there ought to be some uniformity of the education of

There is no provision for giving these cadets anything but military training. They can not go to school, because there are no means by which they can obtain an education. A young man may be given a complimentary election in a military company just in order to make him eligible for the cadet company. He may not have even the rudiments of an education. He may not even know how to spell or write; and yet, after a year, if he is "found proficient" in a military training he is entitled to be enrolled as a reserve-army officer.

(6) The plan proposed is a novel one. It makes no use of existing agencies. It just establishes a system of itself. It is a system that makes Army officers while you wait, so to speak, which the Government pays \$1,542 apiece. The section ought to be begun by defining the plan as a plan to make paper army officers while the Government is being shaved. It is just like a man going into a barber shop and having his coat pressed while he is being shaved. So Uncle Sam is required to fork over \$1,542 to some favored individual, and while he is forking ever the money the name and address of his paper soldier is

being given to him.

(7) The War Department in passing upon the question of these cadet companies turned them down. In doing so, among other things, it said:

It is not believed that the condition of affairs in the cadet com-any, so far as discipline is concerned, would be found entirely satis-actory for the following reasons: (a) The pay of the cadet would

be much greater than that of the sergeant and other noncommissioned officers who were placed over these men; (b) the social condition at a post or camp would undoubtedly be found too binding upon these young men who will eventually become reserve officers, and who, according to the provisions of section 10 of the same bill, as members of the officers reserve corps who have passed their service in the cadet companies, might be commissioned second lieutenants later on.

(8) The next question is the cost, and it is a most important one. These would-be tinsel soldiers are to cost the Government annually \$1,542 apiece, as estimated by the War Department, and all together they will cost \$4,628,152 annually. When the system is in full blast there would be 18,000 of these play sol-diers, each costing the Government \$1,542 apiece a year, or all

together costing \$4.628.152 annually.

(9) This scheme was a part of the original continental army plan. We repudiated the continental army plan for privates and noncommissioned officers because it was inefficient. It was thought that three months' training would not make a private soldier; and yet we have retained in the bill thus far the same ephermeral plan of making officers. It is conceded that the training of officers is more important than the training of men, and the same reasons therefore that eliminated the continental army scheme as to privates should eliminate the same scheme as to officers.

(10) In my judgment, a reserve officers' corps should be made up of men especially trained, methodically trained, trained in connection with some coordinated system looking to possible service in the Regular or Volunteer Army. They should not only be trained from a military standpoint, but they should be

given the best kind of an education.

(11) In the organization of these cadet companies the military training will not be diffused throughout the whole country or diffused at all, but the organization will be of a haphazard. hotchpotch variety.

FEDERALIZATION OF THE MILITIA.

The greatest accomplishment of this measure, however, is to be found in the plan of making the State militia an effective body of first-line defense. Originally the Secretary of War had another plan. It was known as the continental army scheme. That scheme provided that there should be a continental army composed of 400,000 men enlisted to serve three years, either one month or two months in a year. That after the end of the third year they shall go into the reserve for three years. It was expected that 133,000 of these could be recruited a year, and at the end of three years the 400,000 would be raised, This plan brought up quite a controversy, and the committee was of the opinion that (1) the men could not be recruited in that way, and (2) that the training would not be sufficient to make them soldiers. Of course the plan would have been even more expensive than the federalization of the militia, and in the judgment of the committee nothing like so efficient.

Again, the plan, if it could have been made efficient, would have been a tremendous step toward militarism in this country, in that it would have led to a tremendous standing Army. The result was the committee unanimously voted in favor of the federalization of the State militia.

CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS.

The main argument that has always been used against the Federal Government utilizing the National Guard as the first line of defense was the Government's lack of constitutional power over this National Guard. After a most careful examination of the Constitution and the decisions thereunder the committee came to the conclusion that there was not the slightest doubt about the National Government having complete control over the militia, and that it could be used as a national force. Our Constitution is full of provisions as to the State militia. It was unquestionably the intention of those who drafted the instrument to make the militia a real military defense of the country. The rights of the States to use the militia is provided for, but at the same time the National Government is in terms given the authority to organize, to discipline, and arm the militia, and is virtually given every authority over it except two; one is about the naming of officers and the other is the training of the militia, which powers are reserved to the States. Now, in so far as naming the officers is concerned, the bill provides as follows: (1) That the present officers of the National Guard are continued as officers without further selection. Section 36 then sets forth from what class the officers of the National Guard shall be selected; and after that it provides in section 37 that a commission shall only issue after the candidate for such office is examined by a board of commissioners appointed by the Secretary of War, which board shall consist of three officers of the Regular Army or of the National Guard, or of both, and that at all times the moral character and fitness for military service of such officer of the National Guard shall be determined by an efficiency board. In this way the selection of the officers of the National Guard is really made by the National Government, and the governor simply signs the commission.

Now, as to the training of the troops. Of course, this is had by the various officers thus commissioned by the governors. In this way, while the National Guard of each State remains a State institution, it is really under the control of the Federal Government. Heretofore all of the powers had over the Na-tional Guard have not been exercised. Many of them have been unexercised and undeveloped, with the result that the National Guard has not been considered a national force. Under the new bill the Federal Government is given the right to exercise all of these powers over the National Guard, and I do not believe that any man will say that it will not be an effective first-line defense, and the most effective that we could have.

The next constitutional question that arose is that provision of the Constitution which provides that the National Guard can not be used except to repel invasions, to suppress insurrections, and to execute the laws of the Union. Under this prohitions, and to execute the laws of the Union. Under this problem bition it is claimed that the National Guard can not be sent out of the country. This is obviated by giving the right to the President to draft the entire National Guard, or any part of it, into the Federal service when war is imminent or actual. is shown in section 76 of the bill. In this way the National Guard, by a simple order of the President, becomes a part of the Volunteer forces of the Nation, and all vestige of any other control is done away with.

THE NATIONAL GUARD AS IT IS TO-DAY.

The National Guard as it exists to-day is composed of about 129,000 members. It receives considerable Federal aid. It gets all its arms and ammunition from the Government and large appropriations for clothing, armories, and the like. The amount appropriated last year for the National Guard is the sum of \$3,858,383, while the various States appropriated the sum of \$7,729,675.13. Neither officers nor the men are in the pay of the Federal Government, but they are paid by a few of the States, and where they are paid the sums paid are very small. With this small encouragement from the Federal Government our National Guard has grown to large proportions, and as constituted now would be an effective defense in times of trouble.

WHAT IS PROPOSED UNDER NEW SCHEME.

Under the new scheme it is proposed to increase the National Guard to a force of not less than 400,000. The principal means of accomplishing this end is that the Government proposed to pay the officers and the men for service in the National Guard. The officers are to be paid by giving each captain and officer above that rank the sum of \$500 per year, each first lieutenant \$240, and each second lieutenant \$200. The men are to be paid one-fourth of the pay of a private, which will be \$3.75 per month. The enlisted men of the National Guard are to be subjected to the same examination that enlisted men of the Regular Army are subjected to. They are to be enlisted in exactly the same way, to wit, to serve three years with the colors and four years with the reserve. It is believed that if 129,000 men could be recruited for the National Guard under present conditions, with the pay thus given to it, that there will be but little trouble in recruiting the National Guard up to the 400,000. At the end of seven years the National Guard will have 400,000 men with the colors and 400,000 men in the reserve, and this will continue. This will give our country a citizen soldiery, taken from all the States in peace, largely under State control, thoroughly drilled and disciplined under United States authority, made excellent soldiers, coming from the masses of the people, officered for the most part by local officers, and in this way the country will be given its best defense. Of course provision is made that each arm of the service shall be made proportionate in the National Guard as well as in the Regular Army.

NATIONAL GUARD BEST FEATURE OF THE BILL.

That the National Guard is the best feature of the bill is shown by the following leading facts of the bill:

(a) It is made a federalized force by giving the Federal Government full control over the organization, the discipline,

and the arming of the militia.

(b) It is provided that all officers in the militia shall hereafter be selected by examination under the direction and control of the Federal Government. Virtually speaking, the governors merely sign the commissions and the officers are selected

by the Government.

(c) In the event of war, or imminence thereof, the President is given the right to draft the entire militia or any part thereof

into the Volunteer Army of the United States.

(d) The qualificaions and requirements for the enlisted men are made precisely the same as they are in the Regular Army.

(e) A reserve is built up in the militia in exactly the same way it is proposed to be built up in the Army.(f) The pay of the officers and enlisted men of the militia

is dependent upon the work done by each.

(g) The organization and control of the militia is to be under one central direction and control, and for training, drilling, and maneuver purposes it will not be divided into small parts as heretofore.

(h) It will be larger than ever before, better armed, better equipped, and better paid than ever before, and we will get

better results therefrom.

(i) This method will be a popular method. It will not tear down what we already have and seek to build up that which we have never had, but it is just simply making use of the time-honored military institutions of our country.

(j) It is antimilitaristic. It is a people's soldiery. The men will come from the body of the best people, and will not be just

picked up from just anywhere.

(k) It is far better than a standing army, in that a standing army takes men away from their several vocations and makes them nothing but soldiers, whereas the National Guard scheme not only makes the men soldiers but at the same time it makes them better business men, and more patriotic business men.

(1) In thus building up the National Guard the Government builds up local institutions, in which not only the members of the National Guard of that particular locality but all the people

of that locality will take a pride.

(m) It is vastly cheaper than any other method of prepared-

ness that is proposed.

(n) While it gives a central control to the National Guard, it does not take away the States' time-honored rights to have their own militia.

Armed Merchant Ships.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLARENCE B. MILLER, OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 27, 1916.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, it seems that the controversy over the vote of this House on the motion to table the McLemore resolution will never end. It seems, further, that many news agencies persist in failing to state the true facts and the true motives that induced men to vote as they did.

This whole matter was but a tempest among the Democratic forces of Congress. It appears certain Democratic leaders in the House and Senate were one day called into conference with the President, relative to certain diplomatic negotiations then being conducted between this Government and Germany. Upon the return of these leaders to their respective bodies consternation broke out among the Democrats. Something stated by the President in that conference evidently was of a most sensational character. What that something was soon became generally known in both Chambers. Those Democratic gentlemen came from the presence of the President feeling that our Chief Executive was headed direct for a war with Germany, not only unnecessarily, but over a very questionable proposition.

Senator Stone, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee

of the Senate, very promptly wrote to the President, using the

the following language:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Since Senator KERN, Mr. FLOOD, and I talked with you on Monday evening, I am more troubled than I have been for many a day. I have not felt authorized to repeat our conversation.

Furthermore, that you would consider it your duty. If a German war-ship should fire upon an armed merchant vessel of the enemy upon which American citizens were passengers, to hold Germany to strict account.

I think I should say to you that the Members of both Houses feel deeply concerned and disturbed by what they read and hear. * * * The situation in Congress is such as to excite a sense of deep concern in the minds of careful and thoughtful men. I have felt that it is due to you to say this much.

I think you understand my personal attitude with respect to this subject. As much and as deeply as I would hate to radically disagree with you, I find it difficult for my sense of duty and responsibility to consent to plunge this Nation into the vortex of this world war because of the unreasonable obstinacy of any of the powers, upon the one hand, or, on the other hand, of foolbardiness, amounting to a sort of moral treason against the Republic, of our people recklessiy risking their lives on armed beiligerent ships. I can not escape the conviction that such would be so monstrous as to be indefensible.

That which the President said in that conference caused this

That which the President said in that conference caused this Democratic Senator to be more troubled than he had been "for many a day." It was of such a character that "Members of both Houses feel deeply concerned and disturbed by what they read and hear." On account of the President's words, "the situation in Congress is such as to excite a sense of deep con-cern in the minds of careful and thoughtful men." The nature of the President's words we begin to sense as we read in the Senator's letter:

I find it difficult for my sense of duty and responsibility to consent to plunge this Nation into the vortex of this world war because of the unreasonable obstinacy of any of the powers, upon the one hand, or on the other hand, of foolhardiness, amounting to a soft of moral treason against the Republic, of our people recklessly risking their lives on armed beligerent ships. I can not escape the conviction that such would be so monstrous as to be indefensible.

Then certain disturbed Democratic Members introduced resolutions in relation to Americans traveling on armed belligerent Thus far all was confined to the ranks of Democracy. ships. Soon, however, it became generally known about Congress just what the President had said at the famous conference. Senator GORE, Democrat, on the floor of the Senate, charged that the following is substantially what the President said, among other things:

* * * That if Germany insisted upon her position the United States would insist upon her position; that it would result probably in a breach of diplomatic relations; that the breach of diplomatic relation would probably be followed by a state of war; and that a state of war might not be of itself and of necessity an evil, but that the United States by entering the war now might be able to bring it to a conclusion by midsummer, and thus render a great service to civilization.

No wonder the Democratic brethren were deeply disturbed. No wonder they were thrown into a panic. Their administration was about to depart from the path of peace and plunge the Nation into war. And over what?

Personally I favor a strong national policy, one that not only asserts American rights but protects them. I believe the conduct of all our foreign relations during the past three years of those with Japan, with Mexico, with the central powers, with the allies, has been vascillating, wobbly, uncertain, never sure of itself, contradictory, ineffective, and humiliating. Never before has our Nation's honor been so completely denied by the nations of the world, never before has it been so uniformly for-saken in the hour of trial. I join my countrymen in fervently laboring to preserve peace, but if things vital to our Nation are at stake, and they can be saved only by war, then I am for war. But if I act to start my Nation into war, I want to be sure that my contention is right, and not only right but vital to my Nation's welfare or its honor. It must be of those things that are the essence of our country's life, integrity, or honor.

Let us see, therefore, why the Democratic Members were in revolt against the President's course. The subject related to the right of American citizens to travel on armed belligerent merchant ships. The subject had not suddenly arisen. It had been up for many months. Long ago our Government became ill at ease over these armed merchant ships. We hesitated to clear, and for a time refused to clear, certain of these boats. It was questionable whether they were ships of war or whether they were simply merchant ships. If the former, they could be attacked by a submarine without warning; if the latter, warning must be given and an opportunity afforded passengers and crew to escape. England claimed they were merchant ships. Germany claimed they were warships. Our Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, on behalf of our Government, presented to the nations of the allied powers a communication, under date of January 18, 1916, wherein he used the following strikingly significant language:

griage:

Prior to the year 1915 belligerent operations against enemy commerce on the high seas had been conducted with cruisers carrying heavy armaments. In these conditions international law appeared to permit a merchant vessel to carry armament for defensive purposes without lessening its character as a private merchant vessel. This right seems to have been predicated on the superior defensive strength of ships of war and the limitation of armament to have been dependent on the fact that it could not be used effectively in offense against enemy naval vessels while it could defend the merchantmen against the generally inferior armament of piratical ships and privateers.

The use of the submarine, however, has changed these relations. Comparison of the defensive strength of a cruiser and a submarine shows that the latter, relying for protection on its power to submerge, is almost defenseless in point of construction. Even a merchant ship carrying a small-caliber gun would be able to use it effectively for offense against the submarine.

Moreover, pirates and sea rovers have been swept from the main trade channels of the sea and privateering has been abolished. Consequently the placing of guns on merchantmen at the present date of submarine warfare can be explained only on the ground of a purpose to render merchantmen superior in force to submarines and to prevent warning and visit and search by them. Any armament, therefore, on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an offensive armament.

If a submarine is required to ston and search a merchant vessel on

mament.

If a submarine is required to stop and search a merchant vessel on the high seas and in case it is found that she is of an enemy character and that conditions necessitate her destruction and the removal to a place of safety of persons on board, it would not seem just nor reason-

able that the submarine should be compelled, while complying with these requirements, to expose itself to almost certain destruction by the guns on board the merchant vessel.

In proposing this formula as a basis of conditional declarations by the belligerent Government I do so in the full conviction that each Government will consider primarily the humane purposes of saving the lives of innocent people rather than the insistence upon a doubtful legal right, which may be denied on account of new conditions. * * * I should add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser, and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

This is dangerously near a recognition by our President and Secretary of State, for, of course the President indorsed so important a document before it was sent—dangerously near a recognition of the rightfulness of the German contention. It practically admits that piracy and privateering having disappeared from the world, no longer is there reason for merchant ships to arm. The entrance of the submarine has so changed naval warfare that it may be the rule permitting merchant ships to arm should be changed; that if a merchant ship arms at all, she must be held to be a warship.

I should add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser, and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

Again our Government describes the right of a merchant ship to arm as a "doubtful legal right, which may be denied on account of new conditions.'

After taking this position with the nations of the world, is it possible, excited Members asked, that the President will go to war unless Germany at once agrees to renounce her position?

In the foregoing communication to the powers it is my personal opinion that our Government went altogether too far in the language used and appeared willing to abridge clear rights which, I think, American citizens have. I long ago reached the conclusion that even in these days of submarine warfare the old rules of international law prevail, and merchant ships of belligerent powers have a right to arm purely for defensive pur-Americans, being neutrals, have a right to travel upon such ships, and must be given opportunity to secure themselves before the ship is attacked. For my own guidance, when this matter was before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, of which I am a member, I briefed the law upon the subject as follows

First. Uncommissioned merchantmen, armed only for defense, are not subject to attack without warning and may defend when attacked.

Second. Consequent upon the above, citizens of a neutral na-tion of right may sail on belligerent ships armed only for defon or right may sail on beingerent single trade of the fensive purposes, and should the ship be destroyed by an enemy ship, resulting in death of or injury to such neutral citizen, no warning having been given by the attacking ship, or opportunity offered to such citizen to secure his safety, then the nation whose warship made the attack is guilty of an illegal act.

The right of an uncommissioned merchant ship to arm for

defense only is not new, it is very old. In ancient days such armament was sanctioned as protection against pirates who infested so many seas of the globe.

Then later nations at war made use of privateers, they being merchant ships armed and commissioned to prey upon the commerce of the enemy. As a protection against these privateers merchant ships were permitted to arm, the use of the armament being limited to defense.

In the seventeenth century England compelled her merchantmen to arm in this manner. In the days of Charles the Second—1672—all vessels sailing from English ports were required to be suitably manned and armed. During the next century other laws of similar character were passed.

The right of an uncommissioned, armed ship to resist is thus expressed by one of England's foremost authorities on interna-tional law—Sir William Scott, Lord Stowell—in the Catherine Elizabeth:

If a neutral master attempts a rescue, he violates a duty which is imposed upon him by the law of nations to submit to come in for inquiry as to the property of the ship or the cargo, and if he violates that obligation by a recurrence to force the consequence will undoubtedly reach the property of his owner, and it would, I think, extend to the confiscation of the whole cargo intrusted to his care and thus fraudulently attempted to be withdrawn from the rights of war. With an enemy master the case is very different. No duty is violated by such an act on his part—" Lupen auribus teneo"—and if he can withdraw himself he has a right to do so.

Prof. Oppenheim, of Cambridge, an especially important authority on international law, in his reply to Dr. Schwamm's contention, which reply is in Die Stellung der feindlichen Kauffahr-

terschiffe im Seekrieg, volume 8, pages 154 to 169, and on page

If an enemy merchant ship is called on to stop, the crew can, if they wish] submit to capture and thereby have their freedom restricted, or they may resist and, as a resuit, be overpowered. In case they choose the latter course, their potential membership turns into actual membership in the arm d forces of their State, and if overpowered they become prisoners of war. In case they choose the former course, their merely potential membership in the armed forces of their State remains intact, and they must either give parole or become prisoners of war.

In 1913 the Institute of International Law, in paragraph 4 of article 12 of the Maritime Manual, adopted the following rule:

Both [private and public vessels not men-of-war], however, are allowed to use of force for self-defense against attack by a hostile ship.

ITALY.

Italian "Codice per la marina mercantile," dated October, 1877, article 209, contains the following provision:

Merchant vessels being attacked by other ships, including warships, may defend themselves and may counterattack; they may go to the defense of other national or allied vessels which are being attacked and cooperate with the same in an attack.

RUSSIA.

Article 15 of the Russian prize law of 1895 contains the following:

The right—that is, of visit and search and capture of merchant ships and their cargo—is not accorded to merchant ships except in the following cases: (1) When attacked by allied or suspicious ships, and (2) when they come to the assistance of Russian or neutral ships attacked

by the enemy.

The right to stop, examine, and selze hostile or suspected vessels and cargoes belongs to the ships of the imperial navy. Vessels of the mercantile navy have a right to do so only (1) when they are attacked by hostile or suspected vessels.

This is the accepted rule in Great Britain, France, Italy, Rus-

sia, Belgium, Holland, and the United States.

The Institute of International Law, at its meeting at Oxford in 1913, by article 12 of the "Manual des lois de la guerre maritime," laid down the following rule:

The course is prohibited. Outside the conditions set forth in articles 5 and following, public ships and private ships, as well as their personnel, are not rermitted to indulge la hostile acts against the enemy. It is at all times permitted both to employ force to defend themselves against an attack from an enemy ship.

THE UNITED STATES.

Article 10 of the United States Naval War Code, adopted in 1900, in paragraph 3, says:

The personnel of merchant vessels of an enemy who, in self-defense and in protection of the vessel placed in their charge, resist an attack are entitled, if captured to the status of prisoners of war.

United States Revised Statutes, section 5289, assumes the right of merchant vessels to arm for certain purposes:

The owners or consignees of every armed vessel salling out of the ports of the United States, belonging wholly or in part to citizens thereof, shall, before clearing out the same, give bond to the United States, with sufficient sureties, in double the amount of the value of the vessel and cargo on board, including her armament, conditioned that the vessel shall not be employed by such owners to cruise or commit hostilities against the subjects, citizens, or property of any foreign prince or State, or of any colony, district, or people, with whom the United States are at peace.

Hon. Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State in 1877, in an official communication to Ambassador Morrill, said:

communication to Ambassador Morrill, said:

In an answer to your request for an expression of opinion in regard to Mr. Ogden's question whether a vessel which he is said to be fitting out for a trading voyage to the South Sea Islands can carry two gans and other arms for protection and defense against the natives, I am not aware of any international prohibition or of any treaty provision which would prevent a vessel trading amid the groups of Islands of the South Sea from carrying a couple of guns and arms for the proper and necessary protection of the vessel against violence on the part of law-less or partially civilized communities or of the piratical crews which are represented to occasionally frequent those waters, providing always that the vessel carrying such guns and arms itself be on a lawly voyage and be engaged in none other than peaceful commerce and that such guns and arms be intended and be used solely for the purpose of defense and self-protection. and self-protection.

In the Nereide case, decided in 1815, the facts having occurred in 1813, our Supreme Court, speaking through Chief Justice Marshall, expressed the law as recognized by the United States:

There a Spanish subject chartered an English ship, mounting 10 guns and manned by 16 men, to carry goods, part his and part British to South America. She started with a convoy, became separated, was captured by an American boat, and brought in as a prize. She resisted capture when attacked, but the action was short, and the charter owner. the Spanish subject, remained down in a cabin and took no part in the fight.

The court ordered the Spaniard's goods were not subject to seizure. Says the court (9 Cranch, 388):

The argument respecting resistance stands on the same ground with that which respecting resistance stands on the same ground with that which respects arming. Both are lawful. Neither of them is chargeable to the goods or their owner, where he has taken no part in it. They are incidents in the character of the vessel, and may always occur where the cruiser is belligerent.

The Nervide was armed, governed, and conducted by belligerents. It is true that on her passage she had a right to defend herself, did defend herself, and might have captured an assailing vessel; but to

search for the enemy would have been a violation of the charter party and of her duty.

In point of fact, it is believed that a belligerent merchant vessel rarely sails unarmed. * * * A belligerent has a perfect right to arm in her own defense.

Prof. Freeman Snow, the author of a very great work on in-ternational law, published at Washington in 1888, said, in his work, page 83:

It may be reasonably expected in coming naval wars that steamers of the great mail lines will be armed so as to defend themselves from attack, rather than seek convoy, and the defense will be legitimately carried to the point of seizure of the attacking vessel, or a recapture if once taken. Without a proper commission a private vessel, however, should act only directly or indirectly on the defensive, and not go out of the way to capture enemy vessels. It can not, of course, take any belligerent action toward vessels of a neutral power.

Contra are practically all the German writers of recent date. Dr. George Schwamm, counselor of the German Imperial Department.

Jonkheer W. J. M. Von Eysinger, professor in Leiden Uni-

When the revolt of Democratic Members threatened, the President indicated his earnest desire that Congress take no action, but leave the matter entirely in his hands. In this he was right—precisely right. The conduct of diplomatic business is a duty of the President, and with this duty Congress should in no sense interfere. Congress has no business to "butt in" on this field of action. Accordingly we on the Foreign Affairs Committee put these resolutions aside and the excitement died down. It completely disappeared and was almost forgotten, when the President suddenly wrote to the acting chairman of the Rules Committee and said:

I therefore feel justified in asking that your committee will permit me to urge an early vote upon the resolutions with regard to travel on armed merchantmen which have recently been so much talked about, in order that there may be afforded an immediate opportunity for full public discussion and action upon them.

It would be hard to imagine a more inadvisable procedure than It would be hard to lining it more many some procedure than this requested by the President. The matter should have been left entirely within his own hands, where it belonged. But it was now up to Congress, and something had to be done. The Foreign Affairs Committee of the House at once took up the President's request and these resolutions. The ethics of committee action forbids any statement covering the deliberations of the committee. However, it speedily became apparent that the committee would not do that which the President asked. Nor did it. It finally reported out the McLemore resolution, with the recommendation to table it because it was not a matter Congress should pass upon; rather it was one for the President alone to handle.

Plainly, absolutely, this side-stepped the President's request. The committee did not do that which the President asked, and if the House tabled the resolution, as recommended, it would not do that which the President asked. A motion to table is not subject to discussion or amendment.

Under such circumstances it was natural for Members to differ in their views as to what should be done. A rule being adopted that gave four hours' debate, the discussion that followed disclosed that practically all the Members, both Democrats and Republicans, were of the opinion that American citizens should be warned against taking passage on these particular boats, because it was not necessary to do so, because to do so endangered their own lives, because to do so might embroil our country in war.

Personally I believed in directly doing what the President had asked, as long as he insisted upon it, and that was to bring the question squarely out and vote squarely upon it. To accomplish this it was absolutely necessary to vote against tabling the matter. I personally believed we should strike out all of the McLemore resolution and in its place insert a strong declaration affirming the right of an American to travel on such boats if he desired to do so. I had drawn and intended to offer a resolution to that effect if the matter could be brought before the House for action. During the limited debate on the proposition in the House I spoke as follows:

House I spoke as follows:

There a Spanish subject chartered an English ship, mounting 10 House to present here for consideration and vote is the one that they thought by its terms, if brought here in such a way as to prohibit amendment, would be the one to command the least support and prevent a record of the honest convictions of the membership of the House. [Applause on the Republican side.] If it be the purpose of the Chief Executive of the United States to know whether or not in the judgment of Congress he is right in the position that he and his secretary of State have taken—that Americans of right may travel upon belligerent ships armed for defense alone—I am free to state that I am with him unequivocally in that contention. From such study as I have been able to give the question—and I have given it some—I believe he is absolutely right. I believe that an American citizen, according to the precedents of our own courts, by the rulings of our

Secretaries of State, by the express statutes of our Congress, by the rulings of the civilized nations of the world in general, has the right and could exercise it if he wished to avail himself of that privilege; but, Mr. Speaker, it seems there is something else involved here to-day. I notice in the language selected, no doubt with his customary care and skill, in the letter to the Committee on Rules the President uses these significant words:

"I therefore feel justified in asking that your committee will permit me to urge an early vote upon the resolutions"—

Not the McLemore resolution; not any particular one—

"upon the resolutions with regard to travel on armed merchantmen which have recently been so much talked about, in order that there may be afforded an immediate opportunity for full public discussion and action upon them."

Whatever that may mean to some, it means to me this: That the President of the United States desires to know what we think—we, the flouse of Representatives—upon the much-discussed question of whether or not he should warn American citizens from taking passage upon this class of boats irrespective of their technical, legal rights. The McLemore resolution is one, if it must be voted upon "yes" or "no," that will command the intelligent support of but few men. It contains a recital that if Americans shall take passage upon such a ship, we abandon them to their fate, and they take that passage at their own risk. No one but a cowardly man, nobody but a cowardly Congress, would ever indorse any such a proposition. [Applause.] Buy why should we be asked to lay if on the table? For no purpose but one, namely, that men who here think one way may vote another. [Applause.] The recommendation of the Committee on Foreign Affairs is that we side-step—table—this resolution, because we have no business to pass upon it; but the President has said that we have business to pass upon it ask none such. The President has the right to know, and the country wants him to know, what the country and we thi

Insufficient time prevented a completion of my remarks. The above represents, however, my general attitude toward the

Another and independent proposition was whether Americans should be warned of the danger of traveling on belligerent armed ships. Under the circumstances of this case there can be no objection to such warning, and in my proposed resolution I added a paragraph to that effect. Every Member of Congress practically expressed himself in favor of such a warning. It is the overwhelming sentiment of the American people that citizens are not wise who recklessly place themselves on a boat one of the warring nations says it will destroy, whether that destruction is right or wrong. A proper regard for the lives of its citizens would suggest that a Government advise its citizens of these dangers.

There is grave question as to the armament of these vessels. While a merchant boat can arm for purely defensive purposes, it can not use that armament for offensive acts. Germany contends that these boats are really armed to carry on offensive warfare. England denies this. Many facts and circumstances exist showing that these boats perhaps really are auxiliary cruisers. It is claimed secret instructions have been issued to the commanders of such boats, under which offensive warfare is carried on. Our Government is at this minute doubtful whether or not these boats are not to be considered auxiliary whether or not these boats are not to be considered auxiliary cruisers, and but yesterday ordered the investigation of one that came into New York Harbor. The good King of Sweden, understanding the situation, with all its uncertainties and undisclosed details, immediately warned his citizens against traveling upon that class of boats.

Therefore, at least until the exact character of these boats is ascertained, while the warring nations insist they have a right to destroy such boats without warning, I think it is the height of foolhardiness for an American to go upon such a boat except in some unusual case, when no other ship is available.

There is no force to the statement that our citizens should exercise every right they possess. That is ridiculous. Every day, every hour of every day, we forego the exercise of some right. I have a right to walk down the street or on the sidewalk, but if I behold two men there shooting away at each other I would be a fool to walk right into the danger zone simply because I had a right to walk on the street, even though these two men were committing illegal, criminal acts.

Besides, on the very day following the vote in the House on the McLemore resolution, our Government announced that an effective means would be taken to keep Americans from needlessly exposing themselves on these ships. The means taken surely was effective. It is about absolute. Our Government now refuses passports to citizens who contemplate traveling on lities and States for the markets.

such a ship. In these days traveling requires a passport, so the means taken is vastly more effective than a warning. is also the abridgment of an American citizen's right, that to a passport and to travel where he pleases.

Furthermore, our Government has been busy during the past three years in abridging the abstract rights of our citizens. warned our people to keep out of Mexico, and it has steadily refused passports to our citizens going into the war zone in Europe. Some of these abridgments I do not believe in, but some are simply common-sense applications of conduct to un-

usual conditions.

There is no little significance in the fact that the votes of the representatives from the States in our section of the country were all alike. There was no previous conference, no agreement, simply the registering of the personal opinion of each Therefore there is great significance in the fact that Member. all the Members, Republican, Democratic, and Progressive, with only one exception, from the States of Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Wisconsin, and Minnesota voted against sidetracking the resolution by tabling it, and in favor of bringing the matter squarely before the House for a vote on its merits.

Migratory Birds.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

WILLIAM A. AYRES, HON.

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 24, 1916.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of the motion of my colleague [Mr. Doolittle] to strike out the paragraph of this bill which provides for an appropriation of \$50,000 to enforce what is known as the Federal migratory-bird law.

I will say at the outstart that I am a sportsman and like to shoulder my gun and chase the festive duck. There is nothing, to my mind, more energizing; nothing that gives as much genuine satisfaction and pleasure as to be with a bunch of good sports in camp at night, smoking the pipe of peace, relating the day's experience as to how you failed to bag a certain duck, always prepared with an excuse for a miss, and many other interesting things that we could relate, but which probably would not have any bearing whatever on this motion.

Suffice it to say you will all agree with me that it is a much more pleasant pastime than being here endeavoring to settle

post-office fights and disputes.

I can safely say that no better sportsmen exist anywhere than in the southwest Kansas country, sportsmen in the true sense of the word. They are ready at any and all times to protect our game in and out of season; but they resent discrimination, and feel that a law which permits the migrating bird to be shot promiscuously at other points should not prohibit the shooting of these same birds the short time they may be in our State or going through the State. In other words, we can not see otherwise than that a law which prohibits a good shooting season for some localities and poor seasons for others is unfair and unjust. In the Middle West States, like Kansas, Oklahoma, and Missouri, we have a short season in the fall of the year, but no shooting to speak of in midwinter.

We are told by some of the gentlemen on this floor that our complaint should not be lodged against the law, but rather should be made to the department having charge of this law. In answer to this I for one want to say we have all, and when I say all I mean those of us in the Middle West who are interested in this matter, on more than one occasion had this up with the department, but met with no success whatever. have endeavored to have the season extended to March 15 or even to March 1. This would afford us at least a short season in late winter or early spring. We feel and know that it is not the few birds killed in those States like Kansas, over which these migratory birds make their flight, that destroys these birds, for they do not stop long in these States; but rather it is the indiscriminate slaughter of the young ducks in the fall of the year on their breeding grounds before starting for the South, and also the indiscriminate slaughter after reaching the southern waters.

This could be controlled by good State laws making a reasonable open season in such States by extending it to a later date in some localities and making a reasonable bag limit per day; and, by all means, stop the slaughter of these birds in all localA good sportsman at all times is ready to assist in the protec-tion of game and abhors a game hog and a market hunter.

It is said when the law known as the Bayne bill became a law in the State of New York that there lay in cold storage in New York City 98,156 wild ducks, 48,780 plover, 14,227 quait, 21,202 grouse, 7,825 snipe, and so forth. This simply represents the slaughter for New York market alone for that occasion, to say nothing of such large cities as Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Baltimore, Washington, and other large cities. I have seen here in Washington this winter on more than one occasion, ducks and grouse offered for sale, when laws and treating sion ducks and geese offered for sale, when laws and treaties are passed prohibiting the sale or purchase of these game birds and the robbing of the nests in the breeding grounds, it will do all to stop the extermination of the wild bird.

I apprehend that it would be necessary to have a treaty if possible to do so with Canada, giving such matters pertaining to the preservation of the wild migratory bird, especially with relation to the breeding grounds and the sale of such game, as it would emeant to but little for this country. it would amount to but little for this country, National or State, to pass such laws unless Canada would also pass similar laws. If they can be slaughtered in Canada for the market, there would be but little protection to prohibit it in this country.

I know of no reason why the Government of the United States can not pass a law prohibiting the sale of wild game in any place

in the United States; if so, there is nothing to prevent the various States from doing so, which will make it effective in the same

The present law is conceded by almost all to be unconstitutional. It has been so held by the supreme court of my State; also by the Federal district court for the district of Kansas and by the Federal court of Arkansas, and will probably be so held by the Supreme Court of the United States before another season appears. Thus it makes the shooting of wild game a doubtful proposition, to say the least. Many hunters are paying no attention to the law, because, as has been stated, they believe it to be unconstitutional, while there are others, equally as good sportsmen, who do not like to be placed in the position of violating any law, be it unconstitutional or not, so long as it remains on the statute books, and by reason thereof are deprived of this privilege and pleasure.

Be this as it may, I am opposed to the present law, as it is unfair and discriminating, and, to my mind, but little protection to bird life, as I have heretofore stated, and repeat there should be laws passed, with good stiff penalties, prohibiting the robbing of the nests and selling the eggs on the market; also likewise prohibiting the sale or purchase of game in all localities; and this will do more to increase the wild game birds than all other

things combined.

Again, I say the true sportsman will do all in his power to conserve the wild game, and will welcome the day when the game hog and the market hunter and the nest robber can be put out of business and legitimate sportsmen have a chance.

Retirement for Officers of Philippine Sconts.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM W. WILSON,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 29, 1916.

Mr. WILSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the following:

The officers of the Philippine Scouts desire retirement as officers, the same as other officers of the Army, a right they are not accorded now, owing to nonexistence of a law giving them that right.

They request it as a matter of justice, basing their claim on service and proved efficiency.

It is expected that an adequate measure will be prepared and presented by the War Department.

This pamphlet is to show what the various division and department commanders in the Philippines think of the Philippine Scouts. Note that from 1002 to the present day each commanding general of the Philippines in his official annual report to the War Department recognizes the high efficiency of the scouts and in many cases calls attention to the justice of giving the officers retirement.

The scouts were organized in 1901, 100 officers being commissioned. Of the 100, 21 now remain on the active list; 70 per cent of casualties from all causes in 13 years.

Justice will be too late for many.

Extracts from reports of division and department commanders:

MAJ, GEN. FRANK D. BALDWIN.

MAJ. GEN. FRANK D. BALDWIN.

1902. I have had this organization under my command in the islands, and without hesitation or reservation I will state that I consider them the finest body of native troops in existence, and as an auxiliary force

to our Regulars, or American, troops are unexcelled, and there is no doubt that the small force now under our flag could be increased to 100,000 reliable fighting men. They are less expensive in their organization and maintenance than our Regular troops. This is due in no small degree to the good wook of the officers in the past and present. With an organized command composed of one-third Americans and these people I would not hesitate to engage any troops of the world.

MAJ. GEN. DAVIS.

1903. The native Filipinos under American officers will be as true and faithful as any troops could oe, provided they are well treated and paid promptly.

MAJ, GEN. WOOD.

MAJ. GEN, WOOD,

1004. The six scout companies in this department (Mindanao) have seen considerable field service during the year. They have shown themselves to be well disciplined and cheerful soldiers.

1006. The scouts have maintained their previous reputation as a valuable and thoroughly efficient body of native troops.

1007. The scouts have maintained their previous high standing of efficiency and their conduct and service have been everywhere reported as satisfactory. They did especially good work in Samar and Leyte against the Pulajanes.

1908. The scouts continue to render most excellent service. As scout officers serve continuously in the Philippine Islands, provision should be made for their retirement on the same general lines as other officers.

BRIG. GEN. BUCHANAN.

1906. If this part of the military organization is to remain a permanent feature of the Army it would seem only proper that some provision be made for the future of its officers with reference to retirement and promotion.

BRIG. GEN. MILLS.

1907. I have been most favorably impressed by my observation of the companies of Philippine Scouts serving in this department. The discipline of these companies is very good, and hard work in the field has shown these soldiers to be loyal, patient, and efficient.

1908. The Philippine Scouts continue to demonstrate the fact that they are efficient and excellent soldiers for duty in these islands. An increase in their number will diminish just that much the amount of Regular Infantry necessary in the Archipelago and the added expense of maintaining such. A provision for the retirement of scout officers after faithful service should now be made.

MAJ, GEN, DUVALL,

MAJ. GEN. DUVALL.

1909. Attention is invited to the question of retirement rights of both officers and enlisted men of this force. As to the officers, a provision of law exists by which those who may have had prior service in the Regular Army may, by taking a discharge as an officer and reenlisting in the Regular Army, be retired as are other soldiers. But all Scout officers are not of necessity drawn from the enlisted body of the Regular Army; they may and do come from civil life or from the native class. Therefore we have the anomaly of some Scout officers being eligible to retirement (though the method is roundabout, inconvenient, and annoying to all concerned and to the Scout officer thus retired naturally humiliating), while others have no such right. To state this condition is to condemn it, and it is recommended that some simple, direct provision of law be sought by which all Scout officers shall be placed on the same basis in respect to this right, and that some simple, direct on the same basis in respect to this right, and that basis a lair one.

I wish it fully understood that it is with a distinctly high standard in mind that I pronounce the Philippine Scouts a very valuable adjunct to the Army; well armed, equipped, and accontered; their maintenance economically administered; of exceptionally soldierly bearing; in the main well drilled, trained, and disciplined; eager and quick to learn and with exemplary ardor for field service. As for their racial courage, which has of late been so openly aspersed, it is known that their officers repose much confidence in the dash and grit of the men, those officers who have been in the tightest places with them being the most pronounced in such confidence, and in this opinion I fully concur, from abundant experience with a company of such troops in my own command during the insurrection.

1910. The experience of the past year has strengthened my convictions respecting the views I then expressed. The services rendered by this organization continue to be most sati

MAJ. GEN. BELL.

1911. It is hoped that legislation may be secured whereby Scout officers may be retired as commissioned officers instead of having to reenlist after resigning their Scout commissions and then to be retired with noncommissioned grade. Having served faithfully and well for a great number of years tmost of them being old and tried noncommissioned officers), it would seem no more than a merited heritage for their children that they should be retired as commissioned officers. A specific proposition looking to the attainment of this end will be submitted hereafter.

1912. The Philippine Scout troops in the Department of Mindanao have been almost continuously on field duty, scouting and patrolling during the entire year. The large amount of detached service required of Philippine Scouts has interfered somewhat with their instruction and training, especially recruits, but advantage has been taken of every opportunity to assemble companies and battalions, where practicable, for thorough training, and the organization is an efficient one.

EXTRACT OF AN INDORSEMENT BY BRIG. GEN. FUNSTON.

MANILA, February 16, 1912.

Manila, February 16, 1912.

The undersigned is strongly in favor of the retirement of Scout officers as officers, both for disability and for age. Some provision could be made in a bill for that purpose which would guard the interests of the Government in giving something less than the usual retired pay, to pay those Scout officers who retire after very few years service as such; but still not a few junior officers of the Regular Army of less service as officers than many of the Scouts have already had have been retired for disability, drawing the full retired pay. The present status of the Scout officers as regards retirement is not only grossly unjust but can not but affect their efficiency as a body. It is boped that steps will be taken to remedy immediately this condition of affairs.

Frederick Funston,

Brigadier General.

STATEMENT OF SECRETARY OF WAR GARRISON.

AS PUBLISHED IN THE ARMY AND NAVY JOURNAL OF MARCH 21, 1914.

As published in the above heen made for the retirement of these officers, and the only means of providing for those who have become disabled in the line of duty for the performance of active service or who have reached an age when they were no longer effective has been to accept their resignations as officers, permit their enlistment in the Regular Army, and apply to their cases the laws relative to the retirement of enlisted men. It will thus be seen that the present conditions of the seout officers is an anomaly. It is also p'ainly an injustice. Having served faithfully and well under the most trying conditions for a great number of years (many of them being old and tried noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army), it would seem no more than a merited reward that they should be retired as commissioned officers.

The low cost of the Philippine Seouts, their availability, health, and habits, make them too valuable an auxiliary organization to be allowed to lapse in any respect, and consequently substantial encouragement should be given these officers, as much of the efficiency of the organization depends on their personnel.

I am strongly in favor of the retirement of Philippine Seout officers as officers, both for disability and for age.

EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM BRIG. GEN. PERSHING, DATED JUNE 19, 1913.

EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM BRIG. GEN. PERSHING, DATED JUNE 19, 1913. REFERENCE TO TROOPS ENGAGED IN ACTION ON BUD BAGSAK, ISLAND OF JOLO, JUNE 11 TO 15, 1913.

While individual gallantry and exceptional conduct will be made the subject of special report to the department commander, with appropriate recommendation in each case, the commanding general of the district desires to extend to each and every man of the Bud Bagsak command his heartfelt thanks for the heroic and loyal response to the cail of duty in this engagement which, for stubborn resistence and fercity of counter attack, has probably not been equaled so far since the American occupation of the Philippine Islands.

The commanding general had the privilege of directing this action in person, but he can not forbear expressing his appreciation of and pride in the cool courage, the fortitude, and the splendid gallantry displayed by the troops engaged; pride of blood in the superb fighting qualities of the American soldier, and pride in the native soldier who, under the leadership of experienced white officers, has again demonstrated, in the battle, his loyalty and efficiency.

RETIREMENT, AS OFFICERS, FOR OFFICERS OF PHILIPPINE SCOUTS.

CAMP KEITHLEY, Mindanao, P. I., May 15, 1914.

CAMP KEITHLEY,
Mindanao, P. I., May 15, 1914.

From: Capt. A. W. Barry, Philippine Scouts.
To: The Adjutant General of the Army (through military channels).

1. As published on page 4, Bulletin No. I, War Department, 1914, the Judge Advocate General of the Army, considering the application of an officer of the Philippine Scouts for retirement under Revised Statutes 1243, held "That the law which fixes the pay and allowances of the Philippine Scouts the same as those authorized for officers of like grade in the Regular Army did not include the privilege of retirement, and that the retirement of the officer could only be accomplished by an act of Congress."

2. Capt. H. R. Drake, Philippine Scouts, has been absent from duty with his company since October 25, 1909 on account of permanent disability incurred in the line of duty. Under existing law the best possible provision the War Department could make for this officer would be retirement as an enlisted man, on pay insufficient to provide for him in his crippled condition; and a strict interpretation would not allow even that, but would require his discharge for disability. As this officer belongs to the same battalion as myself, I have personal knowledge of the hardship endured both by the officer and battalion. There are no extra officers in the Philippine Scouts, the duties are arduous and exacting, and the full quota of officers are needed; consequently, it is most desirable that such retirement be provided as will eliminate from active service all officers unable to perform the full duties of their grades.

3. Philippine Scouts officers with prior service as enlisted men in the Regular Army, may, under existing law, resign, enlist as privates and then retire; but officers without such prior service can not retire at all.

4. The Scout organization, having been in existence for a period

and then retire; but officers without such prior service can not retire
at all.

4. The Scout organization, having been in existence for a period
approximating 13 years, it can hardly be claimed that they are a
temporary force, similar to volunteers called into being to meet a
more or less limited need.

5. It is well known that Scout officers are called upon to exercise
the same functions as company officers in the Regular Army; their
responsibilities are equally as great; they are held as strictly accountable for the proper performance of the duties of their respective
grades; the military educational requirements are similar; courtmartials have frequently been composed of both regular and scout
officers; they have been called upon to perform duties outside of the
Philippine Islands, and to all intents and purposes there is no difference between the officers of the two branches, save in the matter of
retirement. It would appear then, that the duties, requirements, etc.,
of the scout officer, being the same as those for officers of ficer so fithe grade
in the Regular Army, it would be a matter of simple justice that his
reward for the efficers witally affected by the researce of a retire

same.
6 As one of the officers vitally affected by the passage of a retirement law for scout officers, and believing that my services entitle me

to the privilege of retirement as a commissioned officer, I request that this communication be brought to the attention of the Secretary of War with the purpose in view of having the proper authorities take steps looking toward the enactment by Congress of a law providing for the retirement mentioned.

Captain, Philippine Scouts.

[Second indorsement.]

HEADQUARTERS PHILIPPINE DEPARTMENT,
June 9, 1914.

TO THE ADJUTANT GENERAL OF THE ARMY:

1. Since the organization of the scouts—General Orders, No. 9, Head-quarters of the Army, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, February 6, 1901—no officers of the United States Army have endured greater hardships or performed without let-up more hazardous field service. This is emphasized by the list of casualties among the scouts herewith appended.

2. Existing laws in respect to their retirement are inadequate, emi-

This is emphasized by the list of casualties among the scouts nerewith appended.

2. Existing laws in respect to their retirement are inadequate, eminently unjust, and ungenerous. Those who were fortunate enough to have been enlisted men when commissioned in the scouts can now, under existing law, resign with a view to their appointment and retirement as noncommissioned officers, and even then they have to beg somebody to appoint them. Many of these deserving officers, however, were not enlisted men, and were appointed officers in the scouts from officers of volunteer service. There is absolutely no way for this latter class of deserving officers to be retired.

3. The case of Capt. H. R. Drake, referred to within, emphasizes the inadequacy and injustice of existing law affecting the retirement of these officers. There are other scout officers who have been seriously wounded in action and who are unable to properly perform service in the field and who are being held for such service as they can perform with the hope that Congress may some day properly provide for their retirement. Two such officers now within my recollection are Licuts.

4. Captain and Rackley.

with the hope that Congress may some and recipients are Licuts. Gunn and Rackley.

4. Captain and lieutenants of scouts are officers of the Army, and therefore existing laws affecting the retirement of captains and lieutenants of Infantry and the Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry should be made applicable to them.

5. It seems that the following phraseology inserted in that part of the act making appropriations for the support of the Army which provides for the pay of Philippine Scouts, might cover the case:

"That hereafter captains and lieutenants of the Philippine Scouts shall have the same pay, rights, and allowances provided by law for Infantry officers of similar rank in Army of the United States."

T. H. Barry,

Major General, Commanding.

Principal engagements, with dates and number of casualties. OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE PHILIPPINE SCOUTS-FROM 1901 TO JUNE, 1914. HEADQUARTERS PHILIPPINE DEPARTMENT,
Manila, P. I., June 11, 1914.

Place of engagement.	Date.	Casualties (killed and wounded)
Lake Tieob, Luzou Bago Buntay, Luzou Jovellar, Albay Freshwater Bay, Paragua Mt. Bagsak, Jolo Ambulong, Batangas Ft. Pikit, Mindanao Reina Regente, Mindanao Camp Hartshorne, Samar Hemanganan, Samar Talayan, Mindanao, ' ras, Samar Balite, Luzon Dolores, Samar Binaloan, Leguna, Maslog, Samar Smaloan, Leguna, Maslog, Samar Burauen, Leyte Camp Smith, Samar Camp Overton, Mindanao Pantar, Mindanao	Mar. 27, 1903 July 15, 1903 Feb. 16, 1904 Apr. 13, 1904 July 6, 1904 July 30, 1904 Sept. 6, 1904 Nov. 10, 1904 Nov. 10, 1904 Dec. 7, 1904 Aug. 2, 1905 Feb. 18, 1905 Sept. 11, 1906 ct. 25, 1908	11 13 33 34 34 34 34 34 34 34 34 34 34 34 34
Bagsak Sahipas, Jolo	June 11 to 15,	40
Jahandai's Cotta, Jolo Sahipas' Cotta, Jolo Mt. Talapao, Jolo Mt. Maiapao, Jolo Pidatan, Mindanao	June 28, 1913 July 1, 1913 Aug. 10, 1913 et. 22, 1913	18 5 5 18 2

Memorandum: There were numerous other small engagements in uzon, Visayas, and Mindanae, in which an aggregate of about 60 more sualties were incurred. Luzon, Vi

List of Philippine Scouts who have died from epidemic or communicable diseases from date of organization (1901) to June, 1914.

HEADQUARTERS PHILIPPINE DEPARTMENT,

	-615-5-53	Madelan						Maritime I	1423333				,		014.
Diseases.	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	Total.
Smallpox		1		1											
Typeodosis Beri-beri Cholera	····i	6 29 55	5 23 28	13 7	7 7	9	5 6	2 5	12	4 2	2 1	3	1		50 10 10
Malaria Dysentery.	1	7 4	14 2	2	4	6 2	2 2	i	2	3	3	2	3	i	41
Total	2	103	73	27	22	28	17	12	22	9	6	6	4	1	, 33

Casualties in the Philippine Scouts from 1901 (date of organization) to June, 1914.

HEADQUARTERS PHILIPPINE DEPARTMENT,

Manila, P. I., June 11, 1914.

OFFICERS.

 Killed in action
 7

 Died of wounds
 3

 Wounded
 13

 Died, other causes
 17

Memorandum: The 13 wounded included the 3 that later died of wounds. The 17 dying from other causes include Maj. Foster, who was on scout detail from captain, Nineteenth Infantry.

ENLISTED MEN.

 Killed in action
 110

 Died of wounds
 157

 Died, other causes
 57

Died, other causes 574

Memorandum: The 157 wounded include the 7 that later died of wounds. Wounds in both classes (officers and enlisted men) include all wounds received in action—gunshot, spear, bole, etc.

Agriculture, the Basis of National Prosperity.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES B. WARD,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 27, 1916.

Mr. WARD. Mr. Speaker, any measure affecting the interests of the farmer is one which is entitled to command the most serious and earnest consideration of our Federal Government. I am especially interested in this bill (H. R. 12717) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, not alone because a large percentage of the people who I have the honor to represent in this House are engaged in agricultural pursuits, nor because I have been given the honor of serving on the committee which favorably reported the bill, but rather I am especially concerned in the measure because it is in support of the work and life of the farmer, whose occupation, in my humble judgment, is not only the noblest in the world but it forms the very basis of our national prosperity. The bill carries a total appropriation for the Department of Agriculture, exclusive of permanent annual appropriations, of \$24,501,093, this sum being an increase of \$1,529,311 over the appropriation for the current fiscal year and a decrease of \$97,996 below the estimates submitted by the department. The committee has reported the bill favorably only after exhaustive hearings had been held and every provision given full consideration. The officials in the various lines of work in the department came before the committee and gave reports of results of the past year and their plans for the com-The present bill is an increase over the appropriaing year. tion for this fiscal year of 6.6 per cent. It should be noted that the bill now under consideration carries with it an appropriation of \$2,500,000 for combatting the foot-and-mouth disease or any other contagious or infectious disease which might attack live stock. The fund is not to be expended for any other purpose, so that if such outbreak of disease does not occur, then the money is retained in the Treasury. I believe at the present time there is only one quarantine, and that of a herd of swine

in one county in Illinois.

In reckoning the cost of maintenance of the Department of Agriculture and in considering the amount this bill asks for, it must be remembered that there is a substantial amount of revenue coming into the Treasury as a direct result of the activities of the department. Such revenue in 1915 amounted to \$2,549,426.18, and in the report of the committee is divided as follows: Receipts from national forests, \$2,481,469.35. This sum is an increase of \$43,759 over 1914. The receipts under this heading are further classified—(a) timber, \$1,175,133; (b) grazing, \$1.130,495; (c) special uses, \$175,840; sale of condemned and other property, \$41,517.60; sale of hearings, \$208,15; receipts from United States seacoast telegraph line, \$3,852.73; sale of official cotton standards, \$7,556.50; receipts from settlement of disputes, \$14,821.

THE IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE.

The inherent nature of the great science and industry of agriculture, the very fact that working with the forces of nature it produces that which is essential to the maintenance of life is conclusive proof of its supreme importance. There is no taking of chances nor speculating regarding the fostering of agricul-

tural industry for its foundation is placed alongside the foundation of life itself. In these troubled times, while the nations of the world are in the most inflammatory state in history, we may turn our eyes to our Army and Navy—our military strength—but the time will never come when the statement can be proven untrue that the twelve million and more farmers from the Pacific to the Atlantic form the bulwark of our Nation.

According to the last Federal census, that of 1910, our rural population amounted to 49,348,883 as against the urban population of 31,609,645. According to the last official figures there were 19,582,039 persons engaged in agriculture in the United States, this number being exceeded by but one other country, namely, Russia, who had 13,808,505 of her people engaged in the industry. On January 1 of this year the estimated value of farm crops in the United States, based on prices at the farm, reached a total of \$10,501,686,375, of this amount \$6,652,288,634 being the value of crops, and \$3,849,397,741 being the value of farm animals and farm animal products. In 1910 there were 6,361,502 farms in this country, with a total land area of 1,903,289,600 acres. There were 478,451,750 acres in improved land in such farms and 400,346,575 acres in unimproved lands. The total valuation of farm property in 1910 was \$40,991,449,090. Of this total, land was valued at \$28,475,674,160, buildings at \$6,325,451,528, implements and machinery at \$1,265,149,783, and domestic animals, poultry, and bees at \$4,925,173,610. The average value per acre of farm land was \$32,40.

Measured by the amount of wealth it produces, there is no industry under the sun that equals agriculture. The annual output of manufacturing industries is sometimes pointed to as being greater in value than that of agriculture, but in this connection the fact must not be lost sight of that the manufacturing business uses annually millions of dollars' worth of raw material. When this amount is deducted from the value of their output its valuation gives place to the supremacy of the farmers' work. In 1909, according to the last Federal census, the annual output of our manfacturing industries was valued approximately at \$20,000,000,000, but the amount of raw material used was valued at \$12,000,000,000.

It is not alone in money value that the industry of agriculture is to be estimated. The life in the great out of doors, the work that brings men next to the heart of nature, builds body and mind as no industrial or commercial enterprise can hope to do. That hardy stock who in pioneer days went out into the rural districts of our country to work the land and build homes truly interpreted the spirit of Americanism; knew the true meaning of American citizenship; never shirked its responsibilities nor betrayed its trusts, and have given us such a great share of stanch Americans in high place to-day, who point with pride to their farmer ancestors or to the farm where they first learned the lessons of nature—the lessons, as everyone of them will tell you, which more than anything else led them into command and leadership.

In Congress and out of it we have of late heard much of national preparedness. In appropriating money to aid the farmer in his work, to make accessible to him the knowledge that has come from scientific research, to extend to him every consideration commensurate with the importance of his work, we are doing much for national preparedness—a preparedness of value in time of peace or in time of war.

THE COUNTRY'S GROWTH AND AGRICULTURE.

The growth of our country has been the wonder of the world. The first official census of the United States was taken in the year 1790 to determine the "Federal ratio" or the number of Representatives that could sit in Congress. The ratio was then fixed at 1 in every 30,000; now it is 1 in over 193,000. The first census showed we had a population of less than 4,000,000; it showed also that practically the whole body of people lived along the Atlantic seacoast on a strip of land about 250 miles wide. On the average our population has doubled every five years, and to-day our people number more than 100,000,000. It is estimated by the geographer of the census that our population, including Alaska and Hawaii, on July 1 last was 110,750,000, an increase in the past 125 years of 106,750,000.

One hundred and twenty-five years is but a brief period for a Nation to spring from insignificance to a world power. With the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 the industrial wheels of the South were set in motion, and we see to-day the value of cotton products is more than \$600,000,000. The increase in manufacturing, which is so largely dependent upon agriculture, has been great, and we find that the capitalization of industrial concerns is more than eighteen billions. The first steam railroad in this country, built in 1830, ran between Baltimore and Ellicotts Mills, a distance of 14 miles. To-day in the State of New York alone the railroad mileage is more than 8,000. The

grand mileage for the country for the year ending 1912 was 246,816; these figures show an increase of 22,453 over those of six years before. Less than 100 years ago, back in 1825, Henry Clay, the "Father of the National Road," and President Monroe were congratulating themselves on seeing the national road—the route of the emigrants-built from Maryland through to the Mississippi. To-day thousands upon thousands are traveling upon the 2,000,000 miles of public roads in the United States. Of improved highways we have more than 230,000 miles. It is easy to perceive what progress this enormous building of railways and highways is indicative of. The Boston News Letter, a weekly paper published in 1704, was the first regular newspaper in the United States, and to-day, as everyone knows, there are more newspapers and periodicals published in the United States than anywhere in the world. Besides our vast system of schools, where more than 18,000,000 children receive instruction at the expense of the Government, our higher institutions of learning, both public and private, have an enrollment of more than 360,000 and are conceded among the best in the world. Even before the present war had piled up the appalling debt of the belligerent nations we were far ahead of any nation in wealth, our wealth at that time being estimated at \$150,000,000,000, or \$65,000,000,000 greater than Great Britain and Ireland and \$60,000,000,000 greater than Germany, our nearest rivals.

Honorably, no bly, in the path of integrity, and in the light of freedom we have striven to our present-day prominence and power. In paying tribute to this great progress and in looking for the foundation of it all it is not my purpose to depreciate the vital importance of manufacturing and other industry, but at the base of all this progress I can not full to see agriculture as the very groundwork upon which we have builded. While lending a helping hand to other industry which is dependent upon it, it has maintained its lead in the value of production to the country; it is to-day and will continue to be, if we be wise enough to show it due regard, the most important industry of

our land.

THE WHOLE COUNTRY IS NECESSARILY CONCERNED IN AGRICULTURE.

With our leaping gains in population, the time has come when we must give heed to the conservation of our natural resources. More production per acre must be had from the soil. Our yield per acre is far below that of Germany, where methods of in-tensive farming are employed. Until recently comparatively little attention was given to scientific farming in this country, but sooner or later we must come to intensive farming. Greater application of scientific principles will enable the farmer to net more income with less labor. In agriculture, as in the other industries, we must look forward. The time when we can get all we want from the land without putting anything back has passed. There is no more land in the United States than there was 125 years ago, but there are 96,000,000 more people here than there were then. There will be no more land here 50 years from now than there is now, but there is no question but there will be millions more of people here at the end of that time. They all must be fed. Humanity may change in some particulars, but it never can advance out of the bread-and-butter class. The United States Department of Agriculture has an eye to the future, and much of its work, for which we make appropriation in this bill, goes to pave the way for methods of agricultural conservation that will mean much to the proper maintenance of the industry. The farmer asks for no special support; he wants only fair and equal recognition at the hands of the Government. He has an abundance of support that his own farm and his own knowledge of working it gives him; but if he were not enterprising and progressive, so that he turned most of his crop out to the world for a money return, the other people in the country would be begging him to prosper with his production so they, too, might live. It is the country at large, as well as the farmer himself, that is concerned with governmental treatment of agricultural pursuits.

COMPARATIVE FIGURES SHOWING PEODUCTION AND VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

The United States leads the world in the amount of production and in the valuation of its agricultural products. We also lead in amount of agricultural exports. The mere statement of the amount of production or the amount of value is not sufficient to show our standing, but when these figures are placed alongside the figures for other countries of the world we have proof of the place which this country holds in the industry of agriculture. According to figures by the Bureau of Crop Estimates of the Department of Agriculture the United States in the past year of 1915 led the world in the production of the following: Corn, 3,054,535,000 bushels; wheat, 1,011,505,000 bushels; oats, 1,540,362,000 bushels; cotton (1914), 16,134,930 bales of 478 pounds each; and tobacco (1914), with 1,034,679,000

and the second

pounds. Russia (51 governments of European and 10 of Asiatic Russia) led in the production of barley in 1915, with 475,109,000 bushels, and also led in rye with a production of 861,097,000 bushels. Germany (1914 latest figures) led in the production of potatoes, with a total of 1,674,377,000 bushels, while the United States was second in potatoes, with 409,921,000 bushels. The average annual production in the United States for 1905–1909 (crop years) in corn was 74.8 per cent of the world production; in wheat for 1906–1910 it was 19.8 per cent of the world production; in oats for 1906–1910 it was 24.4 per cent of the world production; in barley for the same period it was 12.6 per cent; in rye for the same period it was 2 per cent; in potatoes for 1905–1909 it was 5.9 per cent; in cotton for 1905–1909 it was 59 per cent; in tobacco for 1905–1909 it was (including Porto Rico) 31.6 per cent; in flaxseed, 1905–1909, it was 25.4; in rice, 1905–1909, 5; in hops, 1906–1910, 25.9; in sugar, 1906–7 to 1910–11, 9.8; and in coffee, 1905–1909, it was 1.5 per cent.

The relative rank of the United States among the various countries of the world in agricultural production, exportation, and importation for a recent five-year period is shown by the

following figures:

Average annual production (crop years).

Five-year period.	"World."	United States.	of "world" crop grown in United States.	rank of United States in "world" produc- tion.
1905-1909 1906-1910	3,595,256,000 3,381,349,000	2,689,714,000 670,484,000	74. 8 19. 8	1 1
1906-1910				
		************		*********
				1
				2 5
				5
1909-1909	9, 190, 000, 000	307,044,000	0.9	
1005_1000	10 798 894	11 640 551	50.0	1
1000-1000	10,120,023	22,010,002	00.0	1223
1905-1909	Construction of the same	diameter and	The same of	on the same
	2,540,809,000	137, 130, 000	1.5	9
1905-1909			25, 4	2
1905-1909	114,095,759,000	531,989,000	0.5	10
1905-1909	2, 423, 569, 000	757, 483, 000	31.3	1
1906-1910	183, 527, 000	47, 457, 000	25.9	1
BANKET BETWEE	A Company	The same	50,50	Edward S
1906-7, 10-11	7,769,781	314,861	4.1	4
1000 H 10 11	H BOW DOX	1 000 101	10.0	
1300-1, 10-11	7, 709, 781	1,009,101	13.0	3
1908-7 10-11	6 959 690	495 090	8.9	5
				8
	14, 622, 470			4
	1905-1909 1906-1910 1906-1910 1906-1910 1906-1910 1906-1910 1905-1909 1905-1909 1905-1909 1905-1909 1905-1909 1905-1909 1905-1909 1906-7, 10-11	1905-1909 3,595,256,000 1906-1910 3,381,349,000 1906-1910	1905-1909 3,595,256,000 2,689,714,000 1906-1910 3,381,349,000 670,484,000 1906-1910 3,889,334,000 1908-1910 1,584,675,000 32,242,000 1905-1909 5,195,008,000 100,284,000 1905-1909 19,728,824 11,640,551 1905-1909 98,675,000 25,045,000 1905-1909 98,675,000 25,045,000 1905-1909 14,095,759,000 1905-1909 14,095,759,000 531,989,000 1905-1909 183,527,000 631,989,000 1906-1910 183,527,000 47,457,000 1906-7,10-11 7,769,781 1,009,161 1906-7,10-11 6,852,689 425,989 1905-7,10-11 14,622,470 760,550	1905-1909 3,595,258,000 2,689,714,000 74.8 1906-1910 3,381,349,000 670,484,000 19.8 1906-1910 1,594,575,000 32,242,000 2.00

¹ Including Hawaii and Porto Rico.

Average annual exports (calendar years).

Product.	Five-year period.	"World."	United States.	Per cent of "world" exports from United States.	Relative rank of United States in "world" exports.
Corn (bushels) Wheat (bushels) Wheat flour (bar-	1905-1909 1906-1910	\$234, 201, 012 534, 951, 459	\$76, 419, 857 63, 952, 241	32, 6 12, 0	2 3
rels)	1906-1910	24, 626, 625	12, 134, 365	49.3	1
(bushels) Cotton (bales 478	1906-1910	645, 771, 273	118, 556, 884	18.4	2
pounds net) Cottonseed oil (gal-	1905-1909	12,695,345	8,416,503	66.3	1
lons) Coffèe (pounds) Flaxseed (bushels),	1905-1909 1905-1909 1905-1909	55,056,550 2,693,181,988	45, 445, 357 33, 151, 873	82, 5 1, 2	10
Rice (pounds) Tobacco (pounds)	1905-1909 1905-1909	11, 297, 164, 630 767, 727, 907	320, 815, 134	42.3	1
Hops (pounds) Tea (pounds) Oilcake and oilcake	1905-1910 1905-1909	62, 014, 995 717, 140, 720	15, 384, 083	24. 8	3
meal (pounds) Rosin (pounds)	1905-1909 1905-1909	4,958,353,449 829,357,117	1, 839, 605, 364 669, 830, 000	37.1 80.8	1
Turpentine (gal- lons)	1905-1909	24, 491, 178	16, 893, 726	69.0	1
Wood pulp	1905-1909	210, 767, 845			•••••
(pounds)	1905-1909	3, 445, 648, 110	23, 997, 425	.7	8

Average annual imports (calendar years).

Product.	Five-year period.	"World."	United States,	Per cent of "world" imports into United States.	Relative rank of United States in "world" imports.
Corn (bushels) Wheat (bushels)	1905-1909 1906-1910	235, 885, 037 517, 040, 746			
Wheat flour (bar- rels)	1906-1910	23, 183, 680			
els)	1906-1910	621, 367, 306			
cotton (bales 478 pounds net)	1905-1909 1905-1909	12,607,820 55,159,280	173,058	1.4	
lons). Coffee (pounds)	1905-1909	2,614,436,159	953, 907, 262	36, 5	1
Flaxseed (bushels). Rice (pounds). Tobacco (pounds). Hops (pounds). All sugar (.ong tons) Tea (pounds).	1905-1909 1905-1909 1905-1909 1906-1910 1906-1910 1905-1909	9,858,190,474 725,973,413 62,171,380 5,793,877 690,177,538	193,062,718 38,317,922 7,002,759 1,738,979 96,149,883	2, 0 5, 3 11, 3 30, 0 13, 9	14 8 2 1 3
Oilcake and oilcake meal (pounds) Rosin (pounds) Turpentine (gal-	1905-1909 1905-1909	5,162,305,043 814,802,072			
lons)	1905-1909	27,090,600			
(pounds) Wood pulp	1905-1909	230, 105, 095	74, 193, 026	32, 2	1
(pounds)	1905-1909	3, 433, 401, 668	514, 192, 522	15.0	3

The figures for the periods specified above would under normal conditions be, comparatively speaking, substantially the same to-day.

These figures ought to bring home to us in full measure the importance of agriculture in this country. It is a healthy condition for the country to keep agriculture the paramount industry. The statistics for last year show that our industrial concerns had a total capitalization of \$18,000,000,000. The speed with which they are progressing is shown by the fact that these figures show an increase of 45.4 per cent over the figures of five years previous. What we do here tending to enable agriculture to keep abreast of the great progress of our country is something done in the interest of the welfare of the whole Nation.

RURAL CREDITS.

A simple comprehensive plan of rural credits is needed in this country, and I trust this session of Congress will not end with-out favorable legislation being enacted in that particular. I be-lieve the need and advisability of some form under Federal control of long-time loans with a lower rate of interest for farmers is generally conceded. The platforms of the Republican, Democratic, and Progressive Parties in 1912 all favored rural credits; the United States Commission, the American Commission, the committee of Congress, the President, the national grange, the Farmers' Union, the agricultural press throughout the country have all gone on record favoring national legislation to provide our farmers with proper credit facilities. European countries which have been so generous in their aid to agricultural interests in the way of land credits have acted of necessity; they knew that agriculture was with them, too, the basis of their wealth. The great national indebtedness resulting from costly wars fell very largely upon agriculture which could not withstand the tax and the excessive interest, and in the interest of the whole people, agricultural industry, by having offered to it a system of rural credits which would supply it with abundance of credit at a rate of interest even as low as the rate paid by the Governments themselves, was offered a fair and open road to bring, as nothing else could, prosperity back to the country. We may learn by the experience of other countries the advisability of extending proper credit to agriculture as needs be extended to it because of the nature of the industry, necessitating as it does, long lapse of time before there is a return upon the investment. Not every day or week or every month does the farmer turn his stock into money, but rather every year, and in some things not that often. This fact, on its face, clearly shows the need of longer time loans. A fact, the importance of which is often lost sight of, is the large share of the public taxation borne by the farmer; in commercial and industrial enterprises much property escapes the assessor, but there is not an acre of farm land that escapes taxation.

But it is not my purpose to speak further of rural credits at this time. I merely refer to it here, as I have been speaking in a general way of the welfare of agriculture. Opportunity for comment will be afforded when the rural-credit bill comes before the House. The Senate has already reported a rural-on the first of this year, together with their valuation, were:

credit bill—S. 2986—and the Banking and Currency Committee of the House is about ready to favorably report a similar measure—H. R. 6838. There is no controversy over the proposition that Congress should enact a law establishing a national system of land credits; it now rests with Congress to meet this question with as little delay as possible and with the consideration that it deserves.

AGRICULTURE IN NEW YORK STATE.

So great is the commercial business and industrial enterprises of the State of New York that its importance in the industry of agriculture is often overlooked. As the only Representative from New York State on the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives, I may be permitted to say a word in particular concerning agriculture in the Empire State. According to the last estimates of the Department of Agriculture New York ranked eleventh of all the States in the total value of farm property. This total value in New York reached \$1,451,481,495. Illinois was first, with a valuation of \$3,905,321,075, and only the following other States exceeded New York: Iowa, Texas, Nebraska, Missouri, Kansas, Ohio, Indiana, California, and Minnesota. The last Federal census, in 1910, showed that New York had 215,597 farms containing a total of 22,030,367 acres, of these there were 14,844,039 improved acres and 7,186,328 unimproved acres. The average number of acres to a farm was 102.2, and the per cent of improved land was 67.4. According to the report of the Bureau of Census for 1914

According to the report of the Bureau of Census for 1914 there were 11 principal crops in this country, valued at \$4.813,-281,000, which covered about 90 per cent of the total value of all crops in the United States. New York of all the States ranked first in production and value in four of these crops. These 11 crops, in order of value, were corn, hay and forage, cotton, wheat, oats, vegetables, forest products on the farm, potatoes, tobacco, barley, and apples. According to the same consus New York ranked eighth in the value of her total crops.

cotton, wheat, oats, vegetables, forest products on the farm, potatoes, tobacco, barley, and apples. According to the same census, New York ranked eighth in the value of her total crops. The first nine States in order of the valuation of their crops were: Illinois, Iowa, Texas, Ohio, Georgia, Missouri, Kansas, New York, and Indiana. New York was first in hay and forage, in vegetables, in potatoes, and also in apples. New York, however great she may be commercially or industrially, is an agricultural State, and is doing her share to add wealth and prosperity to the Nation through the industry of agriculture. Despite her relatively great weight of population New York has vast land that is yet to be developed in agricultural pursuits. We need this land developed, and we need to get greater production from our already cultivated land if we are to take full advantage of our agricultural wealth.

Here are some figures in New York's principal group for local

Here are some figures in New York's principal crops for last year: In oats New York ranked seventh, with 54,270,000 bushels, valued at \$24,422,000. In this crop she was exceeded only by Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and North Dakota. In barley New York ranked eleventh, with 2,720,000 bushels, valued at \$2,040,000, exceeded only by Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas, Colorado, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, and California. In rye New York ranked fifth, with 2,805,000 bushels, valued at \$2,609,000, exceeded only by Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. In buckwheat New York was second with 5,320,000 bushels, valued at \$4,-256,000, exceeded only by Pennsylvania. In the production of potatoes New York was first, with 22,010,000 bushels, valued at \$18,048,000, her nearest rival being Maine. New Yorl was also first in hay, with a production of 5,850,000 tons, valued at \$91,845,000. Pennsylvania was second, with 4,340,000 tons. In apples New York led all the other States, with a production of 8,528,000 barrels (3 bushels each). Pennsylvania, producing 7,700,000 barrels, ranked second. It might be interesting to note that the average farm price (per bushel) for apples in New York State in 1915 was 77 cents, while in 1914 it was 45 cents. The production in 1914 reached 16,533,000 barrels, the largest of any State in years. New York was exceeded by only 11 States in the production of peaches last year.

On January 1 of this year there were 21,166,000 horses on farms in the United States, and their value was \$2,150,468,000. There were at the same time on farms 4,565,000 mules, valued at \$519,824,000. The value per head of horses was \$101.60, and of mules \$113.87. In the number of horses on farms the State of New York took fifteenth place, with 609,000, valued at \$84,651,000. The importance of New York in dairying is shown by the fact that in the number of milch cows she ranked second of all the States, New York having at the first of this year, according to official estimates, 1,539,000 milch cows, valued at \$88,031,000. New York at the first of the year had \$49,000 sheep, valued at \$5,264,000, and 799,000 swine, valued at \$9,428,000. Farm animals in the United States, besides horses and mules, on the first of this year together with their valuation, were:

Cattle, 61,441,000, valued at \$2,506,254,000-of this number 21,-988,000 were milch cows. Swine, 68,047,000, valued at \$571,-890,000. Sheep, 49,162,000, valued at \$254,348,000.

FARMING INTERESTS NEED A PROTECTIVE TARIFF POLICY,

No matter how crucial may be the situation of our relations at the present moment with any foreign Government, it is folly for us at any time to slight the vital importance of our economic future. I come now to the very important economic subject of the effect of a national policy of free trade or protection upon our agricultural interests. Does the farmer desire to pursue a policy of near free trade and let the grain from Russia, Argentina, Canada, the eggs from China-in fact, does he desire to have the agricultural products of the world come into this country with little or no duty to compete with his own production? Abraham Lincoln's plain talk about the tariff has never been quite satisfactorily refuted. Lincoln said, in effect:

If foreigners ship goods into this country, we get the goods and the tor-cigners get the money; but if we protect our own markets and have our people buy our own production, then we get the goods and the money.

Admitting that some products can be more cheaply produced in foreign countries, do our farmers, or any other class of our people, want to be forced to compete in a class with the cheap labor of China and other foreign countries where the low standard of living accounts for the labor being as cheap as it is?
"The standard of life." a phrase which expresses the thought

of that measure of necessities, comforts, and luxuries, considered by any individual to be needed for himself and his family, differs greatly from land to land. In the Asiatic countries it is so low that it touches in large classes the minimum of subsistence. As has been pointed out by one of our American economists, the population of India, where the standard of life is Iow, has increased under English rule during the past century from 200,000,000 to 300,000,000. Such a population "lets out all the slack" of income and never takes up any. The great public works of irrigation, forestry, and transportation, and the de-velopment of industry under English rule gave an opportunity for a higher standard of living, but it was used instead to per mit the existence of a greater number of men in the same old These facts have their bearing on the question of protecting our own markets against foreign invasion and the maintenance of our own standard of living. The American standard of living, while it differs in different classes, is on the whole the highest found anywhere in the world. We must keep it the highest.

The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Austin], who, as we all

know, has made a very careful study of conditions in China and Japan, points out very strikingly some facts which it will be well for us to heed in dealing with this question of free trade or protection. The gentleman, writing in 1915 about Japan, said in part:

1 traveled several thousand miles in the flowery kingdom, visiting the principal cities, and I also traveled through the agricultural section. * * The population of Japan proper is 53,000,000, and if you add the dependencies of Korea and Formosa it gives a total of 71,000,000, * * Seventy per cent of the people live by farming. * *

you add the dependencies of Korea and Formosa it gives a total of 71,000,000.

* * * Seventy per cent of the people live by farming.

Labor is cheaper to-day in Japan than any other country in the world except China, and the difference is exceedingly slight. Japan, having the decided lead in the manufacturing line, is now supplying China, and in doing this has successfully met the competition of all her American and European competitors. In the manufacture of cheap cotton goods she is rapidly taking the trade away from her ally, Great Britain, and while the United States, before Japan developed her cotton industry, sold cotton goods in China in one year to the value of \$29,800,000, now since Japan has gotten into the game, our trade in this line in China was between five and six millions per annum in 1914.

She has not only driven our cheap cotton goods out of China, the greatest cotton-goods market in the world, but enters our insular markets in the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands and sells annually from five to six million dollars' worth of cotton goods. This is not all. Japan is demonstrating on our very shores what she is capable of doing. In 1907 the total amount of cotton goods from Japan sold in the United States under a Republican protective tariff was \$333,989; in 1914, under the operations of the Democratic low tariff, she had no trouble to pay the customs duti's and unload cotton goods to the value of \$1,041,632, a difference or an increase of \$707,643.

The construction of the Panama Canal opens a cheap water transportation route to our eastern cities and States, and Japan is already arranging for lines of fast passenger and freight ships to connect her factory ports with one of the best sections of the greatest and best markets in all the world, the region between the Atlantic and the Mississippi River

At this very time, and during the last year, when the American mills were unable to dispose of their output and many of them either closed down or ran on reduced time, employees idle, etc., under th

markets in all the world, the region between the Atlantic and the Mississippi River

At this very time, and during the last year, when the American mills were unable to dispose of their output and many of them either closed down or ran on reduced time, employees idle, etc., under the present tariff law the Japanese mills were running night and day, putting in from 20 to 22 hours in every 24, and the sales of Japanese goods in America, the Philippine and Hawuilan Islands, and China show an increase. Last year (1914), under the Wilson-Underwood tariff, our foreign competitors sold in the United States cotton goods made in foreign mills and by foreign workmen to the value of \$70,704,823, being an increase over their sales in the United States the year before (1913) of \$4,638,970.

I visited one mill at Tokyo, where I found a room full of women working for S cents a day. In another plant I saw at least a thousand women and girls working for 15 cents a day—11 hours—boarded and roomed in quarters furnished by the company. Four and a haif cents a day was deducted for their meals and lodging, leaving a balance of 10½ cents net for their day's work. Fifteen of these women or girls occupy

a single room 16 by 18 in size, sleeping on the floor, without a single piece of furniture in the room.

With modern machinery, cheap power, cheap labor, and cheap water transportation to all the known ports and markets in the world, Japan has essential and controlling advantages over all of her foreign competitors. All Japan wants is a low tariff law and she will successfully meet and undersell all her competitors in any manufacturing line she has entered upon or may hereafter decide to enter upon.

With extensive deposits of every known mineral, the cheapest labor in the world, the most modern, up-to-date machinery, and a large and increasing marine service backed up by the Japanese Government, Japan will be in fact a peril, a yellow industrial peril, in the Orient, in South and Central America, Canada, and the United States, under a low tariff or nonprotective tariff law. Last year Japan imported pig iron, steel ralls, plate, and galvanized iron to the value of \$25,882,454. She is going to not only save this—keep the money at home by going into the iron and steel business—but enter the foreign markets extensively in this line, if her present plans materialize.

With America's high standard of living and wages and short hours she can not commercially stand up against the Japanese and Chinese industrial systems on equal terms.

A personal visit to the Orient, first-hand observation, study, and information would cure for all time the most rabid free trader or low-tariff man in or out of the American Congress.

Practically every other country of the world maintains a

Practically every other country of the world maintains a substantially high protective tariff—England being an exception because of her widely scattered possessions upon which she is dependent. Our own country has come to its present great wealth and prosperity through a protective tariff under Republican administration. Under protection our 100,000,000 of people have purchased from our own markets, and this is as it should be. No farmer should fail to see the fairness to him of the maintenance of such a condition.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AND ITS ECONOMIC EFFECT UPON THIS COUNTRY. The Department of Commerce has warned us "to guard against any sense of safety in our present prosperity, in so far as that prosperity is based upon business connected with the belligerent activities in Europe." We are all agreed that the abnormal conditions arising out of the war in Europe are giving us a prosperity at the present time which we would not be enjoying if it were not for the great temporary demand of the belligerent countries for our products. The records of the Department of Commerce during the Democratic administration fully warrant the Commerce Department's warning. When the Democratic administration came into power we had a great balance of trade in our favor. Then when the Underwood tariff law went into effect imports increased and exports decreased until we had an actual monthly trade balance against us. balance continued against us until the war began, the war virtually offsetting the damaging effect of the new tariff law. Our trade balance with those countries not at war is against us. The prosperity of the farmer at the present time has been pointed to by Democratic leaders. Let me remind you of some facts that have already been pointed out: True it is that we have had the greatest wheat crop in our history, and we have sold more to Europe than ever before. Our sale of wheat to Europe during the first year of the war compared with the first year of the present tariff law in time of peace increased from \$103,595,000 worth to \$316,262,000 worth, or a gain of 205 per cent. During the year of peace we sold in breadstuffs to Europe \$181,484,000 worth, and in the year of war we sold \$567,607,000, a gain of 213 per cent. In the year of peace we sold to Europe horses to the value of \$3,177,000.

In the year of war we sold them horses to the value of \$82,-276,000, a gain of 2,490 per cent. During the year of peace we sold to Europe mules to the value of \$622,000, and in the year of war we sold them mules to the value of \$18,041,000, a gain of 2.795 per cent. During the year of peace we sold to Europe hay to the value of \$790,000, and in the year of war we sold them hay to the value of \$2,263,000, a gain of 233 per cent. During the year of peace we sold to Europe meats and dairy products to the value of \$138,736,000, and during the year of war we sold them such products to the value of \$243,098,000, a gain of 75 per cent. During the year of peace we sold to Europe sugar to the value of \$4,341,000, and during the year of war we sold to Europe sugar to the value of \$36,816.000, a gain of 748 per cent.

In determining the question of his welfare under free trade or protection the long-headed farmer of this country is not going to be blind to the fact how this new Underwood tariff law was working against him until the abnormal conditions resulting from the European war stopped its injurious effect. And, looking to the future, he is not going to rest on the false supposition that the war market is to remain indefinitely; but if he be as farsighted as I know him to be, he will see his peril if our markets are open to foreigners when this European war ends.

Senator Lewis, Democrat, of Illinois, evidently sees an impending danger, when he says:

To allow the manufactured articles of Europe to come without limit to this country as a Democratic theory, the goods to be sold at such price as Europe could take in order to obtain money to build up her wasted places, would be to overcome our own manufactures and slay the pos-

sibility of establishing American plants to take the place of those which heretofore in Europe served the uses of America and the world.

The Boston Globe, a well-known Democratic newspaper, comments as follows:

Obviously we must prepare to meet the coming struggle in the best way to safeguard American industry. The European nations will seek ruthlessly to crush their American rivals, since we shall be their principal opponents, in their efforts to recover from the losses by war. Their method will be the most effective one possible. This method is "dumping." Goods produced cheaply will be poured into the United States after the war to undersell American-made goods produced in normal conditions. Our budding dye industry, for instance, will be swamped under a flood of German chemicals sold at prices be'ow the cost of production here. If we do nothing to stop this flood of European goods our country will suffer one of its worst financial panies. Thousands of men will be thrown out of work; the labor market will be drugged by hungry men, and we will have the song kitchen, the bread line, scared capital, and industrial chaos. Our industrial defense is our tariff. We must keep out pauper goods from war-sodden Europe.

President Wilson can hardly reconcile his party's advocacy of free trade at this time with his former writings. The Napoleonic wars had an effect upon this country similar to the effect that the present war has now and will have upon us. Mr. Wilson writing of the need of a protective tariff upon the restoration of peace at that time said (History of the American People, Vol. III, p. 239):

Vol. III, p. 239):

Peace changed the very face of trade. * * * English merchants poured their goods once again into the American ports, so long shut against them by embargoes and war. * * * Manufactures bad sprung up while the ports were closed. * * * By the year 1815 close upon \$50,000,000 had been invested in the manufacture of textile fabrics alone. * * * The new movement did not stop with the establishment of cotton fabrics. The manufacture of wool and flax and hemp and even silk was added. * * Iron manufactures, long ago set up but tentative and feeble hitherto, increased from handreds of thousands to millions in value under the stimulation of foreign trade cut off. Hides and skins were extensively prepared; ilquors were distilled and fermented from the abounding grain and fruits of the countrysides; glass, earthenware, furniture, almost everything that was in general use in the country, was sooner or latter added to the growing list. Industry long ago begun upon a small scale, took heart to grow, and those which Americans had hitherto not dreamed of attempting were heartily embarked upon. Distinct manufacturing regions began sensibly to develop in the Middle States and in the East, with intrests and characteristics which statesmen could not afford to overlook. It was manifestly a menace to every young industry that a flood of English imports should continue to pour into the country at the open ports. The remedy was a protective tariff, such as Mr. Hamilton had wished to see at first, and the young Republican leaders of Congress did not hesitate to advocate and establish it.

THE EFFECT OF THE UNDERWOOD TARIFF LAW BEFORE THE WAR.

The Underwood tariff law, prior to the European war, proved disastrous to labor and farming interests; the duties which it imposes on imports into the United States are inadequate, under normal conditions, either for protection to American industries or to provide the Government with the necessary revenue to meet its running expenses. The increase in exports as a result of the war have given temporary relief from the effects of the Democratic tariff and when normal conditions are restored after the war is over this country will be open to a flood of foreign goods produced by the cheap labor of Europe. For the first 10 months of the operation of the Underwood tariff from October 1, 1913, to July 31, 1914, the amount of imports admitted into the United States free of duty was \$988,187,549 in value compared with imports free of duty to the value of \$821,608,167 during the corresponding previous 10 months' period under Republican law from October 1, 1912, to July 31, 1913. The amount in value of dutiable goods decreased under the first 10 months of the operation of the Underwood law to \$617,617,233 from \$682,218,836 under the previous corresponding 10 months under the Payne law, and the percentage of total importations admitted free of duty increased from an average of 54.4 per cent per month to 61.5 per cent per month. The decrease in excess of exports over imports shows very clearly the injurious effect of the Democratic tariff. Under the Underwood tariff there was a steady decrease in the excess of exports over imports from October, 1913, when the excess amounted to \$138,912,162, which was the first month when the Underwood law went into effect, until March, 1914, when the excess was reduced to the comparatively insignificant sum of \$4,943,930. Commencing with April, 1914, until the beginning of the European war the balance of trade was against us each month, reaching in August, 1914, the sum of \$19,400,396. In the first 10 months of the operation of the Underwood tariff law-the period of its operation before the outbreak of the war-the revenue received from duties on imports decreased approximately \$31,500,000 as compared with the preceding 10 months' period under Republican tariff.

WE SHOULD BE INDUSTRIALLY INDEPENDENT OF THE WORLD.

One great outstanding fact that the present war teaches us is the importance of being industrially independent of the world. Only a policy of protection to our own industries will enable us to enjoy the security of that industrial independence.

EUROPE IS LOOKING TO ITS ECONOMIC FUTURE.

Far-sighted leaders in the belligerent countries of Europe are looking with grave concern to their economic future. As I have before pointed out, these countries look to agriculture as the basis of their wealth. Great movements are on foot in Europe at the present time to control trade after the war. recent development was the unanimous adoption of a resolution by the Chamber of Commerce of Vienna proposing an economic union of Austria and Germany to render them "more independent of their political and commercial opponents in regard to the supply of necessary foodstuffs, raw material, and industrial products, and enable them to defend with greater energy their commercial interests in the world market." After the war every possible effort will be made by the European nations now engaged to make up for their tremendous losses. More than anything else, they will look to the industry of agriculture to restore their lost wealth, the wealth that is being drained by the most costly war in history. These countries, driven by force of circumstances to sell their products at what prices they can get, would welcome an open market in the United States; they would welcome a chance to compete with the American farmer. Are our great markets to be thrown open to this foreign production to the peril of our own agricultural production? Such will be the condition if the present Underwood tariff law is in effect after the war. Are we to continue to levy special taxes when such revenue should come—and always has come in Republican administrations—from proper taxes on imports? The Underwood law was tried in the year before the war. It decreased our revenues enormously and did not decrease the cost of living. It failed completely.

THE EFFECT OF THE UNDERWOOD TARIFF IN NEW YORK.

The farmers of New York are greatly concerned in dairy farming, and in this industry the State takes a very high rank. The Democratic tariff made a great reduction in tariff on butter, cheese, milk, and eggs, with resultant effect to the farmers of New York. On butter the Republican tariff maintained a duty of 6 cents per pound. The Democratic tariff put it down to 2½ cents a pound. For 10 months before the Underwood bill went into effect our imports in butter and its substitutes amounted to 1,000,000 pounds, valued at \$272,000. For 10 months while the Underwood law was in effect-before the war-the imports were 7,685,000 pounds, valued at \$1,700,-000. Milk, fresh and condensed, was let in entirely free by the Democratic law. The Department of Commerce recently reported that the Netherlands and Switzerland "sold much larger quantities of milk in the United States in 1915 than ever Of course they did, when the product came in duty The farmers of my own district directly felt the effects of this competition when manufacturers of condensed milk were compelled to lower the price they were paying for milk. The Democratic tariff made a great reduction on cheese, which during the first 10 months of the law increased our importation more than 12,000,000 pounds. Republican law had placed a duty of 5 cents per gallon on cream; the Democratic law lets milk and cream come in duty free. The importation of cream during the 10 months above referred to was 482,000 gallons. The Republican tariff law placed a duty of 5 cents a dozen on imported eggs. For the fiscal year 1913, under this law, eggs were imported to the amount of 1,360,000 dozen, of which 80 per cent came from England and 7 per cent came from China. Under the Democratic law, which placed eggs on the free list, and which was in force nine months of the fiscal year of 1914, nearly 6,000,000 dozen eggs came in, of which only 4 per cent came from England and 32 per cent came from China. For the 10 months ended October, 1913, we imported 21,600 dozen eggs; for the same period, 1914, Democratic law, 4,667,000 dozen; for the same period, 1915, 1,772,000 dozen. In addition to this, prepared eggs are becoming an important factor in our imports. Inasmuch as frozen and evaporated eggs come in in bulk, duty was assessed on them under the Republican law at the rate of 5 cents per dozen, estimating 11 to the pound. The Democratic law cut the duty to 2 cents a pound. During the fiscal year 1913 we imported 228,000 pounds of these eggs.

For the fiscal year 1914 we imported 3,400,000 pounds. Eggs prepared in this manner are used to a large extent by bakers in making cakes, and so forth. The consumer gets no advantage from this and the domestic producers of eggs lose a market for "seconds," cracked eggs, and so forth. The effect of this lowering the duty on eggs is indicated by the fact that several factories formerly operating in this country using domestic eggs and using American labor have removed to China and are building huge evaporating and refrigerating plants for the preparation of egg mixtures, employing Chinese labor. Topeka, Kans., plant and one from Boston are examples.

effect of this increased and growing importation on our market

must be apparent to our own egg producers.

New York is an extensive grower of vegetables and fruits. All along the line on the various vegetables produced in New York the duty was lowered about 40 per cent. In apples and other fruits it was reduced about 60 per cent. New York pro-duces more potatoes than any other State in the Union. Prior to the Underwood tariff law a duty of 25 cents a bushel was imposed on foreign potatoes. Before the duty was taken off foreign potatoes we imported only 314,000 bushels, but for the 10 months after the Democratic law went into effect 3,630,000 bushels of foreign potatoes came into this country. The Unbushels of foreign potatoes came into this country. The Un-derwood law has dealt severely with the products raised by the New York State farmer. The great increase in imports during the 10 months when the law was in effect before the war clearly shows how our markets were open to the foreigner in competition with that which our own farmers produced.

THE WORK OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

The work of the United States Department of Agriculture extends over too large a field to admit of my giving it any detailed account here. I believe that the department for whose activities this appropriation bill makes provision has rendered much service to the agricultural interests of the country

The need of the department is sure to be felt more and more as it becomes necessary for us to more nearly follow intensive farming. The committee's report divides the work of the department into three major classes: First, research work, which includes the scientific study of the fundamental problems of agriculture; second, educational or extension work, which aims to make available to the rural population the results of the department's experiments and discoveries; third, regulatory work, which includes the administration of the statutes coming under the department. The administration of the national forests is also included under this heading. It is estimated that about three-fifths of the total funds of the department go for work of a regulatory nature, leaving the other two-fifths available for research and demonstration work.

Some of the different agencies of the department may be listed as follows: Office of Farm Management, Weather Bureau, Bureau of Animal Industry, Bureau of Plant Industry, the Forest Service, Bureau of Chemistry, Bureau of Solls, Bureau of Entomology, Bureau of Biological Survey, Division of Publications, Bureau of Crop Estimates, States Relations Service, Office of Public Roads and Rural Engineering, Markets and Rural Organization, Demonstration on Reclamation Projects, Eradication of Diseases in Live Stock, and so forth.

WE NEED TO ENCOURAGE AGRICULTURE.

The statistics of our population show a heavy drift to the city as compared with the number going to the farm. In 1900 our urban population was 31,609,645, while our rural population numbered 44,384,930. In 1910 our urban population had jumped to 42,623,383, while our rural people numbered 49,348,jumped to 42,623,383, while our rural people numbered 49,348,883. In those 10 years our urban population had increased 34.8 per cent, while our rural population had increased only 11.2. These figures are worthy of note; they show a striking increase, comparatively speaking, of consumption over production in this country. We have not reached that stage when we need view with any alarm the theory of the economist Malthus, who sounded a warning that population was increasing beyond the means of subsistence. But with our population growing by leaps and bounds and the great percentage of that increase going into the cities to consume rather than produce food, we going into the cities to consume rather than produce food, we can readily see the growing need of attention to agricultural pursuits. It is wise policy for this Government to do what it can consistently to encourage the great and noble industry of agriculture.

Militaristic Propaganda.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY, OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Saturday, April 29, 1916.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, in my judgment the action of the Blair County Central Labor Union at its recent meeting in declaring emphatically against the militaristic propaganda which has been so aggressive of late is typical. It fairly reflects the prevailing sentiment among the workingmen in my district and throughout the great industrial State of Pennsylvania.

The Blair County (Pa.) Central Labor Union is one of the most influential bodies of its sort in the State. It is made up of representatives of organizations, with a membership of about 4,000, embracing trainmen, engineers, switchmen, telegraphers, and many others. In the quality of its membership the Central Labor Union is perhaps one of the foremost in Pennsylvania.

At its recent meeting a lengthy report explaining the attitude of this powerful organization on the question of so-called "preparedness" was submitted by Secretary C. L. Brumbaugh and adopted, as follows:

If we are to express the attitude of the labor movement toward the increase of military power, we must face the issue squarely and consider all questions concerned in relation to the workers. We must draw the line between "preparedness," as it might be defined by labor, and the militarism, which is the true desire of the big commercial

If we are fo express the attitude of the labor movement toward the increase of military power, we must face the issue squarely and contented that the increase of militarism, which is the true desire of the big commercial interests.

The program advocated by "big business" and the newspapers which is control to the big commercial interests.

The program advocated by "big business" and the newspapers which is control to the proper of the big commercial interests.

The program advocated by "big business" and the newspapers which is not result in destruction, but in the protection of human life and the products of human labor. Our preparedness would signify the development of every man, woman, and child to the highest possibility of the property of the development of every man, woman, and child to the highest possibility and issue of all would possess in the highest degree the lovality and issue of its citizens. The father who could look forward worth patriotism. A Government which would give equal apportunity and issue of its citizens. The father who could look forward worth propertunity, would love their country and, if necessary, protect its Such people would have too high and fine a sense of justice to wantonly attack any other people.

Such people would have too high and fine a sense of justice to wantonly attack any other people.

Such people would have too high and fine a sense of justice to wantonly attack any other people.

Such people would have too high and fine a sense of justice to wantonly attack any other people.

Such people would have too high and fine a sense of justice to wantonly attack any other people.

Such people would have too high and fine a sense of justice to wantonly attack any other people.

Such people would have too high and fine a sense of justice to wantonly attack any other people.

Such people would have too high and fine a sense of justice to wantonly attack any other people with the people would have too high and the people would have too high and the people would have too high

We recommend that organized labor be alive and awake to see that in any system of citizen soldiery the greatest possible freedom and democracy shall prevail; that the men shall be given instruction in civic affairs, physical training, and the fullest opportunity for promotion from the ranks. Representation for labor upon whatever committees or commissions may be chosen to decide upon or control plans for military defense should be demanded.

9. Any military system should be democratically officered and controlled by heads directly responsible to the citizens of the Nation.

10. We oppose any increase in the standing Army. The danger to the American worker from foreign countries is not so much the danger of attack by their Governments. The real danger to the workers comes from the hordes of helpless, underfed, foreign immigrants which are brought in this country every year by the manufacturing interests which seek cheap labor. Any plan for the increase of the Army and Navy would but make this danger more acute. If the native American workers are drawn into this Army and Navy and the industrial plants which would be necessary to its support, a demand for more labor power would offer an excuse for bringing in low-paid workers, who would seriously undermine the standard of living and make every real problem of labor still more acute. The problems of labor are the shortening of the work hour, the increase of wages, the betterment of conditions, stronger organization, and constant development of greater power in the political field. An increased Army and Navy would not solve a single difficulty that labor has to face.

Preparedness which is based upon physical fitness. Patriotism may be needed, but it must be a patriotism which is based upon love of homes, not boarding houses, love of country, and only a country which guarantees liberty and opportunity for free development, including access to the land, will be loved sufficiently to guard its defense.

We feel that the labor movement of Blair County should help to ho

Agriculture Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

H. STEPHENS. HON. JOHN OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 29, 1916.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the amendment of the gentleman from South Dakota should prevail. I can not conceive of a better use that the \$40,000 asked for by his amend-ment could be put to. Much of the country west of the one hundredth meridian, extending from Mexico to Canada, will produce only crops of Kafir corn, milo maize, Festuca Sudan grass, and kindred feedstuff in paying quantities. The value of these grains and hay crops are unknown in the East; hence the value of these crops should be made known to the people of the East, so as to show that they will fatten stock as well as the crops used for that purpose in the East. If the Government would investigate this matter fully and advertise through its agricultural bulletins the fattening values of these dry-land crops in the Middle and Eastern States it would make a market for millions of tons of these products of the West, much of which can not now find a market, for the reason that their fattening qualities are not definitely known in the East, and it is the desire of the people of the western dry-land States that this amendment should prevail, and I hope that it will do so by practically a unanimous vote.

"When Congress Met at Trenton."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM J. BROWNING,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 1, 1916.

Mr. BROWNING. Mr. Speaker, New Jersey is one of the smallest States of the Union, and it is not given to boasting; but it is one of the oldest States, and its record is such as to justify the highest praise. Over in Pennsylvania there is a society known as the New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania, which has been gathering together distinguished Jerseymen and others who have been pleased to trace their ancestry back to the State. In recent years the society has adopted the practice, when convenient, of setting up memorials on historic ground. It recently visited the city of Trenton to place a tablet marking the site of what has been called the "seventh national capital," The principal speaker on that occasion was our colleague from Pennylvania, the Hon. J. Hampton Moore, whose address, delivered December 11, 1915, has just been received from the stenographer. I avail myself of the permission to extend my remarks by

inserting the address of my Pennsylvania colleague:

APPRESS OF CONGRESSMAN J. HAMPTON MOORE AT UNVEILING OF MEMO-BIAL TABLET PRESENTED BY THE NEW JERSEY SOCIETY OF PENNSYL-VANIA TO THE CITY OF TRENTON DECEMBER 11, 1915.

Mr. Chairman, it is a cold day, but every true-born Jerseyman warms up on his native soil. [Applause.] To be welcomed on this busy corner of the historic city of Trenton with the mayor's eloquence in front and the street-car Hessians in the rear would delight the cockles of the heart of anyone who to himself hath

The president of the New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania has introduced me as the "orator" of the occasion. It is hard to live up to such an introduction, and I do not expect to. I have come here hurriedly from Washington and shall speak but

Whether the society knew it or not, it happens that we have come to Trenton on the anniversary of Washington's encampment at Valley Forge. One hundred and thirty-eight years ago to-day the ragged and bedraggled, but patriotic soldiers of the Continental Army took up their camp yonder across the Delaware at Valley Forge. The British general, Howe, was in control at Philadelphia. It was a colder and a sadder day than this for the founders of this Republic.

President Hires has referred to the stirring times about the city of Trenton in those days. He spoke of the historic importance of the ground upon which these exercises are being held. It is fair to say that we have met upon no mean spot. The unveiling of the tablet upon this building revives the memories that hallow Valley Forge, that cluster around the Battle Monument, and that make precious the patriotic landmarks that have been reviewed by President Hires and by Mayor Donnelly.

WASHINGTON GREETED AT TRENTON.

It was here that Washington was received. It was here that the great friend of America, the French general, Lafayette, made his farewell address to Congress. This ground was the scene of many interesting events prior to and during the period of the Revolution, and the New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania has done well in coming here to dedicate to the city of Trenton a tablet to celebrate the site.

When our forefathers were assembling about this corner, much as you are doing to-day, we were in the throes of a war which was to settle our fate as a Nation. Those who would assume that no warlike foreigner would ever dare to put his foot upon American soil have but to recall that during the period of the Revolution the foe was here, and that he had to be met

and driven back by the sturdy sons of America.

The Congress, which had been meeting in the city of Philadelphia, the home of the Liberty Bell which proclaimed the Declaration of Independence, had decided to meet in Trenton. The depressed state of the Treasury, which was partly responsible for an outbreak of a portion of the troops, had induced our continental forefathers to remove the seat of Government to Princeton. This was in 1783. There the Continental Congress deliberated, and amongst other things took up the very important question of location, the permanent location, of the Congress of the United States. Where should the Congress go?

TRENTON AND GEORGETOWN CHOSEN.

Then, as now, men in politics and in statecraft resorted to logrolling and to other methods we sometimes denounce to-day. Such methods are not new. They never have been new in the history of the world. The Continental Congress at Princeton deliberated and received proposals; the various States then represented in the confederation of States made their suggestions as to the place of meeting. What should be the permanent home of the Congress of the United States? Sites in Pennsylvania were suggested; Philadelphia put in its bid; Maryland put in its bid; Virginia put in its bid, and bids came from New England. The Congress of the United States was worth having; the people of those days saw, just as the people of the present day see, the advantage of entertaining the Representatives of the Nation.

New Jersey sites were foremost in the offerings. Princeton wanted to be made the home of the Nation. Burlington County offered a site. Numerous other offers were made to the Congress. But, finally, after careful deliberation, a resolution was passed that there should be erected "upon the banks of the Delaware, near by the city of Trenton," a permanent establishment for the accommodation and maintenance of the Congress of the United States. It passed, but then, as to-day, in our various legislatures and sometimes in our National Congress, a new motion was made. After reconsideration the new motion was that temporary places of residence only should be established for the Congress of the United States, one upon "the banks of the Delaware, near by to the city of Trenton, other on "the banks of the Potomac, near by to the city of Georgetown," the present site of Washington.

WHEN CONGRESS MET IN TRENTON.

Then, before the Congress adjourned from Princeton, it was decided that they should alternate between these two places when ready; meanwhile they began their next session in the city of Annapolis, in Maryland. Congress met in Annapolis for a time after the adjournment from Princeton yonder, and from Annapolis the Congress decided that it would come to the city of Trenton, here "upon the banks of the Delaware," where it was originally intended that the permanent Capitol of the Nation should be. This much for the satisfaction of the mayor and the citizens of Trenton, who may be studying up the im-

portance of the city as a national landmark.

Congress decided to come to Trenton. A lease was entered into. Consult the archives and Dr. Godfrey, of your adjutant general's office, if you desire the details, but £150 was the amount that Congress paid for the lease of the site we are now occupying, the present home of the Mechanics' National Bank, of which your distinguished citizen, Gov. Stokes, is president. Here, where we now stand, stood the old city tavern, known in even earlier days by other names, but here it stood and within its walls the Congress of the United States assembled in solemn council in 1784. Thus Trenton, early in the history of the country, and apart from its other traditions and memories, was permanently placed upon the map of the country.

NEW JERSEY'S PROUD RECORD.

This, my friends, in brief is the story and the occasion of our visit. A band of loyal Jerseymen-men who were born in this State or whose parents were born here-we have come back to renew our faith and friendship and to express the pride we feel in the sacrifices and achievements of our ancestors, [Applause.]

Why are we proud of the State in which many of us were Because she was steadfast in colonial times and in all the period of the Union of the States, because in the march of progress she has never receded, and because in that advance which has characterized the Union of the States New Jersey has been conspicuous and foremost in their upbuilding.

The Revolutionary history of New Jersey is glorious, Her history in the Civil War and in all the epochal periods of the country is distinguished. In all great events she stands re-splendent in men and deeds. In material progress New Jersey is the peer of any other State. Let us make a few comparisons.

The first census of the United States was taken in 1790, and

then New Jersey had a population of 184,139. That was the record of New Jersey 126 years ago. The census which your State authorities have just completed, for the year 1915, shows that her population has advanced to approximately 3,000,000 souls-actually 2,844,342. New Jersey is but a spot upon the map of the United States, and yet in the value of manufactured products New Jersey stands sixth in line amongst all the 48 States of the United States. She is exceeded in the value of the product of her manufactures only by the great Empire State of New York first, by the great Keystone State of Pennsylvania second, by the great interior middle western State of Illinois third, by the old Bay State of Massachusetts fourth, and by the great agricultural and manufacturing State of Ohio fifth.

Little New Jersey, here upon the Atlantic seaboard, stands sixth of all the States of the Union in the record of the product of her manufactures. [Applause.] Something to be proud of

DENSITY OF POPULATION.

And in the density of her population, the accumulation upon a limited soil of God's best people, New Jersey, this little State of ours, sixth in the product of manufactures, stands third only to Rhode Island first and Massachusetts second. That is, New Jersey has within her borders a denser population than any other State in this Union save Rhode Island and Massachusetts, She has a population of 378 (State census) or 337 (Federal census of 1910) for every square mile of ground. When sometimes you hear the arguments of our friends in the South or in the West about the development of their respective sections bear in mind that here in New Jersey you have 378 (or in 1910. 338) people for every square mile of ground, while out yonder in Nevada, for instance, which has two United States Senators to your two United States Senators, they have for more

than every square mile of ground only one inhabitant-at least that is the estimate based upon the Thirteenth Census.

New Jersey can not compare with greater States in the number or value of farms, because her area is so limited, but on the average of the value of crops per acre New Jersey stands fourth of all the great agricultural States of the Union. Her record in manufactures is fine, as is her record in population; but her record in agriculture, in the value of her soil products per acre, is behind that only of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. In her farm development, tested by the skill of her toilers and the richness of her soil, New Jersey stands fourth amongst all the 48 States of this Union. [Applause.]

PER CAPITA DEBT IS SMALL.

And when it comes to financial stability-that substantial quality of which we are all proud in discussing the relative merits of the States-New Jersey stands one amongst the 13 of the 48 States of the Union whose debt per capita is less than \$1 and one among the 4 whose per capita debt is less than 25 cents—a true test of the value of citizenship [applause]; a real evidence of the strength and solidity of the people who constitute a Commonwealth.

My friends, we glory in the grandeur of New Jersey, and we glory in those forefathers of ours who deliberated in Philadelphia, in Princeton, and upon the site of this beautiful bank building. They strove and they suffered, and they had their contentions and differences, just as we have them to-day. They had them perhaps in a more aggravated form, because their great problems were new. We have had the advantage of their experience, and we have greater strength in numbers. They had the great burden of establishing the foundations, and for that we should be thankful. They were no more infallible than we are now, but they succeeded in fundamentals, and it is wise and proper that we should hold their memory in grateful reverence.

WAR PROBLEMS OF OUR POREFATHERS.

They had their war problems, just as we are having them They met them with courage and with fortitude. established one enduring precedent which bears upon our present-day agitation for preparedness. They understood the civic virtue of community life. They knew the plain people, many of whom had fled from imperialism abroad, would not stand for militarism in the new country. They realized that the strength of the Union of States once established would depend upon a solid citizenship, upon a civic patriotism. They valued the Army, even though they could not pay it, but they did not want the Army to rule. They had seen the soldiers of their own day go for months and years without recompense and with scant clothing; but when the test came those forefathers of ours and their successors stood for the civic rightsthe domestic, peaceful rights of the people. They knew what it meant to build up and maintain a large standing army-their European experiences taught them that-and they so legislated as to keep the war spirit in proper bounds. For financial as well as for civic reasons they were compelled to do so.

THE DISBANDMENT OF ARMIES.

While they honored Washington, the soldier, almost to the point of idolatry, they honored him more as the citizen and statesman, who stood for their progress, their security, and their happiness as a people. These were the principles he and they finally wrote into the Constitution of the United States. Washington understood the problem of distributing the Army. He and his congressional associates had much of the same concern after the surrender at Yorktown that Grant and his generals had at the close of the Civil War. In neither instance were the soldiers, who had fought so gallantly, to be permitted to continue indefinitely under martial law. was a fear, during the Revolutionary period, that they might overrun the country to the prejudice of all peace and of all law and order, but our forefathers wisely provided against any such condition. Happily they were able by legislation, supported by a wholesome public sentiment, to turn the mind of the soldiery to civic employment, to obedience to civil law.

It is no mean undertaking to build up an army, and by the same token an army of veterans, once organized and dependent upon military regulation and support, can not be easily broken up. It is said that some one, imbued with the martial spirit, suggested to Gen. Grant, when the distribution of his great veteran Army was under discussion at the close of the Civil War, that it would be well to move on to Canada and take possession of that country. Of course no such conquest was entered upon, but under the advice of men like Grant the mind of the soldier was turned toward the plowshare; he was urged to return to peaceful avocations, and to-day no higher tribute can be paid to the American veterans who knew what actual warfare was than to say he is the truest and best friend of our civil institutions. Having tasted of the horrors of war, he understands and appreciates the value of peace.

PREPAREDNESS FOR SECURITY AND PEACE.

It may not be amiss, while our people are discussing the question of preparedness, to refer to these incidents in our own We must deal with the question of preparedness, but we should treat it from the standpoint of the national welfare, over and above the interests or prejudices of individuals. If we are to prepare for war, we should prepare not only to defend our national honor if assailed but to insure that peace and tranquillity which our forefathers wrote into the Constitution of

the United States. [Applause.]

We have seen enough of the horrors of European warfare to prepare ourselves to avoid them. What this country wants and what our forefathers strove for was the maintenance of peace and security. Our preparedness, therefore, whether it consist of an increase in the Navy, which is the first line of defense, or whether it be to build up our coast defenses and increase our standing Army, should nevertheless be wholly with the view of perpetuating the assurances and the safeguards which have been given to the American fireside by our Constitution and our laws. In short, our preparedness should be sufficient only to uphold the American standards of right and justice. It should be a model for civilization. [Applause.] And to this end it should be our duty and our pride to encourage and to continue, now and forever, that spirit of faith and patriotism which animated the men who assembled here in Congress in 1784 and who made it possible, under the Constitution of the United States, that the rights of the people to the enjoyment of justice, domestic tranquility, and the common defense should be preserved. [Applause.]

The Late Representative Brown, of West Virginia.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

HON. WILLIAM A. ASHBROOK, OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, April 16, 1916,

On House resolution 204, as follows:

"Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. WILLIAM 4. Brown, Jr., late a Member of this House from the State of West Virginia.

"Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand adjourned. "Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the

"Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I feel it my duty to pay a brief tribute to the memory of my good friend, William G. Brown, Jr., of West Virginia. The greatest reward of service here is the opportunity afforded to help those who need help, to brighten the pathway of others, and the lasting friendships gained by our daily associations in this Chamber, in the committees, and our social relations. I knew our friend well. I had high admiration for him. He was one of the most companionable men I ever knew. There was nothing petty or mean in Junion Brown. Frank, unostentatious, generous, cheerful, courteous, ever seeking an opportunity to do something for his friends, never imposing upon them, big hearted, optimistic, considerate, kind, and true as steel. These were some of the many good qualities of our friend who was so ruthlessly called to his reward.

It is surprising when we stop to reflect how many Members have been summoned hence during the past 10 years. We can truly say, "Few know so many friends alive as dead." When younger than I am to-day I recall hearing my best friend, my mother, now with the pure in heart, sadly say, "The most of my mother, now with the pure in heart, sadly say, "The most of my friends sleep on you hill." As we reach and pass middle life, this sad fact becomes true to all. Our most priceless possessions are the memories of those who were near and dear in life, We love, then, to recount their good deeds and acts of kindness. In my list of friends worth while and no longer here, I will ever prize and cherish my acquaintance with Junior Brown.

When his death was announced it scarce seemed possible that it was true. Less than a week previous I saw him at my hotel, seated as host at a dinner table with a dozen or more of his

constituents, gay and happy as he always was when he had the opportunity to entertain his friends. A week later a little mound covered his mortal remains in his home-town cemetery. Truly, in the midst of life we are in death.

The life, character, and public service of WILLIAM G. BROWN, Jr., has already been exemplified by others more capable than I It avails naught to now praise or misstate fact. I could not pay a higher tribute than to say that those who knew him best loved him most. I am glad that I knew him. His life is an inspiration to me. He did not live for self alone. He freely shared his prosperity with those less fortunate, and the honors heaped upon him did not exalt him in his own estimate of himself. He was always and to the end a splendid specimen of what man should be-lovable, courageous, generous, and high minded,

Philippine Independence.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. S. D. FESS. OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Monday, May 1, 1916.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, national honor, next to religion, is the strongest passion of the human breast. This universal dictum has been the theme in song and story, of brush and chisel; it has been the subject in pulpit and forum; it has supplied the inspiration in the world's fields of battle. Robert Burns in his deathless Cotter's Saturday Night surveys the gamut of human emotion—filial affection in the home, philanthropic affection for the race, patriotic affection for country, and religious affection for God—places love of country next to that of love of God. National honor calls for the loftiest statesmanship of our leaders, the deepest devotion of our citizens, and the highest pride of all people. It is the one duty no one should refuse and the one right all should demand. There is no possible consideration to justify hesitation in either direction. Neither the childish whine of disgruntled groups of politicans, the ignorant complaints of unfortunate human beings, easily aroused by the demagogue, the cheap cry of economy, the cowardly fear of the incursions of ambitious nations, the mockish hypocrisy that we have no right to ingraft Anglo-Saxon ideas upon a Malay people, the maudlin assertion that the most wonderful achievement in nation building known to the world is an unjustifiable expenditure of money, nor the pronouncements of political platforms when issues are sought, should be regarded for a single moment when national honor is at stake.

Obligations which have fallen to this country, not from our own choosing but from the results of a var for humanity, can not be lightly ignored. The proposal to abandon the Philippines, a measure now before this Congress, is the keenest test of national honor this country will be called upon to make. 8,000,000 people came to us not from choice. McKinley expended his last ounce of influence to avoid war with Spain. He could not stay the current of public condemnation of the oppressor of Cuba, and war came. With it came these 1,700 or more islands, with 8,000,000 human beings, speaking no common language, but scores of various dialects serving as complete bars of communication one against the other as the most widely different peoples, speaking the most widely different languages; tribes with no sympathy one for the other, but in at least one case undying enmity between them. Here we inherited the prob-

lem of the proper disposition of our wards.

The alternatives presented to McKinley were few. Should they be returned to Spain? To do that would have been a con-demnation of our own conduct in chastising this country for her oppression. This was unthinkable. Should they be transferred to some other country, with a colonization history? This was also unthinkable, first because the transfer of a people in the open market of itself was somewhat revolting to our sense of national honor, and, secondly, a Republic such as ours does not entirely sympathize with the colonial government prevalent in the world. Should they be turned adrift to shift for themselves? This alternative was not long considered, simply for the conclusive reason of the dishonor to America involved in our destruction of their only government by force f our arms without substituting something in its stead. Herein is only one of the great blunders of this present administration on the pitiable Mexican trouble. Behold our President forcing Huerta, the only

responsible head, out of Mexico without having fully decided what substitute he would make. We had no right to destroy the only government Mexico had unless we intended to hold ourselves responsible for the government that was to follow. Whatever Wilson had in mind then or proposes now, McKinley, in 1898, would not agree to destroy the only government in the Philippines and then move off to allow bloodshed and disaster in internecine war, tribe with tribe, until interested foreign nations would step in and take possession. Such a step would have been dishonorable to the last degree and alike un-American, and McKinley would have been as deeply condemned then for such an indefensible act as Wilson is now for the awful condition in Mexico, with our hide-and-seek policy, making war upon a bandit when we are parleying with some other equally irresponsible revolutionist.

The only way open to this country was to accept the obligation of duty to a people which had come to us through the issues of war. This way was entered after full deliberation and for nearly a score of years we have been there, and I challenge the world to produce an equal triumph in the business of nation building as is found yonder in the southern seas. There is the brightest chapter in the history of national regard for the welfare of a helpless and foreign race ever penned since the morning stars sang together. A people which had been under Spain for 300 years; the mass of the population ignorant not only from necessity but from policy; a people unused to any of the modern methods of life, as primitive as those who lived a thousand years ago: a people without homogeneity except in race and habits; a people tribes of whom practiced head-hunting, others slavery, others peonage, polygamy, and so forth; a people upon an area capable of supporting twenty times the present population under modern methods; a people whose population was at times decimated by the ravages of smallpox, cholera, bubonic plague, beri-beri, and other serious epidemics; a people unaware of modern possibilities, living the most primitive life, yet capable of becoming a modern people; this people, so helpless and handicapped by ignorance and superstition falling under the issues of war to our care, have in less than a generation undergone a transformation that is the wonder of the world.

President McKinley, like the great Horace Mann, knew that the first steps must be education. He remembered the dictum of the great educator back in the thirties of the last century:

If we wish to better Massachusetts we must begin upon the child, not upon the adult. There is much more in the formation of character than in reformation of character. We also declared that to clean up a boy the work must begin on the mind, not on the body. The open door to the schoolhouse must therefore be the first step in State betterment.

So, likewise, McKinley declared the first step to better the people of the insular possessions must be the schoolhouse. So we undertook the work, and here it is.

Mr. Speaker, yonder in those southern islands lies the world's greatest laboratory for nation building known to man. It is not only under our management, it is of our own creation, our initiation, and under our direction.

our initiation, and under our direction.

What do we now see? With the schoolhouse as the training ground for the next generation we see nearly 600,000 youth in preparation—not to converse or write a name in dialect and then call him literate, but to equip the mind with modern thought and training to know his rights, his abilities, his possibilities, to stimulate his ambitions, and to prepare him to care for the fruits of self-government.

The schoolhouses, many built to stand forever, are filled with children under trained teachers, at first mostly American, to insure good results. To supply trained Filipino teachers normal schools were established, which are rapidly supplying the needs of the schools. Every department of industrial and vocational training to insure better farm results and more efficient industrial results is prominently carried on. In the short term of American occupation the literacy ratio has been wonderfully increased, not in the adult so much as the child. In less than a score of years there are more people speaking the English language than there were speaking the Spanish in 300 years.

Next to the schoolhouse, and akin to it, was the work for the unfortunate. Sanitation was the remedy. The frightful epidemic of cholera so common in the islands, as it had been in Cuba and in Panama, was an early enemy to be combated by American science. The United States Public Health Service is the result of that effort. I challenge the world to produce a more brilliant page in hygienic achievement. Cholera has become a thing to be remembered only; smallpox, whose prevalence in other days is marked on the faces of many on the streets of Manila, is now not to be feared. It is almost entirely wiped out. The same thing is true with bubonic plague. This is modern science triumphant. It was accomplished only by the most rigid regulations of the quaran-

tine laws, which were summarily enforced, and which never could have been enforced save by American authority, as evidenced by constant complaints among the more ignorant. The cleaning-up campaigns, the construction of modern sewers, the supply of pure water under modern methods, furnish in those far-away islands one of the healthiest spots on earth. The contrast now with then is one of the object lessons never to be forgotten.

Kindred to this campaign for sanitation the hospital system was inaugurated. To-day as finely appointed hospital equipment can be found in Manila as can be found anywhere else.

As was to be expected, this achievement was made under the silent protest of ignorance and superstition, unknown to Europe or America—a valuable suggestion of what will in due time follow should American influence be withdrawn. In all these departments of modern civilization the real work is to train natives to carry on this work. This is the real constructive work of American occupation.

True, from the standpoint of a material advancement, wonderful progress has been made. The 120 miles of railroad which we found have been extended to nearly 600 miles of modern railroad tracks. The trails through the islands which we found have given way to thousands of miles of well-built roads connecting the various parts of the islands and making possible the unification of the people, thousands of whom are beginning to trade with one another. The old buildings for public purposes have given way to modern municipal buildings of modern equipment. Primitive methods of agriculture are in places giving way to the intelligent methods learned in the industrial and agricultural schools. The production of the islands is rapidly increasing, the consumption is keeping pace, wages are in places ten times what they had been, trade in the islands as well as with the outside word is rapidly growing. In a word, this primitive people, under the discipline and direction of American skill, is rapidly becoming a modern people.

A contrast of conditions collective and singly in 1900 with what can now be seen in the same quarters of the islands indicate not only the work that has been done but the possibilities of properly directed energies in the future. It accentuates the importance of its continuance. This accomplishment is not the result of accident or incident. It is a result of a carefully planned and religiously executed program. It has not been carried on for the sake of our own country, save the honor and dignity involved in carrying on a great work for the world, but it has been inspired from the very beginning in the determination to help the Filipino people.

It is slanderous in the extreme to ask whether this Nation is justified in its accomplishments. It is ingratitude too base to be tolerable to question the appreciation of the people for whom this work has been conducted. It is an insult to the intelligence of our time to intimate that such results as there achieved could have been secured without American intervention. The conclusive proof that no such work for civilization would or could have been done is the attitude of the politico and his influence upon the ignorant Filipino toward American education, American discipline, and training now in vogue in the islands, The general treatment, silent and sullen, of these people of the Americans in the islands, especially in the last three years, is conclusive evidence of what will happen in the islands just as soon as American influence is removed.

This feeling can be directly traced to a propaganda for independence by those who desire to profit as leaders in the
islands. So long as American influence is dominant the ambitions of these people are not only restrained but their plans
are impossible. This propaganda is inspired by these leaders,
who in turn build upon the prejudice and superstitution of the
ignorant, unable to appreciate what has been done in the past
15 years. This propaganda is furthered by the agitation of
some Democratic leaders in this country who, after having been
defeated by the people, still persist in writing their platform in
the proposed reorganization of the government for the islands.
This propaganda is also aided by the unwise utterances of those
now in authority in the islands and the censorship of all discussion by those on the ground who otherwise would openly condemn dissension.

Mr. Speaker, whatever else this administration must answer for to this Nation, there is one crime that will not be forgotten, the unsettling of the most stupendous and wonderful work of civilization for a needy people ever begun by a great and responsible nation. Not until this administration came to power was there a single backward step in that wonderful work.

It was only last Saturday night that I talked for three hours with a former district superintendent of schools who for six years had charge of the schools of an important and populous island. He tells me he has no hope for the islands. He de-

clared it would be disgusting if it were not so pitiable to see the possibilities to follow the withdrawal of the influence of

This attitude of the Nation for which the Democratic Party, and it alone, must be held responsible means but one thingthe work of the past 18 years, the equal of which is not known to history, must be sacrificed-not to our loss, but to the incatculable loss of the peoples for whom we have labored. Democratic Party has been the one great obstacle to that world work for this indefensible and helpless people. After having driven the country to war with Spain, against McKinley's wish, this party refused to accept the results. This party has made at least two campaigns on the issue, with decisive repudiation In the midst of this persistent obstacle this work both times. has been continued uninterruptedly, until the Democratic Party injected this unsettling policy-first to declare for a future date of independence, and now in this bill it is proposed to cut them The enormity of this proposal is difficult to fully comprehend.

Mr. Speaker, there is no truer law of biology than that forms of life which evolve under certain conditions will revert to the original type just as soon as the conditions are removed. It is true in individual life. Remove the child from the ash heap into other environment, and up to a certain age the longing for the ash heap persists, and it will continue to hold its attraction for the child until not only new interests are created but new ideals are formed. So it is with peoples. The unrest of the Filipino under American restraint is but a suggestion of his preference for his primitive methods to the modern life. He is not alone in this. It is quite universal. Ideals can not be completely altered overnight. Civilization is not a matter of the calendar. It is counted in generations. Eighteen years of modernization can not work a metamorphosis of a race. It can transform a generation of children if the child can be constantly kept under its environment. This is impossible in the Philip-While English is spoken by more people in the islands than any other language, this is mostly confined to children. Those who speak it in the school will hear a different language in the home.

Mr. Speaker, not until the boy and girl that enter school to-day become a man or woman of 25 or 30 years of age will the training in the schools begin to dominate the islands. This can only be hoped for by continuing this training under American influence. It will begin to decay as soon as we leave the islands.

There is no possibility of a nationality without a common language. This common language is within the next generation if this country keeps its hand on the helm. Just as sure as we do not these islands will revert to the primitive habits-the first love. This is the enormity of this vicious and wicked proposal to commit national dishonor that the islands may strangle all hopes of a national existence. Has anyone here to-day responsible for his vote counted the cost of independence of these The sure result of a common language spoken and understood in every part of the many islands and a consequent nationality, without it impossible—this result sacrificed for all time with its sure consequences. An educational system which is rapidly becoming universal for the training of head, heart, and hand, and placing in the possession of every child the in-struments of self-help—this will as surely go as it is now complained of because not understood. Sanitation that has driven from the Islands most of the dread diseases of smallpox, cholera, bubonic plague, beriberi, and made the islands as healthy as most places in our own country. This can be preserved only by rigid regulation, under which the native has fretted and because of which the mischief-maker, the politico, has been able feed the passion and hatred of the uninformed and easily misled. This must become ineffective, and it is nothing if it is not effective. The great work of driving out the diseases of stock upon which the farmer depends for his beasts of burden. The disease of rinderpest and surra to which cattle and horses are subject must be combated. This has been accomplished by rigid methods which will be lost in all probability with the with drawal of our dominance. The system of road building will discontinue, as evidenced by the discontinuance recently upon the basis that roads are too costly. The retarding of this plan to modernize the islands can have but one meaning. They will not stand still; they will relapse. The public improvements such as were made in harbors and ports will not continue; growth here will not only cease but decay will follow. Railroad building will not only stop but it will gradually fall into disuse. No public enterprise can prosper unless the general activity all along the line, including all the people, is intelligently directed. Retard modern methods and railroading as a profitable venture ceases. This is not only true here but it is infancy, withdraw our authority and permit internecine strife true in all the towns in all public utilities. Banks will feel it, in a modern Mexicanization of the islands until some interested

business of every character will suffer. The nearly 700 post offices in the islands and the nearly 300 postal savings banks with more than 1,000 Filipino depositors in 1907; the telegraph and telephone offices connecting Manila with at least 100 small centers of population, all of which have been built up by American initiation and which have created a new life in industry, will respond to the withdrawal of the directing energy under which this new life was stimulated and maintained.

The inauguration of self-government throughout its many phases, including the courts, has been the one most essential item in the great experiment in this Malayan people. The United States under McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft has step by step educated this people to self-government. The problem was to make slow but sure progress, and not to go too rapidly. The government was first military. Then, in due time, it became civil under a commission appointed by the President. To train the people for self-government, municipal government under the direction of the commission was permitted. The next step was a government with a legislature, the lower house of which was elective, made up by the natives, with an upper branch appointive, and responsible to the United States. During the growth of this popular recognition in the lawmaking body, the municipal governments multipled throughout the islands and became training schools for self-government under the eye of Uncle Sam. It was the policy of the three Presidents named to advance steadily toward the goal when the people of the islands could choose to have their own self-government entirely disconnected with the United States if the latter would so decide it wise, or as a self-governing country under the direction of the United States if the Filipino so decided. When that stage would be reached must be left to the United States; not with its ward. This policy was further promoted by the present Democratic administration. The upper branch is now under the control of the Philippines, a majority of the commission being Filipino. The courts and administration as well as the schools are rapidly becoming Filipino.

The one fatal danger is not in the advance but in the unwise propaganda that loses sight of self-government in the false halo of independence; two widely different conditions,

The Jones bill of last Congress, in the main, was in keeping with the past policy, but it injected an unwise preamble, which could have none but a vicious effect. It was an attempt to write the Democratic platform in the organic law for a people, a purpose too important to reduce to the levels of party politics. That vicious innovation has its effect in the islands and is now minimizing the great work of this Nation. It is designed to forfeit the vast accomplishment of this country which has not only cost us forty-three millions of money, but precious lives, to effect. The evidence of our purpose must be in what we do, not what we say. Character rests upon a record, not a prospectus; upon a performance, not a promise. The Jones bill without the preamble is performance; with the preamble it is a promise which can have no good, but furnishes a lever in the hands of mischief-makers, agitators, for constant harm. Assured that this sort of promise could only work injury should we remain to do our duty, the Senate proposes to unload the Philippines altogether, and like a coward scuttle the ship and leave her to sink

Mr. Speaker, from whatever standpoint this proposal is examined it is vicious, and the party responsible for it will feel the lash of speedy repudiation. After our soldiers liberated a people at the price of treasures, of blood, and sacrifice; after the Government has inaugurated an experiment in self-government among a people to whom it was unknown-after this experiment had reached the stage where it had invoked the wonder of the civilized world, when these people began to show proofs that principles sown were beginning to show ripening fruitsnow comes a minority party to inject partisan politics into an accomplishment which ought to be regarded too sacred to play with, and proposes to undo the work of two decades, haul down the American flag, abandon our American citizens who are in the islands upon our own invitation, nullify the good work by permitting an abandonment of all the advantage of modern methods of civilization inaugurated, a removal of the restraints of civilization, a reversion of a people to old habits the result centuries of observance, repudiate our sacred obligations to these people as well as to our own, dishonor our own word and pledge in the securities we permitted to be issued and sold to inaugurate a constructive and building program, thwart the great promise of domestic trade by retarding the great work of the development of a soil that is capable of producing all the tropical products both in variety and quantity demanded by our people, discard a foreign commerce only now in its foreign country intervenes by taking possession of the country, and all for what reason?

This is no reflection upon these island peoples. It is a statement of a fact in history. As every people is labeled by characteristic marks which gives it its identity, the Filipino has his traits. The 300 years of control under the Spaniard gave no chance for initiative. Even to-day 90 per cent or more of all the business of any city is done by foreigners. Most of what would be called native enterprise is conducted by the Chinese, but a small number in proportion to the whole population. Can any open-minded man doubt what will happen when the government of these people is turned over to Filipino politicians? The recent elections showed a voting population of 250,000, about 3 per cent of the total population. Of this electorate less than 30 per cent were eligible upon educational qualifica-

In the face of the inevitable future of these peoples in their present unstable and indefensible situation, what can be set out as the source of this indefensible proposal? answers. Because we have promised the Filipino to do so. Were this true, the sane answer would be that a bad promise is better broken than kept. But no party ever promised what this Clarke amendment proposes to do. The only thing any responsible party ever held out was the prospect of self-government when a government was established and future efficient rule was assured. Independence is not what these people want, It is a prosperous government, and self-government if it can be safely secured. Canada has self-government but not inde-So has Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Mexico has independence, but who among you would say she has self-government?

Another group declares the Filipino wants independence, and we are therefore unjust in not granting it. So do certain groups want slavery, others peonage, others polygamy, others the cus tom of head hunting. But wanting these things is not a justification for granting them. Furthermore, it is not at all true that the Filipino wants independence as an exercise of intelligent judgment. The vast mass of the adult population to-day knows nothing of the merits or elements of self-government and much less of independence. Ignorance and superstition so abound among the people that a propaganda can be made to flourish among them.

Another group declares we have no right to ingraft upon these peoples our ideas of government. The Filipino would have no right to attempt the government of the non-Christian tribes which this proposal contemplates.

Another group claims they cost vast expense to this Government. While outside of the Army this is not true, and, including the Army item, it is not much more kept in the Philippines than elsewhere, the future development of these islands will return many fold all the expense entailed by our dominance

Another group contends they are a strategic weakness from a military point of view. This country has never yet displayed the spirit of cowardice. Not in all its history has it ever run away from a duty, and even were it guilty of such a lapse it would not be because it was afraid. This is the last excuse. This Republic will never be frightened from performing its duty, especially when the price of such refusal is national honor.

Mr. Speaker, there is but one course for this Government to pursue; the only wise course both for the Filipino and for the United States: that is the course outlined by McKinley and furthered by both Roosevelt and Taft. During the 15 years under these administrations the work was begun and steadily carried on that has worked a virtual transformation of a people. has been done unselfishly by the great Republic to the gratitude of many of the beneficiaries, but, I regret to say, not all, and what is worse in the face of sullen criticism of certain agitators whose ambitions were necessarily thwarted by the presence of

Not until the present régime was inaugurated did the good work done for the islands stop and the mischief-maker get in The legitimate fruits of this recent agitation embraced in the preamble of the bill are evident everywhere today in the islands in the general attitude toward American residents, toward the work of the Americans, and in the vociferous native leader and Filipino press. The climax of that agitation has now found its way to the American Congress. It is the Clarke amendment already passed by that body, a position declared unwise by President Wilson and resented by Secreta. Garrison to the extent of leaving the Cabinet, protested against by American citizens at home as well as in the islands, condemned by the conscience of the country, yet here it is in this House, and we are asked to indorse this act of perfidy and dishonor.

The princely ex-Secretary of War when before the committee spoke in no uncertain terms:

The princely ex-Secretary of War when before the committee spoke in no uncertain terms:

We have no right to go further at this time because of the duty which we have undertaken in this great enterprise. We have altered the lives of these people by injecting a new and more advanced civilization among them. We have whetted their aspirations for different methods of life, of doing business, and of handling governmental matters. We have accustomed them to sanitation, energy and effort in commerce, agriculture, and trade; we have stimulated them to live upon a different plane and to educate their children for better things. For us to go further at this time and withdraw our support before we have practical assurance that these things will in the main continue would be a betrayal of the generation of islanders that we have stimulated and to whom we have held out great hopes, without any corresponding advantage to ourselves or to anyone. Not to give them what is provided in this bill would likewise be a betrayal of the pledges and promises made on our behalf, because by their conduct of that which we have given to them to do they have shown themselves worthy and capable of doing as much more as this bill will give them to do. Good faith to those to whom we have pledged ourselves requires us to stay so long as we must; and good will to the islanders, in accordance with our pledges and assurances, requires us to stay no longer than is necessary to test and reach conclusions as to their capacity for managing their own affairs. This act seems logically the next and oroper type to take in the experiment. What its result will be no one but a prophet can tell. That it can not be disastrous in any proper sense of that word is assured by reason of the control we retain and the safeguards we have provided. What the next step should be, when it should be taken, what conditions would properly surround the grant of absolute independence, and other like speculations, it seems to me, are idle and their consideration at this time wo

This utterance was by the head of the department responsible . for the islands and to the committee of the Senate responsible for the legislation for these people. It is in keeping with the policy of McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft. Mr. Speaker, I have waived aside the manifold grounds for the defeat of this scuttle policy and simply press the national duty to these peoples. Other Members have dwelt upon these further considerations and thus have relieved me from this phase of the argument. The real consideration as it now appeals to me is national honor.

Mr. Speaker, in the name of the boys who went down in the muddy waters of Habana Bay, February 15, 1898, in the name of the valiant lads that went through the dangerous channel at Cavite with Admiral Dewey, just 18 years ago to-day, in the name of the soldiers that penetrated the forest with Gen. Funston to the lair of the head of the Filipino insurrectionist, Aguinaldo, in the name of that heroic group of Americans, 5,000 strong, who bravely undertook to battle for the fruits of modern civilization in the Orient, in the name of the hopes of the millions of helpless Filipinos who must have leadership, not exploitation, in the name of our own honor as a Nation to respect our financial as well as moral obligations toward those who upon our behest are now in the islands with their all, and in the name of the dignity we hope that our Nation may always enjoy in the eyes of the world as a member of the family of nations, I appeal to you, my colleagues, upon both sides of this aisle, strike down this proposal of scuttle, so unwise in economy, so dangerous in its possibilities, so dishonorable in policy, so cowardly in purpose, and so indefensible in reason, reject this reversal of a nation's history and restore once for all our high standard of leading these people yet to higher levels. To pass this measure will be the climax of dishonor from which this proud Nation will not recover in the memory of any one now living.

Philippine Independence.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OSCAR W. SWIFT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 1, 1916.

Mr. SWIFT. Mr. Speaker, there is nothing in the history of the American Commonwealth to merit the assertion that it seeks territorial aggrandizement, whereas the liberal policies pursued toward China, Cuba, and Porto Rico demonstrate the lofty character of the motives by which our Nation has been inspired in its attitude toward weak and defenseless peoples with whom it has entertained intimate or governmental relations.

The cession of the Philippines to the United States was one of the logical and inevitable results of the conflict with Spain in 1898, and the acquisition of these isles in an eastern sea has imposed upon our Nation obligations which can not be honorably abandoned at this time by mere statutory enactments.

Since the Democratic Party assumed control of national affairs in 1913 it has sought to justify the reversal of comprehensive, well-established, national policies by the promulgation of the beatitudes on humanity.

An implied promise, though conjectural, has been exalted.

In the name of humanity an existing stable government in Mexico was openly discouraged, and upon its overthrow the rule of a weak, unreliable, and bombastic chief fostered. Our troops were withdrawn from Vera Cruz on the plea of a promise implied. A salute to the flag was demanded, but withdrawn in the name of humanity. An implied promise furnished the excuse to lift the embargo on the shipment of war munitions into Mexico, and on our frontier, undefended in the name of humanity, the sacred blood of soldier and civilian has been shed.

In the name of humanity the honor of loyal citizens has been publicly slandered in high places, and in that same name it is now proposed to violate the express national promise to protect, defend, and uplift the Filipinos until fully qualified for

self-government.

Mr. Speaker, public opinion fortifies my judgment that it is still inopportune to establish the period of Philippine independence, and it is my firm conviction that, like the rainbow at dawn, the platitude "this was done in the name of humanity" will be dissolved in the chaos of uprisings and insurrections among that unhappy people, and those who now advocate the early surrender of American sovereignty will seek to shield themselves behind the barricade of irresponsibility.

The Philippines.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL, OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 1, 1916.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote against the Clarke amendment, as I do not believe that the Filipinos are as yet fit to govern themselves and because I believe that we are having at the present time in Mexico sufficient trouble without seeking a duplication thereof in the Philippines.

The New York Times published on February 14, 1916, an article which I quote in full, as it is worthy our most serious

FORESEES DISASTEE IN PHILIPPINES BILL—HENDRIK COLIJN, NOTED EXPERT ON MALAYSIAN AFFAIRS, WARNS AGAINST INDEPENDENCE—CITES DUTCH EXPERIENCE—MOVEMENT IN HOLLAND FOR A BIGGER NAVY TO COPE WITH POSSIBLE AGGRESSION BY JAPAN.

THE HAGUE, January 18.

The Hague, January 18.

"If your Congress passes the Jones bill with the Clarke amendment, giving independence to the Philippines in 1921, there will certainly be most serious consequences—not only in the Philippines but all over the Orient in the possessions of European powers."

This is the opinion of perhaps the greatest living expert in the government of Malay races, Hendrik Colijn, who practically created the present civil service of the Dutch East Indies, after, as a soldier, he had had a large part in the pacification of the last of the unruly tribes, who was called home after 20 years in the Orient to become a member of Parilament, and served as minister of war and marine in the last conservative government (1911-1913), and who is at present, from his seat in the First (upper) Chamber of Parilament, one of the leaders of the Conservative Party and one of the most long-sighted of Dutch statesmen. In his home here, where he is the head of an East Indian oil company, he talked to-day about the work of the Dutch in their East Indian archipelago, which has eight times the population and fifty times the area of the Netherlands; and the conversation turned to American colonies and the pans of American antiimperlalists.

"I ought to say rather," Mr. Colijn went on after a moment, "that there would be most serious consequences, for I do not believe that you will grant complete independence to the Philippines now or soon. You can not. At the very least there must be some arrangement, such as the British have in Egypt, where with a nominal native Government you would have American supervision and American officials in the higher posts. If the Jones bill is passed, you would have to come back to some such system after the Philippines had enjoyed a very short period of complete independence. You would have to do it for the sake of the islands themselves. But in the interval there would be disorders; If the Americans had cast aside their tast hold on the Islands, some other power could step in under pretense of resto

SAYS FILIPINOS LACK CHARACTER.

"Why do you think Philippine self-government would be a failure?" Mr. Colijn was asked.

"Because the natives lack character," he responded promptly.

"They have education, many of them; more in the Philippines than in our colonies. But they have not enough to make them anywhere nearly capable of self-government as yet. Of the 5,000,000 in our colonies there are perhaps 2 per cent—perhaps only 1 per cent—who have some education. In the Philippines the percentage is higher—perhaps as much as 10 or 12—but it is not yet high enough.

"And mere education, reading, writing, mathematics, history—learning—is not sufficient. It takes longer than that to train character. In Java, the oldest, wealthiest, most civilized of our colonies, we have found that as engineers, doctors, lawyers, even, Malays can be as good as white men. But not as administrators. Every man has his price, and sometimes it is a very low price.

"The chief fault of American administration in the Philippines, so far as I have been able to observe, is that it is too democratic. You are prone to put natives into high administrative posts for which they are not ready. Character can be created, but it takes time. We have found that. In the Netherlands there is no difference of opinion over what we want to make ultimately of our East Indian dominions; it is our aim to educate the people up to where they can govern themselves under the Dutch crown. But we must move slowly. Self-government can not be created by order; it must begin at the bottom, in little things, and grow by degrees. You can not begin at the top.

"Where you have a superficially educated upper class, small in numbers, without the cultural background which leads a European or an American to administer honestly and efficiently, and the great mass of the common people little better than savages, far beneath them, the upper classes would not represent the people. They would exploit them."

"But is there not some self-government in the Dutch colonies?"

"We have had great success in the first step—self-government in the villages," Mr. Collin replied. "There the natives are learning the rudiments. It is our policy, too, to work as far as possible through the native chiefs—rajahs, datus, or whatever the local title may be—but we keep them under a strict control. We must, for the Malays are used to the strong hand.

"I'm leave teelf we have really been working properly only about 50

FIFTY YEARS IN JAVA.

we keep them under a strict control. We must, for the Malays are used to the strong hand.

"In Java itself we have really been working properly only about 50 years, and the last of the tribal wars in the outer islands was not finished until 1907. In that year our eastern colonial budget was 160,000.000 gulden (about \$70.000.000) and this year it is 360,000.000. But that is not a very long time in which to get practice in self-government, and to suppose that the educated Malays would now be truly representative of the people is wholly wrong."

"But they do not realize that, I suppose?"

"Of course not, and that is why the passage of the Jones bill would make trouble. You can not educate a people and keep them from thinking; and it is only natural that when Javanese or Filipinos or natives of British India get a certain amount of western learning they imbibe also certain western ideas of their right and ability to govern themselves. Their limitations, naturally, they are not likely to see, and naturally it irritates them to find white men always in a position of superiority. So you have the movement of 'Asia for the Asiatics,' which had been dormant and unexpressed for many years, but did not really come to the surface and take form till after the Chinese-Japanese War.

"That war showed Asiatics that it was possible for an oriental nation to become a strong military power, and from that time on the nationalists in every eastern dominion saw the dream of something that they too might accomplish. The two Filipino revolts against the Spaniards and the Americans fanned this feeling still higher, and, of course, the Russo-Japanese War, when for the first time a great western power was beaten by an oriental nation, roused it to a much more dangerous point. If America set the example of giving independence to ber Asiatic possessions the nationalists in other European colonies would at once begin to chafe under their own restrictions, and there might be a good deal of trouble in more places than one."

"You said a little

MAY TAKE A CENTURY.

"How long do you think it will take?"

The man who knows more about Malay administrative problems than anybody else lifted his eyebrows.

"Much longer than most people think," he said presently, "Perhaps a hundred years, perhaps more, perhaps less. It goes slowly,"

"And the Philippines. How soon do you think they will be ready for complete self-government?"

"There, again, no one can say how many years; fifty, a hundred, two hundred—who knows? But it will not be in 1921."

The governmental problem is not the only one confronting the Dutch in their East Indian possessions. Behind an unobtrusive bill which was quietly introduced in the second (lower) chamber of the Dutch Parliament when that body began its session last week there lie possibilities of an entire displacement of the present naval situation in the Far East, and even of a realignment of national groupings in that region.

Far East, and even of a realignment of national groupings in that region.

The bill provides for a special tax on all persons possessing a property of more than 50,000 guiden (\$22,000) or an equivalent income, the money raised to be devoted to naval expansion. Among members of the Conservative Party, which was preparing to make this project a feature of its program when it was turned out of office by the election of 1913, there is no secret that the money to be raised, if the tax is imposed, is to be used to begin a fleet which those Dutch statesmen who favor a vigorous Asiatic policy intend eventually to build up to six superdreadnaughts, with the proper auxiliaries, and this fleet is to be stationed permaneutly in the Dutch East Indies.

The Dutch fleet at present is negligible. But the altered situation which has come about in the last 20 years in the Orient and the general neglect of the Far East by the great European powers since the beginning of the war has convinced many Dutchmen that a navy is badly needed in Java.

JAPAN'S MOTIVES SUSPECTED.

JAPAN'S MOTIVES SUSPECTED.

For some years Dutchmen who realize the value of the extensive and enormously wealthy East Indian possessions of the Netherlands have been disturbed by the tendency of the leaders of the "Asia for the Asiatics" movement to look toward Japan. It is only natural that

in India, Java, China, and the Philippines ardent nationalists look toward Japan as their exemplar. Most of these nationalists would prefer the rule of Japanese; but, rather than either, they would prefer to rule themselves. Whenever the superiority of the white man galls them they look toward Japan for moral support, for possible material assistance at some future time.

The benevolent intentions of Japan with regard to the freedom of the Asiatics are rather distrusted by Dutch enthusiasts for a big navy. The certainty that Germany and probably even England would not permit Japanese interference with the Dutch East Indies is no longer of avail now that the great European powers are deadlocked, and may remain deadlocked for years, while Japan, outside of it all, is steadily gaining ground by standing still. If the Netherlands need help in the Far East in the next few years, they will not get it from Europe.

There remain two places whence it might come—Australia and the United States. Australia is spending her energies so lavishly in the war that her value as an ally is not so great as it would have been when the agitation for a Dutch Asiatic fleet began; but it is certain that every onnce of strength she possesses would be used to prevent a Japanese conquest of Java and the other islands of the archipelago. Japanese conquest of the Dutch islands would facilitate Japanese conquest of northern Australia whenever the Japanese felt like it.

The proposed Dutch fleet would not be large enough to challenge Japan's naval supremacy in the Far East; but it would be strong enough, if based on Soerabaya and one or two other harbors, now lightly fortified, which could be turned into powerful strongholds, to Join with the Australian fleet and the American Asiatic squadron and put up an adequate resistance until the main body of the American affect could arrive.

That an understanding could be reached with the United States, as well as with Australia, for joint naval action of a purely defensive

put up an adequate resistance until the main body of the American fleet could arrive.

That an understanding could be reached with the United States, as well as with Australia, for joint naval action of a purely defensive nature in case of trouble is believed by many Hollanders. They merely point out what the position of the Philippines would be if Japan, in addition to her present possession of Formosa as an advanced position for attack, also occupied the enormous and wealthy Dutch Archipelago, with its numerous potential naval bases in their rear.

The naval program of the conservatives probably will meet with strong opposition in the present session, despite the sort of party truce which prevails. A strong section of the Liberals and Radicals, supported by the Socialists, can see the reasonableness of universal military service to defend the territory of Holland itself, but is unwilling to incur heavy expense for defending Java. Moreover, the keeping the Dutch Army mobilized on the frontier has eaten up one loan of 275,000,000 gulden and has necessitated the proposal in this session of another of 225,000,000, and many lines of Dutch industry, with most lines of Dutch commerce, have been crippled by the blockade. The finances of the Government require extremely careful handling.

The press of the country is against the Clarke amendment, as is shown by the following editorial from the New York World of April 28, 1916:

LOOKING FOR TROUBLE IN THE PHILIPPINES.

The Philippine bill, which has encountered such fierce opposition in the House at Washington, embraces legislation of importance to the welfare of the islands. Besides meeting adequately some social and economic problems, it extends the principle of home rule and greatly strengthens existing guarantees of liberty.

As presented to the Senate, the measure in its preamble promised ultimate independence. An eleborate amendment proposed by Senator Clarke, of Arkansas, provides that in not less than two nor more than four years from the enactment of the law, if the President is satisfied that the people are capable of self-government, the United States shall withdraw from the islands and leave them to their own resources.

This is the mischlevous proposition which is resisted in the House and threatens the defeat of the entire bill. To press it in times like these, when no man can foresee the results of world-wide war and when the fate of small nations as well as great is in the balance, would seem to be the very limit of rashness. No such action is needed in order to keep faith with our dependency.

Both parties are pledged to Philippine independence, which must come in due season, when a Congress then sitting shall be satisfied that all the conditions are favorable. A specific promise now is likely to raise false hopes, and its almost certain cancellation, as provided for, could hardly fail to involve us in serious complications. To get rid of the vicious Clarke amendment it ought not to be necessary to defeat the entire bill.

Let me also read the following editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer:

WILSON QUOTED AGAINST HIMSELF.

WILSON QUOTED AGAINST HIMSELF.

One phase of the Garrison resignation that will attract the attention of thoughtful persons is its relation to the policy of "scuttle" in the Philippine legislation. The Secretary of War felt that the President ought resolutely to put his foot down on the mean attempt to place the United States in the position of squirming out of its moral obligations. That Mr. Wilson once deemed it incumbent on this country to teach the natives of the Philippines the meaning of self-government by "a long apprenticeship of obedience" is proven by his own words. They occurred in a lecture delivered to the students of Columbia University on Constitutional Government in the United States. They were spoken, as has been said, while Mr. Wilson was "in training" for the Presidency. He said:

"We can give the Filipinos constitutional government, a government which they may count upon to be just, a government based upon some clear and equitable understanding, intended for their good and not for our aggrandizement; but we must for the present ourselves supply that government.

* * But we can not give them self-government, Self-government is not a thing that can be 'given' to any people, because it is a form of character and not a form of constitution. No people can be 'given' the self-control of maturity. Only a long apprenticeship of obedience can secure them the precious possession, a thing no more to be bought than given."

If the President feit this way, and his words certainly indicate that he did, it is his duty to protest against the humiliating legislation which is being jammed through Congress.

It is easy to understand and to sympathize with Mr. Garrison.

Let me quote the following editorial from the New York Times of April 28, 1916:

KILL THE SCUTTLING BILL.

The 30 Democratic Members of the House of Representatives who stood out in Wednesday's caucus against the passage of the Philippines bill under gag rule have rendered a patriotic service to their country. Despite the President's support, the Philippines bill should not be passed. To repeat our promise to grant independence to the inhabitants of the archipelago as soon as they are capable of self-government is quite unnecessary. To promise to give them independence within four years, if the promise were kept, would be a gross betrayal of the trust we assumed when we took the control of the islands away from Spain. Both Brig. Gen. McIntyre, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, and Mr. W. Morgan Shuster have lately reported that good progress is making in the Philippines, the people are learning, they will be capable of self-government some day, but that day is in the distant future. If they were released from American rule now, all the good work that has been done would be undone. The pretense that peace and prosperity would be continued under a hastily acquired independence by a vast multitude of people of different religions and ideals, many of them still illiterate, is too shallow to deceive anybody.

The only excuse for getting out of the Philippines is that we want to get out. Revolution would follow our withdrawal; a new and worse Mexico would be created in the Far East. It is unnecessary to conjecture what the ultimate result would be. The national honor demands that we fulfill our obligations and devote our energies to the development of the islands in the arts and industries and educate their people. Freedom they already possess. They are not the subjects of a despotic or greedy Government exploiting them for its own purposes. Mr. Shuster's report shows that they are doing well and learning how to administer their own affairs.

The action of the 30 Democratic Members indicates that the obnoxious bill can not pass in its present objectionable form, if, indeed, it can pass after reasonable amendment. Re

The business men of the country are against this Clarke amendment, as is fully established by the following resolutions, which I read at length:

which I read at length:

Preamble and resolution adopted by the Cotton Goods Export Association of New York, April 24, 1916, in relation to proposed legislation by Congress upon the Philippine Islands.

Whereas the United States in taking possession and control of the Philippine Islands voluntarily assumed an obligation to the undeveloped and defenseless people of those islands to render them ample protection and to assist them in political, economic, and moral development according to the standards of American civilization; and Whereas by the same act the United States assumed an obligation to the other nations of the world to prevent these comparatively undeveloped islands, of great strategic value, from becoming a cause of contention and strife between nations; and Whereas the United States in what has thus far been done to perform these duties has made a beginning only in the development of the islands and their inhabitants: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Cotton Goods Export Association of New York, That the United States Government be urged to continue the discharge of its obligations to the people of the Philippine Islands and to the nations of the world by proceeding with its task, and publicly announce its intention to retain sovereignty and control over the Philippine Islands until such time as that development shall have the assurance of stability and until all the responsibilities of the United States shall have been fully and adequately met.

It is only proper to call attention here to the—

It is only proper to call attention here to the-

FACTS OF THE PHILIPPINES.

HISTORY.

The Philippines were discovered by Magellan in 1521. In 1565 the Spaniards made the first permanent settlement at Cebu. In 1570 they occupied Manila, and with the exception of about two years—1762-63—when Manila was in the hands of the English, the Spaniards were in control of the islands until 1898, the year of American occupation.

GEOGRAPHY.

The total number of charted islands exceeds 3,000. Many of these, however, are mere rocks or coral reefs. The largest of these is Luzon, with an area of approximately 40,969 square miles, and Mindanao, area about 36,292 square miles, which is inhabited principally by the Moros, The next in order in area are Samar, 5,031 square miles; Negros, 4,881 square miles; Panay, 4,611 square miles; Paragua, 4,027 square miles; Mindoro, 3,851 square miles; Leyte, 2,722 square miles; Cebu, 1,762 square miles; Bohol, 1,441 square miles; and Masbate, 1,236 square miles.

miles.

The islands are about 600 miles off the coast of China, and lie between 5° and 22° north latitude, and 117° and 127° east longitude. The northernmost group are but a short distance south of the Japanese island of Formosa, while the southernmost extremities reach close to Borneo and the Celebes.

The principal cities and commercial ports in the order of their importance are Manila, Iloilo, Cebu, and Zamboanga. Manila is situated on the island of Luzon, Iloilo on Panay, Cebu on the island of that name, and Zamboanga on Mindanao. Manila is the capital, the first port of the islands, and the chief commercial center. It is distant 2 days by sea from Hongkong, 4 days from Nagasakl, 5 from Shanghaf, and 28 from San Francisco or Seattle. A 17-knot ship could make the passage from the Pacific coast to Manila direct in 15 days. The route at present followed touches the principal ports of China and Japan, affording through passengers ample opportunity for a visit in those interesting countries during the regular stops.

The total area of the Philippine Islands is 115,000 square miles, or 73,571,222 acres. Of this area 60,000 square miles, or 38,400,000 acres, are forest land, comprising about 25,600,000 acres of virgin forest and

12,800,000 acres of second-growth forest. The virgin forest includes approximately 2,000,000 acres of inaccessible mountain reaches. The estimated area of land under cultivation is 7,413,000 acres; agricultural land not under cultivation, 4,942,000 acres. The cultivated lands

Rice 2,820,0 Abaca (hemp) 999,8 Coconuts 551,5	
	09
Coconuts 551.5	49
Sugar cane 435, 1	
Corn 948, 1	
Tobacco 170, 4	
Maguey 22, 9	
Cacao Z, 5	
Coffee 1, 6	01

REAL PROPERTY.

The assessed value (in United States currency) of taxable real estate of the islands is as follows:

Manila (16,687 parcels)	\$49, 335, 302
310 parcels exempt from taxation	\$31, 882, 693
Total real estate outside Manila (2,158,198 parcels)	\$185, 587, 132
489,047 parcels exempt from taxation	\$35, 190, 454
Legal tax rate, Manilaper cent	11
Legal tax rate provincialdo	1

Allotted as follows: One-eighth per cent, roads and bridges; one-fourth per cent municipal primary schools; one-fourth per cent, municipal, general; one-fourth per cent, provincial, general.

There is no personal property tax.

POPULATION.

The total population of the Philippines is estimated to be 8,000,000 or 9,000,000, of which about 647,740 belong to the non-Christian or uncivilized tribes. Manila has a population of 272,454, made up as

Americans Filipinos Spaniards Other Europeans Chinese All others	5, 474 236, 940 4, 406 1, 506 16, 657 1, 960
Filipino transients in Manila	266, 943 5, 511
Grand total	272, 454

CLIMATE.

The Philippine Islands have a mildly tropical climate. The nights are cool and sunstrokes are unknown. The temperature records for the past 27 years show an average minimum of 72.5° F. and an average maximum of 88.3° F. The recorded death rate per 1,000 whites in Manila for 1914 was 6.93, as compared with 16.52 for New York in 1911, 15 for San Francisco, 14.06 for Chicago, 17.95 for Glasgow, and 22.3 for Belfast.

COMMERCE.

The exports of the islands for the calendar year 1914 amounted to \$48,689,634, of which \$24,427,710 went to the United States. The imports for the same period amounted to \$48,588,653, of which \$24,020,395 came from the United States, exclusive of other insular possessions. The principal articles of export were:

HempSugar	
Copra Tobacco (manufactured and unmanufactured)	7, 980, 270
Coconut oil	2, 619, 183
The principal imports were:	
Cotton and manufactures of	
Iron and steel	6, 983, 444 3, 276, 148
Wheat flour	1, 611, 158
Coal	1, 749, 745 1, 013, 451
Illuminating oil	
Meat products	1, 866, 274

During 1914, 772 foreign vessels, with a net tonnage of 1,912,756, entered Philippine ports; while during the same period 747 foreign vessels, with a net tonnage of 1,931,249, cleared from these ports.

INFROVEMENTS.

The railroad mileage in operation and under construction in the Philippine Islands is as follows:

The Manila Railroad Co. has 890.01 kilometers (552.7 miles) in operation and 151.01 kilometers (98.8 miles) under construction, and the Philippine Railway Co. has 212 kilometers (131.7 miles) in operation, making a total of 1.253.02 kilometers (178.1 miles) in operation and under construction.

In addition to the above, the Manila Railroad Co. proposes to build 254.88 kilometers (158.3 miles).

ROADS AND BRIDGES.

Following is a statement of first, second, and third class roads, together with the number of bridges and culverts, constructed in the Philippine Islands:

	Miles.
Pirst-class roads	1.590
Second-class roads	
Chird-class roads	1.783
Cotal bridges and culverts of steel, concrete, brick, etcnumber	6, 204
Total expenditure (in United States currency) on road and work for the fiscal year-	bridge
911\$2, 27	5. 866
912 2. 27	
913	5. 245
914 (first half) 1,42	0, 226
914 (calendar year) 2 89	6 218

Mr. Speaker, I believe that I shall best perform my duty both to our people and to the Filipinos as well, by voting against the Clarke amendment, and in that way help to maintain peace and prosperity both here and in the Philippines.

The Gasoline Situation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 2, 1916.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, the price of gasoline is an economic question of great importance to every section of the country, and especially to Long Island, where it is used extensively both on land and water. In fact, I doubt if in any district gasoline is used in a wider range of diversified activities than in the first district of New York, for, in addition to our automobiles, motor cycles, and boats, we utilize it for power on the farm, for driving machinery in our shops, for pumping water in our homes, for delivering our supplies, and for the propulsion of aeroplanes, whose manufacture has become an important industry with us.

The increase in the number of internal-combustion engines in the past decade has been phenomenal, and gasoline has revolutionized the system of transportation and the methods of in-

A few years ago automobiles and power-driven launches were the playthings of the few; to-day they are the necessities of the many. Gasoline has passed from the zone of pleasure to the sphere of industry, and the price at which it is sold to the consumer has become an economic question of Nation-wide importance.

In the harbors and bays of my district there are thousands of motor boats, the launch of the yachtsman, and the working boat of the bayman, both alike dependent upon gasoline for power

and both seeking relief.

The rapid advance in the price of this commodity has caused hardships to many and the complaints have been so general that Congress has very properly instituted an investigation of the subject. I feel it is incumbent upon the Federal Government to ascertain, if possible, the causes which have produced this condition and then take whatever action is necessary to remedy the evil. At the present time the Department of Justice, the Department of Commerce, and the Federal Trade Commission are endeavoring to solve the problem. In a preliminary report transmitted to the Senate on April 10 the Federal Trade Commission publish some very interesting tables, which I desire to publish, and in addition formulated their plan of procedure, from which I quote:

to publish, and in addition formulated their plan of procedure, from which I quote:

In its investigation of causes, the commission is considering both domestic and foreign conditions and is weighing every factor to detect any artificial or manipulative element. A letter of inquiry has been sent to every manufacturer of automobiles, farm tra-tors, and other gasoline engines in the country to ascertain, as far as possible, the increased output of their products and the effect of the advance in gasoline prices upon the demand for their products and upon the consumption of gasoline. The following points are being examined: Forces of demand and supply as affecting the price of crude oil, exports and imports, deterioration in quality of crude, increased cost of refining, improved methods, and speculative holding of crude and gasoline.

The close connection between the investigation of the causes of high prices and of the alleged discrimination should be noted. If prices are found to have been raised to higher levels in some sections than in others, making due allowance for quality of product, freight, and marketing conditions, it may be inferred that an element of artificial manipulation has entered into the advance.

The oil industry, moreover, is an unusually complex one. The prospecting for oil, the purchase or lease of oil lands, the drilling of wells, and the provision of tanks for crude storage in the field, form more or less distinct branches of the crude-oil industry. The crude oil must be gathered through a network of pipes to some central point for shipping, and then it must be transported by trunk pipe line from Oklahoma even as far as the Atlantic seaboard. At the refinery large supplies must be stored to provide a stock of crude oil which will insure continuous operation. In refining, the different crudes yield different products, and refineries vary from the "skiaming plant," which takes off gasoline and sells the balance largely as fuel, to the "compiler run" plant, that gets not only naphtha and gaso

PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION, AND PRICE.

The following table summarizes in round numbers the total marketed production of crude petroleum in the United States from 1900 to 1915, inclusive, and shows for comparison the crude oil production of the catire world during that period, in barrels of 42 gallons:

Year.	United States.	Entire world.
1900	63, 600, 000 69, 400, 000 88, 800, 000 100, 500, 600 117, 100, 000 114, 700, 000 124, 500, 000 164, 100, 000 178, 500, 000 183, 200, 000 220, 400, 000 222, 900, 000 2248, 400, 000 25, 800, 000 265, 800, 000	149, 100, 000 167, 400, 000 182, 000, 000 194, 800, 000 218, 800, 000 215, 400, 000 224, 900, 000 285, 100, 000 327, 600, 000 327, 600, 000 345, 700, 000 384, 700, 000 400, 600, 000

1 Estimated.

1 No figures available.

From the above it is indicated that about two-thirds of the world's supply is produced in the United States.

Quantity of gasoline produced by refineries reporting to the commission, 1915.

	Refiners.		
	Stan lard companies.	Other companies.	Total.
1915. February February March April May Tune July August September October November December	53, 117, 943 60, 074, 304	Gallons, 27, 162, 918 24, 531, 091 28, 824, 590 30, 124, 059 32, 936, 152 35, 660, 139 35, 844, 836 34, 366, 594 38, 078, 242 36, 785, 348 26, 093, 920 36, 263, 545	Gallone. 76, 663, 537 70, 584, 934 80, 904, 911 91, 163, 773 93, 985, 937 88, 778, 982 95, 919, 140 92, 912, 423 97, 415, 574 99, 900, 399 90, 590, 023 97, 506, 217
Total	681, 721, 716	393, 671, 434	1,075,393,150

Returns not having been received as yet from several large refineries, the statistics in the preceding table are only approximate. They indicate accurately, however, the movement of gasoline production during 1915 and correspond rather closely to the estimated gasoline content of the total crude production, which is estimated at about 1,950,000,000 gallons.

From the following table it is indicated that we are exporting 15 per cent of our production:

Exports of gasoline, naphtha, and benzine (combined).

	Gallons.	1913	1914	1915
1915.	13, 624, 708	Barrels. 100,000	Barrels. 150,000	Barrels. 325,000
January	23, 346, 701	325,000	280,000	550, (0)
March	22, 034, 941	350,000	320,000	525,000
April	24, 259, 214	550,000	550,000	480,000
May	25, 117, 025	450,000	540,000	600,000
June	28, 372, 830	320,000	430,000	680,000
July	24, 947, 975	380,000	650,000	550,000
August	33, 067, 432	390,000	270,000	700,000
September	21, 085, 160	490,000	550,000	490,000
October November	18, 543, 754 27, 424, 510	510,000 280,000	560,000 400,000	430,000 640,000
December	22, 895, 570	250,000	300,000	530,000
1916.				
January	17, 129, 972			
Total		4, 455, 000	5,000,000	6,500,000

Annual totals: 1915____ 1914____

gallons__ 284, 669, 820 __do___ 238, 671, 187 __do___ 188, 043, 379 1913

The foregoing statistics are taken from the monthly reports of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. At the end it is shown that the total exports of all volatile petroleum products during 1915 were equal to 15 per cent of the total estimated gasoline content of all the crude petroleum produced in the United States during 1915.

Comparison of average monthly tank wagon prices of gasoline (58°-69°) in the East (Pennsylvania) with those in the West (North Central States), by months, 1915.

[Cents per gallon.]

	East (Stand- ard).	West.	
		Standard com- panies.	Other companies.
January. 1915. February March. April. May June. July. August. September October November. December	10.00 10.00 9.86 9.86 9.86 9.86 10.38 12.23 12.23 14.29 16.28	11. 09 10. 95 10. 57 10. 57 10. 57 9. 84 9. 61 10. 21 11. 85 13. 45 15. 30	11. 15 10. 92 10. 64 10. 43 10. 38 9. 72 9. 50 9. 50 11. 93 13. 64 15. 62

The "tank-wagon prices" referred to are the wholesale prices charged dealers for gasoline delivered in bulk by tank wagon. They are computed for gasoline having the same gravity according to the Baumé test (58°-60°). As freight and marketing costs are included, the figures are not comparable on an absolute basis, but are chiefly valuable as indicating the move-

In 1915 there was issued in the United States 2,100,000 automobile licenses, and the estimate for 1916 is placed at 2,750,000. Allowing 500 gallons for each car, this will call for 1,375,000,000 gallons of gasoline, against 1,025,000,000 gallons used in 1915.

Remembering that the sudden rise in price was in the fall of last year, when the exports were not abnormally large, the increased cost of gasoline can not be laid to that source, and as the production of crude petroleum throughout the year remained constant at about 25,000,000 barrels per month, the advance was not due to a shortage of raw material at any time. As a matter of fact, the amount of gasoline produced increased steadily throughout the year, and as statistics show that the cost of manufacture did not increase during that period, the only logical conclusion that can be reached is that the rise of price was an arbitrary one.

As the number of automobiles and other power-driven machines will continue to increase, every effort should be made to conserve the energy which propels them,

It has been suggested that a heavy duty be levied on the exports of gasoline. Such a law, in my opinion, would be unconstitutional, and even if it were not, the quantity we send abroad-15 per cent of our supply-is not large enough to materially reduce the price, for of the amount exported only a small percentage would be affected by such a law and made available for home use.

I believe we must seek other channels for relief. If the courts find that a combination to control prices exists, that combination should be destroyed and the guilty parties given the full penalty of the law. It may be possible to augment the output of crude oil or improve the methods of producing gasoline. New devices for converting it into power may be invented or even substitutes discovered which will give us a larger supply at a lower cost

The Federal Trade Commission summarizes the situation as

The consumption of gasoline is rapidly increasing.

The production of crude has been generally regarded as near its

naximum.

Some immediate relief may be afforded by means of the following:

(a) The use in internal-combustion engines of heavier distillates approaching kerosene.

(b) An acceptable kerosene carburetor would at once go a long way toward relieving the present shortage of gasoline.

(c) General use of cracking processes, whereby gasoline is made from kerosene and other less valuable petroleum oils. Such cracking processes are being rapidly developed and promise near relief. It is practicable to produce gasoline from kerosene, gas oil, fuel oil, residuums, and heavy crudes by present-day cracking processes, and no oil should be used for fuel that has not been so treated.

(d) Increasing the production of crude to furnish the necessary supplies of gaseline; but this is not to be recommended if it increases the output of distillates, for which there is no market.

In addition they refer to the possibility of opening up new oil fields and then in some detail give the following as an answer to the query:

What new method or methods have been evolved to increase the percentage of gasoline produced from the crude oil, or to cheapen the cost of production in any way?

(a) The extraction of gasoline from natural gas by compression is a new method. The production of gasoline from this source in five years is as follows:

177, 000 286, 000 573, 000 1, 016, 000 1, 500, 000

3, 552, 000 Total. This gasoline may be blended with heavier distillates from petro-

This gasoline may be blended with heavier distillates from petroleum.

(b) The usual refinery practice is to produce a number of gasolines of different gravities, such as 74°, 70°, 68°, and so on down to 60° gravity. If refiners, instead of making gasoline of different gravities, would blend the higher grades with lower distillates, making a single grade of 60° gravity, this would increase the gasoline yield 3 to 4 per cent, or more than 1,000,000 barrels per annum.

(c) By improved design of carburetors and internal-combustion engines, it is possible to use heavier oils than have heretofore been considered practicable. Six or seven years ago gasoline of at least 70° gravity was desired, while to-day a gravity of 60° is quite satisfactory. This in part explains why 10 years ago only from 10 to 12 per cent of gasoline was extracted from Pennsylvania crudes, whereas to-day the same crude yields twice that amount; likewise Indiana and Oklahoma crudes are yielding double the proportion of gasoline to-day that they yielded 10 years ago.

(d) The Burton cracking process for producing gasoline (motor spirits) from certain low-grade petroleum distillates is a process patented and owned by the Standard 0il Co. The production from it is in excess of 3,000,000 barrels per annum. This gasoline output is equivalent to the ordinary gasoline recovery from 18,000,000 barrels of crude oil containing 17 per cent of gasoline, or more than 10 per cent of the total production of crude for the past year, exclusive of California. Kerosene, heavy residuum oils, and asphaltic crudes are not at present used in this process.

(e) The Rittman cracking process for producing gasoline (motor spirits) from petroleum distillates was brought out by the Bureau of Mines in 1915. Application for patent is pending in the Patent Office. At the present time seven refineries in six States are installing plants to use this process, which not only increases the yield of gasoline but utilizes for this purpose crude oil, kerosene, or any other low-grade d

In reference to the Rittman process let me state briefly some interesting facts. Dr. Walter F. Rittman, a resident of New York, an employee of the Bureau of Mines, invented certain processes for the production of gasoline, benzine, and toluene. These improvements seem certain to prove of immense value, and Dr. Rittman, realizing their importance, expressed a desire to dedicate to the people of the United States the use and enjoyment of the patents he had perfected. At once the question arose as to the best plan to pursue in handling the patents in order to insure the greatest benefit to the public. In a report from the Department of the Interior it is stated that

order to insure the greatest benefit to the public. In a report from the Department of the Interior it is stated that—

It seems wisest to have the Rittman patents so held that some trustee for the people shall have authority to issue licenses for the use of the processes under terms which will give a maximum of protection to the public. For example, it is the plan with regard to these patents to authorize their use only upon condition that the details of the commercial working out of the processes shall be available to the Bureau of Mines for publication whenever desirable; that the bureau shall be informed of improvements in the processes or in plant or apparatus for their operation; and that all such improvements which are patentable shall be assigned to the trustee for the people in the same manner as the original processes.

The Secretary of the Interior, as the head of the department in which the processes were developed and in which the administration of the patents should be carried on, is the most logical trustee for the people.

Dr. Rittman desires that the benefit of his inventions, so far as they may be applied to oils produced in the United States, shall innre to the people of the United States.

The processes promise to be of great value to the people of the United States, but will retain all foreign rights and the right to use his processes on oils imported into the United States.

The processes promise to be of great value to the people of the United States. For example, the gasoline process seems certain greatly to increase the gasoline yield of the oil supply of the United States. The crude oils produced in this country have a normal gasoline content of from 5 to 25 per cent with ordinary refining processes. The average gasoline yield of United States oils is somewhere in the neighborhood of 15 per cent. The Rittman cracking process will increase this yield to 45 per cent by running the residuum through the still once, and by taking the remaining products heavier than gasoline and running them

per cent above the yield by ordinary refining processes can hardly be overstated.

The desire of the petroleum industry to use this gasoline process has been so great and so many applications have been received for permission to use the process without waiting for the issuance of a patent that the department has issued a number of licenses for such use pending the granting of the patent and the assignment of the patent rights to the Secretary.

Yesterday the Senate of the United States by a unanimous vote passed the following joint resolution:

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to accept as trustee for the use and benefit of the people of the United States assignment from Walter F. Rittman of his entire right and title, or of any lesser interest, in, to, and under any letters

patent of the United States which may be granted to said Rittman under applications Nos. 29019 and 29020 for patents for certain improvements in the manufacture of gasoline, benzene, toluene, etc., in so far as said applications or the letters patent issued thereunder cover and embrace the manufacture of such products from materials produced and manufactured within the United States, and the said Secretary of the Interior, or his successors, is hereby authorized to grant such licenses and take such steps as may be necessary to make such processes available to the people of the United States; Provided, That the Secretary of the Interior shall also be authorized to accept the assignment of any right, title, or interest in or to any patent issued upon any device, improvement, process, equipment, apparatus, or other matter or thing developed by any licensee in the use of the said Rittman processes. Sec. 2. That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to perform any and all acts and to make such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry this resolution into effect.

Mr. Specker, L. congratulate the Secreta, upon their properts.

Mr. Speaker, I congratulate the Senate upon their prompt action and trust the House will be equally expeditious in handling this subject for the situation demands our earnest and immediate consideration. I trust the Rittman process will give the benefit predicted. Announcement has just been made that the Maxim Munitions Co. has acquired the rights to manufacture a chemical substitute for gasoline. It is to be hoped that the claims of the discoverer of the compound will be fulfilled,

We must try every expedient, exhaust every means in an effort to reduce the cost of gasoline or find substitutes for it. Few subjects transcend this in importance, affecting as it does both our industrial prosperity and our individual welfare, and I

hope Congress will take prompt action for relief.

The Clarke Amendment to the Philippine Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES W. HUSTED,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 1, 1916.

Mr. HUSTED. Mr. Speaker, I regard the proposition contained in the Clarke amendment for complete and absolute independence of the Filipinos within not less than two or more than four years, reserving absolutely nothing to the United States except the right to reserve lands and to acquire lands, rights, and privileges which the President may deem needed by our Government for naval bases and coaling stations, as unwise and undesirable from every standpoint. But when we couple with the above proposition that it is to be carried out without providing in any way for the national integrity of the Filipino people after they have been declared free, it is, it seems to me, base and unworthy of the American people. I desire to occupy my time in discussing the four chief points which are urged by the promoters of the Clarke amendment in favor of its adoption. These are:

(a) That the Filipinos desire independence.

(b) That there is no American sentiment in favor of permanent retention.

(c) That the Filipinos have sufficient capacity and experience for self-government.

(d) That the cost of maintaining our sovereignty is dispro-

portionate to the benefits derived.

At the time of the Spanish-American War the Filipinos had a real desire for independence, based upon a good and sufficient reason, which we can understand and appreciate, even though they were not fit for independence at the time. It was the natural result of Spanish misrule. They desired independence that they might secure liberty. They wanted to throw off the yoke of Spanish oppression.

When we purchased the islands and took possession of our property the Filipinos knew nothing about us. They were suspicious and assumed the worst as to our motives and objects. It took several years for us to gain any measure of their confidence or cooperation. Our political and social reforms, our works of internal improvement, which are a splendid achievement of colonial administration, were instituted and inaugurated in the face of the opposition of the people for whose lasting

benefit we faithfully labored.

But the time came when they realized that we were, possibly, partly disinterested; that we might be working, somewhat at least, unselfishly for their good, and they gradually gave us their confidence. They began dimly to realize the blessings of American liberty and more fully to appreciate the substantial benefits of American government. With this dawning consciousness that a new era of justice, freedom, and opportunity was at hand, ushered in for them by the disinterested devotion of a great and

mighty people, the desire for independence measurably subsided. If our Government had at that time given the Filipino people distinctly to understand that the granting of independence was not a question for present consideration but for the indefinite future, when we were sure it would prove a blessing and not a curse, I do not believe there would now be any considerable desire for independence among the Filipinos. however, at this time, when circumstances were working toward the adjustment of a harmonious permanent relationship, a strong sentiment for the independence of the islands developed in this country. It was asserted that the acquisition of the Philippines was a long step toward imperialism; that their retention was re pugnant to our ideals and traditions; and that we should get rid of them at the earliest practicable date. This sentiment has practically died out in America, for the reason, no doubt, that it was based upon a false assumption. Our Government had no idea of territorial aggrandizement in acquiring the Islands. We took them rejuctantly, and because it seemed the only proper course to pursue at the time, and the retention of the islands has not created among us in the slightest degree any imperialistic spirit.

The effect of it, however, was to encourage the Filipinos in the hope of early independence, and this hope has been fostered in many ways by the present administration of the islands. It is easy to understand, under the circumstances, why independence is a popular campaign slogan with the native politicians, even though it is not based on reason and common sense, but, on the contrary, is opposed to the best interests of the country. I imagine it might be possible to create some sentiment for independence even now among the people of the Hawaiian Islands or Porto Rico if it was made to appear the clear intention of this Government to grant it in the near future.

It is evidently the general desire of the Filipino people to secure their independence, but it is certain they do not want the kind of independence proposed by the Clarke amendment. They want to go it alone, but insist that we are obligated to stand by and lend a hand whenever they may need help. The Democratic Party in the islands, in recently adopted resolutions, condemn in strong terms any policy which would "cast the Filipinos adrift without adequate financial resources and with no protection or guaranty of national integrity."

It can not be denied that the desire of the Filipinos for inde-

It can not be denied that the desire of the Filipinos for independence is entitled to consideration, but it can in no sense be regarded as controlling in the determination of the question until we have satisfied ourselves that independence would conduce to the best interests of the Filipinos and would also be consistent with our own best interests.

The committee report asserts it is doubtful if there is any appreciable American sentiment in favor of permanent retention. Little space is given to the elaboration of this point, and it is at best a mere conclusion of the committee based upon individual opinion unsupported by evidence. I, for my part, do not believe it, and I know there is extensive and general public opposition to the granting of independence under the terms of the Clarke amendment. Practically all of the Republican and independent newspapers of the country and many Democratic journals actively oppose it. I have not received a letter or petition in its favor. I have received many urging me to vote and work against its adoption, and I assume that my experience is the same as that of the other Members of the House.

It is urged by the committee that the Filipinos have sufficient capacity and experience for self-government and are therefore entitled to independence.

It does not necessarily follow that independence is a desirable condition for all people who have developed capacity for self-government and who have had a considerable experience in its exercise. They might still be so weak and helpless, through lack of adequate financial resources and the means of protection, as to require the support of a strong power to maintain their national integrity. That is exactly the position in which the Filipinos would find themselves if turned adrift under the provisions of this bill. It is evident that they fully realize it and expect us to furnish the needed protection. They would rec'on without their host, however, if the proponents of this bill had their way about it, for one of the main reasons mentioned in the committee report for passing this bill is the chance it would afford to escape the obligation of defending the

I have never visited the Philippine Islands and know nothing about their people except what I have read and gained from a few persons who have lived there. But I have gathered enough information to convince me that it is preposterous to claim they have developed sufficiently to be fit to be trusted with a full measure of self-government. They have made commendable progress during the 17 years they have enjoyed the benefits and

privileges of our guardianship. They show a most praise-worthy desire to acquire education, and there are among them many substantial citizens of culture and refinement who would be a credit to any nation. They are not among the class, however, who are clamoring for independence, but wisely recognize the limitations of their people as a whole and are contented to remain under the benevolent restrictions of our Government, whereby their personal and property rights are protected, an efficient, economical, and orderly administration of civil affairs assured, the public health safeguarded through modern methods of sanitation and disease prevention, and internal improvements of great and lasting value carried on in a manner and to an extent which would be impossible without American cooperation.

I am in favor of giving the Filipinos from time to time as large a measure of self-government as they are capable of exercising wisely, but it does seem to me that we have recently gone at least as far, and possibly further, in that direction than circumstances justify; but it is surely right to err, if we can not be certain of the effect, on the side of liberality.

It is also contended that the cost of maintaining American sovereignty is disproportionate to the benefits derived.

We acquired Alaska from Russia for a comparatively small sum of money. The reason Russia gave for parting with this vast extent of territory was because it did not pay her. It had, as a matter of fact, under Russian administration, proved a losing venture, but it has turned out a very profitable investment to us. It has paid for itself many times over, and we have not scratched the surface of its enormous resources. It is claimed, and may be true, that the Philippines have not thus far been a profitable venture for us, but, if this is so, I believe it is largely profitable venture for us, but, it this is a distribution of a close approximation. It seems to present investment amounts to about \$600,000,000. It seems to present investment amounts to about \$600,000,000. We did not be difficult to arrive at a close approximation. We did not acquire the islands until December, 1908, and paid \$20,000,000 for them. From the very beginning some opposition to their retention developed on the ground that it was a step toward imperialism and opposed to republican principles and ideals, The people of the islands were led to believe that some time or other in the indefinite future complete independence would be accorded them. As a result, American capital has been reluctant to embark in the development of the country's resources, fearing, no doubt, that our Government would, sooner or later, abandon the Islands to their fate and that American interests would suffer as a result. It is inconceivable to me that any American business man at the present time would think of investing any money in the Philippines, however tempting the opportunity for profit might appear, with a proposition such as the Clarke amendment to this bill pending in the House and having received sufficient consideration to have passed the Senate of the United

It appears there are Members of the Senate and of this House who regard the Philippines as a liability and not as an asset, I do not believe any other great nation would so consider them. If they were a liability at the time of acquisition, I am sure that Great Britain or Germany or Japan would speedily convert them into a most valuable asset. On the figures it would seem doubtful whether they are a liability to us at the present time. During the years 1891 to 1895, inclusive, the average annual value of American exports to the Philippines was \$120,917. In the year 1914 we sold them products to the value of \$28,571,821, and in the year 1915 to the value of about \$49,000,000.

The Philippine Islands are the only extensive tropical possession of the United States. They contain approximately 150,000 square miles. They now grow, or can be made to grow, practically every tropical product, and with their possession and what we can obtain from them we could become absolutely commercially independent.

It seems inconceivable that the American Government could so disregard its national duty and self-interest as to turn these valuable possessions adrift without reserving or acquiring in them any interests except such lands, rights, and privileges as the President may deem required by the United States for naval bases and coaling stations and leave them, without protection or guaranty of national integrity, a prey to internal disorders and revolutions, which their weak and helpless condition would invite, to be speedily gathered in by some foreign power, which would appropriate their trade and exploit their resources with much less consideration than we have shown for the social and political welfare of the people. It would, however, so highly prize the possession of this key to the Orient that it could be relied upon to defend it with whatever military and naval forces were necessary for the purpose. Such a power would probably hold the islands for many years, if not centuries, to its own great profit and to our great shame. Especially does such a course

seem incredible when it must be apparent to any student of the Eastern question that the acquirement of dominant influence in the islands by any first-class power would be a greater menace to our peace and prosperity than the existing status or even the retention by us of control over the Philippine Government in matters affecting only our national interests.

The Philippine Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM R. WOOD,

OF INDIANA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, May 1, 1916.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, one of the difficult questions with which the framers of the Constitution had to deal was to provide a way to manage and control and make disposition of the territory then belonging to the United States and other territory which might thereafter be acquired. At the time the Constitution was adopted cession had been made of the Northwest Territory. There was also much talk at that time about Canada becoming voluntarily a part of the territory of the United States. During the period of the Confederacy there had been much dispute between the different States with ref-crence to the disposition of the Northwest Territory and with reference to the attitude that the States should occupy toward Canada. It was the contention of some that the revenue to be derived from the sale of the lands in the Northwest Territory should be divided among the several States, and there was considerable contention as to how and in what proportion such revenue should be divided. As a consequence of all this, it was not an easy task for the framers of the Constitution to make adequate provision for the control and disposition of territory. The first draft of the Constitution contained no provision for Subsequently, however, the third section of Article IV of the Constitution was adopted, by a divided vote, which has for its purpose the solution of the territorial problem. and this section is the only part of the Constitution that makes any provision whatever for the acquisition or disposition of territorial possessions

Section 3, Article IV, of the Constitution reads as follows:

New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union, but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States, and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

The first clause of this section provides the manner in which new States may be admitted into the Union and how such States may be formed. The second clause of this section is the one that either gives the right or puts an inhibition upon the right of the United States to dispose of any territory over which it has taken and exercised complete sovereignty; and if any right is given to authorize the United States to surrender and dispossess itself of territory over which it has taken and exercised complete sovereignty, it is by virtue of the first half of this clause, which reads as follows:

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States.

At first blush it would seem that this portion of this clause authorizes the United States to dispossess itself of any of its territorial possessions, but a close analysis of the text, considered in the light of the authorities in construing the language used therein, will raise a very serious doubt, if it does not conclusively convince an unprejudiced mind, that the United States has no right by virtue of the language used either to sell or give away any of its territorial possessions. The confusion, if any there is, arises from the use of the words "dispose of." These words, however, were used by the framers of the Con-stitution and intended by them to have quite a different mean-This is made clear, I think, by the decided cases involving these words and their legal meaning. Judge Story, in his work on the Constitution, in discussing this very clause, with reference

to the attitude of the States concerning the Northwest Territory, says:

To induce them to make liberal cessions, Congress declared that the ceded territory should be disposed of for the common benefit of the Union, and formed into Republican States, with the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence as the other States—

And so forth.

In using the words "disposed of" in the language quoted it does not mean that the United States was to dispossess itself of the territory in question, but that it should make disposition of that territory under the sovereignty of the United States, and describes the manner in which such disposition shall be made, thus showing clearly that it was never the intention of the thus showing clearly that it was never the intention of the United States, either during the period of the Confederacy or after the formation of the Union, to part with the sovereignty over territory belonging to the United States. It will also be observed that as thus used there is quite a different meaning that must be given to the word "dispose" than is given to the word "disposesss." "Dispose" as used in this clause, and as decided in many cases, means "to determine the faith of; to exercise control over; to fix the condition, application, employment, and so forth; to direct or assign for use; to exercise finally our power of control over." And if this is not the meaning that was intended by the framers of the Constitution, they ing that was intended by the framers of the Constitution, they would have used the disjunctive "or" instead of the conjunctive "and" in this sentence; and instead of saying, "The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory," they would have said, "The Congress shall have power to dispose of or make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory.'

The language used, in view of the debate upon the question of our territorial possessions, clearly establishes that it was the intention of the framers of the Constitution to provide the manner in which our territorial possessions shall be managed and controlled, and to make disposition of them for such man-

agement and control.

It is, therefore, my contention that under this section of the Constitution the United States is absolutely without authority to surrender its sovereignty over any of its territorial possessions that have been ceded to it by treaty or that it has obtained by conquest and the title to which is indisputably vested in the United States.

When territory is thus acquired it comes at once "under the domination and jurisdiction of the United States," and "in cases of confirmation or cession by treaty the acquisition becomes firm and stable, and the ceded territory becomes a part of the nation to which it is annexed, either on terms stipulated in the treaty or on such as its new master shall impose." And after the acquisition of such territory under the clause of the Constitution we have been considering, the new master may make such disposition of the territory as it may see fit for its control and management under the sovereignty of the United States.

Thus, after we acquired the Philippine Islands, legislation was had having for its purpose the establishment of laws for the control and management of the islands. Disposition of the control and management was given under authority of the United States to certain officers and certain tribunals, and from time to time new disposition has been made for the control and management of these islands by enacting laws giving the inhabitants thereof a greater voice in the management and control of the same; but all of these dispositions have been made without the surrender of one iota of the sovereignty of the United States. And if, as Judge Story says, this new territory becomes a part of the Nation to which it is annexed, the Philippine Islands are just as completely a part of the United States territory as the Northwest territory was at the time of the adoption of the Constitution and just as complete a part of the territory of the United States as the Louisiana purchase and as all the territory ceded to us as a result of the War with Mexico and just as complete as the cession of Alaska.

Under the Paris treaty, by which the Philippine Islands were ceded to the United States, we took upon ourselves all of the obligation of ownership and sovereignty. The mere fact that the Philippine Islands are seven or eight thousand miles away and are not contiguous territory does not alter the case in the least. There is no one who will dispute but what the Hawaiian Islands are just as completely ours and just as fully under our Islands are just as completely ours and just as fully under our control as the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico were before they became States. While it is true that a territorial government has not as yet been established in the Philippine Islands, yet there is nothing to prevent that disposition of them being made at any time. And there would be nothing to prevent such territories being admitted as States of the Union, provided they could establish their qualifications entitling them to statehood.

If we have the right to surrender our sovereignty over the Philippine Islands to the Filipino people, or if we have the right to sell them for a price to any other power, we would have had the same right to have sold any one of the Territories of the United States to any foreign power. We would have the same right now to sell Hawaii to any foreign power or to give to the people of those islands their independence. We have the same right to sell Alaska to any foreign power or to give to the people of Alaska their independence and permit them to set up a national government of their own.

If by an act of Congress we can surrender our sovereignty over the Philippine Islands to the Filipino people, what is there to prevent us by an act of Congress alienating a State by and with the consent of the people of that State? It is my contention that there are many things that our Government can do that it can not undo. Under the Constitution it can admit Territories as States into the Union, but it can not by an act of Congress arbitrarily put a State out of the Union. It can provide the manner for the naturalization of citizens but it can not arbitrarily take that citizenship away when once it has been given. The powers of the United States are limited. The Con-stitution itself provides "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people." Upon this proposition, Judge Story says:

The Government of the United States is one of limited powers; and no authority exists beyond the prescribed limits marked out in the instrument itself. Whatever powers are not granted necessarily belong to the respective States or to the people of the respective States, if they have not been confided by them to the State government.

The last half of the second clause of section 3, of Article IV, which reads, "And nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State," places an inhibition against the United States surrendering sovereignty over these islands for the reason that every particular State has a vested interest in these islands. It is a joint owner with the United States in them, and the only disposition that the United States can make of them is by acts of Congress looking to their regulation and control.

has been contended by some that notwithstanding this inhibition there is nothing to prevent the United States from surrendering the islands, getting out of them, and abandoning them to whatever fate may lie before them. The same justification could be offered for our abandoning any of our other Territorial possessions, or in abandoning any State in the Union. Any such course would be a clear violation of the duty we owe to all our people alike, wherever they may be situated, and in whatever condition they may be found in any of our territorial possessions. Upon this same reasoning in justification of abandonment, we might have spared ourselves all of the blood and treasure involved in the Civil War, for all that our southern friends then asked was to be permitted to go

There being no express power delegated to the United States by the Constitution authorizing it to dispose of the Philippine Islands and there appearing an absolute inhibition against its doing a thing that would result in impairing and prejudicing not only the claims of the United States but also impairing and prejudicing the claim of every State in the Union, I am of the opinion, therefore, that the United States Government has no legal right to surrender or dispossess itself of the Philippine Islands.

Agriculture Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. S. D. FESS. OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Tucsday, May 2, 1916.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, of the vast annual expenditure of the Government, carried by the many supply bills the Congress is called upon to consider, the Agricultural appropriation bill enlists the country's approval more generally than any other. Many of the great supply bills are an expenditure to keep the machinery in running order. The legislative, executive, and judicial bill, the diplomatic bill, the sundry-civil bill, all fall judicial bill, the diplomatic bill, the sundry-civil bill, all fall ably not half enough for the purpose, it would be a wise policy in this class. Many are a burden which is the price of our if the Government would take the one needed step to provide

being a great and sovereign Nation, such as the Army, the Navy, and the fortifications bills. But the Agricultural bill, in a special manner, adds to the element of administration, that of creative and constructive research. It deals with the positive as well as the negative side of government. It is a good example of the adverse of Tom Paine's idea that government is a necessary evil. His idea was that the chief function of government was to forbid. Even in the agricultural realm it is estimated that three-fifths of the expenditure is devoted to the regulatory function in the administration of the various statutes designed to compel respect for proper conduct as outlined in the following enactments: Meat-inspection act, cattle-quarantine act, diseased-animal transportation acts, 28-hour act, virusserum-toxin act, food-and-drugs act, insecticide-and-fungicide act, plant-quarantine act, seed-importation act, Lacey Game Act, migratory-bird act, and the cotton-futures act. Of the nearly \$25,000,000 expenditure carried in this bill, at least \$15,000,000 must be applied to prevent violations of these acts, designed to protect the rights of the consumers. It is quite a comment upon the general attitude of the trade world

The remaining \$10,000,000 is devoted to research endeavor and educational extension work. In this field is where the great and valuable work is carried on. The first is distinctively research, and the latter is demonstration work. Both these fields are distinctively governmental and are the most legitimate use the Nation can make of its resources; especially is this true of the former field-research.

There is no doubt that some criticism is due to parts of this legislation. There are some departments, such as the Forest Service, that appear to be heavy at the top, where the overhead or purely administrative expense is out of proportion.

It is also true that some phases of the preventive activities, such as the attempt to reduce the ravages of diseases among animals and crop elements, are expensive and cause doubts as to whether this is the very best use to make of the public funds. However, the country demands these enemies must be met and combated, else all constructive effort will be defeated in the end.

The chief activity of the Federal Government in this particular realm is to discover causes and suggest remedies and, if necessary, prescribe, under penalty of law, that the eradication of the various pests may be accomplished by concerted action of the agriculturists. Such awful loss to the farmer as was suffered last year by an epidemic of foot-and-mouth disease, not so much from that disease, but rather from an epidemic of cholera, which resulted directly from herding fat stock by force of the quarantine regulation of State and Nation. The total loss of an entire drove of fat hogs not infected by the foot-andmouth disease, but an induced epidemic of cholera, the results of an imperfect, if not totally unwarranted, exercise of the police or quarantine power, should never again be made possible under law

This bill proposes an investigation of that particular fatality from which my own State suffered so frightfully last year. While the exercise of the power of quarantine must be a sovereign right, to which the individual must submit, yet the country must find the way where State and Nation can cooperate to secure speedy action of relief, that perfectly healthy stock may be readily marketed with safety to the public from diseased meats, as well as to the individual owner from an induced epidemic by inability to make disposition before the ravage reaches the community.

Mr. Speaker, the most commendable features of this bill are

those which carry to the farmer the fundamental principles of agriculture, those which are rapidly making the farm a scientific laboratory in production. I do not refer to those features designed to enable the farmer to preserve what he already has, but rather to inform him to increase his commodity and to find what he does not have. Our acreage is limited in extent but not in production. There are boundless spaces regarded as waste, either because of lack of water or other elements wanting. One problem is to supply water where it is possible and another is to find the secret of dry farming. But the greatest aim of governmental action is to discover the secret of soil fertility. The problem is to find how to make the acre produce its maximum. This is not yet known and is the grant man. The consumption must necessarily increase. This is not yet known and is the goal of the research The consumption must necessarily increase. There is no limit to this demand. The production must likewise increase. Since the limit of acreage will be reached, the maximum per acre must be found. Here is the call of the scientist, and the Government is doubly justified in giving every encouragement to this field. This bill deals bounteously with this feature.

In this connection, while there is an appropriation of \$50,000 for developing the coloring materials, and a sum which is prob-

by proper tariff legislation a protective duty so as to assure American capital, if it would invest, it would not be driven to the wall just as soon as the war is over. The country would in a very short time be producing, by utilizing the coking gases now wasted, all the dyestuff for coloring matter the people needed, and we would thus build up in our midst one of the greatest industries of which now Germany is the monopolist. Here is one of the very best examples of how a party will allow its theory to interfere with its opportunity as well as its national duty. The Democratic Party, fully alive to the dye situation and as fully aware of our immediate possibilities if we would but embrace the hour, refuses to take the step, simply because in the past it has contended on the stump and in its platform that a protective tariff is not constitutional. What can be said about the dye industry could be stated in regard to fertilizer for the farm. This country should proceed to develop the nitrate in-dustry, not by an obsolete method proposed by some water monopolist but by the simple utilization of lost power, shamefully wasted, a possibility demonstrated by the figures of my colleague [Mr. Longworth]. In another field the country should utilize its great resources for potash. This bill, I am glad to say, has undertaken this object—a most commendable effort.

The function of the Government is not completed when it

finds the secret of production it must extend to making its capital able to pay American wages in the production of a competitive article. Here is one of the fundamental differences between the Republican and Democratic Parties. Had the Republicans control of the Government it would not satisfy itself in the suspension of the Underwood bill on sugar as this administration has done, but it would suspend it on agricultural products which, when the European war closes, will feel a competition from the world as never before. It would also displace it by insuring a dye industry that in time will rival anything

known in Germany.

The farmer must also have a better system of roads. One of the main demands is the proper material out of which to build them. This bill proposes to assist in this feature as well as to make demonstration of the finished road.

This has connection with a better grading of grain and marketing of the same as well as an easy currency. All these items

will be cared for in the near future.

The American farmer of the future is destined to be the most independent as well as the most contented of our population, His problems are pressing, but they will find a solution in due time. He will not only find the secret of production, but the better roads, the rural delivery, the weekly and in many cases the daily news, the telephone and in many cases the automobile, the central high school, and the church will produce a social life not to be equaled anywhere in the world. As yet this stage is not reached, but it is most certainly in the future.

This sort of legislation as herein proposed will meet with genuine approval by all the country, and for it I congratulate the committee, and especially the chairman who has labored un-

ceasingly to bring about these results.

Should the National Government Aid Rural Credits?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK PARK, OF GEORGIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 2, 1916.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, the following appeal to facts and history relating to what other countries have done for the agricultural classes and what Congress should do for the farmers of the United States, by Mr. Clarence Poe, editor of the Progressive Farmer, in a general way commends itself to people who are earnestly thinking and striving to do something that will really benefit the farmers of our country. It matters not what method or system or plan may be devised by Congress, provided in its working operations it shall accomplish what is needed; that is, to lend money to farmers at a rate of interest which will enable them to live and repay the loan and to enable those desiring to farm to own farms and to obtain means to purchase farms at such a rate of interest as will make it possible for them to live and pay the interest and the principal in a given time.

The situation of the American farmer is the most serious of any that confronts the American people. He is the mudsill and the foundation of all things material which go to the support of life, comfort, and luxury of the people, and by all means no longer should he be neglected by Congress to the extent that he has been in the past.

When we give to the farming class that which they earnestly and seriously request and demand of us now we lay the corner stone for the erection of the greatest system of prosperity which this Nation can hope for in the future. If we neglect it, it not only means a gradual depression of the energies, aspirations, and hopes of the farmers of this country, but it means a gradual diminution of the greatest source of wealth that from year to year pours into the channels of trade of this country. I commend to all of the Members of Congress the words and ideas embraced in this appeal of a most able and patriotic

SHOULD THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AID RURAL CREDITS? AN APPEAL TO FACTS AND HISTORY FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF PRESIDENT WILSON AND OUR SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES.

[By Clarence Poe, editor of the Progressive Farmer.]

To President Wilson and our Senators and Representatives in Congress: Adam Smith, when he came to write his "Wealth of Nations" in 1776 remarked upon it as a truism that the policy of all great nations since the downfall of the Roman Empire, "has been more favorable to arts, manufacture, and commerce, the industry of towns, than to agriculture, the industry of the country."

No one who has read history carefully can doubt that the great philosopher was right; and the tendency of our own Government since 1776 has been exactly like that of the European Governments before that day.

that date.

We have hoped of late years, however, that nations were beginning to see the ruinous folly of this course. The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, the drift of population from the country and the overcrowding of cities, the development in America of that "excessive urbanization" which the historian Ferrero says is "the disease which killed the Roman Empire" and which Rider Haggard calls "the handwriting on the wail of our civilization"—all these signs we hoped had not been lost en Governments or even on the proud who have feasted with our modern Belshazzars.

RURAL CREDIPS-GENUINE OR SPURIOUS?

RURAL CREDIFS—GENUINE OR SPURIOUS?

The chief recent evidence of an awakening has been the growing demand for having the American Government establish a modern system of rural credits—a demand which was solemnly included in the platforms of the Democratic, Republican, and Progressive Parties in the campaign of 1912.

The farmers of this country accepted these platform declarations as meaning something. They began to take on new hope. They knew what Europe had done for her farmers through rural credits, and they said, in the language of Senator Gore, "What Europe has done for her farmers America must do for hers."

Now, when the farmers of America heard those platform declarations, they didn't suppose that what was proposed was simply a plan by which they could lift themselves by their bootstraps. They didn't suppose that what the Government meant to say was, "We are going to pass a little bill whereby farmers can organize associations and sell bonds for themselves and raise money for themselves and finance themselves." If that were all, there was no use raising any racket about it or holding out any faise hopes. Any State legislature could have done that in half a day at any time for 50 years past—or any Congress.

Now, let us make our position clear. We don't want to see Congress give the farmers anything; we don't want any gift or subsidy—not even the free seed with which the mails are overloaded at this season, We believe with David Lioyd-George, the greatest champion of the masses in Great Britain: "To let them expect all to be done for them by gifts, alms, and charity is not statesmanship. This is the sort of thing that would create a parasite democracy such as ended Rome."

DISCRIMINATING IN FAVOR OF COMMERCE AND AGAINST AGRICULTURE.

DISCRIMINATING IN FAVOR OF COMMERCE AND AGAINST AGRICULTURE

We repeat, therefore, that the farmers don't ask gifts, don't ask charity. But geutlemen of the House and Senate, they do ask justice, and such friendly aid as Congress can give on ample security without risk in getting a just system of rural credits going. And we ask you to inquire whether the farmers of America have had justice or whether the proposed rural-credits bill of your subcommittee will give them justice.

the proposed rural-credits bill of your subcommittee will give them justice.

What has happened for a hundred years? What sort of treatment has the farmer had for a hundred years at the hands of the Government of which he has been called "the backbone" in every campaign? ("Backbone" seems to be a good word here since it is the backbone that bears the burdens for the rest of the body.) Listen to the sort of treatment the farmer has received from the Government:

To distribute the money of the country, the life-blood of prosperity, the Government supposed to be founded on the basis of "equal rights for all and special privileges for none" has created a national banking system with the following results:

(1) The farmer was told first of all that the land itself, his real estate and the main source of the Nation's wealth, could not be accepted as collateral by Government banks; and when this rule was nominally repealed in the new Federal reserve act, the repeal was hedged about by red tape or adverse conditions, that lending on real estate by national banks is still practically unknown. The national banking system does not recognize and has not recognized the farmer's chief collateral.

2. Not only was the farmer told that the Government money-distributing agencies recognized commercial collateral and didn't recognize agricultural collateral (land), but he was also told that loans were offered on terms suitable to commercial interests but not on terms suitable to agricultural interests. It is easy enough for the merchant or manufacturer to borrow satisfactorily on 90 days' time. He "turns over money" quickly, collects monthly or quarterly from purchasers, and a 90-day loan suits him. But it doesn't suit the farmer. It takes the farmer full 12 months even to grow a crop; while for making permanent improvements on his farm, buying needed machinery or live stock, putting up barns, silos, draining his land, etc., he must borrow, not for months but for years. And to all these needs and demands of agriculture the offici

WHAT EUROPE HAS DONE FOR HER FARMERS AMERICA MUST DO FOR HERS.

What europe has done for her farmers america must do for hers.

The crane in the fable invited the fox to cat with him, but served the food at the bottom of long-necked pitchers—and the fox got nothing. That is the sort of financial help the Government has offered the farmer—help he couldn't get at, hedged about by impossible conditions, both as to collateral and as to terms of loans.

Through all the years, therefore, the Government of the United States in its most vital relations to the people—that of a distributor of money or credit—has given special privileges to commerce and has discriminated against agriculture. It has given the farmer a stone when he asked for bread.

Now, what is proposed by the farmers of America as a remedy for this condition? It is proposed that a genuine rural-credits system be established and set in operation insuring three things:

1. Giving land its just and proper value as collateral for loans.

2. Insuring the low rates of interest which such collateral should demand. (Under past conditions it has been true, as a president of the Nebraska Bankers' Association said recently, that the farmer, with the best collateral offered by anybody, has to pay the highest interest of anybody.)

2. Gradual long-term methods of repayment, the amortization feature. And in getting such a system started it is asked that the Government lack the system, not with gifts to the farmers but with such assistance as will insure the system's actually working from the start and will at the same time safeguard the Government's investment and insure repayment with interest. The plan proposed in the Hollis-Bulkley bill was the purchase of \$50,000,000 worth of farm-mortgage bank bonds each year. The farmers do not care what the plan is, so it actually works and gives the relief promised. They may well say to Congress, as Mr. Wilson sald to Congress in asking for Government aid to our merchant marine:

"I am not so much interested in the particulars of the program as I am in taking immediate advantage of the gre

WHAT OTHER NATIONS HAVE DONE FOR RURAL CREDITS.

what other hations have done for real credits.

Study the Federal reserve act and the national banking act, Mr, Congressman, the rediscounting features, the low interest rates allowed commercial banks, etc., and then see if you can look an honest farmer in the face and tell him that the new rural-credits bill will insure as square a deal for agriculture as the Federal reserve act gives commerce. And study the European rural-credits systems and see if the statement quoted from Chairman Hill, of the rural-credits committee, American commission, is not correct. In fact, let us consider briefly what some European nations have done:

"Germany: The 'Landschaften' received subsidies from the Government in starting. Now, the Government provides supervision and control. Under the landschaften the farmers in Silesia get money on land at 3½ per cent, adding 1½ to 2½ per cent a year to apply on extinguishing the debt.

"France: The Credit Foncier was subsidized by the Government and given a monopoly for 25 years. 'This Credit Foncier is simply a Government-subsidized and Government-controlled bank for lending money on real estate, and to other land-credit institutions have ever made any marked progress in France.' Interest is 4.2 per cent. Agaln, 'the Credit Agricole Mutual is subsidized by the French Government, money obtained from the Bank of France being supplied the district banks without interest, these lending to local associations upon sultable security.'

"England: In 1913 England appropriated \$500,000,000 to below."

money obtained from the Bank of France being supplied the district banks without interest, these lending to local associations upon suitable security.

"England: In 1913 England appropriated \$500,000,000 to help Irish tenants buy land, they to become owners by paying 3½ per cent a year (2½ per cent interest, ½ per cent on principal) for 68 years, and the writer has seen tenants who bought by this plan. 'The history of land legislation in Great Britain and Ireland is a record of direct Government ald.'

"Russia: Russia has gone even further than Great Britain in extending State aid to purchasers of small farms. Through land-purchasing acts 20,000,000 small holdings, to the value of over \$1,000,000,000, were created, the Government funds so advanced being payable on long time and at very low interest rates. Furthermore in 1883 the Russian Peasants' Land Bank was organized. Loans to the extent of 90 and even 100 per cent of the value of the land are made, repayable in from 13 to 55½ years, with interest at the rate of 4 per cent. "Austria-Hungary: The Government aided rural-credit institutions in starting, but does not buy their bonds or debentures.

"Switzerland: 'Switzerland has 28 land-credit institutions owned or operated by the State, whose debentures are, of course, guaranteed by the State.' (Morgan: 'Land Credits.')

"Denmark: Denmark, a little country no bigger than an average American congressional district, 'advanced \$5,360,000, without interest, to found the Mortgage Bank of the Kingdom of Denmark. This bank is designed as a central institution for the landschaften. It buys their debentures. Denmark makes annual appropriations out of the treasury, amounting in 1909 to \$1,720,000, to be lent to small holders.'

"Sweden: 'The Swedish General Mortgage Bank was endowed at its founding with \$2,144,000, and in 1890 the bank was given a subsidy of \$8,040,000 in Government bonds. This is a central institution to aid the 10 local landowners' mortgage association in the sale of their debentures.'

"Egypt 'The Agr

debentures.'

"Egypt' The Agricultural Bank of Egypt is controlled by the State, The National Bank of Egypt, closely connected with the State, owns one-third of its capital stock. A 3 per cent dividend is guaranteed on the stock by the Government, and when necessary to sell its bonds at a reasonable rate of interest the Government guarantees their payment.

"Japan: "Japan guaranteed a 5 per cent dividend for 10 years on the stock of the Kwango Glinko, or central land-credit bank of Japan. It also gave subsidy of \$4,980,000 to the 46 local or district land banks, called the Noko Glinko."

"Other countries: Furthermore, quoting Morgan's Land Credits, 'South Australia, Western Australia, New South Wales, Victoria, Quecésland, and New Zealand, through State land-credit banks or direct appropriations, make loans to farmers."

Moreover, it is true that in the Philippine Islands the United States Government itself has subscribed the stock of the Philippine Agricultural Bank (\$500,000), and "among the lendable funds of this bank are the postal savings bank of the country." If Uncle Sam doesn't listen, therefore, when the farmers say, "Do for us what Europe has done for her farmers," can he afford not to listen when they say, "Treat us, your loyal taxpayers, as well as you treat the Filipino farmers, your rebellious tax eaters."

OUR GOVERNMENT HELPED START COMMERCIAL BANKING, NOW LET IT HELP BURAL BANKING,

But it is not only true that farmers have a right to say to Congress, "What Europe has done for her farmers America should do for hers," but they also have a right to say, "Help the new rural banking system as liberally—in proportion to the enormously increased wealth of America—as our own country helped a commercial banking system just 100 years ago this year." We will let our able Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. William G. McAdoo, tell what happened. In a speech before the Chamber of Commerce of Indianapolis, Ind., October 13, 1915, he said:

"My illustrious predecessor, Alexander Hamilton, proposed the organization of the first United States Bank, with a capital of \$10.000,000. In 1791 the Congress authorized it and subscribed \$2,009,000, or 20 per cent of the capital stock. Federalists and Republicans alike voted for it and President Washington approved it. When the second United States Bank was incorporated, in 1816, Democrata and Federalists alike voted for it and President Madison approved it. The second bank had a capital of \$35,000,000 and the United States subscribed to \$7,000,000, or 20 per cent of its capital stock."

We don't have to go back a hundred years, however, to find proposals to have the Government assist a new project until it is proved that private capital in ample quantity will be available for the purpose. The President of the United States, in his message to the Congress now sitting, December 7, 1915, urged the importance of a greater merchant marine and declared for Government aid to commerce in this particular. His exact words are pertinent in this connection:

"Capital can not accomplish this task of a sudden. It must embark upon it by degrees, as the opportunities of trade develop, Something must be done at once; done to open routes and develop opportunities where they are as yet undeveloped; done to open the arteries of trade where the currents have not yet learned to run, especially between the two American continents, where they are, singularly enough, yet to be created and qui

" PRIME THE RURAL-CREDITS PUMP!"

"PRIME THE RURAL-CREDITS PUMP!"

What the President asks for commerce, Mr. Congressman, is what we ask for agriculture: Let the Congress of the United States start the rural banking system to work by giving its backing—not gifts, but loans on security it will itself approve—until the investment capital of the country gets used to, and acquires confidence in, this new kind of banking "where the currents have not yet learned to run." And if such backing takes the form even of a \$50,000,000 purchase of landbank bonds, as was proposed in the Hollis-Bulkley bill, the Government of the United States in 1916, in proportion to its strength, will not be doing more to help start a rural banking system than it did in 1816—under the direction of the same party as now—to help start the commercial banking system of a hundred years ago!

For all the reasons we have given we do not believe it is a revolutionary proposal, judged by American traditions—on the contrary, we believe it is common justice and honesty—for the Government to lend enough assistance in the start to make sure that the rural-credits machinery will work. For our lawmakers may be very sure that farmers in modern slang "are from Missourl," and will not be satisfied with any sort of rural-credits machinery, however elaborate, however beautiful to the eye on paper or to the ear on the stump, unless it actually works. And anybody who has ever had any experience in starting a pump knows you must frequently put in a little water in the beginning to set the pump working right. What our farmers say to you, therefore, Mr. Congressman, is to prime the pump—prime the pump and set it going.

"What Europe has done for her farmers America must do for hers."

"What Europe has done for her farmers America must do for hers."
What America has done for commercial interests America must do for agricultural interests. What Uncle Sam has done for rebellious Filipino farmer subjects he must now do for loyal American farmer citizens.
Congressman Lever knows the committee bill is inadequate, and his amendments for Government guaranty and aid are the least that should

considered.

United States Grain-Grades Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ELIJAH C. HUTCHINSON, OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 2, 1916.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, in my judgment this is one of the most important matters before Congress to-day. The inspection of grain is at present a farce and no one is in a position to know what he is going to get when he buys a certain grade of grain. Most of the States have a department of trade, board of commerce, or some other body which establishes the grade of grain, and this grade is generally based on the condition of the crop; if the crop is of poor quality the grade is reduced accordingly. The eastern buyer has nothing to say

providing the seller produces the inspection certificate.

If grain comes east by the all-rail route and is not taken out of the car that was originally inspected, it is all right; but if it is sent east by the lake-and-rail route, and most of the grain received in the East is received over this route, the quality is greatly reduced. Every time the grain goes in an elevator the quality is reduced. The elevators to-day are made to leak and the grain has a habit of growing, so that by the time the east-ern buyer receives it it is hardly recognizable. If the small buyer buys a car of grain and does not stipulate the inspection he desires, he is likely to get almost anything but what he desires. If he tries to buy eastern inspection, he will find it impossible unless he pays an advanced price for it.

I was recently in Philadelphia on the floor of the Commercial

Exchange when an inspector was trying to get through a shipment of 500,000 bushels of wheat for export. The wheat had been through an elevator and the elevator had leaked about one-half soft winter wheat. If he is successful, he will make about 10 cents a bushel on every bushel he gets in, and the

buyer, instead of getting No. 1 Duluth or spring wheat, will get about one-half winter wheat of a poor quality.

This amendment is in the right direction, but I do not favor giving the Secretary of Agriculture so much power in the matter, as I fear that the Secretary may not be an expert regarding the grading of grain. I believe that the power should be placed in the hands of the Secretary of Agriculture and two competent grain experts, they to have the power to appoint State inspectors, fix a grade for grain, and act as a court of last resort in By this means a buyer would be protected and get

what he buys and pays for.

I know that there will be opposition to this on the part of the exporters, who will advance the argument that the inspection of other countries will be inferior to ours; to that objection I can say that the buyers will soon realize that our inspection is better, if it is, and will be willing to pay more for our grain. My contention is that all grains should stand on their own merit and that the buyer will pay for the grain according to inspection, providing that it is uniform, and that he can blend his grain to meet the requirement of this trade. Under the present system we buy a certain grade and take what we get and frequently can not tell what we have until it is tested in manufactured products, and then it is too late. A miller may lose his reputation as well as his business by unintentionally using inferior grades.

We believe that the farmer sells his wheat under inspection and it is resold under another inspection, usually about one or two grades higher. Under the present system we have no board of last resort to appeal to other than the creatures of the exchange or boards of the different States, and the buyer has to advance so much to procure a trial that he will usually submit to his loss unless there is a large amount involved.

Toward Militarism.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CLYDE H. TAVENNER, OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 3, 1916.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of historians of the future who may desire to trace through our own time the trend of the Republic toward a military autocracy, I desire to report for preservation in the archives of Congress that the Navy League of the United States, the parent of the militaristic propaganda in this country, has held its annual convention for the year of our Lord 1916, convening in the National Capital on Monday, April 10, and adjourning Thursday, April 13.

All of the sessions were well attended. It was observed, however, that the usual quota of Secretaries of the Navy and chairmen of Naval Affairs Committees, as well as Senators, Representatives, and other public officials who must depend upon the votes of the people for their retention in office, were conspicuous by their absence. To account for this phenomenon, deponent

saith not. Nevertheless he has his own idea.

It may be said that the convention was one of the most remarkable in the history of this now famous organization, not, however, because of anything it did, but because of what it did not do. One of the most striking features of the convention was

its failure to take action on a number of matters of wide public interest, the Navy League's attitude toward which has been much debated.

Extreme patriotism was the keynote of the convention. multuous applause greeted every expression of patriotism and willingness of the speakers to die for their country. Larger naval appropriations were advocated. The smallness of the Army was deplored. The general feeling among the delegates seemed to be that the Nation was in very grave and immediate danger from invasion by a foreign foe. As the sessions and banquets proceeded from day to day, the patriotism of the delegates grew apace, becoming more and more intense, until it appeared possible that the convention might adjourn, form a procession, march to the nearest recruiting office, and enlist in a body.

Owing possibly to the fact that no one of the delegates thought to offer such a motion, however, the convention finally adjourned and the delegates returned to their several homes without en-listing, either collectively or individually. Nor, so far as can be learned, did any of the sons of the Navy League officials appear

at the recruiting offices.

In view of the fact that the Navy League officials are looked upon by some as models in citizenship, bravery, and patriotism, and that so far as is known they themselves do not deny these virtues, their action in failing to enlist was deplored by many citizens, and especially because on the very days the convention was in session the newspapers reported that American troops were far into Mexico and that their lives were in actual peril

because of the lack of sufficient enlistments.

Mr. Speaker, the United States Army is still in need of re-cruits, and the officers and directors of the Navy League, or their sons, still, therefore, have a golden opportunity to set examples in practical patriotism to the farmers and wage earners of the Nation by enlisting and taking their place in the ranks at the front. If there are any who desire to enlist, I stand ready to cooperate. If any of the officers or directors of the Navy League will communicate with me, giving their addresses, I will be glad to make enlistment as convenient as possible for them by requesting the recruiting officers of their respective communities to call on them. I trust they will not all speak at once.

WHAT THE NAVY LEAGUE CONVENTION DID NOT DO.

Here are other things the convention took particular care not to do:

(1) The convention did not indorse the Government armorplate bill.

(2) The convention did not pass resolutions placing itself on record in favor of taking private profit and private graft out of war and preparation for war through the Government construction and manufacture of battleships, submarines, aeroplanes, munitions, etc., so that money appropriated for preparedness in the future will go into preparedness instead of principally into the pockets of men identified with the Navy League, which is where a large part of the taxpayers' money appropriated for preparedness in the past has gone.

(3) The convention did not deny that J. P. Morgan, for so many years a director of the Navy League, is the officially accredited munition agent of the British Government and one of the largest individual beneficiaries of war and preparation for

war in the entire world.

(4) The convention did not deny that the president of the Navy League is also president of the New York Metal Exchange and chairman of the board of directors of the International Nickel Co. (the Nickel Trust), and that because of the great quantities of nickel used in battleships and munitions this concern would profit probably more than any other single concern from the \$500,000,000 bond issue for battleships which the president of the Navy League has been advocating.

(5) The convention did not deny that representatives of every armor-plate concern in the United States are included in the list of the 19 men published on page 32 of the February, 1904, issue of the Navy League Journal, the league's official organ, as being the "founders" of the Navy League.

(6) Last, but not least, the convention did not indorse House

joint resolution 112, which requires war trafficking firms to divulge the names and addresses of their stock and bond holders, so that the public may know to what extent the men who are crying out to heaven for preparation for war will profit financially in the event that their agitation is successful.

WHAT THE CONVENTION DID.

Here are some of the things the convention did:

Called to order by the chairman of the board of directors of the International Nickel Co.

Opened with prayer.

Hissed the Secretary of the Navy, who is in favor of the Government manufacture of munitions of war.

Heard papers and addresses advocating larger appropriations by Congress for the Army and Navy.

Hissed the Secretary of the Navy some more.

Banqueted at the expense of the chairman of the board of directors of the International Nickel Co.

Passed resolutions indorsing a naval program which will require vastly increased appropriations, and which will also mean increased taxes, increased cost of living, and increased profits to the war traffickers.

Reelected the chairman of the board of directors of the International Nickel Co. president for another term.

Adjourned.

STATEMENTS IN "NAVY LEAGUE UNMASKED" SPEECH REMAIN UNANSWERED IN CONGRESS.

On December 15, 1915, I called the attention of Congress to the amazing extent to which men affiliated with the Navy League are also connected with concerns or industries which stand to profit from "preparedness." These are the remarks published in part in pamphlet form under the title, "The Navy League Unmasked.

Although more than four months have passed since that speech was delivered, no Member of Congress has as yet undertaken the responsibility of arising in his place and attempting to disprove the statements therein contained. It is my belief that no one will be able to successfully disprove them, now or later.

More than one thousand specific statements of alleged fact are given in "The Navy League Unmasked," such, for instance, as these: That J. P. Morgan is a director of the Navy League and also of the United States Steel Corporation; that Robert Bacon is a director of the Navy League and also of the United States Steel Corporation; that Elbert H. Gary is a contributor of the Navy League and a director of United States Steel; that Henry C. Frick is an honorary vice president of the Navy League and a director of United States Steel; that George F. Baker, jr., is contributor to the Navy League and the son of a director of United States Steel, and so on. Surely these statements are specific enough. If not accurate, it would appear that it would be a very easy matter to disprove them, showing either that the persons mentioned are not and never were connected with the Navy League as stated or that they are not connected with the United States Steel Corporation.

Were I to make the same speech again, with all the criticisms of it before me, I would not know where to alter or to change it to the extent of dotting an "i" or crossing a "t." To the best of my knowledge and belief every statement in "The Navy League Unmasked" is true and accurate.

There are many brave souls in Congress as elsewhere, however, and I do not say that the Navy League will not ultimately be able to find one possessing the courage to buckle on his armor and boldly sally forth to make attack, even though it is to be a belated one. But to any who is contemplating it, if there be any such, I would give a word of friendly advice, and do it too, in all good faith: Be sure your armor is well buckled, for truth and facts are indeed stubborn adversaries. may blow, the heathen may rage, but "time can not change a line that truth hath writ."

One further suggestion I would make, and this also in the best of good feeling and sincerity, because I entertain a kindly and proper regard for all my colleagues and would not have a single one of them imposed upon: If the Navy League insists upon placing upon you the impossible task of extricating it from the taint of its war-trafficking founders, it is only right that the Navy League should place in your hands the necessary evidence to enable you to make at least a pretense of doing it. Before you buckle a single buckle, therefore, or consent to do any sallying whatsoever, demand that the Navy League arm you with affidavits, duly sworn and witnessed, on the subject of whether the names of the Midvale Steel Co., Charles M. Schwab, J. P. Morgan, and sundry other war traffickers are or are not listed on page 32 of the February, 1904, issue of The Navy League Journal, the league's own official organ, as "founders" of the Navy League. Then ask for affidavits giving a clean bill of health to the heads of the Navy League not only of last week or yesterday, but of to-day. Inquire about the possibility of obtaining an affidavit to the effect that Robert M. Thompson, the present president of the League, is not the chairman of the board of directors of the International Nickel Co., and that board of directors of the International Nickel Co., and that nickel is not the most expensive as well as profitable metal that goes into armor, battleships, munitions, and the other things that the league's program for "prepardness" calls for. Ask for an affidavit to the effect that J. P. Morgan, for years an officer and director of the Navy League, is not a war trafficker; that his profits from the blood-soaked battlefields of Europe do not run into the millions, and that if the proposed \$500,000,000

bond issue for battleships goes across he will not draw down still more millions!

THE NAVY LEAGUE FOR DEFENSE?

The Navy League has been spending large sums to tell Americans that it is organized for the defense of the country.

The Navy League is deceiving the country, and its own official organ, the "Seven Seas" magazine, proves the deception.

On page 13 of the September, 1915, issue, appears the true

gospel of the Navy League.

We read: "The true militarist believes that pacifism is the

masculine and humanitarianism is the feminine manifestation of national degeneracy. * World empire is the only logical and natural aim of a nation."

Then, on page 28 of the "Seven Seas" for November, 1915, is an enlargement upon the "defense" idea, as follows: "It is the absolute right of a nation to live to its full intensity, to expand, to found colonies, to get richer and richer by any proper means, such as armed conquest, commerce, diplomacy."

Here we have the philosophy of the Navy League. Read it

again and again, until you realize its full significance, and its full danger.

STRANGE LANGUAGE FOR A DEMOCRACY.

It would be interesting to know just what thoughts were running through the mind of the writer of the following, which was taken from the Navy League Journal of the issue of August,

With the signs of social danger about us • • • with capital and labor under strange conditions brought about by the stupendous changes in the relationship between money and men, too much stress can not be laid upon the necessity of inculcating into the minds of all, the cardinal old-fashioned principles which are the foundations of discipline, of respect to command, and of duty to and from subordinates. No school promotes these virtues like a sailor's life; no education is better than that of the Navy. A small Navy, supplemented by a large reserve, will help materially to avoid future domestic strife and insure a victorious service.

THE "POVERTY" OF THE NAVY LEAGUE.

Whenever the Navy League needs big money, it gets it from Wall Street sources. At a little luncheon held in New York on June 10, 1915, \$17,500 was raised in a few minutes, among the contributors being the J. P. Morgan estate, which is heavily interested in United States Steel, \$2,000; R. M. Thompson, chairman of the board of directors of the International Nickel Co., \$1,000; E. H. Gary, chairman of the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation, \$1,000; Jacob H. Schiff, a director with J. P. Morgan on the National City Bank of New rector with J. P. Morgan on the National City Bank of New rector with J. P. Morgan on the National City Bank of New York, \$1,000; George F. Baker, jr., director of the First National Bank of New York and a son of a director of the United States Steel Corporation, \$1,000; Allan A. Ryan, director of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, \$250; L. L. Clarke, director of the war-trafficking American Locomotive Co., \$250, etc.

The New York Times of Friday, June 11, 1915, contained the following news item relative to the luncheon given on the day

previous:

previous:

The Navy League started its campaign for an American Navy second to none other in the world yesterday at a luncheon in the Recess Club, 60 Broadway. It was attended by more than 100 well-known citizens. As a result of the discussion which followed the luncheon more than \$17,500 was subscribed to be used for the league's propaganda. Those at the luncheon included Charles Steele, L. K. Wilmerding, Dock Commissioner R. A. C. Smith, J. F. Brady, F. A. Schermerhorn, James Speyer, W. A. Tucker. Elbert H. Gary, Theodore P. Shonts, J. C. White, Frederic R. Ccudert, George T. Wilson, Ogden Mills Reid, J. P. Grace, George F. Beker, fr., Colgate Hoyt, William Guggenheim, Allan A. Ryan, Supreme Court Justice Clarence J. Shearn, Raiph B. Strassburger, J. Stevens Ulman, William J. Schieffelin, S. H. P. Peli, Malcolm D. Whitny, Perry Belmont, Harry Payne Whitney, Herbert L. Satterlee, Stewart Prosser, Mortimer L. Schiff, Col, Charles A. Fowler, W. C. Rieck, and James L. Kelly.

MORE THAN \$17,500 SUBSCRIBED.

MORE THAN \$17,500 SUBSCRIBED.

MORE THAN \$17,500 SUBSCRIBED.

Subscriptions announced after the meeting were as follows: Frank Tilford, \$2,500; J. P. Morgan estate, \$2,000; J. G. Bennett, \$2,000; R. M. Thompson \$1,000; J. H. Schiff, \$1,000; E. H. Gary, \$1,000; John Markie, \$1,000; B. F. Cutting \$1,000; C. A. Fowier, \$1,000; G. F. Baker, ir., \$1,000; B. M. Baruch, \$500; J. H. Harding, \$500; A. B. Forbes, \$250; W. Guggenheim, \$250; A. A. Ryan, \$250; E. Meyer, jr., \$250; L. L. Clarke, \$250; W. J. Matheson, \$250; R. B. Strassburger, \$160; A. D. de Navarro, \$100; W. F. McCombs, \$100; C. J. Shearn, \$100; J. G. Ward, \$100; Ansonia Hotel, \$100; Seward Prosser, \$100; C. N. Bliss, jr., \$100; R. A. C. Smith, \$100; T. P. Shonts, \$100; P. C. Hewitt, \$100; M. Ia Montagne, \$100; J. P. Grace, \$100; J. Kruttschnitt, \$100; M. Ia Montagne, \$100; J. P. Grace, \$100; M. Ballon, \$250; R. B. Challet, \$250; R. B. Challet, \$250; R. B. C. Shifth, \$100; R. R. C. Smith, \$100; J. P. Grace, \$100; J. R. Ballot, \$250; R. B. C. Shifth, \$100; R. B. Ballot, \$250; R. B. C. Shifth, \$250

Col. Robert M. Thompson, chairman of the executive committee of the Navy League, who presided, made a patriotic speech and "concluded with a reference to the proposed \$500,000,000 bond issue, of which he is an enthusiastic advocate."

DONATIONS FROM THE POOR ARE ALSO WELCOME.

The league is not above accepting the smal'est contributions from the poor, however, and in one of its 45 advertising documents, entitled "What the Navy League Is Not," avers that "the Navy League is unfortunately, not a rich society, but depends on voluntary support."

According to the most recent literature of the organization According to the most recent interactive of the Organization that has come to my hand, there are 31 directors of the Navy League, including such poverty-stricken millionaires as J. P. Morgan, Robert Bacon, Perry Belmont, George von L. Meyer, William A. Clark, the Montana copper king, and others. The personal fortunes of these 31 men at the most conservative estimate aggregate \$100,000,000, which is an average of more than \$3,000,000 per director. This does not include the millions of R. M. Thompson, president of the league, or those of Herbert L. Satterlee, brother-in-law of J. P. Morgan, counsel for the league. It is questionable whether the views of any board of directors whose personal fortunes average \$3,000,000 can be representative of the attitude, feelings, and heartbeats of the great mass of the American people, a large portion of whom are hard pressed to obtain the barest necessaries of life. It is especially difficult bearest necessaries of life. difficult, however, to imagine these gentlemen neutral on the question of increased naval appropriations, because to more than one of them the Navy League propaganda spells vastly increased incomes for them at the expense of the many.

THE BATTLE CRY OF MAXIM.

Have you seen that awful moving picture, "The Battle Cry of Peace"?

Did you shake with fear, and tremble for your country's safety?

Did you know that while you were thus trembling others were calmly calculating on the fat contracts and the extent of the profit your fear might bring them?

On the screen you were told that the play was founded on the story of Hudson Maxim, "Defenseless America" You saw Mr. Maxim in the picture. He was holding something aloft. It was an instrument of warfare.

Mr. Maxim was advertising his wares and playing on your fears which make a market for his goods.

Mr. Maxim has something to sell—war munitions. The following is from the stock report of Harvey A. Willis & Co., 32 Broadway, New York City, November 13, 1915:

The stock of the Maxim Munitions Corporation is the latest candidate for favor among the Curb war stocks. It made its appearance this week at 12 and was actively traded in at 12 ip to 14½. This company is a \$10,000,000 concern recently organized for the purpose of manufacturing munitions of war of all kinds except explosive materials.

* * The company has arranged to take over the important inventions of Hudson Maxim for the manufacture of aerial torpedoes, bombthrowing devices, aeroplane guns, etc. Mr. Maxim himself will be president of the company.

The book was a fine advance notice. The picture was a fine follow up. Then came some swift "patriotic" work.

Just two weeks later, November 27, 1915, the following ap-

peared on the first page of the New York World:

St. Louis, November 26.—Many members have resigned and others are threatening to resign from the Committee of One Hundred appointed by Mayor Kiei to urge the preparedness program upon Congress. This action resulted from advertisements in St. Louis newspapers this morning of a \$10,000 000 Maxim Munitions Corporation offering stock for sale at \$10 a share. Hudson Maxim appeared two days ago before the Business Men's League to urge support of the national defense program.

the Business Men's League to urge support of the national defense program.

"That's a pretty swift beginning," said former Solicitor General of the United States Frederick W. Lehmann in announcing his refusal to serve on the committee.

"One can not help suspecting an ulterior motive," said Judge H. S. Caulfield in declining to be a committeeman.

"If the activities of the National Security League, at the instance of which the committee was appointed, the appearance of Mr. Maxim and the promulgation of the advertisement can be connected, it is treasonable," said John H. Gundlach, former president of the city council and member of the committee.

Here we have a sample of the "patriotism" that is directing the "preparedness" campaign, spending huge sums, carrying its poison of fear into every part of the Union.

It is time for every man and woman of the United States to get angry, to fight this misrepresentation and deception. the facts on to your doubting or unconcerned neighbor.

Think, write to your Congressman and your two Senators to-day, and, when the time comes, vote. Demand that private profit and private graft be taken out of war and preparation for war through the manufacture by the Government itself of all battleships, submarines, aircraft, guns, and munitions. Once this policy is adopted, the professional big Navy boosters will quickly lose their ardor. Your livelihood, your peace, your life and the lives of your children and the life of the very Republic itself depend upon the crushing of the head of the serpent of militarism.

THE PEOPLE SENSE THE DANCER IN MILITARISM, BUT AS YET DO NOT KNOW EXACTLY HOW TO ESCAPE IT.

There are countless thousands of men and women in the United States who view the trend of the Republic toward militarism with the gravest apprehension. They know that militarism is the most dangerous menace that any republic can face, for it has been destroying republics ever since there have been such institutions. They know, too, that militarism is equally dangerous whether it is labeled militarism or labeled something else.

Militarism and democracy never have and never will make good bedfellows in a "cradle of liberty" such as ours. Either democracy must kick out militarism or militarism will kick out democracy. It is for the people of the Nation to say which is to go. The fight is to be ultimately to the death of one or the other. And the patriots for profit are powerful, for they have their friends everywhere in public life, Leading the fight for the militarists are not merely the captains of Wall Street, but the captains of the captains of Wall Street.

But it is unnecessary to point out which side privilege is on. The greedy predatory interests of this Nation were never before so solidly arrayed on one side of an issue as on this. money changers of Wall Street have never done anything for the American wage earners or the American farmers except exploit them. Are the latter now ready blindly to follow them into the spider's web of militarism to be exploited on a more gigantic

scale than they are even now being exploited?

The war-trading capitalists would not only make the taxpayers pay for war paraphernalia to-day in cash from their wages, but to-morrow, if it meant still greater profits, there is no reason to believe they would hesitate to bring about conditions that would force our citizens to take up the arms they had sold them and march off to the "armed conquest" the Navy League's official journal says is the "proper means" by which the United States should reach its full destiny.

War, however, is not the only danger that militarism holds for a republic. In war with a foreign nation a republic has at least a fighting chance for its life. The vital danger in militarism to a republic is the evergrowing burden of taxation which is placed on the backs of the producers to finance it. It is not the increased appropriations of one year, or of a five-year program, that can swamp us, but the policy of an increase next year to the increase of this, the increase the year following to those of the preceding year, and so on and on and on. The tree of militarism flourishes like unto the green bay tree, ever sending out new roots and branches.

Americans do not need to look across the seas for evidence of the power of a military machine to enlarge itself. The War Trust has ever been the Sacred White Cow in our own Capitol. The watchword has ever been, when some legislator sought to interfere with its steady growth, "Hands off the Sacred White Cow!" Month after month and year after year this Sacred White Cow has stood with its feet in the public trough at Washington, gorging itself on the dollars of the taxpayers. The more this Sacred White Cow is fed, the larger it grows, and the larger it grows, the more it eats. Unless this beast is given a changed diet or unless it is driven away from the public crib and slaughtered, it will ultimately impoverish the Nation.

It is not a sufficient answer to say that the country is also growing, for the increase in expenditures are far in excess of the increase in population. For instance, the population of the United States in the last seven years has increased 12 per cent. In the same time our national expenditures have increased 50 per cent. And the Army and Navy increases now proposed make our previous increases look cheap.

Statement showing the amounts appropriated for the Naval Establishment for the fiscal years 1891 to 1915 inclusive:

1891	\$24, 610, 501, 64	1904	\$88, 386, 217, 08
1892	32, 706, 004, 50	1905	112, 438, 602, 56
1893		1906	
1894	22, 467, 840 06	1907	104, 528, 348, 79
1895	25, 747, 451, 59	1908	109, 029, 421, 40
1896	30, 628, 421, 64	1909	123, 585, 362, 01
1897	30, 952, 494, 22	1910	137, 779, 172, 38
1898	21, 122, 495, 88	1911	133, 341, 688, 21
1899 (Spanish		1912	127, 957, 362, 74
War)	109, 978, 960, 86	1913	124, 766, 287, 42
1900	50, 016, 711, 61	1914	142, 908, 549 38
1901	65, 094, 484, 00	1915	145, 734, 163, 03
1902	81, 710, 906, 73	1916 (proposed)_	241, 449, 151, 99
1903	82, 021, 634, 40		

ARMY AND NAVY EXPENDITURES OF THE PRINCIPAL WORLD POWERS.

Congressman Mondell, of Wyoming, in a speech in the House December 17, 1915, gave the following figures showing the ex-penditure for the armies and navies of the world:

Total Army expenditures, 1901-1912:	
United States	\$1, 616, 898, 165
Germany	
France	1, 774, 631, 558
Great BritainTotal naval expenditures, 1901-1912:	2, 486, 126, 900
United StatesGermany	1, 331, 821, 032 354, 055, 078
FranceGreat Britain	789, 242, 168 1, 981, 209, 088
31101 111100	1, 001, 200, 000

APPENDIX TO THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Grand total for Army and Navy, 1901-1912:	
United States	\$2, 984, 719, 197
Germany	2, 110, 508, 119
France	2, 563, 873, 726
Great Britain	4, 467, 335, 988

It is not a single year's increase in appropriations that is dangerous, but the policy of militarism, and it is equally dangerous whether it is called militarism or "preparedness." Once the policy is adopted, it is but a matter of arithmetic to figure out the length of time a republic can stand. When the cost of the

upkeep of the military machine makes it necessary to place such a tax on the things the people eat, wear, and use as to make it impossible for a wage earner to support himself and family of little ones on his wages, all the battleships and all the machine guns in existence will not be able to protect a democracy.

The real menace which confronts our Republic is not the one the Navy League is pointing to-invasion of our shores by hostile peoples from beyond the seas. It is the menace of militarism which the Navy League itself is endeavoring to foist upon this Government.

GROWTH OF UNITED STATES ARMY IN 25 YEARS.

Statement showing actual strength of the Regular Army, Hospital Corps, Quartermaster Corps, and Philippine Scouls on June 30 for the fiscal years 1891 to 1915, both inclusive, and the appropriations made for the support of the Army and for fortifications and other works of defense for the same period.

	Regular Army.					On	Quarter-	Phi	lippine Sec	oine Scouts.		Appropria-
Year.	Officers.	Enlisted men.	Total.	Hospital Corps.	Spital master	Officers.	Enlisted men.	Total.	for support of the Army.	tions for fortifications.		
1891 1892 1893 1894 1895 1896 1896 1897 1898 1899 1900 1901 1902 1903 1903 1904 1905 1906 1907 1907 1908 1909 1909 1901 1901 1905 1907 1908 1909 1909 1909 1901 1901 1902 1903 1904 1905 1906 1907 1907 1908 1909	2,052 2,140 2,158 2,154 2,169 2,179 2,179 2,179 2,479 3,904 3,701 3,504 3,504 3,504 3,504 4,213 4,213 4,470 4,665 4,701 4,616	23, 398 22, 991 24, 575 25, 011 24, 290 24, 162 24, 643 42, 424 58, 890 66, 948 56, 555 57, 434 56, 555 57, 434 56, 935 57, 001 77, 935 70, 001 77, 835 78, 321 79, 917 78, 384	25, 450 26, 131 26, 733 27, 157 20, 444 20, 331 22, 822 44, 622 61, 361 64, 034 77, 250 60, 556 61, 184 65, 173 50, 469 54, 651 166, 934 77, 252 82, 303 77, 758 74, 292 82, 303 79, 936 84, 618 84, 618	725 760 786 777 728 707 710 3, 245 3, 668 4, 012 4, 031 4, 032 3, 030 3, 196 3, 319 3, 331 3, 441 3, 493 4, 035 3, 1993		97 100 100 103 116 116 116 116		5,036 4,871 5,037 5,147 5,159 5,105 5,394 5,748 5,552 5,580 5,660 5,583 5,278 5,612	24, 873, 103, 96 24, 423, 188, 79 24, 688, 315, 22 23, 393, 247, 97 23, 485, 610, 73	36, 945, 303, 6 109, 137, 5 2, 508, 755, 9 2, 052, 521, 2 2, 350, 140, 9 9, 126, 001, 8 12, 565, 391, 0 10, 229, 893, 0 7, 181, 139, 6 8, 743, 93, 1 7, 181, 139, 6 8, 21, 123, 7 1, 78, 321, 748, 9 1, 78, 301, 57, 111, 311, 6 5, 531, 131, 6 5, 531, 131, 3 9, 391, 325, 6 109, 639, 3 11, 804, 972, 0 11, 804, 972, 0		

Statutes at Large, vol. 24, p. 435, provides that the culisted men of the Hospital Corps "shall not be included in the effective strength of the Army nor counted as a part of the culisted force provided by law."

Statutes at Large, vol. 37, p. 593, provides that the culisted men of the Quartermaster Corps "shall not be counted as part of the culisted force provided by law."

IF THERE IS ANY DOUBT ON THE SUBJECT, WHY NOT REPORT H. R. 112 AND LET THE FACTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES?

The present propaganda for excessive appropriations for the Army and Navy is the child of the Navy League, and the Navy League is and always has been the child of armor and munitions makers

If Congress doubts it, why does not Congress investigate the matter for itself? Why not let in the light? Why not? Why not turn the congressional searchlight not only on the question of whether the "preparedness" agitation is the child of the muniwhether the "preparedness" agitation is the child of the muni-tions patriots, but on the riddle of what our Army and Navy officials have been doing with the \$240,000,000 of the people's money that Congress has been appropriating annually for "pre-paredness"? Why not turn on the light? On January 19, 1916, I introduced in the House of Representa-tives a resolution which, if adopted by Congress, will effectually

turn on the light. It will settle all uncertainties by allowing the facts to speak for themselves. On the same day this resolution was introduced the Rules Committee of the House held a hearing on the subject of an investigation. But up to this time no investigation has been ordered. Or, stated in another way, an investigation has not been permitted.

Investigation has not been permitted.

The resolution is known officially as House joint resolution 112. It is not known to the American people, however, either by that number or any other, for it is not known to them at all, as resolutions of this character are not published generally by the newspapers advocating big "preparedness" appropriations. There are exceptions, of course, but as a general rule the public is getting but one side of the "preparedness" issue. For the benefit of those who insist upon having both sides of the question I will insent here the resolution in full. tion. I will insert here the resolution in full:

[House Joint Resolution 112.—Introduced by Representative CLYDE H. TAVENNER, of Illinois, and referred to the Committee on Rules.]

TAVENNER, of Illinois, and referred to the Committee on Rules.]

Whereas more than \$200,000,000 raised principally by taxing the things that the people eat, wear, and use, have been expended annually on the Army and Navy, under the general assumption that in return for this colossal expenditure the Nation was being reasonably "prepared"; and Whereas it is now being generally asserted in many quarters that the Nation is pitifully "unprepared," the specific charge having been made on the floor of the House of Representatives, by a Member thereof, that "If war were to break out to-day, it would be found that our coast defenses have not sufficient ammunition for an hour's fight"; and

Whereas it has also been charged in the Congress that millions of dollars of public funds have been wasted by the payment to private manufacturers, by Army and Navy officers, of from twenty to sixty per centum more for large quantities of Army and Navy supplies than the same could have been obtained for through their manufacture in Government arsensis and navy yards; and
Whereas President Wilson in a message to the Congress on December eighth, nineteen hundred and fourteen, said that, "Like good stewards we should so account for every dollar of our appropriations as to make it perfectly evident what it was spent for and in what way it was spent"; and
Whereas the profit incident to the manufacture and sale of arms, armament, and munitions of war has a tendency to corrupt public opinion, disturb international peace, and prevent a peaceful settlement of disputes between nations; and inasmuch as it ought to be made impossible for any person or corporation to make money out of war; and inasmuch as the Government should, for its own safety and protection, manufacture all arms, armament, and munitions of war for the equipment, construction, and use of the Army and Navy, to the end that it may be independent of individuals and corporate interests; and

whereas there has been public criticism of the action of ex-Army and ex-Navy officers who after resigning or retiring have taken employment with concerns having dealings with the Government; and worked out by officers and employees of the Navy Department at public expense for exclusive use in American battleships were furnished to a private firm to be embodied in battleships for another nation; and

to a private firm to be embodied in battleships for another hatton; and
Whereas it has been charged that the Navy League, an organization active in agitating for increased naval expenditures, has among its founders, officers, members, and directors persons who are or have been officers, directors, or stockholders of war-trafficking firms or concerns which stand to profit financially from the increased naval appropriations being agitated by said Navy League; and
Whereas hearings by the lobby investigation committee of the United States Senate in nineteen hundred and fifteen revealed that Senaiers now in office were stockholders of war-trafficking firms and concerns which profit financially from Government appropriations for the Army and Navy; and
Whereas any or all of the divers matters heretofore mentioned may bear on the alleged wasting of public funds and the alleged unpreparedness of our Nation in spite of the enormous appropriations made by Congress annually; and
Whereas it is deemed advisable to gather the facts bearing on the aforesaid conditions and charges, or in any way or manner relating thereto or to any of the subjects above mentioned, as a basis for remedial and other legislative purposes: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a joint committee of the Senate and House of Representatives, to consist of six Members of the Senate to be appointed by the President of the Senate and six Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker of the House, is hereby empowered, authorized, and directed—

First. To investigate fully and inquire into each and all of the above-recited matters and into any matters and subjects connected with or appurtenant to or bearing upon the same.

Second. To investigate fully and inquire into—

(a) The total amounts paid to private manufacturers for guns, ammunition, torpedoes, powder, armor plate, submarines, battleships, and other equipment and supplies used by the Army and Navy in large quantities for each year since eighteen hundred and eighty-seven, and approximately what the saving would have been to the people if the capacity of Government establishments had permitted the complete Government manufacture of said equipment;

(b) The extent of the economy or extravagance which has resulted from the Government manufacture of Army and Navy equipment of any kind whatsoever which the Government is now engaged in manufacturing;

(c) The most feasible plan of acquiring or constructing manufacturing plants of sufficient capacity to supply the Army and Navy with all arms, armament, and munitions of war, including ships and their equipment;

all arms, armament, and munitions of war, including ships and their equipment;

(d) The probable cost of such manufacturing plants, taking into account both present and future military needs;

(e) The proper locations for such manufacturing plants;

(f) The necessary legislation to prevent either persons or corporations from engaging or continuing in such manufacture and when such legislation should take effect.

Third. To investigate and report the extent to which Army and Navy officials on the retired list, or who have resigned from the Army and Navy, are now connected, or have ever been connected, with concerns having dealings with the Government.

(a) Or to investigate any alleged connections, direct or indirect, between any Army or Navy officer, either on the active list or the retired list, and concerns which now have, or have had, dealings with the Government;

(b) Whether any Army or Navy officers on the pay roll of the Government, either on the active or retired list, are now, or ever have been, in any contract by which they are, or were, to receive royalties on implements of war sold to foreign Governments.

Fourth. To compile a list of ex-Army and ex-Navy officers employed by private concerns and the names, places, and character of the business engaged in by the concerns with which said persons are, or have been, connected.

Fifth. To investigate and report the circumstances under which any private concern has been able to obtain plans and specifications from the Navy Department for use in constructing battleships for a foreign nation.

Sixth. To investigate the quality of work of any character supplied

nation.

Sixth. To investigate the quality of work of any character supplied the Government by private concerns or the circumstances involved in connection with the making of any contracts between the Government and any private concern.

Seventh. To ascertain the extent to which individuals who are, or who have been, founders, directors, officers, life members, or contributing members of the Navy League, or similar organizations, are, or have been, stockholders, officers, directors, or employees of concerns which stand to profit from the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy which are being advocated by the Navy League or kindred organizations.

Eight To inquire into the organization, membership, expenditures.

been, stockholders, officers, directors, or employees of concerns which stand to profit from the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy which are being advocated by the Navy League or kindred organizations.

Eighth. To inquire into the organization, membership, expenditures, receipts, and sources thereof of Labor's National Peace Council, or any organizations which have been active in the proposed increases in the Army and Navy of the United States.

Ninth. To ascertain the extent to which Members of Congress, both of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, own, hold, or control, directly or indirectly, or have ever owned, held, or controlled, directly or indirectly, at any time during their membership in this or any preceding Congress, stock or bonds in any concern or concerns which are now or have been engaged in the manufacture of munitions of war.

Tenth. To ascertain the extent to which Members of Congress, both of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, own, hold, or control, directly or indirectly, or have ever owned, held, or controlled, directly or indirectly, at any time during their membership in this or any preceding Congress, stock or bonds in any concern or concerns which have profited financially by virtue of contracts for munitions, armament, ships, or other supplies or materials, under moneys appropriated in the Army, Navy, fortifications, sundry civil, or other appropriation bills, or, if deemed advisable, to require Army and Navy officers or any person or persons who have taken an active part for or against increased Army and Navy appropriations to testify as to their holdings of stocks or bonds.

Eleventh. To require munitions concerns or firms which have obtained contracts for materials of any character under Army and Navy appropriations to furnish sworn lists of its stockholders and bondholders on June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and fifteen, or such other date as it may designate, or to require stock brokers to furnish lists of those for

MARTIN DIES POINTS TO THE DANGER OF MILITARISM.

I desire at this point to quote from the speech of Congressman Martin Dies, of Texas, the kind of a speech that the great newspapers of the country as a general rule do not publish, for it is not conducive to the creation of a military autocracy in this

country:

When our form of government was in the process of molding the immortal sages who sat in judgment upon the lessons of history and the experiences of mankind chose for us a republic of peace in preference to an empire of grandeur. These learned men were profound students of the world's history. They were familiar with the principles of all forms of government. They were not ignorant of the splendor which follows in the wake of great armies, great battles, and great generals; but they preferred peace and happiness in the homes of the people to the splendor of armies and military establishments. These founders knew that militarism would destroy free government, and they were happy in the knowledge that our isolated situation made great armies and great generals unnecessary. Providence rendered us secure from the wars of the Old World. Great oceans lay between us and the trampling soldiery of Europe. We occupied the one spot of earth for the successful establishment of a republic and the pursuit of the arts of peace.

On yesterday, the anniversary of the immortal Washington, we heard the wisdom and the greatness of that revered patriot extolled in eloquent terms. Let me take a sentence from the Farewell Address of Washington and propound it as an interrogatory to the membership of this body:

"Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand on foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambittion, rivalship, interest, honor, or caprice?"

But we seem to have forgotten the admonition of the fathers. We are no longer satisfied to stay upon our own shores and pursue the avocations of peace and the enjoyment of liberty.

The generals and the enjoyment of liberty.

The generals and the admirals shake their heads ominously and hint at war; the heads of the great supply committees that spend the people's money fidget in their seats and cry out in trembling accents for more money with which to purchase powder and shot, guns and ships, arms and armaments. Ah, Mr. Chairman, the great trouble with us is that we are pursuing a policy which we know is likely to bring war. [Applause.] If we were attending strictly to our own business, there would be no excuse for all these mock heroics about war, and there would be no excuse for spending these fabulous sums of money taxed from the labor of the people. History gives ample proof of the fact that military men are prone to exert influence against peace. War is their game, and naturally enough, they fret and chafe at plping times of peace. There can be no Alexanders and Hannibals without battles, and there can be no battles without war. If we listen to our generals and would-be generals, every appropriation bill will bristle with war preparations, and there will never be an end of it until there is a sodiler upon the back of every citizen and the neglected implements of husbandry lie rusting in the fields, while their former users burnish bayonets and black boots in the camps of an army.

I am not a pessimist, Mr. Chairman, but history does not encourage me to hope that our free institutions will long survive the time when the military shall be made paramount to the civil affairs of our Government. When we send great armies away to oppress our neighbors they will return to oppress our own people.

Rome sent Cæsar and his soldiers to conquer the barbarians, but he returned with his army to destroy the last vestige of Roman liberty and seat himself upon a throne. The people of France, in more recent times, employed Napoleon to lead a grand army against the neighboring peoples of Europe, but when the conquering general came back to France he promptly overthrew the young Republic and crowned himself Emperor with his own hands. Your great generals are not Democrats; they are not Republicans. They are autocrats who despise the civil authority and hate the democratic principle of equality.

Mr. Chairman, the principles of liberty and equality can not live in the military atmosphere. If we would go forth to conquer and achieve military renown as the Romans did, we must expect the fate which befell the Roman Republic; if we would have a Cæsar to point his sword against our neighbors, we may expect that he will at last turn that sword upon us. We can not have the glory of a strong government without paying the penalty in ruined liberties. [Applause.]

ment without paying the penalty in ruined liberties. [Applause.]

But this is no time to talk of war. This is no time to talk of a great standing army. Great God, with fifteen or twenty millions of men in Europe grasping their swords ready to strike at their brothers and neighbors, Goes my friend from Massachusetts not find enough of that sort of thing? We read of the wars of the world, of the mightly Persian hosts; we read of the wars of the world, of the mightly Persian hosts; we read of the mightly hosts of Xerxes; we read of Napoleon's brilliant campaign with conplacency; but when we look just across the ocean to-day and bchold that which is occurring there, it seems to me that the martial spirit of even my friend from Massachusetts would find enough to satisfy itself. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, great armies are never justifiable except in defense of liberty or to strike from the hands of men the shackles of oppression and of tyranny. [Applause on the Democratic side.] I would fear to trust the destiny of this Republic in the hands of admirals and generals. Their game is war. The glory that they shall get, if they get glory, is from war. I am willing to have a small aimy as a sort of police force. I am willing to have as good a navy as we need to protect our commerce and our country. But, Mr. Chairman, I dread the day that the military power shall take precedence over the civil power in this Republic. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Can you point to a nation of militarism that maintained the liberty of the people? Liberty can not live and breathe in an atmosphere of war and military power. O God of this world, give us this one spot upon which to maintain a free government. [Applause.] Separated from our neighbors by almost impassable barriers, it would seem that God had planted this great people here to work out a shining example of liberty. I hope we may never again hear the tramp of soldiery upon these independent shores.

Now, Mr. Chairman, that concludes what I wanted to say. I

Now, Mr. Chairman, that concludes what I wanted to say. It is a subject that I have always felt deeply about. I love this Republic; I

love liberty; I hate armies; I hate despotism. I would not bunch the tears of a nation to make a diadem for a king. I am always thinking of Napoleon and the hundreds of thousands of French peasants and French soldiers that lay dying on the snow-capped hills of Russia during his retreat. I care nothing for Charlemange and all his glory to be divided among his crazy sons. But, Mr. Chairman, I have dreamed that this Republic, standing out single and alone in the world, where men could have government based on the consent of the governed, should yet belle the history of the world and leave a proof that men are capable of this sort of government.

WORLD'S HISTORY SHOWS THAT A PROFESSIONAL SOLDIERY IS NOT THE SOLDIERY OF HUMANITY AND LIBERTY.

It is the custom of the Navy League and similar so-called defense leagues to sneer at the citizen soldiery. With loud acclaim they decry its efficiency. But what does history say? It tells us that the citizen soldiery has been efficient enough to establish liberty wherever it has been established and to dethrone oppression and tyranny wherever and whenever it has been de-

It is true that at times George Washington lamented the rawness of his troops. But what soldiery other than a citizen soldiery would have left its bloodstained footprints in the snow and ice at Valley Forge? Who believes a professional soldiery would have left them there? The raw, untrained troops of George Washington, the citizen soldiery that followed the Father of our Country, were efficient enough to defeat a vastly superior force of highly trained and efficient professional troops. A citizen soldiery is simply the soldiery of humanity, while a professional soldiery has ever been the soldiery of the exploiters of When the cause is sufficiently worthy, when the human race. humanity has been oppressed to a point where it can stand oppression no longer, all the militarism in Christendom will not be able to resist a citizen soldiery. One may as well talk of resisting the tides of the sea as to resist a justly provoked citizen

A professional soldier will fight for any cause, whether it be right or wrong; that is, a well-trained, highly efficient professional soldier will. He will turn his gun upon his own countrymen. They have even been known to turn their guns, at the command of a superior officer, upon defenseless women and children. Throughout the ages the professional soldier has been used principally as a prop for established wrong, and to hold labor in subjection for exploitation by the rich and powerful. But a citizen soldier will volunteer only when he approves of the principle he is to fight for. He is then ready to perish for the cause, and the history of the world bears striking proof of the superiority of such a soldier, man for man, over the merely professional fighter.

MINUTEMEN ARE PREPARING TO FIGHT TO SAVE THE REPUBLIC FROM MILITARISM.

Everyone at all in touch with public sentiment knows there are citizens of all political faiths in every nook and corner of the Nation that sense the danger in the suddenly emphasized issue of militarism, and who are thoroughly awake to a realization of the nearness of that danger. Everywhere there are patriotic Americans who love their flag and all that it stands for, and are willing to give not only their votes, but their lives if necessary, to keep it flying for them and their children and their children's children. And there are other millions of the Republic's citizens who are not awake to the perils of militarism who will be awakened. Public sentiment, the great sleeping giant, is slowly but surely stirring. Thoughtful citizens are beginning to throw off the lethargy which has held them. Everywhere throughout the length and breadth of the land strong men are beginning to lift their voices, calling to their patriotic countrymen to awaken. It is to be a battle, not with bullets, but with ballots. Therefore it may be a long one, covering years to come.

To-day, however, is the day for each man and woman to open the campaign. No matter what your rank or station, no matter whether you live in the thickly populated city or far out on the range, begin to-day systematically to awaken those with whom you come in contact. Practically all that can be done for the present in Washington has been done. Therefore, men and women of America, the fight now is really in your hands,

Answer the militarist's challenge to your patriotism by a patriotism that is greater than his. Instead of needlessly dying for your country, live for it, firmly resolved that this, the mightiest Republic of all history, and still the one great political hope of the world, shall not perish on the rock of militarism, the arch enemy of republics throughout the ages.

BOTH BIG PARTIES RUSHING TOWARD MILITARISM WITH A SEVEN-LEAGUE-BOOTS STRIDE,

So far only the Republican voters of Michigan and dum. Nebraska have had an opportunity to express their views. And, considering the fact that Democratic platforms in times past have denounced militarism and favored the reduction of the Army, there would appear to be justification for the belief that there is even a stronger sentiment against militarism within the rank and file of the Democratic Party than within the Republican Party.

One of the principal planks in the Democratic platform of 1900

was as follows:

MILITARISM OPPOSED.

We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the strong arm which has ever been fatal to free institutions. It is what millions of our citizens have fled from in Europe. It will impose upon our peace-loving people a large standing army and unnecessary burden of taxation, and will be a constant menace to their liberties. A small standing army and a well-disciplined State militia are amply sufficient in time of peace. This Republic has no place for a vast military service and conscription.

The Democratic platform of four years later, 1904, contained the following:

We favor the reduction of the Army and of Army expenditures to the point historically demonstrated to be safe and sufficient. AS EUROPEAN POWERS DAILY WASTE THEIR STRENGTH, THE UNITED STATES GROWS STRONGER IN PROPORTION.

But, argue the militarists, we are in far greater danger from invasion by European armies than we were either in 1900 or 1904. The central powers, they would have us believe, could and would capture New York before breakfast, take luncheon in Philadelphia, eat dinner in Baltimore, and spend the first night on American soil in Washington, the Capital of the Nation.

This may be good press-agent copy for the armor and munitions manufacturers, with whom it originated, but it has a vital

weakness. It is fiction.

I contend that we are not in far greater danger from invasion by European armies than we were in 1900 or 1904, but that we are in far less danger from such invasion than we were in 1900 or 1904 or at any time in the last quarter of a century.

I will attempt to prove it by the philosophy of the war lords themselves: The policy of all the world powers is to determine the size of their building programs by those of their respective

rivals for world power or probable or possible enemies.

The rich, powerful, audacious European nations that entered the present war nearly two years ago are to-day virtually bleeding to death. By the time the war ends their credit will be wrecked, their debts will be mountain high. Five million men, young men, the very flower of the manhood of Europe, will be in their graves. There will be millions of cripples and millions of widows and orphans to be taken care of. Crepe will hang from every door knob, and anguish and despair will exist in every The vast and costly ordnances and munitions of war with which the nations were supplied at the outbreak of the conflict, together with those manufactured during its run, will be ready for the scrap heap. "The proud Europe that began this war will in nowise resemble the Europe that emerges from it any more than a cripple who has been bled within an inch of his life resembles an athlete in perfect health."

Regardless of when this war is brought to a close and regardless of which side comes out victorious, military Europe will be dead beyond resurrection for at least a quarter of a century.

Query: Conceding for the sake of argument that it is necessary for a nation to increase its armament in the same proportion as a rival power, by what logic can it be considered necessary for a peace-loving nation whose armament is wholly intact to vastly and suddenly increase it at a time when its rivals are reducing the armament of one another to heaps of smoldering ruins?

One answer is that the munition makers need the money. DANGER OF INVASION BY ARMIES FROM ACROSS THE SEAS IS PRINCIPALLY FICTION.

For months the people of the United States have had fear pounded into their brains by magazines, newspapers, and motion pictures. The wild cry for the spending of billions, the piling up of armament and the saddling of the country with a military caste has been based principally on fiction. It is a good rule to keep cool and take fiction at its own worth.

Editorial enthusiasts have hastened to forget the disaster at the Dardanelles, the statement of the President, "We are threatened from no quarter;" the impending bankruptcy of weakened Europe. Americans should consider some facts.

On the floor of the House recently Congressman E. W.

SAUNDERS, of Virginia, said:

Just at the present time, unfortunately, the only difference between the two old parties on the new issue would appear to be little more than the difference between tweedledee and tweedle-

Mr. Chairman, this is not a question of a great navy, but of a greater navy. This country has a great navy, a far greater navy than the man in the street is aware of, when he listens to the ranters who would have him believe that sane and moderate men are unwise and unpatriotic, merely because they are unwilling to waste the substance of the country in a wild riot of naval construction. Compared with the guns of every other nation in the world save England, and the lingoes always exclude England from their calculations, the guns on our ships in weight and carrying power are distinctly superior to all others.

THE VIEWS OF GEN. WEAVER.

Brig, Gen. Erasmus Weaver, head of the Coast Artillery of the United States, confounds the fiction writers.

Gen. Weaver would have charge of the defenses of the country if such an invasion occurred.

In 1915, testifying as to the strength of our coast defenses, Gen. Weaver said:

I have been a close student of the whole subject, naturally, for a number of years, and I know of no fortifications in the world, so far as my reading, observation, and knowledge goes, that compare favorably in efficiency with ours.

On January 19 of the present year Gen. Weaver went before the House Committee on Military Affairs and asked for an increase of 11,000 men for the land fortifications. I quote from the report of the hearings before the committee:

the report of the hearings before the committee:

Mr. McKellar. If we conclude to carry out your recommendations and give you the 11,000 men, then, as I understand you, you would have a perfect system of coast defense that you think would be adequate for any purpose?

Gen. Weaven, Yes.

Mr. McKellar. Your idea is that your guns are sufficient now? Gen Weaven. The guns now mounted and those contemplated will give us an entirely satisfactory defense.

Mr. McKellar. You do not take any stock in the idea that the ships of foreign nations carry guns of long enough range to silence your guns? Gen. Weaven. No.

Mr. McKellar. I want to ask you, General, with our present condition, is our condition of preparedness for defense deplorable? Gen. Weaven. Except in the matter of personnel, it is not.

Mr. McKellar. It is in excellent condition, with the addition of a few officers and men, such as have been recommended by the department and by you?

Gen. Weaven. Yes, sir.

Mr. McKellar. In your judgment, is it not unfair and misleading to the American people to have a public man make a statement that would lead you to believe that the coast cities of our country are wholly at the mercy of some invading enemy?

Gen. Weaver I do not know that there is any officer who is acquainted with the facts that would make such a statement.

Mr. McKellar. Any public man; I do not say an officer.

Gen. Weaver. I hesitate to criticize public men.

WHAT GEN. MILES THINKS ABOUT IT.

From the Congressional Record of February 3, 1916, page 1693, is taken the following extract from the testimony of Gen. Nelson A. Miles, United States Army, retired:

Having had much to do with placing and construction of our fortifi-cations, and inspecting every one along the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coasts, as well as having had an opportunity of seeing all of the great armies of the world and many of their fortifications, including the Dardanelles. I am prepared to say that our coasts are as well defended as the coasts of any country, with the same class of high-power guns and heavy projectiles, and I have no sympathy for the misrepresentations that have been made in the attempt to mislead the public.

Later this officer declared:

These overseas expeditions spring from the minds of men writing about preparedness who know less about preparedness than anything else. Before a Senate committee January 31, 1916, Gen. Miles de-

The placing of an army on American soil is the last thing any European government would attempt; it could never be reembarked. It would dissolve like snow beneath the midday sun. Whenever it has been attempted it has resulted in disaster.

We have seen this come true at the Dardanelles. The greatest battle fleet in the world's history backed up a magnificent army in that landing. They faced no such great guns as our coast forts have. Yet for a year this army and navy struggled and the soldiers never got beyond range of the naval guns. Then the attempt was abandoned. The jingoes refuse to remember such a recent shattering of their fictions and try to make you forget

it, too.

They refuse to remember that England during the present war, troops, unequipped, from one friendly port, Quebec, to another friendly port, Southampton. Yet they tell you glibly of 400,000 enemies landing on our shores almost overnight.

If the people know the facts there will be no fear. If there is no fear the "preparedness" proposition now before Congress for a vast army and a vaster navy will not become law.

THE PERIL OF PRIVATE MUNITION PLANTS.

While I have leave to print, I will insert an address delivered at the World's Peace Conference held at The Hague, Netherlands, in 1913, by Mr. G. H. Perris, of London:

We have this year, for the first time, I think, in the history of the peace movement, an analysis, something like a scientific analysis, of the methods by which war material is supplied to three of the greatest countries in the world. In the case of the German Empire, Dr. Liebknecht has placed before the Reichstag the results of his inquiries. In the case of France, M. Delaisi has embodied the results of his in-

quiry in a little pamphlet, to be obtained upstairs. I have myself made a similar inquiry so far as concerns the great manufacturers of armaments for the British Empire. It is therefore not simply as regards the wickedness of militarism and the preparations for war in Germany that this question rises. Liebknecht's revelations in Germany have attracted peculiar attention; but what the investigations that have been made in England and France prove is that this disease is substantially the same in all the great countries of the world.

These inquiries give somewhat surprising results, or at least surprising to those who are already economic students. I shall very rapidly summarize for you the results of these inquiries. I suppose that it is natural for people who do not know the international peace movement, and who say that pacifists are sentimentalists, to say also that armaments are, as it were, a national fire engines in our cities for the extinction of fires. These people sincerely believe that the great names of Krupp and Schneider and Armstrong and others are properly honored, each in his own country. So in Germany the Kaiser decorated Krupp, visits his house, and shows signs of satisfaction in standing beside a member of that firm, and so we hear, in regard to the war in the Balkans, of "a contest between Germany and France" as to whether the cannons supplied to the combatants came from Krupp's or Schneider's; which is as it people competed for the honor of having served out poisons for the purpose of murder. And so in England Vickers, Maxim, and others are honorable corporations in the eyes of the public; and if there is a new battleship, it can not go into battle without having been christened by some lady of title with a bottle of champagne. It is a matter of honor thus to dedicate a means of human slaughter. It is supposed that the armaments are necessary for the peace of the world, and it is supposed that the makers of them are excellent citizens; and so it is also supposed that the remains of human s

THE WAR TRADERS' TRUST.

of them only, and there are scores of them. Two of these only, Vickers and Armstrong, this year distributed £1,500,000 in profits. I mention these facts to illustrate the wealth of the armaments trade.

THE WAR TRADÉRS' TRUST.

And we find that these firms, instead of being competitive business, are combined, both within each country and internationally. The pleathat one company competes with another and makes honest sales to its Government is pure pretense. This combination is extending more and more into the international field. It is far from being complete. The whole business of armaments has not become cosmopolitanized, but it has reached a considerable degree toward that. It is very probable that it will be some time before great armament makers of the three great entities—the groups of nations represented by the German Emergency of the companies of a certain extent. With each other, They do undoubtedly compete to a certain extent. But they already meet each other at many points.

You may remember the case of the Deutsche Munitions und Waffen-Fabrik, cited by Dr. Liebknecht in the Reichstag. This was the case of a German company hoiding a considerable share in French companies and exerting a provocative influence in the Parisian press, in order that competition and jealously as to orders for armaments may be kept alive. In England we have a combination of the British and but the process of the companies and exerting a provocative influence in the Parisian press, in order that competition and jealously as to orders for armaments may be kept alive. In England we have a combination of the British and but the process of the companies and exerting a provocative influence in the Parisian press, in order that competition and jealously as to orders for armaments may be kept alive. In England we have a combination of the British and the group of the parision of Krupp, Schneider, and Armstrong is their effort to exploit the service of the serve of the service of the service of the service of the service of the serv

Nation—"Cousin Jonathan" as we call him. Across the occan lies the rising Empfier of Japan, which is Englands ally.

What these events mean is that, over those frontiers that base-minded politicians have built—that history has built, of course, finally—there is carried on an industry which has no frontiers whatever to Its and folly of human nature. It can not be dealed, I think, that the sole interest of these firms consists in embrolling one nation with an other. They preach nationalism, but it is a nationalism of a chamdlered that the sole interest of these firms consists in embrolling one nation with an other. They preach not not be dealed, I think, that the sole interest of these firms consists in embrolling one nation with an other. They preach may be a made of the preaches the control of the preaches the control of the preaches the control of the preaches the political traveler being some to them. Some of you must wonder from time to time where the hill tribesmen of India, where the slave traders of the Persan Galf, where the Somalis, where the revolutionists of the South The fact is there is no conscience whatever in the trade of death. [Applause.] These great companies will sell their deadly weapons to anyone. Those regulations which prevent evil—minded persons buring a file these. Such firms sell heir weapons on some lonely frontier, and then we wonder there is a "little" war.

The most pitfulf fact is the comparative helplessness of the governments is as "strength. But I am satisfied the British Government is as strength. But I am satisfied the British Government is an strength. But I am satisfied the British Government is and in strength. But I am satisfied the British Government is an strength. But I am satisfied the British Government is an instruction. But I am satisfied the British Government is an instruction of nature and the control of war choose to go into the field of political azistrion. In the last two few and the strength of the control of war control of the control of war control of the

Conservation of the Appalachian Forests.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES J. BRITT,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tucsday, May 2, 1916.

Mr. BRITT. Mr. Speaker, the act of Congress of March 1, 1911, known as the Wecks Act, appropriated the sum of \$11,000,000 for the purchase of forest lands about the headwaters of the navigable streams rising in the White Mountains destruction by fire.

of New England and in the Appalachian Mountains of the South. To June 30, 1915, 1,317,551 acres had been purchased under the provisions of this act, at a cost of \$6,885,901.30, an average of \$5.22 per acre. Of the \$11,000,000 thus appropriated, \$3,000,000 has lapsed, \$7,000,000 has been expended in the purchase of lands, \$800,000 has been expended for administration and forest-fire control, and an available balance of some \$200,000 remains for the completion of purchases now in negotiation. The Agricultural appropriation bill now before the House makes no provision whatever for that purpose, and, unless an appropriation is now made, further extensions in this great and pressing field of public enterprise will be brought to sudden standstill.

Under the provisions of this act the National Forest Reserva-tion Commission has selected for purchase in the White Moun-tains and in the southern Appalachian Mountains 21 great areas, and in 16 of these large purchases have been made. Of these 16 areas 5 lie wholly or in part in my district. They are the Mount Mitchell area, the Pisgah area, the Savannah area, the Nantahala area, and the Smoky Mountain area.

Officers of the Department of Agriculture, who have given the matter years of careful study, estimate that in order properly to conserve the forests of the Appalachian highlands land purchases to the extent of 5,000,000 acres should be made in the southern Appalachian Ranges and to the extent of 1,000,000 acres in the White Mountains of New England.

We all know that the Weeks Act gets its constitutional justification in the avowed purpose of Congress to improve the navigation of our ship-bearing rivers. Technically that is the purpose, but of infinitely greater importance is the conservation of our forests and our soils and the prevention of the loss of life

and property by destructive floods.

Mr. Speaker, of all the noble and worthy purposes for which we have voted quotas of money since I have been a Member of this House, not one, in my judgment, save and except those for flood sufferers and for the national defense, is so worthy, so necessitous, so meritorious as this. I do not assume to speak for New England, for I do not know the conditions there, but I do know the conditions in the southern Appalachian Mountains, particularly those in my own district. There we have such tremendous destruction of the forests and denudation of the lands as even to suggest a veritable new geological order, with all its ruinous consequences to soil and stream. This comes from the laying bare of the land by the removal of the forests, thus depriving nature of her reservoirs for holding in check her rain and moisture, and leaving her streams to the influence of uncontrolled gravity, to be borne precipitately down the mountain sides, not only carrying with them the fertile soil but filling the headwaters of our navigable streams with silt, earth, and débris. seriously impairing navigation at points far below their sources.

My section is peculiarly, almost tragically, exposed to the destructive effects of deforested lands. Its mountains are high, its slopes are steep, and its river channels are narrow and irregular. In my district alone there rise no fewer than 12 rivers that either become navigable streams or the confluents of navigable streams. At the culmination of the Blue Ridge 2 of them, after seeming to hesitate as to what direction to go, take their winding courses 500 miles to the southeast and empty into the Atlantic Ocean, while 10 of them, after a thousand meanders, flow away to the northwest into the Tennessee and the Ohio, thence into the Mississippi, finally to spill their waters into the Gulf of Mexico, more than 2,000 miles away. their sources, high among the mountains and hills, the furies of nature sometimes unchain their demons of destruction to wreck havoc upon forest and soil and man and beast. I have myself been personal witness to an instance of these terrible plays of nature's forces. I have seen a tiny stream, because of deforested lands, suddenly swell into a mad, rushing torrent 20 feet deep, sweep away gardens and farms, houses and shops, and bear on its bosom men and women to sudden and tragic death. One-third of a fine little mountain town is carried away in a minute. Loss of a lifetime's savings leaves with me a memory unhappy enough, but the recollection of the bare escape of my family from a horrible death abides to urge an everlasting protest against the reckless removal of our forests.

A few miles east of Asheville, Mount Mitchell, the highest point east of the Mississippi, rises to a height of almost 7,000 feet above the sea level. Within the last few months the legislature of my State has appropriated the sum of \$20,000 to preserve the crest of its loftiest peak, where sleep the remains of Dr. Elisha Mitchell, whose labors in measuring and exploring its majestic heights resulted in his tragic death. On its western slope the city of Asheville has purchased and carefully guards and conserves a tract of 17,000 acres as its sources of water

But nothing but Deity and the Federal Government can stay the restless hand of the lumberman and forest despoiler. Deforestation and denudation go on at an alarming rate. Soon no merchantable timber will be left. But, worst of all, there is wanton and reckless disregard of all forms of tree life. Nor is there any transplanting or renewal. The process of destruction never halts; that of rebuilding never commences. There is no thought of to-morrow. Each day seems to justify its own

I know that the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina, Mr. Lever, chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, feels a great pride in his bill and does not care to have it marred or changed. That pride is well founded, and I share it with him, for it is indeed a very excellent bill, and, in my judgment, it needs only a \$3,000,000 provision for forest purchases to make it the finest agricultural bill ever brought into this House. I trust, however, that he will not permit his pride to stand in the way of a great and imperative public necessity. In this House we ought each to stand ready to do something for sections other than our own. His State and mine adjoin and have a common name and a common history. Probably we are not doing reciprocal good turns often enough. He knows what the governor of North Carolina said to the governor of South Carolina. It will add immeasurably to his greatness and to the merits of his bill if he will join me in securing an appropriation for this purpose.

Mr. Speaker, I trust that this House will not conclude that this demand comes from me only. It comes from the Department of Agriculture, from every forestry association in the United States, from public men of every class all the way from New Hampshire to Georgia, and from every other part of the United States, and, if I may be pardoned, I will say that I understand that it was by but a single vote that the Committee on Agriculture failed to report a provision of \$2,000,000 for this purpose. Throughout all my section there is one earnest, in-sistent appeal for this relief, and the people there will neither be satisfied nor able to understand if it is not granted.

But, Mr. Speaker, pray do not understand me to ask for this allowance merely that so much money may be expended in my section. That would indeed be a low motive, and one by which I trust I may never be controlled. Nor am I seeking credit for securing legislation. My only purpose is to serve a great cause. If you will give us this appropriation, you may place the credit anywhere under heaven that you please. It may go to the majority Senators and Representatives of my State or to the chairman of this committee or to the majority as a whole, or anywhere else. I am willing to be unknown that I may serve a purpose so worthy and a public need so great and pressing.

And why should my request not be granted? This House has voted great sums of money for almost every purpose mentionable. We have voted millions for rivers and harbors, but these rivers and harbors were not, like the forests of my section, speedily going to waste. We gave a million for an inland waterway in the eastern part of my State, and while it is a worthy purpose, yet that waterway, unlike our forests, is not going to waste. We have spent millions to destroy crop pests and fruit blights, to eradicate diseases of horses and cattle, to promote irrigation, and for hundreds of other purposes; and can it be that we can not get a few millions for a purpose so tremendously important and so pressingly necessary?

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, I appeal to your patriotism, to

our sense of justice. Do not deny to the eastern portion of the United States this appropriation, a sum small indeed, and yet of such vast consequence to the future of our section. I do not believe, gentlemen, I can not believe, that you will turn us away empty.

Independence in the Philippines.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH WALSH, OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 3, 1916.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, we are dealing with a question to-day that calls for the utmost care. It should be decided without prejudice. We should have only in our minds the sole question, as to what is best for the people who inhabit the islands which became ours as a result of Dewey's victory at Manila on May 1, 1898.

Our own Government is one of laws and not of men. It is In the words of the immortal Lincoln, "a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

The Philippines have been under our control for 16 years, and during that period the people in those islands have made

rapid and admirable progres

But, sir, 16 years, in the history of a people, is but a twinkle of an eye. You can not inculate within that time the necessary principles to establish self-government in a people who for centuries have been almost in bondage, who have been born with the belief that all authority and restraint is detrimental.

I shall vote against section 34 of this measure, which seeks to set a limit of time within which independence must be granted

to this people.

It has been said that we are false to the traditions of the founding of our own Republic. This I submit, sir, is not based on fact. The forefathers refused to submit longer to abuses and tyrannies as set forth in that immortal document, the Declaration of Independence. Is there abuse in the Philippines, are we tyrants, does despotism prevail?

Who is there to say we have been false to the trust we assumed? Their marvelous progress refutes any such charge even if it be uttered. Let our flag remain. Let the influence of our laws and institutions continue. Let the protection of our Nation enfold the people of these islands. Let us continue unselfishly the task of civilizing and educating this race.

Let us not at this time, one of the saddest in the world's history, abandon a people to the rapacity and greed of nations, who would jump at the chance to step in as we stepped out. Unprejudiced observers state that the conditions in the Philippines do not warrant the granting of independence at this time, and in this connection I desire to direct attention to an interview given by Mr. J. P. Morse, president of the Standard Manufacturing Co., of Boston, Mass., who has just returned from a business trip to the Far East which covered a period of onehalf year.

He visited China, Japan, and the Philippine Islands. He went there to study financial and commercial conditions. He desired to get information at first hand, and while traveling a vast amount of territory took considerable notes which later he intends shall form the basis of a publication. Speaking to a reporter he said:

intends shall form the basis of a publication. Speaking to a reporter he said:

My duty as an American citizen impels me to disclose the conditions which I found in the Philippines. I believe the American public is as ignorant of the actual conditions controlling it as any public can be, and unless complete and honest information is afforded we shall be confronted with a problem soon in the Philippines that may imperil our interests if not our political standing. I want to say I bear no prejudic against any persons in the islands. I desire to give forth such facts as I know will bear closest scrutiny and investigation.

The condition of business in the Philippine Islands is deplorable, Whatever business is now being conducted and under American control may be purchased at a terrible sacrifice. I spoke to many merchants who had vast amounts of money invested, and they were willing to self out at one-quarter of the amount of their investment. The banks are overcautious and large loans are impossible to procure. It is strange why such a condition, depiorable in every respect, should exist in a country which has enormous natural and unqualified resources. Large interests from America have sent representatives to the Islands, and upon arrival there have been informed by local interests that any investment that might be made would not be safe, and after a few weeks those interests left, taking no action

Sanitary conditions there are dangerously bad. Newspapers in Manila, published daily, report the different cases of cholera, diphtheria, and rinderpest. This last-named disease is a terrible menace to the people, and yet it could be kept under control and reduced to a vanishing point under any kind of efficient management. The present administration is doing nothing in this direction to protect the citizens.

Mr. Morgan Shuster, our former minister to Persia, seems to think that matters in the Philippines are rowy. They are by no means that. In his article, which appeared in the New York Times last week, April 21, he

the public service, and he commended him with credit for skill and success.

My personal and close investigation indicates that matters are not only not improving, but absolutely deteriorating. The financial situation is rushing toward bankruptcy. A mere glance at the figures contained in the Manila Daily Bulletin, February 26, 1916, indicates that the legislature has appropriated for public works, schools, railroad, bank, and government charges \$43,000,000. The receipts of the government can not in any event exceed \$26,000,000. The difference can not be raised and has not been provided.

I agree, in view of this exhibition, with Mr. Dean C. Worcester, former secretary of the interior for the Philippine Islands and now engaged in business in Manila, who said that the sole purpose of Mr. Shuster's visit to the Islands was to endeavor to impress the people of the United States with the idea that the administration of the Governor General has been crowned with success.

Mr. Shuster must have taken a superficial view. He did not come in direct contact with conditions all over the land. He saw conditions through the eyes of Gov. Harrison. He was conducted by officials who took up affairs on parade, but he did not look behind the lines.

I made a personal investigation by going into many cities and into the country. I 'nquired of the people who knew and had nothing to hide; people and merchants who were too discouraged to hide anything, but wanted remedy and relief; merchants and the public generally who had been lured to the Philippines with the prospects of greater com-

mercial possibilities, and who found conditions below those elsewhere

mercial possibilities, and who found conditions below those elsewhere in the world.

I am not a party man in the strict or offensive sense of the word. Successfu administration is a matter of personal talent. The ability to choose wise leaders, who in turn select and supervise good executives under them, men of diligence, foresight, and industry; but I must admit that the previous administration did things—built 450 miles of railroad and 2,500 miles of macadamized highway. During the 14 years of the previous administration until the present one the Philippine Islands were on a straight course toward civilization. The cities of the Philippines compared well with the inland cities of the Orient of the present day. Hospitars were built; disease gave way before their works; schools were erected which accommodated 500,000 Filipino children, with a thousan! American school-teachers, who were the only white residents of the town where they were located. They built hotels, public buildings, and instituted boards of trade, which dile good, honest work and stood out as a monument of success. They made possible the existence of missionaries in the island, helped them, held up their hands: and it must be admitted that the missionary system is one of the most civilized agencies of any modern people and modern times.

All of which chows and clearly demonstrates the miracles American

times.

All of which shows and clearly demonstrates the miracles American industry and manh-od could accomplish with comparatively little capital. When our Government took over this rough and half-civilized island it was not done rashly, but with the thought that a great country like ours should as one of the achievements of its progress assist in the uplifting of alien races. It was our intention and our purpose to clevate them to such a standard that in time, like ourselves, they should be capable of self-government in the most perfect form.

selves, they should be capable of self-government in the form.

With the present state of insurrection, ignorance, and incapability this consummation can not even be thought of. Conditions must be looked into and practices applied to get these conditions. Mexico, upon our own borders, is an actual example. The people themselves realize that they are not fit for self-government and can not be without a long and helpful course of training and development. They need and beg for the strong and protecting hand of our Government over them, and we must not by a blundering appliance of theories do the reverse.

the reverse.

I am not inclined to criticize our present administration, yet the fate of the Philippines depends upon the result of the next election. We require a strong executive who will reverse the present policies now in existence there. It is impossible to explain the tremendous opportunities, the stupendous and yet undeveloped resources of those islands which some day will be the source of unimagineable wealth to this country.

Shall We Haul Down Our Flag in the Philippines?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLARENCE B. MILLER,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, April 27, 1916.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, the bill now before the House contains many pages and many subjects designed to reconstruct and perfect the government now maintained by the United States in the Philippine Islands. At its end, however, is another paragraph of a totally different character. This last paragraph is commonly known as the Clarke amendment, and provides for immediate independence—to be exact, independence within two to four years. Therefore, if this last paragraph shall be adopted and be enacted into law, it makes nugatory and valueless all the preceding provisions of the bill. If it becomes a law, to enact the rest of the bill would be the height of folly. No sooner would the machinery of government under the terms of this bill be instituted than the time for withdrawal will have come. The real question, therefore, for this House to determine is whether or not it shall enact the Clarke amendment into law as the policy of this Government.

Whatever may have been our individual opinions as to the desirability of ultimately giving independence to the Philippine Islands, we stand aghast at the brutal suddenness of this propo-When we instituted government in the Philippine Islands under the direction of the noble and martyred McKinley, we determined to show the world an altruistic spectacle in colonial government. We should institute and maintain in the islands a government for the purpose of benefiting the Filipinos, teaching them the art of self-government, developing their resources, and lifting them into a sturdy position of nationality. For 17 years we have labored with unremitting zeal and unfaltering courage to achieve this noble purpose. Our work there constitutes one of the most glorious chapters in all human history. Our achievements there form a record of which every American should be proud. The achievements of the Filipino people under this benign government have transcended the fondest hopes we held We are in the midst of this work. Many, at the beginning. many years remain before its completion. Are we to stop now?

The proponents of the Clarke amendment base it not at all on the capacity of the Filipino people now to stand alone; not at all upon the state of development to which they have reached; aster.

not at all upon the fulfillment by America of its duty there and to humanity throughout the world. Rather they base it upon a blind determination to throw the Philippines overboard and abandon them to their fate, regardless of their condition, of the effect upon them, of the effect upon American honor, of the effect upon the international relations between the United States and the rest of the world. Such a policy of scuttle was never before proposed in the history of our country, and now merits, as it should receive, the universal condemnation of all mankind. If we are lost to our sense of national honor, to our moral obligations, and to the legal obligations we assumed when we signed the treaty with Spain, then what means all this military preparation to perpetuate our country? A nation that will so lightly abandon its duties and its obligations and so ruthlessly sacrifice the welfare of 8,000,000 of people would be unworthy of perpetuation, because it could not be entitled to a decent respect among the peoples of the world and could not long receive respect from its own citizens.

It would be, indeed, interesting to discuss this matter from the standpoint of American interests and American honor, but for the present I prefer to consider it from the standpoint of the Filipinos, their views and their wishes. A very aggressive, intelligently conducted, and unopposed propaganda has been carried on to create in the minds of Americans the belief that the Filipino people all desire independence. This certainly does not represent the exact situation. As I stated on a former occasion, practically all Filipinos engaged in political activity in the islands express an earnest desire for independence. I have sometimes thought many of them were talking independence when they did not think independence likely to come and because to talk it was an easy way to ask for votes. It must also be admitted that the independence propaganda has many adherents among the people in centers like Manila, Cebu, and Iloilo. After two careful trips made throughout the archipelago, I am of the deliberate opinion that perhaps three-fourths of the people have not the remotest conception of what independence is and have no ideas whatever respecting it. This great mass of people remains undisturbed and untouched by the independence propaganda. They are the common people, the taos, who work the fields and constitute the great body of citizenry. the class of people to which America owes its great duty. This is the class of people for whose betterment we dedicated our energies. These are the millions we determined to uplift, to whom we should give opportunity, the most important and sacred of all American privileges.

Then, too, I discovered quite generally throughout the islands that a very considerable portion of the Filipino business men. especially property owners, while publicly voicing independence in harmony with the propaganda of the politicos, nevertheless in private conversation would beg that the American sovereignty be retained. Just what portion of the business men and property-owning class entertained this view I can not say, but I know it has been all along quite large. Now, however, the real crisis has come. No longer is the question one of ultimate independence, ultimate withdrawal of American sovereignty, for this Clarke amendment provides for immediate independence. therefore, have been concerned to note the effect upon the Filipino people. The effect has been pronounced and far-reaching. It is true that lip service has sent cables to the United States from those in political authority, recommending and urging the passage of the Clarke amendment, even when the exact terms of the Clarke amendment were not known. But at the same time there has come from the thinking Filipinos a Macedonian cry for help. For the first time they have looked the independence question squarely in the face, and the picture they behold fills them with profound alarm.

One of the most influential of the native papers, La Democracia, and one that has been enlisted in the independence propaganda, shortly after the passage of the Clarke amendment in the Senate, in an editorial expresses the following:

The present epoch in the history of the islands is the most critical in all their history. It can not be overlooked that, left to their own efforts, the Filipinos are unable to repel foreign aggression of powerful peoples like Japan, nor would they be able to withstand the peaceful aggression of immigration that even China with all her power was unable to resist.

Another paper, the Independent, perhaps of all the papers published in the islands the most radical for independence, shortly after the news reached Manila that the Clarke amendment had passed the Senate, came out with an article which contained the following:

We are a nation divided into thousands of islands, speaking different dialects. In order to preserve our inheritance we must have a strong standing army ready to repel foreign invasion. We must have a good navy to protect any part of this country within a moment's notice and to bring aid to any part of the archipelago in case of national disaster.

In our patriotic zeal we must not forget that Japan is our neighbor. We must not trust in the delusive hope of diplomacy. Our prayer to keep out foreign invasion will not avail us. A standing army of 1,000,000 men and a navy as strong, if not stronger, than that of Japan, with an aviation corps of 10,000 strong means protection. A lesser army or a smaller navy will not keep away the menace from our door. History has demonstrated the futility of the hope to trust in the promise of a stronger nation. * * *

If it is the intention of the people of the United States to give us a complete independence within four years, could we protect ourselves from foreign invasion and have the respect of the rest of the world? With our present economic situation, it requires a return of a thousand times greater than our present revenue in order for the government to organize within the short space of four years a force of sufficient strength to preserve and maintain our national integrity and hones.

No truer picture of the situation in the Philippines was ever painted. Pause a moment to examine a few of its details. total revenues from all sources for the government in the Philippine Islands amount each year to about \$14,000,000. this schoolhouses must be built, roads constructed, schools supported, agriculture fostered, pressing programs to secure sanitation and promote health must be carried out. All governmental expenses must be paid. In fact, it requires most careful economy on the part of the Government to spread its income so as to cover the essential governmental subjects of expenditure. Do the best they can, there remain hundreds of schoolhouses that need to be built, scores of public sanitary markets awaiting construction, artesian wells throughout the Provinces must be dug in the interest of health and sanitation, while public works of all kinds must be postponed until the government has sufficient funds to carry them out. The islands now have no foreign relations to support, no ministers, no consuls, no army, no navy. Whence can come the money with which to construct the navy and maintain the army the Independent says are required if independence is to be given the islands? Should the total revenues of the whole year be applied to naval construction they would not build a single modern battleship.

I recall two years ago when I visited the Province of Tarlac, one of the important Provinces of the islands, a meeting was held of all the prominent people of the Province. Independence speeches were freely indulged in. To develop their viewpoint I asked a few questions. I asked them of the fiscal, who corresponds to any Citation. sponds to our State attorney. I asked them of the iscal, who corresponds to our State attorney. I asked him if they had independence what they would do to keep off a foreign foe. He said they would build a navy and a big one. I called his attention to the fact that the total revenues amounted to but \$14,000,000, insufficient to construct a single battleship. Then they all sighed. Then, suddenly looking up, he said: "America will loan us some battleships." I replied that America had none to loan for such purposes. Then he said then battleships." I replied that America nau hone to total an illion purposes. Then he said they would raise an army of a million purposes. men if a foe should come. I asked him what they would equip them with. He said they would arm them with bolos. I called his attention to the fact that modern armies are equipped with high-powered artillery and rifles, and they would be destroyed

before they ever got to the enemy.

The Filipinos have but started to build business institutions and to build themselves up industrially. At the present hour 95 per cent of the business conducted in the Philippine Islands is conducted by foreigners. This is no guess. All business in the islands pays to the government a tax on the gross amount Consequently, the government keeps an accurate The records account of the business conducted in the islands. disclose that 95 per cent of that business is in the hands of Chinese and other foreigners. There are about 8,000,000 people in the islands. Of these 40,000 are Chinese. But these 40,000 are to-day paying 72 per cent of all the taxes in the islands. In other words, 7,960,000 are paying 28 per cent of the taxes

while 40,000 Chinamen, foreigners, are paying 72 per cent.

The great thing in the islands to-day is the development of their industries. Until the islands are economically in a state of independence, political independence from their standpoint is absurd. This is being realized by the thinking part of the Filipino people who are not engaged in political activities. During the past year I have observed with great interest a general awakening among the farmers of the islands, for farming is the great industry there, toward agricultural development and economic prosperity. I have just received a striking expression of the sentiments and wishes of the farmers in the islands respecting independence.

Shortly after the passage of the Clarke amendment in the Senate I received a cablegram from Senor Ramon Lopez, who formerly was a member of the Filipino Legislative Assembly and who is one of the substantial farmers in the islands. This cablegram said that he voiced the sentiments of farmers representing \$20,000,000 worth of property, and they all protested against the enactment of the Clarke amendment and requested the postponement of any discussion of independence for a period of 20 years. I sent him a communication at once stating that I

desired this expression on the part of the farmers placed in the form of a petition and signed by those who indorsed it. I have just received that petition. I consider it of historic significance. It was written in the Spanish language, and is as follows:

just received that petition. I consider it of historic significance. It was written in the Spanish language, and is as follows:

Los que suscriben, vecinos y proprietarios de las Islas de Panay y Negros, Islas Filipinas, y todos ciudadanos Filipinos, respetuosamente manifestamos que es nuestra opinion que la aprobacion del bill Jones en la forma tal como fué aprobado por el Senado de los Estados Unidos, seria fatal para el progreso en la vida social, el desarrollo en el comercio, industria y agricultura, y para el bienestar político de todos los habitantes de las Islas Filipinas.

Por tanto, nosotros sinceramente suplicamos al Congreso y al Gobierno de los Estados Unidos y a sus ciudadanos, que suspendan toda accion sobre el bill Jones, y que la question de la independencia política de las Islas Filipinas sea suspendida definitivamente por un periodo de veinte años, y cuando llega esa epoca que no se tome ninguna accion sobre la independencia de las Islas Filipinas sin el voto del pueblo Filipino.

Iloilo, Provincia de Iloilo, Islas Filipinas, hoy primero de marzo del año mil novecientos dieciseis. A. D.

Eusebio Lopez, E. R. de Luzuriaga, Julio Jn. Moss, Juan Ledesma, J. Javellana, L. G. Jaleno, Mebino Franan, V. E. Pinzon, E. Regalado, Jose Garcia, S. Ledesma, Ferd Santo, Maria Lopez, Jose Araneta, Pascual Cabana, R. Y. Justiniania, Nelecio Lusabia, Julio Lusabia, Roque Haltena, Ernesto Jalandoni, Gergorio Dlnson, Carlos J. Mapa, Pedro Sindico, Pedro de la Cruz, Cornelio Sian, Jose M. Montinola, Joaquin Ledesma, Raimundo Olvido, Tomas Tamoles, Teodoro L. Villanueva, Feliciano Casiano, A. Locsin, Felipe de la Pina, Basilio Montaje, Luis Hafitena, Fausto Jalandoni, Ramon Lopez, Magdaleno R. Mx, Jamili, C. M. Ledesma, Anlecto J. Hechanova, Modesto Hermosura, Ruperto Jalandoni, Yrinco Sumsio, Juan Ledesma, Eusebio Hafitena, Idelfonso Dorisa, Feliz Morcilla, Gregorio P. Nasa, Francisco Padella, P. Sandoval, Carlos Lopez, Jose Ledesma, A. Lickensa, Proviso Lumanay, Germiniano H. Jereza, Simon Ledesma, S. V. Delgado Reyes, R. J Advinenla, L. Delphin.

[Translation]

We, the undersigned residents and property holders of the islands of Panay and Negros, P. I., and all Filipino citizens, respectfully state that it is our opinion that the passage of the Jones bill in the form that it was passed by the Senate of the United States would be fatal to social progress, to the development of the commerce, industry, and agriculture, and to the political well-being of all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands;

Therefore we earnestly beg the Congress and the United States Government and its citizens that they suspend all action on the Jones bill, and that the question of the political independence of the Philippine Islands be definitely suspended for a period of 20 years, and that when this period arrives that no action as to the independence of the Philippine Islands be taken without the vote of the Filipino people.

Holio, Province of Holio, Philippine Islands, this day the 1st of March, of the year 1916, A. D.

This petition is signed by 92 men. I understand other particular

This petition is signed by 92 men. I understand other petitions are on the way here. I have taken occasion to look up thons are on the way here. I have taken occasion to look up the character and standing of these 92 men. They are men of the highest respectability. They are leading men, every one a citizen of consequence and a leader in his locality. They repre-sent the great farming industry in the islands of Negros and Panay, wherein is located the bulk of the sugar industry, probably the richest and most prosperous agricultural section in the entire islands. Let it be understood that this is the posi-tive expression of serious-minded men, whose interests are at stake and in whose hearts is the firm conviction that the passage of the Clarke amendment means their ruin as well as irreparable injury to the islands as a whole. Those politicos engaged in the independence propaganda will deride this petition and curse its signers, but to my mind this petition, representing, as it does, the honest convictions of the great body of the people of the islands, should receive the highest consideration at the hands of this Congress and be respected in the fullest sense. Note the strength of the language employed.

The passage of the bill in its present form "would be fatal to social progress and to the development of the commerce, industry, and agriculture and to the political well-being of all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands." Every element of national activity and every feature of national life will be fatally affected by the passage of this bill. Not only do the petitioners request that there be no further consideration of the independence question for a period of 20 years, but that thereafter if the question is revived no action be taken without a vote of the Filipino people. I trust that this request, this petition representing so large a body of people who will be seriously affected will be listened to by the Congress.

In this connection it certainly is interesting to note that the judgment of every Democrat familiar with conditions in the islands and charged with responsibility thereto is earnestly and conscientiously and whole-heartedly opposed to this amendment,

One of the most brilliant men that has graced the Cabinet of any President in half a century, the late Secretary of War, Mr. Garrison, resigned primarily because the Clarke amendment threatened to become a law. For three years as Secretary of War he had been charged with the great duty of directing the American Government in the Philippine Islands. He had become intimately and peculiarly acquainted with conditions there, the aspirations of the Filipino people had become known to him, and the duty of the United States in respect to the Filipinos had been revealed to him. I ask my Democratic brethren to listen once more to his words and to weigh them carefully. He said, in resigning:

I consider the principle embodied in the Clarke amendment an abandonment of the duty of this Nation and a breach of trust toward the Filipinos. So feeling, I can not accept it or acquiesce in its ac-

These are not light words. No trifling reason could justify his resigning in the stress of that hour. The reason is the most important thing in the world, the duty of the United States. To pass the Clarke amendment, he says, would be a breach of trust toward the Filipinos and an abandonment of America's The President apparently acquiesces in this viewpoint, for in his letter to Secretary Garrison he said:

It is my own judgment that the action embodied in the Clarke amendment is unwise at this time.

When this amendment was adopted in the other branch of this legislative body, it is well known that it was opposed by the chairman of the Committee on the Philippines and others conversant with Philippine conditions and seriously desirous of acting sanely toward them.

There is a branch of the Democratic Party in the Philippines. Its membership comes from all sections of the United States. A convention of this party was recently held in Manila to select delegates to the Democratic national convention at St. Louis, and as a part of their platform, having in mind the Clarke amendment, adopted the following:

ment, adopted the following:

We denounce and repudiate as un-American, un-Democratic, and cruelly unjust to the Filipino people any policy which would cast this people adrift on the dangerous seas of international politics.

The United States by abandoning the islands would dishonor itself and justly forfeit the respect of the nations of the earth and of the people who look to us for protection and for whose safety we have assumed responsibility. We brand as unworthy of the American name a policy involving the abandonment of a sacred trust for reasons alleged to be concerned with our greater security. If giving proper protection to all inhabitants of the Philippines until such time as our obligations shall have been honorably fulfilled does in truth constitute a menice to our national safety—which we do not concede—better, we say, war, and even defeat, than dishonor.

It can not therefore be said that responsible Democratic leadership believes it wise to pass the Clarke amendment. In fact that leadership is almost unanimously opposed to it. On what possible ground, therefore, even under the application of the party lash here in the House, even though that party lash be wielded by blind rage and bitter partisanship, can Democrats who are loyal to the honor of their country and to its duty vote for a proposition that is universally condemned by every responsible Democratic authority.

Other Democratic testimony is not lacking. Brig. Gen. Frank McIntyre, United States Army, has been chief of our Bureau of Insular Affairs now for eight years and was a member of that bureau seven additional years. He certainly is thoroughly familiar with the conditions in the islands. He made a visit to the islands this summer for the purpose of investigation. He is from Alabama and, as far as an Army officer has politics, a Democrat of the old school. His sympathies are certainly with Democracy. Upon returning from the islands last summer, before the Senate Committee on the Philippines, he gave the following testimony:

Senator Lippitt, Am I to infer from your statement that you think there is a group of people in the Philippines that do not think immediate independence would be for the public interest?

Gen. McIntrike. Oh there are many people who so think.

Senator Lippitt. The majority?

Gen. McIntrike. I should say that a majority of the thinking people.

Senator Lippitt. A majority of the thinking people.

Gen. McIntrike. * * They are not for immediate independence, and they do not think it would be for their permanent interest. * * * I think that is right.

Judge James H. Blount, formerly of Georgia, and who spent many years in the Philippines, first as a soldier, later as a judge, is the Democratic apostle respecting Democracy's policies toward the Philippines. He is the author of the famous book, The American Occupation of the Philippines, which is the gospel of Democratic beliefs respecting all things Philippine. Judge Blount is out openly and vigorously in opposition to the Clarke amendment. In the Washington Star of March 18, 1916, he says:

The corner stone of every argument I have ever offered advocating Philippine independence has been neutralization of the islands through the international agreement. I am opposed to changing the status quo until the world finds out whether a neutralization treaty is or is not

"a scrap of paper"; in other words, until this war settles whether or not honesty is the best policy for nations as well as for individuals.

I am wholly unable to understand the intellectual processes of an honest and pariotic American who will vote on foreign or quasi foreign affairs for "party" reasons. We are all in the same boat—all Americans—and, to use a familiar colloquialism, it is like "rocking the boat," If I were in the House now I would vote with my party on domestic affairs, such as tariff, currency, etc., with all the fidelity of a Tammany sachem but on a question that concerned the honor of my country, like this Clarke amendment, with the neutralization cut out, I would feel ashamed to vote any way but against it, because, as Senator Stone said, "The whole world will look upon throwing the Philippines overboard in any such way with amazement, and we would fall under the just condemnation of mankind."

Continuent I believe the interests of \$000,000 Filipines are

Gentlemen, I believe the interests of 8,000,000 Filipinos are vitally at stake. I believe with the farmers of the Philippines that the adoption of the Clarke amendment would be fatal to social progress in the islands, to commercial development, to industrial development, and to the political welfare of all the inhabitants. I believe the honor of the United States is at stake. By the blows of our soldiers and our sailors we drove Spanish sovereignty from the islands, we established our own, and entered upon the great duty of bettering the life of the humblest as well as of the highest of the inhabitants; of giving all an opportunity, of building institutions of self-government which would endure through all time. To withdraw now, to leave these islands without a sovereignty which we know will reasonably protect life and property and secure freedom and liberty to all the inhabitants, would be to violate the pledged and sacred honor of our country and our duty once gloriously assumed. It will cause our country to be guilty of a sneaking, contemptible, ignoble act, one that will be pointed to by the finger of scorn throughout the world and looked back upon by all the children who shall follow as the supreme disgrace in their Nation's history. We are strengthening our Army and building a Navy; we are increasing the military power of the United States to preserve the integrity of our country and the perpetuity of free institutions under the American flag. possible that while engaged in this great work we shall at the same time haul the flag down from over duty and honor and 8,000,000 people whose interests and whose welfare require our protection?

A Step Forward by the Committee on Arriculture.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

JAMES HON. H. DAVIS.

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 2, 1916.

Mr. DAVIS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on this question I have made perhaps a thousand speeches in the last 30 years. I have been very much interested in our friend, from Illinois [Mr. CHIPERFIELD), who just left the floor. He talks about the Rules Committee in the past and the Rules Committee now. difference between the two is that the Rules Committee under Republicans had a habit of blocking legislation in the farmers' interest and saddling a lot of trusts and combines on the farmers and the country, and I condemned them in every form of language I could use in a parliamentary way; but when the Democratic Rules Committee has the courage to bring out legislation to help the farmers, three very important measures, to open the door of hope to that class who drink warm slick water out of an old jug at the end of the row, while we men here drink ice water out of a cooler, my God, I want to congratulate the Committee on Rules! [Applause.]

In one of these measures we have the warehouse system. have seen the apples in rows of trees a mile long on the Pacific slope, as beautiful as ever the human eye looked upon, rot and go to waste, while across on the other side of the mountains the people could not afford to eat applies, because some sort of a monopoly lay between the mouth of the hungry fellow and the fellow who had the apples. I have seen peaches and potatoes rot by the thousands of bushels, when they would not pay for the baskets and sacks to put them in, because there was no warehouse system to handle them, and a line of monopolies built up by the Republican Party stood between them and the fellow 300 miles away, who could not afford to eat them. I have seen all those conditions, and I want to help remedy them. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

We are dealing with a very serious problem—the cotton exchange. The Supreme Court has decided definitely-and it is an accepted proposition of law-that the power to regulate is the power to destroy, and I hope it will have that effect in this amendment. The whole issue is involved in this one fact: That if we leave the exchange with the full power to control the absolute spot market of the United States, with no competition by the actual buyer or spinner down among the ranks of the cotton growers, they have a legalized unscrupulous monopoly in touch with the exchange in Liverpool, and they can put a final price on every bale of cotton in the United States every day six hours before the farmer gets out of bed in the morning.

The power to regulate carries with it the power to kill, and I want to kill these exchanges and then kick them to show them there is punishment after death. If it regulates unto death, that is there misfortune and the farmers' good fortune.

Mr. Speaker, it is encouraging to see this administration broadening and extending the Agriculture Department. All civilization is now agreed that agriculture lies at the foundation and serves as the strongest support of all successful Governments. By the very nature of his vocation the farmer is remote from the centers of civilization and stands more or less alone and helpless as the prey of predatory greed. And while it is easy for all other professions and callings to organize and make their collective power felt in government, it has always been a difficult problem for the farmer, and therefore in most Governments he has been sadly neglected.

Our country, being new and possessed of a large virgin land estate subject to homestead entry, the farmer has not only been sadly neglected but has suffered under great disparagement by the law, rules, and customs of our Government, but we have reached the stage at which the Government is realizing, and the people are appreciating, the fact that the farmer is entitled to vastly more consideration than he has had in the past.

Our Agricultural Department has been moving forward for the last few years in many lines of great benefit, not only to the farmer but to the whole population, and the bill now pending, carrying an appropriation of nearly \$25,000,000, is one of the most comprehensive and thorough of its kind and opens up the hope of spendid achievement for the future. The Bureau of Animal Industry makes ample provision for the propagation of our domestic animal life and for the scientific prevention of those terrible diseases, such as tick fever, hog cholera, and foot-and-mouth disease. Also it makes ample provision for governmental action to prevent the ravages of the boll weevil, Hessian fly, and other pests that destroy millions every year and do so much to harass the farmer and make his labors abortive. Throughout the realm of agriculture it provides for the bestknown methods and ample application of up-to-date service. But the most remarkable features of its benefits are to be found in its warehouse system and the establishment of a marketing bureau, looking ultimately to national and interstate market service, conducted for the benefit of both producer and consumer, in which the producer and consumer will be face to face, closer together, and through an intelligent exchange both being greatly

For 25 years, beginning with the alliance in its early history and coming down through the years, I have worked with most of the leading farmers of our country to this end. It provides for the standardization, classification, and market quotations of both cotton and grains, grading each to a given legal standard, seeking to eliminate the sharks that rob the farmer every year out of multiplied millions by false grades. It also makes an effort to save the farmer from the greedy cormorants that stand around the grain pits and cotton exchanges each year in luxuriant splendor to gamble on the sweat and toil of the great farming element. The provision in this line falls far short. But it does assume control over them and assert the Government's right to take charge of them. In this way experience may soon teach some method to destroy them or destroy their evil and unscrupulous power over the farmers' produce.

Now, if the farmer could be given a fair, honorable land bank and farm credit system, pulling out the leaches and legalized shylocks that get between him and the Government mint and allow him to get currency when he puts down sound collateral just as cheap as it is issued to the commercial banking system, a few years would show the farm life throughout our country in a new light, with new hope, new life, and splendid prospects. But it is not my purpose here to discuss a farm loan or rural-credit system, but I want to compliment the Democratic Party, this administration, and the Committee on Agriculture, of which Mr. Lever, of South Carolina, is the chairman, for having done more in this measure for the hope and happiness of our country, through a program for the relief of agriculture, than has been done before in all the history of our Agriculture Department.

In my judgment, this measure as a whole is by far the most important agricultural measure ever carried through our Congress. If the Senate adopts it and it becomes a law and is followed to its full fruition, it will go a long way toward lifting our farmers, truckers, and fruit men out of the realm of uncertainty, give them a stable market, and a symmetrical and just distribution of crops and commodities, make their warehouse certificates solvent paper at any bank, prevent a glut in the markets anywhere, and abolish that old fake and fraud that has been used by the speculator and juggler for years called "overproduction."

But the point on which I want to compliment the committee and the Democratic side of the House most cheerfully is the parliamentary strategy by which the friends of agricultural prosperity forced this measure through, under a Democratic rule, putting the warehouse and grain-grading measures into the bill as a rider. The rule made the croakers croak and the yelpers yelp, and the belligerents moan with melancholy forebodings about gag rule. But, led by the assiduous and energetic chairman of the Agriculture Committee, we who had seen the farmer bucked and gagged for years were determined to make an honest effort to give him the largest measure of opportunity consistent with public good and at the same time eliminate as much as possible that greedy gang of speculators who feast upon the distress of both producer and consumer.

Again complimenting Mr. Lever and his committee, and feel-

Again complimenting Mr. Lever and his committee, and feeling thankful that I have had a humble part in the formation and passage of these laws, in a measure fulfilling the labor of 25 years of my life, I want to appeal to the farmers of this country and to the patriots who feel for the common weal not to let this measure lag or go by default in the future.

Cotton Statistics and Western Republicans.

SPEECH

OF

HON. J. THOMAS HEFLIN,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 13, 1916.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12717) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the gentleman who has just spoken [Mr. Hull of Iowa] seemed to deplore the fact that the foot-and-mouth disease has been wiped out in the United States. I think it is an occasion for general rejoicing that we have been able to accomplish that result, and I am very sorry that some gentlemen on that side are not willing to rejoice with us. It gave me a great deal of pleasure to vote for an appropriation for the purpose of eradicating the foot-and-mouth disease which existed in the North and Northwest. The Government has expended about \$4,000,000 to eradicate the foot-and-mouth disease, and we on this side voted cheerfully for the measure that has brought relief to the farmers of the West. It may be that in wiping out the foot-and-mouth disease in the West we have also wiped out a much-needed Republican political issue.

Now, as to hog-cholera eradication, I voted for a measure that

Now, as to hog-cholera eradication, I voted for a measure that appropriated \$600,000 for that purpose. And, Mr. Chairman, we have spent more money in three years to eradicate hog cholera in the North and West than the Republican Party appropriated under the administrations of Roosevelt and Taft, covering a period of eight years. [Applause.] I regret that gentlemen on that side from the West do not appreciate as fully as they should this great work that has been accomplished for the good and for the prosperity of the farmers in that section of the country.

The gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Doolittle], a Democrat, has done more in the short time that he has been here for the farmers of the West for farm-demonstration work than all the Republicans from that State, and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Rubey], a member of the Committee on Agriculture, has been a power for good to the grain growers of the country.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman speaks of the

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman speaks of the great work done in the eradication of hog cholera. I would like to ask the gentleman, what have we to show for the expenditure of the \$600,000 referred to?

Mr. HEFLIN. I refer the gentleman to his colleague from Nebraska [Mr. Sloan] and to the farmers of the West as to the good that has been accomplished. A great deal of good has been accomplished, and the Committee on Agriculture, of which I am a member and of which the gentleman is a member, under the leadership of the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Lever], a Democrat, is employing every means possible to eradicate hog cholera, and the gentleman knows this very well. I stand ready now to vote for any additional measure that will cradicate hog cholera in the northern and western sections of our great country. That is my position. [Applause.]

our great country. That is my position. [Applause.]

Mr. HAUGEN. I desire to state that I am heartily in favor of what the gentleman says. I have no quarrel with the department, and the fact that it has brought no results is no reason why we should not make these appropriations. We have made the appropriation, and we should continue to make liberal appropriations; but, unless we get something it return, it is not fair for any Member of the House to rise in his seat and speak of great work and of certain achievements when we have nothing to show for it. We should not only be fair with the department, but we should be fair with the people throughout the country who furnish the money. We should be just as fair to one as the other, and we can be fair to the people of the country without questioning the ability or the integrity of the department.

Mr. HEFLIN. I did not yield to the gentleman for a speech. As he well knows, good work is being accomplished along this line. Let me mention some sections in which this work has been done. In 16 counties in which this work has been done by the Department of Agriculture good results have been obtained. Hogs raised in 1912 in these 16 counties, which are located in Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, South Dakota, and Tennessee, numbered 975,000.

In 1914, under improved conditions brought about by the Government's work, they raised 1,256,000 hogs. So good work is being accomplished.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Lever] has made reference to Thomas Jefferson, the father of the Democratic Party. It has been said that Mr. Jefferson was a farmer, and he was. He brought from Italy seed rice to this country in his vest pocket and gave it to the farmers of Louisiana and Mississippi. He invented the hillside plow and the revolving office chair. He was at one time a member of this House, ambassador to France, Secretary of State, and President of the United States. As has been said by the chairman of the committee [Mr. Lever], Jefferson said that the four great pillars under the material development of this country are agriculture, commerce, navigation, and manufacture.

Republicans on that side, with few exceptions, at this session of Congress have done all they could against navigation. They tried to kill river and harbor improvement in this country. And just the other day the great body of them in this House planted themselves firmly against the River and Harbor Congress of the United States, which patriotic body is composed of some of the very best men in America, who meet in this city once a year and urge upon Congress the great importance of developing the rivers and harbors of our country. They struck a deathblow to the ship-purchase bill and injured American commerce, and they have voted against measures that helped the agricultural interests of the country. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, just last week, when the cotton farmers of the South wanted to know the truth as to cotton consumption, the amount used in the various industries in the United States, the Republican leader in this House, and all but five of you followed him, opposed the measure that provided for gathering statistics of cotton consumed by powder mills and explosive manufac-turers. The use of cotton in the manufacture of gunpowder and explosive shells has recently become a large industry in the United States, and cotton prepared and partially prepared for use in these industries is not now accounted for in the statistics gathered and published by the Bureau of the Census, and it is estimated that \$90,000,000 worth of cotton is consumed annually in this way. Requests for this information have come from every section of the country. People interested in various phases of the cotton business want to know how much cotton is being consumed annually in the manufacture of gunpowder and explosive shells. The law now requires the Bureau of the Census to gather and publish statistics of cotton consumed by the cotton mills of the United States, but there is no authority in the law for collecting statistics of cotton consumed by the powder mills of the United States. If the cotton producers and

the public generally are entitled to know that the cotton mills of the United States have consumed 7,000,000 bales in the last 12 months, why should they not know that the powder mills of the country have consumed 2,000,000 bales? If we publish the statistics of cotton consumption and report that 7,000,000 bales have been consumed by the cotton mills and then refuse to report the 2,000,000 bales consumed in some other way, the statistics do not speak the truth; they are misleading and deceptive, [Applause.]

I said before, Mr. Chairman, and I repeat it here, that if we are going to have statistics on any agricultural product, those statistics should be full and complete. If it is right to publish statistics as to the disposition or consumption of four-fifths of the cotton crop of the United States, I submit that it is fair and just to show what becomes of the other one-fifth. [Applause.] It has been the policy of this Government to encourage the agricultural classes by showing them the value of intensive farming and of increased yield per acre, and in order to do this it has published statistics showing the farmer how and to what extent farm products are being consumed. But here we find the Republican Party in the House trying to reverse that policy, and, with the exception of five Republicans, that party voted solidly against my resolution the other day that provided for full and complete statistics of cotton consumed in the United States. They tried hard to defeat it.

sumed in the United States. They tried hard to defeat it.

Besides the desire for this information on the part of people interested in the cotton business throughout the country, the cotton producers of the South, where live 30,000,000 of American people, were unanimous in their request for this legislation.

[Applause.] But, Mr. Chairman, the justice of their cause and the unanimity of their appeal failed to secure the support of fifteen-sixteenths of the Republicans in this House. That old party of privilege voted against a measure which vitally affects the farmers of the United States who produce two-thirds of the world's cotton crop.

When the farmers of the South called upon the Congress to pass a measure which would give them the truth as to the amount of cotton consumed in the United States where were the Republicans who come here from the farming districts of the grain-growing West? I am sorry to say that you were on the side of an eastern Powder Trust that did not want this information given to the farmers of the South. [Applause.]

The Powder Trust did not and does not want the cotton producer to have information that will place him in a position to know the exact condition of the cotton trade and to use that information in demanding a fair price for his cotton. And when you western Republicans voted to deny to the cotton farmer of the South statistical information that would enable him to get a fair price for his cotton, you voted against the interest of the farmer of the West, for when the cotton farmer gets a good price for his cotton he is ready and able to pay the western farmer a good price for grain and live stock. [Applause.] So in voting against the farmers of the South, you voted against the interest of the farmers of the West.

We sell two-thirds of our cotton crop to foreign countries, and the more money we get for that cotton the more money we are able to pay the western farmer for what we buy from him. [Applause.]

But fortunately for the farmers of the South and fortunately for the farmers of the West, the western Democrats voted solidly for this just legislation requested by the farmers of the South. The farmer's friend in this House, it matters not from what section he comes, must cooperate with the friends of the farmer from other sections. And I want to say to the Democrats from the West and Northwest that we of the South appreciate your cooperation in securing for our farmers that which they are honestly entitled to-full statistics of the consumption of cotton, the principal product of the southern farmer. In your willingness to help us you have strengthened our desire to help you. I regret that the Republicans of the West and [Applause.] Northwest, with the exception of my good friends, Mr. Wheeler, of Illinois, and Mr. Sinnott, voted against a meritorious measure sought by the farmers of the South, and in doing so they voted against the best interests of the farmers of the West. had rather believe that the farmers of the West feel toward the farmers of the South as shown here by the votes of western Democrats than to believe that the western farmer is not in favor of justice to the southern farmer as shown by the Republicans from that section voting against this cotton-statistics measure. [Applause.]

I congratulate the West upon its Democratic representation here. Democrats here from the great and growing West are aiding in securing just legislation for the other sections of the country, and in return they are receiving the united aid of Representatives from other sections in obtaining legislation for

their people. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, be it said to their credit and to the credit of the brave and patriotic people of the West that they represent that no one of them by voice or vote has done anything to revive the unhappy recollections of the differences that existed 50 But they are working earnestly and intelligently for the good and growth of our reunited country. They are con-tributing strength to the ties that bind us together in the bonds of a common interest and a common destiny. [Applause.] They realize, Mr. Chairman, that they can serve their section best by being just and fair to the other sections of the country, and as a result of this patriotic course they are having the cordial good will and cooperation of Democrats here from all over the coun-They do not hurt but they help the great people that they represent. By the broad and friendly spirit that they display by their determination to be just to every other section of the country they are lifting the West higher and higher in the estimation of the membership here from the other sections of our great country. [Applause.]

I believe that the time is not far distant when the Republicans from the farming districts of the grain-growing West who make speeches against and vote against any measure here, it matters not how meritorious it may be, if it affects favorably the interest of citizens of the United States who live in the South, will be repudiated by the people at home and men sent here in their places who will promote peace and good will between the sections and contribute to the common weal of our country. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, what excuse do you suppose the Republicans from the West and Northwest gave for voting against gathering and publishing full and complete statistics of cotton consumed in the United States? Why, they said that it would give away Government secrets and tell the world how much cotton we were manufacturing into gunpowder and explosive shells, We sell munitions to the nations What a sham and pretense. of the earth, and cotton is only one of the ingredients that enters into its manufacture. But these Republicans would have us believe that they wanted to draw the curtain of secrecy around our military status and state of preparedness, and keep the world in doubt as to that situation here, when the truth is, Mr. Chairman, Republicans in this House at this session of Congress have gone into the secret places of our war equipment, and they have discussed here and published broadcast detailed information regarding everything about the Army and Navy of the United States. [Applause.] They have told how many rifles and field guns we have, and they have given the number of torpedo boats, submarines, and aeroplanes possessed by the Army and Navy of the United States, and that is not all. They have given the number of battle cruisers and big battleships, and they have told how many cartridges or rounds of ammunition we had, and they have called attention, Mr. Chairman, to the powder supply of our country. These ardent friends of the Du Pont Powder Trust, these discreet and careful Republicans, instead of letting the enemy find out for himself our state of preparedness, have told him everything pertaining to it and have even informed the world just how many times we could shoot in case of war. [Laughter and applause.]

Now, after detailing all the information regarding our preparedness for war, and after discrediting, as they have, our means of defense, they throw up their hands in holy horror and say we must not let the cotton farmer of the United States know how much cotton is being manufactured into munitions of war to be sold to the countries of the world because it might disclose a Government secret. [Applause.] The attitude of these gentlemen, Mr. Chairman, is this: It is all right to discuss here and publish to the world just how many ritles we have and how many cartridges we have, so that the eastern manufacturer can get an order to manufacture more, but when the cotton farmer makes the modest inquiry, " How much cotton do we consume in manufacturing these munitions?" phase of this munitions question becomes a Government secret, [Applause.] I think, Mr. Chairman, it is more of a Du Pont powder secret, for so long as they can keep the producer in the dark as to the amount of cotton consumed in manufacturing powder and explosive shells they can deceive him and keep him guessing as to just what the consumptive demand for cotton is and will be in the United States. [Applause.]

Now, why did you Republicans from the West vote against my Have you any hostility in your hearts toward the South? Are you not willing for the farmers of the South to have Government statistics speak the truth regarding their produce? I would vote for any measure that will give the western farmer statistics full and complete of his farm prod-The western Democrats voted for the measure, and we passed it by a party vote.

Mr. HAUGEN. Is it not a fact that the cotton statistics have been provided for for years, and did it not receive the hearty support of us on this side? You have been getting cotton sta-

tistics for years. We do not have the statistics on grain.

Mr. HEFLIN. We have statistics of cotton consumed by spinners, but I told you Republicans from the West that we did not have the statistics of cotton consumed in making gunpowder and explosive shells, and that the Director of the Census said that he had no authority to collect them. I told you also that it was estimated that two or three million bales of cotton were being consumed in that way, and yet you western Republicans voted against giving these statistics to the cotton farmers of the

South. [Applause.]
Mr. HAUGEN. I voted against the proposition because it

would be an absolute waste of money.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Chairman, I do not yield to the gentleman to undertake to make a speech defending his unwise course. Money expended to obtain statistical truth and secure justice for the farmer is not wasted.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman says that they have not got grain statistics. Why, the gentleman ought to know that we have grain statistics. The statistics tell the amount of grain that goes into the gristmills, flour mills, and they show the amount of grain produced annually in the United States; and let me tell the gentleman another thing that perhaps he does not know. The gentleman is as innocent of knowledge regarding the grain business as he was of a proper appreciation of the cotton business when he voted against my resolution the other day. Why, just a little while ago I phoned to the Treasury Department, to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and inquired, "How much grain is consumed by the distilleries in the United States in making beer and whisky?" and I was told that the amount was between forty and forty-two million bushels a year. I am glad the grain growers can have a way of telling just how much and in what way grain is consumed annually.

Let me say to the gentleman that I also phoned to the Direc-tor of the Census, and I said, "How much cotton is consumed annually by the powder mills and explosive-shell manufacturers of the United States?" He said, "We have no statistics on that subject and no authority to get them." So the grain grower has the statistical information that he needs and desires, but you Republicans from the grain-growing West voted to deny statistical information needed and desired by the cotton producers

of the South. [Applause.]
Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. HEFLIN. I will yield for a question. I have but little time left.

Mr. HAUGEN. I will be glad to yield the time to the gentleman in which to answer my question. We have statistics, it is true, as to the corn crop in Iowa this year, and the gentleman as a friend of the department is certainly not proud of those statistics. They would be better wiped out. They do not come within 50 per cent of the facts.

Mr. HEFLIN. We would be glad to have some on cotton made into gunpowder that come within 60 per cent of the amount. We have none at all now. The gentleman is the first man that have heard complaining about the incorrectness of grain statistics

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 10 minutes more.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HEFLIN. Not now. But you western Republicans hid behind the sham and pretense that statistics of cotton made into gunpowder would give away a Government secret. No enemy could have a spy in this country who could have obtained more information about our Army and Navy than the Republican Party in this House has given to the country and to the world during this session of Congress. Nor could an enemy ever get a man who would have detailed it as the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] and others on that side did. But when the southern cotton farmer wants to know how much cotton is consumed by the powder factories of the United States in making powder that we sell to the world, why you say it will disclose a Government secret. [Laughter.]

Gentlemen of the committee, the Washington Post said not long ago that every section in the farming line has suffered some on account of the European war, but the South has suf-

fered more and longer.

That is true. The South has suffered more than any other section. Cotton, our principal crop, has been greatly injured and here we are from the section suffering most asking you to vote for a measure that would give us valuable information and at a cost of less than \$5,000 a year.

Mr. Chairman, with the exception of two western Republicans they voted solidly against this measure. Two gentlemen over there from the West [Sinnott and Wheeleb] voted with us. Some of you criticized Wheeleb of Illinois for voting with us, God bless him, but he had the courage to stand up and vote for right and justice in spite of anything that you could do to hold him down to the Powder Trust interest. [Applause.] Morean of Oklahoma, Austin of Tennessee, and Britt of North Carolina—five in all. You can count them on one hand, and the Republican Party, with that exception, stood like a brick wall against this just demand of the cotton farmers of the South. Were you afraid that you would expose a Government secret? You told the world how many thousand cartridges we had and everything that you could think of about the condition of the Army and Navy.

The Democrats of the West show no ill feeling and exhibit no sign of bitterness against the South. They are broad and liberal patriots, meeting the issues of the present and letting the dead past take care of itself. They are displaying here a feeling of cordiality and friendship for the people of the South, and that feeling and friendship finds warm-hearted response on the part of southern Democrats for the people of the West. [Applause.]

The sooner the people of the West realize that some of their Republican Representatives here are doing all in their power to stir up strife between the sections and are lending themselves to petty political projects in order to raise false issues and ride them into office, the better it will be for our great and growing country. I am a southern Democrat, and if I know my own heart I can say truthfully that it makes no difference with me what section of the country a measure here is favorable to. I will support it if it be just and meritorious.

I want to see the sections drawn closer and closer together in the bonds of friendship and fraternal love. I do not want the smallness of vision and the little prejudices of narrow-minded men here to check and hinder the growth and development of national unity and solidarity amongst the people in every section of our country. [Applause.]

Let us realize fully our duty as Representatives of the greatest people on earth in the greatest lawmaking body in the world, and by the character of our contributions to the sum of national friendship, cordiality between the sections, honesty, patriotism, and statesmanship cause our country to rise higher and higher in the scale of being until she becomes the ideal Republic among the nations of the earth. [Applause.]

Philippine Independence.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CYRUS CLINE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 1, 1916.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, 18 years ago to-day the United States entered upon a mission of world-wide importance. It put the American flag in Cuba for the sole purpose of relieving that island from the curse of Spanish tyranny, and giving the inhabitants of the island political independence. At the same time the United States joined with the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands in the far-away Pacific who were then in rebellion against Spain, under which nation it had been a vassal for 300 years. The Filipino people believed then, as they had a right to believe, that they were fighting for their personal liberty and independence.

The question may never be definitely settled, but there is sufficient data, reliable, too, to assume that the inhabitants of the Philippines united with the American Army with the implied understanding that the United States was an ally of the Filipinos in securing independence for the inhabitants of the islands and establishing a separate and independent government.

After the Spanish Government had been driven from the islands and completely conquered the Filipinos were surprised to find that they had simply transferred their subordination from the Spanish Government to that of the United States. These, in brief, are the historic facts. I am not discussing the question whether the result was a wise one or not, whether it was eventually for the benefit of the Filipino or not; I am simply stating the preliminary facts to show how we came to be in the present attitude toward the Filipino people. No man in public life and who was connected with the legislation at that time had the remotest idea that we had not in mind a purpose to do for the Filipino exactly what we had done for

the Cuban; possibly not as soon, but in a reasonable time to establish for the inhabitants of the Philippines a separate and independent government. No one supposed that we had at that time entered upon a policy of humanitarianism for Cuba and at the same time and as a part of the same national action a policy of usurpation and subjugation in the Orient. The conduct of our affairs in the Philippines has developed a national issue. The Democratic Party since 1900 in every national Democratic platform has not hesitated to declare itself on the Philippine question. We have four times said substantially that "we favor an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established." We could not do otherwise than that and be faithful to the political creed we as a party have subscribed to and which doctrine as a party we hold sacred. That apostle of human liberty, the greatest exponent of the rights of man ever known in all the world's history, uttered these undying words, as immortal truth itself:

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure those rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

These principles are as axiomatic to-day as they were 100 years ago. No real Democrat repudiates them or subverts them. To do so now in this critical juncture would be the rankest perfidy and most dishonorable. Through all the history of the Democratic Party it has clung without wavering to that elemental and fundamental truth announced by the founder of our party.

Mr. Speaker, I have great admiration for the Filipino, whose ancestors were for three centuries, more or less, under Spanish domination. At some time or other during this long period, laying in the pathway of the world's travel, they have been the prey of the great nations of western Europe and eastern Asia. Plundered, robbel, and exploited, the products of their labor stolen by aliens, they at last broke away from the blighting despotism of Spain for the purpose of setting up a new independent government.

The venality of the conqueror sums up all the crimes of successful conquest. There is a mysterious element in human life that demands equality and resists crushing domination in the application of every system of government or economics, whether it be a highly developed system or not.

Representative government is the only sure guaranty of any character that personal liberty and personal rights will be protected. The wholesale intrusion of the individual into the political structure of a State government is an American idea of the construction of civil institutions. A strong centralization of power, either in the hands of a usurper or in the government itself, can not exist with our theory of popular government. That the doctrine of the right to control a different people than that participating directly in the government, either by conquest or purchase, implies a government by force of arms can not be disputed, and that it is a European and not an American doctrine is also true. There never has been a conquest of territory except by force of arms, and that conquest rarely maintained except by a resident force of arms in the subjugated territory.

Through some unaccountable source we exercise control over and possession of the Philippine Islands, with more than 9,000,000 people, two times as many as we had when we denounced England for our own subjugation-lands wholly populated by a race different from ours and more than 7,000 miles away, differing in religion and history, in color and civilization, having nothing in common with us except the desire to manage their own affairs and govern themselves as we do ourselves. We have nothing in common with the Filipinos and never can have, because of race differences that are insurmountable. Projected into the character of the Filipino, that has become a constituent part of his nature and that of all Asiatic races through centuries of heredity, are differences of religion, civilization, and fundamentals in morals and government. These people are opposed to us in every essential of life, character, and personality; yield to us a suspicious obedience, view us with an increasing aversion, while we proclaim to them and to the world our belief in the essential principles of personal lib-No great publicist has ever put our claim to subjugate the inhabitants of that Archipelago upon any other basis than that of conquest, or that we are the trustee of a "manifest destiny.

Development of social life and government has a uniform basis. Mutual dependence is everywhere forced upon all classes. All have the same aspirations, the same intellectual aptitude, the same inclinations—the only difference is in degree—and all are the product of natural evolution. I may not hesitate to say

that this national mobilization—this consolidation—of races, all arising out of a law of necessity and a desire not only for lighter burdens of government, but for no government at all by alien races, have introduced into world politics, in acute form, new and far-reaching problems.

These problems are not those to come at some future time; they are here now. The fast-breeding nations of India, China, northern Africa, and Japan, some of whom are now dominated by a handful of Europeans-these hundreds of millions, moved by the new spirit of this age, adjusting themselves with white men through the rising tide of commerce, with a mighty and successful struggle will throw off this restriction by foreign power and establish, I care not how crude it may be, a representative system of government by and for themselves. Let me amplify what I mean by very recent history of Japan. Half a century ago her commerce and taxes were controlled by a foreign power. She had no foreign relations, no navy, but a small army, and she stood in mortal fear of being swallowed up by China. In less than 25 years she has become an independent sovereign nation, whipped China, sliced off Korea and Formosa, and ranked herself as the seventh naval power in the world. She engaged in war with one of the most formidable Governments on earth, hurled her navy against the great war vessels of the Russians, sunk them like broken reeds, and sent 24,000 prisoners to Tokyo. She did more than that. She brought Russin to her knees in arbitration and divided Manchuria to herself, and then formed a defensive alliance with England, the greatest naval power in history. Do such great movements that shifts power from continent to continent, mean nothing to us?

The brown man in the Pacific is asking this great enlightened and Christian Nation, that holds the strong arm of a great world power over him in complete subjection, what the fate of himself and his children is to be in his own land many thousands of miles away. He has a right to know; it is the highest and most sacred right that ever stirred the breast of mortals, Involved in that right is the most exalted hope and aspiration of the soul. I would rather cast my vote in this Congress tonight to liberate the Filipino people than to cast it on any other issue that ever confronted me. I believe when I do that I shall have exercised the greatest power that can ever come to me to be performed. The consciousness that my vote and my voice have been enlisted to relieve from political bondage an alien race of ten millions of people engrosses me with the magnitude of an overwhelming purpose. The greatest heroes of any nation and of any age are those who by matchless fortitude and unequaled bravery have dared to sacrifice all and do all to perpetuate and exalt the cause of personal liberty; but I believe the man exercising his constitutional power, conferred upon him by a liberty-loving people, who casts his vote to give a larger liberty to a strange race and to establish political freedom among men of another hemisphere, has exercised a power superior to any other that a great, free, and enlightened people can clothe him with. I am wondering whether we have wandered from a century of tradition into a new realm of civil government or whether we have come to believe that representative government is a failure. Let me quote one sentence from John Stuart Mill:

The government of a people by itself has a meaning and a reality, but such a thing as a government of one people by another does not and can not exist.

Around that principle have clustered all the race problems and all the political problems of government. We intrenched ourselves upon the same rock in our declaration that "all men were created equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which were life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." On that theory are constructed all the States of this federation, and in it rests all our ambitions in the common struggle with a common hope to a common destiny.

Believing as I do in the essential principles that lie at the base of representative government, there can be no hesitation in the performance of our full duty toward the Philippines. We have always predicated our final action on the power to maintain a stable government. When that time arrived, we were ready to give the Filipino people the opportunity to work out their own destiny. That the Filipino people are now maintaining a stable government is not seriously disputed by anyone. About all the administration officers in the Philippines, including a large portion of the Philippine Commission, the legislature, the heads of departments, all municipal officers of the islands, judges of courts, nearly 9,000 teachers in the public schools; in fact, all of the numerous offices are now filled by Filipinos. Until very recently the only test required of the Filipinos by the opponents of independence, especially by the Republican leaders, was that the people of the islands should show themselves capable of maintaining a stable government. When they met

that test, the reasons for the denial of independence by them shifted to other grounds, as it always will.

What is the policy of the Republican Party relative to this question? It has never made a frank, unequivocal statement of its attitude in its national platform. What it has said was vague, indefinite, and ambiguous. This is a sample of its indirection. I quote from the Chicago platform of 1912:

The Philippine policy of the Republican Party has been and is inspired by the belief that our duty toward the Filipino people is a national obligation which should remain entirely free from partisan politics.

A more studious attempt to avoid the entire question could scarcely have been made. No man can discover any policy in that declaration. The truth is that the Republican Party is so infiltrated with the doctrine of Alexander Hamilton, a doctrine antagonistic to real popular representative government and so wedded to the special interests of the country that it does not propose to relinquish control over the Philippines, no matter how efficient they may prove themselves to be. Their position has shifted from that of national honor to one of commercial expediency. Who is to be profited by the reten-tion of the Philippines? Not the hundred million common people, not the patriotic citizens of the United States who want that security that comes to the country through avoidance of "entangling alliances" with any other power; not the millions of taxpayers who must foot the bills for their retention, mounting into the millions every year. No one of these classes of citizens profit by their retention. It is the few special interests in this country who desire the privilege of exploiting the resources of that innocent people in the archipelago. As an illustration, witness the grabbing at one time of more than 56,000 acres of the richest sugar lands in the islands and the defense of the act by the Republican Party and the Republican administration at the time when the Filipinos declared the action to be a direct violation of the organic law of the islands.

The assertion that the Filipino people are not capable of self-government is a mere subterfuge to deny a worthy people the same rights that we ourselves not only enjoy, but fought for the privilege of enjoying. Skulking behind that so-called reason are the real reasons, both commercial and moral, masquerading to defeat the rights of the people of the Philippines, and repudiate the historic traditions of the Nation for more than a century.

than a century.

I speak only for myself. When my party is on trial on a declaration it has four times promulgated in its platform and one of the principles upon which it came into power, when that platform so long adhered to by my party is attacked by the enemy that seeks to discredit it and drive it from power, I subvert my individual opinion and justify my party and give it my unqualified support. An assault upon my party by its relentless enemy can get no aid or comfort from me to gloat and glorify over and thereby discredit my party leaders. I believe the combined wisdom of my party on measures is superior to that of any single member of the party. When the time comes that either Democrats or Republicans believe that they are at liberty to violate solemn platform pledges and follow the direction of some party under cover so far as the general public is concerned, then the disintegration of that party begins and that solidarity on principles that distinctly divide the parties so essential to success is lost.

But, Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of granting independence to the Philippines for another reason. The geographical position of the islands being more than 7,000 miles from our shores, their education and capability for self-government makes them a sorious menace to the peace and happiness of this Republic. In all the discussion on this question no man has questioned that proposition. Mr. Speaker, do men think that a people whom we have taught that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is an inalienable right and that no man has a right to govern another man without his consent; do you believe that the Filipino with that knowledge will long content himself as a subject of an alien Government residing 7,000 miles from hm? Do you believe it is the duty of a patriotic and liberty-loving citizen to condemn him if he refused to submit to such foreign rule?

Ah, gentlemen, if it was your purpose in the beginning to deny to the inhabitants of the Philippines in the end that, which you promised them, you have already gone too far. You ought not to have educated the Filipino. You took to him the American school-teacher, the English language, and taught him the science of representative government and all it means to the human race. You told him 18 years ago that when he was able to maintain a stable government you would withdraw from the islands and leave him to work out his own destiny. In my judgment, you will be compelled to perform your agreement

with him. If you do not, he will unite with some formidable power and wrest from us those rights we now withhold from him. Pseudo patriots ask us if we want to pull down the American flag in the Philippines. That flag does not represent in the Philippines what it does here. If the American flag is to be traduced there, to represent colonial aggression instead of personal liberty, as it does here, it ought to come down whenever it does not in the fullest sense represent the liberty and independence of the people over which it floats. The price paid for it in blood and treasure as the representative of a free and enlightened people was too great to now dishonor it as a representative of subjugation.

Last week I listened in this Chamber to speeches on the life and character of Abraham Lincoln when a grateful people were about to take over the birthplace of that immortal in fitting remembrance of the event. He was greatly and justly praised for his invaluable services to the Nation, eulogized for the emancipation of the negro race. His words uttered on that battle field west of this Capitol fell in hushed silence on the member-

ship of this House:

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new Nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men were created equal.

He concluded that memorable address with those words, that are household words with a hundred millions of people in this Republic:

And that a Government of the people and by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth.

The sting of conscience must be severe if the Republican who professes to believe in Abraham Lincoln and follow him as his disciple can cast his vote for the further continued bondage of the people in the far-away Pacific. It is my hope that justice may ultimately be done the Filipino people before they compel us to respect those rights that all civilized nations have pronounced inalienable.

Philippine Independence Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER L. HENSLEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Monday, May 1, 1916.

Mr. HENSLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am indeed glad to have the privilege and opportunity of voting on this bill, which provides for the independence of the Philippine people. I never believed it wise, in the first place, for this Government to hold those islands, and I do not think it is wise now to hold them. I wish

we could give those people their independence immediately. When on this day 18 years ago Commodore Dewey sailed into Manila and signally defeated the navy of Spain the whole United States, upon the receipt of the information concerning the battle, was thoroughly thrilled. Our purposes as we understood them, and as I now understand them to have been, were to serve these struggling people, a people who were desirous of obtaining their independence and who are as much entitled to their independence as any other people on the face of the globe. Our service to these people was rendered after they had been fighting for a long period of time. They had practically won in their fight against Spain, but we at the proper and crucial time aided them in striking down the shackles that Spain had fastened upon them centuries ago. And from that very hour some of our people apparently were desirous of taking the place of Spain as the master and owner of those islands. I do not believe that any government can afford to bold an alien people and control them against their will. Most especially do I insist that a republic such as we have can not afford to engage in a business of this character. I think it a good rule to follow, that a people who have a desire for liberty, having impulses emanating from a desire to be free and independent, and who are willing to fight and die for that principle, are entitled to their independence and are capable of self-government.

President McKinley and Admiral Dewey said that the Philippine people were as capable of self-government as the Cuban people, yet we gave the Cuban people their independence long since, but up to this time we have failed to do our duty by the Philippine people. They have continued their efforts for independence. We have just listened this day to a most remarkable speech made by the Commissioner from those Islands, Mr. Quezon. They have not ceased during all these years to con-

tend for the very things for which our forefathers contended when they were fighting for the establishment of this very Government of ours.

The Democratic Party in four national platforms promised these people their independence, and now it is high time we were keeping the plighted faith by complying with those platform promises made to those people. President Wilson is doing his full duty, and the administration is doing its full duty, in pressing this measure, and now it is up to Congress to perform its full duty in the premises. Those islands have cost much treasure of men and gold. Many a boy has fallen victim to some of the many deadly maladies which are prevalent in those islands; and as for myself, I would not give one manly, courageous Missouri boy for the whole archipelago, so far as the material wealth is concerned; and the mothers and fathers who have lost their boys in this service no doubt feel more keenly upon the subject than I possibly can.

The chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs, Mr. Jones, of Virginia, says that we have spent, first and last, around \$1,000,000,000 upon this foreign possession of the United States, and that the yearly cost to us is something like \$40,000,000. Think of the enormity of this cost! While we may have rendered the people of those islands some service, our retention of those islands to-day and the contention made by the people of this country for the retention of those islands is not predicated upon a desire to serve those people; neither is it for the glory of

this country.

The cost annually of maintaining them represents nearly \$1,000.000 to each State of the Union, but, Mr. Speaker, over and above the monetary consideration, I call attention to the military aspect of the question. You can not interthe military aspect of the question. You can not interview a military man anywhere or any other person who is familiar with the situation but who will say to you that the Philippine Islands are our most vulnerable spot; that they constitute our great military weakness and that if we maintain them we must maintain larger military forces both of the Navy and the Army. Now what do we find in connection with this measure? We find the section of our country that is clamoring the loudest for military preparedness is likewise insisting upon us keeping the islands. They tell us that our Navy must be made much stronger in order to retain them, and then when the opportunity is presented to them to grant those people their independence and rid ourselves of this tremendous liability these same people—these representatives are almost solidly against such action. It reminds me of the arguments and statements made upon this floor concerning the building of the Panama Canal. The people of our country were told that by digging the canal we could reduce the naval expenditures one half because our Navy could be passed through the canal from ocean to ocean, but since the digging of the canal the same fellows tell us now we must have a larger Navy and Military Establishment because we have the canal

This talk of hauling down the flag is a sham and a pretense. The real cause can be seen on the surface upon close investigation. You want those islands and people to make profits to protect the bonds which were bought by the banks of this country for 40 cents on the dollar and to exploit those people generally. It is the profits you hope to make out of them, and the honor to this country and the service to those people are the last considerations you give the question. Of course the Republican side is standing solidly against this bill. In that I am not surprised, but I am indeed both surprised and sorry to see a few of the Democrats from a few of the Eastern States standing with the other side upon a question which means human liberty to ten or twelve millions of people.

The Philippine Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD OLNEY, 2D,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 1, 1916.

Mr. OLNEY. Mr. Speaker, upon May 1, 1898, Admiral George Dewey with a powerful fleet of American warships sailed into Manila Bay, sank a squadron of Spanish battleships and cruisers, and the sovereignty of Spain in the Far East came to an end.

Upon May 1, 1916, 18 years afterwards, the Sixty-fourth Congress of the United States discussed for 12 hours the Clarke

amendment to the Jones bill, providing independence for the Filipinos in not less than two nor more than four years, sub-

ject to the discretion of the President.

In the Democratic caucus preceding the debate in the House I was one of several Democrats to raise my voice against the so-called Clarke amendment. Hoping and trusting that the time may come when the Philippine Islands will receive independence, but believing that the United States Government can not consistently and honorably fix a definite time when the Filipinos are capable of self-government, that our national honor is at stake, that our flag unsullied must remain unsullied, that as a Government we must retain our self-imposed guardianship over our adopted child in the Far East, and that we should not relinquish it to be preyed upon by other nations more rapacious and less charitable, I am proud to have been a part of that decisive majority which voted on the memorable and historic night of May 1 to strike out from the Jones bill the Clarke amendment.

If the Clarke amendment had been adopted our flag would no longer wave glorious and unstained, a blot would have appeared upon our escutcheon which centuries of time could never have effaced, and we would have departed from American ideals of

justice, honor, and humanitarianism.

I beg to introduce the following letter from Richard L. Gay, secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Trade, in which are included the constituent Business Men's Association and Boards of Trade of Abington, Dedham, Norwood, Quincy, Rockland, Stoughton, Weymouth, and Whitman:

MASSACHUSETTS STATE BOARD OF TRADE, Boston, April 28, 1916.

Hon. RICHARD OLNEY, 2d, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the Massachusetts State Board of Trade, in executive council, held April 26, 1916, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas there has been introduced in the United States Senate an amendment to the Philippine bill, termed the Clarke amendment, which calls for the full surrender of all responsibility and control of the Philippine Islands in from two to four years from the passage of the act, and this bill is now before the National House of Representatives; and

"Whereas it does not appear that the United States can at this time with justice to the Philippines or to the United States, surrender the obligations and duties assumed or set any definite date for such action: Be it

"Resolved, That the Massachusetts State Board of Trade hereby expresses its belief that it is unwise and premature to attempt to set a definite time for turning over the government of the Philippines to the people of these islands until these obligations are more fully completed on the part of the United States, and at such time as may appear to be to the best advantage of the peoples most concerned; and be it

further "Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to our Representatives in Congress by the secretary."

RICHARD L. GAY, Secretary.

Live-Stock Markets.

Excerpts from statements made for the market committee of the American National Live Stock Association at the hearings on the Borland resolution, Washington, D. C., April 3-6, 1916.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DAN V. STEPHENS,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 13, 1916.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit the following excerpts:

[Excerpts from the statement of Mr. Walter L. Fisher and others at the hearing before the Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee on the Borland resolution Apr. 3, 1916.]

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Mr. Fisher. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I represent the American Live Stock Association in this matter, and I wish to say at the outset that, as Congressman Borland has already stated to you, that association was not in any way responsible for the introduction of Congressman Borland's resolution.

Mr. Carlin. Will you tell us at the beginning what your association is comprised of:

Mr. Fisher. The American National Live Stock Association, Mr. Chairman, is the national organization of the live-stock interests of the United States. There are in that business or industry what there are in most other lines, local organizations, district or State organizations, and a national organization, and the live-stock producers are organized in that way.

The facts that I have enumerated, the fact that the animal is to be treated in that way, adds immensely to the complications of the busi-

In addition to that, however, when you come to send the animal to market you have not an inert product; you have something which not only is perishable because of the fact that it is a living organism, but you have something which must be shipped alive and kept in good condition until it is disposed of. The result is that cattle that are sent into these great central markets which have originated and have been established throughout the country can not be kept any great length of time. They not only deteriorate physically, as has already been told you, but they involve a very considerable expense in their care and keep, and when disposed of they must be slaughtered promptly. The packer or the slaughterer, whoever he may be, can not afford to keep them. He must kill them comparatively quickly. Some of the products must be quickly disposed of. The bulk of the beef products must be quickly disposed of. The bulk of the beef products must be quickly disposed of. The bulk of the beef products must be quickly disposed of time.

But the development of this industry has progressed in the development of by-products, and we are told by many of the packing interests that they are making their profits on the by-products. The producer of the sieer is unable to see where his interest is at all affected by the fact that the profit is made on the horns and the hoofs or the hide, as contradistinguished from the roast beef and the beef steaks that come out of the same animal. One of their great causes of complaint is that the producers have not such a knowledge of the business nor has the public such a knowledge of the business as enables it to determine with any degree of intelligence at all just exactly what the financial operations of the packing concerns are, just why it is that certain things are charged to one item and other things can be produced to the same animal. One of their great causes of the business at the development of the interest of the produce of the

commission of that kind in Australia; so that the question is one of growing magnitude.

They see these profits increasing, and they are not much concerned with the question as to how it is gotten at, whether, when they divide the total product, they find that there is only a fraction of a cent on a particular unit. They are interested in the gross net result. They look at the total business, and they find that many of the concerns and individuals engaged in ralsing these animals have made very heavy losses. They look at the situation such as now exists in this country, where they compare the prices on the current market during any particular period of time or during a particular year, as, for instance, the year 1915, with previous years, and they find that in spite of the fact that there is an abnormal demand, a demand which has been created by the European war and the conditions growing out of the European war; that nevertheless, according to the statistics which they have compiled, the producer of meat products has received less for his product than he did before, and that the only claim by those who take the most optimistic view of it on the part of the packer, as, for instance, the annual report of Swift & Co., is that they have paid a slight increase, an exceedingly slight increase, over previous years. The basis of those statistics that are behind that claim we know nothing about, and the producers of beef know nothing about it. They have no opportunity to analyze them whatever. They are not being analyzed by any representative of the Government, and the result is the natural result that you would expect to find under those circumstances, a constantly growing discontent on the part of the producers of meat products in this country—producers of the animals from which the meat products are manufactured.

Even if that were all there was to it, it would be perfectly apparent that one of the things that ought to be done, and done guickly, is to

this country—producers of the animals from which the meat products are manufactured.

Even if that were all there was to it, it would be perfectly apparent that one of the things that ought to be done, and done quickly, is to have a thorough-going, searching investigation of the conditions, if only for the purpose of making it clear that the discontent is not well founded. Let us assume that everything that may be said on this subject is true, there can be absolutely no controversy about the fact that the producers of meat animals in the United States are at present thoroughly dissatisfied with the conditions that exist with regard to marketing their product. That is manifested in very many ways, but for the present I will confine myself to what has been done by these associations. There will be placed before you resolutions which have been adopted in meeting after meeting of the State and local organizations of the live-stock producers, and the resolutions of the American National Live Stock Association.

For some years clients of mine who are in this business and others who are not clients, but who have talked to me about it, have been talking to me about the importance of having a real investigation. They do not believe that the investigations which have heretofore been made have been real or have gotten at all to the bottom of this thing. Nor do they believe that the methods which have been applied in the attempt to cure such abuses as did appear in those previous investigations have been sound, and they have urged the undertaking of some sort of an investigation. I have said to them at all times that, in my opinion, it was perfectly futile to undertake an investigation of this matter unless they meant business, and meant to go to the bottom of it: and finally, within the past few months the American National Live Stock Association passed resolutions as the result of a report of a special committee on this subject. They have undertaken to do what they can to secure just such an investigation. They have appo

Mr. Carlin. In what branch of the business is he engaged?

Mr. Fisher. I should say that he is engaged in every phase of the business, from the production of the cattle up to the final marketing. It is the Haggin & Tevis organization that he represents, one of the very largest in the business anywhere in the world.

Mr. Carlin. He is not a packer?

Mr. Fisher. No. I do not represent, nor does the American Live Stock Association in any way represent, the packing interests. They represent the producers. Mr. A. E. de Riccles is a very large dealer in live stock in a variety of ways, located at Denver. Mr. Burke, of Omaha, Nebr., is primarily concerned in the feeding and marketing of cattle. Gov. Kendrick, the fourth member of the committee, is the governor of Wyoming to-day and, as I understand it, a large producer and feeder of cattle. Mr. I. C. Pryor, of Texas, is one of the largest cattlemen in that State, which is so largely devoted to the cattle interests.

interests.

Mr. Carlin. You have had a large experience in public affairs and considerable experience in this matter. What do you think is the

Mr. Carlin. You have had a large experience in public affairs and considerable experience in this matter. What do you think is the remedy?

Mr. Fisher. If I were able to tell you with absolute confidence at the present time, I would tell you without any hesitation, but I think, Mr. Carlin, that that is the real question that we are to get at, What is the remedy? In order to determine what the remedy is, the very first and all-essential thing is a comprehensive study of this question. We can not tell what the remedy is until we have really determined what the conditions are, and what the facts are, and that is exactly what I have been telling these people.

Mr. Nelson. Your present purpose is, then, to ascertain facts for the purpose of prosecution under the antitrust law?

Mr. Fisher. Not at all. I have said to them, and I have said to the Department of Justice of the United States, "If there are specific infractions of the law, of course the Department of Justice ought to prosecute them. If there are cases where violations of the law are suspected to exist, but it is not known whether they do or not, of course it is the duty of the Attorney General to investigate and then act according to the development of the investigations." But the first thing is not to prosecute; the first thing is to ascertain what are the facts, what is going on in this business, and then use prosecution, except for punishment of past offenses, only as a means toward constructive results.

Mr. Carlin. As to the profits in the business, I think it is admitted that the producer is making a profit.

Mr. Fisher. It would not be admitted by me or by my clients. In some instances yes, and in other instances no. It would be possible, unquestionably, to call breeders of cattle before this committee, or before any other Investigating body, and show that that particular man made a good, round profit. It would be possible to produce perhaps, before the same committee, those by whom it would be demonstrated that they had made losses, and the cause

Mr. Carlin. Now, as to the feeder; where does he get the benefit of the competition?

Mr. Fisher. Unfortunately, he does not get it. That is the difficulty. The leeder must sell his finished product when it reaches that stage in its development where you cross the divide—where after that, although he may carry the animal, the food which he gives him ceases to be increasingly profitable to him. He reaches a point, when the animal has been matured to a certain stage, where it is the best thing to sell the animal—the animal is ready for manufacture into meat. After that, although he may be fed, although his weight may possibly be increased, and although the feeding which is done after that time may not be a total loss, nevertheless it ceases to be relatively profitable from that time on, and therefore he reaches a point where it is advisable from every point of view—the consumer's as well as the producer's—that that animal should be sold and slaughtered. What does he do with it? He must dispose of that animal, and he must dispose of it to comparatively few concerns. That is just where the first inquiry comes in, What is the percentage of the total live-stock business of the United States that is carried on by the five large packing concerns? If we can ascertain that fact, we can determine at once what the competition is that the feeder has for his stock.

What the competition is that the feeder has for his stock.

Whether the figures that will be presented to you are accurate or not, they will serve by way of illustration, and as the discussion proceeds it will become increasingly apparent to you that, if they are not accurate, one of the most important things for you to get is accurate information upon this subject—information of such official character that there can not be left any reasonable doubt on the subject. That is important. It is not necessary to draw any of these inferences. I am not drawing inferences. I do not think it is important for this committee to know any more than the fact that there is this discontent—that there is this information or misinformation existing in the country which leads to the discontent—and that therefore it is absolutely imperative that some official investigation shall be made that will settle the facts, so that the country at large and the producers of cattle included will know what the facts are in connection with their business. They do not know now.

Mr. Carlin. Have you examined the report made as a result of the conference in Chicago?

Mr. Fisher. It fell to my lot to attend that conference; and the most remarkable thing about that conference was the absence of the packing interests—I do not say they were entirely absent, but relatively absent—and the comparative refusal or neglect to take any part whatever in the discussions

If you will read the account, the document which you have in your hand, which has now been published, you will find that in the early stages of the discussion the most recurrent and important thing that constantly came up was that one speaker after another expressed his regret that they were not given the benefit of having packers' representatives there who were prepared to talk and talk intelligently on this subject. They were not there. When the question of a five-day market was started, some interest was manifested, as you will always find. Let us assume that the packing interests are inno

charges made against them, and that their only interest at present is merely to quiet this agitation, to avoid this discussion or any investigation, on the general plea that it is not necessary, and what they want to do is to avoid any discredit that would come out of the mere fact that an investigation is being nad. You will find under circumstances like this—and more so as you increase toward a consciousness of something wrong in the way they are doing their business—a constant tendency to divert the inquiry outo side lines and side issues, and you will find this manifest in that hearing and the subsequent proceedings. Mr. Brand, of the Department of Agriculture, presided at that meeting, and I have talked at some length with him, and with others in the Department of Agriculture, as I have talked with members of the Trade Commission, and the Attorney General's office, and I think that it is entirely proper to say that there is not any one of them that feels that they have gotten, or in a position as matters now stand to get, thoroughgoing and reliable information on these very important matters.

Mr. McManus. Did they say why they could not get it?

Mr. Fisher. One reason why they could not get it at the Chicago meeting was that there was not anybody present to answer the questions.

Mr. McManus. Do you know whether any of the precises have over

important matters.

Mr. McManus. Did they say why they could not get it?

Mr. Fisher. One reason why they could not get it at the Chicago meeting was that there was not anybody present to answer the questions.

Mr. McManus. Do you know whether any of the packers have ever made any public offers to the Live Stock Association?

Mr. Fisher. It know this, that the other night Mr. Veeder, if you want to know, attorney for Swift, discussed this matter quite informally with me at a meeting which was purely incidental, and said that what the packers wanted was that they should have an investigation that would really settle something, and then have periodical examinations, like a bank examination. I said, "What is your idea?" "Who is going to conduct the investigation?" He said that inasmuch as the publications that would follow would have to be made up by the Department of Agriculture, he thought that was a good agency for the purpose. Let us not fool ourselves or anybody else; the Department of Agriculture can not get to the bottom of this matter. It has not any power. It can not subpean witnesses. It can not examine accounts. I immediately suggested that to Mr. Veeder. He said that the packers would voluntarily consent. Let me say for the interests that I represent that that is not the kind of an investigation we think will be of any use to the country. We want an investigation we think will be of any use to the country. We want an investigation that does not depend on consent. We want an investigation that, if a witness is called in and put on the stand and asked to make a sworn statement, either under oath in an open examination, speaking orally, or on paper, as a result of the written interrogation that is put to him, we want him so that when he answers he will be liable for perjury if he has made a false statement, and that will apply to all the witnesses on both sides, and we will know we will get somewhere.

Mr. Fisher. He is the attorney for Swift & Co.

Mr. McManus. You agree, then, that it is generally under

Mr. Fisher. He is now the president of Morris & Co., being a young man about 23 or 24 years old
Mr. Nelson. As Mr. Morris made this offer, would it include all the packers?
Mr. Fisher. Not unless you assume that they are already so closely bound together that when one speaks they all speak. I do not know what the deduction would be from the statement.
Mr. McManus, If Mr. Morris's offer were not sufficient, would it be any use for others to make the same offer?
Mr. Fisher. Yes; it would be of use; but it will not divert the people whom I represent from their determination to get a more searching and satisfactory and conclusive investigation to get a more searching and satisfactory and conclusive investigation to get a more searching and satisfactory and conclusive investigation to have the Investigation by the Federal Trade Commission?
Mr. Taggart. You are here in support of this investigation, to have the Investigation by the Federal Trade Commission?
Mr. Fisher. I should say this—I want to answer you with absolute candor; When this committee that I represent was appointed, and when I was retained as counsel, Mr. Bolland's resolution was not before the House We had been studying the question, and our first study is as to how we think the investigation can best be made. We are not entirely clear that the Federal Trade Commission can make such an investigation in this matter as will be final and satisfactory if it acts only by itself, but we do believe that the Federal Trade Commission should make an investigation, and to that extent we are in support of this resolution. We hold the Congress of the United States responsible to us and to the public, including the packers, and we do not want anything that I say or that any of the representatives of our association says to be understood as in any way closing the doors to that investigation which, when all these departments and agencies of the Federal Government have acted, we may think it is still necessary to make in order to get results. Your attention has already

and, second, on the amount of time and energy they are able and willing to and do, in fact, put into the investigation. We believe they ought to investigate, and we believe that they are an effective agency to investigate, as compared with the Department of Agriculture, for instance, but we do not want it understood that that means that the Department of Agriculture should not go ahead. Quite the contrary. This question is a fundamental question of law and economics, and it has got to be studied from both sides. The Department of Agriculture has got to be studied from both sides. The Department of Agriculture has got to keep on, and it has to have more money and put more power in the elbow back of the economic investigation which the Bureau of Markets is making. They are doing first rate as far as they have gone. They have limited money and limited men, and they are doing well. But they get only what they get voluntarily. They get only what the packers see fit to give them and what they can gather together and digest effectively with the force they have. I have sat in conference with these men, and they are, as we believe, sincerely interested in working this problem out to a right solution. They say, "Yes; we can get a certain amount of information, but there are other parts that we can not touch. We have no power to subpena; we can not issue an order; we can not do what the Federal Trade Commission can do." On the other hand, they are studying the economic conditions in relation to marketing, not only in this country but abroad. That would be of immense value in a constructive study of this whole matter, and that is what we want. We are not interested merely in punishing somebody for what he has done. We shall continue the first place, where we want to cure the wrong methods. Take, for instance, a question that has been raised here before you this morning: Ought the packing concerns to be the owners of and in control of the terminal facilities and stock yards of the country? Ought they to be? For my part, wit

alties.

Mr. Fisher. It may lead to both; probably will lead to both. If they find that there have been within the statute of limitations—that is, before it has run, and where there are no immunity baths—violations of the law, of course they will report them to the Attorney General, and I presume the Department of Justice may prosecute, but of far greater interest to us than any prosecution by the Attorney General is the light that will be thrown on the question of what steps, if any, ought to be taken to make it impossible to repeat these violations, aside from purely punitive steps. We might put everyone of the officers of any one or all of these packing concerns in the penitentiary, let us say. I do not say that they should be there—far from it. I am not making that suggestion.

Mr. Meeker. I am glad of that.

any one of all of these packing concerns in the penitentiary, let us say. I do not say that they should be there—far from it. I am not making that suggestion.

Mr. Meeker. I am glad of that.

Mr. Fisher. I do not know; but let me say this, that when they are cleared by an immunity bath, when they are let out of a criminal prosection, not on the grounds of innocence, but because of the fact that they have, by answering certain questions, secured for themselves immunity, it does not carry conviction to the producing nor the consuming public in the United States.

Mr. Meeker. We have had one since.

Mr. Fisher. I understand. But the question, as you know and I know, Mr. Meeker, is the question of the difficulty of proving that violations of the iaw have occurred, even where they have occurred, even where you are morally certain of it. The difficulty is in proving the fact in a criminal court, with the presumptions in favor of the accused. I am not attempting to get back of it; I am not attempting to intimate that in that particular case the result was not justified. I am merely saying that prosecutions of that kind do not even tend to remove the feeling of discontent that prevails in this great industry, and it spreads all over the country.

Let us see for just a minute what is the history of this thing. Let us take some of the concedea facts, not statistics, but some of the broader facts. It is true that some years ago, following the Garfield report, the Department of Justice believed that these gentlemen, the large packing concerns, were in an unlawful combination, and that they were prosecuted, and that they were released at that time because of the plea of immunity. It is true that a subsequent prosecution occurred which resulted in their acquittal on those particular matters. It is true, however, that during the same period the National Packing Co. was formed, which was formed for the express purpose of taking into one ownership the then existing competitors of the large packing concerns, and that is conceded

they could not. They divided the National Packing Co., not among its original holders; they did not bring back into the business any of the concerns or individuals who had previously been engaged in coappetition. They merely divided it into so many units among the existing combination; that is to say, the combination which had confessedly previously existed. So that the remedy that was applied in the dissolution of the National Packing Co. was the remedy of restring competition, not between the large packing concerns and independent manufacturers, but between the members of this group of large packing concerns.

facturers, but between the members of this group of large packing concerns.

We have tried that in several other instances. Do you gentlemen know of any instance where it has succeeded? Take the Standard Oil Co. or the National Tobacco Co., or any of the concerns that have been dissolved in that fashion. Do you know any place where that remely has been applied and actually in practice has been found to be successful? If you do we would like to know it, because it is entirely indifferent to us what kind of remedy we get, provided we get a remedy. We do not want anything that is not a remedy, to try to fool ourselves and be fooled by it. What happens? We find these concerns growing, and growing in substantially the same proportions. We find them doing not exactly but substantially the same relative amounts of business of the total amount done by this group that they did before. It is so easy for them to act together upon merely the general understanding that they shall do about that percentage of the business. If there are a few cattle in the yards in Chicago at a given date and it is understood that out of that number of cattle Swift will take about so many, Armour about so many, Morris about so many, Salzberger & Sons—now, passing under the hands and control of a group of bankers, and the active management of Mr. Wilson, formerly with Morris & Co.—if we find that they buy just about the same number, or at the end of the year that they come out about the same mumber, or at the end of the year that they come out about the same many here of you gentlemen were starting out and it was understood you were to buy about one-third each, or one one-half and the other two one-fourth each, of the stock that was there, just by knowing each other's relative purchases you would know where you would come out and if you had some common understanding to that effect you would know just how far competition would go, would you not?

All those 'chings are helpful, but the real problem remains down at

All those things are helpful, but the real problem remains down at the bottom. What I have said fully illustrates the unsatisfactoriness of merely coming to the conclusion, even though it be justified by the record, that there has not been an act performed which can be punished under the criminal code. What we want to do is to get away back and beyond that if we can. We want to find out how these things are. For instance, there is a very interesting question as to publicity that goes along with this thing. Are the avenues of publicity controlled by the packing concerns, or are they not? It is alleged and believed by the stock people of the country that the agencies of publicity are controlled by the larger packing interests. They believe that they are interested—in fact in many instances they know, by admission or otherwise, that they are interested—in the trade journals that are published, and that information as to market conditions is thus at least tainted at the source, or may be tainted.

Mr. Carlin. This resolution simply provides for an investigation to

Mr. Carlin. This resolution simply provides for an investigation to ascertain whether there has been any violation of the antitrust law. It has been stated here by somebody that a special investigator from the Attorney General's office has been proceeding for six weeks to make a special investigation and ascertain whether there has been a violation of the antitrust law. Mr. Fisher's position—which looks to make a special investigation and ascertain whether there has been a violation of the antitrust law. Mr. Fisher's position—which looks to me to be a very logical one—goes far beyond any such proceeding as this and treats it as an economic proposition, and says that the commission ought to ascertain just what the economic situation is so that we may, by legislation, remedy that. The criminal statutes will apply to those who have violated existing law; but his position, as I understand it, is that an additional law may be needed to remedy the economic situation, which this resolution does not touch.

Mr. Borland, I have no pride in the terms of this resolution, no pride of opinion whatever. But I was pointing out just a minute ago the fact that if the investigation is committed to the Federal Trade Commission, they have three powers. They have not only the power that is expressly given to them to investigate violations of the antitrust law, which would be criminal, but they have the power to proceed civilly to compel corporations to cease and desist from unfair practices, and they have the power to recommend legislation to Congress. Having the basis before them of an investigation which we believe is the most thorough investigation we now have within sight—within reach—they could recommend, and we hope they will recommend, some constructive legislation. I have no pride of opinion as to the terms of the resolution.

Mr. Borland, The first thing to do is to impress on this committee.

Mr. Borland. The first thing to do is to impress on this committee or commission the necessity of finding some remedy for this situation, and I am satisfied that the committee, myself, and other Members of Congress can find a way to put the activities of the Government to work. I am satisfied we can find the way.

Mr. Borland. I am not going to take any more of Mr. Fisher's time. I just wanted to clear up this question which the committee asked me. But I thank Mr. Fisher for permitting me to break in on his remarks. Mr. Fisher. This is your hearing, not mine.

Mr. Doolittle. I should like to have an expression from Mr. Fisher, representing the live-stock interests officially here, on that exact question, because the resolution which I have introduced, and which, by a strange coincidence, was introduced the same day that Mr. Borland's resolution was introduced, did direct a special investigation committee of Congress, as you have just suggested, and that went to the Committee on Rules, by a strange coincidence, instead of to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Carlin, Mr. Fisher, I am directing my remarks to the question of procedure. Assuming that the question is of the magnitude that you and those whom you represent think it is, what is the best method of procedure to get before Congress an intelligent idea upon which to form a rule of action for the future as to whether these men have been guilty of a combination? That is a matter that would be taken care of by statute, and is taken care of by statute; but how as to help the producer of beef, the feeder of beef, to get a proper price for his cattle is, after all, the real question that I am interested in, and I think the country is interested in. Therefore, on the question of how to proceed, I should like to hear you.

Mr. Tearms. On the question of procedure I do not rest fully qualified to answer for reasons that I study will be apparent to ryan. It depends entirely on the question as to which agency is in a better position, as a matter of fact, to give time and attention to this matter. As I have smitter of Congress.

Mr. Cartis. Or a commission.

Mr. Tearlis. Or a convertise field.

Mr. Tearlis. Or a commission.

Mr. Tearlis. Or a convertise field.

Mr. Tearlis. Or a

trative agencies as we are—and say, "Gentlemen, there are some phases of this thing that none of these agencies has gotten at the bottom of, and we want you to tackle it." It may be that some of them will not pursue the course that we would like, and it may be that some of them will not pursue the course that the packers would like, and they want to come and tell you so, and they ought to have the right, and we ought to have the right, to do it. Let us use every agency we have to get all the facts we can, and let us give them the money to get them. I know that the Department of Agriculture can not do this work effectively without more money, and the great benefit of passing this resolution, if you pass it, will be, as Congressman Bonlaxb has said, that having said, in your opinion, this is a subject that ought to be investigated, Congress will feel under a moral obligation, if not a legal obligation, to provide the necessary funds. I say that because it has been said that this Federal Trade Commission could take this thing up anyhow on its own initiative. That is not so clear. They can take up some things. The language of that statute has never been construed. It is a new statute, and it is a question whether, if we branch out into some of these inquiries, they have the power of initiative, if somebody comes in and complains because of unfair competition.

Mr. Fisher. Let us suppose that is true—but I question it—I am not interested in the margin of profit, if the gross results are highly profitable, and if the methods by which the business is carried on are objectionable, and particularly if in the effort to extract from the goose as many golden eggs as possible they are impairing, or in danger of impairing, the health of the bird. That is what we are afraid of.

Mr. Mekker. Is not the question of whether the right fellow is getting any margin or profit?

Mr. Fisher. Surely. The most significant thing about this whole subject would be a series of charts showing, on the one hand, the fluctuations in the price of live stock, and, on the other, fluctuations in the price of meat. The one will go along with a wavy little line like that indicating], and the other will be all peaks and depressions. A chart showing the fluctuations in the price of live stock has been prepared, for instance, and published in the Wallace Farmer. Take pork products. This is published in what is regarded by many of the leading agricultural papers of the United States. It is really one of the most interesting things you can imagine. I have some of these charts here. Mr. Burke will explain them to you.

Mr. Fisher. Where do you get these figures?
Mr. Merker. These are from Armour & Co.'s records of 10 years ago. 1905.

Mr. Fisher. What is the difference?

Mr. Meeker. It is the average live price paid for all grades and kinds of cattle by Armour & Co. for the year 1905, 4.60; for the year 1915, 7.16; I will read it to you by years:

	Cents.
1905	4. 60
1906	4. 72
1907	. 5. 11
1908	
1909	. 5.47
1910	. 5. 06
1911	. 4. 93
1912	. 5.82
1913	. 6.88
1914	. 7. 12

The highest year was 1915, 7.16.

Mr. Fisher. Those figures would not interest me at all unless I had an opportunity to check them and test them, and if they proved to be as you stated, as being the prices paid by Armour & Co., I would want to know what other packers paid. I find, for instance, a most interesting difference between the figures, in the prices Swift & Co. and certain of the other packers pay. They do not seem to libe. I undertake to say to you that the supposed margin of profit on the handling of cattle that the packers are supposed to make per animal or per hundred pounds has been stated as many as four ways in four statements by men who made the statements, they claiming to be as certain about their figures as Mr. Merker as about his. Mr. Merker does not call attention to the difference in the price of corn.

Mr. Fisher. Before you leave, gentlemen, let me hold up and show you a diagram prepared by the Wallace Farmer. I thought they had not gotten to cattle, but it seems that their last diagram is on cattle. It may interest Mr. Merker. The line here is the line they estimate to be the line above or below which there is a profit or loss; that is to say, the sales above show a profit and the sales below a loss. What I told you about mountain peaks and canyons you can see there. Look at this price here. That is all in one year. Up to this point at one time and down to this point at another and back and forth, all within the period of a year, seesawing back and forth. The average price of commodities is shown through the center of the diagram. I do not know whether it is accurate. I know it is made by an intelligent organization that is trying to get at the facts for its readers, and I say it illustrates the importance of having an investigation, so that when we get through with it we will feel we have gotten something, and we can take the materials and build constructively. If it is necessary to prosecute, the prosecution, in my opinion, ought to be a means to an end of getting constructive result

of the feeders and their figures?

Mr. Fisher. Certainly. As far as I am concerned, this investigation could go as far as you like, and I would like to see it start with the cattle down where they produce and wind up with the meats that are sold to the consumer. Read the testimony of the Master Butchers' Association as given before Mr. Brand and hear what they have to say about it. They do not understand why these violent fluctuations in prices for cattle on foot go on and the price of beef goes along just a little up and and just a little down. They do not understand why they do not come in contact with this change in demand that causes these fluctuations. They are told it is some mysterious thing. This combination of all the information that flows into the packing houses and the packing offices in Chicago from all the little markets

in the country, therefore you can not put your finger on it and you can not analyze it. We want to analyze it. We would like to know whether it is true. On the face of it, it does not look right to us.

an not analyze it. We want to analyze it. We would like to know whether it is true. On the face of it, it does not look right to us.

Istatement of Edward L. Burke, representing the market committee of the American National Live Stock Association, at the hearing on the Borland resolution at Washington, on April 3, 1916, before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives.]

Members of the Judiciary Subcommittee and gentlemen, House Roll No. 148, known as the Forland resolution, gave expression to what has been vaguely in the minds of thousands of people for many years. It involves the question of the meat supply of the Nation, a subject of such tremendous importance that it should be understood by all, but unfortunately no subject of equal importance is as little understood by the average citizen. The Department of Commerce ranks the slaughtering and meat-packing industry as first in this country. On no other theory than the lack of clear and definite information on the part of the public can the present condition of the live-stock and meatindustry be explained. The producers have been too widely scattered to have any effective organization or any voice in the shaping of the industry, the public are too uninformed. For many years the only effective and organized force has been the buying interests, and they have shaped the course of the Industry with no one to interfere. In doing so they have thrown over it a cloak of mystery and darkness, which accounts for the ignorance of the public. Now that the situation has become intolerable there is a demand that the cloak be torn away and the white light of publicity turned on.

In this statement we shall attempt to bring out only the prominent features of the live stock and meat situation as they relate to the five large packers, viz. Swift & Co., Armour & Co., Morris & Co., Sulzberger & Sons Co., and the Cudahy Packing Co., whom we shall hereafter the garnel as the packers, features which stand out so prominently that they almost knock one down.

A widespr

"Time was I shrank from what was right,
From fear of what was wrong;
I would not brave the sacred fight,
Because the foe was strong."

Never were truer words said when applied to conditions at the live-

Recause the foe was strong."

Never were truer words said when applied to conditions at the livestock markets.

For the sake of brevity we shall not attempt to go into detail. The subject is so large and so complicated and has so many ramifications that it would take days to run them all down. In the hope of making it simpler and clearer I am attaching to this statement a small drawing, a copy of which I have placed on the wall. Consider the entire livestock industry and meat industry as represented by two bottles with a long, narrow neck or passage connecting them. The left-hand bottle represents the supply. The supply is divided into two parts, representing the grower, on the left, and the feeder, on the right. Next to the feeder is the narrow neck, which is his only outlet, and which we will call the "ultimate consumer." It is as easy for a camel to go through the eye of a needle as it is for the feeder to get through that narrow passage called the neck of the bottle without being squeezed. It requires no strategist to see that the narrow passage is the coign of vantage, and that he who controls it can name the amount of toil. As long as the present system lasts so long will this point be the crux of the situation. The neck of the bottle contracts or expands in proportion as the competition is small or great. If competition does not keep this passage open, then the only recourse the feeder has is to call in disinterested outside forces which are strong enough to keep the current moving freely from left to right. Publicity and Government regulation might be able to do this. The producers now feel that the time has come when, for the good of themselves and the consumer, one or both of these forces are absolutely necessary. In the statement which we have to offer please note carefully the position of the various factors with reference to the bottles, as it is all important. We shall try to show you the congestion at the narrow passage and its bad effects.

The producer has only the commission man stationed ther

Third. Elimination of competition, Fourth. Evolution of a system of preparedness to suppress competi-

Fourth. Evolution of a continuous forms. Fifth. Unfair methods employed.

Fifth. Unfair methods employed.

Sixth. Failure of prices of fat animals to respond to conditions of supply and demand, especially in 1915.

Seventh. Price of beef to the retail butcher advancing more rapidly than price for animals on foot.

Eighth. Entire lack of confidence of beef producers in their industry.

Ninth. Complete indifference of packers to welfare of producers.

Tenth. Widespread feeling among all classes that something must be done through governmental agencies to arrest the present rapid march toward monopoly. Eleventh. Demand for publicity in the shape of a uniform accounting system under Government supervision. Tweifth. The forcing through the small neck of the bottle, called the "market," of more than one-half the finished live stock of the country.

country.

Taking these points up in the order named above for more detailed scussion, we shall handle Nos. 1, 2, and 3 together, as they are so discussion, we she closely connected.

Taking these points up in the order named above for more detailed discussion, we shall handle Nos. 1, 2, and 3 together, as they are so closely connected.

The rapid concentration of the slaughter and distribution of meat animals in this country and South America into the hands of a few men is the feature which most distributs the producer and which he feels needs the most careful investigation. A simple statement of the feels needs the most careful investigation. A simple statement of the feels needs the most careful investigation. A simple statement of the feels needs the most careful investigation. A simple statement of the feels needs the most careful investigation. A simple statement of the feels needs the most careful investigation. A simple statement of the feels needs to a sufficient the feel statement of the feels needs to sufficient. Less than 20 years ago the working capital of the feel statement of

"Of course they could have paid a higher price for cattle had they so desired, but they could also have bought them much lower if they so wished."

so desired, but they could also have bought them much lower if they so wished."

Emil Ingwersen, with Rosenbaum Bros. & Co., at the stockyards, Chicago, and for 16 years next to the head buyer for Swift & Co., writes me under date of February 17, 1916:

"Your paper (referring to an address at Wichita, Feb. 9, 1916, by E. L. Burke', deals directly with price control and elimination of competition. These are undoubtedly two of the main factors that bring about the unsatisfactory market conditions."

T. J. McCrosky, commission merchant of Kansas City, representing the Kansas City Live Stock Exchange, in the hearing at Chicago, November 15, 1915, before Charles J. Brand, Chief of the Office of Markets, United States Department of Agriculture, says:

"Personally, all I have or hope to have I would not be afraid to leave to any one of the packers Individually, but when it comes to dealing with their corporate power, a power which they have concentrated unto themselves so that they can dictate what they shall pay for our goods, that is all wrong. How are, we going to correct It? I don't know, but there has been an insidious and gradual spreading of this power so that the fluctuations that our friend Mercer complained of, of \$1.40 to \$1.25 in two days, was not brought about by supply and demand. If was brought about by that power in the hands of the few instead of being diffused as it was at one time."

Here is another from McCrosky:

"Now, there must be some advantage when men can take millions out of the business and the people that furnish the raw supply are

Here is another from McCrosky:

"Now, there must be some advantage when men can take millions out of the business and the people that furnish the raw supply are many of them in failing condition as Mr. Mercer has stated. My idea is that there should be some way whereby we can build up and maintain a competition that will bring the actual meritorious values of the products of the country on a basis of supply and demand."

J. H. Mercer, live stock commissioner of Kansas and secretary of the Kansas Live Stock Association, at the same hearing says:

"We expect, gentlemen, fluctuations. We expect daily fluctuations at the market centers on our products; but what concerns us is what brings about those violent fluctuations which cause men to go broke in one day. That is the information that we are endeavoring to seek at this time. I do not know, and a large number of men in the State of Kansas with whom I have talked, do not know, and we are here to day

to devise ways and means, if possible, for you who represent other interests of the product to eliminate those conditions.

"There is no panic on, and at this time in my judgment the packers who are here to-day well know that I have written them on this subject that I believe if there ever was a time in the history of man when men ought to be reaping handsome profits, it is now under the conditions that are prevailing throughout the land. I believe it. I may be wrong. I am only a man and have certain opinions, but other products of our country are reaping handsome profits. I can not solve the proposition. I can not give you the information why these things exist, but they do exist and I believe that there are men here, representatives of the packing industry, who can help and I believe they ought to come forward and assist us in eliminating those conditions so that people who are interested in the production of these things can go on. I know hundreds of men in our State, little producers, that have lost their homes in the last three years. Men that handle cattle by the thousands, have lost thousands of dollars, but their resources are able to keep them in the business."

John A. Kotal, secretary of the United Master Butchers' Union of America, at the same hearing, says:

"That we have reason to beleive that there is a discrimination in prices, contrary to the Sherman law, and we recommend an investigation."

J. P. Bowles, a commission man of Chicago, at the same hearing, in

prices, contrary to the Sherman law, and we recommend an investigation."

J. P. Bowles, a commission man of Chicago, at the same hearing, in reply to an inquiry as to the amount of competition on fat cattle at the Chicago market, as compared with 10 or 12 years ago, says:

"I would be very glad to answer Mr. Burke. I will answer him by another little story of the name that he has used publicly here, Doud & Kelfer. I can remember when they bought 239 carloads of cattle in one day. I do not think Doud & Kelfer averaged 2 carloads of cattle a day in 1915, not reflecting on their business."

The chairman asked Mr Bowles whether other competitors had taken their place, to which he replied:

"The number of buyers are very much reduced."

Again, he says later:

"Those that are buying are only buying in small proportion to what they did."

The National Live Stock Exchange, in a pamphiet gotten out Novem-

The National Live Stock Exchange, in a pamphiet gotten out November 1, 1915, and widely circulated, says:

"To-day there are fewer buyers of fat cattle, hogs, and sheep on the public markets of the United States than at any time during the past 20 years."

These are the opinions of experts, practical men in daily contact with the situation. I might go on indefinitely quoting from like authorities, to demonstrate to you the unanimity of opinion on this subject. It isn't necessary to rely altogether on expert advice to determine what conditions are. One has only to visit the markets and spend a few hours on the fences of the sale pens, watching the trading, if he wishes a practical demonstration.

For the past 20 years the firm in which I am interested has been a large feeder of cattle and hogs, averaging about 3,000 cattle per year, and at least that many hogs. As nearly as I can remember, during the past 10 years we have never been able to sell a single load of fat cattle to a buyer outside of the five packing concerns, nor do I recall that we have ever had a competitive bid. Our experience is that of hundreds of thousands of feeders who furnish the Nation with beef and pork.

Fourth, Preparation to suppress competition. We have the highest

recall that we have ever had a competitive bid. Our experience is that of hundreds of thousands of feeders who furnish the Nation with beef and pork.

Fourth. Preparation to suppress competition. We have the highest opinion of the ability of the gentlemen we are discussing. They will admit they are ambitious and farseeing and have built for the future, and we agree with them. Working systematically during the last 20 years, toward their goal, they have evolved a system of preparedness that would do credit to a military genius. The stakes are high and worth playing for. No monopoly is worth much if it can not be protected. What could be simpler, having once gotten a foothold on the narrow neck of the bottle referred to, than to fortify it so that interlopers can not get in; at least, on even terms? The easiest way to do that was to get control of as many of the marketing facilities as possible. The drawing submitted shows what these are. Naturally the stockyards are the most important. Independent owners, in order to increase receipts, would be most anxious to secure competitive plants and would furnish locations for them. We have reason to believe that most of the stockyards at the central markets, terminals, exchange buildings, rendering works, cattle loan companies, live-stock journals, and many farm papers, are either controlled or under the influence of the packers. It seems altogether wrong to the producer that all these facilities for handling stock at the market centers should be under the control of the men who purchase the stock. (See Exhibit I., p. 4, and M.) We think that only men with altruistic characteristics could safely be trusted to occupy the dual position of buyer and owner of the selling facilities. Possibly such characteristics are latent in the gentlemen under discussion. Unfortunately, control of these facilities does not end there. There is a very strong temptation to get into politics and intermeddle with State sanitary boards, with State veterinarians, and live-stock commissions, and a

the markets are:

(a) Not starting to purchase stock until 10 or 11 o'clock, which forces the seller to dispose of his cattle in much shorter time than if the market opened at 8 o'clock, as formerly.

(b) The following of shipments from one market to another for purposes of discrimination—that is, buying for less than market value so as to discourage forwarding—although one of the leading packers at our El Paso meeting said that his firm was no longer doing that.

(c) The manipulation of the market in the shape of violent fluctuations in prices on foot when there is no corresponding fluctuations in prices for the finished product. The declines are more rapid than the advances, and a large proportion of the receipts is bought on the declines.

These tremendous fluctuations over very short periods are the bane of the business, and the producers are not well enough educated in economics to understand why they are necessary with the demand for finished products steady. The cattle market seems to them a veritable will-o'-the-wisp. They want some one to tell them how to catch it before it escapes. The tricks in the trade are many, but time does not permit further detail as to methods. I refer you for this to Mr. A. B. de Ricgles's statement before Charles J. Brand. Chief of the Office of Markets, in Chicago, November 15 and 16, 1915 (Exhibit B), pages 9 to 11, inclusive, and pages 18 to 23, inclusive, and to my statement at the same meeting (Exhibit E), both of which statements we shall file with you. The producers think that the two-day market has been a source of tremendous loss to them and benefit to the packers. In fairness to the packers, we wish to state that they recently signified a willingness to support a five-day market. We shall be glad to have them show their faith by their works.

Sixth. For years the producer has been greatly puzzled about the effect of supply and demand on prices. All his preconceived notions on this subject have been upsef. Unquestionably prices ultimately do respond to diminished supplies and increased demands, as shown in the general advance in prices on all classes of live stock since 1912. But there seems to be an influence and force somewhere which interferes with the free and prompt action of this law. The action of the markets for fat cattle and hogs during 1915 is a fine example. Taking into account the tremendous increase in exports and the decrease in beef imports in 1915 as compared with 1914, the net supply for home consumption during 1915 was 325,000 beef cattle less than for 1914. Conditions in the country, especially during the last four months of the year, were as good or better than in 1914, so that domestic demand should have been at least equally as good. In spite of all this, prices for fat cattle were

of the United Master Butchers' Union of America, covers this point in a statement at the Brand hearing at Chicago, November 15, 1915, as follows:

"We are of the opinion that the relative values charged to the retailers of cut meats, especially in pork, are out of proportion to the cost of live hogs."

At the same hearing Charles D. Deibel, of St. Louis, representing the same union, shows a gradual shrinkage in the retail butchers' profits on beef carcasses from 1894 to 1914 of 25 per cent. He further shows that wholesale prices for beef carcasses weighing 500 pounds advanced 40 per cent from 1894 to 1904. During the same period, according to the 1915 yearbook of the Chicago Farmers and Drovers Journal, the advance on 1,050 to 1,200 pound native steers in Chicago was only 13 per cent. From 1904 to 1914 the advance on 500-pound beef carcasses was 93 per cent, while during the same period, according to the yearbook of the Drovers Journal, the price for 1,050 to 1,200 pound native steers advanced 86 per cent. If the producer doesn't get the benefit of the full advance paid by the retail butcher, the question is, Who does? We refer you to the three-page detailed statement of comparative cost and selling price by Mr. Deibel, marked Exhibit G, pages 32 to 34, and also the 1915 yearbook of the Chicago Drovers Journal, page 48.

Eighth. Perhaps the most serious feature of the live-stock industry in the country to-day is the utter lack of confidence on the part of the meat producers in the market methods of the few men who buy their producet. It is very unfortunate that this fact has been entirely overlooked by the live-stock journals at the various markets and by certain authorities who have recently reviewed the live-stock situation in this country. (See article entitled "Live-stock prospects for 1916" in the Chicago Drovers Journal last yearbook.) Naturally, it is also ignored in the packers' annual statements covering 1915 business, but any summary of the situation which overlooks this attitude of the producer loses

spring.

To be sure, there are other causes, such as soft corn and the foot-and-mouth disease. But the fact that producers had no confidence that prices would be governed by the law of supply and demand caused them to market immature animals last December, January, and February at tremendous losses and at the expense of the future food supply of the

to market immature animals last December, January, and February at tremendous losses and at the expense of the future food supply of the country.

Every household in the land must help pay the bill. It will take more than a temporary advance in prices to restore confidence, mostly owing to unstable conditions in the industry. This country has close to 11,000,000 less cattle than it had nine years ago (with almost 20 per cent more population). Unfortunately for the consumer, there is a prospect of a beef shortage and very high prices. This is one of the times during the past three years when cattle feeders (the few who are fortunate enough to have fat cattle) are receiving fair prices. Present prices, however, are small satisfaction to the great majority who have sold at a loss. What the producer wants is a fairly steady market on which to sell his finished product. He is engaged in a highly useful and legitimate business; but, in spite of himself, he is forced to take greater chances than the ordinary gambler on the board of trade or New York Stock Exchange.

Ninth. One of the most imperiant features of this very complicated problem is the apparent complete indifference of the packers to the welfare of the producers. One would think that they would make it their business to know something about the cost of production and the welfare of those who furnish them with raw material. They appear, however, to have become so absorbed in the building and running of their immense plants that they have entirely forgotten the existence of the producer. No doubt, too, it is natural that men who have been eminently successful should have superlative confidence in themselves and supreme indifference for the other fellow.

Ninth. We wish to make it clear that we have no fault to find with big business and large profits as such, but bulging profits at one end of

the industry and losses and adversity at the other do not go well together. The losses during the past three years have not been confined to any particular locality. They cover the entire corn belt. The statements we have from Mr. J. H. Mercer, of Kansas (see Exhibit G, p. 25), and from 56 feeders in lowa (see pp. 28 and 29, Exhibit A) are merely typical. Thousands of other sworn statements of a similar import from the best beef producers in the country could easily be obtained.

statements we have from Mr. J. H. Mercer, of Kansas (see Exhibit G. p. 25), and from 50 feeders in low (see pp. 28 and 29, Exhibit A. p. 25), and from the best beef producers in the country could easily be a more produced by the country of the country of the country could easily be a more producers in the country could easily be a more producers in the country could easily be a more produced by the carlous resolutions passed during the last three months by many prominent live-stock associations at their annual meetings, including the Corn Belt Meat Producers' Association of Iowa; Nebraska Live Stock Feeders' Association; the Missouri Cattle, Swine, & Sheep Feeders' Association; the Kansas Live Stock Association; the Stock Association; the Real of the Corn Belt Meat Producers' Association and the American National Live Stock Association; and the American National Live Stock Association, at El Passo. All of these associations, representing the very best and most enlightened sentiment west of the Missouri River and including the leading men identified with the live-stock industry, are of one mind and their resolutions are all of similar import, as you will see from copies of them which I shall submit to you. That powerful organization, the National Live Stock Association, at El Passo. All of these associations are all of similar import, as you will see from copies of them which I shall submit to you. That powerful organization, the National Live Stock Association, at the country of similar properties of the stockers. This organization has become so aroused that recently, theolarly through a company of the producers of the stockers. This organization has become so aroused that recently, theolarly through a company and the submit all the data on the subject of price so filter stock. I shall submit all the data on the subject of price control that the exchange has gotten out. (See Exhibit 1.) To realize the importance of this movement it must be understood that the commission men trade every day with the packers' oup

INDEX TO EXHIBTS PRESENTED BY W. L. BURKE, REPRESENTING MARKET COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN NATIONAL LIVE STOCK ASSOCIATION. EXHIBIT A.

Statement prepared by market committee of American National Live Stock Association entitled "Marketing of Live Stock." Contents: Address of A. E. de Ricgles at El Paso, January 26, 1916; experience of Iowa feeders, winter of 1914-15; exports of beef and pork products for 1914 and 1915; imports of meat and meat-food products for same period; statement by A. E. de Ricgles showing cost of producing feeder steer; excerpts from Swift & Co.'s yearbook for 1916; excerpts from annual address of H. A. Jastrox, ex-president American Live Stock Association, March 24, 1915.

EXHIBIT B Statement by A. E. de Riccies at hearing at Chicago, November 15 and 16, 1915, before the office of markets.

Pamphlet containing: Letter of July 9, 1915, from Dwight B. Heard to Hon. David F. Houston; address of E. L. Burke at Denver, Colo., January 21, 1914, entitled "Some features of concentration"; address. A. E. de Ricqles, July 8, 1915, at Denver, on marketing of live stock. EXHIBIT C.

EXHIBIT D. Excerpt from address Dwight B. Heard, president American National Live Stock Association at El Paso, Tex., January 25, 1916. EXHIBIT E.

Statement of E. L. Burke at the hearing at Chicago, November 15, 1915, before the office of markets.

EXHIBIT G. Statements and excerpts at the marketing conference in Chicago before Charles J. Brand of the Office of Markets, Department of Agriculture, November 15 and 16, 1915; T. J. McCrosky's address, page 1; Mr. Gratton's address, page 7; W. J. Tod's statement, page 9; ex-

cerpts from J. P. Bowle's statements, pages 10 to 13, inclusive; T. W. Jerrem's statement, page 13; T. W. Tomlinson's statement, page 17; H. C. Wallace's statement, page 23; John H. Kotal's statement, page 24; J. H. Skinner's statement, page 26; J. M. Doud's statement, page 27; Charles G. Deibel's statement,

EXHIBIT H.

Resolutions of live-stock associations: Corn Belt Meat Producers' Association at Des Moines, Iowa; Nebraska Live Stock Feeders' Association at Lincoln, Nebr.; Missouri Cattle, Swine & Sheep Feeders' Association at Kansas City, Mo.; Kansas Live Stock Association at Wichita, Kans.; the Panhandle & Southwestern Stockmen's Association at Albuquerque, N. Mex.; Texas Stock Growers' Association at Amarillo, Tex.; Texas Cattle Raisers' Association at Houston, Tex.; American National Live Stock Association at El Paso, Tex.

EXHIBIT L

Eighteen articles by the National Live Stock Exchange.

EXHIBIT J.

Excerpts from Chicago Daily Drovers' Journal, March 30, 1916; bulletin by Department of Agriculture, entitled "Farm products higher; meat animals cheaper."

EXHIBIT K

Three charts by Wallace's Farmer showing profits and losses in cattle and hogs; article by Chicago Drovers' Journal of March 29, 1916.

Names and locations and reputed ownership of rendering companies at markets; reputed ownership of live-stock journals at markets (p. 4).

EXHIBIT M. List of stockyards owned or controlled by the packers.

EXHIBIT N.

Address of M. L. McClure at Amarillo, Tex.

EXHIBIT O.

Comparative statement showing growth of the packers for about 15 EXHIBIT P

Excerpt Charles J. Brand letter, March 25, 1916. EXHIBIT R

Statement by Ed. C. Lassiter, of Falfurrias, Tex.

[Statement of Hon. Roscoe Stubbs at the Borland hearing, before the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, Tuesday, Apr. 4, 1916.]

Statement of Hon, Roscoe Stubbs at the Borland hearing, before the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, Tuesday, Apr. 4, 1916.]

Mr. Stubbs, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I did not expect to be bere. You are very fortunate, in view of the fact that I am not loaded up with a two hours' talk. I was appointed to represent the American Live Stock Association, together with some other gentlemen, and I am a member of the Texas Cattle Raisers' Association, and have during the last few years had some connection with the cattle trade and the cattle business of the country. I think Mr. McClure here has presented an argument that is enough in and of itself to settle the whole question of the need of an investigation. I know that there is deep and widespread dissatisfaction with the methods of marketing cattle. The cattle men of the country make great complaint about the idea of having a big run of stock, hogs or cattle, on the market, maybe 15,000 or 20,000 or 25,000, and not a buyer appear until 10 or 11 o'clock in the morning, and then they all come out, Armour and Morris and Cudashy and Swift—the whole crowd comes out—within two or three minutes of each of cert. and they proceed to take the cattle and plaint of that particular thing.

There has been mighty serious complaint and almost a feeling of revolt against the idea of hogs zoing down a dollar or a dollar and a quarter in a couple of days, and the price of hog products staying pretty nearly normal; and that happened, and it has generally happened, when there is a big harvest of hogs coming on in the fall, and the price remains low during the time that the packing houses are filling their plants with bacon and hams, and then the price goes up.

We had two bunches of hogs to sell last year off our little place, a little ranch, and the first lot that we sold were ready for market and had to go, and we lost a good bunch of money on them. The last lot we sold after the prices had gone up, perhaps along in Pebraray. I do not market the stuff from the

body wants them to have, to have a legitimate and a reasonable and stable market for his product.

There is a demand for it. It is a necessity of life. You can not get along without it. And I want to tell you men here that if you would go out on these plains and see the men and the women who live out there for a lifetime, who produce these herds of cattle that supply these markets with beef, so as to know the way they live, you would be willing to use all the agencies of this Government to the fullest extent to protect their rights and their interests. There is nobody that wants to make any charges against any legitimate industry of this country, gentlemen, that can not be sustained by facts. There is nobody who wants to soil any man's character or his reputation for fair dealing and right methods in business. But, gentlemen, we have got the best reasons in the world to believe that these packers have not used fair methods altogether; and I submit to you the records of the State of Texas I have in my possession—not here, for I did not expect to come here at all—but I have in my possession a telegram from the attorney general of the State of Texas, which says that Swift and Armour and Morris plead guilty to forming a trust in the cottonseed business in Texas. They bought up some mills there and contracted, as I understand, the oil, and It has almost ruined a great number of the small cottonseed mill people in Texas, and there was a charge of trust brought against them; and, gentlemen, I have from the attorney general of Texas the statement that these men came in and plead guilty to having formed a trust, were fined for violation of the laws of Texas—and and the deal and the seem owned, according to this telegram, and they were expelled from the State of Texas from doing business in connection with the cottonseed business. If that is not true, I will give Mr. Meekkr a chance to dispute to row, with all due respect, it is not exactly true; and that is a matter of no consequence in this thing, I think. We were fine

Mr. Doolittle. May I suggest, since it has been suggested that it has nothing to do with this, that you show in your statement a connection?

Mr. Stubbs, I will show the connection between the cottonseed mills and the cattle industry.

Mr. McManus, If there is any connection, you might show it.

Mr. McManus, I believe that the National Live Stock Exchange was fined, was it not?

Mr. Stubbs, No; the feeders are.

Mr. McManus, No, sir.

Mr. Stubbs, No; the feeders are.

Mr. McManus, No, sir.

Mr. Stubbs, I wanted to show to these gentlemen here that you were in that kind of business, and if it is not true it is up to you to show that you are not. We have a telegram from the attorney general of Texas, and I believe that he told the truth. If he did not we would be mighty glad to have you prove a clean bill of health on Texas; but I want to state that I bought 100 tons of cottonseed cake and I paid about \$500 more than before you got a hold of those mills there and the price was jacked up. I am perfectly willing to pay the price if it comes in in a legitimate way, but I think these things ought to be investigated. I think, gentlemen, when these packers will come down into Texas and organize this little business off there for the cottonseed-cake mills, and that sort of stuff, it is evident that they have had some experience in the business at home.

Mr. Carlin. What do you mean by cake mills?

Mr. Stubbs. Well, sir, they take the cottonseed and out of it there is a product called cottonseed cake that we feed to cattle, and it is used very extensively all over the State of Texas on the ranches. They can keep cattle alive there through drought and during the winter season when the grass is not very good, and it is a very important product to the cattle business.

Mr. Volstrand. Is that what is left after squeezing the oil out of the cotton seed?

Mr. Stubbs. Yes, sir; it is part of it. I want to say to you gentlemen that it looks like going pretty far when the cattle raisers of this

Mr. Vol.strad. Is that what is left after squeezing the oil out of the cotton seed?

Mr. Stubbs. Yes, sir; it is part of it. I want to say to you gentlemen that it looks like going pretty far when the cattle raisers of this country produce the raw material for the packing houses, and then a good many of them pay 7 or 8 per cent interest on the money they borrow from the packing-house bank, and then the packers go down in Texas and try to get control and a monopoly of the cottonseed cake that we feed to the cattle—it looks like they were getting pretty close under the skin, and there are a good many people down in that country who feel pretty sore about it. I do not have any feeling about that particularly myself. I think that if the cattlemen of this country are not able to get out and take care of themselves they ought to get licked and skinned and have to pay the penalty which they will have to do, but we are coming here to Congress and this is our remedy. And I want to tell you that in El Paso, Tex., where the National Live Stock Association met, and in Wichita, Kans., where the National Live Stock Association met, and in Houston, Tex., there was a unanimous feeling that this thing ought to be gone into and gone into to the bottom, and they passed resolutions in all these great associations—the Texas association represents the owners of perhaps 2,000,000 head of cattle—along the line of asking for relief from Congress. They wanted the fines cut out as punishment, because they feel that they have to pay these fines.

Mr. Stubes, * * I wanted to get back to this question of what these resolutions were in these different places. They were along the line that these fines that the courts have been administering to packers for violations of law were a joke, and that they wanted the

fines cut out and imprisonment substituted. Where people show a disposition to per control of the food reviewed of a control of the food reviewed of a control of people struggling to live, where there are coulding and increase the price of necessities of life, where there are come people jugging with the price of necessities of life, where there are some people jugging with them now, and that they think there are some people jugging with them now, and that they think there are some people jugging with them now, and that they think there are some people jugging with them now, and that they think there are some people jugging with them now, and that they then now the control as the control of the control

Mr. Stubbs. * * But I want to tell you gentlemen that whenever you take any man who looks to cutting down the small profits that have been made in the cattee industry down in the far Southwest desert country he will be making a mistake. You are going to shut out the beef of this country, and I believe that right now, on account of the low prices that have prevailed in the last year, you are going to pay higher prices than you ever ought to have to pay in the next three or four months if you supply people with beef throughout this country, for our feed lots are generally pretty empty. There may be enough to come on from grass, etc., to fill in the gap, but it will not be the first-class, finished beef.

There is a feeling among a great army of feeders, stockmen, that they can not afford to take the chance of losing all the money they have got left by feeding cattle, and consequently Mr. Lanigan told me—and he is one of the best posted feeders and raisers of cattle in the whole country, owns large ranch interests in Texas—that he believes that 40 per cent of the feed lots in Kansas were empty at this time, because of the uncertainty of the markets, and one of the most serious things in connection with this market situation is the proposi-

tion that the price goes away down low when they have got a lot of stuff to market, when of necessity they have to market it. It is not like wheat and cotton in any sense. You can not hold this over or store it. You have got to send it to market and take your profit or your loss, no matter how great it is. Now, I am extending this thing further than I expected to. I want to say that nearly every stockman I know believes that there is a packers' trust; they have an understanding. They do not know anything about how it operates; but there are a good many things, just like a fox would go in on a snowy night and get a chicken and leave the feathers and the neck and the legs there, and you would see his tracks and you would not see him, but you would know that there had been something there, and pretty near know what had been there. They feel that way about this packing-house business. They can see these tracks and the dead carcasses around here and there, and they feel that these circumstances added together are about as conclusive as that one and one make two.

I think that the Texas law is a mighty good law, and where they find

they feel that these circumstances added together are about as conclusive as that one and one make two.

I think that the Texas law is a mighty good law, and where they find that people are abusing their rights, especially in connection with food products, that the Government should appoint a receiver for their plant and take charge of it and operate it; not dismember it, not stop the business. But I want to say to you that if you do take some action of that kind and put some effective remedies into operation in this country, I believe that it would be a mighty good thing for everybody concerned with the feeding business and the packing business and the producing end and the consumer. When these prices get up so high as they are going, some of them now—they tell me that bacon is soaring away up high. Nearly all of this bacon was bought at a low price, with a low price of hogs, and with the storehouses full the price of bacon goes skying. Is that in the interests of the consumer? Does not that keep hundreds and thousands and millions of men from eating bacon who like it just as well as you do or I do? I want to tell you there are two ends to this thing. You have got a mighty serious job here, and I want to see you think seriously about it, and I believe you are going to do that.

I am very much obliged to you for the opportunity you have given me to talk, and I am glad that I came on here to talk to you. I have lad a good time, and I will bid you all good-by, because I have got to get out of here pretty quick.

[Statement of Mr. John Landergin, of Amarillo, Tex., at the Borland hearing, before the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, Tues-day, April 4, 1916.]

[Statement of Mr. John Landergin, of Amarillo, Tex.. at the Borland hearing, before the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, Tuesday, April 4, 1916.]

Mr. Carlin, Mr. Borland, whom will you have next?

Mr. Carlin, Mr. Borland, whom will you have next?

Mr. Golland, I will ask Mr. Landergin to address the committee at this time.

Will you, Mr. Landergin, tell the committee which associations you represent, your official connection with them, if any, and make such statement as you desire?

Mr. Landergin, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am here to represent the American National Live Stock Association and the Texas Cattle Raisers' Association.

Mr. Carlin, In what part of Texas do you live?

Mr. Landergin, I live in the Panhandle, at Amarillo, Tex., and I am a cattle producer feeder, and shipper. I am thoroughly dissatistic that the producer feeder, and shipper. I am thoroughly dissatistic stock, When I say this I voice the sentiments of hundred of recites and producers in my district, as was shown by them at a meeting of the Texas Cattle Raisers' Association held recently at Houston, Tex., of which association I am vice president. This association represents more than 2,000,000 head of cattle, valued at more than \$100,000,000. The members assess themselves 5 cents per head on the cattle rendered to the association, which will amount to more than \$100,000 for the exclusive use of the marketing committee of the American National live Stock Association which was appointed at the last annual meeting of that associations and the producers of live stock and the few men who buy their products.

We believe that the four or sive big packers in this country who work together as a unit absolutely fix the price of our live stock and also fix the price of our dressed meat to the consumer. They probably will tell you that the fault lies with the retailer. We would differ with them on that point. There are thousands of retailers who compete for the trade with the consumer, and sell for a small margin of profit, and have not g

Mr. Nelson. Did any facts come to your attention that led you to figure on that definitely?

Mr. Landergin. Yes. I could give something in the way of an explanation. I think it was Cadally Packing Co.—one of the representatives of the packers at Wichita—that made the statement that their average on beef sales for the year was \$11.46 per hundred; that was of all beef sold. If the average was \$11.46, they killed thousands upon thousands of cheap cattle as compared to the high-priced cattle and the 1,400-pound cattle represented in this account sales. If the average, including all the cheap cattle that they killed, was sold for \$11.46. I think that if they sold at a relative value, the difference in those animals was worth 14 cents a pound, and if it was worth 14 cents a pound, they have made even more than I have stated, but at \$13 or \$12.50 they would make decidedly more than they have stated to us at our different meetings.

Mr. FISHER. What finally happened to this company of yours, Mr.

Mr. Fisher. What finally happened to this company of yours, Mr. Landergin?

Mr. Iandergin. We went out of business, all right.

Mr. Fisher. What happened to the president of that company?

Mr. Landergin. I think the president of that company was stolen from us by the big packers. The big packers got him, anyway, and when they got him they got our trade with him.

Mr. Nelson. Do you mean to imply they gave him some position? Did they give him a position of some kind in the packing business?

Mr. Landergin. He was a wholesaler of meats in the East; he sold lots of meat down there. I am not thoroughly familiar, as these gentlemen know, with the inside working of a packing house. I was a buyer. I was also interested in the company, but I bought the live cattle. Our company made a deal with this man; that is, we went in with the company and made a contract with the company that we would not sell out to a big packer without giving the company a chance to buy the stock; and we all did that, as a matter of fact, which was a fair proposition, and that if the company did not want to buy the stock he was at liberty to sell to whoever he pleased. After we had been in business a little over a year, the big packer commenced to want to buy so out. There was not anybody in the company who was willing to sell. We were satisfied with the business. Everybody that had stock in the company was satisfied. They offered pretty fair profits on our stock if we would sell to them, and when it was fully determined and they became fully satisfied. They offered pretty fair profits on our stock if we would sell to them, and when it was fully determined and they became fully satisfied. They offered pretty fair profits on our stock if we would sell to them, and when it was fully determined and they became fully satisfied. They offered pretty fair profits on our stock if we would sell to them, and when it was fully determined and they became fully satisfied. They offered pretty fair profits on our stock if we would sell to them, and when it was

bought it is.

Mr. Meeker. Is it operated to-day?

Mr. Landergin. They operated it for a short time and then closed it up. We had a 20 years' lease on the stockyards and packing company and they took the lease and bought our stock at a very small price.

made?

Mr. Morgan. You say you are anxious to have an investigation made?

Mr. Landergen. Yes, sir.

Mr. Morgan. Have you in your mind any remedy? What kind of legislation can we pass to remedy this situation? I would like to have your views about it.

Mr. Landergen. I do not believe I have a concrete idea. That is what we to find out. I know what I personally would like to have. I believe the packers are in a trust, and I would like to have that trust broken so that independent packing companies could go back in the business, the same as they were years ago.

Mr. Carlin. If that is the difficulty, there is plenty of law now in existence to remedy that condition.

Mr. Landergen. I think those are the things we want. That would create more competition. We need competition, but we do not feel like we have had free bidding when we go to market with our cattle.

Mr. Morgan. Do you believe we can create enough packing companies to have real competition?

Mr. Landergen. I certainly do, if there were not any packers' combine. I really do believe it. I think there are plenty of men and lots of capital that would be glad to go into business if they were not afraid to go in for this reason. Really, the way the cattlemen of the country look at it, the big packers are just a gigantic combine or trust; and the result is they are absolutely afraid to go up against that combine or trust; the capital of the country is afraid. I do not believe that I could borrow a dollar, if I wanted to, to go into the packing business. I think the moneyed interests of the country would be afraid to lend it to me, because they would be afraid I would meet the same fate I did before.

Mr. Morgan. Are you not aware of the fact that in this line, as well as many others, that really competition is all a thing of the past, so far as real competition is concerned?

Mr. Landergen. We handle young cattle, although we have them at

Mr. Landergin. We handle young cattle, although we have them at all ages. For this coming summer we will have 10,000 big steers to market—cattle that are going to market.

Mr. Carlin. That is your particular business that handles that much?

Mr. Landergin.

much?
Mr. Landergin. Yes, sir.
Mr. Meeker. Do you find it profitable or unprofitable?
Mr. Landergin. We find it very uncertain. Some years we lose plenty of money, and some years we make money, but on the making side of it for the last three years it has been very remote. Any cattle

we have made any money on for the last three years have been scarce. There was a time prior to that that we made good money in handling cattle.

Mr. Landergin. I think so, Mr. Chairman, only that I would like to say one more thing. If we are permitted to have a thorough investigation, and if we find out that the facts are as Mr. Meeker and other packers have stated to us—if they are facts—when we are sure we have had a thorough investigation, and the producers of this country will be absolutely satisfied. will be absolutely satisfied.

Mr. McManus. If Mr. Fisher will look at some of the colossal records before he submits any such request, he will discover that such a proposition must include feeders, breeders, retailers, stockyards, banks, loan companies, etc., whereas the only quarrel that I have ever heard in 20 years around the packing houses is a very simple matter, limited to three or four subjects, readily thrashed out by reasonable men sitting around a table. That is exactly what I think.

Mr. Carlin, It seems it is a suggestion for you to talk the matter

over.

Mr. Fisher. It is not worth time to discuss it even here. We have had the same suggestion all the while: "If you would just take our word for it, and if you will not look into these colossal accounts, but if you will take a confessedly complicated matter and just let us simplify it for you, you will agree that we are all right, and there is not a shadow of question that justifies all this discontent."

Istatement of M. L. McClure, president of the National Live Stock Exchange at the Borland hearing before the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, Tuesday, Apr. 4, 1916.]

Mr. McClure, As president of the National Live Stock Exchange, which is the national organization of the commission men of the United States. I am appearing here at the request of the market committee of the American National Live Stock Association. I am directed to appear by our executive committee, and I want to support the resolution. As far as I am able to determine at this time our organization is almost unanimous in its desire to have this matter investigated, but we do not want to appear in the light of attacking the packers; but we believe it to be for the best interests of all concerned that a thorough investigation be ordered. Our customers whom we represent and who have been feeding cattle for the market, have with few exceptions lost money during the past three years, there only being a few months during the past three years, there only being a few months during the past three years that prices realized for fat stock have been sufficiently high so that they made money. They believe that their loss is caused by restricted competition at the markets where their cattle are offered for sale. They know that there has been a gradual decrease of competition among the buyers and also a decrease in the number of buyers during the past 15 years, and that now the buying end is practically represented by the men employed by the five leading packing houses. I am familiar with this situation for the reason that the commission firm with which I am connected loans large sums of money to feeders. During 1913, 1914, and 1915 these loans were practically all paid, but many farmers and feeders lost almost their entire feed crop in furtening the cattle. I know this from meeting these men from day to day, and feel that I am fully informed as to conditions and the feelings of the feeders in this matter.

With large exports of meat products during 191

and out the cause of this depression in the industry, and they need a remedy provided.

If this investigation is ordered and the packers can show a clean bill our customers will then know that this depression in their business is from natural conditions and not from restraint of trade, and then they can govern themselves accordingly. If the commission find that there is unlawful or other restraint of competition, then we ask and we understand it is part of the duties of the commission to provide a way out of this unfortunate situation. What is asked is to arrive, if possible, at what is causing this depression in an important industry.

This is big business on both sides of the question. At the 18 principal live-stock markets in the United States during 1915 about 10,500,000 cattle were marketed, about 25,000,000 hogs, and about 15,000,000 sheep, their value running over a billion of dollars. The packers have millions invested in their business, and all these interests are so vast that no one wants to destroy, but all want to improve for the public good. We hope that Congress will have the Federal Trade Commission proceed with the investigation with malice toward none, with charity for all, and nothing less will satisfy either the producers or the consumers.

Mr. Fisher. Mr. Chairman, might Lask just one question if Mr.

for all, and nothing less was account for all, and nothing less was sumers.

* * *
Mr. Fisher. Mr. Chairman, might I ask just one question, if Mr. McClure is here?

Mr. Carlin. Yes.
Mr. Fisher. Mr. McClure advanced his statement, and at the same time I would like to know whether he heard Mr. Burke's statement?

Mr. McClure. Yes, sir.
Mr. Fisher. Does that express your sentiments, and do you agree with it?

Mr. McClure. Yes; I think it is a very good paper, and it expresses my ideas exactly.

Mr. McClure. Yes; I think it is a very good party, and the my ideas exactly.

Mr. Stubbs, Gentlemen, I heard that paper and I was compelled to hear that on the railroad, traveling here, so that I can sympathize with you; but I can tell you I think it is a pretty good document. I believe it tells the truth.

Mr. Borland. Mr. Chairman, I will now call for ex-Gov. Roscoe Stubbs, of Kansas. Gov. Stubbs.

Mr. Carlin. Governor, we will be glad to hear you.

[Statement by Ed. C. Lasater, Falfurrias, Tex.]

No development of recent years has potential in it as important benefits for the American consumer and the producer of meat animals as the appointment of a marketing committee by the American National Live Stock Association at its meeting in El Paso in January.

The recent action of the Cattle Raisers' Association of Texas at its meeting at Houston in indorsing the purposes of this marketing committee and pledging its membership to the raising of a fund of \$100,000 has given great imperus to this movement. If the other associations affiliated with the American National Live Stock Association shall subseribe a proportionate amount this will practically assure the raising of a fund of between \$600,000 and \$8500,000. The employment of such a fund in cooperation with existing governmental agencies, and possibly with some agency especially created for this purpose will reveal all of the essential facts relating to the production, manufacture, and distribution of meat products. No subject before the American public today is of more vital importance, considering the fundamental necessity of supplying the corbonal way of conduct his purpose will reveal all experiences and distribution of other and the entire of conduct his business in a manner which will mean a standard of living for him corresponding to that enjoyed by the city dweller, while maintaining the fertility of his soil, which is essential to the preservation of every one of the country's industries.

The marketing committee will seek, through exhaustive investigations, to establish what proportion of the price paid by the consumer goes to each of the three agencies which are necessary in the industry of supplying the consumer with these products; that is, the producing interest, the packing interest, and the retail distributions. Each one of these perform an essential function, as stated, and there should be a division of the total price paid by the consumer, which represents equity as among these several interests, in proportion to capital used and service rendered markets are organized to-day the producer has no apportunity to trade with the packer; the packer makes the price. The packer makes the price of the packer of the packer, the will never the packer. In addition to this, the live-stock producers must crea

This investigation will not only establish what is equitable, but will reveal such wasteful practices as exist, and will enable reforms to be worked out which will mean to the consumer such prices as he can

This investigation will not only establish what is equitable, but will reveal such wasteful practices as exist, and will enable reforms to be worked out which will mean to the consumer such prices as he can afford to pay.

The actions of the packers for many years, confirmed by statements made by their representatives before the executive committee of the Cattle Raisers' Association of Texas, at its annual meeting in Houston, March 21 to 23, inclusive, has shown an entire unconcern as to whether retail distribution is conducted in an efficient and economical manner or not, as well as a shortsighted disregard of the well-being of the producer. The packer so conducts his business, taking full advantage of his dominating industrial and financial position, as to secure to himself his margin regardless of the havoc wrought to the producer or the burdens placed upon the consumer by an unintelligent and wasteful conduct of retail distribution.

Conditions surrounding the producer's business, which conditions are absolutely beyond his control, so seriously threaten the producer that a continuance of the packer's policy will force the producer of the United States out of business, with the serious results to the consumer which the English consumer is now suffering, as the result of national neglect of the country producer, and of following the false theory that the consumer was not concerned with the marter of where meats were produced, whether at home or in foreign countries.

The packer is in a position to bring about speedy reforms in retail distribution, and the distributing of his products as a function with which he should be concerned if he is to be allowed to perform the manufacturing or converting function, which represents the lowest risk of any of the various phases of the industry.

To-day the packer forces the producer's business, with the result of average lower prices to the consumer.

How burdensome such a cost of credit is can be understood when you realize that none of the nations of the world have inc

The Philippines.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT F. HOPWOOD,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Monday, May 1, 1916.

Mr. HOPWOOD. Mr. Speaker, our duty to the Philippines can be determined in no better way than to revert to the history

of their acquisition.

When on April 19, 1898, President McKinley sent a special message to Congress asking to be empowered to use the military and naval power of the United States to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the Government of Spain and Cuba-let me observe in passing that this good custom and constitutional requirement of asking Congress as to when our Navy and Army shall be used seems to have fallen into disuse-Congress, in pursuance of the request, on April 19 passed a joint resolution authorizing the President to use the Army and Navy in carrying out a demand that Spain relinquish her sovereignty over Cuba and withdraw her forces from its territory. Two days afterwards Spain dismissed our minister, breaking off diplomatic relations, and both nations prepared for the conflict.

Ten days later, on May 1, the world was electrified by the report of a naval battle in Manila Bay that brought back the memory of the naval heroes of our former wars. Alongside the names of John Paul Jones, Oliver Perry, and David G. Far-ragut we inscribed another name that shall shine with increasing splendor through all the centuries that America shall endure. George Dewey is entitled to more honor at the hands of his countrymen while still living than we have accorded him. Let us throw a few flowers on him now and not reserve them all until his eyes are closed to earth and he dwells with the immortals forever.

His entrance into Manila Bay that last night of April, under the guns that commanded the harbor and over the mines, was the gliss that commanded the harbor and over the hines, was typical of his bravery. With only six war vessels he sought an enemy with more than twice that number in a harbor lined with shore batteries and mines. He said to his men "We are to seek the Spaniard and smash him as soon as we find him."

Montojo's fleet opened the battle at daylight on May 1. Dewey stood on the bridge calmly waiting his time. After a full half hour from the time the enemy fired the first gun he signaled to Capt. Gridley, "You may fire when ready, Gridley."

Within two hours from that time the Spanish fleet was destroyed with 1,600 men killed and wounded, while not a man

was killed on the American fleet.

Within three months from the breaking out of the war Spain opened negotiations for peace. President McKinley immediately responded and indicated the

terms on which peace might be secured.

'The third item mentioned related to the Philippines.

The protocol of August 12, 1898, was drawn up and signed by the Secretary of State, and Mr. Cambon, French ambassador, acting for Spain, in which, under article 3, it was agreed that—

The United States will occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace, which shall determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines.

September 16, 1898, instructions were given to the United States peace commissioners, in which the President says:

States peace commissioners, in which the President says:

Without any original thought of complete or even partial acquisition, the presence and success of our arms at Manila imposes on us obligations which we can not disregard. The march of events rules and overrules human action. Avowing unreservedly the purpose which has animated all our effort, and still solicitious to adhere to it, we can not be unmindful that without any desire or design on our part the war has brought us new duties and responsibilities, which we must meet and discharge as becomes a great Nation on whose growth and career from the beginning the Ruler of Nations has plainly written the high command and pledge of civilization. * * In view of what has been stated the United States can not accept less than the cession in full right and sovereignty of the island of Luzon.

On October 26, 1898, Mr. Hay, Secretary of State, sent word to the United States peace commissioners as follows:

The information which has come to the President since your departure convinces him that the acceptance of the cession of Luzon alone, leaving the rest of the islands subject to Spanish rule, or to be the subject of future contention, can not be justified on political, commercial, or humanitarian grounds. The cession must be of the whole archipelago or none. The latter is wholly inadmissible and the former must therefore be required. The President reaches this conclusion after most thorough consideration of the whole subject, and is deeply sensible of the grave responsibilities it will impose, believing that this course

will entail less trouble than any other, and besides will best subserve the interests of the people involved, for whose welfare we can not escape responsibility.

On December 10, 1898, the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain was signed. It provided, among other things, that Spain should cede to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands; that the United States should pay to Spain the sum of \$20,000,000; and that the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories thus ceded to the United States should be determined by Con-

In this manner the Philippines came into the possession of the United States. First, by right of conquest, and, second, by purchase from the Government of Spain, which had been in undisputed possession of them for centuries. This transfer of sovereignty was in accordance with the wishes of the great mass of the Filipino people. That the islands have been benefited by our occupation and control beyond measure needs not to be All that we have of civilization, culture, educational facilities, sanitation, and Christian helpfulness has been carried to them, and in 18 years they have received more at our hands than they had from Spain in 400 years of Spanish domination.

President McKinley in his last annual message to Congress

I have on other occasions called the Filipinos the "wards of the Nation." Our obligation as guardian was not lightly assumed. It must not be otherwise than honestly fulfilled, aiming first of all to benefit those who have come under our fostering care. It is our duty so to treat them that our flag may be no less beloved in the mountains of Luzon and the fertile zones of Mindanao and Negros than it is at home, and that there as here it shall be the revered symbol of liberty, enlightenment, and progress in every avenue of development.

These were grand words, full of wisdom, sympathy, and patriotism. While we have done much for these "wards of the Nation," will any man say that the noble purpose of our martyr President has been fully performed? Shall we prove recreant to the obligation imposed upon us as guardian of these untutored children by costing them adults while not absolutely in the control of the second of the sec children by casting them adrift while yet absolutely incapable of guiding their ship of state through the perilous seas that encompass them? Never in the history of the world were the times so unpropitious for such a venture. Old nations that have stood the storms of centuries are going down under the raging seas of such stress as have never before beat about this old world. How can we expect a new nation to begin its existence by launching on such a sea as this? Should we cast the Fili-pinos off under such conditions we will stand convicted before the world of a cowardly shirking of the responsibilities which the Providence that overrules the affairs of men cast upon us the day that Admiral Dewey fought and won that glorious battle in Manila Bay, of which this day is the eighteenth anniversary. What will the American people say about such an inglorious celebration of his victory as upon its anniversary to ignobly abandon all that he fought for.

We hear the cry in this House from time to time, "Stand by the President," and when we of the opposite political faith believe him to be right we willingly do so. I would like to ask, however, when has it become a crime for a Member of Congress to have his own opinion, whether that opinion coincides with that of another man they call President or not? And to express such an opinion freely when he pleases to do so. When the day shall come that Members of this House for fear of the criticism of an arrogant and subsidized press shall tamely submit to support any measure, whether their conscience and judgment approves it or not, merely because some man, whatever his station in life, says so, then America shall have fallen to the lowest depths of degradation and shame. This is a Republic.

Let Congress be careful to keep it such.

When it comes to standing by some one in this instance, I choose to stand by McKinley.

Does anyone think that a people who have been not ruled but exploited for centuries by the ruling power can be brought to the stature of manhood in the short period of 18 years? No one believes it or claims it. Yet with all their immaturity and lack of knowledge of how to go in and come out before men, the President, who is held up by his party as the great humanitarian, asks Congress to cast them off. And this he does, while Mexico, a similar people in some respects, yet with infinitely better opportunities to acquire the education and training to fit them for selfgovernment, is absolutely unable to establish any government

worthy the name.

The only possible thing that could happen, if we leave and abandon our trust in the Philippines, is that another nation with, perhaps, entirely different ideals and motives will go in and possess the islands. We have already granted to the Filipinos a large measure of self-government, and they now have a majority in both branches of their legislative assembly. One of the first things they proposed to do when they came into control was to cut in two the appropriations for health and sanitary work. When the Americans began their work of sanitation in the islands they were hotbeds of all the diseases known to the Orient; smallpox, cholera, the plague, beriberi, and many other diseases ravaged and destroyed the natives annually by the thousands. The Americans have driven out these diseases and rendered the islands as sanitary in all respects as our own

Dr. Heiser, who was the guiding spirit in this great work, when he learned that the assembly proposed to abandon this most important work, requested the privilege of addressing them on the supreme importance of continuing it. They agreed they would hear him for 20 minutes. When he appeared before them he talked for three days. He told them of the conditions he found when he began his great humanitarian work in 1902 and what wonders had been accomplished. He told how they used to tie their insane people to stakes under their houses and leave them to die, while now they are all cared for in beautiful and sanitary asylums and many of them cured. He told about gathering the lepers, who went about as they pleased, scattering the infection, and placing them all on one island, where a splendy did sanitary town was built with all modern conveniences to care for them. The island (Culion) chosen is 15 by 30 miles in extent and is said to be one of the most beautiful of the More than 8,000 lepers have been transferred to this island. The town is a model for cleanliness and has a fine hospital, schools, churches, theater, playgrounds, and so forth. Prior to the establishment of this colony about 1,000 persons a year contracted the disease. To-day the islands are saved from this awful annual toll. The treatment of the disease is given careful scientific study, and within the past few months 23 cases have been discharged from the hospital as cured.

This work alone has justified our occupation and government of the Islands. A thousand other things have been done for these people that can not be recounted here.

Alfred Tennyson sat one stormy night in his study, and through the whirlwind and the storm that raged without he heard the church bell ring the dirge of the dying year. As he listened the bell seemed to have a voice that spoke to his prophetic soul. For all great poets are prophets as well. And this is part of what the bell said:

Ring out the want, the care, the sin,
The faithless coldness of the times;
Ring out, ring out my mournful rhymes,
But ring the fuller minstrel in.
Ring out false pride in place and blood,
The civic slander and the spite;
Ring in the love of truth and right,
Ring in the common love of good.
Ring out old shapes of foul disease;
Ring out the narrowing lust of gold;
Ring out the thousand wars of old,
Ring in the tousand years of peace.
Ring in the valiant man and free, Ring in the vallant man and free, The larger heart, the kindlier hand; Ringe out the darkness of the land, Ring in the Christ that is to be.

More than 60 years have passed since the poet heard the ringing of the midnight bell at the closing of the old year. The hearts of men have pondered its sentiments and wondered whether we could banish the old wrongs and bring in the better day so vividly portrayed.

The work done by America in the Philippines has helped to

hasten the time when the better day shall dawn.
"The want, the care, the sin" of the world are being amelio-

rated, and those unfortunate ones who have suffered by reason thereof are to-day accorded more sympathy and help than ever

"The love of truth and right" and "the common love of good" have come to have a place in the hearts of men they did not have in former years.

'Old shapes of foul disease" are being throttled to the death. and particularly in those fair islands of the sea where formerly they brought such suffering and sorrow to those who dwelt

'The thousand wars of old" unfortunately still rage among men. Perhaps this terrible scourge must have one mad orgy before slinking away among the horrible ghosts of the past. Let us hope that when peace comes it may be the "thousand years of peace" foretold by the poet.

"The valiant man and free with larger heart and kindlier hand" I believe is here.

Men do not, perhaps, profess so much to-day as in former years, but I am constrained to believe that a wider and more blessed charity fills the world.
"The Christ that is to be."

What does the poet mean? there another to come? No; never another like that one who spoke as never man spoke before or will speak again. That ser-

mon on the mountain top is becoming sweeter through all the centuries. His loving, tender judgments of men and women has come floating down the years as sweet incense, cheering the hearts of the weak ones of earth to hope again that for them the glad day of deliverance will come. He was never too weary to stop by the wayside to talk to some poor, lame, blind, or leprous ones and bring healing to their poor bodies and souls as well. He who never wrote a line to leave behind Him, yet so filled the hearts and minds of his disciples that they spent their lives in telling to us, as far as they could, what manner of man He was. He was the Supreme Man of the ages. He was the Son of God. The world has not yet comprehended Him, but He is more and more filling the world with His glory, and some day, as Tennyson dreamed, He will be to the world "the Christ that is to be."

One day the Master, in order to make plain a truth, told a story in a few simple words that has settled for all time what is man's duty to his less fortunate brother. He told of a man who had been beset by robbers, stripped of his clothing, sorely wounded, and lying by the roadside. A priest and a Levite traveling that way saw the man but passed by on the other side. By and by another man came along; he was of a despised race, and if the priest would not extend help, nothing could be expected of the Samaritan. But behold! He stops; he goes to the poor suffering man and binds up his wounds, using such simple remedies as he had with him to alleviate his sufferings. He then places him tenderly on his beast and takes him to the inn. He pays the innkeeper for caring for the poor fellow and tells him to minister to him until he is entirely recovered and he will pay the bill when he comes again.

This story applies with great force in the case of the Fili-We Americans found them as we were pursuing our way along the highway of life, and they were wounded by the inhumanities of their fellows. We assumed the burden of caring for them. So far we have helped them, but we have not yet brought them safely to the inn, where we can be sure

they are secure. Let us leave no duty unperformed that will place them in absolute security before we think of abandoning them. Most earnestly I oppose the provision in this bill authorizing the President to surrender all right of possession, supervision, jurisdiction, control, or sovereignty now existing and exercised by the United States in and over the territory and people of

the Philippines within the next four years.

On Illiteracy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DUDLEY M. HUGHES. OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 4, 1916.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the Macon (Ga.) Telegraph on the subject of illiteracy, in which article is incorporated a plan of correction inaugurated most successfully by the very distinguished gentleman from Georgia, Judge Park, which is worthy of the highest commendation.

The article is as follows:

OLD FIELD SCHOOL" IN WORTH FIGHTS ILLITERACY—ONLY SCHOOL IN STATE HELPING TO WIPE IT OUT—ALL GEORGIA WANTED ON RECORD BY 1920.

[By Edna Cain Daniel.]

QUITMAN, April 29.

At the recent meeting of the Georgia Educational Association in Macon, a definite movement was formulated with the aim of stamping out illiteracy in Georgia by 1920.

To begin with, Congressman Park seems to be the type of man who likes to apply definite remedies to the problems which come in the range of his activities. Most of us are deeply concerned with such a serious problem as illiteracy, but it does not seem to occur to us to apply the obvious remedy of establishing schools, especially at our own expense, Judge Park seems to be the only man in Georgia who has hit upon this simple plan of establishing a school and paying for it himself, while waiting for the State to organize its educational forces so that no man need be unlettered and no child be turned away from the door of opportunity because it lacks trained and alert faculities.

HOW THE SCHOOL BEGAN.

He was judge of the city court of Worth County when the idea of establishing this school first occurred to him. Before him came all sorts of people, many of them in trouble of some kind. He knew practically everybody in Worth County by name; he knew their family histories and the handicaps many of them worked under on out-of-the-way farms. He looked back of the evidence of legal cases, to the causes and beginnings, and dealt with people not in the law's cold formulas altogether, but in terms of human understanding. In many of the adults who came before him he saw not stupid or vicious men, but rather a generation which had grown up just after the War between the States

and in those poverty-stricken and troubled times in the South had not had opportunities for education.

He got into the habit of asking them if they could read and write and in the case of those who had apparently had little opportunity penalities imposed were made as light as possible. A youth convicted in his court of some minor offense was asked the usual question, and when he said he could not read, Judge Park said: "I will suspend sentence against you if you will come to my house and let me teach you." The boy presented himself that evening and there began his complete reclamation. Out of this sort of thing the school just developed logically.

The boy presented himself that evening and there began his complete reclamation. Out of this sort of thing the school just developed logically.

Judge Park saw the great need of it, and when the idea had ripened in his consciousness he announced one day that he would conduct a free school for one month at the Worth County courthouse for everybody who wanted to come to it, just as if gathering in the countryside for tutelage was nothing unusual in the routine of a busy professional man. Over 50 pupils presented themselves on the opening day. Among them was a Confederate veteran, John Denby, who learned to read and write at the age of 61. Mothers and fathers and even grandparents came to the school and at this first term 21 adult persons learned to read and write. Judge Park had suggested the plan of this school to some of the lawyers and courthouse officials with a view of having their assistance in teaching, but as I recall the story he told me about it. none of them seemed to take it seriously or had the time to give to it. He taught the school himself with the assistance, perhaps, of one of the county school-teachers.

It was evident from the beginning that the school was popular with the people and was doing a real definite good. Judge Park taught the school himself at the courthouse for several summers and later, after he was elected to Congress, when his increasing duties made it impossible for him to give the time to it, he employed some of the best of the county's teachers, paying their salaries and buying the supplies for the school out of his own purse.

In response to a popular demand, the school has been moved from the courthouse out to the country districts. Each year after the crops are "inid by " it is conducted for one month at one of the school houses, preferably in a remote community, where the school stimulates community pride and the regular school begins to improve and is better attended after a session of the "old field school," due to increased interest of the older members of the communit

THE BLUE-BACK SPELLER USED.

THE BLUE-BACK SPELLER USED.

I spent one day at the "old field school" during its last session, and I recommend a similar visit to anyone who may have an idea that a school of this sort is a dull, behind-the-door sort of place of which the community is not exactly proud. It was one of the happiest schools I ever saw. The day was hot and the ride long and dusty, and the schoolhouse was a little gray building with pine woods and fields around it over which the heat waves shimmered.

Judge Frank Park was hearing the morning spelling lesson when I arrived; it was not a written lesson, if you please, according to modern pedagogy, it was the kind of spelling lesson that goes with "the old oaken bucket that hung in the well" days, when we all stood around the room in a long line and the teacher gave out the words. And if it was a hard one like "caout-choue," which you find over in the back of the book past the fables, it went on down the line until it got to the little runty red-headed boy, who spelled it correctly and went "head" past the beauty and chivalry of the entire class.

You have guessed by this time that Judge Park was using Webster's blue-back speller for that class. It was a large class standing up all around the room, all sizes and ages of boys and girls and grown folks. At this term of the school 167 pupils were enrolled and the services of three of the county teachers were engaged. With the teachers setting the example, the uniform adopted for the school was blue overalls and gingham dresses. The schoolroom would not hold the school and out in front a bush arbor had been built to accommodate the overflow.

PRACTICAL EDUCATION HEEE.

PRACTICAL EDUCATION HERE.

in front a bush arbor had been built to accommodate the overflow.

PRACTICAL EDUCATION HERE.

While the school was designed originally for the adult illiterates, or for people who did not have time or opportunity to go to school regularly, none is turned away and the pupils range in age from 6 to 60 years. Webster's blue-back spelier is one of the principal textbooks used, and I found myself on familiar ground with the class in spelling. When the word "cygnet" was given out Judge Park paused to ask what a cygnet is and a little lesson in natural history ensued which was very diverting. Later on when the class in arithmetic was called and the quick thrust of problems in mental arithmetic was called and the outek thrust of problems in mental arithmetic spurred the mind, those urchins in blue overalls made my head swim and I realized I was outclassed. I knew more about post-impressionism than they did, probably, but when the teacher said, "Suppose you are away from home and out of work; you have got to eat, so you go to a man and ask for a job. He has nothing to offer except a ditch he wants dug. It is to be 210 yards long, if fect wide, 1½ feet deep, and he agrees to pay you 18 cents a yard—how much does he owe you?" and a little snub-nosed boy fired the answer back before I even started on the ditch; I decided old field schools might be generally helpful.

All the lessons in mental arithmetic dealt with the practical everyday problems of farm work, the marketing of produce, estimating the amount of timber in a tree or the cost of cutting a drainage ditch. Government builteins selected by Judge Park with a view to the needs of his pupils are among the textbooks and the people become acquainted with the practical value of these bulletins and learn how to secure others they may need. One day in every week at the old field school is devoted entirely to farm-demonstration work, and one or more of the field agents in the employ of the Government come to give lectures on tick erradication, seed selection, and similar s

HAS REDUCED ILLITERACY.

In 10 years this school, taught one month cach summer, has markedly reduced the percentage of adult illiteracy in the county, and the promissory note signed with a cross mark is almost unknown. Mr. W. R. Summer, the county school commissioner of Worth, finds the old field school has stimulated school development in the county. The brightest of the county's teachers like to work in this school. And at the noon hour on the day of my visit, when I saw Judge Park sitting in the shade discussing the crop prospects with a group of the older men, I thought I understood. It is hard to describe exactly what I felt about that school, but I may use a newspaper term and say it had a lot of heart interest.

The school ends with a big barbecue or a picnic dinner and instead of a learned literary address there is an old-fashioned spelling match under the trees, a free-for-all contest in which there are no handicaps the old-field school can not remedy.

One particularly pleasing story I heard about the school related to two red-headed brothers, twins, who lived on a little Worth County farm. With the start they got in this school they set out to educate themselves. One twin stayed at home and farmed while the other went to school alternate years until they worked their way through prep schools and college. In 1913 one of them graduated at Princeton College and took a position as principal of a high school in a large western city, while the other one graduated at Princeton in 1914.

THE BLOT OF ILLITERACY.

in 1914.

The blot of illiteracy.

Statistics show that in the North illiteracy predominates in the cities, while in the South it is more in evidence in the rural population, and if all classes of the population are considered no section of this country can claim freedom from adult illiteracy. The Federal census of 1910 showed that 7.7 per cent of the total population over 10 years old could neither read nor write. This made five and a half millions of persons between the native-born and foreign population. Even Boston had 24,488 illiterates over 10 years old, and there were 13,812 in Washington City.

When we begin to consider this problem, the first truth to be realized is that illiteracy is not so much a reproach to the individual so unfortunate, but to organized society. There must be something wrong with the social institutions of a democracy in which such a vast number of adults are illiterate. The campaign proposed by the Georgia association is only a part of a general national campaign to wipe out illiteracy in the adult population. It has been suggested that cooperative effort on the part of the Nation and the States, associations and individuals, will be most effective. It was this method France employed and reduced the number of illiterates from 45 in the hundred to 5. In one year 1,000,000 men, women, and children over school age in France were enrolled in the schools learning to read and write.

Students of this social problem regard the work done in the Worth County school and in the moonlight schools of Rowan County, Ky., as inspiring examples of what any community can do to reduce its own adult illiteracy.

It would seem that any community in Georgia which determined to stamp out liliteracy would, first of all, have a social survey to determine the number. But whatever method is employed, the spirit of Judge Park's old-field school can not be improved upon. And he best expressed it when he said to me: "Treating these big human problems as a whole is often overwhelming and confusing, but there is

Agriculture Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LOUIS T. McFADDEN. OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 27, 1916.

Mr. McFADDEN. Mr. Speaker, in the consideration which this House has been giving to the Agriculture appropriation bill, appropriating a little over \$24,000,000 of the people's money from the United States Treasury, we were asked the other day to vote \$50,000 to provide for the machinery to run the migratory-bird law department. Then, among other things, several thousand dollars were to be appropriated for investigating a disease said to be developing among wild ducks, because they drink too much salt water in the Salt Lake Valley region of Utah, and so forth. To-day we are urged by the estimable chairman of the Committee on Agriculture to appropriate \$120,750 to continue in force a department operated under the cotton-futures act, approved August 18, 1914. This act has been declared unconstitutional by the Federal courts of the United States, as will be seen by referring to the Federal Court Reporter, volume 226, page 135, in the case of Hubbard and others against Lowe, internal-revenue collector. By this action this whole department under this decision has become inoperative, or at least such should be the case.

As a matter of fact, the department is fully manned by Democratic employees engaged chiefly in the pleasant and profitable occupation of drawing their salaries without doing so bit of legally authorized work. Thus in all probability many very worthy Democratic politicians from the sunny South are being given lucrative employment through the kindness of

the present Democratic administration.

I herewith submit estimates furnished by the department con taining information on the administration of the migratory bird law, which has also been declared unconstitutional.

Protection of migratory birds, 1917, \$99,680 (committee allow Salaries	
As follows: In Washington— 1 administrative assistant, in charge migratory bird la \$2,500.	w,
1 assistant biologist, \$1,800. Out of Washington— 31 inspectors, at \$1,500 each. 4 field assistants, at \$100 per month each (4 months). 2 field assistants, at \$75 per month each (4 months).	
295 cooperating wardens, at \$1 per month each. Traveling expenses Supplies and equipment Miscellaneous expenses	37, 600 1, 000 4, 540
Total estimate, 1917	99, 680 50, 000
Increase (but as 1 cierk, \$1,200, is transferred to t statutory roll, the actual increase is \$50,940)	he 49, 680
Protection of migratory birds, 1915, \$50,000.	\$28, 244, 97
In Washington— 1 administrative assistant, in charge of migratory bird law, \$2,500 (9 months). 1 administrative assistant, acting in charge migratory bird law, \$2,500 (\$\frac{1}{2}\$ month). 1 clerk, \$1,260 (2 months). Out of Washington— 4 inspectors, at \$1,500 each. 1 inspector, \$1,500 (10\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 1 inspector, \$1,500 (10\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 1 inspector, \$1,500 (10\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 1 inspector, \$1,500 (9\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 1 inspector, \$1,500 (9\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 2 inspectors, at \$1,500 each (7 months). 2 inspectors, at \$1,500 each (6 months). 1 inspector, \$1,500 (5\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 1 unspector, \$1,500 (5\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 1 unspector, \$1,500 (5\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 1 warden, \$1 per month each (11 months). 1 warden, \$1 per month (9 months). 1 warden, \$1 per month (9 months). 1 warden, \$1 per month (7\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 2 wardens, at \$1 per month (6 months). 4 warden, \$1 per month (7 months). 2 wardens, at \$1 per month each (5\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 4 warden, \$1 per month each (5\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 4 warden, \$1 per month (6\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 5 wardens, at \$1 per month each (4\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 1 warden, \$1 per month (6\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 1 warden, \$1 per month (6\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 2 wardens, at \$1 per month each (5\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 1 warden, \$1 per month (4\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 1 warden, \$1 per month (6\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 1 warden, \$1 per month (6\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 1 warden, \$1 per month (6\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 2 wardens, at \$1 per month each (4\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 1 warden, \$1 per month (6\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 5 mardens, at \$1 per month each (1\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 1 warden, \$1 per month (1\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 5 man protectors, at \$1 per month each (1\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 5 man protectors, at \$1 per month (1\frac{2}{2}\$ months). 5 man protectors, at \$1 per month (1\frac{2}{2}\$ months).	16, 264. 87 251. 08 182. 85
Total expenditures, 1915	44, 943. 77
Mrs	

The gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Lever], chairman of this committee, has just stated in answer to a question from the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Moore] that there are now employed the following men in the administration of the cotton-futures act, now supposed to be inoperative because of its

unconstitutionality

In Washington: One cotton technologist, \$3,000; 2 specialists in cotton classing, at \$3,000 each; 1 inspector of cotton standards, \$3,000; 1 specialist in cotton classing, \$2,640; 1 specialist in cotton classing, \$2,500; 1 specialist in cotton classing, \$2,400; 1 assistant in cotton business methods, \$2,250; 1 assistant in cotton classing, \$2,100; 2 assistants in cotton business methods, at \$2,100 each; 2 assistants in cotton business methods, at \$1,800 each; 1 assistant in cotton marketing, \$1,800; 2 assistants in cotton classing, at \$1,800 each; 1 assistant in agricultural technology, \$1,440; 6 assistants in cotton classing, at \$1,400 each; 1 assistant in cotton marketing, \$1,400.

Out of Washington: One specialist in cotton classing, \$2,500;

assistant in cotton classing, \$2,100.

That makes 26 in all.

Mr. Speaker, this is only a part of the expense of this department which is now being maintained at Government expense to aid worthy Democrats to maintain a livelihood. This is being done by the party which promised the people economy in the management of public affairs if intrusted with the re-

sponsibilities of government.

The record to date of the Democratic administration is that it has flagrantly abused its promises to the people regarding economies, and its appropriations have been the largest of any administration. The Sixty-third Congress exceeded the appropriations of the last Republican Congress by over \$100,000,000. Even now, when the country needs additional money for na-tional defense and the constantly increasing expenses of running the Government, the administration seems willing to appropriate for salaries and the creation of a new department, but seriously objects to any material increase in appropriations

looking toward the safety of the people of the United States. Because of their embarrassment in collecting sufficient revenue to meet the constantly increasing expenditures, they are seeking new methods of taxation which are a direct burden to the people and are especially expensive to collect. In order to collect these taxes new departments have been created and more collectors employed, who are always friends of the present administration.

Mr. Speaker, in my judgment many items in this bill are subject to just criticism, chief among which is the item of \$546,000 under the head of "Bureau of Marketing." I fear the department is becoming top-heavy, and is being used to create lucrative positions for the faithful.

Mr. Speaker, I understand that the Committee on Rules is to bring in a rule which will attach to the Agriculture appropriation bill three important amendments. Any one of these amendments is so important that it might well engage our attention for a week or more, in order that we may have a chance to study the amendments and ascertain whether they are proper measures, and, if enacted, whether they would have a wholesome effect on the country at large and the section most affected. I understand, however, that the Rules Committee proposes that the debate on these three important amendments shall be limited to one hour on one measure and one hour and a half on the other two.

There can be but one interpretation of such action on the part of the Democratic majority of this House in attaching to an appropriation bill legislation as important as these three measures are reported to be, namely, first, a United States warehouse act; second, a United States grain-grades act; and, third, a cotton-futures act. All three of these amendments have been, when previously enacted, declared void by the courts of the United States. I do not now wish to argue on the merits of these amendments, but I do wish to most emphatically denounce the methods adopted to force through in this manner legislation so important to the country without a chance for discussion. Because these amendments are attached to an appropriation bill, the President is deprived of the power of veto if, in his judgment, some of these riders are unfit to become law.

Mr. Speaker, it is no wonder that many of the laws enacted by the present administration in this hasty, gag-rule manner have been declared unconstitutional when tested by the courts. I am surprised that the administration now in power should attempt to legislate by gag rule, which has been so vociferously condemned by the Democratic Party in the past and was used successfully to defeat the Republican Party in the last presidential election, and used as one of the main arguments against Cannon rule and the so-called "Cannonism." The action proposed The action proposed will in the end be the undoing of the Democratic Party as represented by the majority in this Congress.

The Democratic Members of this House have already aided in a practical revolution and criticism of the methods previously used by this House in the discussion and passage of measures under less drastic rules than this one. The methods you now propose to adopt, thereby establishing a precedent, make even the erstwhile Speaker Cannon blush with shame.

Mr. Speaker, I can not consistently vote to continue such appropriations as I have mentioned in these remarks. I desire most vehemently to enter my protest against legislation by rule in

this manner.

Hulbert Stadium Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES P. COADY, OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, May 8, 1916.

Mr. COADY. Mr. Speaker, on April 21, 1916, my colleague from New York [Mr. Hulbert] introduced a bill (H. R. 14905) to appropriate the sum of \$1,545,397 for the improvement of east Potomac Park as a public recreation ground in accordance with the comprehensive plan approved by the War Department. and, also, I believe, by the Fine Arts Commission. Of course, a project of this character has the hearty approval of every person interested in the athletic development of the American youth, but I hardly realized its national, indeed international significance, until my attention was called to an article published in the New York Times of Sunday, April 23, 1916. On next Friday afternoon, May 12, at 2 p. m., the Committee on Appropriations will hold a hearing on this bill, which will be attended by representatives of athletic organizations from all over the country, and I have felt it would be a matter of a good deal of interest to incorporate, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks, the article above referred to:

WHY AMERICAN ATHLETES LEAD—SYSTEM, THOROUGHNESS, AND UN-FLAGGING EFF ET CHIEF CAUSES, SAYS F. W. RUBEIN—ADVANCE EVER UNDER WAY—SPORTS FAR MORE GENERAL OVER HELE THAN IN OTHER LANDS, AND BOYS BETTER TRAINED—FAVORS NATIONAL STADIUM— A. A. U. HEARTILY FAVORS PROJECT FOR GREAT FIELD AT WASHINGTON WHERE 1920 OLYMPICS MAY BE STAGED.

At this time, when the subject of preparedness is of vital interest to Americans, there is refreshment in the fact that, unheralded and unsung, some millions of American youths have equipped themselves mentally and physically to lead good, sound, healthy lives, to fulfill thoroughly the duties of good citizens, and, if the dire necessity should arise, to place at their country's disposal the finest of spirit, trained never to waver under stress of conflict, and the sturdlest of bodies, drilled to respond with their last particle of energy to the commands of their wills. They are the athletes of the land, bronzed and strong-lunged, wiry, powerful, and agile from exercise on track, field, and road, tennis court and golf links, diamond and gridiron. Their collective name is legion, and—here is the joy-impelling climax—no other country in the world has anything approaching them numerically or in athletic provess.

prowess.

They are not pacifists, these young men trained in the great school of out of doors, and yet they balance no chips upon their shoulders. If an emergency should arise, however, they would be found standing shoulder to shoulder, a formidable array.

SURPASS NOT EACH BUT ALL NATIONS.

Yes; the United States outclasses in athletics any other of what might have been termed up to July, 1914, the "World's brotherhood of nations." More than this—much more than this—it exceeds substantially in athletic effectiveness, if not in number of athletes, the entire combined civilized world.

Thus far there have been held under the auspices of the international Olympic committee five Olympiads—at Athens in 1896, at Paris in 1900, at St. Louis in 1904, at London in 1908, and at Stockholm in 1912. Every Olympic meet has been won by American athletes, and in the five meets the representatives from these shores have captured twice as many first prizes as those taken by all other nations combined. In this one matter, at least, Americans need fear no disillusionment—their athletic countrymen lead the world. In order to get the views of an expert on the whys and wherefores of this important fact, a Times reporter chatted the other day with Frederick W. Rubien, secretary-treasurer of the Amateur Athletic Union and president of the Metropolitan Association, who has given unsparingly of his time and strength to the development of athletics in the United States. "Thoroughness" was the keynoto of Mr. Rubien's explanation.

ATHLETES NURTURED FROM BOXHOOD.

ATHLETES NURTURED FROM BOYHOOD,

"Over here," he said, "we have the most admirable system of developing picked athletes from the bud to the full flower of achievement that has ever been known. From mere boyhood the youth who can outrun or outjump his fellows or who gives evidence of being especially well adapted to some other specific branch of athletic activity is encouraged, watched, guided, warned, where necessary, and constantly stimulated and aided in every possible way to increase his provies naturally and gradually and to improve his form, eliminating little weaknesses of method that may prove grave imperfections if allowed to remain. As the boys grow and enter school and college or join the ranks of the athletic clubs they are studied by an ever-increasing number of expert eyes and receive the advice and admonition, the praise or censure of men who are masters in athletic selection and in the methods of living and working that bring the maximum results in competition. Then our young athletes mingle with and contest against the best in their lines, and the fittest survive, their names cross the boundaries of State and nation, and they are in line for the highest honors the athletic world has to offer.

"In other lands the processes differ widely from ours. Systematic, long-continued training is a thing almost unknown. The young Englishman who is to compete in an important meet will probably put in a few days of what he calls training in anticipation of it, but he will go through no arduous weeks of strictly supervised work in preparation for the final tests of speed and strength. This condition has existed in France also, while in Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Scandinavian lands they have until recently gone in almost exclusively for gymnastics as a mixture of sport and exercise and to keep themselves physically fit.

AMERICAN TRAINERS ENGAGED.

"America's Olympic victories have, however, taught a lesson to European nations which several of them have taken to heart. Sweden some years ago engaged Ernie Hjertberg to train its Olympic team and to apply American methods in the training of Swedish athietes. A few years ago a German commission visited this country with the specific object of studying the system which developed athietes filled with the bounce and ginger characteristic of American performers. The German athiete is strong but slow of thought, and it is hard to get him 'on his toes.' As a result of this visit A. C. Kraenziein, America's former hurdle champion, was employed as director of athietics for the German Empire. Austria employed Al Copiand, and Lawson Robertson had been engaged in the same capacity by Hungary, but the war postponed his trip.

his trip.

"In a general way it may be said that other lands, overwhelmed by reiterated proofs of the supremacy in athletic fields of this country, are now, or were until the war broke out, going to school to this country, with the determination, if possible, to emulate the methods which had brought about our striking success. As for their own methods, they have little of value to offer us in return. It is impossible to interest Americans to any extent in the gymnastics which overrun the central empires, and training ideas in England and France are chiefly conspicuous by their absence.

RECORDS ARE NEVER SAFE.

"In our own country we are constantly advancing. Records fall right and left, and even the most remarkable figures are not safe for a week from the activities of the sharpshooters. This does not mean that better native capacity is at America's disposal now than in the days of 10 or 15 years ago, when 10 flat in the hundred or 15-2

in the high hurdles was a nation-wide sensation. It does mean that training systems have been improved and applied more generally throughout the land. It means, too, that more Americans than ever before are going in for athletics and that changes of striking value have been made in competition conditions, methods, and form.

"For instance, Dad Moulton, the veteran trainer, has constructed at San Francisco a track composed of layers of straw under cinders. The durability of this may be questioned, but it certainly adds spring to the stride of a sprinter. Experiments are made frequently with a view to developing a track best adapted to fast work. Sod turned upside down has been used a great deal.

"Then, again, in jumping the take-off has been much improved. The path has been made like a billiard table, and athletes, energetic of mind as well as of body, have devised new and more favorable positions in which to clear the bar, with the head slightly, if any, higher than the body. Pacific coast jumpers originated the method of taking the bar in a sidewise position, and this has proved very effective. In the pole vault Mike Murphy trained his men to give a sort of jerk, or shoot, to the body as they cleared the bar, thus attaining greater momentum and perceptibly increased height.

STERLING ATHLETES OF FAR WEST.

STERLING ATHLETES OF FAR WEST.

"In this connection I might say that the Pacific coast has in the fullest bloom or in the process of development at this time some wonderful athletes, tall, rangy chaps, capable under favorable conditions of startling performances. There have been some skeptical voices raised hereabouts with reference to certain record-breaking achievements out toward the setting sun, but I have no doubt whatever of the authenticity of the figures. Such men as Kelly, Simpson, and Murray are sterling athletes, likely at any time to do something in the mark-shattering line. Then, too, conditions on the border of the great western ocean are eminently favorable for high athletic standards. Climatic conditions are such that the men are able to keep in training the whole yerr round, and all the circumstances favor good figures for the occasions when they are in top form. Something has been said, in casting doubt upon the accuracy of the heralded records, to the effect that in the great Panama-Pacific meet, under A. A. U. auspices, startling figures were not attained. On that day, however, a wind with a tang and a chill attached came sweeping down through the foothills and made the conditions less favorable than was desirable.

"One element of the highest importance in the great movement which has placed American athletics on its present pinnacle is the clean lives led by those who aspire to develop track or field ability. From childhood, from the earliest days, when the youngsters begin to realize that they can run or jump pretty well, they learn to eschew the things that weaken physical energy. Cigarettes, excessive pastries, in fact, excesses of all kinds, they are taught, will militate against their chances of success.

HAS HELPED TO BAN DRUNKENNESS.

"As recently as 20 years ago a Sunday walk through the east side and other sections of the city would reveal the presence of almost uncountable intoxicated youths. This has been done away with in very great measure, and largely through the general upspringing of athletic ambitions. Liquor is anathema to the sound-minded young athletes. Each Sunday you will find perhaps a thousand of them off on an arduous road run, a race that calls for perfection of condition, and they have no time for nor patience with injurious indulgences.

"As for future Olympiads, we are hardly likely to see the world games held in 1920 in Habana, although that city is eager to stage the contests. There are considerations which argue strongly against the selection of the West Indian metropolis. The tropical climate there would make it essential that the meet be held in December, a time when it is very doubtful whether our men could get away from their duties for the trip, even if they could be kept in condition until winter. It is highly improbable, too, that the facilities and accommodations in Habana would be found adequate. Almost certainly European countries would be only meagerly, if at all, represented at that season of the year.

FAVORS STADIUM AT WASHINGTON.

"There is a pretty good prospect, however, that the world games of 1920 may come to this country. The event hinges largely upon the success of a measure introduced in Congress the other day by Congressman MURRAY HULBERT, of this city, which provides for the crection in Washington of a stadium of proportions and construction belitting the Capital city of the great Republic of the Western Hemisphere. If this project goes through—and the Amateur Athletic Union, as well as other bodies of strength and influence, is earnest in its support of the plan—not only will the Government have a fitting arena for the staging of such contests as the Army-Navy football game, but, which is of vastly greater import, it will be able to play host in proper style to all of the nations of the world where athletics is encouraged.

"Other countries have financed their Olympic teams from the initian holding of the world games. Trainers, grounds, traveling expenses—all essential expenditures have been met by the national purse. Uncle Sam, however, has never unbuckled his wallet to shed a cent in the support of those of his children who have crowned him with the world's athletic supremacy. It is high time that he showed a substantial interest in the matter, and he will have done so in a way highly pleasing to the athletic organizations, as well as creditable to the country, if this projected stadium is erected.

TO REUNITE OLD-WORLD ATHLETICS.

"If this should come to pass—and quick action is necessary if the next Olympic games are to be held here—the athletes of the now warring lands of Europe would find upon this side of the water in 1920 a common meeting ground, a field of athletic reconcillation.

"In a general way American athletes are in a better situation to-day than ever before. The death of James E. Sullivan was a grievous blow, but it has been demonstrated that the Amateur Athletic Union is by no means a one-man body. A development, especially pleasing to the officers of the union and to all who have the best interests of American athletics at heart, is the way in which college men are participating in its meets. The Intercollegiate Association, the Middle Western and Southern conferences, and the Institutions of the Far West find under Amateur Athletic Union auspices a common meeting ground wair-h offers a wider range for their athletic activities and promotes among them a good fellowship and friendly feeling that have at times in the past been lacking."

Equal Suffrage Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIS C. HAWLEY, OF OREGON.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 11, 1916.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, recently there was held at the capitol, at Salem, Oreg., a very representative gathering of the citizens of the State. This body adopted a resolution favoring immediate action on the equal-suffrage amendment. In support of this proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, I express the hope that the Committee on the Judiciary will report the amendment without delay. I am very earnestly in favor of its adoption.

in favor of its adoption.

Resolution unanimously passed at a mass meeting in the capitol, Salem, Oreg., by about 400 citizens.

Be it resolved, That the men and women voters at this meeting in the capitol, Salem, Oreg., on April 29, 1916, do protest at the action of the Judiciary Committee of the Sixty-fourth Congress, in preventing the Susan B. Anthony amendment enfranchising women from being voted upon by the representatives of the people on the floor of the House, and do also protest against the inconsistent attitude of the party in power—the Democratic Party—in withholding the right of full ditzenship from half the people—the women—and further request that this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Speaker of the House, Members of the House Judiciary Committee, and to our Oregon delegation, requesting that they be read into the Congressional Record by Senator Lane and by Congressman Hawley.

Florence B. Cartwright, Chairman.

Forest Reserves in Arkansas

SPEECH

HON. OTIS WINGO.

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 18, 1916.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12717) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Chairman, my amendment seeks to abolish what is left of the two forest reserves in Arkansas without waiting for them to be finally eliminated by proclamations of the President. The House will recall that during the three years that I have been a Member of this body I have been insistent in my demands that neither of these reserves should have been established; that the great bulk of the lands included in them were more fit for agriculture than for forestry conservation; that their maintenance was not only an unwarranted public expense but a burden upon the State of Arkansas, as it checked the rapid development of that country; and that for these reasons they should be abolished. I have not been content with my efforts upon the floor, but I have been persistent in my efforts with the Forestry Bureau, and am very much

in my efforts with the Forestry Bureau, and am very much graffiled by the fact that as a result of my efforts there has been eliminated a vast area from that portion of the reserves located in my district.

In the late summer of 1915 the Forestry Bureau agreed to eliminate a large area in both of these forest reserves, which action was approved by the Secretary of Agriculture, and formal request for the elimination of 433,664 acres from the Ozark National Forest and 280,000 acres from the Arkansas National Forest was submitted to the Secretary of the Interior September 6, 1915, as stated by Mr. Potter, the acting director, to me in a letter which I received shortly thereafter. Final action, however, on this was not taken until February of this year, at which time the President issued his proclamation making this elimination. With reference to these two eliminations I received the following letters:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, Forest Service, Washington, February 28, 1916.

Hon. OTIS WINGO,

Hon. OTIS WINGO,

DEAR MR. WINGO: In accordance with the verbal promise made to you February 24 you were notified by telephone that the proclamation and the provisions of existing withdrawals, shall be opened and become provisions of the string was an Executive order dated April 21, 1914, modified the boundaries of the Arkansas National Forest by excluding the therein described lands; and Whereas it appears that the public good will be promoted by further modifying the boundaries of the Arkansas National Forest by eliminations; in the State of Arkansas, and restoring the boundaries of the Arkansas, and restoring the soundaries of the Arkansas National Forest by eliminations of the forest of congress approved State of the public lands therein in a manner authorized by the act of Congress approved June 4, 1897 (30 Stat, 11 at 34 and 36), entitled "An act to authority expense in the verbal promise making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 4, 1897 (30 Stat, 11

eliminations to the counties, was mailed to you the same evening, and I have to-day transmitted by telephone to your office the tabulation which appears below, showing the elimination by counties on the Arkansas Forest.

County.	Gross area in acres.	Net area in acres.
Garland. Logan Montgomery Perry Pika Polk Salina Scott Yell	44, 706. 95 480. 00 85, 796. 28 10, 779. 25 7, 556. 52 30, 569. 20 6, 497. 48 93, 788. 72 7, 438. 50	11, 423.00 120.00 16, 558.00 670.00 2, 457.00 5, 750.00 - 920.00 20, 714.24 440.00
Total	287, 612.90	59, 056, 24

The following tabulation in regard to the Ozark may also be of service to you:

County.	Gress area in acres.	Net area in acres.
Pope. Johnson Stone Franklin Cleburne Conway Newton Baxter Marion Searcy Van Buren	12,041.90 14,754.90 123,795.94 1,904.82 39,102.66 637.14 27,125.96 10,421.19 2,560.00 35,816.19 165,503.57	4, 370, 90 11, 785, 29 41, 733, 36 1, 371, 69 14, 913, 63 327, 58 10, 740, 13 5, 231, 18 880, 00 16, 683, 26 72, 150, 21
Total	433, 664. 27	180, 185. 73

The above information in connection with that contained in another office letter of this date comprises all the data available.

Very truly, yours,

A. F. POTTER, Acting Forester.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, GENERAL LAND OFFICE, Washington, February 28, 1916.

General, Land Office, Washington, February 28, 1916.

House of Representatives.

My Dear Mr. Wingo: Inclosed herein is a photostat copy of proclamation signed by the President February 23, 1916, excluding certain areas indicated as eliminations on the inclosed diagram from the Arkansas national forest, Arkansas, and providing for the restoration of the public lands therein to settlement in advance of entry. Under said proclamation such lands will be subject to settlement only under the homestead laws from 9 o'clock a. m.. April 26, until and including May 23, 1916, and thereafter to entry and disposition under any publicland law applicable thereto.

The excluded areas are in the western-central part of the State, in Saline, Garland, Perry, Yell, Scott, Montgomery, Pike, and Polk Counties, are mountainous, and heavily altenated (the best of such lands having passed into private ownership, and a small area is under withdrawal for power-site purposes).

The unwithdrawn, unappropriated public lands are interspersed throughout the exclusions, and portions thereof are reported to have some agricultural value. Such lands are in Camden and Little Rock land districts.

Printed copies of said proclamation have not as yet been received. Very respectfully,

D. K. PARROTT, Acting Assistant Commissioner. ARKANSAS NATIONAL FOREST.

(Fourth proclamation.)

A PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

and after, but not before, 9 o'clock a. m., on the ninety-first day after said date.

Persons who go upon any of the lands to be restored as herein provided and perform any act of settlement thereon from and including the date of this proclamation until 9 o'clock a. m., standard time, on the sixty-third day from and after the date hereof, or who are on or are occupying any part of such lands at said hour, except those having valid subsisting settlement rights initiated prior to reservation and since maintained, and those having preferences to make entry under the provisions of the act of Congress approved June 11, 1906 (34 Stat., 233), entitled "An act to provide for the entry of agricultural lands within forest reserves," and acts amendatory, will be considered and dealt with as trespassers and preference will be given the prior legal applicant, notwithstanding such unlawful settlement or occupancy: Provided, however, That nothing herein shall prevent persons from going upon and over the lands to examine them with a view thereafter to going upon and making settlement thereon when the lands shall become subject thereto in accordance with this proclamation. Persons having prior settlement rights or preferences, as above defined, will be allowed to make entry in conformity with existing law, and regulations. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the scal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this 23d day of February, in the year of our Lord 1916, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and fortieth.

Woodbow Wilson.

By the President:

Scorctary of State.

On February 21 I called on the department to advise me of the total number of acres that had been eliminated or made available for entry under the forest homestead act since I became a Member of Congress, and in response received the following letter:

United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Washington, February 28, 1916.

Washington, February 28, 1916.

Honse of Representatives.

Dran Sir: Your letter of February 21 is received.
On April 21, 1914, the President issued an Executive order eliminating from the Arkansas National Forest 12,041.87 acres in Montgomery County, Ark., 5,084.91 acres of which were public land and 3,048.13 acres in Pike County, of which 1,018.44 acres were public land. The figures showing the public land would be true only at the time the elimination was made, because some of it may have since been entered under the public-land laws. The President signed proclamations eliminating 433,664 acres from the Ozark National Forest and 287,612 acres from the Arkansas National Forest on February 17 and 23, 1916, respectively.

During the present administration the Secretary of Agriculture has also listed with the Secretary of the Interior 68,174 acres within the national forests in the State of Arkansas, to be opened to settlement and homestead entry. The total area of all lands either climinated or made available for entry under the forest homestead act since March 4, 1913, is, therefore, 804,540 acres.

Very truly, yours,

H. S. Graves, Forester.

Mr. Chairman, I have other correspondence in regard to my

Mr. Chairman, I have other correspondence in regard to my activities in this matter, but shall not take the time to read them to the committee at this time. While I have been very much gratified at these eliminations, I am still not satisfied and insist that both of these reserves should be abolished in their entirety, and for that reason I have offered the pending amend-These reserves should never have been created, and that they were unwisely created is shown by the fact that nearly a million acres have been eliminated therefrom by different proclamations in the last few years. Some of the best agricultural lands are still retained in the reserves, lands that are far superior from an agricultural standpoint to some of the lands that were eliminated. There were at least 70,000 acres that were eliminated that were not as good agricultural lands as other public lands that were retained in the reserves, so I urge the committee to accept my amendment. Why maintain these reserves at a net loss of from eighteen to twenty thousand dollars a year, when the only object obtained is to protect the timber lands of lumber companies and railroads and private individuals?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired. Mr. WINGO. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Chairman, for five minutes more

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the gentleman's request?

There was no objection.

Mr. WINGO. Last fall I was in this reserve, and especially that included in Montgomery County, of which the town of Mount Ida is the county seat. I stood in the door of the court-house of that splendid county and had my attention called to one of the most prosperous little farms that was the subject of one of the disputes that arose, it being contended by the Forestry Department when the entryman first desired to enter it that it was not fit for agricultural purposes. Finally it was released, and the entryman has developed it into a typical hill farm, upon which he is making a home and by actual demonstration has shown that lands that are contended to be unfit for agricultural purposes are rich from an agricultural standpoint and are more valuable for agriculture than for forestry. I

can cite other instances where good farming lands have been retained in these reserves that, after persistent effort and considerable annoyance, the entrymen were permitted to hold for

agricultural purposes

The trouble with those connected with the Forestry Service, and who report upon the character of these lands, is that they do not fully appreciate the productive value of lands of that character. I recently drove through the great peach orchard at Highland, Pike County, Ark., which is the largest peach orchard in the world, and is located upon a red gravelly ridge that is of the same character of lands as those that are now retained in the reserve, and which the department says is unfit for agricultural purposes. Pike County adjoins Montgomery County, and a part of the reserve includes a part of Pike The great bulk of the lands remaining in these reserves are of the same character of land as this peach-orchard land, and the lands upon which industrious farmers in Scott, Polk, Pike, and Montgomery Counties have made their homes, and thereby demonstrated to a practical certainty that the lands were chiefly valuable for agricultural purposes.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Arkansas yield to the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. WINGO. Yes.
Mr. MANN. What is the land worth?

Mr. WINGO. That is largely a question of opinion. It might appear to the gentleman from Illinois that some of these lands are not worth more than \$2 an acre, while to others they would be worth from ten to twenty-five dollars an acre.

Mr. MANN. I had supposed it was worth from twenty-five

to thirty dollars at least.

Mr. WINGO. In my candid opinion the lands are worth \$50 an acre for farming purposes—that is, they will be ulti-mately—but in the hilly country there you can buy cut-over lands for \$10 an acre, but this price does not indicate their real value. In my candid judgment in a few years they will be selling for from twenty-five to fifty dollars an acre, as the country is being rapidly developed, and the value of these lands for farming purposes is fully appreciated.

The value of lands in a new country that is rapidly developing is always one of opinion, and depends not only upon the purchaser, but the purpose for which he intends to use it.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman does not call this a new country,

does he?

Mr. WINGO. Why, yes; certain portions of this are new, while some are old. One of the oldest towns in the State is located in that reserve, but the country has not been fully developed, because about 20 years ago—

Mr. MANN. It might not be a developed country, but it would not be my idea of a new country. However, that will be neither here nor there. I supposed this land was very good agricultural land when the timber was cut off.

Mr. WINGO. It is, the greater part of it. Mr. MANN. Is a part of it swampy?

Mr. WINGO. No; this is not in the swamp-land area of the State. It is in what you would call the foothills of the Ozarks. The creek and river bottoms are very rich, and only in the last few years have the people appreciated the value of red gravelly hill lands that are now being rapidly developed and which would have been more rapidly developed had not the growth of that country been retarded by the establishment of these reserves

Mr. MANN. If these forest reserves were abolished and the orders of the President were vacated, as suggested by the gentleman's amendment, would these lands be open for homestead

Mr. WINGO. Yes; that portion that is now public land.
Mr. MANN. But the people would not take it for homesteads

before, because it was not considered so valuable.

Mr. WINGO. The gentleman must remember that this has been in the forest reserves quite a while. They were established about the time that the rapid development of this part of the country commenced and about the time of the building of the railroads through that territory.

Mr. MANN. How long ago?

Mr. WINGO. I forget how long ago the original order was made, but it was several years ago; but the greater part of the development of that country has come within the last 10 or 15

Mr. MANN. Several years does not seem so long to me, and I hope not to the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Arkansas

has expired.

Mr. WINGO. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by inserting certain correspondence to which I have referred.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Arkansas asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the Record. Is there any objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order against

the amendment.

Mr. WINGO. I desire to be heard on the point of order. My amendment is to strike out and save \$11,000 of expenses. It will reduce expenditures. It is plainly in order. While it may not be in order on this particular paragraph, it certainly is in order at other places in the bill, and I believe it is in order here, because it strikes out an item of expense and reduces the expenses of the department under discussion.

Mr. LEVER. It is a change of existing law.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will suggest to the gentleman that his amendment not only strikes out, but it seeks to insert a

provision, which is a change of existing law.

Mr. WINGO. Yes; but the only effect of it is to make a saving, because it abolishes the necessity for this expenditure. It destroys the necessity for the expenditure by abolishing the reserve and the project that is sought to be maintained by the appropriation.

Mr. Chairman, I shall insert in the RECORD a statement with reference to the receipts and expenditures under the 10 per cent and 25 per cent provisions of the existing law.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. What are the receipts? The centleman is bringing up the same problem that we have on the

Washington reserve.

Mr. WINGO. I did not want to take the time of the committee; but as the gentleman requests it, the statistics are set out in a letter from A. F. Potter, Acting Forester, to me, which is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
FOREST SERVICE,
Washington, D. C., October 8, 1915.

Hon. Otis Wingo, House of Representatives.

House of Representatives.

Dear Sir: In further reference to your letter of September 13:
On April 21, 1914, the President signed a proclamation eliminating 15,090 acres from the Arkansas National Forest. The elimination of 433,664 acres from the Ozark National Forest and 280,000 from the Arkansas National Forest has been approved by the Secretary of Agriculture, and formal request that the elimination be made was submitted to the Secretary of the Interior September 6, 1915.

During the present administration the Secretary of Agriculture has listed 67,750,63 acres with the Secretary of the Interior to be opened to settlement and entry. Of this area I can give you the following information:

formation:

formation:

First. Approximately 25,566 acres have never been filed upon by either the preferred applicant or by anyone else.

Second. Approximately 12,133 acres were not filed upon by the persons in whose favor the land was listed, but by some one else.

From the above figures, you will readily see that the people who applied for approximately 37,700 acres of the area listed, did not care for the land when it was placed at their disposal.

Amounts apportioned to the State of Arkansas out of receipts from national forest resources for road and school purposes are as follows:

Thenthelies are cent raid to State for roads and schools.

Twenty-five per cent paid to State for roads and schools.

	Arkansas National Forest.	Ozark National Forest.	Total for State.
Fiscal year 1913 Fiscal year 1914 Piscal year 1915	\$9,285.04 5,788.58 4,924.99		\$12,854.02 9,983.19 8,738.93
Total	19,998.61	11,577.53	31,576.14

Since these sums are not apportioned to the different counties by the Forest Service, but are turned over to the proper State authorities by the Treasury Department, the Forest Service has no record of the amount of apportionment. This should be obtained from the State treasurer.

Amounts derived under the 10 per cent provision for road and trail work in the national forests in the State.

	Arkansas National Forest.	Ozark National Forest.	Total for State.
Fiscal year 1913. Fiscal year 1914. Fiscal year 1915.	\$3,714.02 2,315.43 1,970.00	\$1,427.59 1,677.85 1,525.57	
Total	7,999.45	4,631.01	12, 630. 46

Very truly, yours,

A. F. POTTER, Acting Forester.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Will the gentleman yield for

a question? Mr. WINGO. I have only five minutes, and I would rather not yield now. The object of my amendment is to meet this

kind of a situation. That is a rapidly developing country, and the problems of constructing roads is a very serious one. local communities, by their local road taxes and local funds, raised by assessments, try to construct their local roads, but they have neither the authority nor the funds to construct roads through the forest reserves. The public lands in these reserves are exempt from taxation, so the whole burden of road improvement, which must be met by local taxation, is borne by the local landowners, which is not fair. My amendment seeks to meet this injustice by taking the entire funds arising from the sale of timber on these forest reserves and using these funds thus obtained in the construction of roads in the counties in which the timber is sold. To give you an illustration of the injustice of the present situation, I received a letter a few days ago from the gentleman having in charge the preliminary survey for a highway that is intended to go through these reserves. could make the survey through the private lands, and the private-land owners, if they wish, can, under the law, provide to bear the burden themselves for the survey through their own lands, but there are no funds available to meet the expenses of the survey through the Government lands, nor is there any provision of law whereby such funds can be made available, unless my amendment is adopted.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WINGO. Yes.
Mr. MANN. The gentleman says "they" are trying to put
through a highway. Who is "they"?

Mr. WINGO. The local association of citizens who are back of the proposed highway. This highway would run through my district and will have spurs running through some of the As I understand, the main highway, as well as the counties spurs, will run down through at least one county in which the reserves are located.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman refers to a highway running down through the county. Is this a local matter, or is it to be put

through by somebody else?

Mr. WINGO. No. As I understand, the local associations are trying to get together, so that it will be brought into what they call the proposed Jefferson Highway.

Mr. MANN. What is the Jefferson Highway? Mr. WINGO. The proposition, as I understand it, is to construct a read from Kansas City to the Guif.

Mr. MANN. For automobilists?

Mr. WINGO. I presume it will be used by automobiles. I am not in favor of an automobile highway, but am not opposed to them, provided we can get local highways to meet the needs of the farmer.

Mr. MANN. I am simply trying to describe it. Mr. WINGO. It will be a part of that highway.
Mr. MANN. I do not think it would do any harm for them to

run outside of these little local forest reserves.

Mr. WINGO. Well, I want this amendment adopted, so that the proceeds from the sale of timber can be used in the construction of roads through Government land, which, of course, by their very nature will be local highways.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman will understand that if we do it in this case it will be very difficult to refuse it when it is asked for forest reserves that are very large, and where they would

want a road every mile or two.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Shall We Rob the Filipino of His Freedom.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JULIUS KAHN. OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Monday, May 1, 1916.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, the Democratic Party is now reaping the inevitable fruits of its misguided, shortsighted, and un-American policy toward the question of Philippine independence. When we acquired the islands Americans at first hesitated to assume the burden of doing their share in "serving humanity," in aiding in the regeneration of the backward areas of the earth. But after thoughtful consideration they passed directly upon the question in the election of 1900, resulting in an overwhelming defeat for the party that advocated shirking a national duty. Compelled thus unwillingly to assume the burden of administering the islands, they turned to the task with characteristic fortitude, and through a nonpolitical adminis-

tration of 12 years created the cleanest and most efficient government on the face of the earth. President McKinley, keenly alive to the responsibility we had assumed before the world, appointed an able nonpartisan commission headed by Mr. Taft, which, as the sole legislative body down to 1907, wrote all the fundamental laws for the government of the islands. Never before in history has a single group of men had so wonderful an opportunity to start a people on the road to self-government, and their work stands to-day as a model in the government of dependencies. As soon as they had constructed the foundation of government in all its branches-police, health, education, finance, and the multitude of other political activities incident to the simplest form of government—Mr. Taft visited the United States and succeeded in securing for the Filipinos an elective When one contemplates the great work Mr. Taft accomplished in the islands and the slurs heaped upon him now by the Democratic advocates of "scuttle" and Filipino politicians, because he reminds them they are yet children in the art of self-government, it is not strange that some Americans, who at heart are sincerely desirous of seeing their country live up to its best traditions and duty, have become so disgusted with the attitude of the Filipino politician as to be willing to join hands with those who never were the true friend of the Filipino, and be willing to see such a bill as the one now before us placed upon the statute books.

Down to the time the present administration took charge of this Government American politics had never entered into consideration in Philippine appointments. Hardly had Mr. Wilson entered the White House than he appointed an entirely new Philippine Commission, heading it with a Democratic Member of this House. Not content with thus announcing to the world that politics would hereafter govern in Philippine appointments, the selected head of the new commission proceeded to the Philippines and created absolute chaos in the government by demanding resignations right and left, giving as his reason, in many cases, that the incumbents could not be trusted because they were Republicans. In order to make himself solid with the native politicians he announced that he was the champion of immediate independence. These gentlemen, who had turned their eyes longingly on the government positions which, in the interest of efficiency, it was necessary to fill with Americans, and on the Treasury, over which Americans had held a restraining hand, flocked to the standard of the New Freedom, and things began to move rapidly so far as Americans in the insular service were concerned. Never, perhaps, in history has greater chaos been injected into a government in so short a time. The culmination of this vicious attack on Americans took place in the last legislature, when they passed a law offering an open bribe to Americans to leave by promising all who should apply for retirement by a given date one-third of their annual salaries for the next three years. Can the gentlemen of this House conceive of a greater insult to Americans under their own flag? Is it any wonder that under such an administration the bands have been compelled to cease playing the Star-Spangled Banner at the end of the daily evening concert on the Luneta, Manila's fashionable promenade? Not satisfied, however, with securing all the government offices, the same legislature has provided for the purchase of the Manila railroad. For any democratic government to enter the railroad business is dangerous; for a Filipino government to do so is calamitous. The wonder grows as to whether these gentlemen charged with the direction of Philippine affairs ever saw or heard of a government-owned railroad in Latin America. Is it surprising that one of the four Americans appointed to the Philippine Commission resigned long since, and another has been on extended leave and, according to press dispatches, will not return?

FREEDOM OR INDEPENDENCE?

Those who advocate the abandonment of our national duty propose to give the Filipino independence. Have they ever inquired, or do they care, whether this means freedom? The citizens of California are free, but they are not independent. The citizens of Mexico are independent; who has the temerity to say they are free? But we have given the Filipino freedom—yes; we have even given him the New Freedom. We have freed him from the yoke of tyranny in government and in the church. We have given him freedom of access to the courts, the personal freedom insured by habeas corpus. We have freed his mind from ignorance through the introduction of a model school system. We have freed his body from disease through the introduction of a magnificent system of sanitation and public health. We have given him freedom to worship according to the dictates of his own conscience.

Do the good people of America understand how long this religious freedom would stand under a Filipino government? Fortunately, we are under no delusions in this respect. The schism in the Philippine church, started by the proscribed priest Aglipay, tells us exactly what will happen. This man started a movement to establish a Philippine church, with himself as pope and a hierarchy of Filipino archbishops, bishops, and other prelates. The movement became so strong and their seizure of church property so widespread that it seriously menaced the government at one time and compelled the commission to provide special acts whereby the matter of church titles could be determined in the interests of public order. The movement was typical of the working of the Filipino mind. He loves pomp and show and ceremony, and, above all, the power of domination over the body and spirit of his weaker brother. Is it possible the churches of America can not see the hand of destiny in the fact that the only Christian people of Asia have come under the protection of the Stars and Stripes? Do they favor such legislation as proposed in this bill?

WHENCE COMES THE DEMAND FOR FILIPINO INDEPENDENCE?

It is well in answering the arguments of those who now demand that America withdraw from the islands, regardless of our national honor and international obligations, to analyze the reasons back of each element which seeks to bring this about.

First, we have the pacifists. I would not charge these worthy people with physical cowardice, but if we analyze their mental processes we will find that the fear of war and preparedness for war makes them moral cowards. They are afraid to champion any national policy which might by the widest stretch of imagination bring us into conflict with other nations in any part of the world. Down to a period of which the Spanish War forms the end, America was free to develop her own resources within her own territory. Whether we regret it or not, the fact remains that under the powerful stimulus of prosperity engendered by Republican administrations we were so rapidly outstripping the power of our people to absorb our own manufactures that we were compelled to seek foreign markets. Such a policy of expansion does not necessarily involve territorial aggrandizement; but to attempt to circumscribe it is as futile as to attempt to forestall the physical processes of nature herself. It is a part of the inevitable and natural growth of a nation. When a nation arrives at this stage of her development she must fortify herself through trained diplomacy and farsighted national policies to take her place among the powers of the Because our acquisition of the Philippine Islands has brought us closely in touch with the problems of the Orient, the pacifist shudders at the thought of possible conflict, because he is opposed as a fundamental principle to national preparedness against war. His view is shortsighted. Trade rivalries on a basis of free and friendly competition is absolutely inevitable, and no more involves necessity for resorting to war than everyday commercial competition involves resort to the courts.

The next group who have actively opposed retention of the Philippines and now actively advocate the policy of scuttle, is the small but noisy crowd whose headquarters are in New England, but having a few followers elsewhere, under the banner of the Anti-Imperialistic League. These people also have such a narrow vision that they believe because we were compelled to take the remaining Spanish colonies as the result of our war for the freedom of Cuba that America must inevitably become so drunk with the desire for glory that we shall seek territory wherever we can find it, regardless of its effect upon our national prosperity or our national policy of maintaining ourselves in a strong continental position. The constant moral aid and comfort given to the Filipino insurrectos by this class, when they were denying us the right to prove our benevolent intentions toward the Filipinos, and the libels published against our soldiers at a time when they were engaged in the most arduous and thankless task of restoring order in the Philippines, should make any red-blooded American spurn the advice of such a group as this.

There is another group made up of dilettantes in government, who, ignoring all practical application of the theory of government, wrap the mantle of righteousness about them and with sanctimonlous air, speak of "the consent of the governed." I shall refer to this subject later on in answering the arguments which are advanced in favor of granting the Filipinos independence.

There is another group who demand this legislation consisting of those Democrats who now find themselves confronted with the responsibility of government after advocating thoughtlessly for 15 years in their national platform the policy of "scuttle." These gentlemen find no difficulty in explaining away the one-term plank or in imposing canal tolls on American vessels, but have at present a highly developed conscience when the Filipino politicians remind them of their past errors.

The remaining element demanding independence is a small group of Filipino politicians who in their own land are as noisy as the pacifists and anti-imperialists in America. They no more represent the real sentiment of the business man or of the "man with the hoe" than does the pacifist or the anti-imperialist represent thorough-going, straight-forward, dyed-in-the-wool Americanism.

THE ARGUMENTS FOR INDEPENDENCE.

Three principal reasons have been advanced why the Filipinos should at this time be granted independence. These are:

First. The argument that just governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed.

Second. That the islands are an economic burden.

Third. That it is essential to our national defense that we get rid of them.

No theory of government has been so badly overworked as the talk about "the consent of the governed." It is merely a half truth, and a half truth, skillfully distorted, is worse than a downright lie.

We have in this country approximately 100,000,000 people. At the last election only 13,000,000 of these were accorded any right to say how they were to be governed. By what right do these 13,000,000 impose their will upon the remaining 87,000,000 American citizens? By what theory do those Democrats who talk about "the consent of the governed" in the Philippines deny the right of suffrage in many of their own States to their own wives and mothers and daughters? If we analyze the figures in the last election still further, we find that it is not even the 13,000,000 people who voted who are imposing their will upon the remainder of our population. There was cast in the last election for President the following popular vote:

 For Wilson
 6, 292, 718

 For Taft
 3, 369, 221

 For Roosevelt
 4, 057, 429

That is to say, the Democratic Party, which is the minority party to the extent of 1,133,932 votes, now governs the whole United States. If we apply the same test to the Philippine Islands, we find that out of a population of approximately 8,000,000 people at the last elections but slightly over 200,000 voted. That is to say, those Filipino politicians who come here and loudly demand their independence under "the consent of the governed" theory were elected to office under a very liberal election system by which only one person in forty was permitted to say how he should be governed or who his political leaders should be.

It is not true that the Filipino is not consulted as to how he shall be governed. He has had an elective assembly since 1907, and this House, I believe, is unanimous in believing that we should now make both these legislative houses elective.

When we see the magnificent response to the demand of the British Empire which such self-governing colonies as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa are now making, how can anyone stand here and have the effrontery to say that these self-governing dependencies are groaning under the British yoke, because some doctrinaire of a revolutionary period in history evolved a high-sounding phrase regarding the "consent of the governed"? No one has ever sought to deny, or now would deny, the Filipino the maximum amount of self-government he is capable of carrying, but the difference between autonomy and independence is that between the nadir and the zenith.

Let us see how the author of the "consent-of-the-governed" theory applied it to Latin America. Jefferson, in a letter to Adams, January 22, 1821, two years before the Monroe doctrine was enunciated, said:

was enunciated, said:

I feared from the beginning that these people were not yet sufficiently enlightened for self-government, and that after wading through blood and slaughter they would end in military tyrannies more or less numerous. Yet, as they wished to try the experiment, I wished them success in it; they have now tried it and will possibly find their safest road will be an accommodation with the mother country which shall hold them together by the single link of some chief magistrate, leaving to him power enough to keep them in peace with one another and to themselves the essential power of self-government and self-improvement until they shall be sufficiently trained by education and habits of freedom to walk safely by themselves. Representative government, native functionaries, a qualified negation on their laws, with a previous security by compact for freedom of commerce, freedom of press, habeas corpus, and trial by fury, would make a good beginning. This last would be the school in which their people might begin to learn the exercise of civil duties as well as rights.

Thus did the author of the "consent of the governed" apply

Thus did the author of the "consent of the governed" apply his doctrine to the conditions of Latin America—a case of theory giving way to practical conditions. But the members of the Democratic Party are less consistent in their Philippine policy than was Jefferson in applying his theories to conditions in Latin America. Starting with the off-quoted statement of the President while yet a Princeton professor that we can not

give the Filipino self-government any more than we can give him character, they found themselves, in March, 1913, in con-trol of the Government as a minority party which for nearly two decades had advocated an impossible policy regarding the Philippines merely because they were the opposition party. Compelled to give some heed to the noisy crowd demanding an independence bill, the representatives of that party in this House introduced a very good bill to increase the participation of the Filipino in his own government, but coupled it with a vicious preamble for political effect. This bill passed the House at the last session. When President Wilson addressed Congress last December he called attention to the Philippine bill, but he had changed front; he called it a bill "to alter and reform the government of the islands," and the Hitchcock bill made a radical and significant change in the preamble. It now purported to grant them independence when "in the judgment of the United States (not of the Filipinos) it will be to the permanent interest of the people of the Philippine Islands." the significant change. This bill was in a fair way to pass the Senate when the whole program was upset by an amendment providing for independence in not less than two nor more than The Democratic Party was therefore brought face to face with their own folly. After a great deal of running to the White House they decided to hold a caucus on the bill. Press reports with every appearance of accuracy say the chairman read a letter from the President indorsing the "scuttle" policy, and the bill is here to-day in consequence.

It would be interesting to know by what mental process the President has arrived at the conclusion that we can now wish self-government upon them, that this is the judgment of the United States, that this is for the permanent interests of the islands, or that a people held in bondage by Spain for 300 years can be educated in self-government by the stroke of a

pen in the period of a brief decade.

The second argument frequently advanced as to why we should grant the Filipinos absolute independence is that the islands are an economic burden. It is true that the islands have been costly, but this is true only of the insurrectionary period. The actual cost of the Philippine insurrection is perhaps impossible of ascertainment; but when have Americans ever balked at the question of expense in the assertion of their rights of sovereignty? Who ever stopped to consider the cost of the war with Mexico in its ultimate effect on our history? What historian weighs the cost of our Civil War against the achievement of personal rights? Where is the American who to-day regrets the cost of putting down the Philippine insur-rection as against the opportunity we have had to serve a part of mankind? Shall we be frightened from the course to which for nearly two decades we have directed our footsteps because in its initiation it was costly? During the hearings upon this bill before the Senate committee a careful estimate was submitted of the cost per year from 1903 to 1914. This is probably the most careful estimate ever compiled and it shows that the yearly average cost has been slightly in excess of \$9,000,000. It must be borne in mind that these figures include a large amount of capital investment in the way of barracks and quarters, and the large expense in fortifications on the island of Corregidor at the mouth of Manila Bay. The annual cost will be reduced very materially in the next decade, because our plant is practically completed. Offsetting this expenditure of \$9,000, 000 per year, what have American business men reaped in return? There is at present approximately \$75,000,000 of American capital invested in the Philippine Islands, and in addition we sold to the Philippine Islands last year goods to the value of \$26.381,069. The islands must have capital to The vast forests of hardwood, the areas availdevelop them. able for sugar cultivation, and the wonderful opportunities for rubber cultivation are but a few of the possibilities for development by American capital. But no capital, American or foreign, will ever undertake such investments under a Filipino government. The risks are too great.

But when anyone refers to making money in the Philippines immediately the cry of "sordidness" and "selfish interests" is raised. The same people raise these cries who do not believe that there is any connection between the expansion of commerce and the growth of democracy. They would tell the Filipino that he can be happy on an empty stomach; but where in history has a government or a people progressed where business prosperity was not the corner stone of government? What interest has the man who has to sleep on a park bench in the theory of the "consent of the governed"? Ask him, and he will tell you that all human happiness is bound up in three square meals a day and a little left over wherewith to purchase those things which satisfy the human craving for happiness. One need look no further to

ascertain the ability of the Filipino to maintain an independent government than to inquire to what extent he controls the retail, wholesale, export, and import business of his own country. The Filipino is not a business man. Most of the rich element among the Filipinos have made their money in dealing in the products of the country and lending money to the poor at usurious rates, but they dispose of their products within the islands to foreign export houses. They do not know what it is to seek the markets of the world. If you go into the retail district of Manila, except in the poorer district where you find the retail shops presided over by Filipino women, the entire retail business is conducted by the Chinese, Hindus, Spaniards, and Americans, with a slight sprinkling of Germans and Englishmen.

Not only is the Filipino not a business man but he has no conception of finance as applied to government. I venture to state without fear of contradiction that there is not a single Filipino in the archipelago to-day who can tell you why his currency is stable under American government and was absolutely unstable under the Spanish régime. The whole financial policy of the government since our occupation has been managed by Americans, and will fall to the ground the moment the Filipino is permitted to take it over. We have seen some very able gentlemen from the Philippine Islands come to this country and in a perfectly admirable way urge further recognition of their people along the lines of self-government. Some of them, unfortunately, have committed the terrible mistake of advocating independence for the islands. But scarcely one of them, I venture to say, could tell you what governs the rate of exchange between Manila and the financial centers of the world. It is the fiscal policy which has been the downfall of these Latin-American Republics where revolution has for a hundred years been chronic. What reason have these Members to advance who, here in this House, propose to throw the Filipino upon the charity of the world to prove that they are any more capable of managing the finances of their government than are the Dominicans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, Mexicans, and many others who for nearly 100 years have made a dismal failure of government in a region which is not surpassed in richness on the face of the globe?

Since our occupation we have issued Government and municipal bonds, under authority of Congress, in the Philippine Islands to the extent of \$16,125,000. In addition we have guaranteed the interest on many millions of railroad bonds in order to develop transportation facilities and bring prosperity to the rural districts. What does this bill propose to do in the way of guaranteeing payment of these bonds? Their holders are almost exclusively American citizens, who get their checks for interest regularly from the United States Treasury. Do the advocates of independence propose that there shall be a default of interest on an account payable on the books of the United States Treasury? What is there in this bill which will prevent default on these bonds? Not a word. One need look no further to discover the disingenuousness which lies back of this bill.

I wish here to quote from a speech delivered by the present Secretary of Commerce at the Lake Mohonk conference in 1911. Mr. Redfield is a business man. He visited the Philippine Islands and saw them from the viewpoint of an American and a business man. Mr. Redfield said:

OBSERVATIONS IN THE PHILIPPINES.

a business man. Mr. Redfield said:

OBSERVATIONS IN THE PHILIPPINES.

I have long been familiar with the feeling among the American business men of whom I am one, and have long been familiar with the feeling among American business men, of indifference to the Philippines. Many have said to me that they were not worth while; some have said they were useless; some have said they were too expensive; few have shown any knowledge of the subject. I went to see for myself, not as a Member of Congress, and without introductions to the officials, and I saw.

Just beyond the Philippines lies another great tropical dependency of another power. Very briefly I want to put Java and the Philippines into clear contrast before you. Java has 50,000 square miles, the area of this State. She supports thirty millions of people. She is a food exporter. The Philippines have about 115,000 square miles—more than twice the area—just as fertile and equally capable of cultivation. They have not quite eight millions of people, and they import food. I know that the Philippines export hemp. I have been in the great warehouses and have seen bales made up. I know they export copra. I went there largely because they did; but to-day they are importing into the Philippines; they are importing five or six million dollars worth of food every year—rice—to make good the shortage in the rice crop; while Java, with less than half the territory and nearly four times the population, exports coconut oil, copra, coffee, tea, sugar, and tobacco. Why? Go from one to the other and see.

The work of the Hollander is written all over Java. The work of the American has barely scratched the surface of one corner of the Philippines; and yet, speaking as a business man of the possibility of the development of commerce, I say without hesitation that the Philippines have all that Java has and more; that they are capable of as great economic development as Java; and since Holland draws every year \$100,000,000 to gold as her financial return from Java aione, the United

which time he has no return, and then he and his three associates sit down and draw one hundred thousand a year net revenue from their hundred thousand trees without care or thought of labor. For, he it known, the market price of copra is five times as great as the price of producing it.

The world's supply is scanty, and the Islands of the great Dutch Indians and the Philippines are straining every nerve to meet the demand of the world for ecconut oil, which is far insufficient. I am sumply speaking on a subject of something with which I am familiar. Now will you go with me from Manila north a way?

I have here an advertisement of a Manila railway. It is a somewhat shocking thing to advertise that express trains will run on an average of from 3 to 21 miles an hour. I took those trains. In the 150 miles or less between San Fabian and Manila you pass through three languages. Let us stop and look at one of the native taos in his field, It is, perhaps, the dry season. He is not in his field because there is no irrigation yet. That field lies idle half the year. It is not so in Java You can not escape the irrigation ditches there in city or country. You can go nowhere in Java and fall to see the irrigation ditches.

country. You can go nowhere in Java and fail to see the irrigation ditches.

It is not so in the Philippines yet, and the fields lie idle half the year for lack of water, and therefore the people are going on scanty food for lack of water. And it was a pittful thing in that railroad train that morning to hear the president of La Union Province beg the American engineer for a well-driving apparatus that his people might have pure water to drink, and to hear my friend the engineer tell him, "No, I am sorry, not now. We have 43 well-driving apparatuses, it is true, but we can not spare one now for La Union. Your people must go without good drinking water until we have means sufficient."

We will go over the farm of the tao in the dry season, when the streams have run to waste and water has not been saved for lack of means. I do not mean to imply that they are not doing much. I will come to that, but it is not done yet. It is too big a job to do all at once. Let us go over the dry fields that are idle. The carabao, idle for about six months for lack of water, the farmer himself must feed the animals during that time. And look at the little sugar mill. I have been reasonably familiar with sugar machinery for 25 years. Twenty-five years ago we had graduated 100 years before that particular sugar mill. As it stands there, and when it runs, it is wasting from one-half to three fourths of all the juice it is made to extract, and the tao can buy no new sugar min, is the first place because he does not know enough, and in the second place because it he did he has no money with which to buy it.

the can buy no new sugate milit, as the first plues because he does not know enough, and in the second place because if the did he has no money with which to buy it.

There is one other consideration of which I must speak before I close. It was a striking thing to leave the Island of Formosa on the right hand at 9 o'clock in the evening, and to have Luzon on the left hand at 11 o'clock the next morning. Japan and the Philippines are very much closer together than some of us realize. I do not think there is any danger on that account, but I have in my pocket a proposition from an American newspaper to sell the Philippine Islands to Japan, a proposition which contains more condensed ignorance in one sheet of paper with the situation is here, indies and gentlemen. The warper philosophy of this situation is here, indies and gentlemen. The warper philosophy of this situation is here, indies and gentlemen. The policy of this situation is here, indies and gentlemen. The policy of Paris is the policy that a springs from Essen and Solingen; the policy that arises from Roubalx and St. Etienne; the policy of Herlin is the policy that springs from Essen and Solingen; the policy that is leading Italy to Tripoll to-day is not found in Rome but in the industrial activitie of Main. We shall entirely mistake the great essence economic and commercial forces. The heads of these attoms seem to lead, but they only follow. They must move as they go. It is inconcelvable that England's export commerce should diminish; the moment it diminishes England begins to wither. Germany must continue to expand, or Germany's power begins to diminish, and the Kaiser France begins to die. Holland would collapse were it not for her possessem to lead, but they only follow. They must move as they go. It is inconcelvable that England's export commerce sourselves. Ten years ago it might be said our great productivity was sufficient only for our own needs; to day it is no longer true. You and I know, and fellow Americans will keep our factories idle a la

thirds of the adult male population of those islands are able, under the present very simple qualifications for voting, to exercise a deliberate judgment either against or in favor of it.

It would be interesting to know to what extent the Secretary of Commerce has been consulted by his chief in aiding to force this bill through under the caucus whip.

The third argument for independence is that the islands are a The third argument for independence is that the islands are a menace to our national defense. I have before mentioned the significant fact that the pacifists and the anti-imperialists are in favor of this bill; but to show you further the superficial knowledge in dealing with this subject which has characterized this movement from the beginning I quote the following from the report of the Committee on Insular Affairs in reporting this bill to the House:

the report of the Committee on Insular Affairs in reporting this bill to the House:

It must by this time be apparent to all thoughtful people that the determination of the political status of the Philippines can not longer be wisely, if indeed safely, postponed. The war which is spreading death and ruin over Europe and large portions of Asia has brought the United States face to face with the vital question of preparedness against foreign aggression, and Congress is called upon to make adequate provision for the national defense. The popular demand for the strengthening of the military and naval arms of the Government is both loud and insistent, but before it can be wisely determined to what extent the Army shall be increased and the Navy enlarged it is absolutely essential that those charged with responsibility for the country's safety shall know whether the Philippines are to be given independence or be held as a colony to be fortified and defended. If they are to be included in any scheme of national defense which may be adopted, the cost to the American people will be many millions greater than would otherwise be necessary. If, on the other hand, the policy shall be to retain control over them, but, in the event of foreign attack, not to attempt their defense but to abandon them to their fate, as has been suggested by military men, we shall risk inviting the scorn of the world and of standing humiliated in the presence of mankind. The issue is clean-cut, and there is no escaping it. If the Philippines are to be held indefinitely, the same protection must be extended to them as is afforded every other foot of United States territory. The difficulty, if not the impossibility, of successfully defending territory located in the Eastern Hemisphere, and separated from continental United States by the Pacific Ocean, must be apparent to the average intelligence, and yet holding and governing them against the consent of their linhabitants increases rather than lessens the obligations to defend them.

If the United

This remarkable report, giving as a reason why we should upset the stable equilibrium now existing in the Orient, pur-ports to cite, without giving their names, the opinions of military men that in the event of war we should be compelled to abandon the islands to their fate. I have no doubt that military and naval men have made such statements, but the error which the committee makes is in the conclusions to be drawn therefrom. So long as the islands are ours the American people will never abandon them to their fate, any more than they would abandon New England or California. In the event of a war in the Pacific that nation will retain the Philippine Islands at its close which has control of the sea. This is a fundamental maxim of military policy, and while I do not think for a moment that the Philippines now or at any future period will be in danger so long as the American flag flies over them, yet if we follow the course which destiny has marked for us, and as the President has said, "take leave to be strong upon the sea," the Philippine Islands will remain ours for eternity

The difficulty with the gentlemen who wrote this report is their failure to grasp the fundamentals of military policy, which is so common with the average American. Has England abandoned Australia to her fate? Is New Zealand trembling in her boots lest the enemies of the British Empire come thundering at her gates? Of course not. The British fleet from its home base makes shipping safe in the harbors of Sydney and Melbourne, and an American fleet, stronger than any other power can muster in the Pacific, based on San Francisco Bay, covers every island of the Pacific over which the American flag flies with the silent pressure of its might. Abandon the islands to their fate! Nobody but an ultrapacifist would ever think of it.

If the Filipino were more experienced in the ways of the world, he might ask himself whether, indeed, he ought to trust his fate to a committee of this House or to a political party which in a report on a bill advocating the independence of the islands practically says to him, "We shall abandon you, in the event of foreign attack, to your fate." It is the logical conclusion of the course upon which the Democratic Party has been sailing on the Philippine question since the islands came under our sovereignty.

CUBA OFFERS NO PRECEDENT.

It is frequently urged by the advocates of the "scuttle" policy that because we set up an independent government in Cuba we should do the same with the Philippines. The two I of eternal justice?

causes are totally dissimilar. Although on the impulse of the moment we declared our purpose regarding Cuba, in order to set ourselves right in the eyes of the world that we did not covet the island, but would tolerate no longer the intolerable conditions of Spanish rule, we knew at the time that we should always remain responsible to the world for a stable government in the island. Cuba is not an independent nation to-day. The Platt amendment made the island a dependency of the United We have already been compelled to take advantage of our rights under that amendment once, and I firmly believe that our rights under that amendment once, and I firmly believe that if we are compelled to do so again when the American flag is raised over the "pearl of the Antilles" she will be left only the shadow of independence. She has never settled with us for the cost of the last intervention, and she knows that we shall not continue to pour out millions to do her house cleaning. She is at our very doors, and under no circumstances would the American people ever consent to see her oppressed by a foreign power. For all practical purposes the Caribbean must become an American lake, as is demonstrated by the restraints we have already placed upon Cuba, Santo Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua, already placed upon Cuba, Santo Donnigo, Hart, Arcaragua, and Panama. We are equally responsible to the world not to upset the stability of the Orient. By what possible show of consistency does the Democratic Party propose to turn loose consistency does the Democratic Party propose to turn loose an irresponsible government on the shores of Asia and at the same time reserve naval bases and coaling stations in the islands? Are we to sit idly by while other powers land troops, restore order, and take their compensation by a mortgage on the revenues of the islands? What they propose is to throw away everything but the possibility of conflict with other powers.

The present bill was an excellent measure, granting the Filipinos a greater measure of autonomy, "altering and reforming the government of the Philippines," to quote the language of the President—though going further than I believe justifiable at this time—until the Senate amondment changed its whole purthis time-until the Senate amendment changed its whole purpose; and the proposition regarding coaling stations is merely a sample of its inconsistency. To require us to sit idly by with folded hands while the Filipino makes another Haiti or Mexico of his new government will be the logical outcome of such a piece of legislation as this. The Democratic Party was wrong when it pulled down the flag in Hawaii; it is wrong now in proposing to pull it down in the Philippines.

INTEREST OF THE PACIFIC COAST IN THE RETENTION OF THE PHILIPPINES.

The people of the Pacific coast are vitally interested in everything in the Pacific. That policy up to the present time was well known to the world. It has consisted in upholding our sovereignty over all the islands which have come under our control, unaccompanied by any aggressive designs on the territory of any power whatsoever, and such a share in the trade of the Orient as we could secure through free competition, through the "open door."

The people of the Pacific coast have seen with dismay the revocation of the canal-tolls act, which would have favored American shipping. They have viewed with genuine alarm the disappearance of the American flag from the Pacific. They have borne with what fortitude they could until another election the discrimination against their products in the Democratic tariff policy.

They expect to maintain and build up their trade with the Philippines. If American trade with the islands meant the slightest oppression of the Filipino people, I for one would be the last person to stand here and argue for their retention. But we have not oppressed the Filipinos. Nor shall we oppress We shall continue to insure them every principle of freedom and the fullest participation in their government they are capable of assuming. We do not propose to exploit them. We will dea! with them honestly and patriotically; and mutual benefits will result.

What the Filipino does not understand is that personal happiness under any form of government is impossible unless accompanied by financial prosperity. In company with many other people whose political ideas were derived from Spain, he believes that happiness can be obtained through the search for some ideal in government. For nearly a century people so believing have made a travesty of the name of democracy and republics and have found their ideals, when unaccompanied by commercial prosperity, turn, like Dead Sea fruit, to askes on their lips.

The enactment of this bill into law in the form recommended

by the majority members of the committee, and presumably supported by the present Chief Executive, will be the most infamous outrage ever perpetrated upon an ignorant, misguided, and help-less people. In the hour of their fate, when their mute appeal from across the Pacific shall have fallen on deaf ears, what then will be the answer of the authors of this measure before the bar The Philippines.

SPEECH

OF

HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH,

01 0110,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 1, 1916.

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the passage of this bill in its present form, fixing, as it does, a definite time for the withdrawal of American influence from the Philippines. It would mean anarchy in the islands from the first, and eventually they would become the prey, war prizes, of the looting militarist powers of the Old World or of the Orient.

the looting militarist powers of the Old World or of the Orient.

Humanity, national honor, and the solemn trust assumed by our Government at the close of the Spanish-American War forbid this, forbid the abandonment of the Philippines at least until the Nation shall have discharged its full duty to the native islanders as pointed out by President McKinley in his last message to Congress, in which he called the Philippines the "wards of the Nation," and further explained that—

"wards of the Nation," and further explained that—
Our obligation as guardian was not lightly assumed. It must not be
otherwise than honestly fulfilled, aiming first of all to benefit those
who have come under our fostering care. It is our duty so to treat
them that our flag may be no less beloved in the mountains of Luzon
and the fertile zones of Mindanao and Negros than it is at home, and
that there as here it shall be the revered symbol of liberty, enlightenment, and progress in every avenue of development.

I express a doubt also if the time will ever come, consistent with national honor and the humanitarian sentiments of the American people, when any complete severance of the relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands can take place or be desirable. The just and humane rule that the strong must aid in the protection of the weak applies equally to nations as to individuals, and was never more exemplified or necessary than at the present time, when one-half the world is at war, and the other half urged by powerful influences to make such colossal preparations for war as to render possible, if not probable, a world-wide holocaust.

The Philippines came to us as the natural and seemingly inevitable result of the Spanish-American War, a war begun as no other war in history, solely in the interest of suffering humanity, and ending as all other wars of the United States have ended, in real uplift of national character and a complete vindication of the American policy of calling into service when needed in the exigencies of war volunteer citizen soldiery instead of maintaining on a war footing, after the manner of foreign monarchies, big and expensive standing armies in times of peace; and when the Filipinos, through the good offices of the United States, shall have reached in education and uplift the point where they are capable of intelligent self-government and learn the wisdom of our national policy, they are likely to have imbibed a sincere love for the American flag and our free institutions, such as that suggested by President McKinley, and to then voluntarily ask to remain a Territorial part or a

the spineless policy of this bill?

The McKinley administration did not covet or seek the islands. The islands had no volition or choice. The power of Spain being broken, there was no alternative but for the United States to accept the trust. An unseen hand seemed to point the way, and an overruling Providence was believed at the time to guide the negotiations which led to the protocol with Spain.

State in the Great Republic of the New World. If they do this

of their own free will and accord, who will there be to advocate

Thus was the American flag raised in the Philippines.

The exact terms of the protocol of August 12, 1898, on this subject, signed by the Secretary of State and Mr. Cambon, the French ambassador, on behalf of Spain, read:

The United States will occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbor of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace, which shall determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines.

"The march of events rules and overrules human actions," said President McKinley in his instructions to the United States pence commissioners, adding that "without any original thought of complete or even partial acquisition, the presence and success of our arms at Manila imposes on us obligations which we can not disregard, * * * new duties and responsibilities which we must meet and discharge as becomes a great Nation on whose growth and career from the beginning the Ruler of Nations has plainly written the high command and pledge of civilization."

With Old Glory thus raised in the Orient, we are asked to-day—almost commanded by the Executive—to order it hauled down, furled, and laid away, as was the first American flag raised in Hawaii and afterwards taken down by order of a former Chief Executive of the same party faith, only to be again raised in honor when the Republican Party came into power. Gem of the Pacific, no American to-day with an ounce of red blood in his veins thinks of abandoning this island.

I can not with my convictions of duty aid in the sacrifice of national honor proposed by this bill. The American flag, once raised in honor, shall never be lowered in dishonor by my vote while I remain a Member of the American Congress. I would rather resign at once and let some one of easy conscience take my place who can substitute expediency and sycophancy for national honor and duty.

I am pleased to see indications on the floor of the House, in the brave, patriotic utterances of some Members on the opposite side of the Chamber, which lead to the belief that, joining with a solid Republican vote, such disgrace to the Republic can be averted.

Alarming reports are spread among the timid about alleged want of preparedness and an increased danger of war if we retain the Philippines, but at the beginning of the Spanish-American War, which brought the islands into our keeping, the so-called preparedists of to-day had not begun their propaganda. American ideals adverse to big standing armies and big navies still obtained in the hearts and consciences of a brave, free people.

President McKinley did not hesitate on this account or bewall the want of a big Military Establishment, but with true courage and American simplicity he called for volunteers and, utilizing the virile strength, wealth, and conserved resources of the country, he made quick preparations to meet the contingency, and soon victory without exhausting delays crowned his efforts.

So it was in the Revolutionary War, in the War of 1812, the War with Mexico, and in the War between the States.

A Nation of the population, power, strength, and resources of the United States can never be said to lack real preparation to defend itself. The great powers pointed out as threatening sources of alarm and danger had greater inducements to attack us in former years, when we were at war, than they have now, when they are at war and we are at peace.

Besides, the present world war has demonstrated that distant and far-separated colonies are not always a source of weakness. The loyalty of India, Australia, and other oriental dependencies of Great Britain, and of Canada and other Provinces nearer home, are illustrations of this truth. And even if there be danger, is that any reason for America, the foremost Nation in all the world, hoisting the white flag before danger develops? Has the red blood of our forefathers degenerated? Were those responsible for the addition of Florida, Louisiana, Texas, California, New Mexico, Arizona, Oregon, and Alaska to our national domain actuated by wise statesmanship, or were they by chance mere blind stumblers upon destiny? That they were real empire builders is revealed by results, and the imperial majesty of the Republic to-day attests their broad-minded, far-reaching vision and their present title to a Nation's grafitude. The world applauds these empire builders, as the Republic looms big with the responsibility and leadership of the future.

But wherein do their achievements differ from the patriotic work of President McKinley in the final negotiations with Spain for the relinquishment of sovereignty over the Philippines? His vision of the future seems to have approached divine inspiration, and to abandon his work now, with our assumed trust only half fulfilled, would be an unparalleled blunder, a sacrifice of national honor, a forfeiture of our right to leadership in the world's affairs, and a distinct repudiation of that high destiny designed for the American Republic, as many believe, by God himself, in the future federation of the world.

I may be optimistic; I do not believe in gloomy forebodings. I can not share in the pessimistic ideas of official place hunters or self-constituted critics of public thought, who profess to believe that this Nation is going to the bowwows unless their advice and guidance be followed by Congress.

Barring myself I do not look upon this Congress as spineless or spiritless, as has been charged by the ignorant and designing. Patriotic, able leadership on both sides of the Chamber will be found, when history comes to be written in the calm moments to follow the present world's upheaval, to compare favorably with any Congress in history since the right to organize Congresses by a self-governing people was wrested from King George at Yorktown. The cry of big business, prosperous because of the unhappy war in Europe, recently whispered in the country

by critics from Wall Street and ammunition-producing centers, to the effect that the Republic is standing to-day in the midst of a world of savage nations, unprepared in arms and unready in spirit, a listless guardian, with trouble brewing on all its borders, and with its people plagued by a degraded partisanship and divided allegiance, is not only unpatriotic but it is a monstrous libel on the public life of America. It should be condemned instead of quoted and exploited by honest fairminded citizens of all parties, whose patriotism and love of country ought to rise above party spirit and above the viewpoint of petty critics or self-seeking official military place hunters.

It is not a time for insinuation or innuendo; patriots of all shades of political conviction should stand together, subordinating partisanship and selfish personal interests to the general welfare and glory of our common country. It is truly an hour

of peril.

Democratic leaders do well to ask that in war emergencies all patriotic citizens and officials stand back of the President in any honest endeavor he may make to subserve the best interests and peace of the American people, and I for one prointerests and peace of the American people, and I for one pro-pose to do this except where his demands involve questions of vital principle, but the asking of support for this bill in its present form on the mere possibility of war increasing our mili-tary burdens in the Philippines is not based upon sound reason-ing. It is no excuse for repudiating a solemn trust assumed toward the simple-minded natives of the islands after our own action had released them from the yoke of bondage by which a foreign monarch had for three centuries held them in subjection and helpless ignorance,

It is asking too much of freemen; too much of a Nation of generous impulses and uplifting helpfulness toward all man-

kind.

I propose in my vote to-day to stand by the administration of President McKinley in its settlement of the Spanish-American War; stand by his soul, heart, and conscience, as I knew and understood them from intimate personal association with the man, and by the wise councilors of state whose advice he sought, and by the Congress of the people to whom, in a constitutional way, he made recommendations, but never sought to dominate or control.

The Shipping Situation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER, OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 8, 1916.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 8, 1916.

Washington, D. C., May 8, 1916.

So important did the members of the United States section of the International High Commission find the shipping question in South American countries that they deem it their duty especially to report the statements brought to their attention by residents of the countries visited as well as by members of the commission from the Republics of Central and South America attending the Buenos Aires conference.

Without exception in every country we found the shipping question uppermost in the minds of Government officials, bankers, and business men. Practically every business man with whom the members of the commission discussed conditions emphasized the absolute need of greatly increased ocean tonnage, while the members of the American colonies in the various cities sought every opportunity to improve conditions.

It was pointed out repeatedly that under the normal circumstances preceding the war the operation of many lines to European countries for both passengers and freight, making the trips in less time than steamers plying to the United States, gave Europe a greater advantage in the sale of merchandise, not only because of the larger tonnage available and quicker service, but because of the lower freight rates enjoyed. Representatives of the American business houses declared that it would be very difficult to extend American trade with such a handicap.

As a result of the war, the cost of ocean tonnage to South American

that it would be very difficult to extend American trade with such a handicap.

As a result of the war, the cost of ocean tonnage to South American ports has increased enormously, and instead of an improvement in the conditions the fear seems to be well grounded that they will become worse. As an illustration of present rates, it may be stated that before the war the rate on coal from the United States to Buenos Aires was 16 to 20 shillings per ton; for a considerable time recently it has been 102 shillings and 6 pence, and on occasions the rate has been as high as 120 shillings. As a result coal has been selling in Buenos Aires at \$28 to \$30 a ton, nearly \$25 of this price being represented in freight payments. Before the war it sold in cargo lots at \$7.75 to \$8.

Rates on hardware, drugs, paper, and general merchandise have increased in like proportion and notices of general advances approximating 50 per cent additional were given to Buenos Aires houses about the middle of April. Even at these prices immediate acceptance of

cargo space was necessary. We are advised bottoms are available in very much larger proportion from Great Britain than from other countries, and British merchants are enjoying rates 50 to 75 per cent less than American manufacturers. The situation as to rates does not obtain in the Argentine alone, but applies in all the countries. A number of notable cases were brought to the attention of members of the commission where important contracts have recently gone to Europe which would have been given to the United States but for the wide difference of freight rates which made it impossible for our manufacturers to commete

difference of freight rates which made it impossible for our manufacturers to compete

It was pointed out by the representatives of American shippers in these countries that very much higher rates to the United States, as against Europe, seriously militate against our manufacturers in the purchase of raw materials, which become available to European manufacturers at lower cost because of the cheaper transportation. This, of course, adds to the difficulty our manufacturers encounter in marketing manufactured products in competition with Europe.

American houses in Brazil and the Argentine informed the commission that they had been notified in the middle of April that a number of ships now in service from New York to South American ports would be taken off of this direct service and would soon make the trip from New York via Europe, thus still further restricting a service already so seriously impaired as to constitute a grave menace to our South American commerce.

The representatives of all the Governments participating in the

American commerce.

The representatives of all the Governments participating in the Buenos Aires conference took every opportunity to urge that the shipping conditions could only be improved on the initiative of the United States. They made clear their hability to finance new steamship enterprises, but at the same time promised that cooperation would be given in every way that their Governments could aid. It was also urged upon us that, while the present situation constituted a serious emergency calling for the quickest possible relief, the development of the commerce of the United States with South American countries in times of peace necessitated very much greater tonnage than had ever been available, while fast passenger lines were also essential if increased trade and communication between the countries were to be developed.

The United States commission does not as a commission assume to say what remedies should be applied by our Government, but they are convinced that there is no more vital question affecting our commerce with the Latin-American countries than that of providing greatly increased shipping facilities.

W. G. MCADOO,
D. U. FLETCHER.
A. J. PETERS.
PAUL M. WARBURG,
SAMUEL UNTERMYER,
JOHN H. FAHEY,
ARCHIBALD KAINS.

The Late Representative Witherspoon.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

THOMAS U. SISSON.

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, March 5, 1916.

The House had under consideration the following resolutions (H. Res.

The House had dade considered that 157):

"Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended, that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. Samuel A. Witherspoon, late a Member of this House from the State of Mississippidal.

A. Witherspoon, late a Member of this sistippi.

"Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand adjourned.

"Resolved That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Senate.

"Resolved. That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Speaker, in listening to the tributes that have been paid to the memory of my good friend I find we are struck with this great and convincing fact: We are all agreed; there is no discordant note; we all have the same opinion of the man. In discussing the character of any other man we would, as a rule, find a variety of opinions as to the chief characteristic and as to the particular quality of the man that commended him, but in every word that has been spoken about "Sam" Witherspoon there is absolute harmony. Not a man has spoken upon this occasion but that has said that "Sam" Witherspoon was a man of courage, honesty, and integrity. And, above all, not an expression has fallen from the lips of any man who has discussed Mr. Witherspoon's character but that it resolved itself into this: There was not enough shadow in his soul to hide a single sinister thought. When he spoke he spoke his honest conviction, and every man that heard him knew that he was speaking his conviction.

He was a man of courage, without being cruel.

He was a man of honesty, without effort to display it.

He was a man of the strongest affections, but never ostentatious in displaying them.

He loved his people and delighted to serve them, but never bent his convictions to win their applause.

He loved principle, but respected the convictions of others.

He despised sham and hypocrisy and never forgave it in

He never bent his knee to power and had a contempt for all who did.

And he never in any moment of his life hesitated to follow his own honest convictions, whatever the result might be to him personally.

I have never known a man who considered himself so slightly as to his future profit and loss, either political or financial, when it came to taking a position which he thought was right.

It pained him to differ with his colleagues here, but it never deterred him from the performance of duty as he saw it. If every Member of Congress had the courage and conviction of "Sam" Witherstoon, this body would be elevated in the minds and hearts of the American people, and once again become a virile force in this Government and in the enforcement

of its views upon legislation. "SAM" WITHERSPOON never WITHERSPOON never bent the pregnant hinges of his knee that either political or financial thrift might follow fawn-How many men yield their convictions, not only upon mere policy, but how many yield their convictions on great questions to the dictates of others in high place? But no living man can say that Samuel Andrew Witherspoon ever yielded a conviction to any man. He was made out of that iron stuff that makes the great mountain peaks in the range of the human race; that causes people to look back upon the mighty form and know that there was indeed a man. When you begin to enumerate the really great men that have lived on the earth,

you find the number small, yea, very small.

Men to be leaders must be men who can differ courageously and persistently on a question of principle with the frowning

multitude.

If Martin Luther had not been a man possessed of enormous courage and conviction, he could never have been the great mover of the Reformation. If John Calvin had not been himself a man of mighty convictions, as well as mighty intellect, he could never have been the founder of a great religious faith. If Washington and Jefferson and the great men of America had not been men of great conviction, this Republic could never have been established. To preserve their work is our task. WITHERspoon realized this and was devoted to the Constitution, and however popular a measure, he voted against it if he did not believe it was constitutional.

Men like Sam Witherspoon make justice, truth, and honesty

prevail in politics, in religion, and in social life.

I would rather have the tributes paid to my memory when I shall depart this life that have been paid to Sam Witherspoon to-day than to have all the wealth of the world. It is such characters as this that make the world worth living in, that make for progress and advancement, because so often the great, in the minds of the present generation are nothing more nor less than an intellect capable of catching the popular will and fancy at the time-a mere drifter with the tide. Such men are forgotten ere they pass away. It is easy for men to do this, but it is hard to go against the mighty current; and it is a man like WITHERSPOON who, when the current is in the face, is willing to stem the tide, and when the flood strikes is like a mighty rock in the way of a raging torrent. He made of himself an impediment, and upon that impediment other less important materials collected and hung about the mighty form until there gathered

enough obstruction to stay the current.

Mr. Witherspoon in religion was a Presbyterian. He came from a stock of Presbyterians. He traced his ancestry in America back beyond the Revolution. His kinsman, Dr. Witherspoon, a Presbyterian minister, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a careful study of the life of Dr. Witheror independence, and a careful study of the life of Dr. Witherspoon and of the subject of these memorial exercises shows a wonderful similarity. I have known many Witherspoons. I have known his close and distant relatives and I have never known a Witherspoon that did not possess to some degree some of the qualities possessed by Sam Witherspoon. His family has been one of the most prominent in the history of American polities and it has been a family that has been one. has been one of the most prominent in the history of American politics, and it has been a family that has always been on the side of religious and political liberty. The sweetest trait of the Witherspoon family is that they never for one moment in politics forget that Government is established for people and not for the favored few. They all believe in the so-called plain people and have always been their champions. So it was natural for our friend to stand for the rights of the poor and the downtrodden. He loved the man that toiled; he loved the man who with sun-crowned hand produced the wealth of the world and he believed in his soul that if you gave to him absoworld, and he believed in his soul that if you gave to him absolute and equal rights the Republic would be safe, but he believed also that the Republic is dead, destroyed, if men of influence, of capacity, could get control of the powers of Gov-

ernment and use these powers to their private advantage and to the disadvantage of the great mass. Oh, that all of us could imitate him in our love for the plain people of the world, and become such a champion of liberty as was SAM WITHERSPOON. Like the pebble that falls from the mountain side, while he lived we may not realize his greatness, but after he is gone the pebble of influence starts down the mountain side, it continues to collect the snow and débris, and before it gets down to the foot of the mountain it is a mighty avalanche. Who knows to-day but that the influence of Sam Witherspoon may become one of the potent factors in American life, and that his efforts—while they seemingly failed here—to have the people restored to the rights that they ought to have under this great and glorious Republic will at some distant day be realized?

When the Master lost his life at the hands of the Jewish mob, was there then a politician, a general, a statesman, or an emperor who believed that his simple life would have such an influence upon the world; that all the Governments that to-day make up the great civilization of Europe and America would have as the basis of their laws, their philosophy, and religion that which was taught by the simple Nazarene? And, as Mr. WITHERSPOON endeavored to make his life as nearly as possible like that of his Master, so is he loved and revered and honored, and will be when the sun shall grow dim with age, when the firmament shall be rolled up as a scroll, when time shall cease and eternity roll. Sam Witherspoon's memory and influence will live on in immortal youth, and his influence will touch the farthest shores of the most distant eternity. When men shall imitate his honesty of purpose in statecraft, we will be able to erect here on this American soil a magnificent temple of liberty in which will dwell forever peace, love, unity, and happiness. Mankind will then rise up and call us blessed, that through this influence men might become great, happy, strong, prosperors and good.

Our Rights Upon the Sea.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. S. D. FESS.

OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 9, 1916.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, on the 18th of March I submitted the documents covering our controversy over the submarine issue arising out of Germany's announcement on the 10th of February that armed merchantmen of her enemies would be attacked without warning. Since that date many notes have passed between our country and Germany on this issue, due to the attack upon the unarmed French steamer Sussex in the English Channel March 24.

On the following day our Government sent a note to Germany, which was not made public until the 27th of April. The

note defines armed-liner law.

NOTIFIES BELLIGERENTS THAT UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES RIGHT OF DEFENSE BY MERCHANTMEN—LIMITS ACTS OF WAR CRAFT—MUST NOT ATTACK WITHOUT WARNING UNTIL STATUS OF VESSEL IS FULLY DETERMINED—AND MUST DISPLAY COLORS—MERCHANTMEN WITH MANDATORY ORDERS TO ATTACK WAR CRAFT NOT IMMUNE THEM-

TEXT OF THE MEMORANDUM.

The memorandum, which sets forth the attitude of the administration clear detail, follows:

MEMORANDUM ON ARMED MERCHANT VESSELS.

By direction of the President a memorandum was prepared during March, 1916, in regard to the status of armed merchant vessels in neutral ports and on the high seas. This memorandum is now made public as a statement of this Government's attitude on that subject:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE Washington, March 25, 1916.

I.

The status of an armed merchant vessel of a belligerent is to be considered from two points of view: First, from that of a neutral when the vessel is on the high seas.

First. An armed merchant vessel in neutral ports.

(1) It is necessary for a neutral Government to determine the status of an armed merchant vessel of belligerent nationality which enters its jurisdiction, in order that the Government may protect itself from responsibility for the destruction of life and property by permitting its ports to be used as bases of hostile operations by belligerent warships.

(2) If the vessel carries a commission or orders issued by a belligerent Government and directing it under penalty to conduct aggressive operations, or if it is conclusively shown to have conducted such operations, it should be regarded and treated as a warship.

(3) If sufficient evidence is wanting a neutral Government in order to safeguard itself from liability for failure to preserve its neutrality may reasonably presume from these facts the status of an armed merchant vessel which frequents its waters. There is no settled rule of international law as to the sufficiency of evidence to establish such a presumption. As a result a neutral Government must decide for itself the sufficiency of the evidence which it requires to determine the character of the vessel. For the guidance of its port officers and other officials a neutral Government may therefore declare a standard of evidence, but such standard may be changed on account of the general conditions of naval warfare or modified on account of the general conditions of naval warfare or modified on account of the circumstances of a particular case. These changes and modifications may be made at any time during the progress of the war, since the determination of the status of an armed merchant vessel in neutral waters may affect the liability of a neutral Government.

Second. An armed merchant vessel on the high seas.

(1) It is necessary for a belligerent warship to determine the status of an armed merchant vessel of the high seas, since the rights of life and property of belligerents and neutrals on board the vessel may be impaired if its status is that of an enemy warship.

since the rights of life and property of belligerents and neutrals on board the vessel may be impaired if its status is that of an enemy warship.

(2) The determination of warlike character must rest in no case upon presumption but upon conclusive evidence, because the responsibility for the destruction of life and property depends on the actual facts of the case and can not be avoided or lessened by a standard of evidence which a belligerent may announce as creating a presumption of hostile character. On the other hand, to safeguard himself from possible liability for unwarranted destruction of life and property the belligerent should, in the absence of conclusive evidence, act on the presumption that an armed merchantman is of peaceful character.

(3) A presumption based solery on the presence of an armament on a merchant vessel of an enemy is not a sufficient reason for a belligerent to declare it to be a warship and proceed to attack it without regard to the rights of the persons on board. Conclusive evidence of a purpose to use the armament for aggression is essential. Consequently an armament which a neutral Government, seeking to perform its neutral duties, may presume to be intended for aggression might in fact on the high seas be used solely for protection. A neutral Government has no opportunity to determine the purpose of an armament on a merchant vessel unless there is evidence in the ship's papers or other proof as to its previous use, so that the Government is justified in substituting an arbitrary rule of presumption in arriving at the status of the merchant vessel. On the other hand, a belligerent warship can on the high seas test by actual experience the purpose of an armament on an enemy merchant vessel and so determine by direct evidence the status of the vessel.

SUMMARY.

The status of an armed merchant vessel as a warship in neutral waters may be determined, in the absence of documentary proof or conclusive evidence of previous aggressive conduct, by presumption derived from all the circumstances of the case.

The status of such vessel as a warship on the high seas must be determined only upon conclusive evidence of aggressive purpose, in the absence of which it is to be presumed that the vessel has a private and peaceable character, and it should be so treated by an enemy warship.

In brief, a neutral Government may proceed upon the presumption that an armed merchant vessel of belligerent nationality is armed for aggression, while a belligerent should proceed on the presumption that the vessel is armed for protection. Both of these presumptions may be overcome by evidence—the first by secondary or collateral evidence, since the fact to be established is negative in character; the second by primary and direct evidence, since the fact to be established is positive in character.

The character of the evidence upon which the status of an armed merchant vessel of belligerent nationality is to be determined when visiting neutral waters and when traversing the high seas having been stated, it is important to consider the rights and duties of neutrals and belligerents as affected by the status of armed merchant vessels in neutral ports and on the high seas.

First. The relations of belligerents and neutrals as affected by the status of armed merchant vessels in neutral ports.

(1) It appears to be the established rule of international law that warships of a belligerent may enter neutral ports and accept limited thospitality there upon condition that they leave, as a rule, within 24 hours after their arrival.

(2) Belligerent warships are also entitled to take on fuel once in three months in ports of a neutral country.

(3) As a mode of enforcing these rules, a neutral has the right to cause belligerent warships falling to comply with them, together with their officers and crews, to be interned during the remainder of the war.

(4) Merchantmen of belligerent nationality, armed only for purposes of protection against the enemy, are entitled to enter and leave neutral ports without hindrance in the course of legitimate trade.

(5) Armed merchantmen of belligerent nationality under a commission or orders of their Government to use, under penalty, their armament for aggressive purposes, or merchantmen which, without such commission or orders, have used their armaments for aggressive purposes, are not entitled to the same hospitality in neutral ports as peaceable armed merchantmen.

Second. The relations of belligerents and neutrals as affected by the status of armed merchant vessels on the high seas.

(1) Innocent neutral property on the high seas can not legally be confiscated, but is subject to inspection by a belligerent. Resistance to inspection removes this immunity and subjects the property to condemnation by a prize court, which is charged with the preservation of the legal rights of the o

(4) Enemy property, including ships and cargoes, is always subject to seizure and coademantion. Any enemy property taken by a belligerent on the high seas is a total loss to the owners. There is no recrease in a prize court. The only means of avoiding loss is by flight or successful resistance. Enemy merchant ships have therefore the right to arm for the purpose of self-protection.

Olea Deligerent warship is any vessel which, under commission or competity of the purpose of self-protection.

(1) A belligerent warship is any vessel which, under commission or strength of armament, and its defensive on offensive force are immaterial.

(3) A belligerent warship has, incidental to the right of seizure, the right to visit and search all wessels on the high seas for the purpose of seasons of the high season of the property of armount, and its defensive of offensive force are suggested in the season of the purpose o

On the 10th of April Germany made reply to our memorandum of the 25th of March, in which responsibility for the destruction of the Sussex was not admitted:

Berlin, April 12, 1916.

April 10:

"The undersigned has the honor to inform your excellency, Ambassador Gerard, in response to communications of the 29th and 30th ultimo and the 3d instant regarding the steamers Sussex, Manchester Engineer, Englishman, Berveindeule, and Eagle Point that the mentioned cases, in accordance with our notes of the 30th and 31st ultimo and the 4th and 5th instant, have been subjected to careful investigation by the admiral staff of the navy, which has led to the following results:

"First. The English steamer Beneficial Control of the Suspension of the Suspension of the following results:

results:

"First. The English steamer Berwindvale.—A steamer, which was possibly the Berwindvale, was encountered on the evening of March 16 in sight of Bull Rock Light, on the Irish coast, by a German submarine. The steamer, as soon as she noticed the submarine, which was running unsubmerged, turned and steamed away. She was ordered to halt by a warning shot. She paid no attention, however, to this warning, but extinguished all lights and attempted to escape. The vessel was then fired upon until halted, and without further orders lowered several boats. After the crew entered the boats and received enough time to row away the ship was sunk.

"The name of this steamer was not established; it can not be stated.

"The name of this steamer was not established; it can not be stated with assurance, even with the help of the details which were furnished by the American Embassy, that the above-described incident concerns the steamer Berwindvale Since, however, the steamer sunk was a tank steamer like the Berwindvale, the identity of the ships may be assumed. In this case, however, the statement made that the Berwindvale was torpedoed without warning would conflict with the fact.

"Second. The British steamer Englishman.—This steamer on March 24 was called upon to halt by a German submarine, through two warning shots, about 20 sea miles west of Islay (Hebrides). The vessel proceeded, however, without heeding the warning, and was therefore forced

by the submarine by artillery fire to halt after an extended chase, whereupon she lowered boats without further orders.

"After the German commandant had convinced himself that the crew had taken to the boats and rowed from the ship, he sank the steamer.

"Third. The British steamer Manchester Engineer.—It is impossible to establish through the investigation up to the present whether the attack on this steamer, which according to the given description, occurred on March 27 in the latifude of Waterford, is attributable to a German submarine. The statement regarding the time and place of the incident gives no sufficient basis for investigation. It would therefore be desirable to have more exact statements of the place, time, and attendant circumstances of the attack reported by the American Government. In order that the investigation might thereupon be brought to a conclusion, non of Mach 28 was called upon to halt by a German submarine through signal and shot about 100—not 130—sea miles from the southwest coast of Ireland, but proceeded. She was thereupon fired upon until halted, and without further orders lowered two boats, in which the erew took their places. After the commandant convinced himself that the boats, which had hoisted salls, had gotten clear of the strength of two, not 'a storm wind,' and a light swell, not 'a heavy sea,' as stated in the given description, prevailed. The boats therefore had every prospect of being picked up very quickly, because the place of the silking lay on a much-used steamer path.

"If the French steamer Sussex—Ascertainment of the fact whether the Channel steamer Sussex was damaged by a German submarine was rendered extremely difficult, because no exact details of time, place, and attendant circumstances of the shiking were known, and also because it was impossible to obtain a picture of the ship before April 6. Consequently he investigation had to be extended to all actions undertaken on the day in question—March 24—in the Channel in the general region between Folkstone an

graphically from the English paper, the Daily Graphic of the 27th ultimo.

A comparison of the sketch and the picture shows that the craft attacked is not identical with the Sussex. The difference in the position of the stack and shape of the stern is particularly striking.

No other attack whatever by German submarines at the time in question for the Sussex upon the route between Folkstone and Dieppe occurred. The German Government must therefore assume that the injury to the Sussex is attributable to another cause than an attack by a German submarine.

For an explanation of the case the fact may perhaps be serviceable that no less than 26 English mines were exploded by shots by German naval forces in the channel on the 1st and 2d of April alone. The entire sea in that vicinity is, in fact, endangered by floating mines and by torpedoes that have not sunk. Off the English coast it is further endangered in an increasing degree through German mines which have been laid against enemy naval forces.

Should the American Government have at its disposal further material for a conclusion upon the case of the Sussex, the German Government would ask that it be communicated, in order to subject this material also to an investigation.

In the event that differences of opinion should develop hereby between the two Governments, the German Government now declares itself ready to have the facts of the case established through mixed commissions of investigation, in accordance with the third title of The Hague agreement, for the peaceful settlement of international conflicts, November 18, 1907.

The undersigned, while requesting that you communicate the above to the Government of the United States, takes occasion to renew to the ambassador the assurance of his distinguished esteem.

On the 18th day of April our Government addressed Germany the now famous note, considered by many as an ultimatum:

TEXT OF THE AMERICAN NOTE TO GERMANY.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, April 18, 1916.

The Secretary of State to Ambassador Gerard:

The Secretary of State to Ambassador Greard:

You are instructed to deliver to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs a communication reading as follows:

"I did not fail to transmit immediately, by telegraph, to my Government Your Excellency's note of the 10th instant in regard to certain attacks by German submarines, and particularly in regard to the disastrous explosion which, on March 24 last, wrecked the French steamship Sussex in the English Channel. I have now the honor to deliver, under instructions from my Government, the following reply to Your Excellency:

"Information now in the possession of the Government of the United States furly establishes the facts in the case of the Sussex, and the

inferences which my Government has drawn from that information it regards as confirmed by the circumstances set forth in Your Excel. 2.05 o'clock in the afternoon, the unarmed steamer Sussee, with 325 or more passengers on board, among whom were a number of American citizens, was torpedoed while crossing from Folkestone to Dieppe. The used only for the conveyance of passengers across the English Channel; and was not following the route taken by troopships or supply ships. About 80 of her passengers, noncombatants of all ages and sexes, including the control of the conveyance of passengers across the English Channel; and was not following the route taken by troopships or supply ships. About 80 of her passengers, noncombatants of all ages and sexes, including the control of the

"Vessels of neutral ownership, even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port, have been destroyed, along with vessels of belligerent ownership, in constantly increasing numbers. Sometimes the merchantmen attacked have been warned and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed; sometimes their passengers and crews have been vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to take to the ship's boats before the ship was sent to the bottom. But again and again no warning has been given, no escape even to the ship's boats allowed to those on board. Great liners like the Lusitanta and Arabic and mere passenger boats like the Sussex have been attacked without a moment's warning, often before they have even become aware that they were in the presence of an armed ship o' the enemy, and the lives of noncombatants, passengers and crew, have been destroyed wholesale and in a manner which the Government of the

United States can not but regard as wanton and without the slightest color of justification. No limit of any kind has, in fact been set to their indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantmen of all kinds and nationalities within the waters which the Imperial Government has chosen to designate as lying within the seat of war. The roll of Americans who have lost their lives upon ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous toll has mounted into the hundreds.

"The Government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy it has sought to be governed by the most thoughtful consideration of the extraordinary circumstances of an unprecedented war and to be guided by sentiments of very genuine friendship for the people and Government of Germany. It has accepted the successive explanations and assurances of the Imperial Government as, of course, given in entire sincerity and good faith, and has hoped, even against hope, that it would prove to be possible for the Imperial Government so to order and control the acts of its naval commanders as to square its policy with the recognized principles of humanity as embodied in the law of nations. It has made every allowance for unprecedented conditions and has been willing to wait until the facts became unmistakable and were susceptible of only one interpretation.

"It now owes it to a just regard for its own rights to say to the Imperial Government that that time has come. It has become painfully evident to it that the position which it took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce, is, of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of noncombatants.

"It it is still the p

On the day after sending the note to Germany the President

addressed the Congress on the issue, as follows:

On the day after sending the note to Germany the President nuldressed the Congress on the issue, as follows:

Gentiemen of the country of which it is my plain duty to inform you very frankly.

It will be recalled that in February, 1915, the Imperial German Government announced its intention to treat the waters surrounding Great Britain and read of the training of the country of the training the found within any part of that portion of the high seas, and that it warned all vessels, of neutral as well as of belligerent ownership, to keep out of the waters at had thus proscribed, or else enter, them at their peril. The Government of the United States earnestly protested. It took the position that such a policy could not be pursued without the practical certainty of gross and palpable violations of the law of nations, particularly if submarine craft were to be employed as its instruments, inasmuch as the rules prescribed by that law, rules founded upon principles of humanity and established for the protection of the lives of noncombatants at sea, could not in the nature of the case be observed by such vessels. It based its protest on the ground that persons of neutral nationality and vessels of mentral ownership would be exposed to extreme and intolerable risks, and that no right to close any part of the high seas against their use or to expose them to such risks could nawfully be asserted by any belligerent Government. The law of nations in these matters, upon which the Government. The law of nations in these matters, upon which the Government. The law of nations in these matters, upon which the Government. The law of nations in these matters, upon which the approval and by the express assent of alt civilized nations.

Notwithstanding the earnest protest of our Government, the Imperial German Government at once proceeded to carry out the policy of at any rate the dangers to neutral vessels, would be reduced to a minimum by the instructions which it had issued to its submarine commanders, and assured the Government

festly proved impossible for it to keep such methods of attack upon the commerce of its enemies within the bounds set by either the reason or the heart of mankind.

In February of the present year the Imperial German Government informed this Government and the other neutral Governments of the world that it had reason to believe that the Government of Great Britain had armed all merchant vessels of British ownership and had given them seeret orders to attack any submarine of the enemy they might encounter upon the seas, and that the Imperial German Government felt justified in the circumstances in treating all armed merchantmen of belligerent ownership as auxiliary vessels of war, which it would have the right to destroy without warning. The law of nations has long recognized the right of merchantmen to carry arms for protection and to use them to repel attack, though to use them in such circumstances at their own risks; but the Imperial German Government claimed the right to set these understandings aside in circumstances which it deemed extraordinary. Even the terms in which it announced its purpose thus still further to relax the restraints it had previously professed its willingness and desire to put upon the operations of its submarines carried the piain implication that at least vessels which were not armed would still be exempt from destruction without warning, and that personal safety would be accorded their passengers and crews; but even that limitation, if it was ever practicable to observe it, has in fact constituted no check at all upon the destruction of ships of every sort.

were not armed would still be exempt from destruction without warning, and that personal safety would be accorded their passengers and crews; but even that Ilmitation, if it was ever practicable to observe it, has in fact constituted no check at all upon the destruction of ships of every sort.

Again and again the Imperial German Government has given this case of the commanders of the sould not be thus dealt with, and yet it has again and again permitted its undersea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire immunity. Great liners like the Lusitania and the Arabic, and mer ferryboats like the Sussez, have been attacked without a moment's warning, sometimes before they had even become aware that they were in the presence of an armed vessel of the enemy, and the lives of noncombatants, passe great many the commanders of the United States can not but regard as wanton and without the slightest color of justification. No limit of any kind has, in fact, been set to the indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantmen of all kinds and nationalities within the waters, constantly extending in area, where these operations have been carried on, and the roll of Americans who have lost their lives on ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous attacked and destroyed has have been consistent at a truly terrible example of the destruction of the French cross-channel steamer Sussex. It must stand forth, as the shifting of the steamer Lusifonia did, as so singularly tragical and unjustillable as to constitute a truly terrible

sever diplomatic relations with the Government of the German Empire altogether.

This decision I have arrived at with the keenest regret; the possibility of the action contemplated I am sure all thoughtful Americans will look forward to with unaffected reluctance. But we can not forget that we are in some sort and by the force of circumstances the responsible spokesmen of the rights of humanity and that we can not remain silent while those rights seem in process of being swept utterly away in the maelstrom of this terrible war. We owe it to a due regard for our own rights as a Nation, to our sense of duty as a representative of the rights of neutrals the world over, and to a just conception of the rights of mankind to take this stand now with the utmost solemnity and firmness.

I have taken it, and taken it in the confidence that it will meet with your approval and support. All sober-minded men must unite in hoping

that the Imperial German Government, which has in other circumstances stood as the champion of all that we are now contending for in the interest of humanity, may recognize the justice of our demands and meet them in the spirit in which they are made.

On the 5th of this month Germany made reply to our note, which in the main seems to meet our demand. The significant statement is in the following words:

In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless the ship attempt to escape or offer resistance.

TEXT OF GERMANY'S REPLY TO OUR NOTE,

unless the ship attempt to escape or offer resistance.

BERLIN May 5, 1916.

(By wireless to Sayville.)

Following is the text of the note of the German Government in reply to the American note respecting submarine warfare, delivered yesterday by Gottlieb von Jagow, the foreign secretary, to Ambassador Gerard:

The undersigned, on behalf of the Imperial German Government, has the honor to present to his excellency the ambassador of the United States, Mr. James W. Gerard, the following reply to the note of April 20 regarding the conduct of German submarine warfare:

"The German Government handed over to the proper naval authorities for early investigation the evidence concerning the Sassex, as communicated by the Government of the United States. Judging by the results that the investigation has hitherto yielded, the German Government is alive to the possibility that the ship mentioned in the note of April 10 as having been torpedoed by a German submarine is actually identical with the Sussex.

"The German Government begs to reserve further communication on the matter until certain points are ascertained, which are of declsive importance for establishing the facts of the case. Should it turn out that the commander was wrong in assuming the vessel to be a man-of-war, the German Government will not fall to draw the consequence resulting therefrom.

"In connection with the case of the Sussex the Government of the United States made a series of statements, the gist of which is the assertion that the incident is to be considered but one instance of a deliberate method of indiscriminate destruction of vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations by German submarine commanders, nationalities, and destinations by German submarine commanders, nationalities, and destinations by German submarine commanders.

"The German Government must emphatically repudiate the assertion by reference to concrete facts.

"The German Government will only state that it has imposed farroaching restraints upon the use of the submarine

consideration of neutrals interests, in spite of the fact that these restretiens are necessarily of advantage to Germany's enemies. No such consideration has ever been shown neutrals by Great Britain and her ailies.

"The German submarine forces have had, in fact, orders to conduct the submarine warfare in accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, the sole exception being the conduct of warfare against enemy trade carried on enemy freight ships encountered in the war zone surrounding Great Britain. With regard to these, no assurances have ever been given to the Government of the United States. No such assurances are contained in the declaration of February 8, 1916.

"The German Government can not admit any doubt that these orders were given or are executed in good faith. Errors actually occurred. They can in no kind of warfare be avoided allogether. Allowances must be made in the conduct of awal warfare against an enemy resorting to all kinds of ruses, whether permissible or Illicit.

"But apart from the possibility of errors, naval warfare, just like warfare on land, implies unavoidable dangers for neutral persons and goods entering the fighting zone. Even in cases where the naval action is confined to ordinary forms of cruiser warfare, neutral persons and goods repeatedly come to grief.

"The German Government has repeatedly and explicitly pointed out the dangers from mines that have led to the loss of numerous ships.

"The German Government has made several proposals to the Government of the United States in order to reduce to a minimum for American travelers and goods tile inherent dangers of naval warfare. Unfortunately the Government of the United States would have been instrumental in preventing the greater part of the accidents that American citizens have met with in the meantime.

"The German Government repeatedly declared, it can not dispense with the use of the submarine wapon in the conduct of warfare against e

is actuated by considerations which are above the level of the disputed question.

"The German Government attaches no less importance to the sacred principles of humanity than the Government of the United States. It again fully takes into account that both Governments for many years cooperated in developing international law in conformity with these principles, the ultimate object of which has always been to confine warfare on sea and land to armed forces of belligerents and safeguard as far as possible noncombatants against the horrors of war.

"But although these considerations are of great weight, they alone would not, under present circumstances, have determined the attitude of the German Government. For in answer to the appeal by the Government of the United States on behalf of the sacred principles of humanity and international law, the German Government must repeat once more, with all emphasis, that it was not the German, but the British, Government which ignored all accepted rules of international law and extended this terrible war to the lives and property of noncombatants, having no regard whatever for the Interests and rights of neutrals and noncombatants that through this method of warfare have been severely injured.

"Un audit of the sacred principles of the sacred principles of neutrals and noncombatants the illegal conduct of British warfare, while

been severely injured.

"In self-defense against the illegal conduct of British warfare, while fighting a bitter struggle for national existence, Germany had to resort to the hard but effective weapon of submarine warfare.

"As matters stand, the German Government can not but reiterate regret that the sentiments of humanity, which the Government of the

United States extends with such fervor to the unhappy victims of submarine warfare, are not extended with the same warmth of feeling to many millions of women and children who, according to the avowed intention of the British Government, shall be starved, and who by sufferings shall force the victorious armies of the central powers into ignominious capitulation.

"The German Government, in agreement with the German people, fails to understand this discrimination, all the more as it has repeatedly and explicitly declared itself ready to use the submarine weapon in strict conformity with the rules of international law as recognized before the outbreak of the war, if Great Britain likewise was ready to adapt the conduct of warfare to these rules.

"Several attempts made by the Government of the United States to prevail upon the British Government to act accordingly failed because of flat refusal on the part of the British Government. Moreover, Great Britain again and again has violated international law, surpassing all bounds in outraging neutral rights. The latest measure adopted by Great Britain, declaring German bunker coal contraband and establishing conditions under which English bunker coal alone is supplied to neutrals, is nothing but an unheard-of attempt by way of exaction to force neutral tonnage into the service of British trade war.

"The German people knows that the Government of the United States has the power to confine the war to armed forces of the belligerent countries, in the interest of humanity and maintenance of International law. The Government of the United States would have been certain of attaining this end had it been determined to 'nsist, against Great Britain, on the incontrovertible rights to freedom of the seas. But as matters stand the German people is under the impression that the Government of the United States would have been certain of attaining this end had it been determined to 'nsist, against Great Britain, on the incontrovertible rights to freedom of the seas. But as matters

guided not alone by the friendship connecting the two great nations for over 100 years, but also by the thought of the great doom which threatens the entire civilized world should the cruel and sanguinary war be extended and prolonged.

"The German Government, conscious of Germany's strength, twice within the last few months announced before the world its readliness to make peace on a basis safeguarding Germany's vital interests, thus indicating that it is not Germany's fault if peace is still withheld from the nations of Europe. The German Government feels all the more justified in declaring that responsibility could not be borne before the forum of mankind and in history if after 21 months of the war's duration the submarine question, under discussion between the German Government and the Government of the United States, were to take a turn scriously threatening maintenance of peace between the two nations.
"As far as lies with the German Government, it wishes to prevent things from taking such a course. The German Government, moreover, is prepared to do its timost to conflue operations of the war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligereats, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes, now as before, that it is in agreement with the Government of the United States.

"The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that German awal forces have received the following order:

"In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels, recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives unless the ship attempt to escape or ofter resistance.

"But neutrals can not expect that Germany, forced to fight for existence, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives unless the ship attempt to escape or ofter resistan

This latest position on the sensitive submarine issue indicates clearly Germany's desire to avoid the steps which might lead to severing diplomatic relations. It was partially anticipated in the address of the chancellor, Von Hollweg, in the Reichstag on the 5th of April, about 10 days after our note on the Sussex, out of which the latest controversy arose. The address in part, as given out from Berlin, is as follows:

BERLIN, April 5, 1916.
(By wireless to Sayville.)

In the Reichstag to-day Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg, in the most comprehensive speech he has delivered since the war began, derided the reports—calumniously circulated by the allies, he said—that Germany

contemplated an attack upon the United States after the European war was ended, and had designs upon the territory of South American

States.

The chancellor, whose address was delivered to a crowded house, also spoke of the questions presented in relation to the principle of nationality, considering the Polish, Lithuanian, Livonian, Belgian, and Flemish problems. He insisted upon the necessity of guaranteeing the peace of Europe after the war, and also of securing this result by giving to these races opportunity of free evolution along the lines of their natural individualities and mother tongues.

"TOWARD A FUTURE OF LIBERTY,"

At the conclusion of his address the chancellor elicited great applause

At the conclusion of his address the chancellor elicited great appliause by saying:

"The spirit of union shall lead us, as it shall lead our children and grandchildren, through the struggles of their fathers, toward a future of strength and liberty."

The chancellor began his address with a review of the military situation. He said that since his last speech in the Reichstag the Dardanelles enterprise had ended as a failure; that the Serbian campaign, with the assistance of Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria, had been brought to a victorious conclusion, and that Montenegro and Albania likewise were now in the hands of Germany's allies; that the British attempt to relieve Kut-el-Amara, in Mesopotamia, had been vain; that the Russians, although they had succeeded in occupying Erzerum with superior numbers, had found their advance checked by strong Turkish forces; that Russian attacks against the front in East Galicia and Italian attacks against the Isonzo positions had been beaten back. Moreover, he said, the Russians had driven columns against the German lines, but their assaults had broken down before Field Marshal von Hindenburg and his "heroes."

The chancellor declared that the reports of the enemies of this nation that the German military force had been expended were erroneous, as the Verdun battle had proved that where operations were prepared with great forcesight and where the bravery of German troops was called into play one advantage after another had been obtained. He then expressed the nation's thanks to the solders and their leaders.

Discussing attempts which he said were being made to starve Germany, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg continued:

"I understood that in 1915 our enemies would not give up this hope, but I do not understand how cool heads, after the experiences of 1915, can cling to It. Our enemies forget that, thanks to the organizing powers of the whole nation, Germany is equal to the task of distribution of food supplies.

"Moral Reserves" Against Starvation.

" MORAL RESERVES " AGAINST STARVATION.

"Our enemies forget that in cases in which there is a real shortage the German Nation is able to make use of moral reserves which enable us to lower our standard of life, which has risen remarkably during the last decades. What would it mean, for instance, if the consumption of meat should temporarily be lowered to the level of the seventies? I should think our adversaries would remember how strong was the German race of those days."

Conditions of life in Germany were not easy, the chancellor continued, but the difficulties were being met in admirable fashion by the entire nation, especially the poorer classes. The crop reports indicated, he said, that all the winter crops were good; in fact, the reports had not been so favorable for many years previously. The harvest of 1915 was the worst of decades; nevertheless, the stocks of grain for breadmaking not only would be sufficient, but provided for a considerable reserve with which to begin the new year.

"We shall not run short of anything in the future, as we have not done in the past," he said

The chancellor asserted that it was the intention of Germany's enemies to extend the war to the women and children of the nation by starving them, and that for this purpose Great Britain and her allies had mierfered with the trade of neutrals.

"The American note of November 5, 1915, gave an exact description of British violations of the nations' laws," he continued, "but as far as I know it has not been answered up to this day.

"No fair-minded neutral, no matter whether he favors us or not, can doubt our right to defend ourselves against this war of starvation, which is contrary to international law. No one can ask us to permit our arms of defense to be wrested from our hands. We use them, and must use them. We respect legitimate rights of neutral trade and commerce, but we have a right to expect that this will be appreciated, and that our right and our duty be recognized—to use all means against this policy of starvation, which is a jeering insult not only to all la

"THERE MUST BE A NEW BELGIUM."

Amid profound silence and the deep attention of the whole house the chancellor turned to the Polish problem and to that of nationalities in general, saying:
"Neither Germany nor Austria-Hungary intended to touch the Polish question, but the fate of battles brought them in contact with it. Now this problem stands before the world and needs to be solved. Germany and Austria-Hungary must and will solve it. History will not admit that after such earthquakes things will ever become what they were before

that after such cartinuages things will ever become what they were before.

"After the war there must be a new Belgium.

"Formerly Poland was left in the hands of the tchinovnik [Russian police agent]. Even members of the Russian Duma have frankly admitted that he ought not to return to the place where Germans, Austrians, and Poles have honestly labored in the interests of this unfortunate land.

"Mr. Asquith also mentions the principle of nationality. If he puts

tunate land.

"Mr. Asquith also mentions the principle of nationality. If he puts himself in the position of this unconquered and unconquerable adversary, can he really suppose that Germany will ever of her own free will deliver into the hands of reactionary Russia the nations between the Baltic and the Volhynian swamps who have been freed by her and by her allies—no matter whether they are Poles or Lithuanians or Livonians of the Baltic?"

DENIES HOPE OF AMERICAN CONQUESTS.

Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg protested vigorously against the report that Germany now or in the future contemplated aggression against the United States.

"The latest offspring of the calumnlating campaign directed against us," he said, "is a report that after the end of this war we shall rush against the American Continent, and that we shall attempt to conquer Canada.

"This is the silliest of all the imputations invented against us. Equally silly are the reports that we contemplate the acquisition of any territory on American soil, as in Brazil, or in any American country whatsoever.

"We fight for our existence and for our future. For Germany and not for space in a foreign country are Germany's sons bleeding and dying on the battle field. Every one among us knows this, and it makes our hearts and nerves so strong. This moral force strengthens our will in order not only to weather the storm; but also to achieve final victory."

in order not only to weather the storm, but also to achieve final victory."

The chancellor intimated that any suggestions of peace on the basis of the destruction of Prussian military power would make possible only one answer—the German sword.

Dr. you Bethmann Hollweg turned to the subject of eventual conditions of peace after a brief reference to the entrance of Portugal into the war. He pointed out that in his speech of September 9 he had declared readiness to enter into discussion of peace, but that then, as now, Germany's enemies declined his offer.

"Let us suppose I suggest to Mr. Asquith to sit down with me at a table and examine the possibilities of peace," he continued, "and Mr. Asquith begins with a claim of definitive and complete destruction of Prussia's military power. The conversation would be ended before it began. To these peace conditions only one answer would be left, and this answer our sword must give.

PETERE SLAUGHTER BLAMED ON ALLIES,

PUTURE SLAUGHTER BLAMED ON ALLIES.

"If our adversaries want to continue the slaughter of human beings and the devastation of Europe theirs will be the guilt, and we shall have to stand it as men."

The chancellor introduced a personal touch in the following passage: "When I was ast at headquarters I stood with the Emperor at a place to which I had accompanied him one year previously. The Emperor remembered this and, deeply moved, pointed out the enormous changes that had taken place since that time. Then the Russians were on the ridge of the Carpathians. At Corlice we had just begun to break through the enemy's lines, and Hindenburg's powerful offensive had just been started. Now we are deep in Russia.

"The British and French at that time had attacked Gallipoli, and were hoping to arouse the Balkans against us. Now the Bulgarians stand firmly on our side. Then we were engaged in the defensive Champagne battle, and now, at the Emperor's word, the cannon resound in the Verdun battle. Deep gratitude to God, to the army, and to the nation filled the Emperor's heart.

AIMS TO RESCUE EUROPE FROM CHAOS.

AIMS TO RESCUE EUROPE FROM CHAOS.

"Our enemies wish to destroy united, free Germany," the chancellor went on. "They desire that Germany shall be again as weak as during past centuries, a prey of all lusts of domination of her neighbors, and the scapegoat of Europe, beaten back forever in the dominion of economic evolution, even after the war. That is what our enemies mean when they speak of definitive destruction of Prussais's military power. "And what is our intention? The sense and aim of this war is for us the creation of a Germany so firmly united, so strongly protected, that no one ever will feel the temptation to annihilate us; that every one in the world will concede to us the right of free exercise of our peaceful endeavors. This Germany, and not the destruction of other races, is what we wish. Our aim is the lasting rescue of the European Continent, which is now shaken to its very foundation."

SAYS PEACE MUST BE LASTING.

Referring to the conditions which he wished to see prevail at the end of the war, the chancellor said:

"This new Europe in many respects can not resemble the past. The blood which has been shed will never be repaid and the wealth which has been destroyed can only slowly be replaced. But whatever else this Europe may be it must be for the nations that inhabit it a land of peaceful labor. The peace which shall end this war shall be a lasting peace. It must not bear the germ of new wars, but must provide for a peaceful arrangement of European questions."

The chancellor declared that England wished to see military operations ended, but hoped then to continue the commercial war with redoubled violence, adding:

"First the British endeavor to destroy our military and then our economic policy. Everywhere there is brutal lust of destruction and of annihilation and domination, to cripple a nation of 70,000.000 people."

of annihilation and domination, to the people."

As to colonial questions, he quoted Bismarck to the effect that the fate of colonies was decided on the Continent. He asserted that Germany's enemies were now actively engaged in inventing new formulas in order to maintain the spell of illusion, hatred, and deception which bound them.

ALLIES! "LUST OF REVENGE."

ALLIES' "LUST OF REVENGE."

"Of all the nations in the war," he continued, "only Germany has been threatened by her enemies and by their responsible spokesmen with annihilation, with partition of her realm, with destruction of her essential political and economic forces, no matter whether they called them Prussianism or militarism or barberism. The forces which before the war bound together the anti-German coalition were lust of conquest, lust of revenge, and jealousy against German competition in the world's markets. During the war they have remained powerful with the Governments of our enemies in spite of all defeats.

"This is still the object and aim of the war alike in St. Petersburg (Petrograd), Parls, and London.

"To this we oppose that Germany in this war had only one aim, namely, to defend herself, to maintain her existence, to hold her enemies back from the German frontiers, and whenever their lust of destruction had shown itself to drive them back as quickly as possible.

"We did not want this war. We felt no desire to change our frontiers when the war began against our will. We threatened no nation with annihilation of her existence or with destruction of her national life."

"LOVED PEACE MORE THAN ALL OTHERS."

"LOVED PEACE MORE THAN ALL OTHERS."

The chancellor pointed out the roots of Germany's present strength,

The chilacetor pointed out the roots of calculations asying:

"And what gives us this force to conquer and overcome the difficulties caused by the interruption of our over-seas trade, and, on the front, numerically superior enemies? Who can readily believe that greed of land inspires our columns at Verdun and makes them accomplish every day new deeds of heroism or shall a nation which gave to the world so many valued intellectual and useful gifts, which during 44 years loved peace more than all the others—shall this nation overnight be transformed into barbarians and Huns?

"No, gentlemen; these are the inventions of the evil conscience of those who are guilty of the war and are now fearing for their power and influence in their own countries."

With respect to the intentions of Germany in the case of Belgium, the speaker said:

"We must create real guaranties that Belgium never shall be a Franco-British vassal; never shall be used as a military or economic fortification against Germany. Also in this respect things can not be what they were before. Also here Germany can not sacrifice the oppressed Flemish race, but must assure them sound evolution which corresponds to their rich natural gifts, which is based on their mother tongue and follows their national character.

"We want neighbors that do not form coalitions against us, but with whom we collaborate and who collaborate with us to our mutual advantage. Remembrance of the war will still echo in the sadly tried Belgian country, but we shall never allow that this will be a new source of wars—shall not allow it in our mutual interests."

On the 8th the President sent his answer to the German Gov-

On the 8th the President sent his answer to the German Government, which is an acceptance of the German position, so long as the instructions to the submarine commanders as outlined above are respected.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ANSWER TO GERMANY.

WASHINGTON, May 8, 1916.

Washington, May 8, 1916.

The American ambassador in Berlin was instructed to-day by cable to deliver the following note to the German minister of foreign affairs:

"The note of the Imperial German Government under date of May 4, 1916, has received careful consideration by the Government of the United States. It is especially noted, as indicating the purpose of the Imperial Government as to the future, that it 'is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of the war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents' and that it is determined to impose upon all its commanders at sea the limitations of the recognized rules of international law upon which the Government of the United States has insisted.

"Throughout the months which have elapsed since the Imperial Con-

rules of international law upon which the Government of the United States has insisted.

"Throughout the months which have elapsed since the Imperial Government announced, on February 4, 1915, its submarine policy, now happily abandoned, the Government of the United States has been constantly guided and restrained by motives of friendship in its patient efforts to bring to an amicable settlement the critical questions arising from that policy. Accepting the Imperial Government's declaration of its abandonment of the policy which has so seriously menaced the good relations between the two countries, the Government of the United States will rely upon a scrupulous execution henceforth of the now altered policy of the Imperial Government, such as will remove the principal danger to an interruption of the good relations existing between the United States and Germany.

"The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is hany way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and any other beligerent Government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the fourth instant might appear to be susceptible of that construction. In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it can not for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.

"Lansing."

"LANSING."

The State Department made the following statement for the public after the note was sent to Berlin:

STATEMENT BY MR. LANSING.

The greater part of the German answer is devoted to matters which this Government can not discuss with the German Government. The only questions of right which can be discussed with that Government are those arising out of its action or out of our own, and in no event those questions which are the subject of diplomatic exchanges between the United States and any other country.

The essence of the answer is that Germany yields to our representations with regard to the rights of merchant ships and noncombatants on the high seas and engages to observe the recognized rules of international law governing naval warfare in using her submarines against merchant ships. So long as she lives up to this altered policy we can have no reason to quarret with her on that score, though the losses resulting from the violation of American rights by German submarine commanders operating under the former policy will have to be settled.

While our differences with Great Britain can not form a subject of discussion with Germany, it should be stated that in our dealings with the British Government we are acting as we are unquestionably bound to act, in view of the explicit treaty engagements with that Government. We have treaty obligations as to the manner in which matters in dispute between the two Governments are to be handled. We offered to assume mutually similar obligations with Germany, but the offered to assume mutually similar obligations with Germany, but the offer was declined. When, however, the subject in dispute is a continuing menace to American ives it is doubtful whether such obligations apply unless the menace is removed during the pendency of the proceedings.

The treaty with the British Government referred to is the convention negotiated by ex-Secretary Bryan under which the two nations agree that any dispute arising shall be submitted to an investigating commission for one year before entering into hostilities. An ofter to enter into such a treaty with Germany brought a request for information, but formal negotiati

From the very beginning the encroachments of both belligerents upon the rights of neutrals upon the seas have been ominous. On the 11th of January last I called attention of the country to this situation, at which time I submitted documents of substantiation. (See Record, pp. 940-979.) On the following day I submitted the Lansing note, of date October 21, covering our contention with Great Britain. Later I submitted further documents touching interference with mails.

On April 3 the press carried the following dispatches from Paris and London:

SEIZURE OF LETTERS IS DENIED BY ALLIES—GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE JUSTIFY DETENTION OF PARCEL-POST MATTER—CONTRABAND IS OB-TAINED—RUBBER, METAL, SAUSAGES, AND ODD LOT OF OTHER MER-CHANDISE FOUND ON SHIPS.

The French and British Governments, through their diplomatic representatives, to-day handed their joint memorandum to the American and other neutral Governments, explaining their policy with regard to the examination of mall, in response to requests that such explanation be made to certain neutral powers.

The note declares that the Government will, for the present, continue to abstain from seizing and confiscating on the seas genuine letter mail, but points out that the inviolability of mails stipulated by The Hague convention of 1907 in no way affects the allies' right to examine and, if there be occasion, to stop and seize merchandise disguised as mail matter in sacks.

in sacks.

With regard to parcel mail the memorandum states that from the point of view of their right of examination and eventual seizure, merchandise shipped as mail in parcels has not and will not be treated differently from merchandise shipped in any other way.

LONDON, April 3.

The memorandum of the allies prepared by the French Government in answer to the complaint of neutral countries with respect to the detention of mails on shipboard has been presented to the Governments of all the neutrals whose mails have been intercepted.

The memorandum specifically denies that the allies copied or censored any legitimate postal correspondence. It discusses the number of vessels from which contraband has been removed. Examination of the Danish steamer Hellig Olav, which was taken into Kirkwall, has just been completed by the British authorities, but not in time for this case to be included in the memorandum.

It is stated officially, however, that in the second-class mails carried by the Hellig Olav were found considerable quantities of sample rubber gloves and dental rubber done up in newspapers.

It also is stated that cereals, coffee, tea, cocoa, sausages, condensed milk, soap, lard, olive oil, innumerable small packages of dried fruit and chocolate, and three large packages of bacon were found in a later post. Four sheets of some metal, as yet unidentified, were discovered between photo cardboards.

DERIDES OUR MAIL PROTEST-LONDON CHRONICLE POINTS TO LETTERS
DESTROYED IN TORPEDOED LINERS.

[Special cable to the New York Times.]

LONDON, Tuesday, April 4.

Commenting on the French memorandum on the subject of interference with the malis which has been sent in reply to the American Government protest—which memorandum has been fully approved by the British Government—the Daily Chronicle says:

"During 1915 the central powers sank 12 mail-carrying liners without warning. They sent ruthlessly to the bottom not only parcels post, but also letters which The Hague Convention declared inviolable; yet here, where they had legal ground of protest, none of the neutral Governments has in any single instance sent a protest against the destruction of their letters to the central powers.

"Why should Germany have been allowed without objection to steal a horse and we be criticized for looking over the hedge?"

On the next day the press carried the following dispatches from London, Berlin, Petrograd, and Washington:

BRITISH BLOCKADE TAKES DRASTIC FORM—NEW OLDER, APPLYING CONTINUOUS VOYAGE TO CONDITIONAL CONTRABAND, PROVES ESTROACTIVE—MILLIONS TIED UP IN CARGOES—SHIPPERS PIND ON EVE OF TRIAL THEY MUST ALTER THEIR DEFENSE BEFORE PRIZE COURT.

LONDON, April 4

Representatives of owners of conditional contraband cargoes awaiting adjudication in the prize court must at the last moment entirely change their defense, as their legal advisers have reached the conclusion that the British order in council of March 30 last is definitely retroactive.

Since Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign secretary, informed the State Department at Washington in his note of February 10, 1915, that the British Government did not apply the doctrine of continuous voyage to conditional contraband, except on goods consigned to order to an unknown consignee or to a consignee within enemy territory, millions of dollars worth of conditional contraband has been shipped from the United States to neutral ports.

In cases where seizures were made the attorneys for the owners of goods had prepared their defense, relying on this statement, coupled with the fact that the order in council of October 29, 1914, definitely ratified article 35 of the declaration of London, which provided that the doctrine of continuous voyage was not applicable to conditional contraband. Acting on Sir Edward Grey's statement, coupled with the above order in council, the State Department at Washington advised American shippers that they could send cargoes to neutral ports consigned to neutral consignees.

At the same time the attorneys for the American meat packers informed the State Department that they intended to continue shipments to neutral ports under this doctrine.

Meantime many conditional contraband cargoes were seized, the most important of which was the case of the American steamer Joseph W. Fordney, loaded with cattle feed, the trial of which was set for to-day. With the defense all prepared for trial, a bombshell was thrown into the camp of the American claimants by the promulgation of the order in council of last week, which reverses the previous contention of the British Government and subjects conditional contraband to the same treatment as absolute contraband.

The full extent of the blow was not realized, h

On account of an unfinished case of a Swedish vessel the prize court to-day postponed consideration of the American cases until to-morrow.

UPHOLDS CHINA SEIZURES—BRITAIN REFUSES TO RELEASE TEUTONS AND TURKS TAKEN FROM LINER.

WASHINGTON, April 4, 1916.

Great Britain's refusal to release the 38 Germans, Austrians, and Turks taken from the American steamer China near Shanghal was re-ceived to-day at the State Department and will be given out for publi-

cation later.

The British note is understood to insist on the right of that Government to seize enemy subjects returning to take part in the war.

This, it is understood, the United States is prepared to vigorously dispute. The intention of the State Department is to demand the unconditional release of the prisoners according to many precedents.

DUTCH MAIL IS SEIZED-POSTAL MATTER TAKEN FROM TWO SHIPS BOUND FOR NEW YORK.

BERLIN, April 4, 1916. (By wireless to Sayville.)

Dispatches from The Hague state that the Dutch steamships Zaanaijk and Veendijk bound for New York, were compelled to leave al their mail in England. Similar action, it is said, was taken in the case of the Tobora, which was on the way to Batavia.

The Tabora, a German steamship, was held in port at Dar-er-Sallaam, German East Africa, after the outbreak of the war, and apparently has been seized.

COPENHAGEN, April 4, 1916.

The United Steamship Co. has received a cable that the British authorities have seized the letter post of the Scandinavian-American liner Frederick VIII, leaving Kirkwail Tuesday for New York.

The Berlinkske Tidende, in an editorial, says that the seizure of the letter post is surely not in accordance with The Hague conventions and rules, and declares that the explanation given by the allies that such seizures are only intended to prevent smuggling is, in the present case, unintelligible, because the Frederick VIII was bound westward.

DEMAND FOOD OF GERMANS-PEOPLE RIOT IN RUSSIAN TOWNS OCCUPIED BY INVADERS.

PETROGRAD, April 4, 1916.

According to information received from Dvinsk, serious food riots are taking place in Russian towns now occupied by the German Army. It is reported from Vilkomir that a hungry mob, having plundered the shops in vain for bread, marched to German military headquarters and besieged the commandant, clamoring for food. On being informed that nothing could be done to help them, the population became furious and hurled cobblestones at the commandant and his staff.

A street battle ensued between the mob and German patrols, in which a considerable number were killed or wounded.

Ten days later, April 13, our State Department made public its correspondence with the British foreign office regarding the British enemy trading act of December 23:

[From the New York Times.]

[From the New York Times.]

The United States, in Mr. Lansing's communication of January 25, did not formally protest the act, but expressed the fear that it was "pregnant with possibilities of undue interference with American trade," and reserved the right to protest against its application to persons domiciled in the United States, even if of belligerent nationality.

L. Worthington Evans, replying for Sir Edward Grey, admitted that the British Government had no right to legislate even regarding Great Britain's enemies domiciled in the United States, but insisted that the act was intended to exercise rights of British sovereignty only over those residents within its jurisdiction. The British reply admits further that the old principle of the domicile is extended to the principle of nationality in determining permissible commerce, but adds that the act was so framed as to allow discretion that would work to prevent injury to neutrals. The rights of neutrals, says the British note, will be carefully looked after.

Mr. Lansing's note is the first instance in the correspondence growing out of the war in which Congress is mentioned. Speeches in Congress on the restrictive tendency of British regulations were made before the note was dispatched, and Mr. Lansing, in setting forth the position of the Government, says it is the feeling of the American people and of Congress.

TEXT OF LANSING'S NOTE.

TEXT OF LANSING'S NOTE.

Secretary Lansing's note to Ambassador W. H. Page at London, directing him to bring the matter to the attention of Sir Edward Grey, is as follows:

"Your 3601 and 3602, January 19.

"Department has given consideration to enemy trading act, approved December 28 last, the apparent object of which is to prevent any person doing business in the United Kingdom from trading with the enemies of Great Britain or persons having enemy association in any other part of the world, and the department has reached the conclusion that this act is pregnant with possibilities of undue interference with American trade if in fact such interference is not now being practiced.

"As it is an opinion generally held in this country, in which this Government shares, that the act has been framed without a proper regard for the right of persons domiciled in the United States, whether they be American citizens or subjects of countries at war with Great Britain, to carry on trade with persons in beligerent countries, and that the exercise of this right may be subject to denial or abridgement in the course of the enforcement of the act, the Government of the United States is constrained to express to His Majesty's Government the grave apprehensions which are entertained on this subject by this Government, by the Cougress, and by traders domiciled in the United States. It is, therefore, necessary to bring these views to the attention of Sir Edward Grey, and to present to him a formal reservation, on the part of this Government, of the right to protest against the application of this act, in so far as it affects the trade of the United States, and to contest the legality or rightfulness of imposing restrictions upon the freedom of American trade in this manner.

"Lansing,"

GREAT BRITAIN'S REPLY.

The reply of the British Government was delivered to Ambassador Page for the British secretary of state of foreign affairs by L. Worth-ington Evans, as follows:

Foreign Office, Foreign Trade Department, Lancaster House, St. James, S. W., February 16, 1916.

Vour Excellency. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's note of the 26th ultimo relative to the possible effects of the trading with the enemy (extension of powers) act, 1915, on United States commerce.

The act was framed with the object of bringing British trade with the enemy regulations into greater harmony with those adopted by the French Government since the commencement of the war by applying in some degree the test of nationality in the determination of enemy character in addition to the old test of domicile, which experience has shown can not provide a sufficient basis under modern commercial conditions for measures intended to deprive the enemy of all assistance, direct or indirect, from national resources.

His Majesty's Government realized, however, that the application of this principle to its fullest extent, while entirely legitimate and in accordance with the practice of other countries might, if applied at the present time to commercial activities as widespread as those of British subjects, involve avoidable inconvenience and loss to innocent traders.

British subjects, involve avoidable inconvenience and loss to innocent traders.

They were careful, therefore, in devising the necessary legislation not only to avoid any definition which would impose enemy status upon all persons of enemy nationality and associations, but also to take powers of discrimination which would enable them to apply the purely commercial restrictions contemplated only in regard to those persons from whom it was necessary in British interests to withhold the facilities afforded by British resources.

His Majesty's Government have, therefore, abstained from a course of action admittedly within their rights as belligerents, which is not only the existing practice of the French Government, but in strict accordance with the doctrine openly avowed by may other States to be the basis upon which their trading with the enemy regulations would be founded in the event of war, and have confined themselves to passing a piece of purely domestic legislation empowering them to restrict the activities and trade of persons under British jurisdiction in such a manner and to such an extent as may seem to them to be necessary in the national interest.

His Majesty's Government readily admits the right of persons of any nationality, resident in the United States, to engage in legitimate commercial transactions with any other persons. They can not admit, however, that this right can in any way limit the right of other Governments to restrict the commercial activities of their nationals in any manner which may seem desirable to them by the imposition of prohibitions and penalties which are operative solely upon persons under their jurisdiction

In claiming this right, which appears to them to be inherent in sovereignty and national independence, his Majesty's Government desires to assure the United States Government that they will exercise it with every possible care to avoid injury to neutral commerce, and they venture to think that the voluntary limitation of their powers by the terms of the trading with t

L. WORTHINGTON EVANS, For the Secretary of State.

Mr. Speaker, Germany contends that we are not as rigid in Mr. Speaker, Germany contends that we are not as right in our insistence that England respect international law as we are with Germany. The two cases are not parallel, as one concerns life while the other concerns property. However, it must be understood that this country will be compelled to deal with Great Britain sooner or later. The two issues can not now be combined. Each must stand upon its own footing.

The seriousness of the German controversy, involving more than property rights, as it goes to destruction of life, must not cause this country to overlook the inevitable conflict that must be adjusted with Great Britain. Great Britain has been able to use the world war as an emergency occasion to tighten her grip upon the maritime world. She has not forfeited an advantage, but has constantly increased her profit on the seas, using the war as an excuse. The United States will become a sea power. That is our destiny. Every step in this direction will be contested by the "mistress of the sea." Nothing is clearer than this inevitable consequence, as substantiated by this last note of April 24, the official reply to our note of six months and three days ago. The two should be studied together. The first is found on page 1063 of the Congressional I here append its answer, the latest English pro-RECORD. nouncement:

THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

BRITISH EMBASSY Washington, April 24, 1916.

Sin: I have the honor, in obedience to instructions received from Sir Edward Grey, His Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, to transmit to you herewith a memorandum embodying the reply to the representations of your Government in regard to restrictions on trade, which were communicated to Sir Edward Grey in Mr. Page's note of November 5 last, in pursuance to your instructions dated October 21.

I have, etc.,

CECIL Spring-Rice.

[Inclosure.] MEMORANDUM.

The communication addressed by the United States Ambassador in London to Sir E. Grey on the 5th November, 1915, has received the careful attention of His Majesty's Government, in consultation with

their allies the French Government, and His Majesty's Government have now the honor to make the following reply:

2. The first section (paragraphs 3-15) of the United States note relates to cargoes detained by the British authorities in order to prevent them from reaching an enemy destination, and the complaint of the United States Government is summarized in paragraph 33, to the effect that the methods sought to be employed by Great Britain to obtain and use evidence of enemy destination of cargoes bound for neutral ports and to impose a contraband character upon such cargoes are without justification.

3. The wording of this summary suggests that the basis of the com-

that the methods sought to be employed by Great Britain to obtain and use evidence of enemy destination of cargoes bound for neutral ports and to impose a contraband character upon such cargoes are without justification.

3. The wording of this summary suggests that the basis of the complaint of the United States Government is not so much that the shipments intercepted by the naval forces were really intended for use in the neutral countries to which they were dispatched as that the dispatch of goods to the enemy countries has been frustrated by methods which have not been employed by belligerent nations in the past. It would seem to be a fair reply to such a contention that new devices for dispatching goods to the enemy must be met by new methods of applying the fundamental and acknowledged principle of the right to intercept such trade.

4. The question whether the exercise of the right of search can be restricted to search at sea was dealt with in Sir E. Grey's note of the 7th January, 1915, and His Majesty's Government would again draw attention to the facts that information has constantly reached them of attempts to conceal contraband intended for the enemy in innocent packages, and that these attempts can only be frustrated by examination of the ship and cargo in port. Similarly, in Sir E. Grey's note of the 10th February, 1915, it was pointed out that the size of modern steamships, and their capacity to navigate the waters where the allied patrols have to operate, whatever the conditions of the weather, frequently render it a matter of extreme danger, if not of impossibility, even to board the vessels, unless they are taken into calm water for the purpose. It is unnecessary to repeat what was said in that note. There is nothing that His Majesty's Government could withdraw or that the experience of the officers of the allied feets has tended to show was inaccurate.

5. When visit and search at sea are possible, and when a search can be made there which is sufficient to secure beligerent rights, it may be

"Further, in a large ship the greater bulk of the cargo renders it casier to coneeal contraband, especially such valuable metals as nickel, quantities of which can easily be stowed in places other than the holds of a large ship.

"I entirely dispute the contention, therefore, advanced in the American note, that there is no difference between the search of a ship of 1,000 tons and one of 20,000 tons. I am sure that the fallacy of the statement must be apparent to anyone who has ever carried out such a search at sea.

"There are other fagts, however, which

of the statement must be apparent to anyone who has ever carried out such a search at sea.

"There are other facts, however, which render it necessary to bring vessels into port for search. The most important is the manner in which those in command of German submarines, in entire disregard of international law and of their own prize regulations, attack and sink merchant vessels on the high seas, neutral as well as British, without visiting the ship and therefore without any examination of the cargo. This procedure renders it unsafe for a neutral vessel which is being examined by officers from a British ship to remain stopped on the high seas, and it is therefore in the interests of the neutrals themselves that the examination should be conducted in port.

"The German practice of misusing United States passports in order to procure a safe conduct for military persons and agents of enemy nationality makes it necessary to examine closely all suspected persons, and to do this effectively necessitates bringing the ship into harbor."

7. Sir John Jellicoe goes on to say:

"The difference between the British and the German procedure is that we have acted in the way which causes the least discomfort to neutrals. Instead of sinking neutral ships engaged in trade with the enemy, as the Germans have done in so many cases in direct contravention of article 113 of their own Naval Prize Regulations, 1909, in which it is laid down that the commander is only justified in destroying a neutral ship which has been captured if—

"(a) She is llable to condemnation, and
"(b) The bringing in might expose the warship to danger or imperit the success of the operations in which she is engaged at the time—

"we examine them, giving as little inconvenience as modern naval conditions will allow, sending them into port only where this becomes necessary.

"It must be remembered, however, that it is not the allies alone

necessary.

"It must be remembered, however, that it is not the allies alone who send a percentage of neutral vessels into port for examination, for it is common knowledge that German naval vessels, as stated in paragraph 19 of the American note, 'seize and bring into German ports neutral vessels bound for Scandinavian and Danish ports.'

"As cases in point, the interception by the Germans of the American oil tankers *Liama* and *Piotuvia* in August last may be mentioned. Both were bound to America from Sweden and were taken into Swingmunde for examination."

8. The French Ministry of Marline shares the views expressed by Sir J. Jellicoe on the question of search at sea, and has added the following statement:

1. Jellicoe on the question of search at sea, and has added the following statement:

1. La pratique navale. telle qu'elle existait autrefois et consistant a visiter les navires en mer, méthodo que nous a légace l'ancienne marine, cans out present son incuinas de la navigation actuelle. Les Américans out present son incuinas de la navigation actuelle. Les Américans out present son incuinas de la navigation actuelle. Les Américans out present son incuinas de la navigation actuelle. Les Américans out present son incuinas de la navigation actuelle. Les Américans out present son incuinas de la navigation actuelle. Les Américans out present son incuinas de la navigation actuelle. Les Américans outpetent de la Marline américalne, du 20 juin, 1898, aux croiseurs des États-Unis, on trouve déjà la prescription suivante:

"SI ces derniers lies papiers de bord] indiquent de la contrebande de guerre, le navire devra être saisi; sinon, il sera laissé libre, à mointieuse paraisse devoir être exigée." (Navy Department, General, No. 492, "Instruction to Blockading." (Navy Department, General, No. 492, "Instruction de restrict of que les hommes ent à leur disposition, ai a condition de rester une méthode humaine et civilisée.

"I'Au de la condition de rester une méthode humaine et civilisée.

"I'Au mature l'au mature le le les hommes ent à leur disposition, à la condition de restre une ment de le le l

1 UNAUTHORIZED TRANSLATION OF PARAGRAPH S OF THE BRITISH MEMORANDUM.

Naval practice, as it formerly existed, consisting in searching ships on the high seas, a method handed down to us by the old navy, is no longer adaptable to the conditions of navigation at the present day. Americans have anticipated its insufficiency and have foreseen the necessity of substituting some more effective method. In the instructions issued by the American Navy Department under date of June 20, 1898, to the cruisers of the United States the following order is found (clause 13):

"If the latter (the ship's papers) show contraband of war, the ship should be select; if not she should be set free, unless by reason of strong grounds for suspicion a further search should seem to be requisite."

requisite."

Every method must be modified having regard to the modifications of material which men have at their disposal on condition that the method remains humane and civilized.

The French Admiralty considers that to-day a ship, in order to be searched, should be brought to 1 port whenever the state of the sea, the nature, weight, volume, and stowage of the suspect cargo, as well as the obscurity and lack of precision of the ship's papers, render scarch at sea practically impossible or dangerous for the ship searched.

On the other hand, when the contrary circumstances exist the search should be made at sea.

Bringing the ship into port is also necessary and institut when the

should be made at sea.

Bringing the ship into port is also necessary and justified when, the neutral vesse: having entered the zone or vicinity of hostilities, (1) it is a question, in the interests of the neutral ship herself, of avoiding for the latter a series of stoppages and successive visits and of establishing once for all her innocent character and of permitting her thus to continue her voyage freely and without being molestel; and (2), the belligerent, within his rights of legitimate defense, is entitled to exercise special vigilance over unknown ships which circulate in these waters.

circumstances may call for. International law only requires that the practice in princ courts of the belligerent untion should afford a fair court to arrive at a just conclusion upon the evidence. Subject to that condition, each nation may regulate the practice to be followed in its prize courts. As an instance, the recent Italian decree of 30th May, 1bif, may be quoted in article 6, of which it is cancied that the The division of prize-court proceedings into two distinct phases, the first bearing and the hearing on further proof, under the early British and American practice was merely a rule of procedure. Similarly the exclusion of extraneous evidence until the making of an order for further proof was only a rule of procedure. His Majesty's Government when the proof was only a rule of procedure. His Majesty's Government when the proof was only a rule of procedure. His Majesty's Government was a rule of procedure. The Majesty of Government was a rule of procedure was developed, and we have a rule so soon as they were advised that the rules were obsolete and might work injustice.

12. The old practice and procedure had become archaic in form and belonged to days long before the modern improvements in leval procedure were developed, days when, for instance, the parties interested affected their rights. The aiterations in the prize-court practice and rules were conceived and made in the spirit of those improvements. The objects with which the old practice was abolished were to prevent delay, to eliminate technicalities, and to place their respective cases fully be the proof of th

\$97, 480, 000 88, 132, 000 234, 960, 000

18. In the face of such figures it seems impossible to accept the contention that the new prize-court procedure in Great Britain has practically destroyed much of the export trade of the United States to neutral countries in Europe, and the inference is suggested that if complaints have been made to the administration of Washington by would-be exporters, they emanated not from persons who desired to engage in genuine commerce with the neutral countries but from those who desired to dispatch goods to the enemy under cover of a neutral destination, and who found it more difficult to conceal the real facts from the prize courts under the new procedure.

17. At this point it would have been opportune to introduce a reply to the contention that appears at first sight to be advanced in paragraph 13 of the United States note that Great Brinin, while interfering with foreign trade, has increased her own with neutral countries adjacent to Germany, but this is rendered unnecessary by the explanation given by Mr. Page at the time that he presented the note and since confirmed by a statement given out to the press at Washington that no such meaning is to be attributed to the paragraph. Moreover, the subject has been dealt with in the note which Sir E. Grey sent to Mr.

Page on the 13th of August last and again in the note given to the State Department by the British Ambassador at Washington on the 27th of December.

18. The next passage in the United States note (par. 14) relates to the principle of noninterference with goods intended to become incorporated in the mass of merchandise for sale in a neutral country, or, as it is more commonly known, with goods intended to be incorporated in the "common stock" of the country. The United States Government urge with some force that trade statistics are not by themselves conclusive in establishing an enemy destination, and that such statistics require careful scrutiny. On the other hand, the mere fact that goods, no matter of what description or in what quantities, are ostensibly destined to form part of the common stock of a neutral country can not be regarded as sufficient evidence to prove their innocence or to justify the assertion that any attempt to raise questions as to their ulterior destination is unwarranted and inquisitorial. It is a matter of common knowledge that large quantities of supplies have since the war broke out passed to our enemy through neutral ports. It was pointed out in Sir E Grey's note of the 17th of July, 1915, that it would be mere affectation to regard some of those ports as offering facilities only for the commerce of the neutral country in which they are situated. They have, in fact, been the main avenues through which supplies have reached the enemy from all parts of the world. In the case of goods consigned to these ports the ships' papers convey no suggestion as to their ultimate destination, and every device which ingenuity can suggest or which can be contrived by able and anscrupulous agents is resorted to for the purpose of giving to carefully organized arrangements for supplying the enemy the appearance of genuine transactions with a neutral country. His Majesty's Government can not bring themselves to believe that it is the desire of the United States Government that traffic of this kind sh out hindrance

out hindrance

19. The question whether goods dispatched to a neutral port were intended to become part of the mass of merchandise for sale in that country is one of fact. Quite apart from the conclusions suggested by the figures, there is a considerable body of evidence that many of the goods which have been shipped to neutral ports during the war were never intended to become part of the common stock of that country, but were earmarked from the beginning for reexport to the enemy countries. If they had been intended to form part of the common stock they would have been available for use in that country; yet at one time in the early days of the allies' efforts to intercept all the commerce of the enemy, when they found it necessary to hold up certain cargoes of cotton on their way to Sweden, it transpired that though the quays and the warehouses of Gothenburg were congested with cotton, there was none available for the use of the spinners in Sweden.

with cotton, there was none available for the use of the spinners in Sweden.

20. Confirmation of the fact that many of the shipments to neutral ports were never intended to become part of the common stock of the country is also to be found in some of the contracts which have come to light since the policy of intercepting all commodities on their way to or from the enemy country was introduced. One of those which has been disclosed is a contract with a firm in Germany for the sale of no less than 50,000 bales of cotton linters at a price which was about double that which linters were fetching in any other country than Germany. The whole quantity was to be shipped to neutral ports. Various shipments made under this contract have been held up, and in all cases the goods were shipped with papers and under conditions which concealed the enemy destination altogether. Sweden is not in normal times a large importer of cotton linters, and it certainly would not be reasonable to maintain that, because the ship's papers did not disclose this contract of sale or the enemy destination, shipments of linters under this contract should be regarded as intended to become part of the mass of merchandise for sale in Sweden.

21. However sound the principle that goods intended for incorporation in the common stock of a neutral country should not be treated as contraband may be in theory, it is one that can have but little application to the present imports of the Scandinavian countries. The circumstances of a large number of these shipments negative any conclusion that they are bona fide shipments for the importing countries. Many of them are made to persons who are apparently nominees of enemy agents, and who never figured before as importers of such articles. Consignments of meat products are addressed to lightermen and dock laborers. Several thousands of tons of such goods have been found documented for a neutral port and addressed to firms which do not exist there. Large consignments of similar goods were addressed to a baker,

some of the decisions in the United States prize courts during the Civil War.

23. In the presence of facts such as those indicated above, the United States Government will, it is believed, agree with His Majesty's Government that no belligerent could in modern times submit to be bound by a rule that no goods could be seized unless they were accompanied by papers which established their destination to an enemy country, and that all detentions of ships and goods must uniformly be based on proofs obtained at the time of seizure. To press any such theory is tantamount to asking that all trade between neutral ports shall be free, and would thus render nugatory the exercise of sea power and destroy the pressure which the command of the sea enables the allies to impose upon their enemy.

24. It is, of course, inevitable that the exercise of belligerent rights at sea, however reasonably exercised, must inconvenience neutral trade, and great pressure is being put upon the United States Government to urge the technical theory that there should be no interference at all with goods passing between neutral ports, and thus to frustrate the measures which the allies have taken to intercept commerce on its way to or from the enemy. It may not be out of place to recall that the position is somewhat similar to that which arose in the United States in the war between the North and the South. All students of international law and of military history are aware that the blockade of the Southern States was the most important engine of pressure possessed by the North, and that it was on the point of being rendered ineffective

through the use of blockade runners of neutral ports of access. It is well known that the United States Government took immediate steps to stop such trade, and that the United States Supreme Court extended the doctrine of continuous voyage so as to cover all cases where there was an intention to break the blockade by whatever means, direct or

was an intention to break the blockade by whatever means, direct or indirect.

25. The configuration of the European coast is such as to render neutral ports the most convenient for the passage of German commerce, and just as it was essential to the United States in the Civil War to prevent their blockade from being nullified by the use of neutral ports of access, so it is essential to the allied powers to-day to see that the measures which they are taking to intercept enemy commerce shall not be rendered illusory by the use of similar ports. The instructions issued by Mr. Seward during the Civil War show that he regarded the continuance of the blockade against the Southern States as absolutely vital, and he repeatedly instructed American representatives abroad to assure foreign governments that, while he was fully allve to the great inconveniences caused by the cutting off of the supplies of cotton from Europe, yet he could not, as American Secretary of State, "sacrifice the Union for cotton." The American representatives in Europe in their published reports again and again expressed the opinion that, whatever might be the policy of the Government, the peoples of Europe would never consent to side with the power that upheld slavery against the power which represented freedom. Their opinion was entirely justified by the result, and in fact neither the French nor the English Governments took any decided steps toward breaking the blockade, in spite of the tremendous pressure which was brought to bear upon them, and the terrible suffering of the cotton operatives of this country. Indeed, President Lincoln himself acknowledged, in a message to the laboring classes of Manchester, his high sense of the spirit of self-sacrifice which they had exhibited in their policy toward America. His Majesty's Government have, of course, no desire to enter upon any examination of the issues involved in that historic conflict, but no one will question the respect which is due to the determination then shown by the French and Britis

on what they believed to be the side of slavery or consent to action which they held might be fatal to the democratic principle of government, however great the pressure exerted by commercial interests might be.

26. His Majesty's Government desire to assure the United States Government that every effort is being made to distinguish between bona fide neutral commerce and that which is really intended for the enemy. The task is one of exceptional difficulty, and the statistics show that a great volume of imports intended for the enemy must have passed through adjacent neutral countries during the war. As an instance, the imports of lard into Sweden during the year 1915 may be taken. In that year the total import of lard into Sweden from all sources was 9.318 tons, of which no less than 9,029 tons came from the United States. In the three years before the war, 1911–1913, the annual average import of the same article was only 88s, of which 63s tons came from the United States. It is difficult to believe that the requirements of Sweden in respect of lard, even when every allowance is made for possible diversions of trade due to the war, could suddenly have increased more than tenfold in 1915. The inference, indeed, is irresistible that the greater part of these imports must have had another and an enemy destination.

27. It may readily be conceded that the efforts to intercept enemy commerce passing through neutral countries can not fail to produce some soreness and dissatisfaction. His Majesty's Government have therefore spared no pains in their endeavor to mitigate the inconvenience which must inevitably be occasioned to neutral traders. In pursuance of this object they are resorting to the policy of ascertaining the total requirements of the country concerned, and intercepting such imports as may be presumed, because they are in excess of those requirements, to form no part of the normal trade of the country, and therefore to be destined for the enemy.

28. The total net imports of a particular commodity by any

in order to bring about a more extended adoption of this equitable system.

31. Moreover, the fact that a neutral country adjacent to the enemy territory is importing an abnormal quantity of supplies or commodities, of which her usual imports are relatively small, of which the enemy stands in need, and which are known to pass from that neutral country to the enemy, is by itself an element of proof on which the prize court would be justified in acting, unless it is rebutted by evidence to the contrary. Hostile destination being a question of fact, the court should take all the relevant circumstances into consideration in arriving at its decision, and there seems to be no reason in principle for limiting the facts at which the court is entitled to look in a case of this kind.

32. The second section of the United States note (paragraphs 16-24) deals with the validity of the measures against enemy commerce which were embodied in the British order in council of the 11th March, 1915, and in the French decree of the 13th March, and maintains that these measures are invalid because they do not comply with the rules which have been gradually evolved in the past for regulating a blockade of enemy ports, and which were summarized in concrete form in articles 1-21 of the Declaration of London.

33. These rules can only be applied to their full extent to a blockade in the sense of the term as used in the declaration of London. His Majesty's Government have already pointed out that a blockade which was 'limited to the direct traific with enemy ports would in this case have but little, if any, effect on enemy commerce, Germany being so placed geographically that her imports and exports can pass through neutral ports of access as easily as through her own. However, with the spirit of the rules His Majesty's Government and their allies have loyally compiled in the measures they have taken to intercept German imports and exports. Due notice has been given by the allies of the for before the announcement of the intentions all commerce on its way to or from the enemy countries have been treated with great liberality. The objects with which the usual declaration and notification of blockade are issued have therefore been fully achieved. Again, the effectiveness of the work of the allied deets under the orders referred to is shown by the small number of vessels which escape the allied patrols. It is doubtful whether there has ever been a blockade where the ships which slipped through bore so small a proportion to those which were intercepted.

34. The measures taken by the allies are aimed at preventing commodities of any thad from reaching or leaving Germany, and not more than the subject of the subject of the control of the measures which the allies have taken were deart with at length in Sir E. Grey's note of the 23d of July, and there is no need to repeat what was there said. It need only be added that the rules applicable to a blockade of enemy ports are strictly followed by the allies in cases where they apply, as for instance, in Minor or of the coast line of German East Africa.

35. Some further comment is perhaps necessary upon the statements made in paragraph 19 of the United States note, where it is said that, because German coasts are open to trade with Scandauvian countries, the measures of the ali

in Germany of many articles most necessary to the enemy in the prosecution of the present war must be well known to the United States Government.

36. Attention is drawn in the same paragraph to the fact that cotton has since the measures announced on the 11th March been declared to be contraband, and this is quoted as an admission that the blockade is ineffective to prevent shipments of cotton from reaching the enemy countries. The reason for which cotton was declared to be contraband is quite simple. Goods with an enemy destination are not, under the order of council, subject to condemnation; they are restored to the owner. Evidence accumulated that it was only for military purposes that cotton was being employed in Germany. All cotton was laid under embargo, and its use in the textile factories was prohibited except in very special cases or by military permission. In these circumstances it was right and proper that cotton with an enemy destination should be subjected to condemnation and not merely prevented from passing, and it was for this reason that it was declared to be contraband. The amount of cotton reaching the enemy country has probably not been affected in the least by its being made contraband on the 20th August, as supplies from overseas had been cut off effectually before that date. Even the "Konfektioniār," a German technical paper, dealing with the textile industry, admitted in its issue of the 1st July that not a gramme of cotton had found its way into Germany for the preceding four weeks.

37. Before seaving the question of the validity of the measures which France and Great Britain have taken against enemy commerce, reference must be made to the statement made in the thirty-third paragraph of the United States note that "the curtaliatory, and therefore illegal, can not be admitted." His Majesty's Government are quite unable to admit the principle, that to the extent that these measures were occasioned and necessitated by the lilegal and unjustifiable proclamation issued by the German Govern

by the illegal conduct of the enemy, they do not, in reality, conflict with any general principle of international law, of humanity, or civilization; they are enforced with consideration against neutral countries, and are, therefore, juridically sound and valid.

38. The more abstract question of the legitimacy of measures of retailation adopted by one belligerent against his opponent, but affecting neutrals also, is one of which His Majesty's Government think the discussion might well be deferred. It is a subject of considerable do notice that the Government of the States seem to rejard all such measures of retailation in war as lilegal if they should incidentally inflict injury upon neutrals. The advantage which any such principle would give to the determined law-breaker would be so great that His Majesty's Government can not conceive that it would commend itself to the conscience of mankind. To take a simple instance, suppose that of the conscience of mankind. To take a simple instance, suppose that of the conscience of mankind. To take a simple instance, suppose that of the conscience of mankind. To take a simple instance, suppose that of the commerce of his enemy—an action which is llicitimate and calculated to inflict injury upon neutrals as well as upon the other belligerents—what is that belligerent to do? Is he precluded from meeting in any way this lawless attack upon him by his enemy? His Majesty's Government can not think that he is not entitled by way of retailation to scatter mines in his turn, even though in so doing he also into the contract of the contract of the contract of the belligerents for warlke purposes, could he object to the other belligerents for warlke purposes, could he object to the other belligerent acting in the same way? It would seem that the true view must be that each belligerent is entitled to insist on being allowed to meet his enemy on terms of equal liberty of action. If one of them is allowed to make an attack upon the other capacities of neutral rights, his opponent an

42. Sir E. Grey's note of the 23d July was intended to make this point clear, and so far from having intended to "give the impression that Ilis Majesty's Government do not rely upon its soundness or strength," His Majesty's Government wish to lay stress on the fact that the principle that no encroachment should be made upon the jurisdiction and the competence of the prize court is one which they regard as vital.

tion and the competence of the prize court is one which they regard as vital.

43. Apart from the cases where a question may arise as to the validity of orders or instructions on which naval action was based, circumstances frequently give rise to claims for compensation on behalf of individuals who consider they have suffered unjustly from the exercise of rights jure belli, as, for instance, from the delay in releasing their ships, or so forth. His Majesty's Government desire, therefore, to repeat what was said in Str E. Grey's note of the 10th February, that the British prize court rules give the court ample jurisdiction to deal with any claims for compensation by a neutral arising from the interference with a ship or goods by the naval forces.

44. His Majesty's Government attach the utmost importance to the maintenance of the rule that, when an effective mode of redress is open to individuals in the courts of a civilized country by which they can obtain adequate satisfaction for any invasion of their rights, recourse must be had to the mode of redress so provided before there is any scope for diplomatic action. This is the course which His Majesty's Government have always themselves endeavored to follow in previous wars in which Great Britain has been neutral, and they have done so because it is the only principle which is correct in theory and which operates with justice and impartiality between the more powerful and the weaker nations. To that principle His Majesty's Government propose to adhere now that they are themselves the belligerent, and that it is against them that the claims are advanced.

45. Inquiry has been made into the four cases of the Majestense, the Done Least to Leaster and the Sagar mentioned in the Leaster States.

45. Inquiry has been made into the four cases of the Magicienne, the Don José, the Labuan, and the Saxon, mentioned in the United States note (par. 27) as instances during the American Civil War where His Majesty's Government put forward, through the diplomatic channel, claims for damages for seizure and detention of British ships alleged to have been made without legal justification. In two of these instances it is said at the time the deman is were made the cases were before the American prize courts for adjudication. The results of the inquiry are

contained in an appendix to this note. The cases have there been dealt with in some detail, because they are cited as indicating that it was the practice of Her Majesty's Government during the American Civil War to claim, through the diplomatic channel, damages for seizures of British ships alleged to have been made without legal justification. The cases do, in fact, establish the very proposition for which His Majesty's Government is now contending, viz, that in the cases where the prize court has power to grant relief there is no ground for putting forward claims through the diplomatic channel. In two of the cases the United States Government themselves discontinued the prize-court proceedings and admitted the right to compensation, and in the others they maintained the jurisdiction of the prize court, and Her Majesty's Government acquiesced.

46. The statements contained in paragraph 31 of the United States note have led to a careful review of the practice which is now followed in the British courts with regard to vessels and cargoes which are released. It has been ascertained that in the case of vessels brought in for examination and allowed to proceed without discharging any part of their cargo no dues are charged. Where part of the cargo is discharged and passes into the jurisdiction of the prize court, the terms of the release are, of course, subject to the control of the court, and His Majesty's Government are therefore hardly in a position to give any definite undertaking with regard to the incidence of the expenses and charges which may have been incurred. In general, however, they realize that, in cases where goods are released and it transpires that there were no sufficient grounds for their seizure, no dues or charges should fall upon the owner. The statement that waivers of the right to put forward claims for compensation are exacted as a condition of release is scarcely accurate, but they are prepared to concede that such waivers would be a hardship to the owners of the goods released. In these c

Furthermore, any discussion of the cases in this note might prejudice the chances of the claimants of recovering compensation through the prize court in cases where they consider that they are entitled to redress.

49. Finally His Majesty's Government desire to assure the United States Government that they will continue their efforts to make the exercise of what they conceive to be their belligerent rights as little burdensome to neutrals as possible. Some suggestions have already been referred to in this note which, it is believed, would have that effect, and they are quite ready to consider others. For instance, they have already appointed an impartial and influential commission to examine whether any further steps could be taken to minimize the delays involved in the present methods of dealing with neutral vessels. Again, it has been suggested that it would be a great commercial convenience if neutral shippers knew, before they made arrangements for ship space and for financing their consignments, whether they would be held up by belligerent patrols. A scheme is already in operation which ought to surceed in accomplishing this object. Other suggestions of a like nature might perhaps be made, and the allied Governments would be prepared to give favorable consideration to any proposal for the alleviation of the position of neutrals, provided that the substantial effectiveness of the measures now in force aganst enemy commerce would not be thereby impaired.

50. His Majesty's Government are of opinion that it is to such mitigations that the allies and the neutrals concerned should look for the removal of the difficulties now encountered rather than to abrupt changes either in the theory or application of a policy based upon admitted principles of international law carefully adjusted to the altered conditions of modern warfare. Some of the changes which have been advocated would, Indeed, if adopted in their entirety, render it impossible for the allest to persist with effect in their endeavors to deprive the ene

APPENDIX.

CASES OF THE "MAGICIENNE," THE "DON JOSÉ," THE "LABUAN," AND THE "SAXON."

APPENDIX.

CASES OF THE "MAGICHENNE," THE "DON JOSE," THE "LABUAN," AND THE "SALON."

1. The Magicines was captured on the 27th of January, 1863, about 400 miles from the Cape after the provide of the Provide of the Cape o

Our Merchant Marine.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK BUCHANAN,

OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 9, 1916.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Andrew Furuseth, the international president of the seamen's union, has given the best part of his life to improve the working conditions of the seamen. He is one of the best informed men in the world on the question of our merchant marine. He strived for 20 years to secure the enactment of the seamen's law, which, if applied in letter and spirit, will reward Mr. Furuseth for his faithful, courageous, and able efforts. The delay in the enforcement of the seamen's act has been a disappointment, and in some instances an irritation. To the supporters of the act, however, it is encouraging to believe that since the 1st of April, 1916, the law has been, in part, enforced, which has resulted in much good, and it is hoped that in the future the law will be fully complied with, which will give seamen greater liberty and freedom, better working conditions, equalize the cost of opera-tion of foreign-owned ships, making American ports with American-owned ships, and Andrew Furuseth's faithful and able efforts will be crowned with glory.

OUR MERCHANT MARINE.

[By Andrew Furuseth, before the Economic Club, of Boston, February 23, 1916.]

ruary 23, 1916.]

Mr. Chairman, it is a matter of common knowledge and general agreement that the oversea merchant marine of the United States was steadily decaying from about the time of the Civil War to the beginning of the present European war. The reasons are economic, but they are created by law. The causes for this decay have been variously stated to be:

First. Our antiquated navigation laws.

Second. Excessive building cost of American vessels as compared with foreign vessels.

Third. Excessive cost of operation of American vessels as compared with foreign vessels.

As shortly as I can I shall try to deal with these statements and the remedies suggested.

OUR ANTIQUATED NAVIGATION LAWS.

OUR ANTIQUATED NAVIGATION LAWS.

When those who use this phrase—a phrase so widely disseminated and so generally used that it is assumed to need no explanation—are asked for specifications they say, "We furnish better accommodations for our seamen than do other nations." But when our laws dealing with seamen's accommodations are placed side by side with those of England, France, Germany, and Norway we find that our laws are not as liberal to the seamen as the laws of those countries. Then they say: "We furnish a better scale of food." But when we compare the English scale of food, as it existed up to 1906, we find it identical with the scale of food on American vessels up to February 21, 1809, and that the present scale of food of the two nations is about the same. We further find that the scale of food in vessels of Norway, Denmark, Germany, and France differs very slightly from our own, and that there can not be very much distinction in "the cost of food per person" in either of them.

Then it is claimed that American vessels carry more men. Comparing the same class of vessels belonging to any of these nations with similar vessels under the American flag and employed in the same trade, it will be found that there is no real difference in the number of men employed and that the American vessels sometimes carry one or two men more, sometimes two or three less.

Finally, it is suggested that it is a question of wages; and this is true, in so far as it applies to vessels sailing from ports of the United States. The only difference in wages between foreign and American vessels trading between ports of other countries is in the wages of the officers and this is not by any means an important amount. I shall deal with the question of wages later.

THE COST OF CONSTRUCTION.

THE COST OF CONSTRUCTION.

Summing up the testimony of the shipowners as it has been given to the committees of Congress and to the Merchant Marine Commission, we find that some of the witnesses testified that the cost of an American vessel is about 33 per cent higher; others claimed that it is 50 per cent higher. One of these contentions is as correct as the other. If an American-built vessel costs \$900,000 the claim is made that it can be built on the Clyde for \$600,000. This would make the differential about 33 per cent; but if the vessel was built on the Clyde at \$600,000, and the same vessel would cost \$900,000 if built in an American yard, it would be correct to say that the difference is 50 per cent.

Of course, the more expensive vessel carries a financial burden throughout her normal life; that is, in proportion to her higher original cost. Given 6 per cent interest on money invested, 6 per cent insurance, and 5 per cent deprectation, if the vessel costs \$300,000 more, she will have to earn annually about \$50,000 more than the vessel that costs \$300,000 less before she can begin to pay dividends.

The origin of this difference is in the monopoly of the American shipbuilder. The cure is free ships. Let the shipowner buy his vessel where he can buy it cheapest and sail it where he can make the most money. The emergency shipping act furnished a remedy, though it is not a complete one. In order to make it complete, those vessels so registered must be admitted to the constwise trade. When this is done the cost of construction will be equalized, and the privilege of participating

in the coastal and the intercoastal trade will be such as to induce for-eign vessels to come under the American flag.

The vessels built in foreign yards are now compelled to be on an equality with vessels under a foreign flag, except that they have the pro-tection of a powerful neutral during the war. If in trade between Atlantic ports and the Orient they can not carry part cargo from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, or vice versa; if they bring a cargo from Europe to New York, and have charter to bring cotton from a southern port back to Europe, they must go empty from New York to the loading port. This is an inexcusable economic waste, detrimental to the ship-owner and the shipper alike.

THE COST OF OPERATION.

Let us assume that two vessels, one under Belgian, the other under American flag, are trading between Antwerp and Boston. These vessels will buy their supplies in either of the two places, where they can be bought cheapest. The same situation exists between San Francisco and Sydney, or between Puget Sound and Japan, so that the only difference is in the wage cost, and we have only to deal with the question of

Sydney, or between Puget Sound and Japan, so that the only difference is in the wage cost, and we have only to deal with the question of wages.

The wages of the seamen has been and is now the going wages of the ports of shipment. The wages of the port of shipment is very largely determined by the wage level of the country tributary to the port in question, modified, if at all, by the wages of the port to which the vessel is bound.

The United States is a high-wage country, and the wages paid here are higher than in other countries, except in New Zealand and Australia. Vessels, regardless of their flag, if in the same or similar trade and shipping their men in any port in the world, pay substantially the same wages for the same kind of work, so that the Boston wage rate is paid by the Norwegian, the English, or the French, if they hire their men in Boston; the Liverpool wage rate is paid by the Norwegian, French, or American, if they hire their men in Liverpool.

This has been so clearly understood that in 1884 the Congress of the United States made it the basis of an act "To remove certain burdens on the American merchant marine and encourage the American foreign-carrying trade, and for other purposes."

One of the main features of this act was to permit the American shipowner to discharge the crew hired in an American port; to hire another crew in the same port with his competitor; to come to the United States and go back to a foreign port without reshipping in the United States, and thus get away from the American-wage rate. This was an effort to equalize the cost by leveling the American wage down to the rate paid by the competitor. The act was approved on June 26, 1884, and was enacted upon petition from the American and foreign vessels trading between foreign ports. It, however, failed of its purpose in American ports; first, because it contemplated and provided for the imprisonment of seamen coming on an American shipowners. It is still the law.

This law resulted in equalizing the wage cost of American

Its chief result was to increase the drift from the sea on the part of Americans.

The imprisonment of seamen for leaving American vessels in American ports was abolished by the act of December 21, 1898. From that time the seamen had a right to quit; they could not be held against their will, unless they were Chinese, who were prevented by the exclusion act from coming on shore, and this gave to the vessels of the Pacific Mail and to the Dollar vessels engaged in the oriental trade an advantage above all other vessels—even over the Japanese vessels—in the wage cost of operation. These vessels shipped their men in Hongkong at about \$15 Mexican per month; the Japanese shipped their men in Japan, paying 25 yen per month.

The differential in wages against the American vessel continued, and it ranged from 20 per cent in British ports to 30 or 40 per cent in some Baltic and Mediterranean ports, and then rose to more than 200 per cent in ports of India or China. These facts are testified to by the shipowners and their spokesmen.

Taken together with the difference in the cost of construction, the difference in wages was fatal. The American ship could not compete. To overcome these handicaps the American ship owner was exempted from taxation of floating property, from payment of fees levied in the enforcement of the navigation laws, and was further permitted to disregard any safety line in loading; he can now load his vessels to any depth he thinks proper; he can carry as much of a deck load as he may think safe; there are no laws restraining him. He has shed practically all liability, which has been reduced to the "freight money pending" and the income from sale of the wreck. While this is conditioned on having an efficient crew, he escapes by organizing a separate corporation for each vessel, so that when the vessel is lost the corporation has no assets.

He is permitted and encouraged to obtain and employ the cheapest men that can be found. With the exception of the licensed officers he could and did disregard any

TREATIES WITH OTHER COUNTRIES,

In treaties entered into with other maritime nations we had agreed to mutually arrest, detain, and surrender seamen who might desert or refuse to continue to labor in our high-wage ports under contracts which they had signed in low-wage ports. These treaties were further assisted by statutes, enforceable upon demand made by the consul of the nation to which the vessel belonged. When such demand was made, we used our peace officers to hunt down the deserter and to deliver him back. In other words, we used our police power to keep the wage rate of our competitors below that of our own. He hired his men in the cheapest wage ports and compelled them to stay by their contracts in our high-wage ports, thus gaining an advantage which enabled him to drive the American flag from the ocean.

To assist in meeting this condition, Congress passed the laws of June 26, 1884, of June 19, 1886, and the mail subsidy act; but these laws were not sufficient. American money went into foreign vessels, and because "The heart of man is with his treasure." its interest is now to prevent any real change except such as can be met by other nations, and we hear the ever-repeated cry of—

This is a game at which all can play, and the higher the play the more money for the international shipowner. In this game he is in the position of the wife who witnessed a struggle between her husband and a bear—"Go it dearie; go it bearie."

position of the wire who witnessed a struggle between her husband and a bear—"Go it dearie; go it bearie."

Nation against nation; taxpayers paying, shipowners collecting. With it comes the cry for cheaper and ever cheaper men, compelled to live the lives of outcasts. The shlp-subsidy advocates would build sea power on ships; they claim that ships will bring men. The refusal of the American man to seek employment in our protected coastwise trade teaches them nothing. They can not or will not recognize the most stupendous fact of modern life—the schoolmaster and his work; they will not or can not understand that modern education and the ancient status of seamen can not exist together.

The American man, feeling the situation, gradually deserted the sea; the American boy shunned it. This country had to depend upon foreigners, out of whom to make officers; to such an extent is this the case that if they had not been forthcoming a very large percentage of such merchant marine as we now have in the coastwise and foreign trade would be compelled to remain at the docks for want of men to serve as officers on them.

The same reason that caused the American to quit the sea has been operating in Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and in Germany along the seacoast, where the condition is best known and general education highest. As the men of these different nationalities quit the sea their places were taken by men from South Africa. India, the Malay Islands, China, and Japan. The sea power was gradually passing from the white race.

THE LA FOLLETTE SEAMEN'S ACT.

THE LA FOLLETTE SEAMEN'S ACT.

malay islands, Chima, and Japan. The sea power was gradually passing from the white race.

THE LA FOLLETTE SEAMEN'S ACT.

The remedy for this condition is in the La Follette seamen's act. It provides for the abrogation of the treaties and the repeal of the laws under which this country served as the slave catcher for shipowners of other nations. It provides in ports of call for the payment of one-half of the wages earned in order that the seamen may have the means with which to exercise and protect his new freedom. This act abolishes the ancient status.

In reshipping her men the foreign vessel comes under the same law as American vessels, which law prohibits any payment of wages before it has been earned, a standard of efficiency is imposed upon men shipping as abie seamen (part of deck or navigating crew), and the law further provides that in all vessels of more than 100 gross tons leaving ports of the United States at least 75 per cent of the crew in each department of the vessel must be able to understand any orders given by the officers of such vessel.

Foreign vessels coming to ports of the United States will thus be compelled, if their crews shall quit them, to hire men of the same skill and under the same law as men are hired by American vessels. As a result the wages paid by them will be the same.

This is an effort to equalize the wage cost by permitting the economic law of wages to level foreign wages up to the rates paid in our ports. This law has three very important purposes; important to the public: First, The obtaining of a better personnel in the interest of safety. If you have read about the disasters at sea and the constantly increasing losses of passengers, you will agree with Congress and the President at least in this part of the legislation.

Second. The equalization of the wage cost, already partly explained; but it will not stop by equalizing the wage cost in vessels leaving ports of the United States. The same selfishness that will induce the senum to leave his vessel to get higher pay

others from my estimate, because they, except the deep-sea fishermen, will not have sufficient training to make them useful.

The opposition.

That there should be determined opposition to this legislation was to be expected. The shipping interests of foreign nations would not be idle when there was a serious purpose to so change the seamen's status as to permanently interfere with their power over the seamen and their special privileges here in the United States.

The chambers of commerce in our most important seaports became at once very active. Through the press responsive to them they began a campaign which for misrepresentation, or ignorance of the real facts, and for its intensity, challenges comparison. On the one hand it was insisted that the law so discriminated against American vessels as compared with foreign vessels that it would drive the few remaining American vessels from the ocean. On the other hand it was contended that it is so antagonistic to foreign vessels that they will be driven from our ports and we will get into very serious foreign complications.

The National Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee to study this new naw. This committee no doubt tried to do its fully duty; they did not, however, call into consultation any of the men who had been prominently occupied in studying the condition and as a result had championed this law; they met in Washington and could no doubt have had the benefit of consulting with the Hon. William B. Wilson and the Hon. Rufts Hardy. I should gladly have given to them the same information I gave to the committees of Congress. They do not seem to have been looking for this kind of information. In substance, they recommended the repeal of sections 4, 13, 14, 16, 17, and a part of section 11. The provisions of this act liberating the seamen and calcu-

lated to equalize the wage cost of operation are found in these sections. These are the provisions to which foreign shipowners very naturally object. This fact is overlooked by the committee and in the referendum which the National Chamber of Commerce is submitting for vote

of its members.

The opponents of this legislation—led by the International Shipping Federation (Ltd.), with headquarters in London, members of its executive board in most maritime countries and representatives in all-finally claim that the law will be nugatory because the men will not

descrt.
With the prospect of higher wages in front of the seamen, the opponents say that the scamen will not embrace the opportunity. They will not descrt, or if they do it will be because of the blandishments of

ponents say that the scamen will not embrace the opportunity. They will not desert, er if they do it will be because of the blandishments of union delegates.

The treaties providing for the arrest, detention, and delivery of deserters began to be made in the beginning of the last century. The imprisonment of from 1 to 12 months for violating a contract to laborate the content came into general use in foreign ports. There were no seamen's unions or union delegates at that time. These treaties were negotiated and the laws were enacted because the shipping interests believed that the seamen would leave the vessels they were in to get higher wages in some other vessel. They believed that the hog will follow his nose to the warm swill unless there is a fence to stop him. They built the fence. The La Pollette seamen's act tears it down.

The shipowners know that the seamen will take advantage of the opportunity, that the vessels will be compelled to carry more efficient men and pay 'tigher wages, therefore they are opposing this law.

But why do American shipowners oppose it? Because there are between three and four hundred million dollars of American money invested in foreign vessels, and because, like all other bodies of slaveowners, they object to the liberation of their slaves. They consider it an attack upon their interests and a reflection upon their humanity and character. Are they not doing better for the slaves than the slaves could possibly do for themselves?

EXECUTION OF THE LAW.

The Department of Commerce is authorized and instructed to make rules for the enforcement of some of the most important sections of this act. Of course, the drafting of these rules is done by the Bureau of Navigation and the Bureau of Inspection, subject to approval by the Secretary of Commerce. The commissioner of navigation. Mr. Chamberlain, and the inspector general of steam vessels, Mr. Uhler, have been persistently and consistently opposed to this legislation. They opposed this legislation before committees of Congress and as delegates to the conference on safety at sea, held in London; they helped to build an international barrier against it. They on several occasions expressed the belief that it would tend to equalize the wage cost of operation, but that yet it was unwise. To intrust to them the drawing of these rules was very much in the nature of setting the fox to watch the geese. Honest? Of course they are honest. So is the fox.

This law has been in operation for three months in American vessels; where are the signs of improvement in the personnel? If it does not improve the personnel on American vessels, how can it improve the personnel on foreign vessels coming to ports of the United States? To this I answer, it has not, so far, improved the personnel on American vessels, because the law is not enforced on American vessels. It has not affected foreign vessels yet, because the law will not be in full operation on foreign vessels until some time in June this veer.

on American vessels, because the law is not enforced on American vessels. It has not affected foreign vessels until some time in June this year.

Of course, if the regulations which the Department of Commerce is authorized to make is of such nature that it will not improve the personnel on American vessels, if the regulations "limits and softens the choorious law" so as to permit shipowners to continue as of yore, it will necessarily leave foreign vessels untouched, because the regulations must be the same under the law.

You may ask, What is then the prospects of having an American merchant marine and of bringing the American to the sea? When will the improvement come? My answer is that is on the knees of the gods. But it will certainly come as soon as there shall be less American money in foreign vessels, or as soon as the shipping interests shall have less influence with the bureau chiefs who advise the too busy Secretary of Commerce, or when those bureau chiefs are promoted or die; fortunately, few men are immortal, and it is only after death. They say in England that governments may come and governments may go, but the permanent officials go on forever. I am sorry to state that this seems to apply to our country as well, though our bureau chiefs are not made permanent by law. We put new wine into old bottles and the wine is spoiled.

Congress may pass laws based upon a most careful consideration of human nature and the experience of the past, It may try to make when so that they may work nearly automatically, yet those who are entrusted with their execution may nullify them or bring them into ill repute. Thus our shipping commissioners has so far failed of its purpose, that a majority of seamen would gladity see the whole farce wiped out. There are no such places: the men are sent on board of the vessels, often laying at anchor away from the shore, and the signing on is done there, where the men are far found of its purpose, that a majority of seamen would gladity see the whole farce wiped out. There are n

will not come, or, coming, will not remain at sea except upon conditions that are humane and coupled with a living wage.

These conditions will gradually come through the proper enforcement of the La Follette Scamen's Act. Will you support it? Will you help to see that it is enforced?

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 31, 1916.

Hon. JOSEPHUS DANIELS, Navy Department, Washington, D. C.

Hon. JOSEPHUS DANIELS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 21, 1015.

May Dan ML. SECUREARY: Agreeable to your suggestion of this date which it is intended to attach to the Navy bill, and which is found in what seems to be bearing No. 21 of the Naval Committee, I beg to call your attention to section 19, found on page 1878.

One for each Senator, Representative, and Delegate in Congress, and five annually from among the apprentice seamen at each of the naval Irelands and the seamen at the congress of the naval relations.

Of course, the purpose is to bring the young American from the serve and Heessed officers in the merchant marine. Their training is to take place at many training stations and on beard naval vessels.

Of course, the purpose is to bring the young American from the seamen of beat the propose of the course, the purpose is to bring the young American from the seamen of bottom of the course, the purpose is to bring the young American from the sea. The insevitable result would be to block every road to advance the course of the course

These proposed officers will not only bar the way to officers' rank of the man trained in the forecastle but he will himself be an inefficient

man.

But the Navy needs a large number of sailors and firemen. Sailors and firemen are the large number of men on the auxiliaries. Where are they to come from? Is the European or the Asiatic going to serve? Can he be trusted to serve? If so, why does England intern all the Austrians and Germans that were sailing in her merchant fleet? If we unfortunately were to get mixed up in the present war the United States would probably have to intern about 30 per cent of its merchant seamen. If we were to join the side of the allies and Spain were to join the central powers, about 60 per cent of the sailors and firemen on the Atlantic coast might have to be interned. But why pursue this any further?

seamen. If we were to join the side of the allies and Spain were to join the central powers, about 60 per cent of the sailors and firemen on the Atlantic coast might have to be interned. But why pursue this any further?

Some European nations, such as Norway, will not permit a naval efficer to become either mate or master of a merchant vessel until he has had at least one year's training on such vessel.

I desire to call your attention to section 21, in which it is stated, "No person shall be enrolled in this class who is less than 18 or more than 45 years of age, nor unless he furnishes satisfactory evidence as to his ability and character from previous employers."

I talked with some seamen about this, both on the Lakes and on the Atlantic, and the invariable remark was, "Uncle Sam wants us to get a recommendation from the shipowner before he will permit us to fight and die for him. Well, he can got to * * * What do they think we are, anyway?"

In some European countries a master of a vessel is not permitted to give any character for ability or conduct to any seaman under his command. That is to say, he is not permitted to place it either on his discharge or his continuous-service book. It is recognized that it is too liable to be dictated by personal like or dislike.

In conclusion, permit me to suggest that if you will gradually exclude from American vessels those who can not understand the language of the officers, and thus leave opening for the young American to come, if you will permit the young man, after having served 24 months on deck at sea or on the Great Lakes, to join the Navy for one year, then to be discharged with an able seamen's certificate, if he shall deserve it, and thus go back to the merchant marine with such a certificate and be enrolled in the Naval Reserve. if you will do something similar for the firemen you will get the American to sea, you will gradually prepare and develop an efficient and reliable personnel for the merchant marine, and a recily valuable and dependable naval reser

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM B. OLIVER. OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 11, 1916.

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to extend remarks I print the following letter from Mr. Robert J. Bulkley in reply to a request from me for an expression of his opinion on rural-credit legislation:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, May 10, 1916.

Hon. W. B. OLIVER,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY Dear Congressman: I am very glad indeed to respond to your request for an expression of my opinion on the rural-credit legislation. The subject having been thrashed out by numerous commissions and committees, it is obvious that the time has come for all friends of this legislation to try to get together and enact some law which can serve as the basis of actual experience and which can be perfected so far as may be necessary at a later time.

Fortunately, the Hollis till, which passed the Senate last week, and the Moss bill, which has been reported from the House Committee on Banking and Currency, both embody all the essential principles of a sound agricultural land-mortgage system, and the bills are not hopelessly at variance with each other. Both provide for the making of long-term loans on the amortization plan and for the management of the whole land-mortgage system through the cooperation of horrowers. Both provide that mortgages shall be made by associations operating within limited areas and only on the approval of neighbors who know the value of the land and are familiar with local conditions and at the same time have a personal interest in preventing the making of unsafe loans. The mobilization of securities behind the proposed farm-loan bonds, making such bonds national in scope, secured by mortgages in every part of the country, is an absolutely sound principle and is embodied in both bills. Both provide proper and adequate restrictions on the purposes for which mortgage loans may be made and on the amount which may be loaned to any one borrower. These provisions are necessary in order to prevent the additional credit facilities from being used for speculative purposes. The machinery of the system is, on the whole, well worked out in both bills. The method of its application amounts to a

in both bills, and I do not believe that it is unnecessarily complicated or cumbersome.

The principle of Government aid in the establishment of the system is adopted in both bills. The method of its application amounts to a subsidy, as the Government will invest in the stock of the proposed land banks without getting any dividends and without getting the benefit of any surplus that may be accumulated. It is gratifying to find a general agreement upon the necessity of substantial Government aid after all the controversy that has gone on about this question. I have always

advocated Government aid, but I have never believed it was necessary to make any Government gift or subsidy to the system. However, the provisions in these bills are sufficiently safeguarded, and can can be set any precedents, as there are already numerous precedents for the expenditure of Government money along lines which give direct benefits to only a part of the people. The principle of Government aid being established, the amount of it is rather less material, so long as it be sufficient to insure the proper starting of the system.

Not having had the benefit of recent committee discussions, it would be presumptious for me to criticize what seems to me to be technical defects. I do, however, venture a few suggestions concerning the application of principles.

The provision for joint-stock banks should be eliminated from the bill. It is more or less in conflict with every one of the sound principles system. The joint-stock member and which are it strength of the system. The joint-stock member and which are it strength of the system. The joint-stock bank will afford unnecessary competition to the coperative association; and to the extent that it does business which would otherwise go to the cooperative associations it weakens the security behind the farm-loan bonds and tends to increase the percentage of overhead expenses that must be borne by the land banks and cooperative associations. The multiplicity of bond issues which will be made by the joint-stock and banks will tend to confuse the investor on petition with the bonds of the land banks as well as with each other, thus causing needless expense for underwriting and selling of securities. I not provide the properties of the security behind the farm-loan bonds, and all of these issues will be in competition with the bonds of the land banks as well as with each other, thus causing needless expense for underwriting and selling of securities. In the other hand, their bonds must necessarily be under the disadvantage of being secured by morting and selling of

Permanent Standing Army.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES T. LLOYD.

OF MISSOURI.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 9, 1916.

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, I have never favored a large permanent standing army, and I believe that the establishment of such an army would be a mistake at the present time.

Prior to the Spanish-American War the authorized Regular Army was only 30,000 men. At present 100,000 is the limit of authority. Since 1898 many uses have been found for an army that did not then exist. Some of these came as the result of that war. It is now necessary to have a large contingent of the Army in the Philippines, at Hawaii, and Panama, and in addition to that it is necessary to keep a part of the Army in Alaska, Porto Rico, Haiti, and Santo Domingo.

Nearly 50,000 men are now stationed in these outlying possessions and dependencies and less than one-half of the Regular Army is on the mainland of the United States. The increase in population since 1890 has been about one-third, so that if the size of the Army should be determined by population the Army for use on the mainland should be at least 40,000, and this is about the number that is now employed in the United States proper.

A more serious menace has arisen than ever before. It now seems to be imperative to patrol the border between the United States and Mexico for the whole distance of nearly

2,000 miles, and this can not be done without a much larger Army than the United States now has. It is generally supposed by those who have given it careful attention that the increase from the 90,000 enlisted men at the present time to 140,000, as proposed in what is known as the Hay bill, would furnish a sufficient number to meet this extraordinary condition. In other words, to authorize a standing Army of 140,000 men would permit an addition to the present force of 50,000, as the number enlisted is only about 90,000.

Apparently all that is needed in increase is for the protection of the border territory. But slight increase, if any, is necessary in the outlying possessions, and conservative, careful individuals who have investigated the matter are convinced that an Army of 140,000 will meet the present con-

tingency.

Whatever is necessary to protect the interests of the United States should be provided, and if this number is not sufficient it should be increased; but for the present, at least, this will suffice. The probabilities are that enlistments will not be sufficient between this and December to increase the Army to

the full quota of 140,000.

Beyond the Regular Establishment officers and trained men are needed who in event of war with some other country may, on short notice, be prepared for active service. me exceedingly important. If war were declared at once with a nation which had a standing army ready for action, and its army could reach our shores, great damage might be done before our force could be enlisted, thoroughly drilled, and be prepared for active service. To meet this possible contingency without extraordinary expenditure and without a compulsory system of Army service is a difficult task. Something of preparation in this direction may be made by increasing the number of military cadets at West Point. Another expedient is by encouraging private military schools and a third is by the use of military tactics and school drills in colleges and high schools. It seems to me that the boy in college or in high school may well be given training that would fit him for prompt service in event he was needed in defense of his country.

The State military forces, known as the National Guard, need to be encouraged and increased, and they should be well drilled and thoroughly prepared for active military duty. This would mean much toward preparation to meet any extraordinary contingencies. I am opposed to compulsory military service in times of peace. I am auxious, however, that every reasonable expedient may be resorted to to avoid the necessity

of legislation which would authorize such a system.

I am in favor of peace and do not wish to encourage the warlike spirit. I am anxious that this Republic shall remain on terms of friendship with all the nations of the earth. I rejoice that President Wilson has kept this country out of war in recent times and has at all times maintained the honor and integrity of the Republic. I had never realized so much was dependent upon the President in war crises as I have seen since the European war began. Numbers of times war seemed imminent in our country, and no one could safely foretell what a day might bring forth, and yet the President is standing triumphant as the only executive amongst the great nations whose people are not in the throes of the greatest war catastrophe ever known. It may be said that this condition is due to the fact that our country is on peaceful terms with all mankind. I am certainly anxious that this condition may remain, and the time may never come when it will be necessary to meet any of these friendly nations on the field of battle. This country means more to the world at peace than it does in war. Its influence will accomplish more for the advancement of its own interests and the betterment of the world in a state of peace than is possible in times of

The secret of this Government's position lies in the fact that it is not seeking the property of another. It is not grasping for the territory that belongs to other countries. It is content with its own possessions. It is not seeking power by trying to destroy, nor to take from another by force. Its purpose is to build up in commerce, in industry, in intelligence, and in morality, but without menace or injury or attempt to retard the progress of any other country. The United States wants its fair share in the business of the world. It craves to be foremost in the humanitarian spirit. It expects to deal fairly, honestly, and justly with the nations of the world, and it wishes like treatment from them.

like treatment from them.

When the great conflict in Europe is ended the United States will probably be the first to extend the hand of real fellowship to each of the belligerents and to congratulate them that the war is past, and to insist that war shall be no more, and to encourage them to stand with the great Republic for peace, that all

the blessings of liberality and friendship may crown them in their efforts to restore the waste places, produced by war, and to go forward in the prosecution of the arts of peace.

This country may prompt them to stack their arms of offense and to make use of the mighty implements of peaceful endeavor. Or it may, by its own warlike preparation and forceful methods, say that its friendship is a sham, its expressions of sympathy a hollow mockery, and its cry for peace a delusion.

Mr. Speaker, my judgment is that the House bill provides for the necessary standing army for to-day. It may be necessary to increase it in the near future. I believe in whatever preparation is necessary to meet the conditions of this hour, but it is not necessary to make extraordinary expenditure beyond that which is needed to-day. This Government should be ready to meet any emergency, but it can hardly be expected to make unusual and extensive preparation for war, add largely to the personnel of the Army, without causing the question of good faith to be raised by the nations with whom we come in contact. There is nothing suspicious in meeting present condi-tions. There is nothing to alarm in an increase of the Army necessary to prepare us to meet the conditions which immediately confront us, but beyond this our efforts might be misunderstood, and our course lead to trouble. Any careful observer must realize that if this Nation should be so unfortunate as to be involved in war, preparations would have to be made which are not now contemplated. A call for volunteers would be forced upon the administration to meet the then impending crisis, and as a result there would come from every locality in the Republic patriotic young men from farm, shop, and store, from mine, factory, and field ready to follow the fortune of the Stars and Stripes and to enlist in their country's cause for the purpose of fighting their country's battles. must rely in the future upon the citizen soldiers to fight the battles of the Republic. We can safely depend upon the patriotism of the people to respond, as they did in 1776, and in all the wars with which our Nation has been connected. No people are more devoted to their homes, and will go further to defend them and the land of which they are a part, whether as natives or as adopted sons.

The people of the United States, I feel sure, are anxious for peace. I may be mistaken, but my candid judgment is that they are ready to make sacrifices to retain it. Not a sacrifice of honor or integrity, not a sacrifice that means national humiliation, but that reasonable kind of sacrifice which anyone makes to avoid trouble. But if war must come, they will willingly give their lives in their country's defense, and will make whatever sacrifices are necessary to be met to vindicate their

country's honor.

American rights are sacred; American standards are based upon justice; American ideals, because of their purity, must triumph. I am anxious that nothing shall occur to retard our country's progress, check its forward movement, or diminish its power or prestige. I am fully convinced that war is a blight on the body politic; it is a curse to civilization; it is the cause of sorrow, misery, and death; it is the determination of might and not the achievement of justice. It has no place in the realm of happiness or contentment and has no reward except punishment and distress.

I want no act of mine to encourage it; and yet, if the worst must come and it is necessary to meet some antagonists in the field of battle, I want this Republic to be fully prepared to repel the force of any foe with the least possible loss in life and property. This country was purchased with the blood of its patriots, it has been maintained with the same heroic spirit which they possessed, and it will live through whatever sacrifice is necessary to meet the contingencies of the future. Its devotion to its homes is its real protection. The loyalty of its citizens will prompt the action in defense and the courage of the people will lead to victory over any foe.

Philippine Independence.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES R. MANN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 9, 1916.

to each of the belligerents and to congratulate them that the war is past, and to insist that war shall be no more, and to encourage them to stand with the great Republic for peace, that all

In the Washington Post May 3, last, following the defeat of the so-called Clarke amendment, which provided for immediate independence of those islands. The article is as follows:

MR. W. R. HEARST POINTS OUT NATION'S DUTY: COMMENDS PHILIP-PINE BILL'S DEFEAT-LOVALTY TO FUTURE INTERESTS OF COUNTRY MORE IMPORTANT THAN PARTY TIES, NAYS FAMOUS EDITOR-CRIME TO ADANDON ISLANDS.

To the EDITOR OF THE WASHINGTON POST:

The 28 Democrats who bravely strove to save the Nation from the disgrace of abandoning its duties and from the mistake of sacrificing its opportunities in the Philippines are as much national heroes as the men who fought to save the country from the evils of conquest in the Revolution or of dismemberment in the rebellion.

The sacrifice of high purpose and high principle would hardly have been greater had we failed in the Revolution, the sacrifice of territory and essential integrity would hardly have been severer had we lost in the rebellion than the sacrifice the Nation would suffer to-day in prestige and possessions through a timid and stupid abandonment of its obligations and opportunities in the Philippines.

DESERVE GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE.

These 28 men who refused to be bound by a party caucus to do a traitorous act of national danger and dishonor were patriots before they were partisans, and deserve the grateful recognition and remembrance of patriotic citizens of whatever

They have rendered a great service to their country-a service for which they should receive their reward not only in the approval of their own conscience but in the universal consideration and esteem of a grateful people.

Surely these broad-minded, far-seeing statesmen will be remembered and respected when the little spineless, spiritless followers of a timorous and traitorous administration are for-

These courageous Democrats who saved both their country and their party from injury and ignominy will be denounced as disloyal by party bigots, but there is no disloyalty in refusing to follow disloyal leaders.

LOYALTY TO COUNTRY ALL-IMPORTANT.

Benedict Arnold was an American general, but those would be pronounced traitors to-day who would have followed him into the camp of the enemy, while those who refused to follow him are esteemed patriots.

Loyalty to the present and future interests of our beloved country is more important in the minds of sincere citizens than

loyalty to any individual or to any party policy.

The abandonment of the Philippines would mean more than mere loss of wealth and territory and power and prestige to the United States.

It would mean the betrayal of this island empire to Japan, and would make Japan that much more populous and powerful, and bring her frowning forts and formidable fleets that much nearer to our defenseless shores.

PROTECTING THE PHILIPPINES.

What nonsense to say that we would protect the Philippines as our wards when the island fortifications would be left to the lazy neglect and childish incompetence of the Filipinos, our fleets withdrawn from their harbors, our soldiers recalled from their shores.

Is it not easier to defend the Philippines as our possessions, fully fortified with our ships and guns, than it would be to defend them as wards without our armament and without authority?

Yet the same unwise and insincere demagogues who say we would protect the Philippines as our wards advocate the abandonment of the Philippines because we would be unable to protect them as our possessions.

WOULD BE THE COLOSSAL CRIME.

The abandonment of the Philippines would be the colossal crime of our history, the crowning folly of our career as a

It would be an indictment of Democracy and impeachment of our republican form of government, a reflection upon the capacity and patriotism of our people, a slur and slight upon the intelligence and efficiency of our citizenship.

It would be a first and fatal step toward the relinquishment of

American supremacy in the Pacific.

It would mean a final disaster to American trade in the Orient and a dull and despicable repudiation of America's duties

The abandonment of the Philippines would be moral, political, and economic high treason.

The party which would commit such an act of moral obliquity political treachery, and economic stupidity should be tried and convicted and forever expelled from the councils of the nations by the American people.

UNITED STATES AT A CRISIS.

The United States stands at the crisis of its career.

It has become the greatest of modern nations.

It has grown not merely through natural national development, but through legitimate expansion and immigration.

It has increased through the extension of its territory and the absorption of other peoples into its population.

At first our Nation was but a line of liberated colonies strung along the Atlantic coast.

Then, after due and dogged opposition from the Tories of the time, the Floridas were added.

Then, to our glory and Thomas Jefferson's immortal memory,

the immense Louisiana territory was acquired.

Then, in spite of the trepidation of the timid, our title to the far Northwest was substantiated.

Then Texas was admitted and California, Arizona, and New Mexico were absorbed.

All of which the reactionaries resented and the petty Americans opposed.

One statesman went so far as to say that California would never be a fit habitation for anything but horned toads-California, which now could supply gold and grain and flowers and fruit and oil and soil and homes and harvests for the world.

Then Alaska was bought and pronounced worthless by the stupid and shortsighted, until its hills were found to be sheathed with copper and its river beds paved with gold.

All the time those who lacked imagination to see the possibilities in new lands and larger developments dignified their dullness by the name of conservatism and stood stolid in the path of progress.

DESIRE OF TRUE AMERICANS.

Still our country grew.

It was our destiny.

Still the glowing star of our extending empire took its western way.
We fought the Spanish War and won the Philippines.

Of course history repeats itself.

Of course the reactionaries rise to-day to repudiate our opportunities and obligations there as they did in Florida, in Louisiana, in California, in Alaska.

Of course the miniature Americans want the Nation to shrink to their small size, and the short-sighted politicians and pedagogues want the confines of our country's greatness to contract to the radius of their limited vision.

But the true Americans, the big Americans, the Americans with soul and sense, with intelligence and imagination, the Americans who have made the country the great country that it is, want the Nation to grow ever greater and fulfill to the full its duties and its destinies.

Greatness is a matter of soul, not of census.

To be truly great our people must possess national pride and patriotic purpose—not merely population.

We must have the spirit of our fathers, the energy and ambi-

tion of our ancestors.

We must devote ourselves to our national development, our territorial enlargement, our moral and material improvement.

We must consecrate ourselves to the extension of our civilizing influence, of our beneficial and benign activities, of our uplifting and inspiring ideals.

CENTER OF THE WORLD'S ACTIVITIES.

The United States is located at the focus of the world's attention, at the center of the world's activities.

On the one side is the Atlantic Ocean, the great commercial

highway connecting us with Europe.
On the other side is the Pacific Ocean, the great thorough-

fare of trade uniting us with Asia.

On the south lie the rich and rising Republics of South America.

Such a commanding and controlling location should make our country as it made Venice in former times and under former conditions, the center of the world's commerce, the custodian of the world's wealth.

But something other than mere location, as well as something more than mere population, is needed for true greatness and glory

We must have enterprise and imagination, courage and confidence, the ability to understand, and the energy to exploit the advantages which surround us.

God's work of civilizing the world must be done and will not

lag for lack of willing servants.

NATION MUST DO ITS FULL DUTY.

If we fail to do our full duty, other nations will be found to supplement or supplant us.

We must not be dependent upon the past, content with the

achievements of our ancestors.

We must work out our own salvation, perform our presentday obligations.

A professor of ancient history is not the best leader for a

modern constituency.

He is likely to be so intent upon the incidents of the past that he is indifferent to the occurrences of the present and inaccessible to the opportunities of the future.

A nation is like an individual.

It lives and labors, it plans and performs, it conceives and achieves.

It passes through its successive ages of majority, of maturity, of seniority, of senility.

It grows and develops.

It declines and dies.

In all its course no nation stands still.

It either advances or recedes, progresses or retrogresses. We have not yet reached the point where we must disin-

tegrate and deteriorate.

PATRIOTIC OBLIGATIONS TO BE MET.

The red blood of enthusiasm is still warm in our veins, our minds are still alert to our labors, our hearts are still strong in our faith.

We have set our hand to the plow, let us not turn back until

we have reached the end of the furrow.

We have enlisted for the fight, let us not desert or desist until the victory is won.

We have accepted the responsibility of the Philippines, the duty of their development,

Let us neither repeut nor retract.

Let us perform our complete patriotic obligations and make the Philippines a progressive and potential part of our country and of our civilization, the foremost buttress of our safety, the furthermost bastion of our enlightenment and liberty

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST.

Philippines Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MURRAY HULBERT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 10, 1916.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, the entire New York delega tion voted against the Clarke amendment and for the Jones bill. In view of the fact that this action has drawn the criticism of certain Members of the House, and to demonstrate that they do not know and therefore can not appreciate the sentiment in New York, under leave of the House permitting Members to extend their remarks within 10 legislative days, I desire to include the editorial comment of the New York press upon the bill both before and after its final disposition.

EDITORIAL COMMENT BEFORE THE CONSIDERATION OF THE BILL. [From the New York City Evening Sun, Apr. 27, 1916.]

DON'T MEXICANIZE THE PHILIPPINES.

DON'T MEXICANIZE THE PHILIPPINES.

That shocking proposed dispiay of political irresponsibility, the abandonment of the Philippine Islands, would outdo even the irreparable wrong done to Mexico in the bounding of Huerta, costly as that bit of canting presumption has been in suffering to the millions submerged in an era of Mexican butchery and banditry. Mexico should have taught Mr. Wilson not to play at ideals with other people's blood. It has not brought him to his senses. He is fatuously gambling with the destinies of 8,000,000 Filipinos, threatened with miseries exceeding those of Mexico, once they are cast out and marooned, left to their own mercles under a travesty of liberty.

No wonder that the first session of the Democratic caucus on Philippine affairs developed opposition to the administration plans. The reading of the President's letter to the caucus failed to still an opposition grounded on more honest, if less showy, views of the country's duty than those the President holds.

Against the urgency of Mr. Wilson rises the voice of a considerable number of the Philippine inhabitants themselves. The cry in the islands is not all for independence, however much that brilliant catchword may attract a part of the population.

Filipino property owners reputed to hold some \$20,000,000 of the wealth of their islands have sent Representative MILLER a petition against the Jones bill to withdraw United States authority from the Archipelago. Their voice is heard at the time when the House bill for Filipino independence, with its Senate amendments, comes before a

Democratic caucus. There is good ground for hope that the petition may help to drive the wicked folly of independence for the islands out of the heads of some of those now bent on that bit of idealistic double mischief to this country and the Filipinos themselves.

It becomes increasingly evident that 12 years of American rule have raised among the islanders themselves a great class who put their trust in the big American brother and depend upon the pledge, implied in his past beneficent control, that the control will continue; islanders, not to mention American settlers, who have staked their labors, their property, and the prospects of their families on the expectation that the United States would not quit what it had begun.

Is it true that the Filipinos are fit to govern themselves according to American standards of government? They certainly do not themselves all believe so, or none would have signed the petition sent to Mr. MILLER. In the face of this new and added grave evidence of political self-distrust and of aversion to being deprived of American control, the caucus may well show some signs of doubt as to the wisdom of casting the islands off to fall back again into their old misery.

[From the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Eagle, Apr. 27, 1916.] PROJECTING THE PREMATURE.

[From the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Eagle, Apr. 27, 1916.]

PROJECTING THE PREMATURE.

There are honest differences of opinion as to what we should do with the Philippines. To these differences the two great political parties have given expression. At the national convention held in 1912 the Republicans characterized our duty toward the Filipinos as a national obligation, and declared that it should remain entirely free from partisan politics. At several of their national conventions the Democrats have waved the flag of freedom. In 1912 they were especially declamatory. They denounced what they described as an experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder and favored an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to "recognize the independence" of the islands.

This purpose was debated at a caucus held in Washington last night, if has the "unqualified indorsement" of the President, who has written a letter hoping that the piedge of the party will be redeemed without a dissenting voice, which hope will not be realized. More than 30 dissenting voices were raised, and the Democrats have only about that number to spare in the House of Representatives. Efforts to coerce the so-called traitors into submission will be made, but as not a few threaten to bolt, there is anything but smooth salling ahead.

For the piedge the party is indebted to William Jennings Bryan. In one of his canvasses for the Presidency imperialism figured as his paramount issue, with the customary consequence. It shared the fate of 16 to 1, though the customary consequence. It shared the fate of 16 to 1, though the customary consequence. It shared the fate of 16 to 1, though the customary consequence. It shared the fate of 16 to 1, though the customary consequence. It shared the fate of 16 to 1, though the customary consequence. It shared the fate of 16 to 1, though the customary consequence. It shared the fate of 16 to 1, though the customary consequence. It shared the fate of 16 to 1, though the reports come from officials who are Democrats. If

[From the New York Times, Apr. 28, 1916.]

KILL THE SCUTTLING BILL.

[From the New York Times, Apr. 28, 1916.]

KILL THE SCUTTLING BILL.

The 30 Democratic Members of the House of Representatives who stood out in Wednesday's caucus against the passage of the Philippines bill under gag rule have rendered a patriotic service to their country. Despite the President's support, the Philippines bill should not be passed. To repeat our promise to grant independence to the inhabitants of the archipelago as soon as they are capable of self-government is quite unnecessary. To promise to give them independence within four years, if the promise were kept, would be a gross betrayal of the trust we assumed when we took the control of the islands away from Spain. Both Brig. Gen. McIntyre, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, and Mr. W. Morgan Shuster have lately reported that good progress is making in the Philippines, the people are learning, they will be capable of self-government some day, but that day is in the distant future. If they were released from American rule now, all the good work that has been done would be undone. The pretense that peace and prosperity would be continued under a hastily acquired independence by a vast multitude of people of different religions and ideals, many of them still illiterate, is too shallow to deceive anybody.

The only excuse for getting out of the Philippines is that we want to get out. Revolution would follow our withdrawal, a new and worse Mexico would be created in the Far East. It is unnecessary to conjecture what the ultimate result would be. The national honor demands that we fulfill our obligations and devote our energies to the development of the islands in the arts and industries and educate their people. Freedom they already possess. They are not the subjects of a despotic or greedy Government exploiting them for its own purposes. Mr. Shuster's report shows that they are doing well and learning how to administer their own affairs.

The action of the 30 Democratic Members indicates that the obnoxious bill can not pass in its present objec

[From the New York World, Apr. 28, 1916.] LOOKING FOR TROUBLE IN THE PHILIPPINES.

LOOKING FOR TROUBLE IN THE PHILIPPINES.

The Philippine bill, which has encountered such fierce opposition in the House at Washington, embraces legislation of importance to the welfare of the islands. Besides meeting adequately some social and economic problems, it extends the principle of home rule and greatly strengthens existing guaranties of liberty.

As presented to the Senate, the measure in its preamble promised ultimate independence. An elaborate amendment, proposed by Senator Clarke, of Arkansas, provides that in not less than two or more than four years from the enactment of the law, if the President is satisfied that the people are capable of self-government, the United States shall withdraw from the islands and leave them to their own resources.

This is the mischievous proposition which is resisted in the House and threatens the defeat of the entire bill. To press it in times like these, when no man can foresee the results of world-wide war and when the fate of small nations as well as great is in the balance, would seem to be the very limit of rashness. No such action is needed in order to keep faith with our dependency.

Both parties are pledged to Philippine independence, which must come in due season when a Congress then sitting shall be satisfied that all the conditions are favorable. A specific promise now is likely to raise false hopes, and its almost certain cancellation, as provided for, could hardly fail to involve us in serious complications. To get rid of the vicious Clarke amendment it ought not to be necessary to defeat the entire bill.

[From the New York Evening Post, Apr. 28, 1916.]

Refusal of 25 Representatives to be bound by the Democratic caucus on the Philippine bill probably means a medification of a clause which does not vitally affect the principles on which the measure is founded. There is a bare possibility that the measure will pass in its present form. But everything points to an extension of the time within which definite independence is guaranteed, especially as no one is particularly opposed to such extension. Delegate Quezon has stated that he sees no necessity for setting so short a limit on American tenure. Representative Jones, author of the bill, cheerfully admits that the period of 2 to 4 years fixed by the bill may have to be extended to 5 or 10. The essential thing is that we make a categorical promise of independence, and that we set in motion the machinery of greater self-government which will better prepare the islanders for it. As originally drafted, the bill set no definite date whatever. It is already certain that the American people will not wait the 25 years or more that Davender and others are clamoring for. Congress will also doubtless take time to knock out the ridiculous amendment to make the Philippines prohibition territory, a product of the same ignorance of insular conditions that drafted a similar measure for Porto Rico. [From the New York Evening Post, Apr. 28, 1916.]

[From the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Citizen, Apr. 28, 1916.] THE PHILIPPINE BILL.

The philippine bill.

Twenty-eight Democrats who have refused to abide by the judgment of the party caucus on the Philippine bill are entirely within their rights as party men in the position they have taken. The bill as it stands is in no proper sense a party measure and can not be made one by any whipped-up majority. Nor is there any reason for questioning the claim of the minority that they are doing what their constituents desire. This is certainly true of the Members from Brooklyn. There is not the least ground for doubting that Mr. Fitzgerald and his colleagues are correct in saying that the bill as it stands is not and is not likely to be approved by the people to whom they owe their seats.

It would, in the light of all the information obtainable, be unwise for the administration to press the issue in its present form. What good political sense suggests is that some amendments be adopted which will obviate the objections raised by the intelligent and conscientious gentlemen in question. It is so distinctly contrary to good party policy to do the contrary that the President will, we feel confident, decline to sanction it.

When to considerations of sound party policy we add the thought of

the contrary that the President will, we feel confident, decline to sanction it.

When to considerations of sound party policy we add the thought of what the best interests of the islands call for, it is not too much to say that the minority and not the majority ought to prevail. The time may come, perhaps, when it will be practicable for the people of the Philippine Islands to assume the responsibilities of self-government. It may be that this degree of intellectual and moral development will be reached in the course of the next generation. That they are in no such position yet is what only the merest theorists, to whom facts are irrelevant considerations, will deny.

It would, in other words, be rather a crime against the natives of the islands than a benefit to thrust a responsibility upon them which could result only in reducing whatever is orderly to chaos. The hope of the Citizen is that our Brooklyn Democratic Members will stand firm and that the points for which they are contending will be yielded by the caucus leaders.

[From the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Standard Union, Apr. 28, 1916.] TAMMANY'S DEFIANCE OF THE PRESIDENT.

TAMMANY'S DEFIANCE OF THE PRESIDENT.

The bolt of 28 Democratic Congressmen from the caucus on the Philippine scuttle bill, apparently insuring the defeat of that measure in its present form, is a most gratifying evidence of sanity and independence in the House.

This action will be accepted as proof that the Representatives have paid close attention to the sentiment of the country on the proposition to give the Filipinos unconditional independence at the expiration of four years. They have learned that the plan meets with overwhelming disapproval, is considered premature, and fraught with the gravest danger to the islanders themselves.

Of almost equal importance to dealing a death blow to the independence feature of the bill is the political significance of the revolt. It means that White House domination is broken for the present, at least, and indicates that Democratic Representatives will no longer submit to outside dictation.

and indicates that Democratic Representatives will no longer submit to outside dictation.

This bolt seems to be closely related to the refusal of Senator Wagner to accept the postmastership in Manhattan. Fourteen of the 28 bolters were Tammany men. It was a Murphy slap at the President, just as was the Wagner refusal a formal notice that Tammany is not willing to shake hands with Mr. Wilson and forget the past. The President is said to have written a letter urging the Democratic Congressmen to pass the Philippine bill, and the answer was given at last night's caucus.

How far-reaching will be the Tammany hostility, assuming it is to be persisted in, is a fair subject for speculation. It can not, of course, affect the decision at St. Louis in June, but it may cut quite a figure in Congress. If the smoldering resentment of Tammany has really

broken out into a flame, as indicated by the caucus bolt, the President may be seriously embarrassed in carrying out his legislative program. It is a situation which will be watched with interest.

[From the New York Globe, Apr. 28, 1916.]

[From the New York Globe, Apr. 28, 1916.]

NO PHILIPPINE PLEDGE NOW.

The division developed in the House Democratic caucus over the Clarke amendment to the Philippine bill and the passage of a resolution that takes the amendment out of the party measure class make it practically certain that no pledge of Philippine independence will be passed by the present Congress. President Wilson has steadily urged the making of the pledge, but his advice does not promise to be followed. The country, as a whole, will be satisfied with this action. The feeling is common, even among those who believe that it is immoral and impolitic to govern the Filipinos against their will, that the time has not yet arrived to withdraw from the Philippines. It is not yet clear, looking at matters practically, that conditions are such as to warrant decisive action.

The Clarke amendment is objectionable in that it is merely an academic declaration. It is contingent. It provides, in the form it is proposed to press it, that in 10 years, if the Filipinos then want independence and Congress deems it wise to grant their request, for the setting up of a new nation under American protection. It would seem unwise to attempt to bind the future in this way. No one knows what conditions will exist in 1926.

In the 16 years that have elapsed since the acquisition of the Philippines great progress has been made. Slowly but steadily a non-representative military government has been deemed safe to confide authority to them the grant has been made. No one can reproach this country with having sought to exploit the Filipinos and to repress their just aspirations. But this country is properly not willing to turn another Mexico loose on the world. There must be reasonable assurance that separation from this country is properly not willing to turn another Mexico loose on the world. There must be reasonable assurance that separation from this country is properly not willing to turn another Mexico loose on the separation, if it is to come, representing not an a

[From the New York Evening Sun, Apr. 29, 1916.] MORE WORK FOR INSURGENTS

MORE WORK FOR INSURGENTS.

The spirit of independent Americanism in Congress which promises to render a national service by killing the Jones Philippine "scuttle" bill may well be directed against the literacy-test feature of the Burnett immigration bill also.

The Jones bill provides that we shall dodge responsibility in the Philippines simply by running away and leaving the islands for whoever desires to annex them. The Burnett bill, as a sop to the labor vote, would prohibit uneducated allens from entering this country.

One proposition is as un-American as the other. Each would deny to members of the human race the opportunities which our national creed declare to be the common rights of all men. Even with its anti-Japanese feature, which threatened serious trouble for us, eliminated, there is unanswerable objection to the enactment of the Burnett bill in its present form.

[From the New York Herald, Apr. 29, 1916.] WHEN "BOLTING" REPRESENTS AMERICANISM.

WHEN "BOLTING" REPRESENTS AMERICANISM.

Is there no place for the honest, hard-working, peace-loving Filipino behind the regis of humanity? Must this ward of the Nation stand alone and apart, a sacrifice upon the altar of American politics?

Democratic leadership at Washington has decreed that this is to be the Filipino fate, but not all Democrats of the House of Representatives will respond to the party lash. Some—apparently enough to prevent the writing of such a disgraceful chapter in American history as the Democratic Party under Cleveland attempted to write in regard to Hawail—stand squarely against "scuttle."

No American possessing even primary knowledge of the Philippines believes it possible for the people of the islands to maintain and protect independence in the period of "from two to four years" provided by the Jones bill, nor does any Filipino of even primary intelligence believe this possible. Withdrawal of the wholly beneficent American protectorate at this time or within the period contemplated would be abandonment of the Filipino people to become prey of more militant orientals. Incidentally, this would mean placing the only Christian people of the Orient at the mercy of a pulssant paganism.

Democratic Representatives who refuse to support the independence provision of the Jones bill are playing the better part by this Nation, by the Filipino people, by true humanity, and by the political party of their allegiance.

Nothing could be less wise than the effort of the Democratic leadership to make the Philippine question an issue of politics. It is an American question to be eventually solved according to the dictates of the American conscience, and has no place in any party caucus. "From the New York Journal of Commerce, Apr. 29, 1916.]

[From the New York Journal of Commerce, Apr. 29, 1916.]

THE PRESIDENT'S PHILITPINE MISTARE.

The action of the caucus of Democratic Representatives and the revolt of a relatively small minority of them in relation to the Philippine bill indicates that it is likely to be defeated on the final vote in the House. The resolution declaring approval of the bill as it stands and its passage without change was adopted by a vote of 140 to 35, and 28 of the 35 gave notice that they would not be bound by the caucus action. There is hardly a question that some of the 140 voted against their conviction and from party motives and a desire to sustain the President, who has been using his influence to carry the measure through. The Republican vote will be nearly if not quite solid against its passage.

through. The Republican vote will be nearly if not quite solid against its passage.

The fact is that this mistaken measure has owed its support and its chance of success mainly to the fact that it had the administration behind it, with the President desirous of having it passed at this session. It provides for giving the Philippine Islands over to the self-government, for which they are very far from being prepared, in four years from the passage of the bill. There is a serious question whether any promise of independence for the Islands should be made, and certainly provision for making it actual in such a short time is a wrong to their own people and in effect a violation of faith pledged in the

treaty with Spain for taking them over as a possession of the United States.

treaty with Spain for taking them over as a possession of the United States.

A responsibility was then assumed, not only to the natives but more directly to those of Spanish descent, for the maintenance of their rights under authority of the American Government, which would be abandoned by this act. All that has been accomplished would be lost under a delusive idea that the people of the islands are capable of carrying on the work so successfully begun. There is a moral certainty of relapse instead of continued progress, and a serious liability of the loss of that independence which had been so prematurely and unwisely given to them.

If the bill is defeated, the President may be saved from the consequences of the mistake. If it is not, there is a chance that a different control of Congress and of the administration may undo the work before the provision for independence takes effect. Even so, serious trouble will have been caused, and the difficulty of carrying on the process that has been begun will be considerably enhanced. This mistake of the President is akin to that committed with regard to Mexico, but is morally and politically more serious because of the pledge of faith and the responsibility assumed in the treaty by which the islands were acquired.

[From the New York Times, Apr. 29, 1916.]

ABANDON THE BILL.

In regard to the proposed Philippines legislation the World believes that it ought to be possible to get rid of the obnoxious Clarke amendment without defeating the entire bill. But the Clarke amendment is really the essence of the bill, which was originally planned as a scuttling measure. Senator Clarke managed to restore to the bill its original purpose, which was to commit this country to the abandonment of its obligation to develop the Philippines and make its people fit to govern themselves. The whole bill ought to be defeated, if it is brought to a vote. It was conceived in the wrong spirit. There is no evidence that it is a well-considered, constructive measure or that the administrative changes it provides for are needed. The World admits that "a specific promise [of independence] now is likely to raise false hopes, and its almost certain cancellation, as provided for, could hardly fail to involve us in serious complications." But this Clarke amendment, with the specific promise which we all feel would not be kept, is the essential part of the measure. The Filipinos need not be assured again that we intend to grant them independence when our trust is fulfilled. They know that. The congressional fight is for the Clarke amendment, which its advocates still hope to force through.

The whole measure should be discarded. Legislation for the Philippines should be postponed until there is time to spare to consider it seriously in the right spirit. The object of this bill is wholly political. It is designed to undo the good constructive work done in the islands under three Republican administrations. Brig. Gen. McIntyre and Mr. Shuster have shown us that the Filipinos are doing very well under present conditions, and the question of their future development should not be treated from a partisan point of view.

[From the New York World, Apr. 30, 1916.] NO RASHNESS IN THE PHILIPPINES.

The Democratic quarrel over the bill conferring self-government upon the Philippines is likely to be a test of American capacity for self-government. No serious objection is made to the measure except that it contains a vexatious clause fathered by Senator CLARKE, of Arkansas, providing for independence in not less than two or more than four

providing for independence in not less than two or more than four years.

If a great piece of legislation, just to the Filipinos and creditable to ourselves, shall be lost, because Congress proves unable or unwilling to proceed wisely and safely in the matter of extinguishing American sovereignty in the Islamds, a lasting reproach will attach to all responsible for the failure. This bill in various forms has been under consideration for several years. It gives the Philippines a constitution, a bill of rights, and a form of government like that which our own continental Territories enjoyed. It is a fulfillment in all things except independence of every piedge we have made. Independence itself will come in due season.

Our Territorial system has been more widely commended and imtated than any other feature of American Government. As we were the first great Nation to lay the foundation for free States in the wilderness, it would be shameful, indeed, if Congress, confronted by an ill-considered attempt to do too much, should fail short of a glorious duty by doing nothing at all.

[From the New York Tribune, Apr. 29, 1916.] A SAVING REMNANT.

The 28 Democratic Representatives who revolted against the Senate Philippine bill have it in their power to save the people of this country from dishonor. They can prevent a brutal and despicable repudlation of the obligations which the United States Government assumed when it ratified the treaty of Paris.

Two months ago, when the House Committee on Insular Affairs reported the Senate Philippine bill without amendment, it looked as if the only hope of averting this betrayal lay in the President's veto. It was a frail hope, at best; for the President in dealing with the Philippine problem had manifested the same indecision, the same uncertainty and frailty of purpose which had marked his attempts to deal with the problem of preparedness, with Mexico, and with the critical questions arising out of the European war.

The administration was at first committed to a continuance of American control over the Philippines until the Filipinos should demonstrate their capacity for self-government. Independence was to be promised them, but no definite date for the termination of American sovereignty was to be set. Secretary Garrison had strongly indorsed the Hitchcock Philippine bill, and it was universally understood that in doing so he spoke also for the President.

Senator Clarker of Arkansas, the most feared of the Democratic leaders in the Senate, because the most outspoken and independent, was dissatisfied with what he considered the milk-and-water character of the Hitchcock measure and started an agitation for a ruthless compilance with the pledges of Independence for the Filipinos given in various Democratic national platforms. He defied the administration on this issue, as he had previously defied it on the shipping bill. He took the Philippine measure out of Mr. Hitchcock's hands,

amended it so as to turn the Philippines loose unconditionally four or five years hence and passed it without inquiring whether or not it harmonized with the President's ideas or wishes.

Mr. Wilson was undoubtedly annoyed at first by Mr. Clarke's blunt repudiation of all concerned on our part for the future of the Philippines. What his attitude and professions in the past should have led him to say was well said to him (unfortunately not for him) by Secretary Garrison, when the latter wrote: "I consider the principle embodied in the Clarke amendment an abandonment of the duty of this Nation, and a breach of trust with the Filipinos, and, so believing. I can not accept it or acquiesce in its acceptance."

Rut the President was unwilling to antagonize Congress on a small matter like scrapping the treaty of Paris. All he would say in response to Mr. Garrison's courageous words was this: "It is my judgment that the action embodied in the Clarke amendment to the bill extending self-government to the Philippines is unwise at this time, but it would clearly be most inadvisable for me to take the position that I must dissent from that action should both Houses of Congress concur in a bill embodying that amendment."

Mr. Wilson broke with Secretary Garrison on preparedness and accepted the leadership of Mr. Hax. On the Philippine question he broke with himself and accepted the leadership of Senator Clarka and Mr. Jones of Virginia.

Far from preserving the attitude that he must yield unwillingly if both Houses should approve the Clarke amendment, he has been using all his influence to dragoon the House into accepting that amendment. By letter written for the purpose of being read in the recent Democratic House cancus he put himself squarely on record as favoring action in regard to the Philippines which he had only a little while before declared to be "unwise at this time."

The country will therefore owe nothing to Mr. Wilson if it escapes the dishonor of breaking its word, given to the Filiphos, to Spain, and to the

[From the New York World, May 1, 1916.]

SETTING A NATION FREE.

The House of Representatives having decided to dispose of the Philippine Government bill to-day, there ought to be wisdom enough in that body to eliminate the Clarke amendment providing for independence in four years and pass the measure in other respects substantially as it came from the Senate.

To insist upon the independence of the islands in 1920 is to confer self-government upon a population alien and remote with much less preparation than was insisted upon in the case of many of our Territories at home. The pending bill goes to great lengths in making the Philippines a full-fledged Territory of the United States, like Alaska and Hawaii. This is the natural and orderly course to pursue. By doing more Congress will presume to act in advance of events, without knowledge and with a recklessness never before exhibited in its dealings with a dependency.

The region now comprising the States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin was created a Territory by the ordinance of 1737. Ohio became a State in 1803. Indiana in 1816. Illinois in 1818, Michigan in 1837, and Wisconsin in 1848. We acquired the Philippines in 1899, since which time they have had military government and limited home rule. If they are to have independence in 1920, they will re-eive, with only four years' experience as a Territory, a privilege for which Michigan waited 50 years and Wisconsin 61 years.

Louisiana was purchased in 1803. Of the various Territories embraced in that region several were on probation for two generations, Nebraska became a State in 1867 and the Dakotas and Montana were not admitted until 1889. Louisians proper was nine years a Territory before it oecame a member of the Union. Florida, purchased in 1819, gained statehood in 1845; Alaska, purchased in 1867, did not acquire Territorial self-government until 1906; and New Mexico and Arizona, ceded in 1848, were not finally receptived in 1867, did not acquire Territorial self-government is richly merited by the Filipinos. That is the final stage for them, as it

[New York Evening Journal, May 1, 1916.]

IS THIS A GOOD TIME TO GIVE UP THE PHILIPPINES?—WITH THE NATIVES UNFIT FOR SEIF-GOVERNMENT—A MAJORITY OF THEM SAVAGE—AND WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF A JAPANESE WAR THAT WOULD MAKE THE PHILIPPINES MOST CONVENIENT TO US.

At a cost of tens of millions this country has established itself in the Philippine Islands. We have more than paid for all that we got there. We gave the unhappy people freedom from Spain's brutality and superstition.

We gave them thousands of public-school teachers and paid the

We gave them thousands of public-school teachers and paid the teachers.

We even paid cash to Spain. And where religious organizations felt that they had suffered financially because the United States came in we paid cash, many millions, to religious organizations.

The United States is in the Philippines by every right—the right of conquest, which we but lowest in the scale; the right of good government, the right of good intention.

We have coaling stations in the Philippines—note that—and harbors for our warships, and when the war with Japan comes, as it will eventually those coaling stations will be convenient.

In the face of these conditions it is proposed by "statesmen" that the United States should retire from the Philippines, abandon all we have done there, relinquish the work of civilization and our tens of millions of expenditure—turn the whole thing over to the natives, which would mean giving the Philippines to Japan.

What idiocy, what feeble-mindedness inspires this course?

Suppose the Japanese had, spent millions upon millions in great possessions, honestly acquired, as close to us as the Philippines are close to Japan.

Suppose the Japanese had, within convenient reach of us, coaling stations, harbors, and forts. Can you imagine any Japanese sufficiently idiotic to advocate giving up those possessions if he knew that when the Japanese went out the Americans would go in?

How can any American be idiotic enough to suggest giving up the Philippines, giving up our whip hand in Asia, giving up the power of making possible reprisals on Japan should Japan attack us—how can any person in this country suggest giving up that power, that advantage, that duty, in the name of maudlin sentimentality?

There should be enough force in public opinion to prevent it.

[From the New York Times, May 1, 1916.] A BILL TO BE KILLED.

The Philippines bill, which, according to the program, will be taken up in the House of Representatives to-day, is not an essential piece of legislation. It does not possess sufficient relative importance to be rushed through the House in a crowded session, when so many other matters of prime importance demand serious attention. Even without the objectionally Clarke amendment, which its advocates will try again to force through, it is a measure of dubious v.lue.

It is associated in the public mind with a deliberate plan of scuttling. That and not to provide an organic law for our far eastern colonies was the uppermost thought in the minds of its projectors. The bill ought to be voted down. The people in the Philippines are making good progress toward self-government now. There is no real demand for new laws to govern them; they need no new privileges at present.

EDITORIAL COMMENTS AFTER THE CONSIDERATION OF THE BILL. [From the New York Evening Sun, May 2, 1916.] NO PHILIPPINE "FREEDOM."

NO PHILIPPINE "FREEDOM."

The blll to put a liberty cap on the head of the Filipino and abandon him has been rejected by a vote in which 30 Democratic Representatives voted against their party and President. These men and the Republican Representatives who united to oppose the measure have performed an important public service. Thanks to their vote, the plan to cancel our obligation to carry out the improvement of the Philippines will not go through this time.

What ill results in these islands may presently come out of recent tampering by the Government with its own authority there remains to be seen. The agitation of the idea of our withdrawl from the islands has received its quietus here, but among the Filipinos and the Japanese the fruits of that agitation may yet ripen. It is a time for caution in Philippine administration.

[From the New York Evening Post, May 2, 1916.]

Since the Philippine bill, fixing a definite time for declaring the independence of the Islands, had been made an administration measure, its defeat in the House yesterday was a defeat for President Wilson. The bill has had unskillful parliamentary handling. The amendment fixing four years as the period after which the Philippines were to go their own way was written into the bill in a rather haphazard way in the Senate. At the time Mr. Wilson was supposed to be against it, but a letter from him indorsing it was read to the House Democratic caucus. Its rejection is thus another blow to his prestige with Congress. The House finally passed the original Jones bill, giving to the Filipinos a larger measure of home rule and reaffirming the purpose of the United States to grant them independence in due time. Whether the Senate will agree to this is as yet uncertain. One would say that administration and party pressure to get through some kind of Philippine legislation, looking to the keeping of Democratic pledges, would be strong. It will not have escaped notice that among the Democratic bolters in the House was a large proportion of gentlemen with Irish names. They would doubtless fight to the death for an Irish republic. A Philippine republic, however, seems to them a fearsome thing.

[From the New York Evening Mail, May 2, 1916.] STICKING TO THE PHILIPPINES.

Evidently no policy of scuttling from the Philippines can be adopted by this country with the consent of the House of Representatives. The lower branch of Congress is closer to the people than the Senate. In many instances in our national history, aside from the Philippine matter, it has proven more responsive to the real sentiments of the country. Our people are not willing to set the Philippines adrift, and the House so records itself. It would be an unworthy course to follow at this time. The best thought among the Filipinos themselves is emphatically against so-called "independence" for their islands. They realize that independence would mean chaos, until some other Government stepped in and took the place the United States had abandoned.

The House vote of 213 to 165 yesterday is practically a defeat of the measure—for this Congress at least. It is an administration bill, and the large adverse vote is, therefore, significant, participantly in view of the fact that the Senate, yielding to White House pressure, had passed the bill.

The time will come when the Filipinos should have absolute independence. No lover of liberty would delay that day a single moment, and this Government, last of all in the world, should resist it. It would be a shame and disgrace to us, however, it we should now establish a Mexico on the Aslatic shore.

[From the New York World, May 2, 1916.]

Shorn of the mischievous Clarke amendment, the Jones Philippine bill as originally sent to the Senate and as finally adopted last night in the House is a good one to enact. It carries as strong assurances of future independence for the Filipinos as if it fixed a date for future independence which is beyond the power of this Congress to fulfill. What this Congress can do with certainty is to enlarge for the islands and their ultimate independence the scope of practical experience in self-government, and this is what the bill now does. What has been lost to the bill as it came from the Senate is only what this Congress could not do with certainty, and it is a wise loss.

[From the New York World, May 3, 1916.]

If the Filipinos get home rule without independence, that may not satisfy them, but it will greatly encourage New York City.

[From the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Citizen, May 2, 1916.] THE PHILIPPINE BILL.

THE PHILIPPINE BILL.

The rejection by the House yesterday of the Philippine bill in its present form is gratifying to nearly every student of the condition of the islands. The 30 Democrats who stood firmly by their objections, despite the action of the caucus, are thus entitled to the thanks both of the country and the Democratic Party, for it is quite certain that neither the party nor the country desired any such measure as the caucus indorsed.

Whatever be thought of the future of the Philippines, it is agreed by all practical observers that they are not yet in a condition for the establishment of popular sovereignty, nor are they likely to be so for a generation to come. This is not the opinion of men who wish to retain them under American control. It is the opinion of men who would be glad to see them intrusted with the complete management of their own affairs, and who are convinced that it would be to the advantage of this country to be rid of them.

That they are a burden to the United States and will always remain so, is as fully recognized by the opponents of the bill in question as by its supporters, but the further question of duty to the world as well as to the islanders can not be escaped from on any merely economic pretext. It was no doubt an error to annex them in the first place. This is not likely to be seriously denied to-day in any well-informed quarter, but being annexed we can not without injustice to the inhabitants turn them over to all the horrors that would overtake them if our troops were withdrawn. It is from this point of view that the proposal of the bill to give them their so-called liberty, a word which they do not understand, within four years, excited the opposition of by far the greater part of thoughtful America, not to mention other parts of the world.

[From the New York Times, May 3, 1916.] DEFEAT OF THE SCUTTLERS.

It is greatly to the credit of the House of Representatives that it has defeated the policy of scuttling in the Philippines. Monday's debate on the Clarke amendment showed conclusively that its supporters desired to pledge the country to the abandonment of the islands within four years, not for any love for the Filipinos or because of any desire of the conglomerate population of the archipelago for early independence, but because abandonment of the trust we assumed in 1898 is a cheap and easy way of getting rid of a large responsibility. Mr. Jones aptly expressed the spirit of the Senate bill in his labored defence of it:

"But it will require more than strong fortifications and large armies successfully to defend the Philippines against foreign invasion. To do so with any hope of success will necessitate the constant presence in the Orient of an American fleet at least equal in strength to that of any other naval power which may attempt to seize the islands. Whatever may be the cost in blood and treasure in defending them, we shall be bound by every consideration of justice, honor, and national pride to undertake to do so if it shall be determined to hold them permanently."

With or without possession of the Philippines we must have in the future a much larger and more effective Pacific Fleet. We are "bound by every consideration of justice and national pride" to defend the islands as long as we hold them, and national honor demands that we shall hold them until we have fulfilled our trust. Our task in the Far East is not easy: It may be more difficult in years to come than it has been in the past, but we must perform it faithfully.

That eminent Filipino patriot Mr. Manuella L. Quezon is reported to have said that the bill finally passed, which is the original Jones bill somewhat modified, will die in the conference. Nothing will be lost in its demise. The vague promise of future independence in its preamble is unnecessary. We have always in the midde of its framers and advocates. Governmental reorganization

[From the New York Sun, May 3, 1916.] A REBUKE WHICH MR. WILSON HAS DESERVED.

Representative MILLER, of Minnesota, who has visited the Philippines several times and is familiar with conditions in the islands, said in the debate on the Clarke amendment to the Jones bill that he was surprised at the "suddenness" with which the administration accepted the "scuttle" policy. It has been a surprise to everybody who remembered the Philippine plank in the Democratic platform, a docu-

ment that Mr. Wilson has invoked time and again as the Democratic gospel of committal and omission. What was in the platform he professed to regard as his sailing chart, and he has made a convenience of what was not in it. Also Mr. Wilson's acceptance of the "scuttle" policy seemed strangely inconsistent with his preachment that America existed to serve humanity either in peace or war and thus be an example to less spiritual nations.

The Democratic Party in its platform in 1912 called for "an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established." But Mr. Wilson, in spite of this unequivocal statement of policy, accepted a proposal to give the Filipinos independence in two to four years, with this string attached to it, that if the President as the four years were expiring concluded that the natives were not ready to govern themseives he could refer the question of independence to Congress for further consideration.

To set a sliding time limit to the sovereignty of the United States would be to disregard the Democratic platform flagrantly; but, even worse than that, the purpose to fool the Filipino people would be transparent to any but the most simple of them. Altogether the Clarke amendment was as evasive, dishonest, and stupid a device as was ever submitted to Congress in the form of a serious legislative proposal; and yet Woodrew Wilson, preacher of the humanities and keeper of the national conscience, not only jumped at the Clarke amendment but did all in his power to impose it upon Congress.

Thanks to the common sense and courage of some 30 Democrats under the splendid leadership of Representative Fitzgerald, of New York, the House has rejected the hypocritical and vicious Clarke amendment and definitely substituted the original House or Jones bill for the Senate measure. The Jones bill provides a form of government for the islands in which the Filipinos will nave a larger representation and greater respon

[From the New York World, May 3, 1916.]

KEEPING FAITH WITH THE FILIPINOS.

Different bills have been passed by the Senate and House at Washington providing for Territorial self-government in the Philippines. To accomplish this desirable purpose no pledge of independence at a fixed date, as set forth in the Senate bill, is necessary. The refusal of the House to accept the Clarke amendment contemplating our withdrawal from the islands in four years settles that point, for this Congress at least.

With the question of independence postponed until conditions shall warrant a future Congress in taking action to that end, good faith now demands no more than that the Philippines be made a Territory of the United States, in the control of its own people and subject only to the veto of the Washington Government, as is the case with Alaska and Hawaii. We have not promised these Territories statehood at any specified time. So, while keeping Philippine independence always in view, we are not bound to say at once how long the probation must be.

It would be exceedingly unfortunate if the disagreement between

must be.

It would be exceedingly unfortunate if the disagreement between the two Houses as to a measure of independence wholly tentative should result in the abandonment of the long-considered attempt to give the Filipinos home rule. We are committed to that even more emphatically than to independence. We can not much longer deny it without bringing the sincerity of our whole program into question.

Virtual independence will accompany self-government. Any movement in the Senate or elsewhere to block the one measure of progress now practicable will justly be regarded with suspicion.

[From the New York World, May 4, 1916.]

[From the New York World, May 4, 1916.]

RECALLING A SOLEMN PLEDGE.

The Jones bill providing self-government for the Philippines was pigeonholed in the Sixty-third Congress. It ought not to be burked in the present Congress. It will not be burked in the present Congress. It will not be burked in the present Congress if reasonable men of both parties are mindful of our obligations and decline to continue the deadlock engineered by Republican imperialists and Democratic shirkers.

We have been pledged to the principle of the Jones bill for 17 years. The treaty by which we acquired the Philippines was ratified by the Senate on February 6, 1899. Eight days later, to make clear its purpose as to the islands, that body adopted this resolution:

"That by the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain it is not intended to incorporate the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands into the citizenship of the United States, nor is it intended permanently to annex said islands as an integral part of the territory of the United States. But it is the intention of the United States to establish in said islands a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants, to prepare them for local self-government, and in due time to make such disposition of said islands as will best promote the interests of the citizens of the United States and the Inhabitants of said islands."

Republican imperialists who would hold the islands forever as a substance of the citizens who would hold the islands of the property and the present and the property and the property and the property and the property and the

islands."

Republican imperialists who would hold the islands forever as a subject province disregard every line of this pronouncement. Democratic shirkers who would withdraw from the islands in a hurry violate the very essence of the Senate's promise, which is that the Philippines be prepared for local self-government before final disposition is made of them. The Jones bill provides the local self-government. Nobody can say what disposition should be made of the islands "in due time" until their people have met the requirements of the final stage of their probation.

[From the New York American, May 4, 1916.]

THE OBLIGATION AND OPPORTUNITY OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE PHILIPPINES.

WASHINGTON, May 3, 1916.

The Washington Post published the following article this morning: "To the EDITOR OF THE WASHINGTON POST:

"The 28 Democrats who bravely strove to save the Nation from the disgrace of abandoning its dut'es and from the mistake of sacrificing its opportunities in the Philippines are as much national heroes as the

men who fought to save the country from the evils of conquest in the Revolution or of dismemberment in the Rebellion.

"The sacrifice of high purpose and high principle would hardly have been greater had we failed in the Revolution; the sacrifice of territory and essential integrity would hardly have been severer had we lost in the Rebellion than the sacrifice the Nation would suffer to-day in prestige and possessions through a timid and stupid abandonment of its obligations and opportunities in the Philippines.

"These 28 men who refused to be bound by a party caucus to do a traitorous act of national danger and dishonor were patriots before they were partisans, and deserve the grateful recognition and remembrance of patriotic citizens of whatever party.

"They have rendered a great service to their country—a service for which they should receive their reward, not only in the approval of their own conscience but in the universal consideration and esteem of a grateful people.

"Surely these broad-minded, far-seeing statesmen will be remembered and respected when the little, spineless, spiritless followers of a timorous and traitorous administration are forever forgotten.

"These c irageour Democrats, who saved both their country and their party from injury and lenominy, will be denounced as disloyal by party bigots, but there is no disloyalty in refusing to follow disloyal leaders.

"Benedict Arnold was an American general, but those would be pronounced traitors to-day who would have followed him into the camp of the enemy, while those who refused to follow him are esteemed patriots.

"Loyalty to the present and future interests of our beloved country is more important in the minds of sincere citizens than loyalty to any individual or to any party policy.

"The abandonment of the Philippines would mean more than mere

is more important in the minds of sincere citizens than loyalty to any individual or to any party policy.

"The abandonment of the Philippines would mean more than mere loss of wearth and territory and power and prestige to the United States.

"It would mean the betrayai of this island empire to Japan and would make Japan that much more populous and powerful, and bring her frowning forts and formidable fleets that much nearer to our defenseless shores.

fenseless shores.

"What nonsense to say that we would protect the Philippines as our wards, when the island fortifications would be left to the lazy neglect and childish incompetence of the Filipinos, our fleets withdrawn from their harbors, our soldiers recalled from their shores!

"Is it not easier to defend the Philippines as our possessions, fully fortified with our ships and guns, than it would be to defend them as wards without our armament and without authority?

"Yet the same unwise and insincere demagogues who say we would protect the Philippines as our wards advocate the abandonment of the Philippines because we would be unable to protect them as our possessions.

Philippines because we would be unable to protect them as our possessions.

"The abandonment of the Philippines would be the colossal crime of our history, the crowning folly of our career as a Nation.

"It would be an indictment of democracy and impeachment of our republican form of government, a reflection upon the capacity and patriotism of our people, a sur and slight upon the intelligence and efficiency of our citizenship

"It would be a first and fatal step toward the relinquishment of American supremacy in the Pacific. It would mean a final disaster to American supremacy in the Pacific. It would mean a final disaster to America's duties and destinies.

"The abandonment of the Philippines would be moral, political, and economic high treason.

"The party which would commit such an act of moral obloquy, political treachery and economic stupdity should be tried and convicted and forever expelled from the councils of the Nation by the American people.

people.

"The United States stands at the crisis of its career.

"It has become the greatest of modern nations.

"It has grown not merely through natural national development, but through legitimate expansion and immigration.

"It has increased through the extension of its territory and the absorption of other peoples into its population.

"At first our Nation was but a line of liberated colonies strung along the Atlantic coast. Then, after due and dogged opposition from the Tories of the time, the Floridas were added.

"Then, to our glory and Thomas Jefferson's immortal memory, the immense Louisiana territory was acquired. Then, in spite of the trepidation of the timid, our title to the far Northwest was substantiated.

"Then Texas was substantiated and college.

"Then Texas was admitted and California, Arizona, and New Mexico ere absorbed. All of which the reactionaries resented and the petty

"Then Texas was admitted and California, Arizona, and New Mexico were absorbed. All of which the reactionaries resented and the petty Americans opposed—"One statesman went so far as to say that California would never be a fit habitation for anything but borned toads—California, which now could supply gold and grain and flowers and fruit and oil and soil and homes and harvests for the world.

"Then Alaska was bought and pronounced worthless by the stupid and shortsighted until its hills were found to be sheathed with copperand its river beds paved with gold.

"All the time those who lacked imagination to see the possibilities in new lands and larger developments dignified their dullness by the name of conservatism and stood stelid in the path of progress.

"Still our country grew. It was our destiny.

"Still the glowing star of our extending empire took its western way.

"Still the glowing star of our extending empire took its western way.

"We fought the Spanish War and won the Philippines.

"Of course history repeats itself. Of course the reactionaries rise to-day to repudiate our opportunities and obligations there as they did in Florida, in Louisiana, in California, in Alaska.

"Of course the miniature Americans want the Nation to shrink to their small size, and the shortsighted politicians and pedagogues want the confines of our country's greatness to contract to the radius of their limited vision.

"But the true Americans, the big Americans, the Americans with soul and sense, with intelligence and imagination, the Americans who have made the country the great country that it is, want the Nation to grow ever greater and fulfill to the full its duties and its destinles.

"Greatness is a matter of soul, not of census. To be truly great our people must possess national pride and patriotic purpose—not merely population.

"We must have the spirit of our fathers, the energy and ambition of our ancestors.

"We must devote ourselves to our national development, our territorial enlargement our moral and material improvement.

"We must consecrate ourselves to the extension of our civilizing influence, of our beneficial and benign activities, of our uplifting and inspiring ideals.

"The United States is located at the conflux of the world's activities.

"On the one side is the Atlantic Ocean, the great commercial highway connecting us with Europe. On the other side is the Pacific Ocean, the great thoroughfare of trade uniting us with Asia. On the south lie the rich and rising Republics of South America.

"Such a commanding and controlling location should make our country, as it made Venice in former times and under former conditions, the center of the world's commerce, the custodian of the world's wealth. But something other than mere location, as well as something more than mere population, is needed for true greatness and glory.

"We must have enterprise and imagination, courage and confidence, the ability to understand and the energy to exploit the advantages which surround us.

"God's work of civilizing the world must be done and will not lag for lack of willing servants.

"If we fail to do our full duty, other nations will be found to supplement or supplant us.

"We must not be dependent upon the past, content with the achievements of our ancestors. We must work out our own salvation, perform our present-day obligation.

"A professor of ancient history is not the best leader for a modern constituency. He is likely to be so intent upon the incidents of the past that he is oblivious of the occurrences of the present and indifferent to the opportunities of the future.

"A nation is like an individual. It lives and labors, it plans and performs, it conceives and achieves.

"It passes through its successive ages of majority, of maturity, of seniority, of seniity.

"It grows and develops. It declines and dies.

"In all its course no nation stands still. It either advances or recease, progresses or retrogresses.

"We have not yet reached the point where we must disintegrate and deteriorate.

"We have not yet reached the point where we must deteriorate.

"The red blood of enthusiasm is still warm in our veins; our minds are still alert to our labors; our hearts are still strong in our faith.

"We have set our hand to the plow; let us not turn back until we have reached the end of the furrow. We have enlisted for the fight; let us not desert or desist until the victory is won.

"We have accepted the responsibility of the Philippines, the duty of their development.

"Let us neither repent nor retract. Let us perform our complete patriotic obligation and make the Philippines a progressive and potential part of our country and of our civilization, the foremost buttress of our safety, the furthermost bastion of our enlightenment and liberty.

"WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST."

Philippine Independence.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES A. GALLIVAN,

OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, May 1, 1916.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, by a singular irony of fate we have before the House to-day, the eighteenth anniversary of the entrance of Admiral Dewey into Manila Bay, a bill with an amendment calling for the giving of independence to the Filipinos within four years. At the very outset I must say that this seems to me a singular proposition. What evidence has been produced by the supporters of this measure that within the time limit set the Filipinos will be fit for handling their own destinies? I have listened carefully to all the speeches of my distinguished colleagues, and I fail to see that any conclumy distinguished colleagues, and I fail to see that any conclusive arguments have been adduced to warrant us in taking what I can not better characterize than a leap in the dark.

No, Mr. Speaker, I can not agree to this mischievous legisla-tion. The national honor is involved, and I am unwilling to jeopardize it for sentimental reasons. This whole problem must be worked out carefully and cautiously. No love of liberty in the abstract should influence us in its solution. We are in the Philippines, and we must face the conditions as they actually are if we hope to come to a wise decision. This is a question not of sentiment but of statesmanship. The nature of the problem confronting us removes it from the domain of partisan politics. It is a national issue; and the best thought of the country, irrespective of party lines, must be brought to bear upon it if we would come to an equitable solution. Especially the men who have lived in the Philippines and have had an opportunity to study conditions should be heard, and their advice heeded, before we come to any final conclusion in the settlement of the Filipino question.

As far as my experience goes, the weight of conservative opinion of those who actually know at first hand the state of affairs in the Philippines is decidedly adverse to the Clarke amendment. They fear, and justly so, that its adoption at this time would be mischievous in the highest degree, and they see nothing but disorder and chaos as the result. These men can not be accused of ulterior motives. They have nothing to gain by their advocacy of prudent delay. Foremost among them stands ex-President Taft, who certainly is well acquainted with

Filipino conditions and whose love of America and her true interests can not be impeached. His judgment is supported by a host of others who view with dismay this proposed legislation.

Such an array of witnesses ought to make us pause and consider well the consequences of hasty action. But what strikes me as a fundamental reason for postponing the boon of independence to the Filipinos is the almost universal verdict of those who have visited the islands that they are children. The most dangerous weapon to put in the hands of children is power. Power is so mighty, and may be either so beneficial or so destructive that it may not be entrusted except to those who either by inheritance or by actual use are accustomed to its exercise.

Should a chaotic condition arise in the Philippine Islands because of a too early concession of absolute independence to these children, America would never be able to absolve itself of the disgrace, and would stand before the world as having accepted a responsibility which it was too weak to carry on, and through mere weariness resigned without a thought of the

frightful consequences involved.

Mr. Speaker, I regard this Clarke amendment as unreasonable, Why four years? Why not one year or one month? If the Filipinos will be able to manage their own affairs within four years, then they are well on the way already, and there is no

need of fixing this time limit.

I am afraid, Mr. Speaker, that this whole movement for early Filipino independence is emotional, without basis in fact. fail to see how any intelligent Filipino should not be content with the promise of America, solemnly delivered, that it is the intention of this country to grant to the islands their independence whenever they are able to establish a stable government. That is a reasonable, sane proposition. For this reason, forgetting party ties for the time, and actuated simply by patriotic motives and jealous of the honor of my country, I can not subscribe to the Clarke amendment, but prefer to stand with those men who have the wider sweep of intellectual vision and see things from the higher altitude of disinterested patriotism.

Tariff Commission.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HOMER P. SNYDER.

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 10, 1916.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, a nonpartisan tariff commission would be an ideal solution of the much vexed question of tariffs. While I favor a commission of this character, I am free to say that it is doubtful if a strictly nonpartisan commission could be selected by any President or any man or body of men who have been successful before an electorate. Under these conditions partisanship is bound to play a more or less potent part. I do not wish to be understood as impugning the good faith or motives of any official or organization of men who may have to do with this matter; but I am of the opinion, be as caretaking as they may, any commission created under these circumstances, no matter by what party, will partake to a greater or less extent of partisanship.

At the same time, I believe in a board or commission which will study the tariff honestly and sincerely in all its relations to the business and economic conditions of the country; the function of whose members it shall be to become experts on this great subject, and thus be able, without bias as far as it is humanly possible, to recommend to Congress needed changes in duties to foster our industries, protect our labor, and guard our revenues. At the same time they must be able, on the other hand, to demonstrate with fairness and justice, if such instances arise, where too much protection is being granted and that a reduction of that protection will result in the betterment of economic conditions.

In other words, I am opposed to a tariff for revenue only and to a commission formed for that purpose alone. In my opinion such a commission must and should be able to broaden its scope of usefulness and assist with proper discretion and knowledge any new and desirable enterprise struggling for headway in this Nation, lend a helping hand, if possible, to its progenitors, and

guide it along the pathway of prosperity and life.

In the past we have suffered somewhat from tariffs which were too high, but more from tariffs which were too low. question of the tariff is too delicate a matter to be subject to party platforms or individual whims. Having abandoned free trade nearly a century ago, we have builded on the tariff until it has become, in a measure, the keystone of the arch of our commercial and industrial prosperity, which when loosened by indiscriminate and faulty legislation weakens the entire edifice, and its removal would entirely destroy the structure.

Therefore, it is evident that we should approach the subject of a tariff commission with care and forethought. The personnel of such a commission should be of conservative men, with trained minds, capable of reaching logical conclusions by a study and a thorough knowledge of all conditions at home and They must be neither too proud to seek advice nor too bigoted to receive it when given. It seems that the greatest good to the greatest number—which, of course, such a commission would seek—could be obtained from sources which would gladly and willingly place themselves at the command of such a In fact, it might be the part of wisdom to incorporate into this bill a provision that the President, in addition to the persons herein provided for, should invite every national business and labor organization in this country to name one representative each as members of this commission, ex officio or otherwise, to serve without pay and lend their aid, by suggestion and advice, whenever a change in tariffs is thought desirable or necessary. In this way expert testimony could be obtained from those best qualified to judge and from a source which would not be biased or could not be discredited.

At its best the tariff proposition is involved and complex, and its effects are so vital and far-reaching that no party can afford to place it in the hands of inefficient men, but surround those whose duty it will be to study it with means for that study in connection with the best and most mature judgment which the country affords. This done, the charge of partisanship would be dissipated and we would enjoy the fruits of the knowledge of the broadest minds and the results of the experience of the keenest intellects of the Nation. I believe a tariff board of this character would meet the approbation of every business and laboring man and be to our country the foundation for a true, lasting, and unselfish prosperity.

Agricultural Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY T. HELGESEN,

OF NORTH DAKOTA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 13, 1916.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12717) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.

Mr. HELGESEN. Mr. Chairman, as a member of the Committee on Agriculture, which has recently concluded a series of unusually exhaustive and detailed hearings on the Agricultural appropriation bill, I shall discuss a few features of two bills which, although not a part of the Agricultural appropriation measure, are of paramount interest to that preeminently influential portion of our population who are engaged in agricultural pursuits—those people on whom, as on no others, rests the prosperity and welfare of our great Nation. The proposed bills to which I refer are the United States grain-grades act and the United States warehouse act.

During the last two years disconcerting revelations have been made to us as a nation relative to the conservation and utilization of what many of us have proudly believed to be our unlimited national resources. We have learned, to our amazement and discomfiture, that, so far from being self-supporting, we have for years—yes, for generations—been largely dependent on our sister nations for far too many products in common daily use in our country. Our people everywhere have at last awakened to the gravity of the situation that confronts us.

Many of our cotton and woolen mills are running short-handed and on short time because of a scarcity of dyestuffs, which commodities we have in former years imported from Germany. Our stores are filled with goods distinctly less attractive in color than those we are accustomed to buy, owing to this same shortage of dyestuffs. Our daily newspapers and weekly and monthly magazines are taking on an unpleasantly mottled, yellow tinge, because some of the chemicals which

we have used in the production of paper have been cut off from us by the European war. The United States Department of Commerce has raised a warning cry to our people to "save your old papers," for the cloud of a paper famine has appeared on the horizon and is rapidly growing bigger and blacker. We have heretofore obtained our pulp for paper manufacture from Canada, Norway, Sweden, Germany, and Canada, with her characteristic patriotism and loyalty to the interests of the mother country, has placed an embargo on her paper pulp, and for nearly two years we have been unable to import any of this commodity from either France or Germany. Sweden has also placed an embargo on pulp. But our manufacturing people are not the only portion of our population who have been awakened from a lethargic dream of national self-sufficiency and superiority by a severe economic jolt. Our agriculturists feel as keenly as others the bewildering and unexpected effects of a situation which has in reality existed during the past years of the present administration but which was first brought to our attention by the European war.

Our southern farmers were perhaps the first of our agri-culturists to find a "war baby" on their hands in the shape of an unmarketable crop of cotton. With one of the belligerent nations in control of the seas, with practically no merchant marine of our own, and with England determined, as a war measure, to shut off all supplies of cotton from her opponents, our cotton growers were confronted with the seemingly impossible problem of disposing of a bumper crop of cotton to a domestic market. An adequate merchant marine would have partially solved this problem by keeping open the markets of the world to our neutral and peaceful commerce; in fact, with such a merchant marine our southern friends would have had a less serious problem to solve. But with the ships which up to two years ago were busily engaged in bringing our imports to us and carrying our cargoes of exported products to our foreign markets, now engaged in transporting soldiers to the lines of battle and in carrying coal and ammunition for their respective Governments or equipped as scouts and auxiliary cruisers, our means of transportation are greatly curtailed and in some instances effectually eliminated.

Owing to this lack of a merchant marine the present war, which under other conditions would have greatly increased our foreign output, has inflicted a grievous injury to the commercial interests of the United States. Although we have more goods to deliver to the markets of the world than any other nation, we have no means of our own to deliver them.

An independent merchant marine, with freight rates under such Government control as would prohibit an exorbitant or usurious transportation charge, would go far toward solving the problems with which our agriculturists and other producers are grappling to-day. Under existing conditions, however, it is diffi-cult to name a single article of our commerce that is not affected to a greater or less degree by the rise in freight rates, which is the direct result of a war in which we have as yet no part, Consider, for an example, wheat, one of our heaviest exports, which in times of peace has been carried from New York to Liverpool for 4 cents per bushel. Since 1914 the freight rate on this commodity has at times been as high as 40 cents per bushel. As this increase in ocean transportation is paid by the wheat grower in North Dakota and in other States, it is evident that he is receiving 36 cents less per bushel for his wheat than he would receive if the rates were under our own control instead of being at the mercy of shipowning interests over which Uncle Sam has no control. The reason that freight rates have jumped from 4 to 40 cents per bushel on wheat from New York to Liverpool and have remained practically stationary between North Dakota and New York is not, as our Democratic friends would have us believe, solely because of the European war, but because in the one instance the rates are controlled by law and in the other instance by combinations of shipping interests.

The establishment of an adequate merchant marine is one of the unfulfilled party pledges of the present administration, and is unquestionably necessary for the permanent improvement of our foreign commerce. An adequate merchant marine alone, however, can not remedy all of the marketing handicaps with which our farmers now have to contend. Therefore, while it may prove a satisfactory solution of some of our difficulties in the future, the problem of the disposition of our marketable products is one that confronts us to-day, and our present miserably inadequate system—or lack of system—for dealing with this problem is the condition that the Committee on Agriculture, of which I am a member, has sought to remedy, and is a subject to which we have given weeks of earnest and serious consideration, the result of which is the grain-grades act and the Federal warehouse act, both of which are now on the calendar of the House.

Theoretically the proprietary farmer is, or should be, the most independent industrial factor of our population. Unlike the dweller in cities, he has the means for his own subsistence in his own hands. Even though, like many of our great cotton growers, for instance, he may place "all of his eggs in one basket" and devote his acreage to the production of only one commodity, he can, at the expense of but little land, time, and money, raise sufficient foodstuffs for his own family consumption.

But this is not sufficient for the farmer of to-day. He desires, and rightly, more than a bare subsistence wrested from the soil by hard labor. He sees his city neighbor surrounded by luxuries that seem to him desirable but unattainable. He sees his children growing to manhood and womanhood without the socalled advantages of education and society that are the common lot of the city youth. That these apparent advantages oftentimes prove more desirable in anticipation than in realization, and are, after all, only apples of Sodom, has nothing to do with the case. The farmer wishes to do as much for himself and his family as his city neighbor can do, and forthwith he gives up his broad acres and his industrial independence for the modern conveniences-or inconveniences-of a city apartment in order to procure the necessary monetary wherewithal to provide his family with luxuries unattainable on the home farm and to gratify that gregarious instinct inherently planted in man by Mother Nature. From an independent home and land owner and industrial producer he becomes a voluntary tenant and the paid servant of some line of industrial production, while his farm home passes permanently into other hands or is rented by him to tenants, who, in far too many instances, seek only to derive the greatest profits from the land in the shortest possible time and at the least possible expense, and who consequently deplete the farm year by year of its productive

Why does this condition exist? Why is it necessary for that portion of our population on whom the world depends for sustenance in times of peace, and even more, perhaps, for maintenance in times of war, find it necessary to abandon a state of economic and industrial independence for a condition far less desirable from every point of view save that of the sybarite and society lover? Why is it not possible for our agriculturists to have within their reach those accessories of existence which seem to them so desirable as to lead them to give up their rural homes in the struggle to obtain which they have borne the burden and heat of the day?

One great cause, perhaps the principal one, is the farmer's inability to obtain ready money. His crop and his land are his His available cash is seldom sufficient for him to supply his family or surround his home with those so-called conveniences which are viewed as necessities in the most contracted city apartment. A short-time bank loan is difficult to obtain, except at ruinous terms. A farmer may be a pillar of his home church, a highly respected member of the community, honored by all for uprightness in his dealings; his credit may be goodand is-for all usual, normal, expenses, but if he desires a short-time loan to meet some, unusual expense, such as the purchase of blooded stock for breeding purposes, or to send his ambitious son to an agricultural college, the average bank looks askance at the security offered by his valuable acres or their prospective crops, and the desired loan is advanced only at a rate of interest that would ruin any other business in the world. Collateral, to be desirable in a banker's eyes, must not only be of unquestionable intrinsic value, but must be easily convertible into ready money. It is easier for a munitions manufacturer to borrow half a million dollars on the prospective output of a factory for which the ground is not yet broken than for a North Dakota farmer to borrow a thousand dollars on his standing crop of wheat worth in its ultimate disposition many times that

This condition of affairs must be remedied before this country can be in its best state of preparedness for either peace or war. From the day when the embattled farmers of Concord and Lexington left their plows standing in the furrow, shouldered their flintlock muskets, and "fired the shot heard 'round the world," down to the present time, our agricultural interests have formed one of the strongest bulwarks of the Nation's prosperity, and no legislation is complete or effective that does not have for one of its prime objects, not only the protection but the financial encouragement of our agriculturists.

This is the intent and object of the Federal warehouse act. In its original inception it was shaped to meet the exigencles of perhaps the most stringent situation in which our southern cotton growers were ever placed; but by persistent and strenuous efforts on my part, upheld by my firm determination to see

that the farmers of the great Northwest should share in whatever benefits may be derived from the measure, the bill was finally broadened to include grain products in its provisions.

Heretofore our farmers have been in a position where, even with a record crop in their granaries, they were completely at the mercy of speculators, who took advantage of the farmer's necessity to force an unprofitable sale, or if he chose the other horn of his dilemma and held his product for a profitable market he was impaled on the sharp practice of the usurious money lender in order to obtain the necessary funds for running expenses.

During the last 40 years agricultural colleges have been established; agricultural experiment stations are now conducted by the Government; our United States Department of Agriculture provides expert scientists to aid the farmers of the country to determine the best crops for their land and the best methods to produce those crops. By these and similar methods we have placed the profession of agriculture on a plane of dignity and equality with other productive and scientific professions.

Throughout the last decade cooperative societies have done much to assist in the remunerative distribution of farm products, though much remains to be done along this line of endeavor. In fact, the cooperative system is as yet but little more than an experiment—a successful experiment in many instances, I grant, but still one which is hardly developed beyond the germinating period of its inception, in this country at least.

But while we have been of great assistance to our farmers in their productive efforts and have accomplished a little in a more or less desultory manner along the lines of effective distribution of farm products, we have utterly failed to aid the farmer to any appreciable extent in his greatest and most overwhelming problem—the problem of finance. When this problem is satisfactorily solved we shall see and hear less about the decadence of agriculture and shall cease to deplore the tendency of the modern country youth to leave the ancestral acres for the attractions of town and city; our farmers will enjoy the sense of independent security which comes only with unencumbered ownership of their homes and will be surrounded by equal comforts with and greater personal freedom than their city brothers, while the embittering and disabling influence of a constant mortage on the future will be removed.

Criticism of any existing system, in order to be of value, must be not only judicial, but constructive. It is not sufficient to point out the difficulties with which our agriculturists have to struggle; we should also devise a system by which these difficulties can be overcome or at least ameliorated.

What, then, are the great needs of our American farmers to-day?

First, the farmer needs an improved financial system whereby he can obtain an advance of money like other business men, at a rate of interest which other business men can afford to pay, and beyond which no business can go and continue long to exist.

The farmers of our great Northwest need a Federal inspection law, which will control the inspection of their products to an extent that will relieve them of the wholesale robbery that is now practiced on them by the existing systems of private inspection and grading.

The farmer of the Northwest, like the cotton grower of the

The farmer of the Northwest, like the cotton grower of the South, needs a warehouse storage system that will enable him to hold his product until the market necessities demand its sale; and, finally, the crying need of the farmers all over the country is effective cooperation.

To a certain extent the proposed grain-grades act and the warehouse act, if they become laws, will supply some of the remedies just enumerated.

In order to obtain the greatest remunerative value for his farm products the agriculturist must not be forced to market his whole crop at one time, regardless of the fact that there is no demand for his goods, but he must be in a position to hold his imperishable products until such time as the popular de-mand and the tone of the market warrants the distribution of his goods. Our dry goods and clothing merchants have already placed orders for their next winter's stock, but they would not be so insane as to fill their show cases and display windows with heavy clothes, suitable only for zero weather, when the flowers that bloom in the spring are just beginning to open their petals to the sun. Our magazine publishers have the "make-up" of their Christmas numbers all plannel before the Fourth of July, but we do not see their holly and poinsettiadecorated covers on the news stands until the season demands The farmer who attempts to force his prodsuch a display. ucts on a market already overloaded with goods of a like nature, or to sell when there is no demand for his wares, is in a position parallel to the merchant who would offer for sale

fur-lined overcoats with the mercury at 105° in the shade. One important provision of the United States warehouse act is to furnish a practicable method to lengthen the period of time for the dissemination of agricultural products, and thereby prevent or greatly obviate that overstocking of the market which is inevitable under existing methods.

As I said before, the primary object of this bill in its incep-tion was the relief of the Southern cotton growers, cotton being an imperishable product. But since wheat, when properly graded, may also be classified as imperishable, I felt that it would be an unpardonable injustice to the wheat growers of our great northwestern wheat belt if they, too, were not permitted to share in the benefits which it is planned to confer upon the farmers of the South.

The terms of the proposed warehouse bill provide for a system of warehouses, licensed and bonded by the Federal Government, in which certain specified nonperishable agricultural products may be stored. These products, before storage in the warehouse, must be weighed and graded by Government licensed graders and weighers, who do their work in line with regular Government standards. Thus the farmer's product, instead of being forced on an overloaded or unresponsive market, is impartially weighed and graded by competent Government licensed weighers and graders and stored under the watchful eye of bonded and licensed warehousemen, who safeguard the product,

When the farmer's property is thus placed in the care of said bonded warehouseman he receives in return a warehouse receipt or voucher similar to the form of receipt issued under the uniform warehouse receipts act, already familiar to a large proportion of our farmers, since this act is now in force in 31 of our 48 States. These receipts, carrying on their face the Government's certificate of character, weight, and quality of the product stored, will then become negotiable security on which the farmer can borrow money until such time as he can

sell his crop to the best advantage.

As I have already stated, the proposed warehouse act is planned to alleviate to some extent the financial problem that confronts the farmer by supplying him with a negotiable receipt for his product, on which he can borrow money, if necessary, to carry on his farm operations until such time as he can market his crop to advantage. This, although not all that may

be desired, is a step in the right direction.

The inspection and grading of grain in the grain-raising sections of the country, and particularly in the Northwest, has been unsatisfactory for a great many years. Producers have not felt assured that they were given a square deal in the inspection and grading of their grain. The objection has not been to the rules for grading as much as to their application, but from long years of experience the farmers have become firmly convinced that the grading of their grain is subject to a great deal of manipulation in the interests of the big millers and grain dealers of the country.

A great deal of evidence has been taken on this subject by the Minnesota Legislature and also by various congressional committees, where abundant evidence has been produced to demonstrate that the farmers' grain is not always fairly and honestly graded. Accusations have been made that the terminal elevators have shipped out of their elevators millions of bushels more of the higher grades than their records show they have taken in, and have taken in millions of bushels more of the lower grades than their records show they have shipped out, which indicates a manipulation of grades that has made it possible for the terminal elevators to dispose of a vast amount of their low grades at a grade and a price away above the grade and price at which the grain was purchased.

If this fact is true-and the evidence indicates no doubt of its correctness-it proves that either the farmers have been swindled by receiving less than their grain was fairly worth, or the consumers have been swindled by having been compelled to pay more than they should have paid if the grain was properly graded and paid for when it was disposed of by the farmers.

A general, and I think well-founded, opinion exists that grain will never be correctly and fairly graded with any degree of uniformity until we get a system of Federal inspection that will entirely eliminate the various State inspection systems now in existence, as these State systems are controlled entirely too much by politics in the various States under whose laws they are operated.

This is no dream, for it was admitted by Mr. Charles A. Magnuson, of Minneapolis, in his testimony before the House Committee on Agriculture in 1914.

During my questioning of the witness the following statements were elicited:

Mr. Helgesen. But all the power that you have now attributed to be Federal Government is now possessed by the great State of Min-

nesota. They have a right to discharge anyone who is not competent or whom they find to be dishonest. They are supposed to select these men because they are capable, honest, and efficient men; and still we know that now there is not the confidence in that inspection that there ought to be.

Mr. Magnuson. And what is the reason? The reason is that while the inspection department of Minnesota is as well conducted as any State department can be and it has rules and regulations for civil-service examination, there is still a political partonage that is affected by political parties in power who have the appointing power, and that there is a strenuous taking in hand of a proposition when it comes to discharging an inspector; he will bring pressure to bear among his friends on the railroad, on the warehouse commission, and on the chief inspector, and on whoever it may be, to retain him in service. He is a citizen of the State of Minnesota. These men are elected by the citizens of the State of Minnesota. These men are elected by the citizens of the State of Minnesota. These men are elected by the citizens of the Islate of Minnesota object of the State of Minnesota. These men are elected by the citizens of the Islate of Minnesota object of the State of Minnesota. These men are elected by the citizens of the State of Minnesota, and it is not the same as if this man could be removed by the supervisor appointed by the Federal Government, who is under no political obligation to anyone, except to see that the inspector shall be scientific enough, that he shall know enough to get the position, and retain it under the civil service as long as he exercises the duties of his office legitimately.

Mr. Hawler, Wasy I interrupt you, Mr. Helgescn, to ask a question?

Mr. Magnuson, No; it is something that comes under the notice of anyone after an experience covering a sufficient time.

Mr. Magnuson, I would not want to name them.

Mr. Magnuson, I would not want to name them.

Mr. Magnuson, Yes.

Mr. Hawler, I do not want you to nam

It is hardly reasonable to suppose that it will be possible to remove the influence of the powerful grain dealers' associations in State politics to such an extent as to liberate the State inspection systems entirely from political influence, therefore the only really effective remedy is a Federal inspection system, which will be so far removed from local or State politics as to practically eliminate their influence.

The chambers of commerce and boards of trade throughout the country, whose powerful influences have practically con-trolled the inspection systems under which we are now operating, have bitterly opposed the enactment of a Federal inspection law, and have always claimed that the charges made against them of unfair and dishonest manipulation of grades

have been entirely without foundation.

As I said before, abundant evidence has been presented to prove beyond question that unfair manipulation of grades is practiced to an extent that has worked injury both to the farmer and to the ultimate consumer; but no such sweeping indictment against the honesty and efficiency of the inspection systems of our country has ever been made by the farmers as the indictment made by the Boston Chamber of Commerce, copy of whose resolutions has been sent me by the Federal Milling Co., of Lockport, N. Y.

The Boston Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee of three members to draft a report, giving the reasons why the chamber should favor the passage of the United States graingrades act. The committee made a report, which was approved by a vote of the chamber of commerce, and which was in part as follows:

as follows:

The undersigned, having been appointed in accordance with the above vote, respectfully submit the following reasons why the Boston Chamber of Commerce, through its board of directors, should favor the passage of the Rubey Grain Grades Act:

1. The Rubey bill provides for the establishment of uniform standards for the various grades of the different grains, such uniform standards to be maintained throughout the United States.

All grain sold by grade must be inspected and graded in accordance with these standards, but grain may be sold by sample under trade names rdopted by individual sellers, as, for example, "Victory" oats, "Whner" wheaf, etc.

It further provides that all inspection shall be under Federal supervision. There would be no interference with the machinery of existing inspection systems, as, for example, that of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, and competent inspectors recommended by the various exchanges would be appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture. It is understood that these inspectors would be placed under civil-service rules, so that while performing their work honestly and efficiently they could not be disturbed for political reasons.

2. The need for this legislation has for many years been most urgent. Abuses resulting from present conditions have been flagrant, reaching their culmination during the present crop year.

Inward inspection has been elastic at the expense of the shipper. Outward inspected has been elastic at the expense of the buyer.

Grain has at times been inspected out from elevator into cars, these cars run around a belt line back to elevator within a few days, and inspected in a grade or two grades, say, No. 1 Northern spring wheat, meant one thing in one market and another in another, but it has meant several different things in the one market, for example:

In Minneapolis for months during the present crop year there was, day after day, a variation, based on quality, of from 8 to 16 cents per bushel in the selling price of No. 1 Northern Spring wheat; t

In Kansas City during the same period the same grade of oats showed 10.3 per cent of other grain and foreign seeds, an increased adulteration of 7.5 per cent.

In wheat, however, during the summer and early fall of 1915, occurred the most extraordinary abuse of inspection every perpetrated. Grain houses in one of the large central markets of the West prior to harvest sold in foreign markets enormous quantities of "No. 2 Hard" and "No. 2 Red Winter" wheat for shipment from Chicago during July, August, and September, 1915.

Almost incessant rains at harvest and for months afterwards totally destroyed many millions of bushels of wheat and damaged to an unprecedent extent the entire crop. The result was that not over 10 per cent of the receipts of wheat in principal markets during the months named graded "No. 2," comparatively little graded "No. 3," the bulk was "No. 4" or "No grade."

The total receipts of "No. 2" in Chicago during these months were probably considerably less than 1,000,000 bushels. Notwithstanding this, several million bushels of wheat were inspected out and certificates issued as "No. 2 Hard" or "No. 2 Red Winter," and were shipped in fulfilment of the contracts above mentioned.

When some of this wheat reached the seaboard local inspection graded it "No. 4" or "Unmerchantable." However, it had been sold on western certificate and went forward to European buyers.

On arrival across the ocean much of this wheat was hot and caked, and actually had to be chopped out of the holds of vessels at Liverpool and London.

At Italian ports the Government confiscated several cargoes, and they were thrown overboard as unfit for any use.

The reputation of the American grain trade, which had suffered for many years from lesser infractions of the rules of fair trading, was now smirched as never before. For probably the first time in such matters the intervention of the United States ambassadors was sought and the whole matter, involving 30,000,000 bushels and several millions of dollars, is now in the hands of

and the fight over the shipping bill was so prolonged that it was not reached, consequently a new bill had to be introduced at the present session.

There is good prospect of the passage of this bill, but it will require the indorsement of all organizations who favor putting this enormous business upon a reputable and responsible basis.

Among the organizations that have favored this legislation are:

(a) Grain Dealers' National Association of the United States, made up of 3,300 members in practically every State of the Union, 17 States being represented upon its board of directors.

(b) Millers' National Federation, embracing thousands of flour millers in every flour-milling State in the Union.

(c) The principal grain-trade organizations in all the prominent grain-trade cities of the West.

The demand for it is almost universal.

4. Opposition to the Rubey bill, aside from State inspection departments which are under political control and are in a large measure responsible for the abuses herein recited, comes from exporters in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.

Their reasons for the most part are illogical and easily refuted. In Boston, for example, the principal argument of the exporters who are opposed to uniform inspection is that in the case of corn it would do away with the climatic advantage which Boston, by reason of its cooler temperature, holds over southern ports.

This argument is specious, because it is obvious that if corn containing a high percentage of moisture can safely be exported via Boston, whereas shipment via southern port would be decidedly risky, that corn will be exported via Boston, and the port will receive the full benefit of its natural advantage. There is no sound reason, however, why corn that is in reality "No. 3" or "No grade" should be graded and certificated in any market as "No. 2."

Summary: The Rubey bill and the movement which it represents is designed to safeguard the interests of all concerned in the growth, the milling, and the distribution of grain. It i

This is a terrible indictment against the grain exporters of the country, but from my knowledge of the facts I feel that it is only too true. At the hearings before the House Agricultural Committee in 1914 on the uniform grading of grain, which was then under consideration, the strongest opposition came from the exporters of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, the same shippers to whom the foregoing resolutions apply.

At that time, in examining the witnesses from these export markets, I brought out some extremely interesting facts, which had never before been officially established, and of which very few people in this country had any knowledge.

As the above resolutions state, the exporters objected to the enactment of any law that would compel them to furnish the European buyers with grain carrying a Federal certificate of inspection, as they claimed that it would rob them of their so-called "climatic" advantage, resulting from their geographical location so far north on the Atlantic coast, as to enable them

to ship their grain to foreign ports at a time when the weather is cold enough so that grain carrying an excessive amount of

moisture will not heat in the holds of the vessels.
"No. 2" grade is the contract grade in the E "No. 2" grade is the contract grade in the European ports, as it is in this country, and the exporters claimed that because of their "climatic" advantage they could ship, for example, a No. 3 or even a No. 4 corn, which, although it was sound corn, was graded No. 3 or No. 4, instead of No. 2 because of its excessive moisture content. They would sell this corn to European purchasers under their private grades, which they called "Export No. 2," or "Seaboard No. 2," and the corn would be accepted as No. 2 grade by the Liverpool purchasers. The exporters claimed that the passage of a Federal inspection bill porters claimed that the passage of a Federal inspection bill would prevent this practice, and deprive them of their oppor-

tunity to sell No. 3 or No. 4 grain as No. 2.

They further admitted in their testimony that the amount of grain exported, whether the quantity is large or small, always tends to establish the price in this country, and generally does actually establish the value of all the grain raised in this country, whether it is consumed here or exported.

This being the case, we can readily understand that if export-

ers are permitted to ship grain abroad on certificates furnished by American exporters, or chambers of commerce, or boards of trade in the interior, and if the so-called No. 2 grade is actually only No. 3 or No. 4, the price paid by the European buyer for such a No. 2 will be only what a genuine No. 3 or No. 4 is worth; and if the price of the standard No. 2 grade in this country is based on the doctored No. 2 grade sold in Liverpool, then the price of our standard No. 2 will be reduced in value from one to two grades; and as the price of the other grades is based on the price of No. 2, all grades will be undervalued in the same proportion. the same proportion.

It is difficult to realize the vital importance of this proposition until we consider that approximately 5,000,000,000 bushels of grain are raised in this country every year; and if this entire crop is undervalued from one to two grades, and the difference between the actual value of No. 2 and No. 3 and No. 4 is 3 cents for each grade, the loss to the farmer by this kind of manipulation amounts to \$150,000,000 per year if the manipulation results in the loss of only one grade, while if the undervaluation covers more than one grade the loss would be proportionately greater.

As this manipulation has evidently been carried on ever since grain was first exported, it may easily be seen that the loss to the farmers through the undergrading of their grain, as the result of manipulation by exporters alone, has amounted to a sum large enough to pay every dollar of mortgage indebtedness now carried by the farmers of the United States.

The proposed United States grain-grading act is far from such a law as I had hoped we might be able to enact, as it simply provides for Federal supervision of the present grain-grading systems; but while it will not accomplish everything desired by the producers and consumers, who are those most interested in the honest and efficient inspection and grading of grain, and which I feel ought to be accomplished, yet we must admit that it is a step in the right direction, and will tend to make more difficult the manipulation of grades for export as well as in the interior. If the law does no more than stop the manipulation of grades by our exporters, it will accomplish more in the interests of both producers and consumers of grain and grain products than any previous law that has ever been enacted by Congress.

At first I was of the opinion that it would be unwise to support any proposed law short of a bill providing for a complete system of Federal inspection, but the more I have studied the situation the more firmly I am convinced that it is impossible to pass a Federal inspection bill through this Congress, and as we need some remedy for the ills that I have described, which remedy this bill will in a measure provide, this seems to be one of the cases where the old saying holds true that "Half a loaf better than no bread.

Some people argue that if a law is enacted providing for Federal supervision of inspection it will be more difficult thereafter to secure the passage of a Federal inspection law. take the position that if we can pass a Federal supervision law, and thereby demonstrate the fact that relief can be secured through Federal legislation, it will then be easier to enact new legislation that will give those interested what they need.

I am inclined to think that the latter argument contains more logic than the former; at all events, it is evident that just now will have to be a Federal supervision law or nothing.

If the United States warehouse act becomes a law it will give us still another check on the loss through grading of our grain caused by the manipulation of our exporters, as already de-

scribed, because the warehouse act contains a clause which provides that wherever warehouses are voluntarily placed under the provisions of this law the Federal Government will inspect and grade the grain, thus giving to the owner of the grain a Government certificate of quality which will be accepted anywhere in the world. If North Dakota, for example, should build elevators at the railroad outlets of the State and operate them under this proposed warehouse act, the growers of that State would have Federal inspection and grading of grain and could ship their grain directly to Europe without the possibility of having the grades manipulated en route; and if a few million bushels of our Northwestern genuine No. 2 grain were shipped to Liverpool, correctly graded, it would immediately establish a price for that quality of grain. As the price of all other grades is based on the value of No. 2, and as the price of all the grades in this country is based on the Liverpool prices, less cost of transportation and handling, it would immediately raise the price of all grades in this country as much as our genuine No. 2 grade would sell for in Liverpool over the fictitious No. 2 that is now being shipped to that market by our exporters.

This would also make it impossible for our exporters to palm off on the European purchaser their manipulated and fictitious No. 2 grade, and the Liverpool quotations for No. 2 grain would thereafter mean the value placed upon the real No. 2 grade in

The two proposed bills which I have discussed, if enacted into law, form an important advance along the line of cooperation between the farmer and the Federal Government and will do much to relieve the economic pressure under which the farmer

of to-day struggles.

But more than this is necessary. Our farmers must use cooperative principles and methods in the distribution of their products in order to derive the maximum return for their labors. The annual production of farm products in the United States reaches a value of about \$10,500,000,000, while a conservative estimate places the amount which the consumer pays for these same products at approximately double these figures. This fact alone is proof that other methods than those now in vogue must be adopted to bridge the gap between producer and consumer.

This question is of importance not only to the agricultural producer, but it vitally concerns every consumer of agricultural products in the country. In no other line of business is the percentage of waste in the distribution of products so great as in agricultural products. If this percentage of waste in distribution could be eliminated, or at least greatly reduced, the consumer would pay less for his necessary commodities and the farmer would at the same time receive a much higher price for his products, for the present difference between the price received by the farmer for his products and the price paid by the consumer is so great that there is ample opportunity to reduce this difference by increasing the price to the farmer and decreasing the price to the consumer and still leave a sufficient margin for the legitimate cost of distribution, thus benefiting both producer and consumer.

Cooperation need not be carried to the extent of forming a trust, but some of the business methods of the trusts might well be adopted by farmers. Efforts have been made in past years to secure cooperation among farmers, but these efforts have been largely of a local nature. Some 20 years ago the New England Milk Producers' Union was one of the pioneers in cooperative work and accomplished good results among the dairy farmers of the New England States by maintaining a profitable price and high standard for dairy products. On the other side of the continent. California, after many abortive attempts, has succeeded in establishing a successful system of cooperative marketing of her fruits and nuts. Denmark, however, has accomplished more along the line of successful cooperation than any other country. In Denmark cooperative societies exist in every line of trade, and the prosperity of Danish farmers is ample witness to the efficiency and good results of the system. Wherever cooperation is successfully practiced it means financial profit to both producer and consumer.

I can not take the time now to discuss the question of rural credits, but I may say in passing that during the last session of Congress I introduced a joint resolution to authorize the Committee on Agriculture of the Senate and the House to investigate and report on a system of personal credit. That resolution cited the fact that nearly every highly civilized country has in successful operation a personal credit system, through which the farmers of those countries obtain credit for productive purposes at low rates of interest and in sufficient amounts to enable them to produce agricultural products more economically than is done in this country, even though our farmers possess many natural advantages not enjoyed by the farmers of other nations; and I also stated that while the

European war is affecting the world's capital and credit markets very materially, the interests of the American farmers will suffer far more than any other interests in the country, since they have no organized credit machinery.

When I introduced that resolution it seemed to me an oppor-

tune time for the Agricultural Committees of Congress authorize a subcommittee to investigate and hold hearings on such personal rural-credit bills as might be presented to them, but no disposition was shown in either House to consider the matter. Legislation along that line is confined wholly to a farm-mortgage loan proposition. The so-called rural-credits bill now before Congress deals wholly with farm mortgages, whereas one of the most important factors in the farmer's business life to-day is a system that will enable him to obtain money for legitimate operating expenses on a short-time loan, without plastering a mortgage on his farm.

To recapitulate, our American farmers require a financial

system whereby they may be placed on an equal basis with other business men, a Federal grading and inspection law, a Federal warehouse storage law, cooperation with the Government and

with each other.

So far as the proposed bills now under discussion meet these requirements, so far will they prove of benefit and value to the farmer; and with that knowledge and belief I have labored successfully to have the original scope of these bills extended to include in their benefits the great agricultural interests of the people of North Dakota, whom I represent and in whose prosperity and welfare I share.

Philippine Independence.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AARON S. KREIDER,

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 1, 1916.

Mr. KREIDER. Mr. Speaker, I have listened carefully to the arguments made by the gentlemen who are in favor of passing this legislation and those opposed to it, and I am free to admit that there is strength in the arguments presented on both sides of the question. In order to act intelligently, however, let us consider just what the proposition is with which we are confronted and upon which we shall vote to-day. Let it be remembered that this extremely important legislation materially affects not only the future and the happiness of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands but it will shape the colonial policy of the United States.

THE PASSING OF THE SPANISH REGIME.

It was on the night of the 30th of April, in 1898, that Admiral Dewey entered Manila Harbor and with his six vessels passed over the mines in the harbor and sought an enemy over twice the size of his own fleet in a harbor lined with batteries and mines. It was here, while passing through that dangerous channel into Manila Bay, that the command "Keep cool and steam ahead" was given, and later became famous.

On the following morning parally May 1 Montate's fleet

On the following morning, namely, May 1, Montojo's fleet opened the battle at daylight. Dewey stood on the bridge of his flagship and, after a full half hour from the time the enemy fired the first gun, he signaled to Capt. Gridley, "You may fire when ready, Gridley."

Within two hours from that time the Spanish fleet was destroyed, with 1,600 men killed and wounded, while not a man in the American fleet was killed.

AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF THE ISLANDS.

Within three months from the breaking out of the War with Spain negotiations for peace were opened and, on August 12, 1898, a protocol was drawn up, signed by the Secretary of State and Mr. Gamba, French ambassador, acting for Spain, in which, in article 3, it was agreed that "The United States will occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace, which shall determine" the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines." Without going further into details and quoting from the treaty, I wish to say that this was the beginning of the occupation of the Philippine Islands by the United States. It has continued since that time.

It is perhaps well to refer to the fact that in our treaty Spain ceded to the United States all of the islands comprising the Philippine Archipelago; that treaty provided that we should protect the Spanish citizens and their property as well as that of all other foreigners. For a number of years we were compelled to wage active warfare on the islands, in order to subdue the revolution that then had started, in order to establish a permanent civil government. During this war many lives of American soldiers were lost, some in battle and skirmishes with the natives, and others by dread diseases so common to the islands.

It is only proper to say that it was a serious mistake in taking over the islands in the first place and, if we consider the subject from the standpoint of economy, it was most certainly a grievous blunder, but there were higher, better, and purer motives in taking them over than merely a financial proposition; we had acquired them through the fortune or misfortune of war, and the question then and there arose what should we do with them, and it was decided to take the islands and educate the people, lift them to a higher plane of morality and responsibility, and teach them the ways of civilization, and then, when the time came that they were in a position to govern themselves, to grant them their independence.

The argument has been presented by every speaker who advocates the passage of this bill that they have been a liability financially to us, and that we should get rid of them at the earliest possible moment. As to this there can be no dispute, We have spent millions of dollars in the past in their behalf, but, very happily, we are approaching the point now when they are becoming—and, in fact, are—practically self-supporting. And it is because of this fact that some have argued that now is the time to dispose of them. Others have argued that in case we should become involved in a war with some first-class foreign power they were afraid it would be impossible for the United States to hold and defend them. This element of fear does not appeal to me. If it is our duty to continue the work we have commenced—that of education, both morally, religiously, and mentally, and to continue our work of sanitation and general improvement and the establishment of a permanent government—we should by no means think of abandoning the work that has been so well begun because we are afraid that somebody, somehow, may interfere with it.

The Philippine Islands have a population, in round numbers,

The Philippine Islands have a population, in round lambers, of about 8,000,000. These people are divided into many sects and tribes, among which are about 500,000 Moros who had never accepted Spanish rule, but are to-day the very best friends of the Americans in the islands, and, according to the evidence presented here, will never accept the rule of the Filipinos, but earnestly desire and request that the American Government shall be retained.

NOT YET READY FOR INDEPENDENCE.

One of the best evidences of the fact that the Filipinos are not at present in a condition to be given their independence is that they have not yet learned to use the ballot. Only about 16 per cent of the adult male population actually votes; of those voting, upward of 70 per cent are illiterate, it being necessary to have their votes marked for them. The percentage of literate voters in the last election to the whole population was a little less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and the result of the voting was of a most fraudulent character, involving candidates, judges, and voters. A very large number of elections are contested, and the evidence submitted in these contests brings to light chicanery, trickery, and double-crossing that occurs at each election. Were it not for the strong arm of America extending over the land, protecting the weak, enforcing the right, and preserving peace, the elections would not be settled by votes, but by might. It is also evident that the Filipino officials have not yet forgotten their Spanish lessons; they have not learned the sacred duty of keeping public funds for public use. They still feel that when funds are appropriated that it is their privilege to use up these funds in salaries rather than to apply them on the work for which they were appropriated and intended, and it seems to me that the time for their independence must of necessity be delayed until they have a different conception of governmental affairs.

PROGRESS AND EDUCATION UNDER AMERICAN RULE,

Along the line of education considerable progress has been made, schoolhouses have been built, and there are now in attendance about 500,000 children; but were we now to abandon these islands educational matters would lapse; in fact, we hear serious complaints that too much money is being expended for schoolhouses and the teaching and training forces.

The same is true with the sanitary problems; it seems that our Government has succeeded in cleaning up and making sanitary the principal cities and towns of the islands, and, as a result, smallpox, bubonic plague, chronic dysentery, yellow fever, and diseases heretofore prevalent have practically dis-

appeared, but here again serious opposition is being met. This is only natural, however, because no such improvements had been made during the 300 years of Spanish rule, and it is only following human nature when the Filipinos object to making these changes in their lives and habits. The truth is that they have not been shown the way of civilization until now, and I ask in all seriousness, Is it not preposterous to suppose that in a few short years these people can be educated in the new and better ways of civilization? Let us not forget we are trying to build a nation, and before we give the Filipino his independence we must be assured of his ability to govern and control his affairs. A withdrawal at this time would result in no permanent good having been accomplished.

WHY SHOULD THE FILIPING DESIRE HIS INDEPENDENCE?

Why should the Filipino desire his independence? The United States Government has not oppressed the people but has spent millions of dollars in an effort to uplift them, instituting many reforms for their benefit at great cost. The United States has never exacted one cent in the way of taxes. We have done them only good and not harm, and this at great expense and inconvenience to ourselves. What, then, can be the motive of the political agitators that desire independence, who are smarting under the control of the United States? It is plainly evident that they would like to exploit for their own personal benefit and go back to the old system of despoliation in vogue not many years ago. They object to the restraining influence and power of the United States. It is the same desire for freedom that is expressed by many young men and women between the ages of 14 and 20 who wish to avoid the control of their parents over their actions.

In our treaty with Spain, we also guaranteed religious freedom, and while the islands are sometimes referred to as a Christian nation, religious freedom never existed until after the American flag was raised on the islands; since that happy event, for the Filipinos, many missionaries have been sent to the islands who have been doing excellent work, and if they are allowed to continue will bring about freedom of religious thought and action which has heretofore been unknown. As an illustration, I am informed that one of our earl, missionaries in the city of Manila gave a Bible to a young man which the young man was supposed to read from time to time, having received a somewhat limited amount of schooling; this missionary, I am told, after having made a trip through certain portions of the island returned and visited the young man and found that he had hid the Bible, and when the missionary questioned him about the Bible he refused to speak of it in the presence of anyone, but later when alone with the missionary he produced the Bible and admitted that he had been reading in it every day, but secretly; when the missionary informed him that he could read the Bible in public and need not be afraid of being disturbed on account of it, it was almost unbelievable to the young man, who then explained that his father had actually been killed for becoming a Protestant Christian and for refusing to give up the reading of the Bible; the missionary then took the young man by his arm and led him to where they were in sight of the government building from the top of which floated the American flag and addressing the young man and pointing to the flag, he said, "As long as you see that flag floating from the top of that building you can take your Bible and go to the roof of your house in the middle of the day and read it at the top of your voice and not a hair of your head shall be harmed." Is it now the purpose of this Government, after having made a start in the civilization of these people, to haul down the American flag simply because we are afraid some one might interfere with us, or because of the few dollars we may yet be called upon to pay in our efforts to continue and complete the work so well begun?

INDEPENDENCE NOW WOULD RETARD PROGRESS.

Should this bill pass and should the provision in the bill be retained that the Filipipos shall be given their independence in not less than two nor more than four years, you will find that internal improvements will come to a standstill. In fact, merely because this bill is being considered here and was passed by the Senate, we are informed that all business activities are already brought to a standstill. Nothing but disaster can and must follow the granting of independence to the Filipinos at this time. They have no stable government; life and property are not secure; capital will leave the islands, and they will be torn with internal dissensions—Mexico being a good example.

Let us, by all means, as long as we have laid our hand to the plow, continue to finish the work we have begun, so that the Filipinos may become civilized, may become educated, may enjoy religious freedom, and eventually be fitted for selfgovernment. Let us continue our present policy, so that the country will be developed, farming may become profitable, industries may thrive, and foreign capital continue to seek an investment in the islands, all of which can only result in increased wealth and increased revenue for the islands themselves.

With all this will come the ability to govern and the islands will continue to prosper and the Filipinos will become one of the

enlightened and civilized peoples of the globe.

It is true it will cost us some money, but the great cost has been in the past, and as they become more nearly self-supporting they will be but very little, if any, further expense to the United States. Whereas, on the other hand, should we abandon them now and send them adrift to be gobbled up by some other nation and they themselves to lapse into their former condition, it will mean the loss of hundreds of millions of dollars which we have already invested in them.

Let us hope that this bill will not pass and that we will

remain true to the Filipinos and ourselves.

An Embargo on Arms and Munitions of War and Other Merchandise—Honest Neutrality—Protection of American Trade and Commerce.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

01

HON. WILLIAM J. CARY.

OF WISCONSIN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 9, 1916.

Mr. CARY, Mr. Speaker, ever since the beginning of the present war in Europe, which is already attaining the dimensions of a world catastrophe, the question as to the duty of this country to place an embargo on the export and sale of arms, munitions, and other material to Europe has been a burning question in all parts of this country. A great deal has been said on both sides of this question, much of which would have better been left unsaid. The arguments both for and against the placing of an embargo have at times been marked by a bitterness which is to be very much regretted, and in the remarks that I wish to make on the embargo question I will endeavor to eliminate all prejudices and approach the subject absolutely and entirely from the standpoint of America alone. Several Members of the House and Senate during the last session of Congress introduced various embargo measures. I introduced the first embargo resolution in the last Congress on August 28, 1914, and the only embargo resolution in the House this session on December 6, 1915. The resolution which I have introduced and which I will append to these remarks is, to my mind, fully justified both as to the articles of which it prohibits exportation and the method of placing the embargo. House resolution 25 calls for an embargo, not only on arms and ammunition, but on foodstuffs, clothing, and all other products, and I will endeavor to demonstrate both the justice and feasibility of laying such an embargo as briefly as I can. The reasons for an embargo may be stated as follows:

First. The protection of the fair name of America in the eyes of the world as an honestly and sincerely neutral country, at peace with the world and playing no favorites in the desperate

game that is now devastating the manhood of Europe.

Second. The embargo is justifiable as a sure and definite method of protecting American trade and commerce from the unjust and unwarranted interference of any belligerent.

Third. The protection of the American public from the rapacious schemes of the speculative element in this country, which has used the enormous exportation of foodstuffs as a means to increase the cost of living to the consumer while giving practically no benefit of this increase to the producer.

Let us examine the first reason carefully. Is it neutral for this country to ship arms and ammunition to one belligerent when the other has absolutely no access to such shipments? There may be some difference of opinion as to this, but a careful study of the arguments advanced by the opponents of an embargo is proof sufficient to any fair-minded man that our present course is distinctly unneutral. At the beginning of the war the President of the United States issued a very strong proclamation exhorting the people of this country to strict neutrality. The last sentence of this proclamation reads as follows:

It is inconsistent with the spirit of neutrality for a neutral nation to make loans to a belligerent nation, for money is the worst of contrabands; it commands all other things.

Now, if it is wrong to make loans of money, is it not still worse to ship abroad the things that money will buy? Do you

suppose for one moment that if any of the belligerent nations had their choice they would prefer money to arms and ammunition? Do you suppose for one moment that an army which needs provisions and clothing and foodstuffs would prefer money to the material that it needs for its upkeep and sustenance? An argument made by several opponents of the embargo was that the central powers had been preparing for this war for many years and had accumulated a large stock of arms and ammunition, whereas the other parties to the war have not made such preparations, and, therefore, if we refused to sell to the parties who had not prepared we would be acting in an unneutral manner toward them and in favor of the country that had made such careful preparations. This argument is so absolutely and utterly childish that it seems hardly necessary to answer it.

As a matter of fact every big nation in Europe has been preparing for this death grapple for a quarter of a century. have not prepared in the same manner nor have they taken the same steps, but, to state the matter plainly and squarely, while Germany has admittedly been keeping her army keyed up to the highest stage of perfection, Russia and France have both been doing the same thing, and while England did not make any very great preparations as far as her army was concerned she has in all of these years been consistently developing her navy with the one purpose of being able to keep absolute control of the seas and protect her country from invasion. It is not our business nor is it for us to decide as to which of these two methods of preparation is the best or worst. We are not called upon nor is it our province to decide as to whether a battle fought on water is more legitimate than a battle fought on land; but when we condemn one nation for preparing its land forces and entirely overlook the fact that another nation carefully prepared its sea forces, we are guilty of what, to my mind, is downright sheer hypocrisy. It is admitted, even by the most violent opponents of an embargo on arms and ammunition, that it would be entirely wrong for us to fit out and equip a ship of war to sail from one of our ports and join either belligerent, but the same people who admit that this is wrong, knowing full well probably that this is the one thing that the allied countries do not need, find it perfectly correct to ship all the necessaries to arm, equip, and sustain a formidable land battery. is not the fault of the United States that England was not farseeing enough to prepare herself for battles on land as well as on sea. She had the resources, she had the equipment, she had the trained men and skilled mechanics to do the same thing that Germany has done. She did not do so and is now suffering the penalty, and we are called upon to help her out of a difficulty which is none of our concern whatsoever. I know that since the war started the President's proclamation of neutrality has been thrown to the four winds of heaven in this country. The last sentence of his proclamation, which I quoted a few moments ago, in reference to making loans has certainly been absolutely nullified. The English agents in this country were able publicly to float a large loan here, not so large as they intended, but sufficiently large to make it come well under the ban of the President's proclamation. Their agents were welcomed all over this country, they were wined and dined, and the very men who protest against the embargo on arms as being unneutral to England do not hesitate to indicate that, as the Hon, Joseph H. Choate said at a public dinner, "the allies could get anything they wanted in this country." Lord Northcliffe, the famous English editor, stated in his paper that the United States by sending England arms and ammunition to carry on the war was in fact an ally of theirs. An embargo on arms and ammunition would place us in a position in which we could con-sistently say that we were absolutely and fairly neutral to all belligerent countries, and until such embargo is placed we can neither hold nor maintain our proper neutrality.

Now, just a few words as to one reason the opponents of this measure give against an embargo. It is a base reason and a reason that I do not believe appeals to the great masses of American people, and that is, that it has brought about an era of prosperity and been the means of our country making a lot of money. I do not believe that American character has so far deteriorated that we can complacently look upon any amount of money, no matter how large it is, that is made at the expense of human bloodshed and misery. The gold that fills the coffers of the millionaire ammunition makers is crimson with the blood of Europe's manhood. It is stained with the tears of the widows and orphans it has helped to make; it can never bring any good fortune or good luck to the men who make it or to a people who sacrifice their feelings for humanity to their lust for greed, and, further, a careful investigation of this ammunition-making prosperity will, I think, reveal that it is a very lopsided and short-lived prosperity. Into whose hands does the plunder go? Is the farmer getting his share of it? Is the small

merchant getting his share of it? Is the mechanic getting his share of it? I think that it would not need very much investigation to find that the great mass of this ill-gotten gold goes to those who need it least and use it worst.

While thousands upon thousands of men were lying on the battle fields of Europe, killed by American shells, their families made desolate by the instruments of death manufactured in American factories, the Wall Street vendors of the blood-stained stocks were handing out dividends with a lavish hand, and to whom?

The New York City newspapers on the first day of this year gave graphic accounts of the New Year's Eve revelry, and the bacchanalian orgy in the high-life districts of the metropolis exceeded in extravagance, dissipation, and indecency any previous scene of the same sort even in that lively city. The enormous amounts of money spent were naively accounted for by the big profits made in war-stock speculation, so that it is easily seen who profits by this blood money—the idle, vicious, and degraded class, who are to-day not only the laughing stock of the world, but the shame and disgrace of American manhood and womanhood. A fitting end and a fitting place for such wealth to go to.

And now, Mr. Speaker, one word more as to this unholy traffic before I finish dealing with this phase of the embargo question. A great many Members of Congress and others in high places believe that the people at large are either indifferent or in favor of the traffic. They get their information from the subsidized Tory press and the flamboyant utterances of a few Anglomaniac millionaires and millionaire-owned college professors. These do not and never can represent the great mass of the people who to-day, as always, do their own thinking, and the petition signed by a million American women which was presented to Congress a short time ago is but one proof that millions of our countrymen believe this species of commerce to be morally wrong.

Now, let us consider a second reason for the placing of an embargo, and that is, to use it as an effectual weapon to protect American commerce from unwarranted and illegal interference on the high seas and in neutral countries, and also our trade in recognized noncontraband wares with the central powers.

Let us examine briefly our trade with the belligerent powers of central Europe in wares that are not contraband. study the various authorities on international law we find a preponderance of opinion in favor of the principle that foodstuffs and provisions can not be classed as contraband. In his admirable treatise on international law, Woolsey reviews this subject very carefully, and admits that some of the older writers as Grotius and Vattell, together with several modern English authorities—state that provisions may be at times considered con-traband when there is a prospect of reducing the enemy by This has been done a number of times in history by England, just as it is being done to-day; and in 1793, when England was at war with revolutionary France, she carried out this principle to an extreme of harshness. It is significant to recall that Denmark and the United States protested most emphatically, and that this country even in those young days never acquiesced in this principle, A British order in council in 1807 placing France and her colonies under the same restrictions as though they were in a state of blockade, was met promptly by this country laying a stringent embargo on all commerce, and in 1812 we went to war with England to sustain the principle that no order of council could affect the right of this country to trade where it chose

To-day not even the shadow of a right exists for the interference of England with our trade in certain articles, even if we trade directly with Germany, for the uncertain precedents and opinions as to contraband and neutral trade were crystallized in a declaration of the International Naval Conference, held in London, England, 1908-9, in which contraband, conditional contraband, and noncontraband were clearly defined.

England has violated these articles in so many ways that a simple list would take up more space than I can use, and I will only cite a few of her immoral evasions of these articles, and will cite only those of which there can be no possible question or doubt.

"Chapter 1. Article 2. In accordance with the declaration of Paris of 1856, a blockade in order to be binding must be effective; that is to say, it must be maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the enemy coast line."

Everybody knows that England's so-called blockade of Germany is not effective and therefore not binding, and her order in council is therefore neither a legal document nor a legitimate bar to proper commerce with the central powers.

In article 24, chapter 2, we find a list of 14 classes of wares which may be treated as contraband under certain conditions, to wit, "if it is shown to be destined for the use of the armed forces or of a government department of an enemy State." (Art. 33.)

The first material enumerated in this list is foodstuffs, and we all know to what extent shipments of foodstuffs have been selzed by England on the pretense that they were destined for military use. I will, however, for the present content myself with just one flagrant case, and that is the threat to seize a cargo of milk destined for the babies of Germany. The cruel malignancy of this decision should be enough to condemn it, but it is a violation of her pledged word, a shameless repudiation of a legal contract, and a distinct breach of international law.

In articles 28 and 29, 19 classes of merchandise are mentioned, of which it is distinctly stated that they "may not be declared contraband of war."

I will only mention three of these, namely, cotton and textiles, rubber, and articles serving to aid the sick and wounded.

It is not necessary for me to mention the damage that has been done to our people by England's illegal attitude on cotton, for the able Senator from Georgia [Mr. Smith] and a number of my distinguished colleagues in the House from the South have gone into the cotton question very thoroughly, and we all know that a whole section of our country has been pushed to the verge of bankruptcy and that cotton planters, shippers, and merchants are to-day crying for relief from a situation utterly intolerable and absolutely untenable on the part of England.

Rubber is another article forbidden our commerce, and exporters of this material right here in our own country are arrogantly required to sign papers as to what they are going to do with wares which they buy with their own American dollars, so that in the case of rubber we are not only forbidden to sell but are approaching a status where we will soon be forbidden to buy.

The last case of noncontraband I will cite is supplies for the slck and wounded. It is hard to speak of this calmly, for ever since the organization of the Red Cross hospital supplies have been safe from interference, and it is the saddest phase of this horrible war to see a country professing the Christian faith not only break its plighted word to its fellow nations, but stultify its religion and indirectly revert to the savagery of barbarian times, when the wounded were killed and tortured.

I have stated a few facts as to illegal interference with our legitimate trade with certain belligerents, and I will now briefly review the most heinous phase of England's onslaught on our commerce with neutral nations.

American, Dutch, and Scandinavian ships trading entirely with neutral countries, carrying no absolute contraband, but engaged in delivering goods from this country to customers in neutral countries, have been seized and carried into English ports, their cargoes confiscated, and both owners of ships and merchandise compelled to wait while a dilatory prize court adjudicated their claims for damages, and in the meantime made it impossible for them to carry out their further contracts with old established trade.

United States mails—interference with which in this country would mean a heavy jail sentence—are stopped, opened, censored, and even seized; cablegrams in plain English about purely business matters between American and other neutral countries; reputable business firms have been held up without warrant or excuse; and American business men traveling on business to neutral countries have been harassed and molested in direct defiance of international law and established usage.

England has declared that the war will not end until she has crippled German trade forever. As to this I am not sure that it is any of our business what she does with Germany and apparently Germany can take care of herself, but I am sure of one thing and that is that the people of this country are not going to permit England or any other country to cripple our trade either forever or now. And that is exactly what her program is. It is an open secret among men who know that the very cargoes of cotton and grain that are seized en route to Scandinavian ports and paid for at rates fixed by English prize courts are later sold to those very countries by English agents.

Only recently an English judge indicated in a decision sustaining the seizure of an American cargo that "America should not be permitted to gain trade prestige as a result of war conditions," and I think it a fair assumption that the object of seizing American business mail is largely to acquire a knowledge of American business methods.

This is the reason I have included in my resolution a demand for an embargo on foodstuffs and other merchandise of a peaceful character. Adopt this resolution and it will be an effectual method of insuring our right to trade where we choose.

Enforce this resolution and the men will be out of the trenches in 60 days, and the hot blood that is running riot in the veins of all of Europe's men will cool down.

You will not do much damage to the American producer, for he is not getting the benefit of the high prices caused by the exportation of foodstuffs. The elevator men and the wheat-

pit traders are fattening on the grain profit while the farmer pays the freight. The stockyard millionaires are reaping a golden harvest on the hogs and steers the farmer had to feed, and the poor little American consumer as he totes up his grocery bill on Saturday night and notes that beef and pork, beans and potatoes are hitting the high places still, only a little more so, wonders where the prosperity is that he hears so much about, and then he wonders a little more why he has to pay war prices and war taxes while his country is at peace.

Let us pass this resolution and do three things at the same time, be truly and fairly neutral to the warring nations abroad, protect our trade from unjust aggression abroad, and protect our people from speculative rapacity at home.

House resolution 25.

House resolution 25.

Whereas a terrible war has been and is now going on in Europe; and Whereas thousands of lives have been sacrificed and lands ruined; and Whereas in the wake of this terrible war is left only poverty and devastation; and Whereas these belligerent forces have greatly depended upon goods exported from the United States to carry on this war; and Whereas much has been said pro and con in relation to our neutrality; and Whereas many notes have been exchanged between the powers engaged in war and the Secretary of State of the United States defining and classifying goods and articles that are considered as munitions and contraband of war, and discussing articles of conciliation and terms of treaties; and
Whereas there seems to be no near end to this war; Therefore be it

Resolved, That the President of the United States is bereby authorized, empowered, and directed to place an embargo on all articles and goods which in the strictest sense shall be classed as munitions and contraband of war

contraband of war

Resolved further, That the President of the United States shall remove such embargo as soon as the war is ended.

The purpose of this act is to aid in carrying out our policy of neutrality, and in cutting off the goods and articles which are helping to prolong the war it will in a large measure help in bringing about peace in Europe The purpose of this act is to add in carrying out on poincy of neutrality, and in cutting off the goods and articles which are helping to prolong the war it will in a large measure help in bringing about peace in Europe.

No part or parts of this act shall be construed as a hindrance to the good and meritorious work being done by the American and European Red Cross Society in caring for the sick and wounded in Europe.

The words "munition" and "contraband" shall be defined as including all articles of whatever description and kind as may be used in connection with warfare.

The following articles shall be included within the embargo:
First. Arms of all kinds, including arms for sporting purposes.
Second. Projectiles, charges, textiles, including cotton, cartridges of all kinds, and their distinctive component parts.

Third. Powder and explosives especially prepared for warfare.
Fourth. Gun mountings, limber boxes, limbers, military wagons, field forges, and their distinctive parts.

Fifth. Clothing and equipments of a military character.
Sixth. All kinds of barness of a distinctive military character.
Seventh. Saddle, draft, and pack animals suitable for use in war.
Elghth. Articles of camp equipment.

Ninth. Armor plate.

Tenth. Warships, including boats and their distinctive parts that can only be used in war.

Eleventh. Aeroplanes, balloons, airships, and aircrafts of all kinds, together with their accessories, and all articles recognizable as intended for use in connection with them.

Twelfth. Implements and apparatus designed exclusively for the manufacture of munitions of war or repair of arms or war materials on land or sea.

Thirteenth. All foodstuffs.

Fourteenth. Forage and grain for feeding animals.

Fifteenth. Clothing, fabrics for clothing, and boots and shoes suitable for use in war.

Sixteenth. Gold and silver, bullion, and paper money.

Seventeenth Webicles of all kinds available for use in war.

Fighteenth. Railway material, both fixed and rolling stock.

Nineteenth. Material for telegraphs, wi

phones.
Twentieth. Fuel and lubricants.
Twenty-first. Barbed wire and implements for fixing and cutting same.
Twenty-second. Horseshoes and implements for shoeing, saddlery and barness suitable for use in war.
Twenty-third. Field glasses, chronometers, and all kinds of nautical instruments.
Twenty-fourth. Brass, iron, pig iron, steel, and all kinds of minerals,
Twenty-fifth. Ingredients of explosive and all deadly and poisonous

Indian Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. EVANS.

OF MONTANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 12, 1916.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the Record I include the following statement made by me before the Committee on Indian Affairs:

STATEMENT MADE BEFORE HOUSE INDIAN COMMITTEE

Mr. Evans. In answer to that question, may I go ahead consecutively and state our position in this matter?

This reservation was opened by the act of 1904, but the appropriation for the reclamation of it began, I think, in 1908, and !

there has been about \$1,800,000 to \$2,000,000 appropriated. It has always been carried in the Indian bill. Every year there has been an appropriation of from \$100,000 to \$200,000 in every Indian appropriation bill that has gone through.

Two years ago there was a recommendation made by the Indian Office for \$100,000. I had then just come to Congress and was inexperienced in such matters. I did not attend any of the hearings, because I did not know you had such things. learned that the hearings had been held on the Indian appropriation bill and \$100,000 had been recommended. I went before the Indian Bureau and they told me they were perfectly willing to recommend \$250,000 or \$300,000 or some reasonable appropriation. Four hundred thousand dollars had been appropriated the year before, but they desired some change in the legislation, and for that reason they were not inclined to make a recommendation for a reasonable appropriation until they got some change in the legislation which is in the bill now. So they got very little appropriation that year—maybe \$200,000.

Mr. Carter. You are speaking now not of the Flathead Reservation?

Mr. Evans. Yes, sir; primarily. The next year we had practically the same condition of affairs, and we did not get a recommendation from the Indian Bureau for the appropriation for this work, because the Indian Bureau wanted the method of financing the project changed. They were not satisfied with the legislation on the subject and therefore hesitated to make a recommendation for the appropriation to go on with the work. The Montana delegation then went before the Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary directed that a recommendation for \$500,000 be made, but this recommendation did not reach the Indian Committee until the bill had passed the House. In that interview the Secretary said, "You have expended a million and a half dollars on that project, and by appropriating \$100,000 a year it would take about 40 years to complete it, and out of \$100,000 we will get a benefit of about \$60,000, the rest of it being lost, due to difficulties in assembling and reassembling your outfit." He recommended \$500,000 last year, but after the bill had passed the House and gone to the Senate his recommendation was observed, and the Senate attached the amendment to the bill carrying the sum of \$500,000, but, of course, as you know, the Indian bill falled. Then we came back here again last fall and attempted to get a reasonable recommendation made at the proper time; and it was sent, as Mr. Meritt has told you, not to this committee but to the Appropriations Committee, on the theory that the Appropriations Committee was now handling reclamation projects, and that this was a reclamation project. I paid no special attention to it, because I knew the recommendation was made.

I have failed twice to get a recommendation made at the proper time, and I knew I had gotten a recommendation made at this time, and at the proper time I would take it up with Mr. Fitzgerald, which I did; but he just threw me and the appropriation out of the window, figuratively speaking. He said, "That does not belong here, and we are not going to take jurisdiction of it. It always carried on the Indian bill, and it ought to be on the Indian bill, and we are not going to have anything to do with it." So they would not have anything to do with it; and I myself went to the Senate and reported to the Senators what the situation was. Then the Secretary of the Interior made a recommendation of \$750,000, and therefore it was attached over there. I think it should have come to this committee. I do not think anybody should be particularly censured because it did not, but I think it should have come here; and I think if it had come here a reasonable appropriation would have been made by this committee.

Now, going back to the merits of the appropriation, the same thing applies in a greater or less degree to all of them.

The Flathead Reservation is a big basin more nearly representing a washbowl than anything I could think of, with the river coming in at one end and going out at the lower end. The Government conceived the notion of reclaiming all that land. It ran a large canal around the base of the mountain for a distance of some 30 miles, probably, touching all the streams that came down there.

Mr. Konor. Here is a map of it. I wonder if you could not illustrate by referring to this map [producing map].

Mr. Evans. On the east side of the map of the Flathead Reservation there is a canal, beginning at the south and running toward the north and around to the lake. I think that canal must be 30 miles long.

Mr. Konop. You mean this southern corner [indicating]

Mr. Evans. Yes; and running up there, and it gathers all the waters from there. Now, there are probably 150,000 acresleast 150,000 acres-of irrigable land on that reservation that will be covered by reclamation when completed; but a large portion of your money now expended has been put into what we call a main ditch. It was necessary to build a main ditch before the laterals could be built, therefore you have reclaimed ss land in proportion to the money expended than will be the case in the future. You have now gotten the large ditches built, and they are now building the laterals and putting the water on the ground, and for that reason only about 20 per cent of the land is under cultivation, while we have spent more than 20 per cent of the estimated cost of the project.

As to the reservation itself, I think if there is a reclamation project in America that will be a success it is the Flathead Reservation. It is in a basin, the altitude comparatively low, but it is hemmed in on all sides. They raised at the Flathead Reservation this year at least 1,500,000 bushels of wheat. We had an excessively wet year. I venture to say that 500,000 bushels of that wheat was raised on ground which will be covered by this irrigation system when we get through, but was not planted this year. The ground itself is so dry that it would not raise anything without water, ordinarily. However, it did this year after a dozen years' trial, but they planted those crops the year before. Some of them did not germinate at all. Some of them did not come out of the ground, but the spring rains came on, the grain planted the year before grew up and made a crop of 20 or 25 or 30 bushels to the acre.

Mr. Konop. Do they plant winter wheat?

Mr. Evans. The wheat was planted the spring before. On another lot of that acreage the wheat was planted the spring before. It grew to a height of 5 or 6 inches only, headed out, was scattering, and was not worth cutting. The men abandoned it for the time being. The elements beat the wheat out; it reseeded, and this year they had a fine crop. I mention this simply to show you that they can put water on that ground and raise the finest crops in the land, but without water they can not raise them. I will venture to say that there were 500,000 bushels of volunteer wheat raised there this year, and the men there who had been living in good two-story houses, who had been there three or four or five years, boarded up their houses and went away, and came back in June and July and harvested as good a crop of wheat as they had ever seen. But this was an exceptional year. We never saw in Montana before such a year, so far as water is concerned. We raised that sort of a crop, and it shows that a crop can be raised if we will put water on the

Mr. Norton. That shows what they can do in Montana if you

give them half a show.

Mr. Evans. Yes. Congress has neglected us, and the Montana delegation may be neglected, but God Almighty took care of

The proposition is a meritorious one. The only question now is whether as business men we are going on with it. We have spent practically \$2,000,000, and, as I suggested, if you appropriate \$100,000 or \$200,000 a year it will take 40 years to complete it, with great loss from what you have spent. A number of commissions have gone out there to look over the proposition, and all of them have advised that we go on with the work and complete it with all reasonable dispatch, as expeditiously as any business man would in any sort of business project. There was a commission appointed that made a report in December, 1914, covering only a page. It is by Mr. Ketchum, who was head of the Indian commission, I think; Mr. Abbott, and some others, and I should like, if I might, to incorporate a part of that, showing what the situation was, in my testimony.

and I should like, if I might, to incorporate a part of that, showing what the situation was, in my testimony.

[Excerpt from report upon the conditions on the Flathead Indian Reservation, by Rev. William H. Ketcham, member Board of Indian Commissioners, December, 1914.]

About \$1,374,000 have been expended for irrigation upon the Flathead Reservation Of this sum \$56,065 have been returned to individual Indians for labor on the project and for products purchased from them. Under completed canals there are 48,400 acres. Of this area 36,291 acres are Indian land. A few sales of inherited Indian lands under completed canals have been allotted to Indians 90,000 acres are Irrigable. Approximately one-half of the irrigable Indian land, therefore, is under completed canals. The project engineer of the Reclamation Service estimates that it will require 10 years to complete the Flathead project, with annual appropriations of \$500,000. Until this project is completed the Indians, who own approximately 40,000 acres of remaining Irrigable lands not under ditch, will suffer in common with the white settlers who have made filings on similar lands. Most of this land can not be farmed successfully without water. Approximately \$700,000 have been returned to the Government from the sale of surplus lands and timber on this reservation, which is about on-half the amount invested in completed canals, Approximately 12,000 acres of lands entered by white settlers are under the completed projects. Therefore approximately only \$400,000 out of the sum of \$1,400,000 expended in Irrigation on this reservation has been expended for the benefit of white entries. Since under existing law appropriations for irrigation on this reservation are relimbursable from the sale of water rights under the act of May 29, 1908 (35 Stat. L., 449), as well as from the sale of surplus land and timber on the reservation, it is evident that relimbursement to the Government could not be made from the sale of water rights under the act of May 29, 1908 (35 Stat.

lands. Therefore, under existing law, just in proportion as there is delay in completing the project there will be lacking returns from the sale of water rights, and the proceeds from the sale of surplus Indian lands and timber on the reservation alone will be drawn upon to reimburse the Government for the cost of construction. In other words, delay in completing the irrigation project on this reservation through small appropriations instead of relieving the Indian funds from an improper proportion of the burden of the cost results in increasing that burden.

Now, some questions were asked a moment ago by some of the gentlemen. I do not remember what they were, but I should be pleased if I might, so far as my knowledge and ability permit, answer any questions submitted by any member of the committee.

Mr. Campbell. What I would like to know is what proportion

of this ditch or this project is completed?

Mr. Evans. In 1914 this commission reported that 20.7 per cent of the project was completed, and I think approximately 25 per cent of it is completed now, but I do not think 25 per cent of the land is under irrigation.

Mr. CAMPBELL. How much of the land is under irrigation?

Mr. Evans. My recollection is that there might be irrigated land-just in a general way; I would not be absolutely accurate in these figures-I should say they irrigate from these projects from 15,000 to 20,000 acres of land. But with an expenditure of \$200,000 now you could put an equal amount of land under your irrigation systems, because you could use the big ditches that are built, and the water could be conducted to the laterals.

Mr. CAMPBELL. What is the relative benefit to the Indian and

to the white man?

Mr. Evans. The Indians own about one-half of the irrigable lands on the reservation. There are about 150,000 acres, and approximately 75,000 acres of it is Indian allotments, and an equal amount is owned by white men.

Mr. CAMPBELL. How are the white men required to reimburse the Indians or the Government for the use of this project?

Mr. Evans. At the present time, under present law, the provision was made that the proceeds of the sale of the Indian lands and their timber should be utilized by the Government to reclaim these lands, and that the white man should then pay so much an acre for water on his land and reimburse that fund. Now, there has been taken out of the Indians' funds, as I recall, about \$1,000,000 for the purpose of reclaiming those lands. other words, the white men who own land there now owe the Indians, through the Government, about a million dollars that the Indians have put in out of the assets of that reservation. A large amount of land was sold to begin with; men homesteaded it and paid from \$2 to \$7 an acre for the land initially. Then they sold the timber and some other resources, making about a million dollars or so that has come off from that reservation and that has gone into the Indian funds for this reclamation

Mr. CAMPBELL. Has it been used by the Indian Office without

appropriation by Congress?

Mr. Evans. Oh, no.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Has the Indian any security for this million

Mr. Evans. I rather doubt if he has.

Mr. Campbell. Probably he will always have a claim, then?

Mr. Evans. Well I hardly think so.

Mr. Campbell. Until Congress pays it. Don't you think Congress will ultimately be called upon to pay this money to the Indians?

Mr. Evans. No; I think not. Under the present law it is provided that the Indians shall bear their proportion of the cost of their land, and that the white man shall bear his proportion of the cost.

Mr. CAMPBELL. The white man is now a million dollars behind the Indian.

Mr. Evans. Because no lands have been yet paid for. No lands have yet been paid for because we have not gotten to the point where we could charge them, and they are to be paid in 20 annual installments.

Mr. Meritt. This proposed legislation would correct that evil. Mr. Evans. The legislation that the Indian Bureau is now asking for here in connection with this bill.

Mr. CAMPBELL. How will this bring this money back to the Indian fund?

Mr. Evans. As quick as the white men-as soon as the project completed and the white men pay into the Treasury of the United States the cost of the reclamation, the money will go into the Indian fund.

Mr. Campbell. What is there in the situation there that will bring that money back? The white man who has gone upon that land has probably paid for it, hasn't he?

Mr. Evans. Oh, no; that is where you are wrong. Mr. Campbell. Will it come out of the proceeds?

Mr. Evans. It will come out of the proceeds of the reclamation fund.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Arising from the further payments that will

naturally be made on the land?

Mr. Evans. Yes; he has no title to the land yet. They are waiting for their titles, and they can not get their titles until they pay \$30 or \$40 an acre for the land.

Mr. HAYDEN. Let me read the proposed legislation in here that

cures that. The amendment on page 49 says:

Provided further, That nothing contained in the act of May 29, 1908 (36 Stat. L., p. 444), shall be construed to exempt the purchaser of any Indian allotment purchased prior to the expiration of the trust period thereon from any charge for construction of the irrigation system incurred up to the time of such purchase, except such charges as shall have accrued and become due in accordance with the public notices herein provided for.

That is the security legislation you are putting in here to make it sure that any white man who buys land will have to pay

his share of the cost.

Mr. Evans. Yes; he will have to pay his share of the cost of reclamation. Any man who takes up the land from the Government must pay his share, and when it is all paid back into the Treasury an accounting will be balanced, and the Indian will have his money.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Under what theory is the Indian under obligations to primarily finance those irrigation projects up there,

where the benefit is half for the white people?

Mr. Evans. Of course I was not in Congress at that time. Mr. CAMPBELL. That is a question we will have to meet on the

Mr. Campella. That is a question we will have to heet of the floor of the House, and we might just as well meet it here.

Mr. Evans. As I suggested to you, it is a big basin, suitable only for grazing purposes unless it be reclaimed. The Indian lands as they originally stood were worth probably \$2 or \$2.50 an acre without any reclamation. When the land is reclaimed it is worth \$50 or \$60 an acre. It was the theory of the Government on this basis, if they would take this money and reclaim the land it would sell for two or three or four times as much as it would in its natural state; and it was upon that theory, as I understand it. I find here that the Government estimated that that reservation was worth about \$13,000,000-that is, the land and timber-and they were going to take about \$6,000,000 of it and invest it for the purpose of reclaiming and enhancing the value of the lands. Land that could have been bought for \$2 an acre, you could not buy for \$10 to-day, because the country is settled and they have built farms and little cities, and have started reclamation projects there, and the land still belongs to the Indians. There is a large quantity of that timberland that is much more valuable now than it was 10 years ago when this

Mr. Stout. And it was impossible, Mr. Campbell—that is, it was not at all practical—to irrigate the Indian land only, because the land was scattered all over, and you could not irrigate without irrigating it all.

Mr. Konop. Under the law as it now stands, is there any lien on each individual owner's land there, so that the title to the land will not vest until all the charges are paid?

Mr. Evans. Yes; there is more than a lien on it. the land remains in the Government of the United States. The title was in the Government of the United States, and under the law the settler went on there and paid the appraised value of the land without irrigation—\$2 to \$3 an acre. He paid that money, and the Government then gave him a certificate, "You are entitled to this land when you pay, in addition to what you now pay, the cost of the reclamation of that land." And the Government holds the title to it, and these men can not get And the title until they pay the cost of reclamation, and that is one of the complaints that those people are making, that you will not give them title, and will not reclaim the land so that they can get title, and consequently they say, "You are apparently going to hold this land always. Now, either abandon the proposition and let us get title or complete the project and let us pay our money and get our titles." The Government owns it now. No titles have passed.

Mr. Konop. Isn't the State doing anything in the way of

reclamation work?

Mr. Evans. No: I do not know of the State of Montana carry ing on any reclamation project. We have some that we call Cary projects up there, but not on Indian reservations, of course.

Mr. Norton. You have private irrigation projects, though?

Mr. Evans. Oh, yes; there are a number of private projects.
Mr. Stout. And they are all very successful, I will say.
Mr. Evans. And we have some Cary projects, where the Government has set aside certain bodies of land for the State of

Mr. Norton. Is this Flathead Reservation the region where they grow fruit?

Mr. Evans. Yes, sir; the Flathead Reservation, out of last year's crop produced by them, which was a very unusual thing, took a number of gold medals at the San Francisco fair, and some of those were taken by Indians. And when you mention the fruit proposition, the Flathead country and the Bitter Root country, which is contiguous to it, took all the fruit medals of the world at San Franciso.

Mr. Konor. That dark portion on the map here is irrigable land and irrigated land, both, isn't it?

Mr. Evans. Yes; but no great portion of that has yet gotten water on it.

Mr. Konor. What is this white portion?

Mr. Evans. The white is probably grazing land and timber land, and can not be reclaimed.

Mr. Konop. This white can not be reclaimed?

Mr. Evans. No; this is reclaimed or reclaimable lands.

Now, in addition to what I have suggested, there is in the upper portion of this valley of the Flathead Reservation, Flathead Lake, which is the largest body of fresh water west of the Great Lakes. That is a lake probably 40 miles long and averaging 5 wide. At the mouth of this lake there are some falls, and it is estimated that they can generate there—this is Indian property, also—it is estimated that they can generate there from 100,000 to 200,000 horsepower. They say it is the best water-power proposition outside of Niagara in America. The Government has spent about \$95,000 there on a tunnel for the purpose of starting to generate water power; and that project lies dormant for the lack of funds to go on with that or anything else. There isn't any question about there being ample water there, and there isn't any question about the productivity of the ground. The only question is whether the Government of the United States is going to let it lie idle or take 50 years to do something that a business man would do in 4 or 5 years.

Mr. HAYDEN. The figure stated by Mr. Meritt-\$30 an acre for the total construction cost of the project-is remarkably low. Are you satisfied that the work can be done for \$30 an acre?

Mr. Evans. It is my judgment, although I have not given the matter sufficient attention to say definitely, that that will cost those people about \$40 an acre.

Mr. HAYDEN. The average cost of other reclamation projects in this country is between \$60 and \$70.

Mr. Evans. Well, I have no idea it will cost \$60 or \$70, but I think it will cost \$40.

Mr. HAYDEN. That will still be remarkably low.

Mr. Carter. Does that mean putting water on it or leveling it off?

Mr. Evans. Constructing the reservoirs and doing everything to bring the water onto the land.

Mr. Konop. The water that comes to this canal comes from the mountains east of the Flathead Reservation?

Mr. Evans. A large portion of it.

Mr. Konop. Does the water through the canal flow south or north?

Mr. Evans. It flows north, toward the lake.

Now, they are preparing to put a dam across the lake, which will raise the lake 16 feet, and they will then have water enough to cover the whole State of Maryland to a depth of 4 or 5 feet from the surplus water in that lake.

Mr. Campbell. And that will be used for irrigation purposes?

Mr. Evans. Yes, sir. Mr. Campbell. What will it take to complete it?

Mr. Evans. I think that can be reasonably completed for about four and a half or five million dollars. But, I think, if you go on with your dam at the foot of the lake and build some other storage reservoirs, that they might have to build in the future, that it will cost six or seven million; and of course you will take in some extra land by doing so. But the principal thing that appears to me and to those people is that you have got a lot of water reasonably close to you, but you are not putting it on the land, and we think you should give us some appropriation to do that. The people have lost their crops there for five or six years. They have been there with the tacit understanding that the Government was going to put the water on. They have been waiting for you to do it; and I want to impress upon the committee that this is not a new item, and it belongs to the Indian bill. It appears to you, some of you, now that it was in the nature of an amendment, and so it is in the nature of amendment, but it belongs here and should have been here before; and if it had been here before the probabilities are there would not have been any question about it being a reasonable appropriation. I quite agree with Secretary Lane; if you are going to do anything do not spend \$100,000 and spend half of it buying horses and supplies and then sell them before the year is out because you do not know whether you will get any more appropriation, but appropriate enough to get something done.

Mr. Campbell. Is the water you refer to in this reservoir high enough to furnish water for all this land?

Mr. Evans. I do not think it would be high enough from the lake to cover all of it, but the Government officials were figuring on generating great power there and possibly pumping some of that water into a reservoir that lies 2 or 3 miles from there, already constructed, upon one of these ditches, and then distribute it from there. But there is ample water. They are pumping extensively in Montana, and doing it to a considerable degree of success where they do not have to pump more than 10 or 15 feet with electric power.

Mr. Campbell. They can generate electric power farther up

the lake?

Mr. Evans. You may generate power even below; generate it at the foot of the lake and run a wire up a mile or so above and pump water right out of the lake.

Mr. Konop. Is the Reclamation Bureau under the Secretary of

the Interior?

Mr. Evans. Yes.

Mr. HAYDEN. I want to ask some questions about certain provisions. You have first a provision for the Flathead Reservation for Montana, a little different from the amendment No. 71, which applies to the Fort Peck, and then there is still some difference between that and the Blackfeet Reservation.

Mr. Evans. I think there is some difference in the proposition, and before Mr. Meritt takes up the question I make this suggestion, that I have talked very largely about the Flathead, because I am better acquainted with that project, but the situation appeals to me as different in this, that on the Flathead Reservation the reservation has been opened and we have a lot of white men in there who homesteaded on this land and whose land is also being reclaimed, but on the Blackfeet proposition there are no white men. It is solely an Indian work. The work was done solely for the Indians. The money was expended out of their funds, and when the land is reclaimed it will belong to the Indians.

Agriculture Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ANDREW J. VOLSTEAD,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 29, 1916.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, not infrequently it is suggested in some quarters that this Government is treating the farmer as a favored class. The appropriations carried in the agricultural appropriation bill has been pointed to as evidence of extreme liberality; so has the large expense paid to maintain the rural-route system. Then, again, in opposing appropriations for agricultural sections attention has frequently been called to the large revenues collected by the Government from cities like New York and Chicago as compared with the smaller revenues received from agricultural States. Let me briefly call your attention to these suggestions. They are unfair and should not go unchallenged. It is true that the Agricultural appropriation bill carries quite a sum, but if you read it you will find that a very large part does not relate to agriculture at all and that many of the appropriations concerns the consumer rather than the producer. Money spent on agriculture does not profit the farmers alone. Every dollar wisely used for its development is spent in the interest of all our people. Agriculture is still the great basic industry upon which our prosperity chiefly depends.

The activities of the Agricultural Department in gathering information as to the best methods in the industry and in disseminating that information is only doing the kind of work done by every enlightened government. It could not be done by the individual farmer, but must be done by some agency, such as the Government. The farmer is not the only class of our citizens for which work of this kind is done. The consular system, upon which we spend millions every year, is engaged in finding for-eign markets for the products of this country, chiefly our manu-factured products. We are testing fuels and all sorts of material for the factory, prescribing all sorts of safety appliances to protect labor. Charting our coasts, maintaining lighthouses, building harbors, and deepening rivers for commerce, and in a thousand other ways striving to better the conditions of our chinch bug, suggesting remedies against smut, or the like. As people. To argue that work done to combat some disease that

threatens to destroy the beef industry is only in the interest of the farmer is about as reasonable as to contend that finding a market for our products is only in the interest of the factory. I have spent considerable time lately on a committee investigating the five great meat packers of this country. It has developed in these hearings that in recent years the business of feeding cattle for the market has been so uncertain in its result that a great many farmers have abandoned the business. threatens a shortage of meat and is of vital concern to the consumer no less than to the farmer. Increased production tends to lessen the price to the consumer often without any increase in profit to the farmer. A tendency to view things from the local and personal standpoint is manifest in the comparisons that have been made between the large receipts of income tax from some of the cities as against the smaller receipts from farm communities. Though it is true that but few farmers are asked to pay an income tax, it must not be imagined that they escape this tax. They pay their share. They pay it in the transportation charges upon the farm products they sell, in the price of the goods they buy, and in the interest upon the money they borrow. The Government may get the money from some person in New York who has collected it in Minnesota. The real burden seldom rests on the one who makes the payment to the Government, but upon the one who digs it from the soil or

earns it by his labor.
Under an industrial system that permits corporations to become national in their operations and whose headquarters must as a consequence be located at the great financial centers, the bulk of this tax will always be paid in a few cities. To com-plain of this as unfair ignores the source of the profits from which the tax is paid. The tax upon the stocks and bonds of railroads and other corporations is paid by the corporations in these cities no matter where their actual owners reside or from what source such owners derived the interest or divi-

dend from which the tax is collected.

Another illustration of this narrow view is found in the constant complaint made against the expense of the rural-route system. It is argued that the system does not pay. strange argument. The rural routes carry mail the same as the city carriers. They serve the convenience of the public, a convenience that modern conditions demand. If our people are not entitled to such conveniences, there is no excuse for having city letter carriers. Let persons in the cities walk a mile or more to the post office as the farmer in many instances has to do in going for his mail on his rural route. It is much behind the times to complain of the expense incident to the rural-route service. It has come to stay. Some years ago while in Europe I found a daily rural-route service in operation in Scotland. The carrier there delivered the mail, not in a tin box a mile off as is often done in this country but called at each farmhouse and delivered the mail in person. Away up in the mountains of Norway I also found a daily rural mail-delivery service. Can not this country afford to do as well. The people of our cities demand as of right to have their mail delivered at their doors, while those in the country have to beg to be grudgingly granted the poor privilege of the present rural-route system. This adthe poor privilege of the present rural-route system. ministration has repeatedly reminded the farmer of the expense, and upon that plea not only denied extension of the service where in all fairness it ought to have been granted, but they have in many places greatly crippled it. The routes should reach more people and afford better accommodations. They should be shortened instead of lengthened as has been done quite generally. Especially is this true because of the added burden imposed upon them by the parcel post. The people in the cities are as much interested in the parcel post as the farmers, and the Post Office Department should treat it liberally by affording rural routes a fair chance to care for it.

Instead of farmers being treated with special favor, the contrary may be urged. The chief appeal for public favor made by the party now in power was based upon its promise to reduce the cost of living. The slogan of its leaders has been free food products, which means free farm products. It set out to carry this policy into effect by passing the Canadian reciprocity treaty act, which offers to Canada a chance to sell all its farm products in our markets without paying any tariff while it retains a tariff upon nearly everything the farmer must buy, and since then it has passed the Underwood Tariff Act, which is based upon the same idea. Throughout these acts discrimi-nate very unfairly in favor of the cities and against the farmers. As prosperity or failure depends upon whether the American farmer can obtain a fair market for his product, it is not necessary to argue that this is a discrimination that can not be offset

or the Underwood tariff, may not seriously affect us, but we all hope that this war will soon end, when the effect of these discriminations will become apparent. We are all interested in building up this country, and it can only be done by working No class should be specially favored or discriminated against. At this time everybody is talking military preparedness. Industrial preparedness is as essential a part of military preparedness as guns. If Germany had not carefully protected her agriculture she might have fallen an easy victim in this war, but her statesmen foresaw the necessity of fostering that industry and this contest has clearly proven their wisdom.

Woman Suffrage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LINDLEY H. HADLEY,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 12, 1916.

Mr. HADLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a short communication forwarded by a mass meeting of the citizens of the city of Bellingham, Wash.

The communication is as follows:

RESOLUTIONS UNANIMOUSLY PASSED AT A MASS MEETING OF 500 CITIZENS OF BELLINGHAM, WASH.

Be it resolved. That this mass meeting of men and women, citizens of Bellingham, Wash., assembled May 2, 1916, demand that the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives give an immediate favorable report to the Susan B. Anthony Federal suffrage amendment, so that our Representatives in Congress may vote upon it during the

so that our Representatives in Congress may vote upon it surely present session.

Be it further resolved, That we make this demand because we hold the administration responsible for the passage of this bill; and we urge our Representatives in the House to vote for it.

Be it fundly resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the administration leaders in the Senate and in the House, the members of the House Judiciary Committee, and the members of the Washington congressional delegation, with the request that it be read into the Congressional Record by Senator Jones and Congressman Habley.

CLINTON W. HOWARD, Chairman.

Rural Credit.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK PARK. OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Friday, May 12, 1916.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, after such time as I have been able to devote to the study of Senate bill No. 2986 and the House substitute I have reached the conclusion that this bill will not accomplish what is earnestly desired by the farmers and especially in the Southern States.

It has been ascertained by expert investigation, through the legislative committee of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union, that a farmer can not borrow money at a greater rate of interest than 5½ per cent on long-time loans and repay the principal and interest and live. If this be true, then the bill providing a rate of not over 6 per cent makes it possible that he will be charged at least one-half of 1 per cent more than he can pay. It is probably true, also, that other incidental expenses, as attorney's and appraiser's fees may increase the rate on small loans to as high as 7 per cent. In addition, the applicant must buy farm-loan bonds with \$5 out of every \$100 he obtains from the land bank.

If my analysis be not at fault, and the rate shall be 7 per cent, and he can not berrow and live on money at a rate higher than 54 per cent, then there can be little hope for the successful operation of the proposed law in the Southern States.

We have to-day the richest country in the world. more currency and funds than any other country. At the same time, all other countries that have enacted a rural-credit system are loaning their farmers money at 5 per cent and less. This bill ought not to be framed for the purpose of making the Government absolutely safe for the amount of money invested in rural-credit associations, for a time at least. There should

be some subsidy for a time to the oppressed-debtor class of farmers and tenant farmers of our country, even though the Government should lose \$5,000,000 yearly by guaranteeing payment of loans when not paid promptly by the borrowers. It appeals to me as nothing but just for the Government to pay it. if necessary, to enable those struggling under heavy burdens to establish agriculture upon a substantial basis and to make the calling of the farmer pleasant as well as profitable to him. What more inviting security is there than security based upon agricultural lands? I fall to see any substantial reason why the Government should lose a dollar by guaranteeing payment of loans and interest based upon 60 per cent valuation of agricultural lands. Should the Government guarantee the bonds based upon mortgages on farm lands, capital would be encouraged to invest in farm-loan bonds, and would tend, by underbidding, to lower the rate of interest to the farmer, and he could obtain his money, as do those in other countries, at from 3½ to 4½ per cent. On this basis he can live and thrive; but he could hardly meet the conditions imposed by a 6 per cent loan and the incidental expenses that go with it.

I shall vote reluctantly for the bill, because I am doubtful of the practical workings of it. I shall vote for it, however, for the reason that it appears to be the best we can get from Congress at this time. It may prove an entering wedge for further legislation, and I apprehend and hope that ultimately another Congress more favorably inclined to assist agriculture may amend and revise this act so that it will really be of great substantial

benefit.

There has been so much false hope in the past by the great farming class; they have been told so many times of enterprises and of legislation that were for their benefit and which proved futile, that a great mass of them view with suspicion efforts to do something for them which the offerer claims will be of benefit.

There is scarcely one person in a hundred who can take this bill, as amended, and after reading it several times, comprehend intelligently the working of the machinery proposed to be put into operation. This fact alone will arouse suspicion, and many will prefer to remain in their present state and risk financial ruin rather than embark upon an enterprise of which they know little, and for which they must depend for its operation upon strangers.

I ask the question, with all courtesy and respect, can not the great Banking and Currency Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate formulate legislation in a more liberal attitude toward the farming class that will encourage them to renewed activities and lend new hope to the millions now cast down by debt and circumstances which they can not control?

The farmers of the United States are watching with alert interest every move of this Congress for rural-credit legislation. If they fail to get what is justly due, the country will hear from them in November, and the Democratic Party will be held strictly to account for any failure toward them.

The payment by the Government, if such should become necessary, in the way of a subsidy of as much as \$10,000,000 a year to help 12,000,000 farmers to establish agriculture on a paying and profitable basis would be well invested and would return

like bread cast upon the waters.

Above all there is a class that grows poorer and poorer and more dependent every year regardless of their efforts, and that is the tenant-farmer class. Under present conditions landowners are becoming tenants and tenants are becoming sub-We should seek to provide means by which tenants may become landowners and earn a living for themselves and their families and pay their debts like other people and be in fact and deed freemen in the sense which is meant by that term.

It matters not how strong his character and his will, a man can not labor and suffer year after year, failing continuously in the results which he seeks and be contented and hold up his They are our We owe everything to the farming class. dependence in time of peace and they are the bulwark of the Nation in time of war. What the farmers desire and expect is farm loans at a low rate of interest for long periods of time. The form and method of legislation is immaterial to them. What they want and expect is results along this line and anything less will be a disappointment, and they will resent it in

November in the only practical way available.

• Mr. Speaker, there is a feature of the bill that extends hope, to my mind, which is a new departure and may mean much more than appears at first consideration of the measure. This is the establishment of bonds based on land mortgages on a commercial footing with State, municipal, railroad, steel, and other classes of bonds. I have little doubt that in the markets of the country farm-loan bonds will not only hold their own but will sur-

pass the others. If they should sell in the open market at par, or thereabouts, at a rate of interest as low as 3 or 31 per cent, then the farmer will be assured of cheaper money, and the borrowing farmer will come into his own. Investors of capital and those representing them are in favor of a high rate of interest on loans made to farmers. The borrowers—the farming class—want the lowest rate possible, and if this bill shall provide good farm-loan bonds these bonds can certainly take care of themselves in the markets of the country, and, in the end, this will be the crucial test-whether or not these bonds can compete with other commercial bonds. The farm-loan bonds, based upon a stable basis of farm lands of the country, should fluctuate scarcely at all and should and will meet and compete most successfully with all other classes of bonds on the market, which will be to the ultimate benefit and good of the farming class who need money for their farming enterprises.

The Philippines.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FINIS J. GARRETT,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 13, 1916.

Mr. GARRETT. Mr. Speaker, at a meeting of the Industrial Club of Chicago, Ill., held on Saturday evening, February 28, 1914, Hon. Jacob M. Dickinson, Secretary of War during a part of the administration of President Taft, delivered an address upon the subject of the Philippines and the relation of the United States thereto. It was a very illuminating discussion by one of the most able men of our country. During his service as Secretary of War he personally visited the Philippines and made a searching study of conditions there. He has viewed the question from every angle-studied it from every standpoint. I communicated with him recently, asking that he send me a copy of the address with permission to insert it in the Record, and I obtained leave of the House to insert it when received.

Under this leave so granted I include a letter received from Mr. Dickinson and the address referred to:

CHICAGO, May 11, 1916.

Hon. Finis J. Garrett.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Garrett: In compliance with your request received to-day, I take pleasure in inclosing herewith a copy of the address delivered by me on the 28th of February, 1914, upon the Philippines. The lapse of time has not chanced my conviction that we should free ourselves of the Philippines on the following grounds:

First. We have no right to hold them in subjection as a conquered people. Our Nation is not charged with the duty of enforcing by arms a propaganda of republican form of government.

Second. Holding them is a constant source of weakness in our international relations, as they are liable to get us into trouble and are indefensible.

fensible.

Third. They will not be any more ready for independent government in 25 or 50 years than they are new.

Yours, very truly,

J. M. Dickinson.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY THE HON. JACOB M. DICKINSON AT THE BANQUET OF THE INDUSTRIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO, CONGRESS HOTEL, CHICAGO, SATURDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 28, 1914.

I, for one, am estopped from criticism of the president's complimentary introduction, however others may feel about it. I hope, however, that it is not an obituary, because I want to live for some time, in order to prove myself a very live and loyal citizen of Chicago, and in that way, to some extent, manifest my appreciation of the distinguished honor which you are conferring upon me.

I have chosen for discussion to-night the question of the Philippines. I have had some misgivings since I took that subject, because so much has been written and so much has been said I fear that to many of you it may seem trite; and I have the more reason to entertain a misgiving, as I understand that Commissioner Worcester is also to speak on this subject next week. He is a man who has been in the Philippines from a time antedating American occupation, who knows probably more about them than any other man, who has been among the wild tribes and knows their manners and customs, and has been identified with the development of the Philippines more than any other one man, having served upon both commissions. Besides, he has written a most illuminating and instructive book, which was recently given to the public. If any are present who have read that book, I shall crave their always been maintained. It is useless in discussing this question

patience in listening to me, because much that I am to say will necessarily travel over the same ground and treat of the same

On the last night of April, 1898, I was a visitor at the house of then Justice, now Chief Justice, White, of the Supreme Court of the United States. Coming in rather late, I found him very much agitated. He said, "You met Gen. Miles as you were coming upstairs?" I said, "I met a gentleman, but did not recognize him on the stairway." "Well," he said, "it was Gen. Miles, and I am very much disturbed. He said that we haven't sufficient smokeless powder for our coast defense, and I am looking with great apprehension for some great catastrophe." I said, "Catastrophe, in what way, Mr. Justice?" "In Manila," he said. I said, "Why in Manila?" He replied, "When Dewey left here I was commiserating him that he was going so far from the seat of war. He said, 'No; you are mistaken; I will fight the first battle of the war, and will take Manila before breakfast." The next morning early I heard a tremendous rapping at my door. I thought perhaps the house was on fire and rose with great alarm. There was the justice with a paper, and he cried: "Read this paper. Dewey has just fought a battle at Manila and has destroyed the Spanish fleet." Neither of us had looked for such a quick fulfillment of that prediction.

That event launched the United States into a new sea of responsibility, weakening our national defense and introducing us into a form of provincial government which was entirely foreign to the nature of our institutions and the principles upon which our Revolution had been inaugurated and our Government had always been conducted, and from that event has sprung our greatest source of national weakness, for the holding of the Philippines will always be a national menace. They are indefensible against any strong oriental power; they have a coast line which is greater than that of our entire North American coast. It is true that we have fortified Corregidor Island, at the mouth of Manila Bay; but if we should be attacked it would be necessary for our soldiers to seek refuge there, and the contest would be fought out on the sea.

If we should there be successful, of course we could reestablish ourselves in the islands; but if we failed, then it would be only a question of time when any garrison in Corregidor would probably be overcome, for just off Corregidor Island are the Merivales Mountains, which are higher than that island, and there are points to which heavy guns could be in time transported, and they would make Corregidor entirely untenable. Their occupancy doubtless had a great influence on our incurring the expense of building the Panama Canal. It has been a potent cause for increasing our naval expenditures, strengthening our Army, and heavily fortifying and garrisoning Hawaii. Government plunged into a war with a foreign power in order to wrest Cuba from a tyrannical grasp, and establish there an independent Government, and at the same time; as a result of that war, undertaken for the purpose of freeing Cuba, we have established and maintained up to this time, against their will, by force of arms, a control over another people larger in population than that of Cuba. The Philippines are not only a purchased but a conquered people.

It has been said, in connection with our purchase of the Philippines, that we bought Louisiana, Florida, and a portion of Texas, but there is no similarity at all between those cases and the Philippines. It would have been intolerable for the people of the United States to permit any foreign power to hold the mouth of the Mississippi River; it would also have been intolerable in time, looking to the future integrity of this country, to permit the maintenance by any foreign power of a foothold in Florida. These Territories, including Texas, were contiguous to our national boundary, and were taken over with the purpose of finally incorporating them as States into our National Government. As to the Philippines, the question is entirely different. The remoteness and the differences in race make their absorption into our national life undesirable; and then we erected a perpetual bar against ourselves by declaring, from the very inception of our occupation, and always maintaining, that the Philippines are to be held for the Filipinos and for the purpose of establishing them in an independent government. We occupy the attitude of a missionary government carrying on a propaganda for establishing a republican form of government in a foreign country, and setting up and maintaing it by force of

I maintain that the American people have no mission for establishing and forcing upon another people a government against their will. It is contrary to the principles of American to inquire whether or not Admiral Dewey or any representative of our Government made a direct or indirect promise to Aguinaldo that independence would be given to that people; it is also foreign to the question whether or not the Filipinos, as has been asserted, were our allies in our contest with the Spanish forces. The fact remains, divesting it of all these considerations, that we have by force of arms set up and maintained, against the will of that people, a government which conforms to our ideas of what we think would be most appropriate for their development.

In their protest they quote from Mr. Webster, who said:

Gently as the yeke of a foreign government may rest, the happiness of a subject people is impossible.

And they say:

The Filipino people are daily more unhappy because of the incompatibility of any colonial government to make and give happiness to a subject people.

They believe that a people have a right to prefer wretchedness self-inflicted to happiness and prosperity forced upon them by a foreign nower.

I only refer to these matters incidentally and by way of historic review, and not as reasons for granting immediate independence to the Filipino people. A wrong may become so inveterate that rights pevertheless may spring up under it and the original question of right may become largely academic and subordinated to new obligations. Rights and conditions have sprung up between us and the Filipino people which obscure the discussion of the fundamental principles upon which we entered into that country. To illustrate, take the question of slavery. We all know how that was introduced into this country, how constitutional rights in respect to it were established, and how, out of it, grew a civil war which inflicted upon us the greatest woe that ever came to our Nation. It may be that, in the development of time, out of the original wrong in respect to the Filipino people, there may be an aftermath which the American people will bitterly regret.

The attitude that we have assumed toward them and the outside world has brought about obligations which must be dealt with in considering the question of independence. We often hear of our treaty obligations in a general and vague way, but, as a matter of fact, the only treaty obligations that we entered into were that Spanish ships and merchandise for a period of 10 years should be admitted into the Philippine ports upon the same conditions as American ships and merchandise, and that there should be protection of life and property. The 10-year feature of the treaty has already elapsed. The question of protection of life and property was merely a declaration of principles of international law universally recognized, and there can not grow out of that feature of the treaty any obligation upon the American people, either in respect to Spain or other nations, to maintain indefinitely their supremacy in those lands. We have encouraged investments by foreigners and our own people in that country; we have encouraged the building of railroads, the expenditure of millions of dollars; and there has been a constant, though not a very rapid, influx of foreign capital, largely based upon the conditions of stability that seemed to be assured by American occupation. In any steps that may be taken in respect to severing our relations with the Philippines we can not be disregardful of these conditions, and there must be a wise and just policy in respect to those investments whenever the time comes that we have to deal with that question. These conditions make immediate in-dependence, as demanded by the Filipinos, impossible.

dependence, as demanded by the Filipinos, impossible.

I was addressed frequently by the Filipinos in public and the cry, constantly and insistently, was that they wanted immediate independence. "Well," I would say to them, "by 'immediate' you mean right now? Do you mean you want the American people to get up and go away at once?" They would say "yes" to that. I would reply, "However insistent you may be, immediate independence is chimerical; there is no possibility of any such thing." To show how little the nature of our Covernment and the functions of its officials are appropriated. Government and the functions of its officials are comprehended, many seemed to think when I came there as Secretary of War that by virtue of that office I held in the hollow of my hand the question of immediate Philippine independence. This view

was voiced by a part of the press.

You are interested in knowing what the American people have accomplished in the Philippines in the development of the country and the preparation of the people along the lines of assuming the obligations of an independent Government, not go into details in all of these matters. The fundamental idea, as expressed by Mr. McKinley in his letter of instructions to the first commission-you will remember that there were two commissions, one appointed for the purpose of looking over the situation and making recommendations, of which Admiral Dewey

and Mr. Worcester were members, and another, headed by Mr. Taft, which organized the civil government. structions to the first commission President McKinley said:

In all the forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe the commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed, not for our satisfaction or for the expressions of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands.

From that day to this every declaration made by everyone who was authorized in any way to speak in behalf of the United States has been to the effect that the Philippines were held for the purpose of developing them in self-government and establishing them as an independent people. The present status shows that the American people have been constant, not only in their desire to fulfill, but in the execution of this purpose. trol of all the municipal governments throughout the islands. except in financial affairs, is in the hands of the Filipinos. In the Provinces the majority of the boards is elected by the people. In the insular government the executive officers are The commission, which is composed of nine members, consisted for a long time, and until recently, of four Filipinos and five Americans. I will refer to that later, because that majority has been reversed, and this has given cause for a great deal of question and alarm and criticism of the present administration. The attorney general for years has been a Filipino. The Philippine Assembly, which is the Lower House, is elected by the so-called Christian people. It has no jurisdiction over the wild tribes in the northern part of Luzon nor over the Moro Provinces, which are inhabited, with the exception of about 50.000 Filipinos, by a different race, who follow the Mohammedan faith. The justice of peace courts are filled by Filipinos. One-half of the judges of the first instance are Filipinos, and of the seven supreme court judges three are Filipinos.

The Filipinization of the service has gone steadily on. Of course at the beginning it was necessary, as the Filipinos were untrained for the administration of office, to fill almost entirely all of the offices by Americans. In 1903 there were 2.777 Americans and 2.697 Filipinos; in 1912 there were 2.680 Americans and 6.033 Filipinos, showing that it has been the constant policy, as rapidly as they fitted themselves for discharging these duties, to prefer the Filipinos over the Americans, all other things being

equal.

The effect of the American administration has been shown in the increase of exports and imports. The exports under the Spanish administration in 1894 were \$16,500,000; in 1912 it had increased to \$54.784.738. The total imports in 1899, when the Americans took charge, were \$19,000.000 in round numbers. In 1912 they were, in round numbers, \$61,000,000. The percentage from the United States increased from 7 per cent to 39 per cent. In 1909 there was partial free trade between the United States and the Philippines, and now there is entirely free trade. wrongly suppose that the civil government of the Filipinos is a burden upon the American people. The cost of the civil government is borne by the Filipinos themselves. It costs us more to maintain our Army there than it does here, and our pension rolls are constantly increased on account of disabilities incurred from service in the Tropics, but the only salaries we pay to Filipinos are those of the two resident Delegates of the Filipinos who have seats in Congress and are allowed to speak but not to vote.

When we took possession it was one of the most unhealthy countries in the world. Cholera, bubonic plague, smallpox, leprosy, and amebic diseases flourished unchecked. was spread all over the islands. Those afflicted were concealed in the houses and by their families. During the cholera of 1888 and 1889 in Manila there were 1,000 deaths a day. Now cholera has been practically eliminated, very little of it existing anywhere in the islands, and that being subject to control. smallpox had to its credit 40,000 deaths a year prior to our occupation. Last year there were only a few hundred cases in the entire islands.

In 1907 not a single death was reported from smallpox in seven Provinces, where formerly there had been approximately 6.000 deaths annually. There was no such thing as hospitals, no such thing as boards of health, and no scientific surgery and medical treatment. Now there are 300 boards of health, and in the city of Manila is one of the most advanced hospitals in the world. It is not as large, but in all its equipments and appointments it is equal to any hospital in our first-class cities. In the southern Provinces a hospital equal in character to that in Manila has been established. The bubonic plague has been completely exterminated in Manila. Formerly it was a plague spot for that disease. Not a case originating there has been reported since 1906. Great suffering has been caused by rinderpest, which affected the caribao, recently made famous by a dinner in Wash-

ington. That is the beast of burden in the islands, and the main source of all agricultural activities. The bacillus has been discovered, an effective remedy secured, and the people have been delivered from an intolerable burden. Leprosy has been warred upon to the extent that all the lepers have been assembled in one island, the island of Culion. They have been taken out of their families and secregated and of course reveal and of course reveal. their families and segregated, and of course never expect to return to their families again. The islands have been freed from the constant threat of this most loathsome disease. The condition of the sufferers has been made comfortable, and they are as happy as those condemned to exile and death can be. A great source of death was from the water supply, but under the administration of the American Government artesian wells have been dug all over the islands. In 1912 there were 680, and that has greatly reduced the death roll. There have been established training schools for nurses, who are educated up to the same standard as in this country and are sent over the islands, and are constantly alleviating the sufferings of those people. infant mortality, which was frightful, has been enormously reduced. The weather bureau is another of the practical things introduced by the American people. The constabulary, composed almost entirely of Filipinos, Moros, and some of the wild tribes, is a most efficient body. They are good soldiers and are of invaluable aid to the health department in its administrative work. The cost of maintaining a native soldier is about 10 cents a day, as compared with 50 cents a day for the American soldiers. Under the leadership of American officers, who have control of them, they are a very effective branch of the service and would be reliable in a foreign war.

Roads have been built all over the islands, some as fine as any in this country. The automobile roads there will compare favorably with automobile roads in any other part of the world. In June, 1912, there were 1,780 kilometers of first-class roads, 2,159 second-class, and 3,216 of third-class.

A postal bank has been established, which in 1912 had 35,802 depositors. There are telegraph and telephone systems. The Coast and Geodetic Survey is carrying on elaborate and useful There are telegraph and telephone systems. The work. When we took possession of those islands there were 120 miles of railroads in the island. Now there are two independent companies, and the railroad mileage has been increased so that since the American occupation 774 kilometers have been built, and there are under contract for construction 586 kilo-

Before our occupation of the islands education was poor, being done by private schools. There were no public schools. The first great step in that direction was to send 1,000 teachers there from the United States. Over 3,000,000 of children in the Philippines have had instruction in the English language. The Spanish language was never spoken to any great extent. Probably not over 10 per cent of Filipinos, at the most, spoke the Spanish language. The others spoke dialects, there being some 16 different dialects in the island of Luzon. They had no national language, no national literature, and none of those characteristics which bind people together and make them cooperate with a common purpose and a common thought of national development. Now there are 700 American teachers, 1,000 insular Filipino teachers, and 7,500 Filipino municipal

In 1902-3 there was a monthly enrollment of 150,000 pupils, and in 1911-12 there were 429,000. Thirteen trade schools are maintained. There are 3,000 school gardens and 83 school nurseries. During 1911-12 school children planted 363,183 trees.

Five school farms are operated.

Athletics have been developed in the schools, and baseball and basketball are popular. This has done a great deal for the health of the people, and has brought together in new rivalry the wild tribes which formerly only met in warfare, and is doing very much toward promoting an amicable association. There is one experiment in the Philippines which struck me

as one of the most remarkable manifestations I have ever seen, and that is on the island of Palawan, almost the extreme island in the direction of Borneo. There is a place called Iwahig, where a penal colony has been established. Those prisoners who have attained a certain degree of good conduct in the peni-tentiary in Manila are sent to the penal colony, where they have a government and administration of their own. There is a white superintendent, who guides and directs them, but with that exception the whole administration of this penal colony is under the control of the prisoners themselves. They administer punishment and control their affairs, and it is a wonderful success. You might say it is a manifestation of a capacity for self-government, but, as they got their training in a peni-tentiary, we can hardly make that illustration apply to the islands as an argument for general fitness for independence. The superintendent told me that when he rode over the island

he never carried a weapon and travels by night and day. He had three servants in his house all of whom were convicted murderers. One of them had charge of his children. The engineer of the boat we went up on was a convicted murderer.

Great constructive statesmanship and ability were exhibited by the commission presided over by Mr. Taft in establishing in a country so far from our own, so different in traditions, governmental ideas, and languages, in the midst of the chaos incident to a foreign and civil war, a government which has proceeded so consistently and specestfully along all lines of proceeded so consistently and successfully along all lines of development, and which has responded so well to the needs of that people. The time will come when the publicists will give to them the credit which is their due. In the hurly-burly of affairs and the kaleidoscopic way in which things pass before our vision, we have never stopped long enough to give to these our vision, we have never stopped long enough to give to these men the credit that is due to them for the inestimable services which they rendered. No government that I know anything about has ever been more cleanly conducted or more free from scandal. [Applause.] When I was in the Philippines, of course, it was expected that as long as I would be with the Americans and American officials, the Filipinos would hold themselves clear and that they would investigate that we come themselves aloof, and that they would imagine that my ears would only be open to American talk and American representations. To get the other side, I went to Filipino houses; I became their guest, and no Americans were present. I was at the house of Mr. Osmenya, the speaker of the house, the foremost representative of the Filipinos in their demand for independence. I was a guest, also, at the house of Mr. Legarda, one of the resident delegates. I saw privately all those who wanted to come and talk to me. They made complaints, most of them, however, of a minor character. I was careful to critically question them in regard to the integrity of the Government and the character of the administration, and I never heard a charge brought against our American administration, of any peculation in office, or any graft, or any dishonesty in government. The American people can well be proud of this illustration that they are giving to the world of their ability, at least away from home, to conduct an honest government. [Applause.] I do not think that in any State or any city of this Union there is a cleaner or more effective administration than we have given in the Philippines. We have had a very high class of men there, such men as Taft, Wright, Smith, Forbes, Worcester, Carpenter, and many others, men of great ability and integrity, who were devoted to the cause and who felt that they were consecrating themselves to the maintenance of the justice and honor of the American people. I have given you the barest epitome of what we have done and what we are doing for Philippine progress and training for self-government. There is nothing which appertains to the material, physical, economical, financial, and intellectual welfare of the people which has been neglected. Every legitimate field of governmental activity is exploited.

As to Philippine independence, there are two divergent views and a sharp line of cleavage that we must consider whenever that question is presented. All political parties of the Filipinos, no matter what they may denominate themselves, say that they want immediate independence. That is voiced in the news-papers, in public speeches, and in everything that takes on any public expression. However, if you talk to them alone, many Filipinos who have business and investments, though they will make speeches and clamor for independence, will tell you privately that when the Americans move away they want to go also, because they can foresee what will take place. will not voice those sentiments publicly. There is a great difference in the conditions which are deemed to be essential for

Philippine independence.

Mr. Taft has declared the position, we might say, of the Republican Party in regard to what is considered as necessary as foundation and what conditions precedent must be fulfilled in order that we may give the Philippines independence. In a speech which he made in Manila in 1905, Mr. Taft said:

Referring to the American people-

lieve that they have become the trustees and protectors of the whole Filipino people.

Now, I call your attention here to the distinction between the whole Filipino people and the opposing idea, which deals largely with a governing class. He proceeds:

Not alone of the 8 or 10 per cent who speak Spanish, not alone of the smaller percentage who may be described as the educated part of the people, but of the whole Christian Filipino people and of the whole non-Christian Filipino people and of the whole non-Christian Filipino people and that they can not discharge this trust without a due regard to the rights of all their wards; and that they must be especially careful to observe and protect the rights of the uneducated and the poor of their wards who by reason of circumstances are unable to speak for or protect themselves. Enfoying, as

they do, a government of free institutions, a government of liberty regulated by law, a republican form of government, resting in its last analysis upon an intelligent public opinion, they do not think that their duty to the whole Filipino people would be discharged without preparing that people to maintain a stable, popular government in which shall be secured the civil liberty of all. They do not conceive that they have the right to relieve themselves of the burden of wardship or guardianship of this whole people by attempting to assign the burden of government to a small part thereof, claiming to be the educated part of that people, however confident that educated portion may be of its ability to carry on a government for the Filipino people.

And in the same speech he said:

All that can be asserted is that the policy which has several times been authoritatively stated that this Filipino government shall be carried on solely for the benefit of the Filipino people, that self-government shall be extended to the Filipino people as rapidly as they show themselves fitted to assume and exercise it, must be pursued consistently by the people of the United States, or else they shall forfeit their benefit.

And in another speech of October 16, 1907, he said:

The avowed policy of the national administration under those two Presidents (McKinley and Roosevelt) has been and is to govern the islands, having regard to the interest and welfare of the Filiplino people, and, by the spread of general primary and industrial education and by practice in partial political control, to fit the people themselves to maintain a stable and well-ordered government, affording equality of right and opportunity to all citizens. The policy looks to the improvement of the people, both industrially and in self-governing capacity.

Now, you see that the idea expressed there is that we have imposed upon ourselves the obligation to train and fit these people so that they can have a government, not by a ruling class, but, as expressed by Mr. Lincoln, "of the people, by the people, and for the people." That necessarily means, of course, a government which is democratic, with equal protection of all. Whether we shall continue the policy that has prevailed and sustain by arms a government for training them to maintain a government essentially like ours is, of course, a question upon which the American people may change their minds. When we consider how graft is being exposed in New York and various other parts of the country, we may not be so sure of the excellence of our Government. There have been great changes in recent times.

The ideas of many of our people as to our form of government have been seriously unsettled. Old traditions have lost much of their charm; the old-time respect has faded away; the reverence for our forefathers, the founders of the Constitution, those great men who established and maintained this Government, have almost become a matter of reminiscence. The attacks and innovations that are being made on our form of government, upon the judiciary, which we have hitherto regarded as the most stable bulwark of government, may raise a very serious question as to whether we are so much enamored of our own form of government as to feel it is best to force it upon other people. Some are even beginning to doubt our own capacity for self-government. Views widely divergent from those expressed by Mr. Taft have been attributed to Mr. Bryan, who has always manifested great concern for Philippine independence. Whether or not he maintains the same ideas now I do not know. He has come to public office, and, with the assumption of office, of course, come responsibilities; and when a man has to act, and not merely criticize, he not only has a right, but it is his duty, to reform his point of view if his judgment dictates it. The view credited to Mr. Bryan is as follows:

There is a wide difference, it is true, between the general intelligence of the educated Filipino and the laborer on the street and in the field, but this is not a barrier to self-government. Intelligence controls in every government, except where it is suppressed by military force. Nine-tenths of the Japanese have no part in the law making. In Mexico the gap between the educated classes and the peons is fully as great as, if not greater, than the gap between the extremes of Filipino society. Those who question the capacity of the Filipinos for self-government forget that patriotism raises up persons fitted for the work that needs to be done.

It would be interesting to know what Mr. Bryan now thinks of government by Mexicans.

Now, if that work that needs to be done is to be founded on the governmental conception that there must be a governable class and a class ready and willing to govern, then it is, of course, the very antithesis of the idea expressed by Mr. Taft, and is essentially the Filipino idea upon the subject of independence and self-government.

When the congressional committee went out to the Philippines, in an address delivered to them, a prominent Filipino said:

If the Philippine Archipelago has a governable popular mass called upon to obey and a directing class charged with the duty of governing, it is in condition to govern itself. These factors, not counting incidental ones, are the only two by which to determine the political capacity of a country; an entity that knows how to govern, the directing class, and an entity that knows how to obey, the popular

There you have, at least so far as it seems now manifest, the fundamental difference between the theories as to Filipino independence.

Mr. Jones, chairman of the Insular Committee, a very sincere and earnest man, introduced a bill, as you are aware, in Congress, which provided for establishing the republic in 1913that time has passed-and independence in 1920. Anyone informed as to the Filipino people and the conditions there knows that to carry out any plan such as is involved in the Jones bill is an impossibility if the principles enunciated by Mr. Taft are to be regarded, and that to establish Philippine independence within any period approximating that named by the Jones bill means that it can only be established on the theory that there is an ignorant governable class and that there is a smaller class willing and capable to govern. If those are the essentials that are going to be accepted as the basis of Philippine independence, then we can as well grant it now, because that condition exists and has always existed, and, really, it was more ideal in the beginning than it is now, because the more we educate them the more we diminish that governable class, without enlarging in the same proportion the class capable of governing.

Mr. Wilson, before he became President of the United States when he was writing theoretically on constitutional government, said :

ment, said:

Self-government is not a mere form of institutions, to be had when desired, if only proper ways be taken; it is a form of character. It follows upon long discipline, which gives a people self-possession, self-mastery, the habit of order and peace and common counsel, and a reverence for law which will not fall when they themselves become the makers of law—the steadiness and self-control of political maturity. And these things can not be had without long discipline. The distinction is of vital concern to us in respect of practical choices of policy, which we must make and make very soon. We have dependencies to deal with, and must deal with them in the true split of our own institutions. We can give the Filipho constitutional government, a government which they may count upon to be just, a government, a government which they may count upon to be just, a government based upon some clear and equitable understanding, intended for their good and not for our aggrandizement; but we must ourselves for the present supply that government. * * * But we can not give them self-government. Self-government is not a thing that can be "given" to any people, because it is a form of character and not a form of constitution. No people can be "given" the self-control of maturity. Only a long apprenticeship of obedience can secure them the precious possession, a thing no more to be bought than given. They can not be presented with the character of a community; but it may confidently be hoped that they will become a community under the wholesome and salutary influences of just laws and a sympathetic administration; that they will after a while understand and master themselves, if in the meantime they are understood and served in good conscience by those set over them in authority. We, of all people in the world, should know those things and should act upon them, if only to illustrate the mastery in politics which belongs to us of hereditary right. To ignore them would be not only to fall, and fail miserably, but to fall r

The principles here expounded are more in harmony with

The Principles here expounded are more in harmony with the Taft than with the Bryan theory.

The Nationalist Party, the party in power, the party which has control of the legislation, in every sense the dominant party there, in a memorial to our Government on September 1, 1910, based its demand for immediate independence upon the claim that the Filipino people are endowed with those conditions necessary to establish and maintain a stable government—law and order. To prove their case they said that they had a government under Aguinaldo, which demonstrated their power and ability to administer affairs. Well, to deal with that, it is only necessary to say that there never was within the same period of time a government which showed a greater disposition to despotism, tyranny, and bloodshed that administered by Aguinaldo, and so far as demonstrating in any sense their fitness for self-government, it all points in the opposite direction. They cited as their next proof for their claim that they had shown within recent years their ability to administer government. Of course, everything that they have shown in recent years has been under the direction and control of able American executives and under the close touch which has been held upon every movement by our representatives there. So there has been no demonstration and no opportunity, I might say, for them to demonstrate within that period their ability for self-government.

If the fitness of the Filipinos be tested by the principles laid down by Mr. Wilson, or by the doctrine enunciated by the Republican Party, under which possession was taken and by which they have been controlled up to a year ago, there is absolutely no question that there can be no consent to their demand for

immediate independence or independence in the near future.

There is no homogeneity among them. The leading people in control in business and politics are of a mixed race and are called "Mestizos"—that is, a result of mingling of another race with Filipinos. The most aggressive, assertive, and able men in the Philippines are the Chinese mestizos, a people who have no national feeling and no national character. There is no general

adhesiveness among the people and no common language. There is general illiteracy. In 1912 about 70 per cent of the voters in the Provinces were illiterate. Only a small per cent speak Spanish. Now more speak English than ever spoke Spanish, but the dialects still prevail. Gov. Gilbert stated that in one case it was necessary to have interpreters for seven languages. In one indictment against seven men the indictment had to be read in four different languages in order that the case might be proceeded with. Of course, the basis of any national life is a common language, and in nothing have we taken a greater step toward laying the foundation for Filipino independence than in establishing the English schools all over the islands and in giving them the opportunity to acquire this necessary prerequisite, It is very probable that in 20 or 30 years English will be generally spoken. They have no common literature, no common poetry, none of those essential characteristics which bind people together in one national life, one national purpose, and one national aspiration.

I was talking to a distinguished Filipino and discussing the question of independence, and I said:

question of independence, and I said:

The essential difference between your people and the people of the United States is this: You have been brought up under an oligarchy; your people have been accustomed to despotic rule; the masses of the people have had no thought of and no training in self-government. In America, if you were to annihilate in any State of the Union, through some catastrophe, or in some other way, every officeholder in that State, that State government would go on the next day, or in a few days, essentially the same, without any fundamental change. There might be some places better filled and some not so well filled, but the thought of government which is ingrained in the Angle-Saxon people will find expression in that way. And if they were shipwrecked on an island it would not be 24 hours, if they expected to stay there long, before there would be a government based on equal pretection of all and self-denial of the individual for the public good.

In my report to the President after my rejurn from the

In my report to the President, after my return from the Philippines, I said:

In my report to the President, after my return from the Philippines, I said:

There are very many highly educated Filipinos, many men of talent, ability, and brilliancy, but the percentage, in comparison with those who are wholly untrained in an understanding of and the exercise of political rights under a republican form of government, is so smali, and under the best and most rapid development possible under existing conditions will for a long period continue so smali, that it is a delusion, if the present policy of control of the islands by the American people shall continue, to encourage the Filipino people in the hope that the administration of the islands will be turned over to them within the time of the present generation. The only inhabitants of the islands that are making any marked progress in preparation for self-government are the Filipinos proper, and, as stated, but a small percentage of these are sufficiently educated to understand and administre republican institutions. The masses of them have no knowledge or conception of self-government, take no real interest in, and have no knowledge of general administration, and are under the control of leaders whose will is practically their law.

Caciquism, that is, local "bossism," is just as potential now as ever. A keen interest is manifested in education, and the people cheerfully submit to the burden of taxation imposed, both for general education and for manual training. It can not, however, be accepted that mere education in schools will give that training to a people which is necessary for sustaining the fabric of a constitutional government. The Filipino people proper present the most encouraging phase of the question. They constitute about 91 per cent of the entire population of the islands. Of the remaining population, about 40 per cent are wild tribes who inhabit northern Luzon. These people have absolutely no conception of government except that of force, to which, if justly administered, they cheerfully submit. Until recently many of them we

the administration of self-government. Certainly no such transformation can be expected, under the most favorable conditions, within a century.

If the withdrawal by the United States from the administration of political affairs of the Filipinos shall be postponed until these people are fit for participation in self-government, then the time therefor will necessarily be in the very remote future, if it shall ever arrive.

My judgment is that, if the masses of the Filipino people shall attain to that degree of fitness that will warrant the turning over to them of political autonomy, they can be intrusted to take over the control of these wild tribes, and that the realization of their own political independence should not be substantially retarded by having their political fate linked with people so backward and comparatively so small in number, inhabiting the same island with them.

The More Province presents greater difficulty. There are about 500,000 Moros and pagans living in the area confined geographically to the Sulu Group, the Lake Lanao Basin, the Rio Grande Valley, and inhabiting numerous points near the mouths of small rivers and in protected bays along the coast line of the Zamboanga Peninsula and the southern coast of Mindanao, reaching to the Gulf of Davao. In this area, principally in the vicinity of Zamboanga and Dapitan, with small villages at Higan, Jolo, Cotabsto, Davao, Caraga, Baganga, and Cateel, there are about 50,000 Christian Filipinos, many of whom have gone there in recent years. The Moros are Mohammedans, and are firmly fixed in their religious belief. They are warlike, manly, independent, and have a strong hostility for the Filipinos. They have no conception of a republican form of government. The only government which they know is autocratic. They are peaceful now, because they have been subjected to military power and are controlled with firmness and justice, which they appreciate.

The main province of our Army among the Moros is merely to keep the peace among them. They would have

erected, it is certain that it would be but a short time before they would be taken by some other nation, unless the United States should extend its protectorate over them.

I have had no reason to modify these views.

Absolute and immediate independence would mean the subjection of the great mass to a rule of the few, or it would mean anarchy or civil war; perhaps an intermingling of all three. In any event, they would fall an easy prey, if independence were established and we withdrew all connection, to some oriental

There is no use of the American people entertaining the idea that is being promulgated of the fitness of the Filipinos for selfgovernment now, or at any time within a generation. If absolute independence shall be given within any period approximating that contemplated by the Jones bill, then the American people need not delude themselves, but might as well look the question squarely in the face and expect the consequences, which will be anarchy, civil war, oppression, retrogression, and falling into the hands of some foreign power. [Applause.]

There are four ways to treat this question. One is to set them up in independence in the near future, and cut ourselves loose from them and from all responsibility to them and to the outside world. This, if done, must be with the full knowledge that what I have just stated will inevitably take place. Another is independence in the near future under our protectorate. That would mean that we would withdraw the controlling hand and turn them loose to experimenting in government. That would be the height of folly. If we are going to be responsible for the Filipino, let us have no protectorate, but let us continue in the surest and most economical way and hold the control until we are ready to part with them, and then part with them for good, without any responsibility to or for them. Our present experiences with Mexico are a sufficient lesson in international responsibility without effective control. Another is, that we should invite foreign powers to guarantee the autonomy of that people, and then we should set them up in government and withdraw. What basis have we on which to appeal to foreign powers, to ask them to help us let the bear loose that we took and are holding? It is our problem, not theirs; it is not their affair. What reason is there why they should come and help us to guarantee the autonomy of these people in a governmental experiment? They guarantee the autonomy of Switzerland, Belgium, and other countries where there are questions involved which affect their international relations, or national life, but they have no interest in the Philippines which would lead them to come and take the burden off of our shoulders

The fourth way is to continue complete control indefinitely until the Filipinos shall satisfy the conditions as contemplated under the Taft theory. In my judgment, that would continue for half a century, and probably very much longer. I favor parting with them absolutely at the earliest time that it can

be done consistently with our national dignity.

A great deal of alarm has been expressed about recent changes that have been made in the Philippines. These changes have not been so radical as some think, and the policy declared is in nowise different from that which has been generally declared hitherto. In his address, when he went there recently, Gov. Gen. Harrison, who said he spoke by the instruction of the President, said:

We regard ourselves as trustees, acting not for the advantage of e United States but for the benefit of the people of the Philippine

That is in exact accord with everything that has been said and with every idea expressed by the American people up to the present time. He continued:

Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate inde-pendence of the islands and as a preparation for their independence.

There is nothing new in that at all. It is in no sense a departure from the uniform and constant declarations that have always been made. He further said:

And we hope to move toward that end as rapidly as the safety and the permanent interests of the islands will permit.

That is entirely consistent with all that has hitherto been said. He also said:

After each step taken, experience will guide us to the next. The administration will take one step at once.

The administration did take a step which, in my judgment, would seem to be unwise. At the same time, those who hold a different view in regard to the government of the Philippines and who have the responsibility are justified in making experiments. They have changed the majority of the commission, which formerly consisted of five Americans and four Filipinos, so as to make it five Filipinos and four Americans. With one exception the old commission was entirely superseded. Men who had been there for years, who were familiar with all the

details of administration there, have been changed for men of less experience. Mr. Worcester, who, as I stated before, was there long before our occupancy, has given way to Mr. Dennison, who is entirely unacquainted with the Philippines and inexperienced in matters there. He is a man of character and ability and in time, no doubt, will prove a good administrator. It is a risk, as we all know, to make many changes at one time, but we have the same thing in our changes of administration, and there is no reason why we should shrink from an experiment of that sort with another people, when we go through it constantly with the changes of our political parties in this

The Moro Provinces that were formerly under a military governor have been turned over to a civil governor, Frank W. Carpenter. He is a man of high character and great experience in the Philippines. He was attacked by Mr. Martin of Colorado in regard to the Friar lands, but Congress examined into the matter and became convinced that the charges were groundless. This change from a military to a civil governor

was recommended by Gov. Forbes and Gen. Pershing.

The leading thought to be borne in mind is that the Filipino people are constantly insistent in their demands for immediate independence. There has been a large following in this country of that idea. One of the chief exponents of that idea has been Mr. Jones, who is chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs. If the Filipinos vindicate by this experiment their claim to progress, we ought all to hall it with great delight. If, on the other hand, it shall be demonstrated that the step was taken unwisely, it is not beyond recall, and we still have the same control and mastery there and can retrace our steps. Therefore I do not view, as some do, with alarm these recent changes. The party in power ought to have the courage of their convictions. If they believe that the Filipinos have been developed to a point that justifies this experiment, they ought to make the experiment. There is a difference of conviction of the courage of the course of the cour make the experiment. There is a difference of opinions as to that, just as there is on the question of the tariff. There has been a controversy in this country going on for a long time as to the tariff and the effect of the tariff. When Mr. Wilson became President he put into effect at once his views in regard to the tariff, and demonstration will probably be given within his administration as to whether it is wise or unwise, and then it will be for the American people to say whether or not the experiment has been justified.

There can be no great hazard in so testing the situation, and while, as I have stated, I think that the experiment is unwise, yet I do not view with the least alarm the changes that have been made, especially in view of the fact that there has been no essential change upon the question of policy as announced

by the President.

Now, gentlemen, I know I have been making a rather desultory speech on a good many topics, and I throw myself upon your kind consideration if I have taxed your patience too long. [Applause.]

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM B. McKINLEY, OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 13, 1916.

Mr. McKINLEY. Mr. Speaker, in 1915 four Southern States paid into the United States Treasury less than \$1,000,000 income taxes. At the same time the State of Illinois and three other Northern States paid into the Treasury over \$42,000,000 of income tax, or about fifty times as much as the amount paid by four Southern States.

The Democratic tariff bill is framed upon the same principle of taxing the North for the benefit of the South. Corn is permitted to come into the country free of duty and rice and bacco are protected. The bill now under discussion should be called "a bill to collect money from the farmers and business men of Illinois and Northern States to loan, through the Government, to cotton planters of the South." This is the exact effect of the bill if it becomes a law. The Illinois farmer now borrows money at 5 per cent and a small commission, therefore this bill, with its provision to loan at 6 per cent, will be of no benefit to the Illinois farmer.

This bill provides that 12 loan banks shall be distributed over the United States, the capital of each to be not less than three-

fourths of a million dollars, this money to be provided by the Government without interest in case private capital is not subscribed. The board to select the location for these banks is to be named by President Wilson, if this bill now becomes a law. Does anyone doubt that he will name two Democrats out of the three members of this board? The members serve for three years, six years, and nine years, respectively. Does anyone doubt that the six-year and nine-year terms will be given to Democrats, and by the terms of their service they will have control of the management of the land banks over the next four years of Republican administration? We all know what that means. The chairmanship of every important committee of the House of Representatives is now held by a southerner, with the exception of one-all worthy men with the interests of the South at

When the locations for the 12 loan banks are selected, does

any one doubt the South will be liberally supplied?

Many of our southern friends on this floor, during the discussion of this bill, have told us that the private capital of the South is loaned at from 8 per cent to 20 per cent per year. That makes it plain that southern money will not be subscribed for stock in the loan banks located in the South and that the United States Government will be compelled to provide the cash to loan to southern farmers.

This means that the farmers and business men of Illinois and the North must pay in this money in the shape of taxes, as they now do under the present income tax and tariff laws.

Another appropriate title for this bill is to call it a bill to provide \$10,000,000 in salaries per year to be paid out of the United States Treasury to deserving Democrats.

The bill expressly provides that the appointments under this law shall not be under the civil service. It permits the board appointed by President Wilson to appoint an unlimited number of examiners over the United States at an unlimited salary. This money to be paid out of the Treasury of the United States

and not charged up to the borrower.

There are in Illinois 101 counties. It would not be unreasonable to appoint one examiner for each county, and a salary of \$2,500 per years would seem about right to the deserving Democrat seeking same. There are 48 States in the Union. What an elegant political machine. No wonder, Mr. Speaker, that the Democratic majority in the House promptly voted down an amendment offered by the Republicans to put under civil service these men and thousands of other positions provided for in this bill.

I repeat that it is a bill to build up a huge army of Democratic officeholders and a sectional bill to furnish money to the

South at the expense of the North,

Agriculture Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

HON. EDWARD W. SAUNDERS, OF VIRGINIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 21, 1916.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12717) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Mr. Chairman, this matter of securing an adequate supply of potash and nitrates is one of such interest to the farmers, that so far from objecting to the sum proposed to be expended, we ought to be willing to expend a far greater

amount in order to secure the results contemplated.

The present war has exemplified in the most striking fashion, the dependence of American agriculture upon foreign countries for two essential fertilizers. Nitrates come almost entirely from Chile, while Germany supplies the world with potash. value of our importations of these fertilizing materials, prior to 1914, amounted to over \$30,000,000 a year. As a result of war conditions, the prices of fertilizers containing these elements have materially advanced, thereby placing new burdens upon the American farmers. Potash is a necessary constituent of every wheat, corn, oats, potato, and tobacco fertilizer, particularly of the latter. Over 55,000,000 sacks of fertilizer are sold each year in the United States, and each sack must carry a printed guaranty of the percentage of potash which it contains. Having in mind that for the present it holds a practical monopoly of the world's supply of potash, the German Government, with a view te the conservation of this great national asset, regulates and controls the production and sale of the products of the mines from which potash is derived. It is estimated that the potash content of the German deposits are sufficient for the world's consumption, at the present rate of use, for over 500,000 years. These mines were accidentally discovered in an effort to increase the output of salt in the Strassfurt region. In the pursuit of this effort to reach the main body of rock salt, it was ascertained that this deposit was overlaid by a stratum containing large quantities of potassium, and magnesium salts, regarded at the time as worthless.

About 1870, the value of potash salts as a fertilizer, was discovered, and from that time forward, these salts have been the most valuable product of the Strassfurt mines. potash is imperative wherever the use of fertilizers, and of intensive agricultural methods, are in vogue. It is an interesting and striking fact that one-fifth of the entire potash output of the German mines, and more than one-half of the amount heretofore exported, has come to this country. The deposits of Alsace alone are estimated to contain in terms of pure potash, three hundred millions of tons, a veritable treasure house for the German Empire. At the prices of a few years ago, this deposit was worth over thirteen billions of dollars. Of course, based upon the present prices, this value would be much greater. While there are other salt mines in the world, containing workable amounts of potash, they do not appreciably affect the world's supply, or furnish any potash to the United States.

Under present conditions, the dependence of this country upon a foreign source of supply for an essential fertilizer ingredient is absolute, and for the time being, unescapable. This situation is highly unsatisfactory, and while we are engaged in activities in many directions of little interest to the American farmers, we should seriously undertake, in the manner proposed by the Lever amendment, the task of ascertaining and providing, if possible, a source of domestic supply of an element so essential to the successful, and profitable prosecution of American agriculture. This will materially increase our capacities for self-support, and tend to establish our ultimate agricultural

independence.

The following figures will furnish an interesting exhibit of the value of our importations from Germany of kainit, and potash in various forms. During the year ending June 30, 1913, this country imported over 900,000 tons of these materials, valued at something like \$13,000,000. These imports have been increasing from year to year, as an inevitable feature of the development of intensive agriculture in the United States. cessation of potash supplies from the German source, due to the outbreak and progress of the present European war, has caused a material advance in the prices of all fertilizers containing this element, and imposed a serious burden upon our farmers, due to the fact that it has been found impossible to secure from any other source, to a measureable extent, an equivalent of these salts. While it has long been patent that this country should not be dependent upon another nation for its supply of a necessity, it required the outbreak of the war to render the situation acute, and to emphasize the necessity of ascertaining without further delay, whether the United States can secure from domestic sources a sufficient supply of cheap potash for our present and prospective agricultural necessities. Altogether apart from the disadvantages and inconveniences arising from the fact that the potash mines of Germany are the property of an alien nation, there is another distinct feature of danger in the present situation. These mines are subject to invasion by water, and from time to time, considerable areas have been flooded, thereby destroying the potash contents of the sections thus overflowed. It is altogether possible that these flooded areas may in time become so extensive, that the value of the mines would be substantially impaired. Hence this country, for the present, is not only dependent upon a foreign country for an essential element of modern agriculture, but it is dependent upon a source of supply that may at any time largely

disappear, to the great distress and loss of our farmers.

Having this situation in mind, prudence would suggest that the experiments heretofore conducted to ascertain American sources of supply of potash salts, should be prosecuted more diligently than ever, and that the Agricultural Department and the Geological Bureau of the United States be supplied with whatever means may be necessary to carry these investigations, if possible, to a successful conclusion. A number of potential sources of potash have heretofore been investigated, and various salines of the United States have been analyzed, to ascertain the presence of potassium salts to a commercial extent. Enough has been done to afford a reasonable hope that the commercial production of potash salts from American sources is in sight.

The most immediately available and extensive source of supply, appears to be the giant kelps, a form of seaweed that abounds on the Pacific coast. Three varieties of these kelps not only show a high potash content, but grow in the most luxuriant fashion in open water where they can be easily harvested. Careful investigations have been made of the extent of these kelp fields, of the waters in which they grow, of the facilities with which they may be harvested, and of the number of cuttings that may be made in the course of a year. The results obtained on this line have been highly satisfactory, the investigations establishing a large area and tonnage of available kelp on the Pacific coast, from Cedros Island to and including western Alaska. This area contains about 390 square miles, capable of producing two cuttings a year that will yield at least 59,000,000 tons of fresh kelp, equivalent to over 2,000,000 tons of potassium chloride.

A year or two ago the total imports of potash salts of all kinds, amounted to about 1,000,000 tons, equivalent to about 400,000 tons of pure potash chloride. Hence it will be seen that the "kelps of our Pacific coast are capable perennially of an annual output of potassium chloride, about six times the equivalent of the potassium salts now imported into the United States." There is no question either of the existence, and extent of these kelp beds, or of the facility with which the growth may be harvested, or of the existence, and value of their potash content. In addition to the inquiry to ascertain the potential potash in these kelp fields, much actual experimental work has been in progress during the last 12 months in California, Utah, and other States, looking to the recovery of potash from alunite, and other minerals, and as a by-product in the manufacture of Portland cement.

Various silicate rocks, such as feldspar, lucite, green sand, and mica sericite, have been investigated for the recovery of potash, with encouraging results. The value of the potash salts produced from domestic sources in the year 1915, amounted to something like \$350,000. Our importations of refined potash salts for 1915 were about 25 per cent of those for 1913, the last year of normal importation, showing the great decline in the use of potash in this country due to the rigorous blockade of the Ger-

man ports.

What then is the plain duty of Congress, confronted with the foregoing facts? The question answers itself. Successful agriculture is the foundation of national prosperity, and successful agriculture is dependent upon adequate supplies of nitrates, and potash. Confronted with a crisis in respect to potash, and an acute situation in the production of the crops peculiarly dependent upon potash, Congress should direct every energy, backed by whatever sums that may be needed, toward the development of the domestic production of this material. But the production of potash from kelps has not progressed to a sufficient extent to put it upon an ascertained commercial basis. In the discharge of its duty to our farmers this Government should establish all needed plants, and conduct operations on a sufficiently extensive scale, to place this industry on an established footing of industrial production.

We can not afford to wait upon the venture of private capital into this field, for private capital will naturally turn to investments where profit is assured, and be a little wary of enterprises which, until the details of operation and commercial exploitation are satisfactorily worked out, may fall far short, for the time being, of being profitable. But once sufficient investigation, and experimentation by the Federal Government shall have ascertained all the essential commercial and other factors in the recovery of potash from kelp, and illustrated in actual operations, both the most approved methods of extraction, and the profits possible in the venture, private capital will be forthcoming in abundant measure, to maintain this enterprise on an enlarged scale of permanent utility. Whatever may be reasonably needed to enable the Agricultural and other departments to conduct the necessary inquiries in this field, should be afforded by this House in generous and unstinted measure.

But the Government activities have not been restricted to the investigation of the Pacific kelp fields, in their pursuit of potash. For some little while past, the Geological Survey has conducted interesting explorations for potash-salt deposits in the desert regions of the West. Having in mind the manner in which the German potash deposits were formed, the Geological Survey should be afforded ample means to enlarge and continue these explorations, and discover the domestic beds that in reason are known to exist. Geologists advise us that thousands of years ago the German deposits were formed through the gradual evaporation of vast areas of sea water which had become landlocked. Of course this process required untold ages. But finally the potash in these segregated sea

waters was deposited in a vast stratum which later was overlaid by strata of clay, and other sediments. The same geologists tell us that ages ago vast areas in the western portion of the United States were covered by the ocean. In time, as the land rose, immense salt-water lakes were formed, and with the evaporation of the water in these lakes, potash beds must have been formed in the same manner that they were formed in Germany. Like conditions cause like results. Hence it is a matter beyond controversy that somewhere within the desert regions of continental United States, there are vast deposits of potash. It should be our task to locate these deposits, and through deep borings ascertain their whereabouts. A mere fraction, a negligible fragment, one might say, of the money that is expended in directions of questionable value, would suffice in the hands of scientific investigators to locate this immense potential wealth.

Under the stimulus of present necessity it is to be hoped that this important work will be pressed with the same vigor with which the Government built the Panama Canal, and is now engaged in the construction of railways in Alaska. Whatever may be said of the possible returns from these enterprises, they will be definitely short of the benefits that would be secured for the present needs of the farmers of the United States, and for the development of agriculture in ages to come in this country, by the discovery of these beds of long-hidden wealth. In the hands of the Geological Survey this investigation would be conducted with the precision of a scientific inquiry, and with practical certainty of success. Once unlock the doors of this subterranean treasure vault, and German supremacy in the potash fields will be effectually challenged. An appropriation of half a million dollars, sufficient to put in the field a half dozen deep drilling outfits, would be a wise investment. Who can doubt, in view of the conditions which have been ascertained with scientific accuracy, that the success of this inquiry, rich as it is in the promise of benefits for the farmers, will be assured, provided Congress affords the money required for the successful prosecution of the enterprise. We have been content to appropriate niggardly sums for the farmers, while talking in terms of millions on the subject of battleships, and armies. Five hundred thousand dollars is one-fortieth of the cost of a modern superdreadnaught. Is this an extravagant sum to appropriate in aid of better farming along a line in which our farmers are so vitally concerned? A judicious expenditure in this direction a few years ago, would have averted the present burdens upon agriculture, due to the advancing prices of every brand of fertilizer of which potash is an essential ingredient. The present condition should not be allowed to recur, when the remedy is within our own hands.

Our dependence upon Chili for nitrates, is no less complete than our dependence upon Germany for potash. Scientific investigators have pointed out that agricultural bankruptcy is threatening the United States on account of the failure on the part of the Government, and of business capital, to provide the necessary elements for refertilizing the soil. These elements are fixed nitrogen, potash, and phosphates. I have discussed in detail the conditions as to potash and suggested the methods to be pursued to provide a domestic supply of this material on an increasing scale. The domestic supply of phosphates is abundant, and available, while free nitrogen by appropriate processes may be drawn from the atmosphere to an unlimited extent. The computation has been made that there is enough nitrogen in 1 cubic mile of air, to furnish the raw material to satisfy our demands for 50 years to come, at our present rate of con-sumption. Right at hand then is an inexhaustible source of supply, provided that the fixation of nitrogen is commercially possible. At this time the militarists are concerned with the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen in a commercial form, use as a source of nitric acid, an indispensable element in the manufacture of military explosives. But the demands of agriculture are far more imperative, and worthy of our attention, than the efforts to make this enterprise a purely military proposition. The necessity for this development in aid of our farming interests should excite our greatest concern. Only one thing appears to be essential for the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen, and that is an abundant supply of cheap hydroelectric

Abroad there are many plants, particularly in Norway, that furnish daily evidence in their successful operation that nitrogen may be secured from the atmosphere at commercial rates. So far as I am aware, there is only one plant of this character on this continent, the American Cyanamid Co., on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls. Last year this plant turned out 64,000 tons of lime nitrogen.

"This process consists of bringing pure nitrogen gas from the air into contact with calcium carbide, heated to a great heat in the electric furnace. At this temperature the nitrogen enters

into combination with the calcium, forming lime nitrogen, or cyanamid. The product contains from 16 to 18 per cent of available nitrogen, and in its first form is a very valuable fertilizer."

The paragraph just cited describes the process developed by scientific investigation for the artificial production of nitrogenous fertilizer. The one essential thing for the industrial production of nitrate, that is, nitrate that can be sold in competition with the nitrate from Chile, is cheap and abundant water power, and if there is any one form of power in which this country abounds, it is water power, ready and waiting to be harnessed. There are many available sites that may be segregated from the public domain, removed from public entry, and designated as power sites for the express purpose of producing nitrogen from the air, both for military, and agricultural purposes.

The advocates of military preparedness seem to think that It is good business to establish these plants for the sole purpose of making war material, but oppose strenuous objections to the use of the same plants to supply a great agricultural need. I have no objection whatever to a Government plant, to secure nitric acid for use in making the high explosives required by modern war. I have no more objection to the establishment of a plant to this end, than I have to a Government cannon factory, or powder mill, or armor plant. The needs of Government in this direction, should be supplied by Government enterprise, in order that the country may be freed from the exactions of private greed, but I can not agree that the Government operation of our water powers should be limited to the exclusive production of materials for military use. Public funds may be applied to advantage in many other directions than in this eternal preparation for problematic, unlikely and chimerical wars. There are other and greater interests to be conserved, and other considerations of public welfare to be regarded, in the construction of Government plants designed to make available the resources of nature, and to draw therefrom the rich treasures which belong to the man, or the nation which has the key to her secrets. Why should a great power plant that is capable of supplying our military needs on half-time service, remain idle for the other half of its time, simply because some one suggests that it is a form of socialism for a Government plant to use its surplus power in aid of our farmers, by producing an essential ingredient of modern agriculture?

We should develop our natural resources to the limit, and the Government should aid in that development, in order to put our lands in that condition which will afford the largest return of good to the people of the United States. That is a form of preparedness that appeals to me. If it is insisted that we must have soldiers, and sailors, then these soldiers and sailors must be fed, and whatever increases the productivity of our lands, will increase our resources for the maintenance of these prospective armies. This will be preparedness in its highest and most beneficial form. To-day millions are being expended in the way of irrigation, that is putting water upon dry lands, and making those otherwise barren areas yield a rich return of foodstuffs. This use of a national resource is considered fully justified, and well within the proper functions of Government. Why not harness another portion of the public waters, and produce at reasonable cost a fertilizer which is selling to-day at \$70 or \$80 a ton, every dollar of this increase over normal prices, constituting a charge upon an industry which is the least profitable, and the most important of all the great industries of our country? The men who object to this enterprise insist that a Government power plant for the purpose of making nitric acid for high explosives may be justified, but that the use of a portion of this power for the extraction of fertilizer from the air, will create unfair competition between the Government, and private enterprise. What is the proper test to determine whether this Government should enter upon a constitutional enterprise designed for the public good? The answer is obvious, namely, the greatest good for the greatest number.

vious, namely, the greatest good for the greatest number.

If greedy combinations of capitalists take advantage of the Government for the production of the materials that the Government requires, it seems to be agreed that Government enterprises may be justly set on foot to break the thrall of these combinations. This has been effectually done in the matter of powder. A few years ago powder was selling at a dollar a pound. The United States went into the powder business on an extensive scale, through its own plants. To-day the selling price of powder is 50 cents a pound. I do not care what may be the critical epithets that will be showered upon the proposition that the Government should use the public waters on our public lands, or available sites elsewhere, to increase the riches of our country by enabling our farmers to develop their farms, and raise more abundant crops. Such attacks should not hinder us from doing our plain duty. This is our opportunity to aid the farmers of our

country in a material way; to aid agriculture in every section of the United States, at a moderate expense; to do something worth while for the development of our farm lands, and to do it in the exercise of our constitutional powers. Why should we build a power plant, merely to make high explosives, and to that end operate the plant for a portion of the year, when it may be run for every minute, of every day of the year, deriving from the atmosphere an element which is required for the full development of our farms, and fields? If the farmers of the country may be protected through the proper utilization of Government property against oppressive prices, why is not this a rational, and satisfactory form of preparedness?

If this great work can be done successfully in Germany, or in Norway, shall we concede the inferiority of our scientists to the scientists of other countries, and admit that with the greatest natural resources in the world, we are unable to turn those

resources to the fullest account?

I believe that our people can do whatever they have a mind to do, that this country can achieve results fully equal to those secured in any quarter of the globe. I believe that if we resolve to strike a blow for independence of foreign domination, and determine that with our own agencies, and within our own domain, we will secure for our people the things of essential interest, success will be ours. If Norway and Germany can turn air and water to account, why not the United States? Is there a country in the world that is richer in water power than the United States, and if this be so, is it not a prodigal waste of our resources, to allow our great rivers to rush unharnessed to the sea, when in the proper exercise of our duty to the public, we may make this potential wealth actual, and by adequate appropriations set in motion the wheels that will continually pour rich treasures into the lap of waiting agriculture.

This is no time to quibble over finespun distinctions, or to stop with halfway measures. I am willing to take one leaf at least, out of the book of the militarists, and to go forward in a path that they appear to be unwilling to tread. They are ready and anxious to spend untold millions for purely military purposes, and to establish great plants to be run on part time for the production of material for prospective military use. desire to establish even greater plants than apparently they have in contemplation, and to maintain those plants in continuous operation for the production of materials of such essential value to the farmers of this country that they will extend the fullest measure of their approval to the men who set these great enterprises in motion. This is the day, and this is the opportunity to be of service to a class of our citizens who have not fared too well at the hands of our legislators. Afford the needful agencies to produce the nitrate that will free us from the bondage of an alien monopoly, and we will rise to the height of a great opportunity. At the same time, we will do an act of tardy justice to the farmers of the United

It may not be amiss in this connection to give the figures that show not only our need for nitrate, but our present dependence upon a foreign country, thereby emphasizing the necessity for immediate action to establish a domestic source of supply. "Intelligent cultivation goes hand in hand with rational fertilization." Of course in this connection, I do not overlook the very great work of the agricultural departments of the States, and of the Federal Government, in extending the use of legumes. These have added, and on an increasing scale of use, will continue to add greatly to the fertility and consequent productivity of our soils; but the nitrate-producing legumes are rather slower in action, than nitrate of soda. It is interesting to note that the use of this fertilizer in the United States, has trebled within a decade, though still far short of what it should be. The greater use of Chilean nitrate in Europe, was due to the application of science to European agriculture, and to the establishment and liberal maintenance of agricultural experiment stations in that portion of the world, long in advance of like stations in this country. A paper by Dr. Myers gives some interesting comparisons between the yield per acre in the United States, and in Europe, of three great staple crops.

Countries.	Average yield per acre.		
	Cotton.	Wheat.	Oats.
United States Egypt Germany	Pounds. 185 400	Bushels.	Bushels.
England		28	48 45

Keeping in mind the comparatively virgin soils of this country, these figures ought to shake the complacency of the average citizen who believes that the United States, not only can, but does lead the world in everything. What is the explanation of this wonderful difference between the production per acre of this country, and of Europe? The answer is easy. Europe appears to have solved the problem of soil exhaustion through the use of legumes and nitrates. Omitting Russia, continental Europe and England, for use upon a much smaller area of land than is under cultivation in this country, import over a million tons of Chilean nitrate, whereas for agricultural purposes, this country takes only about 300,000 tons. In addition to the use of nitrogenous fertilizer secured from Chile, Europe on an increasing scale is deriving nitrogen from the air, and as a by-product of the coke industry. Both processes should be developed to their utmost extent in the United States, since the market for the product is unlimited. Over 400,000,000 acres of tillable lands in this country, could profitably use 20,000,000 tons of nitrate per annum, whether derived from Chile, or other sources. It has been estimated that as a result of this use our present farms would yield as follows, without additional cultivation, or labor.

 Bales of cotton
 10,000,000

 Bushels of wheat
 300,000,000

 Bushels of corn
 600,000,000

 Bushels of oats
 300,000,000

The annual production of other staples would also be vastly increased. This anticipation of what will follow from the fructification of cur lands, is not the idle fabric of a vagrant fancy, but are the words of truth and soberness. The farmers know what potash will do, what phosphates will do, what nitrates will do. Many millions of fertile acres attest the utility of their application. It should be our task through abundant appropriations, and appropriate legislation, to unlock every domestic source from which these materials may be drawn, and thereby scatter peace and plenty over a smiling land.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF.

HON. RILEY J. WILSON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 15, 1916.

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to see, and there are millions of our people who rejoice to know, that this Congress is about to pass a rural-credits bill, and that this Government is about to enter upon the organization of a comprehensive system of rural credits, and that one of the most important pledges in the Democratic platform of 1912 is about to be redeemed.

The Democratic Party has always kept faith with the people when given a fair opportunity to do so. No administration has ever been able to make every platform pledge into law, but when this Congress adjourns it can truthfully be said that the present national Democratic administration has more nearly redeemed every platform pledge than any other administration

inaugurated within recent years.

Legislation looking toward financial relief, and the emancipation of the commercial and agricultural interests of the country was promised at the Baltimore convention. In fact, this has been promised by both parties for a number of years, but the Republican Party when in power, made no attempt at any legislation that would disturb the fixed monopoly and control held by the money centers over the currency and credit of the country. While the Federal reserve act, at the time of its passage, had many critics, and while many men in sympathy with the Money Trust predicted dire calamity to follow it, this law is to-day acknowledged on all sides to be the greatest piece of constructive legislation enacted in this country in the past 50 years. It will not exceed in value the rural-credits bill which we are about to enact, but it is of equal importance, as it forms the foundations for, and makes possible the successful operation of the farm-loan act, which we have every reason to expect will go to the President within a few days for his signature.

Amid all the stress and conflict of the past two years the Federal Reserve System has enabled the business man as well as the manufacturer to feel secure in his prosperity from the shocks and disorganization of the panic that was generally expected to occur in this country on the outbreak of the European war, and which, no doubt, would have occurred had the control of the credit of the Nation remained in the hands of the few money magnates who had dominated our finances for so many years. The financial system of any country should be under the control of the Government, because it touches and affects all the people of the Nation, in whatever calling, pursuit, or occupation they may be engaged. The safety of our present commercial banking system is due to its soundness and ease of practical operation, and to the further fact that it is so organized that it can be operated to give relief in all sections of the country. No class of our people are more in need of a safe and sound banking system than those engaged in agricultural pursuits. A disturbance in the money market has its first effect upon the price of agricultural products, and this class of products is the very last to feel the effect of a readjustment of our financial system.

The banker and the business man are in a position to foresee the oncoming of a financial panic and may often protect themselves against its evil effects; but this is not true with the farmer, and it is for him more important and more necessary that the Government be in a position at all times to reach out its strong arm and lend its all-powerful aid to secure him against a disaster for which he is not responsible and which may affect

him without any warning whatever.

That a commercial banking system does not and can not meet and supply the needs of those engaged in agriculture has been found to be true in all other countries, and is admitted to be true in this country. It is also acknowledged that the Government owes the same obligation to establish and maintain a comprehensive system of banking for the benefit of those engaged in agriculture as it does to provide a banking system for commercial and manufacturing interests; in other words, that the farmer, in this respect, should be placed on the same footing as the business man.

The continued prosperity of our country depends upon its development along agricultural lines, and to secure this development we have now reached the point where our people, and especially the farmer, must make a study of agricultural problems; and for this purpose the Department of Agriculture is offering every possible assistance. The farmer must make his knowledge, efficiency, and equipment along the lines of the most progressive methods a part of his capital. We must, through good roads, good schools, and by community organization and cooperation, bring to farm life and to the rural districts the opportunities, advantages, and conveniences that will make life upon the farm attractive and happy as well as prosperous. must bring about conditions that will check the flow of population from the country to the towns and cities.

But in order to make this study of agriculture effective, in order to make the efficiency and equipment of the farmer useful, in order to bring to the rural districts and farm life the advantages, conveniences, and opportunities that will make this life attractive and profitable, so that it will hold the young men of talent and enterprise where their energies and abilities are most needed, it has been universally conceded that we must have a comprehensive system of rural finance, or rural credits.

A rural-credit system has been defined to include all means by which capital is extended and made available to farmers for the operation, equipment, and development of farms or for the purchase of farms. If capital is brought to the farmer in such a way that he may profitably avail himself of its use, it must come to him under the following conditions:

At minimum expense. At a low rate of interest. For a long period.

To be returned in small payments.

In my humble judgment no system of rural finance will secure to the farmers of this country the credit and assistance they are entitled to, except one organized by and under the supervision and control of and backed by the aid of the Federal Government. This has been the experience of other countries. We often hear the statement that what Europe has done for her farmers America must do for hers. Investigation has shown that in every country in Europe where the rural-credits system is successful it has been organized, supervised, and aided by the Government. Germany has the most successful system. There the organization is called the "landschaft." In its earlier days the landschaft had Government aid. After being well established. lished that was found to be no longer required, but it has always been and is now under the direct and close supervision of the German Government. We are told by the highest authorities that during 150 years' operation under this system in Germany, and to which is attributed the wonderful agricultural development of that country, there has not been a single

failure among the farm-mortgage banks. And there has never been any loss under the bonds issued upon the farm mortgages. Prof. Brodnitz, of Halle University, recently said:

The landschaft system is standing the test of the war, as it has at all other times. It is the only plan under which the bonds are of equal value with Government bonds in the open market and in the time of panic or war hold their value above Government bonds.

It is only natural that this should be true. The farmer has the best and safest security in the world—that is, agricultural lands-being constantly improved and with a continually en-

hancing value.

The present bill proposes such a banking system as I have suggested-that is, one under the control, supervision, and aid of the Federal Government. And while not just such a bill as many of us would be glad to write, it carries the central idea and purpose of a rural-credit system and commits the Government to a system of finance that should result in the rapid development of agriculture in every section of the United States. It may take a number of years to make it perfect, because it is a new system of banking for this country and the same conditions do not obtain here as in Europe, but I have confidence in the ability and common sense of American farmers and believe they will welcome this law as the most advanced step ever taken in their interests by Congress and that they will give it their earnest thought and cooperation, that the entire system may be worked out successfully.

The bill provides for a farm-loan board, which is given supervision and control of the entire system and at the expense of

the National Government.

It provides for 12 land banks, distributed throughout the country, each with a capital stock of \$750,000, to be, if neces sary, provided by the National Government, making in all \$9,000,000.

It provides for local associations of farmers, through which loans may be made, and whose duty it will be to pass upon the character of the loans and the good faith and integrity of the

Next it provides for a rate of interest not exceeding 6 per cent. This to cover all expenses of administration.

It provides for loans from \$100 to \$10,000. This will meet the needs of the farmer with 40 acres as well as those of the farmer who owns a plantation.

The loans are to be made extending over periods of from 5 to 36 years. This will give time for returns upon the invest-

It also provides for the assistance of the homeless man who desires to purchase and equip a farm.

The mortgages and bonds issued upon the mortgages, as well as the capital stock and surplus of the farm-land banks, are exempt from taxation.

It is confidently believed that this law, when once in operation, will meet the needs of every industrious farmer who in good faith desires sufficient credit to enable him to equip, derelop, and operate his farm, and this is all that has been asked for or expected in such legislation.

Democratic Promise Versus Performance on the Merit System.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. S. D. FESS, OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 11, 1916.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, the inefficiency of the Democratic Party to conduct the public business is displayed in more than one way. Their lack of experience in responsible legislation may be offered as an excuse, but that would invite the hope that in time, under responsibility, the party would become efficient. This hope is without foundation.

Democracy as now run proceeds upon a vicious policy as well as practice. It is dominated by the populistic craze of the South, the paternalistic theory which stands in sharp contrast with the former States rights dogma of the cotton States. This socialistic dominance expresses itself in the constant demands upon the Federal Treasury to finance every conceivable scheme. Note the appropriation measures of this administration. Note the special legislation already passed in the House in the interest of cotton. Note the sums voted to streams of the South in the rivers and harbors bill. Note the \$20,000,000 for the Government nitrate plant to be developed in the South. Note the \$45,000,000 project for the lower Mississippi River. These—some of them—have become laws. The others will become laws. Note the wild-eyed populistic clamor for greenback issues which have been attempted in the rural-credits bill. Note the obligation of the Government not only to supply the initial capital but to guarantee the interest and principal of the land-bank bonds. Note the demand for favorable Federal discrimination toward the southern farmers as proposed in almost every day's legislation.

This type of legislation shows the incapacity of the party in power to conduct the business of this Government in a business way. It proceeds upon the basis that the Government is a treasury of inexhaustible wealth which can draw the wand and abundant wealth will flow. These Democratic leaders speak of Government as a gift to the people of something the Government possesses that the people do not possess and have a right to demand. Any party led by men who are dominated by such populistic and paternalistic theories must fail the moment it attempts to put in practice such fallacies.

Another conclusive proof of continued blunders in management is the evident belief that office exists for the individual and is his because the spoils are the price of victory. The studied, determined, and persistent assaults upon the merit system of this administration, headed by a former vice president of the National Civil Service Reform Association, show inevitable inefficiency. For years the one trend in public administration has been toward efficiency, away from the corrupt spoils system of political prostitution of public business.

Beginning back in 1883, the policy of efficiency in service was viciously attacked by the spoilsmen. But in spite of this abuse 13,289 positions were placed in the classified service. In two years 2,000 more were included. Even Cleveland nearly doubled the number by 1889. Harrison added over 45 per cent with 42,741 positions in the classified service. Cleveland in his sec-

42,741 positions in the classified service. Cleveland in his second term doubled this with 87,108 positions. McKinley increased this by 1901 to 108,967, and Roosevelt by 1905 to 171,807, and by 1909 to 234,940, which was increased by Taft to 282,507 by 1918.

1909 to 234,940, which was increased by Taft to 282,597 by 1913. The significant item in this growth is the constant increase with no interruptions. True, now and then in the life of all the Executives cases arose where personal appointments were made, During these 30 years, 1883 to 1913, the Civil Service Commission gained a real place as one of the Government's bureaus. It was the one commission that stood for efficiency rather than partisan administration. The commission itself in its personnel was so created. Roosevelt, to avoid partisanship, made it Democratic, and Taft continued it so—two Democratic members and one Republican. There can be no suspicion that such a commission, so constituted, with purpose in creation to avoid partisan politics, could be prostituted for party purposes.

The advance of the merit system was not limited to Executive activity. It was constantly supported by the party in power by legislative enactment. Every law within the 30 years was intended to advance it. It was loudly proclaimed in the Democratic platforms every 4 years within the 30 years, including that of 1912. The latest as well as most desirable advance relates to the fourth-class postmasters. In 1908 Roosevelt placed 13,986 such offices within the classified service, being those offices in the States north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi River. October, 1912, Taft placed 36,236 offices, being the remainder of this class of offices not yet covered into the classified service. This was in consonance with the effort to extend the merit system. To a believer in the merit system this was a welcome step.

If there is a field of public service where fitness must be considered, the Army and Navy would be among the first on the list. On December 7, 1912, President Taft placed all artisan and supervisory artisan positions at the navy yard and other establishments under the Navy Department in the classified service. This will include at least 16,000 skilled men. The law of August, 1912, creating the Quartermaster Corps authorized the replacement of employees not to exceed 4,000 by enlisted men. In January, 1913, field regulations were revised to give the Civil Service Commission more direct supervision over the Lighthouse Service.

Another step for better service was the effort to reach greater efficiency by empowering the Civil Service Commission to investigate, to report upon the condition of administration, and to recommend such changes as the investigations would warrant. In fact, one of the dominant facts of the last two administrations was a better civil service. This was the status when the former vice president of the National Civil Service League became the President of the United States March 4, 1913. What has been done since that day?

The first act on this question displayed the hand of the spoilsman. It was on May 7, 1913, four days over two months after

inauguration and just one month after the meeting of the special session of Congress. This act nullified in greater part President Taft's extension of the civil-service rules to fourth-class postmasters.

One month and two days later the President reconstituted the Civil Service Commission, which had been two Democrats and one Republican since Roosevelt's day, by appointing two Democrats, one from Louisiana and the other from South Carolina, and one Progressive from the State of Washington. It should be said that the Democrat from Louisiana had been appointed by Roosevelt in 1906. While the Republican policy avoided the charge of partisan control by making the commission in its personnel adverse to the party in power, the Democratic policy reciprocated by removing the only Republican to make room for a man who at the time of his appointment was not a Republican, whatever he may now call himself since his party is no more, and he can not be a Democrat and remain on a commission that by law must not be all of one party.

This administration must be judged by the record it makes. Up to date its record on the civil service is as follows:

First. Numerous party declarations demanding an adherence

to the principle of civil service.

Second. The head of the party pledged to it in his many references in his books and his official connection with an association devoted to the cause nation-wide in its influence.

These were prior to March 4, 1913.

ACTS OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS.

June 23, 1913: Technical services in the office of the Supervising Architect in connection with plans, specifications, and construction of the central heating plant exempted from the classified service. This was a rider on an appropriation bill.

October 3, 1913: Agents, deputy collectors, inspectors, and

October 3, 1913: Agents, deputy collectors, inspectors, and other employees in connection with the income tax are exempted from civil-service rules.

October 22, 1913: Deputy collectors of internal revenue and deputy United States marshals are exempted from the civil-service rules. This was a rider upon an appropriation bill.

December 23, 1913: Employees under the Federal reserve act not included in the civil-service regulations.

July 16, 1914: Commercial attachés, Department of Commerce, exempted from regulations of the merit system. This was a rider to an appropriation bill.

August 1, 1914: Commissioner of immigration, New Orleans, by a rider upon an appropriation bill was exempted from the operation of the merit system.

August 1, 1914: Commissioner to Five Civilized Tribes taken out of the civil-service regulations by a rider to an appropriation

September 26, 1914: Federal interstate trade act exempted secretary, clerks to each commissioner, attorneys, special experts, and examiners from the merit-system regulations.

January 28, 1915: Life-Saving Service made a part of the military force by including in the Coast Guard. This was not an objectionable change.

Just last week we saw forced through this House another vicious assault upon the merit system, the boldest step yet taken, when the majority of this House placed the entire list of officers created by the rural-credits act now before us under the spoils system. The leader of the micerity [Mr. Mann] offered an amendment striking out the spoils provision and substituting the merit system; it was voted down by a strict party vote, every Republican voting for the merit system. The progression toward the spoilsman is best noted here. All the other exemptions mentioned in the earlier acts left the matter to the discretion of the President. But this last expressly forbids the President's respect for the civil service, and commands him to ignore it. Note the wording:

All such attorneys, experts, assistants, clerks, laborers, and other employees, and all registrars, examiners, and appraisers, shall be appointed without regard to the provisions of the act of January 16, 1883, and amendments thereto or any rule or regulations made in pursuance thereof: Provided, That nothing herein shall prevent the President from placing said employees in the classified service.

This is not a mere exemption. It is a positive order excluding the operation of the civil-service act; a purpose to use the spoils system for the first appointment and then cover such appointments later by the protection of the rules forbidding their removal.

The shipping bill which you intend to bring into the House by rule to follow the rural-credits act is in keeping with this consistent record in breaking down the merit system. Note the provision. Section 4 on page 5 reads as follows:

With the exception of the secretary, a clerk to each commissioner, the attorneys naval architects, and such special experts and examiners as the board may from time to time find necessary to employ for the conduct of its work, all employees of the board shall be a part of the classified civil service.

The secretary of the National Civil Service League declares: This is a bad provision, because Congress should not classify positions. A general rule, i. e., the civil-service law, can control all of these places, and the President and the commission are given full authority to except any particular positions. Experts and examiners in the Pension Office are in the classified service, and there is no reason why Congress should make any exceptions by statute.

This legislative record has some meaning when examined in the light of President Wilson's freedom with Executive orders. The commission gives its annual reports covering Executive orders. Congressman GILLETT, on the 13th of last month, gave an illuminating comparison of Wilson with Taft in this realm, to a hurtful disadvantage of the former. It showed clearly that the President had little more regard for the merit system

than this Democratic Congress.

The real animus of a party can not always be guaged by what it really does. It is necessary to examine what it tries to do. Almost every week from some Democratic quarter comes an assault upon the merit system. To-day it is a Democratic chairman of a committee in charge of some bill. Yesterday it was the President's appointment. The day before it was a department in an attempt to reorganize some service. The legislative onslaughts, many of them open, as in the cases of riders upon appropriation bills, are so bald that their purposes are at once detected. But not infrequently the sharp practice of the spoilsman legislator will slip into some needful legislation a word or phrase or omit some necessary clause to open an entire bureau to the spoils hunter. The attempted reorganization of the Patent Office last year is in point. The proponents in the Senate put into the bill the phraseology of the law of 1870, which provided that all subordinate positions should be filled by appointment by the Secretary of the Interior on nomination of the Commissioner of Patents, and left it there. Left in that way the effect would have been to take the whole force out of the civil service, because the civil-service law was passed a dozen years later. Senator Lodge held the bill up on this account and, with the help of Senator CUMMINS, forced the Democratic Senate to in-sert, after the word "nominate," "in accordance with existing which means that appointments must be made in accord-

ance with the civil-service law, as at present.

This administration goes before the country with a program in glaring headlines—Underwood bill, Federal reserve act, Interstate Trade Commission, rural credits. These are legislative acts, everyone of which repudiates the merit system by legislative decree; this in spite of the quadrennial plank demanding it.

It is in keeping with another plank denouncing Republicans for extravagance, and yet in the very first Congress which was under the control of Democracy the running expenses were over \$100,000,000 higher than the highest of any Republican Congress.

The Democrats denounced the Republicans for the creation of unnecessary offices. In the face of that plank this administration failed to reduce any of what it declared unnecessary places, but on the other hand, according to the illuminating remarks of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Good], a reliable Member of the House Appropriation Committee, they have created at least 30,000 new places, at an annual cost of over

These facts will assist to interpret the interest of the Fourth Assistant of the Postmaster General in displacing 47,000 rural carriers by a system of reorganization to make places for the hungry spoilsmen outside of the reservation. One of the best and most recent illustrations of the activity of a Government department against the merit system is the attempt to motorize the rural routes which I denominated before the House Committee of Post Offices as "motorizing the rural carriers," for that was the real purpose. The new scheme was under the pretense of extending the service, to inaugurate the motor service to displace the horse. To do this they would lengthen the route to 50 miles, thus making one route out of two. That would reduce the 47,000 carriers to one-half the number, when fully installed. The sensible inference would be that those of the old carriers needed to do the work would be made eligible for transfer, but not so. Why? Because, by an interesting fiction, the new route was a higher salary than the old, and transfers can not be made from lower to higher, said the reorganizers. A new examination must be taken. Two routes were made into That does not only vacate two by uniting them, but it was declared that the one was a vacancy. Here was a scheme to place 47,000 carriers out, and by technical construction make vacancies, not for those tried servants but for favored Democrats who filled the requirements of Bryan's instructions regarding vacancies. If the plans of the Post Office Department had been carried out the Democratic office seekers would have at last found a way to pry open the Rural Mail Service; and have burgled their way into the Rural Service. They were then to

be eligible, after one year, for transfer into the clerk or carrier service of post offices, or into the Railway Mail Service. The establishment of this scheme was to come just in time to reward the deserving Democrats just prior to the presidential campaign.

The rural carriers of the country have been for some years

covered under the protection of the civil-service rules which provide that "no person in the classified civil service of the United States shall be removed therefrom except for such cause as will promote the efficiency of the service, and for reasons given in writing," and it is provided that the accused is to be furnished with a copy of the charges and given opportunity to reply; but the ingenious officials charged with the duty of rewarding deserving Democrats have found a way. have motorized the rural service, and the faithful and effi-cient civil servants glide out of their jobs with that smooth and imperceptible motion of which only a motor vehicle of a certain description is capable. When the Ohio Republican delegation after several meetings decided to baldly expose this procedure, a halt was called. In my own county, which the department had picked for a test, it had back of it the Ohio senior Senator, who argued that the proposed change would add to the service. Not until we carried the fight before the House Post Office Committee, and to the House itself, did we compel a final rescinding of the orders for this assault upon the Rural Mail Service.

The most vicious practice as now in vogue is the system of promotion and demotion, whereby a trained servant is demoted in rank and salary to make place for a "deserving" Democrat below him in rank and salary. In this shifting in the interest of partisan politics the one demoted not infrequently continues to do the same work he did before, but at the lower salary. have not been able to secure definite figures telling the story of this prostitution of the public service on the altar of the spoilsmen. The proffering of such information means danger to the informant. This pernicious practice ought to be made a subject of investigation, but of course will not be, so long as the party of spoils controls the Congress, which will not be long,

from present indications.

In the light of this record of legislation actually accomplished, of attempted legislation that failed, of Executive orders, beginning with May 7, 1913, and continuing up to the present hour, can there be any possible surprise over the perfectly apparent incompetency for efficient administration of the country's public business? The prevalent paternalism which looks to the Government to make the ignorant learned, the indolent industrious, the unhappy happy, the poor rich was never so noticeable as in this Congress. That peculiar political philosophy so voluble in the dominant section of our country under this administration that holds the Government responsible for our woes, our aches, and all our troubles, and demands that our many wants be supplied, since, by governmental action, the making of a hundred million is but the scratch of a pencil, striking out \$100,000,000 and writing in \$200,000,000, such philosophy when further interpreted in the light of the spoils philosophy when further interpreted in the light of the spoils system, as witnessed in the past three years, leaves no further reason for surprise over the Democratic promise in 1912 and its record of 1913–1916. Verily, it is a far cry from Cleveland's "Public office is a public trust" to Wilson's "Get all you can and can all you get."

The Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH D. McKELLAR,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 13, 1916.

Mr. McKELLAR, Mr. Speaker, recently I have received a number of telegrams and letters urging me to support the Chamberlain preparedness bill rather than the Hay bill. I have also received letters and telegrams urging me to vote against the Chamberlain bill, two of which communications I am going to append as a part of my remarks.

When the Army bill was reported back by the conferees for further instructions I voted against the provision raising the standing army to 250,000 men, and I voted against section 56 of the Chamberlain bill providing for what is best known as the continental-army scheme. Under these circumstances I wish to give my reasons for these votes.

When the Hay bill was up for discussion and hearings before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House, of which I am a member, our committee—Democrats and Republicans—unanimously agreed for the sake of getting what we believed to be abetter preparedness measure that we would stand by and vote for the federalizing of the National Guard, and that we would not incorporate the continental-army scheme in our bill. Under these circumstances the Hay bill was unanimously reported out from the committee and overwhelmingly passed in the House. I was exceedingly active in bringing about the agreement, and, of course, I am bound by such agreement.

But outside of this question I am constrained to believe that many of those who are urging the Chamberlain bill for a standing army of 250,000 men and a continental army of 261,000 men do not understand the conditions as they are. To officer an additional 150,000 men in the Regular Army-for our Army is now composed of 100,000 men-and to officer the 261,000 men in the so-called continental army would require, in round numbers, 20,000 additional officers. We have not got these officers trained. If those measures passed, the officers would have to be appointed at once, and we would have an untrained army with 20,000 officers who would be just about as green as the men. This would not be preparedness. It would be cruel injustive to the officers and men, and would be no real defense to our country. greatest effect of the passage of the two measures would be to give many officers now in the Regular Army very large increases in pay and rank, and of course these Army officers are naturally interested in getting such bills passed. It is claimed that Army officers prepared these measures in a large part for the Senate committee. As to the truth of this I can not personally speak. It would not give us a better defense to graft into our present Army 20,000 additional green officers having no training. It might be entirely satisfactory to the officers if we did not have a war, because we pay them well, but it would be a very small step toward real preparedness if our country should happen to get into war. It would be misleading to the American people in that we would then have on paper an army of about 500,000 men with about 27,000 officers, costing over \$500,000,000 a year, when, indeed and in truth, only about 20 per cent of the men and about 30 per cent of the officers would be really serviceable as a first line of defense.

Now, the Hay bill provides for only 140,000 men, and in conference this will be increased to about 280,000 men, which number can be expanded in times of war to about 220,000 men. The plan of this bill is to train the National Guard in every State, and to increase the National Guard in every State. We have about 129,000 well-trained men in the National Guard now. Under this bill these men will be better trained, and in three years we believe that their number will be increased to some 400,000 men. The 129,000 men already in the National Guard are fairly well trained now. They have been drilled in camp and in the field; they have been taught to shoot in target practice. They have been taught to take care of themselves in the field, and I take it that no one can deny that these 129,000 men would be of greater service in times of war than a like body, or even a larger body of untrained men.

or even a larger body, of untrained men.

In this bill we provide that the men in the National Guard shall have the same qualifications that the men in the Regular Army shall have. We provide that the reserve shall be built up in exactly the same way the reserve is being built up in the Regular Army. Every man that enlists in the Regular Army or in the National Guard will enlist for three years with the colors—that is, on active duty—and for three years more in the reserve. So that in six years we will have a standing army of 180,000 men on regular duty, and nearly an equal number on the reserve list. And, in the National Guard we will have 400,000 men on the active list, and almost that number on the reserve list. This will mean that we will continue training our men and our officers in the Regular Army and in the National Guard all at the same time. We will not have a large number of untrained men officered by untrained officers. We will use the units and organizations that we now have. The country for a number of years has spent many millions of dollars upon its National Guard. Why throw that away and attempt to build up an entirely new organization of untrained men, as provided in the continental-army scheme?

The Hay bill will mean an increase in our Regular Army of nearly 100 per cent and over 200 per cent in the National Guard. It will be by far the cheapest and best way of defending our country, and it will be utilizing units and organizations that already exist. It will not be an untried scheme. The Chamberlain bill is a long step toward militarism. The Hay bill is a democratic measure, and one strictly in accord with our Constitution, our history, the genius of our institutions, and democratic policies.

The Regular Army officers, who it is claimed are behind the Chamberlain bill, as I noticed from the debate in the Senate, printed in the RECORD, naturally do not want the National Guard used in our system, because it does not, in the first place, mean rapid promotions for them, and in the second place, they naturally want to build up as large a standing army as possible. Of course, I do not blame them. They are to be commended for wanting to make the Army effective. quite sure that the continental army can not be recruited, and if not recruited then it is hoped to come back before another Congress and have some sort of compulsory-military-service bill passed. Of course, I am opposed to universal compulsory military service, and I am opposed to a large standing army in times of peace. I do not blame these Army officers. natural that they should want to make larger the Regular Establishment. But the duty of Congress is to consider only the best interests of the country.

The increases that we will make in our Regular Military Establishment, and the preparations we are making along other lines, are such as are reasonable and necessary. They mean that our country is going to make proper preparation for our defense and at the same time not resort to militarism. As soon as the disturbance now going on among the nations ceases, then we can reduce our Military Establishment. In order to keep up this establishment Congress has to appropriate money every year. If it does not appropriate the money, the establishment has to be reduced, and I have no doubt that when the necessity for this larger standing army and greater preparation for our national defense has passed away, that the establishment will be reduced unless we make it so large that it would become a political pawn, in which event our Republic would soon be gone. I do not think any antimilitarist need feel that we are not doing the right thing in taking the precautions that we have. These precautions are reasonable and should be taken.

Of course, we must continue to build up a great Navy. After all, a Navy is our principal reliance as a defense. Our coast defenses are in better condition than those of any other nation in the world. We are adding to and strengthening our defensive forces in a calm and proper way. We are not losing our heads. Our friends at home must not get excited. None of us need get scared. They should bear with us and work with us, and all will come out right.

I have not the slightest idea of our becoming involved in war with any European country. I have absolute confidence in the President and his ability to keep us out of this European war, and keep us out with honor. Certainly, I see no reason why we should go to war. We can not go to war without Congress declaring it, and I do not know of a man in Congress who would be willing to vote for a resolution declaring war on any European country. We have the greatest prosperity in this country, taken as a whole, and it would be silly and ridiculous for us to disturb it by getting into this European imbroglio. If we were to build up a great standing army like that provided for in the Chamberlain bill, an excitable President could get us into war without declaring it. Of course, President Wilson would not do this, but some other President more easily excited might do so.

But some may say that we ought to create a large standing army because of the likelihood of our becoming involved in further trouble in Mexico. This furnishes no reason why we should have a standing army of more than 500,000. With the 50,000 mobile Regular troops now on the border, or in Mexico, with our marines, and with our National Guard of 129,000 men to draw from, it would seem that we have ample forces to pacify Mexico, but if these are insufficient, then, we have a law on the statute books now by which the President can call for volunteers, and we could train a volunteer army just as quickly as we could train the addition to our regular standing army, as provided in the Chamberlain bill, and this would be far better, because, when the war was over the volunteers could return to their peaceful avocations, whereas if we once built up a tremendous standing army we would have it on our hands at an enormous cost for all time to come. I think the time has arrived when the conditions in Mexico have become so intolerable that they may force us to intervene. It is a bad job, but if it is necessary we must perform it. I hereto append the communications:

MEMPHIS, TENN., May 8, 1916.

Hon. K. D. McKellar, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Hope sincerely you will support section 56 of Chamberlain bill. This section provides for a national organization along lines contemplated by President and Secretary Garrison, and is a step in the direction of real preparedness which in no way conflicts with militia provisions. I believe as a matter of political policy it would be much in your interests.

Luke E. Weight.

MEMPHIS, TENN., April 20, 1916.

Hon. K. D. McKellar, Washington, D. C.

Hon. K. D. McKellar,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: We, the undersigned citizens of Shelby County, are opposed to the passage of the Chamberlain bill or any other Army measure before Congress pertaining to the establishing of militarism in this country under the guise of preparedness.

The voice of the people cries aloud in opposition to the mad jingoist folly of trying to convert this country into a military camp and the placing of oppressive taxes on the people to support and maintain a arge standing army to suppress them.

We are bitterly opposed to the substitution of militarism for democracy. The two can not exist at the same time, but let democracy prevail. And democracy must predominate, or our boasted freedom will be trampled under foot of arbitrary power.

The true Americans are determined that their will must predominate in the present crisis to prevent their freedom from being taken away.

We must work to preserve this Government, as our forefathers fought to establish the greatest democratic government ever known to mankind. Are we ready as a nation to retrograde and deteriorate into militarism and monarchy and despotism? We say no, and the echo is reverberating from one end of the country to the other. These Army bills, designed to foist militarism on the people of this country, must be defeated, and we demand of you to work against and vote against the Chamberlain bill, and help to defeat any other military measure from becoming a law.

Yours, very truly,

33 Pontotoc Avenue, Memphis, Tenn.

and we demand of you to work against and vote against the in bill, and help to defeat any other military measure from a law.

II. B. Terrell.

33 Pontotoc Avenue, Mcmphis, Tenn.

G. H. Roberts, John Willman, J. Hernandez, A. M. Jahns, John Johnson, F. A. Dean, E. E. Dunbar, B. M. Henney, F. Williams, William Lewis, W. Davis, S. Dawes, George R. Cowgill, Richard J. Grinson, M. C. Barnett, Grants Weeks, G. Clark, A. Young, C. R. Allen, M. W. Henley, W. B. Billingsley, H. C. Hiltbruner, W. O. White, James R. Bynum, F. C. Sodcoff, W. L. Johnson, W. B. Scott, D. D. Chimu, L. A. Lawson, W. J. Smith, R. W. McNaugdon, D. O. Bailey, H. C. Gallorwhite, C. J. Cowan, C. A. Christian, J. J. Creel, W. F. Meal, A. O. Proctor, Rufus Breel, C. C. Simpson, J. F. Billings, Gus Hankey, E. A. Simpson, Thomas Fauver, H. R. Atkinson, S. A. Jones, A. T. Hernandez, R. T. Wilkerson, W. E. Scott, T. La Grosse, J. M. H. Parks, J. N. Martin, J. T. Barrister, L. Morann, G. J. Woods, W. B. Smith, H. Simonson, K. Brumbelow, J. W. Stephenson, H. O. M. Gaha, T. W. Stricktin, J. T. Prater, Arthur Beakfield, S. T. Mitchell, A. L. Fletcher, J. F. Walters, J. J. Hazel, H. J. Ringger, George Christian, S. E. Ross, W. C. Montgomery, W. R. Hazel, J. C. Stricklar, Houston M. Tubb, George Aday, H. W. Mayer, T. C. Chisolm, E. G. Stockard, J. A. Cote, R. S. Bell, J. R. Williams, G. N. Jackson, W. M. Smith, I. V. Spence, C. T. Hatway, J. Wade, John Stricklaud, E. Bosnell, R. M. Cerlp, W. L. Johnson, George A. Day, R. T. Morton, G. W. McBunney, R. W. Lipscomb, J. S. Walker, W. L. Cowan, J. J. Hightower, John Eaton, R. L. Walker, E. R. Grogan, W. N. Smith, J. H. McCauley, H. Spruce, M. J. Madden, J. H. Cartright, H. J. Wichus, W. H. Watson, R. L. Bailey, H. B. Terrell, 33 Pontotoc Avenue, Memphis, Tenn.

Industrial Peace in Colorado.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD KEATING. OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 16, 1916.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, Colorado's industrial difficul-ties have in times past occupied much space in the newspapers and magazines of this country and have furnished material for debate in this House.

I am glad to be in a position to report to this distinguished body that industrial conditions in Colorado have undergone a most important change. Arbitration and mutual accommodation are being more and more widely recognized as the proper methods of adjusting differences of opinion concerning wages, hours of labor, and working conditions.

Much has been accomplished and much remains to be done. Our workers are employed, the industries of our Commonwealth were never more prosperous, and peace and happiness prevail

throughout the Centennial State.

I trust it will never again become necessary to parade Colorado's industrial difficulties across the first pages of the newspapers of this country. I trust that never again will a Colorado employer refuse to grant his employees the right to organize for the purpose of bettering their conditions, and I trust we will never again hear of a Colorado employer who will refuse to sit at the council table with the representatives of his men for the purpose of adjusting their differences

This much by way of introduction, Mr. Speaker. I now want to submit to the House two interesting documents in relation to industrial conditions in Colorado. The first is an editorial from the Denver Labor Bulletin, one of the best-edited labor papers in the United States. It calls attention to a speech delivered by Hon. Wayne C. Williams, of the Colorado Indus-

trial Commission, before the National Convention of Industrial and Labor Commissioners of the United States in Columbus, Ohio, on April 26, 1916. The second document is a stenographic report of Mr. Williams's remarks.

Mr. Williams is one of the forward-looking young men of the West, and as a member of the Colorado Commission on Industrial Relations he has done much to bring employer and employed into a close and harmonious fellowship.

employed into a close and harmonious fellowship.

The editorial from the Bulletin is as follows:

OPERATION OF NEW COLORADO INDUSTRIAL LAW.

Attention of the Bulletin's large family of readers is directed to the able speech, published elsewhere in this issue, delivered Wednesday at Columbus, Ohio, by Wayne C. Williams, of the Colorado Industrial Commission, before the National Convention of Industrial and Labor Commissioners of the United States. Do not permit its length to deter you from reading every line of it. Mr. Williams gives, in his usual intelligent way, a comprehensive review of the Colorado law as it has operated in this State since August 1, 1915. Organized labor people, and all those concerned or interested in industrial development of States and Nation, will learn much of benefit by a careful reading of this address. Many who have hitherto had a faulty or indefinite knowledge of the Colorado law will gain a better understanding of its merits through Mr. Williams's address.

He tells how "compulsory investigation," as distinguished from "compulsory arbitration" of industrial disputes, has served to bring a large measure of peace among employers and employees, how strikes and lockouts are averted, and how the law of collective bargaining is actually made effective under the Colorado law.

This is the most comprehensive and intellectual explanation of what has become known as "the Colorado industrial plan" yet given to the public, and we are sure every reader of the Bulletin, as well as others interested in this great problem, will feel under obligations to Mr. Williams for this enlightenment.

A splendid tribute is paid the organized workers of Colorado, which and indirectly applies to trade-unionists throughout the Nation, when Mr. Williams, speaking for the commission, declares they have compiled unfailingly with both the spirit and letter of the law. He has found the organizations of labor, officers, and members ready and willing to cooperate with the commission in bringing about industrial peace and establishment of industrial justice in Colorado.

A very interesting as well as instructive feature of the address will be found where t

Mr. Williams's speech, as delivered before the National Convention of Industrial and Labor Commissioners at Columbus, Ohio, is as follows:

Ohio, is as follows:

The one overshadowing internal problem confronting the Federal Government and the 48 States is presented by the disputes between employers and employees. It involves the reconciliation of the hitherto conflicting interests of capital and labor. It is the most important, the most fundamental, and the most vexing problem that has ever confronted public officials and the citizenship of a State. It is closely analogous to the one overshadowing international problem, which is reconciliation of the conflicting interests of sovereign nations, the establishment of world peace, the institution of an international tribunal of justice to do away with war.

To the former problem, the one involving industrial peace in this Nation, the State of Colorado offers a new solution, and invites her 47 sister States and the Federal Government to consider the law and the methods and recommendations that are being worked out under that law as offering a new solution for this difficult problem, and we invite the attention of the Nation and the patient, sympathetic consideration of all thoughtful American citizens to the operation of this law as developments are made under it.

FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE.

The bitter industrial strife in Colorado caused thinking men to see that the State, representing society in its organized form, was—

1. A necessary party in all industrial disputes.

2. That the State must, by some constructive method, enter into and handle the disputes before they spread beyond legal restraint into the arena of warfare.

To those who say that the State has no right to participate in industrial troubles and that it is too large an extension of the functions of government, I answer that question is foreclosed; that it is too late to discuss academically the functions of the State; that the State always has been a party and always has interfered with industrial disputes, but usually too late to accomplish anything. Every American citizen is familiar with the usual course of a strike. It begins with the walkout; it lingers through the early stages; it assumes an angry mood when nonunion workers are brought in; and then, too often, it results in violence and disorder, when the passions of men are aroused and bitter hatred has taken the place of calm reasoning.

The State stands idly by with folded hands awaiting the gathering storm clouds, until warfare is actually threatened or breaks out. Then the State gets into the controversy; troops are called out; guns are brought into use; there is bloodshed, death, more bitterness, charges and countercharges, suspicions, and the seeds are sown for future industrial discontent. Now, if the State is going to get into the controversy at all, why not get in earlier? Why not enter the dispute at which the lawmakers of Colorado faced.

Colorado is the first State in the Union to follow the Canadian law

which the lawmakers of Colorado faced.

COLORADO BLAZES THE WAY.

Colorado is the first State in the Union to follow the Canadian law and to provide for compulsory investigation of industrial disputes and to prohibit both sides from participating in either a strike or lockout until that investigation has been finished. It is interesting to note that this principle is the same one that has been embodied in the peace treaties prepared by William J. Bryan, while Secretary of State, and adopted by the United States and 30 other nations of the world. These treaties provide for a compulsory public investigation of the points in dispute between the nations and for a waiting period during

that investigation in which neither nation shall prepare for war, or

that investigation in which neither nation shall prepare for war, orengage in war.

Thus we see a further analogy between capital and labor and the disputes between nations. The plan and principle involved in this Colorado act is working so wel: that I predict the same principle will work
when applied under the Bryan peace treaties. This method may not
always work, it may break down here and there, but in the main it
will work well; it is based upon sound psychology and good common
sense and upon a practical realization of the facts of life and the way
in which men do things.

This law embodies certain fundamental principles which it will be
well to state. These principles make clear the working theory of the
law and have furnished the motive for its enactment and the administration of the law itself brings out in clear light the actual operation of
these principles.

these principles.

HOW THE LAW OPERATES.

In brief, the law operates in the following manner: The employees of a manufacturing plant desire a raise in wages or shorter hours. Under the old system they could or would not give a notice to their employer as they might desire. They could go on a strike without a warning and they could be locked out without any warning. There was no cential body to appeal to, no one to investigate the dispute or find out the actual merits; there were charges and countercharges, rumors and accusation, and more or less chaos and anarchy generally; the plant tied up, the men idle, and their families suffering, bitterness increasing every hour; importation of strike breakers, disorder, and often terrible consequences. This is not the history of every strike, but of many strikes

ness increasing eyery hour; major attinuous strike breakers, disorder, and often terrible consequences. This is not the history of every strike, but of many strikes

Under the operation of the Colorado law the first step is for the employees to notify the employer of any change of wages or hours which they desire. This is made in writing and a copy goes to the employer and to the commission. The notice is for 30 days under the statute, during which period the commission may permit the two sides to privately negotiate with each other, or, if they do not want to do so, the commission will get them together and endeavor informally to adjust the dispute. If these informal efforts fail, the commission may, upon its own motion or upon request of either side, or both sides, start a formal investigation.

The investigation is held, witnesses are subpensed and put under oath, complete and exhaustive testimony is taken as of all matters in dispute. When the investigation is complete the commission makes its findings. These findings, or the award, as it is called, are not binding upon either side, although either or both sides may accept the findings, either before the investigation begins or at its conclusion, in which event the award is binding.

BOTH SIDES ARE RESTRAINED.

The only restraint upon the two sides is that prior to and during the investigation the employer can not lock his men out and the men can not go on a strike. The status quo is preserved; the men must remain at work at the usual scale of hours and wages until the commission makes its findings. After the findings have been made either side is free to do as it chooses.

The old weapons of industrial warfare may be resorted to; there may be strikes and lockouts, or any other legal act along lines of force and coercion.

Thus we see how the law operates, and we begin to understand the significance of a restraining period of this character. The first object and result of such a law is that it provides a cooling-off period, in which both sides have an opportunity to avoid hasty and precipitous action and to think over calmly the responsibility and grave possibilities of the situation.

Hasty and thoughtless action has never helped any cause; it has never moved America or her institutions forward one inch; it will never aid the cause of industrial peace.

COMPELS COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.

COMPELS COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.

The second object and result of the operation of this law is to compel collective bargaining. Nearly every modern thinker on industrial and social topics indorses the theory and principle of collective bargaining. It is a practical, wise, and efficient measure of promoting industrial peace and justice. It is urged by newspapers, magazines, and thinkers generally as being the ultimate hope of all those who long for industrial peace, as being fair and just as between employer and employee.

for industrial peace, as being fair and just as between employed.

This law compels the very thing that is declared to be so desirable; it brings the parties together, compels them to sit down face to face, to look each other in the eye and talk over their differences. The result of this is to cool both sides down and to climinate a large number of the points of dispute and misunderstanding. I am prone to believe that one-half of all disputes between men could be amicably settled if both sides met face to face and talked things over. I have been interested and amazed to see the number of misunderstandings that exist between employer and employee when there exists no way of compelling them to talk things over together. It is collective bargaining, too, in the sense that the employer or employers in a group meet either the employees of a single plant grouped together or the employees in an entire craft to be dealt with together.

POWER TO ASCERTAIN FACTS.

POWER TO ASCERTAIN FACTS.

POWER TO ASCERTAIN FACTS.

The third object and valuable result of this law is that it provides for a public body with power to ascertain the facts of any industrial controversy. This lack of some authoritative body to ascertain the exact facts of a controversy has been admitted on all sides to be a serious handicap to a clear understanding of the issues in any industrial dispute. Each side has usually contented itself by issuing bulletins and charges, stating its own side of the controversy.

The public has not known what the facts were, and every man has read those facts which suited his own prejudices and has shut his eyes to the other side. The commission has power to subpæna witnesses and put them under oath, and it exercises this power; it has power to go into the accounts and books of the employer and the employee; to inquire into the cost of living, cost of production, state of the market, the effect of freight rates, and every other factor which enters into the question of wages and hours. There are no limits to the commission's power to get at the real facts.

The fourth and final valuable result from this law is that the facts when once gathered by an authoritative and impartial public body are given to the public, and there results the widest publicity of all the facts bearing upon the controversy. The public is informed as to the terms of the dispute and the conclusions of an impartial body as to the merits of that dispute. Publicity is given to the findings of the commission, and it remains then for public opinion to do its work and to

compel both sides to adjust themselves to the award which the commission found to be just.

NO TECHNICALITIES ALLOWED.

In the operation of the law certain rules of procedure have been developed which reflect certain angles of the whole labor question, and which it would be well to stats here. These rules are, in brief, as

which it would be well to state here. These rules are, in orier, as follows:

1. No technical rules of procedure are ever followed or permitted. The statute provides for a liberal construction and operation of its terms and the commission firmly insists upon this.

2. No technical form of notice is ever required. It is sufficient if there be actual notice to each side that the commission is about to investigate.

3. The commission may not wait for one of the warring parties to

investigate.

3. The commission may not wait for one of the warring parties to invoke its powers of investigation, but may voluntarily, upon its own motion, investigate and invoke its own powers.

4. Employees may appear and bargain through a union if they so desire, and the union may appear before the commission as the representatives of the employees. Employers may appear by agent or attorney or through an employers' association, if they so desire. Both kinds of organizations have appeared before the commission. While the law speaks of employer and employee and seems to contemplate a dispute between a single plant and its employees, and while in the last analysis each finding of the commission is a finding as to each plant or company, yet employees may appear through a union and the employer through his association. It sometimes happens, too, as a matter of practical cooperation, that the employees in a dozen plants are all in a union, and that the heads of the dozen plants are all in an association of employers, and the operation of collective bargaining is widened in such a case.

THIRTY-DAY NOTICE EXPLAINED.

THIRTY-DAY NOTICE EXPLAINED.

5. The law limits the 30 days' notice exclusively to wages and hours, and if the dispute is over some craft or trade question and does not involve wages or hours, it has been ruled that the 30 days' notice need not be given; therefore employees could strike on any question except that of wages or hours and not give 30 days' notice, with this one exception and qualification: That in case of any industrial dispute involving any sort of a question, if the commission starts an investigation (even if no 30 days' notice is required), there can be no strike or lock-out during that investigation. This rule is a wise one and prevents many disputes from reaching a serious stage.

6. Some informal pleadings are permitted, such as a motion to strike, or in relation to special appearances for the purpose of quashing the proceedings. Any such motion as may challenge the jurisdiction of the commission will be entertained, and the commission will in every case first consider and decide the question of its jurisdiction and of its right to proceed. If it determines that it has no jurisdiction, the case ends there; if jurisdiction is taken, the investigation proceeds. But while informal pleadings are permitted, they are never allowed to control the commission, in the sense that mere pleadings can determine the status of the parties before the commission of determine the result of the commission's hearings. If the pleadings assist in the preliminary and informal questions which first arise, they are permitted, otherwise the commission does not specially regard them. In other words, the adjective law, as lawyers call it, which is the law which relates to procedure, never controls the fundamental rights of the parties before the commission.

EACH DISPUTE CONSIDERED SEPARATE.

EACH DISPUTE CONSIDERED SEPARATE.

EACH DISPUTE CONSIDERED SEPARATE.

7. The commission has no one set mode of procedure which is followed in every case. While the general lines of the procedure are very much the same, and while some general modes of operation are apparent in various disputes the commission has adjusted, yet the commission finds that each dispute must stand on its own basis and be determined by the particular conditions which arise in that particular dispute. The commission does not begin its intercession in a dispute by a firm show of authority if it can be avoided. It intercedes with each side as a friend and a well-wisher; it stands for the best interest of society as a whole; it commences informally; and throughout all its proceedings it acts on the theory that its policy should be of two-thirds diplomacy and one-third authority. When a notice is received by the commission the first step is to get in touch with both sides and find out what has been done or is being done toward negotiations. If the two sides are in touch with each other and are negotiating, the commission stands aloof and watches negotiations. If the two sides are not negotiating, the commission calls them into conference and endeavors to start negotiations. It is sometimes the best policy to call both sides in at the same time before the commission; in other cases it is the best policy to call in each side separately. Often more can be accomplished by working with the opposing sides in private conference than can be accomplished with them together. If there is any past history or ancient bitterness, it is sometimes better to allow these differences to be thoroughly talked out before the two sides settle down to the actual consideration of the terms of a constructive agreement.

ONLY ONE STRIKE UNDER LAW.

ONLY ONE STRIKE UNDER LAW.

A summary of the industrial disputes before the commission shows the following:

The total number of complaints formally presented to the commission from August, 1915, to May, 1916, was 44; the total number of these cases settled was 37; total number still pending before the commission, 7; total number of impending strikes definitely prevented, 6; estimated number of informal complaints of industrial matters, 25. From one viewpoint it may be said that the whole 37 industrial matters settled by the commission or presented to it might have resulted in strikes, but, of course, some of them would undoubtedly have been settled without strikes. In the 6 cases specifically mentioned, strikes were actually averted, and the situation had become so acute that the intercession of the commission became absolutely necessary. There has been but one actual strike since the new law went into effect, and this occurred after the commission had concluded its formal investigation and the men had a right to strike under the law. This strike lasted about one week, was not marked by any violence whatever, and was settled on substantially the terms defined by the commission in its award.

Among the crafts represented in these disputes before the commission were cracker makers, tailors, barbers, machinists, painters, malsters, bill posters, smeltermen, dry goods clerks, brewers, street-carmen, carpenters, sheet-metal workers, railroad men, sign painters, coal miners, granite cutters, cigar makers, horseshoers, garment makers, and bricklayers.

A review of the work of the commission would be inadequate if I did not mention the part prohibition has played in aiding industrial peace. Prohibition is proving a great success in Colorado and the absence of the saloons is an important factor in preventing violence at the time of a strike, This is particularly marked where foreigners, such as the Leadville smeltermen, are involved.

I believe profoundly that this law will work to the advantage of labor and of capital, and that it will bring a larger measure of industrial peace than our State or any other State has hitherto enjoyed. It may not solve the whole problem of industrial disputes or eliminate all strikes, but it will tend to solve the problem, it will lesson the number of strikes, and it is at the very least a step in the right direction.

LABOR UNIONS OBEY THE LAW.

The labor unions of Colorado generally have obeyed the law without question. Their painstaking care to comply with every provision has been a source of gratification to the commission and has been a fine example of the best type of American citizenship in its obedience to law. No one could have witnessed the general conformity of the trade-unions in Colorado to this new industrial law, and say that labor unions do not obey the law. The State Federation of Labor has sent out a letter of instructions to every union affiliated with that organization, notifying them of the steps necessary to conform to the law, and urging them to keep within the law in all disputes.

I believe that the great majority of laboring men in Colorado have come to see clearly the great advantage this law brings. There are some individual labor icaders who have not yet indorsed the law nor the principles behind it; some of them are in a mood to be convinced, but have not accepted it, fearing that it is some new and strange contrivance designed by the selfish power of capitalists to destroy labor.

Of course, the law is nothing of the sort, and its actual operation is rapidly dissipating this idea. The objections offered to the law are these:

these:
That the law abridges and restrains the right to strike and that any such form of compulsion so called, is un-American and is a form of slavery.

The law does not restrain the right to strike. Considered from one viewpoint, it does restrain this right in a limited and temporary manner, and by this means it prevents sudden violence and promotes peaceful negotiations: it also restrains the right to lock out workingmen. It prevents the employer from cutting wages and lengthening hours and discharging bis men while the dispute is in progress.

From another viewpoint, the law does not restrain strikes. Suppose a group of men on April 26, who work for a common employer, meet to discuss and formulate demands for higher wages, and suppose it is urged that they go on a strike May 1. Some one suggests that it would be better to postpone the strike one month, or until June 1, and that this date complies with a law requiring 30 days' notice. Suppose the employees actually agreed to comply with this law, and did so by giving the 30 days' notice. This is a concrete example of how the law operates. Can it be said that such action and such continuance of work amount to slavery? The employees have simply advanced the time at which they will put their demands into effect. They have merely postponed the resort to force in the hope that force will not be necessary. The employer knows that their right to strike has not been taken away from them and that back of their demands is this potential right which may be exercised.

NO ELEMENT OF SLAVERY.

Often the knowledge of this potential right to strike is of more value to workingmen than the actual resort to the strike itself. The public has an interest in the matter and has a right to demand that all peaceful means be exhausted before the strike or lockout is resorted to. If this be slavery, then we must find a new meaning for that term. It does not comprehend a single element of slavery.

Very often trade agreements provide for a 30 days' notice before going on a strike, which would bring about compulsory work just as truly and effectively as this law brings about compulsory work. The only compulsory labor the American nation recognizes or ever will recognize is a compulsory labor imposed upon every man, based upon the Divine law that man shall earn his bread in the sweat of his brow.

It is not surprising that some employers or employees chafe under the restraint of compulsion. The two forces of capital and labor have been almost sovereign in their power. Public officials have been afraid to deal with them. They have been allowed to work out their own industrial disputes, but both of these powerful and valuable forces in American life must be brought under complete restraint of law.

DEPRIVED OF NO RIGHTS.

DEPRIVED OF NO RIGHTS.

Another objection has been that the law interferes with the power of the union to collectively bargain and make its own terms. There are three answers to this objection:

(a) The commission never uses its own power to compel the two sides to bargain together if they themselves will voluntarily get together and

(a) The commission here was tas any power to compete the two safes to bargain together if they themselves will voluntarily get together and bargain.

(b) The right to independent bargaining collectively is not absolutely taken away from either employer or employee; it is only temporarily withheld while the commission investigates.

(c) The one thing the commission does is to actually compel both sides to bargain collectively; it enforces and compels the exercise of the very right that some labor leaders say has been taken away by the law. Thus their objection is refuted by the very terms of the law itself. When we reflect that in so many instances employers have refused to treat with their employees or with labor unions and have said, "there is nothing to arbitrate," we must certainly admit that if there was anything labor needed it was this law, which compels employers to arbitrate, at least to the extent of bargaining collectively before the commission if the law provided for compulsory arbitration, then, indeed, could men say that it provided a form of compulsion, which took away the right of independent bargaining, but the law does not do this, the findings of the commission are not binding unless both sides choose to accept them and make them so. The findings of the commission are merely persuasive.

AS TO IMPORTING STRIKE BREAKERS.

AS TO IMPORTING STRIKE BREAKERS.

The other objection made to the law is that it will operate in favor of the employer by enabling him to bring in strike breakers during the waiting period and hold them in readiness for an anticipated strike. The best answer to this objection is that the law has not worked that way. On the contrary, it has worked the very opposite. It has done more to keep working men in their jobs than anything else could have done. The conferences before the commission tend to draw the parties

together, not apart, and in all of the disputes which have occurred not one employer has sought to offend the commission or disregard the spirit of the law by oringing in strike breakers. But there is, in my opinion, a better answer to this objection, which is that there was nothing which prevented an employer from bringing in strike breakers before the law was passed. The situation of the laboring man who has a job is no worse now than it was before; on the contrary, it is better. It is felle to say that an employer might bring in strike breakers during the 30-day waiting period provided by the law, when, as a matter of fact, he could bring them in at any time preceding the 30-day period under the law.

RIGHT TO EXAMINE BOOKS.

Some Colorado employers have urged objections against the law. Their chief objection has come from the fact that the law gives the commission the right to examine their books to determine in any given dispute whether they are making such a reasonable profit as affords just grounds for an increase in wages. But without such power the commission could never pass upon a wage dispute.

The question of whether or not the Colorado commission will be a fair commission is an individual and personal question with that commission, dependent upon their own personal prejudices, sense of fair dealing, and of obligation to their State. If any man be disposed to criticize, we ask that judgment be withheld while we do our utmost to work out this great problem.

Speaking as I know I do for my colleagues and myself, I declare that we are an impartial commission, and that we stand squarely between the opposing sides in every dispute; that we have a high sense of obligation and duty to the State of Colorado; that we seek to deal only with fairness and justice, and we have a high and honorable ideal which inspires in us the ambition to promote industrial peace.

MAKES FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

MAKES FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

MAKES FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

There can be no higher ideal for any man than that he desire peace. Peace with justice. And it must be forever true that what is right and what is fair can better be determined by the peaceful processes of friendly, calm, and reasonable negrtiations than by the bitter processes of hate, strife, and industrial warfare.

Workingmen and employers have lost more by the bitter clash of warfare than they have gained. Both sides will gain far more in the future by reasonable mediation and friendly conciliation through an industrial commission than they can ever gain by the strike or by the lockout. In any individual dispute one side or the other may feel that they have not secured by bargaining as much as they would have secured by force and coercion. They are probably mistaken, but even if they be right, in the long run they will secure more by bargaining than they will by force.

Is it too much to expect that we are entering upon a new industrial era, both in my beloved Sinte of Colorado and in every State of this Union? I think all signs point toward a new, a better, a fairer condition in industry. I believe that all hopes and aspirations of men are toward peace; not a peace of mere weakness and negative, but a constructive peace, a peace of mere weakness and negative, but a constructive peace, a peace of mere weakness and negative, but a constructive peace; not a peace of mere weakness and negative, but a constructive peace, a peace of mere weakness and negative, but a constructive peace, a peace of mere weakness and negative, but a constructive peace, a peace of mere weakness and negative, but a constructive peace, a peace of mere weakness and negative, but a constructive peace, a peace of mere weakness and negative, but a constructive peace, a peace of mere weakness and negative, but a constructive peace, a peace of mere weakness and negative, but a constructive peace, a peace of mere weakness and negative, but a constructive peace, a peace of mere weakness and negative, but a constr

DAWN OF A BRIGHTER DAY.

I look to a future day when all opposing parties in industrial disputes in all of the States of this Union and in the Nation will come with their grievances into a common council chamber to adjust and settle every controversy by the process of peaceful negotiation, and I look to see the nations of the world arise from this horrible nightmare of war and turn toward each other in a new spirit of friendliness, self-respect, and fairness and form and meet in a common council in a league of world nations to enforce peace, where there will be compulsory investigation of every international dispute, and public opinion behind the findings of the court will compel the opposing nations to accept the award made by this parliament of man. Can we ask for any higher ideal or seek any nobler ambition than to do our part in hastening the arrival of such a day. May God grant that such a day will speedily come.

A Lesson for Socialists.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

OF WASHINGTON.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 16, 1916.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, on this, the anniversary of the birth of Robert Owen, I insert in the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD, under leave granted to me, an account of Owen's effort to found a cooperative commonwealth at New Harmony, Ind., with the lesson to be learned from that experi-

Writing some time since in the London Daily Telegraph, a

granddaughter of Owen said:

"Strenuous as our efforts have been-efforts extending over four generations—the experiment at New Harmony was a dead failure, although no more favorable circumstances could be secured than those which obtained in our community. My grandfather had an income of £40,000 a year, and he spent the whole of his fortune on his experiments, dying without a pound in his pocket. Thus the village was entirely free from debt, and money stress could be avoided. My grandfather was a noted administrator, the spot was exceedingly well chosen, for the village had been well built and planted by its former German owners. The surrounding lands were vast and exceptionally

fertile. There was water power and an exit via the Wabash, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers. Nevertheless, an experiment begun under these favorable auspices failed in three short years. As the father of cooperation Robert Owen succeeded well; when he shared his fortune equally with his neighbors both he and many of his neighbors came to grief, because only the noblest among them were willing to work efficiently when the pressure

of daily need was removed.

"This is instructive; but it is well to bear in mind that the experiment was not a socialistic one, except in the earlier sense of the word Socialism, in which it is not opposed to individualism. Robert Owen's adventure was one of voluntary cooperation, and it failed because the character of his colleagues was below the standard necessary for the work. When the stress of competition in its most urgent form was removed they ceased of competition in its most urgent form was removed they ceased to labor effectively. This defect of character, which stands in the way of all cooperative effort, is one which the progress of mankind will tend to cure. It is just the opposite with Socialism, i. e., politically compelled cooperation. As men advance in character they will be less and less disposed to yield to this. Working in State harness, with the bureaucrat holding the reins and the whip, will be felt to be more intolerable the higher the level of character attained by men and women. Devotion to one's follows, which is the spontaneous outcome of sympathetic one's fellows, which is the spontaneous outcome of sympathetic feeling, is one thing. The forced reduction of the individual to the rôle of a cell in the so-called 'social organism' is another and a very different one. The former means freedom and virtue; the latter slavery and ejection from the moral sphere.

"It is necessary to insist on this, as some of our statesmen, while ostensibly opposing Socialism, are confusing the issue on this point, probably because they know no better. In an address on 'Labor and Socialism,' at South Shields, Sir William Robson, K. C., M. P., the solicitor general, said:

Robson, K. C., M. P., the solicitor general, said:

"He did not wish to say a word against the motives of the Socialists, for these motives were pure and noble, but they had to look also at the methods by which the motive was to be realized. The aims of Socialism were very high; it promised nothing less than the abolition of poverty and of inequality. That was a fine program; he was all for it, if they could carry it out. There had been nothing better in point of aim and motive put before the working classes than the introduction of Christianity itself, because Christianity came before them with a promise of a great social reconstruction. But there was a rather awkward obstacle in the way of social reconstruction on a Christian basis, and it was that Christian reconstruction of society must be preceded and founded on a great moral reconstruction of our own nature. Now, Socialism did not recognize that obstacle; Szzialism was prepared to put in force a scheme of social reconstruction just as difficult as any scheme of reconstruction based on the Sermon on the Mount. It did not tell us to wait till we were fit for it.

"Now, this it expects to us in besed on a positive miscon."

"Now this, it appears to us, is based on an entire misconception. The regimentation of socialism does not presuppose any such moral qualities in those who are submitted to it as Sir William Robson imagines. On the contrary, it is individ-ualistic cooperation for which those qualities are required; and the possibilities of individualism at any given time are limited by the then existing limitation of those qualities. With moral progress, and the consequent decline of invasive conduct and the growth of the spirit of justice, the amount of government permitted by individualism would grow less and less to the point of evanescence."

In an article on "New harmony," J. B. Barnhill, editor of

the American Anti-Socialist, of Washington, D. C., says:

In an article on "New harmony," J. B. Barnhill, editor of the American Anti-Socialist, of Washington, D. C., says:

Arthur Young was well inspired when he said: "Give a man the secure possession of a rock and he will turn it into a garden." But Young did not tell the whole truth. All experience proves that the surest way to turn a garden into a desert is to make possession insecure, to substitute community interest for private interest, community property for private property, community profits for private profits, community enterprise for private enterprise.

Socialism has over and over again taken some of the finest garden spots in the world and turned them into deserts. Ruskin Colony in Tennessee, New Australia in Paraguay, Topolobampo, and a score of other such pathetic failures will occur to every student of this subject. But the greatest and most instructive of such failures was at New Harmony, Ind. Here Robert Owen, father of ex-Congressman Robert Dale Owen, sank a princely fortune, amounting to an annual income of \$200,000, in a vain effort to supplant the competitive system with the "cooperative commonwealth." Dying penniless, he left a priceless legacy in the record of that great social experiment at New Harmony, which teaches us that the doctrine that you can found a society where competition does not exist is a delusion, and that the effort to realize such a society must necessarily result in failure.

Individualism makes the desert blossom as the rose. Socialism would turn every garden into a desert.

Hon. A. J. Balfour, late Prime Minister of England, recently said:

"I say that a community based upon the perfectly impossible scheme proposed by the Socialists—the scheme, I mean, which substitutes, for the individual enterprise, energy, and self-sacrifice, which are the very man's life and every man's life and every man's life and every man's industry and every man's earnings—I say that that ideal is one which not only will bring disaster upon the existing generation, but which will absolutely ruin

"It is upon the productive capacity, the inventiveness, the enterprise, the knowledge, the readiness to run risks, and to bear the result of risks when they go wrong; it is on this that a great community depends, and on this alone for the wealth it can use."

Tribute to a Post Office Key.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 16, 1916.

Mr. OLDFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record by inserting two letters from my constituent and friend, Hon. John H. Caldwell, of Mammoth Spring, Ark., both of which are published in the Lyceum World of February, 1916.

One letter is a tribute to a post-office key. The other letter is written to the Lyceum World in explanation of the first. This tribute to the post-office key is a splendid composition, full of the high sentiment of loyalty, and I believe will be of interest to the membership of the House and the country.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the

gentleman from Arkansas? There was no objection.

The letters are as follows:

A TRIBUTE TO A POST-OFFICE KEY.

A TRIBUTE TO A POST-OFFICE KEY.

To MY DEAR KEY: Thou hast been a true, tried, and trusted companion. Yea, thou hast been more than this. Thou hast been a contidant and custodian of the richest treasures of my every secret. Therefore, as I part with thee my soul aches at the grave of our associations. To surrender thee after these many years of continued contidential and friendly intercourse is like tearing the heartstrings from the breast of a defenseless infant.

Friends I have had and friends I have lost. Enemies have knifed me with double-edged weadons and stung the very fabric of my tenderest sensitiveness without remorse. My frame has shaken before their assaults of cyclonic fury while the cunning darts from the merchless arrows of the scornful have plerced me through. But, amid tears of sorrow and of joy thou hast remained unflinchingly and loyally by my side. Through the storms of rage and the quietude of peacefulness alike, thou hast recognized no superior, made no distinction, nor shown any preference against me, but stood wherever I stood and moved wherever I moved, and without a murmur calmly lay down upon my pillow, whether soft or stone, never forsaking, never complaining. Although other companions velned with red blood beating to the tune of living heart throbs have passed me by unnoticed in the busy stress of life, although excitement has surrounded thee and at times fairly paralyzed thee, yet through it all thou hast steadfastly clung to me with a fidelity surpassing all human understanding.

Thou hast went with me and laughed in my joy.

Thou hast went with me and laughed in my joy. Secrets denied the gods thou dost possess. Within thy circle no Judas ever trespassed. No betrayal is charged against thee.

For near 14 mileposts of life thou hast traveled with me and lived a life thoroughly in keeping with mine. If thou hast accomplished nothing else, thou hast proven beyond question one important overshadowing all others in this world of artificiality and make-believe, and that is this: That there is such a thing as loyalty, true friendship, and unselfishness. This alone is inestimable, and the knowledge thereof indeed assuring and refreshing beyond exaggeration to despondent souls.

indeed assuring and refreshing beyond exaggeration to despondent souls.

Hence thou hast wrought a good work!

May thy ashes rest in peace.

To say less of thee would be ingratifude.

To say more would be useless

Then hast pursued the ordinary channels of life without ambition. When contentment found me thou wert satisfied. Then, when ambition selzed my soul and fired its very existence to greater attempts thou hast always been near and encouraged me with thy presence. I assure the that in this lonely world this of itself was more than comforting.

Dangers have beset me.

Dangers have beset me. Flowers have budded for me.

Flowers have budded for me.

The sun has shone for me and then the horizon has suddenly darkened against me. But, through sunshine and cloud, through beds of thorns and strata of atmosphere perfumed with the odor of roses blown then hast remained unforsaking, unshaken, and unaffected.

The demand that I give thee up now sounds to me like an evocation from the tomb. I dislike it. But such it must be. Arise! Congratulations to thy new owner! He need fear no trouble with thee, for thy sweet and offenseless spirit bears no acquaintance with rebellion in its mildest form.

Thou wouldst be as trusting and confiding in treachery as a child, so innocent art thou of such.

Thou clingest like a leech to whomsoever adopts thee, and that, too, without requiring anything in return for that rare loyalty. So unhuman.

human.

human.

Thou art a creditor to none, a debtor to all. So unhuman! Collins evidently was thinking of thee when he said:

By fairy hands their knell is rung,
By forms unseen their dirge is sung.

But I will make myself an exception to this rule and offer herein a few words of heartfelt praise during thy life and before our required separation. I heartily recommend thee to thy new possessor, and can say without the least equivocation, that he will find thee a master in loyalty and purity.

For after these many years of placid and uninterrupted associations through joy and grief, through health and illness, through meekness and stubbornness, through pain and pleasure, fear and daring, thou hast certainly exemplified the noble character the poet described when

Shall I ask the brave soldier who fights by my side, In the cause of mankind, if our creeds agree? Shall I give the friend I have valued and tried, If he kneel not at the same altar with me?

Moore's melodies sound sweeter and more comprehensive now to me since we met. And now, as I bid thee farewell, remember, "Within this wall of flesh there is a soul counts thee her creditor."

JOHN H. CALDWELL.

MAMMOTH SPRING, ARK., January 26, 1916.

THE LYCEUM WORLD, Indianapolis, Ind.

Gentlemen: More than 14 years ago I rented a small lock box in the post office in this small village and carried the key to same until recently when I had to obtain a larger box to accommodate my mall. In doing so, the necessity arose wherein I had to give up and part with that small piece of metal, which had been constantly by my side in this city of the dead, the joy houses of the country, the gardens of pleasure around whose fountains all drink who may, and also with me in trials of criminals and which had never, never forsaken me, nor betrayed me, nor complained. Sickness had selzed me, and though frail and at times weak from the ravages of disease, I remembered that it had been a companion through it all and the strangeness of the matter dawned on me with considerable force, as I had to confess, that with all our faith in mankind, no human being had ever been, nor ever would be, as loyal and trustworthy. Although a metal, and feelingless, these thoughts arose in my mind, and for the peace and satisfaction it gave me, I prepared a few lines, between which you can see living a sentiment yet unworded, an appreciation and comprehension of mankind's infirmities yet unspoken. Regardless of the article's merit, I think well et it, and if you deem it fit to print, the honor is mine, and whatever pleasure such might afford you, you are more than welcome to it. I beg your pardon for this trespass, and remain.

Yours, very truly, remain, Yours, very truly, JOHN H. CALDWELL.

Speech Delivered by Hon. Wm. Elza Williams at the Democratic State Convention in Illinois, April 21, 1916.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MARTIN D. FOSTER, OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 16, 1916.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a speech delivered by Hon. WM. ELZA WILLIAMS at the Democratic State convention in Illinois on the 21st day of April, this year.

The speech is as follows:

SPRECH OF HON. WM. ELZA WILLIAMS AT THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CON-VENTION IN ILLINOIS.

Gentlemen of the convention, a committee representing the State organization called on me at 12 o'clock to-day and kindly invited me to address this convention. Before that time I had not anticipated making a formal speech. I thank the committee and the convention for this opportunity to address the assem-bled representatives of the Democracy of the great State of Illinois, and to acknowledge a debt of gratitude which I owe my party. Four years ago I was nominated for Congressman at Large on the Democratic State ticket, when salling was easy. Two years later I was again honored with the nomination, and elected in the face of an adverse Republican majority, when the rest of my ticket went down to defeat. Yes; I am under obligation to the Democratic Party, and feel it my duty, though others may falter, to stand for my party under adverse as well as under favorable conditions. I am not a fair-weather Democrat, I have not waited to see what the prospects for election are before determining to become a candidate for governor. am going in swimming, water warm or cold. [Applause.]

In what I say I shall confine my remarks to national issues, along which lines I am familiar, and in which you are more interested. I know some expect me to discuss State politics and say something sensational about the State administration. In this they will be disappointed. I do not know whether I will be in the attitude of a private citizen in the ranks or at the head of your State ticket, but in whatever capacity I may be found in the approaching campaign, I intend to so conduct my campaign for the nomination that I can without embarrassment to myself or my party defend the administration of Gov, Dunne. [Applause.] I do not believe in fighting Democrats. I believe in reserving your ammunition for the enemy, and not expending defamer of the Democratic Party, who, availing himself of the prestige given him by Democratic votes, is now seeking the Republican nomination for President, we would be represented by a sterling Democrat in the person of Roger C. Sullivan. [Applause.

Except for the very able address of the distinguished chairman of this convention, Mr. Lucey, who has so thoroughly dis-cussed national issues, I would go into these questions in detail. As it is, I will confine myself to a resume of conditions and issues as they confront us at the threshold of a national campaign. The Democratic Party has been in power three years, and in that period has enacted more constructive legislation than had gone on the statute books in a period of 50 years under Republican rule. These various reforms have been discussed already and need not be elaborated by me. Briefly stated, they are: A radical revision of the tariff, currency reform, antitrust laws, parcels post, the income tax, popular election of United States Senators, conservation of natural resources, and preparedness, to which may be added pending legislation, almost sure of enactment, including flood control, rural credits, the ship-purchase bill, and a nonpartisan tariff commission. There is no occasion to amplify argements in

vindication of these various measures at this time.

The Democratic slogan this year will be "peace and pros-We are enjoying an era of prosperity unsurpassed in the history of the country. Labor is uniformly employed at remunerative wages. Penury and want are driven from the American home, and prosperity and plenty abound upon every hand. This is due to the wise legislation which we have en-acted, to administrative duties well performed, and to peace, which, thank God, abides with us [applause], while the rest of the civilized world is being consumed in a saturnalia of slaughter and carnage and death. It is an easy matter to get into trouble; it is sometimes most difficult to keep out. trouble during the last two years has not been to get into war, but to keep out of war. We could have been in war easily enough, either in Mexico or in Europe, and would have been except for the splendid statesmanship and wise diplomacy of Woodrow Wilson. [Applause.] It has been my proud distinction to be in touch with this administration and to be in a position to see and observe and participate in all that has been done. I have seen the President in action. I know the motive that prompts his heart, his unfaltering devotion to his country. and his resolute determination to maintain peace at all hazards and at every sacrifice save that of national honor. No man can know the burdens that have weighed upon his soul, the load that he has carried, the sacrifices he has made, the torture of mind he has endured, except those who have been in daily contact with him. By his devotion and by these sacrifices he has endeared himself to the people of this country, and in the gratitude of their hearts they will reelect him in the coming November election. [Applause.]

I know that Republican politicians and partisan newspapers have criticized our Mexican policy. This, in the very nature of politics, was to be expected. I submit to you that there has been but one alternative, and that alternative—peace or war. Had the President pursued a different course we would have been long ago involved in war with Mexico, and the plains and mountain fastnesses of that desolate country would be strewn with the bleaching bones of the youth and bloom of American manhood. Those who have interests in Mexico and selfish purposes at heart would have forced the hand of the President and compelled intervention before this had it not been for his indomitable will and the determined policy of the administration to maintain peace.

The pressure has been great, but we have refrained from interfering in Mexican affairs, from assuming responsibility for the troubles that have wasted that country, until invasion of American soil and the destruction of American life and property by a hostile band with whom the Mexican Government is unable to cope, and it was not until our soil was invaded, our flag assailed, and American blood spilled that orders were issued to our troops to advance; and now that our Army is camped on Mexican soil and our flag floats there in triumph, I for one am opposed to the hauling down of that flag and the withdrawal of American troops until peace and order are restored throughout that distracted country. [Applause.]

For pearly two years conflagration has raged around the All Europe has been engulfed in a cruel, a merciless, a monstrous war. Complications have daily arisen involving the rights of American citizens and threatening the peace of our country. A greater task never devolved on man or fell to the lot it on your friends. Had this policy been pursued in the past, of a human being than the responsibility which has devolved on instead of being represented in the United States Senate by a Mr. Wilson, and no duty was ever discharged with greater fidelity or more unerring certainty than has he discharged the manifold duties and responsibilities growing out of this war. It has been charged that he has not exercised strict neutrality. This charge has no foundation in fact, and arises from a misconception of our relations to the warring nations of Europe. The administration has not favored nor discriminated against any of the belligerent powers, but has exercised a strict neutrality as to all in so far as unequal conditions have permitted. Our people have supplied food, clothing, and war munitions, as is our right under international law, to all nations accessible to our ports, and have denied none who are in a position to avail themselves of our markets. The President has not courted war and does not want war. He has not intentionally offended Germany, and I do not believe there will be war between this country and Germany. I believe that every question in dispute will be wisely adjusted through the channels of diplomacy. Germany is fighting for national existence, and in her desperation may violate international law and create causes of friction and dispute, but she does not do so with any intention or desire to provoke war with this country, and I do not believe that war will come. [Applause.]

Animosities have been engendered, national feeling aroused among many citizens of our country of foreign birth and extraction. Many have believed that some of our citizens of foreign birth are not truly American, and that they have entertained an affection for the country of their nativity in derogation of their duty to their adopted land. I hope and believe this is not true. I accord every American citizen of whatever origin or extraction the right to exercise his natural sympathies and entertain a choice between the warring nations according to natal proclivities, so long as that choice pertains only to other countries, and does not involve the exercise of a choice between this and any other country. The Anglo-American has a right to sympathize with his mother country and the German-American has a right to pray for the success of the fatherland, and as between England and Germany I accord the right of each citizen, either English or German, to weld his sympathies according to his proclivities, so long as in the exercise of his sympathics he does not impugn the motives, embarrass the foreign relations, and violate the neutrality of our own country. believe the citizen of German birth or extraction un-American, or that he would violate his duty to our flag. Germany and England he may be pro-German, but let war come, which God forbid, between Germany and the United States, and I confidently believe you will find the German-American as faithful and loyal and patriotic as any class of citizens enjoying the protection of our flag. [Applause.]

When I say the administration does not want war and has exercised every means to avert war, I would impress you that it is not because the administration is not American nor because the President would not defend American rights at all times and under all circumstances. The President stands for peace, but not for peace at any price. He is for peace, but for peace

with honor. [Applause.]

power.

We are inadequately prepared for war. We have pursued a peace policy for a half century, conscious of our own inherent strength and the inaccessibility of our shores to foreign approach, with a feeling of security against foreign attack, but we have been rudely awakened to the fact that while we have been enjoying the fruits of peace and feeding out of the hand of plenty other nations have been preparing for war. We now realize what unpreparedness means and how helpless we would be if involved in actual hostilities with any one or more firstclass powers. Cooperation is the order of the day in war as well as in business. Nations combine, confederate, and cooperate both for offense and defense. If we should at any time be so unfortunate as to become involved in war, it will not be with a single nation, and in all probability we will be attacked from two different sources—the east and the west. We are not immune from war, and the administration, while devoutly laboring to maintain peace, has taken a wise and courageous stand in favor of national preparedness. On this issue, among others, we will go to the people in the coming November election. [Applause.]

Our party is united as never before. Every Democrat throughout this wide land is for the renomination and reelection of Woodrow Wilson. There is no division in sentiment among Our platform will be replete with the accomplishments of a great administration and ring true Americanism in every United, we confront a divided enemy. Discordant and distracted notes emanate from its camp. The standpatter and the progressive, the pacifist and the militant form a motley group of unmalleable and irreconcilable elements without uniformity of purpose or cohesion of thought except for pelf and

I will not take your time further. I hope to have the opportunity during the coming campaign to discuss national issues in detail and at length throughout the State of Illinois. Whether I shall lead or follow will be determined by the voters at the primary in September; but in whatever capacity I appear, whether as an individual or as your candidate for governor, I promise you now that I will be found in the thick of the fray, upholding, supporting, and sustaining the hands of the President and promoting the cause and principles of the Democratic Party. [Applause.] Let me, in conclusion, express my confidence in the judgment, the wisdom, and the integrity of the American people and in the hope and expectation and belief that Democracy will again be triumphant and that Woodrow Wilson will be reelected President of the United States. [Applause.1

Congress and Flood Control.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. H. GARLAND DUPRÉ

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 16, 1916.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by incorporating an editorial from the New Orleans Times-Picayune of May 13, 1916, entitled Congress and flood control."

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Durké] asks unanimous consent to insert in the Record as a part of his remarks an article from the New Orleans Times-Picayune

on flood control. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the gentleman if we printed all the editorials written on the subject would the Congressional Record ever be finished?

Mr. DUPRÉ. I think not; but this has a bearing directly on the subject that comes up to-morrow and is very closely related to it. It voices the sentiment of the section most nearly affected by the pending legislation.
The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. DUPRÉ. A paliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker. Is it in order to submit a further request for unanimous consent to ask all Members of the House to read this editorial before the matter comes up to-morrow?

The SPEAKER. It is not. The article is as follows:

[New Orleans Times-Picayune, May 13, 1916.] " CONGRESS AND FLOOD CONTROL.

"Sixty-five Members of the House-less than one-sixth of that body's total membership-contrived the other day to force an amendment of the pending flood-control bill. That amendment, if finally adopted, would place an undue and unjust proportion of the expense of the approved flood-control measures in the Mississippi Valley upon the people of the lower valley, who have taxed themselves heavily for years and paid out many millions upon a task which all of the great political parties solemnly accepted and pronounced a 'national obligation.' The people of Louisiana alone have spent much more in this work than Congress is now asked to appropriate for its completion. If we reckon their past burdens and sacrifices they will pay more than their just proportion if the plan drafted by the Flood Committee into its bill is carried. But they have cheerfully consented to carry that load and are as nearly united in support of the floodcontrol bill as reported by the House's Flood Committee as any people have ever been upon any proposition.

There appears to be an element in Congress which, not content with the unjust amendment, seeks defeat of the bill entire. The Congressional Record of Monday carries in full the speech delivered on May 3 by Representative Frear, of Wisconsin. This gentleman charges that the bill represents a mere private 'land-reclamation' scheme, and asserts by implication that the people of the lower valley do not favor it. Nothing could be much farther from the truth. Mr. Frear's argument, as nearly as we can follow it through 20 pages of the Recond-interrupted by clippings and quotations more or less ancient and having no bearing upon the bill before the House-seems to be that nothing can be done about the floods; that they are visitations by nature, and 'nature will not be governed by the puny works of Army engineers.' He is apparently determined to block all efforts at flood protection, though he dissembles by talking of

further 'investigation.'

"The answer is that the river problem has been studied for generations and that practically all those students whose words are entitled to weight agree upon the provision of an adequate levee system as an essential feature of flood prevention in the Mississippi Valley. The southern newspapers which Mr. Frear quotes are agreed to this, we believe. Mr. Maxwell, of whom Mr. Frear makes convenient use in his attack, is supporting a project that provides also for levees. Mr. FREAR evidently opposes them, though declaring that he 'makes no pretense of expert knowledge on the subject.' Analyzed, his opposition seems to be directed against the expenditure of Federal money upon any project for improvement of the lower Mississippi and protection of the people of the lower valley against preventable flood disaster, though his own people, by deforestation, drainage, reclamation, and good roads movements, unwittingly contribute to that peril, and the legislature of his own State indorses the pending bill.

Before the House again takes up the flood-control bill next Wednesday we hope that every Member thereof will study Mr. FREAR's attack, and others like it, in the light of the platform expressions of his own party. No matter upon which side of the House he sits nor under whose leadership he votes he will find that his party pledges him to recognize flood control in the Mississippi Valley as a national obligation, as Mr. Frear evidently does not. Whether the flood-control bill presents a solution of the entire problem is a matter of opinion. It does, however, provide for work which, by the agreement of experts, is essential to any plan of flood control. As originally drawn, it obligated the Government to bear an acceptable proportion of the cost. The original provision with respect to division of cost ought, in common fairness and justice, to be restored.

"As for the insinuation that the people of the lower valley do not want the bill or are seriously divided in their opinions regarding it, that contention of Mr. Freak has been easily and utterly refuted. The charge that this movement toward prevention of floods which—to quote from the party platforms—are 'national in scope,' produce disasters that 'seriously affect the general welfare,' result in 'the interruption of interstate commerce,' 'disorganization of the mail service,' and 'enormous loss of life and property' is a mere private 'land reclamation scheme,' is a slander so silly and groundless we find it hard to believe Mr. FREAR himself believes it.

"Congress is asked to discharge a national obligation admitted by all parties to redeem a promise given by all parties, nearly four years ago. Will the majority suffer Mr. FREAR and the few other leaders of his type to mislead them to repudiation of the Nation's obligation and betrayal of the faith and pledge of all the

parties?"

Farmers' Loan Association.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HOMER P. SNYDER, OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 16, 1916.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I am not in any way opposed to this measure, except that I confess I can not see wherein it will benefit any farming community where the legal interest rate is 6 per cent, as it is in New York, for instance. If I desired to take a selfish view of the bill I would be against it because of the expense to which it puts the Government and the restrictions thrown about those who desire to take advantage of it, were it enacted, in States where the legal rates of interest are more than 6 per cent.

The stockholder, under this law, would pay the association 5 per cent of his loan for stock, and become responsible for an additional 5 per cent in case a loan is forfeited to the assoclation. He puts up all his property for 60 per cent of its value and he puts up, also, 20 per cent of the proposed improvement, agreeing that the amount he thus borrows shall be spent under the direction of the secretary of the association, at a cost to the borrower of about 4½ per cent, to which must be added the expense of the loan and of joining the association, which approximates 1 per cent additional.

What I desire to show is that in the sections of the country, where the farmer is now getting his loans at 6 per cent; the disadvantages surrounding this proposition are not compen-

sated for by the one-half of 1 per cent, which he apparently gains. They are more than offset by his retention of his connection with the banks in his section with whom he is now doing business. My argument is that the farmer, after he has made his primary loan in the loan association, and before doing it, must pay his loan at his local bank, and after he has secured the association loan, with its varied restrictions, his credit in that community is exhausted.

No one will attempt to say that he will lose money, but, in the end, after his improvements as agreed upon, have been made, the farmer, like many another man in business, will find that he has use for further quantities of money, and, it is my belief, that, after his security has been negotiated in making loans through the farm bank, he will have great difficulty in getting further assistance from local banks, or in securing additional credit because of his lack of necessary security.

While I believe this bill will be of great advantage in many States where the interest rates are above 6 per cent, I can not see where it will in any way advantage the farmers in the great State of New York, a district of which I have the honor

to represent.

Equal Suffrage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL HAYDEN. OF ARIZONA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 16, 1916.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, the National American Woman Suffrage Association is opposed to any plan for a woman's political party. For nearly 50 years this association has been laboring along nonpartisan lines in behalf of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and its officers are now more than ever convinced that nothing can be gained by either partisan or militant methods. The attitude of the National American Woman Suffrage Association is clearly set forth in a recent statement by Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, vice president of the association, which is as follows:

"Those whe regard the movement to oppose the party in power and to set up a 'suffrage party' as representing the ma-jority opinion of the suffragists throughout the country have an erroneous conception of the situation. From the very first, in 1869, the national association has been nonpartisan. attitude remains fixed to-day, despite the efforts of an offshoot

of the organization to change it.

"The group which believes the best results can be obtained for suffrage by fighting the party in power when the suffrage amendment failed to secure a two-thirds vote, forms a comparatively new organization which may be growing at present because of its peculiar appeal to some opponents of the party in power but which does not represent either the original or ma-

jority view of the suffrage workers,

"The leaders in Congress recognize, as do we, that not since 1869 has any party had two-thirds of all the votes in both branches of Congress. One party is necessarily always in the majority, but it can not be held responsible for a two-thirds vote when it does not possess it. As it is not likely that any party will soon again have two-thirds of the vote in Congress, and be able alone to put through Congress the Federal amendment, it behooves all suffragists to secure the support of all parties in order that we may gather from each the necessary strength and votes to secure the passage of our resolution.

"Now, the national association believes it is decidedly unwise to oppose the party in power by stumping against all its congressional candidates for several reasons. One is that it lays the suffrage workers open to injuring the chances of men who have been favorable to their cause in the several States. Senator Thomas, a man who for years has favored our cause, was opposed by this minority element simply because he was a Democrat. He was returned to the Senate notwithstanding this opposition. We can not work in that way, for that method does not make for cooperation. We want all the help we can get from every party, and any attitude which lines us up as a body in direct opposition to any party is fallacious and destructive to the suffrage interests.

"It is sometimes forgotten that advocates of votes for women are not asking for anything but their rights and that they do not desire any privileges not common to franchised men.

do not want a party of our own; we simply ask for our right to recognition by and inclusion in all the parties. In many States it would be both unwise and impolitic for us to take action against the Democratic Party merely because our Federal amendment has not been passed, when in those same States the Democratic platform contains a plank dealing with woman suffrage. How could the National Woman Suffrage Association, for instance, ask the suffrage associations in Pennsylvania to fight the Democrats when the Democratic Party in Pennsylvania gives the active support of its leaders to woman suffrage and has a plank indorsing woman suffrage in the Democratic State platform? The system of government in this country is not like that in England, where what we may call the platform of the Liberal Party is accepted throughout the country as the pronouncement of all adherents to it, and where the subdivisions of the country do not have their separate platforms.

Nonpartisanship is the original platform of the movement, and it has been in nowise changed by the flanking movement of a certain group of fighters. The main battle line fights under the original method. We recognize the fact that the flanking movement gains a certain temporary adherence, because it appeals to some opponents of the party that happens to be in power. When we take up the weapons of opposition we lay ourselves open to the possibility of being used as a weapon ourselves. And suffrage should not be made the tool of any po-

litical party.

'We should remember that only through cooperation of all interested in the movement can we gain success. This means cooperation not only between those of varying opinions in our own ranks, but between the suffrage workers as a whole and their friends in any and all parties at any and all times. need to put up no candidates of our own. Our friends among the legislators are growing in numbers daily. If appreciation of woman's preception is closely followed by respect for her judgment, all those who care to know the truth of the situation will heed what the judgment of the national association is in this matter.

"Frightening Congressmen into joining our ranks by the threat that otherwise they will lose their election is not as effective a method of promoting votes for women as converting those same Congressmen into the conviction that it is a matter of right and justice that women should be given the franchise. A great many of the enfranchised women of the West object to being urged to vote against the Democratic men who have helped them to win the vote in their several States. The salvation of the woman-suffrage movement lies in keeping it abso-

lutely nonpartisan.'

The Irish Revolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JEFF: MCLEMORE, OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 16, 1916.

Mr. McLEMORE. Mr. Speaker, with terrible and splendid light and as sudden as the lightning's flash, the black firmament of Europe recently blazed forth in the Irish revolution. Here was a stroke for liberty, a deed done in the memory of Washington, of Jefferson, of Andrew Jackson, of Patrick Henry, and other glorious American patriots, and of our own immortal Declaration of Independence. Yet some few Americans, Mr. Speaker, have condemned the Irish patriots. Republics are proverbially ungrateful, but more dangerous than ingratitude is that gross contentment with prosperity and power which makes the citizens of a democracy forget the stern, perilous deeds by which their ancestors won the rights of nationhood from a foreign tyrant.

Mr. Speaker, the Irish people have a claim to national independence based in the noblest traditions of mankind. Conquered after a civilized history of a thousand years, they have been for seven centuries subjected to English rule, and for seven centuries they have not ceased to hate and resist it. English rule of Ireland has not been a mere whim of obstinate tyranny; it has been a grim economic policy. This should be understood, for it is the key to the Irish problem.

During the Middle Ages Ireland progressed in arts, manufac-

other object than to crush this legitimate rival. Eventually laws were passed which prohibited the leading Irish industries and closed the seas to Irish ships. When the Irish Volunteers of 1782 compelled the English Parliament to publicly renounce all right to legislate for Ireland that country experienced the most rapid development which any nation has achieved in a similar period. Industries sprang up, commerce was renewed, plenty and contentment filled the Green Isle. Whereupon the English Government, by organized lawlessness, by burning homes, ravishing women, slaughtering children, torturing men, and devastating churches, goaded the people to the rebellion of 1798, and then, under the pretense of restoring order, passed the infamous "act of union" through a Parliament stuffed with new-made lords. During the past 116 years Irishmen have seen their country die of uninterrupted decay, without parallel in modern times. The people have been decimated by famine, while the land abounded with food. Industries have ceased, factories fallen to dust, artisans forgot their cunning, harbors forgot the ripple of busy keels.

Mr. Speaker, when individuals or corporations resort to unfair methods to assassinate a business rival we condemn them as criminals. But England in her destruction of Ireland committed the greatest economic crime of history. The more dramatic and obviously horrible incidents of Anglo-Irish historythe massacres, murders, widespread devastation, and brutal penal laws—were mere incidents in the steady strangulation of Irish economic independence,

Looking upon an impoverished country, the only one in the world which has lost half its population in the last 70 years, and remembering the terrible atrocities which have stained the centuries, what wonder that the Irish race throughout the world cherishes undying hostility to the tyrant? And are not those men who have aspired to redeem their land, to restore it to wealth and independence, worthy of the commendation of all freemen? When they resort to revolution, have they not an undeniable claim on the sympathy of America? For a century Irish representatives in the English Parliament have pleaded for a modicum of national rights, and the few successes they have had have been due to English fear of Irish rebellion. Two years ago the present Irish Party, which has been degenerated by life in London, social flattery, and the bribery of salaries and offices, accepted for Ireland a so-called home-rule bill, which compels the recognition of England's supremacy and grants Ireland no single power which characterizes nationhood. And to further make this measure a curse to the country the English parties connived to permit Sir Edward Carson to organize and arm a body of Orangemen sworn to fight against home rule. The situation thus created permitted the English Government to give the final blow, as they hoped, to Irish nationalism, by promising to cut off all of Ulster, or at least a part of that Province, from the rect of Ireland.

No people, Mr. Speaker, have ever placed themselves in so unfortunate a position as the good people of the North of Ire-land, who, in contradiction of all modern tendency, put religious intolerance above national integrity, falling victims to English politicians who frightened them with absurd specters. Ireland is the natural home of religious tolerance. Throughout the land Catholics and Protestants live peacefully side by side.

The ancestors of the Orangemen organized the volunteers of 1782 and the united Irishmen of 1798, yet to-day they would resist the liberties of their own land because the majority of their fellow countrymen are Catholics. This situation caused the formation, three years ago, of the new Irish volunteers, led by both Catholics and Protestants, and sworn to resist any attempt to deprive them of their national rights or to partition their country. Then a typically Irish thing happened: Orange volunteers and Irish volunteers began to grow friendly toward each other, and both were opposed to the English Government. But the war came, and with the most dastardly attempt at betraya! ever made by a national leader, John Redmond assumed to pledge the manhood of his country to the tyrant of seven From that day the Irish volunteers stood to their arms. They determined that if they died to defend a "small nationality" that that "small nationality" would be Ireland. They served notice that any attempt to conscript them would be met by a fight to the death. The Government tried to lure thoughtless young men, loafers, and ne'er-do-wells into the army; but in a year and a half only 49,000 Irishmen from the three southern Provinces enlisted and 39,000 Orangemen; the former were sent to France and Gallipoli; the latter were kept in Ireland to overawe their fellow countrymen. When the Government found that recruiting had failed in Ireland it planned to tures, trade, and commerce. Irish products competed with English; Irish ships carried them to the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and the Rhine. The relentless English policy had no ernment began to arrest the leaders of the volunteers and to attempt the seizure of arms. Soon a concerted effort would have been made to disarm all Irishmen. That is why the volun-

teers struck on Easter Monday.

Mr. Speaker, nothing could be more foolish than to suppose that their courageous act injured the cause of Ireland. Had they not struck they would have been disarmed; had they been disarmed, they and all their fellows would have been conscripted; they would have died in a foreign land in a cause not their own. Their country, already burdened by intolerable taxes which they had no say in imposing or spending, would never have got even the shadow of home rule, as the Liberals— even if they intended to keep their pledge—are no longer in power. By striking they have not rulned, they have saved their country. They gave their lives and fortunes to do it, and they are among the heroes of mankind. And it surely must be allowed by Americans an additional glory that they trod the brave way of revolution and proclaimed an Irish republic. Let it be remembered that these men were an organized body of soldiery, a national militia, officered and disciplined.

Under the rules of international law and the customs of civilization they should have been treated as soldiers; when they surrendered, they should have been held as prisoners of war. But England—England has lined their leaders against a wall and murdered them in cold blood! How will an English historian of the future, a man of honor like Lecky or Greene, come to this passage of English history without feeling that all chivalry departed his land that day? And these men who were shot, who were they? They were men of brilliant intellect and pure character; they were educators, scholars, poets, historians, and labor leaders! The whole civilized world stands shocked and shamed at this English deed. The revolution, while it lasted, was skillfully carried out, and with the last degree of courage. Previous to the invention of modern field artillery it would have succeeded. The patriots kept their flag ilying for seven days, while homes and public buildings, shat-tered by 6-inch shells, fell about them, crushed and mangled

Mr. Speaker, the alliance which the Irish rebels made with Germany is justified by every historic precedent. No small nation has ever freed itself from a larger tyrant except by alliance with that tyrant's enemy, and in 1798 France even went so far as to land an army in Ireland to help Ireland in her struggle for freedom from English tyranny, just as she lent help to America at an earlier date by a few years: The Germans had promised Sir Roger Casement, the great diplomat and patriot who sacrificed wealth and honors to serve his people, that if they came to Ireland they would come as friends. In a free Ireland, foreign capital and science would develop Ireland's great water power, mineral wealth, and labor power, while other nations would lease naval bases in Irish harbors from which to admonish England to observe the freedom of the seas. Perhaps the war will yet free Ireland; perhaps Germany will say at the peace conference: "We will free Belgium if you free Ireland." That will be the vindication of the patriots. England is now shooting Irishmen as once she would have shot Washington and his fellow patriots. Shall we as free and liberty-loving Americans continue to view these atrocities of England against struggling, bleeding Ireland without offering even a protest? Mr. Speaker, I trust not; and I sincerely hope that Americans will rise as one man and utter a protest in humanity's name that will be heard around the world.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WYATT AIKEN.

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

In the House of Representatives, Monday, May 15, 1916.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. Speaker, having followed closely the discussion of this air-nitrogen proposition, I must say I can not understand the opposition to it, or, rather, to those amendments offered in the Senate that would permit the Government to dispose of its surplus nitrogen.

Only danger of being involved in the world war, with prac-

enterprise, why not meet the requirements fully and prepare so that in extremity we can maintain an extensive and pro-longed war from our own resources?

I want to say right here and now that I favor the bill preferably with the original amendment to lease the plant in times of peace for the purpose of manufacturing nitrogen for fertilizer. If this amendment can not be renewed here in the House, then I most assuredly favor the amended bill as offered by its author, to allow the Government, in times of peace, to dispose of its surplus for the manufacture of fertilizer.

To be perfectly frank, I welcome the necessity that will force this Government to manufacture nitrogen for defense purposes as a most plausible pretext for furnishing the farmers with nitrogen. Before I have finished I think I will have shown that to furnish domestic nitrogen to our farmers is as much an act of preparedness as to furnish it to our munition plants.

Any person who has taken the trouble to inform himself of the composition of fertilizer, knows that it is made up of three components-nitrogen, potash, and phosphoric acid. two elements likewise enter largely into the composition of gunpowder. It is a well-known fact that Germany produces practically the world's entire output of potash. Our dependence on the German product is seen in the fact that potash has advanced from \$35 per ton before the war to \$500 now. It can not be had at all, and last year's short cotton crop was the sequel.

It is not a well-known fact, but none the less true, that practically the nitrogen supply of the world is in the hands of England. Chile and some other South American Republics supply the nitrate of soda of the world. England has concessupply the nitrate of soda of the world. sions in Chile that give her agents exclusive control of the nitrate of soda output. Every pound of nitrate of soda that is sold in the United States is sold through one general agency, and that agency makes its agreement with an English agent. And so it is, that in our present state of unpreparedness, we are absolutely dependent on two foreign powers for two of our main ingredients, both of powder and fertilizer.

Now, I contend that next to the actual weapons of war are the sinews of war; and I contend further that the sinews of war, in an agricultural country, are large or small, in direct proportion to the condition of agriculture. Nitrogen is an essential of agriculture, and nitrate of soda is the base and standard of the nitrogens of fertilizer, as gold is the standard of value in money. As it goes up or down all other sources of nitrogen, such as cottonseed meal, blood, tankage, and fish

scrap go up or down.

It would perhaps be a surprise to some to know that the nitrate of soda that was sold in our market this year, in some instances as high as \$85 per ton, and that brought \$45 per ton even before the war, can be mined in Chile, shipped to this country, and retailed profitably at \$9 per ton in normal times. But this is not possible as long as a foreign monopoly fixes the price.

While our country is endangered by reason of England and Germany controlling two of the main ingredients of gunpowder, our farmers are being robbed by the same agencies. Provisions and clothes are as essential to the successful conduct of a war as men and munitions. Germany's plight is illustrative of this assertion. And yet while we have come to realize the necessity for armed preparedness, some of us have democratic spasms because it is proposed to prepare in the broader sense of providing the sinews of war. Not in our insignificant Army, nor in our more formidable Navy, lies the secret of peace with Japan and Germany, but in our pocketbook, our storehouse. And what is the source of our wealth? Why, primarily, it is agriculture, and as our urban population increases far in excess of our rural population, the drain on this source will tend to impoverish us. We will need all the agencies within our reach to feed and clothe our own people, and if our wealth is to continue to be a bulwark against the military aggressions of other nations, it is imperative that we become independent of those nations in those ingredients that have such a direct bearing on that wealth.

We have heard much of the Underwood and Smith amendments being undemocratic. How, if Thomas Jefferson knew of such a proposition as coming from those high up in Democratic ranks, "he would turn over in his grave," and the like. Merest rot! Give Jefferson credit for having had some sense. If he were living to-day and were a member of this body, does anyone seriously believe that he would vote against a measure proposing to make this country independent of foreign powers in the matter of munitions simply because it proposed by an amend-Give Jefferson credit for having had some sense. ticulty no domestic supply of nitrogen, has made it possible to the matter of munitions simply because it proposed by an amend-pass any act looking to the Government manufacture of air nitrogen. But now that it is evident we must embark in this "sinews of war"? Jefferson was not a hidebound partisan; he was a statesman; and the efforts of latter-day politicians to bolster their own narrow views by misinterpreting, if not mis-

quoting him, has come to be a joke.

The question was asked in the Senate, "What is the difference between making and selling nitric acid or fertilizer to the farmer and making and selling shoes or boots or bread to the laboring man?" The answer is not far to seek. Cheapened fertilizer means increased production. Increased production means cheapened products to domestic consumers. The immediate effect, then, of cheapened production is to give the city man, if you will, or the laboring man everywhere, his living at a lower cost. The farmer must produce for all, and he is entitled to every facility and aid within the reach of the Government for this purpose.

Cotton is bringing 12 cents per pound here and 18 cents per pound in England to-day, as a result of the narrowness of some of our Representatives who refused to support the President's plans for the establishment of a merchant marine. Here, too, Jefferson was called in to justify opposition to what was termed

a Democratic measure.

What is the use of abusing England as an oppressor when we have the means with which to circumvent her in both the making and the transportation of our products? If we are not willing to use our great resources to meet competition either from Germany or England, we should at least have the manliness not to abuse those nations for the advantage they take of us.

I am in favor of preparedness in the broadest sense, that would provide not only munitions of war but the sinews of war as well; but I freely confess that if I felt no concern for this Nation's future as a fighting unit, I would vote for this measure, with one of the proposed amendments, as contributing to the

surest means of averting war.

There can be no sane reason for the Government constructing a nitrogen plant short of our needs, even in a world war, and there is less reason to let that plant be idle in times of peace, especially when the product sold would not be in competition with any manufactured or produced in the United States.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. C. BASCOM SLEMP. OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 15, 1916.

Mr. SLEMP. Mr. Speaker. There has been no legislation before this or any other Congress, in my judgment, that is more important or fraught with greater good to the people of this country than the legislation involving rural credits. The population of the United States is approximately 90,000,000 people. Nearly one-half of this great body of people are dependent for a living one way or another on agricultural pursuits. There are about 6,000,000 people owning American farms and about that number, in addition, living on farms as tenants. This Congress has passed a good-roads bill that is directly and specifically in the interest of this portion of our population. This roads legislation was supported by both political parties—Republicans and Democrats alike. While the appropriation by this Congress in Democrats alike. While the appropriation by this Congress in the interest of good roads is small yet, it will be increased as the condition of the Treasury will warrant and to the great good of the whole people. We are now considering another subject of equal importance to the farmers of the country, and that is the subject of how farmers can borrow money at low rates of interest, have the loans run for a long period, and repay these loans by small annual payments.

The bill before the House, the rural-credits bill, is a start in the right direction, and I am glad to vote for it. It is limited in its scope; it does not do all that the most ardent rural-credit advocate desires, but it is a beginning. The administrative features of the bill may appear to be tedious and cumbersome, but in time farmers will understand it and, I hope, will avail themselves of its provisions. This bill offers only limited opportunities to farmers in securing loans. A man who has no property or no additional credit can not borrow money as a result of this legislation. If a man has a farm worth \$2,000 and wants to buy an adjoining place worth \$3,000, he can borrow through these land associations this \$3,000 by placing a mortgage to that amount on both places, and pay the loan off in, say, 20 years by paying a small amount each year. For example, if the borby President Wilson to members of the National Press Club,

rower desired to pay this loan off in 16 years and the rate was 6 per cent, he could do it by paying \$800 each year. Any man who is neither reckless nor a spendthrift can make \$300 clear on a \$5,000 farm without serious trouble. This offers facilities that the farmer does not now have and which it is highly important he should have.

Under the bill the farmer can only borrow to the extent of 60 per cent of the value of his property. The Government does not guarantee the loan, and therefore the Government takes no risk. The function of the Government, through officials and appraisers well and carefully selected, in a sense is to pass upon values, so that the bonds of the mortgage can more easily be sold to the investing public. A man working at the mines and having accumulated, say, \$1,000, and desiring to buy a small farm, can put in this \$1,000 and then borrow through these land associations \$1,500, to be repaid in annual installments running, say, 20 years if he desires, and thus own a place worth \$2,500, where he can raise his family and make an income in addition to what he receives at the mine. If a farmer needs additional money with which to stock his farm, he can utilize these farm-loan asso-

ciations and get the needed money.

Every civilized and highly organized nation of the world has a rural-credit system. Some of the best minds of this country have been at work toward adapting such a system to the needs and to the genius of the American people. The bill before the House is reported by the Committee on Banking and Currency, by Republican and Democratic members, after months of hearings, discussions, and consideration of various plans. expected that through the provisions of this bill all the loans desired by farmers can be met, but many of them can be; and in years to come the facilities can be made ever to increase.

The bill is a direct encouragement to people to own farms. Every young man in a store, in a factory, on a farm, in a mine, by saving his earnings a few years up to 40 per cent of the value of the farm he wants to buy can secure the remainder through this governmental agency and own his own home. this makes for saving among our people there is no doubt. That this makes for more people owning their own homes, and therefore for better citizenship, there can be no doubt. As this plan is tried out and adapted to the needs of the American farmer, it can be extended so that the farmer can have the same extent of credit, in proportion to his needs, that the manufacturer, merchant, coal, or other operator, now has.

Mr. Speaker, I have the honor to represent on the floor of this House one of the best, most interesting, most independent, most diversified districts in the United States. sections of this country are so favored as the ninth congressional district of Virginia. It lies at the headwaters of the Tennessee, Big Sandy, and New Rivers.

The farmers need no irrigation for their farms. Streams of pure mountain water intersect every portion of the District, in fact almost every farm. The climate is temperate, the altitude such as to make it a perpetual health resort. At great expense the sturdy citizens have built macadam roads so that the farmer can haul his produce to the station or visit his neighbor Coal operations bringing out over 8,000,000 tons of coal annually, iron furnaces, extract plants, pulp mills, and numerous other industries employ thousands of laborers that are fed from the products of the southwest Virginia farms. these farmers need, and have needed for years, is credit facilities, some place at which they can borrow money at a reasonable rate of interest and on easy payments. This bill is a beginning, a start in the right direction, by which they can be Future Congresses can extend or amend the bill as the needs of the farmers are shown. I congratulate the House on passing the bill, and I am glad to vote for it.

Speech delivered by President Wilson to the National Press Club, Monday Night, May 15, 1916.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. C. C. DILL, OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 17, 1916.

Monday night, May 15, 1916. The President delivered the speech with the understanding he would not be quoted. Later at the urgent request of the club, he consented that the speech

be made public. The speech is as follows:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Press Club, I am both glad and sorry to be here; glad because I am always happy to be with you, and know and like so many of you, and sorry because I have to make a speech. One of the leading faults of you gentlemen of the press is your inordinate desire to hear other men talk, to draw them out upon all occasions, whether tney wish to be drawn out or not. I remember being in this Press Club once before, making many unpremeditated disclosures of myself, and then having you with your singular instinct for publicity insist that I should give it away to everybody else.

I was thinking as I was looking forward to coming here this evening of that other occasion when I stood very nearly at the threshold of the duties that I have since been called upon to perform, and I was going over in my mind the impressions that I then had by way of forecast of the duties of President and comparing them with the experiences that have followed. I must say that the forecast has been very largely verified, and that the impressions I had then have been deepened rather than weakened.

You may recall that I said then that I felt constantly a personal detachment from the Presidency; that one thing that I resented when I was not performing the duties of the office was being reminded that I was the President of the United States. I felt toward it as a man feels toward a great function which, in working hours, he is obliged to perform, but which, out of working hours, he is glad to get away from and almost forget and resume the quiet course of his own thoughts. I am constantly reminded as I go about, as I do sometimes at the week end, of the personal inconvenience of being President of the United States. If I want to know how many people live in a small town all I have to do is to go there and they at once line up to be counted. I might, in a census-taking year, save the census takers a great deal of trouble by asking them to accompany me and count the people on the spot. Sometimes, when I am most beset, I seriously think of renting a pair of whiskers or of doing something else that will furnish me with an adequate disguise, because I am sorry to find that the cut of my jib is unmistakable and that I must sail under false colors if I am going to sail incognito.

Yet as I have matched my experiences with my anticipations, I, of course, have been aware that I was taken by surprise because of the prominence of many things to which I had not looked forward. When we are dealing with domestic affairs, gentlemen, we are dealing with things that to us as Americans are more or less calculable. There is a singular variety among our citizenship, it is true, a greater variety even than I had anticipated; but, after all, we are all steeped in the same atmosphere, we are all surrounded by the same environment, we are all more or less affected by the same traditions, and, moreover, we are working out something that has to be worked out among ourselves, and the elements are there to be dealt with at first hand. But when the fortunes of your own country are, so to say, subject to the incalculable winds of passion that are blowing through other parts of the world, then the strain is of a singular and unprecedented kind, because you do not know by what turn of the wheel of fortune the control of things is going to be taken out of your hand; it makes no difference how deep the passion of the Nation lies, that passion may be so overborne by the rush of fortune in circumstances like those which now exist that you feel the sort of—I had almost said resentment that a man feels when his own affairs are not within his own hands. You can imagine the strain upon the feeling of any man who is trying to interpret the spirit of his country when he feels that that spirit can not have its own way beyond a certain point. And one of the greatest points of strain upon me, if I may be permitted to point it out, was this:

There are two reasons why the chief wish of America is for peace. One is that they love peace and have nothing to do with the present quarrel; and the other is that they believe the present quarrel has carried those engaged in it so far that they can not be held to ordinary standards of responsibility, and that, therefore, as some men have expressed it to me, since the rest of the world is mad, why should we not simply refuse to have anything to do with the rest of the world in the ordinary channels of action? Why not let the storm pass, and then, when it is all over, have the reckonings? Knowing that from both these two points of view the passion of America was for peace, I was, nevertheless, aware that America is one of the

Nations of the world, not only, but one of the chief Nations of the world-a Nation that grows more and more powerful almost in spite of herself; that grows morally more and more influential even when she is not aware of it; and that if she is to play the part which she most covets, it is necessary that she should act more or less from the point of view of the rest of the world. If I can not retain my moral influence over a man except by occasionally knocking him down, if that is the only basis upon which he will respect me, then for the sake of his soul I have got occasionally to knock him down. how we have read in-is not it in Ralph Connor's stories of western life in Canada?—that all his sky pilots are ready for a fracas at any time, and how the ultimate salvation of the souls of their parishioners depends upon their using their fists occasionally. If a man will not listen to you quietly in a seat, sit on his neck and make him listen; just as I have always maintained, particularly in view of certain experiences of mine, that the shortest road to a boy's moral sense is through his cuticle. There is a direct and, if I may be permitted the pun, a fundamental connection between the surface of his skin and his moral consciousness. You arrest his attention first in that way, and then get the moral lesson conveyed to him in milder ways that, if he were grown up, would be the only ways you

So I say that I have been aware that in order to do the very thing that we are proudest of the ability to do, there might come a time when we would have to do it in a way that we would prefer not to do it; and the great burden on my spirits, gentlemen, has been that it has been up to me to choose when that time came. Can you imagine a thing more calculated to keep a man awake nights than that? Because, just because I did not feet that I was the whole thing and was aware that my duty was a duty of interpretation, how could I be sure that I had the right elements of information by which to interpret truly?

What we are now talking about is largely spiritual. You say, "All the people out my way think so and so." Now, I know perfectly well that you have not talked with all the people out your way. I find that out again and again. And so you are The people of the United States are not taken by surprise. asking anybody's leave to do their own thinking, and are not asking anybody to tip them off what they ought to think. are thinking for themselves, every man for himself; and you do not know, and the worst of it is, since the responsibility is mine, I do not know what they are thinking about. I have the most imperfect means of finding out, and yet I have got to act as if I knew. That is the burden of it, and I tell you, gentlemen, it is a pretty serious burden, particularly if you look upon the office as I do-that I am not put here to do what I please. If I vere, it would have been very much more interesting than it has been. I am put here to interpret, to register, to suggest, and, more than that, and much greater than that, to

be suggested to.

Now, that is where the experience that I forecast has differed from the experience that I have had. In domestic matters I think I can in most cases come pretty near a guess where the thought of America is going, but in foreign affairs the chief element is where action is going on in other quarters of the world and not where thought is going in the United States. Therefore, I have several times taken the liberty of urging upon you gentlemen not yourselves to know more than the State Department knows about foreign affairs. Some of you have shown a singular range of omniscience, and certain things have been reported as understood in administrative circles which I never heard of until I read the newspapers. I am constantly taken by surprise in regard to decisions which are said to be my own, and this gives me an uncomfortable feeling that some providence is at work with which I have had no communication at all. Now, that is pretty dangerous, gentlemen, because it happens that remarks start fires. There is tinder lying every where, not only on the other side of the water, but on this side of the water, and a man that spreads sparks may be responsible for something a great deal worse than burning a town on the Mexican border. Thoughts may be bandits. Thoughts may be Thoughts may be invaders. Thoughts may be disturbers of international peace; and when you reflect upon the importance of this country keeping out of the present war, you will know what tremendous elements we are all dealing with. We are all in the same boat. If somebody does not keep the processes of peace going, if somebody does not keep their passions disengaged, by what impartial judgment and suggestion is the world to be aided to a solution when the whole thing is over? If you are in a conference in which you know nobody is disinterested, how are you going to make a plan? I tell you this, gentlemen, the only thing that saves the world is the little

handful of disinterested men that are in it.

Now, I have found a few disinterested men. I wish I had I can name two or three men with whom I have conferred again and again, and I have never caught them by an inadvertance thinking about themselves for their own interests, and I tie to those men as you would tie to an anchor. I tie to them as you would tie to the voices of conscience if you could be sure that you always heard them. Men who have no axes to grind. Men who love America so that they would give their lives for it and never care whether anybody heard that they had given their lives for it; willing to die in obscurity if only they might serve. Those are the men, and nations like those men are the nations that are going to serve the world and save it. There never was a time in the history of the world when character, just sheer character all by itself, told more than it does now. A friend of mine says that every man who takes office in Washington either grows or swells, and when I give a man an office I watch him carefully to see whether he is swelling or growing. The mischief of it is that when they swell they do not swell enough to burst. If they would only swell to the point where you might insert a pin and let the gases out, it would be a great delight. I do not know any pastime that would be more diverting, except that the gases are probably poisonous so that we would have to stand from under. But the men who grow, the men who think better a year after they are put in office than they thought when they were put in office, are the balance wheel of the whole thing. They are the ballast that enables the craft to carry sail and to make port in the long run, no matter what the weather is.

So I have come willing to make this narrative of experience to you. I have come through the fire since I talked to you last. Whether the metal is purer than it was, God only knows; but the fire has been there, the fire has penetrated every part of it, and if I may believe my own thoughts I have less partisan feeling, more impatience of party maneuver, more enthusiasm for the right thing, no matter whom it hurts, than I ever had before in my life. And I have something that it is no doubt dangerous to have, but that I can not help having. I have a profound intellectual contempt for men who can not see the signs of the times. I have to deal with some men who know no more of the modern processes of politics than if they were living in the eighteenth century, and for them I have a profound and comprehensive intellectual contempt. They are blind. They are hopelessly blind; and the worst of it is I have to spend hours of my time talking to them when I know before I start as much as after I have finished that it is absolutely useless to

talk to them. I am talking in vacuo.

The business of every one of us, gentlemen, is to realize that if we are correspondents of papers who have not yet heard of modern times we ought to send them as many intimations of There is a modern movements as they are willing to print. simile that was used by a very interesting English writer that has been much in my mind. Like myself, he had often been urged not to try to change so many things. I remember when I was president of a university a man said to me, "Good heavens, man, why don't you leave something alone and let it stay the way it is?" And I said, "If you will guarantee to me that it will stay the way it is I will let it alone; but if you knew anywill stay the way it is I will let it alone; but if you knew anything you would know that if you leave a live thing alone it will not stay where it is. It will develop and will either go in the wrong direction or decay." I reminded him of this thing that the English writer said, that if you want to keep a white post white you can not let it alone. It will get black. You have to keep doing something to it. In that instance you have got to keep painting it white, and you have got to paint it white very frequently in order to keep it white, because there are forces at work that will get the better of you. Not only will it turn black, but the forces of moisture and the other forces of patters will penetrate the white paint and get at the fiber of the nature will penetrate the white paint and get at the fiber of the wood, and decay will set in, and the next time you try to paint it you will find that there is nothing but punk to paint. Then you will remember the Red Queen in "Alice in Wonderland," or "Alice Through the Looking Glass"—I forget which, it has been so long since I read them-who takes Alice by the hand and they rush along at a great pace, and then when they stop Alice looks around and says, "But we are just where we were when we started." "Yes," said the Red Queen, "you have to run twice as fast as that to get anywhere else.'

That is also true, gentlemen, of the world and of affairs. You have got to run fast merely to stay where you are, and in order to get anywhere you have got to run twice as fast as that. That is what people do not realize. That is the mischief of these hopeless dams against the stream, known as reactionaries

and standpatters, and other words of obloquy. That is what is the matter with them-they are not even staying where they were; they are sinking further and further back in what will some time comfortably close over their heads as the black waters of oblivion. I sometimes imagine that I see their heads going down, and I am not inclined even to throw them a life preserver. The sooner they disappear the better. We need their places for people who are awake, and we particularly need now, gentlemen, men who will divest themselves of party passion and of personal preference and will try to think in the terms of America. If a man describes himself to me now in any other terms than those terms, I am not sure of him; and I love the fellows that come into my office sometimes and say, "Mr. President, I am an American." Their hearts are right, their instinct true; they are going in the right direction, and will take the leadership if they believe that the leader is also a man who thinks first of America.

You will see, gentlemen, that I did not premeditate these remarks, or they would have had some connection with each other. They would have had some plan. I have merely given myself the pleasure of telling you what has really been in my heart, and not only has been in my heart but is in my heart every day of the week. If I did not go off at week ends occasionally and throw off, as much as it is possible to throw off, this burden, I could not stand it. This week I went down the Potomac and up the James, and substituted history for politics; and there was an infinite, sweet calm in some of those old places that reminded me of the records that were made in the days that are past; and I comforted myself with the recollection that the men we remember are the disinterested men who gave us the deeds that have covered the name of America all over with the luster of imperishable glory.

Farm Loans.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OE

HON. JOHN R. CONNELLY.

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 15, 1916.

Mr. CONNELLY. Mr. Speaker, the matter of farm loans or rural credits has been one that has engaged the attention of Members of Congress, as well as others, for some time, and it is a matter of vital importance to the great farming sections of the country. There has been much discussion here in regard to which is the better way to extend this help to the farmers, and I presume that each proposition advanced expresses the honest conviction of those who have spoken. I have lived all of my life either on a farm or where farming was the principal interest of the community, and I know a good deal about the test that the average farmer will place on any bill that goes to the country from this Congress.

The average farmer will not care so much whether you have one farm-loan bank or twelve; he will not seriously consider many of the features of purely administrative concern that have taken up much time of the committee, but he will want to know whether the bill will permit him to hire money on his farm at a low rate of interest for a long time, with options to pay the debt at any time after a reasonable period. He will like to have the debt so made that he can pay installments yearly, and when the lean years come—as they come to farmers of every section—that he may be allowed some options as to carrying payments over occasionally. He will want but little red tape. He is interested largely in results and does not care much about theories. Farmers are not entirely free from selfishness, but I believe that you will find more men on the farm who are fair and who only demand a fair show with no favors than you will find almost anywhere else. The farmer is willing to pay his debts, and he is willing to pay his interest, but he feels that in the matter of being allowed to borrow money and hire capital to help him in conducting his business he has been called upon in many cases to pay a higher rate of interest than he should have had to pay, taking into consideration the fact that his farm is as good security as can be found outside of a Government bond and the further fact that he borrows money usually for a term of years instead of a term of months, as is the case in many other lines of business.

I am for this bill for more than one reason. I believe that it is a workable bill; that it will reduce the rates of interest where now they are unreasonably high. I believe that it will teach the farmers how to cooperate with one another. that it will be a total saving of many thousands of dollars in interest each year to the farmers of the district that I have the honor to represent, and that means much to them. I believe that in the end it will cost the Government but little, and that every man who votes for the passage of this act will soon see that it was wise legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I regret that, regardless of the value of legisla-tion proposed, we always find those who will criticize without suggesting a better plan. I have read in some of the papers a very severe criticism of the bill under consideration, and I have received some letters from farmers who have been misled by these newspaper articles, saying that the bill proposed was a makeshift and was being put out to hoodwink the farmer. Now, what reason could any party have to enact a bill that would be a failure and would not bring results? Will not every bill passed by Congress have to meet the test of the country, and will not those who pass the legislation be held responsible for its defects? Such criticism and comment can have but one purpose, and that is to mislead the farmers and make them believe that they are being wronged. I have observed that much of the criticism comes from those who have never made any legitimate effort to give to the farmers of the country a farm-loan system and who fear that if the farmers really find that they have had some legislation in their favor the party in power will receive some benefit in a political way. I can see no other reason why men who profess to be the friend of the farmer and who express a desire to be helpful to them in solving some of the questions that are vital to their welfare should criticize this measure while offering nothing to take its place.

I confess that the plan here in the United States is a new one, but many of the older countries of the world have laws along this line, and they have found them to be of value to the farmer, whose work year by year becomes better understood and better appreciated by those who do not live on the farm. It may be that there will be some weak places found in this bill when it is placed in operation, but no party will dare to remove it from the statute books when once there without placing a better one in its stead. The weak places can be remedied as they appear. Many who are now criticizing this measure were just as sure that the regional-reserve bank act would not work and made many prophecies of disaster that would come after that law was enacted. Those calamities have not come, and the chances are that in a few years from now men who are now criticizing this measure will be claiming much credit for its passage, because it will prove to be a good law and serve the purpose that it was intended to serve by those who have been instrumental in framing it and bringing it to a final passage on the floor of this House.

Some who have made criticisms on the bill have done so because it excluded certain people from the benefits of its pro-visions. The farmer who borrows money under the provisions of this bill must be an actual bona fide farmer and the fellow who would speculate in farm lands can not secure money under this law. It is not the purpose of the framers of the law to make speculation in farm lands more profitable. There is no good reason why the speculator should be encouraged. There are many people who believe that speculation in farm lands should be discouraged rather than encouraged. If this law helps the farmer to secure the money that he finds it necessary to hire at a lower rate of interest, if it gives him loans without paying commissions to secure them, if it permits him to have long time to repay, with a plan of amortization that will at the end of a reasonable time repay the whole debt, it will, in my opinion, be a blessing to that great class of men and women who have done much toward making the country great in developing its natural resources and who actually add to the wealth of the Nation by living on the farm and taking from the soil that which feeds the Nation. In the short time that I have been permitted to take a part in the affairs on the floor of this House, I have never cast a vote with more satisfaction than when I have been permitted to vote for this great bill known as the farm-loan bill.

It is intended to fix a meeting place for the person with money to loan and the person who desires to borrow that money. proposes to help both of these people and the class to which each belongs. It can not harm people of other classes, because the success and prosperity of the whole Nation, with its varied interests, hinges largely upon the success and prosperity of the farmer. Make him prosperous and he will carry prosperity like a benediction to the fireside of every citizen, rich and poor, Philippine Islands.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN.

OF TENNESSEE.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, May 17, 1916.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to submit for the serious consideration of this House, especially the Members representing the Southern States, the following petition, which I have received from Mr. Laurus Loomis, of 345 Broadway, New York City, who was present at the recent annual meeting of the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, held in the city of Atlanta. Mr. Loomis was requested to present this petition to Congress:

RETENTION OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS BY THE UNITED STATES. To the Congress of the United States:

Recognizing the fact that the retention of the Philippine Islands is a matter of great interest to the cotton manufacturers of the Southern States.

In the first year of the American occupation, 1899, there was practically no imports of cotton goods from the United States. In 1915 there were \$6,900,000 worth of cotton goods exported from this country to the islands.

It may be surprising, but nevertheless true, in the same year, 1915, this exceeded the total value of cotton goods shipped to the following countries: China, Arabia, Colombia, Chile, and Brazil, a total value of \$5,400,000. In other words, there was exported to the Philippine Islands 112,000,000 yards compared with 95,700,000 yards to China, Arabia Colombia, Chile, and Brazil.

A large proportion was manufactured by the southern cotton mills, shipped not only in the grey or unbleached states but also bleached and printed for the use of the natives. This does not include over \$1,000,000 in thread, hosiery, blankets, and other articles of cotton manufacture.

The gain made by the United States in export trade with the Philip-

A first proportion was manufactured by the southern cotton mills, shipped not only in the grey or unbleached states but also bleached and printed for the use of the natives. This does not include over \$1,000,000 in thread, hostery, blankets, and other articles of cotton manufacture.

The gain made by the United States in export trade with the Philippine Islands, from \$16,000,000 in 1913 to \$24,000,000,000 in 1914, was at the expense of the full states in 1914 was \$48,000,000, one-half of which was from the United States. The exports to this country were about the same proportion, or \$49,000,000.

The manufacturers of the South can not but view with grave concern the interference or destruction of this trade, which not only affects seriously the cotton manufacturers of the South but also thousands of employees who work in the mills and the cotton planters who supply the cotton.

After the great victory of the United States fleet under Admiral Dewey in Manila Bay, which made this country a world power, the merchants of the city of New York presented a testimonial to the line will have been controlled in the interest of civilization of the United States, to retail beamen. The undersigned, irrespective of party, would respectfully request for a decisive vote against the Senate bill now under consideration in the House of Representatives.

Barker Cotton Mills, Mobile, Ala., by J. A. Rountree; C. E. Neusler Pantian Mills, Kings Mountain, N. C.; H. B. Helgh, cotton dealer, Charlotte, N. C.; Manetin Mills, Gastonia, N. C.; Mary Louise Mills, Mayo, S. C., by H. S. Washburn; Anniston Mills, Gastonia, N. C.; H. B. Holdo, S. C.; Mary Louise Mills, Mayo, S. C., by H. S. Washburn; Anniston Mills, Gastonia, N. C.; C. D. Gray, Rex Spinning Co., Gastonia, N. C.; J. O. White, Madena Mills, Gastonia, N. C.; H. B. Moore, Madena Mills, Gastonia, N. C.; H. B. Hoore, Madena Mills, Gastonia, N. C.; J. C. Chamiler, Colory, Mills, Gastonia, N. C.; J. C. Chamiler, C. C. Gray, Rex Spinning Co., Gastonia, N. C.; J. Leve, Spencer Motor Mill

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY I. EMERSON, OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, May 15, 1916.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, May 13, 1916.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, May 18, 1916.

Hon. Henry I. Emerson.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Emerson: The House of Representatives has, I believe, under consideration, or will soon have, the rural-credits bill, which has been passed by the Senate.

I desire to call your attention to the rider exempting all of the employees of the Federal farm-loan board, including ordinary clerks, from the civil-service law. This is about as indefensible a patronage grab as has been presented to the House this year. It is absolutely inexcusable, If we are to adopt a rural-credit system tainted from the outset with partisan politics, then it will be worse than no system at all.

I hope you will see the wisdom of voting against this vicious rider

I hope you will see the wisdom of voting against this vicious rider when the bill comes up for passage.

Very truly, yours,

MAYO FESLER, Secretary.

Flood Control.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWIN D. RICKETTS. OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, May 17, 1916.

Mr. RICKETTS. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House. it is proposed by this bill to appropriate \$45,000,000 for the control of the floods and the general improvement of the Mississippi River, and the bill authorizes the Secretary of War to carry on continuously for that purpose the plans of the Mississippi River Commission.

Section 2 of the bill provides for the control of floods, removal of débris, and the general improvement of the Sacramento River in Calffornia, and the Secretary of War for this purpose is authorized to carry on continuously the plans of the California Débris Commission, the expenditure not to exceed in the aggre-

gate \$5,600,000.

Section 3 of the bill provides machinery, under the Secretary of War, by which any flood problem other than the Mississippi and Sacramento may be examined and reported upon by the engineers of the Army when authorized hereafter by Congress.

I notice that the first paragraph of section 1 provides not only for controlling the floods of the Mississippi River, but also for continuing its improvement from the Head of the Passes to the mouth of the Ohio River. It should be borne in mind that this bill has been reported by the Flood Control Committee. This seems to be a misnomer when you take into consideration the jurisdiction and authority which the committee has assumed in reporting the bill. It strikes me that this entire appropriation might have been provided for in the rivers and harbors bill as additional pork. However, it seems that the Rivers and Harbors Committee and the Flood Control Committee are working in harmony and cooperating with reference to the improvement of rivers. There seems to be an ingenuous effort on the part of both committees to have appropriated \$51,000,000 for the improvement of the Mississippi River, \$45,000,000 of which is proposed by the Flood Control Committee and \$6,000,000 by the Rivers and Harbors Committee, and both committees frankly admit in their respective reports that the appropriation is for the purpose of continuing the improvement of this par-

For years appropriations have been made in lump sums for the improvement and protection of this great river. Congress has already appropriated for this purpose the enormous sum of \$189,619,617,30.

It is now proposed to protect this river by the erection of levees. Prior to the rivers and harbors act of 1890 no money was appropriated by Congress for the construction of levees in

the interest of flood control, but since that date \$29,000,000 has been appropriated and expended by the Mississippi River Commission in the construction and repair of levees, the main pur-

pose of which was to control floods.

The control of the Mississippi River is no new problem. This problem is almost as old as the Government Itself. As early as 1822 Congress was induced to send a commission of engineers of the Army to examine this river and to report some plan for its improvement. This was followed in time by other engineering commissions appointed for the same purpose. Notable among these are the examinations which are set out in what is commonly known as the Ellet report in 1850, the report of Humphreys and Abbott in 1861, the report of Gen. A. A. Humphreys in 1866, the Warren Commission in 1875, and the annual reports of the Mississippi River Commission from 1879 to date. No river, perhaps, in the world's history has ever been more thoroughly studied than the Mississippi, so that there are no data desirable or necessary to a complete understanding of its problems or for a formulation of plans for their solution which are not now available. Yet it is proposed in subdivision A, on page 2 of this bill, to make an additional survey from the Head of the Passes to the headwaters of the river and a survey of the Atchafalaya Outlet, so far as may be necessary to determine the cost of protecting its basin from the flood waters of the Mississippi River, either by its divorcement from the Mississippi River or by other means, and for the salaries, clerical, traveling, and miscellaneous expenses of the Mississippi River

The committee in its report to this House, on page 7 thereof, after reviewing the history of surveys and examinations made of the Mississippi River since 1822, uses this language:

So that it can be said with some assurance that there are no data desirable or necessary to a complete understanding of its problems or for a formulation of plans for their solution which are not available.

Yet, in the face of this statement, it is proposed by the Committee on Flood Control to make additional surveys, make these additional surveys at an additional cost to this Government when we have been having numerous surveys made of the premises since 1822? Report after report has been made touching the feasibility of improving this particular river, Several adverse reports have been made touching the impracticability of controlling the floods in the flood districts along this river.

Congress for the last 35 years has appropriated many millions of dollars for the purpose of improving this river, and it is now proposed to put an additional drain upon the Treasury of the United States to the extent of more than \$51,000,000. It is said that all three of the political parties of the House are represented upon the committee, and upon the examination of the platforms adopted by these parties in 1912 it is found that all three have definitely declared that the floods of the Mississippi River constitute a national problem and that each had declared it to be the duty of Congress to provide adequate means for This is probably true, but it is also true that no political party had in mind at the time of the adoption of these platforms to expend the sum of more than \$51,000,000 to support levee system as a protection to this river.

No one would oppose reasonable Federal aid for the purpose of harnessing and controlling the flood waters of this river, but the plan suggested, to my mind, is not feasible. It is proposed to erect levees along the banks of the lower course of this river, near its mouth, and in this way prevent the waters, during flood time, from extending out over the adjacent lands. In my judgment, this plan would simply tend to aggravate the situation. Common sense teaches us that in order to control the waters of this great river some definite plan, from its source to its mouth, must be devised whereby the waters can be controlled. The great difficulty is that the channel is neither wide enough nor deep enough to carry off the great volume of water during the You can not control the water of the tributaries of this river and its upper and middle course by harnessing its mouth. I am not a surveyor, neither do I attempt to speak as such, but common sense teaches me, and should teach any man, that the theory of improvement and control proposed is unten-

The whole theory of Congress in making appropriations year after year for the improvement of this river has been purely experimental, and no permanent benefit has been derived as yet, The money expended has afforded only temporary improvement that bears no comparison to the money expended. Congress has appropriated for the improvement of the Mississippi River and tributaries the enormous sum of \$189.619.617.30, as shown by the report of the Secretary of War dated January 15, 1915, and for the Mississippi River alone Congress has appropriated \$166,498,996.99. To this may be added the present appropriation provided for in this bill, amounting to about \$45,000,000, and \$6,000,000 provided for in the rivers and harbors bill, mak-

ing a total of \$240.619.617.30.

The great fertile valley of the Mississippi is very largely owned by land syndicates. These syndicates have farms adjacent to this river and situated in this great fertile valley ranging from 500 acres to thousands of acres of land. This land is now worth from \$30 to \$50 per acre, and should Congress make this appropriation, and should these levees be constructed, as is proposed, this fact alone would make these lands worth anywhere from \$200 to \$250 per acre, so that it is plain to be seen that it is not the inhabitants of this land, who are mostly renters, who are clamoring for this enormous expenditure of public money. A great many of these residents are merely serfs performing the toil demanded by their syndicate landlords. It is the land syndicates scattered all over this country that are behind this appropriation and that are urging Congress to make this improvement at the particular location suggested at this time. It means to enhance the value of their lands 400 to 500 per cent without the expenditure of a dollar upon their part. Some method should be devised by which these lands adjacent to this river could be assessed and require these syndicates to pay their just proportionate share for the protection of these flooded districts. This land is possibly among the most fertile land in the United States. It produces great crops in all lines of agriculture.

The small amount of taxes paid by these syndicates for improvement or for flood protection, under appropriations that have been made or may hereafter be made by any of the States through which this valley extends, has been and will be merely nominal. This Government has spent millions of dollars for the improvement and protection of this river, and apparently all this money has been wasted. How long is this drain upon the Public Treasury to be continued? When shall it end? It is perfectly plain that it is the purpose and intention of these land syndicates and those interested with them to continue his drain upon the Public Treasury indefinitely. Thousands of dollars have already been expended by this Government in procuring surveys and maps with reference to the improvement of this river and

the protection of these flooded districts.

I have given this subject considerable study, and have reached the conclusion that before any more public money should be expended for the purpose of building levees in order to protect the lands in the flooded districts some definite plan should be devised and considered by Congress as to its feasibility. Cerdevised and considered by Congress as to its feasibility. Certainly some plan can be agreed upon by taking up the consideration of the various surveys which have been made through the direction of those in charge of this river, and who have had charge of this work sluce 1822, that would result in some lasting improvement and be a valuable protection to the districts which are submerged during flood times.

Why should Congress be proceeding in the dark, when it is just as easy and much more reasonable to be enlightened with reference to the proposed project.

The principle claim of this administration, as incorporated in its platform at Baltimore in 1912, was the subject of economy.

its platform at Baltimore in 1912, was the subject of economy. The profligate and reckless waste of the Republican Party for previous years was publicly denounced and condemned, and it was suggested that an economic plan of administering the affairs of this Government would greatly relieve the taxpayers of this country and put an end to the profligate waste of the people's money. This Congress will be distinguished for its extrava-gance. The appropriations at the conclusion of this session will have reached the limit and will go down in political history as the largest of any administration since the organization of this Government.

At this time, when the Public Treasury is suffering from a deficit, when this Government has not sufficient money with which to meet and liquidate its current expenses, and when other interests vital to the Nation are demanding the immediate attention of Congress, it seems to me to be the height of folly

to make this unworthy appropriation.

As I said before, no Member of this House would oppose a reasonable appropriation for the purpose of preventing the over-flow of the Mississippi River during flood time, but the amount proposed at this time is entirely out of reason.

It is clear to me that if this appropriation is made it simply places in the hands of the Mississippi River Commission and the Committee on Flood Control the power to lay plans which will involve and necessitate the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars in the future; and for these brief reasons, and numerous others which I could enumerate had I the time to do so, I shall be compelled to vote against this bill. No Member of this House who is true to himself or to those whom he represents can vote upon the taxpayers of this country this enormous and unnecessary expenditure. We are here to protect the interests of the people generally and not here for the sole and express purpose of appropriating public money recklessly and unjustly for the purpose of enhancing and increasing the value of the lands of the great land syndicates, which will make them They must think Congress is easy. I have immensely wealthy. no doubt in my mind that these men forming these syndicates are amazed to think that Congress has been so easy as to jump at a chance to help them in their scheme to get rich quick.

have at heart the interests of the whole people of this Nation, and my sense of duty constrains me to raise my voice against this lavish and reckless expenditure of public money.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. S. D. FESS, OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 17, 1916.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, I vote for the rural-credit bill with some reluctance. Not because I oppose the principle involved. because I am in favor of any workable plan of amortization that would help the tenant; but there are features in this measure that I do not like, I dislike that phase that in a quasi fashion puts the National Government in the banking business. It is true not all the institutions provided for are so organized. Section 16 provides for the joint-stock bank that stands upon its own bottom. I am sure that section 5 should limit the number of Federal land banks to one in a district. The committee insists that end is stipulated, but I do not think the language assures it.

assures it.

I also very much disapprove of the provision requiring the Government to pay interest and principal of bonds up to a certain point. This is a vicious feature, in my mind. I also think the minimum loan should be greater than \$100. If a very great number were small, the overhead charges would be so out of proportion to amount loaned that the system must inevitably break down.

I seriously question the wisdom of tax exemption of the It is an open issue as to the effect of these proposed institutions in competition with the savings banks, loan associations, and insurance companies, all of which represent a vast amount of the savings of the poorer classes of our people. No one wishes by Government edict to destroy or even needlessly

to cripple such institutions.

The avowed purpose of this legislation is to enable the land-less to become owners of a home. This naturally appeals to all alike as a most worthy purpose of legislation. It is based upon the provision of amortization, by which a borrower may secure a loan of 60 per cent of the value of the purchased laud and pay it off in annual installments in from 5 to 36 years, when he cancels his mortgage. If this bill will make possible that consummation, it merits everyone's support. It is a question whether it will accomplish it. The machinery is so cumbersome that it raises a doubt. The interest, maximum 6 per cent, is such that it will not be of any consequence in any of the older States. It will not be resorted to by people in Ohio. Throughout my State good loans are made upon first mortgages for the rate provided in this bill, and even less,

While I have no hope that this measure will serve my people to any advantage, I am constrained to vote for it upon the representation of Members who have declared that interest in their sections is from 10 to 20 per cent. It is difficult for me to realize such conditions. If they really exist, and this legislation will cure them, I would most willingly vote the remedy, even though there are features in it I dislike, and even though I am convinced it will be of no advantage to my own people.

The danger in such legislation arises in the possibility of writing some wild populistic soft-money scheme in it. Proposed amendments were offered by various Members as wild as the famous John Law ever conceived, and would have had the South Sea Bubble effect had they been adopted. While the bill as it stands is not wholly free of this element, I am hopeful that not enough of it is in it to effect the workings of it.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the position all political parties have taken on this subject, in view of the wise purpose of such legislation, in view of the great study of those responsible for the measure, and in view of the action of the committee in rejecting all the various wild schemes proposed, save one, which I wish were omitted, I shall vote for the measure, however, with a full realization that it will not be of any substantial advantage to my own people, and with some trepidation from fear that its machinery may prevent the relief in those sections where relief is imperative. The future will afford opportunity for amendment to correct the errors which time will reveal.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES V. McCLINTIC,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 15, 1916.

Mr. McCLINTIC. Mr. Speaker, the one hope of the American people to-day is rural credits—the brand of rural credits that will really lower interest rates to American borrowers. None other will satisfy them; none other with approval will they accept. There have been presented to Congress many bills dealing with this subject. Some of them are weird, fantastical, and could never come true. Some of them advocate that the Federal Government shall furnish money to the American farmers without adequate security, and some of them with practically no security at all. On the other hand, bills are pending and have been introduced by men who do not in truth and in fact believe in a rural-credits system at all. These bills are usually found to be mere makeshifts, that look good upon their faces, but which in truth and in reality would render no positive relief to the farmer whatever.

The President of the United States during the consideration of the Owen-Glass currency bill promised in words loud, clear, distinct, and emphatic that he would stand for and aid in the passage of a rural-credits bill.

Ex-Secretary of State William J. Bryan, at that time Secretary of State, promised to aid in securing the passage of such a

bill.

Again, during this present session of Congress, the President of the United States, in terms loud, clear, and easily understood, asserted to the House and Senate in joint session assembled that he would join hands in securing a rural-credits system that would have for its purpose a reduction of interest rates and be of material aid to the great American producers of the country. Listen to what he said on this occasion:

We should put into early operation some provision for rural credits which will aid to the extensive borrowing facilities already afforded the farmer by the reserve-bank act, adequate instrumentalities by which long credits may be obtained on land mortgages; and that we should study more carefully than they have hitherto been studied the right adoption of our economic arrangements in changing conditions.

Still again, only a few days ago, the President sent over to Congress a program of legislation that he very much hoped Congress would enact. This program contained a plea for the speedy enactment of rural-credits legislation. Thus it will be observed that the President, though burdened with the extraordinary and abnormal cares incident to his office, has found time and has taken occasion to specifically single out rural-credits legislation and express the hope that it would receive the positive attention of Congress at this session.

In asking favor as a candidate for Congress at the hands of the people of the seventh congressional district of the bright, new State of Oklahoma, I promised them with such earnestness as I had at my command that I would work for, vote for, and insist upon an adequate rural-credits system. I meant every word I said, and the words I then spoke and the pledges I then made shall not go unnoticed now that I have asked and received honor at their hands. I would be recreant of the great trust conferred upon me by the generosity of a great constituency if I did not now ask for, plead for, insist upon that this rural credits relief be granted.

I tell you, sirs, in a new State like mine, going through the formative period, interest rates ranging from 10 to 50 per cent per annum are exorbitant, abnormal, unbearable—and almost unbelievable. I make this utterance with no hostility toward the bankers who charge it, but I speak in earnestness and with firmness in behalf of a system that will correct it. Business men who make profits quickly can not afford to pay such great rates of interest; then how, pray tell me, can the American farmer, who asks but little in time of peace, and offers himself

as a sacrifice in times of war for purposes of defense, pay any such rates?

Gentlemen, I hope I do not speak alone to those of us from the sparsely settled States of the West. I hope you of the East, where rates are lower, may recognize the solemn fact that we of the West are a part of this great Republic. Our broad acres await willing and industrious hands to cultivate them, and only by your cooperation in beating down interest rates can we accomplish the good that a system of rural credits will do for the whole country.

The bill under consideration does not meet the wishes of some; in fact, I would prefer that some provisions be changed, so that the plan could be simplified, yet it is far better than no bill at all, and for this reason I am glad to give the same my

hearty support.

I have introduced a bill providing for a Federal rural-credits system, which also provides aid to tenant farmers who desire to purchase a home. In making an investigation of the conditions that exist in Ireland, Germany, New Zealand, and Australia I find that these countries are far ahead of our Nation in giving certain financial relief to the agricultural class, and more especially to the homeless. There has been a great deal of agitation on this subject and many have introduced bills to give the proper relief, yet the majority of those who would legislate on this subject have not considered the needs of the tenant farmer, who is handicapped because of no capital to make a start in life. I believe that our Government should take care of every condition and should render some ald to every individual, and I have included in my bill introduced on this subject a provision that would give relief to the tenant farmer by allowing him to borrow money to be used in purchasing a home.

The most feasible plan I can figure out, after giving this matter a great deal of study, is to provide a bureau of farm credits in connection with the Treasury of the United States, conditioned that the Secretary of the Treasury, by and with the consent of the President of the United States, shall appoint a commissioner of farm credits, with sufficient power to appoint such clerical help as will be necessary to maintain this department. This bureau should have the power in its discretion to establish subbureaus throughout the country or at the capital of any State, in order that those who reside in any section may have a capable branch where it will be convenient to make application

for the benefits accruing under the act.

I have provided for the appointment of competent land appraisers and such examiners as will be necessary to inspect the subbureaus, and by throwing the proper safeguards around this bill I am sure that a law can be passed so that in its infancy it will not be disturbed by irregularities, and thus prevent those needing aid from receiving the much-needed benefits. With this and a severe penalty for the violations of any of its provisions, I can see no reason why this measure should not be one of the best laws ever enacted.

Much has been said as to the method to be used in securing capital. I am of the opinion that rural-credit bonds could be issued and when sold would furnish an amount of money sufficient for all purposes, and that with the proper business management it would not be necessary to call on Congress in the future for additional appropriations. There are some who are not willing for our Government to furnish aid for rural credits, yet we have a Federal Reserve System that is backed by our Nation, and I can see no reason why every Member of Congress should not support a measure that aids the farmer—the class of people that is most in need—and I am hoping that this session of Congress will pass a bill that will put our Government right square behind this law.

Master minds have given to this Nation a series of laws, rules, and regulations which have caused our country to make the most wonderful strides. Yet to keep pace with the times we must not stand still, but, on the other hand, must exert our best efforts to legislate in a way that will give the proper relief and encouragement to every class, to every occupation, and to every section of our country. I find that the matter of finance has been a prominent issue in every nation, and I dare say as long as government is administered by the people this will be one subject that will never be handled in a manner absolutely satisfactory to all.

Historians have piled in the archives countless volumes that tell a wonderful story of the advancement of civilization, and yet we have facing this Nation problems that have never been touched upon in our efforts to bring man to the highest state of efficiency, and the subject of rural credits, in my opinion, is the most important legislation that could be considered.

A little over a hundred years ago, when Prussia was in the threes of a great financial distress, there was a little, insignifi-

cant merchant who began to preach a new doctrine of progression by stating that—

The true capital of any country consists of cash and real estate. That the value of the latter is more than ten times in excess of the former, and if only a small part of it could be made current it would be abundantly sufficient to accrue credit and welfare for the entire community.

This little merchant was an agitator. He believed if this plan was put into operation it would enable a sufficient amount of capital to be raised to properly maintain the industries of that country; and while his plan was severely criticized and he was called a crank, yet when this information reached the ears of Frederick the Great he at once became interested, sent for this little merchant, and after making a careful investigation he ordered that the plan be given a trial, and it was adopted in that country. That can truly be said to have been the beginning of rural credits, and after a test of more than 100 years statistics show that money can be loaned to the people at a cheaper rate when plans under the supervision and control of the Government are provided and enacted into law. In many of the foreign countries rural cooperation has reached remarkable proportions.

History tells us that the first rural association was founded in Italy 1,300 years ago, which was an association bound together for the purpose of reclaiming and irrigating lands. These associations, under the supervision of the Government, proved not only successful but of the greatest assistance to the development They were the foundation of all cooperative of this nation. associations, and have been developed to such an extent that the Government is now assisting in this movement by making direct appropriations of capital to loaning institutions and providing such rules and regulations as are necessary to protect the same. The principal plan in operation in the European countries is a form of associations chartered for the purpose of making loans to minor cooperative associations. The minor cooperative associations form themselves together for mutual protection, thereby guaranteeing that the obligations made by any member will be carried out by the association.

Much can be said about this plan, and the United States commission made a special report in regard to conditions in European countries, and in speaking of the banks which make the loans to these cooperative associations uses the following language:

The use of credit in agriculture may be compared to the use of water. If water is brought into a field at the right time and in the right way in proper quantities, it will be valuable, but if the field is flooded or if the water is applied at the wrong time it will be destructive. In the same way if credit be applied to a good productive purpose it becomes a blessing to the country.

Therefore the committee of the rural banks is required to see that the loans are applied to the purposes for which they were granted. There is yet another psychological factor which goes to insure the safety of these loaning banks, and that is public sentiment. It is a well-known fact that public opinion is nearly always inclined to side with the weak as against the strong, and that right or wrong the debtor is generally considered the weaker party. He usually has public opinion on his side, but in the case of the rural bank the situation is reversed. The heads of the families in the village constitute the members of the rural bank, and as they are all interested in seeing that the loans for which they are severally and collectively responsible are paid, public opinion in this case is on the side of the the institution that loans the money-and not with the debtor—the person that borrows. Thus it can be seen in these countries where a system of rural credits has been operating for a hundred years or more it has brought about a wonderful change among all classes, which has resulted in the people form-ing themselves together into associations for mutual benefits. thereby causing the money lenders to make loans at a low uniform rate of interest, realizing that the association to which a member belongs will guarantee his paper, and that there is practically no chance for any loss. A splendid deduction can be made from the reports made by the commission that inspected this system, and that is, the forming of these mutual benefit associations if put into effect in this country would do much to discourage idleness, but, on the other hand, would promote thrift, as no association would be willing to have a member belonging to the same who was not responsible or who would not make the proper effort to meet his obligations. It is said this might work a hardship on some; yet in the long run it would result in teaching the people that good results could be obtained only by honest cooperation.

Supply and demand have always been ruling factors in the consideration of any commodity. The lack of organization and the proper laws have made it possible in the past for a few men to control the wealth of this Nation, but with the Federal reserve act and the enactment of a proper rural-credits law the interests

of the people will be forever safeguarded, and this is the time for every Member of Congress to put forth his best efforts in supporting this kind of legislation. We all know that the absence of mutual associations to assist one another in acquiring commodities has caused the money lender in the past to charge high rates of interest and to require all of the security he could get before he would place a loan, realizing that in some instances the security taken was of a doubtful character. If a condition might be brought about whereby capital under the control of the Government could be distributed with the full realization that there would be no loss, then uniform low rates of interest could be maintained and conditions would be much improved in this country. Making a comparison, in Sicily, before there were any Government-controlled cooperative societies which were willing to guarantee the payment of their members' obligations, interest rates ran as high as 60 per cent, and when this system was put into effect, the same were reduced to a uniform rate of 6 per cent, and, to my mind, this same condition will be brought about in this country if this Congress will pass a rural-credits bill containing provisions for such relief as should be given to the people, and more especially those who till the soil.

The Government can legislate until its lawmakers are blue in the face, yet the individual seeking to be benefited must be willing to cooperate in the proper manner to make this system a success. Legislation, to be successful, must be evenly constructed, and for every dollar loaned there must be one replaced. Every loan that is lost makes the general fund smaller and the rates of interest higher, and consequently, after all, a great deal depends on the individual putting forth a certain amount of energy and being willing to share his proportion of the responsibilities of life or he can not be classed with those who are entitled to receive this aid. Biblical history tells us of the parable of the talents, proving that the man who exerted himself the greatest and made the best showing received the greatest reward, and while we may continue to legislate, no country will ever be able to provide laws equalizing conditions so that every person will share alike and have the same advantages, yet we can legislate in a way that will give additional advantages to those who are meritorious, and the passage of this act will extend the helping hand to millions of deserving citizens.

The cooperative plan of rural credits, where it has been in effect, has caused the people to be more energetic, thrifty, and more saving, which in the end has caused the banks to have larger deposits and surpluses, and in many instances these have been used by different communities, townships, and counties as capital for the construction of different kinds of public works.

I am of the opinion there is plenty of room for the local banks and a system of rural credits. These two kinds of organizations should be both under the control of the Government and should work hand in hand for the upbuilding of this Nation. I find that when rural credits was first started in some of the foreign countries that the banks left no stones unturned in their endeavor to prevent the establishment of the same, as they felt that their existence was threatened. This belief proved later to be manifestly erroneous, and while this kind of legislation has received a great deal of publicity and has been discussed by many on the floor of Congress, I have never heard anyone state that the banks in countries where rural credits have been adopted are making any complaints. On the other hand, they are working hand in hand successfully.

I do not believe that any legislation should be passed that would be detrimental to any honest occupation, nor do I believe this bill will work a hardship on any institution; on the contrary, I am thoroughly of the opinion that when we provide by law such rules and regulations that will furnish a sufficient amount of capital or allow others to provide the same, it will be the best and foremost step ever taken by this Nation. I am confident that our farmers will become better business men and will be better able to solve the economic problems that confront them. I believe that the cost of production will be reduced and consumers as a result will be greatly benefited and lenders of money will find a better and safer market, as practically all of the risks will be eliminated.

During the Civil War and other struggles this Nation has witnessed, it seemed at times that our hopes would be blasted and the principles that had become so dear to us would not be maintained, yet by perseverance we have gradually solved many of the perplexing riddles, and to-day stand in a better position than ever before to promote the kind of legislation that will fill a long-felt want, and at the same time give to the agricultural class, and more especially the tenant farmer, the kind of relief which will result in making his burdens lighter. I, like many of you, realize that new legislation is often difficult to enact, yet when we realize that money was

loaned to our Government during the Civil War at a cheaper rate of interest than is now being charged the farmers to-day; that the security was not better—we all must admit that the time has come for the Government to extend its support by the enacting of such legislation as will bring about better conditions throughout the country—and I am hoping that every Member of Congress who has the interest of the people at heart will be willing to join me in rendering such assistance as he can by working to join me in rendering such assistance as he can by working for the passage of a rural-credits bill, which will give us a law that will throw down the bars that have proven to be an impediment to the farmer for over a hundred years, thereby stripping bare the irregularities of favoritism, which will result in giving to the tiller of the soil, the bone and sinew of the earth, the rights and benefits they are justly entitled to Some will encourage the projection of the soil. tled to. Some will oppose any movement or legislation in which the Government is asked to lend assistance in the establishment of a rural-credit system, yet I can see no reason why our Nation should not furnish capital to be loaned to the people, taking land as security, as the history of practically every country proves that land values have a tendency to increase rather than decrease, and I believe, with the proper system of handling the funds, the greatest help that ever has been given to this Nation can be provided in a way that will not cost any expenditures after the system has been properly established.

The Shipping Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL.

OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 16, 1916.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote against this bill because the sole argument in its favor is that it is necessary to create at the expense of the taxpayers of this country a great merchant fleet to sail under the American flag and to be run as a Government trading venture. Its chief purpose appears to be to purchase ships, whether they can be bought here or abroad, and to build them either in this country or in Europe. The answer to this proposition is that at the present time all the shipbullders throughout the world are running their plants to the fullest extent and have orders on hand for three years to come. No one seems to know where there is a ship to be purchased at the present time at a fair and reasonable price.

Fifty millions of dollars are to be taken from the Treasury of the United States in order to give some individual an opportunity to receive profits aggregating four or five hundred per

cent on vessels heretofore bought by them.

It is not disputed that all the carriers of freight by water, whether coastwise or ocean, are at the present time reaping a harvest caused mainly by the great war and by the fact that the German and Austrian vessels are everywhere interned.

The profits being so very large, private capital is undoubtedly exerting every effort to build ships as quickly as possible, in

order to reap the immense harvest that is at hand.

No one has as yet seen the Government building a ship at a lesser figure than what the private individual has done.

Surely it is not claimed that with the Government going into the shipowning venture that it proposes to carry freight at a

lesser rate than what the present or future market price may be. Do the proponents of this measure believe that the Government of the United States should enter into competition with private carriers and in making a charge for carrying freight leave out and not take into account all the necessary overcharges that must be incurred and are usually met by those who have no United States Treasury to draw upon in order to make up a deficiency?

If Government ownership of these vessels is a desirable thing, why should these vessels which are to be purchased or built be sold five years after the war in Europe is over? No logical reason has been advanced by any of the proponents in the debate for either the temporary or permanent ownership of ships by the United States Government for the carrying of

No reason has been advanced why we should permanently or temporarily go into the business of carrying freight in competition with shipowners. The press of the country appears to be and is against this proposition. The Philadelphia Inquirer on May 9, 1916, says in an editorial, part of which I quote:

in an editorial, part of which I quote:

It provides for the creation of a shipping commission, whose membership shall comprise the Secretaries of Commerce and the Navy and five presidential appointees, not more than three of whom shall belong to one political party, and it invests this body with powers and charges it with duties of a far-reaching and momentous character.

It is to buy or build ships suitable for use as naval auxiliaries or transports, and for that purpose it is empowered to organize one or more corporations whose aggregate capital shall not exceed \$50,000,000, to be derived from the sale of Panama Canal bonds; but—and this is the concession which the opposition to Government ownership has exacted—five years after the President shall by proclamation have announced the conclusion of the war these corporations are to be automatically dissolved. Within that interval they are authorized to equip, lease, charter, maintain, and operate the merchant vessels they shall acquire.

lease, charter, maintain, and operate the merchant vessels they shall acquire.

Why it should be thought necessary or desirable that the business of furnishing facilities for ocean transportation should be undertaken by the Government with public funds is not apparent, nor is it clear what more could be done in that way than is already being accomplished by private enterprise, now actively engaged in endeavoring to meet the demand for more merchant vessels resulting from the abnormal conditions actually prevailing. Every shipyard in the country has at this moment more orders than it can fill, and it is difficult to understand how the appearance of the Government as a purchaser would help the situation.

The New York Times on the 9th of May, 1916, also contained the following editorial, which I read at length:

THE SHIPPING BILL.

Washington believes that the prospects of the passage of the shipping bill have been improved by the limitation of the Government-operation feature to five years after peace. What was considered the strongest feature of the bill proved to be its weakest, and the judgment of its promoters suffers with the bill itself, since they appear to have made a bad matter worse; that is, worse for the Government. The effect of the limitation is to put the Government into the shipping business under the worst conditions. The enormous profits reported in the industry are made on old ships, not on new. The old ships can survive economically under the normal conditions of the trade to be expected within the time when the Government must retire from the operation of its costly fleet. The Government undertaking, then, would be left to be liquidated at a loss, and without having meanwhile benefited trade. The Government can not put any ships into operation within two years, for there are no idle ships, and every yard's capacity of construction is exhausted.

The Government can not put any ships into operation within two years, for there are no idle ships, and every yard's capacity of construction is exhausted.

In that respect the conditions are no longer those which excused or justified, perhaps, the introduction of the bill. The reaction from the collapse due to the outbreak of the war had not then come and was not foreseen. The Government scheme was introduced because it was thought that private capital was unequal to the emergency or unwilling to undertake the provision of shipping. The present condition is that yards, and that there is no possibility of more being constructed until the means of production are enlarged. The prosperity of the shipbulding industry is unprecedented, and is made so by the very stimulus which the Government is proposing to replace by its own deadening intervention. The "extortionate" rates have the cause of the profits which have awakened the shipyards, and the voormment is proposing to reduce the rates as a burden and a check to commerce. If the Government could wave a wand and start ships for other routes it would be necessary to divert the labor from the production of other goods for which there is the greatest demand. There is no surplus of goods awaiting empty ships.

There is no surplus of empty ships, as there was of empty railway cars. There is no surplus of idle labor or of idle plants. The situation is not enthat will yield to heroic methods of the month of the provides are into the than the steamship trade by those who ought to pay themethal new departures in methods of treatment. Great subsidies are being paid in the steamship trade by those who ought to pay themethal new departures in methods of treatment. Great subsidies are being paid in the steamship trade by those who ought to pay themethal new departures in methods of treatment. Great subsidies are being paid in the steamship trade by those who ought to pay themethal new departures in methods of treatment. Great subsidies are being paid in the steamship trade by th

To the same effect an editorial which appeared in the Springfield Union on May 16, 1916, which is as follows:

TRYING TO FORCE THE SHIPPING BILL THROUGH CONGRESS.

A desperate effort is being made by Democratic legislative leaders to ree through the ship bill, with its Government ownership provision,

but with a strong prospect that Republican opposition will be augmented by a minority on the other side. Whether the bolters will be numerous enough to defeat the bill remains to be seen, but the defection in both Houses is sufficient to occasion Secretary McAdoo and the other champions of the bill considerable anxiety. An amendment that is said to have brought part of the Democratic objectors into line is the provision that corporations organized under the financial control of the Government to operate merchant ships shall be dissolved within five years after the close of the European war. But while this would mark the close of private operation, it would not mark an end of governmental ownership in this field. The shipping board would be enabled, apparently, to retain the shipping properties indefinitely under the general provisions of the act, which says that the shipping board may sell Panama Canal bonds and use the proceeds to acquire ships, and that such ships may be chartered, leased, or sold to citizens of the Daited States, including corporations under the control of Americans. In other words, the Government operation feature is an incident to the bill which has a much broader groundwork of Government ownership to rest upon.

In other words, the Government operation feature is an incident to the bill which has a much broader groundwork of Government ownership to rest upon.

Instead of winning adherents to the measure the tacking on of the five-year limit to Government operation should invite its defeat. If the plan of Government operation is a genuine measure in the interest of our merchant marine its virtue would not be limited to five years. So far from making private shipping interests strong enough to meet the requirements at the end of that brief period. Government operation would in reality discourage private initiative and render our shipping more dependent upon the Government than before. The situation would thus be worse off, so far as concerns the ability of private shipping corporations to deal independently with our shipping problems. Attaching a five-year limit merely lends absurdity to the proposed of Government operation from the standpoint of efficiency and public need. It is quite possible that a few private capitalists would reap profit from the proposed partnership with the Government and the traffic the shipping board would be in a position to conduct apart from the Government operation feature. But there is no evidence that general business would be benefited by this wild excursion into socialism. Just now American shipping is active and our shippards have more than they can do. This condition will continue during the remainder of the war at least. Granted that the shipping bill were a genuine instead of a sham remedy, it is being applied at a time when shipping is much less in need of assistance than it was before the war started or is likely to be after the conflict is ended. The plan deserves to be defeated, and it will be defeated if Congress is not utterly blind to the facts of the case.

Again on the 17th day of May, 1916, the New York Times expressed itself editorially, as follows:

THE SHIPPING BILL

pressed itself editorially, as follows:

THE SHIPPING BILL.

Five hours are to be allowed for general debate upon the administration shipping bill, a measure of such doubtful character that it is thought best not to submit it to a Democratic caucus; it can be carried, if at all, only with the aid of opposition votes. Even the Democratic committeemen did not sign the report in favor of the bill, and it is said that they reserve liberty of action. As it stands, the bill is the embodiment of the financial maxim which never won wide approval ontitle of those bilsper circles of finance into which few enter.

"Vote first and talk afterwards" is a sufficient epitome of the policy behind the bill. It establishes a shipping board upon the analogy of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and instructs it to inquire and report what legislation is necessary to reestablish the merchant marine, But the action to be taken is not dependent upon such recommendation. Forthwith Government operation is authorized, and \$50,000,000 is provided, the need for action being the station of the mergeneral provided and any Government action will operate to check the much provided. The need for action being the station of the character relief already being provided by private initiative. The fate of the bill in its earlier form proves that it was too strong medicine for the patient. Some little betterment of its provisions shows the wisdom on more leisurely procedure.

This is particularly true of the more permanent portion of it. There is a limit to the Government-operation feature, and \$50,000,000 will come to an end some time. Those features are adapted to do more harm than good, but there are greater possibilities of evil in the powers that may be exercised by the shipping board, which are not limited in time. Concurrently with the proposal of this new board there is ponding a resolution of inquiry into the efficiency and results of the existing method of regulating common carriers by land.

After a generation of experience, the operation

operating and those proposed, but it will require more than five hours' debate to convince those best informed on the subject, and without whose active cooperation there can be no important growth of the American merchant marine. The way to get American shipping is to allow it to make a profit.

I personally believe that we would do far better at the present time to give immediate attention to the question of our passing legislation in the shape of a protective tariff to prevent the flood-ing of this country by merchandise from Europe as soon as peace comes and which must result in creating trouble not only for our workingmen but also for our manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers. In general it is bound to seriously affect the business conditions of the United States. I called attention to this fact at length in December last, as shown by my remarks at pages 535 and 536 of the Congressional Record of this session.

It appears that we are now receiving larger imports than ever before, even though the war is going on and our exports, if we deduct the war material, are constantly growing less. The matter is tersely and accurately expressed in an editorial which appeared in the Washington Times on May 16, 1916:

NORMAL EXPORTS DRYING UP WHILE IMPORTS GROW.

Our foreign trade is getting to the point where its future aspects are revealed in clear and startling colors. Our general exports, comparatively speaking, are drying up. We are making our prodigious foreign sales, and gathering therefrom our fabulous profits, chiefly in war supplies.

This truth is as plain as a pikestaff when you examine the details of our foreign commerce as recently as the belated Government reports

This truth is as plain as a pikestaff when you examine the details of our foreign commerce as recently as the belated Government reports permit.

In March our exports of crude materials for use in manufacturing fell some \$20,000,000 from the corresponding month of the previous year. Foodstuffs in crude condition and food animals went off nearly another \$13,000,000, and foodstuffs partly or wholly manufactured more than \$3,000,000.

But when it came to the things that smacked of war we had an increase of nearly \$31,000,000 in manufactures for further use in manufacturing. Then in manufactures ready for consumption—powder all ready to explode, shells and shrappel all ready to be shot out of the guns, other tools, implements, and equipment for battle all ready to be used upon receipt—there was a gain of some \$121,000,000, from \$80,708.513 in March, 1915, to \$201,978.378 in March, 1916.

There is nobody who imagines that this war business is going to last one bit longer than the war itself lasts. There is nobody who ought not be able to realize that our war exports can and will collapse before the war itself ends; for the belligerents are now buying many weeks and even mouths ahead of their needs. When they see the final end, even in the far distance, they will know that it is safe to slow down with their war buying in our markets, winding up the business with the supplies of their own markets and of their stores in reserve.

But take the other side of the story—our imports—and see what that spells. Look again into the details of the March figures.

Of crude materials for use in manufacturing our imports increased from \$59,033.078 in March, 1915, to \$98,266,668 in March, 1916. We lost a trifle of some two and a half millions in imports of foodstuffs in crude condition and food animals—something we could well afford to take if it came our way. But imports of manufactures for further use in manufacturing increased more than \$15,000,000, with a total galn in imports—despite no increase in manufactured foodstuffs and t

the war!
Think of all that coming on top of what we are taking now, taking it in such volume as we never took before the war or at any other time!

Then ask yourself whether this country needs to prepare against the industrial and commercial invasion which must come hot upon the heels of peace.

Our markets are going to be flooded by merchandise which does not have to pay a tariff duty. The sellers of such imported merchandise can and will underbid the American manufacturers here, because of the low wages that are being paid and will continue to be paid in certain parts of Europe.

Instead of being engaged constantly in determining how to spend increased sums of money taken from the pockets of the people of the United States, we should give serious consideration toward the enactment of measures that will tend in every manner possible to produce a sufficient sum to pay the running expenses of the Government, and at the same time protect American labor and American manufacturers from unjust discrimination and unfair foreign competition.

I yield to no man my desire to see a real American mer-chant marine built up carrying our flag all over the four cor-ners of the earth, but I can not convince myself for a single moment that the enactment into law of this proposed shipping bill will add a single vessel flying our flag or reduce in the slightest degree the ocean or coast freight charges, although I have listened very attentively to the proponents of this measure, giving them my undivided attention, and have been compelled to reach the conclusion that the best interests of our country require that I shall cast my vote against it.

Pensions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

W. FRANK JAMES. HON. OF MICHIGAN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, May 17, 1916.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter: MAY 17, 1916.

Mr. George A. Dick,

Department Commander, Detroit, Mich.

Dear Sir: One of my comrades of Camp George Miller, United Spanish War Veterans, of Houghton, Mich., has sent me a copy of General Order No. 5, series 1915-16, issued from the Headquarters Department of Michigan, United Spanish War Veterans, at Lansing, Mich., on April 20, 1916, in which you state in part as follows:

"Our thanks and appreciation are due the Michigan Congressmen, who were a unit (but one exception. Congressman W. Frank James, twelfth district) in voting for this bill. In view of the fact Representative James asserts that he rendered service in the Spanish-American War, his antagonistic attitude is unexplainable. Some appropriate action will be taken at the next encampment.

"George A. Dick,

"GEORGE A. DICK, "Department Commander.

"Official:
"F. H. PRESLEY,
"Department Adjutant."
"Department Adjutant."

"Official:
"P. H. Presert.
"Department Adjutant."

I presume pot are the George A. Dick mentioned in General Order No. 5. From this you make it appear that I am opposed to all pensions. But this is not the fact. I am in favor of pensions to the worthy and deserving, but I am against pensions to the undeserving, to deserters, and to the wealthy.

As a member of the Committee on Pensions, and on the floor of Congress, I have opposed many applications for pensions which I regarded as unworthy and also general pension bills which seemed to me to be sunworthy and also general pension bills which seemed to me to be an unworthy and also general pension bills which seemed to me to be an unworthy and also general pension bills which seemed to me to be an unworthy would-be pensioners.

Among other bills rejected by the Committee on Pensions, I find one which, if approved, would have granted you back pay from August 19, 1903, to March 21, 1913.

I could not better dustrate the sort of pensions I am opposed to that to clie the history of your case, which is as follows:

Office of the history of your case, which is as follows:

Office of the history of your case, which is as follows:

Office of the history of your case, which is as follows:

Office of the history of your case, which is as follows:

Office of the history of your case, which is as follows:

Office of the history of your case, which is as follows:

Office of the history of your case, which is as follows:

Office of the history of your case, which is as follows:

Office of the history of your case, which is as follows:

Office of the history of your case, which is as follows:

Office of the history of your case, which is as follows:

Office of the history of your case, which is as follows:

Office of the history of your case, which is as follows:

Office of the history of your case, which is as follows:

Office of the history of your case, which is as follows:

Office of the history of your case, which is as follows:

Office of the history of your case, which i

that it is entirely wasted, as I wish to state that so long as I am in Congress I shall always oppose pensions to the undeserving, the kind of which yours is one of the most flagrant.

It is with a good deal of satisfaction that I wish to state, however, that during the past three weeks I have visited my entire district and met most of the Spanish War Veterans in my district, all of whom saw service in Cuba in '98. Everyone of them stated that I was absolutely right in my attitude on pensions. I am convinced that every Spanish War Veteran who enlisted from patriotism in '98 feels absolutely the same as I do on this matter of pensions to grafters or the undeserving.

The society of Spanish War Veterans is a magnificent organization and will continue to be such unless some of its members try to make a political organization of it.

In my speech on the Key bill on February 16, 1916, I pay my respects to some of the politicians among the Spanish War Veterans in the following words: "I realize it is hard to vote against some of the politicians among the Spanish War Veterans. They do not deny that they have a political pull—they not only admit it, they boast of it. I read an article sometime ago where some of these politicians took credit for defeating for the supreme bench of the State of New York one of the most respected Members of this House, Mr. Firzgerald, because he had dared to vote against the Key bill. They did it all with their little hatchet. If any man here is going to vote for this bill contrary to his own better judgment, I want to say to him that I believe the Spanish War Veterans are the same in his district as they are in mine, they are not in politics—as Spanish War Veterans.

I wish further to state that if you or any of your friends, who hold similar views as you on pensions, believe that you have any political influence I cordally invite you to come up in the twelfth district of Michigan next fall and campaign against me on the matter, I am, Yours, very truly,

W. Frank James,

Congressman Twelf

W. FRANK JAMES, Congressman Twelfth District of Michigan.

Mississippi River Flood Control.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BERTRAND H. SNELL.

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 17, 1916.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, my own State of New York is very much interested and has given a great deal of careful consideration to the question of conservation, and especially as applied to the flood control of its streams and its water supply. personally interested in this line of work in my own section. I have listened very intently to everything that has been said on the floor of this House both for and against this present bill. I have read with a fair degree of care all the hearings that were held before this committee and the reports on the same, and while I am not opposed to the general proposition of Federal aid for the relief of the flood sufferers of the Mississippi Valley, I am absolutely opposed to the form of relief suggested under the present bill. I admit the Mississippi River is in a class by itself; but when you analyze the system, separate its main tributaries and likewise the large streams that flow into the main tributaries, you get right back to a good-sized river in one of our States, such as anyone of us who has made a study of streams is fairly familiar with. The general principle as regards most of these individual rivers is the same. So, also, are the main principles of control the same when applied to the Mississippi River system, only you must apply the remedy in larger dose

The claim is made by some of the advocates of this bill that the ditch from Cairo to the Gulf is entitled to Federal aid because it is the flood waters of 31 different States combined that cause the serious floods on the lower Mississippi, and for that reason local authorities should not be asked to pay for the improvements necessary to protect their property. The next advocate of this bill comes along and says that it is the local rainfall in a restricted area that causes the floods and the conditions of the streams above this area has nothing to do with it. Now, it is absolutely impossible for both of these statements to be true. Personally, I believe it is a combination of both, and that you will never have a very destructive flood unless both occur at the same time; but if you get heavy rainfalls in this restricted area when the streams are already full banks carrying off the flood waters of the upper country, then you will have trouble, and this is practically what Mr. Marvin, Chief of the Weather Bureau, testified before your committee. He said that the months of January, February, and March are months when procipitation causes most flood troubles on eastern tributaries, and that was the time when the streams were running full banks. So, gentlemen, you will notice that the first argument is intended to get the appropriation, and the second to combat the reservoir

idea and get all the present appropriation spent on the lower Mississippi River, and when that is gone-no relief, come back to Congress and get more. I want this committee to adopt some definite premise to start with, and stand by it. Another claim made by Members on the floor of this House that I do not take much stock in is that the people who own these lands along the lower Mississippi and other places that need protection are too poor to pay the assessments that would be levied against them for their own protection and improvement. Every rural Member of this House has poor farmers in his district, and it is nothing against the district; but what I want some one to tell me is, what excuse am I going to give to the poor people in my own district when I tell them I voted to relieve the poor farmers of the Mississippi Valley of a forty-five-million-dollar assessment which would make their farms more valuable and agreed to place a part of it on the poor farmers of my district who are already paying all the taxes they can stand. been an advocate of this bill, I never would have presented this argument on the floor of the House. This bill provides that the money shall be spent on the Mississippi River from the Head of the Passes to the mouth of the Ohio under plans of the Mississippi River Commission that have heretofore been or may hereafter be adopted, and everyone knows what that plan isis the levee plan and never will be changed. They adopted that plan at first and have held rigidly to it, and I believe they have done this because their activities have been confined to the lower river; and if they have never gone fairly into any other proposition, but simply are going to spend all of their spare time and money on the lower river, there is nothing else to do but to build levees.

But as I understood the objects and purposes of this Flood Committee, it was to investigate and report on the plans for the relief of the floods for the entire Mississippi watershed or system, and they have not done that, but simply offer a bill for the questionable, temporary relief of a favored community, which I do not believe is the desire of or will be acceptable to the Members of this House. Col. Townsend, one of the most important witnesses before this committee and the man whose advice has been followed as much as any other man's before the committee, says the present plan does not take care of the tributaries, and that would be necessary in order to entirely take care of the Mississippi, and it must ultimately be done. Many references have been made to the report of Humphreys and Abbott and their conclusions that the levee system was the only proper way to control the floods. This investigation was made and printed just before and after the Civil War, and there is not a single condition the same on the Mississippi River to-day as it was 60 years ago, except that the water flows to the sea; and these same advocates of this bill are claiming extra relief on account of these changed conditions of the last half century, but to back up their argument for levees they bring up this decision and report, which was made before these changed conditions existed,

The chairman of this committee states in one of his questions to Mr. Maxwell, who favored impounding of waters:

I think this committee would besitate, with its limited information on the subject, to undertake to tell the commission what they should do to control the floods on the Mississippi River.

The chairman of this committee, and everyone else, knows that the Mississippi River Commission has always been an advocate of the levee system, and if this flood commission had also made up its mind, as this question would indicate, what was the sense of spending all the time and money to have these hearings? In my own mind it was just to fool the people, and that the dominant influences on this committee had made up their minds before they began what they would report. Practically all the men who came before this committee were interested in some levee district or the Mississippi River Commission, and, of course, all except a few men favored the levee system, and when the men from New Orleans suggested the impounding system they were met with a question like this:

Would you rather hazard the passage of a bill for our immediate relief by providing a section in it that calls for the expenditure of either millions or billions in the future? If you are willing to take a chance on a bill of that sort passing, I believe you have better sporting blood in you than the people of the rest of the Delta.

Generally a question of this kind would have its effect, but Mr. Parker, of New Orleans, answered:

Mr. Chairman, if I spoke for myself, and everything in the world I have got is there, I would take the chance.

Mr. Speaker, if you will go right through all these hearings, you will find from the character of the witnesses called, from the questions asked, it all tended from the first to the levee and revetment system, and practically nothing has been done toward bringing out the advisability or feasibility of the impounding system, and the committee has utterly failed on the bigger and broader propositions of general control of flood regu-

lation and has simply come back to the old river and harbor proposition of asking Congress for \$45,000,000 for further work and improvements on the lower Mississippi River, when hundreds of honest, pressing river and harbor improvements must go neglected.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let us look at the cost of the work the committee proposes to do. They say they must have \$60,000,000 worth of dirt banks, and in addition it will take at least \$100,-000,000 for proper revetments and a period of 25 or 30 years to do the work. This is all on the main river alone and has nothing to do with the tributaries or the Atchafalava outlet. only that this system of levees will send double the amount of water down this Atchafalaya outlet and make the conditions for the people in that section just twice as bad as they are at the present time. When you have spent this one hundred and sixty millions, you will only have just commenced; then you will have to spend millions upon millions to protect the Atchafalaya district; and after that, what about the Arkansas, the Red, the White, St. Francis, the Missouri, the Ohio, and a dozen other rivers now seriously affected by floods? men, when you have done what you propose by this bill you will have just commenced the work and just begun to spend the money, and the people in these other districts have just as much right to demand protection of their life and property as the favored ones who live on the immediate banks of the lower Mississippi. If you continue raising the levees, you will eventually be carrying the Mississippi River in an artificial conduct to the sea, and here also comes in the question of foundation. Practical men and competent engineers say it is very doubtful if it will hold with an increased pressure from raised levees, and, while the levee itself might hold, the foundation might give away, and that would be even worse trouble than if the levee itself broke. And what practical man would ever think of building a dam 30 to 50 feet high on a dirt foundation and not even examine that? Do you suppose for a minute any private individual would risk his own life and property on such a proposition as this? In fact, the whole proposition is absolutely absurd from a practical, common-sense, business standpoint, and the men before the committee, when pressed to it, admitted that, for a final, complete control, the plan they were advocating was only a makeshift, and eventually they would have to do something else to accomplish the desired result. Mr. Parker, of New Orleans, testified before this committee that about a year ago Col. Townsend told him privately:

I am about convinced, or am about to announce my belief, that we must have source stream control.

There is not a man in this room that has given any careful thought and consideration but what knows that the only way to control the flood water of the stream is to start upstream and work down. Do you suppose any individual or corporation that was spending his own money and must get a dollar's worth of return for every dollar spent would ever start at the mouth of a river and work up it, if they wanted to economically and effectually control the flood waters of that stream? This proposed proposition is just as foolish from a practical business standpoint as it would be to build the roof of a house first and try to suspend it with sky hooks while you are building the foundation and intermediate stories.

If you believe this proposition is a worthy one, if you honestly believe the Federal Government should give these people the relief they ask for, let us go at it in real man fashion. a broad, comprehensive plan of the whole watershed and work it out so you will furnish relief not only to a few on the lower Mississippi River but to every flood sufferer in the whole Mississippi system. Let us go straight at the cause and not spend our money fussing around with the effect. Every man knows that the relief plan proposed under this bill deals only with the effect and does not touch the real causes of all the trouble. A local application to a general disease was never known to bring any results. You must make arrangements to impound these surplus waters in the upper streams and their tributaries, and then you will be producing practical results and creating an asset instead of a liability. For every follar you spend on higher levees you are creating a liability that will last as long as the Government stands. When you build these retaining walls higher and restrain this water between them you create a swifter and stronger current to wear out the dirt levees you have built, and thereby you create the very force that will eventually destroy the effect you are working for. Now, Mr. Speaker, let us consider for a few minutes the results to be obtained from the reservoir or impounding system, and then I am through. principal objection to this scheme in the minds of the committee eems to be the expected enormous expense. When this committee was authorized by this House, were they instructed to bring in a finding that would not cost to exceed fifty or one hundred million dollars, or were they told to bring in a solution for the whole problem? I certainly understood the latter. The levee system is as old as the river itself, and if this committee had presented to this House a complete, systematic, positive plan to control these floods regardless of cost, they would have completed their work when they presented this plan to Congress, and then this House could have acted on it as they saw fit under the circumstances. They also brought up the cost of a survey of every square mile in this whole watershed, and every practical man knows with all the surveys in existence it is absolutely unnecessary to have an Army engineer do all this work. Of course, I know there would have to be a great deal of surveying, but not on any large scale as presented by this committee, unless you are spending some one else's money and do not care about the

It will take some 25 or 30 years to complete the levee system, according to the evidence before this committee, and I know the impounding system could be worked out in much less time than that. You divide the whole Mississippi River system into an Ohio system, an upper Mississippi system, and a Missouri system and put some practical, experienced business men with your engineers and tell them to go ahead, and they will work you out a system of flood control—a system that will do what you want done, for all time and for all people, and not one that simply answers for a short time and for only a part of the people. It may cost somewhat more, but not as much more as they would lead you to believe; but when you have finally completed this work you have created an asset for all future generations. Now, let us see what more we will have accomplished when we have completed an impounding system. Besides relieving the people from flood destruction you will have impounded waters that may be used to assist your navigation during the low-water period; also it will be of inestimable value to your water powers along down the stream, to say nothing of the value of the powers you would create at the impounding reservoirs; and it has been stated on the floor of this House within a few weeks that our water powers are the most valuable natural asset we have left. In addition, in certain districts you will have aided the irrigation proposition, which has also attracted much attention in this House. It is worth the cost of the whole proposition for the water powers and navigation, to say nothing of the relief from flood destruction. In my own country the water-power owners and municipalities would build these reservoirs for stream control at their own expense if you would grant them the right of eminent domain, and there is no doubt in my mind but what a great deal of this could be handled in the same way if you go at this proposition with this end in view. On the one hand you have a proposition that will absolutely accomplish flood control for all the people for all time, will improve your navigation, develop, maintain, and improve your most valuable asset—your water supply and your sources of irrigation—while on the other you have nothing but a makeshift, temporary, questionable relief for only a part of your citizens. One proposition creates a fixed asset, the other a lasting liability. Which will you have? I appeal to you in the name of practical common sense and justice to meet this proposition in real man fashion and make it a piece of constructive legislation that will do honor to yourself and all future generations.

Woman Suffrage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ROBERT M. MCCRACKEN. OF IDAHO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 18, 1916.

Mr. McCRACKEN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include resolutions unanimously passed at a mass meeting of citizens of Boise, Idaho, at the Pinney Theater, May 9, 1916.

The resolutions are as follows:

RESOLUTIONS UNANIMOUSLY PASSED AT A MASS MEETING OF CITIZENS OF BOISE, IDAHO, AT THE FINNEY THEATER, MAY 9, 1916.

OF BOISE, IDARO. AT THE FINNET THEATER, MAY 9, 1916.

Whereas we, citizens of Boise, Idaho, May 9, 1916, realizing that never in history has it been possible to build a contented nation half free and half disfranchised; and

Whereas the present inter-State discrimination against the political rights of women can be ended only by the passage through Congress of a Federal suffrage amendment; and

Whereas our Representatives in the lower House of Congress have been denied the opportunity of voting upon this amendment; Be it

Resolved, That we protest against the action of the House Judiciary Committee in unfairly blocking the passage of the Susan B. Anthony Federal suffrage amendment and demand of it an immediate favorable report that it may be voted upon during this session of Congress;

able report that it may be voted upon during this second to be it further

Resolved, That we call upon Senator Borah to work and vote for the passage of the amendment in the Senate; be it finally

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the leaders of the administration, the members of the Judiciary Committee, and to the Members of the Idaho congressional delegation with the request that it be read into the Congressional Recomb in the Senate by Senator Borah and in the House by Congressman McCracken.

Alice Pittenger, Chairman.

Philippine Islands.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES S. DAVENPORT,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, May 1, 1916.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 381) to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands.

Mr. DAVENPORT. Mr. Chairman, it is clear from the arguments presented here to-day that many of the Members of the House favor the passage of the pending bill with the Clarke amendment, which will fix a definite time for complete independence for the Philippines. I am one of those who believe the time has come when this Government of ours should take a definite stand and give to the Philippine Islands independence. There are others on the floor of this House who disagree with me as to the character of legislation and to what extent Congress should go at this time. The Republican members of the Insular Affairs Committee oppose legislation that fixes a definite date for independence, but indicate that they would support the Jones bill, giving to the Philippine people additional legislative powers, but postpone fixing a date for complete independence, on the grounds that the Philippine people are not sufficiently qualified to manage and maintain an independent government. also insist that it would be unwise, unpatriotic, and disastrous to the Philippine people to give them independence at this time. At the outset let me say that this should not be a partisan bill, but from some of the statements made by the gentlemen opposing it, it would seem that a great effort is being made to make it partisan. No one will deny that impliedly, if not explicitly, the Republicans have been advocating a gradual extension of self-government for the people of those islands, and it also includes definite and positive assurances given to them in the past that under proper conditions they would be permitted to become an independent nation.

The Republican adherence to this policy is evidenced by the repeated official statements of Presidents of the United States, Secretaries of War who had the Philippines in charge, and Governors General, speaking to the Philippine people in the name of the American Government. Those utterances, which in part I shall quote, indicate conclusively, to my mind, that those high officials have given public and official assurances to the Philippine people: First, that there is gradually to be extended to them an increasing degree of self-government; and, second, that ultimately some day, under proper conditions, the people of the United States were to acknowledge the independ-ence of the Philippine people. So much for the Republican

The Democratic Party, in its platform in 1912, set forth its attitude as follows:

attitude as follows:

We reaffirm the position thrice announced by the Democracy in national convention assembled against a policy of imperialism and colonial exploitation in the Philippines or elsewhere. We condemn the experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder, which has involved us in enormous expenses, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our Nation open to the charge of abandonment of the fundamental doctrine of self-government. We favor an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers.

To recognizing the independence of the Philippines our Government should refain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases.

This bill now before the House is here not as a partisan measure, but that the Philippines should be given increased legislation and expressing the settled purpose of the two parties and expressing the settled policy of the American people. I state that, in view of the past utterances of the two political parties,

the Democratic and Republican Parties, this should not be a partisan question, but should be supported by both sides of this All agree that the Philippines have made wonderful progress in the past 18 years, and that the 8,000,000 or more of people in the islands should be given increased legislative power. This bill, it is true, with the amendment known as the Clarke amendment, fixes a definite date for independence; and it would seem that those who in the past have been advocating independence for the Philippines in the future without fixing a date now realize that they must make a fight and defeat any legislation tending to fix a date.

Let me briefly call your attention to the American Philippine history from the date of our victory in Manila Bay up to the

1898, occurred the battle of Manila Bay, On May 1, which Admiral Dewey commanded the American forces. During the summer of that year American troops were brought over and the town of Manila was besieged. On August 13 of that year the town of Manila surrendered to Gen. Merritt, head of the American Army. On December 21 of that year, 1898, the President issued his proclamation taking over those islands in the name of the American people—islands 8,000 miles away from the American coast; islands inhabited by 8,000,000 people, of whom nine-tenths were Christians; islands which for 300 years had been in the possession and under the control of the old Spanish monarchs; islands which contain almost as large an area as the British Isles in Europe; islands which lay upon the bosom

of the Pacific Ocean in the very shadow of Asia.

On February 22 of the following year, 1899, began the Philippine Insurrection. The Filipino soldiers had assisted the American Army in the conquest of Manila, but in a short time they became restive under the conditions and decided to continue against the Americans, who were taking the sovereign power of the islands, the same insurrection which they had been carrying on against the Spanish Government since 1896. On March 4 the first Philippine Commission appointed by the President of the United States arrived in the islands. President Schurman was the chairman of that commission. It was largely, in fact almost wholly, an advisory body, for the real power rested in the military authorities in the islands.

I want to quote briefly from the language used by President McKinley in giving his instructions to that commission, because it illuminates the real purpose of the American people and it vindicates that purpose. He instructed them that they were so to conduct themselves toward the Philippine people as to prove to them that the United States was to be a liberating rather than a conquering Nation.

On April 11, 1899, the treaty with Spain was concluded, by which Spain relinquished forever her claims in those islands. On April 7, 1900, the second commission, with Mr. Taft as chairman, arrived in the islands. To this commission the President of the United States gave for the first time legislative

dent of the United States gave for the first time legislative powers, powers which to some extent had been previously exercised by the military authorities. Those powers were now vested in the commission headed by Mr. Taft.

On June 1 of the following year, 1901, the President extended to this commission executive powers to accompany the legislative powers which they possessed. These executive powers were developed by the creation in September, 1901, of executive departments, the heads of which are analogous to our Cabinet officers

in the United States.

In October, 1901, the office of vice governor was created by Executive order. Up to this time all powers to be exercised in the name of the United States in the Philippine Islands had been bestowed by the President of the United States under his constitutional war powers. Now, however, in July, 1902, Congress passed what has been known as "the organic act of the Philippine Islands."

The chief purpose of this act was to make the first start in creating a legislative authority in the Philippine Islands in which the Philippine people should have some share and part. This act as I have said was passed in 1902, and under its au-This act as I have said was passed in 1902, and under its authority occurred the census of the Philippine Islands from 1903 to 1905. After that census and after a lapse of two years, which the organic act required, the new Philippine Legislature was organized, a legislature consisting of two houses—an upper house, called "the commission," having 9 members and being appointed by the President of the United States; and a lower house, called "the assembly," consisting of 81 members, and being elected for the first time in the history of the Philippine Islands by the Philippine people. pine Islands by the Philippine people.

Thus matters stood in the Philippine Islands until the advent of the present administration. The commission, which was the upper house of the Philippine Legislature, was not only apmade to the Philippine people. It is one of many statements

pointed by the President of the United States but he had always placed upon that commission a majority of American citizens. When President Wilson came into power, however, he proceeded to carry out in spirit the policy of the Democratic Party, as well as the policy of the American people, as I think, by appointing a majority of Filipinos upon the commission; so that for the last two years the upper house of the Philippine Legislature as well as the lower house has been in the control of the Philippine people.

The effect of that change, the effect of giving to the Philippine people a majority of the upper house as well as of the lower house, was at once to do away with a great cause of friction, irritation, and disagreement which had existed for some time. For five years no appropriation bill had been passed, because the two houses were unable to agree upon one. For all that time the old appropriations had been continued automatically, but as soon as the Philippine people came into possession of their upper house the appropriation bills passed; and it is to the credit of the Philippine people, it is to the everlasting credit of the present Governor General of the Philippine Islands that the legislation of the Philippine Legislature during the last two years has been legislation in the direction of economy and progress.

That it has always been the intent of our Government to give to the Philippines independence is made plain by the statement of President McKinley, who expressed himself on different oc-casions on this subject. He said:

The Philippines are ours, not to exploit, but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government. This is the path of duty which we must follow or be recreant to a mightly trust committed to us.

In his instructions sent to one of the commissions created by him he said:

That in all cases the municipal officers who administer the local affairs of the people are to be selected by the people, and that wherever officers of more extended jurisdiction are to be selected in any way natives of the islands are to be preferred; and if they can be found competent and willing to perform the duties they are to receive the offices in preference to any others. It will be necessary to fill some offices for the present with Americans, which after a time may well be filled by natives of the islands.

Gov. Gen. Harrison has been carrying out that purpose and that policy. It has caused some friction there to relieve Americans who were upon the pay roll and give their positions to Filipinos, but it is carrying out the solemn promise made to the Philippine people by President McKinley.

President Taft, while civil governor of the Philippine Islands,

said, in 1903:

From the beginning to the end of the State papers which were circulated in these islands as authoritative expressions of the Executive, the motto that "the Philippines are for the Filipinos," and that the Government of the United States is here for the purpose of preserving the "Philippines for the Filipinos," for their benefit, for their cievation, for their civilization, again and again and again appear.

A little later on Gov. Gen. Taft was attacked by American papers published in Manila, just as Gov. Gen. Harrison has been attacked, because, in the opinion of those editors, he was proceeding too far to extend self-government to the Filipino people. Here is his reply:

Some of our young lions of the local press have spoken of the "childish slogan," "The Philippines for the Filipinos." It is unnecessary to comment on the adjective used, but it is sufficient to say that, whether childish or not, the principle makes up the web and the woof of the policy of the United States with respect to these islands, as it has been authoritatively declared by two Presidents of the United States—for President Roosevelt has followed sedulously the policy of President McKinley—and by the interpretation of the supreme popular will, the Congress of the United States.

He referred to the feet that the Congress of the United States.

He referred to the fact that the Congress of the United States, in passing the organic act, had indicated the same purpose, and had declared that that act was only for the temporary government of the Filipino people.

Mr. Taft, then Governor General-or civil governor, as it was then called—is quoted partly as follows:

The doctrine-

That is, "The Philippines for the Filipinos"-

does not include, necessarily, the independence of the Filipinos nor any particular degree of autonomy. It is entirely consistent with the principle to object to an immediate extension of popular government on the ground that we are going too fast for the political digestion of the people, and that it is not, therefore for their good. Whether an autonomy or independence or quasi independence shall ultimately follow in these islands ought to depend solely on the question—

Now, what? What question is that to depend on? Is it to depend upon the will of politicians in the United States? Is it to depend even upon the welfare of the United States? No. Mr. Taft declared that-

whether an autonomy or independence or quasi independence shall ultimately follow in these islands ought to depend solely on the question, Is it best for the Filipino people and their welfare?

made to the people of the Philippine Islands officially by the representatives of the United States, and they have accepted it as the pledge of the American people.

He goes on, in the same statement, to say:

I think I have demonstrated by what I have quoted and the instances I have cited that the doctrine, "The Philippines for the Filipinos," is one which the honor of the United States requires it to enforce throughout those islands. Not only was it promised to the Filipinos when the Americans came, after they have been here, during the insurrection and at its close, but I do not think it too much to say that the reiteration of the promises as shown in legislation carrying out these principles had much to do with bringing about the present tranquillity in these islands.

No one will deny that the act of Congress establishing a civil government in the Philippines, known as the organic act, was designed and intended as a temporary measure, and that by the provisions of the organic act approved July 1, 1902, it was intended to give to the Philippine people their independence as soon as it was ascertained that they were competent, and it did not contemplate that all of the people of the Philippine Islands should be competent, but that, as in all governments, a sufficient number should be competent and qualified to handle the affairs of the Government. This bill is not the first one that has been before this House providing for Independence. During the second session of the Sixty-second Congress the Committee on Insular Affairs reported a bill to establish a qualified independent government for the Philippines and to fix the date when such qualified independence shall become absolute and complete, and for other purposes. The general purpose of that bill was to establish for the Filipinos a provisional government more liberal and autonomous in character than that created under the act of Congress of July 1, 1902, that government to begin on the 4th day of July, 1913, and to continue for the period of eight years, after which they were to be given complete independence. In fine, the Filipinos were given in that bill a much larger measure of popular self-government than had therefore been exercised by them, together with the definite promise and assurance that on and after the 4th day of July, 1921, they would be granted full and complete independence. The bill (H. R. 18459) which declared it to be the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as stable government could be established therein, and which passed the House of Representatives on the 14th day of October, 1914, was never considered in the Senate. Whilst that bill did not fix a precise date for the alienation of the Philippine Islands, it did give to the Filipinos distinct assurance that at a time, the date whereof was capable of being made definite and certain, they would be given their independence. Had that bill been enacted into law it is not thought that Philippine independence would have been delayed for so long a period as six years, since it is contrary to the teachings of recent Philippine history and not in accordance with the political, social, and other conditions in the islands to believe that the Filipinos are incapable of establishing a stable government. Their ability to maintain such a government, once it has been established, against foreign aggression is quite a different proposition. The bill to which the committee now gives its sanction, if it shall become a law, will not, it is believed, result in earlier independence than would that to which it gave its approval in the Sixty-third Congress had it been enacted

The bill under consideration is intended to carry out the policy of our Government toward the Philippines and to fulfill our many promises made the people of the islands and to show to them that our stay in the islands has not been for exploiting their territory but for the purpose of assisting them to establish a stable government and thus secure for themselves the liberty of which we are all so proud and which is the pride and boast of all good American citizens.

The bill now under consideration by this House has a two-fold purpose. It gives the Filipino people a more liberal and autonomous government, thus conferring upon them larger control of their public and political affairs than they are now permitted to exercise. The life of this government, however, is to expire so soon as American sovereignty shall cease to exist over the islands, which, the bill declares, shall occur in not less than two nor more than four years after its passage, provided that the President, by proclamation, may extend the time to the date of the final adjournment of the session of Congress which shall convene next after the date of the expiration of the said period of four years, in the event that the condition in respect to the stability or efficiency of the external or internal affairs of the Philippines shall warrant him in so doing.

The necessity for the enactment by Congress of a new organic law for the Philippines is not questioned by anybody.

It is stated in the views of the minority members of the Committee on Insular Affairs that—

The minority entirely agree with the majority that the Philippines should be given a new fundamental law, granting to the people a larger measure of self-government.

And the fact that the only section of this bill to which any reference is made by the minority is that which relates to the independence of the islands amply justifies the conclusion that the provisional government provided for is not unsatisfactory to them.

The justice for the demand that the Filipino people be immediately given a larger measure of self-government being conceded, and no objection having been raised to the governmental features of the bill, it would be a waste of the time of this House to enter upon any detailed discussion of the changes which it effects in the present organic law. I shall therefore only direct the attention of the House to one or two of the more important changes. The most important of these is that which establishes a Philippine Legislature, to be composed of two houses, one the senate and the other the house of representatives.

The senate is designed to take the place of the present Philippine Commission, an appointive body composed of nine members. As is well known, this commission now constitutes the upper branch of the Philippine Legislature and also exercises exclusive legislative and other jurisdiction over all the non-Christian and noncivilized peoples of the islands. The archipelago is divided into 12 senatorial districts, each of which is to be represented by two senators. One of these districts embraces the territory inhabited by the non-Christian and noncivilized tribes, and its two senators are to be appointed by the Governor General. The representatives of the other 11 senatorial districts are to be elected by the qualified voters of those districts.

The house of representatives is to be composed of 90 members, 81 of whom shall be elected in the districts now provided by law; the remaining 9 are to be appointed by the Governor General, and they will represent the noncivilized and non-Christianized territory.

The President of the United States is authorized to appoint a Governor General, a vice governor, an auditor and a deputy auditor, a director of civil service, and the chief justice and associate justices of the supreme court. All other officers are to be appointed by the Governor General with the approval of the Philippine senate. The Governor General is given a qualified veto power.

One other important change which this bill makes in the present organic law is that which relates to the suffrage. The present educational qualification requires that all voters must be able to read and write either Spanish or English. This bill provides that they must be able to read and write either Spanish, English, or a native language. This will necessarily greatly enlarge the present electorate. Its justice is so obvious as to leave no room for discussion. There are many thousand literate Filipinos who speak neither English nor Spanish. Many of these are at least as well qualified to exercise the right of suffrage as the nonnative inhabitants who only speak a foreign language.

The section known as the Clarke amendment seems to be the only one over which there has been much controversy, the only that has disturbed those who have so long preached to the Philippine people independence which they did not intend to give them, and which it would seem by their actions now they had hoped the Philippine people would never ask for. The opponents of Philippine independence claim the Clarke amendment does not protect American and other foreign interests. The amendment is broad and comprehensive enough to protect all interests. It specifically clothes the President of the United States with the power and authority to make such orders and to enter into such negotiations with the authorities of the Philippines as may be necessary to finally settle and adjust all property rights and other relations as between the United States and the Philippines, to cause to be acknowledged, respected, and safeguarded all of the personal and property rights of citizens or corporations of the United States and of other countries resident or engaged in business in the islands or having property interests therein.

The President is thus invested with full power to take every step that is possible to protect and safeguard every American or other foreign interest in the islands; and, to my mind, it would be difficult to make the language which is employed in the bill more binding upon the Chief Executive of the United States or more comprehensive in its scope.

But our friends of the minority insist that the authority thus conferred upon the President to settle and adjust personal and property rights between citizens of the United States and the Philippines is not broad enough to cover certain Philippine bonds

issued under authority of Congress. They argue that any promise or guaranty given by the Philippine government either as to property rights or the rights of the holders of Philippine bonds, which they distinguish from property rights, would be worthless. My reply to this is that no President of the United States would ever draw so nice a distinction as this, thus discriminating between different classes of American investors in the Philippines. I have no doubt that if this bill becomes a law that all property rights in the islands will be safeguarded and protected.

Great stress is laid upon the fact by some of the opponents of this bill that we paid \$20,000,000 for the Philippine Islands, and that we have incurred a great deal of expense in fortifications in the islands, and that we owe it as a debt of gratitude to continue our control over the islands for the purpose of protecting the Philippine people against the aggression of other nations. It is true that we paid \$20,000,000 for the Philippine Islands and that we have incurred a great deal of expense in the last few years fortifying the same; and it is further true that we went into the islands to assist a downtrodden and oppressed people to throw off the yoke of Spain and to assume liberty, for which they had been fighting for centuries. We did not go in there for the purpose of exploiting the islands, nor do I believe it was the intention when we went into the islands that we were going there for the purpose of giving the capitalists an opportunity of speculating off of the products of the islands and the Philippine people. If you could remove from this discussion the interest of the people who have invested their money in the islands and could drive from the Capitol and the House Office Building the lobby that have been canvassing the Members of the House, urging them to vote against this measure, I believe that this question would be viewed by the opponents of the bill in a different light to what it is now being viewed, and I do not believe that the criticism of those of us who favor the bill would be so severe and vitriolic as it is. Some of the opponents of the bill have gone so far as to say it would be a crime to pass a bill containing a provision similar to the Clarke amendment, fixing a definite day for Philippine independence, but they assign no good reason therefor. The only reason they attempt to give is that the Philippine people are not ready, are incompetent, to govern themselves. But my contention is, from what I have seen and heard in this discussion, that it is not the interest of the Philippine people that causes the Republicans to shed crocodile tears, but it is the interest of the capitalists who are appealing to them and urging them not to permit the bill to pass fixing a definite date for independence.

In the minority report upon this bill they used the following language:

The minority entirely agrees with the majority that the Philippines should be given a new fundamental law granting to the people a larger measure of self-government. The minority would gladly support the passage of the Jones bill without the preamble. They would even support the Jones bill with the preamble as a substitute for the Senate bill with the Clarke amendment, but they are united in opposition to the Clarke amendment.

This quotation is taken from the minority report, which is signed by all of the Republican members of the Insular Affairs Committee. I want to call your attention to this fact: Will they carry out the statements contained in this report? If the Clarke amendment is defeated and the Jones bill is brought before the House with the preamble, will they support it? I answer you now, no, they will not. They do not want any legislation that will definitely declare to the Philippine people that they are entitled to or should have in the near future Philippine independence. They do not intend to vote for or support any bill carrying a similar provision. Oh, yes; the Republicans are in favor of giving them additional legislative powers as long as it does not tend to fix a definite date for independence. The Republicans ought to be fair with the American people, and they ought to say to them that their reasons for opposing this bill are not because they believe that the Philippine people are incompetent of self-government, but because they believe we should continue control over the Philippine Islands in order that those who have invested their money in the islands may continue to speculate and make money at the expense of the Philippine people, and receive the protection of the American Government in so doing.

Several of the old-time Republicans in their remarks upon this bill and the minority report used the word "scuttle" and the words "scuttle policy" of the administration. God only knows where you can find a class of citizens more competent to know what scuttle or scuttle policy, from the English definition, means than the old-line, standpat, hard-hearted, uncompromising Republicans upon the floor of this House. The word "scuttle seems to be their chief stock in trade in their arguments against this bill. It seems that it has run through their heads so long

when they were assisting in scuttling the laboring classes of the United States that they still desire to use it, and continue to assist the financial interests of the United States in scuttling the poor, downtrodden, unprotected, and oppressed Philippine people.

Mr. Chairman, if I had any doubt as to what the action of this House should be to-day upon the bill and other provisions contained therein, and as to whether or not the Philippine people were competent, and whether or not there were a sufficient number of competent, educated, and honest Philippine people in the Philippine Islands, that doubt would have been removed at once when I heard one of the commissioners of those islands make his speech upon the floor of this House a few hours ago. opponents of this bill urge with a great deal of noise and with some statements of fact that the Philippine people are not competent to organize and maintain a self-government. From what I have seen to-day of the Philippine representatives, it seems to me that they are fully competent to maintain self-government, and I believe that they have a sufficient number of citizens who are competent to maintain a self-government.

In the presentation of this question, as to whether or not the Filipino is sufficiently trained in state affairs and whether the island has enough or a sufficient number of people to maintain self-government, we should take into consideration the question that it is not contemplated that all of the people of any government should be competent before the government should be intrusted to them. It never has been true, and never will be true, that all of the people of any government are competent and qualified, but the sole question that we should consider, and as has been considered, is whether there are a sufficient number of the people competent to control and maintain selfgovernment. It would not be, as stated by some of our opponents, a cowardly act to haul down the American flag in the Philippine Islands and withdraw our Government from those islands and give to the Philippine people independence, but it would be, in my judgment, a moral, upright, and righteous act to do so and would show to the world that this Government of ours is not in favor of oppression, but is in favor of and would extend to any liberty-loving nation in the world the opportunity of so conducting themselves and preparing for an independent government, and that when our Government had been convinced that there were a sufficient number of competent, honest, and upright citizens in the islands that we would withdraw and permit it to establish an independent republic of its own.

Taking the Philippine legislative body to-day as it stands, it has a commission composed of nine members, five of whom are Filipinos. The assembly is composed of 81 members, all of whom are elected by the Philippine people, and as evidence of their intelligence and qualifications that legislative body elected Mr. QUEZON, as a Resident Commissioner and a Member of this House. I challenge any gentlemen opposing this bill to show where a better selection could have been made, or whether or not these people could have more wisely, in these United States, chosen their representative than did the Filipino people when selecting Mr. Quezon as one of the Resident Commissioners. Yes, you gentlemen opposing this bill say we went into the Philippine Islands 18 years ago. I ask you gentlemen to be fair with yourselves and with this Nation of ours. Did we go into the islands for the purpose of exploiting the islands or did we go into the islands for humanitarian purposes and to assist the Filipinos in establishing their independence and self-government? Answer me this question upon your honor as true, libertyloving American citizens and Members of this House. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

If our Government went into the islands, as I would infer from some of the gentlemen who have spoken upon this subject, for the purpose of exploiting those islands and enriching our citizens who went there for speculative purposes, then you gentlemen have assumed the proper attitude and are acting wisely in this matter, and you ought to stand for your belief, as you will be carrying out the purposes for which you went into the islands. [Applause.] We went into Cuba to aid the Cubans. We went into the Philippines to aid them to establish a government, and we ought to carry out the purpose of our intentions. This is the first opportunity, the first time, we have reached the point where we can, if we wil., assist them in establishing self-government. It is our duty to leave the islands and turn them over to the Filipino people at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. MEEKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DAVENPORT, Yes.

Mr. MEEKER. How long has it been since the gentleman was in favor of getting out of there in two years?

Mr. DAVENPORT. My recollection is that I was a private citizen in the year 1890 in a country that you and some of the Representatives from Missouri would not permit to come

into the Union and vote, because you said we were incompetent. I was then in the Indian Territory, which was then situated like the Philippine Islands are to-day, under the supervision of the United States, but having no right to vote or exercise local self-government; and for many years prior to Oklahoma being admitted into the Union that part of Oklahoma that was then Indian Territory was besieged and controlled by the capitalists, who were speculating and who were ready and willing at any time legislation was proposed in Congress to extend aid and expend their money in sending delegations to Washington to show that the people of Indian Territory were not competent for local self-government and to prevent them from securing the same. The same tactics by the lobbyists and by the financial interests that were put forth in the attempt to prevent Indian Territory from having local self-government have been employed and are now being employed in preventing inde-pendence to the Philippine people. We remained for 15 years in that part of Oklahoma which was formerly Indian Territory, and a great many Representatives, including some of my distinguished friends from Missouri, thought that the people in the Indian Territory were not competent for local self-government the same as a great many of the Members who are opposing this bill argue that the Filipinos are not competent, which assertions are augmented by the interests of the financiers. From the day I entered the Sixtieth Congress I said that if I could have my way I would give to the Philippine people their liberty, just as we did the American Indian on the 16th day of November, 1907, in Oklahoma. [Applause on the Democratic side. 1

And I say to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Meeker], who interrogated me, that if I had my way I would say to the American capitalists in the Philippines, "You went into the islands and invested your money, knowing at the time the exact conditions existing, just as any American capitalist would go into any other foreign country knowing the conditions there, and while I have no disposition to cause you to lose any money, you shall not delay these good people any longer by preventing them from having self-government, because you believe it is to the interest of the speculators and capitalists and because you believe you can continue to exploit and get possession of their property better under the control of the American Government and American protection than when they have their independence."

I do not want to destroy a man's property, but when a man goes into a country knowing the conditions and for what purposes he enters, he ought to be willing to take his chances and should not try to retard these people who are located in the islands and prevent them from having a local self-government, which he himself enjoys in the country of his residence and nativity. I ask you gentlemen who are opposing this bill to answer me and the American people this question: How much capital from the United States went into the Philippine Islands for charity purposes and how much went in there for any other purpose than speculative purposes, and how many dollars have been expended by capitalists from the United States or other countries in the Philippine Islands where they did not expect a return upon their investments? And also, if it is not true that when they invested their money in the islands, did they not know and understand the conditions that existed in the islands at the time, and that their investments were made for the purpose of trying to make money, and if it was invested under such knowledge, then I contend that they have no right to complain and need not complain. [Applause from Democratic

A few days ago I received from a banking institution of the city of New York a coupon photographic copy of some bonds that had been issued by a Philippine railway company, and the institution from which I received the photographic copy of the bond presented the argument to me that it was guaranteed by the United States and that the bond of the Philippine railway company was protected, but the copy of the bond failed to sustain such argument of the institution sending the copy of the bond to me. Only the government of the Philippine Islands whatever that government may be—is obligated to protect them, and that is all, and the United States Government has no obligation whatever to protect the payment of these bonds. The bill under consideration is so drawn that it amply protects capitalists who have invested their money in the islands. A few of the opponents of this bill, who are pretending that they would like to have legislation giving increased jurisdiction to the islands, take the position that this bill does not protect the interests of all of the bondholders; but it is only a few who take this position, and the greater number of eminent lawyers who have investigated this matter say that the bill does prop-

orly protect all interests in the islands. But, gentlemen, let me tell you this: Let us be fair with each other and not try to deceive or mislead anyone; let us tell the truth and the whole truth; and let us see if those who are opposing legislation fixing a definite time for Philippine independence are doing so because, from their viewpoint, certain interests, organizations, and associations in the islands will be injured financially, and that they believe financial interests will be better conserved and protected by the American Government continuing the control than by Philippine independence. My friend from Tennessee [Mr. Austin] made a splendid speech, and he is a splendid, lovable gentleman. He has visited the Philippine Islands and has had an opportunity to see some of the local conditions, and in recent months has broken into the magazines and has written articles upon the conditions in the islands. While he in his speech takes the position that the Filipinos are not competent of self-government, yet in these articles he goes into details and gives figures showing that nearly 80 per cent of the offices in the Philippine Islands are held by Filipinos either appointed or elected by the people. If the Filipino people can run the local government under those conditions and without friction, why can they not do it in an independent government as well, with proper laws and governmental regulations?

Again, in conclusion, I must refer to my friends, the minority members of the Insular Affairs Committee. It is amusing to refer to the quotation in their report in which they say that they would prefer the Jones bill to the bill with the Clarke amendment. I do not propose to mention the names of any of the minority members, as they are good fellows to serve with on the committee and all lovable gentlemen to associate with, yet they know as well as I do that they do not want the Jones bill or any other bill that even contemplates that we are at some future date to give to the Filipino people independence. They use this as a subterfuge in order to try to deceive and mislead those favoring the passage of the bill with the Clarke amendment. My Republican friends know they do not want any bill for the Philippine Islands that will take away any of the powers of the United States Government or a bill that will relinquish any of those powers.

It is not long until the election, and let us be candid with each other and not present an argument that we know at heart we do not believe in.

Now, to my Democratic friends who are opposing this bill, I want to speak to you a minute. I was glad that Mr. QUEZON spoke the truth and expressed himself as he did at the conclusion of his speech, because I want to forcibly present to you now that this question is not a religious question at all in the Philippine Islands, but it is purely a political and financial question, and ever will remain so as long as there are two parties in the United States. If I read the record correctly, several years ago, in the hearings before the Insular Affairs Committee, when my good friend Mr. Cannon was a member of that committee, some one said the Philippine question was not a political question. I do not undertake to quote him correctly, but in substance. My recollection is that his reply was that they could do as they damn pleased, but it was a political question and would always remain one. I agree with him; he was right, and it will always remain and be a political question. My friend Mr. Austin, from Tennessee, eloquently and dramatically patted some of the Democrats on the back and lauded the Tammany boys for going out of the caucus the other night and refusing to agree to stand by the caucus and support the bill with the provisions in it as it is now being considered. Not to use his exact expression, but he gloried in their independence and the assertion of their power to stand for Americans, as he viewed it. While you know, gentlemen, there is sometimes rejoicing in the camp of the enemy, and especially true when you have deserted your own army and gone over to the enemy.

You gentlemen who oppose this bill, and who are Democrats, have a perfect right to do so and to do as you please, but remember what I am saying now, that you who are Democrats and can not support this bill, and who have to-day received the applause of the Republican Members of this House, who have disagreed with your political party, will some day see the effect of what you are doing to-day. Some day you will have a proposition that you want enacted into law, and when some one of those stand-pat Republicans will rise up and hit you squarely between the eyes, you will then fail to see your friend from Tennessee, who to-day so eloquently lauded you, rise up in your behalf and support your proposition and carry your banner to the front; he will not be hallooing for Tammany or any of the Democratic boys who want legislation enacted, but he will stand solidly with the stand-pat organization and laugh in your

face, and say, "Well, boys, we don't need you to-day." It is a precedent to be established, and I want to say to you that Mr. AUSTIN does not love you for your action in this matter, but some day, when you have met the condition that I have just described, he will go out and talk about how they misled you

into voting against the Clarke amendment.

Remember, I am not criticizing your actions. I concede you the right to do as you please, but I have called your attention to the fact that the Democratic organization and party is maintained only by teamwork and cooperation, and the differences of opinion as to what should be done is usually worked out in the organization of your own party. I am for the bill as reported, and believe, if we expect to get any legislation at this session of Congress, we must pass the bill with the Clarke amendment, or we must content ourselves with knowing that the lobbyists and capitalists have succeeded in doing their work and defeating the measure, as one of them said to me several days ago that he could and would do.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Oklahoma

has expired. [Applause.]

Statement by the National Foreign Trade Council.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. S. D. FESS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 18, 1916.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I submit a statement of the National Foreign Trade Council on an American merchant marine.

The first national foreign trade convention, at Washington, May 27-28, 1914, recognized the need of an organization which should "endeavor to coordinate the foreign trade activities of the Nation," and authorized the creation of the National Foreign Trade Council for that purpose.

The Council has an authorized maximum membership of 50 merchants, manufacturers, farmers, miners, railroad and steamship men, and bankers, representing all sections of the United States, and collectively standing for the general interest of all

elements engaged in foreign trade.

Nonpolitical and nonpartisan, its function is investigatory and advisory, and it seeks effectively to cooperate with other organizations in the encouragement of sound national foreign trade policy. Through its committees the Council is constantly investigating and from time to time publicly reports upon problems arising in over-sea commerce.

The membership of the council is as follows:

Chairman, James A. Farrell, president United States Steel Corporation, New York City; treasurer, Walter L. Clark, New York City; secretary, Robert H. Patchin, New York City; John J. Arnold, vice president First National Bank, Chicago, Ill.; Willis H. Booth, vice president Security Trust & Savings Bank, Los Angeles, Cal.; J. A. G. Carson, president Carson Naval Stores Co., Savannah, Ga.; E. A. S. Clarke, president Lackawanna Steel Co., New York City; Samuel P. Colt, president United States Rubber Co., New York City; Maurice Coster, managing director Westinghouse Electric Exp. Co., New York City; John Crosby, Washburn-Crosby Co., Minneapolis, Minn.; F. G. Crowell, vice president Hall-Baker Grain Co., Kansas City, Mo.; Robert Dollar, president the Robert Dollar Co., San Francisco, Robert Dollar, president the Robert Dollar Co., San Francisco, Cal.; J. J. Donovan, vice president Bloedel-Donovan Lumber Mills, Bellingham, Wash.; John F. Fitzgerald, Boston, Mass.; J. Rogers Flannery, chairman Pittsburgh Foreign Trade Commission, Pittsburgh, Pa.; P. A. S. Franklin, vice president International Mercantile Marine, New York City; L. S. Goldstein, New Orleans Association of Commerce, New Orleans, La.; Lloyd C. Griscom, New York City; B. F. Harris, farmer, Champaign, III.; Fairfax Harrison, president Southern Railway Co., Washington, D. C.; H. G. Herget, Pekin Wagon Co., Pekin, III.; James J. Hill, chairman Great Northern Railway Co., St. Paul, Minn.; Henry Howard, vice president Merrimac Chemical Co., Boston, Mass.; Charles E. Jennings, president C. E. Jennings Co., New York City; Alba B. Johnson, president Baldwin Locomotive Works, Philadelphia, Pa.; D. W. Kempner, Galveston Cotton Exchange, Galveston, Tex.; Cyrus H. McCormick, president International Harvester Corporation, Chicago, Ill.; J. R. McWane, president American Cast Iron Pipe Co., Birmingham, Ala.; Charles H. Muchnic, vice president American Locomotive

Sales Corporation, New York City; Barton Myers, president Chamber of Commerce, Norfolk, Va.; M. A. Oudin, foreign manager General Electric Co., Schenectady, N. Y.; William Pigott, president Seattle Car & Foundry Co., Seattle, Wash.; Welding Ring, Mailler & Quereau, New York City; John D. Ryan, president Anaconda Copper Mining Co., New York City; William H. Russe, president Russe & Burgess (Inc.), Memphis, Tenn.; W. L. Saunders, chairman of board, Ingersoll-Rand Co., New York City; Charles A. Schieren, president Charles A. Schieren Co., New York City; Wallace D. Simmons, president Simmons Hardware Co., St. Louis, Mo.; Willard Straight, vice president American International Corporation, 55 Wall Street, New York City: G. F. Sulzberger, Sulzberger & Sons Co., Chicago, Ill.; Stewart K. Taylor, president the S. K. Taylor Lumber Co., Mobile, Ala.; Eugene P. Thomas, president United States Steel Products Co., New York City; F. A. Vanderlip, president National City Bank, New York City; F. A. Vanderlip, president National City Bank, New York City; Daniel Warren, vice president American Trading Co., New York City; J. H. Wheelwright, president Consolidation Coal Co., Baltimore, Md.; Theo. B. Wilcox, Portland Flouring Mills Co., Portland, Oreg.

Office of council, India House, Hanover Square, New York

STATEMENT BY THE NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE COUNCIL TO THE MER-CHANT MARINE COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON THE "ADMINISTRATION SHIPPING BILL," H. R. 10500, IN THE FORM INTRODUCED JANUARY 31, 1916.*

* The reader will do well in connection with this report to study not only H. R. 10500, but also H. R. 15455, presented by a majority of the House Merchant Marine Committee as a substitute and passed May 20.

Note.—This report was formulated after a careful inquiry and by the merchant marine committee of the National Foreign Trade Connell submitted to the membership of the council and approved in May, 1916.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

1. That Congress establish a permanent shipping board, composed of five members, who shall be men experienced in shipping and foreign trade. This board shall recommend to Congress such revision and modernization of all United States laws relating to shipping as it deems necessary, and shall permanently discharge all the functions of the Federal Government relating thereto. This board shall constitute a permanent advisory body empowered to recommend to Congress the measures necessary for the maintenance of United States shipping upon an equitable competitive basis with other nations, always having due regard for the maintenance of American standards of living and compensation, and keeping in view the needs of the national defense and the necessities of the foreign trade. To this end the board should be directed to ascertain the cost of construction and operation, rates of interest on shipping mortgages, insurance rates, etc., of American shipping as compared with that of other nations, and it should be its duty to determine what line of ocean-carrying trade shall be permanently developed under the American flag for the benefit of the foreign commerce of the United States, and to recommend methods whereby such lines may be rendered possible in the event of the cost of their operation preventing effective competition with foreign services in the same zone.

2. That the hoard bring to the attention of Congress the necessity

such lines may be rendered possible in the event of the cost of their operation preventing effective competition with foreign services in the same zone.

2. That the board bring to the attention of Congress the necessity for modifications of the speed requirements of the mail act of 1891 in special cases, so that the establishment of mail communications with South America, South Africa, Australasia, and the Far East may be considered from the several points of view of the cost of operation of such lines and of the speeds at which it is desirable that these lines be maintained.

3. That the board so constituted shall likewise report upon the measures necessary to render investment in American shipping safe and attractive to private capital and to increase the present resources of our systems of credit, as by the establishment of mortgage banks, to supply funds to the shipping industry for financing the construction of tonnage, and to throw around shipping mortgages such protection as to remove any apprehension on the part of investors regarding the safety of shipping propositions.

4. That the President be empowered to suspend the operation of such of the provisions of the seamen's act (applicable to American vessels, Nov. 4, 1915; foreign vessels, Mar. 4, 1916) as he may consider detrimental to the interest of American shipping, until Congress, having before it the advice of the shipping board, has revised and modernized the United States navigation laws; or if this suspension be deemed not expedient by Congress, then that section 13 of the seamen's act be amended so as to eliminate the language test and the minimum perventages of able seamen among the deck crew, substituting therefor provisions equivaient to the requirements of the British merchant-shipping act. and that the requirements of section 14 and annexed regulations concerning certificated lifeboat men, etc., be modified in conformity with the 1914 amendment to the British merchant-shipping act.

In the opinion of the council a truly national shipping

commerce.

2 To mintain, under the flag, communication with distant possessions.

3. To aid the national defense and maintain commerce during war, whether the United States be beligerent or neutral.

The amount and character of additional tonnage necessary thus to serve American foreign commerce, under our own flag, can best be determined by analysis of that trade and its transportation, under normal conditions, before the European war.

TRANSPORTATION BEFORE THE WAR.

In the fiscal year ended June 30, 1914, a month before hostilities began, foreign vessels carried 80.3 per cent of the total value of our exports and imports; American vessels, 8.3 per cent; cars and other land vehicles, 11.1 per cent.

NONCOMPETITIVE AND COMPETITIVE EXPORTS.

NONCOMPETITIVE AND COMPETITIVE EXPORTS.

American exports can be divided broadly into two classes. The first consists of agricultural and forest products vitally necessary to the life and industry of other people upon the free movement of which the existence of a large part of the world's population depends. These commodities are normally sold for cash, passing to the ownership of foreign buyers, their agents, or to middlemen, before leaving our shores. The maritime nations urgently requiring them provide the transportation for these commodities, which are bulky and cheap, and constitute the greater part of the total value of the export trade.

The second and smaller class of American exports consists of partly finished and fully manufactured goods which are not vital to the buyers and which, therefore, enter into competition with similar manufactures elsewhere produced. To insure a market for this grade of exports it is necessary that transportation cost shall not exceed that of similar products reaching centers of consumption from competing seats of production. This desirable parity of rates in competition with the rest of the world did generally obtain before the war, but in many cases, exporters selling c. i. f. (i. e., including cost, insurance, and freight in the selling price) and seeking further to extend and diversity American trade, were obliged to establish warehouses throughout the world in order to obtain the advantage of more direct, frequent, and often cheaper, transportation to desirable markets. Under normal conditions superior transportation is obtainable at certain European ports because the tonnage of imports into Europe exceeds that of exports, making more cargo space available for shipments to neutral markets capable of consuming American manufactures. The more numerous and faster lines from Europe to neutral markets are due to—

(a) Greater diversification of European export trade.

(b) Larger number of traffic-producing ports at which vessels may call in early stages of outbound and last

CHARACTER OF IMPORTS.

Imports into the United States likewise fall into two classes—highly finished manufactures of small bulk but great value, and raw materials and foodstuffs of large bulk. The total tonnage of imports is about half that of exports. Competition for cargoes to the United States, therefore, is nearly always brisk and normally keeps freights on imports (which are ultimately borne by the consumer) below those on exports.

TRAMP STEAMSHIPS INDISPENSABLE.

on exports,

TRAMP STEAMSHIPS INDISPENSABLE.

The disparity between import and export tonnage vitally affects the character and cost of the transportation afforded the foreign trade of the United States, for it means that not all vessels used in export trade can obtain direct return cargoes, and many therefore must load at foreign ports for destinations other than the United States. For instance, a steamer starting from Savannah across the Atlantic with cotton for Liverpool is likely to be chartered to carry coal from. Wales to Argentina to avoid being compelled to return to the United States empty (in ballast). If no cargo offers at Argentina ports she may proceed in ballast to Chile to take nitrate for Europe and thus remain away from the United States indefinitely or until, at some port, a profitable cargo or charter to the United States is offered. To lay down Pittsburgh steel at Vancouver in competition with British steel shipped from England via Magellan, steamers from New York (owned or chartered by the exporters), in addition to taking steel from Vancouver, had to take cargo for delivery at intermediate points along the west coast of South America and Mexico. After discharging steel at Vancouver, where no cargo direct for the east coast of the United States is regularly available, these vessels ship lumber or coal for the Gulf of California. They are reloaded with copper matte for Dunkirk, France, and in France take chalk for New York, the whole trip consuming from six to eight months. It was the only process whereby the cheap water rate from Liverpool to Vancouver, made possible by the export trade of other countries was served three times, while that of the United States was served once, but it was the toli taken from the commerce of a large export traffic out of British Columbia to Europe and the Far East, could be overcome. In these voyages the export trade of other countries was served three times, while that of the United States was served once, but it was the toli taken from the commerce of the o

The liner she's a lady by the paint upon 'er face,
An' if she meets an accident they count it sore disgrace,
The man-of-war's 'er husband, and 'e's always 'andy by,
But, oh, the little cargo boats! They've got to load or die!
The liner she's a lady, and 'er route is cut and dried;
The man-of-war's 'er 'usband, and 'e always keeps beside;
But, oh, the little cargo boats that 'aven't any man,
They've got to do their business first, and make the most they can!
—Kipling.

AMERICAN SHIPPING MUST SERVE OTHER NATIONS AS WELL.

AMERICAN SHIPPING MUST SERVE OTHER NATIONS AS WELL.

An American merchant marine sufficiently large to relieve, say, 60 per cent of our bulky exports and imports from dependence on foreign shipping must obey this economic necessity as completely as the European and other shipping now carrying the greater part of this trade, for shippers customarily give freight to the lowest bidder, who is, by and large, the agent of the vessel which keeps most constantly employed.

AMERICAN MARINE DEPENDENT ON ABILITY TO COMPETE.

The traffic to and from the United States, therefore, will go to American vessels only if they are able to compete with foreign vessels on the outer legs of the circuitous voyages they will be obliged to make in serving world commerce generally.

The possession of a greater number of American-flag ships would have rendered our commerce less vulnerable to the reduction of its accustomed transport through destruction, immobilization, and impressment of foreign tonnage. The 4,000,000 tons of British shipping engaged prior to the war in commerce between ports wholly foreign to the United Kingdom shrank during the first year of the war to 2,500,000 tons, and has since further decreased. The possession of established American lines to certain markets now reached only via Europe would have facilitated a wider exportation of competitive manufactures and enabled American exporters more completely to supply markets customarily served by Europe.

The most profitable of all industries in foreign trade at the present time is shipping. A larger American merchant marine would have profited through world commerce during this war, precisely as the manufacturing industry now profits from the needs of the belligerents, and shipping earnings would be contributing to a trade balance larger than that which now stirs the American imagination to the possibilities of trade extension through juddicious foreign investment made possible by war profits. At a time when Great Britain's excess of imports over exports surpasses all records, the earnings of British shipping not only offset war indebtedness but one-half of the profits in excess of normal returns go to the State. This means that not only British importers, but all others who pay the freight on goods carried in British vessels, contribute to the war budget. British shipping, therefore, not only permits the British Empire to conduct "business as usual," but is also a source of governmental revenue.

This desirable situation arises from a shipping which by no means carries all of British commerce. Only about 55 per cent of the tonnage annually entering and clearing from ports of the United Kingdom in a normal year is British, the remainder being foreign. During the war the British percentage is somewhat increased. In ordinar

HOW LARGE SHOULD AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE BE?

The almost universal sentiment of the people of the United States for a greater merchant marine proceeds from a somewhat intangible desire that American commerce shall be carried under our fiag. It is evident from England's experience that no nation can transport all of its commerce in its own vessels. Assuming that the carriage of 60 percent of American foreign commerce in American vessels would render this country reasonably independent of the carrying of the merchant marine of any other nation, it is important to determine how great an American tonnage would be necessary. In 1915, 1,871,543 tons of American shipping carried 14.3 per cent of the total foreign commerce. This tonnage, for the most part, was engaged in traffic with near-by markets, the West Indies and Central America, Canada, and Europe. With few exceptions, only that portion of it which was transferred from foreign flags at the outbreak of the war steamed regularly to more distant parts of the world.

SIX TO TEN MILLION TONS NEEDED TO CARRY 60 PER CENT OF UNITED STATES TRADE.

Assuming that American shipping large enough to carry 60 per cent of our own commerce would find itself drawn into general world trade (as is the British merchant marine), it is estimated that somewhere between 6,000,000 and 10,000,000 gross tons of steamers of various sizes and types would be required, to be obtained by construction and transfer from other flags, the total being reached during the next decade and consisting of passenger and cargo liners; specially constructed vessels (tankers and colliers) and tramp steamships discharging the functions enumerated at the beginning of this report. Included therein is the vital question of national defense. Observation of the present British control of the seas and the transportation of allied troops to fighting zones, both near and remote from England and France, establishes that a merchant shipping adequate to the needs of a diversified commerce automatically provides the types of vessels most needed for the transportation of military and naval supplies and troops in time of war.

commerce automatically provides the types of vessels most needed for the transportation of military and naval supplies and troops in time of war.

The value of this additional tonnage (6,000,000 to 10,000,000 tons) would range somewhere between \$50 a ton deadweight, the price prevailing before the war, and \$100 per ton, the price of construction at the present time, or a total of from \$520,000,000 to \$1,040,000,000, which, to earn the 6 per cent average dividend rate, after deprectation, characteristic of British shipping over an extended period of prosperous and depressed years, would have to return to the investors from \$31,200,000 to \$62,400,000 per annum.

The foregoing estimate of the tonnage required is liberal, but in size it would still be little more than half the total of British steam tonnage, which before the war was about 45 per cent of that of the entire world. At a time when predictions are freely made that the United States will become the world's banker and acquire the greatest share of the world's foreign trade, a shipping in the foreign trade of from \$,000,000 to 10,000,000 gross tons (it should be remembered that while the total tonnage reported by the United States Commissioner of Navigation on June 30, 1915, totaled \$,389,429 gross tons, only 1,871,543 tons was registered for foreign trade, the remainder being in the coastwise, lake, and river trade) would appear not an excessive goal to be attained 10 or 20 years hence. Unless such progress is made the United States will not become one of the foremost maritime nations.

It is obvious that the rise of the United States as a maritime nation must necessarily be accomplished by the transfer of a certain amount of tonnage from foreign to American register. Indications are that after the leading maritime nations have made up the wastage of war the world's tonnage will be adequate for world commerce. For the United States alone, by construction, to add, say, a million tons a year for eight years to the world's shipping in foreign trade would cau

WILL THE PENDING BILL ENCOURAGE THE DESIRED RESULT?

Advocates of the pending bill (H. R. 10500) claim that it is a necessary first step to encourage the full development of American shipping. It is fair, therefore, to inquire just what the proposed policy will accomplish, and whether it will lead to or permit the further steps necessary to produce a really great American merchant fleet.

PROVISIONS OF THE BULL.

(Since this report was formulated the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives on May 9 reported House bill 15455 as a substitute for House bill 10500. This limits the proposed regulation of shipping in foreign trade to supervision of conferences and traffic agreements, prohibition of deferred rebates, the use of fighting ships, and discrimination between shippers and localities. The provisions of House bill 10500 for licensing all vessels clearing from United States ports, preferential railroad rates for merchandise to be exported in American vessels, and prohibiting sale of American ships to noncitizens except by authority of the shipping board do not appear in the substitute bill. The authority of the Government to operate the vessels obtained under the law is limited to five years from the close of the present war, and the character of the trade in which private enterprise may operate the Government-owned vessels is not delimited. The substitute provides for a shipping board of seven instead of five members and like House bill 10500 authorizes the issuance of \$50,000,000 of United States bonds wherewith to purchase, lease, or construct ships. Certain administrative features have been added, and the shipping board empowered to regulate interstate water rates as rail rates are now regulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Briefly stated, the bill as introduced by the Hon, J. W. Alexander

as rail rates are now regulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Briefly stated, the bill as introduced by the Hon. J. W. Alexander in the House of Representatives January 31, 1916, provides for the creation of a shipping board and the raising of \$50,000,000 you yissuing United States bonds, this sum to be expended in the construction, purchase, or leasing of merchant vessels, which may be sold or chartered to private companies, or operated by the Government itself, and which may be taken by the Government for the use of the Army and Navy in time of war. The shipping board is given all the powers over ocean transportation that the Interstate Commerce Commission exercises over rail transportation. No corporation, firm, or individual will be permitted to engage in either domestic or foreign shipping in American ports without a license from the shipping board. This means that the owner of every vessel, American or foreign, touching at American ports must obtain a license. No vessel will be permitted clearance unless its owners have such a license. If any vessel falis to comply with all the orders of the board regarding rates and service, rules and regulations, the board is authorized and directed to revoke the license held by the owners, and this will, presumably, prevent clearance not only of the offending vessel but of all vessels belonging to that owner. This revocable-license system is the power by which the board proposes to control all vessels, American or foreign, calling at American ports, and by which it is proposed to regulate ocean freight rates. Authority is given for preferential rail and ocean rates on merchandise to be exported in American bottoms. The bill provides that no vessel enrolled under United States laws shall be sold to any save a citizen of the United States.

BILL WOULD PROVIDE ABOUT 600,000 TONS.

With the \$50,000,000 derived from the bond issue, not more than 600,000 gross tons could be provided at existing prices, or less than one-tenth of the minimum amount necessary to establish the United States in the shipping position above described.

Nothing like 600,000 gross tons is available from the few nations, which, during the war, permit alienation of their merchant vessels. American shippards will not guarantee deliveries of new construction within two years. Rear Admiral Benson has testified that the utmost Government navy yards can guarantee, if assured prompt deliveries of material, is six 10,000-ton ships in two years. The effect of the bill upon the country's aspiration for larger shipping is, therefore, more important than its possibilities of immediate relief of the present restriction of American commerce due to scarcity of vessels and abnormal rates.

NO TRAMP STEAMSHIPS PROVIDED.

The bill appears to restrict the operation of these Government vessets (whether operated by the Government or by private corporations) to trade directly between the United States and foreign countries, i.e., in the language of the act, to "use in the transportation of the commerce of the United States with foreign countries," and between the United States and our distant possessions; in other words, to service on certain fixed lines. It falls, therefore, to touch tramp shipping, upon which the greater part of our exports and imports depend. (The limitation quoted does not appear in the substitute bill H. R. 15455.)

Either by direct operation or leases of the vessels to private corporations, the bill proposes to embark the United States in an industry normally costing more to conduct under the United States than under foreign flags, and to restrict that operation to what often proves the least remunerative branch of shipping—established lines. Under normal conditions of peace private companies can be induced to operate Government ships only if the rate of lease or charter is sufficiently lower than the market to offset higher American operating costs. Somebody must pay the difference. Under the proposed policy it will be the taxpayer, just as surely and completely as under a subsidy policy. If, then, Government ald is extended only through leasing of Government-owned vessels, the American flag in foreign trade will become a Government monopoly. Increase of American shipping, so long as operating costs exceed those under foreign flags, will depend upon the willingness of taxpayers to increase appropriations for new construction and continued deficit in the Government shipping account,

PRIVATE CAPITAL WILLING BUT DISCOURAGED.

PRIVATE CAPITAL WILLING BUT DISCOURAGED.

With the fullest conceivable accomplishment of this law supplying less than one-tenth of the tonnage necessary to make the United States a first-class maritime power, what prospect remains for the provision of a greater American general cargo-carrying tonnage of the necessary tonnage by private capital? The willingness of capital to engage in ocean shipping is indicated by upward of 250 vessels now under construction in American shipbuilding yards. Existing yards have been enlarged, abandoned plants revived, and new plants established to meet the abnormal demand for construction; but whether vessels now on the ways shall be permanently operated under the American or foreign flags will depend upon whether such operation is profitable, and that in turn depends upon Government policy.

In what situation, therefore, does capital find itself when urged to gradually finance, at a cost of between half a billion and a billion dollars, the construction of 6,000,000 to 10,000,000 tons of steamships of various sizes and types? First of all, it finds this country without a definite shipping policy. Whereas in England all policy, governmental and commercial, has long leaned toward shipping, American policy has ignored it. Until 1913 no vessel could fly the American fag unless built in the United States. The Panama Canal act, in the hope of producing an American tonnage which could avail of the waterway built by American skill and treasure, reversed this protective shipping policy and authorized the admission to American register, exclusively for the foreign trade, of foreign-built vessels not more than five years of age. But the increased cost of operating vessels under the American scompared with foreign flags was so great that not one foreign-built ship was transferred until the war created abnormal conditions, offsetting the higher cost of operation, and the President, by congressional authority, suspended the most one-ous restrictions of the navigation laws, while the chief incentive was to permit American-owned foreign-flag vessels to gain the protection of United States neutrality. This policy was also designed to enable American vessels to compete effectively with those of other nations, but was followed almost immediately by a proposal for Government ownership and operation of vessels, which discouraged private capital, for it promised to interpose governmental competition, regardless of profits, into the shipping situation.

Then came the seemen's act, designed to force the shipping of all foreign nations touching at American ports to construct the proper of t

Then came the seemen's act, designed to force the shipping of all foreign nations touching at American ports to operate on the same high cost plane as vessels under the American flag, but which, in actual operation, imposes certain restrictions on American vessels which do not apply to those of certain other nations. All of these policies were advocated "for the encouragement of the American merchant marine," but no two of them originated in the same quarter. None completely covered the needs of American shipping. Only one, the ship-register act of August 18, 1914, has been effective, and that solely by reason of abnormal war conditions. Private capital has been confronted with a succession of promises and disappointments, an incomplete and changing legislative purpose.

ing legislative purpose.

ENCOURAGEMENT OR RESTRICTION?

The efforts of Congress to deal with the subject have been sporadic and fragmentary, and it is not yet apparent whether the legislative mind desires to consider shipping as an industry which, when properly developed, will render economical service to American foreign trade or as a service which should be so regulated as barely to exist. The pending bill, barren of encouragement for privately owned shipping, appears to proceed from a desire for governmental repression of rates, on the principle that the use of American ports, improved at public expense, is a privilege equivalent to that of eminent domain enjoyed by a railroad, and therefore obligates vessels to governmental control. This seems to overlook the fact that port improvement, from the earliest times, has been designed to attract shipping. Any restriction in excess of those applying to shipping at competing ports will tend to nullify the benefits derived from enormous appropriations for deepening channels, lighting roadsteads, and improving terminals, all of which attracted such numbers of vessels as produced steady competition for export freight.

AMERICAN SHIPPING AT COMPETITIVE

export freight.

AMERICAN SHIPPING AT COMPETITIVE DISADVANTAGE.

It is urged that the application of the law alike to American and foreign vessels precludes discrimination and subjects the American ship to no disadvantage as compared with the foreign ship seeking cargoes from the same American port. American vessels, however, must also meet in their circuitous voyages the competition of foreign ships which never call at American ports, and therefore will never be subject to the seamen's act's requirements as to manning and equipment, or to the proposed rate regulation of this bill. All American vessels will be obliged to meet the maximum requirements of the American laws, but only that portion of foreign shipping which calls at American ports will be similarly burdened. The struggle for survival would naturally occur in trade wholly foreign to the United States, such as from the United Kingdom to South America, or Africa, or the Far East, between American ships complying with all our extreme navigation legislation and foreign ships permitted by their Governments to operate on a competitive level with rival maritime enterprise. To live on our own export and import trade American tramp steamships must be able to live on the odd legs of the circuitous voyages necessary to avoid return in ballast. The fact that American shipping is now highly profitable is no criterion of its ability to compete during a shipping depression such as may follow a few years after this war and such as did follow the Boer war.

EFFECT OF REGULATION OF RATES.

Ocean shipping is the most competitive of industries; a constant struggle for existence, chiefly among nations for centuries engaged in maritime carrying. It is difficult to conceive success for the American entrant if burdened by legal restrictions not borne by the older and stronger opponents. In so far as such laws apply equally to American and foreign vessels they increase our freight rates and handlcap our trade. If they do not apply to foreign vessels they drive our ships out of business. This proposed policy of regulation of ocean-freight rates, springing, apparently, from dissatisfaction with existing abnormal rates, is expected to benefit American shippers, on the ground that they are not already sufficiently protected by the normal operation of the law of supply and demand. Admittedly abnormally high rates spring from a scarcity of ships. The following Associated Press dispatch sheds light upon efforts to control shipping by regulation of rates:

"Manila, March 4, 1916. " MANILA, March 4, 1916.

"Interisland traffic is seriously affected by the withdrawal of a number of coastwise trading vessels which have accepted charters for foreign trade. Four of the ships have already left the local service and six others are preparing to leave. Foreign charter rates have been growing increasingly attractive, whereas local rates for transportation are stable, being fixed by laws."

SHIP-OWNING AND EAST-PROULTING FORES. AND COMPANION.

SHIP-OWNING AND RATE-REGULATING POWER INCONSISTENT.

The bill proposes to endow the shipping board with two inconsistent functions: That of shippwner and that of regulator of ocean-steamship rates and practices. At the same time that the board is charged with a vindication of the policy of Government ownership and a justification of the expenditure of \$50,000,000 either through operation of the ships by the Government or through leases to private companies, it will have practically unlimited power to prescribe the rates and practices of its

competitors. Such a condition is comparable only to the unthinkable possibility of a single railroad in the United States being given the power to regulate the rates and practices of all its competitors.

Since export freight rates are, as a general rule, paid by the purchaser and do not affect the seller unless they are higher than those enjoyed by an over-sea competitor, a Government rate-regulating policy would seem to thwart the advantage which the American exporter sometimes can obtain by a special rate sufficiently low to enable him to place his product in a foreign market at a lower price than his over-sea competitor.

While the bill provides that preferential rates may be ordered by the shipping board, it is doubtful if this process would be sufficiently expeditious to meet the needs of competition with the shipping of other countries whose Governments, after careful consideration, have declined to attempt the regulation of ocean-freight rates. It is respectfully submitted that the control of ocean-freight rates by exercise of power to deny clearance to foreign vessels, is a hazardous experiment, vastly different from the regulation of railroad rates in interstate commerce, where all carriers are equally subject to Federal control.

POSSIBILITY OF REPRISALS.

In the increasingly keen competition for foreign trade, American vessel owners are at liberty to offer, and shippers to seek, the lowest possible rates for the extension of American trade in neutral markets. Whether an official shipping board's regulation of rates in such manner as to stimulate American export competition in a given neutral market would be deemed, by the competing countries, to be a discriminating policy, is a consideration not to be ignored. The possibility of reprisals should not be overlooked. This bili proposes on behalf of the United States an innovation in the "free ocean" conditions under which 45,000,000 tons of steam shipping have been established by the nations of the world in foreign trade, a considerable portion of which in time of peace has always been responsive to the needs of American exports and imports. The purpose of the proposed legislation is to supplement this responsiveness to the law of supply and demand with a certain compulsion, but it is greatly to be feared that the imposition upon all vessels clearing from American ports of requirements in excess of those prevailing at the ports of competing countries will drive away the carriers whose ample numbers normally (though not during the present war) produce a competition assuring reasonable rates.

REGULATION OF CONFEZENCES.

REGULATION OF CONFERENCES.

REGULATION OF CONFETENCES.

Attention is called to the fact that after exhaustive investigation of ocean freighting conditions, rates, and practices, the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee of the House of Representatives deemed it wise to go no further, in regulation of water carriers in foreign commerce, than is provided in the bill H. R. 450 *, now pending, which denies clearance only to vessels operated by shipowners or charterers guilty of oppressive practices, rebating, etc., and which provides for filing of conference agreements, etc., for approval or disapproval by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and which forbids rebating, undue discrimination between persons and places, and authorizes the prescribing of maximum reasonable rates only when complaint has been made that rates in effect are unreasonably high or discriminatory. In other words, it provides a method for the elimination of abuses without attempting to cover the oceans of the world with a fabric of artificial rates, a task often considered but never attempted by nations with a far greater dependence than the United States upon marine transportation. H. R. 450 provides for no system of licenses. The fact that European maritime nations have, under war necessity, adopted a license system in order to retain the use of their national shipping in an advancing market, affords no basis of comparison for the delineation of an American policy in time of peace.

DENIAL OF RIGHT OF SALE FATAL TO INVESTMENT.

DENIAL OF RIGHT OF SALE FATAL TO INVESTMENT.

The stipulation that no vessel registered or enrolled under the laws of the United States shall be sold, save to an American citizen, is designed to prevent a principle universally characteristic of maritime development, namely, the sale of old ships to make way for new. A well-organized merchant marine should consist of a large percentage of new vessels, the superior efficiency of which is derived from lighter repair bills and lower insurance. Only the necessities of war caused the European maritime nations to forbid the allenation of their vessels, Such policy is unsuited to conditions of peace and, in the case of the United States, will seriously detract from the value of shipping investments. That nation which has the fewer ships should be the last one to close its doors against selling its ships except in war times.*

Your committee believes the present lack of clear, public comprehension of the problem involved in the upbuilding of American shipping is such as to render impossible national agreement upon any policy yet suggested.

The National Foreign Trade Council has recommended the establishment by Congress of a permanent nonpartisan shipping board, which shall advise Congress as to the policy necessary firmly to establish a prosperous American shipping in the foreign trade. The need of such recommendation will remain, whether or not the pending bill becomes law.

recommendation will remain, whether or not the pending bill becomes law.

It is true the pending bill provides that the shipping board which it creates, consisting of the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of Commerce, and three civilian commissioners, shall have power and authority "to gather and report to the President of the United States such information and data as will enable him to recommend to the Congress legislation for the regulation of such commerce and for the promotion and development of the American merchant marine."

This investigatory function, however, is made secondary to the duties of expending \$50,000,000 and regulating all ocean transportation from American ports.

The report on the merchant marine which the National Foreign Trade Council, on September 23, 1915, adopted, questioned the wisdom of a policy of Government ownership and operation of merchant vessels, since which time the Government proposal has been amended by a provision for private operation of Government ships, and amplified by the provision for regulation.

After due consideration of the present bill the council sees no reason to modify its previous recommendations, which are herewith repeated, as necessary to the creation of a condition under which American shipping shall be freed from existing legislative restrictions which hamper it in competition with the vessels of other nations to assure that no additional handleaps be laid upon our commerce, and to enable a shipping loand to recommend the complete policy necessary steadily to encourage its development:

1. That Congress establish a permanent shipping board composed of five members, who shall be men experienced in shipping and foreign

trade. This board shall recommend to Congress such revision and modernization of all United States laws relating to shipping as it deems necessary and shall permanently discharge all the functions of the Federal Government relating thereto. This board shall constitute a permanent advisory body empowered to recommend to Congress the measures necessary for the maintenance of United States shipping upon an equitable competitive basis with other nations, always having due regard for the nasintenance of American standards of living and compensation, and keeping in view the needs of the national defense and the necessities of the foreign trade. To this end the board should be directed to ascertain the cost of construction and operation, rates of interest on shipping mortgages, insurance rates, etc., of American shipping as compared with that of other nations, and it should be its duty to determine what line of ocean carrying trade shall be permanently developed under the American flag for the benefit of the foreign commerce of the United States, and to recommend methods whereby such lines may be rendered possible, in the event of the cost of their operation preventing effective competition with foreign services in the same zone.

tion preventing effective competition with foreign services in the same zone.

2. That the board bring to the attention of Congress the necessity for modifications of the speed requirements of the mail act of 1891 in special cases, so that the establishment of mail communications with South America, South Africa, Australasia, and the Far East may be considered from the several points of view of the cost of operation of such lines and of the speeds at which it is desirable that these lines be maintained.

3. That the board so constituted shall likewise report upon the measures necessary to render investment in American shipping safe and attractive to private capital, and to increase the present resources of our systems of credit, as by the establishment of mortgage banks, to supply funds to the shipping industry for financing the construction of tonnage, and to throw around shipping mortgages such protection as to remove any apprehension on the part of investors regarding the safety of shipping propositions.

4. That the President be empowered to suspend the operation of such of the provisions of the seamen's act (applicable to American vessels, Nov. 4. 1915; foreign vessels, Mar. 4, 1916), as he may consider detrimental to the interest of American shipping, until Congress, having before it the advice of the shipping board, has revised and modernized the United States navigation laws; or if this suspension be deemed not expedient by Congress, then that section 13 of the seamen's act be amended so as to eliminate the language test and the minimum percentages of able seamen among the deck crew, substituting therefor pravisions equivalent to the requirements of the British merchant shipping act, and that the requirements of the British merchant shipping act.

The Warehouse Bill.

SPEECH

HON. THOMAS L. RUBEY. OF MISSOURI.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 29, 1916.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12717) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.

Mr. RUBEY. Mr. Chairman, it seems that there has developed in the discussion here to-day some opposition to this measure. I can not for the life of me see how any Member can be opposed to this kind of legislation. I spent many of my boyhood days upon the farm, and ever since I grew to manhood my associations, business and otherwise, have been largely with those who till the soil. The first official position I ever held was that of county school commissioner, and I spent five years in an earnest effort to build up and improve the country schools in my county. I have always held that the most important and, indeed. the fundamental basis of our entire educational system is what is known as the district or country school. As a legislator in my own State I was always found advocating those measures looking toward the improvement of the farming communities of my State, and so when I became a Member of Congress I was especially gratified to be assigned to membership on the Committee on Agriculture.

During my service here I have advocated with all the earnestness and zeal at my command every measure which has come before Congress looking to the improvement of the agricultural interests of my country. Agriculture is the very foundation of this Republic. Upon it must depend every other industry in the land, and I can not see why some Members of Congress coming from the large cities oppose legislation in the interest of the farmer. The principal opposition to this warehouse bill here to-day comes from city Members of this House. We found the same thing when we had up for consideration the bill providing for Government aid in the improvement of roads, and there is no doubt in my mind that when, within the next few days, we take up the rural-credit bill, the principal opposition to that measure will come from city Members. It has been said and truly said: "God made the country, and man made the town." If it were not for the success of the farmers of America what would become of our cities and towns. When sunshine and

rain come in due season and when, as a result of long and patient toil, success comes to the farmer and the land is filled with abundant harvests, then it is that prosperity comes to the merchant, the banker, the mechanic, to those engaged in mining, manufacturing, railroading, and, indeed, to every industry. When crops fail stagnation follows, merchants fail, banks close their doors, mechanics are without employment, mining, manufacturing, and railroad industries curtail their expenses, and thousands of honest, toiling, laboring men are thrown out of work. In view of these indisputable facts, I can not see why Members of this House from the cities are not always found enthusiastically supporting every measure for the advancement of agriculture. I rejoice in the fact, and it is but fair to say that a very large number of the representatives from the cities are always found favorable to legislation for the farmers, and I truly hope that those few who in this Congress have been found in opposition to such legislation may soon see the light and cease their efforts to defeat such bills as the one now under consideration, a bill certain to be of vast benefit to agriculture.

Mr. Chairman, I am decidedly in favor of the warehouse bill, I have heard a good deal said here this afternoon which would indicate that this bill is intended to benefit only the people who grow cotton. Missouri is a cotton State-that is, in a small way. I see my friends from the cotton States smile. We raise a comparatively small amount of cotton in Missouri, but we raise the best quality of cotton that is raised in the United States.

Mr. CRISP. We smile again. Mr. RUBEY. I represent an agricultural community that does not raise any cotton. We raise corn, wheat, oats, rye, hay, fruits of all kinds, and many other things too numerous to mention. As a national legislator, I feel that I must take a broader view than simply to support a measure because it is beneficial to my own people. I represent in part a great agricultural State, a great grain-producing State. All around me, especially to the west and to the north, are other great grainproducing States. I am in favor of this warehouse bill because it will benefit not only the cotton people of the South, but because it will benefit the grain people who live in the great grain-producing section of the country. The farmers throughout this region, many of them, are compelled to market their crops as soon as harvested. They have certain obligations which they must meet, and in order to do that they are compelled to take their products to market at a time when the market is glutted, when the supply far exceeds the demand, and when prices are lower than at any other season of the year. I believe that the passage of this warehouse bill will, taken together with the currency bill, which we passed in 1913, bring relief to the farmer and enable him to hold his grain for a more favorable market.

A little more than two years ago, when the banking and currency act was under consideration, carnest efforts were made to give relief to the farmer and to increase his opportunity to borrow money and that, too, at reasonable rates of interest. One of the provisions of that act authorized Federal reserve banks to rediscount agricultural paper having a maturity of not more than six months. Let me illustrate just what that means. It means that a Federal reserve bank is authorized to loan money to any member bank in its Federal reserve district, provided that that member bank will give as security the notes of farmers secured by agricultural products. Let us see how that provision has worked and whether or not it has been of any advantage to the farmer. The Federal Reserve Board, acting under this provision of the bill, in September, 1915, authorized the loaning of money to member banks at a low rate of interest on notes secured by nonperishable agricultural products stored in warehouses, and for which warehouse receipts had been issued, and the board specifically provided that this money should be loaned to the farmers at not to exceed 6 per cent interest. This authorization of the Federal Reserve Board was taken advantage of by Federal reserve banks throughout the South, and large sums of money were loaned to member banks, and they in turn loaned that money to farmers on cotton warehouse receipts at 6 per cent. It was the first time that the farmers of the South had ever been able to borrow money from banks at 6 per cent. Grain which has been properly inspected and graded, stored in warehouses, offers just as good security as cotion, and there is no reason why the grain farmers in the great grain-producing States should not obtain 6 per cent money on grain-warehouse receipts, just as the cotton farmers have upon cotton-warehouse receipts. The passage of this warehouse bill will result in placing the grain farmers upon an equal footing with the cotton farmers, and will give them the same advantages, no more and no less.

The best security that a farmer can offer for a loan is real

long-time loans. I am anxious to see passed through this Congress a rural-credit bill that will give our farmers an opportunity to borrow money on long time and at a low rate of interest, and I expect to have an opportunity to vote for such a bill within the next few days. Fat cattle in the feed lot, or growing cattle out upon the farm, offer another kind of security which is hard to excel, and when we add to these two kinds of security farm products stored in warehouses and for which receipts have been issued we have given to the farmer another very valuable source of credit. I want to see this warehouse bill passed. I hope the time will soon come when the farmers in my State, and in other sections of the country, especially in the great grain centers, will organize and by a system of cooperation erect warehouses of their own, in which they can store their grain, have it inspected and graded, obtain their receipts from the warehousemen, and take those receipts to any bank, and with that as security borrow money at a reasonable rate of interest. A note given by a farmer, backed up by a warehouse receipt for grain or for any other nonperishable agricultural product, offers as good security as can be found anywhere in this broad land. I believe that as a rule all the banks, both State and National, whether members of the Federal Reserve System or not, will be ready and willing to handle warehouse receipts and loan money upon them. however, a local bank does not have the money at its command to loan, or is not willing to furnish it at a reasonable rate of interest, farmers who are organized and have their own cooperative warehouses will be able to secure loans upon their receipts from some near-by bank which is a member of the Federal Reserve System.

Under present conditions a very large part of the crop, as soon as harvested, passes into the hands of the grain men and is stored in elevators or in warehouses, there to await an advance in the market price. The result is that when the rise in price comes the grain men get the benefit of it. In 1914 a large part of the grain crop was marketed soon after it was harvested. In the late summer and early fall of that year prices increased enormously, but comparatively few of the farmers of the country received the benefit of that advance. There were a few farmers here and there who were not forced to sell their grain; they stored it in their granaries and held it, and as a result they were benefited by the advance in price to the extent of thousands of dollars. If we had had a system of warehousing in 1914 such as is provided for in this bill, and the farmers had taken advantage of it, it would have been

worth to them millions of dollars.

Already the farmers in the Central States and in the Northwestern States have learned the necessity of getting together and looking after their own interests, at least so far as the handling and marketing of their grain is concerned. In this section of the country there are now established nearly 4,000 cooperative farmers' elevators. These elevators are owned and operated by the farmers themselves. It is said that nearly a half million farmers are interested in these elevators. Each and every one of these farmers' elevators will be in position to take advantage of this warehouse bill as soon as it becomes a law. They are already organized; all that it will be necessary for them to do is to erect a warehouse, which many of them have already done, and make application to the Secretary of Agriculture for a license. There is no doubt that if this bill becomes a law the farmers in this section of the country will at once establish Government warehouses in connection with their grain elevators.

Mr. Chairman, right here and in this connection I desire to call attention, with all the emphasis in my power, to the importance to the farmers of my country of thorough, systematic, and complete organization and cooperation. We now have a number of very excellent farmers' organizations. The Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union, the National Grange, the Society of Equity, the Patrons of Husbandry, the Gleaners—these and many others in the various parts of the United States have done, are now doing, and will continue to do efficient work for the advancement of agriculture. These organizations have accomplished much in their respective fields of labor, but there is need of a great central body or head of all these societies. There should be a federation of all the farmers' organizations, so that they can act together as a unit upon all questions affecting agriculture. In this way, it seems to me, and in this way only, can there be real and true cooperation among all the farmers of America.

One of the important questions before the farmer to-day is how he may best market his crop after he has produced it. For years he has been considering how he may increase production, how by scientific methods and otherwise he may raise more estate, but as a rule real estate is offered as security only for abundant crops; to use a trite saying, one oft repeated, "How

he can make two blades of grass grow where one grew before." Now, the all-important question is, What is he going to do with his crop after he has raised and harvested it? Of what benefit is it to the farmer to grow two blades of grass where one grew before or to raise two bushels of grain where he raised one bushel before if, under the present cumbersome and haphazard system of marketing, some one else is going to get the extra blade of grass or the additional bushel of grain? A complete and workable system of warehousing under Government supervision is an absolute necessity to an efficient marketing system. passage of this warehouse bill will mark a new era in marketing, especially in the marketing of grain and all stable, nonperishable agricultural products. This House has to-day, by an almost unanimous vote, agreed to a bill which I introduced providing for the standardization of grain—the United States grain-grades act. Under the provisions of that bill the Secretary of Agriculture will establish uniform standards for grain and will supervise the grading of grain throughout the United States. This is the first great step taken by Congress looking toward the standardization of agricultural products. It will be followed by other legislation similar in character until uniform standards will be established for all the principal products of the farm, so far as it is practical to do so. These laws are absolutely necessary before we can have a thoroughly efficient system of markets. This warehouse bill seeks not only to standardize warehouses and place them under Government supervision, but it does another very important thing, it standardizes the receipts issued by warehousemen and makes them uniform in every State in the Union, so that a note backed up by a warehouse receipt given to a member bank under the Federal Reserve System can be rediscounted in any State in the Union.

Within a very few moments this House will vote on this bill. That it will pass by a large majority there is no doubt. If it receives favorable consideration in the Senate it will receive the signature of the President and become a law, and thus one more important piece of constructive legislation will be enacted by this Congress looking to the welfare and advancement of agri-

enliure.

Letter from Hon. E. A. Calvin.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, WILLIAM H. MURRAY, OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 19, 1916.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Speaker, I take advantage of the unanimous consent given me to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a letter from the Hon. E. A. Calvin, of Houston, Tex., a gentleman who served four terms in the Texas Legislature from the Dallas district, a very thrifty and intelligent farmer, who is quite well known to farmers' union men throughout the United States and is now head of the farmers' cooperative shipping of cotton at Houston, Tex. I especially appreciate his opinion of my course because of his intelligence and practical sense and his ability to know the practical from the "wild and visionary." wild and visionary."

mr. Calvin's letter is as follows:

Houston, Tex., May 17, 1916. Hon. WILLIAM H. MURRAY, M. C., Washington, D. C.

Mr Dear Mr. Murray, M. C.,

Washington, D. C.

Mx Dear Mr. Murray: Perhaps you will be surprised to receive this letter, as I have not written to you nor heard from you directly since we used to meet in the national farmers' unions, but the purpose of this letter is to congratulate you over a speech you made in Congress during the consideration of the rural-credit bill. Unaware to you, I was sitting in the gallery when you offered your amendment permitting tenant larmers to come under the system and made your speech, and I noted the force with which you delivered it and the applianse with which the Members received it.

It seemed to me that your provision was the only one offered to permit the man who needs help to borrow money, and it seemed to be sound and practical from a financial standpoint and not wild and visionary as some of the plans offered in political campaigns.

During my little stay in Washington I noted a disposition on the part of most Congressmen to underestimate and ignore the conditions of the landless people throughout the United States. I could not help being impressed with the prevailing opinion that the farmers of this country do not need being and the loathness on the part of Congress to grant to the farmers the aid and assistance to which they are justly entitled.

I desire to congratulate you as an old member of the farmers' union on the effort you made to put something into the rural-credit bill that would have been of real benefit to the landless farmers, and I trust that your days in Congress: may be long that you can accomplish a good work along this line.

Yours, sincerely.

E. A. Calvin.

36 years.

Rural Credits Bill and Shipping Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES B. ASWELL,

OF LOUISANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 19, 1916.

Mr. ASWELL. Mr. Speaker, for a generation the farmers of the country have rightly expected Federal legislation to enable them to borrow money as cheaply as any other class of citizens. Under the long years of Republican misrule the farmers have been denied consideration. This rural-credits bill is the first constructive, beneficial legislation specifically directed to the relief of our farmers. I congratulate this House, and especially the Members of the Democratic side, because we are about to fulfill our pledges to the country and begin legislation that will ultimately result in enabling honest and energetic men every-where to own their farms. The Republican side of the House talk much and try every possible way to delay or defeat this bill, but when the roll is called you will find that most of them will not dare vote against it. I congratulate them upon their good sense and superabundance of caution in preserving themselves at home. They know what the country demands, though it pains them greatly to see the Democrats do what the Republicans repeatedly promised but failed to do. I am sorry for them, but they must stand up to the rack even when there is no "fodder" for them.

This bill is far from being perfect. It is merely a beginning. It is in many respects an experiment and will necessarily be adapted slowly to our conditions. In Europe it is old, but in America new. Our basic conditions are different. It will be in many ways a disappointment, but it is a bright day for our farmers when this legislation is written upon the statute books. It can be amended to meet the necessities as they arise, and from time to time will be so changed as to be made more practicable and workable. The important present necessity is to place it upon the statute books and put it into practice as rapidly as possible. "The clock of destiny has struck aow!"

The administrative features of the bill are complex, tedious, cumbersome, and expensive. They are new and must be tried out. The maximum rate of interest charged to farmers should be reduced from 6 per cent to 4 per cent, and the 5 per cent stock requirement should be eliminated. All these "kinks" will be straightened out through the practical workings of this bill after it has become a law, and it will be properly amended. I have great faith in what it will ultimately mean

to the country.

This bill has had the fullest study and consideration. commission, consisting of delegates from the United States appointed by President Wilson and of delegates from various individual States and from Canada, visited foreign countries and made a complete examination of the rural-credit systems of the countries visited. A subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committees of the Senate and House of the Sixtythird Congress held exhaustive hearings and a joint committee on rural credits appointed by the Sixty-third Congress made a full and elaborate report on the general subject. From all this information the pending bill has been evolved. This bill will give vastly greater volume of land credits on more favorable terms and aid materially also in more uniform interest rates than have before been available. Government supervision and Government participation, long-time loans at a low rate of interest, on easy payments, are some of the beneficial results to Cooperation among farmers, stimulation to agricultural industry, larger and easier credits accommodation, intensive agriculture, more personal farm ownership, and the independence of the farmer will vastly increase our happiness and Under this bill, thank God, the farmer at last is to get a square deal.

The bill provides for 12 farm-loan banks with a farm-loan board of 3 members and farm-loan associations consisting of 10 or more persons desiring loans on farm lands. Every borrower takes stock in the farm-loan association to the amount of 5 per cent of his loan, which amount is returned to him with accrued dividends when the loan is paid. The farm-loan banks are authorized to sell bonds based upon the mortgages received from the farmers. These bonds are exempt from taxation in all parts of the United States and will find a ready market, which will tend to lower the rate of interest to the farmer. The bill makes provision for mortgages with maturities extending from 5 to It is estimated that the total farm-mortgage indebtedness of the country is over \$4,000,000,000. This bill when put into action will save to the farmers of the country in annual interest about \$175,000,000.

According to the United States census of 1910, which is the latest available report, there are in Louisiana 7,520 farms occupied by their owners under mortgage, whose total mortgage indebtedness is \$8,950,301, to say nothing of the indebtedness on bonds or the many farms owned by corporations and nonresidents. The records show that the average annual rate of interest on farm mortgages in Louisiana is 8.6 per cent. The present annual interest charge on \$8,950,301 is \$769,725.88.

If this indebtedness of \$8,950,301 could be refunded under the

If this indebtedness of \$8,950,301 could be refunded under the provisions of this bill at a rate of 5 per cent per annum, the estimated average rate under the bill, and these farmers would engage to pay annually \$769,725.88, which is the sum they are paying now for interest alone, the entire debt, principal and interest, would be paid in 18 years. This would mean a net saving on the above mortgage indebtedness of over \$497,000 per

It is therefore clear that the \$9,000,000 proposed to be subscribed by the Government to the farm-loan banks in order to start the system is a mere trifle in comparison with this stupendous saving.

This bill provides for loans from \$100 to \$10,000 on 60 per cent of the land values and 20 per cent of the improvements. It is clear that any farmer who can raise 40 per cent of the value of a farm can borrow 60 per cent and thus become the owner of his farm, paying for it on reasonable terms, at a low rate of interest, for any period ranging from 5 to 36 years.

I take especial pleasure in casting my vote for this bill, which, in my opinion, is one of the most beneficial and encouraging constructive measures that has been presented to Congress in a century.

NITRATE PLANT.

The provision in the Army bill for a nitrate plant, the purpose of which in times of peace being to furnish cheaper fertilizers for the farms, while an experiment and must yet be tested, gives additional encouragement and support to our great agricultural interests.

SHIPPING BILL.

The shipping bill now pending before the House is in harmony with and supplements the rural-credits bill in a very practical way. The lack of an adequate merchant marine for exporting our agricultural products has cost the South since the European war began many millions of dollars. The South The South has paid an unreasonably heavy toll to the war conditions. Our merchants have been unable to buy in the open markets of the world, and we are practically deprived of foreign markets for our cotton, lumber, and mineral products. In other sections of the country where war materials are manufactured and sold at abnormally high prices under special shipping privileges prosperity has followed, but in the South our people have suffered unfairly. The time has come to right this wrong. The Republicans of the North should no longer filibuster and oppose the shipping bill, that will speedily open the markets of the world to all sections of our great country. The South has been sufficiently taxed already in helping to pay the annual Federal pension bill to Union soldiers of \$169,000,000, while our Confederate soldiers have been neglected by the Federal Government, to cause the fair-thinking men of the North to join the South heartily in promptly passing this bill to give us the commercial mastery of

the seas which is our right and duty to enjoy.

An adequate merchant marine is a question of commercial necessity, of national honor, and of American right. I am for a merchant marine owned by Americans, built in American yards, and sailing under the American flag.

Flood Control.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. S. D. FESS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 19, 1916.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, the pleas of the unfortunate are ever appealing; and when relief is sought by the distressed and the money necessary can be forthcoming by no greater effort than a ballot in Congress, it requires some courage for a Member to

refuse to give his support to vote out of the Treasury vast amounts of money. This is especially true when the House is stampeded by a spurt of national generosity and when its membership is wrought up to a high state of benevolence led by no less a figure than the much-beloved Speaker himself, in his ennobling periods of rhetoric and his lofty appeals to a humane patriotism, literally sparkling with classical reference and greatly enriched by historical citation, in which he mildly impaled those of us who declined to follow his course, by eulogizing others who did as men who now and then displayed a degree of statesmanship too infrequently witnessed in the House, by rising above local or State interests and voting for a measure which did not affect their locality.

No one willingly welcomes the charge that his vote is cast because of local prejudice or because of the want of national dignity or his inability to rise to the stage where he can think beyond his own State or neighborhood. Neither does he wish to invite the charge that he is brutal and unmerciful and deaf to the cries of many in the presence of wide suffering due to the

uncontrolled elements of nature.

The floods upon the Mississippi are so frequent and so destructive that they have long become a national interest. But so have those upon the Ohio and other streams, in a less degree perhaps. The Mississippi River Commission has been in existence for nearly 40 years, during much of which time agitation has gone on to have the Government take up the matter. Reports tell us that for various purposes including navigation there have been spent nearly \$170,000,000 upon this stream. This has been a period of experimentation. In spite of all this vast expenditure we have as distressing floods as before, and many claim they are growing worse. It is loudly declared that the dyking of the river is destined to elevate the stream's flow and compel an overflow. Men declare that to control by dykes is an impossibility. True there are others like Townsend who assure us that the waters can be controlled in that way. It is sufficient to say that such a conviction is not universal among engineers. Many equally ingenious men say that the reservoir to impound the water is the only undisputed method of flood control. The opponents of this scheme admit the possibility of control but deny its economy and declare its cost is prohibitive. The proponents, on the other hand, declare that water thus impounded could be converted into hydroelectric power to be utilized at the figure which would more than care for all the cost both of construction and maintenance.

This state of uncertainty is not reassuring. As a Member of the House responsible for my vote I can not allow myself to be swept from my feet by these flights of oratory, to vote at one fell swoop \$45,000,000 for a project that we do not know will succeed, to add this amount of the money in the Treasury to the already mammoth sum of nearly \$170,000,000 with little

definite results to any one.

Mr. Speaker, there are features of this flood control that I do not appreciate. After years of agitation, during which annual appropriations were made, but not in the amounts to suit these Mississippians, the time came in this Congress, when a new scheme was hit upon. A new committee was created, called the Flood Control Committee. Its functions were specified. The proposal was warmly supported by the distinguished Speaker of the House. Its personnel was selective, of course, with reference to the sort of bill to be brought in. Within a few weeks the bill is forthcoming. Here it is. It was true to its creation; the Mississippi was taken under its care. In spite of the defense of its creation by the Speaker, its creator, and others that it was purposely separated from the Rivers and Harbors Committee to avoid the charge of "pork" by making each project stand on its own bottom, the very first proposal includes the Sacramento River, a stream lying wholly within one State. As the Nestor of the House, Uncle Joe Cannon laconically remarked, "This is to give us two pork-barrel committees instead of one." It is pertinent to ask why if each is to stand on its own bottom these two are combined. The same charge lodged against the legislative practice in the former committee of "You scratch my back and I will scratch yours" will be difficult of denial in this case.

Mr. Speaker, I can not vote for this measure as it stands. The Flood Control Committee has not brought in a comprehensive plan of flood control. It has brought in a piecemeal proposition with but one item suggested and that item such that no man can tell whether it will fit into a comprehensive plan or not. I can not be induced to vote for a project which proposes to pour millions of Federal money into the mouth of a river, which does not consider the control of the waters above which must flow through the very channel this project proposes to control. This comprehensive plan can not be the result of three months of investigation. I do not withhold support because of opposi-

tion to reclamation of the 16,000,000 acres of waste land now in the possession of syndicates and speculators, although that situation argues caution and at least compensatory cooperation. I do not oppose it because I am averse to the function of flood control as a Federal activity, because I am not so averse; but I am opposed to this scheme because it is not an assurance against wicked waste; it is the result of a propaganda supported by powerful local influence; it is ripened into a well-governed campaign which embodied its best expression in this committee, whose report is half-baked—cut to fit the immediate situationand here on schedule time, as per Democratic regularity, to sink an unnamed amount of public funds gathered not from the country demanding the donation but hastened through this fast-fading Democratic control acting upon the classic advice, "If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well it were done quickly.

This Congress should have instructed this committee to make exhaustive research for incontrovertible facts of control of the waters of the Mississippi, of course including those of the Ohio, the Missouri, the Illinois, and other channels whose waters must pass through to the Gulf. Then work on these specifications can be safely begun. The great waste of money in the rivers and harbors legislation has to a great extent been due to the lack

of a definite program.

I shall therefore be compelled to vote against this, another breaking into the National Treasury, which during the last two Congresses is but a reservoir of revenue to supply the hungry appropriation hunters, many of whom referred to the \$45,000,000 as a few millions, as if they were but so much pocket change to be drawn upon for convenience. Shades of Jefferson! Another plank in this paternalistic platform for local advantage.

A Plea for an Honest and Just Currency System for the Farmer and Home Builder.

Free the farmer from the oppression of money sharks, Shylocks, and financial buccaneers by giving him access to obtain money from the mint like other people when he puts up sound security.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES H. DAVIS, OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 15, 1916.

Mr. DAVIS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the rural-credits bill up for amendment, at the point where the bill sends the farmer out on the market to hunt his money I offer this amendment permitting him access to the mint upon equal terms and privileges now enjoyed by commercial banks of the Federal Reserve System under present asset-currency laws. At the end of section 13 add:

And whenever any Federal land bank shall deposit with the Federal Reserve Board farm-loan bonds of any amount the Federal Reserve Board shall cause to be issued and advanced thereon Federal reserve notes upon the same terms as Federal reserve notes are now issued to member banks under the provision of the Federal reserve act: Provided, That the amount so advanced shall never exceed the sum of \$200,000,000, and the reserve board shall have power to control the amount of these reserve notes outstanding by sale of said bonds and retirement of said reserve notes at its discretion.

I took the figure of \$200,000,000 on the theory that there is about \$400,000,000 floating indebtedness on the farms of this country, and I put the figure at about half that, which would stabilize the money market, give relief, whereby the outside money market would be forced to compete with that agency, and we would have an open and sure method for obtaining money on reasonable terms. I am one of those who believe you can not legislate as to the rate of interest and make it an ironclad You must control the issue and movement of proposition. money. If there is anything that yields to the law of supply and demand, it is the money market,

I have tried to be during this whole discussion very demure and decorous, and yet this is the most important question that has been before this House, so far as I am individually con-cerned. It involves, in a measure, a life's work for myself and a lot of fine men who have gone to the great beyond with whom I worked. I am not going to play politics. I want to suggest to our friends from the Republican side, who have been making fun of rural credits and wanted to romp on Woodrow Wilson and the Secretary of the Treasury, that if you want to play politics with me meet me in the next campaign, have your best

silk-hatted and kid-gloved men tease me in joint debate, and I will play politics with you to your heart's content.

I am not going to discuss the political phase of this question. I want to treat it in its economic sense. The question was raised by the Republican side of the House wanting to know why we did not just start the grinding machine and grind out a lot of money for the farmer. The answer is, The farmers have never expected that, which was a peculiar operation of the Government given by the Republicans to the Aldrich gang. They had millions and hundreds of millions ground out and handed to them under the Aldrich-Vreeland Act, and our Republican friends seemed to think that was "safe and sane" grinding.

The whole problem resolves itself into this one question; Are you willing to do for the farmer just what you have done and are by law doing for the commercial banking associations of this

country?

Some friend will ask, "Is the security good?" I can prove by every man that has made a speech in the committee that it is the best security on earth—the earth itself. So the security is The discretion is handed over to the reserve board to retire the notes, and you will have no inflated currency. The bonds are to be sold if necessary at the discretion of the reserve board to retire the currency issued to the farmer. The limit is fixed at \$200,000,000, and you need not be uneasy about "flooding the country with currency." The whole question comes now to this one point: Is this a measure to relieve the agricultural industries of this country? If it is, give them a just measure, a fair measure, one that will meet them on equal terms as it meets the commercial world.

But some man says, "It is class legislation to go to the farmer." Now, listen: I live on a farm, and it is perhaps natural, having been raised on the farm and having lived on a farm for the last 15 years, that my judgment is biased, because I am one of those who believe that class consciousness is just as natural as self-interest. But I have spent 20 years in the courthouses, and my books tell me that the prime object of all government is to restrain the strong and vicious, to assist the weak and helpless, to establish and maintain that which is right, and to condemn and prohibit that which is wrong.

So I ask you whom are you seeking to benefit? Can you establish and maintain that which is right in relation to the farmer, and have him hawked on the money market and devoured by greedy corporations, money sharks, and legalized Shylocks? Several gentlemen on the Republican side of the House talked about the farmers being so wealthy and so prosperous. The reverse is true. There are over 5,000,000 farmers in this country whose life-one-fourth of it-under the tenant laws, regulations, and customs goes to the men who own the earth.

I had the honor, Mr. Speaker, to be the national political lecturer, so designated by the Farmers' Alliance for nearly three years in its palmiest days. Their statistics developed the proposition that upon an average the tenant farmer vacated onefourth of his life to the landlords. I come to you with the statement that just about two-thirds of the wheat, two-thirds of the corn, and far more than two-thirds of the cotton in this Republic are raised by men who do not own the soil. I come to you with the statement that in the South, where we produce upon the average something like 15,000,000 bales of cotton, more than 5,000,000 are raised under chattel mortgage, and that means a distress call in which the cotton is forced to go to market to liquidate and satisfy a mortgage. You can take the trade journals and consult the organs of the cotton factors of Europe and see therein statements of the fact that when the put-in calls take place in the money market in October there must be a rush to the market to sell the cotton even at a sacrifice. Maturing mortgages, representing so many millions of dollars, compel the farmers to sell. We have seen the same situation all over the country, and yet when you come to relieve the farmer by a just rural-credit measure, a lot of good-looking fellows rise up and ridicule the proposed law and others malign and abuse it as simple sophistry and demagoguery.

Now, if this House had left the preparation of this measure to JOE EAGLE, BOB HENRY, my old friend HUGHES, OTIS WINGO, myself, and others who have been working for years, we would have fixed a better bill. But I am going to support the bill, because it stands as a framework for what can be made a great system for the farmer. I am like John Smith, who went to see his best girl and saw a fellow in the parlor sitting crosslegged, twisting his moustache at her. He thought it was no place for him, and so he went to see his second-best girl, where he found a fellow with sweet ointment on his hair rolling his eyes at her; and about that time he heard the church bell ring and went to prayer meeting, got into the church just at the moment the preacher was calling for the first prayer, who said, "Here is Brother Smith; he will lead the prayer." So Brother Smith

dropped on his knees and said, "Oh, God, we come to Thee to-night because we have nowhere else to go." [Laughter.]

I am in the same shape. I have been fighting for rural credits for 20 long years. The best measure was the bill introduced by the Farmers' Union, presented by the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Caraway]. I voted for that; and the next best proposition was by my friend from Kansas [Mr. Doolftel, and I voted for that. Then I voted for the tenant amendment, offered by Mr. MURRAY, of Oklahoma. I did not get either of them, and now I have nowhere else to go.

The features of this bill that make for future service are, first, that it has established the fact that the Democrats and a large element of the Republican Party are carrying out their pledges to make a rural-credit system. It will settle the constitutionality of the law. It will commit the Government to a rural-credit plan, and thereby put the Government in shape to go on with the service. I call to mind that my old friend from Georgia [Mr. Hughes] and other older men here remember, as I do, that when the Interstate Commerce Commission was first created it was after a hard-fought battle, and the commission was a very crude machine for relief, but it was perfected and is now a great power for public good. The same is true of most of our institutions. So this bill provides now for the man who can make land available. It will follow that the farmers them-selves will demand, and they will send representatives here pledged to enlarge the scope of the law and apply its benefits to the people down below the man who owns the land. When you once admit the soundness of the doctrine you have laid the foundation for future service of the country, and the city man will be made to understand that his salvation depends upon the success of the farm. Why are foodstuffs so high to-Because four-fifths of the world are not making foodstuffs, but burning up and destroying them and consuming them, and the other fifth has to supply the world. way when you enlarge the productiveness of the country and make contented the man on the farm you have laid the foundation for the best system of preparedness this Republic can ever have. [Applause.]

For, my Republican friends, James G. Blaine said that the farmer represented the bacon and greens of civilization. Jefferson said that the farmer represented the hope of humanity, and that in all ages the prosperity of the plowman and his condition gauged the world's progress. So we are making a start. I have helped in every way I could to make this bill as nearly what I wanted as possible. It is not what I want, but I am going to support it, in the hope that it will be enlarged, amplified, and made a measure of relief for the people of the

[Applause.]

Our whole Federal currency system is undergoing radical changes and vast improvement under this Democratic administration. My mission is to argue that the farmer and the wage earner ought to have a greater share of these benefits. Federal reserve act enacted by this Democratic administration is a vast improvement over the old currency system of the Republican Party. If properly administered, I think it will make our country immune against panics and money famines and make our currency system responsive to the actual needs of commerce and destroy the power of Wall Street to control the flow and movement of currency, and, so far as the general business is concerned, is a measure of great relief to the country. But it makes no provision for the farmer—our greatest wealth producer and our most patient and long-suffering citizen. farmer overcomes droughts, floods, insect pests, and all the blights that beset his crop, he should not be forced to compete with the great, greedy gang of corporation speculators when he asks for the privilege of owning a home and making a crop. should be free from the financial bushwhackers, commercial jayhawkers, and the mercenary greed that is always found in the great money markets of every country.

But, sir, it has been amusing to me to hear Republicans gibe

and jeer and snicker and sneer at the farmer for asking for an honest and just rural-credit system; and many of them with taunting arrogance ask why not start the Government grinding machines and grind out a few hundred millions for the farmers? To all of which I answer that the farmer has as much right to the Government grinding machine as any other citizen in this Republic. The Government printing presses, the Government mint, the Government grinding machine, is as much his and belongs as much to him as to Pierpont Morgan or any other citizen of this Republic. But why should the Republican's sneer at the Government grinding machine? The most infamous piece of special currency legislation that ever disgraced civiliza-tion was passed by Republicans when they passed the Aldrich-Vreeland Currency Act; and I call to mind that just a few years

ago the Government grinding machines under that act were put to work to grind out over \$600,000,000 in one turn, and handed it practically gratis to a lot of business buccaneers, financial freebooters, and commercial cannibals. This act was passed by the Republican party as an "emergency" measure to go to the relief of a lot of railroad wreckers, frenzied finan-ciers, and big business bullies, who in the last few years have made our court records a stench of scandal, revealing their unscrupulous and unsavory conduct. And now, when the millions of farmers, whose toll feeds and clothes the living and shrouds the dead, come to Congress and ask for an honest rural banking system a lot of Republicans meet him with jeers, gibes, and speers

Room on the earth and a home to inhabit and raise offspring is the great problem that has vexed all civil: ation. God gave all mankind dominion over the earth, and hence all men have an equal right to use and occupy it. The fathers who created this Republic told King George, the crowned usurper and tyrant, against whose outrages they rebelled, that the God that gave us life gave us liberty at the same time. If God Almighty gave us life and liberty conjointly, it necessarily follows that liberty includes a sacred right to some spot on the earth for a home,

Those patriotic fathers, inspired by the spirit of 1776, who breathed into life the sacred declaration of American independence, also told us that governments are instituted among men to protect men's rights, not to destroy them; hence governments transgress the laws of God and outrage the laws of justice when they concentrate the land of the country and its natural wealth into the hands of a few. Thereby they disinherit the

masses and multitudes from a God-given right.

Whether such title and dominion be vested in crowns, kings, lords, dukes, earls, corporations, or individuals, if such titles withhold the use of the earth from the many and fasten it into the hands of a few the system is rank usurpation, indefensible and unjust. As I look back over the ages of the past, I see the struggle of the great masses against the classes for bare room on earth. It would seem in this our glorious land, covering a broad and fertile continent, happily located in the Temperate Zones, reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, that there is room for homes for ten times our population if we had a just land system. And yet it is sad to behold homeless millions of our people. Yes, sir, not only homeless but in a large measure hopeless and helpless. A large majority of our farmers are forced to beg a landowner for the bare privilege of living on the earth and working for their daily bread.

If these farmers were a shiftless, indolent element of civilization, we might pass the matter with less consideration, but when we realize that from their toll comes two-thirds of the wheat crop, two-thirds of the corn crop, and far more than two-thirds of the cotton crop of this Republic, no sane man can charge them with being either shiftless or indolent. The boundless wealth they add each year to the common stock of our country's storehouse entitles them to the watchful care and just treatment of men who make the laws under which they must live and toil. With all the great glow and discussion of a rural farm-credit system for many years, this measure gives but little help to this great deserving part of our population.

All history teaches us that as population grows and condenses all kinds of labor grows cheaper and land values grow higher. The centers of civilization, congested and overrun by increasing millions, furnishes the most striking examples of disparity between the cost of labor and the price of land. A city where the ordinary wage earner gets \$2 a day frequently presents a common business lot worth half a million dollars, meaning that the man, to earn that much by his wage, must work without eat-

ing and wearing clothes for 8331 years.

The price of farm labor and the customary price of farm land are now so far apart in most of our country that the home-less farmer looks forward to a midnight of despair when he figures on earning a home by cultivation of the soil. Men who earn their money in the great corporations of this country, and in other enterprises than farming, are rapidly absorbing our lands, and the farm owner of the future will live in town, while the farm worker and tenant will live in the country and till the soil he does not own. In every age the absentee landlord has been one of the blights and curses of civilization.

It is not my purpose to dilate and lengthen this discussion, but I want to suggest, in all earnestness, that if this Republic expects to maintain its freedom, its democracy, our land and money systems must be radically changed. We have frequently been met in the discussion of this rural-credit measure by men, mostly on the Republican side of the House, whose callous consciences made them jeer at the suggestion of a farmers' relief measure and with vaunting insolence ask if the farmer wanted the Government to grind him out a lot of money. To these men let me answer that the Government grinding machine in the Republic belongs as much to the farmer as it does to any other person. His right to have money ground out for his use and benefit is just as sacred as any other man's right, Beginning in 1862 the United States grinding machinery—our

grinding machinery—the grinding machinery that belongs to all of the people, has been run exclusively for the creditor class. For many years a man had to be a creditor of the National Government, a Government-boud holder, before he could have the grinding machinery grind out any money for him; but under the present asset-currency system he can take the notes, bills of lading, certificates of credit, and other paper classed as com-mercial assets, hypothecate that with the keeper of our mint, and have untold millions—yea, billions—ground out for him. Since the mint began to grind, in 1862, we are told that it has ground out currency enough to go around the earth six times if it were put in \$5 bills and placed end to end. And, yet, I stand abashed as an American when I contemplate that under this unjust and outrageous system there never was one dollar of that money ground out for a farmer, a wage earner, or manual laborer, who at all times have constituted the great majority of our people, and whose labor and toil have blessed and beautified the earth and clothed and fed humanity.

Just a few years since the Government grinding machinery, out to grinding under the unscrupulous, unjust Aldrich emergency-currency measure, ground out something like \$600,000,000 This act of political perfidy and dishonor, known as the Aldrich-Vreeland Currency Act, was called an "emergency measure." What was the emergency? It was that a vast horde of business buccaneers wanted the privilege of piling down their fictitious and fraudulent issue of stocks, bonds, and certificates of the great corporations of this country and have the Government grind out currency by the million and give to them. Aldrich and a cold-blooded cabal of Republicans devised and constructed this, one of the most infernal systems of special privilege that ever disgraced law. It was designed and put into practice to accommodate commercial plrates, sordid Shylocks, high-toned swindlers, railroad wreckers, and business buccaneers, giving them a legal right to loot, pillage, and plunder honest business,

the helpless farmer, and the belabored workman. A few years ago the investigation of the Money Trust developed such an infernal system of money-mad and outrageous misconduct of the money managers of our country who control the Government grinding machinery that the magazines coined the word "money devil." And yet, when honest, upright, sober, industrious, unspeculative farmers ask that they have access to the grinding machinery, upon the same terms with this money devil, some man rises on this floor with imperious arrogance,

sneers, jibes, and jeers to object.

In this discussion for several days I have said but little. The amendment I offer was not only prepared with great care, but at a conference over which C. S. Barrett, president of the National Farmers' Union, presided, attended by the representatives of 11 States, representing the farmers' union and the grange, it was adopted as first choice of several amendments to the measure. And Bob Henry, my colleague from Texas, was designated floor manager in an effort to put these amendments into the measure. But, sir, I feel sad when I reflect that of three Members in the Congressional Register as actual farmers, living on a rural route, I am the only one that voted for such amend-

Any rural-credit system that enables people to hypothecate farm land and obtain cheap money will be followed by rapid advance in the price of farm land and inflated land values, and under our dual system of government I know of no method by which the Federal Government can cure that situation without an amendment to our National Constitution, for, after all, I am one of those who believe that the final solution of our troubles over the land question is a graduated acreage tax on land and a recouping land value tax by the States. It is not only unjust, but it is ungodly and a rebuke to civilization to lock up the earth by paper title in a safe, while millions of honest, industrious people beg for the pitiful privilege of smiting the soil with an industrious hand to earn their daily bread.

Mr. Speaker, this measure commits our Government to the fact that the great agricultural element requires for its own production and for the common good, a rural banking and currency system. Any system that leaves the farmer to fight the droughts, floods, worms, and insect pests, and then go on the market in competition with the greedy speculative corporations, and commercial class in borrowing money to produce his crops and buy and maintain a home is not only unjust but it is outrageous.

The measure falls far short but will give relief when finally completed. It will now be left to the great mass of the common

people and the farmers themselves to see that men elected to Congress in the future are pledged to cure the ills and defects, amplify and enlarge this measure until it becomes a wellrounded, well-grounded, and thoroughly workable system for the farmer, tenant, city wage earner, and urban homeless man.

A Bill to Establish a United States Shipping Board.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CYRUS CLINE. OF INDÍANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 19, 1916.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, the time is at hand when the American people should be alive to our commercial advantages. Every indication points to the fact that when the war in Europe is over we shall have a world-wide commercial war. The very force of present conditions makes it unavoidable. That jealousies of the great powers of western Europe will lead to boycott in the principal markets of the world are not improbable. America is the richest market on the globe. Not only can we dictate upon what terms we may open these markets, but it is our duty to do so. Our commercial treaties have been violated by our two great rivals, and those treaties should be abrogated and new ones entered into, in which we should dictate the terms upon which we will open our doors. Our competitors will, when the last gun shall have been fired, begin the mightiest contest for trade the commerce of the world has ever seen. The United States should compel reciprocal trade relations not only with England and Germany but with every other nation that shall desire to participate in our commerce

At the south of us lie the 21 Republics of Latin America with 70,000,000 people, and with whom we are now on terms of most friendly relationship and who want to associate with us and be a part of us, commercially speaking. The commercial eyes of our competitors are looking to South America to recuperate the losses they have sustained in the wickedest war of all the cen-

The South American markets, with their constantly increasing population and their rapid development, constitute the great prize for the trade nations to compete for. There is no retreat for us from this contest. The bridges behind us are burned. As a Member of this body I welcome the contest for this overseas trade. Our manufacturing interests, widely diversified, and our farm products that will continue to grow greater each year must, through the legislative action of this body, find a place for exchange and sale in a world's market. The indifference that has clothed the public mind concerning our foreign trade and the methods by which that trade shall be conducted for over a half century has been awakened to our present necessities. Not locally, but everywhere, the American public is aroused to the present lamentable conditions with which we have been and with which we are now contending. Early in September, 1914, the shock of a world-wide war paralyzed the commerce of both continents. Germany and England and France withdrew a large portion of their merchantmen from the ocean trade lanes of the world. Manufacturers, farmers, and exporters faced financial ruin because their surplus goods and products were without means of export. What is the situation? The merchantmen of our competitors are elements of their respective naval powers. In the absence of war a large portion of their navy travel the seas with the cargoes of their products from the farm, factory, and mine for sale in new and growing markets. These Governments are strong and powerful growing markets. forces. British ships carry British goods in preference to the goods of any other nation. France and Germany do likewise, We are now able to do but 11 per cent of our own business against these strong competitors. We must wait for England and Germany and France and Austria to carry our products when they shall have none of their own to carry.

Just prior to the great Civil War we were carrying 92 per cent of our trade. During that struggle England bought more than 800,000 gross tons of our vessels. We took over a million tons to meet the exigencies of the war and the Confederates destroyed 100,000 tons. When we emerged from that contest with half our gross tonnage gone and the shipping that we then owned antiquated, we lost our over-seas trade and have never regained it. Undoubtedly vicious marine legislation, which continued for nearly a half century, played a large part in the destruction of our merchant marine. At the close of the war we became engaged in other new and important activities. Our attention was directed in developing the great West, and we trusted to other countries to carry our commerce. In 1915 the United States, one of the most populous nations in the world, a Nation with the greatest resources, the greatest export trade, owned only 12 per cent of the world's tonnage. Compare this with England with 19,000,000 gross tonnage, Germany with 4,000,000 gross tons, France and Japan with 2,000,000 gross tons each, and

the United States with 5,000,000 gross tons. So reduced were we at the outbreak of the European war that we had but 15 vessels of over 1,000 net tons each regularly engaged in ocean trade. All the tonnage of every description that we owned, engaged in ocean traffic, was but 2 per cent of the world's total gross tonnage. It is a sorry spectacle to know that the United States, as the greatest and most powerful of nations, has but 2 per cent of the world's tonnage in ocean traffic. It may be surprising to know that since the commencement of the European war more than 6,000,000 gross tons of the world's merchant shipping has been withdrawn. A very large part of this is used as auxiliary to the navies of the belligerents. Since September 3, 1914, more than a million tons of the world's shipping has been destroyed by mines and submarines. This pitiable condition that American shipping is in will continue to remain unless some radical steps are taken to improve it. In December, 1915, according to Secretary Redfield's report, American shipyards had under the course of construction or under contract 98 vessels of 3,000 tens and over. We now have under contract at this date 368 vessels with 1,129,014 tens. There has been admitted to American registry, under the act of August 18, 1914, 180 vessels, carrying 617,183 tons gross. During that time and up to December 31, 1915, there were transferred from American registry to other flags 65 vessels, with a gross tonnage of 40,276. Our entire merchant marine on June 30, 1915, employed in domestic, coastwise, and foreign trade 26,701 vessels, with a tonnage of 8,389,429. It may be remarked that a very large portion of this tonnage is engaged in coastwise and Interlake trade. I believe the time is here for reestablishing a merchant marine that would serve the double purpose of meeting the demands of our foreign trade and at the same time serve as a naval auxiliary that will be a great, strong reserve arm of the Navy in case the time ever comes for its use as an element of defense. The time is here to make this Republic felt not only as an economic and commercial force but to constitute our new merchant marine such a factor as a naval auxiliary with out Navy as shall compel respect for our trade and commerce wherever we of right may choose to go. What would France and England in the great war now in progress have done had not their merchantmen been easily converted into auxiliary naval craft. During the Civil War this Republic, then in the zenith of its carrying power of ocean commerce, lost its over-seas business.

The United Kingdom, quick to see the opportunity that came to her because of that war, bought more than 800,000 tons of our shipping to be engaged in the markets that we were then supplying. As I said before, since the outbreak of the European war more than 6,000,000 gross tons of ocean trade vessels have been withdrawn from commerce. Of this amount Germany and Austria have withdrawn 3,000,000, Great Britain 2,000,000, and 600,000 have been destroyed by mines and submarines. Since June 30, 1915, at least an additional million tons have been withdrawn and destroyed. What shall we do not only to relieve the shortage of merchant vessels but to take advantage of the opportunity now presented to gain a great world trade that we lost under like circumstances during the great Civil War? Shall we be as quick as the English people were to anticipate our opportunity?

Secretary Redfield reported that on December 1, 1915, we had in our own shipyards 98 vessels of 4,000 tons or over. Of those 98 vessels 11 were constructed for colliers exclusively, 47 for tankers or bulk oil, and 4 for the Norwegian Government, leaving but 38 vessels for the coastwise, the Great Lakes trade, and our ocean commerce. This construction is not spasmodic. In 1913 we built 71 vessels; in 1912, 80; in 1910, 63; in 1908, 84; in 1907, 63; and all of this without any apparent effect on our over-seas trade, for the reason that a large part of this went into domestic trade. While we were building this amount the United Kingdom in 1914 built 474 vessels, with a gross tonnage of over a million and a half. In 1915 it constructed 477 vessels, with a gross tonnage of one and three-quarter millions. In my opinion this is the psychological time to increase our foreign trade. I am firmly convinced that private capital, unaided by the Government and uncontrolled by Government agency, can neither provide the necessary shipping facilities nor compete with our rivals. Let me illustrate what I mean by Germany and

Japan. In 1885 Germany registered 520,000 gross tons under her flag. At that time her exports were \$681,000,000. Twenty-eight years afterwards, through the aid and assistance of the German Government, her tonnage had increased to 2.681,000 and her export trade to \$2,400,000,000. The gross tonnage of Japan in her foreign trade in 1885 was but 123,000 tons and her exports \$49,000,000. In 1913 her tonnage had increased to 1,507,000 tons and her exports to \$350,000,000. I am in favor of the Government becoming directly interested in the building of a merchant marine and in having control over and regulation of our commerce through a shipping board as recognized in the bill which we are now considering.

bill which we are now considering.

The Democratic Party is directly opposed to subsidies of any character to private corporations engaged in foreign commerce. Returning to the field of opportunity for South American trade, the entire European nations shipped to the Republics south of us in 1913, \$677,766,000 worth of goods. We exported to that continent in addition thereto \$166,000,000 worth of goods. In 1915 we sent to the South American Republics \$344,000,000 worth of Undoubtedly our great increase in trade was due, in part, to the European war. But the very fact that we have been able to capture this trade because of those abnormal conditions ought to be an incentive to us to keep it. With an advantage over our competitors of 3,000 miles of travel there is no reason we should not have 80 per cent of this trade instead of a small fraction of it. Director General Barrett, of the Pan American Union, says that the commerce of Latin America has increased in seven years from \$1,800,000,000 to more than three billions. At the same time the trade of the United States with these Republics has increased from \$500,000,000 to \$800,000,000. I have already referred to the fact that the shipping of the belligerent nations has been reduced during the war by more than 6,000,000 tons. If it shall continue another year, the loss to the world's shipping by submarines, mines, and natural depre-ciation, it is estimated, will be 2,000,000 more, making a total loss of 8,000,000 tons, or more than 25 per cent, of the ocean carrying trade of the world.

Mr. Speaker, I have long been wedded to the idea promulgated by the fathers of this Republic that we should always remain free from "entangling alliances" with other great nations and be permitted to work out our destiny alone. Through the evolution of our resources, however, and our increasing commercial relationships we shall not remain in that national isolation contemplated by the founders of the Government. Our interests, financial, political, and commercial, have grown to be the interests of the civilized world. Our increasing friendly relationships with the South American Republics have given us new opportunities and a new duty that ought to be grasped and performed. In the development of our foreign commerce I am not so much concerned as to whether we shall build an auxiliary to the Navy that may be incidentally a merchant marine as I am that we shall build or buy a great line of merchant vessels that shall float the world's greatest commerce and be incidentally a naval auxiliary if we shall need it. I believe we are further from a probable war with any foreign power to-day than we have been for 50 years. Our people want peace, not war. Peace is the natural condition of nations and war the abnormal condition.

The highest hope for this Republic for the future lies in the paths of continued peace, which every patriotic citizen, of whateven ancestry or birth, will strive unceasingly to maintain. The war in Europe has been the best argument for continued peace that was ever written. The human slaughter that has reddened all Europe with blood, and the magnitude of destruction wrought, that will require many years to replace, is the spectacle that this contest has produced. We ought to meet the emergencies that now exist. We ought to be independent in our commerce; so independent that we shall not have to wait upon England or Germany or France or Austria to take our goods for export from American shores to the world's markets. Very recently the vice president of the Southern Railroad said that in New York and Baltimore alone there were 100,000 carloads of products from the farm and workshops east of the Mississippi waiting for some tramp ship, for some vessel belonging to another power, to take our goods at their leisure to distant markets; that the congestion was so great that the railroads carrying these products from the interior had laid an embargo on the carriage of all heavy and bulky merchandise. That is a condition that this House should not tolerate, and can not tolerate and yet keep our foreign trade and improve it. It is urged that the increase in our local shipbuilding will supply the demand. Our experience covering the last 10 years does not verify that statement. If the war shall end in the near future there will be the wildest scramble for the world's markets ever witnessed. The depressed and exhausted condition of Germany, England, France, and Austria will compel them to unlimited efforts not only to regain their foothold on foreign trade but to capture new and increasing The two major conditions which we must provide for are these: Vessels to carry our own goods and the power to control and steady freight rates. Freight rates rose in some instances to an increase of more than 1,000 per cent, because it was within the power of the Shipping Trust to control those Such unbridled and unrestrained power will always demoralize trade. The strong arm of the Government under the limitations prescribed in this bill will eliminate extortionate rates for transportation and protect the American exporters. If a merchant marine is to carry the American flag into foreign markets sufficient in size to meet our requirements it must have that regulation and protection that can come alone from the Federal Government.

The Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MURRAY HULBERT. OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Saturday, May 20, 1916.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, a fortnight ago our people were again horrified by the intelligence flashed throughout the country that another atrocious raid had been perpetrated by a band of Mexican marauders who crossed the border at Glenn Springs, Tex., and yet at the same time electrified by the heroic defense which the nine United States troopers on duty at that post made against the onslaught of more than 50 half savages in their thirst for blood and their greed for spoils,

When this bill was originally under consideration in the House, I pointed out in a speech on March 20, 1916, that we then had in the United States 34,000 men available for military duty, one-half of whom had either gone across, or were on, the Mexican border, which I emphasized was greater in length than the distance of a straight line from the city of Washington to the City of Denver, or approximately 1,700 miles. In other

words, 10 soldiers for every mile.

While we are deliberating upon the final provisions of this bill designed to meet the requirements of the future, it is fitting and proper that we should pause for a moment and pay a deserved tribute to those who have been willing to take up and discharge the duty which our military regulations has devolved upon them. The defense of those nine men will stand in American history as an act of heroism, and while these nine defenders will be recorded as heroes, the three who lost their lives on May 5, 1916, will be revered as martyrs to an inefficient mili-

My distinguished colleague from Texas [Mr. STEPHENS], in a speech delivered by him on the 25th of March, 1916, said:

I regret to state that many men who have taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, thereby renouncing their allegiance to any foreign prince, potentate, or power, have, since the beginning of the present great European war, forgotten their oaths and are now boldly taking the side of their relatives by blood and have also boldly criticized our Congress and our President, thereby rocking our ship of state, making it harder for our good and great President to steer crear of all foreign complications that might lead our country into war, which God forbid.

About that time this House authorized the President of the United States to recruit 20,000 additional soldiers in the Regular Army in an endeavor to meet the exigencies which had arisen, and while for the 65 days ending May 19, 1916, 33,546 persons applied at the various recrulting stations only 7,446 have been accepted; and yet every day we read in the public press of the daring exploits of American citizens who, when the President has called upon them to rally to the colors of Old Glory, have preferred, although not bound by ties of kinship, to enlist, and are to be found in the trenches of northern France.

Rather do I honor the American citizen who has conceived it to be his duty to enter the military service of Uncle Sam, and who has fallen in life's battle in the service of his country.

The gentleman from Texas further said:

The Bible tells us that a man can not serve two masters, and human experience abundantly sustains this doctrine; therefore there can be no English, German, Irish, or Catholic American, because a man can not serve two masters.

This unfortunate statement of my colleague, which I accredit to an error of the mind and not of the heart, does not, I am sure, represent the sentiment he intended to convey, yet it has occa-

sioned much bitterness among a people who are as loyal and devoted to the principles of true Americanism as they are in the

practice of their religion according to the tenets of their belief.

Pvt. Stephen J. Colock, Troop A, Fourteenth Cavalry, was born in New York City on July 31, 1896, was educated in the public schools, in the Mission of Immaculate Virgin, Staten Island, and St. Agnes Convent, Sparkill, N. Y. He entered upon an apprenticeship as a printing pressman, but chafed under the close confinement, and yielding to the temptation for a more varied and adventurous experience offered by enlistment in the United States Army, stimulated by the services of his paternal uncle who served in the Sixty-ninth Infantry, National Guard of New York, his maternal uncle who served in the United States Navy, and two brothers who served in the Spanish-American War, he joined the colors, and fell in life's battle defending the honor of his country. It was my proud privilege to attend the military services conducted over his remains in St. Gabriel's Roman Catholic Church, in New York City, on last Monday morning, during which the thought came to me that the people of the great Empire State of the South could not be unappreciative of the fact that an Irish Roman Catholic American soldier had sacrificed his life in their defense. His loyal service and heroic death is a refutation of any suggestion that he could not serve two masters—God and country—for he who serves one well also serves the other, and I am sure the Members of this House will join me in extending heartfelt sympathy to his parents and family.

Mississippi River Flood Control.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY T. RAINEY.

OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, May 17, 1916.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, the jurisdiction of this new Committee of the House on Flood Control is already assuming large proportions. I have no sympathy with the cry of "pork-barrel legislation" which is already being raised by certain newspapers and in certain sections of the country against this bill and the work this committee proposes to undertake. The appointment of this committee has been too long delayed. are face to face in this country with food problems and with other economic questions which must be solved in the near Within the boundaries of continental United States 100,000,000 men, women, and children live. Our free lands which have any value are practically all given away. Already there has commenced a considerable movement of our populalation across our northern boundaries into the wheat lands of Canada. A few years ago emigration from the United States was absolutely unknown and the proposition appeared to be most absurd. To-day the emigration from the United States which we so recently considered impossible has become a reality. In order to discharge our full duty to this generation and the generations to come after us, it is necessary to begin now the work of fully developing our own national assets. the first important step in that direction.

It was estimated by the Inland Waterways Commission in its report of February 3, 1908, that there were at that time 77,000,000 acres of overflow land in the United States, now absolutely unproductive but which, properly drained and protected from overflow, would rapidly develop high agricultural value, and which if divided into 40-acre farms, would furnish homes for over 10,000,000 people. It is estimated that in the great flood of 1913 over \$160,000,000 worth of property was destroyed in the United States and 467 lives were lost. In Indiana alone in that year 39 lives were lost and \$25,000,000 worth of property was

destroyed.

The watershed of the Mississippi River alone comprises 40 per cent of the total area of the United States, and this river carries on to the sea the water which falls on 31 great States of this Union. The bill we are considering provides a method of protecting and securing the property along this river, subject as it is to the floods which assail it from nearly half the area of continental United States.

It is estimated that the alluvial deltas affected by this bill, which will ultimately be protected and must be protected, comprise 25,000 square miles, an area equal to the combined Kingdoms of Belgium and Denmark; an area equal to the combined area of Delaware, Maryland, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts. Along the Mississippi River there are 16,000,000 acres, capable of producing per acre the greatest crops of cotton and cereals that can be produced per acre on any other land in the world. Less than 4,000,000 acres of this land are now in cultivation. It is estimated that if this entire 16,000,000 acres were planted in cotton and properly and intelligently managed, though not Intensively cultivated, there would be grown on it a crop of cotton larger than the entire United States has yet produced.

THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

On the upper Mississippi River there are something like 50 levee districts. Twenty-six of these districts have now built levees; 8 or 10 are now building levees. On the upper river, from Cape Girardeau, Mo., to Rock Island, III., there are 782,000 acres comprised in these districts that can be reclaimed and eultivated. On these upper river lands subject to inundation and embraced in these districts could be raised every year 60,000,000 bushels of corn, worth at present prices over \$40,000,000. In Illinois alone on this section of the Mississippi River we have 216 miles of levees that we are trying to maintain. The largest of these is the Sny levee district, protected by a levee 52 miles long, extending from a little below Quincy, III., far down into Calhoun County, III., above Alton. Back of this levee there are 110,000 acres as fertile as any lands in the valley of the Nile.

NOT PORK BUT BREAD.

How any metropolitan paper, making any claims at all to fairness and deceney, can denounce the effort being made in this bill and class it as "pork-barrel legislation" is more than I can possibly imagine. The building of these levees—substituting for the present unsatisfactory method of controlling floods, a regular scientific method of doing it is something which every patriotic citizen ought to approve and commend. We need in this country more foodstuffs for our ever-increasing population. We need more clothing and cheaper clothing. The land reclamation made possible by the program upon which we are embarking means more bread and cheaper bread, more clothing and cheaper clothing. When we are confronted with the indisputable fact that one flood destroyed \$160,000,000 worth of property in the United States and 467 lives, is it not time for the Federal Government to undertake to enter intelligently upon the question of flood control?

WILL MAKE LAND MORE VALUABLE.

The objection that levee building and reclamation projects undertaken by the National Government will make the lands reclaimed more valuable, and therefore is exceedingly objectionable, is seriously urged by some great newspapers in the country whose opinions are frequently of value. The position is absolutely untenable. The building of these levees is not to be accomplished by Government funds alone, but in connection with large contributions from the landowners. The charge made in a certain great Chicago daily to the effect that this bill provides appropriations only for southern rivers shows an incredible lack of information. Appropriations have been made for a number of years to assist in levee building along the lower Mississippi River below Cape Girardeau, Mo. This bill extends the Government aid for levee-building propositions as far up the river as Rock Island, in Illinois, and under this bill, if it is enacted into law, 216 miles of levees already constructed in the State of Illinois will receive the aid from the National Treasury this stretch of levees ought to receive. The building of levees along our rivers makes the land back of them productive. It makes it possible to raise on these fertile acres cotton in the South and all the cereals in the North.

The principle of Government aid of this character for the men who produce cotton and foodstuffs for the Nation is not new. Railroads made possible by Government land rents speedily developed the great West. Every fertile farm in the public-land States was made more valuable and is more valuable to-day on account of the building of the land-grant railroads. This Government from its foundation has pursued the policy of giving away farms to settlers, and as long as the public lands last any citizen of the United States making a proper application receives from the Government a farm, and there still remains a considerable portion of our public domain not yet given away. To-day in the arid States we are proposing to give away larger farms than ever. Is there any difference in principle between giving away a farm in order to enable an industrious citizen of the United States to make a living and to do his share toward sustaining the 100,000,000 people who live here, than there is in keeping the floods and the water off his land in order to enable him to produce the things our rapidly growing population de-mands? What difference is there in principle between the What difference is there in principle between the Government-aid theories we are carrying out now with reference

to irrigating lands in our arid States on over 30 Government projects than the kind of aid contemplated in the bill we are considering?

While the provisions of this bill, if enacted into law, will start in a satisfactory way this great work, I feel confident that in a brief period of time the necessity for broadening the scope of this work and adopting other remedial measures than bank preservation and levee building will become apparent.

THE CROSSER SUBSTITUTE.

The substitute which has been presented by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Crosser], a distinguished member of the Committee on Flood Control, presents, in my judgment, the ultimate solution of the question, and I think this great committee of the House will in the future take upon itself the jurisdiction and adopt the remedies suggested by Mr. Crosser in his bill.

The Crosser substitute is an effort to crystallize into law the suggestions contained in the letter of Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Hon. D. F. Houston, and Hon. William C. Redfield, at the head of the Departments of the Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce of this Government, addressed to the President of the United States and bearing the date of February 26, 1916. This letter suggests with great force that Congress should commit itself to a comprehensive policy of river development, involving the expenditure of a large sum of money over a long period of time, for the purpose of developing and making the best possible use of the water assets of our country; and they recommend that Congress declare its purpose to deal with river problems, reclamation problems, irrigation problems, and power problems in a comprehensive manner, the expenditure to be met by a sale of bonds, some method to be developed which would make the lands benefited bear a proper proportion of the expense. This communication marks the beginning, in my judgment, of a correct method of considering these great questions.

We have developed in our public service in connection with river and harbor improvements a corps of trained hydraulic engineers—the best in the world. In our Weather Bureau we have developed methods which enable us to predict with accuracy two days in advance rainfalls and weather conditions. We issue flood warnings and are already able to tell almost exactly the hour of the arrival of a flood crest at any given point on our great rivers which flow down to the sea. We are splendidly equipped in these particulars, and it will soon become necessary for us to utilize in a more practical way our possibilities in these matters. So far in our plans we simply attempt to hurry our floods on to the seas. Rain falls in torrents on our arid regions, where it is so much needed, but it quickly sweeps on down to the rivers and on to the sea, and we do what we can to hurry it along in its journey. Quicker than ever before, with our methods of drainage, rainfall reaches the streams. Our great rivers—the Mississippi River, the Illinois River, and other rivers—with the process of levee building in progress, grow ever narrower, presenting always smaller outlets and greater resistance to the flow of the waters that seek to hurry on to the sea. The bill we propose to adopt to-day does not contain that element of flood control at its source which I think it ought to contain. The Crosser bill provides for this and suggests reasonable methods for impounding flood waters by building reservoirs at the sources of our rivers and on the watersheds of our rivers.

NOTHING NEW ABOUT THIS PROPOSITION.

There is nothing at all new about this proposition. Already the countries of Europe have adopted the storage-reservoir systems. At the headwaters of the Volga and at the headwaters of the great rivers of Germany this system is now in successful operation. Here in our own country the floods of the South Platte are now completely controlled by the numerous small irrigation reservoirs which have been built in Colorado on its watersheds, and it is estimated that there are probably now 1,000 of these small reservoirs in that locality catching and holding back the torrents of rain when they come and delivering the waters so impounded for irrigation purposes, quietly spreading it out over lands so badly needing it, and permitting it in this way to quietly reach its natural outlets. ing of levees alone will not secure our alluvial regions. ing of levees alone will not secure our alluvial regions. In 1860 two distinguished engineers, Capt. Humphreys and Lieut. Abbot, estimated that it would require an expenditure of \$17,000,000 to reclaim the alluvial regions along the Mississippi River. In 1912 Col. Townsend, one of our most distinguished engineers, anounced that it would require still an expenditure of \$58,000,000 to protect the necessary existing levee systems along the Mississippi River, and in addition to this amount he estimated that there would still be required an expenditure of \$00,000 000 for leaf expenditure and this river. In the same of \$90,000,000 for bank revetment along this river. year Capt. West estimated that it would require along the Mississippi River an expenditure in the future of \$228,000,000 for levees and revetment work.

It is perfectly apparent that levee building along this great river must continue. The experiences European nations are having with reservoir systems, the situation on the South Platte, now so forcibly shown to us, establish conclusively that another method, involving ultimately less expenditures for levees, must also be adopted—the flood-reservoir system. The Crosser bill involves the consideration not only of levee building, but of reservoirs, reforestation, spillways, irrigation, and a proper development of water power. In other words, it suggests a plan of completely utilizing the water assets of the country. There are two methods of controlling floods. One method is to entirely disregard the economic value of water as an asset and hurry on to the sea great floods, which carry with them the destruction of millions of dollars' worth of property and which exact an annual toll of human life. The other method is to continue our process of reasonable levee building, but to retard floods as much as we can on their journey to the sea and to distribute the waters out over arid lands, thereby rendering fertile vast stretches of desert country, preventing also in this way the inundation of rich valley lands. The Crosser plan contemplates the utilization also of water for the purpose of developing hydroelectric power, and the storage of water presents always these possibilities. The Crosser bill, which will be presented as a substitute to this bill, provides also for studies into the question of the reforestation of the watersheds of our rivers, wherever a careful study develops the necessity for reforestation, thus in this manner providing for holding back great floods. The Crosser plan provides also for reasonable spillways, through which method the rising floods may also be controlled and permitted, in specially provided channels, to return to the sea, lessening in this way the awful disasters which come from broken levees along our river systems. The Crosser substitute presents the plan which, in my judgment, will be ultimately adopted. I propose to vote for the substitute. I do not, however, expect it to be adopted at this time. I expect also, if the Crosser substitute fails, to vote for the bill.

The Shipping Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DUDLEY DOOLITTLE,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Saturday, May 20, 1916.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, I favor the administration shipping bill to provide the United States with a merchant marine. We need a merchant marine of our own under the American flag. It has ceased to be a debatable matter for years, and every political party as it came into power has promised to do something substantial to provide merchant ships to carry on our trade with foreign countries. The Republican Party has favored and continues to favor a Government subsidy to private concerns, but they have never been able to put their ideas into law or to accomplish their end. The Democrats have opposed subsidies to private concerns, and prefer the provisions of the bill now pending to establish a Government controlled institution for the construction, purchase, and operation of merchant ships.

All citizens of our country, and especially the producing population, whether they be farmers, manufacturers, miners, or of any other calling, are directly damaged by our inability to get our products to foreign markets. The falling off in exports from the United States, as evidenced during the past five weeks, is directly chargeable to lack of available ocean tonnage to transport the freights offered. The prolongation of the congestion of freights on our railways is likewise owing to the same shortage of vessels. We have not at this moment one-fourth enough American ships to carry our goods. The figures prove it.

The owner of a ship is not obliged to conform to the regulations and the laws as applied to railways; the shipowner may discriminate between shippers and may change rates, points of sailing, and time thereof almost at will. This bill establishes a board with powers similar to the Interstate Commerce Commission and corrects these evils. A huge majority of all the merchant ships of the world are owned by the countries now at war and many of them have been requisitioned for military and naval purposes. Favoritism is shown to shippers of the countries owning the ships to the serious damage of American shippers. Since August 1, 1914, when the war in Europe began, freight rates have increased enormously, in some in-

stances more than 1,000 per cent. The increase has been universal, but particularly in the necessities of life, food products principally. The ocean freight rates from the United States to European ports have become so high as to affect seriously the prices of our products, and we are the losers. On March 14, 1914, the rate on grain to some European ports was $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per bushel, and that rate has increased every week since then until March 11, 1916, the latest available information I have, it was 50.7 cents per bushel. On March 14, 1914, the freight rate per hundred pounds on provisions was 21.7 cents, and that has steadily increased each week until it reached \$1.25 a hundred pounds on March 11, 1916, the latest available information. The rates on cotton for the same dates increased from 20 cents per hundred pounds to \$2.75 per hundred, and I might go on and enumerate every article of trade, which would show a proportionate increase.

There is but one impediment that stands in the way of our national expansion in commerce to all the world, and that is our literal inability to deliver the goods for causes heretofore stated. This bill will not give us all the ships we need at once, but it is a good start and a little competition will make much difference in freight rates.

Private capital has all these years failed to go into the establishment of an American merchant marine, and it is past time that the Government provided this very necessary element for a continued national prosperity

for a continued national prosperity.

I shall make one further observation. If sufficient American ships had been in existence during this war our country could have been spared many dangers of war that have hovered near on frequent occasions where our citizens and property have been at sea in foreign merchant vessels. Many a life might have been saved.

Let us meet this emergency, and the only way to meet it is to meet it and not quibble.

Establishment of a Merchant Marine.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. CAPSTICK,

OF NEW JERSEY.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 19, 1916.

Mr. CAPSTICK. Mr. Speaker, as a piece of legislation intended to be beneficial the bill (H. R. 15455) providing for the establishment of a merchant marine, in my opinion is another illustration of Democratic impotency.

Illustration of Democratic impotency.

I consider the measure not only illy conceived and inopportune, but unjust to our present merchant marine and to independent concerns now having in course of construction many boats to be chartered in this service as soon as completed.

There is no need for me to dwell upon the shortage in all kinds of bottoms. It became apparent right after the European war started and has continued ever since. Neither need I mention the prices owners of seaworthy craft have been able to command for use of them. This shortage and these prices have been the subject of many newspaper and magazine articles, and are therefore common knowledge.

What is more natural then than for shipping concerns to increase their capacity to share in the harvest? What seems more unnatural than for the Government to seize the same opportunity as a governmental proposition, thereby choking off these private enterprivate enterprivate.

private enterprises?

In late years there has been but little in the way of an American merchant marine of which we could feel proud. Sixty years ago we had the largest one afloat. The boats were of wooden construction, however, having been built before the age of iron and steel craft. Other nations began building steel vessels before the United States, and that kind of carriers rapidly gained preference over the wooden boats.

Before our shippers could reconstruct their fleets the Civil War began. Then followed a series of privateering and other circumstances which practically drove our flag from the seas for a number of years. Efforts have been made to get it back, and great progress has been made. I want to see it restored there, and so do all the Members of this House, I believe, but by proper means. I do not consider this bill the proper means.

I like to think of the Stars and Stripes breaking out from the mastheads of steamers in every port on the face of the globe. It is pleasant to contemplate them taking the products of our ingenuity and industry to all foreign nations under the protection of Old Glory. This can be done if Congress, instead of

enacting a law of this kind, will pass measures of encouragement and assure reasonable protection to our enterprising citizens with brains and energy to devote in this service. These same men are patriotic enough to be relied upon to hold their ships at call of the United States in any and every emergency.

There are now under course of construction in various shipyards nearly 400 ships to be registered in the merchantmen service as soon as completed and outfitted. What is to become of them in the face of this governmental opposition? What kind of a return on the investment will they yield to their owners

We are doing a larger foreign trade to-day than ever before in our history. More of our products are being used abroad than at any other time. This is the reason for the unprece-dented demand for ships. Our business men, alive to the present opportunities, are bending every energy to establish our products and commodities in foreign markets, seldom, if ever, reached before the present conditions existed. It is a foregone conclusion that in accomplishing this that shipping will be stimulated. If the establishment is made permanent, shipping is resultantly benefited. Why, then, should the Government interfere with and discourage this movement, instead of cooperating with and protecting it?

The coastwise trade has been the backbone of our merchant It will feel the enactment of this bill quite as much as it did the repeal of the canal-tolls provision, another example

of Democratic impotency.

Furthermore, this bill will give foreigners the entering wedge into this business, long eagerly sought by them. This will be without benefit to our insular possessions, as may be seen in comparing the rates from Porto Rico, under a protected merchant marine, with the rates of other West India ports, open to foreign competition. These figures show that the rates between the United States and Porto Rico are lower than anywhere else, and indicate that the sugar crop of Porto Rico has been moved, up to last year, at about 12 cents per 100 pounds, while a freight rate from between 40 to 60 cents per 100 pounds has been the prevailing tariff on the same product from Cuba to the same ports of destination.

The advantage of low freight rates to the people of our possessions must be apparent to all, and is no more than should be accorded them. We hear a great deal about trade expansion. I heartily believe in it, but fail to see how trade is to be successfully expanded by Government competition instead

of Government protection.

Now is the time for us to engage in trade with South America and the Orient. These countries are auxious to do business with us. We have much which they could use, and they in turn have goods which could be utilized in our industries and markets. The private concerns now building ships have these facts in mind quite as much as the feature of immediate advantage in shipping lines. Is the United States to nullify these investments, discourage these enterprises, and otherwise make it impossible for them to live and still cry "trade expansion"? It would seem so.

This assertion is based on my belief that the bill in its present form, instead of affording present relief to shippers, will work immediate and lasting injury. It is experimental in nature and hedges our merchant marine with restrictions which no other nation has ever undertaken in the construction or operation of ships. Brazil some years ago began the operation of a line of steamers, and it was subsequently taken over for debt. After \$50,000,000 Government money has been appropriated and spent in establishing a merchant marine, how is it going to live in competition with our own shippers and the foreign tramp steamers which carry two-thirds of the world's commerce and will not come under the control or power of the shipping board? The undertaking to me appears highly impractical, ill advised, and woefully unbusinesslike.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAMUEL J. TRIBBLE. OF GEORGIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 12, 1916.

Mr. TRIBBLE. Mr. Speaker, this rural-credit bill appropriates the sum of \$9,000,000 for the purpose of loaning money to the farmers. This amount is intended to finance the ruralcredit banking system provided in the bill and assure the success of the institution. The many millions of dollars necessary to supply the demand for farm loans will flow into the treasury of the rural-credit banks from the sale of bonds issued on the security of the farmers who deposit their land mortgages with the rural-credit banks.

METHOD OF RURAL-CREDIT BANKS.

1. The rural-credit board located in Washington, composed of three members, has complete control and supervision of the rural-credit banks.

2. The United States is divided into 12 districts. The 12 banks, located centrally in these districts, are known as Federal land banks. The minimum capital stock of the Federal land banks is \$750,000. The stock in the Federal land bank is placed on the market for sale. If not purchased in 90 days the Government purchases the stock sufficient to finance the institution. The Government will not share in the profits. The stockholders of the Federal land banks share in the profits.

3. Local organizations are authorized and chartered. These local organizations are known as national farm-loan associations. The national farm-loan association is composed exclusively of borrowers. No person not a borrower can become a member of the farm-loan association. Ten farmers desiring to borrow can organize this association. The membership is unlimited, but must contain not less than 10. The local association shall elect five directors. The association shall also elect a president, vice president, loan committee of three, and a secretary-treasurer. No officer of the local association shall receive a salary except the secretary-treasurer.

HOW LOANS ARE SECURED.

Loans are secured by organizing a national farm-loan association composed of 10 or more farmers desiring to secure loan. The minimum loan is \$100, and the maximum is \$10,000. borrower is required to make application for loan accompanied with subscription for stock in the local association. For this stock he pays \$5 per share. One share authorizes loan of \$100. If a borrower desires a loan of \$1,000 he must purchase 10 shares, or \$50 worth of stock. This purchase of stock is not a cash transaction unless borrowers so desire, but is added to the The application, subscription of stock, and description of land is forwarded to the Federal land bank. The Federal land bank orders an examination of title and appraisement of the land. If the appraisement is satisfactory and the title good, the loan is made and the money sent to the secretary-treasurer of the local association to be paid to borrower.

AMOUNT, INTEREST RATE, AND TERMS.

The borrower may secure 60 per cent of the value of the land and 20 per cent of the value of improvement on the land. The amount of interest charged depends on the sale of the bonds. In no case can the interest exceed 6 per cent, and it is expected that the rate will be less. The deferred payments may be from 5 to 36 years, as desired by borrower.

REPAYMENT (AMORTIZATION) PLAN.

The principal and interest is paid annually. These annual payments contain both principal and interest, called amortization payments. Under the present system of loaning money the interest only is collected on deferred payments. For instance, should a loan be made for \$1,000 at 6 per cent for the term of 20 years, at the end of 20 years \$1,200 will have been paid in annual payments as interest and the \$1,000 principal remains unpaid. If the interest rate charged should be 8 per cent on \$1,000, for 20 years the annual interest payments would amount to \$1,600, and the principal of \$1,000 would still be unpaid at the end of 20 years. The amortization plan provided in the bill will be easily understood by the following table, showing loan on \$1,000 for 20 years at 6 per cent:

Total annual payment.	Interest at 6 per cent.	Paid on principal.	Amount on principal unpaid.	
\$87. 19 87. 19 87. 19	\$60,00 58,36 56,63	\$27, 19 28, 83 30, 56	\$972.81 943.98 913.42	
87. 19 87. 19	52, 86 50, 80	34. 33 36. 39	881. 03 846, 70 810, 31 771, 73	
87. 19 87. 19 87. 19	46.30 43.85 41.25	40. 89 43. 34 45. 94	730, 84 687, 50 641, 56	
87. 19 87. 19 87. 19	35, 57 32, 47 29, 19	51, 62 54, 72 58, 00	592, 86 541, 24 486, 52 428, 52	
87. 19 87. 19	22.02 18.11	61. 48 65, 17 69, 08 73, 23	367. 04 301, 87 232, 79 159, 56	
87. 19 86. 85	9, 57 4, 91	77. 62 81. 94	81.94	
	annual payment. \$87, 19 87, 19	annual payment. \$87. 19	annual payment. 6 per cent. Paid on principal. \$87. 19	

It will be seen by this calculation on the amortization plan, provided in the rural credit bill, that the amount paid annually is \$87.19, making a total of \$1,743.46. The calculation of principal and interest on \$1,000 for 20 years at 6 per cent totals \$2,200. Therefore one can save \$456.54 on a loan of \$1,000 at the same rate of interest. The rate of interest charged is generally 8 per cent on long loans. Calculation at 8 per cent for 20 years on \$1,000 shows the interest to be \$1,600; add to that \$1,000 the principal which totals \$2,600, making a difference of \$856.54. Commissions may also be added to the \$856.54. Should the borrower desire a loan for 36 years on \$1,000 at 6 per cent, his annual payments would be \$68.39, only \$8.39 more than ordinary interest rate at 6 per cent.

It is claimed for the rural credit bill that interest rate will

It is claimed for the rural credit bill that interest rate will be less than 6 per cent, therefore I have made a table at the rate of 5 per cent on \$1,000 for 20 years, which is as follows:

Annual periods.	Total annual payment.	Interest at 5 per cent.	Paid on principal.	Amount of prin- cipal still unpaid.	
1	\$80. 24 80. 24	\$50.00 48.48	\$30.24 31.75	\$969.76 938.00	
3	80, 24	46, 90	33, 34	904, 67	
4	80, 24	45, 23	35, 01	869, 66	
5	80, 24	43, 48	36, 76	832, 90	
6	80.24	41.64	38, 59	794.31	
7	80. 24	39.71	40. 52	753, 79	
8	80. 24	37.68	42.55	711.23	
0	80. 24	35. 56	44.68	666.56	
10	80. 24	33. 32	46. 91	619.64	
	80. 24	30.98	49. 26	570.39	
12	80. 24 80. 24	28. 51 25. 93	51.72 54.31	518, 67 464, 36	
13	80, 24	23, 21	57, 02	407. 34	
15	80. 24	20, 36	59, 87	347, 46	
16	80.24	17.37	62.87	284.60	
17	80, 24	14. 23	66, 01	218.59	
18	80.24	10, 93	69. 31	149, 28	
19	80, 32	7, 46	72, 78	76, 50	
20	89.24	3, 82	76. 50		
Total	1,604.80	604.80	1,000.00		

At the rate of 5 per cent both interest and principal is paid in 20 years by the payment of \$1,604.80 in annual payments of \$80.24. This shows that the entire obligation is paid and only \$4.80 more required than is necessary to pay interest at 8 per cent on \$1,000 for 20 years and still have the principal of \$1,000 unpaid.

Principal Principal	and and	interest interest	at at	8 5	per per	centcent	\$2, 1,	600. 604.	00
------------------------	------------	----------------------	----------	-----	------------	----------	------------	--------------	----

Total difference _____ 995. 20

The annual payment on \$1,000 at 5 per cent for the term of 36 years is \$60.43 including both principal and interest. The annual interest at 5 per cent alone is \$50, and the annual interest payment at 6 per cent is \$60, and at 8 per cent \$80, and none of the principal paid.

LIABILITY OF THE BORROWER.

The farmer is interested in knowing his personal responsibility before becoming a stockholder in the national farm-loan association. The borrower is liable for 10 per cent of the amount of his loan. In other words, he is liable for double the amount of his stock. If he borrows \$1,000, he owns 10 shares. The shares represent \$50. His liability can not exceed double that amount, or \$100, on \$1,000. The stock owned by the borrower is filed with the association, and when the debt is discharged the value of the stock and accumulated dividends must be paid the borrower.

HOW MONEY IS SECURED FROM BONDS.

When loans are made bonds are sold in the markets to the highest bidder. The borrower does not get the same rate for which the bonds are sold; 1 per cent is retained by the Federal land banks to be used in paying expenses first and then dividends on outstanding stock. As business increases and bond sales are very large the stock of investors in the farm-land banks are retired, and it is represented that the investors' stock will be retired in a few years. When the investors' stock is eliminated, then the borrowers' stock will draw the dividends and there will be no investors' stock participating in the dividends, and the borrowers' stock becomes valuable as an investment.

If bonds sell for 4 per cent, the borrower's loan will be for 5 per cent. If the bonds sell for 4½ per cent, the interest of loan will be 5½ per cent, and so on. No interest charged the borrower can exceed 6 per cent, and may be much less, according to the price of the bonds sold. Funds are secured by the sale of

bonds to loan the farmers. The farm mortgages of individuals desiring loans are assembled into collective security, and upon this collective security farm bonds are issued and sold. The bonds are sound and safe, and should sell as well as Government bonds.

BORROWER'S INTEREST IN STOCK SUBSCRIBED.

Instead of giving the borrower the same interest for which bonds are sold, 1 per cent more is charged the borrower. After paying the expenses this 1 per cent belongs to the borrower under the Federal land-banking system, while in the joint-stock company the 1 per cent is applied to investors' stock after paying expenses. The borrower owns the Federal land banks. He is not only interested in repaying his loan but he is interested in the proper management of the Federal land banks and his local organization because of the value of his stock. The borrower is not interested in the dividends of the joint land banks and assumes no responsibility for losses. For instance, on a loan of \$1,000 bonds are issued for \$1,000. If the bonds sell for 5 per cent the borrower pays 6 per cent. The 1 per cent retained by the Federal land bank belongs to the borrower, less his obligation for expense. When his obligation for expense is discharged the balance of the 1 per cent is placed in the treasury of the Federal land banks. The amount accumulating over and above expense is placed in the loan fund. The amount of stock subscribed is used in the same manner. When the borrower's loan matures and the obligation is discharged this accumulated fund, together with the accumulated profits, is paid the borrower as his share of the profits.

FARM BONDS.

The Federal land banks are granted the privilege of selling farm-loan bonds to the amount equal to twenty times its capital. The joint land banks are granted the same privilege to the amount equal to fifteen times its capital and surplus.

GOVERNMENT AID.

The Government appropriates \$9,000.000 to assure the organization of the rural-credit system. This may be used before funds are obtained by the sale of bonds. The board is also authorized to call on the Secretary of the Treasury for Government deposits in case the Federal land banks need assistance.

Furthermore, the Government pays the salaries of officers of the Federal land banks and the expenses of such banks, and exempts all stock and bonds of the rural-credit banks from taxation.

PURPOSES OF LOANS.

Loans may be made to purchase land, equipment, live stock, general farm improvement, and pay off indebtedness on farm. If the borrower uses the money for other purposes, a penalty is imposed and the loan becomes due. No person not engaged in farming or in good faith intending to become an actual farmer can secure a loan or become a member of the farm-loan association.

The foregoing contains a brief synopsis of the rural-credit bill, to which the Government contributes financial aid in money.

JOINT-STOCK LAND BANKS.

The bill also authorizes the organization of joint-stock companies for the purpose of making loans on farms. The Government contributes no money to the joint-stock company and purchases no stock of same. Joint-stock land banks are organized and financed by persons seeking the stock of the bank as an investment. The capital stock must be at least \$250,000 paid-in cash before a charter is granted. The joint-stock bank is authorized to issue bonds on land mortgage in the same manner as the Federal land banks. The interest rate charged by the joint-stock company shall not exceed 6 per cent. The interest charged shall not exceed 1 per cent over the amount of interest for which the bonds were sold. If the bonds sell for 4 per cent, the interest charged shall be 5 per cent, and so on.

CAPITAL STOCK IS TAXABLE.

The joint land banks are relieved of tax in the same manner the Federal land banks are relieved, except the capital stock of the joint land banks may be taxed. They operate on the same principle. The material difference consists in the fact that Federal land banks are operated by the Government, and the borrowing farmer gets the profits, while in the joint-stock company the borrower does not thare in the profits, and all dividends are paid to the shareholders who invested their money in the joint-stock company. No stock is issued to the borrower in the joint-stock company. The borrower has no liability for losses in the joint-stock company.

Trade Associations and Better Business Methods.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES A. GALLIVAN. OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 20, 1916.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an address of Edward N. Hurley, vice chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, before the Boston Commercial Club, March 28, 1916.

The address is as follows:

TRADE ASSOCIATIONS AND BETTER BUSINESS METHODS. [Address of Edward N. Hurley, vice chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, before the Boston Commercial Club, March 28, 1916.]

It affords me great pleasure to be with you to-night and to address the Boston Commercial Club, a club which is so well and favorably known.

I am glad to meet with business men in the great city of Boston, where such marvelous strides in growth, development,

and wealth have been made during the last decade.

The Federal Trade Commission, recognizing the importance of New England in manufacturing and shipping, held its first public meeting in Boston. We have received valuable information from your business men, which has been very helpful in outlining our report on foreign trade. This report will be presented to Congress in a few days.

Most of the larger problems of business with which you are concerned have to do with the improvement of conditions in industry as a whole and to that extent the industrial welfare of

our country.

GOVERNMENT COOPERATION.

Government and business are and should be mutually helpful. Through a period of years the Government has been gradually extending its machinery of helpfulness to different groups upon whose prosperity depends in a large degree the prosperity of the country. To adjust, adjudicate, and determine the questions that arise between shippers and carriers the Interstate Commerce Commission was established. Through it the railroads and the shippers alike can secure prompt and definite rulings as to what they can and can not do. The fruit growers of the country, the farmers' cooperative elevator associations, the dairy producers' associations receive aid, advice, and rulings on important questions from the Department of Agriculture, and all are urged to cooperate to benefit their conditions. Now the bankers, through the Federal Reserve Board, can receive authoritative decisions as to their powers and duties. All of this is of general benefit to the whole country.

BUSINESS, TOO, REQUIRES ASSISTANCE.

To do for general business that which these other agencies do for the groups to which I have referred was the thought behind the creation of the trade commission. To make that thought clear I will quote from the President's statement on the

The business of the country awaits also, and has long waited and has suffered because it could not obtain further and more explicit legislative definition of the policy and meaning of the existing antitrust law. Nothing hampers like uncertainty, and the business men of the country desire something more than that the menace of legal process in these matters be made explicit and intelligible. They desire the advice, definition, guidance and information which can be supplied by an administrative body, an interstate trade commission. The opinion of the country would instantly approve of such a commission. It demands such a commission only as an indispensable instrument of information and publicity, as a clearing house for the facts by which both the public mind and the managers of great business undertakings should be guided, and as an instrumentality for doing justice to business where the processes of the courts, or the natural forces of correction outside the courts, are inadequate to adjust the remedy to the wrong in a way that will meet the equities and circumstances of the case.

Groups of business men are constantly coming before the Fed-

Groups of business men are constantly coming before the Federal Trade Commission, asking for information as to how they can improve conditions. Manufacturers come to us protesting against overproduction or complaining against their competitors, claiming unfair methods of competition, and asking us for relief. They assert their competitors are selling goods below cost and ruining the industry in which they are engaged. evils, often of many years' standing, they request relief.

The Federal Trade Commission has been in existence one year, and after surveying the field we found from a preliminary investigation that 200,000 corporations out of a total of 260,000 engaged in the manufacturing and mercantile business of the United States were eking out an existence; 100,000 of them did not earn a penny. Out of 60,000 successful corporations doing a business of \$100,000 a year, over 30,000 charged off no depreciation whatever. Only 10 per cent of our manufacturers and merchants know the actual cost to manufacture and sell their products; 40 per cent estimate what their costs are; and 50 per cent have no method, but price their goods arbitrarily. Most of the manufacturers and merchants who do not know what their goods cost are basing their selling price on what their competi-tors sell for, and with only this knowledge for a basis they are frequently cutting prices and demoralizing the industry in which they are engaged.

There were over 22,000 business failures in the United States last year; more than 20,000 of them were small concerns. We all know that a large percentage of business is run at loose ends, haphazard, and without the proprietors really knowing at any time how they stand or whether they are making a profit

or a loss.

LACK OF ADEQUATE INFORMATION.

The Federal Trade Commission, no matter how anxious it is to be helpful to those laboring under these industrial disadvantages, is confronted at the outset with a lack of adequate information regarding industry.

With all the attention that has been given to business the

past 15 years it is a remarkable fact that to-day there are no comprehensive data available, no constructive material at hand to furnish to a manufacturer, merchant, or trade association desiring to improve the unsatisfactory conditions in their in-Without such data it is impossible to make recommendations to Congress for helpful constructive legislation.

From the Government the railroads receive statistics giving them a broad view of the transportation situation of the coun-The farmer is told frequently the conditions of the crops, so that he may know how and when to dispose of his surplus products. The health of his stock is under the jurisdiction of the Government. The banker is furnished details as to the financial condition in the country by the Treasury Department. These are helpful fields of Government activity, and the people of the country are heartily in accord with this work.

Manufacturers and merchants who are merchandising the farmers' product, shipping their goods over the railroads, depositing their money in the banks, and meeting the pay roll of thousands of employees-these, too, should be furnished with data and information regarding their respective industries.

In order to cooperate intelligently with the manufacturers and merchants of the country the Federal Trade Commission must have these facts. With this thought in mind we recently. mailed to every corporation in the United States a form containing a few simple questions pertaining to their industries. This information embraces the products which they manufacture, their annual sales, the capital invested, and other principal items, such as depreciation, and so forth. These data will be compiled by industries and a summary of results sent to each company engaged in that particular line. This will give each and every man in the business an opportunity to know whether or not the industry he is engaged in is in a healthy condition. If an industry with large capital is showing no earning power, that industry either is not well managed or the production exceeds the demand. Knowledge of existing conditions will prevent others from entering the business or unprofitably investing additional capital where overproduction already exists. The industry in which conditions are unsatisfactory will receive particular attention and the real causes of the conditions will be ascertained.

These facts are not to be asked for in any inquisitorial spirit, and the hearty cooperation which the Trade Commission has so far received from the business men of the country indicates their appreciation of the need of such definite facts.

BUSINESS COOPERATING WITH COMMISSION.

During the past year business men appearing before the Federal Trade Commission have presented many of their problems, and as a business man it has been particularly gratifying to me not to have had a question presented that did not show honesty of purpose and straightforwardness in every way. From this experience I know that we will continue to receive cooperation from the business world.

In the Federal Trade Commission's investigation on foreign trade most of the information was supplied with unusual promptness from business men, who spent a great deal of time in giving us facts and figures regarding actual conditions existin foreign markets and the difficulties experienced in competing with our foreign neighbors. This report is on the press and will be published in a few days, and I hope it will be useful to the business men of the country. It could not have been published without their hearty cooperation.

Is this not evidence that Government and business have a better understanding and both recognize, in order to do big

things, they must have the same object in view and have confidence in each other? I believe these conditions exist to-day, and if it continues the problems will be easy to solve and will make the effort worth while.

The Association of Public Accountants has appointed an advisory board to confer with the Federal Trade Commission on matters pertaining to standard forms of accounting. The National Association of Credit Men has also appointed a committee

to confer with us at any time on request

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States has a Federal trade committee, of which Mr. Harry A. Wheeler, of Chicago, is chairman. Last autumn this committee sought a conference with the Department of Justice with a view to ascertaining the probable attitude of the Department of Justice with respect to future prosecutions under the antitrust laws. It was explained to the Attorney General by representatives of the committee that if he would express himself it might be regarded as reassuring to the public mind and at the same time dispel some uncertainty which heretofore has been said to exist. number of conferences were held, and the result was that the Attorney General made a statement in which, among other things, he outlined the policy of the department as regards the method of enforcing the law in those cases which are admittedly doubtful. He stated that where men have entered into a transaction believing in good faith that the transaction is a lawful one, and subsequently, upon complaint made, the department reaches the conclusion that the transaction was not in accordance with the statute, but is yet satisfied of the good faith and innocent purpose of the parties, and can see that there was ground for the view upon which they acted, it has not been and will not be the policy of the department to invoke extreme penalties against them. In such a case the department would consider that the just and appropriate and quickest way of enforcing the law would be by a civil proceeding in which the question involved could be contested or a consent decree entered, according as the defendants desired, or by a notice to the parties of the department's conclusion, with opportunity to abandon or modify the transaction. It was further stated by the Attorney General that no proceeding is ever instituted until after the most painstaking and exhaustive investigation, in the course of which the person or corporation against whom complaint is made is given full opportunity to submit its defense before any action is taken.

The Illinois Manufacturers' Association, the National Foreign Trade Council, and many similar organizations have committees of business men who stand ready and willing to cooperate

with the Federal Trade Commission.

QUESTIONS PEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

Efficient methods of manufacturing, industrial preparedness, and foreign trade seems to be the most important questions before the American people to-day. You are vitally concerned.

Undoubtedly the business of the country requires some helpful readjustment. Many suggestions have been made by writers and lawyers of note, by captains of industry and legislators, prescribing different remedies. There is no one remedy that will give relief to all of our ills. What will help one industry may injure or kill another, but I believe there are a few fundamental principles upon which may be based the diagnosis and treatment of ailments of industry and commerce.

STANDARD ACCOUNTING METHODS.

When business was done on a large percentage of profit questions of accurate cost and of operating efficiency were not so important; but in most lines of industry to-day the large percentage of profit has passed. Manufacturers are working on smaller margins and must absolutely know what their goods cost. With margins of profit so close, any unreliable method of arriving at cost of production must be eliminated.

It is a fact well understood among business men that the general demoralization in a large number of industries has been caused by firms who cut prices, not knowing what their goods actually cost to manufacture; and the cost of selling, which is equally important, is almost wholly lost sight of. Are the officers of the companies who are cutting prices right and left, irrespective of their costs, fair to their customers, stockholders, or

A manufacturer who does not know with a close degree of accuracy what it costs him to produce the different articles he manufactures and what it costs him to sell them is not in a position to meet intelligently competition, and invites business

Many of the larger manufacturers have thorough cost accounting systems, which they recognize as necessary in order to give them the information essential to successful management. the other hand, the number of small manufacturers who have no adequate cost-accounting system and who price their goods arbitrarily is amazing.

Proper accounting for the smaller manufacturer is most essential. It is necessary for his success that he know on what particular article he is making a fair profit and on what he is making only a narrow margin of profit or losing money. If he has this information, he can concentrate on the manufacture and sale of the product on which the profits are satisfactory

Whole industries, in many instances, are suffering from a

general lack of intelligent knowledge of cost.

HOW THE COMMISSION CAN HELP.

How can the Federal Trade Commission help to improve this situation?

The commission has no intention and no desire to use compulsory methods, but it does hope to reach the desired end by encouraging improvements in accounting practice, by indorsing standard systems of bookkeeping and cost accounting, and by assisting in devising standard systems, either at the request of individual merchants and manufacturers or through the association that represents the industry

It is recognized that no one standard system of accounting is applicable to all classes of business, but that special systems are required for each group or class of commerce and industry,

The commission, however, while recognizing the commercial advantages to be derived from uniformity of systems, does not advise making a change where systems already installed give adequate information and are economically operated.

STANDARDIZING PRODUCTS AND PROCESSES.

In the field of standardizing products, processes, and raw material much has already been accomplished. Let me illus-Let me illustrate what has been done in this direction by citing a few representative industries. In the implement and vehicle field, wagon wheels have been standardized from 41 heights to 4: the width and length of tires have been made uniform. In automobiles, standards have been adopted for horsepower rating. tube sizes, spark-plug shells, ball bearings, and many other items. The association of knit-goods manufacturers adopted a scale for underwear sizes which, as you know, is at present used by practically every maker of underwear in this country, with a consequent prevention of loss formerly caused by wrong sizes. Architects and builders are urging uniform plans and specifica-The steel manufacturers issue booklets containing standard specifications for structural and boiler steel, steel rails, concrete reinforcement bars, and so forth. And so it goes. The manufacturer has fewer sizes to order and to make, the material men only a limited number to supply and keep in stock. Economy in production and continuity of operation are both served by this means and the consuming public shares the benefit by not having to pay for the wide and unnecessary variety of products and materials. Much of all this has been brought about by trade associations.

TRADE ASSOCIATIONS.

Commercial clubs, boards of trade, trade associations, manufacturing associations, and similar organizations constitute a most potent influence for accomplishing the ends for which they have been organized.

There are about 6,500 commercial, industrial, and trading organizations in this country. These include 2,500 chambers of commerce, commercial clubs, boards of trade, and similar promotive business organizations; a thousand manufacturing and mercantile associations of a general character, comprising business concerns in a number of different industries, such as State manufacturers' associations, credit associations, and so fortly, and about 3,000 trade associations—groups of business men in particular manufacturing, mining, or mercantile industries.

The commercial club, the board of trade, the chamber of commerce, attempts to bring together business men of all lines for the many kinds of cooperative endeavor so necessary for the progress of a business community. The general manufacturers' and merchants' association fills a similar need for the broad manufacturing or mercantile field, while trade associations consist of concerns in particular industries, and include manufacturing, mercantile, and producing associations, national and even international associations, and State and local associations.

THEIR FIELD OF ACTIVITY.

The activities of all of these business organizations are manifold, and the business done by their members runs into the These groups of associated business men are putting billions. forth special efforts to improve systems of cost accounting, bettering their processes of manufacture, standardizing their out-put, obtaining credit information, and endeavoring to advance the welfare of their employees, and are bound to be most important factors in our country's development in the course of

Special commendation should be given to associations that are endeavoring to build up industry in these constructive ways. production and successful merchandising require many step in the process of changing the form of the raw materials and putting the product on the market at a figure adequate to cover the cost of production and the cost of selling and net some profit to the producer, without charging the consumer an excessive price; and neither the individual manufacturer nor the Government alone can work out the many serious economic and business problems involved so successfully as can a group of associated producers, laboring together in cooperation. These associations, when conducted intelligently and rationally, with the thought of bringing about improved business conditions, will make it possible for our industries to compete in price and quality in the markets of the world.

Trade associations should not only be encouraged to increase their membership, but should be furnished by the Government with complete statistics in their particular line and should be assisted in every way to develop and stabilize the industry.

The Pederal Trade Commission's report on industries will be

most helpful to associations, since it will furnish facts and figures not now available which will enable them to perform their proper functions of stimulating cooperative effort and im-

provement.

Industrial preparedness and the mobilizing of our industries in case of war can be accomplished and developed more rapidly through trade associations than by any other method. It is recognized that the foreign trade of Germany, France, and England could not have been developed so thoroughly if it were not for the trade association. If we are to be important factors in the world's commerce, the trade association must be encouraged.

The questions of giving to our workmen continuous employ-

ment so that they may average longer periods of prosperity can be solved through the trade association. With its knowledge of labor requirements in the whole industry, it can assist its members obtaining unemployed men from other parts of the country.

There should be a greater degree of organization and of mutual helpfulness in all lines of trade and industry, so that American business may be welded into a commercial and industrial whole, the part of the Government being to cooperate with business men, on request, to bring about the results that will benefit business and hence promote our national welfare.

FOREIGN TRADE.

If our business men are to be factors in the world's markets, they must receive encouragement to do as our foreign rivals are

We have reached the point under normal conditions where we must have foreign markets for our surplus manufactured product. The American people, including every day laborer, every clerk, every mechanic, every farmer, and every business man, large and small, is heartily in favor of the Government giving immediate relief that will make it possible for us to obtain our share of foreign business, so that our factories may run continuously and keep our labor permanently employed.

With all that has been accomplished in this direction by collective effort, however, we have made only a beginning. Germany every important industry is organized into trade associations, and 85 per cent of the manufacturers engaged in those industries are represented in their respective trade associations.

Germany's success as a commercial and industrial world power is due very largely to the policy of organizing and cooperating of the working together of its captains of industry establishing communities of interest between the small and the big business men for the mutual purpose of promoting trade at home and abroad. The old adage, "In unity there is strength," is put into practice and has proved to be the backbone of Germany's industrial and commercial achievements, efficiency, and

More than 600 independent associations of manufacturers, producers, and merchants exist in Germany to-day, and, besides. the entire industrial system of that country is honeycombed

with about 5,000 subsidiary business organizations.

In foreign trade men think in terms of national competition. In China and in South America the contest is not so much between individual corporations as it is between national industries. For example, the contest in South America is not between two steel manufacturers in Germany or two steel manufacturers in England, but it is between the German steel industry, the English steel industry, and the American steel industry.

In South America we do not hear of the actual or potential competition of European individual corporations or houses. hear of German, French, American, or English competition. By means of cartels or trade associations, the leading industries

in these countries have organized, and when they move forward into foreign markets they move forward united against competitors from other nations. Countries like England and Germany have built up a permanent export market in the countries of This has come as the result of earnest cooperative efforts on the part of those interested in the particular industry

The Government can furnish information to business men as to conditions in this country as well as to conditions in foreign markets. Necessity forced England and Germany to seek foreign markets; necessity will force us to seek foreign markets. No matter what efforts the Government may put forth, upon the business men of the country rest the responsibilities for the ulti-

mate success of American foreign trade.

The Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN JACOB ROGERS. OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 20, 1916.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote against the conference report presented to the House by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Hav]. I believe that every true advocate of national defense should do the same. Why?

The parliamentary situation is this: The Senate has accepted the conference report, and if the House also accepts it the legislative journey of the measure will be complete and it forthwith mass to the President for his signature. If our the forthwith goes to the President for his signature. If, on the other hand, the House should reject the conference report, the bill would be sent back to conference and there would result, on the part of the Senate and House conferees, a complete reopening of the questions involved in the bill. Those who are perfectly satisfied with the bill as it stands will vote "yea on the conference report, and thereby record themselves in favor of having the legislation put upon the statute books exactly as it is before us to-day; those who believe that the bill is woefully and fundamentally imperfect—even though an advance over the present law—should vote "no."

I definitely and emphatically enroll myself in the latter class. As a preparedness measure the present Army bill is a puny and misbegotten orphan; it is a fraud upon the Nation. By walking abroad under the guise of preparedness and by lulling the people of the country into the belief that a real preparedness measure has been passed, it actually does more harm than good. In most ways it is a step backward rather than a step forward. Even its most ardent advocates can scarcely assert

that it is at best more than a step sidewise.

On the asset side of the bill we have, first, an increase in the Regular Army of about 50 per cent. This is desirable as far as it goes; but when we remember that our entire present Army almost to a man has for many weeks been engaged, without apparent result, in pursuing one bandt, we can scarcely regard the Army, even with a 50 per cent increase, as insuring national safety in the event of a real war with a real power. day or two we have seen that the militia of three States has been ordered to cooperate with the Regular Army in running down this clusive bandit, with the prospect that the remainder of our National Guard may ultimately be necessary for the same The second and last item on the asset side is section 54, which provides for summer training camps. This is a desirable provision but adds very little to what was already possible and was actually carried out last summer.

On the debit side are: First, the persistence in the method of legislation for the National Guard, which has been pronounced unconstitutional by the Judge Advocate General of the United States Army and by almost every other careful student of this subject; second, the elimination of the Federal volunteer provision in the Chamberlain bill, which would ultimately have given us a sound, strong, and effective force auxiliary to the Regular Army; and third, the inclusion of the \$20,000,000 Alabama nitrate "grab," every cent of which will be wasted and worse than wasted. For this section the country is "indebted" to the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Underwood], ably represented upon the conference committee by the gentleman from

Alabama [Mr. DENT]. O Preparedness! Preparedness! How many crimes are committed in thy name! Because I am a believer in true preparedness and not in fake preparedness, because I will have no part in fooling the people or lulling them into a feeling of false security, I shall vote to send the measure back to the conferees in the hope that the good things may be made better and the bad things be purged

Army Bill and the Men of Our Army.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL. OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 20, 1916.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for the conference report on the bill to increase the efficiency of the Military Establishment of the United States, not because I am fully satisfied with its provisions but because it appears that at the present time to be more advisable to do so than to have no legislation on the subject. The nitrate proposition involves the waste of \$20,000,000 and will bring no benefit of any kind to Our method of legislation, however, prevents us from rejecting a part of this measure and gives us no power to accept such a part of it as we think is the most desirable and beneficial for our country.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that we are now discussing our Army, it is fitting and proper that I should here make reference to the bravery and gallantry shown by our boys at Glen Springs, Tex., on the night of May 5 and the early

morning of May 6.

The San Antonio Star of May 11, 1916, describes the encounter as follows:

as follows:

The story of Smyth, sergeant of Company A, Fourteenth Cavalry, is going around the countr, as an illustration of the stuff of which the American soldier is made. When, without warning, the Mexican bandits appeared at Glen Springs, Friday night, Sergeant Smyth and eight troepers ran to an adooe nut with but one window and a barred door. The sergeant gave orders to shoot carefully, "Pick out any moving figure and set go."

The mine men took turns shooting from the window. After three hours, unable to rout the Americans, the leader of the bandits gave orders to throw fire balls on the roof, which was thatched partly with tin and partly with candelills weed.

Flaming torches made of torn cloth and weeds were dropped on the roof. The heat grew intense and the faces and backs of the soldiers, still fighting sprittedly through the window, become blistered and burnt. The heat burned the tops of their heads. As the soldiers leaped out, three were immediately shot down.

Smyth seading the other cavalrymen made for the corral in a rain of bullets. They then made for the fills and when morning came crept back to the settlement and saw the main body of some 50 Mexicans leaving. Smyth terribly burned about the feet and shot in the arm, loaded the four wounded troopers into a motor truck and with the bodies of the killed went to Marathon.

The three troopers mentioned as having given up their lives in

The three troopers mentioned as having given up their lives in behalf of their country were William Cohen, Stephen Golock, and Laurence K. Rogers. The first two came from the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, and the latter from the State of Kentucky.

On Sunday last they brought William Cohen home to the three rooms where his old mother lived at No. 116 East One hundred and fifteenth Street, New York City, in the congressional district which I have the honor to represent, and we laid him to rest at Mount Zion Cemetery where a number of veterans of the Spanish-American, Philippine, Civil War, Vera Cruz, and

Haiti, lie buried.

The story of Cohen is similar to that of the numerous young men of New York City who enlist in the Army because of their love and admiration for our flag and our country. They are imbued with the spirit of true patriotism and are ever ready to sacrifice all they possess, including life itself, in behalf of our beloved land. Cohen was so desirous of enlisting in the United States Army that when he became a private, on February 20, 1909, he was under age. Assigned to the One hundred and sixtyseventh Company, Coast Artillery Corps, he became a corporal on January 20, 1911, and was honorably discharged as of that grade February 19, 1912, at Fort Totten. N. Y., by reason of expiration of term of service, with character recorded as excellent. He reenlisted February 20, 1912, at Fort Totten, N. Y., in the same company and was honorably discharged February 19, 1915, by reason of expiration of term of service with character excellent. He again enlisted June 8, 1915, at Fort Slocum; was assigned to Troop A, Fourteenth Cavalry, and was killed

in action with the Mexican bandits at Glen Springs, Tex., May 5, 1916. He was typical of the many immigrant lads that have entered the Army. He knew that his mother, Ida Cohen, needed financial help, as she was a widow, and each month he sent her at least \$10, showing the spirit of a son's love for the one that was dearest to him. It was fitting that he should be taken to his last resting place on the Sunday that was designated as Mother's Day throughout this Republic. She had no opportunity to take a last look at her boy, because he had been shot so many times and was so fearfully burned from the oil the bandits had poured in the but from the roof that orders came from Texas that the coffin was not to be opened.

Stephen Colock, another one of the troopers who met death bravely, was also of immigrant descent and displayed a courage and a fearlessness on this occasion that warrants his being placed upon the tablet of fame with the others who participated

in this terrible affray.

Laurence K. Rogers, the third trooper, showed the same kind of reckless bravery that characterized the other two. He was of the old mountain stock of Kentucky and true to its traditions.

Where in the world could you find the men of Jewish, Irish, and native descent fighting side by side and willingly making the greatest sacrifice that we can ask of any man, namely, giving up their lives in our behalf, that our flag might be upheld and the lives of our citizens in Texas properly protected.

If nothing else comes from the Glen Springs raid, it will at least awaken the hearts of all Americans from the broad Pacific to the Atlantic and from Maine to Florida, bringing its responsive echoes all the way on the east to Porto Rico and on the west to the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands, and to the north to Alaska, that the spirit of true Americanism as exemplified by all the numerous races that help to make up our people is alive, and that when the Nation is in danger that we can rely upon all citizens to do their duty to the utmost, regardless of where they first saw the light of day or from which country they originally came to our shores.

The deaths of Cohen, Colock, and Rogers should make all men

realize that a people that forces nine men to protect 40 miles of the border of our country are unjust and unfair not only to the boys in khaki but to themselves, and that an increased Army and Navy should be obtained in order that our flag may be respected wherever it flies, whether on the top of an embassy or on board of a ship, and so that our passports when issued shall give to the holder thereof that respect and protection which a great Republic like ours has a right to and should at all times com-

mand.

Mr. Speaker, I will close what I have to say with part of a speech by the late Robert G. Ingersoll:

These heroes are dead. They died for liberty; they died for us. They are at rest. They sleep in the land they made free, under the flag they rendered stainless, under the solemn pines, the sad hemiocks, the tearful willows, and the embracing vines. They sleep neath the shadows of the cloud, careless alike of sunshine or of storm, each in the windowless palace of rest. Earth may run red with other wars; they are at peace. In the midst of battle, in the roar of conflict, they found the serenity of death. I have one sentiment for soldiers living and dead: Cheers for the living; tears for the dead.

Patriots of Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK BUCHANAN, OF ILLINOIS,

> IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Saturday, May 20, 1916.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I desire to insert an article printed in the May number of the Bridgemen's Magazine, written by Mr. John J. Walt, a structural-iron worker, who is one among the great masses of American workmen patriots, and who is a student of those matters that concern the working people. In this article he expresses the judgment and sentiment of the great majority of the wageworkers of the country, and it might be well for those public officials who are afflicted with military hydrophobia to consider that they will have the wealthproducing masses to reckon with when they go before the people for reelection. While the beneficiaries of the extortionate profits in the war traffic with the belligerent nations may have made great progress through the war-trust newspaper and by other methods, corruptly spending large amounts of their bloody money, and perhaps have a great many of our patriotic citizens

deceived, yet when the facts are put before them, when the light shines through the darkness and on the so-called high places, and the financial and commercial pirates and industrial highand the financial and commercial pirates and industrial highbinders and their agents in public office are stripped of their
cloaks of deception the majority of those who are in public
office advocating this propaganda of large expenditures under
the name of preparedness, which will create militarism and
war, will be relegated to the political scrap heap.

I know the sentiment of the working people, the wealth producers of the country. I know that they are American-loving,
patriotic people and that their sympathies lie with humanity
and not with militarism, which is in conflict with humanity. I

and not with militarism, which is in conflict with humanity. I know that they are peace-loving, liberty-loving, and humanityloving people and that they are absolutely and unqualifiedly opposed to the propaganda that has been supported by the criminal war trust and others whose greed for extortionate profits controls in their efforts in regard to governmental matters.

It is seldom that we hear from the rank and file of the work-

ing people, and if they would more frequently express them-selves through their official publications, and if our public offi-cials would spend some of their time reading the official publications of the labor organizations instead of the big daily trust newspapers that are the mouthpieces of the criminal rich our public officials would have a better knowledge of the judgment and sentiment, aspirations and ambitions of the working masses of the country.

The article is as follows:

PATRIOTS OF PREPAREDNESS.

CHICAGO, ILL., April 23, 1916.

EDITOR BRIDGEMEN'S MAGAZINE:

EDITOR BRIDGEMEN'S MAGAZINE:

The ordinary ironworker who works hard every day hunting a job and, when he gets it, puling I-beams around, shinning columns, or driving rivets, who glances at the morning papers (trust press) while he is riding to work or reads it after his day's work is done—and the same applies to men in other trades—and stops a few minutes to think after he has read same can't help but notice that the ammunition makers, manufacturers of war material, manufacturers of machinery to make war material, bankers that make money by handling war bonds, and other parties that profit by war and "preparedness for war" have inaugurated a campaign of fear and alarm, to try and scare everybody, mostly our Senators and Congressmen in Washington, into voting untold millions of dollars into the pockets of these war traffickers.

Their fertile brains manage to produce one ghost story after another, all intended to gain their ends.

They style themselves "patriots" and call everybody names—traitors, undesirable citizens, etc.—who don't fall for their bull.

All these "patriots" are anxious for a big Army and big Navy, for which they are anxious to furnish the material to equip the same (for profit).

which they are anxious to furnish the material to equip the same (for profit).

But when it comes to furnish the men to do fighting and money to pay for the ammunition, etc., why, of course, the common herd of us are supposed to supply that and pay for it. They post the streets or cheap hotels where workingmen pass by or live with posters, "Men wanted for the Army. Your country needs you," and others like it. But you could not find one of these posters with a search warrant in any of the clubs or swell hotels where their sons or they themselves hang out. Besides, these pot-bellied "patriots" are in no danger of being drafted in case of need, as they are too old or too fat, or both, but they want the others to go.

these pot-bellied "patriots" are in no danger of being drafted in case of need, as they are too old or too fat, or both, but they want the others to go.

When it comes to paying the bills, do they offer to pay them out of their profits, swollen fortunes, or big incomes? Not much.

They started by having Congress vote to keep a tax of 1 cent a pound on sugar (tariff, they call it). They know that every poor man's family has to have sugar to live and can't live without it, and therefore has to pay the tax. The poorer they are the more children they have, and consequently the more tax they have to pay. Very simple.

They also know that the biggest majority of people are poor. And the "patriots" are losing sleep scheming out other ways to tax the necessities, what the poor people need to live, to pay for "preparedness."

And right here let it be said to the credit of Congressman Frank Buchanan, member of Local No. 1, representing the seventh congressional district of Illinois, a district composed of wage carners, that he was one of the faithful few, as he always is on labor questions, to vote against the tax of 1 cent a pound on sugar.

What a financial blessing it would be to the wage earners of America if they would send more men like him to Congress. It would leave money in their pockets.

This campaign of madness for "preparedness" showed signs of falling off, judging by the returns of the last elections. In the State of Michigan, which was the only State where people had a chance of volcing their sentiments, and where the candidate for "preparedness" was Senator Smith and protest was Henry Ford, the people of Michigan showed in unmistakable language what their sentiments were by giving Henry Ford a nice majority over Smith.

The same has since happened in Nebraska, and no doubt would happen in every State of the Union if people had a chance for a straight vote.

This was a hard blow for the "patriots of preparedness," and they are dying hard. So they have started a new scheme to attain their ends.

The Illinoi

ends.

The Illinois Manufacturers' Association and their scab-loving "patriot" secretary announced that they have chartered special trains which will take them to Washington, and announced that they will give a swell dinner to the Members of Congress and the Senators from Illinois (perhaps they will give them something else) and let them know what the sentiments of the "people back home" are.

No doubt this will become a popular move for these self-styled "patriots" and will be imitated by self-admitted "patriots" in other States, which will mean more special trains and more swell feeds for Congressmen and Senators.

Union men ought to be on the alert for those moves and follow the lead of the Chicago Federation of Labor, which passed the following

resolution, without a dissenting voice, more than 350 delegates being present, Sunday, April 16, 1916:
Whereas the Chicago Tribune, April 4, 1916, and other papers printed the following article:

PREPAREDNESS SPECIAL TRAINS TO VISIT CAPITAL—200 CHICAGO AND DOWN STATE LEAVE ON AFRIL 18.

The newest idea in the better-defense movement is a "prepare special." The Middle West business interests have adopted the plan of invading Washington with extra trains for personal conferences as a part of the agitation to acquaint Congressmen with "the sentiment back home."

home."

The first train will leave Chicago on April 18 over the Baltimore & Ohio with 200 Chicago and down-State patriots. They will have with them a carefully thought-out memorial containing a definite statement for a permanent defense policy, which will be presented to the 30 Illinois Representatives. A banquet will be held at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington on April 26. Senator Lewis, as the senior Illinois Senator, will preside, with Samuel M. Hastings, president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, representing the business men.

HERE'S THE COMMITTEE.

The committee that is now working on the plan the Illinoisans will back includes the following:
S. M. Hastings, K. K. Knapp, La Verne Noyes, M. J. Foreman, C. H. Markham, J. S. Miller, John P. Hopkins, Paul Schulze, M. S. Florsheim, A. H. Mulliken, D. E. Felt, G. R. Meyercord, John C. Spry, W. M. Lewis, J. B. Sanborn, Hale Holden, C. Poppenhusen, Colin C. Fyffe, W. N. Pelouze, F. W. Upham, and Peter Theurer.

OTHER SECTIONS REPRESENTED.

Capt. George B. Blow, of La Salle; H. G. Herget, of Pekin; George D. Tower, of Mendota; and William Butterworth will represent the other sections of the State in the committee.

In addition to originating the invasion method, the Illinois leaders are working on the organizations in other States to get up similar expeditions.

AGAINST PREPAREDNESS.

That the labor element, the small-business men element, and the farmer element in most of the cities recently visited by President Wilson in his last trip West are against preparedness was the statement of Victor S. Yarros at the City Club yesterday.

Mr. Yarros, as correspondent of the New York Evening Post, investigated the subject of preparedness sentiment in seven cities after the President's visit to them.

Also, on April 13, 1916, the following was printed by the Tribune:

"PREPARE" NOTE FOR DINNER-ILLINOIS MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION WILL BE HOST OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ON APRIL 26.

[Special.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 12.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 12.

Headed by Samuel M. Hastings, president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, 200 members of that body will visit Washington on April 26 to give a dinner to the Illinois delegation in Congress and present a plan for preparedness. Announcement of this impressive manner of convincing the delegation that Illinois industrial leaders are warmly in favor of effective preparation against war was made to-day by John M. Glenn, secretary, who is in Washington.

Whereas the "patriots" of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association therein mentioned are nearly all reaping great financial benefits from the present war in Europe by furnishing ammunition and other war materials, also would reap very large profits if the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States should adopt their so-called "military preparedness" plan; and
Whereas the "patriots" whose ill-gotten profits enable them to hire a special train and arrange for an elaborate dinner in Washington to the members of the Senate and House of Representatives represent numerically a very small portion of our community and do not represent the sentiment of "the people back home" in Chicago; and Whereas the dally press has not given us any record of these self-styled "patriots" of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association rushing to the recruiting station and enlisting in the Army or Navy of the United States since Mexican trouble started at Columbus, N. Mex.: Therefore be it

*Resolved** (by the delegates of the Chicago Federation of Labor, representing 200.000 organized workers of the other of Chicago rehaming the properties of the control of the

United States since Mexican trouble started at Columbus, N. Mex.: Therefore be it

Resolved (by the delegates of the Chicago Federation of Labor, representing 200,000 organized workers of the city of Chicago who are not participating in the profits of war and "military preparedness." but, on the contrary, are suffering from the continued rise in price of necessities of life and the decline of the purchasing power of their wages and salaries, and are therefore unable to hire "special preparedness trains" to proceed to Washington and arrange elaborate dinners for the Members of Congress, in regular meeting assembled). That we condemn this attempt by these self-styled "patriots" of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association to mislead Congress as to the true sentiment of "the people back home"; and be it further

Resolved. That we inform the President of the United States and the Members of Congress of the true sentiment of the "people back home" as expressed in the report of the executive board of the Chicago Federation of Labor on "preparedness," adopted unanimously February 6, 1916 (see Bridgemen's Magazine, p. 170, March number), and which can be found on page 3200 of the Congressional Record of February 18, 1916, and which we hereby reaffirm; and be it further

Resolved. That the Secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor be instructed to send a copy of this resolution to the Hon. Frank Buchanan, requesting him to have same read into the Congressional Record, also a copy to be sent to the President of the United States, to each of the Senators and Members of the House of Representatives from Illinois and to the American Federation of Labor.

JOHN J. WALT, Iron Workers, No. 1, JOHN FLORA, Carpenters, F. G. Horr, Cigar Makers,

CHAS. DOLD, Plano Makers,

CHAS. DOLD, Plano Makers,

Similar resolutions ought to be passed by every union and central

Delegates.

Similar resolutions ought to be passed by every union and central body in the United States and forwarded to the President, Senators, and Congressmen in Washington to let them know what the sentiment of the "people back home" is.

The following article from the Chicago Day Book, April 18, 1916, commenting on the above resolution, is of interest and may help us see the motive that is behind the so-called "patriots" in giving swell dinners to Congressmen:

[Day Book, Chicago, Apr. 18, 1916.]

DANQUETING GAME OLD STUFF-CONGRESSMEN TO FEED WITH

The Illinois delegation in Congress will be guests of 200 members of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association at a banquet in Washington, April 26. The manufacturers left Chicago for the Capital Tuesday morning.

April 26. The manufacturers left Chicago for the Capital Tuesday morning.

Once when the writer of this was working on another paper he was put "hep" to the way this game of banqueting legislators is played. It happened that the big commercial and manufacturing association of the State was giving a banquet to the 200 members of the legislature. The cost was \$5 for each of the 750 plates—for the eats alone—and there was entertainment by a star of the Chicago Grand Opera Co., the most noted moving-picture comedy star of the day, and the stars from many theaters. No drinks were served, because many of the legislators were "dry," but fine booze was passed out free at a special bar in an adjoining room.

The reporter knew that the evening's entertainment was costing the commercial association a little better than \$7,000.

"Why waste so much money?" inquired the reporter of the secretary of the association. The secretary roared with laughter.

"Waste? Waste nothing!" he shouted. "We consider this the best investment of the year. Why, do you know that on either side of every lawmaker at that banquet there sat a member of our association. We have an ax to grind. We want some special legislation that will be a great boon to manufacturers; so we spent \$7,500 on a big feed and fine entertainers to get the legislators in a good humor to listen to us.

"I told you there was an association member on either side of every legislator. Each one of these members was picked for the part. Our legislative experts studied for weeks to find out just how each lawmaker stood on the issues in which we are interested. If he was not favorable to us, we put our best persuaders beside him at the table.

"Don't tell me it was wasting money. We're going to give one every year."

favorable to us, we put our best persuaders beside him at the table.

"Don't tell me it was wasting money. We're going to give one every year."

Before that legislative session was over it passed four of the six bills the association wanted, and would have passed another—a gigantic street franchise steal, but the people got wise and so mad that it dared not put the bill through.

The Illinois Manufacturers' Association is going to send trainloads of members at great cost to Washington to sit beside Illinois Congressmen at the banquet, April 26, to interest the Nation's lawmakers in military preparedness measures which big business wants passed.

The passing of preparedness bills will bring more money to the coffers of Illinois manufacturers who will share in furnishing the extra equipment and ammunition, while it will increase the amount of public guards of private property.

The manufacturers' association admitted that the purpose of the banquet is "to impress on the Congressmen the fact that the business interests of the Middle West are keenly alive to the necessity of a broad general plan of preparedness."

President Samuel M. Hastings, of the association, it is announced, will present a memorial to the members of the delegation containing a plan for preparedness which the manufacturers feel should be indorsed. After summing up the plans of the manufacturers, the Chicago Federation of Labor at their meeting Sunday passed resolutions which wound up with:

"Be it resolved (by the 250,000 organized working people of Chicago who are not profiting by the European war and who will not gain by the 'military and naval preparedness plans,' but, on the contrary, are suffering from a continual rise in prices of the necessities of life, and who are therefore unable to hire special trains and pay for dinners). That we condemn this attempt by these self-styled 'patriots' of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association to mislead Congress as to the true sentiment of the people back home."

The fact of the matter is, these "patr

"You will ask me, Why do you say the shortest possible notice? Because, gentlemen, you can not afford to postpone this thing. I do not know what a single day may bring forth."

And all the "patriots" said, "Amen. Well done, thou faithful servant."

Against the statement of the President let me cite these facts from the Congressional Record, February 7, 1916:

"March 3, 1915, a little more than a year ago, the Congress authorized the construction of two dreadnaughts larger than any nation now owns. Not even one splinter has been laid upon another to begin the construction of these ships, and will not be started until about 1917."

Also the Congressional Record of February 7, 1916, contains the information that 68 warships, which when completed will cost \$185,-000,000, are in process of construction; that the administration—and the "patriots of preparedness"—has never even intimated that it would be pleased it construction were accelerated; and that the men employed on these ships are working only eight hours a day, in face of the fact that it would be perfectly feasible to employ three crews working 24 hours a day. (See Pearson's Magazine, May number, p. 460.)

And so far it is not known that the President has ordered them to hurry up, which he ought to do, if what he said in his speech at Cleveland is true.

Also the "patriots of preparedness" have never hollered for more speed in finishing these warships that have been already authorized and money appropriated for. This proves they are not sincere.

The compaign of these "patriots of preparedness and fear," have other objects in view. These objects are, first, to get the citizens of this country alarmed, and their hearts full of fear, and their brains confused, so they will approve the tactics of these so-called "patriots" in brow-beating Congress to appropriate untold millions for tools of war, while the excitement is on; and that means lots of fat, juley contracts and profits. That is the real reason of "preparedness" of these self-styled "patriots."

Another very important reason is that they hope the workers of this country in all this excitement will forget Ludlow, Colo.; Calumet, Mich.; coal miners' strike in West Virginia; the textile strike in Massachusetts; strike in Paterson, N. J.; and the hundreds of other outrages committed against the workers throughout the United States by these so-called "patriots" of the Manufacturers' Association and Steel Trust, as shown by undisputable testimony of the report of the Industrial Relations Commission, F. P. Walsh, chairman.

The printing of this report, so as to make it available for every citizen, is being held up in the United States Senate by the tools of big business and these "patriots of preparedness."

Another object of these "patriots of preparedness." is to prevent Congress from doing anything that might carry into effect the recommendations of the Industrial Commission, and thereby relieve the intolerable conditions and sufferings of the toilers of America, in the different industries, managed and controlled by these self-admitted "patriots of preparedness," they hope to choke the report to death. Congress will adjourn and nothing will be done, and, if successful, these "patriots" will be satisfied, even if they don't get all they ask for in the "preparedness" program.

By the way, has anybody anywhere seen these "patriots" ask that this material for "preparedness" be produced and manufactured under union conditions, which means under sanitary conditions, an eighthour day, and a living wage, by American citizens? Not so anybody could hear it—not much.

These "patriots" of the Manufacturers' Association and the Steel Trust will insist on their right to work the cheapest scab labor they can get, and, if necessary, import it and work them 12 hours per day, seven days a week, for Chinese wages. A

Therefore the duty of every union man and true American is clear; it is to oppose the efforts of these "patriots of preparedness," and in the coming elections vote against any candidate for office or candidates of any political party that pledge themselves to the program of these "patriots" of the Manufacturers' Association and Steel Trust. Every union in the different States and central bodies ought to prepare resolutions and send them to the Senators and Congressmen from their State, demanding the printing of sufficient copies of the report of the Industrial Relations Commission, and that some immediate action be taken to carry out the recommendations contained therein.

Don't delay. Congress will adjourn before very long. At the next meeting of your union instruct your secretary to write a communication, as suggested above, to your Congressmen and Senators.

J. J. Walt.

J. J. WALT.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAMUEL M. TAYLOR. OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 17, 1916.

Mr. TAYLOR of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, on the 23d of February last there appears in the Congressional Record a speech I made on rural credits. This speech I circulated among the people of my district, and in response I was astounded to know the interest our farmers felt touching rural-credit legislation. I did not know then just exactly what the features of legislation on this subject would be, but I indicated in that speech what legislation I thought would meet with the approval of the farmer. The pending bill is not just what I would like to see passed, but every great measure must have a beginning, and this bill is a step toward granting Federal aid to assist the great farming classes of this Nation. It has been discussed for months before the great Banking and Currency Committee of the House, and among its membership are found farmers. This bill, when it passes, will be the result of a compromise. It is new legislation in this Government, and the fact that it is a compromise should not discredit the measure, because even the Constitution of our great Government was the result of a compromise among men.

Aid to enable farmers to procure money to purchase homes and to carry on agricultural pursuits has been extended by every enlightened Government save our own. We have extended Government aid in one form or another to every line of business except agriculture. Millions of acres of public lands were given away to corporations to induce them to build railroads, and it is high time that the farmers and agriculturists of this country should be aided in their efforts to feed their families and the people of this Nation by our great Government. The matter of farm loans has been one that has engaged the attention of Members of Congress for some time and it is of vital importance to all sections of the country. I have listened to many arguments in regard to the best plan for help. I was born and reared on a farm. Farming was the principal industry of my native State. The farmer does not care so much whether we have 1 farm-loan bank or 12. Many of the features of this bill may not appeal to him, and especially those features which are administrative, but he will want to know whether the bill will permit him to borrow money on his land at a low rate of interest, and that, too, for a long time, with option to pay the debt any time within a reasonable period. This bill provides rightly along that line. What the farmer wants is results, and he cares little about theories. He is willing to pay his debts and pay interest thereon, and he feels, when he borrows money to help in conducting his business—and the farmer is a business man—and he pays a rate of interest when he needs to borrow money too high for money hired than he should have to pay, considering the fact that he offers the finest character of security and the further fact that he needs to borrow for a term of years rather than for a few months. The product of his labor usually comes to him in the fall or at the end of the year, and his opportunity for canceling his indebtedness as the result of his labor does not come to him as often as it does to other business men.

I am going to vote for this bill because it is the first step taken by the Government looking to long-time loans. Of course, the system proposed will have to become familiar to the farmers and the system understood, and as time passes needed features will be amended by Congress that may now be probably overlooked. Every new problem necessarily has to have a beginning, and as the years roll by the system now entered upon will be satisfactorily worked out. There will be no turning backward, because the borrowing and farming classes of the American people will never be satisfied until rural credits is firmly established in the laws of the land.

Agriculture is not a State institution but is a national affair. This great Government must help to aid the building of farms and homes and add to the joy, contentment, and happiness of this great class of our grand people who have embraced agriculture as an occupation. Young men must be encouraged in their desire to enter the occupation of agriculture. They would like to follow in the footsteps of their fathers and gain a home whereby he may depend only upon the blessings of God upon his honest industry. Farming is of great importance, as it controls the prosperity, the character, and independence of our country. It is indeed the most certain source of strength, wealth, and independence. This bill offers a meeting place for the person with money to loan and the person who desires to borrow that money. It appears to help both of these people and the class to which each belongs. It will not harm or hurt those of other classes because the success and prosperity of the whole Nation with its interests hinges largely upon the success and properity of those who till the soil. Make him prosperous and he will carry prosperity as a blessing to the fireside of every citizen—rich and poor, high and low.

Mr. Speaker, the one hope of the American people to-day is rural credits—the brand of rural credits that will really lower interest rates to American borrowers. None other will satisfy them; none other with approval will they accept. There have been presented to Congress many bills dealing with this subject. Some of them are weird, fantastical, and could never come true. Some of them advocate that the Federal Government shall furnish money to the American farmers without adequate security, and some of them with practically no security at all. On the other hand, bills are pending and have been introduced by men who do not in truth and in fact believe in a rural-credits system at all. These bills are usually found to be mere makeshifs, that look good upon their faces, but which in truth and in reality would render no positive relief to the farmer whatever.

The President of the United States during the consideration

The President of the United States during the consideration of the Owen-Glass currency bill promised in words loud, clear, distinct, and emphatic that he would stand for and aid in the passage of a rural-credits bill.

Mr. Speaker, under the provisions of the pending bill an appropriation of \$9,000,000 is made, which will finance the rural-credit banking system. It is believed millions of dollars necessary to supply the demand for farm loans will come into the treasury of the rural-credit banks by the sale of bonds which will be issued on the lands of the farmers who may deposit their land mortgages with these banks. This \$9,000,000 furnished by the Government may be increased to \$180,000,000, because the Federal land banks are granted the privilege of selling farm-loan bonds equal to the amount of twenty times its capital. The joint-land banks mentioned are granted the same privilege and the amount equal to fifteen times its capital and surplus.

METHOD OF RURAL-CREDITS BANKS.

 The rural-credits board located in Washington, composed of three members, has complete control and supervision of the rural-credits banks.

2. The United States is divided into 12 districts. The 12 banks, located centrally in these districts, are known as Federal land banks. The minimum capital stock of the Federal land banks is \$750,000. The stock in the Federal land bank is placed on the market for sale. If not purchased in 90 days, the Government purchases the stock sufficient to finance the institution. The Government will not share in the profits. The stockholders of the Federal land banks share in the profits.

3. Local organizations are authorized and chartered. These local organizations are known as national farm-loan associations. The national farm-loan association is composed exclusively of borrowers. No person not a borrower can become a member of the farm-loan association. Ten farmers desiring to borrow can organize this association. The membership is unlimited, but must contain not less than 10. The local association shall elect five directors. The association shall also elect a president, vice president, loan committee of three, and a secretary-treasurer. No officer of the local association shall receive a salary except the secretary-treasurer.

HOW LOANS ARE SECURED.

Loans are secured by organizing a national farm-loan association composed of 10 or more farmers desiring to secure loans. The minimum loan is \$100, and the maximum is \$10,000. The borrower is required to make application for a loan accompanied with subscription for stock in the local association. For this stock he pays \$5 per share. One share authorizes a loan of \$100. If a borrower desires a loan of \$1,000, he must purchase 10 shares, or \$50 worth of stock. This purchase of stock is not a cash transaction unless borrowers so desire, but is added to the loan and paid with other deferred payments. The application, subscription of stock, and description of land is forwarded to the Federal land bank. The Federal land bank orders an examination of title and appraisement of the land. If the appraisement is satisfactory and the title good, the loan is made and the money sent to the secretary-treasurer of the local association to be paid to borrower.

AMOUNT, INTEREST RATE, AND TERMS.

The borrower may secure 60 per cent of the value of the land and 20 per cent of the value of improvement on the land, making a total of 80 per cent. The amount of interest charged depends on the sale of the bonds. In no case can the interest exceed 6 per cent, and it is expected that the rate will be less. The deferred payments may be from 5 to 36 years, as desired by borrower.

REPAYMENT (AMORTIZATION) PLAN.

The principal and interest is paid annually. These annual payments contain both principal and interest, called amortization payments. Under the present system of loaning money the interest only is collected on deferred payments. For instance, should a loan be made for \$1,000 at 6 per cent for the term of 20 years, at the end of 20 years \$1,200 will have been paid in annual payments as interest and the \$1,000 principal remains unpaid. If the interest rate charged should be 8 per cent on \$1,000, for 20 years the annual interest payments would amount to \$1,600, and the principal of \$1,000 would still be unpaid at the end of 20 years. The amortization plan provided in the bill will be easily understood by the following table, showing loan on \$1,000 for 20 years at 5 per cent:

Annual periods.	Total annual payment.	Interest at 5 per cent.	Paid on principal.	Amount of prin- cipal still unpaid.
1	\$80, 24	\$50,00	\$30, 24	\$969,76
2		48, 48	31.75	938, 00
3	80.24	46, 90	33, 34	904. 67
4	80, 24	45, 23	35, 01	869.66
5		43, 48	36, 76	832, 90
6		41.64	38, 59	794.31
7	80, 24	39, 71	40.52	753, 79
8	80, 24	37.68	42.55	711, 23
9		35, 56	44, 68	663, 56
10		33, 32	46, 91	619, 64
11	80, 24	30, 98	49, 26	570.39
12	80, 24	28, 51	51.72	518.67
13	80, 24	25, 93	54, 31	*464.36
14	80.24	23. 21	57.02	407.34
15	80. 24	20.36	59.87	347. 46
16	80.24	17.37	62.87	284.60
17	80.24	14.23	66.01	218.59
18	80. 24	10.93	69.31	149.28
19	80.24	7.46	72.78	76.50
20	80. 24	3, 82	76.50	
Total	1,604.80	604.80	1,000.00	

It will be seen by this calculation on the amortization plan that \$1,604.80 will pay both principal and interest.

LIABILITY OF THE BORROWER.

The farmer is interested in knowing his personal responsibility before becoming a stockholder in the national farm-loan association. The borrower is liable for 10 per cent of the amount of his loan. In other words, he is liable for double the amount of his stock. If he borrows \$1,000, he owns 5 shares. The shares represent \$50. His liability can not exceed double that amount, or \$100, on \$1,000. The stock owned by the borrower is filed with the association, and when the debt is discharged the value of the stock and accumulated dividends must be paid the borrower.

HOW MONEY IS SECURED FROM BONDS.

When loans are made bonds are sold in the markets to the highest bidder. The borrower does not get the same rate for which the bonds are sold; 1 per cent is retained by the Federal land banks to be used in paying expenses first and then dividends on outstanding stock. As business increases and bond sales are very large the stock of investors in the farm-land banks are retired, and it is represented that the investors' stock will be retired in a few years. When the investors' stock is eliminated, then the borrowers' stock will draw the dividends and there will be no investors' stock participating in the dividends, and the borrowers' stock becomes valuable as an invest-

If bonds sell for 4 per cent, the borrower's loan will be for 5 per cent. If the bonds sell for 4½ per cent, the interest of loan will be 5½ per cent, and so on. No interest charged the borto the price of the bonds sold. Funds are secured by the sale of bonds to loan the farmers. The farm mortgages of individuals desiring loans are assembled into collective security, and upon this collective security farm bonds are issued and sold. bonds are sound and safe, and should sell as well as Government bonds.

GOVERNMENT AID.

The Government appropriates \$9,000,000 to assure the organization of the rural-credit system. This may be used before funds are obtained by the sale of bonds. The board is also authorized to call on the Secretary of the Treasury for Government deposits in case the Federal land banks need assistance.

Furthermore, the Government pays the salaries of officers of the Federal land banks and the expenses of such banks, and exempts all stock and bonds of the rural-credit banks from tax-

PURPOSES OF LOANS.

Loans may be made to purchase land, equipment, live stock, general farm improvement, and pay off indebtedness on farm. If the borrower uses the money for other purposes, a penalty is imposed and the loan becomes due. No person not engaged in farming or in good faith intending to become an actual farmer can secure a loan or become a member of the farm-loans associa-

The foregoing contains a brief synopsis of the rural-credit bill, to which the Government contributes financial aid in money.

JOINT-STOCK LAND BANKS.

The bill also authorizes the organization of joint-stock companies for the purpose of making loans on farms. The Government contributes no money to the joint-stock company and purchases no stock of same. Joint-stock land banks are organized and financed by persons seeking the stock of the bank as an investment. The capital stock must be at least \$250,000 paid-in cash before a charter is granted. The joint-stock bank is authorized to issue bonds on land mortgage in the same manner as the Federal land banks. The interest rate charged by the jointstock company shall not exceed 6 per cent. The interest charged shall not exceed 1 per cent over the amount of interest for which the bonds were sold. If the bonds sell for 4 per cent the interest charged shall be 5 per cent, and so on.

CAPITAL STOCK IS TAXABLE.

The joint-land banks are relieved of tax in the same manner the Federal land banks are relieved, except the capital stock of the joint-land banks may be taxed. They operate on the same principle. The material difference consists in the fact that Federal land banks are operated by the Government, and the borrowing farmer gets the profits, while in the joint-stock company the borrower does not share in the profits, and all dividends are paid to the shareholders who invested their money in the joint-stock company. No stock is issued to the borrower in the joint-stock company. The borrower has no liability for losses in the joint-stock company. Instead of giving the borrower the same interest for which bonds are sold, 1 per cent more is

charged the borrower. After paying the expenses this 1 per cent belongs to the borrower under the Federal land banking system, while in the joint-stock company the 1 per cent is applied to investors' stock after paying expenses. The borrower owns the Federal land banks. He is not only interested in repaying his loan, but he is interested in the proper management of the Federal land banks and his local organization because of the value of his stock. The borrower is not interested in the dividends of the joint-land banks and assumes no responsibility for losses.

This bill, I sincerely trust, when enacted into law, will be attractive to the farmers and will help to lift the burdens from the backs of those who go forth at early dawn to labor for their loved ones and become prosperous and will help to bring forth products that feed and clothe the family of man. If this legis-lation proves successful, this Congress will have made for itself

an enduring fame.

In Support of H. J. Res. 199, Opposing the Withdrawal of the United States Troops from Mexico and Authorizing and Directing the President to Send Such Reenforcement as May be Necessary to Accomplish the Purposes of the Expedition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JEFF: McLEMORE.

OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 19, 1916.

Mr. McLEMORE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following, which I find in a newspaper published in New York and called "Issues and Events":

> AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT WILSON. (By William Kennedy.)

> > WASHINGTON, D. C., May 4, 1916.

Mr. President, the path to power leads through Parral. To you, guided by that political idealism which has made American diplomacy throughout your administration such a shining exception to the diplomatic standards of the Old World, this would have no appeal if the path to power did not coincide with the road of righteousness. But they do coincide, and both

lead past Parral.

Your Mexican policy, first and last, has been subjected to such criticism as seldom assails any measures undertaken by the responsible heads of government. Innumerable selfish influences have united to make your path hard. That you have made mis-takes you, of course, would be the first to admit, but the great masses of the simple, straight-thinking people of the country have credited you with full justice. I, for instance, a plain citizen, disagree with your course in many matters, yet feel that you were right in refusing to recognize the assassin Huerta. You may have been hasty in sending the fleet to Vera Cruz, and you may have sacrificed something of national pride when you withdrew our forces from that city, and yet history will acknowledge that you served humanity and advanced political standards by bringing Huerta to an end by patient insistence, with a minimum of bloodshed. Many of us felt uncomfortable as you negotiated with the arrogant and stubborn Carranza on the one hand and the bloodstained Villa on the other; but future generations of Americans will acknowledge that you did what you did in the spirit of a sincere friend to a stricken sister Republic. History, too, will sustain your recognition of Carranza. Every calculable circumstance indicated that he had got a firm grip of power, was actuated by high ideals and supported by able men, commanded the greatest support among his people, and was most likely to advance that people in prosperity and peace. Your decision on that point was unassailable; the question is, has not Carranza failed—failed miserably and culpably? And if so, is not a sharp turn in our national policy necessary?

No one can doubt that you have the courage to acknowledge a mistake. The Nation looks to you now, its patience with Mexican conditions exhausted, to acknowledge and to rectify it. The path of just and legitimate national prestige leads through

Carranza has not mastered Mexico and never can. Many States of his country do not know his power at all, or yield it

merely a mock homage. The humane causes which he was expected to advance to the good of the long-suffering peon have not been advanced, but a rulnous and unjust confiscation of property and of industrial plants necessary to the development of Mexico seems to be on the program. Liberty has not been reestablished; no elections have tested the opinions of the people; and a bitter assault has been made not merely on one church but on all religion. Banditry has not been ended; and as a result of the weakness and indifference of the Carranza government the outlaw Francisco Villa found the opportunity to actually raid American territory, killing American soldiers, murdering and wounding American men and women, and burning an American town. Your instant action to punish the perpetrators of that deed was worthy of a vigorous Chief Executive and guardian of the Nation. Without a dissenting voice the people approved of it. They approved, too, your determination not to infringe the sovereignty of Mexico. But since then events have moved swiftly and tragically. The world and the American people have learned much. They have learned that Mexico is indeed distracted and disrupted, a widespread anarchy with no sovereignty to respect, with so much gone irretrievably wrong that only action by you on an even higher plane of courage and idealism can restore that sovereignty, and recreate, by American labor, even by American blood, a something which we can call Mexico and acknowledge anew as a sister Republic. The proof was given at Parral.

If the attack upon our troops at Parral had been merely a tragic outbreak of irresponsible people we could have overlooked it. But it was an attack made by the military forces of the government of Gen. Venustiano Carranza. high in authority ordered it; but the people of this country are only too painfully impressed with the obvious fact that after the act it had and has the full approval of Gen. Carranza and They have vouchsafed no word of sorrow; his lieutenants. they have made no apology. The blood of our brave soldiers does not haunt their minds. The only comment they have made on the occurrence is an impudent demand that we recognize in it a compelling reason to suspend the national purpose, to give up the chase of the invader of our borders and the murderer of our people; and to that argument they add the sinister threat of an all too obvious mobilization of their barbarous armies before and behind our punitive expedition. They little understand Americans, Mr. President, or Americanism as embodied in you. The path for America lies through Parral.

The exact measure of Gen. Carranza and his "government" has been given. No matter who refuses at this time to recognize it, the treacherous shots which greeted our unarmed and trusting troops at Parral have sounded the death knell of that "government." The American people infinitely prefer that you should recognize that fact; they prefer your conduct of the necessary business, which opens in prospect before us, to the conduct of some other aspiring citizens. They rejoice at the decision you have already taken not to order our brave soldiers, in whose splendid conduct they take a legitimate pride, to turn tail and slink home under the orders of Gen. Carranza. But the American people demand yet more. They demand that the word shall be "Forward—forward through Parral!"

Beyond Parral is Pancho Villa. Far from being in any danger of capture or death at the hands of the Carranza "government," he is deliberately sheltered and aided by the military forces and the officials of that "government"; and so he will be sheltered and aided until the mad hatred borne by that people toward Americans is ended by whatever means may be necessary. We are in no danger, at least under your guidance, of turning our operations into the conquest of tyranny and greed. One thing we may have to do; hold northern Mexico for awhile and reestablish civilization there. But one thing we MUST do; go onward through Parral to kill or capture Villa.

Whatever that may involve we must accept. Murder, arson, and military attacks within our own borders we can not, with the sublimest magnanimity, permit. The perpetrators of those crimes we should and we must punish, if it takes us not merely past Parral but to Tehuantepec. Any other course would make us traitors to that cause of human rights which you have given a new meaning and a new dignity and power in international affairs. You need not fear that the American people will read in such a determination anything of that selfishness which you have repudiated as a guiding motive in the conduct of nations. The American people will be with you if you go on through Parral—with you as never before.

To-day the people are uneasy in their minds; only their confidence in you keeps uneasiness from being a great fear. The whole people approve of your services to humanity in curbing war-inflamed nations across and on the ocean, recalling them to a sense of the rights and immunities of nonbelligerents. But

millions of the American people feel that you have done all in that way that is humanly possible. A further step which, as that way that is humanly possible. A further step which, as you admit, might lead us to the verge, nay, over the verge, of war, is sincerely dreaded and abhorred by millions. The American people will credit you with the great and inestimable results you have accomplished; but the shadow of a tragic error will cloud your fame if now, by insisting on more than nations battling for their lives can grant, you permit us to be drawn into that very war which your attitude has done most to rebuke. The American people would prefer that individuals forego some modicum of unessential privilege rather than that the whole Nation should sever an historic friendship and enter the ghastly arena of the great war against a people who have injured us only inadvertently; in which case, too, we would in-evitably become the allies of other nations whose equal wrongs against us you and your Secretary of State have so thoroughly exposed. But in Mexico we have a real cause, a national cause, a cause about which there is no difference of opinion from one corner of the country to another. Pursue that labor unflinchingly and every able man will be at your service, every State will gladly call on its militia to assist you, every mother will gladly send her son.

Beyond Parral is Pancho Villa. After him our troops must go. Whoever blocks our way must be treated as a national enemy according to the rules of war. The blood be upon them if they force the shedding of blood.

And if the dictates of duty, nay, of idealism itself, point past Parral, may one not point out to you how other reasons support that plan? Past Parral lies the end of the criticism which has assailed your Mexican policy. Past Parral the clamor of the selfish interests which have tried in vain to swerve you from your course can not sound. Past Parral lies the end of all doubt and all division.

The path to the Presidency leads through Parral.

The Agricultural Department and the Farmers.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FINLY H. GRAY.

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 2, 1916.

Mr. GRAY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, the problem of practical agriculture will never be solved by the education of a few boys in the agricultural schools of the States, nor by the occasional visit of an agricultural expert or special agent, nor by the annual tour of an agricultural car through a farming community making short stops for brief instructions to the farmers. The great body of the farmers of the country must be reached for instruction and cooperation in their everyday farming operations.

The necessity of bringing the Agricultural Department and the State institutions in closer relationship with the farmers and actual farm operations is at once realized from an examination of many department publications, reporting experiments and demonstrations conducted for the information and instruction of the farmers of the country.

Farmers, being without opportunity otherwise to avail themselves of the information and benefits of the Agricultural Department and schools, subscribe for these publications, only to find that many of the experiments and demonstrations reported had been conducted at specially and elaborately equipped agricultural stations, and while interesting and of general scientific value, much of the information and instruction could not be followed or carried into practical use with the common and ordinary facilities with which farms are provided and the prevailing conditions under which farm operations are generally conducted.

The activities of the Agricultural Department must be brought into closer touch with the actual farm operations, and experiments and demonstrations, to be of practical use and value to the farmers, must be conducted with facilities and under conditions prevailing generally upon the farms of the country.

tions prevailing generally upon the farms of the country.

While it is not possible for a department of the Government to establish and maintain relationship with the great number of farmers of the community as individuals, it is practical to reach and cooperate with them through farm organizations in bodies.

The Agricultural Department must be extended to include a system of local farm organizations, under which every farmer

in his own community will be afforded an opportunity to attach himself to and become a part of the Agricultural Department, and thereby avail himself of the benefits of the information and instruction afforded and the advantages of all the new and im-

proved methods of agriculture.

To establish this closer relationship of the Agricultural Department with the farmers of the country it is not necessary that the farmers should go to Washington, nor is it necessary to reorganize the whole Agricultural Department, the growth and development of years, to reach and carry on its operations

with the farmers.

Taking the Agricultural Department, as now organized and constituted, and the farmers of the country, with their practical experience in conducting their own neighborhood and community affairs and providing for a system of local organizations through which the farmers can act in bodies and adding a bureau in the Agricultural Department to coordinate with such organizations, and a system of scientific agriculture and practical farming is established.

Flood-Control Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL, OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 17, 1916.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, this House is voting to-day for the flood-control bill, because it realizes that the time has come to take definite steps to relieve conditions along the Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers. The damage caused by flood in one part of the country has its reaction and consequent results in all other parts of our land. The day of sectionalism as an argument is slowly but surely passing away, never to return. We are daily seeing evidence that such arguments are not only valueless for advancing the cause of the one who raises it but meets at all times the emphatic disapproval of all reasonable and intelligent men. Those who have the best interests of the Nation at heart do not make inquiry as to which particular city or State is to be benefited by the legislation, but is it a measure that deserves the support of Congress?

Closely allied with this kind of legislation should be the improvement of New York Harbor and the deepening of the Hudson River, because the benefits to be derived therefrom are

national and not local.

New York State has to-day one-tenth of the Nation's population. Every broad-minded citizen who does his own thinking and studies what is best for the United States knows that the prosperity of New York State is reflected in every other part of the Union, and that when citizens of the State of New York, regardless of party, plead for these improvements they are asking for what is bound to help the whole country.

The history of the improvement of the Hudson River has been fully described by Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, and I quote therefrom

at length:

IMPROVEMENT OF THE HUDSON.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE HUDSON.

If the statistics of commerce on American lakes, rivers, and harbors were more strictly classified, one might more surely determine the relative commercial importance of our many navigable waterways. Some of our river improvements are in reality harbor improvements, and the tonnage reported can not under present legislation, distinguish between river and harbor traffic; but a separate calculation of the commerce of New York Bay and the Hudson River apparently indicates that the Hudson carries the largest volume of river traffic, as distinguished from ocean-going traffic, on any American stream.

The nature of the river makes its improvement for modern commercial requirements a comparatively easy matter, and the existence along its banks of the world's busiest seaport, the terminals of the reconstructed Eric Canal, and of most of the transcontinental railroad lines gives any project for its improvement almost a national significance. The navigable section of the river extends from the Battery at New York City to Waterford, the terminus of the Barge Canal, a distance of about 155 miles. Of this section the greater part is natural deep water, the river flowing through a longitudinal crack, or fault, in the earth's surface and being a flord rather than a river. At only two places between New York and Hudson, 117 miles, are there any obstructions of the navigable channel, and these consist of sand bars easily and cheaply dredged through.

The principal sources of the Hudson River lie in the wildest portion of the Adirondack Mountains, in Essex County, northeastern New York. A number of branches, any one of which might possibly be considered the main stream, form its upper waters; but if the highest collected and permanent body of water be assumed as the true head, then the source of the Hudson becomes Lake Tear-of-the-Clouds, which lies at an elevation of 4,822 feet above tide, in the center of the

The river flows rather irregularly southward until it reaches the northern boundary of Saratoga County, where it makes a sharp turn and flows eastward for about 12 miles, passing through the mountains and forming, as it cuts across the rocky strata, several falls of great height and beauty. At Sandy Hill, just below Glens Falls, it makes another abrupt turn and flows southward, continuing in this direction until it empties into New York Bay.

From Lake Tear-of-the-Clouds to the mouth of the river the distance by water is probably about 300 miles. The total area drained is 13,366 square miles. The river is tidal to Troy, the head of navigation.

The headwater region is mountainous in character, is in general heavily wooded, and is dotted with numerous lakes and ponds. The rocks, belonging to the oldest formation, and mainly granitic, are either bare or covered only with a layer of spruce duff, humus, and forest litter. The river emerges from the mountain region a few miles west of Glens Falls, and thence to Troy the topography is moderately rolling and the surface soil is chiefly almost sand. Below Troy the river follows the great depression which extends almost due north and south between New York Bay and the St. Lawrence, flowing in an open valley bordered by well-cultivated lands, which rise with moderate slope from the stream. The Catskill Mountain region is reached 20 to 30 miles below Albany, and thence to the mouth of the river the immediate valley is flanked by high hills, the highlands of Orange County, and the precipitous Palisades being especially noticeable.

The commercial value of the Hudson River is clearly based on its history in past ages, and it is readily understood from a study of its geological structure how the river came to be the only practicable water route between the Atlantic seaboard and the great interior. At no other point in the Appalachian chain is there any such depression through the mountains themselves or any such submergence of a tidal stream.

HARBOR IMPROVEMENTS.

through the mountains themselves or any such submergence of a tidal stream.

HARBOR IMPROVEMENTS.

The first appropriation made for the improvement of New York Harbor was in 1884, and amounted to \$200,000. It was for deepening Gedney Channel through Sandy Hook Bar. There was no survey or estimate, and the work was experimental. In 1886 Congress appropriated \$750,000 for a 30-foot channel, 1,000 feet wide at mean low water at the Sandy Hook entrance, and in the same year a plan was approved for a permanent 30-foot channel to cost \$1,490,000. This project was completed in 1891. The total length of the improvement is about 10½ miles.

In 1899 Congress appropriated \$1,000,000 and authorized continuing contracts up to \$3,000,000 additional for a 40-foot channel 2,000 feet wide. This cost limit was increased in 1907 to \$5,148,510. This new project, which is known as the Ambrose Channel, is now the principal entrance to the harbor of New York, the earlier Sandy Hook Channel being maintained to its full depth but not necessarily to its full project width. The total length of the improvement is about 73 miles. Other entrances are the Coney Island and the Bay Ridge and Red Hook Channelse on the eastern side of the harbor. The Coney Island Channel, being mainly for local traffic, is of smaller dimensions, the depth being 14 feet and the width 400 feet. Work was completed in 1905 at a total expenditure of about \$17,500.

The Bay Ridge and Red Hook improvement was first adopted in 1881, the project providing for a depth of 18 feet and a width of 200 feet, providing an entrance to the Eric Basin and the south Brooklyn docks. In 1887 this channel, then only half finished, was found to be insufficient and Congress in 1888 suthorized the enlargement of the project to a depth of 21 feet and 400 feet wide. This project was completed in 1895 at a cost of \$410,000. By act of 1894 the improvement was further enlarged to a depth of 26 feet and a width of 800 feet in the triangular area at the channel bend was also included. This prov

IMPROVEMENT OF THE RIVER.

Improvement of the river for harbor purposes began in 1875 and consisted mainly in the removal of obstructions to attain a depth of 40 feet. The present project, which was adopted in 1913, contemplates a 30-foot channel, 800 feet wide, from Ellis Island to Hoboken; the removal of a shoal off Hoboken to a depth of 40 feet; a 26-foot channel, 550 feet wide, along Weehawken; the removal of ledge rock off the Battery to a depth of 40 feet; the removal of a shoal on the east side between Nineteenth and Thirty-second Streets to a 40-foot depth, and of an obstruction north of Spuyten Duyvil Creek to retain uniform depth. The estimated cost of this improvement was \$1.570,000. The Jersey City-Hoboken Channel is about 3 miles long and the Weehawken about 5 miles.

Between New York City and Hudson, about 117 miles north of the Battery, the river is a submerged stream, having natural depth sufficient for ordinary purposes of navigation, except at a few points, as at Haverstraw Bay, where there are shoals requiring some dredging. Between Hudson and the northern limit of improvement at Waterford, where connection is made with the barge canal, the river, although far from the ocean, is really at its delta stage, being much obstructed by gravel and silt brought down from the mountains and occasionally by rock. It is this section of about 38 miles which is comprised within the present project of improvement to barge canal depth of 12 feet, and for which the cities of Albany and Troy are agitating for further improvement, such as to enable freight transfers at the head of the river as well as at the mouth.

From 1797 until 1834 the State of New York undertook such improvement of the river as was thought necessary, and from 1834 until

1892 the State and Federal Governments worked on the project jointly, both in dredging and the construction of jetties. Originally, there was a depth as far north as Hudson of about 25 feet, between Hudson and Coxsackie about 12 feet, falling off to about 7½ feet at Albany and 3½ to 4 feet above Albany. At Troy the State of New York in 1823 built a dam in the pool, above which connection was made with the Eric Canal. There was a tidal range at Troy of about 1 foot, Albany 2 feet, and Hudson 3 feet.

The first project of improvement was adopted in 1834, and on this as modified in 1852 and 1866 the Government spent \$1.667.938 to secure a depth of 9 feet between Troy and Albany and 11 feet between Albany and New Baltimore. This included both dredging longitudinal dikes and intersecting cross dams. The second project, adopted in 1892 and modified in 1899, provided for additional dikes and dredging to secure a depth of 12 feet from Coxsackie to the Troy Dam. Upon completion of this work in 1910 a total of \$5.466,752 had been expended by the United States.

PRESENT PROJECT OF IMPROVEMENT.

completion of this work in 1910 a total of \$5,460,732 had been expended by the United States.

PRESENT PROJECT OF IMPROVEMENT.

The present project was adopted in 1910 and will provide a channel 12 feet deep from Hudson to Waterford, including the temoval of the old State dams and construction of a new lock and dam at Troy. This work was first planned to be done by the State of New York in its Barge Canal project, but the Federal Government after some discussion with the State authorities finally decided to exercise its exclusive jurisdiction over the river and to meintain control as far as the Barge Canal locks at Waterford. The 12-foot channel is to be 200 feet wide from Waterford to the Troy Dam and 400 feet below the dam, being wider at all bends. It is also to be widened to form harbors in front of the cities of Athany and Troy.

The original estimate of cost was about \$5,200,000. There was some delay pending adjustment of jurisdiction with the State authorities, and this, with some enlargement of the dra and additional rock excavation, brought the estimate to \$7,530,000. By this work the tidal range at Troy and Albamy becomes about 3 feet and at Hudson about 4 feet.

The most impressive part of the upper Hudson improvement is the great concrete dam and lock at Troy. Although structural work on the data of the second of

That all citizens, regardless of party affiliations, are in favor of the improvements that I have referred to are shown by the statements made by ex-Gov. Martin H. Glynn and by the present governor, Charles S. Whitman.

Mr. Glynn says:

Mr. Glynn says:

The cost of improving the tidal Hudson to accommodate sea-going vessels is a nominal one compared with the enormous resulting advantages to the country at large. If the improvement is to be made to accommodate sea-going vessels, the saving in freight rates on local and inland commerce on freight handled and regulated as a result of the improvement will, in one year, pay for the entire cost of the project.

The "trongest reasons for deepening the Hudson are national and not local. A deeper fludson would attract to the United States a goodly part of the grain movement from the West and Northwest, which is now so profitable to Canadian harbors. The present rate structure for large tonnage to the West from Albany is only 80 per cent of what it is from New York City or Boston. On sixth-class business this means a difference of \$1.05 a ton, which would amply pay for a boat for the trip from New York City to Albany. Terminal and dock charges would be much less in Albany than in New York, and this difference would increase the saving \$1.05 a ton by a considerable margin. But this \$1.05 is the smallest saving. This 80 per cent charge from Albany of what it is from Boston or New York would save millions and millions every year to the shippers and consumers of the whole country.

If this freight could be brought to Albany by water \$3.15 would be saved on the present charges on every ton of first-class freight; \$2.74 on every ton of second-class freight; \$2.11 on every ton of third-class freight; \$1.48 on every ton of fourth-class freight; \$1.26 on every ton of fifth-class freight, and \$1.05 on every ton of sixth-class freight. It

does not require much imagination to see what an immense sum these savings would mean to the people of the country at large.

As New York spent \$200,000,000 on its canals for the benefit of the Nation, so New York asks Uncle Sam to expend a few millions—and just a few—not for the benefit of this valley or this State, but for the benefit of the commercial welfare of this country and the individual prosperity of its citizenry. When God gave this Nation the Hudson River lie gave it a priceless gift. For any Government to allow parsimony or faise economy to stand in the way of the use of this priceless gift, to its fullest extent, is bad business and worse statesmanship. If red tape stands in the way, strangle red tape. If moss-covered precedent stands in the way, brush off the moss. If hypercritical technicalities stand in the way, banish them and substitute common sense.

critical technicalities stand in the way, banish them and substitute common sense.

The water is here, the business is here. New York has brought its great canal here—now let Uncle Sam bring the ocean to the end of the canal. The Panama Canal has rung the death knell of small water craft. New York gave more to build the Panama Canal than any other dozen States. To wed the Panama Canal to the barge canal of New York we need a 27-foot channel in the Hudson from Troy to Hudson, and no niggardly policy, no denial of a proper dowry, no refusal of consent on the part of Uncle Sam should prevent this wedding. Again, I submit the strong reasons for a 27-foot channel in the Hudson River are not municipal, sectional, or State—they are National.

Gov. Charles S. Whitman says:

The State of New York has spent nearly \$200,000,000 upon canal construction. This is not alone for the benefit of New York, but is of direct benefit to all the States bordering on the Great Lakes.

From New York City to the city of Hudson the Hudson River is deep enough to accommodate the vessels of our constwise trade. It is but a matter of 30 miles of insufficient channel depth that separates the terminus of our great canal system from these seagoing vessels. With our enlarged canal it is expected that the commerce reaching the Hudson will amount to \$15,000,000 a year, and the proposed increase in depth for a bare 30 miles will place these cargoes directly upon our ocean-going ships for distribution throughout the world.

world.

It is expected that the new barge canal will accommodate vessels adapted as well to novigate the Lakes so that a large part of the freight originating at and adjacent to points along the Great Lakes can be brought to the Hudson River by water without breaking bulk. It has been estimated that freight thus handled can be brought to Albany for about one-tenth the present rate of rail transportation.

To enable seagoing vessels to tap direct the arreries of commerce is an advantage that requires no demonstration. To make the eastern terminus of our canal system available to seagoing vessels would benefit not only the section directly served but the entire country.

It is a matter of common complaint that the port facilities at New York City are inadequate for present commerce and the cost of providing suitable facilities is so high as to make it almost prohibitive.

Mr. Speaker, this House has done its duty to-day to those

Mr. Speaker, this House has done its duty to-day to those who are directly interested with the improvements of the Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers and I hope that this House will now give its attention to the urgent necessity of deepening the Hudson River and providing for the necessary deepening of the East River, as well as for the proper dredging of the channel near Hell Gate. It is only by widening and deepening the channels already mentioned by me that transportation between the whole Gulf and southern seaboard and New England can be made cheaper.

The Monroe Dectrine as a Factor in International Peace.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND, OF MISSOURI.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Monday, May 22, 1916.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent of the House of Representatives I herewith insert an address which I delivered at the conference on international arbitration, at Mohonk Lake, N. Y., Friday, May 19, 1916.

The address is as follows: THE MONROE DOCTRINE AS A FACTOR IN INTERNATIONAL PEACE. (By WILLIAM P. BORLAND, M. C.)

It is now nearly a century since the Monroe doctrine, so called, was announced by an American President in a purely domestic State document, an annual message to Congress

In the century of its life our conception of this great pronouncement has grown. By "our" I mean to include not only the citizens of this Republic, but of both Americas and of Europe as well. From an announcement of a policy of our own Government it has gradually and inevitably become, if not actually a part of international law, yet a principle to be reckoned with in all of the international politics of the Western Hemisphere. The original meaning of the doctrine, read in the light of the age which gave it birth, is clear and comparatively narrow in its scope. At the time it was announced Europe had passed through two generations of revolutions, the birth pangs of modern liberal thought and popular government. A con-certed effort was made by the reactionaries, who represented

political privilege and the divine right of kings, to reestablish their power by taking advantage of the somewhat unsatisfactory working of popular government in the countries in which it was being tried. One of the purposes in view was to help Spain recover control of her revolting American colonies and reestablish over them a monarchical system. Our interest in the matter arose chiefly from our strong sympathy with representative institutions. Hence, President Monroe, or John Quincy Adams, his Secretary of State, who is credited with being the real author of the doctrine, announced that, having recognized the independence of the American Republics, we could not view with indifference an attempt to reestablish over them the political systems of Europe. The pregnant words of the message were:

We owe it therefore to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this bemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

Occasionally we hear that the Monroe doctrine has been outgrown. On the contrary, the trend of historic events has given it a deeper significance and a greater importance. Occasionally we are treated to academic discourses on the desirability of abandoning it. Let no theorist put this proposition to the practical test of popular opinion. The query, "Shall the political systems of Europe be extended to any portion of this hemisphere?" would receive an overwhelming negative in every country in both Americas. Never was the doctrine more deeply rooted in the affections of the people and never would it be

more unwise to challenge it than to-day.

But it is said that some of the South American countries which, under the fostering care of that doctrine, have grown to real national greatness are able now to maintain their own national integrity. Conceding with pleasure that this is true, it is far from showing that the Monroe doctrine is obsolete. It shows, rather, that there are additional shoulders to be placed under the burden of responsibility in maintaining the right of the countries of the Western Hemisphere to pursue their national destinies. There is nothing to prevent any nation from making the spirit of the doctrine a part of its own domestic policy and maintaining it singly or by convention. The only right which is affected is the right of European countries to acquire, either by consent or convention, territorial sovereignty here, and such right, if it existed, could scarcely add to the strength security, or dignity of any American pation.

to the strength, security, or dignity of any American nation.

The initial purpose of the Monroe dectrine was to secure to the American nations a fair opportunity to work out their national destinies free from the fetters of European feuds and factions. A fresh start was to be made in national life in the New World. Not only was the political creed of Europe to be rejected, but its historic antipathies, its traditional feuds, its tangled skein of alliances and intrigues, the beginning of which is lost in the maze of history. The new countries were to furnish the theater for a newer and better political drama. This initial purpose has been accomplished. Every American nation has had a fair chance to develop its own political ideals. The result has been in its own hands. It has been "the master of its fate, the captain of its soul."

While in form the Monroe doctrine was a challenge and a defiance addressed to Spain in her attempt to regain her lost colonies and to all powerful nations of Europe in their efforts toward colonial expansion in the Western Hemisphere and thus might have been easily represented as a standing invitation to war, it has been proved by the unanswerable logic of events the most potent factor in international peace. In the first place, it has removed the temptation to, if not the cause for, war between the smaller American States and the nations of Europe. If territorial aggrandizement can not follow military success nations show a surprising willingness to settle their disputes by other means than an appeal to arms. While there is nothing in the Monroe doctrine which prevents an European nation from beginning or maintaining a war against an American nation, yet the fact that any attempt at annexation or territorial indemnity as the result of such war will bring another powerful country into the conflict, seems to have had a decidedly deterrent effect upon such hostilities.

In the second place, while wars have taken place between the American nations themselves growing out of a clash of interests, which can not in all cases be avoided, these conflicts have been fought to a conclusion without involving the countries of the Old World. It is but natural that the weaker party to a struggle should seek, if it can, an alliance with some powerful champion, such an alliance dictated by the passion or interest of the moment usually involves a permanent loss of political independence. But for the Monroe doctrine it is probable that the aid of European countries would have been called into American disputes, complicating the situation and adding to the difficulties of making or maintaining a satisfactory peace. The usual results in such cases are represented by the old couplet about the profits of litigation:

A shell for thee, and a shell for thee; But the oyster, that's the lawyer's fee.

Then, again, there are domestic disturbances. Every nation has had its civil war, and usually such clashes of domestic interests, if fought out fairly and with no outside interference, have resulted in a stronger bond of unity and national feeling. But let a foreign power be invited or insinuate itself into the struggle and all hope of a return of peace and mutual confidence is at an end. From the days when Demosthenes thundered against Philip of Macedon for interfering in the local politics of Greece, true patriots have recognized the dangers of such interested friendship. And here again we may note how reluctant the European powers have been to proffer their aid and encouragement in the civil wars of the American countries when they could not be rewarded for such friendship by either a concession of territory or a sphere of influence.

If the Monroe doctrine has kept the nations of Europe from being embroiled in American politics, it has also kept the American nations from being embroiled in the politics of Europe. During the nineteenth century the continent of Africa and the continent of Asia were largely divided into colonies or spheres of influence by the European States. The fact that one nation had secured such a colony or sphere of influence seemed to require that to maintain the delicate adjustment of the balance of power other nations be granted concessions of equal importance and strategic value. It can not be doubted that a like fate would have overtaken the continent of South America and probably also portions of North America if there had been no restraining influence. While the exploitation of other continents by European powers has gone on rapidly during the past century. the territorial sovereignty and influence of such countries in the Americas has decreased. It was much less at the close of the century than at the beginning. England is now the only great nation of Europe holding important territory in the Western World. This territory is not threatened by her enemies, and hence is removed from the zone of hostile influence.

The Monroe doctrine has fully justified its existence in keeping the Americas out of the present conflict that has engulfed nearly the whole of the civilized world. Without it we would certainly have been involved if the opposing parties each held important territories on this side of the water. It may be judged, therefore, not only by the success which has attended it in keeping European politics from American shores but by projecting our fancy into what might and could have happened without it. The eighteenth century saw North America divided into the colonial empires of three great powers—England, France, and Spain. War and the entanglement of international politics was the only profit from these colonies to any of these powers, until happily the successful revolt of the British-American colonies enabled one local self-governing nation to dominate the strategic posi-tion on the continent and make the fragments not worth fighting for. A North America divided into the colonial empires of European States would have been a backward, stagnant, and undeveloped continent. A North America dominated by liberal politi-cal views and filled with the aspirations of national life _as been a factor in the progress of civilization.

Strange to say instead of the Monroe doctrine proving a source of irritation to the European powers, it has been welcomed by them and tacitly acknowledged and encouraged. England, France, and Germany have each had an opportunity in the recent past to test it if they saw fit, but chose rather to avoid the issue. To be sure the balance of power, so long preserved in Europe, has had much to do with the reluctance of those nations to test the American principle. No European nation would now look with indifference upon a violation of that doctrine by another power.

The good will of America, the reservoir of raw material for Europe, has been an important factor also in commanding respect. But the positive element, after all, has been that America had no interest in the quarrels of Europe. Our complete removal from contact with, or influence upon, European politics has been a source of security and satisfaction to all parties. We hold no territory in Europe. We have no ambitions there which may cause alarm. Its nations have nothing to fear from an American country unless the former are the aggressors.

But for the frenzy of political excitement in which we committed ourselves to the Philippine folly, we would have no territorial interests in Asia. The politics of the Orient represent the politics of Europe, with added complications, and it would be unfortunate indeed if we should become involved in that direction. Whether we can ever honorably withdraw from the Philippines or not, our experience in that direction has not been sufficiently encouraging to warrant the belief in our own minds or the fear in the minds of others, that we will ever willingly repeat our experiment. The blindest partisan has ceased now to talk of making the Philippines a base for the extension of American influence in Asia, and the public man who would to-day urge the acquisition of another foot of Asiatic territory would be politically as "dead as the bullrushes round little Moses on the old banks of the Nile."

While the Monroe doctrine can not preserve equality among American nations any more than the constitution of a republic can preserve physical or intellectual equality among men, yet it can and does preserve equality of opportunity. It does moreit provides the broad base of common ideals and common interests which can not but be wholesome in its tendencies. It is the interest of every American country that every other country of the western world should develop its people and its powers to the highest plane socially, industrially, and politically. While the doctrine itself is not a guaranty against territorial While the doctrine itself is not a guaranty against territorial aggrandizement within our own hemisphere, it contains an automatic check against unwieldy power or any extension of authority over an unwilling people. All of the nations invoived are Republics and a republic can grow only by incorporating territory upon the basis of equality of right with the original population. To a republic incorporated territory is a source of strength and prosperity, while dependencies, which are held upon a plane of lower political rights than the dominant nation and which can not look forward to an equality of rights, are a source of military weakness political danger and financial loss.

our of the common bond of interest in the Monroe doctrine as it now appeals to all of the Americas, there has grown by action of the present administration a principle of Pan Americanism which will draw the western nations closer together, inspire them with mutual confidence and respect, and unify their political ideals. The first fruits of this new policy are now seen. Mutual distrust and jealousy born of ignorance of each other's aims and purposes is disappearing. American nations can now sit in council upon the general peace of America. They can offer, without misunderstanding, their good offices in cases of friction which may lead to hostilities. They can also assist in a sympathetic and disinterested way in the restoration of stable government in any of the countries. They can observe a true respect for the dignity and integrity of other nations by refusing to permit their soil to be used for hatching plots against the peace and public order of their neighbors. Nations so united and so animated by ideals of peace and progress can in the present unfortunate situation in the world use the independence which they have happily preserved in commanding respect for the rights of neutrals and noncombatants, for the principles of international law, for the security of commerce, for the humane activities of the Red Cross, and perhaps even for the very existence of civilization itself.

The Rural-Credits Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES H. MAYS. OF UTAH.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, May 15, 1916.

Mr. MAYS. Mr. Speaker, the Congress may have had more important measures before it during the past decade, but just mow I can not think what they were. By some the Federal reserve act, passed by the Sixty-third Congress, is regarded as the most far-reaching in its salutary influences of any measure considered by Congress in 50 years' time. Many point to the income-tax law, enacted by the same Congress, as being the most important of all in that it was the first step toward the only just and countries. and equitable system of taxation.

A number of the old guard on the other side of the House believe that no questions or acts are worthy of consideration except those relating to the tariff question, and accordingly dream and talk of nothing else. Others believe that measures

leading to the increase of our military and naval establishments are in comparative importance paramount to all others; and some patriotic gentlemen would appropriate money for nothing else.

These and many other acts, passed and pending, are destined to exercise much influence in the affairs of our people; but no act or measure before us or behind us will so directly benefit so large a proportion of the whole people whom we are representing as the rural-credits bill now under consideration,

The legislation here proposed is so essential that the wonder grows upon us that by preceding Congresses and parties in power it has been so long deferred. Solemn promises in this regard have been forgotten, or if not forgotten have been remembered only to be repudiated.

Infant industries have been nurtured and sustained and proresulted a most inequitable distribution of wealth. These fostered interests have flourished beyond the dreams of those who founded them. Through it all the laborers and the farmers, the creators of our boasted prosperity, have enjoyed a very meager share, even of life's necessities. Such legislation as this bill proposes has been promised in the platforms of

many political parties.

In 1912 the Democratic platform made the following state-

Of equal importance with questions of currency reform is the question of rural credits or agricultural finance. Therefore we recommend that an investigation of agricultural systems in foreign countries be made so that it may be ascertained whether a system of rural credits may be devised suitable to the conditions in the United States. And we also favor legislation permitting national banks to loan a reasonable proportion of their funds upon real estate security.

The Progressive Party offered a covenant which-

Pledged the party to the fostering and development of agricultural credit and emphasized the necessity of bringing the benefits of better farming, better business, and better living within the reach of the dwellers in the country.

The Republican Party platform pointed with pride and promised to continue to investigate and to urge and recommend relief to the farmers' financial needs.

The Democratic Party were charged with the responsibility of legislation by the votes of the people. In response to the platform promises the currency system was reformed by the enactment of the most beneficent piece of legislation put upon our statute books in half a century. National banks were authorized by law to loan a reasonable proportion of their funds upon real estate security. An investigating committee was appointed and sent abroad by the President to examine and study agricultural credit societies and rural credit systems. This commission made exhaustive investigation and rendered most instructive reports.

In brief, they found that every European nation of any importance had seen the necessity of adjusting their financial systems to the peculiar requirements of the farmers.

In Germany the "Landschaften" system, organized and controlled by the General Government, was providing long-time loans to the farmer at 3½ per cent interest, and by applying an additional 1½ to 2½ per cent the principal was gradually and finally discharged.

In France they found the Credit Foncier, a Government bank, subsidized and controlled, loaning money on farms at 4 per cent interest. Other agricultural financial institutions had been supplied with funds of the great Bank of France, to be loaned to local farmers' associations at low rates of interest.

In Russia the Peasant Land Bank had been doing business for 32 years lending money to farmers at 4 per cent interest.

In Switzerland various land-credit institutions, operated by

the State, were taking care of the needs of the farmers at low rates of interest.

Austria-Hungary had assisted in the inauguration of rural-

credit systems now in successful operation,

Denmark, a country smaller than the first congressional district of Utah, had advanced between five and six millions of dollars, without interest, to establish mortgage banks of the Kingdom of Denmark. The committee reports that this bank is of the same general character as the land bank established by the bill under consideration. Besides the financial advance of over \$5,000,000, and in addition to the purchase of debentures of the land institutions, that Government makes annual appropriations from the national treasury of funds to be loaned to the landholders.

In Sweden an initial payment of over \$2,000,000 had been provided, and a later subsidy of \$8.000,000 to the general mortgage bank and central institution designed to aid local mortgage associations in the sale of their debentures

In Egypt the State controls an agricultural bank operating for the benefit of the farmers.

Even in Japan a subsidy of nearly \$5,000,000 has been granted to 46 district banks and guaranty made of 5 per cent upon the stock of the central agricultural bank.

Out of the English treasury in 35 years there has been appropriated over \$2,000,000,000 in order that land might be sold to farmers and capital furnished at low rates of interest in the development and operation of same.

In the Dominion of Canada an equitable system of rural

credits has been established.

While in all these countries the wise foresight of the governments has developed systems suitable to their agricultural classes and the required capital to purchase and operate farms has been made available at fair rates of interest, it is passing strange that the subject has been so long neglected in the United

One is constrained to inquire why it is that the European farmer may secure 80 per cent of the value of his farm at 3½ or 4 per cent interest on long-time payments, with an amortization feature which gradually and finally cancels the whole indebtedness, while an American farmer, with better security, is able to obtain 30 per cent of the value of his farm for a short term of years at from 8 to 10 per cent interest, with no provision for liquidation of the loan. There is something radically wrong, and the wrong has been of too long standing.

Mr. Speaker, I know from personal experience that in the farming regions of the intermountain States a farmer owning as productive a farm as can be found in any country, and desiring to secure capital to purchase live stock in order that some profit from his investment and labor may be expected, would be required to pay a commission of 2 per cent, besides various and sundry other fees, in order to secure a three-year

loan at 9 per cent interest.

The commission men have grown rich and arrogant. Can the banks at which the farmer deposits his funds, if he should ever have any, remedy the situation? They can not. The farmer is at the mercy of these selfish aristocrats who loan

the money of the eastern insurance companies.

Can the farmer pay 9 per cent and make a profit? not. The statistics show that he makes less than day laborers' wages and works longer hours. The average farmer's family receives for the labor of the husband, wife, and children the sum of \$402 a year for all their labor beyond the interest on his investment.

The bill under consideration may not be perfect, but it will save the farmer in interest on \$10,000 of capital which he may require to place his farm upon a productive basis more than the total present average net cash income of the American farmer. That may spell the difference between failure and success. may stop the exodus from the farm to the cities. It may so encourage and stimulate the agricultural pursuits that the distressingly high cost of living may, in part, be relieved.

Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Banking and Currency, after examining the system of the old countries, after carefully studying the reports of commissions, experts, etc., have submitted a bill distinctly American and designed to meet the peculiar conditions prevailing in our country. The bill they submit to us consists of 31 sections covering 59 pages.

It provides for the creation of-

A Federal farm-loan board of three members with a salary of \$10,000 each and necessary traveling expenses

 A farm-loan registrar for each land-bank district.
 The necessary appraisers, examiners, attorneys, experts, assistants, clerks, laborers, and other employees,

4. Twelve district land banks with an initial capital of \$750,000 each with the necessary officers, directors, and em-

Each bank is to have a board of nine directors, six to be elected by the national farm-loan association and three appointed by the Federal farm-loan board.

The capital stock of each of the 12 Federal banks is divided into shares of \$5 each and may be held by any individual, firm, or corporation, by any State, or by the United States. The bill provides, however, that the stock held by the United States shall draw no dividends.

The farm-loan board is, as soon after the passage of this act as practicable, to open books for subscription to the capital stock of the Federal land bank in each district. After 90 days the Secretary of the Treasury will subscribe for all the stock

Both Federal land banks and joint-stock banks are to be financial agents of the United States Government.

The bill provides for the organization of national farm-loan associations by 10 or more persons desiring to borrow money on farm-mortgage security.

Each association shall elect a board of five directors, who in turn shall elect a president, vice president, and secretary-treasurer, and a loan committee composed of three members, all officers and directors except the secretary-treasurer to serve without compensation unless the Federal farm-loan board should provide for same.

Membership in the farm-loan associations is restricted to borrowers. Members may borrow not less than \$100 nor more than \$10,000. A member shall own stock in the association to the extent of 5 per cent of his loan, and his stock is held as additional security. Dividends on the stock, however, are paid to the owner. The stock is accepted as cash in final payment of the loan. A member may include the price of his stock in the face of his loan.

Shareholders are liable only for their own loans, except to the extent of double the value of their stock. To illustrate, a farmer desires to borrow \$10,000 for the purpose of refunding a loan carried at a higher rate of interest, for stocking up his farm, for buying more land, or making improvements. He will first join a local farm-loan association and make application upon form furnished. If his application is accepted he will purchase \$500 worth of stock and deposit same with the bank as additional security. He is liable for only \$1,000 in excess of his individual loan. When he makes application the land offered as security is examined by the loan committee and appraised by them. The report is filed with the directors of the association. The Federal land bank also appraises the land, and will make no loan unless the report of its appraisers is favorable.

Only first mortgages will be acceptable for loans, and will be made with a provision for repayment upon amortization plan by means of annual or semiannual installments sufficient in amount to cover the interest and the charge for administration expenses, which shall not exceed 1 per cent, and such further amount as will extinguish the whole debt at the maturity of not less than 5 years nor more than 36 years. The borrower, however, may make additional payments in multiples of \$25 toward the reduction of the principal.

Loans will draw interest at a rate dependent upon the price at which the farm-loan bonds may be sold, not to exceed 6 per cent, however, and may be made for the following purposes:

1. To purchase land for agricultural purposes. To purchase live stock and equipment.

3. For the erection of buildings.

To refund existing mortgages.

5. To liquidate indebtedness incurred for any of the foregoing

Loans will not be made for over 60 per cent of the value of the land, plus 20 per cent on the insurable improvements. Loans will be made only to actual farmers or persons desiring to become such.

In the event the land is sold the purchaser may elect, within 60 days, to assume the mortgage and the stock. If the member dies, his heirs have the same option. The usual course is followed as to the payment of insurance premiums, taxes, and local assessments against lands.

In case no association is formed in a locality agents approved by the board may be employed by the Federal land bank to make

The bill provides for the organization of joint-stock banks for carrying on the business of loaning on the security of farm mort-

gages and issuing farm-loan bonds.

Such bonds are to be offered to the investing public at a conservative rate of interest. The bonds are to be exempt from taxation, and by the Lever amendment, adopted by the committee, the United States will guarantee the interest on the The bonds will be secured by first mortgages, the guarantee of the associated banks, and the double liability of the stockholders, and ought to sell at a rate which would provide ample funds at low interest rates.

The funds available will be, first, the initial capital of \$750,000 for each of the 12 district banks; second, the proceeds of the

sale of the bonds.

The farmer is to get the money at a rate to be determined by the rate at which the bonds sell, plus the cost of administration, not to exceed 1 per cent.

The gentleman from Oregon [Mr. HAWLEY], who has had 15 years' experience as a bond buyer in the interest of fiduciary and trust funds, has stated that these bonds are most excellent; that he would not hesitate to invest trust funds of the most sacred character in them.

They ought to sell at a rate, after the system is established, that would provide funds required by the farmers at a rate of 4½ per cent interest.

It will readily appear that this measure will be of great benefit to all classes of the country. The cities of the East will receive a more ample supply of food at a reasonable cost. The extortionate interest rates paid in the South and West will be reduced. The investing public will be able to secure a most reliable bond, exempt from taxation, as safe as the promise of a government, and drawing a fair and equitable rate of interest. All classes and conditions of every section, therefore, will be benefited by the operation of the bill.

The wonder is, Mr. Speaker, that its enactment has been so long deferred. One is inclined to inquire: What powerful influences have opposed it? How did it happen that other nations whom we would not consider our equal have advanced so far beyond us? Have those who have profited by the excessive rates of interest charged farmers exerted any influence?

In this connection it may be interesting to know that the Chamber of Commerce of New York passed on the 4th of this

month the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York opposes any method of agricultural banking in the United States that requires the use of Government funds or the use of any postal savings deposits in any rural banking projects, or any legislation exempting from taxation any particular class of obligations.

This same chamber of commerce, together with the bankers' associations generally of the great cities, strenuously opposed the Federal reserve act, whose far-reaching benefits have extended throughout our country and have prevented during the present crisis in affairs of the world the panic which even the same interests predicted as inevitable.

They evidently want all those funds for their own use

This bill provides no special favors nor privileges; but even if it did it would do no more than tend to even the score because these same interests have long flourished through special privileges and the fostering care extended by the Government at the expense of the rest of the country.

They opposed the great Federal reserve act because it sought to divert a portion of the country's funds away from their banks in New York and thereby discourage their speculative opera-tions. They may oppose this bill for similar reasons because it

also would tend to equalize the rates of interest.

The manager of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Co. stated in my presence that his company could secure more capital than it needed for building factories and buying sugar beets in Utah and Idaho at 4 to 4½ per cent interest. The money was literally urged upon them. At the same time the farmers who produced those beets were obliged to pay some broker a commission of 2 per cent to secure him a loan on better security at from 8 to 10 per cent

We are told that interest rates to the farmers are so much higher in this country because opportunities for investing capital at such rates are so much greater and more numerous. This bill is designed to destroy some of the opportunities for the exaction of extortionate rates of interest and bring the price of capital down to such terms as will enable honest, industrious men to use it and survive. We can surely do what other less-favored nations have done to the end that a wrong, gray with age, already too long endured, may be righted and simple justice may at last be accorded to the patient tiller of the soil.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,

OF COLORADO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 15, 1916.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. Mr. Speaker, it is a statement well within the limits of the exact truth to say that the legislation proposed in the bill under discussion, known commonly as the rural-credits bill, deals with a question of greater importance to the welfare of the general public than any other which has called for action by Congress for a considerable period. It is but natural that I personally should be keenly interested in this measure for a double reason: First, because I represent a district largely agricultural in its population, to whom this measure is of first importance; and, secondly, because I realize that any legislation vitally affecting the best interests of the farmer

and of the rural population, generally, affects the interests of the whole country in the highest degree.

This Congress could render no greater service to the country than by facilitating in every proper way the growth of agri-culture for the reason that it forms the basis of all wealth and prosperity. That the country has not given it the help and support it deserves is evident from the fact that in the 10-year period, from 1899 to 1909, while our urban population increased 44 per cent our rural population increased only 11 per cent. With wise legislation the wide disparity of these figures should gradually disappear.

what has been the experience of other countries in this matter of rural credits? It has certainly been the subject of earnest consideration by other people. The Rural Credits Commission appointed by Congress, after studying this whole question, emphasized in its report the great benefit that European countries are deriving from their mortgage-credit societies. The commission of the countries are derived that the condit bonds issued that the condition of the countries are derived to the countrie sion also lays stress upon the fact that rural-credit bonds issued by the various nations of Europe rank well with Government bonds in stability and in the rate of interest secured. The commission says:

mission says:

In 1906 there were 25 farm-loan banks in Germany advancing to the farmers more than \$755,000,000 upon real estate mortgages. The cost to the farmer marged from 3½ to 4 per cent per annum. In recent years the amount loaned has greatly increased. This cooperative movement has now secured a foothold in almost every civilized country in the world. It is doing splendid service in India and in Japan. In Canada there are now over 150 cooperative land banks. In Denmark, also, many facilities of mortgage-loan banks are offered the farmer. Four-teen banks, dealing only in first mortgages, had a total of nearly \$424,000,000 outstanding in mortgages in 1910, in addition to about eight other associationss which granted further credit upon second mortgages. The total credit received by farmers in Denmark from these sources in one year is estimated by the institute of agriculture at \$220,000,000.

The commission infers that a proper system installed by the Government of the United States could be made a great national

benefit to both investors and borrowers.

The International Institute of Agriculture makes the statement that in the various countries of Europe the farmer is able to obtain loans for long periods at low rates of interest and that the systems there in vogue seem to have been uniformly successful, both from a borrower's and lender's standpoint.

As has already been stated by several authorities on this sub-

ject, and particularly by the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Morgan] in his valuable book on land credits, in this proposed legislation great interests are involved. The passage of this bill will affect the prosperity and well-being of more than six and a half millions of farmers and of more than 45,000,000 men, women, and children now on our farms, who are directly and vitally interested in all matters pertaining to the extension of rural credits. Everyone naturally wants the farming communities of our country to keep pace with our cities, and the lack of proper credit facilities for the farmer has been the one thing that has held back the development of the farm.

The full significance of the fact that the value of agricultural

Interests and the value of farm products is greater in the United States than in any other country is seldom properly appreciated. Statistics show that the value of farm property in 1910 was approximately \$41,000,000,000, of which some twenty-eight and a half billions was in land. The annual returns were about

eight and a half billions.

From figures given by the Secretary of Agriculture in one of his reports it appears that our banks have extended to the non-farming population over \$18,000,000,000 in credit and to the farmer only about two billions. When one appreciates the fact that our farmers and their families constitute more than one-third of our population, the inadequacy of their facilities can be realized, from the statement that our hards have can be them but one-ninth of the country's credit. The total bank loans and investments in securities of various kinds amount to nearly \$21,000,000,000; but on farm lands they do not equal \$550,000.000. Only 2½ per cent are on farm-mortgage securities, the remaining 97½ per cent being upon securities other than farm lands. It is said that the farm lands in this country constitute one-fourth of the wealth of the Nation, and yet the banks extend them but one-fortieth of the credit at their disposal.

These figures clearly indicate that the same consideration

has not hitherto been given by the Government to credits of the farmer as is given commercial credits. If the bill before the House does this, it will afford an adequate measure of relief; if it does not, it will fall below the expectation of the country.

The statement is therefore reiterated, Mr. Speaker, that it is the manifest duty of this House to pass such a bill as shall effectually and speedily remedy the very limited credit facilities at present available to the farmer, thus enabling him to obtain without difficulty, on the security of his farm property, such loans as are consistent, for such periods and at such low rates as shall be just and proper. This, more than any other one thing will aid agricultural development; it will tend to make farm life more desirable and more enjoyable; it will add materially to the wealth and resources of the country; and, at the same time, it will attract others to farm life and tend to minimize the evils of overcrowding the cities. For these reasons I am in favor of the bill.

This bill to be effective, to furnish in adequate measure the relief so urgently desired, and to satisfy the requirements of modern agricultural operations, should make full provision for the prompt and easy extension of long-time loans, at low rates of interest, and it should also include a provision that the bonds authorized under the bill shall be free from all taxation. This last condition will in itself tend to lower the interest rate of such loans as are made under farm mortgages. To tax bonds which are issued for the purpose of raising the necessary funds to improve the land would be most unjust in that it would impose upon the farmer a double burden. He already pays taxes on the land which he owns and which would be mortgaged to furnish the necessary security. That these mortgages should be exempt from taxation is evident, for it naturally follows that to tax the same would be double taxation, and in the end paid by the farmer in the additional rate of interest it would be inevitable he would have to pay.

It is essential that longer credits be extended the farming communities than it is either desirable or necessary to extend to the commercial circles. The farmer secures, as a general rule, but one crop a year, and his period of revenue recurs but once every 12 months. Thus between one revenue period and another nearly a year elapses. Many are the needs of the farmer, and money is oftentimes urgently necessary to carry into effect improvement of farm property which increases the yield of the soil, makes farming more profitable, and tends to make country life more attractive and prevent that exodus to cities which is so detrimental to the best interests of the Nation.

Farm-loan bonds, the issuance of which by competent authority is authorized in the bill, should, in the very nature of things, be the best security obtainable and consequently they should find a ready market at rates of interest low enough to meet the views of the farmer borrower, and yet yield satisfactory returns to the conservative investor who would desire to purchase them on account of the stable character of the security behind them. There would seem to be no good reason why the bonds proposed should not be designated as "United States agricultural bonds," thereby giving them a certain dignity and stability which would be helpful and which would justify them in drawing the same low rate of interest as is earned by other Government bonds. Such a name would also tend to facilitate their ready sale both in the United States and in such European countries as invest largely in the approved securities offered in this country.

Many of the provisions of this bill were sought to be changed in the committee, and there several had my support, believing that by the incorporation of these amendments the bill would be more workable and produce better results. The provisions of the amendment of the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Morgan] in doing away with the joint-stock banks to my mind would have had the tendency to reduce the machinery, hence reduce the expense, which in the end must be borne by the borrower in a higher rate of interest on his loan. In my judgment also the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. McFadden] to reduce the 12 Federal loan banks to one central Federal loan bank, which also contemplated that the farm-loan association banks should be eliminated, would have had the tendency to further reduce the machinery, which is expensive, a consequence of which would have been to make still further reduction of interest rate to farmers possible, would have materially benefited the bill. It would have had the tendency to make uniform the rate of interest borne by the bonds of the whole country, issuing as they would from the one source.

It is apparent, however, that it is the judgment of the House that the bill should pass in its present form, and, accordingly, I shall gladly give it my support and vote for it. I think it a wise beginning. Its defects will be discovered when put to actual test, and if they are found to exist further legislation will correct them. At least a start is made in the right direction and the fundamental principles are correct, namely, a long-time loan at what I hope will develop a reasonable rate of interest, with interest and principal paid upon the amortization plan, to a class of our citizenship heretofore, in my judgment, discriminated against, who were always able to furnish the best security that the country affords.

Rural-Credits Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON, WALTER L. HENSLEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 15, 1916.

Mr. HENSLEY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to congratulate the Committee on Banking and Currency on presenting to the House the rural-credits bill, which is now under consideration. This is the second great piece of constructive legislation which has come from this committee during the present Democratic administration. The banking and currency act was the first one. It has been upon the statute books for nearly two years, and, according to the very best authority on the subject, it is a positive guarantee against panics, which were under the old law at will visited upon the country by the large banks and financial interests of the great cities.

The blighting influences resulting from these money panics in each instance have cursed the entire country for long periods of time. In many instances these panics were brought upon us in spite of every evidence of material prosperity. This administration very promptly corrected that evil. No former administration has ever given the country legislation on the subject of rural credits, notwithstanding the insistence of the people in their demands for it. And there is no real or satisfactory explanation that you on the other side of this aisle can make as to why you did not respond. Again it remained for this administration to remedy the situation, thereby substantially aiding the farmers of the country. Therefore this administration has presented this comprehensive rural-credits bill, in response to the crying need for money at a lower rate of interest in the country districts everywhere. When this bill is passed and is in operation it will enable the farmers to borrow money on real estate at a much lower rate of interest than they are now required to pay.

required to pay.

The total indebtedness of the whole country, as we are advised, is \$6,000,000,000. The 12,000,000 farmers of the United States have their farms mortgaged for something around \$3,000,000,000, and they are paying at present the average rate of \$½ per cent interest on this tremendous sum. This represents \$255,000,000 annually which the farmers pay in interest. If the farmers could borrow this money for 6 per cent interest, the highest rate that will be permitted under this bill, it would effect a saving to them of \$75,000,000 annually.

Industrial bonds usually sell at par when bearing only 5 per cent interest. So, Mr. Speaker, I say there is under the present system wrongfully collected from the farmers of the country on excessive interest charges from \$75,000,000 to \$100,000,000 annually which this legislation will save to them. Each farmer who has a mortgage on his farm can easily estimate the saving which this Democratic measure will mean to him annually.

Mr. Speaker, is this not good legislation? Is it not desirable

to save the farmers this tremendous amount of money annually? Although this administration has placed upon the statute books many laws beneficial generally to all our people, the farmers are confidently expecting this additional legislation. And with the best security in the world, such as farm lands constitute, there is no reason why they should not obtain money at as low a rate of interest as it can be obtained upon any other securities. Is there any reason why the farmers should pay a higher rate of interest on the money they borrow than the merchants and other business men pay on the money they borrow? It is not fair that they should be charged more. This bill will remedy that situation. It should have been done long ago; and, to my mind, there is no reasonable excuse that you on the other side of this House can assign why you did not enact a law of this character when you were in power. I rarely ever say anything political upon the floor of the House, but I can not refrain now from saying that although you may criticize this piece of legislation-apparently because you are afraid that it will reflect too much credit upon this administration-I predict that you will confine yourselves to criticizing the bill, and that when we reach a vote on it you will vote for it by the scores, as you have done frequently concerning other wholesome legislation which you had denied the people and which was given them

by this administration.

The query arises in my mind, Why did you not put legislation of this character upon the statute books when you were in

power? It was needed then as badly as it is needed now, but you refused to respond to the people's demand. You were either not concerned about the needs of this great body of people-the farmers of America-whom this legislation is intended to aid or you were willing to see the money changers gouge them to the extent of these millions annually. It may be necessary in the future to make changes in this law in order to perfect it, but it is a start in the right direction at least, and, if found necessary, it can be amended from time to time, Mr. Speaker, I very gladly give this measure my support.

Rural Credits-If the Farmer Has Money, We All Have Money.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM J. CARY. OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 15, 1916.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, the great question of rural credits has been a subject of deep and vital interest in this country for many years. It affects directly the welfare of some 40,000,000 people engaged in agriculture, and it affects, indirectly, the entire country.

I have been consistently in favor of legislation on this ques tion ever since I have been in Congress, and although this bill is not, perhaps, entirely perfect, it is a step in the right direction and will be the foundation of as valuable financial and economic progress as the Postal Savings System has been.

It is somewhat amusing to note that big capital, as usual, is more or less hysterical over the question, just as it was when the Postal Savings System was proposed and just as it always will be when any remedial legislation will be proposed in the

City Members have protested and used that old, timeworn argument that the city would receive no benefit from legislation

affecting rural communities only.

It seems strange that people will not understand the obvious truth that city and country are never independent of each other. The farmer can not dispose of his product without a market, and the market just as certainly can not do business without a product to buy and sell.

As a matter of fact, agriculture is the cornerstone, the very foundation, of solid national prosperity, and no nation can long endure without a nucleus of prosperous and successful farmers.

The Germans have an old saying, "Hat der Bauer Gelt, hat's die ganze Welt "-if the farmer has money, the whole world has

Realizing that agriculture was the backbone of a country's prosperity, Germany, over a century ago, established a rural-credit system, and although her "landschaft" debentures have long since been independent of financial aid from the Government, the system was financed by the Government at its inception and is to-day under governmental supervision. The result has been a most wonderful agricultural development. Nearly 70,000,000 people exist in comfort on an area much smaller than the State of Texas. Eighty-six per cent of the farms are tilled by their owners, as against 64 per cent in this country and about 50 per cent in England. At no time has this fostering care of agriculture shown such marvelous results as to-day. Surrounded as Germany is by an iron ring of foes, her ports and frontiers practically closed to foreign trade, she is able to bid defiance to her foes and produce enough to feed her people within her own territory.

Little Denmark, a country smaller than some congressional districts, advanced \$5,360,000 without interest to finance the Mortgage Bank of Denmark and still lends governmental financial aid to small holders. Here, again, the evils of tenant farming have been practically eliminated and a host of land-owning small farmers are able to produce from comparatively unfertile soil a wealth of product that makes the Danish farmer one of the richest in proportion to his holdings in the world.

Sweden is another country in which a Government-endowed mortgage bank has proven of incalculable benefit, and wherever in Europe a rural-credit system has been in existence for any time we find the same beneficent result, the elimination of tenant farming and the protection of the small farmer from the rapacity of the loan shark and the usurer.

The amount of money we will appropriate is small compared with other appropriations, and I venture to predict that the benefits that will accrue will exceed even the most optimistic advocates of rural credit.

Mr. Speaker, so much has been said of the farmer and his value to the country that I will not go into elaborate details, but this much is self-evident, our country was started on its

glorious way by farmers.

From Washington to Lincoln and throughout our history the majority of our greatest soldiers and statesmen have come from

rural communities.

In times of peace the rugged and virile sons of farmers have brought their country-nourished vitality to our toil-worn cities. In times of war the boys from the farm have ever been in the forefront of the battle line.

Let us then by this and other legislation inspire the farmer with confidence in his country and its future. Let city and country work out together the glorious destiny of a land that knows neither class nor caste, where prejudice and oppression can not exist, but where a race of men and women shall live for all time to come in peace and plenty, harmony and fraternity,

equality and liberty.

Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES BENNETT SMITH.

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 22, 1916.

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, in taking up the subject of national defense the present Congress was confronted by a new and extraordinary situation. In former years little public interest was manifested in the size or composition of the Regular Army and the major part of the home influence ex-erted on the House and Senate was in favor of small appropria-The conceded helplessness of the United States in a military way was made evident by the lessons of the European war and was emphasized by the spectacle presented on the Mexican border when the President was obliged to appeal to Congress for an emergency increase of 20,000 Regulars to repel an invasion of Mexican bandits.

A propaganda, part of which, unquestionably, was instituted by patriotic and sincere men and part of which was brought about by not altogether disinterested or unselfish individuals, flooded Congress with letters, telegrams, petitions, and resolutions demanding a larger Regular Army and a reserve force capable of meeting every demand for national defense. The Committee on Military Affairs of the House held hearings for several weeks—listening patiently and intently to members of the General Staff, officers from the War College, representatives of the National Guard, and citizen experts who volunteered information as to the composition of an American Army adequate

to our present needs.

HOUSE PROVIDES FOR 140,600 MEN.

In reporting a bill the committee recommended a standing army of 140,000 men, with a plan for federalizing the State militia so that the State troops would automatically join the United States forces on the call of the President. It may be explained that the Army at the time the expeditionary force went to Mexico was distributed as follows: Panama Canal Zone, 7.300 men; Philippine Islands, 13.000; Hawaii, 9.000; Porto Rico, 800; China and Alaska, about 800 men, which, deducted from the total force of 86,500 troops, left in all in the United States approximately 55,000 men. Among the reasons given by the committee for refusing to favor a larger Army were these:

Gen. Scott, Chief of Staff, gave testimony to the committee that in time of peace a regular force of 135,000 men would be adequate to our requirements. That does not mean Gen. Scott

favored a maximum of 135.000 men. His statement, however, was used as an argument for a small Army.

The contention was further made that a Regular Army must of necessity be a mere nucleus to a war footing and that the important feature of our national defense must be in our reserve

CONTINENTAL ARMY REJECTED.

The committee rejected the recommendation of Secretary Garrison for a volunteer or continental army, which would be re-cruited under the direction of the War Department and would be trained in summer camps by officers of the Regular Army. Those who favored the continental plan were of the opinion that a competent reserve force of 400,000 to 500,000 men could be trained in a brief period and at a comparatively small expense and that the men so recruited as reserves would belong to the best class of our American citizens. They would come from industrial and commercial life and from the professions, and the enlistments would be solely for the highest and best patriotic reasons,

The committee, however, took the position that the number of volunteers would be numerous and the plan undoubtedly successful in times of national excitement like that now prevailing as an effect of the European war or because of our present or prospective differences with Mexico. It was the belief, however, that in ordinary times and in the absence of this unusual state of mind interest in military activities would pall and the continental force would dwindle to nothingness.

AMERICAN TRADITIONS.

Further objection was made to an Army of more than 140,000 men by citing the attitude of former Presidents of the United States. James Madison, for example, speaking on the Constitution, said:

As the greatest danger is that of disunion of the States, it is necessary to guard against it by sufficient powers to the common Government; and, as the greatest danger to liberty is from large standing armies, it is best to prevent them by an effectual provision for a good militia.

President Washington spoke as follows in his farewell address:

We will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty.

In 1812 John Adams expressed himself as to United States policies as follows:

The danger of our Government is that the general will be a man of more popularity than the President and the Army possess more powers than Congress. The people should be apprised of this and guard themselves against it. Nothing is more essential than to hold the civil authority decidedly superior to the military power.

In 1835 Andrew Jackson referred to the subject in this language:

A large standing military force is not consonant to the spirit of our institutions nor to the feelings of our countrymen, and the lessons of former days and those also of our own times show the danger as well as the enormous expense of these permanent and extensive military organizations,

Other Executives referred to the subject, but most of them in recent years dwelt on the importance of strengthening the militia rather than on the desirability of increasing or diminishing the Regular Army.

The argument was reiterated that the policy of the country had been consistently against a great Military Establishment and that grave danger would arise from any change in this traditional national principle.

When the bill came before the House, the ranking Republican member of the Military Committee, Mr. Kahn, of California, offered an amendment to increase the size of the standing army from 140,000 to 220,000 men. This amendment was defeated by a meager majority, and the bill itself was adopted with the provision for 140,000 men as the peace basis of the Regular Army.

It is interesting to analyze the vote on the Kahn amend-

It is interesting to analyze the vote on the Kahn amendment, because it illustrated the difference in sentiment in various sections of the country and explains a phase of the preparedness fight in Congress which can not be understood fully by those unfamiliar with the sectional viewpoint. The delegations from Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Vermont voted solidly in favor of the Kahn amendment providing for an Army of 220,000 men. Only two Members from New York State voted against the amendment, those being the Socialist, Mr. London, of New York City, and Mr. Fitzgerald, of Brooklyn. Five Members from Pennsylvania voted against the Kahn amendment.

FOR A SMALL ARMY.

Among the States whose delegations voted against the Kahn amendment were these: Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, 9 out of 13 in Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Montana, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

The vote was not divided on party lines, but the tendency was evident on the Democratic side to support the committee and a smaller Army.

Democrats from the New England States, however, voted solidly against the committee and for a larger Army while the sentiment of Members in the South and the Central Western States was, generally speaking, against any large preparedness program. It is probably true that Members from these sections actually represented the sentiment of their districts in voting

against the Kahn proposition. To use their own expressions they refused to be stampeded into revolutionizing an American policy because a few persons on the Atlantic coast were afraid that a hostile fleet would arrive some morning and destroy property and lives along the eastern border. They pretended to believe that the demand for preparedness was promoted and accelerated by the munitions manufacturers.

In the Senate the Chamberlain bill was under consideration after the Hay bill had been disposed of in the House. The demand for a larger Army and for a more definite plan for a reserve force had reached the interior, and this influence was felt in the final vote on the Senate bill. The House had voted down a provision for 220,000 men, yet the Senate inserted by a substantial majority a provision for 250,000. The Senate also included a provision known as section 56 providing for a Volunteer Army on a plan somewhat similar to that which was recommended by Secretary Garrison, and which was responsible for the separation of Mr. Garrison from the present administration.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE BILLS.

The most radical difference between the Senate and the House bills was in the number of Regular troops and in the plan for a Volunteer Army instead of the federalization of the State militia. The Senate also included an appropriation for a nitrate plant on the theory that we would be helpless for ammunition in the event of war if our Navy were destroyed and we were unable to import nitrate for munition purposes.

A provision, which was almost identical in the Senate and House bills and which did not attract the attention it deserved, was one which Mr. Gard of Ohio presented. It provides an extensive and comprehensive plan for the training of college students to become Army officers. The provision was adopted by the Senate and House conferees. The Gard provision was prepared after much intelligent and arduous labor. The plan involves the assignment of Army instructors to colleges where at least 100 students will agree to train, with a view to becoming reserve officers. The War Department will provide a sufficient quota of instructors to meet every demand, and it is estimated, on the assurance of college and Army authorities, that at the end of 10 years not less than 50,000 well-trained men, capable of acting as officers of the Army, will be turned out by these colleges. An allowance will be made to the students themselves for cer-

An allowance will be made to the students themselves for certain work they perform, and while the allowance is not large it will be an additional inducement to students to place themselves under the direction of Army instructors. As the training continues the number of students will increase, and while the plan may not meet fully the expectations of those who projected it, and may fall short of meeting the country's requirements for officers in the event of war, it can not fail to be of the greatest importance as a plan for reserve officers, an arm of the service which is now greatly lacking in actual and reserve efficiency.

which is now greatly lacking in actual and reserve efficiency.

When the Senate and the House bills were passed the conferees of the two Houses could not agree and returned to their respective bodies.

The conferees had difficulty in agreeing on a bill but finally adopted a compromise plan, providing for an Army of a strength outlined in this language:

THE STANDING ARMY.

The total enlisted force of the line of the Regular Army, excluding the Philippine Scouts and the enlisted men of the Quartermaster Corps, of the Medical Corps, and of the Signal Corps, and the unassigned recruits, shall not at any one time, except in the event of actual or threatened war or similar emergency in which the public safety demands it, exceed 175,000 men.

The proposed army is to be raised in five annual increments, and will not reach a maximum strength until the end of five years. It is estimated that about 12,000 men will be added annually to the Regular Establishment, so that this country will have at the end of one year approximately 120,000 men. The increase does not involve a change in the traditional policy for a small standing army, and, considering the enormous increase in population, the demand for the assignment of soldiers to Panama, the Philippines, and elsewhere, it may be truthfully said that the provision for the standing Army is as conservative as any ever enacted into law since the Union of States organized a Central Government.

It may be argued that when the five years have elapsed and the Army is up to its full strength we will have a force of acknowledged and, for the United States, of unprecedented numbers. Permit me, while we are considering the figures in the Hay-Chamberlain bill, to draw the attention of the House to the recommendation of the War College as to the men actually and urgently needed to safeguard the country against attack. The War College recommendation is incidental to an investigation conducted at the request of the Secretary of War and Chief of Staff and was submitted in September, 1915. I quote from the

official report of the War College Division as to the country's requirements:

WAR COLLEGE ESTIMATE.

Combining all previous estimates of Coast Artillery and mobile troops required for service an over-sea garrisons and at home, the following tabular statement of the required strength of the Regular Army in units appropriate to each arm, results, viz:

Localities.	Infan- try regi- ments.	Cav- alry regi- ments.	Field Artil- lery regi- ments.	Coast Artil- lery com- panies.	Engi- peer bat- tal- ions.	Signal Corps bat- tal- ions,1
Philippines*	9 9 9	3 1 1	3 2 1	26 14 21	1½ 2 2 2	1 1 1
Porto Rico Praga Sound area California North Atlantic States Middle West Mexican border United States	9 9	3 4 4 3 6	3½ 3½ 3½ 3½ 1	228	24 24 24 24 24 24	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
Total required	65	25	21	289	153	110

³ Includes aero squadrons.
² Nine regiments Infantry, 2 regiments Field Artillery, 2 battalions Engineers.
Filipinos to be added, 21,000 officers and men.
³ This estimate can only be verified by an inspection of all the harbors in question, for which inspection there has not been sufficient time since this estimate was received.

These figures may be summarized as follows:

Oversea : Mobile (combatant) Coast Artiflery Corps	74, 500 7, 500	82, 000
In United States: Mobile (combatant) Coast Artillery Corps	121, 000 27, 000	148, 000
Total: Mobile (combatant) Coast Artillery Corps	195, 500 34, 500	280, 000

To this total should be added officers and men for the Sanitary, Quartermaster, Ordnance Department, etc., appropriate to a force of this strength, amounting approximately to 30,000 officers and men. Including Philippine Scouts 21,000, the grand total becomes 281,000.

The wide discrepancy between the Regular Army as provided for in the bill and the recommendation of the War College furnishes its own comment as to whether the needs of national defense are met in the military program as adopted by Con-

The contention is made that wars are not fought by the Regular Army, but by the reserve forces. The provisions of the compromise bill in this direction are, therefore, of vital importance. The volunteer or continental army plan was reimportance. The volunteer or continental army plan was rejected by the House after it had been adopted by the Senate. The main reliance, in the final draft, is placed on the National Guard. The guard is federalized, and compensation for officers and men is provided, so that encouragement to enlistment and for energetic effort on the part of the officers is not lacking. It is estimated that the membership of the guard is now about 150,000 men.

STATE MILITIA ESTIMATE.

The advocates of the plan to use the State militia as the auxiliary or emergency army expect an increase in membership until 400,000 to 500,000 men will be enlisted and trained, ready to join in the patriotic duty of protecting the country in time of stress. I have no means of knowing whether the expectations of these optimists will be realized, or whether the federalization of the State militia will work a magic influence in inducing young men to join the guard. That is a situation which must wait upon the experiment.

In the meantime, however, it will have to be acknowledged that the reserve of the Nation will be virtually nil, and that our chief dependence in any present controversy must be on moral sussion, unless the offending or contending power shall have the courtesy to consent to await our convenience in train-

ing an adequate Army.

The National Guard has been assigned a great honor and a tremendous responsibility. Constant and rigid training will be required to reach the standard of the new reserve regulations. Time alone will decide the wisdom of treating the State militia as an arm of the Federal force instead of a State organization with State duties and obligations.

The statement is frequently heard that the country will develop a large reserve force under the plan of enlistment provided in the Army bill. The enlistment contemplates a service of three years with the colors and four years in the reserve. fact can not be overlooked in this connection that with the

meager standing Army maintained by the United States and the recurring expiration of reserve enlistments, the reserve will never reach a size or importance worthy of great national dependence in case of war.

THE COUNTRY'S DANGER.

In conclusion I desire to express myself emphatically against any plan or principle which would develop a military atmosphere in the United States. More dangerous, however, than this phere in the United States. More dangerous, however, than this undoubted evil is the policy of a truly great nation trying to retain governmental standards for 100,000,000 persons solely because these standards and policies, through a kind Providence, met the demands of a group of States with 3,000,000 souls.

This country is not yet aroused to its urgent requirements. Congress is awaiting the word from "back home" as to how much preparedness is actually desired. We have a form of government necessarily unwieldy, where one section can not dominate the sentiment of another. To my mind we are inviting calamity by delaying the plan of genuine preparedness. And yet, according to the viewpoint of many intelligent and patriotic Members of Congress I am influenced in my judgment by the "hysteria" which has visited a part of the country, but which

has left a large part distractingly calm and unmoved.

The work of education must go forward until the whole Nation shall realize that our security should not be left to uncertainty or chance. Our liberty must be safeguarded beyond a question of doubt in the minds of our own people and with the control of the province of the provinc convincing definiteness among those nations who may be envious

of our freedom or covetous of our possessions.

"Thou Shalt Not Bear False Witness Against Thy Neighbor."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MARTIN DIES. OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 23, 1916.

Mr. DIES. Mr. Speaker, I have heard a great deal of criticism of Members of Congress for mailing out parts of the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD, free of postage, under the franking privilege. There are probably some abuses of the law, but there are cases where sending out parts of the Record is not only justifiable but of the highest importance to the public interest and the integrity of the public records. A man by the name of Howth is a candidate for Congress against me, and he is using large sums of money in an effort to mislead the people as to the records of Congress. If I could be present in the district I could and would denounce these misrepresentations of the public records. But Congress is in session at Washington, which is more than a thousand miles from Texas. Congress is considering and deciding the most important questions of the age. We have passed again at this session the good-roads bill. We have just passed the farm land and loan bill, or ruralcredits bill. We have just passed the compromise Army bill, and the naval bill will be before us soon. Many matters of great importance are yet pending in the Congress, and white they are up for settlement I do not feel that as a representative of the people I ought to leave my post of duty at Washington and go down to Texas to defend the integrity of the public records and my own record as a public servant. Therefore, I shall "stay on the job" while important matters are pending, and correct the misrepresentation of the Congressional Recomb and of my own record by printing the truth in the Congres-SIONAL RECORD and mailing each poll-tax payer a copy of the truth under my frank as a Congressman. I have served the people faithfully. No dirty dollar has ever crossed my palm. I have never permitted any person, natural or artificial, directly or indirectly, to contribute a dollar to my campaign expenses. I have always paid for my own campaigns. I shall do so in this campaign. Under these circumstances it is an outrage for any man or set of men to flood the district with printed statements misstating the records of Congress. If it is spiritual death for a man to "bear false witness against his neighbor," who is present and can defend himself, it ought to be both spiritual and political death for a candidate to "bear false witness" against his Congressman, who is absent in the line of

Following is one of these false circulars. I print it in the Congressional Record just as it is being handed out. A gentleman wrote me from Port Arthur, Tex., that a man was

employed to stand at the gates of the great refineries where thousands of working men are employed and hand each man one of these circulars. The circular is untruthful. It is a perversion of the solemn records of the Government, It is an outrage against a faithful public servant. The perpetrators ought to be ashamed of themselves.

Here is the circular word for word, and letter for letter, as it is being circulated:

LAWS TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF LABOR, AND TO PROTECT CHILDREN FROM OVERWORK NOT FAVORED BY MR. DIES.

LAWS TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF LABOR, AND TO PROTECT CHILDREN FROM OVERWORK NOT FAVORED BY MR. DIES.

Mr. DIES was present and did not vote on a bill providing that injunctions shall not be issued without giving the parties to be encioned notice and an opportunity to be heard, unless immediate and irreparable injury is likely to ensee to complainant and delay would probably permit the doing of the act sought to be restrained, in which event a temporary restricting order can be issued at the discretion of the judge; that security shall be given by the parties seeking the issuing of restraining orders for the payment of damages to parties who may be injured oy being wrongfully enjoined; that every injunction shall give the reason for its issuance in specific terms; that no injunction shall be issued for any cause arising out of the labor dispute, except to prevent irreparable injury to property or property rights of complainants, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at isw: that injunctions shall not be issued to prevent strikes and the peaceable activities necessary to their conduct or from doing anything which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute by any party thereto.

He was also present and did not vote on a bill relative to trials of contempt of court, by providing for a jury trial, if demanded by accused in case of indirect contempt committed outside the presence of the court.

These bills were advocated by the American Federation of Labor.

In 1913 the House had up the matter of passing over the President's vot on a mendment to an appropriation for \$300,000 for enforcing the antitrust law, which amendment provided that no part of the money should be spent to prosecute any party to an agreement to increase wages, shortening hours, or bettering labor conditions, or organizations of farmers to maintain fair and reasonable prices for their products. Dies was present and did not vote on a bill to establish in the Department of Commerce and Labor a bureau to investigate and report upon al

Trust.

He voted against the bill creating postal-savings depositories

The first statement in this false circular is that I was "present and did not vote" on the anti-injunction bill, and the bill to provide trial by jury for persons charged with contempt, where the alleged offense was not charged to have been committed in the presence of the court. The false circular truly says that "these bills were advocated by the American Federation of Labor." But it speaks an untruth when it says I was "present I was not only present but I was voting, and and not voting." I voted to pass the bill which is now the law, and which has proven satisfactory to organized labor all over the country. See official Record of the Sixty-third Congress, second session, page 9911. Later I was present and voted to adopt the conference report on this bill. See Congressional Record of Sixty-third Congress, second session, page 16344. I never voted against such a measure in my life. I was never "present and not voting" when such a measure was voted upon. I was never absent when such a measure was voted upon without being duly paired for the bill with a Republican who was against the bill.

The next charge in this false circular is that I was "present and did not vote" upon a proposition to pass an appropriation bill over the President's veto. The Record does not show that I was "present and not voting." The vote on this matter, which was of minor importance, occurred just as Congress was about to adjourn for the session. The Record shows that I did not vote. I have no independent recollection of the matter.

The next charge in this false circular is that I was "present and did not vote" to establish a certain bureau in the Department of Labor, known as the Children's Bureau. I was for the bill, as the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shows, and was paired for the bill with Mr. Copley, a Republican, who was against the This bill passed the House April 2, 1912.

The next charge in this false circular is that I voted against appropriating \$165,000 for the purpose of investigating infant

mortality, dangerous occupations, and so forth, but that Congress voted \$600,000 to stamp out hog cholera. The fact is that I voted against the appropriation to investigate the infant mortality for the reason that we had already appropriated a sufficient sum for that purpose. In voting against that amendment I stood with the Democratic committee and voted with a majority of the Texas delegation in Congress. In the case of the hog cholera, I stood with the Democratic committee and voted with a majority of the Texas delegation in Congress.

The next charge in this false circular is that I was "present and did not vote" for what is known as the Federal child-labor law. The fact is that I was present and voted against that measure. My reasons for voting against the bill were, in the first place, that Texas already has on the statute books a better child-labor law than the one proposed; and, in the next place, the question of child labor is not a Federal question, but a State question, and I believe the people of Texas are competent to regulate the matter in their own legislature without having Congress interfere. The age limit in the proposed Federal statute was 14 and 16 years, while the Texas law provides for 15 and 17 years. I have heard no complaint against the Texas statute, and I voted against having Congress assume jurisdiction where, in my opinion, it has none.

The next charge in this false circular is that I was "present and did not vote" for a bill to investigate the Money Trust. I was paired for it with a Republican, Mr. Harris, who was against it.

The next charge in this false circular is that I voted against a bill creating postal savings depositories. The truth is that I voted for the Democratic bill, which would have helped the people, and against the Republican bill, which became the law and has never amounted to a row of pins. At the time the bill passed the House the Senate and the Presidency were Republican. The Democrats in Congress, under the leadership of CHAMP CLARK, proposed a substitute Democratic bill, for which

I voted, and with me voted nearly every Democrat in Congress. So much for the "false circular." I am denouncing it now through the Congressional Record, and when I get the people's important business attended to at Washington I shall go to the

district and denounce it in person before the people.

In the seven years that I have faithfully served the people of east Texas I have cast thousands of important votes. I doubt if any man from Texas ever served in Congress and stuck closer to the job than I have done. In the thousands of votes which have been taken since the people elected me I have been present and have cast my vote in nearly all of them; and I have always had the courage to vote one way or the other, as the Record shows. I do not recall now a single instance where I was "present and not voting," as stated in this false circular. In the few instances where I have been absent on roll call I

have either been sick or at an important committee meeting or otherwise engaged upon important public business. And even then I usually made a pair agreement with a Republican whereby neither of us cast a vote, which amounts to the same thing as if we had both voted.

Congress has been in session almost continuously since I have been a Member, and I have given faithful and constant attention to the public business.

The false circular above referred to is but a sample of the great mass of misrepresentation being poured into the public ear against me while I am absent from the district at my post of duty. Another charge made against me is that I have made no effort to reduce the pension graft, as I promised to do in my campaign for election. This charge against me is utterly false in word and in spirit. I have labored dilligently to stop the pension graft, and the press throughout the country have praised my work. From a long list I select the following newspapers that have commended my work against the pension graft:

The Baltimore Sun, the Indianapolis News, the Houston Post, Charlotte Observer, Mobile Register, New York World, Abliene Reporter, Beaumont Enterprise, Louisville Courier-Journal, Nashville Banner, Washington Pathfinder, State Topics, Tyler Courier-Times, the Chicago Post, New York Times, Fort Worth Record, Oklahoma News, Leslie's Weekly, Nashville Tennessean, the Houston Chronicle, the New York Sun, and many others.

One of these newspapers was edited at the time by Henry Watterson, the great Democratic leader; another was edited by Josephus Daniels, the present Secretary of the Navy. They were simply giving praise to a faithful public man for duty well performed. My opponent is simply trying to pick flaws in order to get an office,

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

This opponent says in this false and unfair literature that in 1913 Congress wasted money on needless public buildings. Senator Morris Sheppard, who was formerly a Member of the

House, was chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings, and this public-building bill was prepared under Morris Shep-PARD's direction. The bill passed the Democratic House of Representatives, the Senate, was signed by the President, and became the law

In the second Texas district, which I have the honor to represent, there have been constructed the following public buildings: The Federal building at Beaumont, secured by Hon. S. B. Beaumont is a city of over 30,000 population, has a Federal court, and Mr. Cooper did a great service in securing the appropriation. The public building at Port Arthur was also secured by Mr. Cooper and does him credit. Port Arthur is one of the largest ports in the United States, is a port of entry, and a city of nearly 20,000 people. I secured the public building at Marshall, a city of more than 15,000 people, where postal facilities were sadly needed by the Government and the people. I secured an appropriation for a building at Nacogdoches, where a public building is soon to be erected. The site at Orange was secured by me, and Senator Sheppard secured the appropriation for the building. Nacogdoches is a large and important city, and Orange is coming forward as an important deep-water port This politician who is running against me will not say that these improvements should not be made, but he shrewdly points to the building at Anderson, S. C., Chickasha, Ala., Kalispell, Mont., and says they should not have been constructed. He does not state the facts as to these buildings. He merely read the Republican criticism of a Democratic measure and repeats it without investigation. If what he says had been true Morris SHEPPARD would not have sanctioned this bill, as chairman of the committee, and a Democratic House of Representatives would not have passed it. I am endeavoring to secure an appropriation to erect a public building at Lufkin and at Jacksonville, and the attack of this politician shall not prevent me from carrying on the work.

THE NAVAL BILL OF 1914.

In the effort of this candidate to pick flaws in my record, he criticizes me for voting against two battleships and in favor of one, in 1914. He conceals the fact that President Wilson and practically the entire Democratic Party were against the two-battleship proposition. Oscar Underwood was the Democratic leader in the House, and spokesman for the administration. Underwood led the fight against two battleships and in favor of one. I am proud of the vote I cast then, and when the European war is over and sanity comes again to our country, we will quit building these \$20,000,000 battleships, which hide from \$300,000 submarines and lie rotting behind the guns of harbors, impotent monuments of colossal waste and taxation.

THE SHIP-PURCHASE BILL.

He says I voted against the ship-purchase bill last year. Yes; I voted against the bill last year, because it carried a provision for permanent Government operation. The proponents of the bill cut that objectionable feature out of the bill this year, and I voted for it.

THE WAR-RISK BILL.

He says I was recorded as "not voting" on the war-risk bill. I was not present when the vote was taken. I was absent on account of sickness. There was practically no opposition to the bill, and the Democratic leader assured me that my vote was not needed to pass the bill. If I had been present, I would have voted for the bill.

After having circularized the district with the false statement that I was "present and not voting," this candidate made a speech, in which he said, "It is Dies's habit to sit mute and not vote on these big questions." No greater injustice was ever done a public man than that. I do not recall having ever declined to vote upon any question in Congress. I have always voted my convictions and spoken them.

PARCEL POST.

This candidate tries to leave the impression, although he does not say so directly, that I have opposed the parcel-post system. Why, I have advocated parcel post ever since I was a boy, and always voted for it and never against it. There are thousands of men in east Texas who heard me preaching the parcel-post system more than 25 years ago. There was never such a law in the United States until I came to Congress, and I did my full share to make the system what it is.

In every instance where this man says I was "present and did not vote" he speaks an untruth, and the records of Congress show it. I have endured this wholesale misrepresentation silently, in the hope that a sense of decency and fairness would return to those who thus falsely and unfairly assail me. despairing of fair treatment at the hands of these assailants, I shall henceforward bludgeon them with the truth when they assault me with misrepresentation.

POSTMASTER APPOINTMENTS.

This candidate says I appointed my cousin postmaster at Port Arthur, Tex. That is absolutely untrue. I recommended J. H. Washburne for postmaster at Port Arthur and the President appointed him. He is not related to me in any way, directly or indirectly. There are several hundred postmasters in the second district, and none of them are related to me except Jack Dies, postmaster at Beaumont, who is my brother. He is a good postmaster, and a good brother, too, and I am glad he has the job.

SAYS I HAVE DONE NOTHING.

This candidate says that I have done nothing as a Congressman. I suppose he means that I have not gone out singlehanded and passed any laws. He seems to overlook the fact that there are 430 other Congressmen and that they have to be consulted about lawmaking. And then there is the Senate of the United States, which must pass on every bill before it becomes a law. And, finally, the President must sign it. I have helped to pass a good many laws. Here are some good laws that I have voted for and that are now the law:

The graduated income-tax law, which is a tax upon wealth, and not consumption.

The tariff bill, which reduced the tax upon consumption. The election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the

The anti-injunction bill, which regulates the granting of injunctions in labor disputes.

The bill to grant jury trials in indirect-contempt proceedings

growing out of labor disputes. The present banking and currency system, which makes panics impossible.

The Parcel Post System, which makes express company robbery no longer possible and gives the farmer a better chance.

The antitrust laws, that regulate big business, and make it no longer safe for any man to laugh the law in the face, no matter how rich and powerful he is.

The eight-hour day for workingmen in Government works. The law prohibiting certain gambling contracts in cotton fu-

The above is a partial list of laws I have helped to pass,

given from memory.

The following are some of the good laws which I have helped to pass, but which await the sanction of the Senate and the President before becoming law:

The good-roads bill. The rural-credits bill. The immigration bill.

This last bill passed the House at the present session by a larger vote than ever before, and I feel hopeful that it will soon become the law.

The candidate against me has sought to arouse prejudice in his favor by saying that I spoke disrespectfully of President Wilson. There is not one word of truth in it. This candidate for office may justify his conscience in the unkind, untrue, and disrespectful statements he is making about his Congressman, but I am too good an American ever to speak disrespectfully, much less falsely, about my President. The statement that I referred to the President's speech as idiotic is untrue.

My constituents know that I do not agree with the President on the nonpartisan question of preparedness. I have dealt fairly with those I represent by telling them candidly of this difference. I now state candidly that the Army bill which has just passed the House and Senate is larger than I wanted it to I voted for the Army bill because I was unwilling to vote against any legislation at all upon the subject, and the Hay bill was the best compromise we could get. We succeeded in eliminating the continental army plan for 500,000 men, and instead gave additional encouragement to the State Militia. The estimates for the standing army for next year are for 105,000 men, which is but little more than the present size of the Army. The increases under the new bill are to be raised, if ever, in five annual installments, and as there are now practically 20,000 vacancies in the Army the probability is that no part of the authorized increases can ever be raised in time of peace. The appropriation for the Army will be much larger than before, but that will be for reserve material to be kept on hand against an emergency

As to the Navy bill, which has not yet passed, I feel hopeful that we can cut out the five-year feature of the program, so that when the war in Europe is over and peace once again blesses the earth the taxpayers will not have enormous five-year contracts hanging around their necks for needless armaments. Both the Army and the Navy bills will be larger than are necessary, in my judgment, but all legislation is and must be the result of compromise. The President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives embrace 524 men, each with a sworn duty to perform, and it is inevitable that no one man of that number can have laws made to suit his own individual ideas.

I do not want any man to be deceived as to how I stand on this great question. I am opposed to a large standing army in time of peace. I am opposed to a colossal Navy. I am in favor of adequate national defense. My speech delivered in Congress January 28, 1916, and the speeches since made by me in the district express my views upon this question. I have had no occasion to change my mind since then and have not done so. The European war will in all human probability be over before frost of this year. It will leave the peoples of Europe in poverty and woe, a veritable charnel house and shambles. It will then be apparent to every intelligent man who has no ax to grind that our fears were unfounded. In the meantime I shall exert my utmost power to prevent this Republic from becoming committed to the principle of militarism, that body of death, in the embrace of which liberty, fraternity, and equality have ever perished, and will unto the end of time.

Administration Shipping Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM L. LA FOLLETTE.

OF WASHINGTON.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 20, 1916.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. Speaker, the failure of the majority party to keep a quorum in attendance during the discussion of the administration shipping bill by the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union enabled the minority party, by a decisive majority, to vote out section 5 of the bill.

The majority, by calling for a separate vote on this amendment when the bill came up for final passage in the House, succeeded in reinstating section 5, which I consider was a very unfortunate thing for the country. I think it was also unfortunate that the voting of the section out of the bill in the committee prevented my offering the following amendment to the bill, and it is likewise to be commiserated that under our rules there was no opportunity to offer the amendment to the section after it was reinstated by the House:

Amendment offered by Mr. La Follette: Page 6, line 3, at the end of section 5, after the word "purposes," insert "Provided, That nothing in this section shall be construed as conferring on the shipping board any power or authority to lease or purchase any of the interned ships of any belligerent nation interned in this country or elsewhere. The exercise of such authority is hereby expressly prohibited."

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Missouri, the chairman of the committee having this bill in charge [Mr. ALEXANDER], in response to a question propounded by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Fess], "Do you intend to buy the interned ships?" answered "No." The gentleman from Ohio very particular swered "No." The gentleman from Ohio very pertinently re-torted in part, "Many of the advocates of this bill are expecting

Mr. Speaker, when the Government shipping bill was under consideration by the Sixty-third Congress the question of where the United States Government was going to buy ships was discussed pro and con. It was pointed out that all of the tonnage of the world was fully engaged with the exception of the tonnage belonging to citizens of belligerent nations interned in the ports of neutral countries, and it was claimed that the purchasing of interned vessels would doubtless lead to complications involving our good faith and neutrality.

If the Government purchased vessels other than these interned

vessels, it added nothing to the freighting tonnage of the world and could not hope to relieve the freight congestion; furthermore, the Government could only buy tonnage at enormously inflated prices.

It was openly charged that the shipping bill of the last Congress was not born of patriotism, but, on the contrary, was of entirely different parentage. It was claimed that under the guise of public expediency and need an attempt was being made to pay for past favors and to further the interests of certain citizens and others by the purchase of a lot of interned ships in which they were financially interested.

These charges and claims were not complimentary at all to the chief sponsor for the legislation, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McAdoo, and the good faith of this administration was seriously impugned.

ping board, it leaves this bill subject to the same imputations that were made against the bill introduced in the last Congress, and leaves an element of danger, and gives cause for apprehension throughout the country that, in my judgment, should be

The committee should have made the leasing or purchasing of interned vessels prohibitive, and I trust that a provision of that kind will be inserted at the other end of the Capitol.

Mr. Speaker, without going into the question of the wisdom of Government ownership, I desire to say that as a straight business proposition, and, the application of the greatest element in the success and control of the world, common sense, I am opposed to the Government going into this venture at this If the Government could have obtained control of a large volume of tonnage at the outbreak of the European war and let contracts for the building of additional tonnage at that time, it would have, no doubt, been a paying investment for the country; but to go into it at this time is, in my judgment, the height of folly. Vessels can neither be built nor bought within the bounds of reason. It would cost probably 500 per cent more at this time than at the outbreak of the war. Then there were but 68 vessels building in the shipyards of the United States; now there are some 386, and the Government could not procure a contract to have any vessels built and delivered short of two years, and in all probability by that time the European war will be over. Immediately the immense tonnage engaged in the transport of troops and war supplies will be available for commercial carrying; the European countries engaged in war, with the possible exception of England, will have but little to ship abroad for some time after the close of the war, and the neutral countries of Europe contiguous to the now belligerent countries will be called upon to supply much of their manufactures and production for use in the rehabilitation of the devastated and depleted territory. Naturally, they will not have as great need for ocean tonnage as before the war. In my judgment, when the thousands of vessels now in course of construction and under contract for future construction in the shippards of the world are placed in commission, and those engaged in the service of the belligerent nations are released, there will be the cheapest tonnage and the greatest supply of shipping for carrying our products that this country has had in all of its existence. I am constrained to believe that by the time this administration shipping bill can get into full operation there will be no earthly need for it, and the Government had much better save the fifty to one hundred millions of dollars that will be frittered away. For the reasons stated, I can not support this measure,

The Shipping Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GUY T. HELVERING,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 19, 1916.

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, the long-drawn-out struggle a little over a year ago in the United States Senate over a similar shipping bill attracted the general attention of the However, as on all similar occasions when partisanship is brought into play in the discussion of economic questions. the issues involved have been rendered obscure and men have taken sides, for or against the shipping bill, largely because of the fact that they are either for or against the present adminis-

With the desire to clear away some of the misunderstanding existing and with no intent to inject any element of partisanship into what, in my opinion, is a purely economic question, I propose to briefly set forth the arguments that were put forward in the United States Senate by those who favored or opposed the measure.

The first objection made was that there was no necessity for such legislation, and that ocean-going vessels in plenty can be found to care for all of our foreign trade.

This was answered by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo when he showed just exactly the congestion existing at the various scaports. The increase in ocean freight rates for December, as compared with July, 1914, was 141 per cent, and this proportionate rate increased for some time during 1915, and at Mr. Speaker, unless it is made impossible under this bill for this rate the total increase in a 12-month period would amount the negotiating for any of the interned freighters by the ship-

HON.

In many instances the rates are now absolutely prohibitive, and in the case of our South American trade—a field which offers to us the most wonderful opportunities at the present time when the Panama Canal affords easy access and when the nations which formerly largely supplied these markets are now entirely out of the field—we are absolutely helpless. Shipping lines have been discontinued and contracts have been broken in order that the vessels may be used in the more profitable business of transporting goods to the nations now at war.

It is now said that private enterprise can be depended upon to meet our needs and that it is unnecessary for the Government

to enter the field.

To this objection the history of the past 50 years furnishes an ample answer. The need for the transportation of our goods has existed, but despite all that our American shipping has almost become extinct, as far as foreign business is concerned. I have not the time to go into the cause for this, which many of you fully understand, but we all realize the condition existing and know that we have nothing to hope for from private investment.

Now come the opponents of the shipping bill and say that the only remedy lies in the subsidizing of shipping owned by Amer-

ican citizens.

The American people have shown repeatedly that they are utterly opposed to subsidies. They will not tolerate being taxed in order to insure profits to any favored class. They realize that it is an economic fallacy to claim that they can get relief through taxation which would inure to the benefit of the few and at the cost of the many. Relief through subsidies is not to be expected, and the proposition would meet with condemnation. And the opposition in this House knows full well that a measure providing a subsidy could not be passed.

Another objection urged is that it is socialistic for the Government to enter upon an experiment of Government ownership.

Granting this, and yet it is not an objection. Government is created and maintained for the well-being of all of the people of a country, and its functions can not be so circumscribed that it can not undertake and carry out any plan needed for the protection of its citizenship. The functions of the Post Office Department are socialistic, for it is a Government-owned and managed monopoly, and yet no one to whom the word "socialism" is obnoxious would ask us to go out of the business.

It is further urged that for the Government to buy foreign ships or to engage in the carrying trade would endanger the

peace of this Nation.

And to this answer is made that it would have absolutely the contrary effect. The Government is naturally so scrupulous in maintaining neutrality and in living strictly within the letter and spirit of international law that the right to purchase any vessel would be accurately determined before the act was accomplished.

Furthermore, a Government-owned vessel would not under any circumstances carry contraband of war, and the shippers of legitimate commerce would have the assurance that their goods would be carried in Government ships without delay and without interference.

Getting to the basis of the objections, we find two powerful factors united for a common purpose—defeat of the attempt to enlarge our facilities for foreign commerce by governmental activity. One of these factors is the combine of shipping interests, which will be satisfied with nothing less than the payment to them of subsidies. The other factor is the shipbuilders of America, who to a man are opposed to the purchase of any vessel which they do not build. These men are interested more in personal profit than they are in the building up of an American merchant marine; and if I had the time I could demonstrate to you from the record how they have before this permitted greed to control them in dealing with really national questions.

This combination of interests controls great commercial bodies in this country. It is dominated by exactly the same small group of men who compose the Money Trust, and it controls a large section of the press of this country. By means of its subsidized press and its controlled commercial bodies it is trying to manufacture sentiment against the legislation proposed, but to remedy existing evils the only remedy it offers is a direct subsidy.

The world asks for our goods, and it is willing to pay for them.

We have no merchant marine to carry our American products of farm and factory.

We have the opportunity now to build up a magnificent foreign trade, and thus insure for the future steady employment to all American workingmen.

The shipping bill would put the Government into the field to do for the people that which they can not do for themselves.

Between insuring profits to magnates by direct subsidies and permitting them to make rates deterrent to commerce or injurious to the producer and consumer, or to let the Government do the work needed, and thus insure fair charges and equality of service, which plan do you favor?

The time to act is now, when the opportunity presents itself. The Government would give assurance to the American industrial world that they would have relief, and that ships would be run as needed and not be taken from a useful and important field

to earn temporary additional profits.

Monument at Gainesville, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

JOHN H. STEPHENS,

OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 23, 1916.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gallivan] on March 31, 1916, introduced in this House a bill (No. 14030), which reads as follows:

A bill (H. R. 14030) to erect a monument at Gainesville, Tex.

Be it enacted, etc., That the sum of \$100,000 is hereby appropriated for the purpose of acquiring a site and erecting a monument at Gainesville, Tex., to the memory of the 42 loyal citizens of the United States who, without trial or process of law, and without having been convicted of any crime, were barbarously put to death by mobs and pretended military authorities at Gainesville, Tex., in the month of October, 1862.

Mr. Speaker, this bill alleges, first, that the men hanged were convicted without trial or process of law. The facts are (as I will show in this speech) that these men were tried and convicted by a jury under military law for treason and murder. Many witnesses were called and testified before the jury that found them guilty.

Second. The bill alleges that they were not convicted of any crime. In reply to that, I will show that the facts are that they not only were convicted of the crime of murdering Col. Young and a Mr. Dixon, but also of treason to their country, and that many of them admitted their guilt before the jury trying them.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. G; LLI-VAN] by introducing the above bill to erect a monument to the men hanged at Gainesville has offered a gratuitous insult to the citizens of Cooke County. There is possibly not one man in a thousand now living in that county that had anything whatever to do with the hanging of these men. Why all these persons should now be insulted for what a few persons may have done in Gainesville 54 years ago is wholly beyond my comprehension. It is clearly shown by the evidence I shall quote in these remarks that these men acted only in their own necessary selfdefense and in defense of their country against the threatened invasion from Kansas. Many of the men hanged admitted their guilt, and one of them, a Mr. Field, according to the sworn statement of Mr. Parr, hereafter quoted, when about to be hanged, said "that the citizens of Cooke County would not be doing their duty if they did not hang every man that belonged to that so-He further said that "we all took an oath to kill every man, woman, and child when the society was sufficiently strong, take their property and cross Red River and there be met by a regiment of northern soldiers."

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gallivan] in his speech says, "Some of them banded themselves together to prevent their being drafted into the Confederate Army." There is not one scintilla of proof to sustain this statement either in Dr. Barrett's book or Mr. Cates's history or in any of the letters I have received.

Mr. Gallivan again says that they—the men hanged—did not kill anyone. Dr. Barrett says in the very book that Mr. Gallivan quotes from:

Col. William Young (whom some of the clan killed about 10 days afterwards, which will come up in its proper place) said to the man making the confession, "Since you and some others who are members of this clan have lived near me I have been very kind to you all. What was to become of me and my property, for I did not have your sign, password, and grip?" The man looked at Col. Young for a few seconds and then said. "I often thought of you and intended to give you the sign, password, and grip before the uprising, that you might save your person and property."

Mr. Speaker, Dr. Barrett, further on in his book, says that "Col. Young and Dixon were killed by this band"; and in this connection he says, "If Col. Young had not been killed this hanging might have stopped."

Mr. Speaker, I will say that it must be presumed that Mr. GALLIVAN read all of Dr. Barrett's statements and that he knew that Col. Young and Mr. Dixon were killed by this clan. Why does he state that this clan killed no one? The only answer is that he had deliberately made up his mind to injure and slander the good people of Cooke County, the State of Texas, and the South for his own political advancement.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Galli-VAN] only quoted such parts of Dr. Barrett's book as suited his malicious purposes, as I will now show by quoting from Dr. Barrett's book. The last part of the first chapter, pages 1 and 2, sets forth clearly why these men were hanged. The paragraph is

headed in large type:

HOW THE ORGANIZATION WAS FOUND OUT.

How the organization was found out.

The mail carrier who carried the mail from Gainesville south was staying all night at a hotel in Gainesville, and a man who was a member of the organization was there also. This man was considerably under the influence of liquor. This man told the mail carrier enough about this organization to attract his curiosity and his suspicion, so he asked a number of questions about it; the intoxicated man told him to go to a certain man and that man would initiate him and tell him all about it. The mail carrier said nothing about what he had heard, but started south with the mail next morning. By the time he had got into Denton County he had thought so much of the strange, mysterious affair that he came to the settled conclusion that there was something very dangerous to the community on hand and the people unapprised and unprepared for it; that it might come upon them at the midnight hour, with all the horrors of a savage massacre; and he was not far wrong, as the sequel will prove, by the confession of the members of the organization, which I am approaching in my history.

This mail carrier came to the conclusion that he would inform the military authority of what he had heard at Gainesville, and did so through a military officer, who gave information to the military.

When this mail carrier came back to Gainesville the military, questioned him, and after learning all they could from him he was sent to be initiated. He went and took the oath of secrecy, and took what will be known in this history as the first degree, though members of this organization did not so call it. After taking this first degree he was told if he would take another oath he would be informed of the whole thing. But he refused to go any further, and when he reported to the military, there being nothing in this first degree to make a fluss about, the anxiety was great to know what was in what I shall call the second degree.

The military selected a man who had been connected with the Confederate Army to go and

This man went to the initiator and wormed himself into his favor about in this way—I heard him tell it more than once: He spoke of having been connected with the Confederate Army in a manner which was well calculated to convey the idea that he was not sound in the

having been connected with the Confederate Army in a manner which was well calculated to convey the idea that he was not sound in the faith.

This caused the initiator to ask him how he was pleased with the condition of things. The man seeking to be initiated answered, "Not very well," and remarked, "If you had been where I have been and seen and heard what I have, you would not be pleased yourself." This was a precious morsel for the initiator; he bent forward with a smile, and was in this way thrown completely off of his guard. And the organization about which I am writing was named, and the man wishing to be initiated not only nibbled at it but he bit heavy, swallowing the hook, bait, and all. So he took both degrees, saying it was the very best thing for the time.

The man that was initiated asked the initiator to give him the names of some of the members that he might know who to approach, and he got quite a number of names. This man then asked the initiator to initiate another man, but he objected, saying that the man was a strong southern man. "He was," said the other, "but I have worked on him, and he is all right now." So the agreement was that the other man was to be initiated next day. They met next day, and the man was put through. The two men questioned the initiator till they found out much of the intentions of the members of the organization, but not all, for those leaders generally kept some of the most objectionable things back till they proved a man. But these men found out enough to know that if this thing was carried out it would devastate the country.

Don't be surprised of the strength of the language at the conclusion of the above sentence, for the truth must come, and when you hear you will say the language was not stronger than the case demands.

The next thing to be done was for these men to report to the millitary at Gainesville. The men lived near each other, but in going to report at Gainesville. The men lived near each other, but in going to report at Gainesville. The men lived nea

Mr. Speaker, I have quoted all of the language used by the doctor on that subject. I next quote from the paragraph headed "How they were sworn to secrecy" by the organization of the treasonable conspiracy which is told, beginning on page 6 and ending on page 7 of Dr. Barrett's book, and is as follows:

G and ending on page 7 of Dr. Barrett's book, and is as follows:

They told them that if they would take the oath of secrecy they would give the sign, password, and grip.

If the individuals agreed to take the oath, after taking it they were told when they met up with a man, the situation admitted, to pass the fingers of the right hand slowly over the right ear. The answer for this was for the man to pass the finger of the left hand slowly over the left ear; but fo guard against all mistakes, when they approached a man and gave him the sign, he was to be asked where he got his horse or any article about him. If he said in Arizona, he was all right and could be approached.

The grip to distinguish in a crowd or in the dark consisted in the common shake of the hand, with the end of the forefinger pressing tolerably hard on the side of the wrist.

They sometimes gave this sign, password, and grip to their friends, telling them that if there was any uprising to give them and they would save themselves and property, telling nothing more.

They also stated that this organization existed in both northern and southern armies, and it they became sufficiently numerous they would stop the fighting and restore the Constitution and Union.

Here it is proper to state all of this was not told to all of the men, but all of this came up in the various confessions.

This constituted what I shall call the first degree, though they did not so call it. When they got through with this first degree they would tell the man that if he would take another oath they would tell him all they intended to do if he consented. They swore him to secrecy and to do all he could for the North, and to do all he could against the South, to relustate the Constitution, and go to the relief of any member who should be arrested, and if a member betrayed them and their secrets they were to kill him if they had to follow him to the end of the earth, and no death was too bad for him to die. If he did not flinch, they then told the plan. They told the favored few all their plans, but to the great mass they only told part of their plans, all being sworn to obey their leaders.

The Confederate Government had a large amount of ammunition at Sherman, which was guarded day and night. Cooke County had about 400 pounds of powder and other ammunition to suit it.

Their plans were to rise in the night, take all the ammunition at Sherman and Gainesville, and throw the country without ammunition and take the country and hold its property and all, and no man's person or property was to be respected unless he had their sign, password, and grip. This and other things will appear when I come to speak particularly of the confessions.

Immediately following the language last above quoted, Dr. Barrett prints in large type "Their confessions." It is as fol-

THEIR CONFESSIONS.

Barrett prints in large type "Their confessions." It is as follows:

THEIR CONFESSIONS.

There were a few who seemed to know nothing but what was in the first degree. But an overwhelming majority confessed that they knew of this uprising in the night and taking the ammunition, as before stated. The most confessed that they had a monthly mail to the Kansas jayhawkers, and these Kansas jayhawkers had promised to come to their assistance as soon as it rained there, having been a long dry spell. They said one of their clan was at that time in a two-horse wagon to carry and bring the monthly mail, giving out that he was going to St. Louis on business. This man was arrested on his way home. They said some of the men who guarded the ammunition at Sherman belonged to their clan, and they had been down there and got a supply of ammunition. Here I will state that these men had more ammunition and guns in better order than any men in the country, and some of them slept with their guns under their pillows.

But to return. These men when asked what they intended to do if they took the ammunition and failed to take the country and hold it said that they intended to take all they could carry with them and blow the balance up, and retreat anybody to Gen. Blount's division of the Northern Army. One man, after making all the confession about rising in the might, taking the powder, taking the country, and holding it with the might, taking the powder, taking the country and hold if the most of the clan killed about 10 days afterwards, which will come up in its proper place—said to the man, "Since you and some others who are members of this clan have lived near me I have been very kind to you all. What was to become of me and my property, for I did not have your sign, password, and grip. When he had concluded this fearful statement Col. William Young—whom some of the clan killed about 10 days afterwards, which will come up in its proper place—said to the man, "Since you and some others who are members of this clan have lived near m

But these men were sworn to obey their leaders if the uprising had taken place. These men would have been with the clan and the dark designs would have been carried out. Men, women, and children would have been killed, and every man in the crowd would have been committed; if they then left the uprisers they would be killed, and their only chance to escape death would have been to stay with those men. Here I will state about one-fourth of these men claimed to be southern men.

Inasmuch as I have often alluded to uprising in the night, the night Inasmuch as I have often alluded to uprising in the night, the night having passed and no move having been made, I will here give an account of that night. It was at the breaking up of one of those long dry spells which is not uncommon in Texas. I had been sending medicine to a case of sickness several days, and about 12 o'clock the man whose wife was sick came after me, requesting me to go prepared to stay all night, which I did. It had commenced raining, and by the time we got to the man's house, a distance of about 5 miles, it was raining very hard and continued to rain until about 10 o'clock next day. This was the hardest rain I ever saw fall. This man was one of the clan.

We learned in the jury room that this night was the night appointed for the rising, and this great and merciful rain, doubtless sent in great mercy, came to frustrate the wicked and abominable designs. This night passed before there were any arrests made or anything known of the existence of the organization by the great mass of the people, who were totally unprepared for it.

Here the mind will naturally try to conjecture what the consequences would have been if the rising had taken place that night. How many families would have been made desolate. What wailing and lamentation would have gone up that night. How many who lay down that night with a feeling of security would have been roused from their sweet slumbers and, before they were fully apprised of their danger, would have been passed into the long sleep of death from which there is no waking till Gabriel shall give that loud, long, and shrill blast which shall reach the great charnal house of death and rouse the nations underground.

Some may conclude the picture is too highly drawn; but no man

rouse the nations underground.

Some may conclude the picture is too highly drawn; but no man can tell what will take place in the bloodthirsty spirit of war rising to boiling heat. Those men would no doubt have fought a dreadful fight, knowing, as they would have known, that their lives depended on success or a safe retreat. They would have known that no quarters would be given. Some will say that they belong to that clan and they never heard of their horrible intentions. You may not have heard it, for I am satisfied there were a good many of the clan who never heard of all these plans and had no intention of killing women and children, but knew of the intention to get possession of the ammunition, take the country and hold it, and that should mean nothing but fight, which was proven the first night after the first arrest by those armed men wanting to be led to relieve their friends; and, to cap the climax, the members of the clan confessed that they intended to do these things or they would not have told a falsehood which was so much against themselves.

Here I must record a case which occurred when one of the clan was

or they would not have told a falsehood which was so much against themselves.

Here I must record a case which occurred when one of the clan was initiating a man: He took the first oath and the first degree, and called for the second degree. The initiator went on to tell him that he must take an oath to do all he could for the North and all he could against the South; he was to endeavor to reinstate the Constitution and Union and kill any member who should betray them. Somewhere along here the man who was being initiated got so mad that he broke loose from the man who was initiating him and cursed him all over, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, and came very near patting it in, and they had a big blowup, and before they parted the initiator told him if he told he would be killed.

While arresting, a squad of men surrounded a house in which there were two men and their wives. The men were supposed to be members of the clan. They ordered a light to be raised in the house, which the inmates refused to do. The squad of men were afraid to go into the house and the men inside refused to come out and surrender. While the squad of men were maneuvering to arrest the men in the house, there being two doors to the house, each of the men on the inside put a feather bed on his back and ran out at the door, and the squad of men shot at them as they ran. I never learned whether they wounded them or not, for both the men made their escape and were not arrested afterwards.

I concluded that I ought to give the whole designs of this clan, as they acknowledged themselves, before giving any of the doings of the jury, that the readers might have the whole thing before them and be more able to form correct conclusions. I suppose no one will now indorse or justify the designs and intentions of these men, as acknowledged by themselves. The only thing to decide is whether or not they ought to have been hung.

In coming to a conclusion in reference to this thing, it would be well to take into consideration that a dread

ought to have been hung.

In coming to a conclusion in reference to this thing, it would be well to take into consideration that a dreadful war was going on, and like all feuds it brought about an excitement well calculated to impair the mind, dethrone reason, and cause men to do things that in after life, when the excitement has passed away, they will greatly regret.

Mr. Speaker, to illustrate plainly the truth of this painful and almost forgotten episode of the Civil War, and how the attack of the gentleman from Massachusetts is resented by these slandered citizens of Gainesville and Cooke County, I will here present for your consideration a letter from the mayor of that city (Mr. J. Z. Keel), which is as follows:

GAINESVILLE, TEX., April 1, 1916.

Hon. John H. Stephens, Washington, D. C.

Hon. John H. Stephens, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I received your telegram in regard to your sending me the Record. If you mean the Congressional Record of Mr. Gallivan's speech, I have that before me. You ask me about the facts. I have looked over that speech and he only picks out what suits him. His statement that these men were hung because they refused to join the Confederate Army is entirely untrue. From Dr. Barrett's book—and thinking you have not that book at band. I am sending you one—notice the plans of these men. Read their confession after they were arrested and tried, most of them, by a civil jury. Gallivan says nothing about their confession. Notice that he says, "The Confederates thought they had such an organization." Why does he not say that two men joined the organization for the purpose of finding out? Notice what Dr. Barrett says, if they had carried out what they had intended to do it would have been one of the bloodlest murders in the country. Notice what Col. Young asked one of these men. Gallivan says: "Col. Young was killed by some one, and after that the rest of the men were taken out and hung." But see what Barrett says: "Col. Young and Dickson was killed by this clan." Gallivan picks out the parts that suits him and distorts the truth. Notice what Barrett says: "If Col. Young had not been killed, this hanging might have stopped." Since Dr. Barrett was a minister of the gospel, he did not beileve in hanging. But in every place he says these men were guilty and confessed to the fact that upon that night it rained was the night upon which they were to murder the women and children of every southern man. I am sending you this book, thinking you have not seen it, though it can be found in the library. Col. Young, col. Borland, the men on that fury, were the best citizens of this country and their children and children's children will rank with any of Gallivan's, A man that will read from a book and distort the facts as he has should not sit in the halls of Congress. I hope you will send

Mr. Speaker, I will next present the affidavit of Mr. B. T. Parr, who has lived in that part of the State near Galnesville for more than 50 years, and who was one of the men guarding the prisoners when they were being tried and heard, and testi-fies to the confession of one of the men when on the gallows, I have known this witness—Parr—personally for 30 years, and I know of no man in that county that stands higher in the public estimation. A statement from Mr. Parr needs no verification among his acquaintances. His letter to me, however, is verified by his oath, and is as follows:

BELLEVUE, TEX., April 1, 1916.

Hon. JOHN H. STEPHENS.

Dear Friend: I see Hon. James A. Gallivan has hopped on you and Texas (also Gainesville, the county seat of Cooke County). I want you to say to him he is talking about something he doesn't know anything about. I was one of the guards to guard the first two men that was hung on that memorable elm tree on the creek then—on the east side of Gainesville then, but now in the heart of Gainesville—and on the scaffold, just before Mr. Fields, with rope around his neck, was allowed to talk before he swung off said he was glad to make a statement.

ment.

Said the citizens of Cooke County would not be doing their duty if they did not hang every man that belonged to the society he belonged to; we all took an oath to kill every man, woman, and child when the society was sufficiently strong, take their property, and cross Red River, and there would be met by a regiment of northern soldiers. I think they were to be Kansans. Anyway, it was to be northern soldiers. Martyrs; yes they would have been martyrs if they had have carried out their design.

Say, Jchn, I don't know whether there is another man living that heard Fields make his statement. Write to Judge Bell at Gainesville. Your friend, as every,

B. T. Parr.

P. S.—I had been acquainted with Fields for some time before this trouble came up. Thought him a nice man. He stated on the gallows that he would have divulged the secret, but the penalty was death and he was afraid. Two men by the name of Chance joined them to see what they were going to do, and when they found out their intent, stayed with them long enough to get the most of their names. It was Nute Chance and an older brother; I don't remember his given name. You may have met with Nute. He lived in Wise County the last time I met him. I think he went west several years since; he belped to catch several horse thieves after the war. His brother went to Arkansas, and I learned he was a preacher. John, this is rather scattering, but you can put it together. I will swear to it before a notary public.

STATE OF TEXAS. County of Clan:

STATE OF TEXAS, County of Clay:

On this day personally appeared before me the undersigned authority, a notary public in and for Clay County, Tex., B. T. Parr, who deposes and says that the statements made by him in the letter herewith attached are true and correct.

Witness my hand at Bellevue, Tex., this, the 1st day of April, 1916, B. T. Parr.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this, the 1st day of April, 1916.
L. B. Moons,
Notary Public, Clay County, Tex.

Mr. Speaker, I next present to this House a letter from Mr. F. W. Knight, highly corroborative of the other evidence above presented by me, showing the traitorous designs of the men hanged. It is as follows: LAKE ARTHUR, N. MEX., April 2, 1916.

Mr. JOHN H. STEPHENS.

Mr. John H. Stephens.

Dear Sir: I see in the Dallas News where you have been attacked in Congress concerning an incident that occurred at Gainesville in IS62. I visited my wife's uncle in Cooke County in 1873. He lived on the side of Red River Bluff, and kept the ferry about 6 or 7 miles north of Gainesville. He told the story to me in this way: Said there was about 750 Kansas Jayhawkers on their way to Cooke and Denton Counties, and expected to kill all of the old men and cenfiscate their property and take the young women. They had allies in Texas that would help them, and arrangements were made, and some of the allies had went so far as to black their door post so as to be recognized when the Jayhawkers got there. One of the Texas allies gave the thing away just three days before the time set for them to make the raid. My wife's uncle, James Dunham, and his right bower, Morg, Redman, were prominent ones in going into an investigation. The crowd took up and tried and convicted, as well as I remember, 49, and hanged them in Gainesville. Mr. Dunham told me that every one of the 49 pleaded guilty to the charge. I was living in Ellis County, Tex., at the time that I visited Cooke County. I moved to Young County, Tex., and stayed there 27 years. I lived near 50 years in Texas after the Civil War * * Respectfully.

F. W. Knight.

Respectfully.

Mr. Speaker, I next quote from a history of this event, written by Cliff D. Cates, of Wise County—now postmaster at Decatur-entitled "Pioneer History of Wise County, Tex." Chapter of this book, page 130, is as follows:

CHAPTER V.

CONSPIRACY OF THE PEACE PARTY.

CONSPIRACY OF THE PEACE PARTY.

Directly opposed to the peaceful trend of the times was the warlike occurrence of the summer of 1862. This was an elaborate conspiracy having for its motive the overthrow of the Confederate authority in this section of the State, and progressively of the remainder of the State, should the designs have proved successful here at the place of their inception.

The name of the organization through which the Confederacy was to be dealt this subtle blow was the Peace Party, and its constituent elements were made up of Union sympathizers and others who, having loyalty for neither side, were dissatisfied with the war.

Where and when the plan of the conspiracy had its birth is not known, and in so far as can be learned there is no knowledge as to with whom the idea originated. The first wind got of it was in Cooke

County, the revelations having come through a citizen who was loyal to the Confederate cause.

It appears that in a region some miles east of Gainesville there dwelt a large colony of northern sympathizers, from among whom success was met in obtaining secret supporters to a plan which in general comprehended the reduction of this part of the State preparatory to the coming of a large Federal force from Kansas, by whom the country would thenceforth be occupied. In detail the plan comprehended the secret organization of forces and the gradual accretion of members against the day when sufficient strength and power would be evolved to enable the order to arise suddenly everywhere, capture the Confederate stores and forces, and by burning property and deprivation of arms and supplies, reduce the people to such a state of subjection as to render them powerless to resist the coming of the Federal Army, which was to complete the designs by marching in and taking general control.

It was in the above-mentioned community that the step was taken that brought the movement to its calamitous termination. This came about as the result of efforts which were made to secure members to the traitorous order, and as a direct result of overtures which were made to Newton Chance, the Confederate loyalist above mentioned, to secure his membership.

Chance gave no reply to the overtures, but as a loyal Confederate took the first opportunity to tell Gen. Hudson at Gainesville what he knew. By that official he was advised to feign an interest in the proceedings and after learning further details to return and report same. Chance did this, and Gen. Hudson, in possession of the exposures, immediately began a crusade against the order which resulted in the trial, conviction, and subsequent hanging of 55 of the conspirators who had been proved guilty of leadership in a movement which was regarded as traitorous, in the highest degree, to the Confederate government.

Mr. Speecker, the writer of this history is a member of one of

government.

Mr. Speaker, the writer of this history is a member of one of the oldest and best known families in that part of Texas. He is a man of unquestioned integrity, and his statement of this matter is entitled to the highest credit and is unimpeachable.

Mr. Speaker, a few days ago Mr. Samuel H. Miller, of Pennsylvania, now a valuable and honored Republican Member of this House, in a speech on this floor, in speaking of the Civil War and the South and of the recent speech of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gallivan] against myself and constituents, used the following true, beautiful, and patriotic lan-

Some days ago, in the discussion of a bill reported by the Committee on Claims, a motion was brought before the House to dispense with the proof by the claimant of the loyalty of the owner of goods taken or destroyed during the Civil War at the time such goods were taken. During the discussion the tragedy of the war was recalled, and, as I then and now believe, some uncharitable and unnecessary remarks were made concerning the attitude of the South at the time the war was in progress.

made concerning the attitude of the South at the time the war was in progress.

A few days later a Member on the side of the House to the Speaker's right made some equally unnecessary, mistaken, and uncharitable remarks about the attitude of the people residing at Gainesville, Tex.. in 1862, in the thirteenth district, now represented by a gentleman [Mr. Stephens] whom I am glad and proud to call my friend.

Prior to these occurrences I had formed and ofttimes expressed the hope that the day for raking over the embers of the Civil War had passed. I confess that in the late sixtles and early seventies, when engaged in the heat of a political campaign, I sometimes waved the ensanguined emblem, but I trust that time and age have softened the asperities of youth, and I can truthfully repeat the words of the sainted and immortal Lincoln, "With malice toward none and charity for all," and take by the hand my friends who represent the thirteenth district in Texas [Mr. Stephens], the fifth of Georgia [Mr. Howard, the third of Arkansas [Mr. Tillman] with the same feelings of friend-ship that I do my friend from the second of Illinois [Mr. Mann], of the second of New Hampshire [Mr. Wason], and of the eighth [Mr. Watson], twenty-fourth [Mr. Temple], twenty-ninth [Mr. Porter,], and thirty-second [Mr. Barcheeld] of my own beloved Pennsylvania, and wish them each and all a fair journey through life and at the end a "crossing of the bar" in joy and peace.

Mr. Speaker, these noble sentiments so well expressed by the

Mr. Speaker, these noble sentiments so well expressed by the gentleman from Pennsylvania will, and does, in my judgment, express the true sentiments of the great masses of the people of this country and of the Members of this House.

Mr. Hoar, of Massachusetts, one of her greatest United States Senators, in a speech delivered in the Senate just before his death, uttered the following beautiful sentiments in speaking of the South and the southern people:

the South and the southern people:

Having said what I thought to say on this question, perhaps I may be indulged in adding that although my life, politically and personally, has been a life of almost constant strife with the leaders of the southern people, yet as I grow older I have learned not only to respect and esteem but to love the great qualities which belong to my fellow citizens of the Southern States. They are a noble race. We may well take pattern from them in some of the great virtues which make up the strength, as they make the glory, of free States. Their love of home, their chivalrous respect for women, their courage, their delicate sense of honor, their constancy, which can abide by an opinion or a purpose or an interest of their States through adversity and through prosperity, through the years and through the generations, are things by which the people of the more mercurial North may take a lesson. And there is another thing—covetousness, corruption, the temptation of money, has not yet found any place in our southern politics.

Now, my friends, we can not afford to live, we don't wish to live, and we will not live in a state of estrangement from a people who possess these qualities. They are our kindred, bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, blood of our blood, and whatever may be the temporary error of any Southern State I for one, if I have a right to speak for Massachusetts, say to her, "Entreat me not to leave thee, nor to return from following after thee. For where thou goest I will go, and where thou stayest I will stay also. And thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God."

Mr. Speaker, we should and do all fully concur in the above noble sentiments of Senator Hoar, breathing, as they do, the happy thoughts of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Neither the South, the great State of Texas, nor the city of Gainesville need any defense at my hand further than to expose the untruthfulness of the charges and point out the malicious purpose of their would-be defamer. I, therefore, submit the evidence that I have fully set forth above to my country-men so that they may judge for themselves whether or not the spite bill, H. R. 14030, should pass the House. The legislative history of this country does not show that any similar bill has ever been introduced in Congress. No other Congressman has ever descended to so low a level as to try to erect in the doorway of a city a monument designed to disgrace its inhabitants in the eyes of the world.

Would not the citizens of any city in the United States be indignant if this defamer of my constituents should dare to introduce a bill to erect a spite monument in their doorway designed to perpetuate the memory of some wrong, either real or imaginary, that some of their citizens at some time may have done to society. What would be the feelings of the Washingtonians if the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gallivan] should offer a bill to erect a spite monument to the memory of Mrs. Surratt, who was unjustly hanged in this city for the murder of President Lincoln? Would he not be hanged in effigy if he should offer to build a spite monument in Utah to the memory of the victims of the Mountain Meadow massacre of the California immigrants? Would he not be burned in effigy if he should offer to build a spite monument to the memory of the Chinamen that were killed by a mob a few years ago in Wyoming, or to the Italians that were mobbed in New Orleans because they belonged to the outlawed and criminal Mafia organization, or to the women and girls burned at the stake for witchcraft in his own State? We should forgive and forget all of these blots on our national escutcheon.

We would never disgrace our country by offering to build spite monuments if it were not that the swashbuckling demagogue is abroad in our land hunting votes by slandering other people. Why should not these national disturbers of the public peace be relegated to the political oblivion, from which they sprung, by the patriotic voters of this Nation? Why should the people of these reunited States not fully exemplify that splendid sentiment of Gen. Grant, who at the close of the Civil War said,

"Let us have peace "?

Federalized National Guard a Menace to Free Institutions-Staggering Cost of New Army Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 23, 1916.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I voted against the conference report and against the Army bill, which has now become a law, because I can not support a measure which, traveling under the fictitious title of "preparedness," increases the appropriations for the Army from one hundred millions annually to two hundred and fifty millions annually and is to be a permanent financlal burden upon the people.

As a war measure this law would be ridiculous, for in war

we will need a million men or more. As a peace measure it is an outrage upon the people, because it creates a regular army of 211,000 men and a federalized National Guard with a minimum of 457,000 men, all under pay. Think of it! A perpetual standing army of over 600,000 men! The chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs stated to the House that the increase in appropriations for the Regular Army would be \$50,000,000 and for this federalized National Guard a new financial load of \$100,000,000 annually, or a total for the Army establishment of \$250,000,000, as against \$100,000,000 which it now costs,

The people of the country do not know the iniquities of this Army reorganization bill, and the daily newspaper organs of the War Trust will not tell them.

Do they know that there is actually no limit to the number of men who may be enrolled in this federalized National Guard but that the minimum is 457,000, or 800 for each congressional and senatorial district in the United States? Do they know

that a flock of colonels, captains, and lieutenants are created for every few hundred men and that these officers will all receive salaries during times of peace ranging from \$240 to \$500? Do they know that every man who enlists in the National Guard will receive \$54 per year and a lot of perquisites and privileges

while performing no service?

I wonder if the American people realize what a menace this National Guard will become as a political machine. Already one Member of Congress tells me he has this militia machine under way in his district, and he confidentially tells me that he can organize enough colonels, captains, and lieutenants with their men so that his defeat would be impossible. And the program of this powerful militia organization will be to promote further, not less, expenditures upon this branch of the Army.

The National Guard organization was strong enough, even in its present condition, to come to Washington and turn all the proposed Volunteer Army legislation and most of the Regular Army increase into the aggrandizement of the National

Guard.

The prospect is gloomy that we shall ever be able to unload this octopus. Said a prominent Senator, discussing this:

We have gone wild about this militia business. We have become hysterical about it, and in consequence we are about to pile up an enormous indebtedness or to impose enormous taxation on the people without any compensating benefit that I can see. To my thinking it is a foily amounting to wickedness.

It requires no expansion of the imagination to see men, ambitious for the honors and emoluments of military titles and salaries, at work in every community organizing companies of the National Guard. It will spread over the land like a plague, As if this be not sufficient to promote the military spirit, every one of the 55,000 postmasters are to become enlisting officers, and they are actually to receive \$5 each for every enlistment secured.

Read the words of Senator Borah in his eloquent condemnation of this new menace to free institutions:

For the first time in the history of this Republic or in the history of any country with free institutions, that I know of, you are going to put upon the national pay roll several hundred thousand civilians and leave them in the business and in the politics of the respective States and at the same time give them leave to organize as a military authority and in the respective States to utilize and exercise the power of military organization. We are going to build up a dominant and aggressive military organization in the States, and while they may never be useful in war, judging by past precedents, they will be a source of profound concern to the communities in which they are situated.

The Agricultural Department and the Farmers.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FINLY H. GRAY,

OF INDIANA,

In the House of Representatives,

Thursday, May 11, 1916.

Mr. GRAY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, we are maintaining a great department in the Government to promote farming and agricultural interests of the country, and to support and maintain which we are expending annually many millions of dollars.

We are employing at high salaries an army of skilled experts and trained specialists to carry on the different operations looking to the scientific solution of problems in every branch of agriculture.

Chemists are engaged in the study of soils and the properties of plant foods, and to ascertain the relative food values of different crops, with a view to their increased production and their more advantageous use.

Botanists and kindred scientists are at work to discover the influences of surrounding vegetation on plants as effecting their character, growth, and development, including the study of insects and plant diseases, and embracing broadly and comprehensively the solution of every problem involved in the development of plant industry.

ment of plant industry.

Live-stock experts are conducting experiments in breeding, feeding, and in the care and management of farm animals, looking to the development of the most profitable strains, and embracing investigations relative to animal diseases with a view to

their prevention and eradication.

Other and especially educated and trained men are devising, planning, and experimenting with the care of crops and farm production, their preservation and preparation for the market, the means of transportation, and facilities for their most advantageous sale.

Farm management, domestic science, and every character and phase of farm activity is made the subject of careful study with the view to raising the standard of farm life and the advancement and the development of the agricultural interests of the country.

Great buildings and structures have been erected and numerous elaborate stations have been provided to carry on these

various studies, works, and operations.

In addition to the Agricultural Department of the Government, agricultural schools and colleges, capable of rendering most valuable services to the farmers and agricultural interests, are being maintained by the different States at great cost to the taxpayers.

While these great organizations of the Government and the States with their scientific agencies and efficient instrumentalities are capable of affording to the farmers of the country great and valuable aid in the advancement of farming, yet comparatively few farmers have been able to avail themselves of these great advantages, and the practical benefit derived to the farmers are small in comparison with the value of services which the department is capable of rendering them.

Observing this disparagement between these efficient agencies and the results to the people, I have made a study of the system under which the Agricultural Department and State institutions have been conducted and their relations with the farm operations of the country to ascertain the cause of this failure of

efficient service to the farmers.

From this study I am convinced that this failure is not due to any inefficiency of the Agricultural Department or the State schools and colleges, nor to any want of interest or proper appreciation of the farmers of the country. While it is due in part to the want of coordination and systematic direction of these agricultural agencies, it is more largely due to the want of organized cooperation from the farming public.

The necessity for correlating and bringing together the Agricultural Department of the Government and the State agricultural schools and experimental stations under one general system for a closer relationship with the farmers and the practical operations of the farm is at last becoming realized. The States Relation Service, authorized by Congress May 4, 1915, and the agricultural extension act of May 8, 1914, are measures directed to this end. But these measures are only preliminary. They are only a beginning, the first steps, which must be followed by others until a complete and practical system is evolved. Even if these enactments would bring about the systematic coordination of the Agricultural Department and the State schools and colleges required, they will not establish the closer relationship with the farmers and farm operations necessary to make the information and cooperation of these institutions of practical use to the farmers of the country generally.

The progress and advancement of agriculture calls for more than the organization of a governmental department and the coordination of its agencies. The organized cooperation of the farmers themselves is as necessary and imperative as the coordination and systematic direction of the department and the

State schools.

We have long had an Agricultural Department, but the Agricultural Department has failed to accomplish the full purpose for which created, because it did not have the organized cooperation of the farmers of the country to place it in actual contact with farm problems and projects,

We have long had farmers' organizations and associations, but they have failed to accomplish for the farmers the objects for which they were created because they did not have the cooperation of the Government and their associations were not coordinated with the Agricultural Department to bring science and practice together in the actual trials and tests upon the farm.

There has been no proper facility afforded by which the farmers could reach up to the Agricultural Department to avail themselves of its advantages and no adequate means through which the department could reach down to the farmers and communicate to them the available information acquired through its experimentation and research work or to make practical demonstration of the improved methods to them.

Before the farmers of the country generally will be able to avail themselves of the benefits of the Agricultural Department provision must be made by Federal legislation under which the farmers in every locality where they choose to do so may voluntarily organize, and under which organization such farmers' association will be joined to and coordinated with the Agricultural Department, and through and by means of which the farmers can reach the Agricultural Department to avail themselves of its advantages and the department can reach the

farmers to communicate information and make demonstrations

in practical farm work.

Incidentally, and while organizing to establish relationship with the Agricultural Department and avail themselves of information and improved methods of agriculture, the farmers would be able to avail themselves of an interchange of their own valuable and more practical experiments in actual farming, as well as the social benefits and advantages growing out of such associations.

Teaching the Horrible Science of War in the Public Schools.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL.

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 23, 1916.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, to make a law to provide for military instruction in our public schools, as Congress has done, may be promoting patriotism, but I do not think so. To establish military drill in our schools is to introduce dangerous tendencies which are in direct opposition to the moral and political ideals which our schools are primarily intended to develop.

I have a sincere sympathy for the many conscientious teachers and parents in this country who desire to help our boys and who believe that patriotism should be encouraged at every opportunity. Yet I am sure that military instruction for the boys in our public schools in practical operation is not a moral factor, but the reverse. According to the published statements of many prominent educators, military instruction in public schools does not improve the national health or foster the discipline that is wanted. The most satisfactory discipline for boys is that which is to-day being obtained in many excellent schools without the temptations and moral damage of military associations. The training of children in military ideals, however well intended, is a retrograding step. It tends to lure them from gainful pursuits toward illusive militarism. And militarism strikes at civil freedom and in practice leads to tyranny. Militarism is barbarism.

Militarism and a republican form of government can not exist in the same country. This country was established as a protest against political oppression, and since that time the politically oppressed of every country have had a welcome at our shores. I do not believe that the people of this country—the great masses—are yet ready to reverse the principles upon which the foundation of our country rests and establish a militarism that can only mean the building of a despotism in this country like that which the men with "the spirit of 1776" fought eight long years to put down.

We have watched the terrible war in Europe—the worst the world has ever known—until we have come to regard it as a matter of course. Human life seems to have no value. Men are rushed to their slaughter in numbers untold, and the call is for more men, and now they are even taking the boys away from their mothers to hurl them in that awful maelstrom of carnage.

Much has been said about the wonderful military preparedness of Germany, but Germany has not taught the boys in her schools to kill. Shall we out-Prussia Prussia? Militarism is the same the world over—first ingratiating, next seductive, then remorseless. Give military advocates an Inch and they will take

a mile. You never know how far they will go.

Military instruction in our public schools may appeal to some people. But this thing has been tried, and we have only to go to Australia to see how it works and how it has worked disaster. To learn how military instruction in the schools has worked is to convince one that it is a bad and dangerous thing to undertake here. Wonderful things have been told about the success of compulsory military training of boys of 14 years and upwards in Australia, but these wonderful things have been told by the promoters of a militarism.

A PROVED EVIL IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND.

The training in Australia is claimed by some of its advocates to be different from conscription, but in practical operation it seems to be conscription purely and simply. The defense act of New Zealand of 1909 was made possible by the agitation of the National Defense League and by influences originating in England. The visit of the United States fleet to Australia resulted

in a great wave of military enthusiasm spreading over that land, and one of the developments connected therewith was the demand to arm. The result of a combination of circumstances, seized by the militarists to their own aggrandizement "without any reference to the will of the people," and backed at first by some well-meaning educators, was that the men of those countries put their defenseless boys under military discipline to which the voters would not themselves pretend to submit in times of peace.

Need I say that a similar condition of affairs has inspired some of our people with the same ideas and notions? This is a hysteria which has swept the country, but I am happy in the thought that it is now on the wane, for in the elections held in the last few weeks, while they were only primary elections, it is easy to see how the people—the men who will be called upon to bear the burdens of taxes and blood—feel about this thing.

But going back to see how military training in the public schools of Australia "worked," we find that extraordinary conditions exist. According to figures supplied by Arthur Watts, organizer of the Australian Freedom League, despite the fact that the military officers had power to register boys without their parents' consent, the number of boys liable to prosecution for nonregistration at the end of the first registration period was 7.324.

Official figures as reported in the Melbourne Age of May 31, 1912, showed that to that date the total average attendance for Australia at the statutory parade drills was 59,562, out of a total strength of 88,859 senior cadets—18 years old and under—stated by the military authorities to be in actual training. The percentage of absentees from drills ranged from about 31 to 52 per cent. The Age adds:

It is plain that large numbers of cadets are shirking their legal obligations.

There have been many prosecutions of boys under the system, which in both Australia and New Zealand is known as the defense act. Nonattendance at drill from almost whatever cause necessarily constitutes a basis for prosecution. In the city of Auckland, New Zealand, with about 90,000 population, during the 12 months ending at an early date in 1914, there were, not counting withdrawn cases, a record of 770 prosecutions, There are reported, for instance, as many as 50 defense prosecutions in the police court of the little city of Invercargill, New Zealand, at one time.

According to information which comes from that country, the administration of prosecutions has been very severe in many cases. For that matter, the act in both countries provided alternative service and assumed relief for members of denominations opposed to military service, but no relief for the many others who resisted drill because of religious or other conscientious principles. Here are a few sample prosecutions:

Sydney Crossland, a Quaker lad, was, on account of religious scruples, sentenced to 50 days' detention in Victoria Barracks, Sydney being released before half that time had expired. The minister for defense is reported as saying that immediate action

would be taken to punish the "unruly" cadet.

Victor Yeo, a lad of 14, was, on August 25, 1913, sentenced to one month in Broken Hill Jail. His release was ordered after serving 20 days, but he served the full term, including another imprisonment of 12 days. A good deal of this time he was on a bread-and-water diet, and for 10 days of his second imprisonment he was locked up in a cell for 22 out of 24 hours.

J. and W. Size made a statutory declaration in September, 1913, when in detention in Fort Largs they were placed on a bread-and-water diet in a cell with a stone floor. One night nine boys were in the cell, which was about 9 by 12 feet. They had only one blanket each—it was in the early spring in that country—contrary to the regulations which provide for three blankets. On a second occasion John Size was kept in solitary confinement for 10 days continuously.

Arthur E. Ettridge was prosecuted in Adelaide in September, 1913, for failing to render personal service. His mother and a physician, Dr. D. W. Ray, gave evidence that the boy had been too ill to work. In spite of this the officer pressed the case demanding 10 shillings cost, which was refused.

demanding 10 shillings cost, which was refused.

On December 21, 1913, W. Bennett, of Dulwich Hill, New South Wales, was for a second time charged with preventing his son from drilling. He stated to the court that he had conscientious objections to his boy being compelled against his will to become a soldier, but he was fined. He had already been in jail for refusing to pay a fine in connection with the same matter.

for refusing to pay a fine in connection with the same matter.

John F. Hills, M. A., of Glenelg, South Australia, a well-known educator, has stated that in times of peace "military imprisonment" was inflicted on "over 4,000 Australian boys and youths."

TEACH THE CHILD INDEPENDENCE.

The purpose and the object of the public school is to teach the child to think for himself. When the child is under the drillmaster exactly the reverse is the effect-the child does not dare to think-he must act as the drillmaster tells him.

Dr. Howse, F. R. C. S., a prominent educator of Orange, New South Wales, says that the present system of drilling is distinctly injurious to boys of nervous temperatment. It creates indigestion and distinct physical injury has resulted, He denies the benefit of military drill in view of the number of such

The Age, of February 18, 1914, in an article citing some of the hardships connected with the training camps, tells of how a medical examination revealed numerous cases of acute dilation of the heart, and so forth. Noted American educators have declared that athletics as free sports for growing boys are infinitely preferable to the constrained positions connected with drill and handling a gun.

The New Zealand League in its first annual report, in 1914, when discussing the prosecutions in police courts which were found necessary in connection with the enforcement of military

There are many instances of ludicrous absurdity, many of shameful injustice, and altogether one is impressed with the fact that boys from 14 years upward are compelled to mix with the worst characters off our streets, to hear of filth and crime from which they should be protected, simply because they object to being brutalized by the agents of war or because they happen to be absent from parade.

Those who are opposed to drill from conscientious or other reasons are often called "liars," "unpatriotic," and so forth, and it is insisted that they do not know whereof they speak. Claims as to the presumed success of military discipline do not seem to be justified by the facts. Col. Heard, director of Military training, when explaining to a committee his difficulties connected with the act, is reported to have said:

We are placed in a humiliating position; we are open to all kinds of insults, to all kinds of insubordination; and we are perfectly help-

The Lyttleton Times, in speaking of the scruples invaded by process of the defense act, declares that the objections of parents to their children being forced to assume solemn obligations that they will support the provisions of the act should be re-spected. But the hard facts indicate that after once surrendering to military influences it seems almost impossible to secure religious or civil freedom. They have gone.

The general unpopularity of military training of boys in schools in Australia, is proved by the fact that, according to the carefully collected reports of the Australian Freedom League, in two and one-half years, up to the last day of 1913, there were 22,143 prosecutions of young people from 14 and upward. This was in a population of 4,500,000 persons. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers of New Zealand, when speaking of the defense act, appealed "to all thoughtful citizens to do their utmost to stem this drift into barbarism."

We do not want such conditions to come about in this country. I submit that we should never take the first step in that direction. I am convinced that the moment we begin to direct the minds of our youth in the direction of war, just at that moment we have put the country on the road toward the final establishment of a militarism that will destroy the lib-erty and the patriotism about which we talk so much to-day.

Patriotism is the love of one's home and one's country. Patriotism can not be shot into men with guns, nor can it be drilled into boys on parade grounds under drillmasters whose iron hand deny to the youth both love and liberty. Before New Zealand came under the iron heel of militarism the only person who could inflict a fine upon anyone was a magistrate; but to-day a military officer can impose fines on the boys under his care at his own sweet will, and, what is more serious, can cause the fine to be collected by a policeman out of the boy's wages, if the boy works for wages. That is militarism; that comes of providing for military instruction in public schools; for the military man insists that there must be discipline, and he must have unlimited authority to enforce discipline in such ways as he may deem proper.

AMERICANS NEED NO COMPULSION.

There are no more patriotic people on earth than our citizens. From the foundation of the country to the present hour the United States has never had occasion to be ashamed of the spirit of its citizens when duty called, and they never will. Let the battle drum and the bugle be sounded in the defense of our country to-day, and there will be such a response from our men as will startle the world. The American needs no compulsion to make him patriotic. What we need to do is to safeguard and to consider well the rights of our individual citizens, and in direct ratio as we do this will we cause patriotism to increase and put the honor of our Nation on a higher plane,

Every American citizen considers himself a man, and he resents the idea of having to be bound hand and foot to do a thing which, left to himself, he would do anyway. No great Army advocate need for a moment be afraid that the American people will hesitate when their country needs them in any just cause. So long as our national course is straight ahead according to the ideals upon which our country was founded no one need think that our people will not be ready to answer to their names the very moment they are needed.

I do not believe for a moment that there is an American citizen who is for peace at any price. Those who jest about men who want "peace at any price" are no friends of our country. They make a cheap play upon the prejudices and mad passions of men in order to promote a program for a large armament and a militarism that will endanger the safety of the Republic. Ridicule is a powerful weapon when skillfully used, and I know of no greater bit of ridicule that has been hurled at the people of this country than the accusation that they want "peace at any price." That phrase is an insult to American manhood and to American citizenship.

Let us not transform our public schools into incipient West Points and incubators for militaristic ideas. Let us direct the minds of our youth in the direction of peace and good citizenship, for the better our citizens are the safer is our Republic and the stronger becomes our national honor and prestige. Military instruction in our public schools will not make better citizens. It will not give the boys any conception of the duties of real war. For if the people of the country who are now so enthusiastic for this military program could know what they are actually proposing, I am sure there would be a sudden abatement in this propaganda.

WHAT EMINENT AUTHORITIES SAY.

WHAT EMINENT AUTHORITIES SAY.

For all except a few officers in command, military training develops a blind, untbinking obedience. For the rank and file military training prepares the boys to be mere imitators. Military training prepares the boys to be mere imitators. Military training represses individuality at the very time these qualities should be developed. (Former President Charles W. Eilot.)

Military training in our public schools fosters a spirit of suspicion and distrust of other nations. Acting on the plea of national necessity, a national enemy must be found. This endangers national hatred, a long step toward war. (Dr. Nathan C. Schaeffer, Prof. Reichart, and Dr. John H. Finley.)

The moral danger. The laws of the community and of the State forbid the boy to carry arms. He attends church and hears that he must do unto others as he would others should do to him, and then he joins the cadet corps and is trained with gun and sword in the art of killing his fellow men. Then we wonder why our boys have such hazy ideas on moral questions. (Prof. G. M. Stratton, professor of psychology of the University of California.)

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM E. COX. OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 15, 1916.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, the Nation owes the Banking and Currency Committee a lasting debt of gratitude. During the Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth Congresses it has brought forth two of the greatest constructive measures Congress has passed since the Civil War, measures which have brought the people more relief, comfort, happiness, and prosperity than all the other legisla-tion passed by Congress during the past 50 years. I refer to the Federal reserve act, passed in the Sixty-third Congress, and the present rural-credits bill. The Federal reserve act was the first attempt made by Congress to mobilize the commercial resources of our Nation. Until the passage of this act there was no unity of action, no coordination of purpose among the 7,300 national banks, with a capitalization of \$1,000,000,000, with reserves and assets more than this in amount, with a banking power of \$15,000,000,000, but every bank was a separate unit, each fighting its own battles in times of stress and storm, each running to cover every time a financial flurry swept over the country.

The Federal bank act bound with hooks of steel all these banks into one strong financial system, making it impossible to break the chain unless all our commercial resources should suddenly fail, a thing impossible to conceive.

Until the Sixty-third Congress the American people never had a banking and currency system adapted to the ever growing and expanding needs of our Nation. This is conceded by all. Our system of banking and currency until this act was passed was a sham, a subterfuge, a mere patchwork. It was the outgrowth of the Civil War, designed to enable the Government to sell and dispose of its bonds, to enable it to raise money with which to prosecute the war to a final and peaceful termination. Under the old system of banking the law of elasticity, an essential element in all successful currency systems, was wholly lacking. The only means of increasing the circulating medium was apon Government bonds. This destroyed the necessary element of contraction and expansion. In times of stress, when we needed more currency, it invariably contracted; in times of plenty, when currency was not needed, it invariably inflated; the one condition equally as dangerous to the safety of the Government as the other.

Mr. Speaker, for many years both parties in national platforms had solemnly promised and pledged the people to reform these glaring evils, but neither party was willing to undertake the huge task and give the Nation an up-to-date system of banking peculiarly fitted and adapted to American conditions until the Sixty-third Congress. That measure did not pass without traveling through the fiery furnaces of criticism, both in and out of Congress, in the press, the periodicals, on the stump, the forum, and every other place; but believing in the justness of its cause and the strength of its bill Congress pressed forward, and in December, 1913, it passed the Federal reserve banking law.

It was not perfect. Congress did not claim perfection for it at that time, but it was believed then that it contained the framework on which Congress could in the future build a great financial system peculiarly fitted and adapted to American conditions. The short time it has been in force has demonstrated the wisdom of its authors. It has proven a godsend and blessing to our Nation. Without this system it would have been questionable whether our Nation could have weathered the storm of the European conflict.

Following the outbreak of the European war hundreds of millions of dollars of American securities were dumped upon the American markets, demanding American gold in return for the securities. This threw a tremendous strain upon the Treasury of the United States. To stem the tide, to save the credit of the Nation, to prevent a nation-wide panic, called for a quick mobilization of the financial resources of the Nation, and through the splendid system of banking created by the banking and currency act our Nation passed through the crisis almost without a tremor. Had the present banking system not been in force, in my opinion a panic would have swept over our Nation the like of which would have been wholly unknown in the history of our country.

Mr. Speaker, the Federal reserve act brought some relief to the rural people, not what they wanted, not what they needed, and not what they were entitled to. It permitted national banks to make small loans on real estate on short terms of payment. This measure—the rural-credit system—is the handmaid of the Federal reserve act. It is the second great constructive piece of legislation brought before the House by the Banking and Currency Committee during the present administration.

In my judgment, this measure will go down in the history of our country as the greatest piece of constructive legislation ever conceived in the brain of man or passed by the American Congress. As time goes on it will add more and more to the wealth of the Nation, bring more happiness, light more fires of prosperity, conserve the resources of our Nation, go further to perpetuate our Government, repopulate the country, reclaim the deserted farms, enable poor people and tenant farmers to buy homes, strangle the interest gatherer, make the farmer more independent, learn and teach him to cooperate, rebuild the old country church, repaint and repair the old country schoolhouse, clean off the old country cemetery, build up country community centers, bring about more cooperative systems and centers, a thing so much desired to be done by the rural people, than all the laws ever passed by Congress from the days of Washington, Jefferson, and Hamilton down to the present time. It will do for the American farmer what the Federal reserve act has done for those following commercial pursuits of life. It will enable the farmers to mobilize their credits, to mobilize and combine. All farmers wishing to borrow money at low rates of interest on long-term mortgages can do so, and thereby make a perfect financial fighting machine so strong and powerful that no power can prevail against it. Strange—America ahead and abreast of every nation on the earth in education, arts, literature, science, invention, goaheaditiveness, and get-there-quick, yet we are nearly a century behind most of the European Governments and 50 years behind some of our sister South American Republics on the question of rural credits.

Looking back over the long history of our country, it is hard to conceive the reason of this almost cruel neglect of the interest of the rural people, especially when we consider the fact that

the farmers form the very basis of all our wealth and prosperity. Every conceivable and thinkable business depends for its success upon the success of the farmer. He and he alone produces the food and clothing which feeds and clothes the people of the world. Without him the lawyer, the doctor, the merchant, the banker, the telephones, telegraphs, railroads, express and transportation companies of all kinds, including steam, water, and electricity, no longer would be able to do business, and I repeat, why his interests have not been looked after before is hard to understand; but "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

At last Congress has approached this great question in the present bill under consideration. The measure may not be perfect, it is not claimed to be perfect by its most ardent friends, but it is claimed, and we believe correctly so, that it contains true and correct principles on which Congress can from time to time build until we have an American system of rural credits peculiarly adapted to fit the conditions in America.

The bill provides for the appointment of a strictly nonpartisan Federal farm-loan board by the President, to be composed of three men, no one of whom can be appointed who has any connection with any banking institution, directly or This board must divide continental United States into 12 districts and establish one land bank in each district, with a capitalization of not less than \$750,000, the Secretary of the Treasury being required to subscribe all the stock remaining unsubscribed 90 days after the bill becomes a law. It provides for the formation of Federal farm-loan associations, to be composed of not less than 10 men, each member of these associations to be a borrower of money in amounts not less than \$200 nor more than \$10,000, these loan associations to be governed by themselves by electing a board of directors of ave persons; the Federal land banks to have nine directors, three of them to be appointed by the Federal farm-loan board and six of them to be elected by the Federal farm-loan associations, thereby giving to the farmers control not only of their farmloan associations but the control of the Federal land banks. The Federal farm-loan board is to appoint a registrar, who is to be custodian of all mortgages and all mortgage bonds to be sold by the Federal land banks. Both the Federal farmloan board and the Federal building and loan associations are to appoint land appraisers. Applications for loans must be made through the building and loan associations to the Federal land banks, the land of the borrower to be appraised first by the appraisers of the building and loan association; second, by the appraisers appointed by the Federal farm-loan board. The borrower is permitted to borrow up to 60 per cent of the value of his real estate and up to 20 per cent of the value of the im-provements of his land; mortgage rates of interest not to exceed 6 per cent in any case and to run from 5 to 36 years, the amortization principle contained in each mortgage.

This is what is known as the cooperative plan, where all the mortgages on farm land all over the United States will be tied together to insure the solvency and stability of the bonds to be sold by the Federal farm-loan banks.

The bill further provides for the establishment of joint-stock land banks, organized exactly as State and National banks are organized. Each bank must have an initial capitalization of not less than \$250,000. The interest rate of these banks can not exceed 6 per cent, and mortgages are to run from 5 to 36 years as in the cooperative banks. Both the cooperative land banks and the joint-stock banks are prohibited from doing any business other than a first-mortgage business upon real estate. By providing for these two systems of banking it takes care of every section of the United States. Many farmers may want to join the cooperative land banks through the building and loan associations organized under the bill, and other farmers may not want to join this kind of bank, but may want a loan directly from the joint-stock banks. All stock subscribed to the joint-stock banks must be paid in cash, exactly as stock must be paid for in State and National banks when organized. The organization of these two systems of banks represents the wisdom of the bill. The farmers of the country should be given the opportunity of borrowing money from whichever system that will serve them best. If the cooperative system will serve them best they should be given this opportunity; if they prefer borrowing money on first mortgages from the joint-stock land banks they should be given this opportunity. Beyond question this will compel competition between these two systems of banking, which will eventually be to the farmer's interest, and in the last analysis that system will survive longest and be most successful which serves the farmer best, and that system will serve the farmer best which will be able to loan money to him at the lowest interest and on the easiest terms of payment. In framing this bill two classes of people had to be kept constantly in view, one the farmer, the borrower of money, the other the man with money willing to invest in farm-loan mortgage bonds. It is only through the sale of the bonds that the farm land banks or the joint-stock land banks can secure money to loan to the farmer. It is therefore necessary that every precaution imaginable be safeguarded so as to protect the bonds sol. I by either one of these banks to make it safe and secure, to the end that men or persons with money desiring to invest in them would freely put their money into them as investments. Without the sale of mortgage bonds, so as to raise money to enable the land banks to furnish the farmer with money on their mortgages, the whole structure would fail and fail immediately.

In my judgment the bill safeguards this feature and makes it next to an impossibility for the bonds of any land bank to fail. Every mortgage given upon real estate becomes security for every other mortgage, and the assets of one cooperative bank is guaranteed by the assets of each one of the other 11 cooperative banks, and the bonds issued by each land bank is based upon the mortgages given to each Federal land bank throughout

the United States.

Mr. Speaker, in my judgment this safeguards and makes solvent all the mortgage bonds that will be offered for sale and put on the market, and I believe that people with money seeking investments will readily and quickly invest in them. As the mortgage can not draw interest in excess of 6 per cent, the mortgage bonds will probably draw interest at the rates of from 4 to 5 per cent. These bonds are to be free of taxation, and will therefore furnish attractive investments for men with capital. The resources of a nation begins and ends with the plow. This has proven true throughout all the history of the past and will continue to prove true to the end of time. To-day there is considerable agitation on the question of preparedness in this country, but the greatest preparedness our Nation can possibly make is to prepare the rural people to meet any and all conditions, to meet any and all emergencies which our country may be called upon to meet, either now or in the future.

In studying the history of our country, we have presented to us both a frightful and dangerous spectacle in our Nation, a condition which has crept upon us like a thief in the night, and that condition is the rapid depletion of the rural population

and the overcrowding of the cities.

The 1910 census showed that only 35 persons out of every 100 were living in the country; the other 65 persons out of every 100 were living in the cities, leaving but 35 persons to feed and clothe the 100. The same census shows that 37 per cent of the farms in the country are being cultivated and farmed by tenants. This is an unhealthy condition for this or any other country. It may be due to many things, but the most significant thing is it is due to the shortsightedness of Congress in failing to enact wise legislation which would inure to the interest of the country people. The high rates of interest prevailing in the past and short-term loans made it impossible for tenants or persons without money to buy and pay for a home in the country.

The average rate of interest in our country is approximately 8 per cent. The interest rate in our country and all over the world has continued to increase in the last few years, and bids fair to go higher and higher, and to-day it is almost impossible for a poor man to pay the enormous rates of interest and buy or build a home in the country.

Both land values and interest rates in the last two decades have almost doubled, and as interest continues to increase in value the man without means finds it harder and harder to purchase a home for himself in the country; but with the great reduction of interest rates as proposed in this bill, together with its long-term payments, based upon its amortization rates, many persons will take advantage of it, buy a farm, build a home, and become producers instead of consumers, and raise the essentials of life which people living in cities are compelled to have.

Some conception of what may be accomplished through a low interest rate secured from the operation of the proposed rural-credit system in combination with the amortization principle may be obtained from a consideration of the following calculation: The general average farm-mortgage interest rate has been conservatively estimated at 8 per cent; it has furthermore been estimated that the total amount of mortgages is approximately \$4,000,000,000. Accepting these estimates, the annual interest charge on the farmer equals \$320,000,000, with no reduction of principal. If this indebtedness can be refunded—and it can—under the provisions of the pending bill, at a rate of 5 per cent per annum, and the farmer would pay annually \$300,000,000, the same sum he now is paying for interest alone, the entire debt, interest and principal, would be paid in 22

years and 6 months. This would mean a net saving of at least \$150,000,000 per year. It would mean the payment of the entire mortgage debt by the operation of the system provided in the present bill in 22 years and 6 months without increasing the annual payment over that now made to meet interest charges alone.

All mortgages given under this bill will be based upon the amortization plan; that is to say, the payment of the interest and a small percentage of the principal each year will pay both

interest and principal of the debt.

Mr. Speaker, under the amortization contained in the bill a loan of \$1,000, bearing 6 per cent interest, can be paid off in 16 years by the payment of \$100 annually for 15 years and \$73.10 for the sixteenth year. In other words, for a little less then 10 per cent straight interest not only can the interest and all overhead charges be taken care of, but the principal can be paid off and wiped out as well. Under the plan now followed, the farmer would have paid \$960 interest during the 16 years of the loan, and the principal, \$1,000, would still be due in a lump sum.

A loan of \$1,000, bearing 6 per cent interest and running for the term of 19 years, can be paid off at a little less than 9 per cent straight interest. Under the plan now followed the farmer would have paid \$1,140 interest during the 19 years of the loan and the bill, \$1,000, would still be due in a lump sum. The loan of \$1,000, bearing interest at the rate of 5 per cent, running for 20 years, can be paid off under the proposed bill in 20 annual installments at the rate of \$80.24 each, or just a little more than 8 per cent straight interest.

Under the plan now followed the farmer would have paid \$1,000 interest during the 20 years of the loan, and the principal, \$1,000, would still be due in a lump sum. A loan of \$1,000, bearing interest at the rate of 4 per cent, for 20 years can be paid off in 20 annual installments of \$73.58, or a rate of a

little more than 7 per cent straight interest.

Under the plan now followed the farmer would have paid \$800 interest during the 20 years of the loan and the \$1,000 principal would still be due in a lump sum. A loan of \$1,000 at 4 per cent running for 36 years can be paid off in 36 annual payments of \$52.88, or a rate a little more than 5 per cent straight interest. Under the plan now followed the farmer would have paid \$1,440 interest during the 36 years and the principal would still be due in a lump sum.

The benefit the farmer will derive from this way of meeting his obligations is self-evident. The principal does not all become due at one time, but like the interest is divided up into small annual and semiannual payments, and he is able to meet

them without difficulty under this system.

Mr. Speaker, it is impossible to enumerate all the benefits which, in my judgment, must inevitably flow to the farmer when this bill gets in full operation. It will require some time to work out its details and make it a perfect bill suitable to American conditions. The farmer has felt the heavy hand of the interest gatherer long enough. Old man Interest is a hard taskmaster. He does not bid you good night on going to bed but greets you with good morning on rising. He sits at your table, partakes of three square meals per day. He is a most incessant and inveterate worker, never rests, never sleeps, never takes a leave of absence, not even a sick leave; works seven days out of each week, including the Lord's day; always busy, and fears he will not get his pound of flesh, and get it nearest the heart. But under this bill when it is thoroughly worked out the farmer will get a rest from the incessant work and toil for old man Interest. He will have exacted his last pound of human flesh, Mr. Speaker, in the language of that old-fashioned but beautiful hymn I feel like saying—

This is the day I long have sought, And mourned because I found it not.

The Shipping Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM A. CULLOP,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 19, 1916.

Mr. CULLOP. Mr. Speaker, the bill under consideration commands the attention of the entire country because of the universal demand for its enactment. The question involved affects every industry, every merchant, every business man, and the labor as well

as the capital of the country. In the Washington Post of this morning there is an article stating facts sufficient to convince any reasonable man of the necessity for the enactment of this measure in order that relief may be had for the shippers of the country. It is as follows:

THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE AND GOVERNMENTAL CONTROL OF OCEAN

Eight dollars a ton for the railway freight on barley from San Francisco to Galveston may be a fair and reasonable rate; at least it should be with National and State regulation of rates and with official commissions to see that the railway interests are fairly cared for and the public not exploited unfairly.

What the rate would be if it were not for the power given by legislation to the Interstate Commerce Commission and to the various State commissions no business man in the United States would attempt to state.

What the rate would be if it were not for the power given by legislation to the Interstate Commerce Commission and to the various State commissions no business man in the United States would attempt to state.

But with ocean transportation unregulated by either National Government or by States, with the shipping combines of Europe reaching for the last copper of the shippers or the consumers and private capital after 50 years' talk of providing an American merchant marine, either in partnership with foreign combines or in operating agreements with them or controlling few, very few, vessels independent of these combines, we have to-day statements that \$32 a ton is to be charged for transporting barley from Galveston to European ports.

And we have some legislators who still balk at governmental protection of the interests of American farmers, American manufacturers, the masses of the American people, and who are opposed to governmental control of rates in a governmental-owned or governmental-aided merchani marine.

Thirty-two dollars a ton ocean freight to western Europe on barley produced on the lands of the farmers of the United States makes it highly profitable for owners of vessels, for private capital invested in vessels, and, of course, they want no governmental-owned merchant marine, no governmental control of rates, no governmental service for the producers and the shippers of the Republic.

The farmers who produce the barley, working early and late through winter's cold and summer's heat, working in every season throughout the year to produce the grain crop for the market, do not receive per ton for the grain as much as the owners of the vessels which carry it on the two weeks' trip from Galveston to Europe.

And private capital has had 50 years to furnish an American merchant marine, and yet some Members of the Congress oppose the governmental establishment of a marine and are strongly against governmental control of rates on ocean transportation.

It is not many years since governmental control of rai

This clearly shows a condition which burdens the industry and prevents our products from enjoying access to the markets of the world and realizing the profits which otherwise could be realized on them. Instances of this kind could be multiplied. For instance, there is a great demand abroad for our coal. When the European war broke out the ocean rate on coal to France was \$5 per ton, now it is \$32 per ton. It was from 4 to 6 cents per bushel on wheat, it is now 46 cents; it was then from \$1.50 to \$2 per bale for cotton, it is now from \$16 to \$18 per

What is true in the increase of ocean freight rates on these commodities is true on all others, and it has become almost prohibitive, to the great detriment of the producers of this country. A few shipowners have a monopoly of the ocean-transportation facilities, and because they are able to control this important business they have elected to oppress the people and thereby injure our commerce, which has the greatest op-portunity now it has had in the last 50 years.

Whenever any business becomes a private monopoly and is employed to oppress and exploit the people, then the Government should come to their rescue and destroy the monopoly. Business requires it and good Government demands it.

If it had not been for the enormous and unjustifiable increase in ocean freight rates, every product in this country would have sold, since the European war broke out, higher in our markets and the producers who earn and are entitled to the profits would have been paid this difference as an additional price for their products. It has been a constant menace to the prosperity of our export trade and has embarrassed the business interests of our people.

The price at which these products have been sold abroad is the market price to the consumers, and was the price which they would have brought if the ocean freight had not been increased; hence, the producers in this country have been the sufferers and not the foreign consumers.

It was exacted from the American producers—the farmers, manufacturers, miners, and other industries. Imagine what a sum these producers would have realized if this increase in ocean rates had been added to the price for which they sold their products. Consider how much more profitable their business would have been and what an impetus it would have given industry in this country; how much it would have increased the wages of the laboring man. These are some of the practical effects to be considered for the adoption of this measure, and some of the reasons calling for action at this time for the regulation of this monopoly.

But there is another reason why it should be enacted, in order to build for us a merchant marine to haul our products to foreign countries, put back on the seas the American flag, floating from American ships. It was costing our people before the European war broke out \$300,000,000 annually for ocean freights.

It costs much more now,

This enormous amount was paid to foreign ships for transportation by our people. It was sent abroad. Would it not have been better to have paid this great sum to Americans and

have kept this money at home?

Think for a moment what a fleet this great sum would have built and manned. Every year for the last 10 years this great amount has been the annual toll paid foreign ships for ocean transportation. It is sufficient alone to have built and set afloat a great merchant marine which would have been the pride of the American people and increased our prestige as a world power.

If it had been employed for this purpose, we would have kept this money at home and would have had the greatest merchant marine in the world. The American flag would have regained the position it occupied on the seas before the Civil War, when

we had the greatest merchant marine in the world.

We have paid every year for the last 10 years to foreign ships for ocean service six times the amount it is proposed to appropriate in this bill to establish a merchant marine to carry American products to foreign markets and to enable the American producer to have a fair chance in the commerce of the

Private capital has had ample opportunity for 40 years to build a merchant marine, and it has failed to do so, but has invested in foreign ships. It is folly to wait longer on it.

Fifty years ago the shipbuilding industry flourished in this country, was a leading and thriving business, but it has dwindled away until now it is negligible. Pass this measure and this great business will be revived and regain its former prestige and again become one of the great important industries of the country. It will employ capital and labor and add to the wealth of the Nation.

The opponents of this measure object to its passage because it will authorize the Government to engage in business in competition with private citizens, and, as asserted by them, perhaps drive them out of business, because it indorses Government ownership and because of this Government-ownership feature they can not support the measure. In other words, they prefer to tolerate a monopoly which is unreasonably plundering the people, stifling industry, restraining and limiting commerce, denying business the golden opportunity now afforded it, to indorsing a relief measure which contains the Government-ownership feature. They confess the plan proposed is the only plan available for relief. Such an objection will furnish no excuse to millions of people in this country who daily suffer injury from present conditions, and whenever presented it will afford no palliation for the wrongs they endure, the loss sustained, and the cost entailed. They will scorn such an excuse.

Every seaport on the Atlantic coast is overflowing with prodexery seaport on the Atlantic coast is overnowing with prod-ucts awaiting shipment abroad. Want of facilities and pro-hibitive charges prevent the exchange of these products for foreign gold. The price is satisfactory, the demand strong, but the delay in shipment and the excessive cost of transportation injure the farmer, manufacturer, and laborer of this country, and they will hold to a strict accountability those responsible for the delay or defeat of legislation which would relieve existing conditions.

It has also been asserted that to engage in this enterprise will sustain loss to the Government, and for this reason it should not be done. How do they know it will be a losing enterprise? When we passed in this House the maritime insurance law these same objections were raised, the same prophecies of evil were made in opposition to it, but fortunately they did not materialize. It was necessary to pass that measure in order to break down the maritime insurance monopoly, and it performed that function to the satisfaction of the sponsors of that measure and the shippers in this country who were being exploited by it. Great success followed the enactment of that

Look at the result, which is most gratifying: From September 2, 1914, to November 10, 1915, a little over 14 months, policies were written on war risks amounting to \$89,245,000, a total of 1,238 risks, an average of nearly 100 per month. The net premiums received amounted to \$2,127,976 and the net losses paid amounted to \$695,984, leaving a net surplus of \$1,431,992. This was what the Government gained in breaking up a monopoly and relieving the people from its remorseless grasp. It reduced the insurance rates to a reasonable basis, established competition, furnished security to the people for the safety of their property, paid all losses, and cleared in 14 months practically a million and a half dollars. It did not bankrupt the Government; it did not destroy private enterprise or drive private citizens out of business; but it did break down a monopoly and compel it to do business on reasonable terms. Does anyone criticize Congress for the passage of that measure? It was an emergency measure, required at that time for the relief of the shippers of the country, and Congress responded and furnished the relief.

The same emergency exists now for the passage of this measure, and Congress should speedily furnish the relief and enable our people to take advantage of the great opportunities offered, strike down the great ship monopoly, and enable this country to capture the foreign trade knocking at our doors and again establish the greatest merchant marine in the world, regain our former prestige, unfurl the American flag from the masthead of American ships in every seaport in the world. The opportunity is presented, and we should accept it and show other nations our real greatness, our ability to regulate our business affairs, and protect our people from the excessive charges of organized monopoly—demonstrate to the world that this is in fact a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

An American Merchant Marine.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL. OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Tuesday, May 23, 1916.

Mr. RANDALL, Mr. Speaker, I am astonished that there should be a single vote against the proposition of creating an American merchant marine as presented in the shipping bill which has been passed by this House. No other plan was presented by its opponents. No one pretends, after our 50 years of absence from the sea, that vessels under the American flag will reappear except through subsidies or by Government coopera-The American spirit will not tolerate a subsidized mertion. The American spirit will not tolerate a chant marine, and it is well that it should not.

The enemies of Government cooperation in building up our merchant marine did not dare to offer the subsidy plan in lieu. They simply represent interests which oppose the Government

ownership of anything under the sun.

This country sent fifty millions out to build a railway in the mountains and ice fields of Alaska, where no traffic exists. It built the Panama Canal for the use of privately owned ships, When it is proposed to occupy a field which private interest refuses to fill, it is perplexing to know why private interest throws its influence against an enterprise which is universally approved.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES W. WISE, OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 24, 1916.

Mr. WISE. Mr. Speaker, I do not intend at this time to make an argument as to the necessity for this bill or the great good that will come from its enactment. I think all who have given any thought or consideration to existing conditions will

admit the necessity for the same, and also the good that will necessarily follow the enactment of a real rural-credits bill, I do not want to be misunderstood in what I shall hereafter say, and therefore emphatically declare that this bill does not meet with my entire approval. It is not the bill that I would like to see passed. It does not go far enough, and does not include all that I would like to see included in its provisions. It does not authorize the Federal Government specifically to indorse the bonds to be issued under its provisions. I am serry it does not. I did all I could in a humble way to secure the adoption of an amendment to this effect, but it did not prevail. I believe it would not have resulted in the Government losing a penny, and would have greatly aided in the sale of bonds at a very low rate of interest, and thereby resulted in a corresponding low rate of interest to the borrower. I was, and am still, opposed to section 16, which authorizes the establishment of private banks, believing that putting them in direct competition with the Federal land banks will work to their injury and be harmful in the years to come,

But all legislation is in a sense a compromise, and we have to take the best we can get and then endeavor to make it a success. and as it goes into operation and the defects are made manifest so amend it from time to time as to bring about the greatest good to the country at large. That is my hope in regard to this legislation, and for these reasons and others I give my support to this bill, believing also that it is the beginning of a policy of aid to the agricultural interests of this country and the recognition, although small, of a class long neglected that will eventu-

ally result in much good to all our people.

But, as stated, it is not my intention to go into the merits of the question as an original proposition but, as this seems about all we will be able to get at this time, to go into some details of the same and see what it really is, and, if possible, to so explain its provisions that those interested may know how to proceed to get the benefits of the law as finally enacted.

Now, what are the provisions of this bill—and I refer to the House bill?

FEDERAL FARM-LOAN BOARD.

First. There is authorized and created a Federal farm-loan board, consisting of three members, to be appointed by the President, established at the seat of government in Washington D. C. Their salaries and expenses are to be paid by the Federal Government and are no expense to the borrower or the banks hereinafter referred to. They serve for three, six, and nine years, respectively. This board has general supervision and control of the entire rural-credits system, as hereinafter explained, and bears the same relation to this system of banks that the Federal Reserve Board bears to the Federal reserve banks. No member of the Federal farm-loan board can be an officer or director of any other institution engaged in banking or in making mortgage loans or selling land mortgages. This board appoints a farmlean registrar for each land-bank district, and also appoints one or more appraisers for each land-bank district. They are all public officials and can have no connection with or interest in any other institution engaged in banking or making or selling land mortgages. It is also authorized to employ such attorneys, experts, etc., as is necessary to conduct the business of the board. and they from time to time cause to be made examinations and report condition of all the land banks created under this act and issue charters for land banks and farm-loan associations.

FEDERAL LAND BANKS,

Second. The Federal farm-loan board divides the United States into 12 separate districts and establishes a Federal land bank in each district for the purpose of making long-term loans on real estate on the amortization plan. The stock in these Federal land banks is to be not less than \$750,000 each. This stock, unless subscribed within 90 days, is to be taken by the Federal Government, which shares in no dividend declared by the banks. No land-bank district shall contain a fractional part of any State. These districts are laid off by the Federal farm-loan board and the banks therein chartered by it. After being chartered by the Federal farm-loan board it becomes a body corporate and has all the powers given under the act, which I will not enumerate now, but which enable it to carry on its business of making long-term loans on real estate, no loan to be less than \$100 nor more than \$10,000. These loans can be made for the following purposes: (a) To provide for the pur-chase of land for agricultural uses; (b) to provide for the pur-chase of equipment and live stock necessary for the proper and reasonable operation of the farm; (c) to provide buildings and for the improvement of farm lands; (d) to liquidate the indebtedness of the owner of the land mortgaged existing at the time of the organization of the farm-loan association. No loan is to exceed 60 per cent of the value of the land mortgaged and 20 per cent of the value of the improvements thereon, and

no loan to be made to any person who is not at the time, or shortly to become, engaged in the cultivation of the farm mortgaged. The Federal land bank is managed by three directors appointed by the Federal farm-loan board until the stock subscriptions from the farm-loan associations amount to \$100,000, then the stockholders of the bank elect six of the directors and three are appointed by the Federal farm-loan board. So, it will be seen that when the subscriptions reach the amount above stated, the borrowers, who own the stock in the bank, will control the same.

NATIONAL FARM-LOAN ASSOCIATIONS.

The next organization provided for is the farm-loan association. This is composed of not less than 10 men who desire to secure loans, and who then organize themselves into what is called a national farm-loan association; and they shall specify, in general terms, the object for which the association is formed and the territory within which its operations are to be carried on. They then sign the articles agreed on and send a copy to the Federal land bank of the district. They elect directors, not less than five, in the same manner as directors of national banks are now elected, and also select a secretary-treasurer. The directors also select a loan committee of three members. All the officers, except the secretary-treasurer, serve without compensation.

These three organizations—the Federal farm-loan board, located in Washington, expenses paid by the Government; the Federal land banks; and the national farm-loan associations—constitute the machinery and all the organizations for putting into operation this system of rural credits.

PROCEDURE TO SECURE LOAN.

It has been asked many times, and seems to be misunderstood, the method by which one may secure a loan, or what would be necessary for a man to do if he desired to take advantage of this act. The procedure would be as follows: Ten men who desire to borrow money would organize a national farm-loan association, as above described, in each community, in any one county, or several counties together; they would then fill out their application blanks, prepared by the Federal farmloan board, which would be sent to the national farm-loan association, and which they would have on hand, making application for loans; the loan committee of the national farm-loan association, which would be composed of three members of the association, and which would be composed of local men who would not be interested in the loan applied for, would take the application, inspect the land, and appraise the same, and approve the loan if it was for not more than 60 per cent of the value of the land and 20 per cent of the value of the improvements thereon.

When this is done the secretary-treasurer of the national farm-loan association would take the application and send it to the Federal land bank; the Federal land bank would turn the same over to its examiner and appraiser, who, in turn, would inspect the land and appraise the same, and if his judgment was in accord with that of the loan committee, he would so report to the Federal land bank, which, in turn, would approve the loan, prepare the papers, and send them back to the secretarytreasurer of the national farm-loan association with the money; who would have the papers all properly executed and recorded, pay the money over to the borrower, and return the mortgage and notes to the Federal land bank. Each applicant for a loan would at the same time subscribe for and take 5 per cent of the amount of his loan with the Federal land bank in stock in the bank, which would be issued to the national farm-loan association, and by it to the borrower, who would receive dividends on his stock in the event any profits were declared by the Federal land bank. After the farm-loan associations were organized all others would apply to it for loans; and if no farmloan associations are organized, applications could be made through any chartered bank.

No loan could bear more than 6 per cent interest, which, with a small amount on his loan at the time the same is made, would be paid annually, and which at the maturity of the loan would not only have paid the interest on the same, but would at the same time have paid off the principal sum and there would be no outstanding debt against the farm.

These Federal land banks, which in the course of time would be owned entirely by borrowers, for no one except a borrower could take stock after they are organized, are authorized from time to time, when they need funds to make loans on real estate, to apply to the Federal farm-loan board, putting up as collateral the mortgages taken from borrowers; and the Federal farm-loan board authorizes the bank to issue bonds on these mortgages for such term of years as it may desire at not more than 5 per cent interest and to sell them in the market on the

best terms possible, and thereby secure funds for the purpose of making other and additional loans. And this can be carried on until bonds have been issued to twenty times the amount of the capital stock and surplus of the Federal land bank.

LIABILITY OF BORROWER AND CORRESPONDING ADVANTAGES.

No borrower can be liable for more than 5 per cent of the amount of his loan in addition to the stock he owns in the Federal land bank. It has been stated by some that farmers desiring to secure loans will not go into this because of the fact that they are required to take 5 per cent of the amount of their loan in stock and are liable for 5 per cent more in the event there should be a loss on account of the bank having made loans that were not good. It will be remembered that anyone who now makes a loan on his farm, even for a period of five years, pays about 10 per cent of the amount of his loan in the way of commissions, attorneys' fees, and other expenses, for which he gets absolutely nothing, and pays a much higher rate of interest than he would have to pay under this system; whereas, if he takes advantage of this act, he is only required to take 5 per cent of the amount of his loan in stock and gets value received for the same in stock of the Federal land bank, which, I consider, will be absolutely good, safe, and sound, for there is no better security for a loan than farm lands, and if they comply with the law and loan only to the extent of 60 per cent of the value of the land and 20 per cent of the value of the improvements, it is not possible there will be any loss, unless the title should not be good, which would be a remote possibility after the title had been examined by competent attorneys. The borrower now has to pay this commission every five years, whereas, under this plan, he would only have to pay it once and the loan could run for 36 years if he so desired, and he would never have to pay any more expenses, and would know every year exactly how much he would have to pay, not exceeding 6 per cent on the principal, and would know that when the mortgage should have matured that the entire indebtedness would have been canceled.

Another advantage in addition to what is above stated would be in the fact that the borrowers, all of whom would be members of the national farm-loan association, would own the Federal land banks; so that if said banks should make profits, which, in my judgment, they will, even at the limited rate of interest, the dividends would be repaid to the borrower who holds the stock, just the same as dividends in other banks are paid to the stockholders, and would thereby reduce the amount of interest that he would be paying to his own bank-the Federal land bank-just to the amount of the dividend declared by the Federal land bank. In other words, the borrower would be getting his money at not exceeding 6 per cent interest, and at the same time own stock in the Federal land bank and be receiving dividends from the same, in which case he would be both the borrower and, through this corporation, the lender. In other words, he would get the money on his loans at exact cost, less the expenses of the Federal land bank, which would be paid out of the profits of the Federal land bank, and not by the borrower; that is, if the 6 per cent—if that should be the amount agreed on—that he pays to the Federal land bank should be more than the money costs the Federal land bank, the difference would go to the bank in the way of profits, and the borrower, being a stockholder, and the borrowers owning the bank, would receive the same back in the way of dividends on his stock, thereby making it impossible for others to make profits out of him.

Another advantage he has by virtue of taking this stock is that the Government, in putting up the money for this bank, to wit, \$750,000, does not receive any dividend on its stock, and, whatever profits are made, the entire amount of same in the way of dividends would go to the stock held by the borrowers of the bank.

I might explain further, with reference to the capital stock of these banks, so that there may be no misunderstanding, that it is provided in the act that when the stock of the borrowers, who take the same through the national farm-loan associations, as hereinbefore stated, shall reach the amount of \$750,000, which would then make the Federal land bank have a capital stock of \$1,500,000, from that time on 25 per cent of the additional stock taken by borrowers shall be applied to the stock held by the Federal Government to reduce the same, and 75 per cent of such additional stock shall go to increase the capital stock of the Federal land bank, so that by the time all of the stock of the Federal Government shall have been paid in full by this method, the capital stock of the bank will have reached \$3,750,000 and will then be owned and controlled absolutely by the borrowers. It may be stated by some that this will take a long time, and that it will be a long time before this condition of affairs will arise, but that is because of the

fact that people do not know or realize the amount of mortgage indebtedness there is now existing on farm land, for if the amount now in farm loans was reborrowed through the Federal land bank, as provided by this system, within less than 12 months every Federal land bank would have a capital of the above amount and would be in the hands and control of the borrowers, who would reap all the benefits and profits of the same.

It is also insisted that this act will be of no material benefit to the farmer. As I have before stated, it does not meet my wishes and entire approval, but I still can see great good and great saving resulting to those who take advantage of its provisions. To illustrate, the difference between the amount of interest that would be paid under this system and the amount they have to pay now, if the farmers take advantage of this act and place their loans in the Federal land bank rather than in private concerns, as now carried on, where they have to pay at least 2 per cent more than could possibly be charged under this system, besides a great saving in commissions, fees, and expenses, would amount to an enormous sum every year, which would be a saving to the farmers interested and thereby result in much good, in my judgment, to every community, and especially to our part of the country, where we have to pay such missions and expenses.

To make this benefit clearer; the total indebtedness of the farmers of the United States, as shown by mortgages on their farms, is about \$3,000,000,000, and they are now paying on these loans an average of 8½ per cent interest. This would make the annual cost to them in interest alone \$255,000,000. Now, if only the farmers who now have mortgages on their farms should take advantage of this act, where money could not cost them more than 6 per cent, there would be an annual saving to them of \$75,000,000. And it should be remembered that a large amount of this is paid by the South, where the interest rates and expenses are highest. Other bonds bearing 5 per cent interest usually sell at par. They are deemed no better than these—in my judgment, they are not as good—so it is safe to assume that these will sell on equally as good terms. The farmers are now paying annually in excessive interest charges on farm mortgages from \$75,000,000 to \$100,000,000, which this legislation will save them.

WILL SAVE LARGE SUMS TO PARMERS OF GEORGIA.

Now, apply this act more specifically to the farmers of Georgia and see just what benefits they can derive by availing themselves of the terms of this act. I call attention to some statistics from the best information obtainable from the last census and other reports. The farmers of the State of Georgia have a mortgage indebtedness on their land, at the present time, of at least \$20,000,000—this amount is not entirely accurate, because it is impossible to get specific information of the exact amount. If they pay 8 per cent interest on this sum, and most of them pay at least that much, the annual interest payment is \$1,600,000. If they borrow this money and pay the highest rate, 6 per cent under this bill, the amount of annual interest would be \$1,200,000, making a net saving of \$400.000 annually in interest alone. If they secure the money under this bill at 5 per cent, which many believe will be the controlling rate after it goes into operation, the annual interest on this indebtedness would be \$1,000,000, and there would be a net saving annually of \$600,000 to the farmers of the State of Georgia.

It must also be remembered in considering the benefits under this act that these borrowers paid a commission in securing the loans of at least from 8 to 10 per cent. At 10 per cent—if they paid that much, and many of them did—it would be a sum of \$2,000,000 which these farmers paid that they would save under this bill in addition to the interest saving above. It should also be remembered that these loans, most of them, run for a period of five years and must be renewed at the end of every five years, and this same commission is paid again by them. In other words, the borrowers of the State of Georgia, in commissions and other expenses alone outside of the interest, pay every five years from \$1,500,000 to \$2,000,000 on these loans for which they get absolutely nothing. So when you take both items and the interest on these items it will be seen that a large saving will be made annually to the farmers of Georgia alone, even if none borrow except those who now have mortgages on their farms.

BENEFITS TO TENANTS.

It has been said that under this bill no one except those who already own land could avail themselves of its provisions, and no one would be enabled to purchase a home unless he had at least 40 per cent of the cost to pay cash. I do not agree entirely with this contention. A great many tenant farmers have saved a few hundred dollars, or could raise that much; they are afraid—

and rightfully so, under present conditions-to purchase land and invest all their earnings in it, not knowing what may happen, or whether they may not in a short time be closed out and lose all they have paid, on account of some misfortune, and because they could get but few years time at best, at a high rate of interest, giving them no chance to make improvements, and so forth. Under this bill he could purchase and have a long term of years-36 if he desired-and know that he would not be closed out and lose his hard-earned savings; and he would also know just exactly the amount he would have to pay, in my judgment not more than he now pays as rent each year, and feel absolutely safe and know that it was his home and feel secure. He would also know that his land was increasing in value all the time, and if he kept it for the full period of the loan, to wit, 36 years, the increase in price of the land and profit in same would amount, in my judgment, to a great deal more than his debt. And in this way many tenants would be able to secure homes and have time to improve and build them up.

Again, if he did not have a dollar and was a reliable and honest man he could contract for a piece of land, borrow 60 per cent of its value and pay to the seller, and arrange with him for time for the remainder of the purchase price. I have no doubt that many men who now have land that is paying them nothing would be glad to sell it to some good, honest, deserving tenant if they could get in cash 60 per cent of its value, and give him plenty of time to pay the remainder of the purchase price, the tenant being able, under this legislation, to borrow on this land 60 per cent, pay to the owner of the land this money, and have 25 or 30 years to repay same at a low rate of interest, and pay the remainder of the purchase price to the seller on terms satisfactory to both. I believe many who are now tenants and who under present conditions will never be able to buy and pay for a home, if they will try, can secure and pay for one under this legislation.

EXEMPTION FROM TAXATION.

Another provision of the bill is that it exempts the Federal land bank and the mortgages and bonds issued by it from Federal, State, and municipal taxation, thereby saving to the owners of the banks (who are the borrowers) this expense, which would be a large sum on the amount the bank would hold, and also increase the demands for the bonds and make them sell for a better price, thereby reducing the cost of the money to the borrower.

FEDERAL DEPOSITS.

Another provision that will be of benefit to the borrower and also aid in selling the bonds is that wherein it is provided that in the event any disaster should come to any section and the farmers who have borrowed money should be unable to meet their payments, the Federal Government is authorized to deposit in each land bank a sum not exceeding \$500,000 to enable the bank to meet the interest obligations on the bonds, thereby assuring the bondholder that his bond is good, and also assuring the borrower that under such circumstances he will not be closed out and his farm sold.

JOINT-STOCK LAND BANKS.

This is the provision in the bill that I have referred to as section 16, and which I think is a dangerous provision, because it authorizes the establishment of private land banks with practically all the privileges of the Federal land bank and with some less restrictions. I will not give all the dangers of same, but it puts these banks in direct competition with the Federal land banks and all their profits go to its stockholders and every loan less than \$10,000 that it makes takes from the Federal land bank just that much business and reduces the profit of the Federal land bank just that much, whereas if it were in the Federal land bank, the borrowers—farmers—would get the benefit and profit of the business.

Of course, it is within the power of the farmers themselves to make the Federal land bank a success by all of them making their loans through the Federal land bank and not in the joint-stock land banks. And I believe if they will look to their own interest and welfare, both for the present and the future, they will, everyone that comes under its provisions, take their loans through the Federal land banks, where all the stock will be owned and controlled by the borrowers themselves, and not in banks established for private gain, and where every influence will be to keep interest rates high. In Federal land banks all will be interested in reducing interest rates. Our agricultural departments, farmers' associations, and all really interested in the welfare of the agricultural interests of the country will do well to carefully look into this and see that none are misled.

REPAYMENT OF LOAN.

The amortization plan provided by this bill will be clearly understood by the following table, showing a loan of \$1,000 for

20 years at 5 per cent interest, if the borrower desired a loan for that period:

Annual periods.	Total annual payment.	Interest at 5 per cent.	Paid on principal.	Amount of principal still unpaid.
1	\$80, 24 80, 26 80, 26 8	\$50,00 48,48 46,90 45,23 43,48 41,64 39,71 37,68 35,56 36,56 28,51 25,93 23,21 20,36 17,37 14,23 10,83 7,46 3,82	\$30, 24 31, 75 33, 34 35, 01 36, 76 38, 59 40, 52 42, 55 44, 69 46, 91 49, 26 51, 72 54, 31 57, 02 59, 87 66, 31 72, 78	\$969.76 938.00 904.67 899.66 832.90 794.31 753.79 711.23 608.56 619.66 518.67 444.33 407.34 347.45 234.65 218.59 149.23 76.50
Total	1,604.80	604.80	1,000.00	

I also, in order to show the maximum costs under this bill, if the borrower desires to take advantage of the 36-year loan, incorporate what is known as an amortization table showing the process by which the loan and interest are paid. The table is for a loan of \$1,000 for 36 years at 6 per cent interest, and the annual payment is \$68.39:

Annual periods.	Total annual payment.	Interest at 6 per cent.	Paid on principal.	Amount of principal still unpaid.
1	£68,39	260,00	\$8,39	\$991,61
2	68, 39	59.49	8,90	982,71
3	68.39	58,96	9.43	973, 28
4	68.39	58.40	9.99	963.39
5	68.39	57.80	10.59	952.80
0	68.39	57.16	11.23	941.57
7	68.39	56.49	11.90	929.68
8	68.39	55.79	12.60	917.08
9	68.39	55.02	13.37	903.71
10	68.39	54.28	14.11	889.60
11	68.39	53.37	15.02	874.58
12	68.39	52.47	15.92	858.66
13	68.39 68.39	51.52 50.50	16.87 17.89	841.79
	68, 39	49.43	18.96	823, 89 804, 93
	68.39	48, 29	20.10	784.83
17	68.39	47.08	21.31	763.52
18	68.39	45, 81	22.58	740.94
19	68.39	44, 45	23.94	717.00
20	68.39	43.02	25.37	691.63
21	68, 39	41.49	26, 90	664.73
22	68,39	39.88	28.51	636, 22
23	68, 39	38, 17	30, 22	606.00
24	68, 39	36.36	32.03	573.97
25	68, 39	34.43	33.96	540.01
26	68.39	32.40	35.99	504.02
27	68.39	30.24	38.15	465.87
28	68.39	27.94	40.45	425.42
29	68.39	25.52	42.87	382.55
30	68.39	22.95	45.44	337.01
31	68.39	20.22	48.17	288.84
32	68.39	17.33	51.06	237.78
33	68.39	15.26	53.13	184.65
34	68.39	11.07	57.32	127.33
35	68.39	7.63	60.76 66.57	66.57
36	70.56	3.99	00.57	
Total	2,464.21	1,464.21	1,000.00	

An examination of this table will show that if a farmer borrows \$1,000 for 36 years at 6 per cent interest, by the payment of \$68.39 per year all the debt and interest is fully paid at the end of that period. Under present methods if he gets his money on a five-year loan at 8 per cent interest he would pay in interest alone \$80 per year, and at the end of 36 years, if he should keep it that long, he would have paid in interest alone \$2,880, not counting interest on these annual payments of interest; in addition he would have to renew his loan every five years and pay the usual commission of 10 per cent, or \$100, which, covering a period of 35 years, would be \$700, besides interest on the same, making a total of \$3,580, besides interest on this amount that the borrower would have paid, and he would still owe the principal sum, whereas under a loan in the Federal land bank he would have paid in all \$2,464.21, being \$1,115.79 less than he would have paid under present conditions, and the entire debt of \$1,000 would be settled, making a net saving of \$2,115.79, besides extra interest on pay-

ments, and saving all the worry, trouble, and anxiety of renewing the debt every five years and raising cash to pay commissions. Of course on a loan twice this size the saving would be doubled. So it will be seen that there would be an enormous amount saved if only the present farm-mortgage indebtedness was handled by these banks.

This would be the proper loan to make, for it makes the annual payments smaller, and the act provides that after five years, at any time thereafter, the borrower can pay off the loan in full if he desires by paying the principal and interest then due. This table shows the highest interest rate; if the rate should be less, the annual payments would be less.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have discussed in some detail the provisions of this bill. My excuse for so doing is my intense interest in the subject and an earnest desire that something might be done that will be of material benefit to our large agricultural interests, so long neglected without any just excuse or reason. This bill is not perfect; it is not all I wanted; it is only a beginning. It is a recognition of the kind of legislation that we so much need; more than any other kind of "preparedness" will legislation of this kind benefit and make secure our country. I sincerely hope that its provisions will be so liberally construed that great good will come from it. I trust and believe that many who have been struggling along, trying to secure homes for themselves and families, will be enabled to do so by the beneficent results of this legislation. Many who labor and toil from early morning until late at night heretofore have only seen their earnings consumed by extortionate interest rates and commissions and finally lose their homes. May they be saved by this law. Many tenant farmers have struggled all their lives, and still continue to do so, to secure a little home for themselves. I hope some way will be found under this legislation to make their efforts a success, for in this lies the success and safety of our institutions. It is my sincere hope that in the future tenant farmers will decrease, instead of, as heretofore, increase, and that home owners will increase until every worthy man will have a place he can call his own and feel secure and happy therein. And when this condition comes not only will our agricultural population be happy and contented, but the entire country and all interests will prosper as never before.

The American Farmer.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,

OF NEW YORK, .

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 24, 1916.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, in the great forward sweep of the human race agriculture and civilization are synonymous terms; they have marched hand in hand down the ages from that far-distant past when a few weeds whose roots, more palatable than their fellows, growing in front of a cave constituted the husbandry of primitive man.

So strongly did the importance of agriculture appeal to the nations of antiquity that they ascribed its introduction to divine origin, venerating as its founders Isis, in Egypt; Demeter, in Greece; and Ceres, in Italy. While the cultivation of the soil is essentially the pursuit of sedentary people, the nomads of the time of the patriarchs, though dependent primarily upon their flocks, practiced agriculture to a limited extent.

On the mighty monuments of Egypt we see pictured the implements and methods employed in farming in the days of the Pharaohs. Chiseled in stone are the farm scenes of 4,000 years ago—oxen drawing clumsy wooden plows turning shallow furrows, which were afterwards leveled by crude hoes and simple sticks. Then pictures of the planting, when the seeds were scattered broadcast and pressed into the ground by driving sheep over the soft alluvial soil. After the harvest the grain was taken to the smooth clay thrashing floors, where it was beaten with sticks or trodden out under the hoofs of animals and then winnowed by throwing the grain into the air and allowing the wind to blow away the chaff. The main food products of these ancient people were wheat and barley, to which were added peas, beans, and herbs. To-day this primitive method of tillage is still carried on in that great valley of the Nile, and I have seen the same methods followed in Siam, Chosen, Java, and China, where often men, and even women, are yoked to the plows with donkeys and oxen.

Agriculture occupied a high position in the lives of the Greeks and Romans, and their writers treat of the scientific cultivation of the soil. Cato taught intensive cultivation, the value of live stock as an important adjunct of general farming, the importance of leguminous plants for soil fertilization, and advocated the use of manure. He gives the following advice:

What is the first principle of good agriculture? To plow well. What is the second? To plow again, and the third is to manure.

Pliny says:

Tradition reports that King Anglas was the first in Greece to make se of manure, and that Hercules introduced the practice into Italy.

Alfalfa, which we in the East are only beginning to cultivate, was one of the principal crops of ancient agriculture, as it was in France in the eighteenth century. According to Pliny it was introduced into Italy from Greece, whence it had been brought from Asia during the Persian wars. Virgil opens his Georgies with-

What makes a plenteous harvest, when to turn The fruitful soil, and when to sow the corn; The care of sheep, of oxen, and of kine, And how to raise on eims the teeming vine; The birth and genius of the frugal bee, I sing, Mæcenas, and I sing to thee.

The most primitive form of agriculture is that known as the most primitive form of agriculture is that the order the "field-grass" system. Under this simple method of convertible husbandry fresh tracts of grassland were successively appropriated, plowed, and tilled for grain. As the soil became exhausted it was abandoned and reverted to pasture for the cattle of the community. With the growth of population this wasteful method was displaced by the permanent separation of arable from pasture land. After the Norman conquest in 1066 the manorial system was introduced into England, by which the land was, for the most part, held for the benefit of the lord of the manor, to whom all but a few of the people as bondsmen paid service or produce Domesday Book portrays practically all the land of England divided into manors, although less than one-half of the tilled land was the actual property of the lord of the manor. Under the social system then in vogue the villagers cultivated the demesne for the benefit of the lord who had a definite claim on the labor of each "tenant of the manor," amounting in the aggregate to about one-half of his time. In addition to having his private lands worked for him, the manorial lord exacted tolls for the use of roads and bridges, and compelled each tenant to have his grain ground at his mill. The injustice of this arbitrary and unfair system of land tenure precipitated a struggle between lord and tenant which has been carried down to the present day.

When it was discovered that the same plece of land would recover its fertility when allowed to lie fallow for a time, the two-field system of cultivation was introduced, by which the tracts of arable land were divided into two parts, which were cultivated on alternate years, one field being tilled while the other remained fallow. When it was ascertained that the successive planting of crops was not so exhaustive to the soil as the continuous growing of the same crop on the same piece of land, the three-field system came into use. Under this plan the land was divided into three fields, upon two of which different crops were planted, the third field being allowed to lie idle. By regular rotation each field was cultivated two years in succession and then remained fallow for one year. The three-field system of agriculture was the universal practice in western Europe until the eighteenth century, when upon the introduc-tion of new seeds and the use of manure the fallows were

abandoned.

We hear much to-day about exhausted land and the inability ultimately of the soil to produce sufficient food for our increasing population. Elaborate treatises were written on this sub-ject centuries ago, when it was predicted that starvation in the near future would face the people of Europe. But those dire forebodings did not materialize, for with the increase of population came improvement in the seeds and the development of new varieties of crops. Fertilization was resorted to and more intensive methods of cultivation practiced. Another important factor in dissipating the predictions of those old pessimists was the introduction of agricultural implements. We to-day, employing vast numbers of farm tools, can scarcely realize the crudity of the tools of but a few generations ago. It is only within 200 years that farm implements constructed on scientific principles have been in use. Some of our most simple tools have been developed during this period, while the introduction of power-driven machinery is the story of but yesterday. Science, in increasing the productivity of the soil has kept pace with the growth of population. By intensive methods of cultivation and the use of fertilizers, land that has been tilled continuously in Japan, China, and in many parts of Europe is to-

day the most productive and of the greatest value after a thousand years of cultivation.

Mr. Speaker, as one born and reared upon a farm on Long Island, I desire to pay my tribute to the greatness and importance of agriculture and to raise my voice in praise of those conscientious, God-abiding citizens of the Republic upon whose toil and industry rests the greatness of our Nation, the American farmers. Encomiums from me would be superfluous; let me instead quote from that great orator of the South, the late Henry W. Grady, who had a full appreciation of the dignity of agriculture:

me instead quote from that great orator of the South, the late Henry W. Grady, who had a full appreciation of the dignity of agriculture:

A few Sundays ago I stood on a hill in Washington. My heart thrilled as I looked on the towering marble of my country's Capitol, and a mist gathered in my eyes as, standing there, I thought of its tremendous significance and the powers there assembled and the responsibilities there centered—its Presidents, its Congress, its courts, its gathered treasure, its Army, its Navy, and its 60,000,000 of citizens. It seemed to me the best and mightiest sight that the sun could find in its wheeling course—this majestic home of a Republic that has taught the world its best lessons of liberty—and I felt that if wisdom and justice and honor abided therein the world would stand indebted to this temple on which my eyes rested and in which the ark of my covenant was lodged for its final uplifting and regeneration.

A few days later I visited a country home. A modest, quiet house sheltered by great trees and set in a circle of field and meadow, gracions with the promise of harvest—barns and cribs well filled and the old smokchouse odorous with treasure—the fragrance of pink and hollyhock mingling with the aroma of garden and orchard, and resonant with the hum of bees and poultry's busy clucking. Inside the house thrift, comfort, and that cleanliness that is next to godliness—the restful beds, the open fireplace, the books and papers, and the old clock that had held its steadfast pace amid the froile of weddings, that had welcomed in steady measure the newborn babes of the family and kept company with the watchers of the sick bed and had ticked the solenn requiem of the dead; and the well-worn Bible that, thumbed by fingers long since stilled, and blurred with toars of eyes long since closed, held the simple annals of the family and the heart and conscience of his son. And as they started to the house the old mans hands rested on the young man's shoulder, toaching it with the knighthood of th

Sentiments such as these, so full of human pathos, awaken cherished memories of the fields and woods of our boyhood, and under the subtle influence of "Auld Lang Syne" our thoughts revert to the old home nestling among the trees. Under the spell of our reveries we behold the vision of the angel of our youth, the guardian of our life—the gray-haired mother whose soul has gone to God. For us the gentle voice is stilled forever, and yet in the sublimity of our faith we know that her song of praise swells the music of the heavenly chorus of the great hereafter.

The value of the farm products produced last year in the United States is estimated at the stupendous sum of \$10,000,-000,000, of which nearly one and a half billions were exported. This magnificent showing was not the result of chance or haphazard methods; agriculture to-day is a science, an honored and respected profession.

In 1849, years before the establishment of the Department of Agriculture, Daniel Lee, reporting from the Bureau of Patents, referred to the needs of the agriculturist as follows:

referred to the needs of the agriculturist as follows:

We overestimate the value of mere physical strength, like that of the ox or mule, and underestimate the intrinsic worth of cultivated, well-developed reason in practical agriculture. No inconsiderable degree of mental culture must precede all scientific tillage and husbandry.

Rural science is not a mere plaything for the amusement of grown-up children. It is a new revelation of the wisdom and goodness of Providence—a humanizing power, which is destined to elevate man an immeasurable distance above his present condition. To achieve this result the light of science must not be confined to colleges; it must enter and illuminate the dwelling of every farmer and mechanic. The knowledge of the few, no matter how profound or how brilliant, can never compensate for the loss incurred by neglecting to develop the intellects of the many. No Government should be wanting in sympathy with the people, whether the object be the prevention of disease, the improvement of land, or the education of the masses.

Great advances have been made since these words were written, and greater still will be the beneficial results as the science of the soil extends its lessons of efficiency. I favor governmental action whenever the purpose is to help the farmer, for whenever the producer increases his output it is a benefit to the whole community. The distribution of bulletins, the study and propagation of new seeds, and the furthering of investigations to promote the welfare of the farmer are worthy undertakings. I believe in protection to the agriculturist and wage earner. I can not favor throwing open to the competition of cheap-labor countries the products of the American farmer and American mechanic, which would jeopardize the high standards of living, which are the well-earned reward of their industry and thrift.

Mr. Speaker, the great State of New York, which I have the honor in part to represent, is one of the most important agricultural States of the Union, and we are vitally interested in all legislation that affects the farmer. New York stands first in dairy products and in the production of potatoes, apples, cabbages, sweet corn, celery, and in vegetable acreage, and is an important factor in the raising of grapes, hay, cauliflower, and the coarser forage crops. Poultry, eggs, and honey add their value to the industry of the farm. Long Island, which is the most beautiful section of the State, contributes its share to the agricultural resources of the Commonwealth. We send annually to the New York markets the finest potatoes, cauliflower, and green vegetables that are grown anywhere in this country, besides large quantities of the choicest poultry and eggs. While our farm acreage, under the flood tide of a residential population seeking homes in close proximity to their city offices, has steadily decreased, the value has greatly increased. The census gives the value of the farm property in our three counties as follows:

	Nassau.	Suffolk.	Queens.
1900	\$18,613,428	\$23,688.895	\$16,050,960
	43,189,302	33,537,021	29,554,662

The census of 1910 gives the following figures in reference to our farm products:

	Nassau.	Suffolk,	Queens.
Cereals bushels Potatoes do Value of vegetables Value of all crops.	361,588	924, 914	44,140
	1,168,369	2, 200, 178	391,804
	\$1,763,139	\$2, 339, 279	\$1,408,984
	\$2,541,503	\$3, 681, 470	\$2,444,835

Our farmers, self-reliant, patriotic, and public spirited, occupy an enviable place in the counsels of the county and State. While most of them trace their ancestry back through many generations of sterling Americanism, there are others who have but recently come to our shores. We have welcomed these foreign-born to our midst; they have been inspired by our ideals and have become potent factors of our great Commonwealth, standing with us in the advancement of our institutions and the perpetuation of the principles of liberty, equality, and justice.

There are many subjects that could be profitably discussed in relation to agriculture, but I desire to call the attention of the House to the matter of fertilizers, which are of prime importance to the farmers of the United States. It can be truly said that national prosperity is founded on successful agriculture, and successful agriculture is dependent upon an adequate supply of fertilizers. The need of fertilizers for the most profitable cultivation of many of our crops is now recognized, not only in the East, but also in those sections of the country where formerly it was believed that the natural fertility of the soil would not be exhausted for generations to come. As about \$500,000.000 is annually expended by the nations of the world for fertilizers, of which \$175,000,000 is spent by the United States, the importance of producing the materials within the confines of our own borders can not be overestimated.

The three chief elements of plant nutrition are nitrogen, potash, and phosphorus, of which nitrogen is the most important as well as the most expensive. While nitrogen exists in three forms—as organic matter, as ammonia, and as nitrate—it is the latter which is of the greatest commercial importance. Of these materials the United States produces only phosphates, and is dependent upon Germany for potash and Chile for nitrogen. The present conflict has exemplified the dependence of American agriculture upon foreign countries, and as a result of the war the prices of fertilizers have materially advanced, causing hardships to the American farmer.

The value of potash salts as a fertilizer was discovered in 1870, and from that time to the present Germany has had a practical monopoly of the industry. Of the amount annually

produced by the Strassfurt mines, previous to the war, about 20 per cent, having a value of \$14,000,000, was shipped to the United States. This represented 50 per cent of Germany's exports of this ingredient.

In Japan potash is extracted from the giant marine plant known as kelp, and an effort has been made to utilize the kelp of the Pacific coast, which is similar in character. The results of numerous experiments in extracting potash from this form of seaweed have been satisfactory, but whether it can be produced on a commercial basis as yet I do not know. The kelp grows over an open area of about 390 square miles, where it can be easily harvested, and it is estimated that the annual yield would be over 2,000,000 tons of potassium chlorides.

Let me now say a word about the great nitrate beds of Chile, because, so far as at present known, this country possesses the only natural deposits of any magnitude in the world. For much of my information on this subject I am indebted to the Hon. Señor Don Enrique Cuevas, chargé d'affaires of Chile, from whom I quote.

In the great desert of northern Chile lies an area of over 450 miles in length, barren and desolate, bereft of trees, shrubs, or even weeds. Yet it is the one spot upon which the world is dependent for its supply of the most effective means of increasing the productiveness of its soil, for along this arid region stretch the vast deposits of the precious mineral from whose exports alone the Government derives an annual revenue of over \$35,000,000 in gold. The area is commonly known as Pampa Salitrera—the nitrate plain—where lie the deposits of caliche, the raw material from which saltpeter is extracted, this salt containing nitrate of sodium. The nitrate zone is situated at an altitude between 2,000 and 5,000 feet above sea level within about 25° of the Equator.

According to tradition, the discovery of caliche was made in Tarapaca by the Indians, and it was first applied as a fertilizer by a priest at the head of a parish in Camina.

It is said that a party of Indians had straggled into what is known to-day as the Pampa Salitrera and, as a protection against the intense cold, they built themselves a bonfire. To their amazement, they noticed that the fire soon began to run along the ground in every direction, causing what to them were strange and unaccountable noises. Terrified at so unusual a sight, they fied from the spot, which they firmly believed to be the abode of the evil spirit.

The flames, spreading out sometimes to quite a distance from the original fire, were to their minds the evil spirit itself. So they went to the priest and told him of their terror and its cause. He quickly understood that the phenomenon was simply due to the existence of some special substance in the soil, and asked the Indians to take him to the place. They readily agreed, believing the priest possessed with the power of banishing the evil spirit, and an expedition was organized. Once on the spot he gathered many specimens which he took to his house, and with the meager chemical outfit at his disposal made analysis of his samples, and was able to determine the presence of nitrate of soda.

The samples which had not been used in the analysis were piled up in his garden, and a few days later i.e noticed an extraordinary development in the plants which happened to be near the piles. Convinced that he had discovered a powerful tonic for plants he undertook to experiment on his crops, finding after the first year that the product was much larger than and far superior to that he had obtained in his previous agricultural experience.

Then the priest announced to his parishioners that the soil was not the abode of the evil spirit, but a gift of Providence for increasing the productiveness of the earth.

For many years after its discovery the Indians used the substance, which they prepared in large copper caldrons, for the manufacture of gunpowder, and it was not until the middle of the last century that scientific principles were applied to the industry. Until 1868 the nitrate fields were unclaimed, and anyone could secure from the Government without cost a grant of 36,000 square yards. In 1873 the Peruvian Government, whose territory then embraced these deposits, assumed the monopoly of the industry and levied an export duty. At the present time Chile exacts a heavy export duty of \$12.54 per long ten. From time to time the lands yet owned by the Government and which have all been surveyed are sold at public auction. In appearance and taste nitrate strongly resembles common salt. After the rock is mined it is crushed and dissolved in hot water. The salts are then crystallized. In 1915 the production of nitrates amounted to 2,500,000 tons, of which the United States consumed 577,000 tons, valued at \$16.350,000. We take about 25 per cent of the amount produced, England

40 per cent, Germany 20 per cent, while other countries consume the balance.

As nitrogen is an essential ingredient in all explosives, the problem of an adequate supply presents two aspects—military and agricultural. Of the military I will refer but briefly, although it is of utmost importance. Any program of preparedness which does not contemplate an ample supply of powder is futile. Guns, warships, and men are all alike puppets without gunpowder, and so it behooves us to take immediate steps to build up this industry which will make our people independent of the world and furnish our arsenals with powder and our farmers with cheap fertilizers. At the present rate of consumption it is evident that in a comparatively short time—estimated at less than 75 years—the Chilean fields will fail, and as the supply decreases the price to the consumer is certain to increase. We must not wait until these deposits are exhausted before we seek to remedy the condition.

The only other known source of nitrogen, if we except the

nitrogen in coal, is in the atmosphere—an inexhaustible supply-and Congress should take immediate action to encourage the establishment of plants to extract nitrogen from the air. It has been estimated by scientists that the atmosphere above every square mile of the earth's surface contains 20,000,000 tons of nitrogen, and it is for us to devise the best and cheapest

means of extracting it.

Norway, by the utilization of her immense water power, has established many plants which are successfully engaged in the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen. It is claimed that by a chemical process nitrogen can be produced more cheaply than by the use of hydroelectric power. I do not pretend to know; that is a question for scientists to determine. But I am pre-pared, Mr. Speaker, to give my vote to any measure that will enable this Government to investigate the subject and which will hasten the day when the United States will be independent of all other powers in producing so essential a material as nitrogen, important alike to the Navy and Army and of inestimable benefit to the agricultural interests of the land. I would be derelict in my duty to my constituents whose commission I hold were I not to urge with all the sincerity and earnestness at my command the favorable consideration by this House of some measure of relief for the thousands of sterling, patriotic Americans, for, in the words of Daniel Webster, "the farmers are the founders of civilization and prosperity.

NOTES ON FERTILIZERS AND CROP YIELDS.

In foreign countries the necessity of using large quantities of fertilizers has long been recognized. In England the yield of wheat per acre is nearly three times that of this country. Germany, which uses more fertilizer than the whole United States, her crop yields are approximately 80 per cent greater than our own. By the use of fertilizers she has increased in 20 years her grain production 15 bushels per acre, while we have increased ours 3 bushels to the acre. The potato output has been increased in Germany 80 bushels and in the United States 24 bushels to the acre. It has been estimated that if the farmers of this country would use fertilizer to the extent it is used in Germany there would be a net gain above the cost of fertilizer of \$1,000,000,000 a year.

When it is known that our population between 1900 and 1910 increased 21 per cent, while our crop production increased only 10 per cent, the necessity for prompt action is forced upon us.

I desire to insert extracts from certain public documents bearing upon this subject:

THE NITROGEN PROBLEM.

[Compiled for Hon. David Franklin Houston by Frank S. Washburn, Jan. 29, 1916.]

Compiled for Hon. David Franklin Houston by Frank S. Washburn, Jan. 29, 1916.]

Without fixed nitrogen the earth would soon become an uninhabitable desert waste. Sir William Crookes, the English chemist and economist, declared that the food supply of the world is dependent upon the supply of nitrogen. It is absolutely necessary to the existence of animal and plant life. We live in it, we breathe it, we eat it, and it enters into the composition of the human body. Nitrogen is a constituent of all organized life and tissues. In a free state it is a colorless, tasteless, odorless, gaseous, nonmetallic element.

In the United States the per capita consumption is at present only a little over one-half that for Germany. It is, however, rapidly growing, and the annual sum now sent abroad for the purpose of nitrogenous compounds has become even a more important item. The fact that the United States, in common with all civilized countries, and especially with all agricultural and manufacturing countries, is dependent upon the one natural source of nitrate in Chile, and the additional fact that the Chilean nitrate deposits are not particularly extensive and are destined at an early date to complete exhaustion, constitute another factor in the nitrogen problem.

The efforts that are being made to release the manufacturing and agricultural interests of the world from this dependence assume increasing importance each day in many European countries. During 1913 the United States imported 625,000 tons of Chilean nitrate, valued at \$21,630,000,000 upon which the Chilean export duty was 60 per cent. Thus the people of the United States paid taxes to the Chilean Government of \$8,000,000 for part of the nitrogen they consumed.

INCREASING DEMAND FOR FIXED NITROGEN.

Dr. Norton, in his monograph on the "Utilization of Atmospheric

Dr. Norton, in his monograph on the "Utilization of Atmospheric Nitrogen," says:

"During the middle of the nineteenth century a disturbing force came into play as the result of the increase of population in those countries where cereal foods are a staple element of diet, especially in Europe and North America. The methods provided by nature for maintaining a certain normal degree of fertility were no longer adequate in order to insure a sufficient supply of wheat and other cereals in various countries. In order to increase the yield of a given area of land, recourse was had to artificial fertilizers. The needed nitrogen was obtained partly from the ammonia secured as a by-product in the manufacture of gas, to some extent, from accumulated deposits of guano, and largely from the remarkable deposits of sodium nitrate, in Chile. For over half a century the consumption of both ammonium compounds and sodium nitrate has increased constantly. In addition to the demands of agriculture, modern chemistry calls for vast amounts of nitric acid and its derivatives. One-fifth of the Chilean nitrate now consumed in Europe goes into the manufacture of explosives, of coal-tar colors, and of other allied products."

In 1898 Sir William Crookes estimated that the bread eaters of Europe and America numbered 516,000,000, and were increasing at the rate of 6,000,000 annually. The acreage of cereals in that year was 167,000,000, and only 100,000,000 acres more were available for such cultivation. The annual per capita consumption of wheat was 4.6 bushels, and the average yield per acre was 12.8 bushels. From these figures he calculated that by 1941 the wheat fields of the world must cover 292,000,000 acres in order to meet the demands of a population of 819,000,000 bread eaters.

It is conceded by eminent authorities that an adequate supply of nitrogenous fertilizer, along with methods of intensive agriculture, will easily increase the yield of farm products per acre to such an extent that the present food problem of civilization ca

USE OF FERTILIZERS WELL ESTABLISHED,

The history of the use of fertilizers has proved without a doubt that they have an essential and economic place in good agriculture. Within the last 20 years, Dean Price, of Ohio State University, tells us, Germany has increased her crop production over 61 per cent, and one of her leading authorities, Prof. Wohltman, predicts that within the next 20 years there will be an additional increase of 40 per cent. The Germans say that this increase has been brought about by a better knowledge of how to till the soil and how to use fertilizers. When American farmers take up the same methods with the same thoroughness, and not until then, will our yields be raised to the same high levels.

thoroughness, and not until then, will our yields be raised to the same high levels.

There is a great difference in the yield of the staple crops produced in Germany, where fertilizers have been used for the last 100 years, compared with the same crops grown in the five Northeastern States of this country, where fertilizers have been used for a period of at least a half century, and compared with the same crops grown in the five Central States, where fertilizers, are just beginning to be accorded their logical place in good farming, as shown by the following table:

table:

Average yield per acre for 1910-1912, inclusive. [United States Census Report for 1910.]

	Wheat.	Oats.	Potatoes.
Germany (fertilizers used over 100 years)	Bushels. 31.3	Bushels. 51.0	Bushels. 186.3
mont, Massachusetts, New York (fertilizers used for the last half century or more). 5 Central States—Illinois, Iowa, Ohio, Indiana, Mis-	23.9	36.6	134.5
souri (States that have used fertilizers less than 25 years)	14.5	34.4	79.5

The official German crop returns, issued by the German imperial statistical office, report that in 1912 there was an increase of 38 per cent in the crop production of that country over the production of 1911. It is interesting to note that in 1910 Germany used 6,000,000 tons of fertilizer, while in 1900 she was using only half that quantity. In 1912 American farmers, upon four times the area of land cultivated, used only 6,500,000 tons of fertilizers. To be more exact. Germany applied 145 pounds of fertilizer per cultivated acre, while the Eastern States applied 67 pounds per cultivated acre and the Middle West corn belt States applied only 8 pounds per cultivated acre. Undoubtedly the addition of plant food in this shape is responsible to a very large degree for the larger yields of superior quality obtained across the sea.

IMPORTANCE OF NITROGENOUS FERTILIZERS.

IMPORTANCE OF NITROGENOUS FERTILIZERS.

As a fertilizer nitrogen produces more immediate and direct effects than application of phosphoric acid and potash alone. The nitrogen in many fertilizer mixtures costs more than the phosphoric acid and potash together, but it produces the greatest crop increase, especially, in complete mixtures. This is illustrated by the following average yields obtained in tests covering 55 years at the Rothamsted (England) Experiment Station:

	Wheat.	Straw.
No fertilizer Phosphate and potash only Nitrogen only Complete fertilizer	Bushels. 12. 9 14. 8 20. 5 31. 6	Pounds. 1,175 1,380 2,090 3,570

It is the forms of nitrogen that account for the varying results obtained with different brands of fertilizers of the same analysis. Phosphoric acid and potash salts are alike in grade, but there are about

20 different forms of nitrogen in common use. Some are excellent, some are fairly good, and some are almost worthless.

AVAILABLE SOURCES OF FIXED NITROGEN.

are fairly good, and some are almost worthless.

AVAILABLE SOURCES OF FIXED NITROGEN.

Nitrate of soda: The deposits of nitrate in Chile are rapidly decreasing, and it is estimated that the exhaustion of the rich and more cheaply worked deposits is only a matter of a comparatively few years. Export taxes on shipments of nitrates are the only source of revenue to the Chilean Government. These taxes and high ocean freight rates, as well as increased mining costs, account for the high prices at which nitrate has been selling in recent years.

The fixation of atmospheric nitrogen may be expected to give the world its nitrogen supply at one-half the price that it would otherwise amount to. It is a wonderful providence that perpetual and inexhaustible supplies of nitrogen may be obtained from the atmosphere by the use of hydroclectric power. Hydroclectric nitrogen plants have long been in operation in Norway, Sweden, Germany, Australia, Switzerland, Italy, France, Spain, and Canada, but there are none in the United States. The industry has been in commercial operation for approximately 10 years. It has long emerged from the experimental period, and as early as 1913 was represented by an investment of approximately \$60,000,000. The annual value of the product is upward of \$30,000 000

In times of peace, explosives in the war sense are substantially unknown and without use. In their manufacture, as well as in fertilizer, nitrogen is uniformly required as the chief constituent. The only nitrogen material at present available for use on a large scale is Chilean nitrate of soda.

The United States Government now has absolutely no means of amplifying its nitrogen supply except as long as it can keep open and unmolested the sea route from Chile to United States ports.

The statement has been attributed to the Secretary of War that "The United States has a store of explosives sufficient only to enable her to conduct a war from 8 o'clock until half-past 10 of the same morning." Cheap nitrogen is the basis for making and suppl

The following report has just been published by the Smithsonian Institution:

Attention has of late been attracted to the important bearing of nitrogen on the self-supporting capacity of a country cut off by any emergency—such as a war—from external sources. In view of this important part played by nitrogen, it is worth while to know the available sources within the United States, and to this end the United States National Museum has just assembled an exhibit covering the situation.

As indicated in the exhibit, there are three great sources of nitrogen.

states National Museum has just assembled an exhibit covering the situation.

As indicated in the exhibit, there are three great sources of nitrogen, namely, mineral deposits of nitrogen in ores, nitrogen in the air, and nitrogen in coal, together with its present-day analog—peat. Of the three, the first-named source is at present confined entirely to Chile, and it is doubtful whether any significant deposits will ever be uncovered in this country.

The air is composed of approximately four-fifths nitrogen, and therefore affords an absolutely unlimited source if feasible means were available for the extraction of this atmospheric nitrogen gas and its conversion into some usable form. The employment of atmospheric nitrogen involves the problem of forcing the nitrogen gas to enter into chemical combination with other elements such that under ordinary conditions it will be in liquid or solid state available to use, or, in technical parlance, become "fixed." The underlying difficulties in this problem are in the inherent fact that nitrogen is chemically inert and extremely difficult to stimulate into the activity of entering into combination. This fact is forced home by the reflection that throughout the ages of the earth's existence its atmosphere has consisted of the self-same oxygen and hydrogen most intimately mixed. Had there been the least susceptibility on the part of the nitrogen, its complete combination with the oxygen would have taken place long ago and the earth's atmosphere would be devoid of life-sustaining oxygen, and in place of water our oceans would be composed of concentrated nitrie acid.

Much has been said recently about the process of extracting atmos-

combination with the oxygen would have taken place long ago and the carth's atmosphere would be devoid of life-sustaining oxygen, and in place of water our occans would be composed of concentrated nitric acid.

Much has been said recently about the process of extracting atmospheric nitrogen by means of electricity. It is a fact that, in passing through an electric arc, the oxygen and nitrogen of the air combine to form nitric oxide, which accounts for the odor which is so noticeable in the immediate vicinity of a flash of lightning. Many attempts have been made to put this scientific fact on a practical basis, but thus far the only commercially successful efforts have been made in Norway, where an enormous amount of water power is available for electric generation at a cost of about a third or a fourth that for similar development in our country. The power requirements necessary to this so-called arc process are vast, and, accordingly, power costs have prevented extension of its uses on any great scale outside of Norway.

Another method of recovering nitrogen from the air, known as the Cyanamid process, is dependent on the fact that ordinary calcium carbide, when heated to the proper temperature, may be made to absorb nitrogen gas, forming a combination of calcium, carbon, and nitrogen, known as calcium cyanamid, a name with which most farmers using fertilizers are familiar. Cyanamid manufacture employs only about a fifth the electric power required by the arc process, but nevertheless electric power is a very considerable factor in its cost of production, and, like the arc process, which takes nitrogen round the air and hydrogen from water. By means of great pressure they are made to combine into ammonia, a combination of these two elements in the ratio of 1 to 3. This process has been developed in Germany, but owing to technical difficulties has not made great headway even in that country.

Coal contains about 1 per cent of nitrogen, and in the course of coal-product operations, such as the manufacture of cok

No matter what the present associations of nitrogen are, whether in coal, mineral nitrate deposits, or what not, the atmosphere is the original source of nitrogen. When we speak of the atmosphere is the original source of nitrogen. When we speak of the three current sources, it is only by way of indicating the present-day whereabouts of the major portion of the earth's supply, for it is more or less ever present. The four processes mentioned do not by any means account for all of the nitrogen catering to the wants of man. When the farmer raises a crop to be plowed under as fertilizer, for instance, he is merely establishing a temporary atmospheric nitrogen plant of his own. Along the same general line, cotton seed and various other organic materials are nitrogen bearing to an important extent; still, broadly speaking, the four processes enumerated are the agencies upon which the world is dependent to-day, not only for the artificial means with which to wage wars, but what is far more important, the means of providing food for the hungry mouths fighting at the battle front and laboring at home.

In this connection the current situation in Germany is of special interest, cut off as she is from imports and dependent upon her own resources. At the outset they consisted in a highly developed coal-product indestry yielding sulphate of ammonia at the rate of a half million tons a year; a cyanamid industry, netting around 60,000 tons of cyanamid; and a Haber process development, capable of about 30,000 tons annually.

Since then she has had to meet her enormous demands for nitrogen in the form of nitric acid in munitions manufacture, while at the same time providing for her less warlike needs, such as agriculture. To do this she has erected one small are-process plant capable of a few thousand tons production, enlarged her Haber process activities to the extent of around 200,000 tons of ammonium sulphate, from which to meet her combined nitrogen requirements.

Statistics of farm products of the United States

Statistics of farm products of the United States.

WHEAT PRODUCTION.

Year.	Acreage.	Yield per acre.	Production.	Land value.	Exports, including flour.	Per cent exports.
1849 1866	Acres.	Bushels.	Bushels. 100, 486, 000 152, 000, 000	Dollars.	Bushels. 7,535,901 12,646,941	7.5
1875 1885	26, 382, 000 34, 189, 000	11.1 10.4	292, 136, 000 357, 112, 000	261, 397, 000 275, 320, 000	74,750,682 94,565,793	25. 6 26. 3
1895 1905	34,047,000 47,854,000 53,541,000	13.7 14.5 16.6	467, 103, 000 692, 979, 000 891, 017, 000	237, 939, 000 518, 373, 000 878, 680, 000	126, 443, 968 97, 609, 007 332, 464, 975	27.1 14.1 37.8
1915	59, 898, 000	16.9	1,011,505,000	930, 302, 000	332,407,970	

PRINCIPAL WHEAT CROPS OF THE WORLD.

Country.	Bushels.	Bushels per acre.	Country.	Bushels,	Bushels per acre.
Russia	,011,505,000 833,965,000 383,376,000 336,258,000 258,102,000	16. 6 13. 5	Argentina	178, 221, 000 170, 541, 000 160, 000, 000 152, 934, 000 139, 298, 000	29. 6 13. 1

The average yield per acre in Great Britain is 33.8 bushels.

In 1914, with a crop of 16,135,000 bales, the United States produced two-thirds of the world's supply.

POTATO PRODUCTION.

Year.	Acreage.	Yield per acre.	Production.	Land values.	Exports.	Imports.
1849	Acres. 1,069,000 1,510,000 2,266,000 2,955,000 2,997,000 3,761,000	Bushels. 100.2 110.5 77.2 100.6 87.0 95.5	Bushels, 65,798,000 107,201,000 166,877,000 175,029,000 297,237,000 260,741,000 359,103,000	Dollars. 50,723,000 57,358,000 78,153,000 78,985,000 160,821,000 221,104,000	Bushels, 155,595 512,380 704,379 494,948 680,049 1,000,326	Bushels, 198, 265 92, 148 1, 937, 416 175, 240 1, 948, 160

NOTHER BOTATO CROPS OF THE WORLD

Talkettab totale cases of the nome.								
Country.	Bushels.	Bushels per acre.	Country.	Bushels.	Bushels per acre.			
Germany	1,674,377,000 891,573,000 440,652,000 359,103,000	200 110 120 109	Great Britain and Ireland Hungary Holland Spain	279, 121, 000 195, 266, 000 120, 780, 000 76, 657, 000	233 129			

POTATO CROP BY STATES.

State.	Bushels.	State.	Bushels.
Minnasota	30, 210, 000 25, 926, 000 22, 010, 000	Maine	22, 010, 000 20, 945, 000 20, 160, 000

CORN PRODUCTION.						
Year.	Average.	Yield per acre.	Production.	Land value.	Exports, including meal.	Per cent of export.
1849 1866 1875 1885 1895 1905	Acres. 34, 307, 000 44, 841, 000 73, 130, 000 82, 076, 000 94, 011, 000 108, 321, 000	26. 5 26. 2 28. 8	Bushels, 592,071,000 867,946,000 1,321,069,000 1,936,176,000 2,151,139,000 2,707,994,000 3,054,535,000	Dollars. 411, 451, 000 484, 675, 000 635, 675, 000 544, 986, 000 1, 116, 697, 000 1, 755, 859, 000	Bushels. 7,632,860 16,026,947 50,910,532 64,829,617 101,100,375 119,893,833	Per cent, 1.3 1.8 3.9 3.8 4.7 4.4

In the few years just preceding the war the exports of corn had fallen to less than 2 per cent.

PRINCIPAL CORN CROPS OF THE WORLD.

Country.	Bushels.	Country.	Bushels.
United States. Argentina Hungary Italy	3, 054, 535, 000	Roumania	110, 230, 000
	338, 235, 000	Egypt.	78, 253, 000
	180, 550, 000	Russia	74, 806, 000
	118, 103, 000	Mexico.	60, 000, 000

OATS PRODUCTION.

Year.	Acreage.	Yield per acre.	Production.	Land values.	Exports, including oatmeal.	Imports.
1849	A cres. 8, 864, 000 11, 915, 000 22, 784, 000 27, 878, 000 28, 649, 000 38, 442, 000 40, 780, 000	Bushels. 30. 2 29. 7 27. 6 29. 6 34. 0 29. 7 37. 8	Bushels. 146, 584, 000 268, 141, 000 354, 318, 000 629, 409, 000 824, 444, 000 953, 216, 000 1, 141, 060, 000 1, 540, 362, 000	Dollars. 94,058,000 113,441,000 179,632,000 163,655,000 277,048,000 499,431,000 555,569,000	825, 895 1, 466, 228 7, 311, 306 15, 156, 618 48, 434, 541 100, 949, 272	Bushels. 778, 198 121, 547 149, 480 66, 602 40, 025 630, 722

PRINCIPAL OAT CROPS OF THE WORLD.

Country.	Bushels.	Bushels per acre.	Country.	Bushels.	Bushels per acre.
	1,540,362,000 1,006,983,000 650,000,000 481,035,600	29. 7 26. 3 57. 4	France Great Britain Austria Hungary	243, 531, 000 195, 169, 000 145, 000, 000 80, 925, 000	35. 8 44. 0 39. 3 33. 2

PRINCIPAL RYE CROPS OF THE WORLD.

Country.	Bushels.	Bushels per acre.		Bushels.	Bushels per acre.
Russia Germany	861,097,000 475,000,000		Austria-Hungary United States	154,075,000 49,190,000	

BREEDING OF HORSES AND MULES-NUMBER ON FARMS EACH YEAR.

		Horses.	Mules.		
Year.	Number.	Exports.	Imports.	Number.	Exports.
1867	5, 401, 000 9, 735, 600 12, 078, 000 15, 124, 000 18, 719, 000 21, 195, 000 21, 166, 000	25, 126 40, 087 22, 776 289, 340	9, 991 6, 021 33, 019 12, 652	822, 000 1, 414, 000 2, 053, 000 2, 279, 000 3, 404, 000 4, 479, 000 4, 565, 000	5, 918 7, 167 4, 883 65, 788

The value of both horses and mules has doubled since 1867. CATTLE, SHEEP, AND SWINE-NUMBER ON FARMS EACH YEAR.

Year.	Milch cows.	Other cattle.	Sheep.	Swine.
1867. 1875. 1885. 1895. 1905.	8,349,000 10,907,000 13,905,000 16,505,000 17,572,000 21,988,000	11,731,000 16,313,000 29,867,000 34,364,000 43,669,000 39,453,000	33,784,000	24, 694, 000 28, 062, 000 45, 143, 000 44, 166, 000 47, 321, 000 68, 047, 000

Our exports of cattle on the hoof have fallen from a high of 593,000 in 1904 to 5,484 in 1915.

According to the census of 1910, 49,348,883 of our population is rural, with 12,388,623 persons engaged in agriculture, or 32.5 per cent of all employed in gainful occupations. The Shipping Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. OLIVER,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 19, 1916.

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to give my hearty approval to the shipping bill now being considered by the House. This is one of the great constructive measures that the present Congress is called upon to deal with. We have long recognized the need of a merchant marine to transport to foreign markets the products of our farms and factories, and this bill is an advanced step in supplying that long-felt want. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to estimate the immense loss sustained by the farming and manufacturing interests of our country during the last two years, because of our failure in the past to provide proper shipping facilities. This bill will not only mark the beginning, in my opinion, of the building of an adequate merchant marine, but it likewise will provide a method to fix, regulate, and control ocean and interstate water rates. I wish to insert as a part of my remarks a very interesting article on this subject, written by Hon. Thomas P. Ivy, a former resident of my district and now a citizen of South Conway, N. H. Mr. Ivy for many years has been a close student of public questions and is widely recognized as a writer and thinker of great force. The article follows:

thinker of great force. The article follows:

The reason why our merchant marine has been almost wholly neglected for the past three-quarters of a century may be stated under two general considerations.

The first settlers of our country lived beside the water, and their financial thoughts were, therefore, in terms of the ocean. After a hundred years, this condition began to change, and was accelerated by the railroad development westward, so that at the time of the outbreak of the present European war our financial thoughts were quite exclusively in terms of the Interior.

The other general consideration is this: Whatever advantages may have been predicted in the beginning of our Government for a sovereignty divided between the State and the Federal Government, those advantages have been found at times to be Illusive in that this division of sovereignty imparted a weakness to the Federal Government that prevents it from doing some things of large concern which can be handled best through Government instrumentalities.

Shipping on the ocean in modern times is preeminently an undertaking for the Government, because the competition met there now is the competition of governments, a competition too comprehensive to be overcome by private enterprise.

DIFFERENCE IN POINT OF VIEW.

The shipping bill now before Congress is a step in the right direction, because it recognizes that in this particular matter that Federal activity has been too dormant and weak.

The striking difference between this bill and previous methods for the restoration of our merchant marine is in the point of view. Measures proposed heretcfore have been conceived and planned to benefit the shipowner alone. The great merit of the bill now under consideration is that it looks to the interests of the shipper and not to the shipowner, something our legislation for the past 50 years on this subject has not done.

done.

This bill provides for a shipping board that shall have general supervision of our shipping, and, among other things, this board may form a corporation, the controlling stock to be owned by the United States, the total holdings not to exceed \$50,000,000 to build or buy or lease ships to be operated under regulation by the board.

Now, while this is an aid to shipping, it is not a subsidy. A subsidy is a bonus to a shipping corporation for carrying the mails and other services. The benefits of a subsidy go direct to the shipowner, not to the shipper; in this shipping bill the benefit goes directly to the shipper in assuring him a reasonable rate and in taking his goods to markets from which he is now excluded.

The foreign shipowners who, disguised as Americans, are opposing this bill insist that subsidies shall replace the provisions in the bill named above. This is only one of the devices for trying to destroy the bill.

PANAMA LINE AN EXAMPLE.

That the bill is drawn on practicable lines is shown by the actual working of the Government owned and operated steamers between Panama and New York. That line, notwithstanding all other shipping rates have been trebled and quadrupled since the European war began, has maintained its usual rate as in normal times. So the business man knows exactly what to depend upon in shipping over this line.

Without doubt, if the bill under consideration is enacted into law, we shall see a great growth of shipbuilding in our own shippards and a great increase in our foreign commerce in American ships.

It is further provided in this bill that ships brought into operation by the bill may be taken at any time for the uses of our Navy. Thus our Navy will be made as strong offensively as it is defensively by the certainty of a quick and ready supply of auxiliaries.

The only other argument worth noticing is that this bill will prevent private capital from going into shipping. If there is one thing that attempts of this kind in recent years have proved, that one thing that no capital in large amounts can be secured to invest in new shipping companies, because the foreign shipping monopoly is so strongly intrenched in our financial centers that no bank or banker will lend assistance to such enterprises.

ECONOMIC STRUGGLE COMING.

In favor of this bill, finally, it may be stated that transportation is a facility of business and not properly business itself; and in all ages and countries it has been the practice and custom of Governments to provide transportation facilities for business, sometimes without any cost to business, and at no time with the dominant idea of direct return to the service.

So that this bill is defensible even if one cent of revenue never returns directly through the operation of the ships.

Statesmanship in this country under the conditions under which we are living consists in keeping our industrial masses employed. Since the products of our agriculture and manufacture far exceed domestic wants, if labor is to be kept employed, we must find foreign markets for our surplus products.

We can only enter foreign markets and at the same time pay decent wages to labor by furnishing to agriculture and manufacture a low rate of transportation to those markets. If that work is left to foreign shipowners to do, we shall never reach those foreign markets except by depressing labor and depriving it of its just rewards.

The time is at hand when the true American should think clearly and act promptily, for opportunity does not knock twice at the same door. The opportunity is now offered to free ourselves from foreign shipowners and shipping monopoly on the ocean.

When the conflagration in Europe burns itself out we shall be brought up against an economic struggle, mainly on the seas, no matter which side wins, that will challenge our industrial-supremacy and safety.

If England wins, she will use her great sea power against us com-

which state wills, that safety.

If England wins, she will use her great sea power against us commercially as effectively as she is using her naval supremacy in the war. If Germany wins, we shall face the same conditions, only intensified by Germany's higher efficiency in checkmating her competitions. mercially as effectively as she is using her navai supremacy in the war. If Germany wins, we shall face the same conditions, only intensified by Germany's higher efficiency in checkmating her competitors on land and sea.

If the views of the American producer, manufacturer, and business man are heard in Washington instead of the foreign shipowner, this bill will be speedily enacted into law as the greatest measure for the relief of our shipper.

The defeat of this bill would be to leave us still in the ocean monopoly which England and Germany held before the war and which one or both will hold after the war.

Increasing the Standing Army.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN H. CAPSTICK,

OF NEW JERSEY, .

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 24, 1916.

Mr. CAPSTICK, Mr. Speaker, while I am not satisfied with the report of the conferees of the House and Senate regarding the increase proposed for our standing Army, I am constrained to vote for the recommendations made. I am inclined to do this rather than agree with some of my colleagues who feel that they should register their disapproval in a negative vote as a rebuke to what they consider makeshift preparedness. find no fault with them for taking this course, and agree with their opinion concerning the inadequacy of the provisions, However, I see no hope in the immediate future to get anything better.

We have spent much valuable time here in consideration of a measure to provide adequate defense. It is but natural that ideas should differ as to what constitutes such armament. The necessities of the present situation assert themselves to the different Members in varying degrees of importance. The chairman of the committee has told us that this bill is in no sense an emergency measure. Accepting this statement as true, is not the question as to what is to be done in an emergency pertinent? Is not an army primarily an essential factor of safety and protection in emergencies?

It seems to me that when the committee was framing this bill on the basis that it was a regular, rather than an emergency measure, some provision should have been made with absolute definiteness for meeting contingencies which may arise, The suddenness with which this can happen has been repeatedly demonstrated on our border by the Mexican bandits. Our impotency in promptly meeting them has also been forcibly brought home to us. Who but did not feel the humiliation of it?

I can not help but feel regret that the Military Affairs Committee majority members were not more mindful of the deplorable condition along the Rio Grande. It is also a matter of deep concern with me that they were not more favorably impressed with the urgency of making a positive, general, and compre-hensive demonstration of fitness to the world, and the length to which we can, and will go, in defending our citizens, their rights and property at all times and under all circumstances.

This sort of a demonstration is the only thing that can make any impression on foreign powers to-day. They are in a temper

that only the most unequivocal and actual process can impress. I do not mean to convey an opinion that might is right, but I do mean that prudence alone should clearly reveal the time as being not one for temporizing, conciliatory actions or procedure.

Aside from the necessity for demonstrating to the world how the United States can and will arise in its might at the first sign inimical to its welfare, I believe no better assurance that our principles and ideals will be preserved can be obtained or displayed. This will not only bear fruit as it concerns foreign powers but will instill in the hearts and minds of our own citizens that old-time confidence, loyalty, and love, and will encourage them in the use and development of our national resources. This present bill gives scant incentive for any such endeavor, and as an inspiration of trust and faith I feel that it should have been made stronger.

Added to this feature is the defiant manner in which petty politics has been injected into the report. I refer to the most unusual and incomprehensible way in which a plum has been nicely ripened and destined for the one man in the country the designation fits in the matter of selecting a judge advocate. For my part I can not conceive how a question of an individual appointment could be so highly considered in a bill with the importance which this carries to the citizens of our land. do not doubt but that the same conscientiousness was exercised by the gentlemen in the performance of their duty, as they saw it, in preparing the Army provisions of the bill. I am sorry they could not have been made to see their plain duty in a vastly different light.

Reverting to the statement that this measure provides for an Army as a peace proposition, it is recalled that the chairman of the committee has said we already have a law authorizing the President to raise an army as large as he wants if we were to go to war. As I understand it, the trouble in getting troops started after the Mexican bandits did not lie entirely in the scarcity of men. What men we had were sent over the border inadequately equipped.

We all know about the President having called upon the National Guard of New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas to become a part of the Federal troops along our southern border. This was fully justified two months ago, and would have been favorably accepted by the country if done at that time. It now seems apparent that the move is to prove beneficial in more ways than one. Events have made it necessary to have the Dick law and other measures under which the National Guard operates fully interpreted. This will define the exact status of State militiamen in their relation to the Federal Government. At any time in the future should the same procedure be necessary we will have established precedents on which to act.

It is of particular advantage to know and understand the relationship and responsibilities of the militia reserve at this time. Sparks from the flames in Europe have been carried in our direction several times. Critical conditions have arisen. To-morrow may demand that we face others. We are at peace, but who is there to deny that in preserving it we have made concessions? It should not be necessary for us to do that. We should be able to boldly and firmly stand on our inalienable and inviolate rights.

History shows that the powers which have lived longest have been the strongest in security and protection. It also shows that armament is provocative of war only when it has been procured for aggression. It is generally conceded that the diplomacy of the strongest nations has invariably won out in questions of great importance. Therein is seen the power of large armies and navies in times of peace. In promoting peace they are the bulwark of diplomacy.

Preparedness for the Nation is like a police force for a city. As long as one is maintained well organized and efficient there is little disorder. Do away with your city policemen and what would the safety of citizens and their property amount to? There have been instances when one bluecoat on a block, merely by the moral suasion of his presence, has averted disastrous rioting and disorder.

It has been said that our country has unlimited resources; that we need not fear attack from any power; that we are in a position to be an effective influence in promoting world peace. To that I answer the invitation to attack is the greater unless we utilize some of our wealth and opportunities as a means of security and protection. Such utilization will increase, not diminish, our influence in promoting peace. The cost of preparedness now would be as nothing compared with the cost of repelling a foreign invasion.

Perte Rice.

SPEECH

HON. JOSEPH G. CANNON.

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Friday, May 5, 1916.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 9533) to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, this is a very important bill, and I think we should be careful before we enact it. eral proposition is made that Christ died for all, and that all mankind are equal. In God's chancery we are equal. But when we come to the creation of a government for the protection of life, liberty, and property, if we have a republic and it is to endure the first requisite is that there shall be a people who are competent for self-government, or substantially so. You may try all the experiments you please, you may adopt all the constitutions you please, and make all the laws you please, and they are but as a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal, if you have not the people who are competent to exercise sovereign power. Is it necessary that I prove that? You will all recognize that it is true when you take Cuba, Mexico, the Central American States, Venezuela, and I might refer to others. Why, they have constitutions like ours. Mexico, when I was down there 20 years ago, the government under Diaz was a government by force, although they had a constitution almost precisely similar to ours; yet the great mass of the people had no more conception of a government by the people than I have of the duties of an archangel. [Laughter.] And what have they there under present conditions?

Now, when you talk about a people competent for self-government, certain things are to be taken into consideration. One is the racial question. Another is the climatic conditions. Now, we boast and say that the Caucasian race, a term the German, the Scandinavian, the Irishman, the Englishman, the Scotchman, the Frenchman, and others-we say that they are competent for self-government, and that is substantially correct; and I think they grow in competency from year to year. Now, in the fortune or misfortune of the Spanish War-whether it was fortune or misfortune God knows, and it will take the future to tell-we got the Philippines; we became responsible

for Cuba; we got Porto Rico.

Are you willing now to say that you will so legislate as to fix the time, or to say now that you will ever legislate to fix a time, when the Philippine Islands shall be divided into States and

to become part and parcel of our great Republic?

Then, there is Mexico, contiguous for 1,300 miles to the United We must protect our people along the border and in Mexico, but we do not desire to possess Mexico as a part of the United States. It has taken 2,000 years for our kind of people to attain the present civilization that there is in the most of Europe and that there is in Canada and in the United States, and there was a better base than exists in Mexico on which to build. It took all those centuries with a temperate climate, winter and summer, the four seasons. Why, I undertake to say that if one of our people would go down to Porto Rico-and I think the same thing would be true as to Cuba and as to Mexico-at the end of three or four generations, as the children would inter-marry, with the enervating effects that come from the Tropics, they would not be as competent for self-government as their great-grandfathers were.

Take the British West Indies. When England changed her colonial policy so that Canada, New Zealand, and Australia became self-governing she made it apply practically to her West India colonies. Well, if you will read Froude's British West Indies you will find that instead of advancing in the West

Indies they have been retrograding.

Mr. Chairman, the United States is in Haiti to-day under the Monroe doctrine, and we are in Santo Domingo and Nicaragua. and we will go further, you know, under that doctrine. But in your time or my time or that of our children or grandchildren shall we admit Porto Rico as a State? The people of Porto Rico

have not the slightest conception of self-government.

Now, this bill provides what? Citizenship? I have never been in favor of United States citizenship so far as Porto Rico is concerned. By this bill it is optional. Under this bill they will in the main become citizens, because they have to go before a court and say they do not want to be citizens or else they will become citizens. There is not one in ten that will go before the

court, or understand what it meant if they did.

I have no desire to throw any stones at the people of Porto Rico. I have been down there three times, spending almost a month there in the aggregate. There is a small percentage of the people there who talk about liberty and who are quite intelligent. There is a smaller per cent who understand liberty as you and I understand it—as we do in this country. Some of them do, no doubt, and also in the Philippines, and some in Cuba, and so on.

Porto Rico is populated by a mixed race. About 30 per cent are pure African. I was informed by Army officers when I was down there that when the census was taken every man that was a pure African was listed and counted as such, but that there was really 75 to 80 per cent of the population that was pure African or had an African strain in their blood. Now, gentlemen, will anybody say that I am abusing the African. I am not any more than I am abusing the Filipinos or the Moros; and I am certainly not abusing the Africans in the United States. The race has made great advance since servile labor was abolished, attributable to its association with the Caucasian race, being one-tenth of our population and living in the north temperate zone.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois

has expired.

Mr. TOWNER. I yield to the gentleman five minutes more. Mr. CANNON. There are so many things I want to talk about that a few minutes do not count for much. Now, a man can be a citizen of Indiana and not be a citizen of the United States. He can be a citizen of many other States and not be a citizen of the United States. A foreign-born man may come to the United States and live in this country, declare his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and he can vote for President or a Member of Congress, or members of the State

legislature under the laws of many of the States, You may say, What are we going to do with Porto Rico; she has made great advancement? Yes; she has. How? Under the control of law enacted by the United States by which the children of Porto Rico are being educated, and our people have gone over there in a business way. They have developed the sugar plantations. When the coffee trees were destroyed the United States assisted in repairing the damage.

I passed over that old highway from San Juan down to Ponce, on the other side of the island. It was a good road, but it had been remade under the direction of the United States. I found there a tobacco country-acres and acres of fine tobacco, which was being raised under glass. It is great tobacco and makes pretty good cigars. How? By United States enterprise and capital. I have heard capitalists abused for going over there, as it was said, spreading out and ruining the country and appropriating the whole thing. Yet as long as there is a United States they will not unduly oppress that people. But if you should take that capital out and take away our jurisdiction and should take that capital out and take away our jurisdiction and laws, in my judgment, with all due respect to everybody, inside of 20 years they will go back into a worse condition than they were when we acquired Porto Rico.

Now, I would like to see this bill amended, if it is to pass. You recall a few years ago that the house of representatives chosen by the people in Porto Rico refused to pass appropriation bills to carry on the government. Fortunately there was a provision under the Foraker Act that if the appropriations were not made the appropriations of former years should continue. I believe you have that provision in this bill, and it is a good

provision.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again ex-

Mr. JONES. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes more to the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Virginia that he has only five minutes remaining.

Mr. JONES. Then I can not yield to the gentleman from Illinois, as I have promised that time to the gentleman from Porto Rico.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I will ask unanimous consent to take the first five minutes under the five-minute rule.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois asks unani-

mous consent to take the first five minutes after we commence to read the bill. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CANNON. This bill takes the franchise away from Porto Ricans who can not read and write and is objected to by some Members. In Pennsylvania, unless they have repealed the law within a year or two, a man can not vote unless he

pays a poll tax. He can not vote in Connecticut and Massachusetts unless he passes an educational test. The States fix the qualifications of the electors. You have got the poll-tax provision in some of the Southern States; you have the educational provision in some of them. It is said that you disfranchise the colored people; but the law of those States disfranchises the white people as well if they fail to pass the test and pay the poll tax. It is said that you are more strict in the educational test with the colored people than you are with the white man, but you know more about that than I do.

So there is nothing in that objection as far as the Porto

Ricans are concerned.

Now, I am glad that we are only responsible for law and order in Cuba. Do you know what our danger is? With the proximity of the West India Islands to the United States and Mexico and Central America and the Monroe doctrine, our danger is that, measuring their corn in our half bushel, that the United States will be compelled to furnish a government for those peoples who can not govern themselves and that in the end we may have States admitted to statehood whose people are not competent for self-government; the demagogue may come in great stress of partisanship and say this will give us two Senators and some Representatives, and in they may come. delighted that we have not got Cuba for a State. I do not know, but if it was we would have about five Representatives and two Senators.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Four Senators.

Mr. CANNON. Four Senators the gentleman says. What would be the result? We would have to go back to Cuba, I greatly fear, keep the provision we wrote into our law and they wrote into their constitution. I pray God that we may not have to go back, but I am glad that Cuba is not a State or two States of the Union, because the bulk of its population is not competent for self-government.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, will not the gentleman kindly suggest what the amendment is to which he refers? He said

that he would like to see an amendment adopted.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have an amendment to the bill, if it is to pass, that the governor, who is to be appointed by the President, should have the veto power and that his veto be absolute. I believe for our interests and for your interests, I will say to the Commissioner from Porto Rico, the present legal condition should continue and this bill should be defeated. But the Commissioner from Porto Rico said that this bill is not as liberal as he wanted it, and he hoped more and more would be given, and as I listened to his remarks I thought he was referring to statehood. God forbid that in his time or my time, there should be statehood for Porto Rico as one of the United States. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois

has expired.

Oil and Gasoline Situation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND. OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 24, 1916.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent of the House of Representatives I insert herewith a very complete and valuable statement of the present situation in the oil and gasoline industry from the point of view of the independent refiners:

STATEMENT ON THE GASOLINE SITUATION.

[By H. G. James, secretary Western Petroleum Refiners' Association, Kansas City, Mo.]

GASOLINE PRICES ADVANCE.

First. Because of an unparalleled consumption of gasoline.
Second. Because simultaneously with the big demand for gasoline, as a result of almost 1,000,000 new motor cars, came a spectacular slump of 200,000 barrels a day in the production of the highest quality crude in the world for the manufacture of gasoline, creating a scarcity of crude.

crude in the world for the manufacture of gasoline, creating a scarcity of crude.

Third. Because of an increase of 700 per cent in the price of crude. Fourth. Because when the changed conditions came it found all storage, both manufacturers' and dealers', empty, and everybody at once started to fill.

Fifth. Because of a deterioration in the high grade of Cushing crude from which less gasoline can be made now than when the pool was first opened.

Sixth. Because motor cars now are equipped to run the year round, and refiners do not have an opportunity to store gasoline in winter against a big summer consumption as they formerly had.

Seventh. Because of failure to find prolific new pools and the consequent continued high price of crude. When Cushing was at its height, 300 wells a month were drilled in the midcontinent field; to-day there are 2,000 wells drilling in the midcontinent field.

The old business has become one of the chief industries of the country. Time was when it was impervious to criticism and attack. In the past it was dominated by a single power. The industry was regarded as an outnaw. Because of this, public clamor against it was apparently justfiled.

But conditions have changed. The products of petroleum have become daily necessities in the home, the office, in the shop and on the farm. They enter every avenue of endeavor. The spectacular development of the business has drawn hundreds of thousands into it, and a single concern no longer "is the oll industry." When oil is attacked to-day, the people are affected. The wonderful development of the motor car and internal combustion engines has brought about a new condition in oildom, creating a consumption of gasoline and lubricants that has given oil an importance and relationship to the individual citizen little dreamed of a few years ago. The business has grown by leaps and bounds, and, as if has expanded, the rank and file of the critizenry have not only become consumers but producers as well. The millionaire, the professional man, and the artisan, as well as the shop girl and the wage earner, have invested their idle capital or their hoarded earnings in oil. Thus the public has become titally interested in any action touching this great industry, both as a stockholder in a multitude of oil enterprises and as a consumer of the products of this myterious oleaginous fluid. The independent movement has become a mighty factor in the business, and in some States the independents are handli

MAGNITUDE OF THE INDUSTRY.

MAGNITUDE OF THE INDUSTRY.

The magnitude and importance of the industry are illustrated in the amount of capital invested. Authentic data are not obtainable. The most reliable information at hand shows there are 262 active and 25 idle oil refineries in the United States. Their charging capacity exceeds the daily production of crude oil. It is estimated the total investment in refineries is approximately \$550,000,000,000,000. Crude oil and gas products last year were valued at approximately \$300,000,000. The manufactured products of crude oil are estimated to have aggregated approximately \$400,000,000. Hundreds of thousands of persons find employment in 25 different States in the oil industry. Nearly every State in the Union is interested, directly or indirectly, in the business, It is impossible to estimate the number of American citizens who have investments in some phase of the oil industry.

Interdeperendence of Gasoline and Chude Prices.

INTERDEPENDENCE OF GASOLINE AND CRUDE PRICES.

INTERDEPENDENCE OF GASOLINE AND CRUDE PRICES.

Because of its predominating influence upon the petroleum and gasoline situation in the United States, a consideration of the mid-continent field may be taken as indicative of the industry as a whole in this country.

Since 1910 prices of crude and gasoline in the mid-continent field have fluctuated in striking unison and according to the dictates of supply and demand.

In 1910 the average daily crude production of the mid-continent field was 128,931 barrels; price. 38 to 42 cents a barrel. The price of gasoline during this year averaged 8.25 cents a galion f, o. b. refinery (42 galions to barrel; standard grade of gasoline 60-61° Baumé gravity).

In 1911 the dally average erude production of the mid-continent field was 137,076 barrels. Notwithstanding the increased daily yield, crude was less plentiful than during the preceding year, and during 1911 the price advanced from 44 cents to 50 cents a barrel. The average price of gasoline during the year was 7.25 cents a galion at the refinery.

During 1912 the average daily crude production of the mid-continent wells was 147,144 barrels. Crude this year was scarce, the price advancing during the year to 83 cents a barrel. This was the most prosperous year up to this period in the mid-continent field the refiners had enjoyed. Gasoline quotations advanced from 6.5 cents to 11.5 cents a galion 6.0 b. refinery.

In 1913 the average daily crude production of the mid-continent field the refiners had enjoyed. Gasoline quotations advanced from 6.5 cents to 11.5 cents a galion 6.0 b. refinery.

enjoyed. Gasoline quotations advanced from 6.5 cents to 11.5 cents a gallon f. o. b. refinery.

In 1913 the average daily crude production of the midcontinent field was 180,128 barrels. The crude market advanced to \$1.03 n barrel, plus a maximum premium paid by independent refiners of 15 cents a barrel. The average price of gasoline during the year was 12.5 cents a gallon there being very little variation for the standard grade of 60-61 gravity during the year little variation for the standard grade of 60-61 gravity during the year.

In 1914, as a result of the Cushing pool, crude became plentiful, the production averaging during that, year 276,965 barrels a day. The price sagged during 1914 from \$1.05 in February to 55 cents a barrel, the price which prevailed after October I during the remainder of the year. At the same time there was an overproduction of gasoline, and prices weakened from 11.25 cents in January to 6.75 cents a gallon t. o. b. refinery in December.

During the early part of 1915 Cushing was still belching forth "rivers of oil." The daily average crude production this year was 324,243 barrels. During the first half of the year production reached over 400,000 barrels a day. By August, 1915, Cushing output began to recede. The price of crude advanced from 40 cents, pipe-line quotation, to \$1.20 a barrel. When the pipe-line quotation was 40 cents a barrel, millions of barrels were sold as low as 26 cents. When the

pipe-line quotation advanced to \$1.20 a barrel premiums were paid by refiners, making the actual price to them \$1.75 to \$1.85 a barrel. Under these conditions gasoline prices also increased, jumping from 5 and 6 cents a gallon f. o. b. refinery to 15 cents a gallon.

In the early part of 1916 crude prices continued advancing until the present quotation of \$1.55 a barrel prevails, refiners being compelled to pay producers a premium, making the cost of crude to them as high as \$2.10 a barrel, certain refiners finding it necessary to close down their plants 30 to 50 days for want of crude to operate their plants. These inactive refineries helped to aggravate the situation. With a daily yield of 325,000 barrels of crude or more, the constantly increasing consumption created a scarcity. The price of gasoline under these conditions naturally continued to increase, reaching 20 cents plus per gallon f. o. b. refinery.

REFINERS DID NOT MAKE PRICES.

Refiners have in no way been responsible for present gasoline prices. During most of the time since the summer of 1915 western refiners have not issued quotations at all. Oil centers of the Middle West have swarmed with eager buyers. The traveling salesmen refiners had maintained on the road for years were called in, jobbers and other buyers having opened offices in Tulsa, Okla. (making it unnecessary for the refiners to keep traveling salesmen on the road), and thereby themselves made the market by the prices they offered for gasoline. The refiner was able to sell every gallon of gasoline he could make at a higher price than he or the marketers and retailers could sell the same in his so-called territory.

REFINERS MAGNANIMOUS

The statement has been made that independent refiners have done nothing for the consumer in this period of high prices. This statement is wide of the facts. It should not be overlooked that the independents a year ago placed at the disposal of the public gasoline at retall as low as 7.8 cents a gallon, and since last summer, when the price advanced, the refiner has made it possible for many jobbers to continue in business by supplying them with gasoline at from 1 to 3 cents less than the refiner could have sold his entire output in other markets. This was for the purpose of protecting the jobber against financial ruin, but the consumer received the benefit. The loss to the refiner in some instances is claimed to have amounted to as high as \$25,000 in a single month.

The public has never suffered because of excessive prices for the products of petroleum. No other necessity is placed at the command of the public at so low a price as are the products of petroleum. The price of gasoline to-day is not too high in proportion to the great cost of procuring the same—the price in the past has been too low. In this connection, in view of the fact that a bill has been introduced in Congress suggesting that the Federal Government take over and operate all oil business in this country, it is significant to call attention to the fact that the consumer has never at any time in the history of the business been charged up with the millions of dollars spent in drilling wells which failed to find oil. If the Government were to take over the oil industry, the Government would have to do all of its own development, and the tremendous expenditure in prospecting for new fields would be charged to the cost of crude oil, which is not true at the present time, and which the great independent movement contributes to the consumer, making the remarkably low price at which petroleum products have always been delivered to the consuming public. Thus the price to the consumer, making the remarkably low price at which petroleum products have a

mandaments of the meet the growing demand for crude.

WHAT BROUGHT ABOUT THE PRESENT CONDITION.

Oil dealers rarely, if ever, buy petroleum products on a receding market. While the flood was on last year jobbers and retailers bought only for their immediate needs. Their storage tanks were empty. Then when crude began to advance there was a stampede to cover at as low prices as possible. Every concern in the country began storing gasoline. One independent jobber alone in the Middle West put 6,000,000 gallons of gasoline into his tanks. Every man at all familiar with oil country conditions knew there was no possible way of preventing a greatly advanced market, and every dealer everywhere frantically appealed for a supply—price becoming of little consequence. A wet summer was followed by a remarkably pleasant iall; there was unparalleled country touring and a tremendous increased consumption of gasoline. The statistics show 892,618 motor vehicles were made and placed in commission in 1915, increasing the consumption of gasoline at least 446,000,000 gallons a year. There was a great increase in farm tractors and farm gas engines, many of the former having been changed from kerosene to gasoline fuel because of lighter construction and better results. For the first time the motor car was quite generally equipped in 1915 for winter service, and consequently gasoline consumption did not slacken last winter as usual. Gasoline consumption per mile is greater in winter than in summer. Exports in 1915 were approximately 84,000,000 gallons more than in 1914. The refiner did not have an opportunity to store, according to his custom, gasoline last winter for the big spring and summer demand. While jobbers and other buyers were amazingly increasing their demand other elements were at work to further affect the situation. The increase in the price of crude from 30 cents, which was the average price paid a year ago by refiners, regardless of pipe-line quotations, to \$2.10, the amount they were compelled to pay, including premium

contracts for fuel oil as low as 30 cents a barrel and gasoline at low contract prices.

It is significant, however, that the price of crude was not the only influence upon the refiners' price. When Cushing was at its flood there was a heavy gas pressure on the oil-bearing sand, the oil under treatment yielding from 27 to 37 per cent gasoline. To-day oil from these same wells yields from 22 to 26 per cent, an average of not more than 24 per cent, if that, owing to the decreased gravity and deterioration of quality. At the same time the daily yield of Cushing dropped from 300,000 barrels a day, plus, to \$5,000 barrels, and it is now about 100,000 barrels a day.

The importance of this statement is better realized when it is understood the midcontinent field produces 60 per cent of all the gasoline

made in the United States; that Cushing has been the greatest source of high-grade crude the world has ever known, and any fluctuation in its yield affects vitally the whole gasoline situation of the country; that 60-61 gravity gasoline produced from Cushing oil is equal to 64 gravity gasoline made from Pennsylvania crude, in spite of any general notion concerning the superiority of Pennsylvania crude.

Thus we have these amazing figures:

Gallons per year. 100, 000, 000 735, 000, 000 84, 000, 000 446, 000, 000

_ 1, 365, 000, 000

These figures do not include further increase by reason of several hundred thousand motor cars made and sold the present year, additional farm tractors, etc.

Now, let us parallel these two sets of figures. The loss of gallonage and increased consumption in 1915 amounted to at least 1,365,000,000 gallons of gasoline.

We only manufactured, all told, 1,600,000,000 gallons of gasoline in this country in 1915.

Is not the argument cinched? Can anyone successfully refute the statement?

RESULT OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

It is believed from the facts set forth it is conclusively shown present price of gasoline is the result of supply and demand. It must be understood the great demand of the country to-day is for gasoline; but the refiner can not manufacture gasoline without manufacturing at the same time an equal or greater amount of kerosene and a still greater percentage of fuel oil. There is little demand for either kerosene or fuel oil. Midcontinent refiners have been carrying sixty to seventy-five million galions of kerosene in storage, unable to sell the same at 3 cents a gallon. They have been selling great quantities of fuel oil on old contracts at 30 cents a barrel, while the price of crude to them has varied from \$1.55\$ to \$2.10\$ a barrel. Their surplus above these contracts has been a drug upon the market at 3 cents or less a gallon. Fuel oil comes in competition with coal, and no matter what the price of crude may be, the price of fuel oil can not exceed the equivalent amount of coal. During the past six months many fuel-oil consumers have reverted to coal because of the increased price on fuel-oil. So it is obvious, if there is an inadequate demand for kerosene and an impossibility of disposing at a remunerative price the fuel-oil product, gasoline, for which there is an great demand and which demand makes necessary the production of these other porducts, must carry the burden of cost. There can be no escape from this, and no amount of agitation can change the condition.

In almost every other line of business each article placed upon the market is expected to produce a profit. Under conditions usually prevailing this is utterly impossible in the oil business, so far as the refiner is concerned. The jobber and the retailer, as a rule, sell at a profit both kerosene and gasoline, but the refiner is compelled to sell both fuel oil and kerosene a very large part of the time at less than cost and make up the difference and any profit he may enjoy on the sale of his gasoline.

It has been proposed that all western refin

THE RITTMAN PROCESS.

THE RITTMAN PROCESS.

It has been heralded far and wide that by reason of the Rittman process the cost of manufacturing gasoline has been reduced 50 per cent. This statement is untrue and not fair to the public nor to the refiner. The Rittman process has been used very satisfactorily in the manufacture of benzol and toluol, and is about to be employed in the manufacture of dyes. This country has heretofore been dependent upon Germany for these articles. In this respect the Rittman process has been of great importance and has been worth to the conservation of our natural wealth all the possible cost of maintaining the Bureau of Mines. If, as was stated on the floor of Congress a few days ago, one strup plant in Mississippi, producing 25,000 gallons a year, is worth the entire annual appropriation of \$250,000 for distribution of free seeds, then surely the making of millions of dollars worth of benzol, toluol, and dyes by the Rittman process from a residuum heretofore sent to the furnace as cheap fuel is worth at least an equal appropriation for the thorough equipment and maintenance of a petroleum department under the supervision of the Bureau of Mines. In this connection it might be well to commend the clever business ability of the Director of the Bureau of Mines, who carried on the Rittman research in the name of his bureau almost wholly by the aid of private capital.

The petroleum department has also demonstrated its great value by the gilmpse it has given into possible further hidden products of petroleum, and also the conservation of natural gas it has brought about by shutting in gas which has heretofore been wasted. Its conservation of only \$35,000 a year.

That the Rittman process will eventually be used successfully in the manufacture of gasoline is firmly believed by Dr. Rittman and others, but no plant is yet in successful operation making gasoline by the

Rittman process, and the Bureau of Mines has no funds to make such experimentation. Therefore it is quite impossible for the Rittman process to have reduced the cost of manufacturing gasoline 50 per cent. The fact is the Rittman process, if it is successful in making gasoline, will not reduce the cost, for the reason that in order to make gasoline by this method it is necessary to perform more work than at present required to refine oil. To make clear this point: By present methods of refining, the oil is taken direct from the wells and placed in stills and, by heating, gasoline, naphtha, kerosene, and fuel oil or residium are made. Dr. Rittman discovered that oil is made up of molecules; that the small molecules are gasoline; larger molecules, naphtha; still larger ones, kerosene, etc.; that if these molecules in naphtha, kerosene, and residium could be "cracked" or broken more gasoline could be extracted from a given amount of crude oil. So his process contemplates taking naphtha, kerosene distillates or residuum and running the same through a perpendicular tube under 300 pounds pressure and a temperature of 1,400° F., cracking these molecules, and thus making a new or synthetic crude, which, after this action, must still be treated or refined in the same way the original crude was distilled. The Rittman process requires this additional work, but will, it is believed, if it is a success, make possible two or three times as much gasoline from a given amount of crude as formerly. All depends upon proper mechanical equipment. Refiners of the Middle West have spent over \$300,000 experimenting unsuccessfully with cracking processes. At present seven or eight Rittman plants are under construction. If they do what Dr. Rittman confidently expects them to do, a large quantity of gasoline which has heretofore passed on in products of petroleum will be manufactured into a motor fuel to meet the increasing demand, but the cost, by reason of this extra process before distillation can take place, will not be materially red

FUTURE SUPPLY AND PRICE OF GASOLINE.

There has been much speculation as to the future supply of motor fuel. It is impossible for anybody to make a reliable prediction. It is beyond the ability of man to tell how much oil yet remains in the ground. Crude-oil pools are generally found in unexpected places. The oil-producing area of the United States is exceedingly small considering the territory that has never been tested. The amount of motor fuel reduced from a barrel of crude to-day is largely in excess of the amount refined a few years ago. When motor cars first came into use we were using 68 to 70 gravity gasoline. Later we dropped to 64 gravity, then to 60 gravity (speaking in terms of Baumé), and at the present time we are using 58 gravity as a basis, with every indication that within the next year or two the average gravity of motor fuel will be 50° Baumé. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are now being expended in efforts to develop some process by which large percentages of crude may be converted into gasoline, and as these experiments are being made the refiner is discovering his ability to turn more and more of the crude product into an acceptable motor fuel. One of two things seems inevitable—either that a carburetor will be devised that will use successfully kerosene or that kerosene by some process will be converted into gasoline. It is not so much a question of what the price of gasoline is going to be as it is a question of whether the supply will equal the demand. It is very doubtful if gasoline prices can recede materially under present conditions. Another Cushing pool and additional reflueries might send the price downward, but any increased precipitation of gasoline or motor fuel from the present supply of crude is not expected to any more than equal the natural increase of consumption. sumption. TOO MUCH PREJUDICE AND AGITATION.

There is too much prejudice and agitation against the oil industry. There was a time when the Standard Oil Co. so dominated the oil industry that agitation and prejudical action only nominally affected the independent movement. To-day the independent movement is of such magnitude that it is affected equally with its big competitors. In the mid-continent region alone the independents to-day are manufacturing 120,000 barrels of crude a day into gasoline and other products, and this 120,000 barrels per diem is the best crude procurable in the mid-continent field, and consequently in proportion the independents are producing more gasoline per barrel of crude than their big competitors, except for that crude which is manufactured through the Burton process. Most public statements concerning the oil industry have been untrue and hurtful. Since every man, woman, and child in this country is daily dependent in some way upon the condition of the oil industry, hurtful, spiteful, prejudicial agitation is against the common weal. The independent oil men believe it is due them that a fair and accurate statement of conditions in the oil industry should be officially made at the earliest possible date, based wholly upon actual conditions existing and without prejudice for or against any element in the business.

be officially made at the earliest possible date, based wholly upon actual conditions existing and without prejudice for or against any element in the business.

If Congress would effectively aid the oil industry, and in adding the oil industry the public generally will be benefited, it will create without delay a petroleum bureau, where all matters pertaining to petroleum will be centered, in charge of thoroughly competent men, and which will disseminate accurate and comprehensive information concerning the industry, and which will gather complete statistics regarding petroleum and its products, now so urgently needed; and in connection with such a department the Government, if it will ald the industry, will create a chemical and mechanical research department to exploit petroleum and its products, which it is generally believed will result in the discovery of many valuable products contained in petroleum and still unknown to either scientists or manufacturers. The Standard Oil Co., by reason of its wonderful system, maintains exhaustive statistical and research departments for its own use, but no such information is at the disposal of the general public. Present petroleum statistics issued by the Government are necessarily delayed and incomplete. They do not set forth the comparative value of one year's production of crude with another year's production of crude by reason of impregnation of demanded products, and there are no statistics whatever as to the amount of products manufactured from year to year, the amount of domestic consumption and foreign shipments, the value of these products, nor is there any available governmental information as to the number of petroleum refineries in this country, nor the character of products manufactured by them. We know of no way the Government can aid the consumers of petroleum products more effectively than by stabilizing the business through accurate publicity and extensive research, and to this end we believe the Government should make an appropriation of at least \$25

Rural Credits and Other Agricultural Legislation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD S. WHALEY,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 15, 1916.

Mr. WHALEY. Mr. Speaker, when Congress enacted into law the Federal reserve act the commercial, industrial, and manufacturing interests of this country were emancipated from the Money Trusts of the big cities. For more than 50 years the business of this country was controlled by a few rich men in a few centers, and through a defective banking system these men could dictate not only the interest to be charged but also the actual amount of money to be had in any community or section of the Nation. By the control of these funds they were masters of the business of the Nation and could give prosperity or cause ruin. This power was wrongly placed from a governmental point of view, even if it had been fairly and justly exercised. But it was unjustly and wrongly exercised, and the stock market of New York was the real gainer, the stock speculator the actual beneficiary, and the commercial business industries and farmers the real sufferers.

Under the old Federal banking law the farmer received no consideration. The national banks were prohibited from lending on real estate. The Democratic Party promised in its platform adopted at the Baltimore convention to revise the banking laws of this Nation, and in pursuance of that pledge to the people Congress passed the Federal reserve law, and on December 23, 1913, it was approved by President Wilson. For the first time in the history of this Nation provision was made in this act to help the farmers in financial legislation. Under the provision of this law the commercial and industrial interests are provided with ample money to meet their requirements; and with the 12 regional banks ready always to loan to member banks on sound commercial paper, there can never be a shortage of money to meet the demands, and, therefore, no panics to cause ruin to thousands of honest, industrious people. But, in addition to supplying the industrial and commercial interests with funds, this law also permits short-time loans to farmers on agricultural paper for not more than six months, and allows the national banks to loan a limited amount of their capital on improved farm land. This was the first step taken by the Democratic Party to extend credit to the farming community of the United States, and was the forerunner of the rural-credit bill now before Congress. It was a long step, but not long enough; not what the great farming interests of this country deserve and are entitled to receive. Realizing its limitations and inadequacies, the Democratic Party has had the courage to stretch out the helping hand to the farmer in full measure, as it has done to the commercial interest, and framed the present rural-credits bill. It has not gone about this matter hastily, but with a full realization of its magnitude and impor-To fully appreciate the size of this question it is only necessary to say that it is estimated that the aggregate wealth of the farmers of the United States is about \$40,000,000,000 and the aggregate indebtedness about \$6,000,000,000, with a little more than half of this indebtedness secured by mortgages on farm lands. The farmer pays an average interest rate on all indebtedness of about 81 per cent; so that on the amount of indebtedness there is yearly paid something like \$500,000,000. These are vast amounts, and are deserving of the careful thought and attention of the people's Representatives in Con-gress. The main objects sought by a farmer when he borrows are a reasonable interest rate, a long-time loan, and means by which the loan can be repaid in easy installments. Offering the best security, he is entitled to a low rate of interest, and, being subject to the varying conditions of the elements, he can not be sure of the return received from his toil and industry; therefore he should be allowed to repay his loan in small payments covering a long period of time.

The immediate object of this bill is to give to those who are farmers, and those who wish to become farmers, a greater volume of land credit on most favorable terms and at much lower and more uniform rates of interest than are had at present. It is a difficult matter in some sections to secure favorable loans on farm lands and farmers are paying annually on their vast mortgage debt of nearly \$4,000,000,000 from 5 per cent to 25 per cent, when commissions, lawyers' fees, and renewal charges

are included. This bill does for the farmer what the Federal reserve act does for the commercial interests. It provides him with the means of procuring a loan at a reasonable rate of interest and for a long time without all the excessive charges outside of the actual use of the money. It provides a loan at actual cost and all the benefits, such as profits, to be returned to the farmer borrower. There are some features of the bill I am not in favor of, but, realizing that all legislation is a matter of compromise, I have determined to give my support to the bill because the bad features are very few and the good very many. There is some Government aid in this measure, and I have always believed in order to have a workable system of rural credits it is compulsory for the Government to assist. Private capital under private management is bound to make all the profits possible, and therefore high rates of interest are bound to be charged. There is no such inducement for the Government funds under Government management. This bill provides for both systems, and therefore is a compromise measure. In my judgment a few years will see the repeal of the section providing for private profit making. The bill provides:

1. For the creation of a Federal farm-loan board to consist of three members, who are appointed by the President for terms of nine years and whose salaries are paid out of the Public Treasury. General powers of supervision and control are given this board so that it will have power to control the rates of interest under which loans to farmers are made and bonds shall be sold. The official appraisers are appointed by this board, the object being to remove local and personal influence so that there can be no shadow of suspicion that a fair, unbiased, and just valuation of the land is made. The removal of all favoritism and partiality in appraising the value of the land is absolutely necessary for the successful working of the system. The salaries of the appraisers are fixed by the board, but are paid by the land banks. The board also has a farm-loan registrar in each land-bank district, who is paid by the Government, to receive applications for issue of farm-loan bonds and to perform other services. The board is required to make examination of land banks and to prepare and publish repayment-amortizationtables, which must be used by the loan association and land banks in computing the amount periodically paid to finally retire the loan in a given time.

It is given the sole power to charter Federal land banks, national farm-loan associations, and joint-stock land banks; to review and change the rate of interest charged by the Federal land banks for loans; to grant or refuse authority to make any specific issue of bonds; to make rules and regulations governing charges made to borrowers for appraisal, examination of title, and recording.

2. Like the Federal-reserve act, this bill provides for the establishment of 12 Federal land banks. The 48 States of the Union are divided into 12 districts, and in each district a Federal land bank is established with a minimum capital stock of \$750,000 and a board of directors of 9 members, 6 of whom are selected by the farm-loan associations in the district and 3 by the Federal farm-loan board. Should the capital of these banks not be subscribed by private parties within 90 days after the books are opened, then the Government, acting through the Treasurer of the United States, subscribes whatever is necessary to complete the subscription, and if none has been subscribed, the full amount of \$750,000. In subscribing to this stock the Government aids to the extent of \$9,000,000. order to retain complete control in the Government of the United States over these banks, no private stock can be voted, and in that way there is precluded any possibility of private control of any one or all of these institutions. The temporary management of each of these banks is given to three directors named by the Federal farm-loan board. Directors appointed or elected must be residents for two years of the district, and one, at least, must be a practical farmer and engaged in farming within the district, and he can not be an officer or employee of any other institution, association, or partnership engaged in banking or in the business of making or selling land-mortgage loans.

The capital stock of each land bank is divided into shares of \$5 each. After these banks have been chartered there are two ways of procuring loans from them. The first is through national farm-loan associations. The second is through approved agents, such as banks, trust companies, mortgage companies, or savings banks chartered by any State.

FARM-LOAN ASSOCIATION.

3. When 10 or more farmers, or persons who desire to purchase lands for farming purposes, wish to borrow money on the land for farming needs, or to partly pay for the land, they can join together to form a national farm-loan association. The

prerequisite to be a member of the association is that the person applying desires to become a borrower on farm lands; when he ceases to be a borrower his membership ends. The articles of association need only specify generally the object of its formation and the territory in which it is to operate, and to be signed by the organizers and forwarded to the Federal land bank for the district. These associations elect a board of directors consisting of five members. The board of directors then selects a secretary treasurer and fixes his salary. The directors also elect a president, vice president, and a loan committee of three members, but these officers are to receive no salaries unless approved by the Federal Farm Loan Board at Washington, and must be residents of the territory in which the association operates and shall be borrowers. The secretary treasurer need not be a resident of the territory and a shareholder.

The secretary treasurer of the association keeps the funds, pays to the borrowers the amount borrowed when received from the land bank, and he also collects all payments of interest, amortization installments, or principal arising out of loans made through the association. It is his duty to keep all securities, records, papers, certificates of stock, and all documents of the association. The 10 or more persons must desire loans not less than \$20,000 in the aggregate, and each loan must be for not less than \$100 and not more than \$10.000.

When these applications for loans are received by the Federal land bank of the district an appraiser is sent to report on the loans. For each hundred dollars loaned the borrower must subscribe for one share of stock in the association, and the association in turn must subscribe for an equal number of shares in the Federal land bank. When the loan is paid the mortgage is satisfied and the amount of stock subscribed by the borrower repaid. All the profits, after deducting expenses, of the land bank are paid to the associations, and by the associations to its members. The borrower receives all the benefits of an economical management of the land banks.

The Federal land banks are given the power to issue bonds secured by the mortgages held by them in series of not less than \$50,000 each at a rate of interest not more than 5 per cent, and the interest charged the borrower can never be more than 1 per cent higher than the rate the last series of bonds sold for. So the farmer, or prospective farmer, can never be charged more than 6 per cent. These bonds are exempt from all taxation and are made lawful investments for all trust funds, accepted as security for all public debts, and purchasable by national banks under the Federal Reserve System.

What has been said above presents a summary of the general features of the bill from a practical viewpoint for those wishing to avail themselves of its benefits. It is only necessary now to see what is meant by amortization payments. It, in a few words, means a definite amount paid at certain definite periods for a certain definite time and at the last payment the interest, charges, and principal are fully discharged and the land freed from all debt. These installments reduce the principal debt at each payment, therefore there would be less interest to pay each year, so a larger portion of the payment is applied each year to reduce the principal. To illustrate the plan more clearly, it has been estimated that the total farm-mortgage indebtedness of the Nation is about \$4,000,000,000 and the average interest rate is 7½ per cent. This makes the yearly interest paid annually \$300,000,000 drew only 5 per cent and still the debtors would pay the \$300,000,000, the entire debt, principal and interest, would be paid in 22 years and 6 months. That is to say, the difference between the 5 per cent and the 7½ per cent, namely, 2½ per cent, paid under the amortization plan would extinguish the entire debt in 22 years and 6 months and would mean a saying of \$175,000,000 yearly.

Under the operation of this bill the farmer is afforded ample long-time credit on favorable terms, and the tenant farmer given the opportunity to become a farm owner. It encourages farming by those who wish to become farmers and enables those who are farming to enlarge their operations and better their conditions. It supplies a long-felt want in this country and one

that has been crying for assistance for many years.

I am pleased that this Democratic Congress has had the courage and capacity to work out this great reform in behalf of the farmers and the country, and I am proud to be numbered among those who have assisted in its passage. It will mean reasonable credit at reasonable interest rates and an opportunity to meet the principal of the debt by installment payments; but, more than this, it means the creation of the cooperative spirit among farmers, not only in respect to their credit facilities but in respect also to other lines of activity, such as cooperative selling and buying, cooperative markets, and cooperative live-

stock work, and the like, which, when accomplished, will-mean prosperity and happiness for the tillers of the soil.

JOINT-STOCK BANKS.

4. The capital stock of these banks is to be from private subscription, the management of the banks in private hands, and the profits to go to the stockholders. The borrowers from this institution share in no part of its management, but it is a money-making scheme for those who invest in its capital stock. It is true the Federal farm-loan board supervises it, and farmloan bonds can not be issued by a joint-stock bank unless permitted by the Federal farm-loan board. A joint-stock bank must have a capital stock of not less than \$250,000, and its operations are confined to a single State and adjoining States and can not engage in any other business than farm-mortgage loans and issuing bonds, but they are given a free hand as to interest rates on the loans and the bonds, provided it does not exceed 1 per cent on the principal of the outstanding loans. I do not believe that this provision should be left in the bill, and voted to strike it out. It has no place in a measure designed solely for the farming classes of this country and supposed to be conducted not for profit but for the benefit of the borrowers. It is my belief that this is the only unwise feature in the bill, and I believe it is only a question of time before it will be taken out of the law.

OTHER AGRICULTURAL LEGISLATION.

This Democratic administration has been keenly alive to the interest of the farm producers of this country. No administra-tion in the history of the Government has been more so, nor

along broader or more comprehensive lines.

The Government since 1862, when the Land Grant Colleges were authorized to be established, has been spending millions of dollars, more than two hundred millions of dollars, in teaching the farmers of the country better methods of production. This has been done through bulletins, printed reports, lectures, and more lately through the occult method of teaching; that is, through the traveling demonstrator who goes from farm to farm and there under the conditions surrounding the farm takes up with the individual farmer his own especial and peculiar problems and with him works out their solution. This is all important and it has brought back large dividends upon the investment, but it was left for a Democratic administration, a Democratic House of Representatives, to recognize the fundamental fact so long overlooked by students of economics that production and distribution of farm products must be made to go hand in hand in any well worked out and well-balanced system of agriculture. It is not enough to teach the farmer how to produce more things upon the farm. This is important. But it is necessary, at the same time, to undertake to teach him the best and most economic methods of distributing that which he produces. He must be provided with such machinery as will cut out the waste in the present system of marketing farm products and guarantee to him a full return for his year's toil. It is variously estimated that through the present system of marketing farm products there occurs a loss from the farm to the kitchen, from the producer to the consumer, of anywhere from fifteen to twenty-five millions of dollars a year. This tremendous waste falls both upon the producer and consumer of these products and it is of the utmost importance that it should be saved to both. It was left to a Democratic administration to say by legislative enactment that it is foolish to teach the farmer how to produce two bales of cotton where one grew before without providing at the same time machinery for getting the true value of the two bales of cotton into the pockets of the producer. A few years ago an item carrying an appropriation of \$50,000 was carried in the Agricultural appropriation bill for studying the problems of the marketing of farm products in this country

Out of this small beginning has grown up in the Department of Agriculture the present Bureau of Markets, whose object is to encourage and promote the economical distribution of farm products and to save the waste of the present uneconomical system of distribution. It was stated a few days ago by a South Carolinian, now residing in Texas and formerly of my district, that the market news service just established in the Bureau of Markets had saved to the onion growers of Texas last season not less than \$1,000,000 and to him personally many thousands of dollars. The appropriation for this market news service during the present fiscal year amounts to only a few thousand dollars, but the agricultural bill which has just passed the House, and for which I voted with a great deal of enthusiasm, carries an appropriation of \$136,000, so as to extend this service to more people and more different kinds of farm products. The fact is that the Bureau of Markets, though of such

recent origin, has proven so satisfactory and beneficial in its work that this year's appropriation has been increased from the meager sum of \$50,000 carried three years ago to \$792,000. It is my belief that the Bureau of Markets will continue to grow until it assumes its proper place in the great Department of Agriculture, and I feel that too much encouragement can not be given to this great work, nor can too much money be appropriated for the carrying out of the purposes for which it was organized.

Tick eradication: The general agricultural appropriation bill carries other items of much interest to the people of my section. One of the most important items is that providing for the eradication of the southern cattle tick, and there is an appropriation of \$632,400 for this work, which is \$194,500 more than last year. Tick eradication work has been conducted by the department for the last 10 years and has made most satisfactory progress each year. The South is naturally adapted to cattle raising, but it can never take its place in the beef supply of this country until the Texas fever is eradicated and the free movement of cattle

permitted by the raising of quarantine.

It is estimated that the South, on account of cattle tick, is losing annually in the price paid for its beef sold in the markets of Chicago and elsewhere anywhere from forty to sixty million dollars; and, of course, the people of my own State bear their relative loss. A carload of steers shipped to a market from a tick-infested area is put into separate pens, which are marked "Quarantined," and these steers will sell from six to ten dollars a head cheaper than steers of the exact same weight and class on the same market coming from a tick-free area. It is upon this difference in price as a basis that we can calculate almost to a certainty the tremendous loss which the farmers of the South are suffering each year because of the presence of Texas fever caused by the cattle tick. With such an appropriation as is carried in the Agriculture appropriation bill the quarantine against southern cattle should be raised in the next five or six years and southern cattle be placed upon an equality in the markets of the country with cattle from other sections. HOG CHOLERA

There is a provision made in the bill this year which permits the expenditure of \$405,000 for the investigation, treatment, and eradication of hog cholera.

INSECTS AFFECTING TRUCK CROPS.

There is a provision for the expenditure of \$42,760 for the investigation of insects affecting truck crops, such as potatoes, cabbages, onions, tomatoes, and so forth. This is particularly valuable for and of interest to the people of my district, where some of the largest truck farms in the world are located.

ROAD MAKING.

This bill also carries a provision of \$142,780 for the investigation of the general methods of road making, especially ordinary sand-clay and dirt roads. Under this appropriation the Government will assign engineers for the building of short sections of roads, and in that way assist any locality in having a standard by which to build its other roads. Of course the Government pays no part of the construction of the road, but only furnishes the engineer. DRAINAGE.

Another great improvement and interesting item is that providing a fund of \$94,720 for the investigation and reporting of farm drainage and drainage of swamps and other water lands, with the object in view of making them available for agri-cultural purposes, to provide expert advice in the drainage of lands, and to conduct experiments in the construction and maintenance of farm-drainage work.

COTTON GRADING, ETC.

There is also carried in this bill the sum of \$48,000 for the purpose of conducting investigations and demonstrations of the different grades and qualities of cotton and the study of ginning, grading, and compressing, and the tare of cotton. Under this appropriation the Department of Agriculture will furnish a grading expert to any community of cotton growers in order to demonstrate the proper method of grading and classification of cotton. It has been estimated that the cotton farmers lose millions of dollars each year by improper grading. The purpose of this item is to demonstrate how this loss can be saved by proper methods of grading and handling cotton.

COTTON-FUTURES ACT.

Until the passage of the Lever cotton-futures act certain cotton exchanges were permitted to furnish quotations upon a debased contract, which resulted in spot cotton being sold upon these quotations and for less than its actual value. When this act went into effect and was in operation it resulted in raising the price of cotton almost \$2 a bale, but recently a New York

judge has declared the act unconstitutional on a technical ground. The Agricultural bill this year reenacts the cotton-futures act so as to meet the objections made in the recent decision. The fact that under this new contract provided by this law cotton was raised to almost \$2 a bale more than it was selling for before the law went into effect justifies its retention on the statute books, for the reason that it is an actual demonstration of its beneficial effects to the cotton growers. The chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, the Hon. W. P. G. Harding, the only southern member of the board, has openly expressed the belief that this act was one of the three things that saved the cotton situation during the critical period of the past two years.

FEDERAL WAREHOUSES.

Another most important provision of the present Agricultural bill is that providing for Federal warehouses. This bill makes provision for a national system of bonded warehouses, supervised by licensed weighers and graders, in which agricultural products can be stored. The object is to provide a warehouse receipt uniform in character for the same product throughout the country. These receipts, being negotiable, can be pledged as collateral for loans, and the farmer in this way is provided a means by which he can hold his products until he believes the market price is acceptable. These warehouse receipts give him a bankable paper on which he can realize ready cash. It also provides for expert grading of cotton, which means millions saved to the farmers.

GOOD ROADS.

This session of Congress will see the enactment into law of a good-roads bill, under the provisions of which the Federal Government appropriates many millions of dollars to build and maintain roads throughout the United States, along with State aid. This bill is along the right lines, especially so now that the Government is making liberal appropriations through the Post Office Department for the extension of the parcel post and the expansion of the rural mail service. Good roads mean a heavier load and a larger and quicker haul with the same animal power.

In addition to the above-set-forth items, the Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the House has for the last two months been conducting hearings for an investigation of the Beef Trust. It is alleged that the entire beef supply of this country is controlled by a few packers, who are noncompetitive in their bids for cattle and who fix the price of cattle each day on the market by providing only one bidder each day and a division of the cattle after they are purchased.

Congress has also provided in the Army bill for the manufacture of nitrate from the air, the erection of a Government plant or plants, to cost not more than \$20,000,000, and the nitrate from these plants to be used for the production of powder when necessary, and to be sold to the farmer for fertilizer when not needed by the Government.

SHIPPING BILL.

There is a bill now before Congress for the Government to purchase or lease ships to the extent of \$50,000,000, and it also provides for a shipping board to have supervision and control of these ships and of the shipping interests of this country generally. These ships are to be in the foreign commerce of the world, to carry the products of the farm and factory of this Nation to all foreign countries at reasonable rates of freight and reliable service. It was attempted to pass a similar bill in a previous Congress, but it failed by a few votes in the Senate. I believed then, and I believe now, that had this shipping bill passed the cotton farmers of the South would have received at least 2 cents a pound more for their cotton during the last year than was actually received.

I do not believe the Shipping Trust should be allowed to fix such exorbitant rates that the exporter is forced either to go out of the business or make the producer accept a lower price for his staple than its real market value. Yet this has been the case in numerous instances. There is no excuse or justification for the freight rates now prevailing, and the excuses offered by the Shipping Trust are both paltry and indefensible. In July, 1914, the freight on a bale of cotton from New Orleans to Liverpool was \$1.40; in April, 1915, \$7; and in January, The Atlantic Ocean is controlled by the British fleet, and yet there is an increase of over 1,000 per cent in freight money to ship a bale of cotton in an American or British vessel from an American port to a British port on the At-Iantic Ocean. One of the excuses offered is the increased insurance rate; yet two years ago the Government established an insurance bureau and has been and is now issuing policies at a reasonable rate of premium. There has been only a small increase in the running expenses of a ship. It is simply a

case where the Shipping Trust realizes that there is no competition, and therefore it can charge any price it pleases. I am not in favor of the Government entering into business competition with private enterprise under ordinary conditions, but I do believe that it is the duty of the Government, when necessary, in order to stabilize prices and to control the trusts, to enter into the business to such a reasonable extent as to prevent the people from being gouged.

It can be said without fear of contradiction that more important legislation has been enacted during the past three years in the interest of agriculture than during any 50 years combined in the history of our country. Representing a district where agricultural resources and possibilities are unsurpassed in this or any other country, it has been my pleasure to assist in all these wise and patriotic efforts to do justice to the greatest of all professions of mankind.

The Army Bill-Massachusetts Patriotism.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD OLNEY, 2D,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 22, 1916.

Mr. OLNEY. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that various aspersions have been cast upon Boston as a recruiting station for the Regular Army, in the House of Representatives, with special reference to the Joint resolution passed by the House on March 15 recruiting the Army to its statutory strength of 100,000 men, I desire to correct the impression that Boston, and particularly Massachusetts, is derelict in patriotism and loyalty to the flag.

Several Congressmen stated on the floor of the House that the Boston recruiting station in one particular week enlisted but one volunteer in the Regular Army. However, that week is no criterion for the eight remaining weeks which have been open for recruiting. As a matter of fact, the records show that 70 applicants for this week were rejected.

The latest bulletin from the office of The Adjutant General

The latest bulletin from the office of The Adjutant General of the United States, obtained before the close of business on Tuesday, May 23, states that 655 men have volunteered their services in the Regular Army, at Boston, of which 59 have been accepted. Thus Boston as a recruiting depot compares favorably with other places in the country; the traditions of Massachusetts as to loyalty and patriotism begun at Concord and Lexington are preserved and retained, and doubtless will prevail ad infinitum.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CORDELL HULL,

In the House of Representatives, Saturday, May 13, 1916.

Mr. HULL of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, for several years I have kept in close touch with the movement to establish in this country a system of rural credits for the benefit of agriculture. I have strongly realized the necessity for this highly important and long-delayed legislation from the beginning. My training, experience, and close observation with respect to farm conditions and farm needs in this country early convinced me of the urgency for the establishment of the most feasible and practical system of rural credits possible to be devised. I have therefore lost no opportunity during my service here to emphasize and to urge upon members of the appropriate committees of Congress and upon Members generally the wisdom and the need of speedy and favorable legislative action.

I do not deem it necessary to rehearse the detailed facts in support of these views and of this nation-wide movement. They have been fully and ably presented by members of the committee which reported this bill and are reasonably familiar to the American people, and especially to the farmers of the country. I am glad to be able to testify to the fact that a large majority of the membership of the two Houses of Con-

gress have for some years been engaged in an earnest study of the rural credit systems of Europe and their application to conditions in the United States with a view of developing and perfecting a law for this country designed to contain sound principles of finance and at the same time to give to those engaged in agriculture the largest possible measure of practical benefits. I rejoice that after this period of patient endeavor we have reached a stage where the first decisive and practical and far-reaching step is about to be taken. I confidently expect the study of these questions to be constantly pursued to the end that Congress a little later on may be able to add any new and additional provisions to the present measure deemed necessary and beneficial, until within a reasonably short time a thoroughly completed and perfected rural credits system, embracing every essential provision calculated to secure the maximum of results in aid of agriculture will be enacted into It is true that conditions in those European countries which have a rural credits system are very different from conditions in the United States, and it is likewise true that many years of investigation and amendment of their original were required there before a completed and thoroughly workable system was brought about.

For the successful development of their industry farmers must have credit just as people engaged in other lines. Furthermore, their business conditions are such that they must have longer credit than others, and, of course, they should have it

at the lowest consistent rate of interest.

A farmer with \$1,000 in money should be able to purchase a \$2,500 farm and under a properly devised rural-credits system borrow the amount necessary to pay for the same for such time and at such reasonable rate of interest as would enable bim to meet the payments as required. Under existing conditions his interest rates and charges are so high that they eat up his annual profits, with the result that in the end his mortgage is frequently foreclosed and a forced sale results, so that he often or usually loses all he has, including his initial payment.

I was gratified to see a provision favorable to the adoption of this system inserted in the last Democratic platform.

In my judgment, the pending measure will give a large amount of substantial relief to the farmers of the country. I think it represents the best thought and the best effort of the majority of the Members of both Houses of Congress feasible to get written into law to this date. This is and has been a most difficult legislative problem to solve with entire satisfac-I shall continue, along with the membership here, to give my best efforts to the consideration of such new and supplementary provisions as may be deemed necessary to perfect the pending measure into the most complete modernized ruralcredits law in existence to-day.

I consider the efforts of Congress to give to the farmers a suitable system of rural credits among the most important legislative steps Congress has ever taken. Thanks to the present Congress, this long needed and greatly needed legislation

is now assured.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAM RAYBURN.

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Friday, May 19, 1916.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, during this administration there have been passed many great constructive measures of legislation that will cause it to go down into history as one of the most notable in the Nation's history. The tariff has been revised that the burdens of taxation may bear more equally and equitably. The antitrust laws have been overhauled and made definite and understandable. The currency system of the coun-try has been rewritten and the Federal reserve act, sometimes referred to as a legislative marvel, has been put upon the books. But, to my mind, this program, however great, would be wholly lacking if this Congress does not pass some legislation pertaining to farm credits. The bill now under consideration will go a long way to giving to the great host of farmers of this country some hope and relief and will to a great extent go far toward bringing the landless man and the manless land together.

admitted as true it could not be attacked as anything but a wholesome thing for the Government to do; for any legislation that will cause more citizens of this country to become home owners will be legislating to help the Government. could go further to make this the ideal country in which to live than for some action to be taken that would cause the men who till the soil to own the soil that they till. Nothing could go so far toward making good citizens of the Government as for the people who make up the Government to think that they are a part and parcel of that Government and that Government is instituted rather to help than to hinder the citizenship from enjoying the fullest liberties and freedom. Some will say that this rural-credits bill will be disappointing and will not come up to the expectations of the farmers of the country. I do not think it will come up to the hope and expectation of all as many have been led to believe more will be done than can be I do not expect to see the time ever come when all men who live on farms shall own their farms, however much this condition may be hoped for, but I know that the greatest hindrance in my section to home buying is the high rate of interest and the short time given on farm paper. will provide, as I believe it does, a lower rate of interest and long time for payment, it will go a great stride toward the consummation of this happy hope. Many a man who wants to own his home will have a small amount of money to make the first payment, but under present conditions knows that the high rate of interest and large short-time payments he will be expected to make can not in any human probability be met; but suppose that the man who has a few hundred dollars to make first payment on a home knows that he can get a low rate of interest for the balance and by having long time the other payments will be small each year he can see a far brighter picture, and he will buy a home and make the first payment, believing that he can pay the remainder, and he can, if health follows him.

Mr. Speaker, many men who oppose this bill say that we are demagoging with the farmer. That this bill will not work. That it is imperfect. Mr. Speaker, no human instrumentality is perfect, and I feel sure that this bill will in the light of experience have to be amended, but I know that it goes a long step in the right direction, and I can therefore vote for it without reservation, knowing that when defects show in the system that there will be men in Congress of enough patriotism and

good sense to amend it.

Mr. Speaker, some of our city friends talk about the beautiful life on the farm and seem to assume that all is one long day of happiness and freedom from care. All these men know about farm life is from what they have got from reading some novel or visiting on the farm or driving through it in the springtime. But, Mr. Speaker, I was reared on a farm where I have picked cotton, gathered all kinds of crops, and plowed and hoed from sun till sun. If some of our city friends who talk about the beauty and romance of farm life would go out and bend their backs over a cotton row for 10 or 12 hours per day and grip the plow handles that long, they would see how fast this romance that they have read in the novels would leave it and how surely it would come down to a humdrum life of work and toil. I want to make the farm a more attractive place to live, and I want, if I can, to help to lift some of the burdens from the backs of those who go forth at early dawn and labor with their hands to dewy eve, to bring forth the products that feed and clothe the world. If this Congress can do this, it will have made for itself an enduring fame.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WYATT AIKEN,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 15, 1916.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. Speaker, that the pending bill, in its present form, will be disappointing to those it is sought to serve, if, indeed, it does not totally fail of its purpose, is a foregone conclusion.

It is needless for me to go into details to justify this statement, for its vital defects have been thoroughly discussed on the floor of the House. But if any Member has not taken the time and trouble to study the bill for himself, I commend to Some may say that we propose to do for the farmers what we him the remarks of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Cara-do not propose to do for any other class. If this statement be way] in the Record of May 9, whose exhaustive analysis of the bill shows it to be little short of an absurdity. So cumbersome and intricate are its provisions that a farmer, undertaking to borrow under it, will have to retain both a lawyer and an accountant to tell how much of his neighbor's obligation he carries, what rate of interest he is paying, and the initial expenses incident to a loan. Under this bill the initial expenses to the borrower will so materially decrease the amount actually received in cash, as compared with the amount obligated for, as to materially increase the rate of interest nominally given the farmer in the bill.

Then, again, the expense to the Government incident to putting the proposed bill in operation, with its boards and sub-boards, its system of land banks and subbanks, with its new high-salaried offices and contingent expenses, will pile up an immense sum, to be borne primarily by the Government, but in

the end by the borrowing farmer.

I propose to vote for the bill, with all its imperfections, because it contains some good provisions and is one step toward the attainment of the rural-credits system. I introduced one of the first bills that was offered in Congress on this subject, and while I have no pride of opinion as to my own bill it, at least, is not subject to the criticism made of the pending bill by many Members on this floor.

I am going to ask leave to print my bill, along with a short digest of it, so that it may be read by individual Members

pending amendments to the bill under consideration.

The question of rural credits is one with which I have been deeply concerned for a number of years. Our farmers are paying approximately \$500,000,000 annually in interest, and our landowners are decreasing in an alarming degree year by year. Thirty-seven per cent of our farmers are tenants, and in the South it would perhaps be safe to say that the tenant class is

nearly double this number.

Since the Democratic Party is pledged to the passage of a rural-credits bill, it is not necessary to defend such a measure here. But for the information of those who attack the measure as being class legislation, it may be recalled that Congress in times past provided for commercial agents, at big salaries, to tour the world and hunt out markets for merchants and manufacturers. Then, again, the funds of the United States Treasury were deposited without interest in Wall Street to prevent a panic threatened by excessive speculation. The funds of the United States Treasury have been ever ready for the protection of the business man, but as the farmer is not classed as a business man by those papers that are controlled by a lot as a business man by those papers that are controlled by a lot of money sharks in Wall Street, it is not surprising to note that such papers as the New York Press refer to the question of rural credits as "a crazy socialistic experiment," "a distillation of populism," "a piece of vicious class legislation," and so forth. Any measure that removes dependence for money from Wall Street, or its dependent banks over the country, is "vicious class legislation" in the opinion of those banks.

The question of rural credits is not a new one. More than

one European country has raised its tenants from a condition bordering on serfdom to that of independent landowners through this system, and, incidentally, national wealth has been doubled thereby. In a former speech I cited statistics to prove this statement, but, as all this information was in the hands of the committee that considered this bill, it is not necessary

to repeat those figures here.

In taking issue with the committee on some of the points of the pending bill, I do not, in any sense, question their good intentions, but I have lived in daily contact with the farmer all my life, and I know of a certainty that before he will undertake to unravel the intricacies of the committee bill, he will continue to go to the banks that have been serving him, and pay his 8 or 10 per cent, rather than pay a lot of initial fees, and subscribe for stock that he knows and cares nothing about. I know again that the plan of banding a lot of farmers together, that the whole may become responsible for the debts of each, has been proven a failure, and must again fall if retained as a part of the pending bill. My bill does not disturb existing relations between borrower and lender, but merely enlarges accommodations to the borrower, at the lowest possible rate of interest, through a local agency that can best judge of its customers, and the value of property hypothecated. Without objection I will ask leave to append my bill and a digest of it.

DIGEST OF MY RURAL CREDITS BILL.

The Democratic Members of Congress and the President are committed to the passage of a rural credits bill, it is unnecessary to urge upon the House the importance of this legislation,

The only question to be considered is the framing of a bill with the least complications which will fully meet public de-

mands and carry relief to the tenant farmers of the United States.

When the Democratic Party came into power, realizing the obligation the party had assumed on this character of legislation, I introduced a bill (H. R. 16028) which I believe would have fulfilled practically every requirement for long-term loans on real estate, but owing to the positive statement of the President that he preferred that no rural-credits legislation be taken up at that time I did not endeavor to push my bill.

I have reintroduced practically the same bill, with a few amendments that I think may add to its effectiveness.

The bill that is simplest in form, entails the least expense for putting in operation, furnishes adequate relief to the tenant farmer, and involves the Government in the smallest degree, it seems to me, should meet the approval of the House.

In the hope of calling the attention of the House to the desirable features of the bill which I have reintroduced, hereto attached, I beg to submit the following digest thereof and ask that the House give it careful consideration in connection with the bill.

Section 1 of the bill provides that national banks as now organized establish a land-loan department. This is made a part of the present banking system with existing banks to avoid the creation of a new system of national banks, with all the cumber-

some machinery necessary for their establishment.

I have examined the hundreds of bills previously introduced and this bill appears to be the only bill that can be put in effective operation without disturbing the present national banking system. Some of the other bills propose a "bureau of farm " some a system of "farmers' associations" with banking privileges, some "land-loan" banks in each State with a central bank in Washington and branches in the various counties, but none except this bill proposes to use existing national banks, with existing officers, State and National.

Now, is there any good reason why existing national banks can not meet every requirement without the cost of an extra dollar to the Government and perform the work more efficiently by reason of the fact that the officials are located in the same community with the borrower and are doing just the kind of work they are doing every day in the course of their ordinary

National banks will gladly take on the work, and as my bill provides further on they do it without extra cost to the Government, although the national banks are made to assume all responsibility in making loans.

Section 2 of this bill provides that loans shall not be made except on farm lands, for not more than two-thirds their value and for a period of not more than 10 years. Further on it is provided that the lands shall be actually tenanted. The reasons for this section are obvious and will not be commented on.

Sections 3 and 4 provide for the local bank president or bank attorney to examine the county records in which a loan is asked to ascertain whether or not the property on which a loan is asked is unencumbered. The wisdom of this provision as contrasted with the suggestion of some other bills that such examinations be made by special deputies from the district attorney's office or by special representatives of a bureau in Washington must be evident.

Section 5 provides for publication of a list of the lands on which loans are asked, not that the mortgage would otherwise be invalid, but to avoid litigation.

Section 6 provides that national banks shall receive loans from the Treasury of the United States in amounts of \$10,000, and serially thereafter, if desired or needed. With each loan asked for mortgages of real estate on lands worth \$15,000, approved by the bank making the application, are filed with the United States Treasurer to form a basis for a bond issue provided for further on in the bill.

Loans from the Treasury to the national banks, as provided in the bill, are to be in serial amounts of \$10,000, in order that they may be handled both by the banks and by the Treasury Department in block sums, thereby facilitating and abridging the work entailed in securing a loan.

The rate of interest to the bank is fixed at 3½ per cent. It will be noted further on in the bill that the rate charged the customer is fixed at 5 per cent. This allows the bank 1½ per cent for becoming responsible for the loan, for examining titles, and for such other expenses as is incurred in making the loan.

Section 7 is practically covered in remarks on section 6. Section 8 provides an appropriation of \$25,000,000 as a working fund to be used and replenished from time to time by Government bond issues based on first mortgages of real estate at two-thirds the value of the property mortgaged, filed with the

Treasurer of the United States. These bonds are to bear interest at 3 per cent, and the one-half of 1 per cent paid by national banks for loans is to be used in preparing and floating the bond issues and for department expenses incident to handling the funds derived from the sale of bonds.

Section 9 provides the compensation to national banks, provides for a sinking fund in the land loan department of national banks, and provides that national banks give bond commen-surate with the amount held in the sinking fund.

Section 10 limits the amount loaned to any one person to \$2,500 on not less than 50 acres of land actually tenanted.

This is for the obvious reason that the bill is intended to encourage home building and to place loans where they are desirable.

Section 11 provides for examination of the "land loan department" of national banks in the same manner and by the same officials as national banks are examined, as now organized. This section further provides for the extension of the "land loan department" to State banks in counties where no national banks have been organized, the State banks to be subjected to the same examinations that are made of national

banks by national-bank examiners,

Section 12 provides that if any person borrowing from any national bank under the provisions of the bill shall make default in two payments, the mortgage shall be foreclosed in the usual way, and the bank that made the loan must see that the full amount loaned, together with all expenses, is recovered from the selling price. This makes the bank responsible to the Government for the mortgages deposited as collateral. The loan value fixed on lands is fixed at two-thirds rather than one-half, as suggested in some of the bills, for the reason that the bank taking the mortgages can not lose at this rate, and it secures the loan to the Government.

Default of two payments is allowed for the reason that it is a safe business allowance, and allows the tenant land purchaser to get over a hard year and not lose his land. Of course, the bank would see that the tenant availed himself of

this as seldom as possible. Section 13 provides a plan by which the person who has mortgaged his land and desires to sell it to advantage before the close of his loan may do so and leave the bank and the

Government whole.

Sections 14 and 15 fix the profits allowed to national banks; and provide that the Secretary of the Treasury take the neces-

sary steps to put the bill into effect.

Now it does seem that this bill will meet all the requirements of an effective "rural credits law." It certainly can be put in execution with less expense than any bill offered. It safeguards the Government against loss. It imposes an easy task on officials now in Government service, to wit, nationalbank officials, and compensates them moderately for their new duties. It makes no radical change in the present manner of banking and does not upset in the slightest the present relations of borrower and lender in the local communities. It is brief, easily understood, and simple of execution; and I trust that at least in some of its important features it may meet the approval of the House.

A bill to establish a system through which national banks may make loans upon agricultural lands in aid of agriculture.

A bill to establish a system through which national banks may make loans upon agricultural lands in aid of agriculture.

Be it enacted, etc., That any national bank doing business in the United States be, and is hereby, authorized and empowered to establish a land-loan department, under such provisions and restrictions as are hereinafter set forth.

SEC. 2. That loans shall not be made from this department of said national bank except on farm lands; and in no case shall said loans exceed two-thirds the actual value of the land to be hypothecated as collateral for said loans, nor shall said loans extend for a longer period than 10 years.

SEC. 3. That when a national bank has applications for loans in a sum aggregating \$10,000 it shall examine the records in the county office in which deeds are recorded in the county in which said applications for loans are made and ascertain whether or not the lands on which loans are asked are unencumbered.

SEC. 4. That if the office of the register of deeds, or such other office in which deeds are recorded, shall show the lands sought to be hypothecated as collateral for a loan are already mortgaged no loan shall be considered on said encumbered land until the encumbrance has been removed and the record satisfied.

SEC. 5. That a list of the lands to be free from encumbrance, as shown by the county records, shall be advertised once a week for three consecutive weeks in a newspaper published in the county in which said loans are sought, and in case no person notifies said bank of a prior unrecorded mortgage or a judgment against any of the parties making application for loans, which said mortgages beld by said bank shall be deemed sufficient public notice, and the mortgages held by said bank shall be deemed and adjudged to be first mortgages by the State and Federal courts of the United States.

SEC. 6. That when any national bank located in any State of the United States shall have applications for loans on farm lands aggregating \$10,000, on a basis of two-thirds the value o

the Treasurer of the United States, and said national bank shall revelve therefor from the United States Treasury a leant of \$10.000, bearing interest at the rate of \$4\$ per cent per annum and to run for a period of 10 years.

Sec. 7. That the fund derived from the deposit of first mortgages of real extate in the Treasury of the United States as provided for in the said state in the Treasury of the United States as provided for in the said state in the Treasury of the United States as provided for in the said state in the Treasury of the United States as provided for in the said state of the exempt from all the said state in the said state in the said state of the said state in the said state of the said should be exempt from all taxes or duties by the United States or any State, municipality, or local authority.

Sec. 9. That any national bank making loans as herein provided to be based on mortgages of real estate in an equal amount and covering the approximate period of said bond issue, and to be further guarantee be exempt from all taxes or duties by the United States or any State, municipality, or local authority.

Sec. 9. That any national bank making loans as herein provided for shall annually collect the interest due on any loan and \$100 of the smaller loans. Out of the outhor states of the said spate in the same ratio on smaller loans. Out of the outhor states of the said spate in the same ratio on smaller loans. Out of the outhor states of the said spate in the same ratio on the said spate in the same ratio on the said spate in the same ratio on the said spate in the same ratio of the said spate spate

Conference Report on the Army Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDMUND PLATT, OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 20, 1916.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Speaker, after all these months of delay, with the world on fire and sparks falling all around us, with practically the whole present mobile Army of the United States chasing a few bandits in Mexico, we are finally confronted with this conference report on the Army bill. I for one shall not vote to accept it. The chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs himself has just told us that it is "in no sense an emergency measure." He recognizes no emergency, no necessity for any preparedness, and has agreed to just as little of the real preparedness in the Senate bill as possible, while agreeing to the one bad feature, the antiquated nitrate provision. The bill should be sent back to conference with instructions to agree to the Regular Army provisions of the Chamberlain bill and to the Federal volunteer reserve provision, and to disagree with the water-power nitrate provision already proven out of date.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to no one in high regard for the National Guard of States that have a real National Guard, such as the guard of the State of New York; but look at the spectacle in Texas at present, where that great State can not turn out 3,000 men, after all its bluster, to protect its own borders. The National Guard can not fill the place of a Federal reserve, as it is constituted the country over. Furthermore, even where the guard is best organized and in the highest efficiency, as in New York and New England, I doubt if its present members, many of whom are men with families dependent upon them, have reckoned upon the possibility of being called into Federal service for Their patriotism is not to be doubted, and they a long period. would be of immense service in any emergency; but why not supplement them by building up a Federal volunteer reserve, such as the Senate bill provides?

THE PEDERAL VOLUNTEER RESERVE, OR CONTINENTAL ARMY.

This plan of a Federal volunteer reserve was first advocated by Secretary Garrison under the name of the continental army, It was a new idea, but a good one. The President took it up and made it a part of his preparedness message at the opening of this session of Congress in December. But the political adju-tant generals got after it so vigorously that within three weeks the President reversed himself, refusing to stand by Secretary Garrison, who was forced to resign. The sequel shows what a blunder the President made. This Federal volunteer plan, which apparently had no friends then, has steadily gained ground. The Senate has approved it, and it has gained many supporters in this House, as it has come to be better understood. Those who have opposed it so vehemently, supposing they were currying favor with the militia voters in their States, have recently been confronted with strong evidence that the best guardsmen are not opposing it. I have letters here, Mr. Speaker, from National Guard officers in my State who strongly favor it. One of them is from Maj. Francis G. Landon, who has four times represented my district in the New York State Assembly. Maj. Landon wrote me March 22:

What we need is a national reserve—call it what you like—which Mr. Garrison came nearer to suggesting than any other man. You can not federalize the guard as proposed by the bill pending. You will only keep the worst element in and the good element out. You will create a political organization which will call for more and more each year and you will find that the Government has hung around its neck a monster that will never let go.

Maj. Landon strongly opposed some of the militia-pay sections of the bill, but was not opposed to paying the men enough to cover expenses of attending drills.

I should like to quote also briefly from a letter written me by resident of my district who was one of Roosevelt's Rough Riders in the Spanish War. He speaks of Col. Leonard Wood and of Col. Roosevelt as excellent and intelligent regimental commanders, and he testifies to the high qualities of some of the company officers, but shows that soldiers can not be improvised, and adds:

In spite of all the newspaper notoriety we got we dld not amount to much as a fighting unit, and the other Volunteers in Cuba were much worse than we. The success of the Santiago campaign was due, first, to the excellent fighting qualities of the United States Regulars; second, to the demoralization of the Spaniards.

ONLY PLAN OPEN TO PARMERS.

Mr. Speaker, I want to add one argument for the Federal volunteer plan which, though now apparently crushed, will, I believe, rise again, an argument which I have heard no one else use, though it seems to me the strongest of all. The Federal volunteer plan offers the only plan by which a country boy, a farm boy, can obtain military training short of enlisting in the Regular Army. The National Guard as to-day organized is almost wholly composed of city men; at least, outside of Senator Wadsworth's troop of cayalry in central New York, that is true in my State, and I know it is true in many other States. Now, in the past most of our best soldiers have come from the Why deny the young men of the farms a chance to obtain military training to-day? They can not get into the cities, generally speaking, to attend even once-a-week armory drills in winter, but many of them could get off for a whole month's training at some time during the summer or fall. Why not give them a chance?

In my county, the county of Dutchess, in Revolutionary days there were three or four regiments of militia, all farmers with the possible exception of a few of the officers. Those regiments kept their organization down through days of "general train-

ing" until some time in the forties or fifties of the last century. I have heard my grandfather tell of general training. Of course, it was not training to any extent, and probably too often was a general picnic, but the obligation to military service was

FOUR REGIMENTS REDUCED TO ONE COMPANY.

Every able-bodied man of military age was enrolled, and right here I want to note the fact that the Legislature of the State of New York has recently passed an act for another militia enrollment which shall take in every man. It is an excellent idea. But that is a digression. I spoke of the old-time militia of my county merely to show how many there were of them, and all farmers. Later the old regiments were reduced to one, a regiment that was called out for 30 days' service at the time of the Battle of Gettysburg. This regiment represented the county. Nearly half of the companies were in the city of Poughkeepsie and the rest in small towns and villages within a radius of 18 or 20 miles. They got together at intervals for regimental drill, and they made a good showing in parades, as I very well remember.

In 1882 this regiment was cut down to two separate companies, and in 1897 one of those was disbanded-without sufficient reason, in my opinion-so that now we have only one company of less than 100 men, where we used to have within my own memory a regiment, and at an earlier time, when the population of the county was very much less than at present, three or four regiments. Very much the same is true of the other Hudson River counties in my neighborhood, though Orange County has retained three separate companies. My whole district, three counties, has only four National Guard companies. My whole disalthough it includes five cities, ranging in population from 12,000 to 30,000, and a number of important villages.

Evidently there is room for a much larger local military force. The National Guard is already recruiting, and with the en-couragement offered in this bill will doubtless be doubled; but there might easily be found three or four hundred young men drawn from the farms and the smaller villages for a Federal volunteer reserve, men who could find time between May and November for a month of training in camp, but who can not

well join the National Guard.

The very fact that 50,000 men have already volunteered for training at Plattsburg and elsewhere shows that the Federal volunteer reserve could have been made successful and could have been adopted had the President stood manfully by his first position in support of Secretary Garrison. I believe we shall yet at some future time take up this plan, and I hope that the Republicans, particularly those from the great agricultural States, will get into line in favor of it.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FINLY H. GRAY,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Monday, May 15, 1916.

Mr. GRAY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, it is objected that this legislation is extending favors and special benefits to farmers as a class. There is a difference between commercial transactions and agricultural operations. There is a difference in credit facilities to carry on commerce and trade and credit facilities to carry on farming and agriculture. There is a difference in the fundamental conditions of agricultural operations. Other men may hasten their business transactions and thereby increase their profits. But no amount of industry, energy, and enterprise can hasten agricultural operations in advance of the seasons or mature crops at an earlier date than the time fixed by nature. There is a difference in the contingencies incident to agricultural operations. Other men may guard against loss and insure against casualties in business, but no amount of precaution will safeguard against droughts, floods, blights, and other contingencies in farm production so as to hold the farmer safe from loss. And there is a difference in the use of capital in agricultural operations. Other men may multiply their transactions and use their money over and over again during the same year. But the farmer by nature is limited to single annual operations and his profits are accordingly circumscribed.

These different conditions and contingencies call for a different and peculiar form of credit and loans under which to carry on the farming industry. The farmer must make his business calculations in accordance with these different and peculiar business contingencies and conditions, and he must be afforded a different and peculiar form of credit to carry on his operations. The general banking institutions of the country have been organized, framed, and established upon a basis to furnish credit for commercial transactions. They do not and can not afford credit facilities to meet the requirements of agricultural operations.

The farmers have at last come to be recognized as business men who require capital the same as other business men in order to do business. The want of capital will limit their business the same as in other lines of industry and with other business men. They require a form of credit that will make capital available to them in accordance with their business operations the same as other business men. The farm owner is in constant need of capital for the improvement of his farm, for the erection of buildings, for the purchase of stock and fertilizer, machinery, and other apparatus. The tenant is in need of capital for all these as well as capital for the purchase of a farm.

An agricultural system is necessary to meet the requirements of the farming interests of the country and under which the farmers in every locality may organize to avail themselves of necessary credit facilities where credit, on terms to meet their requirements, is not otherwise furnished them by the existing loan and banking institutions.

But there is another and a greater reason than an economic reason for the cooperation of the Government to promote the welfare of the farmers of the country. History has taught that the strength and security of a nation depends upon the proportion of landowners among those who till the soil and that tenantry is a condition fraught with national weakness and instability.

As a policy to increase the national strength and stability European countries have expended large sums of money to encourage and aid farm tenants to become landowners. To accomplish this purpose Germany has provided for lower interest rates and easy payments on the purchase of farms. France has subsidized Government-controlled banks to extend credit as an inducement for the purchase of farms by tenants. England has appropriated over \$500,000,000 to help Irish tenants to become landowners. Russia has expended more than a billion of dollars to aid her tenants to own their homes and the lands they cultivate. And other European countries, realizing the national menace of landlordism, have inaugurated similar policies for relief against tenantry.

If all the great European nations can afford to formulate great policies and support the same by appropriations running into millions of dollars to restore the ownership of land to occupying tenants, then this Government ought to profit by their experience and make reasonable provision to enable the farmers of this country to hold their land and prevent them from becoming tenants. Tenantry is on the increase among the farmers of the United States, and to-day only 67 per cent of the farmers own the lands they cultivate, while in Germany, an old country, under a system of Government cooperation, 81 per cent of the farmers now own the lands upon which they live. The farmers now owning farms should be helped and encouraged to hold them and the farmers now tenants should be helped and encouraged to become owners of farms by affording them a form of credit suitable to their requirements.

Two Platoons for Firemen.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES POPE CALDWELL,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 25, 1916.

Mr. CALDWELL. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record. I include an argument I made upon this subject the last time it was presented in New York.

The argument is as follows:

ARGUMENT BY CHARLES POPE CALDWELL BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON LAWS
AND LEGISLATION IN RE TWO PLATOONS FOR PIREMEN.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, on behalf of the members of the uniformed force of the fire department, their families and friends, I wish to thank you for this opportunity to present their side of this controversy. The fight for two platoons has been waged unceasingly for about 15 years. The idea originated in the ranks, and for that reason was opposed by the then chief of the department. As the discussion went on, it developed into a personal fight resulting in the removal of the proponent of the measure and the scattering by transfer of his supporters. No chief or commissioner since has seen fit to take up the subject and decide it upon the merits after a hearing at which the men would be given an opportunity to present evidence, but all have continued the fight, apparently on the theory that to grant the relief demanded by the subordinates of the department would be to defeat the executive officers.

All political parties have advocated this reform, and in the campaign of 1902 both political parties wrote an indorsement of it in their platforms. The legislature then granted the three platoons to the police and left the two platoons for the firemen to the discretion of the commissioner.

No relief being granted, although continuously urged, the matter was presented to the legislature in 1913 and a bill was passed directing the installing of the two-platoon system, but the governor, although he advocated the bill, vetoed it upon the ground that it was a violation of the home-rule law.

This ordinance is presented to you upon the theory that it is properly within your province, and we are here to discuss it upon the merits. It has the indorsement of representatives of organized labor, who, on behalf of 250,000 men who work, will file their protest against a 20-hour day. The indorsement of the representatives of 40,000 churches, who claim that the men who risk their lives that others might live or property be not destroyed, are entitled to attend divine service more often than once in 35 days; the representatives of the classified civil service; of the per diem employees of the State; and of the policemen, who have found relief in the laws limiting their hours of service; the indorsement of the representatives of the Yonkers fire department, where the two platoons have been tried, and will never be abandoned; and last, but not least, it is demanded by the wives and children of your firemen heroes, who ask that you give them just half of the previous life that every true fireman is willing to risk in an endeavor to save yours, or that of your loved ones, whenever the occasion presents.

The uniformed force of the fire department numbers 5,500. They are chosen by civil-service competitive examination after three separate physical examinations. When they enter the service they are almost perfect specimens of manhood. From the time they enter the service until they die or are removed for disability, their every moment is under the control of the commissioner. By his good graces they are allowed 24 hours' leave every fifth day, and if the commanding officer of his company sees fit and he has been real good, in all boroughs except Richmond, they have four 12-hour night leaves per month.

If they take one meal per day they have four hours off; if two, three and a half hours; if three, three hours. They go to bed in the fire stable with their underclothes and blue shirts on, and are aroused on an average of six times every night, and must dress, slide down a pole hole, and get ready to go out whether they are needed or not. For if a peanut stand on Dyckman Street catches fire, the company at Liberty Street must go through the monkeyshine of getting ready. This even though the Liberty Street company had been fighting fire until 4 o'clock in the morning. And besides that, they must get up at 7.30 a. m. no matter how greatly they are suffering from fatigue or how often disturbed. If they are needed they must rush into the cold night air mostly from a warm bed, and rush off partially clad, to a fire before they are half awake. Such a system, we maintain, is cruel, inhuman, and not in accord with the sentiments of the times.

The two-platoon system would permit a man to spend at least 10 hours of each 24 with his family; to have two meals at home and one on the job, for he could bring his lunch with him; to sleep eight hours without being disturbed, in his own bed, in his night clothes. It would do away with the pole hole, through which not less than 80 men have been killed or maimed for life within the last 10 years and hundreds hurt.

Chief Kruger, one of the greatest and grandest of firemen, met his death in Canal Street by falling through a wellhole left unguarded and open by the tenant of a building that caught fire. A jury in the Supreme Court in New York County awarded to his family \$25,000 for the loss of his life. If the city of New York paid at this ratio for the crippled and injured and deaths occasioned by the wellholes or pole holes in fire houses, its annual expenditure would be approximately a quarter of a million.

It would permit a fireman to attend church as often as his conscience requires.

The system would provide for a working force always awake, always on duty, equal to the working force now on duty, al-

though half of the time in bed. It would do away with the monkeyshine tactics of getting ready where not needed, and would save the time necessarily consumed in waiting for the present gong signal to operate without a cent increase in cost.

It would provide a reserve force to protect and take care of the city when the fire fighters were exhausted from hard duty.

It would also do away with the necessity of maintaining a dormitory in which a drunken fireman may hide his breach of

discipline by claiming that he was asleep.

It will do away with the clubhouse features and the roof gardens recently installed, all to the great advantage of the city in reducing the expense of maintenance and the cost of con-

And last, but not least, it would bring health and contentment to the fire fighters and thus add to their efficiency.

That there is something wrong with the present system is dis-

closed by the following things:
First, There is a widespread discontent among the force.

More than 80 per cent demand this relief.

Second. The statistics of the fire department show that the health of the firemen is being outrageously impaired by the

present system.

After five years a fireman is entitled to examination for promotion. After three years a policeman is entitled to examina-tion for promotion. The policeman has a three-platoon system, spends one-third of his time on the streets or on stationary post, where he is subjected to the inclemency of the weather, yet the figures show that only 3 firemen are entitled to promotion to 17 policemen. And this on account of the physical test alone. The law has dealt harshly with the fireman.

Labor law, section 3, provides eight hours shall constitute a legal day's work for all classes and employees in this State, except those engaged in farm and domestic service, unless

otherwise provided by law, etc.

In the case of McNulty v. City of New York (60 A. D., 25; affirmed 168 N. Y., 117) it was held that a driver of a cart in the street-cleaning department of the City of New York was

protected by this section. But in the case of Sweeney v. Fire Commissioner (78 A. D., 460; affirmed 175 N. Y., 470) it was held that a driver in the fire department was not so protected by said section, nor was any other member of the uniformed force, because by the city charter the commissioner is given the authority to regulate

the hours of duty of all members.

In the street-cleaning department 8 hours constitutes a day's work, and the employees working overtime get extra pay.

But in the fire department 20 hours constitutes a day's work,

and the employees working overtime get no extra pay.

In the police department each man is required to do 8 hours of tour duty in 24 hours, and 8 hours of reserve duty in 72 hours; the remainder of his time he may spend at home.

But in the fire department each man is required to do 20 hours of continuous duty and is with his family only one day

The laws of this State prohibit the corporations to require employees in brickyards to work more than 10 hours per day, exclusive of meals.

But the fire commissioner can and often does require members of the uniformed force to work 24 to 48 hours without meals.

Street surface and elevated railroad employees are not permitted to work more than 10 consecutive hours including half hour for dinner, on the theory that longer hours would be dangerous to lives of passengers.

But in the fire department employees are required to work 20 hours exclusive of meals, on the theory that the longer they work and the less time they have to cat and sleep the more efficient they become.

Upon steam roads more than 30 miles in length, 10 hours out of 12 is a legal day, and where an employee has worked for 24 hours consecutively he can not again work until he has had at least 8 hours' rest.

But a fireman is required to work 20 hours every day, and fatigue is no excuse for failure to report at every call, whether he is needed or not.

Block-system telegraph and telephone operators may not be on duty more than 8 hours out of 24, and a violation is punishable by fine.

But a fireman is required to work 20 hours out of 24, and if he fails to respond to continuous duty he is punished by fine or discharge.

A drug clerk is not permitted to work more than 70 hours per week, and his day must be consecutive and allow 1 hour for each meal, and he shall not sleep in the store.

But a fireman must work 20 hours per day and must sleep in the stable.

barber is prohibited from working on Sunday by statute. and the court of appeals has held the same constitutional on the ground that it tended to promote the public welfare.

But the fireman is off duty only 1 Sunday in 35 days.

Certainly upon a statement of the law the fireman has not been given a square deal.

The present commissioner, in his opposition to the proposed ordinance, has, with his characteristic play to publicity, sent to the public press his argument, and it seems to me that the fair way to deal with this subject is to take up the various points raised by him and discuss them with this committee.

He says:

The chief of department, with an experience of more than a quarter of a century in the uniformed force as officer and man, and who has served in every grade and rank, from the lowest to the highest, concurs with me in the opinion that this is a pernicious measure, diametrically opposed to the best interests of the department, of the city at large, and of the members of the uniformed force.

The chief of department is John Kenlon, who, while deputy chief, installed the two-platoon system in the marine division of the fire department, and who, as chief of the fire department, has continued the two-platoon system in that branch of the service, notwithstanding the fact that he has had authority to discontinue it. It therefore does not seem reasonable that the chief could honestly and sincerely believe as the commissioner says he does, for if he does he is certainly guilty of a breach of duty in continuing a system in the department where he established it.

He says:

Every fire commissioner and chief of department since consolidation, in 1898, has strenuously and successfully opposed such attempted legislation, convinced that its enactment into law meant the demoralization of the uniformed force and the loss of prestige as the finest fire-fighting organization in the country.

As I said at the outset, it is conceded by those in favor of this measure that the chiefs of department have fought them, but the fighting has been a personal fight based upon the theory that the granting of this relief demanded by the subordinates of the department would be a defeat of the chiefs of the department and in their mind would tend to demoralize the uniformed force. But this is a day of individual justice; the day of autocratic rule has passed.

He says:

In May, 1913, a bill which incorporated the same features as the present ordinance was sneaked through the State legislature.

In February, 1913, three months prior to the date on which it was sneaked through, Commissioner Johnson, over his signature, wrote to the chairman of the city's committee of the senate at Albany and laid before him the commissioner's objection to the passage of the bill. A hearing was held, the bill was reported out, and passed both houses of the legislature.

He says:

It was vetoed by the governor after a strong protest by the officials of the New York City fire department and by several organizations, including the Retail Dry Goods Association, the Central Mercantile Association, the Merchants' Association, the City Club, and the Board of Trade and Transportation.

To which I might add, none of whom are usually supporting a law proposed for the benefit of the man who works, and that the governor vetoed the bill notwithstanding he favored granting the relief, because it was in violation of the home-rule law, one of his pet measures.

He says:

The division of the uniformed force into two distinct bodies would, in my opinion, be analogous to the division of an army brigade into two parts with distinct hours of duty.

The firemen are not soldiers, and never have been. They are civil employees. They have had placed upon them many of the onerous duties placed upon military men, but none of the comforts and none of the benefits. If the firemen are to be a military body, make them such. Furnish them homes. Furnish them meals at regular hours. Furnish them clothes. Furnish them their furlough, and let them off duty when they are not needed, and provide a relief when worked to exhaustion by duty. If they are to be civil employees, treat them as such. Permit them to have a home life. Permit them to have rest and recreation as other civil employees, and hold him responsible for his civil duties as any other civil employee.

He says:

In the fire service, as in the military service, the members should be accessible at all times except when necessarily absent for meals or on leave for purposes of rest or recreation for periods of short duration, and these absences should be taken in rotation, so that the number of men on duty should never be less than that necessary to officer and man the company in a thoroughly efficient manner. That this is so will appear from a consideration of the peculiar character of the fire service.

I never heard of a military service in which the men were absent for their meals. The two-platoon system meets all the other conditions.

He says:

The department is engaged in a battle with a foe that never sleeps.

But under the present system the whole of the fire department on duty, with the exception of a watchman in each house, lies down to sleep every night at the same time. Under the twoplatoon system the same fire-fighting force would be wideawake at all times.

He says:

All other kinds of similar service of trained men can count in some degree upon the exigencies of their service and when and where their extreme exertion of labor will be required. With the fire department this is not so.

True, to a large extent. But in all such work, where they can not determine in advance when the peak load will arrive, there is always a reserve force, except in the fire department.

He says:

The explosion of a gas pipe, the falling of a wall, or the careless dropping of a lighted match may in the shortest interval of time start a conflagration the extent of which can only be limited by the force and promptness with which it is attacked.

Yet for half of the time, under the present system, the firefighting force of New York City is in bed. Under the twoplatoon system the fire-fighting force would be awake, dressed, and ready to respond instantly.

Neither battles nor fires can be fought with limited hours of service.

But all good generals provide in the organization of their army for a reserve force that can be brought up when his men are exhausted from fighting their enemy.

Men can not be accorded the right to go off duty when duty presses, or to ask relief therefrom when engaged in a hand-to-hand contest, or to request leaves of absence by reason of having been detained when the time comes for their platoon to go out of service, without greatly reducing the efficiency and the morale of the department and introducing added complications and difficulties into its management.

With this we agree, and so does the ordinance, for it provides that under such conditions the commissioner may require the attendance at such times of all men.

He says:

Under the two-platoon system an unfortunate division of responsibility would take place. One house and one set of apparatus would be operated alternately by two sets of officers and firemen, and it would oftentimes be impracticable to fix definitely the responsibility for any work that might be neglected.

There is nothing in the bill to prevent the present method. which is that a watchman who goes on duty makes report of the condition of all of the property and apparatus, and his report goes.

He says:

Alarms come in at all hours, and would doubtless arrive at one of the periods of changing platoons. The confusion which would then unavoidably result as to which body of men should perform the service would, in my judgment, be very serious and result in errors for which it would be difficult to establish the responsibility.

He overlooks the fact that in such an event both platoons would respond under the proposed ordinance.

He says:

It might be alleged that in case of necessity reinforcements from the platoon off duty could readily be obtained. This, however, is entirely erroneous and misleading. The units of the platoon off duty would scatter immediately, either to their homes or to places of amusement, often outside of the borough in which their company is located. It would clearly be impossible to reach even a small percentage of their number and even if reached an excuse of illness might operate to prevent attendance.

No such contention has been made, but an emergency squad equipped with automobiles could always be on hand and easy of access, and there is nothing in the law to prevent the establishment of such a relief force.

He says:

The necessary increase in force would introduce a number of entirely green and untrained men into the service which, distributed among the various companies, would mean a large percentage of the men assigned thereto without experience in fire service. It is an axiom of old officers that it requires five years for a fireman thoroughly to learn his duty under present conditions when he serves at all times except when on vacation leave. Under the two-platoon system it is safe to say that he could not obtain the necessary experience in less than 8 or 10 years.

The fire department is at present being continuously added to and has its green men scattered throughout the department. We claim, as will appear later, that the two-platoon system will not cause any great increase in the number of men. Certainly a man can learn more when awake than when asleep.

He says:

Another serious danger is involved in the proposition. It is a well-known fact that the larger portion of the cases of breach of discipline and violation of the rules and regulations of the department are committed by members of the force on the day following their day off.

To which we say that the irregular life that the fireman To which we say that the irregular line that the irreman leads—the fact that they go without meals and without proper sleep—tends to exhaust their nervous energy and creates a desire for stimulant. With regular lives this desire would decrease. That the lodging-house feature of the fire stable tends to foster the drinking habit. The two-platoon system would reduce and not increase this evil. No such trouble has been found in the marine division.

He says:

A certain percentage of the uniformed force is not free from habits of occasional overindulgence in the use of stimulants. These men are frequently arrainged on trial for this reason.

Those men under the two-platoon system, or the one platoon, or any other system, should be dismissed. The city has no occasion to employ men who report for duty when their senses are beclouded by the use of intoxicating liquor.

He says:

They find this period of relaxation from the restrain of duty a temptation which they can not resist. Speaking of this class of men, if every 24-hour day carried with it a period of 10 to 14 hours release from restraint, the increase of trouble from this source would undoubtedly be very considerable and the discipline of the department to a corresponding extent injuriously affected.

But he cites no such condition in the marine division of his own department, where the two-platoon system is now in force. And it is hardly to be supposed that a man who works 7 days in the week and has 10 to 14 hours off each day will not spend at least 8 of it in sleep, 2 of it at his meals, and with the present system of assigning the men far distant to their homes, 2 more on their way to and from their place of business. Little or no time is then left in which he could indulge if he was so inclined.

This is practically the argument propounded by Pharaoh when Moses and Aaron asked for leave of absence for the Israelites that they might worship their God. It did not maintain then,

and I don't think it will maintain now.

He says:

But there is still another important and controlling consideration operative. The tendency of the proposed ordinance would be to change entirely the character of the uniformed force. Their service is now regarded as a profession and not as a trade. They recognize in their high pay the generous provision for their pension and for the care of their wives and children in the event of their death, in the opportunity always open to them of promotion to a higher grade and rank, with proportionately increased compensation, conditions which differentiate them from an organization of mechanics of any class, and which they accept as satisfactory compensation for the dangers and risks to which they are constantly exposed.

To which we say that to make their lives more pleasant surely will not cause firemen to have any less pride in their work; that their pay has not been increased except to the fourth-grade men since 1895; that the generous provision to their wives and children has been curtailed by the present commissioner by his habit of obtaining an affidavit from a recruit that he will not join the Firemen's Benevolent Association, which pays within two hours from the time of the death of a member the sum of \$650 to his family. As to his opportunity for promotion, only 3 firemen to 17 policemen are capable of taking the physical examination for promotion after the same period of service.

He says:

The two-platoon system would practically make of the uniformed force a labor union. There is nothing to be urged against the propriety of labor unions in mechanical trades. With such bodies the continual struggle for fewer hours of work and higher rates of pay is legitimate. With a fireman such an ambition is totally contrary to the instincts of his profession. The alm of the vast majority of the firemen is and should be to perform the greatest possible measure of faithful and notable service and to obtain the rewards justly flowing therefrom. When this ambition is lowered by the constant efforts for fewer hours of duty and less service the high standing of the New York fire department will be a thing of the past.

The happiness and contentment of the firemen and their wives and children is amply demonstrated by their outpouring here to-day in protest against the present methods enforced by the present commissioner. Labor unions have found that in organization is their only salvation. But in the fire department organizations are under the ban.

He says:

The two-platoon system, it should be remembered, was given a thorough trial in the third battalion of this department in 1904. The test began at 8 a. m., December 5, 1904, and continued until February 25, 1905, when it was abandoned.

And it is claimed on the part of the firemen that the test was instituted for the purpose of defeating the proposition; that it was not a fair trial, and there are men here to-day ready and

willing to tell you from their personal experience the grounds upon which this charge is made.

The two-platoon system has been adopted in Butte, Mont.; Kansas City, Kans.; Kansas City, Mo.; Lincoln, Nebr.; Omaha, Nebr.; Pueblo, Colo.; Seattle, Wash.; Yonkers, N. Y.; Youngstown, Ohio; and in the marine division of the fire department of the city of New York. Wherever tried it has been found a

It is to be borne in mind that the additional expense incident to the operation of the two-platoon system would be very great even were its introduction considered advisable from the standpoint of the public good or welfare of the officers and men themselves.

To this we reply that there would be no such increase. illustrate: At present, in a company of 15 men, during the day 3 men are off duty on a 24-hour leave every day; 5 men are off duty on meal leave at all hours; and, as a general average, 1 man is off duty on vacation, special leave, or for sickness or special assignment, from which we find that there is on the average, out of 15 men in a company, only 6 men actually on duty, and none of them properly fed and all drowsy from lack of sleep. And at night 3 men are off duty on 24-hour leave, 2 men are off duty on 12-hour night leave, and by reason of special assignments to theaters 2 or more are off duty on vacation, special assignment, special leave, or sick leave—an average of 7 men off duty and 8 on duty, and all but 1 lie down in their clothes endeavoring to sleep, as none have had an opportunity to sleep during the day.

Under the two-platoon system we would have half the men

on duty in the day and half at night, all awake, fully dressed, and ready for business without any extra increase in expense, and with a corresponding decrease of expense to the city in the elimination of the costly construction of the fire houses to provide dormitories and club rooms and their equipment and maintenance.

He says:

The persent salaries paid to the uniformed force are based upon the amount of service now rendered. If the quantity of this service were cut in half, or measurably reduced, it might lead to a proportionate decrease in salaries all along the line, and this would necessarily result in a lowering of the pension schedule.

To which we reply: First, Mr. Johnson recently presented to the board of estimates an application for an increase of the salaries of the uniformed force upon the ground that they were underpaid for their present hours of service; and second, the men would perform more hours of duty awake under the twoplatoon system than they do at present.

He says:

The treatment accorded officers and men in the matter of time off with pay is moreover very liberal. Chief officers are granted an annual vacation leave of 30 days, and 1 day off in every 5 for purposes of rest and recreation. Company officers are allowed an annual vacation leave of 21 days, I day off in every 5, and three short leaves of 12 hours each monthly, which may be taken in conjunction with the regular leaves if conditions warrant. Engineers and firemen are accorded an annual vacation of 14 days, I day off in every 5, and four short leaves monthly of 12 hours' duration each. All officers and men are likewise given full pay when suffering from illness or injury.

But he neglects to say that the balance of the time they are kept in the fire house that their meal hours are irregular; that they must sleep in their clothes, and that they respond to alarms half awake and rush out in the cold air with their bodies covered with perspiration developed in a warm bed, and otherwise suffer hardships unnecessarily imposed upon them in their long hours of duty.

He says:

The conditions of service in the uniformed force are as fair and reasonable as it is possible to make them in a body necessarily organized and conducted on a military basis, and the high standard of efficiency now obtaining therein should be maintained at all hazards.

We say that the conditions of the service of the uniformed force are as unfair and unreasonable as it is possible to make them in a body organized and conducted on a civil basis; that the high standard now obtaining would be improved by better treatment of the men; that the force is not organized on a military basis.

He says:

The passage of a two-platoon erdinance at this or any other time would be disastrous not only to the fire department but to the public at large, the safety of whose lives and property is dependent upon the efficiency of the fire-fighting force of this city.

We say that the passage of the two-platoon ordinance at this time is an act of humanity; that it is necessary and requiredyes, demanded—not only by the fire department, their wives and children, but by the public at large, the safety of whose lives and property is dependent upon the efficiency of the fire-fighting force of this city.

Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK BUCHANAN, OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, May 25, 1916.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I have taken the occasion a number of times recently to state to this House my stern opposition and disapproval of the pernicious propaganda that has been and is now being carried on in this country under the name of "preparedness." I am convinced that it is a scheme of the munition traffickers and allied manufacturers to stir up a false sentiment among the people in their desperate effort to harness this country with a system of militarism which history has proven always leads to disaster and the decline of civi-I am also firmly convinced that the great masses of the people of this country are opposed to this propaganda.

This crowd of parasites upon civilization and the progress of humanity, this sordid crew of money-mongers, who would sacrifice the flower of our manhood and coin their precious blood into filthy dollars to appease their voracious appetites for money and power, are now cunningly planning a monstrous parade in Chicago, where they will lash every helpless breadwinner into line under threat of discharge, and hope thereby to force their stamp of approval upon this criminal and unnecessary expenditure of the people's money under the name of so-called preparedness.

As a further indication of the firm opposition to this propaganda that exists among the great masses of the wealth producers of our country I hereby submit the following resolution passed by the Chicago Federation of Labor:

Resolutions adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor Sunday May 21, 1916.

Whereas the Chicago Federation of Labor, at its meeting on Sunday, February 6, 1916, defined its position on the subject of military preparedness by the adoption of the report of the executive board on that subject; and

Whereas in acordance with the official position of this body as defined in this report, Secretary E. N. Nockels has refused to cooperate with the demonstration known as the preparedness parade, to be held in Chicago on June 3; and

"Whereas the position of the Chicago Federation of Labor, as defined in its report of Sunday, February 6, 1916, has been further justified by recent events, of which the following

are illustrations:

First. The organization on May 17 by the National Association of Manufacturers of a National Federation of Employers, to include the employers of the 8,000,000 workers in the United States. One of the chief objects of the federation, as stated in the press reports, is to 'present a solid front to the American Federation of Labor in battles between capital and labor.'

Second. The passage by the New York Legislature of the most drastic legislation providing for a system of compulsory militarism, beginning with school children of 8 years of age and including every male citizen in New York State between 8 and 45 years of age, and the signature of these military bills by the governor of New York on Monday, May 15, 1916, two days after the employers' stampede for militarism known as the preparedness parade was held in New York City, Saturday, May 13.
"Third. The adoption by the school management committee of

the Chicago Board of Education, on Thursday, May 18, of the report of the military committee, against which the representatives of the Chicago Federation of Labor protested, which provides for military training in the Chicago high schools, and which report will be before the board of educa-

tion for adoption on May 24.

"Fourth. The exposure by the Hon. CLYDE H. TAVENNER, Congressman from Illinois in the United States Congress, on May 3, 1916, of the world-wide war trust, showing the criminal conspiracy between the commercial interests which fatten on war and their creatures in high governmental positions to fasten upon the people the burden of militarism under the guise of 'preparedness': Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Chicago Federation of Labor reiterates its position on preparedness as defined in its report of Sunday, February 6, 1916: That we are opposed to the introduction of military training in our public high schools and demand ownership of all munitions of war; and be it further

"Resolved, That we are opposed to the military preparedness being forced upon this country by the employing and big business interests, determined upon the destruction of organized labor;

and be it further

"Resolved, That this federation indorse the action of its secretary, E. N. Nockels, in refusing to cooperate in the preparedness parade to be held in Chicago on June 3, which is being promoted by such 'friends' of the workingman as John A. Spoor, representative of the Banking. Street Railway, and Beef Trusts; Sam Insull, of the Electric Light Trust; Bernard E. Sunny, of the Telephone Trust; and John M. Glenn, of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association.

"Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the members of the board of education, the city council, the legislature, Members of Congress, and the President of the United States.'

Respectfully submitted.

CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR.

I also insert a news item and editorial from the Chicago Day

Book of May 22, 1916.

The Chicago Day Book is the only daily publication in Chicago that refuses paid advertisements, and therefore can not be influenced by the beneficiaries of the extortionate profits in war traffic, and consequently expresses the judgment, sentiment, and aspirations of the great working masses.

This editorial is from the pen of Ed. D. Cochran, the editor

of the Day Book, who has the reputation as a fighter for the cause of humanity throughout his entire career, and can not be influenced by the criminal rich of our country:

[From the Day Book, May 22, 1916.]

CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR UNANIMOUSLY OPPOSED TO PREPAREDNESS PARADE.

"Chicago Federation of Labor unanimously decided to oppose the June 3 preparedness parade, after deciding that democracy

and militarism can not be combined.

Labor leaders look upon the parade as a signal demonstration of capital against labor and speculations on the real hidden meaning of the preparedness campaign were made by the speakers. Some saw an attempt to pervert the minds of school chil-Others saw immigration opened up from the East and the betrayal of the American workingman to the little yellow man. The resolution of protest will be mailed to the board of education, city council, and members of the legislature.

"Federation was shocked when Miss Margaret Haley, delegate

from the Teachers' Federation, told of five bills recently secretly passed in New York Legislature. They provide a military education for every child over 8 years of age; the creation of a State military commission, and empower the governor to draft any amount of men he pleases from the citizens of State to serve in newly formed 'reserve militia' for riots, tumult, and to these ends.

"The only New York paper which mentioned these bills was the New York Call.

"Delograte West."

Delegate Walt, Spanish War veteran, read the list of names on the preparedness committee and told how these 'junkers had refused to fight for the United States in both the Civil and Spanish Wars, and how they would refuse to fight if they managed to find a fee for this country.

"President Fitzpatrick called the parade a 'symbol of sci-

entific murder.

Other delegates told how the army of unemployed was out of business and how much more it cost to break a strike with the high cost of strike breakers and sluggers. Still other delegates, men who served in foreign armies, warned against the doctrine of militarism."

[From the Day Book, May 22.]

COCHRAN MAKES SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THAT PREPAREDNESS PARADE. [By N. D. Cochran.]

"Many large employers of labor in Chicago are taking a great interest in the preparedness parade. The manufacturers are The papers tell us that a great American flag now flies from the roof of the Chicago Telephone Co,'s building, and that Commonwealth Edison has converted a big electric sign into a huge American flag. There are other indications of flag patriotism by our captains of industry and large exploiters of

"They want a big standing army, one of the biggest navies in the world, and there's a vigorous campaign on for universal military training.

"Of course, the clerks, mechanics, laboring men, farmers, and the sons of the working and middle classes will have to man the battleships and fill out the ranks of the Army. For the battleships can not sail without sailors and an army is no good without privates.

"And the enlisted men must be healthy. They must have good teeth, good lungs, and a strong enough body to stand the

wear and tear of army life.
"One big reason for England's unpreparedness at the beginning of the big war was the physical unfitness of so many of her men who otherwise were available for the army. Thousands upon thousands of them, and their fathers before them, had been so thoroughly exploited that they couldn't come up to the physical test.

"So if we are going in for preparedness now is the time to find out about the physical fitness of our soldiers-to-be. If wages have been too low for them to have plenty of wholesome food and to live in sanitary homes in wholesome surroundings, we had better get busy on such important preliminary pre-

paredness

"It might help some if the physically unfit-those who have been made physically unfit by overexploitation-were to join in the parade. We could have one brigade of tubercular men and boys—yes; and women, too. There might be a division of men and boys made cripples by our fierce industrial system. Also a division of defectives for each of our occupational dis-We could easily have in the parade many thousands of eases. boys and girls taken out of school too young and put to work in mills, stores, and factories, where their souls and bodies are put into the machines that grind out millionaires.

"Another interesting and educational exhibit would be a division of girls from the tenderloin-especially those who made

their way thither through the low-wage route.

"We would like to see Stanley Field, John G. Shedd, Jimmie Simpson, and the trustees of the Fleld estate march at the head of the army of Field employees, each division carrying a banner indicating the wages they are paid.

"Similar divisions might be made up by the other department

stores and the mail-order houses.

"Og Armour, Art Meeker, and the other millionaire hog butchers could march at the head of the stockyards division, with banners indicating the wages the butchers pay and expect their employees to manufacture and raise American citizens on.

"Why, this Chicago preparedness parade can make the New York thing look like a parade by the Mulligan Guards-if we make it a real preparedness parade, and show the world just how we are making American citizens in Chicago and what kind of American citizens we are making.

"We should turn loose in our parade all the inmates of the blind asylums, those for the deaf and dumb, our jails, hospitals,

and all institutions for the care of our defectives.

"And don't forget the police-let them head the parade, each copper carrying the club and gun he uses over the heads of the men and boys while helping them learn to love the law, their country, and their flag.

"Let our captains of industry mobilize their thugs, sluggers, gunmen, and strikebreakers, including those of all of our patri-

otic publishers of preparedness newspapers.

"If we are going to show how Chicago is preparing for preparedness, let us do the job up right. Let us show the world the truth about this great industrial, financial, and social melting pot.

"Then, perhaps, some of our patriotic captains of industry will see that when we start in to prepare to defend our home and fireside and country that we must begin with the babies and insist on the right of every babe born in this country to be born under such conditions as will give it a fair chance to become a healthy, robust American man or woman. And that means that its father must be paid a wage that will enable him to take decent care of the mother and of the children she bears for her country

"I'm for preparedness—you bet. But I want it to be the eal thing. I want it to begin before the baby is born and to real thing. stay right with the baby until all its physical and mental possibilities are developed to the highest and the best.

"I'm for the preparedness that enables young men to love and marry and to raise babies that are healthy, happy, and

strong.

"I'm not for the preparedness that wastes millions upon millions in building and maintaining jails, workhouses, penitentiaries, hospitals, asylums, and other institutions to care for the defective Americans that we are bringing into this vale of tears every day of our national existence and industrial development.

"I'm not for the preparedness that breeds consumptives, syphilitics, or the otherwise physically defective and unfit.

But I'm afraid Chicago's preparedness parade will cover up poverty, disease, vice, and crime, and merely scratch the surface of national preparedness by making it a display of flags and blinded patriotism, beneficial mainly to the manufacturers of arms, armament, and the munitions of war.

"We'll show the world a pretty picture of State Street, but won't let it look back o' the yards."

The Shipping Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM.

OF MARYLAND.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Friday, May 19, 1916.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, I feel that the bill now under consideration, H. R. 15455, generally referred to as the shipping bill, is one which unquestionably meets the sentiment of the country. That the Government should take a hand in shipping matters is generally admitted. I believe this bill will reflect great credit upon the Democratic Party as another piece of constructive legislation. The terms of the bill are fair and honest, and I believe it will be of inestimable benefit to the country at large and solve many of the difficult problems appertaining to the merchant marine and shipping.

The bill before us is almost wholly different from the shippurchase bill of the last session, inasmuch as the previous bili was in a strict sense a ship-purchase bill, the principal purpose of which was the purchase and operation of ships in the mer-chant-marine transportation by the Government, while the present bill is to create a shipping board, naval auxiliary, merchant marine, and regulate carriers by water engaged in the foreign and interstate commerce of the United States; a far broader, more important, and comprehensive bill, and covering many

HISTORY OF MERCHANT MARINE.

There is no more pathetic chapter in the legislative history than that of our merchant marine. At the close of the Revolu-tionary War, our forefathers found that 75 per cent of our oversea commerce was being carried in foreign vessels, and with the ability and foresight which characterized them, immediately set about to transfer that control to where it properly belonged. This they succeeded in doing by reducing the duty on all imports in American vessels 10 per cent, fixing a tonnage tax of only 6 cents a ton on American vessels, of 30 cents on Americanbuilt foreign vessels, and 50 cents a ton on foreign-built foreignowned vessels. Through this method they so stimulated American shipping that within five years American ships were carrying 90 per cent of our foreign commerce. Thus we were rescued from foreign competitors and succeeded in placing the trade in the hands of American shipowners.

Then a later generation, feeling that our position was so secure that nothing could wrest from our grasp the control of the seas and not satisfied with carrying 90 per cent of the commerce, so modified our laws as to remove the preferential duties, and in our efforts to capture the remaining 10 per cent we lost the 90 per cent we had been able to secure. Since that time we have seen, through competition with the subsidized lines of Great Britain and other foreign countries, our shipping decline until we carry in American bottoms a very small percentage of

our foreign commerce.

EXORBITANT FREIGHT RATES.

For the last two years ships have charged such exorbitant rates that the freight charges for one passage have been as large as the worth of the ship itself. The cost of shipping a bushel of wheat from New York to Liverpool two years ago was 5 cents; now it is 48 cents, an increase of 43 cents. The same thing is true of other commodities. If the freight rates to-day were the same as they were two years ago our farmers would receive a substantial part of this difference in a higher price for their grain and other products and the consumer would also share in the benefit of the lesser freight rate. Statistics show that it is clear that there is close connection existing between ocean freight rates and the price the farmer receives and the consumer pays. It is true that we are getting good prices for wheat now, but as the foreign market is pay-ing enormously high prices, there seems to be no good reason for allowing the shipping combine to take advantage of the crop shortage in Europe and the ship shortage on the high seas

to increase freight rates from 100 to 1,600 per cent.

Last year the absence of shipping facilities, together with increased freight rates, cost the American farmer and manufacturer \$300,000,000. Shall we continue to let this situation prevail and declare ourselves unable to protect the interests of America? Not only have the increased rates on ocean freight affected us, but many of the shippers have been unable to secure ships to transport their products. Can we afford to allow our mercantile business to be ruined for lack of facilities? I am informed that a number of manufacturers have reported to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries that they are deprived of the privilege of bidding for foreign business because of the lack of ships to transport their products. It only requires an examination of the various industries of our country to see how they have been crippled by the lack of merchant marine. The absence of shipping has also caused the railroads to place an embargo on the shipment of freight to the Atlantic ports for export, and thousands of cars are tied up in the vicinity of the various export cities, the grain elevators crowded, and so forth, all of which hampers the producer and business man and affects the trade generally of the country.

DECREASE IN SHIPPING TONNAGE.

Since the beginning of the great war now raging in Europe, through the ships being sunk, interned, and diverted to the purposes of war, together with the elimination of the merchant marine of the central powers and the fact that to-day the shipyards of Europe are busily engaged in constructing vessels for naval and military purposes, the decrease of the shipping tonnage has been enormous. In addition to this, the belligerents are constantly diverting more of their ships for the purposes of war, which has resulted in the commercial world facing the gravest shipping crisis history has ever recorded. From present prospects there is every reason to believe that this condition will continue to grow worse until peace is once more restored; and when that will be no man can even prophesy with any degree of accuracy.

NECESSARY TO PROTECT OUR INTERESTS.

Furthermore, unless we have an independent merchant marine before the end of the war, or at least in the immediate future, our commercial position will be even worse than it is at the present time, for when the allies and the central powers, as they undoubtedly will, begin to wage their commercial war after the military operations are concluded, which will doubtless exceed any heretofore experienced, nations possessing no merchant marine and a scant supply of merchant vessels will be entirely at the mercy of the commercial powers, who are bound to discriminate against us and in favor of the merchants and business men of their own lands, causing our people not only untold financial loss but business inconvenience and stagnation.

THE HOPE OF OUR FOREIGN TRADE.

In view of the present aspects of the shipping situation there is little wonder that President Wilson has urged Congress to take the shipping bill under immediate consideration. If our foreign trade is to be saved, then we must supply ourselves with sufficient vessels to export our products. If this country hopes to avail itself of the splendid opportunities of trade with South America, the Orient, and so forth, it must provide itself with the proper shipping facilities, so that it will not be dependent upon the foreign powers who are also competitors and who would be in position to charge us exorbitant and often prohibitive rates on products intended for the world markets and would only accept for transportation such goods as needed by them. If foreign Governments are to assume control of their shipping in combination with one another, it is indeed time that the United States should endeavor to protect itself against such combination. This, to my mind, can most adequately be accomplished and independence on the high seas be best achieved by enacting into law the present shipping bill.

For over 40 years private capital has not undertaken to build up a merchant marine for the United States, and for the good reason that it preferred to invest in railroads, manufacturing, and various other enterprises intended to develop our country

and which presented more attractive inducements.

NAVAL AUXILIARY.

In addition to the immense value a merchant marine would be to our manufacturers and farmers the statements contained in an article by Hon. Carl Vrooman, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, which follows, shows the dire need of ships to supplement the United States Navy. Mr. Vrooman said in part: NEED OF NAVAL AUXILIARIES.

Strange as it may sound, the United States at the present time does not really possess a navy. It possesses a number of splendid battleships, with a hopelessiy inadequate contingent of the other necessary naval units. But battleships do not constitute a navy any more than a collection of bass drums would constitute a band. It takes many different kinds of instruments to make a band. It requires a number of different parts to make an automobile. It takes something more than wheels to make a wagon. It takes something more than wheels to make a statesman. And it requires a number of other essential units besides battleships to make an efficient fighting navy. A navy without scout ships and aeroplanes would be a navy without system of the naval auxiliaries of various sorts would be a navy without supplies. A navy without submarines and adequate means of defense against submarines in time of war would be a joke, short and to the point. In other words, if we are to have a real may to defend our coasts and trade routes, we must have a navy that is complete, that is equipped with every feature that will add to its fighting efficiency. Without auxiliaries a navy in the presence of an enemy at sea would soon become a hopeless and helpless aggregation of floating batteries.

During the Spanish War we squandered millions of dollars purchasing nondescript bottoms in a hasty and hysterical effort to supply our deficiency in the way of an auxiliary merchant marine. We paid, as a rule, much more than these vessels were worth, and after the war sold them for whatever we could get. But not only did we thus squander immense sums of the people's money in this foolish and futile operation, but the efficiency of this scratch collection of vessels was so low that had our contest been with a first-class naval power instead of with a nation even less powerful on the sea than ourselves the weakness of our auxiliaries might easily have resulted in disaster and defeat for us. It would be not only incredibly costly, but criminal and perhap

Thus it will be seen that if we are to have a real navy to protect our coasts and commerce we must have one that is complete in all respects and bountifully supplied with colliers, scout ships, and numerous auxiliaries, without which a navy at sea would soon become a helpless collection of ships at the mercy of the enemy's battle fleet.

SHIPBUILDING AND OPERATING.

It is generally conceded that merchant vessels at this time can be built in American shipyards at less cost than in foreign shippards, and unless conditions change materially in Europe at the end of the war all vessels for the construction or purchase of which provision has been made by this bill will be built in American shipyards. Then, too, assuming that our typical new freighter is equipped with the modern type of Diesel engine, burning crude oils by internal combustion, there will be certain elements of economy of operation incident to this type of propulsion which will enable us to compete with the world. For instance:

First. A smaller number of men will be required, thus reduc-

ing the cost of wages of the operating force,
Second. The cost of fuel necessary for operation will be less. Third. Owing to the less space occupied by the propelling ma-chinery and less space necessary for storing fuel, which it has been demonstrated can be carried in a ship's double bottom, a space in steam-propelled vessels heretofore utilized only for water ballast, there is a great gain in freight-carrying capacity.

Perhaps a few figures may better explain the additional earn-

ing capacity of these new ships when constructed:

Typical new American ships with Diesel engines, American crew, American wages, and American standard of food versus typical existing foreign competitor with average efficiency of steam propulsion, European crew, fair wages, and fair food, both vessels making five round trips a year between the east coast of the United States and the east coast of South America, a distance of 5,000 miles:

Increased annual cost for American ship:

Wages of 44 officers and men

\$8,520
Food, at 50 cents per day instead of 30 cents

\$11.724

\$11,724

Decreased annual cost for American ship, saving in cost of oil 7,672

Net annual loss for American ship over foreign______ Annual increase of earning capacity of American ship from 400 tons additional freight space_____ 4, 052

Operating returns in favor of American ship, per an-27, 948

Of course our foreign competitors can probably also build these modern ships, but it can readily be seen that they are not very likely to consign to the scrap heap their existing fleet of coal-burning vessels, which will give us a period of time before their vessels could attain the same degree of efficiency as the proposed American fleet of new ships. We would certainly by that time be able to meet all contingencies.

The United States is peculiarly well endowed by its natural resources to enter into a world-wide competition in shipping, since it will be reduced to a battle for the supremacy in economical equipment. Oil will be the most vital factor in this competition on account of its many advantages, and, as is well known,

60 per cent of the world's supply is within the borders of the United States. It is a matter of common knowledge that American shipowners are deterred at present from equipping their new vessels for oil burning owing to the extreme fluctuations in the price of oil. Fortunately, the Government has reserved large tracts of oil-producing lands from the public domains, and should private producers tend to deter the development of our merchant marine, it is possible to resort to the Government's own oil supply.

THE SHIPPING BOARD.

The shipping board created under this bill is in many respects similar to the Interstate Commerce Commission, which exercises the authority over the railroads of the country. It is to be composed of two members of the Cabinet-the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of Commerce-together with five commissioners to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate-men of character and patriotism, who will be drawn from both parties.

It has been said by some members of the Republican Party that this board by abusing its discretion may destroy our commerce, but this I refuse to believe. Then, too, every order of the board affecting the public or an individual is subject to

the review of the courts of the country.

Through the provisions of section 16, which provides that every agreement or modification thereof, every understanding, oral or otherwise, of every combination of carrier or of individual carriers with other carriers, interstate or foreign, so far as they affect us in the United States, shall be filed with the board: said board is advised as to the situation, the relationship of carriers, and so forth, and places them in a position to intelligently discharge their duties. Thus they are able to discreetly and wisely deal with these great issues that are under their direction and control.

In addition to the above the board, under the proposed bill, will have authority to secure information from wherever it desires relating to unjust discrimination, unfair devices employed by competitors, and so forth, and in this manner be able to suggest to Congress those things which will aid the

infant industry.

It is highly improbable that the vast authority invested in the shipping board will be abused. Without the power the board would not be in position to effectually cope with its duties of removing discriminations, overthrowing unfair practices, and those things which are detrimental to the progress of our merchant marine. Then, too, by the opportunities thus set forth. we open up a practically new field to American capital, and by enabling our American citizens to meet their competitors on equal terms, through the various advantageous rates allowed them, we will be able to bring about the much-desired result.

I believe the passage of this bill will add another to the galaxy of splendid constructive measures enacted by Congress

within the last few years.

We have provided the country with a financial system over which our opponents wrestled for more than 30 years and were no nearer the solution at the end of that time than they were in the beginning—a system which has withstood the strain of a world war and has carried the financial and business interests of this country through without even the slightest panic of any kind

The Federal Trade Commission, which guarantees protection to the small as well as the large business interests of the country, has likewise been placed upon the statute books by a

Democratic Congress.

The preparedness of the country by the increase of the Army and Navy and greater coast defenses are fast materializing into laws of the land and will give us protection against inva-

sion from every source.

This shipping bill, as it is called, will give our commercial interests a merchant marine upon which they can depend for the transportation of their goods, wares, and merchandise in times of peace and on which the Government can depend as an auxiliary to the Navy in the time of war. It will result in a very large increase of our merchant marine, and will solve the vexatious problem which has confronted the American people for many decades; will carry our flag into every nook and corner of the globe and take our products and manufactures to the peoples and ports of the world.

As was well said by the President-

We must have ships of our own, not ships of war but ships of peace, carrying goods and carrying much more; creating friendships and rendering indispensable service to all interests on this side of the water. They must move constantly back and forth between the Americas. They are the only shuttles that can weave the delicate fabric of sympathy, comprehension, confidence, and mutual dependence in which we wish to clothe our policy of America for Americans.

Rural Credits.

SPEECH

OF

HON. MICHAEL F. PHELAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 9, 1916.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2986) to provide for a system of rural credits for the United States.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. Chairman, sufficient has been said, I think, about the history of rural credits to obviate the necessity of further comment at this time. As the bill is a long bill dealing with a more or less complex question, I think I can perhaps best use my time in limiting my remarks to an exposition and explanation of the bill.

It will facilitate a clear explanation of the bill to direct attention at the outset to a few primary essentials. In the first place, we have the farmer who wants to borrow money upon his land, and in the second place we have all over this country prospective investors who are very willing and even anxious to invest money in some kind of security which will be absolutely safe. One of the main problems of the bill is to devise some system whereby these two, the farmer borrower and the prospective investor, can be brought together to their mutual advantage. The bill aims to establish such a system by the formation of certain organizations which I shall presently describe.

These organizations are the intermediaries between the borrowers and the investors. They take mortgages from the farmers in return for the funds loaned. Upon the mortgages as security they issue bonds to the investors to obtain the funds to loan the farmers.

The bill provides for two general systems of organizations designed to carry out its purposes. One of these systems is in its nature mutual or cooperative and the other is privately controlled or, as designated in the bill, joint stock. The cooperative system is designated as the Federal land-bank system, and the other as the joint-stock land-bank system.

A Federal farm-loan board has general supervision over the entire land-bank system. The members of this farm-loan board, three in number, are appointed by the President of the United States. The whole system therefore is under governmental control. The board is a nonpartisan board, as it is the intent that there shall be no partisanship or politics in the administration of its affairs. The salaries of its members, who are appointed for terms of 9 years, are \$10,000 each. Under the cooperative system this board divides continental United States into 12 great districts and in each district is placed a Federal farm land bank. The capital of each bank may be supplied originally from private subscriptions of individuals, corporations, or States. In case the whole or any part of the minimum capital, which is \$750,000 for each bank, is not subscribed the Government of the United States subscribes for the balance unsubscribed or the whole as the case may be. It is possible, therefore, under this system for the Government to subscribe for \$750,000 stock in each bank, or \$9,000,000 altogether. Subsequently the original capital, whether subscribed by private individuals, corporations, States, or the United States, is returned to the original subscribers under the provisions of the bill.

The permanent capital is gradually put into these banks by local associations called national farm-loan associations. These farm-loan associations, every time they get money from the land bank to put out on mortgage loans, subscribe for an amount of stock in the land bank equal to 5 per cent, or one-twentieth, of the loan which is made by the land bank through such association.

The administration of these Federal land banks is at the beginning put into the hands of three directors appointed by the farm-loan board. Subsequently, when the various associations have contributed \$100,000 to the capital of a land bank, such land bank is administered by a board of nine directors, six of whom are elected by the local associations and three appointed by the farmers' loan board. When a bank gets well into operation, therefore, these local associations will have six out of nine directors, but the Government will have three directors to retain a proper supervision and control of the system.

Subordinate to these land banks there is provision for the organization of national farm-loan associations. Any 10 or more farmers who desire to borrow money on farm lands may form one of these associations. Nobody can be a stockholder in the association who is not a borrower; hence these associations are made up entirely of borrowers. In order to become a member of the association a man is obliged to subscribe for an amount of stock equal to 5 per cent of the loan he wants and to assume a liability equal to 5 per cent more. He puts up 5 per cent of the amount of his loan, not necessarily in cash. Mr. SMITH of Texas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. Chairman, I should prefer to get through before I answer any questions. I shall perhaps answer them.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. Chairman, I should prefer to get through before I answer any questions. I shall perhaps answer them as I go along, but I prefer to wait. The farmer is not obliged to put up the 5 per cent in cash. It is optional with him to include that in the amount of his loan. Under the provision of the House bill, therefore, a man may get into the system without making any cash payment for stock. That is not so in the Senate bill. The capital of the association is obtained in that manner from the borrowers, and that is the only capital which they have. As the association subscribes for an equal amount of stock in the land bank the cash it gets is passed to the land bank and the association gets capital stock in the land bank. The borrower gets his stock in the association, Although this stock is held as an extra security for the loan given to the stockholders.

These local associations are managed by the borrowers themselves, who are the only stockholders. Each association has a board of directors, a president, a vice president, and a secretarytreasurer. The chief officer is the secretary-treasurer. This briefly gives an outline of the cooperative system.

Every man in the association is a borrower. The borrowers entirely control their own affairs. They control the affairs of the association, and the associations thus made up of the borrowers control absolutely, except for the intervention of the Government, the administration of the land banks. Thus all through the system we have the idea of cooperation and the idea of mutuality.

Except for earnings applied for expenses and reserves, the entire profits go back to the borrowers themselves. Under the Federal land-bank system, no profit goes to outsiders. It is the intent of the bill to give to the farmer borrowers through this cooperative plan the opportunity to borrow upon mortgages at the lowest rate obtainable; to obtain funds from the investors in farm-loan bonds without intervention of intermediaries who shall make profit which the borrowers must pay.

Passing now from the organization to the credit instruments which are employed under its operation, I desire, first, to comment upon the mortgages upon which loans are to be made.

These mortgages are long-time mortgages, such as are not available to the farmer to-day. They may run for periods of from 5 to 36 years. They are not callable by the bank to whom they are made. In other words, so long as the farmer keeps up his obligation assumed by him at the beginning the bank can not foreclose on him. On the other hand, he has the privilege by this bill of paying any part or the whole of his principal at any interest day or installment day he pleases.

These mortgages are what are called amortizable. While this term "amortizable" is familiar to us all, it is well to repeat again just what it means, so that we shall have a clear concep-

tion of it constantly in our minds.

It means this. When the farmer makes his payment upon his mortgage he pays a fixed installment. That installment includes the interest due on the loan made to him, including the administration charges of the bank. It includes also an extra sum called an amortizement. For example, he may borrow his money at a 6 per cent interest rate. He may pay 2 per cent additional as amortizement, making 8 per cent altogether. Taking a concrete case, a farmer borrows \$1,000 and agrees to pay an annual installment of \$80. Sixty dollars of the installment is necessary to cover the mortgage interest; \$20 is an amortizement paid to reduce the principal. After the payment of the first installment, only \$980 of principal remains due. The borrower, however, continues to pay the regular installment of \$80. Of the second payment, however, only \$58.80 is necessary to cover the interest charge and \$21.20 is applied to reduction of principal. With each successive payment less and less of the \$80 installment is required to meet the interest charge, and more and more is applied to the reduction of principal. In a surprisingly short space of time the entire principal is paid off.

Before concluding I shall give some figures which will show the gratifying results which can be secured under the amortization plan.

These mortgages are given by the farmer borrower to the land bank through the local association. The local associa-tion indorses these mortgages and assumes all the liabilities

of an indorser.

When the land bank takes these mortgages, what does it do? Where does the farmer get his money, and where does the bank get its money to loan the farmer? As I pointed out, there is a capital of \$750,000 in each bank, a large portion of which is available to loan on first mortgages on farm lands. Where does the rest of the money come from? It comes from the source I pointed out at the beginning, the private investor. The bank takes the mortgages put up by the farmers, and upon those as security it issues farm-loan bonds.

The investor desiring an attractive investment buys these bonds, and the bank has the money obtained from the sale of bonds to loan to the farmer. As the bank secures new mortgages, it issues new bonds and again obtains funds to loan. The process may continue indefinitely so long as the bank does not issue bonds to an amount greater than twenty times its capital. We feel assured that these bonds will be in great demand and hence be sold in great volume, for every effort has been made

to make them a thoroughly safe security.

The primary security behind them consists of first mortgages upon very carefully appraised farm land. There is, moreover, as further security, the capital of the bank issuing the bonds, This capital can not be less than 5 per cent, and in practical operation will be more than 5 per cent of the outstanding bonds. Moreover, all the other assets of the banks-and provision is made for steadily increasing reserves-are behind the bonds. In addition, every one of the 11 other Federal land banks is liable ultimately for the payment of the interest and

principal of the bonds.

With reference to the primary security—the mortgages—it will be noted that the loans can be made only up to 60 per cent of the value of the land, and, in addition to that, 20 per cent of the improvements upon the land, so that there is a margin of 40 per cent on the land and 80 per cent on buildings or improvements on the land. Those mortgages, therefore, are good mortgages at the beginning. As time goes on, those mortgages are constantly growing better, because every mortgage is written upon the amortization plan, and every borrower pays a part of its principal at the very first installment day. The indorsement of a local association on each mortgage adds to its security

Mr. CANNON. If the gentleman will permit, it was stated the negroes in the South, and the poor men, could come in under this law, when it was passed, by one of the gentlemen, and I do not know but all of them. Now, then, where is the poor man going to get the 40 per cent that he must get before

he can have farm property that he can spout?

Mr. PHELAN. I will say in response to the gentleman that I have been in Congress only three years, and I do not know, from the short time that I have been here, where he is going

to get the money. [Laughter.]
Mr. CANNON. Then, the poor mans' proposition—the idea that everybody could come right in and lift this money out—is

a mistake?

Mr. PHELAN. It will help out any man who has some money and wants to buy farm land. It will help him to buy that land. But we can not under any system that I know of make any provision where a man who has no money can come

in and get farm land.

Mr. CANNON. I would like to ask another question. The farmers of the country, if I recollect the census figures aright, are about one-third of the people. The other two-thirds live in the cities or along the railroads, and are engaged in mercantile and professional and mechanical pursuits, and in machine shops, doing all kinds of work. Now, you may make these farmers nontaxable, and the Government issues all the stock that is subscribed for, or whatever is not subscribed for. Now, then, when they are nontaxable, somebody has got to pay for the taxes; and if the other two-thirds have to pay the taxes, who gets the benefit. From one standpoint, is this bill broad enough? Had we not better take in the whole population, including the cities as well as the country? Should we not include the little homes, and all that kind of thing, and the building-association people? Then, as I understand it, there are nearly forty billions insurance policies in this country, in the main small insurance policies—forty billions.

Mr. PHELAN. I hope the gentleman will not take up too

much of my time.

Mr. CANNON. After all, is this spread around sufficiently? [Laughter.]

Mr. PHELAN. Let me go on without interruption, and I will try to finish an outline of the bill.

Mr. GLASS. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that many of these questions can be asked during the debate under the five-minute rule. The gentleman from Massachusetts is trying to explain the main features of the bill now.

Mr. PHELAN. Only a few minutes will be necessary to explain the outline of the bill. There remains one other thing to speak about, and that is the matter of agents. There is a provision in the bill whereby in those localities where difficulty is found in establishing these cooperative associations the farmers may borrow through existing banks. I will pass that over with hardly more than passing comment. I may say that that was put in there because some Members coming from rural districts thought this provision should be inserted. It was felt that some farmers could not get into an association, because they lived too far apart, and that they ought to have some opportunity to get the advantage offered under the cooperative system. That is the reason for putting this section upon agents into the bill. Personally, I think the associations will give sufficient accommodation, so that there will not be any necessity for the provision in the bill allowing agents to act.

In addition to the cooperative system already explained provision is made for a joint-stock system—that is, any individuals can get together and form a bank with \$250,000 capitalization. They can loan money to the farmer under conditions and limitations in most respects similar to those placed upon Federal land banks. Each joint-stock bank, however, is an independent institution. These banks are in no way federated together. will remember that the Federal land banks can issue bonds to an amount equal to twenty times their capital. In the case of the joint-stock banks they can issue bonds to the amount of fifteen times their capital and surplus. In each case the great bulk of the money to be loaned to the farmer is obtained from the investing public by the issue of bonds. There are some differences in the joint-stock bonds and the restrictions and conditions imposed upon them, but in general the joint-stock banks are under the same conditions and restrictions as the banks under the other system.

The differences will come out in the debate under the five-minute rule. In some cases the borrowers will prefer to deal with the Federal land banks and in other cases with the jointstock land banks. In permitting the establishment of the two different systems, the borrower is given his choice as to which he prefers. The purpose of the committee has been to give the borrower every available source of credit and accommodation. The committee believes that success will attend the operation

of each system.

There are some less important provisions of the bill which I have passed over without comment. I think they will receive

sufficient explanation under the five-minute rule.

In the time remaining I shall point out some matters of in-terest and importance in this bill. In the first place, under the operations of the bill the farmer can not be charged a greater amount for interest and expenses of administration or charges than 6 per cent. The gentleman from Illinois pointed out a seeming inconsistency in the bill. That came into the bill in this way, and I will frankly explain it: Originally in the bill, as we framed it, we called the interest charge and the expense charge "interest." At that time we limited that charge to 6 per cent. Subsequently, in order to clarify the provisions of the bill, we called one thing "interest" and the other "ad-ministration charge," and did not at the same time change that 6 per cent interest clause to which the gentleman from Illinois has made reference. I noticed the apparent inconsistency, and at once decided that I would suggest that the change be made in the committee; but subsequently I saw this, that originally when the bank makes its mortgage loans there have been no bonds issued, so that there is no bond rate on which to base the rate in the mortgage. For that reason the original money contributed by the original stockholders can be loaned at 6 per cent, and, everything considered, we thought we would leave that discretion in the hands of the original directors of the farm-loan bank.

I see my time is getting short, but before closing I desire to make clear a matter about which there seems to be some misunderstanding: I want to repeat that the farmer borrower does not have to put up any cash to his local association when he gets his stock. He can include the subscription for his stock in his loan. I would also like to point out the fact that under the provisions of the bill no commission can be charged to the farmer borrower except what is specifically authorized in the bill. I again call your attention to the fact that the farmers can get these long-time nonrecallable mortgages, so that they have a privilege of paying the principal over a long period of years or in a shorter time if they so desire.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts yield to the gentleman from New York?

Mr. PHELAN. Just one minute. How much time have I re-

maining, Mr. Chairman?
The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has four minutes remain-

Mr. PHELAN. I will yield to the gentleman.
Mr. PLATT. I wanted to ask the gentleman in regard to
the subscription of private capital to the land banks. Does the gentleman think that the capital of the Federal land banks should be fully subscribed by private capital and without Government capital? Is there any way by which that private capital could prevent the organization of the cooperative control by the borrowers?

Mr. PHELAN. No; I do not see any way by which they can

control it.

Mr. PLATT. That is what I wanted to bring out. The discouraging of private capital in these corporations is something

that ought to be clearly understood.

Mr. PHELAN. You must do one of two things. make your system either cooperative or noncooperative. can not get private individuals to put their money into a proposition where you are going to let the borrower control and administer the business.

Under this cooperative system we have a system made up of borrowers. Those borrowers go out on the open market and borrow money at the best rate they can get upon bonds. get in their mortgages an interest rate which is exactly the same as the rate which is paid to the investor upon his farm-loan bonds except that the borrower has to pay the expenses of doing Every cent of expense that there is in the system is under the control of the borrowers.

Every cent of profit goes to the farmer. So the effect of it is that the farmer goes direct to the investing public, gets his money at the very lowest rate, and the charge to him ultimately is that the lowest rate of interest plus the expense of doing the business. There is no private profit made by anybody else. I want to say, with reference to some criticisms that have been made of this bill, that it is entirely erroneous to say that the farmer borrower who is a stockholder will not get any dividends upon his stock. If you can reduce the price paid by the farmer from 7 to 6 per cent, if you can save him 1 per cent upon his mortgage interest rate through this system, even though he contributes 5 per cent of his loan to the capital of this bank. then he gets indirectly a saving of one-fifth upon the amount that he puts up for his capital stock. In other words, in-directly he is getting 20 per cent return upon the amount of money he puts up in this bank, even if he never gets a dollar of dividends.

For example: Suppose a farmer who pays 7 per cent on a \$1,000 loan under present conditions can get a \$1,000 loan at 6 per cent through this system. He will, it is true, be obliged to purchase \$50 worth of stock in the association. He saves, however, \$10 per year in interest upon his mortgage. allowing that he gets no dividends upon his stock, the \$10 he saves as interest amounts to 20 per cent upon the \$50. fully expect moreover that the interest rate will be below 6 per cent, for 6 per cent is the maximum allowed under the bill. As a matter of fact, he is bound to get dividends, or else to get so low a rate of interest that he will not care about dividends. It must go one place or the other. If it goes into the expense of doing the business, then it is the farmer's fault himself, because he controls the operation of the system.

In conclusion, I have a table here which I want to read. can answer any questions under the five-minute rule. illustrate what can be done under this system and under the amortization plan, we will take as the interest rate of the mortgage the highest rate of interest that the farmer will pay, which, including expenses, is 6 per cent. In New Mexico the interest rate is 101 per cent. In other words, the farmer there pays \$105 per year as interest upon a \$1,000 mortgage loan.

If he pays \$105 annually under the system which will be in operation under this bill, and the interest rate, including expenses is 6 per cent, then he will not only pay all the interest and the expenses necessary to run the system, but he will pay his entire principal in a little over 14 years. In other words, instead of paying \$105 every year for 14½ years and owing the principal at the end of that 14½ years, he will pay the same amount—\$105 a year—and at the end of the 14½ years have the principal fully paid off.

In the case of the State of Washington the present average interest rate is 8.7 per cent. Under the same conditions the farmer would pay his entire principal in a little over 20 years.

In the case of Texas, where the average interest rate is 9 per cent, he would pay his principal in 19 years.

In Alabama, where the average interest rate is 9.4 per cent, he would pay the principal indebtedness in a little over 17 years. In South Carolina, where the average interest rate is 8.4

per cent, he would pay the principal sum in a little over 21 years. In Virginia, where the interest rate is 6.8 per cent, he would pay the principal in 36 years. In Nebraska the interest rate is 7.1 per cent, and there he would pay the principal in a little over 32 years. In North Dakota the interest rate is 8.7 per cent, and there he would pay the principal in a little over 20 years. In Ohio the interest rate is 6.1 per cent. There the difference in the interest rate between the two systems would take 70 years to discharge the principal. So we come down to the State of Maine, where the interest rate is 6.2 per cent, and under this system, paying exactly the same installment every year, he will get rid of his entire indebtedness in a little over 59 years. That is at 6 per cent interest rate, the outside limit which can be charged under this system. Coming down to 5 per cent, the whole amount would be paid in a very much shorter space of time. In New Mexico he will pay off the whole principal and interest in a little over 13 years; in Washington in a little over 17 years; in Texas in a little over 16 years; in Alabama in a little over 15 years; in South Carolina in a little over 18 years; and in Maine in 334 years, with corresponding reductions in the other States. With this suggestion of some of the benefits to be anticipated from the operation of this rural-credit system, I must conclude, as my time has expired.

The system once established, however, will do vastly more than accomplish its immediate purpose of securing adequate mortgage credit for the farmer. It will inevitably contribute in generous measure to the future growth and development of agriculture, a growth and development upon which in so great degree depend the prosperity and well-being of the Nation. [Applause.]

The Work of Congress in Behalf of Agriculture.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GORDON LEE.

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 25, 1916.

Mr. LEE. Mr. Speaker, the last four years have been notable in the work of Congress in behalf of agriculture. No administration in the history of the Government has undertaken or accomplished more in behalf of this industry than the present administration.

For more than fifty years the Government has been making appropriations to conduct work through the Department of Agriculture, the agricultural colleges, and the State experiment stations to promote increased production of agricultural products. More than \$200,000,000 have been expended in this direction, and the results have been good. It was not, however, until four years ago that any systematic effort was undertaken to encourage and promote the better and more economical distribution of farm products. Until then the important fact that economical and wise distribution was as essential as economical and wise production seems to have been overlooked by agricultural students. The Agricultural Committee, of which I have the honor to be the second on the committee, came to realize the greatness and importance of marketing products, and inserted in the annual appropriation bill an item carrying an appropriation for \$50,000 under which it was proposed to do for the distribution of farm products what has been done for their production. This sum has been increased from year to year, until the bill just passed by the House carries a total amount of \$792,000 for this work of helping to market farm products so that the farmers may get their full value. No one can overestimate what this work must mean ultimately to the farmers of the country. AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION.

The enactment into law of the so-called Smith-Lever agricultural extension bill in 1914—a bill reported by the Agricultural Committee and handled by it—is perhaps one of the most significant movements in behalf of agricultural education in this or in any other country. Under this act the States and the Federal Government cooperate to teach agriculture by the demonstration method, and ultimately it will mean that every agricultural county in Georgia will have the services of from two to four teachers, men and women, of agriculture and home economics.

COTTON EXCHANGES.

For many years various efforts were made to find a way of meeting the objectionable methods and practices of certain

cotton exchanges, notably the New York exchange, which practices resulted in furnishing quotations upon a debased contract, with the result that spot cotton sold upon these quotations always sold for less than its intrinsic value. passsage of the Lever Cotton Futures Act, which was recently declared unconstitutional by a New York judge and which was added to the Agricultural appropriation bill the other day as a rider, is the effort to meet this situation in the interest of the farmer. The law, while in effect undoubtedly served to stimulate the price of cotton anywhere from \$1.50 to \$2.50 per bale, as shown in the difference in the value of the old contract of the New York Cotton Exchange and the contract provided for in this law, which shows a difference in favor of the contract of the law from 20 to 50 points. In addition to this it is significant to know that within 10 minutes after the information reached the New York exchange that the cotton-futures act was declared unconstitutional and invalid, the price of cotton fell \$2 per bale, although the market during the morning of that day had been a bull market. The Hon. W. P. G. Harding, the southern member of the Federal Reserve Board, has publicly said that this act was one of the three things that saved the cotton situation during the critical period of the past two years. I think there is no doubt about it, and I am sure that every well-informed person will agree to this.

GRAIN STANDARDIZATION.

During the last session of Congress the House passed what is known as the grain-standardization bill, which provides a system of national supervision for the grading of grain. This bill is not of such vital importance to the South at this time as it is to the West, but it is hoped that the South may more and more come to a system of growing more small grain and raising more live stock, and when that time comes this bill will be of immense benefit to the people of the South.

FEDERAL WAREHOUSE BILL.

In some respects the most important bill that has been passed in recent years in behalf of agriculture is the bill that we passed the other day with the appropriation bill, known as the Federal warehouse bill. This bill provides for a national system of bonded, federally supervised warehouses for certain agricultural products, including cotton. These warehouses will be under bond, and all products that go into them will be weighed and graded by persons holding unrevoked licenses from the Federal Government, thus insuring integrity of weight and grade of product. They will then issue negotiable warehouse re-ceipts, uniform in character for the same product throughout the country. These uniform warehouse receipts will quickly become a basis of credit for the farmers who wish to market their crops gradually, thus preventing the usual glut upon the market during the first fall months of the year. In fact, this bill furnishes the machinery by which each farmer can get the full advantage which is offered in section 13 of the Federal reserve act, which provides for the rediscount of farm notes through the system. The sentiment in the House in favor of this bill was overwhelming and it was opposed by only a few Representatives from the large cities who did not seem to realize that the prosperity of their great cities after all depended absolutely on the prosperity of the farmers of the country. This amendment was passed by a vote of 289 to 46. I believe that in the course of time the country will look back to this piece of legislation as one of the greatest efforts ever made in behalf of agriculture.

HOG CHOLERA AND CATTLE TICK.

In addition to these fundamental acts the Committee of Agriculture of the House and the Congress have been most liberal in appropriating for the support of all lines of agricultural activity. It was not until we got charge of things that any serious attempt was made to control hog cholera, which places an annual toll upon the farmers of \$60,000,000. We are furnishing funds now and have been for three years with which to make a vigorous fight against this disease. We are likewise providing large funds for getting rid of the cattle tick, which is costing the South from \$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000 a year and making it impossible to build up a real live-stock industry.

GOOD ROADS.

The question of cheaper transportation is of greater interest to the farmer than perhaps any other legislation that has been discussed in Congress for many years. This Congress has passed a bill whereby the Government is to cooperate with the States and counties in the construction of good roads. If this bill meets '/ith the approval of the President, and I am sure it will, the United States Government will spend \$75,000,000 during the next five years in encouraging the building of good country roads.

RURAL CREDITS.

Every since I have had the honor of representing my district in Congress I have advocated and have desired to vote for some measure that would enable the farmer to borrow money at a lower rate of interest. The lack of power to borrow money at a low rate of interest on long time has handicapped the development of our rural sections. The bill we are now discussing, and which I trust will become a law, will go a long way to relieve the situation, and will render the farmer the greatest service possible at this time. The bill does not establish a system of personal short-term credits. It deals only with long-term loans secured upon farm mortgages. Under this bill a man of moderate means who owns a farm will be able to borrow money for 5 to 36 years, at 6 per cent interest or less, and be able to build his barns and houses, stock his farm, and begin a prosperous era without being seriously burdened with debt. The same will be true of many who are now renting land and have no place that they can call their own. I believe these men will be able to negotiate for the purchase of homes, and by thrift and energy be able to own farms they can call their own.

Without attempting at this time to discuss the full text of the bill I desire to briefly describe the effect of this bill when it becomes a law. There will be established in the United States 12 Federal land banks, located in 12 districts. The minimum capital stock of each bank will be \$750,000. This stock is placed on the market for sale. If not purchased in 90 days, the Government purchases the stock sufficient to finance the institution. The Government will not share in the profits; only stockholders of the Federal land bank share in the profits. The Government will not share in the profits; only the

Local farm-loan associations will be organized. Every member of the farm-loan association must be a borrower. farmers or more can organize an association. The minimum loan is \$100, and the maximum amount that can be borrowed is \$10,000. It will be necessary for the borrower to subscribe stock in the local association, paying \$5 per share for the stock. If he borrows \$100, he must subscribe for 1 share; if he borrows \$1,000, he must subscribe for 10 shares, or \$50 worth of

The subscription of stock and the description of the land is forwarded to the Federal land bank. If the titles to the land are approved and the appraisement of the value of the land is found just, the bank pays the money to the borrower. Under the law the borrower can borrow as much as 60 per cent of the value of his lands and 20 per cent of the value of his improvements. The rate of interest to be charged can not exceed 6 per cent, and I believe when investors become accustomed to this class of securities money can be borrowed for 5 per cent or less. No loan can be for less than 5 years and no longer than 36 years, as desired by borrower.

On these loans the interest and a portion of the principal is paid annually. This is called the amortization plan. To illustrate: Under the present system of borrowing money, if you borrow \$1,000 for 20 years at 6 per cent interest, you would pay \$1,200 interest, and the original amount borrowed would be unpaid. If you borrowed \$1,000 at the rate of 10 per cent interest, you would in 20 years pay \$2,000 interest and owe the original \$1,000 borrowed at the end of 20 years. Under the amortization plan as defined in this bill, if you borrowed \$1,000 for 20 years at 6 per cent interest, your payments would be as follows:

Amount Total Paid on principal on prin-cipal un-paid. Annual periods. annual \$60.00 58.36 56.63 54.80 \$972. 81 943. 98 913. 42 -881. 03 846. 70 \$87. 19 \$27. 19 28. 83 30. 56 32. 39 34. 33 36. 39 38. 58 40. 89 43. 34 45. 94 48. 70 50. 80 48. 61 46. 30 43. 85 41. 25 810. 31 771. 73 730. 84 687, 50 641. 58 51. 62 54. 72 58. 00 480. 52 428. 52 367. 04 301. 87 232. 79 159. 56 61. 48 65. 17 69. 08 73. 23 9.57 4.91 77. 62 81. 94 81.94 Total..... 1,743,46 743, 46 1,000.00

By paying \$87.19 per year for 20 years you will have paid both principal and interest.

In order to show the maximum costs under this bill, if the borrower desires to take advantage of the 36-year loan, I incorporate what is known as an amortization table showing the process by which the loan and interest are paid. The table is for a loan of \$1,000 for 36 years at 6 per cent interest, and the annual payment is \$68.39:

Annual periods.	Total annual payment,	Interest at 6 per cent.	Paid on principal.	Amount of prin- cipal still unpaid.
1 2 3 3 4 5 6 6 7 7 8 8 9 9 10 11 1 12 12 13 14 15 15 116 17 18 19 20 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 25 26 29 30 30 30 30 30 3	\$68. 39 68. 39	\$50.00 59.49 58.96 58.40 57.80 55.79 55.79 55.79 55.79 55.70 54.47 56.49 47.08 48.22 47.08 44.45 43.02 44.49 38.81 38.17 36.36 36.36 37.36 38.40 39.24 49.25 59.26 5	\$8. 39 8. 90 9. 43 9. 99 10. 59 11. 23 11. 90 12. 60 13. 37 14. 11 15. 02 16. 87 17. 89 18. 96 20. 10 21. 31 22. 58 22. 94 25. 34 25. 34 25. 34 25. 34 25. 34 25. 34 25. 34 25. 34 25. 34 25. 34 26. 30 28. 51 28. 51 29. 33 33. 96 35. 99 38. 15 40. 45 40. 45 4	\$991. 61 982. 71 973. 29 963. 39 952. 80 941. 57 929. 68 917. 08 903. 71 889. 60 874. 58 868. 65 841. 79 823. 89 804. 83 703. 52 740. 94 711. 60 691. 63 684. 73 636. 22 606. 00 573. 97 540. 01 564. 02 465. 42 382. 55 337. 01
31	68, 39 68, 39 68, 39 68, 39 68, 39 70, 56	20, 23 17, 33 15, 26 11, 07 7, 63 3, 99	48. 17 51. 06 53. 13 57. 32 60. 76 66. 57	288, 84 237, 78 184, 65 127, 33 66, 57
Total	2, 464. 21	1, 464. 21	1,000.00	

Should the borrower be able to get \$1,000 for 20 years at 5 per cent his payments would be as follows:

Annual periods.	Total annual payment.	Interest at 5 per cent.	Paid on princi- pal.	Amount of prin- cipal still unpaid.
	\$80, 24	\$50,00	\$30, 24	\$969.76
2	80. 24	48.48	31.75	938.00
3	80.24	46.90	33.34	904, 67
4	80.24	45, 23	35.01	869, 66
5	80.24	43.48	36.76	832.90
6	80. 24	41.64	38. 59	794.31
7	80, 24	39.71	40.52	753, 79
8.	80. 24	37,68	42, 55	711. 23
9.	80.24	35.56	44.68	666, 56
10	80. 24	33, 32	46.91	619.64
1	80. 24	30.98	49.28	570.39
2	80.24	28.51	51.72	518.67
13	80.24	25.93	54.31	464.36
14	80.24	23.21	57.02	407.34
15	80.24	20.36	59.87	347.46
6	80.24	17.37	62.87	284.60
17	80. 24	14.23	66.01	218.59
18	80.24	10.93	69.31	149.28
19	80. 24	7.46	72.78	76.50
20	80.32	8.82	76.50	
Total	1,604.80	604.80	1,000.00	

By paying \$80.24 per year you could pay the interest and liquidate the loan of \$1,000 in 20 years.

The borrower under this law would be liable for double the amount of the stock he holds in the association. To illustrate: If he borrows \$1,000 he will necessarily own 10 shares of stock, representing an outlay of \$50. His liability then could not be more than \$100. As soon as the borrower discharges his debt he is no longer liable for this amount, but receives in cash the amount of the par value of his stock, plus the accrued interest on the same. As the Government has direct supervision over these farm-loan banks there will be in my opinion little danger of the stockholders in the association being called on to pay any

When the farm-loan bill becomes a law, I believe the farmers will realize that it is one of the greatest pieces of legislation ever enacted into law. Congress no doubt will amend this law from time to time as the needs of the farmers are shown. I trust it will not be long before we can add to this legislation and give to the farmers who do not own land a credit system that will enable them to easily purchase a home and finance their crops without paying the exorbitant rates of interest under the present system.

Our agricultural legislation has been filled with progressive proposals in the interest of agriculture, and I think it can be said without a doubt that more has been done for agriculture within the last four years through Federal laws and appropriations than during any period of 50 years combined in the history of this country, and I am proud to have had my humble part in this great work.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES S. DAVENPORT. OF OKLAHOMA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 12, 1916.

Mr. DAVENPORT. Mr. Speaker, the amendment I offer giving to each of the Federal land banks a capital of \$1,000,000, instead of \$750,000, should, in my judgment, be adopted. For many years we have been providing for all classes of business and all classes of enterprises in Congress, and in doing so every man on both sides of the aisle has been advocating that it was for the interest of the farmer. We come now to a proposition where we can do some good for the farmer if we are willing to do so, and if we are going to do it let us provide each of those banks with a sufficient amount of capital in starting, that the farmers may secure loans and get their money without taking time to issue bonds and float them and then await a reissue and sale before we can make other loans. I say to you that \$1,000,000 is a small amount to start these banks with. It is going to take some time under the system and the machinery provided in this bill to put those banks in operation, and it is going to take some time after getting them started to get a sufficient number of mortgages executed in order that you may place upon the market a sufficient amount of bonds so as to have sufficient funds to accommodate the new loans.

It is but a few years since we authorized and appropriated to 84,000 white people in Alaska a \$35,000,000 contribution to build a railroad. Only a few days ago we authorized and appropriated, if it gets through the other end of this Capitol, \$20,-000,000 for a nitrate plant, and if the bill passes that we are now considering, known as the flood-control bill, in a few days you will appropriate about \$45,000,000 for those living in the Mississippi Valley. If we are going to be so liberal with our contributions, let us place at the command of the farmers of this country where they may get it upon proper security a sufficient sum of money, or at least let us give them \$12,000,000 for the many farmers throughout the United States.

It is now apparent that Congress is at last aroused and will during this session pass legislation giving to the man who owns a farm a chance to borrow money at a cheaper rate of interest than he can now secure from a loan company, and that he will be able to secure the loan for a longer period of time. One of the difficulties in the past has been the farmer could only secure short loans and too often he was compelled to pay an exorbitant rate of interest, such a rate that he could not make a living for himself and family and meet the interest and lay aside a suffi-cient amount to pay the principal at maturity. The time has come when all realize that to properly develop the agricultural industry it requires capital; no one can successfully run a farm this day without a sufficient fund to pay for the implements, machinery, and to meet the overhead expenses incident to planting, cultivating, and marketing the farm products. There are two necessary prerequisites for the farmer's success in this country. They are money at a low rate of interest and a long-time loan. The manufacturer, the jobber, and the other business men of the country can use money advantageously on three or four months' time, because the most of them turn over their money three or four times in a year. Not so with the farmer.

makes only one crop during the year, and therefore realizes on his investment only once a year. It is therefore important to the farmer that he secure long-time loans. I want to call attention to some of the provisions of this bill, and in doing so I shall try to show that they are so drafted as to make the law workable and to give to the farmer that relief he has so long hoped for but has been denied.

Not only do we propose to invoke national authority, but we propose to make this system a separate and distinct system, having no connection whatever with existing commercial banks. We commence the organization of this proposed system by the creation of a farm-loan board, composed of three members, to be appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate. Not more than two members of this board shall be of one political party. General supervisory powers are given to the farm-loan board. The board is given power to supervise the rates under which bonds shall be sold and loans to farmers made. The members are appointed for full terms of nine years, removable only for cause. We have provided a generous salary, as we hope to have the board composed of the three best qualified men in the United States. We feel that it will be safe to vest such a board with the general supervisory powers granted in this bill. In addition, the board also has the power to appoint the appraisers who will make the appraisement under which the loans are to be made. I desire to call attention also to the fact that not only is the board appointed by the President, but the salaries are paid out of the Treasury of the United States, and the burden of meeting the expense of the salaries of the members of the board does not fall upon the borrower.

I am proud that it is proposed in this bill to pay the salaries and expenses of supervision out of the Treasury of the United We will have a Government board appointed by the President of the United States, with salaries paid by the people of the United States, making them absolutely independent in every sense. One of the difficult features of mortgage credit is the system of appraisement. An honest, conservative appraisement of every tract of land accepted as security will prevent favoritism and will insure perfect safety to the system. Losses are practically impossible under a safe system of appraisement. Under this bill appraisers are to be public officials. They are appointed by the farm-loan board and are removed from every possible influence, either by borrower or lender. The appraisers have no connection whatsoever with the banks or any other agency controlling the loan. We give the farmers of the country an impartial official appraisement on their lands.

Having spoken of the general powers of the farm-loan board, we come to the organization of the land banks. of the United States is to be divided into 12 land districts by the Federal farm-loan board. We have here the same problem that has come up on every question of banking in the United States: Shall you have a great central bank or several district organizations? I think it is admitted by every person that the plan of the Federal reserve system is better than one central bank; but if that were not true of a commercial banking system, I should still contend that the district plan is a better one for land-mortgage credit. One of the problems is to bring the loan agency into immediate contact with the borrowers. trict plan more nearly accomplishes this than the central plan. But there is another important reason. If it should happen that there was any difficulty in maintaining a uniform rate in the United States, which I do not believe there would be, and you had a great central bank, the minimum rate would be fixed at the point of greatest difficulty of getting the money rather than upon the average difficulty of obtaining it. That is to say, the lowest rate for the whole system would be the highest rate which would prevail under the district system. Therefore I feel that the proposed plan of dividing the United States into districts will commend itself to the judgment of Congress. In each one of these districts a land bank is organized with a minimum capital of \$750,000. Thus there will be organized 12 land banks, having a combined minimum capital of \$9,000,000. The committee believes this sum to be ample to inaugurate the new system and to give it that sense of security, stability, and importance which will enable it to command the confidence of the farmers on the one hand and the investing public on the

The temporary organization is controlled by the Government of the United States. Now, how is a bank organized and how is it controlled? As indicated, there is a temporary organization after the minimum capital stock is subscribed. The first step is to secure subscriptions to capital stock; and for a period of 90 days after the books are opened any citizen, corporation, company, or any State in the Union is given permission to sub-

scribe to the capital stock in the amount of \$750,000, and if at the end of 90 days this stock has not been fully subscribed, then the Treasurer of the United States completes the subscription, precisely as in the organization of the Federal Reserve System.

No voting power goes with any of the stock except that held by the Government of the United States, so that the sole power to organize these banks is vested in the Government of the United States, and it is impossible for any private interests to secure control. The Federal farm-loan board organizes the banks by appointing three directors. These directors complete the organization and operate the bank during the period that full control is vested in the Government. The land bank is instituted, organized by the Government of the United States, controlled absolutely by the United States Government until the borrowers in that land district shall become strong enough to take over the permanent control under the terms of the bill. The permanent organization is perfected by the borrowers themselves.

Now, when the land bank organizes, how are the loans made? There are two methods in the bill under which loans can be made by the land bank in the federated system. One is through the national farm-loan association to be organized by farm borrowers, and the other is through the existing banks of the coun-The first method is preferred by the committee and is given first opportunity to control all territory. If, however, such associations are not organized in any part of the United States after fair opportunity for such organizations shall have been given, then loans in such territory may be made through State banks. We hope these associations will organize and form the nucleus which will ultimately extend cooperative methods among farmers to include marketing of standard farm crops and the purchase for cash of standard farm supplies. Better credit facilities is but one phase of better farm organization. There are three great movements among farmers to be organized, fostered. and wisely directed. Farmers need a larger volume of credit at lower rates and upon more favorable terms of repayment.

If the farmers have an organization, they will secure equality as to rates and service in that territory better than any individual farmer can do. In a Nation of 48 States with wide diversity of industrial conditions, over which we seek to extend the farm-land banking system, I can readily apprehend that without local organization among farm borrowers some section of the country might be greatly neglected. But wherever 10 borrowers come together there is an organization and a selection of officers. These borrowers create an instrumentality, and a necessary result is that particular section will secure all the benefits that should come to it under this bill. These associations are favored in order to make the system cheaper in its operation. The question of reliability of borrower and the value of his land are vital questions to be de-It will require an expensive organization if the land bank is compelled to make these preliminary investigations at the instance of every applicant for a loan. difficulty which effectually precludes small borrowers in sparsely settled country districts from securing mortgage loans. The loan agency can only investigate the more profitable deals. We propose in this bill to serve the small borrower. We propose to make loans as small as \$100. Such a system is impossible without cooperation on the part of borrowers in making this preliminary investigation of land and character.

To secure a loan there are three ways—first, from farmloan banks through the agency of the national farm-loan association; second, from farm-loan banks through agents; third, joint-stock banks.

When the borrower makes application for a loan the same must be made through a national farm-loan association, and the prospective borrower must become a member, if not at the time of the organization of the association, then the borrower becomes a member by two-thirds vote of the directors after the association is organized and chartered. No one can be a member of the association who is not a prospective borrower. Any member of the association can borrow 60 per cent of the value of his farm lands and 20 per cent of the insured value of permanent improvements, and the borrower must subscribe and take stock in the local association to the amount of 5 per cent of the desired loan. The local association in turn subscribes for a like amount in the farm-loan bank. This stock is capable of paying dividends, and I believe, if properly managed, will be a paying investment, and the stock will be paid off at par when the loan is paid.

The stock held by the Government of the United States receives no dividends and is paid off as the stock is subscribed for by local associations. It is intended and I believe that ultimately all the stock in the farm loan banks will be owned by the local associations. In making an application for a loan it must be made out in proper form, upon blanks prepared by the farm-loan board, and the borrower must accompany the application by an abstract or evidence of his title, as well as an appraisement of the lands signed by the members of the loan committee of the local association and approved by the The application of the borrower is transmitted to the farm-loan bank, and when it is received by the farm-loan bank, as soon as possible thereafter, an appraiser is sent to view the lands. If the application is in proper form and the abstract shows the title to be good, and the appraiser reports favorably upon the application, the loan is made. All loans granted must be indorsed by the local association. If the farmer wants to borrow \$1,000 he joins the local association and makes application in proper form to the secretary-treasurer of the local association, subscribes for \$50 worth of stock in the Federal land bank, his abstract of title is then examined, appraisement approved, and, if everything is regular, the loan made. Some question has arisen as to the liability of each of the berrowers under a local association. It is clear from the provisions of the bill that each farmer who borrows money will be liable for the amount of his loan, and he will be personally liable for all loans of the local association to the amount double the stock he holds in the association, just as a director of a bank is liable for the indebtedness of the bank. liability of the borrower for other loans of the members of the association need not be alarming to anyone when it is remembered that no one can borrow more than 60 per cent of the value of his land and 20 per cent of the permanent insured value of his improvements. It must also be remembered that the character and integrity of each of the borrowers is vouched for by the association; that the land will be appraised by the local loan committee of three members; that the application for the loan must receive favorable reports from the Government appraisers; and that the loan must be approved by the directors of the farm-loan banks. A complete cooperative action from the time the application is made until the loan is granted and a supervision of the loan is made by those directly interested in the association and those cooperating together for the benefit of each other and for the assistance of all members of the association. Under the provisions of this bill loans are only made on first mortgage on farm lands for the following

To purchase land for agricultural purposes, equipment, and live stock necessary for the operation of the farm, and to provide suitable and adequate buildings, and for the improvement of farm lands, and to liquidate existing indebtedness. The bill is only intended to give aid to those of the citizens who own farm lands in the United States, that are real farmers, and not to those who may desire to engage in land ownership for speculative purposes.

The advantages to the farmer under this bill are that he can secure loans from 5 to 36 years, payable on the amortization plan, and the rate of interest he will be required to pay will be governed by the rate charged on bonds sold. The bill provides that the farm-loan banks are prohibited from charging more than 1 per cent upon farm lands in excess of the interest borne on the last series of bonds sold. The 1 per cent is intended to meet the administrative expenses. It is hoped, however, that the expenses will not amount to 1 per cent and that the rate may soon be greatly reduced. A provision in the bill is that in no event shall interest be charged in excess of 6 per cent. This provision in the bill, to my mind, is where the borrower will receive the greatest benefits, for the reason that the rate of interest will be so greatly reduced from what he has heretofore been paying to what he will have to pay under this bill. In fact, after the machinery providing for the putting into operation the purpose of this bill is in full operation and bonds have been issued and placed upon the market it is believed the rate of interest may be reduced as low as 4 per cent to the farmer who desires to borrow money. The average rate of interest in the United States on farm lands is a little more than 7 per cent, but in my State-Oklahoma-it is more than 8 per In some of the Eastern States it is contended that the provisions of this bill would not benefit the farmers. This I believe to be true, because many of the Central Eastern States loan money upon farm securities at from 4 to 6 per cent interest, and, of course, where that condition exists and money can be procured by the farmer at from 4 per cent to 6 per cent the advantages under this bill would not be as great as they would be in States where the rate of interest is 8 per cent or more. Yet there would be some advantage to the farmer in the Central or New England States, and that is the length of time for which he

could secure a loan. No ordinary loan company loans money on long-time loans, and the local banks of the different communities can not do so. The average loan from land companies at present in the Western and Central States is five years, seven years being the maximum length of time for which you can secure a real-estate loan. Therefore it will be seen that great benefits will be derived if the provisions of this bill are enacted into a law to all sections of the United States by granting to them long-time loans.

The question may be asked as to where the money is going to come from to be loaned to the farmers throughout the country. The provisions of the bill answers this question. zation of the 12 Federal land banks each will have a capital stock of \$750,000, as hereinbefore stated, and if the stock is not subscribed by individuals or corporations within 90 days after the books are opened for subscriptions, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to make up the amount from the Treasury. This will give a capital of \$9,000,000 to start with and to make loans. As soon as loans are made upon farm lands to the amount of \$50,000 bonds may be then issued by the farm-land bank, which bonds will be secured by first mortgages on lands, also by the stock of the local loan associations, and by the farm-land bank, and by the 11 other farm-land banks, and by the authority for the issuance of these bonds from the farmloan board. These bonds will be placed upon the market, and I am satisfied will be readily sold and will be considered a good investment. The bonds, under the provisions of this bill, can only bear 5 per cent interest, and when issued and approved in accordance with the provisions of this bill will be as safe an investment as Government bonds. They are issued in denominations of \$20 to \$1,000. As soon as the first \$50,000 are sold the proceeds from the sale of these bonds can then be used to make additional loans, and in this way, by a continued process of issuing and selling bonds upon the securities named in the bill, ample funds will be secured to meet all the requirements of the farmers desiring loans. The stock of the national farmloan association and the Federal land banks, including reserve and surplus and the mortgages executed to farm-loan banks and to joint-stock land banks, as well as farm-loan bonds issued by the banks, are exempt from Federal, State, and local taxation, This provision, in my judgment, is in the interest and to the benefit of the borrower and lightens one of the material burdens that have heretofore been imposed upon him. The organization of the joint-stock land banks, under the provisions of the bill, is as follows: The stock in these joint-stock land banks or corperations may be privately owned; their capital can not be less than \$250,000; and these joint-stock land banks will be authorized to make leans upon first mortgages and to issue bonds based upon said loans upon forms to be prescribed by the Federal farm-loan board.

These banks can not charge a farmer more than 1 per cent in excess of the rate of interest established for the last series of farm-loan bonds issued by them. Some contend that if these joint-stock land banks are organized, they will compete with the Federal land banks and they should not be established. Others present the argument that these banks would loan at a lower rate of interest than the farm-land banks, and in this way prevent the organization of the local associations. Whether or not these contentions are true and will develop when the banks are in operation, I am not prepared to say, nor am I going to worry about it. What I desire to do is to assist, if possible, in securing a low rate of interest for the farmers of this country, and I do not care whether they get it through the farm-loan banks or the joint-stock loan banks, so they get the loans at the cheapest rate of interest possible and for a long period of time. I am therefore willing that both classes of banks be established.

The legislation now being considered is legislation that I heartily approve, and legislation that has long been promised to the farmers of the United States. Legislation of this character has been enacted and in operation in almost all civilized nations of the world and has proven to be satisfactory. It has proven a great benefit to the farming class of the people, and its workings have been entirely satisfactory to the financial The bonds that have been issued by the European investors. countries having a similar law to the proposed bill have been taken by the bond investors and sought after as earnestly and persistently as any other bonds of the Governments issuing them. If this bill becomes a law, there will be no question but that the bonds when issued will be readily taken, as they will be The security that will be behind them can absolutely gilt edge. not be questioned, and the interest will be met promptly and the bonds redeemed at maturity. If the borrower who secures a loan desires to pay it off before the maturity of the loan, he is permitted to do so at any interest-paying period. He is not compelled to let the loan run the full length of time, but may use his own option in meeting the payment. Since the beginning of our Government all classes of business have had legislation looking to its assistance but the farmer. Congress has legislated and given land grants to railroads to induce capitalists to construct their lines of railroad in the United States. It has appropriated great sums of money for the construction of a railroad

in the Territory of Alaska.

Many millions of dollars have been appropriated and expended upon the construction of roads and trails in the Territory of Alaska and our possessions. Millions of dollars have been expended in the construction of public buildings in our cities. Millions of dollars have been appropriated and expended in the improvement of our rivers and harbors and the inland waterways of the United States. All the time these large appropriations have been made and the expenditures of the money have been going on. The mainstay of our Government is the people who feed and produce the raw materials for the clothing of our people and the greater part of the world has not had any direct legislation in their behalf. Notwithstanding, the Representatives in Congress have heretofore plead that they were the friends of the farmers. The farmer and the man living in the rural districts of our Government have not been provided for in the same way that those who live in the cities and towns and those interested in corporations have been provided for. The farmer has not had road construction or any assistance by our Government in the construction of roads in his neighborhood, nor has he had legislation similar to the provisions of this bill giving him the opportunty of securing cheap money for the improvement of his farm and the education of his children and the successful management of his business. The passage of this bill will not only give the farmer the right to secure cheap money on long-time loans from these organizations mentioned in this bill, but, in my judgment, it will be the means of causing the loan companies and the banks doing business in the communities where these organizations are loaning money to reduce their rate of interest, and thus redound to the benefit of the tenant farmer as well as the man who owns his farm. The provisions of this bill providing for the raising of funds upon farm security can not benefit the man who labors upon the farm and who does not own the farm; but, as stated above, my contention is that the man who works upon the farm but does not own the farm will receive the indirect benefit by reason of enacting into law the provisions of this bill, and I earnestly trust that every man in both Houses will earnestly and conscientiously support this measure and give to the farmers of the country and to the people of the United States interested with him that to which they are entitled and have for so many years contended.

Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE F. O'SHAUNESSY, OF RHODE ISLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Saturday, May 20, 1916.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. Mr. Speaker, in June, at St. Louis, the Democratic National Convention will nominate Woodrow Wilson to succeed himself. The delegates and people there assem-bled will acclaim the President as the champion of democracy, and, in a broader sense, as the national guide in times of stres His renomination will be gratefully made by his party, in full recognition of his statesmanship, his genius, his unfaltering patience, and his undoubted loyalty to party faith. And when he is nominated the citizen, in the quiet of his home, all through this broad land will nod his approval and await his chance to confirm Woodrow Wilson's selection at the polls.

The Republican Party is to be pitied. In its quest for a candidate it would violate the sanctity of the Supreme Court and remove from that august tribunal a distinguished jurist and embroil him in the maelstrom of politics, supposedly buried and forgotten by him. Not an assuring spectacle, certainly. No greater compliment was ever paid Woodrow Wilson than

the mad quest of his opponents for a competitor worthy of his lance. Some would resurrect Roosevelt, blinded by his garish advertising and confused by his truculent talk on heroes and heroic moods. I do not question Roosevelt's Americanism; neither do I doubt his self-seeking. I firmly believe that had he

been President instead of Wilson we would long ago have been

involved in war.

The people of this country want peace with honor, and they applaud the patient resignation of Woodrow Wilson, ready for

any emergency.

There is little talk of hard times at Republican gatherings these days; the busy mills and factories, the congested railroads, the banks stuffed with money, highly paid labor, and a positive inability to get workers confront the Republicans, whose last gasp will be given when the Democratic Party enacts into law the tariff-commission bill for a scientific revision of the tariff, freed from partisan control and responding to the need and not

the greed of the American manufacturer.

can not too strongly impress upon the business men of this Nation the great service rendered to the country by the Democratic Party in passing the Federal reserve act, which even before its full operation in the autumn of 1914 prevented a panic. Here is a law that helps business and stabilizes our finances. To the shame of the Republican Party for 50 years we had a panic-breeding financial system, which they were unable or afraid to change. "In 1907, the Roosevelt panic year, New York banks were unable to advance \$50,000 to a country bank to meet its commercial demands; the unscientific system had then been in force 43 years. In 1915, after one year of the new system and after three years of Woodrow Wilson, New York banks loaned \$500,000,000 to two European countries, and after doing that had larger deposits than ever before in their existence." The Republican banking system stood for destruction and panic; the Democratic system stands for construction and

Woodrow Wilson sounded the alarm for preparedness and awakened the Nation from its false-security sleep. After years of Republican control the Army and Navy were neglected; the politicians had forgotten the Nation's needs and were only thinking of the useless Army posts and worthless navy yards for their districts. Wilson has done more for preparedness in one year than the Republican Party did in half a century.

By adopting the Army conference report we increase the Regular Army to 175,000 men, capable of expansion in time of need to 216,000 men, and make a thoroughly reorganized militia a stronger factor than ever in our national defense. By paying men in civil life who go into training camps, a knowledge of military tactics will be spread throughout our land and a hearty stimulus be given to the preparedness propaganda. Let us study

this naval showing alone:

The Wilson administration in two years authorized the construction of 5 dreadnaughts, 12 destroyers, 26 submarines, and 1 auxiliary. If the same ratio of construction had been authorized by the Republicans during the nine years of their in-cumbency following the advent of the dreadnaught era in 1906, they would have authorized 22.5 dreadnaughts, 54 destroyers, 117 submarines, and 4.5 auxiliaries. Instead, they authorized only 14 dreadnaughts, 46 destroyers, 40 submarines, 14 auxillaries, besides 2 tugs and 2 gunboats.

Mr. Reosevelt's showing is worse than Mr. Taft's. by the Wilson standard, there is a deficiency of 8.5 dread-naughts, 8 destroyers, and 77 submarines, and during the nine years from 1905-1918 America lost second place among the world's navies, allowing Germany to supersede her. cratic Party proposes to put our Navy back into at least second

place among the navies of the world.

What party could be more confident than the Democratic arty? What party more inspired by valiant and wise leadership? What party more justified in securing indorsement from the wage earner, the business man, the manufacturer, than the Democratic Party, which witnesses to-day in the Nation a greater financial prosperity and strength than ever before re-

corded in our history?

Bank deposits are now secure and panics are things of the past, due to the Democratic Federal reserve act. The hard lot of the farmer struggling with money sharks will be softened by the passage of the rural-credits bill. Throughout the land voluntary increases of wages to millions of men in mill and mine and factory testify to faith in Democratic policies and give the lie to the prophecies of disaster that were made by Republican tariff publicity leagues as to what would happen under a Democratic tariff. At no time in the history of the United States have wages been higher for the employee and profits been greater for the employer than under this Democratic administration of Woodrow Wilson. Woodrow Wilson deserves reelection at the hands of the people. Peace in our land; prosperity in mill and mine and factory; preparedness of our Army and Navy, ready for any emergency, tell the story of Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party's claim to approval from the American people.

A Fair Wage for Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN M. EVANS, OF MONTANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 25, 1916.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, in last year's appropriation act there was appropriated for this item the sum of \$280,000. District Commissioners recommended an increase of \$42,000, and the committee which had this bill in charge have allowed, instead of \$42,000 asked, an addition of \$10,000, making the appropriation \$290,000 for the year. The amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Stafford] increases that appropriation \$20,000, making a total of \$310,000. This additional appropriation is to be used for the purpose of increasing the wages of street laborers from \$1.50 a day to \$1.75 a day and those now receiving \$1.75 a day to \$2 a day, and, in my judg-

ment, the amendment should carry.

I regret to find myself not in accord on this question with the Appropriations Committee, of which I am a member. But I can not bring myself to believe that \$1.50 or \$1.75 is sufficient

pay for any man for a day's work.

In the towns of the State which I represent, at least all the larger towns, the authorities provide a minimum wage of \$3 a day. Wages are higher and living is probably more expensive in that country than here, but in my judgment \$3 is little enough for any man anywhere, and a pittance of \$1.50 or \$1.75 simply means starvation for any man who has anyone dependent upon

The Government of the United States is amply able to give any man a fair wage for a day's work. It has been the fashion for many years for men engaged in legislative matters to attempt to control the wages paid by corporations and industrial concerns, to the end that the working people might receive fair compensation. We have all taken pride in berating and talking about their selfishness and their grinding of their workmen; and yet we, Members of Congress, directors of the largest corporation in America, are setting the example by asking men to work for a starving wage.

I did not realize until this matter was called to attention here how niggardly the Government has been in dealing with a lot of

its employees.

The workmen affected by this particular item are not only asked to work at a starvation price but they are not given con-

asked to work at a starvation price but they are not given continuous employment. As the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Meker] says, they are paid the munificent sum of \$1.50 on bright, sunshiny days but are given no employment during rainy or inclement weather when they can not work.

I have no interest in any individual that is affected by this bill. So far as I know, I never met anyone that would be affected, but to me a principle is involved—the principle that "a workman is worthy of his hire." During the last three years I have been here I have heard much on the floor of this House about the maintaining of American ideals and standards. I about the maintaining of American ideals and standards. I have heard much about pauper labor from Europe invading this country to drag down the standard of living for our working people, all uttered, I have no doubt, with perfect sincerity; and yet, when we are dealing with our own people in the Capital City of the Nation we are so penurious as to ask them to work for a daily wage of less than \$2.

Mr. Speaker such treatment is a travectory it is a travectory.

Mr. Speaker, such treatment is a travesty; it is a travesty upon

our big, rich, generous, wasteful Government.

I dare say there is not a week that passes by when Congress is in session that we do not waste more than the amount involved is in session that we do not waste indee than the amount involved in these increases. But, as suggested, I am not so much in-terested in this particular item as I am in the principle involved that no man should be employed by the Government of the

United States that does not receive a living wage.

The Government is annually spending thousands of dollars to ameliorate the conditions of labor. We have regulated the hours of Government employees, the hours of men operating railroads—many of the States are doing the same—and yet, in the face of those facts, we are asking a lot of people to work for the Government at a price that would scarcely keep body and soul together and that every right-thinking man knows will not allow him to live and support himself and family. know that if he has no other source of income he must throw himself upon the charity of his community.

It has been suggested by those who have this bill in charge

that many of these people can not earn more than the price

paid; that many of them are superannuated, crippled, or otherwise incapacitated, and to increase the wages would be the cause of many of these people losing their positions.

Mr. Speaker, if it be correct that many of these people are not physically capacitated to do a normal day's work, then their employment must be to some degree out of a sense of sympathy and charity. And I can not believe that the authorities of the District of Columbia, out of the goodness of their hearts, would employ men where the Government is paying a bill for \$1.50 a day and decline to employ the same man when the Government provided funds with which to pay them \$2 a day.

The Government of the United States should in all matters of this nature be the model employer. If we ask railroads and industrial concerns to treat their laborers fairly and throw restrictions around them to enforce fair treatment to their workingmen, then surely we, as a Government, can afford to set an example, if not of generosity, at least of justice and fair treatment. [Applause.]

While on this subject, Mr. Speaker, though it has no particular bearing in this particular item, I desire to submit some facts contained in the report of the Labor Committee, of which the gentleman from California [Mr. Nolan] is chairman. That committee on yesterday reported out a bill which should receive the serious consideration of the country and this Congress. Let me quote the bill:

Let me quote the bill:

Be it enacted, etc., That after the beginning of the first fiscal year following the passage of this act, the minimum compensation of any person employed by the United States or by the government of the District of Columbia shall be not less than \$3 per day; or if employed by the hour, not less than 374 cents per hour; or if employed by the month, not less than \$90 per month; or if employed by the year, not less than \$1,080 per annum: Provided, That the provisions of this act shall not apply to persons enlisted in the military branches of the Government nor to persons receiving quarters and subsistence in addition to their compensation, nor to persons holding appointments as postmasters: Provided further, That the provisions of this act shall apply only to those persons who have been continuously in the employ of the Government of the United States, or in the employ of the government of the District of Columbia, for a period of not less than two years, and who shall have attained the age of 20 years.

Sec. 2. That upon the passage of this act the heads of departments in which are employed persons as defined in section 1 of this bill shall issue new appointments at the increased rate of compensation herein provided.

The report of the committee on this bill reveals many startling

The report of the committee on this bill reveals many startling facts, many of them well known to you and to me, but facts, nevertheless, that have not received congressional consideration because probably never assembled in so concrete, positive, and official a form.

The testimony before that committee shows the average wages paid to certain classes of employees of the Government of the United States and shows the estimated cost of living, and I desire to incorporate some of these figures in my remarks.

Mr. Arthur E. Holder, representing the American Federation of Labor, has compiled an itemized statement showing the cost of living for a family of five for a period of one year, providing for the bare necessities of life, making no allowances whatever for doctor's bills, medicine, insurance, lodge dues, newspapers, church contributions, or amusements of any sort. And his estimate is \$767.95, itemized as follows:

Estimated minimum cost of bare existence for husband, wife, and three children for a year of 365 days.

I Ry Arthur E Holder 1

[by Arthur E. Holder.]	
Food:	
3 meals per day for 5 persons at 5 cents per meal each, equals 75 cents per day; for 365 days	\$273.7
Rent: House or rooms, at \$20 per month	240.0
Vater:	
50 cents per month	6. 0
2 suits for husband (no overcoat), at \$15 each	30. 0
3 suits of underclothes, at \$1 per suit	3.0
1 suit for wife, with cloak 3 suits of underclothes, at \$1 per suit	25. 0 3. 0
Clothes for 3 children, at \$10 each	30. 0
Underclothes for children, stockings, etc	9. 0
pair	10.0
2 pairs each for 3 children, at \$2 per pair	12.0
Repairs for shoes for year (no rubbers)	3. 0
Gas for light and cooking, at \$2 per month	24.0
Coal, 7 tons, at \$7 per ton	49.0
lousehold needs: Soap for laundry and bathing, 10 cents per week	5. 2
Matches, firewood, replacing broken crockery ware, cook-	30.0
ing utensils, etc., per year New bedding, tablecloths, matting, rugs, other floor cover-	10.0
ing, and replacing broken or worn-out furniture, per	
year	20.0
Towels, window shades, other minor but essential articles for household and family wear, such as hats, caps,	
wraps, umbrellas, etc., classed as miscellaneous	15.0
Total cost of bare existence for family during year	767. 9

None.

It will be noticed that no entry has been made for the following ex-penses, which are usually necessary:

penses, which are usually necessary:

Street cars
Tobacco
Whisky
Other stimulants
Candy
School books and other school needs
Church expense
Newspapers, magazines, etc
Theaters, movies, excursions, social or church parties
Insurance, lodge dues, trade unions
Postage and stationery for correspondence
Cost of births
Cost of deaths None.
None. Cost of deaths _____ Cost of sickness, medicine ____ Cost of accidents or lawsurts_

Using this estimate as a basis it will be observed that not a single man employed under this item in the bill could maintain himself and his family of three on the wages paid, ever though he should work every day in the year including Sundays. The report of the Labor Committee reveals the startling fact that thousands of men outside of the Army and Navy are working for the Government at wages insufficient for the upkeep of a home even in the most humble manner.

For my part, Mr. Speaker, I insist that the Government should not employ anybody and ask him to work for a wage on which he can not maintain his self-respect. I am for the amendment.

The Shipping Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT ESTOPINAL.

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 20, 1916,

n the bill (H. R. 15455) to establish a United States shipping board for the purpose of encouraging, developing, and creating a naval auxiliary and naval reserve and a merchant marine to meet the requirements of the commerce of the United States with its Territories and possessions and with foreign countries; to regulate carriers by water engaged in the foreign and interstate commerce of the United States;

Mr. ESTOPINAL. Mr. Speaker, the Sixty-third and Sixtyfourth Congresses, constituting the two terms with a Democratic administration, will go down into history with the record of having given the country more of important constructive legislation than has been enacted in any entire decade of years preceding these two Congresses. But none of this constructive legislation will have more influence, in my judgment, in determining the future prosperity of this country than this measure if it becomes a law. Be it granted that, in the greater cost of the shipping provided for in this bill and in the larger wages we must pay the officers and crews to operate these vessels, after we build or buy them, we shall be under some disadvantage as against other countries, especially the oriental countries, with which we may be thrown into competition; and be it granted that the consequences will be much less profit than the shipping of other countries get, perhaps no profit at all, and even the probability of losses which mail subventions will have to cover, it still remains that these are trifling considerations when weighed against the advantages which will accrue to our country from having this merchant marine to safeguard our foreign commerce and to make our Navy fully rounded out in practical That there is in this move by the Government the hazard of financial loss and almost the certainty of having to buttress this measure by other legislation involving perhaps the extension of our foreign mail facilities seemingly beyond our degitimate needs is all the more reason why we should enact this bill into law.

If good profits were in the offing and seemed certain enough of realization to attract private capital to the full extent of supplying all the tounage we should have for our expanding commerce, and to afford our Navy the auxiliaries and reserves of vessels that we shall need in the unfortunate event of being involved in warfare, it would be a relief to all of us who favor this measure, for I am sure there is no enthusiasm in this body for any proposition which will force the Government into activities that clearly lie outside the scope of its legitimate functions. But there is no present prospect of profit in ocean shipping, as such, to private investors when it must be developed under the handicap of our shipping laws, while there is such prospect, to a more or less degree, in almost every other field of commercial and industrial endeavor. Therefore private capital turns to those activities which promise more certain returns. Business

and the employment of investing capital could not enter a project on any such terms of uncertainty as the Government will in this, except that shipping, in certain cases, may be but a part of an extensive business, the other departments of which are sufficiently profitable to make the ownership of vessels, as an insurance against extortion and uncertainties, of more importance to them than the question of temporary low freight rates. There are corporations of this kind in the United States that have been willing to put a part of their capital into shipping, which they maintained on terms that were higher than the competitive market prices for freight, so as not to be caught in the toils of such situations as confront us to-day in shipping matters, and this expenditure was good business for them for that purpose. There is all the more reason for the Government of a great people, whose interests are jeopardized, to take like precautions

Our lack of shipping might easily demoralize our whole foreign commerce. We can readily understand that, from the circumstances of uncertainty and extortion which have entered into our business relations with foreign shipping since the opening of hostilities among the European nations, even greater turdens may be placed upon us and increased tribute demanded from our commerce, with its almost complete paralysis not impossible.

And this lack of merchant shipping might easily neutralize the advantages we are seeking through the increase of our

fighting strength on the seas.

While we are naturally prepared to make some allowances for war-time conditions, we can not reconcile ourselves to the immorality of the enormously increased shipping charges that have been laid on our products which we are sending abroad. But these excessive charges are quite in keeping with the circumstances which have attended the use of foreign shipping by our business men when they sought to place their goods in the newer countries in competition with business concerns from the countries in which the shipping was owned. Our export business had but small chance for success when operating under this handicap. This measure will free us from the hazard of interruption of our business and make us independent of the causes of extortion and favoritism. And it is not certain that there will be losses to us in the final striking of balances, so to speak. The appropriations which doubtless we shall be called upon to make for mail conveying in the way of this shipping support may be of a final advantage to our commerce far beyond the amounts we supply. There is wisdom and economy in advance work in communication, for it often leads to lucrative business connections. Our competitors know this better than we do, for they have been making a science of foreign trade development while we have been content to put our best thought and employ our best energies in developing our internal commerce. But by the logic of events we have been drawn more and more, slowly but progressively, into this world game, and we must play it in the best American spirit. And within the five-year period to which this measure limits us we ought to easily find a way to transfer this whole shipping matter to private hands in such shape that it will bring ample support for its continued activity and enlargement.

Naval Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. C. BASCOM SLEMP, OF VIRGNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Saturday, May 27, 1916.

Mr. SLEMP. Mr. Speaker, the people of the United States were wholly unprepared to receive the news of the outbreak of the European war. It came with startling suddenness. Not until Belgium had made the costly sacrifice of her people, and Namur, Liege, and Antwerp had fallen before the powerful attacks of Teutonic artillery, did the American people realize that the greatest and most disastrous war of all time was upon the world.

A pall spread over our country; men tried to reform their views of civilization, Christianity, religion, ethics, to reconcile their beliefs with the existence of such a frightful calamity. Their convictions, preachings, teachings were gone over to see on what moral, ethical, or even material hypothesis this war could have been brought on humanity. No sure explanation was found then, and there exists none to-day. Racial antagonisms, growth of population, commercial jealousies, territorial rivalries, revenge for lost provinces, the domination of the militarist spirit—each, all, and others doubtless contributed their respective shares to this catastrophe. History alone can determine the cause and the responsibility.

The President of the United States in due time issued the customary proclamations of neutrality, and the people of the United States settled down to await the outcome. Many believed the war would end in a few months. It is still raging with

undiminished fury.

The European war found this country in the throes of an industrial panic—labor unemployed, industry paralyzed, earnings eliminated, foreign goods flooding our country, and our National Treasury practically bankrupt. The war brought further, but only temporary, disruption to business. Shipping was demoralized, our trade with Germany and Austria cut off, railroads ran with no freight to carry, passenger trains carried no passengers, coal mines remained closed down, and the stock market shut its doors. Financial leaders wondered how it were possible for the American market to absorb the \$6,000,000,000 of American securities held by European people—an amount more than six times the national debt of the United States. A representative of English bankers, Sir George Paish, visited this country to secure a balance of \$100,000,000 we owed to English people in trade settlements, and we were disturbed about it, about this strain on our resources.

The country soon, however, became flooded with European agents to buy American goods, to buy our horses, our wheat, our flour, our steel, and, in fact, anything and everything we could produce to sell. Contracts were entered into, involving the purchase of millions and millions of dollars worth of goods; guns and bayonets, powder and shot, overcoats and shoes, elec-trical supplies, and hospital equipment, food and clothing. The wheels began to turn, industry to hum and make glad the heart-the fires were lighted in our furnaces, coal began to roll out of the earth, labor once more got employment, the pall of gloom fell off the American people, and the one great good of the European war to us-the revival of American industry came to the American people. It brought with it new hope, new optimism, and a new spirit, constituting doubtless the most remarkable reversal in thought and material achievement the world has ever known. But the prosperity it is said we enjoy is not the prosperity of life, but the prosperity of death; it is not the prosperity that comes from an interchange of commodities throughout a peaceful world, but a prosperity that comes from blood-soaked battlefields, from noble but bleeding countries, from the wounded and the dying, from the death struggle of the very flower of the human race.

In the midst of this holocaust of destruction, while the prayers of the Christian world are raised to put an end to the frightful carnage, the only basis for our temporary prosperity, Democratic orators and speakers are rising to say that they brought this prosperity to the country. They claim that credit should be given the Democratic Party because goods are now being sold abroad to feed, clothe, and arm millions of soldiers now marching on European battle fields, and for that reason people this year should vote the Democratic ticket. Yes, vote for the Democratic Party because we have a modicum of prosperity, brought about by the European death struggle. Yes, vote for the Democratic Party after their tariff and other policies had brought ruin and stagnation to all American enterprise. How ridiculous to think that any man could advance any claim for Democracy on such account, and how inconceivable to think that any intelligent man could be misled by it.

Since the war started we have had one campaign—the congressional campaign of 1914. The Democratic majority in the House was changed from 147 to the narrow margin of 26.

There was no appeal made by the Democratic leadership in that contest—on Democratic promises or Democratic performances. There was no defense of domestic policies, or of the "New Freedom," or of "Unlocking the Fetters." These were treated with contemptuous silence. There was only one Democratic argument: "He kept us out of war." Neglecting the fact that our soldiers had invaded the soil of Mexico, killed a number of her citizens, and had then been withdrawn, the whole farce to the eternal shame and disgrace of the American Nation, it was said, "He kept us out of war."

Notwithstanding that we had no possible place in the European conflagration, the hallucination was encouraged that the President had also kept us out of that conflict. The horror of the European tragedy had so filled the human heart, and the relief so genuine and so solemn because our young men were not being killed in battle, that the people yielded to their generous though illogical impulses and elected a Democratic House of Representatives.

The success of this experiment had a reflex action on the present occupant of the White House. Apparently the road to political success lay in "calming the judgment" and evading responsibility. Moving in the unreal atmosphere of idealism, he assumed to be the champion of peace and to have the opportunity "seldom vouchsafed to any nation," to "obtain peace in the world." Filled with these dreams while living in a savage world and in a savage age, he took no thought of the future, but an December 8, 1914, speaking of national defense, he stated in the lightest vein:

But I turn away from the subject. It is not new. There is no new need to discuss it.

One could scarcely imagine that within one year this same President would be saying, on February 2, 1916:

I say to you in all solemnity that there is not a day to be lost, not because of any new or critical matter, but I can not tell what will happen in 24 hours.

When the Imperial Government of Germany issued its notice of submarine warfare, in contravention of the rules of civilized war, President Wilson stated to Germany that she would be held to "strict accountability," if American interests were invaded. Heedless of our solemn and emphatic warnings, the Lusitania was sunk in mid-ocean, carrying hundreds of innocent American citizens to a watery grave. The country was stunned at the unprecedented act and demanded action. The President, however, was not to be moved, and, accordingly, in Philadelphia, made his famous speech:

There is such a thing as being too proud to fight.

The example of America must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight but peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not.

By this statement American pride, American self-respect, was touched. The country became aflame with indignation. It was felt that the policy of the President in Mexico of shifting, of hesitancy, of indecision, of reversal, was being repeated in the European crisis. Strong men, strong newspapers, came to the front, societies were formed, asserting American rights and demanding that the country be placed in a position not only to protect itself but to assert its rights.

Slowly the movement took shape. First, Roosevelt, then Gardier and after them innumerable patriotic citizens and societies appeared before the public, until the national conscience was aroused and the issue of preparedness and the common defense became the dominant thought in the public mind. How quickly also did the President change his views. He who had viewed only with mental distress the destruction of life and property in Mexico ever since he had become President, now exclaimed. February 2, 1916:

I have not even enough men to keep bandits from raiding into the United States territory.

He who one year before said-

Let there be no misconception; the country has been misinformed, we have not been negligent of national defense-

now exclaimed in the new atmosphere of Americanism:

The Army is not large enough for the ordinary duties of peace.

In 1914, in his address to Congress, he said in regard to the Navy:

We shall take leave to be strong upon the seas in the future as in the past.

This meant no relative naval increase if it meant anything. Yet, in 1916, when national defense had full sway and was sweeping over the country, he urged:

I think our Navy should be the greatest in the world; it should be unconquerable.

The change in the President's attitude has carried along with it a change in the attitude of members of his party. They who have for generations denounced the Republican Party for extravagant expenditures for both the Army and Navy are now shouting for preparedness, national defense, and the expenditure of untold millions. They are entering this business without apology for their previous contradictory attitude and with shameful disregard of their teachings and professions.

It is hoped by the Democratic managers to play both ends

It is hoped by the Democratic managers to play both ends against the middle in a desperate effort to secure the confidence of the people of the country. This I do not believe they will be able to do, nor do I believe they are entitled to the confidence of the American public.

No individual and no party should be judged by a single declaration of belief or policy nor a profession for a single campaign. It should be judged by his or its repeated actions and utterances, official and unofficial. This principle should be applied to the Democratic Party when it is attempting deliberately to deceive the public, and judgment rendered accordingly.

ately to deceive the public, and judgment rendered accordingly.

The real attitude of the Democratic Party and its leaders is based upon the traditions and early teachings of its founders,

and it has been maintained in modified form from the early days of the Republic to the present time. The doctrine of State rights had its necessary concomitant in a weak navy and a citizen army. Those who advocated the retention of rights and power by the several States necessarily did not sympathize with a "national viewpoint." The followers of Jefferson and Hamilton differed, as did the leaders, as to the functions of the respective States and of the Federal Government. The hesitancy of making the National Government powerful to-day is the hesitancy of those who in their youth imbibed the teachings of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and later John C.

In a letter of April 17, 1801, he wrote:

I shall really be chagrined if the water in the Eastern Branch will not permit of our laying up the whole seven there in time of peace, because they would be under the immediate eye of the department and would require but one set of plunderers to take care of them.

Later, in 1806, he wrote:

Believing myself that gunboats are the only water defense which can be useful to us and protect us from the ruinous folly of a navy, I am pleased with everything which promises to improve them.

President Wilson, discussing the naval policy of Thomas Jefferson, on page 190, volume 3, in his History of the American

Mr. Jefferson had brought a party to power which had dismantled the Navy which the Federalists had begun. The few ships that remained were tied up at the docks out of repair, out of commission, or lacking crews and equipment. English cruisers overhauled American merchantmen when and where they pleased, looked into their manifests and bills of lading, forbade them their voyage if they chose, and took their seamen off to serve in their own crews.

This has been the general attitude of the Democratic Party in recent years, and until public sentiment had forced them to advocate some measure of preparedness. Only a few months ago the Democratic leader of the House approved the program of preparedness submitted by President Wilson, and said in a public statement:

All the talk and writings by the press and the so-called "patriotic societies" about our "utter helplessness," our "dangerous unpreparedness," "our defenseless condition," our "growing weakness," our "having failen to the third or fourth grade of inferiority in naval strength," etc., is pure tommyrot, based not on a single fact.

To-day he is voting for this bill in order that the Democratic Party may not be attacked too severely in its coming campaign.

Speaking generally, the Democratic Party is taking any posi-tion whatever to be with public sentiment in the coming presi-dential campaign. It is shifting, shambling, hesitating, and reversing. Their course admits of one conclusion, and one conclusion only, and that is, that it is dictated by expediency and not by conviction, and that Democracy will change its position on any subject, provided a passing whim would seem to make such change popular.

Now, Mr. Speaker, with reference to the particular bill before the House, I shall vote for it, and for such amendments as will strengthen it. I not only intend to vote for the cruisers mentioned in the bill, but I intend also to vote for the amendment providing for additional battleships. The Naval Committee has given five months' time in preparing the bill. Representatives of the best naval thought have been before the committee. This is the result of their deliberation. I prefer to take no chances when the honor and the safety of the country may be involved. Since I have been a member of Congress, I have voted for a consistent naval program, and I expect to do so, so long as I am a Member of Congress, while conditions in the world approximate what they are to-day.

The naval bill carries an appropriation of \$241,000,000, the largest appropriation made for naval purposes by any Government, at any time, in the history of the world. At any other time it would make a professional Democratic politician faint The appropriation is made necessary in order to make up for the neglect of the Navy since the Democratic Party came into power in 1911. At that time our Navy was admittedly second in the world; to-day it is a doubtful fourth.

The Government of the United States and the people of the United States can not escape relations with the rest of the While in a sense we may be geographically isolated, yet our people are commingling more and more with the rest of the world, and our wares and merchandise are entering ports to which heretofore they were strangers. In this one war we have seen German ships of commerce driven from the sea, the trade connections of their merchants with the rest of the world suspended if not destroyed, and American goods taking their place. Without a strong Navy the same thing may happen to us. No one can say what may follow the suspension of hostilities in Europe. The United States is the one large country of the world whose people will not be burdened

with debt. It may be the object of envy and the jealousy of other powers. It has a seacoast of thousands of miles to It has two shores of a great continent, dotted with innumerable cities of happy, prosperous people, depending for protection upon the strong arm of the Government. Our commerce is literally covering the ends of the earth; scarcely a spot on the globe but is reached in some way by American goods, the product of American labor. It staggers the mind to think of the amount of foreign commerce to-day, and it is daily growing. Shall we keep it or, by adopting a supine policy, lose it? Much of it must be lost later, but in any event much of it may be retained. Shall we prepare ourselves for any reasonable emergency? To do so our Navy must be strong. Possibly the strongest Navy in the world, as the President would have it, should be our policy. For the present, therefore, in accordance with the judgment of the committee and the judgment of our lest naval experts, I expect to vote for the bill and for such amendments as will make our Navy even stronger.

River and Harbor Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EUGENE BLACK.

OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Saturday, May 27, 1916.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, I have voted against the river and harbor appropriation bill because I believe that its passage means a large waste of the public funds. There are undoubtedly meritorious projects in this bill, but they are coupled up with others which it seems to me can not be reasonably de-fended on any ground. The chaff is all mixed up with the grain, and in my opinion a careful study of the bill and its different projects will disclose that the proportion of chaff is very large. The system of grouping these worthy projects in an omnibus bill with others of doubtful merit is all wrong. What is the remedy for this evil practice? Certainly it will never be found in continuing to pass these bills without protest. The only way that I know of is to vote against them and go before the people and show the error of the system under which these appropriations are made, until public sentiment shall be aroused to that extent that it will demand that the custom of dumping millions of dollars into some of these so-called navigable rivers will stop.

Two years ago I stated in my platform to the people of the

congressional district which I have the honor to represent, as follows:

I think that a great deal of money that is spent on so-called navigable rivers could be much better spent upon the public highways and in building demonstrative roads in different sections of the Union, and if I am elected to Congress I shall vote for no appropriation to be expended in making a river navigable, unless there is really some reasonable expectation of being able to do so, and this shall apply whether the river is in my own district or the district of some one else.

My views in this respect have undergone no change and I have, therefore, at the present session of Congress voted for the Shackleford good-roads bill and against this river and harbor appropriation bill.

SOME FACTS SHOWING WHY I VOTED AGAINST THIS RIVER AND HARBOR APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. Speaker, I have repeatedly stated that I did not oppose any proper appropriations for the improvement of the harbors of the United States, either on the Great Lakes or the ocean seaboard; neither do I oppose appropriations for the proper improvement of our rivers where they are really in the navigable class and where the prospective commerce to be developed will at all justify the expenditure. My attitude on this is perfectly clear. It is simply this: I believe that every dollar of the public money expended should be with the purpose of getting a dollar's worth of return to the people or the Government, either in the near present or the not too distant future. Examine this bill, if you please, and see if it will meet the test of ordinary business judgment and common sense. The bill appropriates in round numbers the sum of \$40,000,000, and is, as I have heretofore stated, an omnibus bill in which all the different projects—good, bad, and indifferent—are grouped together; and if you vote in favor of any, you have to vote for all; and if you vote against any, you must vote against all. My criticism against this bill is not directed against the membership of the committee but against the unbusinesslike method of the way it is made up and the method which has been pursued

for years past in river and harbor appropriations, both under Democratic and Republican administrations. There are projects carried in this bill which have been carried from year to year, which are apparently but little nearer completion than when first begun.

Take the Trinity River, for instance, to which I will refer more at length later on. The third and last survey of that river was made by Col. Riché under the act of March 3, 1899, and he recommended that 37 locks and dams be constructed in the river between Dallas and its mouth in order to give navigation on the river. Thus far five of these locks and dams have been constructed since this report of Col. Riché; and if it takes as long to complete the balance of these locks and dams as it has taken to construct the five which have been built, the improvement will be completed in 105 years from the time it started, and Dallas will have navigation in the spring of the year of 2004 A. D. Long before that time the present inhabitants of the city of Dallas will be gathered to their Fathers and the gentle murmur of the Trinity will be singing requiems besides their graves during seasons of the year when it has sufficient water to ripple at all.

And in my own district the navigation of the Red River from Fulton, Ark., up to Denison, Tex., is another fiction of the imagination that would rival the fables of Æsop or the tales of the Arabian Nights.

Mr. Speaker, the unbusinesslike way of the Federal Government of trying to take up every river and big creek in the United States and placing them on the navigable list reminds me of the foolish poultry raiser who sometimes puts too many eggs under one hen and has the unpleasant experience of seeing none of them hatch. On many of these expenditures the Government gets neither navigation nor reclamation, and the money is wasted

RIVER COMMERCE GROWING SMALLER.

A study of the statistics of river commerce will show that despite the large amounts which are annually appropriated in these river and harbor bills that in most cases the river commerce is growing smaller and smaller each year. If it was even holding its own we might in some measure justify the expenditure. The actual condition reminds me of an incident which occurred during the Civil War. A Confederate captain and his company were on a march to Vicksburg, and when they thought they had traveled long enough to be there the captain stopped at a house by the wayside and inquired how far it was to Vicksburg. "About 2 miles," responded his informer. After going about that distance and still not having reached Vicksburg, the captain stopped at another house and made the same inquiry and received the same response. Going still farther and appearing no nearer his destination, the captain inquired again, and was told that it was still 2 miles to Vicksburg. Well, thank God," said the captain, "we are still holding our wn." Gentlemen of the House, we can not say so much for this river navigation. We are not even "holding our own. Notwithstanding the enormous sums of money expended on some of these rivers, the commerce on them is steadily diminishing.

Take the great Mississippi River, for instance, upon which so many millions have been spent, some of it wisely and some unwisely. St. Louis, on the Mississippi River, has for the past 50 years been the principal origin or terminus of the traffic on our western rivers, and we have the authority of Col. C. McD. Townsend, Army Engineer and president of the Mississippi River Commission, for the statement that in 1880 the river commerce of that port reached the total of 2,120,000 tons and has steadily declined since then to 153,000 tons in 1914. I have seen it stated on what I deem to be responsible authority that commerce on the Mississippi River has decreased 90 per cent in the last 50 years. What is the reason? It is simply this: The railroads are hauling the freight and this commerce has been diverted by the natural law of economics into these quicker and more convenient arteries of transportation.

MISSOURI RIVER.

The improvements for the Missouri River have already cost the Government \$21,000,000, and to carry out the present project will require \$14,000,000 more, making in all \$35,000,000 on the Missouri River. Prof. H. G. Moulton, of the University of Chicago, in an article published in the Journal of Political Science, No. 10, December, 1915, analyzes this Missouri River proposition. For the sake of argument he assumes that the commerce should expand on this river until it finally reaches the enormous total of \$00,000 tons per annum—a result that requires a very large stretch of the imagination to expect. Mr. Moulton points out that even though the traffic should eventually reach this heavy total that the saving in freight

charges of 20 per cent on the average would be only \$200.000 annually. Against this annual saving of freight would be a charge on the Federal Government of \$500,000 for estimated annual maintenance, besides the annual interest on the investment. Spending money like that looks to me to be just about as sensible as trying to fill a barrel through a bunghole with both ends open.

As illustrating the "large and growing" commerce on the upper Missouri River, I quote from a letter from a citizen of Omaha, Nebr., dated August 21, 1915, and which appeared in the Chicago Tribune in August, 1915. The letter says:

In 1915 there is just one steamship on the river between Sioux City and Kansas City. She is the Julia of 10 tons, and she plies between Omaha and Decatur, 60 miles. The United States Government spent many millions of dollars in order that the Julia might operate. On her last trip the Julia brought one passenger, the first and only steamship passenger to land in Omaha in 30 years.

Indeed, I imagine the whir and splash of this wonderful steamship, the *Julia*, sounded quite as "navigation-like" to the people of Omaha as the Government snag boat plying on Red River sounds to the people of my district; or the *Commodore Duncan*, which every once in a while makes a trip up Trinity River, sounds to the people of Dallas.

Now, if we are getting such uncertain results from these expenditures on great rivers like the Mississippi and Missouri, how much more doubtful is the propriety of including a great many of these smaller rivers and streams in this bill. There are many figures which might be cited to show the waste that has attended this field of Government activity in the past. In fact, instance after instance can be cited, using the Government's own engineers' reports as a basis. But I will not encumber the Record with too long a recital of statistical information. However, before I leave this phase of the subject, I will insert some figures which I have received from the clerk of the Rivers and Harbors Committee relating to two Texas projects, viz, the Trinity River and Red River, the latter being in my own district. These statements are as follows:

Appropriations made for Trinity River, 1902-1915.

June 13, 1902	8125, 000, 00
Mar. 3, 1902	
June 30, 1906	111, 000, 00
Mar. 2, 1907	75, 000, 00
Mar. 4, 1907	
Mar. 27, 1908	90, 900, 00
Mar. 3, 1909	
Mar. 4, 1909	
June 25, 1910	
Do	85, 000, 00
Feb. 27, 1911	
July 25, 1912	440, 000, 00
Mar. 4, 1913	
Oct. 2, 1914	203, 000, 00
Mar. 4, 1915	
Mar. 1, 1010	. 31, 000. 00
Total	9 199 987 00
Received from citizens of Dallas, Tex	66, 000, 00
Received from sales	7, 827, 59
ACCCIVED 110M SQUOS	1,021.00
Grand total	9 988 114 50
Appropriations made for Red River above Fulton, A	rk., 1886-1915.

Thhickernous meno los reco tre	our woods Patton, Mrki, 1000-1010.
Aug. 5, 1886	\$7, 000, 00
Aug. 11, 1888	
Sept. 19, 1890	
July 13, 1892	
Aug. 18, 1894	
June 3, 1896	
June 13, 1902	
Mar. 3, 1905	
Mar. 2, 1907	100, 000. 00
Mar. 8, 1909	40, 000, 00
June 25, 1910	50, 000, 00
Feb. 27, 1911	25, 000. 00
July 25, 1912	
Mar. 4, 1913	
Oct. 2, 1914	15, 000. Q0
Mar. 4, 1915	40, 000, 00

Grand total _______ 519, 000. 00 Total amount expended up to June 80, 1915 ______ 444, 783. 00

Unexpended on hand _

Now, what commerce has developed on these rivers to justify these expenditures? I quote the exact language used in the report of Hon. Stephen M. Sparkman, chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, filed with this bill on February 24, 1916, and which information certainly does not come from hostile sources, because Mr. Sparkman was in full charge of this bill and in the passage of which he was the able leader. On page 248 of the report the following commercial statistics are given for the Trinity River:

Commercial statistics.

The commerce transported during the calendar year 1814 consisted mainly of logs in rafts and of merchantable timber, with a small amount of cotton and other farm products.

Comparative statement.	2000	DECEMBER
	Short tons.	Value.
1912	60, 677 27, 147 12, 610	\$768, 115 406, 428 102, 394
Financial summary. Amount expended on all projects to June 30, 1915: New work Maintenance	_ \$1,83 _ 23	0, 595. 06 8, 667. 36
Total	2,069	9, 262, 42

Thus it will be seen from the above statistics that the more work that is done and the more money spent the less the commerce carried on the river. Can we not see at a glance that the commerce on the river fell from 60,677 tons in 1912 to 12,610 tons in 1914, a diminishing of 500 per cent in two years. Of course, it is but fair to state that the people of Dallas do not claim that there will be any commerce on the river of any considerable magnitude until the whole project is completed. But will there be any then in comparison to the cost of improvement? I can not believe so. Dallas is one of the leading cities of the Southwest, progressive in its spirit, and aggressive in its policies. I take off my hat to the city of Dallas. But I do not take it off enough to cause me to support the Trinity River project. In my opinion, the Brazos River project, from Old Washington to Waco, is practically as bad a proposition as the Trinity, and similar figures in con-nection with it could be cited but I will not take the time to do it now. The statistics, however, are easily available to those who desire to study them.

Now, what does this report of Mr. Sparkman say in regard to commerce on Red River above Fulton, Ark.? Here is what the report says on page 250:

Commercial statistics: Navigation on the Red River above Fulton has practically ceased. No steamboats are now in operation, and the rafting of logs has been reduced to an almost negligible quantity.

Need I say more to illustrate the folly of some of the appropriations in this river and harbor bill? I think not. It seems to me the evil is plain enough that even "He that runs may read." There are other Texas projects in this bill which are very meritorious and I am making no criticism of them whatever.

WHAT IS THE REMEDY?

How are we going to stop this waste? How may the reform be brought about? That is the question. In answer, I ask: How have we dealt with the endless confusion in freight rates? It has been by the creation of an Interstate Commerce Commission which is gradually bringing order out of chaos in our transportation charges. What method have we devised to deal with unfair competition and disreputable trade practices? The answer is: The Federal Trade Commission. How is the tariff, which has so long been the football of American politics, to be taken hold of in a sensible way and removed from the bitter partisanship which has so long attended it? We hope to accomplish it by a tariff commission which this session of Congress will create.

Then, why not deal with this waterway proposition in the same way? Why not create a national waterways commission to deal with this matter in an efficient and businesslike manner? The bill introduced by Representative Frear of Wisconsin, H. R. 6821, embodies the idea and deserves the favorable consideration of Congress and thinking people all over the country. In my opinion the annual waste in river and harbor improvement will continue so long as the present method is followed, and can only be stopped by a change in the system. In this way the useless and impracticable projects can be dropped and the good ones go on to completion, and the charge of reckless waste and extravagance, so often made-and many times with such good grounds to support it-should not, and probably would not, any longer

THE PROBLEM OF FLOOD CONTROL.

The House of Representatives at this session of Congress has created the Committee on Flood Control, and this is a matter quite different from the question of navigation, and the jurisdiction of the two committees are separate and distinct. I hope that the creation of this new Committee on Flood Control will result in much good to the country and that it will not adopt the unbusinesslike method of scattering its activities among a multitude of questionable projects, such as has been pointed out respecting river and harbor appropriation bills. The most fertile and productive lands in the United States lie in our river bottoms, and with the rapid growth of our population the reclamation of these lands from overflow is a problem of increasing importance and one that may well engage the attention of the Federal Government and command its activities. We should not wait until the need becomes acute before turning our attention The better grades of public lands have been homesteaded: that is to say, those that are easy and susceptible to cultivation. And now the problems of soil conservation and of reclamation of arid lands by irrigation and swamp and overflowed lands by drainage is beginning to engage our serious attention. It is not a provincial problem; it is one of national concern, and deserves the consideration of our best thinkers and workers.

Public officers should regard themselves as public servants and not merely as local instruments for the consideration of local questions and local issues. In this way only can we adequately meet the problems of the present and provide safely for the future. If we as a Nation have been somewhat careless and indifferent in the past, it is by no means too late to make amends for it by applying ourselves diligently and intelligently to the tasks which

nature and the needs of our people have set before us.

I have supported this flood-control bill, and believe that it is a step in the right direction to solve one of our great national

The Naval Bill-A Response to Hysteria.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON: WARREN WORTH BAILEY. OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 29, 1916.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, while this bill runs far beyond what I had hoped it might be, while it is a response to hysteria rather than to the needs of the country, while it yields far more to the demands of the munitions ring and the war traffickers than might have been the case had a loftier courage asserted itself in this House, it is still so far within the lines of moderation as compared with the tremendous and staggering specifications set forth in the program proposed by the Navy Board and the defense leagues that I find myself almost willing to support it-certainly willing to support it as against the alternative of a more costly and ambitious measure such as that advocated by the Republican minority.

THE COUNTRY IN NO DANGER FROM WITHOUT.

This bill would have been impossible before the outbreak of the European war. It is almost unthinkable even now. It is without any other excuse except this, that the people have been frightened into the fantastic belief that we are in some imminent peril. Yet President Wilson himself has said again and again that we are in no danger from without. Nor are we. Let it not be understood that I regard war between this country and another as impossible. Unfortunately, it were only too easily brought about.

What I wish to have understood is, that if we should become embroiled in trouble it will be by reason of some impatience on our part, some lack of forbearance, some insistence on legal or other rights which might better for the moment be foregone. I do not wish to see American rights abandoned. But I do wish to have our country take into account conditions and circumstances as they affect other countries, to meet rashness with reserve, to confront war madness with toleration, to present to the world an example of moderation and good will which in itself will make for better understandings and for adjustments of differences on firmer bases than force could ever afford. We are in no danger of war unless, indeed, we ourselves shall invite it; and I do not believe the Democratic Party will do that. President Wilson has kept us out of war thus far. He has borne himself with splendid poise in a difficult situation. Where another might and almost certainly would have substituted force for peaceful negotiation, the occupant of the White House has pursued a patient course, appealing to reason rather than to arms in bringing other nations to a realizing sense of their obligations to humanity and civilization. The world can never too highly appraise the debt it owes to Woodrow Wilson for the way in which he has steered the ship of state through the troubled waters of recent months. Had a Roosevelt or a Root or a Taft been at the head of our Government during the last year and a half, it is a practical certainty that long before this we, too, would be wallowing in blood along with the other distracted nations which have been drawn into the whirlpool of disaster across the Atlantic.

PILING BURDENS ON THE PROPLE.

Let me repeat, we are in no danger of war. Yet we are providing in this bill for vastly increased expenditures for war purposes. More taxes must be laid upon the people to meet the cost. It may be urged that the additional revenue which must be secured will be wrung in greater part from the men of millions. Perhaps. But about this I am not wholly convinced.

The men of millions are contemplating this possibility with an air so complacent that it makes me feel that they do not ex-Unless they pect the load to rest finally upon their shoulders. have lost their cunting, they will find a way to shift it to the backs of those who toil in the field or at the forge, in the factory or at the mechanic's bench. And in any event, should war come, the men of millions would do little of the fighting. That would devolve upon the boys from the mills and the farms. The soldiers would come not from the bank parlors and the countinghouses of big business but from the shops and stores and factories and fields. Soldiers have always come from the humble walks of life, and they will still come from that source rather than from the ranks of the rich; and the rich for some reason are always less anxious to keep the peace than the poor. The latter have nothing to gain from war. It is all loss for them. But war often brings golden harvests to the rich, and preparations for war are as profitable to the fortunate class as war itself; and here we find the explanation of much of the clamor we have heard during recent months through the metropolitan press for vast and ever vaster expenditures on Army and Navy. These expenditures would put money in the purses of the Morgans and the Rockefellers, the Schwabs and the Garys, the Maxims and the Fricks. This is the whole story.

ARE OLD IDEALS TO BE ABANDONED?

Never before in the history of this country has it been seriously proposed to abandon the American ideals as we are proposing now to do; for if we are to place our reliance in force, and that is what this bill implies, then we no longer stand upon the old ground—the ground that reason and justice must prevail over fire and sword. In all the glorious past of this Republic, until very recent years, our military and naval establishments were relatively negligible. Yet we were held in universal respect. No nation ever dreamed of attacking us.

In all countries and in all climes the American flag was regarded as the emblem of liberty and of opportunity for the humblest. It had no stains of blood upon it. It stood for no gospel except that of right. It typified the best aspirations of a free people who had a passion for the sacred rights of all mankind. And no oppressor ever dared assail it, even though there were neither ships nor armies to enforce its claims upon the respect of the world. It floated fair and free as the symbol of hope and good cheer to the oppressed of every land; and to the American people it was the expression of their undying zeal in the eause of freedom.

THE FLAG CAN NOT HAVE TWO MEANINGS.

Are we now ready to have it take on a different meaning? Are we prepared to have it symbolize something very remote from the old ideals? Is this flag in future years to speak to mankind a message couched in other terms than those that won it the veneration of the lovers of liberty in all climes? It can not be the emblem of two ideals at the same time; it can not symbolize at once the ideal of reason and justice and that of force. Either it must stand for the one or for the other. And I think in cooler moments the people of the United States will demand that it shall continue to stand for the old ideals rather than for the new ideals which have been borrowed from the tyrants of the past.

WHERE HAS THE MONEY GONE?

That the American people have seemed to acquiesce in the militarist program, that they have permitted matters to proceed unchallenged to the present moment, is almost obviously due to the spread of misinformation regarding, first, our state of military and naval preparedness; and, second, the imminence of trouble from without. But if we are unprepared, why are we so? In all conscience we have been spending enough to have given us the defensive equipment which is thought to be ex-

pedient if not necessary.

The total expenditures on the Navy from 1883 to 1915, inclusive, have been no less than \$2,166,040,762.42. What human mind can grasp these figures? What imagination can interpret them to the ordinary intelligence? They simply stagger the thought. To comprehend them is impossible. It were only by translating them into an understandable language that we can get any hold upon them at all. And we can do this only by ascertaining how many homes at \$2,000 each could be built for an equal sum, how many churches at \$10,000, how many school-houses at \$5,000, how many miles of permanent road at \$20.000 a mile, how many libraries at \$100,000 each, how many colleges

at \$500,000 each, and how many hospitals at \$200,000 each. Let the men out on the farm figure this out for themselves. Let the men in mill and mine do the same. Let the workers who foot the bills do a bit of calculating with a view to making an application of this huge sum of money to the useful and productive things which have been burdened to supply it. How would it have been with these had the billions been employed in developing and expanding them instead of resting upon them solely as a burden and a continuing drain?

As I have said before, this bill is predicated on the theory that our country is threatened from without and that we are unprepared to meet a probable emergency. But I have shown that if we are unprepared it is because billions have been wasted, and if billions have been wasted by those charged with the business of the national defense, what guaranty do they give that the money we are now appropriating will not be wasted in the same way? Has the country any assurance that profligacy will not continue to mark the administration of this arm of the public service? Can we count with better reason on prudence, economy, and integrity in future administration than we were able to do in the past? Until we can do so, were it not the part of ordinary business precaution to withhold further grants until there can be some guaranty that they will be faithfully administered?

NATION ALREADY VERY ADEQUATELY PREPARED.

However, I deny that we are unprepared for any probable I deny that we are without adequate defense. Our Navy is undoubtedly equal to, if not greater than, any other afloat with the single exception of that of Great Britain. It is true that the naval experts class our Navy as third, but they base this conclusion on facts which are at least doubtful. assume that Germany has carried forward an augmented building program since the outbreak of the war, yet there is no proof this. It is a bare assumption without any actual fact upon which to base it. It is more probable that Germany has confined its building program to the construction of submarines. has not done so, the Germans are entitled to less credit for intelligence than they are ordinarily given, for why should they build more ships to crowd the Kiel Canal? Why should they construct dreadnaughts that dare not venture out of a protected harbor? Why should she put more money into battle cruisers that would no more venture into the open sea than the ones she had when the war broke out? It is preposterous to assume that Germany has been expending her energies in this direction. reason, on the contrary, to believe that she has learned a lesson which has been lost upon the naval experts of this country, namely, that the submarine has changed the whole theory of warfare and that so far from battleships and battle cruisers being an element of naval strength, they are mere dead weights upon the country which possesses them. Great Britain has a navy twice or possibly thrice as great as that of Germany. Yet Great Britain keeps her fleet in protected waters. as much afraid as Germany is to send her fighting ships into the open sea where mines may be floating or where a submarine may be lying in wait.

WHY THINK IN TERMS OF STRIFE?

But why are we thinking in terms of war? Why are we telling ourselves that we must prepare for defense? Who is harboring designs upon us? Who has any reason to wish to do us injury? What is the fear, in fact, which possesses some of our eminent patriots? Is Germany coming over here on crutches and in wheeled chairs to carry forward her campaign of "frightfulness"? This seems to be the thought in the minds of some of our war lords. They are in mortal terror of this land which is already staggering under the burdens of the most terrible war in all history. They are telling us that Germany is coming hither to hold New York and Boston and Philadelphia to ransom, Yet she has been unable to hold any coast city of the allies to ransom. And it is equally true that the tremendous naval forces of the allies have thus far failed even to attempt so to hold a city of the central powers. Only a distorted imagination could have suggested the thought that Germany has any such design upon us as the prophets of evil would have us believe.

WILSON'S APPEAL TO REASON.

We have had some misunderstanding with Germany, now happily past. It grew out of incidental injuries sustained by Americans who ventured into the zone of danger. Germany never intentionally injured this country or our people. Any injury sustained by our citizens was merely incidental to her war on her enemy. With a wisdom and a prudence which are beyond praise, the President of the United States has reached an understanding with Germany which is satisfactory and which gives assurance that further cause for complaint shall not arise. And no occasion for complaint would have arisen at any time had Americans consulted their country's interests and

safety rather than their own pleasure and convenience. They very deliberately ignored the obligation they owed their Government by running into places of danger, into danger not aimed at them but at the enemies of Germany. Fewer Americans will do this in the future than in the past, for while a formal warning may not have been given them by Congress to avoid taking passage on armed belligerent vessels another way of effecting the same thing through the issuance of passports has happily been

So I deny that we are confronted by any great peril. This is all a herrible fit of hysteria. We have been stampeded into doing a foolish thing, into pursuing a foolish course, into indulging in a foolish extravagance by those who have a sordid reason for raising this hue and cry. There is money in the "preparedprogram for the gun founders, the powder makers, the manufacturers of munitions, the bankers, the high financiers, and the shoulder strappers. The latter are looking for promotions; the former for profits. And there are huge profits in this business of "preparedness." If the masses of the people could only realize how their money is going and where it is going, there would be a revolution in politics or at least in policies before this year is out. But the people know little concerning this mad business. Their sources of information are largely polluted. The great newspapers and the magazines of the country are joined together in the crusade for increased Congress is being mercilessly assailed because it has dared to cross the purposes of the war traffickers. public is being plied industriously with deceitful outgivings intended to excite the apprehensions of the multitude and so to force the hand of this body. Only here and there is to be found a public print which has the courage to stand out against the allied forces of greed and cunning back of this sordid propa-Too much praise can not be accorded papers like the New York Evening Post, the New York Mail, the San Francisco Bulletin, the Detroit News, and other publications which have exerted their influence in the effort to stem the tide of millitarism which has threatened to overwhelm us and to sweep us back into utter forgetfulness of our high ideals and our high

PEOPLE SHOULD HAVE HAD MORE TIME FOR STUDY.

I am sorry that a little more time might not have been afforded the people of the country to study the situation with which we are dealing now in this bill. It is hardly conceivable that they would approve so heavy a draft upon their resources as this calls for-a draft of nearly \$2.50 per capita-if they had before them all the facts to be studied in the calm of a world again at peace, as we all must hope it soon will be.

We have caught something of the infection which prevails in Europe. There is a blood lust here as there is a blood there. Unhappily we have a few men who long to see our there. Unhappily we have a few men who long to see our country mixing in the dreadful fray. Perhaps they are not thinking themselves of making sacrifices in the trenches or on the firing line. Rather they are thinking of sending your boy or mine to face the deadly shell or to go with his ship to the bottom of the sea. I can not myself understand the state of mind of these people. Their point of view is not mine. Their code is not the one which appeals to me. I can think only of the great masses who in any war must pay the dreadful price. And I am here to-day to protest with all my soul and with all my strength against a policy which has war for its ultimate object. For let no one believe that armaments make for peace. They have never done so and they never will. They make inevitably for war. They breed fear, suspicion, ill-feeling, distrust, irritation, and the spirit of reprisal. We can not go far along the course we have chosen without stirring other nations to activity by way of counterpreparation. They will not believe us when we profess that we are thinking only of self-defense. They will have a right to assume that we are concealing our real purpose behind that thin profession, and they will arm themselves to meet a situation which they will believe to be impending.

A RAY OF HOPE.

Yet there is one ray of hope projected by this measure—the hope that it will so arouse the American people by its enormity that they will rebuke the forces which have driven Congress and the country to give it countenance. It is so extravagant in its provisions that it certainly must challenge the heart and the conscience of the masses and arouse them to a sharp resentment of the burdens which it imposes. On the theory that things must become worse before they can become better, it may be possible for some of us to look upon the passage of this measure with some degree of complaisance. Yet this is rather a sorry reliance. It affords only a melancholy satisfaction. To most of us who feel that we are traveling rapidly along

a dangerous path the thought must come that in writing this bill into law we are at the same time hastening the country toward the precipice.

HOW THOUGHTS MAY PROVE FIREBRANDS.

Never truer word was said than this by President Wilson, that "remarks start fires." And when these remarks are written into law, how much more likely they are to kindle a flame. "There is tinder lying everywhere," said the President, "not only on the other side of the water, but on this side of the water; and a man that spreads sparks may be responsible for something a great deal worse than burning a town on the Mexican border. Thoughts may be bandits," he continued; "thoughts may be raiders; thoughts may be invaders; thoughts may be disturbers of international peace; and when you reflect upon the importance of this country keeping out of the present war you will know what tremendous elements we are all dealing with. We are all in the same boat."

Yes; we are all in the same boat, and rocking that boat is the most dangerous of pastimes. I would that the thoughts in which we are indulging were of peace rather than of war, of kindly offices rather than of suspicion and prejudice, of amity rather than of hatred, of good will rather than of hostile threats. It seems to me that the thought contained in this bill may be interpreted abroad as we would not have it interpreted; that it may disturb rather than allay feeling; but, happily, it contains one reassurance in the provision which empowers the President to call a congress of the nations at the close of the great war to consider the matter of disarmament. Let us hope that out of such a congress may come action which shall stop forever the mad race in which we have at last joined and which can have but one other end-that of national bankruptcy.

Speech of President Wilson.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM E. COX, OF INDIANA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, May 29, 1916.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a speech of the President delivered Saturday night at the peace meeting in Washington.

The speech is as follows:

SPEECH OF PRESIDENT WILSON, DELIVERED AT THE PEACE MEETING IN WASHINGTON.

When the invitation to be here to-night came to me, I was glad to accept it-not because it offered me an opportunity to discuss the program of the league-that you will, I am sure, not expect of me-but because the desire of the whole world now turns eagerly, more and more eagerly, toward the hope of peace. and there is just reason why we should take our part in counsel upon this great theme. It is right that I, as spokesman of our Government, should attempt to give expression to what I believe to be the thought and purpose of the people of the United States in this vital matter.

This great war that broke so suddenly upon the world two years ago, and which has swept within its flame so great a part of the civilized world, has affected us very profoundly, and we are not only at liberty, it is perhaps our duty to speak very frankly of it and of the great interests of civilization which it affects.

RIGHTS OF NATION AFFECTED.

With its causes and its objects we are not concerned. The obscure fountains from which its stupendous flood has burst forth we are not interested to search for or explore. But so great a flood, spread far and wide to every quarter of the globe, has of necessity ingulfed many a fair province of right that lies very near to us.

Our own rights as a Nation, the liberties, the privileges, and the property of our people have been profoundly affected.

are not mere disconnected lookers-on,

The longer the war lasts the more deeply do we become concerned that it should be brought to an end and the world be permitted to resume its normal life and course again. And when it does come to an end we shall be as much concerned as the na-

ARE PARTNERS WITH THE REST.

We are participants, whether we would or not, in the life of the world. The interests of all nations are our own also. We are partners with the rest. What affects mankind is inevitably our affair as well as the affair of the nations of Europe and of

One observation on the causes of the present war we are at liberty to make, and to make it may throw some light forward upon the future, as well as backward upon the past. It is plain that this war could have come only as it did, suddenly and out of secret counsels, without warning to the world, without discussion, without any of the deliberate movements of counsel with which it would seem natural to approach so stupendous a

It is probable that if it had been foreseen just what would happen, just what alliances would be formed, just what forces arrayed against one another, those who brought the great contest on would have been glad to substitute conference for

MIGHT HAVE AVERTED WAR.

If we ourselves had been afforded some opportunity to apprise the belligerents of the attitude which it would be our duty to take, of the policies and practices against which we would feel bound to use all our moral and economic strength, and in certain circumstances even our physical strength also, our own contribution to the counsel which might have averted the struggle would have been considered worth weighing and regarding.

And the lesson which the shock of being taken by surprise in a matter so deeply vital to all the nations of the world has made poignantly clear is that the peace of the world must henceforth depend upon a new and more wholesome diplomacy.

Only when the great nations of the world have reached some sort of agreement as to what they hold to be fundamental to their common interest, and as to some feasible method of acting in concert when any nation or group of nations seeks to disturb those fundamental things, can we feel that civilization is at last in a way of justifying its existence and claiming to be finally established.

MUST BE GOVERNED BY HONOR.

It is clear that nations must in the future be governed by the same high code of honor that we demand of individuals.

We must, indeed, in the very same breath with which we avow this conviction admit that we have ourselves upon occasion in the past been offenders against the law of diplomacy which we thus forecast; but our conviction is not the less clear, but rather the more clear on that account.

If this war has accomplished nothing else for the benefit of the world, it has at least disclosed a great moral necessity and set forward the thinking of the statesmen of the world by a

Repeated utterances of the leading statesmen of most of the great nations now engaged in war have made it plain that their thought has come to this, that the principle of public right must henceforth take precedence over the individual interests of particular nations, and that the nations of the world must in some way band themselves together to see that that right prevails as against any sort of selfish aggression; that henceforth alliance must not be set up against alliance, understanding against understanding, but that there must be a common agreement for a common object, and that at the heart of that common object must lie the inviolable rights of peoples and of man-

NATIONS ARE OUR NEIGHBORS.

The nations of the world have become each other's neighbors. It is to their interest that they should understand each other. In order that they may understand each other, it is imperative that they should agree to cooperate in a common cause, and that they should so act that the guiding principle of that common cause shall be even-handed and impartial justice,

This is undoubtedly the thought of America. This is what we ourselves will say when there comes proper occasion to say it. In the dealings of nations with one another arbitrary force must be rejected, and we must move forward to the thought of the modern world, the thought of which peace is the very atmosphere. That thought constitutes a chief part of the passionate conviction of America.

RIGHTS OF THE LITTLE NATIONS.

We believe these fundamental things: First, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live. Like other nations, we have ourselves, no doubt, once and again offended against that principle when for a little while controlled by selfish passion, as our franker historians have been fight to prevent the adoption by Congress of a provision in the

honorable enough to admit; but it has become more and more our rule of life and action. Second, that the small States of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sover-eignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon. And, third, that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations.

So sincerely do we believe in these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize these objects and make them secure against violation.

READY TO CHECK AGGRESSION.

There is nothing that the United States wants for itself that any other nation has. We are willing, on the contrary, to limit ourselves along with them to a prescribed course of duty and respect for the rights of others which will check any selfish passion of our own as it will check any aggressive impulse of

If it should ever be our privilege to suggest or initiate a movement for peace among the nations now at war, I am sure that the people of the United States would wish their Government to move along these lines:

First. Such a settlement with regard to their own immediate interests as the belligerents may agree upon. We have nothing material of any kind to ask for ourselves, and are quite aware that we are in no sense or degree parties to the present quarrel. Our interest is only in peace and its future guaranties.

Second. A universal association of the nations to maintain the inviolate security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all the nations of the world, and to prevent any war begun either contrary to treaty covenants or without warning and full submission of the causes to the opinion of the world—a virtual guaranty of territorial integrity and political independence.

ONLY AVOWS A CREED.

But I did not come here, let me repeat, to discuss a program. I came only to avow a creed and give expression to the confidence I feel that the world is even now upon the eve of a great consummation, when some common force will be brought into existence which shall safeguard right as the first and most fundamental interest of all peoples and all Governments, when coercion shall be summoned not to the service of political ambition or selfish hostility but to the service of a common order, a common justice, and a common peace.

God grant that the dawn of that day of frank dealing and of settled peace, concord, and cooperation may be near at

hand!

The Postal Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HALVOR STEENERSON, OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 29, 1916.

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Speaker, the House will recollect that on March 17 last I called attention to the Senate amendment to House bill 562, conferring on the Post Office Department the power and authority in their discretion to abolish any post office in the United States and make it a substation of some other selected office.

The conferees on this bill of which I had the honor to be one, eliminated this extraordinary provision, and when the report came up for action I had the honor to address the House in explanation of this extraordinary proposal, and I was glad to see that finally my views and the views of my colleagues on the committee received the sanction of both Houses of Congress, and the proposition defeated.

The people are just beginning to realize the significance of this "joker," and I am receiving letters and clippings on the

subject. Some of these I here insert:

[From St. Paul Pioneer Press, May 14, 1916.] STEENERSON SAVES THE POSTMASTERS-MINNESOTAN DEFEATS PROPOSITION TO ABOLISH ALL EXCEPT 3,000 POST OFFICES.

WASHINGTON, May 13.

Post Office appropriation bill to abolish all except 3,000 post offices and throwing the appointment of successors to the branch offices proposed to be created under the civil-service laws.

ORIGINATED IN SENATE.

The provision, which was put into the bill by the Senate, was rejected by the conferees in their report, and the House adopted the report with the objectionable provision eliminated. Mr. Steenerson pointed out the effects of the provision to the House just before the vote on the conference report was taken, saying, among other things:

FAVORS CARPETBAGGERS.

"This is not a civil-service measure at all. The effect would be that you would fill these places by creating vacancies in them, and I believe that is the real motive behind this proposition. Under this proposition you could send these carpetbaggers all over the United States to fill places in the North and West.'

[From Minneapolis Journal, May 15, 1916.] STEENERSON SAVES POSTMASTERS' JOBS IN 56.000 TOWNS-MINNESOTA CONGRESSMAN DEFEATS PLAN TO ABOLISH FOURTH-CLASS OFFICES-REPRESENTATIVE COMMENTS UPON TENDENCY TO INCREASE DEPART-MENT POWERS.

WASHINGTON, May 15.

Representative Halvor Steenerson won his fight to prevent the abolishment of fourth-class postmasterships throughout the At the instance of the Post Office Department the Senate placed in the bill to increase the limit of postal savings to \$1,000 a provision authorizing the establishment of a central office in each county in the country, with the other post offices as branch stations.

Although the same provision had been submitted to the House Post Office Committee and rejected, the House Members generally were not informed upon it, and the Minnesota Member had to make his fight practically alone for a time, when he won over the Democratic House conferees.

When the conference report was before the House Thursday Representative Steenerson made a short speech telling what the department was seeking to accomplish.

CRITICIZES INCREASE OF POWER.

"The most serious objection to the proposal," he said, "lies in the fact that it is along the lines of many others that are brought here every session of Congress for an increase in the discretionary power of the department. It is advocated as 'civil-service reform.' We are told that this will promote efficiency.

"Every time we unduly increase the discretionary power of administrative officers we reap trouble. Look at the Rural Delivery Service. The law simply authorizes the department to establish it. There are no restrictions except those prescribing the salaries. The department has used its large discretionary The department has used its large discretionary power, and now see where we are. Department officials have sought to revolutionize that service. Every time we get a new Postmaster General he thinks it is his function to turn things upside down, to undo everything that has been done by his predecessor, Republican or Democrat. Hence we have an out-cry on both sides of the Chamber against the changes in the Rural Delivery Service, and bill after bill is introduced to limit the discretionary power of the department, and the people are up in arms.

JOBS FOR MORE DEMOCRATS.

"Take this proposition. It would have wiped out 56,000 postoffices, creating vacancies that would be filled by worthy Democrats, who would all be included in the classified service, to serve the Government for life. As to efficiency, who can tell? Assertions that the efficiency of the service would be improved are purely speculative. Results heretofore reached after an enlargement of the discretionary power of the department certainly have not been satisfactory.

"It would result in a change of personnel in the public service. If the department wanted to make a change in Crookston or in any other office, the department could send a man up from Virginia. Out in the Northwest, where people make money and can not afford to be in the public service, the offices will be filled from States near Washington, where everybody seems willing to serve the public in the civil service."

> NORTHFIELD COMMERCIAL CLUB. Northfield, Minn., May 26, 1916.

Hon. HALVOR STEENERSON, M. C., Washington, D. C.

Sin: While I do not live in your district, I admire a Congressman that acts and makes a fight on the floor and in committee when a bill is being considered that is of vital interest to all the people—more especially the great commercial interest | and whose timidity, fostered by a half century of special privi-

of the country. I have reference to the change proposed in our Postal or Post Office Service.

You made a gallant fight, and I know that I speak for a goodly number of our citizens. I hardly think the press has given the matter the publicity that the bill warranted as to the bad condition that such a law would bring to the people.

It was only a few days past that I was talking to Mr. Charles Dougherty, who has been alderman from his ward here in the city for 19 years and is now our postmaster. He can not speak too highly of you and your fight. He says the masses of the people did not comprehend what a bad thing it would have been for the people. When one tackles our great, tried, and good Postal System in a radical way, the people "holler."

We get the Congressional Record regularly here at the club and many of our people keep in touch with Congress. This letter has been requested written by many of our citizens, and it was my sentiment.

With best wishes, I am, sir,

Very respectfully,

J. A. LAWRENCE.

The Democratic Party.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH J. RUSSELL, OF MISSOURI.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 30, 1916.

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record I include a speech of Hon. Frank E. Doremus, Member of Congress from the first congressional district, as temporary chairman at the Democratic State convention held at Lansing, Mich., May 17, 1916.

The speech is as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. FRANK E. DOREMUS, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM FIRST DISTRICT, AS TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN AT THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CON-VENTION, HELD AT LANSING, MICH., MAY 17, 1916.

The representatives of the Michigan democracy assemble today under unusual circumstances. Not before in 60 years has Michigan had a Democratic governor and the Nation a Democratic President at the same time. We congratulate the people upon the record of Woodbridge N. Ferris in the executive office. His administration has reflected credit upon the State and won the commendation of members of all political parties. His unselfish devotion to duty, his comprehensive grasp of the affairs of our various institutions, his rugged honesty, and his splendid ability have united to make him one of the best governors the State of Michigan ever had. The people are awaiting an opportunity to give him another term, and I think I voice the unanimous sentiment of this convention when I express the hope that he will consent to again lead his party in this State.

When President Wilson took the oath of office on the 4th of 1913, and beckoned all forward looking men to his side neither he nor the country understood the tremendous task that lay before him. Peace reigned within our own borders and throughout the world. The dark shadow of war had not thrown itself athwart the path of civilization nor given an intimation of the coming storm. To the solution of domestic problems and the correction of long prevalent abuses none could foresee that there would be added the tremendous responsibilities incident to a great world war. Upon this occasion we entertain a deep feeling of satisfaction and pride, shared in, we believe, by the great majority of our countrymen, as we attempt to assess at their true value the achievements in both theaters of

The Democratic Party came into power pledged to the correction of various abuses which had resulted from 16 years of uninterrupted Republican impotency, incompetence, and misrule. It was a time of social unrest. The public will as expressed at the ballot box had been ruthlessly cast aside by the party in power, and Republicans as well as Democrats were openly charging that our legislation was being written by the servants of special privilege and at the dictation of their masters. The power of the invisible government had reached its height, and the people had become convinced that our legislation reflected the desires of our unseen rulers rather than an expression of the popular will.

They had seen their rights ignored in tariff laws enacted to satisfy the greed of those who had grown rich through favor,

lege, made them fear to meet competition in the open markets of the world. They had seen tariff taxes, under the guise of protection, raised far above the legitimate needs of American in-The popular opinion of the last Republican tariff law was well expressed by the late Senator Dolliver, one of the greatest Republicans of his time:

Two great hoaxes occurred last summer. One was the discovery of the north pole by Dr. Cook: the other was the downward revision of the tariff by the Senator from Rhode Island. Each was warmly congratulated by the highest official of the Government.

Three times within the memory of living men industry had been paralyzed, business prostrated, and millions of men thrown out of work under a panic-breeding banking and currency system that the Republican Party had not the capacity to change. had seen thousands of men in our large cities tramping the streets and begging for work. They had seen honest and re-sponsible business men, with ample assets, refused credit to which they were fairly entitled. Time and again under this pernicious system, which enabled a few men to control the money and credit of the Nation, they had seen honest merchants thrown into bankruptcy, sound banks close their doors, and great industries fall like a house of cards, carrying misery, desolation, and want to millions of our people. In recent years the most painful example of the evils and abuses of that system was furnished by the great Roosevelt panic of 1907.

They had seen our natural resources, the heritage of all the people, given away to be exploited for private gain. They had seen the adoption of the parcel post prevented by the representatives of the express companies. They had seen the Nation's Capitol swarming with the paid lobbyists of special privilege.

In short, the people had lost confidence in the party in power and believed that their Government was rapidly drifting away from them. Charles Sumner Bird, a prominent Massachusetts Progressive, has said:

The 4,000,000 Republican voters who left the Republican organiza-tion in 1912 did so because they believed it had outlived its useful-ness—had lost its vision and its intimate contact with the people.

As one views the violent opposition of the Old Guard to much of the progressive legislation of the past three years, notably the Federal reserve act, and its frantic efforts to again get its foot in the door, he is unable to discover any evidence of a recovery of vision or of a more intimate contact with the people.

To the work of remedying these evils and enacting legislation long demanded by the people, President Wilson and a Democratic Congress addressed themselves. Let the record itself answer the question whether we have dethroned the rule of special privilege and set up a reign of the people.

THE TARIFF LEGISLATION.

When the Democratic Party came into power it found in force the obnoxious Payne-Aldrich tariff law, which the people had so thoroughly repudiated that the party that enacted it carried only two small States, Utah and Vermont, in 1912. That law represented a shameful betrayal of a solemn party pledge. The American people in no uncertain tones had demanded its repeal. In enacting the present tariff law the Democratic Party redeemed its promise to the people, and no man has yet asserted and none will ever charge that a single section or line of the law was dictated by special interests. It reduced the tariff tax upon neces sities, increased it upon luxuries, and provided for \$100,000,000 of revenue by a tax upon incomes. Though the European war has operated to reduce the customs receipts it has yielded more revenue from taxes on imports and incomes than its predecessor did from custom duties and corporation taxes. Despite all that has been said about the Underwood-Simmons law, there is more money in the Federal Treasury to-day than there would have been had the Payne-Aldrich law remained in force.

Our opponents will charge in the coming campaign that when the war in Europe is over the present tariff law will be proven a failure. It is beyond the power of any man to foretell the conditions that will exist then, but whatever they may be the Democratic Party is preparing to meet them. Before this session of Congress adjourns there will be enacted an antidumping law to protect American manufacturers against unfair competition from abroad and a law creating a permanent nonpartisan tariff commission, clothed with ample power to investigate every phase of the tariff question, including the tariff relations between the United States and foreign countries, preferential provisions, the effect of export bounties, and all the conditions, causes, and effects relating to competition of foreign industries with those of

the United States.

Not only that, but if the pations of Europe, in an effort to regain markets lost during the war, should inaugurate a system of export bounties, the Federal Trade Commission, through its power to suppress unfair or ruinous competition, can meet any

conditions that such a policy might create. Thus will the Democratic Party, with farseeing statesmanship, provide the machinery by which to protect America's great productive forces when the war is over and cause to wither upon the tongue of him who utters it the dishonest charge that the Democratic Party is a free-trade party.

THE FEDERAL RESERVE ACT.

For 50 years this country had endured the baneful effects of an inelastic currency and an elusive bank reserve. The nationalbank currency, being based upon bonds issued during the Civil War, could be neither expanded nor contracted to meet the changing needs of business. The country banks were permitted to deposit their funds in the reserve and central reserve banks of our large cities and count them as though on deposit in their own vaults. These reserves of the country banker, attracted by the interest rates, went to swell the deposits in the vaults of the big banks of New York. On the 14th of March, 1914, eight months before the Federal reserve law went into operation, the banks of New York City alone held \$836,000,000 of the reserve funds of interior banks, with loans against the interior banks of \$192,000,000. It had already been developed by the monetary investigation that on November 24, 1912, the custodians of these reserves had loaned to Wall Street speculators \$240,000,000.

Pause for a moment and reflect what such a condition meant to legitimate business and industry. These and many more millions, representing the accumulation of American thrift, industry, and labor and the working capital of business men in every quarter of the country, were thrown into the gambling vortex of Wall Street, far removed from those to whom it belonged and unavailable for business uses when required.

Panics were the natural offspring of such a pernicious and unscientific system. In its operation it wrecked more industries, ruined more honest merchants, closed the doors of more reputable banking houses, and threw more men out of employment than any other single agency since the foundation of the Government. No one was immune from its blight. None could

escape its devastating sway.

When the country banks, anxious to meet the local demands for credit, drew upon the banks of the big financial centers for their own money, these banks called their loans to the speculators, thus contracting their credit. Interest rates rose by leaps and bounds, panic ensued, banks everywhere stopped payment, and merchants, manufacturers, farmers, and laborers were crushed beneath the débris of the most rotten financial structure ever erected by the folly of government and supported by the avarice of men.

The Democratic administration supplanted this panic-breeding, prosperity-destroying system by the Federal reserve actone of the crowning achievements of American statesmanship. It gave to the country an elastic currency, based upon sound commercial transactions and ample for every legitimate requirement—a currency that appears when needed and disappears when no longer required-every dollar of which is as good as a Government bond. Hon. Carter Glass, chairman of the committee that prepared this great constructive measure, well illustrated the difference between the old system and the new when

"So that where the banks of a given community with \$5,000,000 of liquid commercial assets could not, under the old system, in time of stress get a dollar of currency on their holdings, because there was no source of supply, the same banks, under the Federal Reserve System, could exchange their \$5,000,000 of liquid assets at a Federal reserve bank for \$5,000,000 of the best currency on earth, less a fair rate of discount. That one reform, gentlemen, represents the difference between disaster and success.

But this is not all. Challenging the powerful interests that had before dictated the financial policy of the Government, the Democratic Party abolished the ancient bank reserve system and established 12 regional reserve banks. These banks are to-day the legal custodians of the reserve funds of the country and the great rediscount agents of the Nation. They are attendants upon the legitimate wants of business instead of conservators of the interests of Wall Street gamblers. Under the new system it is impossible to centralize the financial resources of the country in a single locality. The country is no longer dependent upon the financial centers, but the financial centers are dependent upon the country. The party in power has set the business of the Nation free by emancipating it from a financial despotism.

Yet the Republican Party, which permitted this demoralizing system to exist, in spite of a notorious and thoroughly recognized necessity for its repeal, and winked at the evil practices and disastrous consequences directly attributable to it, claim to be the only party with sufficient intelligence to run the Government. Why, my friends, this one act of omission ought to exclude that party forever from the control of the Government.

LEGISLATION FOR THE FARMERS.

The Democratic Party has been particularly mindful of the interests of the farmers. It has passed the agricultural extension act, which provides for Federal cooperation with our State agricultural colleges in the work of soil treatment, fertilization, crop rotation, and marketing. It has provided for the expansion of farmers' credit through the Federal reserve act, and will, I anticipate, supplement this with a general rural credits law before this session of Congress adjourns. It has taken effective steps to stamp out hog cholera, which cost the country \$65,000,000 in 1913. It has created a Bureau of Markets in the Department of Agriculture for the introduction of more economical methods of crop distribution, and recently the House of Representatives passed a bill for the standardization of grain and cotton. It was not until the Democratic Party obtained control of the lower House of Congress that the farmers were given the great boon of the parcel post, and since that time it has been extended and improved. The record of no administration for 50 years even approximates the great benefits that have been conferred upon the agricultural classes by the present administration.

THE NATIONAL DEFENSE.

Congress is now working on a plan for the national defense. The program includes a substantial increase in the Regular Army, the federalization of the National Guard, an enlargement of the Navy, the strengthening of land fortifications, and a comprehensive plan for mobilizing the industries of the country. While this country will use every honorable means to avert war, it must prepare to defend itself if attacked. Should we ever be threatened by a great power, our first line of defense will be the Navy and land fortifications amply able to protect our extensive coast lines,

THE MERCHANT MARINE.

Closely associated with our national defense is the question of restoring our ocean carrying trade. We need ships to carry our products to foreign markets, and which, if necessity should require, can be used as auxiliaries to the Navy. A program is now before Congress, strongly backed by the administration, and which I am confident will be enacted into law, to restore the American flag to the high seas and wrest our ocean-borne commerce from the control of foreign shipowners. This program contemplates the development of a merchant marine by private capital if it cares to take the initiative, but by the Federal Government if private capital fails to respond.

We must have a merchant marine worthy of the greatest nation in the world. The necessity for it is so imperative that we can no longer quibble over the means of getting it. This law will free our export and import trade from foreign domination and the Stars and Stripes will again be seen on every one of the seven seas.

OTHER REFORMS.

It will be impossible within the limits of one speech to detail all the great constructive and reformatory legislation of the past three years. The system of Cannonism in the House of Representatives, which made one man the practical dictator of all legislation, has been destroyed, thus making the House of Representatives once more a deliberative body responsive to the will of the people. A Federal Trade Commission has been created as a great cooperative tribunal for the business interests of the country. The physical valuation of railroads as a basis for rate making has been authorized and is now in progress. A Government-owned railroad is being built in Alaska and the untold resources of that Territory will be developed in the interests of all the people.

OUR WONDERFUL PROSPERITY.

The American people have had their inning. This record to which I have briefly referred forms the greatest chapter of legislative achievement in our history. It is a record that causes the American citizen to hold his head a triffe higher, quicken his step, increase his confidence in republics, and pledge anew his faith in representative government. And with this record before us and on the threshold of a new campaign we may well ask the question, What will it profit the people to return the Republican Party to power? We look around us and behold a nation of 100,000,000 happy and contented people. What could we ask for ourselves that we are not already enjoying? If our opponents could guarantee to set up an Aladdin's lamp on every crossroad, what could they give us that is not ours to-day? In the cities labor is employed at the highest wages ever received and our farmers are enjoying their greatest era of prosperity.

For the calendar year ended December 31, 1915, our total exports reached the astounding sum of \$3,547,480,000, exceeding by more than a billion dollars the record of any previous year. I apprehend our opponents will proclaim in the coming campaign that this was due to the shipment of war munitions, yet explosives and firearms contributed but 5½ per cent to this great volume of exports. Our shipments abroad of breadstuffs alone were \$527,800,000, or nearly three times the value of munitions exported.

The total resources of our Federal banking system on March 7, 1916, the date of the last call, were \$13,827,000,000, an increase of \$3,000,000,000 over the national banking resources as shown by the corresponding call of 1912. In four years the aggregate individual deposits have grown \$2,000,000,000, or 35 per cent.

In Michigan the 99 national banks have become 106 member banks under the Federal reserve system. Their total resources have grown from \$182,500,000 in 1912 to \$257,500,000 in 1916—an increase of 30 per cent. The individual deposits have shown a growth in that period of over \$40,000,000, or 30 per cent. That Michigan producers and manufacturers have prospered under this administration is shown by the fact that exports from this State to foreign markets in the calendar year ended December 31, 1915, aggregated \$157,648,000, or more than 50 per cent above the record for any previous year.

The resources of the national banks of the United States, after 18 months under the Federal reserve law, exceeded by \$3,000,000,000 the combined resources of the Bank of England, the Benk of Germany, the Bank of France, the Bank of Russia, the Swiss National Bank, the Bank of the Netherlands, and the Bank of Japan.

The prosperity of this Nation is upon an enduring basis. Let me quote from a speech delivered by Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, a prominent New York banker and lifelong Republican, delivered at a banquet of the New York Republican Club in January last:

I want to explain that nothing can stop that great prosperity we now have except a renewal of tariff agitation in the next campaign. Standing here on holy Republican ground I say without fear or favor if you renew in the next presidential campaign the tariff agitation of the past, if you threaten the country and show it you want a renewal of special privilege and high protection, the people will have none of it. The people have learned; the workmen and the farmers have learned and they can not be misled any longer. I do not say that because I love the Republican Party less but because I love it more. My heart is for the Republican Party but my common sense makes me a Democrat.

When the war is over and America's productive forces begin to supply the multiplied wants of stricken Europe, this country will enter upon an era of production far exceeding the marvelous activities of the present.

THE PAY ENVELOPE.

The American workingman's pay envelope is fatter than it ever was before. The first day of the present month marked an increase in wages unprecedented in the history of the world. According to the Chicago Tribune, this wage increase affected 706,500 employees, who will receive increased wages aggregating the vast sum of \$64,426,464 annually. This estimate is supported by the authority of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Federal Reserve Board, and the American Federation of Labor. It applies to practically every branch of industry in the United States, including the building trades, the steel workers, the cotton operators, the coal miners, the woolen-mill operators, the paper makers, the machinists, and the electricians, Every business and industry in the United States is enjoying the fruits of peace and prosperity.

Carrying his full dinner pail in one hand and the American

Carrying his full dinner pail in one hand and the American flag in the other, and shouting the slogan, "Peace-prosperity-Wilson," the American workingman will march to the polls in November to indorse the program of social justice enacted into law by the national Democracy.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S EFFORTS TO PRESERVE PEACE.

We assemble to-day amid conditions unprecedented in history. For nearly two years every great nation in Europe has been shedding the blood of her sons in a titanic struggle for national existence. On hundreds of battle fields countless lives have been sacrificed and numberless homes desolated forever, and the reign of horror, grief, destruction, and famine continues with unabated furor. In this great war for the mastery the only protection of neutral nations against being drawn into its horrors has been the long-established rules of international law. Unfortunately for us the various belligerents have sought to place a construction upon those rules that suited their own caprice or best served their own purposes, regardless of the rights and immunities of neutral nations. They have gone still further and arbitrarily set up their own rules of conduct in defiance of international law, the only chart by which to guide nations in their intercourse with each other. There ought to be no man so blind that

he can not see that such a course, if persisted in, will sooner or later extend the theater of war to every country in the world and involve the earth in a chaos of death and destruction from which it may well be doubted if civilization could emerge

International law, based upon centuries of experience and dictated by the highest considerations of justice, has been adopted to preserve peace and order among nations. Municipal law, grounded upon the experience of mankind and dictated by the same considerations, has been adopted to preserve peace and order among individuals. The breaking down of international law would have the same effect upon nations as the destruction of municipal law would have upon the separate units of organized society.

Unthinking men speak lightly of breaches of international law, little realizing that its persistent violation is the sure forerunner of war and that insistence upon its observance is the only way to preserve peace. These men may think they are the friends of peace, but in reality they are the unconscious exponents of war.

In a time like this the continued observance of the well-established rights of neutral nations makes for peace. The continued violation of those rights leads to war. This being true it follows that he who insists upon a strict adherence to the principles of international law seeks to avoid the causes of war and becomes the true friend of peace.

Such a friend of peace is Woodrow Wilson, who for nearly two years, through the shifting winds of circumstances and the cross currents of vituperative criticism has sought to keep our ship of state with its 100,000,000 passengers off the cruel rocks

True, there has been more or less mutiny on board, but much of this has come from a few passengers, who, through political misfortune, were not captains themselves or members of the

President Wilson has been viciously assailed for his extreme patience in handling our intricate foreign problems. He has been sneeringly referred to as "the note writer" and ambitious men have denounced him as a coward and poltroon. These things, however, are not new in American history, besides, the people must constantly bear in mind that this is a presidential year, and that numerous gentlemen are abroad in the land who think they would make better Presidents than Mr. Wilson.
In the New York Tribune of September 6, 1864, we find a col-

lection of some of the names applied to Lincoln. Remember that 1864 was also a presidential year. According to the Tribune here are some of the names used by those who were bent upon destroying Lincoln: "Filthy story teller," "despot," "liar," "thief," "braggart," "buffoon," "usurper," "monster," "perjurer," "robber," "swindler," "tyrant," "fiend," "butcher."

These verbal assaults upon Lincoln, however, availed his op-ponents nothing. The people believed in the patience, courage, and patriotism of the man and he was triumphantly reelected. To-day, as surely as the sun shines, history is repeating itself. The oldest voter who will go to the polls in November will be able to recall but two Presidents to whom the acid test of statesmanship has been applied-Lincoln and Wilson. And as the plain people of America came to the support of Lincoln in those dark days of the Republic, so will they rally around the standard of Wilson, who, with fortitude and statesmanship, has sustained our noblest national traditions and preserved his country in peace and honor in the midst of a world gone mad with war. As Emerson said of Lincoln, so the historian will write of Wilson:

He is the true history of the American people of his time.

If you sought the most commanding figure in the world to-day you would not find him on the battle fields of Europe but in the Executive Mansion at Washington, applying those principles of humanity, liberty, and justice, which are the greatest hope for the future of civilization.

OUR TROUBLE IN MEXICO.

Again, there are those who look with covetous eyes upon things that do not belong to them, and who, regardless of the sacrifice of American boys and the desolation of American homes, would force our country into a policy of territorial aggression, with its attendant opportunities for personal aggrandizement.

The thoughtful man views the Mexican situation with an eve to the future. He is considering whether, if we intervene in Mexico for the purpose of restoring order and establishing a stable government, we will retire when our purpose has been accomplished. He realizes that it would take a long time. Knowing something of history, he is familiar with the way those things usually work out, and he is wondering if history will repeat itself in Mexico. He is thinking of the obligation that rests upon the United States, under the Monroe doctrine, to protect the territorial integrity of the Western Hemisphere, and of how

permanent occupation would affect our influence in South America if we were ever called upon to defend that doctrine. He is wondering if in the years to come any Republic of Central or South America will be called upon to prefer a land robber of the Old World to a land robber nearer home.

It may be that we will have to intervene in Mexico, but if we do it will be in response to a grave national duty and after every honorable means has been employed to avoid it.

When nations stop taking what is not theirs war will cease and peace will reign supreme. If the ministries of Europe had been dominated by men of Woodrow Wilson's high ideals the

world would be at peace to-day.

There are those who have criticized the President for changing his mind. In the days of the Civil War the same criticism was leveled at Lincoln, who answered by saying:

I am not controlling events, but events are controlling me.

And so at this time, when President Wilson's enemies criticize him for changing his mind, we may properly respond as Lincoln did: "The President is not controlling events, but events are controlling him."

Again I ask, what could the people gain by returning the Republican Party to power?

With war disturbing commercial relations and affecting the revenues of every country in the world, do they want another job of tariff tinkering, superintended by "Boss" Penrose, of Pennsylvania, who would be chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and Joseph W. Fordney, of Michigan, who would be chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee?

Do they want to go back to the discredited panic-breeding banking and currency law of unpleasant memory?

Do they want the income tax abolished?

Do they want to turn the Government over in a time like this to men who, fired by political ambition, have viciously assailed Woodrow Wilson for a course of conduct that has kept his country out of the European war?

Do they want "action" in Europe as many of these men have

demanded?

Do they want to trust the destiny of this Republic to the men whose utterances for a year and a half will bear no interpretation but the interpretation of war?

Do they want to exchange prosperity and peace for industrial

uncertainty and the dangers of war?

Gentlemen of the convention, I think these questions are already answered in the hearts and minds of the American people. In the campaign of 1864 a great Lincoln mass meeting was held at Cooper Union Institute in New York City. Upon that occasion the declaration that caused the greatest enthusiasm

As the President has stood by the country in the hour of trial, so stand we by the President.

In the coming election the people will again stand by the President. Forgetting their political differences and moved by the patriotic sentiment, America first and party afterwards, they will indorse by an overwhelming majority the man who with infinite patience, quiet courage, and masterly ability, and without the sacrifice of national honor, has successfully guided his country through storm and stress and danger into the quiet barbor of peace, safety, and prosperity.

Statement of Mr. W. S. Isham.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OSCAR CALLAWAY, OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 31, 1916.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Chairman, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, April 4, 1918.

The following statement was submitted by Mr. W. S. Isham in writing and ordered printed in the record:

STATEMENT OF MR. W. S. ISHAM.

STATEMENT OF MR. W. S. ISHAM.

Gentlemen, I wish to direct attention to cortain facts heretofore established and presented to this committee and again illuminated by the testimony of witnesses during these hearings, which, it is submitted, tend to establish:

1. That our Navy as constructed, armed, and equipped is useless on the high seas as a defense against any first-class naval power.

2. That the proposed naval building program, requiring seven years to complete it and the expenditure of over \$500,000,000, does not sup-

ply the ships and elements accessary to coordinate with what we have to seven a navy adequate for method affects of the control less than one-fifth as much, and that could be carried out in three years' time our Navy could be given such strength that the second largest naval power of the world could not coavy an expediture of the country of the country in the country of the country in the coun

Naval Ordnance, Journal United States Arthrery, July Says:

"The torpedo has brought about a very considerable limitation in the powers of the battleship. Not only is the battleship itself open to attack by small craft which it can not engage on equal terms, but it is powerless to protect any form of vessel against the attacks of such craft, The battleship has developed merely into a vessel for fighting other battleships and it shuns as far as possible encounters with most other classes of vessels."

Lord Charles Beresford, in The Betrayal, page 62, says:
"No guns, heavy or light, will protect a battle fleet from torpedo attack at night. The only effective method of protection is to employ a large number of small cruisers to clear a wide area about the battle fleet at sundown and form a protecting screen distant 120 to 140 miles on all sides from the battle squadron. By no other means is it possible to move a battle squadron at night without risking its destruction by the attack of torpedo craft,"

Rear Admiral N. C. Twining, late Chief of the Burcau of Ordnauce. United States Journal of Artillery, January-February, 1912, page 88,

United States Journal of Artillery, January-February, 1912, page 88, says:

"No navy has at present an adequate system of defense against torpedo attack if efficiently delivered. Torpedoes have been designed which can cut, penetrate, or displace the nets. The scarchlight is ineffective, since a torpedo may be successfully launched at a range beyond its reach. Gunfire is ineffective against an invisible target and the torpedo boat can launch its weapon while still invisible to the gun. Pickets and scouts are not thoroughly effective, since they may themselves be attacked and disabled or they may be cluded."

It is therefore overwhelmingly established by our own authorities, as well as by those of other countries, that a fleet of slow battleships is defenseless at night unless protected by a fleet of destroyers and cruisers greatly superior in strength to that of the attacking force. Now, the Yearbook and the expert testimony before this committee shows that our destroyer and cruiser fleet is inferior to that of any first-class naval power. Therefore, if our battleship fleets were to go, to sea accompanied by our entire destroyer and cruiser force it could be destroyed any night by an enemy's cruiser and destroyer fleet. If we even possessed twice the present force of cruisers and destroyers our fleets would be still defenseless, because his battle cruisers could run down and destroy in daylight at long range our superiority, if we had any, in cruisers and destroyers, when our battleships would become defenseless to his torpedo attack at night. (Hearings, pp. 2390, 2393, 2396, 1387, 1388, 2956, 2958, 2960, 2963.) Hence the offensive and defensive strength of a fleet at sea is measured by its strength in battle cruisers and not by its battleships which are defenseless by themselves and a hindrance to the efficiency of the rest of the fleet, and I here and now challenge any officer or board of officers in the service to present any facts or any tactical scheme on the game board to controvert this conclusion.

The q

now challenge any officer or board of officers in the service to present any facts or any tactical scheme on the game board to controvert this conclusion.

The question then arises, How can we best give our fleets at the earliest possible date the necessary superfority in battle cruisers in view of the lead now held by all other great naval powers? This brings us to a consideration of the functions of battle cruisers and the conditions under which they must operate in the exercise of these functions. The game board shows that battle cruisers are employed to the best advantage when they perform but two functions, namely, to scout out and report the movements of an enemy's capital ships (hearings, p. 2002) and to run down and destroy his cruisers, destroyers, and other auxiliary craft. (Hearings, pp. 1753, 2003, 2070.) The war game also shows that if they accomplish these purposes, the enemy's capital ships are rendered defenseless against torpedo attack at night. (Hearings, p. 2539.) Hence battle cruisers should not be risked by combat with more powerful ships. They should, however, be provided with mines and torpedoes to be used on the head of a line in case the enemy should foolishly assemble his ships in fleet formation. (Hearings, p. 2699.) The testimony shows that there is no capital ship affoat to-day that has a speed of 35 knots. Therefore, if we build battle cruisers with this speed they can safely watch and report the movements of any capital ships (hearings, p. 2733), and if they are given an armament of two 14-inch guns they can run down and destroy any ship afloat, except capital ships, which the testimony shows are then defenseless at night against torpedo attack.

2733), and if they are given an armament of two 14-inch guns they can run down and destroy any ship afloat, except capital ships, which the testimony shows are then defenseless at night against torpedo attack.

The question then arises, How many of these ships do we require? Here, again, we must go to the game board for an answer. This shows us that numbers count in scouting operations; that, irrespective of the size, we must have not only a sufficient number to watch and report the movements of each of the enemy's battle cruisers which otherwise might trap and destroy them, but also an additional number sufficient to keep all of his auxiliaries under the protection of the guns of his capital ships. The war game shows that 12 such battle cruisers provided with kite balloons to prevent them from being led into traps (hearings, p. 2734) and accompanied by our destroyers to give offensive power for night attack could defeat the fleets of any naval power but one attempting to cross the seas to attack our coasts. These twelty 35-knot battle cruisers, mounting two 14-inch guns each, would cost the same as four battle cruisers to the type recommended by the General Board. Each of these small battle cruisers would be as efficient as one of the large type in every legitimate sphere of usefulness. While the large type would have the serious drawback of being 40 per cent more liable to be hit by a torpedo or a mine because of its greater dimensions (hearings, p. 2733), and both alike would be worthless after being hit, even though they were not sunk. These ships are designed to observe on and remain at a safe distance from the enemy's capital ships; hence they are in no danger of being destroyed by gunfire, but, on the contrary, while running down cruisers, destroyers, and other auxiliaries they are continually exposed to torpedo and mine attack, especially at night. Hence it is absurd to pay a premium for dimensions which are in themselves a serious disadvantage. The large size battle cruisers would compare more favorabl

improved if our twelve 22-knot cruisers mounting 8-inch and 10-inch guns in their turrets had their afterbatteries changed to single-gun installations of 12-inch or 14-inch caliber, which would make it possible for them to cruise in daylight at a distance from our battle fleet and strike back if attacked by an enemy's battle cruisers, which they can

improved if our twelve 22-knot cruisers mounting 8-inch and 10-inch guiss in their turrets had their afterbatteries changed to single-gui installations of 12-inch of the 12-inch of 12-inc

tion of the steel turrets was effected by the explosive force alone of their contained bursting charges.

These results agree with those obtained in the Puritan test, where 200-pound charges blew in the turret and sunk the ship. The testimony further shows that a unique feature in an attack on ships by torpedo shells is that the size of the target is more than doubled (hearings, pp. 2949, 2953), as all shells striking even as far as 130 feet short of the ship fired at will make an underwater torpedo rm and explode against her under-water section (hearings, pp. 2947-2948), blowing it in and putting her out of action, even though the ship might be so constructed as to retain her buoyancy. It was stated in English newspapers that the Blücher was hit about 100 times by large shells. Afterwards she was sent to the bottom by a single torpedo. This shows the relative value of shells striking against the upper part of the ship compared with one making an under-water run and exploding against her bottom. Admiral Twining stated before this committee in 1912 that such a hit would be fatal and that it would have the same effect if it exploded even at a distance of 30 feet, but he claimed that a shell could not be made to bite, run under water, and explode against the ship. The testimony, however, before this committee shows that this is now an accomplished fact. (Hearing, pp. 1776, 2703-2704, 2719; also important testimony by Admiral Fiske, 2951-2953.) A further fact brought out is that for use against an enemy that has made a landing, armor-piercing shells are practically useless, while torpedo shells are especially suited to blast such a force out of its intrenchments and destroy its material and supplies (Hearing pp. 2721, 2952.)

Capt. Hobson, on the floor of the House year after year demonstrated the importance to our Navy of battle cruisers, antirolling devices, long-range firing, and torpedo shells, and showed how by supplementing each other they developed a new tactics which revolutionized tests, and Capt. Sims, tw

Total na	val expenditu	res by principa	l naval power	78.
Fiscal year.	Great Britain (Apr. 1 to Mar. 31).	United States (July 1 to June 30).	Germany (April to March).	France (January to December).
1900-1901 1901-2 1902-3 1903-4 1904-5 1904-5 1906-7 1907-8 1908-9 1909-10 1910-11 1911-12 1912-13 1913-14 1914-15	150, 679, 328 173, 548, 058 179, 138, 049 161, 117, 947 152, 954, 342 151, 880, 617 156, 401, 161 181, 936, 341 202, 056, 258 211, 596, 206	\$61, 721, 695 68, 438, 301 82, 977, 641 104, 126, 192 116, 655, 826 109, 725, 050 98, 392, 144 117, 333, 474 120, 421, 579 122, 247, 365 111, 791, 980 133, 559, 071 129, 787, 233 136, 858, 301 141, 872, 786	\$37, 173, 074 46, 515, 800 48, 818, 760 50, 544, 000 49, 110, 300 54, 918, 000 58, 344, 369 89, 133, 560 80, 133, 560 80, 137, 626 95, 047, 820 103, 302, 773 107, 178, 300 112, 691, 125 113, 993, 329	\$72, 683, 180 67, 079, 011 59, 217, 558 59, 740, 222 60, 178, 023 61, 565, 779 59, 514, 296 60, 685, 813 62, 194, 916 64, 899, 589 74, 102, 439 80, 371, 109 81, 692, 632 90, 164, 625 123, 828, 872
Fiscal year—	Russia (January to December).	Italy (July 1 to June 30).	Japan (April to March).	Total.
1900-1901 1901-2 1902-3 1903-4 1904-5 1906-6 1906-7 1907-8 1908-9 1909-10 1910-11 1911-12 1912-13 1913-14 1914-15	60, 018, 825 58, 076, 543 60, 228, 444 60, 703, 557 43, 012, 105 49, 682, 482 58, 059, 040 46, 520, 465 56, 680, 915 82, 019, 633 117, 508, 657	\$23, \$29, 206 22, \$75, 532 23, 522, 400 24, 524, 404, 400 24, 404, 400 25, 805, 668 27, 516, 454 40, 780, 987 41, 813, 429 49, 500, 147 56, 920, 440	\$21, 373, 954 17, 654, 528 17, 553, 279 10, 018, 024 11, 378, 202 20, 072, 061 35, 124, 346 36, 39, 317, 332 35, 905, 719 36, 889, 158 42, 444, 329 46, 510, 216 48, 105, 152 69, 111, 653	8423, 140, 250 433, 639, 620 439, 033, 046 407, 477, 365 483, 427, 831 485, 846, 368 504, 706, 370 539, 238, 793 589, 008, 759 615, 258, 277 673, 111, 187 716, 335, 726 791, 808, 466 895, 396, 088

Government-Owned Armor-Plate Factory.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

L. HASKELL. HON. REUBEN OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 31, 1916.

Mr. HASKELL. Mr. Speaker, while opposed to the proposition of Government ownership in the general acceptation of the term, I believe in and shall vote for a Government-owned armor-plate factory, because it does seem to me that where a governmental function is involved dealing with an essential product required in obtaining military preparedness, and of

which the Government is the sole consumer, an exceptional sit-

uation exists justifying Government ownership.

I voted against the appropriation of \$50,000,000 for a Government owned or operated merchant marine, believing it to be an absolute Government-ownership proposition pure and simple.

It is true that it was disguised as a naval auxiliary and naval eserve, but it is popular now to claim for all dubious legislation

that it is in the interests of preparedness

When \$50,000,000 can be voted for a Government-owned merchant marine by this House, and twenty millions for a nitrate plant by this Congress, both extra-hazardous experiments, and twenty-five millions for good roads, not to mention the river and harbor proposition at all, surely there can be no logical objection to a Government-owned armor-plate factory, a practical instrumentality in the aid of preparedness which is not an experiment, because the results to be accomplished thereby are fairly capable of accurate calculations, and when many who have studied the question state it will save the Government

Confidence in the minds of many suspicious about the preparedness program will be obtained when it is observed that Congress has made provision for a Government-owned armorplate factory as a safeguard against excessive charges against

the Government.

There have been adverse criticisms of the navy yards and attempts to have them abolished. I hope all such efforts will always fail. Various arguments have been advanced to show that it costs more to build the battleships in the navy yards as compared with the building by private concerns. It has not been proven, but assuming, for the sake of argument, that such a difference does exist, it is more than made up by the advantage and protection to the Government in having the necessary equipment and organization of skilled workmen who can build the best there is and at the same time protect the Government from being entirely at the mercy of the private shipbuilders, and this same advantage and protection will at least be derived by reason of a

Government owned armor-plate factory.

The people very generally, I believe, favor real military preparedness and consider the Army bill which was passed as insufficient and look upon the plan now proposed for the en-

largement of the Navy as inadequate.

The Army bill was at least an improvement in authorizing a peace and war Regular Army strength of approximately 211,000 and 236,000, respectively, and by providing for the federalization of the National Guard, consisting of an added strength of about

As a Spanish War veteran and former member of the Guard in my State, I take this opportunity to resent the criticism made by some as to the merit of the provision made for the National Guard. The high standard and efficiency of the service rendered by the Guard has earned for it this provision, and the recognition, while just and proper, constitutes a real economy in that the Federal Government has utilized an established organization without having incurred the original cost of construction.

The aid given the Guard will be generally commended as a just recognition of the men, whether as officers or in the ranks, who have labored long to build an organization which in time of war

would almost immediately be called to the front,

My record of votes to date have been, and will continue to be, on the side of real preparedness, and I hope and trust that when all is said and done that the naval appropriation bill will be amended so as to provide for 2 battleships, 6 battle cruisers, 50 submarines, 28 torpedo boats, 6 scout cruisers, with provisions for aviation and the other increases recommended by the minority of the Committee on Naval Affairs, and will also contain the amendment for the Government armor-plate factory as recommended by the majority of the said Committee on Naval Affairs.

An Efficient Army and Navy is Our Best Assurance for Peace.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL. OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 31, 1916.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, this great Republic of ours, with a population of over 102,000,000 of inhabitants and with boundless wealth, consists of citizens who are loyal to our institutions and who are prepared to make every sacrifice necessary to uphold

the dignity of our flag. America means to them home and all that the word implies. Here they are growing up and here they look forward to spending the remainder of their days. they hopefully anticipate seeing their children and grandchildren make the great strides that the opportunities in the United States afford them. They realize that a country which has given equal opportunity to a Lincoln and a Garfield, to a McKinley and a Cleveland, and which in a few days will have elevated to the Supreme Court Bench Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, one who has reached the goal of his ambition by hard and conscientious faithful service to the people, is worthy of having given to it every possession which they own. They are anxious to have an efficient Navy and they need not be taught that an ounce of prevention is of more value than 10 pounds of cure.

It is far better to demonstrate to the world that although our mission is peace, that we will have our passports honored abroad, our commerce properly protected, and our flag respected wherever it floats. We propose to say to all Governments that we shall never be the aggressor in any war, but we shall demand and must receive the respect of all nations, whether small or large; that we do not propose to blow hot with one and cold with another; that we recognize the fact that during times of peace the United States has made its most extraordinary progress in business, commerce, science, invention, and education; that it is our purpose to endeavor in every way to dispose of all disputes with other powers by diplomacy and arbitration if same can be accomplished.

We desire to have it known all over both hemispheres that the United States is not China, and that in order that our rights may not be ruthlessly trampled upon we are determined to maintain an efficient Army and Navy.

Mr. Speaker, there has been printed in Hearst's Magazine for

June, 1916, an article by E. Ashmead-Bartlett, the famous war correspondent, which is so full of meat, that I will read it in full. It is entitled "Command of the Seas Above and Below."

The article is as follows:

correspondent, which is so full of meat, that I will read it in full. It is entitled "Command of the Seas Above and Below."

The article is as follows:

The final court of appeal for the above-water command of the sea must remain with the battleship or superdreadnaught cruiser—call her what you will.

Control of the trade routes of the Seven Seas might be secured, in time, with an Immense number of submarines, but the method would be slow and precarious. In addition, attack by submarine means the total destruction of hostile vessels; they can not be brought into port as prizes of war and sold to the advantage of the captor.

Therefore, the fast and light cruiser must remain the chief weapon for the control of the world's highways. But these vessels can carry out their work with impunity only if they are kept free from the attacks of larger and faster and more heavily gunned ships. Every great naval power must, in fact, build against her opponent, ship for ship, every class which her prospective enemy is constructing.

For instance, Germany desired to dispute the supremacy of the seas with England. Her fleet was not allowed to get within measurable distance of numerical equality, and therefore can do nothing but lie in the Kiel Canal. England's great fleet of dreadnaughts has done nothing, and can do nothing, until the German fleet declies to come out. Yet its presence somewhere off the east coast of Scotiand is the bulwark behind which lighter craft have cleared the enemy from the seas, and alone enables Great Eritain to keep up the war by insuring the constant and completed to come and the seasy of the seasy coast of Scotiand is the bulwark behind which lighter craft have cleared the enemy from the seas, and alone enables Great Eritain to keep up the war by insuring the constant and completed to come and the seasy of t

dean."

The British cruisers, with their modern 12-inch guns, overtook and destroyed the German vessels almost without suffering a scratch.

Admiral Beatty's action off Helgoland is another case in point. The German dreadnaught cruisers were outgunned. Their 11-inch were no match for the British 13.5 and modern 12-inch. Only a lucky shot, which hit the Lion below the water line forward, prevented the de-

struction of the entire German squadron, in the opinion of British experts. The unfortunate Bluecher, with her slower speed and weaker armament, fell an easy prey—a good example of the futility of sending a slow vessel with a fast squadron.

In the various engagements fought off the Dardanelles between the allied fleet and the forts many vessels were damaged, besides those sunk by submarines or mines. In almost every case the damage was caused by shells falling on the unarmored decks. In no case do I recall a ship being damaged by a shell striking her side armor.

The battle of the future in which dreadnaughts are engaged will be won by the big gun mounted on the fast-moving platform.

It is a curious fact that Germany, who brought the big gun to perfection in land warfare, should have allowed herself to be outclassed, up to the present time, at sea. For instance: Her dreadnaught cruisers, like the Goeben, the Von der Tann, the Sepulitz, and the Moltke, are armed with only the 11-inch—an excellent weapon, but outclassed by the guns of the dreadnaught cruisers, which carry nothing smaller in their main armament than 12-inch, and some that excellent weapon, the 13.5. All England's latest superdreadnaughts carry the 13.5, whereas Germany has none of these weapons, 12-inch being the largest gun she had actually afloat—up to a few months ago.

But England has advanced beyond the 13.5 stage. On her latest dreadnaughts, the Queen Elizabeth class, are mounted 15-inch guns, a weapon which has proved itself to be more accurate and powerful than any other afloat.

Now, a navy numerically weaker than its enemy can hope to equalize matters in only two ways, namely: By building ships of greater speed.

the 13.5. All England's mices superureannistics carry the 13.5. were are in she had actually affont—up to a few months ago.

But England has advanced beyond the 13.5 stage. On her latest dreadnaughts, the Queen Elizabeth class, are mounted 13-inch guns, a weapon which has proved itself to be more accurate and powerful than a Now, a naxy numerically weaker than its enemy can hope to equalize matters in only two ways, namely: By building ships of greater speed and higher gunpower. This is likely to be the policy of Germany in the future, and already there are rumors that she has vessels combined the provided of the provided and higher purpower. This is likely to be the policy of Germany in the future, and already there are rumors that she has vessels combined the provided of the provided and provided and provided the provided and provided a

tific lines, admirable craft for home defense or for operations against an enemy's coast near at hand. In building them you are not concentrating too many eggs in one basket; that is to say, if one is temporarily put out of action, it means the loss of only 2 capital guns to a fleet in place of from 8 to 12, as with the modern dreadnaught. To

fleet in place of from 8 to 12, as with the modern urrannagate.

(1) The great weapon of naval warfare, both in attack and defense, in the future will be the submarine.

(2) The weaker power will concentrate on these craft rather than spend money on costly dreadnaughts.

(3) The eventual design of the dreadnaught cruiser is going through a transition stage, but all indications tend to show increased speed and heavier guns at the expense of armament.

(4) There are certain to be great developments in the underwater protection of dreadnaughts.

(5) The two nations to whom dreadnaught cruisers are essential are England and the United States.

That the press of the country is in favor of an increased

That the press of the country is in favor of an increased Navy is established beyond dispute by the newspaper comments gathered by the Literary Digest in its issue of June 3, 1916,

and I quote therefrom:

Navy is established beyond dispute by the newspaper comments gathered by the Literary Digest in its issue of June 3, 1916, and I quote therefrom:

The value of the battle cruiser is crisply summed up by one editor in the statement that "no floating thing that can whip her can catch her, and nothing that she can whip can escape her." Far superior in speed to a superdreadnaught, and not inferior in the range and power of her guns, this type of sea fighter "seems destined to dominate the ocean for years to come," says the New York World, and the Syracuse Post-Standard thinks it due to something more than chance that "England's greatest naval losses in the present war have been in the dreadnaught or battle ship class, while the battle-cruiser fleets are intact." Yet the United States Navy possesses not one of these ships. This explains perhaps why all other features of the remarkable naval program laid before the House by its Committee on Naval Afairs are cellpsed in popular interest by the clause providing for the immediate authorization of five monsters of this type that will outsteam and probably outshoot any possible enemy now afloat. The proposed ships, which will cost more than \$20,000,000 cach, are to have a speed of 35 km is. Significant of the state of the state of their type in the British and German navies." notes the Brooklyn Eagle, and the Springfield Republican describes them as "nearly 20 per cent larger and 20 per cent faster than any first-class fighting craft known to have been projected up to the opening of the war." In the New York World we read:

"The Molitic and the Soydlitz, the strongest and fastest of the German battle cruisers, are 29-knot ships—one of 52,000 horsepower and the other of 63,000 horsepower. The Tiper, which is the most powerful of the British battle cruisers are to have 180,000 horsepower. They are to be 6 knots faster than the fastest British battle cruisers and fastest of the German battle cruisers. as 29-knot ships—one of 52,000 horsepower. They are to be 63,000 horsepowe

And, Mr. Speaker, as our interest in preparedness is not limited to the Navy alone, but includes our Army as well, I think that an article which appeared in the New York Evening Sun on Memorial Day should be read in full by me:

WHAT ARE THE CHIEF DEFECTS OF OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE?—OUR ARMY IS AN INEFFICIENT PATCHWORK, UNDULY PROPORTIONED, LACKING MATERIAL AND JUSTICE, AND MISDIRECTED IN ITS ENERGIES.
[By Maj. John Henry Parker, Twenty-fourth United States Infantry.]

By Maj. John Henry Parker, Twenty-fourth United States Infantry.]

The present organization of the Regular Army is a patchwork that has grown up by plecemeal legislation without much reference to national defense. As a rule, the actual method by which various increments to the Army have been secured has been the law of the strongest political pressure.

The result is an ill proportioned establishment, in which no single element is complete for the purpose for which it was designed, put together in a haphazard way, without any traceable plan of organization, promotion, or distribution. Such a force is uneconomical, inefficient in a broad way, not adapted to the objects to be accomplished, and not suited to the times. Its principal defects may be summaraized as follows:

1. Undue proportion of parts. Some elements are constituted.

as follows:

1. Undue proportion of parts. Some elements are conspicuously deficient in numbers or equipment. The machine-gan service has no statutory organization at all and exists only as a "provisional organization, subject to constant experimentation, with no permanence of

personnel or matériel." The Field-Artillery equipment is far below the normal strength both in numbers and in matériel. The Infantry is wholly inadequate in numbers for its duties. The Coast Artillery can not furnish even one complete relief for its guns, though three reliefs are necessary to actual service with a good reserve in addition.

2 Lack of material: The Field Artillery could not last out even one week of the war in Beigium for lack of ammunition. There are not machine guns enough by half for an army of 90,000 men. There has never been in the history of the Government an adequate equipment of field transportation on hand. There is practically no reserve stock of uniforms on hand to meet any real emergency. Even the blank forms in daily use are doled out a few at a time.

CAUSES OF DISCONTENT.

CAUSES OF DISCONTENT.

3 Inequalities and injustices in the service: Some noncommissioned officers, those of the line, are compelled to serve out a lifetime on foreign service and tropical duty in order to avail themselves of the legal privilege of honerable retirement after 30 years' service. Others are privileged, on the other hand, to obtain the same status by easier service in the United States.

Great inequalities in the promotion of officers have grown up. Field officers are from 30 to 40 years old in some parts of the service, while they are from 50 to 64 in other parts. In other words, in some elements of the service held rank has been attained by from 10 to 20 years of service, while in other elements officers have marked time in subordinate grades from 20 to 30 years, attaining only with almost incapacitating age a rank in which their talents, if they have any, could make themselves felt in any effective way by any considerable number of men.

This difference in age is not based on more important, more arduous, or more dangerous service by those who have been favored, but upon sheer accidents of legislation without reference to the merits of the officers or the character of their work. This inequality breeds discontent and is responsible for efforts by those who have suffered to promote additional legislation with the object rather of correcting these inequalities, so keenly felt by the individual, than of creating a soundly organized and proportioned military service.

4. Misdirection of energy. The Regular Army, created in this haphazard manner, has always been under the spur of immediate pressure.

THE USES OF AN ARMY.

If the uses of the Regular Army depended upon the Army alone, its energies would be directed very skillfully. But such is not the case. Its uses also depend on Congress, and heretofore little or no effort has been made to coordinate the activities of the service.

Most of these defects arise from lack of logical analysis of the prolifem rather than from wrong intentions. The problem of national defense has not been analyzed on its merits. All the discussions of it have been complicated by questions foreign to the issue—politics, promotions, prejudices, misinformation, and lack of information have played their part in preventing a sound analysis of the problem of national defense.

One Secretary of War (1812-1814) tried to be a commander of troops. Perhaps two others made the same attempt in the Civil War. Congress has always failed to discriminate between militia and volunteers, between State and Federal forces, between its general war power under the Constitution to "levy and maintain armies" and its strictly lin ited power to "prescribe the training" of the militia, and to all that body in Federal service for strictly limited periods.

Evidentis, then, analysis of the duties of the Regular Army is the first step toward solution of the problem of national defense. When its duties shall have been determined the problem will be how to get its duties performed in the most effective and economical manner—the same problem that confronts a big employer of labor.

AN ARMY'S DUTIES.

Any intelligent man can see the following duties for the Regular Army of the United States:

A first line of national defense: Because it is the only body of professional soldiers in the country; because it is the only body of military men organized and trained for immediate action.

A colonial force: Because militia is not suited for that service; because the law does not authorize the use of militia for that duty, at least there is a dispute on that point, and such a dispute is enough, as long as it lasts, to veto such employment of militia; because a permanent force, with continuing responsibility for its acts, is necessary for this service.

An expeditionary force: The Texas border, Vera Cruz Pekin, the

nent force, with continuing responsibility for its acts, is necessary for this service.

An expeditionary force: The Texas border, Vera Cruz, Pekin, the Venezuela controversy in the time of President Cleveland, the Valparaiso incident in 1891-92; all of these are eloquent of this necessity.

A training school for "minute men" for national defense: Such a school of training has become necessary because the American people are no longer adapted to "minute-men" service, as no doubt they were in 1776. They are no longer a nation of rifemen, and modern military operations have developed such a technique that the untrained minute man is at the mercy of the trained man. The fate of Belgium and Luxemburg ought to be warning enough on this point. The futile resistance of a mass of untrained volunteers called out by an act of Congress after August 1, 1914, would only have resulted in greater severity on the part of the conqueror, without in any way impeding his advance, if the United States had been the victim instead of Belgium. Such resistance would have merely resulted in wholesale massacre of incompetent patriots if such resistance had been necessary and had been attempted.

The only "minute men" in our country are the few Regular Army men, for they are the only men ready for immediate action. The cost of these "minute men," in round numbers, is \$1,000 per man per year. The "minute man" of 1776 did not cost a cent. This cost is prohibitive. It would bankrupt Midas to maintain a national defense on this financial basis, "Minute men," trained minute men, are absolutely necessary if any national defense is to be made in case of necessity.

If Farmer Smith, Blacksmith Jones, Carpenter Brown, at the village

this financial basis. "Minute men," trained minute men, are absolutely necessary if any national defense is to be made in case of necessity.

If Farmer Smith, Blacksmith Jones, Carpenter Brown, at the village store on Saturday afterneon, can not understand the solution and the reason why, that solution will not do, for under our system of government these are the men who have the say and they are not going to say "yes" unless they see why and how the thing will work.

Let me say, then, to Smith, Brown, and Jones, this Regular Army you are paying for has four uses; a first line tor war, a colonial force at all times ready for field service, an expeditionary force always ready for field service, and a training school for "minute men" for national defense.

100 are paying a big bunch of experts to determine how to use what force you see fit to have, and their recommendations as to the exact

size and composition of machinery to do the work you have assigned to them are worthy of consideration in exact proportion to the ability of the expert and the ancunt of special study he has devoted to the subject. Merely Jecause Maj. A has been in the Army 35 years does not make his recommendation worth a cent; how much has he studied the particular thing? Merely because a man has the rank of a colonel or a general does not make his recommendation worth a cent; what does he know about it?

If a recommendation will not bear a clear, clean, understandable answer to every one of these questions discard it, no matter what the rank, what the age, how long the service of the man who makes it. Prove all things; hold fast to what is worthy.

Mr. Speaker, the citizens of New York are as patriotic men as can be found anywhere in our land. They have requested their Representatives in Congress to vote for an increased Army and Navy regardless of political affiliations. I have voted for an increased Army and I shall vote for an increased Navy, because I will in that way fulfill my obligation as a citizen and

my duty to our country.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, it is with a feeling of pleasure that I call attention to the fact that the idea of having Flag Day more generally celebrated originated in my congressional district, and on March 24, 1916, the request for the issuance of such a proclamation was brought to the President's attention, demonstrating once more that New Yorkers love and cherish our flag with an intensity that words can not adequately describe, but if the time ever comes, and I hope that it may never come, by their deeds they will show that they stand at all times for the United States, and will continue to do so until they pass to the far beyond.

Another Thing Henry Ford Does Not Know.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LOUIS C. CRAMTON. OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 31, 1916.

Mr. CRAMTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the Detroit News.

The article is as follows:

ANOTHER THING HENRY FORD DOESN'T KNOW.

Highly educated and smart writers are devoting many columns these days to exposing the scientific ignorance of Henry Ford.

They are really pitying Mr. Ford in the density of what he doesn't know, for not knowing what scientists know has led him into several barge blunders.

Highly educated and smart writers are devoting many columns these days to exposing the scientific ignorance of Henry Ford.

They are really pitying Mr. Ford in the density of what he doesn't know, for not knowing what scientists know has led him into several huge blunders.

The industrial scientists had it all figured out to a nicety that the largest industrial institutions that could possibly succeed was one that would employ 5,000 men in a single unit. These scientists knew that a very shrewd, clever, careful and thoroughgoing man, with plenty of resources and ability for organization could make a go of it with 3,000 men; and if he was one of the world's trare industrial geniuses he might possibly handle 5,000 men in a single plant; but that was the limit of human capability, and to try to go beyond that was to fail of self-disintegration, or something of the sort.

Now, poor Mr. Ford lacked woefully in scientific business training. He was ignorant of all that. He got about him men who were able to sell automobiles in the markets of the world and other men able to sell automobiles in the markets of the world and other men able to make and ship them at a profit—and so his business grew.

When his plant had reached the limit of 5,000 men and he was shipping out about 500 machines a day, there was no kindly scientist to raise a warning hand, and he doubled it to 10,000 men. Still no warning of the impending disaster came, and he doubled it again to 20,000 men—and as a result where does this man Ford find himself?

He has a business organization and a plant that \$200,000,000 world of raw materials on hand. He has many millions of dollars worth of big assembly plants in the larger cities of the country. He has a business organization on hand. He has many millions of dollars worth of big assembly plants in the larger cities of the country. He turns out over \$2,000 automobiles a day and has a personal net noeme of over \$100,000 a day.

Of course there are those who can tell us to a certainty that it was not the brai

over \$20,000,000 in Detroit savings banks. Strange—and Mr. Ford in his ignorance couldn't see that—in becoming home owners they have become very regular in their habits, have become more efficient, and haven't increased his cost of production.

And there is something more about industrial science that Mr. Ford didn't know. The way to keep men contented is to keep them ignorant. Don't let them know too much. It has a tendency to make them dissatisfied with the day's toll and hard to hold in place. Not knowing that, Mr. Ford cleared the machinery out of an entire floor of one wing of his plant and partitioned it off into schoolrooms. He hired about 30 school-teachers, and there 3,000 foreign men of 20, 30, 40, or 50 years, speaking 10 different languages and dialects, are taught the English language.

Of course, paying a Hungarian or other foreigner \$5 a day and

30 school-teachers, and there 3,000 foreign men of 20, 30, 40, or 50 years, speaking 19 different languages and dialects, are taught the English language.

Of course, paying a Hungarian or other foreigner \$5 a day and teaching him the English language, the rudiments of American citizenship, and the love of peace, instead of preparing him for the trenches, is something awful, and Mr. Ford in his ignorance of how these human beings really ought to be treated has done that.

And Mr. Ford, in his lack of understanding, has done another thing. He has adopted a sort of legend for his workers. The words are printed on signs about the schoolrooms in his factory. They are the first in English to be burnt into the brains of these foreigners. They read: "Help the other fellow." Shouldn't any well-informed employer know that such doctrine as this will lead the laborer to expect too much?

Having had no scientific knowledge about business and never having acquired any, and thus having made a complete failure in his efforts to make a fortune for himself and to help his employees at the same time, Mr. Ford now dares to talk to us about war nad peace.

Poor man, he has a simple little notion in his head that the way to keep from getting shot or from shooting anyone is for nobody to carry a gun—man or nation.

When he was tinkering about Detroit with designs for automobiles and later exceeding the scientific limit as to the number of men he should put to work, he should have been reading the magazines and works of scientists as to the one and only sure way to keep the world at peace. If he had, he wouldn't be making himself ridiculous with his peace talk now. In fact, Mr. Ford should take some of the time he spends with the birds and the deer on his place and put it to reading the back numbers of magazines. He should go back 3, 5, or 10 years. There he would find picture after picture in magazine after magazine, printed year after year, of that wonderful organization, the German Army. And above the pictures he would often read

Establishment of a Probation System in the United States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WOODSON R. OGLESBY,

OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 30, 1916.

Mr. OGLESBY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a letter from Hon. Homer Folks, president of the New York State Probation Commission, on the subject of the establishment of a probation system in the United States district courts.

The letter is as follows:

OWEN-HAYDEN BILL (S. 1092 AND H. R. 42) TO ESTABLISH A PROBATION SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURTS.

AND II. MALE AND INTEREST CONTROL OF THE PROBATION COMMISSION.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,

May 25, 1916.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,

May 25, 1916.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: The bill above mentioned, to establish a Federal probation system, which is now under consideration by the Judiciary Committee, has been carefully considered and heartily indorsed by the New York State Probation Commission, which has been familiar for some years with the need of such a measure.

The New York State Probation Commission was created in 1907, under an act signed by Gov. Hughes, and its original membership was appointed by him. It has had the general supervision over probation work since that time, and has been actively concerned in its development, both as to legislation and as to administration. Since 1907 the number of persons on probation in this State has increased from about 1,600 to its present total, on April 30, 1916, of 11,722. Of this number, 9,087 are adults and 2,635 are children. One of our chief duties is that of investigating the efficiency of the work as carried on in the various courts of the State. We have been at all times conscious of the fact that under loose administrative methods evils might develop. We have been far from accepting the extraordinary claims made for probation by some of its overenthusiastic advocates. We are convinced, however, by careful supervision and inquiry, that nearly 80 per cent of all persons placed on probation complete their term of probation with a distinct improvement in their conduct and attitude toward society. We are further convinced by the study of the present circumstances, behavior, and social and industrial status of all those placed on probation in a given period several years ago, in one of the large counties

of the State, that a large proportion of those completed their probation satisfactorily, continued in satisfactory progress and conduct, and are, in fact, rehabilitated for a long term of years, if not permanently.

We are convinced from observation of facts and conditions in this State that the principles which have been successfully applied in the courts of this State should also be made applicable to the Federal district courts. Many cases arise—perhaps a smaller proportion than in the local courts—of younger and first offenders, in which it is imperative from the view of protection to society and of the reformation of the individual that the home conditions and the previous character of the convicted offender should be carefully investigated by a probation officer, and that he should be given an opportunity to demonstrate his desire to "make good" by a conditional release under the supervision of a competent probation officer. Incidentally this system is also a source of economy in reducing the number of persons who have to be supported in penal and reformatory institutions.

The bill has been carefully drafted, and we feel sure that it will meet the present needs of the Federal courts in this respect in an economical and practical way. I sincerely hope you will do what you can to secure speedy and favorable report by the Judiciary Committee. I am,

Very truly, yours,

Homer Folks, President.

HOMER FOLKS, President.

The World's Best Battle Cruisers for America.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY I. EMERSON. OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 31, 1916.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article:

[From the Literary Digest, June 3, 1916.]

THE WORLD'S BEST BATTLE CRUISERS FOR AMERICA.

THE WORLD'S BEST BATTLE CRUISERS FOR AMERICA.

The value of the battle cruiser is crisply summed up by one editor in the statement that "no floating thing that can whip her can catch her, and nothing that she can whip can escape her." Far superior in speed to a superdreadausyht, and not inferior in the range and power of her guns, this type of sea fighter "seems destined to dominate the ocean for years to come," says the New York World, and the Syracuse Post-Standard thinks it due to something more than chance that "England's greatest naval losses in the present war have been in the dreadaught or battleship class, while the battle-cruiser fleets are intact." Yet the United States Navy possesses not one of these ships. This explains, perhaps, why all other features of the remarkable naval program laid before the House by its Committee on Naval Affairs are eclipsed in popular interest by the clause providing for the immediate authorization of five monsters of this type that will outsteam and probably outshoot any possible enemy now afloat. The proposed ships, which will cost more than \$20,000,000 each, are to have a speed of \$35 knots, a displacement of \$32,000 tons, and an armament of ten 14-inch or eight 16-inch rifles. "They will be six knots faster than the fastest of their type in the British and German Navies," notes the Brooklyn Eagle, and the Springfield Republican describes them as "nearly 20 per cent larger and 20 per cent faster than any first-class fighting craft known to have been projected up to the opening of the war." In the New York World we read:

"The Moltke and the Seydlitz, the strongest and fastest of the German battle cruisers, are 20-knot ships—one of 52,000 horsepower and the other of 63,000 horsepower. The tiper, which is the most powerful of the British battle cruisers, is a 28-knot ship of 87,000 horsepower. They are to be 6 knots faster than the fastest German battle cruisers and 7 knots faster than the fastest British battle cruiser, with heavier guns and a greater volume of gunfire

out to be the best investment that any Congress has made in many years."

England has 10 of these ships in commission, Germany 9, and Japan 4. Rear Admiral Robert E. Peary, who for nearly a year past has been publicly advocating the building of battle cruisers, thinks that we should provide as quickly as possible for 16—8 for the Atlantic and 8 for the Pacific. In a letter to the New York Times he says:

"With two such fleets in commission, and both coasts protected in addition by a sufficient aerial coast-defense system, we might feel that our sea fences were in fairly good shape.

"The United States is to-day the wealthiest Nation in the world. We have a more extensive available coast line than any other country. We are the only two-ocean naval power in the world. We are the only international creed (the Monroe doctrine) a clear-cut claim to a sphere of influence covering an entire hemisphere.

"We are the only one of the premier world powers not now engaged in a struggle in which force, expressed in terms which the lowest intelligence can understand, is the principal thing that counts. We may be drawn in at any time. We are not ready.

"No other nation has such imperative reasons for a swift, powerful, and far-reaching Navy as has the United States."

And in the Washington Army and Navy Register, a service paper, we find him further quoted as saying:

"A year ago in the hearings before the House Naval Committee the majority testimony was in favor of the battleship. This year, of 10 officers of high rank who testified before the same committee, all advocated battle cruisers, and seven of them advocated battle cruisers to the exclusion af battleships. The Navy Department and the General Wart the majority testimony before the same committee next winter will be " that battle cruisers, submarines, and aeroplanes will give the ideal defense for the United States."

Still another argument for a vigorous policy of battle-cruisers construction of the committee of the

Men Must Not Be Tempted to Think of War and Profit at the Same Time.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BENJAMIN C. HILLIARD, OF COLORADO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 2, 1916.

Mr. HILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful for the opportunity to speak to the pending legislation. I could not hope to discuss in detail the many problems presented or the bearing of the measure upon their proper solution in any time that I ought reasonably to occupy.

The necessity, from the standpoint of economy, that the Government shall manufacture at its own factories very largely of its requirements is fast being appreciated, and that, not only for economical but for ethical reasons as well, it must, as rapidly as reasonably may be, arrange to manufacture and construct in Government plants ships, armor, and war munitions of all kinds. By no less reaching and comprehensive legislation will the Government be able ultimately to bear the enormous expense that is rapidly exhausting the taxing ingenuity of the Congress and sapping the energies of the people; and in relation to those things that enter into war, or for defense against possible war, or preparation for war, however stated or limited, there must be such an absence of private profit that, whatever his attitude toward the subject, every man will be known to be giving voice to a judgment quickened with nothing in which there is an element of personal gain. Men must not be allowed to hold such relation to these vital and destroying elements as that they may be tempted to think of war and profit at the same time.

This bill, with its present amendment, recognizes the right principle and goes far toward the realization thereof. A recent letter from one of the best-known of my constituents in private life and my answer to a measurable degree cover a feature of this phase of the situation, so that for brevity and that the time I otherwise would consume may be saved to others I conclude my

remarks by setting forth those letters:

DENVER, COLO., May 25, 1916.

Hon. BEN. HILLIARD, Congressman, State of Colorado, Washington, D. C.

DEAR Sin: I was surprised to receive, under your frank, the other day, a copy of a speech from some backwoods Congressman abusing the Navy League.

I consider this a gross misuse of the Government privilege and an insult to my intelligence and sense of humor.

Very truly, yours,

C. MACA. WILLCOX.

House of Representatives, United States, Washington, D. C., May 31, 1916.

Mr. CHARLES MACALLISTER WILLCOX, Denver, Colo.

Mr. Charles Macallister Willon, D. C., May 31, 1916.

Mr. Charles Macallister Willon, Denver, Colo.

My Drar Mr. Willon: Referring to your note of the 25th instant, I freely express regret that the receipt by you of a copy of Congressman Tayenser's speech under my frank caused you any annoyance whatever. Certainly no such purpose was in my mind.

You refer to Mr. Tayenner as a "backwoods Congressman," and that is the view a few Members of Congress and an unknown number of munitions magnates entertained until they had pressed too close to the saw. Now they know differently; and you would hold other views, too, could you know Mr. Tayenner personally or would trouble to read the speech. I hold no brief for Mr. Tayenner, but for your information I may say that while he is one of the younger Members of Congress he probably is one of the best informed men that ever saw the Halls of the National Legislature. Beyond question he is one of the most traveled of men both at home and abroad. From the beginning he has been consistently watchful of the common weal; and so appreciated is he by the people of his Illinois district that, while politically his party allegiance is at variance with the majority, he has twice been elected to Congress, the second time by an increased vote.

Mr. Willcox, you are one of the successful business men of Denver, and trouble yourself only with transactions of large magnitude, still its true, nevertheless, that you rarely give thought for that your views it is true, nevertheless, that you rarely give thought for the will would be helpful to the average of men. You thought it smart to write me the curt not you did, but it was not. Your dictated lines, on richly engraved stationery written by your salaried help, are not entitled to a tithe of the consideration by me accorded to the more labored and less-practiced efforts of the ordinary man and woman of Denver, written on plain paper and incosed in envelopes of like character—and there are dozens of them coming almost daily. These people do not

patriotism finds fitting expression in unlimited appropriations, with no thought of economy in expenditure.

Your letter indicates that you would have the people agree without question to appropriations advocated by parties directly interested. I believe the people should know who advocate increased taxation and who may profit thereby. You would have the people to know only of a doubtfut half truth; I would have them to know the whole truth. By law a Member of Congress may mail under his frank all or any part of the Congressional Record. From careful examination I pronounced the extract from the Record sent you to be good seed, and sowed some. Only that which fell on the rock, as in the parable, has failed to grow. You relicate that because the seed would not grow under such circumstances I should not have sowed any. I see my duty quite otherwise.

under such circumstances I should not have sowed any. I see my duty quite otherwise.

Personally I have no quarrel with you; but as the Representative of the people of Denver in the Congress of the United States my duty requires that your flippant letter should receive some attention.

Yours, very truly,

R. C. HULLERD

B. C. HILLIARD.

Suggestions to Farmers Who Desire to Use New Rural-Credits Measure.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON, KENNETH D. MCKELLAR,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 1, 1916.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. Speaker, during the discussion of the rural-credits bill in the House I actively took part in the debate, believing then, as I do now, that a proper rural-credits system will do more for the development and prosperity of our country than any other one measure before the American Congress. I voted for the bill, not because all of its provisions met my approval, but because I believed it was a long step in the right direction toward securing for this country a farm-credits system and believing that we can perfect the measure later on by amendment.

There are three notable provisions in the bill which I opposed, because I did not believe that they were to the best interest of These three provisions are: (1) The cumbersome the farmers. machinery of the act, the expensive system of farm-loan associations, joint-stock land banks, the creation of profit-making middlemen, and the like, and the large amount of red tape necessary for the farmer to secure a loan; (2) the requirement making it necessary for the farmer to subscribe for stock in the farm-land bank to the amount of 5 per cent of his loan before he can obtain a loan; (3) the provision requiring him to become responsible for his fellow members' loan to the extent of 10

per cent of his loan.

I believed then, and believe now that all three of these provislons are unwise and unnecessary. I believe that the Government should have established the 12 land banks and permitted them to establish their own agencies at the smallest possible cost, and loan the money direct to the farmers without red tape and without creating profit-making middlemen. I believe that the formation of farm-loan associations and joint-stock banks will be expensive, cumbersome, and wholly unnecessary; but a majority of the House thought differently about these provisions, though my amendment in the committee striking them out failed by only six votes, and the bill as finally passed contains them. After all, only the future can tell who is right, and so great is my belief in the lasting good of the rural-credits system that I now feel that all friends of rural credits should join heartily in trying to make this system a success, so that

the best results to the farmers of our country may be secured.

With this purpose in view, therefore, Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention to discuss the merits of this legislation in these remarks, but I simply wish to explain in a general way the provisions of the bill and point out how farmers can take advantage of its terms, hoping that it will be helpful to my con-

stituents.

RURAL CREDITS COMPANION LEGISLATION TO FEDERAL RESERVE ACT.

The rural-credits bill which has passed and will become the law, is based on the same general plan followed in the banking and currency system recently enacted by a Democratic Congress, and which has proved such a marvelous success. As the banking and currency act provides for a system to benefit the business, commercial, and industrial needs of our country, so it is believed that the same kind of a system, formed to meet the needs of agriculture, will accomplish a like result. The banking and currency law provides for a central board at Washington, known as the Federal Reserve Board, and divides the United States into 12 districts and establishes a Federal reserve bank in each district. And so, the rural-credits act establishes

a Federal farm-loan board of three members, at Washington, divides the country into 12 districts, if the provisions of the bill are agreed upon in conference, and establishes a Federal farmland bank in each district. Both systems have the backing of the Government and are very similar.

FEDERAL PARM-LOAN BOARD.

The Federal farm-loan board consists of three members to be appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate, each to receive an annual salary of \$10,000, if the Senate provision is followed, and they can not be officers or directors or own any interest in any other kind of banking business. board is required to appoint a loan registrar in each land-bank district, and it also appoints such appraisers and examiners in each district as may be necessary. All of these are Government officials, and, except appraisers, their salaries and expenses are paid for by the Government. This board has authority also to employ such attorneys, experts, clerks, and the like, as may be necessary, and all these are paid for by the Government. This board organizes and charters the Federal land banks, ultimately fixes the rate of interest, and has general supervision and control of the whole system.

FEDERAL LAND BANKS.

The Federal farm-loan board is required to divide continental United States into 12 districts, if the House bill is followed, and a bank with not less than \$750,000 capital stock is established in each district in a city within said district designated by said board. At first these banks are to be managed by three temporary directors selected by the Federal farm-loan board, but afterwards they are to be selected, in part, three by the board and, in part, six by the farm-loan associations, and in a general way as the directors in the present reserve system are selected. The capital stock of these Federal land banks may be subscribed to by anyone, but if it is not subscribed within 90 days, then the United States Government will subscribe for the stock. Of course, the stock will be subscribed for by the Government. At all events it will be at first.

NATIONAL FARM-LOAN ASSOCIATIONS.

The act provides for the formation of national farm-loan asso-It is most important that the farmer should know about these associations, with which he must come directly in contact. In order for a farmer to secure a loan he must become a member of one of these farm-loan associations. These are formed by 10 or more borrowers, who associate themselves under the act as a corporation, and they select a secretarytreasurer, who manages the affairs of the association. The secretary-treasurer is the business manager of the association, and, of course, will control it. The board of directors' duty in these associations will be largely nominal. As soon as the application for articles of incorporation is forwarded to the Federal land bank the bank sends an appraiser to the locality to appraise the lands included in the application. If he finds them eligible for loans, the charter is granted.

HOW TO OBTAIN A LOAN.

If a farm-loan association has not already been formed, it requires at least 10 farmers who desire to make loans to form one. Each member is to subscribe to an oath saying that he is the owner, or about to become the owner, of farm land, qualified under the act of being the basis of a mortgage loan; that the loan desired by each person is not more than \$10,000, nor less than \$100; and that the aggregate loans of each association are not less than \$20,000. The affidavit is to be accompanied by a subscription to stock in the farm-land bank equal to 5 per cent of the mortgage loan desired. When the land bank gets these affidavits they form a farm-loan association, as above set out. To cite a concrete case, a farmer has a piece of land worth \$1,500, with improvements worth \$500 thereon, in all He becomes a member of the association as above pointed out. He then applies for a loan of not exceeding \$900 on the land and \$100 on the improvements. In other words, he can borrow 60 per cent of the value of his land, and 20 per cent of the value of the improvements. He does not get in cash the whole sum of \$1,000, however, because he is to take 5 per cent of the amount of his loan in stock. He is entitled to whatever profits are made on this stock, if any are made, and when the loan is paid off he is credited with the \$50 stock at all events, and the stock then canceled. In addition to this, he must sign an agreement guaranteeing to the extent of 10 per cent, or \$100, the loans of his fellow members. Under a well-regulated system, supervised by the Government, it is not believed that he will ever have to pay any loss on account of this guaranty, and this amount is not deducted from his loan, and not paid at all unless there is a loss. Of course, when his loan is paid off his stock is canceled and this agreement is at an end.

The result is that a farmer, when the system is organized, will have to apply to the secretary-treasurer of the loan association, have his land appraised and be elected a member, furnish an abstract of title to his property, which will be examined by the attorneys of the system at a figure ultimately fixed by the farm-loan board. He will have to subscribe to the amount of 5 per cent of his loan in the farm-loan association, which will, in turn, subscribe for a like amount of stock in the Federal land bank, which will either be paid for in cash or deducted

from the loan or added to the loan.

The result, so far as it can be estimated ahead of time, will

Security offered: Land Improvements	\$1, 500 500
Total	2,000
Cost: Subscription to stock in land bank Cost of abstract of title, estimated Cost of examining abstract, estimated Cost of appraisement, estimated Cost of recording mortgage, estimated	50 20 10 10 2
Total	92
Total loan	1, 000
Farmer receives in cash	908

It is believed that the Torrens's title system, or some similar system will soon be adopted and that shortly all these initial expenses will be reduced to a minimum. Of course, if the farmer already has an abstract of title and taxes, that cost will not have to be borne again. Even the initial fees may be paid for by the bank and deducted from the loan.

HOW LOAN IS REPAID.

Under the amortization plan provided by the bill the loan will be made on long time, not exceeding 36 years, and to illustrate how the payments are paid the following table showing a loan of \$1,000 for 20 years at 5 per cent is given:

	The state of the s	cent.	principal.	pal still unpaid.
1	\$80.24	\$50.00	\$30, 24	\$969.76
2	80.24	48, 48	31.75	938.00
3		46, 90	33.34	904.67
4	The second second second	45.23	35.01	869.66
5		43.48	36.76	832.90
6	80. 24	41.64	38.59	794.31
7	80. 24	39, 71	40.52	753, 79
8	80.24	37.68	42,55	711.23
ρ		35, 56	44.68	666, 56
10		33.32	46.91	619.64
11		30.98	49.26	570.39
12		28.51	51.72	518.67
13	. 80. 24	25.93	54.31	464.36
14	80. 24	23.21	57.02	407.34
15		20.36	59.87	347.46
16	. 80. 24	17.37	62.87	284.60
17	. 80. 24	14.23	66.01	218.59
18	. 80. 24	10.93	69.31	149.28
19		7.46	72.78	76.50
20	. 80. 24	3.82	76.50	
Total	. 1,604.80	604.80	1,000.00	

In addition, he will get the \$50 stock subscription back in cash, with its earnings, if any; or the same will be credited on his cash payments. Of course, the borrower has the right to pay off the loan at any interest-paying period.

RATE OF INTEREST.

In the above illustration the interest is given at 5 per cent. Under the terms of the bill the rate can not exceed 6 per cent. Of course, the interest payments will be one-sixth larger than those shown in the above table if the farmer is required to pay a 6 per cent rate. In this connection I wish to say that the interest rate depends upon the interest rate of the bonds issued and sold by the farm land banks. It is believed that these bonds will prove such a safe and popular investment that the rate of interest paid by the farmers for their money will not exceed 5 per cent, and may be less than that.

RESTRICTIONS ON LOANS.

A loan may only be made upon duly recorded first mortgages on farm lands. They must be made for the purposes of purchasing land for agricultural uses, or for the purposes of purchasing of equipment and live stock necessary for farming, or to improve farm buildings, or for improvements on farm lands, or to liquidate the indebtedness of owners of lands already mortgaged. These loans shall only be for 60 per cent of the matter of fact, counting commissions and all, farmers in Ten-

value of the land, and 20 per cent of the value of the improvements as fixed by the Government appraisers. The loan can only be made to those who are engaged in the cultivation of the farm mortgaged, or shortly to become so engaged. The amount of any one loan shall never exceed \$10,000. The application must state the purpose for which the money is borrowed. The borrower is to pay all premiums for insurances and taxes.

HOW THE MONEY IS OBTAINED BY THE BANKS.

When the Federal land bank begins operation and secures these farm first mortgages, then it is given the right to issue its own bonds. The security of these bonds is: (1) The capital stock of the bank itself; (2) whatever earnings and reserves the bank may have made; (3) the indorsement of the local farm-loan associations, which will be backed by the guaranty of all members of the association to the extent of 10 per cent of the loan of each; (4) the first mortgages of farm lands at 60 per cent of their value, and on improvements at 20 per cent of their value; (5) the bonds are exempted from local, State, county, and national taxation; (6) the supervision of the Federal farm-loan board; (7) the act makes the bonds lawful investments for all fiduciary and trust funds.

Under these circumstances these bonds ought to be just as good as any United States Government bonds, and ought to sell at a very low rate of interest, and, no doubt, soon after the system gets in good working order the rate of interest at which the farmers will be enabled to obtain money will be low, indeed. From the sale of these bonds the banks will get the money to lend to the farmer.

JOINT-STOCK LAND BANKS.

There is a provision in the bill for joint-stock land banks that ought not to be in it. This provision merely authorizes the organization of private land banks with practically all the privileges of the Federal land banks. The farmers should not obtain their money from these private banks, but should patronize the Federal land banks and make them a success. The Federal land banks, of course, will be interested in reducing interest The private land banks will be interested in increasing interest rates. The farmer should not be misled into borrowing from these private institutions thus authorized. It was a serious mistake to authorize these private land banks, and one that ought to be remedied by amendment. But the farmers can themselves remedy this matter by not patronizing them.

FEDERAL DEPOSITS.

In case of necessity the Government is authorized to deposit as much as \$500,000 in a Federal land bank at any time, so that it may not be unduly hampered in its operations. It will thus be seen that every precaution is taken to make the system a success.

ADVANTAGES OF THIS SYSTEM.

In my judgment the distinct advantages of the system are: (1) It will immeasurably reduce the interest rates now being paid by the farmers, saving them in the aggregate in the United States an enormous sum annually; (2) it will provide farmers with money on long time, with small annual payments, which will not be burdensome; (3) it will cut off the payments of large commissions and further renewal commissions; (4) it will secure the loan at a minimum cost. In other words, the amounts charged for abstracts, title examination, and appraisements will be reduced to a minimum. (5) It will permit the farmers to pay off the whole loan at any interestpaying period; (6) it will make farm first mortgages bank-able assets anywhere; (7) it will be under the supervision of the National Government, which will see to it that the farmer gets his money at the lowest possible cost; (8) it will make money always available to the farmers who has the land.

In my judgment it will prove the greatest impetus ever given agriculture in this country, inasmuch as it will encourage tenant farmers to save and become farmers in their own right, and will cause great numbers of men now engaged in a less profitable business to become farmers.

HOW THE BILL WILL AFFECT TENNESSEE.

In 1910 there were 144,125 farms in Tennessee. Of these only 24,006 were mortgaged, an exceedingly small percentage of them in comparison with those mortgaged in many other States. The total mortgaged indebtedness in Tennessee, as far as it could be ascertained, was \$12,600,000. The average rate of interest paid on these mortgages was 81 per cent, and the total amount paid by these farmers in interest on their mortgaged farms was \$1,071,000. If these mortgages are transferred to the Federal system on a 6 per cent basis the farmers of Tennessee, who now have their farms mortgaged, will save annually nessee most likely pay as much as 10 per cent now, and if these mortgages are transferred to the Federal system on a 5 per cent basis they will save annually \$630,000 in lessened interest charges alone.

The proportion of farms mortgaged in Tennessee is comparatively small. This does not necessarily show a good condition. The proportion of farms mortgaged in 1910 was higher in Wisconsin and Iowa than in any other State, and yet those States are among the most prosperous in the Union from an agricultural standpoint, and the interest rate there is as cheap or cheaper than in any other State, and the value of the farm

lands probably greater.

Mr. Speaker, in my late campaign in Tennessee for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator, one of the chief planks in my platform was national rural credits legislation. I promised the farmers that I would use every effort to obtain such legislation, and I am delighted to be able to say that this promise has been redeemed, and that a workable rural-credits system is now a reality. I am convinced that it will accomplish great good to the farmers of Tennessee and to the farmers of the entire Nation.

Speech of Secretary McAdoo Before the Chamber of Commerce of Raleigh, N. C., May 31, 1916.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM C. ADAMSON,

OF GEORGIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 1, 1916.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record I include the following abstract of a speech delivered by Secretary McAdoo before the Chamber of Commerce of Raleigh, N. C., Wednesday night, May 31:

THE POLLOWING ABSTRACT OF A SPEECH DELIVERED BY SECRETARY MC-ADOO REPORT THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF RALEIGH, N. C., WED-NESDAY NIGHT, MAY 31.

The United States is enjoying the greatest era of prosperity in its history, and the outlook for the future of the country was never so bright. Unlike all previous periods of great business activity, the present ascendency in all lines of industrial endeavor possesses all the elements of permanence, provided we avail of the opportunities, which are being literally thrust into our hands, with that intelligence, energy, and enterprise so characteristic of the spirit of the American people.

Prosperity has permeated every corner of the country. Every line of business is pulsating with it. Every industry is driving at top speed of profitable activity. Labor is employed throughout the land at the highest wages ever known, and the demand for labor in all parts of the country seems to be in excess of the supply. Never in American history liave conditions been so favorable to American business and American industry. We have not alone the full dinner pail, but the overflowing dinner

pail.

Agriculture, which is the basis of all prosperity, is experiencing a most wholesome growth. The farmers of the United States never in their history have enjoyed such splendid rewards for their toil, and never before have the economic conditions and the laws already enacted by a Democratic administration so justly favored them. The rural credits bill, which will soon be passed and approved by the President, will emancipate the farmer from many of the most serious Ills he has so long endured and provide the long-time credits at low rates of interest so essential to the remunerative and productive development of the farming industry.

Money and credit are abundant; the ghost of panic has been securely laid. In the midst of a war-torn and war-worn world, with adversity crumbling the economic foundation of almost every other great power, the financial, commercial, and industrial conditions in the United States are phenomenally sound and exceptionally strong. This is due not to transitory war orders, or ephemeral trade, but to the amazing economic strength

of the United States.

The Federal reserve act, which is now generally conceded to be the most constructive measure placed upon our statute books in a half century, is the greatest contributing factor in this happy condition. The Federal reserve system has been in operation less than two years, during which time the Nation has

passed through the greatest crisis and strain the world has ever seen. We have successfully withstood the shock of the European cataclysm, and have rebounded into the most unexampled prosperity any nation has ever known. The Federal reserve system has provided the elastic and responsive credit resources required for the expansion and growth of the business and the

development of our country.

The strait-jacket in which the business and industry of the United States have been cramped and limited by the old financial laws of the Republican Party has been shattered and the country may grow without restriction to the full limit of healthful and legitimate expansion. Not only has the reserve system provided ample credit resources and strengthened the financial structure of the country immeasurably, but it has caused a more equitable diffusion of credits; has reduced rates of interest and has mitigated already and in great measure the abuses of usury in those parts of the country where usury has been a serious handleap to business and enterprise. What this means to the business men and all classes of our people is too obvious to describe.

It is a significant fact, and it is an achievement of which the administration may well boast, that when the country was on the verge of appalling panic at the outbreak of the European war in 1914, it was the decisive and adequate measures taken by the Government at Washington that prevented this panic and laid a secure foundation for the great prosperity we are now enjoying. It was the leadership and action of the Government at Washington that saved the country in this great crisis. This is said in no spirit of depreciation of the important cooperation the leading bankers and business men of the country gave to the Government in that critical time.

What a contrast this is to the ineffectiveness of the Republican administration at Washington during the panic of 1907, which left the country prostrate for many years and brought

immeasurable disaster upon the American people.

Nothing is more indicative of the amazing growth of the country than the condition of the banks. The Comptroller of the Currency states that in March, 1916, the resources of the National banks amounted to \$13,838,000,000, exceeding by \$370,000,000 the greatest resources ever shown in the history of the National Banking System. The resources of the National banks were \$2,271,000,000 greater in March, 1916, than in March, 1915.

This marvelous increase in one year exceeds, the comptroller states, the entire resources of the Reichsbank of Germany, as

reported in February, 1916.

The aggregate resources of the National banks of the United States now exceed by approximately \$3,000,000,000 the combined resources of the Bank of England, the Bank of France, the Bank of Russia, the Reichsbank of Germany, the Bank of the Netherlands, the Swiss National Bank, and the Bank of Japan. The total deposits of the National banks in March, 1916, amounted to \$10,700,000,000, an increase in three months of \$411,000,000, and an increase over March, 1915 (one year), of \$2,198,000,000.

These figures are so prodigious as to be almost unbelievable. They reflect infallibly the degree of prosperity as wide and deep as it is amazing and gratifying. One can not speak of this record without superlatives. Even the infallible and sanctified Republican Party could not have done better. Perhaps it is heresy to say this, but may the Democrats not reasonably claim that, since the Republican Party has never done anything like so well for the country when for many years it had control of the Government, it would not have done better than the Democratic Party has shown by these impressive figures and by the results which are visible to every man, woman, and child in America to-day? Has the Republican Party ever done even as well?

Judge Gary, head of the United States Steel Trust and a leading Republican statesman, in a recent speech in New York has bewalled the fact that the high protective tariff, which is the sanctified doctrine and cure-all remedy of the Republican Party, has not been in force at this time, and he almost weeps as he appeals to the country to restore this Republican system of subsidies, conferring upon the great manufacturers of this country the right to tax the people for their own benefit. If this is a sample of Republican statesmanship, then it may well be asked whether or not the Republican Party could have handled the affairs of the country so well as the Democratic Party has during the past three years.

In the face of the greatest prosperity ever known in the history of the iron and steel industry, the prosperity brought about under the Democratic tariff law enacted in 1913, and with the coffers of every iron and steel industry in the country overflowing with plenty, Judge Gary seriously asks the people of this country to restore the high protective policy and subsidy

system of the Republican Party. What is there in the present conditions to justify such an appeal? How can the people be convinced that the iron and steel industry should be given new advantages and additional subsidies in the light of the huge

profits they are now earning?

The present tariff law-the Underwood-Simmons Act-made a reasonable reduction in the customs duties, transferring a part of the burdens of taxation from the backs of the masses of the people to the ample shoulders of wealth, which has never under the Republican system borne its just proportion of the burdens of government. The Democratic system is the just system. The Republican system is the privilege system. The people will not repudiate the former and deliberately readopt the latter in view of the demonstrated fallacy of the claim of protected industries that they need to tax the people for their own benefit in order to make a profit. Every reasonable man wants industry to thrive and prosper, and every reasonable American citizen is willing that enterprise shall have a just and fair opportunity, but, while conceding this to enterprise and business, Democracy claims that like treatment should be accorded to the masses of the American people.

The prosperity of the country is strikingly reflected in the surplus reserves of the national banks. These reserves are now so great that they give the national banks a further loan-ing power of three to four billion dollars. If we add to this the loaning power of the State banks and trust companies of the country, we have an aggregate approximating the astounding total of \$6,000,000,000.

These great resources carry with them both opportunity and responsibility-opportunity to serve the Nation's needs in the highest degree and to extend assistance to our splendid neighbors of South and Central America who are suffering severely for the resources needed for their own development; responsibility to so use these resources that they will be employed in legitimate and wholesome enterprise and development and not for speculation or inflation.

The duty devolves upon the bankers of the United States. because the responsibility rests primarily upon them to curb speculation and to restrain inflationary tendencies. The Federal Reserve Board at Washington will use its great power to assist in the wholesome use of the great credit resources of the country and to prevent unhealthful tendencies, but the banks themselves have the chief power and responsibility. The Federal Reserve Board can only contribute toward this result to the ex-

tent that the law gives it the necessary authority.

When I speak this word of caution about speculation and inflation I must at the same time express my lack of sympathy with the views so strenuously put forward, and, I think, for selfish motives primarily, by some people and by many partisans for political purposes, that the United States must face a period of serious depression, if not possible disaster, upon the concin-sion of peace in Europe. Some people are undoubtedly honestly impressed by these claims and are genuinely apprehensive about the future. Aside from the partisan purpose of this propaganda, unreasonable fear alone seems to me to be at the basis of all honest apprehension on this score.

An analysis of the conditions in the United States and of the possible economic effects of the war in Europe does not, in my opinion, give the slightest justification for any fear for our prosperity. A Democratic Congress, however, out of deference to any honest apprehension that may exist in the minds of business men, will enact legislation against the dumping of cheap European goods in our markets and will prohibit by law unfair competition by foreign competitors with American business men and manufacturers. While I do not believe these measures are essential, I favor them simply as a precaution and as an assur-

ance to the timid and hesitating.

When I contrast the enormous financial and economic strength of the United States and the extraordinary skill and creative genius of its people with the depleted resources and the weakened economic power of the great European nations, and the destruction of so much of their skilled labor and manhood, I feel somewhat ashamed of the fright and timidity manifested by some people of the United States whom we have been accus-

tomed to regard as really strong.

When peace is restored to Europe the belligerent nations will find themselves burdened with an almost insupportable load of debt. Taxation, both oppressive and excessive, must be borne to pay the interest on these debts. Taxation is an important factor in the cost of production and adds materially, and will seriously affect the competitive capacity of Germany, France, England, and the other industrial nations of Europe. Many of their skilled workmen have been lost, and new ones must be created; many of their industries have been destroyed, and must be reconstructed. Their credit resources are seriously im-

paired. Other serious difficulties must be overcome if they are to regain their foreign markets. Against these formidable handicaps and terrible conditions, is it believable that the American people, with their highly developed industries and skilled labor, matchless resources, exceptional creative genius, and productive capacity, are unable to sustain themselves in a fair contest for their share of the world's markets? Can it truthfully be said that our economic safety and prosperity will have to face any real peril? It is almost discreditable to our intelli-

gence to have to argue such a proposition.

There are those who say that the loss of war orders, after peace comes in Europe, will seriously affect the industries of our country. This is absurd. The percentage of war orders as contrasted with the entire domestic and foreign commerce of the United States is insignificant. When war orders cease-and God grant that the necessity for them may cease soon-we shall receive orders, even from Europe, for the restorative purposes of peace, for the reconstruction of ruined industries and cities, and for the relief of the stricken markets of Germany and Austria, which have been closed to us for the full period of the war. Our trade to Austria and Germany alone for the last year prior to the outbreak of the war amounted to \$367,500,000. All this trade will be regained, and in addition to that, if we are in the least intelligent and enterprising, the great markets of South and Central America, which have been clamorously seeking us for the past two years, will more than offset any possible loss of war trade. The total imports of South America alone, ex-clusive of those received from the United States during the last year of available statistics prior to the outbreak of the European war, were something like \$700,000,000. Here is a great field for American enterprise and business—a

field which we would already have securely occupied if it had not been for the disastrous action of the Republican Members of the Senate, aided, I regret to say, by a few Democrats, in filibustering to death the bill introduced by the administration in September, 1914, for the purchase of \$40,000,000 of merchant ships to be used by the Government of the United States for the protection of our commerce with all the nations of the world. The failure to buy these ships was a fatal and irretrievable mistake. It is a striking example of narrow partisanism. If we had bought in the fall of 1914, or the early days of 1915. \$40,000,000 worth of merchant vessels, which could have been had at that time at the low prices of from \$40 to \$60 per gross ton, those same vessels to-day could be sold by the Government for at least \$80,000,000. In one year these same vessels could have earned fifty to one nundred million dollars of net revenue, while at the same time carrying American products for the farmer, the manufacturer, and the business man at one-third of

the existing extortionate ocean freight rates.

When the historian of the future studies this period, he will say that the failure of the United States Government in the fall of 1914 to buy merchant vessels for the protection of American commerce was one of the monumental and inexplicable blunders of the time.

The necessity for the creation of an American merchant marine for the regulation of ocean freight rates and for the establishment of a shipping board is just as imperative now as it was then. A Democratic House has passed such a bill, carrying with it an appropriation of \$50,000,000 for the construction and purchase by the Government of a merchant marine to be utilized both as an essential naval auxiliary in time of war and for the uses of our commerce in time of peace. If we are going to have any genuine preparedness, about which there is so much talk on the part of our Republican friends, how can they be justified in voting against this measure which is just as essential to a strong and effective Navy as the guns on the decks of the battleships or the coal which must be put in the bunkers of our war vessels? And yet most of them have voted against this essential measure.

I believe this bill will soon pass the Senate of the United States and receive the approval of the President. When this appens, another great constructive measure for the prosperity and prestige of our great country, second only in importance to that of the Federal reserve act itself, will have been secured for the American people. The Stars and Stripes will again be seen upon the high seas. The safety of our commerce will no longer be jeopardized by reliance upon foreign flags. of American citizens who must travel upon the high seas will no longer be forced upon the ships of belligerent flags because there are no American ships to protect them; and the efficiency of our Navy will no longer be imperiled for want of the neces-sary naval auxiliary to supply our fighting units with the coal and provisions and ammunition which can not be supplied to them in case of war except through an efficient auxiliary merThe flag of our country, whether we wish it or not, has a meaning beyond our own territorial limits. By the decree of God, and by destiny, we have been thrust into a position of power, carrying with it world-wide responsibilities and forcing upon us, in all probability, a measure at least of world-wide dominance. That flag must never stand for a failure to meet any domestic or world-wide responsibility; that flag must forever continue to represent the true spirit and courage and genius and ideals of the American people, and above all it must stand for truth and justice and fair dealing with all the world. It must stand for peace—peace which reflects the Heaven-given light of truth and justice; a peace we shall never be willing to disturb except in a cause whose shield is truth and honor—emblazoned by a light of such radiance and purity that every American citizen will be eager for the glorious privilege of shedding his blood in defense of it.

Speech of Hon. Ollie M. James, of Kentucky, Before the Democratic State Convention, Held at Lexington, Ky., May 24, 1916.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ARTHUR B. ROUSE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 29, 1916.

Mr. ROUSE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a speech of Senator Ollie M. James, of Kentucky, delivered at Democratic State convention held at Lexington, Ky., May 24, 1916.

The speech is as follows:

SPEECH OF SENATOR OLLIE M. JAMES, OF KENTUCKY, DELIVERED AT DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION, HELD AT LEXINGTON, KY., MAY 24, 1916.

Mr. Chairman and fellow Democrats, I rejoice to meet with my Democratic brethren of Kentucky assembled here, not in faction but in unity, not in discord but in harmony, pointing with pride to the glorious achievements of our party both in the Nation and the State. [Applause.] We are all proud of the administration of Gov. Stanley; it has been clean, honest, and economical. He has in the short space of a few months written into law every promise made by the Democratic Party in our last plat-form—justly proud of all our Democratic administrations of the past. Candor and justice requires me to say this administration has been the most progressive and economical of all of its predecessors. It is no very easy task to write such far-reaching reforms as a workmen's compensation law, a corruptpractice act, a bill to improve our school system and to prevent unnecessary waste and expense in the purchase of textbooks, and write an antipass law; for these reforms are far-reaching and important, and the very presentation of them summons the activities of the very great hostility of privilege itself. When you seek to uproot greed and privilege you have a real job in front of you—all these reforms render a real service to the people of our State. The least of these is not the antipass law. There is nothing in our governmental life that so quickly chloroforms an active and alert conscience as a railroad pass; the legislator, the judge, the juror, the sheriff, and the citizen too quickly become unconscious of the public welfare under its sleep-producing fumes. I am reminded of a story Mr. Bryan tells of the fellow who went into a show on a pass, and it was so bum that all the audience cat-called, hissed, and jeered. so bum that all the audience cat-caned, missed, and jerred. The pass-holding guest sat quiet, seemingly enjoying the performance. Several observed him, and they said, "What do you think of that fellow? He surely never saw a show before." One of them ventured to say to him, "My friend, I don't mean to be offensive, but did you ever see a show before?" He said, "Certainly; why do you ask me?" He said, "Well, you seem to which this retten show, and we all wondered how it could be enjoy this rotten show, and we all wondered how it could be possible." He replied, "Well, you see, I am in here on a pass; I am going to wait until the next act, and if it is no better than the first one I am going out and buy me a ticket and come back and raise hell." [Laughter and applause.] During three years of its national control Democracy has enacted into law more progressive remedial legislation than the Nation has ever had written upon its statute books since its birth. In former national contests, in the last two decades, our party came as a prophet. We could only point out wrongs and promise remedies; but to-day we come with deeds, not words; with performance, not promise. Our deeds in the Nation have been greater than

our words upon the hustings; our performance as the law-maker greater than our promise as the campaigner. [Applause.] In other words, the Democratic Party has kept its word with the American people. We have made good. We have by our conduct of the affairs of this Nation deserved the renewed confidence of its people by proving worthy of the confidence once bestowed. [Applause.]

The Democratic Party rejoices that under this administration for the first time since the Civil War it was enabled to amend the Constitution of the United States in the interest of good government and the masses of the people. We freed the Senate from the control of the great interests by making it elective by the people at the polls. We wrote into the Constitution itself an amendment, susceptible of no dispute, that wealth should bear its proper burden of the taxation necessary to run the Government efficiently, economically, and honestly.

THE LOBBY.

President Wilson drove invisible government out of Washington, and uncovered the mightiest lobby that ever ramified a republic or had its rendezvous in its capital. He drove the lobbyist out; he turned the American people in. [Applause.]

THE TARIFF.

The Democratic Party undertook to enact a new tariff law in keeping with the historic principles of the Democratic Party and justice to all the people. The Democratic Party believes that the right of taxation can only exist for the purpose of raising sufficient revenue to run the Government. Taxation never did justly exist and never will in a free government for the purpose of enriching one class at the expense of all the rest of the people. We undertook the reformation of the tariff with open minds and clean hands, unowned, unpledged to any interest except that of the public welfare, and we are proud of our achievement in writing into law the present Underwood-Sim-Not a schedule in it fosters a monopoly, not mons tariff bill. a rate in it protects a trust. [Applause.] We made as nearly free of taxation as possible the necessities of life, and we sought to obtain as much revenue as they would bear from the luxuries of life. One of the greatest features of this law is the income tax, which raises from the fortunes of the rich, the prosperous, the well-to-do people of the Nation \$120,000,000 per annum, and lifts this burden off the tables and backs of the poor. [Applause.] To my mind, no law is more just than that of an income tax. Those that prosper under the Government ought to be willing to pay taxes to perpetuate it. It is a tax that forecloses no mortgages, forces no sales. It is collected only where riches abound and prosperity smiles. [Applause.]

Would the Republican Party dare to suggest the repeal of this part of the tariff law? Will they be specific in their objections to this legislation? What schedule would they repeal? What rate would they increase? Would they substitute the Dingley rate or the Payne-Aldrich rate? If they were given If they were given control again, would they reenact the tariff law that the Democratic Party repealed, a bill that was repudiated by the Republican Party itself at the polls? Who is it, anyhow, that desires really the repeal of the present law, made by honest men for an honest purpose, that of raising revenue sufficient to defray the expenses of the Government, and substitute in its stead the lobby-made, monopoly-breeding, trust-creating, millionaire-producing Payne-Aldrich bill? [Applause.] Our Republican friends told us when we enacted this bill into law that it would close the factories, fill the streets with idle men, produce a panic, create soup houses, and distress would reign everywhere; but we rejoice to-day to point to an unexampled prosperity in the Nation, with labor more generally employed, at higher rates, shorter hours, and better conditions than ever before. [Apshorter hours, and better conditions than ever before. [Applause.] Our Republican friends tell us that after the war is over that poor, stricken, prostrate, torn, bleeding Europe will take our home market here from us; that this young, virile Republic, with 100,000,000 freemen, that has gone out to take the former markets of the world, must tremble in great fear least these way town countries, with millions of their men—the lest these war-torn countries, with millions of their men-the flower and strength of their manhood-buried in the trenches, with their factories destroyed, their country laid waste, their charred and blood-soaked land filled with widows and orphans and crippled men, and upon them the heaviest debt of all ages, will come here to this happy land, uncursed by war's ravages or its burden of debt, and take our home market from us. gentlemen; I have no such fear; America is going to take the markets of the world; we are going to meet our competitors in the other markets of the earth and take them, and this great people here fears no competitor at home that we are willing to meet away from home. With the freight rate and cost of transportation in our favor here, we certainly have nothing to fear when we are meeting them where the freight rate and transportation and many times adverse tariffs are in their favor. But we shall cut from them the last hope of having even a false issue, for we shall pass a bill creating a tariff board to gather the facts created by the new war conditions or the conditions that may exist after peace is declared, and upon these official facts, obtained by men not interested in enriching themselves by taxing others, and with this gathered information be ready to meet every new condition which may arise.

FEDERAL RESERVE LAW.

Would our Republican opponents repeal the present Federal reserve law that emancipated the credit of a Nation; that made the credit of the country to run in life-giving currents through the avenues of business? Under the old system a few men could create a panic, as the whole Nation witnessed in 1907, when all the world was at peace and enjoying unusual prosperity. A small group of men upon Manhattan Island precipitated overnight one of the greatest panics in the history of the Nation. It toppled values, wrecked fortunes, destroyed holdings, turned out of employment thousands of men, and locked the door of every bank in the country against the depositor who called for his own money. The Republican Partyin control for 40 years of our national life-either did not have the ability or the courage or the desire to remedy this brutal system that lodged the money of a Nation in the control of this heartless group of men. The Democratic Party took control of the Nation and, under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson, met this great problem. We took the money control out of the hands of this oligarchy in New York; we lodged its control in the hands of the Government and created the Federal reserve banks of the country. We rested the finances of the great people of this Nation upon what they own, and not upon what they owe. [Applause.] The output of the factory, the product of the farm, the ore of the mine, the business achievement of the people, was the basis of the money issued under this new system, and not the bonds that were resting upon the What would have been the result if the old Republican system had been in effect when the world's war broke upon us? The stock exchanges in every city in the world were closed. Europe poured its vast holdings in plethargic streams upon our shores. The cry that went up from all the nations of the Old World was, "We want gold." Who thinks that the Re-publican system of finance under the guidance of these patriotic guardians would have been able to withstand this mighty cataclysm in the peace and credit of the world? But what was the result? Not a bank closed its doors; not a laborer was thrown out of employment; not a business was forced into bankruptcy, but there stood strong, serving the masses of mankind, this great legislative achievement of the Democratic [Applause.] Panics no longer are possible. of it is, they have only come, during the history of this Nation, when the Republican Party either was in control of its affairs or the laws that it had enacted were unrepealed upon our

The panic of 1873 is familiar to the older of our citizens. The Republican Party was in control. The panic of 1893 came while the laws written by the Republican Party were unrepealed upon the statute books, and the plates for the issuance of bonds had been prepared by the outgoing Harrison administration. And so we are quite familiar with the panic of 1907; but as the master achievement of Woodrow Wilson, to my mind, next to keeping 100,000,000 people at peace with the world, the historian will record the Federal reserve law that created a democracy of credit in a Republic of freemen and established a currency system controlled by the Government that is quickly responsive to the business needs of the country. Would our Republican friends suggest a repeal of this law? I imagine not, though we enacted it over their intense and bitter opposition. Senator Elihu Root himself stood upon the floor of the Senate and with all the eloquence and logic of which he is a master declared in solemn tones that if we did enact it into law that in 30 days the mightiest panic that ever broke upon a nation would be with us. He said it was but a recrudescence of greenbackism and the old free-silver craze. He declared that the national banks 8,000 strong, would not go into it. We discarded this advice. We weathered these evil forebodings, and in the interest of mankind we wrote the law. [Applause.] No Republican convention from that day to this, no Republican orator upon the hustings with any degree of responsibility, has suggested a word of criticism or uttered a line of condemnation of this law. [Applause.]

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS.

No President during the life of this Republic has ever had to deal with so many delicate and dangerous problems as those

which have confronted President Wilson during the last two years of his incumbency in office. With more than half of the world in arms in Europe, with Mexico in revolution at our border, these difficult and complicated international problems have confronted him almost daily, and he has handled them as becomes a patriot and a statesman. When the Lustania was sunken, the militant voice of Theodore Roosevelt cried out for war, and if he had been President of the United States at that time, to-day 500,000 brave American sons would be contending around the fort of Verdun in this mighty maelstrom of blood—thousands would have been buried in the ditches. Our President, patient, patriotic, farsighted, the real statesman, handled this question with the greatest ability, and wrung from the most militant spirit that ever stood upon a battle field an acknowledgment of our contention, an agreement to his demand, which meant the freedom of the seas to neutral life, the protection of Americans everywhere. (Applause.)

Americans everywhere. -[Applause.]

Some gentlemen in Congress undertook to take out of the President's hands the right of handling our foreign situation. Congress met that quickly, decisively, and said that they stood, as every American should stand, back of the President of the United States. [Applause.] When the President sent his ultimatum to Germany, he was criticized by two elements-one that he was seeking to force the country into war, and the other was that he was too cowardly to engage in the conflict. There are happily two kinds of courage, the courage of the man who is willing to undertake the danger himself, and the courage of the man that sends others to the conflict. The courage of the man who wishes himself to enter the conflict may be rash, for he alone is to suffer, but the courage to take a nation into war, where millions of lives may be sacrificed is another kind of courage-it is a courage that must move slowly, act coolly, and strike no blow as long as diplomacy may be employed, honor of the country upheld, the flag respected, and lives of Americans protected. Woodrow Wilson has both kinds of courage—the courage of conflict and the courage to act coolly and sensibly when he is dealing with the lives of others—the fate of a Na-tion. It was no time for divided counsel. The interference of Congress would have created chaos in this country, contempt for our honor and our country abroad, and would have destroyed the power of America to either maintain its honor or protect the rights of the neutrals of the world. [Applause.]

PEACE AND PREPAREDNESS.

For many years as a Representative in Congress I voted against great expenditures for military purposes. I thought the peace of the world was at hand. I attended the great peace conference held in London in 1906, and saw there assembled 26 nations of the earth speaking in different languages, but all of them was the language of peace. But we are confronted today with a stubborn truth, and that is that the millenium of peace has not come, and we have to regretfully admit is far removed from us. I read an old fable once that told of a maiden traveling the dusty highway with an urn of water in one hand and a fagot of fire in the other. The god of the unione nand and a ragot of fire in the other. The god of the un-verse accosted her and said, "My dear maiden, what are you going to do with the water?" She answered, "I am going to quench the flames of hell," and he said, "And what are you going to do with the fire?" and she said, "Burn up heaven." She was asked why she was going to destroy the place of punishment of the wicked and the home of the righteous, and she anment of the wicked and the nome of the righteous, and she all-swered, "So that mankind will do right without the hope of reward or the fear of punishment." But unhappily the spark of Divine love does not yet flame in every heart, nor does it rule all the nations of the earth. Self-defense and preparation for it is as necessary now as ever before. We must not mistake dishonor for peace, as we can not mistake oppression for peace. All Governments love peace—peace with freedom, peace with honor. Without these, all is slavery besides. Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party advocate an Army big enough and a Navy large enough to make tyrants think the second time before they strike a blow. Democracy wants an Army and a Navy in keeping with the dignity, preservation, and worth of this great Republic. [Applause.] Such preparedness and ability to defend ourselves, our cities from bombardment, and our soil from invasion, is the purpose of Woodrow Wilson. I want a Navy large enough that it will be impossible for a foreign shell to fall in a single American city. [Applause.] I want an Army strong enough to make it impossible for a tyrant's foot to press American soil. We do not want a foot of anybody else's soil, and by the eternal Gods they shall not take a foot of ours. [Applause.] I do not fear militarism. It has never menaced a free people. In this land of freemen the right to declare war rests with the people themselves. Those who must fight its battles, speaking through their duly accredited Representatives in Congress—the House and the Senate—can alone declare war, and as the people can declare war so they can proclaim peace.

AMERICANISM.

We are all Americans, no matter whence we come. We love our country because it makes us free. Our waving blue grass, our fertile plains, our majestic mountains, our winding rivers, our beautiful landscape can only be enjoyed in their real and matchless beauty through the eyes of a free man. More beautiful than the beauty and splendor of the land is the glory of our Government. The humblest may become the greatest, the weakest may become the strongest, the poorest may become the richest; here no taint of blood, no law of royalty. [Applause.] This freedom is as much the right of the one who comes here as the one who is born here. We are glad of it, and happy to offer this opportunity and this happiness to all. in return loyalty, valor, and love; loyalty to the flag, valor in its defense, and love of our free institutions. We do not care what songs of the old homeland you may sing, or what memories of the country from which you came you may cherish. All we ask is that the song you shall hold dearest to your heart is The Star-Spangled Banner. [Applause.] And the memories you shall cherish most and best are those of America that makes you free. [Applause.] I care nothing for the hyphen. I do not care what you put in front of the hyphen, just so you have after it real Americanism. There are some who seek to destroy this Nation whose freedom and blessings they enjoy. They call themselves anarchists. If I had my way, I would not allow a single man or association of men to bear aloft upon the streets and highways of this Nation a flag or emblem that either questioned the integrity or authority of the Stars and Stripes of the Republic. [Applause.]

ACHIEVEMENTS OF WOODROW WILSON.

The Democratic Party is proud of the achievements of Woodrow Wilson. He has brought prosperity and plenty to 100,000;-000 Americans. He has given work to every willing hand in the Republic. Every toiler has the full dinner pail—full to overflowing.

He has by legislation taken labor out of the brutal category

of inanimate things and treated the toilers as men with hearts that beat and lips that pray [applause], and they are no longer subjected to oppressive injunctions or Federal court manipula-tions; he has dignified the associated toilers of the field and the factory, men seeking by organization and association to brighten and make delightful the lives of the wealth producers and creators of the Nation; he has drawn happily the human distinction between men associated together to feed hungry mouths and men associated together to starve hungry mouths [applause]; he has freed the industries of the Republic [applause]; he has liberated the business of the Nation [applause]; he has provided a Federal Trade Commission whose duty it is he has provided a Federal Trade Commission whose duty it is to destroy favoritism, weed out unfair advantage, and give to industry everywhere an equal opportunity; he has given to individualism high hope and new life; he drove from the Treasury of the Nation a ship monopoly that was enjoying subsidies on the canal tolls of millions of dollars a year, and at the same time proclaimed to the world that a treaty made with America was more than a scrap of paper, but was, indeed, a bond of honor that should be faithfully kept [applause]; he has struggled amid the world's war with the great pations he has struggled amid the world's war with the great nations of the earth for the freedom of the seas and the rights of Americans and of neutrals everywhere; he has stood for the law of neutrality which was written before the war commenced and which was just and humane. [Applause.] With critics all about him, with patience and strength and great foresight, he has kept a nation at peace-peace with honor. He has driven from the control of the finances of the people of this Nation an oligarchy of wealth and substituted in its stead a just government interested only in supplying the legitimate business needs of the country with sufficient currency to meet its demands and requirements. It ought not to be necessary to nominate him in partisan convention. Patriotism in this world's crisis should rise above politics, and all parties should rejoice at an opportunty to acclaim him by unanimity the wholehearted and happy choice of a Republic of peaceful freemen [applause]; and as we can not afford to swap horses in the middle of a stream, who would say that we could afford to swap horses in the middle of a bloody stream? So we can not afford to change leadership during the great cataclysm that shakes the nations of the earth, for to Woodrow Wilson, more than any other citizen in all the world, the Christian people wherever the rain falls or the sun shines, this world around look anxiously, hopefully, and prayerfully that he will bring peace to the struggling armies of Europe. Who is it now that would

dare undertake to discredit this master diplomat, this majestic leader, this great American, for by that you may palsy the hand that may write the peace treaty of the world. [Great applause.]

President Wilson's greatest hope is to return to anxious families brave soldiers, to stop the awful toll of death, to give again to stricken lands a chance to prosper with happy homes and serene, hopeful, and proud of a world returned to the ways of peace, amid the applause of the peoples of all the nations of the earth, he would stand the undisputed, first, best-loved citizen of the world; but dearer yet to him than this earthly applause would be the sweeter approval of divine lips which said, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." [Applause.]

An Address by Hon. David A. Hollingsworth Delivered at Canton, Ohio, on Memorial Day, to the Mckinley Post, Grand Army of the Republic.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. S. D. FESS. OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 1, 1916.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an address delivered at Canton, Ohio, on Memorial Day, to the McKinley Post, by my colleague, Representative David A. Hollingsworth.

The address is as follows

Comrades of William McKinley Post, Grand Army of the Republic, and patriotic citizens of Canton and vicinity, I am both proud and pleased to be with you on this memorial occasion. Proud because of the wide fame and distinction of the city in which we are met to do honor to the soldier dead of the Republic-those who came not back with us from the gory fields of henor as well as those who have since been called to join their comrades on the other shore. Proud also of the unique position to-day of your big, growing city, the only one in all the land in which its citizens, native and foreign born, including societies and orders where few of them speak the English language, have all voluntarily agreed to turn out and march in our memorial parade under but one flag—the Stars and Stripes. Old Glory is to-day the only banner or flag to be seen anywhere in Canton.

Pleasant memories also linger with me of a former visit just 20 years ago to your beautiful and interesting city, when as 20 years ago to your beautiful and interesting city, when as spokesman for a large delegation of woolgrowers from Harrison and adjoining counties I came with them to bid Godspeed to our late comrade, William McKinley, then Canton's great citizen and a candidate for the Presidency. I shall never forget his cordial front-porch greeting in response to my introduction of these sturdy men of the soil, especially his anxiety and tender solicitude for the welfare of all his fellow citizens and for the beauty and glowy of the Perublic

honor and glory of the Republic.

A patriot, gentleness and courage marked every feature; a civic statesman, his future renown and leadership were clearly foreshadowed, and his very presence seemed an inspiration as well as an omen of the great historic figure he was soon to

To-day, almost within the shadow of the monument which marks his last resting place, in the church where he worshipped, we do well to meet and recall his memory together with the memory of every one of that vast host of freemen who in the hour of the Nation's deadliest peril left their homes, their fields, and their workshops to defend national honor and the integrity of the American Republic.

In honoring them we honor ourselves; in placing upon their graves to-day the fresh fragrant flowers of spring we but add

to the vernal beauty of our own lives.

This is the one day of all the year sacred to patriotic memo-es. It is set apart in honor of those whose lives were sacrificed upon the altar of God and country, those who went down to death that our country and its flag might live and that "government of the people, by the people, and for the people"

might not perish from the earth.

Doubts and misgivings as to the future may arise. things for which they fought seem to be forgotten; the distinctions between those who wore the blue and those who wore the gray may fade, have faded in fact, but the memorial exercises of to-day as witnessed all over our broad land remain the same as when instituted just after the war and attest the fact that the great loyal heart of the country is still as steady and true in its appreciation of the valor and sacrifices of the Union Armies of 1861–1865 as it was fifty-odd years ago when the white flag of Lee's army went up at Appomattox and anthems of rejoicing and praise to the victors arose in every hamlet and village of the Northland.

There is no mistaking the intense patriotic sentiment of the people. The immortal truths of liberty and justice, vindicated by the War for the Union, are the sacred heritage of freemen and are as fixed and eternal as the ages; registered in heaven, they are beyond the reach of man's undoing. They do not belong exclusively to the few modern enthusiasts who seem to think it a mistake that the world was formed before their coming.

God himself has certainly had the American Continent in His keeping for some wise purpose. The same cloud by day and pillar of fire by night that led the Israelites out of bondage seem to have guided our Pilgrim Fathers to Plymouth Rock, blazed the way as the patriots marched to Lexington and Concord, was seen by Washington at Yorktown, by Jackson at New Orleans, by Scott and Taylor in Mexico, by Grant at Appomattox, by Dewey at Manila, and, let us hope, may in the present crisis guide the hand and steady the purpose of the Nation's Chief Executive in any reasonable efforts he may make to preserve the peace and integrity of the Republic. God reigns and rules in the affairs of men and, as in the past, the American people seem to be the chosen instruments of His power in the evangelization and uplift of the world. An unseen hand so far seems to have guided our destiny.

This is not the time or the place to discuss or criticize socalled "preparedness," the question now uppermost in many
sincere minds, and, also, it is believed, in the minds of a few
who seek only selfish political advantage. Justice and truth
move slowly. It required the firing on Fort Sumter in 1861 to
thoroughly arouse the loyal North, and Spanish inhumanity and
insult in Cuba, notwithstanding American restiveness, continued
until the blowing up of the Maine. Patience and forbearance
are virtues of the strong, not the weak. High officials of the
Government differ in discussing methods of national defense,
scientists differ, educated military and naval experts differ,
and the people themselves differ as to the possibilities of war.
Only a few alarmists assume to know it all, but, in deference
to them, it is perhaps wise, in the present possible crisis between war and peace, to remember the sagelike wisdom of a
famous revolutionary leader who ordered his men to "trust
in God, but keep your powder dry."

in God, but keep your powder dry."

The Civil War, the survivors of which on both sides are still the idols of their respective sections, was a contest of giants. Anglo-Saxon contended with Anglo-Saxon of equal bravery and courage for the triumph of ideas, but to-day such military giants as Grant and Lee, and the patient Godlike wisdom of Lincoln and our own McKinley seem to be in the discard, and instead we have book scientists and politicians, would-be military leaders, imitators, and plagarists of the hero of San Juan, but without either his superb courage or his striking personality; stay-at-home critics, gravely discussing first and second battle lines in imaginary warfare, strategy of a kind too profound for ordinary minds, and, with ill-considered judgment, forgetting the simplicity of our national character, demanding of Congress to hastily organize big standing armies and big navies in times of peace, rivaling as proposed in high quarters the combined military and naval establishments of the world, and so on with miltaristic reasoning until doubt and uncertainty have bred confusion in the minds of patriotic lovers of their country who are anxious only to do their duty as good citizens.

Such men if given leadership would be dangerous. As citizens their excited imagination and violent denunciation of those who do not agree with them only cause innocent speculation as to possible mental conditions.

to possible mental conditions.

And for what? The mere possibility that this Nation may some time in the future be unexpectedly attacked and have to defend itself without time for that complete red-tape preparation which they call "preparedness."

I may be too intensely American, but to my mind a nation of one hundred millions of intelligent freemen, with ample resources, can never be said to be unprepared to defend its honor. The thought of it is repulsive to freemen. It is a monstrous slander to call such a people spineless or helpless, as has been done by the overzealous.

The successful results of every war of the Republic challenge such fears. They are groundless, unless the sons of the men

of the sixties, of both armies, have sadly degenerated in moral fiber and courage.

There are two sides to all questions. Imagine, if you can, what would have been the result if the Nation had been "prepared" in the modern sense of the term at the opening of the Civil War, and all the arms and ammunition of the Government had been quietly transferred by an unfriendly Secretary of War to southern arsenals of his own selection. Clearly Lincoln's inauguration would have been a sectional affair and the splendid American history of half a century could never have been written.

But, my comrades, let us turn to other thoughts, thoughts more in harmony with the tender memories we hold sacred of the boys in blue who no longer answer to our annual roll calls. The real soldiers of the Civil War, of both armies, were satisfied with the results, and always have been willing to abide by the pact of peace made by Grant and Lee at Appomattox. Let no unhallowed suggestions or regrets disturb them or mar the peace between the sections. They, at least, ordinary volunteer soldiery as they were, did their duty as God gave them to see it, in the great crisis of the sixties, and after the war, heroes all, they disbanded, as they should, and returned to civil life to enjoy in peace the blessings of a reunited country. The militaristic seed of discord had not yet taken root in the free soil of America.

Long may the example of such volunteer soldiers inspire in us pure, disinterested, unselfish patriotism and love of American ideals. It is the only kind of "preparedness" which in the long run will count in the exigencies of nations. It has a depth and meaning and sincerity not always appreciated except by those who have drunk from the same canteen and felt the steel of netual fighting.

steel of actual fighting.

The battles of life, however, are not ended for the surviving soldiers of the Civil War. In reality they face to-day more dangerous conditions from age and natural causes than in the most critical hours of their army life, when youth and health and hope were with them. Death as suddenly as from a minnie ball is not uncommon. They are in truth on the firing line all the time, unarmed and helpless against the grim reaper. Their "preparedness" is only of the heart. The average yearly fatality among them based upon the number of survivors is simply appalling. It rivals the deadliest moments of Pickett's charge at Gettysburg or the more recent death struggles at Verdun. It admonishes all who had part in the heroic scenes of the sixties that the final inevitable end of life's campaign draws near. The majority is upon the other shore and only a shallow river divides.

Soldierly courage and manly character are therefore as essential with us now as in 1861–1865. I have no patience with the man or woman, young or old, in or out of official life, or seeking to get in or out, who looks askance or otherwise slights the exsoldiery of the Republic. I have no sympathy with carping critics who begrudge or haggle over the small pension allowances of the Government to its unfortunate defenders, their widows and orphans. I have no patience with a Congress in which "slow-up" orders seem effective in pension legislation and "speed-up" orders are given for big standing armies and big battle fleets in times of peace and which may never be needed

Old men these Civil War veterans may be, uncertain in many of their ways, but in feeling and sentiments of loyalty for the Old Flag they are the same high-stepping boys in blue of fifty-odd years ago.

The right to wear the Grand Army of the Republic button is to them a badge of honor. It means something; it means that in matters of national honor they have been tried in the crucible and not found wanting in either judgment or patriotic devotion to American ideals.

The silent tongues of Grant and Lee were invaluable in comparison with existing methods of publicity as to proposed Army and Navy "preparedness" and the details and strength of the American forces in Mexico and on the border. Silence and senso are military virtues easily realized if we imagine the results which would likely have happened if the orders and proposed movements of Grant and Lee had been printed each morning with scare headlines in the daily newspapers.

But, my comrades of the Grand Army, in the soldierly enthusiam of occasions like this, we must not forget our modesty; we must not imagine that we own the Government merely because our youthful valor helped to save it from dismemberment. Ex-soldiers constitute only a small fraction of the present citizenship of the Republic, and modesty on our part best bespeaks our merit.

Besides, honors were not all along military lines in 1861-1865. Men were not responsible for their environment. Some were too young and some were too old for military service.

The sainted mother also who gave her only boy to her country was as much a heroine in that act as he was a hero in the hour of battle. She did not have as he had the excitement of glorious war to sustain her. Silently and alone her tears were shed; silently, but no less heroicly, like the prophet of old, she placed her young idol on the altar of God and country. A martyr to love and duty, she must be honored as long as war memories last.

Civic heroes also as well as military heroes were needed in 1861-1865. Civic duties detained many good citizens at home while others, freer to act, gladly marched to the front. It was not then a question as it is now of how to get a few volunteers to fill the ranks of the 20,000 troopers called for by President Wilson for his Villa chase in Mexico, but was simply a question of who could not, who would not, go to the front.

Robust Americanism was in demand at home as well as in the Army, and no man who honored the flag was discredited and no invidious distinctions in matters of patriotic duty were attempted as now by self-seeking individuals or interests. Duty and conscience were the only real tests of manly character.

The world has moved forward since then. The McKinley age, with its 20 years of national expansion, has not been in vain. American cvilization has taken on a broader significance. Its rich fruitage, although still in the bloom, is found in the present recognition and world-wide influence of the Republic, seen, as it is, to be advancing to higher and grander heights, and destined, as believed by the best thought of the age, if those in power shall succeed in keeping the ship of state in neutral waters during the European war to become the one great central figure of a future world-wide, universal federation, in which, under American auspices, and possibly under one flag, and that the starry flag of the Republic, civic righteousness and permanent peace shall be exalted among the nations. May God speed the day.

And now, in conclusion, my comrades, a word to you and to myself. We shall not attend many more annual Memorial Day

The evening shadows are lengthening.

Time has set his silver gray mark upon us all, and yet we have duties still to perform in this world before final taps are sounded or we would not be here. He who takes note of the sparrow's fall is not unmindful of His own children, and the gracious lengthening of our days must be for some wise purpose. Personally, I am, as I have no doubt you are, thankful for many, many blessings of good health and strength, I never felt more able to work in my life and never in any year have I done more actual hard work than during the one just past. course, my labors have been somewhat enhanced by being a Member of Congress, but I have not complained, and, as I am out of my district and can not be suspected of attempting here to make a political speech, I do not mind telling you a secret that I am perfectly willing to serve another term. I have felt it a great honor to represent in Congress one of the big Republican counties formerly in the Canton district, long and ably represented by Comrade McKinley, and I have had but one regret in doing so, if it may be called such; that is, that the county has in it so many political good fellows-three in all I am toldwho are willing at the end of my one term; in fact, they are already scrambling for the honor of relieving me of anything that might seem like a burden in representing the people of Columbiana County in the Congress of the United States. I am in sympathy with the ambitions of all three, but really would be pleased if the good people of the county, slightly emphasizing the adjective good, would keep them in "preparedness" training for two years longer. Meantime, "let us have peace."

Seriously speaking, however, and begging pardon for this pleasantry, let us, my comrades, take renewed courage from the exercises of to-day and highly resolve, as we go hence, to mingle again with the outer world, to bravely face again to the front and, for the few remaining years of our active lives, do our whole duty as good citizens in peace as we did our duty as soldiers in war. Let us resolve to ever attend to the holy task of decoration so long as life and memory are vouchsafed to any of us. As the years go by, let us, as we have done on this Memorial Day, place above each soldier's grave those flow-ers which are emblematic of virtue and nobility. Inquire not whether the occupant was in life a chieftain or a private soldier, whether he wore the insignia of rank or the blue blouse of the subaltern, for in the Republic of the dead all are equal. Ask not if he was of this or that political party, of this or that I brigades, divisions, or Army corps.

religious creed or denomination, or whether, in fact, he was of any creed. Remember only his good deeds, trusting if he had faults that the recording angel will in charity drop a forgiving tear upon the record and wash it out forever.

The Military Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. CARTER, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 1, 1916.

Mr. CARTER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, I shall vote for the conference report because I believe that it is a step in the right direction.

I believe that it falls far short in meeting the exigencies of the times, and I believe that we should have a much larger Army in time of peace than the bill provides.

I think, as my colleague from California [Mr. KAHN] has said, that we should have at least 220,000 men for the line of the Army in times of peace.

I do not mean that this Army should be increased immediately, but I believe that we should gradually build up the Army as necessities arise to that full minimum strength. voted for the Kahn amendment to increase the Army to 250,000, which represents only one-fourth of 1 per cent of our population, and was very sorry to see that the House defeated this amendment.

Under the provisions of this conference report an Army of 175,000 men as an enlisted force in time of peace is provided for.

If all of the organizations which are provided for in this bill are enlisted to their peace strength, we will have an Army of slightly over 210,000, and if these organizations will enlist to their full strength, we will have an Army of 232,495 enlisted men, exclusive of the Quartermaster Corps, the Hospital Corps, and the Signal Corps.

Add the full strength of these corps to the line of the Army and our total number of enlisted men will be 282,461. Together with the Philippine Scouts, we will have a total of 294,461, or the largest Regular Army force that this country has ever had.

A good many of the provisions regarding the National Guard

and State militia are, in my opinion, very good.

These provisions will no doubt place the State militia on a much higher plane than ever before.

In the future the officers of the State militia will have to pass a set of examinations provided for by a board of officers selected by the Secretary of War.

The old way of appointing these officers, either through political influence or by the members themselves, can no longer continue under the provisions of this new bill.

In the future, every man who receives a commission must pass an examination showing that he is capable of commanding

Under the provision of this conference report, the captain and officers above the rank of captain are to receive full pay and enlisted men are to get one-fourth the pay of the Regular Army.

These men will devote their own time and money toward training, and I believe that it is only just that they should be recompensed by the Government for their work.

Another good provision which refers to the National Guard is one which requires the organization of reserve battalions in every State that sends its National Guard to the front when the President drafts them into service.

The reserve battalions enlisted in the States to which the respective regiments that go to the front belong will be able to fill up the wastage resulting from death or disease and will thus constantly maintain the regiments in the field at full war strength.

Another provision which refers to the National Guard is that the officers and men will be required to pass a physical examination before they can be drafted into the service of the United States. They must pass a physical examination when they are mustered out, and a record of such examination must be on file at the War Department.

Under the provisions of the bill, the Army will be divided into tactical units. Previous to this we had no real legislation on our statute books regarding the organization of the Army in

The conference report provides that hereafter all this shall be done in organizing the Army of the United States.

Our regiments of Infantry have been increased from 30 to 65 and our Cavalry from 15 to 25.

Our Field Artillery is increased from 6 to 21, and we have practically doubled the Coast Artillery forces.

All of these measures are, in my opinion, in the right direc-

Under the new bill there will be 7 medical officers to every 1,000 enlisted men in the Army. In past wars this country has lost great numbers of men owing to the inadequacy of our medical department.

We have also given rank and pay to dental surgeons who will work in harmony with the medical surgeons. The bill also pro-

vides for a splendid veterinarian corps.

It has also created a new grade in the aviation section of the Signal Corps—that of aviator. If it is impossible to secure the requisite number of Army fliers, the Secretary of War can commission civilians as aviators in the forces of the Army

The Coast Artillery has been increased so that we will have a

total of 30,000 men in this service.

Another important feature of the bill provides as to original appointments in the commissioned strength of the Army that, excepting graduates of West Point, the commissions shall be for a temporary period of two years, within which time the commissioned officer must demonstrate his worth and ability as an officer.

If in the lapse of two years it is determined that he is unfit,

he is given a dishonorable discharge.

One of the best features of the new bill is section 54, which provides for summer training camps. These camps, which were inaugurated last year, are commonly known as the Plattsburg iden.

I believe that this section of the bill is so framed that it will enable the Secretary of War, under such terms of enlistment and regulations as he may prescribe, to create a Volunteer Army

The matter of vocational training for enlisted men assumes considerable importance in this bill. It provides that hereafter enlistments in the Army may be made from boys 18 years or over without the consent of their parents.

Anyone over 16 who wants to enlist may do so with the con-

Under this bill, the young man can receive vocational training at the hands of civilian instructors or under such instructors as the Secretary of War may deem necessary.

I believe that this will attract a great many young men who will be glad to combine the military training with vocational training. I believe that this will have a great effect in increas-

ing the number of enlistments for the Regular Army.

The enlisted reserve corps, in addition to the Regular Army reserve, is a very important feature of this legislation. The men who are telegraph and telephone linemen, chauffeurs, railroad trainmen, and those working in factories where flying machines are being constructed, in ammunition factories, automobile factories, hospitals, or drug stores, or the many different industries where men become skilled in duties that will be of inestimable service to their country in time of national danger, will be enrolled under this bill as auxiliary forces. They are to be called out, if the President deems advisable, for 15 days training at any time in 10 years, and while there will receive pay and allowances given to men in the Regular Army.

It is the purpose to drill these men so that if we ever get into a war we will have men in the Engineer, the Quartermaster, and the Signal Corps, and in the Medical and Ordnance Departments, that will enable this Government to perform its work in these various corps and departments as we never at any time in our history have been able to do. These men will be encouraged in every way, under this bill, to become a part of the auxiliary forces of the United States to be called out in case of

national emergency.

The men of the Spanish-American War who served in the Philippines, Hawaii, Porto Rico, or Cuba are entitled to come back to the colors when they are needed.

The bill provides for the purchase by the Government of

military supplies of every character in time of war.

The bill provides for a census of all privately owned plants in the United States equipped to manufacture arms and ammunition or the component parts thereof. To insure a prompt mobilization of these various industries a nonpartisan board on mobilization of industries essential for military preparedness is provided for. There is also a provision for the investigation by two civilians and three Army officers as to the Government's manufacture of arms, ammunition, and equipment. The War Department for the past four years has been manufacturing

practically all of the arms, ammunition, and equipment which it requires, and yet thousands of men and women throughout the Union have been led to believe that the department purchases all its powder and ammunition from private concerns. These private concerns are charged with being responsible for the demand for preparedness in the United States. In view of the fact that they have not been selling their products to the War Department, I do not see what authority those who are opposed to preparedness can have for their assertions that the ammunition manufacturers are responsible for the demand for a larger military force

The bill provides for the protection of the uniform of officers and enlisted men of the United States Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. Exception is made, however, in favor of the organization known as the Boy Scouts of America, the Naval Militia, or such other organizations as the Secretary of War may designate for wearing their prescribed uniforms. This will enable such organizations as have been in existence in many of the States and whose uniforms are very similar to the uniforms worn by some units of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps to preserve their uniforms through the permission of the Secretary of War.

The bill also provides for the procurement of gauges, dies, jigs, tools, fixtures, and other special aids and appliances, including specifications and detailed drawings, as may be necessary for the immediate manufacture by the Government or private concerns of arms, ammunition, and equipment for our military forces. That provision I consider to be a great step in the path of military preparedness.

I am wholly against the provision of the bill which provides

for a nitrate plant and an expenditure of \$20,000,000.

I understand from the best of authority that there are a great many methods now used for the manufacture of nitrogen which are cheaper than water.

Germany to-day is turning out nitrogen and high explosives

without the use of an ounce of water.

I believe that the proposal to establish this nitrate and fertilizer plant is an affront to the intelligence of the people of this country. I believe that this expenditure is a misuse of the funds of this country.

I believe that these are perilous times and the conditions at home and abroad are of such an unsettled character that we

should be awake and alert.

believe that a large reserve force could be created by the proper military training, under Federal supervision, of our young boys. I believe we should encourage movements such as the Boy Scouts and similar organizations.

High-school cadets should be encouraged, and I believe with correct training that a wonderful reserve force could be brought

into existence.

Speech of Rear Admiral William S. Benson, United States Navy, Chief of Naval Operations, in Response to the Toast, "The Navy," at a Dinner to the Alumni Given by the Naval Academy Graduates' Association on Thursday Evening. June 1, 1916.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM B. OLIVER, OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 1, 1916.

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a speech of Rear Admiral Benson, Chief of Naval Operations, at the alumni banquet of the Naval Academy, and which contains much informa-tion of value in connection with the provisions of the pending

The speech is as follows:

"Mr. Toastmaster, fellow graduates, and guests, in calling upon me to answer to the toast, 'The Navy,' the object of the graduates' association is, I take it, to satisfy, perhaps, the expectation of the service that I give an account of my stewardship as Chief of Naval Operations.

"I may preface my remarks by saying that, as time has gone on and the work of the office has developed, more distinctly outlining some of the vast problems involved, I have become more and more fully convinced that those who conceived the idea of creating by law a chief of naval operations have, in the establishment of this office, "builded better than they knew." In

speaking on this subject, I do so without any intention of making odious comparisons and without any desire to attempt to enlarge upon the importance of the work or to magnify what has been already accomplished; and, yet, in order to be quite sincere and candid, I must say that upon taking up this work a little over one year ago I started practically from the ground. There were then certain elements of routine being carried out which might in a way be called the fragments of organization, but certainly nothing more. There were no data from which the chief of the office could obtain information at short notice. Only a few hours after assuming office it was necessary that a vessel of a certain class be sent from Hampton Roads to New York, and it took hours to find out just what vessels were available in that vicinity, and particularly what ones were suitable for the duty to be performed. There were no definite data at hand relating to materiel or personnel. In order to find out about matériel it was necessary to send to some other office and get information piecemeal. Information as to personnel, and as to the relation between personnel and materiel, could only be obtained by consulting the several bureaus' files. In fact, no information except what was given in certain regular publications was available to show the relative strength of the various nations of the world. So it was necessary literally to begin at the bottom. It is true there were some efforts at organization which had been carried forward nearly to completion. board for the organization of the radio service had made its report and recommended an organization for adoption, but this report had not been approved and the older unformed system in the radio service was still in vogue. Messages for radio transmission were sent out by telephone to Arlington, if received dur-Ing ordinary office hours, and were given attention by the Arlington operators at their convenience. Messages received at night from Arlington or elsewhere had to await the opening of the office the next morning before being decoded and de-

"Such facts as these serve to indicate the conditions formerly existing, and are recounted simply that the service may know what has been done since the establishment of this office and what is being done now, and I want especially to emphasize them in order that the service may have a true estimate of the situation and not be led astray or unduly influenced by what seems to have been a persistent effort during the past year or so on the part of certain persons and in certain elements of the press to try to create the impression not only in the minds of the public but even in the minds of naval officers themselves that nothing has been done in the department to improve conditions. And let me state here that the conditions which I have found to exist could not in any degree be laid at the door of the Secretary. He has at all times shown the most earnest interest and the most cordial sympathy in all the various features recommended for the development of this office, and he has given particular attention to every measure tending to increase its efficiency and the efficiency of the service in general.

"The report of the board on the organization of communications, which I have already mentioned, has since been approved and is now in operation, and I do not hesitate to express the firm belief that it is the most thorough and efficient organization of its kind to be found either in the service or out of it. The office space occupied by the Chief of Naval Operations and his staff has been expanded from its formerly overcrowded condition to include nine rooms. These rooms have been cleaned, renovated, and equipped, and they are now kept in a condition that leaves little more to be desired. One of these rooms has been fitted up especially to meet the needs of the communication service. A soundproof compartment has been constructed, in which the radio operators are on constant watch day and night, and a space adjoining this compartment has been fitted for the telegraph and telephone operators. A commissioned officer day and night keeps watch to code and decode and to receive and send messages of every character without delay.

"The subject of extending communications throughout the world has been given careful attention and, under the direction of Capt. Bullard, the Superintendent of the Naval Radio Service, phenomenal progress has been made toward the establishment of a system by which communication within our own country may be developed and improved and, in cooperation with the systems in Pan-American countries, expanded throughout the Western Continent. The subject of radiotelephony has, through the cooperation of Capt. Bullard and his men with the telephone companies, reached a development little short of marvelous. At the instance of the Superintendent of Radio, the various companies interested in this question agreed to mobilize their utilities and hold a demonstration which would show to what extent their systems of communications could be used. Some two weeks ago, when this demonstration took

place, I sat in my office and, within the short space of time of less than two hours, transacted business by land wire and radio telephone with the commandant at the Puget Sound Navy Yard, the commanding officer at Yerba Buena, San Francisco, the commandant at the Mare Island Yard, the naval station at New Orleans, the aeronautic station at Pensacola, the commandant of the Charleston Navy Yard, the commanding officer of the New Hampshire, then at sea off the Capes of Virginia, the commandant of the Philadelphia Yard, the president of the War College at Newport, and the commandant of the Boston Yard. Communication was most satisfactory and conversation between myself and the officers with whom I talked was taken down by a stenographer in my office, so that a complete record of all business transacted was available at once.

"Soon after the appointment of the Chief of Naval Operations, the duties of the nid for matériel were transferred, by the order of the Secretary of the Navy, to the cognizance of the Chief of Naval Operations and were placed immediately in the hands of one of his assistants. This change has served to provide positive means for the Chief of Naval Operations constantly to keep in touch with the material condition of the fleet and with the preparedness of individual vessels for active service. Work of the material bureaus is quickly coordinated under the immediate knowledge and assistance of the Office of Operations.

"A plan of organization of the fleet on a large scale has been worked out and is now in operation. This plan is so arranged as to provide an organization for the entire naval force of the United States or for any portion of it in any part of the world. The various elements of the fleet have been given definite organization and flag officers have been detailed to the command of each, so that it may be justly said that the fleet is, for the first time, completely and thoroughly organized.

"One of the first steps taken for the improvement of the organization of the fleet was with a view to the betterment of the submarine service, and to this end an officer of high rank has been detailed to command the submarine flotilla.

"The subject of aviation also has been given especial attention and every effort has been directed toward concentrating the development of aircraft toward a definite service. Aircraft have been placed in the same category as other craft and the various bureaus have been assigned specific duties bearing upon their construction and development and have assumed the responsibility for the work coming within the cognizance of each.

"A thoroughly digested and well-developed plan of mobilization for the entire fleet in the event of war has been submitted to the department and approved. Each bureau and officer in the department has been assigned its particular duties in connection with this plan and reports quarterly to the department giving in detail the progress of each toward preparedness to accomplish its task in mobilization.

"The General Board has deliberated on the list of available merchant vessels useful for naval purposes in case of war, and has determined the characteristics required for the special assignment of each. Guided by these requirements, the board of inspection and survey is now engaged in making a careful inspection of these merchant vessels, reporting for each the necessary alterations and equipment to fulfill the duty to which they have been assigned in the naval auxiliary service. Each merchant vessel inspected is assigned to a certain yard, where, in the event of need, it would be altered and equipped for naval service and where it would be supplied and repaired. The necessary equipment and supplies for such vessels are being sent as rapidly as possible to the yard at which these ships would be outfitted so that in the case of emergency or war this work will be accomplished in the least possible time. Records are being kept at the department in such condition that complete data are immediately available showing just what vessels could be used, what alterations would be necessary, and, in preparation for the event, all details, even to the drawing up of contracts, are being perfected in advance.

"In past years the organization of naval districts has been merely a nominal one. The plan for the organization of naval districts has within the year been taken in hand and has been worked out in every detail. Each naval district will be organized according to a common scheme, and the general plan, together with a sample organization for one district, will be furnished to each naval district for filling in all data as to number and class of vessels, the organization and duty of personnel, etc. The question of mine localities within our ports and along our shores has been studied, and the number of mines for each district and for our outlying defenses has been determined. Officers have been assigned to the various duties in the district for war service, and the distribution of vessels for the district defenses has been made, each vessel being assigned to its well-defined function in the defense,

"Plans have been completed for the mobilization of the Naval Militia, and detailed instructions have been prepared providing that each step in the mobilization shall proceed without interruption and with the utmost expedition. In addition, special attention has been directed to peace-time training of the Naval Militia, and arrangements have been made for sending the naval militia to sea this summer on board nine of the older battleships not attached to the active fleet. Arrangements have also been made for a cruise with citizen volunteers for training, on the general principle of the Plattsburg encampments conducted by the Army, and during four weeks, in the latter part of August and the first half of September, these volunteers will cruise at sea and will exercise during the last week with motor boats in conjunction with the battleships, destroyers, and submarines, working out such problems as would arise in time of war.

"The organization of the ships in reserve has been given special attention. Not only have the complements been increased, but special attention has been paid to the ratings of the men on board, so that the important stations will at all times have a sufficient number of well-trained men properly to break in the additional personnel that would be required to fill the complements. The ships are kept in material readiness, so that it will be necessary only to fill the complements in order that they may be ready to join the active fleet. A system of periodical inspection of every ship belonging to the Navy has been established, and its good results are already apparent.

"Regulations have been drawn up by a joint board for the proper control of the Coast Guard, which automatically comes

under the Navy in time of war.

"In response to the request of the department, the General Board has been indefatigable in making out the plans and selecting the locations for advanced bases, and in determining the location of submarine bases and working out the detailed

plans for their development.

"The annual period of overhaul for vessels has been dis-The old system under which for 3 months-and continued. often for a longer period-in every 15 vessels of the fleet lay at a navy yard unready in material respects and demoralized in personnel has been done away. These demoralizing influences, due to stagnation at navy yards, were well known to every officer, and it will be appreciated that they must have had a very bad effect upon the Navy. It was only natural, under the old system of lengthy overhauls, that spare parts would be used up and important work postponed that could have, and should have, been done at once in order to keep the ships in first-class condition. Such prolonged periods of mactivity at a repair yard during which the unavoidable disorder incident to the pressure of large numbers of workmen on board, and sometimes with the added discomfort of climate, could not help but have a very serious and detrimental influence upon the ships' personnel, besides immensely increasing the expense of maintaining the fleet.

"At the present time practically every vessel of the fleet is ready to perform its designed duty, except possibly the *Georgia*, which is to have new boilers installed, and the *Connecticut*, which is having extended boiler work done, one or two of the earlier submarines now being utilized for experimental pur-

poses, and some of the later destroyers.

"The equipment of my office has been greatly improved and added to. Data on all essential subjects have been collected and kept near at hand and are constantly being added to. Because of this improvement, I was able, when called before the House Naval Committee during the present session, to give full and exact information of our own and the other principal navies of the world, and was able to show not only in figures but graphically to the eye the number and type of ships of each of the principal navies of the world. Photographic silhouettes of the ships of the several navies were made and pinned upon sheets in groups according to type, so that a clear idea of the relative strength of the various fleets could be obtained at a glance. These sheets will eventually be placed upon the walls of one of the offices.

"An annual program of operations of the fleet has been worked out and adopted, and has so far been followed without difficulty. There is no reason to believe that it can not be successfully followed as a standard yearly program. In my office there are kept data and records from which, at a moment's notice, one can determine the whereabouts of every vessel of the service, and within a very few minutes the position of any merchant vessel can be located. On the walls of the office general charts and charts of places of special interest throughout the world are kept on chart rolls in the most convenient manner for easy reference. In another office there is a roll on which are maps showing the interior subdivisions of various countries

and giving almost every kind of desirable information connected with the naval service.

"Cooperation between the various bureaus and offices of the department with the office of the Chief of Naval Operations has been most cordial and complete and the practical result has been all that could be desired. One day in each week the Secretary holds in his office a council composed of the chiefs of bureaus, heads of the various offices, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and the Chief of Naval Operations. At these meetings various questions of importance affecting the whole service are considered, the progress of work on ships discussed, new enterprises gone into, and a decision arrived at under the most favorable circumstances for wise action. Through these councils all are kept informed of important work, and a hearty cooperation followed by satisfactory execution of the Secretary's decisions is the result. In addition to this weekly council the Secretary of the Navy, through his own efforts, has organized a naval advisory council, known as the Naval Consulting Board. which, with his approval and sympathy, is collecting vast stores of information regarding the industrial resources of the country, and is perfecting a plan for the utilization of these industries for the support and assistance of the Army and Navy for the defense of the country in time of need.

"A thoughtful consideration of the work that has been accom-

plished will show that all is being done now that could reasonably be expected from a so-called General Staff. In my opinion, the organization that exists in the department, and that is now in successful operation, is accomplishing in a purely American and businesslike manner all that could possibly be expected from the creation of a General Staff, and is, I believe, doing this in a much more satisfactory way. It is folly to talk of or to advocate clothing a Chief of Staff or a Chief of Naval Operations with authority independent of the head of the Navy. Such independent authority would lead only to confusion, and would do great harm. The fact that the bureaus, as now constituted, represent the different sections of the General Staff, that they have their special appropriations and are responsible for the proper expenditure of moneys under their control, and of the proper development and operation of the various parts of the Naval Establishment under their cognizance, gives, in my opinion, to the organization of the Navy Department a distinctive strength and an added efficiency not possible under a socalled General Staff organization. The present organization should be made stable and permanent, and if legislation is necessary to make this absolutely sure, then there can be no doubt that such legislation should be enacted, but in considering any legislation care should be taken that too great restriction is not imposed upon the freedom of action of the head of the Navy.

"I desire to add that all the results I have related have been accomplished with the Secretary's assistance. No new legislation has been necessary and all that has been required of me has been to present the need and desirability of changes and improvements in order to receive the Secretary's sympathetic attention. He does not blindly yield to suggestions, but gives them the most earnest and thoughtful consideration. As the Secretary has often reiterated, his only requirement is that the proposed change shall add to the efficiency of the Navy in order that both the Navy's personnel and matériel may be capable of rendering, and may be made to render, 100 per cent efficiency. This policy of 100 per cent efficient service has been the basic creed of the Office of Operations, and when we shall have fulfilled that policy every unit of the fleet will at all times be ready to perform its functions, whatever the occasion that may

require its service."

Naval Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GILBERT N. HAUGEN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 2, 1916.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Speaker, personally, I believe that we should avoid war. If, after exhausting every honorable means to avoid it, it is forced upon us, we should, of course, be prepared. Just to what extent we are unable to say. The European war has fully demonstrated that skill in the art of war is of the greatest importance, and deserves careful study by our best talent.

Much has been said about our Navy and the inactivity of the present administration in not speeding up and carrying out the program authorized by Congress. The committee's report gives a long list of battleships, destroyers, fuel, and other ships authorized, which have not been completed. According to the report, work has not even been begun on the battleships Tennessee and California, 6 destroyers, and 18 submarines. We are told that shippards are running their full capacity and working overtime; they have more orders than they can fill. Evidently it will take years to complete the building and equipping of vessels already authorized.

In view of the inactivity of the administration in making preparations as directed by Congress in the past, and under existing conditions, and now when practically every powerful nation appears to have exhausted her resources, I fail to see the immediate need of an extravagant program, as suggested by some.

Much has been said about the extravagance and waste of money, the building of inaccessible dry docks, the tearing down and building up of new quarters, the excessive salaries and allowances to officers, and so all along the line.

I do not propose to go into detail except to say I believe that by expending the money appropriated in a more prudent manner than has been done in the past, the efficiency of our Army and Navy could be greatly increased without greatly increasing the appropriations.

There is and has been more or less contention as to the size The contention on one hand is that inasmuch as of our Navy. we are among the greatest and strongest of nations we should also have the greatest and strongest Navy. On the other hand, it is contended that a large Navy is expensive; that it is already burdensome beyond endurance. Our military strength, though mighty in its possibilities, is but a part; our strength lies not only in our Navy and Army but in our resources, our material strength; in our position and standing in the world. Therefore many contend rather than to rely altogether upon a great Army and Navy we should join with other nations by more peaceful methods, by arbitration, and by manifestation of reason and good will in an effort in bringing about everlasting peace and good will. Navies are not only expensive to build but short lived. A navy that ranks first class to-day in a few months or years goes out of date and becomes obsolete. Genius is never idle, it never stands still, as human science advances newer types of battleships take the place of older types, and as naval architecture and construction is progressing in point of perfection, upto-date naval powers are compelled to substitute the newer type for the obsolete, and many of them in their mad race for supremacy have taxed themselves almost to a point of bankruptcy. have been besieging the money market of the world, undermining the credit of Europe to get money for all big-gun battleships, and are now staggering under the crushing weight handed down by past and present generations. Early in history navies consisted of a few skiffs and canoes propelled by oars. With them and the then modern instruments of warfare the pirates and men gloriously fought and murdered one another. Later the sails were added. These sailboats, catching a handful of wind, aided by oars, crossed the deep waterways, pursuing or running away from the enemy, as the case might be. Later genius invented the cannon, first loaded with saltpeter, later with powder, shot, and shell. It was then believed that naval construction had reached its highest point of perfection.

The heroes and men skilled in the art of war pursued their enemy with more vigor, slaughtered men, women, and children more successfully and rapidly than ever. Later the Mcrrimac was built, a hull cased in railroad iron. At Hampton Roads the Merrimae met another great battleship, the Monitor-a ship described as a barge with a cheese box on it. The two great ships fought a battle that will be long remembered. That was less than 60 years ago. Later steamships were built with a capacity of from seven to ten thousand tons, cased in armor plate, armed with guns ranging from 4 to 12 inches. We then felt safe and prepared. Our fleet met the enemy at Manila Bay, and in the Harbor of Santiago they fought a great battle. all glorified in heroic deeds of our great men that brought so much fame and luster to America's name. That was about 18 years ago. With the splendid victory won by our Navy, it was believed that science, genius, and naval construction had reached its highest point of perfection. With the inspired enthusiasm we started to build a Navy second to none. We authorized and built battleships of the type then used with the capacity of 10,000 tons, costing on an average of about \$10,000,000. The cost of maintaining these great battleships amounted to about \$1,000,000 a year each. Kaiser William was not to be outdone. Germany and other nations were building ships of 15,000 tons capacity. We found it necessary to authorize and build a dreadnaught, and we have been authorizing until

we have, according to the committee's report, authorized 42 battleships, of which number 33 are reported fit for service. Thirty-two cruisers and in all, 343 vessels, with 1,352,135 tons displacement, are fit for service. We have 50 under construction, with 300,011 tons displacement, and 26 authorized, approximate displacement 70,750 tons, or a grand total of 419 vessels, with 1,723,196 tons displacement.

Recently genius has invented the airship, flying through the air at a speed of 100 miles an hour. I take it before long we will be authorizing the construction of ships of the aerial type, equipping, ironcladding, armoring, officering, and manning these great airships flying through the air in order to successfully keep the enemy away at a proper distance for fear the enemy may some dark night sail into our harbors and destroy our great The majority of the members of the committee recommend an appropriation of \$2,000,000 for the further development of aviation for naval purposes, which has been increased to \$3,500,000 by this committee, and the following ships are to be added to the Navy:

Five battle cruisers, costing \$20,433,431 each, Four scout cruisers, costing \$5,571,900 each. Ten destroyers, costing \$1,325,314 each.

Three submarines of a surface displacement of about 800 tons,

costing \$1,206,302 each. Seventeen smaller submarines, costing \$731,302 each.

One fuel ship, costing \$1,363,272.

One ammunition ship, costing \$2,714,650. One hospital ship, costing \$2,250,000.

The minority recommends an addition of 2 battleships and an increase in the number of submarines to 50, and numerous other increases. The ranking member of the minority of the committee estimates that it will require an expenditure of \$360,000,000 to carry out all the provisions in the bill reported by the majority and \$400,000,000 for those suggested by the minority. Twenty million dollars for 30 additional submarines, \$11,000,000 for a Government armor plant, \$7,000,000 for the enlargement of the navy yards, and \$2,700,000 for increasing the Navy personnel are some of the items that have been added to the bill reported by the committee, which brings the total appropriation up to about \$270,000,000. To this add the many items authorized and we have a total expense of at least \$380,000,000. The question is, "Why this expensive program?" The answer is that we should be second in relative strength. President Wilson said at St. Louis that we should be second to none,

Not long ago it was generally conceded that we were second. Now, no one knows just what our relative strength is or may be in the near future. The Office of Naval Intelligence of the Navy Department reports that owing to the European war that office is unable to give definite information as to the relative strength of the principal navies of the world. As we know, and as was reported by the committee, in many cases the belligerent powers have failed to acknowledge the loss of all the vessels destroyed, nor have they reported all vessels built or acquired; hence, we are in the dark as to our present status, and from all we know we may be closer to the top than is generally believed.

According to the committee's report on the naval losses of the various belligerents since the outbreak of war, corrected to February 1, 1916, France had lost 1 battleship, 1 armored cruiser, and 18 other vessels; Italy, 1 battleship, 2 armored cruisers, and 7 other vessels; Japan, 8 vessels of various types; Russia, 1 battleship, 3 cruisers, and 4 other vessels; Turkey, 2 battleships, 1 cruiser, and 9 other vessels, in addition the report states that other men-of-war may have been destroyed; Austria, 2 cruisers and 9 other vessels; Germany, 34 cruisers, with more than 160,000 tonnage, and 51 other vessels; England, 9 battleships, with 137,950 tonnage, 16 cruisers, with 145,509 tonnage, 2 transports, with 18,174 tonnage, 1 armored boarding vessel, with 6,322 tonnage, the total tonnage of the above 28 vessels being 307,955 tons, besides 24 other vessels of various types. than 200 vessels of various types were reported lost up to February 1, 1916.

To-day's papers report that in last night's battle the German fleet destroyed the British dreadnaught Warspite, five cruisers, destroyers, and a number of torpedo boats; besides this, a large

number of battleships suffered damage.

On the German side the cruiser Wicsbaden and battleship Pommern were sent to the bottom. The fate of others is un-

No one knows definitely how many others were lost prior to that date, or how many have been lost since. One thing is certain, that the loss has been great. Furthermore, we know that if the navies of the belligerent powers ever do get into real action, as their vessels go to the bottom of the sea our relative strength will forge ahead.

In this connection I desire to say a word as to our au-

bill provided for 140,000 men; the Senate bill 250,000; the two Houses finally settled on 175,000 fighting men to serve three years with the colors and four years with the reserves. vides for the development of the National Guard and for the training of young men in our schools, which, in my opinion, is a most wise and important provision, as I believe in that way a powerful and effective reserve can be provided for with less expense and with less inconvenience to the young men who offer their services to their country.

In the light of experience, with the National Guard's record for patriotic and excellent service, with the difficulty encountered in recruiting our standing army in time of peace-especially when recently 20,000 men were called for and so far only enough have joined to take the place of the number going out at the expiration of the term of enlistment-it is due that special attention and encouragement should be given to the National Guard.

Here is what Chairman Hay had to say:

Here is what Chairman Hay had to say:

Mr. Smith of Michigan. You spoke something of the difficulty of recruiting the Army to its full strength. I would like to inquire whether or not now the Army is not being recruited to its full strength for volunteers and what progress is being made—whether or not they are joining freely?

Mr. Hay. I will state to the gentleman that they are not joining freely. We passed that resolution in March, over two months ago, and they have succeeded in getting only 6,000 men, and that number will about take the place of the number going out at the expiration of their term of enlistment.

Mr. Smith of Michigan. How many stations are recruiting?

Mr. Hay. I understand there are 253, although I am not certain about the number.

Mr. HAY, I understand there are 250, arthogal I all about the number.

Mr. MEKKER. Has the gentleman received the report of the enlistments to the Regular Army from Boston of about five weeks?

Mr. HAY, I beard that they got one recruit there. I do not know whether that is true or not. [Laughter.]

Here is what the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. McKenzie], a member of the committee, had to say about the National Guard responding to their country's call when in need of fighting men:

responding to their country's call when in need of fighting men:

Mr. Ferris. I notice that on the call for 4,000 of the National Guard in the State of Texas only 55 falled to respond. I wonder if that is not typical of the way in which the men of our country will respond when they are needed?

Mr. McKenzie. That is the history of our National Guard through all the history of our country, and I am proud of it. [Applause.]

Mr. Kahn. Will the gentleman yield for another question?

Mr. McKenzie. If I have the time. How much time have I?

The Speaker. The gentleman has three minutes.

Mr. Kahn. Did the gentleman also read in this morning's paper that the National Guard of Arizona and New Mexico are so badly equipped that they have not been able to mobilize yet?

Mr. McKenzie. Yes; and I think there is probably something in that, and I will vote to give them the necessary equipment. I think that is the thing we want to look out for—to equip and take care of the boys when they are called into the service of the Government.

Here is what Chairman Hay had to say May 20, page 8396:

Here is what Chairman Hay had to say May 20, page 8396:

Here is what Chairman HAY had to say May 20, page 8396:
It provides for the development of the National Guard, the only volunteer force in this country which is in existence and with which we could work. It provides for their development, and since this law has passed the House it has developed the National Guard to the extent that at least 40,000 new men have applied for membership in the National Guard. [Applause.] That carries out the assertion made that if the National Guard was put on a proper basis we would have at least the number provided for in this bill in a few years—425,000 men as a reserve. It is purely a preparedness measure. It meets the best thought of the two bodies and, in my judgment, merits the support of every man on this floor.

What a contrast; the great city of Boston, with its claim of patriotism, the chief advocate of a large standing army, in response to its country's call for 20,000 men, furnishes one man to the standing army. The State of Texas, in response to its country's call for 4,000 men, responds by sending 3,945 young men of its National Guard. The results speak for themselves; and as the National Guard's efficiency and devotion to duty is generally recognized, no further comment seems neces

With the consent granted, I shall avail myself of the privilege of including in my remarks extracts from Chairman Hay's remarks on the conference report in explanation of the bill passed:

passed:

Mr. Hay. Then, Mr. Speaker, I will take the floor. [Applause.]
This conference report embodies the compromise reached on the part of the conference of the House and Scnate on what is known as the Army reorganization bill
The bill as it passed the House provided for 140,000 men of the line—that is, men who fight. The bill as it was amended by the Senate provided for 250,000 fighting men, and the bill as agreed upon by the conferees provides for 175,000 fighting men.

It has been stated that this bill carries an enlisted force of 206,000 men, and the inference has been drawn that they are all to be put in the Army at once. As a matter of fact, the increase over the number of men now in the Army is to be provided for in five annual increments; and the increase in the officers, with the exception of those officers who are to be used for the purpose of training the National Guard and teaching in military schools, are also to be added in five annual increments. So, as a matter of fact, this bill provides for the next fiscal year an increase of about 12,000 enlisted men and between 3,000 and 4,000 officers. It is entirely within the discretion of Congress, without intringing upon the rights of any officer or man, to cut off next year the increments which are provided for in this bill.

Mr. Gardner. Twelve thousand are the most we can expect up to the 1st of July, 1917?

Mr. Hay. Plus the 20.000 that were authorized in the joint resolution, Mr. Gardner. The filling up to about 109,000.

Mr. Hay. One hundred and nineteen thousand.

Mr. Gardner. I think not.

Mr. Hay. Well, the gentleman probably knows better than anybody else.

Mr. Hay. One hundred and nineteen thousand.

Mr. Garder I think not.

Mr. Hay. Well, the gentleman probably knows better than anybody else.

These increments are wholly within the discretion of Congress in the next five years. When this war in Europe is over, "when the war drums beat no longer and the battle flags are furled." when the hysteria which has been pervading the atmosphere of the country has died away, when the shouting and the tumult are no more, then Congress can cut off these increments and make the standing Army of the United States any number it pleases. [Applause.]

Certain people in the other body were amazed at the attitude of the House of Representatives, and I am amazed at some of the Semators who are trying to couple this legislation with a possible emergency which may exist to-morrow next week, or next month. This is not an emergency bill. It is not intended as an emergency bill, it is not intended to raise an army for the purpose of possible war with Mexico or any other power. It is intended as a peace proposition, as I have often said on this floor, and no man who understands the bill or the situation can couple with it what it must be necessary to do in the event of war breaking out in the next few months.

We have already on the statute books, placed there two years ago, a bill known as the volunteer army bill, which would enable the President, when authorized by Congress, to raise as large an army as he wants if we should be so unfortunate as to go to war. It is useless to try and enlighten these densely ignorant newspaper editors [laughter and applause]

I beg gentlemen to carry that distinction in their minds that this is not an emergency bill but a bill for future preparedness, and it does that. This bill provides a standing army as large as can be recruited in this country under the volunteer system. It provides a larger number of 216,000 men.

It provides for a nitrate plant to manufacture powder; it provides for an officers' reserve corps; it provides for a regular army reserve

In order to ascertain the expenditures because of war, we should add to the proposed program of \$380,000,000 for the Navy, \$300,000,000 for the Army, the additional amounts, \$34, 292,050, reported by the committee for fortifications, \$158,065,-600, reported by the committee for pensions, also appropriations for the Military Academy and numerous other items carried in other appropriation bills, all this being included and increases likely to be made at the other end of the Capitol, we will have a grand total of about \$900,000,000, not as a war or emergency measure, but all as a peace requirement in time of profound peace.

In looking over the appropriation bills for the current year, I find that the Sixty-third Congress made appropriations as fol-

ArmyPortifications	\$101, 974, 195. 87 6, 062, 216, 90
Navy Pensions	149, 661, 864, 88 164, 100, 000, 00
Military Academy	1, 069, 813. 37

422 866 091 02 Total.

Which is an amount less than one half of the amount estimated, and which is likely to be appropriated this session-\$900,000,000—would build a road from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, or 3,000 miles, at the cost of \$3,000 per mile; it is nearly three times the \$303,573,848 salary paid 564,460 teachers, instructing our vast army of 18,523,558 pupils in our public schools. It is nearly twice the \$534,058,580 total expense public schools. It is hearly twice the \$354,035,380 total expense of our public schools; it is nearly a hundred times the \$9,614,221 salary paid 27,432 teachers instructing 488,171 pupils in my State, and nearly 60 times the \$15,642,924 total expenditures of public schools in Iowa for 1913. In amount it is equal to nearly 90 per cent of the total regular appropriation made for the current year. It is within \$68,000,000 of Uncle Sam's total interest beginning debt in 1014. interest-bearing debt in 1914; an amount equal to 85 per cent of the capital stock of our 7,453 national banks; 10 times the capital stock of our 2,100 savings banks; nearly 2 times the capital stock of our 14,512 State banks, and 42 times the capital stock of our 1,064 private banks. It is more than 180 times the value of the 1,619,415,263 pounds of butter produced in the United States; it is equal to about 80 per cent of the reported value of 21,262,000 milch cows in the United States; about 2 times the value of our annual oat crop, and almost equal to the value of our annual wheat or cotton crop produced on Uncle Sam's 6,361,502 farms, farmed by 6,000,000 farmers.

According to the estimated valuation made by the Department of Commerce in 1912, eight and one-half years' expenditures at the rate of \$900,000,000 would equal the estimated true value of all property, real and personal, in Iowa. And six years' appropriations would equal the estimated true value of all property in the following States: Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Wyoming, Idaho, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, and Utah. Nine hundred million dollars is \$130,000,000 in excess of the estimated true value of all railroads, street railroads, and their equipment in Iowa. It seems unreasonable to give up in hard cash an amount equal to the estimated true value of all the property in these nine States, or on an average one of the nine every eight months.

According to Mr. Spillman, of the office of markets, farmers received on a net average \$142 cash and \$260 worth of food, rent, and fuel for their year's work, which includes the labor of their families, averaging 4.6 persons, or each member an average of \$31 cash. It seems to me that to impose an annual tax averaging more than \$40 for war purposes on each family, for whom so much admiration is professed around election time, or to appropriate \$360 for every dollar appropriated for the Department of Agriculture to aid the farmer, ought to be sufficient. But you say that the plutocrat is to pay the bill. His millions have come from, and with his power to levy tribute always will come from, those of small income, so in the end the tax will fall upon them.

When we stop to consider that the proposed program is not to meet an emergency but as a peace requirement, and generally styled as a "little Navy and war program." It seems to me that we are going at a high speed; that it is well to consider the cost and burdens which it will inflict. To me it seems a high rate of insurance at a time when there seems to be less need of a large Navy than ever, when our shipyards are crowded to their full capacity with the large number of fighting ships under construction, the work on many not even begun, and when it will take years to complete those already authorized, not mentioning those authorized in this bill. Considering it all, I can not see my way clear to vote to recommit the bill with instructions to add over \$100,000,000 to it, as it is proposed to do.

I have believed and still believe that by clinging to our traditional policy, the great moral and political principle of justice to all, equality of man, which has made this country what it is and given us the position which we so justly occupy under these principles we have advanced along the lines of accumulation of wealth, morality, intelligence, happiness, power, and influence; for we have obtained the world's confidence in our impartiality and justice, not by a strong Army or Navy, but by our position and conduct. In my opinion these ideals are stronger than armies and navies, and I believe that along these lines lie our destiny and glory, and I believe that if we continue these great moral and political principles and refrain from quarreling or "butting in" and strictly attend to our own affairs, as we have in the past, we can conserve all the influence in the past and continue to have the confidence, good will, and cooperation of all the nations of the world.

Another thing to be taken into consideration if our aim and ambition is to become the greatest naval power on earth, the peacemaker of the world, and the police of the sea, how much of a navy is required? Great Britain's policy has been to have a navy as great as any two nations. Great Britain, unless forced into bankruptcy, is not likely to abandon her policy. So when we build two ships Great Britain will build four, and if we build four battleships Great Britain will build eight, and so If so, we will find ourselves in a mad race with naval expansion and expedition beyond comprehension. If we are to be the peacemaker of the world, how much of a navy is then required and what does it involve? We will wake up some morning and find two nations quarreling; it may be over religion, territory, or whatever it may be. It then becomes our duty to step in and suggest and demand that difference be adjusted according to our ideas. If differences can not be adjusted in a peaceful manner, we serve notice upon them that we have a great Navy, strong enough to destroy their towns, blockade and capture their ports and harbors, and couple it with a suggestion that they had better accept of our terms, whatever they may be, or the worst may come to them. If either one fails may be, or the worst may come to them. If either one fails to accept our terms, we find ourselves in a conflict with one or the other. What then? War. What does war mean? The giving up of flesh, blood, and property. A conflict of not only one or two conflicting nations, but it may involve all nations of the earth. Hence if our policy is to become the police of the sea, the peacemaker of the world, the construction of two or four battleships a year will not meet the requirements, but possibly many times that. We must then have a Navy strong and great enough to successfully conquer and subdue

not one nation, but all the nations of the earth. If so, what will its cost and consequences be? In this age of progress, enlight-enment, civilization, and Christianity may we not in this land, where liberty, truth, progress, intelligence, morality, honor, dignity, and equal opportunities prevail, hope to maintain peace, their good will, and our exalted position with the nations of the world without resorting to extraordinary war measure and unnecessary expenditures?

Achievements of the Democratic Administration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, WILLIAM P. BORLAND.

OF MISSOURI.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, June 1, 1916.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the Record I will insert an address made by me before the Democratic State convention of Iowa, at Clinton, Iowa, May 9, 1916.

The address is as follows:

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION.

[An address by Hon. WILLIAM P. BORLAND, Member of Congress, before the Democratic State convention of Iowa, at Clinton, Iowa, May 9, 1916.]

The Democratic Party is to-day in control of both branches of the National Legislature and of the National Executive. is interesting to inquire into the causes and reasons which impelled the American people to drive the Republican Party from power so completely as was done at the last national election. When I first came to Congress, nearly eight years ago, the fortunes of the Democratic Party were at a low ebb. We had suffered a series of crushing defeats such as no party has ever suffered and survived. In the election of 1908 the Republican Party, arrogant in its power, had carried the national election. found that there was a Republican majority of nearly 50 in the House of Representatives, a Republican majority of 2 to 1 in the Senate, and a Republican President in the White House supposed to be the most able and popular statesman in his party. Even my own State of Missouri had gone Republican and had given its electoral vote to Taft. The fifth district of Missourl, which I have the honor to represent, was the only district in that State-and one of the few districts in the United States where a Democrat defeated a Republican in the congressional elections.

When the Sixty-first Congress organized the honorable Joseph G. CANNON, of Illinois, was reelected Speaker and the "old guard" of the Republican machine were in undisputed control. The situation looked so hopeless that there were those among the Democrats who believed that the time had come to indulge in guerrilla warfare, each man for himself, without regard to party organization. At that juncture, however, we were fortunate enough to choose as our leader in the lower House of Congress that old lion of Democracy who had never faltered in his allegiance to Democratic principles in the darkest days of party

disaster, the honorable Champ Clark, of Missouri.

We Democrats were like an unarmed mob attempting to assall the intrenched and well-equipped hosts of special privilege. We found that misgovernment was rife in every department of our national life; the Treasury was facing an enormous deficit, even under the operation of the highest and most oppressive tariff law ever enacted. The remedial legislation demanded by the American people was bottled up in the committees of the House. The trusts and monopolies had never been so numerous, so powerful, or so secure. We found that the keystone of the arch of Republican rule was the power of the Speaker over the committees and rules of the House.

Then and there we began a fight against the evil which you citizens afterwards came to call by the name of "Cannonism," to restore freedom of debate and representative government to the American people. We found that under Republican rule a Republican Representative in Congress, who was supposed to speak the voice and vote the vote of 200,000 American citizens, was more helpless, if possible, than a Democratic Representa-tive. We at least had power to appeal from the tyranny of the machine to the great common sense of the American people. But a Republican Member, unless he was one of the feudal lords, was voiceless in his grief. You taxpayers had no need for a Member of Congress at all under such a system, where freedom of debate was absolutely suppressed. There was a bachelor girl down in our neighborhood who was being teased one day by the married ladies about not having any husband. She said: "What do I need with a husband? I have three pets over at my house. I have a dog over there that growls all morning; I have a parrot that swears all afternoon; and I have a cat that stays out all night. So what do I need with a husband?" And what did you, my friends, need with a Congressman under the rule of Cannonism? We determined to correct this abuse and to restore representative government to the American people.

A few honest and conscientious Republican Members joined with us. We called them Insurgents, and they afterwards developed into the progressive wing of the Republican Party.

On a sudden a proposition came up from an insurgent Republican to change the ironclad rules of the House. After a hasty consultation the Democrats to a man swung behind the insurgent movement, and enough insurgents voted with us to establish a temporary majority on the floor of the House. By that time the whole country was aflame. The people saw that the real power of the special privilege was intrenched behind the Speaker's chair. When the standpatters found that they had lost control of the popular branch they began to filibuster to gain time and weaken or demoralize the forces of the combination against them.

For three days and three nights we held possession of the House, while the country watched the spectacle of a powerful party in control of all three branches of a great Government filibustering against a minority supported only by a handful of conscientious Republicans. They telegraphed madly for standpatters who were absent to come back to Congress and we telegraphed for Democrats. On every roll call the majority was unshaken. Finally, on the last day of the fight, the old guard saw themselves facing certain defeat. As Uncle Joe Cannon, from his place on the Speaker's stand, looked down the aisle on the Democratic side his eye fell upon the shaggy head and clear blue eye of the great Missourian, Champ Clark, and just behind the curly locks and stalwart frame of the young giant from Alabama, Oscar Underwood. Then he knew that standpat Republicanism had met its match at last and that the leadership had come to the Democratic Party, which could and would restore free government to the American people.

We went into the congressional elections of 1910 a different

We went into the congressional elections of 1910 a different set of Democrats, animated by a different spirit from that with which we had emerged from the defeat of 1908. Instead of an unorganized mob we were a trained and well-disciplined army of veterans. We went from end to end of this great country denouncing Cannonism and the evils of machine rule. When the smoke of battle cleared away on the night of the first Tuesday in November the Democrats had swept the country and elected the first Democratic House of Representatives in 16 years.

The first act of that House was to choose Champ Clark Speaker and to reform the rules so as to permit important remedial legislation to see the light of day upon the floor of the people's Congress. The effect was apparent at once. Great measures in which the people were interested began to come out of the committees, and Members who wanted to vote for them had a chance to do so and those who would prefer to dodge them were compelled to go on record. It was a political revolution, the far-

reaching effect of which is just beginning to be felt.

In the election of 1908 the Republican Party had promised the people to revise the tariff, in response to overwhelming demand in both parties. They failed to say in their platform whether they intended to revise the tariff up or to revise it down, but left themselves at liberty to pretend to the men in the manufacturing districts that they intended to revise the tariff up, while to the great agricultural population of the West they assuredly promised to revise the tariff down. When they were again clothed with power they drafted and put through the House of Representatives, under the whip and spur of Republican discipline, the infamous Payne-Aldrich tariff bill. In that great revenue measure of more than 900 separate items they refused to allow amendment or debate except upon 5 items—lumber, oil, hides, barley, and barley malt—all of them raw material for the manufacturer and not one of them finished product for the consumer. The consumer's rights were ruthlessly trampled upon. The tariff was made so high that in most cases it was prohibitive and failed to produce any revenue. It should have been entitled "A bill to permit taxation by the trusts," for all of the revenue raised under it went into the pockets of the manufacturers and left the Federal Treasury still facing a deficit.

It was this iniquity against which Cummins fought and against which the great Dolliver thundered, but it was the measure which Taft signed. Not only did Taft sign it, but he went to Winona,

Minn., and made a speech in which he pronounced it the best tariff bill ever written. The next morning when that speech was published in the metropolitan press the great Republican Party found itself split from Hell Gate to Yuba Dam.

When the election of 1912 approached, the standpatters who had control of the destiny of the Republican Party had so completely wrecked that great organization that they succeeded in carrying but two States in the Union—Vermont and Utah.

I was not originally for the great governor of New Jersey as a nominee for President. I spent my time, work, and noney in an earnest effort to nominate and elect that great citizen of my own State, Hon. Champ Clark of Missouri, but when the convention at Baltimore had spoken and had placed the banner of victory in the hands of the governor of New Jersey, the first man to take the stump for the national ticket was Champ Clark of Missouri, and every Missourian followed in his footsteps.

The record of the Democratic Members of the Sixty-second Congress had so inspired the people with confidence in the sincerity of purpose and power for united action of the Democratic Party that it became apparent a national victory was in sight for Democracy.

When the votes were counted in November it was found that we had carried the House of Representatives again, that we had captured that citadel of special privilege, the Senate of the United States; and that we had placed in the White House a fearless friend of the American people, the Hon. Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey.

As we approach the period of another national election we have the right, which is also a duty which we owe to the American people, to cast our eyes over the achievements of the Democratic administration since it came into power. Even a brief review of these achievements will show that more important constructive legislation has been passed by the Democratic Congress and approved by the Democratic President, in the interest of the American people, during the brief space of three years that this party has been in power, than in any previous 30 under Republican rule. Some of the most fundamental problems affecting the industrial, social, and political life of our Nation have been solved, and solved successfully. These questions have been approached by our party from the standpoint of the interest of the average citizen. As each great question presented itself for solution our partisan opponents were not slow to point out the dangers and difficulties which lay in the way of fundamental changes in the interest of the people. They sought to discourage and embarrass the steady, onward march of popular Government, but in each case when the Democratic measure had been framed and placed successfully before the people these same partisan opponents, lacking the courage to make good their opposition, broke ranks and joined with the triumphant Democratic majority in voting for

We may safely challenge these timid reactionaries who are now seeking under cover of the same reckless and indiscriminate criticism to get back once more into office to face us in the political arena and say to the American people which of these measures that the Democratic administration has given them will the Republicans pledge themselves to repeal if they are once more restored to power. If they decline to promise to repeal any of these measures, they might follow that by explaining to the American people why with 16 years of unbroken and undisputed power they failed to enact any one of them into law. Let us, in this campaign, draw squarely the line between those who are on the side of the people and those who seek the support of special interests.

Let us enumerate some of these sweeping reforms: The Democratic Party has for years pledged itself to the principle of the direct election of United States Senators by the people. The seventeenth amendment to the Constitution originated in the Democratic Congress. The work of legislating for its enforcement was committed to a Democratic administration, and two years ago the first senatorial elections were held under its terms. This year it applies universally to all of the States electing Senators. What has become of the timid prophecies of our Republican friends that it would undermine the foundations of the Constitution? If they still think so, let them go before the American people and pledge themselves to its repeal. The spread of direct primaries has also been the advancement of a recognized Democratic doctrine, until to-day the people have a direct voice in the selection of their candidates, which means the selection of their public officials.

The purification of politics and the elimination of corruption and machine rule have been well begun by the corrupt-practice acts passed by the Democratic Congress, stretching the strong arm of the law between the rights of the people, on the one hand, and the corrupt contributions of favor-seeking corporations on the other.

Abraham Lincoln spoke for a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." We have long had a government "of the people." Under Democratic rule we are at length securing government "by the people," which means that we shall at

last have government "for the people."

Our fiscal policy, which under the Republican rule had remained unchanged since the Civil War and which had three times since that period prostrated the great and growing West by disastrous panics brought on by the speculation of stock gamblers of Wall Street, against which evil the Republican Party never dared to raise its hand, was left as a heritage to the Democratic administration to reform. We met the most determined opposition of the money power of Wall Street, with its great ramifications through all of the banking centers of the Nation and holding within its toils the great industrial and transportation corporations, which fought openly and secretly against any reform in the currency. They sought to keep the country in the condition which would precipitate the business and banking interests of the Nation into disastrous panics, which a shortage of currency and a contraction of credits under our antiquated system might at any time cause. Only the money lender and stock gambler profited by such a condition. The Democratic Party enacted the Federal reserve banking law. which created 12 great reservoir's of credit so located throughout the producing area of the Nation that a centralized control of the money power in the hands of Wall Street bankers was no longer possible. That great law has banished panics from America. There will be no bread lines in the great manufacturing centers of the country while the grain is rotting in the fields in the agricultural districts for lack of money to move the crops, as was the case in the bitter winter of 1907-8 under the last Republican panic this country will ever see. The farmers and business men of our Nation have been freed from the speculation of Wall Street. Under the Democratic measure, the man who is doing the business, producing the goods, and adding to the wealth of the Nation is assured of a legitimate credit based upon his solvency and business standing.

Perhaps our Republican friends will promise the American people to repeal the Federal reserve bank act. Perhaps they will attempt to substitute for it the Aldrich bill, providing for a centralization of the money power, sanctioned by law, which they had offered to the people prior to the election of 1912. We charge them with having left this country for years in a condition of financial dependency with an outgrown, outworn currency system utterly inadequate in normal times, and a sure breeder of panic in any case of stringency. We charge them with leaving our country under the control of the financial interests, and that they did not dare reform this condition.

The standpatters claim that they can produce prosperity by a wave of the legislative wand. If they can produce prosperity, why have they produced panics? In my lifetime there have been three disastrous panics, all caused by frenzied finance and stock gambling in Wall Street, which grew out of the centralized system of bank reserves. These panics bankrupted the business man and threw the laborer out of work. The people who suffered most from them did not cause them and could not control them. The first panic was in 1873, upon the failure of Jay Cooke & Co., which came after 12 years of Republican rule. That panic found the West in the position of a barefooted boy, homeless and friendless, who must pick up his living the best he could. Of course, the panic brought destitution and suffering to the West.

The next great panic was in 1893, which came after four years of Republican rule and 30 days before the inauguration of a Democratic President. That panic found the West in the posi-tion of a young man just starting out to establish his home and his business on borrowed capital, and it was not difficult for the panic to sweep away such slender resources. The last great panic was that of 1907, which came after 10 years of Republican rule—another stock gambiers' panic, for which there was no excuse. That panic failed to wreck the West. The panic makers had made a mistake. The West had grown to stalwart manhad made a mistake. The West had grown to stalwart man-hood. It had paid for its land, it had money in the bank, fat eattle in the pens, and grain in the bins. The panic closed our biggest banks, it stopped the circulation of money. The business man could not draw his own money out of bank because it was tied up in the inflated credits of Wall Street. We had to do. business on cashiers' checks, slips of paper, chips, and whetstones-trading jackknives and plugs of tobacco, all during the winter of 1907-8; but we kept on doing business because we had the goods. Though the panic did not wreck the West, it did prostrate the East. In those centers of protected industry the workmen were rioting for bread—bread lines in New York, the metropolis of the richest Nation in the world, while in the West the pens were full of cattle and the bins were full of grain that could not get to market because of a disgraceful financial system. There never was a Democratic panic, and there never will be a Democratic panic. We have banished panic from the land by divorcing legitimate business from speculation and by keeping the banking reserves in 12 great reservoirs of credit.

The Republican Party can not make prosperity. The people make prosperity, if they are given a fair chance. We hold that prosperity comes up from the people and not down from the rulers. The aim of Democracy is to keep the biggest end of the dollar in the pocket of the man who earns the dollar and not

take it from him under the guise of taxation.

Why, the standpatters have even tried to tell the farmer that they produce prosperity for him. The farmer, of all men, knows who fills his dinner pail. He fills it himself, with his own strong right arm and clear brain and the blessing of Almighty God, who sends "the seedtime and the harvest, the early and the later rain," The farmer goes out and plants the time seed in the The farmer goes out and plants the tiny seed in the ground. It lies there in the cold and in the wet and in the darkness, until by and by, at just the right time, in obedience to some divine law that no man of us has been pure enough to understand, it begins to germinate. It sends down its little roots in just the right direction. It sends up its tiny shoots in just the right direction to reach the sunlight by the nearest road. It lies under its blanket of snow until it is swept by the winds of March and wept over by the showers of April; until it is kissed by the suns of May and caressed in its growing beauty by the soft zephyrs of June. So it grows in strength and beauty and into the promise of the golden harvest: Then the farmer goes out and reaps his grain. He shocks it, and he stacks it, and he thrashes it. He hauls it to the siding, and he loads it on the cars. He sends it singing on its way to bless the homes and fill the dinner pails of countless thousands of his fellow citizens. Then he goes back to the old home place and, leaning on the fence, he thinks of the result of his year's work. He thinks that now the boy is assured of another year at the State university. He thinks that now, perhaps, the oldest girl will have a chance. He sees his good wife rocking to and fro on the front porch, resting from the toil of cooking for the hands, and he thinks that he will fix up the old house a bit, or perhaps take a little trip to town to make life pleasanter for the faithful companion of his toil. And thus his heart begins to swell with the joys of the harvest home. But about that time in the fall some jackleg politician comes dancing down the pike and salutes the old farmer with a wave of his hat and says, "Look at all this wonderful prosperity that the Republican Party has given you.' It is a wonder to me that the old farmer does not climb over the fence and beat him to death.

We had an old preacher down in our county who wanted to make political speeches. He was on the right side; he was a Democrat; so we started him out. He arose before his first audience and began, "Dearly beloved brethren." We thought that was a pretty good start. Then he continued, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." He looked around solemnly and repeated, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." Then he took a fresh start and said, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." At that point some man in the front row of the crowd who was getting a little impatient said, "Oh, go on and tell us something else. We all know that." "Yes, my friend," said the preacher, "you think you know it, but it won't be a week before some windjamming office seeker is out here telling you the Republican Party did it."

The Democratic Party is the father of the income tax, but the Republican standpatters fought it for years, because it means

taxation of the trusts and not taxation by the trusts.

Our Republican friends could think of no better way to raise the revenues to run the Government than a tariff so adjusted as to reward protected manufacturers at the expense of the American consumer. They promised to revise the tariff downward and deliberately broke their promise after the election of President Taft. Present world conditions demonstrate that the tariff can not be relied upon as a source of revenue. It fails us at the very time when we need it most. The Democratic Party pledged itself to an income tax, by which a portion of the burdens of government would fail upon accumulated wealth rather than to be borne entirely by the wage earner and the consumer. We believe in taxing wealth, not want. It was necessary to enact a constitutional amendment to express the views of the American people in favor of an income tax. If this country were now under the old tariff system left us by the Republican Party, it would be impossible to raise enough revenue to run our Government. Only the income tax has saved us from a disastrous

and complete financial failure. But I take it that no Republican partisan will be bold enough to promise the people to repeal the income tax

In the present condition of chaos in which the civilized world finds itself we are utterly unable to determine what will be our industrial relations with other countries after the close of this great war. No man is wise enough to know. We do not know whether there will be more goods or less goods imported to the United States after the nations of Europe have resumed the walks of peace. How do the two great parties meet this problem, which we know to be inevitable? The Republican Party promises you only the certainty of business disturbances growing out of a threatened and general revision of the tariff. They promise you only a tariff made in the old way by the logrolling and trading of special interests, who are able to keep their representatives in Washington and to urge their claims before Republican committees of Congress. They promise you only a flood of pretended or real lobbyists, promoters, and schemers to descend upon the National Capitol and with a clamor of interests drown out the voice of the plain people and the average The Democratic Party promises you a scientific tariff commission to investigate the needs of every industry and all of the elements of production and consumption. Before such a commission every business man, big or little, will have a fair opportunity to be heard. Our Republican friends have repeatedly announced themselves as in favor of a commission, but have never seen fit to actually create one. We will give them an opportunity to meet this view freely before the American people.

The Democratic Party has been true also to its historic friend-ship for labor. The wage workers of the Nation recognize that their day of justice has come with the advent of the present administration. I need only mention, in passing, the bill passed by the Democratic Congress providing conciliation and mediation in labor disputes, as a result of which many threatened strikes have been avoided and much loss saved to wage earners, employers, and the public. You are familiar also with the minesafety law, which has almost put an end to disastrous mine accidents; the extension of the laws providing for the safety of trainmen and railroad employees, which have reduced the percentage of accidents and injuries from that cause. But the greatest triumph of labor was the passage of the Clayton Antitrust Act, which has been aptly described as the Magna Charta of American labor. Its important provision is "that the labor of a human being is not an article of commerce" and can not be

monopolized.

The farmers throughout the Nation have come into their own under the Democratic administration. Not only have they been treated fairly on the question of tariff duties by the breaking of the monopoly of the great Harvester Trust, the Binding Twine Trust, and other exactions which had been laid upon them as consumers under the Republican tariff, but measures for their advantage and relief have been passed by the Democratic Con-The most conspicuous of these is the Lever agriculture extension bill, by which farm demonstration work is being carried directly into every county of the United States and under the personal observation of every farmer, so that he may learn from actual tests the most improved methods of scientific agriculture. Congress also provided liberally for the stamping out of hog cholera. Within the last few days the Democratic House has passed the grain-grading bill and the public-warehouse bill, to give the farmer an opportunity to market his products to the best advantage. The live-stock interests are also receiving attention in the resolution now being considered to curtail the rapacity of the Packers' Trust, as advocated by all the live-stock interests of the country. The Democratic administration has promised the farmers of the country a rural-credit law, by which the agricultural producer, who has the best asset of the Nation in his hands, will be able to borrow a working capital upon as liberal terms as his city cousin, the merchant of the towns, who now borrows from the commercial banks. The Democratic Party stands sponsor for good roads. The Democratic House has twice passed a good-roads bill, which will probably pass the Senate at the present session of Congress. In this bill provision will be made for opening up every section of the great West with better means of transportation.

Conservation has taken on a definite meaning under the Democratic administration. It means not a destruction of the country's resources or their exploitation by great combines of capital, but their use in development for the public interest. Thousands of acres of public lands have been restored to homestead entry, thus furnishing homes for the young farmers of the Nation. The great coal deposits of the West are being leased on terms which preserve the public right to the profits growing out of this wealth which belongs to the Nation at large. The Water Power Trust has not been permitted to seize all power

sites on the public lands, but legislation is now pending providing for the leasing of such power upon conditions that are fair to the public. The great Territory of Alaska—the treasure house of the Union—has been wrested from the control of the Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate, and under the Democratic administration is being developed by Government constructed railroads, to be paid for out of the proceeds of the public lands of Alaska. The coal and other mineral deposits are not permitted to be taken up by fraudulent entries by great combinations of capital but are to be operated wholly under conditions fixed by the Federal Government.

Oil lands worth millions in value have been wrested from the Pacific railroads in Oregon and California and restored to their

rightful owners, the American people.

The Democratic Party believes that this is a great commercial Nation able to reach out and control the commerce of the world. We must break the shackles of provincialism in which the robber tariff has so long bound us and put our products into all neutral markets by wise trade agreements and encouragement of foreign The development of American business has been commerce. the special care of the Democratic administration, and the Nation was never more prosperous than it is to-day. The first Nation was never more prosperous than it is to-day. The first great step in the improvement of foreign trade was the reserve bank law, which permitted the establishment of American banks in foreign countries. Under its provisions banks have already been established in a number of South American countries, which will open up channels of trade for American goods. When the great war cloud broke on the 1st of August, 1914, every commercial nation in the world was brought to the verge of bankruptcy except the United States. The prompt and firm action of the Democratic administration withstood the shock and placed American business upon a sound and solvent basis. With foreign exchange demoralized we nevertheless put into operation the new Federal banking system, and not a bank in the United States closed its doors, thus silencing forever the calamity howlers of the Republican Party.

For the first two months after the war started foreign commerce was demoralized and American wheat and American cotton could not leave American ports because shipping was not safe on the ocean. The Democratic Congress passed the warrisk insurance bill, and wheat and cotton began to move abroad. This War Risk Insurance Bureau has paid a handsome profit from the day it was opened, and is a monument to the business judgment and statesmanship of the Democratic administration. We broke loose from the Ship Trust at once by providing that any foreign vessel might register under the American flag, and our merchant marine grew 100 per cent in 90 days.

The great trade-commission bill was passed providing that combinations of capital engaged in industrial pursuits should be regulated and controlled in the same way as the Interstate Commerce Commission controls the great transportation lines of the country. As a result, the honest business man has been free to use his highest efforts in promoting business, while the trusts have had to abandon many of the methods which had crushed out competition and destroyed the freedom of trade. Under the long years of Republican rule the merchant marine was allowed to die and the American flag was driven from the seas. To-day under the Democratic rule the Stars and Stripes are being restored to the trade routes of the world, and the Democratic Congress will soon pass the shipping bill providing for Government-controlled lines of vessels, especially to our markets in South

The greatest achievement of the Democratic administration has been to preserve peace and prosperity in the midst of a world torn and desolated by a frenzied war. No greater strain has fallen upon any President since the days of Lincoln than has been borne by the present Democratic occupant of the White There are those who clamor for war and who seem to regret that our boys are not stretched upon the bloody battle fields of Europe in the name of military glory. There are others in our country, equally sincere and more humane, who believe that we ought to sacrifice everything rather than to engage in hostilities. Between these two elements the administration has pursued a steady and consistent course of maintaining with firmness and patience the rights of American citizens and in defending the principles of international law until to-day this country is recognized as the one powerful and rightful spokesman for The President, assailed by the conflicting advice of friends and the mistaken or venomous criticism of foes, has held in his grasp as a sacred trust the peace and safety of the American people and the honor and dignity of the American Nation. Under other circumstances and with a less wise leadership our Nation might to-day be plunged in the horrors of war, but in-stead we are meeting in peace and safety, in the midst of plenty, surrounded by the unbroken homes and undesolated firesides of

a free and independent people. To-day all over this vast land of ours wherever the American citizen labors and produces, wherever industry is making the wealth to add to our country's greatness, wherever firesides are welcoming home the toller after his day's labor, wherever the honest workman knows the value of his own work and demands a just reward for his toll, there is going up a great song of confidence which will swell into an anthem of triumph. On the farm, in the factory, at the forge, in the mines, behind the counter of the country store, on all of the countless railroad trains that fly like busy shuttles through the warp and woof of American commerce, wherever the myriad activities of American life are carrying forward the arts of peace and civilization there is going up the hope of the Nation for the continued success and prosperity of our great Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson, and for the work of the Democratic Congress.

Discussion of Senate Amendment to Indian Appropriation Bill Providing for the Cutting of Timber on Lands Belonging to the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians and Authorizing Other Uses to be Made of Such Lands.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

BURNETT M. CHIPERFIELD. HON.

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 12, 1916.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I desire to leave in the RECORD as an extension of my remarks my most earnest protest against the adoption of a policy that I believe will work a marked injustice to the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota.

I am very well aware in doing this it is the pleading of an

unpopular cause.

One who speaks for the protection of the property and rights of the Indians now remaining in the State of Minnesota can not ordinarily find a sympathetic ear to listen.

I have thought, and still think, that in this House such is

yet believe it, although I am frank to say because of the kindly reception given the Senate amendment to House bill 10385 upon this subject my faith that the rights of these Indians will be sufficiently protected in this body is considerably shaken.

When the Indian appropriation bill passed the House of Representatives it contained no feature that could or would work a marked injustice to the Red Lake Band of Indians of Minne-

When it returned from the Senate it was changed by an amendment offered by Senator Nelson, of Minnesota, and con-

tained the provisions of which I complain, as follows:

amendment offered by Senator Nelson, of Minnesota, and contained the provisions of which I complain, as follows:

(61) To carry into effect the act entitled "An act for the relief and civilization of the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota, approved January 14, 1889, to provide for the establishment and administration of a forest reserve and for the sale of timber within the Red Lake Indian Reservation, Minn., be, and the same hereby are, created into a forest reserve, to be known as the Red Lake Indian Forest: Townships 150 and 151 north, ranges 32, 33, and 34 west of the fifth principal meridian, except the lands in townships 151 and 153 north, ranges 32, 33, and 34 west of the fifth principal meridian, except the lands in townships 151 north, range 36 west, which lie north of the north line of sections 26 to 30, inclusive, and except all lands within sections 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 18, in township 153 north, range 34 west. The provisions of this paragraph shall not apply to any lands which have heretofore been reserved for school, agency, church, or town-site purposes or granted to private parties or corporations within the area described, nor to the town site of Red Lake, for the creation of which provision is made herein: Provided, That when any of said lands are no longer needed for the purpose for which they are reserved the Secretary of the Interior may declare such lands to be a part of the Red Lake Indian Forest.

(62) That lands within said Red Lake Indian Forest which are not covered with standing and growing merchantable pine timber and which are suited for the production of agricultural crops and which are fronting upon a lake shore may be allotted to individual Red Lake Indians: Provided, That no such allotment shall exceed 80 acres nor have more than 80 rods fronting upon a lake shore: Provided further, That in case ah Indian has improved and cultivated more than 80 acres his allotment may embrace his improvements to the extent of 160 acres.

That said forest shall be administered by the S

of the foregoing provisions, including the establishment of nurseries and the purchase of seeds, seedlings, and transplants when needed for reforestation purposes: Provided, That all timber sold under the provisions herein shall be sold on what is known as the bank scale: Provided further, That no contract shall be made for the establishment of any mill, or to carry on any logging or lumbering operations which shall constitute a charge upon the proceeds of the timber, until an estimate of the costs thereof shall have first been submitted to and approved by Congress.

(63) That the Secretary of the Interior may issue permits or grant leases on such lands for camping or farming. No permit shall be issued for a longer term than one year and no lease shall be executed for a longer term than five years. Every permit or lease issued under authority of this act to Indians, or to other persons or corporations, and every patent for an allotment within the limits of the forest created by section 1, shall reserve to the United States the right to cross the land covered thereby with logging roads or railroads, to use the shore line, or to erect thereon and use such structures as shall be necessary to the proper and economical management of the Indian Forest created by this act; and the Secretary of the Interior may reserve from allotment tracts considered necessary for such administration.

After the payment of all expenses connected with the administration of these lands as herein provided the prevented therefore.

may reserve from allotment tracts considered necessary for such administration.

After the payment of all expenses connected with the administration of these lands as herein provided, the net proceeds therefrom shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the Red Lake Indians and draw interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum. The interest on this fund may be used by the Secretary of the Interior in such manner as he shall consider most advantageous and beneficial to the Red Lake Indians. Expenditure from the principal shall be made only after the approval by Congress of estimates submitted by the said Secretary.

(64) That the Secretary of the Interior shall select and set apart an area not exceeding 200 acres, in sections 20, 21, 28, and 29, township 151 north, range 34 west, cause the lands thus selected to be surveyed and platted into suitable lots, streets, and alleys, and dedicate said streets and alleys and such lots and parcels as he may consider necessary to public uses. The lands thus selected shall not be allotted, but held as an Indian town site subject to further legislation by Congress.

allotted, but held as an instance by Congress.

(65) That the timber on lands of the Red Lake Indian Reservation outside the boundaries of the forest created by section 1 may be sold under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior, and the proceeds administered under the provisions of the general deficiency act of March 3, 1883 (22 Stat. L., p. 590), and the Indian appropriation act of March 2, 1887 (24 Stat. L., p. 463).

The effect of these provisions contained in the Senate amendment is as follows:

1. There is taken from the use of these Red Lake Indians substantially 90,000 acres of land, and which, against the wish and desire of these Indians, is made into a forest reservation for the sale of timber.

The rights of the Indians in this forest reserve are taken from them except, that the lands which are not covered with standing and growing timber, may be allotted to the Indians entitled thereto.

2. In this forest reserve the Secretary of the Interior is given unrestricted power of control and is authorized to conduct the same with a view to reforestation and is given authority to sell the pine and oak timber which is maturely growing thereon, and likewise to sell such other timber that is marketable as he may deem advisable.

The Secretary of the Interior is also authorized to manufacture this timber. This power places the control of the timber belonging to this band of Indians entirely in the hands of the Secretary of the Interior, giving him full power to make such use of it within the limitations above stated, as he may deem advisable.

3. The Secretary of the Interior, with reference to these lands, is authorized to issue permits and leases for camping and farming, thus placing it in his power to take the use of such lands entirely away from those who own them.

The matter of compensation is left wholly to the Secretary of the Interior.

4. A costly system of administration of the provisions of this act is made possible by the loose terms in which the Senate amendment is drawn, and I think it is no unfair criticism to say that it is thus loosely drawn with the design that the Secretary of the Interior shall have the widest scope possible for the exercise of such power and authority.

All the cost of administration of this unwelcome and selfimposed trust in connection with such lands is to be met and paid from the receipts, and the balance, if any, is to be paid into the Treasury to the credit of the Red Lake Indians, and afterwards to draw interest at the rate of 4 per cent.

5. Even the interest which is to be derived from this fund is put at the disposal of the Secretary of the Interior and is to

be used by him in such manner as he shall consider most advantageous and beneficial to the Red Lake Indians.

6. Two hundred acres of the Red Lake Indian land is to be taken, without consulting the wishes of the Indians, for a The purpose which animates the taking of these town site. last-mentioned lands is not apparent at this time, but I venture to predict that in the future it will be found that these 200 acres of land will be diverted by some future act of Congress from the use of the Indians to some use which is inconsistent with their best interest.

7. In thus ruthlessly dealing with the lands of these Indians, power is given to the Secretary of the Interior to sell all the balance of the timber on lands of the Red Lake Indian Resparance of the timber on lands of the Red Lake Indian Reservation in accordance with the general-deficiency act of March 3, 1883 (22 Stat. L., p. 590), and the Indian appropriation act of March 2, 1887 (24 Stat. L., p. 463).

This amendment is along substantially the same lines as a similar amendment proposed at a previous session of this House by Representative Steenerson, of Minnesota.

It is very apparent from an inspection of this amendment that the general purpose is to place all of the timber on the Red Lake Indian Reservation which has any value upon the market, and it becomes equally apparent that the principal beneficiary under the Senate amendment will be the lumber companies of Minnesota, and I much fear that the major part of benefits gained by them will be at the expense of this band of Indians.

In similar situations with reference to the other Indian bands or tribes in the past, the lumber companies have prospered, and the Indian has been deprived of his property with but meager compensation and less consideration, and I fear that this amendment is the foundation for similar acts so far

as the Red Lake Indian Reservation is concerned.

It will not do to say that the Secretary of the Interior will adequately protect the rights of these Indians, because experience shows us that former Secretaries of the Interior have not protected the rights of other Indians in previous transactions of this kind and I do not imagine or anticipate that there is any more reason to expect more considerate treatment than has prevailed in the past.

After this bill was returned to the House, with amendments, from the Senate I appeared before the House Committee on Indian Affairs when it was considering the Senate amendments,

and the following hearing took place:

Mr. Carter. Mr. Chiperfield, do you want to be heard on this matter? Mr. Chiperfield. Yes; I do. Mr. Carter Very well, you may proceed now.

STATEMENT OF HON. BURNETT M. CHIPERFIELD, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

STATEMENT OF HON. BURNETT M. CHIPERFIELD, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Chairman, if this committee knew the poverty-stricken condition of those Indians, if you knew the injustice that has been inflicted upon them, multiplied and remultiplied, and now going on to-day, until if the department does not change its course they are going to be exterminated, you would not want to add a dollar to the expenses for which this tribe is primarily answerable. Somebody, somewhere, somehow, ought to speak for these Indians. They are as sorry a spectacle as exists in the United States to-day. I have taken the matter up with the department time after time. Somebody ought to be their friend somewhere, and the situation simply fills me with indignation and sympathy for them.

Now, I have not a particle of interest in this matter, any more than any other humane individual would have.

These people have \$6,000,000 in the Treasury, and the expenses of everything that can be put upon them is taken from their funds. That may be the rule with reference to other Indians, I do not know about that, where they have tribal property. There are about 7,000 or \$,000 of these Indians, I do not know the exact number—

Mr. Hayden (interposing). The Indians desire to have this roll made promptly, and it is only going to cost \$5,000. They have \$6,000,000 to their credit. It is the custom of the committee in a case of that kind to pay for such work from the tribal funds.

Mr. Chiperfield. I am not making any criticism of the committee or anyone else. I am simply speaking of the condition of these Indians, so that in view of that fact you may apply your judgment concerning this item.

Mr. Chiperfield. They are absolutely poverty stricken. They have a lot of forest land up there, part of which they are trying to take away from them—land upon which no farmer could or would even try to make a living.

Mr. Carter. Who is trying to take it away from them?

MI. CAITER. Are they povery stricken, You say!

MI. CHIPREFIELD. They are absolutely poverty stricken, They have a do of forest land up there, part of which they are trying to take it you make a living.

Mr. CHIPREFIELD. Servybody, I think, including the Indian Department. I believe in speaking plainly about these matters, Mr. CHIPREFIELD. I will make my statement and give the facts upon which I base it. These Indians have not been protected in getting a fair price for their timber. They are not going to be protected; it is not the purpose to protect them, and there is not a proper regard for their rights; and it is strange—It is passing strange—that a man base to come from outside the State of Minnesotta, a man who has no possible connection with these Indians, and speak of this injustice.

Mr. CHIPREFIELD. I there is a conservative man in this House, I am conservative. I have gone through these tribes, and I have seen these people in their suffering and sickness, and it is enough to touch the heart of any man to see their unfortunate condition.

Mr. Dill. What do you think ought to be done, Mr. CHIPREFIELD. I will tell you what I think ought to be done, and I wish it would be done. I wish this committee would fafter a resolution to the suppose of protecting and ministered. Then you would not have to take the word of any man for it. You would know for yourselves.

Mr. TILLBAS. Are they capable of hands the word of any man for it. You would know for yourselves.

Mr. TILLBAS. Are they capable of the manner in which their affairs are being administered. Then you would not have to take the word of any man for it. You would know for yourselves.

Mr. TILLBAS. Are they capable of mainty their were capable of making a treaty that took from them the greater part of everything they possessed on earth. The Government did not deal with them at arm's length then, although they are so solicitous and careful at the present time. These people are suffering from tubercurles and the provision in section 4 for the secure of part

I got a letter a few days ago from a couple of these Indians. One was an Indian by the name of Little Frenchman. The other was an Indian by the name of John Scott, and they told me how their people are hungering and praying for spring Now, that is not merely a term they are using in the way of allegorical speech or anything of that kind. These people are suffering and they are praying for the coming of spring, because that means a little relief.

Mr. Cabter. What percentage of them are mixed bloods?

Mr. Chipersfield. I could not tell you; but the percentage is quite large, and the mixed bloods, up to a certain point, are more degraded than the full-bloods.

Mr. Hayden. Now, as to sections 61 to 65, to which you object, had we not better read these through and get the opinion of Mr. Meritt and then hear Mr. Chiperfield further?

Mr. Meritt. I do not want to make any extensive reply; but I do know that the statement made that the Indian Bureau is trying to take this timber away from the Indians is absolutely not in accordance with the facts.

Mr. Chiperfield. But are you protesting against this section?

Mr. Meritt. No, sir.

Mr. Chiperfield. You are approving it, are you not?

Mr. Meritt. The department has submitted a favorable report on similar legislation.

Mr. Chiperfield. And the Indian Bureau are approving it, are you not?

Mr. Meritt. Yes, sir.

Mr. Chiperfield. Then, as I say, you are a party to it.

Mr. Chipperfield. And the Indian Bureau are approving it, are you not?

Mr. Meritt. Yes, sir.

Mr. Chipperfield. Then, as I say, you are a party to it.

Mr. Meritt. May I add just one statement?

Mr. Carfer, Yes.

Mr. Meritt. The Chippewa situation must be studied a little bit in order to appreciate the conditions prevailing among these Indians.

The act of Congress, passed without the recommendation of the Interior Department, removed the restrictions on all the adult mixed bloods in the White Earth country. I will concede that as a result of that legislation a large number of those Indians have been deprived of that legislation a large number of those Indians have been deprived of their property. But that was not the fault of the Indian Bureau, and we have had nothing to do with it. The jurisdiction of the department was removed by legislation. We could not help that condition.

Mr. Carter, Let me ask you about that legislation, Mr. Meritt, Didn't Congress pass an act removing the restrictions on mixed-blood Indians without making any roll whatever of the Indians as to the degree of blood?

Mr. Meritt. Yes, sir.

Mr. Carter, So that the question was left simply to the statement of the man who wanted to sell his land with reference to whether he was full-blood or a mixed blood. In other words, if a man wanted to sell his land, in order to allenate that land all be had to do was to come to court and testify that he was a mixed-blood Indian.

Mr. Meritt. Yes, sir. Then he would give a title to his land. And there is considerable litigation now going on in the courts, and we are trying to protect those full-blood Indians who disposed of their land under that legislation.

Mr. Carter, Now, is the purpose of making this roll to determine the degree of blood, that wrongs can be corrected?

Mr. Meritt. We would like to have the status of those Indians definitely determined, so that we can better protect the interests of the full-bloods.

Mr. Carter, Now, is this \$5,000 to be used to make a roll whereby the status of

Mr. CARTER. Now, is this \$5,000 to be used to make a roll whereby the status of the blood of an Indian can be determined? Is that the

Mr. Carter. Now, is this \$5,000 to be used to make a roll whereby the status of the blood of an Indian can be determined? Is that the purpose?

Mr. Meritt. That is the purpose. Now, as to the funds in the Treasury, we admit that those Chippewa Indians have \$6,000,000 to their credit at this time, but under the treaty and under the laws enacted by Congress we can not pay out a dollar of those funds now to those Chippewa Indians until the expiration of 50 years from the date of that act of Congress. We are trying to get that remedied by legislation submitted at this session of Congress, and we have that item of legislation before Congress now.

Mr. Carter. You mean you are trying to get it so you can pay the money now?

Mr. Meritt. So that we can pay money to those Indians and relieve any suffering on those reservations.

Mr. Carter. Now, suppose you should get legislation to pay out this \$6,000.000 now, which was not to be paid out until 50 years, would that eventuate in the possibility of a claim against the Federal Government by some of those Indians who are born after this payment is made?

Mr. Meritt. No, sir; the legislation in the Indian bill does not authorize the payment of the entire \$6,000,000. We simply ask to pay about one-fourth of that amount to the Indians.

Mr. Carter. The next amendments are Nos. 61, 62, 63, 64, and 65, page 41, line 3:

allotment in agricultural land within the forest reserve, omits the provisions as to the issuance of 10-year permits to Indians, and contains in section 7 an authorization for the sale of timber on those portions of the Red Lake Reservation which are not included within the proposed Indian forest reserve. It also reserves from allotment an Indian town site. I should be pleased to see the legislation enacted in the amended form.

Cordially, yours,

Franklin K. Lane,

FRANLIN K. LANE, Secretary.

Mr. Meritt. This item now in the Indian bill follows very largely the recommendations of the department.

Mr. Konop. Right in that connection, Mr. Meritt, are you going to follow the same proceeding that was followed in the Menominee Indian Reservation in Wisconsin about the building of these mills?

Mr. Meritt. It is not intended to establish such a large milling operation on this reservation as we have at Menominee. That feature has not been worked out as yet. This legislation here will simply enable us to sell the mature timber on that reservation. Under the existing law we can sell only the dead and down timber on the reservation, and there is quite an amount of ripe timber on that reservation that should be sold if the Indians are to get the full benefit of their property. their property.

Mr. Chiperfield. Would the chairman object if I ask the gentle-

enable us to sell the mature timber on that reservation. Under the existing law we can sell only the dead and down timber on the reservation that should be sold if the Indians are to get the full benefit of their property.

Mr. CHIPERTIELD. Would the chairman object if I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. CHIPERTIELD. What do you mean by "ripe"?

Mr. MERITT. Timber that has ceased to grow and is deteriorating and should be cut and manufactured into lumber.

Mr. CHIPERTIELD. What do you mean by "ripe"?

Mr. MERITT. Timber that has ceased to grow and is deteriorating and should be cut and manufactured into lumber.

Mr. CHIPERTIELD. What price have you gotten for the timber, the pline on the stump, under the contracts that have been entered into on the White Earth Reservation. The Indians who had restrictions removed by Congress have sold their timber.

Mr. CHIPERTIELD. Don't you know, Mr. Meritt, that the lumber companies have been contracting with your department, with the appearance of the companies have been contracting with your department, with the appearance of the companies have been contracting with your department, with the appearance of the companies have been contracting with your department, with the appearance of the companies have been contracting with your department, with the appearance of the companies have been contracting with your department, with the appearance of the companies have been contracting with your department, with the appearance of the companies have been contracting with your department, with the appearance of the companies have been contracting with your department, with the appearance of the companies have been contracting with your department, with the appearance of the companies of the compan

Mr. Harden, it applies only to Red Lake?

Mr. Mentr. Yes, sir

Mr. Cautra. Your statement is that the only purpose of section GI is to permit you to sell timber that is not dead and down?

Mr. Mentr. To course, the various amendments cover more than that. Mr. Mentr. That enables us to sell both dead and down, as well as matured timber. Under existing law we can not sell green timber, but only deed and down there.

Mr. Mentr. That enables us to sell both dead and down, as well as matured timber. Under existing law you can not sell matured timber, but only deed and down timber.

Mr. Mentr. Yes, sir.

Mr. Chiptenpield, Why do you say that the Reel Lake Reservation is not part of the White Earth Reservation? It is true, is the not, that the Mr. Mentr. Yes, sir.

Mr. Chiptenpield, And that while the different bands have different saltenetis, and this is given to the Red Lake Indians, it is all a part of the White Earth Indians do not share in any way.

Mr. Chiptenpield, No, sir.

Mr. Chiptenpield, With that distinction?

Mr. Mentr. Yes, sir; but only Red Lake Indians will be affected by Mr. Mentr. No, sp. that they all came from the tribal lands originally.

Mr. Chiptenpield, No; but they all came from the tribal lands originally.

Mr. Chiptenpield, No; but they all came from the tribal lands originally.

Mr. Chiptenpield, No; but they all came from the tribal lands originally.

Mr. Mentre, Yes, sir; but only Red Lake Indians will be affected by Mr. Chiptenpield, No; but they all came from the tribal lands originally.

Mr. Mighten, Yes, sir; but only Red Lake Indians will be affected by Mr. Chiptenpield, No; but they all came from the tribal lands originally.

Mr. Mighten, Yes, sir; but only Red Lake Indians will be affected by Mr. Chiptenpield, No; but they all came from the tribal lands originally.

Mr. Mighten, Yes, sir; but only Red Lake Indians, while have a self-declared by the chiptenpield, while they have a self-declared by the chiptenpield or the lamber or many in the salt is a self-declared by the chiptenp

It is idle to talk about any forest reserve. It is idle to talk about these Indians being benefited by anything of this sort. It means that under the guise of this law the lumber companies are going to go in there and they are going to pick out the timber that is profitable for them, and this amendment is going to allow the lumber companies to take this timber for a song.

Now, so far as the sawmills that are intended to furnish timber for the agencies or for the schools, or for hospitals, or for the individual use of the Indians, that is all right as long as it is done that way and as long as it is properly operated. But this is simply saying, gentlemen, that these tracts of timber that are now standing, including the matured timber and the dead-and-down timber, and all the forest reserves and other timber, is to be cut and is to be sold at an insignificant figure.

Mr. Hayden. If this lumber was sold at a fair price would you object?

ject?
Mr. Chiperfield. If these Indians were guaranteed, gentlemen, that they were to get the fair valuation of what is coming to them—which

they never have gotten in all the world, I do not care who makes the statement to the contrary—If these Indians were to receive fair values for this timber there would be a very much different situation presented and a very much less objectionable situation.

Mr. Hayden. Would you think it better to have the matured timber cut and the proceeds turned into money for the benefit of the Indians than to leave it standing there?

Mr. Chiperfild. They are going into this timber, and not clear up the land in any sense of the word. They will simply pick out the timber as they come to it. I have not quite been able to get the significance of the "bank scale," unless that means the bank lumber is to be measured and paid for, notwithstanding the real scale of what is cut. But they are going in there and cut out the timber that appeals to them.

timber as they come to it. I have not quite been able to get the significance of the "bank scale," unless that means the bank lumber is to be measured and paid for, notwithstanding the real scale of what is cett. But they are going in there and cut out the timber that appeals to them.

Now, there isn't any such thing as getting a fair price for the timber, gentlemen. You figure the stumpage price of this timber, and it would not compare with the price that private individuals would pay or that private individuals would secure.

Mr. Carter. Why couldn't a fair price be had for it? I am asking for information now.

Mr. Chiperbield. I know you are; and I certainly would feel humiliated if I did not respond in precisely the same spirit. It is just for this reason—for the reason that no Indian in this section of the country has ever gotten a fair price for anything. He has been the legitimate prey of every man who could defraud him.

Mr. Dill. You say they are in such need. Now, here is this timber. They can not eat that; they can not wear that. What are you going to do for them? That is what I would like to get at.

Mr. Chiperbield. Let me answer that in just another way: I know Indians that have as much as \$2,000 or \$3,000 in the hands of the Interior Department, and the Interior Department is saying to those Indians, "We will allow you enough to keep life in your body; we will give you an order that says you can go to such and such a store and buy those precise things that you need, but you can not have the benefit of your own money."

And there may be some who are not competent to receive their money. I am not here to say they are not. But these Indians have funds—they have their tribual funds—and every expense of their agency, their hospitals, of their schools, of everything else, is taken from these funds. And if any man doubts my statement—although they have been cutting this timber on the Leech Lake Indian Reservation—if any man doubts my statement—although they have been cutting this timber on the Leech Lak

It certainly seems to me, gentlemen, that there ought to be some desire on the part of this tribe that this be done. This is their land.

Mr. Hayden, The Chippewa Indians had a delegation here who appeared before the Senate committee. They also appeared before this committee, but they did not talk about this forestry business to us. Whatever statement they made will undoubtedly appear in the Senate bearings.

committee, but they did not talk about this forestry business to us. Whatever statement they made will undoubtedly appear in the Senate hearings.

Mr. Chiperfield. Let me say this to you gentlemen, if you please, that there will come before these committees Indians who will present various views that are not the views of their tribe. They bring them down here; they bring them here for a purpose.

Mr. Chiperfield. I am not charging any particular man. I am saying those who have objects to serve will bring these Indians here, and they are influenced more or less to take the view of those who bring them here; else they would not be produced. But this affects the Red Lake Tribe of Indians.

They have their responsible heads; they have their ordinary methods of communication, of conveying their wishes; but, gentlemen, you have got to know them. They are as innocent as children. They have no business capacity to protect themselves against an act of Congress, because they do not understand it; they do not comprehend it. I have sat in their councils with them. I know their methods, and they have only sent for me because I am their friend. I have never been an attorney; I have never sustained such a relation to them, but it seems to me that before you dispose of the timber of these Indians you ought to know what their wishes are. They can, as a tribe or band, express their wishes in a way that would move this committee one way or the other.

Mr. Handen, It appears from the expenses that they ask us to now.

me to be present, and they presented their views on these questions that pertain to their welfare, and I will say there is not 5 per cent of the Red Lake Band of Indians, progressives or nonprogressives, who would be in favor of cutring this timber or making this forest reserve,. The Red Lake Band of Indians are the least civilized of any of the Chippewas. They live the most natural life, from an Indian standpoint, of any of the Chippewa Indians in Minnesota. They are thoroughly opposed to this thing. Now, I do not think solely that their own desire or situation ought to control, but I do think that before this thing is done the committee ought to have more information. I think perhaps they ought to have the information that Mr. Meritt says he will furnish, of the amount of money these Indians have been receiving, the amount they have been getting for this stumpage or for their logs.

Now, this is not a philanthropic enterprise for the sake of the Red Lake Indians. It was not recommended by the Interior Department until it was put in the shape of a bill. The Indians have not taken any such step, and I have no hesitancy in saying to you that it comes from those who desire to profit by dealing in this timber.

Now, I think I will not weary the committee or take your time any further. I understand Mr. ELLSWORTH, of Minnesota, wished to be heard on that matter. I do not know whether the gentleman has come or not. Of course his statement would be entitled to much consideration. I do not know how pressed you are for time, but I think the wishes of this tribe of Indians ought to be considered. If their color was not red, we would be very anxious to know their desires. If they were an equal number of white men, we would be very anxious to know what were the wishes of the people affected; and it seems to me you should have an equal desire under the facts in this case. I do not intend to reflect upon this committee, but these Indians are wards of the Nation, and they are helpless and destitute and suffering, and somethin

giad to hear you, if you get anything further from Minnesota in the meantime.

Mr. Chiperfield. If they can do it, I think they ought to have their representatives here. I think it ought to be disagreed to in this committee, and then taken care of in the conference committee, because I feel just as surely as we are here together that this is a rank injustice to these people.

I say to you frankly I am not their spokesman, except that several of them have written to me to protest against making this reservation and cutting this timber.

Mr. Konop. Now, Mr. Chiperfield, at the bottom of page 42, amendment No. 62, the provision reads as follows:

"That said forest shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with the principles of scientific forestry, with a view to the production of successive timber crops thereon, and he is hereby authorized to sell and manufacture only such standing and growing pine and oak timber as is mature and has ceased to grow, and he is also authorized to sell and manufacture from time to time such other mature and marketable timber as he may deem advisable."

And so forth. Now, as I understand it, what they propose to do here is to have the Secretary of the Interior build sawmills up there.

Mr. Chiperfield. That is one of the things.

Mr. Konop. And cut down this timber and saw it into lumber and then sell the lumber.

Mr. Chiperfield. Ses, sir.

Mr. Konop. Now, you claim that what has been going on there up to now is that the lumber companies have gone up there and that they had bought these logs there from these Indians for a song—practically nothing.

Mr. Chiperfield. For an insufficient price, I wish to say.

Mr. Konop. Now, you claim that what has been going on there up to now is that the lumber companies have gone up there and that they had bought these logs there from these Indians for a song—practically nothing.

Mr. Chiperfield. For an insufficient price, I wish to say.

Mr. Konop. For an insufficient price. Now, do you think that this kind of a provision, by providing that the Government should build the mills and then sell the tumber—not the timber, but the lumber—manufactured in these mills, wouldn't you think that that was for the purpose of doing just what you are objecting to now?

Mr. Chiperfield, It depends, of course, a great deal on the way in which the law is administered. If this timber was going to be cut and manufactured purely for the purposes of these Indians and for their needs, that would be one thing. But it is not done that way. And then the first part of this section authorizes the Secretary of the Interior and the people under his jurisdiction to sell and manufacture. Now it gives them the right to sell it.

Mr. Konop. You object to selling it?

Mr. Konop. You object to selling it?

Mr. Konop. Yes—well, not way up there.

Mr. Chiperfield. You know these lumber companies, don't you?

Mr. Konop. Yes—well, not way up there.

Mr. Chiperfield. You know them in your own State. You know what a lumberman's designation of a mature tree would be—any tree that suited him. When he says a matured tree is one that has an unsound place in it, that was not going to live much longer, it means stripping the forest. That is not only an injustice, but here is the question of reforestation. It means practically that they could take this and keep it forever if they so desired.

Mr. Konop. Now, the reason I asked those question so that has an unsound place in it, that was not only an injustice, but here is the question of reforestation. It means practically that they could take this and keep it forever if they so desired.

Mr. Konop. Now, the reason I asked those question so that has a condition up in my country

their wishes in a way that would move this committee one way or the other.

Mr. Hayden. It appears from the expenses that they ask us to pay that a general council of the Chippewa Indians was held at Bemidil. Minn., last July; that they sent a delegation down here, and they are asking us to pay the expenses of that delegation.

Mr. Chiperfield. I would not be surprised if they did.

Mr. Hayden, If they were duly elected delegates from a general council of the tribe, what better representation could we have here asking for legislation of this kind?

Mr. Chiperfield. If they were an accredited delegation from their tribe, instructed to speak on these points, unquestionably they would convey the desire of their tribe.

Mr. Konop. On page 543 of the Senate hearings, Mr. Head—I do not know whether he is the agent or not—appears before the Senate committee on this proposition. He stated in here:

"All through the ribe.

"All through the ribe.

"All through the summer we tried to get the people together on this, but they will not listen to the progressive faction, as we call them, to any proposition they may put up.

From that I would conclude that there are several factions of Indians over there.

Mr. Chiperfield. Now, the Government bullt a large saw-mill over there and spent about a million and half dollars—Mr. Kenterposing), About \$1,000,000 to put up their plant over there, and they are asking to the page of the mill over there and spent about a million and half dollars—Mr. Kenterposing), About \$1,000,000 to put up their plant over there, and mill over there and spent about a million and half dollars—Mr. Kenterposing), About \$1,000,000 to put up their plant over there, and mill over there and spent about a million and half dollars—Mr. Kenterposing), About \$1,000,000 to put up their plant over there, and they are asking to the page of the summer.

Mr. Chiperfield. Now the few and not returned anything. But I understand that within the last couple of years ago they had not returned anything of years they have been

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. As I say, it would be a question purely of administration. If there was timber there that should be cut, and it was cut for the real benefit of the Indians, I would say yes. But anybody knows that when you operate a mill of a certain capacity and provide for its operation that you have got to run things on a large scale before there can be any profit. The Government can not run a mill as can a lumber manufacturer. It may be a rather peculiar thing to say, but it is true that they can not, and they do not. They have not the facilities for bringing down vast quantities of logs to the mill; they have not the facilities of organization; and they do not make the same showing.

Mr. KONOP, I asked a very experienced lumberman, who has a big

Mr. Konop. I asked a very experienced lumberman, who has a big sawmill up in the northern part of Wisconsin—I asked him what the reason was that the Menominee Indian mill was not doing as well as other privately cwned mills, and he told me that the reason was that under the Menominee act they were required to employ Indian labor under the at the mill.

at the mill.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. That is not high-class labor, of course.

Mr. KONOP. And for that reason the mill could not make as good a showing as a privately owned mill could.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. There is only a small per cent—I will not attempt to say what—but they are not the equal of a trained millman by any means.

Mr. KONOP. There are some of those Indians, of course, who are good millman in the same of t

millmen.

Mr. Chiperfield. Now, I thank you, gentlemen, very much for your consideration. I feel that I have discharged my duty in this matter, and I certainly will rest a little easier for having spoken for these people. And I believe, gentlemen, that you will do very well to scan this transaction with the utmost care and protect the interests of these wards of the Government. I am very much obliged to you.

Mr. Carter. Mr. Ellsworth, we have been speaking of amendments of the 65.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. ELLSWORTH, we have been speaking of amendments 61 to 65.

Mr. Chiperfield. I have just been taking the position that this transaction should be scrutinized with the utmost care, and I very seriously question if it is fer the benefit of this Red Lake Tribe of

Mr. ELLSWORTH. I have had some doubts about that myself.
Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I think it is very obvious that it is in the interest
of others than the Indians.
Mr. ELLSWORTH. It is Senator Nelson's amendment.
Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Yes; and I think it is in the interest of the
lumber concerns.
Mr. CARTER. Have you anything to say about it now, Mr. ELLSWORTH I

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Nothing whatever.
Mr. GANDY. Mr. Meritt, if you carry out this proposition of reforestation, and all the provisions in this bill, is there any danger of the Indians owing the Government anything after they get this timber

Mr. Meritt. No: I think not, Mr. Gandy. I think if this term of legislation is studied carefully it will be found that there are no "jokers" in it; that it has been submitted in good faith by Senator Nelson. I have never known Senator Nelson to submit or endeavor to procure any legislation that had "jokers" in it against the interest of the Indians.

procure any legislation that had "jokers" in it against the interest of the Indians.

Mr. Gandy. Is the land embraced in what is purported, or what is proposed, to be this timber reserve all covered with timber?

Mr. Meritt. Yes, sir.

Mr. Gandy. And you say that at this time you only have permission by law to sell the dead and down timber?

Mr. Meritt. That is true.

Mr. Gandy. Now, would it clear the situation, from your standpoint, if you just had permission to sell matured timber, as well as dead and down timber, without going into all this reforestation proposition?

Mr. Meritt. That would help the situation materially.

Mr. Gandy. Do you think that is necessary, in order to secure the greatest amount of money possible for this timber, that the Government embark upon the proposition of building sawmills up there?

Mr. Meritt. I doubt if the Government will enter into any extensive sawmill operations under this legislation if it were enacted.

Mr. Carter. They could not, without coming to Congress.

Mr. Chiperfield. I have omitted one point which I would like to ask. Is it not true, Mr. Meritt, that when you make a forest reserve here that you do not allow the Indians to make their allotments in the forest reserve?

Mr. Meritt. There are certain Indians who have taken up allotments within this proposed reserve. They will be protected in the possession of that land.

Mr CHIPERFIELD. They had them before it was made a forest reserve; but is it not true that after it is made a forest reserve you do not allow Indians to make allotments in the forest reserve. If this legislation is enacted.

Mr. Chiperfield. I may be that that is a direct answer, but is it not true that you prohibit the Indians from making any allotments in the forest—from taking their allotments in the forest reserve? That can be answered directly.

Mr. Meritt. I would say, in answer to that, that Indians who do not now have allotments within that forest reserve after the legislation is enacted.

Mr. Chiperfield. And those who do have allotment

Mr. Chipperfield. And those who do have allotments now in the for-t reserve are not permitted to sell them, are they? Mr. Meritt. This legislation will not permit any Indian to sell his

Mr. Meritt. This legislation will not permit any Indian to sell his allotment.

Mr. Chiperfield. The practice of your department is not to allow Indians to sell any lands in the forest reserve whatever, is it not?

Mr. Meritt. If the Indian has been allotted land in a forest reserve and has a title to it, we will permit him to sell it.

Mr. Chiperfield. You require him to exchange it, do you not?

Mr. Meritt. Not in all cases.

Mr. Chiperfield. Do you know of a single place in the White Earth Forest Reserve where an Indian has been permitted to sell any part of his land?

Mr. Meritt. Have you in mind White Earth or Leech Lake?

Mr. Chiperfield. Well, I do not know just where that reserve comes in there. But the forest reserve that it there now, do you permit any Indian to sell any land that he may own in fee simple there?

Mr. Meritt. Yes, sir; we will permit such Indians to sell their lands.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. To whom? I do not mean the name of the man, but the class of men.

Mr. MERITT. Anybody who wants to buy it.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Well, I certainly think you make your answer in good faith. I will not question that, but I decidedly doubt the correct-

Mr. Chiperfield. Well, I certainly think you make your answer in good faith. I will not question that, but I decidedly doubt the correctness of it.

Mr. Meritt. I know two years ago the department encouraged the Indians who had allotments within the forest reserve on the Leech Lake Reservation to give up those allotments and take lands outside the forest reserve. That was the policy of the department.

Mr. Chiperfield You required them to do it?

Mr. Meritt. We encouraged them to do it.

Mr. Chiperfield. Because you could not take it away from them; but you required them to do it as far as you could.

Mr. Meritt. That was at the request of the Forest Service who wanted the reserve held intact, so that there would not be any fires in the forest reserve.

Mr. Chiperfield. Most of this forest reserve is along lakes, ideal places for the Indian. When they create a forest reserve they say to the Indians, "Although this is your own land, you can not have any allotments in it."

Mr. Konop. Now, Mr. Meritt, I understand you to say that if this legislation is enacted you do not propose to build any mills up there?

Mr. Meritt. We do not propose to build mils on a large scale, such as we have at Menominee.

Mr. Konop. You intend to build small mills?

Mr. Meritt. Yes, sir.

Mr. Carter. Could you do that under the language of this bill?

Mr. Meritt. We would have to come back to Congress and submit estimates.

Mr. Carter. I notice, beginning in line 10, you say:

Mr. Meritt. Yes, sit.

Mr. Carter. Could you do that under the language of this bill?

Mr. Meritt. We would have to come back to Congress and submit estimates.

Mr. Carter. I notice, beginning in line 10, you say:

"Provided further, That no contract shall be made for the establishment of any mill, or to carry on any logging or lumbering operations which shall constitute a charge upon the proceeds of the timber, until an estimate of the cost thereof shall have first been submitted to and approved by Congress."

Mr. Meritt. Yes, sir. That leaves it absolutely in the hands of Congress as to the future policy regarding milling operations on that reservation; but, in view of our experience at Menominee, I think the department is opposed to building large milling plants.

Mr. Konop. I would say in defense of the mill at Menominee when I first came here, five or six years ago—from what I was able to gather—the thing was a bad proposition; but I understand that within the last two years they have been making some money and turning some money back into the Treasury. Isn't that a fact?

Mr. Meritt. We have been gradually improving the conditions on that reservation.

Mr. Konop. Now, my own opinion would be that I would oppose a large milling establishment, something like that at Menominee.

Mr. Meritt. That would be my attitude. The Indians have been here this winter, two delegations from the Red Lake Reservation, one delegation headed by the full bloods and one delegation headed by the mixed blood. The full bloods on that reservation are, as a rule, opposed to any change whatever. They do not want the lands allotted; they do not want the timber sold; they want conditions to remain exactly as they are. They are opposed, even, to the draining of the swamp lands. It is shown that we can drain a good deal of land up there at less than \$2.50 an acre. These full-blood indians are proposed to that. They want conditions to remain exactly as they are. The mixed-blood indians are progressive and want to improve conditions, and t

Because of that provision we are without authority of this timber.

Mr. KONOP. That is why you are asking for special legislation?

Mr. GANDY. Doesn't that say "mature timber "?

Mr. MERITT. Yes, sir; we can not sell mature timber in Minnesota, though, because there is a proviso here which excepts the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota from this act.

Mr. KONOP. Now, aren't they cutting mature timber only on the Menominee Reservation?

Mr. MERITT. They are doing that under a special act—the Menominee act.

Mr. Gandy. Suppose those two exceptions you speak of there were to be removed and let the general-sale provisions apply. Wouldn't that answer the situation?

Mr. Meritt. That would meet the situation very largely.

Mr. Carter. The next amendment is No. 66, page 45, line 1:

I did not have at that time opportunity to revise these remarks, and consequently what I there desired to say does not appear with the same degree of precision as if there had been an opportunity to revise my statements, but I have since considered with care the statements then made, and I stand upon

such statements in their entirety.

The views which I there presented I here reiterate in connection with the proposed adoption of the Senate amendments.

The Red Lake Band of Indians is entitled to much consideration at the hands of the Government. It has meekly and obediently submitted to all the wishes of the Government at all

With reference to their status and conduct, I quote from the report of the Secretary of the Interior, under date of January 30, 1890,

A commission has been formed under an act entitled "An act for the relief and civilization of the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota."

This commission reported to the Secretary of the Interior. From this report of the commissioners to the Secretary of

the Interior the following extracts are made:

This commission reported to the Secretary of the Interior.

From this report of the commissioners to the Secretary of the Interior the following extracts are made:

The first council was held at Red Lake June 29, where we remained until July 8. We found them intelligent, dignified, and controons, but followed the control of the contro

By the acceptance of this diminished reservation about 1,000,000 acres of land was relinquished by the Red Lake Band of Indians. This was done by them voluntarily at the behest of the Government of the United States.

By the Nelson Act, March 3, 1908, which was advocated and supported by Mr. Steenerson, of Minnesota, in the House, it was provided that the diminished Indian reservation should be held by the Red Lake Indians independently of other bands of Chippewa Indians. The act by its terms provided that the Indians should be removed to the diminished Indian reservation. It also authorized the sale of 250,000 acres of their land.

It also provided for an allotment of 160 acres each among

commission by this act 250,000 acres were sold and the funds

derived from such sale placed to their credit.

Now, it is proposed that substantially 90,000 acres of land shall again be diverted from their use and that all of their merchantable timber shall be placed upon the market.

I have personally a considerable acquaintance among these

Indians. A number of them are my friends.

They inform me that they are bitterly opposed to the creation of the forest reserve and to the sale and manufacture of their timber other than so much as is required for their own industrial purpose

By this amendment the land of these Indians will be stripped of timber wherever it is of any value to the lumber companies.

The compensation, if the future can be judged by the past, will be utterly insufficient, and they will be paid far less for the timber than would be paid to private landowning companies competent to protect their own interests.

The Red Lake Band of Indians is not asking for this legisla-

tion, but, on the contrary, they are protesting against it.

If they are not asking for it, a pertinent question arises—
Who is? And it seems to me the only answer can be the lumber companies that are interested in securing this lumber.

I am aware that there are two views that prevail in the

State of Minnesota.

One is that these Indian reservations should be opened up to white settlement and exploited for the benefit of the whites at as early a day as is possible.

In this program there is entirely too little consideration given

to the rights of the Indian.

The other view is that these lands should be used for the benefit exclusively of their Indian owners and their descendants, and that they should be protected and safeguarded in all of their rights for all time to come.

In this latter view I share.

I confess I can not see the difference, so far as a moral question is involved, between protection of the rights of these Indian owners and the protection of the rights of white land-

Each one should be equally safeguarded, and when I observe legislation that is absolutely prejudicial to the rights of the Indian owners of these lands I would be utterly recreant to my duty if I did not respond to the dictates of my own conscience and raise my voice in protest.

These Indians are not competent to protect themselves. They

are a long way removed from Washington.

The Government of the United States is something very distant, as they conceive, from themselves, and wholly indefinite and but little understood.

They feel that they are not being protected as they should be protected, and yet they do not have a sufficient understand-

ing of the question to properly present their views.

Knowing this situation I can not remain silent in this record, and hence I present what I believe to be a just and a fair statement in connection with this amendment, the adoption of which I believe will prove to be in every way injurious to these people and to many generations of their children, and will be found to hamper the future opportunity of these people to be self-sustaining.

This is their right. Against anything which interferes with

such rights I protest.

Roosevelt and the Navy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE F. O'SHAUNESSY, OF RHODE ISLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Friday, June 2, 1916.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record I include the following article:

T. R. ASSAILED BY SHAW—DID NOT PREPARE WHEN PRESIDENT, SAYS IOWAN—SOME INSIDE FACTS REVEALED—FORMER MEMBER OF CABINET POINTS OUT THAT DANGER OF WAR DID NOT BRING PREPARATION DURING ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION—HAD TO USE JAPANESE SHIPS.

PHILADELPHIA, May 29.

It also provided for an allotment of 160 acres each among such Indians; so again after the relinquishment of practically 1,000,000 acres of land as a result of their agreement with the

MADE BUT LITTLE POWDER

"While I was in the Cabinet it was discussed that Germany, for instance, could make as much powder in a single month as could be produced in the United States in a year, and that, if every powder mill in the United States were to make powder only for the Government, and at their maximum capacities, we could only fight our little Navy two hours every day. Yet nothing was done, unless a suit to dissolve the Powder Trust is to be considered.

USED JAPANESE SHIPS.

"During the five years that I was at the head of a Cabinet department of the Government I was cognizant of the fact that we were compelled to send every pound of food consumed by our troops in the Philippine Islands in Japanese bottoms, because we had no ships. Yet nothing was done or has been done to create a mercantile marine.

"Twice in the last 10 years war has seemed sufficiently imminent to justify shipping inland the gold and sliver from the vaults of the subtreasury at San Francisco. Yet nothing has been done."

Naval Appropriations-How Coercion Aids Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 2, 1916.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, while I have previously referred at some length to the bill making heavily increased appropriations for the Navy and have indicated as clearly as I knew how my feeling that the measure is a concession to greed, working through hysteria, and not a response to the needs of the country, it is my desire in this connection to point out the nature of some of the forces which have been busy in creating the sentiment which we have undertaken to crystallize into law. I first desire to introduce a letter which reached me the other day from an anonymous correspondent. Ordinarily the writer of an unsigned letter is entitled to little consideration. As a newspaper man, I have been trained to disregard the communication which is not accompanied by the name of the writer, not necessarily for publication, but as an evidence of good faith. However, at times I have found it worth while to give some weight even to unsigned communications; and the letter previously referred to is of such a character and was written under such circumstances as to arrest attention. I am appending it for the purpose of letting a little light in on the facts attending the pressure which has been brought upon Congress in support of what I deem a runaway policy with reference to the national defenses:

[Confidential.]

PHILADELPHIA, PA., Man 22, 1916.

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY, Congressman.

Congressman.

Dear Sir: I am writing this to inform you that the Pennsylvania Railroad Co are distributing post cards to the employees with instructions to address them to their Congressmen and sign them and return them to the heads of the departments in which they are employed in order that such head may see to it that they are mailed. To refuse to sign these cards would be to bring upon the employees the wrath of the officers of the company, so that many who are coerced into signing through the fear of the result for a refusal to do so, are not at all in sympathy with the matter contained on the cards.

These cards read on the face:

POST CARD.

Hon. -House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

and on the reserve side:

DEAR SIR: As one of your constituents, I urge you to vote for such legislation as will restore our Navy to second place, substantially increase the Regular Army, and create an adequate reserve trained and equipped and provided for the organization of the Federal Militia.

Yours, truly,

(Name) (Address) -

This is the most glaring interference with the rights and privileges of citizens that could well be imagined and I have for the reason stated been forced to sign one of these cards addressed to the Congressman from my district, while my own wish is that he would do all that he can to prevent just such legislation.

I think you will understand the difficulty and that these cards do not represent the sentiments of very many who have been forced to sign them.

I would send this to Mr. Biyan did I know where to address him, but as I do not know where he is at the present time and I know that you can reach him, I think best to send it to you in order that you may do something to present the matter in its true light before Congress.

I can not sign my name to this, but I will promise that in the future I will inform you who I am, and because this is anonymous, you need not disregard the truth of what it contains, because you can verify the fact, and it may be that you yourself may receive some of these

cards from persons from your district who are not in sympathy with the matter as presented but who are strongly opposed to this action.

Trusting that you may be able to do something to stem the tendency to have any such legislation passed,

Yours, truly,

A FRIEND.

It should be perfectly obvious, even to the least discerning, that my anonymous correspondent has correctly interpreted the design of the railroad company. It is practically coercing its employees into the support of a policy which some of them at least have looked upon with extreme disfavor. Had the company wished to leave its employees free to act it would not have called upon them to sign and return the cards to the head of the department in which they are employed. It would have contented itself with asking them to send the card direct to their Member of Congress. But this, of course, would have given the company no line on the action of its employees. It would not have known whether they had sent in the cards or not. But under the plan which is said to have been adopted every employee is spotted. His failure to sign and return the card to the head of his department will be notice to the corporation which it will hardly overlook. And corporations know how to apply disciplinary influence to recalcitrant employees. The latter know from experience what this sort of coercion means. It means a doubtful tenure. It means unaccountable lay offs. It means double-crossing. It means too often actual loss of jobs. And hence it is a powerful instrument in the hands of the employer. It gives him the power of life or death over his luckless employee.

But other letters not of an anonymous character have come under my observation. The Chicago Public has printed one written by Samuel M. Hastings, president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association. It is quite in line in its suggestiveness with the note and instructions sent by the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. to its thousands of employees throughout the country. The Public incorporates the letter of President Hastings in an editorial on "A Conscript Parade," which I beg to present here-

with:

A CONSCRIPT PARADE.

Recruits for Chicago's preparedness parade are to be procured as they were obtained in 1896 for McKinley parades. The Illinois Manufacturers' Association is sending to business men a circular containing the following instructions:

"Following up its action in sending a delegation to Washington two weeks ago to advocate preparedness the Illinois Manufacturers' Association has joined with other organizations in Chicago to make the great parade June 3 a big success. The officers, clerical staff, and men of every plant in Chicago should be in line.

"In order to facilitate the organization of the industrial division of the parade which has been placed in the hands of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, you are requested to promptly fill out the inclosed card, giving the details as to the number of men you will furnish and the name of the particular officer of the company who will be in command.

mand. "Please act promptly.

"SAMUEL M. HASTINGS, President."

In other words, employers are urged to ask each employee whether or not he will march. And prudent employees, whatever their inclinations may be, will make no hazardous experiments with negative replies. A foreign conquest could scarcely leave them less freedom of choice in such matters. However little they may believe the bogey tales of hostile invasion, they feel that a very real danger menaces their jobs. To avert this real danger, not the imaginary one, they will help to swell the parade. And the preparationist press, with little regard for the facts, will report the affair as a spontaneous and voluntary movement.

Doubtless many similar evidences of what is going on in connection with these great demonstrations intended to force the hand of Congress and to inflame public sentiment in favor of warlike preparations against an imaginary danger might be produced. But it is hardly necessary. The proofs that this whole propaganda is manufactured are visible on every hand. There is nothing spontaneous in the so-called "preparedness" movement. It had its inspiration in Wall Street; it has drawn its resources from the coffers of big business; it has been given a marvelous publicity through the organs of special privilege; and there is every reason to believe that whatever popular sentiment there may be among the masses of the plain people in favor of piling Ossa on Pelion in this mad business of military and naval expansion has been produced by the spread of false information and by deceptive appeals to ignorance, prejudice, and fear.

In my judgment the "preparedness" parades which have In my judgment the "preparedness" parades which have been worked up or which are about to be staged in the cities of the country are akin to those far-famed "prosperity" parades, back in 1896. The latter were conceived by Mark Hanna and faithfully executed by the protected manufacturers and their Big Business allies. Millmen and miners, railroad employees and small tradesmen, bricklayers and carpenters, painters and hod carriers, blacksmiths and day laborers were alike dragooned into marching in the ranks of the miracle workers who were to close the mints and open the mills and thus bring plenty on a smiling land. It was all hand wrought. It was not more spontaneous than a circus parade. It was made possible only by the coercion which was implied in the activities of employers in making the parades impressive in numbers. The employee who failed to march perfectly understood that his failure would be set down as a black mark against his name: that back of the invitation to march was the threat of his employer that his failure or refusal to march would mean

the loss of his job.

And here we are having 1896 over again, but under a different aspect and for a very different purpose. At this time a "prosperity" parade would excite laughter and derision. Employers would not have the hardihood to repeat the Mark Hanna performance at a moment when every branch of production is flourishing. But they can cooperate with Wall Street in organizing "preparedness" parades which are designed to in organizing "preparedness" parades which are designed to influence Congress and drive it into making vast appropriations of which Wall Street will be the chief beneficiary. And that is what this all comes to. It is a matter of profits. And patriotism is the string upon which the war traffickers are playing. They are filling the air with their demands for more and more "preparedness," and by every means at their command they are dragooning the plain people of the land into the support of their sordid program.

Is it not time for the burden bearers to wake up and ask themselves what it is all about and why they should have their backs still more heavily laden? What progress can they hope to make in the hard race of life with a soldier astride them

and a battleship dragging at their heels?

Speech of Secretary of War Baker at Columbus, Ohio.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM GORDON. OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 3, 1916.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the Record, I insert an address of Hon. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, at the Democratic State convention at Columbus, Ohio, June 1, 1916.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF NEWTON D. BAKER, SECRETARY OF WAR, AT THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION AT COLUMBUS, OHIO, JUNE 1, 1916.

Gentlemen of the convention, before I turn to a discussion of the issues in the approaching campaign, I want to give you greeting and a message from the President of the United States. To you and through you to the Democrats of Ohio he sends a cordial message of greeting and fellowship, and he au-thorizes me to say for him that were he here he would express his appreciation of the confidence of the people of Ohio, and his especial appreciation of the unswerving loyalty, the steady support and assistance he has received from Senator Pomerene. In all the long and busy months of this administration there has been no representative in either branch of Congress whom the President has relied with more confidence and affection than our distinguished Senator. And coming from Washington, where the services of these men are best known, I am happy to be able to assure you that he is honored by his associates as an honest, able, and fearless champion of the principles of true Democracy.

There have been times when men called to the temporary chairmanship of Democratic conventions were obliged to rely upon an enthusiastic expression of their hopes as material for their speeches. In this year of grace, we who are called upon to make such addresses can look back upon years of significant

achievement as well as forward to years of promise of high service, all parts of a matured national policy.

It used to be said that the Democratic Party was the party of opposition, that it was made up of all sorts and conditions of men whose only common interest was opposition to the party in power, and that therefore when called into brief moments of responsibility it exhibted the weaknesses necessarily inherent in such accidental political aggregations.

On the other hand, it was said that the Republican Party was

a coherent body, that it had pursued steadily a single national policy, and that its occupancy of the places of power was always characterized by definite advances toward the enactment of its program into law. It is, of course, true that at its origin the Republican Party did have a great original purpose

which it successfully and gloriously accomplished. But when this original initiative was exhausted and the party began to live upon its traditions, I am frank to confess that its leaders seem to me to have become a highly organized body of men who apparently knew what they wanted and how to get it.

Whatever may have been the past character of these great

organizations, however, the present situation is entirely clear. The Republican Party no longer presents a solid front. It is no longer held together by a consistent and single theory of national policy. To speak of a man as a Republican to-day national policy. identifies him with no cause, ascribes to him no opinion; and whether it affiliates him with progressives or reactionaries or both, can not be told until after the national convention in Chicago next week has adjourned.

Among the leaders of that party there is at present confusion of counsel both upon the question of candidates and upon principles. Senator Harding, for instance, who is to preside at the Chicago convention, says that the tariff is to be the issue in the next campaign; but numerous and eminent Republicans throughout the country have replied that they would not be foolhardy enough to menace the present prosperous condition of the country by suggesting another tariff agitation. To their mind, the real issue in the next campaign must be an attack upon the foreign policy of the national administration. Unhappily, however, those who desire to attack the foreign policy are again divided into confused groups. There are those who think the foreign policy has been too peace loving, that it ought to have had more strenuousness, been more bellicose and provocative, and they affect to feel a sense of shame that with all our size, wealth, and general greatness, the people of the United States have been mere passive spectators of the greatest armed struggle in the history of the race. This party is again subdivided into those who would have had us enter the foreign quarrel on one side and those who would have preferred to see us enter on the other. And then there is a third group, headed by the Great Detractor, who, shifting from position to position on the Nation's foreign policy, selects at each time apparently whatever vantage point seems to offer an opportunity for making difficult the position of the President and the Congress. The motive of this group seems to be critical rather than constructive, and, guided by selfish ambition, it ignores consistency and duty alike in agitating that we should stay out when the tension of events seems likely to draw us in, and that we should go in when such recognitions of our rights have been secured as enable us with dignity and honor to stay out.

Over against all these there is still another faction of the party which believes that the administration has been too bellicose, that it has lent some ear to the abomination of preparedness, and that it therefore ought to be replaced—by Mr. Ford, if possible, as an eminently peaceable candidate, but if not by Mr. Ford, then by anybody else who will espouse the nonresisting attitude-run on the platform of peace at any price, and forget that the Nation either has any duty to its own citizens or to mankind at large in the maintenance of those principles for the protection of neutral rights which have been won through centuries of conflict against the contentions of belligerents.

In other words, what used to be the strong, coherent, logical organization known as the Republican Party, is now, so far as its leaders are concerned, an aggregation of factions, agreeing upon no set of principles, advocating no national policy, numbering of course many wise but many foolish persons, some guided by selfishness, some unselfish, some patriotic, some thoughtless, the only common bond of union being a willingness to pool issues to win. And this party is about to meet in convention at Chicago to select whatever candidate looks best at the last moment and whatever principles seem to promise to

weather the storm until November.

In contrast with this the Democratic Party, having lived through years of doubt and hesitation, with a central philosophy sometimes more a yearning than a program, now presents a matured policy, evolved by a great leader, welcomed by his party associates as the real expression of their political ideals, and already in the full tide of demonstrating its justice and its wisdom as applied both to the domestic problems of the country and to our interests involved in the conflicts of arms that rage in the world.

Contemporary judgments of great events and persons are rarely sufficiently detached. Time discounts the fervor of the advocate and reduces the partisan estimate. I am warned, therefore, that in what I am about to say I must avoid the language of exultation and restrain at least a part of the praise which seems to me to be merited by the events to be described. And yet I may with propriety point to the fact that from the date of the adoption of the last national platform of the Democratic Party there has been definiteness and certainty about the

party's program which admitted of no doubt or misunderstanding; and to the equally important fact that from the hour of his inauguration President Wilson has pursued steadily that policy, cooperating with the Congress to secure measures of vast importance to the business, industry, and life of the Nation-a program so comprehensive that in the very nature of the case it is as yet only partially carried out; and a policy, to judge by the beginnings already made, so sound and beneficial that it ought to be continued and given an opportunity to bring to full maturity its great promises.

I shall not attempt to discuss with statistics and in detail the great constructive measures which have already been enacted or are under present consideration in Congress. As the campaign goes on, literature and speeches will impress the merits of these measures upon the mind of the country, and the questionings of all will be satisfied as to the results which have been attained. There are, however, several of these laws to which I desire to draw for a few minutes your attention, and

of these I take the largest first.

Four years ago the Democratic Party declared in its national platform:

We oppose the so-called Aldrich bill or the establishment of a central bank, and we believe the people of the country will be largely freed from panics and consequent unemployment and business depression by such a systematic revision of our banking laws as will render temporary relief in localities where such relief is needed, with protection from control or domination by what is known as the Money Trust.

For long years the Republican Party had proclaimed itself the especial guardian of the financial institutions of the country. Most of the financial legislation on the statute books was of its making. It called to its council tables men of large affairs. Legislators of its persuasion rubbed elbows with the doctors of high finance. And yet, with deadly regularity there came over the industry and the commerce of this Nation blighting panics which seemed to arise, like the typhoons on the China Sea, unexplained, unavoidable, disastrous. They concurred with no failures of crops; they were unrelated to excitement in our international relations; and when they were gone the prostrated business and industry of the country could get no better explanation from those who assumed to know than "glutted markets" or fantastic theories of depressions in financial cycles, which neither repaired the damage nor much enlightened the

The Republican Party, realizing the necessity of action, had, in the Sixty-first Congress, put the whole matter in the hands of its chief financial doctor, and he, having once more consulted the oracles, presented as the Republican remedy for financial panics and depressions the theory of a central bank. In favor of his plan were the combined interests of the country; some voluntary, because they understood; others hypnotized into sympathy with the plan by the great weight of the names which

approved it.

But the steady common sense of the country saw that in this age of credit the control of the credit system of the Nation meant the mastery of the Nation's life. It saw that a central bank not managed by the Government would manage the Government. It named this menace the "Money Trust," and in the election it commissioned the Democratic Party to save the country from the domination of its business and its life by the concentration of financial power into the hands of a few bankers

in a single street in a single city.

Neither the fear nor the peril was unreal. The tendency of events had been as sure and relentless as the force of gravity. Year after year the small merchant and the artisan in remote and outlying places and the farmer in lonely hills found their fate bound up by influences which they could neither see nor understand, with determinations made by boards of directors whose names they never heard. An invisible government took toll of their earnings; and however fertile the earth or arduous their toil, presperity was but a temporary and delusive prelude

to recurring periods of ruin and despair.

The Glass-Owen Federal reserve bank law was the answer of the Democratic Congress and President to this situation. It rests upon this fundamental principle—that any power which controls the economic and financial destiny of all the people of the United States can be safely trusted only to the Government of the people of the United States. I shall not undertake to review the terms of that law nor dwell long upon the struggle to secure its enactment. It was bitterly opposed. Distinguished Members of both the Senate and the House prophesied financial ruin for the country should it become law. All the forces of centralized finance were brought to bear to obstruct its consideration. Before the committees of Congress, in newspapers, in pamphlets, and in books the old way was defended and the new way attacked. The measure had been drawn before President Wilson's inauguration and had been considered by him upon the invitation of the committee having its preparation in hand. The new President threw aside the cold formalities of a written address, personally appeared in the House of Representatives, and before the assembled legislators of the Nation gave the bill the weight of his convincing advocacy. It was a long and hard struggle, but ultimately, so convincing was the demonstration, the bill was adopted in the House by a vote of 298 to 60 and in the Senate by 43 to 25. Thirty-four Republicans, 11 Progressives, and 1 Independent in the House voted for it, and in the Senate 1 Progressive Senator and 3 Republicans sided with the

The law was immediately put into operation, the Federal reserve bank organized, and from that hour to this, under conditions which might well have shaken any less stable financial structure, the bank has steadied the business and commerce of the country. There has been no cornering of the money market since the establishment of the bank. There has been elasticity in the currency-shrinking where there was no need for a large volume, and expansion when and where the transportation and financing of crops and industries were necessary. The measure has faced profound disturbances in our international trade, but it has ridden safely through the storm and blessed every section of this whole Nation with the assurance of a scientific monetary system. To-day there is no respectable opinion in the United States which does not admit this act to be one of our great historic pieces of constructive legislation.

No plank will be adopted at Chicago to repeal the Federal

reserve bank law; no candidate will be found willing to break

a lance in that vain fight.

If there were no other great achievement of the Wilson administration, this act alone would set the seal of statesmanship upon it and would afford a record for courage and wisdom upon which the party could confidently appeal to the country.

Nor have we yet seen the full measure of the benefit of this law. We used to know the names of unofficial individuals whose whim could cause a panic, and reports of whose illness would cause a riot in the stock exchange. To-day there are no such individuals. The Federal Reserve Board, a creature of the Government, having the public welfare as its only interest, dominates the financial situation, and the mobilized financial resources of the Nation are available to sustain the trade and industry of the powerful and the weak alike.

But if there should ever come a demand upon this Nation such as has come upon the nations of the Old World-if the supreme test of our strength is ever made—this great institution, freed from every selfish impulse, open to no suspicion of private gain, related to no industry, will take its place in the preparedness program, mobilizing the financial strength of the Nation back of its fighting forces, sustaining our industry and our commerce upon which, in the last analysis, our defensive strength must rest.

There has been much talk on the subject of preparedness, and many sound and patriotic suggestions have been made with a view to rendering the great strength of the United States available in the hour of need. But this act of legislation has done for the strengthening of America more than is contemplated by any of the proposals. We are now ready to finance the defense of America, no matter what the demand.

In the national Democratic platform there was another provision which said, "Of equal importance with the question of currency reform is the question of rural credits or agricultural finance." The farmer owns land. He sows in the fall and reaps in the summer. He turns his capital over but once a year, and he requires credit to sustain him during the long period of work and watching before his crops can be marketed. As compared with bonds and stocks, land is relatively less easily converted into money. It can not be listed in a stock exchange and have a market price which can be found by consulting the daily newspapers. The farmer's lands produce the ultimate necessi-Their value, therefore, is stable and sure. But ties of life. the credit of the United States has hitherto flowed to the manufacturer and the merchant, because of the superior fluidity of the securities he could offer, and credit for the farmer has been both difficult to obtain and costly out of all proportion to the solidity of the security upon which it rests.

Steadily pursuing the policy upon which it entered into power, the Democratic Party has now matured a rural credits bill which devises a system of credit for the farmer, based upon the value of his lands, rendered convertible by the issuance of land bonds which will be one of the ultimate stable securities in our financial system. This act will place the farmer on an equality with the merchant and the captain of industry in commanding the credit necessary to his enterprises, and is the first comprehensive recognition by the Nation of the needs and rights of those who till the soil as the foundation of our entire economic structure.

This act and the Federal reserve bank act are a complete performance of the financial promises of the Democratic platform, and they invite comparison with the feeble failures of the Republican Party, in its long retention of the Federal power, to meet this great need. The marvel of it all is that in so brief a time so much has been accomplished. I challenge the critics of this administration to select out of the whole reach of Republican history two acts which will compare with these in con-

structive statesmanship.

The report of the Comptroller of the Currency for the 7th of March of this year shows that the resources of the national banks of the United States amounted to nearly fourteen thousand million dollars—greater by three thousand million dollars than the aggregate resources of the Bank of England, the Bank of France, the Imperial Bank of Germany, the Bank of the Netherlands, the Swiss National Bank, and the Bank of Japan; greater by two thousand million dollars than the aggregate resources of all of our own national banks as shown by the report for 1915. It is this great force that has been harnessed and made to serve not merely our own domestic, industrial, and commercial needs but, placed under our growing international trade, and as the financial supremacy of the world has passed across the seas and come to us, we now have the instrumentality through which American credit can be made to finance our sister Republics in South America disinterestedly and unselfishly, thus serving a great world purpose and cementing the tie of business and of friendship between the peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

The tariff legislation of the United States prior to 1912 had gone from bad to worse. Starting with the theory of infant industries, the Republican doctrine had come to be that an increase in the tariff was a panacea for almost any economic ill. It had been pointed out time and again that too high a tariff enfeebled the industrial initiative of our people; that wastefulness and inertia resulted from tariff rates which pre-cluded competition; that behind the tariff wall consolidations inevitably monopolized industry and substituted for the rule of a fair competitive return prices based upon the rule "all that the traffic will bear." Disinterested scholars made elab-orate statistical investigations and demonstrated that the benefit of a high tariff went to the tariff barons and not to the wageearning class. But by one of those subtle fallacies which sometimes erects a coincidence into a relation of cause and effect many people in this country had come to believe that a high protective tariff and a full dinner pail bore the direct relation of father and son. Of course, the dinner pail was not always full when we had a high protective tariff, but in a country of boundless natural resources, filled with an energetic, hard-working people, freed from many of the evils which older and more congested populations suffered, it was easy to instance a better average condition for our people. were directly enriched by high protective duties, being happy in their estate, and knowing the cause, found it easy to extol to others the virtues of the schedules by which they so clearly throve.

The absence of tariff duties between the States of the Union, the abundant prosperity of a tariffless country like England, the occasional depression in industries protected by prohibitive tariffs, the slow attrition of truth upon error, all conspired, however, to let light in on this subject, and in 1908 the Republican Party was forced to promise a revision of the tariff, a promise which was interpreted by the standard bearer of that

party to mean a revision down.

When the Payne-Aldrich tariff law was made, it was made as all other Republican tariffs had been for many years. It was the only way the Republicans knew how to make a tariff. The Ways and Means Committee of the House called in the men who were interested in tariff schedules and asked them to write down the rates which they desired for the protection of their industries. I do not mean to complain that they heard these gentlemen, but I do complain that they turned over to them their legislative discretion; that they treated one interest as the only interest; that they made of these captains of industry judges in their own cause. And when the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill was finally passed, it was a palpable fraud upon the promise of the party which passed it. It was a violation of the platform upon which that party had to secure its return to power, was a disappointment of the just hope and expectation of the people of the United States, and an added incentive to the growth of oppressive monopolies among us.

Doubtless there were many, after the election in 1912, who feared a revolutionary tariff adjustment. But the Underwood

tariff was the work of statesmen; it added to the free list, reduced many of the schedules, removed buildens from many of the necessaries of life, stimulated our manufacturers to the installation of more economical methods and better machinery, reduced in some part at least the high cost of living, and made a conservative and promising start toward more sympathetic commercial relations between us and the other nations of the earth. And it introduced as its novel gift to our institutions the income tax. This tax lays its burden upon the wealth of the country rather than upon the necessities of the people, and opens up a source of revenue, scientific and equitable, which may yet save this Nation should there be an interruption of our foreign trade of such a character as to cut off income from those duties upon imports upon which for so many years the maintenance of our Government has had to depend. This, too, is a signal achievement, and there will be at Chicago no plank adopted to repeal the income tax, nor will there be any very noticeable call for an increase in the schedule of the Underwood tariff.

But perhaps the most conspicuous result of the passage of this bill has been the utter and eternal divorce between high protective duties and the full dinner pail. To the amazement of the faithful the duties have gone down, but the dinner pail is not only not empty, but full to overflowing. Where emptiness was expected, there is a horn of plenty. The smokestack of every mill in the country is black with prosperity. The wages of labor have advanced in every craft and in every trade. America has never known greater prosperity. The riches of the earth and the fullness thereof are poured into the lap of our people. The young men have approached and broken the clay feet of the idol of protection! The high protective duty has passed to the hall of fame, where it is placed with Dr. Cook and Cagliostro, venerable only because of the length of time men rendered it hom-

age for virtues which it did not possess.

The breaking out of the European war entailed an enormous reduction in our revenues from imports. Had the income tax not been included in the Underwood tariff bill, the deficit would have been very great. As it was, however, the ordinary receipts of the Government in 1914—the first year of the Underwood law amounted to \$734,343,700, which was \$10,232,471 more than the aggregate revenue in 1913 under the Payne law and \$43,565,235 more than in 1912 under the Payne law. . So the Democratic administration has not merely provided a new and scientific element in our fiscal system, but it has produced revenues necessary for the expanding needs of the Nation under difficult and disturbed conditions, and by the proposal which is now before Congress for the creation of a tariff commission the uncertain situation which will come with the close of the European war has been anticipated and an instrument suggested which will protect our markets and our people in any contingency that can arise. The President's definition of the purpose of this commission is that "It would have nothing to do with theories of policy; it would deal only with the facts of industry and conditions of economic change prevailing in the world, so that legislation of every kind that touches these matters might be guided by the circumstances disclosed by its inquiry."

I can not take time for more than mention of other great elements in this program of accomplishment. The Democratic Party forced the passage of the constitutional amendment providing for the direct election of Senators of the United States. It has created the Federal Trade Commission. It is now dealing with the shipping question in a bill which seeks to restore the lost American merchant marine and to reopen the arteries by which our products can flow in exchange to nations from which we are now cut off by the absorption of the shipping of the world into the business of the belligerents. The Congress is now considering measures for the conservation of the natural resources of the Nation, the development under suitable safeguard of water power upon navigable streams and streams on the public land and in the national forests. This Congress will

pass the first national child-labor law.

Such, in brief, are some of the elements of the Democratic Party's program for the development and conservation of the natural and human resources of the United States. To have carried out such a program in times of peace, undisturbed by the conditions presented by the greatest war in history, would have been a remarkable record. Considered as these laws have been, however, with the times such as they are, and men's minds filled with the destructive horrors of the history of the last two years, they constitute a record of persistence, courage, and success without parallel in American history.

success without parallel in American history.

The war in Europe is teaching us many lessons. For one thing, we have learned that the whole art of war has changed in character. The forces involved are more extensive, the instruments used more deadly, their preparation involving more

time. The spectacle in Europe to-day is that of millions of men fighting underground—a war in which machinery is king. ingenuity and the inventiveness of these people has been long busy with their preparation. And one lesson for us is that any degree of preparation requires more forethought than was formerly necessary. If America should ever be called upon to defend the rights of her citizens in any such contest as is now being waged, it would mean either our destruction or the summoning of every vital energy of our people to our defense,

I have no hysterical notion that war is like the plague, and that we are going to catch it from mere proximity; nor have I the slightest fear that the great people of this Nation are going to lose their heads and embark upon a career of combat and conquest out of a mere desire to be heroic or to attain glory. As a matter of fact, the glory of war has largely disappeared, and the magnitude of the sacrifices entailed make of it a stern business, to be entered upon only as an alternative to impossi-ble conditions of peace. This administration has taken note, ble conditions of peace. This administration has taken note, however, of the fact that this is an age in which the principles of mechanics, the output of the workshops and the preparation made by industry and commerce are a part-a necessary partof the preparation for national security. The Congress has now passed an Army reorganization bill, creating no great standing Army, enforcing by no compulsion a universal sacrifice from the manhood of the Nation of years out of careers devoted to industry and commerce, but providing a first line of defense. The bill will give us a national force large enough to maintain order in those outlying places where we have assumed responsibilities, and to protect our own borders against any aggression. It provides an experiment in federalizing the militia of the States, making it a safer reliance for the national defense and recognizing the sacrifice and patriotism of those who prepare to serve their country by enlistment in these State forces. Some increases in the Navy are also authorized. And by a measure now under consideration, suggested by the President, a council of executive information is proposed which will bring the Government into such intimate relations of knowledge and sympathy with labor and business and industry as to make possible, should it ever be necessary, an instant mobilization of the great resources of this Nation for the common defense.

I am persuaded that the additions to the Army and the Navy were necessary, and that common prudence requires and justifies the expenditures and reorganizations here proposed. But I delight to think that the Democratic administration has recognized that true preparedness involves far higher considerations than a mere multiplication of soldiers or ships, and that by its internal policies the Democratic party is seeking to make of this a Nation so just to its citizens, a Nation so full of equal opportunity, so free from oppression of the weak by the strong, that our preparation is equally available for the happiness and well-being of our people in times of peace and their safety in times of war; and that by these constructive measures we are making of America not merely a Nation strong enough to de-fend itself, but a Nation so dear to its people that no sacrifice would be regarded as too great which was necessary to preserve this heritage of freedom and opportunity for us to leave to our

children.
Upon the foreign policy of the administration I must be brief. There are two elements of it which need a word of discussion-

Mexico and the European war.

In order to have any just view of a nation's foreign policy, we must first ask ourselves, What are the nation's ideals? If, for instance, it be agreed that America, being great and strong, ought to use its strength and its greatness to enlarge its boundaries and bring under subjection alien and weaker peoples, then it would be easy to find fault with an administration which might have summoned its Armies and its Navy to wars of con-quest and has failed so to do. But if your ideal for America is that it should be a Nation happy at home, doing unto others as it would be done by, respecting the aspirations of other peoples for freedoms of their own kind and choosing, willing to inspire by example to higher levels of culture and civilization, but unwilling to civilize by the sword—if that be in some sense your thought of what our national ideals should be, then I tender you the performances of the present administration as your ideal concretely expressed in acts.

The Republic of Mexico, lying south of us, was for years ruled by a dictator who operated the country in the interest of a class and left 90 per cent of the people of the nation unable to read or write. The concessions of the rich were largely privileged to enslave the poor. And finally, as in France at the time of the great revolution, the plain people of Mexico resolved that there was nothing divine about the order which fattened the few at the cost of the many. They revolted. Deprived of education, untrained in the arts of government making, the

people of Mexico have struggled to express in institutions their idea of the rights of man. It has been very disordered, some-times very wrong-headed, frequently characterized by counter revolution, its leading spirits apparently suspicious of one an-The gross ambitions of individuals have sometimes perverted their fidelity to the common cause. But no great revolutions of the kind there in progress can be unattended by these Our misfortune has been that between us and misfortunes. these struggling people there was a border 1,800 miles long, Some American owners of Mexican mines, some American proprietors of Mexican concessions, some Americans who look with longing eyes on Mexico as Naboth's vineyard, have urged that we should intervene, that we should add the destructiveness of our force to the desolation which has gone on there for years,

Sometimes there has seemed to be no stable government in Mexico to wnich we could turn to maintain the peace of our border cities; and at present an armed force of American soldiers is on Mexican soil solely to protect the people and property of the United States from lawless aggressions until the Mexican Government can perform that duty which it owes as a neighboring nation. I can not tell what the future may bring forth in this situation, but for my part I shall be most happy if the necessary security of our people can be obtained without the killing of another Mexican, man, woman, or child, by American arms. And those who criticize the Mexican policy of the adarms. And those who criticize the alcarcait point, of the amministration must be prepared to accept the alternative and say that their choice is to make war upon these people who have willed no act of aggression upon us, to invade their country, and to spend years in the occupation of a foreign soll, and, in a tollsome effort, expensive of life and treasure, to impress

our allen civilization upon these people.

Upon the European situation I shall say but a word. The great war, the most devastating in history, is filling the most civilized portion of the globe with disabled and dead. All the normal arts of life are forgotten. The energy of madness now dedicates the lives and property of these people to mutual destruction. Perhaps it is the last war that will ever be fought for such reasons as have caused this one. When it is over, the people of these countries are going to demand preventive states-manship, and new arrangements will in all likelihood result which will bring nearer the ideal of permanent peace. Whether or not that result is reached, two things at least are true: It is better for the people of the United States not to be involved in that vast destruction if it can be honorably avoided; and, second, it is better for humanity for the United States not to be involved, in order that when the end of the struggle comes there will be one great and persuasive power in friendly rela-tions with all of the belligerents, inspired only by high motives of humanity and friendship, to aid as adviser and counselor in the terms of readjustment necessary.

The course of any administration in such circumstances would be difficult. Not only is this the greatest war in history, but it is a war involving new agencies of attack and defense-a war in which one set of countries are isolated and not unnaturally seek new means to equalize the disadvantage of that isolation. Our situation is further changed by the fact that our own relations to foreign countries, industrial and commercial, are infinitely more intimate and complicated than they were at any previous time, and our traditional isolation from European systems of politics is less insured by geographical considerations

than it used to be.

The course of the administration has been to regard itself as, in the nature of the case, a trustee, for the time being, of the rights of neutrals. It has, in the language of Senator Root, refused to concede that the invention of new ways of committing forbidden acts changed the law with relation to them. And so where mere property was involved, every violation of the rights of neutrals has been followed by protest; and where life was involved-the life of our citizens-a firm demand has been made for immediate recognition of our plain and undisputed rights. In our most difficult and threatening negotiations it ought to be remembered that the country with which they were conducted did not deny the legality of our position, and that the negotiation was upon a question of fact, which by the admission of that Government, was decided finally in favor of our contention.

We are too near to attempt final judgment. Our thinking is clouded by momentous events happening with daily frequency, and we can not with certainty select out even those which will be deemed most conspicuous by historians of the future. But if there be any assurance of judgment possible for us now, it is that when the history of this age comes to be written, the great fortune of the American people and of the world will appear to have been that our destinles were in the hands of a man patient, wise, and just, who saw past all the minor amoyances and through all the cross-currents of feeling, who resisted every impulse toward impetuous judgment, and thereby accomplished these great things: First, that he saved the lives of countless Americans who by any other course would have been devoted to death in battle; second, that he preserved the civilization of the twentieth century against the last great assault which would have been made had our country, too, been swept into the general catastrophe; third, that he vindicated and preserved unimpaired the rights of neutrals and restrained the zeal of belligerents from sacrificing international law to the supposed necessities of their military plans; and fourth, that he saved up the moral energies of a great and free people to place them at the disposal of mankind when they rested from their work of destruction and began to reconsider the possibilities of national life.

His has been the one sane and serene spirit which will redeem this age; and when the election comes it will be found that the people of America, whatever their sympathies in the European struggle, realize that the one indispensable exponent of the mind, the friendliness and the ideals of America in the remaking of the old order in the Old World, is the finest type produced in this age by the new order in the New World—Woodrow Wilson.

I must say a brief word to you on the subject of our State sues in Ohio. The adoption in 1912 of two score amendments issues in Ohio. to our constitution meant a popular demand for a redress of old The adoption of these amendments was, in large part, due to their advocacy by the Democratic candidate for governor. Before the mind of the people was known upon the subjects they presented, he fearlessly espoused the cause of progress and debated the amendments throughout the State. As a consequence the Democratic platform, upon which he was nominated, laid out a program of progressive legislation wider and more varied than had ever been adopted in any political convention in this State. The newly elected governor took his commission to office as a command from the people, and the legislature which sat during his term made a record under his leadership which placed Ohio in the advance column of progressive Commonwealths. laws passed were too numerous to admit of individual mention in the time at my disposal here, but farmer and merchant, industrial worker and captain of industry, were all caught up in the network of helpful and remedial provisions; rural education was brought into harmony with modern conditions of living; childhood, motherhood, and widowhood were protected; court procedures were simplified; municipal governments given elasticity, public utilities brought under salutary control, and the efficiency of the administration by the State of its agencies for the care of the dependent and delinquent classes greatly increased; the liquor traffic which had been a constant source of agitation was brought under wise and reasonable control by laws which carried out the spirit and the purpose of the constitutional amendment dealing with that subject, and some start was made in the reorganization of the taxation machinery of the State. Performances so extensive as these necessarily united for the moment opposition groups into a temporary majority against the man who had done all this, and, as a consequence, we have had the present interregnum characterized by the feebleness and uncertainty which always attends an administration brought into power by such causes, but the time has come when other things must be done in Ohio. The program already begun must be pressed forward, and very especial attention must be given to the condition of the municipalities, the counties, and the townships of the State from a financial point of view.

The sphere of governmental activity is constantly widening, not so much from the zeal of public officers who wish to extend the limits of their authority as from the change in the very nature of our social organization itself. More and more people are coming to realize that there are functions of the common life which can be performed better and more economically by community activity. There is a daily quickening of the sense of responsibility of the community for the well-being of its members. We grow less patient daily with the neglects whereby society permits some of its members to be weakened and deprived of opportunity, and as a consequence of this most wholesome change in feeling there is a constant demand that the city shall do for the citizen things which aforetime were not either done at all or else were done by individuals or by private charity and philanthropy. In this mechanical age aids to the ease of community life are constantly being devised; their installation and operation entails expense, but their result is a saving of effort, of money, and of life itself. As a consequence the municipal expenditures must increase, municipal functions must enlarge. The family is constantly outgrowing its house. New and better streets must be built, larger and more modern institutions for the conservation of the morality and energy of the community are needed. An attempt by arbi-

trary rule to restrict this development either dams up powers which will ultimately overthrow the entire system or else it dwarfs our better impulses, arrests the progress of our growth, and discourages and disheartens our people. The great task now to be done in the State of Ohio is to recognize that under modern conditions old and simple restraints of a rule-of-thumb character are dangerous, and it is the special mission of the Democratic Party to be intrusted with this recognition, for it is our party that believes in the rule of the people. We believe in home rule. From the very foundation of our party its cardinal doctrine has been local self-government; that each unit of population should be given power to determine the affairs that affect that unit: and we have believed this not merely because of our confidence in the ability of people to govern themselves better than anybody else could govern them, but because we have believed that the practice of the art of self-government was in itself strengthening and educational, and that we build better for the future when we look ahead and see as our ideal a citizenship wise through training, strong and sane through bearing responsibility.

The next governor and Legislature of Ohio must deal with this question. By constitutional amendment the cities of Ohio have been freed as to their form of government. They must now be freed as to the substance of government, and the laws by which this is accomplished must be equal laws giving freedom to the cities without taking it from the rural districts, giving our municipalities the power to determine affairs that concern them alone, but without imposing burdens upon others not members of the municipal unit. The task demands wisdom and fidelity and courage. I ask those of you who believe this to be a task of paramount importance whether the people of Ohio can look for its performance with better expectation to the present State administration or to a return of the administration of James M. Cox? Surely there can be but one answer to this question. All the virtues needed for its accomplishment were shown in the two great constructive years 1912-1914. We ask the people of Ohio to try no experiment, to instrust their great concerns to no unfamiliar hand, to take nothing on faith, but, having stood still and rested now for two years, to take up under the old leader and under the tried and proved administration a continuance of the march which is necessary to keep us in the vanguard in this sisterhood of States.

I have encroached upon your time more than I should have done, but I have felt a great responsibility in the task which I am here attempting to perform. As a people we have been much bound by party names and party traditions, sometimes to our harm and hindrance. A candid mind is obliged to admit that any great party in its history shows moments of departure from fidelity to its central principles, and it is not always that a party man, unless he be overcome by party enthusiasm, can claim that the welfare of his party is bound up with the welfare of the State, but to-day in State and Nation, under leadership which seems providential, the interests of the people of Ohio, of the people of the United States, perhaps even the welfare of the people of the world, is inextricably associated with a continuance of the Democratic Party in power. And, believing, as I do, in the profound common sense of the American people, I look forward to a verdict at their hands which will continue this great constructive program, in which so much has already been accomplished, with a new impulse toward even higher and larger achievements.

The Ship-Purchase Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WM. ELZA WILLIAMS,

In the House of Representatives,

Friday, May 19, 1916.

Mr. WM. ELZA WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, no more important piece of legislation has been proposed during this administration than the ship-purchase bill. Briefly stated, the bill authorizes the Government to invest \$50,000,000 in merchant ships for the carrying of passengers and freight from American ports to Europe and to South America, where a splendid trade, heretofore enjoyed by Europe, but lapsed since the beginning of the European war, awaits us. We have no merchant marine and have not had since the ascendency of the Republican Party, more than 50 years ago. Private capital has refused to invest in ships of American registry, flying the American flag, but has

preferred to invest in foreign shipping companies, which have no interest in America except to exploit our trade.

When the European war broke out and foreign commerce was paralyzed more than a 100 German and Austrian ships, with a total net tonnage of 400,000, took refuge and were interned in American ports, where they have been idle since the outbreak of hostilities. This fact alone materially reduced the carrying capacity of trans-Atlantic companies carrying American products to the markets of the world, and placed American exporters at the mercy of English and American shipowners who operated vessels flying the English flag. As a consequence freight charges went up from a hundred to 400 per cent, and in many known instances charges were made for a single cargo in an amount greater than the actual cost of the vessel. It was to meet this condition, which private capital refused to meet, and provide facilities for sending the products of American farm and factory to the markets of the world that the President proposed to Congress that authority be given for the purchase and construction of merchant ships to enter the carrying trade in competition with the Shippers Trust, which has relentlessly exploited the American producer, whose profits are being consumed in extortionate freight charges. The only opposition to the bill comes from those who are interested in the business, and who throw up their hands in holy horror at the spectacle of the Federal Government entering into trade and transportation in competition with private enterprise.

One of the strongest arguments in favor of this bill lies in the fact that our Navy is in need of auxiliary ships, and in case of war with any naval power would be seriously handicapped. This bill provides that the ships constructed and purchased shall be of a type suitable for use in the Navy, and that the President may in case of war take these ships out of the carrying trade and place them in the Navy where they will be required. This bill is in line with our program of preparedness, and is a step toward placing our Navy in the second place among the great navies of the world. I heartly favor the bill and

shall vote for it.

Rural Credits.

REMARKS.

HON. OTIS WINGO.

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 13, 1916.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (8. 2986) to provide capital for agricultural development, to create a standard form of investment based upon farm mortgage, to cqualize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to provide for the investment of postal savings deposits, to create Government depositaries and financial agents for the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Chairman, if I may have the attention of the committee.

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Chairman, a point of order. My colleague, Mr. Barkley, has the floor, and he yielded the balance of his time to me.

The CHAIRMAN. The time has just expired, and the committee demanded recognition. That is the reason the Chair recognized the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. WINGO. Now, Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Kentucky has raised a question of importance. I agree with him in his contentions. I raised this same question in the Committee on Banking and Currency, and I think if the gentleman will read the other provisions of the bill, he will see that I succeeded in having the committee embody in the bill the very thing for which he contends. By referring to page 122, you will find that we have provided a special reserve fund. This special reserve fund is provided for by the last paragraph on that page, lines 16 to 22, inclusive. You will find in the next paragraph the provisions governing the use of this reserve fund, which is provided for in the following language:

Each Federal land bank shall supply, as far as practicable from this special reserve fund all payments of interest and amortization installments on all mortgage loans where defaults are carried to suspense account, as provided in this section.

Then take the paragraph that follows, and you will see that no national farm-loan association can be declared insolvent until the elapse of a period of two years after the default of the mortgagor, because that is specifically provided for, as the payments on the defaulted mortgage will be made and carried by this special reserve fund. This provision is as follows:

No national farm-loan association shall be declared insolvent by the Federal farm-loan board during the period in which all of the installments of interest and amortization on its indorsed mortzage loans are fully paid from this special reserve fund: Provided, That payments from such special reserve fund shall not be made on any one loan for a longer period than two years. The special reserve fund provided in this section shall be used for no purpose other than to make such payments as are herein specifically authorized, and when recovery is made by any land bank of any moneys paid from its special reserve fund the total amount of said moneys so recovered shall be paid into the special reserve fund. If the full amount is not recovered and it is debited to reserve as provided in this section, full reimbursement to the special reserve fund shall be made from the fund so debited.

By anying those installments as they fall due out of the

By paying these installments as they fall due out of the reserve fund these loans would not be in default, and a local association certainly would not foreclose upon one of its own members if he was not in actual default.

Mr. FIELDS. But it could do it if it saw fit to do it.
Mr. WINGO. I submit that under the language of the bill it could not be done, because any defaults in the payments of the borrower would have been paid during the two-year period out of the reserve fund and carried to the suspense account. I can not believe a local association will want to declare a default where the members thereof were themselves liable under the stock-liability provisions. They would be enforcing a liability against themselves

Mr. FIELDS. But suppose one of them should want his

farm?

Mr. WINGO. I do not think that would happen. Mr. FIELDS. Oh, there are all kinds of people in the coun-

Mr. BARKLEY. There is a conflict between the provisions on page 102 and the section I attempted to amend, because the any of the conditions of the mortgage is violated the mortgage

becomes due and payable.

Mr. WINGO. The text of the bill originally did not contain the language "at the option of the bank holding the same." Now, with this language which I succeeded in putting in the bill, together with the other provisions providing for carrying the defaulted payments for two years to the suspense account and paying the same out of the reserve, they are not compelled to declare the mortgage in default and payable. But suppose there should be a willfull default by a borrower—one who makes no effort to meet his obligations and whose default is not caused by some misfortune beyond his control. Then in such an instance, I think, the holder of the mortgage should be permitted to declare the debt due and payable and foreclose. But in the consideration of the bill in the committee it early occurred to me that a situation might arise where, by reason of flood, drouth, fire, continued sickness, or other misfortune or casualty beyond the control of the borrower for which he was not to blame, he might not be able to meet the annual payment on his loan, and for that reason the committee, at my suggestion, provided for the carrying of his payments for a period of two years. Under the bill as now written, if the board finds such a condition exists and that the default is occa-sioned without fault upon the part of the borrower, it can carry his payments for two years from the reserve fund as provided. Of course, some one has got to have authority to deter-

mine this question.

Mr. BARKLEY. But it is optional with the bank.

Mr. WINGO. I think not. I think the gentleman has overlooked another provision, on page 122 of the bill, which was put in the bill on my motion, and which reads as follows:

For the period of two years from the date when any default occurs in the payment of the interest, amortization installments, or principal on any first mortgage by both mortgager and indorser, the amount so defaulted shall be carried to a suspense account, and at the end of the two-year period specified, unless collected, shall be debited to reserve account.

Gasoline.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MARTIN D. FOSTER.

OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 3, 1916.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks I beg to submit a letter from Mr. Van. H. Manning, Director of the Bureau of Mines, giving some data as to the extraction and approximate yield and cost of gasoline from crude oil by the Rittman process.

Some 20 factories to date of May 26 have been licensed to use this process in the United States. Some of these factories are not yet fully established and operating under the license given and those which have been in operation have hardly gone far enough yet to be able to determine definitely in reference to the per cent of gasoline secured in this way or the expenses connected with this process. But the data given here is approximately accurate. It is to be hoped that this new process will prove to be all that it is believed at this time, and the manufacturers will be able to secure much more gasoline from crude oil than now getting by the old process, and it is to be hoped that as a result the price will be reduced.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

BUREAU OF MINES.

Washington, May 26, 1916.

My Dear Dr. Foster: Up to the present time 20 different companies have taken out licenses for the installation of the Rittman process for the manufacture of gasoline. Attached list gives the names of the different licensees, except one which was requested the name be not given Two of these licensees are already producing gasoline by the Rittman process, and I inclose herewith an estimate of the cost of producing gasoline, as based on the results secured from a five days' run of a Rittman furnace at one of these plants.

You will note that using fuel oil from which the gasoline had already been removed by ordinary methods, and paying for this fuel oil as high a price as \$2.10 per barrel, the cost of producing a gallon of gasoline by the Rittman process is 12.8 cents, while with a cost for fuel oil of 50 cents per barrel, the cost of producing a gallon of gasoline by the Rittman process is 6.9 cents. In other words, results obtained in this five days' run indicate not only that the Rittman process can be operated with financial success at the present high price of crude oil and gasoline, but that its use will bring profitable results with the lower crude oil and gasoline prices prevailing in the past.

Cordially, yours,

Van. II. Manning.

VAN. II. MANNING.

Hon. M. D. Foster, House of Representatives.

House of Representatives.

Estimates based on five-tube plant and the results of five-day run of single-tube furnace at Pittsburgh Refining Co.'s plant at Coraopolis, Pa., run on fuel oil from which gasoline content had already been extracted by ordinary methods:

The capacity of a single tube was 1.55 per hour, or 37.2 barrels per 24 hours, the loss 10 per cent, with a yield of 22 per cent gasoline, the balance being fuel oil. Estimated cost of a five-tube plant, \$15,000. Estimated cost of building to house plant, \$5,000. Total cost, \$20,000. Monthly capacity, 5,580 barrels. Deducting 10 per cent for shutdowns, leaves net capacity slightly more than 5,000 barrels. Assuming yield of gasoline at 20 instead of 22 per cent, gives 1,000 barrels (42,000 gallons). Loss of 10 per cent equals 500 barrels. Residuum, 70 per cent, or 3,500 barrels.

Expense.

Expense.	
5,000 barrels fuel oil, at \$2.10 per barrel Labor for one month, 6 men	\$10, 500 560 200
FuelElectricity	100
Repairs 6 per cent interest charge and 6 per cent depreciation on first	100
cost	200
Refining cost, at 20 cents per barrel (Oklahoma refining cost)	1,000
Total expense	12,660
3,500 barrels residuum, at \$2.10	7, 350
Net cost of 1,000 barrels (42,000 gallons) gasoline Cost of gasoline, 12.64 cents per gallon. Estimate based on oil at 50 cents a barrel:	5, 310
Expense.	

Lapenov.	
5,000 barrels oil, at 50 cents a barrel. Labor Fuel Electricity Repairs 6 per cent interest charge and 6 per cent depreciation Refining cost (Oklahoma refining cost), at 20 cents per barrel.	560 200 100 100 200
Total expense	4, 660
Credit.	

Cost of gasoline, 6.9 cents per gallon.

3.500 barrels residuum, at 50 cents_____

Cost of 1,000 barrels (42,000 gallons) of gasoline_____

Cost of gasoline, 6.9 cents per gallon.

RITTMAN LICENSES WHICH HAVE BEEN ISSUED TO DATE, MAY 26, 1916.

1. Germania Refining Co., Oil City, Pa.

2. Pure Oil Co., Minneapolis, Minn.

3. Pittsburgh Oil Refining Co., Coracpolis, Pa.

4. Indian Refining Co., Cawernevelle, Ill.

5. Midwest Refining Co., Casper, Wyo.

6. American Oilfields Co. of California, I. W. Fuqua, Fellows, Cal.

7. J. C. McDowell, 1321 Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

8. Associated Oil Co., San Francisco, Cal. (Sharon Building).

9. Benolite Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.

10. Premier Oil Co., T. Spellacy, Los Angeles, Cal.

11. Diamond Valley Oil Co., 626 South Spring Street, Los Angeles,
12. Independent Oil Producers' Agency, Union Oil Building, Los ngeles.

Angeles.

13. E. E. Schock, East St. Louis, III.

14. Producers' Refining Co., Gainesville, Tex.

15. Producers' Refining Co., Bakersileid, Cal.

16. F. S. Stern, president Bear Creek Manufacturing Co., Petrolia,

Pa. (benzol and toluol).

17. Pelican Oil Refining Co., 608 Hennen Building, New Orleans, La.

18. Emery Manufacturing Co., Bradford, Pa.

19. Muskogee Refining Ce., Muskogee, Okla.

An Imperative Necessity-A National Archives Building.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. S. D. FESS.

OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 3, 1916.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, among the most valuable possession of the country the various public documents which make up the records of the Government's titles, the documentary evidence of the Government's official activities, are among the most important. These documents, many of them, were they destroyed, could not be replaced at any cost. Up to date the United States has not taken steps to preserve them. There is no archives building, although its importance has been urgent and the project has been urged for years.

Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, director of the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, has been one of the most recent and active in attempting to induce the Government to take the necessary steps. In 1914, addressing the American Library Association in Washington, he

duce the Government to take the necessary steps. In 1914, addressing the American Library Association in Washington, he said:

England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Beigium, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Prussia, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Russia, Roumania, Canada, Mexico, Cuba Colombia—every one of these countries has a national archive, in which all or most of its older records and papers are stored. The presumption must be that there is some merit in the idea of a national archive building, Apparently the burden of proof is on anyone who says that the United States, not the poorest of these countries and we fondly imagine not the least enterprising, ought not to have one. In reality, no one says this, The obstacle is not opposition, but negligence and inertia, only to be over the continuous of the movement toward such a consummation.

The continuous activities are all influential societies of the need the movement toward such a consummation.

The evolution of national archives has in most cases a definite and regular natural history. At first, each Government office preserves its own papers. By and by the space available for such documents becomes crowded. The oldest of them, seldom referred to, are sent away, to attics or cellars or vacant rooms in the same or other buildings, it matters little where, in order to make room for the transaction of current business. By and by historians arise. They insist that these dead like are third of historical information, that they are a valuable administrators discover that whenever administration dependent of careful study of previous experience it is inconvenient to have the papers recording that experience scattered through many unsuitable repositories, neglected and unarranged. Then begins a movement for a national archive building, a determination to erect a structure ideally adapted for the storage of documents and their preservation in accessible order and to gather into that one fit place the records which inheritation, the

cles, that of not having penalect.

In Washington the results of what may be called the bureau system of archive management have been exceedingly unhappy. In the first place, it has produced an excessive number of systems of management. To keep a bureau's papers in an order that he who devised it has thought suitable to its business may not seem to be an evil. But the business of bureaus change, and bureaus are divided and consolidated and extinguished and shifted from department to department, and the result is sometimes an awkward mixture of systems, some of which were

amateurish when devised, many of which have become antiquated since that time. But a greater cult that of have become antiquated since that time. But a greater cult that of have a control to the solution of the control papers of the control of the control papers of the control of the control papers of the control control of the control papers of the control papers of the control of the control of the control of the cont

To me, and to many of those who hear me, the main reason for interesting ourselves in the problems of a national archive building is that present conditions interpose almost intolerable obstacles to the progress of history. We may reasonably expect that this should also seem to legislators a serious matter. An enlightened Government, a Government of the control of

Not so many years ago, 10 tons of Confederate records were barely rescued from the paper mill, and the schedules of the earlier censuses, though since then the latter have formed the basis of valued historical publications.

Another expedient that has been occasionally suggested has been the transfer of "dead files" to the Library of Congress. It needs but a little thought upon considerations of space to show the futility of such a plan. Where should the Library of Congress find space for two or three million cubic feet of archive material? Some might say that at least such papers as are historically important might be sent to the library. But, quite apart from the fact that this offers no relief to the Government, which as we have seen is the greatest sufferer from the present conditions, it is impossible to accept the underlying assumption that there is a small and perfectly distinguishable portion of the Government archives which is historically important, while the rest is not. A jury of the most experienced historians would be the first to declare that no one can tell what the historians of the next age will value as materials, and the first to protest against a process of fearing away certain papers, assumed to be historieal, from the remaining series with which they have been associated and which help to explain their origin. Moreover, library administration is one thing, and archive administration, especially for purposes of Government business as distinguished from purposes of history, is a quite different thing. The present Librarian of Congress could administra an archive alongside his library, indeed, could administrater 40 archives, because he could administer any arthing. But that hardly covers the point. Essentially a librarian's business is different from an archivist's business; no national government combines the two, and, anyhow, a makeshift transference of a small part of the Government's archives to the Library of Congress would be no real solution of the difficulties.

The only satisfactor

than to try his hand on a national archive building. At a cost well inside 50 cents a cubic foot, or \$1,500,000 for a building of the dimensions I have described, it should be possible for the United States to have the finest archive building in the world, perfect in every appointment, based on the best experience of Europe, and adequate for every purpose of the immediate future. This is the end toward which we ought to aspire and labor.

Into the details of the construction of such a building and of the organization of an archive establishment there is no time to enter. They are abundantly set forth in Mr. W. G. Leland's masterly article entitled "Our national archives; a program," in the American Historical Review for October, 1912.

Efforts to secure such a building as I have in general terms described have not been lacking, nor are they a thing of yesterday. As far back as 1878, the Quartermaster General of the Army recommended the erection of a "hall of records" for preservation of the records of the executive departments not required for daily reference, and drafted a plan for the proposed structure. That was 36 years ago. Since then there has perhaps been only one year in which the erection of a national archive building has not been pressed upon the attention of Congress, with greater or less urgency, by one or other members of the Cabinet. At least 50 bills on the subject have been introduced in Congress, Nearly all have found permanent resting places in the pigeonholes of committees. On two occasions, in 1881 and in 1902, the Senate passed bills providing for an archive building; but the House took no action on them. Finally, in 1903, after an agitation covering a quarter of a century, Congress authorized the purchase of a site for such a building. The site was purchased, but has sirce been assigned to another building, Meanwhile, within the 36 years during which this agitation by executive departments has been going on, Congress has expended at least \$250,000,000 for public buildings, and \$200,000,00

going on, Congress has expended at rest \$250,000,000 for plante binds, and customhouses.

In recent years, the agitation has been taken up by various societies of patriotic intention.

Nearly six years ago the American Historical Association addressed Congress on the subject, appointed a committee, arranged for useful hearings, and has continued to press the matter upon successive Congresses. Many chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution have taken part in the endeavor. Recently the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution has taken it up with much energy. The public-buildings act of March 3, 1913, authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to make plans for an archive building, but Congress made no appropriation of money for the planning, and without it nothing could be done. The result of 36 years of agitation can be summed up by saying that an item of \$5,000 for the making of such plans, in the provisional manner in which alone they can be made before a site is selected, is now before the House Committee on Appropriations as a part of the sundry civil appropriation bill. Its fate will be known in a few days. This result, after 36 years of entreaty and appeal along lines of argument which were obvious 36 years ago and in 36 years have not been confuted, seems somewhat meager. But I remember that it was about 1616 when one Francis Bacon recommended the establishment of a general record office for the Kingdom of England and about 1856 when the first section of that building was creeted. Two hundred and forty years for a thing for which that capacious mind foresaw all the convincing arguments in 1616! We have still some time. Two hundred and forty years from 1878 would bring us only to 2118 A. D. But can we not beat the English record? Can we not, by keeping public opinion alive on a subject of so much importance from the historical and the governmental points of view, carry this great national undertaking along steadily through the stages of making plans, acquiring a site, and construct

It is apparent from the frequent fires which occur in Government buildings that these documents are in constant danger of total destruction. I here append the evidence that is authorita-

STATEMENT SHOWING NUMBER OF FIRES OCCURRING IN BUILDINGS OWNED AND OCCUPIED BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA EACH YEAR FROM 1873.

OF COLUMBIA EACH YEAR FROM 1873.

1873.—United States Patent Office, United States Navy Department, United States Barracks.

1876.—United States Coast Survey.

1877.—United States Patent Office.

1888.—City hall.

1881.—Deaf and Dumb Asylum.

1882.—United States arsenal, naval dispensary, Bureau of Agriculture. culture.

culture,
1883.—Government Printing Office, Interior Department, United States
Quartermaster Department.
1885.—Smithsonian Institute, Surgeon General's Office,
1886.—Washington Monument Grounds, Government Printing Office,
1887.—Government Printing Office, United States Capitol, United
States dispensary, United States Government office, United States Quartermaster Department, United States Government barracks, Interior Department. 1888.—Po 1889.—Fr

Department,

1888.—Post office, United States arsenal,

1889.—Freedmen's Hospital, Treasury Department,

1890.—United States arsenal, United States Engineer's office, Freedmen's Hospital, Executive Mansion, Freedmen's Hospital, United States Treasury Department, United States Pension agency, bridge, United States Government, Nineteenth and Pennsylvania Avenue NW.

1891.—Census Office, Treasury Department, Pension office, Patent Office

1892.—United States Capitol (2), Bureau of Engraving and Printing, post office.

1893.—National Museum, War Department (Record and Pension Division), Reform School, Bureau of Engraving and Printing, Pension Office.

1894.—United States Capitol, Weather Bureau, 1894.—United States Capitol, Weather Bureau.

Office.

1894.—United States Capitol, Weather Burcau, navy yard.

1894.—United States Soldiers' Home.

1895.—Freedmen's Hospital, Patent Office, Senate cabinet shop, Treasury Department, Census Office.

1896.—Census Office, United States postal car, United States navy

1897.—Post office (city), United States navy yard (2), Treasury Department, Government Printing Office (2), United States Capitol, United States Patent Office.

1898.—United States navy yard (2), United States Capitol.
1899.—Government Printing Office, Post Office.
1990.—Filtration plant, Bureau of Agriculture, Bureau of Engraving and Printing, Post Office, Census Office, Treasury Department, Government Printing Office.
1901.—Government reservation. Post Office, Treasury Department, United States arsenal, Bureau of Engraving and Printing, United States Soldiers' Home.

and Printing, Post Office, Census Office, Treasury Department, Government Printing Office.

1901.—Government reservation. Post Office, Treasury Department, United States arsenal, Bureau of Engraving and Printing, United States Soldiers' Home.

1902.—Department of Agriculture (3), United States pumping station, Twelfth and Water Streets SW. (icehouse), Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Water Streets SW. (two boathouses and planing mills), Bureau of Engraving and Printing, public buildings and grounds office, United States ars and Printing, United States Post Office.

1903.—Department of Agriculture, United States arsenal, Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

1904.—Bureau of Engraving and Printing, United States Capitol (2), United States arsenal (2), United States Post Office, United States Census Office.

1905.—Marine barracks, Freedmen's Hospital (stable), 219 Delaware Avenue (office), office building (Maitby), United States Capitol, Bureau of Engraving and Printing (2), Executive Mansion (office building), 331 Nineteenth Street NW., United States navy yard.

1906.—Department of Agriculture, Washington Barracks (formerly arsenal, United States Senate stables, 1111 Little B Street NW., Department of Commerce and Labor.

1907.—1111 Little B Street NW.; Washington Barracks (formerly called arsenal), United States Pension Office; Freedmen's Hospital; stable, Sixth Street Wharf; dlining room, Eleventh Street Wharf (2); techouse, Water between H and I Streets SW.; Washington Barracks, academic building; Washington Barracks, officers' residence; marine barracks; kindling-wood mill, Water between Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets SW.; Bureau of Agriculture; Interstate Commerce Commission; Washington Barracks, Hospital Corps, Company C. Treasury Department; United States navy yard (2); fish house, Eleventh and Water Streets SW.; 216 Eleventh Street NW.; Government Hospital for the Insane; Department of Agriculture; Executive Mansion office; United States Daylor, 1030 Spourteenth Street NW., 1110 C Street NW., garage; United States n

insane asylum; 222 and 224 Eleventh Street NW., stable; Ohio Avenue, between Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets NW.; 506 and 508 Fourteenth Street NW., engraving; 400 to 410 Fourteenth Street NW., stable; 1404 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., lunch room.

1912.—United States navy yard, steamer Mayflower; 1110 and 1112 C Street NW., garage; 506 and 508 Fourteenth Street NW., engraving; 1420 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., plano repairing; United States navy yard (2); 1406 D Street NW., factory; Fifteenth and C Streets NW., storage; 506 and 508 Fourteenth Street NW., electrotype; 222 and 224 Fourteenth Street NW., garage; 1110 and 1112 C Street NW., garage; Seventeenth Breet NW., garage; Seventeenth Breet NW., International Hygiene Congress; Freedmen's Hospital, coal bunkers; Government Hospital for the Insane; Deaf and Dumb Asylum; Rock Creek Park, barn and stable; Washington Barracks, Quartermaster Department; Washington Barracks, trade school.

ton Barracks, Quartermaster Department; Washington Barracks, trade school.

1913.—Deaf and Dumb Asylum, now known as Gallaudet College; 1432 C Street NW., dwelling; Department of Agriculture (3); 504 Fourteenth Street NW., 566 and 508 Fourteenth Street NW., electrotype foundry; Rock Creek Park, dwelling; 222 and 224 Fourteenth Street NW., garage; Highway Bridge; Senate Office Building, Maltby; Geological Survey (3); 1417 D Street NW., dwelling; 213 North Capitol Street NW., dwelling; 14 C Street NW., lunch room; 531 Nineteenth Street NW., the Little B Street NW., lunch room; 531 Nineteenth Street NW., W; 1109 Little B Street NW., lunch shop.

1914.—Fifteenth and E Streets NW., Poll's Theater; 216 Fourteenth Street NW., lumber yard; United States Senate stables; United States Pension Office; Department of Agriculture; 1406 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., barber shop; boathouse, Water and O Streets SW.; Engineer Department boat, foot of Fourteenth Street SW.; Columbia Hospital; 1107 and 1109 Little B Street NW., junk shop; Water and O Streets SW., storage; United States Lighthouse Service; Engineer Department, Aqueduct Bridge.

1915.—Bureau of Engraving and Printing (2); 515 Nineteenth Street NW., stable; United States Patent Office; Columbia Hospital; public comfort station; United States Washington Barracks; 300 Fourteenth Street NW., dwelling; Bridge, Calvert Street NW., 334 Delaware Avenue NE., dwelling; 317 Delaware Avenue NE., building collapsing; Washington Barracks (2); Department of Agriculture.

Very respectfully, P. W. Nicholson, Fire Marshal.

SOME OF THE MOST NOTABLE FIRES IN BUILDINGS BELONGING TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FROM 1800 TO 1865.

1801.—Treasury Department, Fifteenth and F Streets NW., two rooms burned out.

1833.—Treasury Department destroyed. 1836.—Building of General Post Office, city post office, and Patent fice, located on Seventh Street between E and F Streets NW.,

1836.—Building of General Post Chart, Chart, Coffice, located on Seventh Street between E and F Streets NW., destroyed.

1843.—Powder house, navy yard, destroyed.
1851.—Congressional Library, burned out, entire collection of books together with valuable marble busts of statesmen and a collection of medals and other relics were destroyed.

1861.—Hospital, in Judiciary Square, destroyed.
1864.—United States arsenal, explosion in one of the buildings, 29 lives lost by same and by fire which followed, and building destroyed.
1865.—Smithsonian Institute, central portion of building burned out and many valuable exhibits, paintings, etc., destroyed.

I append a recent editorial of the Washington Star occasioned by the most recent fire:

THE GOVERNMENT'S FIRE RISK.

by the most recent fire:

THE GOVERNMENT'S FIRE RISK.

More Government records have been endangered and some destroyed by a fire that occurred in one of the buildings rented for the public service in this city the other day. The building is comparatively modern and fireproof, but it was not designed for the storage of important documents. The papers injured and in part ruined are of value, as are supposedly all Government records.

If the Government intends to keep its paper files indefinitely it should have a proper place in which to store them. If it does not think enough of its documents to give them proper housing it should have a clearance and make a bonfire. It would be far less expensive to burn the files that are not deemed worthy of fireproof filing than to continue to store them in rented buildings at high rates.

A hall of archives has been proved again and again to be necessary for the public service in this city. Fires have occurred in practically all of the large offices, and by the greatest good fortune have in most cases been extinguished with comparatively small loss. But this good fortune can not continue indefinitely. Even in the business world, where there is every incentive to the maintenance of the most effective means of fire protection and prevention, losses occur from time to time. The Government's only safeguard to-day is practically that its great offices are not mechanical establishments, and that fire-making elements are lacking in most cases. But even in the most carefully watched office buildings fires do occur and they do get headway, and it there is anything in the law of chances a Government fire is fairly certain to come which will, in the present conditions, wipe out of existence immense quantities of records that can never be replaced.

The commonest business prudence suggests the necessity of early action to correct this condition. The State, War, and Navy Building fire attest to the grave risk that is run by the Government every day that passes without the legislation nece

My conviction of the almost criminal neglect on the part of the Government to insure against not only destruction by fire but against mold due to damp basements into which many of our valuable documents are stored has been deepened by viewing several photographs graphically displaying the frightful possibilities. I am convinced that tardiness of Congress to meet this situation is most largely due to an unacquaintance of the Congress with the real situation. There has been an intermittent effort to secure the needed building as was established by the research of Dr. C. O. Paullin of the Carnegie Research Institution in 1912 in collaboration with others, which I here append:

HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT FOR A NATIONAL ARCHIVE BUILDING IN WASHINGTON.

tion in 1912 in collaboration with others, which I here append:

HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT FOR A NATIONAL ARCHIVE BUILDING IN

WASHINGTON.

Before 1878 the construction of a national archive building was frequently proposed, but not until that year was it formally brought to the attention of Congress. In a report to Secretary of War George W. McCrary, dated October 9, 1878, the Quartermaster General of the Army, Maj. Gen. Montgomery C. Meigs, recommended the erection of a "hall of records for preservation of the records of the executive departments not required for daily reference," and he drafted a design for the proposed structure. (Annual Report of the Secretary of War for 1878, pp. 257-258.) Secretary McCrary heartly approved Meigs's project and earnestly recommended its adoption. Concerning it he wrote in part as follows:

"The Quartermaster General calls attention to this danger of destruction of records of great value to the Government and to its citiens, " and urges that a cheap building be constructed as a hall of records convenient to the more elaborate and costly buildings occupied by the executive departments, one which, while inexpensive, should be perfectly fireproof, and not expose its contents to such losses as lately occurred at the Patent Office and Interior Department. He submits a plan of such a building, to cost about \$200,000, to be built quickly of brick." " in this he proposes that the records not in daily use of the several executive departments be stored, under charge of competent superintendents and watchmen, to be properly fleed and easy of access; from it, on telephonic order, any document needed in any public office could be quickly sent to that office.

It is estimated that it would relieve, of unused but valuable records not he executive departments which have cost many millions and which are now urgently needed for the transaction of the daily buse of the server of the recording of the preservation of Gongress the recommendation of the Secretary of War for first, leaving the sense

chase of a site for an archive building near the War Department and for the erection thereon of a brite in metal increptor of building to be used for the safe-keeping of the ck and metal increptor of building to be not required in the executive offices. The bill was referred to the send to required in the executive offices. The bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and was reported by Mr. Morrill, without amendment, on December 17. On February 8 another Ire occurred in the War Department, and two days later, after it was not considered by the House. Consensational Brooms, 46th. Line of the Congresses bills similar to that of Mr. Morrill were introduced by Senator George W. Vest, of Missouri, a converse introduced by Senator George W. Vest, of Missouri, a on Public Buildings and Grounds. All of these bills passed the Senate and all of them, nothwithstanding favorable recommendations of Presidents Arthur and Cleveland, failed of passage in the House—partly because of the rival interests of local real estate men. The bills carried an appropriation varying from \$200,000 of \$300,000. Several of supervision and direction of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of State." The site of the building was not definitely specified. During the discussion of one of the bills in January, 1890, Senators Morrill and Reagan for the bounding was not definitely specified. During the discussion of one of the bills in January, 1890, Senators Worrill and Reagan in a subsequent discussion in August, 1893, Senator Vilas proposed a site on the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue between First and Fifteenth Streets, and Senator Mills suggested the Botanic Gardens bordering on the Avenue, 47th Cong., 1st sess., Senate bill 1817, Congressional Recomp, pp. 24, 1430, 809, 1501, 1971–1972, 6805 48th, 1672–1675, 49th Cong., 1st sess., Senate bill 1817, Congressional Recomp, pp. 209, 881–884, 1858; 53d Cong., 2d sess., H. Rept. No. 483, 1840, 1850, 1850, 1850, 1850,

this is a matter which should have the attention of Congress at this session."

In his annual report for 1884 (p. 59) the Secretary repeated his recommendation; and in December, 1885, his successor, Daniel Manning, said that, in his judgment, Congress should make provision for the erection of a fireproof building for the storage of the files and records of the department at the earliest possible date. (Ann. Rept. of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1885, p. 56.) In 1884, 1885, and 1886 the Supervising Architect of the Treasury recommended the erection of an archive building. A report on the subject that he made on March 20, 1886, was communicated by Acting Secretary of the Treasury C. S. Fairchild to the Speaker of the House of Representatives. (H. Ex. Doc. No. 143, 49th Cong., 1st sess.)

The Secretary of the Treasury in his annual reports for 1887 (p. 55), 1888 (p. 58), 1890, (p. 82), and 1891 (p. 79) urged Congress to provide for an archive building. In his report for 1890 he said that he had recently sold 400 tons of official papers for \$8,070.76. He then added:

"The files space gained by the removal of said papers is of great value to the department, but files are accumulating so rapidly that it

"The files space gained by the removal of said papers is of great value to the department, but files are accumulating so rapidly that it seems the only feasible plan for permanent relief in connection with files space will be the erection of a building devoted exclusively to the storage of papers which it is deemed necessary to preserve but which are seldom referred to." (Ann. Rept. of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1890, pp. 81-82.)

For the years 1893-1902 many recommendations for the erection of an archive building are found in the annual reports (and occasionally in other papers) of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Secretary of the Secretary of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1897, p. 49; for 1898, pp. 52-53; for 1899, p. 47; for 1900, p. 47; for 1901, pp. 37-38; for 1902, pp. 29-30. Ann. Repts. of the Sec

retary of War for 1893, p. 223; for 1894, pp. 256-257; for 1895, pp. 35-36, 279-280; for 1897, pp. 19, 25, 26, 223, 327; for 1898, pp. 220-221; for 1901, p. 30. Ann. Repts. of the Secretary of the Interior for 1899, p. 108; for 1900, p. 154; for 1901, p. 183. Ann. Repts. of the Postmaster General for 1898, p. 802; for 1900, pp. 22-23. Ann. Rept. of the Secretary of the Navy for 1900, p. 26.)

An extract from a single annual report of each of these heads of departments will be sufficient to show their views upon the erection of a national archive building.

From the Annual Report of the Postmaster General for 1900 (pp. 22-23):

"I most heartily indorse the proposition to erect, in a locality which

From the Annual Report of the Postmaster General for 1900 (pp. 22-23):

"I most heartily indorse the proposition to erect, in a locality which shall be convenient to all the executive departments, a suitable building for the storage of the enormous mass of files which necessarily accumulate from the operations of the Government. The volume of such documents, most of them uncurrent and never consulted, stored in the Post Office Department Building is even now so large that it has been found necessary to devote the entire upper floor to such use, including all the corridors on that floor, and, to a somewhat less extent, on the two floors next below. This department must afford storage room not only for the accumulations of its own service but also for those of the auditor for the department, an officer of the Treasury Department, whose files are, of necessity, very voluminous and rapid in growth. The results of this congested condition are already shown in the dangerous overtaxing of the capacity of the only space that can now be given to files and the marring of the architectural beauty of the interior of the building. If allowed to continue, it will very soon necessitate the crowding of the elerical force to such an extent as to seriously affect the efficiency of the service. I sincerely trust that some action will be taken by Congress which will afford the relief in this direction which is becoming daily more and more urgent."

From the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1901 (p. 183):

"In nevious annual reports comment has been made on the lack of

(p. 183):

"In previous annual reports comment has been made on the lack of room available for the accommodation of the permanent records and files of the department and its bureaus. Each year adds to the accumulation of important records requiring preservation, and in providing space therefor it is frequently necessary to se lously encroach upon room which is badly needed for clerical purposes. The remedy heretofure suggested, that of providing a special building for the accommodation of the surplus records and files of all the departments of the Government, is equally applicable at this time. I renew my previous recommendation that Congress make suitable appropriation at an early date for the construction of a hall of records."

From the Annual Report of the Secretary of War for 1898 (pp. 220–221):

From the Annual Report of the Secretary of War for 1898 (pp. 220-221):

"There will soon be a large increase in the records and files of this department, and the need for additional office room is very urgent. Immediate provision to meet the needs of the department is necessary, and in this connection the statement on this subject contained in my last annual report is repeated:

"'The departments are crowded with files of official papers to the detriment of the working force and the serious inconvenience of the public business. Costly public buildings erected for office purposes should not be used for storage. The files not in curent use should be stored elsewhere. A hall of records becomes more and more necessary each year.'"

"The superintendent of the State, War, and Navy Department Build-

The superintendent of the State, War, and Navy Department Build-in his report for 1896, submitted the following remarks on this

"The superintendent of the State, War, and Navy Department Building, in his report for 1896, submitted the following remarks on this subject:

"The accumulation of records in this building not only displaces space needed by clerks, but adds considerable weight upon the floors. Some of these records are rarely referred to, while others may be frequently called for All are too valuable to be destroyed. The corridors of the State Department are stacked with records, not only in a comparatively exposed place, but obstructing the corridor. The logbooks and other records of the Navy Department, most of which have only a historic value, have already filled the space allotted and are still accumulating. The records of the War Department are quite as bulky as those above mentioned."

From the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy for 1900 (p. 26):

"The Navy Department, in common with other departments, suffers inconvenience from the accumulation of public records. In consequence of its growth during recent years, the office space allotted when the Navy was small and its business inconsiderable is now insufficient to satisfactorily accommodate the official force, and its rooms are much overcrowded. When the records began to overflow, lining the walls of rooms with shelving was first resorted to. When this was found insufficient, the middle floor space of some of the rooms was utilized to accommodate cases of flies and records, while in other instances completed flies and records were placed in garret or basement rooms never intended for their accommodation.

"The inconvenience, loss of time, injury to the records themselves, and possible danger from their weight or from fire are matters worthy of consideration; but the real urgency of the case arises from the fact, which will soon render action imperative, that, so far at least as this department is concerped, available basement and garret space is practically exhausted and further relief can not be had through these temporary and unsatisfactory expedients.

"As th

(p. xlvii):

"The earnest consideration of Congress is again invited to the necessity for providing a hall of records in this city in which the uncurrent files of the various executive departments and other branches of the

illes of the various executive departments and other branches of the Government may be stored.

"This matter has been the subject of agitation for many years past, but with no practical results. The growth of the Government's business is so rapid, and the accumulation of the files so great as a consequence, that all of the executive departments are cramped for room in which to store the files which by law must be preserved. The destruction by fire of any one of the executive departments would cause almost irreparable injury, confusion, and delay in the transaction of its business, and this is specially true of the Treasury. This department is the great clearing house of the Government. Here all its debts are paid, and here are preserved the evidences of such payment. The files stored

in this building are in such condition that a fire may ensue at any time, and in the event of their destruction, numberless claims against the Government would at once arise to embarrass it.

"In the Secretary's opinion, there is no public improvement more needed for the welfare of the Nation than a hall of records in this city, and the matter is presented for the careful consideration of Congress, with the hope that action will be taken at this session looking to the erection of such building."

In this connection the following extract from the Annual Property.

with the hope that action will be taken at this session looking to the erection of such building."

In this connection the following extract from the Annual Report of the Attorney General for 1903 (pp. iii-iv) may be quoted.

"Much inconvenience and annoyance are experienced owing to the lack of room and facilities for proper arrangement of the various offices [of the Department of Justice].

"The buildings are not fireproof. There is not a vault in any of the buildings occupied by the department, and all office records, documents, papers, and books are exposed to the ravages of a fire."

From the Fifty-fourth to the Fifty-seventh Congress 25 bills were introduced in Congress relating to an archive building. (54th Cong., 1st sess., Senate bill 2607, House bill 7614, Congressional Record, pp. 3072, 3207; 55th Cong., 1st sess., Senate bills 421, House bill 3515, Congressional Record, pp. 42, 1996; 55th Cong., 2d sess., Senate bills 2795 and 3796, House bills 5363 and 7211, Congressional Record, pp. 150, 286, 1011, 1818; 55th Cong., 3d sess., House bill 11760, Congressional Record, pp. 1013, 1520; 56th Cong., 1st sess., Senate bills 3546, 4227, and 4599, House bills 7083, 7655, 8022, and 10042. Congressional Record, pp. 1106, 1287, 1483, 2761, 3409, 4210, 5262; 56th Cong., 2d sess., Senate bills 18313, House bills 2078, 7460, and 10786, Congressional Record, pp. 96, 310, 428, 1313.)

These bills were regularly referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, from which they rarely emerged. One bill (S. 5113, 57th Cong., 1st sess.), however, was passed by the Senate, and one (H. R. 11769, 55th Cong., 3d sess.) The bills generally authorized either the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a building, or merely the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a building, or merely the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a building, or merely the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a building, or merely the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a building, or merely

purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a building, or merely the purchase of a site.

Two concurrent resolutions respecting an archive building were introduced in the Senate by Mr. Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, one in 1900 and the other in 1902. The first of these provided for a joint committee, composed of eight members of the Senate and House Committees on Public Buildings and Grounds, which was ordered to report on a site for a hall of records and the approximate cost of a building. The second resolution was of a similar character. They were agreed to by the Senate but not by the House. (56th Cong., 2d sess., Congressional Record, pp. 265, 330, 1874, H. Rept. 2649; 57th Cong., 1st sess., Congressional Record, pp. 539, 647, 679.)

On April 9, 1902, Mr. Fairbanks introduced Senate bill No. 5113, providing for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a building to be used for an archive building. It passed the Senate on April 24, and two days later was referred to the House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. On May 2 Mr. Fairbanks submitted an amendment to the Senate embodying the chief provisions of the bill and intended to be proposed by him as an amendment to the sundry civil appropriation bill. It was referred to the Committee on Appropriations. During the first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress neither the bill nor the amendment was reported by the committee to which it was referred. (57th Cong., 1st sess., Congressional Record, pp. 3872, 3923, 4429, 4610, 4723, 4963.)

During the discussion of Senate bill 5113 Senator Vest spoke in part as follows:

"This bill has been before Congress for 20 years. Every department."

meither the bill nor the amendment was reported by the committee to which it was referred. (57th Cong., 1st sess., Congressional Record, pp. 3872, 3923, 4429, 4610, 4723, 4963.)

During the discussion of Senate bill 5113 Senator Vest spoke in part as follows:

"This bill has been before Congress for 20 years. Every department of the Government, and especially the Treasury Department, I had almost said, begged that it might be passed; but at any rate has suggested again and again the necessity for a hall of records. If a fire should take place to-morrow, as it has occurred twice in the Quartermaster General's Bureau, the papers destroyed would involve the Government in the loss of millions of dollars. Three Presidents have recommended the erection of this building, as have half a dozen Cabinet officers, and yet it seems impossible to get any legislation upon the subject." (Congress again took measures to obtain information respecting sites and plans for an archive building, as may be seen from the following clause of the sundry civil appropriation bill approved June 11 of that year:

"That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to submit to Congress a plan giving the size and general characteristics of a public building to be used for a hall of records in the city of Washington, suitable for the storage of papers, documents, and other records which have accumulated in the various departments and are needed only for occasional use. and also for the storage and distribution of books and other publications issued by order of Congress; and said Secretary is directed, before making his report, to consult with the heads of the other departments and the proper officers of the Senate and House of Representatives; and he is also directed to consider and report upon the suitableness for a site for such a building on the public reservation at their present and turner requirements of space in an archive building. On January 7, 1897, the Secretary of the Treasury John G. Carlisle addressed a letter to the heads of departm

appearance, to an approximate capacity of 4,000,000 cubic feet. A third plan for an archive building was prepared in 1897 by Mr. R. H. Hood, engineer and contractor. (See S. Doc. No. 122, 54th Cong., 2d sess.)

Mr. Gage's estimate of the space needed—"approximately 4,000,000 cubic feet"—was based on the figures given by the heads of departments in reply to the letter of Secretary Carlisle of August 25, 1896. From these figures he compiled the table following (published in S. Doc. No. 236, p. 7, 57th Cong., 1st sess.):

Hall of records—Canacity required is such a feet.

Hall of records—Capacity required in cubic feet as reported by the sec-eral departments to the Secretary of the Treasury in response to his letter of Aug. 25, 1886.

	Present requirements.		Future requirements.	
	Case.	Room.	Case.	Room,
Treasury Department Interior Department. House of Representatives. War Department. Navy Department. Post Office Department: State Department Department of Agriculture Department of Justice. Senate.	Cubic ft. 122, 503 109, 053 7, 503 40, 000 4, 875 10, 650	Cubic ft. 228, 000 530, 500 299, 260	Cubic ft. 358, 500 180, 300 15, 000 156, 000 45, 000 19, 750	Cubic /t. 1, 312, 000 1, 051, 000 330, 000 312, 000 225, 000 152, 000 90, 000 40, 000 40, 000 30, 000
Total20 per cent additional for walls, etc				3, 582, 000 718, 000
Gross capacity				4, 300, 000

On May 5, 1900, in response to a request of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Supervising Architect of the Treasury made a report respecting several sites for an archive building, one of which was "powerhouse square No 255," the site of the present Municipal Building. He estimated the cost of this square and of a suitable building of a capacity of 5,000,000 cubic feet at \$3,025,000. Such a structure, he said, would be about the size of the Washington post office and would have to be erected at one time. (See S. Doc. No. 236, pp. 5, 6, 57th Cong., 1st sess.)

On March 3, 1902, Secretary of the Treasury L. M. Shaw made a report to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, in which he briefly reviewed the history of the movement for an archive building. Respecting size of building he wrote as follows:

for an archive building. Respecting size of building he wrote as follows:

"Appreciating the importance of making a right beginning in a matter of such magnitude, the department has given very careful consideration to the proper size of the building. It will be observed that the estimate of about 4,000,000 cubic feet, made January 14, 1898, was based upon the tabular statement (copy attached) received in reply to the request of the Secretary of the Treasury dated August 25, 1896, and was increased to 5,000,000 cubic feet May 5, 1900. The events of the year 1898 had already begun to exhibit a marked effect upon the growth of the files, which indicated that there was more probability of underestimating than of overestimating the space required in the half of records.

"The figures from other departments and Congress are not in my possession, but it is possible to state the increase in the files of this department. Since 1896 it has proved necessary to rent two buildings for the storage of records containing a space of 225,000 cubic feet, which is now practically filled, and yet the Treasury Building is still as crowded with files as it was in 1896, at which time 228,000 cubic feet were occupied by files, so it is clear that the records have almost precisely doubled in bulk in six years." (S. Doc. No. 236, p. 6, 57th Cong., 1st sess.)

cisely doubled in bulk in six years." (S. Doc. No. 236, p. 6, 57th Cong., 1st sess.)

In the second session of the Fifty-seventh Congress the subject of an archive building was again brought to the attention of the National Legislature. In February, 1903, Mr. Fairbanks and Mr. Burrows, each submitted an amendment to the sundry civil appropriation bill respecting the acquirement of a site. (Congressional Record, 57th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 2544, 2690.) Finally, after an agitation covering a quarter of a century—from 1878 to 1903—Congress authorized the purchase of a site for a "hall of records." This legislation is found in the omnibus public buildings act, approved March 3, 1903, the sixteenth section of which reads as follows:

"That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed in his discretion, to purchase or cause to be taken for public use, by condemnation or otherwise, as a site for a hall of records, the whole of the land embraced in square 143 in the city of Washington, D. C., containing 157,711.35 square feet of ground, having a frontage of 402.08 feet on F Street, the same on E Street, and 392 feet frontage on Nineteenth Street, and the same on Eighteenth Street, and the Secretary of the Treasury shall report to Congress a full statement showing size and public cost of building to be erected upon said square as a hall of records." (U. S. Stat. L., Vol. XXXII, pt. 1, p. 1212.)

The deficiency appropriation act of the same date, March 3, 1903,

square as a hait of records." (U. S. Stat. L., Vol. XXXII, pt. 1, p. 1212.)

The deficiency appropriation act of the same date, March 3, 1903, contains the following clauses respecting an archive building:

"For the acquisition of square No. 143 in the city of Washington, D. C., as a site for the hall of records, \$400,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary.

"To enable the Secretary of the Treasury to have preliminary plans prepared for a hall of records, \$5,000; said plans shall not be upon a basis of construction of a building involving a total cost exceeding \$2,000,000, and no plan shall be adopted unless authorized by legislation hereafter to be enacted, and said plan or any compensation connected therewith shall only be preliminary and shall not in any way run with the construction of the building, and no obligation for such preliminary plans shall be incurred to cost in excess of \$5,000 herein appropriated." (U. S. Stat. L., Vol. XXXII, pt. 1, pp. 1039-1040.)

In his annual report for 1903 (p. 47) the Secretary of the Treasury reported that the title of the United States to "square 143" would soon be perfected. In 1904 tentative plans for an archive building were prepared by the Supervising Architect of the Treasury, and were submitted to Congress by the Secretary. It is believed that these have not been published. In December, 1904, Secretary Shaw said that the site

for the hall of records (with the exception of a small part of the square which was in litigation) had been secured, and he recommended that the plans submitted to Congress be approved and that an appropriation of \$150,000 for the preliminary work in the construction of the building be made. (Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1904, p. 27.) In his annual reports for 1905 (p. 22) and 1906 (p. 50) he renewed his recommendation, and in a letter to the President of the Senate, dated June 25, 1906, he called attention to the importance of an appropriation for a hall of records. (S. Doc. No. 508, 59th Cong., 1st sess) Since the acquirement of the site the Treasury Department has had control of it and has collecter rents from the buildings thereon, such rentals being deposited in the Treasury as "Miscellaneous receipts." (Treasury Department, memorandum relating to the erection of a hall of records, Dec. 23, 1907; H. Doc. No. 698, 59th Cong., 2d sess.)

of a hall of records, Dec. 23, 1907; H. Doc. No. 698, 59th Cong., 2d sess.)

On February 8, 1904, Mr. Fairbanks introduced a bill (S. 4181) in the Senate which authorized the apprporiation of \$500,000 toward the construction of an archive building, in accordance with the preliminary plans; provided the limit of cost should not exceed \$2,000,000. The bill was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and was not reported by that committee. (58th Cong. 2d sess., Senate bill 4181; Congressional Record, p. 1700.)

On June 29, 1906, the House of Representatives requested the Secretary of the Treasury "to cause an inquiry to be made and report at the next session of Congress as follows:

"First. How much floor space available for office purposes would be gained in buildings owned be the United States and occupied by the executive departments and other governmental establishments at Washington if there should be removed therefrom all records and files not necessary for daily or current reference by said departments or establishments, and have the same stored in a suitably constructed building for such purposes, and,

"Second. What buildings are rented in Washington for purposes of storage of files or records of the Government that could be relinquished if a suitable building for storage of records were constructed, and the amount of rent the Government is paying therefor."

On December 5, 1906, the Secretary addressed a letter to the House giving the desired information in the form of a table, a copy of which is here given (H. Doc. No. 196, 59th Cong., 2d sess.):

	Reply to question 1.	Reply to question 2.
State Department	Sq. ft.	
Treasury Department	6,100	1709 New York Avenue NW., at rental of \$3,000 per annum. Third and fourth floors and two sections on fifth floor, 920-922 E Street NW., at rental of \$8,000 per annum.
War Department ¹	8,930	One floor, 920-922 E Street NW., at rental of \$1.500 per annum.
Department of Justice Post Office Department		Sixth floor, 920 922 E Street NW., at rental of \$3,000 per annum.
Navy Department	1,422 5,345	Portion of Union Building (64,002 square feet), at rental of \$10,800 per annum. Premises First and B Streets SW (22,100 square feet), at rental of \$3,600 per annum Fremises on L Street NE. (28,200 square feet), at rental of \$5,000 per annum.
Department of Agriculture Department of Commerce and Labor.	1,000	One section in basement, 920-922 E Street NW., at rental of \$1,500 per annum.
Smithsonian Institution Interstate Commerce Commission. Government Printing Office	1,789	Basement, 1334 F Street NW., at rental of \$1,200 per annum.
Total	24,536	\$37,600 rental per annum.

¹ A considerable number of records and files are stored in buildings and warehouses at Fort Meyer, Va., and Philadelphia, Pa., under the jurisdiction of the Quartermaster's Department, but are not occupying space which would become available for office purposes. It would be more satisfactory if these records, which now occupy approximately 3,548 square feet could be stored in a suitably constructed Government building in Washington.
¹ The premises at First and B Streets SW, and on L Street NE, are leased for storage purposes by the Superintendent of the United States Capitol Building and Grounds. It is but proper to add that 1,922 square feet of floor space in buildings rented for bureaus of the Interior Department could be made available for clerical forces if the records and files occupying such space were removed therefrom and a building constructed for such purpose and set forth more in detail as follows:

Sq. ft.

	Sq. ft.
Bureau of Education	1,000
Geological Survey Geological Survey (Reclamation Service)	450 250
Total	. 1,922

On December 5, 1906, Mr. Longs introduced a bill (8, 6728) in the Senate to establish a "record office." It provided for the appointment of a record keeper and of a first and second deputy record keeper, and it contemplated the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon. The functions of the "record office" were similar to those of the "hall of records," as may be seen from the following extract from the first two sections of the bill:

"That the Vice President (or the President of the Senate for the time belng), the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Trensury, the Attorney General, a justice of the Supreme Court designated by the Chief Justice of the United States, a justice of the district courts designated by the Chief Justice of the Court, an associate justice of the circuit courts of the United States, and such members of a joint committee on records as the Senate and House of Representatives choose to elect shall form a board of record commissioners, who shall from the passage of this act have the sole legal custody of all books of records and filed papers in which the latest date of record is upward of 80 years belonging to the executive offices, the embassies and consulates of the United States in foreign countries, the customhouses and

revenue offices of the United States, land offices, post offices of district attorneys, and all other offices and bureaus of the various executive departments; also all similar records in the office of the clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States and in the offices of all clerks of the courts of the Federal judiciary; and also similar records in the offices of the clerks of the Senate and House of Representatives.

"That to the custody of the board of record commissioners shall also be intrusted such books and files of less than 80 years in date as shall be so ordered by the President of the United States, the heads of the various executive departments, the chief justices of the courts, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives." (59th Cong., 1st sess., Senate bill 6728.)

On December 14, 1907, President Roosevelt, by Executive order, requested the chief officers of the several departments and offices of the Government to furnish estimates in cubic feet of the amount of space which each would require in the proposed national archives and of the annual growth of future requirements. The following figures show in tabular form the chief data sent in response to his order:

TERROTAL PALITAGE A. G.	Present require- ments (1902).	Future require- ments, per aunum (1908).
Treasury Department War Department Interior Repartment Navy Department Post Office Department Department of Commerce and Labor Government Printing Office Department of Austice Department of Ariculture Smithsonian Institution Interstate Commerce Commission	Cubic feet, 453,000 279,680 225,520 138,960 111,600 75,000 20,000 4,000 None, None,	Cubic feet. 25,000 3,505 2,255 9,880 12,500
Total.	1, 317, 760	

On March 7, 1908, Secretary of the Treasury George B. Cortelyou addressed a letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives urging the erection of an archive building. He said:

"The necessity for some structure of the character described grows constantly. An investigation made in 1906 showed that the files then on hand in all the buildings under the control of the Treasury Department in Washington and in space rented exclusively therefor occupied over a million cubic feet of space, and that they were accumulating at the rate of 25,000 cubical feet per annum.

"The condition of these uncurrent files is precarious in the extreme. In many instances they occupy space which is frequented by the public and are unprotected in any way from depredation. Some of them are stored in rented buildings which are not fireproof and are liable at any moment to be destroyed by fire. All of the available space in the different buildings under the control of this department is now occupied, as well as two and one-half floors in a large storage building, for which the department pays an annual rental of \$8,000, and, in addition, the department is compelled to use corridors and other valuable space which is badly needed for the transaction of current buildings.

"While these files are referent to as "weenvent" it must be borned.

dition, the department is compelled to use corridors and other valuable space which is badly needed for the transaction of current business.

"While these files are referrent to as 'uncurrent,' it must be borno in mind that reference is made to them almost constantly; that in most instances they pertain to questions of great importance; that they have been accumulating since the organization of the Government; and that their destruction by fire would cause almost irreparable injury, confusion, and delay in the transaction of the public business. It is therefore absolutely necessary that sufficient space be provided to assemble them in such a manner that they may be of ready access. They are now inaccessible for reference, except with great labor, on account of insufficient space, and at the same time are daily exposed to loss, decay, and accidents which may at any time destroy them in whole or in part.

"While there is no recent data covering the other executive departments and governmental establishments, it is believed that similar conditions prevail in all

"In my opinion there are few, if any, public improvements here for which there is greater need than for a hall of records, and the matter is presented with the carnest hope that action will be taken at this session looking to the erection of such a building." (H. Doc. No. 756, 60th Cong., 1st sess.)

This recommendation Secretary Cortelyou repeated, quoting the above passage, in his annual report for 1908 (pp. 88, 89).

On November 27, 1908, the executive council of the American Historical Association passed the following vote:

"Whereas several heads of executive departments of the Federal Gov-

On November 27, 1908, the executive council of the American Historical Association passed the following vote:

"Whereas several heads of executive departments of the Federal Government have in recent years made representations to Congress of the need of a hall of recents in which may be stored the great masses of manuscript papers no longer needed for frequent references, which have accumulated in their departments; and
"Whereas besides the want of such a provision for the safety and orderly keeping of these public documents the present situation of many of them makes them unavailable for historical work:

"Resolved, That the executive council of the American Historical Association desires respectfully to draw the attention of the President and of Congress to the importance which such a hall of records, preserving and making available the Government's earlier materials, would have for researchs in American history, and to express the hope that Congress may see fit during the present session to take some steps toward creating such a repository.

"Voted that a committee of three be appointed to present the above resolution to the President and to present an appropriate memorial upon the subject to Congress."

The committee appointed consisted of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Rear Admiral Alfred T. Mahan, United States Navy, retired, and Prof. John B. Mednater, of the University of Pennsylvania. To the same committee the council referred the following resolution adopted by the American Historical Association at its annual meeting at Indianapolis on December 31, 1910:

"The American Historical Association, concerned for the preserva-

Association at its annual meeting at Indianapoles on December 22, 1910;

"The American Historical Association, concerned for the preservation of the records of the National Government as muniments of our national advancement and as material which historians must use in order to ascertain the truth; and aware that the records are in many

cases now stored where they are in danger of destruction from fire and in places which are not adapted to their preservation, and where they are inaccessible for administrative and historical purposes; and knowing that many of the records of the Government have in the past been lost or destroyed because suitable provision for their care and preservation was not made, do respectfully petition the Congress of the United States to take such steps as may be necessary to erect in the city of Washington a national archive depository, where the records of the Government may be concentrated, properly cared for, and preserved."

A memorial prepared by the account of the structure of the contract of the

A memorial prepared by the committee was presented in the Senate on February 25, 1911, by Senator Lodge, and was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds and ordered to be printed. (S. Doc. No. 838, 61st Cong., 3d sess.) A similar memorial was presented in the House by Mr. Lawrence, of Massachusetts, and referred to the corresponding committee of the House.

Meanwhile, by a prevision of the public buildings act of June 25, 1910 (61st Cong., 2d sess., ch. 383), the Secretary of the Treasury has been authorized and directed to prepare designs and estimates for a building to be erected on square No. 143 to house the Geological Survey, the Office of Indian Affairs, the Office of the Reclamation Service, the General Land Office, and the Bureau of Mines; and it may therefore be presumed that square No. 143 is no longer to be considered as specially devoted to the desired archive building.

The national archives interest took definite shape recently in the appointment of a commission, of which the Vice President and Speaker of the House are members. One provision of the resolution creating the commission which required an investigation of archive buildings in Europe before any definite plan could be acted upon, and which investigation was thwarted by the outbreak of the war, is cause for no progress in the last Congress. It is the hope of the country that the greatly needed building will soon be a reality.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WM. ELZA WILLIAMS.

OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 9, 1916.

Mr. WM. ELZA WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, this administration is pledged to give the country a system of rural credits. The Federal reserve act, which authorized national banks to loan on real estate, was a step in this direction, but it was not practical to create a system for the promotion and extension of agriculture that could be operated extensively through commercial banks. It is therefore necessary, if the demand throughout the country is to be met and the Democratic platform is to be redeemed, to provide a system of rural credits that will enable farmers and those buying lands for agricultural uses to secure loans at a more uniform and moderate rate of interest than can be had through commercial banks or from private sources. There can be no uniformity in rates of interest so long as different rates may be fixed in 48 separate States, and this condition necessarily results in very high and exorbitant rates of interest in different sections of the country, and in the absence of some Federal provision by which farmers may secure money at all times at fair rates of interest, extortion is practiced on the farmer, development is retarded, and the agricultural interests of the country suffer.

The rural-credits bill, now before us, provides for the creation of a Federal farm-loan board, which shall divide the United States into 12 farm-loan districts and organize 12 land banks. with a capital stock of \$750,000 each, to be subscribed by the Federal Government, if not otherwise subscribed, which banks shall be operated exclusively for the furnishing of money and making farm loans. It is provided in the bill that the board shall have the power to name the directors of the land banks, to regulate rates of interest, and fix the maximum rate which may be charged in the respective districts. The Government shall at all times remain in control to the exclusion of all persons excepting borrowers, who shall organize farm-loan associations through which agency loans may be procured. These farm-loan associations shall consist of at least 10 borrowers of not less than \$100 nor more than \$10,000 each, that being the limit provided in the bill. Any farmer desiring to borrow money shall apply for membership in a farm-loan association, and the directors of that association shall approve his character, indorse his application, and recommend the loan to the Federal land bank, providing he is a man of good character and the loan does not exceed 60 per cent of the value of the security. The land bank will thereupon send an appraiser, who has been duly authorized by the Federal board to act in that capacity, to view and appraise the land. If the security is found sufficient and the

title good, the loan will be made without charge, at the rate of interest fixed by the Federal board. If the loan is rejected, there is no expense to the applicant. These loans are to be made for long terms, to suit the borrower, and will provide for the payment of a portion of the principal on each interest-paying date, so that the borrower may in the course of a long-term loan fully discharge his indebtedness on easy payments. The land banks are authorized to marshal these mortgage loans and issue and float nontaxable bonds thereon to the extent of their face value, at a rate of interest less than the rate provided for in the mortgages, and to correspond in size and quantity with the several mortgage loans, and to mature with the maturity of the mortgage indebtedness. In this way an endless chain will be created and continuous funds flow into the land banks with which to supply applications for loans from time to time sufficient to meet all demands.

To insure that the control and operation of the land banks shall remain exclusively with the borrowers themselves, without any interference beyond the supervision of the Federal board, each borrower is required to subscribe for stock in the land bank in an amount equal to 5 per cent of his loan, and stock to that amount will be issued to him, on which he will receive dividends to be applied toward the payment of his interest. When his loan is paid, he ceases to be a member of the association, the stock will be canceled, and the face value thereof refunded. Twenty-five per cent of the earnings of the land banks is to be set aside and constitute a reserve fund for the redemption of the stock subscribed by the Federal Government, and 75 per cent of the earnings will be paid to the individual stockholders or borrowers as dividends. When an amount of stock shall be subscribed by borrowers to the extent of \$750,000, the 25 per cent reserve fund will be applied to the redemption of the stock subscribed by the Government and continue until all stock subscribed by the Government is retired.

The entire expense of operating the system, including the salaries of the members of the board and its employees, is to be paid out of the Federal Treasury and will constitute no charge against the borrower. The purpose of this provision is to relieve the officers charged with the administration of the law from obligation and to guard against favoritism, that the law

may be impartially administered.

Mr. Speaker, I have given some thought and study to this question and am in entire accord with the principles of this proposed legislation. Men may differ as to the best system of rural credits and have expressed their differences in this debate. This may or may not be the best system that could be devised and may be defective in many respects, but the objects and pur-poses of the bill are commendable and should be given speedy effect. The farm is the foundation of all development and the basis of all prosperity. Congress has legislated for every conceivable interest, but until the present administration the farmer has been sadly neglected.

During this administration a fund has been appropriated and provision made for the stamping out of hog cholera, which annually destroys millions of dollars in property, exceeding, in the year 1913, \$60,000,000. The agricultural-extension act, passed last year, provides a means for cooperation between the Agricultural Department and State agricultural societies and colleges in the work of soil treatment, fertilization, crop rotation, and marketing, by means of which information may be disseminated and the farmer receive the direct result of the research work and scientific investigation conducted on the part of the Federal Government.

Both Houses of Congress have passed at this session a bill providing Federal aid for the building and construction of roads and highways in the country in cooperation with State and local authorities.

The Federal reserve act has provided for the expansion of farm credit, by means of which the farmer can secure funds on the credit of his stock and crops for temporary use in his stock and farming operations, as well as secure farm loans through the national banks, heretofore prohibited.

Congress has created a Bureau of Markets in the Department of Agriculture for the investigation and adoption of the best and most economical methods of crop distribution, and the House has passed a bill for the standardization of grain and the restriction of the operation of boards of trade, by means of which the farmer has been fleeced and his profits absorbed in gambling speculation and market manipulation.

These measures all have been dictated by the highest motives of patriotism and hailed with delight by the agricultural com-munities. But however necessary and beneficial they may be, none are of as great importance as this bill providing ready money at low rates of interest for the farm borrower. I regard this as one of the most important pieces of legislation proposed in Congress in many years, and voted for it on its passage in the House. A similar bill passed the Senate, and the two bills were referred to conference. The conferees have agreed to the bill as it passed the House, with very little change or amendment, and it will be reported back to the two Houses and become a law at an early day. I congratulate the Democratic Party, the administration, and the country on the success of this most important and invaluable piece of legislation.

Naval Expenditures.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH, OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 2, 1916.

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to discuss in detail the merits of the pending Naval appropriation bill. I am concerned more in opposing certain radical amendments offered on the floor of the House, and which I do not fully understand and, in common with the great body of the membership, have not had opportunity to study or fully consider.

When the bill was reported to the House, May 24, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, it covered 103 printed pages and was accompanied by a majority report explanatory of its pro-visions covering 67 pages and giving the reasoning of the committee for its passage. It carried the colossal sum of \$98,859,378 as an addition to the usual annual naval expenditures of the Government. It was further accompanied by a minority report covering nine pages, signed by eight members of the committee and urging that this naval increase was inadequate and should be very largely increased with provision for future progressive increases without the action of Congress,

Being classed as a conservative, that is, one who favors pre-paredness for defense, not offense, I was startled at the colossal proposals of the bill, and especially by the attitude of the minority; and, according to my ideas of duty to my constituents, I at once obtained copies of the bill and reports, together with such of the evidence as was available to me, taken by the committee at the exhaustive hearings which it has held, and began as careful a study thereof as was possible for a Member not on the committee and having other official duties of his own to attend to.

As showing the radical differences of opinion among members

of the committee, the following excerpts are quoted from each:

REPORT.

REPORT.

The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred so much of the President's annual message as related to the Naval Establishment, together with the annual and supplemental estimates of the Navy Department, the annual report of, and subsequent communications from, the Secretary of the Navy, submit herewith H. R. 15947, making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, with the following statement:

The committee held exhaustive hearings with a view to determining the fighting efficiency of the existing Naval Establishment as regards its personnel and matériel; the means to be adopted to increase the efficiency of the existing personnel and matériel; and the necessary legislation to provide additional personnel and matériel to render the Naval Establishment more nearly adequate to defend the interests of the United States and render the entire Naval Establishment in a greater state of preparedness.

VIEWS OF THE MINORITY.

The undersigned members of the Committee on Naval Affairs dissent from the recommendations of the committee in respect to the increase of the Navy, and in other particulars, for the following reasons:

The building program submitted by the committee for the increase of the Navy is inadequate for the defense of the country. It is not the product, in any degree, of expert naval opinion and disregards every plan suggested by naval authorities for the development of the Navy. It ignores the recommendations of the Secretary of the Navy and sets aside expert opinion, as expressed by the General Board of the Navy, the Chief of Operations of the Navy, the admirals in command of the fleets, and every other naval officer appearing before the Committee on Naval Affairs.

It soon became apparent to me as I studied the details and reasoning, knowing the temper of the House, that the bill as reported from the committee covered as low a minimum of increase as could be expected by conservative Members like myself, and, giving due weight to the favorable report of the committee, I resolved to vote for the bill as reported, if not too radically changed in the House. Some additions have already been made to it, some which I would prefer had not been made, but still, deferring to some extent to those who ought to know more about the necessities and conditions of the country than a Member not on the committee or connected with the executive department in some way, I still expect to vote for it, unless a most radical

and far-reaching pending amendment offered under the rules of the House and which, under operation of the previous question, can not be discussed or amended, shall prevail and be made a part of the bill.

I shall vote against this amendment for two reasons: First, because no opportunity is given to the average Member to study or understand its provisions in detail, and, second, because it would in principle work a total change in the policy of the Government. It is suggestive of a monarchy, not a republic.

As showing the character and extent of this amendment, it is here quoted in full, with the additions caused by each change:

Mr. Browning. Mr. Speaker, I move to recommit the bill to the Committee on Naval Affairs with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith with the following amendments:

Page 6, line 2: Strike out the figures "\$2,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$3,500,000." Increase, \$1,500,000.

Page 8, line 19: Strike out the figures "\$862,000" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$94,000." Increase, \$42,000.

Page 8, line 24: Strike out the figures "\$174,670" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$194,340." Increase, \$19,670.

Page 9, line 25: Strike out the figures "\$1,428,000" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$1,428,000" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$1,588,000." Increase, \$210,000.

Page 36, line 21: Strike out the words "sixty-one thousand five hundred" and insert in lieu thereof the words "sixty-five thousand." Increase of 3,500 men.

Page 36, line 22: After the first word, "men," insert the following:

hundred "and insert in lieu thereof the words "sixty-five thousand." Increase of 3,500 men.

Page 36, line 22: After the first word, "men," insert the following: "and the President is hereby authorized to enlist, in his discretion, and from time to time, such additional men as the needs of the Navy may require not to exceed a total authorized strength of 82,762 men." Uncertain and discretionary increase of men.

Page 36, line 23: Strike out the figures "\$27,563,988.50" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$28,436,488.50." Increase, \$871,500.

Page 37, line 8: Strike out the figures "\$46,876,246.86" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$47,748,746." Increase, \$872,490,14.

Page 67, line 9: Strike out the figures "\$8,848,933.85" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$9,088,508.85." Increase, \$239,575.

Page 82. line 4: Strike out the word "seven" and insert in lieu thereof the word "eight." Increase of one pay clerk.

Page 82, line 6: Strike out the figures "\$1,28,749" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$1,377,849." Increase, \$49,000.

Page 88, line 4: Strike out the word "seventeen" and insert in lieu thereof the word "eighteen"; also strike out the word "seventy-two" and insert in lieu thereof the word "eventy-two" and insert in lieu thereof the word "seventy-four"; also strike out the word "seventy-two" and insert in lieu thereof the word "seventy-four"; also strike out the word "seventy-three." Increase of 17 sergeants.

Page 88, line 5: Strike out the words "three hundred" and insert in lieu thereof the words "three hundred and forty-two"; also in said line strike out the words "three hundred" and insert in lieu thereof the words "three hundred and forty-two"; also in said line strike out the words "three hundred" and insert in lieu thereof the words "three hundred and forty-two"; also in said line strike out the words "three hundred" and insert in lieu thereof the words "three hundred and forty-two"; also in said line strike out the words "three hundred" and insert in lieu thereof the words. Th

and corporals. Page 88, line 7: Strike out the first word "thirty" and insert in lieu thereof the word "thirty-seven"; also in said line strike out the words "two thousand" and insert in lieu thereof the words "two thousand five hundred and forty." Increase of 7 drummers and 5 the

words "two thousand" and insert in lieu thereof the words "two thousand five hundred and forty." Increase of 7 drummers and 547 men.

Fage 88, line 20: Strike out the figures "\$3,434,582.52" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$3,500,850.52." Increase of \$75,268.

Fage 90, line 2: Strike out the figures "\$56,000" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$59,000." Increase of \$3,000.

Fage 90, line 25: Strike out the figures "\$5,331,406.30" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$5,458,774.30." Increase of \$126,368.

Page 91, line 15: Strike out the figures "\$1,150,068.90" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$1,195,068.90." Increase of \$45,000.

Fage 92, line 5: Strike out the figures "\$926,423.50" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$1,195,068.90." Increase of \$45,000.

Page 92, line 11: Strike out the figures "\$217,092.26" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$190,002.78." Increase of \$80,650.

Page 93, line 13: Strike out the figures "\$113,648.78" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$10,002.78." Increase of \$30,600.

Page 94, line 13: Strike out the figures "\$113,648.78" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$10,002.78." Increase of \$30,334.

Page 94, line 13: Strike out the figures "\$40,711.65" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$42,466." Increase of \$30,246." and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$42,466." Increase of \$30,445.

Page 95, line 3: Strike out the figures "\$107,512." and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$42,466." Increase of \$30,000.

Page 97, line 7: Strike out the figures "\$30,7512." and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$42,466." Increase of \$30,804.79 and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$42,466." Increase of \$30,804.79 and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$42,460." Increase of \$30,800.447.9" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$4,771,133.49." Increase, \$39,500.454.79 and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$4,771,133.49." Increase, \$429,453.

Page 97, line 20: Strike out the figures "\$9,500,454.79 and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$4,771,133.

Page 98, line 21: Strike out the figures "\$4,257,000" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$9,387,000." Increase, \$5,130,000.

Page 99, line 3: Strike out the word "one" and insert in lieu thereof the word "two." Increase of one fuel ship
Page 99, line 4: After the figures "\$1,265,000," insert "said fuel ship to be constructed within 15 months from the date of signing contract."

Page 99, line 6: After the figures "\$2,600,000," insert "said ammunition ship to be constructed within 15 months from the date of signing contract."

Page 99, line 7: After the figures "\$2,250,000," insert "said hospital ship to be constructed within 15 months from the date of signing contract."

Page 99, after line 7 insert:

ship to be constructed within 15 months from the date of signing contract."

Page 99, after line 7, insert:

"One transport, to cost not to exceed \$2,450,000; said transport to be constructed within 15 months from the date of signing contract." Increase of \$2,450,000.

"One supply ship, to cost not to exceed \$2,230,000; said supply ship to be constructed within 15 minutes from the date of signing contract." Increase of \$2,230,000.

"One destroyer tender, to cost not to exceed \$1,950,000; said destroyer tender to be constructed within 15 months from the date of signing contract." Increase of \$1,950,000.

"One repair ship, to cost not to exceed \$2,600,000; said repair ship to be constructed within 15 months from the date of signing contract." Increase of \$2,600,000.

Page 99, line 22: Strike out the figures "\$47,366,860" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$73,133,852." Increase of \$2,5766,992.

Page 100, line 4: Strike out the figures "\$30,707,000" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$44,196,689." Increase of \$13,481,689.

Page 100, line 7: Strike out the figures "\$11,245,925" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$44,196,689." Increase of \$13,481,689.

Page 100, line 7: Strike out the figures "\$11,245,925" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$20,296,850." Increase of \$9,050,925.

Page 100, after line 9, insert the following paragraph:

"To secure the speedy completion of all ships authorized in this act and to cover the additional expense incidental to the employment of more than one shift of men a day the Secretary of the Navy is authorized to increase the limit of cost of each of said ships not to exceed 10 per cent."

Like dumb-driven cattle, we are expected, without opportunity

Like dumb-driven cattle, we are expected, without opportunity to study or understand the details and necessity for these proposed additions to the bill as it was reported by one of the regular committees of the House, after months of consideration by it, to vote for them as an entirety, thus adding immensely to the burdens of taxation already mounting skyward under the present administration. I am one of the novices who hesitate and ask for more light before voting for such a tax-consuming uncertainty. In this I do not cast the slightest reflection on the ability and patriotic purpose of the minority members of the commit-They were no doubt appointed for their special fitness for the position and with rare discernment which comes only when the power of appointment is placed in the hands of a single individual.

But at the same time I can not concede that this condition absolves individual Members not on the committee from doing a little thinking for themselves in matters of grave public concern. There is no place for living automatoms in the public life of America.

Rural Credits.

SPEECH

HON. THOMAS L. RUBEY.

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 15, 1916.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2986) to provide capital for agricultural development, to create a standard form of investment based upon farm mortgage, to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to provide for the investment of postal savings deposits, to create Government depositaries and financial agents for the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. RUBEY. Mr. Chairman, the passage of the pending rural-credits bill will mark another milestone in the progress of legislation of real and lasting benefit to agriculture. This bill may not be all that its proponents claim for it. It does not, in all its details, meet the approval even of every member of the Banking and Currency Committee which reported it. There are provisions in the bill which I should like to see either modified or stricken out, and there are provisions not in the measure which I should like to see inserted in it. We must remember that all legislation is the result of compromise. The Constitution of the United States was the result of compromise, yet it has met the test and stands to-day the greatest instrument of its kind in all the history of the world. I predict that the rural-credits bill, which we are considering and perfecting to-day, when finally enacted into law will stand as the greatest piece of constructive legislation for the promotion of agriculture ever placed upon the statute books by the American Congress. It may contain faults and imperfections; if so, they will quickly develop when the act is put into operation and future Congresses can and will

correct them. The important thing is that we are making a beginning, and without further delay we are going to give to the farmers a system of credits designed for them and for them alone, which will enable them to borrow money upon land for long periods of time and at a low rate of interest.

ONE CLASS OF OBJECTORS HINT AT FAVORITISM.

Those who object to this kind of legislation do so mainly upon the ground that it is special legislation for the benefit of the farmer. We are told when we seek to give real Government nid in the formulation of a rural-credits system that we are showing favoritism to the farmers. Well, I hope we are showing favoritism to the farmers—my principal objection to this bill is that we are not showing enough favoritism; that is, we are not giving enough Government aid. Mr. Chairman, I want for just a moment to direct my remarks to that class of objectors who seem to fear that we may show too much favoritism to the farmers. I ask them to read once again a few brief pages of the glorious history of this Republic, and as they read I ask them to note the important part that has been played by the American farmer in its formation, progress, and development.

THE FARMER IN COLONIAL DAYS.

In the early settlements it was the farmer who was the important factor; he cleared the land, built the cabin to shelter his family, and cultivated the soil that they might have food and clothing. It was the farmer who, throughout those trying days of privations and hardships, with rude implements of warfare, protected the people from the attacks of wild beasts and defended them from the assaults of the Indians. It was he who made possible the founding of this Republic. Is there one among us whose breast does not swell with pride and whose heart does not beat with patriotic emotion as are recounted the brave deeds of our forefathers in their struggle for liberty and independence? The author of the Declaration of Independence was a farmer, and long before he became President he withdrew from public life to his estate at Monticello and devoted his time to agriculture and to his favorite literary and scientific studies.

THE FARMER IN TIMES OF WAR.

Read the history of the first battle of the Revolution.

There the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard round the world.

It was a farmer—Israel Putnam—who left his plow standing in the field and went forth to die, if need be, for liberty. It was the farmers of the American Colonies who won the Revolution. It was only because of their bravery and their sturdy and rugged characteristics that they were enabled to endure the hardships and win victory against such fearful odds. It was to an American farmer—the great Washington—that Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown.

It was the farmers, poorly armed and equipped, who stood with Jackson at New Orleans and repelled the British invaders

more than a hundred years ago.

From the fields came the bulk of our Army that marched into Mexico, carried our flag to victory, and planted it triumphantly upon the battlements of the Montezumas. That was many, many years ago. To-day it gives me pleasure to call your attention to the fact that the general in charge of the troops sent into Mexico to capture or disperse the bandits led by Villa, Gen. John J. Pershing, was a farmer boy, born in my own State, Missouri.

It was the boys from off the farm who made up a large part of our Army in the Spanish-American War, and in that contest it was a farmer boy, another Missouri boy, if you please, who

first planted the Stars and Stripes on Cuban soil.

As it has been in the past, so it will be in the future. In the years to come it will be the farmer boys upon whom we must largely depend, and it will be they who will stand ever ready to defend their country should a foreign foe darken our borders.

THE FARMER IN TIMES OF PEACE.

I have recounted briefly the part the farmer has played in war. If I had the time I feel sure I could convince you that he has been no less renowned in peace than in war. Read the lives of our Presidents and you will find that many of them were born upon the farm, and owe much of their success in life to their early training and the environments of country life. The career of Abraham Lincoln is familiar to you all; it was only a few weeks ago that this House passed a bill to accept the Lincoln homestead, care for it, and preserve the log cabin in which he was born. Grant was not only born on a farm, but after his return from the Mexican War he resigned his commission as captain and settled on a farm near St. Louis, in my own State. Garfield, McKinley, and many others of our Presidents came from the farm. All of our great men, however, have not become Presidents; some of the most renowned men in the history of this country never attained to that high office. Many of them came

from the farm; let me name just a few—Patrick Henry, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Thomas H. Benton, Alexander H. Stephens, John Marshall, and there are scores of others. Our own beloved Speaker, Champ Clark, was born on a Kentucky farm. A very large number of the Members of this House and of the Senate were once farmer boys, and every one of them is proud of it.

THE PARMER IN OTHER FIELDS OF LABOR.

The scope of the influence of farmers and their sons is not confined to service of country either in the Army, in time of war, or in positions of honor and trust, in time of peace. They have made their influence felt in every walk of life and in every industry in the land. The boys from the farm have become merchants, mechanics, inventors, bankers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, and captains of industry in the great business world. In every avocation, trade, or profession they have become great leaders and have won for themselves fame and distinction.

CONGRESS HAS LEGISLATED FOR CERTAIN INDUSTRIES.

Replying further to those who oppose this legislation because it shows favoritism to the farmers, I would ask, Has Congress in the past ever legislated in the interest of any particular industry? Let us see. Many years ago, with a view of encouraging the building of railroads, Congress made large grants of land to railroad corporations. These grants of land contained millions of acres, the value of which has been variously esti-mated at from two to five billion dollars. Very early in our history, it became the policy of Congress to place high tariff duties upon imports for the purpose of encouraging and protecting the manufacturing industries. More than half a century ago Congress passed the national-bank act, giving to those financial institutions special rights and privileges from which great profits have accrued to them. For the purpose of encouraging trade and commerce the Panama Canal was built at a cost of nearly \$400,000,000, and in a few days this House will pass the shipping bill, in order that we may have a merchant marine so that American ships, flying American flags, may once again sail the seas carrying American commerce to all the world. These are some of the acts which in a sense may be termed special legislation, yet no one doubts that those who legislated when these various acts were passed were seeking the benefit of the whole people and were endeavoring to do that, which to their minds at least, seemed to be for the general welfare.

TIME TO LEGISLATE FOR AGRICULTURE.

In view of what the farmer has done for America, in view of the salutary influence which the farm and farm life has had upon the progress and development of our country, and in view of this array of legislation, enacted for the benefit of other industries, is there anyone here to-day who is going to oppose this rural-credits bill because it is in the interest of the farmer? Congress has legislated for the manufacturers, for the railronds, for the bankers, for commercial interests, and now at last, after the passing of many years, it is going to legislate for the special financial interest of the farmer. For the first time in all our country's history, Congress is going to provide a system of rural credits which will give to the farmer long-time loans at low rates of interest and with a plan for amortization payments.

FEDERAL RESERVE ACT FOR COMMERCIAL INTERESTS.

In 1913 Congress passed the Federal reserve act. It has now been in full operation for a little more than two years and its success has exceeded the expectations of even its most ardent supporters. During the consideration of the Federal reserve act, Congress, for the first time in the history of banking legislation, gave consideration to the needs of the farmer. Up to that time national banks had been prohibited from making loans on real estate.

The Federal reserve act authorized the banks to make loans on real estate for terms of five years. That act also made liberal provisions for extending personal credit to those engaged in agriculture, and these provisions have, in certain sections of the country, been of great benefit to the farmers and have given to them sources of personal credit which they have never heretofore enjoyed, and that, too, at a much lower rate of interest than they have had in the past. The Federal reserve act was intended primarily to regulate banking institutions, to promote the commercial interest of the country. It has done that; it has freed the commercial interests of the United States from the operations of Wall Street, has made the banks panic-proof, and has given to the people a financial system the equal of which is not to be found in any country on earth.

RURAL-CREDITS BILL FOR AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS.

As the Federal reserve act was intended to promote the commercial interests, so this rural-credits bill is intended to promote the agricultural interests of the country. It will enable the farmers to mobilize their credit and will insure reasonable rates

of interest. Like the Federal reserve act, the system of rural credits will be under the control and supervision of the Govern-When the rural-credits bill is passed and put into full operation the farmers of America will no longer be compelled to pay tribute to the loan shark nor submit to the exorbitant demands of the money lender. Men who till the soil and feed the world will be able to obtain credit on equal terms with merchants, manufacturers, railroads, and corporations whose interests were provided for when the Federal reserve act was Under laws passed by both State and Nation, corporations have been organized, and these institutions have acquired certain rights and privileges not possessed by the individual citizen. In the exercise of those rights they are enabled to issue bonds and upon those bonds as security they are enabled to go into the money markets and borrow money at extremely low They issue commercial paper, which is nothrates of interest. ing more nor less than notes, which bear an average rate of interest of from 41 to 5 per cent.

AGRICULTURAL INTEREST RATES V. RAILROAD INTEREST RATES.

Let us compare the rates paid by the farmers with those paid by one of our other great industries, the railroads. The farms of the United States are valued at \$41,000,000,000, their annual production is \$10,000,000,000, the indebtedness of the farmers is about \$6,000,000,000, and they pay from 6 to 10 per cent interest. The railroads are valued at \$20,000,000,000, their annual income is \$3,000,000.000, their indebtedness is \$11,000,000,000, and they pay from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest. Thus it is seen that the farmers with property valued at twice that of the railroads and with an indebtedness of a little more than half, pay more than twice as much interest. We do not object to the low rate of interest which the railroads pay on borrowed money, but we do object to the discrimination against the farmers and the fact that they are compelled under present conditions to pay such high rates.

PRESENT SOURCES OF CREDIT FOR THE FARMER.

Under conditions as they exist to-day farmers must secure their loans, in the main, from the following three sources:

(1) From the banks in their respective communities; (2) from the capitalists or money lenders, who loan their own funds; (3) from the big insurance companies or large loan companies, who have their agents in various parts of the country,

Let us consider each of these sources separately:

(1) The banker, no matter how much he may desire to accommodate the farmer, can not make long-time loans to him. The banker is dependent upon his depositors for the money he loans and he must at all times be ready to pay those depositors their money upon demand. He must of necessity, therefore, loan the money given into his keeping for short periods of time and as a rule upon personal security. Every banker who is a real and true friend of the farmer will welcome the passage of a ruralcredits bill.

(2) The capitalist or money lender of the community who must depend upon his own resources for his supply of funds can not begin to meet the demands of the farmers in his locality. The capitalist or local money lender is dependent as a rule upon the interest he gets from his loans as his source of income, and while he may be generous and public spirited, it can not be expected that he will make loans at a very low rate of interest.

(3) There are in the United States many great insurance com-

panies, loan companies, and other organizations which have been supplying money to the farmers for many years. These concerns have their State agents, their county agents, their examiners and The expense of such a system is of necessity very great, and that expense must, of course, fall upon the borrower. The State agents and the local agents must have their commission, and the result is that the rate of interest paid by the farmer

These sources of credit will not at all meet his requirements or give to him the kind of credit he desires and must have. The main fault with all sources of credit which the farmer has under present conditions is that the time is too short, the rate of interest too high, and no provision is made for amortization-that is, the gradual paying off of the loan. The result is that the farmer borrows for a period of 5 years, once in a while 10, pays his interest annually or semiannually, as the case may be, and at the end of the period he still owes the debt and must at great expense either renew the loan or seek credit from other sources.

ADVANTAGES UNDER THIS BILL-INTEREST RATES.

Under the provisions of this bill the farmers will secure four important advantages-ample funds from which loans may be secured, a long period of time in which to make repayment, an

mum rate which can be charged, but it is thought that the rate will not be as much as 6 per cent. After the system is in full operation the amount of interest charged will depend upon the rate of interest at which the land-bank bonds can be sold. The bill specifically states that the rate charged the farmer shall not be more than 1 per cent above the rate which these bonds bear. If the land-bank bonds bear 5 per cent interest, the rate to the farmer can not exceed 6 per cent; if they bear 4½ per cent, the rate to the farmer can not exceed 5½ per cent; if 4 per cent, the farmer's rate will be 5 per cent; if 3 or 3½ per cent, the farmer's rate will be 4 or 4½ per cent. Every effort has been made in the formulation of this bill to make these bonds desirable investments; in fact, it is thought that these bonds will be as desirable as Government bonds, and in that event the farmer will be able to get money at a very low rate of interest.

THE AMORTIZATION PLAN-AN ILLUSTRATION.

Under the amortization plan the farmer, in addition to the interest he pays, will at the same time make small payments to reduce the principal of his loan. For information I shall append to my remarks some amortization tables which have been carefully prepared showing what the annual payments will be on a loan of \$1,000 for different periods of time and at different rates of interest.

I can best illustrate the advantages which will accrue to the farmers from a system of rural credits providing a low rate of interest and amortization by the following statement: The mortgage indebtedness of this country is \$4,000,000,000. mating the average rate of interest paid at 7½ per cent—I think it is greater than that—but estimating it at 7½ per cent, the farmers pay annually \$300,000,000 interest alone, with no reduction of principal. Now, under a rural-credits bill such as we are considering, with the rate of interest fixed at 5 per cent, if the farmers were to continue to pay \$300,000,000 annuallyidentically the same sum they are now paying-in 22 years and 6 months, they would pay off their entire mortgage indebtedness, principal and interest. In other words, the farmers of America can, under such a bill as this, pay off their entire indebtedness in 221 years, without paying out one cent more than they are now paying to meet their interest charges. Do you not think this is "a consummation devoutly to be wished"?

SOME IMPORTANT PROVISIONS OF THE BILL.

I desire as briefly as I can to outline some of the principal and important features of this bill. The entire system is under the control and supervision of the Government through a Federal farm-loan board that consists of three members to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The board, within the limits prescribed by this bill, fixes the rate of interest to be charged to farmers, also the rate of interest of the land bonds which are sold from time to time. This board will divide the United States into 12 landbank districts, in each of which there shall be established a Federal land bank, with a capital stock of \$750,000. In the organization of each Federal land bank all the stock not subscribed by individuals shall be taken by the Government, thus the Government may be, and in all probability will be, called upon to aid the system to the extent of \$9,000,000. The stock of these Federal land banks will be divided into shares of \$5 each and every borrower, under the terms of this bill, through his local national farm-loan association, must become a stock-holder in the Federal land bank of the district in which he resides. Eventually all of the stock owned by individuals, as well as by the Government, will be retired and the entire stock of each Federal land bank will be owned by the borrowers themselves, and all dividends accruing will be divided among them. Each Federal land bank shall be managed by a board of nine directors, six of whom are elected by the national farm-loan associations and three who are appointed by the Federal farmloan board.

NATIONAL FARM-LOAN ASSOCIATIONS.

The national farm-loan associations, which, in my opinion, will become the bulwark of the entire system, are organized among the farmers and by the farmers themselves. It is intended that the great bulk of the loans made by the Federal land banks will be made through these associations. In any community 10 or more farmers desiring loans may join together to form one of these associations; while this is the minimum number required to organize, it is expected that their membership will rapidly increase and that they will become strong local farm-loan organizations. Each association elects its own board of directors to manage its affairs. Every member of the national farm-loan amortization plan by which the loan will be paid off in small association must be a borrower, and he must take stock in the annual or semiannual payments, and a low rate of interest.

The rate of interest can not exceed 6 per cent; that is the maxieral land bank in the district in which the association is organized. Every application for a loan must first be passed upon by the loan committee of the local association, which makes a written report, together with an appraisal of the land to the Federal land bank from which the loan is to be secured. These local national farm-loan associations will in time become not only organizations for the purpose of securing loans on their land, but will become great cooperative organizations for the marketing of farm products, the improvement of roads and schools, and for the general advancement and upbuilding of the agricultural communities of the country.

LOANS-TO WHOM MADE, PURPOSES, TIME, AMOUNT.

Under the provisions of this act loans will be made only to landowners, or to anyone who is about to become a landowner, and who is either living upon the land or who intends to live upon the land; in other words, this act is intended to give aid to bona fide farmers and not to land speculators. The borrower must use the money for the following purposes: For the purchase of land, to pay off indebtedness already upon the land, to erect buildings and other improvements, to purchase farm implements or live stock, or for other purposes purely agricultural, No loan will be made for a shorter period than 5 years or for a longer period than 36 years, or for a sum of less than \$100 or more than \$10,000. No loan shall exceed 60 per cent of the appraised value of the land and 20 per cent of the appraised value of the permanent improvements.

PROVISION FOR MAKING LOANS DIRECT TO FARMERS.

It may be that in some sections of the country the farmers may not for one reason or another organize these national farm-loan associations. In such localities this bill gives the Federal farm-loan board power to authorize the Federal land banks to make loans to the farmers through banks, trust companies, mortgage companies, or savings banks as agents. That provision of the bill as embodied in section 15 of this act and as reported to the House by the committee, was admitted by all to be impractical and unworkable for the reason that it required agents to indorse the notes and to become liable for their payment. Under the laws of many of the States the banks could not assume such a liability, notwithstanding the fact that the loans would be unquestionably good. Hence banks could not, under the requirements as reported, become agents for the making of loans to the farmers in their respective localities. In order to correct the situation I offered an amendment to that section of the bill, authorizing the making of loans direct to farmers through local banks, as agents. My amendment will enable the farmer, where there are no organized associations, through his local bank, as agent, to obtain a loan direct from the Federal land bank. My amendment, which was adopted by the House to-day by a vote of 2 to 1, inserted the following language in section 15 of the act:

Every agent negotiating any such loan shall make a report and an appraisal of the land upon which application is made for the loan on blanks furnished by the Federal land bank, and such report and appraisal shall be referred to an appraiser as required in section 10 of this act, and no loan shall be made by the land bank unless the report of the appraiser is favorable. Every loan made under the provisions of this section shall be made to the applicant upon such forms and under such regulations as shall be prescribed by the Federal farm-loan board.

I consider this a most important amendment, and I hope that the conferees on the part of the House will see that it is retained in the bill.

LAND-BANK BONDS.

Whenever any Federal land bank has accumulated farm mortgages to the amount of \$50,000, it shall deposit these mortgages with the farm-loan board, where they shall be registered, examined, and approved. Land-bank bonds may then be issued upon these mortgages as security, and the money obtained from the sale of these bonds will be used by the Federal land bank to accommodate other farmers in that land-bank district. These bonds, as I have already stated, backed by such excellent security, will sell readily in the money markets of the country. It is a recognized fact that the success of a rural-credits system depends upon the marketability of its bonds. I wish that this bill had gone a step further and provided that the Government should guarantee these bonds. The bonds are a safe and secure investment. There can be no doubt about that, but with the guaranty of the Government back of them the rate of interest which the bonds bear would be reduced and that, in turn, would reduce the rate of interest to the farmer.

BILL CAREFULLY CONSIDERED-MANY AMENDMENTS OFFERED.

This House has now been considering this bill for several days. I have followed very closely the debate and have paid careful attention to all the amendments proposed. I have given my support to a number of amendments which I thought would improve the bill, and especially to those seeking to bring more

aid to the system from the Government. One of the most important amendments adopted was that offered by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Lever]. It authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to deposit Government funds to the amount of \$500,000 with a Federal land bank, to aid it in meeting its obligations with respect to the payment of either the principal or the interest of its bonds. This deposit of Government funds will only be made when it is shown by the Federal land-bank board that the Federal land bank is solvent and that the deposit is needed to enable the bank to meet its bond obligations, either principal or interest. Many other amendments have been offered and given careful and serious consideration. I congratulate this House on its earnest and sincere efforts to perfect and improve this great measure. I most heartily congratulate the Committee on Banking and Currency which, after so many months of laborious consideration, has unanimously reported this rural-credits bill.

IT WILL REQUIRE TIME TO DEVELOP THE SYSTEM.

No great advance movement was ever accomplished in a short period of time. It took years to inaugurate and perfect the Rural Delivery System and the Parcel Post, and it will take time to inaugurate and to perfect a rural-credits system. This measure may not be all that the farmers expect and hope for; it may not at first meet the approval of all. It will take time to inaugurate the system and to get it into full and complete operation, but I feel sure that the rural-credits system here sought to be enacted will grow in popularity as its terms are understood and as its workings are seen in actual demonstration. This bill will place agriculture upon equal terms in the financial world with every industry in the land. It will give to the American farmer advantages the farmers of other lands have enjoyed for more than 50 years. It will lighten the burden of the borrower, give him hope, and insure to him a greater share of the fruits of his toil; it will enable him to provide a home for his loved ones and care for and educate those dependent upon him; it will give him new life and new inspiration, and encourage him to renewed energy.

IT WILL HELP THE TENANT AND THE SMALL FARMER.

It will open the door of opportunity to thousands of poor men, who are now compelled to rent land and who must move from place to place, and who now have no place of permanent abode; indeed, no place they can truly call a home.

I wish that every farmer were a landowner. Increase the number of landowners who till the soil and you add to the strength and increase the security of the Nation. Realizing this great truth, all the great countries of the world are striving to decrease tenant farming, and are contributing from their treasuries in one way and another to enable the tenant to become the owner of the land he cultivates.

There are hundreds of thousands of farmers in this broad land living upon small farms, striving earnestly to make a living, with large families to care for and educate, who are borne down by excessive rates of interest. They are striving hard to pay their debts and to save and accumulate something to tide them over periods of crop failure and to meet other incidental misfortunes which are sure to come. I am ready to cast my vote for any rural-credits bill, which I think will help and encourage this class of farmers, whose whole life is one great struggle from beginning to end.

THE WEST THE GREAT STOREHOUSE OF THE REPUBLIC.

I point this House to-day to the West. Beyond the banks of the great father of waters, the Mississippi River, lies the future agricultural empire of this Nation. There, indeed, the need of this kind of legislation is known and felt more than in any other part of the country. Statistics show that in the East, the old, settled part of the United States, the rates of interest are low, while in the West, in that new and undeveloped part of the country, the rates of interest are high, excessively high. From out the fertile valleys and from off the broad extended plains of the western world of this great Republic will in the future years come the wheat and the corn, the cattle, the sheep, and the hogs that will furnish the bread and meat which will feed this entire Nation.

THE OZARKS.

I have the honor to represent a district which lies within that great western empire. My people dwell among the hills and dales of the Ozarks in good old Missouri; I have lived among them all my life, I know of their successes and their failures, of their fortunes and misfortunes, of their advantages and disadvantages. The Ozarks are famed for their healthful climate, for the variety of their soils suitable to diversified agriculture; for their great orchards of peaches, pears, and big red apples; for their hillsides, furnishing pasture land for growing herds of cattle; for their fertile valleys producing abundant harvests

of wheat, oats, hay, and corn; for their rippling streams of clearest water, abounding in fish of every kind; for their beautiful scenery, unexcelled anywhere in all the world, and, above all, for the honest, rugged, sterling characteristics of their citizenship—"a bold peasantry, their country's pride." I have seen my people happy and prosperous, their granaries filled with grain, their barns filled with corn and hay, the result of abundant crops, following a seasonable year. On the other hand, I have seen their crops wither and die before the awful droughts. I have seen their matured crops in the valleys swept away by the floods extending from hill to hill. Farmers in the Ozarks, like farmers elsewhere, are dependent upon the seasons for their crops. If the sunshine and rain come in due proportion, they are blessed with abundant harvests; if not, they are compelled to face a crop failure. But whether they succeed or whether they fail, they must be ready to meet their obligations; they must pay their interest charges. I appeal to you to-day in behalf of the Ozarks; I appeal to you to be pople. Let us encourage agriculture through all that country. Let us bring to pass as speedily as possible that much-desired condition so beautifully described by the poet:

Where a man is a man, if he is willing to toil,
And the humblest may gather the fruits of the soil;
Where children are blessings and he who has most
Has aid in his fortune and riches to boast;
Where the young may enjoy and the aged may rest,
Away, far away, to the land of the West.

AMORTIZATION TABLES.

For information a few amortization tables are here appended showing the amounts of annual payments on a loan of \$1,000 for certain periods of time and at various rates of interest:

Amount of loan, \$1,000; length of term, 16 years; rate of interest, 6 per cent; annual payment, \$100.

Annual periods.	Total annual payment.	Interest at 6 per cent.	Paid on principal.	Amount of prin- cipal still un- paid.
1	\$100.00 100,00	\$60,00 57,60	\$40.00 42,40	\$960, 00 917, 60
4	100,00 100,00 100,00	55, 06 52, 36 49, 50	44.94 47.64	872, 66 825, 02
6	100,00 100,00	46.47 43.26	50.50 - 58.53 56.74	774, 52 720, 99 664, 25
8 9	100.00 100.00 100.00	39. 85 36. 25 32. 42	60. 15 63. 75 67. 58	604. 10 540. 35 472. 77
11 12	100.00 100.00	28.37 24.07	71, 63 75, 93	401, 13 325, 20
13 14 15	100,00 100,00 100,00	19.61 14.68 9.56	80, 49 85, 32 90, 44	244. 71 159. 40 68. 96
16	73, 10	4. 14	68.96	
Total	1,573.10	573. 10	1,000.00	

This table shows that a loan of \$1,000 bearing 6 per cent interest can be paid off in 16 years by paying \$100 annually, the last payment being \$73.10, a little less than \$100. Under present conditions if a farmer secured a loan at 6 per cent, he would pay, during 16 years, \$960 interest, and at the end of the time would still owe the principal, \$1,000.

Amount of loan, \$1,900; length of term, 20 years; rate of interest, 6 per cent; annual payment, \$87.19.

Annual periods.	Total annual payment.	Interest at 6 per cent.	Paid on principal.	Amount on prin- cipal un- paid.
1	\$87, 19	\$60,00	\$27, 19	\$972, 81
0	87, 19	58, 36	28, 83	943. 98
3	87, 19	56.63	30, 56	913, 49
	87, 19	14.80	32.39	881.00
4	87, 19	52, 83	34, 33	846, 70
b	87. 19	50. 80	36, 39	810, 31
0	87.19	48, 61	38, 58	
7	87. 19	46, 30	40, 89	771.7
8		43, 85	43. 34	739. 8
9				687. 50
U	87.19	41. 25	45.94	641.5
1	87, 19	38. 49	48.70	592.8
2	87.19	35, 57	51.62	541.2
3	87. 19	32, 47	54.72	486, 55
4	87. 19	29. 19	58, 00	428.5
5	87, 19	25, 71	61.48	367.0
6	87, 19	22.02	65. 17	301.87
7	87. 19	18, 11	69.08	232.79
8	87. 19	13.96	73.23	159.50
9	87. 19	9. 57	77.62	81.9
0	86, 85	4.91	81.94	*******
Total	1,743,46	743, 46	1,000,00	Andrews .

Amount of loan, \$1,900; length of term, 20 years; rate of interest, 5 per cent; annual payment, \$80.24.

Annual periods.	Total annual payment.	Interest at 5 per cent.	Paid on principal.	A mount of prin- cipal still un- paid.
1	\$80. 24 80. 26 80. 26 8	\$50.00 48.48 46.90 45.23 43.48 41.64 39.71 37.68 35.56 33.32 30.98 28.51 25.93 23.21 20.36 17.37 14.23 7.46 3.82	\$30. 24 31. 75 33. 34 35. 01 38. 76 38. 59 40. 52 42. 55 44. 68 46. 91 49. 26 51. 72 54. 31 57. 02 59. 87 66. 01 69. 31 72. 78	\$969, 76 938, 00 901, 67 869, 66 832, 90 794, 31 753, 79 711, 23 666, 56 619, 64 570, 39 518, 67 464, 36 407, 34 347, 46 284, 60 218, 59 149, 59
Total	1,604.80	604. 80	1,000.00	

Amount of loan, \$1,000; length of term, 20 years; rate of interest, 4 per cent; annual payment, \$73.58.

Annual periods.	Tral armal payment.	Interest at 4 per cent.	Paid on principal.	A mount of prin- cipal still un- paid.
1,	\$73, 58	\$40,00	\$33, 58	\$966, 42
2	73, 58	38, 65	34, 92	931, 50
3	73, 58	37. 25	36, 32	895, 18
A	73, 58	35, 81	37.77	857. 40
£	73, 58	34, 30	39. 28	818. 12
ð	73, 58	32.72	40, 86	
6				777.26
7	73.58	31.09	42, 49	734.77
8	73.58	29.39	44. 19	690, 59
9	73.58	27.62.		644. 63
0	73.58	25. 79	47.79	596, 83
1	73.58	23.87	49.71	547. 13
2	73.58	21.89	51.70	495, 43
3	73.58	19.81	53.78	441.66
4	73.58	17.66	55.91	385, 75
5	73.58	15, 43	58, 15	327, 60
6	73, 58	13, 10	60, 48	267, 12
7	73, 58	10.68	62, 90	204, 22
8	73.58	8, 16	65, 41	138, 81
9	73, 58	5, 55	68, 03	70, 76
0	73.58	2.83	70.79	,,,,,,,,,
Total	1,471.60	471.60	1,000.00	

Amount of loan, \$1,000; length of term, 36 years; rate of interest, 6 per cent; annual payment, \$68.39.

Annual periods.	Total annual payment.	Interest at 6 per cent.	Paid on princi- pal.	Amount of prin- cipal still unpaid.
1	\$68.39	\$60.00	\$8.39	\$991.61
2	68.39	59.49	8.90	982.71
3	68.39	58, 96	9.43	973, 28
4	68.39	58. 40	9.99	963, 39
5	68, 39	57.80	10.59	952, 80
6	68.39	57.16	11. 23	941.57
7	68.39	56.49	11.90	929.68
8	68, 39	55. 79	12.60	917.08
9	68.39	55, 92	13.37	903, 71
10	68.39	54. 28	14, 11	889.60
11	68. 39	53.37	15.02	874.58
12	68.39	52.47	15.92	858, 68
18	68, 39	51.52	16.87	841.79
14	68.39	50. 50	17.89	823. 89
15	68, 39	49. 43	18.96	804.93
16	68.39	48, 29	20.10	784. 83
17	68.39	47.08	21.31	763, 52
18	68.39	45. 81	22.58	740.91
19	68, 39	44. 45	23.94 25.37	717.00 691.63
- Char	68.39 68.39	41, 49	26. 90	664.73
22	68.39	39, 88	28, 51	636, 22
23	68.39	38.17	30, 22	606, 00
24	68, 39	36, 36	32, 03	573, 97
~	68, 39	34, 43	33, 96	540. 01
Do.		32, 40	35, 99	501.02
~-	68, 39 68, 39	30. 24	38.15	465, 87
28	68, 39	27. 94	40, 45	425, 42
29	68, 39	25, 52	42, 87	382, 55
30	68. 39	22, 95	45, 44	337.01
31	69. 39	20, 22	48.17	288, 81
32	68, 39	17, 33	51.08	237.78
27	68, 39	15, 26	53, 13	184, 65
34	68, 39	11.07	57, 32	127, 33
85	68, 39	7, 63	60, 76	66, 57
36	70.56	3.99	66. 57	
Total	2, 464. 21	1, 464. 21	1,000.00	

Amount of loan, \$1,000; length of term, 36 years; rate of interest, 5 per cent; annual payment, \$60.44.

Annual periods.	Annual payment.	Interest at 5 per cent.	Paid on principal.	Amount of prin- cipal still unpaid.
1	\$60, 44	\$50,00	\$10,44	\$989,56
2	60, 44	49, 47	10, 97	978.59
3	60, 44	48, 92	11,52	967.07
4	60, 44	48, 35	12.09	954, 98
5	60, 44	47.74	12,70	942, 28
6	60, 44	47, 11	13, 33	928, 95
7	60, 44	46, 44	14.00	914.95
8	60, 44	45, 74	14.70	900, 25
9	60, 44	45, 01	15, 43	884.82
10	60, 44	44, 24	16, 20	868.62
11	60, 44	43, 43	17.01	851.61
12	60, 44	42,58	17.86	833.75
13	60, 44	41.68	18.76	814.99
14	60, 44	40,74	19.70	795. 29
15	60, 44	39.76	20.68	774.61
16	60, 44	38, 73	21.71	752.90
17	60, 44	37, 64	22.80	730.10
8	60, 44	36, 50	23, 90	706, 20
19	60, 44	35, 31	25.13	681.07
20	60, 44	34, 05	26.39	654.68
21	60, 44	32, 73	27.71	626, 97
22	60, 44	31.34	29, 10	597.87
23	60, 44	29, 89	30, 55	567.32
24	60, 44	28, 36	32, 08	535. 24
25	60, 44	26, 76	33, 68	501.56
26	60, 44	25, 07	35, 37	466.19
27	60, 44	23, 30	37.14	429.05
28	60, 44	21, 45	38, 99	390.06
29	60, 44	19.50	40.94	349.12
30	60, 44	17,45	42, 99	306.13
31	60, 44	15.30	45.14	260.99
32	60, 44	13.04	47.40	213.59
33	60, 44	10.67	49.77	163.82
34	60, 44	8.19	52. 25	111.57
35	60, 44	5.57	54.87	56.70
36	56.70		56.70	
Total	2, 172. 10	1,172.10	1,000.00	

Amount of loan, \$1,000; length of term, \$6 years; rate of interest, 4 per cent; annual payment, \$52,887.

Annual periods.	Install- ments.	Interest.	Applied on prin- cipal.	New princi- pal.
1	\$52,887	\$40,000	\$12, 887	\$987, 113
2	52, 887	39, 484	13, 403	973.710
3	52, 887	38, 948	13, 939	959, 771
4	52, 887	38, 390	14, 497	945, 274
5	52, 887	37.810	15,077	930, 197
6	52, 887	37, 207	15, 680	914, 517
7	52, 887	36, 580	16, 307	898, 210
8	52, 887	35, 928	16, 959	881, 251
9	52, 887	35, 250	17.637	863, 614
10	52.887	34, 544	18, 343	845, 271
11	52, 887	33, 810	19,077	826, 194
12	52, 887	33.047	19, 840	806, 354
13	52, 887	32, 254	20, 633	785, 721
14	52, 887	31, 428	21, 459	764, 262
15	52, 887	30, 570	22, 317	741.945
16.	52, 887	29, 677	23, 210	718, 735
17	52, 887	28, 749	24, 138	694, 597
	52, 887	27, 793	25, 094	669, 503
18,	52, 887	26, 780	26, 107	643, 396
	52, 887	25, 735	27, 152	616, 244
20	52, 887	24, 649	28, 238	588, 006
21	52.887	23, 520	29, 367	558, 639
22	52.887	22.345	30, 542	528, 097
23	52.887	21, 123	31, 649	496, 448
24	52.887	19. 857	33, 030	463, 418
25	52.887	18, 536	34, 351	429, 067
26	52, 887	17, 162	35, 725	393.342
27	52, 887	15, 733	37, 154	356, 188
28	52.887	14. 247	38, 640	317. 548
29	52.887	12,701	40.186	277.362
30	52. 887	11.094	41, 793	235, 569
31	52. 887	9, 422	43, 465	192, 104
32	52. 887	7, 684	45, 203	146, 901
33	52, 887	5,876	47, 011	99, 890
34	52. 887	3, 995	48, 892	50, 998
35		2,039	50, 848	.150
36	52. 887	2.039	00.040	. 130
Total	1,903.932	903.997	999. 860	

Revising and Amending the Statutes Relative to Trade-Marks.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY W. WATSON. OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 7, 1916.

Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of the bill revising and amending the statutes relative to trademarks now pending in the Committee on Patents. This measure amends the act entitled "An act to authorize the registration

of trade-marks," and so forth, by inserting the following-amend-

ment:

SEC, 5. That no mark by which goods of the owner of the mark may be distinguished from other goods of the same class shall be refused registration as a trade-mark on account of the nature of such mark, unless such mark—

(b) Consists of or comprises the flag or coat of arms or other insignia of the United States, or any simulation thereof, or of any State or municipality, or of any foreign nation, or of any design or picture that has been or may hereafter be adopted by any fraternal society as its emblem; or of the name of any church, religious denomination, or society, or the name by which any church, religious denomination, or society is commonly known or called; or of any name, distinguishing mark, character, emblem, colors, flag, or banner adopted by any institution, organization, club, or society which was incorporated in any State in the United States prior to the date of the adoption and use by the applicant.

The Society of Friends, commonly called Onakers, of which

The Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, of which there are about 130,000 in the United States, asks Congress through this measure to prevent the name of their church, as well as other religious orders, from being registered as a trade-mark, in the interchange of commerce.

Everyone reverences his place of worship with the highest inspiration which he is capable of receiving. The association of the church—through which we invoke for the Divine blessings, and plead for strength in times of sorrow and death and for mercy when we sin—with commercialism, is repugnant to the sacred feelings of the human soul.

the sacred feelings of the human soul.

The Quakers rightfully maintain that the public should be restrained from indicating a grade of whisky, a brand of food, or a quality of a textile by the name of any religious sect. The church is a holy institution, and is sacred to those who are baptized therein, and it should be so held by the State. It was contended in the hearings that the word "Quaker" is one of derision, and not the name of a religious sect. The Society of Friends was founded by George Fox in 1630, and it has been Friends was founded by George Fox in 1630, and it has been a continuous organization since that period. Fox constantly applied the name Quaker to his association. In one publication he mentions "The progress of Quakerism in Monmouthshire." In another, entitled "A chief upholder of the Quaker sect," he states that the Quakers are not a sect but are "In ye power of God before sects was." He also wrote an essay on "The Quaker challenge to the Papists" and "The Quaker testimony concerning magistracy," in which appears the following sentence: "All you that call yourselves Christians who have been so angry, Independents, Presbyterians, we have not forgot your so angry, Independents, Presbyterians, we have not forgot your anger against the Quakers." The journal of George Fox, by Norman Penny, records:

When George Fox breathed his last in the house of Henry Gouldney, the good, Gracechurch Street merchant, the Quaker Society, which he started on its voyage, amidst the storm of persecution, had already passed into quieter waters.

The toleration act gave relief to the Quakers by permitting "this harmless sect to hold their assemblies in peace." William Penn affiliated himself with the Quakers, and Janney, in his Life of Penn, states:

William Penn, the only son of the famous admiral, much to the annoyance of his family, had embraced the principles of George Fox, the founder of the sect of Quakers.

Penn appealed to King James to use his influence to procure some remission of the persecution of the Quakers. In 1772 the people called Quakers petitioned to Parliament that they be permitted to affirm when an oath was required of them. Whittier, who was a member of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, wrote many poems in which the word "Quaker" appeared. One is entitled "The Quaker of the olden times"; another, "The Quaker Alumni," four lines of which are as follows:

The Word which the reason of Plato discerned; The truth, as whose symbol the Mithra-fire burned; The soul of the world which the Stoic but guessed, In the Light Universal the Quaker confessed!

The above facts seem to be self-evident proof that the Society of Friends have been and are commonly called Quakers in all parts of the world where they are universally known. These people always maintained the right of religious liberty and expression, and for these reasons were imprisoned and persecuted. They greatly helped, through their perseverance, to establish that liberty which all religious associations now enjoy. William Penn brought these Quaker principles to America and upheld them in his Province of Pennsylvania. This society, commonly called Quakers, did as much, if not more, than any other people to bring about the conditions which caused Congress to add the first amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees to the "citizens of the United States freedom of religion, of speech, and the right of petition."

The members of the Society of Friends having testified that their Christian sect is commonly called Quakers, they should have the legal protection of the name of their society, that it may not be used as a trade-mark in the course of commerce.

Agriculture Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES LIEB. OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 6, 1916.

Mr. LIEB. Mr. Speaker, it is proposed to spend approximately \$25,000,000 for carrying on the work of the Department of Agriculture in the ensuing fiscal year. This amount seems small when we consider what is being spent by other branches of the Federal Government. The farmer to-day is prosperous. In late years he has been getting good prices for his crops. In this day and age when the country is enjoying prosperity in every branch of endeavor it seems to me to continue our Federal appropriations on a larger scale than heretofore known is but

It is impossible to give a comprehensive idea of the scope of the activities of the Department of Agriculture, but generally speaking these activities may be divided into three classes.

1. Research work, which includes the scientific study of the fundamental problems of agriculture.

2. Educational or extension work, which aims to make available to the rural population the results of the department's experiments and discoveries.

3. Regulatory work, which includes the administration of the following statutes: Meat-inspection act, cattle-quarantine act, diseased-animal transportation acts, 28-hour act, virus-serumtoxin act, food and drugs act, insecticide and fungicide act, plant-quarantine act, seed-importation act, Lacey game act, and cotton-futures act.

All of these activities can not be made available to every section of the United States, but it is the endeavor in the passage of Federal appropriation acts to bestow the greatest amount of good possible in each section.

For the Bureau of Animal Industry there is appropriated \$2.222,000. A large portion of this is to be set aside for the detection, prevention, treatment, and cure of diseases of animals of the farm. According to statistics kept by the Department of Agriculture the farmers of the United States animals of the farm. lost approximately \$75,000,000 from the disease of holera during the year 1915. Of this amount I am informed the State of Indiana sustained a loss of \$3,281,620. Indiana ranks fourth in the United States in hog production, and to show that the in the United States in hog production, and to show that the ravages of hog cholera were severe I have the authority of the Bureau of Animal Industry that only Iowa and Illinois sustained greater losses from this disease. Reports show that a serum has been found which when properly used in the vaccination of hogs prevents their taking the cholera. The question of hog cholera is but one of the great many items under the heading of this bureau. Among other items of appropriations are for the investigation and study of diseases of horses,

mules, and cattle.

To the Bureau of Plant Industry is apportioned \$2.511,620. This bureau studies every disease of plant life and disseminates much valuable information to the farmers over the country. I will not go into detail in regard to activities of this burenu, but it is a well-known fact that it plays a most vital part in educating and helping the farmers. One item I wish to lay stress upon is that providing for congressional seed distribution. I have been sending seed to my constituents for four years, and I believe that the system I have adopted in sending them out has been productive of a great amount of good in the way of stimulating vegetable growing. It certainly does not seem to me extravagance to send a little package of seed to a constituent who shows no hesitancy in paying taxes to help maintain the Federal Government. It is a popular custom, and I hope it will always survive. As evidence of the popularity of this system, I want to say that at certain periods of the year my mails have been flooded with letters of thanks from constituents who report good results from the planting of the seed I have sent them.

It is proposed to appropriate \$328,735 for the use of the Bureau of Soils. This bureau studies the different kind of soils and has done much in recent years to educate the farmers along these lines. They are finding the best source of fertilizer including potash and nitrate. The people of Indiana are beginning to pay attention to enriching the soils. The Government is doing much to educate farmers in building up weak soils.

Two years have passed since the cooperative agricultural extension act of May 8, 1914, commonly known as the Smith-Lever Extension Act, went into effect. In fact, much has been accomplished in creating and perfecting the administrative bureau for carrying on the extension work in agriculture and home economics in the department and the several States.

All the States have assented to the provisions of the act either through their governors or through their legislatures. A single agricultural college from each State has been designated as a beneficiary of this act, thus providing for the unified administration of the act within the State.

Not many years ago a farmer wishing to receive highly scientific information in regard to farming had to travel in some cases hundreds of miles to some distant college to gather information that would enable him to keep pace with the growth of the agricultural industry. But now, particularly since the operation of the Smith-Lever Act under the present administration, the education is brought to the door of the farmer through an intricate system, in which the county agent conducts missionary work with the Federal and State Governments as the principal functions. The county agent acts as a general representative of the local community, the State through its agri-cultural college, and the Nation through its Department of Agriculture. I herewith quote a letter which I received from Hon. C. F. Marvin, Acting Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, which gives somewhat of a conception of the actual work being done by the department to help the farmer:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, Washington, October 12, 1915.

Work being done by the department to help the farmer:

Department of Agriculature,
Washington, October 12, 1915.

House of Representatives.

Dear Mr. Lieb: Your letter of October 1, requesting information regarding the operation of the Smith-Lever Act in Indiana, has been received.

For the fiscal year 1914—15 Indiana received under the provisions of this act \$10,000 from the Federal Government, and for 1915—16 will receive \$28,931. To offset the latter sum the State has made available \$18,931. In addition, \$15,261 has been set aside from the appropriations made directly to this Department for the farmers' cooperative demonstration work and \$3,650 from appropriations for other demonstration purposes. The Director of Extension Work reports that the State legislature has appropriated \$46,089 and county authorities \$65,000 for cooperative agricultural extension work. The total amount available for extension purposes, therefore, is \$182,382, of which \$110,571 is to be used for county agent work.

During the past year a strong administrative organization has been developed under Prof. G. I. Christie. Thirty-one counties now have county agents and, together with a number of trained specialists, to assist with technical advice in regard to the more difficult problems presented to the county agent.

The more important demonstrations by county agents include 494 in the selection of seed corn, 260 on orchard management, 172 on the control of out smut, 241 on liming, 418 on the growing of alfalfa, and 539 farmers grew 5 acres of corn from selected seed. The yields of these 5-acre plats were practically twice the average for the State. These acres also showed a higher net profit than the average.

In connection with the out-smut demonstrations it was found that the treated oats contained less than 0.5 per cent of smut, while the untreated oats contained sproximately 12; per cent. The cost of treating the oats was but 4 cents per acre, and it was estimated that the treated oats gave an increased yield of 5 bushels per acre.

C. F. Maryin, Acting Secretary.

C. F. MARVIN, Acting Secretary.

The pending appropriation bill fully provides for the continuance of this work which is carried on in the Department of Agriculture by the States Relation Service. The amount appropriated is \$720,000, which is in addition to the annual appropriation provided in the Smith-Lever Act passed one year ago. The Secretary of Agriculture has stated to the Committee on Agriculture that \$100,000 is to be used profitably during the next fiscal year to meet the demands for the enlargement of the extension work in the Northern and Western States. With this money available it will be possible to inaugurate the following: (1) Extension work among farm women, \$15,400. (2) Boys' and girls' club work, \$30,000. (3) Farm-management demonstrations, \$19,500. (4) County agent work, \$35,100.

The States Relations Service also takes care of farmers' institutes and home-economics investigations,

I have voted for every item in this appropriation bill which appeals to me as being of importance to the welfare of the Taking my congressional district as a whole, it is about one-half city and one-half agricultural, but I venture to say the agricultural industry wields more or less influence in the subsistence of nine-tenths of the population of the city districts. The vocation of farming is getting to be more potential in the Nation's development every day, and for that reason none of us can begrudge the liberal appropriations provided for in this bill.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN M. EVANS,

OF MONTANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 15, 1916.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, legislation affording farmers the opportunity to borrow money at lower rates of interest for long periods, paying it back in small installments, has been deferred for many months in the hope that through exhaustive and care ful investigation the best and most economical plan could be ascertained. Volumes of such reports are now available, and I am glad to know that a thorough discussion is to be had on it

and action taken without delay.

I have had many objections to the pending bill which is now under discussion, but I still have hopes that before we pass it we will remedy the objectionable features by amendment. bill is a compromise between the advocates of governmental aid and those who think private capital should be employed. makes the Government a surety for the purchasers of the bonds to be sold, and undoubtedly will be a great success. I am glad to know the Democratic Party has taken this initial step for the farmer's benefit.

I sincerely hope, however, before this bill passes we will write more liberal aid by the Government into it. I believe many Members of the House favor it, and I shall vote for all such amendments with that provision predominating.

With the adoption of the Federal reserve act everybody was confident the farmer would be able to borrow money on the same footing as the merchant. The banker wants short-time loans and stocks and bonds, not land, for security. He wants to make loans of short duration so they can be called in on short notice. The farmer is far away and he can not keep in touch with him. The banker wants to trade with a man having an established business or a regular income. We can not say this about the It is a conceded fact that a farmer even with good security finds it almost impossible to get a loan when money can be put to other uses by the bank.

To meet this situation the farmer has asked for the assistance of the Government in some way, and we as his sponsors are obliged to give him the relief he merits. I know of no class of people that deserves more liberal treatment at the hands of our Government. The farmer is seeking no charity—he asks only for what is due him.

All lasting prosperity of a nation depends upon the success of the tiliers of the soil. If the agricultural districts prosper, history shows that all other classes equally find times good. Our Government should come to the relief of the farmer and do all it can to make his undertaking easier and to aid him in his uphill climb. The farming element provide subsistence for our millions in the cities, and yet we are prone to forget about them until hard times come upon us. Even the rain is often unwelcome when we know he needs it.

A successful farmer without money to assist him is a thought of the past. He must now be a business man and a bookkeeper. He has to purchase machinery, have plenty of stock, provide suitable buildings for storage purposes, and sow the best grain. Without an attractive home he can not keep his children on the farm, for the call of the city now offers better wages, advantages, and opportunities. In many parts of the country to be a farmer only subjects him to ridicule. People have long realized that farming is not a paying business unless conducted on a large scale, and then many "go broke" for lack of funds to get a good start.

According to the last census report we find that about half the normal increase in the rural districts went to the city, time loans, was introduced. This flourished in Germany, and making the rate of increase in the city three times that of the enabled the peasant proprietors to borrow money at low rates

rural sections. The reason for this is apparent. Greater opportunities, more attractions, modern conveniences, and higher salaries all add to a desire to leave the farm. The call to the city has been heard, and our boys are leaving the farm, and unless we do something to make the farm life more attractive—give him some inducement—I fear we will eventually be the victim of the same circumstances that caused the fall of the great nations we now only read about. We must make farming more pros-perous, and I know of no step lending more aid in that direction than that about to be taken now.

Some boldly assert that the farmer is entitled to no more aid than any other class of people. It may be true that the "butcher, the baker, and the candlestick maker" have the same right to governmental aid, but they do not have the same need. There is no aid that will universally help the people more and advance the general welfare than assistance to agriculture. President Wilson, in urging farm credits, in a comparison said of the farmer, "They do not stand on the same footing." We must curtail this mad rush to the factories, the high cost of living, the armies of unemployed, and the necessity for our young-the coming generation of our land-to work in our mills to provide for themselves and dependents.

In the State I represent a man, to build up a home, with the land given to him, must have ample funds. Many conservatively spend all their savings, and on account of unforeseen circumstances are forced to leave their land just at the time their labor would be most remunerative.

With good land, good buildings, and prospective crops, they are often unable to borrow money on their land to tide them over until they get some return for their toil. They are forced to go to the larger cities to work until they have earned enough to take them back and keep them and their families until they are able to get enough ahead.

I have had letters from hundreds of my constituents asking where they might borrow money on their land and valuable improvements, stating the local banks refused to make any loan to them. Need for such legislation was recognized by the Montana Legislature, which passed a measure which, to a limited extent, we hope, will aid our people.

The farmer has no set income. His life, property, and the reward of his year's labor is exposed to the vicissitudes of the weather. His success is a matter of chance and hope with him. Loss of horses and delay on account of sickness are not merely drawbacks to him but they are very expensive. If he has already negotiated a loan, the interest charges hobble him so that he is unable to purchase additional machinery or other necessities for fear of immediate foreclosure.

If the farmer is able to get a loan on his land and improve-ments, before it is over with he pays anywhere from 5 to 20 per cent interest charges. He has to pay for the title being searched, the preparation of the mortgage, the attorney's fee, the notary, and a recording fee. It may be more accurate to put it in the form of the old adage, "Fifteen minutes to get in, 15 per cent to stay in, and 15 years to get out."

For a period of over 50 years the national banks were permitted to enjoy the use of Government money, paying an interest charge of but one-half of 1 per cent. The charge now is a little higher, and the amount so loaned aggregates \$735,000,000. The banks buy Government bonds, deposit the bonds with the Government, are given national-bank currency in return, and then loan this money to the people for what they can get for it. In addition to this they get interest from the Government for their bonds.

We have appropriated about \$400,000,000 for the building of the Panama Canal, the Philippines have had the use and benefit of about \$700,000,000 of our money, we have appropriated large sums for Federal bridges, highways, harbors, and other good causes. Why not an equal governmental interest in the welfare of our farming industry by helping it prosper and indirectly aid

every class of people, advancing our home-market production?

We are the last of all Governments to help turn the wheel of agricultural advancement. We have stood back for years and have seen other countries prosper, while our rural populations in the less productive districts have been struggling for a mere existence.

Frederick the Great, that eminent soldier and statesman, in 1769, after little Prussia had fought all Europe, realizing the impoverished condition of her lands, inaugurated a system of loans called the Landschaft, which proved a wonderful success. This system obligated all borrowers for the debts of each, and it was not long until their lands were again fertile and produc-tive. But conditions in Germany are different, and this would not apply to America.

Also, in 1848, the Reiffeisen system, providing for short-time loans, was introduced. This flourished in Germany, and

of interest. The Government bought many of the bonds and gave security to the scheme.

So in France we have the Credit Foncier system, whereby the Government advances large sums to a central organization, which, in turn, has a lottery feature to promote the sale of bonds, and the profits are distributed to the members. The interest rates are as low as 4½ per cent.

Our farmers owe a colossal sum, estimated from \$4,000,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000, paying an average interest rate of 7½ per cent, exclusive of commissions, lawyers' fees, and recording charges.

It has been estimated if this indebtedness could be refunded under the provisions of this bill at the rate of 5 per cent per annum, and the farmers would engage to pay annually \$300,000,000, the same as is now being paid for interest alone, the entire debt, principal and interest, would be paid in about 25 years. This would mean a net saving of more than \$175,000,000 a year. It would also mean the extinguishment in 25 years of the entire existing farm-mortgage debt by the operation of the system provided for in the bill without increasing the annual payment over that now made to meet interest charges alone.

Under this bill we will appropriate approximately \$9,000,000, or \$750,000 to each of the 12 Federal land banks which will be established in various parts of the United States. Ten persons anywhere in these districts may come together and form "local associations" for the purpose of borrowing money from the Federal land banks. Each member must subscribe for stock in the association equal to 5 per cent of his loan, become liable for 10 per cent of his loan, but, on the other hand, gets dividends if any profit is made. The interest rate is not to be over 5 per cent and an administration charge of not more than 1 per cent on the loan. The minimum loan is \$100 and the maximum The money must be borrowed for productive purposes, to liquidate existing indebtedness, or to acquire ownership of farm lands. Amortization payments are annually made, which include the interest and a small part of the principal. The loans extend from 5 to 36 years. Members of the local associations appraise the land, and no loan shall be made for more than 60 per cent of the value of the land and 20 per cent of the value of the improvements. Agents for the Federal land banks are permitted in localities where the borrowers are far apart, and they receive a small commission for their work, banks, mortgage companies, and other chartered organizations acting in this

Personally I favor more direct governmental aid to the farmer, having the Government issue bonds to meet the amount, just the same as they issued bonds for the building of the Panama Canal. This would give the farmer money at a rate as low as 4 per cent.

I know of no bonds that would serve as a better investment for the trustee, executor, and for the investment of persons who wish a fair income from their money with sound security. The demand for such bonds would be very great.

I voted for the amendment just under consideration providing for more direct governmental aid, but it was defeated. This bill is a broad step in the right direction and will be received with gratitude by the farmer, but I would like to see him get more. This is somewhat of an experiment with us, but I do not look for any failure. We are permitted to amend it any time we see fit, and if it does not serve the purpose Congress can make any additions or changes needed. On the whole, this bill gives the farmer what he wants—low rate of interest, a long time to pay his loan, with no embarrassment in meeting the payments.

But should he be unable to meet the annual payments, what then? I favored an amendment that was offered appropriating money from the Treasury to loan to the Federal land banks to temporarily meet the obligations of the farmers in case they could not meet these payments. Droughts, floods, climatic conditions, and many of the other hardships and misfortunes that frequently visit a farmer make it doubtful whether he could comply. In such cases I feel that he should be temporarily relieved. I would like to see this amendment attached to the bill.

This morning I voted for the amendment offered by the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Hastings], which failed. I then voted for the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Rubey]. I am glad that amendment carried. I believe it will cut out some of the red tape and facilitate the operations of this bill. I hope when that amendment comes from this committee to the whole House it will be retained in the bill.

As suggested above, there are some features of the bill I do not like, but I think on the whole it is a step in the right direc-

tion and a good bill, and my vote shall be cast for its enactment into law.

My sympathy and interest goes out to the farmer. I am familiar with his difficulties and problems. He faces what often seems an insurmountable undertaking. Through his untiring toil and persistence he has reclaimed the dry deserts and transformed the rugged mountain sides into fertile soil. Since the time our Pilgrim Fathers landed on our rock-bound coasts of New England he has worked unceasingly, not even stopping to demand his rights or complain. Let us now make a good bill out of this measure and show our appreciation, and thereby strengthen the backbone of our Nation.

Rural Credits.

SPEECH

OF

HON. J. THOMAS HEFLIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 6, 1916.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2986) to provide capital for agricultural development, to create a standard form of investment based upon farm mortgage, to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to provide for the investment of postal savings deposits, to create Government depositaries and financial agents for the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Chairman, a little more than two years ago we enacted into law the Federal reserve banking act, and with its enactment gave to the country the greatest constructive banking system ever inaugurated. While that legislation was pending here Republican leaders in various sections of the country denounced it and they threw every obstacle possible in its way. They predicted that it would create financial disturbances throughout the country and produce a panic. Their opposition to its passage proved futile and their predictions untrue. It has benefited every section of the country and its successful operation has prevented, what no doubt in its absence would have been, the greatest panic ever witnessed in the world. [Applause.] This great banking system has deprived eastern money lords of their power to produce a panic. It has taken from them control of the money supply of the country, and this wonderful piece of legislation, Mr. Chairman, is the fruit of a Democratic administration. [Applause.] The author of that splendid banking system is a Democrat, the superb and able chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, Carter Glass of Virginia. [Applause.]

In giving to his country this wonderful law he has contributed to the prosperity and happiness of his countrymen everywhere and won for himself the lasting gratitude of a hundred millions of people. [Applause.] His statesmanship and his patriotism are of the highest order and his genius for constructing banking and currency laws is simply marvelous. This Democratic administration is fulfilling its promises to the American people. Realizing that the agricultural interests of the country have been embarrassed and handicapped because the commercial banking system has not and does not meet their requirements, the Democratic Party proclaimed in its platform its intention to provide a farm-credit system in the United States, and, Mr. Chairman, I rejoice that the day for making good that promise has arrived. [Applause.] The Senate has just passed the Hollis bill, which provides a system of farm credits, and here we are in the House considering the farmcredit bill reported by the Committee on Banking and Currency, and it will not be long until that law will be upon the statute books. The millions of farmers in this country, with billions of dollars invested in farm property, could get no farm-credit legislation from the Republican Party, in control of every branch of the Government for 16 years. [Applause.] When that party was in power a few men in Wall Street could produce a panic in 48 hours. Not only did that party refuse to provide a farmcredit system for the agricultural business of the country, but it refused to inaugurate a commercial banking system that would meet the requirements of American commerce and put an end to panics. I am surprised that the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Morgan] is opposed to a measure that puts into operation a banking system that will greatly benefit the farmers of the country.

Mr. MORGAN of Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HEFLIN. I have but little time. Mr. MORGAN of Oklahoma. The gentleman does not wish to misrepresent me?

Mr. HEFLIN. I do not. Mr. MORGAN of Oklahoma. The gentleman says that I am opposing this bill.

Mr. HEFLIN. I got my impression from the gentleman's

Mr. MORGAN of Oklahoma. I was only criticizing certain features of the bill.

Mr. HEFLIN. So the gentleman is going to vote for it? Mr. MORGAN of Oklahoma. I do not know how much it is going to be amended, but I think it is unfair for the gentleman to say that everyone who criticizes the bill is opposing it.

Mr. HEFLIN. I heard the gentleman's speech, and I understood from his remarks that he was opposed to this bill, and I feared that he would vote against it. I trust that he will see his way clear to support it. I hope to see the bill amended in several particulars. I think that it ought to be amended, but I do not want to see it defeated because it is not entirely to the liking of every man who has views on the subject. And I want to say to the real friends of farm-credit legislation that the enemies of this measure are working in various ways to defeat any and all legislation of this character. One form of opposition is that which says, "If you can not get a certain bill, vote against every other bill." Another form of opposition is that which says, "This bill does not go far enough, and I would wait until I could get one that does go far enough." Well, Mr. Chairman, we have no farm-credit system now at all and the thing for us to do is to put one into operation just as soon as possible, and after the system has been inaugurated and is in actual operation we can amend the law and improve it in whatever way we think necessary. [Applause.] We are about to put into a new field an agricultural banking system. In the United States it is something new under the sun and is in a sense an experiment, and I do not expect the system in the outset to please everybody, nor do I expect to see it contain every provision that I think should be in it. I feel safe in saying that the committee which presented to our consideration the greatest commercial banking system ever written has given to us the machinery through which will be inaugurated a great and beneficial agricultural banking system. [Applause.] I have not the time to discuss it in detail. We have already had a masterful discussion of it by a member of the committee, Mr. Moss, a Democrat from Indiana. He has been all over the Old World studying the workings of farm-credit banks, and for three years he has been aiding in working

out the system submitted to us to-day. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I want to say just here that there are three provisions in this bill that would cause me to support it. First. this farm-credit system is to be controlled separate and apart from the commercial banking system by a Federal farm-loan board, to be appointed by the President; second, the rate of interest on loans shall not be more than 6 per cent; and, third, the money loaned shall be for farm operations and agricultural business purely. This bill provides money for agricultural purposes and inaugurates a system of long-time loans at a low rate of interest. Mr. Chairman, agriculture is the corner stone on which all other industries rest, and the great mass of people engaged in agricultural pursuits in the United States are entitled to a banking system that will meet the requirements of their busi-The 60 and 90 day loan, with its high rate of interest, may, and does in a way, meet the requirements of commercial transactions, but it does not furnish the accommodations needed by the farmer in his business. [Applause.]

Let me illustrate the situation. Here are three men. of them owns a coal mine, one owns a factory, and the other owns a farm. The mine owner is ready to place coal on the market every day in the year. The manufacturer places products of his factory upon the market all along through the year, and both the mine owner and the manufacturer are selling goods and receiving money all during the year, but the farmer is engaged in a different kind of business. It takes him 12 months to make a crop and market it. The coal-mine owner and the manufacturer borrow money for 30, 60, and 90 days, but the farmer must have his loan for at least 12 months. And then, if the condition of the market is such that he does not desire to sell his produce, he ought not to be forced to place that which he has labored 12 months to produce upon a market, where to do so means a sacrifice and loss instead of a living profit. [Applause.] The laborer is worthy of his hire, and the great agricultural army of the United States is entitled to a banking system that will meet the peculiar demands of the agricultural business. The commercial banking system, instead of helping the farmer, has in too many instances taken advantage of his condition, and by refusing him the accommodation desired profited in the purchase of his produce forced upon the market. Instead of helping him to hold his produce for a good price, it has too often been the means, by withholding aid, of compelling him to sell in an unsatisfactory market. failed utterly to supply him with money at a reasonable rate to carry on his farm operations and to enable him to buy farms and improve them. [Applause.] This failure of the commercial banking system to meet the demands of agriculture shows clearly that the agricultural business needs and must have an agricultural banking system. One that will encourage and aid agricultural pursuits and furnish for a long time and at a low rate of interest money to those who want to buy farms and operate them. [Applause.] This banking system is being inaugurated for the special purpose of serving the business of agri-This banking system has a mission to perform, sepaculture. rate and distinct from that of the commercial banking system. The short-time loan, with its high rate of interest, has stood too long between the farmer and successful business. When I consider that the farmer, for all these years, has been carrying on his farm operations and conducting his business without banking facilities suited to his needs, I marvel at the measure of success that he has achieved. [Applause.] Thousands and hundreds of thousands of farmers have failed in business because they could not get from time to time the financial accommodations needed. This is the dawning of a new day in the business of the farmer.

The Democratic Party is recognizing the rights of agriculture to have a banking system suited to its needs, and our party proposes to see to it that the farmers of America are no longer dependent upon a system not at all suited to their business. [Applause.] And we are now inaugurating a system peculiarly suited to the business of agriculture. We are serving that army of industrious workers who, in the sweat of their faces, produce

that which feeds and clothes the world. [Applause.]

No credit is better or more fundamentally sound than farm credit when the power behind that credit can be expressed through a practical agricultural banking system. [Applause.] Mr. Chairman, there are many people in this country with large sums of money who had rather lend it on farm notes and mortgages for a period of 15 and 20 and 30 years at a low interest rate than to make a short-time loan at a higher rate of interest on securities of a speculative nature. I was talking with a gentleman from New York last year, and he said, "I know of several large estates where the heirs are anxious to invest their money or lend it at 4 per cent and for 25 or 30 years' time. They had rather place this money in an agricultural banking system at a low rate of interest and for a long period of time than to lend it to men who speculate on the exchanges, for there is too much uncertainty and risk in that kind of business." Continuing, he said: "You will find that after your farm-credit banks are established many of the people of the character that I have mentioned will place their money with these agricultural banking institutions.

Mr. Chairman, as I said here on a former occasion, Germany and France both have farm-credit banks, and they have been of great benefit to the farmers in those countries, and I believe that this farm-credit system that we are establishing here will be of incalculable benefit to the farmers of the United States, and I believe that within 10 years we will have in this country the greatest agricultural banking system in the world.

Mr. Chairman, but for the farmer and the farm the mine and the factory would go out of business, the merchant would have nothing to do, and banks would be no more. Then the most important business, the one on which all classes and conditions are dependent, is the business of the farmer, and in spite of the handicaps and hindrances which that business has encountered it has grown until to-day its value in dollars runs into billions, I repeat that a business of that magnitude is entitled to and must have a banking system suited to its needs. [Applause.] I rejoice that my party is providing an agricultural banking system that will place the farmers' business upon a sound financial basis. [Applause.]

Hundreds of thousands of our people desire to buy farms. This bill opens the door of opportunity to the man who wants to provide a home for himself and family on a farm. It will increase and multiply the number of home-owning people in our

country. [Applause.]

To own a home and a farm is the dream and fond ambition of thousands of American boys. To be able to call some spot of earth his home and bring from its soil subsistence for himself and family is the longing of thousands of worthy young men in America, and, Mr. Chairman, I believe that this farm-credit system will be the doorway to that splendid accomplish-ment. [Applause.] The Stupendous Naval Bill-A Nation Gone War Mad.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL. OF CALIFORNIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 9, 1916.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I voted against the naval appropriation bill which passed this House carrying a total of over \$269,000,000. I voted against the Army reorganization bill which has now become a law, and which will cost the peo-ple \$250,000,000 annually as soon as its minimum provisions are Here is a grand total of \$519,000,000 soon to become an annual charge against the taxpayers; and the fortifications measure and others are to come yet, with their millions. Last year's naval bill appropriated one hundred and forty millions, year's naval bill appropriated one nundred and forty familions, and it provided the largest building program, by 25 per cent, in the history of this country. We have jumped the naval bill in one year from one hundred and forty millions to two hundred and sixty-nine millions, and the Senate threatens to add nearly another hundred millions! Then we have swelled the Army appropriation from one hundred millions last year to two hundred millions. dred and fifty millions this year—just as soon as the federalized National Guard companies are organized. They will be ready before the December session adjourns next March.

We are a Nation gone war crazy. All this in the name of pre-paredness; but that is an alias. The man behind the gun (maker) is coining hysteria into millions overnight. Wall Street runs riot in fabulous riches because Americans fear a foe who exists only in fevered brains.

Navies are strong or weak only in a relative way. Their strength is found by comparison with the size of other navies. Under this analysis the American Navy has grown amazingly in 22 months. Three hundred and sixty-two thousand fighting tonnage of the German Navy has gone to the bottom of the sea in that time, and England has lost far more. On that basis our timid victims of a jingo press and the agitation propaganda of conscienceless makers of war munitions should recover their equilibrium. The American Navy grows in tonnage in exact ratio as other navies lose tonnage, without our expending a dollar.

Then let me say to our palpitating preparedness friends that cool judgment calls for discrimination in the purchase of future protection—if protection can only be had on the theory that war is the only court of protection. This naval bill rushes along the old lines of naval construction. It puts over a hundred million dollars into five battle cruisers, where the profits of gun-makers and armor-plate patriots run into fabulous sums. These five battle cruisers would last about 20 minutes if they should incautiously become entangled in a nest of submarines.

The submarine provision of this bill calls for about thirty millions, the cost of one and one-half of a battle cruiser; yet 50

submarines are secured.

Thirty years ago the naval appropriations were twenty millions annually; to-day they have reached the staggering total of two hundred and sixty-nine millions. The influence of profit makers is responsible. If the entire duty of manufacturing war supplies were assumed by the Government, the country would be unable to find the post-office address of the Navy League.

It is a time when the people should pack their fevered brows in ice and do a little real thinking.

Naval Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES H. SLOAN.

OF NEBRASKA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 1, 1916.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the especially important features of the 1917 naval appropriation bill is the provision for building and equipping an armor-plate plant.

Nearly three years ago Hon. S. R. Barton, then representing the fifth congressional district of Nebraska, became deeply impressed with the need and propriety of such an enterprise on the part of the Government. It has taken the majority of this

House nearly three years to reach the point of putting into effect the views so well expressed by him on the floor of the House on October 10, 1913. On that occasion he said:

"Mr. Barron. Mr. Speaker, the word 'economy' is the watchword of every platform orator and is preached to the people in the platforms of the several political parties. This word seems to admit of so many interpretations when applied to State and governmental business that a retrospective view of the work that is now and has been done convinces one that Webster made an error when he wrote his definition.

'I look out of the window of my office and can see one definition of economy in the destruction of expensive and useful buildings now being razed to the ground. To do this costs the Government practically \$4,000,000, and while the work has just commenced it will take much more of the public fund to fulfill

the object of this devastation and build a park.

No one on earth appreciates a park more than I. The green grass, the green trees, and the open air add to the many comforts afforded, and were it not for the fact that the city of Washington already has scattered throughout her confines many beautiful parks, built mostly by the United States Government. I would feel that such action is economy, as it provides for the rich and poor alike a haven of rest.

"But as the United States Government is now paying to the property owners of Washington approximately \$600,000 per annum in rent for buildings in which are housed various Government offices, and in which are contained many of our valuable and precious records in unsafe quarters, it seems to me that a better definition of the word 'economy' would be to cease building parks and build for the various branches of the Gov-ernment buildings and homes and thereby furnish a safe place for keeping the records and valuable papers of the departments.

"Right here let me call attention to our main thoroughfare—

Pennsylvania Avenue. Would it not have been far better for the Government to have purchased the unsightly buildings, especially those adjacent to the Capitol Building, and razed them and have erected in their stead imposing structures to house the various offices of the different departments that costs the Government an annual rental of \$600,000? This, in my mind, would be more in keeping with the plan to beautify Washington and at the same time be a saving to the Government.

"ARMOR PLATE AND ARMOR PLANTS.

"Since 1887 we have been contributing to the Steel Trust more than a million dollars' profit annually. While it seems impossible to ascertain the exact cost of producing armor plate, gun forgings, and building an armor plant, for at all times has our Government investigators been baffled by this monopoly; yet throughout the various reports issued by the investigators we have gained enough information and sufficient light to enable us to know without a doubt that we are being systematically robbed.

"The problem of a Navy is a big one and involves one of the great expenditures of the Government, and while the American people as a whole desire that we be in a position to protect our country, they do not desire that we pay tribute to the trusts and moneyed interests in securing this protection, especially to those that have from time immemorial fattened on war, war

scares, and the necessities of the public.

"The building of a Navy is like Tennyson's Brook, it goes on forever; and it may also be likened to fashions for women, as it seems but a short time when a woman's skirt or hat becomes oldfashioned; and thus it is with an armored cruiser, they soon become obsolete and are relegated to the scrap heap of 'has beens.' In proof of this statement I insert a statement from the Navy Department showing a list of vessels stricken from the Navy Register during the past three years:

"LIST OF NAVAL VESSELS STRICKEN FROM THE NAVY REGISTER DURING THE FISCAL YEAR 1911. "Alliance, sailing ship.
"Hist, converted yacht.
"Mist, converted yacht.
"Mindoro, gunboat.
"Paragua, gunboat.
"Pensacola, receiving ship.
"Stiletto, wooden torpedo boat.
"DURING THE FISCAL YEAR 1912.

San Marcos, ex-Texas, old battieship.

"San Marcos, ex-Texas, old battleship.
"Locust, tug.
"Yosemite, ex-Ingalls, old Army transport.
"McKee, torpedo boat.
"Evicsson, torpedo boat.
"Fankce, transport; lost.
"Atlanta, old cruiser.
"Talbot, torpedo boat.
"Isla De Cuba, captured Spanish gunboat.
"Alvarado, captured Spanish gunboat.
"Dubing the fiscal year 1913.

Jamestown, returned to Navy by Marine Hospital Service.

"Rowan, torpedo boat.
"Porter, torpedo boat.
"Wabash, receiving ship.
"Nipsic, prison ship.

"Puritan, old monitor.
"A-I, old submarine.
"Chickasaw, tug.
"Manila, prison ship.
"Newark, old cruiser.

"A constant warfare is waged by the manufacturers of armor and the manufacturers of projectiles to pierce it, so that a ship that to-day may be a first-class battleship, which costs us millions, next year may be useless. A most powerful influence is back of the building of battleships—patriotism; the trusts, that furnish the material to build them; the ambitious naval officer seeking promotion, are the most potent-so that until all nations a tree to cease building battleships and leave their destinies and differences to a board of arbitration the building will

"The Bureau of Corporations have been making an extensive investigation of the steel industry, and quite naturally one would think that in this inquiry some attention would be devoted to the production of armor plate and gun forgings. Thinking that possibly some information had been gleaned along this line I communicated with the department which brought forth

the following letter:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
BUREAU OF CORPORATIONS,
Washington, January 14, 1913.

Hou. Silas R. Barton, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 12th instant making inquiry whether this bureau's report on the steel industry discusses the cost of armor plate is duly received.

All data regarding cost of production are contained in part 3 of the above-mentioned report, which you have apparently already received. Part 2, which also discusses cost of production, was merely a preliminary report on the subject. The costs of armor plate are not shown or discussed in either of these reports, and no investigation was made by the bureau on this subject

Practically all the armor plate produced in the United States is made at three plants, and the United States Government is the only important purchaser. The Navy Department has from time to time made investigations as to the cost of armor plate and the prices. For these reasons the bureau did not deem it necessary to include this product, especially as it was not practicable to cover the entire field of the steel industry.

especially as it was not provided industry.

In compliance with your request, I have directed that there be sent to you the two previous volumes of the report on the steel industry, namely, parts 1 and 2.

Very respectfully,

Francis Walker,

Acting Commissioner.

"The only reason given for not making inquiry concerning this branch of the steel industry is that the Navy Department has from time to time made investigations as to the cost of armor plate and prices. Let us examine these reports of the naval investigators and see if they have given us dependable data on which to base definite conclusions:

"On December 31, 1895, the United States Senate passed a resolution inquiring into the increase of the price of armor; whether same is fair and reasonable; whether the issuance of any patents was expedited at the request of the Navy Department, and who were the owners of said patents; and whether any legislation is necessary to cheapen the price of armor for vessels. On February 11, 1897, the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs submitted a report in conformity with this resolution, and which report was confined principally to recommendations providing for legislation to regulate the action of naval officers and Government officials who had patents issued to them as well as to regulate the employment of naval officers by Government contractors. But the report shows that the Government was paying, and had paid, to the Carnegie Co. and the Bethlehem Steel Co. under Secretaries Herbert, Whitney, and Tracy, hem Steel Co. under Secretaries Herbert, Whitney, and Tracy, sums for armor plate ranging from \$500 per ton for the lowest to \$600 for the highest, the Cleveland Rolling Mill Co. being the only other bidder. The same report shows that the Bethlehem Iron Co. sold to England this same armor for sums ranging from \$413 to \$438 per ton. While it was impossible for the Government to secure any information from the companies direct regarding the cost of the manufacture of armor plate, naval officers acting in the capacity of Government inspectors reported that in their opinion the average cost of labor and material to produce a ton of armor plate would amount to \$250. The report further states 'this sum now appears excessive,' and the committee reached the conclusion that until further inquiry is made \$350 per ton ought to be the limit for armor purchased by the United States. However, in 1896, when this sum was specified by amendment to the naval appropriation bill for the year end-ing June 30, 1897, the House disagreed and the matter went to conference, and in the disagreement a clause was inserted in its stead directing the Secretary of the Navy to examine into the actual cost of armor plate and the price for same which should be equitably paid.

"In compliance with the instructions given in this clause Secretary Herbert caused an investigation to be made, and issued a voluminous report in House Document No. 151, Fifty-

fourth Congress, second session, which tells the difficulty of securing information from the officials of the armor plants, but through Government inspectors, naval officers, and others detailed by the Government various estimates were submitted. giving the value of armor plants, and so forth; also an English and French estimate of the cost of the erection and establishing of an armor plant. The English estimated cost of establishing an armor plant, exclusive of the cost of land, is \$1,590,074, and the French estimate 3,500,000 francs. A board consisting of Lieut. Karl Roher, Lieut. Kossuth Niles, and Lieut. A. A. Ackerman, which was called the 'Roher Board,' reported that a complete plant, including land and everything, can be built for the sum of \$3,537,000, and while the Roher Board reported the components of the cost of 3,000 tons of armor amounted to a sum sufficient to make 1 ton cost \$423.41 they included in their estimate every possible expense and contingency that they could think of, thus giving the manufacturers the benefit of their estimate. Lieut. Commander Rogers, inspector of ordnance, Bethlehem Iron Works, reports his estimate as follows: Reforged armor, \$227.63; single-forged armor, \$215.24.

"However, these prices may vary some, and the variation depends upon the output per annum. This confirms the state-

ment in the previous report that the estimated cost of \$250 per ton made at that time was excessive. In this same report, on page 21, the Secretary of the Navy states that the Bethlehem and Carnegie companies were in sharp competition for the Russian trade, and that the Bethlehem Co. secured the contract for armor for one ship at the low price of \$249 per ton, at the same time agreeing to manufacture armor for two other ships, if required, at the same price, but in the same report, in Exhibit

No. 7, the following statement was noted:

"It is known that after the first Bethlehem contract with the Russian Government there was a meeting in Paris of representatives of nearly all, if not all, the armor makers of the world. Whether any definite arrangements were made as to the price to be paid for armor in the future is not known. It would seem, however, that some general arrangement was reached fixing the minimum price of nickel-steel face-hardened armor of superior quality at not less than about \$520 per ton.

"On February 8, 1898, Mr. Hale, chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, United States Senate, issued a report and hearings before the committee relative to the construction of an armor-plate plant, and in which Hon. John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy, stated that bids were received and opened by the Navy Department for the con truction of an armor plant, but that he was not authorized by Congress to contract for same, thus placing the blame direct on Congress. (S. Doc. No. 127, 2d sess. 55th Cong.)

"Pursuant to the requirements of the clause in the naval appropriation bill of March 3, 1905, making appropriations for the naval service for the year ending June 30, 1906, for making a thorough inquiry as to the cost of armor plate and armor plant, the Acting Secretary of the Navy, Hon. Truman H. Newberry, issued a report (H. R. Doc. No. 193, 59th Cong., 2d sess.),

in which the following statement is made:

"From both the Bethlehem and Carnegie companies the board received much interesting information covering the value of investments in their armor plants and the scale of wages at present prevailing therein. Beyond a broad statement of the amount of the capital invested in its armor plant the Midvale company, for reasons of policy, declined to furnish the board with any detailed information along the line of its inquiry; all the companies declined, as violating a proper business secrecy and as contrary to their interests, to submit to the board a detailed statement of the cost of armor production as determined by them.

"This same report refers to part 2, House Document No. 151, Fifty-fourth Congress, second session, in which Secretary Herbert makes a supplementary report on the price of armor and the cost of an armor plant. It was deduced that the Carnegie plant was worth \$3,000,000; however, Prof. Philip R. Alger and Mr. A. S. Dunham, who were appointed by the Secretary of the Navy to make this appaisement, made a report of their estimate, which was \$3,376,000.

"On page 32, House Document No. 193, the board again calls attention to the difficulty in securing information from the

manufacturers, and goes on to say that-

"for obvious reasons each armor-making company has declined to give the board figures showing what it estimates as the actual cost to it of armor production.

"However, thus handicapped, they continue on with their investigation, and after having gone over and revised their esti-mate as given in House Document No. 151, so as to agree with the present cost of labor and material, come to the conclusion that the production cost per ton amounts to \$244.27 and the full cost from \$273.38 to \$295.89.

"On May 27, 1913, the Senate passed a resolution requesting information from the Secretary of the Navy with reference to armor plate and its manufacture; and on July 12, 1913, the Secretary of the Navy, through Senate Document No. 129, Sixty-

third Congress, states two important things, namely: First, the present situation in regard to armor plate and the reasons which have convinced him that the question of a Government manufactory should be taken up at the earliest possible moment; second, the practical problem that must be solved before the determination as to the wisdom of constructing a Government plant. No figures sufficiently accurate to base an actual appropriation for the construction of an armor-plate factory are at present available, nor can any such figures be obtained until an investigation has been made by some committee or agent given power by Congress to go over the books of steel corporations now making Government armor.

"It appears also from this report that the foreign Governments are awakening to the fact that they are being overcharged by the manufacturers of armor plate, which bears out the statement given in Exhibit No. 7, House Document No. 151, that there is a world-wide understanding among the manufacturers to keep up the price. However, France, Russia, Japan, and other countries have built, or are building, plants of their own, while Italy is buying abroad to break up the monopoly there.

"This report further states that the last investigation, made at the beginning of President Roosevelt's second term, recommended that a plant be erected; and the appropriation of the year following gave the Secretary money and authority to build such a plant, but for some reason the administration failed to construct a Government plant after authority was given. Later on the armor-plate manufacturers raised their prices from \$346 per ton in 1906 to \$420 per ton in 1907, and last year they advanced it to \$454 per ton.

I have read with considerable amusement editorial comment declaring the idea of the Government building and operating an armor plant revolutionary and impractical, and that a plant operated by the Government would not be a success. No doubt the same argument was used when a powder plant was proposed, but the plant was erected and is now and has been since 1901 operated by the Government. The tables following will disprove by actual application those editorial comments:

Smokeless powder ordered by the Navy from private manufacturers since the establishment of the powder factory at Indianhead, Md.

Year.	A mount ordered.	Cost per pound.	Total cost.
$\begin{array}{c c} & & Pounds.\\ 100,000\\ 101,000\\ 900,000\\ 2. & 1,000,000\\ 3. & 1,818,000\\ 4. & 3,012,000 \end{array}$		\$0.80 .75 .70 .70 .70 .70	\$80,000.00 75,750.00 630,000.00 700,000.00 1,272,600.00 2,108,400.00
1905	5,450,000 2,817,000 4 875,000	.70 .70 .69	3, 815, 000. 00 1, 271, 900. 00 603, 750. 00
1908	1,500,600 1,400,500 3,050,000 4,305,000	.67 .63 .60	1,005,000.00 938,335.00 1,921,500.00 2,583,000.00
1911 1912 1913	3,000,000 1,500,000 f 830,000	.60 .60	1,800,000.00 900,000.00 498,000.00
Total	34, 058, 500	. 53	1, 272, 000. 00 21, 475, 235. 00

"No small-arms powder has been ordered by the Bureau of Ordnance since 1901. It has always obtained ammunition for small arms in the form of complete cartridges, either from private manufacturers or from the War Department.

Smokeless powder manufactured at the naval powder factory, Indian-head, Md., since date of completion of the plant.

Year.	Actual weight.	Price per pound.	Invoice price.
1901 1902 1903 1904 1904 1906 1906 1907 1908 1908 1909 1910 1911	Pounds. 235, 902 484, 426 735, 469 665, 708 708, 758 994, 598 1, 056, 614 1, 079, 895 801, 004 837, 641 1, 036, 312 1, 467, 281	\$0. 484 -455 -438 -469 -50 -462 -44 -459 -452 -439 -3379 -3051	\$114, 134, 33 220, 305, 38 323, 071, 12 312, 074, 25 355, 212, 35 459, 743, 10 465, 619, 74 495, 308, 63 362, 103, 83 367, 630, 06 350, 190, 14 447, 692, 57
Total	10, 104, 608		4, 273, 585, 50

"The Secretary of the Navy is deeply interested in establishing an armor plant, and gives as his reason that it will break up the combination of the steel interests and give us this necessity at cost. I hereby insert a letter addressed to me September 29, which gives you his opinion and the benefit of his researches:

SEPTEMBER 29, 1913.

My Dear Mr. Congressman: I am deeply interested to know from you that the Navy Department is to have your earnest support in the effort to secure a Government armor-plate factory, and in view of your advocacy of such a plant I take the liberty of saying to you that I do not believe any permanent relief from prices which are too high and fixed without competition can be had unless such a factory is established. Because this is my absolute conviction, I sent to Congress on July 12 last a letter in response to a resolution of the Senate of May 27 asking for information relative to the cost and manufacture of armor plate. In this letter I earnestly recommended that Congress make a thorough investigation of the cost of a Government armor-plate factory as well as the cost of manufacturing armor plate in private concerns dependent upon Government patronage. There is scant data available at present upon which to base an estimate, but I requested the Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance to make an estimate, which was, in substance, as follows:

at present upon which to base an estimate, but I requested the Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance to make an estimate, which was, in substance, as follows:

"The cost of a plant capable of turning out 10,000 tons a year, which is enough to build one battleship every year, is estimated at \$5,466,000, and the cost of the armor at \$314 a ton. This estimated is considerably in excess of the figures given the Government by the last board which investigated the subject. But even at this estimated cost of the plant and the cost of \$314 per ton of armor plate there would be effected a saving of \$140 a ton over the price now paid, i. e., \$454. On 10,000 tons the Government would save \$1,400,000 per annum. Deducting 4 per cent as the interest on the money used in building the plant, there still remains a net saving to the Government of \$1,061,360."

This is a saving well worth the consideration of Congress.

The three companies equipped for turning out armor plate—Carnegic, Bethlehem, and Midvale—have for years been getting the Government contracts at practically their own figures. There has been but the slightest variation in their bids—a few dollars one way or the other. I hoped it would be different this year, but when bids for the armor of battleship Na. 39, now building, were opened during the latter part of August it became more than ever apparent that if the Government is to secure the benefits of competition additional responsible sources of supply must be secured even if it is necessary for the Government tastle to go into the business of erecting an armor plant. In response to the department's luvitation for bids the prices named by the Carnegie, Bethlehem, and Midvale companies on armor were precisely the same, viz: On class A-1, \$454 a ton; on class C (turnet armor), \$518 a ton; on class A-1, \$454 a ton; on class A-2 (turnet armor), \$518 a ton; on class B, \$496 a ton; on class C (bronze), \$1,875 a ton. On class C armor the Carbon Steel Co., of Pittsburgh, put in a bid of \$448 a tom \$8100 a ton lower than any of

Any information given me must be open to Members of Congress and the public.

I feel sure that Congress will not fail to back up the department in whatever steps seem best to obtain armor at a fair price. The untold possibilities for saving in a Government armor plant are indicated by the fact that the Government is now manufacturing a good part of its own guns for the armament of its ships, and also a large part of its own powder, at greatly reduced prices over those formerly paid to private concerns. The output of the Indianhead powder factory, operated by the Government, is about 3,000,000 pounds of powder, new and reworked, per year, and it is estimated by the Bureau of Ordnance that the saving over powder bought on contract is 23 cents a pound, which makes the annual saving to the Government by its own manufacture \$690,000. It is estimated that, considering the building program for this year, the annual requirements for the next four years would be 6,650,000 pounds, and at a cost of 23 cents per pound the annual saving to the Government would amount to \$1,529,500. As to the saving on guns, it is estimated that fifteen 14-inch guns would cost by contract \$1,188,000 and by Government manufacture \$25,800, representing a saving of \$364,000; of twenty-eight 5-inch guns, by contract \$299,800, and by Government manufacture \$212,800, a saving of \$77,000. The battleship building program for 1914 contemplates one battleship, six destroyers, one transport, and one supply ship. It is estimated that the armament for these vessels would cost the Government \$1,556,550 if bought in open market and \$1,274,110 if manufactured at a Government gun factory. The saving in the latter case would be \$582,440. If we can save so much by manufacturing a part of our powder and guns, it stands to reason that we could save more by manufacturing our own armor.

As a matter of fact, within the past few weeks the hospitality of the Navy Department to competition has resulted in the saving, in round

guns, it stands to reason that we could save more by manufacturing our own armor.

As a matter of fact, within the past few weeks the hospitality of the Navy Department to competition has resulted in the saving, in round figures, of half a million dollars on the equipment of battleship No. 39.

The Government has saved this much on a comparatively small part of what goes into the battleship. If we can reduce the price on structural steel, medium steel plates, casings for turbines, etc., why not on armor plate? The old identical price of Bethlehem and Midvale on structural steel plates had been set at about \$284 at on. There was a welcome newcomer which ventured in when the bids were opened, on August 22—the Carbon Steel Co.—and its bid was \$187.04 a ton, a saving on the 3,900 tons required of \$387.261. This was 34 per cent less than the previous prices. Bids on other material, with outside competition, resulted in a saving of \$19,000 on medium steel plates and of over \$3.000 on angles, irons, and similar small parts. When it came to the casings for the enormous turbines of No. 39, Bethlehem and Midvale, apparently feeling safe in their conviction that they were the only plants capable of tackling the manufacture of these huge forgings, submitted bids of \$160,272 and \$169,568, respectively. But the new policy of the depart-

ment had attracted the attention of a great foreign firm which instructed its New York agents to put in a really competitive bid. Its price was only one-third of that offered by the two American firms. It was against the desire of the department to go abroad for anything that could be purchased at home, but the situation demanded heroic treatment, and the bid of the English firm was accepted at a saving of \$102.000 on this item alone. Thus, on the turbine forgings, the structural steel, etc., the saving has run over the half million dollar mark, thanks to competition.

Of course I recognize that there are difficulties in the way of any

Of course I recognize that there are difficulties in the way of any new departure, and it is not my desire that the Government should make all the armor plate needed, if private concerns shall meet us on a competitive basis. But this is too great a Government to sit still and allow any two or three companies to fix identical prices. Unless something is done they have the Government at their mercy.

Thanking you for your cooperation, I am,
Faithfully, yours,
Hon, S. R. Bapton.

JOSEPHUS DANIELS.

Hon. S. R. Barton, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

"The first investigating committee, like a new-born calf, wended its wabbly way through the meadow and emerged at the starting place without gathering much substance, and each subsequent investigation has followed the same winding trail with the same result. We have not secured enough reliable data on which to base a plan for introducing a bill for the erection of an armor plant. While we know that it would be a great saving to the Government, to be businesslike, we should know the cost of erecting a plant and the cost of producing the different grades of armor plate.

"The Secretary in his letter of July 12, Senate Document 129, recommended that Congress make full, thorough, and early investigation of the cost of an armor-plate factory and the cost of manufacturing armor plate in concerns dependent upon Gov-

ernment patronage.

"Promptly responding to his recommendation, I introduced House resolution 204, July 18, which reads as follows:

"Resolved, That the Commissioner of Corporations be directed, and he is hereby authorized, to make a full and complete report of the cost of an armor-plate factory and the cost of armor plate and gun forging in factories owned by concerns dependent on Government patronage, and that he report his findings to this body within four months after the adoption of this resolution.

This resolution is now in the hands of the Naval Committee,

and I plead for an early and favorable report.

"Coming from a purely agricultural country, I am deeply interested in this subject and can see great future possibility in the development of semiarid sections of our great country; but to secure results Government assistance is necessary, and Government funds could not be turned into more profitable channels

for the benefit of the people as a whole.

"In the last 17 years, or dating from the Forty-sixth Congress, when the first agricultural appropriation was made as a separate and distinct item, we have appropriated for agriculture \$146,151,999.06. At the same time and for the same period we have appropriated to the Naval Department \$1,718,759,451.97. These appropriations tell more than pages of record. desire to be understood as opposing adequate appropriation for the Army and Navy, but I do desire to be understood in standing for economy in the conduct of these great departments, to the end that the great savings that it is possible to make may be turned into the agricultural development of this great

"The Secretary has told you in his letter about the savings of our powder plant. The actions of Congress in the years past proves that they were convinced that an armor plant would be a great saving to this country. The fact that other countries a great saving to this country. have installed plants prove their conviction. Why should we longer delay? We have bureaus empowered to go to the very theart of all other business of this country; we have done what the world proclaimed was impossible—built the Panama Canal. Must we, with all our power, all our strength, and all our intelligence, again run up the white flag for the steel barons?

"This temporary saving spoken of by our Secretary only comes when the trusts are threatened. Just as soon as danger clouds disappear they again, like Shylock, demand their last pound of flesh. The great majority of this Congress has declared that they were in favor of economy in Government, and I feel sure that with me they will plead for early action on this resolution, so that we can free ourselves from the tremendous selfish power of this trust-a power exercised so potently when our Nation is at peace and so arbitrarily when our Nation is involved in war. In taking this action and saving our country over a million dollars annually, we at the same time deal a tremendous blow to the mother of trusts—the Steel Trust."

Ex-Congressman Barton can view with pride the action of this House in the passage of this bill in its present form, so far as the armor plant is concerned, and point to it as one of the many creditable acts of service performed by him for his country while a Member of the Sixty-third Congress

Naval Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND.

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 1, 1916.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, I desire to give my approval in the strongest possible terms to the following clause in the naval appropriation bill:

Lyon the conclusion of the war in Europe, or as soon thereafter as it may be done, the President of the United States is authorized to invite all the great Governments of the world to send representatives to a conference which shall be charged with the duty of suggesting an organization, court of arbitration, or other body, to which disputed questions between nations shall be referred for adjudication and peaceful settlement, and to consider the question of disarmament, and submit their recommendation to their respective Governments for approval. The President is hereby authorized to appoint nine citizens of the United States, who shall be qualified for the mission by eminence in the law and by devotion to the cause of peace, to be representatives of the United States in such a conference. The President shall fix the compensation of said representatives and such secretaries and other employees as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated and set aside and placed at the disposal of the President to carry into effect the provisions of this paragraph.

This proposition, I am proud to say, originated with my colleague from Missouri, Representative Hensley, member of the Naval Affairs Committee. It will receive the approval of every American citizen except that comparatively small group who are interested in war from the standpoint of commercial profit. I am, myself, a believer in national defense, adequate, complete, and efficient in its character, as long as present international conditions continue. I think it would be criminal negligence for an officer of the Federal Government, charged with the maintenance of the safety and dignity of this Nation, to permit our homes and our firesides to be left defenseless on account of some private theory he might hold as to the desirability of universal peace. I wish I could believe that a failure on our part to prepare for defense would be a sufficient guaranty of peace, but in the present condition of world politics I can not so believe.

I have no fear of militarism in this Republic, and especially in connection with the maintenance of an adequate Navy, but I do think that it is my duty as a sworn officer of the Federal Government, charged with the heavy responsibility, which I have no desire to shirk, to see that the ordinary and usual precautions are taken to protect the Nation against a violation of its rights. The neglect of such precautions can not be remedied at the last minute by any amount of enthusiasm or loyalty to the flag. In common, however, with all those who regard war as almost the greatest evil that can happen, I look forward to the time, which I believe is coming, "when the battle flags are furled in the parliament of nations, the federation of the world; when the common sense of most holds the fitful world in awe, and the universe reposes lapped in universal law." That time may be far off, as some think, or it may be nearer at hand than we believe. At all events, we should stand for the principle itself and strive to bring about its realization.

The highest honor that can come to our country is to have a part in the restoration of peace in the present world war. highest destiny which we can fulfill as a Republic is to impress upon the world our democratic theory of equal rights and of government founded upon justice and not upon force. The broadest thinkers of our Nation are to-day engaged upon the problem of international arbitration in some form which may be effective in preventing appeals to arms and yet preserve to the smaller and weaker nations the right to follow their own na-tional aspirations and preserve their own national integrity. There is a tremendous difference in our minds between the doctrine of "America first" and that of "America over all."

The first is patriotism, the second military jingoism.

Let us invite, therefore, the nations of the earth, who are weary of this horrible struggle, who realize that it is a mere contest of endurance and brute strength, who have learned through bitter experience that there is no Christianity in war, who must take up again after the close of the struggle the burden of national life with a crippled and decimated population filled with widows and orphans, and with desolated homes, ruined cities, and blighted fields; with a crushing burden of war debt to be paid by generations yet unborn; with all of the arts of peace, progress, and civilization twisted and strained

into the channels of war; with false conceptions of military glory and the value of the service of military heroes to their country; with the pages of their history written in blood and brutality, let us invite these people to share America's ideal of peace by international agreement, where respect shall be paid to right and not to might.

Even a small beginning in this direction is a mighty conception and worthy of the great Congress of the United States. It will mark an epoch in the world's history and will show that America is truly a world power, but a power for good and not

for greed.

Resolution Urging Support of the Smith-Hughes Bill for Advancing Vocational Education.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES B. ASWELL.

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, June 5, 1916.

Mr. ASWELL. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a short resolu-tion indorsing vocational education.

The resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION URGING SUPPORT OF THE SMITH-HUGHES BILL FOR AD-VANCING VOCATIONAL EDUCATION.

At its recent session in New Orleans, April 17-20, the following resolution moved by J. W. Brister, president of the State Normal School, Memphis, Tenn., were adopted by the Southern Conference for Education and Industry:

"Be it resolved, That we commend the Smith-Hughes bill for advancing vocational education to the Members of both the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, urging its speedy passage to the end that a more practical vocational training may be provided by the normal and high schools of the country.

"We furthermore urge the necessary cooperative legislation by the different States, and to this end we recommend that the provisions of the bill be studied and discussed by State teachers' associations and all other organizations interested in education and industry."

Unanimously adopted, New Orleans, April 18, 1916.

Respectfully submitted.

SIDNEY G. GILBREATH, President. A. P. BOURLAND, Executive Secretary.

The Juvenile Court Bill of the District of Columbia.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL, OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 8, 1916.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, under the consent given to extend my remarks in the Record on the juvenile court bill, I desire to print the following letter, which I have written to a resident of Los Angeles, Cal.:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 8, 1916.

Mrs. J. A. Johnson, 464 East Adams Street, Los Angeles, Cal.

MY DEAR MRS. JOHNSON: I have your letter of May 29, in which you say, "I was very much surprised to find your name among those who voted for the juvenile court bill. H. R. 1304S. This, of course, is a bill introduced by the Catholics, and is one of the most infamous and barbarous bills ever introduced into Congress. Was so surprised at such a large vote; surely the Members did not understand it."

Well now, my dear Mrs. Johnson, you surely have been misled, for upon the final passage of the bill only seven Members who live north of the Mason and Dixon line voted against it. Seventy-eight southern Members voted against it because an amendment was defeated which proposed that "the white and negro shall be kept entirely separate."

The bill was surely not introduced by the Catholics, for only about 16 Catholics voted for it, and more than 20 either voted against it or did not vote at all.

Now, the fact of the matter is, that the committee who drew up the bill was composed of well-known ministerial and other members of the various Protestant churches, one member was of the Jewish race, and one was a Catholic.

The provisions of secrecy of which you complain are also found in the juvenile court laws of 14 States, including Iowa, Kansas, and North Dakota.

You complain of the provision that children may be committeed to private institutions. It is the law of 44 States that children may be

You complain of the provision that children may be committed to private institutions. It is the law of 44 States that children may be committed to private institutions in the discretion of the court. This

law specifically requires that they shall be placed as far as practicable in an institution having the same religious belief as that of the child's

in an institution naving the same rengious contents.

Notwithstanding the fact that papers of the character which condemns this bill have standered the American Congress most vilely. I agree with you that no legislation must be placed upon our statutes which shall curb liberty of speech or press. The only injunction I would make is that readers of our free press shall make sure of their facts before concluding that their Representatives have betrayed them.

Very cordially,

Charles H. Randall.

Agriculture Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

HON. DENVER S. CHURCH.

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 29, 1916.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12717) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Chairman, I am very much in favor of H. R. 8040, a bill providing for the inspection and licensing of warehouses by the Secretary of Agriculture. I am, however, sorry the term "agricultural products," as used in this bill, can not have its meaning enlarged so as to include oranges among the products which may be standardized by the Secretary of Agriculture.

The Bureau of Chemistry, by scientific experiments, has come to the conclusion, as set forth in service and regulatory announcement, Chemistry 11, information 28, page 752, that oranges are immature if the juice does not contain soluble solids equal to or in excess of eight parts to every part of acid

contained in the juice.

Mr. Chairman, many carloads of oranges are shipped each year to the open markets which do not come up to this standard of ripeness, and therefore immature, as declared by the highest Governmental experts. The consumers can not tell by the looks of an orange whether it is ripe or not. The beautiful orange yellow is not always caused by maturity. Some of the orange growers, eager to place their fruit in an early market, resort to heating and sweating the oranges in order to bring about the coloring. Others bring about the same result at a certain time i.. the development of the orange by withholding the accustomed Irrigation waters, thus causing the orange to hastily color and apparently mature. It matters not which of these methods is employed, a fraud is perpetrated upon all who purchase or consume such fruit. Generally there are several methods of determining, without tasting, when fruit is ripe, but the orange is an exception to the rule; and for the producers and shippers of oranges to be permitted to cover up a sour, unwholesome, and immature orange with an apparent ripe skin produced by artificial means is a fraud and should be prevented by law. Such a law is demanded not only by the defrauded consuming public, who are the helpless victims of such a scheme, but by the legitimate orange producer who is selling ripe and wholesome fruit and whose markets are being demoralized and rendered unstable by the temporary advantage to some about which I complain.

Not only is the fraud that I am calling your attention to prac-

ticed for the purpose of producing early shipments of oranges, but it is resorted to by many who are endeavoring to produce oranges in a soil and climate not adapted to the growing of the same. Instead of growers in such sections being permitted to work their unwholesome and immature fruit upon the markets to the injury of the consumer and to the financial loss of those engaged in the industry in sections of the country adapted to the same, they should grow a crop congenial to the section, soil, and climate or else locate in a citrus belt where nature will enable them to produce the desired result.

I hope to see the evil I complain of remedied, not only for the benefit of the legitimate orange growers in the State of California but for the benefit of the great consuming public of the

country at large. I am sorry the great Committee on Agriculture, to the attention of which I have frequently brought this matter, as yet does not see its way clear to support a separate bill calculated to cure the evil. I say again it is a shame for the consumers and legitimate growers of oranges to be imposed upon by those who are engaged in the legitimate industry by handling it in an illegitimate manner.

Speech of Senator Harding, Chairman of the Republican Convention.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES R. MANN, OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 9, 1916.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a speech of Senator Harding, chairman of the Republican convention.

The speech is as follows:

Speech of Senator Harding, Chairman of the Republican Con-vention, at Chicago, Ill., June 7, 1916.

It is good to greet this representative body of that American republicanism on which are centered the high hopes of the Republic. I can believe—nay, I know—that a vast majority of the people of our United States is expecting the party sponsors here assembled to write anew the sacred covenant of republicanism and reconsecrate the party to the Nation's service and the people's advancement. That same majority expects you to select a standard bearer who shall not only typify our expression of faith but shall so enlist the confidence and trust of our American citizenship that the work of this convention will be confirmed overwhelmingly at the ballot box next November.

The country, wearied afresh by a disappointing and distressing Democratic administration, is calling for Republican relief, and there is every inspiration, every encouragement, every confidence that the light of Republican conscience, set aflame in this convention, will illumine the way to the country's restora-

SAYS PARTY SHOULD FORGET 1912.

We did not do very well in making for harmony the last time we met. The country has regretted, let us forget—and make amends to our country. We did not divide over fundamental principles, we did not disagree over a national policy. We split over methods of party procedure and preferred personalities. Let us forget the differences, and find new inspiration and new compensation in a united endeavor to restore the country.

The essential principles of republicanism are unchanged and unchanging; the lofty intent, the indestructible soul and the undying spirit of republicanism are as dominant to-day as in the destined beginning 60 years ago, or at any time during the intervening years, and they are emphasized to-day by the proof recorded to Republican credit in the matchless chapter of American progress.

SHOULD BE GENUINELY AMERICAN.

No political party ever has builded or ever can build permanently except in conscientious devotion to abiding principles. Time never alters a fundamental truth. Conditions do change, popular interest is self-asserting, and "paramounting" has its perils, as the Democratic Party will bear witness, but the essentials of constructive government and attending progress are abiding and unchanging. For example, we ought to be as genuinely American to-day as when the founding fathers flung their immortal defiance in the face of Old World oppressions and dedicated a new Republic to liberty and justice. to be as prepared for defense as Washington urged amid the anxieties of our national beginning, and Grant confirmed amid the calm reflection of union restored.

It is not my understanding that the remarks of the temporary chairman are to be taken as an expression of the party faith. Such expression must come from this convention, made up of delegates who believe in popular, representative government through the agency of political parties. You come directly from the people, commissioned to speak their hopes and aspirations, to utter their patriotic desires and pledge their abiding faith. Out of the convictions and judgment and wisdom as expressed by the majority will come the sacred and sincere covenant of the Republican Party.

LET WILL OF MAJORITY BULE.

We are a voluntary organization and must find our strength in the enlistment of volunteers who find the nearest or best expression of their individual convictions in our party declarations, and there can be no treason in withdrawal if our declarations fall short in their appeal. But I am old fashioned enough to believe that in popular government party success and party capacity for service to the Nation must lie in making the will of a righteous majority the willing pledge of all.

Gentlemen of the convention, the first and foremost wish in my mind is to say that which will contribute to harmony of effort and add to the assurance of victory next November. I wish that because we believe Republican success to be for the best interests of our common country. The allied hosts of the believers in Republican principles are in a vast majority in this country-when the banners of harmony are unfurled. We have witnessed the comeback of our party in various States. seen the reenlistment of those who believe in Itepublican doctrines, and victory has followed and rejoicing has attended. No apology has been asked, no forswearing required. This is not the time for recrimination; it is the day of reconsecration.

LET US BURY PARTY PREFIXES.

Rededicating here and now the Republican Party to the progress and glory of the Republic, let us bury party prefixes with the administration which our differences put in power. I do not believe there is a really reactionary Republican bearing credentials to this convention. If there is, he will depart, after our de-liberations, solely and proudly a Republican, with heart aglow with the party spirit of 1916. And the welcome delegate who emphasizes his progressivism is expected to do his part in making our party a reflex of the best thought and best intent of sincere committal to the uplift and progress of the American people, thereby strengthening party purpose instead of magnifying in-dividual belief, and he, too, will find new rejoicing in being a Republican. No party can endure which is not progressive. I know the Republican Party is genuinely progressive as well as effective, else it would not rivet the expectations of the American people to-day on the most important convention held since the party formulated a new political decalogue and gave to Union and nationality the immortal Abraham Lincoln.

REPRESENTATIVE PLAN VINDICATED.

In building the surpassing temple of the Republic, which we have been doing to the astonishment, sometimes the envy, sometimes the admiration, of the world, and ofttimes inspiring others by our example, there ever will be modifications and additions to meet the public need and conform to popular ideals. We do not fear to imitate nor fail to originate, but there can be no discord about underlying foundations or essential walls or proven arches or stately columns. Mine is a deep conviction that the founding fathers were divinely inspired, and the wisdom of representative popular government is proven in the surpassing achievement.

It is not alone the miracle of accomplishment which deepens our reverence; it is not alone the convictions that we have builded the first seemingly dependable popular government on the earth and exalted all its citizenship, which adds to our faith; but we are the oldest of existing civilized nations, with one passing exception, continued under one form of government, and under that form we have developed the highest standard of living in all the world. Surely we must be right.

Recalling that the mightier forward strides have been taken

under a half century of Republican control, after we led in fixing the indissoluble ties of union, the retrospection, the contemplation, and the anticipation combine to fill the Republican breast with pride and hope and trust and faith, and magnify our obligations in this crucial year of our national life.

WORLD WAR TOPIC OF THE HOUR.

Much of the discussion of the hour is hinged upon a world at war. We need not wonder thereat, because the enormity of the conflict and the influences of its horrors have set mankind in upheaval. The traditions of civilization have been broken and international laws have been ignored. There is a tidal wave of distress and disaster; there are violent emotions and magnified fears. There are the extremes of incalculable sacrifices and measurcless new fortunes—not all American. There are new wonders and new hindrances in commerce, changed balances of trade, new marvels in finance, and utterly changed economic con-These have attended embarrassments in our foreign relations as difficult as those which the individual citizen experiences whose every neighbor is involved in deadly quarrel. Everything is abnormal except the depleted condition of the Federal Treasury, which is characteristic of Democratic control, and the facility of the administration for writing varied notes without effective notice.

AMERICA NEUTRAL AND SANE.

Amid these conditions has stood this unarmed giant, typifying the American Republic, neutral and sane, to whom the neutral nations have turned for leadership. Our national unselfishness has been proven, our devotion to humanity had been estab-lished, our committal to international justice had long been proclaimed. The world had previously heard the voice of American fearlessness, and all the conditions single us out for leadership among the neutral powers. But the administration at Washington spoke with more rhetoric than resolution, and we came to realize what the warring powers soon came to know, that the official American voice lacked the volume of determined expression that once demanded international heed, and we lacked the

strength of confidence in our own defenses.

It is too early to estimate the debit and credit account of the European war with civilization. Out of measureless cost and inestimable heroism must come a rebirth of individual spirituality, reawakened national hopes, new liberties, and new baptism in patriotism, which must prove some compensation. But we have seen civilization stripped of the pretenses which clothed man's savagery, and we have seen elemental man, developed in genius and more formidable because of that, intoxicated with power or impassioned in the greed of conquest, offending or defending, contradicting every evidence of mankind's humane advancement. In the envy or jealousy or rivalry or hatred, refined by boasted civilization, are the barbarities of primitive man, and the seal of obsolescence is not yet stamped upon the warrior's sword.

FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE.

Perhaps it is a reminder more than a discovery; but there has come to us a conviction that this great Nation, rich in resources and strong in patriotic manhood, has been negligent concerning its own defense. We have dwelt in fancied rather than real security. Pride mingles with regret in this, because it suggests the mind of a nation so free from intended offense that there was no cultivated thought of needed defense. righteousness of purpose is portrayed in our trust in unarmed safety. But there is a warning in bleeding Europe, and there is call to-day for prudent, patriotic, and ample national defense. There is no mistaking the sentiment. We are not thinking of the hysterical; we need not be moved by a preparedness which is partisan in conception. We need not believe in a defense propaganda inspired by those who aim to wax fat in the production of arms and munitions, because there is none. the teaching that an anxiety about our national defense is inspired by greed. We rejoice in free speech and free press and untrammeled opinion, but patriotism is ill promoted by the imputation of false motives, whether aimed at those who believe in defense or those who doubt its wisdom. Such a teaching rends the concord of citizenship, which may develop a worse peril from within than from any enemy without.

URGES A STRONG NAVY.

Though we do not pretend to be exclusive in our devotion, we Republicans believe, sincerely and soberly, in adequate national defense. We have always believed in an ample navy, as invincible in modern might as John Paul Jones builded in our freedom's earliest fight. We have in mind a protected commerce on the waters and a seacoast secure in strong naval de-We were building to high rank among naval powers when the Democratic Party interrupted, and we subscribe to a stronger committal now, because of a new realization of the envy which our wealth and our commerce invite, and a new appreciation of our commanding place in the affairs of the world. I shall not say that it is ours to have the greatest navy in the world, but, noting the elimination of distance and the passing of our one-time isolation, we ought to have a navy that fears none in the world, and can say any time and anywhere, "These are American rights and must be respected."

ECONOMY IN SECURITY.

It is not for me to specify the provisions for naval defense, Since modern warfare is in large part a conflict of brains, so must naval defense be devised in highest intelligence. Let us strengthen every arm—aerial, submarine, fleet cruisers, and great dreadnaughts. Let him who is anxious about the cost remember that Republican policies afford the ample means without conscious burdens upon the people. Every forehanded American citizen, whatever his activity, knows that the cost of insurance against accident, theft, fire, flood, or thunderbolt, assessed as a fixed charge upon his income, is worth its cost in peace of mind, though loss never attends. Moreover, under any system security is economy itself.

There are manifest differences about our developments for military defense. The President made a trip from the coast to the valley of the Missouri to tell the American people the need of preparedness. It might have been more seemly to tell the story to Congress, for that body was in session and empowered to act and seemingly ever ready to testify obedience. However, Congress undertook to provide an army for defense, and the majority wobbled between pacification and preparedness until the Republican minority in the Senate put something real in the pending measure. We Republicans made a rational response to the call of the land, but Democratic insufficiency and ineffi-

ciency are recorded in the conference amended act, and a Federal nitrate plant to supply powder to the patriots and pap to the paternalists and Federal fertilizer to the farmers in competition with private enterprise is the great constructive offering of a Democratic majority.

NOT "TOO PROUD TO FIGHT."

Until the civilized world is pledged and repledged to peace, and until civilization commits nations to the nobler practices of the individuals who constitute them, in which I would have America lead, this Republic will have need for a basic army and a ready provision for military defense. We have territory to defend, we have independence to preserve, we have lives to safeguard, we have property to protect, we have rights to assert, we have missions of humanity to perform. We proclaim justice and we love peace, and we mean to have them, and we are not

too proud to fight for them.

Let no one apprehend the curse of militarism in this fair land. We declare unalterably against it. Our free citizenship, walking confidently, absorbed in the triumphs of peace, would tolerate no such blight on American institutions. There is to be no surrender of cherished ideals, that same committal to justice which has marked our continued development, with that same committal to justice which has given us front rank in the onward march of civilization, with that rare unselfishness which led us to unsheath the sword for humanity's sake and put all territorial aggrandizement aside, with that belief in the square deal, individual, national, and international, which is the foundation of American faith, we mean to go on, an exemplar of peace to all the nations, an arbiter of justice to all the world, a promoter of righteousness to all the peoples of the earth.

At the same time we have more to do than to chart a national course through the waters surging with the turbulence of war; our inspiring course is on the highway of peace. Our armed defense must ever be linked with our industrial self-reliance, and the nation worth dying for must first be worth living for. Out of nature's prodigality we have incalculable resources and limitless possibilities, and there is need only for the unhindered application of man's genius and industry to make us as independent industrially as we are free politically. Ample defense rests on industrial freedom and self-reliance as well as patriotic sacrifice, and industrial preparedness gives that assurance of material good fortune in peace on which must be founded all

our higher aspirations.

PROTECTIVE POLICY NECESSARY.

Subsistence is the first requisite of existence, and we have the higher American standard of living because of the Republican protective policy which makes of Americans the best paid workmen in all the world. Out of the abundance of employment and higher compensation, together with the beckening opportunity which offers every reward, we Americans have attracted the laborers of the earth and set new standards here.

It is not for me to put the stamp of relative importance on pending issues—the intelligent voters will determine that for themselves. But I know what they are thinking, and they believe that the protective policy which made us industrially and commercially eminent is necessary to preserve that eminence. I know they want it restored and maintained. For myself I prefer a protective and productive tariff which prospers America I choose the economic policy which sends the American workingmen to the savings banks rather than the soup houses. I commend the plan under which the healthful glow of prospering business is reflected in every face from the great captain of industry to the schooling child of the daily wage earner.

QUOTES PLATFORM OF 1860.

Moreover, I like the abiding consistency of our unchanging position upon this policy. The Republican convention of 1860, which gave to the Nation and all history the nomination of

Lincoln, made this simple and ample utterance:
"That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the Nation commercial pros-perity and independence."

We might fittingly reiterate that utterance to-day. The failure of revenues under existing Democratic policy, the necessary resort to the imposition of direct and offensive taxation war taxes on a people at peace—to meet deficiencies which ever attend Democratic control, the depression and disaster which followed Democratic revision, which were relieved rather than

caused by the European war-all these argue the Republican restoration.

CALLS PROSPERITY TEMPORARY.

No one disputes a temporary prosperity in our land to-day. But it is sectional in its factory aspect, abnormal in its fevered rush, fictitious in its essentials, and perverting in its tendency. Worse, it is the gold sluiced from the river of blood poured out by the horrifying sacrifice of millions of our fellow men. God forbid that we should boast a prosperity wrought in such waste of human life. We had rather rejoice in the prosperity of peace. We had rather boast our good fortune won from the world as it stands erect, in a fair contest, where men openly contend for the laurels of industry and the garlands of trade. I do not mean that we must "sharpen our wits in competition with the world," for we tried that, and involuntarily turned the blade to cutting our production and severing thousands from American pay rolls. There was no cut in the cost of living, but a visible hack at the capacity to live.

The Democratic Party is always concerned about the American consumer. Our Republican achievement is the making of a Nation of prospering producers, and by producers I mean every human being who applies muscle or skill or brain or all to the conversion of nature's abundance into the necessities and luxuries of life or participates in the ways and means of their transportation and exchange. Far better a high cost of living and ability to buy than a lowering of cost attended by destruction of purchasing capacity.

COST OF LIVING NOT REDUCED.

It is worth while to recall the magnified importance given to the high cost of living four years ago, first, to emphasize Democracy's failure to reduce it, though it risked and almost accomplished the ruin of our good fortune in attempting it; second, to declare there is no such thing. What was thought to be the high cost were only the higher demands and the larger capacity to buy, which were the natural reflexes of the higher standard of living reared under Republican protection.

The one notable advance in cost has profited the American farmer, for whose befitting share in good fortune we have stood unfailingly and sincerely. His reward is a Republican achievement, and we prefer to cling to the conditions which brought to agriculture its delayed but deserved reward and hold it secure in Republican maintenance of a home market unmatched in all the world. More, we want our basic prosperity to be home created and home sustained and not dependent on conditions abroad.

Let us agree—nay, let us boast—that American industry can compete with any in all the world, under like conditions. But we also boast a condition, created through isolation and maintained by protection, wherein the rate of American wages is twice or thrice to ten times that of Old World competition. Reduce our wages and we shall have conditions more nearly equal, but no Republican will consent to that. We are willing to standardize the wages of the world. We are as fit to lead in doing that as we were to fix the newer guaranties of liberty and independence; but we Republicans do not mean to lower our scales to effect the leveling. We want the world measurements raised to our heights. Until it is done we shall cling to American wages for American workmen, American markets for American products, and hold the Republican guaranty of our material good fortune.

SAYS DEMOCRATS ARE PENITENT.

The nations abroad and the Democratic Party at home are bearing witness to Republican wisdom. German industrial self-reliance is the sequence to her adoption of a Republican protective tariff, and England's manifest conversion to this fostering plan will magnify the prophetic wisdom of Republican protectionists. Even the Democratic Party is penitent now and makes confession in action if not in words. The proposed destruction of American sugar has been repealed and simulated grief about the American breakfast table has been put aside. With that facility for changing position which has been made manifest from Baltimore to Vera Cruz, the party in power proposes to restore the tariff commission which it had hastened to destroy.

This change of attitude is not because of its great and manifest love of commission alone, but because failure is written across every paragraph of Democratic revision and fear is haunting the White House slumbers. The Wilson administration has sensed the country's anxiety about industrial conditions when the revelry in munitions and the immunity granted by war are ended. It has made a reflective estimate of the perils of 1914, once called psychological, and means to apply a stolen remedy, with more concern about the effects than the ethics involved. We do not oppose a tariff commission. We

favor it. It is a Republican creation. We do not want one, however, conceived in Democratic hostility to American industry or managed in Democratic opposition to business success. We would hasten the protective defense against foreign invasion, to guarantee our industrial security, and then let a tariff commission deliberately and scientifically work out the needs of American preference.

SQUARE DEAL FOR BUSINESS.

No honest business in this country is too big to be good and useful or too little to be protected and encouraged, and both big and little deserve the American shield against destruction by foreign competition, and protection from the raiders, political or otherwise, at home. Business and its agencies of transportation are so inseparable from each other and from the common weal that the political party which does not pledge them a square deal, no more and no less, does not deserve the confidence of the people. The strength of the business heart shows in every countenance in all the land, and the weakness of that heart holds a nation ill. We must strengthen the heart of American business in Government cooperation rather than official opposition.

It is not inspiring to recite Democratic failures. dwell on that party's insincerity or incapacity. The country indicts and the record convicts. It proclaimed the sacredness of its pledges and then profaned them. It professed economy and is staggered by its own extravagance. It has turned adequacy of revenue under indirect and unfelt taxes to insufficiency and direct taxation. It has espoused the freedom of the seas and wrought only the freedom of the Panama Canal. affirmed its devotion to Jeffersonian principles and simplicity of Government and is voting millions of the Public Treasury to the establishment of Federal factories to destroy private in-It declared for enlarged shipping facilities without added burdens upon the Public Treasury, and now proposes that \$50,000,000 to \$500,000,000 of public funds shall go to shipping, federally owned and privately managed, with every menace that Federal ownership involves. We believe in a great merchant marine, federally encouraged and privately erected, wrought in the committal to the achievement of private enterprise and measured to the requirements of our commerce in peace,

ATTACKS PHILIPPINE POLICY.

The President has said ours is a provincial party, evidently forgetting the federalist founding of our nationality and Republican expansion to greater national glory. The Democratic Party not only fails to grasp our immensity and importance; it is sectional on the mainland and unheeding of our Island possessions. Its vision does not catch the splendor of Old Glory in the sunlight of the world. Right now, when the devouring flames of war are burning most fiercely, when our national view must be world-wide to be comprehensive, the Democratic administration has proposed to set adrift an island empire, in violation of our obligations to the world, to the Philippine people, and ourselves. Amid proclamations of our ministrations in behalf of mankind it undertook to renounce its guardianship of a race of people and leave them to walk alone when they had not been fully taught to creep. A few rebellious Democrats joined the Republican minority in sparing us this national disgrace, but the design is written among the vacillations of the present administration. The Democratic Party once hauled down the flag which had been unfurled in honor in the Pacific and met rebuke at the first popular expression at the polls. No administration which hauls down the flag and none which proposes to haul it down ever can succeed itself in directing the affairs of the American people.

MUST ASSUME WIDER BURDEN.

One century of marvelous development has led us into another century of international sponsorship. This mighty people, idealizing popular government and committed to human progress, can no longer live within and for ourselves alone. Obliterated distance makes it impossible to stand aloof from mankind and escape widened responsibility. If we are to become the agency of a progressive civilization and God's great intent—and to believe otherwise is to deny the proofs of American development—we must assume the responsibilities of influence and example and accept the burdens of enlarged participation. The cloistered life is not possible to the potential man or the potential nation. Moreover, the Monroe doctrine, stronger for a century's maintenance, fixes an obligation of New World sponsorship and Old World relationship. Our part must not be dictatorial; it must be trusted leadership in a fraternity of American Republics.

To meet the obligations we must first make sure of maintained mental, moral, and physical health at home. It is good to recall that ours is the only major political party ever formed in this country on a great moral issue. Our first proclamation was human liberty, to be glorified by the spiritual and material development of a free people. We opened the way to higher human attainments and emphasized human rights under the guaranties of civil liberty. We need only to go on, imbued with the spirit which has thus far pointed our way. The light of a moral people is the halo of liberty itself. Let us be honest not only in proclamation, but in practice; not alone in campaigns, but in incumbency of office; not only before altars of worship, but in our daily affairs and in every human relationship. If popular government is to be held dependable and command the confidence as well as the loyalty of its citizenship, political parties and their platforms and their spokesmen must be honest and sincere.

URGES HIGHER PLANE FOR LABOR.

If we are to urge the world's attention to international justice, we must hold secure our civil justice at home and make social justice and attending welfare typical of our national life. We have advanced wonderfully. The reward of merit is eternal, have advanced wonderfully. The reward of merit is eternal, but we can promote the development of merit. I have spoken so emphatically for the American producer that I want to add here a committal to improved conditions of production. It is good to gaze afar toward markets we hope to attain in peaceful commercial conquest, but production is itself the maker of markets at home. To the safety and inviting environment of the laborer we must add his growing merits of compensation. There can be no permanent material good fortune that is not righteously shared; there can be no real moral achievement that does not lift the great rank and file to an ever higher plane. Maintained republican policies provide conditions for the ideal advancement and continued uplift, and it is not too much to hope that we shall acclaim the day when choice instead of necessity fixes the status of the American wage earner.

My countrymen, for two generations, with short interrup-tions, the Republican Party, in conscience, courage, and capacity, has been translating the dependable popular sentiment of the Republic into governmental policy. We have not yielded to the expediency of adopting every ephemeral whim, because devotion to country and its ultimate good ofttimes demand opposition to a momentary popularity. The final appeal to sober intelligence has justified our course in political righteousness. But we have been so engrossed in developing America that we have not stopped to search our own hearts for the soul of

Americanism.

AMERICA A COMPOSITE NATION.

In the travail of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness the American soul was born. Set aglow at Bunker Hill, it was reflected in the faces of the patriots of a fearless Republic, where men dedicated themselves to the solemn and momentous Americans by birth, but they were dedicated Americans in the baptismal rites of a new Republic and a new patriotism. They could not all sign the Declaration of Independence, but could not all join in making the Constitution, but they pledged the succeeding millions of Americans to its everlasting defense.

There were stalwart Americans then—Americans from Great Britain, with British ideals and their devotion to orderly government. There were Americans from the land of Napoleon and Lafayette to give of the enthusiasm and heroism of France in establishing new freedom. There were Americans from Germany to fight the battles of the Republic and blend their sturdiness and thoroughness in the progress of a new people, not a new race. There were Americans from the green fields of Ireland. with a passion for liberty; Americans from southern Europe to battle for opportunity. There were Americans who came from oppression and stood erect in the freedom of the Republic. They all made common cause. There was lack of homogeneity of race, but there was kinship of soul, and that soul was American. The gates to our ports have swung inward ever since; there has been a welcome to the foreign born, whom we asked to drink freely of the waters of our political life and find their places in the sun of American opportunity. They are an in-separable and important and valued part of American citizenship, and the few zealots of any origin who violate our neutrality do not and can not impugn the loyalty or the American patriotism of that great body which adds to the swelling chorus of-

My country, 'tis of thee, Sweet land of liberty. HOUR OF AMERICAN ALLEGIANCE.

It is not surprising that in their hearts there is sympathy or partiality for the land of their nativity when it is involved a life-and-death struggle like that which saturates Europe with the blood of their kinsmen. Search your hearts deeply, my countrymen. One must be human to be an American; he must have human sympathies and human loves, and I should home for the highest human attainment. We believe in Ameri-

pity the foreign born and the sons of foreign born whose very souls are not wrung by the cataclysmal sorrow of the Old World. But sorrow is the test of soul and the very altar of reconsecration. This is the momentous hour for the blazing souls of American allegiance. The spirit of the fathers is calling, and the safety of unborn Americans is demanding and the security of the Republic is requiring that now and here and everywhere, under the Stars and Stripes, we proclaim a plain, simple, glad, and unalterable Americanism. It must be the offering of loyalty and devotion and love and trust and life, if need be, to these United States, now and everlastingly.

The Americanism which indexes these United States must be

more than the consecration of the individual. In the great fulfillment we must have a citizenship less concerned about what the Government can do for it and more anxious about what it can do for the Nation. There must be the submersion of local and sectional views and the standards of nationality reared in their stead. Holding to the ideals of just American rights, the Government must protect those rights at home, on our borders, on the

seas, in every land, and under every sky.

NO GEOGRAPHY TO UNITED STATES RIGHTS.

Seeking to practice the very Americanism I preach as Republican gospel, I am reluctant to speak of a division of American sentiment relating to our foreign affairs. One must be an American first and a partisan afterwards, though we believe that Republicanism is the culture of highest Americanism. But it must be said for the truth's sake and clearer understanding we have hungered in vain for that unflinching Americanism at Washington which is needed to exalt the American soul. geographic modification of American rights. They are the same in Mexico that they are on the high seas; they are the same in Europe that they are in Asia and are sacred everywhere, and the American spirit demands their fullest protection.

Whatever the ultimate solution may be, history will write Mexico as the title to the humiliating recital of the greatest fiasco in our foreign relations. Uncertainty, instability, Mexican contempt, and waning self-respect will be recorded in every chapter, and the pitiable story of sacrificed American lives and the destruction of lawfully held American property will emphasize the mistaken policy of watchful waiting and wobbling war-

"MISERABLY MEDDLED" IN MEXICO.

Under the pretext of noninterference the Democratic administration miserably meddled. In the name of peace that same administration encouraged revolution, and the cost of American sacrifices was charged to needless war on Huerta, where the real American expenditure required only the voice of authority demanding protection to American rights. The unbiased critic will recite that the Democratic administration first coddled Villa

as a patriot, then chased him as a bandit.

Our civilization has evolved the rules of right conduct and written them into forms of government by law. They were conceived in justice and developed in righteousness. They have become instinctive in our American life and are cherished as a part of our people's inheritance. Our people do not understand any suspension; they are impelled to march on, confident and unafraid. When the spirit of American accomplishment, or the mercies of American ministration, or the inclinations of American teaching, or the adventures of American development take our people abroad, under the compacts of cvilization, they have a right to believe that every guaranty of American citizenship goes with them. When it does not, we have forfeited the American inheritance.

MAY AID WAR-TORN EUROPE.

No political party can draw a variable chart for our ship of state amid Europe's warring ambitions, lust for power, or battles for self-preservation. Justice points the way through the safe channel of neutrality. There are dangers, seeming or real, looming on every side, but we should feel secure along the course marked by international law and our own conscientious convictions of American rights. "Straight ahead" shall be the command, and when peace comes the sober judgment of the world will exalt us ever higher and higher as a people, strong in heart, and noble in the espousal of justice and justice's humanity. In that world-wide respect and confidence which needs only to be preserved we shall have a lofty place in the great reconstruction, and we reasonably may hope to see this mighty Republic again ministering to the reestablishment of peace and all its precious blessings. "GOOD TO BE AN AMERICAN."

My countrymen, Americanism begins at home and radiates abroad. The Republican conception gives the first thought to a free people and a fearless people, and bespeaks conditions at

can markets for American products, American wages for American workmen, American opportunity for American genius and industry, and American defense for American soil. American citizenship is the reflex of American conditions, and we believe our policies make for a fortunate people for whom moral, material, and educational advancement is the open way. The glory of our progress confirms. The answered aspirations of a new world civilization acclaim. We have taken the ideal form of popular government and applied the policies which had led a continent to the altars of liberty and glorified the Republic. We have justified pride and fortified hope. We need only to preserve and defend and go unfalteringly on. Power is the guarantor of peace and conscience the buckler of everlasting right. Verily, it is good to be an American. And we may rejoice to be Republicans.

Aeroplanes.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 9, 1916.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, there is no more important question before the House than the question of developing our air service.

Lord Kitchener recently stated that "an aviator is worth an

army corps.'

Recently during a debate before the British Parliament Lord Montegue, in urging further development of the already very extensive British air service, said:

Let it not be said to our shame by the coming generation that we lost in the air what our fathers won at sea.

The newspapers bring us daily reports of increasing activities of air craft, of extended air raids, in which as many as 90 aeroplanes have participated at one time, and which have been attacking cities, destroying railroads, supply stations, submarine bases, defeated thousands of troops. Aeroplanes now operate in fleet formation, and battle planes equipped with guns fight other aeroplanes to prevent them from carrying out their attacks or reporting invaluable information. Recently the dispatches told of 60 air duels having taken place in one day and of aviators who had already brought down as many as 20 areoplanes each.

At sea we find that dirigibles and aeroplanes are also extending their operations. We are now receiving frequent reports of bombardments of battleships from the air, of sinking submarines by aeroplanes, and of holding up merchantmen by Zeppelins.

LARGE BODY OF CAVALRY AND 2,000 INFANTRY ROUTED BY FIGHTING AEROPLANE.

That an army or navy without aeroplanes is at a mournful disadvantage is an accepted truth. I read in the World's Work, for November, 1914, a very significant bit of recent history:

for November, 1914, a very significant bit of recent history:

The Germans were checked by a much smaller force of Belgians in the early part of the war, when the former disregarded the warnings and tried to sweep into Belgiam with their outnumbering forces—but without aeroplanes. A handful of Belgian aviators then changed the history of the war. Without them Parls would undoubtedly have been captured by the Germans. The Russian defeats afforded the next lesson. They only had a few aeroplanes, while the Germans had many. A million men more did not compensate for this deficiency—Russia lost. Lack of fifty or a hundred aeroplanes forced Gen. Townshend to surrender to the Turks with 10.000 troops at Kut-el-Amara, while a relief column was almost in sight. The half dozen aeroplanes that were with the relief expedition carried 18.800 pounds of food to the besieged, but that was not enough for 10.000 men, and there were also starving, suffering beasts; therefore Gen. Townshend surrendered. From 50 to 100 aeroplanes would have saved 10,000 troops and the humiliation of such a defeat.

Now comes the following official communique, stating that an

Now comes the following official communique, stating that an aeroplane routed a large body of cavalry and 2,000 infantry in western Sudan:

LONDON, May 26.

The dispersal of a force collected by Ali Dinar, the Sultan of Darfur, in the western part of the Sudan, on the frontier of Kordofan, the Province adjoining Darfur on the east, is announced by the war office to-night. A British column occupied El-Fasher, the Sultan's capital, and the Sultan fled with a small body of followers. Darfur, although a part of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and paying tribute to the Sudan Government, is left, so far as local affairs are concerned, almost entirely under the rule of the Sultan. The official statement issued by the war office describing the operations against the Sultan follows:

"The attitude of Ali Dinar, Sultan of Darfur, toward the Government of the Sudan, for some time has been unsatisfactory and truculent.

Early in February he concentrated a force on the Kordofan frontier at Jebel-el-Hella. A mixed force of all arms under Col. Kelly was assembled at El-Nahud and at the end of March occupied Um-Shangan and Jebel-el-Hella. Subsequently it moved forward to Abiat, where preparations were made for an advance on El-Fasher, All Dinar's capital.

"The main action occurred near the village of Beringia, 12 miles north of the capital, where the enemy to the number of between 2,000 and 3,000 held an intrenched position. The camel corps successfully induced them to leave the position. They then attacked our troops with the utmost rapidity and desperation. The enemy's attack was met by a withering fire and few penetrated within 10 yards of our lines. Our troops then counterattacked, totally defeating the enemy, whose minimum losses are estimated at a thousand men.

"All Dinar is reported to have fled with a small following early on May 23. Our casualities were 5 killed and 23 wounded.

"Before and during the action a valuable air reconnoissance was carried out by an officer of the flying corps, who, by means of bombs and a machine gun, forced a large body of hostile cavalry and 2,000 infantry to retire in disorder. The officer was wounded by a bullet in the thigh, but returned safely to Abiat."

BRITISH AIRMEN BLOCK PLAN TO INVADE EGYPT BY DESTROYING TURKS' WATERWORKS.

LONDON, Friday, May 26.

A British official communication issued late last night, concerning the operations in Egypt, says:

"Since the enemy air attack on Port Said the Royal Flying Corps in Egypt has given the enemy little rest. Four British machines have already bombarded enemy advance posts. Forty bombs were dropped, resulting in buildings and a plant at Al Hamma being seriously damaged and the water tanks at Rodhsalem being smashed. This will upset the whole plan of the enemy, as since the destruction of his drilling plant at Jifjaffa by our patrols, he has set great store on the Rodhsalem waterworks."

EUROPEAN NATIONS HAVE THOUSANDS OF AVIATORS.

Recently Earl Kitchener stated that "an aviator is worth an army corps." It has also been said that of all the weapons produced by this war the aeroplane is the most efficient-it protects; it destroys; it fights; it is the superspy, superscout, superbelligerent.

Other nations have found out by experience the value of a substantial air service and are training thousands of aviators. Recently when H. G. Wells urged the British Government in the English press to build a fleet of 10,000 aeroplanes there came from Germany the reply that Germany already had 9,000 aeroplanes available. During one of the discussions held in the House of Commons last March it was stated that there were close to 900 British aviators in the reserves alone who were waiting for aeroplanes. I am told that Germany has not less than 5,000 trained aviators, and England, France, and Russia are not far behind.

We know that Germany has a great advantage over England owing to her large Zeppelins—the like of which England has not These dirigibles, which are invaluable, especially for naval operations, are being constructed larger and larger, and their armament is most formidable. They can drop several tons of explosives and can remain in the air cruising for days at a The dispatches state that the last Zeppelin is 780 feet long.

AMERICA LAST WHERE IT SHOULD BE FIRST.

The United States, the country of Langley, the Wrights, Curtiss, and other prominent pioneers in aeronautics, is last where it should be first. The Mexican trouble and the recent Guantanamo naval operations have shown that in aeronautical equipment the United States Army and Navy rank last, behind even the third and fourth class powers and their colonies. For various reasons we have neglected this very important arm, and the estimates for the Army and Navy appropriations for aeronautics show that the plans made close to a year ago, when these estimates were made, are far from being adequate, and would only make the Army and Navy rank twelfth and thirteenth, respectively.

I have just received a letter from Mr. Alan R. Hawley, president of the Aero Club of America, who recently flew from New York to Washington, in which he points out that the Army appropriation bill only provides for the organization, equipment, and upkeep of two and a half aero squadrons, whereas the Chamberlain-Hay Army reorganization bill provides for eight aero squadrons. Mr. Hawley's letter follows:

aero squadrons. Mr. Hawley's letter follows:

Hon, William S. Bennet,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. O.

My Dear Mr. Bennet: The Army appropriation bill adopted by the Military Affairs Committee of the House and submitted for passage by that committee does not provide to carry out more than one-third of the provisions of the Chamberlain-Hay Army reorganization bill, which provides for the organization of eight aero squadrons; and whereas it would be fatal to again disregard the aeronautical needs of the Army, we beg to bring the following facts to your attention:

(1) The \$1.000,000 which the Army, appropriation bill gives to pay for the organization, equipment, and maintenance of the air service is not sufficient to provide the number of aeroplanes which Gen. Funston should have to-day at the Mexican border to protect American lives and American property from the attacks of Mexican bandits.

(2) The Army, naving charge of coast defense, which in other countries is in charge of the navy, needs aeroplanes; dirigibles, observation

balloons, and kites for the protection of our coast. These are not provided for in the Army appropriation bill.

(3) It is estimated that the aviation equipment alone should consist of not less than 24 complete aero squadrons, each squadron being allowed 3 aeroplanes for each aviator, or 24 aeroplanes to each squadron.

(4) Years of experience have shown to the War Department that it costs \$255,000 to organize, equip, and support for a year an aero squadron of only 12 aeroplanes. It having been found that it is absolutely necessary to allow 3 aeroplanes to each aviator, the cost of organizing, equipping, and maintaining an aero squadron is increased to approximately \$400,000.

(5) The Movien trouble has proved beyond dispute that the \$200,000.

content of experience have shown to the War Department of exch squadron. Cott of Stard of experience have shown to the War Department of each of each of each of each of the provide of the cott of organizing, equipping, and maintaining an aero squadron is increased to approximately the cotton of the cotton of organizing, equipping, and maintaining an aero squadron is increased to approximately the cotton of the cotton of the cotton of organizing, equipping, and maintain a single complete aero squadron; therefore the \$1,000,000 provided for in the Army appropriation bill would only be sufficient for Iwo and a half aero squadrons are to be organized, then the appropriation for Army aeronautics should be \$3,200,000, the amount needed to organize, equip, and maintain the eight aero squadrons. To this there should be added at least \$2,000,000 to provide for the acquisition and army now make about twenty-third in aeronautics—behind all the European powers and their cotonies—the appropriation of \$5,000,000 for anomauties avoid only enable this country to become eight in rank—behind all the European powers and their cotonies—the appropriation of \$5,000,000 for anomauties would only enable this country to become eight in rank—behind are a dozen European aviators who have each brought down between 10 and 20 aeroplanes in inf duels. The United States Army has not to day as many aeroplanes in commission as have been destroyed by one of these aviators; the Army appropriation bill involved in the country of the

UNITED STATES DEVELOPED THE FIRST SUCCESSFUL HYDROAEROPLANE AND FLYING BOAT AND LEADS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF AEROPLANES.

The United States gave the world the first successful hydroaeroplane and flying boat-same as it had given to the world the first successful flying machine. American aeroplane manufacturers lead in the construction of flying boats and the countries of the world come here for these machines. Notwithstanding that, we find from the statements made before the Committee on Naval Affairs that our Navy has only 16 aeroplanes in commission and the very small training dirigible which has not yet been put in commission.

Lacking funds and personnel, the Navy has been confined to conducting experimentations, so it has not yet a naval aeronautical organization.

As our Navy is our first line of defense. I submit that adequate provision should be made for the development of this important

Capt. Mark L. Bristol, the head of the Navy Aeronautical Service, told the House Naval Committee some time ago that an appropriation of \$13,600,000 for aircraft, which would provide the Navy with 82 aeroplanes, 5 dirigibles, 41 kite balloons, and 2 aircraft ships, was required.

Considering that we have not any aeronautical equipment and that there are 13 naval districts which ought to be provided with aeronautical equipment for the defense of our shores, I believe that we could not make a better investment this year than by allowing the sum estimated for by the head of the Navy Aero-

nautic Service.

I see by the statements issued by the Navy Department that the reason Capt. Bristol's estimates were cut down was that at the time the estimates were made the American aeronautic industry was not in a position to supply the equipment necessary. Therefore the estimate was cut down. But conditions have changed, and the aeronautic industry has greatly extended in the past year and is now in a position to supply all the equipment that Capt. Bristol included in his estimate of \$13,600,000. The only delays in deliveries so far have been the delays caused by a change of requirements and specifications on the part of the Navy Department. This is to be expected, and the Navy Department itself, with all its facilities, has had to spend a whole year in developing a hydroaeroplane of new design. Flying boats and hydroaeroplanes of standard types can be obtained in large number on reasonable notice.

Kite balloons can also be made in this country on reasonable notice. A dirigible requires longer and will undoubtedly involve extensive experimentations. But we need these valuable craft. Therefore, we should begin immediately to experiment to

develop an efficient type.

In an official communique from one of the allied countries, published in the New York Sun recently, it was stated that aeronautics had undergone a greater development in the past three months than naval things had undergone in 100 years.

This being a fact, it is to be expected that the estimates for the Army and Navy which we are considering and which were drawn up many months ago should be insufficient and incon-

sistent with present conditions
So I would urge consideration of the subject. There are in Washington now Army and Navy officers who only recently arrived from Europe, where they were attached to the United States Embassies at Paris and Berlin. The Army officer is Lieut. Col. George O. Squier—an officer who has a remarkable record, and who was partly responsible for the United States acquiring the first aeroplane for the United States Army, which gave our Army for three years the distinction of having an aeroplane when no other nation had one. The Navy officer is Lieut. V. D. Herbster, who was connected with the American Embassy in Berlin for two years and has just returned.

NATIONAL GUARD SHOULD BE EQUIPPED WITH AEROPLANES.

Whereas the wisdom of the majority of Members of the House of Representatives has decided that the National Guard of the States of the Union is to be relied upon to a great extent for our defenses and to be put under Federal control, so as to increase its efficiency, thereby it is to be taken for granted that provision

is to be made to supply the guard with aeroplanes.

In the past year the Aero Club of America and affiliated aero clubs and organizations cooperating with the club have con-tributed several hundred thousand dollars to developing aviation corps in the National Guard, and, as a result, 40 States have already taken steps to organize aviation detachments. That is a convincing evidence of the National Guard's desire to develop this important and valuable arm. Therefore, adequate provision should be made to supply the aeroplanes which the National Guard is requesting. The New York National Guard, having been presented five aeroplanes and the funds with which to maintain the aviation detachment, is already training 25 men. They have many more applications, but the limited equipment available does not permit training more men at this time.

The experience of the National Guard of New York has shown that it will cost \$100,000 to organize, equip, and maintain an aero detachment for the first year, bringing to \$4,000,000 the total cost of organizing an aviation detachment in each of the 40 States which are ready to organize aviation detachments.

It appears from the estimates of what it would cost to organize a substantial air service in the Army, Navy, and militia that it would not amount to as much as the cost to build one of the battle cruisers provided for in the naval appropriation. Aeronautics is, in fact, the least expensive arm of the service. It also has the advantage that it can be organized faster than any other arm of the service, therefore we can not make a mistake if we provide for the development of this arm.

NEW YORK WORLD PROPOSES RESERVE OF 2,000 AVIATORS.

Every Member of the House of Representatives recently received a copy of a special edition of the New York World which was carried from New York to Washington by aeroplane, the president of the Aero Club of America acting as "Hon. Courier."

Here is the World's proposal:

Congress provided in 1914 that 60 officers should constitute the Aviation Corps of the United States Army. But when these aviators were needed this year in the Mexican emergency for scout and patrol duty the Army could furnish only one-fourth that number of trained flying men.

The Navy is no better prepared than the Army for aerial offense and defense.

The Navy is no better prepared than the Army for aerial offense and defense.

A reserve of 2,000 aviators for national defense, available also for the peaceful uses to which aeroplanes are fast being devoted—for Coast Guard, Life-Saving Service, and mail carrying—could be trained for one-tenth the cost of one dreadnaught. Ten Army and 10 Navy flying stations could be equipped with machines and instructors to train 2,000 aviators this cummer at a cost of \$2,000,000. Military and naval authorities believe that such a reserve corps is needed, not for militarism, but for reasonable preparedness.

MUST RELY ON VOLUNTEERS.

England and France have each more than 3,000 aviators in active service. The United States has scarcely more than 100 trained pilots, military and civilian.

Where, then, is the flying reserve coming from?

The Army can not furnish them; the Navy can not furnish them. Where shall it be recruited? Who shall train them?

In proposing the National Aerial Derby as an incentive to preparedness, the publisher of The World wrote to the Aero Club of America in part, as follows:

"This country is not a military country. Its instincts will always be to restrict standing military establishments and to rely on trained citizen reserves. This will apply to all branches of the Army, including Aviation Corps. There is thus little prospect of getting from the Army the number of officers and men required to form an adequate air service.

"If, as is the fact, we must have available for our aerial defense in the next five years aviators not in hundreds but in thousands, we shall have to depend upon volunteer reserves."

The State militia organizations stand ready to furnish these men for training just so soon as the Federal Government will provide machines, instructors, and training-camp facilities.

instructors, and training-camp facilities.

RESPONSE ENTHUSIASTIC.

The World has canvassed the sentiment of the States, through their respective governors or adjutant generals. It has never received a response on any question of national interest more enthusiastic or more

response on any question of national interest more enthusiastic or more nearly unanimous.

Governors or adjutant generals of 30 States assured the World within 24 hours by telegraph that they can furnish their proportion of the 2,000 men for aviation training camps.

Already more than 30 militia organizations in as many States are receiving financial assistance through public-spirited citizens who have contributed to the national aeroplane fund of the Aero Club of America. More than 50 militiamen are being trained as pilots at the areo club's expense. Citizens in this way are doing what the Government has neglected to do, because Members of Congress have failed to see that the sentiment of the country, from coast to coast, demands a reasonable sentiment of aerial preparedness.

To discover accurately what is the sentiment of the States, the World sent the following message to each governor, or, in the governor's absence, to the head of the State's military organization:

"Military and naval authorities believe the United States should have a reserve of 2,000 trained aviators for national defense. These men could be trained this summer for \$2,000,000, including cost of machines and equipment. This is one-tenth the cost of one dreadnaught.

"Would your State undertake to furnish its quota of aviation recruits to be trained at no expense to your State? Prompt, concerted action should add to the Army and Navy reorganization bills provision for Federal training camps for this purpose."

WHAT THE GOVERNORS SAY.

WHAT THE GOVERNORS SAY.

WHAT THE GOVERNORS SAY.

The replies, transmitted direct to the editor or through World correspondents in the State capitals, follow:
Charles S. Whitman, governor of New York: "Many members of the National Guard of New York would undoubtedly volunteer as aviation recruits this summer. I am heartily in favor of any measure that will provide for training camps for this purpose."
Frank B. Willis, governor of Ohio: "Ohio is for the big Aviation Corps proposition and will fill its quota in six hours. I am enthusiastic on this matter."

E. F. Dunne, governor of Illinois: "Should Congress provide for the formation of aero corps in the State militias and the President call upon this State for its quota, the State will promptly respond with willing volunteers."

willing volunteers."

Ernest L. Lister, governor of Washington: "The State of Washington will be glad to furnish its quota of aviation recruits if provision for

will be glad to furnish its quota of aviation recruits if provision for training is made."

Marcus H. Holcomb, governor of Connecticut: "Connecticut has many men interested in aviation and would furnish its full quota, as large a percentage as any State. I tavor preparedness in all branches, and, judging by experience on the other side, I believe the New York World is rendering a splendid service in advocating Federal training camps for more men like Capt. Raiph Taylor, of the Connecticut Coast Artillery, who was in the record-making aeroplane last Saturday."

Richard I. Manning, governor of South Carolina: "I approve plan for trained aviators for national defense. I believe South Carolina would furnish its quota."

Emanuel L. Philipp, governor of Wisconsin: "I am in favor of the purchase by the Federal Government of a sufficient number of flying machines and equipment for the adequate defense of the United States. Wisconsin would willingly undertake to furnish its quota of aviation recruits if called on to do so."

Samuel V. Stewart, governor of Montana, said there was no doubt Montana would furnish its quota of aviation recruits to be trained at no expense to the State, if there was a call for such recruits.

George D. Hays, governor of Arkansas, said he was satisfied Arkansas can be relied upon to do its share in furnishing its quota of aviation recruits along lines suggested in the World's telegram.

F. M. Canton, adjutant general of Oklahoma: "Oklahoma, I am sure, will furnish her full quota of men to be trained as aviators for national defense it called upon, if there is no expense to the State."

Mosea Alexander, governor of Idaho: "Idaho guarantees to furnish its quota of aviator recruits, and more, if necessary, Idaho stands with the President and Congress for sane preparedness."

James F. Fielder, governor of New Jersey: "Under the National Guard act we could, I believe, under the call of Congress, recruit for an Aviation Corps, and I have no doubt that a call for volunteers would secure the necessary quota for this purpose."

Woodbridge N. Ferris, governor of Michigan: "I do not see any need of training 2,000 aviators. I do not question the value of aviators in time of war and would expect a reasonable number of aviators would be trained. This effort to make extensive preparations in aviation is not in keeping with our moderate preparedness. I would not stand in the way of Michigan doing its share, however."

Henry D. Hatfield, governor of West Virginia: "West Virginia is ready to supply its quota of aviation recruits at any time. Adjt. John C. Bond states that he is besieged daily by militiamen who desire to join the Aviation Corps."

M. G. Brumbaugh, governor of Pennsylvania: "I believe that in the event of aviation training as you suggest, Pennsylvania will have volunteers far outnumbering its quota."

Samuel M. Ralston, governor of Indiana: "The United States should have a reserve force of trained aviators adequate to its needs. If Congress should provide for a reserve corps of 2,000 aviators, Indiana undoub

George A. Carlson, governor of Colorado: "Colorado will be glad to furnish its quota of the 2,000 aviators."

John H Morehead, governor of Nebraska: "If a law should be passed providing for trained aviators for the national defense, I have no doubt Nebraska will furnish its allotted quota."

Guy A. Logan adjutant general of Iowa: "I have 15 or 20 letters here now from young men who wish to become aviators and who want an aviation corps organized under the Iowa National Guard. If the Government would furnish the machines, we could get the men to man them."

them."

James Whitcomb, governor of Oregon: "This State is interested in aviation. It has two in the aeronautic corps of the Naval Militia; also two licensed pilots."

J. A. A. Burnquist, governor of Minnesota: "Minnesota will be prepared to furnish its quota of men for training in aviation up to at least 50."

Frank M. Byrne, governor of South Dakota, takes the position that South Dakota would do its part toward furnishing the necessary quota toward training an aeroplane reserve for Army use, and indorses the idea.

George W. P. Hunt, governor of Arizona; "I heartily approve the plan for establishing a reserve of 2,000 trained aviators and conducting Federal training camps for this purpose. Arizona would undoubtedly undertake to furnish aviation recruits in proportion to population."

Charies R. Miller, governor of Delaware: "Officially and individually I am in favor of a maximum military, naval, aerial, industrial, and economica, preparedness sufficiently strong to command the respect of the other nations of the world; to maintain our national honor and protect the commercial interests of our citizens throughout the world."

Elliott W. Major, governor of Missouri: "I don't know how many would volunteer from Missouri. I have not studied these questions, but have left them to be handled by the Federal Government."

William Spry, governor of Utah: "Utah can be relied upon to furnish its quota of men and anything else the Government may desire."

Lock Craig, governor of North Carolina: "The State could not undertake to furnish men for aviation recruits, but I have no doubt that a sufficient numoer of men would volunteer."

Naval Appropriation Bill Amendment for Government Manufacture of Armor Plate.

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HENRY J. STEELE.

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 31, 1916.

Mr. STEELE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the primary purpose in the use of armor is to secure the safety of ships of war. All the armor heretofore used upon our ships of war has been manufactured at the plants of three private manufacturers, but it is now proposed to erect a Government plant and to manufacture all the armor required at the Government plant to be erected.

Armor is not a commercial product, and the only customer for it is the Government. We have had much discussion as to the experience of the Government with the private manufacturers, but very little information on the practical side of the manufacture of armor. It is my purpose to give some practical

information on this subject.

Armor of some kind for ships of war has been in use for more than a century and a quarter. It would be too lengthy a story to detail here the history of its manufacture, but those interested in the subject will find a full account of its early development by Lieut. Very in volume 9, No. 3, 1883, United States Naval Institute. It will suffice for this occasion to say that the metallic plating of ships of war did not become a matter of great importance until after the introduction of shell fire, and the increased power of guns made the protection of thick wooden sides wholly inadequate. In consequence of this, the demand for armor plate became more imperative as time went on, owing to the greater use of machinery and apparatus, which needed protection even against comparatively small guns. In recent years its use has been further stimulated by the increased speed of fire of guns of all sizes.

About the close of the last century three kinds of armor seemed to produce noteworthy results: The Harvey process in England, the Krupp process in Germany, and the Schneider process in France. Concerning these various kinds Capt. Van

Duzen, United States Navy, in a recent article, said:

Of these three kinds the product of Krupp is generally regarded as the best. Krupp armor differs from that previously made, not only in the process of manufacture but in its chemical constitution. Its exact character is a jealously guarded trade secret, which has been sold at a high price to nearly all the great armor manufacturers of the world; but that it contains a small amount of chromium as well as carbon is now generally understood. Previous attempts to produce chrome steel armor had not been successful, though the trials had been numerous and persistent. Nearly all the armor now applied to ships, except very thin plates, is made by some modification of the Krupp process.

Again, he said:

Again, he said:

The object of having a hard face to armor is to break up projectles by shock or so to strain or deform them as to reduce their penetration. It is particularly effective on oblique impact. To combine hardness with toughness was the aim of armor makers for a quarter of a century, and success was not obtained until the advent of nickel steel. The use of chromium, tungsten, and other substances has further improved these qualities. Had not the improvement of projectiles and guns kept pace with the development of armor, ships could not now be made invulnerable; but both have improved so that the relation of guns and armor is now less favorable to the latter than at almost any time in its history. Nevertheless, armor is absolutely indispensable to the protection of ships and their crews against all classes of gunfire.

At the recent hearings before the Senate committee Admiral Strauss, when questioned as to the practical difficulties in carrying out the plan for the construction of a Government plant,

Senator Swanson. Admiral, do you know of any secret process of manufacture possessed by the armor-plate manufacturers that the Government could not use and make as efficient armor as is made now by these concerns engaged in the business?

Admiral Strauss. I do not believe there are any secret processes about the manufacture of armor plate. One of the big factors in the matter is the general and special knowledge of steel making and handling large ingots. That special knowledge must be gained by experience. I do not believe the most minute description of it would enable anybody to make armor. to make armor.
Senator Page. How would you expect to obtain that expert knowl-

edge?

Admiral Strauss. I fancy there would be a reasonable amount of failure at first. We might get some experts, but undoubtedly, in the course of time, we would be able to manufacture armor on our own

We have, therefore, two expert opinions—one stating that the manufacture of armor is "a jealously guarded trade secret," while the other states that he does not believe "there are any secret processes about the manufacture of armor plate." rience will no doubt reveal which of these two opinions is correct.

In the report of the Bureau of Ordnance or cost of Government armor factory, submitted on June 28, 1913, it was stated

as follows:

The excellence of armor is determined mainly by two processes in

The excellence of armor is determined mainly by two processes in the manufacture:

First. The production of the steel.

Second. The heat treatment of the ingot.

Both of these processes require a high degree of metallurgical knowledge, which must be paid for at a high rate. Unless competent metallurgists, open-hearth superintendents, carbonizing superintendents, and inspectors of heats are employed the quality of armor produced will necessarily be below the standard of that produced by private parties by whom high saiaries are paid. The bureau is by no means desirous of paying more for armor, whether made by private parties or by the Government, than the lowest price at which the best armor can be produced; but it is strongly of the opinion that the primary and most important consideration is quality, and that cost is entirely secondary.

In the report of the Niles Board, submitted to Congress in

In the report of the Niles Board, submitted to Congress in 1906 by the Secretary of the Navy, it was stated:

The chief and all-important exponent of the quality of armor is its ballistic resistance against actual attack by gun fire, and the increasing demands upon manufacturers in this regard have been an incentive

to them and to others to experiment with new methods of manufacture. With every increase in ballistic resistance demanded has come to the manufacturer a certain increase in the cost of production. The value of material has increased and the difficulties of manufacture multiplied, while the rate and certainty of production has markedly lessened.

In no branch of steel making is greater nicety of manipulation and treatment required than in the production of armor plate. To the minds of many people it is difficult to understand the great difference between the cost per ton of steel rails and the cost per ton of armor plate. A writer of experience in the manufacture of armor has recently said on this subject:

manufacture of armor has recently said on this subject:

It is not difficult to calculate roughly that on account of the costly alloys employed steel lying melted in the open-hearth furnaces represents per ton of finished armor plate a raw-material value of not far from \$150. In this connection it must be borne in mind that the Government requires that each finished plate shall represent not over 50 per cent of the weight of the ingot. This means that a minimum of 50 per cent of steel produced by the furnace returns to it as remelted scrap. The alloys in this discarded steel are to a large extent wasted, as they are nearly all slagged off during remelting. Armor-plate ingots are cast in carefully prepared sand molds similar to those used in steel foundries. At a low estimate, based on even the cheapest steel casting work, this molding must add to the cost of the steel per ton \$40. This makes armor plate worth \$190 per ton before it has gone to the armorplate department at all.

The process of manipulation and treetment referred to in the

The process of manipulation and treatment referred to in the Niles report was well explained by Mr. W. P. Barba, vice president of the Midvale Steel Co., in his testimony before the House Committee on Naval Affairs, page 3044:

Niles report was well explained by Mr. W. P. Barba, vice president of the Midvale Steel Co., in his testimony before the House Committee on Naval Affairs, page 3044:

Mr. Barra If perchance some member of the committee has not fully visualized what armor is and something of the process, I should like to try in five minutes to give some idea of what armor really is. In the first place, it is necessary to zet command of facilities which will melt, properly treat, and bring together approximately 400,000 pounds of fluid steel of the highest quality possible to manufacture. It at three gun turret, which is real to pour an ingot for a port part of has as yet required the American armor makers to produce. This plate is cast by bringing together the metal from three 60-ton furnaces, following it with a fourth a little later in the game, and the mold equipment alone necessary to contain this metal and to form the ingot, which is put the metal in it and produce eve one long 25,0000 before you can overhead charge against the ingots of at least \$700 per lipot. It has been experienced that this whole apparatus has gone to pleces on the first ingot and the whole charge of \$20,000 been applied against one moverhead charge against the ingots of at least \$700 per lipot. It has been experienced that this whole apparatus has gone to pleces on the first ingot and the whole charge of \$20,000 been applied against one 200-ton capacity, into the next shop where there is, in Midvale, a 10,000-ton press. This press probably would not go into this room. The shop in which the press is contained has two presses only and the necessary formaces. The shop is 626 feet long, which is only 120 feet than the Capitol and its stack is as high as the dome of the Capitol. If you gentlemen can conceive of a shop as big as the Capitol Ruiding, a building solely for the purpose of housing two tools, you will get some idea of the massiveness of the machinery necessary to do this work. This nachinery can not be purchased in the market. The Midvale Co. Th

tion by the local inspector of what, in his judgment, is the poorest plate in the group. Of the belt plates, the heavy plates, there are perhaps 10 plates in a group or there is the composite group, carrying thick and thin plates, in which there have been as many as 24 in a group. The weight is approximately 600 tons of armor per group.

Out of the group one plate is selected at first, the inspector, as I say, endeavoring from the information which has been regularly furnished him throughout the whole process to select that plate, which, in his judgment, is most likely to fail when attacked by the projectile. That plate is then backed with oak, exactly as it is installed on shipboard, and sent down to Indianhead and there placed on the butts in front of the guns which are to put the real, definite, and final test on this piece of work. The 13-inch plate is tested with two capped 12-inch projectiles and one capped 14-inch projectile, it being the desire of the department to develop the resisting qualities of the plates being manufactured. The requirement is that none of those projectiles shall penetrate the plate, and, further, that the plate under this attack must not crack. If you make a plate so soft that it will not crack it is likely to be so soft that the shell will penetrate the plate, thus failing through perforation. Another consideration is the number of falling plates. The best result that the Midvale Co. has ever experienced is in the contract we have just completed for the armor for the Idaho, which comprises 13 groups and required 16 plates to test, and we had 3 falling plates and 13 successes. That is the best proportion of success that we have ever enjoyed and represents, therefore, the best years I armor manufacture that we have ever enjoyed; due, first, to that reason; and, second, to the fact that for the first time we had sufficient armor to keep our plant going the entire year.

This statement shows that the manufacture of armor requires great nicety of manipulation and treatment, and a continuous operation, day and night and Sunday, for 27 days for the thickest plates, and 18 days for the thinnest plates. There can be no cessation in the operation for the temperature must be continuously maintained.

In the Senate hearings, the following colloquy took place during the testimony of Mr. Barba:

Mr. Barba. The operation requires an absolute continuous performance 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

The Chairman. You mean the heat has to be maintained?

Mr. Barba. Yes, sir. I instanced a week ago in my testimony one operation which is common to every armor plant, which requires from 18 to 25 days' continuous operation at a temperature of 2,000° F., without cessation. You can not do that on an eight-hour basis.

The Chairman. That is one of the special parts of the manufacture heavens?

without cessation. You can not do that on an eight-hour basis.

The Chairmax. That is one of the special parts of the manufacture, however?

Mr. Barba. You can do that in the case of machinery where the tools may stand idle.

The Chairmax. My judgment would be that it would be possible for the Government armor factory to run on those processes which are not necessarily continuous in such a way as not to make it necessary, and you could get the same results, and you could expand and run 24 hours a day in an emergency.

Mr. Barba. But, Senator Tillman, where does your cost go under such an operation as that? When you are working 8 hours a day and the plant is idle 16 hours a day, everything stops more than 16 hours a day. It takes longer than 8 hours a day to pick up and get going. You need a little manufacturing experience, Senator, to show you the truth of these statements I am making to you.

The process above described relates exclusively to the treat-

The process above described relates exclusively to the treatment of the steel ingot in the armor factory. The production of the steel, however, is the first essential in the process of manufacture and requires a high degree of metallurgical knowledge.

In the case of the private manufacturer the armor factory is only a department of a large plant where the ores are brought from privately owned mines and manufactured into ingots.

It is not contemplated to manufacture steel in the Government armor plant, and, therefore, this first essential in the manufacture of armor will have to be purchased by the Government. Where it will be purchased will probably depend upon the location of the armor plant. If, as contemplated in the Senate amendment and discussion of this subject, it should be located at some point West or South, it would be natural to purchase the steel from the nearest available steel-manufacturing point. If it were to be located in the Middle West, the nearest point would probably be the United States Steel Corporation, and if it should be located in the South the nearest point would probably be the Birmingham, Ala., region. In either case the steel would have to be transported from the point of manufacture to the armorplate plant. Of course this would be an additional item of expense.

After the manufacture of the armor it would have to be subjected to the Government tests on the proving ground. This now takes place at Indianhead. The Bethlehem Steel Co. has also a private proving ground of its own. In the report of the

Rureau of Ordnance it said on this subject:

If the site chosen for a Government factory were far removed from ne present proving ground, considerations of economy might suggest ne provision of a proving ground for armor tests adjoining the armor the pres the prov factory.

The result would be that the armor would either have to be transported to the present proving ground or a new proving ground constructed adjoining the new armor plant. In either event considerable expense would be entailed.

or Pacific coast. If, for instance, the armor factory should be located in the Middle West, it would still be necessary, after the manufacture of the armor, to transport it to some point along the Atlantic coast to answer its intended use. This distance would be considerably greater than is now necessary, and would, therefore, add much to the cost of transportation. Hence it is apparent that it is vastly more economical to have the armor manufactured near the shipbuilding plants.

It is also apparent that the private manufacturers have the additional advantage of owning their raw materials and manufacturing the steel in the same plant where the armor is manufactured. With the private manufacturers an armor plant is merely an adjunct to a great steel plant, and, as already stated, it is easy to use up all the scrap and refuse in other ways. This would be impossible in a Government-owned plant, solely devoted to the manufacture of armor. In a private plant the workmen could also be readily shifted from the armor factory to the other departments, and the same thing would be true of the question of power and the operation of the plant. This would be very important where the plant could not be operated on full time. Without the ability to shift their employees to other time. Without the ability to shift their employees to other departments, it would be impossible for the Government to keep

its force of workmen together on one-third or even one-half time. Down to this time it has been the uniform opinion of those in authority who have studied the subject that it was to the best interest of the Government to purchase its armor. In 1896 Secretary of the Navy Herbert, in his report to Congress, said:

At the last session of Congress I gave, in response to an inquiry from a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs in the United States Senate, the opinion that the Government ought to purchase its armor rather than manufacture it. The reasons set forth in that communication are still believed to be sound.

In 1900 Admiral O'Neill presented an exhaustive report on it, and on page 6 of his testimony, given on February 16, 1900, he said:

I do not think it is expedient for the Government to undertake the manufacture of armor for several reasons, which I will state.

This is followed by several pages, setting forth the reasons for his opinion. In 1906 came the so-called Niles report. In December of that year Secretary of the Navy Bonaparte asked Congress, as a protection in dealing with armor-plate manufacturers, the privilege of erecting an armor-plate plant, if the Government thought it necessary. Congress gave him that privilege, and with this power in his hands, he became satisfied that it was not wise to erect such a plant.

In the report of the Bureau of Ordnance for 1913 it is stated: In this connection the department is reminded of the experience of the French Government with its armor-plate factory, the facts concerning which are already in the department's possession. It is to be noted that at present, some 13 years after the project was approved by the French Parliament, the plant has made no savings that compare with the anticipted savings and is still unable to turn out any kind of armor except thin plates.

In the light of the admission of Admiral Strauss that "there would be a reasonable amount of failure at first," and of the failure of the French Government after 13 years of experience, can anything else than failure be expected of the Government plant authorized by this bill?

The Bethlehem Steel Co. plant, by reason of its size and the excellence of its product, has been well termed in the steel industry the "Krupp of America." After the recent naval engagement in the North Sea Emperor William sent the head of the Krupp works the following telegram from Wilhelmshaven:

After receiving oral reports on the North Sea battle, I desire to tell you how greatly we are indebted for success to our splendid artillery and armor plate, and especially to the destructive power of our ammunition. Thus the battle day was also a day of honor for the Krupps.

How different is the policy proposed for this Government! Instead of acknowledging an indebtedness to the private manufacturers for their enterprise, a deliberate policy of destruction is proposed. It is a policy contrary to that of all the great powers of Europe.

In an emergency it is quite easy to raise volunteers and to drill and train them, but turning out munitions of war can not be done so quickly. Modern warfare calls for every particle of manufacturing efficiency that a country possesses. England has just paid a frightful price for failing to encourage the produc-tion of war material by private manufacturers. One of the tion of war material by private manufacturers. ablest of English newspaper correspondents, Mr. Sidney Brooks, in a letter to the New York Times in March last, discussed this very bill for the erection of a Government armor-plate plant. He gave the result of his observations as follows:

event considerable expense would be entailed.

Another consideration would be the transportation of the armor after it was finished and accepted by the Government to the shipyard where the armor plate would be placed upon the ship. These shipyards are all located along either the Atlantic

in money but in the lives of your soldiers. Encourage the production of war material by private manufacturers, and no matter what profits they make out of the industry, the Nation will find it a cheap investment. * * I abould be preud of the extraordinary skill and enterprise, the farseeing liberality with which they have been planned and conducted. I should recognize in them so many pillars of national safety, so many policies of insurance against the awful risk of being unprepared. And I should certainly do what I could to defeat any policy that threatened to destroy, to remove, or to weaken enterprise on whose instant efficiency might one day depend all the difference between victory and defeat. instant efficiency i

Republican Party Platform.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES R. MANN,

OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 9, 1916.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the Republican Party platform.

The Republican Party platform is as follows:

REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORM ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 8, 1916.

"In 1861 the Republican Party stood for the Union. As it stood for the union of States, it now stands for a united people, true to American ideals, loyal to American traditions, knowing no allegiance except to the Constitution, to the Government, and to the flag of the United States. We believe in American policies at home and abroad.

PROTECTION OF AMERICAN RIGHTS.

"We declare that we believe in and will enforce the protection of every American citizen in all the rights secured to him by the Constitution, treaties, and the law of nations, at home and abroad, by land and sea. These rights, which in violation of the specific promise of their party made at Baltimore in 1912, the Democratic President, and the Democratic Congress have failed to defend, we will unflinchingly maintain.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

"We desire peace, the peace of justice and right, and believe in maintaining a straight and honest neutrality between the belligerents in the great war in Europe. We must perform all our duties and insist upon all our rights as neutrals without fear and without favor. We believe that peace and neutrality as well as the dignity and influence of the United States can as well as the dightly and influence of the United States can not be preserved by shiftly expedients, by phrase making, by performances in language, or by attitudes ever changing in an effort to secure groups of voters. The present administration has destroyed our influence abroad and humiliated us in our own eyes. The Republican Party believes that a firm, consistent, and courageous foreign policy, always maintained by Republican Presidents in accordance with American traditions, is the best, as it is the only true way, to preserve our peace and restore us to our rightful place among the nations. We believe in the pacific settlement of international disputes and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose.

MEXICO.

"We deeply sympathize with the 15,000,000 people of Mexico, who for three years have seen their country devastated, their homes destroyed, their fellow citizens murdered, and their women outraged by armed bands of desperadoes led by self-seeking, conscienceless agitators, who when temporarily successful in any locality have neither sought nor been able to restore order or establish and maintain peace.

"We express our horror and indignation at the outrages which have been and are being perpetrated by these bandits upon American men and women, who were or are in Mexico by invitation of the laws and of the government of that country, and whose rights to security of person and property are guaranteed by solemn treaty obligations. We denounce the indefensible methods of interference employed by this administration in the internal affairs of Mexico, and refer with shame to its failure to discharge the duty of this country as next friend to Mexico, its duty to other powers, who have relied upon us as such friend, and its duty to our citizens in Mexico, in permitting the continuance of such conditions, first by failure to act promptly and firmly; and, second, by lending its influence to the continuation of such conditions through recognition of one of the factions responsible for these outrages.

"We pledge our aid in restoring order and maintaining peace We promise to our citizens on and near our border,

and to those in Mexico, wherever they may be found, adequate and absolute protection in their lives, liberty, and property.

MONROE DOCTRINE.

"We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine, and declare its maintenance to be a policy of this country essential to its present and future peace and safety and to the achievement of its manifest destiny.

LATIN AMERICA.

"We favor the continuance of Republican policies, which will result in drawing more and more closely the commercial, financial, and social relations between this country and the countries of Latin America.

PHILIPPINES.

"We renew our allegiance to the Philippine policy inaugurated by McKinley, approved by Congress, and consistently carried out by Roosevelt and Taft. Even in this short time it has enormously improved the material and social conditions of the islands, given the Philippine people a constantly increas-ing participation in their government, and, if persisted in, will

bring still greater benefits in the future.

"We accepted the responsibility of the islands as a duty to civilization and the Filipino people. To leave with our task half done would break our pledges, injure our prestige among nations,

and imperil what has already been accomplished.

We condemn the Democratic administration for its attempt to abandon the Philippines, which was prevented only by the vigorous opposition of Republican Members of Congress, aided

by a few patriotic Democrats.
"We reiterate our unqualified approval of the action taken in December, 1911, by the President and Congress to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation and prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens, whether native born or alien and regardless of race, religion, or previous political allegiance. We renew the pledge to observe this principle and to maintain the right of asylum, which is neither to be surrendered nor restricted, and we unite in the cherished hope that the war which is now desolating the world may speedily end, with a complete and lasting restoration of brotherhood among the nations of the earth and the assurance of full equal rights, civil and religious, to all men in every land.

PROTECTION OF THE COUNTRY.

"In order to maintain our peace and make certain the security of our people within our own borders, the country must have not only adequate but thorough and complete national defense, ready for any emergency. We must have a sufficient and effective Regular Army and a provision for ample reserves, already drilled and disciplined, who can be called at once to the colors when the hour of danger comes.

"We must have a Navy strong and so well proportioned and equipped, so thoroughly ready and prepared that no enemy can gain command of the sea and effect a landing in force on either our western or eastern coast. To secure these results we must have a coherent and continuous policy of national defense, which even in these perilous days the Democratic Party has utterly failed to develop, but which we promise to give to the country.

TARIFF.

The Republican Party stands now, as always, in the fullest sense for the policy of tariff protection to American industries and American labor, and does not regard an antidumping provision as an adequate substitute. Such protection should be reasonable in amount, but sufficient to protect adequately American industry and American labor and be so adjusted as to prevent undue exactions by monopolies or trusts. It should, moreover, give special attention to securing the industrial in-dependence of the United States in the case of dyestuffs.

"Through wise tariff and industrial legislation our industries can be so organized that they will become not only a commercial bulwark but a powerful aid to national defense

"The Underwood Tariff Act is a complete failure in every Under its administration imports have enormously increased in spite of the fact that the intercourse with foreign countries has been largely cut off by reason of the war, while the revenues of which we stand in such dire need have been greatly reduced. Under the normal conditions which prevailed prior to the war it was clearly demonstrated that this act de-prived the American producer and the American wage earner of that protection which entitled them to meet their foreign competitiors, and but for the adventitious conditions created by the war, would long since have paralyzed all forms of American industry and deprived American labor of its just reward.

"It has not in the least reduced the cost of living, which has constantly advanced from the date of its enactment. The wel-

fare of our people demands its repeal and the substitution of a measure which in peace as well as in war will produce ample revenue and give reasonable protection to all forms of American production in mine, forest, field, and factory.

We favor the creation of a tariff commission with complete power to gather and compile information for the use of Con-

gress in all matters relating to the tariff.

RUSINESS

"The Republican Party has long believed in the rigid supervision and strict regulation of the transportation and great corporations of the country. It has put its creed into its deeds, and all really effective laws regulating the railroads and the great industrial corporations are the work of Republican Congresses and Presidents. For this policy of regulation and supervision the Democrats, in a stumbling and piecemeal way, are undertaking to involve the Government in business which should be left within the sphere of private enterprise and in direct competition with its own citizens; a policy which is sure to result in waste, great expense to the taxpayer, and in an inferior product.

"The Republican Party firmly believes that all who violate the laws in regulation of business should be individually punished. But prosecution is very different from persecution, and business success, no matter how honestly attained, is apparently regarded by the Democratic Party as in itself a crime. Such doctrines and beliefs choke enterprise and stifle prosperity. The Republican Party believes in encouraging business, and will seek to advance all American interests.

RUBAL CREDITS.

"We favor an effective system of rural credits as opposed to the ineffective law proposed by the present Democratic administration.

RURAL FREE DELIVERY.

"We favor the extension of the Rural Free Delivery System and condemn the Democratic administration for curtailing and crippling it.

MERCHANT MARINE.

"In view of the policies adopted by all the maritime nations to encourage their shipping interests, and in order to enable us to compete with them for the ocean carrying trade, we favor the payment to ships engaged in the foreign trade of liberal compensation for services actually rendered in carrying the mails, and such further legislation as will build up an adequate American merchant marine and give us ships which may be requisitioned by the Government in time of national emergency.

"We are utterly opposed to the Government ownership of vessels as proposed by the Democratic Party, because Government ownership, while effectively preventing the development of the American merchant marine by private capital, will be entirely unable to provide for the vast volume of American freights and will leave us more helpless than ever in the hard

grip of foreign syndicates.

TRANSPORTATION.

"Interstate and intrastate transportation have become so interwoven that the attempt to apply two and often several sets of laws to its regulation has produced conflicts of authority, embarrassment in operation, and inconvenience and expense to the

"The entire transportation system of the country has become essentially national. We, therefore, favor such action by legislation, or, if necessary, through an amendment to the Constitu-tion of the United States, as will result in placing it under ex-

clusive Federal control.

ECONOMY AND A NATIONAL BUDGET.

"The increasing cost of the National Government and the need for the greatest economy of its resources in order to meet the growing demands of the people for Government service call for the severest condemnation of the wasteful appropriations of this Democratic administration, of its shameless raids on the Treasury, and of its opposition to and rejection of President Taft's oft-repeated proposals and earnest efforts to secure economy and efficiency through the establishment of a simple, businesslike budget system, to which we pledge our support and which we hold to be necessary to effect any real reform in the ad-ministration of national finances,

CONSERVATION.

"We believe in a careful husbandry of all the natural resources of the Nation—a husbandry which means development without waste; use without abuse.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

"The civil-service law has always been sustained by the Republican Party, and we renew our repeated declaration that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced, and extended wher-

ever practicable. The Democratic Party has created since March 4, 1913, 30,000 offices outside of the civil-service law at an annual cost of \$44,000,000 to the taxpayers of the country.

We condemn the gross abuse and misuse of the law by the present Democratic administration and pledge ourselves to a reorganization of this service along lines of efficiency and economy.

TERRITORIAL OFFICIALS.

"Reaffirming the attitude long maintained by the Republican Party, we hold that officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory should be bona fide residents of the Territory in which their duties are to be performed.

LABOR LAWS.

"We pledge the Republican Party to the faithful enforcement of all Federal laws passed for the protection of labor. We favor vocational education; the enactment and rigid enforcemnt of a Federal child-labor law; the enactment of a generous and comprehensive workmen's compensation law within the commerce power of Congress and an accident compensation law covering all Government employees. We favor the collection and collation, under the direction of the Department of Labor, of complete data relating to industrial hazards for the information of Congress, to the end that such legislation may be adopted as may be calculated to secure the safety, conservation, and protection of labor from the dangers incident to industry and transportation.

SUFFRAGE.

"The Republican Party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself.

"Such are our principles, such are our purposes and policies. We close as we began. The times are dangerous and the future is fraught with peril. The great issues of the day have been confused by words and phrases. The American spirit which made the country and saved the Union has been forgotten by those charged with the responsibility of power. We appeal to all Americans, whether naturalized or native born, to prove to the world that we are Americans in thought and in deed, with one loyalty, one hope, one aspiration. We call on all Americans to be true to the spirit of America, to the great traditions of their common country, and, above all things, to keep the faith."

The Merchant Marine and Shipping Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RUFUS HARDY, OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Saturday, June 10, 1916.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a speech made by me in February before the Economic Club of Boston. This speech was revised and corrected by me upon request of the secretary of the Economic Club for publication in their National Economic League Quarterly from notes taken at the time of its delivery.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas asks leave to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? The

Chair hears none.

The speech is as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. RUFUS HARDY TO BOSTON ECONOMIC CLUB, BOSTON, MASS. My fellow countrymen, it is with pleasure and with pride I

use these words in this assembly.

For the first time in my life, to-day I have set foot within the historic and great city of Boston, and I am 60 years old. I am proud of every incident in your history that marks your character as a people, because those incidents all redound to the glory of our common country. I am as proud of the glories of Boston, or almost as proud, as I am of the memories of the heroic deeds of the men of the Alamo [applause], and that broad southern citizenship of the State I hail from greets with pleasure kindred spirits from the East or North or West.

But I am not here to-day to speak of those things. I am here to speak of things practical and of the present, and I confess that when I came I expected my views would meet a wall of prejudice and preconceived opinion, and I realize that a prejudiced opinion is one of the most difficult things to change in all the world. I ran across such a prejudice not long ago on the

silver question. I believed then and believe now that the silvermine owner was as much interested in preventing the passage of the law for free and unlimited coinage of silver as the commercial world was, but you could not even tell him so. He would not hear you. And so I believe now that New England, the home of our shipping industry and the inspiration of our early triumphs in that field, is more interested in the adoption of the views I hold than any other section of our country. I came, believing that the message I bring would fall on almost closed ears, for the reason that I understood it was your preconceived opinion that those views were contrary to your interests. I am therefore agreeably surprised and really proud to see that your chairman has almost put the stamp of his approval upon the views which I have entertained for the 10 years I have been in Congress and which I desire to present to

you to-night.

Before I discuss the shipping bill now before Congress, which I have been fighting to pass for the last two years, I desire to give my views generally on what will build up an American merchant marine. I read with interest the proceedings of the United States Chamber of Commerce in Washington a few days ago. Unfortunately from start to finish it was devoted to the advocacy of ship subsidy. Gentlemen, think of it, a ship subsidy urged at this time, when any man who owns a vessel in the shape of a ship, steam or sail, can get such prices for his service that if the Government were to give him a subsidy it would be a shame to take the money. [Applause.] And yet this great body, this national chamber of commerce, stood there and asked for a subsidy. You know, Mr. Chairman, and I know that the greatest absurdity to-day would be to go before Congress in behalf of the shipowners and say "my clients, those I represent, are receiving now in freights from 100 to 1,000 per cent more than they ever did before, but I ask you earnestly to give them a subsidy in addition." You gentlemen are in this section of a subsidy in addition." the Union that has devoted more of its energy to upbuilding the merchant marine than any other section, and I ask you what do you think of such a request? The great body of our people, who have not been directly interested in shipping, have contributed millions to improving our harbors and canals and rivers, so that your ships and the ships of commerce generally may safely enter and traverse them. That is sometimes called a safely enter and traverse them. subsidy by those who seek to find countenance for their demand, but it is not a subsidy. It is a public improvement. It does not go into the pocket of any particular individual or corporation. A subsidy is not distributed in that way. The beneficiaries of a subsidy hang like hungry dogs around a table waiting for the crumbs to fall.

I must tell you that I was glad to find your chairman able to state, and stating so fairly, the facts in regard to England's merchant marine. He tells you that England never has given a subsidy to her cargo ships. She has paid certain sums, but for every dollar she has ever given she has demanded full service in return. She has built, under the direction of her Admiralty, certain ships which might be easily turned into war vessels, and so constructed that they could not be very economically operated in commerce, but yet constructed with a view of avoiding the expense of keeping them idle in times of peace while having them ready for a time of war; and a few vessels, not amounting to 5 per cent of Britain's total tonnage, have received, not a subsidy, but what is in effect very fair and just compensation for carrying the mails and for other public service rendered and service contracted to be rendered in certain contingencies. But suppose it could be shown that England did subsidize some of her fast ships, how would that help the other and unsubsidized vessels of her vast marine? How would it help Mr. Smith operating his vessel if Mr. Jones operating a vessel in competition with him got a subsidy? Pardon me for discussing this question at some length. I do so because it has a fascination for the shipowners, and it is shrewdly pushed to the fore by the shipbuilding interests, which, under our present laws, have a monopoly of building ships for the American flag. Special favor and privilege are always fascinating and the recipients of them are always overflowing with reasons to justify them. Our shipbuilders have always enjoyed a monopoly of our flag by prohibitory This did not matter so long as they built as good or better ships for the money than any other builders, but when the time came, and it did come, that they demanded a price of 50 to 100 per cent more than the foreign shipbuilder demanded for the same ship, then, in the language of James J. Hill, competition in our ships that is under our flag with foreign ships became Then the ship builders and owners of America began to look for some way to do business. They could do it in our coastwise trade, of course, because no other ships were allowed there, but on the high seas it was different.

If shipowners alone had been originally concerned, the way was casy. All we had to do was simply to let the American buy his ship here or elsewhere and so pay no more for it than did his foreign competitor. But our shipbuilder at that suggestion threw up his hands in holy horror. He declared he could not compete with the foreign builder, and that if you let American citizens buy ships where they please and put them under our flag and sail coastwise as well as overseas they—the shipbuilders—would be destroyed; and yet they realized that the ship which carried the commerce between nations must do so because it carried it cheapest, and that the cheapest ship made the cheapest transportation. The issue was clear-cut. It was, put our shipowner on equal terms with the foreign shipowner or give up all participation by our ships in the foreign trade and hold only to our coastwise trade, from which we could exclude the foreigner by law. Since the coastwise trade was about threefourths—now nearly seven-eighths—of all our trade, the decision was quick and easy for our shipbuilders. They chose to hold the monopoly of building for our coastwise trade alone and let the foreign trade go to foreign flags; and American merchants and the American public acquiesced. It was a blind and foolish and the American public acquiesced. It was a blind and robusts policy, but urged with many plausible arguments. They said, "Let us enjoy our coastwise monopoly and by building many ships we will soon bring down our price to the level of the ships we will soon bring down our price to the level of the foreign price, but if you open up the ship market you will utterly destroy us, and then the foreign shipbuilder will double his price"; and besides, they said, "If war should come we would have no shipyards, and be at the mercy of our enemy." Finally, they said shrewdly, "If American capital wants to engage in foreign transportation, it can buy the foreign ship, put it under the foreign flag, and so do the business." And this is what American capital did. Later, when the absence of our flag from the high seas became a scandal, we began to hear talk about our ships being driven out by antiquated navigation laws and the heavy burdens imposed by our laws on our shipping. All this talk was vague and general. It was never definite or specific, and it was always accompanied by a clamor for subsidy,

The subsidist makes his plea on two grounds: First, our antiquated navigation laws, which he never points out and never seeks to amend; and, second, the high wages we pay our seamen. I tell you, without fear of contradiction, that we have no antiquated navigation laws that impede our navigation save the one which forbids our merchantman from buying the cheapest ship he can for the money. On the second point, the question of wages, it seems never to occur to him that England also is a high-wage country, comparatively. Her wages are higher than those of Germany, France, Russia, Norway, Sweden, Holland, or Italy, and yet she builds cheaper and better ships than any of them and carries more of the commerce of the world than all of them put together, and she carries that commerce without

Senator Burton in a speech in the Fifty-ninth Congress declared that no nation had ever built up a great merchant marine on subsidy, and he is a profound student of the subject. My own study of the question has fully convinced me of the truth of his assertion. England has won by the skill and bigness and boldness of her enterprise. We must win in like manner or not at all; but if we would win, we must take off the weights and handicaps that prevent us from running an equal race and then enter the list of competitors seeking to furnish the transportation of the world just as we have entered the list of competitors seeking to furnish the world with the corn, the wheat, the shoes, the machinery, and all the other products of labor.

Mr. President and gentlemen, there was a time when the American flag rode on every sea and the American ship entered every port of the world. The grandest success in a maritime way that the world ever saw; but when that time was, although our seamen and shipbuilders received higher wages, yet America built the cheapest and best vessels in the world, as your chair-

man, Mr. Lincoln, has se clearly told you.

Mr. Lincoln has given you the story of the downfall and decay of our merchant marine. He knows those things because he lived them. He tells you that during all the years our marine flourished it was a fact that the New England shipbuilder built the best ships in the world, and built them for their own merchantmen and for the merchantmen of the world. Is not that so, sir? [Mr. Lincoln: "Correct."] Just so long as we built the best and cheapest ships, just that long our merchants led in the march of maritime progress. But what happened? happened: We were building wooden vessels. We built them splendidly, graceful in form, speedy in movement, and we operated them by the most skillful seamen in the world. I have heard it said that the American skipper made three ocean voyages while the best English ship could only make two. But when our War between the States came and our ships were being raided and destroyed by Confederate cruisers the other nations were not too proud or thick headed to buy our ships, and they did buy all we would seil. In that period your chairman says our merchants sold 800,000 tons of shipping. If we had been at that time in the place of the other nations of the world and our commercial rival had been in war, our law would have prohibited us from buying their ships at a bargain; but these other nations—England among them—were not cursed with such blindness. England allowed her merchantmen to buy our ships and sail them under her flag with every right of English ships. It is contended sometimes that we now have let foreign-built ships come under our flag by the lately passed Panama act. I want you clearly to understand the answer. We have done no such a thing. We did pretend to do it, but it was only pretense. We passed a bill authorizing the American merchantman to buy a ship wherever he pleased, but in the same bill we said that if he bought one built anywhere else than in the United States he could only sail it in the foreign trade.

Now, what does that mean? It means he might put our flag over it; but when he does so, what advantage or what privi-lege does he get by doing it? Not a rap of your finger. Under this fraud of a law he can not do anything with the ship under our flag that he could not do under the foreign flag. He may bring goods from Liverpool to New York or Boston and carry goods back to Liverpool. He could do that under the foreign flag. He gains absolutely nothing. What does he lose? First, he must change his officers when he changes to our flag. These he perhaps cherishes because they have been faithful and serviceable. That is his first difficulty. What next? He loses every distinctive privilege he had under the flag he transfers from. the English flag, he loses the privilege of sailing in the coastwise trade of some dozen different nations with whom England has treaties of commity. And, moreover, he loses the privilege of sailing in the coastwise trade of Canada. It is safe to say that there is no nation under whose flag a vessel does not enjoy some special advantage, small or great, and it is certain that by the law in question we offer absolutely no inducement to cause a shipowner under a foreign flag to part with even the smallest advantage. It is said that we in the South are careless in business matters, but that your people are not. As a New England business man, if you owned a ship under the English flag or any other flag, would you change it to the American flag when you understood the simple truth as I have told it to you about this so-called free-ship law? The committee I am on reported out that law after I had tried and falled to get them to amend it by letting such ships engage in our coastwise trade. told them that not a single ship would come to our flag under its provisions, and no ship did until the dangers of the present war came and then some of them took advantage of that law solely on account of our neutral position and they came with the privilege of retaining their officers because the law requiring American officers was suspended to enable them to do so.

There is one other familiar subject I wish to talk about just a little—the subject of discriminating duties. Your chairman has said that discriminating duties have been tried by every nation on earth and have failed. That is true. In our early history Jefferson said that as long as other nations levied discriminating duties against us we must maintain retaliatory duties against them; and that fact has of late years been falsely quoted to show that Jefferson favored discriminating duties. The whole truth is this: When the thirteen original States had separate shipping laws, they found that England and other nations were discriminating against them by imposing heavy tonnage dues on American ships entering their ports, and also heavy tariff duties on goods imported in such ships. Then it was found that when a State tried separately to retaliate she could not, because if Boston, for instance, imposed a high duty and New York a lower duty, Boston lost her trade and New York got it. New York and Massachusetts could not agree; and if they had agreed, then Baltimore could come down in her dues and duties and get the This was the situation when our Federal Constitution was framed. It was one of the things that helped to secure its adoption. All the States desired to have one central power that could put in operation a uniform policy on tonnage dues and tariff duties and so meet the laws of foreign States which discriminated against them. Among the first laws passed by Congress was, therefore, one enacting retaliatory discriminating duties and tonnage dues. But even as early as 1802 a movement was started to repeal that law and place in its stead upon our statute books a law authorizing the President to negotiate treaties abolishing our discriminating duties as to such nations as would abolish theirs against us. But it so happened that at this time the French Revolution was disturbing all the world.

Laws and treaties were everywhere asleep in international affairs,

The Napoleonic wars were sweeping the ocean of the merchantmen of nearly all European nations, and our ships had all they could do. They had a harvest; but just as soon as European peace was proclaimed the leading men of all parties in 1815 in the United States joined in the passage of an act to abolish discriminating duties against all nations that would abolish them as to us. The President was authorized to negotiate treaties to that end. Some 18 treaties were negotiated in the next 10 years. There were many qualifying clauses in these treaties not necessary now to discuss. In this country all parties and the leaders of all parties continually endeavored to make the sea more and more free, but England, with her vast colonial possessions, continued to refuse to meet our overtures. We were particularly anxious to trade freely with the West Indies, and England was anxious that we should not. She practiced all sorts of discriminations against our shipping. John Quincy Adams and his Secretary of State, Henry Clay, sought every way to make a treaty of reciprocity with her and to abolish these discriminations. They failed. They sent spe-cial representatives to England. That failed; but in 1828 President Andrew Jackson sent a special agent to England with authority and instructions to negotiate a treaty and with a message to the effect that a change had taken place in the American administration; that he meant business; and the treaty was finally made. England was the last great nation to give in, and from 1828 down to this day we have practically neither laid nor paid discriminating duties.

I could go into the subject at great length and show you how such duties obstructed commerce and irritated and aggravated nations and injured peoples. I could show you how it came to pass that an owner of cotton who must ship it from Charleston, S. C., to Europe found it better to pay an exorbitant freight and send it on a foreign ship than to send it on American vessels free, and how England finally closed her West Indian ports to our ships. It is enough to say that discriminating duties force cutthroatism and stagnation in commerce, and we do not want them. What we want is, to struggle with the world on equal terms on the sea for our part of its carrying trade and its commerce.

I could tell you of the debates in Congress, and the records from 1815 to 1828 are full of the subject. The statesmen of New England led in the struggle for free seas. They wanted nothing but an opportunity to meet the ships of the other nations of the world on equal terms, and they knew they would hold their own. Now, gentleman, what your chairman has said is the truth. What you want in order to compete is the cheapest and best ship and through that the cheapest unit of transportation that the world can offer. We won when we had the best ships, we lost when we ceased to have them. and when did we cease to have them? The story is simple, yet little known. Just before our Civil War England who was fighting a losing fight with us in wooden ships began to make vessels of iron and steel. She was perhaps far ahead of us in the general manufacture of iron and steel products and unfortunately when she began to build this new class of vessels we did not catch on. We were rather disposed to scout the idea, and England had begun to get the better of the struggle, when our war broke out. During that war we failed to keep step with England's maritime progress, and when the war ended many of our old merchant vessels had been sold or destroyed and our merchant marine was largely scattered and gone. England's merchant marine was in splendid condition. Her steel and iron vessels could beat our old wooden ones, and she could build new iron and steel vessels cheaper than we because she was the greatest manufacturer in the world of the materials that went into them. What then happened? Our steel industry was only beginning, and in order to protect that industry we put a heavy duty on the importation of the steel and iron that went into ships, and when we laid that duty we practically said to our shipbuilder that until the American manufacturer made and sold iron and steel products as cheaply as England he could not build any competing ships. And then we continued in force the law that prevented our merchants buying the English ships and so we foreclosed their opportunity to battle for existence in the carrying trade across the seas. Our shipbuilders could not compete, and our merchants

could only buy ships here. [Applause.]

The shipbuilding and coastwise interests are constantly talking about our antiquated navigation laws in the public press as the cause of the decay of our merchant marine. I have made them ashamed to talk that way when they come before our committee, because I have demanded that they point out the

laws they complain of and have shown them that they have never asked for the repeal of a single law. Your chairman to-night is the first man interested in shipping who has ever in my hearing named the real antiquated law which has killed our merchant marine. The shipbuilder will not tell you what it is, but he knows. I have had them to tell me in years gone by that our law required our seamen to be given better accommodations than the seamen of any other nation on earth. seaman here [Mr. Furuseth] who will tell you that is not true. I looked at the law. Our law until last year required 72 cubic feet of space for each member of the crew to eat, live, and sleep in. England's law requires 120 feet, and France and nearly every other nation require from a hundred to a hundred and twenty feet. So we have not required better but poorer quarters for our seamen. Sometimes they told me that our law prescribed an excessive scale of food. Look at the English food scale and there is hardly any difference. We have a law, it is true, prescribing a moderate schedule of food, but then this is allowed to be varied by the terms of the contract under which The seamen enlist and it is always varied. [Applause,] When I have shown these things and asked again what laws, they are as dumb as oysters, becase they can not find a law on our statute books that cripples our merchant marine except the law which your chairman pointed out and which I have pointed out to-night, and that is the law which prevents you from buying a ship where you please and using it in all our trades. The ship-builders and coastwise shipowners will not point out that law, because they do not want it repealed. Let me show you how impossible it is for us to have a merchant marine until that law is repealed.

It was testified before our committee that a ship costing a million dollars here would cost \$700,000 laid down on the Clyde. Now, if you buy the ship here it will cost you a million dollars, and you can sail it as an American ship in every trade. If you buy it on the Clyde and put the British flag on it, you pay seven hundred thousand. Ships are bought on borrowed money. That means that on the American ship you pay interest on \$300,000 more than you would on the British ship, and if you pay 5 per cent interest it means \$15,000 more interest per year. It means also that you pay insurance on \$300,000 more, which, I think, is generally about 5 per cent, and which would make your insurance fifteen thousand more per year. A ship is supposed to last 20 years and 5 per cent is charged off annually for depreciation. Repairs are also estimated to cost annually 5 per cent on the value of the vessel. So by buying the American ship you will pay annually fifteen thousand more interest, fifteen thousand more insurance, fifteen thousand more for repairs, and fifteen thousand more for depreciation; all told, \$60,000 more per year under this antiquated law for the blessed privilege of sailing your ship under the American flag with the full privilege of an American vessel. As a man that is not more blind than the cow that can keep in the road, I ask this simple question of you: If you, the most patriotic man in America, were thinking of going into the over-seas carrying trade, would you buy the American ship and pay this \$300,000 excess initial cost and this \$60,000 excess charge every year? Business men in carrying trade are not fools, and you see just as well as I do

why our merchant marine died.

When the Civil War ended we were still carrying over 30 per cent of our foreign commerce in our own ships. Those were the old wooden vessels that had not been sold or destroyed. As the years passed by we built no more ships for foreign trade, the old ones disappeared as the simple wear and tear played them out or as one by one they sank beneath the waves to their long long home and as one disappeared no other took its place, so that when the present European war broke out even counting those ships we subsidized to carry the mails we were carrying only about 8 per cent of our foreign commerce. Oh, it was a pitiful sight to watch while the proudest industry of New England was fading from the face of the earth because of one law which you have not repealed and apparently can not repeal. We cling to that law for the protection of some 40,000 men engaged in shipbuilding. We had better abandon that law and take every one of those men and build them magnificent palaces and employ servants for them and then clothe and feed and house and wine and dine them like princes. When you excluded our shipowners from the foreign trade, as I have shown you, you left to them exclusively the coastwise trade which is now seveneighths of our entire transportation, and this apparently has contented them, and now having bought high-priced American ships for that trade they join the shipbuilders and are unwilling for any other shipowners to come into that trade with ships cheaper than theirs. To them the cost of their ships is immaterial, since they have a monopoly in this transportation. The steel industry also joined hands with the shipbuilder, as did the railways, for reasons I need not dwell upon. So, gentlemen, I

may tell you that these united forces make a strong team to go up against. When you oppose their interests you can not even get a hearing. [Laughter.] The newspapers will not print what am saying to-night. I made the same kind of talk in Baltimore the other night. I saw a travesty of a report of it next day in a Baltimore paper. The mayor of Baltimore was present and wrote me that although he had attended the recent meetings of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States he had learned more on the subject of our merchant marine from what I said than he did from all that was said in the Chamber of Commerce. But for all that appears in the Baltimore paper, I might as well

have discussed Roosevelt's river of Doubt.

Now, what about the bill called the "shipping bill," which the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries is considering and framing? I must tell you that our committee in the last two years has conducted a most thorough and searching investigation into the matter of shipping and ship-line combinations and practices, and we embodied the results of our investigation in four volumes well worth your study, if you are intersted in the upbuilding of our merchant marine. I believe it is the most complete investigation ever made by a committee of When you read it you will find that the facts are laid bare in such way as to leave no controversy about them; and that those facts show every ocean line between here and Europe or South America or Asia or Australia is in combination with every other line. They show you that a few great corporations and railroads own 94 per cent of all the steamship-line service in our coastwise trade and operate them under conference agreements, and they show you that an independent competitor undertaking to fight these combinations in either our coastwise or foreign trade has no more chance to live than a feather in a whirlwind. This illustration came before us: The merchants of Beaumont, Tex., were doing a great deal of shipping of canned goods from Baltimore. The conference lines refused to run a direct ship, but shipped such goods from Baltimore to New York by rail, thence to Galveston by water, and thence by rail to Beaumont. The result was that the canned goods were handled three times instead of once, very much to their damage, and the Beaumont merchants were charged 26 cents per hundred for freight. They believed they could charter a vessel, save that extra handling, and transport the goods for 20 cents per hundred and still make \$4,000 for the ship on each voyage. This was their judgment after full investigation. They chartered the ship, but before they got it in the harbor of Baltimore, a brand-new ship owned by a corporation theretofore unknown appeared in the harbor, offering to take canned goods direct to Beaumont at 16 cents per hundred pounds. I give these facts and figures by memory.

The result was that the venture of the merchants of Beaumont came home with three-quarters of a load or less and with a loss instead of a profit of \$4,000. The second result, of course, was they abandoned their venture, and the third result was that the new corporation and the new ship put in by the shipping combine vanished, and the fourth result was that the old lines went back to their old practice of shipping canned goods from Baltimore to Beaumont via New York and Galveston and at 26 cents per hundred. That was just one isolated case. The pages of the investigation are full of similar cases. No one of the ship lines in the combination lost the money that was lost on the All the ship ship they used to kill this Beaumont enterprise. lines jointly bore it. The ship they used is called a fighting ship. They have other weapons to fight with and to prevent competition. They have deferred rebates. They have ways of pooling their earnings, arrangements by which if one line carries more than its just proportion it pays for it to the pool. I can not enumerate and explain all their practices, but they result in absolute domination of the situation, and the combination seeks to justify them. They make a plausible showing by saying that competition is destructive and that to avoid destructive competition these things are necessary, and so we have a condition confronting us, an absolute monopoly or combination fixing without restriction or limitation the rates, charges, and practices of the over-seas and coastwise transportation. What will you do about it? That question was up to the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. Our answer is the shipping bill, and particularly the regulatory features of that bill. Incidentally what I have just been saying brings up another thing about subsidies. If you give a subsidy to the private owner engaged in transportation from here to Europe, what prevents him from taking your subsidy and then going into the combination and then fixing freight rates by agreement with the foreign lines? The Pacific Mail, though paid a subsidy, has stood in with its competitor, the Japanese line, and they always work hand in glove.

The live present question for us to solve is this: If you give the American shipowner the best and cheapest ship in the world, can be successfully compete in the foreign trade under our flag?

If you give him all the privileges pertaining to the American flag and place no more restrictions upon him than are placed upon foreign ships entering our ports, I answer yes, and I will tell you why. Next to America England pays the highest wages among all the great nations. She pays higher wages than Germany or France. Far higher wages than Italy or Japan, and yet her merchant marine is triumphant over those nations. I have said this before, but repeat it, in order to say that what England has done we can do. What England's shipbuilders have done ours can do. What our steel and iron manufacturers have done our shipbuilders can do. Our iron and steel manufacturers to-day, notwithstanding our wages, do turn out the cheapest products in the world. No man will do a thing that is hard to accomplish unless he has to. Just so long as you pamper and pet your shipbuilders and ship operators and tell them they do not have to enter competition, they will sit back, but when you tell them they are full grown and must get out and compete for success, then America will again build ships and sail them for herself and for the world. [Applause.] So long as our builders can charge the highest price in the world for ships and yet furnish them for seven-eighths of our trade, they will do it. I wish you could all read Mr. Redfield's testimony before our committee. There is a condition now like that on railroads, when a new motive power is found and the old locomotives have to be put into the discard. It is a condition similar to that of 1855 to 1860. when the iron and steel ships began to replace the old wooden ships and when England began to take the lead of us with her new ships. You know many an invention has failed to find acceptance because it would displace something already in use.

The Old World-the world that has been carrying the foreign commerce of the United States—have on hand old-style ships, old machinery, and small ships. They will cling to them; they will be slow to scrap them. We must build a new class of ships, and the material and opportunity is present at our hands. know little about machinery; but if you will read the testimony of Secretary Redfield you will find that by standardizing, by using our great steel and iron factories to make wholesale the separate parts of vessels which can be assembled and put together where wanted, and by using the internal-combustion engine, by using oil instead of coal for fuel, by economizing space in the new construction, and by the use of modern apparatus for loading and unloading, and by building larger ships, our shipbuilders can build ships that will make it easy for us to take

the sea if we try. Now is our chance.

Now, let me talk specially about our bill. The first part of it simply creates the shipping board consisting of three commissioners appointed by the President and the Secretaries of the Navy and of Commerce. The Secretary of the Navy ought to be on the board because the special vessels contemplated in the bill must be such that they can be used by the Navy. The Secretary of Com-merce is placed there because all our navigation laws and our Steamboat-Inspection Service are under his jurisdiction. Some have criticized the bill, because they say these two officers might be partisan. My opinion is that whenever you hear a man loudly proclaim his fear that the high officials of this country are going to be partisan in a business administrative action he is seeking to find fault. A man that is not partisan in political matters is not much of a man anyhow; but this will be a business board. [Applause.] It is required that the appointed members shall have no other business. They must be devoted to the duties of the board, and they will really conduct the general business of the board. The second section fixes salaries. The third section

gives the purpose of the bill. The purpose of the bill is to allow the shipping board to have built or buy vessels here or elsewhere in order to turn them over to a corporation or individual who will buy or lease them from the board under an agreement to operate them in certain lines under its direction, for the purpose of establishing our trade relations and commerce in sections where we need to establish them and on terms that are fair and reasonable. jection I have to this section is that it provides that if the ships are built abroad they can only sail in the foreign trade. I hope that will be modified at least to this extent-that is, that any of these vessels bought and paid for by the tax money of the people and used for the purposes of the bill may, en route to or from a foreign port, touch at any intervening port of the United States and to that extent carry our interport commerce. If one of these ships comes from Liverpool to Boston with a cargo of 10,000 tons and can get no return cargo there, I would permit her to carry goods from Boston to Galveston, where she will load with our grain and cotton exports to Europe. Over 50 per cent of the foreign vessels coming from Europe to Boston and New York must go to Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans, or Galveston, a distance of a thousand to two thousand miles, in order to get a return cargo. They must go that part of their

return voyage empty or in ballast, because they are not allowed to carry goods from one of our ports to another. This empty voyage of the foreign-built ship, say, of 10,000 tons, will cost it, say, a week's time and \$15,000. I would have the vessel bought under this bill and flying our flag to make money, and not lose money, on its trip from the northern to the southern ports. the same way, if one of these vessels made a trip from the Orient to New York or Boston, I would permit it to carry goods en route from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and so have a great advantage over any vessel making the same voyage under a for-eign flag. To do this would not only aid these American owned and operated ships and help them to compete in the foreign trade, but it would relieve the congestion of your freight situation in cities like New York and Boston and help reduce the charges for transportation to our southern and western ports, thereby benefiting our whole people, and it would only be a

common-sense use of our own property.

The Secretary of the Treasury, before our committee, was asked by me what he thought of such an amendment. He said he would like to see these vessels, when they make a round trip, allowed to carry freight to and from intervening ports of the United States, but he was afraid if it were done that the shipping interests would lobby and filibuster the bill to death. Is it not time our people were having something to say? When the seamen's bill was before our committee the seamen and the shipowners came before us. We must have had a thousand witnesses, but only one person came in behalf of the general public, and that was a woman who said she represented the Consumers' League of Chicago. Will the general public never wake up? Another question: Will chambers of commerce be guided and governed by interested parties and endeavor to kill our bill, or will they and the people discuss it and learn to understand it and take a hand in the matter for the general weal? I favor this bill, moreover, for a special reason. I believe that when you people see ships, bought with your own money, going empty from Boston to Galveston because your own law says they shall not carry your own freight when your warehouses and wharves are bursting or piled high with freight seeking transportation, you will demand that these vessels be allowed to carry that freight. You will want to know what honest reason there is why they should not, and I say to you now that if you will allow any American merchant the privilege of buying his ship where he can get it the cheapest, and then give him the advantage over the ship under the foreign flag of allowing him to earn money instead of spending it by touching at and carrying goods between our intervening ports, you will have ships seeking the American flag to stay and you will not need any subsidy to make them prosper

Our bill provides that those who secure vessels from the board by purchase or charter shall agree that the vessels shall be operated under American registry or enrollment, and shall not be sold, leased, or chartered without the consent and approval of the board. It is also provided that if the board can not lease or sell the ships on reasonable terms, then they may form a corporation, of which the Government will own a majority of

stock, and operate the ships through this corporation.

There is another provision, general in its nature, which provides that hereafter no vessel registered in the United States shall be sold to foreign ownership without the consent of the board. Many other nations have lately passed a similar law, because they are afraid their ships will get away from them and they think they will need them when the war is over. are the only nation on earth that prohibits its people from buy-In now forbidding the sale of ships we only follow other nations. I am not certain we are wise in doing so, although we ought by every means to endeavor to increase our merchant marine. It is certain you will never find any nation except ours refusing or failing to buy any vessel they can and as cheap as they can in order to aid them in the struggle for the commerce of the world as they see it coming when this war is ended. This bill provides the special construction of these vessels for use as naval auxiliaries in time of war. The great strength of England's Navy is not in the number of her battleships but in her deep-sea going merchant marine, from which she can draw auxiliaries and sailors to support and man her navy. The Secretary of the Navy testified that if we had war to-morrow we could not use a large part of our present Navy for lack of necessary medical ships, transports, colliers, and other auxiliaries, and that we need at least 500,000 tons more than we have of such auxiliaries, and more than we could supply from our merchant marine. This bill will give us that tonnage, and for that reason will be worth more to the Navy of the United States than a dozen dreadnaughts, costing eighteen millions apiece. This bill will cost fifty million, and it will furnish all the auxiliaries to render our Navy efficient, and without which the Navy is only fit for

show and to hang around our coast and furnish handsome quarters for well-kept captains and admirals. I do not know what you gentlemen think about peace and preparedness. I do not care to go into that; but this building up of the merchant marine will be a great strengthening of our Navy without flaunting any menace in the face of the world, because in time of peace they would know these vessels were useful. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, this shipping bill will not at once restore our merchant marine, but it will point the way. I prophesy that every ship built under it will be built under open competition with the world in American shippards. These yards to-day have the cheapest shipbuilding material, both iron and wood, in the world. They will have an opportunity to use new processes, new methods, new forms, and they will build a new kind of ship, and when they are built they will demonstrate that they can furnish, with profit, the cheapest unit of transportation. Those who fight this bill practically propose nothing, but ask us to stand like dolts and dotards, as we have stood since 1866. It is a period of 50 years now since we have watched by the bedside of our merchant marine and known that our patient was sick unto death and death only a little way off, and yet we have done nothing. Shipbuilders and quack doctors have been asking the impossible and refusing the sensible thing. They have been prescribing subsidy, when they knew they could not get it, and refusing to prescribe anything else. I tell you that if you will prescribe and administer free ships to the patient and then give him the advantage over the foreign shipowner of letting him use his ship in both our coastwise and foreign trade, he will have what is far better than a subsidy. The patient will be You know it, and everyone who has listened to me and understood what I have said knows it. The talk about our high wages keeping us off the sea is as baseless as the same talk would be if it were applied to any other industry and given as a reason for saying that we could not enter the markets of the world with any of the products of our labor. I believe we can sail the seas without any artificial advantage in competition, because England, without any advantage, pays higher wages than her competitors and yet holds the seas. I find by a comparison which I have painstakingly made that the officers of English ships in their regular line get practically the same wages as do ours.

I have compared the English official pay roll on a first-class ship with the American, and the difference is very little, and as to seamen there is or will be no difference at all in the wages on ships plying between the same ports, since the seamen's bill has made the seaman free—because you can not work free men of equal skill side by side without giving them equal wages and equal treatment. During the Napoleonic wars we captured the commerce of the world. We have had no opportunity like that since then until now. We have an opportunity to-day that men of 60, like me, have not seen before and far younger men than I will not see again.

I have not discussed a number of features of the bill; but take it and read it; think of it as you will. It may be that private enterprise will halt and hesitate and will not go out and win its way. Our bill means that the United States puts its shoulder to the wheel, puts its back under the burden, and points the way to private enterprise. We may lose a little money, though I do not believe we will lose a dollar. tigation of the Panama Canal ship line shows that that ship property of the United States has run with a profit since the day we owned it, and, furthermore, has reduced the freight on all the tonnage carried from this country to the Canal Zone by more than half, on an average. It not only reduced the freight on what was carried in these Government-owned vessels, but it was testified before our committee by the representatives of an iron-pipe industry of Montgomery, Ala., that when they had immense contracts for thousands of tons of pipe to be delivered in Chile or Peru he found that transportation to the Canal Zone was the only transportation to be had at reasonable rates. He said freight rates had risen from 100 to 500 per cent everywhere except on freight to Colon. That freight is carried still at fairly reasonable rates. Thus it was shown that our Panama ships were not only profitable but that they have proved a stabilizer of rates. I do not censure the shipowners now for charging what they can get.

I fear that if I had a horse and could sell him for a thousand dollars I would take the thousand, even though he were not worth half the money. It is up to us, gentlemen, to find some means of protecting ourselves against oppressive rates, and if this bill, either by the powers conferred on the board to regulate rates and evil practices of shippers or by its expenditure of \$50,000,000 in the purchase of ships, will help us to protect ourselves, as I believe it will, it is wise legislation.

In conclusion let me say that if some of you gentlemen will find time to hail me down in the fair land of Texas, where the sun is brigher than it is here to-day, where the snowflakes fall with the same whiteness and softness, but with a little less continued rigor, you will afford me great pleasure. I am delighted to be with you. The time was in my early boyhood when we forgot the Fourth of July and only celebrated Christmas with crackers and fireworks and when the old flag was not looked on tenderly. We had had too much of the horrors of war and the aftermath of war. That time is gone. I have learned that the American people are made up of dozens of races-the German, the Anglo-Saxon, the French, the Italian, and others-but when the same sun warms their hearts and the same snow and rain and gentle dew fall on them all, the same purpose and devotion to a common country begins to throb and pulse through all their veins. When we mix and mingle, we of the great Southwest and you of the great Northeast, a genial warmth grows into friendship and affection and these good people whose ancestry goes back to Valley Forge and Yorktown find their children and kindred down where the cotton grows. It makes me feel like I want to go around and see some of your monuments and memorials, and when you come to us I would like to take you to our capitol, where the memory of Stephen F. Austin, a Vermonter, is perpetuated. I would like to show you the Alamo and San Jacinto. You have your Boston Tea Party, your John Adams, your Charles Francis Adams, who has written many things to endear him to the Learts of our people, and we have our Bowie, our Davy Crockett, our Sam Houston. We can cherish them all. My countrymen, in the name of one country, one prosperity, one flag, one humanity, and one God, besides presenting a great question I wish to bring you greeting and good will from the Scuth to the North, from the Southwest to the Northeast, from Texas to Massachusetts. [Prolonged applause.]

Does Prohibition Pay?—Oregon, Washington, Colorado, and Arizona Answer Yes!

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Saturday, June 10, 1916.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, the subject of prohibition is one which now interests not only the humanitarian, but the student of economics and the captain of industry. Totally without jest and with an eye single to the cashbook and the ledger you can now discuss this subject with the business men of this country and receive their cordial and appreciative attention.

The best proof of any pudding is in the eating. Prohibition has now been given trial on an economic basis. The result has startled the staid kings of finance.

startled the staid kings of finance.

From the coal-mining fields of Pennsylvania where distress prevails among the owners because West Virginia producers are bringing coal to the surface with sober miners at 25 per cent less expense, to the mines of Colorado and Arizona, and the lumber camps of Oregon and Washington the same story of prohibition profits comes with proof furnished by former anti-prohibitionists.

I will take this opportunity, Mr. Speaker, to publish in the Record a number of clippings from the newspapers of the four States of the West where prohibition has been in effect since January 1. As these papers in nearly every case were opponents of prohibition, the stories they tell must be credited by those who are inclined to doubt any claim made for the beneficial results of prohibition. The pages of the Congressional Record could be filled daily with stories like the following:

LUMBER INDUSTRY FINDS BENEFITS.
[From the Portland Oregonian.]

While the price of lumber has advanced substantially within the last year, estimates show that this advance has not been in proportion with the advance of commodities entering into lumber production. The cost of labor has gone up; the cost of belting, machinery, and various other supplies has increased sharply.

On the other hand, while labor has gone up, a better class of laborers is now available. The advent of prohibition has driven the shiftless, careless, unsatisfactory workmen out of the State and has left the field occupied solely by steady, industrious hands

SPORANE JAIL LOSES ITS INMATES. [From the Spokane Chronicle.]

There are no applications for county charity now from any

family which has an able-bodied man at its head.

It cost the county 20 per cent less to take care of the needy this month than during April of last year. Fuel orders were fewer and there was a marked decrease in the number of requests

There is plenty of work to be done, and Spokane men are doing it. The number of prisoners at the county jail is only a fifth of what it was last year. The expense of running the poor farm is decreasing and the number of indigents there is 25 per cent

less than in April, 1915.

TWO THOUSAND NEW SAVINGS DEPOSITORS. [From the Denver Post.]

Bank clearings for January, 1916, exceeded those of January, 1915, by \$8,000,000. The new depositors who have opened savings-bank accounts with Denver banks during the first month of prohibition approximate 2,050.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE BREWERIES, [From the Topeka Capital.]

At the Coors Brewery at Golden, generally called Denver's biggest brewery, they are making a high grade of clay ware and malted milk. The clay is made into casseroles and similar utensils, shipped east, and sold back to Denver jewelers and other dealers. It is said by jewelers to be a high-grade product. Every Colorado advertising medium issued in the city of Denver carries pages on which the merits of "Coor's Malted Milk" are proclaimed.

SCARE HEADLINES IN AN OREGON NEWSPAPER. [From the Portland Oregonian.]

Crime cut nearly third in dry month—Drunkenness decrease about 80 per cent—Groceries replace liquors—No family rows find way into Portland police court—Fewer accidents occur— Thousand evils cured, says assistant prosecutor—Reduction of 80 per cent forecast by Municipal Judge Stevenson.

PROSPERITY IN AN ARIZONA MINING CAMP. [From the San Francisco Journal of Commerce.]

The town of Oatman, which is not far from Needles, on the western side of the State, had a population of 250 last May. The United States Government, from a geological standpoint, had reported adversely in 1908 upon its prospects as a gold camp. But the United Eastern Mine made a phenomenal strike last spring, opening 43 feet of free-milling gold ore, averaging

Its stock advanced from 5 cents to \$4.25, or to over \$6,000,000 for its 1,500,000 shares. It is declared there are \$12,000,000

worth of ore in sight.

But this is not so interesting as the fact that to-day Oatman has a population of 8,000 and not a saloon or gambling house or a policeman in the whole place. The miners, instead of spending their money in drink, invest their surplus in local enterprises and developments, and are many of them very well-to-do to-day.

BUYING MORE LIGHT AND LESS DARKNESS,

W. J. Barker, vice president and general manager of the Denver Gas & Electric Light Co., who has recently been in New York City, is reported in the Wall Street Journal as crediting to prohibition the increased consumption of gas and electricity in his city. Concerning prohibition, Mr. Barker said:

"The putting out of business of so many saloons was regarded

as a serious matter at first, but by careful checking we have discovered that practically every place formerly run as a bar is now being used by some other business, and in many cases the consumption of gas and electric current is greater than under former conditions.

"I was asked recently why our current sales were so large when there were no bars at night for the men to frequent. My guess was that the men who formerly spent the evening at the bars now stayed at home, sat up late at night reading and drinking root beer, and so more than made up for the heretofore legalized liquor consumption by maintaining the standard of demand for electric current. Denver has never been so much alive. Buildings are going up on all available sites, the banks report increases in deposits and earnings, and we expect this year one of the largest tourist seasons in our history."

BANK CLEARINGS, WET AND DRY. [From the Portland Oregonian.]

* * But that is merely incidental. What we started out to inquire was, why is it that for the week ending May 4, 1916,

dry Portland's bank clearings show an increase of 32 per cent over the corresponding week of 1915, while wet San Francisco's show an increase of only 16 per cent?

DIVORCE MILL SLOWING DOWN IN DENVER. [From the Denver Times.]

The advent of prohibition is reflected in the divorce courts of Denver. It is estimated by court officials that divorce suits have dropped off 35 per cent in the short time that prohibition has been in effect.

It is argued that with the decrease in the consumption of liquor there has been a corresponding decrease in the complaints for divorce on the ground of drunkenness, which has always been one of the chief causes of legal separations. A like decrease is noted in the number of cases with cruelty as ground.

Nonsupport is less frequent, court attachés say, because men who formerly expended their wages for liquor are buying food and clothing for their families. The district attorney reports a diminishing number of nonsupport complaints through his office, too.

CALIFORNIA FURNISHES TWO-THIRDS OF CRIMINALS NOW. [From the Baker City (Oreg.) Herald.]

Since prohibition was declared in the Northwest two-thirds of the notices received here for the arrest of criminals from California, Washington, Oregon, and Idaho are received from the first-named State, Sheriff R. P. Anderson asserted to-day. Be-fore prohibition came into effect only one-third of the criminals concerning whom Mr. Anderson received letters were from the State that has been and is still wet.

DRUNKENNESS DECREASES IN DENVER. [From the Denver Express.]

POLICE RECORDS SHOW THAT PROHIBITION LAW IS A SUCCESS. Comparative table of arrests for drunkenness,

	1915	1913
January February March April	213 192 206 219	45 62 71 95
Total	830	273

Every man who has been caught drunk this year has been arrested

Not all drunkards were arrested in 1915, because police were instructed last year to take drunks home rather than to jail. The "golden-rule" policy prevailed then to the extent that even those drunks arrested were released without being taken to court and fined after they were sobered.

PORTLAND DRINKERS SAVE \$6,000,000. [From the Portland Oregonian.]

Portland is spending only \$281,641 annually for liquor under prohibition, compared with 6,563,326 spent in "wet" years, says Λ . M. Churchill, chairman of the legal committee of the committee of one hundred.

Since prohibition became effective, January 1, Mr. Churchill has compiled the statistics on importations under the dry law and compared them with the figures on liquor consumption and expenditures for liquor before last January.

Based on the volume of April shipments, Mr. Churchill has figured that Portland is spending only 7.5 per cent as much money for whisky as was spent in former years, only 1.9 as much for beer, and less than 5 per cent as much for all kinds of liquors collectively.

NO CRYING WOMEN IN MAYOR'S OFFICE. [Hiram C. Gill, mayor of Seattle.]

I haven't had a woman in my office crying and saying that her husband hasn't turned in any money in six months. I have not had this occur since the 1st of January. There used to be four or five a day.

HUMAN-INTEREST STORIES IN DRY DENVER. [From the Denver Post.]

Human-interest stories, pulsing with renewed hope and happiness for individuals, bring the greatest joy. A "saloon sweep," who lived on drinks and free lunches and slept on a broken-down couch in an empty house, is now earning \$2 per day and is so improved in appearance an old acquaintance did not recog-

BREWERIES BECOME FRUIT BUYERS. [From the Olympia (Wash.) Recorder.]

The plants of the Olympia Brewing Co., of Olympia, the Salem Brewing Association, of Salem, Oreg., and the Bellingham Brewery, of Bellingham, have been taken over by the Northwest Fruit Products Co., the producers of "Loju" and

"Appleju."

The late Leopold F. Schmidt, founder of the Olympia Brewing Co. and also of the Bellingham and Salem plants, believed in the future of fruit beverages of various kinds, especially of the apple, and later on of the loganberry. * * * At the Salem plant the manufacture of beer was discontinued one year sooner than the prohibition law required, so that the plant could be exclusively used for the manufacture of Loju, made from loganberry, and Appleju, made from apples, as well as resulting by-

The operation of these plants and the use of large capital in the fruit-products business, together with the employment of labor afforded thereby, will benefit the Northwest in general, and particularly the communities in which they are located.

AN OREGON EDITOR IS GREATLY IMPRESSED. [From the Portland Oregonian.]

Mr. Churchill's estimate, founded on various statistics, that purchase of liquor in Oregon has been reduced 95 per cent is impressive, but not so impressive as the reduction in drunkenness and the depletion of the police court docket.

> PROHIBITION ENFORCED IN DENVER. [From the Rocky Mountain News.]

Whatever differences of opinion existed when prohibition was an issue regarding the wisdom or unwisdom of putting Colorado in the dry column, the whole community is of one mind that the constitution shall be lived up to in letter and spirit. Mayor Speer was elected on his pledge that the laws would be enforced at all times, and the News, which advocated his election on a law-enforcement platform, is impressed with the manner in which he has taken hold of this question at the outset. He has satisfied his supporters and disarmed his enemies.

> PROHIBITION RESULTS IN ARIZONA. [From the Safford (Ariz.) Guardian.]

In the matter of efficiency of labor throughout the State there has been a saving in time of 25 per cent, while at the Copper Queen, the largest works in the State, there was over 31 per cent. With a pay roll among the various works in the State in six months of \$4,000,000, 25 per cent would be a saving of \$1,000,000, while with the larger companies a greater saving was realized.

This was due to the fact that whereas before prohibition 84 per cent of the employees only reported for work for two or three days after pay day on account of drunkenness, since prohibition 98 per cent report for work, and all hands are in better

condition for duty. Drunkenness had decreased at the end of six months 85 per cent, there being 2,880 fewer arrests for drunkenness in the State

during that time.

In the counties there has been a falling off in crimes of 33.03 per cent and in the cities 50 per cent less.

In six months the postal savings increased \$587,252 and in the

banks \$3.000,000.

In Phoenix, our capital city, there were 1,125 less arrests in x months. With the reduction of police force and general expenses incident to taking care of the drunks the city government has saved in that time over \$20,000. In Tucson, the next largest city, there has been a saving of at least \$3,000 in six months, with 255 less arrests for drunkenness.

> SEATTLE IS ENFORCING PROHIBITION. (From the Seattle Post-Intelligencer.)

Seattle is much in the limelight of the State press on account of its energetic campaign for enforcement. A very great majority of the State papers commend the mayor and chief of police for their zeal. Some of the editors take exceptions to the destruction of liquor and of drug-store furniture before the courts have passed judgment, and one or two are disposed to call it brigandage; but on the whole Seattle's course is commended.

> PEOPLE ARE POURING INTO COLORADO. [From the Denver News.]

Mrs. Hungerford, the State president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in her spring convention tours over

this State; has been cheered by enthusiastic audiences everywhere, and she reports that people are literally pouring into Colorado, especially in the southern counties.

They have heard the cry from mines, fields, and orchards that opportunity is knocking at every man's door, now that the incubus of the liquor traffic is lifted from this great State.

MAYOR OF SEATTLE VOTED WET-BUT NEVER AGAIN!

Here is an interview with Mayor Hiram C. Gill, of Scattle,

published in the Pasadena Star-News

So far as general conditions in Seattle are concerned, the city is more prosperous than it has been in many years. That class of society which lived off the lower class of saloons has mostly migrated. I think California has most of it. There is practically no unemployment, and the only man who now mourns the loss of the saloon is he who was directly or indirectly connected with the business or who was leasing premises for saloon purposes and receiving a rental based not on the value of his property but on the value of the saloon location, as we had limited the number for some years to 315. Other rentals have held their own just as they were, and the man who was receiving 100 per cent on his money invested in a saloon location simply

has had to be reasonable.

"Personally I voted 'wet.' In common with everybody else in this city not interested, as I say, in the liquor business, I shall not be guilty again."

WASHINGTON POST QUOTES JUDGE RUCKER.

Judge A. W. Rucker, former Congressman from Colorado, interviewed by the Washington Post, said:

"Instead of hurting Denver, I am inclined to the belief that the abolition of the liquor traffic has been of very great benefit to the community. It is true there has been considerable loss of revenue from the license fees paid by the saloons, but on the other hand there has been very little of crime to punish since whisky selling was abolished, and consequently a big reduction in municipal expense. Indeed, the figures show that the balance has been in favor of prohibition, even from a monetary stand-

SEATTLE EDITOR CONVERTED TO PROHIBITION.

In Washington, during the campaign of 1914 for State prohibition, the bitterest opponent of the proposed dry measure was the Seattle Daily Times. Day after day through pages of advertising matter and columns of editorials the Times per-sistently fought prohibition, and was recognized the State over as the mouthpiece of the wets and the most implacable enemy of the dry propaganda. In "scare" headlines that could be read across the street this paper proclaimed that Kansas had been "blighted" and "devastated" by prohibition, at the same time declaring with equal fervor in other columns that "prohibition does not prohibit" and is always "a farce" and "a

After one month of prohibition hear what the editor of the Seattle Times, Maj. C. B. Blethen, has to say:

"We fought prohibition on economic grounds alone. We believed that in a great seaport city, with a population of upward of 300,000, prohibition would be destructive; that it would bring on economic disaster. We believed that under the license system we had the liquor traffic as well controlled as it could be; we wanted it let alone and we fought as hard as we could fight. But in spite of all we could do, prohibition carried and went into effect January 1. We already know that it is a great benefit morally and from an economic standpoint. Its moral effect has been tremendous. Seattle had 260 saloons and we had an average of 2,600 arrests a month for crimes and misdemeanors growing out of liquor drinking. In January we had only 400 arrests and 60 of these were made January 1, and were the result of hangovers from the old year. That in itself is enough to convince any man with a conscience that prohibition is necessary. There can be no true economy in anything that is immoral.

"On top of the great moral result we have these economic facts: In the first three weeks of January the savings deposits in the banks of Seattle increased 15 per cent. There was not a grocery store in Seattle that did not show an increase of business in January greater than ever known in any month before in all the history of the city, except in holiday time. In all the large grocery stores the increase was immense. Every dry goods store, except one, and that I have no figures from, had

a wonderful increase in business.

"I wished to know in what class of goods the sales increased so greatly, and so I went to all the grocery and dry goods stores to find that out. And to me it is a pitiful thing—and it

makes me sorry we did not have prohibition long ago-that the increase in sales in all the dry goods stores was in wearing apparel of women and children, and in the grocery stores the increase was made up chiefly of fruits and fancy groceries. This proves that it is the women and children who suffer most from the liquor business, and it is the women and children who receive the greatest benefit from prohibition. Money that went formerly over the bar for whisky is now being spent for clothing for the women and children and in better food for the household. * * * Yes, sir; we have found in Seattle that it is better to buy shoes than booze."

The Naval Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAMUEL W. BEAKES. OF MICHIGAN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday June 2, 1916.

Mr. BEAKES. Mr. Speaker, I trust that this country may ever remain at peace. But many a nation peacefully inclined has been forced into war, and if we should ever be forced to take up arms to defend our firesides or our honor we should be prepared successfully to defend ourselves. When the hour of danger arises there is not time then to prepare. For adequate preparation can not be attained in a month or a year. War requires more preparation than formerly. As it has be-We have come more horrible it has become more scientific. seen the effect of preparation in the great holocaust that has enveloped Europe. We are not a military-loving people. We do not want an Army and Navy for the mere sake of having them. We would that there were some way of disarming the nations of the world. But we Americans are also a practical people. At present we can see no way of persuading the nations of Europe to disarm, and hence we must prepare to defend ourselves should we be attacked by any great nation. No nation has greater reserve strength than the United States, but it takes time to develop that reserve strength, and hence the need of such preparation as will successfully hold off the enemy until we can bring that reserve strength into action.

In my humble opinion, the most important branch of defense we have is our Navy. We are so much stronger than our neighbors on this continent that the nations whose attack we must provide against must cross either the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean to reach us. If we can prevent them so crossing, our Army, as provided by this Congress, is sufficient for defense. If our Navy is strong enough, we need fear no invasion.

There is no need of getting hysterical about the preparation

for defense. War is apparently no more imminent now than before, especially if this country continues to be guided by the wise diplomacy which has kept us at peace with the dreadful holocaust of war enveloping all the other great nations of the earth. But despite the wisest diplomacy war may come in the future, and we can not let this Nation become as defenseless as, for instance, is China. A dollar wisely spent now will save hundreds of dollars if war should come.

The naval bill of the present Congress is the greatest step for naval preparation that has ever been undertaken in this country. It involves an expenditure in one year of \$270,000,000. which is \$20,000,000 more than our entire military and naval expenditure last year, and before this bill becomes a law many millions more are apt to be added to it. In six months more the Naval Committee of the House will meet to prepare another naval bill. It will then have much information as to our needs which it can not now have. We will know more of the relative efficiencies of the various branches of the Navy, and we will know best in what manner to strengthen our Navy. But we must not waste time waiting to see what becomes of the navies of our possible antagonists. I believe every new ship authorized in the present bill—be it battle cruiser, torpedo boat, or submarine—is needed in any event. Undoubtedly we need other vessels, but the type will be more clearly understood six months

After this bill had been prepared for final passage the greatest naval battle of the century was fought, but this House had no intelligence of what happened when it voted on the bill. Hence the Senate Naval Committee will have a certain advantage in adding to the provisions of the bill in making adequate naval preparation. It was with this thought in mind that, without any compunctions, I voted against the many amendments in the mo-

tion to recommit, as I had to accept them all or reject them all. Some of these amendments were undoubtedly wise; others undoubtedly would have wasted money.

I do not believe that preparation for national defense should be a partisan question. We are all Americans before we are Democrats, Republicans, or Progressives. And we should prepare ourselves not as Democrats, Republicans, or Progressives, but solely as Americans. Hence it was with a deep feeling of regret that on this naval bill I saw the Naval Committee divided on party lines. This division did not represent the real division in opinion of the members of the committee. On this side of the House we believe that this division was caused by the efforts of our friends on the other side of the House to make partisan capital out of the preparation for national defense. I, for one, in casting my vote on matters of national defense, cast it as an American and not as a partisan. I desire sane and adequate preparation, but I do not want to waste the Nation's money nor to encourage extravagances.

It has been charged in this House that the Democrats are to blame for the fact that our Navy at the present moment is not large enough. What party was in power when the Navy sank from the second to third place in the navies of the world? Was it not the party to which the Members belong who make this charge? No one has charged that any of the money spent by the present administration for the Navy has been wasted. And yet the money appropriated by the last Congress, Democratic in both branches, with a Democratic President, was \$25,398,686.44, more than was ever before appropriated in any two years for the Navy. We were just as unprepared, nay, more unprepared, under Republican administrations than under this Democratic ad-ministration. What opportunity, then, can there be for the Republican Party to make partisan capital out of it? And, further, in this year of Democratic administration the appropriations for the Navy will be larger than in any two years of Republican administration. Which party is best preparing the Nation for defense?

In the last Republican administration the Secretary of the Navy was Mr. G. von L. Meyer. He it is who is loudest in charging the administration of Secretary Daniels with dereliction of duty in letting the Navy run down in comparison with the other great navies of the world. In the four years of Secretary Meyer's administration the battleships authorized by Congress had a total displacement of 171,800 tons. In the first two years of Danieis's administration the battleships authorized by Congress had a total displacement of 160,000 tons. In other words, in the building of battleships Secretary Daniels secured almost as much in two years as Secretary Meyer did in four years. of the two was the greater Secretary of the Navy? Complaint has been made as to the personnel of the Navy being insufficient, and this same ex-Secretary of the Navy has not been the least of the critics. The authorized enlistment has not materially changed, but when Secretary Meyer went out of office the number of enlisted men was away below the number authorized, while in March of this year, three years later, every man authorized by Congress was in the Navy. To be exact, there was a gain of 6,340 enlisted men in the Navy. In this very bill before us Members have attacked the increase authorized as inudequate, while the difference between the majority minority of the committee in personnel was only 800 men. Surely if 67,800 enlisted men is wholly inadequate, an increase of only 800 more will not make an adequate manning of our ships.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Butler], ranking Republican member of the Naval Committee, in a letter to Secretary Daniels, which was referred to the General Board of the Navy for an answer, brought out a letter under date of May 2 from Admiral Dewey which may answer in a way which administration is responsible for the dropping into third place of the American Navy. Admiral Dewey says:

(a) Considering displacement of "ships built": The United States advanced from third to second place in 1907 and dropped to third place in 1911

in 1911

(b) Considering displacement of "ships built and building": The United States advanced from third to second place in 1900, held this place for a short time only, and dropped to third place again in the same year, 1909.

(c) Considering "active personnel": The United States advanced from third to second place in 1908, dropped to third place in 1911, and to fourth place in 1913. The United States advanced again to third place in the first part of 1914 and later that year dropped to sixth place, owing to the expansion of the naval personnel of belligerent nations.

The United States lost second position in naval strength because it did not build ships and provide personnel to meet the well-known building program of the nation now second in naval strength. The German laws of 1898 and 1900, with amendments in 1906 and 1912, laid down a defialte program of building ships, providing the necessary personnel, and for replacing battleships after 20 years in service.

Going back to our most active critic, ex-Secretary Meyer, we see from the statement of the General Board of the Navy, as voiced by its chairman, Admiral Dewey, Mr. Meyer was Secretary of the Navy when this country dropped into third place in ships built. He was Secretary of the Navy when our Navy dropped to third place in personnel, and also to fourth place. At the breaking out of the European war, under Secretary Daniels, our Navy had returned to third place in personnel, which it held until the navies of the warring countries were put on a war footing, when of course we dropped our rank in personnel. These facts being beyond dispute, I submit that Mr. Meyer's failure to keep up our naval preparedness gives him no license to criticize an administration that did so much more than his administration did.

To make the United States Navy superior to the German Navy in every department Admiral Dewey submitted a table showing that there were needed 6 dreadnaughts, 10 battle cruisers, 21 scout cruisers, 80 destroyers, 9 fleet submarines, and 78 coast submarines. Since this estimate was made a number of German vessels were sunk in the great North Sea battle, so that the number required to be superior in every arm is less now than it was. The cost of building the ships estimated by Admiral Dewey as required to make the United States second in naval strength in every arm is given by him as \$652,530,306. It is very doubtful if we could start the building of all these ships in any one year if we would. Certainly we could not without retarding the building of an American merchant marine, which is

so greatly needed.

The naval bill this year provides 5 battle cruisers, costing over \$20,000,000 each, 4 scout cruisers, 10 destroyers, and 50 sub-marines. As I have said, it provides for more naval construction than was provided in any two years before. Our Navy is most deficient in battle cruisers, of which we now have none. Great Britain had 10 before the battle of the North Sea. Now she has but 7. Germany had 8 and now has but 7. The 5 we are building under this bill would, however, be larger and more speedy than any in either Navy. When these fast cruisers are built, having the most armament and with the highest possible speed, no great power would dare transport a large body of troops across the ocean while these great ships were afloat on the seas within striking distance. Their speed is such that dreadnaughts could not catch them, and with the deadly aim of the American gunner, which has been many times demonstrated, the transports would be in constant danger of destruction from an enemy that could not be reached.

The exact strength of the European navies is not now known. When the war broke out Great Britain had 76 battleships built and building. She has acknowledged that 9 of these have been She had, including the battle cruisers, 44 armored cruisers built and building. She has acknowledged that 14 of these have been sunk. Germany has acknowledged a loss of 2 out

of 40 battleships and 7 out of 17 armored cruisers.

It has been a practice of late for alarmists to run down our Navy. As against this I wish to introduce the testimony of a men who know. Admiral Fletcher, in command of the Atlantic Fleet, on March 2 of this year, testified:

Atlantic Fleet, on March 2 of this year, testified:

The ships of our Navy compare favorably with ships of similar types of any other navy, and it is believed they are slightly superior. It has been the policy in this country to build ships of a little greater displacement and a little greater power than similar ships abroad, laid down or appropriated for at the same time.

As to the efficiency and condition of our Navy, I can give you information more particularly in regard to the active fleet now in commission in the Atlantic. These subjects are dealt with in my annuar report, which has been printed as a Senate document and is now in possession of the committee, as I understand. From this report it will be seen that the battleships and destroyers now with the fleet, and which constitute its main fighting element, are in a very satisfactory and efficient condition, with the few exceptions noted.

As far as can be ascertained, there is no fleet that is more constantly drilled or exercised than our fleet on the Atlantic coast, or any fleet where more exacting requirements are demanded. This is borne out by the results shown in our maneuvers, our war games, our tactical problems, and our target practice. Had I any doubt upon these questions of personnel and efficiency as far as the active fleet is concerned, I would not hesitate to inform this committee, in order that steps might be taken to remedy these defects.

Admiral Knight says:

Admiral Knight says:

Our officers and enlisted men, in spite of many statements to the contrary, are able and efficient.

In May, 1915, Admiral Dewey, our greatest living naval officer,

Our ships and guns are as good as any in the world; our officers are as good as any; and our enlisted men are superior in training, education, physical development, and devotion to duty to those of any other navy. I can say with absolute confidence that the efficiency of the fleet has steadily progressed and has never been so high as it is to-day.

Capt. J. S. McKean said:

We have made more real progress in the last two years than in any previous five-year period in my experience in the Navy. I don't think I've ever known a time when everybody in the service, from top to bot-

tom, was working as hard with their heads and hands to prepare the ficet for active service

Rear Admiral Edwards said:

The work of Secretary Daniels has been one of distinct and important accomplishments. His integrity of purpose has never been assailed. His receptiveness for counsel is exceedingly marked. His deep affection for the service ought best be reflected by his memories of the Spanish-American War. Admiral Dewey certifies that at no period in the history of our Nation have the morals of the naval service been higher. Surely it ought to be written of one of whom such tributes can be justly paid that in administering efficiently the great trust reposed in him he has upheld the best traditions of the Navy.

I have introduced these quotations, not for the purpose of implying that there is not need of constructive Navy legislation, but simply to emphasize my belief that our Navy is a good one, the main trouble being not that it is inefficient but that it is not large enough. If it had not been for the big building program of the other navies there would not be the need of a big building program on our part. But a navy can not be built after war commences. To be effective it must be in existence at the beginning. Hence our duty to be prepared to ward off any foe on the sea, so that we may enjoy in safety our homes and our firesides. We have an enormous coast line, and we must be ready to defend it. This Congress is prepared to do more than twice as much in preparation in one year as has been done by any previous Congress in two years. We have been striving for peace, prosperity, and preparedness. Who can say we are not attaining all this?

The American Merchant Marine.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RUFUS HARDY, OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 10, 1916.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask leave to extend my remarks in the Record by printing a speech made by Mr. William H. Lincoln, of Boston, Mass., with some preliminary and introductory comments by myself.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. Hardy]

asks leave to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there ob-

jection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. HARDY. In the latter part of February, this year, I was invited by the Economic Club of Boston, Mass., to deliver an address before that club on the subject of the pending shipping bill and the American merchant marine. On reaching the city I was most hospitably and warmly received and generously enter-tained during my stay there. I was taken in charge by Mr. Beatson, the secretary of the club, and on the day following the evening of the address was shown over the historic old city of Boston. I visited a great number of its noted and sacred historical spots. For the address I was delighted to find a magnificent and sympathetic audience, presided over by Mr. W. H. Lincoln, who opened the evening program by an address full of hard common sense and the eloquence of facts and reasoning, stated convincingly from the fullness and clearness of knowledge. His address was so nearly in line with my own views that after the program was over I talked with him at length. I found that he had in 1884, I believe it was, earnestly endeavored to induce Congress to pass a law such as he advocated, but had tailed, as all efforts of a similar character have failed. He informed me that he had a copy of a speech made by him before the National Shipping Convention at Boston in 1880, and very kindly, at my request, sent me a copy of it. I have read it with great interest. and believe that his reasoning and conclusions are absolutely sound, with one exception. He fell into the error of advocating American registry for foreign-built ships, but limiting their right by permitting them only to engage in the over-seas trade. In this he made the same mistake that Congress made in the passage of the recent Panama Canal act. It was, of course, in my view, a fatal mistake and would have rendered the law advocated by him futile, as I think I showed clearly in my speech before the Economic Club.

But if that law had been passed in 1880 or 1884, when advocated by him, its shortcomings would have been soon discovered and possibly corrected, and if that had been done and full registry given to ships built abroad but owned and operated under our flag, allowing them to be used in our coast trade, we would have long ago checked the decay of our over-seas merchant marine and taken at least second place among the merchant marines of the world and had our ships flying our flag in every quarter of the globe, and we would have been ready in August, 1914, to carry our own commerce in our own ships and, besides, preventing the great difficulties and obstructions we encountered for lack of shipping at the beginning of the European war, our ships would have reaped a great harvest of unprecedented profits, while our people would have been saved hundreds of millions of dollars.

It is worth something to know the character, the capacity, and the environments of men whose views are presented to us, and I therefore wish to say with reference to Mr. Lincoln, he is one of the sterling, substantial, prosperous, long-headed business men of New England. He has lived a long and stainless life, and is honored in the highest by those who know him and have worked with him in public and private affairs, and he is president now of the Boston Economic Club and has held many posts of distinction. All his life he has been familiar with ship-ping and personally interested in owning and operating ships and ship lines, and, more than that, he has been preeminently successful. His connection with the shipping industry began prior to the War between the States. The period of our great triumphs in the merchant marine is a part of his life, as is also the period of the decay of our merchant marine. He has seen in operation the causes which first produced our triumph and the causes which later brought about our utter and complete abandonment of the seas, and so I feel that his words ought to have great weight with those who seek to remedy our merchantmarine evils and bring back the day of pride to our shipping and our flag.

Mr. Lincoln's speech follows:

FREE SHIPS.

ADDRESS OF WILLIAM H. LINCOLN BEFORE THE NATIONAL SHIPPING CON-VENTION, BUSTON, OCTOBER 7, 1880.

The decline of our mercantile marine engaged in foreign commerce has for many years attracted public attention. Gen. Grant during his administration called the attention of Congress to this fact in more than one of his messages. ent Secretary of the Treasury has also presented the figures showing the rapid and persistent decay of our shipping in several of his reports. Still nothing has been done, and the decline continues steadily. There has been no concerted action on the part of those especially interested in this branch of business, and no agreement has been effected among the shipowners in regard to the desired legislation. We have continued drifting, rapidly losing ground, until the present time. The same laws continue in force that were designed to protect our commerce in its infancy, but changes in the modes of transacting business, in the methods of transportation, and in the construction of the vessels have rendered destructive rather than beneficial their operation; in a word, the world has outgrown these restrictions upon commerce; mankind has progressed; there is a free interchange of products and competition is more universal. It is not many years since a vessel of 800 tons was considered as of immense size and would attract public notice. It was regarded at the time as a rash experiment to construct such a large ship. Now a sailing ship of 2,000 tons excites no comment, and steamers of more than double this size may be seen at any time in our docks. While we have been standing idle, other nations have changed their navigation laws to suit the progress of the times, and have encouraged their commerce by removing restrictions and inviting competition. The fact must not be overlooked that England and France especially have caused to be established and maintained important lines of ocean steamships by a well-arranged system of subsidies, cluded in which is a provision for the transportation of the mails. During this period our country has been taking rapid strides in other directions. The settlement of the western country and the construction of railways, keeping pace with the advance of emigration, have proceeded in a wonderful manner. The vast agricultural and manufacturing interests of the country have been developing, engaging the energies and thought of our people and attracting the attention of the civilized world. These great interests have overshadowed what was formerly regarded as of primary importance, and in regard to which there existed a strong national pride. They continue so to do. and the emblem of our country's strength and glory is fast disappearing and is lost amid the flags of England, Germany, Norway, and Italy. This condition of things has been brought about under the operation of laws designed to foster and protect our commerce. Many intelligent shipowners have thoughtfully considered the subject, and have arrived at the conclusion that a radical reform is necessary in order to recover our position and maintain it. A few figures will illustrate in a forcible manner the extent of our decline and the time it has occupied.

The value of our exports and imports taken in American and foreign vessels in the years enumerated have been as follows:

ente statues l'on castrogal, aleman graf quot ente la mondigate de la grafia de la castrogal de la castrogal	In American vessels.	In foreign vessels.
185)	\$239, 900, 030	\$90,000,000
1860	507, 999, 030	255,000,000
1874	252, 000, 030	638,000,000
1879	272, 000, 000	911,000,000

While these figures prove the serious decay of our shipping interests they also show the wonderful increase in the trade of the country. The latter is as gratifying as the former is humiliating. It will be noticed that in 1850 there was carried in American vessels nearly threefold the amount that was taken by foreign vessels, and that in 1879 the position was reversed, so that our vessels only carried less than one-third as much as was taken by foreign shipping.

was taken by foreign shipping.

At the present time 59 per cent of the tonnage of the country is employed in the coastwise trade. The coastwise and inland navigation of the country has increased with the growth of population, and as all foreigners are excluded by law from this trade our tonnage in this branch has increased, so that a comparison of the total tonnage of the country in different years does not represent the decadence of our foreign commerce. This is the manner, however, in which it is usually presented by the Secretary of the Treasury in his reports. In 1850 the total tonnage of the country was 3,535,000 tons; in 1860, 5,353,000 tons; in 1870, 4,246,000 tons; in 1879, 4,169,000 tons. It will thus be seen that while the coastwise trade has largely increased the total tonnage has largely diminished.

But the chief object of our laws of registration is to protect and encourage shipbuilding in the United States. When wood was universally employed in the construction of ships we had an advantage over England. We possessed most valuable tim-ber, the forests were near at hand, and our shippards produced the finest specimens of naval architecture that could be found in any ports of the world. For many years there was no necessity of protection, because we were able to build ships cheaper and better than any other nation, and we built ships for the nations of Europe. England has long enjoyed the supremacy upon the seas, but the child was successfully competing with the parent, and in 1860, just prior to our Civil War, our tonnage equaled that of Great Britain. It was an achievement of which the Nation was justly proud. Our ships were found in every port and obtaining freights upon equal terms with the most favored countries. In some ports they commanded the preference. As a rule, they were more ably commanded and better manned and equipped than the vessels of any other nation. We could build our vessels more cheaply, sail them at less expense, and perform more voyages in the same period than any other people. The future seemed sure that we were destined to become the great maritime power of the world. But great and sudden changes took place. The Civil War placed our flag at a fatal disadvantage; shipbuilding languished; many ships were destroyed and a larger number were sold to foreigners. At the close of the war, and for many years later, wages were high, building material was expensive, and in place of our country being able to produce ships more cheaply than any other it became the dearest place to build. Still our shipowners persevered. Shipbuilding was continued, though on a smaller scale. Owners soon found that not only did their ships cost an excessive price, but the expense of maintaining them was great. Oppressive laws respecting the shipment and discharge of seamen, and the rapacity of our consuls in foreign ports, that were not so keenly felt in a time of prosperity, became a burden too great to be borne. Our shipowners became discouraged, and other fields for the employment of capital offering greater inducements, they commenced to dispose of their ships to foreigners, ceased contracting for new ships, and transferred their energies and money to more remunerative employments. have our largest and most enterprising shipping firms gradually abandoned the business. A considerable number of our ship-building firms have either failed in the business or have ex-perienced such losses as have caused them to discontinue. The figures will show to what an alarming extent this has prevailed:

Ships and barks built in the United States.

 In 1855
 381

 In 1856
 306

 In 1878
 81

 In 1879
 37

And this condition of things exists under the laws to protect the shipbuilding interests.

It can be no matter of surprise that our merchant marine has been seriously reduced. Take also into consideration the fact that during the war we sold to foreign nations nearly 800,000 tons of shipping, and the problem is solved. These large sales were chiefly made on account of the enormous premium upon gold, and the receipts or sales being in gold realized a large sum In order to comprehend the full significance of these sales it may be well to state that during the three years-1854, 1855, and 1856—we sold but 167,000 tons to foreigners. While we built in 1879, 43,000 tons of registered vessels, there were sold to foreigners 37,000 tons, abandoned 24,000 tons, and lost 87,000 tons, making a total of 148,000 tons. It should be here stated that the sales to foreigners have been chiefly ships that have nearly outlived their usefulness, and at low prices. In view of all these facts, can it be denied that we should not have suffered such a decline if we had been permitted by our laws to have purchased vessels upon the same terms as other nations, in the cheapest market? If it can truthfully be denied, then there is no reason why we should not continue our downward course until our flag is driven from the ocean. There is no escape from such a conclusion.

In consequence of the decline in wages and in the prices of material in the shipbuilding districts, it is probably true that we can again construct wooden vessels of the same class at a lower price than other countries, but there is no longer a de-For the coastwise trade alone are our shipyards now employed in building wooden vessels. Iron ships are superseding the wooden. In every important respect they have proved more desirable. They secure a higher classification for a longer term of years, they are maintained at less expense, carry more cargo upon equal tonnage, and obtain higher rates of freight, and even at the enhanced rates command the preference. In the port of Calcutta iron ships obtain \$1 per ton, and in San Francisco \$1.25 per ton, more than the best wooden vessels. The reason for this may be found in the difference in the rates of insurance and in the less liability of damage to cargo.

It is a most remarkable fact that, despite the boasts that have been made that iron ships can be built at the same price in this country as upon the Clyde, there is not a single iron sailing ship under our own flag. While all other nations are privileged to buy in the cheapest market, we are excluded, and for the purpose, we are told, of protecting American industry. We seem to overlook the fact that the ocean is the great highway of commerce, that the antiquated navigation laws of other countries have been repealed, so that comparatively few obstructions now exist to a perfect freedom of commerce. The large increase of the shipping of other nations, the sharp competition that has existed for business, have for several years reduced the rates of freight to unprecedented low figures. Only by the practice of the strictest economy, and by freedom from disasters at sea, could the shipowner make the receipts equal the expenses, Meanwhile our Government has not taken the first step in assisting our shipowners to meet this change; I may say, this revolution in this branch of business, and consequently our flag is being driven from the ocean. Lines of ocean steamships are constantly being established between this country and Europe to meet the ever-increasing demands of the trade.

We did boast of one line of American steamships from Philadelphia to Liverpool, but even that exists only in name, as onehalf of that line is now composed of steamers sailing under the flag of Great Britain. A most impressive fact with respect to our trade with Europe was published in the American Ship, of New York. It stated that the grain fleet dispatched from that port last year numbered 2,987 vessels, carrying 102,312,568 bushels of grain, of which 1,075 were steamers, carrying 42,426,535 bushels, the remaining 1,822 being sailing vessels, carrying 59,892,033 bushels. All of this tonnage includes not one American steamer and only 74 American sailing vessels. It is estimated that over \$100,000,000 per annum are paid to foreign vessels for the transportation of our produce.

This is truly a deplorable condition for a great and prosperous Nation, possessing a large line of seacoast, and engaging in such

an enormous trade with the nations of the world.

There are but two courses to pursue-one is to adopt the principles of a semicivilized age and impose restrictions upon commerce, which will be sure to cause retaliatory measures by other nations; the other is to be in accord with the progress of the age, and remove the restrictions that already exist-a relic of former days. It may be interesting as well as instructive at this point to trace the progress of Great Britain and to learn some wisdom by her experience. Laws restricting commerce are of ancient date, and it is not a new thing for ship builders and owners to clamor for monopoly. The commerce of Great Britain would have been utterly ruined many times if the pre-dictions of those interested had been fulfilled. It still prospers, and, as I intend to show, by every successive step in the line of greater freedom has entered upon increased prosperity. I am indebted to a work of John Lewis Ricardo, Esq., upon the navigation laws of Great Britain, for much valuable information. In the reign of Edward III, in 1340, a law was passed, "that no person should sell or give away any vessel to a foreigner upon any account." The difference between that and our own law The difference between that and our own law is that we are permitted to sell, but not to purchase. If it is a more advantageous, it is certainly a more selfish and an equally narrow policy.

The first navigation act, passed in 1381, provides "that no subject of the King should ship any merchandise outward or homeward save in ships of the King's allegiance, on penalty of forfeiture of vessel and cargo." I have recently read a similar proposition, though perhaps a trifle more liberal, to relieve our shipping from competition. But this did not prove a success, and in the following year it was amended so that English merchants, being in foreign ports and not finding any sufficient English vessels there, might ship their goods on board foreign vessels. This monopoly having caused oppressive rates of freight, in 1390 a law was passed "that the merchants of England should export their merchandise in English vessels only, and the owners were desired to carry them for reasonable freights." Ship owning must have been a lucrative business in those days-at the expense of the people. The result of these acts is stated in 1558, in an act of the First of Elizabeth: That since the making of these statutes other sovereign princes have made like penal laws, by reason whereof there hath grown great displeasure betwixt the foreign princes and the kings of this realm; and also the merchants have been sore grieved and endamaged." For 177 years these laws had been at work, and with these results.

The act was repealed, but replaced by another, scarcely better-"that exports and imports in foreign bottoms must pay double duties." In spite of these restrictions, the Dutch ob-In spite of these restrictions, the Dutch obtained the supremacy and led all other nations. How came this to pass? The ancient records tell us-"by the privileges they allowed to strangers, by lowness of their customs, and by the structure or roominess of their shipping, holding much merchandise, though sailing with fewer hands than our ships, thereby carrying their goods much cheaper to and from foreign ports than we can, whereby the Dutch gain all the foreign freights, while our ships lie still and decay or else go to New Castle for coals." In a word, the monopoly enjoyed by the English had not been favorable to progress in the art of building or economy in management. The Dutch, by their greater freedom of competition, had become able to take freights cheaper. This is the secret-competition had stimulated the Dutch to improve the construction of their vessels and to economize their management, while the monopoly enjoyed by the English had hindered their progress. In 1652 was passed the famous act of naviga-tion, "that no goods or commodities whatever of the growth, production, or manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America, including our own plantations there, should be imported into England or Ireland, or any of the plantations, except in English-built ships, owned by English subjects, navigated by English commanders, and three-fourths of the sailors Englishmen." with the Dutch was the consequence, and for two years the commerce of the world was interrupted. Ten years of peace followed, during which the Dutch regained their supremacy.

In 1660 an act styled the Maritime Charter of England was passed, intended to crush the Dutch. Two years later a sup-plemental statute enacted "that no foreign-built ship shall enjoy the privilege of English or Irish built ships, even though the owners be Englishmen"; and yet history tells us that even 20 years after that the English could not compete with foreigners. So much for protection. It is true the Dutch lost the ascendency, but not in consequence of the navigation acts of England. Weakness came upon them as a result of long and costly wars with England and France. Their great shipping grew up and flourished without protection of navigation laws, and they lost it in consequence of heavy taxations and by being forced from their own principles of cheap and free trading.

We know the effect of the laws of England upon her colonies in this country. After the independence of the United States retaliatory measures were passed by our Government. No produce or manufacture of English could be carried to the United States in other than American ships. The ships of either country were crossing the ocean one way in ballast. In 1815 this state of things was stopped and a treaty of reciprocity was adopted. The prosperity of shipping commences from the abolition of these acts of navigation restricting commerce.

I have thus endeavored to trace briefly the progress of free-dom in commerce from the earliest days. These antiquated laws are so often quoted to show how England increased and maintained in prosperity her shipping that it seemed best to show that as she learned wisdom by experience these restrictions were abolished. As the freedom and rights of the people have advanced by successive and gradual steps from a state of slavery and vassalage to one of independence and power, so have the laws that fettered and restricted commerce been succeeded by a more enlightened and liberal policy.

We may as well seek to restore the laws and usages that governed society in the dark ages as to attempt to build up our

commerce by restrictive legislation.

There are various plans proposed to restore the shipping trade of the country, which will now be briefly considered. It may be well here to state that as the decrease of our shipping has been gradual, so must be its restoration, but with this disadvantage: It is more difficult to build up a trade after it has passed into other hands than it is to lose it by indifference and neglect. While we have been retrograding other countries have been advancing in a tide of prosperity. Our progress under the wisest and most efficient legislation must be slow and laborious.

A system of subsidies to regular lines of steamships to foreign ports is warmly advocated by some. But the people of this country appear to be opposed to subsidies. It has been attempted, and the manner in which the legislation was obtained was not creditable to those concerned in it. There is no doubt that the Government should endeavor to cause to be established lines of American ocean steamships to the most important foreign ports in South America, the East Indies, and Europe, and, by the payment of proper sums of money for the transportation of mails, place these lines upon such a footing that they can successfully compete with foreign nations. This should be done without delay. It would greatly promote the commercial welfare of the country, and by opening new markets for our manufactures would benefit the whole people. I trust this convention will pass a resolution requesting the action of Congress in this direction.

It has been urged by some that the Government impose a heavy tonnage tax upon all foreign vessels entering our ports, and also a discriminating duty upon goods brought in foreign bottoms. I am confident that such propositions will not be entertained by Congress or receive the support of the people. Such measures would be sure to provoke retaliation on the part of other Governments, and would also enhance the cost of the merchandise imported.

Greater freedom is what is required. The ocean, the great highway of commerce, is free to all alike. All nations are in competition. It is evident that the nation that can produce the ships the best adapted for the business, and at the lowest price, and that can sail them at the least expense, will outstrip all others. It is admitted by every shipowner, so far as I can learn, that at present our foreign commerce is not upon an equal footing, and we can not to-day successfully compete with the navigation of other nations. The problem to be solved is, What will enable us to do so? I reply, we must put ourselves in the line of progress; further restrictions upon commerce will not do it; greater freedom will. Give us ships as cheap as other nations furnish them and the same advantages in respect to maintaining them, and that is all we ask. To put the proposition in plain terms, change our navigation laws so that any citizen of the United States may purchase steamships or sailing vessels in the markets of the world, and place them under the flag of his country, with this provision, that such steamship or vessel shall be forever excluded from the constwise trade. As the coasting trade is confined to our own vessels, there is a manifest propriety in excluding all vessels of foreign build from a participation in it. The vessels in this business are not brought into competition with those of any other nation, and, consequently, no relief is demanded. This trade is peculiarly our own, and should remain so. It is where we are brought into the arena of the world's commerce that we require entire equality and freedom. Let us consider some of the objections that are raised to the change in the laws that we advocate:

First. That the foreign business itself is unprofitable; that the foreign steamers and ships have been doing the business at a loss; and that it is preferable they should sustain the loss rather than our own citizens. Admitting this to be true, I would inquire, What important and leading business that does not have its periods of depression as well as those of prosperity? Shall we argue that a legitimate and necessary business, and one in which all peoples and nations are engaged, shall be abandoned on this account, especially when, as we must all admit, such business is vital to the welfare and necessary to the proper maintenance of the honor and standing of the nation? No one, surely, will admit or ever entertain such a plca.

There has been an overproduction of vessels. Italy, Norway, and Germany have been largely augmenting their tonnage, as

well as Great Britain. But the business of the world is ever increasing; large numbers of vessels are lost every year, so that the adjustment takes place in a less time than would be sup-

posed.

Second. It has been repeatedly stated that iron ships can be built in this country at prices nearly corresponding to the cost abroad. If this be true, certainly no one would undertake to build vessels in England, for there are many advantages in having a vessel built near at hand, where supervision can be more constant and reliable. But it is not in the purchase of new vessels that the especial advantage would accrue, but in buying vessels already in use, and at largely reduced prices. It is the ability to take advantage of good bargains that are frequently offering. Iron steamships and sailing vessels are constantly for sale, the same as other kinds of property, and circumstances may enable the purchasers to buy at much less than the actual value. Our commerce would receive most valuable and extensive additions from this source. All shipowners will appreciate the truth of this statement.

Third. That we should be flooded with the worthless and wornout hulks that England is anxious to sell us. Such an argument is a reproach to our shipowners. It assumes a want of intelligence and sagacity on the part of our shipping merchants that is wholly unwarranted and without any foundation; it means that they are not fit to be intrusted with the management of their

business.

But an important provision should accompany this change in our navigation laws. All material entering into the construction of a ship should be admitted free of duty when so employed. It would be a suicidal policy to admit the manufactured article free and impose a duty upon the raw material. But it is said that the shipbuilders do not ask for this, and that they are content with the tariff as it exists. The answer to this is that it is no disadvantage to them to be allowed the privilege; and quite likely if they were to be put in competition with builders abroad they would gladly avail themselves of it. The simple fact that there is not an iron ship sailing under the American flag, and only a very small number of steamships in the foreign tradethree, I believe, in the European business--is very significant. Because a few firms have built a considerable number of iron steamships for the coastwise and inland trade this does not affect the question. They built them not because they could do so cheaper or better than builders abroad, but simply because the coastwise trade is confined to American-built vessels. fact serves to strengthen the argument that as they have utterly failed to assist in supplying the demand for tonnage for the foreign trade, and as our commerce is perishing, it is time to apply the only suitable remedy. While steamships are multiplying with astonishing rapidity, it must be remembered that sailing vessels still obtain the larger share of the commerce of the world, and that, possessing many important advantages, they will continue to be in demand.

Fourth. In the absence of any sound argument it is commonly remarked that British gold is freely used to support such measures as we advocate. How, when, or where does not appear, and it is apparently without any foundation in fact. The statement is made and widely circulated in many newspapers for the sole purpose of creating a prejudice against any change. While the shipbuilding interest might obtain a benefit, it is evident that the welfare of England would be promoted by our continued exclusion, and for the simple reason that we are throwing all our commerce into her hands. Far better for her that she should continue mistress of the seas and receive the millions yearly that we are paying her for carrying our imports and exports, than that she should furnish us with the weapons for a successful compe-While the English shipowners may recognize our stupidity in clinging to this ancient policy, they certainly must foresee that their repeal would give us advantages that would be turned

against them

Fifth. That a repeal of these laws would work injustice to American industry. While the fact is not proven or admitted, I would ask, Shall the whole country suffer, shall our commerce be annihilated, in order that the iron-ship builders may have an opportunity of doing what they have not been able to do, and which there is not the slightest indication they will be able to accomplish, at least for years to come?

On the other hand, it is more than probable that the introduction of iron steamships and vessels into our commercial marine will stimulate our own industries in the same direction, and that in consequence of being able to obtain the material at the same prices as other nations, we shall secure the natural and legitimate result; our own shipyards will multiply, and building

interests will revive.

There are some timid persons who fear that if any breach in the wall of protection is effected it will invite an assault upon

the whole tariff system. But our shipping occupies a different position from all other interests of the country. must be brought into competition with those of every other nation, and the desired changes relate only to our foreign trade. The same rules that apply to the one interest can not be brought to bear upon the other. So that it seems just to assume that the great industrial establishments of the country that have grown up and developed so successfully under our system of protection, that the producers of the raw material who have experienced the benefits of the fostering care of the Government, will suffer no injury by the removal of the burdens upon our commerce. Their interests will not be jeopardized or put in peril, for the parties foremost in urging the removal of restrictions upon navigation would as earnestly oppose any measures that would cause the great industries of the Nation to suffer.

I have thus endeavored to meet the objections that have been urged with so much persistency against the proposed changes in our laws, and at the same time to show the great benefits that would accrue to our shipping interests and to the Nation by giving to our shipowners the same freedom that all other maritime countries enjoy, and in the exercise of which they have ob-

tained great prosperity.

Naval Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE W. EDMONDS, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 31, 1916.

Mr. EDMONDS. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the gradual and continuous entrance of our Government into activities which should be reserved for private enterprises. Where military secrets are involved or processes should be kept secret for the good of the general public, it ought to be the duty of the Government to keep matters of this kind under its own control. This is not true, however, of the proposition before us. armor plate is a scientific process that requires skill, but it has no secrecy connected with it that would give our Government any advantage over private concerns that have dealt in this line of work for years. The manufacturing of armor plate should of work for years. The manufacturing of armor plate should therefore remain with companies already established that have the necessary facilities as long as there is no disposition on their part to take unfair advantage of the Government as to

If our people would only study the conditions that existed in foreign nations that have in the past entered into Government

ownership, they would soon realize its impracticability.

In the North American Review for May, 1913, this question of Government ownership is touched upon in an article entitled "Socialism and the State," by Jules Roche, former minister of commerce, colonies, post, and telegraph of France, which I incorporate as a part of my remarks:

SOCIALISM AND THE STATE-A PRENCH VIEW.

socialism and the State—a french view.

[By Jules Roche, deputy, former minister of commerce, colonies, post, and telegraph of France.]

At the end of the third volume of Macaulay's admirable History of England occurs this passage, written just after the disturbance of 1848:

"The proudest capitals of western Europe have streamed with civiliblood. * * Doctrines hostile to all sciences, to all aris, to all industry, to all domestic charities, doctrines which, if carried into effect, would, in 30 years, undo all that 30 centuries have done for mankind, and would make the fairest provinces of France and Germany as savage as Kongo or Patagonia, have been avowed from the tribune and defended by the sword. Europe has been threatened with subjugation by barbarians, compared with whom the barbarians who marched under Attla and Alboin were enlightened and humane. The truest friends of the people have with deep sorrow owned that interests more precious than any political privileges were in jeopardy, and that it might be necessary to sacrifice even liberty in order to save civilization."

The doctrines mentioned by Macaulay, after keeping in the background for a time, have now come to the fore again, grown little by fittle in force, until they have burst forth into new spiendor, have given birth to organized parties which are striving every day more energetically to transform the idea into permanent acts and facts, and displaying in this work so much perseverance and audacity that, if the English historian were a witness of what is now going on, he would experience a deeper anguish than that which he expressed so eloquently 64 years ago.

It is now some time since the socialist movement has shown itself in all countries, in a more or less intense form and in an apparently new shape, that of State socialism. It is true that socialism reality remains what it has always been and what it must always be—that is, revolutionary; for its very definition makes it so, since it proclaims itself to be the systematic enemy of all the

Is it, therefore, possible to imagine that the State in a civilized country can adopt and apply the principles of socialism? Is there not an Irreducible contradiction between the two? In order to make this contradiction clear to all eyes, it is first necessary to point out the essential principles of socialism.

What, then, is socialism? Those who see in it only its political platform do not get beneath the surface; this is only the minor side of the matter, its least strong side. What we must discover in socialism is the cause of this platform. This cause is simple; it is an idea, and a profoundly false one, concerning the origin of evil. At bottom, socialism is especially a philosophical doctrine, almost a sort of religion. It believes and teaches that the inequality of conditions among men arises from laws emanating from governments; that the State can create riches and regulate at its will the distribution of these riches; that capital is the enemy of labor; that "the development of the capitalist order is responsible for the working class"; that, in a word, all the evits, or nearly all, from which mankind suffers, are produced by "society," and that it depends upon the legislator to reorganize this society arbitrarily, in accordance with a new plan in which the State will be all and the individual nothing, when universal felicity will reign. In a word, socialism is a peculiar conception of the nature of man, and of the rôle and the power of the State. This is its particular stamp, the essential of its errors and dangers; what follows is simply the consequence of this. Laws which put an end to property and inheritance; the nationalization of mines, factories, railways, and banks; the organization of a system of universal functionaryism—all this, and still other legislative proposals of the socialist parties, is but he application to particular cases of the ruling idea. It does not suffice, therefore, to combat these projects separately, though this is of coarse necessary, for in this way you simply push the

pared with natural things, on the conditions essential to the happiness of the individual.

In order to grasp the full truth of what I say, to see it with the mind's eye as well as with the ordinary eye, we have simply to glance at the state of humanity to-day and at its state in the past. As, according to socialism, "the capitalist organization" is the root of evil, this evil would not have existed at the beginning of our race. So the greatest well-being and the least misery should be found to-day in those parts of the globe where the capitalist regime is the least developed.

When it is stated in the presence of thousands of workmen, whose infantile imagination is inflamed by ardent words and whose untrained reason is misled by sophisms, that the difficulties of this life spring from the present social order, the inference is that humanity was born in a terrestrial paradise and that we have but to turn to the tribes of Asia, South America, Africa, and Oceania, who have kept nearest to the primitive state and furthest away, consequently, from "the capitalist state," to find there the happiest of beings dwelling among the pleasures of Eden. But I should like to see these fiery apostless of socialism reduced to the lot of the Fuegians, the Bushmen, and the Australian aborigines, who are so completely protected from the evils of the capitalist!

On the contrary, what should be said without cessation to the work-

Australian aborigines, who are so completely protected from the evils of the capitalist!

On the contrary, what should be said without cessation to the workers, to those who have the hardest time in life, is that all progress implies capital, all capital implies work, all fruitful work impies liberty, all liberty implies sproperty, and that the ideal of the human race is not behind us but before us.

The nearer man is to nature the more he is under the domination of his enemy, the more miserable he is, and the more he is the foe of his kind. Without going into a profound analysis of the human passions, we have only to regard the most visible and most certain phenomena of life to perceive that the decrease of the evils which adict our race is in direct proportion to the development of this capitalist order whom the socialists are never weary of anathematizing. There is no worse error than that of Rousseau. The most unfortunate, the most feeble, the most suffering of men, is the primitive man, who lives from hand to mouth, without arms, without instruments, with no capital to shield him from want for the moment while he has time to look about him in order to improve his lot. What the philosopher of Geneva saw so badly, the admirable mind of Lucretius grasped immediately and without error. What a faithful picture of the condition of man before the capitalist regime was born is traced by the powerful poet of "The Nature of Things." ignorant of all the geological and prehistoric archaeological discoveries of our times, who sang:

"Then our first ancestors did not yet know how to master things by fire, nor to use skins and to cover their bodies with the skins of the wind and ruln."

It is from such conditions, and not from the Golden Age, that we are sprung, and if, little by little, we have reached the point where

In the brushwood their rude limbs, obliged to flee the attacks of the wind and rain."

It is from such conditions, and not from the Golden Age, that we are sprung, and if, little by little, we have reached the point where we now are, it is due to capital, which began with the first fiint hammer; it is due to the incessant efforts of human genius, which tamed by degrees the forces of matter and bent them to our needs, which conceived and spread the ideas of justice, liberty, love of neighbor, conceptions so different from the ferocity and the state of soul of our first parents. But instead of continuing in this way of progress, socialism would destroy the necessary elements and conditions which make it possible. In deflance of the most constant facts and the most profound forces of the human heart, socialism pretends to build up a complete Utopian city, which would, in fact, be the worst sort of a prison, where would be confined the mind, and which would soon become the theater of the deepest misery into which humanity has ever been plunged.

No; evil does not spring from society, nor even from laws, which does not mean, however, that the legislature can not better the laws. Evil springs from nature, not yet sufficiently mastered by science; it is in us, not yet sufficiently purified, sufficiently elevated by reason, by the arts, by thought; it is in the mind, in the very heart of these than-matured who declare it to be in the laws and would have us believe in their chimerical power to remove it if we only confide the making of the laws to them! If ever there were a true remark, it is this: "Socialism, that is the enemy!"

But I would not have my readers my that I not that all he for the heat is the west of have my readers my that I not that all he for the heat is the west of have my that it is there exists, that there is no social progress to be realized. All that it wish to say is that sociallem, far from curing human suffering, will say make it worse; that its innovations would produce only misery to diminish this misery.

It all the stabilished, even from our list one much, just hat the diminish this misery.

It all the stabilished is the stabilished of the stabilished with the laws of nature and the conditions of its own role. The State can become socialistic without placifies on much, just hat he respective sphere of each? It is not the first time that the subject has been under discount of the stabilished with the individual? What is the respective sphere of each? It is not the first time that the subject has been under discount of the stabilished in the stabilished in the conditions. Long before Montreyulee, Plato, and Cleron had applied bold, in his celebrated essay which appeared in 1792, devoted all his powerful faculties to an attempt to seded what are the limits of the status with the stabilished of the status with the stabilished in the status with the stabilished in the status with the stabilished in the status with the stabilished with the stabilished in the status with the stabilished in 1803, explained every hidden corner of this difficult problem.

It is not the stabilished with the status of the conception of a providential State and the benefits to be derived any among the charlatans, which is quite natural, but among many cleen. His control of this kind plainly reveals the errors of the conception of a providential State and the benefits to be derived from a regime of complete individual state, and in the stabilished with the stabilished with

Has the State, which has never created progress, either moral or scientific, known how to aid happily moral or material works, in conformity with or depending on the laws of progress, observing the conditions of true progress; that is to say, rendering possible the free

sction of the best individuals? Here again observation reveals the same and the control of the c

tion and progress and were announced at the head of the constitution. And then happened in the history of France events whose political effect is of such importance that they should be meditated upon by all nations in order that these nations may draw therefrom a lesson that will save them from similar faults and cruel experiences.

The home and foreign events of the carly months of 1793 had so profoundly troubled the country that their inevitable consequences were felt on every side. It was equally inevitable that the persons whose "political science" consists in exploiting public misfortune and popular credulity by promising miracles in order to secure the support and the favor of the masses would profit by these circumstances. The "heelers" of the popular quarters of Paris appeared in the galleries of the convention, to find on the floor accomplices not less bustling and ardent than themselves. The Jacobin delegation from the suburbs terrorized, on April 30, the Assembly, essentially cowardly like all assemblies, by the declaration of the conscious "boss" who headed it and who exclaimed in a threatening tone: "I come in the name of 10,000 men, who are at your doors, to demand that you reestablish the maximum. If you do not do it, we will declare an insurrection!" This threat sufficed. Four days later was issued the decree of May 4, 1793, which required every farmer, merchant, and miller to declare the quantity of grain in his possession; which provided for committees appointed by the municipalities to revise these declarations and to fix the average price of grain in accordance with the average in each Department, from January 1 to May 1; which pronounced the most rigorous punishment—death, even—for those who should conceal or destroy corn; which offered rewards to informers—in a word, a decree containing the whole series of measures which characterize "Socialist laws" engendered by those baleful "well-wishers of the people."

Once again material things revolted; the famine simply increased.

once again material things revolted; the famine simply increased. Then the lawmakers grew stubborn. The decree concerning grain was followed, one after the other, by decrees concerning wood, coal, peat, oats, oil, butter, vinegar, meat, cattle—all kinds of imaginable merchandise; these decrees meting out penalties, fines, imprisonment, the holy guillotine, and offering bounties for the "patriotic" soup kitchen; the decrees, in a word, running the whole gamut of radical panaceas. But finally the most obstinate were forced to see things as they really were; like Philip the Fair, the convention had to repent. The dire disasters which these "Socialist laws" brought down on the land opened the eyes of the lawmakers, and with their own hands they put an end to their stupid and deadly work. On December 25, 1794, the committees of public safety, general security, legislation, and of commerce and finance held a joint meeting and recommended to the convention through their chairman, Joannot, the total suppression of all the decrees relating to subsistence. The text of the report deserves to be quoted. It runs as follows:

"The short-sighted members who, yielding to popular demands."

of public safety, general security, legislation, and of commerce and for public safety, general security, legislation, and of commerce and through the about the content of the content of

France, with its 40,000,000 of inhabitants, there are about 130,000 kilometers of telephone wires and 232,743 felephones. In the United States my statistics show 22,326,000 kilometers of wire and 7,506,000 telephones for 93,000,000 inhabitants. That is to say, in the United States private industry furnishes 1 telephone for about 12 inhabitants, while in France there is 1 for about every 171 inhabitants, in France there is 1 for about every 171 inhabitants, while in France there is 1 for about every 171 inhabitants, cramped in some directions by contracts which the State is authority, it might almost be said under its legislative and administrative absolutism, cramped in some directions by contracts which the State is ever ready to violate. And what do we find? In 1910 we had about 50,000 kilometers of railways, or 1 kilometer for every 800 inhabitants, while in the United States, where railways enjoyed until 1887 an almost absolute liberty in the state is every 200 inhabitants. When compared with the whole of Europe, we find that in 1910 here were about 630,000 kilometers in all Europe—that is, the 93,000,000 inhabitants of the United States, boossess 70,000 more kilometers of railways than the 450,000,000 Europeans! And yet it was in Europe that the locomotive was invented and that railways were first built. But the United States, on account of the freedom of individual enterprise, and the absence of all legislative and administrative hampering, had in operation more than 8,400 kilometers of road, while England had 5,318; Germany, 5,291; France, 2,018; and all Europe, 14,205. But at the end of 1883, things had greatly changed. According to the official tables of our ministry of the control of the freedom of individual enterprise, and the absence of all legislative and administrative hampering, had in operation more than 8,400 kilometers of road, while England had 5,318; Germany, 5,291; France, 2,018; and all Europe, 14,205. But at the end of 1883, things had greatly changed. According to the official tables of

Telegram of Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, accepting the Republican Nomination for President of the United States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES R. MANN,

OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, June 12, 1916.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted by the House I insert in the RECORD the telegram of Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, of New York, of June 10, 1916, addressed to Chairman Harding, accepting the Republican nomination for Provident of the United States. President of the United States, as follows:

'Mr. Chairman and delegates, I have not desired the nomination. I have wished to remain on the bench. But in this critical period in our national history I recognize that it is your right

to summon and that it is my paramount duty to respond.

"You speak at a time of national exigency, transcending merely partisan consideration. You voice the demand for a dominant, thorough-going Americanism, with firm, protective, upbuilding policies essential to our peace and security; and to that call, in this crisis, I can not fail to answer with the pledge of all that is in me to the service of our country. Therefore I accept the nomination.

STANDS FOR AMERICANISM.

"I stand for the firm and unflinching maintenance of all the rights of American citizens on land and sea. I neither impugn

motives nor underestimate difficulties.

"But it is most regrettably true that in our foreign relations we have suffered incalculably from the weak and vacillating course which has been taken with regard to Mexico—a course lamentably wrong with regard to both our rights and our duties.

"We interfered without consistency; and while seeking to dictate when we were not concerned we utterly failed to appreciate and discharge our plain duty to our own citizens.

BRAVE WORDS STRIPPED OF "FORCE."

"At the outset of the administration the high responsibilities of our diplomatic intercourse with foreign nations were subordinated to a conception of partisan requirements, and we presented to the world a humiliating spectacle of inaptitude.

"Belated efforts have not availed to recover the influence and prestige so unfortunately sacrificed; and brave words have been

stripped of their force by indecision.

"I desire to see our diplomacy restored to its best standards and to have these advanced; to have no sacrifices of national interest to partisan expediencies; to have the first ability of the country always at its command here and abroad, in diplomatic intercourse; to maintain firmly our rights under international law; insisting steadfastly upon all our rights as mutual and fully performing our international obligations, and by the clear correctness and justness of our position and our manifest ability and disposition to sustain them to dignify our place among the

KNOWS NO ULTERIOR PURPOSE.

"I stand for an Americanism that knows no ulterior purpose, for a patriotism that is single and complete. Whether native or naturalized, of whatever race or creed, we have but one country and we do not intend to tolerate any division of allegiance.

"I believe in making prompt provision to assure absolutely

our national security.

I believe in preparedness, not only entirely adequate for our defense, with respect to numbers and equipment, in both Army and Navy, but with all thoroughness, to the end that in each branch of the service there may be the utmost efficiency under the most competent administrative heads.

URGES PROPER PREPAREDNESS.

"We are devoted to the ideals of honorable peace. We wish to promote all wise and practicable measures for the just settlement of international disputes. In view of our abiding ideals, there is no danger of militarism in this country.

"We have no policy of aggression, no lust for territory, no

zeal for strife.

"It is in this spirit that we demand adequate provision for national defense, and we condemn the inexcusable neglect that has been shown in this matter of first national importance.

"We must have the strength which self-respect demands, the strength of an efficient nation ready for every emergency.

FOR READJUSTMENT OF TARIFF.

"Our preparation must be industrial and economic as well as military. Our severest tests will come after the war is over. We must make a fair and wise readjustment of the tariff, in accordance with sound protective principle, to insure our economic independence and to maintain American standards of

"We must conserve the just interests of labor, realizing that in democracy patriotism and national strength must be rooted in even-handed justice. In preventing, as we must, unjust discriminations and monopolistic practices, we must still be zealous

to assure the foundations of honest business. "Particularly should we seek the expansion of foreign trade. We must not throttle American enterprise here or abroad, but rather promote it and take pride in honorable achievements.

STANDS FOR CIVIL SERVICE.

"We must take up the serious problems of transportation, of interstate and foreign commerce, in a sensible and candid manner, and provide an enduring basis for prosperity by the intelligent use of the constitutional powers of Congress, so as adequately to protect the public on the one hand, and, on the other, to conserve the essential instrumentalities of progress

"I stand for the principles of our civil-service laws. In every department of Government the highest efficiency must be insisted upon, for all laws and programs are vain without

efficient and impartial administration.

FULLY INDORSES PLATFORM.

"I can not, within the limits of this statement, speak upon all the subjects that will require attention. I can only say that I fully indorse the platform you have adopted.

"I deeply appreciate the responsibility you impose. have been glad to have that responsibility placed upon another. But I shall undertake to meet it, grateful for the confidence you express. I sincerely trust that all former differences may be forgotten, and that we may have united effort in a patriotic realization of our national need and opportunity.

"I have resigned my judicial office, and I am ready to devote

myself unreservedly to the campaign.

"CHARLES E. HUGHES."

The Interpleader Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE. OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, June 12, 1916.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, referring to the interpleader bill (H. R. 12541), which has just passed the House. I desire to say that the final passage of this measure will tend to relieve a large number of fraternal socities and insurance companies from very unpleasant legal complications in which many of them have found themselves in their efforts to meet their just obligations. It is unthinkable that a company or an individual should be made to pay two or three times the amount agreed upon without recourse, and yet this is the very condition that has confronted many worthy organizations which have undertaken to alleviate the distress of their beneficiaries. As matters have stood, it has been possible for rival claimants under a policy of insurance to make two recoveries where but one sum was due, and this has held as to mutual benefit societies as well as to life insurance companies.

The bill, divested of legal phraseology, proposes to permit a fraternal society or an insurance company to deposit the proceeds of a policy, so that they shall be in the custody of Federal court, leaving the claimants from separate jurisdictions the right to come in and assert their claims. It will tend to stop the practice that has heretofore existed of permitting a claimant in California, for instance, to sue and recover in California for the full amount of a policy, while another claimant in Virginia may sue and recover upon the same policy in

Virginia.

While a question was raised in the committee as to the propriety of fixing the limit of jurisdiction at \$500, and the amount was raised by committee amendment to \$2,000, I am glad that that amendment was stricken out in the Committee of the Whole and that the bill as introduced now stands at the judgment of the House. It seems to me that to have accepted the higher amount, to wit, \$2,000, would have deprived the fraternal societies, whose benefit policies in many instances do not equal \$2,000, of the manifest advantages intended to be conferred by the bill. The higher amount would have tended to exclude these worthy societies to the advantage of the more powerful insurance companies. As the bill now stands it treats all parties fairly and promises to remove the legal entanglements which have hitherto subjected the beneficial associations and insurance companies to a great deal of annoyance. If the bill passes the Senate and is finally enacted into law, it will greatly simplify the procedure by which insurance benefits may be paid to the proper parties where contests arise without unduly wronging those who have to pay, for, after all, in the case of beneficial societies and mutual insurance companies the loss resulting from double or treble payments would fall upon the members of such societies and companies.

REASONS FOR PASSING THE BILL.

Since the introduction of this bill there has been an unmistakable sentiment in its favor. The Committee on the Judiciary gave the matter careful attention and approved the bill as drawn, except for the \$2,000 limitation, which has now been reduced to \$500, as originally intended. The chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Mr. Webb of North Carolina, has submitted the testimony of certain labor organizations approving the bill, and from the mass of correspondence that has come to me in support of the measure I have picked four letters representing other interests, whose reasoning and arguments appeal to the fairness

I think these four letters are fairly representative of the attitude of most of the beneficial societies and mutual insurance companies of the country on this question.

ARTISANS' ORDER OF MUTUAL PROTECTION, Parkway Building, Philadelphia, June 9, 1916.

Hon. J. Hampton Moore,

House of Representatives, Washington. D. C.

Dear Sir: I have been informed that House bill No. 12541, introduced by yourself, providing that a bill of interpleader might be filed in the United States Circuit Court, has been amended so that it is not effective unless the amount involved is \$2,000 or more. If this bill is finally passed in this form it will be of very little use to fraternal societies.

The average amount of benefits paid by such societies is \$1,150. In our organization, which is a Philadelphia institution and 43 years old, 90 per cent of our members carry \$1,000 insurance.

Can anything be done to restore the bill to its original form, so that an interpleader might be filed where the amount is \$500 or more?

There are nine and a half billion dollars of insurance carried in fraternal societies in the United States, and about 35,000,000 people, directly or indirectly, are interested in the 175 organizations of our type. This would seem to me to represent a sufficient number of people to be entitled to consideration in this bill.

I would be very glad to write to each of Pennsylvania's Representatives in Congress if you think it would serve any good purpose. I am very much interested in this bill, as it will afford our organization relief from time to time.

Respectfully, yours,

Allen P. Cox,
Most Excellent Recorder.

ALLEN P. Cox, Most Excellent Recorder.

THE WOMAN'S BENEFIT ASSOCIATION OF THE MACCABEES.

DEAR SIR: I desire to call your attention to the fact that a bill that is of importance to all fraternal beneficiary societies and insurance companies has been introduced in the House of Representatives of the United States Congress by Representative Moore and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. This bill is known as H. R. 12541, and is a bill authorizing insurance companies and fraternal beneficiary societies to file a bill of interpleader.

As you doubtless know, insurance companies and fraternal beneficiary societies frequently find themselves in a position where several people make claim for the amount due under a policy or benefit certificate. If the insurance company or fraternal beneficiary societies which claimant is entitled to the fund and pays accordingly, it may be sued by the other claimant or claimants; and if the court concludes the company or society has paid to the wrong party the company or society would be compelled to pay the amount again to the claimant designated by the court.

In case all of the claimants are within the jurisdiction of the same State court the company or society may avoid the danger of double payment by filing a bill of interpleader, paying the money into the court, bringing all the claimants into the court, and requiring them to litigate among themselves as to who is entitled to the fund. If, however, these claimants are in different States, as is frequently the case, a bill of interpleader can not be resorted to, because no State court can get jurisdiction of all the parties. The company and society is thus placed in a position where it must refuse to pay anyone and run the risk of being sued by all the claimants; or, if it pay one, it may be sued and be compelled to pay again to the other or others.

Bill H. R. 12541 is designed to give relief from such a situation by permitting bills of interpleader to be filed in the Federal courts, where jurisdiction of the parties can not be obtained by the State court. I a

Very truly, yours,

NELLIE E. LOUNSBURY, Great Commander, Warren, Pa.

THE VOLUNTEER STATE LIFE INSURANCE CO., Chattanooga, Tenn., March 18, 1916.

Hons. Robert Y. Thomas, Jr., M. C.; William L. Igoe, M. C.; J. Hampton Moore, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs: Referring now to House bill 12541, introduced by Hon.
J. Hampton Moore, permit me, on behalf the above company, to express
its unqualified approval of the measure and to say that, speaking from
our experience, the passage of same can not possibly harm claimants
of any character; and it will most certainly reduce the labors of the
companies, embarrassment to them, the costs and present circuity of
litigation in many instances.

Accordingly, it is plain that the passage of such measure will ultimately tend to the reduction of insurance rates in that it will result
in a saying of expense to the companies always without harm or prejudice to the rights of claimants.

Yours, very sincerely,

W. B. Miller,

General Counsel.

THE PENN MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE Co., Philadelphia, February 8, 1916.

Hon. J. Hampton Moore.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Moore: In reply to your letter of the 7th Instant, would say that this company has frequently been up against the contingency of a possible double recovery. In only one case, however, were we actually compelled to pay the claim twice. This was under policy No. 38183, issued on December 29, 1884, on the life of William M. Mitchell, of Norfolk, Va. Twelve years premiums were paid on the policy at the time of the insured's death, Mr. Mitchell dying on January 22, 1896. The insured made a transfer of the policy to Mr. John L. Hinton, of Elizabeth City, N. C., and at his death Mr. Hinton made claim as assignee, as well as B. L. Brothers, administrator of the estate of the deceased, who resided at Norfolk, Va. The conflicting claimants refused to recognize each other and both eventually brought suit. The judgment secured by Mr. Brothers against the company was paid on April 21, 1897, the amount being the face of the policy plus \$55 interest, the decision being by the court of law and chancery of the city of Norfolk, Va., and the date April 12, 1897.

Mr. Hinton also recovered under the North Carolina suit in December of 1901. The company paid the judgment, the total amount being \$1,000 plus \$328 interest. The suit in the North Carolina case was decided against the company, notwithstanding the fact of the proper evidence being produced showing that the claim had been paid by judgment under the Virginia suit. In numerous other cases where conflicting claimants have brought suit we have either been able to induce them to appear in the same jurisdiction, removing the case to the Federal court, or have been successful in inducing them to adjust their differences. In several comparatively recent cases we have required a bond upon settlement with one of the claimants and have protected ourselves in this way.

In the Daniel W. Jones claim, of Berkeley, Va., we came very near having a repetition of the Mitchell case. In this particular case Mr. Hint

most common in connection with life insurance, and interpleader proceedings very frequently seems to be the only way out, if it is possible to join all the parties in interest.

Respectfully, yours,

HARRISON S. GILL, Supervisor of Applications and Death Claims.

The Shipping Board and the Ship-Purchase Bill.

A constructive measure to reestablish our over-seas merchant marine, advance our foreign trade, regulate rates, prevent extortion by shipping combines, and provide a great naval auxiliary fleet.

SPEECH

HON. RUFUS HARDY,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tucsday, May 16, 1916.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 15455) to establish a United States shipping board for the purpose of encouraging, developing, and creating a naval auxiliary and naval reserve and a merchant marine to meet the requirements of the commerce of the United States with its Territories and possessions, and with foreign countries; to regulate carriers by water engaged in the foreign and interstate commerce of the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Chairman, of course you can not really discuss a great question like that of the American merchant marine to extend I will be able to place a fuller discussion in the Record, and shall do so. I have been amused frequently by such remarks and shall do so. I have been amused frequently by such remarks as those which concluded the remarks of the gentleman last preceding me, to the effect that he was greatly disappointed that the committee did not report some bill that would tend to build up our merchant marine. Of course, he is a Republican, and is blissfully oblivious of the fact that men of his way of thinking have in their 50 years of power done nothing that tended to build it up. The gentleman's party in power has done nothing have in their 50 years of power done nothing that tended to build it up. The gentleman's party in power has done nothing, because, like the gentleman, they have been afraid they might take somebody's special privilege away.

I have been as impartial a student as can be found in Congress of the subject of our merchant marine for the six or eight years I have been on the Committee on the Merchant Marine and

Fisheries. There is not a man in my district, so far as I know, who own's a dollar's worth of shipping; and there is no man in my district, so far as I know, who has ever been a seaman or ever expects to be; and as between the shipowner and the man who operates his ship for him I ought to be impartial. I certainly have no hostility to or desire to injure either.

I have had only one interest and the different successions and the contract of the state of

tainly have no hostility to or desire to injure either.

I have had only one interest, and that is the interest in common with every man, woman, and child in the United States, in building up a national industry and securing to our whole people the benefits of a wisely established and economically and justly operated merchant marine. Whenever you pin down gentlemen like the one who last addressed the House, or anyone who stands with him in opposition to this bill, and ask him what kind of a bill he would have, his one answer is a bill to make up the alleged unavoidable difference in the cost of American shipping over foreign by a subsidy. And yet the Republican members of our committee have not offered a subsidy bill as a substitute for ours and thus put the issue squarely up to the nearly. ours and thus put the issue squarely up to the people. It was a fine opportunity to go before the people on that issue, definitely presented. But they prefer to do nothing—to offer nothing. In this, as in other matters, in power they are helpless; out of power, they are only critics and faultfinders, advocates of the impossible, and talking, as they have done for 50 years, to muddle the facts and befuddle the minds of the people in the interest of the shipbuilder and the coastwise shipowner. And so they are now dividing their talk between ship subsidy and discriminating duties as means to put our ships back on the seas. Both propositions ought to have been thrashed out, and I think have been thrashed out and rejected long ago. At any rate, they have never dared to pass a general subsidy or a discriminating-duty law. But now in this debate they state that all the nations which have merchant marines built them by subsidy. Let me read to you what one who is considered good authority on this subject, or used to be, and who stands high in the councils of the Republican Party to-day, said on this question of subsidy.

On February 28, 1907, Theodore Burton discussed this question in this House. He first quoted from Mr. Garfield, who said in

1870 that "subsidy is odious to the American people," and he

Mr. Chairman, the idea of any subsidy or any bounty or subvention for the support of private enterprise is repugnant to a great majority of our citizens.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. HARDY. I can not yield for colloquies, because I can not say all I desire to say in the time at my command, and I make that statement now to the gentleman and to everybody.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. All I desired to say was

that Senator Burton has recanted.

Mr. HARDY. He can not recant the reasons he gave. Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. But he can recant. Mr. HARDY. Men sometimes recant without changing their

opinions. He may have recanted. He may have changed his opinion, but the value of the opinion he gave here rests on the force of the facts and reasons he gave for it, and those facts and reasons are unanswerable. President Garfield, unfortunately, is dead, but he was a great leader, thinker, statesman, and patriot, and I presume there is no claim that he changed his opinion. Since I heard Mr. Burton more than once earnestly and ably denounce subsidy, I would really like to hear him on the other side of the question. These are some of the arguments he made against a subsidy bill in 1907:

It is conceded that this measure is for the purpose of making up a difference in cost of construction and operation of ships which will continue for all time.

I would not favor a tariff to meet a confessed perpetual higher cost

in America.

There is one feature of this bill, the subsidy provision, which is odious to the American people. It is a feature, I think, which no man in the House—certainly no Representative of an inland district—can support and sustain himself before his constituents.

Answering the claim that subsidy was protective tariff in another form, Senator Burton said:

I deny it. In the first place, there is the essential distinction that while a tariff brings money into the Public Treasury a subsidy pays it out. Then there is a stronger distinction in the very nature of the case: You can build a wall around a country; you can enforce any kind of a domestic policy; you may levy tariffs in figures so great as to be prohibitive, but you can not exercise any such control over all the seas. There competition is unlimited and fitness and cheapness must prevail.

He continues:

That foreign shipping is built by subventions and subsidies is absolutely not correct. What does England pay for? For fast service for mail and for a naval auxiliary. The great body of her commerce is carried by her tramp steamships, which receive no more subsidy or help from the national treasury than the outcast human beings from whom they are named. How about German shipping? In Germany there are two great lines. The North German Lioyd receives a subsidy, the Hamburg-American Line does not, and yet it is the more prosperous and pays the larger dividend of the two. How, then, in the face of that can you say that the German merchant marine has been built up by subsidies? And you will find the world over that gain in merchant marine and ownership of ships is not due to subsidy but to some collateral facts.

Again he says:

Now, my theory of the American protective tariff is not that it causes us to enter into competition for all time where we will be at a disadvantage.

The advocates of a ship subsidy must either admit that our shipbuilders can compete with foreign shipbuilders to-day, when everything is in their favor, or else admit that the shipbuilders of the United States can never compete with the shipbuilders of the world; and therefore, according to Mr. Burton, this Government ought not to try to maintain and support them by protection or subsidy.

Mr. Garfield also maintained that protection was only justifiable in favor of an industry which, by being aided, could be put on its feet and enabled to compete, but ship-subsidy advocates start out with a statement that our shipbuilders have been for nearly 60 years, are now, and always will be unable to compete; and they want to begin a subsidy now, to continue forever, and I will show before I am through that the ship-building monopoly has destroyed and will forever destroy our

ability to compete on the ocean.

On the other hand, I claim and our committee claims that our shipbuilders can compete and can compete now, but I freely admit that unless they are forced to compete they will not compete now or ever; and if they and the shipowners together can get a subsidy, they will never build or operate a ship in the overseas trade without it. Lest I forget, permit me to quote right here the distinguished gentleman from Washington [Mr. Habley], a member of our committee opposed to our bill. He stated that when the war in Europe broke out we were building some sixty-odd vessels, and that to-day the shipyards in America were building 300 vessels, or 360 I believe it was.

Mr. HADLEY. Three hundred and sixty. Mr. HARDY. Thank you. He was asked the question as to whether or not they were being built for American or foreign

use, and he replied that he did not know, that that would only be determined when they went under registry; but that if they were not put under American registry they could be sold abroad anywhere, and that if this law was passed they would not be likely to be put under American registry. It will be a strange sight for this generation to see American-built ships flying for-eign flags all over the world. The gentleman never thought that when he was saying these ships built here could be sold anywhere else he was declaring our shipbuilders can compete with the world and at the same time illustrating a very material difference between the foolish policy of this Government and the wise policy of every other Government under the sun. Ships built abroad can not be sold here; our law forbids it; and yet the gentleman wants our shipbuilder to avail himself of the privilege of building ships for other countries while denying the shipbuilders of other countries the right to build for us. The humor of this attitude ought to strike him. I doubt, however, if the inconsistency of his attitude in this matter has ever occurred to the gentleman, so accustomed is he to consider our shipbuilder as set apart and sanctified and clothed with special privilege.

The privileges of the American shipbuilder that have stood in the way of our commerce and other industries all these years must go just as soon as the American people get in real earnest about having an American over-seas merchant marine. subject will not be befogged much longer. When I first went on this Committee of the Merchant Marine, about six years ago, I heard it everywhere that our antiquated navigation laws had destroyed our merchant marine and that the heavy burdens imposed by our laws on our shipping made it impossible for our ships to compete with foreign ships without some special advantage or a subsidy being granted them. What these anti-quated laws and heavy burdens were, I tried to find out. The whole thing was very simple when I found it out. The sole trouble was our law prohibited the American from using under our flag any ship not built in America, and the result of it is we have been trying to compete with the shippers of the world in vessels that cost from 50 to 100 per cent more than the vessels of our competitors. Our shipbuilders now fight the repeal of that law with bitterness and so far with success, although they are now contemplating the possibility of building more ships in this country than our shippers will use and of selling them abroad. At the same time we say to the foreign shipbuilders, you must not bring any ships here to sell, and to the American shipowner, you must not buy abroad; but to our shipbuilder, you may sell abroad if you can.

The history of our merchant marine will be illuminating and help us to find what we must do in order to rebuild it. If we learn that history clearly and learn also clearly the history and character of the American people and American enterprise, we will know how to build and maintain the greatest merchant marine in the world, and that without putting any burden on the other industries or the people of the United States, can build a merchant marine that will help to sustain and build up all our other industries instead of burdening them, and con-

tribute largely to our commercial world supremacy.

HISTORY.

Gentlemen, in our colonial days our shipping enterprise was large for that day and time. International commerce and overseas transportation were really in their crude beginnings. Our manufactures came in the main from the mother country and from Europe, and we paid for them with the products of our agriculture and fisheries. This occasioned considerable interchange between us and England and Europe. All ships were small and propelled by sail. The laws of all nations affecting interchange of commerce were dictated by shortsighted and narrow selfishness, All nations resorted to export and import duties and to burdensome restrictions and taxes each upon the shipping of the other. Even dependencies and colonies fared badly at the hands of the mother country if they became her rivals. In this hard school the shipbuilders, the fishermen, and seafaring people of New England learned that skill, industry, and perseverance conquer all things. They began to build their small ships from their magnificent forests, and to build them as good as the best or better than the best, and they began to carry their own commerce in their trade with other countries and sometimes to carry the international trade of other countries wherever they found an opening while they were yet under the wing of England. When the Revolution severed the ties that bound them to England they found yet greater obstacles thrown in their way. They were a loosely bound confederacy of independent States. They were fairly one people, but they had varying pursuits, laws, and customs. The laws governing imports and exports and shipping were different in each of the States. Now, England, France, or Spain could and did pass laws laying heavy

burdens on all ships entering their harbors and competing with their own and they could and did retaliate, each of them against the other. But when they levied burdens upon the ships of our States the States could not retaliate for this reason:

It was found that when a State—New York, for instance—levied heavy duties on foreign ships she lost her trade to Boston or Philadelphia or Baltimore where the duties were lower, so their laws not being uniform, each State became a rival of the other in seeking the foreign trade and so threw away the only club with which they could fight the discrimination practiced against their shipping by foreign countries. This was the situation when our Federal Constitution was framed. It was one of the things that helped secure its adoption. All the States desired to have one central power that could adopt a uniform shipping policy and so meet burden with burden, restriction with restriction of the foreign nations. Therefore among the first laws passed by Congress was one enacting retaliatory discriminating duties and tonnage dues. And that fact has of late years been falsely paraded to show that Jefferson not only favored the policy but the principle of discriminating duties while his writings show that he always favored the greatest freedom of the seas and only resorted to discriminating duties as a measure of retaliation. But even as early as 1802 our shipping interest started a movement to replace that law with one authorizing the President to negotiate treaties abolishing our discriminating duties as to all nations who would cease discriminating against our ships. It so happened, however, that at that time the French Revolution was in full progress disturbing all the world, and the Napoleonic wars put to sleep all questions of treaties and betterment of international relations and swept the ocean of a large part of the merchant marine of European nations so that our ships being neutrals had all they could do and our merchant marine of necessity grew, but just so soon as by the treaty of Ghent peace was restored to Europe, our shipping interests saw that they were being taxed and burdened enormously by the old discriminating duties under the old system. In 1815 all parties in Congress joined in passing an act to abolish discriminating duties against any nation that would abolish them as to us. There was hardly a dissenting vote. The debates of that year and of succeeding years all show that the prosperity of our merchant marine prior to that time was in no way attributable to the discriminating-duty system, but was rather impeded by it. From that year forward succeeding administrations negotiated treaty after treaty, some 18 in all, with leading and lesser nations of the world reciprocally abolishing discriminating duties. The system was denounced in every Congress from 1815 to 1828. It was shown to be destructive of international good relations; to be the cause of friction and irritation, and a great obstruction to free and profitably interchange of commerce, and our people believed they suffered from its operation more than any other.

Just to illustrate how they suffered, it was stated in these debates that cotton from Charleston to Liverpool had better be carried on an English ship and pay high freight charges than be carried on an American ship free of charge. England was slow to abolish her discriminating duties. Her colonial pos sions gave her an advantage. She refused to negotiate. She practiced all sorts of discriminations, especially in her colonies, against our ships. She finally absolutely closed her West Indian ports against them. President John Quincy Adams and his Secretary, Henry Clay, tried hard to effect a treaty, but failed. Finally, in 1828, Andrew Jackson, being President, sent a special messenger to the Court of St. James and succeeded in making a treaty for the abolition of discriminating duties between them and us, and from that day to this we have practically neither laid nor paid discriminating duties, and without discriminating duties or subsidies or any other governmental aid from that day on down to 1861 the old American merchant marine, although her sailors and her shipbuilders received higher wages, excelled every other in growth and prosperity. Our flags dotted every sea and our seamen were familiar with the approaches and the waters of every harbor of the world. It has been said in this debate that the period of 1840 to 1857 was really the glory of the American merchant marine. That is not exactly true. The period of our glory was from the beginning down to 1860. We built the best and fastest ships for the money and we built them for our own people and for the other peoples of the world, and it is said the American clipper could make three voyages across the ocean while the best English ship was making two. Naturally and necessarily our merchant marine prospered.

Briefly I have told the story of our triumph.

Now let me give you the story of our fall. What you want, what you must have, to compete is the cheapest and best ship

and through that the cheapest unit of transportation. We won when we had that; we lost when we ceased to have it. How and when did we cease to have such ships? The story is simple. Just before the Civil War England, who was fighting a losing fight against us in wooden ships, began to make vessels of iron. She was doubtless far ahead of us in the general manufacture of iron and steel products. Her introduction of the iron ship was the beginning of a revolution in shipping. Unfortunately we did not catch on to this new class of ships. We seemed rather disposed to scout the idea, and England had begun to get the better of us when our Civil War broke out.

During that war we failed to keep step with England's marine, and when the war ended our old vessels, or many of them, had been sold or sunk or were scattered and gone. England's merchant marine was in splendid shape. Her steel and iron ships could beat our old wooden ones both in speed and carrying capacity, and she could build new iron and steel vessels cheaper than we, because she was the greatest manufacturer in the world of the material that went into them. What then happened? Our steel industry was in its beginning, and to protect it we put a heavy duty on the importation of the steel and iron that went into ships, and when we did that we practically forbade our shipbuilders building any competing ships until such time as the American manufacturer should make and sell to him iron and steel at the price paid by the English shipbuilder. And then we continued in force the law which prohibited our merchant from buying and putting under the flag any ship not built in America, and so we foreclosed his opportunity to reenter the struggle for the carrying trade on the ocean. Our shipbuilders could not compete and our merchants could only buy ships here. When the war closed in 1865 we were still carrying in our old left overs, our wooden and sail vessels, between 30 and 40 per cent of our foreign trade. Then our merchant marine began its lingering and final decay; the old ships gradually and one by one wearing out, being abandoned or lost and no new ships being built to take their places. So that when the European war of 1914 came our merchant marine was carrying only between 8 and 10 per cent of our foreign commerce, and a great part of that small per cent was carried in a few vessels subsidized to carry our mails. This is the simple story of the facts; the story of the rise and fall of the American over-seas merchant marine.

From one cause or another very little comprehension of the causes of the early triumph or the later decay of our shipping has been shown in the columns of the press or in our national legislation, but there have been some faint glimmerings now and then, here and there. In 1904 Congress passed an act creating a merchant-marine commission, composed of five Senators and five Representatives, with the duty of investigating and report-ing at its next session what legislation, if any, was desirable for the development of the American merchant marine; and this commission visited and took testimony at all the leading cities of the country. This investigation shows that prior to the of the country. enactment of the Dingley law the handicap of high-priced iron needed by our shipbuilders was partly understood and attempted to be remedied by a clause in that law providing for the admission of shipbuilding material free. Unfortunately, that Congress was so wedded to the idea of protection both for the iron manufacturer and for our coastwise shipping that they lim-Ited the free material to vessels built for foreign ownership or vessels of domestic ownership that should not engage in our coastwise trade more than two months in the year, and so they smothered the feeble purpose to emancipate our shipping by the stronger desire to shelter two favored lines of American industry from competition; and, commenting on the effect of that legislation, the House Committee on the Merchant Marine, Report No. 4136, Fifty-eighth Congress, say:

No American shipowner under present conditions builds a deep-sea ship, even though she be designed primarily for foreign commerce, without considering that he may be glad some day to fall back on the coastwise trade. Therefore this apparently liberal privilege of free materials has not checked the decline of American ocean shipbuilding and has been availed of for the complete construction of only one large steel ship, the Dirigo, built by Arthur Sewall & Co. at Bath, Me. The Messrs, Sewall say that the peculiar status of the Dirigo is the cause of frequent anxiety to them, for if the vessel were to be more than two months on voyage from Puget Sound to Hawaii the duties would have to be paid on the foreign plates, angles, and beams of which she is constructed. American ships continue to be constructed of domestic steel, even when designed for foreign service. This fact lent large Importance to certain testimony in the hearing of June 28, 1904, at Cleveland. Mr. James C, Wallace, then vice president of the American Shipbuilding Co., said:

"Recently one of our largest steel mills sold abroad 100,000 tons of steel nets."

snipouliding Co., said:

"Recently one of our largest steel mills sold abroad 100,000 tons of steel plate. They delivered it, I understand, at Belfast, at \$24 a ton. That would practically mean, with ocean rates as they are, \$22 a ton at tidewater. They are charging us to-day at Pittsburgh \$32 a ton. A differential of \$10 in a ship carrying 5,000 tons is \$50,000."

So it is clear that the free ship material clause of the Dingley law was a fraud, though doubtless not so intended. I will add here that we have at last passed a real free ship material law, one that has no restrictions or limitations on it, and, as a result, our shipbuilders to-day pay no more for their iron and steel material than do the shipbuilders of England. Comment-ing on the testimony of Mr. Wallace and others, the Marine Commission says:

It has been conclusively shown by testimony before this commission that the materials which enter into the construction of ships are sold by our factories and laid down in foreign shipyards for a price far below that charged to our own people,

And they quote a number of shipbuilders, among them John Roach, to the effect that the high cost of iron produced by the tariff upon it is one of the principal difficulties our commerce has to contend with. Mr. Roach said:

If Congress will take off all the duties from American iron, then we are prepared to compete with foreign shipbuilders.

They then proceed to show that the clause in the Dingley Act putting ship materials on the free list was rendered futile by

the restriction put upon the use of the ship.

Gentlemen, I have quoted all this (see hearings before subcommittee of Committee on Naval Affairs, on S. 5259 and H. R. 5980, August, 1914) to show more than one thing: First, to how long we have been trying to solve our merchantmarine problem; second, to show that until now the mountain in labor has only brought forth a mouse; third, to show that putting ship materials on the free list was a fraud if the ship was excluded from our coastwise trade; fourth, by analogy show that putting foreign-built ships under our flag is likewise fraud if they are excluded from our coastwise trade; and fifth, to show that although the American iron producer could sell iron and steel as cheap as the foreign producer, he did not do so until he was compelled to do so, and by analogy to show that although the American shipbuilder, with the cheapest shipbuilding material, both iron and wood, in the world, can compete with the foreign shipbuilder, he will not do so until he is compelled. He will act like the iron producer and demand a higher price for his ship just so long as our exclusion laws give an added value to his ship by permitting it alone to engage in our coastwise trade. We finally put shipbuilding material actually and absolutely on the free list, and the result was our shipbuilders got shipbuilding material just as cheap as the English shipbuilders did, and they got it, moreover, from our own iron and steel manufacturers, and so when we finally put ships on the free list our merchantmen will get them as cheap as does the Britisher, and, moreover, will get them from our own shipbuilders. Perhaps I have not made myself perfectly clear. In the Panama act we authorized American citizens to buy ships built abroad, register them under the American law, and put the American flag over them; but the same act prohibited them from engaging in our coastwise or inland trade absolutely. In passing this law we either fooled ourselves or tried to fool somebody else. If nobody wanted a ship under our flag that could only be used in our coastwise trade two months in the year, as I have shown in connection with what we said about the Dirigo, who would want a ship under our flag that could not be used in the coastwise trade at all? I predicted when we passed the Panama act that no foreign-built ships would come to our flag under it, and none did till the present European war. We ought to have known that, since it was clearly shown by the investigation of the marine commission to which I have re-That commission in 1904 wrote a form letter addressed to the leading ship companies which was as follows:

THE MERCHANT MARINE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C.
Dear Sirs: It is stated in the report of the Commissioner of Navigation for 1902 that you are the owners in whole or in part of several stemmships foreign built and now flying foreign colors.

The Merchant Marine Commission is charged by Congress to ascertain, if possible, the best method of increasing American tonnage in the over-seas trade. Will you kindly state for the information of the commission:

1. Whether you would it so authorized.

the commission:

1. Whether you would, if so authorized by Congress, transfer your foreign-built ships to American registry to engage exclusively in the foreign trade, but to remain without subsidy, differential duty, or any other Government encouragement?

2. Whether you would transfer your foreign-built steamships to American registry if they were admitted to all or part of any subsidy or differential duty granted by our Government, but were still confined to the foreign trade?

3. Whether you would transfer your foreign-built steamships to American registry if no subsidy or differential duty were granted, but if the ships were allowed to enter the coastwise trade on the same terms as other American vessels?

5. Whether, if your foreign-built ships were admitted to American registry, you would also wish to have the privilege of employing alien officers and be exempted from the food scale required by United States

Very truly, yours, WINTHROP L. MARVIN, Secretary, To that letter a good number of such companies made categorical answer. One of the largest companies was W. R. Grace & Co., and their answer was as follows:

NEW YORK, November 2, 1804.

The MERCHANT MARINE COMMISSION, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: We acknowledge yours of the 24th ultimo, and berewith answer questions proposed in the light of existing circumstances and conditions, which may change materially by the time legislation is

In reply to question 1, we reply in the negative.

To question 2 we reply that we would probably if entitled to full

sibsidy.
No. 3 we answer affirmatively.

No. 5. We would prefer to have the privilege of employing aliens for positions below captain and chief engineers, but would not object to compliance with United States law respecting food scale.

Yours, truly,

W. R. GRACE & Co., Per A. D. SNOW.

There were differences in the answers as to other questions, but every answer was the same as to the first question. They all answered that they would not put their foreign-built ships under our flag if they were to be excluded from our coastwise trade, but I am sure that many of them, like W. R. Grace & Co., would put them under our flag if permitted to engage in the coastwise trade. I am deeply in earnest about this matter. There never was or can be a better time for us to make a new beginning and start out on right lines. All past values in the shipping business are upset.

The market value of a ship depends solely upon how much she can carry and how fast and safely she can carry it. She can find all the cargo she can carry in almost any direction. When this war is ended there will be a general readjustment and bringing back of order out of chaos. New lines and new trade will be established. Every ocean will be a battlefield commercially and every port of the world will be a fortress to be taken. What place and rank among the nations will we take in the struggle? We can take first place by pursuing the right policy. We can take last place, and we will take it, if we yield to the importunities and greed of the shipbuilding and present coastwise shipowning interests in boosting the price of Americanbuilt ships by giving them alone the right to engage in our coasting trade. We can do that, and so withdraw our flag from the over-seas trade, or we can say to our commerce, "You are free. The chains of a half century are stricken from your limbs; go forward, enter the battle for commercial supremacy." It is going to be war. The warfare of peace. The war that strengthens and heals nations; but to the strong, the swift, the efficient will come the victory, and the victory will bring a thousand blessings to the victor. I hope we will not enter the conflict provided with any but the best weapons. The very best of all weapons in this warfare is going to be the cheapest ships and cheapest unit of transportation. I repeat, because I want you to see it and because it is true and clear, that if you give any class of ships the exclusive privilege of engaging in our coastwise trade, the greatest coastwise trade in the world, that privilege is going to give that class of ships a higher price than ships of equal intrinsic value. If in fact you put two twin ships on the market, one having and the other not having that privilege, the one will easily sell for 10, 20, or perhaps 50 per cent more than the other, and therefore you must see that if that privilege is given only to American-built ships, American-built ships will continue to be the highest-priced ships in the world, and our merchant marine will continue to be hampered by its inability to compete on account of its high-priced ships; and if we enter this great commercial warfare with our law standing as it now stands, excluding all foreign-built vessels from our coastwise trade, we are beaten before the battle is joined, and we may as well prepare to fall back to the shameful place we had in August, 1914. I want us to repeal that antiquated law, and permit every ship that flies our flag, owned by our citizens, to carry our commerce anywhere, everywhere. If we do that, I will show you a different picture. Every ship needed will seek our flag, and every ship that flies it once will keep it till driven out by better ships or lack of cargo in both our domestic and foreign trade, because it will have the great advantage of being permitted to carry both.

Our shipyards, like our iron and steel plants, will enlarge their capacities and they will build new type standardized ships, equipped with modern appliances and machinery, with oil-burning Diesel engines, with labor-saving and space-saving devices, and they will build ships for us and the world, just as we did prior to 1860. Discussing the subject of our shipbuilding before our committee, Secretary Redfield furnished a letter from

E. Platt Stratton, supervisor of the American bureau of shipping, from which I quote:

ping, from which I quote:

Signs multiply of a disposition in the United States so to standardize the construction of cargo types of steamships as greatly to reduce their cost. This tendency is to be encouraged in every way possible, since its successful development will go a long way toward making the United States entirely independent of other countries in the construction of the ships in its foreign carrying.

The motive power for such standardized vessels for fixed rates of speed can be reliably furnished as specialities of manufacture in duplication in the same manner in which standard types of pumps, turbines, and internal-combustion engines are now manufactured and supplied by such establishments as the General Electric Co.

STREE, MILES AS INITIAL SHIPBILLDING PLANTS.

STEEL MILLS AS INITIAL SHIPBUILDING PLANTS.

Our country's great steel works now possess the facilities in capacity, if not in detail, for furnishing the finest shipbuilding material at as low prices as that of any other country.

The perfection of the various details in ship construction herein referred to in outline will doubtless quickly bring the United States to the front as the first shipbuilding nation of the earth in the production of standard cargo carriers unequaled by any other nation possessed of like commercial facilities, to which our unlimited quantities of cheap materials will greatly contribute. With cargo carriers thus under such good headway our shippards will gradually become expert in the construction of all the types of merchapt ships that go to make up a general marine. The opportunity and all of the accessories necessary for success are now ours.

He then submitted minute description of the type of vessel which can be built wholesale in our steel plants and shipyards, and full memoranda showing its elements of saving over ordinary existing ships, by reduction of wage cost from smaller num-ber of men required, by less cost of fuel for operation, and I give his third item in full:

his third item in full:

Gain in freight-carrying capacity, owing to less space occupied by the propelling machinery and less space necessary for storing fuel, which, it has been demanstrated, can be carried in a ship's double bottom—a space in steam-propelled vessels heretofore utilized only for water ballast. The increased capacity incident to Diesel-engined ships is variously estimated by writers on the subject as from 5 to 10 per cent on the dead-weight cargo rating. To be well within conservative limits, the assumption is made in the typical ship that her dead-weight capacity is increased from 7.880 to 8.280 tons (400 tons), a trifle over 5 per cent. Prior to the existing war the freight rates between Chile and the United States, on the average of all bulk commodities, is shown by the Consular Reports to have been approximately \$12 per ton. At the present time they have increased about \$0 per cent over that figure, and in the case of nitrates, the principal article of export, the increase has been 100 per cent. Again, taking a conservative estimate, we will assume an average freight rate of but \$8 per ton, weight or measurement. In a 400-ton increase in capacity this will amount to \$3.200 per one-way voyage, or \$32.000 per annum for five round trips, in favor of the typical ship having Diesel engines.

If any man will study the facts given in the majority report

If any man will study the facts given in the majority report filed with the shipping bill at this session he can not doubt that our steel plants and shipyards acting in concert can build the best and cheapest cargo carriers in the world; and no man doubts they will do it if they must. And when they have done that, our shipmasters and seamen will do the rest. Our flag will again float everywhere in triumph as it did up to 1861

There is one other question I ought not to pass over in silence. It has been contended for years by subsidists that our ships can not compete with foreign ships without a subsidy, because we pay so much higher wages than the foreigner pays; and they say we pay higher wages because this is a higher-wage country and our citizens demand a higher scale of living. Under the old law there may have been some truth in this claim, because a foreign ship, employing its crew in its home port, signed them up for a round-trip voyage to any port of the United States and back again. The crew was, of course, employed at the rate of wages prevailing in its home port. When the ship entered the American port, however low its wages, the crew could not leave the ship, because under the law and treaties as they were if they did so the shipmaster, through his consul, applied to our courts and officers, secured a writ for their arrest, and had them taken as criminals and placed back on board the ship. This was the last relic of a barbarous age, the last surviving example of imprisonment for the violation of a civil contract, and the sole remaining example of involuntary servitude or slavery existing among civilized nations. This barbarous law was repealed by the seamen's act, approved by the President March Under that act no seaman can be arrested for desertion in the United States. The result is that seamen of all nationalities on all ships under all flags are now free when their vessels enter the harbors of the United States. They can not be compelled to continue in the service of masters who pay pauper Now, it was clearly shown to our committee that the contract price or wage for seamen is always determined, not by the flag of the ship but by the scale of wage of the port at which he takes service. Therefore if an English or German ship finds it necessary to engage a seaman in New York, it is compelled to pay the same wage an American ship pays, and if an American ship hires a seaman in Liverpool or Bremen he will pay the same wage the English or German ship pays in those ports. I have contended and believe that it is impossible to

work two free men side by side in the same line of business, they being equally skilled, without paying them substantially equal wages. If there were any law requiring that seamen on American vessels should be American citizens, it would be different; but there is no such law. The world market is open to the shipmaster to employ his seamen wherever he can get them, and our law, the seamen's act, puts the American shipmaster on an equal footing with every other shipmaster entering our ports in the

matter of securing and retaining his crew.

Practical operation of that law has scarcely begun, and yet its tendency to equalize wages is strongly shown by the report of Mr. Andrew Furuseth recently handed me. That report shows that the majority of American vessels at the port of Boston pay sailors \$45 per month; firemen, \$50 per month, 40 cents per hour overtime, and if they go into war zone 25 per cent additional. He visited English and Norwegian consulates there and found their vessels paying \$45 for sailors and \$45 to \$50 to firemen. In New York he found the same wages paid by the Morgan, the Grace, the United Fruit Co. lines under our flag, and the Lamport & Holt, the Prince, the Booth, and the Union Castle lines, which are under foreign flags. At Philadelphia he found nearly all American vessels paying sallors \$45, and firemen \$50 and 40 cents per hour overtime. He states that the Clyde Line and Merchants & Miners' Line pay what they have to, sometimes \$40, some times \$45 per month. He goes at length into the wage matter, and I can not, of course, include his report in full, but I think it demonstrates that vessels engaged in trade to our ports have come or are coming to a level wage scale. Of course there is going to be an effort on the part of owners to secure cheap labor and every possible device will be resorted to to that end, but the foreign shipowner will be no more determined to secure cheap labor than the American shipowner nor will he have any greater opportunity or power than the American shipowner. I believe it will be found under the new order of things and in this new struggle that is coming for commercial supremacy that that ship company, whether American or foreign, will succeed best which uses the best ship, cost and transportation capacity considered, and employs the best skilled and character of seamen at fair and reasonable compensation; that such a ship so manned will turn out the cheapest unit of transportation and prove its ability to live under the law of "survival of the fittest."

Mr. Chairman, I have said little definitely about the administration's ship-purchase and shipping-board bill which we are now considering. We have come to a period similar to two other periods in our history. In respect to the disturbed and chaotic condition of the shipping of the world this period is much like the period of the Napoleonic wars, and the advantage offered to our shipping now from that 'ause are very much the same as those we enjoyed then. Then we used them splendidly and when that war was ended we continued to increase the prosperity of our merchant marine. The other period to which I direct attention is the period from 1855 to 1865. During that period a revolution in shipping began by the introduction of the iron and steel ship, and by reason of our being engaged in war and of our resorting to restrictive measures instead of freeing our merchant marine that resolution resulted in our being driven

from the seas as international carriers.

Now, another shipping revolution is at hand. The new type of vessel, the internal-combustion engine, a whole catalogue of modern devices in machinery and equipment for handling and loading and unloading vessels, presents a greater advantage for the new construction over the old than did the iron and steel ship have over the wooden vessel in 1855. We are free to adopt all that is new and economical and most efficient. We have no old ships and old machinery to be discarded, and therefore nothing to prevent us from adopting the best of everything in shipping. If private capital were not timid but were willing to go into the enterprise, there would be no need for the Government coming to the front, but private enterprise does fear. They have seen our flag droop so long they are lacking in confidence, and they know our law still continues the shipbuilding monopoly. They will not venture, and so the Government must not only point the way but lead the way. When the Government builds or buys its \$50,000,000 worth of ships of the kind I have been speaking of, it will, to a large extent, meet a great demand for transportation which no private enterprise seems to be ready to meet. But that is not all. Private owners to-day, taking advantage of the hard necessities of our people, are charging such enormous rates as almost stagger our common sense of Under the bill in question the Government may not only by the operation of its own vessels stabilize rates, but it may regulate them fairly and justly through its shipping board. And that is not all. When the Government has invested this \$50,000,000 in these new ships, in my judgment, whether they are

operated by private corporations under the direction of the board or by a corporation the stock of which is owned by the Government, their operation will prove such a magnificent and triumphant success that private capital will be given the confidence it now seems to lack and American shipping take new life. In my judgment, when the board has built these vessels, private corporations will fall over each other to secure them by lease or purchase from the board under the terms of the bill. In a way these vessels furnished by the board will greatly aid corporations and private capital which secures them by practically furnishing the capital required to construct the vessels at a lower rate of interest than could be obtained elsewhere. When the original \$50,000,000 has been invested and the original vessels have been sold or leased, the proceeds may be again invested, and will be so invested by the board in the buying or building of other vessels. It will thus be a revolving fund bringing forth ship after ship, helpful always to private enterprose and beyond all question constitute the greatest of all factors in the building up of a merchant marine that will carry our commerce under our flag to the four quarters of the earth. That will open up new trades, help our merchants and manufacturers in establishing markets for their wares in all the lands from which we have heretofore been so nearly excluded, and at the same time under the regulatory provisions of this bill the shipping board will break down the combinations and monopolies that have of late years absorbed all the shipping lines of the world.

If they do not fully break up those combinations they will at least, to a large extent, destroy the evil practices and the oppressive practices that have recently held commerce and in-dustry in the grasp of the shipping combine. In these respects the bill speaks for itself without my going over it and pointing out its details. After long investigation, our committee unanimously concluded that just and fair regulation was absolutely essential to prevent the oppressions and malpractices of unre-strained combination or monopoly. Time and the exercise of strained combination or monopoly. Time and the exercise of the powers granted the board will vindicate the wisdom of the committee and of the Congress in proposing and passing this law. To illustrate the necessity of such a law I will only quote one letter, though I might quote hundreds of similar tenor. The letter follows:

DECEMBER 8, 1915.

The letter follows:

Hon. WILLIAM G. McAddo,

Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.

Sir: * * We are desirous that you become thoroughly cognizant of the serious injury which the steamship monopoly plying out of here is causing our commerce and the export of the United States proper, the last exemplification being an arbitrary increase of 150 per cent on Porto Rico sugar destined to the United States.

In addition to this the steamship companies, and more particularly the New York & Porto Rico Steamship Co., have announced publicly that beginning with January 3, 1916, they purpose making changes in other freigats between the United States and Porto Rico. They do not specify the tendency of such changes, but we have received information from private but reliable sources that the same will consist of an increase of 25 to 30 per cent over the already high rates charged.

The most adverse feature from the viewpoint of our trade interests is the fact that having developed a plan—the outgrowth of one year's study and labor—to start our own steamship line at this time, the combine has threatened to wage a relentless and ruinous rate war if we venture to carry our plan into execution.

This is why we feel emboldened to crave the protection of the United States Government, so that our interests may not be left open to the attacks of the steamship monopoly, which, actuated by inordinate greed, seeks to sweep aside all attempts to establish reasonable freights, and why we respectfully petition that a recommendation be made to the Congress to enact legislation regulating the freight rates between Porto Rico and the United States under the supervision of the national Executive.

Such an act of Congress would be the greatest boon that could be

Executive.

Such an act of Congress would be the greatest boon that could be conferred upon the trade element and people of Porto Rico, and the chamber of commerce therefore prays that you will interpose your valuable influence to such end.

We ask you, Mr. McAdoo, kindly to pardon our insistence, but you will admit that in order to procure justice it must be sought through the proper channel.

Respectfully,

ISBALL,

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF PORTO RICO.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF PORTO RICO, By B. ZALDUONDO, President.

I ought not to omit a paragraph in the bill which requires the shipping board to investigate certain things, among them the cost of shipbuilding here and abroad. Let us hope and believe that they will find that our shipbuilders are fully able to build the cheapest and best ships in the world, and that in the interest of our commerce and our merchant marine they shall advise us to remove all restrictions from our shipping and allow our mer-chantmen, like those of other nations, to buy their ships where

they may buy them cheapest.

And I must not omit the fact that under this bill a great naval auxiliary will be provided. Our Navy to-day is like an army without provision for food supplies. It is said that an army without provision for good supplies, it is said that an army without provision for food supplies. travels on its stomach. So a navy travels on its auxiliaries. We are to-day without them, and this bill will provide them.

This bill is, in truth, of greater value as a preparedness measure in case of war than the bill now ready to be submitted by the Naval Affairs Committee.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, our merchants, our manufacturers, our miners, our farmers have all been interested and are all anxious and praying that something be done to reestablish our merchant marine. The Republican Party has boasted that it was the party of constructive statesmanship. They have scornfully denounced the Democratic Party as incompetent, as in-capable of any constructive legislation. We are showing to our people that the Republican boast and denunciation are both false. For 50 years they had with them the problems of a defective banking and currency law, and they utterly failed to solve them. For a long time they have had the question of rural credits. They have done nothing to solve it. They have done nothing, in fact, for the last 20 years save to dwell on and boast of their deeds of the past and fail to meet the issues of the present. They have had the problems of our dead or dying merchant marine on hand during all the years they were in power after the great War of the Sixties, and they have done nothing to solve those problems. They have stood helplessly and idly by while our flag faded from the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. We have passed a banking and currency act which, if it stood alone, would justify our four years' administration. We have passed a tariff act only less remarkable because it applied to a subject more generally and intelligently appreciated. We have passed numbers of other laws of wide and wholesome application. We have passed an act to establish a rural-credit system. have taken a definite stand on the question of ultimate Philippine independence. And now, last but not least, we are passing this shipping bill, which will be one of the great monuments that will stand out to mark the first administration of Woodrow Wilson as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, since the administration of George Washington in the history of the Government of the United States.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAMUEL J. TRIBBLE.

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 17, 1916.

Mr. TRIBBLE. Mr. Speaker, this rural-credit bill appropriates the sum of \$9,000,000 for the purpose of loaning money to the farmers. This amount is intended to finance the ruralcredit banking system provided in the bill and assure the success of the institution. The many millions of dollars necessary to supply the demand for farm loans will flow into the treasury of the rural-credit banks from the sale of bonds issued on the security of the farmers who deposit their land mortgages with the rural-credit banks.

METHOD OF RURAL-CREDIT BANKS.

1. The rural-credits board located in Washington, composed of three members, has complete control and supervision of the rural-credits banks.

2. The United States is divided into 12 districts. The 12 banks, located centrally in these districts, are known as Federal land banks. The minimum capital stock of the Federal land banks is \$750,000. The stock in the Federal land bank is placed on the market for sale. If not purchased in 90 days, the Government purchases the stock sufficient to finance the institution. The Government will not share in the profits. The stockholders of the Federal land banks share in the profits.

3. Local organizations are authorized and chartered. These local organizations are known as national farm-loan associa-The national farm-loan association is composed exclusively of borrowers. No person not a borrower can become a member of the farm-loan association. Ten farmers desiring to borrow can organize this association. The membership is un-limited, but must contain not less than 10. The local associa-tion shall elect five directors. The association shall also elect a president, vice president, loan committee of three, and a secretary-treasurer. No officer of the local association shall receive a salary except the secretary-treasurer.

HOW LOANS ARE SECURED.

Loans are secured by organizing a national farm-loan association composed of 10 or more farmers desiring to secure loans. The minimum loan is \$100 and maximum is \$10,000. borrower is required to make application for loan accompanied with subscription for stock in the local association. For this stock he pays \$5 per share. One share authorizes loan of \$100. If a borrower desires a loan of \$1,000 he must purchase 10 shares, or \$50 worth of stock. This purchase of stock is not a cash transaction unless borrowers so desire, but is added to the loan and paid with other deferred payments. The application, subscription of stock, and description of land is forwarded to the Federal land bank. The Federal land bank orders an examination of title and appraisement of the land. If the appraisement is satisfactory and the title good, the loan is made and the money sent to the secretary-treasurer of the local association to be paid to borrower.

AMOUNT, INTEREST, RATE, AND TERMS.

The borrower may secure 60 per cent of the value of the land and 20 per cent of the value of improvement on the land, making a total of 80 per cent. The amount of interest charged depends on the sale of the bonds. In no case can the interest exceed 6 per cent, and it is expected that the rate will be less. The deferred payments may be from 5 to 36 years, as desired by borrower.

REPAYMENT (AMORTIZATION) PLAN.

The principal and interest is paid annually. These annual payments contain both principal and interest, called amortization payments. Under the present system of loaning money the interest only is collected on deferred payments. For instance, should a loan be made for \$1,000 at 6 per cent for the term of 20 years, at the end of 20 years \$1,200 will have been paid in annual payments as interest and the \$1,000 principal remains unpaid. If the interest rate charged should be 8 per cent on \$1,000, for 20 years the annual interest payments would amount to \$1,600, and the principal of \$1,000 would still be unpaid at the end of 20 years. The amortization plan provided in the bill will be easily understood by the following table, showing loan on \$1,000 for 20 years at 5 per cent:

Annual periods.	Total annual payment.	Interest at 5 per -cent.	Paid on principal.	Amount of prin- cipal still unpaid.
1	\$80.24	\$50.00	\$30.24	\$969.76
2	80.24	48, 48	31.75	938.00
8	80. 24	46.90	33.34	904.67
4	80.24	45.23	35.01	869.66
5	80.24	43.48	36.76	832.90
6	80.24	41.64	38.59	794.31
7	80.24	39.71	40.52	753.79
8	80.24	37.68	42.55	711.23
9	80.24	35.56	44.68	666.56
10	80.24	33.32	46.91	619.64
11	80.24	30.98	49.26	570.39
12	80.24	28.51	51.72	518. 67
13	80.24	25.93	54.31	464.36
14	80. 24	23. 21	57.02	407.34
15	80.24	- 20.36	59.87	347.46
16	80.24	17.37	62.87	284.60
17	80.24	14.23	66.01	218.59
18	80. 24	10.93	69.31	149.28
19	80. 24	7.46	72.78	76.50
20	80.24	3.82	76.50	
Total	1,604.80	604.80	1,000.00	

It will be seen by this calculation on the amortization plan that \$1,604.80 will pay both principal and interest.

LIABILITY OF THE BORROWER.

The farmer is interested in knowing his personal responsibility before becoming a stockholder in the national farm-loan association. The borrower is liable for 10 per cent of the amount of his loan. In other words, he is liable for double the amount of his stock. If he borrows \$1,000, he owns 5 shares. The shares represent \$50. His liability can not exceed double that amount, or \$100, on \$1,000. The stock owned by the borrower is filed with the association, and when the debt is discharged the value of the stock and accumulated dividends must be paid the borrower.

HOW MONEY IS SECURED FROM BONDS.

When loans are made bonds are sold in the market to the highest bidder. The borrower does not get the same rate for which the bonds are sold; 1 per cent is retained by the Federal land banks to be used in paying expenses first and then dividends on outstanding stock. As business increases and bond sales are

very large the stock of investors in the farm-land banks are retired, and it is represented that the investors' stock will be retired in a few years. When the investors' stock is eliminated, then the borrowers' stock will draw the dividends and there will be no investors' stock participating in the dividends, and the borrowers' stock becomes valuable as an investment.

If bonds sell for 4 per cent, the borrower's loan will be for 5 per cent. If the bonds sell for 4½ per cent, the interest of loan will be 5½ per cent, and so on. No interest charged the borrower can exceed 6 per cent, and may be much less, according to the price of the bonds sold. Funds are secured by the sale of bonds to loan the farmers. The farm mortgages of individuals desiring loans are assembled into collective security, and upon this collective security farm bonds are issued and sold. The bonds are sound and safe, and should sell as well as Government bonds.

GOVERNMENT AID.

The Government appropriates \$9,000,000 to assure the organization of the rural-credit system. This may be used before funds are obtained by the sale of bonds. The board is also authorized to call on the Secretary of the Treasury for Government deposits in case the Federal land banks need assistance.

Furthermore, the Government pays the salaries of officers of the Federal land banks and the expenses of such banks, and exempts all stock and bonds of the rural-credit banks from taxation.

PURPOSES OF LOANS.

Loans may be made to purchase land, equipment, live stock, general farm improvement, and pay off indebtedness on farm. If the borrower uses the money for other purposes, a penalty is imposed and the loan becomes due. No person not engaged in farming or in good faith intending to become an actual farmer can secure a loan or become a member of the farm-loan association.

The foregoing contains a brief synopsis of the rural credit bill, to which the Government contributes financial aid in money.

JOINT-STOCK LAND BANKS.

The bill also authorizes the organization of joint-stock companies for the purpose of making loans on farms. The Government contributes no money to the joint-stock company and purchases no stock of same. Joint-stock land banks are organized and financed by persons seeking the stock of the bank as an investment. The capital stock must be at least \$250,000 paid-in cash before a charter is granted. The joint-stock bank is authorized to issue bonds on land mortgage in the same manner as the Federal land banks. The interest rate charged by the joint-stock company shall not exceed 6 per cent. The interest charged shall not exceed 1 per cent over the amount of interest for which the bonds were sold. If the bonds sell for 4 per cent, the interest charged shall be 5 per cent, and so on.

CAPITAL STOCK IS TAXABLE.

The joint-stock land banks are relieved of tax in the same manner the Federal land banks are relieved, except the capital stock of the joint-stock land banks may be taxed. They operate on the same priciple. The material difference consists in the fact that Federal land banks are operated by the Government. and the borrowing farmer gets the profits, while in the jointstock company the borrower does not share in the profits, and all dividends are paid to the shareholders who invested their money in the joint-stock company. No stock is issued to the borrower in the joint-stock company. The borrower has no liability for losses in the joint-stock company. Instead of giving the borrower the same interest for which bonds are sold, 1 per cent more is charged the borrower. After paying the expenses this 1 per cent belongs to the borrower under the Federal penses this 1 per cent belongs to the bollows. Indeed, the land-banking system, while in the joint-stock company the 1 per land-banking system, while in the joint-stock company the 1 per land-banking system. cent is applied to investors' stock after paying expenses. borrower owns the Federal land banks. He is not only interested in repaying his loan but he is interested in the proper management of the Federal land banks and his local organization because of the value of his stock. The borrower is not interested in the dividends of the joint-stock land banks and assumes no responsibility for losses,

FARM BONDS.

The Federal land banks are granted the privilege of selling farm-loan bonds to the amount equal to twenty times their capital. The joint-stock land banks are granted the same privilege to the amount equal to fifteen times their capital and surplus. Address Delivered by Hon. Robert Lansing Before the Jefferson County Bar Association at Watertown, N. Y., June 3, 1916.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM A. CULLOP,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, June 12, 1916.

Mr. CULLOP. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record I include an address delivered by Hon. Robert Lansing before the Jefferson County Bar Association at Watertown, N. Y., June 3, 1916.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY HON. ROBERT LANSING REFORE THE JEFFERSON COUNTY BAR ASSOCIATION AT WATERTOWN, N. Y., JUNE 3, 1916.

Gentlemen, it is my privilege to-night, here in my home city and before so large a gathering of distinguished members of the bench and bar of northern New York, to speak to you very briefly concerning the foreign affairs of this country. I know the deep interest which you all take in the subject, and I am glad of the opportunity to remove some of the misapprehensions which seem to exist and to present certain thoughts as to the difficulties in the international situation which I believe worthy of your careful consideration.

The great war has caused so many conditions which are entirely new and presented so many questions which were never before raised or even thought of that it has been no easy task to meet and answer them. The relations between neutrals and belligerents were never more difficult of adjustment. It was never harder to preserve neutral rights from invasion by the desperate opponents in the titanic conflict in which the power, if not the life, of the great empires of the earth is at stake, The peoples and governments at war are blinded by passion; their opinions are unavoidably biased; their conduct is frequently influenced by hysterical impulses, which approach to madness. Patience and forbearance are essential to a neutral government in dealing with such hations. Acts which under normal conditions would be most offensive must be considered calmly and without temper. It is an extraordinary situation and requires extraordinary treatment, with a due regard for the mental state of those who are straining every nerve to defeat their enemies, and to that end using every possible means to weaken them in their industrial as well as their military power.

In a nutshell the situation of our relations with Great Britain and Germany, the two powers with which we have had our prin-

cipal controversies, is this:

Germany, having developed the submarine as an effective engine of destruction, asserts that she can not, on account of the resulting conditions, conform to the established rules of naval warfare, and we should not, therefore, insist on strict compliance. Great Britain has no sympathy with the German point of view and demands that the submarines observe the rules of visit and search without exception.

On the other hand, Great Britain declares that on account of the new conditions resulting from submarine activity and the use of mines and from the geographical position of Germany, she can not conform to the established rules of blockade and contraband, and we should not, therefore, here to strict com-

pliance with those rules. Germany insists, nevertheless, that Great Britain be made to follow the existing law.

Both Governments have adopted the same arguments, based primarily on military necessity, and offer the same excuses for their illegal acts, but neither will admit that the other is in any way justified for its conduct. Now, what is the United States to do in these circumstances? If we admit the arguments advanced are sound—and I am sure no one will deny that they are more or less reasonable—and submit to changes in the rules of naval warfare, we will be without any standard of neutral rights. Conceding that the rules can be modified by a belligerent to meet new conditions, how far can a belligerent go in changing the rules? Would not the liberties of neutrals on the high seas be at the mercy of every belligerent? As it is, under the old rules neutrals suffer enough when a state of war exists. They should not be further restricted in the exercise of their rights.

The only alternative, therefore, is for this Government to hold firmly to those neutral rights which international law has clearly defined and to insist vigorously on their observance by all belligerents. In not the slightest degree can the settled rules be

modified unless all the parties interested consent to the modifications.

If Germany finds it difficult or impossible to conform submarine warfare to the international naval code, that is her misfortune; or, if Great Britain finds it equally difficult to obey the rules of blockade and contraband, that is her misfortune. They certainly can not expect neutral nations to submit without resistance to further invasions of their rights.

This has been the position of the United States from the beginning of the war. It has twice sought to obtain mutual consent from the belligerents to certain changes in the rules, but in both cases it failed and the suggestions were withdrawn.

It is true that the rights violated by the belligerents may differ in importance and therefore require different treatment. Thus the violation of the natural right of life is a much more serious offense against an individual and against his nation than the violation of the legal right of property. There is not and can not be adequate recompense for the wrongful destruction of life, but property losses may be satisfied by the payment of indemnities. If one belligerent violates the right of life and another belligerent violates the right of property, can you doubt for a moment which one gives this Government the greatest concern, or which one will call forth the more vigorous protest and the more earnest effort to prevent repetitions of the offense?

A government which places life and property on an equality would be generally condemned, and justly condemned. This seems to me an axiom, and yet, I regret to say, there are some Americans who do not recognize this difference. How many take this view it is impossible to say, but the number is not insignificant, judging by the letters and telegrams received in Washington. Indeed, it is held by some who sit in the Halls of Congress. These people openly complain that the Government does not exert as much pressure to protect American property as it does to protect American lives—property, which can be restored to the owners or an indemnity paid; lives, which can never be restored or adequately indemnified.

This mental attitude makes one wonder if the sensibilities of the American people have become so blunted by materialism that they think as much of the loss of their property as they do of the loss of the lives of their fellow countrymen. Such an idea is repugnant to a liberty-loving American; it is utterly wanting in the nobler impulses of a great people; it is hostile to the spirit of true Americanism. Yet it exists and is widespread and must

be reckoned with.

With the knowledge that a number of citizens prefer to have their material interests protected even to the extent of not insisting on our rights, the conduct of our foreign relations is made the more difficult. How extensive this influence is no one can say with certainty. That it exists at all is bad enough, for it shows that we do not all think true; that the great heart of the Republic is threatened with fatty degeneracy through those who have lost their patriotic vigor; that many Americans have become lovers of ease rather than lovers of national honor.

This attitude of mind of a portion of our people, as I sald, increases the difficulties of diplomacy. It is almost impossible to present a strong and unbending front in a controversy unless a united and determined nation is behind you, for the knowledge that our people are not a unit in supporting a vigorous policy encourages a foreign Government to resist our protests, feeling sure that we must withdraw or modify them. It is not a pleasant position. I firmly believe that the American people, awakening to the situation, will one of these days crush out this influence and become as they should be and really are at heart a great united Nation, jealous of their rights and eager to defend their honor regardless of personal sacrifice. Americanism, with ali that that term implies of patriotism, loyalty, and zeal, must be from this time forth the great standing policy of this Republic.

I wish that it was proper for me to tell you of other matters which frequently have to be considered in dealing with diplomatic questions. International politics are to a very large extent beneath the surface and do not apparently influence this Government's diplomatic action. Nevertheless, they do affect such action in many ways and more strongly than is supposed. Of course it would be unwise to disclose this knowledge or to give in every case the reason why a certain policy is adopted. Possibly the apparent reason does not seem a good one, and the Government is criticized for its action. As it can not give the real reason, it must bear criticism without murmuring, in the hope that the future will justify its policy.

When you disapprove of some course of action taken by this Government, be lenient in your judgment, for very often the action is the result of conditions which can not be made public and which may never be made public. It is always my wish,

and I know that it is the wish of the President, to take the people into our confidence, to tell them frankly what the situation is, but you must realize that it can not be done in every They must try to be patient and to trust the Government to do the very best it can in upholding the national honor and

I would like to go more into detail regarding foreign affairs. I would like to say something about the Mexican situation, about the submarine controversy, about the censorship of mails, about the British orders in council, about Pan Americanism and the proposed Pan American treaty. But each of these subjects would require all of the time which I have used, and even more, to give a full review; and only a full review would be worth while. I would like to do so here if anywhere, because it would be a satisfaction to have you know many things which have never been published, but which are very essential to a correct understanding of the questions and the difficulties which they

Let me add just a word. When the foreign policies of the Government are criticized by honest critics—I mean by "honest" Government are criticized by honest critics—I mean by "honest" critics those who are not influenced solely by political considerations or personal ambitions—I often wonder what the critics would do if they had the responsibility. Would they be so bellicose? Would they make demands when it was questionable whether they could compel compliance? Would they count the full cost of their action? I wonder whether they would be radical or conservative? Responsibility makes a world of difference in a man's point of view. When a few words may plunge this country into war, the man who has the power to utter those words will think a long, long time before he exercises that nower words will think a long, long time before he exercises that power. He will submit to a deal of criticism and endure abuse and ridi-cule rather than see the young men of America sent forth to die on the battle field. Only the supreme necessity of maintaining the honor of the United States or of defending its independence and the liberties of its people will induce him to speak the fateful words which may bring death to thousands of his fellow countrymen and change the destiny of the Republic.

Those who are prone to blame the Government because it does not demand and threaten ought to consider very seriously what would mean to the Nation if their wishes were carried out. If they were responsible for the consequences, would they give the counsel which as private citizens they are so ready to give?

I know that you, my friends and associates, all patriotic and thoughtful Americans, sympathize with me in the responsibilities which to-day rest upon me as Secretary of State. What-ever may happen in the uncertainties of the future, I know that I can come back here assured of your friendly judgment and of a just estimate of the motives which have inspired my acts. Your friendship and your confidence I prize most highly. I hope that I may always merit them. .

The Income Tax Constitutional Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAT HARRISON. OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Monday, June 12, 1916.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the message that Justice Hughes sent to the Legislature of the State of New York in January, 1910, asking the State of New York not to ratify the income tax constitutional amendment.

The message is as follows:

SPECIAL MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNOR SUBMITTING TO THE LEGISLATURE CERTIFIED COPY OF A RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS ENTITLED "JOINT RESOLUTION PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES."

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, Albany, January 5, 1910.

To the Legislature:

I have received from the Secretary of State of the United States a certified copy of a resolution of Congress entitled "Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States," and in accordance with his request I submit it to your honorable body for such action as may be had thereon.

The amendment proposed by this joint resolution, adopted by two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, is as follows:

ART. XVI. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States and without regard to any census or enumeration.

The power to lay a tax upon incomes, without apportionment, was long supposed to be possessed by the Federal Gov-ernment and has been repeatedly exercised. Such taxes were laid and paid for the purpose of meeting the exigencies caused by the Civil War.

In 1895, in the case of Pollock v. Farmers' Loan & Trust Co. (158 U. S., 601), the United States Supreme Court decided that taxes on the rents or income of real estate and taxes on personal property or on the income of personal property are direct taxes, and hence under the Constitution can not be imposed without apportionment among the several States according to their respective populations.

It was not the function of the court and it did not attempt to decide whether or not a Federal income tax was desirable. It simply interpreted the Constitution according to the judgment of the majority of its members and left the question of the advisability of conferring such a power upon the Federal Government to be determined in the constitutional method.

The limitations so placed upon the Federal taxing power are thus described by Mr. Justice Harlan in his dissenting opinion:

thus described by Mr. Justice Harlan in his dissenting opinion:

Any attempt upon the part of Congress to apportion among the States, upon the basis simply of their population, taxation of personal property or of incomes would tend to arouse such indignation among the freemen of America that it would never be repeated. When, therefore, this court adjudges, as it does now adjudge, that Congress can not impose a duty or tax upon personal property, or upon income arising either from rents of real estate or from personal property, including invested personal property, bonds, stocks, and investments of all kinds, except by apportioning the sum to be so raised among the States according to population, it practically decides that, without an amendment of the Constitution—two-thirds of both Houses of Congress and three-fourths of the States concurring—such property and incomes can never be made to contribute to the support of the National Government. (Id., pp. 671, 672.) * *

Incomes arising from trades, employments, callings, and professions can be taxed, under the rule of uniformity or equality, by both the National Government and the respective State governments, while incomes from property, bonds, stocks, and investments can not, under the present decision, be taxed by the National Government, except under the impracticable rule of apportionment among the States according to population. No sound reason for such a discrimination has been or can be suggested. (Id., p. 680.)

I am in favor of conferring upon the Federal Government the power to lay and collect an income tax without apportionment among the States according to population. I believe that this power should be held by the Federal Government, so as properly to equip it with the means of meeting national exigencies.

But the power to tax incomes should not be granted in such terms as to subject to Federal taxation the incomes derived from bonds issued by the State itself or those issued by municipal governments organized under the State's authority. 'To place the borrowing capacity of the State and of its governmental agencies at the mercy of the Federal taxing power would be an impairment of the essential rights of the State which, as its officers, we are bound to defend.

You are called upon to deal with a specific proposal to amend the Constitution, and your action must necessarily be determined not by a general consideration of the propriety of a just Federal income tax or of giving to the Federal Government the power to lay such a tax, but whether or not the particular proposal is of such a character as to warrant your assent.

This proposal is that the Federal Government shall have the power to lay and collect taxes on incomes "from whatever source derived."

It is to be borne in mind that this is not a mere statute, to be construed in the light of constitutional restrictions, express or implied, but a proposed amendment to the Constitution itself, which, if ratified, will be in effect a grant to the Federal Government of the power which it defines.

The comprehensive words, "from whatever source derived," if taken in their natural sense, would include not only incomes from ordinary real or personal property, but also incomes derived from State and municipal securities.

It may be urged that the amendment would be limited by construction. But there can be no satisfactory assurance of this. The words in terms are all inclusive. An amendment to the Constitution of the United States is the most important of political acts, and there should be no amendment expressed in such terms as to afford the opportunity for Federal action in violation of the fundamental conditions of State authority.

I am not now referring to the advantage which the States might derive from the exclusive power to tax incomes from property or to the argument that for this reason the power to tax such incomes should be withheld from the Federal Government. To that argument I do not assent.

I am referring to a proposal to authorize a tax which might be laid in fact upon the instrumentalities of State government. In order that a market may be provided for State bonds and for municipal bonds, and that thus means may be afforded for State and local administration, such securities from time to time are excepted from taxation. In this way lower rates of interest are paid than otherwise would be possible. To permit such securities to be the subject of Federal taxation is to place such limitations upon the borrowing power of the State as to make the performance of the functions of local government a matter of Federal grace.

This has been repeatedly recognized. In the case of The Collector v. Day (11 Wall., p. 127), decided in 1870, the United

States Supreme Court said:

It is admitted that there is no express provision in the Constitution that prohibits the General Government from taxing the means and instrumentalities of the States, nor is there any prohibiting the States from taxing the means and instrumentalities of that Government. In both cases the exemption rests upon necessary implication, and is upheld by the great law of self-preservation, as any Government whose means employed in conducting its operations, if subject to the control of another and distinct government, can exist only at the mercy of that government. Of what avail are these means if another power may tax them at discretion?

In the case of Pollock v. Farmers' Loan & Trust Co. (157 U. S., pp. 584-585) Chief Justice Fuller said, referring to the tax upon incomes from municipal bonds, one of the matters there involved:

A municipal corporation is the representative of the State and one of the instrumentalities of the State government. It was long ago determined that the property and revenues of municipal corporations are not subjects of Federal taxation. * * * But we think the same want of power to tax the property or revenues of the States or their instrumentalities exists in relation to a tax on the income from their

In the same case Mr. Justice Field said (Id., p. 601):

These bonds and securities are as important to the performance of the duties of the State as like bonds and securities of the United States are important to the performance of their duties and are as exempt from the taxation of the United States as the former are exempt from the taxation of the States.

And the learned justice added, quoting from United States v. Railread Co. (17 Wall., pp. 322, 327), as follows:

The right of the States to administer their ewn affairs through their legislative, executive, and judicial departments, in their own manner through their own agencies, is conceded by the uniform decisions of this court and by the practice of the Federal Government from its organization. This carries with it an exemption of those agencies and instruments from the taxing power of the Federal Government. If they may be taxed lightly, they may be taxed heavily; if justly, oppressively. Their operation may be impeded and may be destroyed if any interference is permitted. Hence the beginning of such taxation is not allowed on the one side, is not claimed on the other.

While the invitere of the court in the Pollcely case differend in

While the justices of the court in the Pollock case differed in opinion upon the question whether a tax upon income from property was a direct tax, and as such could not be laid without apportionment, they were unanimous in their conclusion that no Federal tax could be laid upon the income from municipal bonds. Mr. Justice White, who dissented in the Pollock case with regard to other questions, as to this said (157 U. S., p. 652):

The authorities cited in the opinion are decisive of this question. They are relevant to one case and not to the other, because in the one case there is full power in the Federal Government to tax, the only controversy being whether the tax imposed is direct or indirect, while in the other there is no power whatever in the Federal Government, and therefore the levy, whether direct or indirect, is beyond the taxing power.

It is certainly significant that the words "from whatever source derived" have been introduced into the proposed amendment, as if it were the intention to make it impossible for the claim to be urged that the income from any property, even though it consist of the bonds of the State or of a municipality organized by it, will be removed from the reach of the taxing power of the Federal Government.

The immunity from Federal taxation that the State and its instrumentalities of government now enjoy is derived not from any express provision of the Federal Constitution, but from what has been deemed to be necessary implication. Who can say that any such implication with respect to the proposed tax will survive the adoption of this explicit and comprehensive amendment?

We can not suppose that Congress will not seek to tax incomes derived from securities issued by the State and its municipalities. It has repeatedly endeavored to lay such taxes, and its efforts have been defeated only by implied constitutional re-striction, which this amendment threatens to destroy. While we may desire that the Federal Government may be equipped with all necessary national powers in order that it may perform its national function, we must be equally solicitous to secure the essential bases of State government.

I therefore deem it my duty, as governor of the State, to recommend that this proposed amendment should not be

CHARLES E. HUGHES.

(No. 1111.)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

I certify that the copy hereto attached is a true copy of a resolution of Congress, entitled "Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States," the original of which is on file in this department.

In testimony whereof I. P. C. Knox, Secretary of State, have hereunto caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed and my name to be subscribed by the Chief of the Bureau of Citizenship of the said department, at the city of Washington, this 27th day of July, 1909.

P. C. KNOX.

Secretary of State. By R. W. FLOURNOY, Jr., Chief Bureau of Citizenship.

On Sisal Fiber Trust.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM A. AYRES, OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, June 12, 1916.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, on January 25 last I introduced in this House a resolution, No. 104, the purpose of which was to call the attention of this Congress to the flagrant violation of our antitrust laws, and asking for an investigation of the relations of certain financial interests in the United States with the powerful and merciless Sisal Fiber Trust organized some years ago in the State of Yucatan, Mexico.

I am deeply interested in this matter, as I have a constituency that is almost wholly agricultural and located in one of the best wheat and grain producing sections of the great Southwest. The district that I have the honor to represent comprises one of the greatest communities of prosperous, thrifty, and progressive farmers that can be found anywhere in the United States, barring none. The great hoard of emigrants following the star of empire westward brought with them the best farming metheds, the best energy, the best industry and intelligence from the other Commonwealths, built their permanent and comfortable homes, and reared their sturdy sons and daughters in Kansas, and who now constitute a citizenship equal to the best found in any State in this great Union.

Thoroughly assimilated with this native element in other portions of my district, I have the sturdy and industrious citizen of Bohemian origin, who came to America to enjoy the freedom of our institutions. Quietly they have pursued the even tenor of their way and they have succeeded admirably, and we number

them among our best and most prosperous citizens.

In other sections of my district I have the German citizen. When the history of our State is written and understood, it will be found that our German citizens occupy a most important position in its development and achievements. Everyone is willing to admit that to the German citizen is due much of the material prosperity for which this section of the State is noted— his lands are well tilled and his capacious barns are generally well filled. He has a sterling character and industrious habits that can not be excelled by any nationality that has made his home among us.

In another section of my district may be found the immigrant from Scandinavia. When these people migrated to America and settled in Kansas they brought with them their industrious and frugal habits, their positive convictions of religious faith, and their belief in our common schools and higher education. The bracing air of Kansas has given them vigorous constitutions, and where they have settled may be seen well-cultivated farms and refined homes.

Located in another portion of my district I have a colony of Mennonites. The entire history of these cople show them to be prosperous and industrious. They have attained to as high a degree of efficiency and success as any other farming class in the entire country. In possession of the sound virtues of life, they are not excelled by any people. They love peace and the maintenance of right relations between man and man, and demand the same standard for nations, and are among the most useful of our citizens.

All of these different elements making up and comprising this great agricultural constituency, live together in the strictest harmony. From this intermingling of nationalities has come forth a most remarkable and strong community. The assimilating fires beneath the melting pot of this civilization has been tempered to the proper degree, and they have all, without exception, readily become Americanized in thoughts, ideas, and manners, and no more loyal citizens can be found in any State

Had this monopoly of the sisal-fiber industry confined its op-eration strictly to the country where it was organized, we would have very little to say about it, unless we chose to voice our disapproval of such methods by the enforcement of retaliatory measures in a commercial way. These resolutions have been discussed thoroughly throughout the entire agricultural sections of the land, and have resulted in beneficial agitation.

The long-drawn-out investigation of this matter before a committee of the Senate has had the effect of arousing the country to a realization of what kind of predicament our farmers will be finally forced into, unless something is done to block the purposes of this combination. This investigation has resulted, at least, in giving the agents of this great organization in the United States a warning that they can not have an open field for exploiting our farming resources without some show of resistance on the part of the people affected. It has exploded the contention of the promoters of this combination that the advance in the price of fiber is due to a shortage of production, and the commission has therefore been forced to submit a proposal that all the available surplus of fiber be turned over to our Federal Trades Commission to be distributed to the several independent twine factories according to their several needs, but it has not resulted in any material concession of price. This agitation will probably result in keeping the price near the point where it now is, instead of allowing it to soar to extreme heights, where it would have gone had not this agitation taken place.

No doubt the farmer has already felt the magic fist of this merciless trust in his pocket. The humble farmer, with his 25 or 50 acres of grain, and the more extensive agriculturist, with his hundreds of acres of bread crop, will all contribute his proportionate share to this unjust and unwarranted tax in the way of increased prices for his twine.

There is no more patriotic class of citizens than the American He no longer cavils about his just share of financial burden when the cause is justified, but in this matter the advance in the price of twine has no justification that may be found either in the laws of supply and demand or in trade

The gentleman who is at the head of the selling end of the Yucatan commission openly admits that this corporation can largely control the market of this product, and says that his organization could raise the price of the raw fiber to 10 cents a pound, or even higher, if they wanted to. He states, however, that the price will not be arbitrarily raised, but the facts do not justify his meek declaration.

Ever since the twine-tying self-binder has come into common use sisal fiber has been a necessity to the American farmer in order to properly save his wheat crop. There is no alternative to which he can turn; there is no substitute that he can use to supply this necessity. It is conceded that wheat is an expensive crop to raise at best, and if the talons of this greedy trust are permitted to be sunken into the flesh of its prey it will lessen this source of cereal production in our Nation's great bread basket. The power to control being theirs, they will use it, not to the advantage of the poor producer but to create profits for themselves; not to expand and encourage production, but to restrict it by levying extortionate prices.

I do not believe that this Government will pass over this matter unheeded, and I sincerely trust that favorable action will be taken on this resolution.

The material welfare of our great agricultural communities has been finally recognized and we are proud of the record this Congress has made toward helping them to the essential opportunities that make for their convenience and advancement. Agriculture the country over is the very base of our prosperity. It has developed in spite of the fact that it has not had special laws to give advantage. For years the farmer has battled and prevailed against obstacles and adversity. He has struggled against the uncertainties of frosts, floods, and drought. He has had to accept the terms and the prices for the fruits of his toll as they were made by others. He has had no special legislation that has resulted in his direct benefit; but, notwithstanding these serious handicaps, he has gained for himself a very important position in the financial, moral, and social status of our Nation's citizenship.

Realizing the commanding importance of our rural civilization, this Congress has intelligently sought to aid our rural communities by the passage through the House of a "good-roads bill." This measure is now pending in the Senate, and This measure is now pending in the Senate, and we hope for an early passage, by which it will become the law. This bill gives to the State of Kansas the sum of \$747,656 for the sole purpose of improving our roads, and will be of great benefit to our people generally, but particularly to the

The Sixty-third Congress has already given to the country the Federal reserve act, which gave the farmer, as well as every class of our citizens and business men, an abiding confidence that his deposits are safe from the manipulation of stock speculators; and he now knows that his banker, to whom he has intrusted his surplus funds and savings, is not hampered by market fluctuations. We now have a strong financial system based upon an expansible and elastic currency founded upon commercial paper, with the credit of the United States behind This act has made financial and currency panics impossible, and has given a confidence to our people in its efficacy and wisdom. This is one of the greatest items of constructive legislation that our Nation has experienced in half a century, and it is meeting with the praise and approval of men every-

Under threat of financial disaster, we have dared to give the country this great relief from its former financial limitations, and it has resulted in the lowering of interest rates below the point ever known before in this country.

As this act could not be made comprehensive enough to permit of long-time loans on land security, the House and Senate have provided a rural-credits bill, now in conference and to be agreed upon soon and become law, by which our farmers may find ready access to the capital of those who desire to invest it. This law will enable those engaged in farming and stock raising to more adequately expand their legitimate business operations at a low rate of interest and for a long-time loan payable on the amortization plan of easy payments. The reduction of interest rates will greatly benefit the farmer generally and will enable many renters to acquire homes for themselves, and will give the present landowner the opportunity for improving his

present holdings and financing his productions.

Many perplexing and complicated questions have come up in this Congress, and many unpleasant and troublesome issues have been presented, and while all have not been determined to the entire satisfaction of all, it will have to be admitted that every honest effort has been made to avoid plunging our Nation into that awful war across the sea that is destroying millions of mankind, and, for aught we know, the nations of the Old World. It is not our war, and we as a people and Nation should be supremely happy to be kept out of it.

"The Real Wilson."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY,

OF KENTUCKY.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 13, 1916.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article appearing in the New York Times of Sunday last by Maximilian Harden on "The real Wilson." The article is as follows:

"THE REAL WILSON."

FULL TEXT OF ANOTHER EXTRAORDINARY ARTICLE BY MAXIMILIAN HARDEN, THE DARING EDITOR OF DIE ZUKUNFT, GERMANY'S MOST RENOWNED AND DREADED WRITER, AGAIN FEARLESSLY CRITICIZES THE KAISER'S GOVERNMENT, EULOGIZES THE PRESIDENT, AND ADVOCATES FRIENDLY GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

[In this and others of those bold and extraordinary articles with which Maximilian Harden has astonished the world since the war began, the famous German publicist gives an estimate, a defense, and a eulogy of President Wilson. "The real Wilson" is the title of Harden's article, which has been banned by the authorities in Germany. The copy, printed in German, which was sent to the New York Times from England, is believed to be the only one that has reached this country. In frankness and effectiveness this article ranks with the remarkable Harden essay, "If I were Wilson," which was published in the Times two weeks ago.]

(By Maximilian Harden.)

(By Maximilian Harden.)

Not a stone remained of the stronghold where the victors over the 31 kings had gazed in wonder at the sun of Joshua. But the Crucified One is arisen.

Not to a race like Mohammed, from whose deathbed Omar went before the tent and cried that his curved sabre would split every throat wide open that dared to assert the prophet was dead. He who arose from the rocky tomb in the garden of Joseph of Arimathea does not live under the shield of a threat that is to frighten doubters. All you shall live who without having touched His arisen body believe in the resurrection of His

On the seventh day after Easter, on Quasimodo Sunday, following the admonition in St. Peter's First Epistle, to wipe out evil and deceit, hypocrisy and envy, and, like new-born babies with pure milk, to become saturated with nothing but clear un-derstanding, there is read from the pulpit from the next to the last chapter of the Gospel according to St. John:

When, therefore, it was evening on that day, the first day of the week, and when the doors were shut where the disciples were for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.

And when He had said this He shewed them His hands and His side. The disciples therefore were glad when they saw the Lord.

Jesus therefore said to them again, Peace be unto you; as the Father has sent Me, even so send I you.

THE STORY OF DOUBTING THOMAS.

And when He had said this, He breathed on them and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost.

Whose soover sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.

But Thomas, one of the twelve, called Didymus, was not with them when Jesus came.

The other disciples therefore said unto him, We have seen the Lord. But he said unto them, Except I shall see in His hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and put my hand into His side, I will not believe.

And after eight days again the disciples were within, and Thomas with them. Jesus cometh, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you.

Then saith He to Thomas, Reach hither thy finger, and see My hands; and reach hither thy hand, and put it unto My side, and be not faithless, but believing.

Thomas answered and said unto Him, My Lord and my God.

Jesus saith unto him, Because thou hast seen Me thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.

Noli me tangere. This motto stands at the door of every faith

that wishes to spread itself around the world, like the warming and protecting rays of light from an open tower. Thou shalt not touch me; not from a sense of touch, sight, or hearing shall thy will allow thy faith to spring, but from the heaven-born fruit conceived by a divinity. If this divinity needs force to assert itself, if the menacing curse of Moses or the saber of Omar must win respect for it, then it dwells in the crumbling

despotic citadels of the old covenants.

A new covenant, such as the Occident never had seen, became possible when a son of man, without the evidence of touch, sight, or hearing, believed in the resurrection of a body familiar to the eye, therefore in a new divinity. Because Mary of Magdala sincerely believes it, the woman despised yesterday as a creature of the devil is able to transmit her pious ardor to the brains of Peter and John. Because the faith became as firm as a rock in two of the disciples, ten of them, among whom there is not merely one doubting Thomas, cling to Him and gather together a congregation to which He becomes a shelter in the whirlwind of events. Because an abiding hope, whose ardor was never cooled by any draft of mean-souled distrust, caused unseen things to be made visible in Jerusalem and in Galilee, to this very day Calvins in the Netherlands upon their deathbeds see the towering figures of the Savior. The belief that He will come and at the last moment of their life free them from the bonds of sin has been sucked in with their mothers' milk. And in the realms of the psychic being the infallible passionate hope always forces into sight the face of what it desires

In this German spring, in which the sap, not by spurts, but with a gentle flow that promises good fruit, rises from the roots to the stalk and the branches, is there not germinating somewhere faith in the resurrection of Europe and in the new humanity in a restored earth, whose wounds and marks left by the Crucifixion may be felt by every finger? It will spread like rays from a warming and transparent tower far out across the desert, over silent privation and shricking misery, if it is cherished ardently.

It will win to the sacred cause hundreds and hundreds of thousands if its defender, with the other disciples, does not fear the hardships of journeying, the pain of persecution. Can Pentecost come from Easter without spring thundershowers? Can a strong and united faith develop from splintered doubts

without persecution and vengeful wrath?

Hark back through the echo of the spring festival at home to the teachings of Christ. The Sadducees—Hanan, Alexander, and Jochanan—are in power; their tool is the high priest, Caiaphas, whose weak will is subject to that of his father-in-law, Hanan,

They have crucified the happiness of the world. And shall their stern mind, never softened by the falling dew nor by the gentle tear of sympathy, permit that a handful of peace advocates, with the heritage of the One so shamefully executed, insinuate itself into the favor of the unthinking masses? Then all the amount of labor, the increase of power that the gloomy Nisan-mond has brought them, would be wasted in vain. It would have been wiser to have let the seducer himself, the catcher of souls, who through long delay and through oft-repeated warnings must have lost prestige, continue to wander through Judea and to have sent out word ahead of him that the main object of the vagabond's march was to rake in money.

Josephus writes that the Sadducee constantly engendered more ferocious severity than any other of the sects within the domain of the patricians of the temple. From their ranks came the watchword: "Rather the death of a man than pesti-lence and the ruin of the entire people." Hanan, a hundred times more severe than Pontius Pilate, is burdened with the guilt of the Crucifixion, and can only escape the curse of the survivors if he leads his "party of order," the herd of Jehovah-Imperialists, to victory and roots out of all the highways of Israel and out of every furrow of earth the weeds sown there and nourished by the breath of the deceiver. In the shadow of the Savior's spirit the flower of the priesthood perishes from cold. Woe unto you if this shadow succeeds in spreading. Wrath, that calls itself pious, because it clings to the dust of old phrases, eagerly arms its bailiffs against it.

VOICE OF WARNING FOUND NO ECHO.

What punishment may the Jews demand and inflict without a protest by Roman power, by the mild legate in Syria, Vitellius? Imprisonment and driving out with whips. In the Sanhedrin Peter and John shout for joy under the lash. The people who live in the temple and from the temple, for whom every wall of the holy house sweats outrageous profits, and who consequently believe themselves called to guard the temple as the ones chosen by the powers of heaven, want to force free spirits to do their will by means of orders and inhibitions, by punishments and pains, and do not even suspect what happiness this torture causes to the persecuted ones who are filled with their cause. One man warns them. It is the old rabbi, Gamaliel, a wise grandson of the wise Hillel. This most famous scholar and most tolerant priest in Israel speaks as follows to his comrades of the Sanhedrin:

If the new doctrine is criminal sacrilege, it will fall to pleces of its own weight. If it is the creation of an earnest spirit, then it is wanted by God, and the risky attempt to destroy a work that is favored by God can never succeed.

The voice of the warner found no echo. When was common sense ever heeded in the cloud of sparks stirred up by fafore the descendants of the Jews from Alexandria and Ephesus, Kilikien and Kyrene, he has, in the synagogue of the Libertiner, denounced the Jews as rebels who still dispute ocular evidence, and who are guilty of a grievous crime because their hate put the Messiah on the Cross. A sermon that stamps the Galilean as the Messiah and sets him upon the exalted seat of the promised Savior can not remain unpunished. The beneficiaries of the temple send out listeners. How can the ruling clique quickly seize the bold chap by the neck? Has he not, perhaps, by the allegation of things not proven to be true, lowered the esteem the public holds for Moses, the bringer of laws of the faith? He has; therefore he must answer to the Sanhedrin.

He shouts to his judges:

He shouts to his judges:

Ye stiff-necked and uncircuncised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost; as your fathers did so do ye. Which of the prophets did not your fathers persecute? And they killed them which shewed before the coming of the Righteous One, of whom ye have now become the betrayers and murderers, ye who received the law, as it was ordained by angels, and kept it not.

* Behold I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God.

Hastily they ram their fingers into their ears, so as not to hear such an impious declaration. Slaver drips from gnashing teeth over lips pressed hard together in rage. What says the law about such blasphemy? It says in Deuteronomy:

The dreamer who tries to convert you to the belief in a new divinity must die. As soon as the tongues of two witnesses have pronounced him guilty take him before the gate of the city. The hand of the witnesses shall cast the first stone. Then all the people shall stone the wicked man, so that he shall be completely destroyed. For he wanted to lead you away from the Lord thy God, who brought you out of bondage in the land of Egypt, and whom you must thank.

YOUTH WHO DEFIED THE DISCIPLES.

Stephen is taken outside the city. The witnesses who are to cast the first stones take off their outer garments and lay them before the feet of a youth, who, with wide-opened eyes, is watching the execution of the sentence. Now he stoops to pick up a stone himself. He is happy at being able to assist in the execution of the blasphemer. And from this day on he is the tool of hard-hearted, heretic-hunting priests. Armed with their warrant he breaks into suspected houses, drags the followers of the doctrine of Christ, men and women, before the judges or to prison. Not one-as is shown in the Epistle to the Galatians-is a hotter persecutor of the congregations of Christ, no one else lend themselves more willing to the service of the old laws. Indeed, many a night he hears through the darkness the sighs of the women thrown into jail on his accusations; he lies sleepless and meditates on the gentleness, on the quiet, heroic renunciation of the world by his victims and of the earthly pilgrimage, still producing miracles, of Him for whom they joyfully suffer and die. Often his face turns crimson, because he believes he sees the blood of Stephen that his stone drew from its veins spurt forth again. But he turns with horror from the seduction of such a eleception of the senses and pulls himself together with the resolution to avenge every breach of the law as it is handed down with unswerving severity and never to spare anyone who did not regard the law as the embattled home center of their desires and actions.

This Saul becomes the terror of the band of disciples. He becomes, after the day of Damascus, the Apostle Paul, who spreads the sectarian belief through the mass of the world Gamaliel's pupil, who for so long had sealed all the pores of his soul to the ancient wisdom of his teacher, hears the question from on high:

Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?

Through the roaring thunder it rings, as clear as the call of the lark on high in the ear of the weary man, who in the fatal spring of the Emperor Tiberius, who with wounded feet had wandered from the wastes of the hot land of Iturea and saw with blazing eyes the plateau of Damascus rendered fruitful by the blessing of God and the labor of man. Has a thunderbolt struck his brain? Saul falls to the ground. Paul, with a bewildered brain but with a soul like the sun at noonday, rises from the earth. The Christian, Hanania, becomes his physician, healer, teacher, and brother. The scales fall from Paul's With resistless power of the will he tears out the thorn that for months has been boring into his flesh, and with it the imp of Satan that has been chastising his heart, and he also receives the baptism. The thoughtless one who, with his brain fired with passion by everything, was the most ferocious persecutor of Christians, becomes the most earnest and enthusiastic Christian. He elevates the ardent, all-embracing faith far above Essenism; delivers it from the hands of the sects that live from day to day in the belief that the end of the world is at hand and the twilight of humanity near; joins power to its faith and insures its immortality through this union.

Is there germinating in our spring the faith in the resurrection of Europe and in the new humanity in a restored world whose wounds and marks of crucifixion everyone can touch This faith will tower like a transparent, with their fingers? warning lighthouse above the desert, above dumb suffering and howling misery, if it has been filled with light by the ardor of a strong, tried man and the will to power. He will win hundreds and hundreds of thousands to the holy cause. It needs Stephen and Paul; it needs the devotion of the spirit of martyrdom and of the head of a statesman. You Germans who remain Europeans and do not want to sink back into primitive animal life, become the apostles of the new faith! Do not let yourselves be halted either by the continual bawling of those living in the past, and who classify your pure desires as a Utopia and a barren island of idle dreamers, or be frightened by the tools of blind force, who are not suited by the tendency of your thoughts. Hanan can do no more in a warrior's garb than he has been able to do in priestly raiment.

He can proscribe heretics-those of to-day who will be the fathers of the church of to-morrow—can cut their spiritual hide to pieces with the lashes of his jailers, banish them from a hearing by their own people and have them stoned by every people, have their freedom of movement curtailed with iron nails; but he can never throttle the soul with his heavy hand. That rises from the wreck of the body, crosses the borders, slides under the barriers, and wins disciples the world around. Let him act fearlessly who feels his soul prepared; he who has ever heard with the ear of his soul the plaintive cry, "Why dost thou persecute the longing of humanity after the Holy Ghost?

We want a Germany that is strong, merry, bright, with agreeable, not haughty, dignity, and earnest gladness. This Germany can not be spared by humanity; but neither can she do without humanity. It is not her task to enslave it, or to color it after her own fashion, but to flourish in it as a powerful member in a constant interchange of healthful, life-giving

streams. We know that in every great period Germany's most effective weapon was thought; spades and plows, creators, not, like mortars, howitzers, and asphyxiating gas, destroyers.

We want reason, not the sword, to be Germany's guiding star; statesmen, not fortune's casual favorite on the battle field or in the submarine. So that history may not some day judge us thus: With an unexampled display of popular strength, genius, and endurance Germany fought for an ideal that had long been reduced to a shrunken, withered shadow against the band of her foes, who, with all their superficiality of judgment, with their confused dilettante-like ignorance, still combined in the perception of the direction pointed out for mankind to follow by all the great signs of present times

So that Clio may not sigh: With a most admirable implement wrought by the brain and the army, on the one side a futile cause was served; on the other, with useless tools and with an outworn, unprofitable, dusty force of the will, the work of preparation for what was recognized as necessary was shame-

fully bungled.

WANTS AN ERA OF PEACE AND GOOD WILL.

We want Europe to get well, not pine away as a cripple: we want her to become clean, not still more disgustingly besmirched. We want the vital questions of the world to be answered in a way that will meet the needs of the nations, both the strong and the weak, and, without supplementary strife over it, will last long after the day on which peace is declared. We do not want people to brag about the greatness of a time that was merely destructive, for with us greatness is the characteristic of creative ability. We want a free people to be in the future the creator of its own destiny from the ground up and be able to creator of its own destiny from the ground up and be able to rejoice without envy at the prosperity and spiritual advancement of other peoples; we wish that goodness and human rights be respected, even in the most ragged beggar. There you have the basic outline of our faith and desire. All you who wish to dwell within its arch gather quickly from all camps to the loyal union. Steel yourselves with the vow of brave men, to venture something at last. Only by daring will you be worthy of the heroes who are cheerfully bleeding out there. At no place and at no time has Pentecost come out of Easter without spring thunder storms.

THE QUESTION.

No matter how often we must think of it, the discovery of America must each time make a fresh appeal to our imaginations. For centuries, indeed from the beginning, the face of Europe had been turned toward the East. All the routes of trade, every impulse and energy, ran from West to East. The Atlantic lay at the world's backdoor. Then suddenly the couquest of Constantinople by the Turks closed the route to the Orient. Europe had either to face about or lack any outlet for her energies; the unknown sea at the west at last was ven-tured upon, and the earth learned that it was twice as big as it had thought. In that part of the world, upon that new-found half of the globe, mankind, late in its history, was thus afforded an opportunity to set up a new civilization; here it was strangely privileged to make a new human experiment.

Never can that moment of unique opportunity fail to excite the motion of all who consider its strangeness and richness a thousand fanciful histories of the earth might be contrived without the imagination daring to conceive such a romance as the hiding away of half the globe until the fullness of time had come for a new start in civilization. A mere sea captain's ambition to trace a new trade route gave way to a moral adventure for humanity. The race was to found a new order here on this delectable land, which no man approached without receiving, as the old voyagers relate, you remember, sweet airs out of woods aflame with flowers and murmurous with the sound of pellucid waters. The hemisphere lay waiting to be touched with life-life from the old centers of living, surely, but cleansed of defilement and cured of weariness, so as to be fit for the virgin purity of a new bride. The whole thing springs into the imagination like a wonderful vision, an exquisite marvel which only once in all history could be vouchsafed.

AMERICA A BEACON FOR THE WORLD.

One other thing only compares with it; only one other thing touches the springs of emotion as does the picture of the ships of Columbus drawing near the bright shores-and that is the thought of the choke in the throat of the emigrant of to-day as he gazes from the steerage deck at the land where he has been taught to believe he in his turn shall find an earthly paradise, where, a free man, he shall forget the heartaches of the old life and enter into the fulfillment of the hope of the world.

* * * The men who founded America * * * set up their standards here in America in the tenet of hope, as a beacon of encouragement to all the nations of the world. Tyranny has become more subtle, and has learned to wear the guise of mere industry, and even of benevolence.

What is liberty?

I have long had an image in my mind of what constitutes liberty. Suppose that I were building a great piece of powerful machinery and suppose that I should so awkwardly and unskillfully assemble the parts of it that every time one part tried to move it would be interfered with by the others and the whole thing would buckle up and be checked. Liberty for the several parts would consist in the best possible assembling and adjustment of them all, would it not?

We say of a boat skimming the water with light foot, "How ee she runs." * * * Human freedom consists in parts free she runs." free she runs." * * * Human freedom consists in perfect adjustments of human interests and human energies. * * *

Well, then, in this new sense and meaning of it, are we preserving freedom in this land of ours?

Have we, inheritors of this continent and of the ideals to which our fathers consecrated it—have we maintained them, realizing them, as each generation must, anew? we, in the consciousness that the life of man is pledged to higher levels here than elsewhere, striving to bear aloft the standards of liberty and hope.

And we stand in danger of utter failure yet except we fulfill speedily the determination we have reached to deal with the new and subtle tyrannies according to their deserts.

[Herr Harden then proceeds to quote scattered sentences and paragraphs from Mr. Wilson's speeches bringing out the necessity for America to hold fast to the old ideals of liberty and equality of opportunity for all.]

I have collected these excerpts from the campaign speeches of Woodrow Wilson [that under the title, "The New Freedom, a Call for the Emancipation of the Generous Energies of People," have also been published in the German language] in order to indicate what manner of man it is over whom there has been so much talk during the past weeks and months. So much silly and, unfortunately, also miserably shameless talk. "A dusty professor." "A rabid enemy of Germany, who has sworn to prevent England's defeat with all the means in his power." "A rascal bought by England." This is the parrotlike chatter of lazy ignorance that has nothing in common with holy love of country. Burn up at least ninety-nine hundredths of all the parasitical war "literature" bound in warlike covers and throw all these poems, speeches, romances, treatises, boostings, and tracts in the only place where they are of any use—In the paper mills—and devote your time to books from which you draw the spiritual inspiration of clear speech. Then, perhaps, pure reason will return to its home and awaken the duty of respecting the dignity of strangers.

GERMANY MIGHT BE PROUD TO OWN WILSON.

As Rodin and Hodler, Macterlinck and Verhaeren, Kipling and Wells, Forain and Raemaekers, Spitteler and d'Annunzio, by their angry attacks on Germany lose none of their value in an artistic sense, so, too, Woodrow Wilson, the scholar and polian artistic sense, so, too, Woodrow Wilson, the scholar and politician, would not be a wretch, even if he did prefer English ways and statesmanship to Germany. That he has done so has never been shown. The problem, if the President of the United States is an eagle, may be decided when he spreads out his wings for a flight. He certainly is a man of high moral and intellectual rank. A man of whom we might be proud, if he were one of ours (and he could speak, as I let him speak from these pages two weeks ago). He is at the least an American Fichte. In the State of Virginia he was born by the descendant of an Irishman to the grandson of a Scotchman. So this man, who is now nearly 60 years old, has no blood prejudice this man, who is now nearly 60 years old, has no blood prejudice that promotes blind deification of England.

As a student at Princeton University he writes against "Cabinet Government," boldly attacks the secrecy and avoidance of responsibility that prevail in the business of the Government, and that lull into a sounder sleep from year to year the people's desire for active cooperation. The review is followed by a book over "Government by Congress" that earns him the call to a chair in the youngest college for women. He leaves the presidency of Princeton University (that, as the favorite resort of the proud and rich youth, might be called the Bonn of America) after eight years of fruitful administration because an endowment of \$12,000,000 had conditions attached to it the acceptance of which the President feared would be of serious injury to his college (through a deepening of the gulf between the classes). In order not to soil his ideals, his image of his power of thought, he goes. And is, as the wise and valiant looks upon the evidence of both sides from every angle, deserves

fighter of ugly abuses, chosen as the governor of New Jersey. He frees this State from the bondage in which it was held by the trusts. In defiance of the silly invooted custom that limits the governor to written communication with the assembly, he defends his plans of reform personally in the legislature and also at the voters' meetings and in the press. He does not hesitate to make known throughout the land the names of the obstinate deputies. And, with the enthusiastic support of the people's will, he puts his plans through.

REBUKE FOR SLANDERERS OF THE PRESIDENT.

He has outlined the life of Washington, the history of the American people, and the nature of the State in good books, and in the collection of essays, Only Literature, on politicians and statesmen, poets and writers, he has said as many wise things as hardly another in the two worlds for many a year. Then, as a new man in the highest place in the Republic, he has made farreaching mistakes. Is he the only one among all the heads of Governments? This man loves his people and has the desire to lead it upward to the heights of the ideal from which it has slipped into the swamp. Germany must be ashamed of the persons who slander him because there has been slimy dirt in the newspapers

Wilson, the teacher of political law, who now speaks in the name of the United States of America, stands upon the conviction that the announcement that from March, 1915, the Imperial Government would treat the waters around Great Britain and Ireland as being in the war zone was a gross denial of inter-national law; that the premeditated method of the German submarine warfare is not compatible with the basic laws of humanity; that this method which, without the flimsiest legal justifica-tion, without a twinge of conscience, destroys mighty ocean liners and unarmed passenger ships, and has cost the lives of hundreds of peaceful Americans, wantonly smashes to bits the undeniable rights of neutrals and the sacred privileges of all those not engaged in the war; that the Imperial Government, whose uprightness and good faith are not put in doubt, neither has succeeded nor ever will succeed in reconciling its methods

with the basic principles of humanity.

And as every promise of caution by Germany has been followed by an act by a submarine sharply contradicting it, the Government of the United States, that has been patient so long because it feels a genuine friendship for the people and rulers of Germany, must break off diplomatic relations with the Imperial Government unless the methods of submarine warfare are immediately given up, passenger and freight ships not armed for attack are spared, and the rules of humanity, of international

law, and of the rights of neutrals are again put into effect.

These are the principal contents of the note that the American ambassador laid before the State secretary of our foreign office on the evening of April 20. Dare we treat the complaint of a great, free people radiating the strength of youth and represented by a man of the importance and stamp of Wilson, according to the rules of a students' row? Shall we haggle over words, refuse to stand for the "entirely imperti-

nent" tone, and use it as a pretext for refusing to answer?

That would be unworthy of the great matter in dispute, of the belligerent nations, of the human race. If President Wilson, after careful examination, is convinced that a long chain of German methods of conducting warfare has worn away and broken to pieces the laws of humanity and the holy custom of nations, it is not only his right but his duty to speak with uncompromising clearness. He owes the fulfillment of this duty not only to his own country but to ours. For we, the German nation and Government, do not wish that something which is not to be kept shall be agreed to, that agreements shall not be observed. In the darkness of the state of siege-not to be profitably endured much longer, Emperor and Chancellor—we can find out whether such a thing has happened only when a firm hand, not to be turned aside by prohibitions, completely bares the real situation to our gaze.

Mr. Wilson demands nothing new. Has there been an agreement to do what can not be done; has there been failure to keep an agreement? That is the entire question. Against Wilson's basic argument that, even in the most ferocious war, the voice of humanity and of international law must be heard, nobody even lightly affected by the morality of our stage of culture will present objections; the Princeton professor might base his arguments on Bismarck or Goethe, who, in the presentation of essentials, are not so far removed from each other as heed-less or hostile phrase makers would have them.

the gratitude of every thinking German. He is not "weak" but strong. He is strong in the peculiar sense attaching to his position; strong as the only responsible guardian of the Empire, of German faith and trustworthiness must always be.

The audacity of the chancellor should not be compared with that of the U-boat commander; the fate of 70,000,000 Germans must not be intrusted to a daring submarine commander nor to a man disguised as a statesman. Yet such pilots for the slip of state are wished by the silly clamorers whose unbridled actions are becoming gradually more dangerous to the father-land than all the endeavors of the foe driven far back into his own territories. If these Pistols and the like, instead of pouring the wine of Mistress Quickly upon their noses, had stuck them into the book of history their shouts for the strong man must have been choked at the memory of Cleon the Athenian tanner. There was a swaggerer who was a strong man in the eyes of bullies. He branded the wise Pericles, because he carefully weighed all possible consequences, as a foolish philosopher, and, as head of the rascally crew of sycophants, he denounced all who worked independently for the good of the people instead of for profitable popularity. Informing and intimidation freed him from discomforting speakers and writers, and stole from the Athenians their most valuable possession, freedom of speech, and increased the fortune of the avaricious. "Pericles demanded calm deliberation on all matters; Cleon used every means to nourish and heighten the feverish excitement of the people. Pericles sought to act only according to reason and to set aside all results of unclear states of mind; Cleon drove the credulous multitude, by means of soothsaying, trumped-up oracular speeches, and inflammatory statements of all sorts, into the wildest excitement. He concealed from the citizens the perils of the situation and held up to their eyes certain victory, from which they were sure to derive new advantages and (Curtius.) benefits."

QUOTES LESSON FROM ANCIENT HISTORY.

"To annex and evacuate" was already Cleon's watchword. The entire Peloponnesus was conquered and tribute was wrung from Arcadia. Listen to his diatribes against Sparta and Mytilene! Terror alone can tame the islanders; only rascals can seek to turn away the Athenians from the prosecution of mercilessly cruel warfare. The inhabitants of Mytilene, having shamefully assaulted us, must be beaten to their knees and annihilated; if this is not done, their treachery will threaten us within a few years with another war. Does Diodotos advise you to keep hatred and lust for vengeance apart from political quarrels, which are not to be looked upon as a case before a law court? Does he counsel you to think only of the welfare and future of the State, unblinded by passion? That is but the old whimpering of the faint-hearted, who chatter about magnanimity and humanity when the only hope of deliverance from deadly peril is the merciless employment of every possible weapon. Sparta? Only when she has yielded all the territory that should be given by right to the Athenians—in the Peloponnesus, in Megaris, Nisaia, Pegai, Troezen, Achaia—then and only then can there be talk of an armistice. It is a waste of time to listen to the empty talk of Sparta's ambassadors; every Spartan lies as soon as he opens his mouth.

Cleon attains his goal. The ambassadors depart, and the most propitious hour for concluding peace and dissolving the hostic alliance is gone. Because the voice of statesmanlike prudence is drowned, the most important affair of state is ruined by the

frivolity of the flatterer of the multitude.

Does not he whose memory is good seem to see clearly before him our Cleons, the blonde and dark ones? Whether fortune would smile even for one day on the Pistols as generals and admirals as she did on their immortal prototype at Pylos, when she bestowed upon him the cooperation of Demosthenes and the treason of Menedaios, the Spartan leader, is as uncertain as is the hope that to-morrow a new Aristophanes may cure the hide of the tanner's tribe with the sharp weapon of his wit. They have deserved this chastisement ten times tenfold. Are they strong because, far from the front and the sea, they open wide their mouths twice daily and clamor for the conquest and annihilation of the world, which others in the van are to buy with their bones? Are they strong because they have never learned anything worth while, because they have simply picked up the speech of the power drunk, the foundations of all statecraft, the soul, history, and political economy of the nations hostile to us; because they never saw the thin spots in their hide; because they drive the multitude by coarse flattery to insane lust for power and to self-delification? Is it proof of strength to exalt the lowest impulse as the noblest, to wring applause from callous hearts and sweating hands by such cheap country-

fair tricks, by such horse-swappers' artifices? Even if those among us who resemble Pericles and Diodotos were of weaker fiber, reason speaks forth from them, not madness. They do not enrich themselves by supplying the army and the needy people; they are not paid by cliques and speculators for dirty work; hard times do not double their earnings; for them no fat roast is cooking over the fires of war. They serve the fatherland within the limits of their brains, modestly, after a fashion, and without thought of self-interest. Whosoever, consciously or unconsciously, from a safe hiding place, far from the enemy, accuses those governing us of dishonest weakness, betrays their interests.

OUTBURST OF SCOLDING ROUNDLY DENOUNCED.

It was to me like physical pain when Deputy Dr. Ernst von Heydebrandt wandered away into the midst of such evil com-In solitude I have often praised the brave earnestness of this man, his great will power controlled by keen understanding, the steely sharpness tempered with sobriety of his speech-I have praised him as the only personality in the Landtag and Reichstag worthy of the esteem even of his foes. But what he has now allowed to be printed is unworthy abuse, drearier than anything that the most violent enemy of the Junkers could imagine. This outburst of scolding pusillanimity from an embittered heart would not stand out above the rest even in a calendar for peasant children. Nowhere is there even a spark of the fire from a statesman's brain. Every understrapper of the foreign office-yes; even the author of the Sussex notewould be justified in exclaiming, with a shrug of the shoulders, when he saw the tortures of this Heydebrandt, "Yet that fellow would set up to be my judge; that fellow would damn men of my stamp!

"America," says the deputy and party leader, "was, even before the war, in relations with our opponents." German Empire; with Italy, Japan, Portugal, Russia—with Great Britain even, as has been said to us at least twice each To have such a relationship was quite within the rights of the United States; that it may have been set forth in a treaty is improbable and not supported by a shred of evidence.) "During the war America stood at first secretly, later openly, on the side of our enemies." (That remains to be proved; according to what I know the Republic never violated neutrality.) Mr. Wilson is "insolent"; his "arrogance can not be surpassed." Because it "favors his chances of reelection" he bases his acts on dictates of humanity, "which are surpassed only by the hypocrisy with which he advances them." The Americans are "business people," to whom an empire of the strength of Germany must speak only in the most harshly unequivocal terms. They supplied the belligerents with arms and ammunition. (So did we, neutrals, in every war of the last decades; and during the Boer War we were, in a more limited sense, exactly in the position of America to-day—able to sell the British arms and ammunition, but unable to sell them to the Transvaal and the Orange Free State on account of the English sea blockade. Does anybody with even half the average sense doubt that the American private business houses who armed our enemies would have shipped to Hamburg and Bremen with equal willingness all that we ourselves ordered? The exportation of war material could not have been prevented except by special legislation, and the reasons for open opposition to such legislation were based neither

on greed nor "relations.")

Without this supply to our foes from America, we hear, the war would "have been over more than a year ago." (A friendly notion, which can not be looked upon except as an error, even if Lloyd George, without apparent reason, had lied when he said that everything supplied by America amounted at most to one-sixth of the total.) Therefore "the blood of hundreds of thousands cries to heaven against this brand of humanity." (Not louder than the blood of all those laid low by the fire of Krupp and Ehrhardt guns, among whom, until yesterday, there were very many Germans.) "We see ultimate victory beckoning," but we must "voluntarily forego it" and "give up the best and most effective weapon against our deadly foe, England, because it suits the political and business interests of the Ameri-

cans. To such a pass have we come!"

To such a pass, that it may be said openly that responsible persons exist in the German Empire to-day who wish to forego using an effective, victory-promising weapon because they tremble before America's "insolent demand." To such a pass that a party leader, whose strength and parliamentary strategy are rightly rated higher than those of anyone else, speaks openly during a fateful hour for his dearly beloved fatherland about things and beings concerning which he has not the slightest knowledge. Therefore it would be hopelessly foolish to call him

"hypocritical." He is too clever to be embittered by the lost cause of the Prussian right to vote, too long accustomed to fair play to use the exaggerated hope of the masses for submarine victory as a favoring wind for floating the ship of his party off the sands.

SPIRIT THAT MUST ANIMATE THE PEOPLE.

But does this serious man seriously believe that ignorance blazoned forth with the power of a Hercules will pull him through the flood; does he expect to go through this world epoch without the slightest inkling of the history and will power, the needs and ambitions of great foreign nations, of the duties and rights of imperial world politics? After the war also a conservative party will be needed. It will be possible, however-despite the alliance with the big manufacturing interests, which assure to both sides not as much as three dozen seats in Parliament-only if it be entirely renewed, if it fit its thoughts and acts to the newly plowed earth, to the uprooted will of the time, changed from the smallest to the greatest. This can happen only if the party's leader does not in fateful days for Germany lay about him with his flail in the workshop of subtle statesmanship. The party will be thanked for giving the army able leaders; it will be blamed, perhaps too hastily, for having been economically inferior to the more cultured classes. where the war has brought greater profits to the agriculturer than to the masses in the cities—let that be allowed to him without envy. But let not one "who can see it through" speak harshly about patriotic duty to one driven by losses into want. Let him work in his district for social betterment and honest prices, but let him not haughtily brand as unpatriotic because they think differently from him men who have worked harder, and, by their industry, attained to wider knowledge and thus to a more accurate appreciation of what is politically possible and necessary. Hanan did that once.

Herr von Heydebrandt did this. "We have a fractional patriotism which considers all beyond its fraction as something foreign which can be damaged in any way provided it bring advantage to the fraction." Thus Bismarck scoffs; Bismarck, whose spirit has never been grasped by the noise makers of today, for which reason they uselessly desecrate his name. Compared to him, Herr von Bethmann seems a daredevil.

Bismarck, even in the most difficult moments of battle, always reckoned as a probability the most unfavorable of possible results; in every one of his three wars he tried everything conceivable to appease neutrals. In the Reichstag he himself bore witness to the fact that, in the service of the fatherland, he set aside "aggressiveness, threats, vituperation"; that he sought to soften, and even, in extreme cases, did not hesitate to "back down and grovel." He did this, he said, because "the wiser man

Has reason become madness? Was Bismarck, the always just, the soldier well acquainted with Shakespeare's lordly heroes, backward in his belief in Prussia's and Germany's mission? Look upon him at Versailles, with his white cap and sulphur-yellow collar, standing sleepless in the moonlight, on the ladder, before the common soldier on sentry go. "Do you believe that we shall ever get into Paris?" The confidence of that common soldier helps the chancellor to sleep.

Listen to him! "I have never looked upon international disputes which can be settled only by war from the point of view of German student honor, but only in relation to their effect on the demand of the German nation to live in common with all other great powers of Europe an independent political life on the basis of a national ability peculiar to us. Politics should not be a Nemesis; vengeance is not ours. Politics is a task to which, in reality, nothing but navigation in unknown waters is comparable. One does not know what the weather, what the currents, will be, what storms one must live through. moreover, in politics one is essentially dependent on the decisions of others and can never act independently. It is easy for a statesman, in the cabinet or the chamber of deputies, to use the wind of popular opinion for blowing the war trumpet, and then quietly to warm himself beside his hearth; it is easy for him to make thunderous speeches from his platform and then allow the riflemen bleeding to death in the snow to decide whether his policy is or is not to bring victory and glory. ing is easier than that. But woe to the statesman in this day of ours who does not cast about him for a casus belli which will be still tenable after war is over!"

HOW BISMARCK MIGHT HAVE USED POWER.

There speaks Bismarck. Who dares to maintain that this genius, this Vulcan tamed by politeness, would ever have treated a land of such inner and outer strength, such abounding youth and confidence in the future, as America in the way that Herr Heydebrandt counsels, even were Germany already menaced by

nine foes? Would he not have carefully weighed the efficacy of moral against military means? Assured of the cup of victory which only imprudence could dash from his lips, would he have allowed irresponsible trifling with carefully guarded public opinion? Were Bismarck now chancellor, Herr von Heydebrandt on the morning after his downfall from the narrow pinnacle of his glory would have read this in the North German Gazette:

In a certain highly important conservative circle which usually backs up the Government—not always gratuitously—efforts have of late been made by a press campaign and demagogical speechifying to exert influence on decisions of unusual importance. The Imperial Government takes pleasure in recalling that during the best days of the Conservative Party the Government has often been requested not to countenance such machinations in any way. Conscious of its responsibility, the Government spurns all such machinations. The Government's actions are based upon dutiful weighing of circumstances, means, and situations of which it has thorough knowledge; of which, moreover, to a considerable extent, the Government alone has such knowledge. Concerning international decisions the Government is even less willing than in everyday matters to endure attacks upon its prestige more patiently from the Right in Parliament than from the Left. Should the Government need further support * * *

THE ANSWER.

Says Herr von Heydebrandt-

I think that the German answer will be worthy of our country and of this great hour.

I think so, too; and I hope that in this hour Herr von Bethmann will measure up to the greatness of his destiny. To blow the war trumpet, to make thunderous speeches, to hand still another ambassador his passports, and swear all submarine commanders to merciless sweeping of the seas would be easy to the littlest intellect. What would hinder him? Fools and hirelings would extel him as the strong man sent by Providence; for three days he would hear nothing about butter famine, shortage of cattle, speculation in veal, rise in price of poultry and pigs' tails; he would no longer hear nothing but the cry from the soul of the nation for a food dictator, who, of course, should not be a farsighted captain of industry or big merchant, but an efficient field marshal behind the front. The Bardolphs and Pistols of Pan Germany would hall him with hosannas. And if, at the end of the week, the success promised by a hundred lickspittles had not arrived, the chancellor would nevertheless have hoarded up the applause and would blame the navy, which had promised more than it could achieve.

Any fool would be capable of enacting such a farce. A courageous man, one of strong heart, is he who sticks to the determination not to yield to artificially stimulated popular clamor, but to do what is necessary, what does not glitter, what does not penetrate until later into the brains of the political mob. Is it to be a matter of "student honor," or is there to be careful reflection whether the complaint brought to the Imperial Government is justified? No essentially new concession that might be considered a sign of weak yielding in us is asked; the contention is merely advanced that something already promised has not been fulfilled because it was not possible to fulfill it within the bounds of the method of sea warfare chosen. If this contention is shown to be justified, atonement must be made for a mistake. And Germany never shirks such a duty.

There can be no doubt that President Wilson is speaking for all neutral nations of both hemispheres, having come to an understanding with them before he wrote his note of complaint. To be sure, only one European nation has as yet definitely signified its agreement with him, viz, Monaco. "As a ruler, as an explorer of the seas, and savant, I join you in the complaint which your noble feeling for human dignity causes you to make against the shameful attacks by Germany on neutral rights, the honor of mariners, and the conscience of humanity." Albert Honorius, ruler of all the inhabitants of Monaco, lessor of the most famous gambling house and brothel, formerly our friend, telegraphed to the White House at Washington the above words. "Olet; non dolet." It is unavoidable for us to fall out with all of them, but we will not tremble. But if, without overpowering provocation, but on account of questions of advantage or points of honor, we bring upon ourselves the enmity of the New World, we shall then be playing the trump card of our foes. What does the enemy desire? That we fall out with America—and a quarrel with the United States would automatically bring one with the South American nations. What would bitterly disillusion our enemy and make him resign himself to fate? The fact that we had found firm foundations for an understanding with America.

England muddled along about conscription because she hoped that her answer on the question would be made easier if the United States raised a million men to fight us. If we come to an agreement quickly and genuinely with the Americans, the

dispute of America and all other neutrals against England will at once flame forth again, and England will have to loosen her commercial blockade and forego her prying into cargoes, which only Sweden refuses to tolerate. Then she can breathe again, for bottoms for her cargoes and means of nourishment will be assured to her. Of that more will be said later, and steps must be taken to prevent U any longer being made into X.

NO JOY OF VICTORY IN DROWNING WOMEN.

If we blunder blindly into new enmities, we play England's game. The effects of the break would be enormous. They would be felt in southeastern Europe, in the heart of Canada, Australia, Japan (to whose account a gigantic part of the over-seas arms and ammunition supplied to our foes must be placed), China, India, and Africa. Equally momentous for us would be the effect of a firm agreement. Yet it must not be prepared and received with a wry face; we do not wish to do what the enemy desires, but we also wish to swallow no poisoned pill. There must be neither untruthfulness nor underhand dealings. Let us fight whenever it is inevitable, but never when it can be avoided; let us wage no fight in which only frightfulness can bring victory. Should victory hinge upon the pitiless drowning of all defenseless men and women, old people and children, from neutral lands, in order to frighten every ship away from traffic with England, then millions of good Germans would feel no joy with England, then millions of good Germans would feel no joy in such a victory, and many a daring submarine commander would gladly exchange such hard duty for a watery grave. Never again could Germany assume her old position in the human race and live in communion with others, for she would then not only have sundered herself from the law of nations but would have broken a word that ought to have been binding upon her as an oath.

upon her as an oath.

This should have been foreseen before that word was pledged; now it is too late. If our position is shown to be untenable, it must be evacuated with the proud mien of him who has conquered himself. The bravest generals have often acted thus and have blamed the general who did not. They never hesitated before the phantom of "honor," that might change from the coat of arms to the funeral procession of a nation.

SENSITIVE, SWORDLESS, YET COURAGEOUS SOULS.

Let the sword be the instrument of the brain, the general the helper of the statesman. And whosoever deems the sword a rusty thing, no longer worthy of the new human race, let him not tax us for that reason with possessing a cowardly soul. Since every day the belief grows that military means are not sufficient to bring war's horrors to a successful end, necessity is forcing us to look upon reason as the root of politics, forcing us to the conviction that within our boundaries there are worthy, morally

sensitive, swordless, yet courageous souls.

In President Wilson's eyes war is a terrible crime, that bloody survival from the tales of knights, robbers, and ghosts against which Goethe once warned America's enthusiastic youth. He would apply international law and have a tribunal for laying it down and guaranteeing its execution. Are we to revile him for that? To-morrow 100,000,000 people will rally about him. Is he to be criticized for harboring the idea now and then that, after a triumphant war in Europe, all-powerful Germany would some day turn threateningly toward America and covet the hemisphere, discovered after the rest of the world, as an outlet for her long-repressed lust of power? He is mistaken (as an American, not as a slave of England); he will live to see our interests in harmony with his. When everybody has realized that even the strongest coalition can not conquer us despite the longest struggle, that the majority of voices in a debate is not, as it appeared to be in the days of the two groups of great powers, the expression of superior strength, then we may, without fear of being misunderstood, acknowledge our readiness for organized peace, such as will secure to each State its sovereignty. We will try every path that may lead toward this goal, willingly and without prejudice. If our answering note to America should show this willingness in words worthy of the great issue at stake, without foolish trimmings and distrustful fripperies, it would mean an appreciable step forward and, before the end of the summer, one of the heads of the military bogey would be hacked off.

Plentiful declarations of war have not turned the fifth chancellor of the German Empire from his wish to mix ethics with politics. German history and German genius will thank him if what now is weakness becomes the strength of a giant. Two rulers, essentially similar in mind, may easily come to an agree-

ment in the dwelling place of free nations.

"Peace be with you!" Must martyrs die on the threshold of every new doctrine? The seat of Paul is empty.

The Naval Appropriation Bill-Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. IRA C. COPLEY.

OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 2, 1916.

Mr. COPLEY. Mr. Chairman, probably no question that has been before the citizens of our country for the past generation lies closer to our hearts than this one of preparedness

Adequate preparedness means that we shall be able to protect the lives and firesides of our people not only within the geopraphical confines of the United States, but also in our dependencies, and in foreign countries, and on the great high-ways of commerce, whenever they are engaged in a lawful calling.

Some of our people apparently fail to realize that there is now a need for anything different than what they have had since the conclusion of the Spanish-American War. With these few I can have no quarrel. I take this occasion to express my own convictions on the subject, believing that they are sound, whether the standard by which they are judged be the general good to the greatest number in the entire world or the general good to the greatest number of our own citizens of these United States.

World conditions have changed within the last two years. Why, the very frame of mind of the people of most of the socalled civilized nations seems to have undergone a most radical change. It is no longer a question of the spirit of Christ, but one of might, each seeking to grasp for himself some advantage through the destruction of life, property, and happiness of his neighbor. It is war, and there is nothing nice about it.

It naturally occurs to us, as we are discussing the question of what we shall do to prevent ourselves from being drawn into this conflict, and to protect ourselves, not only during its progress but after it has been concluded, that there must be some cause for this. And if we can find the cause, perhaps we can more readily hit upon a course of action which will help us in maintaining a strict neutrality and in preserving for ourselves and our children such blessings as we now enjoy after the quarrel between the now contending nations has been finally adjusted.

For more than 250 years England has been supreme on the water, and she has been preeminent in commerce, just as has been every maritime nation since the beginning of time. These conditions have naturally developed an empire spirit in her people, and to-day the little island, with less than 40,000,000 of inhabitants, rules nearly 400,000,000 of other peoples, inhabiting territory many hundred times greater in extent than her own. All this has begat a peculiar school of statesmanship and diplomacy suited to her purposes.

Almost within the last half century another great nation has developed. When the "Smith of Sedan" welded the German States into one empire a rival that was to challenge England's

commercial supremacy found its beginning.

The German peoples, loosely bound together, had for a century or more been developing an intellectual efficiency that now had a chance to manifest itself along material lines. efficiency the world has never seen. Beginning with the child at the kindergarten, carrying him through their schools, which correspond to our grades, embracing vocational training from childhood, extending through the technical high schools and universities; the German mind as a whole has been trained in advance of that of any other nation.

They carried this along into their daily walks of life, into their work, their trade, business, or profession, and German efficiency stood at the outbreak of this war as a standard which no other people have ever yet reached in the history of this world. They began to use this training in production, distribution, selling, transportation, banking, and topped it all with the most scientific protective tariff that has ever been devised in this

world.

Fifty years of this began to manifest itself in the channels of commerce. England suffered most, and, as she always has done whenever her business has been interfered with, immediately her own efficient diplomacy found some combination to

curb the rising tide of a rival's trade.

It is impossible in a brief space of time to go into all the details leading up to this war. The prime cause was an endeavor

of each of these two great commercial nations to increase its own advantage in the race for wealth. The break was sure to come; everyone in Germany recognized it and prepared for the inevitable; everyone in England knew it but refused to believe it. In 1908, when Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, Russia, her ally, France, and England protested; but Russia was still carrying some fingers in splints as the result of her war with Japan and was not able to do her full share in the fight. Germany stood back of Austria and Austria retained those provinces.

At that time, in commenting on this incident, one of the great

captains of German industry used these words:

Germany's population has doubled within 40 years. We have admittedly the most sterile soil in all Europe. No longer will our soil support our people. We must either limit our population, which is unthinkable to the German, or we must find new colonies. England has a great many which she is not using, but she will not give any of them to us; she will not even sell them. There are a great many other places in the world to which England has no rights and in which she has no interests. Whenever we move in the direction of one of these we find a British battleship blocking our way Germany must have colonies either by peace or war, and I think England will give them to us by peace.

Some technical objection may be raised to some parts of this statement, but, in my candid opinion, it expresses the real cause

of this war, namely, trade expansion.

If, then, as seems clear, trade or wealth is the real cause of this war, what may we expect as our lot after this contest is over? Already we are taking over the trade of the world. The last figures available from the Department of Commerce, including April, 1916, show that we have imported for the 10 months of this fiscal year alone \$273,910,803 in gold more than we have exported, and for the 12 months ending April 30, 1916, our excess of imports of gold amounts to \$353,289,312, a sum so vast that it passes the comprehension of any of our great princes of commerce; but this is only a manifestation of our activities in which all our people are interested.

During these 10 months we exported a total of \$3,401,129,644 in goods, or \$1,678,707,529 more than we imported for these 10 months, while figures for the 12 months ending April 30 show exports of \$3,943,895,202, an excess of \$1,921,493,096 more than we imported during that period, and for the last 3 months our exports are at the rate of more than \$5,000,000,000 per year. England in her most prosperous times has never exported more than \$3,000,000,000 per year; Germany about half that figure.

This enormous balance of trade in our favor has resulted in adding to the stock of gold which we had before the war began, the enormous total of more than 20 per cent, and in addition probably around \$2,000,000,000 worth of our securities have been sent back to this country and are now owned by our people. No longer must interest and earnings be paid to the peoples of some foreign country. But this is only a beginning. facturing plant as organized is very much like a team of trained Our manufacturers are working at top-notch speed; their men wno work at the benches, their foremen, their selling agents are trained to the minute. Then what is going to happen

when this war closes? It is perfectly clear.

The official figures of the losses which Germany has sustained up to the 1st of May of this year amounted, exclusive of the naval list, to 2.822,000 men. Of these over 600,000 were killed in battle or died of wounds; another 150,000 died of sickness, their productive power destroyed for Germany forever. than a million, in addition, have been grievously wounded, their productive power seriously impaired for the rest of their natural lives; another million slightly wounded, their productive power more or less decreased; and any man who knows anything about the physical condition of men must realize that no man can serve in the trenches for any length of time under all the distressing and horrible conditions and retain a physical vitality that will allow him to produce in after years at a rate commensurate with what he might have done had he been engaged constantly in peaceful production. So I do not think it is far from the truth when I say that Germany has already lost the equivalent in production of more than 3,000,000 men. France necessarily must have lost about 60 per cent of this number; England about 30 per cent. Then, adding the losses in Belgium, we will surely find that our competitors have already lost the equivalent of

more than 6,000,000 producers.

I am not taking into consideration Austria, Italy, Russia, the Balkans, or Turkey, for they do not compete with us very much in the markets of the world. These 6,000,000 men who are gone are not the average of our competitors, but the best, strongest,

bravest, the most competent.

When this war is over the men now engaged must be returned to the channels of peaceful industry. In each one of the countries which is a manufacturing competitor of ours for the trade of the world, when the factory whistle blows on the morning of reopening it will find a very large number of its former employees absent forever. If this were the case in but one factory the loss might be supplied by drawing upon some other institution, but the same thing is true everywhere in all those countries. Any man who has had any experience in production knows exactly what it means if one-fifth, one-fourth, or, if this war lasts two years longer, even as many as one-half of all the producers, are suddenly destroyed. The United States must have the trade of the world, for no one else is in a position to compete with us for it.

The entire continent of Asia with nearly three-quarters of a billion inhabitants, the entire continents of South America, Africa, and Australia, all peopled by men who are not now manufacturers, and our country alone left in a position to produce economically, there can be but one result, the golden stream of wealth which has been pouring into this country, stimulated or directed primarily by the needs of our warring neighbors, will continue and must continue until they have been able to replace the producers in their ranks, and that, Mr. Chairman,

will require at least a generation.

Meanwhile, our manufacturers ought to be going on faster and faster. The opportunity is here, made for us, it is true, by the greed and blindness of our sister nations; but we are going to offer such a prize in commerce and trade as the world has never seen. If our neighbors in Europe are now contending for exactly this same prize, why should we hope to escape a shearing when, as a defenseless lamb, we are offering the richest of golden fleece?

What shall we do about it? We ought to have a trained army, amply and properly equipped, sufficient to mobilize at a moment's notice for defense of any point in our country. That question has been thoroughly thrashed out in this House. not agree with the conclusion, although I voted for it because it was the best that was offered to us by the majority. ought to have a navy of sufficient size and strength to prevent the landing of any soldier of any country in Europe on this Western Hemisphere without our consent. Such an army as we are likely to have will never be able to strike any of the European countries. We can not wage an offensive warfare with that army. No matter how great a navy we create we can never wage an offensive warfare on any country in Europe. When this war began, England had a fleet many times as effective as our own, and for nearly two years she has been unable to put a battleship within 50 miles of the German coast. England has spent nearly two years and seven billions of dollars developing an army, and she has not been able to put a soldier within 50 miles of the German frontier. Any army which we might create in this country could not do it in 10 years. Any navy which we might create could not within the same length of time accomplish what the Navy of Great Britain has been unable to do. There is no reason why the pacifists should agonize about the tendency to use an adequate army or an adequate navy whenever we have them, because it is perfectly clear that we could not accomplish anything offensive with either of them. And yet this war itself has shown us that when the prize is sufficient all the rights of neutrals guaranteed by treaties are of no avail. At this point I want to say that I am not one of those who is driven into a frenzy by the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, nor the sinking of the vessels carrying munitions of war, even though they also carry passengers. It is all horrible, but it is war, and every act of passengers. war is itself but one more added to the awful collection of

We have heard a lot about the hostage which we hold against attack by England; that Canada is her granary and is just to the north, with a population of about one-twelfth our own, and that we could take Canada, thereby interfering with England's grain supply. Why, the entire relation between England and this country was changed at the moment Field Marshal Kitchener began the raising of that enormous army. Prior to the outbreak of hostilities, insignificant as our Army was in numbers, it would compare favorably with the Army of Great Britain. We were nearer to Canada; our resources are greater than those of England; we could arm and equip and undoubtedly beat her in the race for that prize; but now England has spent billions of dollars and has a great army and the necessary guns. When this war closes, with her command of the sea, she could put a million men all along our northern borders inside of a very short space of time—in much less time, in fact, than we could make a sufficient number of guns and a sufficient amount of ammunition to oppose them, to say nothing of developing an army. England's granary is no longer hostage for good behavior.

We all know the history of the relations between England and this country, coming to the crisis in 1776 that gave us a national independence; again in 1812; and again in her sympathy with the South during our Civil War. But after the happy conclusion of that struggle England's policy entirely changed. At the close of the Civil War we had the greatest Army the world had ever seen up to that time, and trained to the moment. We had a Navy then, six ships of which could have met the combined fleets of all the powers of the world in the middle of the Atlantic and sunk them all with scarcely a scratch. They were the only "ironclads" in existence. England at once changed her policy toward us, and from that time until the breaking out of this war has courted our friendship. But England does not love us; neither does she hate us. She is for England and all of her peoples. And so, too, if Germany should win this war; Germany does not hate us, but she, too, is for Germany, and it does not need any word of mine to bring this House to a sense of realization that German efficiency knows exactly how to get what it wants if it has even so much as half a chance.

Our Navy ought to be made up of every conceivable kind of a fighting craft and properly balanced with dreadnaughts having the power to hand a buffet and receive one. It must have battle cruisers with their greater speed and great offensive power, with a lighter defensive armor. We must have fast cruisers for scouting purposes and for destroying enemies' commerce. We must have torpedo boats and torpedo-boat destroyers, submarines, and hydropianes, and everything that goes to make up a balanced Navy, and it may cost \$1,000,000,000 to build it. But what of it? Our national wealth is estimated at the present time at approximately \$200,000,000,000, and growing with such rapidity that the wildest flight of fancy can scarcely conceive what it will be within the next generation. One billion dollars properly spent will guarantee to us and our descendants forever the enjoyment of this prosperity which nature first bestowed upon our land, and which the courage, industry, and the sacrifices of our forefathers opened up. with this, not the least, is the blind, unreasoning stupidity of the warring nations of Europe. This war is not of There is not a man with the love of human kind our making. in his heart who does not want the war to cease at once. The opportunity is here for us, however.

I know that \$1,000,000,000 is an enormous sum, that the expenditure of this staggers the determination of almost any

man, and yet figures are but relative.

If a man owned a farm worth \$20,000, and there was some flaw to the title, or worse still, some truant watercourse which might destroy the fruitfulness of the farm and possibly the lives of the owner and his family, and if he could correct all this by the expenditure of only \$100 and failed to do it, there is not a prudent banker in all the United States who would loan that farmer money with which to prosecute his business. Likewise, if one of our thrifty artisans had a home worth \$2,000, with some weakness in the foundation or beams, which might at any moment collapse and destroy the life of himself or his family, together with the value of the house, and if \$10 intelligently spent would correct that and make the house safe and comfortable for his family and himself forever, and he failed to spend it, that man is not fit to own a home. One billion dollars, enormous as the sum is, sustains exactly the same ratio to the national wealth as \$100 does to the farm worth \$20,000, and again exactly the same ratio as \$10 does to the \$2,000 cottage.

I would vote for \$1,000,000,000 in bonds at once to build such a navy, and face my constituents in the consciousness that I had done my part in guaranteeing to them and myself and our posterity the prosperity and benefits for all time which peace

alone can give us.

We ought to lay down the keels of 20 of the greatest battleships that the world ever saw and enough of the other craft to balance up a navy, and continue this policy until the world understood that we proposed to control the waters over which

they might bring hostile armies to our shores.

We have no monopoly on the art of shooting straight. A naval battle to-day is a mere matter of the range of guns and the speed of the vessels. When Dewey fought the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay his guns outranged theirs, and he sank their vessels without sustaining an injury. When Togo fought the Russian fleet in the Japan Sea his ships were faster and his guns shot farther. He stood outside the range of Russian guns and sank their vessels without a scratch. When the Australian cruiser Sydncy overtook the German cruiser Emden the story was the same. Although the Emden was commanded by perhaps the greatest genius that this war has yet produced and was manned by a crew second to none for its courage and resourcefulness, the Sydncy could sail faster and her guns shot farther. I have seen the chart of the battle. The Sydncy kept the Emden under her guns all through, and on one occasion, when the

Emden tried to run in to get near enough so that her own guns could strike the Australian, the latter turned and ran. She made a complete loop to keep out of the range of the Emden guns, but never let the Emden get out of the range of hers. These tactics would not be allowed in an athletic contest, but there is nothing that is not fair in war, so the Emden was destroyed by superior speed and superior guns.

This last battle is so new that we practically have no information which would be of any value other than this—that undoubtedly heavily armored dreadnaughts and aircraft had much to do with it; but it is for our naval experts to tell us what we

ought to do.

The maintenance of a navy as a weapon of defense is much more economical from an industrial standpoint than an army. When this war broke out Great Britain had enlisted in her navy about 149,000 men, and yet that fleet practically held at bay, so far as England was concerned, the entire German Army of 5,000,000 men trained to the minute and equipped to the last word.

As I have said, a navy could not be used in making war upon a great people, but it could be used in destroying the commerce of our enemies. If we controlled the water, we could starve England within six months, even if the wins this war, by cutting off her food supplies. And if Germany should win and we controlled the water and destroyed her commerce, every sacrifice in blood and treasure which she has made will have been offered in vain. The moment this Congress announces to the world that it is our intention to control the water, no longer will Germany quibble with us about the violation of international law in her submarine warfare and no longer will England temporize with us about her violations of international law in seizing our cargoes and rifling our mails. Both of them will know just as soon as we make the start exactly what the end will be, and it will probably have more effect on ending this war than any other one thing that we or any other nation on earth can do.

I want the United States to possess the most powerful Navy the world has ever seen and never use it excepting in defense of ourselves and the oppressed of the world, and I close with the sentiment expressed by the foremost American citizen of this generation, "Speak softly and carry a big stick."

Naval Appropriation Bill-With Reference to the Government Armor-Plate Plant.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY W. WATSON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 13, 1916.

Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, there are many features in this bill that are not commendable, nor will they be acceptable to the American people as wise legislation. tendency of the Democratic Party is drifting toward socialism rather than that of Americanism-I mean by Americanism those principles which have regulated the policies of our Government from its conception, nearly within the memory of men now living, down to the present day. In this short period of our Nation's life we have grown from a very feeble and experi-mental beginning to be the richest Nation of the world. Two characteristic State doctrines were preeminent in molding our past history—individualism and protective tariff. In recent years there has been a receding from these principles toward Government ownership of our public utilities and a modification of our tariff laws. A tax on importations prevents the influx of foreign commodities and lessens the burden of taxation. system of raising revenue has always been persistently attacked by the Democratic Party as an infernal law in favor of the accumulation of personal wealth and in favor of the man of

"Confidence in the integrity and self-control and the good judgment of the people" was Jefferson's doctrine, and I heartily indorse it as my faith in the American people to control the public utilities and industries without Government intervention except for the proper regulation in the course of commerce. Government ownership would be to return to feudalism, with the state, instead of the lord of the manor, preventing the development of individualism. Under Government control all rules and regulations would be prescribed by Congress, and no redress

could be obtained except through the concurrence of the Senate and House, a long and tedious procedure. The Interstate Commerce Commission is another step toward Government control. It has a complished effectual work, but the continual enlargement of its powers will savor of Government control. If its authority becomes too rigid, small railroads eventually will be compelled to abandon their charters. There are railroads being operated at a loss on account of the orders issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Appeal has been made by many small railroads asking to be exempted from certain details which big rail-roads could easily observe. The answers are, "If you can not comply, you will be compelled to close your road or appeal to Congress for relief." The Interstate Commerce Commission, with its growing jurisdiction, may bar extensive railroad building; 933 miles of railroad were constructed in 1915, fewer miles than at any yearly period during the past 15 years. Its laws have surrounded new railroad projects with such exact regulations that it is quite impossible to raise money to construct them. The Parcel Post Service also is initiative for Government control in carrying articles of merchandise. I am in favor of a parcel-post system, but not to the extent that will prevent the continuity of private corporations. I do not advocate any course of Government that may tend to warp the adroitness of the American citizen and stop the building up of our great industries, of which there has been no parallel in history. Our Government is one of the people; it is, therefore, for them to decide whether or not they prefer Government ownership of our public utilities and of our industries.

The Government has no competition, no one to fear, no power

Corporations, in order to subsist, must perform services equal to their competitors, and all are regulated by laws of superior authority. Americans have been famous inventors and have given birth to many of the wonderful devices of machinery that now move our industrial world. Monarchical Governments and those who exercise control of their public utilities depend very largely upon the ingenuity of the American genius for inventions. American locomotives are found in service in every country. The telegraph, the telephone, the airship, and many of the marvelous applications of electricity in the industrial arts have been the inventions of Americans. The employee in Government plants has slight chance for promotion; his life is fixed the moment he accepts a position in the Government employ. The higher positions are all filled by political influence. This can not be avoided as long as political parties exist, for they must distribute patronage. We owe much of our unparalleled industrial progress to foreign-born men, whose abilities and chances would have been dwarfed under the political conditions of their native countries. These men's brains were not changed when they swore allegiance to America, but their opportunities were enlarged, the hope of wealth an incentive, and individualism untrammeled. Government control retards the higher development of the human intellect and dulls the inventive genius of man. If the value of inventions were tested in Government shops and their adoption approved by Government officials, many inventions of merit would not have

Eleven million dollars appropriated for a Government armorplate plant is a shadow of the future. I hope the people of the United States will not permit themselves to drift toward Government ownership and leave behind them pure Americanism, where freedom of religion, of speech, and of the press have been our greatest happiness, and individualism our national strength.

Naval Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN. OF TENNESSEE.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 29, 1916.

AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, practically the only foreign policy the United States has consistently maintained is the Monroe doctrine: The doctrine that the Americas shall be for Americans and that any encroachment on the sovereignty of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere will be regarded as a deliberately unfriendly act toward the United States. How near our adherence to that policy has come to precipitating us into war in the past, and how full of danger our future is if we do not abandon that policy, a thing not to be thought of, is apparent to all who read history and draw lessons from what

they read. Germany in particular has large colonies in South and Central America and her aggressive policies where her national and commercial interests are involved bodes ill for the future unless the character of her government and people have changed. Japan, with her teeming millions actively seek-ing markets as well as territory among our neighbors to the south, may, in the not distant future, so act that war becomes inevitable.

The submarine question is still fraught with danger even though for the moment our differences with Germany are seemingly satisfactorily adjusted. The President himself, in his recent address to Congress, stated that when Germany announced her intention of torpedoing vessels found within the so-called danger zone around the British Isles he saw that such a policy would at least involve a severance of diplomatic relations with that country. He has also stated, when urging the country to provide an adequate Army and Navy, that he knew not what the next day would bring forth.

It is not to be thought that should war with Germany come, Japan would fail to seize that opportunity, favorable from her point of view, to press for settlement the questions she has raised in California, and to remove the United States permanently as a power in the Far East. It is equally true that should we unfortunately be involved in war with Japan, the simplest common sense would make Germany an ally of Japan. Germany's grievances with us over the action of our Government in the present war, denoted by her as unneutral, furnish a greater cause for war than the reasons which have brought war to some of the European nations in the past year or two.

With the Monroe doctrine as our foreign policy, a policy involving the defense of the whole Western Hemisphere, and with our foreign relations such that the President characterizes them as likely to lead to war at any moment, it becomes our imperative duty to see to our Navy, our first line of defense. With the possibility of war with Germany or with Japan within a year or two, coupled with the probability that a war with one of those nations involves a war with both of those nations, we must not only strengthen our Navy but we must make it incomparably the superior of the navies of Germany and Japan combined.

The Members of this House are all alike in one respect. We are untrained in the naval profession. We are totally unacquainted with the various engines of naval warfare. We do not know by first-hand experience the relative value of the different classes of ships, and if we would act advisedly in legislating for the upbuilding of the Navy we must seek advice from those who are able to give it. The views and recom-mendations of two classes of individuals, relative to the Navy, have been voluminously and energetically presented to the Naval Committee, and from the wealth of information collected we are to determine whether or not this bill will so strengthen the Navy that it will be able without question to protect our shores from whatever quarter and at whatever time the enemy may

The first class represented before the Naval Committee are the civilians, nontechnical men like you and me. class is made up of naval officers who have given their entire lives to a study and to the use of the weapons and strategy employed in the navies of the world.

If you are accustomed to consult a doctor when you are engaged in a lawsuit, if you are accustomed to seeking advice of a lawyer on a question of farming, then I would expect you to go to the nontechnical civilians for expert advice on naval needs. If, on the other hand, as wise men you seek out a lawyer to advise you how to protect your legal interests; if you apply to a physician to care for your health, then I would expect you, if you would be consistent, to seek and act upon the advice of eminent naval men when you want guidance in naval matters.

Among the views expressed by civilian advisers, we have heard that we should lay down far more vessels of war this year than the shipyards of the country, at double their capacity, could build. Other gentlemen of the same element urge that we dismantle all of our ships, cease our training, and let our Navy become an impotent thing, a Navy in name only. Granting that these gentlemen all speak from the heart, we can not grant that they speak with knowledge. They may express what they personally would like to see done, but they do not know what *should* be done, an entirely different thing, for they lack that intimate knowledge of naval affairs ar! naval needs which must be found in our advisers if their advice is to be of value to us.

of the world and on what additions are necessary to round out and make stronger and more perfect such a Navy as we have to-day. However, the consensus of their views, after bringing to bear the work and training of their lifetimes in the naval service, is that the Navy of the United States is fourth in strength among its possible attagonists. They tell us that our most pressing needs from the standpoint of ships are, first, more capital ships—that is, dreadnaughts and battle cruisers—next, more scouts; third, more destroyers; and fourth, more submarines.

The General Board of the Navy, with Admiral Dewey at its head and with three rear admirals and five captains of the Navy among its members, have recommended the construction of certain ships; the Secretary of the Navy has proposed a different building program, and this bill provides for still another list of ships. The General Board, especially trained and chosen, may, I believe, be safely taken to represent the average views of our trained naval officers, and it is generous to assume that the recommendations of Secretary Daniels are a mean between the views of the preparedness and pacifists elements of the country. The former is representative of the trained advisers, while the latter is representative of the non-technical element of the country and is largely talking of what they want as distinguished from what the Navy needs.

The General Board recommends eight capital ships; Mr. Daniels, four; and this bill calls for five capital ships, all battle cruisers. In the matter of capital ships the General Board is for a whole Navy; Secretary Daniels is for half a

Navy; and this bill is for but little better.

As for scout cruisers, the type of vessel which has been aptly termed the eyes of the fleet, the General Board recommends six. The Secretary of the Navy is again for a 50 per cent program and recommends three. In this bill we are asked to let the fleet go partially blind and get along with two-thirds of the required number.

When it comes to torpedo-boat destroyers, vessels of high speed, carrying ready for instant use a dozen of probably the most effective naval weapons, the torpedo, it appears that this bill provides for 10 of these vessels, when we are told by the general board that to improve the standing of our Navy we should build 28. Secretary Daniels is for 15, but even he seems to be too much of a big Navy man in this particular for the members of the Naval Committee, who voted for but 10 of these vessels.

In the matter of submarines, as with destroyers, the new construction provided for in this bill is a compromise. It is a futile attempt to delude the country into believing that the Navy is being made right, when as a matter of fact but a fractional part of the ships needed are provided. A weak Navy is worse than no Navy at all, for, while both invite disaster when war comes, in the latter case you do not needlessly sacrifice men and money.

I want a Navy complete in all its parts; so complete that the chances of war are reduced to a minimum; so strong that no nation will with impunity flout us; so powerful that wherever American citizens go they will be free from the insults now heaped upon them in almost every foreign country simply because they are Americans. I am for the general board's building program throughout. I hope to see Congress provide in this bill for 4 dreadnaughts, 4 battle cruisers, 6 scouts, 28 destroyers, and as many submarines as can be handled by our shipyards.

The recommendations of the majority of the Naval Committee falls far short of an adequate increase in the matériel. The best proof of that fact is that with the program proposed, our Navy will be, when these ships are completed, still the fourth Navy in the world if foreign nations continue their peace-time building program. I am not content to see our Navy remain in fourth place, and I am for twice as many ships as the General Board has recommended if that is necessary to make us superior on the sea to Germany and to Japan combined.

Admiral Winslow, the commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet, states that his fleet, charged with the protection of the entire west coast of the United States, could easily be defented by one modern dreadnaught. Are you gentlemen of the west coast aware that this bill does not provide for a single dreadnaught and are you content to have the present state of affairs on the west coast continue? Will you not provide one modern dreadnaught at least? Do you not realize that with Germany to handle on the east coast, the Atlantic Fleet will have all it can do, if not more than it can do, and that no vessels will be available on this side to send to your aid? With Japan able to send, at a moment's notice, more dreadnaughts and battle cruisers to the west coast to lay waste to your cities than we have in commission in our entire fleet; are you not blind to your danger when you fail to provide ships at least equal in

kind and quantity to those found in the Navy of that warlike nation immediately to the west of you?

But the interests of the west coast are the interests of the east coast as well. An act that hurts a part of the United States hurts all of it, and it is as vital to the interests of my constituents in the mountains of east Tennessee as it is to the interests of our people who live in coast cities, that we have a strong Navy always ready and able to keep inviolate the lives

and property of our people.

Congresses of the past have not fully met the situation, otherwise we would not be the fourth naval power of the world to-I can only regret that the majority of my associates here did not vote with me when I consistently cast my vote for the largest fleet program proposed each year. Granting that omissions have been made, it is nevertheless possible, by a simple amendment to this bill, to make up, in a large measure, for those deficiencies. I refer to the proposal to offer bonuses to shipbullders who will speed up their work on naval construction, complete all naval work in the shortest possible time, and make our Navy stronger to-day without waiting for a distant to-mor-I would go even further. I would have the Secretary of the Navy withdraw the contracts awarded to the navy yards for the two capital ships appropriated for last Congress and call upon such outside shipyards as can begin work on those vessels immediately. The procedure Secretary Dameis has seen at adopt in this particular is, in effect, a disregard of the will of Congress. The dreadnaught to be built at the Mare Island Congress. will not even be begun until two years after those ves-, sels were authorized. Congress was not legislating for vessels to be acquired in the dim future, but was seeking to increase the Navy of to-day. Were those ships to be constructed in civilian shipyards they would be about 50 per cent complete on the day when, under Secretary Daniels' procedure, they will just be begun. Preparedness is thus delayed two years when the President says he does not know when war will break

Watchful waiting applied to naval construction will never

produce a Navy.

So, I would urge that we provide in this bill that the vessels we have authorized and the new construction carried by this measure shall be completed in the shortest possible time, and if a bonus of 20 per cent is necessary to produce that result then let

us provide that bonus.

But our duty does not end when we have provided the necessary number of ships of all classes. Ships are helpless, in fact they are an added danger, without trained officers and men to man them. Alarming as is our situation when we compare the number of military vessels we possess with those in foreign navies, even more desperate is our position in regards to the personnel of our Navy. The bill now under consideration does, in a half-hearted manner, seek to enlarge the matériel, and while, in a small measure, it increases the number of enlisted men, it is woefully deficient as regards the personnel situation as a whole.

The training of officers to handle the fighting machines of the Navy and to drill and instruct the enlisted men in their manifold duties can not be accomplished overnight. It has been stated that it requires 10 years from the day a boy enters the Naval Academy to the day he becomes an experienced and valuable officer. The Naval Academy has been and will continue to be the only eminently satisfactory source from which we can draw our officers. Recognizing that fact, this Congress increased the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy by an average of about 75 graduates a year. We are told that the Navy to-day is short about 1,000 line officers, and this estimate is exclusive of the additional officers necessary by virtue of any new construction provided for in this bill.

The increase in the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy will make up that shortage in about 13 years, in which time we will be even more embarrassed for officers than at present unless we do something now to remedy the situation. If it takes so long to get satisfactorily trained officers, if we want only the best officers—and they can be obtained only through the Naval Academy—we should at the time we provide for additional ships provide for additional appointments at the

Naval Academy.

So this bill is again deficient in that it makes no provision for officers for the ships it proposes that we build. It is too much to expect the ships to run themselves, but that seems to be the idea. I am in favor of a further increase of the Naval Academy, made now so that we will not be disappointed if the miracle of ships moving and fighting without officers and men does not materialize.

We have also been told that we are not only short of the total number of officers but also of officers of the proper rank. We

need more flag officers, more captains, more commanders, and so forth, and the matter of readjusting the rank of the officers now in the service to accord with their duties and responsibilities can and should be done now by the insertion of a few words

I have always been a great admirer of the Marine Corps. The officers and men of that organization are always ready when called upon for duty, and their calls are frequent. The Marine Corps is a highly efficient organization and deserves and receives the recognition that is justly due it as such. Therefore I am glad to see that this bill carries in it a substantial increase in that Corps and at the same time carries legislation which will

promote its officers as they deserve to be promoted.

However, I do not see why a distinction should have been made against the naval officers and in favor of the Marine Corps Naval officers, like their brothers in the Marine Corps, are constantly engaged in arduous and exacting duties and I believe their rank and pay should be commensurate with the responsibilities they are called on to assume. We have young officers with the lives of many men in their keeping, in charge of hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of property, and at the same time those officers are far junior in rank and receive less remuneration for their services than officers of other navies occupying much less responsible positions. A laborer is worthy of his hire, and I do not believe that the injustice now being done these officers by retarding the advancement they have so fully earned should longer be continued. In other words, let us do for the Navy what this bill does for the Marine Corps and include in its provisions a law which will so distribute the officers we now have, that they will not feel that an invidious distinction is being made in favor of the Marine Corps.

As for the enlisted personnel, the blue ackets necessary to man our ships, this bill carried an increase of about 13,000. The hearings show that our shortage in this respect is to-day in the neighborhood of 30,000, without counting additional men needed for new construction. On this matter we do not have to seek expert advice. Any layman can go to any of our principal navy yards and see vessel after vessel laid up for want of men. When war comes we must have trained men in abundance, and if they are to be trained after the outbreak of war, we had better disband the Navy at this time. We can not wave a wand and have thousands of men spring up, and men are not trained manof-war's-men when they have been taught to salute. It takes months, perhaps a year of unremitting labor, and the longer the beginning of that work is postponed the longer will our Nation

be helpless efficiently to resist any aggressor.

An increase of but 13,000 men in another halfway measure and is another attempt to compromise with truth.

Naval Appropriation Bill-Proper Preparedness-Give the People Full Values.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM J. CARY.

OF WISCONSIN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 2, 1916.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, in the program that is being put through Congress this session the legislation providing for "Preparedness" dominates everything else and is, I think,

the question that most interests the country.

There are, as always, sincere but misguided men who never believe in preparing for a possible danger, and in the past history of our country this class was numerous enough to make some very sad history. The War of 1812 found us without adequate I reparation, and though we won that war it was an indecisive victory, and it cost us the destruction of our Capitol and the loss of wealth and life much of which could have been avoided by proper preparation. The War with Mexico and the Civil War were both carried on in the early stages under heavy handlcaps; and even after all of these lessons, when the Spanish-American War came it found us once more unprepared, and thousands of our bravest boys were sacrificed who would to-day be living if Army and Navy, hospital and commissary, ordnance and equipment had each and all been ready and prepared for rapid mobilization and efficient coordination.

Much of the legislation along these lines should have been enacted years ago. Ever since I have been a Member of Con-

gress I have consistently supported every honest and sincere measure to keep us prepared at all times to defend our Nation against the world if necessary. I have voted for increases in the Navy at all times and never along partisan lines.

During these last months it has been my aim to vote consistently for every measure providing for adequate defense both on land and sea. The increase in the Army, the establishment of a Government plant for the manufacture of nitrates, the development of an efficient Aviation Corps, the construction of sufficient submarines, the building of an adequate number of battleships and the establishment of a Govern-

ment-owned armor-plate plant.

Two of these propositions, the establishment of Governmentowned nitrate and armor-plate plants met with considerable opposition from the same sources that have always opposed the building of battleships in Government navy yards. years ago there was very violent opposition to the building of battleships in navy yards and the arguments of the big ship yards were amusingly similar to the arguments of the armor

plate people to-day.

They said then, as the armor-plate people say now, that the Government could never make the ships as cheaply as a private plant, but careful investigation proved that while the overhead charges at the navy yards made the original cost of the ships a little higher, the superior workmanship and care in construction made the expenditure for repair so much less that the difference in original cost was more than offset. It was further discovered that as soon as ships were built in Government navy yards the prices of the private plants immediately began to decrease, and it is almost laughable to-day to note that the armor-plate people are tearfully offering to give us armor plate ever so much cheaper if we will only continue to do business with them. Some of the advocates of the Armor Plate Trust on the floor of this House have endeavored to show that the cost of armor plate in this country compares favorably with the cost in other countries. The cost of armor plate, ably with the cost in other countries. The cost of armor plate, the cost of naval construction, and the maintenance of the Navy in this country do not compare favorably in any detail or as a whole.

If we had received anything like an adequate return for money expended in naval construction during the last decade our Navy would be twice the size it is. Just let us examine the figures of the four great nations of the earth for a period of the last 12 years for naval construction:

Great Britain_____United States_____ \$1, 999, 209, 088 1, 331, 721, 206 854, 053, 078 791, 244, 187 Germany _____ France____

We have spent in that time over \$200,000,000 more than France and Germany combined. Does anybody in this House believe that our Navy is stronger than the navies of France and Germany combined or even as strong? Once more that old, old, sickening question arises, that never will down, "Where did the

money go?"
As I stated in the early part of my speech, I have always, since I became a Member of Congress, voted for an adequate increase in our naval strength. But over and over again I have

insisted, and over and over again I intend to insist, on the right of the people to know "where the money goes."

I have been accused of being against "Preparedness." I have been accused of patriotism. I have been accused of not supporting the President in his demand for proper defense because I have continued to ask this question; but my record will show that I was for a strong Navy when more than one Member who to-day shouts for preparedness was known as a "littlenavy" man.

But-and on this side of the question I have not changed and will never change-I believe in a defense that will defend the Nation, and not in defense that will only enrich the millionaire armor-plate plutocrat. I believe in a defense that will make the nations of the earth respect us in peace and fear us in war. I believe in a program of defense that will employ the very best inventive skill of the Nation and enlist brains rather than dollars to devise and create effective means to combat the ingenuity of other nations.

I have called attention before, and I call attention again, to the almost criminal neglect of the inventor in this country. call attention again to the machinations of the Armor Plate Trust against every invention that might injure their business,

and quote herewith from previous speeches of mine.

I think I would also be able to show why our Navy is not in harmony with modern science; why we have no large-caliber guns which can throw high-explosive shells, such as are now being used in the European war; why we have no armored automobiles with automatic machine guns; why our inventors have

been turned down by our Navy Department when they offered their inventions exclusively to our Government; why American inventors are obliged to sell their inventions to foreign countries, where they are received with honor and profits. England knighted our American citizen, Hiram Maxim, and made him rich for his invention of the automatic machine gun, while he received only snubs and ridicule from our bureaucracy. Germany is relying on the "Gathmann system" of high explosives and large-caliber guns to conquer the whole of Europe. Yet this Chicago inventor, after offering his various inventions exclusively to the United States Government, was rebuffed and ignored by the "ring" which controls and was forced to lay his life work to Germany and Japan, which have adopted them, and his only hope now is that they will never be used against the Government which spurned him.

I will give only a partial list of American inventors who were first in every line of modern improvements, none of which improvements were adopted by our hypnotized Government

officials.

Improvements were adopted by our hypnotized Government officials.

D. W. Meacham, 908793, January 5, 1909; war car, filed May 11, 1908; class 89—40

A. McF. McSweeney, 1002169, August 29, 1911; skirmish machine, filed July 8, 1910; class 89—40.

Bowman & Hughes, 662761, November 27, 1910; machine gun, filed April 5, 1900; class 89—40.

W. S. Isham, 622479, April 4, 1899; shell for high explosives, filed November 28, 1898; class 102—30.

H. P. Hurst, 582063, May 4, 1897; high-explosive shell and fuse, filed June 10, 1896; class 102—39.

H. P. Hurst, 608125, July 26, 1898; high-explosive shell and fuse, filed April 28, 1897; class 102—39.

L. Gathmann, 569192, October 13, 1896; high-explosive shell, filed April 16, 1896; class 102—30.

L. Gathmann, 639227, December 19, 1899; torpedo shell for high explosives, filed November 4, 1898; class 102—30.

L. Gathmann, 672827, April 23, 1901; shell for high explosives, filed November 25, 1898; class 102—30.

L. Gathmann, 569191, October 13, 1896; projectile and gun for throwing same, filed March 17, 1896; class 102—30.

J. W. Graydon, 399881, March 19, 1889; shell, filed November 8, 1888; class 102—30.

W. S. Isham, 801877, October 17, 1895; gun carriage, filed December 17, 1902; class 89—43.

S. N. McLean, 1005263, October 10, 1911; gas-operated machine gun, filed February 20, 1888; class 102—30.

J. W. Graydon, 382224, May 1, 1888; high-explosive shell, filed February 15, 1888; class 102—30.

J. W. Graydon, 382225, May 1, 1888; high-explosive shell, filed February 15, 1888; class 102—30.

J. W. Graydon, 382225, May 1, 1888; high explosive shell, filed February 15, 1888; class 102—30.

J. W. Graydon, 382225, May 1, 1888; high explosive shell, filed February 15, 1888; class 102—30.

J. W. Graydon, 382233, May 1, 1888; shell for explosives, filed June 25, 1887; class 102—30.

J. W. Graydon, 382233, May 1, 1888; shell for explosives, filed June 25, 1887; class 102—30.

GUNS FOR HIGH EXPLOSIVES.

Gathmann, 678557, July 16, 1901; filed March 16, 1899. Gathmann, 569190. October 13, 1896; filed July 10, 1893. Gathmann, 424969, April 8, 1890; filed March 26, 1889.

AUTOMATIC GUNS.

Maxim, 321513, July 7, 1885; fited May 2, 1884.
Maxim, 459828, September 22, 1891; filed December 28, 1886.
Maxim, 577485, February 23, 1897; filed March 30, 1896.
Maxim, 439248, October 28, 1890, filed April 4, 1890.
Maxim, 317161, May 5, 1885; filed May 27, 1884.
Maxim, 321513, July 7, 1885; filed May 2, 1884.
Lewis, 1004666, October 3, 1911; filed June 27, 1910.

Why have we lagged behind in all modern developments of armament, ammunition, and everything that goes to make an efficient modern fighting force? We had the inventors; we had the money; we have the men.

The submarine was an American invention. While all of the nations of Europe have developed this form of fighting sea craft to a remarkable degree of efficiency we have neglected it outrageously.

The flying machine was an American invention, and what have we done with it? Our whole aviation system is an international joke. We have a ridiculously small number of machines, most of them obsolete; and worse yet, we have put officers in charge of aviation stations that know nothing of the science of aviation.

Last June I paid a visit to the aviation station at San Diego, and found about 10 or 12 machines, of which only 2 were workable, 1 aeroplane and 1 hydroplane. The rest were ready for the scrap heap, as no one would dare to go up in them.

For the two which were still usable there were no extra parts available in case of accident, and the men were even timid about going up in these two, not because the men were at all cowardly, but simply because the machines were defective and none of them at all alike.

Holland, the inventor of the submarine, died in poverty. Langley was laughed at for his experiments with the aeroplane, and his death was probably hastened by the ridicule that followed his brave efforts to make us understand that aerial flight was feasible.

It will therefore be readily apparent that not only will the Government save money by making its own armor plate, but it will eliminate a most vicious system of graft and will give some encouragement to able and honest inventors.

Let us therefore carefully scrutinize each and every measure for "preparedness" that comes before the people.

If war comes millions of our citizens will be ready to offer their young manhood, their strength, their health, their lives, if need be; they are entitled to the best arms, the best equipment, the best care that money can buy and mortal brain devise to keep them fit and efficient.

On all legislation that comes before this House, no matter what its party origin may be, if it calls for proper defense I shall be ready and willing to lend my earnes; support, but over and over I will repeat that every measure for defense must guarantee that the taxpayer shall get full value for every dollar spent, that the Army and Navy shall have the best of everything that money can buy, and that manufacturer and producer shall be taught and taught emphatically that if they want Government trade they must set and keep a standard that matches, if it does not surpass, the best that any nation in the world can show.

"The American Army of Two "-Sale of Cedar Point Lighthouse Reservation at Scituate, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH WALSH. OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 8, 1916.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, the passage of this bill, S. 5910, would ordinarily call for no extended statement were it not that the tract of land and the structure thereon, which are herein authorized to be sold to the town of Scituate, are the subject of an interesting incident intimately related to the history of that section during the War of 1812.

The old lighthouse on Cedar Point, Scituate, was established by the Federal Government in 1811, but its use as an aid to navigation has long since been discontinued because it was found more economical and practical in modern times to locate

and maintain a fixed light on the bar offshore.

The people of the historic old town of Scituate, however, The people of the instoric old town of Scituate, however, have for some time leased the old reservation and maintained it as a part of the park system, and it is their desire to acquire this property so that it may be held in perpetuity as a part of the attractive recreation grounds and parkways which have been established there. They are also ever mindful of the traditions clustering around this quaint and beautiful spot, and delight in telling the story of Rebegge and Abignil Bates, these delight in telling the story of Rebecca and Abigail Bates, those two brave daughters of the light keeper, Simeon Bates, whose courage and daring in September, 1814, saved the property—and probably the lives—of their townspeople from seizure and attack by a British man-of-war.

It was during the blockade of the New England coast by the British, in the War of 1812, that one pleasant September morning in 1814 the English warship *La Hogue* dropped anchor off the harbor of Scituate, less than 2 miles from the Cedar Point Lighthouse.

Floating at their moorings in the inner harbor were two coasting schooners, laden with flour and provisions. The two girls, Rebecca, scarcely 19 years of age, and Abigail, her sister, aged 15, were the sole occupants of the keeper's dwelling, which, as was the custom in those days, and is common even now, was connected with the lighthouse by a covered passage. They were

by signs of activity aboard the war vessel.

Watching for a time, they saw two of the ship's boats put off toward the craft in the inner harbor. As the boats embarking from the warship were filled with redcoats, the girls soon sensed the object of their departure.

Without stopping to warn their father, who was busily engaged in the fields about a mile away, the sisters snatched from the wall the drum and fife which had been carried by their father in the War of the Revolution, in which he enlisted when but a lad of 16. With these they hastened to the shore at the outer extremity of Cedar Point, and, concealing themselves behind a sandy cliff, they tooted the fife and beat the drum.

So vigorously did they perform and so martial were the strains from the fife and drum, which were wafted to the crews of the oncoming barges, that they shifted their course and headed back toward the man-of-war. The commander, apparently assuming that so much music indicated the presence of a considerable military force within the town, soon afterwards gave orders to heave up anchor and sailed away, leaving the vessels in the harbor and the townspeople unmolested. An authentic account of this incident may be found in volume 17 of Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society.

And so, sir, by granting the authority to sell this reservation to the town of Scituate, we make it possible for the good people of that historic community to forever keep this spot as a memorial to "the army of two in the War of 1812," as the Bates

sisters were known during the years that followed.

The citizens of Scituate are to be congratulated upon their public spirit in appropriating the necessary funds to acquire this tract, and I compliment them for their patriotic desire to perpetuate in this commendable manner one of the many sacred traditions connected with the history of this delightful old Plymouth colony town.

May the story of these two brave daughters of Scituate ever be kept in happy memory, and may their sturdy courage and patriotism prove an inspiration to the sons and daughters not only of Scituate but beyond its borders as our Nation marches down the corridors of time.

Address of Martin H. Glynn, Temporary Chairman Democratic National Convention.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM A. CULLOP,

OF INDIANA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, June 15, 1916.

Mr. CULLOP. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address by ex-Gov. Martin H. Glynn, of New York, delivered at the Democratic national convention at St. Louis yesterday, June 14.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF MARTIN H. GLYNN, FORMER GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, TEM-PORARY CHAIRMAN DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION AT ST. LOUIS, Mo., JUNE 14, 1916.

Gentlemen of the convention, the Democratic Party, in this convention assembled, meets to perform a duty, not to itself but to the Nation. Proud of the part it has played in the Nation's past, the party of Jefferson and of Jackson is gathered here to dedicate itself anew to the preservation of a free, a united, a sovereign Republic.

We are proud of the battles we have fought in the past under the emblem of a great political party, but there is a truth that we desire to blazon above all that we may say or do in this con-

We have entered this hall as Democrats; we shall deliberate

and act here as Americans.

We who gather in this hall stand for the Americanism of the fathers who laid the foundations of this Nation so strong and deep that no storm has ever rocked them, no upheaval ever moved them. We stand for the Americanism which under the magic spell of citizenship and the mystic influence of the Stars and Stripes converts men of every country into men of one suntry, and that country our country; men of every flag into men of one flag, and that flag our flag.

OUR IDEALS AND OUR ASPIRATIONS.

When a hundred years look back upon this gathering of to-day, when we who now guard the ark of American covenant have become nothing but a memory and a name, the principles for which we declare in this convention, the issues for which we fight in this campaign will live in the lives of generations of Americans vet unborn.

If in the great crisis that now confronts the Nation, the American people falter, if they forget that they are guardians of the most sacred trust that a people ever held, their apostasy will be visited upon the descendants of their children's children.

Out of the flaming fire of revolution, out of a struggle in which they risked their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor the fathers of the Republic brought a Nation which they dedicated to liberty and to human progress.

For the Nation so consecrated, true men in every generation have labored and struggled, suffered and died, that it might flourish and endure.

We who stand to-day on the fertile soil of America, who live under the smiling skies of a free and fruitful land, must prove worthy of the trust that American sacrifice has imposed on every American.

For the America of to-day and for the America of to-morrow, for the civilization of the present and for the civilization of the future we must hold to the course that has made our Nation great, we must steer by the stars that guided our ship of state through the vicissitudes of a century.

For myself I have confidence enough in my country, faith enough in my countrymen, to believe that the people of America will rise to their responsibilities with a single mind and a single

Disregarding the divisions that make one man a Tory and another a Whig, one man a Republican and another a Democrat, Americans will cast aside the tinsel of party labels and the mummery of party emblems.

From the great pulsing heart of the Nation will come a patriot command to crush partisanship, and rebuke whatever is mean or

That command will be heard by the plowman in his field and by the laborer at his bench. It will reach the merchant in his office and the lawyer at his desk.

Responding to this command a Nation true to its traditions, proud of its greatness, glorying in its progress and believing in its future will prove that the spirit of Americanism burns as brightly in the heart of America to-day as it did in the splendid days of old.

And when, a century from now, America's children come to read our history, when at last they learn whether the men of 1916 were as true to America as the men of 1776, we pray God that the history we are about to make may prove an inspiration to their loyalty, that the pages we are about to write may be a spur to their patriotism and that our labors here and in the months to come may have preserved for them a Nation free and proud, an ideal sublime and true, a flag whose stars reflect the changeless majesty of the celestial galaxy itself.

In the attainment of this hope, the utterance of this prayer, we who gather here to-day have a responsibility that sobers our emotions as it strengthens our resolutions. false to ourselves and recreant to those who send us here if we permitted any thought of partisan profit, any consideration of political advantage to obscure our vision of the tremendous issues now before the people of the United States. We must cast aside all that is selfish, we must hold ourselves worthy of a Nation's confidence by offering only the best of our intelligence, the flower of our patriotism toward the solution of what all men perceive to be a crisis in the Nation's affairs.

SHALL WE REJECT THE DOCTRINES OF OUR FATHERS?

One hundred and forty years ago the manhood of America was called upon to decide whether this should be a nation. Half a century ago Americans were forced to determine whether this should continue to be a nation. To-day the Republic faces a third crisis no less momentous than that of 1776 or that 1860. To-day Americans must again determine whether their country shall preserve its national ideals, whether it shall have a national soul, whether it shall stand forth as a mighty and undivided force, whether the United States for which Washington fought and for which Lincoln died shall hold its place among the nations.

For two years the world has been afire; the civilization that we know has been torn by the mightiest struggle in its history. Sparks from Europe's conflagration have blazed in our own skies, echoes of her strife have sounded at our very doors. That fire still burns, that struggle still continues, but thus far the United States has held the flame at bay; thus far it has saved its people from participation in the conflict.

What the people of the United States must determine through their suffrage is whether the course the country has pursued through this crucial period is to be continued; whether the principles that have been asserted as our national policy shall be indorsed or withdrawn.

This is the paramount issue. No lesser issue must cloud it,

no unrelated problems must confuse it.

In the submission of this issue to the electorate we of this

onvention hold these truths to be self-evident to every student of America's history, to every friend of America's institutions:

First. That the United States is constrained by the traditions of its past, by the logic of its present, and by the promise of its future to hold itself apart from the European warfare, to save its citizens from participation in the conflict that now devastates the nations across the seas.

Second. That the United States in its relations with the European belligerents must continue the policy that it has pursued since the beginning of the war, the policy of strict neutrality in relation to every warring nation, the policy which Thomas Jefferson defined as "rendering to all the services and courtesies of friendship and praying for the reestablishment of peace and right."

Third. That save where the liberties, the territory, or the substantial rights of the United States are invaded and assaulted it is the duty of this Nation to avoid war by every

honorable means.

Fourth. That it is the duty of the United States Government to maintain the dignity and the honor of the American Nation and in every situation to demand and secure from every belligerent the recognition of the neutral rights of its citizens. Fifth. That because the President of the United States has

Fifth. That because the President of the United States has asserted these principles and pursued these policies the American people must support him with ardor and with enthusiasm in order that these principles and policies may be known to all the world, not as the opinion of an individual but as the doctrine and faith of a loyal and united Nation.

THE POLICY OF NEUTRALITY IS AS AMERICAN AS THE AMERICAN FLAG.

In emphasis of these self-evident propositions we assert that the policy of neutrality is as truly American as the American flag.

For 200 years neutrality was a theory; America made it a fact.

The first President of the United States was the first man

to pronounce neutrality a rule of international conduct.

In April, 1793, Washington declared the doctrine; and within a month John Jay, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, in an epoch-making decision from the bench, whose realization would insure universal and perpetual peace, wrote the principle into the law of this land. The Declaration of Independence had foretold it by declaring "the rest of mankind enemies in war, in peace friends"; the Constitution recognized it; but the first President of the United States, by proclamation, the first Chief Justice, by interpretation, gave it vitality and power.

And so neutrality is American in its initiation.

Thirty years later Prime Minister Canning, in the British Parliament, pointed to this American policy of neutrality as a model for the world; and 80 years later, after approval by various statutes and agreements, it was written almost word for word in the treaty wherewith we settled our differences with England over violations of neutrality throughout the Civil War.

And so neutrality is American in its consummation.

And to-day in this hall, so that all the world may hear, we proclaim that this American policy of neutrality is the policy which the present administration pursues with patriotic zeal and religious devotion, while Europe's skies blaze red from fires of war. Europe's soil turns red from blood of men, Europe's eyes see red from tears of mourning women and from sobs of starving children.

The men who say this policy is not American appeal to passion and to prejudice and ignore the facts of history.

Neutrality is America's contribution to the laws of the world. Sir Henry Maine says so, Charles Francis Adams says so, Henry Clay says so, Daniel Webster says so, and upon the evidence of these witnesses we rest our Americanism against the sputterings of pepper-pot politicians or the fabrications of those with whom a false issue is a good issue until its falsity is shown, its maliciousness exposed.

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.

For enforcing this policy of neutrality George Washington was hooted by a howling mob of 10,000 war fanatics, who threatened to pull him from the presidential chair and start a revolution. But half a century later Charles Sumner said that—

Washington upholding the peaceful neutrality of this country, while he met unmoved the clamor of the people wickedly crying for war, is a greater man than Washington crossing the Delaware or taking Cornwallis's sword at Yorktown.

For supporting this policy of neutrality in a speech in the city of New York Alexander Hamilton was stoned almost to death, John Jay burned in effigy, Jefferson called a spineless poltroon, and Lincoln pictured as a craven. To-day, however, the Nation goes to all these men for its every conception of all that is best in American citizenship.

The fate of the fathers of our country at the hands of a noisy minority is the fate of the President of the United States to-day. But their reward of dignities merited and honors conferred will be his reward when the people speak on the 8th of next November.

WHERE THE PRESIDENT STANDS.

To win this priceless right of neutrality this Nation had to undergo a long and painful struggle.

It took Washington, with his allies and sword, 8 years to win recognition of his country's liberty; it took Washington and his successors 80 years of endless negotiation to win recognition of American neutrality. And this 80 years of struggle wove the doctrine of neutrality so closely into the warp and woof of our national life that to tear it out now would unravel the very threads of our existence.

Where is the American hardy enough to challenge a policy so firmly fixed in the Nation's traditions? Is there among us any man bold enough to set his wisdom above that of Washington, his patriotism above that of Hamilton, and his Americanism above that of Jefferson? Is there any American so blind to our past, so hostile to our future, that, departing from our policy of neutrality, he would hurl us headlong into the maeistrom of the

war across the sea?

The President of the United States stands to-day where stood the men who made America and who saved America. He stands where John Adams stood when he told King George that America was the land he loved and that peace was her grandeur and her welfare. He stands where Gen. Grant stood when he said there never was a war that could not have been settled better some other way, and he has shown his willingness to try the ways of peace before he seeks the paths of war. He stands where George Washington stood when he prayed that this country would never unsheath the sword except in self-defense so long as justice and our essential rights could be preserved without it.

For vainglory or for selfish purpose others may cry up a policy of blood and iron, but the President of the United States has acted on the belief that the leader of a nation who plunges his people into an unnecessary war, like Pontius Pilate, vainly washes his hands of innocent blood while the earth quakes and the heavens are darkened and thousands gave up the ghost.

Only by standing on this rock of Americanism, against which dashed the waves of conflict, could the President of the United States, faced by a world in arms, save this country from being drawn into the whirlpool of disaster. One false step in any direction and he would have carried the Nation with him over the precipice.

This difference, my friends, between "what is" and "what might be" is well illustrated by two pictures which hung on the walls of the art museum here in the city of St. Louis during the

Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

One of these pictures portrayed the famous warriors who have stricken terror into the heart of mankind since the dawn of history. Alexander the Great was there, Cæsar was there, Hannibal was there, Napoleon was there, and on either side of this sinister group lay in endless rows the sheeted dead of war.

The other picture represented hands, myriads of hands, humanity's hands, stretching upward toward the sky—gnarled hands of labor and wrinkled hands of age, smooth hands of youth, and tiny hands of babyhood, strong hands of men and delicate hands of women—bands of aspiration stretching upward from divine inspiration toward betterment and peace.

These two pictures symbolize the banners of this campaign.
Others may follow the lords of war who ride among the corpses of mankind. We follow the President of the United States and seek inspiration of humanity that aspires to higher

things

IF WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN WERE RIGHT, THE PRESIDENT IS RIGHT.

By opposing what we stand for to-day, the Republican Party opposes what Hamilton stood for a century ago. The founder of the Republican Party and the founder of the Democratic Party, placing their country's happiness above every other consideration, forgot partisanship and made American neutrality a national creed. We who follow Jefferson stand where Jefferson stood, but we look in vain for a sign from the present leaders of the Republican Party to show that they follow where Hamilton led. Where Hamilton counseled moderation they denounce it. Where Hamilton thought only of country they think only of self. Where Hamilton placed patriotism above partisanship they placed partisanship above patriotism. How, then, do they dare to speak for the great body of American citizens who form the rank and file of the Republican Party? Do these leaders believe that their Republicanism is a better Republicanism than Hamilton's, their Americanism a purer Americanism than that of Washington?

Unless statesmanship has fallen into disrepute among Republicans, the men who controlled the Chicago convention can not read Alexander Hamilton out of the Republican Party. Unless I mistake the temper of the American people the Republican

bosses can no more lead their adherents away from the neutrality for which Washington and Hamilton struggled than they can lead them away from the flag for which Washington and Hamilton fought.

If Washington was right, if Jefferson was right, if Hamilton was right, if Lincoln was right, then the President of the United States is right to-day; if the Republican leaders are right then Lincoln was wrong and Jefferson was wrong and Hamilton was wrong and Washington was wrong.

THE JUSTIFICATION OF HISTORY.

In all the history of the world there is no other national policy that has justified itself so completely and entirely as the American policy of neutrality and isolation from the quarrels of European powers. Before we declared our neutrality we were embroiled in all the troubles of Great Britain, France, and Spain; since then we have had less than three years of war with Europe and 116 years of amity and peace.

Before this declaration every war was a world war; since this declaration nearly every war has been a local war. Before this declaration war was a whirlpool, ever-increasing in area and in its whirl dragging down the nations of the earth; since this declaration war has become a sea of trouble upon which nations embark only from self-will, from self-interest, or the necessity of geographical position, of financial obligation, or political alliance.

Neutrality is the policy which has kept us at peace while Europe has been driving the nails of war through the hands and

feet of a crucified humanity.

It has banished conquest from our program of national greatness and has made us find our destiny at home. It has forced us to build on the brawn of our sons and the energy of our daughters rather than upon the tears of conquered women and the blood of conquered men. It has made us seek treasure in our harvests, wealth in our fields by staying our hands from war's bloodstained pot of gold. It has been the flaming sword which forbade us to devastate the Eden of others and compelled us to make an Eden of our own. It has freed us from the paralyzing touch of Europe's balance of power, leaving to Europe the things that are Europe's and preserving for America the independence, the peace, and the happiness that now are beers

As a result of this policy America stands serene and confident, mighty and proud, a temple of peace and liberty in a world aflame, a sanctuary where the lamp of civilization burns clear and strong, a living, breathing monument to the statesmanship of the great Americans who kept it free from the menace of European war.

Wealth has come to us, power has come to us, but better than wealth or power we have maintained for ourselves and for our children a Nation dedicated to the ideals of peace rather than to the gospel of selfishness and slaughter.

The praises of this policy are not written in the ruins of American homes, not in the wreck of American industries, not in the mourning of American families; they are found in the myriad evidences of prosperity and plenty that makes this a contented land. From every whirling spindle in America, from every factory wheel that turns, from every growing thing that breathes its prayer of plenty to the skies, from every quiet school, from every crowded mart, from every peaceful home goes up a song of praise, a pæan of thanksgiving to hymn a nation's tribute, to the statesmanship that has brought these things to pass.

NEUTRAL RIGHTS ASSERTED AND MAINTAINED AS NEVER BEFORE.

No American who knows the facts can honestly oppose or criticize the policy of neutrality which the present Democratic administration has pursued. Driven from this position, by the logic of our history and the lesson of our prosperity, carpers and defamers rush to the opposite extreme and assert that this policy has not been enforced with sufficient vigor by the present administration.

Standing here with the eyes of the Nation upon this convention, with the cold light of reason, the piercing shafts of logic streaming upon all that we may say or do, I declare, with history as my witness and with fact as my proof that the neutral rights of American citizens have never been so vigorously asserted or so successfully maintained as they have been asserted and maintained by the President of the United States during the present war.

America's doctrine of neutrality never meant that this Nation

America's doctrine of neutrality never meant that this Nation must rush headlong into war at the first invasion of its neutral rights. Neutrality is not a hair-triggered policy that explodes in violence at the first assault. It is a policy that has proved successful because it has always been asserted through negotiation rather than through force, through diplomacy rather than by an appeal to arms. This does not mean that America will not resort to war when all other means of protecting its neutral rights have failed, but it does mean that America will exhaust every peaceful means of protecting those rights before it takes the step from which there is no appeal. Just as in domestic affairs the penal statutes can not wholly suppress crime, so in foreign affairs the law of neutrality can not entirely prevent the breach of neutral rights. There has scarcely been a war since the principle of neutrality was embodied in international law in which some neutral citizens have not been killed, in which some neutral trade has not been interfered with.

A judicial review of relative values, a distinction between honor and sensitiveness, a consideration of life as well as property, a proper equation of conditions and circumstances are elements of neutrality's law.

One hundred and twenty years ago when Europe went mad with war as it has gone mad to-day, Jefferson pointed to the north star of our policy of neutrality when he said, "In the present maniac state of Europe we should not estimate the point of honor by the ordinary scale." The reasoning which made it a sound rule in "the maniac state of Europe" in Jefferson's day makes it an equally strong rule in "the maniac state of Europe" to-day.

This Nation, let us never forget, has always remembered that neutrality is a policy which is asserted against nations at war, against nations inflamed and disordered. It has always been wise enough to proceed with calmness and patience, and events have ever justified its willingness to appeal from Philip drunk with war to Philip sobered by reason and reflection.

HOW STANDS THE RECORD?

The issue, raised by our opponents, of the vigor with which our neutrality has been enforced is a comparative issue which can be decided only by comparative results.

And what are the comparative results? How stands the record of this administration compared with other administrations?

WHEN GRANT WAS PRESIDENT.

When Grant was President, during the war between Spain and the Spanish West Indies, a Spanish gunboat seized the vessel Virginius, flying the American flag, and a Spanish commandant in cold blood shot the captain of the Virginius, 36 of the crew, and 16 of the passengers.

But we did not go to war. Grant settled our troubles by negotiations, just as the President of the United States is trying to do to-day.

WHEN HARRISON WAS PRESIDENT.

When Benjamin Harrison was President the people of Chile conceived a violent dislike to the United States for our insistence upon neutrality during the Chilean revolution. When this feeling was at its height one junior officer from the United States warship Baltimore was killed outright in the streets of Valparaiso and 16 of our sallors wounded, of whom one afterwards died. In a message to Congress on January 25, 1892, supported by Secretary of State James G. Blaine, and on evidence submitted by Fighting "Bob" Evans and Winfield Scott Schley, President Harrison said this assault on our honor "had its origin in the hostility to these men as sallors of the United States wearing the uniform of the Government and not in any individual act of personal animosity," and that this Nation "must take notice of the event as an infraction of its rights and dignity" and as an invasion of its "international rights."

But we didn't go to war. Harrison settled our troubles by negotiation, just as the President of the United States is trying to do to-day.

WHEN LINCOLN WAS PRESIDENT.

When Lincoln was President this country's rights were violated on every side. England, Russia, France, and Spain were guiltyof such flagrant violations that Secretary of State Seward advanced a plan to go to war with all of them at one and the same time.

France used every possible influence short of open war to injure us. She not only permitted the building of Confederate vessels in private shipyards, but she allowed at least two to be built in the national navy yard of France, and she supplied them with supplies from her Government arsenal.

And England did more.

Through his Secretary of State, Lincoln called England to account for the seizure of the U. S. S. Chesapeake on the high seas bound from New York to Portland, for the burning of the U. S. S. Roanoke off Bermuda, for the seizure on Lake Erie of the ship Philo Parsons and the scuttling of the Island Queen, the shooting of its engineer, and the wounding of its passengers; and he protested to England against the invasion of the territory of the United States by a band of southern sympathizers from Canada, who rode across the border into Vermont, burned a por-

tion of St. Albans, looted its homes, robbed its bank of \$211,000, killed one of its citizens, and wounded several more. In stinging language he told England that she violated neutrality by per-'the use of British ports and British borders as a base for felonious depredations against the citizens of the United States," and he wrote into history his diplomatic battle against England for letting loose the Alabama to prey upon our commerce, to destroy \$100,000,000 worth of property, to capture 84 of our vessels, and drive our flag from off the seas. No nation ever inflicted upon another nation a more damnable or more maddening wrong than England inflicted upon the United States in the Alabama outrage.

But we didn't go to war. Lincoln settled our troubles by negotiations, just as the President is trying to do to-day.

WHEN PIERCE WAS PRESIDENT.

When Pierce was President the British minister in this country and three of his consuls violated our neutrality during the Crimean War. We gave these representatives of Great Britain their passports and sent them home.

But we didn't go to war. Pierce settled our troubles by negotiation, just as the President of the United States is trying to do to-day.

WHEN VAN BUREN WAS PRESIDENT.

When Van Buren was President a detachment of Canadian militia, during the internal troubles in Canada, boarded the U. S. S. Carolina in the American waters of Niagara River, killed an American member of the crew, fired the ship, and sent her adrift over Niagara Falls.

But we didn't go to war. Van Buren settled our troubles by negotiation, just as the President of the United States is trying

to do to-day.

WHEN JEFFERSON WAS PRESIDENT.

When Jefferson was President England seized hundreds of our ships and Napoleon hundreds more. From 1793 to 1807 historians say England and France together captured 1,600 American vessels and \$60,000,000 worth of American property. England compelled over 2,000 American seamen to serve against their will in the English Navy, and Napoleon ordered the seizure and confiscation of American ships wherever found. Our shipping rotted at every French and British port, our crews were cast into prison and left to die of abuse and neglect. The British ship Leopard fired upon the American cruiser Chesapeake in American waters, killed and wounded several of our sailors, took three native-born American citizens off the Chesapcake, and hanged one of them in Halifax.

But we didn't go to war. Jefferson settled our troubles by negotiation just as the President of the United States is trying to do to-day.

WHEN ADAMS WAS PRESIDENT.

When Adams was President France preyed upon our commerce. She extended her seizure, searches, and confiscations to the very waters of the United States themselves until she had piled up in our State Department charges of over 2,300 wiolations of neutrality's law. American ambassadors who sought to adjust these wrongs were refused recognition and openly insulted at the French court. President Adams called Washington out of retirement to head the Army, he created the Navy Department, and he built 12 battleships.

But we didn't go to war. Adams settled our troubles by negotiation just as the President of the United States is trying

to do to-day.

WHEN WASHINGTON WAS PRESIDENT.

When Washington was President and, "neutrality" first declared, war convulsed Europe, our ships dared not to put out to sea, commerce was paralyzed, and business depressed. American passengers and American crews were thrown into prison and deprived of legal rights. Genet, the minister from France, fitted out privateers in our harbors, flouted our officials, and tried to rally this country to the support of France in return for the help France gave us in the Revolutionary War. England and France seized 400 of our ships and confiscated millions of dollars' worth of our property, and up in Quebec Lord Dorchester promised Canadian Indians the pleasure of burning American homes and scalping American citizens.

But we didn't go to war. Washington settled our troubles by negotiation just as the President of the United States is

trying to do to-day.

ARE REPUBLICANS WILLING TO READ HARRISON AND BLAINE, LINCOLN AND GRANT OUT OF THEIR PARTY?

In the face of this record do Republicans realize that when they arraign the policy of the President of the United States to-day they arraign the policy of the Frestean of the United States to-day they arraign the policy of Harrison, of Blaine, of Lincoln, and of Grant? For the pleasure of criticizing a Democratic President, are they willing to read out of the Republican Party the greatest men the Republican Party ever had? Are

they willing to say that the Republican Party of to-day condemns what Hamilton did in revolutionary days, what Lincoln did in Civil War days, and what Grant and Blaine and Harrison did but yesterday?

In his policy of peaceful negotiations to-day the President of the United States follows the example set him by the greatest Presidents the Democratic Party and the greatest Presidents the

Republican Party ever gave this Nation.

Do the critics of the present administration believe that Lincoln should have risked national disaster by using the sword rather than the pen in pressing the Alabama claims? Are they willing to brand Grant as a coward because he kept us at peace with Spain?

Yet no incident of the present war shows so gross a violation of our neutral rights as England's action in building a navy to prey upon our commerce, no submarine attack surpasses in horror the butchery of American citizens by that Spanish firing squad in Santiago when Grant was in the presidential

In this, as in all the other big questions of life, the more we understand the past the better we shall judge the present. Where it took 10 years to secure inadequate compensation for the Alabama claim, the present administration has already secured in the case of a single claimant reparation greater than all the Alabama claims combined. Where, in other administrations during great foreign wars, the American flag was merely an invitation to plunder, to-day that flag is the best protection of all who desire to be safe upon the seas.

Where Washington vainly pleaded for recognition of our neutral rights, where Jefferson sought in vain to protect our shipping, where Lincoln failed to gain us the freedom of the seas, the man who now sits in the presidential chair has secured from every warring power, from every empire under the sun, the formal and definite assurance that the neutral rights

of America shall be respected and observed.

We challenge our critics to deny a single fact in the record. We defy them to show a single point at which the helmsman who has safely piloted us through Europe's storm has departed from the course laid down by those who established America's foreign policy.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE CONFIRMS THE POLICY OF NEGOTIATION.

"To maintain our national honor by peace if we can, by war if we must," is the motto of the President of the United States.

But before submitting to the chance and misery of war, true statesman that he is, he proposes to put the reason and justice of negotiation to the test. If they are as patriotic as they pretend, those who censure this policy of negotiation may blush from shame to learn that they censure the policy pursued by the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

In the document which made us free, John Hancock and Benjamin Franklin and Charles Carroll and all the other signers declare (I quote their exact words), they declare they "appealed," they declare they "conjured," they declare they "warned," they declare they "reminded England of our wrongs

before we went to war.

Anyone can disparage diplomatic procedure, but only men of

patience and principle can successfully conduct it.

Just as Rufus King criticized Washington's negotiations with France in the Genet affair, just as the members of John Adams's own Cabinet criticized his negotiations which averted war with France, just as Horace Greeley criticized Lincoln, so for personal and political purposes men whose ambitions outrun their sense of justice criticize the negotiations of the President to-day.

A POLICY THAT SATISFIES.

But, say our critics, this policy satisfies no one. They mean it does not satisfy those who would map out a new and untried course for this Nation to pursue, but they forget it does satisfy those who believe the United State: should live up to the principles it has professed for a century and more.

Chief Justice White of the United States Supreme Court says this policy has given America the greatest diplomatic victory of the past generation. Maximilian Harden, Germany's noted editor, says "that never once has this Republic violated its neutrality," and Gilbert K. Chesterton, the famous English journalist, says, "It is the duty of the President of the United States to protect the interests of the people of the United States"; that he can't dip his country into hell just to show the world he has a keen sense of being an individual savior.'

This policy may not satisfy those who revel in destruction and find pleasure in despair. It may not satisfy the fire enter or the swashbuckler; but it does satisfy those who worship at the altar of the God of Peace. It does satisfy the mothers of

land from whom bluster and brag has sent no loving brother to the dissolution of the grave. It does satisfy the fathers of this land and the sons of this land who will fight for our flag and die for our flag when reason primes the rifle, when honor draws the sword, when justice breathes a blessing on the standards they uphold.

And whom, we ask, will the policy of our opponents satisfy, and for how long? Fighting for every degree of injury would mean perpetual war, and this is the policy of our opponents, deny it how they will. It would not allow the United States to keep the sword out of the scabbard as long as there remains an unrighted wrong or an unsatisfied hope between the snowy wastes of Siberia and the jungled hills of Borneo. It would make America as dangerous to itself and to others, as destructive and as uncontrollable as the cannon that slipped its moorings in Victor Hugo's tale of '93. It would give us a war abroad each time the fighting cock of the European weather vane shifted with the breeze. It would make America the cockpit of the world. It would mean the reversal of our traditional policy of government. It would mean the adoption of imperialistic doctrines which we have denounced for over a century. It would make all the other nations the wards of the United States, and the United States the keeper of the world. What would become of the Monroe doctrine under such a policy? How long do our opponents suppose we would be allowed to meddle in European affairs while denying Europe the right to meddle in American affairs? The policy of our opponents is a dream. It never could be a possibility. It is not even advanced in good faith; it is simply an appeal to passion and pride, to sympathy and prejudice, to secure partisan advantage. In a word, this policy of our opponents would make the United States the policeman of the world. Rome tried to be policeman of the world and went down; Portugal tried to be policeman of the world and went down; Spain tried and went down; and the United States proposes to profit by the experience of the ages and avoid ambitions whose reward is sorrow and whose crown is death.

NATIONAL HONOR.

In desperation for a slogan our opponents try to create an issue out of national honor.

Now, national honor is not the whim of an individual mind. National honor is the composite sentiment, the composite reason of a whole people feeling the emotions of nature and following the dictates of God.

And it is for this reason that "the power" to declare war is conferred by the Constitution of these United States not on the individual will of the President, but on the composite reason, the representative decision of "the Congress of the United States."

Do, then, the Hotspurs of this country mean to proclaim themselves more jealous of our national honor than the framers of the Constitution, than Washington or Lincoln? Where, when, and from whom did they receive their commission as keepers and interpreters of the honor of this Nation? Who gave them a monopoly of the workings of the brain or the emotions of the heart? What mystic faculty do they possess which nature has denied to other men?

They proceed on the theory that the noisiest man in the land is the best patriot.

Fearful within, blustering without, the coward whistles to keep up courage, and hopes the world will read in his face what is not in his heart. The brave man, conscious of what is in his heart, and careless of whether or not the world reads it in his face, neither whistles to deceive his neighbors nor publishes his patriotism to win the Pharisee's crown of self-praise.

These noisy critics forget that an appreciation of honor is as elemental in every man as the instinct which calls the flush of rage to the cheek or the blaze of anger to the eye. When the honor of this country is outraged or the glory of its flag is besmirched, the man of the street, the toller in the fields, the artisan in the shops, the man who shoulders his musket and marches away at his country's call will need no one to tell him, no one to show him, where duty lies and manhood calls. The men who will do the fighting will not have to be drummed to war; they will summon themselves to battle with the valor of a Jackson and the ardor of a Wayne.

PREPAREDNESS.

The genius of this country is for peace. Compared with the blood-smeared pages of Europe, our records are almost immaculate. In the making of no other nation has conquest played so small a part. Stolen wealth does not fill our coffers or ravished territory swell our domains.

We have built our greatness on the resources of nature and the peaceful toil of our people. The ring of the anvil, not the rattle of the saber; the song of the reaper, not the shriek of the

soldier; the clatter of the shuttle, not the crack of the rifle, have won us the place we occupy to-day in the councils of the world.

With us war has never been a choice; it has always been a fate. We would like to furl the flags of war and still its throbbing drums; we sigh for the day when men will beat their swords into plowshares, their spears into pruning hooks; but we recognize that the miracle is yet to be performed which perfects human nature and imbues nations with the spirit to do unto others as they would do unto us.

Like the old Mohawk chief, who loved peace, we would like to throw the tomahawk of war so high in the sky that no man's hand could ever pull it down. But when some other tribe among the races of men sends us a bundle of arrows wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake, we want, like old Gov. Bradford, of Massachusetts, to be in a position to send that rattlesnake's skin back stuffed with powder and with ball.

We deprecate the compulsion, but we recognize the need of the policeman on the beat, the safe in the bank, and the watchdog on the farm.

We pray for the millennium, but we accept things as they are. As men of common sense we realize that, for a nation, the policy of turning the other cheek when unjustly smitten means national decapitation and a funeral at which our people would be the mourners, our enemies our heirs.

We fought one war for existence and one for survival. We fought one war to exclude foreign influence and another to preserve internal peace. And we would fight four more wars for the same reasons, but the reasons we must have. When necessity demands we stand ready to meet with force the enemies of our liberty, the defamers of our honor, and the foes of our integrity.

The war across the seas has brought home to us the fear that so long as men are men and nations are nations wars will continue.

We have been aroused from our dreams of the millennium to the knowledge that nothing that men cherish is safe from assault; that the man who would preserve his rights to life, to liberty, and to happiness must stand ready to defend those rights with the last drop of his blood.

We have been carried too close to the rocks of war during the past two years to believe that those rocks do not exist. And looking into the future we can perceive that if our sovereignty is not challenged, if our peace is not assailed, it will only be because the world knows that we are strong enough to defend ourselves from every foe.

For these reasons this administration has done more for our Army and our Navy than any administration in our history.

More than this, it has mobilized the resources of the Nation to meet the needs of war. It has placed the wealth of the country back of the strength of the country, the toller back of the soldier and the sailor.

And to our opponents we say you can not create an army, can not build a navy in the course of a day; to them we say if our Navy is not strong enough, if our Army is not big enough, the Republican Party is 80 per cent to blame, for the Republican Party has been in control of this Nation 80 per cent of the time during the past 50 years.

The Democratic Party advocates and seeks preparedness, but it is preparedness for defense, not preparedness for aggression.

It is the preparedness which builds the Nation's house upon a rock so it will not fall when the rains descend and the floods come and the winds blow.

We may look upon preparedness with as little favor as we look upon taxes, but we pay the taxes because we want the protection for which the taxes pay.

Democracy refuses to be frightened by those who pretend to

Democracy refuses to be frightened by those who pretend to fear that this great land of freedom will descend into the abyss of militarism.

It knows that militarism can no more thrive in this country than the cockle and the tare can thrive amid the wheat of the husbandman who loves his land. It knows that preparedness, that reasonable preparedness, will not kill democracy in this country any more than it killed democracy in Switzerland. It knows that reasonable preparedness will insure us peace just as it insured peace for Switzerland, though war thundered at her doors.

Militarism in the United States is as impossible as the shadow of a ghost in the midday sun. We had a triumphant Army in 1776, we had an invincible Navy in 1812, and in 1860 we had the two greatest armies the world had ever seen.

But when the crisis passed that called these freemen to the colors the first to leap forward at their country's call were the first to return to the farms and factories whence they came.

From the ranks of democracy they came as silently as Putnam left his plow in answer to the shot heard around the world; and back to democracy they went as silently as the southern heroes whose horses Grant returned that they might plow the very fields which had been harrowed by their cannons'

NATIONAL SOUL.

These, then, are the principles that have been asserted and followed by the President of the United States during the past two years—that the United States shall not embroil itself in European strife, that the United States shall endeavor to maintain friendly and cordial relations with every other nation, and that the United States shall firmly assert and maintain and be prepared to assert and maintain its neutral rights against every beltigerent.

Nothing in the assertion of these principles by the President has caused the Nation so many anxious hours as the fear that the temper of the American people might be misunderstood.

Efforts have been made and may be made again to create an impression here and abroad that in asserting these principles the President spoke for only a fraction of the American people, that the Nation itself was divided, and that the President's solemn words could be disregarded because the American people

would not stand solidly behind him.

This convention must make it plain that all divisions among a American neople ston at the ocean's edge. This convention the American people stop at the ocean's edge. must declare and must give the country the means to declare that when the President of the United States speaks to a foreign power, he speaks for every citizen of America; that when the Nation's Chief Executive asserts a policy that has been an American policy since the beginning of the Nation, his action has behind it the force and strength of a loyal and united people.

We, who know and love America, know how false, how vain, how unreal, are the efforts of those who picture us to the world as divided against ourselves. We know that so far as our international relations are concerned we hold but one faith, acknowledge but one loyalty, follow but one flag.

We of this convention, representing every section of the United States, speaking for every racial strain in America, must send forth a message to all the world that will leave no room

We must enable every real American to stand up and assert his Americanism. We must make the issue so clear that every ballot box in the land may become a monument to the loyalty American manhood,

The citizens of this country will stand behind their President because his policies are right. They will stand behind him because his policies are the policies which have brought the Nation a century of prosperous and honored peace. They will stand behind him because they want these policies continued, that prosperity prolonged, that peace assured.

Yet, over and above every other reason that the Nation may have for upholding its President, is the necessity of proving

to the world that we are a united people.

So long as the other nations of the earth realize that the millions under America's flag think as one, believe as one, and act as one. in the face of foreign war, we shall be free from foreign intrigue and all that it entails. Once let the notion get abroad tha this Nation is merely a confederation of diverse and conflicting allegiances, and we shall never be safe from the machinations of foreign powers.

A regard for national surety as well as a pride of personal honor will therefore bring the American people to the support of their President. Whether their blood is drawn from the banks of the Rhine or where the River Shannon flows, whether they hail from Alpine valleys or the meadows of the Pyrenees. whether their descent be German or French, Irish or English, Austrian or Italian, Russian or Greek, the men who have sworn an oath of fealty to the ideals of America will be true.

They may love the lands of their fathers much, but they love the land of their children more. They may cherish the memory of the sod from which they sprung, but they stand ready to die for the soil that they have hallowed with their homes.

Their loyalty to America is more than loyalty to a name; their allegiance is more than allegiance to a flag. The man who serves America serves only the best in himself; the man who is loyal to America is loyal only to the nobles of humanity's ideals; the man who swears allegiance to America enrolls himself in the ranks of those who are pledged to freedom, to opportunity, to justice, and to human progress

High above every other issue that this convention offers to the American people we must therefore write a vindication of American loyalty. Secure in our conviction that America comes first with every American, confident that the great warm heart of the Republic beats true and strong, convinced that the stars

of the heavens are not more firmly fixed in the firmament than the stars of America's flag are shrined in the hearts of America's citizens, we must call upon our countrymen to show their devotion and their loyalty not to a Democratic President but to the President of the United States.

DOMESTIC POLICIES.

It is more than coincidence that an administration which has steadfastly maintained the peace and the honor of the Nation should have sought with equal energy and equal success the internal progress and domestic prosperity which is the

natural product of tranquillity and fair dealing.

It is not surprising that an administration which has jealously guarded the national rights of the United States should have cherished with equal zeal the individual rights of its citizens, It is natural that an administration which has stoutly asserted the ancient freedom of our commerce on the seas should have labored with equal sincerity for the new freedom of opportunity on America's soil.

Four years ago the people of this country intrusted their Government to a man and to a party who promised that they would liberate the Nation from the chains of industrial tyranny, who pledged themselves to break down the barriers behind which special privilege sat entrenched; who engaged themselves to emancipate business, to throw wide the gates of lawful enterprise, to restore to the men and women of America the paths of progress which had been choked and blocked by long years of invisible government.

That promise has been kept; that pledge has been redeemed. To-day the prosperity which the Nation enjoys bears witness that Democracy has kept the faith. To-day the gates of opportunity are open; the hosts of special privilege stand disarmed. To-day the forces of government are encouraging, not blocking, the full expression of the Nation's progress. To-day the business man, the artisan, and farmer find themselves free to enjoy the fruits of their labors unhampered by the sinister power of special privilege or the selfish oppression of "invisible government.

To attempt to describe the myriad ways in which this new spirit of government has found expression would necessitate a review of every national activity, a compendium of every department of the National Government. We must content ourselves here with a brief consideration of the great landmarks which chart the change from government for the fortunate few

to an even-handed government in the interest of all.

FEDERAL RESERVE ACT.

The first of these is the Federal reserve act, which freed the business man and the farmer from the financial domination of the money changers and lifted the menace of panic from our industrial life.

Five times during the past 30 years, at periods when industry was flourishing and crops were abundant, the purse strings of the country have tightened without apparent reason and the

Nation has been devastated by panics.

Business men had seen the patient work of years swept away in a night. Farmers had watched their homes sold over their The widow and the orphan, the tirewoman and the mechanic had found themselves defrauded of their pittances as they beat upon the closed doors of insolvent banks. Paralysis had fallen upon the Nation's industries. Armies of the unemployed had marched from factory to factory begging for work. Bread lines and soup kitchens had sprang up in every city of the land, and within their financial fortresses the few who brought about this universal misery watched their work and counted their gains.

Throwing down the gauntlet to those who had fattened on the system that made these evils possible, this Democratic adminis-

tration passed the Federal reserve act.

The safety, the simplicity, the effectiveness of the Federal reserve plan constitute a terrible indictment of the Republican administrations which had permitted panics to continue without adopting it.

In the panic of 1907, under the old system, New York could not lend a country bank \$50,000 with which to meet factory pay rolls; in 1915, under the new system inaugurated by this Democratic administration, New York loaned Europe five hundred millions, even though the financial centers of the world were disrupted by the world war, and there were still left in New York the largest bank deposits in its history.

If this Democratic administration had performed no other public service than the enactment of the Federal reserve act, it would deserve the unstinted approval of a grateful nation. Thanks to Democracy and to Democracy's great leader, the business man who is struggling to establish himself may now work out his destiny without living in terror of panics and hard times. The toiler in the factory may ply his tasks in security, knowing

that his employer's business is safe from assault. The farmer. who must borrow to move his crops, may do so without spending his days in anxiety, his nights in nightmares of foreclosure and disaster. Truly the scholar statesman, whose rod has struck the golden rock of America's resources, to set free the wealth im-prisoned for half a century, is a Moses who has led America's industries from the wilderness of doubt and despair to the promised land of prosperity and hope.

BENEFICENT LEGISLATION.

In the same spirit and with the same motive that inspired the Federal reserve act this administration has devoted itself to the stimulation of American industry, agriculture, and trade through all the agencies of government.

It has given a new meaning and a new force to the laws re-

straining big business from stifling competition.

It has created a Trade Commission to afford to business generally a more direct and prompt administration of the laws relating to business.

It has established Government representatives throughout the world, whose sole duty is to foster the expansion of American

It has created a closer union of economic, commercial, and financial interests between the United States and the nations of South America

It has declared in language that no court and no employer can misunderstand that "the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce," and that no employer can compel his men to work for him against their will.

It has freed the farmer from the chains of a financial system which was devised for business and not for farming and has enabled him to sell his produce at prices that compensate him for the sweat of the harvest, the tilling of the soil.

Time does not allow me to enumerate all the laws, all the activities which will establish this administration in our economic history as the most humane since Lincoln's and the most progressive since Jefferson's.

THE TARIFF.

But I can not close this brief and inadequate review of what the present administration has accomplished without adverting to its courageous and statesmanlike solution of the Nation's tariff problem.

The Underwood tariff enacted by this administration has banished greed from the gates of our ports and written justice

into our tariff schedules.

Of all the tariffs we ever enacted this is the fairest and the

Until the foreign war reduced importations no new tariff was ever more satisfactory. The highest protective tariff ever written would probably have given us no more revenue during this European war and a higher tariff on raw material would have hampered our manufacturers, a higher tariff on the necessities of life would have placed a woeful burden on the poor man in the conditions which the war abroad has brought about.

By the Underwood law this administration has taken the tariff out of politics; by the new tariff commission it proposes to take

politics out of the tariff.

The consumers of the Nation, and this means every man, woman, and child within its borders have been freed from a unique and oppressive system which enriched the few at the

expense of the many.

It is not my purpose to discuss the assaults that special privileges have made upon the provisions of the Underwood Act. These selfish and unfounded criticisms have been completely answered by one who is amply competent to judge and publicspirited enough to speak. Democracy's reply to those who would overthrow the tariff law that a Democratic Congress has enacted is the reply of that eminent banker, that financial genius, Mr.

Speaking at a banquet of the Republican Club in New York last January, by virtue of his life-long allegiance to the Republican Party, Mr. Schiff declared:

"I want to explain that nothing can stop the great prosperity we now have except a renewal of tariff agitation in the next campaign. Standing here on holy Republican ground, I say without fear or favor if you renew in the next presidential campaign the tariff agitation of the past, if you threaten the country and show it you want a renewal of special privilege and high protection, the people will have none of it. The people have learned; the workmen and the farmers have learned and they can not be misled any longer. I do not say that because I love the Republican Party less, but because I love it more. My heart is for the Republican Party, but my common sense makes me a

And in these words Mr. Schiff voices the opinions of men with whom special interest is secondary to the welfare of all.

PROSPERITY.

Under the present administration the United States has enjoyed a wonderful era of good business and good times

To-day prosperity shines from blazing furnaces and glowing It echoes from busy docks and from thronged emporiums of trade. Its message of plenty fills the land with the chant of the spindle and of loom, lifting the mortgage from the poor man's home and promising his children a future that seemed impossible before.

During the past four years this country has experienced a steady and continuous improvement in business. increased 21 per cent, the value of manufactured products 39 per cent, capital 43 per cent, wages 54 per cent, and exports 77 per cent. The flood tide of our prosperity has risen to such an unprecedented height that the only limit to trade is our ability to make and transport the commodities demanded at home and abroad. Our fields and our factories cry aloud for men and unemployment has ceased to be a problem. Wages have advanced, building operations have resumed, real estate has recovered its worth.

There is not an idle car on our railroads or an idle ship at our docks. For the first time in history America's greatest port

has become the world's greatest port.

Economists say that railroad earnings are an index to pros-This year the earnings of our railroads are \$60,000,000

more than under the last year of Republican rule.

The purchasing power of our people is greater than that of any other people on the globe. Never was there as much money in our vaults as to-day. The aggregate resources of our national banks are three thousand millions more than the aggregate resources of the Bank of England, the Bank of France, the Bank of Russia, the Reichsbank of Germany, the Bank of the Netherlands, the Swiss National Bank, and the Bank of Japan. We have four hundred and one millions of money more than we had a year and a half ago and our gold supply exceeds by many hundreds of millions the gold supply of any other nation on

Our prosperity is not local. The cotton fields of the South, the factories of the North, the marts of the East, and the mines of the West feel it—with a national response and a national thrill.

Nowhere else on earth is there a more equitable distribution of what the energy of labor hammers into existence out of the

material which capital places in its hand.

The calamity howler complains that our productive capacity is keyed to such a high pitch that our industrial machine is threatened with heated bearings, but he ignores the self-oiling attachments which this Democratic administration has attached to our economic and industrial mechanism. While calamity wailers talk of the struggle and the battle which is to come after the war, earnest men of business, with America in their minds and America in their hearts, act on the principle that the better we serve our country and ourselves in the present the better we prepare for the future.

The prosperity of to-day is a true prosperity, for it is founded on a true balance between agriculture, manufacturing, and com-merce. Ask the first man you meet how many of his friends are employed in munition factories! Ask the bankers you know how many of their accounts are munition makers' accounts! Their answer will show what a trivial figure war orders play in

our business to-day.

Under this Democratic administration a record-breaking balance of trade stands in our favor. In the last nine months our exports exceeded our imports by \$1,000,000,000. In all the history of all the nations in all the ages no country has ever enjoyed such a gigantic balance of trade. Its figures almost defy comprehension. During all the years of Republican rule our export trade never reached \$300,000,000 in any one month. Last March it reached \$410,000,000. If this rate should continue for a year we will have approximately a yearly export business of \$5,000,000,000.

This is unparalleled in the annals of commerce. Hitherto England has been the greatest of exporting countries.

best year is two billions less than our present year.

This avalanche of money poured into our pockets by the rest of the world as a tribute to our national resources and our fidelity to peaceful industry is not the measure of our prosperity. It is only the symbol. Compared with our trade at home this foreign trade is a mere pittance. Our domestic commerce to-day is larger than the foreign commerce of all the nations of the world combined.

Against this actual condition our opponents raise an argument With greater truth we can also enter the realm of of "ifs."

conjecture and declare that if another candidate had been elected four years ago the United States would be at war to-day. A ton of "ifs" do not weigh as much as a single fact. Our opponents forget that "if" the flight of the sea gulls off the coast of the West Indies had not directed his course, Columbus would not have discovered America when he did. But the sea gulls were there-" ifs" can not banish them-and Columbus found our land.

So, to-day, the figures are here, the work is here, the business is here, the money is here, to prove our prosperity under Demo-cratic rule, and all the "ifs" in all the languages can not alter

the situation.

Measured by every possible standard-by the volume of exports and imports, by the expansion of domestic trade, by the condition of labor, by the rate of wages, by the size of bank deposits and clearing house returns, by the balance of trade or by the amount of gold in the country, by any and all of these standards, this country to-day is enjoying prosperity such as no other country has ever enjoyed before.

Americanism and peace, preparedness and prosperity, these are the issues upon which the Democratic Party stands, and the heart of Democracy swells with pride that is more than a pride of party as it halls the man who has asserted this Americanism, assured this peace, advocated this preparedness, and produced this prosperity.

The man who is President of the United States to-day has

measured up to the best traditions of a great office.

He has been wise with a wisdom that is steeped in the traditions of his country, with a wisdom that has been disciplined by training and broadened by instruction.

He has been prudent with the prudence of one who has within

his hands the destiny of a hundred million people.

He has been firm with the firmness that proceeds from deep conviction, with the firmness that is grounded in a duty well defined.

He has been courageous with the courage that places country above self, with the courage that follows duty wherever it may

He has been dignified with the dignity that is self-forgetting and self-respecting, with the dignity that conserves the majesty of the greatest office in the world.

He has been patient with the patience which believes and trusts that truth crushed to earth will rise again, with the patience that can endure and wait, watch, and pray for the certain vindication of justice, humanity, and right.

He has been patriotic with a patriotism that has never wavered, a patriotism that is as pure and strong as the faith that

moved the fathers when they made our country free.

No President since the Civil War has had as crucial problems to solve, and no President has displayed a grasp more sure, a statesmanship more profound.

Assailed by the wolves of privilege he has pulled their claws

and drawn their teeth.

Assaulted by partisan envy he has shamed his traducers into silence and made friend and foe go forward together in the paths of national progress

He has fired our patriotism with a new ardor; he has breathed

into our ancient traditions a new vigor and a new life.

He has added strength to America's courage and mingled mercy with America's strength.

He has fastened the brakes of justice upon the wheels of power; he has lifted the mists from the temple where our liberties are enshrined.

And when the history of these days comes to be written and the children of to-morrow read their Nation's story, when time shall have dispelled all misconception, and the years shall have rendered their impartial verdict, one name will shine in golden splendor upon the page that is blackened with the tale of Europe's war, one name will represent the triumph of American principles over the hosts of darkness and of death.

That name will be the name of the great President who has made Democracy proud that he is a Democrat and made Ameri-

cans proud that he is an American.

It will be the name of the student and the scholar who has kept his country true to its faith in a time that tried men's souls; the name of the statesman who has championed the cause of American freedom wherever he found it oppressed; the name of the patriot who has implanted his country's flag on the highest peak to which humanity has yet aspired; the name that carried the torch of progress to victory once and will carry it to victory again; the name of Woodrow Wilson, President and President Canals for Defense.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE. OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 13, 1916.

Mr. MOOKE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I find the question which the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. Helgesen] desired to propound had to do with the dredging of approaches to the canal on both the Chesapeake and Delaware sides. That is a fair question, and I am pleased to answer it by saying that my understanding is that the opening of approaches was included in the estimates for a 12-foot depth as submitted in the Bixby report of 1912. This board recommended a sea-level canal 12 feet deep, at a cost approximating \$8,000,000. The 12-foot depth was agreed upon very largely because of the barge depth established by the New York Barge Canal. It is fair to say, however, that a 12-foot depth would not be sufficient for the passage of modern torpedo boats or submarines. Earlier commissions made careful estimates of cost for depths exceeding 12 feet. The highest of these was presented by the Agnus Commission of 1907, which made, perhaps, the most careful survey of any of the commissions and went more thoroughly into the element This commission recommended a 35-foot depth and estimated that all necessary work could be done, including the purchase of the property, for a total of \$20,621,323.70. This estimate included all necessary dredging from deep water in Chesapeake Bay to deep water in Delaware Bay, but Congress at the time did not look with favor either upon the expenditure of \$20,000,000 or upon the construction of a 35-foot channel. showing that we "failed to take time by the forelock" and have permitted ourselves to remain in a state of unpreparedness in this matter, I call attention to the fact that the total cost of our modern battleships has now reached about \$20,000,000, and that they require a channel depth of 35 feet.

It is unfortunate that we did not look far enough ahead in

1907 to anticipate our present necessities, but that is no good reason for further postponing them. I repeat we could provide an up-to-date canal between the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays that would be invaluable to commerce in times of peace and of inestimable worth to the Government in times of peace or war for the cost of a single battleship. If we do not provide such a passageway, it may happen some day that our neglect in that

regard will cost us the price of a dozen battleships,

VIEWS OF ADMIRAL GRANT.

At the Savannah convention of the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association, in November last, Admiral Grant, who is at the head of the submarine service of the United States, made this significant statement:

the head of the submarine service of the United States, made this significant statement:

Inland waterways, capable of being used by the entire fleet, would enable that fleet to be concentrated at any point on our Atlantic seaboard ready to strike a blow upon an inferior force of an enemy or to defeat the enemy in detail should the latter be divided into squadrons. The value of such a waterway to a defending force is apparent. It could remain in safety until the enemy has been located on our coast and then could be concentrated behind ample protection for attack. An enemy operating on the high seas against our coast would then have to always keep its force concentrated. Otherwise it would leave itself open to being defeated in detail. Senator Sallsburk well illustrated the value of connecting inland canals in concentrating vessels at certain points along the coast line to meet a blockading force.

Considering our battleship fleet inferior to that of the enemy, our best chance to defeat invasion would be by the use of what is termed "secondary tactics," or utilizing that type of vessel which relies principally upon the use of the torpedo. The inferior force being unable to attack a superior enemy directly would remain in port, as is being done by the inferior fleet against divisions of the enemy's fleet. Through the inland waterway these vessels could be moved behind a secure protecting screen of fortifications and concentrated wherever desirable.

Considering a blockade of our coast whereby the enemy would attempt to close our most important harbors, the value of the inland waterway in order to move and conventrate such vessels as destroyers and submarlnes is evident. Furthermore—

(a) It would permit our merchant vessels moving along the waterway to elude the watchful cruisers of the enemy. Such merchant vessels would have to be speedy blockade runners;

(b) It would enable mobile guns to be moved from one end of our long coast line to another, ready to meet an invading force must first cross or capture. The e

but I must enter into a few details to make my plea understood for deeper inland waterways than those contemplated. The general dimensions of our torpedo-boat destroyers are: Length. 300 feet; beam. 30 feet; draft, 10 feet. And our submarines, Holland type, L and O classes: Length, 165-190 feet; beam, 17½ feet; draft, 13½ feet; tonnage, 450 to 500 tons on surface; cost, \$1,000 per ton. Any canal with a projected depth of 12 feet only will be, when finished, too shallow for submarine use.

SECRETARY DANIELS'S STRONG INDORSEMENT.

The Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Daniels, was also represented in a strong statement at the Savannah convention. His letter dealt with the subject of inland waterways in a most comprehensive manner. As to the value of inside passages for such craft as the submarine, the Secretary said:

ter dealt with the subject of inland waterways in a most comprehensive manner. As to the value of inside passages for such craft as the submarine, the Secretary said:

There are no ships in the Navy so delicate as our submarines and destroyers, and when we send them on long cruises it costs thousands of dollars to repair them after they have had to go on the high seas. Of the Atlantic coast to the other, and he had to go on the high seas of the Atlantic coast to the other, and the high seas in time of peace when we have not many of these craft, when we have not so many as we must have if we learn the lesson of the last month in Europe. For years the discussion among experts in naval affairs has been over the question as to whether most of the money should go into dreadnaughts or into destroyers and submarines, and our country has put its money chiefly into dreadnaughts, believing that they make the best defense. We are learning from the war in Europe something, about naval affairs. So far there has been little learned on land, and there have been no great engagements on the sea, but there have been some engagements which wedon sea a pating, and in our five raine, though it has not superseded the dreadnaught in importance, has proved to be a wonderful weapon of sea a pating, and in our five 1922.

Now, this intracoastai canal is of vital importance to our submarines, for, as I have said, they are as delicately built as a clock, and stand in great need of repair after a long voyage as a result of being rolled about an heavy seas. You will recall that during the early part of the war an English submarine was seen off the Island of Helgoland. A German ship, seeing this ship in distress and another English ship apparently going to its aid, rushed out and followed until other English ships came to destroy the German Ship. Again we saw a German Submarine destroy three large English cruisers without warning. Time and again the submarine has been effectively used, so that we are learning that it is to this small craft t

smaller craft to escape the dangers of storms at sea by plying from one port to another.

Aside from the commercial value of cheap transportation and safety from storms, and deep-sea navigation, there are the following military and naval advantages in case of war: It will enable us with a more limited number of mine-laying ships, mine sweepers, submarines, and the torpedo boats to transfer these mobile harbor and coast defense weapons from one point to another on our coast, thus multiplying their efficiency, increasing the radius of action and lessening the danger of their being intercepted by an enemy until an attack is launched. It would increase our coast defenses by transporting heavy mortars and traction engines on canal boats and barges to points up and down the coast when an enemy may attempt to make a landing or seize a base. The Germans use their canals and rivers to thus transport heavy artillery.

The Sheppard Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. H. GARLAND DUPRE, OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Thursday, June 15, 1916.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record I include a resolution adopted by the General Assembly of Louisiana, protesting against the

passage of the Sheppard bill amending the interstate-commerce

The Sheppard bill is as follows:

THE SHEPPARD BILL.

THE SHEPPARD BILL.

Be it enacted, etc., That the act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, and acts amendatory thereof, be, and the same is hereby, amended by adding after the provise in section 1 the following:

"And provided further, That nothing in this act, nor exercise of any authority by the Interstate Commerce Commission by virtue thereof, shall absolve any railroad or other common carrier from obeying any rate, rule, regulation, or practice of any States with respect to the transportation of passengers or property, or the receiving, delivery, storage, or handling of property wholly within one State and not shipped to or from a foreign country, from or to any State or Territory, as aforesald, unless and until such common carrier shall have secured the judgment of a court of competent jurisdiction holding such rate, rule, regulation, or practice imposed, as aforesaid, to be unreasonable.

RESOLUTION.

Whereas there is now pending in the Senate of the United States a bill introduced by Senator Morris Sheppard, which has for its object and purpose the nullification of the law as declared in the now famous Shreveport rate case; and Whereas the General Assembly of Louisiana, by a resolution and appropriations made for the purpose, had the suit brought that wiped away the rate barrier erected by the State of Texas against Louisiana commerce at the State line; and Whereas the future prosperity of a large part of the population of Louisiana, together with the welfare of the cities of New Orieans, Shreveport, Monroe, and Alexandria, are indissolubly linked with the matter of freight rates; and Whereas if the Sheppard bill, now pending in the United States Congress, should be enacted into law, the effect of the rate fight already won would be nullified: Therefore be it

*Resolved**, That the General Assembly of Louisiana earnestly urge its United States Senators and Representatives in Congress to vigorously oppose the passage of Senate bill No. 5242, introduced by Senator Morries Sheppard and now pending before the Committee on Interstate Commerce, and that copies of this resolution be forthwith forwarded to Louisiana's Senators and Congressmen upon the passage of the resolution.

Problems of War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES H. DAVIS, OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Thursday, June 15, 1916.

Mr. DAVIS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the power that controls the money of any country controls the destiny of that country. If the money and capital are concentrated in the hands of a few the destiny of that country is in their hands, no matter what you may call the form of government under which they operate.

It is well known, sir, that there is an invisible government that sways affairs in this and all other countries.

Two years ago a militant democracy, recently intrusted with power in this Republic, was leading the world in a great moral wave for universal peace and disarmament. This great Republic making peace compacts with most of the other nations of the earth alarmed the money devil and the world-wide War Trust.

The gold syndicate of the earth seeks to control, and does in a

large measure control, the government debts of the earth and the gold with which all government debts are now made payable. This money devil leagued with the world-wide war trust set about to offset the great move that America had put on foot for peace and disarmament. Through the inordinate greed and ambition of a few crowned heads in Europe they soon put the whole of Europe in an unexpected and devastating war, and following this they soon raised a clamor and a turmoil and a feverish anxiety throughout this country for massive armament and the investment of multiplied millions in preparation for To-day militarism is manifest everywhere, and a frenzy and frantic rage for war and blood and strife and turmoil, and more debts and more bonds upon which the gold syndicate can feast, is seen and heard and felt everywhere. Its irresistible unseen force is driving this Republic insane on the question

Mr. Speaker, why should we be in a frenzy of excitement and preparation for war? Why should we load our country with stupendous debt and taxation for vast armaments and expenses for war? What country do we dread and what country do we fear? For a hundred years we have never needed a fort nor a battlement along the Canadian line, our neighbor on the north. With her we have lived at peace, and all our relations have been with amity to a remarkable degree. Do we dread Mexico, our neighbor on the south? Nay, verily. Texas, one of the States of the Union, while yet in her infancy maintained a successful war against that country, and history tells us we do not need stupendous armaments, the largest Navy in the world, to take care of ourselves against that country. In fact she, with all the countries to the south of us combined, could not terrify us if they were so disposed. The countries of Europe are now exhausted, worn, torn, devastated with conflagration and interminable war, impoverished and famished, until they are literally bankrupt and are being fed, maintained, and supported in the war that is now raging largely by this country, and that, too, on credit. If the whole of Europe were disposed to organize, combine, and use their fleets and their powers it is doubtful in my mind if they could ever make a landing on our shores with an invading army. Modern warfare and the inventions of the age make such a thing next to impossible. Wireless telegraphy, the submarine, the air ship, and the mine have practically dis-posed of the theory of crossing the ocean with an invading fleet expecting to land and maintain an army in a hostile country. enemy in Europe or in Asia or the Orient expecting to land an invading army on our shores must of necessity mobilize that army and spend from one to three months in preparation to bring 100,000 men with the necessary equipments for an invasion. They must have a military fleet that would spread at least 12 miles abreast and 5 miles deep. Such a vast fleet must require from two to six weeks to cross the ocean. Every day of their journey we could be notified by wireless telegraphy of their exact position on the ocean. In a few weeks' time at a moderate expense we could string our ocean front with mines, locate for action our submarines and torpedo service. A ship in the air from an aeronautic station could serve as an ocean scout and tell us exactly where they were as they neared our shores, and in one night's time, with reasonable preparation and moderate expense, we could with submarines, torpedoes, and mines blow it into atoms, or at least prevent it from ever landing an army on our And I make bold to say, not as an expert, but as a man supposed to have common sense and fairly versed in the world's affairs, that no nation and no set of nations would undertake such a hazardous and reckless affair.

I have not been moved into a frenzy of fear by all the manufactured hysteria that has been raging through our country for the last several months. I have been thinking of the millions of people who need relief from the greedy corporation cormorants that prey upon innocent industry at home. I have been trying to think of the great mass of common people who have to bear the burdens of taxation and spill their blood in war. have followed Mr. KITCHIN, our chosen leader in Congress, and supported the Democratic program as agreed upon. The Army bill, though much larger and far more expensive than I thought necessary, was agreed upon by the Committee on Military Affairs and President Wilson and I supported the program. The Naval bill reported by the Committee on Naval Affairs was also much larger, more stupendous, and far in excess of what I felt necessary, but remembering that the Good Book had said "in the midst of counsel there is safety," the measure was brought forward with the counsel of the Committee on Naval Affairs and the Democratic administration, and I also supported that In all our conferences and in all our Democratic caucuses I fought for my convictions with all earnestness, but have been willing to yield to the wisdom of the majority.

It is the intention of Mr. KITCHIN and the leading Democrats to raise the larger part of the revenue to meet these stupendous military and naval expenses by increasing and enlarging the income tax on the swollen fortunes of our country and the munition makers. In this measure the leading Democrats are fully concurred, and I have labored anxiously to bring forward this measure. If the huge stacks of corporate and individual wealth of the country can be made to bear their share of the vast expense we have voted in the Army and Navy bills I will feel that the Democratic administration will come off well. In any event money should bear its part of the expense required for measures of defense preparedness and war. But the world has never been brought to see the justice of such a plan. In all ages gold has hid away in time of war, while men marched forth to pour out their blood. Capital has generally deserted the flag of its country and has never fought for liberty, but has moved to safe retreat and come out on the windup and administered on the bankrupt survivors and coined the misery and death of manhood into massive piles of additional wealth, Believing that if those who control the money of the country were made to share the larger burdens of war and not allowed to coin the misery, death, degradation, and distress of war into millions more money for their tills, they would be enlisted in behalf of peace and therefore prevent war, I have introduced a bill, which I insert in the RECORD that the American people may know and see the object I seek to obtain. I also insert a letter

addressed to the Secretary of War, the Hon. Newton D. Baker, commenting on this bill:

A bill (H. R. 16305) to make classifications for military and naval service, to promote preparedness, to provide for adequate and efficient national defense, to require that in all naval and military service of the United States, whether in time of peace or war, wealth shall bear and perform its proportional part of the service, and that money shall be made to fight for its country the same as men.

Be it enacted, etc., That each corporation in the United States or any of its Territorial possessions shall be reckoned a person and citizen for military and naval service; that corporations with a million dollars or more capital and surplus shall be considered adults and subject to military duty, and shall pay into the Treasury each year in time of peace a sum equal to the average annual cost of one soldier for each \$100,000 of the capital and surplus of said corporation in excess of \$1,000,000 and in time of war for each \$50,000 of capital and surplus in excess of \$1,000,000.

Sec. 2. That all personal incomes, family incomes, or joint incomes of

\$1,000,000 and in time of war for each \$50,000 of capital and surplus in excess of \$1,000,000.

Sec. 2. That all personal incomes, family incomes, or joint incomes of husband and wife in excess of \$100,000 per annum, shall be assessed, and the owner or owners thereof shall pay into the Treasury each year in time of peace a sum equal to the average annual cost of one soldier for each \$100,000 of said income in excess of \$100,000 per annum and in time of war for each \$50,000 of said income in excess of \$100,000. That in assessing the values provided in this section the values set by State courts shall be accepted.

Sec. 2 That any dowry, inheritance, bequest, legacy, income, or other sum of money arising or accruing from property or investments in the United States to a foreign potentate, principality, corporation, firm, or individual, other than for charitable, educational, or benevolent purposes, shall be assessed, and the owner thereof shall pay into the Treasury in time of peace a sum equal to the average annual cost of the maintenance of a soldier for each \$50,000 of said funds received in excess of \$100,000 per annum.

Sec. 4. That in order to ascertain the average annual cost of one soldier the total number of soldiers, sailors, and active and retired officers in the Army and Navy shall be divided into the total annual cost of said soldiers, sailors, and active and retired officers in the Army and Navy shall be divided into the total annual cost of said soldiers, sailors, and active and retired officers, and the result shall represent the annual average cost of one soldier as contemplated by this bill.

Sec. 5. That the Secretary of War and the Commissioner of Corporations shall have power to prescribe rules and regulations governing the execution of this act, and shall provide for collection through the Treasury Department.

Sec. 6. That all members or officers of corporations, all citizens or

the execution of this act, and shall provide for collection through the Treasury Department.

SEC. 6. That all members or officers of corporations, all citizens or residents of the United States subject to impressment or assessment under the provisions of this act, who refuse or fail to comply with such provisions shall be deemed guilty of desertion, and upon conviction shall be punished as provided by law in case of desertion. That the incomes, dowrles, inheritances, or legacies, etc., accruing to foreigners, described in section 3, shall escheat to the United States upon the decree of any court of competent jurisdiction it said foreigners fail to comply with the provisions of this act.

SEC. 7. That corporations, associations, or individuals organized salely.

SEC 7. That corporations, associations, or individuals engaged solely in religious, benevolent, charitable, or educational work shall not be subject to the provisions of this act, whether such corporations, associations, or individuals are domiciled within the jurisdiction of the United States or abroad.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., June 9, 1916.

Washington, D. C., June 9, 1916.

Hon. Newton D. Baker,

Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Secretary: Amid all the anxiety for adequate national defense and the great clamor for massive armaments, as a Member of Congress, I have been trying to view all these questions from the standpoint of the general masses of our people who must bear the burdens of taxation and make up the complement of manhood and men in the Army and Navy. The mad clamor for universal service, so called, is alarming. It is only a soft term, which means "conscription" with all its direful results of militarism and despotism. The old theory that would enable a war council to compei the meek and lowly poor men to march abreast in war to protect untold millions of money they do not own is brought from the paganism of the past ages, when kings assumed a divine right to control the life, person, and property of their subjects.

This Republic is founded upon a different and distinct theory of government. Here all political power is inherent in the people themselves, and all just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed. All men have equal rights, and thereby incur equal liabilities in government.

Man alone should not be made the sole unit of offense and defense in

governed. All men have equal rights, and thereby incur equal liabilities in government.

Man alone should not be made the sole unit of offense and defense in war. Money should be made to fight for its country the same as men. The man who owns a million dollars has vastly more at stake in government than the man who owns nothing. I am one of those who believe that in proportion as a person's wealth bears to the whole wealth of the country he should be made to bear the burdens that war and armaments impose. Public policy requires that the weak and the feeble, the aged, the infirm, and the young and undeveloped shall not be made to fight even for their own defense; hence a moderate amount of money and capital should be exempt as a minor is exempt. Then the swollen fortunes of the country should be made to bear their part of all expense necessary for adequate preparedness and efficient defense. With that point in view I have introduced a measure in Congress, the short title of which is "Ic make money fight for its country the same as men." I send you a copy of the bill and shall be glad to have your opinion on the same.

The corporation as "an artificial man" does the business of our country to-day. Individuals as such have lost all identity and individuality in the great business and commercial world, and my measure makes the corporation "a man in war" the same as "a man in law." You will readily understand that the corporation in our jurisprudence is held to be "a citizen," "a man, "a person," and in all matters of business is so recognized. The bill makes every corporation with more than \$1,000,000 capital and surplus "a full-grown man" subject to military duty, then divides all capital in excess of one million into units of \$100,000 and makes each unit support a soldier.

The following digest of the measure will give you a fair idea of the questions involved.

The House Judiciary Committee of the Sixty-third Congress gave the following statistics of corporations with over \$1,000,000 capital, therefore subject to military duty under the provisions of the bill:

"Four thousand six hundred and eighty-eight corporations had capital of \$1,000,000 and over and less than \$2,600,000.

"One thousand three hundred and ninety-nine corporations had capital of \$2,000,000 and over and less than \$3,000,000.

"Six hundred and seventy-seven corporations had capital of \$3,000,000.

"Two hundred and seventy-seven corporations had capital of \$4,000,000 and over and less than \$5,000,000.

"Eigh hundred and sixty-one corporations had capital of \$4,000,000 and over and less than \$10,000,000.

"Six hundred and fifty-two corporations had capital of \$10,000,000 and over and less than \$50,000,000.

"Six hundred and fifty-two corporations had capital of \$10,000,000 and over and less than \$50,000,000.

"Thirty-five corporations had capital of \$50,000,000 and over."

The foregoing table of corporations gives approximately the following results:

1, 399 corporations support			Soldiers	Ja
	1, 399 677 - 292 861 652 62	erporations support	13, 39 13, 54 8, 76 34, 56 58, 68 30, 38	9 0 0 0 0 0

Making 8, 663 corporations support__

198, 949

country the same as men.

To tell me that it is right to compel men to stand up and be shot at and die for their country, and then tell me that you can't justly compel any part of the huge piles of wealth to stand up and die for its country is to tell me that money is more precious than manhood, that dollars are sacred and divine and men are mere beasts of burden, chattels to be sacrificed to protect money and Mammon.

An Affront to Honest Journalism.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK BUCHANAN. OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 15, 1916.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the Record I insert several articles on the seamen's law and its operation appearing in La Follette's Magazine for October, 1915, as follows:

AN APPRONT TO HONEST JOURNALISM.

An Approximate To Honest Journalism.

The same power which organized the press of the country to force from the Interestate Commerce Commission a decision favorable to the railroads in the \$100,000,000 advince rate case is behind the nation-wide newspaper raid on the seamen's law. The same motive and the same selfish interest has inspired both attacks. The same power which controls transportation by water. In the advance rate case its literary bureau printed thousands of pages of "dope" news articles and editorial comment in the leading dailies, the great weeklies, and the mouthly magazines. Its victory in that case encouraged it to undertake the building up of a false public sentiment against the seamen's law, luten'ed to intimi late President Wilson and stampede Congress into modifying or repealing the statute altogether.

What is the seamen's law? What is its main purpose? What vital wrongs does it aim to right?

First, as to the sation: Under the old law he was bound to the ship. He became the property of the shipowner. Even though he found the captain of the vessel a brutal, slave-driving master; even though he found the vesses unseaworthy, overinsured, and made ready for sea burial and the collection of excessive insurance, he could not quit the employment upon which he had entered under penalty of imprisonment. He was the only man on American soil or under the American fing who could be jailed for quitting work.

Under the new law the sailor has the right to release from his contract and to receive one-half of his pay then due; and any stipulation to the contract in his contract of service shall be held void. But he

is not permitted under any circumstances to quit the vessel unless it be in a safe port, where vessels load and discharge cargo, the purpose of this latter provision being to safeguard the vessel against abandonment when the services of the sailor are necessary to its protection. In a port where cargo is loaded of discharged it is ensily possible for the owner to fine sailors to take the place of those quitting the vessel.

While the old law provided that American ships should be officered by American citizens, and required a certain standard of skill and efficiency for officers, it made no such provision as to sailors. The shipowners, in order to swell their enormous dividends, were supplanting white sailors with the low-wage, cheaply fed Orientals. No standard of skill or efficiency was required as to the crew. A white American sailor, skill or efficiency was required as to the crew. A white American sailor, skill or efficiency was required as to the crew. A white American sailor, shipping for a voyage, might find himself associated with Asiatics, who were neither skilled sailors, nor capable of understanding the orders of the officers, except through the medium of an interpreter.

The new law requires that 40 per cent of the crew the first year the law goes into effect shall be able seamen, the second year 45 per cent, the third year 50 per cent, the fourth year 55 per cent; and thereafter 65 per cent of the deck crew shall be able seamen, exclusive of licensed officers.

law goes into effect shall be able seamen, the second year 45 per cent; the third year 55 per cent; the fourth year 55 per cent; and thereafter 65 per cent of the deck crew shall be able seamen, exclusive of licensed officers.

Thus the new law establishes a standard of skill and efficiency for the crews of vessels of over 100 gross tons, except vessels navigating rivers exclusively and the smaller inland lakes, by providing that in oceangoing vessels every person shall be rated an able seaman after three years' service on deck at sea, and that for vessels on lakes, bays, and sounds, every person shall be rated an able seaman after 18 months' deck service on such vessels.

In the old law there were no requirements, either by statute or regulation, as to the number of hours of continuous service. Sallors might be worked until, through loss of sleep and rost, however skilled, they were a source of peril to the vessel, as well as to their shipmates.

The new law regulates the hours of labor at sea and in port (excepting when the vessel is in peril) by dividing sallors into two watches; the firemen, olders, and water tenders into three watches, which are to be on duty successively while at sea. In port hine hours, inclusive of anchor watch, shall constitute a day's labor.

Under the old law the accommodations for sailors were inadequate and insanitary; their food insufficient. The well and the sick were crowded together like rats in a hole. In the sailors' quarters only 72 cubic feet of air space was allowed each sailor—that is, 6 feet in lenath, 2 feet in width, 6 feet in depth—"too large for a coffin and not large enough for a grave" as one sailor grimly expressed it.

The new law requires 120 cubic feet of air space for each sailor, with 16 square feet on the floor. It prohibits the placing of more than one berth above another; it requires a light, clean, properly ventilated and equipped wash place for sailors, if there are more than 10 in the deck crew, and a separate wash place for furnishing of a separate roo

regulations of the inspection department under the provisions of the old law.

The new law requires on ocean-going vessels more than 20 miles from shore that lifeboats shall be provided for 75 per cent and ilfe rafts for 25 per cent of the maximum number of persons on board. It makes the same requirement for all ocean-going vessels less than 20 miles from shore and all vessels on the Great Lakes, bays, and sounds, from September 15 to May 15 of each year. But on ocean-going vessels less than 20 miles from shore, from May 15 to September 15, the new law requires lifeboats for only 35 per cent, life rafts for 35 per cent, and life belts for 30 per cent of all persons on board. It further provides that vessels on the Great Lakes from May 15 to September 15 shall furnish lifeboats for 20 per cent, life rafts for 30 per cent, and life belts for 50 per cent of all persons on board.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the shipowners were powerful enough with Congress to reduce the life-saving appliances from May 15 to September 15. Obviously, when the summer senson is on, and cheap excursion rates induce to heavy passenger traffic, greater, not less, provision should be made for the preservation of human life. But here again the steamship lobby was strong enough to so amend the Senate bill in the House and maintain the amendment in conference, as to permit vessel owners to crowd the space which should be occupied by lifeboats with women and children, who constitute so large a percentage of excursion-steamer passengers.

The shocking loss of life in the case of the Eastland at Chicago is proof overwhelming that the greel of the shipowner can only be restrained by the strictest statutory provisions.

The Empress of Ireland went down in calm water within 3 miles of shore, drowning more than a thousand passengers, most of whom were provided with life belts.

In the case of the Titanic, every soul on board would have been saved had there been a sufficient number of able seamen to taunch and man such boards. Two hours

lost.

It is equally important that the crew in every department who must in any emergency execute orders with the greatest dispatch should understand the language of the officers in command of the vessel. Otherwise, the service of an interpreter would be required with all

the resulting delay and the certainty of fatal mistakes in translation of orders due to the excitement and confusion prevailing. Hence, the new law provides that 75 per cent of the crew of the vessel in each department thereof must be able to understand any orders given by the

new law provides that 15 per cent of the crew of the vessel in each department thereof must be able to understand any orders given by the officers of the vessel.

For the further protection of the public the new law requires that every vessel shall provide for each lifeboat or life raft certificated lifeboat men, as follows:

If the boat or raft carries 25 persons or less, the minimum number of certificated lifeboat men shall be 1; if the boat or raft carries 26 or less than 41, the minimum number of certificated lifeboat men shall be 2; if the boat or raft carries 41 or less than 61 persons, the minimum number of certificated lifeboat men shall be 3; if the boat or raft carries 61 or less than 85 persons, the minimum number of certificated lifeboat men shall be 4; if the lifeboat or raft carries 86 or less than 110 persons, the minimum number of certificated lifeboat men shall be 5; if the lifeboat or raft carries 111 or less than 160 persons, the minimum number of certificated lifeboat men shall be 6; if the boat or raft carries 161 or less than 210 persons, the minimum number of certificated lifeboat men shall be 7; and thereafter 1 additional certificated lifeboat man shall be previded for each additional 50 persons.

ertificated lifeboat man shall be provided for each additionat 50 persons.

By "certificated lifeboat men" is meant any members of the crew who hold a certificate of efficiency issued under the authority of the Secretary of Commerce. In order to obtain the special lifeboat man's certificate the applicant must prove to the satisfaction of an officer designated by the Secretary of Commerce that he has been trained in all the operations connected with the launching of lifeboats and the use of oars, that he is acquainted with the practical handling of boats, and further, that he is capable of understanding and answering the orders relative to lifeboat service.

The new law further requires that in manning boats a licensed officer or able seamar shall be placed in each boat or raft; that he shall have a list of its lifeboat men and other members of its crew which shall be sufficient for her safe management; and that he shall see that the men placed under his orders are acquainted with their several duties and stations.

The duty of seeing that the boats, rafts, and other life-saving ap-

The duty of seeing that the boats, rafts, and other life-saving ap-pliances are at all times ready for use shall be assigned to one or more

The duty of seeing that the boats, rafts, and other life-saving appliances are at all times ready for use shall be assigned to one or more officers.

It will be observed that although the law is far from adequate in its provisions as to safety of ife at sea, it is an immense gain in the public interest over the provisions of the old law. It imposes upon shipowners certain duties in the public interest.

That transportation companies can not safely be exempt from strict statutory requirements and thoroughgoing Government supervision should require no argument. In the interest of public safety it has been found necessary to compel railroad companies to adopt safety appliances and to strictly limit the number of continuous hours of service for railway employees in the operation of trains.

Just as the steamship companies resisted by every known means all regulations providing for the safety of travel at sea, so the railroad companies contested every attempt to require the equipment of reasonable safety devices in the operation of their trains and fought to the last ditch the statute limiting the number of hours of service for the crews in charge. The organizations of railway employees petitioned Congress for years to provide safety appliances and to limit the hours of continuous service in the operation of trains. The public demanded such legislation as would make travel by land reasonably safe.

With the enormous loss of life owing to the lack of equipment of vessels with lifeboats and the supplanting of the white sailor with unskilled; ignerant, and inefficient Asiatics, it is at least equally limperative that the seamen's law be rigidly enforced and travel by water be made reasonably safe in the public interest.

The controlled press of the country has denounced this legislation as hasty and ill-considered. Such a charge betrays the ignorance of its authors. It is typical of the entire campaign which the press has conducted at the instance of the steamship companies. In all the mass of material with which the c

subject.

For more than 20 years this legislation has been before the committees of Congress. Session after session it has been the subject of hearings, investigation, and discussion. Comprehensive bills have been introduced Congress after Congress, public hearings held, and volumes of testimony taken and printed, all of which is of public record. The influence of the steamship companies has been powerful enough to delay decisive action throughout all that period. But, excepting as to some of the provisions regarding lifeboats and their proper manning, the bill in all its essential particulars has been debated before the committees of Congress and in one branch or the other for more than a decade.

than a decade.

The merits of this legislation finally became so manifest that both the Republican and Democratic Parties in national convention in 1912 pledged its enactment into law. The Republican platform declared:

"We favor the speedy enactment of laws to provide that seamen

1912 pledged its enactment into law. The Republican platform declared:

"We favor the speedy enactment of laws to provide that seamen shall not be compelled to endure involuntary servitude and that life and property shall be safeguarded by the ample equipment of vessels with life-saving appliances and with full complements of skilled ablebodied scamen to operate them."

The Democratic platform in 1912 declared:
"We urge upon Congress the speedy enactment of laws for the greater security of life and property at sea, and we favor the repeal of all the laws and the abrogation of so much of our treaties with other nations as provide for arrest and imprisonment of seamen charged with desertion or with the violation of their contract of service. Such laws and treat'es are un-American and violate the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution of the United States."

Both parties, therefore, were solemnly pledged to the enactment of the seamen's bill passed both Houses in the closing days of the Sixty-second Congress, and the failure on the part of President Taft to sign the bill was one of the most indefensible acts of his unfortunate administration.

The bill was reintroduced in the Senate on the first day of the last Congress. It was referred to the Committee on Commerce. It was introduced in the House shortly thereafter and was referred to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Both committees referred the bills to the Departments of Commerce and Labor. The heads of those departments joined in a strong recommendation to the Senate that the bill be passed at the earliest possible date. But it was retained by the committees of both Houses for months. Extended hearings were had, a mass of testimony taken on the subject, and printed for the information of the Senate and House and for distribution throughout the country. It was reported by the Senate committee, debated for days, so amended as to require lifeboats for all, and, as amended, passed the Senate October 23, 1913. Having been before the Senate Committee on Commerce and the Senate for open and free discussion seven months, it was transmitted to the House and referred to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Public hearings were held by that committee extending over weeks and months. It finally passed the House with amendments on the 27th day of August, 1914, having been before the House and its committee 10 months for consideration. It was returned to the Senate and was for many weeks the subject of consideration by a committee of conference of the two Houses. In the closing days of the session, March, 1915, the conference report was adopted by the two Houses and the bill transmitted to the President. He approved it March 4, 1915.

It would be difficult, indeed, for the opponents of this law to cite another measure which has been the subject of more thorough investigation, more deliberate consideration, by Congress than the seamen's act, which has been denounced as Ill-considered and hasty legislation.

The opposition to this measure is a combination of ignorance and dishonesty. Its defeat, session after session, by the steamship companies, aided by the corporation press of

A CONSPIRACY EXPOSED.

A Conspiracy Exposed.

This number of La Follette's Magazine is given over to answering the objections—all of them specious—that have been raised against the seamen's law. Mrs. Florence Kelley discusses this measure primarily from the standpoint of the traveling public. Mrs. Kelley has been the able and courageous general secretary of the National Consumers' League since 1899, and in this capacity, as well as through her writings, she has done much real service for humanity. Congressman Rufus Hardy, of Texas, who is the distinguished head of the House committee which favorably reported the bill, uncovers the shallowness and dishonesty of the printed matter circulated so widely by the shipping interest and quoted parrotilike by a subservient press. Philip Manson contributes a strong statement from the point of view of a patriotic shipowner. Mr. Manson knows whereof he writes.

In 1908 he organized the Bermuda-Atlantic Steamship Co. and was the principal stockholder of that company and its vice president and general manager up to 1912. He has recently returned from China, where he successfully negotiated a transaction of tremendous interest to the shipping world, concerning which an important announcement will soon be given to the public—an announcement which we regret we are not permitted to give at this writing. Mr. Manson most convincingly exposes the blind and bluster of the shippowners who have been fighting for the repeal of the seamen's law. Mr. V. A. Olander, who is general secretary of the Lake Seamen's Union, in his article makes clear the pressing need of applying this measure to the Great Lakes as well as to the oceans. No one who reads this article with unbiased mind can fall to understand and resent the selfishness of the plea of the Lake shipping interests that this measure "hurts their business." These splendid articles, together with Senator La Follettrie's editorial, will give every reader the truth about this great humanitarian law. We earnestly ask all of our readers to give especial attention

We gladly give our readers the full text of a resolution adopted by the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago. We wish it might carry its appeal to every good citizen in this country, as well as to the public scrvants to whom it is addressed. It requires no comment. Here it is:

"Whereas on the morning of July 24, 1915, the people of Chicago were shocked by the terrible tragedy of the capsizing of the Eastland at her dock in the Chicago River; and

"Whereas nearly a thousand lives were lost, many of them our fellow workers; and

"Whereas had the seamen's act been in force at that time it would have prevented the very overcrowding which made the Eastland capsize; and

"Whereas at the time that the tragedy occurred the shipowners, includ-

and
Whereas at the time that the tragedy occurred the shipowners, including the owners of the Eastland, were conducting a persistent and systematic misrepresentation of the La Foliette Seamen's Act to bring about the repeal of that law at the next session of Congress:

Therefore be it

"Resolved, That we, the delegates to the Second Annual City Conference of Women Trade Unionists of Chicago in meeting assembled, October 2, 1915, earnestly appeal to you to do all in your power to help keep the present seamen's act on the statute books."

SAFETY AT SEA AND THE TRAVELING PUBLIC.

[By Mrs. Florence Kelley, general secretary, National Consumers' League.]

Nothing more cynical has occurred in the recent life of the American Republic than the press campaign against the bill for safety at sea, Silence for less than a fortnight by the slaughter of the innocents on the Eastland, this campaign has continued in the form of news notes and editorials in 41 of the 48 States and in the District of Columbia. With cruelly few honorable exceptions, it can be truthfully said that the press of the United States, from ocean to ocean and from the Lakes to the Gulf, has placed itself on record as opposed to safety at sea.

The press of the mountain and desert States is particularly dogmatic. The editorial marine experts of Montana, Utah, Oklahoma, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, and Vermont are cocksure in inverse ratio to their maritime experience. Their press has been hardly less shrift than that of Seattle and New York. The Sioux Falls (S. Dak.) Press,

for instance, opines: "The seaven's act was ill-considered legislation." The last its (Mont.) Poot calls it "The last starse." The Sait Lake City (Uliah) Herald is more reassuring; it says, "When that mistaken legislation—the seamen's law—has been erased and Americans can undertake transportation enterprises in the Pacific in competition with Asiatic crews, Government interference with the ocean-carrying business will editorial headed. The safe and sure remedy." "If the next Congress repeals the seamen's act, as it is now expected to do, an exceedingly foolish piece of legislation will be wiped from the statutes." This safe and sure remedy." "If the next Congress repeals the seamen's act, as it is now expected to do, an exceedingly foolish piece of legislation will be wiped from the statutes." This safe and sure remedy is, however, not for the loss of life at sea; it is for the content, there is no thirt, such as middle and the seamen's allowed the advanced of the material furnished. Among all the abounding editorials and press notices, so monotonous and so sinister in their content, there is no thirt, such as middle the seamen's about the season of the material furnished. Among all the abounding editorials and press notices, so monotonous and so sinister in their content, there is no thirt, such as middle the season of the

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE SEAMEN'S LAW.

[By Hon. Rufus Hardy, Congressman from Texas.]

I am glad to discuss the seamen's bill. I am the ranking Democrat on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee of the House, which reported the bill. There is not in my district a shipbuilder or shipowner or a seaman, but there are a quarter of a million people, some of whom are sometimes carried in ships, and all of whom buy and sell commodities, the price of which is affected by ship rates and shipping facilities. My interest in ships, therefore, is selfish as to freights and shipping tacilities; my interest in seamen is purely humanitarian.

My selfish interest became specially acute last August and remains so because of high rates and poor facilities for the shipment of our cotton, operating for a time to force us to sell at starvation prices, and still operating to our great injury. My people therefore strongly desire an efficient, available, safe, and economic over-seas and coast-wise merchant marine. I am willing to sacrifice economy for safety at sea and humanity to seamen, but not for special bonuses, bounties, or privileges to shipbuilders or shipowners.

I sat through many weeks and months of patient hearings during the last three years on this bill and endeavored to be just and fair. We heard all that asked to be heard for more than two years. Perhaps 10 men appeared before us in the interest of shipbuilders and owners of ships and ship lines, like Schwerin, of the Pacific Mail, and owners of ships and ship lines, like Schwerin, of the Pacific Mail, and

Robert Dollar, and able lawyers came before us in the former interest. The public was practically unrepresented and Andrew Firmseth was two were unjust to the shiptowner, we are greatly to be blamed.

I have the bill before me; also a pamphlet containing a "Statement was the public with the public of the public of the public. The sements bill." Remember that this is the home of Messrs, Schwerin and Dollar, who because they can't live under the seamer's law.

I take it the statement before me gives all the real object on setting ships because they can't live under the seamer's law.

I take it the statement before me gives all the real object to I section and the bill and that they only object to I section ment whatever is sought."

Sections 4.13. and 16 are objected to entirely, section 11 in part erroport where the ship loads or delivers cargo one-haif his carried wager. These critics charge that it was inserted purely to encourage describing the state of the state

refusing to come to our ports, yet all their cry is that they can't compete with foreign ships.

The pamphlet specially objects to section 11e, making our law as to advances to the men apply to foreign ships in our ports. This section is very drastic in its prohibition against certain allotments and advances in order to cut out employment and boarding-house sharks and other crooks. If we had not made it applicable to foreign ships, these same critics would have been quick to seize upon it as burdening our shipping in matters wherein the foreign competitor was free. The fact is this bill puts no requirement on our ships that is not imposed on every foreign ship entering our ports; and this is as it should be. They may not, if they wish to profit by our trade, complain of our treating them precisely as we do our own. It is hard for shipowners to believe, but if they will only employ competent crews of free men on fair terms they will secure greater efficiency and greater safety and more-profit.

Now, I have reviewed all the real objections to the bill. I think I have answered them fairly, and I believe the impartial reader will pronounce them bunk. The truth is that without this bill we have had no over-seas merchant marine, and this is the first right step taken in half a century to build up one. This bill destroys every inequality in the operation of domestic and foreign ships trading in our ports, subjects them both to the same restrictions, and gives them the same privileges and opportunities. They will pay equal wages simply because you can not continue to work equally skilled freemen side by side at different wages. Water not dammed will seek its common level.

I would not finish this article without saying that there is yet one thing lacking, without which all hope to build up our foreign merchant marine will prove vain—that one thing is the right of an American citizen to buy his ship where he can buy it the cheapest, put it under our flag and registry, and use it in our coastwise, inland, or over-seas tr

BLUFF AND BUNCOMBE-THE DISHONEST CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SEAMEN'S

[By Philip Manson, a patriotic shipowner and organizer of steamship lines.]

The foes of the seamen's act are making much capital out of the announcement that some of the Pacific Mail Steamship Co.'s steamers are to be transferred to the Atlantic service. It is untrue that this transfer was necessitated by the seamen's act. Here are the facts:

Shortly after the passage of the act the Pacific Mail announced that the language provision of the act would make it impossible for them to operate their ships in competition with the Japanese lines. This was assumed on the theory that they would have to replace their Chinese crews with higher-priced American or other English-speaking Caucastan crews.

There is nothing in the act which requires this. The act provides that 75 per cent of the crews in each department shall be able to understand the orders of their officers. Those orders may be given in English, Chinese, Hebrew, or any other language. That the crews shall understand the orders of their officers is a most necessary safety provision.

As a matter of fact all of the Chinese in the steward department of the Pacific Mail steamers understand and speak English; they couldn't get a job with that company if they didn't. And the steward department has more men than any other department on their ships. Also, many of the Chinese in the deck and engine departments understand English.

It would not have been a difficult task for the Pacific Mail to have

ment has more men than any other department on their ships. Also, many of the Chinese in the deck and engine departments understand English.

It would not have been a difficult task for the Pacific Mail to have had their Chinese crews qualify under the language test, with the eight months which they had in which to do it. Or, the officers of the Pacific Mail steamers could easily have acquired within a few weeks a sufficient vocabulary of Chinese to enable their crews to qualify under the act if that company was sincere about the matter.

The original announcement of the Pacific Mail that they would discontinue their trans-Pacific service was unquestionably a bluff, in proof of which I cite the following:

On May 20 an interview with George Corse, general manager of the Pacific Mail in the Orient, appeared in the Japan Advertiser, of Yokohama, in which Mr. Corse said that his company would not quit; that the good will which they had worked up by many years of service was too valuable to give up, but that they might take their ships off for a time in order to teach the American people a lessen. A more brazen threat I have never met with from a public-service corporation.

On June 18 the China Press, of Shanghai, contained an announcement, under a Hongkong date line, which the Pacific Mail had issued, to the effect that they would not discontinue their service, but that they had been compelled to instruct their agents in the Orient to book no more new business, as the full capacity of their steamers for several months to come was booked up.

Up to a short time before the Pacific Mail sold five of its boats to the International Mercantile Marine it conducted classes on board its steamers, instructing their Chinese crews in English in order that they should qualify under the language test of the seamen's act.

The foregoing conclusively proves that the Pacific Mail had no intention of discontinuing their trans-Pacific service. The Pacific Mail undoubtedly thought that by threatening to quit they might bluff Congres

States had featured their announcement that the standars act, and cause them to quit. Thousands of editorials had been printed on the subject.

Not to have quit after all this newspaper furore would have been disastrous to the cause of the "interests," and the Pacific Mail's attack on the administration through the seamen's act would have been very much of a boomerang.

The robber freight rates that are obtaining on the Atlantic enabled the Pacific Mail to save its face and at the same time reap a huge profit. A Hberal appraisal of the five vessels which they sold will not exceed \$3,000,000. They received \$5,250,000 for them. They were enabled, thereby, to save their face, cash in \$2,250,000 in quick profits (which caused an immediate rise in the price of their stock), and at the same time they gave the "interests" a club with which to attack the administration.

It should be noted that the ships sold by the Pacific Mail remained under the American flag notwithstanding the seamen's act.

The Pacific Mail's cry of Javanese competition is sheer buncombe. There has been no Japanese competition. They worked hand in hand with the Tokyo Kissen Kaisha, the only Japanese line between San Francisco and the Orient. Their passenger tickets were interchangeable; also their freight bills of lading. Rates were fixed jointly by them and were as high as the traffic would bear. Every Pacific Mail sailing for

some time past has had every stateroom full, most of them with three passengers in a room; every inch of cargo space has been crammed full with cargo. The future business, as far as can be seen, is just as heavy. In the face of these facts, for the Pacific Mail to say that they were forced out of business by the seamen's act is rank mendacity.

Another calamity howler on the seamen's act, and, in fact, on any shipping legislation that does not give him a big, fat subsidy, is a Capt. Dollar, who is interested in a fleet of seven small boats with a total tonnage of 23,865 tons. Six of his boats are modestly named with the family name "Dollar." One good-sized liner will more than equal Capt. Dollar's entire fleet, but from the way the newspapers which have been fighting the administration on shipping legislation quote Capt. Dollar you would think that he was the Ballin of the American merchant marine. We must give Capt. Dollar credit for being the best self-advertiser in the shipping business. He certainly holds the limelight on matters maritime against all comers.

Capt. Dollar writes frequent articles on shipping, which are eagerly printed by a friendly press. In these articles he undertakes to show by an array of figures that it is impossible to operate ships profitably under the American flag. The fact that his figures are proved to be incorrect does not deter him from repeating them.

For instance, only the other day Commissioner of Navigation Chamberlain of the Department of Commerce, was compelled to rebuke Capt. Dollar in the following letter:

"I am somewhat surprised, after our several conversations on the subject, to read in to-day's New York Journal of Commerce that part of your criticism of the navigation laws which deals with measurement of your criticism of the navigation laws which deals with the British Board of Trade rules, has been the treatment of so-called 'shelter decks' on cargo boats.

"On August 28, 1914, I asked collectors of customs to report any

of vessels. You know that the sole factor in our regulations which may be regarded as adverse to shipping, as compared with the British Board of Trade rules, has been the treatment of so-called 'shelter decks' on cargo boats.

"On August 28, 1914, I asked collectors of customs to report any American steamers in foreign trade with shelter decks which might have less tonnage under the board of trade rules than under ours. None were reported, because we both know our owners and builders have preferred ships of the American-Hawalian Line type.

"On September 5, 1914, I again advised collectors to notify the owner of any sea-going American steamer that he could apply for a revision of measurement on the ground that sheltered spaces with openings at the sides or ends had been included in the tonnage. Again there were no applications. On March 16, 1915, revised regulations on shater decks were issued, and again there has been no request for remeasurement. Still a fourth time, on July 15, 1915, collectors were asked to bring the subject to the attention of American shipowners, and as yet there has been no reply."

Capt Dollar has had much to say about the extra man or two required in the crews of American ships. Many foreign steamers are voluntarily manned up to the full requirements of American avigation laws because of the increased efficiency and protection afforded thereby. Leaving out the question of the increased efficiency of fully manned ships, there isn't a ship affoat the profits of which would be materially affected by the wages of one or two additional men. The London Stock Exchange Yearbook for 1914 gives numerous instances of the enormous profits in the steamship business. Net profits of 50 per cent to 100 per cent per year are not unusual. These are not war-time profits; they are the normal profits previous to the war On September 21, two years before the outbreak of the European war, Shipping Illustrated said: "At present it is the easiest thing in the world for cargo steamers of any description to make

THE SEAMEN'S LAW AND THE GREAT LAKES.

[By V. A. Olander, general secretary of the Lake Seamen's Union.]

[By V. A. Olander, general secretary of the Lake Seamen's Union.]

Is there a pressing necessity on the Great Lakes for such safety regulations in navigation as is provided by the new seamen's act?

The ship-owning fraternity have loudly denied that there is any such need. They have claimed that the Great Lakes are the safest waters in the world. Their clamor against the La Follette seamen's bill, while it was pending in Congress, and against the iaw since its passage, has been almost continuous.

But there have been intervals of silence, periods during which the shipowner ceased his safety claims and held his tongue. During the past 10 years 31 vessels have disappeared into the depths of these waters and taken with them every person on board. Thirty-one ships missing with all on board 'not' a soul returned to tell the tale! That is the "safety" of the Great Lakes. It is when the reports of such cases come that the shipowner maintains silence.

There may be among those who read this some who doubt the statement that the Great Lakes have gathered such an awful toll. But here is the list:

Steamer Losco, steamer Kaliyuga, steamer Ira H. Owen, schooner Taster of the state of the state

meat that the Great Lakes have gathered such an awful toll. But here is the list:

Steamer Iosco, steamer Kaliyuga, steamer Ira H. Owen, schooner Tasmania, schooner Olive Jeanette, steamer J. H. Jones, steamer Arcadia, steamer Searchlight (fishing vessel), steamer D. M. Clemson, schooner Geo. Nestor, steamer Geo. A. Floss (fishing vessel), steamer Marquette 2 Bessemer No. 2, schooner Bose Simmons, steamer Silver Spray (fishing vessel), steamer Adella Shores, steamer Henry B. Smith, steamer Isaac M. Scott, steamer Hydrus, steamer Regina, steamer Leafield, steamer Argus, steamer Hydrus, steamer Regina, steamer Leafield, steamer Wesford, steamer James Carruthers, schooner Plymouth, lightship S2, steamer Benjamin Noble, steamer C. P. Curtis, barge Annic M. Peterson, barge Selden E. Marvin.

This is not a list of all the wrecks that have occurred on the Great Lakes during the last 10 years. It would take more pages than this magazine contains to chronicle all the losses. The list here given is one of total disappearance of ships with every person on board. Undermanning, carried to an extreme on the Great Lakes more than anywhere else, is the primary cause of these losses.

In the passenger-carrying trade the gamble with human life is frightful. The Eastland disaster, with its sacrifice of nearly 900 human lives by the capsizing of that excursion steamer at the docks in the Chicago River just as she was getting ready to cast off, was an inevitable result of the overcrowding practiced on every excursion steamer on the Great Lakes. There was nothing mysterious about the Eastland case. Every mariner on the Great Lakes, including those who occupy positions as Government Inspectors, knows what caused that disaster, though

unfortunately all do not feel free to tell the truth. Lifeboat capacity has been reduced to a minimum by the board of supervising inspectors of the United States Steamboat-Inspection Service in order that the subordinate inspectors might be left free to respond to the pressure from the shipowners to allow extreme overcrowding. Had the seamen's act been operative on July 24 there would have been no Eastland disaster, because the increase in the number of lifeboats under that act would have made it impossible for the local inspectors to have certified that vessel for such a great number of people. Why, almost at the very time the vessel was rolling over her owners were sending out letters condenning the seamen's act and asking for its repeal because it would reduce the carrying capacity of that particular vessel.

The new law, however, is not drastic in respect to lifeboat requirements. It calls for lifeboats to take care of only 20 per cent of the persons on board, rafts for 30 per cent, and nothing for the remaining 50 per cent. But that is not the fault of the sponsors of the bill. The La Follette seaman's bill originally called for lifeboats sufficient to care for every person on board. When it passed the Senate before being sent to the House of Representatives it provided for lifeboats for all. But in the tortuous course through Congress that part of the bill was materially changed, and when it was finally enacted lifeboats and rafts were provided only for the percentages named. Even that, however, is a vast improvement over the present regulations, an improvement that, had it been operative last summer would have prevented the Eastland disaster, but nevertheless is not sufficient to meet all reasonable requirements.

Capsizing is a very unusual accident for steamers to meet with. The

a vast improvement over the present regulations, an improvement that, had it been operative last summer would have prevented the Eastland disaster, but nevertheless is not sufficient to meet all reasonable requirements.

Capsizing is a very unusual accident for steamers to meet with. The dangers of fire, collision, and storm are greater. Can shipowners, who misuse their vessels to such an extent that one of them actually capsized alongside of her dock and drowned nearly 900 persons, be trusted to supply the safeguards necessary to overcome dangers when the vessel is out of port? A glance at the conditions prevailing on those vessels will answer that question. Only from three to five real sallors on board, besides the master and his two, or occasionally three, mates, a crew of "deck hands" that know absolutely nothing about the ship, and whose wages and treatment are such that on most of the vessels the term of service for these men seldom exceeds five or six days. Gangways and ports left open, or improperly secured, hatches uncared for, no watch regulations on deck except for a few of the men; operating in storm and fog with only one man (the deck watchman) available for sudden emergency duty on the decks, and the vessel packed with humanity until the people can scarcely clow their way around the ship. The danger is horrible.

The seamen's act will compel these vessels to carry a larger number of experienced seamen. It compels watch regulations which assure the presence of more seamen on deck during the night, more men awake and working, ready to respond to emergency calls. To what extent does it increase the total crew employed on board the vessels? Not at all except in the case of a few of the larger passenger-carrying ships. The increase is in the number of experienced men employed. The number of the total crew will remain about the same, with the exception noted.

Is the Eastland disaster a sufficient lesson to compel the enforcement of the new law? When the steamer Atlanta, in 1906, caught fire and burned

recent past. Nowhere is the seamen's act required more than on these waters.

On the cargo steamers an inhuman practice has prevailed for years of shipping young men and boys as deck hands, enticing them on board the ship in the belief that they were to serve on deck out in the open air, and then, after the vessel had left port, compelling them to go down into the hot, blistering fire holds to serve as coal passers, subject to being called out upon the often ley decks at any moment. The records kept by the shipowners themselves show that this condition has resulted in the men averaging less than three weeks on the ship. The seamen's act makes illegal this practice of shipping men on deck and then compelling them to serve in the fire holds. Bad as conditions are for seamen in other parts of the world, nowhere is that practice in vogue except on the Great Lakes.

It is impossible to discuss the entire situation and all the provisions of the act in a brief article of this kind. Only a comparatively few points can be touched. But there is one provision of the act, relating to seamen, which the shipowners, according to their press agents, are quite sure will result in disaster to the commerce of the Great Lakes. That is the section of the act under which the salior is entitled to receive one-half of the wages due him at any port where the vessel loads or discharges cargo. "The sailor will take advantage of this," say the shipowners, "by demanding one-half his pay and using if to get so drunk that he will not be able to return to the ship for duty, and that thus vessel after vessel will be delayed, and the whole business of the Great Lakes demoralized." That is what the shipowner tells the public. The truth is, that under the law for the past 17 years the seamen on the Great Lakes have had that very right to demand one-half of their wages at every port where the levsel loaded or discharged cargo. In 1898 the law was amended so as to give the sailor that right, providing that nothing to the contrary "in the ship's art

The "argument" of the shipowners against the other parts of the seamen's act is on a par with their claims against that section providing for the right to one-half of pay earned. The gentlemen should call off their press agents and listen to a little common sense instead of fighting the new law. If they continue to decline to act in good faith with the public then there is only one thing to do and that is to make the law really drastic and much more stringent than anything contained in the seamen's act.

Address of Ollie M. James, Permanent Chairman Democratic National Convention at St. Louis, Mo., June 15, 1916.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 16, 1916.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record I include a speech delivered yesterday at the Democratic convention at St. Louis by Senator

The speech is as follows:

ADDRESS OF OLLIE M. JAMES, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM KENTUCKY, PERMANENT CHAIRMAN DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION AT ST. LOUIS, MO., JUNE 15, 1916.

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Democrats, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I greet my Democratic brethren of the Republic, the representatives of a proud, victorious, and unconquerable Democracy—a Democracy whose life, achievements, and history challenges the admiration of the world. We cheerfully meet face to face the public we have not betrayed to point with delight to a match-

less record of promises we have kept. [Applause.]
During three years of its national control Democracy has enacted into law more progressive remedial legislation than the Nation has ever had written upon its statute books since its birth. In former national contests in the last two decades our party came as a prophet. We could only point out wrongs and promise remedies; but to-day we come with deeds, not words; with performance, not promise. Our deeds in the Nation have been greater than our words upon the hustings; our performance as the lawmaker greater than our promise as the campaigner. In other words, the Democratic Party has kept its word with the American people. [Applause.] We have made good. We have by our conduct of the affairs of this Nation deserved the renewed confidence of its people by proving worthy of the confidence once

The Democratic Party rejoices that under this administration for the first time since the Civil War it was enabled to amend the Constitution of the United States in the interest of good government and the masses of the people. We freed the Senate from the control of the great interests by making it elective by the records at the holls. We wrote into the Constitution itself up the people at the polls. We wrote into the Constitution itself an amendment, susceptible of no dispute, that wealth should bear its proper burden of the taxation necessary to run the Government efficiently, economically, and honestly. [Applause.]

THE LOBBY.

President Wilson drove invisible government out of Washington and uncovered the mightiest lobby that ever ramified a republic or had its rendezvous in its capital. He drove the lobby-ist out; he turned the American people in. [Applause.]

THE TARIFF.

The Democratic Party undertook to enact a new tariff law in keeping with the historic principles of the Democratic Party and justice to all the people. The Democratic Party believes that the right of taxation can only exist for the purpose of raising sufficient revenue to run the Government. Taxation never did justly exist and never will in a free government for the purpose of enriching one class at the expense of all the rest of the people. We undertook the reformation of the tariff with open minds and clean hands, unowned, unpledged to any interest except that of the public welfare, and we are proud of our achievement in writing into law the present Underwood-Simmons tariff bill. Not a schedule in it fosters a monopoly; not a rate in it protects a trust. [Applause.] We made as nearly free of taxation as possible the necessities of life, and sought to obtain as much revenue as they would bear from the luxuries of life. One of the greatest features of this law is the income tax, which raises from the fortunes of the rich, the prosperous, the well-to-do people of the Nation \$120,000,000 per annum, and lifts this burden off the tables and backs of the poor. To my mind, no law is more just than that of an income tax. Those that prosper under the Government ought to be willing to pay taxes to perpetuate it. It is a tax that forecloses no mortgages, forces no sales. It is collected only where riches abound and prosperity smiles. Would the Republican Party dare to suggest the repeal of this part of the tariff law? Will they be specific in their objections to this legislation? What schedule would they repeal? What rate would they increase? Would they substitute the Dingley rate or the Payne-Aldrich rate? If they were given control again, would they reenact the tariff law that the Democratic Party repealed, a bill that was repudiated by the Republican Party itself at the polls? [Applause.]

Who is it, anyhow, that desires really the repeal of the present law, made by honest men for an honest purpose, that of raising revenue sufficient to defray the expenses of the Government, and substitute in its stead the lobby-made, monopoly-breeding, trustcreating, millionaire-producing, Payne-Aldrich bill? [Applause.] Our Republican friends told us when we enacted this bill into law that it would close the factories, fill the streets with idle men, produce a panic, create soup houses, and distress would reign everywhere; but we rejoice to-day to point to an unexampled prosperity in the Nation, with labor more generally employed, at higher rates, shorter hours, and better conditions than ever before. [Great applause.] Our Republican friends tell us that after the war is over that poor, stricken, prostrate, torn, bleeding Europe will take our home market here from us; that this young, virile Republic, with 100,000,000 freemen, that has gone out to take the foreign markets of the world, must tremble in great fear lest these war-torn countries with millions of their men-the flower and strength of their manhood-buried in the trenches, with their factories destroyed, their country laid waste, their charred and blood-soaked land filled with widows and orphans and crippled men, and upon them the heaviest debt of all ages, will come here to this happy land, uncursed by war's ravages or its burden of debt, and take our home market from us. No, gentlemen; I have no such fear; America is going to take the markets of the world. [Applause.] We are going to meet our competitors in the other markets of the earth and take them, and this great people here fears no competitor at home that we are willing to meet away from home. With the freight rate and cost of transportation in our favor here, we certainly have nothing to fear when we are meeting them where the freight rate and transportation and many times adverse tariffs are in their favor. But we shall cut from them last hope of having even a false issue, for we shall pass a bill creating a tariff board to gather the facts created by the new war conditions or the conditions that may exist after peace is declared, and upon these official facts, obtained by men not interested in enriching themselves by taxing others, and with this gathered information be ready to meet every new condition which may arise. [Applause.]

FEDERAL RESERVE LAW.

Would our Republican opponents repeal the present Federal reserve law that emancipated the credit of a Nation; that made the credit of the country to run in life-giving currents through the avenues of business? Under the old system a few men could create a panic, as the whole Nation witnessed in 1907; when all the world was at peace and enjoying unusual prosperity. A small group of men upon Manhattan Island precipitated overnight one of the greatest panics in the history of the Nation. It toppled values, wrecked fortunes, destroyed holdings, turned out of employment thousands of men, and locked the door of almost every bank in the country against the depositor who called for his own money. The Republican Party—in control for 40 years of our national life—either did not have the ability or the courage or the desire to remedy this brutal system that lodged the money of a Nation in the control of this heartless group of men. The Democratic Party took control of this Nation, and under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson met this great problem. We took the money control out of the hands of this oligarchy; we lodged its control in the hands of the Government and created the Federal reserve banks of the country. We rested the finances of the great people of this Nation upon what they own, and not upon what they owe. [Applause.] output of the factory, the product of the farm, the ore of the mine, the business achievements of the people, was the basis of the money issued under this new system, and not the bonds that were resting upon the people. What would have been the result if the old Republican system had been in effect when the world's war broke upon us? The stock exchanges in every city in the war broke upon us? The stock exchanges in every city in the world were closed. Europe poured its vast holdings in plethargic streams upon our shores. The cry that went up from all the nations of the Old World was, "We want gold." Who thinks that the Republican system of finance under the guidance of and our soil from invasion, and to protect the rights of our citi-

these patriotic guardians would have been able to withstand this mighty cataclysm in the peace and credit of the world? But what was the result? Not a bank closed its doors; not a laborer was thrown out of employment; not a business was forced into bankruptcy; but there stood strong, serving the masses of mankind, this great legislative achievement of the Democratic Party. [Applause.] Panics no longer are possible. [Cheers.] The truth of it is, they have only come, during the history of this Nation, when the Republican Party either was in control of its affairs or the laws that it had enacted were unrepealed upon our statute books.

The panic of 1873 is familiar to the older of our citizens. The Republican Party was in control. The panic of 1893 came while the laws written by the Republican Party were unrepealed upon the statute books, and the plates for the issuance of bonds had been prepared by the outgoing Harrison administration. And so we are quite familiar with the panic of 1907; but as the master achievement of Woodrow Wilson, to my mind, next to keeping 100,000,000 people at peace with the world, the historian will record the Federal reserve law that created a democracy of credit in a Republic of freemen and established a currency system controlled by the Government that is quickly responsive to the business needs of the country. [Applause.] Would our Republican friends suggest a repeal of this law? I imagine not, though we enacted it over their intense and bitter opposition. They stood upon the floor of the Senate and with all the eloquence and logic at their command declared in solemn tones that if we did enact it into law that in 30 days the mightiest panic that ever broke upon a nation would be with us. They said it was but a recrudescence of greenbackism and the old free-silver craze. They declared that the national banks, 8,000 strong, would not go into it. We discarded this advice. We weathered these evil forebodings, and in the interest of mankind we wrote the law. No Republican convention from that day to this, no Republican orator upon the hustings with any degree of responsibility, has suggested a word of criticism or uttered a line of condemnation of this law. [Applause.]

AMERICANISM. We are all Americans no matter whence we come. We love our country because it makes us free. The beauty of the oceans that wash our shores, our fertile plains, our lofty mountains, our winding rivers, our unequaled landscapes, can only be enjoyed in their real and matchless beauty through the eyes of a freeman. More beautiful than the beauty and splendor of the land is the glory of the Government. The humblest may become the greatest, the weakest may become the strongest, the poorest may become the richest; here no taint of blood, no law of royalty. This freedom is as much the right of the one who comes here as the one who is born here. [Applause,] We are glad of it and happy to offer this opportunity and this happiness to all. We only ask in return loyalty, valor, and love; loyalty to the flag, valor in its defense, and love of our free institutions. [Applause.] We do not care what songs of the old home land you may sing or what memories of the country from which you came you may cherish. All we ask is that the song you shall hold dearest to your heart is the Star-Spangled Banner. [Applause.] And the memories you shall cherish most and best are those of America that makes you free. There are some who seek to destroy this Nation whose freedom and blessings they enjoy. call themselves anarchists. If I had my way, I would not allow a single man or association of men to bear aloft upon the streets and highways of this Nation a flag or emblem that either questioned the integrity or authority of the Stars and Stripes of the Republic,

PREPAREDNESS FOR SELF-DEFENSE. In 1906 I attended the great Peace Conference held in London and saw there assembled 26 nations of the earth speaking in different languages, but all spoke the language of peace. I thought that the millenium of peace had come, such a thing as the world's war was impossible; but the day when the Christian heart shall rule the world and when peace shall reign over the land is not here, and unhappily is not in sight. Self-defense and preparation for it is as necessary now as ever be-We must not mistake dishonor for peace, as we can not mistake oppression for peace. All Governments love peace—peace with freedom, peace with honor. Without these all is slavery beside. Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party advocate an army big enough to make aggressors think the second time bezens is the purpose of Woodrow Wilson. I want a navy large enough that it will be impossible for a foreign shell to fall in a single American city. [Applause.] I want an army strong enough to make it impossible for an aggressor's foot to press American soil. We do not want a foot of anybody's else's soil, and, by the eternal God they shall not take a foot of ours. [Applause.] I do not fear militarism. It has never menaced a free

In this land of freedom the right to declare war rests with the people themselves. Those who must fight its battles, speaking through their duly accredited Representatives in Congress House and the Senate-can alone declare war, and as the people can declare war so they can proclaim peace. Democracy be-lieves in preparedness without militarism. During this administration we have done more to build up an army and navy in three years than the Republican Party did in 40 years of its existence. More has been done to give the American people a navy and army in three months than Col. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft did in 11 years. The President challenged the seeming overwhelming opposition of Congress and of his own party, and in the name of self-defense "and America first" he took his cause to the country, and in the great and unshackled court of public opinion summoned the American people to the rescue. Their response was immediate and overwhelming in his support. President Wilson acts, he does not rant; he builds, he does not bluster.

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS.

No President during the life of this Republic has ever had to deal with so many delicate and dangerous problems as those which have confronted President Wilson during the last two years of his incumbency in office. With more than half of the world in arms in Europe, with Mexico in revolution at our border, these difficult and complicated international problems have confronted him almost daily, and he has handled them as becomes a patriot and a statesman. When the Lusitania was sunk the militant voice of Theodore Roosevelt cried out for war, and if he had been President of the United States at that time, to-day 500,000 brave American sons would be contending around the fort of Verdun in this mighty maelstrom of blood—thousands would have been buried in the ditches. Our President, patient, patriotic, farsighted, the real statesman, handled this question with the greatest ability, and won for America its

greatest diplomatic victory.
Some gentlemen in Congress undertook to take out of the President's hands the right of handling our foreign situation. Congress met that quickly, decisively, and said that they stood, as every American should stand, back of the President of the United States. When the President sent his ultimatum to Germany he was criticized by two elements-one that he was seeking to force the country into war and the other was that he was too cowardly to engage in the conflict. There are happily two kinds of courage; the courage of the man who is willing to undertake the danger himself and the courage of the man that sends others to the conflict. [Applause.] The courage of the man who wishes himself to enter the conflict may be rash, for he alone is to suffer, but the courage to take a nation into war, where millions of lives may be sacrificed, is another kind of courage. It is a courage that must be able to stand bitter abuse [applause]; a courage that moves slowly, acts coolly, and strikes no blow as long as diplomacy may be employed, honor of the country upheld, the flag respected, and lives of Americans protected. [Applause.] Woodrow Wilson has both kinds of courage—the courage of conflict and the courage to act coolly and sensibly when he is dealing with the lives of othersfate of a nation. [Applause.] It was no time for divided counsel. The interference of Congress would have created chaos in this country, contempt for our honor and our country abroad, and would have destroyed the power of America to either maintain its honor or protect the rights of the neutrals of the world.

LINCOLN AND WILSON.

The Mexican situation was inherited by the Democratic Party from the administration of President Taft. It had refused recognition of Huerta, and the same policy was followed along recognition of Huerta, and the same policy was followed along these lines by President Wilson, because he believed with President Taft that assassination should not be rewarded with the presidency of the Republic of Mexico. The President has dealt with the Mexican situation, and his policy has been the same as that of Abraham Lincoln under like conditions more than half a century ago. [Applause.] Speaking through his great Secretary of State, Mr. Lincoln said:

For a few years past the condition of Mexico has been so unsettled as to raise the question on both sides of the Atlantic whether the time has not come when some foreign power ought, in the interest of society generally, to intervene—to establish a protectorate or some other form of government in that country and guarantee its continuance there. You will not fall to assure the Government of Mexico that the President neither has,

nor can ever have, any sympathy with such designs, in whatever quarter they may arise or whatever character they may take on. The President never for a moment doubts that the republican system is to pass safely through all ordeals and prove a permanent success in our own country, and so be recommended to adoption by all other nations. But he thinks also that the system everywhere has to make its way painfully through difficulties and embarrassments which result from the action of antagonistic elements which are a legacy of former times and very different institutions. The President is hopeful of the ultimate triumph of this system over all obstacles as well in regard to Mexico as in regard to every other American State; but he feels that those States are nevertheless justly entitled to a greater forbearance and more generous sympathies from the Government and people of the United States than they are likely to receive in any other quarter. The President trusts that your mission, manifesting these sentiments, will reassure the Government of Mexico of his best disposition to favor their commerce and their internal improvements. I find the archives here full of complaints against the Mexican Government for violation of contracts, and spoliation and cruelties practiced against American citizens. It is not the President's intention to send forward such claims at the present moment. He willingly defers the performance of a duty, which at any time would seem ungracious, until the incoming administration in Mexico shall have had time, if possible, to cement its authority.

When American soil was invaded the President quickly

When American soil was invaded the President quickly ordered the United States troops into Mexico upon their punitive expedition. They are there now, and I have no doubt will remain as long as there is a possibility of the capture and punishment of the murderers who invaded American soil or are needed for the protection of American lives along the border. the Republican platform at Chicago denounced the Mexican policy of Woodrow Wilson, it denounced at the same time the similar Mexican policy of Abraham Lincoln—the one they have heretofore called the "patron saint" of the Republican Party. When the Lincoln administration came into power, Mexico had been in turmoil for years. The government of Juarez was in power, but was unable to enforce order. Not only had American property been destroyed, but American lives had been lost, and a member of the American legation had been murdered. It is a perfectly easy thing for the President of the United States to plunge his country into war if he is a politician before he is He would seek his own reelection as he came upon horseback up the bloody highway of contending armies. American people have never yet repudiated a war President and never will. We are naturally a red-blooded, fighting race. Of course, our Army could invade Mexico and march in triumph to its capital, but after the war was over other armies would march-an army of widows and orphans, an army of cripples and men broken in health, an army of pensioners, and an army of tax collectors gathering up the earnings of the people to pay the great war debt. All America wants peace—peace with

SHIPPING BILL.

The Republican Party defeated by filibuster the shipping bill proposed by the Democratic Party, which, if it had been enacted, would have made impossible the more than 200 miles of railroad sidetracks crowded by the products of the American factory and the American farm by enabling us to get shipments abroad and we would by this time have been enabled to have a merchant marine to take the products of the field and the factory and the mines to the hungry markets of Europe. They offer to the United States the often proposed and always defeated subsidy to the shipowners to be paid out of the Treasury of the people of the United States. This time they call it by the name of subvention, but it means, of course, the taking of the people's money to enrich a few men. They seem to be perfectly willing to take the public money and give it to other people to operate shipping abroad, but they are utterly unwilling that the Government of the United States shall with the people's money purchase these ships and operate them if private capital is not willing to do so without subsidy or, as they call it, subvention from the Treasury, and whatever profit was made by the Government's operation would go into the public treasury. The Republican platform proposes a subsidy to the shipowner, the profit going into their pockets. In other words, it is willing for the United States to pay the loss if there is any in operating the ships States to pay the loss, if there is any, in operating the ships when it is done by private capital, but unwilling for the Government to render the service if private capital will not under-

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

The Republican Party, seeking some issue, just any issue upon which to hang the slightest hope of returning to power, is driven to the necessity of denouncing in its own platform, adopted at Chicago, the vote of a majority of its own Members in the House and Senate upon practically all of the reform measures that have been written into law by the Democratic Party. They declare we "favor an effective system of rural credits as opposed to the ineffective law proposed by the present Democratic administration." By this declaration they charge practically every Republican in the Senate and almost every Republican in the House with having voted for an ineffective rural credit law, which has passed both the Senate and House. In the Senate the vote was 57 to 5, in the House 295 to 10. I suppose this denunciation of their fellow Republicans was caused by the fact that of the five Republicans in the Senate who voted against the rural credits bill which passed that body Senators Lodge, Oliver, and Wadsworth were members of the subcommittee that prepared the Republican platform, and they were anxious to vindicate their own vote at the cost of denouncing their Republican colleagues. [Laughter and applause.]

The Republican platform says "they favor an effective rural redits system, yet they proposed no substitute to the bills that passed the House and Senate, which are in a striking degree similar to the rural credits law of Germany which has reduced the tenants upon the farms from 50 per cent to 10 per cent. The Democratic Party believes in a home building and land owning population. It was our effort and desire to make it possible for every man who tilled the soil in America to own the land and have a home. [Applause.] The Republican Party in power 40 years since the Civil War has never passed any law for their relief, has never sought to cheapen credit, to enable them to become owners instead of tenants, but to-day they present the remarkable spectacle of adopting a platform which promises nothing, but in their anxiety to denounce Democratic legislation have to include in their wholesale condemnation nine-tenths of their own Members of the Senate and House of Representatives.

[Applause.]
The trade commission bill which was passed for the benefit of the business of the country, to make plain the law, to prevent monopolization of the industries of the country, received a majority of the Republican and Bull Moose Members of the Senate and House when it was placed upon its final passage. The Clayton antitrust bill, which had for its purpose free competition in trade and the prevention of monopoly, which are basic in the business prosperity of the country, received upon its final passage almost half of the Republican vote in the two Houses of

The one great achievement of the Democratic administration which was bitterly opposed by a majority of the Republicans in both the Senate and the House is not denounced or even honored with respectful mention in the Republican platform. This is indeed in strange contrast to the gloomy prophecies of financial depression, industrial ruin, and wholesale unemployment of labor, which the Republicans told Congress and the country would follow the passage of this law.

Anxious as is the Republican-Party for an issue, they most respectfully declined this one, and the Democratic Party rejoices in the thought that the greatest constructive piece of legislation enacted in the history of the Government dealing with the currency, the very life blood of commerce, has proved so successful that they dare not condemn it in the slightest degree.

THE REPUBLICAN RECORD ON THE NAVY.

The Republican platform declares for "a continuous policy of national defense," but there have only been two propositions made in our history for a "continuous policy." One was made by the General Board of the Navy in 1903, urging upon the Republican administration then in power the construction of two battleships a year. That "continuous" program was hidden in the archives and never saw light until the present Secretary of the Navy published it. Instead of adopting a "continuous policy" the very year that the General Board proposed a "continuous policy" advocating two battleships a year, the Republican administration authorized only one, and never under their administration did they attempt a "continuous policy" which they now want to adopt. If they had, it would not be necessary now for the Democratic administration to have to appropriate such large sums to make up the deficiencies in the Navy, due to the Republican refusal to adopt the continuing policy recommended by the experts of the Navy.

such large sums to make up the deficiencies in the Navy, due to the Republican refusal to adopt the continuing policy recommended by the experts of the Navy.

The only other "continuous policy" proposed is the one advocated by the President of the United States in his address to Congress last December, in which he urged the adoption by this Congress of a five-year building program which, if adopted, would meet the demand of the "continuous policy" which the belated Republican promise now offers. But what happened when this matter was under consideration in the Naval Affairs Committee of the House? Every Republican member on the committee decided to oppose the President's "continuous program" and vould vote for no program longer than for one year. "Promises butter no parsnips." After 16 years of failure even to let the public know of the "continuous policy" proposed by the naval experts, much less to carry out such a policy, and after the Republicans on the House Naval Affairs Committee, in June, 1916, unanimously opposed the President's policy, they now say they favor the "continuous policy." [Applause.]

UNDER DEMOCRACY THE UNITED STATES LEADS THE WORLD.

For the first time in the history of our country, the United States leads the world in exports. We are more prosperous than ever, and mills which have not turned a spindle for years are now busy. All the laborers of the United States are employed as never before. With the world war raging, our country is the only neutral one that is not in distress and the only one that has not declared a moratorium. Who would substitute for the clean, open, and perfectly just policy of the Democratic Party of equal opportunity and fair dealing for all, the partnership of corrupt politics and corrupt business that existed under the Republican Administration? Every demand of the stress of war the Democratic Party has met quickly. Private capital, unwilling to undertake the hazard of insurance of cargoes at sea during the war, Democracy passed a bill which provided that the Government should issue the insurance. Our Republican opponents prophesied that there would be great loss to the Government by this undertaking, if the Treasury itself was not bankrupt. However, the American products of the factory, the field, and the mine had to have a market, and that market was across the sea.

We were not frightened by this gloomy prophecy; there was no other remedy. Private capital would not undertake it, and we have not lost anything by it, but upon the other hand we have a balance of more than \$2,000,000. Democracy is the friend of the business and industries of the country big and little. It recognizes that in a great nation business should be along a great scale. All we ask is that business, however large or small, shall not be greater than the law. We have freed business from the blackmail of the politician, as we have emancipated it from the clutch of monopoly. The law has been plainly written for their guidance. Every business and industry in the Republic understands perfectly well what the law is and that the Democratic Party does not desire to hinder. purpose is to help, not harass, business; to build up and assist, not to destroy, but instead to encourage in every possible the legitimate business of the country. Democracy has given to this country government without graft, administration without favoritism, taxation without special privilege, expenditures of the people's money without dishonesty or scandal.

DIPLOMATIC TRIUMPH.

Four years ago they sneeringly called Woodrow Wilson the school teacher; then his class was assembled within the narrow walls of Princeton College. They were the young men of America. To-day he is the world teacher, his class is made up of kings, kaisers, czars, princes, and potentates. The confines of the schoolroom circle the world. His subject is the protection of American life and American rights under international law. The saving of neutral life, the freedom of the seas, and without orphaning a single American child, without widowing a single American mother, without firing a single gun, without the shedding of a single drop of blood, he wrung from the most militant spirit that ever brooded above a battle field an acknowledgment of American rights and an agreement to American demands. [There were calls from the delegates and the galleries "repeat it." Mr. James here repeated the paragraph. The continued cheering that followed this made it impossible for Mr. James to proceed. Tre-mendous outburst of applause and cheering, the parading of delegates with the standards of many States around the hall kept up for 20 minutes before he was able to proceed with his He truly demonstrated that principle is mightier than force, that diplomacy hath its victories no less renowned than Shall we by his defeat tangle again the untangled international problems-shall we say to the warring countries, "Open again these settled international questions; his was not the voice of his country"? In the bloodiest crucible of all history he has kept the stainless banner of the Republic flying above 100,000,000 of people in peace and in honor. During these years of great trial, of difficulties, and complications crowding upon each other like waves of an angry sea, with enemies powerful from without and critics and traducers from within, with abuse cruel as it was cowardly, he emerges as majestic and powerful as a mountain after a storm, loved by all who believe in justice, and feared by those who temporize with wrong. He elevates himself to that lofty but lonely eminence occupied by George Washington. Abraham Lincoln, and Woodrow Wilson, the three worst abused but best beloved Americans the Republic ever grew. [Great applause.]

NEITHER BULLIES THE WEAK NOR FEARS THE STRONG.

He neither bullies the weak nor fears the strong. He deals with the military lord with his millions of soldiers in the field demanding justice for the American people, protection of American lives and American rights as he does with the weak followers of a revolutionary torn Mexico. For the honor of our flag, the preservation of our lives, the protection of our rights he

would challenge the world to conflict; for political personal preferment or party advantage he would not inflict the slightest wrong nor impose the smallest injury. [Applause,] Mexico and Germany, England and Austria look alike to him when America is involved. He might overlook the wrong of the weak, but never the insult of the strong.

WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

The opponents of the Democratic Party declare that the for-eign policy of President Wilson has been "evil and vacillating." What do they mean by this? Is it that we should have gone to war when Belgium was invaded, which we were not bound to do by either contract or principle? That issue we are perfectly willing to submit to the American people. Around 20,000,000 happy firesides the fathers of America will gather this night with their unbroken family circle with their children upon their knee their unbroken family circle with their children upon their knee and their wife by their side, happy and prosperous. Contrast this with the fathers, husbands, and brothers of the Old World dying in the ditches, with the gloom and mourning in broken family circles, where hunger crouches and disease treads. If this be "evil and vacillating," God prosper it and teach it to the rulers of the Old World. [Great cheering.]

PEACE. He has struggled for peace. His fondest hope, his most fervent prayer is for the peace, not only of his own beloved country, but of all the world. When the last great day shall come, and before the court of God the nations of this earth shall march in judgment review, the monarchs of the Old World shall have to answer for this awful carnage, this heartless orphaning of millions of children, this cruel widowing of millions of mothers, this brutal turning of a once happy land into a place of mourning, and on that last day I can see our President holding in his hand the accusing picture of Henri Danger, of Christ upon the battlefield, with the dead and dying all about him, with the roar of cannon, the screaming of shrapnel, the wail of the dying, and above his head written these words: "And He said unto them, love one another." When that day shall come, who is it that would have our President exchange places with the blood-bespattered monarchs of the old world? I can see him with the white light streaming upon his head and hear the Master say "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." [Applause.]

ACHIEVEMENTS OF WOODROW WILSON.

The Democratic Party is proud of the achievements of Woodrow Wilson. He has brought prosperity and plenty to 100,000,000 Americans. He has given work to every willing hand in the Republic. Every toller has the full dinner pail—full to overflowing

He has by legislation taken labor out of the brutal category of inanimate things and treated the toilers as men with hearts that beat and lips that pray, and they are no longer subjected to oppressive injunctions or Federal court manipulations; he has dignified the associated toilers of the field and the factory, men seeking by organization and association to brighten and make delightful the lives of the wealth producers and creators of the Nation; he has freed the industries of the Republic; he has liberated the business of the Nation; he has provided a Federal Trade Commission whose duty it is to destroy favoritism, weed out unfair advantage, and give to industry everywhere an equal opportunity; he has given to individualism high hope and new life; he drove from the Treasury of the Nation a ship monopoly that was enjoying subsidies on the canal tolls of millions of dollars a year, and at the same time proclaimed to the world that a treay made with America was more than a "scrap of paper, but was, indeed, a bond of honor that should be faithfully kept; he has struggled amid the world's war with the great nations of the earth for the freedom of the seas and the rights of Americans and of neutrals everywhere; he has stood for the law of neutrality which was written before the war com-menced and agreed to by the nations of the earth and could not be changed during the war to meet the exigencies of some or the demands of others.

With critics all about him, with patience and strength and great foresight, he has kept a Nation at peace with honor. He has driven from the control of the finances of the people of this Nation an oligarchy of wealth and substituted in its stead a just Government, interested only in supplying the legitimate business needs of the country with sufficient currency to meet its demands needs of the collary with suncient currency to freet its demands and requirements. It ought not to be necessary to nominate him in partisan convention. Patriotism in this world crisis should rise above politics, and all parties should rejoice at an opportunity to proclaim him the whole-hearted and happy choice of a Republic of peaceful freemen. And as we can not afford to swap horses while crossing a stream, who would say that we can apply the constant of the collaboration of the collabo afford to swap horses while crossing a bloody stream?

America can not afford to change leadership during this great cataclysm that shakes the nations of the earth, for to Woodrow Wilson more than any other citizen in all the world the Christian people, wherever the rain falls or the sun shines this world around, look anxiously, hopefully, and prayerfully that he will bring peace to the struggling armies of Europe. What party is it now that would dare undertake to discredit this master diplomat, this unconquerable leader, this great American, for by that you may palsy the hand that may write the peace treaty of the world. [Great cheering and applause.]

An Appeal of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America for War-Relief Funds.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET. OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 16, 1916.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the appeal of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America for warrelief funds.

The appeal is as follows:

SECOND MESSAGE TO THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA, TO THE SUNDAY SCHOOLS, AND, THROUGH THE CHURCHES, TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FROM THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA TO EXPRESS THE UNITED APPRAL OF THE ORGANIZATIONS FOR WAR RELIEF IN EUROPE AND ASIA.

WAR RELIEF IN EUROPE AND ASIA.

DEAR BRETHREN: The response to the first message is prophetic, but not universal or commensurate. Not a word of complaint has come, and many messages have been conspicuously hopeful. For example, one pastor writes: "Ours is a country church of 100 members. Our offering of over \$200 is the largest we ever made." Another writes: "We are a little rural church. We send \$17.90 and pledge ourselves to send \$10 a week at least, so long as the war lasts." Another: "Our collection was \$2.400."

Meanwhile the cry of distress continues. Our correspondence from Europe and the reports from the organizations bring new stories of suffering, and those who suffer most are the most innocent.

No united movement of the churches could be more far-reaching in spiritual influence than this effort to extend a hand of Christian love and sympathy to the peoples across the sea.

The constituent bodies of the council, either through their national assemblies or through their executive boards, have given unhesitating approval of the action of the executive committee.

We therefore resort to you again, and our message comes this time in a wider representative capacity.

WHY ANOTHER MESSAGET

WHY ANOTHER MESSAGET

The first message was taken up by a voluntary committee consisting of ex-President William H. Taft, Judge Alton B. Parker, Hon. Seth Low, and Mr. Hamilton Holt, who issued a message to the people urging them to hear the voice of the churches.

Following this, on June 6, there was held in the federal council conference room a conference of representatives of the outstanding warrelief organizations, which unanimously voted to request the federal council and the churches to continue to be their voice to the people. It was further

"Voted: That continuous messages should be sent out to the people through the churches." This transforms our previously voluntary action into

A PROFOUND RESPONSIBILITY.

A PROFOUND RESPONSIBILITY.

To have these great causes look to the Christian church to become their voice is a gratifying token, but it imposes an immeasurable responsibility which we must regard with humility, but from which we must not shrink.

They asked the federal council to do this. The council has therefore turned over, for the time being, its staff and its resources. The Laymen's Missionary Movement has given over its forces to the committee on Armenian and Syrian relief. But what is the federal council? It is the sum of all its parts. It is simply your church and all the other churches together.

"THE CREATION OF A NEW ATMOSPHERE IN THE NATION."

"These were the terms in which Prof. Samuel T. Dutton, secretary of the Armenian committee, described the task of the church at the conference. It is the invoking of the spirit of unselfishness and self-sacrifice. The representatives of the war-relief organizations, many of them, have expressed their feeling that this has been the one thing lacking. Our ex-President of the United States, and the business men and publicists associated with him in reenforcing our first message, reminded us that we must invoke the religious motive of the people and transfuse the whole movement with a spiritual light.

"EVERY EXPRESSION OF UNSELFISHNESS IS A CORD OF LOVE RETWEEN BETWEEN AMERICA AND THE NATIONS."

Thus writes one of our European brethren concerning our first mes-

Thus writes one of our European brethren concerning our first message. Another says: "Your American churches have already begun to help us rebuild our shattered civilization," referring to a letter of our general secretary telling of our plans.

Still another of our European correspondents says: "We had come pretty nearly to feel that the American people were overwhelmingly concerned with their own commercial gains, but the plans about which you write me show clearly that the great body of our American Christians have not lost their Christian compassion."

In fact, looking over our correspondence, their expressions of gratitude are out of all proportion to what we have thus far done.

THE ACCELERATING DISTRESS NECESSITATES NOT A CONTRIBUTION BUT A CONTINUOUS MOVEMENT OF UNSELFISH VELOCITY.

time are out of all proportion to what we have thus far done.

THE ACCELERATING DISTIBES NECESSITATES NOT A CONTRIBUTION BUT A CONTINUOUS MOVEMENT OF UNSELFISH VELOCITY.

We wish that we might convey to you the reports and the stories that come to us from the war-relief bureaus. Here are a few random indications of the increasing suffering and of its momentum.

The B. F. B. blind fund writes that 25,000 are blinded, and that at the rate this continues hundreds of thousands will require permanent care, although some of them are taking their own lives. Dr. Lynch is gathering appalling statistics regarding the number of orphans and homeless children in all countries.

Every pastor ought to secure from the Jewish organizations and read the pitiful story of the Jews. Peoples like the Montenegrins, Ukrainlans, Nestorians, and peoples of Persia and Syria have received almost no relief except that furnished by people of their own race in this country.

The German relief organizations send us the story of 400,000 homeless people in East Prussia, of 35,000 houses destroyed, with the consequent suffering of thousands of women and children. The British War Relief Association sends a special appeal from the hospitals where the demand for equipments is always greater than the supply.

The Secours National tells us of the pitiful efforts at reconstruction of homes, the effort to maintain workshops, the pitiful condition of thousands of released priseners, of over a million French and Belgian refusers, and of over 1,000 homeless children in one community.

The Belgian Commission writes that the potato supply in northern France is absolutely exhausted and that the mortality statistics in cities like Lille are more than doubling. The war relief clearing house, as well as the national allied relief committee, tells of its constant cablegrams from all directions, which they described as "heartbreaking." It is stated that in Polan 20,000 villages are now in a state for. Juand we should simply "compare Polands need with America's pr

SOME OF THE NEEDS.

The first is money, but there is also opportunity to supply, by arrangement with various committees, new and clean second-hand clothing, woolen yarn and cloth, hospital supplies, blankets, socks, underwear, good shees, sheeting, flannel; cotton for the want of which hundreds are bleeding to death, while the United States is the storchouse of cotton; and there is need of various kinds of imperishable food.

Let us devote our prayer meetings and our services of worship to intercession for Europe and Asia and make it a subject for unceasing

prayer,

"He went out into a mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God.

"And when it was day * * * He came down * * * and stood in the plain * * * there went virtue out of Him and healed them all."

Our communities look to their Christian forces for leadership in such

Our communities look to their Christian forces for leadership in such a time as this.

1. Appoint a committee in your church.
2. Consult with other pastors and laymen and secure the appointment of a community committee for continuous service.
3. See that the matter is seriously considered by your church federation or association of ministers. In some communities it has been found advisable to have a general community fund or community reasurer. In other words, some sort of clearing house for the community.

4. Make special appeals in behalf of the suffering children of Europe to the Sunday-school children, the young people, and the day-school children, using the dime banks, such as are furnished by the B. F. B. fund and other similar helps, suggested by the fund for starving children.

children.

5. Organize interest through other groups and organizations in the church and in the community.

6. Give one immediate special Sunday to a presentation of this great cause, unless you have already done so, and in this connection we would suggest citizenship Sunday, July 2, as a suitable opportunity.

7. Interview people of means for substantial contributions.

In connection with the community campaigns, we would earnestly advise the wide distribution of this message and of our first message.

8. Get continuous publicity, through the press and in other ways.

Make it "popular."

THE SPIRITUAL EFFECT ON OUR OWN CHURCHES.

While this may not be our motive or impulse, we may well consider it. Who doubts the spiritual reaction of foreign missions? Is not this movement of the same nature?

THE EFFECT UPON OUR NATION.

May this not be the means of lifting our Nation out of its political and economic confusion into a higher idealism which shall make it a moral power in the world?

THIS IS NOT SIMPLY A MESSAGE TO THE CHURCHES,

Some of the pastors have lost sight of this. It is a message through the churches to the people of America, to be voiced by 100,000 voices of ministers consecrated and ordained to reach the hearts of the people.

INFORMATION-HOW AND WHERE TO SEND CONTRIBUTIONS. The matter will, of course, be taken up with your denominational committees, if they have been appointed. The following organizations are mentioned, without in any way disparaging others, because they cover the sufferers of all sections. To submit any longer list would be confusing, and the others will doubtless make themselves favorably known. A directory of the leading organizations has been issued by the American Red Cross.

REVISED LIST.

the American Redief Committee in Berlin for Widows and Orphans: John D. Crimmins, treasurer, 30 East Forty-second Street, New York City.

B. F. B. Permanent Blind Relief War Fund: Frank A. Vanderlip, treasurer, 590 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The Fund for Starving Children: Frederick Lynch, treasurer, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief: Charles R. Crane, treasurer, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

American Huguenot Committee: Edmond E. Robert, treasurer, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City.

American National Red Cross: Hon. John Skelton Williams, treasurer, 1624 H Street, Washington, D. C. (The Red Cross has a department of noncombatant relief.)

British War Relief Association (Inc.): Henry Clews, treasurer, 542 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Commission for Relief in Belgium: Alexander J. Hemphill, treasurer, 120 Broadway, New York City.

American Jewish Relief Committee for Sufferers from the War: Felix M. Warburg, treasurer, 174 Second Avenue, New York City.

East Prussian Relief Fund: Hubert Cillis, treasurer, 17 Battery Place, New York City.

The National Allied Relief Committee: James A. Blair, jr., treasurer, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Relief Committee for War Sufferers (German): Charles Froeb, treasurer, 531 Broadway, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Secours National: Mrs. Whitney Warren, treasurer, 16 East Forty-seventh Street, New York City.

Serblan Relief Committee: Murray H. Coggeshall, treasurer, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Union Nationale des Eglises Reformees Evangeliques de France, Emergency Relief Fund: Alfred R. Kimball, treasurer, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City.

War Relief Clearing House for France and Her Allies: Thomas W. Lamont, treasurer, 40 Wall Street, New York City.

Polish Relief (Federal Council Fund): Aifred R. Kimball, treasurer, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City.

Polish Relief Fund: Frank A. Vanderlip, treasurer, Aeolian Building, New York City.

SERVICES OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL.

The general secretary will gladly render information, and while the federal council has not deemed it advisable to add another fund to the suggested ones, inasmuch as many churches have expressed the wish that the council, on account of its knowledge of the most immediate and pressing needs, should receive and distribute their funds, the council is willing to do this, whether for designated or undesignated funds. These should be addressed as follows: The Federal Council War Relief Fund, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City. Checks should be made out to the "War Relief Fund."

The federal council is meeting all the overhead charges of this movement out of its own treasury.

Pastors who secured and distributed our first message seem to have aroused the deeper interest, and we believe it would be worth while to distribute the first message, which may be secured at \$5 per hundred, and this second message, which may be secured at \$2 per hundred.

By order of the executive committee, representing the 30 denominations, and in the name these constituent bodies of the council.

onstituent bodies of the council.
Shaller Mathews,
President.
Frank Masson North,
Chairman of the Esecutive Committee.
Charles S. MacFarland,
General Secretary.

JUNE 15, 1916.

THE OPPORTUNITY AND TEST OF AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY—WHY SHOULD THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA EXPRESS A NATION-WIDE APPEAL FOR THE RELIEF OF THE INNOCENT SUFFERERS BY THE WAR IN EUROPE AND ASIA?—IN THE PERIOD OF RECONCILIATION AND RECONSTRUCTION THAT MUST BEGIN WHEN THE WAR ENDS, WHAT PART WILL THE CHRISTIAN FORCES OF AMERICA BE PREPARED TO TAKE?

THE MESSAGE OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL TO THE MINISTERS OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA.

DEAR BROTHER: The federal council proposes for your consideration

DEAR BROTHER: The federal council proposes for your consideration and cooperation—

(1) A Nation-wide effort for the relief of the sufferers by the war in Europe and Asia; and

(2) A movement that shall prepare our Christian churches to play the vital part that belongs to them in the period of reconstruction and reconciliation that must follow the close of the war.

It is only through the churches of Christ that the public sentiment can be created and the sympathy be shown which will enable our Nation to help shape aright the future policies of the world powers and lay the solid foundations of world peace through a world court.

It is through the pastors that the churches can be informed, inspired, and impelled to meet the greatest challenge and test that the Christian churches have ever faced—a test involving the right of moral and spirtual leadership.

As the representative of the great body of these churches, the federal council asks your serious and prayerful consideration of the statements that follow. Its purpose is not to set up a new relief organization, as an addition to the hundred or more already in existence, but to supplement their work and impel a really unselfish giving by bringing the facts home to the hearts and consciences of the millions of members in our constituency. This can not be done without your active assistance. It resfs with you not only to present this matter and secure public contributions, but to enlist the laymen of means who need to be aroused to the situation and the peculiar demand it makes upon the churches. Of course, the ideal way is to get a permanent committee that will carry our your plans to reach all your members.

The federal council asks your aid also in bringing this movement

makes upon the caurcies. Of coarse, the coarse and pour nent committee that will carry out your plans to reach all your nembers.

The federal council asks your aid also in bringing this movement before the various bodies of your communion that may meet this spring and autumn, and securing for it such action as shall commend it most effectively to the local churches. The council believes profoundly that the crisis, which involves all the churches of Christ and the progress of Christianity itself, justifies this unusual demand upon your personal assistance as a Christian leader.

This is a time in which there are no precedents. The Divine call is upon the churches to do something large, worthy of their Master and Lord, something that shall manifest His spirit to the world and prove the reality of Christian discipleship and brotherhood. We feel sure that when you know the steps that led to this action by the federal council, and realize the immediate needs and the yet wider and more lasting service that our churches may render when peace has come, you will join us in the effort to bring the entire membership into cooperation in this noble work, even to the point of sacrificial giving.

The federal council, in view of the facts herewith presented and the immediate necessities of the situation, urges you to bring this matter before your people on Memorial Sunday, May 28, 1916, or on as near a Sunday as may be practicable, and take an offering as an initial expression of sympathetic interest. This offering may be designated for any of the causes here presented, and the money may be sent directly to the treasurer of the relief committee chosen. A list of leading relief organizations of wide scope is given in the addenda as a guide. If advice is desired in this regard, it will be gladly given by the general secretary of the federal council, who has in his office full information as to the most pressing needs. All the matter needed for sermon or address will be found in these pages.

The time is short? Yes; but long enough for starvation, deprivation, and death to do their work.

Some churches do not favor special appeals? But a crisis transcends all ordinary rules and even church rules. The churches that catch the vision and rise to meet this world challenge will revitalize their spirituality.

This is where giving enriches and withholding impoverishes.

WHAT LED THE FEDERAL COUNCIL TO UNDERTAKE THIS MOVEMENT FOR RELIEF AND RECONCILIATION?

The leading was providential. In December last Dr. Macfarland was profoundly impressed that the time had come for a private mission to the Christian leaders in the different nations of Europe, with whom he had been in correspondence. With the approval of the members of the committee, whom he called in council, he sailed on December 14, landed at Rotterdam, and spent the month following in Holland, Switzerland, Germany, France, and England, having interviews with leaders, both in church and state, and meeting with most fraternal reception. Word from abroad has left no doubt as to the fruitfulness of his mission. On his return he made a full report to the administrative committee, with certain recommendations, among which were the following:

"1. We should prepare to make this work of reconciliation and reconstruction our largest effort for the immediate future and prepare our minds and activities for it. It might be well to secure some sort of immediate general approval by our constituent bodies.

"2. The one thing which has been our strongest asset of influence has been the relief work of America and the American churches. But it has not been adequate or proportional. I learned in conference with the Belgian Relief Commission that our contributions of money had been disproportionate as contrasted with Canada and Great Britain, although, of course, this is offset by our gifts of food and supplies.

"We might issue an immediate call in this matter to the churches and to the American people. Our brethren abroad are saying that, while we may have been confused on the issues of the war, we have entered straight upon the one clear duty of relief, and we shall greatly strengthen our position and influence by opening this door more widely.

"Indeed, our most serious weakness is due to the reproach in which we are held because of the allegation, more or less made upon the part of all the nations, that we are utilizing the war for our economic and commercial gain.

"Our best counteracting influence is and will be our wor

The special conference's recommendations.

The administrative committee felt that these recommendations were so weighty that they should be considered by a larger body, and called a special conference of representative men, including the following:
Frank Mason North, Methodist Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions;
Fred B. Smith; John M. Glenn, director, Russell Sage Foundation;
Frederick Lynch, secretary Church Peace Union; John R. Mott, chairman World Continuation Committee; Cleveland H. Dodge; E. L. Smith,
American Board; S. T. Dutton, secretary Armenian Committee; Arthur
J. Brown, chairman Committee of Reference and Counsel; Alfred R.
Kimball; Jerome D. Greene, secretary Rockefeller Foundation; James
L. Barton, American Board; J. Edgar Leaycraft; and Fred P. Haggard,
of Russian Prison Work Committee.

After full discussion, this conference unanimously adopted the following findings:

lowing findings

"New York, March 23, 1916.

"To the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council:

"In view of the appalling need for material and spiritual relief created by the European war—a need which the churches of the United States have not yet sufficiently comprehended nor adequately attempted to meet—we recommend:

"That a special meeting of the executive committee of the Federal Council be called for thoroughgoing consideration to this need and to adopt comprehensive plans that will help to meet it. That the plans include the following:

"The immediate preparation and wide distribution of a strong appeal which should have for its chief purpose to arouse the conscience and stimulate the will of the churches in this great world crisis.

"The issuance of bulletins in which greatly needed information may be furnished regarding general and particular calls for help, and the several agencies through which assistance may be rendered.

"The appointment of leaders and committees in local churches and communities who shall come to feel the burden of this work and give themselves ungrudgingly to its accomplishment.

"The fullest cooperation with any and all agencies created for the common purpose." "To the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council:

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE'S ACTION.

Following the advice of the conference, a special meeting of the executive committee was held April 19, and was attended by the official representatives of practically all of the constituent bodies. By invitation, Prof. S. T. Dutton, secretary of the Armenian Relief Committee; W. B. Millar, secretary of the Laymen's Missionary Movement; Rev. George T. Scott; and Dr. Charles Riggs, a missionary from Constantinople, were present.

After a full day's session the executive committee unanimously adopted the following:

"Inasmuch as the conditions of suffering and need in the nations directly affected by the war in Europe and Asia are appalling beyond

description and are not known to the masses of our people, who have not been sufficiently informed concerning the facts to inspire them to interest or action, and since the inability of the nations, strained as they are, to meet these needs constitutes an urgent appeal to the neutral nations, and especially to the people of the United States, to use their utmost endeavors to bring relief wherever possible to all who suffer: Therefore

"Resolved, That the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, while recognizing the various relief organizations already at work and having no purpose save that of cooperation, believes that the time has come for a relief movement of such magnitude as shall fittingly recognize the obligation of Christianity to respond to all human need and emphasize to all the world the moral and spiritual consciousness and the Christian and philanthropic spirit of the American people.

consciousness and the Christian and philanthropic spirit of the American people.

"Also, Resolved—

"I. That the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America initiate a nation-wide movement for the relief of suffering in Europe and Asia growing out of conditions created by the war.

"2. That the movement shall be under the leadership and inspiration of the churches, a preeminently religious appeal to the people through the churches and religious orders and organizations, endeavoring to arouse among all classes the sentiment of personal self-sacrifice.

"3. That the federal council suggest for the inauguration of the movement memorial Sunday for the solicitation of funds for the suffering peoples of Europe and Asia, and invites all the churches and religious organizations of the United States to set apart as Memorial Sunday, May 28, 1916, for the consideration of the widespread sorrows of the peoples and for most generous contributions to relieve the suffering.

Sunday, May 28, 1916, for the consideration of the widespread sorrows of the peoples and for most generous contributions to relieve the suffering.

"4. That a letter be conveyed to all the churches and that the immediate cooperation of church federations and ministerial associations be secured; that the cooperation of denominational boards and of assemblies meeting in May be obtained, and that the churches also be reached through the religious press; that other movements, such as the laymen's missionary movement and the various Sunday school associations, be enlisted, and that the entire press of the country be invited to render assistance through publicity.

"5. That the movement be unrestricted in its appeal both in respect to the securing of funds and in the distribution of relief; and that individuals, churches, and other organizations shall designate their preference for the use of funds.

"6. That the administration hereafter to be appointed shall follow up these initial appeals so long as necessity may exist or until the executive committee shall otherwise order."

The administrative committee requested Rev. Howard B. Grose to secure sufficient release from the Baptist Boards of Missions to consult and advise with the general secretary in carrying out these plans, and Dr. Grose has rendered administrative service in initiating the movement.

This places clearly before you the action taken by the federal

ment.

This places clearly before you the action taken by the federal council and the reasons impelling it. Nine thoughtful representative conferences have been held, and Dr. Macfarland has also widely interviewed responsible men in both Europe and America. We believe you will agree with the conclusions reached by the executive committee and in the conviction that this is the hour of hours for our churches to act heroically in behalf of suffering humanity. "For the love of Christ. In His name."

THE IMMEDIATE, APPALLING, AND INCREASING NEED.

Our people have no conception of the actual conditions of starvation and suffering. Even those who have seen something of it at first hand can not fully comprehend it. Language can not depict the hopeless misery of hundreds of thousands of women and children and helpless old men. John R. Mott says that the remembrance of sights he saw often wakes him in the night and holds him sleepless. His visit to the battle fronts aged him more than 10 years of ordinary work. The same is true of Dr. Macfarland. In common with all who have been in the lands stricken and devastated by the war, he believes that if the facts could only be made known an immediate and adequate response would come from the members of our churches. This appeal is to make some of the facts known.

LOOK AT THE NEEDS.

I. Belgium.

LOOK AT THE NEEDS.

I. Belgium.

Five million dollars needed at once. Three million destitute people in Belgium kept alive by the relief furnished through the Commission for Relief in Belgium.

Consider these facts, taken from the report of F. C. Wolcott, sent by the Rockefeller Foundation to report on conditions in Belgium:

"There would be wholesale starvation within three or four weeks if the importation of food into Belgium were stopped.

"If any who cavil at the sending of relief supplies into Belgium could only visit Belgium and see personally the plight of the suffering people, they would come back as eager for the continuance of the work as I am.

"Of the 7,000,000 inhabitants in Belgium 3,000,000 are virtually destitute and drawing daily one meal, consisting of the equivalent of three thick slices of bread and a pint of soup.

"I have seen thousands of people lined up in snow or rain, soaked and chilly, waiting for bread and soup. I have returned to the distributing stations at the end of the day and have found men, women, and children sometimes still standing in line, but later compelled to go back to their pitiful homes cold, wet, and miserable. It was not until 18 weary hours afterwards that they got the meal they missed.

"There is another stratum of society just above the poorer, working people, which is only partially destitute, but even these must swallow their pride and stand in line every day for the supplementary ration. Most of them are mothers and fathers who have children only partiy nourished.

"Picture the mental condition of people without work for more than a year and a half, dally face to face with the possibility of starvation, cut off from communication with the outside world by barbed wire and armed cordons of a conquering foreign army.

"The need will continue great for many months after peace is declared. Factories have been stripped of their machinery. There is a complete stagnation of industry. It will take months to rehabilitate these industries and to start the wheels again.

Surely we ought to leave them in no doubt as to the sympathetic and generous spirit of American Christians who, realizing their afflictions, spring to their relief.

A BELGIAN GIRL EXPRESSES THE GRATITUDE OF ALL

"Oh, dear Americans, I am still small. My words can not tell you very well how I want to thank you, but, dear Americans, you must feel my heart. I pray every day to the good God that He shall bless your lives and that He shall spare you from war, hunger, and all other horrors. Take, then, loving and noble people, with my deepest feelings, the thanksgiving of my elder brothers and sisters. A thankful heart.

"Gerardina van der Voordt."

THE REPUTATION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IS IN A MEASURE IN OUR

To make the case concrete, here is an estimate of needs in Belgium and northern France. Note that the people of Belgium, who desire to work, would rather have materials out of which to make the garments than the garments made up, so that the unemployed might have something to do. That is the spirit of self-help that should lead us to make it possible.

WHAT IS NEEDED.

WHAT IS NEEDED.

For men: Two hundred thousand pairs of shoes, sizes ranging from No. 7 to No. 11; 300,000 shirts; 200,000 pairs drawers; 200,000 undershirts; 200,000 jerseys or sweaters; 400,000 pairs socks (wool); 350,000 pairs trousers; 300,000 coats; 150,000 overcoats, 100,000 scarfs. For women: Two hundred thousand pairs of shoes, sizes ranging from No. 3 to No. 8; 400,000 waists or blouses; 200,000 pairs drawers; 150,000 vests or underbodices; 400,000 pairs stockings (wool); 160,000 petticoats or underskirts; 200,000 skirts; 240,000 shawls or woolen coats or cloaks.

For girls: One hundred thousand pairs shoes, 200,000

coats or cloaks.

For girls: One hundred thousand pairs shoes; 200,000 waists or nlouses; 300,000 pairs drawers; 200,000 undervests; 200,000 petticoats; 300,000 frocks, 400,000 pairs stockings (wool); 200,000 coats or capes for school children; 100,000 woolen caps, bonnets, etc.

For boys: One hundred thousand pairs shoes; 400,000 shirts; 200,000 perseys or sweaters; 200,000 combination or union suits; 200,000 pairs trousers; 200,000 coats; 100,000 coats and capes for school children; 400,000 pairs stockings (wool); 100,000 caps or hats.

For small children and babies: Forty-eight thousand pairs shoes and 300,000 woolen garments. One hundred thousand blankets are also needed.

THIS IS AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY'S CALL TO MAKE ITS INFLUENCE WORLD-WIDE.

11. Northern France.

The need here is even greater than in Belgium, according to Mr. Wolcott, because of the lak of native supplies. There is plentiful testimony to bear out this statement. The appeal comes from the stricken people driven from their peaceful homes and left as refugees, dependent upon charity where the resources of charity, not its spirit, were wanting. The distress of the thousands of homeless, added to the helpless condition of the thousands of orphan children, challenges the sympathies and gifts of American Christians.

CRITICAL NEEDS OF 2,112,000 PEOPLE.

The American relief clearing house of Paris sets forth conditions as

The American relief clearing house of Paris sets forth conditions as follows:

"In the invaded Provinces of France the stock of clothing and supplies has been practically exhausted and the population in general is in a condition of serious want. The German Government has prohibited the exportation of foodstuff from Belgium into invaded France, making scrious the question of clothing and feeding the population in this district. The small stock of supplies in the stores and warehouses of the Provinces has become completely exhausted, and the situation has become critical in the extreme, people of wealth and consequence are going barefoot; women and children are without clothing; the suffering is extreme, particularly on account of impoverished physical condition owing to lack of proper nourishment. This population amounts roughly to 2,112,000, a very large proportion of them women and children, as the available men have been mobilized or have fied as refugees. We know that there are about 25,000 children in the neighborhood of Longwy who are without shoes and insufficiently clad in other respects. This population is entirely noncombatant and we want to make an appeal through you for their relief.

"The official list of refugees in France by departments in October, 1915, showed a total of 858,793, of which about 215,000 are under 15 years of age. It is safe to say that there are at least 175,000 refugee children in France under 10 years of age. At present these are apportioned in colonies, under the charge of charitable organizations."

HALF STARVATION IS DOING ITS DEADLY WORK.

Latest reports are that the death rate in the part of France occupied

Latest reports are that the death rate in the part of France occupied by the German Army has gone up from 20 to 42, and on account of mainutrition this rate is expected to advance enormously.

An American woman investigating conditions writes from France: "One who has not visited France can not realize the tremendous needs of all kinds. Those who last winter had a few things of their own are now without the barest necessities. Money is needed in large quantities, also clothing. I saw persons shivering with cold turned away, as there was nothing to give them."

TOUCHING APPRECIATION OF THE CHILDREN,

Of the work among the 2,000 orphan children at Yvetot she says:

"I took some of the 'kits' to this place, and the children wanted to show their appreciation in some way. So, in the rain and mud, they lined up in fours, headed by an Alsatian soldier with a wooden leg, and marched around the garden—200 of them—singing the 'Marseillaise' with all their might. Then they lined up in front of the doorway and shouted, 'Vive l'Amerique' and 'Vive la Marraine Americaine,' which means 'Long live America' and 'Long live our American Godmother.' It was too pitiful and I felt ashamed that we have done so little when they need so much. If our American friends could only imagine their own children in the same circumstances I am sure they would make some effort to send supplies to this place,"

III. Serbia.

Five millions of people deprived of their living and of chance to make it.

make it.

Five millions of dollars would give only one dollar to each sufferer.

Sorrowful as conditions are in Belgium and France, they are not less heartrenging in Serbia, which was filled with tragedy when the armies of the invaders overran it, destroying life and property.

"'We stumbled over the bodies of 19 little children. I buried 3 of them with my own hands.' 'So many have died on this journey from exposure.' Eight thousand women and children are waiting at Scutarl for ships to take them to Italy; meanwhile they are without food and shelter. These are details of the tragic tale. Thousands went staggering along the terrible way from Nish to Scutari, only to find no ships, no food, no shelter when they reached the sea. Refugees are still arriving at Scutari and Saloniki, and need food and clothing. The Serblan relief committee has sent \$70,000 where \$500,000 would not begin to meet the need. Dr. Forbes, of Boston, and Mr. Stuart are distributing relief at Saloniki, and Dr. Edward Ryan, Mr. Charles Carroll, and Mr. Hugh Griffen at Scutari. Blankets, hospital supplies, and clothing are immediate and pressing needs. Measures are being taken by the sanitary commission and the agricultural relief committee to suppress epidemics of typhus and cholera, and to supply agricultural implements and seed so that crops might be started. Serbia has about 4,500,000 inhabitants, and 600,000 of these are mobilized, so that all the male working population was withdrawn from ordinary pursuits. The peasant women have tilled the fields, but large sections are devastated.

"There are over 5,000 orphans in Serbia as a result of the war, and the relief measures include orphanages where these children may be cared for. A helper among these children reports:

"'I went out into the villages about Nish to clothe these ragged children. I also took food, and it was such a pleasure to help these half-starved little children, all skin and bone! This is the first help we have been able to give."

SERBS IN FRANCE.

How will our help measure up beside the noble self-sacrifice of the French people? Consider how the French are straining every nerve to care for their dependents, including large numbers of blind soldiers, and then realize what such care as this of Serbian refugees means. Madame Piettre reports:

"Our last work was for the Serbs. We have raised a nice colony for them in the Grandee Dalles. Here we have many intellectuals, ministers, professors, representatives of the Government, and reformed officers. They are proud, which makes their situation still more sad. One of them, mayor of Krivolac, fied with his horses to Saloniki, and had a little luggage. Others fied during 35 days' march through the mountains at Albany. The weariness obliged them to deprive themselves little by little of all their luggage. They only kept the food provisions, and after they were exhausted they marched five days without any nourishment. You can imagine how exhausted they were when they arrived. A special food was necessary, and the allowance for them is \$1.25 a day. They have no linen, and it is a sad sight for those of education to be obliged to receive a shirt, a pair of socks, etc."

IV. Poland.

IV. Poland.

ELEVEN MILLIONS OF HOMELESS, WANDERING PEASANTS, MOSTLY WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

Three and a half millions are in a condition of starvation, with certain death facing them unless relief comes speedily. Exposure, hunger, and disease are at work. Paderewski, the greatest living planist, is devoting himself to this relief work in behalf of his people.

President Wilson, in seconding the appeal for Poland, in his proclamation issued in response to a resolution adopted by the Senate, calls attention to "the appalling situation in Poland, where practically the entire population to-day is homeless, and where men, women, and children are perishing by thousands for lack of shelter, clothing, and food."

Recognizing the fact that "the people of the United States have demonstrated their sympathy for the suffering people on all sides in the great European war by their splendid and successful charitable work in Belgium, Servia, and other places," the President expresses the belief that the American people "will quickly respond to an appeal for help in Poland, once the tragedy of the situation is brought home to them."

PADEREWSKI'S GRAPHIC STATEMENT.

"Losses to date in property destroyed and agricultural, industrial, and commercial production, paralyzed amount to \$9,000,000,000.

"The horrors of the gigantic struggle have overwhelmed more than 18,000,000 inhabitants, including nearly 2,000,000 Jews. Fully 11,000,000 of helpless women and children, peasants, workmen, the very essence and strength of the nation, have been driven into the open.

"Thousands are hiding among ruins, in woods, or in hollows, subsisting on roots and the bark of trees. Hundreds of thousands of once prosperous families are helpless, hungry, sick, and succumbing.

"Only a great wave of mankind's pity can surmount so immense a wave of human misery.

"Only a great, enlightened, and generous nation can help effectually our perishing nation.

"In the name of Christian charity, in the name of common humanity, I therefore appeal to the great American people to help through the National American Committee of the Polish Victims' Relief Fund.

"Americans aiready have given much to other stricken nations; yet I am certain there is no soul in this noble country who will condemn me for asking—

"Some bread for the Polish women and children!

"Some food for the Polish farmers!

"Ignace J. Paderiewski."

Poland's needs are expressed in millions. The contributions from

Poland's needs are expressed in millions. The contributions from America for Poland up to January 1, 1916, amounted to only \$205,555.70.

Can the tragedy of the whole situation be brought home to our people? V. East Prussia.

V. East Prussia. Like Poland, East Prussia has been overrun by the contesting armies, the people suffering whether the Russians or the German forces were victorious, since the contested territory is sure to be devastated. With thousands of people driven from their homes, deprived of their livelihood, the suffering and need have been severe. A relief committee was formed in New York, and has received most of its funds from the Germans in this country. The conditions have not been made known so fully as those in other countries, but they are such as to call for sympathy and help.

RELIEF FOR GERMAN WIDOWS AND ORPHANS.

The American Auxiliary Committee of the American Relief Committee in Berlin for widows and orphans seeks relief funds for the 500,000 widows and twice as many orphans in the Central Empires as a result of the terrible slaughter. Members of the American colony in Berlin did what they could to alleviate the suffering of the needy ones, and then appealed to America.

The relief committee for widows and orphans of German and Austrian soldiers has raised over \$523,000 among the German-Americans in New

VI. The Armenian crisis.

VI. The Armenian crisis.

If the destruction of a race is thwarted, it will be because of the action of American representatives and the relief given by our people. Late consular reports say that there are 500,000 Armenian refugees in the districts of Damascus, Zor, and Aleppo. All relief committees strongly urge larger remittances. Mr. Peet, of Constantinople, business agent and treasurer of the four Turkish missions of the American board, says the relief already received has worked wonders, and if properly continued will help save a Christian nation from extermination. There are 300,000 refugees in Turkey who need help besides the half million referred to. A million dollars could be profitably used at once in his district alone.

We must add to these at least 200,000 survivors in the Carcesus and

We must add to these at least 200,000 survivors in the Caucasus and Persian Armenia—50,000 of them girls under 15 and 60,000 boys under 15. The total number of survivors is now placed at about 1,175,000. This increased number adds to the need of help. The condition of the refugees requires constant attention to prevent the spread of epidemic diseases.

diseases.

The report of the Armenian committee, a committee composed of men of the highest standing, forms one of the larkest chapters in human history, and should be read by pastors to their people, perhaps omitting some of the details too terrible to be repeated in public. This would stir the sources of relief.

The appeal issued to American Sunday schools by the Armenian committee is in line with this wider appeal to the pastors to make memorial Sunday a war-relief day in the churches, not limiting the appeal to one people, but including all sufferers by the war.

What an opportunity this gives to interest the children of the Sunday schools in the children of Europe orphaned and homeless through the war! And what finer spiritual stimulus could come to the young people in our churches than to enlist their sympathies and activities in this work of relief? Here is an avenue for service. Set them to the task of securing some offering from every member.

THE NEEDS OF OTHER PEOPLES.

The above is but partial. While this message was being written a large delegation of Lithuanians waited upon our general secretary. There are also the peoples in Persia and Syria, the Jews everywhere, the Nestorians, the Ukrainians in Austria, the Montenogrins, and multitudes of others, and the men in all the prison camps, to whom the International Young Men's Christian Association is ministering under the leadership of John R. Mott.

WHAT DO THE FACTS SHOW?

the leadership of John R. Mott.

WHAT DO THE FACTS SHOW?

The Belgian minister of finance stated recently that our country (which is unquestionably making money out of the war) had given seven millions directly to Belgium. In other words, only 7 cents per capita; while New Zealand, bearing its own war burdens as part of the British Empire, had given \$1.25 per capita to Belgian relief. England, staggering under the war load, has received and cared for thousands of Belgian refugees and given millions of pounds besides. It was thought that the United States, the only great nation untouched by the war, might furnish the food supplies for Belgium, but the commission was obliged to ask food from the whole world to save Belgium from starvation. It must be remembered also that the gifts to Belgium from our country include the large contributions of the Rockfeller Foundation, so that the total of popular contributions is smaller than appears.

The American Serbian relief committee has raised about \$260,000. The British Serbian relief committee there months ago had raised £1,500,000 (\$7,500,000) and France 2,000,000 francs (\$400,000).

To the Armenians we have given about \$1 for each sufferer, covering the entire period, and this is largely money from two or three large givers. It has not touched our people as a whole.

This is a pretty fair indication of the way war relief is being contributed in other countries besides America. It should be said that the Jews of America have given in aid of their people generously.

In answer to our inquiries, an officer of the Belgian relief committee reports that the total money gifts from this country to April 1, 1916, to all of the war sufferers was \$23,740,342. Since these figures were compiled, the Belgian commission alone has received somewhere around \$125,000 through the efforts of the Daughters of the American Revolution in celebration of King Albert's birthday. Of course, the sums mentioned do not include the vast amount of work performed by different societies, organizations

WHAT SHALL WE SAY?

Are we willing to let this stand as our final response to such an appeal for suffering humanity as the world has never before heard?

There is no doubt as to America's answer if only the facts can be realized by the masses of our people.

The churches of Christ hold the keys that will open the treasure chests of the people.

Secretary Harry F. Ward persuasively pleads that we are not only in danger of losing our Christian ideals but also our Christian compassion. Will our prosperity harden our hearts? Are we getting used to it?

ALL THAT IS DONE NOW FOR RELIEF WILL AID IN THE GREAT WORK OF RECONCILIATION.

This immediate work of relief is only the beginning of a campaign of information looking to the period of reconstruction and reconciliation to follow the war.

In that work the churches of Christ in America should have large part. Dr. Macfarland says in his conclusions resulting from his visit

part. Dr. Macrariand says in his conclusions resulting from his visit abroad:

"Despite all mutterings and trivial complaints all these peoples are really looking or will look to America for light, but whether or not political differences hinder America's official opportunity, there is nothing in the way of a great work of reconciliation by the churches of Christ in America with the churches of Christ in Europe.

"We may continue our spiritual task, unhindered by political limitations, from which we have unique if not absolute freedom.

"We may, without intruding upon men's consciences, find ways of suggesting that peace and justice will both be approached by the churches, and especially the responsible Christian leaders of all nations, rising above the conflict (even though led in it by conscience) Into a higher spiritual atmosphere."

This is something of far greater importance than giving of money. But our gifts are the practical and convincing way of showing our sympathy and open the door to influence and service in bringing together the sundered Christian forces in a new brotherhood that shall make for peace and righteousness and a better world.

The war relief will be needed long after peace comes. The stricken churches of Europe make a special appeal to our churches, and millions will be required for their rehabilitation.

Efforts thus far to aid our brethren have not met with the desired response. Take the case of the Protestant churches in France:

The Union Nationale des Eglises Reformees Evangeliques de France has had its delegate, Pastor Stuart L. Roussel, in this country, at the office of the federal council, and visiting our churches for nearly a year in an effort to meet a deficit of about \$125,000. Many of the pastors of these churches are at the front, and it is obvious that we have a special obligation to help the French churches. Pastor Roussel has returned with only about \$20,000 toward this deficit. This offers us an opportunity not only to relieve our brethren, but also by doing so to begin at once our help in the process of reconciliation and reconstruction in Europe.

Many other Protestant churches are in like need. The McAll Mission in France, the federal council's American Huguenot committee, representing the Central Evangelical Society of France and the Belgian Missionary Church, the churches of our own constituent denominations in northern France and other countries, all these make strong app

A REVIVAL OF SPIRITUALITY MUST RESULT.

In his report Dr. Macfarland persuasively urges that the reactionary influence for good upon the churches of this active and unselfish sharing in the world suffering can not be estimated. The churches will receive vastly more than they give.

A \$1-per-member offering for this great cause would not seem like an unreasonable self-sacrifice. Yet such a total would mean incalculable help and blessing to millions of innocent victims of the war. And what a testimonial it would be to the Christian spirit of our people!

America has done, is doing. Much is given that can not be tabulated. Let us rejoice in all that has been undertaken and accomplished and in all that is projected. But who will be satisfied with what we have done in view of the imperative needs?

The churches have not made their influence felt by any united and widespread manifestation of interest and sympathy as is now proposed by the Federal Council. What a help it would be to the work of reconciliation if every church would voice its sentiments of Christian sympathy with all who suffer from the cruel effects of the war, and send this expression with its offering, placing its action on its permanent records! This is suggested as one of the means by which our Christian brethren in Europe may be led to a true understanding of American feeling. They have had no way of learning the truth. Whatever we can do to make manifest our true spirit and our sincere desire to be helpful in all possible ways will render it easier to work together for the solutions of those problems that will confront us all when peace has come and the bereft and distracted peoples must find new ways of living together.

THE VOICE OF THE MASTER.

"Then said Jesus unto his disciples * * * whosoever will save his life shall lose it, and whosoever will lose his life for My sake shall find it." Is this His voice to the American people and the churches of America to-day?

By order of the executive committee.

FRANK MASON NORTH, Chairman. HOWARD B. GROSE, Vice Chairman. RIVINGTON D. LORD, Recording Secretary.

Members at large: E. R. Hendrix, William H. Roberts, E. B. Sanford, Rivington D. Lord, and Alfred R. Kimball.

DENOMINATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES.

DENOMINATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES.

Baptist churches, North: Clarence A. Barbour, William C. Bitting, James S. Dickerson, and Albert G. Lawson.
Congregational churches: Hubert C. Herring, William T. McElveen, and William O. Morgan.
Evangelical Association: J. J. Arnold and S. C. Breyfogel.
National Baptist Convention: J. E. Ford, W. F. Graham, John Mitchell, and William H. Steward.
Disciples of Christ: Peter Ainslie, F. W. Burnham, F. D. Kershner, and W. P. Lipscomb.
Lutheran Church, General Synod: William A. Granville and George U. Wenner.
Free Baptist churches: Alfred Williams Anthony and Joseph W. Mauck,
Friends: Charles E. Tebbetts and James Wood.

Friends: Charles E. Tebbetts and James Wood. Mennonite Church, General Conference: S. K. Mosiman and A. S.

Mennonite Church, General Conference: S. K. Mosiman and A. S. Shelly.
Christian Church: O. W. Powers and Martyn Summerbell.
German Evangelical Synod of North America: W. E. Bourquin and S. D. Press.
Methodist Episcopal Church: George Warren Brown. Earl Cranston, J. F. Goucher, A. W. Harris, W. F. McDowell, Henry Wade Rogers, and L. B. Wilson.
Methodist Episcopal Church. South: E. K. Campbell, D. B. Coltrane, Frank M. Thomas, and W. F. Tillett.
Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: George W. Balley, James H. Post, W. H. Scott, John Balcom Shaw, and C. L. Thompson.
Reformed Episcopal Church: Samuel Fallows and R. L. Rudolph.
African Methodist Episcopal Church: John R. Hawkins and B. F. Lee.
Presbyterian Church in the United States, South: W. S. Jacobs and C. P. Janney.

Reformed Presbyterian Church, General Synod: David McKinney and John A. Wilson.

African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church: H. J. Callis, T. W. Wallace, and Alexander Walters.

Protestant Episcopal Church, Commissions on Christian Unity and Social Service: Charles P. Anderson, Robert H. Gardiner, John M. Gienn, and Ethelbert Talbot.

Seventh Day Baptist Church: William C. Hubbard and Arthur E. Main.

Main.

Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America: N. C. Cleaves, J. A. Hamlett, and C. H. Tobias.

Reformed Church in America: Jesse W. Brooks and Ame Vennema, United Brethren Church: F. P. Geib and G. M. Matthews.

Methodist Protestant Church: Lyman E. Davis and Samuel Hastings

Reformed Church in the United States: Rufus W. Miller and C. J.

Reformed Church in the United States: Rufus W. Miller and C. J. Musser.

United Evangelical Church: H. B. Hartzler and U. F. Swengel.
Moravian Church: James M. Beck and Morris W. Leibert.
United Presbyterian Church: Robert Rutledge and James E. Walker.
Welsh Presbyterian Church: E. J. Jones and John C. Jones.
Members of the administrative committee: William I. Haven (chairman), Finis S. Idleman, J. Edgar Leaycraft, John R. Mott, E. E. Olcott, W. E. Biederwolf, James L. Barton, William T. Demarest, George P. Eckman, Charles O Gill, William Henry Grant, Henry H. Meyer, Giftord Pinchot, J. B. Remensnyder. Charles Scanlon, Fred B. Smith, Robert E. Speer, and Worth M. Tippy.

Members of the advisory committee at Washington: Alfred Harding (chairman), George A. Miller, John Lee Allison, Samuel H. Greene, John B. Larner, W. L. McDowell, Forrest J. Prettyman, Charles F. Steck, G. W. F. Swartzell, Clarence A. Vincent, and Wallace Radcliffe.

Secretaries: H. K. Carroll, Roy B. Guild, James A. Whitmore, Sidney L. Guilek, Henry A. Atkinson, Samuel Z. Batten, Frank M. Crouch, Harry F. Ward, and Warren H. Wilson.

SHAILER MATHEWS, President.

SHAILER MATHEWS, President. CHARLES S. McFARLAND, General Secretary.

MAY 15, 1916.

ADDENDA.

A selected list of the leading relief organizations that are working to meet the needs set forth in this statement. Offerings may be sent direct to the treasurers, whose names and addresses are given, with the assurance that the gifts will go at once to the needy.

While the list is necessarily limited, it must not be taken as disparaging in any way the work and worthiness of the large number of organizations that are engaged in this work. Each reaches its own constituency.

RELIEF COMMITTEES.

Commission for Relief in Belgium: Alexander J. Hemphill, treasurer, 120 Broadway, New York City.

The American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief: Charles R. Crane, treasurer, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Serbian Relief Committee: Murray H. Coggeshall, treasurer, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

War Relief Clearing House for France and Her Allies: Thomas W. Lamont, treasurer, 40 Wall Street, New York City.

East Prussian Relief Fund: Hubert Cillis, treasurer, 17 Battery Place, New York City.

Relief Committee for War Sufferers (German): Charles Froeb, treasurer, 531 Broadway, New York City.

Polish Victims' Relief Fund: Frank A. Vanderlip, treasurer, Eolian Building, New York City.

American National Red Cross: Hon. John Skelton Williams, treasurer, 1624 H Street, Washington, D. C. The Red Cross has a department of noncombatant relief.

British-American War Relief Fund: Henry J. Whitehouse, treasurer, 631 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

American Jewish Relief Committee for Sufferers from the War:

Felix M. Warburg, treasurer, 174 Second Avenue, New York City.

American Relief Committee in Berlin for Widows and Orphans: John D. Crimmias, treasurer, 30 East Forty-second Street, New York City.

Union Nationale des Egilses Reformees Evangeliques de France, Emergency Relief Fund: Alfred R. Kimball, treasurer, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City.

American Huguenot Committee: Edmond E. Robert, treasurer, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The Fund for Starving Children: Frederick Lynch, treasurer, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

"In the work of reconciliation the churches may have a large part."—Dr. Macfarland's report.

An American Merchant Marine-A National Need-The British Trading with the Enemy Act, Its Effect on Our Foreign Commerce. Indorsement of the Administration Shipping Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER, OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 16, 1916.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted by the House to extend my remarks in the Record on the subject "Our merchant marine" I am calling the attention of the Congress and of the country to the provisions of the British trading with the enemy act and the royal proclamations enforcing the

provisions of the act and a statement showing present conditions affecting the trade of the United States with the Far East.

Great Britain is using her sea power to protect herself and to cripple her enemies. A situation is revealed that emphasizes the need of an American merchant marine. We should not be dependent on the shipping of Great Britain or any other nation for facilities to foster and develop our foreign commerce.

The shipping bill should become a law at once, and a shipping board organized, clothed with power to investigate world conditions and be the instrument of our Government to lay the foundations for a great and prosperous mercantile marine.

THE PROVISIONS OF THE BRITISH TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACT AND THE ROYAL PROCLAMATIONS RELATING THERETO.

THE ROYAL PROCLAMATIONS RELATING THERETO.

By the King: A proclamation prohibiting trade with certain persons or bodies of persons of enemy nationality or enemy associations.

Whereas by the trading with the enemy (extension of powers) act, 1915, it is enacted that we may by our royal proclamation prohibit all persons or bodies of persons, incorporated or unincorporated, resident, carrying on business, or being in the United Kingdom, from trading with any persons or bodies of persons, even though not resident or carrying on business in enemy territory or in territory in the occupation of the enemy (other than persons or bodies of persons, incorporated or unincorporated, residing or carrying on business solely within our dominions), wherever by reason of the enemy nationality or enemy association of such persons or bodies of persons, incorporated or unincorporated, it appears to us expedient so to do; and Whereas it appears to us expedient to prohibit all persons or bodies of persons, incorporated or unincorporated, resident, carrying on business, or being in the United Kingdom from trading with any of the persons or bodies of persons mentioned in the list hereunder written, by reason of the enemy nationality or enemy association of such last-mentioned persons or bodies of persons:

Now, therefore, we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our private owned to the carry three department of the last sent of the control to the private owned to the carry three department of the last sent the current appears to the carry three department of the last sent the current appears to the last sent the current appears t

persons or bodies of persons mentioned in the lists eventual wit tenby reason of the enemy nationality or enemy association of such
last-mentioned persons or bodies of persons:

Now, therefore, we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our
privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation, declaring, and it is
hereby declared, as follows:

1. All persons or bodies of persons, incorporated or unincorporated,
resident, carrying on business, or being in the United Kingdom are
hereby prohibited from trading with any of the persons or bodies of
persons mentioned in the list hereunder written, which list, with such
variations therefo or additions thereto as may be made by an order
state under the power in that behalf given by section 1, subsection
(2) of the trading with the enemy (extension of powers) act, 1915,
shall be called and is hereinafter referred to as the "statutory list."

2. For the purposes of this proclamation a person shall be deemed
to have traded with a person or body of persons mentioned in the
statutory list if he enters into any transaction or does any act with,
to, on behalf of, or for the benefit of any such person or body of persons which, if entered into or done with, to, on behalf of, or for the
health of the persons or bodies of persons mentioned
in the statutory list as if for references in such proclamation,
shall apply with respect to the persons or bodies of persons mentioned
in the statutory list as if for references in such proclamation to enemies there were substituted references to the persons and bodies of
persons mentioned in the statutory list and for references to the dates
of the said proclamation and the outbreak of war there were substituted references to the date of this proclamation or in respect of any
person or body of persons hereafter added to the statutory list the
actual proclamation of the trust with the enemy, shall, subject to such
exceptions and adaptations as are prescribed by order in council
hereafter to be issued, apply in respect of the persons

The following is a brief history of the British "trading with the enemy" proclamations referred to in the accompanying memorandum statement:

The first proclamation relating to trading with the enemy during the present hostilities was issued by the British Government on August 5, 1914 (for reference see the London Gazette, No. 28862), but made no

reference to China, in which country our trade is now most seriously menaced by the application of the proclamation. On September 9, 1914, the proclamation was amended and extended (see the London Gazette, No. 28896, p. 7178). On September 11, 1914, a new proclamation was issued, known as the "second" proclamation (for reference see the London Gazette, No. 28899), and the previous proclamation, with amendments, was canceled. The second proclamation, which follows, is still in force, but has been amended from time to time, as will be shown in the note (1):

[The London Gazette, Friday, Sept. 11, 1914.]

By the King: A proclamation relating to trading with the enemy.

Whereas a state of war has existed between us and the German Empire as from 11 p. m. on August 4, 1914, and a state of war has existed between us and the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary as from midnight en August 12, 1914; and
Whereas it is contrary to law for any person resident, carrying on business. or being in our dominions to trade or have any commercial or financial transactions with any person resident or carrying on business in the German Empire or Austria-Hungary without our permission; and

in the German Empire or Austria-Hungary without our permission; and
Whereas by our proclamation of the 5th August, 1914, relating to trading with the enemy certain classes of transactions with the German Empire were prohibited; and
Whereas by paragraph 2 of our proclamation of the 12th August, 1914, the said proclamation of the 5th August, 1914, was declared to be applicable to Austria-Hungary; and
Whereas it is desirable to restate and extend the prohibitions contained in the former proclamations, and for that purpose to revoke the proclamation of the 5th August, 1914, and paragraph 2 of the proclamation of the 12th August, 1914, and to substitute this proclamation therefor: and

in the former proclamations, and for that purpose to revoke the proclamation of the 12th August, 1914, and to substitute this proclamation of the 12th August, 1914, and to substitute this proclamation therefor; and
Whereas it is expedient and necessary to warn all persons resident, carrying on business, or being in our dominions of their duties and obligations toward us, our crown, and government:

Now, therefore, we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation declaring, and it is hereby declared, as follows:

1. The aforesaid proclamation of the 5th of August, 1914, relating to trading with the enemy, and paragraph 2 of the aforesaid proclamation of the 12th of August, 1914, together with any public announcement officially issued in explanation thereof, are hereby, as from the date hereof, revoked, and from and after the date hereof this present proclamation is substituted therefor.

2. The expression "enemy country" in this proclamation means the territories of the German Empire and of the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary, together with all the colonies and dependencies thereof.

3. The expression "enemy" in this proclamation means any person or body of persons of whatever nationality resident or carrying on business in the enemy country, but does not include persons of enemy nationality who are neither resident nor carrying on business in the enemy country.

In the case of incorporated bodies, enemy character attaches only to those incorporated in an enemy country.

4. The expression "outbreak of war" in this proclamation means 11 p. m. on the 4th of August, 1914, in relation to the German Empire, its colonies and dependencies, and midnight on the 12th of August, 1914, in relation to Austria-Hungary, its colonies and dependencies.

5. From and after the date of this proclamation the following prohibitions shall have effect (save so far as licenses may be issued as hereinafter provided), and we do hereby accordingly warn all persons resident, carrying on

(6) Not to make or enter into any new marine, life, fire, or other policy or contract of insurance with or for the benefit of an enemy; nor to accept or give effect to any insurance of any risk arising under any policy or contract of insurance (including reinsurance) made or entered into with or for the benefit of an enemy before the outbreak of

any policy or contract of insurance (including reinsurance) made or entered into with or for the benefit of an enemy before the outbreak of war.

(7) Not directly or indirectly to supply to or for the use or benefit of, or obtain from, an enemy country or an enemy, any goods, wares, or merchandise, and directly or indirectly to supply to or for the use or benefit of, or obtain from any person any goods, wares, or merchandise, for or by way of transmission to or from an enemy country or an enemy, nor directly or indirectly to trade in or carry any goods, wares, or merchandise destined for or coming from an enemy country or an enemy.

(8) Not to permit any British ship to leave for, enter, or communicate with any porf or place in an enemy country.

(9) Not to enter into any commercial, financial, or other contract or obligation with or for the benefit of an enemy.

(10) Not to enter into any transactions with an enemy if and when they are prohibited by an order of council made and published on the recommendation of a secretary of state, even though they would otherwise be permitted by law or by this or any other proclamation.

And we do hereby further warn all persons that whoever in contravention of the law shall commit, ald, or abet any of the aforesaid acts is guilty of a crime and will be liable to punishment and penalties accordingly.

6. Provided always that where an enemy has a branch locally situated in British, allied, or neutral territory, not being neutral territory in Europe, transactions by or with such branch shall not be treated as transactions by or with an enemy.

7. Nothing in this proclamation shall be deemed to prohibit anything which shall be expressly permitted by our license, or by the license given on our behalf by a secretary of state, or the board of trade, whether such licenses be especially granted to individuals or be announced as applying to classes of persons.

9. This proclamation shall be called the trading with the enemy proclamation No. 2.

Given at our court at Buckingham Palace, this 9th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1914, and in the fifth year of our reign.

God save the King.

The most important amendment was issued on October 9, 1914 (for reference see the London Gazette, No. 28932), in which the prohibition of trading with the enemy was extended to enemy branch houses in either British, allied, or neutral territory. This proclamation follows:

[The London Gazette, Friday, Oct. 9, 1914.]

By the King: A proclamation relating to trading with the enemy. Whereas it is desirable to amend our proclamation of the 9th of September, 1914, called "The Trading with the Enemy Proclamation, No. 2": Now. therefore,

We have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our royal proclamation, declaring, and it is hereby declared,

as follows.

1. Paragraph 5, heading (6), of the Trading with the Enemy Proclamation, No. 2, is hereby revoked, and in lieu thereof the following heading shall be inserted in the said paragraph 5 as from the date hereof:

(6) "Not to make or enter into any new marine, life, fire, or other policy or contract of insurance (including reinsurance) with or for the benefit of an enemy; nor to accept, or give effect to any insurance of, any risk arising under any policy or contract of insurance (including reinsurance) made or entered into with or for the benefit of an enemy before the outbreak of war; and in particular as regards treaties or contracts of reinsurance current at the outbreak of war to which an enemy is a party or in which an enemy is interested not to cede to the enemy or to accept from the enemy under any such treaty or contract any risk arising under any policy or contract of insurance (including reinsurance) made or entered into after the outbreak of war, or any share in any such risk."

2. (1) The expression "order of council made and published on the recommendation of a secretary of state" in paragraph 5 heading

reinsurance) made or entered into after the outbreak of war, or any share in any such risk."

2. (1) The expression "order of council made and published on the recommendation of a secretary of state" in paragraph 5, heading (10), of the Trading with the Enemy Proclamation, No. 2, shall, as regards persons resident carrying on business or being in our dominions beyond the seas, be taken to mean an order of the governor in council published in the Official Gazette.

(2) The expression "governor in council" in this paragraph means as respects Canada the Governor General of Lonada in council; as respects Australia, the Governor General of India in council; as respects New Zealand, the Governor of New Zealand in council; as respects New Zealand, the Governor of New Zealand in council; as respects New Jealand, the Governor of New Zealand, the Governor of New Zealand, the Governor of New Jealand, the Governor

South Africa by the Governor General, and in any British possession not included within the limits of Canada, India, Australia, or South Africa by the governor.

4. In this proclamation the expression "governor general" includes any person who for the time being has the powers of the governor general, and the expression "governor" includes the officer for the time being administering the government.

5. Notwithstanding anything contained in paragraph 6 of the Trading with the Enemy Proclamation, No. 2, where an enemy has a branch locally situated in British, allied, or neutral territory, which carries on the business of insurance or reinsurance of whatever nature, transactions by or with such branch in respect of the business of insurance or reinsurance shall be considered as transactions by or with an enemy.

6. This proclamation shall be read as one with the Trading with the Enemy Proclamation, No. 2

Given at our court at Buckingham Palace, this 8th day of October, A. D. 1914, and in the fifth year of our reign.

God save the King.

On February 16, 1915, a further addition to the proclamation was issued for reference see the London Gazette, No. 29071), extending the provisions of the proclamation to trading with the enemy in occupied territory, including neutral occupied territory ("territory in friendly occupation"). It was not until June 25, 1915, that a proclamation was issued extending the second proclamation to persons of enemy nationality residing or carrying on business in China, Siam, Persia, or Morocco, in the same manner as applied to persons or boiles of persons residing or carrying on business in an enemy country. The above-mentioned proclamation follows:

THE LONDON GAZETTE, Friday, June 25, 1915.

By the King: A proclamation relating to trading with persons of enemy nationality resident or carrying on business in China, Siam, Persia, or Morocco.

Whereas it is expedient that transactions between British subjects and persons of enemy nationality resident or carrying on business in China, Siam, Persia, or Morocco should be restricted in manner provided by this proclamation:

Now, therefore, we have thought fit, by and with the advice of Our Privy Council, to issue this our royal proclamation declaring, and it is hereby declared, as tollows:

1. The proclamation for the time being in force relating to trading with the enemy shall, as from the 26th day of July, 1915, apply to any person or body of persons of enemy nationality resident or carrying on business in China, Siam, Persia, or Morocco in the same manner as they apply to persons or bodies of persons resident or carrying on business in an enemy country.

Provided that where an enemy has a branch locally situated in China, Siam, Persia, or Morocco, nothing in article 6 of the trading with the enemy proclamation No. 2 shall be construed so as to prevent transaction by or with that branch being treated as transaction by or with an enemy.

an enemy.

2. Nothing in this proclamation shall be taken to prohibit anything which may be specially permitted by our license or by a license given on our behalf by a secretary of state or the board of trade or the lords commissioners of our treasury.

3. This proclamation shall be called the Trading with the Enemy (China, Siam, Persia, and Morocco) Proclamation, 1915.

Given at our court at Buckingham Palace, this 25th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1915, and in the sixth year of our reign.

God save the King.

On December 23, 1915, by the following act, the restrictions were extended to prohibit trading to persons not alone residing or carrying on business in enemy territory, but to all persons of enemy nationality or enemy association. It is this proclamation which is used to compel Americans in China to submit to British consular control in all their commercial transactions abroad. Although Japan has not issued similar proclamations, the same control is applied in conjunction with the British officials. The act above mentioned is as follows:

Chapter 98.

An act to provide for the extension of the restrictions relating to trading with the enemy to persons to whom, though not resident or carrying on business in enemy territory, it is by reason of their enemy nationality or enemy associations expedient to extend such restrictions.—December 23, 1915.

ing on business in enemy territory, it is by reason of their enemy nationality or enemy associations expedient to extend such restrictions.—December 23, 1915.

Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

1. (1) His Majesty may by proclamation prohibit all persons or bodies of persons, incorporated or unincorporated, resident, carrying on business, or being in the United Kingdom from trading with any persons or bodies of persons not resident or carrying on business in enemy territory or in territory in the occupation of the enemy (other than persons or bodies of persons, incorporated or unincorporated, residing or carrying on business solely within His Majesty's dominlons) wherever by reason of the enemy nationality or enemy association of such persons or bodies of persons, incorporated or unincorporated, it appears to His Majesty expedient so to do, and if any person acts in contravention of any such proclamation he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor triable and punishable in like manner as the offense of trading with the enemy.

(2) Any list of persons and bodies of persons, incorporated or unincorporated, with whom such trading is prohibited by a proclamation under this act may be varied or added to by an order made by the lords of the council on the recommendation of a secretary of state.

(3) The provisions of the trading with the enemy state, 1914 and 1915, and of the customs (war powers) (No. 2) act, 1915, and all other enactments relating to trading with the enemy shall, subject to such exceptions and adaptations as may be prescribed by order in council, apply in respect of such persons and bodies of persons as aforesaid as if for references to trading with the enemy shall, subject to such exceptions and bodies of persons as aforesaid and for references to enemies there were substituted references to such persons and bodies of pers

Date of issue of the amendment to the proclamation and the London

Gazette number for full reference.	
	28929 28932 29032
January 8 1915	29035

The rules for applying the trading with the enemy proclamations were issued in the London Gazette of January 12, 1915, No. 29038, pages 374 and 376, and further rules were announced on February 16, 1915, in the London Gazette, No. 29070.

PRESENT CONDITIONS AFFECTING THE TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE FAR EAST.

Prior to the outbreak of the present war, vessels engaged in the trans-Pacific trade between the United States and the Far East had a carrying capacity of almost 1,000,000 tons per annum. Of this amount approximately 25 per cent was under the American flag. Immediately after the outbreak of hos-tilities, and although every effort was made to increase the carrying capacity of the vessels in the trade, withdrawals for military purposes reduced the annual average to about 700,000 This was followed by the withdrawal of all but one American ship, further reducing the available tonnage by over 200,000 tons, or practically one-half of the tonnage available before the war. Of the remaining 500,000 tons almost all is under the Japanese flag, there being but few British boats remaining and the number of American and neutral ships being so small as not to be an important factor in the present trade,

Passenger traffic is even more restricted, the available passenger space being only about 50 per cent of the requirements despite every possible space being utilized, and passenger boats being greatly overcrowded. The Japanese Government has ordered all Japanese subsidized vessels to place their carrying space at the disposal of Japanese shippers from Japanese ports and return cargo space for Japanese ports, only such space as is not needed by Japanese shippers being available to others desiring to forward merchandise to far eastern ports and the United States. The result has been the accumulation of cargo at non-Japanese shipping ports.

The situation appears to be aggravated by discrimination by Japanese steamship companies against non-Japanese shippers to the Orient. Not alone is the freight rate higher when space is granted to non-Japanese shippers, but in cases where Japanese

firms learn of prospective business it is said that Japanese steamship companies refuse freight space to intending American shippers, reserving it for Japanese competitors who are enabled in this way to capture the business

Similar conditions apply to shipments by American firms from China to the United States, because at the present time Japanese ships are practically the only ones available. American firms in China have been forced in order to obtain cargo space to turn their freight over to Japanese firms, which will forward the goods to Japan on board local vessels and transship in a Japanese port to Japanese vessels bound for the United States.

American trade in the Far East is suffering in even a greater degree from the operation of the British so-called "enemy trading acts," in the enforcement of which, it is understood, that the British authorities enjoy the cooperation of their Japanese allies. Attached to this memorandum will be found a brief history of these "enemy trade proclamations," which will show the basis for the present control over and restrictions upon American commerce with China, made possible by the absence of ships flying American flags. From an examination of this memorandum it will be seen that the scope of these proclamations has been gradually extended, but they do not show prima facie the force and extent which is given to their application by the exercise of British jurisdiction in extraterritorial China.

Under the operation of these proclamations British and Japanese steamship companies will not accept freight from an American shipper in the United States for delivery at any trans-Pacific port, including the Philippine Islands, unless an affidavit be filed and proof submitted relative to the ultimate destination of the cargo and satisfactory evidence shown as to the ownership of the goods in order that the British authorities 'may determine whether or not there is any "enemy taint" in the transaction. The suspicion that Germans and Austrians may profit indirectly by the transaction is sufficient to debar the goods from Japanese or British boats and the firms concerned may be blacklisted unless they are willing to give a written guarantee that they will refrain from further dealings with the enemies of Great Britain.

Not only many of the shipping companies but most of the banks and insurance companies operating in the Far East are British, and any one of these which fails to comply fully with the regulations contained in the "enemy trade proclamations" or those issued by the British consular authorities is liable to summary

punishment in the British extraterritorial courts.

As the application of the "enemy trade proclamations" in China require that all shipping documents, invoices, corre-spondence, and other instruments connected with each transaction be submitted to the British consular authorities and to the steamship companies and banks, the trade secrets of American firms are revealed to their competitors. This is particularly detrimental to American interests because the agents of most of the steamship companies are firms engaged in the general importing and exporting business.

Aside from exposing American merchants to the above-de-scribed control, the withdrawal of American ships from the Pacific has greatly increased the general shortage of tonnage and has been an important factor in the continuous rise of freight rates, which are reaching a point where shipment to far eastern points will be prohibitive in the case of many commodi-

Recent information indicates that bulky and cheap cargo is being refused by steamers from the Far East to the United States, and that only valuable cargo requiring comparatively little space is being accepted. Cargo rated in the freight tariff at under \$20 per ton is being refused and the rate on certain special cargo has been advanced to \$100 per ton. Prior to the war and the present shipping shortage freight rates on certain lines were as low as \$2.50 per ton.

Reports from New Zealand indicate that although there is an increasing demand for American goods in that Dominion, the lack of shipping facilities from the United States and the efforts of Japanese subsidized shipping to increase their sailings to New Zealand ports is throwing this market open to the Japanese and the inability of American exporters to avail themselves of the present opportunity may mean the permanent loss of this valuable market.

The same conditions apply to Russia's vast far-eastern possessions bordering on the Pacific. Prior to the present war shipments across the Pacific intended for Vladivostok were shipped via Kobe, and the freight rates and charges were so high that it was found cheaper to ship many articles across the Atlantic to the Baltic ports of European Russia and thence by the long railway haul across the Continent to points only a short dis-tance from the Pacific seaboard. Direct shipments under the American flag to Vladivostok would mean an almost unlimited increase in our trade with Siberia.

Previous mention was made of the restrictions on American trade between the United States and the Philippine Islands. The shipping shortage in those islands is seriously menacing their trade, and in order to meet the demands for rice some interisland boats, as well as United States Government vessels, have been sent to Saigon, as ordinary commercial boats were not available, due to the general shortage.

The problems in regard to our trade with the Far East, though naturally differing from those affecting our trade with South and Central America, are in their effect the same, as we are

limited to the use of British or allied shipping.

Mr. John H. Fahey, of Boston, Mass., late president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, writes the chairman of the committee indorsing the shipping bill and expressing an earnest wish for its early passage:

BOSTON, June 2, 1916.

Hon. Joshua W. Alexander.

Chairman Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisherics,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Alexander: Owing to the number of things which accumulated during my absence to South America, which required immediate attention on my return home, I have just had an opportunity to get a look at the shipping bill in its present form, and I want to congratulate you on the progress made and the present status of the measure. In the main I think it is in excellent shape, and I hope it is going to go through the Senate promptly.

As you know, I have never been enthusiastic over the question of Government ownership and operation if there was any other way out. My feeling about it has been exactly the same as your own, but I want to say that as a result of what I saw and heard in South America I am convinced that it will be long years before private interests will ever undertake the establishment especially of the fast lines which are needed in South American countries. These lines are vital to us if we are going to bold and develop our business, and we should have them at the earliest possible moment. I, therefore, hope that the bill is going to go through the Senate without delay. What do you consider the prospect is there?

By the way, I would like very much to have a complete set of the hearings before your committee on the bill. Can you have them sent to me?

With much appreciation of your personal work in advancing the cause of our merchant marine, and with best wishes, I am,

Sincerely, yours,

JOHN H. FAHEX.

The following letter to Mr. Albert Krell, president of the Krell Plano Co., of Cincinnati, Ohio, from Mr. R. Espinal Hannier, representative of the company in Buenos Aires, emphasizes the necessity for better transportation facilities between this country and South America:

BUENOS AIRES, REPUBLICA ARGENTINA, May 10, 1916.

KRELL PIANO CO., Cincinnati, Ohio, United States of America.

GENTLEMEN:

The freight rates are advancing so much that if it continues it will be impossible to import anything, especially bulky goods, and the United States ought to put on a line of freighters before looking for foreign trade, and we hope Mr. McAdoo's visit here will bring some results in this line.

Yours, very truly,

R. E. HANNIER.

SHOULD THE BUSINESS MEN OF THE UNITED STATES SUPPORT THE ALEXANDER SHIPPING BILL, AND WHY?

[By Benjamin J. Rosenthal, vice president the National Business League of America, North American Building, Chicago, United States of America, 1 America.]

of America.]

I have been asked this question by many business men who are desirous of obtaining light on this bill, designated as H. R. 10500, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. In view of the fact that I have advocated a measure in some respects similar to the Alexander plan, and as the subject of an American merchant marine is one to which I have given years of thought, long before the present war, I hope that I may be considered qualified, in some slight respect at least, to throw light on this perhaps the most important subject that has been before the American Nation since the Civil War and one that most vitally affects every one of our citizens.

I might add, in passing, that my book, entitled "The Need of the Hour, An American Merchant Marine," will be sent free, upon request, to any of my readers who wish to pursue this subject further.

For many years I have advocated that our Government enter the shipping field in so far at least as to construct ships that could be readily converted into naval auxiliaries in time of war, but to be operated as merchant ships on the high seas in time of peace. I have had in mind that some would argue that this would drive private capital out of this interest. I have maintained, and still maintain, that it will do nothing of the kind, and shall explain how I arrive at this conclusion; but in the first place, how can it drive out anything that has not existed for 50 years? For since the Civil War the Investment of American capital in ships salling under the American flag has been practically nothing, and were it not for this condition, and for the fact that up to the present war the American merchant marine, which is sweeping the entire country, would not now be necessary.

Private capital has had many opportunities since the Civil War to enter this field, where the American merchant marine, which is sweeping the entire country, would not now be necessary.

Private capital preferred to invest in railroads and other important enterprises which tended to develop our Nat

attractive inducements, and we are satisfied that it did, for since the Civil War a tremendous development of the control of t

Oreg. William H. Parlin, president Parlin & Orendorff Co., agricultural implements, Canton, Ill.
R. H. Downman, president Bowie and other lumber companies, New Orleans, La.
Albert M. Marshall, president A. M. Marshall & Co., wholesale hardware, Duluth, Minn.
William P. Ketcham, lumber merchant and real estate, Seattle, Wash. Philetus W. Gates, president Hanna Engineering Works, formerly vice president Allis-Chalmers Co., Chicago.
Robert J. Lowry, president Lowry National Bank, Atlanta, Ga. George H. Barbour, vice president Michigan Stove Co., Detroit, Mich. Charles B. Boothe, president Automobile Co., real estate and general business, Los Angeles, Cal.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED.

"Resolved, That as an effective means for the creation of an American merchant marine, a law be enacted empowering the Government to construct or purchase transports for the ships of the United States

Navy, to be operated by naval seamen as merchant vessels in time of peace and as auxiliaries of the Navy in time of war." Attest:

General Secretary, National Business Congress

General Secretary, National Business Congress.

As this was in June, 1912, and Congress was not in session, the league awaited the convening of the Sixty-third Congress in 1913, and it then learned that a merchant-marine bill would be presented to Congress that, while not as far-reaching as the legislation the league proposed, still it would be an important step toward bringing about what the league had been working for, for so long a time, and it decided that it would not interfere with the administration, thereby perhaps jeopardizing their shipping bill, and up to the very last moment the league received every assurance that the legislation would be favorably acted upon in the upper House of Congress, the lower House having favorably voted upon it a long time before. The public no doubt will recall that in the last moments of Congress this bill was defeated by a close margin in the United States Senate.

Now, there is a new shipping bill by the same author [Mr. Alexander] before our present Congress, and it is this bill that I shall endeavor to explain to the business interests of this Nation, for I attribute their indifference in the past to this legislation that so vitally affects them, to the defeat of the previous bill, and I hope this sad experience will teach them this lesson, that good citizenship demands more than the mere conduct of a business enterprise upon houset lines. It demands that every business man shall take stock of the proposed laws presented to the Nation, and that it defeat such laws as are not for its best interests, and that it spare no effort to have enacted into law such measures as will upbuild the Nation's resources and preserve its nationalism; and so it becomes the urgent duty of every business man who calls himself a citizen to study this most important legislation for himself, and if after careful reflection he believes this bill will ald his country he lose not a moment, but write his Representatives in Congress, that as a citizen first and then as a business man, he urges th

The bill provides for an appropriation of \$50,000,000, to be repaid through the sale of Panama Canal bonds, and this amount will purchase about 500,000 tons of new merchant ships. These ships will be of the most approved designs, readily convertible into auxiliary naval ships, probably equipped with the Deisel engines, burning oil instead of coal, with hatchways so arranged that loading and unloading will be greatly expedited. Thus at one stroke the American ship-owner will be able in all probability to save whatever difference there may be between the cost of labor on an American ship as against a foreign one; at least that now appears to be the opinion of experts who have studied this new means of ship construction and operation. Of course it is contemplated that if the Government sells these ships that it will expend the proceeds upon more ships.

UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD.

All shipping will be under the direct jurisdiction of a shipping board selected by the President. A promise has already been given that no effort will be spared to secure men in whom the Nation will have explicit confidence as to their integrity and ability.

POWERS OF THE BOARD.

This board is permitted to purchase, charter, or construct vessels of a type, so far as commercial requirements of the marine trade may permit, suitable for use as naval auxiliaries and Army transports in time of war, and it can charter, lease, or sell such ships to be used in over-sea or coastwise commerce, if built in American shippards, and only in foreign commerce and our outlying possesions if built abroad. It is the intention that all the ships constructed under this act be American built, and the stipulation that if built abroad they can not be operated in coastwise shipping will probably result in the ships being constructed in American shippards. It is expected that when shipbuilders realize that the American people are now fully aroused, and the passage of this bill is only the initial step in the movement to make our merchant marine what it was before the Civil War, much capital will speedily come forth, especially while interest rates are so low, and large additions in shipbuilding facilities will be undertaken. This movement is even now started.

CONDITIONS TO PURCHASERS OR LESSEES.

It is expressly provided that purchaser or lessee shall not sell, lease, charter, or recharter any ship transferred by the board without the consent or approval of the board. This restriction will do away with any speculation in these ships, and those who purchase or lease them will do so only for the purpose of operating them.

RIGHT OF SEIZURE.

Of course the right is given to the Government to selze with or without notice any of these ships to be used for either naval or military purposes, and the Government will properly compensate those from whom these ships are taken. It was this law that permitted England to selze all the merchant ships that the exigency of war demanded, and which she has put to such excellent use in the prosecution of the war she is now engaged in. Without these ships, of course, she would have been practically helpless.

RIGHT OF GOVERNMENT TO ADD ITS PRESENT EQUIPMENT.

At this time the Government owns some ships that have been used to carry supplies to the Panama Canal district, and it also possesses same transports that are not required in time of peace, and it is intended to place these ships in the service of the merchant marine.

BULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING OPERATIONS.

The bill requires that all ships coming under this art shall be registered under American registry, and that these ships shall be subject to all the laws, regulations, and liabilities governing merchant vessels, irrespective of what interest the United States may have in them. This places the United States in the same situation that a private owner would be in in the event that the Government should operate any merchant ships.

SALE OF SHIPS NOW UNDER AMERICAN REGISTRY.

Since the recent act of Congress admitting all ships owned by American citizens to American registry, irrespective of their age, some 800,000 tons of merchant ships have been added to our registry. These ships formerly salled under foreign flags. Now, it is only natural that the Nation feels that inasmuch as these ships have voluntarily come under American registry, and have been the recipients of the benefits of such registry during these crucial times; have enjoyed the protection of the American flag which rendered them safe from attack; have availed themselves of the unquestioned advantage of obtaining Government insurance at a time when our Government alone was offering this protection, and at rates that enabled them to carry shipping profitably, and besides have been permitted to demand whatever rates they deemed proper for cargoes, and it is notoriously apparent that they have not been at all backward in charges, that they should not now or at any subsequent time be permitted to go back to a foreign flag; and I say this without reserve, that whether a ship bill is passed or not a law must be passed prohibiting these ships from leaving the American flag.

It must be borne in mind that most, if not all, of these ships have written off their original cost in profits since the war. A parallel case would be that of a foreign citizen coming to this country, accepting all of its benefits, and lastly applying and receiving naturalization papers, in order to assist him to make more money and to be under the protection of the American Nation, and after he has enjoyed all these benefits, going back to the country from which he came, taking all of his gain with him, and then renouncing this country—just whatever we would think of him is just what we must think of the ship company that attempts to do the same thing. Under the laws of Germany not a single share of stock in a German ship can be transferred to a non-German, and in Engiand practically the same law is in effect, and I doubt if any other nation would permit

BOARD MAY REGULATE.

This section gives the board the right to regulate the eperation of all engaged as common carriers by water, between either domestic ports not entirely within the limits of a single State, or between the United States and foreign countries, or the United States and its possessions; and it gives the board the right to prescribe reasonable and just rates. It has been claimed that the Shipping Trust has in the past discriminated very much against the American shipper by giving him poorer ships, more irregular communication with his customers, and by giving rebates to foreign competitors. It appears that this condition is quite generally admitted. If it is true it will be in the power of the board to see that these unfair practices are stopped and the American shipper receives equal advantages with the foreign shipper. This regulation will also accelerate American shipbuilding, for it has been loath to enter the field in competition with the Shipping Trust, not knowing Just what its fate might be if the trust should decide not to let it operate. The forcing out of business of the Pan American Steamship Co. in 1912 was an illustration of the practices of the Shipping Trust against American shipping companies. shipping companie

INVESTIGATION OF MARITIME LAWS.

It has been charged time and time again that the maritime laws of this Nation have been responsible for driving our ocean carrying commerce off the seas. If this is a fact, this board will be in a position to readily determine, for it will be clothed with full powers of investigation of this subject, and I am sure that if this condition exists it will be but a short time when such laws as are inimical to our foreign commerce will be repealed.

NAVAL RESERVE.

An excellent provision in this bill creates a volunteer naval reserve for our Navy, with but a slight expense to the Nation, for it permits seamen and officers engaged on merchant ships to become members of our Naval Reserve, for which they receive slight compensation. It is a well known fact that our present naval complement is much below the requirements to man our Navy, and it is expected that many who are engaged on the merchant ships will join the reserve. In this manner England has built up its splendid naval organization. This is certainly a better plan than building auxiliary ships and permitting them to lie idle, and it is estimated that the expense of maintaining a naval reserve of 10,000 men will not be greater than the maintenance of a single battleship.

REPORT TO CONGRESS.

nance of a single battleship.

REPORT TO CONGRESS.

It is required that an annual report of the work of the board be made to Congress, and in this way the Nation will be kept in close touch with the work of the board.

Now, to briefly sum up the entire subject, I predict that the moment it is assured that this bill will be enacted into law there will be many more applications for ships than the Nation will be wilting to supply, and that competition will be very keen in the bidding for these ships. Personally I would much prefer that the Government operate them as I have previously outlined, opening up new trade routes, for with the war tax that will necessarily be imposed on foreign shipping for many years, foreign shipowners will be so burdened that the American Nation has now the greatest opportunity that has been presented to it since the Napoleonic wars, when it took advantage of its chance and built up the splendid merchant shipping that it possessed up to the Civil War. Every good business man believes in insurance; he insists upon insurance on almost everything he possesses, but until this Nation has an adequate merchant marine to protect its Navy, neither the lives nor the property of a single individual are insured, and they will not be safe until the business man has become sufficiently aroused and until this Nation has an adequate fleet of merchant ships, built preferably by American labor in our own shipyards and manned by American seamen and salling under the Stars and Stripes. Now is our opportunity. Will we arise to it? The answer rests with you business men.

BENJAMIN J. ROSENTHAL, Chicago, III.

This plan has been indorsed by the board of directors of the National Business League of America.

PHILETUS W. GATES, President.

BENJAMIN J. ROSENTHAL, Vice President.

AUSTIN A. BURNHAM, General Secretary.

The following article by Mr. Charles Yates, United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, will be read with interest by all who are giving serious thought to the problems involved in the upbuilding of our merchant marine in the foreign trade:

THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE—ITS BY-PRODUCTS AND RELATIVE VALUES,

It is three generations since we have "gone to sea" as a nation, and for that reason I believe it is a lack of true perspective of the by-products

and relative values involved which threatens failure to the present project of founding an American merchant marine; and that, too, at the time of times when any concrete action ending in the construction of real American ships is most likely to lead to ultimate success.

Under the present and prospective conditions of the world's shipping and commerce the crime of no action will be far greater than any conceivable error of principle or method which may be put into force by the passage of the Alexander shipping bill now pending in Congress.

Viewed from the standpoint of results as distinguished from methods, there are three dominant objects sought by the proposed congressional action for the establishment of an over-sea American merchant marine:

1. The construction of occan-going ships for the over-sea transportation of our foreign commerce.

2. The increase of our foreign trade essential to the economical development of the ever-growing productive capacity of our manufacturers.

3. The maintenance of an auxiliary naval merchant marine necessary to supply the needs of our Navy in the time of war.

Each one of these objects is not only vital to the social and commercial welfare of our country, but also an inseparable by-product of the other two. There is no difference of opinion as to their desirability. It is the methods which are questioned.

Speaking in round figures and rough approximation for the purpose of developing relative values only, the United States in normal times should have at least 6,000,000 tons of vessels to take care of her share of the over-sea commerce and transportation of the world. The British Empire has 20,000,000 tons.

Of the 6,000,000 tons which we should possess, we now have in over-sea commerce and transportation of the world. The British Empire has 20,000,000 tons.

Of the 6,000,000 tons of results to salt under the American flag. This new tonnage, with its approximate value of \$500,000,000, is the first relative value we should bear in mind.

Conservatively estimated, if our cu

customers pay us freight as owners of ships but what we may sell to them as a result of that ownership which will count most in the long run.

This last statement is no new proposition and will bear careful analysis. It is a truth which even a home-trading nation like ours recognizes in a small way each time an American merchant marine is discussed. But apparently we spend too much time in the contemplation of the more or less imaginary difficulties of building and operating ocean-going ships to gauge the true relative value of this factor. Very naturally a real American ship engaged in foreign trade looms large to our landlubber eyes.

England and Scotland own a 1,000 pounds weight of over sea for each man, woman, and child. The United States owns a corresponding 20 pounds. In fact, as has been well said, there is not enough deep-sea salt in the blood of an average American to make a thimble full of water taste brackish, and not enough experience in over-sea commerce to make a cent look proud. And therefore why should we be expected to understand as a Nation the relative value of a merchant marine as means of increasing our foreign trade.

The third object of establishing an American merchant marine is to provide efficient auxiliary vessels for our Navy. The relative value of this object needs little explanation, except that the \$50,000,000 provided by the shipping bill will build just about enough merchant ships to fill the requirements of our Navy. And on this basis alone it might be well worth while to pass the shipping bill.

As a by-product of a merchant marine, a fleet of naval auxiliarles may have an incalculable relative value in time of war. And even in time of peace it would have a full face value as a measure of preparedness.

So far we have dwelt on the larger phases of the relative values and by-products of a merchant marine as a whole, and it may now be value.

pareciness.

So far we have dwelt on the larger phases of the relative values and by-products of a merchant marine as a whole, and it may now be valuable to take up the relative values of the special cases concerning the construction and operation of a merchant marine engaged in foreign

commerce.

This phase of the subject is the one most talked about in ordinary discussions of a merchant marine, and here again our landlubber propensities have led us much astray in relative values and caused us to overlook by-products, which make shipping a most profitable investment for our rivals.

overlook by-products, which make shipping a most profitable investment for our rivals.

Suppose we take for an example an ocean-going vessel which is a part passenger ship, but mostly a freight carrier, which cost \$500,000 to build. How much do you think it will cost each year to operate that ship profitably if all charges of maintenance, profit, insurance, pay of crew, port dues, etc., are included? Or, stated another way, What must be the gross operating income received from freight charges and passenger fares to make such a ship a profitable investment? If you are like most people who have been asked that question, you have guessed wrong. Even seagoing folks have falled surprisingly in their answer. Well, to answer my own question, as I must, it can be stated that the gross operating income of a \$500,000 vessel should be about \$250,000 each year.

This is 50 per cent of first cost. And incidentally this 50 per cent rule holds very closely for almost any type of vessel. If it be a simple bulk-cargo ship requiring a small crew and little fuel, its original cost will have been correspondingly lower, and the 50 per cent rule holds. If it be a passenger vessel with a large personnel and great fuel consumption, its first cost will have been approximately larger, and the 50 per cent rule will hold still as a rough approximation.

The importance of this relative value of the first cost of a ship to its gross operating income lies in the fact that it shows that the first cost of a vessel spread over a normal life of 20 years is not such a relative value of the first cost of a ship to its gross operating income lies in the fact that it shows that the first cost of a vessel spread over a normal life of 20 years is not such a relative value of the first cost of a ship to its gross operating income lies in the fact that it shows that the first cost of a vessel spread over a normal life of 20 years is not such a relative value of the first cost of a ship to its gross operating income lies in the fact that it shows that th

tively important matter as it is likely to appear to the uninitiated. In 20 years the gross operating income will have amounted to 1,000 per cent of the first cost. Yet we hear very much about the greater cost of ship construction in the United States as being the chief reason why we do not have a merchant marine. Offhand, it would appear that the high operating expenses of an American vessel is the more likely reason for this fact.

Personally, I am prepared to argue and almost demonstrate that we can and will build ships in this country at less cost than abroad just so soon as we build enough vessels to enable us to standardize that business, just as we have standardized our other manufacturing operations. But for argument's sake, suppose we accept for a moment the statement that American shipbuilders are less efficient than other American manufacturers who do compete with foreign production, and also accept the very commonly stated measure of this deficiency as being 20 per cent. Then, if we take the life of a ship as being 20 years, the additional burden of this extra first cost would be 1 per cent only plus interest on the 20 per cent, as contrasted with the burden of 50 per cent for operation. Even if it were true, this would not be such a great matter, relatively speaking, that it might not be overcome quite reasonably by other circumstances, such as the lower cost of fuel oil in America as compared with the cost of coal in foreign countries.

The first item usually figured in making up the gross operating income required for the carrying on of a profitable business enterprise is the depreciation. In the case of vessels it usually is placed at 5 per cent. It is alike for all over-sea vessels of the world, and does not enter into our subject except as a part of the 50 per cent operating income.

The next item is marine insurance. It varies greatly under varying

is the depreciation. In the case of vessels it usually is placed at 5 per cent. It is allike for all over-sea vessels of the world, and does not enter into our subject except as a part of the 50 per cent operating income.

The next item is marine insurance. It varies greatly under varying circumstances of character of vessel, dangers of navigation, conditions of war or peace, etc., but competent authorities have stated that its broad average is 6 per cent per annum. Offand we might say, as we did of depreciation, that this item is alike for all vessels of the world and does not come into the problem of founding an American merchant marine. In a sense this is true, but when we recall that perhaps three companies it is reasonable to assume that marine insurance is a profitable by-product of a merchant marine which we might very well obtain for ourselves when we create a real shipping industry in this country. Incidentally we may add that a \$50,000,000 shipowning corporation such as the shipping bill may create would serve as its own insurance company and possibly—yes, probably—save as much as 2 per cent out of the 6 per cent which a smaller enterprise would pay.

Again, all unsurance is based in part on the reports of shipbuilding classification societies such as Lloyds, and here again there may be a profitable by-product which we would acquire along with an American merchant marine.

The items of fuel, repairs, ship chandlery, and the like, carry along with them suggestions of other profitable and legitimate by-products of a merchant marine. In truth, it is sometimes stated that these are supplied by companies subsidiary to the shipbuilding corporations and sometimes by enterprises privately owned by officials of the shipping corporations very much to the detriment of the size of the dividends paid to the stockholders. Shipping may be more profitable than it seems to the onlower. Certainly the great wealth of large shipowning countries would indicate that this is true.

One other item will be mentioned, and that

CHARLES YATES, United States Coast and Geodetic Survey.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 8, 1916.

The Panama Railroad Steamship Line, Government owned and operated, has not increased its rates to the Isthmus of Panama since August 1, 1914, the date the war in Europe began, as shown by the following letter to the chairman of the Committee on the Merchant Marine by Mr. E. A. Drake, vice president of the Panama Railroad Co.:

PANAMA RAILROAD Co., New York, May 15, 1916.

Hon. J. W. Alexander,

Chairman Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisherics,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Sin: Reply to yours of the 11th, received late on the following day,
has been delayed by my absence from the city. I now beg to say
that—

Sin: Reply to yours to has been delayed by my absence from the city. I have that—
Outward rates to the Isthmus and points beyond by our line were maintained on the same basis "as prior to the war in Europe" until late in the spring of this year, except that in some instances they were reduced, notably those that applied to supplies for the Panama Canal that were granted a 10 per cent reduction from tariff, and as well to shipments of this company's commissary supplies; both reductions are still in effect.

There has been no change in rates from New York to Panama City since August 1, 1914.

Rates to Pacific coast ports of Colombia and Ecuador, exclusive of Guayaquil, were not increased until we received notice from the Pacific Steam Navigation Co., our only cocarrier to those points, that a surcharge of 20 per cent to cover war risks and taxes must be added to prevailing rates to accrue solely to them. As this company had no alternative, such a notice to the public, effective February 25 last,

prevailing rates to accrue solely to them. As this company had no alternative, such a notice to the public, effective February 25 last, was issued.

Similarly upon the demands of our three cocarriers to Guayaquil and ports south on the Pacific coast, rates to those points were increased by 25 per cent, effective March 9 last.

Subsequently the two increases just mentioned were rescinded, and there was substituted therefor, effective May 11, 1916, an increase of 50 per cent on rates in effect August 1, 1914.

No increase in rates to Central American and Mexican ports was contemplated until when early in April last our cocarriers in traffic to those destinations declined to continue to prorate existing rates and demanded that they be increased 30 per cent, with a purpose to insist upon arbitraries equivalent to their agreed proportion of such increased rates in the event of our refusal. This company having no alternative but to comply, the notice of such an increase became effective only on the 11th instant.

This company's reluctance to advance rates was met with unanswerable arguments by our Pacific cocarriers, based upon increases already made in outward rates from Europe to South Pacific ports, to increased cost of operation on account of war risks and taxes, to interruption of schedules caused by temporary closing of the canal, and congestion of freight attracted by our persistent maintenance of low rates as compared with world-wide advances to and from all destinations, varying from 50 per cent to 500 per cent.

Our unwillingness to initiate or to at first consider advances in rates was because of the satisfactory result of operating our steamship line under rates already in effect and further because of our policy to maintain by a Government-owned line only reasonably remunerative rates. That policy has all along been vigorously criticized by our cocarriers as inimical to their interests.

We finally consented to any of the above-mentioned advances only when assured that identical advances were already in

E. A. DRAKE, Vice President.

We let Great Britain beat us in changing from wooden to iron and steel construction of merchant vessels. Will we permit the maritime nations of Europe to beat us in changing from coal to oil-burning passenger and mail and package freight merchant vessels and from steam to motor engines for cargo vessels?

[From the London Times, Mar. 2, 1916.]

GREAT MOTOR SHIPS-BUILDING PROGRAM OF DANISH OWNERS.

Reports of an extraordinary development in motor-ship construction in Denmark, which were mentioned yesterday in a Reuter message from Copenhagen, are well founded.

The East Asiatic Co., a leading Danish company, for which the pioneer large motor ship Sclandia was built in 1912, is now pinning its faith entirely to motor ships. Last year the company owned 13 steamers; now it has none. In three of the vessels originally driven by steam the engines have been replaced by motor engines, while the others have been sold as new motor ships became available.

At the beginning of last year the company owned 10 large motor ships, representing a total of 75,000 tons dead-weight. During the year it took delivery of 5 ships of 47,400 tons dead-weight. In the summer of this year a motor ship of 10,400 tons dead-weight is to be delivered, and next spring an-ther of the same size. The company's program already provides for the following new motor ships; Six of 11,800 tons dead-weight between September, 1917, and January, 1920.

Six of 12.800 tons dead-weight between 1918 and 1920.
Six of 10,000 tons dead-weight between 1918 and 1920.
Two of the ships will have 3,300 horsepower, 12 will have 4,000 horsepower, and 6 ships 5,300 horsepower, 12 will have 4,000 horsepower, and 6 ships 5,300 horsepower.
Other Danish owners are also known to be ordering numbers of motor ships, and, according to the Copenhagen papers, one firm—presumably Messrs. Burmeister and Wain—have received orders for about 50 motor ships, and will this be fully occupied until the end of 1921.
Economy of fuel, labor, and space are points considered by Scandingvian countries to be in favor of motor engines. The large ships coll consume about 40 tons of oil a day, and therefore vessels trading with countries where oil is plentiful, as in the East and on the Pacific coast of North America, can ship enough oil fuel for a voyage round the world.

The National Business League of America indorsed the administration shipping bill, as shown by the following letter addressed to the chairman of the committee:

dressed to the chairman of the committee:

The National Business League of America, Chicago, June 9, 1916.

Dear Sie: The National Business League of America, an organization which has had 20 years of active and resultful work, and which numbers among its members many of America's best and most unselfish business men, submits to you its views on 'he bill known as H. R. 15455, recent y passed by the House of Representatives and now before your honorable body.

The league submits, fi st of all, the nonpartisan efforts of two decades to improve the condition of our 'ountry through national legislation, especially such as vitally affects general business interests. Its work in the reorganization of the Consular Service on the merit system, creation of the Department of Commerce, irrigation of the arid lands of the West, and the Federal reserve law are some of its important activities, which undoubtediy are familiar to many of the Members of the Senate. It has enjoyed the confidence of every national administration from President McKinley down to the present time, because its work has always been for the benefit of all the people.

One of the most important of its activities has been to impress the Congress, business men, and the public in general with the fact that our scant merchant marine has always lacked sufficient tonnage to adequately serve our Navy in time of war and to help carry the commerce of our mines, our factories, and our farms to distant parts of the world. It has, therefore, anded with satisfaction the work of the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives in connection with the introduction and passage of the above-mentioned bill as initiative in the right direction; and while it admits there are imperfections in the bill, it feels that its enactment would tend more toward a greater preparedness than any measure introduced in the Houses of Congress during the past 50 years.

As you gentlemen are no doubt aware, the bill provides first of all for the establishment of a United States shipping board. There is no difference of opinion, the league believes, on this point. It provides that in addition to the five commissioners to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of Commerce shall be ex-officio members. The league heartily favors this provision, for the reason that the executive duties of these officials will practically interlock with the work of the shippins, board; the Secretary of the Navy by reason of the fact that these merchant ships are to be auxiliaries of the Navy, that they are to be used also for the purpose of building up a naval reserve, and that some of the military transports not now used by the Navy will be transferred to the shipping board; the Secretary of Commerce, by reason of the fact that he is in charge of the Bureau of Navigation, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Lighthouse and Life-Saving Service, and probably many of his officials will be needed to advise with the approval of the President, is authorized to have constructed and embound in Ameri.

that some of the mintary transports not now used by the Nary with so transferred to the shipping board; the Secretary of Commerce, by reason and Geodetic Survey, the Lighthouse and Life-Saving Service, and probably many of his officials will be needed to advise with the shipping board.

The prevision, section 5, whereby "the board, with the approval of the President, is anthoused to have constructed and equipped in American shippards and navy yards or elsewhere, giving preference, other things being equal, to domestic yards; or to purchase, lease, or charter vessels suitable, as far as the commercial requirements of the marine trade of the United States may permit, for use as naval auxiliaries or the further provision of section 14 that "for the purpose of carrying out the provision of section 14 that "for the purpose of carrying out the provision of section 14 that "for the purpose of carrying out the provision of section 14 that "for the purpose of carrying out the provision of section 15 and 11 the Secretary of the Treasury, upon request of the board, approved by the President, shall from time to think the provision of the Panama Canal, to a total amount not to exceed \$50,000,000. "Will give the Nation the opportunity it has never had since the Civil give the Nation the opportunity it has never had since the Civil have a compared to the provision of the Panama Canal, to a total amount not to exceed \$50,000,000. In ships at this time, for the reason that prices are too high. No sharer advocate of preparedness from the standpoint of national defense and the safeguarding of our commercial prosperity could consistently urge any such argument, for the reason that these could consistently urge any such argument, for the reason that the construction of the purchase of the Navy. No one would vote against the Government building or purchasing battlebulps because prices are too high, and as these whips are in a sense of the purchase of the prices of ships will be high, and as these whips have not part of the propositi

and in foreign maritime countries, and the relative cost, advantages, and disadvantages of operating in the foreign trade vessels under United States registry and under foreign registry." It also states that the board "shall examine the navigation laws of the United States and the rules and regulations thereunder and make such recommendation to the Congress as it deems proper for the amendment, improvement, and revision of such laws, and for the development of the American merchant marine, and that it shall also "investigate the legal status of mortgage loans on vessel property, with a view to means of improving the security of such loans and of encouraging investment in American shipping." The league can not conceive of anything more important for the upbuilding of the merchant marine than this section. It has been claimed time and time again that our navigation laws injure our shipping. If that be a fact, this shipping board would be able to ascertain this condition in a nuch better manner than by the mere neceptance of the statement of any shipper who is interested. Should the found that there are laws infinical to American shipping, the board's recommendations would unquestionably have great weight with the Congress, and repeal would speedily follow. There are also from time to time statements made that there are disadvantages in the relative cost of operating and constructing ships. The board can easily make investigations and recommendations in this particular. The hoard could also formulate plans for the financing and securing of mortgage loans on vessel property, so that American capital would be encouraged to make investigation of the Congress in connection with shipping, in so far as it relates to discrimination against American shipping.

The league doubts that anyone who has made a study of the recent investigation of the Congress in connection with shipping, in so far as it relates to discrimination against American shipping, in so far as it relates to discrimination against American shipping, in s

PHILETUS W. GATES,
President,
BENJ. J. ROSENTHAL,
Vice President,
AUSTIN A. BURNHAM,
General Secretary.

The following is a letter that the writer, Thomas P. Ivy, forest engineer, Center Conway, N. H., requested the editor of one of the leading newspapers in Philadelphia to publish. It was not declined because of lack of merit, but for other reasons which the editor was not frank enough to state:

which the editor was not frank enough to state:

EDITOR: Owing to the fact that I have given study for some years to the problem of shipping in this country, I am asking space in the for a brief discussion of the bill now before the House Committee on the Merchant Marine, especially drawn for rebuilding and restoring our marchant marine to a size proportional to our requirements. How helpless our condition is and how insignificant is our over-seas shipping can be seen by a glance at the fact that of the total imports and exports of the United States but 8.6 per cent are carried in ships of American registry, and that we have ships of a total tonnage of only 1,066,280 tons registered for foreign trade against Germany's 5,459,290 tons, and Great Britain's 21,045,049 tons.

If any American citizen thinks the above showing is creditable and ought to be continued, he can only be one of those Americans who is so interlocked and entangled in foreign shipping corporations that he has lost his American identity through too intimate association with these foreign interests. That there are such Americans one is compelled to admit. In fact, he is the very man who is opposing this bill. For the International Mercantille Marine Co., a foreign-controlled corporation, sends a man disguised as an American to every public hearing of the House Committee on the Merchant Marine to see who appears for this bill and to take the necessary steps to discount and overthrow his testimony.

mony.

In my opinion, a representative of the International Mercantile Marine Co. should have no more standing before this committee, even when he comes disguised as a member of the New York Chamber of Commerce, than the Kaiser should have in saying who ought to be our next Secretary of War. The truth is, the whole opposition to this bill, as I have observed it here in Washington and elsewhere, is instigated and promoted by foreign shipowners. Not so long ago the writer, as he sat at breakfast in a hotel in one of our ports, heard a group of English sea captains at the next table taking an American to task

short this bill, saying he ought to oppose it as a dangerous undertaking and visionary sense. No doubt this experience is common to taking and visionary sense. No doubt this experience is common to taking and visionary sense of the shipper and not to the shipport—something to the interests of the shipper and not to the shipport—something the provides for a shipping beard on his and upper. In any form a corporation, the controlling stock to be owned by the United States, and accorporation, the controlling stock to be owned by the United States, and the shipping of the shipping of the shipping that the shipping to be operated under regulations by the outling or buy or leave ships to be operated under regulations by the outling or buy or leave ships to be operated under regulations by the outling or buy or leave ships to be operated under regulations by the outling of the shipping corporation for carrying mails and other services. The leave ships to be operated under resculations by the outline of the shipping of the shipping corporation for carrying mails and other services. The last shipping bill the shipping that it is only one of the devices for trying to destine the shipping bill the shipping of the shipping that is any one of the devices for trying to destroy the bill. However, the objection to subskiles may be classed under these heads: (1) Inequitable; (2) Intexbile; (3) unstable; (4) under these heads: (1) Inequitable; (2) Intexbile; (3) unstable; (4) under these heads: (1) Inequitable; (2) Intexbile; (3) unstable; (4) under these heads: (1) Inequitable; (2) Intexbile; (3) unstable; (4) under these heads: (1) Inequitable; (2) Intexbile; (3) unstable; (4) under these heads: (1) Inequitable; (2) Intexbile; (3) unstable; (4) under these heads: (1) Inequitable; (2) Intexbile; (3) unstable; (4) under these heads: (4) Inequitable; (2) Intexbile; (3) unstable; (4) under the shipping the shipping the shipping of the core in the shipping that the shipping the shipping the shipping the shipping the shipping the shi

MARCH 1, 1916.